













Acet-



FASTI ROMANI.  
THE  
CIVIL AND LITERARY CHRONOLOGY  
OF  
ROME AND CONSTANTINOPLE.

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VOL. II APPENDIX.

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FROM  
THE DEATH OF AUGUSTUS  
TO  
THE DEATH OF HERACLIUS.  
BY  
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# A P P E N D I X.

## I.

### EMPERORS.

**T**HE years of the Roman emperors and the fractions of months and days are carefully noted by Dio and other historians. But yet even if the genuine numbers were always preserved, which is not to be expected, the sum of all the reigns would not express the exact amount of time; for sometimes the reigns are in part contemporary; as the last 4 months of *Justin* were also the first 4 months of *Justinian*; the last 10 days of *Justin II* were the first 10 of *Tiberius II*; the two last days of the same *Tiberius* were the first two of *Mauricius*. *Galba* *Otho* and *Vitellius* were in part contemporary with *Nero* and *Vespasian*. The elder *Gordians* *Pupienus* and *Balbinus* were included for the most part in the reign of *Maximin*. The last day of an emperor was sometimes counted again as the first of his successor; thus Aug. 19 A. D. 14 was both the last day of *Augustus* and the first of *Tiberius*. Sometimes a short interval occurred; as 10 days after the death of *Jovian*; 3 days at the least after the death of *Trajan*; a day between *Caligula* and *Claudius*, called by Suetonius<sup>a</sup> two days (current) of liberty. Sometimes the life or reign of an emperor was reckoned exclusive of the day of his death; as the life of *Caracalla* by Dio<sup>b</sup>, and the reign of *Heraclius* by Nicephorus<sup>c</sup>.

But on the other hand the chronographers give erroneous accounts because they often omit fractions of years that they may obtain a more convenient measure of time. They adapt the reigns to their own scheme of reckoning by assigning a fictitious beginning to the years of the emperors. Thus Theophanes places the years of *Justinian* each 5 months below the true time; on the contrary he throws back the years of *Justin II* 74 days, and of *Heraclius* 34 days, above the true position, that each year of every reign may begin with the indiction, at Sept. 1, from whence all the years of Theophanes are computed. The Astronomical Canon omits the reigns which are less than a year, neglects fractions, and assigns a fictitious beginning to almost every reign. In the Paschal Chronicle the reigns are sometimes shorter and sometimes longer than the truth. Eusebius and Hieronymus also in their Canon deviate from the true amount of reigns in many cases.

The numbers of Theophilus Clemens Alexandrinus and Dio, and of the Paschal Chronicle and Cassiodorus, are annexed to this list of the reigns, that the variations may be seen at once. The sums of the reigns in each of their accounts may be compared with the true amounts as exhibited below. The accounts of Eusebius and Hieronymus, of Syncellus and Theophanes, are examined in the Tables<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Claud. c. 11.

<sup>b</sup> Quoted in the Tables 217. 2 p. 226 and 854.

<sup>c</sup> See Pagi tom. 2 p. 824.

<sup>d</sup> See for Eusebius and Hieronymus the years

276. 4 p. 313, 283. 4 p. 325; for Hieronymus 346. 2 p. 410. for Syncellus and Theophanes the years 284. 4 p. 327, 325. 4 p. 381. for Theophanes 491. 4 565. 4. 577. 4.



N.E. y.	Theoph. Ant.			Clemens Al.			Dio Cassius			Emperors			Chron. Pasch.			Cassiodorus				
	y	m	d	y	m	d	y	m	d	y	m	d	A.M.	y	m	d	y	m	d	
762.	22	22	0. 0	26.	6.	19	22.	7.	7	Tiberius	22.	6.	26	5522.	22.	0. 0	23.	0.	0	
784.	4	3.	8. 7	3.	10.	8	3.	9.	28	Caligula	3.	10.	8	5544.	4.	0. 0	3.	10.	0	
788.	14	(23)	13. 8. 24	13.	8.	28	13.	8.	20	Claudius	13.	8.	18	5549.	14.	0. 0	13.	8.	28	
802.	14		13. 6. 28	13.	8.	28	13.	8.	0	Nero	13.	7.	28	(5563)			13.	7.	27	
816.	10	(2)	7. 6	0.	7.	6	(0.	9.	13)	Galba	0.	7.	6				}	1.	6.	6
			0.	9.	27	1.	0.	2	1.	0.	22	Otho	0.	3.	2	* (14 y.)				
			9. 11. 22	11.	11.	22	9.	11.	24	Vitellius (11 <sup>m</sup> 20 <sup>d</sup> )	0.	8.	5							
826.	3		2. 0. 22	2.	2.	0	2.	2.	20	Vespasianus	9.	11.	23	5577.	9.	11.	22	9.	11.	22
829.	15		15. 5. 6	15.	8.	5	15.	0.	5	Titus	2.	2.	22	5587.	2.	0. 0	2.	2.	0	
844.	1		1. 4. 10	1.	4.	10	1.	4.	9	Domitianus	15.	0.	5	5589.	16.	0. 0	15.	5.	0	
845.	19		19. 6. 16	19.	7.	15	19.	6.	15	Nerva	1.	4.	8	5605.	1.	0. 0	1.	4.	0	
864.	21		20. 10. 28	20.	10.	28	20.	11.	0	Trajanus	19.	6.	15	5606.	19.	0. 0	19.	6.	15	
885.	23		22. 7. 6	22.	3.	7	22.	7.	26	Hadrianus	20.	11.	0	5625.	21.	0. 0	20.	10.	19	
908.	—		19. 0. 10	19.	0.	11	19.	0.	11	Antoninus	22.	7.	26	5646.	23.	0. 0	21.	0.	0	
										M. Aurelius	19.	0.	11	5669.	19.	0. 0	19.	0.	0	
146		165.	4. 0 <sup>e</sup>							Commodus	12.	9.	15	5688.	12.	0. 0	13.	0.	0	
				12.	9.	14	12.	9.	14											
				185.	3.	23														
							0.	5.	0	Pertinax	0.	2.	28	5699.	0.	2. 0	0.	6.	0	
										Didius Julianus	0.	2.	5	5700.	0.	7. 0				
							17.	8.	3	Severus	17.	8.	4	5701.	19.	0. 0	18.	0.	0	
							6.	2.	4	Caracalla	6.	2.	4	5720.	7.	0. 0	7.	0.	0	
							1.	1.	28	Macrinus	1.	1.	28	5727.	1.	0. 0	1.	0.	0	
							3.	9.	4	Elagabalus	3.	7.	24	5728.	4.	0. 0	4.	0.	0	
							208.	4.	13											
										Alexander	13.	0.	9	5732.	13.	0. 0	13.	0.	0	
										Maximinus	3.	3.	0	5745.	3.	0. 0	3.	0.	0	
										Gordiani	0.	1.	6							
										Pupienus	}	0.	3.	0						
									Balbinus											
										Gordianus III	5.	9.	0	5748.	6.	0. 0	6.	0.	0	
										Philippus	5.	6(or 7)	0	5754.	6.	0. 0	6.	0.	0	
										Decius	2.	2.	0	5760.	1.	0. 0	1.	3.	0	
										Galli	2.	4.	0	5761.	3.	0. 0	2.	4.	0	
										Æmilianus	0.	3.	0							
										Valerianus	}	14.	6.	0	5764.	14.	0. 0	15.	0.	0
									Gallienus											
										Claudius	2.	2.	0	5778.	2.	0. 0	1.	9.	0	
										Quintillus	0.	0.	17							
										Aurelianus	5.	0.	0	5780.	6.	0. 0	5.	6.	0	
										Interregnum	0.	6.	0							
										Tacitus	0.	6.	18					0.	6.	0
										Florianus	0.	2.	20		0.	0. 97		0.	0. 84	
										Probus	6.	5.	0	5786.	6.	0. 0	6.	3.	0	
										Carus	}	1.	11.	0	5792.	3.	0. 0	2.	0.	0
									Carinus											
									Numerianus											
										Diocletianus	20.	7.	14	5795.	20.	0. 0	20.	0.	0	
										Constantius (14. 4. 24)	1.	2.	24							
										Constantinus	30.	9.	28	5815.	31.	10. 0	30.	10.	0	
										Constantius II	24.	5.	12	5847.	24.	0. 0	24.	5.	23	
										Julianus (3 3 0)	1.	7.	24	5871.	2.	0. 0	1.	0.	0	
										Jovianus	0.	7.	21	5873.	0.	10. 15	0.	8.	0	

<sup>e</sup> True interval 165. 6. 28.



EMPERORS.

WEST.	Emperors			Chron. Pasch.			Cassiodorus								
	y	m	d	y	m	d	A.M.	y	m	d					
Valentinianus . . . . .	11.	8.	24	Valens . . . . .	14.	4.	13	5874.	14.	0.	0	14.	5.	0	
Gratianus . . . . .	16.	0.	2	Theodosius . . . . .	15.	11.	30	5888.	16.	0.	0	16.	0.	0	
Valentinianus II . . . . .	16.	4.	23	Arcadius . . . . .	13.	3.	15	5904.	14.	0.	0	13.	0.	0	
Honorius . . (28 6 30) . . . . .	28.	7.	11	Theodosius II . . . . .	42.	2.	28	5918.	42.	0.	0	42.	0.	0	
Valentinianus III . . . . .	29.	4.	22	Marcianus . . . . .	6.	5.	*	5960.	7.	0.	0	7.	0.	0	
Maximus . . . . .	0.	2.	27	Leo . . . . .	16.	11.	28	5967.	16.	0.	0	5983.	1.	0.	0
Avitus . . (1 3 0) . . . . .	1.	1.	0	Leo minor . . . . .											
Majorianus . . . . .	4.	4.	2	Zeno . . . . .	17.	2.	0	5984.	17.	0.	0	17			
Severus . . . . .	3.	11.	27	Anastasius . . . . .	27.	2.	29	6001.	27.	0.	0	(27)			
Anthemius . . . . .	5.	3.	0	Justinus . . . . .	9.	0.	24	6028.	9.	0.	0	506.	504.	8.	14
Olybrius . . (0 7 0) . . . . .	0.	6.	0	Justinianus . . . . .	38.	7.	13	6037.	38.	11.	0				
Nepos . . . . .	1.	7.	0	Justinus II . . . . .	12.	10.	22	6076.	11.	8.	0				
Romulus . . . . .	0.	9.	23	Tiberius II . . . . .	3.	10.	20	6088.	4.	0.	0				
Odoacer . . . . .	16.	6.	12	Mauricius . . . . .	20.	3.	10	6092.	20.	0.	0				
Theodericus . . . . .	33.	5.	26	Phocas . . . . .	7.	10.	12	6112.	8.	0.	0				
				Heraclius . . . . .	30.	4.	6	6120.	20	first.					

The collected years in the Paschal Chronicle are

	A.M.	y.	y.
to the death of <i>Augustus</i> . . . . .	5521.		
——— <i>Tiberius</i> . . . . .	5543.	22.	
——— <i>Caius</i> . . . . .	5548.	5.	27
——— <i>Elagabalus</i> . . . . .	5731.	183.	210
——— <i>Constantine</i> . . . . .	5846.	115.	325
——— <i>Anastasius</i> . . . . .	6027.	181.	506
——— <i>Phocas</i> . . . . .	6119.	92.	598
to the 20th of <i>Heraclius</i> . . . . .	6139.	20.	618

True intervals

	y	m	d
to the death of <i>Antoninus</i> 7 March 161 . . . . .	146.	6.	17
——— of <i>Commodus</i> 31 Dec. 192 . . . . .	178.	4.	13
——— of <i>Elagabalus</i> 31 Jan. 222 . . . . .	207.	5.	13
——— of <i>Constantine</i> 22 May 337 . . . . .	322.	9.	4
——— of <i>Theodosius II</i> 28 July 450 . . . . .	435.	11.	10
——— of <i>Anastasius</i> 9 July 518 . . . . .	503.	10.	21
——— of <i>Phocas</i> 4 Oct. 610 . . . . .	596.	1.	16
to the 20th inclusive of <i>Heraclius</i> ending 4 Oct. 630 . . . . .	616.	1.	16

from the death of *Augustus*  
Aug. 19 A. D. 14

## TIBERIUS. TIBERIUS.

To the inscriptions quoted in the Tables may be added the following.

- 1 Muratori p. 443. 1 in Hispania: *Imp. Cæsar divi Aug. f. Aug. cos. II trib. potest. XVI imp. VII pont. max. M. II.* He was *pont. max.* March 10 and his 16th tribunician year ended June 26 A. D. 15. See the Tables. This inscription falls within these limits. 2 Muratori p. 223. 3 Nonæ in Delmatia: *Ti. Cæs. divi Aug. f. Augustus pont. max. imp. trib. potest. XVIII cos. desig. tert.* Within Jan. 1—June 26 A. D. 17. 3 Cærete apud Gruterum p. 235. 9 et plenius apud Muratorium p. 519. 2 *Ti. Claudio divi Aug. f. Aug. pont. max. trib. pot. XX L. Paulus L. f. Clu. Atticus præfectus fabrum Cær. S. P. ejus C. C. Q. Q. corpor. magnar. corp. tignariorum et corp. dendrophor. et ferrariorum stat. ex ære pr. imm. et corpor. sua pecun. in ded. epul.* 4 Grut. p. 153. 3 Muratori p. 443. 2 Nemausi: *Ti. Cæsar divi Aug. f. Aug. pontif. max. trib. pot. XXI refecit et restituit. IIII.* see below, N<sup>o</sup>. 10. 5 Muratori p. 2006. 2 In ponte Arimini: *Imp. Cæsar divi f. Augustus &c.—trib. pot. XXXVII p. p. Ti. Cæsar divi Augusti filius divi Juli n. August. pontif. maxim. cos. IIII imp. VIII trib. potest. XXII dedere.* The former part is given from Noris in F. H. III at A. D. 14. The latter part was added within Jan. 1—June 26 A. D. 21. 6 Gruter. p. 187. 13 post Panvinium p. 304 Romæ: *Ti. Cæsar divi Augusti f. Augustus pontif. maxim. imp. VIII trib. pot. XXVIII dedit C. Vibio Rufino M. Cocceio Nerva cos. ex S. C. sc. coss. suffectis.* conf. Panvinium p. 304. Within June 27—Dec. 31 A. D. 22. 7 Gruter. p. 235. 10 Panvin. p. 304 Muratori p. 223. 6 In Hispan. Bætica: *Ti. Cæsari divi Aug. f. divi Juli nep. Augusto pontif. max. trib. pot. XXIX cos. IV imp. VIII Auguri XV viro S. F. VII viro epulon. Papirius Severus decreto ordinis Ilurconiensis \* Q. Marcio Barea T. Rustio Nummio Gallo coss. sc. suffectis.* conf. Panvin. l. c. Within June 27—Dec. 31 A. D. 26. 8 Muratori p. 223. 4 Orsovæ in Servia: *Ti. Cæsare Aug. f. Augusto imperato . . . pont. max. tr. pot. XXX leg. IIII Scythic. V Maced. . . . .* 9 Muratori p. 206. 6 Puteolis: *Ti. Cæsar divi Augusti f. divi Juli n. August. pontif. maxim. cos. V imp. VIII trib. potest. XXXII Augustales reipublicæ restituit.* 10 Muratori p. 2006. 4 Nemausi: *Ti. Cæsar divi Aug. f. Aug. pontif. max. trib. pot. XXXII refecit et restituit.* Given in Gruter with *trib. pot. XXI.* See above N<sup>o</sup>. 4. and yet repeated with *trib. pot. XXXII* in Gruter p. 153. 6. Given again by Muratori p. 443. 5 Gruter p. 187, 15 with the date *trib. pot. XXXIII.* 11 Gruter p. 153. 7 Juxta Herream Hispan. *Ti. Cæsar divi Aug. f. divi Jul. n. Aug. pont. max. trib. pot. XXXV imp. IIX cos. V a Pisoraca.* 12 Gruter p. 153. 4 Cordubæ: *Ti. Cæsar divi Augusti f. divi Juli nepos Augustus pontif. max. \* cos. V imp. trib. potest. XXXVII ab Jano Augusto qui est ad Bættem usque ad Oceanum. LXIII.* 13 Muratori p. 442. 7 Romæ: *Virg. Ti. Cæsar Aug. pontif. maxim. trib. pot. XXXVIII cos. V imp. VIII. I. P. CXL.* Within June 27 A. D. 36—March 16 A. D. 37. 14 Gruter p. 101. 1 *Pietati Augustæ ex S. C. quod factum est D. Haterio Agrippa C. Sulpicio Galba cos. Tib. Cl. Cæs. Aug. Germ. pont. max. tribun. pot. III cos. IIII imp. III p. p. dedicavit.* These numbers are corrupt. We may read *trib. pot. XXIII imp. VIII.* Gruter reads *XXIIII, imp. VIII.* 15 Gruter p. 235. 7 Romæ: *Saluti perpetuæ dom. August. Ti. Claudi divi Augusti fil. divi Juli nep. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. XIII imp. II cos. III C. Julius Successus præf. corp. fabrum tignar. et tabular. Portuen. D. S. P. P.* These numbers (unnoticed by Gruter) are also corrupt. In *trib. pot. XIII Augustus* was still living. At the death of *Augustus Tiberius* was already *imp. VII.* We must therefore read *trib. pot. XIX imp. VII cos. III.* Sc. A. D. 18 within Jan. 1 and June 26. 16 Gruter p. 235. 8 Albæ: *Ti. Cæsari divi Aug. f. divi Juli n. Augusto pont. max. cos. V imp. VIII tribun. potest. XVIII pontifices Albani Q. Julius Q. f. Fab. Rufus &c.* Quoted by Norisius cen. Pisan. tom. 2 p. 265 as “*insignis inscriptio Albæ.*” But *trib. pot. XVIII* (unnoticed by Noris and Gruter) is inconsistent with *cos. V*, which requires *trib. pot. XXXII* or *XXXIII.*



17 Gruter p. 226. 2 Romæ: *Senatus populusque Romanus imp. Cæsari divi Augus. f. pont. max. TIBERIUS. imp. cos. trib. pot. . . .* 18 Gruter p. 235. 5 et Muratori p. 222. 5. 1992. 3 . . . o *Cæsari nepoti divi Juli pontifici auguri C. Julius C. Juli Otuaneuni f. Rufus C. Juli Gedemonis nepos Epotsorovidi pron. sacerdos Romæ et Augusti ad aram quæ est ad confluentem præfectus fabrum D.* 19 Gruter. p. 447. 4. 492. 8. 497. 14 *Sex. Palpeio P. f. Vel. Histro leg. Ti. Claudii Cæsaris Aug. pro cos. pr. tr. pl. X vir. stl. judic. tr. mil. leg. XIII Geminæ comiti Ti. Cæsaris Aug. dato a divo Aug. C. Precius Felix Neapolitanus memor beneficii.* 20 Gruter p. 1073. 7 *L. Mumius Achaicus præf. Coh. trib. mil. ab epist. T. Cæs. divi Aug. f. item a rat. D. Cæs. donatus statua equ. item hast. pur. item cor. civ. et divis Augg. auctorib. omnib. ornab. præf. ex S. C. donatus Neptuno D. D.* 21 Gruter p. 1084. 3 Chalcide in Eubœa: *Τιβέριος Καίσαρ Θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ υἱὸς Σεβαστός.* 22 Muratori p. 40. 5 Patavii: *Jano patri Aug. sacrum C. Julius C. f. strator cæd. donatus ab Ti. Cæs. Aug. f. Augusto torque majore bello Delmatico ob honorem IIviratus cum liberis suis posuit.* 23 Muratori p. 441. 4 Brixia: *Divus Augustus Ti. Cæsar divi Augusti f. divi n. Augustus aquas in coloniam perduxerunt.*

24 Gruter p. 236. 1 Romæ: *Ossa Ti. Cæsaris divi Aug. f. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. XXXIX imp. VIII cos. V.* The 38th tribunician year was current at his death.

## CALIGULA.

## CALIGULA.

Inscriptions. 1 Muratori p. 225. 2 Cordubæ: *C. Cæsar Aug. Germanic. imp. p. m. tr. p. cos. Cn. Atei. Flac. Cn. Pomp. Flac. IIvir. Quinq. [sic Muratorius] Sal. Aug. Within July 1 A. D. 37—March 15 A. D. 38.* 2 Muratori p. 444. 2 \* \* \* \* *Germanici Cæ. . . Ti. Aug. nep. divi Aug. pronep. divi Juli abn. Aug. pater patricæ cos. II imp. trib. potestate II pontifex max. a Bæte et Jano Augusto ad Oceanum LXXIII.* Within Jan. 1—March 15 A. D. 39. 3 Muratori p. 134. 1 \* \* \* *divi Aug. n.<sup>a</sup> divi Juli . . n. tribunicia potestate I* [Muratori “Scribendum II”] *cos. II pontyf. . . Cornelius Bassus pontyfex Cæsareum D. S. F.* We may either read *trib. pot. II* (within Jan. 1 and March 15) or *trib. pot. III*, within March 16—Dec. 31 A. D. 39. 4 an inscription apud Muratorium p. 1992. 4. 5 bearing *consul tertio, trib. pot. quarto* (within March 16—Dec. 31 A. D. 40) appears to Eckhel tom. 6 p. 224 and to Muratori himself of doubtful authority.

The works of *Caligula* at Baia are noticed by Eumenius Panegy. Constantin. c. 13 p. 387 *Simili navium continuatone Baianum sinum straverit ab Augusto tertius Cæsar. delicata fuit illa vectatio principis otiosi.*

## CLAUDIUS.

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Inscriptions: 1 Gruter p. 188. 3 Monpeli in Gallia: *Ti. Claudius Drusi f. Cæsar Aug. German. pont. max. trib. potestate cos. desig. II imp. II refec.* 2 Muratori p. 445. 1 and p. 2006. 5 in agro Nemausensi: *Ti. Claudius Drusi f. Cæsar Aug. Germanicus pontif. max. trib. pot. cos. desig. II imp. II refecit.* Within A. D. 41. 3 Panvinius p. 314 Gruter p. 166. 4 Ravennæ: *Ti. Claudius Drusi f. Cæsar Augustus Germanicus pont. max. trib. pot. II cos. desig. III imp. III p. p. dedit.* Less accurately given in Muratori p. 225. 6. More fully in Gruter p. 237. 5 *Ti. Claudius Drusi f. Cæsar &c.—dedit ob memoriam patris sui dec. VII collegi fabrum M. R. H. S. C. I. O. N. liberalitate donavit sub hac conditione ut quotannis rosas ad monumentum ejus deferant et ibi epulentur dumtaxat in V Id. Julias. quod si neglexerint, tunc ad VIII ejusdem collegii pertinere debbit condicione supra dicta.*

4 Panvinius p. 314 Gruter p. 188. 4 *Ti. Claudius Cæsar Aug. Germanicus pont. max. trib. pot. III cos. III imp. III p. p. D. D.* 5 Viennæ prope Lugdunum apud Gruterum p. 188. 8 et

<sup>a</sup> For *Aug. n.* perhaps *Aug. . . n. sc. Aug. pron.*

CLAUDIUS. emendatius apud Muratorium p. 444. 5 *Ti. Claudius Drusi f. Cæsar August. Germanicus pont. max. trib. pot. III imp. III cos. III* [male Gruter II] *p. p. VII.* 6 Muratori p. 225. 9 Faleronæ: . . . . . *si f. Cæsari August. . . . . manico . . . rib. potest. III cos. III imp. III p. p. nomine filii et suo testamento fieri jussit adjecta pecunia faciendum curavit.* 7 Idem p. 2006. 6 In agro Bracarensi: *Ti. Claudius Aug. Germanic. pont. max. imp. III trib. pot. III Brac. Aug. XX.* 8 p. 2006. 7 ad ripas Minii in Lusitania: *Ti. Claudius Cæsar Aug. Germanicus pontifex max. imp. V cos. III trib. potest. III p. p. Braca. XLII.* 9 p. 2007. 1 In agro Bracarensi: *Claudius Cæsar Aug. Germanicus pont. max. imp. V cos. III trib. pot. III p. p. Brac. Aug. XXXV.*

10 Gruter p. 176. 4 Muratori p. 445. 3 Romæ: *Virg. Ti. Claudius Drusi f. Cæsar Aug. Germanicus pontifex maximus tribunic. potestat. IIII cos. III imp. VIII p. p. I. P. CCXL.*

11 Muratori p. 2007. 2 Bilboini in Gallia: *Ti. Claudius Drusi f. Cæsar Aug. Ger. pont. max. trib. potest. V imp. XI p. p. cos. III design. IV Aug. M. P. XXI.* 12 Gruter p. 39. 1 In castro Apolliniaco Galliæ: *Ti. Claudius Cæsar Aug. Germanicus pont. max. trib. potest. V imp. XI p. p. cos. IIII* [lege cum Eckhel tom. 6 p. 249 *cos. desig. IIII*]. 13 Gruter p. 188. 5 ex Panvinio p. 314 *Ti. Claudius Drusi f. Cæsar Aug. Germ. pont. max. trib. pot. V imp. VI cos. des. IIII.* But as he was already *imp. VIII* in the preceding year (see N<sup>o</sup>. 10), we may read *imp. IX* or *imp. X*. 14 Gruter p. 237. 8 Romæ: *Ti. Cl. Drus. f. Cæs. Aug. Germ. pont. max. trib. pot. V cos. III des. IIII imp. II p. p. ex S. C. Cn. Calpetanus Statius Sex. Metrobius M. Perpenna Lurco T. Satrius Decianus curat. tabul. publ. fac. cur.* Here also we may read *imp. IX* or *imp. X*. or *imp. XI*.<sup>a</sup>

15 Muratori p. 972. 7 Romæ: *Pro salute Ti. Claudi Cæsaris Aug. pontif. max. tr. pot. III cos. III design. IIII Præsens Aug. lib. ex voto suscepto viat. et scr. libr. et A. Larcus Lydus dedic.* Read with Muratori *tr. pot. VI.*

16 Panvinio p. 315 Gruter p. 113. 1 Romæ: *Pro salute Ti. Claudi Cæsaris Aug. Germanici pont. max. trib. pot. VII cos. IIII imp. XV p. p. censoris \* \* \* \* liberorumque \* \* \* \* ex voto suscepto C. Julius Sex. f. Cor. Postumus præf. Ægypti Ti. Claudi Cæsaris Aug. Germanici ex auri. P. XVI.*

17 Gruter p. 238. 5 In Anglia: *Ti. Claudius Cæsar Aug. p. m. trib. p. VIII imp. XVI de Britan.*

18 Gruter p. 113. 3<sup>b</sup> ex Panvinio p. 316 *Pro salute Ti. Claudi Cæs. Aug. Germanici pont. max. trib. potest. X imp. XII cos. IIII design. V sign. argenti P. X et pro salute Neronis Cæsaris f. Agrippinæ Aug. sign. arg. P. V. voto suscep. viatores et scribæ libr. et præf. Princeps et Latinus Felix ded.* 19 Panvinio p. 316 Gruter p. 153. 9 Emeritæ: *Imp. divus Claudius Drusi f. Cæs. Aug. Germ. pont. max. trib. pot. X cos. IIII imp. XXI iter. reparavit.* Male Gruter *imp. XI.*

20 Muratori p. 1041. 1 \* \* \* *imp. XXVI cos. V p. p. civitas Conven.* In the 11th tribunician year, or beginning of the 12th.

21 Muratori p. 225. 7<sup>c</sup> Cartimæ in Hispania: *Ti. Claudio Cæsari Augusto pontifici max. trib. potest. XIII imp. XXVII cons. V p. p. cens. Vestinus Rustici f. Xvir et Rusticus F. D. S. P. D. D. cujus basis cum vetustate corrupta esset in vice ejus Vibia Rusticana nurus novam restituit.*

The inscription quoted in the Tables A. D. 48 p. 30 from Gruter p. 301. 1 upon the *Census* of *Claudius* is justly rejected as spurious by Lipsius ad Tacit. Ann. XI. 25. The numbers are too large and probably derived from erroneous copies of Tacitus. The author however rightly collects that the numbers were intended to express *homines armigeros*<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> In the inscription in the Tables p. 28 A. D. 45 from Sueton. N<sup>o</sup>. 2 Panvinio p. 314 and Gruter p. 176. 5, who give that inscription, read *imp. XI* for *imp. X*.

<sup>b</sup> Partly quoted in the Tables A. D. 50. 2 p. 34.

<sup>c</sup> Referred to in the Tables A. D. 53. 2 p. 36.

<sup>d</sup> The genuine numbers of Tacitus appear to give 5,984,072, or a total of about 25,419,000. See F. H. III p. 457, 461.



The census of *Augustus* 4,063,000 and the census of *Claudius* 5,984,072, as computed in another CLAUDIUS. work<sup>e</sup>, contained only the men of military age, to whom the men above the age of 60, the women and children are to be added. Against this mode of reckoning it has been argued as follows<sup>f</sup>.

“The census of *Claudius*, bearing 5,984,072 free male adults, would make the free population amount to 23,936,288. Taking that to be the number of free citizens, allowing for but one slave to each, the inhabitants exclusive of strangers would be 47,872,876, which is infinitely too large a population for Italy itself; and the number of citizens beyond it no where appears to be great. (p. 11 probably but a small part of the citizens was composed of persons out of Italy.) We meet another difficulty in the astonishingly rapid growth of population shewn by Mr. Clinton’s table. In the census in B. C. 86 the males being 463,000, the total is 1,852,000. In the lustrum of *Augustus* B. C. 28 the male adults being 4,063,000, the whole free classes amount to 16,252,000.”

The numbers of the census had advanced, not in “114 years only,” as Mr. Blair states it<sup>g</sup>, but in 58 years, from B. C. 86 to B. C. 28. But the increase was made in a still shorter period; in *forty two* years, from B. C. 70 to B. C. 28<sup>h</sup>. In that space of 42 years their numbers had multiplied from 450,000 to 4,063,000. This vast addition was produced by the large admissions to the class of citizens which had been granted within that period. Of these admissions many incidental records remain. The whole of *Gallia transpadana* received this privilege from the dictator *Cæsar*<sup>i</sup>. His legion called *Alauda* was composed of natives of *transalpine Gaul*, and the soldiers of this legion were made Roman citizens<sup>k</sup>. Eighty thousand citizens were planted by *Cæsar* in colonies beyond the seas<sup>l</sup>. And we are quite sure from the facts which modern enquiries have collected, that the numbers which were thus withdrawn from Italy would be replaced in Italy by the increase of population in a very few years<sup>m</sup>. After the last war in Spain *Cæsar* conferred the privilege of citizenship upon some towns in Spain<sup>n</sup>. *Pompey* had the power granted to him of creating Roman citizens<sup>o</sup>. The triumvir *Antony* raised the inhabitants of whole cities<sup>p</sup> and even all the Sicilians<sup>q</sup> to the rank of Roman citizens. *Augustus* himself granted this privilege to *Utica*<sup>r</sup>: and to some of the *Salyes* and *Cavari*<sup>s</sup>. In Gaul and Spain he withdrew this privilege from some, but granted it to others<sup>t</sup>. The highest class among the natives of *transalpine Gaul* were made citizens of

<sup>e</sup> F. H. III p. 457. 461.

<sup>f</sup> See Blair’s Inquiry into the state of Slavery among the Romans p. 212. Edinburgh 1833. I give the substance of his argument.

<sup>g</sup> P. 213.

<sup>h</sup> See F. H. III p. 454.

<sup>i</sup> Dio 41. 36 τοῖς Γαλάταις τοῖς ἔντος τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἑριδανὸν οἰκοῦσι τὴν πολιτείαν, ἅτε καὶ ἄρξας αὐτῶν, ἀπέδωκε. noticed by *Claudius* apud Tacit. Ann. XI. 24 *Transpadani in civitatem recepti*.

<sup>k</sup> Sueton. Cæs. c. 24 *Unam (legionem) et ex Transalpinis conscriptam, vocabulo quoque Gallico, (Alauda enim appellabatur,) quam disciplina cultuque Romano institutam et ornatam postea universam civitate donavit*.

<sup>l</sup> Sueton. Cæs. c. 42 *Octoginta civium millibus in transmarinas colonias distributis*.

<sup>m</sup> See F. H. II p. 468. 477 ed. 3.

<sup>n</sup> Dio 43. 39 τοῖς ἔθνοισιν αὐτοῦ σχοῦσιν ἔδωκε μὲν καὶ χώρα καὶ ἀτέλειαν, πολιτείαν τὲ τισι, καὶ ἄλλοις ἀποίκους τῶν Ῥωμαίων νομίξασθαι.

<sup>o</sup> Cic. pro Balbo c. 8. 14.

<sup>p</sup> Dio 44. 53 συχνὰ δὲ καὶ παρ’ ἰδιωτῶν τῶν τε δήμων καὶ τῶν βασιλέων ἡργυρολόγησε, τοῖς μὲν χώρων τοῖς δὲ

ἐλευθερίαν, ἄλλοις πολιτείαν, ἄλλοις ἀτέλειαν πωλῶν. Cic. Phil. II. 36 *Neque solum singulis veniebant immunitates, sed etiam populis universis civitas non jam sigillatim sed provinciis universis dabatur*.

<sup>q</sup> Cic. Ep. Att. XIV. 12 *Scis quam diligam Siculos. — Multa illis Cæsar, neque me invito, etsi Latinitas [sc. jus Latii] non ferenda; veruntamen. ecce autem Antonius accepta grandi pecunia fixit legem, a dictatore comitiis latam, qua Siculi cives Romani*.

<sup>r</sup> Dio 49. 16 καὶ τοὺς Οὐτικησίους πολίτας ἐποίησατο. Hence Pliny H. N. V. 4 *Utica civium Romanorum*.

<sup>s</sup> Strabo IV p. 186 τοὺς Σάλυας—καὶ τοὺς Καουάρους. ἐπικρατεῖ δὲ τὸ τῶν Καουάρων ὄνομα—οὐδὲ βαρβάρους ἔτι ὄντας ἀλλὰ μετακειμένους τὸ πλεον εἰς τὸν τῶν Ῥωμαίων τύπον, καὶ τῇ γλώττῃ καὶ τοῖς βίοις. τινὰς δὲ καὶ τῇ πολιτείᾳ.

<sup>t</sup> Dio 54. 25 ὁ γοῦν Ἀγροστὸς ἐπειδὴ πάντα τὰ τε ἐν ταῖς Γαλαταῖς καὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς Γερμανίαις ταῖς τ’ Ἰβηρίαις, πολλὰ μὲν ἀναλώσας ὡς ἐκάστοις πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παρ’ ἐτέρων λαβὼν, τὴν τε ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν τοῖς μὲν δοὺς τοῖς δ’ ἀφελόμενος διακήσατο κ. τ. λ. Sueton. Aug. c. 47 *Urbium quasdam fœderatas—libertate privavit: alias—levavit—aut merita erga populum Romanum allegantes Latinitate vel civitate donavit*.

CLAUDIUS. Rome<sup>v</sup>. *Augustus* however advised *Tiberius* to be sparing of this honour, and rarely bestowed it<sup>w</sup>. Hence in the last 40 years of his reign their numbers did not much advance.

In the 34 years which passed between the last *lustrum* of *Augustus* and the 8th year of *Claudius* about 1,887,000 citizens had been added to the number. In some degree this addition might be produced by the increase of population; but it must have chiefly proceeded from the same cause as the increase in the period which preceded the first census of *Augustus*. For we cannot doubt that the policy which had so long been pursued, and which was inherent in the Roman institutions, still continued<sup>x</sup>, as we find in a few years after the reign of *Claudius* the rank of Roman citizen, which had been already before the year 48 conferred on the higher class of persons in Gaul, was in the year 68 extended to the whole Gallic nation by *Galba*<sup>y</sup>. In the year 63 *Nero* admitted the Alpine nations to the *jus Latii*<sup>z</sup>. A few years later *Vespasian* conferred the same privilege upon Spain<sup>a</sup>. But the effect of this gift was to advance gradually all the chief families to the order of Roman citizens<sup>b</sup>. It is unnecessary to pursue this topic through later times, or to shew that *Caracalla* finally made all the free subjects of the empire Roman citizens.

If the population of Italy in the time of *Augustus* was equal to that of modern Italy, it contained about 20,400,000 inhabitants<sup>c</sup>. And if we assume with Mr. Blair as an average for all Italy that the slaves were equal in number to the free, we obtain about 10,200,000 for the free population and about 2,349,634 for the number of freemen of military age, at the proportion of 2322 in 10,080 persons<sup>d</sup>. It follows then that, when allowance is made for strangers in Italy, the numbers of the first census of *Augustus*, 4,063,000, would contain probably 1,760,000 citizens supplied from the other provinces of the empire. But testimonies remain which justify this con-

<sup>v</sup> Tacit. Ann. XI. 23 *Primores Galliae quæ Comata appellatur fœdera et civitatem Romanam pridem assecuti jus adipiscendorum in urbe honorum expeterent.* sc. in A. D. 48. As in the year 48 they had long possessed the rank of Roman citizens, their admission to that privilege may be referred to *Augustus*.

<sup>w</sup> Dio 56. 33 ἐπισκήψεις τῷ Τιβερίῳ καὶ τῷ κοινῷ ἄλλας τε καὶ ὅπως μὴ ἀπελευθερώσι πολλοὺς, ἵνα μὴ παντοδαποῦ ὄχλου τὴν πόλιν πληρώσωσι, μὴτ' αὖ ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν συχνοὺς ἐσγράψωσιν. Sueton. Aug. c. 40 *Civitatem parcissime dedit et manumittendi modum terminavit.—Livie pro quodam tributario Gallo roganti civitatem negavit, immunitatem obtulit, affirmans se facilius passurum fisco detrahi aliquid quam civitatis Romanæ vulgari honorem.*

<sup>x</sup> That policy, which was the source of the Roman power, is described by Cicero pro Balbo c. 13. 14 *Illud vero sine ulla dubitatione maxime nostrum fundavit imperium—quod princeps ille creator hujus urbis Romulus fœdere Sabino docuit etiam hostibus recipiendis augeri hanc civitatem oportere. cujus auctoritate et exemplo nunquam est intermissa a majoribus nostris largitio et communicatio civitatis. Itaque et ex Latio multi et Tusculani et Lanuvini et ex ceteris generibus gentes universæ in civitatem sunt receptæ; ut Sabinorum Volscorum Hernicorum.—At enim quædam fœdera existant, ut Germanorum, Insubrium, Helvetiorum, Japidum, nonnullorum etiam ex Gallia barbarorum, quorum in fœderibus exceptum est ne quis eorum a nobis civis recipiatur. Quodsi exceptio facit ne liceat, ibi necesse est licere ubi non est exceptum.* Dionysius Ant. II. 17 contrasts the wisdom of the Romans in this re-

spect with the narrow policy of the Greek republics. Aristides Encom. Rom. p. 214 though in a later age yet describes the early practice: μεγάλοι μεγάλως ἐμετρήσατε τὴν πόλιν, καὶ οὐκ ἀποσεμνυμένοι τούτῳ θαυμαστήν ἐποιήσατε, τῷ μηδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων αὐτῆς μεταδιδόναι, ἀλλὰ τὸ πλήρωμα αὐτῆς ἄξιον ἐζητήσατε, καὶ τὸ Ῥωμαίων εἶναι ἐποιήσατε οὐ πόλεως ἀλλὰ γένους ὄνομα κοινῷ τινοσ κ. τ. λ.

<sup>y</sup> Plutarch. Galba c. 18 διαβολὴν εἶχεν—τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Γαλάτας Οὐίνδκι συναραμένους. ἐδόκουν γὰρ οὐ φιλανθρωπία τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος [sc. Galbæ] ἀλλ' ὠνούμενοι παρὰ Οὐίνδιον τυγχάνειν ἀνέσεώς τε δασμῶν καὶ πολιτείας. Tacit. Hist. I. 8 *Gallia, super memoriam Vindicis, obligata recenti dono Romanæ civitatis.*

<sup>z</sup> Tacit. Ann. XV. 32 *Nationes Alpium maritimarum in jus Latii transtulit.*

<sup>a</sup> Plin. H. N. III. 3 *Universæ Hispaniæ Vespasianus imperator Augustus—Latii jus tribuit.*

<sup>b</sup> Asconius in Pisonianam Cic. Cn. Pompeius Strabo—*jus dedit Latii, ut possent habere jus quod cætera Latinae coloniæ, id est, ut petendi magistratus gratia civitatem Romanam adipiscerentur.* Appian. Civ. II. 26 πόλιω δὲ Νεόκωμον ὁ Καῖσαρ [conf. Strabonem V p. 213 Plutarch. Cæs. c. 29 Suetonium Cæs. c. 28] ἐς Λατίον δίκαιον ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰταλιῶν ὄκειται· ὧν ὅσοι κατ' ἔπος ἦρχον ἐγίγνοντο Ῥωμαίων πολῖται· τότε γὰρ ἰσχύει τὸ Λάτιον. Plin. Panegy. c. 37, 3 *Novi (cives), seu per Latium in civitatem seu beneficio principis venissent &c. Idem c. 39, 2 His quoque, quibus per Latium civitas Romana patuisset, idem indulsit &c.*

<sup>c</sup> The population of Italy from actual enumeration is thus given:



clusion. Cicero attests that in his time the commanders of armies conferred the gift of citizenship CLAUDIUS. upon those who had deserved well of the republic<sup>e</sup>. This gift was bestowed indifferently upon men of all countries, upon natives of Africa or Sardinia or Spain<sup>f</sup>. By the law already noticed *Pompey* received the power of creating citizens with the consent of his council of officers. That law was passed in B. C. 72<sup>g</sup> when he was conducting the war in Spain, and *Pompey* doubtless exercised that power not only in Spain but afterwards in Asia, where he held the supreme command for five years B. C. 66—62. We have seen that *Cæsar* advanced some towns in Spain to this honour; that *Antony* conferred it upon whole provinces and upon the island of Sicily. Sicily alone, if we compute its population to be equal to that of modern Sicily, might supply to the first census of *Augustus* 235,000 citizens<sup>h</sup>. The inhabitants of Utica were made Roman citizens by *Augustus*. The inhabitants of Trapezus were Roman citizens<sup>i</sup>. We have seen that the leading class among the Transalpine Gauls were citizens of Rome. Hence the father of *Vindex* was a

To Austria	
Lombardy . . . . .	2,600,760
Venice . . . . .	2,202,529
	4,803,289
To Sardinia	
Turin . . . . .	873,310
Cuneo . . . . .	566,181
Alessandria . . . . .	595,563
Novara . . . . .	542,728
Aosta . . . . .	78,110
Nizza . . . . .	230,718
Genoa with Copraja	674,988
	3,561,598
Duchy of Parma in 1846 . . . . .	496,803
Duchy of Modena . . . . .	515,343
Lucca in 1839 . . . . .	168,198
Tuscany in 1846 . . . . .	1,565,751
	11,110,982
San Marino . . . . .	7,600
Pope's dominions in 1843 . . . . .	2,898,115
Naples in 1845 including the city	} 6,382,706
of Naples 379,621 . . . . .	
Total, exclusive of the Islands . . . .	20,399,403

The ancient Neapolis was less populous than the modern capital; but this is more than compensated by the greatness of ancient Rome, which contained according to the moderate estimate of Gibbon 1,200,000 inhabitants, while Rome in 1827 had only 140,673. Northern Italy included the three districts *Venetia*, *Carnia* and *Istria*. The two former were in Cisalpine Gaul: Mela 2. 4, 2 *Carni et Veneti colunt Togatam Galliam*. *Istria* was already when Strabo wrote annexed to Italy: Strabo VII p. 314 *ἐφαμεν ἐν τῇ περιοδείᾳ τῆς Ἰταλίας* [V p. 215]—*διότι μέχρι Πόδας, Ἰστρικῆς πόλεως, προήγαγον οἱ νῦν ἡγεμόνες τοὺς τῆς Ἰταλίας ὄρους*. Daru *Histoire de Venise* tom. 6 p. 258 assigns to Venice in 1788 Terra Firma, Friuli, and *Istria*, with rather a larger population than the amount here given. But at present *Istria* belongs to another province, and the Venetian territories

have their limit at Udine and at a point to the west of Trieste. As however in ancient times Venice itself did not exist, the modern population may be assumed to represent the inhabitants of those three districts.

<sup>d</sup> See F. H. III p. 460.

<sup>e</sup> Cic. pro Balbo c. 9 *Stipendiarios ex Africa Sicilia Sardinia ceteris provinciis multos civitate donatos videmus; et qui hostes ad nostros imperatores perfugissent et magno usui reipublicæ nostræ fuissent scimus civitate esse donatos; servos denique, quorum jus et fortunæ conditio infima est, bene de republica meritos, persæpe libertate, id est, civitate, publice donari videmus.*

<sup>f</sup> Cic. pro Balbo c. 18 *Quod si Afris, si Sardis, si Hispanis, agris stipendioque multatis, virtute adipisci licet civitatem, &c.* How largely this privilege was conferred may be gathered from Cicero pro Balbo c. 22, although the examples in part occurred in Italy: *Quid? Cn. Pompeius pater, rebus Italico bello maximis gestis, P. Cassium equitem Romanum, virum bonum, qui vivit Ravennæ,—nonne civitate donavit? quid? cohortes duas universas Camertium? Quid? Heraclensium legionem P. Crassus?—Quid? Massiliensem Aristonem Sulla? quid? idem heros novem Geditanos? Quid?—Q. Metellus Pius Q. Fabium Sargentinum? Quid? hic qui adest—M. Crassus, non Aletrinem fœderatum civitate donavit? homo tum gravitate et prudentia præstans, tum vel nimium parvus in largienda civitate?*

<sup>g</sup> Cic. pro Balbo c. 8 *Lege quam C. Gellius Cn. Cornelius ex senatus sententia tulerunt—uti cives Romani sint ii, quos Cn. Pompeius de consilii sententia [conf. c. 17 Cn. Pompeium de consilii sententia civitatem huic dedisse] sigillatim civitate donavit. c. 14 Lex Gellia et Cornelia, quæ definite potestatem Pompeio civitatem donandi dederat.* These were consuls in B. C. 72.

<sup>h</sup> Population of Sicily, from an enumeration made in 1845, 2,040,610. If we assume for Sicily one slave to every free inhabitant, we have 1,020,300 free inhabitants, and these would give for the men of military age about 235,000.

<sup>i</sup> Tacit. Hist. III. 47 *Donati civitate Romana signa armaque in nostrum modum, desidiâ licentiamque Græcorum retinebant.*

CLAUDIUS. senator<sup>k</sup>. That some Jews were made citizens we know from Josephus<sup>l</sup> and Philo<sup>m</sup>. The father of *St. Paul* was a Roman<sup>n</sup>. These specimens shew that no nation was excluded.

If the advance of the numbers in those 42 years<sup>o</sup> from 450,000 to 4,063,000 shall appear to be explained by the testimonies here produced, the increase in the 34 years<sup>p</sup> from 4,097,000 to 5,984,000 will not excite surprise. The increasing wealth and prosperity not only of Italy but of the whole empire within that period would produce an increase in the population; and the numbers of the citizens would advance with the numbers of the other classes. The numerous colonies beyond the limits of Italy which enjoyed the *jus Latii* were annually adding new citizens to the empire; and (as already remarked) additional grants of the rights of citizenship continued to be made. We collect from Philo that *Caligula* was lavish of this gift<sup>q</sup>.

NERO. NERO.

Inscriptions. 1 Muratori p. 445. 4 In Hispania: *Ti. Claud. Nero imp. Aug. pont. m. tr. p. cos. XIII Augustobrigam M. P. XXII*. Omit the erroneous number *XIII*, and this inscription falls within Jan. 1—Oct. 12 A. D. 55. 2 Muratori p. 445. 5 In agro Forojulensi: *Nero Claudius Divi Claudii f. Germanici Cæsar. n. Ti. Cæsar. Aug. pronep. Divi Aug. abnepos Cæsar Aug. Germanicus pontifex max. tr. pot. IIII imp. iter. cos. III p. p. restituit*. Within Jan. 1—Oct. 12 A. D. 58. 3 Murat. p. 227. 1 In Sancti Germani Civitate: *Neroni Claudio Cæsari Aug. Germ. pont. max. trib. pot. XIII imp. IIII cos. IIII p. p. L. Stenius Silvanus ex testamento*. The number *imp. IIII* is defective; for *Nero* was already *imp. VII* in A. D. 60, and is *imp. XI* in another inscription of the 13th tribunician year<sup>r</sup>. 4 Murat. p. 227. 4 Cæcinæ in agro Lunensi tabula marmorea: partly quoted in the Tables at A. D. 66 p. 48 of the 13th tribunician year. The other division of this Tablet is as follows: *Divæ Poppæ Augustæ imp. Neronis Cæsaris August. L. Licinius L. f. Gal. Glaucus Lucretianus flam. Romæ et Aug. IIvir IV P. C. seviri eq. R. Curio præf. fabr. cos. tr. milit. leg. XXII Primig. præf. prolegat. insular. Balarum tr. mil. leg. VI Victricis ex voto suscepto pro salute imp. Neronis quod Balaribus coverat anno A. Licinio Nera cos. [se. A. D. 65] IIvir A. Ufeto Vegeto et Q. Aburio Nepote ube vellet ponere V. compos posit Jovi Junoni Minervæ Felicitati Romæ Divo Aug. Poppæ* died in the 12th tribunician year (Tables A. D. 65), and this inscription is erected in the 13th. 5 Murat. p. 916. 10 extra Romam: *Dis Manibus Taurionis opsonatoris Poppæ Aug.* 6 Murat. p. 228. 1 ὁ δῆμος Νέρωνα Ἰούλιον Καίσαρα παῖδα θεοῦ νέου Γερμανικοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ θεᾶς Αἰολίδος καρποφόρας Ἀγριππένας.

GALBA. GALBA.

Tabulæ æneæ apud Muratorium p. 306. 307 Florentiæ et in Castello a mare: 306. 3 in prima facie: *Ser. Galba imperator Cæsar August. pontif. max. tr. pot. cos. des. II veteranis qui militaverunt in legione I Adjutrice honestam missionem et civitatem dedit quorum nomina subscripta sunt ipsis liberis posterisque eorum et conubium cum uxoribus quas tunc habuissent cum est civitas iis data aut si qui cælibes essent cum iis quas postea duxissent, dumtaxat singuli singulas A. D.* In secunda facie:

<sup>k</sup> Dio 63. 22 Ἰούλιος Βίνδιξ ἐκ μὲν προγόνων Ἀκυραῶς τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γένους, κατὰ δὲ τὸν πατέρα βουλευτὴς τῶν Ῥωμαίων.

<sup>l</sup> Joseph. Bell. II. 14, 9 Φλώρος ἐτόλμησεν ἄνδρας ἰππικοῦ τάγματος μαστιγῶσαι πρὸ τοῦ βήματος καὶ σταυρῶ προσηλώσαι. ὧν εἰ καὶ τὸ γένος Ἰουδαίων, ἀλλὰ τὸ γούν ἀξίωμα Ῥωμαϊκὸν ἦν. Quoted by Lardner Vol. I p. 224, who gives other examples.

<sup>m</sup> Philo leg. ad Caium c. 23. partly quoted by Lardner.

<sup>n</sup> From whom *St. Paul* inherited this privilege: Acts XXII. 25—28.

<sup>o</sup> B. C. 70—28.

<sup>p</sup> A. D. 14—48.

<sup>q</sup> Agrippa apud Philonem Leg. ad Caium c. 36 addressing *Caligula* remarks φίλων ἐνίων πατρίδας ὅλης τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἡξίωσης πολιτείας. Not individuals only but the whole people were made citizens.

<sup>r</sup> See the Tables A. D. 60. 2. 66. 2.



*XI K. Jan. C. Bellico Natale P. Cornelio Scipione cos. [sc. suffectis] Diomedii Artemonis f. Phrygio descriptum et recognitum et tabula ænea quæ fixa est Romæ in Capitolio in ara gentis Juliæ. In tertia facie: Ser. Galba &c. repeated. In quarta facie: Ti. Julius Pardala Sard. &c. Idem p. 307. 1 Ser. Galba &c. consul designatus II &c. A. D. XI K. Januar. C. Bellico Natale &c. The same inscription repeated, with other names appended to it<sup>s</sup>. This *Tabula honestæ missionis* was dated Dec. 22 A. D. 68.*

OTHO. See the Tables A. D. 69. col. 2. 4.

OTHO.

VITELLIUS. Tables A. D. 69 col. 2. 4.

VITELLIUS.

VESPASIANUS.

VESPASIANUS.

To the Inscriptions quoted in the Tables add the following.

1 Gruter p. 573. 1 (partly quoted in the Tables A. D. 71. 4) Aquileiæ, imo Romæ, in duabus tabulis æneis: *Imp. Cæsar Vespasianus Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. II imp. VI p. p. cos. III desig. IIII veteranis qui militaverunt in classe Ravennate sub Sex. Lucilio Basso qui sena et vicena stipendia aut plura meruerunt et sunt deducti in Pannoniam, quorum nomina subscripta sunt, ipsis liberis posterisque eorum civitatem dedit et conubium cum uxoribus quas tunc habuissent cum est civitas iis data, aut, si qui cælibes essent, cum iis quas postea duxissent, dumtaxat singuli singulas, Non. April. &c.* 2 Gruter p. 154. 3 Muratori p. 445. 7 *Imp. Cæs. Vespasian. Aug. pont. max. tr. p. II imp. VII cos. III desig. IIII p. p. viam a Cappara urbe ad Emeritam usq. Aug. impensa sua restituit. LXXIII. [LXIII Murat.]* 3 Muratori p. 228. 3 Augustæ Taurinorum: *Imp. Cæsar Vespasianus Augustus pontifex maximus trib. potestat. cos. III cos. design. IIII.* 4 Panvin. p. 322 Gruter p. 189. 7 *Imp. Cæs. Vespasianus Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. III p. p. imp. VIII.* 5 Gruter p. 243. 4 Aventici: *Imp. Cæsari Vespasiano Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. III imp. VIII cos. III desig. IIII p. p.* 6 Panvin. p. 323 Gruter p. 189. 8 *Imp. Cæs. Vespasian. Aug. p. m. tr. pot. III imp. VIII p. p. cos. IIII.* 7 Gruter p. 243. 2 Romæ, similar to p. 243. 3 Cumis given in the Tables A. D. 71. 2 from the Appendix to Suetonius. 8 Gruter p. 1019. 7. 1078. 4 Formiis: *Imp. Vespasianus Cæs. Aug. pontifex maximus tribunicie potestatis cos. III pater patriæ faciendum curavit. LXXXVI.*

9 Muratori p. 445. 8 Ex Sardinia: *LVI a turre imp. Cæsar Vespasianus Aug. pontifex maximus trib. pot. XIII [immo V vel VI. conf. Murat.] cos. V design. VI censor refecit et restituit.*

10 Muratori p. 446. 1 (referred to in the Tables A. D. 75. 2) Thyatiræ: *Imp. Cæsar Vespasianus Aug. pontif. max. trib. pot. VI imp. XIII cos. VI desig. VII censor vias faciendas curavit.*

11 Muratori p. 1992. 7 *Imp. Cæsar Vespasianus Aug. pontif. maximus trib. potestat. V imp. XVII p. p. censor cos. VII design. VIII.* Read with Muratori *trib. pot. VII.* See Gruter p. 154. 4 quoted in the Tables A. D. 76. 2.

12 Panvinus p. 324 Gruter p. 243. 6 Muratori p. 228. 2 ex Hispania. Given in the Tables A. D. 77 from the Appendix to Suetonius N<sup>o</sup>. 2. 13 Muratori p. 2007. 4 in Lusitania: *Imp. Cæs. Vesp. Aug. pont. max. trib. pot. IX imp. XIII p. p. cos. VIII opus amp. V D D a Bracara Aug. M. P. XXVII.* Within Dec. A. D. 77—Dec. A. D. 78. 14 Muratori p. 583. 1 (referred to in the Tables A. D. 78. 1) Romæ: *L. Ceonio Commodo D. Novio Prisco III Non. Jan. magisterio C. Matidi Patruini promagistro L. Veratio Quadrato collegi fratrum Arvalium nomine vota nuncupaverunt pro salute imp. Vespasiani Cæsaris Aug. trib. pot. cos. VIII et T. Cæsaris Aug. f. Vespasiani cos. VI victimis immolatis in Capitolio quæ superioris anni magister coverat per-*

<sup>s</sup> Muratori remarks p. 306. 3 “Quum unusquisque militum honesta missione donatorum exemplum sibi procuraret ejusmodi indulgentiæ, nil mirum si alia similes tabellæ in aliis locis reperiantur.”

VEASPASIANUS. *solvit et in proximum annum nuncupavit præeunte L. Veratio Quadrato in ea verba quæ SSS. Jovi Optimo Maximo bovem marem &c.*

15 Muratori p. 228. 4 Vindobonæ: *Imp. Vespasiano Cæsari Aug. pontif. maximo trib. potest. X imp. XX cos. VIII p. p. C. Domitius Florus T. F. I.*

16 Gruter p. 132. 4 Romæ: *Imp. Cæsar Vespasianus Aug. per collegium pontificum fecit.* 17 Gruter p. 239. 3 Basis marmorea Romæ: *Paci æternæ domus imp. Vespasiani Cæsaris Aug. liberorumq. ejus sacrum trib. Suc. junior. Dedic. XV K. Dec. L. Annio Basso C. Cæcina Pæto cos. [sc. suffectis.]* 18 Grut. p. 243. 1 Basis marmorea Romæ: *Victoriæ imp. Cæsaris Vespasiani Augusti sacrum trib. Suc. corp. Juliani C. Julius Hermes mentor bis non. incurat. [IIIIII virat. Scaliger] functus et nomine C. Juli Regilli fili de suo fecit cui populus ejus corporis immunitatem sex centuriarum decrevit.* 19 Gruter p. 1075. 8 ad vicum Varum: *Imp. Cæs. Vespasianus Aug. pontifex max. trib. pot. censor ædem Victoriæ vetustate dilapsam sua impensa restituit.* 20 Gruter p. 373. 1 L. Bæbio L. f. Gal. Acito præf. fabr. trib. mil. leg. X Gem. proc. imp. Cæsaris Vespasiani Aug. provinciæ Lusitanicæ adlecto inter prætorios. An inscription with the same titles is given by Muratori p. 59. 1.

21 Muratori p. 2004. 2 in vico insulæ Corsicæ: *Imp. Cæsar Vespasianus Augustus magistratibus et senatoribus Uanacinorum salutem dicit. Otacilium Sagittam amicum et procuratorem meum ita vobis præfuisse ut testimonium vestrum mereatur delector. De controversia finium quam habetis cum Marianis pendenti ex is agris quos a procuratore meo Publilio Memoriale emistis ut finiret Claudius Clemens procurator meus scripsi ei et mentorem misi. Beneficia tributa vobis ab divo Augusto post septimum consulatum quæ in tempora Galbæ retinuistis confirmo. Egerunt legati Lasemo Leucani f. sacerd. Aug. Eunus Tomasi f. sacerd. Aug. C. Arruntio Catellio Celere M. Arruntio Aquila cos. [sc. suffect.] IIII Idus Octobr.*

22 Gruter p. 242. item ad calcem Suetonii N°. 10. Tabula ænea Romæ: \* \* *ædusve cum quibus volet facere liceat ita uti licuit divo Aug. Ti. Julio Cæsari Aug. Tiberioque Claudio Cæsari Aug. Germanico. utique ei senatum habere relationem facere remittere senatus consulta per relationem discessionemque facere liceat ita uti licuit divo Aug. Ti. Julio Cæsari Aug. Ti. Claudio Cæsari Aug. Germanico. utique cum ex voluntate auctoritateve jussu mandatuve ejus præsentive eo senatus habeatur omnium rerum jus perinde habeatur servetur ac si e lege senatus edictus esset habereturque. utique quos magistratum potestatem imperium curationemve ejus rei potentes senatui populoque Romano commenderit quibusque suffragationem suam dederit promiserit eorum comitis quibusque extra ordinem ratio habeatur. utique ei fines pomerii proferre promovere cum ex republica censebit esse liceat ita uti licuit Ti. Claudio Cæsari Aug. Germanico. Utique quæcunque ex usu reipublicæ majestate divinarum humanarum publicarum privatarumque rerum esse censebit ei agere jus potestasque sit ita uti divo Aug. Tiberioque Julio Cæsari Aug. Tiberioque Claudio Cæsari Aug. Germanico fuit. Utique quibus legibus plebeve scitis scriptum fuit ne divus Aug. Tiberiusve Julius Cæsar Aug. Tiberiusque Claudius Cæsar Aug. Germanicus tenerentur iis legibus plebisque scitis imp. Cæsar Vespasianus solutus sit quæque ex quaque lege rogatione divum Aug. Tiberiumve Julium Cæsarem Aug. Tiberiumve Claudium Cæsarem Aug. Germanicum facere oportuit ea omnia imp. Cæsari Vespasiano Aug. facere liceat. Utique quæcunque ante hanc legem rogatam acta gesta decreta imperata ab imperatore Cæsare Vespasiano Aug. jussu mandatuve ejus a quoque sunt ea perinde justa rataq. sint ac si populi plebisve jussu acta essent. Sanctio. Si quis hujusce legis ergo adversus leges rogationes plebisve scita senatusve consulta fecit fecerit sive quod eum ex lege rogationeve plebisve scito S. ve C. facere oportebit non fecerit hujus legis ergo id ei ne fraudi esto neve quit ob eam rem populo dare debeto neve cui de ea re actio neve judicatio esto neve quis de ea re apud se agi sinito.*

Suetonius Vesp. c. 25 remarks that *Vespasian* and his sons reigned as long as *Nero* and *Claudius*: *totidem annis parique temporis spatio utrique imperaverunt.*



TITUS.

TITUS.

## Inscriptions not in the Tables.

1 Muratori p. 228. 5 in Hispania: *Tit. Cæsari Aug. f. Vespasiano imp. pont. trib. pot. VI cos. des. VI censori D. D.* 2 Gruter p. 1068. 3 in Helvetia: *Imp. T. Vespasianus Cæs. Aug. VII cos. Marti Apollini Minervæ arcum vican. Vindonissensis curiæ T. Urbanio Matrone T. Val. Albano L. Veturio Mellocotio Ruffo Sextio.* 3 Gruter p. 155. 3 Emeritæ: *Imp. Titus Cæs. Vesp. Aug. pon. m. trib. p. V [lege X] cos. VIII p. p. generis humani amor et desiderium etiam vi.* 4 Gruter p. 173. 8 Neapoli: Τίτος Καῖσα . . . εσπασιανὸς Σεβαστὸς . . . . . κῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ἰ . . . . . ος ὕπατος τὸ ἡ τειμητῆς . . . . . θετήσας τὸ γ' γυμνασιαρχήσας . . . . . νμπεσόντα ἀποκατέστησεν . . . . . n. f. *Vespasianus Aug. . . . . cos. VIII censor p. p. . . . . tibus conlapsa restituit.* 5 Gruter p. 244. 5 Tarracone: *Imp. Titus Cæsar Vespasianus Aug. p. m. tr. potest. cos. VIII p. p.* 6 Gruter p. 244. 7 *Imp. Cæsari divi f. T. Vespasiano Augusto pont. max. trib. pot. imp. X p. p. censori conservatori ædium publicarum et restitutori ædium sacrarum sodales Flavii P. Martius Verus. Titus was imp. XIII or XV. see the Tables A. D. 79. 2. and imp. XV is rightly substituted for X apud Gruterum l. c.* 7 Muratori p. 2007. 5 in Lusitania: *Imp. Tito Cæsare divi Vesp. f. Vespasiano M. pont. max. trib. pot. IX imp. XV p. p. cos. VIII Cæsare divi f. Vesp. f. \* \* \* \* cos. VII G. Colpetano Rantio Quirinale Valerio Festo leg. Aug. pro pr. via nova a Brac. Aug. M. P. XXXVIII.* The name of *Domitian* erased. 8 Gruter p. 244. 4 Romæ: *Imp. T. Cæsari divi f. Vespasiano Aug. plebs urbana quæ frumentum publicum accepit et tribus.* 9 Muratori p. 131. 2 Romæ: *S. P. Q. R. divo Tito divi Vespasiani Vespasiano Aug. Sacrum Jovi Optimo Maximo Salutari ædem voto suscepto.* 10 Murat. p. 229. 1 apud Thebas in Bœotia: ἀποκράτορα Τίτου Καῖσαρα θεὸν Σεβαστὸν Οὐεσπασιανὸν ἡ πόλις.

The celebrated saying of *Titus, diem perdidit*, recorded by Suetonius *Tito* c. 8, is referred to by Themistius *Or.* 6 p. 80 A *Or.* 8 p. 107 A *Or.* 13 p. 174 C *Or.* 15 p. 193 A *Or.* 18 p. 225 A and by Ausonius *Grat. Act.* p. 298 ed. Bipont.

DOMITIANUS.

DOMITIANUS.

Inscriptions. 1 Muratori p. 229. 5 in Dacia: *Imp. Cæsar divi Vespasiani f. . . . . Aug. pontif. max. tr. pot. imp. II cos. VIII designat. VIII p. p.* 2 Muratori p. 229. 6 Cordubæ: *D. N. imperator Cæsar divi Vespasiani Augusti . . . . . Germanicus pontifex maximus trib. pot. VIII imp. XXI cos. XV censor perpetuus.* Read *trib. pot. VIII.* See the Tables A. D. 90. 2. On the erasure of the name of *Domitian* see the Tables A. D. 83. 1. Add Procopius *Anecd.* p. 25 C D.

3 Gruter p. 574. 5. 6 Salonæ tabulæ æneæ: an inscription of the 12th tribunician year, partly given in the Tables A. D. 93. 2 p. 78. The inscriptions there given from Gruter p. 189. 12 ex Panvinio (p. 327 "antiqua tabula ænea quæ extat adhuc Venetiis") and from Gruter p. 574 appear to be the same inscription, imperfectly given at p. 189 but more fully at p. 574, where it proceeds thus: *Imp. Cæsar &c.—Romanorum qui peregrinæ condicionis probati erant et sunt in Dalmatia sub Q. Pomponio Rufo qui quina et vicena stipendia aut plura meruerunt item dimissis honesta missione emeritis stipendiis liberis posterisque eorum civitatem dedit et connubium cum uxoribus quas tunc habuissent cum est civitas iis data, aut, si qui cælibes essent, cum iis quas postea duxissent, dumtaxat singuli singulas, ad III Idus Julias [July 13 A. D. 93] M. Lollio Paulino Valerio Asiatico Saturnino C. Antio Julio Quadrato cos. [sc. suffectis] cohort. III Alpinorum cui præest C. Vibius Maximus &c.*

4 Gruter p. 155. 1 Emeritæ: *Imp. Domitian. Vesp. Cæs. Aug. Germ. p. m. opus patern. nequitia publicanor. infectum ea gente male mulctata et omni in posterum munere publico priv. confici jussit. LXXXVIII.* 5 Muratori p. 229. 4 in Catalonia: *Imp. Domitiano Cæsari Aug. Germanico L. Municius Quir. Novatus et L. Municius Quir. Aurelianus Ti. Cor. Ner. Tem. . . . . IIvir. constituti*

*D. P. P. D. D.* 6 Muratori p. 447. 2 Senis: *DCXC. imp. Domitiani Augusti Germanici cura Polludovicis L. Proc. Philianthus lib. fecit.*

To the accounts of Suetonius and Tacitus, referred to in the Tables, may be added the picture of *Domitian* drawn by Pliny Panegy. c. 48.

NERVA. NERVA.

Inscriptions.

1 Columna milliaria Romæ apud Gruterum p. 154. 4. 5. 6 Muratorium p. 446. 2. The column in Gruter (described in the Tables A. D. 118 p. 106) commemorates 1 *Vespasian.* 2 *Nerva.* 3 *Trajan.* The column in Muratori has only the two first. The inscription to *Vespasian* is in the Tables A. D. 76. 2 from Gruter. Then follows in Gruter and Muratori: *Imp. Nerva &c. cos. III pater patriæ refecit.* 2 Gruter p. 246. 1 Romæ: *Libertati ab imp. Nerva Cæsare Aug. anno ab urbe condita DCCC. XXX. XXXVII. XXXVIII.* 3 Panvinius p. 328 Gruter p. 189. 13 Romæ: *Imp. Nerva Cæsar Aug. . . . potest. II imp. II.* 4 Panvinius p. 328 Gruterus p. 245. 6 Romæ: *Imp. Nervæ Cæs. Aug. pont. max. trib. pot. cos. III p. p. L. Sertorius L. f. Volt. Evanthus ædil. C. C. N. D. D. S. P. P.* 5 Gruter p. 245. 7 *Imp. Nervæ Cæsari Aug. III cos. Ti. Claudius Felix et P. Lollius Paris allectores cultores Silvani idem immun.* 6 Gruter p. 1078. 5 e regione Setiæ: *Imp. Nerva Cæs. Aug. pontifex maximus tribunicia potestatis cos. III pater patriæ faciendam curavit. XLV.* 7 Gruter p. 155. 4 juxta oppidum Arsularum, secundum viam Valeriam: *XXXVIII. Imp. Nerva Cæsar Augustus pontifex maximus tribunicia potestate cos. III pater patriæ faciendum curavit.* 8 Muratori p. 229. 7 Asturicæ: *Imp. Nervæ Cæs. Aug. pont. max. trib. p. p. cos. III . . . Asturic. . . mil. . .* 9 Murat. p. 447. 4 Romæ in columna: *Imp. Nerva Cæsar Augustus pontifex maximus tribunicia potestate cons. III pater patriæ refecit.* 10 Idem p. 447. 5 Cordubæ: *Imp. Nerva Cæs. Aug. pont. maxim. trib. potest. II cos. II* [lege *III* cum Muratorio] *proc. pater patriæ Cord. restituit.* 11 Idem p. 447. 6 cippus milliarius in Hungaria: *Imp. Nerva Cæs. Aug. pontifex maximus tribunicia potestat. cos. III p. p. a Malata . . . . cus M. P. X. Imp. Cæs. M. Aurel. Antonino Aug. Pio Fel. a Malata . . . s. v. cus M. P. XVI.* 12 Idem p. 2007. 6 *Imp. Nerva Cæsar Augustus pontif. maximus tribuni. potestate cos. III pater patriæ fecit.* 13 Idem p. 447. 7 in via Appia: *Imper. Nerva Cæsar August. pontifex maximus tribuniticæ potestatis X cos. III pater patriæ facien. curavit. XLIII.* 14 Idem p. 448. 1 in via Appia: *Imper. Nerva &c. tribuniticæ potestatis X cos. III pater patriæ facien. curavit. XLIV.* 15 Idem p. 448. 2 *Imperat. Nerva &c. tribuniticæ potestatis cos. III pater patriæ facien. curavit. XLV.* 16 Idem p. 448. 4 in paludibus Pomptinis: *Imp. Cæsar Nerva Aug. Germ. pontif. max. trib. potest. III cos. IIII p. p. sua pecunia const.* 17 Gruter p. 185. 4 Romæ: *Imp. Nerva Cæs. A. trib. potest. III imp. II.* In 13. 14. 16. 17 for *trib. pot. X* and *III* read *trib. pot. II.* conf. Eckhel tom. 8 p. 411. 18 Gruter p. 246. 2 inventum prope Antium: *Sergie Lænatiss f. Plautillæ matri imp. Nervæ Cæ-*

† *Domitian* is named in the following: Muratori p. 2020. 1 in via Appia ultra Beneventum XXI M. P: *Q. Gefridio Nigero Aufustiano invicto aurigatori in faction. varis pluries agitato semper victori ab imp. Domitiano Aug. Cæs. pluries coronato premisq. III aucto P. S. viz ann. LXIV m. III. Lucilia Appuleia uxor mar. B. M. fec.* His wife *Domitia* in these: Muratori p. 194. 5 Seniti: *T. Attico Domitiæ Aug. lib. IV* [an VI?] *vir. Aug. Domitius Sollers VVir Aug. Atticus Domitiæ Aug. S. S. Q. P. P.* Idem p. 913. 4 in oppido Marini: *Dis Manibus Pieri Aug. L. præc. puerr. Cæsaris N. Flavia Nice conjunx B. M.*

*titulum cum valvis aneis D. S. P. permissu Herme Aug. L. a cub. Domitiæ Aug.* On *Domitia* see Sueton. *Domit.* c. 3. 13 *Tito* c. 10 *Dio* 66, 3. 26. 67, 3. 15 *Victor* *Epit.* p. 369 *Euseb. Chron.* anno 2097 et hinc *Syncellus* p. 343 C. (erroneously given in the Armenian *Eusebius*,) and coins in *Eckhel* tom. 6 p. 401, who also p. 399 quotes an inscription *In honorem memoriæ domus Domitiæ Augustæ Cn. Domiti Corbulonis fil. &c.* *Procopius Anecd.* p. 25 D is more favourable to *Domitia* than other writers. But the earlier authorities destroy the credit of his account.



*saris Aug.* 19 Gruter p. 245. 8 in Hispania: *Imp. Nervæ Aug. German. inferior. pont. max. trib. pot.*

## TRAJANUS.

TRAJANUS.

*Trajan* was a native of Italica in Spain: Appian. Hispan. c. 38 ὁ Σκιπίων—συνώκισε τοὺς τραυματίας ἐς πόλιν, ἣν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας Ἰταλικὴν ἐκάλεσε· καὶ πατρίς ἐστι Τραιῖανου τε καὶ Ἀδριανοῦ τῶν ὕστερον Ῥωμαίους ἀρξάντων τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχήν. Victor Cæs. p. 319 *Italica urbe Hispaniæ ortum*. Eutrop. VIII. 2 *Natus Italicæ in Hispania*. Dio 68. 4 Ἰβηρ ὁ Τραιῖανός. Zonaras XI p. 584 B Τραιῖανός δὲ τὸ γένος εἶλκεν ἐξ Ἰβηρίας. Themistius Or. VIII p. 110 B κἀκέϊνον τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, ὃς ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἤκεν εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν κ. τ. λ. refers to the character and exploits of *Trajan*.

*Plotina* the wife of *Trajan* is described by Pliny Panegyr. c. 83. Named in an inscription Muratori p. 887. 9 Extra Romam: *D. M. Antiocho Plotinæ Augustæ actori fratres*. His sister *Marciana*: Plin. Panegyr. c. 84. 1 *Soror autem tua* &c. Ibid. § 6 *Obtulerat illis senatus cognomen Augustarum, quod certatim deprecatae sunt quam diu appellationem patris patriæ<sup>v</sup> tu recusasses*. Both are named in Muratori p. 230. 7 Sarzanæ:

<i>Plotinæ</i>	<i>Imp. Cæs. Nervæ Trajano Aug.</i> <i>Germ. Dacico pont. max. tr. pot.</i> <i>IX cos. V D. D. [A. D. 105]</i>	<i>Martianæ</i>
<i>August.</i>		<i>Aug.</i>

and in Panvinus p. 334 Gruter p. 247. 6 Aneonæ:

<i>Plotinæ</i>	<i>Imp. Cæsari divi Nervæ f. Nervæ Trajano Optimo Aug. Germanic. Dacico et Cyriaco pont. max. trib. pot. XVIII imp. IX [lege imp. XI] cos. VI p. p. providentissimo principi senatus P. Q. R. quod accessum Italiæ hoc etiam addito ex pecunia sua portu tutiorem navigantibus reddiderit.</i>	<i>Divæ</i>
<i>Aug.</i>		<i>Marcianæ</i>
<i>conjugi Aug.</i>		<i>Aug.</i>
		<i>sorori Aug.</i>

*Marciana* therefore was already dead in the 19th tribunician year commencing Oct. A. D. 115. From *Marciana Marcianopolis* was named: Ammian. 27. 4, 12 *Mysia ubi Marcianopolis est, a sorore Trajani principis ita cognominata*.

To the inscriptions in the Tables add the following.

1 Gruter p. 128. 3 Romæ: *Imp. Cæs. Trajani Aug. Germ. cos. II permissu T. Allieni Sicini Quintiani cur. æd. Sacr. ædiculam regionis VI vico portæ Collinæ vetustate conlapsam a solo sua impensa restituerunt magistri anni C. V. . . . us A. Varro A. L. Felix P. Vettius P. L. Possidonius C. Turranius C. L. Gen. . . .* 2 Panvinus p. 329 Gruter p. 189. 14 *Imp. Cæs. divi Nervæ f. Nerva Trajanus Aug. Germanicus pontif. maxim. tribunic. potest. cos. iter.* 3 Gruter p. 246. 4 Romæ: *Pietati et felicitati imp. Cæs. divi Nervæ [adde f.] Trajani Aug. Germ. pont. max. tr. pot. III cos. II p. p. ex S. C.* Within October and Dec. 31 A. D. 99. 4 Muratori p. 229. 8 Narbone: *Imp. Cæsari divi Nervæ f. Trajano Aug. Germ. pont. max. trib. pot. cos. II . . . . anus IIIII vir Aug. de sua mediocritate . . . . mento fieri poniq. jussit.* 5 Muratori p. 2007. 11 inter Emeritam et Salmanticam: *Imp. Cæs. divi Nervæ f. divus Nerva Trajanus Augustus Germanicus pontifex maximus tribunicia potestate consul iterum restituit. CIII.* 6 Muratori p. 449. 6 in agro Numantino: *Imp. Cæsar Nerva Trajanus Aug. Ger. pont. max. trib. pot. p. p. cos. iter. f. ab. Augustobri. M. P. VIIII.* In A. D. 99 on account of the title *pater patriæ*. See the Tables A. D. 99. 2. 7 Gruter p. 155. 5 In Helvetia: *Imp. Cæsari divi Nervæ f. Nervæ Trajano Aug. Germ. pont. max. trib. pot. cos. II p. p. des. III. M. P. LXXXV.* In A. D. 99.

<sup>v</sup> See the Tables A. D. 99 for this title.

TRAJANUS. 8 Gruter p. 41. 7 ad Lacum Nemorensem: *Dianæ Nemoresi Vestæ sacrum dict. imp. Nervæ Trajano Aug. Germanico III cos. præf. ejus T. Voltedio Mamiliano quæstorib. L. Cæcilio Urso II M. Lucretio Sabino II ædilib. Q. Vibenna Quieto Ti. Claudio Magno P. Cornelius Trophimus pistor Romaniensis ex reg. XIII idem cur. vici quadrati et Lania C. f. Thyonoe conjux ejus votum libens solverunt.* 9 Panvinius p. 330 *Pietatis imp. Cæsaris divi Nervæ f. Nervæ Trajani Aug. Germanici p. m. tr. p. III cos. III p. p. ex S. C. Compare N<sup>o</sup>. 3.* 10 Gruter p. 189. 15 ex Panvinius: *Imp. Cæs. Nervæ Trajanus Aug. p. m. tr. pot. III cos. III p. p.* But Panvinius p. 329 has *tr. pot. III cos. II.* which places this within October and Dec. 31 A. D. 99. 11 Muratori p. 448. 6 Inter Fundos et Tarracinam: *Imp. Cæsar Nervæ Divi Ner. f. Trajanus Aug. Germ. pontif. max. trib. pot. III cos. III p. p. constr. curavit XXXVIII.* 12 Murat. p. 449. 1 in Frentanis: *Imp. M. Ulp. Nervæ Trajanus Cæs. Aug. pont. max. trib. pot. cos. III p. p. viam lapid. stravit pontem fecit substructiones addidit.* 13 Murat. p. 448. 7 inter Fundos et Tarracinam: *Imp. Cæsar divi Nervæ f. Nervæ Trajanus Augustus Germanicus pontifex maximus tribunitiæ potestatis III cos. III pater patriæ refecit.*

14 Muratori p. 449. 5 Cilleiæ: *Imp. Nervæ Trajanus Cæs. Aug. Ger. pont. max. trib. pot. p. p. cos. IIII. VI.* Within Jan. 1 A. D. 101—Dec. 31 A. D. 103. 15 Gruter p. 190. 2 Augusto-brigæ Hispan. *Imp. Cæsar divi Nervæ f. Nervæ Trajanus Aug. Germ. pont. max. trib. pot. V cos. III restituit.* Read *cos. IIII.* Within Oct. A. D. 101—Oct. A. D. 102.

Within October A. D. 103—Dec. 31 A. D. 111: 16 Muratori p. 2007. 8 in agro Bracarensi: *Imp. Cæsari divi Nervæ f. Nervæ Trajano Aug. Ger. Dacico pont. max. trib. pot. VII imp. IV Aquis Flaviis M. P. XLII.* 17 p. 2007. 9 Aquis Flaviis in Lusitania: *Imp. Cæsar divi Nervæ f. Aug. Ger. max. trib. pot. VII imp. IV Aquis Flavis M. P. IV.* 18 Gruter p. 162. 4 Aquiflavie: *Imp. Cæs. Nervæ Trajano Aug. Ger. Dacico pont. max. trib. pot. cos. V p. p. Aquiflavienses pontem lapideum de suo F. C.* 19 Muratori p. 1993. 1 in Lusitania: *Imp. Cæs. Nervæ Trajanus Aug. Ger. Dac. pont. max. trib. pot. VII imp. IIII cos. V p. p.* 20 Panvinius p. 331 Gruter p. 246. 8 Romæ: *Imp. Cæsari divi Nervæ f. Nervæ Trajano Aug. Germanico Dacico pontifici maximo tribunic. pot. VII imp. IIII cos. V p. p. tribus XXXV quod liberalitate optimi principis commoda earum etiam locorum adjunctione ampliata sint.* 21 Panvinius p. 331 Gruter p. 246. 9 Romæ: *Imp. Cæsar divi Nervæ f. Nervæ Trajano Aug. Germ. Dacico pont. max. trib. potest. VIII imp. IIII cos. V p. p. optimo principi Sagari theatri Marcell. cultores domus Aug.* 22 Muratori p. 2007. 10 in Lusitania: *Imp. Cæs. Trajano Aug. pont. max. trib. pot. VIII p. p. a Bracara Aug. M. P. XXXVIII.* 23 Muratori p. 449. 4 in diceesi Aquinatensi: *Imp. Cæsar divi Nervæ fil. Nervæ Trajanus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus pontif. maximus trib. pot. VIII imp. IIII cos. V p. p. restituit.* 24 Gruter p. 162. 1. 2. 3 Pons in oppido Aleantara<sup>w</sup>: In medio pontis arcus erigitur cum hac inscriptione: *Imp. Cæsari divi Nervæ f. Nervæ Trajano Aug. Germ. Dacico pontif. max. trib. potest. VIII imp. V cos. V p. p.* 25 Muratori p. 449. 2 Romæ: *Lapis miliar. IIII ter Appiæ*

<sup>w</sup> Gruter Ibid. collato Muratorio p. 450. 1 Habet limen superius sic inscriptum: *Imp. Nervæ Trajano Cæsari Augusto Germanico Dacico sacrum.*

*Templum in rupe Tagi Superis et Cæsare plenum,  
Ars ubi materia vincitur ipsa sua,  
Quis quali dederit voto fortasse requiret  
Cura viatorum quos nova fama juvat.  
Ingentem vasta pontem qui mole peregit  
Sacra litaturo fecit honore Lacer.  
Qui pontem fecit Lacer et nova templa dicavit  
Scilicet et Superis munera sola litant.  
Pontem perpetui mansurum in secula mundi*

*Fecit divina nobilis arte Lacer,  
Idem Romuleis templum cum Cæsare divis  
Constituit. Felix utraque causa sacri.*

*C. Julius Lacer H. S. F. et dedicavit amico Curio Lacone Icæditano.* In eodem arcu fuere olim tabulæ marmoreæ quatuor, quarum superest una: *Municipia provincia Lusitania stipe conlata quæ opus pontis perfecerunt, Icæditani, Lancinnenses, Oppidani, Talori, Interannienses, Colarni, Lancienses, Transcudani, Aravi, Meidubrigenses, Arabrigenses, Banienses, Pæsures.* Some of these names are in Pliny H. N. IV. 22 p. 242.



*viâ strat. restit. cur. ex S. C. ex auctorit. imp. Cæs. divi Ner. fil. Nervæ Trajan. Aug. German. TRAJANUS. Dacic. Parthic. pont. max. tribun. pot. VIII imp. V cos. V p. p. optim. princ. curante Ti. Julio et . . . . .* All these numbers require that *Parthici* should be omitted. 26 Muratori p. 231. 1 apud Brundisium: *Traiano Aug. Germ. Dac. pont. max. trib. pot. XII imp. VI cos. V p. p. C. Fulvius Hermes lib. Epituchanus ex D. D. ob honorem Aug. T. A.* 27 Muratori p. 448. 5 Inter Fundos et Tarracinam: *Imp. Cæsar divi Nervæ filius Nerva Trajanus Aug. Germanicus Dacicus pont. maximus tribun. potestatis XIII imperator VI cos. V p. p. pontem vetustate collapsum restituit.* 28 Mur. p. 449. 7 Tarracinæ: *Imp. Cæsar divi Nervæ filius Nerva Trajanus Aug. Germanicus Dacicus pontifex max. trib. pot. XIII imp. VI cos. V p. p. XVIII silices sua pecunia restituit.* Some inscriptions of this period require correction in the numbers<sup>x</sup>.

29 Muratori p. 232. 1 extra Puteolos: *Imp. Cæsari divi Nervæ filio Nervæ Traiano Aug. Germ. Dacico pont. max. trib. pot. XV imp. VI cos. VI p. p. optimo principi L. Pluteus L. f. Pal. Phæbus.* 30 Muratori p. 450. 4 in agro Forosempromiensi: *Imp. Cæsar divi Nervæ f. Nerva Trajanus optimus Aug. Germ. Dacicus tribunic. potest. XIX imp. XI cos. VI p. p. faciundum curavit.* Where Muratori without reason adds "Scribendum imp. IX." See Eckhel tom. 6 p. 463 and the Tables A. D. 116. 2.

31 Gruter p. 1101. 3 Bracaræ: *L. Terentio M. f. Quir. Ruf. præf. coh. VI Britton. O leg. I M. P. F. don. don. ab imp. Traiano bel. Dac. p. p. leg. XV Apoll. trib. coh. II Vig. D. D.* 32 p. 1102. 5 Arimini: *M. Vettio M. f. An. Valenti Cæsaris Nerv. Trajani Opt. Aug. Ger. Dacici Part. IIvir. Quinq. præf. flamini auguri patrono coloniæ vicani vici Aventin. optimo civi patrono suo.* 33 Muratori p. 68. 13 Florentiæ: *Silvano Aug. sacrum Crescens Alypianus imp. Cæsaris Nervæ Trajani Aug. Germ. Dacici disp. fisci fr.* 34 Idem p. 232. 2 Romæ: . . . . *potis . . . . senatus supplicationes dis immortalibus . . . imp. Cæs. Nerva Traiano Aug. Germ. Dacic. senatus ornament . . . triumphal. decr. statuamq. in foro Aug. ponendam censuit.* 35 Idem p. 2032. 4 Cormenti: *Ipponianus Secundus P. Cestius Priscus Ducenius procuratores Nervæ Trajani Aug. legionis I turm. VI tribun. milit. legionis XXI Rap.*

The Parthian war of *Trajan* is placed too high by the Paschal Chronicle Hieronymus Cassio-

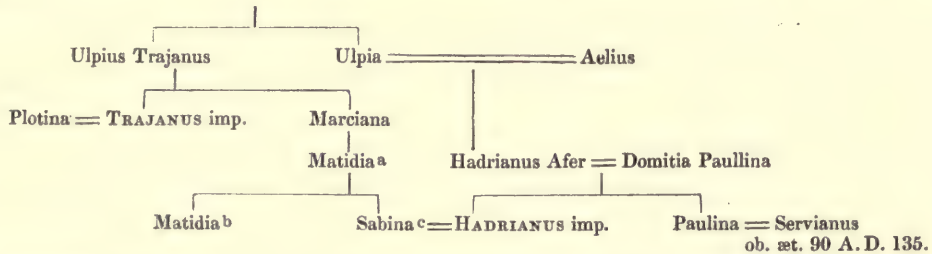
<sup>x</sup> In a mutilated inscription in Gruter p. 190. 1 Panvinus p. 330, and more carefully given by Norisius tom. 2 p. 924 A, bearing *Dacicus*, the numbers probably were *trib. pot. XIII cos. V.* Gruter p. 199. 1 Romæ: *Ex auctoritate imp. Cæs. Divi Nervæ fil. Nervæ Trajani Aug. Germanici Dacici Parthici pontificis maximi tribunic. potest. V cos. V p. p. curat. viarum L. Licinius C. f. Sura IIIIvir it. M. Julius M. f. Fronto IIIIvir T. Lælius Q. f. Cocceianus IIII vir Sex. Flavius L. f. Falto IIIIvir cipp. term. . . . . viam Trajanam App. per Bruttios Salentinos pec. publ. contulere Bruttiei Salentinei oppidatim Napetinei Hipponiatei Mamertinei Rheginei Scyllacei Cauloniateri Laometicei Terinæi Tamsanæi Locren . . . Thuriat . . . cur. . . mill. P. . . . CC. . .* Reines. reads *trib. pot. VIII.* But such works were carried on in the 12th and 13th tribunician years. See the Tables A. D. 107. 108. 109. The title *Parthicus* was in the 19th tribunician year and 6th consulship: Tables 115, 4. 116, 2. We may read *trib. pot. XVIII cos. VI.* Muratori p. 449. 3 Rhegii: *Lap. mil. CCCLXXXVI. Imp. Cæs. Nervæ Trajan. August. Germ. Dacic. Parth. trib. potes. V p. p. optimo principi ex S. C. fac. cur.* Mur. adds "Id est, A. C. 101 aut 102." But *Dacicus*

was not assumed till A. D. 103, *Parthicus* in 116. We may read *trib. pot. XVIII.* or *XX.* Muratori p. 2007. 7 gives a mutilated inscription: *Imp. C. Divi T [rajani] Parth. f. [divi] Nervæ [nepos] Nerva Trajanus Aug. pont. [max.] tr. pot. VI viam . . .* and adds "spectat ad annum Ch. 102." But the characters here given belong to *Hadrian*, and require—*Nervæ nepos Trajanus Hadrian. Aug.* Gruter p. 321. 10 in agro Cordubensi: *C. Sempronio Sperato flamini divorum Augg. provincie Baticæ imp. Nerva Trajano Cæs. Aug. Germ. III Vicerio Alariano et L. Marcio Postumo coss. Hic provincie Baticæ consensu flaminis munus est consequit. peracto honore flamin. et feciali &c.* It is not clear to what year this should be referred. To the two Cretan inscriptions given at A. D. 113 may be added a third apud Gruter. p. 1084. 9 αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι θεοῦ Νέρβα νιῶ Νερούα Τραϊανῶ σεβαστῶ ἀρίστῳ Ἀρμενικῶ [lege Γερμανικῶ] Δακικῶ ἀρχιερεὶ μεγίστῳ δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ α' ὑπάρῳ τὸ Γ [lege τὸ ε'] πατρι πατρίδος τῆς τῆς οἰκουμένης κτίστη Λιττίων ἢ πόλις διὰ πρωτοκόσμου κ. τ. λ. Gruter p. 248. 1 *Imp. Cæs. d. Nervæ f. Nervæ Trajano Aug. Germanico Dacico pont. max. tr. pot. cos. VIII imp. V p. p.* Read *cos. V.*

**TRAJANUS.** dorus and Malalas. At the 9th of *Trajan* by Chron. Pasch. p. 253 Α Κομμόδου καὶ Κερατανού. θ'. [A. D. 106] τούτοις τοῖς ὑπάτοις πολέμου χαλεποῦ ἐπιβάντος τῇ Ῥωμανίᾳ ὑπὸ Περσῶν καὶ Γόθων καὶ ἐτέρων ἐθνῶν, Τραϊανὸς ἀπερχόμενος εἰς τὸν τούτων πόλεμον ἄφεσιμ ἔχαριστο τῶν τελῶν ἄχρις ἂν ἐπιστρέψῃ. and by Cassiodorus: *Commodo et Cereale. His coss. Trajanus Hiberos Sauromatas Osrhoenos Arabas Bosphoranos Colchos in fœdus accepit, Seleuciam Ctesiphontem Babylonem occupavit et tenuit. Senecio IV et Sura III* [A. D. 107] *His coss. Trajanus in mari rubro classem instituit ut per eam Indiæ fines vastaret.* Transcribed from Hieronymus. At the 12th of *Trajan* in Malalas XI p. 352 ἐπεστράτευσεν τῷ ιβ' ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ ἐξελλθὼν κατ' αὐτῶν μηνὶ Ὀκτωβρίῳ τῷ καὶ Ὑπερβερεταίῳ ἀπὸ Ῥώμης—καὶ κατέφθασεν ἐν Σελευκείᾳ τῆς Συρίας μηνὶ Ἀπελλαίῳ τῷ καὶ Δεκεμβρίῳ. Although he afterwards places it at the 16th year, or two years before the earthquake, which he refers to Dec. A. D. 115; μετὰ β' ἔτη τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ. which would give 113 for the march of *Trajan*. Malalas, though wrong in the year, may have given the right months; and *Trajan* might set out from Rome in October and arrive at Antioch in December A. D. 114. Eusebius does not notice the Parthian war, but Hieronymus places it *anno 2118* [A. D. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ ] *Trajani 5<sup>o</sup> Trajanus—Iberos Sauromatas &c. in fidem accepit. Seleuciam Ctesiphontem Babylonem occupavit et tenuit. in mari rubro classem instituit &c.* afterwards *anno 2128* [A. D. 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ ] *Trajani 15<sup>o</sup> Trajanus Armeniam Assyriam Mesopotamiam fecit provincias.* Also transcribed by Cassiodorus. Eutropius VIII. 3 without marking a date enumerates the nations conquered almost in the terms of Hieronymus, who probably transcribed Eutropius.

Xiphilinus in his epitome may have transposed the narrative of Dio. But the characters of time which yet remain and the testimony of coins and inscriptions, confirming the account of Julian, enable us to fix with certainty the Parthian war of *Trajan*, as it is given in the Tables.

#### HADRIANUS. HADRIANUS.



#### Inscriptions.

1 Gruter p. 248. 7 p. 254. 1 in Transilvania: *Imp. Cæsari divi Trajani Parthici f. divi Nervæ nepoti Trajano Hadriano Aug. pontifici max. trib. pot. II cos. II p. p. colon. Ulpia Trajana Aug. Dacica Sarmiz* <sup>cc</sup>. In both copies *p. p.* is improperly added. See the Tables A. D. 119. 4 and 128. 2. 2 Muratori p. 451. 1<sup>d</sup> Prope Certimam: *Imp. Cæsar D. Nervæ Trajani f. Nervæ nepos Hadrianus Trajanus Aug. Dacicus maximus Britannicus maximus Germanicus maximus pontifex*

<sup>a</sup> *Matidia Augusta*, the mother of *Sabina*, is named in an Ephesian inscription apud Muratorium p. 232. 3.

<sup>b</sup> Gruter p. 252. 9 Suessæ in Campania: *Matidie Aug. fil. divæ Marcianæ Aug. nepti divæ Sabinae Aug. sorori imp. Antonini Aug. Pii p. p. materteræ Minturnenses D. D.* p. 252. 10 Ibidem: *Matidia Aug. fil. divæ Sabinae sorori imp. Antonini Aug. Pii p. p. materteræ C. Flavii Aug. lib. Onesimus Campanus.* p. 1085. 3 Capuæ: *Matidia Aug. fil. divæ Sabinae sorori imp. Antonini Aug. Pii p. p. materteræ Sinues-*

*ani.* De hac *Matidia* Fronto p. 285 *De hereditate Matidiæ.*

<sup>c</sup> *Sabina* in an inscription given in the Tables A. D. 139. 4 is called the mother of *Antoninus*, as her sister *Matidia* is the aunt of *Antoninus*: see Eckhel tom. 6 p. 470.

<sup>cc</sup> Compare for this colony Gruter quoted in the Tables A. D. 132.

<sup>d</sup> Compare the Tables A. D. 118. 2.



*maximus trib. potest. II cos. II p. p., præterquam quod provinciis remisit decies novies centena millia* HADRIANUS. *N. sibi debita, a Munda et fluvio Sigila ad Certimam usque XX M. P. P. S. restituit.* 3 Murat. p. 188. 4 Romæ<sup>e</sup>: *Imp. Cæsari divi Trajani Parthici fil. divi Nervæ nepoti Trajano Hadriano Aug. pontif. maxim. trib. pot. II cos. III fratri arvali.* 4 Gruter p. 248. 6 ex Panvinio p. 334 *Imp. Cæsari divi Trajani Parthici fil. divi Nervæ nep. Trajano Hadriano Aug. pont. max. trib. potest. cos. II p. p. IIII viri viar. Q. Tamudius Q. f. Palat. Graius Vienna L. Aurelius &c.—fac. cur.* On account of *p. p.* we may read *cos. III.* 5 Muratori p. 2008. 2 inter Emeritam et Salmanticam: *Imp. Cæs. divi Trajani Parthici f. divi Nervæ nepos Trajanus Hadrianus Aug. pontif. max. trib. pot. V cos. III restituit.* 6 Muratori p. 1083. 7 Surrenti: *Imp. Cæsari divi Trajani Parthici f. divi Nervæ nepoti Trajano Hadriano Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. V cos. optimo maximoq. principi decuriones munipesq. Surrentini pecunia conlata.* 7 Muratori p. 2008. 3 Tuneti: *Imp. Cæsar divi Nervæ nepos divi Trajani Parthici f. Trajanus Hadrianus Aug. pont. max. trib. pot. VII cos. III viam a Carthagine Theuesten stravit per leg. III Aug. P. Metilio Secundo leg. Aug. pr. pr.* 8 Murat. p. 1097. 8 In villa collis agri Aquilani: *Imp. Cæs. Trajano Hadriano Aug. pont. max. trib. pot. XIIII cos. III p. p. vicani Forulani.* 9 Murat. p. 2008. 4 In Lusitania: *Imp. Cæs. Trajano Hadriano Aug. pont. max. trib. pot. XVIII cos. III p. p. a Braca. Aug. M. P. XX.* 10 Murat. p. 2008. 5 Bracaræ: *Imp. Cæsari Trajano Hadriano Aug. pontif. max. trib. potest. XIX cos. III p. p. a Bracara Aug. . . . ale M. P. XXXV.* 11 Murat. p. 147. 5 Lavinia: *Imp. Cæs. divi Trajani Part. f. divi Nervæ n. Trajanus Hadrianus Aug. pont. max. trib. pot. XX cos. III p. p. J. S. M. R. statuam ex donis aureis et arg. vetustate corruptis fieri et consecrari jussit ex auri P. III et arg. P. CCVI.* 12 Murat. p. 2008. 6 Aquis Flaviis in Lusitania: *Imp. Cæs. Trajanus Hadrianus Aug. p. m. trib. pot. XX refecit Aquis Flavis M. P. II.*<sup>f</sup> 13 Gruter p. 252. 1 in Transilvania: *Imp. Cæs. divi Trajani Parth. fil. divi Nervæ nepotis [lege nepoti] Trajano Hadriano Aug. pont. max. trib. pot. XXII [lege XXI] imp. II cos. III Messius Rusticus curator alvei et riparum Tiberis [sic lege cum Gudio ex Grutero p. 197. 5] et cloacarum urbis.* 14 Murat. p. 1030. 6 in vico Genevensis agri: *Imp. Cæs. Trajano Hadriano Aug. p. m. trib. pot. cos. III p. p. Aventicum M. P. XXXXI.* 15 Murat. p. 524. 3 Collegium lenunculariorum Cære: *Imp. Cæsare Ælio Hadriano Aug. cos. III p. p. mag. lenuncular. Cære imm. anno VIII. nomine mag. liber. et servorum Aug. N. D. L. Lutatius L. lib. Philadelphus &c.* 16 Murat. p. 2008. 1 in Lusitania: *Imp. Cæsari Trajano Hadriano Aug. pont. max. trib. pot. cos. III imp. V [lege cum Muratorio imp. II] a Bracara M. R. M. P. VIII.* In N<sup>o</sup>. 2 we must omit *p. p.*

17 Muratori p. 115. 1 Palmyræ: *Διὲ μέγιστῳ κεραυνίῳ ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας Τρα. Ἀδριανοῦ σεβ. τοῦ κυρίου Ἀγαθάγγελος Ἀβιληνὸς τῆς δεκαπόλεως τὴν καμάραν ῥοδόμησεν καὶ τὴν κλίνην ἐξ ἰδίων ἀνέθηκεν ἔτους εἰς μηνὸς Λῶον.* *Lous* the 10th month of the year of the *Seleucidæ* 445 fell upon Aug. A. D. 134. 18 Muratori p. 1019. 1 Coreyræ: *Ἀδριανοῦ Βουμίου αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Σεβαστὸν Τραϊανὸν Ἀδριανὸν θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ υἱὸν θεοῦ Νέρβα υἱωνὸν ὑπατοῦ τὸ Ε [lege τὸ Γ] ἡ πόλις τῶν Ἀβραετῶν ἀνάθηκε [sic] ἐπίγραμμα ἔτους Δαμονίς [f. Δαμονίδα] τοῦ Ἀριστέα.* 19 Murat. p. 234. 2 Athenis: *αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Τραϊανὸν Ἀδριανὸν Ὀλύμπιον τὸν σωτῆρα τοῦ πάππου ἡμῶν Φιλήμονος Φιλήμων καὶ Πάσιππος καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος τὸν ἴδιον εὐεργέτην δι' ἐπιμελητοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς Πολυούχου Καρτιδάμαντος.* 20 Murat. p. 235. 2 Athenis: *σωτῆρι καὶ κτίστῃ αὐτοκράτορι Ἀδριανῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ.* 21 Idem p. 235. 5 Athenis: *αὐτοκράτορα Τραϊανὸν Ἀδριανὸν Ὀλύμπιον Καίσαρα Σεβαστὸν Σήστιοι κ. τ. λ.* 22 Murat. p. 235. 4 Athenis: *αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα κ. τ. λ.—Ὀλύμπιον πατέρα πατρίδος τὸν σωτῆρα τοῦ κόσμου Ἀνέμου τῆς Κιλικίας ἢ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος διὰ πρεσβευτῶν Π. Αἰλίον Καϊώλου καὶ Γαίον τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου.* 23 Murat. p. 235. 3 Smyrnæ: *αὐτοκράτορι Ἀδριανῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ σωτῆρι καὶ κτίστῃ.*

<sup>e</sup> Referred to in the Tables A. D. 119. 4.

<sup>f</sup> Compare a similar, perhaps the same, inscription

in Gruter p. 156. 4 given in the Tables A. D. 136. 2.

<sup>g</sup> See the Tables A. D. 121 for Gruter p. 197. 5.



HADRIANUS. 24 Murat. p. 236. 2 apud Mytilenem: αὐτοκράτορι Τραϊανῶ Ἀδριανῶ Καίσαρι Σεβαστῶ ἐλευθερίῳ Ὀλυμπίῳ κτίστῃ Διὶ χαριστήριον. 25 Murat. p. 1993. 3 in insula Cios: Καίσαρα Τραϊανὸν Ἀδριανὸν Σεβαστὸν Μ. Οὐλπίος Λούγιος ὁ δὲ ἱερεὺς αὐτοῦ. 26 Add the following apud Murat. p. 236. 4 bearing *trib. pot. XII* and *p. p.* In Hispania: *Imp. Cæs. divi Trajani Aug. cos. VI f. divi Nervæ cos. III [IIII cum Murat.] trib. p. II nepoti Trajano Hadriano Aug. pont. max. tribun. pot. XII p. p. cos. III Marcus Messius Rusticus Æmilius Papus Arius Proculus Julius Celsus Sodal. . . Augustal. IIII vir viarum curandarum tr. mil. leg. III Aug. pr. pr. provinc. Africæ trib. pleb. pr. peregrin. curator viæ Aureliæ leg. leg. Aug. XX V. V. optimo principi.* 27 To Ælius: Muratori p. 238. 6 L. Ælio Cæsari imp. Cæs. Trajani Hadriani Aug. pont. max. trib. pot. XXI imp. II cos. III p. p. filio divi Trajani Parthici nepoti divi Nervæ . . . . . 28 An inscription to Ælius at Beyjik near Hadriani is given in Mr. Hamilton's Asia Minor Vol. 2 Appendix N<sup>o</sup>. 2: Αἴλιον Καίσαρα αὐτοκράτορος Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ υἱὸν θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ υἱωνὸν θεοῦ Νέρονα ἔκγονον δημαρχικῆς ἔξουσίας, ὑπατου τὸ β', Ἀττίνας Γλαύκωνος στρατηγῶν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέστησεν. Set up in A. D. 137. L. Ælius Commodus Cæsar, described in the Tables A. D. 135—138, was born Jan. 13: *Natales Cæsarum apud Bucherium p. 276 L. Ælii Cæsaris Idibus Januarii.*

Hadrian's origin is described by Spartianus c. 1 *Origo imperatoris Hadriani vetustior a Picentibus, posterior ab Hispaniensibus manat: siquidem Adria ortos majores suos apud Italicam Scipionum temporibus resedisse in libris vitæ suæ Hadrianus ipse commemorat. Hadrianus in vita sua* is quoted again Spartian. c. 7.

Hadrian is prætor *Sura bis Serviano iterum coss.* Spartian. c. 3. See on this Salmas. ad p. 37 Tillemont tom. 2 p. 510.

*Epistola Hadriani* apud Vopiscum Saturnino c. 8 p. 959 *Ex libris Phlegontis liberti ejus prodita: Hadrianus Aug. Serviano cos. S. Ægyptum quam mihi laudabas, Serviane carissime, totam didici levem, pendulam, et ad omnia famæ momenta volitantem. Illi qui Serapin colunt Christiani sunt et devoti sunt Serapi qui se Christi episcopus dicunt. Nemo illic archisynagogus Judæorum, nemo Samarites, nemo Christianorum presbyter non mathematicus, non aruspex, non aliptes. Ipse ille patriarcha quum Ægyptum venerit ab aliis Serapidem adorare, ab aliis cogitur Christum. genus hominum seditiosissimum vanissimum &c. Utinam melius esset morata civitas digna profecto quæ pro sua profunditate [pro sui magnitudine] totius Ægypti teneat principatum. Huic ego cuncta concessi, vetera privilegia reddidi, nova sic addidi ut præsentī gratias agerent. Denique ut primum inde discessi, et in filium meum Verum multa dixerunt, et de Antonino quæ dixerint comperisse te credo.—Calices tibi allassontes versicolores transmisi quos mihi sacerdos templi obtulit, tibi et sorori meæ specialiter dedicatos, quos tu velim festis diebus convivis adhibeas.* As Servianus was consul Jan. A. D. 134, Tillemont tom. 2 p. 248. 526 is at a loss to reconcile the date of this letter with the time of Hadrian's visit to Egypt. And Eckhel tom. 6 p. 489 from the words *Verum filium* is in difficulty; for *Verus* was adopted in 135. But Hadrian could not address that letter to Servianus after the adoption of Verus, as appears from Dio quoted in the Tables at 136. He calls him *filium* therefore on this occasion as a term only of affection, as Tillemont understands it, p. 526. But Hadrian had quitted Egypt 3 years before the consulship of Servianus<sup>h</sup>. It is probable then that this letter was written where Scaliger places it ad Euseb. p. 209, in the year 132. The address of the letter is therefore either interpolated, and might have stood thus: *Hadrianus Aug. Serviano S.* or mutilated, and might have been *Hadrianus Aug. [sc. Augurino] et Sergiano coss. Serviano S. Hadrianus Serviano S.* might be the simple address, as *Trajanus Plinio S.* in the letters of Trajan.

The rescript of Hadrian in favour of the Christians, alluded to by Justin Martyr Apolog. I. 68 cir. A. D. 150, is given in Justin I. 69 and from thence in Euseb. H. E. IV. 9. Melito Apolog.

<sup>h</sup> See the Tables A. D. 131. 2. 134. 1.

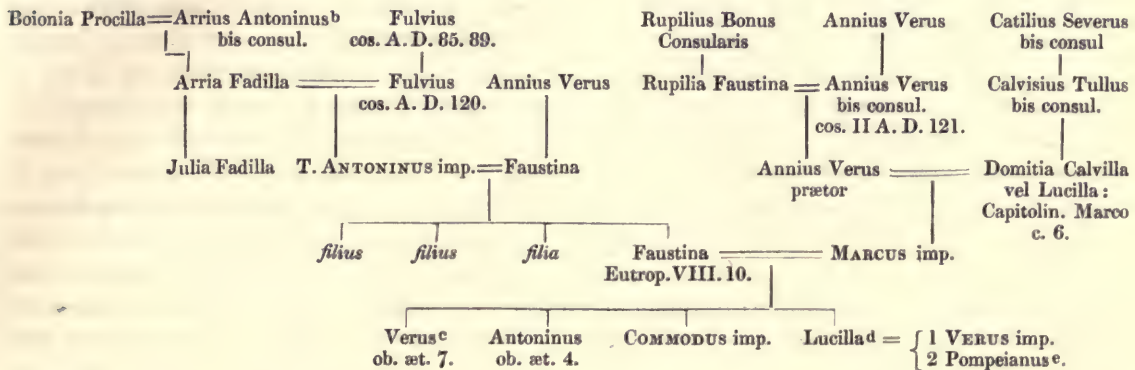


apud Euseb. IV. 26 ὁ μὲν πάππος σου Ἀδριανὸς πολλοῖς μὲν καὶ ἄλλοις καὶ Φουνδάνῳ δὲ τῷ ἀνθυπάτῳ HADRIANUS. ἡγουμένῳ τῆς Ἀσίας γράφων φαίνεται.

Athenæus VIII p. 361 F mentions a temple of Fortune erected by *Hadrian* and a festival, τὰ Ῥωμαῖα, formerly the *Parilia*: ἐορτὴ τὰ Παρίλια μὲν πάλαι καλούμενα, νῦν δὲ Ῥωμαῖα, τῇ τῆς πόλεως Τύχῃ ναοῦ καθιδρυμένου ὑπὸ τοῦ πάντ' ἀρίστου καὶ μουσικωτάτου βασιλέως Ἀδριανοῦ.

T. ANTONINUS<sup>a</sup>.

T. ANTONINUS



The beneficent acts of *Antoninus* in Greece Ionia and other countries are recorded by Pausanias VIII. 43, 3.

*Antoninus* in the reign of *Hadrian* was proconsul of Asia: Capitolin. Pio c. 3 *Proconsulatum Asiæ sic egit ut solus avum vinceret*<sup>ce</sup>. In the time of the Sophist *Polemo*: Philostrat. V. S. I. 25, 3 p. 534 ἤρξε μὲν γὰρ πάσης ὁμοῦ Ἀσίας ὁ Ἀντωνίνος, καὶ κατέλυσε ἐν τῇ τοῦ Πολέμωνος οἰκίᾳ, ὡς ἀρίστη τῶν κατὰ τὴν Σμύρναν καὶ ἀρίστου ἀνδρός. And of *Herodes Atticus*: Idem V. S. II. 1, 8

<sup>a</sup> Capitolin. Pio c. 1 *Tito Aurelio Fulvio Boionio Antonino Pio paternum genus e Gallia Transalpina Nemausense scilicet. Avus Titus Aurelius Fulvius qui per honores diversos ad secundum consulatum et præfecturam urbis pervenit. pater Aurelius Fulvius qui et ipse fuit consul, homo castus et integer. avia materna Boionia Procilla, mater Arria Fadilla [conf. Muratorium p. 572. 1] avus maternus Arrius Antoninus bis consul, homo sanctus, et qui Nervam miseratus esset quod imperare cœpisset. soror uterina Julia Fadilla, vitricus Julius Lupus consularis. socer Annii Verus, uxor Annia Faustina. filii mares duo, duæ feminae. gener per majorem filiam Lamia Syllanus, per minorem Marcus Antoninus fuere. Idem Marco c. 1 Marco Antonino—pater Annii Verus qui in prætura decessit, avus Annii Verus, item consul et præfectus urbi, adscitus in patricios a principibus Vespasiano et Tito censoribus. patruus Annii Libo consul, amita Galeria Faustina Augusta, mater Domitia Calvilla Calvisii Tulli bis consulis filia. proavus paternus Annii Verus prætorius ex Succubitano municipio ex Hispania factus senator, proavus maternus Catilius Severus bis consul et præfectus urbi, avia paterna Rupilia Faustina Rupilius Boni consularis filia, fuere.*

<sup>b</sup> Proconsul of Asia in the time of Pliny: Plin. Ep. IV. 3 *Antonino suo S. Quod semel atque iterum*

*consul fuisti, similis antiquis: quod proconsul Asiæ qualis ante te qualis post te vix unus aut alter &c.*

<sup>c</sup> Capitolin. Marco c. 21 *Filium nomine Verum Cæsarem—septennem amisit.* Herodian. I. 2 τῷ βασιλεύοντι Μάρκῳ θυγατέρες μὲν ἐγένοντο πλείους ἄρρενες δὲ δύο. τῶν δὲ ἄρρέων τούτων ὁ μὲν ἕτερος κομιδῇ νέος τὸν βίον μετέλλαξε· Βηρίσσιμος δ' ἦν ὄνομα αὐτῷ. The twin brother of *Commodus* (see the Tables A. D. 161) died at 4 years old: Lamprid. *Commodo c. 1 Quum autem (Faustina) peperisset Commodum atque Antoninum, Antoninus quadrimus est elatus.* On the three sons of *Marcus* see Casaubon ad Lampridium p. 92. On the daughters of *Marcus* see Maio ad Frontonem p. 174. Maio enumerates 1 *Lucilla* the wife of *Verus*. 2 *Vibia Aurelia Sabina* apud Gruterum p. 252. 8. 3 *Fadilla* apud Muratorium p. 242. 3. [add p. 590. 4.] 4. *Domitia Faustina* apud Mabillonium *Analect. Vet.* p. 363. [and in Gruter p. 260. 13.] *Marcus* himself apud Frontonem Ep. I. 5 p. 50 mentions his daughters: *Parvula nostræ nunc apud Matidiam in oppido hospitantur.*

<sup>d</sup> Gruter p. 1065. 8 Romæ: *Magnæ Matri Lucilla Aug.* On her marriage with *Verus* see Eutropius VIII. 10 Capitolinus Marco c. 9 Dio 71. 1.

<sup>e</sup> On *Pompeianus* see Dio 73. 3 A. D. 193.

<sup>ce</sup> See above, note <sup>b</sup>.

T. ANTONINUS p. 554 οἱ δὲ ποιούμενοι κατηγορίαν τῶν Ἡρώδου χειρῶν ὡς ἐπενεχθεισῶν Ἀντωνίνῳ ἐν τῇ Ἰδῆ τῷ ὄρει κατὰ χρόνους οὓς ὁ μὲν τῶν ἐλευθέρων πόλεων ὁ δὲ πασῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἦρχον, κ. τ. λ.<sup>f</sup>

*Antoninus* is said to have given salaries to learned men: Capitolin. Pio c. 11 *Rhetoribus et philosophis per omnes provincias et honores et salaria detulit*ε.

#### Inscriptions.

1 Muratori p. 188. 5 Romæ: *Imp. Cæsari divi Hadriani f. divi Trajani Parthici nep. divi Nervæ pron. T. Ælio Hadrian. Antonin. Aug. Pio pont. max. trib. pot. II cos. II p. p. fratri arvali.*  
 2 Murat. p. 453. 5 In portu Puteolano: *Imp. Cæsar divi Adriani [sic] fil. divi Trajani Parthici nepos divi Nervæ pronepos T. Ælius Adrianus Antoninus Aug. Pius pont. max. trib. pot. II cos. II designat. III &c.* Given in the Tables A. D. 139. 4 from Gruter p. 163. 9, who has rightly *Hadrianus.* 3 Murat. p. 1106. 7 in Catalonia: *Imp. Cæsari divi Hadriani fil. divi Trajani Partic. nepoti divi Nervæ pronep. T. Ælio Antonino Aug. Pio pont. max. trib. potestat. cos. II desig. III P. D. D. municipi F. Egara.* 4 Muratori p. 1078. 7 Sardibus: ἀποκράτορα Καίσαρα θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ υἱὸν θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ υἱωνόν Τ. Αἴλιον Ἀδριανὸν Ἀντωνεῖνον Εὐσεβῆ Σεβαστὸν δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας β' ὑπατον τρίτον πατέρα πατρῆδος ἢ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος τῶν Σαρδιανῶν ἐτείμησαν ἥρωα εὐνοίας αὐτοῦ χάρι. 5 Muratori p. 238. 1 in ponte oppidi Limosani: *Imp. Cæsari divi Hadriani fil. divi Trajani Parthici nep. divi Nervæ pron. T. Ælio Hadriano Antonino Aug. Pio pont. max. trib. pot. III cos. III p. p. Q. Parius Q. f. Vol. seviri ob honor. quinquen. de H-S. IIII M. N. ex D. D. cujus dedicat. epulum dedit decur. et Augustal. sing. H-S VIII magist. H-S. III plebi H-S. II N.* 6 Muratori p. 454. 3 Pisis: *Imp. Cæs. T. Æl. Hadrianus Antoninus Aug. Pius p. m. tr. pot. VI cos. III imp. II p. p. viam Æmiliam vetustate delapsam operibus ampliatis restituendam cur. a Roma M. P. CLXXXVIII.* 7 Murat. p. 237. 4 in arce Transmutensi: *Imp. Cæsari divi Hadriani fil. &c. T. Aelio Hadriano Antonino Aug. Pio pontifici maximo tribuniciæ potestatis cos. III p. p. ala I Augusta Thracum optimo principi.* 8 Muratori p. 454. 2 Cilleiæ: *Imp. Cæsar T. Ælius Hadrianus Antoninus Aug. Pius p. p. pontifex maximus trib. potestatis imp. II cos. III. VI.* 9 Murat. p. 1032. 4 in Frentanis: *Imp. Cæsari T. Ælio Hadriano divi f. Antonino Pio Felici Augusto p. m. trib. pot. VIII [lege VII] cos. III Bucani ob merita P.* 10 Murat. p. 454. 1 Gallicani in via Prænestina: *Lap. XIII. Imp. Cæsari divi Hadriani fil. &c. T. Ælio Hadriano Antonino Aug. Pio pontifici max. trib. pot. VI [lege VII] imp. II cos. designat. IIII p. p. cur. viat. C. Valerius . . . Victor C. Torranus . . . Felix C. Lænatus . . . Castor P. Cæsius . . . Pœna IIIIvir. . . con.* Muratorius: "Donius legit trib. pot. VI Imp. IIII cos. II. Spectat inscriptio ad A. C. 145." But *cos. des. IIII* requires *trib. pot. VII* and belongs to A. D. 144. The numbers of Donius are impossible. In N<sup>o</sup>. 9 we must also read *trib. pot. VII*, which is required by *cos. III*. The numbers *trib. pot. VIII* and *cos. III* cannot stand together because the 8th tribunician year began in the 4th consulship, either at Feb. 25 (see the Tables A. D. 138) or at Jan. 1 (see the Tables A. D. 161).

11 The inscription given in the Tables A. D. 140. 4 entire from Panvinius is given imperfectly by Gruter p. 253. 8 Pisis: . . . *relio [lege Aelio] Hadriano Antonino Aug. Pio pont. max. trib. pot. II cos. III p. p. indulgentiss.* And by Muratori p. 237. 5 Pisis: . . . *nep. T. Ælio Hadriano Antonino Aug. Pio pont. max. trib. potest. III cos. III p. p. indulgentissim.* The number *trib. pot. III*

<sup>f</sup> *Polemo* is described in the Tables at A. D. 133. 135, *Herodes Atticus* at A. D. 143.

<sup>g</sup> This is not inconsistent with what *Victor Cæs.* p. 321 relates of *Hadrian*, or *Dio* 71. 31 of *Marcus Aurelius*, as *Salmasius ad Capitolin.* l. c. appears to suppose. All these emperors encouraged learning,

although *Marcus* might advance the amount of the salary to the 10,000 drachmas of which mention is made by *Philostratus* quoted in the Tables A. D. 179. 3. The passage of *Dio* concerning *Marcus* is given at A. D. 176 p. 172.



is doubtless the true reading, confirmed by Panvinius. If the 2nd tribunician year was current with the third consulship A. D. 140 (as in N<sup>o</sup>. 4), this could only happen from Jan. 1 to Feb. 24.<sup>h</sup>

12 Muratori p. 1047. 3 Nolæ: *Imp. Cæsari divi Hadriani filio divi Trajani Parthici nep. divi Nervæ pronepoti T. Aelio Hadriano Antonino Aug. Pio pont. max. trib. pot. XI cos. III p. p. Formiani publice*<sup>hh</sup>. Muratori by mistake assigns this to *Hadrian*: "Dedicata fuit anno Christi 127 aut 128." But this inscription belongs to the 11th tribunician year of *Antoninus* A. D. 148, and we must read *cos. IIII*. 13 Muratori p. 238. 2 in Piceno: *Imp. Cæsari divi Hadriani filio &c. T. Aelio Hadriano Antonino Aug. Pio pontif. max. trib. pot. XII imp. II cos. IIII p. p. pueri et puellæ . . . . . ent . . . . . ri . . . . .*— 14 p. 238. 3 Urbini: *T. Aeli Had. . . . . Antonini . . . . . Pii pont. m . . . . . trib. pote . . . . . imp. II cos. IIII p. p. filio pueri et puellæ alimentari*. 15 Idem p. 453. 7 Narbone: *Imp. Cæs. divi Hadri . . . . . Trajani Parthici ne . . . . . pronepos T. Aelius H . . . . . Aug. Pius pont. maxi . . . . . imp. II cos. IIII p. p. th . . . . . consumptas cum por . . . . . et basilicis et omni c . . . . . sua r . . . .* 16 Muratori p. 684. 5 Albacinæ: *C. Cæcio C. f. Ouf. Silvestri p. p. patr. munic. curator viarum et pontium Umbricæ et Piceni allecto ab optimo imp. T. Aelio Antonino Aug. Pio p. p. imp. II liberti patrono optimo ac dignissimo L. D. D. D.*

17 Gruter p. 161. 4 Cyperani: *Imp. Cæsar divi Hadriani filius divi Trajani Parthici nepos &c. T. Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius pontifex maximus tribunic. potest. IIII [III Wouw.] cos. IIII [III Wouw.] p. p. opus pontis vetustate conlaps. restituit*. Grævius adds: "Lapis ipse, teste Gudio, *cos. II imp. IIII p. p. Optime*." The numbers *trib. pot. III cos. III* may stand, but *tr. p. IIII cos. IIII* and *cos. II imp. IIII* are equally inadmissible.

18 Muratori p. 238. 4 Sestini: *Divo Antonino Aug. Pio alimentari*. 19 Idem 238. 5 Romæ: *Divo Antonino Augusto Pio Antoninus Augustus et Verus Augustus filii*. 20 Idem p. 239. 1 Pæsti: *Divi Pii ob plurima beneficia ejus erga patriam D. D. P. P. populo postulante*.

21 Muratori p. 239. 2 Pisauri: *Divæ Faustine Augustæ D. D.* 22 Idem p. 239. 3 Romæ: *Divæ Faustine Augustæ imp. Cæsaris T. Aeli Hadriani Antonini Aug. Pii pont. maximi trib. pot. IIII cos. III p. p. Faustina died in the 4th tribunician year: see the Tables A. D. 141.* 23 Gruter p. 261. 1 *Divæ Faustine Aug. imp. Cæsar. T. Aeli Hadriani Antonini Aug. Pii p. p. D. D.*<sup>i</sup>

## MARCUS AURELIUS.

MARCUS AU-  
RELIUS.

Capitolin. Aurel. c. 4 *Hadrianus octavo ætatis anno [A. D. 128] in Saliorum collegium retulit. Virilem togam sumpsit quinto decimo ætatis anno [A. D. 135] statimque ei L. Ceionii Commodi filia desponsata est, ex Hadriani voluntate*. Idem c. 5 *Octavo decimo ætatis anno [A. D. 138] adoptatus, in secundo consulatu Antonini [A. D. 139]—quæstor est designatus*. Idem c. 6 *Adhuc quæstorem [A. D. 139] et consulem secum Pius Marcum designavit et Cæsaris appellatione donavit*.

The miraculous rain of the year 174 is thus attested: Dio 71. 8 *νίκη παράδοξος ἠτύχηθη, μάλλον δὲ παρὰ θεοῦ ἐδωρήθη. κινδυνεύσαντας γὰρ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους παραδοξότατα τὸ θεῖον ἐξέσωσε. —κ. τ. λ. νέφη πολλὰ ξηραίνης συνέδραμε καὶ ὑετὸς πολὺς οὐκ ἄθειε κατερράγη. καὶ γὰρ τοι λόγος ἔχει Ἄρνούφιν τινα μάγον Αἰγύπτιον συνόντα τῷ Μάρκῳ ἄλλους τέ τινας δαίμονας καὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆν τὸν ἀέριον ὅτι μάλιστα μαγγανείαις τισὶν ἐπικαλέσασθαι, καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τὸν ὄμβρον ἐπισπάσασθαι. c. 10 προστίθησι δὲ ὁ Δίων ὅτι τοῦ ὄμβρου καταρραγέντος πρῶτον μὲν ἄνω πάντες ἀνέκλυτον καὶ ἐς τὰ στόματα αὐτῶν ἐδέχοντο, ἔπειτα οἱ μὲν τὰς ἀσπίδας οἱ δὲ καὶ τὰ κράνη ὑποβάλλοντες κ. τ. λ.—κὰν ἔπαθόν τι δεινὸν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπικειμένων αὐτοῖς περὶ τὸ πίνειν οἱ πλείους ἡσχολημένοι, εἰ μὴ χάλαζα ἰσχυρὰ καὶ κεραυνοὶ*

<sup>h</sup> That the tribunician years of *Pius* were reckoned from Jan. 1 at the close of his reign is reasonably concluded by Eckhel quoted at A. D. 161. But it seems from Muratori p. 1078. 7 that they still commenced at Feb. 25 in A. D. 140, and that the change was made afterwards.

<sup>hh</sup> See Panvinius in the Tables 148. 2.

<sup>i</sup> An inscription in Muratori p. 454. 4 in agro Nemausensi bearing *tr. p. VIII imp. II cos. IIII* has been given already in the Tables A. D. 145 from Gruter p. 190. 11.



MARCUS  
AURELIUS.

οὐκ ὀλίγοι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνέπεσον. ἦν οὖν ὄραν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χωρίῳ ὕδωρ τε ἄμα καὶ πῦρ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φερόμενα, καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑγραίνοντό τε καὶ ἔπιον οἱ δὲ ἐπυροῦντο καὶ ἐθνησκον. καὶ οὐ τε τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὸ πῦρ ἦπτετο, ἀλλ' εἴ πον καὶ προσέμιξε σφίσιν εὐθὺς ἐσβέννυτο, οὔτε τοὺς βαρβάρους ὁ ἕτερος ὠφέλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ μᾶλλον τὴν φλόγα αὐτῶν, ὥσπερ ἔλαιον, ἤγειρεν. ὕδωρ τε ὑόμενοι ἐζήτουν. κ. τ. λ.—ἠλέησε γοῦν αὐτοὺς καὶ ὁ Μάρκος. Capitolin. Marco c. 24 *Fulmen de caelo precibus suis Marcus contra hostium machinamentum extorsit, suis pluvia impetrata quum siti laborarent.* Themistius Or. 15 p. 191 B mistaking Marcus for Pius: Ἀντωνίω τῷ Ῥωμαίων αυτοκράτορι, ᾧ τοῦτο αὐτὸ ἐπώνυμον ὁ Εὐσεβὴς ἦν, τοῦ στρατεύματος ὑπὸ δίψους αὐτῷ πιεζομένου, ἀνασχῶν τῷ χεῖρι ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν κ. τ. λ.—καὶ οὕτω κατήδεσε τὸν θεὸν τῇ εὐχῇ ὥστε ἐξ αἰθρίας ἦκον νεφέλαι ὑδροφοροῦσαι τοῖς στρατιώταις. καὶ εἶδον ἐγὼ ἐν γραφῇ εἰκόνα τοῦ ἔργου, τὸν μὲν αυτοκράτορα προσευχόμενον ἐν τῇ φάλαγγι τοὺς στρατιώτας δὲ τὰ κράνη τῷ ὄμβρῳ ὑποτιθέοντας καὶ ἐμπιπλαμένους τοῦ νάματος τοῦ θεοσδότου. Idem Or. 34 c. 21 φιλοτιμούμαι πρὸς τὸν Ἀντωνῖνον· ἐκεῖνος ὕδωρ ἐπηγάγετο ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ δίψει τῆς φάλαγγος πιεζομένης. Claudian. VI Cons. Hon. 342 *Laus ibi nulla ducum, nam flammeus imber in hostem Decidit—Tum contenta polo mortalis nescia teli Pugna fuit. Chaldaea mago seu carmina ritu Armavere deos, seu (quod reor) omne tonantis Obsequium Marci mores potuere mereri.*

Tertullian Apologet. c. 5 *At nos e contrario edimus protectorem Christianorum, si litteræ M. Aurelii gravissimi imperatoris requirantur, quibus illam Germanicam sitim Christianorum forte militum precationibus impetrato imbre discussam contestatur.* Ad Scapulam c. 4 *M. quoque Aurelius in Germanica expeditione Christianorum militum orationibus ad Deum factis imbres in siti illa impetravit.* Eusebius: Anno 2188 Antoninus imp. frequentibus bellis implicitus modo per se ipse rem gerebat modo duces copiarum mittebat. Jam vero quum Pertinax ejusque comitatus inter Quados siti vehementi laborassent, Christianorum militum precibus imber impetratus est, contra hostes Germanos autem atque Sarmatas fulmina delapsa sunt multosque ex iis occiderunt. *Fama est quasdam etiam exstare Marci imp. literas* [Chron. Pasch. p. 261 A λέγεται δὲ ὡς καὶ ἐπιστολαὶ φέρονται. Hieronymus: *Exstant litteræ M. Aurelii gravissimi imperatoris &c. ex Tertulliano*] *quibus ipse testatur copias suas jamjam perituras Christianorum precibus fuisse servatas.* Idem H. E. V. 5 λόγος ἔχει—δίψει πιεζομένης τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐν ἀμηχανίᾳ γενέσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Μελιτιῆς οὕτω καλουμένης λεγεῶνος στρατιώτας διὰ πίστεως ἐξ ἐκεῖνου καὶ εἰς δεῦρο συνεστῶσης ἐν τῇ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους παρατάξει γόνυ θέντας ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν κατὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον ἡμῖν τῶν εὐχῶν ἔσθαι ἐπὶ τὰς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἰκεσίας τραπέσθαι· παραδόξον δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις τοῦ τοιοῦτου δὴ θεάματος φανέντος, ἄλλο τι λόγος ἔχει παραδοξότερον ἐπικαταλαβεῖν αὐτίκα, σκηπτὸν μὲν εἰς φυγὴν καὶ ἀπώλειαν συνελαύνοντα τοὺς πολεμίους ὄμβρον δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν τῷ θεῷ παρακεκληκότων στρατιᾶν, πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ἐκ τοῦ δίψους μέλλουσαν ὅσον οὕτω διαφθαρήσθαι, ἀνακτώμενον. ἡ δὲ ἱστορία φέρεται μὲν καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πόρρω τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς λόγου συγγραφεῦσιν—δεδηλωται δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἡμετέρων. ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ξεθθεν ἱστορικοῖς ἅτε τῆς πίστεως ἀνοικείοις τέθειται μὲν τὸ παράδοξον, οὐ μὴν καὶ ταῖς τῶν ἡμετέρων εὐχαῖς τοῦτο ὁμολογήθη γεγενῆσθαι. τοῖς δὲ γε ἡμετέροις, ἅτε ἀληθείας φίλοις, ἀπλῶ καὶ ἀκακοήθει τρόπῳ τὸ πραχθὲν παραδέδοται. τούτων δ' ἂν εἴη καὶ Ἀπολιwάριος, ἐξ ἐκεῖνου φήσας τὴν δι' εὐχῆς τὸ παράδοξον πεποιηκυῖαν λεγεῶνα οἰκείαν τῷ γεγονότι πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως εἰληφέναι προσηγορίαν, κεραυνοβόλον τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐπικληθείσαν φωνῇ· μάρτυς δὲ τούτων γένοιτ' ἂν ἀξιόχρεως ὁ Τερτυλλιανὸς κ. τ. λ.—ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὅπη τις ἐθέλη τιθέσθω. Orosius VII. 15 *ad invocationem nominis Christi, quam subito magna fidei constantia quidam milites effusi in preces palam fecerunt, tanta vis pluviae effusa est ut Romanos quidem largissime refecerit &c.—gloriosissimam victoriam—rudī parvoque militum numero sed potentissimo Christi auxilio reportarunt. Exstare etiam nunc apud plerosque dicuntur litteræ imperatoris Antonini, ubi invocatione nominis Christi per milites Christianos et sitim illam depulsam et collatam fatetur fuisse victoriam.* Xiphilinus apud Dionem 71. 9 ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τούτων ὁ Δίων φησὶν, εἰκοι δὲ ψεῦδεσθαι—ὅστις οὐκ ἠγνῶει τὸ τάγμα τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὸ κεραυνοβόλον ἰδίως καλούμενον (ἐν γὰρ τῷ τῶν λοιπῶν καταλόγῳ καὶ αὐτοῦ μνημονεύει), ὅπερ ἀπ' οὐδεμιᾶς ἑτέρας αἰτίας (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλη τις λέγεται) ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ τὸνδε συμβάντος τὸν πόλεμον οὕτω προσηγορεύθη, ὃ καὶ αἰ-



τιον τότε τοῖς τε Ῥωμαίοις τῆς σωτηρίας ἐγένετο καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις τῆς ἀπωλείας, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁ Ἀρνούφιος MARCUS  
AURELIUS.  
ὁ μάγος.—τάγμα ἦν τῷ Μάρκῳ—τῶν ἀπὸ Μελιτηνῆς στρατιωτῶν. εἰσὶ δὲ τὸν Χριστὸν πρεσβεύοντες ἅπαντες. ἐν οὖν τῇ μάχῃ ἐκείνῃ προσιόντα τῷ Μάρκῳ τὸν ἑπαρχον—εἰπεῖν λέγεται ὡς οἱ καλούμενοι Χριστιανοὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὃ τι οὐ δύναται ταῖς εὐχαῖς, καὶ ὅτι παρὰ σφίσι τάγμα ὄλον τυγχάνει ὄν τούτου τοῦ γένους. τὸν οὖν Μάρκον ἀκούσαντα παρακλήσει χρῆσασθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὡς ἂν εὕξωνται τῷ σφετέρῳ Θεῷ. εὐξαμένων δὲ αὐτῶν παραχρῆμα ἐπακούσαντα τὸν θεὸν κ.τ.λ.—ἐφ' οἷς καταπλαγέντα τὸν Μάρκον ἰσχυρῶς τοὺς τε Χριστιανοὺς κατὰ δόγμα τιμῆσαι καὶ τὸν λεγεῶνα κεραυνοβόλον προσαγορεύσαι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἐπιστολὴν τινα περὶ τούτων εἶναι τοῦ Μάρκου. Gregorius Nyssenus tom. 3 p. 505 A—506 A ἦν τι τάγμα στρατιωτικὸν παλαιὸν κατὰ τὴν γείτονα πόλιν παντὸς τοῦ ἔθνους πρὸς τὰς τῶν βαρβάρων ὁρμὰς προκαθήμενον· ἐκείνοις ἐκ τινος προὔπαρχούσης θεόθεν ἐπιφανείας πλείον ἢ πίστις τῶν τακτικῶν ἐσπουδάζετο—συστάντος γὰρ αὐτοῖς ποτε τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους πολέμου καὶ τῶν ἐπικαίρων πάντων προκαταληφθέντων ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν ἐναντιῶν στρατιάς—εἰς ἔσχατον ἐλθόντες κίνδυνον, εἴτε δι' ἀπειρίαν τῶν τὰ ἡμέτερα στρατηγούντων, εἴ τε διὰ τινα κρείττονα καὶ θειοτέραν οἰκονομίαν, ὡς ἂν μάλιστα καὶ διὰ τούτου φανεῖη τῶν Χριστιανῶν τὸ πρὸς τὸν ἀλλοφύλους διάφορον,—τότε καταλιπόντες οἱ γενναῖοι τὴν ἐκ τῶν ὄπλων βοήθειαν ἐγνωσαν τὴν ἄμαχον καὶ ἀκαταγώνιστον ἐν τοῖς φοβεροῖς ἐπικαλέσασθαι συμμαχίαν. ἀφέντες γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τοὺς μήπω παραδεδεγμένους τὴν πίστιν καὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἰδιάσαστες μιμοῦνται τὴν ἐπὶ Ἑλλοῦ τοῦ προφήτου γενομένην θαυματουργίαν, κοινῇ τῇ φωνῇ καὶ συντεταγμένη λύσιν αὐτοῖς ἐξ ἀμυγδαλῶν γενέσθαι τῆς συμφορᾶς αἰτησάμενοι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἠύχοντο, ἡ δὲ εὐχὴ παραχρῆμα ἔργον ἐγένετο κ.τ.λ. τούτοις δὲ τοῖς διὰ τῶν εὐχῶν παραταξαμένοις ἰκανὸν πρὸς ἀμφοτέρα γενέσθαι, πρὸς τε τὴν νίκην τῶν ἀντιτεταγμένων καὶ πρὸς τὴν παραμυθίαν τῆς δόξης, τῆς τῶν χειμάρρων ἀπορροῆς ἀφθόνως αὐτοῖς τὸν ποτὸν χορηγούσης.

We may remark, 1 The assertion of Tertullian is not true, that *Marcus* favoured the Christians either before or after A. D. 174.

2 The *legio fulminatrix* was so called in the reign of *Trajan*: Inscriptio apud Gruterum p. 193. 3 Scaligerum ad Euseb. p. 223 Q. *Petronius C. f. Pub. Modestus p. p. bis leg. XII Fulm. et leg. I Adjutric. trib. mil. coh. V Vic. tr. coh. XII urb. tr. coh. V pr. pr. divi Nervæ et imp. Cæs. Nervæ Trajani Aug. Germ. provin. Hispaniæ citer. Asturiæ et Gallæciarum flamen divi Clav. dedit idemque dedicavit.* And in the time of *Augustus*: Dio 55. 23 τὸ δωδέκατον—τὸ Κεραυνοφόρον<sup>k</sup>.

3 The narrative grows as it proceeds. A small number of Christian soldiers; then an entire Christian legion and a Christian commander; and in Gregory supernatural agency.

4 The letter ad calcem *Justini Martyris* is forged<sup>1</sup>. And the inscription itself would be a proof: *Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μ. Αὐρ. Ἀντωνίνος Γερμανικὸς Παρθικὸς Σαρματικὸς.* For the titles *Parthicus* and *Sarmaticus* had been laid aside in the year 169<sup>m</sup>.

5 The Rescript of *Marcus* in favour of the Christians is given to *Pius* by some and to *Marcus* by others: Apud *Justini* Apol. I. 70 *αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Τίτος Αἴλιος Ἀδριανὸς Ἀντωνίνος σεβαστὸς εὐσεβῆς ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ιε', ὑπάτος τὸ γ', πατὴρ πατρίδος, τῷ κοινῷ τῆς Ἀσίας χαίρειν.*—Eusebius H. E. IV. 12. 13 ascribes the edict to *Pius*, and yet gives the following inscription: *αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος σεβαστὸς Ἀρμένιος ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ πέμπτον καὶ δέκατον, ὑπάτος τὸ τρίτον, τῷ κοινῷ τῆς Ἀσίας χαίρειν.* *Rufinus: Imp. Cæsar M. Aurel. Antoninus Augustus Armenicus pontifex maximus trib. pot. XV cos. III. Armenicus* is in edd. Zimmerman. et Heinechen. Stroth omits Ἀρμενικὸς, but without assigning a reason. Chron. Pasch. p. 259 D places the rescript in the 10th year of *Marcus* *coss. Prisco et Apollinari*, and also omits *Armenicus*: *αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μ. Αὐρ. Ἀντωνίνος σεβαστὸς δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ιε' ὑπάτος τὸ γ'.* But that Ἀρμενικὸς was in Eusebius appears from *Rufinus*.

<sup>k</sup> Conf. Reimar. ad Dionem p. 795 n. 180.

Capitolinum c. 24 p. 207 Reimar. ad Dionem p. 1184.

<sup>1</sup> Conf. Scaliger. ad Eusebium p. 223 Salmas. ad

<sup>m</sup> See the Tables A. D. 169. 2.

MARCUS  
AURELIUS

Neither of these titles can be genuine. *Pius* in his 15th tribunician year was *cos. IIII*.<sup>n</sup> *Marcus* in his 15th tribunician year was not *Armenicus*. He assumed that title in the 18th tribunician year<sup>o</sup>. That such an edict was not published by *Pius* is well argued by Valesius ad Euseb. H. E. IV. 13 from the silence of *Melito* apud Euseb. IV. 26 who enumerates many cities, but omits Asia: ὁ δὲ πατὴρ σου ταῖς πόλεσι περὶ τοῦ μηδὲν νεωτερίζειν περὶ ἡμῶν ἔγραψεν ἐν οἷς καὶ πρὸς Λαρισσαλοῦς καὶ πρὸς Θεσσαλωνικεῖς καὶ Ἀθηναίους, καὶ πρὸς πάντας Ἑλληνας. That *Marcus* did not issue such an edict is plain from his conduct to the Christians, whom he persecuted. See on these rescripts Reimar ad Dionem p. 1172. The rescript is ascribed by Mosheim de rebus p. 240 to *Pius*. Other writers doubt this point. Pagi tom. 1 p. 150. 151 states and examines the arguments, and decides in favour of *Marcus*.

The three years mentioned in the Tables A. D. 178 are applied by Capitolinus to the second Marcomannic war, and may be understood of three years current; for *Marcus* died in the third year. But Eutropius VIII. 13 refers this period to the first war: *Cum apud Carnuntum jugi triennio perseverasset, bellum confecit*. And from him Orosius VII. 15 *Marcomannicum bellum non nisi novo delectu militum, quem triennio jugiter apud Carnuntum Marcus habuit, gestum fuisse refertur*. Hieronymus Anno 2194 *De hostibus triumphavit quos per triennium apud Carnuntum habens stativa castra vexaverat*<sup>p</sup>. This might also be true. The first war lasted nine years A. D. 167—175, and 3 years of this period might have been passed in Carnuntum.

#### Inscriptions.

1 Gruter p. 258. 8 Romæ: *M. Aur. Cæsari imp. Cæsaris T. Æli Hadriani Antonini Aug. Pii fil. divi Hadriani nep. divi Trajani pronep. divi Nervæ abnep. cos. Petronius Mamertinus et M. Gavius Maximus pr. pr. tribuni cohortium prætoriarum decem et urbanarum trium centuriones cohortium prætoriarum et urbanarum et statorum evocati cohortes prætoricæ decem et urbanæ X XII XIII centurie statorum optimo ac piissimo*. 2 Muratori p. 1060. 2 in Latio . . . *urelio Cæsari cos.* [add. design. cum Muratorio] *II imp. Cæsaris filii Hadriani Antonini Aug. Pii pontific. maximi tribunic. potest. imp. II cos. III p. p. filio decur. Castri Moiniensium*. 3 Muratori p. 239. 4 in Delmatia: *Marco Ælio Aurelio Vero Cæsari imp. T. Æli Cæsaris Hadriani Antonini Augusti Pii patris patriæ filio divi Hadriani nepoti divi Trojani [sic] Parthici pronepoti divi Nervæ abnepoti con. II decreto decurionum*. 4 Muratori p. 239. 6 Romæ: *M. Aurelio Cæsari cos. II imper. Cæsaris T. Aeli Hadriani Antonini Aug. Pii pontific. maximi tribunic. potest. VIII imp. II cos. IIII* [A. D. 146] *p. p. filio decuriales pullari et H. V.* The preceding in the lifetime of *Pius*.

5 Muratori p. 239. 7 Sestini: *Imp. Cæsari divi Antonini Pii fil. divi Hadriani nep. divi Trajani Parthici pron. divi Nervæ abn. M. Aurelio Antonino Aug. pon. max. trib. pot. XV* [A. D. 161] *cos. III D. D.* 6 Mur. p. 455. 3 Romæ: *Imp. Cæs. M. Aurelius Antoninus Aug. pont. max. trib. potest. XV cos. III imp. Cæs. L. Aurelius Verus Aug. trib. pot. cos. . . terminos vetustate collapsos exaltaverunt et restituerunt proximo termino ped. . . positos ex auctoritate imp. Cæsaris Nervæ Trajani Aug. curante A. Plætorio . . . lote Calphurniano curat. alvei Tiberis et riparum et cloacarum urbis*. 7 Mur. p. 454. 5 Budæ: *Imp. Cæs. M. Aurel. Antonin. Aug. trib. pot. XV cos. III imp. Cæs. L. Aurel. Ver. Aug. trib. pot. I cos. III* [recte Murat. cos. II] *divi Aug. Antonini filii divi Hadriani nepotes divi Trajani Parthici pronepotes divi Nervæ abnepotes ab aq. M. P. . . .* 8 Mur. p. 188. 6 Romæ: *Imp. Cæsari divi Antonini Pii fil. &c. M. Aelio Aurelio Antonino Aug. p. p. [lege p. m.] trib. pot. XVI cos. III fratri arvali*. 9 Mur. p. 240. 2 Hydrunti: *Imp. Cæs. M. Aurelio Antonino Aug. trib. pot. XVI cos. III divi Antonini fil. divi Hadriani nep. divi Trajani Parthici pron. divi Nervæ abnep. publice*. 10 Mur. p. 240. 1 Panormi: *Imp. Cæs. M. Aurelio Antonino divi An-*

<sup>n</sup> Tables A. D. 145. 152. 153.

<sup>o</sup> Tables A. D. 164.

<sup>p</sup> Not in the text of Eusebius. Compare with the Armenian copy Syncellus p. 353 D.



*tonini f. &c. pon. max. trib. p. XVII cos. III R. P. Panhormit.* 11 Mur. p. 240. 4 Camerini: *Imp. Marcus Cæsari M. Aurelio Antonino Augusto Armeniaco trib. pot. XVIII [A. D. 164] imp. II cos. III pont. maximo L. D. D. D. publice.* 12 Mur. p. 240. 6 Romæ: . . . *M. Aurelio Antonino . . . eniaco Medico . . . maximo cos. III . . . us lib. curator . . . salutaris . . . atorum S. P. D. D.* 13 Mur. p. 240. 5 Belluni: *Imp. Cæsari M. Aurelio Antonino Aug. Armeniaco Medico Parthico max. pontif. max. trib. pot. XXI [A. D. 167] imp. IIII cos. III p. p. divi Antonini fil. &c. D. D.* 14 Mur. p. 240. 7 in Casiliano: . . . *Antoninus Aug. Armeniac. Medic. Parthic. maxim. trib. pot. XXIII cos. III p. p.* 15 Mur. p. 455. 1 Salonæ: *Imp. Cæs. M. Aur. Antonino Aug. pont. max. trib. pot. XXIII p. p. coh. I Del. sub cur. Grani Fortunat. trib. coh. ejusdem muri P. DCCC in his turr. una.* 16 Mur. p. 1121. 7 in Transilvania: *Dico Vero Parth. max. fratri imp. Cæsaris M. Aurel. Antonini Aug. Armeniac. Medic. Germ. Parth. max. tribun. potestatis XXVI [A. D. 172] imp. V [lege VI] p. p. cos. III pro cos. colonia Ulpia Trajan. Aug. Dac. Sarmiz. Eghusa.* 17 Mur. p. 455. 2 Arimini: *Imp. Cæsar divi Antonini Pii f. &c. M. Aurelius Antoninus Pius Aug. Germanic. pontif. max. trib. pot. XXVIII imp. VI cos. III p. p. procos. restituit.* 18 Mr. Hamilton Asia Minor Vol. 2 inscriptions N<sup>o</sup>. 54 at Sinope: *T. Germanico Sarmatico p. m. trib. pot. XXV imp. VIII cos. . . Marcus was not Sarmaticus and imp. VIII till the 29th tribunician year<sup>pp</sup>. Wherefore we must read in this inscription trib. pot. XXIX.*

19 Mr. Hamilton Asia Minor Vol. 1 p. 113 Vol. 2 Appendix N<sup>o</sup>. 23 gives an inscription, found 7 miles east of Ushak: ἀγαθὴ τύχη. αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Μ. Αὐρήλιον Ἀντωνεῖνον Σεβαστὸν Ἀρμενιακὸν Παρθικὸν αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Λούκιον Αὐρήλιον Οὐῆρον Σεβαστὸν Ἀρμενιακὸν Μηδικὸν ἢ πόλις ἐπὶ Ἱεροκλέους Ἀρχετείμων [Ἰ. Ἀρχετείμων] ἄρχοντος τὸ β' Καρτε . . . Ερμογενοῦ . . . μωνος καὶ Φιλάνθου Τρύφωνος γραμματέος Διοτ. . . . ἐπιμεληθέντος εἰκ . . . μα . . . θυ. β. ἔτους σὺν ἀ' μηνὸς . ι. β. . γα . . γ . . Marcus is Parthicus and Medicus in A. D. 166<sup>q</sup>. We may assume that this inscription was set up in A. D. 167, and if the 251st year of the city was then current, we ascend to B. C. 84, when Sulla rescued Asia from Mithridates, ended the first Mithridatic war, and distributed Asia into 44 regions. From that epoch the city which erected this inscription might date its years<sup>r</sup>.

20 Hamilton Appendix N<sup>o</sup>. 432 at Isaura: ἀγαθὴ τύχη. ὑπὲρ τῆς [αἰω]νίου αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος [αρος] Μ. Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνεῖνου Σεβαστοῦ Ἀρμενι[ακοῦ] Μηδικοῦ Παρθικοῦ π. π. τύχης τε καὶ νε . . . καὶ αἰωνίου διαμονῆς καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος [s] αὐτοῦ οἴκου καὶ ἱερα [f. ἱεράς] συγκλητοῦ καὶ δήμου [Ρω]μαίων τῇ κυρία πατρίδι Μ. Μάριου Μ. Μαρίου Πίου υἱὸς Φλαυϊανὸς Πίος ἀρχιερασάμενος τὴν στοὰν κειόνων εἴκοσι πέντε καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐργαστήρια πέντε σὺν τῷ ψαλιδώματι ἐκ φιλοτιμίας κατασκεύασεν [sic] ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, συναρχιερασαμένης αὐτῷ καὶ Αὐρη[λι]ας Ἀθηναῖδος τῆς γυναικός.

21 Muratori p. 2008. 8 in Carniola: *Imp. Cæs. M. Aurelius Antoninus Aug. trib. potest. Augustus Pius imp. Cæsar Aurelius Verus Aug. trib. potest. cos. iterum D. Antonini filii D. Hadriani nepotes D. Trajani Parthici pronepotes D. Nervæ abnepotes . . . . .* 21 Gruter p. 257. 11 in Hispania:

<sup>pp</sup> See the Tables A. D. 175. 3 Eckhel tom. 7 p. 62.

<sup>q</sup> See the Tables p. 156.

<sup>r</sup> See F. H. III p. 150 for the acts of Sulla in B. C. 84. According to Appian Mithrid. c. 61 Sulla, τὴν Ἀσίαν καθιστάμενος, Ἰλιέας μὲν καὶ Χίους καὶ Λυκίους καὶ Ῥοδίους καὶ Μαγνησίαν καὶ τινὰς ἄλλους, ἢ συμμαχίας ἀμειβόμενος ἢ ὄν διὰ προθυμίαν ἐπεπόνθησαν οὐ ἕνεκα, ἐλευθέρους ἤφειε καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀνέγραφε φίλους. That city might be one of those towns. If its era commenced from that period, its first year would coincide with the 229th year of the Seleucidæ, which began Oct. B. C. 84, and its 251st would coincide with the 479th, which began in Oct. A. D. 167. Mr. Hamil-

ton Vol. 1 p. 114 supposes the era to have commenced in B. C. 75 when Nicomedes bequeathed his possessions to the Romans, and places the inscription at A. D. 176. But in 176 Marcus had laid aside the names Parthicus Medicus, and was called Germanicus and Sarmaticus: see the Tables A. D. 176 p. 172 and Eckhel tom. 7 p. 72. 73. And Verus would have been called Θεός or divus. Nicomedes died in B. C. 74 at the time of the renewed war with Mithridates. See F. H. III p. 160. But it does not appear that this town lay within his dominions, nor was his death an event sufficiently important "to have been adopted as an epoch by the Roman governments of Asia Minor."

MARCUS  
AURELIUS.

*Imp. Cæs. L. Aurelio Vero Aug. divi Antonini f. pont. max.* [omitte *max.* conf. Eckhel tom. 7 p. 96] *trib. pot. cos. II p. p.* [lege *P.* id est, *posuerunt*] *municip. Ammai.* 22 Muratori p. 240. 3 Hydrunti: *Imp. Cæs. L. Aurelio Vero Aug. trib. pot. II* [A. D. 162] *cos. II divi Antonini fil. &c. publice D. D.* 23 Mur. p. 189. 1 Romæ: *Imp. Cæsari divi Antonini Pii fil. &c. L. Ælio Aurelio Vero Aug. tribunic. pot. III cos. II fratri arvali.* 24 Mur. p. 242. 2 Narbone: *Imp. Cæsari divi Antonini Pii fil. &c. L. Aurelio Vero Aug. Armeniaco pont. maxim. tribunic. potestat. IIII imp. II cos. II procos. decumani Narbonenses.* 25 Murat. p. 520. 7 Florentiæ: *Imp. Cæsari divi Antonini Pii fil. &c. L. Aurelio Vero Aug. Armeniac. Parthic. maximo Medico trib. pot. VI* [A. D. 166] *imp. V cos. II designat. III procos. coll. fabr. tign. Ostis quod providentia et liberalita. de sua indulserit.* 26 Mur. p. 241. 6 Romæ: bearing *trib. p. VIII.* Given in the Tables A. D. 169 p. 164 from Panvinius and Gruter. In all the three copies *p. p.* is improperly added<sup>rr</sup>.

27 Gruter p. 76. 8 Præneste: *Pietati Fortunæ primig. votis susceptis salvis Augustis M. Aurelio Antonino et L. Ælio Aurelio Fortunatus verna disp. eorum et Aurelia Suscepta lib. L. D. D. D.* 28 Gruter p. 85. 3 Romæ: *Voto suscepto pro salute imp. Cæsaris M. Aureli Antonini Aug. Pii Felicis Sex. Pompeius Primitivus cum M. Virrio Strutto fil. columnas cum epistilio deo magno Serapi in introitum exornaverunt.* 29 Grut. p. 87. 5 in Carinthia: *Herculi et Eponæ Aug. pro salute imp. Cæs. M. Aur. Antonini Pii Felicis invicti . . . . .* 30 Grut. p. 114. 2 Romæ: *Pro salute et gloria imp. Cæs. M. Aureli Antonini Aug. L. Aruntius et Q. Clodius Jason et Mercurius filius hujus D. D.* 31 Grut. p. 257. 8 extra Tarraconem: *Imp. Cæs. L. Aurelio Vero Aug.* p. 257. 9 extra Tarraconem: *Imp. Cæsari M. Aurelio Antonino Aug.* 32 Grut. p. 258. 4 Vesontii: *Imp. Cæs. Aug. M. Aur. Antonino et L. Aur. Vero cives Ve.* 33 Grut. p. 1068. 2 Budæ: *Dis militaribus et genio loci pro salute et reditu imp. Cæs. M. Aur. Antonini Pii invicti Aug. Clod. Marcellinus S. C. trib. mil. leg. II A. P. F. Ant. transl. ex leg. X Fr. Ant. numini ejus semper devotissimus.* 34 Murat. p. 3. 1 in Dacia: *J. O. M. P. S. D. N. M. Aur. Antonini imp. Aurel. Rusticus cav. posuit.* 35 Mur. p. 9. 8 in Sclavonia: *Jovi Depulsori pro salute dom. N. imp. M. Aur. Antonini Pii Aug. Marcus Sperat. disp. V. S. L. M.* 36 Mur. p. 7. 7 in Gallæcia: *J. O. M. pro salute M. Aurelii Antonini et L. Aurelii Veri Augustorum ob natale . . . leg. VII Ge. milites coh. Galleco . . . sub cura . . . em. et Aug. . . re et T. Lucret. Patern. . . coh. . . . et Ful.* 37 Mur. p. 239. 5 Brundusii: *Pro salute imp. M. Aurelii Antonini Pii.* 38 Mur. p. 241. 2 in Creta: *αὐτοκράτορα Καίσ. Μάρκον Αὐρήλιον Ἀνωταίνου Σεβαστὸν τὸν κύριον τῆς οἰκουμένης Λ. Φλ. Σουλπικιανὸς Δωρ . . ν.* 39 Mur. p. 241. 3 in Creta: *αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Λούκιον Αὐρήλιον Βῆρον Σεβαστὸν Ἀρμενιακὸν τὸν κύριον τῆς οἰκουμένης Λ. Φ. Σουλπικιανὸς Δωρίων.* 40 Mur. p. 242. 1 Philippopoli: *ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων καὶ νιῶν εἰς διαμονῆς Μ. Αὐρηλίου Ἀνωταίνου. καὶ Λ. Αὐρηλίου Οὐήρου Ἀρμενικακοῦ Φιλίσκος Καίσαρος τοῦ Μάρκου ἀπελ.*<sup>rrr</sup> *ἀνέθηκεν . . . τεμισιάδι μετὰ ἱερωσύνην . . . Ἀλφείου Ποσειδωνίου, ἐπιμελετεύοντος Φλαουίου Εὐδαίμονος τοῦ καὶ Φλαουιανοῦ.* 41 Gruter p. 178. 3 Murat. p. 485. 9 Cæsena: *Balneum Aurelianum ex liberalitate imp. Cæs. M. Aurelii Pii Fel. Aug. servata indulgentia pecuniæ ejus quam deus [dominus Gruter.] Aurelianus concesserat facta usurarum exactione curante Statio Juliano V. E. [V. F. Grut.] curatore refecit et perfecit.* 42 Murat. p. 454. 6 in arcu Tripolitano: *Imp. Cæs. M. Aurelio Antonino Aug. p. p.* [lege *p. m.*] *et imp. Cæs. L. Aurelio Vero Armeniaco Aug. Ser. Co . . . Sortitus procos. cum Uttedio Marcello leg. suo dedicavit C. Calpurnius Celsus curator muneris pub. . . . S. IIvir QQ. flamen perpetuus arcum pecunia sua . . . . . ex marmore solido fecit.*

The two following after A. D. 176: 43 Gruter p. 199. 6 Romæ: *Imp. Cæsar M. Aurelius Antoninus Aug. Germanicus Sarmat. et imp. Cæsar L. Aurelius Commodus Aug. Germanicus Sarmatic. hos limides [lege lapides ex Muratorio] constitui jusserunt propter controversias quæ inter mercatores et mancipes ortæ erant uti finem demonstrarent vectigali foricularii et ansarii promercalium secundum*

<sup>rr</sup> See Eckhel tom. 7 p. 96.

<sup>rrr</sup> Sic lege post Bimardum apud Muratorium.



*veterem legem semel dumtaxat exigund[ō].* Muratori p. 573. 4 gives a similar inscription “Romæ MARCUS  
AURELIUS ante portam Flaminiam,” except that instead of *Cæsar L. Aurelius Commodus Aug. Germ. Sarm.* it has *M. Aurelius Severus Alexander Pius Felix Aug.* in whose reign this edict was repeated<sup>s</sup>. 44 Gruter p. 375. 1 Romæ: *Bassæo<sup>t</sup> M. f. Stel. Rufo pr. pr. imperat. Aureli Antonini L. Aureli Veri et Aureli Commodi Augg. consularibus ornamentis honorato et ob victoriam German. et Sarmat. Antonini et Commodi Augg. corona murali vallari aur. hastis puris IIII totidemque vexillis obsidionalibus . . . . . leg . . . . . pr . . . . . equ . . . . . trib . . . . . proc. a rationib. provinciarum Belgicæ et duarum Germaniar. proc. reg. Noric. proc. Asturiæ et Galleciæ trib. coh. II pr. trib. coh. X urb. trib. coh. V vig. huic senat. auctor imp. Antonino . . . et . . . Commodo Augg. statuam armat. in foro divi Trajani et aliam civil. amictu in templo divi Pii et tertiam loricatedam in templo . . . . . nendas . . . . .*

After A. D. 171 the following: 45 Hamilton N<sup>o</sup>. 153 at Orcistus: [αὐτ]οκράτορα Καίσαρα Μάρκον Αὐρήλιον Ἀυτωνεῖνον Σεβαστὸν Γερμανικὸν ἀρχιερέα μέγιστον δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας Ὀρκιστηνὸν εἰσηγησαμένων Ἐρμοκράτους Μηνοδώρου κ. τ. λ.

To *Faustina* the wife of *Marcus*: 1 Gruter p. 260. 7 Tipherni: *Faustinae Aug. Aurelii Cæsaris D. D.* 2 p. 260. 8 in agro Tarentino: *Faustina Aug. Aurelii car. public. D. D.* 3 p. 260. 9 Barcinone: *Faustinae Aug. imp. M. Aurel. Antonini Aug. D. D.* 4 p. 260. 10 Tarracone: *P. H. C. Faustinae imp. Antonini filiae.* 5 p. 260. 11 Tarracone: *Faustinae imp. Antonini filiae.* 6 p. 260. 12 in ruinis Warhel: *Faustinae Aug. divi Pii filiae col. Sarmiz.* 7 Muratori p. 241. 4 Barcinone: *Faustinae Aug. imp. M. Aureli Antonini Aug. D. D.* 8 Muratori p. 241. 5 in Dacia: *M. Aurel. Faustinae Aug. matri Aug. et castrorum<sup>v</sup> sub cura Jul. Paterni proc. syntrophus.* 9 Murat. p. 242. 4 Romæ in patera argentea: *σάλλβφ Κωμμόδφ Φήλιζ Φαυστεῖνα<sup>x</sup>.*

## COMMODUS.

COMMODUS

His masters were *Onesicrates* in Greek, *Antistivus Capella* in Latin. *Orator ei Atteius Sanctus fuit*: Lamprid. Commodo c. 1.

*Commodus* was *Augustus* and consul in A. D. 177, consul *iterum* in 179, succeeded his father March 17 A. D. 180<sup>xx</sup>.

## Inscriptions.

1 Muratori p. 2009. 4 in via Appia: *Imp. Cæs. M. Aur. Antoninus Aug. Arm. Parth. p. p. et M. y Aur. Commodus Aug. procos. reficiend. cur.* 2 Mur. p. 340. 2 Romæ fragmentum fastorum fratrum arvalium: *Imp. Cæs. M. Aur. Antonino Aug. IIII C. Aufidio Victorino II cos. [A. D. 183] in capitolio Q. Licinius N . . . . rum arvalium totorum solutorum et no . . . . . ausa pro salute imp. Cæs. M. Aureli . . . . Antonini . . . . m. Ger. maximi p. p. cos. IIII fratres arcales conveneru . . . . . us Nepos mag. Cn. Catilius Severus M. Ulpius Astivus pr. ma . . . . immolavit Q. Licinius Nepos mag. Jovi O. M. bo . . . . marem Junoni reg. bovem feminam Minervæ bovem feminam . . . . luti publicæ P. R. bovem femi-*

<sup>s</sup> Muratori: “M. Aurelius philosophus et Alexander Severus—uterque diversis tamen temporibus eosdem terminos constituerant.”

<sup>t</sup> Dio 71. 5 ἦν δὲ τῷ Μάρκῳ ὁ Ῥούφος ὁ Βασσαῖος ἑπαρχος, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἀγαθὸς, ἀπαίδευτος δὲ ὑπ’ ἀγροικίας, κ. τ. λ. *Vindex* the colleague of *Bassæus* was also honoured with three statues: Dio 71. 3 τῶν δὲ Μαρκομάνων—τὸν Βίνδικα τὸν Μακρίνον ἑπαρχον ὄντα ἀποκτεινάντων, τοῦτ’ αὖ μὲν τρεῖς ἀνδριάντας ἔστησε. Conf. Reimar. ad locum p. 1179 n. 25.

<sup>v</sup> So in coins apud Eckhel tom. 7 p. 81 *Dive Faustinae Aug. matr. castror.* and *Dive Faustinae Pie + matri castrorum.*

<sup>x</sup> An inscription in Gruter p. 261. 4 Romæ: *Faustinae Augustæ magistri quinquennales collegi corp. fabrum ferrar. tignar. dendrophor. et centon. lust. XXVII T. Ovinus &c. D. D. Kal. Januar. C. Manlio Torquato et Cornelio Messalino cos.* It is doubtful whether this refers to *Faustina* the wife of *Pius* or *Faustina* the wife of *Marcus*. The consuls are *consules suffecti*; for no such consuls appear in the *Fasti* of A. D. 139—175. We may read *D. D. . . . Kal. Januar.* and assign the inscription to December.

<sup>xx</sup> See the Tables in those years.

<sup>y</sup> On *Marcus* for *Lucius* see the Tables A. D. 181. 2 and Eckhel there quoted.

COMMODUS *nam. Isdem [cos.] VII Idus Januar. in pronao . . . . . fratres arcales sacrificium Deæ Diæ indic . . . . .*  
*Q. Licinius Nepos mag. velato capite contra Orientem . . quod bonum faustum felix fortunatum salu-*  
*tareque sit imp. Cæs. M. Aurelio . . . . . Antonino Aug. Pio Sarmat. Germ. maximo p. m. p. p. cos.*  
*IIII optimo maximoq. principi divi M. Antonini fil. divi Antonini nepoti divi Hadriani pronepoti*  
*&c. senatui P. R. Q. fratribusque arcalibus sacrificium Deæ Diæ hoc anno erit ante diem XVI Kal.*  
*Junias Romæ, ante diem XIII Kal. Jun. in luco et domi XIII Kal. Jun. consummabitur. domi*  
*adfuert in coll. Q. Licinius Nepos mag. Cn. Catilius Severus M. Ulpianus pr. M. Antonius*  
*Juvenis. L. Tutilio Pontiano Gentiano cos. [sc. suffecto] VI Id. Februar. in luco Deæ Diæ Q. Licinius*  
*Nepos mag. operis inchoandi causa quod in fastigio ædis Deæ Diæ ficus innata esset eruendam et ædem*  
*reficiendam immolavit suocetaurilibus majoribus item ad ædem Deæ Diæ boves feminas II, Jano patri*  
*arietes II, Jovi berbeces II altilaneos . . . . . 3 Gruter p. 66. 7 Albæ Juliæ: Libero patri sacrum*  
*pro salute imp. Cæs. M. Aur. Commodi Antonini Aug. Pii p. p. L. Calvisius L. f. Velina Secundus*  
*Falerione p. p. leg. XIII G. P. F. sub Vespronio . . . dido cos. dedic. C. Aurellio sal. D. D. 4 Grut.*  
*p. 1085. 7 Neapoli: Imp. Cæs. M. Aurel. Commodi Antonino Aug. Pio p. p. IIvir quinquen. Fl.*  
*Phaneas marmorarius. 5 Gruter p. 45. 9 Herculi conservatori pro salute L. Ragoni L. f. Pap.*  
*Urinati Largi Quinctiani vir. cos. sodal. Hadrianal. leg. leg. XIII Gem. donis milit. donat. ab imp.*  
*Commodo Antonino Aug. procos. prov. Sardinia juridic. per Apuliam præf. F. D. præf. æd. pl. Q.*  
*pr. Afric. VIvir Aug. ex testamento M. Antius Ennius Sergianus amico V. cur. 6 Grut. p. 261. 6*  
*Olisipone: Imp. Cæs. imper. M. Aurel. Antonin. Aug. f. D. Pii nep. divi Hadr. pro. divi Traj.*  
*Parthic. abnep. L. Aurelio Commod. Aug. German. Sarm. Fel. Jul. Olis. per Q. Cælium Cassianum*  
*et M. Fabricium Tuscum IIvir. 7 Gruter p. 261. 7 in Carnia: L. Ælio Aurelio Aug. f. Commodi*  
*cos. D. D. 8 Muratori p. 109. 7 Romæ in tabella ænea: Pro salute imp. Cæs. Augusti M. Aureli*  
*Commodi M. Aurelius M. L. [lege M. f.] Favorinus Curtia Favorina V. S. 9 Murat. p. 130. 2*  
*Arausione: Num. Aug. Matri Deum pro salut. imp. M. Aur. Commodi Antonini Pii Felicis tauro-*  
*polium fecerunt Sex. Publicius . . . . . anus. 10 Hamilton Asia Minor Vol. 2 Append. N<sup>o</sup>. 53 at*  
*Sinope has an inscription which refers to Commodus and should be read in this manner: . . . . .*  
*Sarmatici f. divi Pii nep. divi Hadriani pronep. d[ivi] . . . . . 11 Gruter p. 261. 5 Romæ: Divo*  
*Commodo fratri imp. Cæs. L. Septimi Severi Pii Pertinacis Aug. præpositus Crescens scribæ Fortu-*  
*natianus Felicianus Quintio Eutyches Philumenus D. D. 12 Murat. p. 243. 2 Thermis in Sicilia:*  
*Divo Commodo Aug. D. D. P. P. In an inscription of Severus apud Gruter p. 187. 3, quoted in*  
*the Tables A. D. 201, Severus is divi Commodi frater. Again p. 191. 5 quoted in the Tables*  
*A. D. 203 p. 210, divi Commodi frater. Conf. Lamprid. Commodi c. 17 Severo c. 11.*

PERTINAX PERTINAX. Tables A. D. 126. 193.

*Pertinax* was three years in Liguria under *Perennis*, who was slain in 185<sup>z</sup>. At his election he

<sup>z</sup> See the Tables A. D. 185. Capitolinus Pert. c. 2. 3 *Pertinax—Cassiano motu composito [A. D. 175] e Syria ad Danubii tutelam profectus est atque inde Mæsiæ utriusque, mox Daciæ regimen accepit. Bene gestis bis provinciis, Syriam meruit.—Curiam Romanam post quatuor provincias consulares quia consulatum absens gesserat jam dives ingressus est, quum eam antea non vidisset. Jussus est prætereà statim a Perenne in Liguriam secedere in villam paternam. Nam pater ejus tabernam coctiliciam in Liguria exercuerat.—Fuitque illic per triennium. He was appointed consul (sc. suffectus) before the revolt of Cassius: Dio 71. 21 τοῦ δὲ Περτινάκου ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀνδραγαθίαις ὑπάρειαν λαβόντος,*

ὁμοῦς ἦσαν οἱ νεμεσῶντες ἐπὶ τῷ εἶναι αὐτὸν τὸ γένος ἐξ ἀφανῶν τὸ τῆς τραγωδίας ἐπέλεγον τοιαῦθ' ὁ τλήμων πόλεμος ἐξεργάζεται.—τοῦ δὲ Κασσίου κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν νεωτερίσαντος κ. τ. λ. Capitolin. Pertin. c. 2 *Studio Marci imperatoris cos. est designatus.—Cassiano motu composito &c. His colleague was Julianus: Spartian. Juliano c. 2 Fuit consul cum Pertinace et in proconsulatu Africa eidem successit. Capitolinus Pert. c. 4 we may with Reimar ad Dionem p. 1189 n. 75 refer to the second consulship of Pertinax A. D. 192, and supply in this manner: Ipsi Commodo plurimum placuit, cos. quia ille esset [sc. Commodus], iterum quum Pertinax factus est.*



was *præfectus urbis*: Capitolin. Pertin. c. 4. Eutrop. VIII. 16 *Pertinax—præfecturam urbi tum PERTINAX agens*. Victor Ep. p. 376 *præfecturam urbis agens*. Hieron. Chron. Anno 2208 *Pertinax—quum præfecturam urbis ageret, ex senatusconsulto imperare jussus est*.

He declined the honours of *Augusta* for his wife, and of *Cæsar* for his son: Dio 73. 7 Herodian. II. 4 Chron. Pasch. p. 264 B.

To the testimonies given in the Tables for the reign and death of *Pertinax*, add Zonaras tom. 1 p. 602 lib. XII. 6. Zonaras gives the duration of his life and reign nearly from Dio: ἐβίω δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἔτη ἑπτὰ καὶ ἐξήκοντα, δέοντα τεσσαρῶν μηνῶν, ἄρξας μόνας ἡμέρας ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ ἑπτὰ.

Coins of *Pertinax* after his consecration by *Severus*: Eckhel tom. 7 p. 144 *Divus Pert. Pius pater + æternitas*. or *consecratio*. or *fides exercituum*. His consecration is described by Dio 74. 4. 5 Victor Epit. p. 377 Spartianus Severo c. 7 c. 17. Muratori p. 243. 4 gives an inscription Romæ: *Divos Pertinax Aug. S. C.*

An inscription of March 19 A. D. 193 apud Muratorium p. 345. 2 Romæ. In sinistro latere: *Imp. Cæs. P. Helvio Pertinaci Aug. cos. II pontifici maximo trib. pot. p. p. principi sev. fortissimo duci et omnium virtutum principi Capenates fœder.*<sup>zz</sup> *proc. L. Licinio Sperando*. In dextro latere: *Dedicata XIII Kal. Aprilis cur. P. Scatilio Prospicio . . . . Mucio Muciano, Falcone et Claro cos.*

DIDIUS JULIANUS. Tables A. D. 193 p. 192.

DIDIUS  
JULIANUS.

He is defeated at the Mulvian bridge in Eutrop. VIII. 17 Hieron. Anno 2208 Victor Cæs. p. 325 Oros. VII. 16. And has seven months in Eutrop. Victor Epit. Orosius. Chron. Pasch. p. 264 C *μήνας ζ'—εσφάγη, ὡν ἔτων ξ'*. Zonaras XII. 7 tom. 1 p. 604 D *ἐβίω δὲ ἔτη ἐξήκοντα πρὸς μῆσι τέσσαρσι καὶ ἰσαρίθμοις ἡμέραις, ἄρξας ἡμέρας ἐξήκοντα*.

PESCENNIUS NIGER. Tables A. D. 193 p. 192. 194 A. D. 194.

PESCENNIUS  
NIGER.

Letters commending *Niger* from *Marcus Commodus* and *Severus* are given by Spartianus Pescen. c. 3. 4.

He was the author of many good regulations: Spartian. Pescen. c. 7.

CLODIUS ALBINUS. Tables A. D. 193 p. 194, A. D. 196 p. 198, A. D. 197.

CLODIUS  
ALBINUS.

A letter of *Commodus* to *Albinus* is extant in Capitolin. Albino c. 2. A letter of *Marcus de Albino*: Ibid. c. 10 *Extant Marci epistolæ de hoc eodem &c.—Est et alia Epistola qua idem M. Avidii Cassii temporibus de hoc eodem scripsit, cujus exemplum hoc est, &c.* A letter of *Severus de Albino*: Idem Ibid. c. 12 *Extat epistola Severi qua ostendit animum suum, missa ad senatum, cujus hoc exemplum est; &c.*

*Albinus* was born Nov. 25: Capitolin. Albino c. 4 *Patris epistola ad Ælium Bassianum tunc proconsulem Africæ.—Epistola Ceionii Postumii ad Ælium Bassianum: "Filius mihi natus est VII Kal. Decemb."* &c.

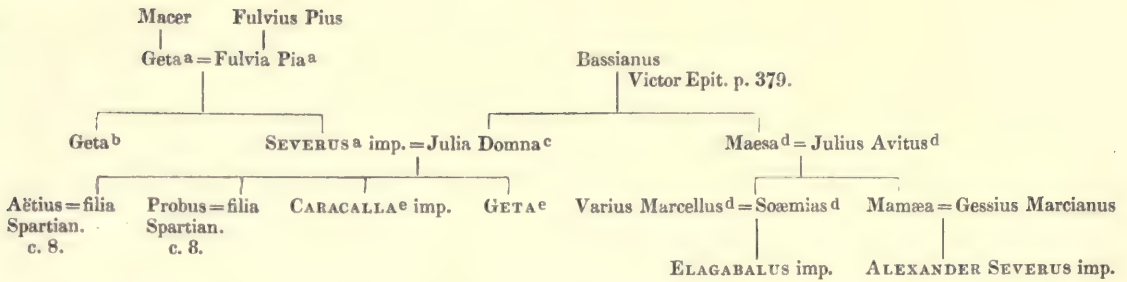
Inscriptions: 1 Panvinius p. 355 Gruter p. 45. 12 *Herculi defensori pro reditu et itu D. Clodi Septimi Albini Cæsaris D. Clodius D. L. Felix actor Cæs. N. D. D.* 2 Bimardus apud Muratorium tom. 1 p. 138 Lugduni: *J. O. M. Cl. Albino C. Fu. C. P. Gall. Aug. et Lug. libertatis advers. Severum acerrimo vindici.*

SEVERUS. His birth is recorded in the Tables A. D. 146, his reign A. D. 193—211.

SEVERUS.

<sup>zz</sup> The *Capenates fœderati* appear again in an inscription to *Caracalla*. See below, *Caracalla* No. 28.

SEVERUS.



Tillemont tom. 3 p. 451 thinks Ap. 13 too soon after the death of *Pertinax* for the assumption of the empire by *Severus*. But the distance is only about 660 miles, and the interval 13 days. And *Severus* was remarkable for his celerity—*πολλῶ τάχει* Herodian. III. 8. Nothing then improbable in the date. After the death of *Julianus* he is met at Interamna: Spartian. Severo c. 6. He therefore entered Rome in the beginning of June, about 54 days after he had assumed the empire at Carnuntum. His army might have marched 13 miles a day.

*Severus* was *praetor designatus a Marco anno aetatis 32*: Spartian. Severo c. 3. in A. D. 177; governor of Gaul about A. D. 185. Then of Pannonia in 187. Then of Sicily in 188. Then he was appointed to Illyricum, cir. A. D. 190. See all these offices in Spartianus Severo c. 3. 4. His age is erroneously called 89 by Spartianus Nigro c. 5. Repeated by Spartianus Severo c. 22.

*Severus* wrote *de vita sua*<sup>f</sup>: Herodian. II. 9 Spartian. Nigro c. 4 Capitolin. Albino c. 7. 12 Spartian. Severo c. 3. Idem c. 18 *Vitam suam publicamque ipse composuit*.

On the wife of *Severus* see Victor Cæs. p. 327 *Huic tanto domi forisque uxoris probra summam gloriae dempsere. quam adeo famose amplexus est ut cognita libidine ac ream conjurationis retentavit*. Spartianus Severo c. 18 *Uxorem Juliam famosam adulteriis tenuit etiam conjurationis consciam*.

*Severus* adorned his native place with buildings: Procop. *Ædif.* VI. 4 p. 112 B πόλις ἡ Λεπτι-

<sup>a</sup> Spartianus Severo c. 1 *Interfecto Didio Juliano, Severus Africa oriundus imperium obtinuit, cui civitas Leptis, pater Geta, majores, equites Romani ante civitatem omnibus datam. mater Fulvia Pia, patrum M. Agrippa et Severus consulares; avus maternus Macer, paternus Fulvius Pius fuere. Lege cum Casaubono paternus Macer, maternus Fulvius Pius.*

<sup>b</sup> Consul in A. D. 203, Tables 203. 1. Died before *Plautianus* in 203: Dio 76. 2 quoted in the Tables A. D. 203. 1.

<sup>c</sup> *Julia* died in A. D. 217. See the Tables. On *Julia Domna* see Scaliger ad Euseb. p. 230. To the inscriptions in the Tables add Gruter p. 266. 5 Peto-viæ: *Julia Aug. matri castror. Pætoviens.* p. 267. 1 Caparæ Hispanicæ: *Julia Aug. matri castrorum conjugii imp. Cæs. L. Sept. Severi Pii Pertinacis Aug. et matri M. Aurelii Antonini imp. ordo splendidiss. Caparitanorum devotus numini majestatique ejus.* Muratori p. 248. 4 in Hispania: *Julia Aug. matri castrorum republica Tuccitanorum D. D. P.* p. 248. 5 Romæ: *Julia Domna Aug. matri Aug. N. et castror.* p. 249. 1 in insula Gauli adjacente Melitæ: *Julia Domna Aug. matri castr. Augustorum imp. Cæs. L. Septimi Severi Pertinacis Aug. conjugii municipium Gau. . . Gul. P. P. curante Dapsi. . . . no.* Muratori supplies *cast. et.* p. 249. 2 in Bulgaria: *Julia Domna Augusta matri*

*castrorum R. P. S. Va. Ulp. curante Q. Anicio Fausto leg. Augustorum pr. pr.* p. 1088. 2 in agro Reatino: *Julia Aug. imp. Cæsaris L. Septimi Severi. . . Pertinacis Aug. E. . . et M. Aurelii Antonini Cæsaris imp. destinati parenti matri castrorum et P. Trebulani Mutustæ anim. dev. dedic. D. D.* After *Aug.* for *E* we may read *C* and supply *conjugi*.

<sup>d</sup> Dio 78. 30 ἡ Μαῖσα ἡ τῆς Ἰουλίας τῆς Αὐγούστης ἀδελφὴ δύο τε θυγατέρας Σοαμίδα καὶ Μαμαίαν ἐξ Ἰουλίου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἱπατευκότος καὶ δύο ἐγγόνους ἄρσενας, ἐκ μὲν τῆς Σοαμίδος Οὐαρίου τε Μαρκέλλου ἀνδρὸς ὁμοεινοῦς—Ἰουλίον . . . ἐκ δὲ τῆς Μαμαίας Γεσσίου τε Μακριανοῦ, Σύρου καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐξ Ἀρκῆς πόλεως ὄντος,—Βασσιανὸν ἔχουσα.

<sup>e</sup> Spartian. Sev. c. 19 (*Severus*) *reliquit filios duos, Antoninum Bassianum et Getam.* Idem c. 20 *Legisse me apud Ælium Maurum Phlegontis Tralliani libertum meminisse Septimum Severum immoderatissime quum moreretur letatum quod duos Antoninos pari imperio reipublicæ relinqueret.* But Spartianus c. 21 errs in supposing that *Julia* was the stepmother of *Caracalla*: *noverca.* Again Caracalla c. 10 *novercam suam Juliam.* Geta c. 7 *Occidere voluit et matrem Getæ novercam suam.*

<sup>f</sup> Referred to by Dio 75. 7 λέγω γὰρ οὐχ ὅσα ὁ Σεβήρος ἔγραψεν ἀλλ' ὅσα ἀληθῶς ἐγένετο.



μάγνα—μεγάλη μὲν καὶ πολυάνθρωπος τὸ παλαιὸν οὖσα, ἔρημος δὲ χρόνῳ ὕστερον γεγενημένη ἐκ τοῦ SEVERUS. ἐπιπλεῖστον.—ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς βασιλεὺς [sc. Justinianus]—ἀνφοδομήσατο τὰ τῆδε γεγυότα ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις καὶ καταπεπρωκότα βασιλεία, Σεβήρου βασιλέως τοῦ παλαιοῦ ἔργον· ὃς δὴ ἐνθένδε ὀρμώμενος μνημεῖα τῆς εὐδαιμονίας τὰ βασιλεία τάδε ἀπέλιπεν.

Laws of A. D. 204: Cod. Just. VI. 35, 1 *Impp. Severus et Antoninus AA. Celeri. Dat. XV Kal. April. Cilone II et Libone cons.* V. 62, 1 *Aviola. pp. Kal. Maii Chilone II et Libone cons.* VI. 28, 1 *Faviano. pp. VI Kal. Jun. Cilone II &c.* VIII. 14, 2 *Lucio. pp. II Kal. Jun.* IV. 2, 1 *Modestino. Dat. Kal. Jul.* V. 15, 1 *Impp. Severus et Antoninus AA. et C. Dionysia. Dat. XIII Kal. Aug.* VI. 26, 2 *Frontina. pp. VI Kal. Aug.* II. 44, 1 *Romano et aliis. pp. V Kal. Aug.* VI. 53, 2 *Prisco. pp. V Kal. Aug.* VI. 53, 3 *Ælia. pp. V Kal. Aug.* II. 13, 3 *Pomponio. pp. X Kal. Sept.* III. 17, 1 *Demetrio. pp. VIII Kal. Sept.* V. 62, 2 *Habentiano et Cosconio. pp. VIII Kal. Sept.* V. 68, 1 *Severo pp. V Id. Sept.* IX. 41, 2 *Impp. Severus et Antoninus AA. et C. Catulo. proposita III Id. Sept.* VI. 2, 2 *negotiatoribus. pp. Kal. Dec.* VI. 3, 1 *Romano. pp. III Kal. Januar.* All except V. 15, 1 and IX. 41, 2 have rightly *Impp. Sev. et Anton. AA.* and all are dated *Cilone II et Libone cons.*

To the laws of A. D. 205 given in the Tables add the following, dated after July: Cod. Just. V. 53, 1 *Impp. Severus et Antoninus AA. Asclepiodoto. pp. Kal. Aug.* IX. 1, 2 *Ingenio. pp. XII Kal. Oct.* V. 69, 1 *Pompeiano. pp. IV Id. Oct.* VIII. 16, 2 *Latina. pp. Id. Oct.* VI. 55, 1 *Crispina. pp. III Non. Nov.* V. 72, 1 *Valentino. Dat. VI Kal. Januar.* These have *Impp. Severus et Antoninus AA.* and (with the variations noticed in the Tables at 205. 1) are dated *Antonino A. II et Geta C. cons.* VII. 21, 2 *Idem AA. et C. Maximo. P. D. S. Antonino A. II et Geta C. cons.*

#### Inscriptions.

1 Muratori p. 243. 6 Clusii. Inserted in the Tables A. D. 194. 3 from Panvinius and Gruter.  
 2 Murat. p. 243. 7 juxta ruinas viæ sacræ: *Imp. Cæsari L. Septimio Severo Pertinaci Aug. p. m. trib. pot. III imp. IIII cos. II Arabico Adiabenico fratri arvali.* 3 Mur. p. 189. 2 Romæ: *Imp. &c. trib. p. III imp. IIII cos. II Arabico Adiabenico fratri arvali.* 4 Murat. p. 243. 8 Ardeæ: *Imp. Cæs. L. Septimius Pertinax Pius Felix Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. trib. potest. IIII imp. V cos. procos. p. p. et M. Aurelius Antoninus Pius Germ. max. Dacicus max. princeps juventutis litus vicinum viæ Severianæ adsiduis maris adluentibus fluctibus ad labem ruinæ labefactatum aggeribus marini operis in fundamentis ut periculum commeantibus abesset extrui curarunt.* 5 Murat. p. 1104. 6 Capuæ: *Imp. Cæs. divi M. Antonini Germ. Sarm. fil. divi Commodi fratri divi Antonini Pii nepo. divi Hadriani pronepoti divi Trajani Parthici abnepoti divi Nervæ adnepoti Septimio Severo Pio Pertinaci Ara . . . . diabenico p. p. pontif. m. trib. pot. IIII imp. VIII cos. II proc. colonia Capua.* 6 Mur. p. 244. 1 item p. 1993. 6 Ravennæ: *Aug. invicto imp. Cæs. L. Septimio Severo Pio Pertinaci divi M. Antonini fil. divi Commodi fratri divi Antonini Pii nepoti Arabico Adiabenico pontif. max. trib. potest. IIII imp. VIII cos. II procos. p. p. pro victoria et reditu ipsius Rufinus lib. procos. provincie Mauritanie Tingitanæ. Salvo Severo Aug. et Antonino Cas. fil. Varr.* 7 Mur. p. 2009. 1. 2 in via quæ ad Sidonem ducit; from Maundrell's Journey p. 47: *Imperatores Cæsares L. Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Aug. Arabicus Adiabenicus Parthicus maximus tribunicia potes. VI imp. XI cos. II procos. p. p. et M. Aurel. Antoninus Aug. filius ejus vias et milliaria fr[acta] per Venidium Rufum leg. Augg. l. . . ic. pr. præsidem provinc. Syriæ Phœnic. renovaverunt.* 8 Mur. p. 347. 2 Romæ ara. in facie: *pro salute itu reditu et victoria inpp. Cæss. L. Sept. Severi Pii Pert. Aug. Arabic. Adiab. Pont. et Part. max. tr. pot. VIII imp. XI cos. II procos. p. p. et M. Aur. Antonini Pii Felicis Aug. tr. pot. III procos. \* \* \* \* \* et Julicæ Aug. M. K. \* \* \**

‡ That is, *proposita data scripta.*

SEVERUS. In uno latere *Et genio turmæ pro reditus [sic] eorum ab expeditione Parthica quod voverat aram marmoream posuit sua pecunia M. Aurelius Nepos remansor. Dedicata Kal. April. Severo et Victorino cos. [A. D. 200.]* In alio latere *Nomina. P. turmæ Jul. Macel. dec. Nonius Severus dup. Jul. Victorinus &c. 9 Mur. p. 456. 1 Romæ.* Given in the Tables A. D. 202 p. 208 from Panvinius. Muratori, like Gruter and Pagi, gives the erroneous number *trib. pot. XI*, which is inconsistent with *Antonini trib. pot. V*.

10 Gruter p. 264. 2 Anagninæ: . . . . *Commodi f[ratri] divi Antonini Pii nepot. divi . . . . ani pronepot. divi Trajani P. . . . ci abnepot. divi Nervæ a . . . . L. Septimio Severo Pio Pertinaci Aug. ponti . . . maximo Arabic. Adiabeno Parthico maximo cos. II p . . tribunicia pot. imp. XI inv . . . imperatori Anagnini fœn. devotissimi numini ejus.* 11 Murat. p. 348. 6 Romæ: *Imp. L. Septimius Severus Pertinax Aug. p. m. cos. III D. tr. pl.<sup>h</sup> Jovi Optimo Max. Salutari Id. Apr. Junonique reginæ columnam erexit.* 12 Mur. p. 131. 4 Romæ: *Imp. L. Septimius Severus Pertinax Aug. pont. max. cos. VII D. [lege cum Mur. cos. III J.] O. Max. Salutari Id. Apr. Junoniq. reginæ columnam erexit.* 13 Murat. p. 457. 1 Romæ. Given already in the Tables A. D. 203 p. 210 from Gruter p. 172. 5 more correctly than in Muratori.

14 Gruter p. 11. 4 p. 22. 7 Viennæ Austriæ: *J. O. M. Sarapidi pro salute imp. L. Sept. Severi Pii Pertinac. Aug. Arabici Adiabeni. Parthici maximi et imp. M. Aureli Antonini Aug. L. Quirinalis Maximus trib. milit. leg. X Gem. P. F. V. S. L. M.* 15 Grut. p. 11. 5 Romæ: *J. O. M. D. pro salute Augg. NN. L. Septimi Severi Pii Pertinacis et Aureli Antonini (Pii Felicis Aug.<sup>i</sup>) et Julicæ Aug. et S. P. Q. R. Semnus Augg. NN. lib. optio tabellariorum stationis marmorum aram posuit.* 16 Grut. p. 29. 12 in vetusto lapide Narbone cum multis boum capitibus: *Imperio D. M. taurobolium provincie Narbonensis factum per C. Batonium primum flaminem Augg. pro salute dominorum imp. L. Septimii Severi Pii Pertinacis Aug. Arabici Adiabeni. Parthici maximi et M. Aureliani [lege Aurelii] Aug.* 17 Grut. p. 32. 10 prope Sintriam in Lusitania: *Soli æterno Lunæ pro æternitate imperii et salute imp. Ca . . . Septimi Severi Aug. Pii et imp. Aug. Cæs. M. Aur. Antonini Aug. Pii \* \* \* \* Cæs. et Julicæ Aug. matris Cæs. Drusus Valerius Cælianus &c.* 18 Gruter p. 39. 3 Romæ: *Dianæ pro salute imp. L. Septimi Severi et M. Aureli Antonini Augg. et \* \* \* \* Julicæ Aug. matr. castr. \* \* \* \** 19 Gruter p. 42. 2 *Lunæ æter. sacr. pro salute imp. Cæs. L. Septimi Sev. Pii invic. princ. pont. max. p. p. Julius Balbillus Anullinus præf. vigil. V. S. L. M.* 20 Gruter p. 56. 5 Romæ: *Imp. Cæsaris L. Septimi Severi Pii Pertinacis Aug. Parthici Arabici Adiabeni pacatoris orbis et fundatoris imperii Romani in ho. R. P. Mart. . . te D. D.* 21 Grut. p. 90. 11 Lugduni: *Pro salute dom. n. imp. L. Sept. Severi Aug. totiusque domus ejus Aufanis [lege Tanfanis: conf. Facciolati lexicon v. Aufanie] matronis et matribus Pannoniorum et Delmatiarum . . . . .* 22 Grut. p. 191. 3 in Yorkshire from Camden: *Imp. Severus Aug. et Antoninus Cæs. destinatus restituerunt curante Virio Lupo leg. eorum pr. pr.* 23 Gruter p. 265. 4 Saltzburgii: *Imp. Cæs. L. Septimi Severi Pii Pertinacis Aug. Arab. Adiab. Parthic. max. et imp. Cæs. M. Aureli Antonini Aug. Parthici maximi col. Hadr. Juvav. D. D.* 24 Gruter p. 266. 3 Romæ: *Imp. Cæs. L. Septimio Severo Pio Pertinaci Aug. Parth. Arab. Adiab. pont. max. . . . . pacatori orbis et propagatori imperii Romani in honor. pon . . . te . . . . Jov. . . . pos. S. P. Q. R.* 25 Murat. p. 455. 6 in castello agri Damasceni: *Lucio Septimio et [lege Sev.] Pio Pertinaci semper Augusto Livius Calpurnius procos. Cælo Suriæ p. hoc præsidium construxit in securitatem publicam et Scenitarum Arabum terrorem.* 26 Mur. p. 344. 2 Romæ in tabula marmorea: *J. O. D. pro salute imp. L. Septimi Severi Pii Pertinacis Aug. Pii Felicis et exercitum et P. R. D. Jun. Pacatus cum Alexandro fil. sacrarum jussu J. D. sua pec. adimpliavit C. A. Cæcilio Rufo 7 sacerdotibus Sopatrus et Marin. et Calus f.* 27 Mur. p. 348. 4 Vindobonæ: *Pro salute dom. NN. L. Sept. Sever. et M. Aur. Antonini*

<sup>h</sup> Muratori conjectures *tr. pot. p. p.*

<sup>i</sup> Prius erasa sed postea restituta. GRUT.



et. \* \* \* *Cæs. Augg. cult. Jovis. Dedic. VIII K. Aug. Muciano et Fabiano cons. [sc. suffectis.] SEVERUS.*  
 28 Mur. p. 2051. 5 in insula Thera: ἀτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Σεπτίμιον Σεβήρον Περτίνακα Σεβαστὸν ἢ  
 βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος Θηραίων. 29 Mur. p. 456. 2 Budæ: *Imp. L. Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax*  
*Arabicus Adiabenicus maximus et M. Aur. Antoninus Augg. et \* \* \* \* splendidissimæ curante L.*  
*Bæbio Cæciliano leg. Aug. procuratore.* 30 Mur. p. 35. 6 Romæ: *Dianæ S. pro salute imp. L.*  
*Septimii Severi et M. Aureli Antonini Aug. et Julicæ Aug. matri castrorum et senatus cur. A. Furius*  
*Nigrinius DD. NN. proc. . . .* 31 Grut. p. 266. 2 In ruinis Varhel Transilvania: *Divo Severo*  
*Pio colonia Ulpia Trajana Aug. Dacic. Sarmiz.*

The following require correction. 32 Gruter p. 157. 6 Radstati Styriæ: *Imp. Cæs. F. Pius*  
*Severus Per. Aug. trib. potes. IX imp. XII cos. II p. p. Goth. [lege Germ.] imp. Cæs. Mar. Aure.*  
*Antoninus Pius Felix Aug. Arab. Germ. max. nt [lege pont.] trib. potes. p. p. procon. a T. M. LIII.*  
 Here, as in the inscriptions given in the Tables A. D. 201, read *imp. XI.* 33 Grut. p. 258. 2 in  
 Alpihus: *SE. P. ROMANUS [lege Imp. Severus] Pertin. Arab. Adiab. Part. max. [sic lege cum*  
*Gudio] trib. pot. VIIII imp. XII cos. III [lege imp. XI cos. II] p. p. procos. et imp. Cæs. M.*  
*Aurel. Antoninus Pius Aug. trib. pot. proc.* The rest of this inscription is corrupt. 34 Muratori  
 p. 349. 2 Romæ: *Herculi invicto sacrum genio num. eq. sing. Augg. NN. pro salute imp. Cesar. L.*  
*Septimi Severi et M. Aureli Antonini \* \* \* \* et Julicæ Aug. matri castror. Haug. [lege et Aug.]*  
*\* \* \* \* domus divine trib. Occio Valente et Octavio Pisoni et 77 exerc. Fl. Titiano et Aurel. Lupo*  
*C. Julius Secundus vexil. ere suo Deo DO. D. Dedic. Idib. Sept. Severo III et Antonino Augg. NN.*  
*cos. [sc. Sept. 13 A. D. 202.]* Muratori remarks that *Cesar divine. ere.* are to be ascribed “*osci-*  
*tantiae marmorarii.*” *Num. eq. sign.* Muratori interprets *numeri equitum singularium.*

GETA the younger son of *Severus* was consul in A. D. 205. 208. He was murdered in 212 in GETA.  
 the 13th month after the death of his father<sup>k</sup>.

The name of *Geta* after his death was erased from inscriptions by order of *Caracalla*<sup>l</sup>.

## CARACALLA.

## CARACALLA.

According to Spartianus Carac. c. 9 *vixit annis XLIII.* This number is consistent with the  
 opinion of Spartianus that *Caracalla* was the son of the first wife of *Severus*<sup>m</sup>. But inconsistent  
 with his own account of the age of *Caracalla*, who is 13 in A. D. 198: Spartian. Severo c. 16.  
 and receives the *toga virilis* in 201: c. 16. Again Severo c. 4 *Severus consulatum cum Apuleio*  
*Rufino primum egit, Commodo se inter plurimos designante. Post consulatum anno ferme fuit Romæ*  
*otiosus, deinde Lato suffragante exercitui Germanico præponitur. Proficiscens ad Germanicos exer-*  
*citus—quum epularetur cum filiis—major filius, qui tunc quinquennis erat, &c.* But if *Caracalla* had  
 been born in A. D. 174, he would have been 14 years older than his brother, and 5 years old in  
 179. And in 179 *Commodus* was not yet emperor, and *Severus* not yet consul.

Eutropius VIII. 20 has the same errors as Spartianus: *novercam suam Juliam duxerit. De-*  
*functus est viâ egressus ætatis XLIII annum.* And Hieronymus anno 2232, who repeats Eutro-  
 pius. Orosius VIII. 18 *novercam suam Juliam duxerit.* Cassiodorus: *Interficitur anno ætatis*  
*XLIII.* Victor Cæs. p. 329 *Juliam novercam—conjugem affectavit.* Victor Epit. p. 378 *novercam*  
*suam duxit uxorem.* Victor however p. 378 rightly gives his age: *Vixit annos fere triginta.* thus  
 contradicting his own account; for at 30 years before A. D. 217, or at 187, *Julia* was already the

<sup>k</sup> See the Tables in those years.

<sup>l</sup> Dio 77. 12 εἴ γέ τις ἔγραψε τὸ ὄνομα τὸ τοῦ Γέτα  
 μόνον, ἢ εἶπε μόνον, εὐθὺς ἀπόλετο· ὅθεν οὐδ' ἐν ταῖς κω-  
 μωδίας οἱ ποιηταὶ ἐπὶ αὐτῷ ἔχρῳοντο.—καὶ τοῖς τὰς εἰκόνας  
 αὐτοῦ βαστάσαι λίθοις ὠργίζετο καὶ τὸ νόμισμα τὸ προ-

φέρων αὐτὸν συνεχῶνευσε. See among the preceding  
 inscriptions No. 8. 18. 27. 34, and the arch of *Se-*  
*verus* given in the Tables A. D. 203 p. 210. See  
 upon this subject Eckhel tom. 7 p. 233.

<sup>m</sup> See above, note e.

CARACALLA. wife of *Severus*<sup>n</sup>. The age and reign of *Caracalla* are thus given by Zonaras XII tom. 1 p. 614 Β ἀπόλετο ζήσας ἔτη ἐννέα καὶ εἴκοσι αὐταρχήσας δ' ἐκ τούτων ἐνιαυτοὺς ἕξ ἐπὶ δύο μηνὶ καὶ ἡμέραις τισί. Orosius VII. 18 erroneously ascribes his death to the enemy: *inter Edessam et Carras, ab hostibus circumventus, occisus est.*

The name *Caracalla* is recorded by Hieronymus anno 2229 [A. D. 213 $\frac{3}{4}$ ]. *Caracallæ 3<sup>o</sup> Antoninus Caracalla cognominatus propter genus vestis.* Repeated by Cassiodorus *cos. Messala et Sabino* [*Caracallæ 3<sup>o</sup>*]. For the fact conf. Dionem 78. 2 Victorem Cæs. p. 329 Victorem Epit. p. 378.

In the accounts of the Parthian expedition given in the Tables A. D. 216 Herodian and Spartianus differ in some lesser points from Dio and from each other.

Coins apud Eckhel tom. 7 p. 212 mark the worship of *Apollo Hercules Æsculapius Serapis*, confirming Dio 77. 15 οὔτε γὰρ ὁ Ἀπόλλων ὁ Γράννος [Γρόνεις Vales.] οὔθ' ὁ Ἀσκληπιὸς οὔθ' ὁ Σάραπις, καίπερ πολλὰ ἱκετεύσαντι αὐτῶ—ὠφέλησαν.

Laws of A. D. 212<sup>o</sup>. Cod. Justin. V. 75, 1 *Imp. Antoninus A. Mutiano. Accepta Non. Januar. duobus Aspris cons.* V. 16, 1 *Triphenæ. pp. III Idus Januar.* VIII. 16, 3 *Martiæ. pp. VI Kal. Feb.* VIII. 44, 1 *Apronio. pp. III Id. Feb.* II. 13, 5 *Pancratia. IV Kal. Mart.* II. 54, 1 *Æmiliano. pp. V Non. Mart.* IX. 22, 1 *Severino. pp. Non. Mart.* II. 1, 4 *Epaphrodito. pp. V Id. Mart.* VIII. 8, 1 *Justino. pp. VI Id. Apr.* V. 28, 2 *Sabiniano. Dat. Id. Apr.* VI. 3, 4 *Valeriano. pp. XIV Kal. Maii.* I. 18, 1 *Maximo militi. Dat. VII Kal. Maii.* VIII. 18, 2 *Chresto et aliis. pp. V Id. Maii.* VI. 3, 5 *Terentio. pp. III Id. Maii.* VI. 47, 2 *Libertis Cassiani. pp. XVI Kal. Jun.* IX. 50, 1 *Aquilicæ. pp. XII Kal. Jun.*

X. 9, 1 *Acutiano. pp. Non. Jul.* VIII. 45, 4 *Georgio. pp. XI Kal. Aug.* VIII. 36, 1 *Claudio. pp. X Kal. Aug.* V. 16, 4 *Claudiano. pp. III Id. Aug.* VI. 42, 1 \* *pp. XVII Kal. Sept.* V. 37, 3 *Eumoso. pp. XIV Kal. Sept.* IV. 25, 1 *Hermeti. pp. VIII Kal. Sept.* IX. 23, 1 *Valatio. pp. Non. Sept.* VI. 21, 1 *Floro militi. Accepta V Id. Sept.* VIII. 45, 5 *Petricæ. pp. XV Kal. Oct.* V. 53, 2 *Severo. pp. XI Kal. Oct.* V. 51, 1 *Leoni. pp. V Kal. Oct.* V. 58, 2 *Primitivo. pp. II Id. Oct.* VIII. 43, 1 *Aristæneto. pp. II Non. Nov.* V. 71, 1 *Minutiano. pp. XIII Kal. Dec.* VII. 49, 1 *ad Gaudium. Dat. XIV Kal. Januar.* All have *Antoninus A.*, and are dated *duobus Aspris cons.*

Laws of A. D. 213<sup>p</sup>: Cod. Just. X. 3, 1 *Imp. Antoninus A. Curtiæ. pp. Non. Jan. Antonino A. IV et Balbino II cons.* VII. 57, 1 *Rogatiano. prid. Id. Januar.* VIII. 36, 2 *Julio. pp. XV Kal. Mart.* IX. 12, 2 *Verò. pp. XV Kal. Mart.* V. 16, 2 *Marco militi. pp. XII Kal. Mart.* V. 23, 1 *Didicæ. pp. Dat. XII Kal. Mart.* VII. 52, 1 *Stellatori. XII Kal. Mart.* V. 54, 2 *Valentino et Materno. pp. XI Kal. Mart.* VI. 21, 2 *Septimo militi. pp. XI Kal. Mart.* VI. 44, 1 *Septimo. pp. VII Kal. Mart.* III. 31, 4 *Vitaliano. pp. Kal. Mart.* VII. 10, 1 *Cornelio. pp. Kal. Mart.* V. 16, 3 *Epicteto. pp. IV Non. Mart.* IX. 20, 1 *Placido. pp. XII Kal. April.* V. 14, 2 *Theodotæ. Dat. XI Kal. Apr.* III. 31, 5 *Postumianæ. pp. VI Kal. Jun.* VIII. 15, 1 *Sperato. pp. Kal. Jun.* V. 56, 1 *Crescentino. pp. Non. Jun.* V. 66, 2 *Marcello. Dat. Id. Jun.* IV. 1, 1 *Herculiano. pp. XV Kal. Jul.* VI. 37, 4 *Subpicio. pp. V Kal. Jul.* VI. 29, 1 *Brutatio. Dat. et pp. IV Kal. Jul.* I. 9, 1 *Claudio Triphonio. Dat. prid. Kal. Jul.* V. 54, 3 *Vitæ. pp. IV Non. Jul.* V. 51, 2 *Præsentino. pp. Non. Jul.* VII. 65, 1 *Sabino. pp. Non. Jul.* IX. 9, 3 *Juliano. pp. XV Kal. Aug.* V. 44, 1 *Miltiadi. pp. XIII Kal. Aug.* III. 8, 2 *Magnillæ. pp. X Kal. Aug.* V. 36, 1 *Tiberiano et Rufo. pp. VIII Kal. Aug.* IX. 20, 2 *Aurelio. pp. VII Kal. Aug.* II. 3, 7 *Julio Maximo. pp. III Kal. Aug.* III. 33, 3 *Antoniano. pp. III Kal. Aug.* IV. 5, 1 *Mutiano. pp. III Kal. Aug.* V. 12, 2 *Alluviadi. pp. Dat. III Kal. Aug.* VIII. 14, 6 *Quinto. pp. III Kal. Aug.*

<sup>n</sup> See Reimar ad Dionem p. 1288 n. 17 Scaliger in the Tables p. 221.

ad Eusebium p. 230.

<sup>o</sup> Others dated from Rome in this year are given in the Tables p. 222.



Cod. Just. II. 3, 6 *Basilicæ*. pp. *Kal. Aug.* V. 65, 1 *Saturnino*. pp. *VII Id. Aug.* VI. 38, 1 *CARACALLA*. *Antipatræ*. pp. *VI Id. Aug.* II. 4, 2 *Luctatio*. pp. *III Id. Aug.* IV. 29, 2 *Nepotianæ*. pp. *III Id. Aug.* IV. 29, 3 *Servato*. pp. *III Id. Aug.* VII. 26, 1 *Flaviano*. *prid. Id. Aug.* IV. 21, 1 *Septimæ Martiæ*. pp. *V Id. Sept.* VI. 37, 5 *Donato*. pp. *V Id. Sept.* VIII. 41, 4 *Rufæ*. pp. *XV Kal. Oct.* V. 37, 4 *Proculæ*. pp. *XII Kal. Oct.* II. 7, 1 *Doloni*. pp. *III Kal. Oct.* VIII. 18, 4 *Varo*. pp. *V Id. Oct.* VII. 75, 1 *Cassiæ*. pp. *II Id. Oct.* VII. 73, 2 *Valerianæ*. pp. *XIV Kal. Nov.* III. 32, 2 *Aristæneto*. pp. *XII Kal. Nov.* III. 44, 1 *Doritæ*. pp. *VIII Kal. Nov.* VI. 21, 3 *Vindiciano*. pp. *Kal. Nov.* IX. 23, 2 *Atticio*. pp. *Id. Dec.* IV. 5, 2 *Secundinæ*. pp. *XIV Kal. Januar.* II. 9, 1 *Claudio*. pp. *XIII Kal. Januar.* VII. 73, 3 *Julianæ*. pp. *III Kal. Jan.* All are dated *Antonino A. IV et Balbino II cons.* In V. 23, 1 improperly *Impp. Severus et Antoninus AA.* The rest have rightly *Antoninus A.*

In A. D. 215 in addition to the laws given in the Tables are the following. Cod. Just. V. 43, 2 *Longino*. pp. *Id. Januar. Læto II et Cereale cons.* IX. 16, 1 *Herculano et aliis militibus*. pp. *II Kal. Feb.* VIII. 47, 2 *Maroniæ*. pp. *XVI Kal. Mart.* IX. 32, 2 *Primo*. pp. *VII Kal. Mart.* VIII. 17, 3 *Restituto*. pp. *III Kal. Apr.* II. 25, 1 *Martianæ et aliis*. pp. *II Non. Apr.* IX. 43, 1 *Rutiliano consulari Ciliciæ*. pp. *VIII Kal. Mai.* V. 37, 5 *Rufino*. pp. *Kal. Jun.* VI. 31, 2 *Severo*. S. pp. *V Kal. Jul.* IV. 26, 3 *Artemoni*. *Dat. III Kal. Jul.* V. 51, 3 *Vitalio*. pp. *III Kal. Jul.* VI. 54, 4 *Protagoræ*. pp. *III Kal. Jul.* VII. 73, 4 *Quinto*. pp. *III Kal. Jul.* III. 34, 2 *Martiali*. pp. *Kal. Jul.* V. 53, 3 *Prisciano*. pp. *Kal. Jul.* VIII. 41, 7 *Eroti*. pp. *Kal. Jul.* VI. 46, 3 *Aurelio militi*. pp. *VI Id. Jul.* VI. 37, 7 *Fausto*. pp. *V Id. Jul.* V. 31, 3 *Atalantæ*. pp. *IV Id. Jul.* V. 31, 4 *Domnino*. pp. *III Id. Jul.* IV. 6, 1 *Callisthenidi*. pp. *VI Kal. Aug.* VI. 42, 2 *Eupatrio*. pp. *VI Kal. Aug.* III. 26, 3 *Heliodoro*. *Dat. X Kal. Sept.* IV. 14, 2 *Bexico*. pp. *III Kal. Sept.* V. 18, 3 *Hostilicæ*. pp. *III Kal. Sept.* VI. 2, 3 *Secundo*. pp. *VI Id. Sept.* II. 54, 2 *Dionysio*. pp. *XIII Kal. Oct.* IX. 6, 2 *Eutychiano*. pp. *VII Kal. Oct.* V. 32, 1 *Aristobulæ*. pp. *Kal. Oct.* IV. 7, 2 *Longino*. pp. *XV Kal. Dec.* IV. 19, 2 *Aulizano*. pp. *XV Kal. Dec.* VII. 2, 4 *Archelao*. *proposita VII Kal. Dec.* II. 47, 1 *Severo*. pp. *VI Kal. Dec.* VI. 42, 3 *Rufino*. pp. *V Id. Dec.* VIII. 18, 3 *Sylvano*. pp. *II Id. Dec.* All have *Antoninus A.* and all are dated *Læto II et Cereale cons.*

Inscriptions. 1 Muratori p. 189. 3 Romæ: *Imp. Cæsari L. Septimi Severi Pii Pertinacis Aug. Arabici Adiabeni Parthici maximi filio divi Marci Antonini Pii Germanici Sarmatici nepoti divi Antonini pronepoti divi Hadriani abnepoti divi Trajani Parthici et divi Nervæ adnepoti M. Aurelio Antonino Aug. trib. potest. II* [A. D. 199] *procos. fratri arvali.* 2 Murat. p. 246. 1 Atinæ: *Imp. Cæs. L. Septimi Severi Pertinacis Aug. Arab. Adiab. Parth. max. fil. (divi Marci Antonini nep. omitted) divi Pii Antonini pron. divi Hadriani abnep. divi Trajani et divi Nervæ adnep. M. Aurelio Antonino Aug. trib. pot. III procos. D. D. publice.* 3 Murat. p. 246. 3 Romæ: . . . . . *vero Pio Pertinaci . . . . . maximo fortissimo . . . . . trib. pot. VIII imp. XI . . . III procos. p. p. . . . . M. filio divi Commodi [fratri] . . . . . i Hadriani pronep. divi . . . . . ræ adnepoti . . . . . i urbi.* *Imp. Cæs. M. Aurelio Antonino Pio Felici Aug. trib. potest. IIII cos. designato procos. imp. Cæs. L. Septimi Severi Pii Pertinacis Aug. Arab. Adiab. Parth. max. fortissimi felicissimi filio divi M. Antonini Pii Ger. Sarm. nep. divi Antonini Pii pronep. divi Hadrian. abnep. divi Trajani Parthici et divi Nervæ adnepoti sacræ reg. XIII.* In the description of *Severus* we must read *trib. pot. VIII imp. XI cos. II*, which agrees with *trib. pot. IIII cos. des.* in the description of *Caracalla*, and marks A. D. 201. 4 Murat. p. 1023. 3 Anagninæ: *Imp. Cæs. L. Septimii Pii Pertinacis Aug. Arab. Adiabeni Parthici maximi fortissimi felicissimi p. p. filio M. Aurelio Antonino Pio Felici Aug. tribunic. potestat. IIII cos. procos. S. P. Q. Anagninus. Trib. pot. IV* marks A. D. 201, but *cos.* belongs to A. D. 202. We might read *cos. des. procos.* Some coins however in Eckhel tom. 7 p. 204 bear *trib. pot. IIII cos.* See on this difficulty Eckhel tom. 8 p. 425. 5 Gruter p. 258. 7

CARACALLA. *Imp. Cæs. M. Aur. Antonino Aug. Pio Felici invicto Parthic. maximo Britannico max. tr. pot. VII cos. III p. p. procos. fortissimo principi mag. quin. coll. aurificum D. D. cur. P. Valerius P. P. Benedictus et C. Aurelius Carpus QQ. II S.* He was *cos. III* in his 11th tribunician year and *p. p.* after his father's death in the 14th tribunician year. Wherefore we may read *trib. pot. XV. 6 Murat. p. 2009. 5 ad Axonam Suessionum: Imp. Cæs. M. Aurelio Antonino Pio Aug. Britannico max. trib. pot. XVIII [A. D. 211] imp. II cos. III p. p. procos. ab Aug. Suess. leuc. VII. 7 Panvinius p. 366 Imp. Cæs. M. Aurelio Antonino Pio Fel. Aug. Parthic. max. Britt. max. pont. max. trib. pot. XV cos. III imp. II p. p.* 8 Gruter p. 157. 1 in pago Straetsualtio Salisburgam versus: *Imp. Cæs. L. Septimio Severo Pio Pertinaci Aug. Arab. Adiab. Parthico max. Britan. max. pontif. max. trib. potes. III [A. D. 195] imp. VII cos. II p. p. procos. et imp. Cæs. M. Aurel. Antonino Pio invicto Aug. Parthico max. Britannico max. Germanico max. pontif. max. trib. potest. XVI imp. III cos. VIII [A. D. 213].* Two inscriptions are combined, the first to *Severus*, the second to *Caracalla*. But as *Severus* was not *Britannicus* till A. D. 210 *trib. pot. XVIII<sup>a</sup>, Britan. max.* must have been inserted afterwards. In the titles of *Caracalla* we must read either *tr. p. XVII [A. D. 214]* or *imp. II*. See below N<sup>o</sup>. 15. 9 Murat. p. 247. 1 in Hispania: *Imp. Cæs. divi Septimi Severi Pii Arabici Adiab. Part. max. Brit. max. filio divi M. Antonini Pii Germ. Sarm. nepoti &c. M. Aurelio Antonino Pio Augusto Parthic. max. Brit. max. pont. max. trib. pot. XV imp. bis cos. VIII p. p. pacatori orbis resp. Turcitanorum D. D.* Perhaps the numbers are *trib. pot. XVI. 10 Murat. p. 247. 3 Whitley castle in Great Britain: Imp. Cæs. Lu . . . . . bici Adia . . . . max. fil. divi Antonini Sarm. nep. &c. M. Aur. Antonino Pio Fel. Aug. . . . . tr. pot. X . . . imp. . . cos. VIII p. p. pro pietate æd. e voto communi curante leg. Aug. Coh. III Nerviorum G. R. Pos.* Read *tr. p. XVI. 11 Murat. p. 1021. 7 Albingauni: . . . . go . . . . Parth. maximo Marcomannico . . . . maximo . . . . maximo . . . . maximo pontifici max. p. p. tribunitiæ potestat. XIII cos. VIII imper. III divi Severi filio &c. fortissimo inclitoque ac super omnes felicissimo principi plebs urbana Albingaunensium numini ipsius devota.* Read *trib. pot. XVII* on account of *imp. III. 12 Murat. p. 1046. 7 Ferentini in Hernicis: Julæ Aug. matri Aug. et castror. et senatus ac patriæ piæ felici. Imp. Cæs. M. Aurelio Antonin. Felici Aug. Part. max. Brit. max. Ger. max. trib. pot. XVI imp. II cos. proc. magno et invicto ac fortissimo principi senatus populusq. Ferentin.* 13 Mur. p. 248. 2 Bracaræ: *Imp. Cæs. divi Severi Pii fil. &c. M. Aurelio Antonino Pio Fel. Aug. Part. max. Brit. max. Germanico max. pontifici max. trib. pot. XVII imp. III cos. VIII p. p. procos.* 14 Murat. p. 2010. 2 in ponte Limiæ in Lusitania: *Imp. Cæs. divi Severi fil. &c. M. Aurelio Antonino Pio Fel. Aug. Part. max. Brit. max. Germanico max. pontifici max. tribunic. pot. XVII imp. III cos. VIII p. p. procos. Bracar. Aug. M. P. XX.* 15 Mur. p. 455. 7 Vindobonæ: *Imp. Cæs. L. Sept. Severus Pius Pert. Aug. Arab. Adiab. Part. max. pont. max. trib. pot. VIII [A. D. 200] imp. XII [lege imp. XI] p. p. cos. procos. et imp. Cæs. Mar. Aur. Antoninus Pius Fel. Aug. Part. max. Brit. max. Germ. max. pont. max. trib. pot. XVII imp. III cos. VIII [A. D. 214] p. p. procos. miliaria vetustate conlapsa restitui jusserunt.* Two inscriptions joined together; as at N<sup>o</sup>. 8 from Gruter. 16 Mur. p. 524. 2 Puteolis: *Magno imp. Cæs. M. Aurelio Antonino August. pont. max. tribunic. potest. cos. procos. imp. Cæs. L. Septimi &c. filio d. Marci &c. colleg. juvenum Puteolanor. ob merita D. D. D.* Within A. D. 202—204. 17 Mur. p. 1993. 5 Bracaræ: *Imp. Cæsari divi Severi Pii fil. &c. M. Aurelio Antonino Pio Felici Aug. &c. trib. pot. XII imp. III cos. VIII p. p. procos.* The other numbers require *tr. p. XVII.*<sup>†</sup>

18 Gruter p. 267. 5 Patavii: *Imp. Cæsa. M. Aurelio Antonino Aug. imp. Cæs. L. Septimi Severi Pii Pertinacis Aug. Arabici Adiabeni Parthici maximi fil. D. D.* 19 Gruter p. 7. 1 Romæ: et Muratorius p. 146. 6 *J. O. M. et Junoni reginæ pro salute M. Aurelii Antonini Pii Fel. Aug. et*

<sup>q</sup> See the Tables A. D. 210. 3.

<sup>†</sup> See N<sup>o</sup>. 15 and the Tables A. D. 214.



*Julia Aug. Jul. Pudens Severianus aram cum basi posuit.* 20 Murat. p. 244. 6 Thebis: τὸν μέγιστον CARACALLA. καὶ ἀνίκητον αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Μ. Αὐρήλιον Σεουήρον Ἀντωνεῖνον Αὔγουστον Σεβαστὸν Ἀραβικὸν Ἀδιαβηρικὸν Παρθικὸν εὐσεβῆ εὐτυχῆ ἢ πόλις. 21 Mur. p. 245. 8 Cordubæ: *Imp. Cæsar divi Severi Pii fil. &c. Marcus Aurelius Aug. &c. tribunic. potest.* . . . . . 22 Murat. p. 246. 2 Romæ ærea tabella: *Pro salute imp. Cæsaris M. Aureli Sevæ. Pii Felicis Aug.* 23 Mur. p. 248. 1 Thyatiræ: τὸν τῆς θαλάσσης δεσπότην αὐτ. Καίσ. Μ. Αὐρ. Σεουήρον Ἀντωνεῖνον Παρθ. με. Βριτ. με. Γερ. με. πατέρα πατρίδος ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῆς πόλεως εὐεργέτην Τ. Ἀυτ. Ἀλφηνὸς Ἀρίγνωτος τὸ τρίτον χειλιάρχος ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ νεωκόρος τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ ἐπίτροπος Σεβαστοῦ ἀρχῆς Λιβιανῆς. In altero latere: ἀγαθῆ τύχη. αὐτ. Κ. Μ. Αὐρ. Σεου. Ἀντωνεῖνον Σεβ. Εὐσ. εὐτυχῆ Τ. Ἀυτ. Ἀλφηνὸς Ἀρίγνωτος ἀπὸ τριῶν χειλιαρχιδῶν τὸν ἴδιον κύριον καὶ τῆς πόλεως κτίστην ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ νεωκόρος. 24 Mur. p. 249. 3 Florentiæ: *Pro salute et incolunitate domini nostri Marci Aureli Severi Antonini Pii et Juliae Aug. matris Aug. et castrorum Cereii no.* Muratori reads *matris* and *Cereri*. 25 Mur. p. 248. 3 Romæ: . . . *religio Antonino invicto Pio Felici Aug. . . . ne. supra omnes principes fortissimo . . . . ne suæ et Juliae Aug. matri ejus dominæ nostr.* . . . . . 26 Mur. p. 1081. 5 Signiæ: *M. Aurelio Antonino Cæs. imp. Cæs. L. Septimi Severi Pertinacis Aug. Pii Arabici Adiabeniçi p. p. filio S. P. Q. S.* 27 Murat. p. 2010. 1 . . . . *divi Antonini Pii nep. divi Severi magni filio pont. max. cos. II procos. fortiss. feliciss. principî. a Bracara M. P. III.* After the death of *Severus*, and therefore we must read *cos. III*. After Feb. A. D. 211 and before Jan. 1 A. D. 213.

28 Murat. p. 1035. 6 in castello Morlupi: *Imp. Cæs. Aurelio Antonino imp. Cæs. L. Septimi Severi Pii Pertinacis Aug. Arabici Adiabeniçi &c. filio divi Marci Antonini Germanici Sarmatici nepoti &c. Capenates fœderati Manili Crescentis præ.* In latere: *Dedic. XIII Kal. Oct. Saturnino et Gallo cos. sc. A. D. 198.* 29 Gruter p. 6. 6 Albæ Juliae: *J. O. M. et Junoni regin. pro sal. imp. M. Aur. Antonini Pii Aug. et Juliae Aug. matris Aug. M. Ulp. Mucianus mil. leg. XIII Gem. horologiar. templum a solo de suo ex voto fecit. Falcone et Claro cos.* These are the consuls of A. D. 193, but *Caracalla* was not *Augustus* till A. D. 198<sup>s</sup>. We may therefore suspect that this inscription is inaccurately copied.

30 Gruter p. 109. 8 Romæ in Capitolio: *Pro salute D. D. imp. Pii Fel. Aug. et matris Aug. N. et kastror. ædem genio Cæli Adianti manipuli ejus sua pecunia refecerunt.* It may be doubted whether this refers to *Caracalla* and *Julia*, or to *Alexander Severus* and *Mamæa*. 31 Gruter p. 258. 9 Genevæ. Repeated p. 258. 10 *Imp. Cæs. M. Aurelio Antonino Pio Felici Aug. pont. max. tribunicia pot. XVI cos. III* [in n. 9 *trib. potest. cos. sine numeris*] *civitas equestrium.* The numbers suit the emperor *Marcus*, who was *trib. pot. XVI cos. III* in A. D. 162. But as *Felix* was not his epithet, it may belong to *Caracalla*, and we may read *tr. p. XVI cos. IIII* A. D. 213. 32 Muratori p. 2009. 3 gives an inscription in Carniola which has *imp. Cæ. Septimius Severus* and *imp. Cæ. M. Aurelius*, but so inaccurately copied that the genuine numbers cannot be obtained.

MACRINUS. Tables A. D. 217. 218.

MACRINUS.

His war against the Parthians is called successful by Capitolinus Macrino c. 12<sup>t</sup>. Herodian IV. 14 agrees with Dio in the circumstances, except that he supposes *Artabanus* to have believed *Caracalla* still alive<sup>v</sup>.

Reimar p. 1325 marks three letters of *Macrinus* to the senate of different import; 1 in Dio, 2 in Herodian V. 1, 3 in Capitolinus Macrino c. 5. They were written at different times. Dio's was the first letter to the senate. Herodian's was some months later, and after the Parthian campaign. The judgment of Tillemont tom. 3 p. 468 appears correct, that the letter in Capitolinus

<sup>s</sup> See the Tables A. D. 198. 3.

<sup>t</sup> Mentioned Ibid. c. 2 *Statim ad bellum Parthicum profectus.*

<sup>v</sup> See Reimar ad Dionem p. 1334.

**MACRINUS.** is fictitious; and that the letter in Herodian was composed by the historian himself, but from authentic materials. Herodian has condensed into one letter what was said by *Macrinus* in several.

The *Volcanalia* are mentioned by Dio 78. 25 αὐτῇ τῶν Ἡφαιστείων ἡμέρα—sc. Aug. 23 A. D. 217. after which date *Macrinus* is defeated by the Parthians: 78. 26.

Inscriptions. 1 Murat. p. 1993. 7 Aquis Flavis in Lusitania: *Imp. Cæs. M. Opellio Seve. magno [lege Macrino] Pio Fel. invicto et magno Aug. et M. Opellio Antonino Diadumeniano nobilissimo Cæs. principi juventutis.* 2 Murat. p. 2010. 5 Romæ: *Imp. Cæs. M. Opelli Severi Macrini Aug. M. Opelli Severi Diadumeniani Cæs. prin. ju. castris prætoris Terentius Cassander fecit.* 3 Murat. p. 459. 1 Cippus e Cilleia Vindobonam devectus: *Imp. Cæs. M. Opellius Severus Macrinus Pius Felix Augustus &c.* Given in the Tables A. D. 218. 3 more correctly from Eckhel tom. 7 p. 243<sup>w</sup>. 4 Murat. p. 480. 7 Romæ in tubis plumbeis: *M. Opelli Macrini pr. pr. C. U. M. Opelli Diadumeniani C. R. stationis patrimonii Augg. NN. Aur. Hilarus et Aur. Gaiane pre . . .*

**ELAGABALUS. ELAGABALUS<sup>x</sup>.**

Zonaras XII tom. 1 p. 618 A in recording his reign has the same numbers as the extant text of Dio: ἄρξαντι ἔτη τρία ἐπὶ μῆσιν ἑννέα ἡμέραις τε τέσσαρασιν, ἐξότου τὸν Μακρίνον νικῆσας ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῆς αὐταρχίας τεύχῃκε.

*Mæsa* and her family are described by Herodian V. 3 Capitolin. Macrino c. 9 Dio 78. 30 y.

Her death in the reign of *Alexander* is recorded by Herodian VI. 1.

On the names of *Elagabalus* see Dio 78. 32. 79. 1 Ammian. 26. 6, 20. He is the eighth *Antoninus*: Capitolin. Macrino c. 3 *Sextus Geta, septimus Diadumenus, octavus Heliogabalus Antonini fuere.* And the last: Lamprid. *Elagab. c. 34 Hic ultimus Antoninorum fuit, neque postea hoc nomen in republica loco principum frequentatum est.*

Inscriptions. 1 To the father of *Elagabalus*. ænea tabula apud Eckhel tom. 7 p. 245 Romæ: Σέξτω Οὐαρίῳ Μαρκέλλῳ ἐπιτροπεύσαντι ἐπαρχείου Βριταννίας, ἐπιτροπεύσαντι λόγων πραιβάτης πιστευθέντι τὰ μέρη τῶν ἐπαρχῶν τοῦ πραιτωρίου καὶ Ῥώμης λαμπροτάτῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐπαρχῷ ἑραρίου στρατιωτικοῦ ἡγεμόνι λεγεῶνος γ' Αὐγούστης ἄρξαντι ἐπαρχείου Νομηδίας, Ἰουλίᾳ Σοαιμίας Βασσιανῇ σὺν τοῖς τέκνοις τῷ προσφιλεστάτῳ ἀνδρὶ καὶ γλυκυτάτῳ πατρὶ. yy

2 To *Elagabalus* himself: Murat. p. 459. 2 Bracaræ: . . . . *Severi Pii . . . . Antonini Pii magni filio M. Aurelio Antonino . . . . Felici Aug. pont. max. . . . trib. pot. II cos. II proco . . . . felicissi . . . . principi. a Bracara M. P. III.* 3 Mur. p. 250. 1 Panormi: *Imp. Cæs. divi magni Antonini [filio] divi Septimi Severi [nepoti] Severo et . . . . Pio Fel. Aug. pont. max. tri. po. II cos. III col. Aug. Pank. rm. D. D.* 4 Mur. p. 1045. 8 Genève: *Imp. Cæs. divi magni Antonini Pii f. D. Sever. nepos M. A., . . . . trib. p. . . .* The names obliterated after the death of *Elagabalus*<sup>z</sup>. 5 Mur. p. 250. 2 Valentia in Hispania: *Pietate justitia fortitudine et pleno omnium virtutum principi VER. . . . . CO VERO OE. [f. Severo Aug.] Germanico A<sup>o</sup> [f. ac] victoriarum omnium nominibus inlustri M. Aur. . . . . P. F. invict. V. C. pont. max. trib. p. V cos. IIII procos. Allius*

<sup>w</sup> In Muratori the two last lines of the inscription are thus given: *provides C.LXIII s.ntissimi Aug. fecerunt.* In Eckhel from Maffei thus: *providentissimi Aug. fecerunt.* Both copies have *Diaduminianus* for *Diadumenianus*.

<sup>x</sup> *Varius Heliogabalus* in Capitolinus Macrino c. 4. 7. 8.

<sup>y</sup> See Valesius apud Reim. ad Dionem p. 1364. § 81. Although Valesius errs in supposing "naturalem Alexandri Severi patrem ignorari." The

father of *Alexander* is known from Dio. See above, *Severus*, note <sup>d</sup>.

<sup>yy</sup> In Latin thus, Eckh. p. 246: *Sex. Vario Marcello proc. aquar. C. proc. prov. Brt. CC. proc. rationis privat. CCC. vice præf. pr. et urbi functo C. V. præf. ærari militaris leg. leg. III Aug. præsi provinciæ Numidiæ Juliae Soëmiæ Bassianæ C. F. cum filiis marito et patri amatissimo.*

<sup>z</sup> Lamprid. *Elagab. c. 17 Nomen ejus, id est Antonini, erasum est senatu jubente.*



*Maximus V. C. leg. IV R. [p]rov. Hisp. Tarraconens. majestati ejus ac numini dicatissimus.* 6 Gru- ELAGABALUS.  
ter p. 85. 1 Romæ: Εἰσιδι Φαρλά . . . . εἰσιν τὴν ἐν Μένουθι ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν αὐτοκρά-  
τορος Ἀντωνεῖνου . . . . . 7 Muratori p. 250. 3 gives an inscription (ex Africa deductus lapis)  
which appears of doubtful authority.

*Vota* were offered for *Elagabalus* on *III Non. Januar.* Conf. Spanheim. ad Julianum p.  
277. 312.

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The marriage of *Alexander* and his mother's conduct are marked by Dio 80. 2 Herodian VI. 1. Lamprid. c. 20 mentions *Uxor Memmia Sulpitii consularis filia Catuli neptis*, and c. 49 another wife from Dexippus: *Dexippus dixit uxorem eum cujusdam Martiani filiam duxisse eundemque ab eo Cæsarem nuncupatum. Verum quum vellet insidiis occidere Alexandrum Martianus, detecta factione et ipsum interemptum et uxorem abjectam. Mamæa*, who was declared *Augusta* in 222<sup>a</sup>, is named upon coins apud Eckhel tom. 7 p. 287 1 *Julia Mamæa Aug. + Juno. Augustæ.* 2 *Julia Mamæa Augusta. + Juno. Augustæ* or *mater Augusti et castrorum.* or *felicitas perpetua.*

*Alexander* favoured the Christians: Lamprid. Alex. c. 22 *Judæis privilegia reservavit, Christianos esse passus est.* c. 29 *in larario suo in quo et divos principes—in quæis et Apollonium et, quantum scriptor suorum temporum dicit, Christum Abraham et Orpheum et hujusmodi Deos habebat.* c. 43 *Christo templum facere voluit eumque inter Deos recipere—sed prohibitus est ab iis qui consulentes sacra repererant omnes Christianos futuros, si id optato evenisset, et templa reliqua deserenda.* c. 49 *Quum Christiani quendam locum occupassent, &c. rescripsit &c.* c. 51 *Clamabat sæpius quod a quibusdam sive Judæis sive Christianis audierat, et tenebat, idque per præconem, quum aliquem emendaret, dici jubebat, “Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris.”*

*Mamæa* conversed with *Origen.* See Eusebius quoted in the Tables A. D. 226. 4. Repeated by Hieronymus Catal. c. 54 Zonaras XII tom. 1 p. 620 A and Vincentius Lirin. p. 343 *Historiæ Origenem a matre Alexandri imperatoris accitum ferunt.* and by Syncellus p. 358 D. Syncellus adds that she became a Christian: ἡ δ' αὐτὴ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ὀνομαστοῖς τηρικαῦτα Χριστιανῶν διδασκάλους προσέκειτο διὰ τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν πίστιν. And Orosius VII. 18 *Mammæa Christiana Origenem presbyterum audire curavit.* But this is not affirmed by Eusebius.

Herodian VI. 2—7 describes the Persian war of *Alexander*, which he supposes to have been begun in the 14th year: VI. 2. being the last year according to Herodian of *Alexander's* reign<sup>b</sup>. In this year then according to Herodian *Alexander* leaves Rome, arrives at Antioch: VI. 3. 4. an army marches into Media *θέρους ὄντος*: VI. 5. He is defeated in Mesopotamia and returns to Antioch: VI. 6. He hears of disturbances in Illyricum, and hastens into Germany: VI. 7. collects an army in the East, and delays his march: VI. 7. and is slain by the adherents of *Maximin*: VI. 9. All these events occur within one year. This is reasonably rejected by Casaubon Tillemont tom. 3 p. 478 Eckhel tom. 7 p. 273 as impossible. Casaubon ad Lamprid. p. 575 supposes corruption in the numbers, and Tzuteke ad Eutrop. p. 628. But it seems the error of Herodian himself: ἐτῶν τρισκαίδεκα οὕτως, ὅσον ἐπ' αὐτῷ, τὴν βασιλείαν ἀμέμπτως διῆκῃσε. τῷ δὲ τεσσαρεσκαδεκάτῳ ἔτει αἰφνιδίως ἐκομίσθη γράμματα κ. τ. λ.

Nor is the account of the success in this war less inaccurate than the account of its time: *Alexander* is defeated in Mesopotamia: Herodian. VI. 5. the whole force was ruined: πάντες διεφθάρησαν. μεγίστη τε αὐτῆ συμφορὰ καὶ οὐ ῥαδίως μνημονευθεῖσα Ῥωμαίους ἐπέσχε, δυνάμειω μεγίστης διαφθορείσης. The army in Media is destroyed: VI. 6 ἐκεῖνος ὁ στρατὸς ἐπανιῶν πλείστος ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι διεφθάρη—ὡς ὀλίγους πάνυ ἐκ πολλῶν ἐπανελθεῖν. And *Alexander* retreats to Antioch

<sup>a</sup> See the Tables 225, 3.<sup>b</sup> See Tables 235. 2.

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σφαλείς καὶ γνώμη καὶ τύχη, καὶ τῶν τριῶν μοιρῶν τοῦ στρατοῦ ὧν ἔνειμε τὸ πλεῖστον ἀποβαλῶν. This narrative is refuted by the testimony of coins which attest his victory and his triumph, and confirm the account of this war given by Lampridius and other writers quoted in the Tables. But Herodian is refuted even by himself; for he proceeds to relate that the Persians, instead of following up these advantages, were so wasted in the campaign that their loss of men was equal to that of the enemy, and that for three or four years they never attempted any hostile effort: δειγμα τοῦτο οὐ μικρὸν τῆς τῶν βαρβάρων κακώσεως· ἐτῶν γοῦν τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων ἡσύχασαν, οὐδ' ἐν ὄπλοις ἐγένοντο. Herodian adds ἅπερ μανθάνων ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος—ἐν τῇ Ἀντιοχείᾳ διέτριβεν. from which we are not to understand that Herodian included these three or four years within the reign of *Alexander* (as Tzschutke or Ermisch appear to understand it ad Eutrop. p. 628). The words ἅπερ μανθάνων do not refer to the words ἐτῶν τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων, but to the more remote antecedent sentence ἀπηγγέλλετο ὁ Πέρσης λύσας τὴν δύναμιν κ.τ.λ. It is very clear that *Alexander* was successful in the war, if it produced these effects among his enemies. Spanheim ad Julian. p. 150 has seen that *Alexander* was not conquered by the Persians.

Lampridius Alex. c. 1 supposed *Alexander* to be *Cæsar* at the death of *Macrinus* in A. D. 218: *mortuo scilicet Macrino*. But if he supposed with Herodian that *Alexander* was named *Cæsar* at the age of 12, this may be the reason for calling him 29y 3<sup>m</sup> at his death. The day of his birth is thus described by Lampridius c. 5 *eadem die natalem habet qua ille Magnus excessit e vita*. c. 13 *ea die natus est qua defunctus Magnus Alexander*. As he was born Oct. 1, the day on which the era of the *Seleucidæ* commenced, it is a probable supposition that Lampridius has mistaken this for the epoch of the death of *Alexander* the Great<sup>c</sup>.

Inscriptions. 1 Gruter p. 12. 3 Ferrariæ in ænea tabella: *Pro salute imp. Cæsaris M. Aurelii Severi Alexandri Pii Felicis Aug. Jovi Optimo Maximo*. 2 Grut. p. 271. 7 juxta thermas Badenses in Germania: *Imp. C. M. Aurelius Severus Alex. Aug. pont. max. tr. p. cos. pater patriæ*. 3 Grut. p. 1078. 8 prope Steinbach in marchionatu Badensi: *Imp. Cæs. divi Severi Pii nepoti divi Antonini mag. Pii filio M. Aurel. Severo Alexandro Pio Felici Aug. pontifici maximo tribunicie potestas [sic] cos. patri patriæ C. A. Aq. ab Aq. L. IIII<sup>d</sup>*. 4 Murat. p. 9. 9 Adriæ in tabula ahenea in Aprutio: *Pro salute imp. Cæsaris M. Aureli Severi Alexandri Pii Felicis Aug. Jovi Optimo Maximo Doliceno*. Perhaps the same as N<sup>o</sup>. 1. 5 Muratori p. 60. 3 Romæ: *Herculi Conservatori invicto comiti D. N. Severi Alexandri Pii Victoris semper Aug. ac optimi principis M. Aurelius Priscillianus V. C. curator lymphæi devot. num. M. Q. E.* 6 Gruter p. 271. 6 in oppido Guadix Hispaniæ Tarraconensis: *Julie Mammeæ Aug. matri imp. Cæs. M. Aureli Severi Alexandri Pii F. Aug. m. castror. col. Jul. Gem. Accitana devota numini M. Q. ejus*. 7 Murat. p. 250. 4 Cortonæ in tubo plumbeo: *Julie Mamieæ matris Aug. N.* 8 Murat. p. 1992. 6 Valentie in Hispania: *Julie Mamææ Aug. matri . . . . . Valentini veterani et veteres*. 9 Murat. p. 459. 3 Tibure: *Ex auctoritate imp. Cæs. M. Aur. Sever. Alexandr . . . . . pont. max. . . . . M. Pupius M. f. Antonianus P. Cæponius P. f. Claud. Paratus æd. pr. cens. F. C.* 10 Mur. p. 459. 4 in Sirmio: *Imp. Cæs. . . . . Alexander Pius Felix Augustus pontifex maximus tribunic. potestatis VII [A. D. 228] imperator M. P. XV.*

Laws of A. D. 223. 224. 225. 226. 230.

A. D. 223. January: Cod. Just. II. 51, 3 *Idem A.* [sc. *Alexander*] *Flavio Aristodemo militi. pp. Non. Januar. Maximo II et Æliano cons.* VIII. 28, 1 *Imp. Alexander A. Pacatæ. pp. Id. Jan. Feb.*: VIII. 39. 2 *Menophilo. pp. III Non. Februar.* III. 28, 8 *Florentino. pp. VII Id. Feb. V. 49, 1 Dionysodoro. pp. VII Id. Feb.* VI. 37, 9 *Antiocho. pp. VII Id. Feb.* VI. 30, 2 *Floren-*

<sup>c</sup> On the death of *Alexander Severus* conf. Ammian. 26. 6, 20.

<sup>d</sup> Compare an inscription of *Elagabalus* in the Tables A. D. 220. 2.



*tino militi. pp. VI Id. Feb.* IV. 39, 3 *Timotheo. pp. V Id. Februar.* VIII. 42, 1 *Timotheo. pp. V* ALEXANDER SEVERUS.  
*Id. Feb.* II. 13, 6 *Marciano. VI Kal. Mart.* X. 58, 1 *Martiano. dat. VI Kal. Mart.*

March: II. 25, 2 *Martianæ. pp. III Non. Mart.* II. 13, 7 *Macrino. pp. VIII Id. Mart.* II. 1, 5 *Valentinianæ. pp. VII Id. Mart.* VII. 57, 2 *Maximo. IV Id. Mart.* IX. 23, 3 *Martiali. pp. XVII Kal. April.* IV. 1, 2 *Felici. pp. VI Kal. April.* VI. 32, 1 *Proculæ. pp. II Kal. April.*

April: IX. 8, 1 *Paulino. pp. III Id. April.* X. 11, 1 *Basso. pp. XIII Kal. Maii.* IV. 24, 4 *Hermeo et Maximillæ. pp. XII Kal. Maii.* V. 63, 1 *Symmacho et Diotimo. pp. XII Kal. Maii.* II. 12, 11 *Herennio. pp. X Kal. Maias.* IV. 20, 2 *Carpo. pp. X Kal. Maii.* VI. 24, 3 *Vitali militi. pp. VI Kal. Maii.* VIII. 23, 2 *Valeriano. pp. VI Kal. Maii.* VI. 2, 5 *Cornelio. pp. III Kal. Maii.* VI. 11, 1 *Vitali. Dat. III Kal. Maii.*

May: III. 34, 3 *Ricanæ. pp. Kal. Maii.* IX. 22, 2 *Valerio. pp. III Non. Maii.* VI. 44, 3 *Verinæ. pp. Non. Maii.* VI. 58, 1 *Cassio et Hermionæ. pp. Non. Maii.* V. 37, 6 *Paconio. pp. VI Id. Maii.* VI. 6, 1 *Zotico. pp. II Idus Maii.* III. 28, 9 *Romanæ. pp. Id. Maii.* IX. 9, 7 *Herculano. pp. XII Kal. Jun.*

June: IX. 9, 5 *Vadanti. pp. Id. Jun.* V. 31, 5 *Fuscianæ. pp. V Kal. Jul.* VI. 42, 4 *Victorino. pp. V Kal. Jul.*

July: III. 44, 3 *Rimo. pp. V Non. Jul.* V. 37, 7 *Valerio. pp. VI Id. Jul.* II. 22, 1 *Plotianæ. Dat. V Id. Jul.* V. 12, 4 *Valenti. pp. IV Id. Jul.* VI. 6, 2 *Leontogono. Dat. XIV Kal. Aug.*

Aug.: VII. 19, 2 *Gallo. pp. V Id. Aug.* II. 4, 3 *Tullia. Dat. prid. Id. Aug.* III. 28, 10 *Quintiniano. pp. II Id. Aug.* IX. 9, 6 *Sebastiano. pp. II Id. Aug.* III. 34, 4 *Corneliano. pp. Idib. Aug.* VI. 26, 3 *Achillæ. pp. XI Kal. Sept.* II. 13, 8 *Mansueto. pp. VIII Kal. Sept.*

September: III. 42, 3 *Felicissimæ. pp. Kal. Sept.* VIII. 30, 3 *Claudio. pp. XVI Kal. Oct.* VIII. 28, 2 *Maximæ. pp. XII Kal. Oct.* VIII. 57, 1 *Daphnæ. pp. IV Kal. Oct.* IV. 21, 2 *Mabiliano. pp. III Kal. Oct.*

October: VII. 45, 3 *Vectio. pp. Kal. Oct.* VIII. 36, 4 *Juliano et aliis. pp. II Non. Oct.* VI. 12, 1 *Rufo. pp. IV Id. Oct.* VIII. 41, 8 *Longo. pp. II Idus Oct.* VIII. 15, 3 *Pars ex rescripto Alexandri A. ad Demosthenem. pp. Id. Oct.* VI. 50, 5 *Damasatæ. Si mortis causa immodicas donationes in sororem tuam matrem contulisse probare potes, legis Falcidiæ ratione secundum constitutionem divi Severi avi mei uti merito potes. pp. XV Kal. Nov.* VIII. 46, 1 *Publicio. pp. XV Kal. Nov.* VI. 33, 2 *Eutacto. pp. VI Kal. Nov.* VIII. 16, 4 *Secundo. pp. V Kal. Nov.*

Nov.: III. 44, 4 *Luciano. pp. VI Non. Nov.* IX. 2, 3 *Stephanidi. pp. IV Non. Nov.* VIII. 28, 3 *Luciano. pp. III Non. Nov.* VII. 11, 1 *Antiocho. pp. III Id. Nov.* II. 1, 6 *Uranio. pp. XVI Kal. Dec.* III. 41, 1 *Marcello. pp. XIII Kal. Dec.* VII. 71, 1 *Irenæo. pp. XII Kal. Dec.* II. 20, 1 *Felici. pp. X Kal. Dec.* VIII. 45, 10 *Largo. pp. VII Kal. Dec.* VIII. 41, 9 *Aristocrati. pp. V Kal. Dec.* VI. 35, 4 *Philomuso. pp. II Kal. Dec.*

Dec.: IV. 21, 3 *Æliano. pp. III Non. Dec.* V. 50, 2 *Euphido. pp. Non. Dec.* IV. 26, 5 *Asclepiadi. pp. VI Id. Dec.* VI. 16, 1 *Juliano. pp. III Id. Dec.* V. 55, 1 *Zotico. pp. II Id. Dec.* IV. 29, 4 *Alexandræ. pp. VI Kal. Januar.* V. 28, 3 *Gordio et aliis. dat. V Kal. Jan.* VI. 50, 6 *Secundinæ. S. V Kal. Januar.* VII. 19, 1 *Vitalio. pp. Id. \* perhaps before August: conf. VII. 19, 2.* VII. 48, 1 *Sabiniano. IV Non. \**

A. D. 224 January: Cod. Just. VI. 21, 5 *Idem A. [sc. Alexander] Sozomeno. Dat. XVII Kal. Feb. Juliano II et Crispino cons. VI. 42, 5 Reginæ. pp. XV Kal. Feb. Juliano II et Crispino cons. V. 57, 1 Imp. Alexander A. Felici. pp. X Kal. Februar. IX. 9, 9 Proculo. pp. VII Kal. Feb.*

Feb.: VIII. 19, 3 *Valenti. pp. Kal. Feb.* IX. 8, 2 *Faustiniano. pp. III Non. Feb.* III. 1, 3 *Faustinæ. pp. VI Id. Feb.* VI. 42, 6 *Nilio. pp. XVI Kal. Mart.*

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March: VI. 12, 2 *Claræ*. *Dat. Kal. Mart.* VII. 26, 2 *Marcellino*. *Dat. V Non. Mart.* V. 29, 1 *Prisco*. *pp. III Non. Mart.* II. 6, 2 *Polydoro*. *pp. Non. Mart.* VI. 35, 5 *Tyranno*. *pp. VII Id. Mart.* IX. 41, 5 *Respecto*. *pp. VI Id. Mart.* VI. 47, 3 *Paterno*. *Proposita XII Kal. April.* VIII. 10, 3 *Evocato*. *pp. VII Kal. April.* VI. 25, 4 *Æmiliano*. *pp. VI Kal. April.* VIII. 1, 1 *Evocato*. *pp. VI Kal. April.* VIII. 53, 1 *Apro*. *pp. VI Kal. April.*

April: IV. 24, 5 *Dioscoridæ*. *pp. XIII Kal. Maii.* V. 44, 2 *Evaresto*. *pp. XII Kal. Maii.* III. 44, 5 *Cassio militi*. *pp. VIII Kal. Maii* [om. II]. V. 55, 2 *Justo*. *pp. VIII Kal. Maii.*

May: VI. 2, 6 *Pythidoro*. *pp. Kal. Maii.* III. 37, 3 *Verecundiano*. *pp. V Non. Maii* [om. II]. IX. 1, 6 *Probo*. *pp. V Non. Maii.* V. 62, 6 *Maximiano*. *pp. III Non. Maii.* VI. 3, 6 *Minicio*. *Dat. XII Kal. Jun.* V. 28, 4 *Felicianæ*. *pp. VII Kal. Jun.* VIII. 52, 1 *Claudio*. *pp. III Kal. Jun.*

June: IV. 29, 5 *Popiliæ*. *Dat. XV Kal. Julii.* V. 56, 2 *Ampliato*. *pp. XIII Kal. Jul.* III. 31, 6 *Firmino*. *pp. X Kal. Julii.* III. 44, 6 *Primitivo et aliis*. *pp. VIII Kal. Jul.* [om. II] IX. 20, 3 *Cornelio*. *pp. VIII Kal. Jul.* IX. 46, 2 *Apolloniæ*. *pp. VI Kal. Julii.*

July: II. 12, 12 *Donato*. *pp. Kal. Jul.* X. 7, 1 *Marcello*. *pp. Kal. Jul.* VII. 35, 1 *Venuleio*. *VI Non. Jul.* V. 75, 2 *Paterno*. *pp. III Non. Jul.* V. 62, 7 *Antonio*. *pp. III Id. Jul.* VI. 20, 1 *Deuteriæ*. *pp. III Id. Julii.*

Aug.: VI. 15, 1 *Ulpio*. *Dat. III Idus Aug.* VI. 54, 5 *Paulinæ*. *pp. III Id. Aug.*

Sept.: X. 8, 2 *Victorino*. *pp. III Non. Sept.* VI. 3, 7 *Augustino*. *Dat. III Id. Sept.* VI. 20, 2 *Primo*. *Dat. III Id. Sept.* VII. 58, 2 *Optato*. *pp. XVI Kal. Oct.* V. 31, 6 *Otaciliæ*. *pp. X Kal. Oct.* V. 35, 1 *Otaciliæ*. *pp. X Kal. Oct.* VI. 6, 4 *Victorino*. *pp. II Kal. Oct.*

Dec.: III. 28, 11 *Ingenuo*. *pp. IV Kal. Januar.* [om. II.] These are dated *Juliano II et Crispino cons.* except those in which *II* is omitted.

A. D. 225 January: *Cod. Just.* VI. 23, 2 *Imp. Alexander A. Expedito*. *pp. Kal. Januar.* *Fusco II et Dextro cons.* VI. 54, 6 *Donato*. *pp. VI Id. Januar.* VI. 57, 1 *Evangelo*. *pp. XV Kal. Feb.* V. 62, 8 *Maximo*. *pp. IV Kal. Feb.*

Feb.: VII. 16, 3 *Quirino*. *pp. Non. Feb.* VI. 42, 7 *Septimo*. *pp. XV Kal. Mart.* II. 1, 7 *Valenti*. *pp. X Kal. Mart.* VI. 3, 8 *Lictorio*. *Dat. X Kal. Mart.* VI. 54, 7 *Proculiano*. *pp. X Kal. Mart.* VIII. 17, 4 *Evocato*. *pp. prid. Kal. Mart.*

March: III. 18, 1 *Heraclidæ*. *Dat. VI Id. Mart.*

April: VII. 4, 7 *Nicomedi*. *pp. Kal. April.* VI. 28, 2 *Heraclidæ*. *pp. VI Id. April.* IV. 24, 6 *Trophimæ*. *pp. Idib. April.* VI. 21, 6 *Valentino*. *pp. XI Kal. Maii.*

May: IX. 9, 10 *Demetriano*. *pp. V Non. Maii.* VI. 42, 8 *Masculo*. *pp. XV Kal. Jun.* VII. 73, 5 *Mennæ*. *pp. XV Kal. Jun.*

June: VIII. 28, 4 *Crescenti*. *pp. Kal. Jun.* IX. 23, 5 *Gallieno militi*. *pp. XVII Kal. Jul.* VI. 26, 4 *Firmiano*. *pp. IV Kal. Jul.*

July: V. 34, 2 *Artemisiæ*. *pp. Kal. Jul.* V. 57, 2 *Prisco*. *pp. VII Kal. Aug.*

Aug.: VI. 3, 9 *Herculiano*. *Dat. VII Id. Aug.* V. 18, 4 *Apollonio*. *pp. XVIII Kal. Sept.*

Sept.: X. 4, 1 *Epicteto*. *pp. VII Kal. Oct.*

Oct.: II. 1, 8 *Floro*. *pp. Kal. Oct.* VI. 39, 1 *Januariæ*. *Accept. Kal. Oct.*

A. D. 226 in January: *Cod. Just.* V. 38, 1 *Imp. Alexander A. Quarto*. *pp. IX Kal. Feb.* *Alexandro A. II et Marcello cons.*

March: II. 4, 4 *Numidio*. *pp. II Non. Martii.* III. 33, 4 *Verbicio*. *pp. 5* [sic] *Id. Mart.* VII. 30, 1 *Savino*. *pp. VII Kal. April.*

April: III. 33, 5 *Evocato et aliis*. *pp. Kal. April.* V. 12, 5 *Statiæ*. *Dat. III Id. April.* IV. 25, 2 *Callisto*. *pp. III Kal. Maii.*



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- May: VI. 50, 7 *Primo et Pomponio. pp. Kal. Maii.* IX. 50, 2 *Rustico. Dat. Id. Maii.*  
 June: II. 20, 2 *Alexandro. pp. VI Kal. Jul.*  
 July: V. 38, 2 *Saturo. pp. Non. Jul.* I. 23, 1 *Supero. Dat. Id. Jul.* II. 44, 2 *Justo militi. pp. V Kal. Aug.*  
 August: II. 37, 2 *Antiocho et aliis. Dat. Kal. Aug.* V. 29, 2 *Valerio. pp. VIII Id. Aug.*  
 Sept.: IX. 9, 11 *Narvano. pp. Kal. Sept.* IX. 49, 3 *Juliano. pp. VI Id. Sept.* III. 37, 2 *Avito militi. pp. II Id. Sept.* II. 3, 9 *Dionysio. pp. prid. Id. Sept.* II. 3, 8 *Mucatraulio. pp. IV Kal. Oct.*  
 Oct.: II. 51, 2 *Petronio centurioni. pp. XIII Kal. Nov.* III. 32, 3 *Dominicæ. pp. III Kal. Nov.*  
 Nov.: III. 35, 1 *Glyconidi. pp. VII Id. Nov.* II. 19, 10 *Secundo et aliis. pp. XII Kal. Dec.*  
 Dec.: VI. 46, 4 *Licinæ. pp. Kal. Dec.* II. 52, 1 *Secundinæ. pp. III Non. Dec.* VI. 53, 5 *Maximo. pp. XIII Kal. Januar.* VI. 21, 7 *Fortunato. Ex his verbis, "Fortunato liberto meo do lego," vindicare tibi libertatem non potes, si pagani testamentum proponatur. at enim quum testatorem militem fuisse proponas, &c.—Dat. XII Kal. Januarii.*
- A. D. 230 in January: Cod. Just. II. 4, 6 *Pomponiis. pp. VIII Id. Jan. Agricola et Clementino cons.*  
 Feb.: II. 3, 12 *Flacillæ. pp. III Kal. Mart.* III. 42, 4 *Flacillæ. pp. III Kal. Mart.* IV. 28, 5 *Musæ. pp. prid. Kal. Mart.*  
 March: II. 2, 1 *Trophinio. pp. IV Kal. April.*  
 April: V. 37, 9 *Inclytæ. pp. XVII Kal. Maii.*  
 May: IV. 25, 3 *Marticæ. pp. Nonis Maii.* IX. 35, 2 *Clavo. pp. prid. Id. Maii.* VIII. 20, 1 *Athenioni. pp. Id. Maii.* VIII. 25, 1 *Mestriano. pp. Id. Maii.*  
 June: VI. 20, 3 *Alexandro. Dat. XIV Kal. Jul.*  
 July: III. 33, 6 *Stratonicæ. pp. Kal. Jul.* V. 37, 10 *Rufinæ. pp. XI Kal. Aug.* VII. 10, 3 *Pompeio. pp. VI Kal. Aug. [ubi Clemente cons.]*  
 August: II. 19, 12 *Theophilo. pp. Kal. Aug.* IX. 1, 7 *Felici. pp. XV Kal. Sept.* VIII. 41, 12 *Theodoto. pp. VI Kal. Sept. [ubi A. et Clemente.]* IX. 22, 5 *Petronio. pp. III Kal. Sept. [ubi A. et Clemente.]*  
 Sept.: II. 13, 12 *Frontoni. V Kal. Oct.* I. 26, 1 *Theodoro. prid. Kal. Octobris.*  
 October: II. 19, 13 *Aquilæ. pp. VIII Kal. Nov.*

## MAXIMINUS. GORDIANI. PUPIENUS. BALBINUS.

MAXIMINUS,  
&c.

The *Gordians*, *Pupienus*, and *Balbinus* are described in the Tables A. D. 238. An inscription naming *Pupienus* is given by Muratori p. 252. 2 *Recineti in statuæ basi: Maximo Clodio Pupieno Liberali Augusto.*

Herodian is charged by Capitolinus Maxim. c. 13 with favouring *Maximin*: *Ei (quantum videmus) in odium Alexandri plurimum favit.* There is no reason for the charge. Herodian VII. 1 describes the cruelty of *Maximin* and asserts that the accusation against *Magnus* was probably forged. Again VII. 3 he strongly mentions the cruelty and rapacity of *Maximin*, and ascribes his death to his wicked government VIII. 5.

Eckhel has shewn from the coins quoted in the Tables that *Maximin* was still acknowledged by the senate in the beginning of 238. The narrative of Herodian confirms this. *Maximin* had marched about 240 miles<sup>e</sup> when he heard of the death of the *Gordians*. We may assign then about two months to their reign. After the appointment of *Maximus* and *Balbinus*, *Maximus* is

<sup>e</sup> See the Tables A. D. 238 p. 252.

MAXIMINUS, sent to oppose *Maximin*: Herodian. VII. 12 Capitolin. Max. Balbin. c. 8. *Maximin* had entered Italy in the spring; and the transactions that followed could not occupy more than the time described in the Tables.

He is said by Chron. Pasch. p. 269 A to be 65 years old: οἱ στρατιῶται ἔσφαξαν Μαξιμίον Ἀύγουστον εἰς Ἀκυληΐαν ὄντα ἑτῶν ξε΄. Tillemont tom. 3 p. 218 doubts this account, which would make him 20 at the accession of *Severus*. But as we do not know at what age *Maximin* was introduced to *Severus*, nor in what year of the reign of *Severus* (for this is proposed by Tillemont upon conjecture), we have no reason for rejecting the account of the Chronicle<sup>f</sup>.

*Gordian* was 80 at his elevation: Herodian. VII. 5 Capitolin. Gordian. c. 9. And his son 46: Capitolin. Ib. c. 15. They are said to reign 19 6<sup>m</sup> or rather 6<sup>m</sup> in Capitolin. c. 16: *Imperaverunt anno uno mensibus sex.* but Cod. Palatin. apud Salmasium has *imperaverunt mensibus sex.* According to Capitolinus Gord. c. 22 *Maximus et Balbinus biennio imperaverant*, but Max. et Balb. c. 15 *imperaverunt anno uno.* Victor quoted in the Tables supposes the four reigns to occupy the last year of *Maximin*. The evidence however of coins attests that the true interval from the elevation of the *Gordians* to the deaths of *Maximus* and *Balbinus* could be no more than five months. The first two months of this period belonged to the *Gordians*, the last three months to *Pupienus* and *Balbinus*.

Capitolinus has two dates which require notice. Maximino c. 16 *VI Kal. Junias* [*VI Kal. Julias* Vet. ed.] *acceptas literas Junius Syllanus consul ex Africa Gordiani imperatoris patris patriæ proconsulis recitavit.* Max. Balb. c. 1—3 *Interemptis in Africa Gordiano seniore cum filio, quum Maximinus ad urbem furens veniret, senatus in ædem Concordiæ VII Kal. Junias* [Cod. Pal. *VII Idus Junias*] *concurrit, ludis Apollinaribus &c.—imperatores facti sunt Maximus atque Balbinus.* The *Ludi Apollinares* were on July 13, so that these dates are inconsistent with each other; nor can they be reconciled with the facts.

The wife of *Maximin* was mentioned by Ammianus: conf. Ammian. 14 1, 8.

*Maximin* is said to be slain by *Pupienus*: *Aquileiæ a Pupieno occiditur*—in Hieron. Chron. But in Eusebius rightly, *occiditur Aquileiæ.* Orosius VII. 19 follows Hieronymus. The same inaccuracy is in Eutropius IX. 1 *a Pupieno Aquileiæ occisus est.* in Victor Cæs. p. 332 *Eos Pupienus Aquileiæ obsidione confecit.* The true account is given in Victor Epit. p. 380 Chron. Pasch. Syncellus p. 361 B. Cassiodorus also properly omits *Pupienus*.

Eutropius IX. 2 has some errors in speaking of the *Gordians* and their successors: *Postea* [after the death of *Maximin*] *tres simul Augusti fuerunt, Pupienus Balbinus et Gordianus, duo superiores obscurissimo genere, Gordianus nobilis, quippe cujus pater, senior Gordianus, consensu militum, cum proconsulatum Africæ ageret, Maximino imperante, princeps fuisset electus. Itaque cum Romam venissent Balbinus et Pupienus, in palatio interfecti sunt. soli Gordiano imperium reservatum. Gordianus admodum puer &c. Parthis bellum intulit.* But 1 *Gordian III* was not *Augustus* but only *Cæsar* during the lives of *Balbinus* and *Pupienus*. 2 *Balbinus* was not *obscurissimo genere*. 3 He did not return to Rome, for he had never left it. 4 *Gordian the son* is confounded with *Gordian the grandson* of the proconsul of Africa. Victor Cæs. p. 332 has committed the first error and the last. Eusebius omits the elder *Gordian Pupienus* and *Balbinus*. Hieronymus mistakes with Eutropius and Victor the son for the grandson, and places the deaths of *Pupienus* and *Balbinus* in the reign of *Gordian III*: *Anno 2255 Gordiani 2<sup>o</sup>* [A. D. 23 $\frac{3}{4}$  2<sup>o</sup>] *Gordiano Romam ingresso Pupienus et Albinus, qui imperium arripuerunt, in palatio occisi.* Capitolinus Gordiano c. 2 remarks upon this error *Gordiani non, ut quidam imperiti scriptores loquuntur, duo sed tres fuerunt.* The

<sup>f</sup> Zonaras XII tom. 1 p. 622 A gives the same age: ἦν δὲ ὁ Μαξιμίμος ἑτῶν πέντε καὶ ἐξήκοντα, ἀφ' ὧν ἐβασίλευσεν ἑξ΄.



Paschal Chronicle acknowledges only one *Gordian* p. 269 B. *Gordianus senior* reigns six years—MAXIMINUS, &c. νόσφ βληθεὶς τελευτᾷ ὡν ἐτῶν οθ'. and is succeeded by *Philippus*§. Zosimus I. 14—16 in his brief sketch of the events of this year has some mistakes, but distinguishes three *Gordians*. The death of the elder *Gordian* is recorded by Ammianus 26. 6, 20.

Inscriptions. 1 Gruter p. 158. 7 inter Emeritam et Ulisipponem in columna miliaria: *Imp. Cæs. Caius Julius Ver... nob. imperator V tribuniciæ potest. cos. pro. p. patriæ*.....

2 Gruter p. 151. 5 item Muratorius p. 250. 5 p. 2010. 3 Braccaræ in columna: *Imp. Cæs. C. Julius Verus Maximus Pius F. Aug. Germ. max. DAC. max. Sarm. max. pont. max. trib. pot. V imp. VII p. p. cos. procos.*§§ et *C. Julius Verus Max. nobilissimus Cæsar Germ. max. DAC. max. Sarm. max. princ. juventutis filius D. N.*<sup>h</sup> *imp. C. Julii Veri Maximini P. F. Aug. vias et pontes tempore vetustatis collapsos restituerunt curante Q. Decio leg. Augg. præf. a Brac. Aug. M. P.*... Read in this inscription *trib. pot. IIII* or *IV*, and perhaps *imp. V*.<sup>i</sup>

3 Gruter p. 163. 8 Ardeæ: *Imp. Cæs. Maximinus Pius Felix Aug. pontif. max. Germ. maxim. trib. potest. IIII imp. V cos. procos. p. p. et imp. Cæsar Maximus F. Germ. max. DAC. max. princeps juventutis litus vicinum viæ Severianæ assiduus maris adluentis fluctibus ad labem ruinæ labefactatum aggeribus marini operis a fundamentis, ut periculum commeantibus abesset, extrui curarunt.*

## GORDIANUS III.

GORDIANUS III

## Inscriptions:

1 Gruter p. 57. 5 Idem p. 89. 11 Muratorius p. 155. 2 in Ostroch in Dacia: *Marti Aug. pro salute imp. Cæs. M. Antoni Gordiani Pii Felicis Aug. M. Antonius Valentinus*<sup>k</sup> *eq. R. dec. m. Apul. sacerdos aræ Aug. N. coronatus DAC. III D. D.* 2 Muratori p. 57. 9 Romæ: *Veneri sacrum L. Paullus L. L. [f. L. f.] Ægius Passer IIIvir A. A. A. F. F. procurat. patr. imp. Cæs. Gordian. August. voto suscepto L. M.* 3 Murat. p. 250. 6 Romæ: *Imp. Cæs. M. Antonio Gordiano Pio Felici Aug. p. m. trib. pot. cos. p. p. Cornelia Prætextata divinam pietatem ejus.... que suos et.... di-cium....entiam suam....bavit.* 4 Mur. p. 459. 6 Petrovaradini in Hungaria: *Imp. Cæs. M. Antonio Gordiano P. F. Aug. pontifici maximo tribuniciæ potestatis patri patriæ cos. procos. A. Malata*..... 5 Murat. p. 1075. 5 Condate Redonum in Gallia: *Imp. Cæs. M. Antonio Gordiano Pio Fel. Aug.*

§ Zonaras XII tom. I p. 622 BC had also met with very confused accounts of this period. *Maximus* and *Albinus* are appointed by the senate: p. 621 D. They reign 22 days or less than 3 months: p. 622 B ἀπέκτειναν αὐτούς. ὡν ὁ μὲν Μάξιμος ἐτῶν ἦν οθ' ὁ δὲ Ἀλβίνος ξ', καὶ ἐβασίλευσαν, κατὰ τινὰς μὲν, ἡμέρας δύο καὶ εἴκοσι, καθ' ἑτέροισ δὲ οὐχ ὅλους μῆνας τρεῖς. Then followed *Pompeianus*: Ibid. μετὰ τούτους οἱ μὲν Πομπηϊανόν τινα συγγεγράφασι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐσχηκέναι ἀρχὴν, ταχύτατα δ' ἐκπεπωκέναι αὐτῆς—οὐπω γὰρ δύο παρεληλυθέναι μῆνας, καὶ στερηθῆναι αὐτὸν πρὸς τῇ μοναρχίᾳ καὶ τῆς ζωῆς ἀναιρεθέντα: παρὰ τίνων δὲ καὶ διὰ τίνα αἰτίαν, μὴ εὐρηκὸς παρεσιώπησα καὶ αὐτός. Then *Balbinus*: μεθ' ὃν Πούπλιον ἀντεισαχθῆναι Βαλβίνον ἰστόρησαν. Thus four emperors are made out of two. After *Balbinus*, the elder *Gordians* arrive in Italy: Ibid. καὶ μικρόν τι κάκεινον τῆς αὐταρχίας ἀπογενεσάμενον (ἐπὶ τρισὶ γὰρ μῆσιν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν περιγράφουσιν) ἀναιρεθῆναι κάκεινον, ἀρτι καταλαβόντος ἐκ Λιβύης Γορδιανού.—τὸν δὲ Γορδιανὸν τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπιβεβηκότα νοσήσαι—καὶ ἐκ τῆς νόσου ταύτης ἐκλεοιπέται μόνος εἴκοσι καὶ δύο ἡμέρας ἐν ταύτῃ διαγαγόντα. He reports other accounts p. 623 A of the two *Gor-*

*dians*: that according to some they both perished in Africa; according to others the father died in Africa, and the son (whom he here confounds with *Gordian III*) died at Rome of a wound received in battle with the Persians, ἐπὶ ἐξ ἐνιαυτοῦ αὐταρχήσαντα.

§§ Muratori p. 250. 5 has *cos. NS. procos.* but at p. 2010. 3 rightly *cos. procos.*

<sup>h</sup> Thus far Muratori p. 250. 5. But at p. 2010. 3 the inscription is continued thus: *C. Julii Veri—restituer. curante Q. D. leg. Aug. pr. pr. Brac. M. P. XVIII.*

<sup>i</sup> A similar inscription is given in Muratori p. 2010. 4 in Lusitania; which bears *imp. VI: Imp. Cæs. C. Julius Verus Maximus Pius Aug. Germ. max. DAC. max. Sarm. max. pont. max. imp. VI p. p. cos. procos. et C. Julius Verus Max. nobilissimus Cæsar Germ. max. Sarm. max. princeps juventutis filius D. N. imp. C. Julii Veri Maximini P. F. Aug. vias et pontes tempor. vetustate conlaps. restituerunt curante Q. Dec. leg. Aug. præf. Brac. Aug. M. P. XXXII.*

<sup>k</sup> *Valentinus* omitted in Gruter p. 89. 11 is added in Muratori.

GORDIANUS III *p. m. tr. p. cos. O. R.* 6 Mur. p. 1094. 6 In civitate Venciensi: *Imp. Cæs. M. Antonio Gordiano Pio Fel. Aug. pont. max. trib. pot. II* [A. D. 239] *p. p. cos. civitas Vint. devota numini majestatique ejus.* 7 Mur. p. 251. 1 Nursiæ: *D. Gord. Pio F. Aug. pont. max. trib. pot. bis cos. procos.* 8 Mur. p. 251. 2 Hispelli: *Imp. Cæsari M. Antonio Gordiano Pio Felici Aug. pont. max. trib. pot. II cos. procos. p. p. publice.* 9 Mur. p. 460. 1 in Anglia: *Imp. Cæsar M. Antonius Gordianus P. F. Aug. municipia et armamentaria conlapsa restituit per Mæciliū Fuseum leg. Aug. pr. pr. curante M. Aur. Quirino pr. coh. I L. Gord.* 10 Murat. p. 460. 2 in Anglia: *Imp. Cæs. M. Ant. Gordianus P. F. Aug. balneum cum basilica a solo instruxit pre [sic] Gn. Lucilianum leg. Aug. pr. pr. curante M. Aur. Quirino pre. coh. I L. GR.* 11 Mur. p. 251. 3 Romæ: *Pro S. imp. M. Antoni Gordiani Pii Felicis Aug. et Tranquillinæ Sabinæ Aug. venatores immun. cum custode vicari Pont. Verus mil. coh. VI pr. Campanius Verax mil. coh. VI pr. Fuscus Crescentio ord. custos vicari coh. prætt. et urbb. Diana [e] Aug. D. S. ex V. P. Dedicata XII Kal. Nov. imp. D. N. Gordiano Aug. [adde II] et Pompeiano cos. Sc. Oct. 21 A. D. 241.* 12 Mur. p. 251. 5 Mazariæ in Sicilia: *Furiæ Sabinæ Tranquillinæ Aug. conjugii M. B. matronæ.* 13 Murat. p. 251. 6 Granatæ in Hispania: *Furiæ Sabinæ Tranquillinæ Aug. conjugii imp. Cæs. M. Antoni Gordiani Pii Fel. Aug. ordo M. Flori Iliberitani devotus numini majestatique sumptu publico posuit D. D.* 14 Murat. p. 252. 1 Ameriæ: *Furiæ Sabinæ Tranquillinæ Aug. conjugii imp. Cæs. M. Antoni Gordiani Pii Felicis Aug. D. D.* 15 Mur. p. 1033. 3 Betulone in Catalonia: *Sabinæ Tranquillinæ sanctissimæ Aug. conjugii D. N. M. Antoni [sic lege] Gordiani Pii Felicis Aug. ordo Betulonens. devotissimus numini majestatique eorum.* 16 Murat. p. 1049. 2 Gerundæ in Catalonia: *Sabinæ Tranquillinæ Augustæ respub. Gerund.* 17 Gruter p. 272. 5 Lectorii in Gallia: *Furiæ Sabinæ Tranquillinæ sanctissimæ Aug. conjugii domini N. M. Antonii Gordiani Pii Felicis invicti Augusti decuriales ædiliū plebis Cerealium devoti numini majestatique eorum.* 18 Gruter p. 272. 6 item apud Muratorium p. 251. 4 Romæ in monte Aventino: *Furiæ Sabinæ Tranquillinæ sanctiss. Augustæ conjugii D. N. [domini N. imp. Cæs. Murat.] M. Antoni Gordiani Pii Fel. invicti Augusti decuriales ædil. pleb. et Cerial. pleb. [ædiliū pleb. et pleb. Cerialium Murat.] devoti numini majestatique ejus.* 19 Gruter p. 1006. 8 at Carlisle: *J. O. M. pro salute imperatoris M. Antoni Gordiani P. F. invicti Aug. et Sabinæ Furie Tranquile conjugii ejus totaque domu divin. eorum ala Aug. Gordia. ob virtutem appellat. posuit, cui præst Aimilius Crispinus pref. eqq. natus in pro. Africa de Tuidro sub cur. Nonii Philippi leg. Aug. propret. Attico et Pretextato coss. [A. D. 242].* 20 Gruter p. 1085. 11 Romæ: *Furiæ Sabinæ Tranquillinæ sanctissimæ Aug. conjugii domini N. imp. Cæs. M. Antoni Gordiani Pii Felicis invicti decuriales geruli D. D. N. majestatique ejus.*

21 Gruter p. 1085. 10 *Imp. Cæs. M. Antonio Gordiano Pio Felici Aug. pontif. max. trib. pot. cos. III [lege cos. II] p. p. fratri arvali.* 21 Murat. p. 1048. 5 In portu Trajani: ἀγαθῆ τύχη. αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Μ. Ἀντώνιον Γορδιανὸν εὐσεβῆ εὐτυχῆ Σεβαστὸν κοσμοκράτορα ἢ πόλις ἢ τῶν Γαζαίων ἱερὰ καὶ ἄσυλος καὶ αὐτόνομος πιστῆ εὐσεβῆς λαμπρὰ καὶ μεγάλε [sic] ἐξ Ἐνκλύσεως τοῦ πατρίου θεοῦ τὸν ἑαυτῆς εὐεργέτην διὰ Τιβ. Κλ. Παπέιρου ἐπιμελητοῦ τοῦ ἱεροῦ. 22 Murat. p. 1993. 8 apud Circeium ex Capitolino [sc. Gord. c. 34] *Divo Gordiano victori Persarum victori Gotthorum victori Sarmatarum depulso Romanarum seditionum victori Germanorum. (sed non victori Philipporum<sup>1</sup>.)*

Laws of A. D. 238 issued after Aug. 31.<sup>m</sup>

In September: Cod. Just. II. 12, 14 *Imp. Gordianus A. Jovino. Dat. Kal. Sept. Pio et Pontiano cons.* VIII. 42, 2 *Firmino. pp. Kal. Sept.* III. 1, 5 *Marcello. pp. IV Non. Sept.* VIII. 14, 7

<sup>1</sup> This addition is reasonably rejected as spurious by Muratori, although it had been already added be-

fore the time of Capitolinus.

<sup>m</sup> See the Tables A. D. 238 p. 253, 255.



*Martiano. pp. Non. Sept. X. 11, 2 Eutychemo. pp. VIII Id. Sept. VIII. 9, 1 Aristoni. pp. VI Gordianus III Id. Sept. V. 73, 1 Felici. Dat. V Id. Sept. IV. 14, 4 Hieroni. pp. Id. Sept. VIII. 24, 1 Lamponi et aliis. pp. Id. Sept. VI. 42, 9 Paulinæ. pp. XVII Kal. Oct. IV. 29, 7 Viviano. pp. XII Kal. Oct. V. 16, 9 Origeni. pp. VII Kal. Oct. V. 53, 4 Mutiano. pp. VII Kal. Oct. VIII. 43, 3 Apollonio. pp. V Kal. Oct. VI. 21, 8 Æterno militi. pp. III Kal. Oct.*

October: V. 12, 7 *Marco. pp. Dat. Kal. Oct. VI. 21, 9 Valerio. pp. V Non. Oct. II. 23, 2 Triphoni militi. pp. III Non. Oct. II. 53, 1 Pudenti militi. pp. III Non. Oct. IV. 13, 1 Candido militi. pp. III Non. Oct. VI. 24, 4 Ulpio. pp. prid. Non. Oct. IV. 29, 8 Triphoni. pp. Non. Oct. V. 74, 1 Liciniæ. Dat. Non. Oct. VIII. 43, 4 Rufinæ. pp. II Id. Oct. II. 40, 1 Protæ. pp. Id. Oct. VI. 50, 9 Mestriano. pp. XV Kal. Nov. VIII. 43, 5 Celso. pp. XV Kal. Nov. III. 32, 4 Muniano militi Africæ. pp. XII Kal. Nov. II. 53, 2 Secundino militi. Dat. XI Kal. Nov. V. 62, 1 Valentino. pp. XI Kal. Nov. II. 53, 3 Mutiano militi. Dat. X Kal. Nov. V. 75, 3 Probiano. Dat. VIII Kal. Nov. IX. 6, 5 Rufino. pp. VII Kal. Nov. VIII. 28, 7 Caro. pp. V Kal. Nov.*

November: V. 43, 6 *Felici. pp. V Id. Nov. II. 27, 2 Serenæ. pp. XV Kal. Dec.*

December: VIII. 34, 2 *Justæ. pp. prid. Non. Dec. II. 4, 8 Licinio. pp. X Kal. Jan. V. 74, 2 Alexandro. Dat. VII Kal. Jan.*

#### Laws of A. D. 239.<sup>n</sup>

Cod. Just. VIII. 45, 13 *Zoilo. pp. XVI Kal. Jun. Gordiano A. et Aviola cons.*

June: VIII. 48, 1 *Martiæ. pp. Kal. Jun. III. 41, 2 Quintiliano et aliis. pp. III Non. Junii. VIII. 42, 3 Mutiano. pp. V Id. Jun. VII. 43, 3 Antistio. pp. IV Id. Jun. II. 12, 15 Sulpiciæ. pp. XVII Kal. Jul. II. 50, 1 Secundino militi. pp. XII Kal. Jul. V. 65, 2 Celeri veterano. pp. III Kal. Jul.*

July: VIII. 41, 14 *Salvio. pp. III Non. Julii. IV. 29, 9 Proculo. pp. Nonis Julii. II. 19, 15 Eutychiano. pp. VI Id. Jul. III. 32, 6 Ustronio. pp. V Id. Jul. IX. 35, 3 Donato. pp. II Id. Julias. VIII. 45, 14 Secundino. pp. XIV Kal. Aug. IX. 6, 6 Juliano. pp. VI Kal. Aug.*

August: IX. 1, 10 *Mucatraulo militi. pp. Kal. Aug. II. 20, 4 Primo et Euthydico. pp. III Non. Aug. VIII. 29, 2 Nepoti. pp. III Non. Aug. V. 37, 11 Cæcilio. pp. Id. Aug. VIII. 23, 3 Antigono. pp. Id. Aug. III. 1, 6 Junicæ. Dat. XV Kal. Sept. IV. 2, 3 Sempronio. pp. VIII Kal. Sept.*

September: V. 39, 3 *Prudentiano. pp. Non. Sept. VI. 20, 5 Alexandro. Dat. Non. Sept. VI. 47, 4 Dionysio. pp. Non. Sept. I. 54, 3 Celeri pf. p. Dat. Id. Sept. V. 62, 14 Heraclidæ. pp. Idib. Sept. VIII. 14, 9 Attico. pp. III Kal. Oct.*

October: X. 3, 3 *Crispo. pp. V Kal. Nov.*

November: II. 2, 2 *Nocturno. pp. VIII Id. Nov. III. 35, 2 Mutiano. pp. VIII Id. Nov. VIII. 42, 4 Stratonico. pp. Id. Nov. VII. 19, 4 Menedemo. Dat. X Kal. Dec. III. 28, 14 Prisco. pp. VI Kal. Dec. VI. 13, 1 Herculiano. pp. VI Kal. Dec. VIII. 41, 15 Claudiano. pp. V Kal. Dec.*

December: IX. 20, 4 *Paulinæ. pp. III Non. Dec. IX. 9, 14 Aquilæ. pp. Non. Dec. VI. 42, 10 Firmo. pp. III Id. Dec. III. 6, 1 Candidæ. Dat. Id. Dec. II. 4, 7 Junio militi. pp. XIV Kal. Jan. II. 51, 4 Mastriano. Dat. XII Kal. Jan. VI. 23, 4 Rufino. pp. XII Kal. Jan. II. 20, 5 Rufo militi. pp. VI Kal. Jan. IX. 34, 2 Valenti. pp. II Kal. Jan.*

Sine mense et die, X. 3, 2 *Heracleoni. pp. V Kal. \* Gordiano A. et Aviola cons.*

#### Laws of A. D. 240.

Cod. Just. V. 11, 3 *Claudio pf. p. pp. Kal. Januar. Sabino II et Venusto cons.*

<sup>n</sup> See the Tables A. D. 239 p. 254.

**GORDIANUS III** February: V. 12, 8 *Agrippinæ*. pp. *Kal. Feb.* V. 43, 7 *Gorgoniæ*. pp. *VII Kal. Mart.* IX. 19, 1 *Zenoni*. pp. *III Kal. Mart.*  
 April: VIII. 30, 4 *Eudemo*. pp. *Kal. April.* VIII. 46, 2 *Sabinæ*. pp. *VII Id. April.*  
 May: IX. 41, 6 *Herodiano*. pp. *VII Id. Maii.* II. 51, 5 *Secundino militi*. pp. *VI Id. Maii.* VII. 14, 2 *Pompeicæ*. pp. *V Id. Maii.* VI. 44, 4 *Alexandro*. pp. *XV Kal. Jun.* VIII. 31, 2 *Domitio*. pp. *XII Kal. Jun.* IV. 21, 5 *Prisco et Marco militibus*. pp. *III Kal. Jun.*  
 June: IX. 9, 12 *Basso*. pp. *Kal. Jun.* VII. 73, 6 *Severianæ*. pp. *Non. Jun.* II. 6, 3 *Flaviano*. pp. *V Id. Jun.* V. 14, 4 *Agatho*. pp. *V Id. Jun.*  
 July: VI. 37, 12 *Mutiano*. pp. *constitutio V Idus Jul.* II. 12, 16 *Domitiano*. pp. *III Kal. Aug.*  
 August: VI. 45, 2 *Ammonio pf. p.* pp. *VI Id. Aug.* II. 21, 3 *Aquilino*. pp. *Idib. Aug.*  
 September: VI. 6, 5 *Sulpiciæ*. pp. *Non. Sept.*  
 November: I. 50, 1 *Domitio pf. p. Dat.* *III Non. Nov.*

## Laws of A. D. 241.

Cod. Just. II. 18, 1 *Imp. Gordianus A. Legitimo et aliis.* *III Id. Januar.* *Gordiano A. II et Pompeiano cons.* VII. 57, 5 *Jucundo*. pp. *XII Kal. Feb.*  
 February: II. 38, 2 *Caiano*. pp. *III Non. Feb.* II. 39, 2 *Herodotæ*. pp. *III Non. Feb.* IV. 16, 1 *Hermeroti*. pp. *XI Kal. Mart.* V. 64, 2 *Reginio*. pp. *V Kal. Mart.*  
 March: IX. 2, 4 *Archelao*. pp. *Non. Mart.* II. 31, 2 *Solanoæ*. pp. *VI Id. Mart.* V. 52, 1 *Optato*. pp. *VI Id. Mart.* VIII. 54, 2 *Leonidæ*. pp. *II Id. Mart.* III. 35, 3 *Dolenti*. pp. *V Kal. April.*  
 April: II. 3, 14 *Cælio militi*. pp. *Kal. April.* II. 4, 9 *Agrippino*. pp. *VI Id. April.*  
 June: VIII. 41, 16 *Maximo*. pp. *II Id. Jun.* VIII. 51, 2 *Publiciano*. pp. *II Id. Jun.* V. 16, 11 *Mavimo*. pp. *V Kal. Jul.* X. 11, 3 *Cæcilio*. pp. *prid. Kal. Jul.*  
 July: II. 23, 1 *Gaudio militi. Dat. Kal. Jul.* IV. 24, 7 *Juliano*. pp. *XIII Kal. Aug.* VI. 40, 1 *Bono*. pp. *XIII Kal. Aug.* III. 44, 7 *Claudio*. pp. *III Kal. Aug.*  
 August: II. 18, 2 *Tertullo. S. VI Non. Aug.* VI. 30, 3 *Florentino militi*. pp. *XV Kal. Sept.*  
 September: VIII. 26, 5 *Asclepiadi*. pp. *VI Id. Sept.* IX. 2, 5 *Paulino*. pp. *III Id. Sept.* VI. 24, 5 *Cassiano*. pp. *V Kal. Oct.*  
 October: V. 23, 2 *Domitiæ*. pp. *V Non. Oct.* II. 13, 14 *Sabiniano*. pp. *III Non. Oct.* V. 37, 12 *Octavianæ*. pp. *III Non. Oct.*  
 November: VI. 50, 10 *Diogenio*. pp. *V Id. Nov.*  
 December: VI. 42, 11 *Papyriano*. pp. *II Kal. Jan.*  
 Sine mense et die V. 73, 2 *Crispinæ. Dat. XVI Kal. \* Gordiano A. II et Pompeiano cons.*

## Laws of A. D. 242.

Cod. Just. III. 3, 1 *Vicariis*. pp. *Kal. Feb.* VI. 11, 2 *Cornelio*. pp. *XII Kal. Mart.* IX. 32, 4 *Basso*. pp. *VI Kal. Mart.*  
 March: IX. 33, 1 *Valerio*. pp. *Kal. Mart.* IX. 9, 13 *Sylvano*. pp. *Non. Mart.* VIII. 41, 17 *Brasidæ*. pp. *VI Id. Mart.* IX. 9, 15 *Hilarino militi*. pp. *IV Id. Mart.* V. 75, 4 *Aruntiano*. pp. *Id. Martii.* VI. 6, 6 *Cornelio. Dat. III Kal. April.*  
 April: IX. 34, 3 *Hadriano*. pp. *Id. April.* IV. 10, 1 *Valeriæ*. pp. *V Kal. Maii.*  
 September: II. 12, 17 *ad Magnum*. pp. *VIII Kal. Oct.*  
 October: VII. 53, 5 *Amando*. pp. *III Id. Oct.*

## In A. D. 243.

Cod. Just. V. 16, 10 *Valeriano*. pp. *VII Kal. Feb.* *Arriano et Papo cons.* V. 16, 12 *Secundinæ*. pp. *III Kal. Feb.*



February: III. 33, 7 *Ulpiano militi. pp. Kal. Feb.*

April: IX. 2, 6 *Avidiano. pp. IV Non. April.* IX. 16, 2 *Quintiano. pp. III Non. April.* V. 37, 13 *Longino. pp. VIII Kal. Maii.*

July: VI. 22, 1 *Petronio militi. pp. XII Kal. Aug.*

October: I. 18, 2 *Juvenali. Dat. XIV Kal. Nov.* V. 62, 15 *Tauro. pp. VIII Kal. Nov.* VI. 50, 11 *Maximæ. pp. VII Kal. Nov.*

November: IV. 14, 5 *Chresto. pp. XVI Kal. Dec.*

## PHILIPPUS.

## PHILIPPUS.

Tillemont tom. 3 p. 494 contends that *Philip* was a Christian. Mosheim tom. 1 p. 197 "The Philips both father and son proved so favourable and even friendly to the Christians that these two emperors passed in the opinion of many for Christians. The arguments render the fact extremely probable; but as these are opposed by others equally specious, that famous question relating to the religion of Philip and his son must be left undecided." His translator adds "The authors of the Universal History think it may be affirmed that Philip and his son embraced the Gospel, since that opinion is built upon *Jerom, Chrysostom, Dionysius of Alexandria, Zonaras, Nicephorus, Cedrenus, Rufinus, Syncellus, Orosius, Jornandes, Amm. Marcellinus, Cardinal Bona, Vincentius Lirinensis, Huetius* and others." Jortin Vol. 3 p. 260 "It is more probable that Philip was a Pagan." Lardner Vol. 8 p. 138 c. 29 examines diligently and impartially whether Philip and his son were Christians, and determines in the negative.

In the first place we may set aside the enquiry about the son of *Philip*, because he was only 6 years of age at the elevation of his father, and in his 12th year at his death. His opinions are of little consequence, even if they could be known. Secondly, many of the authorities mentioned merely repeat one another, and are not independent witnesses nor capable of being witnesses at all. We may shortly collect the evidence upon this subject.

1 Dionysius apud Euseb. H. E. VII. 10 thus speaks of *Valerian*: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλος τις οὕτω τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέων εὐμενῶς καὶ δεξιῶς πρὸς τοὺς Χριστιανούς διετέθη, οὐδ' οἱ λεχθέντες ἀναφανδὸν Χριστιανοὶ γεγονέαι. He does not name *Philip*, and may just as probably refer to *Alexander Severus* and *Mamæa*.

2 Eusebius H. E. VI. 34 τοῦτον κατέχει λόγος Χριστιανὸν ὄντα, ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ὑστάτης τοῦ πάσχα παννυχίδος, τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας εὐχῶν τῷ πλήθει μετασχεῖν ἐθελῆσαι, οὐ πρότερον δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ τηρικᾶδε προεστῶτος ἐπιτραπῆναι εἰσβαλεῖν ἢ ἐξομολογήσασθαι κ.τ.λ.—ἄλλως γὰρ μὴ ἂν ποτε πρὸς αὐτοῦ μὴ οὐχὶ τοῦτο ποιήσαντα διὰ πολλὰς τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν αἰτίας παραδεχθῆναι καὶ πειθαρχῆσαι γε προθύμως λέγεται, τὸ γνήσιον καὶ εὐλαβὲς τῆς περὶ τὸν θεῖον φόβου διαθέσεως ἔργοις ἐπιδειγμένον. According to this narrative *Philip* was at Antioch at Easter 244; which will carry back the death of *Gordian* to February or March of that year. Eusebius VI. 35 mentions two letters of *Origen*: φέρεται δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν βασιλέα Φίλιππον ἐπιστολή, καὶ ἄλλη πρὸς τὴν τούτου γαμετὴν Σεβήραν. In his Chronicle *annis* 2262—2268, where he records the reign of *Philip*, he makes no mention of the fact.

3 Hieronymus Cat. c. 54 *Origenes ad Philippum imperatorem, qui primus de regibus Romanis Christianus fuit, et ad matrem ejus literas fecit, quæ usque hodie exstant.* Derived from Eusebius, to whom he adds nothing; nor do either of them tell us what those letters contained. From the mistake of Hieronymus, who calls *Severa* the mother of *Philip*, we may conjecture, as Lardner observes Vol. 8 p. 140, that he never saw the letters. Hieronymus adds in the Chronicle what Eusebius did not think fit to insert, *Anno* 2260 *Philippus primus omnium ex Romanis imp. Christianus fuit.* Cassiodorus<sup>n</sup> repeats Hieronymus.

<sup>n</sup> See the Tables A. D. 244.

PHILIPPUS 4 Leontius apud Chron. Pasch. p. 270 B is the next witness to Eusebius: διηγῆσατο τοῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν ὁ μακάριος Λεόντιος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος Ἀντιοχείας [cir. A. D. 348] “ οὗτος Δέκιος ἀνείλε τὸν ἅγιον Βαβυλᾶν οὐχ ὡς Χριστιανὸν μόνον ἀλλ’ ὅτι καὶ ἐτόλμησεν ἐπισχεῖν τοῦ βασιλέως Φιλίππου τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Φίλιππον Χριστιανούς ὄντας εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, παρανομήσαντος τοῦ Φιλίππου.” ἦν δὲ ἡ παρανομία τοιαύτη· Φίλιππος ὁ Ἰουνίωρ, ἑπαρχὸς ὦν ἐπὶ τοῦ προηγησαμένου αὐτὸν βασιλέως Γορδιανοῦ, παραθήκην ἔλαβεν παρὰ Γορδιανοῦ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ· καὶ τελευτήσαντος Γορδιανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως σφάζας τὸν παῖδα Φίλιππος ἐβασίλευσεν.

5 Philostorgius VII. 8 relates the fact of *Numerian* or *Decius*: ἐπίσκοπος ἦν τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ὁ Βαβυλᾶς. Νουμεριανῶ δὲ τῷ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖ, ἡ, ὡς ἔνιοι Δεκίῳ φασὶ, κατὰ δὴ τινα δαίμονα γνώμην ἐμπεσεῖν πληθούσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας εἰσελθεῖν ἐν αὐτῇ· τὸν δὲ γε τοῦ θεοῦ ἀρχιερέα κατὰ τὰ προτύλαια στάντα τοῦ νεῶ τὴν εἴσοδον ἀποτειχίζειν, φάσκοντα ὅσα γε δυνατὸς εἶη μὴ περιόψεσθαι λύκον τῷ ποιμνίῳ παρεισδύμενον· καὶ τὸν μὲν αὐτίκα τῆς ὁρμῆς ἀνακρουσθῆναι. κ. τ. λ. Transcribed by Suidas v. Βαβυλᾶς from Philostorgius himself. In this account the emperor excluded by *Babylas* is a heathen.

6 It is argued by Lardner Vol. 8 p. 139 that “ Eusebius speaks only upon common report and does not name the bishop nor the place, but that Chrysostom is supposed to supply this defect, as he ascribes a like action to *Babylas*, but does not name the emperor.” The account then of Chrysostom deserves to be examined, that it may be seen with how little evidence those who suppose *Philip* a Christian have been satisfied. Chrysostom Or. de Babyla tom. 5 p. 446 l. 37 Sav. rhetorically ornaments a narrative in some particulars like that of Leontius: ἐγένετό τις βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἡμετέρων. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὁποῖός τις ἦν οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν· τὸ δὲ ἄγος ὅπερ ἐτόλμησεν ἀκούσαντες εἴσεσθε καὶ περὶ τῆς λοιπῆς τῶν τρόπων ὠμότητος. τί οὖν τὸ ἄγος ἦν; ἔδοξεν ἔθνει τινὶ τῶν ἐκείνῳ πολεμούντων τῷ βασιλεῖ καταλῦσαι τὸν πόλεμον κ. τ. λ. The son of that king is put into his hands as a hostage—he murders the youth; the cruelty of the act, the tears and sufferings of the victim, are eloquently described. The murderer thus polluted presents himself at the church. p. 448 *Babylas* was then the bishop. Not deterred by the power of the king, he excluded him from the church: p. 448. 27 τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐξέβαλε. “ We learn from the act of *Babylas* that each man must do his duty: p. 453. The freedom of *Babylas* did not then profit that king. The lesson was lost upon him. But the pious bishop fulfilled nevertheless his own duty. The guilty king, not satisfied with murder and with shamelessly attempting to enter the church, added another murder to his crimes—the murder of the holy *Babylas* himself.” p. 453. 19 ὥσπερ γὰρ οὐκ ἀρκοῦν εἰς ἀσέβειαν τὸ φονεῦσαι καὶ ἀναισχύντως ἐπιπηδῆσαι τῷ ναῷ τοῦ θεοῦ προσεπίθει φόνον φόνον ἕτερον—καὶ ἦν ἡ μὲν προτέρα ἔλκεινότερα τῆς δευτέρας, ἡ τοῦ παιδὸς, ἡ δὲ δευτέρα ἐναγεστέρα τῆς προτέρας, ἡ τοῦ μακαρίου Βαβυλᾶ. The orator then describes the martyrdom of *Babylas*, who suffers by the order of that very king whom he had excluded from the church.

7 Orosius VII. 20 *Philippus primus imperatorum omnium Christianus fuit.—millesimus annus a Christiano imperatore celebratus est.* c. 21 *Decius se ob hoc Philippos interfecisse docuit, ad persequendos interficiendosque Christianos &c.* c. 28 *Constantinus primus imperatorum Christianus, excepto Philippo, qui Christianus annis admodum paucissimis ad hoc tantum constitutus fuisse mihi visus est ut millesimus Romæ annus Christo potius quam idolis dedicaretur.* Orosius merely repeats what he had learned from Hieronymus and Leontius.

8 Vincentius Lirinensis forty-two years after the Catalogue of Hieronymus writes as follows p. 343 *Quam autem non solum privata conditioni sed ipsi quoque fuerit Origenes reverendus imperio declarant historiæ, quæ eum a matre Alexandri accitum ferunt.—sed et ejusdem epistolæ testimonium perhibent quas ad Philippum imperatorem, qui primus Romanorum principum Christianus fuit, Christiani magisterii auctoritate conscripsit.* Vincentius does not quote the letter nor affirm that he had read it; and this passage contains no more than he might have learned from Hieronymus.



9 Syncellus p. 362 C transcribes Eusebius H. E. VI. 34. 35. Idem p. 363 A Δέκιος—διὰ τὸ PHILIPPUS πρὸς Φίλιππον ἔχθος πικρὸν ἤγειρε κατὰ Χριστιανῶν διωγμὸν. p. 386 B ἐλθόντος Νουμεριανοῦ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ καὶ θελήσαντος εἰσελθεῖν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ κατασκοπῆσαι τὰ τῶν Χριστιανῶν μυστήρια ὁ ἄγιος Βαβυλᾶς ἐκώλυσε αὐτὸν, λέγων κ. τ. λ.—καὶ ἀναγκάσας Νουμεριανὸς ἐφόνευσεν αὐτόν. From Philostorgius VII. 8. And this account, it will be observed, makes *Babylas* still alive in 282, although he died in 251.

10 It is unnecessary to adduce other writers. Anonymus Valesii p. 615 § 33 *Constantinus imperator primus Christianus, excepto Philippo* &c. Zonaras tom. 1 p. 624 C ἐπαναζεύξας ὁ Φίλιππος εὐμενῆς ἦν τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς, μάλιστα δὲ κατὰ ἐνίους καὶ προσετέθη τῇ πίστει Χριστοῦ, ὥστε καὶ εὐχῶν ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας κοινωῆσαι Χριστιανοῖς, καὶ ἀσμένως ἐξαγορεύσαι ὅσα οἱ ἡμάρτηται· οὐ γὰρ ἄλλως εἰς κοινωσίαν παρὰ τοῦ προεστῶτος τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐδέχετο εἰ μὴ ἐξομολογήσεται.—κακείνων λέγεται πειθαρχῆσαι. From Eusebius; who is also followed by Nicephorus<sup>o</sup>. Cedrenus tom. 1 p. 257 C Φίλιππος ἔτη ζ'. ὃς ὑπῆρχε τῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν πίστεως σπουδαστῆς, συνέσει τε καὶ ἐπιεικέα κεκοσμημένος.—ἀνῆρέθη δὲ ἅμα τῷ υἱῷ ὑπὲρ Χριστιανῶν κατὰ Δεκίου ἀγωνιζόμενος. Rufinus and Jornandes only repeat what their predecessors had said; and among the preceding we may exclude Syncellus, Orosius, Vincentius, as contributing no new testimony; Dionysius of Alexandria does not name *Philip*. All that we have is contained in Eusebius and in Leontius Chrysostom and Philostorgius compared with each other. Hieronymus himself is only founded on Eusebius. If we collect the facts, they are these. In Philostorgius the emperor excluded is a heathen, either *Numerian* or *Decius*. Chrysostom does not name the emperor; but he is a heathen also in Chrysostom, and is the emperor by whom *Babylas* was put to death; that is, *Decius*. In the description of a youth whom he had murdered, son of a king with whom he had made a peace, is an obscure and imperfect account of the act of *Philip*. In Leontius the emperor is *Philip* and *Philip* is a Christian; but his inaccurate account of *Philippus junior* and of *Gordian and his son* shews that his knowledge of that part of history was very imperfect. *Philip* might have been excluded from the church at Antioch by *Babylas*, and yet might be a heathen, as Philostorgius and Chrysostom relate. The account that he was a Christian Eusebius gives doubtfully, and scarcely seems to confide in it himself. If a letter was really written by Origen to the emperor, this would be no proof that he was addressing a Christian emperor, unless we had the substance of the letter attesting that fact. The testimony then upon which it has been asserted that *Philip* was a Christian is insufficient. Nor ought it to be omitted that the persecution at Alexandria was carried on during the reign of *Philip* himself, a full year before the edict of *Decius*: Dionys. Alex. apud Euseb. H. E. VI. 41 οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ προστάγματος ὁ διωγμὸς παρ' ἡμῶν ἤρξατο, ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὅλον ἐνιαυτὸν προὔλαβε. And it may be asked whether this would have been permitted by a Christian emperor.

Lardner in conclusion Vol. 8 p. 141 shews from four arguments that *Philip* was a pagan. 1 *Constantine* is called by all writers, even by Eusebius himself<sup>p</sup>, the first Christian emperor. 2 Heathen writers make no allusion to *Philip* being a Christian. 3 The secular games were celebrated by *Philip* with the usual rites. 4 *Gordian III* was deified by *Philip*, and *Philip* himself was deified after his death.

Inscriptions. 1 Muratori p. 252. 4 Philippopoli in Thracia: *Maximo et super omnes fortissimo imperatori Cæsari M. Julio Philippo Pio Felici invicto Aug. pontifici maximo patri p.* 2 Murat. p. 252. 3 Matelicæ: *M. Julio Philippo nobilissimo Cæs. principî juventutis.* 3 Murat. p. 1049. 3 Gerundæ in Catalonia: *M. Julio Philippo nobilissimo Cæsari R. P. Ger.* 4 The tabula honestæ missionis quoted in the Tables A. D. 248. 3 p. 267 is extant in Muratori p. 362. 1 tabula ænea effossa prope Mutinam, nunc Romæ. After *cos. II p. p.* the Table proceeds thus: *Nomina mili-*

<sup>o</sup> Nicephorus H. E. V. 25.

<sup>p</sup> Euseb. Vit. Const. I. 3 Κωνσταντίνος θεῶ κ. τ. λ. μόνος γεγωνὸς φίλος.

## PHILIPPUS.

*tum qui militaver. in cohortibus prætor. Philippianis decem I. II. III. IIII. V. VI. VII. VIII. VIIII. X Pius Vindicibus qu. ipsi et fortiter militia functi sunt jus tribuimus conubii dumtaxat cum singulis et primis uxoribus ut etiamsi peregrini juris feminas in matrimonio suo junxer. proinde liberos tollant ac si ex duobus civibus Romanis natos ad VII Id. Jan. imp. &c. cos. coh. VIII pr. Philippian. P. V. M. Bræno M. f. Justino Sabatin. Mantua descript. et recognit. ex tabula æn. que fix. est Rom. in mur. pos. templum divi Aug. ad Minervam.*

## DECIVS.

## DECIVS.

Inscriptions. 1 Mur. p. 460. 4 Veronæ: *Imp. Cæs. G. Messius Q. Trajanus Decius P. F. Aug. p. m. trib. pot. II cos. II* [A. D. 251] *p. p. XVIII.* 2 Mur. p. 1101. 3 in Carolina Transilvania: *Imp. Cæs. C. Mess. Quinto Trajano Decio Aug. p. m. trib. pot. II cos. II p. p. restitutori Daciarum col. nova Apuls.* 3 Mur. p. 2011. 1 in Lusitania: *Imp. Cæs. Aug. G. Messio Trajano Decio invicto Pio Fel. Aug. pont. max. trib. pot. cos. II p. p. a Bracara Aug. M. P. XXVI.* 4 p. 2011. 2 Ibid. *Imp. Cæs. C. Mess. Quinto &c. pont. max. t. p. procos. IIII<sup>9</sup> cos. II p. p. a Brac. Mil. P. XXV.* 5 Mur. p. 252. 5 in civitate Venciensi: *Imp. Cæs. C. Messio Quinto Trajano Decio Pio Fel. invicto Aug. p. m. trib. pot. III* [lege II] *cos. II p. p. civit. Vint.* 6 Gruter refers the following to Decius: p. 246. 3 p. 273. 5 Tarracone: *Pio adque inclito DN. Trajano nobilissimo ac fortissimo et felicissimo Cæsari Septimius Acindinus V. C. agens per Hispanias VC. et vice sacra cognoscens numini majestatique ejus semper dicatissimus.* 7 Muratori p. 252. 6 Florentiæ: *Imp. Cæs. C. Messius Q. Trajanus Deccius invictus Pius Felix Aug. p. m. trib. p. cos. II p. p. procos. II* [dele II] *Q. Herennius Etruscus Messius Deccius Cæs. C. Valens Hostilianus* ..... 8 Murat. p. 1043. 2 item p. 2049. 8 Dertosæ: *Q. Herennio Etrusco Messio Decio nobilissimo Cæs. filio D. N. sanctissimi Trajani Deci P. F. invicti Aug. ord. D. C. D. dicatissimus numini ejus.* 9 Mur. p. 1036. 4 Carseolis: *Herennicæ Cupressinicæ &c.* Given from Eckhel in the Tables A. D. 251. 3 p. 271.

## HOSTILIANUS.

HOSTILIANUS. Tables A. D. 251. 3. 252. 2. Mentioned with Decius and Herennius in the inscription N<sup>o</sup>. 7 of Decius given above. Mentioned again in Muratori p. 252. 7 Romæ: *C. Valenti Hostilian* ..... *Messio Quinto* ..... *nobilissimo Cæsar* ..... *trib. potest. II principi juven* .... *filio.* Supply, as Muratori suggests, [*Decii*] *trib. p. II.* Some have doubted whether Hostilianus was the son or the son-in-law of Decius. Eckhel tom. 7 p. 351 examines the question, and decides that he was the son, from Zosim. I. 25, 2.

## GALLUS.

## GALLUS. Tables A. D. 251—254.

Syncellus p. 376 B mistakes Volusianus for the son of Decius: τὰ στρατόπεδα βασιλέα πάλαι τινὰ γενόμενον ὕπατον Γάλλον ἀναγορεύουσιν ἅμα Βολουσιανῶ τῷ Δεκίου παιδί. But this is not the mistake of Dexippus, as Tzschutke ad Eutrop. p. 654 supposes, but of Syncellus himself. Dexippus is only quoted for μῆνας ιη', the 18 months of his reign. Orosius VII. 21 from Eutropius IX. 5 mistakes Gallus and Hostilianus for one person. Gallus has 3 years in Chron. Pasch. p. 271 B and lived 62 years: ἐτελεύτησεν ὧν ἐτῶν ξβ'. two years and 8 months in Zonaras XII tom. 1 p. 628 C ἠττώμενοι δὲ ἐπέθεντο τῷ σφῶν αὐτοκράτορι, καὶ ἀνελόντες κάκεινον καὶ τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ, βασιλεύσαντας ἔτη δύο καὶ μῆνας ὀκτώ, προστίθενται τῷ Αἰμιλιανῶ. The actual duration of his reign from his elevation in November 251 to his death in February 254 would be 2y 4<sup>m</sup>, as Eusebius states it.

Inscriptions. 1 Mur. p. 252. 8 Sestini: *Imp. Cæs. C. Vibio Treb. Gallo Pio Fel. Aug. p. p. D. D.* 2 p. 252. 9 Romæ: *Imp. Cæs. Vibii* ..... *Galli August.* ..... *L. Junius Validianus vir Cl. præf.*

<sup>9</sup> For PROCOS, IIII read PROCONSULI.



*urb. stat. ex cœn. .... volunt. Aug. nost. colloc. cum bas. sua marm.....* 3 Murat. p. 253. 2 in Piceno: GALLUS.  
*Imp. Cæs. C. Vibio Afinio Gallo Veldumniano .....* 4 Murat. p. 253. 3 extra Spoletum: *Imp. Cæs. C. Vibio Affinio Gallo Veldumniano Volusiano Pio Fel. Aug. Max.* 5 Mur. p. 1994. 1 Aquis Flavis in Lusitania: ..... s. *C. Vibio Af.....o Veldumn..... usiano Pio ..... pont. max. ... II cos. procos.....a[j]estat. q. eor.* The second tribunician year of the *Galli* was current in A. D. 252. See the Tables p. 270.

## ÆMILIANUS.

ÆMILIANUS.

*Cornelia Supera* the wife of *Æmilianus* is commemorated upon coins apud Eckhel tom. 3 p. 39 tom. 7 p. 374. *Æmilianus* has Alexandrian coins inscribed L. a'. Eckhel tom. 4 p. 91 A. K. Αἰμιλιανὸς εὐσεβ. σεβ. L. a'. One of *Cornelia Supera* with L. a'. Ibid. Eckhel tom. 7 p. 373 observes "Difficile est annum a' cum historia componere.—quæ causa est cur lubeat auctoritati Arigonii, qui unus vulgavit, diffidere." But L. γ' of *Gallus* was current till his death in February 254. then L. a' of *Æmilianus* was current for 3 months till May. then L. a' of *Valerian* and *Gallienus* till Aug. 28. and their L. β' began in Alexandrian computation Aug. 29 A. D. 254.

Zonaras XII tom. 1 p. 629 Α κτείνουσι τὸν Αἰμιλιανὸν, οὐπω τέσσαρας μῆνας ἡγεμονεύσαντα ἀγοντα δὲ τῆς ἡλικίας ἐνιαυτὸν τεσσαρακοστὸν καὶ προσιαισιν Οὐαλεριανῶ.

## VALERIANUS.

VALERIANUS.

*Valerian* was *princeps senatus*<sup>r</sup> in the year 238: Capitolin. Gordiano c. 9 Trebell. XXX c. 21. He is called by Trebellius Valer. c. 1 70 years old at his accession: *Cujus per annos LXX vita laudabilis in eam conscenderat gloriam—ut imperator fieret.* But 61 at his death by Chron. Pasch. p. 272 D. ἐσφάγη ὑπὸ Περσῶν ἐπαναστάντων αὐτῶ ὧν ἐτῶν ξα'. his captivity being unnoticed, and his death placed in 269, the last year of *Gallienus*; or rather the reign of *Gallienus* is not noticed in the Chronicle, and 14 years are given to *Valerian*. Victor Cæs. p. 335 calls *Valerian ætate robustiore* at his captivity *anno sexto*.

As *Gallienus* was 50 at his death, he was 35 at his elevation, and his father *Valerian* at least 55; which would suppose him 61 at his captivity, the age assigned by the Chronicle; and 40 when he was *princeps senatus* in 238. If he had been 70 at his captivity, he would be *princeps senatus* at 49 and 64 at his accession<sup>s</sup>.

The 15 years are better divided by Victor Cæs. p. 337 into 7 + 8 than by Trebellius into 6 + 9: Salonino c. 3 *Quum XV annos eosdem imperasse constet, id est, Gallienum usque ad XVum pervenisse, Valerianus vero sexto sit captus, alii novem annos alii decem etiam Gallienum imperasse in literas mittant*<sup>t</sup>. Vopiscus Caro c. 3 calls the reign 15 years: *Gallienum per quindecim annos passa est.* and Zonaras XII tom. 1 p. 634 C βασιλεύσας ἐνιαυτοὺς πεντεκαίδεκα σὺν τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς.

Lactantius M. P. c. 5 and Agathias IV. 23 relate the captivity and death of *Valerian*.

*Valerian's* letter apud Vopiscum Aurel. c. 8 is to the following effect: *Valerianus Augustus Antonino Gallo consuli. Culpas me familiaribus literis quod Postumio filium meum Gallienum magis quam Aureliano commiserim; quum utique et severiori et puer credendus fuerit et exercitus &c.* As *Gallienus* has now a son, and is himself 35 years old, this *puer Gallienus* must be some other son of *Valerian*, who also bore that name.

Coins without a date, apud Eckhel tom. 7 p. 379. 1 *Imp. C. P. Lic. Valerianus Aug. + æternitas Augg.* 2 *Imp. C. P. Lic. Valerianus P. F. Aug. + æternitati Augg.* or *concordia IIII exercit. S. C.* or *Germanicus Max. ter. or pontiff. max. tr. p. p. p. or religio Augg.* or *victoria G. M.* 3 *Imp. Valerianus Aug. + Gallienus cum exer. suo Jovi victori.*

<sup>r</sup> Tables A. D. 251.<sup>s</sup> Gibbon understands 70 of the age at his capture.<sup>t</sup> See the Tables A. D. 268.

VALERIANUS. Inscriptions. 1 Murator. p. 253. 5 Aquaspartæ: *Imp. Cæs. P. Licinio Valeriano Pio Felici Aug. pont. max. trib. pot. ter* [lege vel trib. potestat. vel trib. pot. iter.] *cos. II procos. p. p. D. D.* Valerian was trib. pot. iterum and *cos. II* together in A. D. 254. 2 Murat. p. 253. 7 Jaderæ: *Imp. Cæs. P. Licinio Valeriano Pio Fel. Aug. pont. maximo trib. potestatis cos. III p. p. D. D.* 3 Mur. p. 253. 6 Malacæ in Hispania: *Imp. Cæs. P. Licinius Valerianus P. F. Aug. p. m. trib. pot. III cos. II* [lege *cos. III*] *p. p. procos. II* [lege *et*] *imp. Cæs. P. Licinius Gallienus Verus Pius*..... 4 Murat. p. 460. 5 Herberia in agro Regiensi: *Imp. Cæs. P. Licinius Valerianus Pius Fel. Aug. pon. max. Germ. max. trib. pot. VII* [A. D. 259] *cos. IIII p. p. procos. et imp. Cæs. P. Licinius Gallienus Germ. Pius Fel. Aug. pont. max. trib. pot. VII cos. III p. p. procos. et P. Cornelius Saloninus Valerianus nobiliss. Cæs. pont. secul. vi ignis consumpt. indulg. sua restitui curaverunt.* 5 Mur. p. 1089. 1 tribus ab Argento leucis: *Imp. Cæs. Publio Licinio Valeriano Pio Felici invicto Augusto civo. Tribocorum.* 6 Mur. p. 599. 1 Smyrnæ: ..... *magistratus harum civita* ..... *quibus te suggeris possidere agere curam qui quod optime placuisse perspicitur perpetua observatione teneatur. Vale Apella carissime nobis. Data V Kal. Jun. ἀγάθη τύχη. αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Πούβλιος Λικίνιος Οὐαλεριανὸς εὐσεβῆς εὐτυχῆς Σεβαστὸς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Πούβλιος Λικίνιος Γαλληνὸς εὐτυχῆς Σεβαστὸς καὶ Πούβλιος Λικίνιος ἐπιφανέστατος Καῖσαρ Ἰουλίφ Ἀπέλλα ἰδίφ χαίρειν* ..... 7 Mur. p. 650. 1 Smyrnæ in basi. In dextro latere: ..... *τύχη. ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῆς Ἀσίας κάλλι καὶ μεγέθει καὶ λαμπρότῃ καὶ μητροπόλει καὶ τρεῖς νεωκόρω τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ κατὰ τὰ δόγματα τῆς ἱερωτάτης συνκλητοῦ καὶ κόσμου τῆς Ἰωνίας Συμυρναίων Αὐρ. Ἀπολλινάριος Θυατειρηνὸς καὶ Συμυρναῖος καὶ Φιλαδελφεὸς* [lege *Φιλαδελφεὺς*] *καὶ Βυζάντιος καὶ ἄλλων πόλεων πολέιτης βουλευτῆς δολιχοδρόμος νεικήσας ἀγῶνάς τε τοῖς ὑπογεγραμμένοις Πυθικὸν Πύθια ἐν Δελφοῖς Πύθια ἐν Σίδῃ Αὐγουστεία ἐν Θυατεί.* In latere sinistro: *τειμηθεὶς δὲ ξυσταρχίαις παρὰ τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν αὐτοκρατόρων Οὐαλεριανοῦ καὶ Γαλληνοῦ Σεββ. ἐν τῇ λαμπρᾷ Φιλαδελφέων πόλει καὶ ἐν τῇ λαμπρᾷ Βυζαντίων πόλει.* 8 Mur. p. 1994. 2 Londini: *Divo Cæs. Valeriano Lic. Valerianus princeps juvent.*

## GALLIENUS. GALLIENUS.

The writers named in the Tables A. D. 255 give the following account of the events of this reign.

ZOSIMUS lib. I.	TREBELLIIUS GALLIENO.
c. 29. 30 <i>Scythæ et Marcomanni.</i> Thessalonica threatened. Athens fortified. Isthmus fortified. Valerian associates Gallienus. Goes to the East. Gallienus in Europe. Gallienus defends the Rhine.	A. D. 261 <i>Macrianus and Balista</i> in the East. c. 2 <i>Valens. Piso.</i> <i>Aureolus</i> in Illyricum slays <i>Macrianus.</i> 3 <i>Odenathus Macriano interempto.</i> 4 <i>Per idem tempus Æmilianus in Ægypto.</i> <i>Postumus. Gallienus wounded.</i> Peace with <i>Aureolus.</i> <i>Scythæ Bithyniam invaserunt.</i>
c. 31 Appoints generals to defend Illyricum Italy and Greece.	A. D. 262 c. 5 Earthquake. Pestilence. The Goths and <i>Clodius</i> invade Thrace, Macedonia, Thessalonica.
32. 33 Scythians at first repelled; then, τοῦ θέρους, take Trapezus.	c. 6 Goths repulsed <i>Macriano duce.</i> Temple of Ephesus burnt. Byzantium plundered by the troops of <i>Gallienus.</i>
34—36 In a second inroad, begun in the winter, Bithynia plundered, Valerian being at Antioch.	7 <i>Contra Postumum Gallienus Aureolo et Claudio duce bellum inceptit.</i> <i>Postumus juvatur auxiliis Francicis.</i>
36 Valerian taken.	
37 Scythians invade Illyricum and Italy. Rome defended by the senate. A pestilence.	



## ZOSIMUS lib. I.

- 38 *Gallienus* returns to Rome.  
Revolt of *Cecrops*, *Aureolus*, *Antoninus*,  
*Postumus*.  
*Saloninus* slain.
- 39 Athens taken.  
*Gallienus* advances into Thrace.  
Success and death of *Odenathus*.  
*Zenobia* succeeds.
- 40 *Gallienus* hastens from the Scythian war  
to meet *Aureolus*.  
Is slain at Milan by *Marcian* and *Claudius*.

## VICTOR CÆSAR. p. 335—337.

*Valerian* captured.  
*Gallienus* in Gaul and Illyricum.  
*Ingebus* in Mursia.  
*Regallianus*.  
Goths enter Thrace Macedonia Achaia Asia.  
Parthians enter Mesopotamia.  
*Oriente latrones seu mulier*.  
*Alamanni* enter Italy.  
The *Franci* Gaul Spain Tarraco.  
Africa.  
Dacia lost.  
Pestilence at Rome.  
*Civiles motus. primus omnium Postumus. tum Lollianus.*  
*Marius biduum. Victorinus biennium. Victoria* appoints *Tetricus*. *Aureolus* routed. *Gallienus* slain.

## EUTROPIUS IX. 7—11.

The Germans penetrate to Ravenna.  
*Valerian* captured by *Sapor*.  
*Ingenus* slain in Mursia.  
*Regallianus* slain.  
*Alamanni* ravage Gaul, enter Italy.  
Dacia lost.  
The Goths in Greece Macedonia Pontus Asia.  
The Sarmatians in Pannonia.  
The Germans sack Tarraco.  
The Parthians ravage Syria.  
*Tum—Postumus in Gallia per annos X.*  
*L. Ælianus*.  
*Post eum Marius*, 2 days.  
*Victorinus postea*—2 years.  
*Hic successit Tetricus*.  
*Dum hæc in Gallia geruntur, per Odenathum Persæ victi sunt.*  
*Gallienus* slain with his brother *Valerian*.

## TREBELLIIUS GALLIENO.

- Gallienus* at Byzantium.  
7. 8 *Decennia celebrat* [A. D. 263].  
A. D. 264 c. 10 Successes of *Odenathus*.  
*Gallienus* triumphs.  
11 *Dum hæc geruntur* the Scythians are in Asia.  
*Gallienus apud Athenas ἀρχων*.  
c. 12 *Odenathus Augustus*. 13 Slain with *Herodes*.  
*Zenobia* succeeds with *Timolaus* and *Hermannius*.  
*Inter hæc*, the Scythians repulsed. the Goths repulsed *Dexippo duce*.  
c. 14 *Gallienus* slain with his brother *Valerian*.

## VICTOR EPIT. p. 381. 382.

*Valerian* reigns 15 years.  
*Gallienus Augustus*.  
*Cornelius Valerianus Cæsar*.  
*His imperantibus Regillianus in Mæsia, Postumus in Gallia, Ælianus apud Moguntiacum.*  
*Æmilianus* in Egypt.  
*Valens* in Macedonia.  
*Aureolus* at Milan.  
*Valerian* is captured.  
*Gallienus* promotes his other son *Saloninus*.—defeats *Aureolus*—is slain near Milan.

## OROSIUS VII. 22.

*Valerianus illico captus*.  
The Germans penetrate to Ravenna.  
The *Alamanni* enter Italy.  
The Goths ravage Greece Macedonia Pontus Asia.  
Dacia lost.  
The Quadi and Sarmatians waste Pannonia.  
*Germani ultiores Hispaniam et Tarraconem, Parthi Mesopotamiam.*  
*Bella civilia—Primus Ingenus*.  
*Postumus* 10 years.  
*Æmilianus* slain at Moguntiacum.  
*Marius continuo interfectus*.  
*Victorinus post paululum*.  
*Tetricus* succeeded him.  
Successes of *Odenathus*.  
*Gallienus* slain.

GALLIENUS. Zosimus follows the course of events rather than the order of time, Victor Epit. omits many of the usurpers and all mention of the inroads of the barbarians. Victor Cæs. Eutropius and Orosius in their accounts of the foreign invasions relate the same facts, but not in the same order. In their mention of the usurpers they describe as successive those who were contemporary; Trebellius Pollio supplies some dates for fixing the events, but is inaccurate in his own recital.

The thirty tyrants of Trebellius are reduced to 18 by Tillemont tom. 3 p. 321. 521 and to 19 by Gibbon Vol. 1 p. 467. Their lists differ from each other. The following differs in some degree from both, and contains two names not mentioned by Trebellius.

N<sup>o</sup> Trebell.  
XXX tyr.

- 1 *Cecrops*. Zosim. I. 38 ἐπανάσταντων αὐτῶ Κέκροπος τε τοῦ Μαυρουσίου καὶ Αὐριόλου καὶ Ἀντωνίνου καὶ ἐτέρων πλείονων. In excerpta post Dionem apud Maium tom. 2 p. 236 Μέμωρ Μαυρούσιος is mentioned among the usurpers in Egypt; whom Maio with much probability conjectures to be the same person as Κέκροψ Μαυρούσιος in Zosimus.
- 2 *Antoninus*. Zosim. I. 38. See N<sup>o</sup>. 1. Both *Cecrops* and *Antoninus* are omitted by Trebellius.
- 3 (1 *Cyriades*. Joined *Sapor*: Trebell. c. 2. Slain *quum Valerianus ad bellum Persicum veniret*: Ibid. [Sc. A. D. 258.]
- 4 (2 *Postumus*. Trebell. c. 3. He reigned A. D. 258—267. See the Tables. A war of *Gallienus* with *Postumus* is mentioned Trebell. Gallieno c. 4 XXX tyr. c. 3 in which *Gallienus* is wounded. Followed by long hostilities between them, *longo bello tracto* Ibid. Another war Trebell. Gallieno c. 7. After *Postumus* had associated *Victorinus*; therefore not before 265. probably in 265 and 266: *Contra Postumum Gallienus cum Aureolo et Clodio duce, qui postea imperium obtinuit,—bellum incepit, et, quum multis auxiliis Postumus juvaretur Celticis ac Francicis, in bellum cum Victorino processit, cum quo imperium participavit. Victrix Gallieni pars fuit. Idem XXX tyr. c. 6 Cum Victorino contra Gallienum conflixit; quumque adhibitis ingentibus Germanorum auxiliis diu* [A. D. 265. 266] *bella traxissent, victi sunt.* Placed however by Trebellius Gallieno c. 7. 8 before the *decennia* A. D. 263.

An inscription of *Postumus* is in Eckhel tom. 7 p. 446 and Muratori p. 460.6 Cordubæ: *Imp. Cæs. M. Cassianus Latinius Postumus Pius Fel. invictus Aug. Ger. max. pont. max. trib. pot. cos. III p. p. procos. restituit.* Before A. D. 264, when he was *cos. IIII*. Numi vagi apud Eckhel tom. 7 p. 441—446.

1 <i>Postumus Pius Felix Aug.</i> +	}	<i>claritas Aug.</i> <i>comiti Aug.</i> <i>conservatores Aug.</i> <i>felicitas Aug.</i> <i>Herculi Cretensi</i> <i>Herculi Erymanthino</i> <i>Herculi immortalis</i> <i>Herculi invicto</i> <i>Herculi Libyco</i> <i>Herculi Nemeo</i> <i>virtuti Aug.</i>
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2 *Imp. C. M. Cass. Lat. Postumus P. F. Aug. + exercitus Isc. S. C. or exercitus Vác. S. C. or Felicitas. or Herculi comiti Aug. cos. III.*

3 *Postumus Aug. + Herculi Thracio or Herculi Romano Aug.*

4 *Imp. Postumus Aug. + concord. equit.*



No XXX tyr.

GALLIENUS.

5 *Imp. C. Postumus P. F. Aug.* + { *Adventus Aug. or Augg. S. C.*  
*Castor.*  
*conservatores Aug.*  
*Dianæ reduci.*  
*Herculi Deusoniensi*  
*Herculi invicto*  
*Herculi Magusano or Herculi pacifero*  
*J. O. M. sponsori sæculi Aug.*  
*Mercurio felici*  
*Miner. fautr.*  
*salus provinciarum*  
*virtus Postumi Aug.*

6 *Postumus Pius Aug. + indulg. pia Postumi Aug.*

(3 *Postumus filius.* Trebell. c. 4 *A patre appellatus Cæsar ac deinceps in ejus honore Augustus, cum patre dicitur interemptus.*

5 (4 *Lælianus.* Trebell. c. 5. Mentioned by the Victors and Eutropius. *Lollianus* in Victor Cæs. Trebell. *Ælianus* in Victor Epit. *Lælianus* in Eutrop. *Æmilianus*, perhaps by mistake, in Orosius. Eckhel tom. 7 p. 449 has two coins marking his real name: 1 *Imp. C. Lælianus P. F. Aug. + temporum felicitas.* 2 *Imp. C. Ulp. Cor. Lælianus + victoria Aug.*

6 (7 *Marius.* See the Tables A. D. 267. Eckhel tom. 7 p. 454 with reason argues that the numbers of his coins imply a longer reign than two days: "An credible intra biduum vel triduum tot feriri numos? Certum est unum vel alterum saltem mensem Marii imperio adjiciendum." The confusion in the accounts of the Victors and Eutropius on the one hand and of Trebellius on the other is remarked by Tillemont tom. 3 p. 355. 529, who follows Trebellius, and by Eckhel tom. 7 p. 451, who observes "conciliet hæc qui volet." The accounts will be reconciled by the explanation offered in the Tables A. D. 267. Trebellius himself supplies a hint for correcting his own account. He relates that *Marius* was appointed by the influence of *Victoria* after the death of her son; and yet in another place (XXX tyr. c. 31) *Marius* is appointed by his own soldiers. He was elected then by his soldiers after the death of *Postumus*, and acknowledged by *Victoria* after the death of *Victorinus*. *Victorinus* reached his third year in 267. Victor then, who has *post biennii imperium*, is more exact than Eutropius, who has *anno secundo*.

Victor Epit. p. 382 also errs in the time of *Victorinus*, whom he places after the death of *Aureolus* and elevation of *Claudius* in March 268: *His diebus Victorinus regnum cepit*. Although *Tetricus* at that time had already succeeded him: see the Tables A. D. 268. Unless with Tillemont tom. 3 p. 372 we read *Censorinus*: namely that *Censorinus, qui sub Claudio fuit*: Trebell. XXX tyr. c. 31—33.

7 (5 *Victorinus.* See the Tables 265. 267.

(6 *Victorinus junior.* Slain with his father: Trebell. XXX c. 7 *A patre et ab avia sub eadem hora qua Victorinus interemptus Cæsar nuncupatus est ac statim a militibus ira occisus. Extant denique sepulchra circa Agrippinam brevi marmore impressa humilia, in quibus unus est inscriptus "Hic duo Victorini tyranni siti sunt."*

Coins of the elder *Victorinus* apud Eckhel tom. 7 p. 451 not inserted in the Tables.

1 *Imp. Cæs. Victorinus P. F. Aug.* + { *adjutrix Aug.*  
*leg. IIII Flavia P. F.*  
*leg. X Fretensis P. F.*  
*leg. XX Val. Victrix P. F.*  
*leg. XXII primigenie.*  
*leg. XXX Ulp. Vict. P. F.*  
*leg. XXXVI P. Vict. P. F.*  
*p. m. tr. p. II cos. p. p.*  
*vota Augusti.*

No XXX tyr.

GALLIENUS.

2 *Imp. Victorinus Pius Aug. + Victoria Aug.*3 *Divo Victorino Pio + consecratio. or providentia Aug. or fides milit.*4 *Imp. C. M. Piavvoni Victorinus P. F. Aug.*

A mutilated inscription apud Muratorium p. 461. I ad Sancti Mellorii in minore Britannia :  
*Imp. Cæs. . . . [Pi]avonio Victorino p. p. IS . . . . . Leuc. . .*

(30) *Victoria.* Trebell. XXX c. 31 *Victoria ubi filium ac nepotem a militibus vidit occisos, Postunium, deinde Lollianum, Marium etiam, quem principem milites nuncuparunt, interemptos, Tetricum ad imperium hortata est.—Insignita est præterea hoc titulo, ut castrorum se diceret matrem [conf. c. 25].—Tetrico imperante, ut plerique loquuntur, occisa; ut alii asserunt, fatali necessitate consumpta.* Mentioned in Victor Cæs.

8 (23) *Tetricus.* Trebell. XXX c. 24 *Interfecto Victorino et ejus filio, mater ejus Victoria Tetricum senatorem populi Romani præsidatum in Gallia regentem ad imperium hortata—Augustum appellari fecit filiumque ejus Cæsarem nuncupavit.* For his defeat by Aurelian see the Tables A. D. 274. His subsequent fortunes are described by Trebellius XXX c. 24 *Pudore tamen victus vir nimium severus eum quem triumphaverat correctorem totius Italiae fecit &c.—ac non solum vivere sed etiam in summa dignitate manere passus est.* Vopiscus Aureliano c. 39 more accurately: *Tetricum triumphatum correctorem Lucaniae fecit, filio ejus in senatu manente.* Victor Cæs. p. 340 *Lucaniae correcturam filioque veniam atque honorem senatorium cooptavit.* Hence Victor Epit. p. 383 *regere aliquam Italiae partem.* Eutropius IX. 13 *Tetricus corrector Lucaniae postea fuit, ac privatus diutissime vixit.*

Ausonius Parent. IV. 9 commemorates *Victorinus* and the *Tetrici* :

— *regnum cum Victorinus haberet,  
 Victor, et in Tetricos recidit imperium.*

(24) *Tetricus junior.* Trebell. XXX c. 25 *Hic puerulus a Victoria Cæsar est appellatus.—qui et ipse cum patre per triumphum ductus postea omnibus senatoriis honoribus functus est.*

A coin of *Tetricus* the father apud Eckhel tom. 7 p. 456 *Imp. C. C. Pesu. Tetricus Aug.* Coins of *Tetricus* the son : Ib. p. 459 1 *C. Pivesu. Tetricus Cæs. + Imp. Tetricus P. F. Aug. or seculum.* 2 *Imp. CS. Tetricus C. + abundant. Aug.* 3 *C. Pes. Tetricus Cæs.* 4 *Pivesus Tetricus Cæs.* 5 *C. Tetricus Cæs.* 6 *Impe. Tet. Pives.* 7 *C. Piv. Tetricus A. + Soli conser.*

9 (8) *Ingenuus.* Tables A. D. 260. His death is described by Trebellius XXX c. 9. Orosius VII. 22 makes *Ingenuus* the first: *primus Ingenuus, qui purpuram imperii sumserat, apud Mursam occiditur.* Ammianus XXI. 16, 10 *Gallienus perduellionum crebris variisque adpetitus insidiis, Aureoli et Posthumi et Ingenui et Valentis cognomento Thessalonici, aliorumque plurium.*

10 (9) *Regalianus.* Tables 260. His revolt followed the death of *Ingenuus* : Trebell. XXX c. 10 *Regilianus in Illyrico ducatum gerens imperator est factus, auctoribus imperii Mæsiis qui cum Ingenuo fuerant ante superati.*

Coins of *Regalianus* : Eckhel tom. 7 p. 462.

1 *Imp. C. P. C. Regalianus Aug. + liberalitas Auggg.* 2 *Imp. C. P. C. Regalia. . . . + Oriens Aug.*  
 3 *Imp. C. P. C. Regalianus . . . + victoria . . .* 4 A coin of *Caracalla* recoined with the name of *C. P. C. Regalianu.* Conf. Eckhel p. 462.

11 (10) *Aureolus.* Tables A. D. 262. 263. 267. 268. Trebell. XXX c. 11 *Hic quoque Illyricianos exercitus regens—coactus a militibus sumpsit imperium.—Gallienus pacem cum eo contra Postunium pugnaturus fecit.* Victor Epit. p. 337 *Aureolus, cum per Rhatias legionibus præset,—sumpto imperio Romam contendebat.* Tillemont tom. 3 p. 525 examines the difficulties in the history of *Aureolus*. It seems however that *Aureolus*, though in the service of *Gallienus* in 266, had revolted at an earlier period; for it is related that *Gallienus* made peace with him not only by Trebellius but by Vopiscus Aure-



N<sup>o</sup> XXX tyr.

liano c. 16 *Cum quo Gallienus fecerat pacem*. Trebellius gives this account of his death : XXX c. 11 GALLIENUS. *Aureolum Claudius interfecto jam Gallieno conflictu habito apud eum pontem interemit qui nunc pons Aureoli nuncupatur*. Idem Claudio c. 5 *Claudius primum ut factus est imperator, Aureolum—conflictu habito a reipublicæ gubernaculis depulit tyrannumque missis ad populum edictis—judicavit*. *His accedit quod rogantem Aureolum et fœdus petentem imperator gravis et severus non audivit.—Denique iudicio militum apud Mediolanum Aureolus dignum exitum vita ac moribus suis habuit*. Vopiscus Aureliano c. 16 mentions other accounts of the death of *Aureolus*.

Coins apud Eckhel tom. 7 p. 465. 1 *Imp. Aureolus Aug. + concord. equit.* 2 *Imp. C. Aureolus Aug. + concord. II M. C.*

The Greek inscription to *Aureolus* is given in Gruter p. 163. 2 Salmasius ad Trebell. p. 305 Casaubon ad Trebell. p. 214 Jacobs Anthol. tom. 4 p. 250, and is attested by Trebellius XXX c. 11—*Extat etiam epigramma Græcum in hanc formam*, who inserts a Latin version—*versus a quodam grammatico translato*. The lines are extant Pontiroli in agro Mediolanensi.

Κλαύδιος Αὐρεόλω μετὰ δῆϊον Ἄρεα Καῖσαρ  
τὰ κτέρεα, θνητῶν ὡς θέμις, ἐνδίδοσι.  
τῷ γὰρ καὶ ζῶν' ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐθέλησε φρόνημα  
πᾶσιν ἐπιρρήτους τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀντίβιον.  
κείνος δ' οἰκτίρων καὶ σώματος ἔσχατ' ὀπίζων  
Αὐρεόλου γέφυραν εἶσατο τὴν τε ταφήν.

- 12 (11 *Macrianus*. See the Tables 261. 262. *Macrianus* is mentioned by Dionysius apud Euseb. H. E. VII. 23.
- (12 *Macrianus junior*. Tables 261. 262. Trebell. XXX c. 13 *Hic cum patre a Domitiano victus triginta, ut superius dixi*, [sc. c. 12] *millibus militum spoliatus est*.  
Tillemont tom. 3 p. 526 supposes in Trebell. Gallieno c. 5, *pugnatum est Macriano duce contra Gotthos*, that *Macrianus Augustus* is intended. But this is improbable. The name in Cod. Paris. is *Marianus*, and may have been *Marcianus*. *Macrianus Augustus* at that time, if not already slain, was opposed to *Aureolus* in Illyricum. *Macrianus* is for *Marcianus* in Trebell. Claudio c. 6, which confirms the emendation of Salmasius in Gallieno c. 5.
- (13 *Quietus*, son of *Macrianus*. See the Tables 261. 262.
- (17 *Balista*. Tables A. D. 261. Trebell. XXX c. 18 *De hoc utrum imperaverit scriptores inter se ambigunt*. *Multi enim dicunt Quieto per Odenatum occiso* [sc. A. D. 262] *Balista veniam datam; tamen eum imperasse.—Alii asserunt privatum eum in agro suo quem apud Daphnem sibi compararat interemptum*. *Multi et sumpsisse illum purpuram et more Romano imperasse—dixerunt; occisum autem per hos quos Aureolus miserat ad comprehendendum Quietum*. Called *Callistus* in Syncellus p. 382 A.
- 13 (14 *Odenathus*. Tables A. D. 260. 264. 267. Trebell. XXX c. 15 *Assumpto nomine primum reguli cum uxore Zenobia et filio majore cui erat nomen Herodes, minoribus Herenniano et Timolao, collecto exercitu contra Persas profectus est &c. Macriano interempto filium Quietum interfecit, Balista (ut plerique asserunt) regnum usurpante*. Eckhel tom. 7 p. 496 argues “*Odenathi cædes illorumque* [sc. *Zenobiæ et Vabalathi*] *regnandi initium seu annus a' figendus est inde a die 29 Aug. A. D. 266 usque ad recurrentem eundem diem anni sequentis*.” But this does not follow. L. β' indeed began Aug. 29 A. D. 267; but we only know from hence that L. a' was current to Aug. 28 A. D. 267. It might have been current only for a few weeks preceding that day, and is by no means carried back to 29 Aug. 266. We only learn from those coins that *Odenathus* died and that they succeeded before 29 Aug. 267. How long before, the coins do not determine.
- (15 *Herodes*. Trebell. XXX c. 16 *Non Zenobia matre sed priore uxore genitus cum patre accepit imperium*. Slain with his father : Idem c. 15.

No XXX tyr.

GALLIENUS.

- (16 *Mæonius*. Trebell. XXX c. 17 *Hic consobrinus Odenati fuit, nec ulla re alia ductus nisi damnabili invidia imperatorem optimum interemit.*
- (26 *Herennianus*. Trebell. XXX c. 27 *Odenatus moriens duos parvulos reliquit, Herennianum et fratrem ejus Timolaum; quorum nomine Zenobia usurpato sibi imperio diutius quam feminam decuit rempublicam obtinuit.*
- (27 *Timolaus*, son of *Odenathus*. Conf. Trebell. XXX c. 27. 28 *Vopiscum Aureliano c. 38. Vabalathus*. See the Tables A. D. 267. 272.

Inscriptions referring to the family of *Odenathus*: 1 Muratori p. 744. 2 Boeckh. Inscr. Gr. tom. 3 p. 230 No 4491 Palmyræ. Thus given in Boeckh: Σεπτίμιον Αιράνην Ὀδανάθου τὸν λαμπρότατον συνκλητικὸν ἐξ [ιδίων δαπα]νῶν Αὐρήλι . . . . . ρ. Ἡλιοδώρου . . . . . στρατιώτης λεγ. . . . . κης τὸν πάτρων[α] τειμῆς καὶ εὐχαριστίας χάριν, ἔτους γξφ. The 563rd year of the *Seleucidæ* commenced in Oct. A. D. 251. This monument was therefore erected twelve years before *Odenathus* was declared *Augustus*. 2 Murat. p. 744. 1 Boeckh p. 233 No 4498 Palmyræ. Thus in Boeckh: Σεπτίμιον Οὐροῶδην τὸν κράτιστον ἐπίτροπον Σεβαστοῦ δουκηνάριον καὶ ἀργαπέτην Ἰούλιος Αὐρήλιος Σάλμης Κασσιανοῦ τοῦ [Μελ]εναίου ἱππεὺς Ῥωμαίων τὸν φίλον καὶ προστάτην, ἔτους ηοφ, μηνὶ Ξανδικῷ. 3 Murat. p. 745. 1 Boeckh p. 232 No 4497 Palmyræ. Thus in Boeckh: Σεπτίμ . . . . . τον κρα . . . . . που Σεβ . . . . . ηράριον καὶ . . . . . ην Ἰούλιος Αὐρ . . . . . ος Σεπτίμιος Μ . . . . . Μαλωχᾶ Νασσοῦ . . . ὁ κράτιστος τὸν φίλον καὶ προστάτην τειμῆς ἔνεκεν, ἔτους ζοφ, μηνὶ Ξανδικῷ. 4 Boeckh p. 233 No 4499 Σεπτ . . . Οὐροῶδην τὸν κράτιστον ἐπίτροπον Σεβαστοῦ δουκην . ριον καὶ ἀργαπέτην Ἰούλιος . υρήλιος Σεπτίμιος Ἰάδης ἱππικὸς Σεπτίμιου Ἀλεξ . νδρου τοῦ Ἡρώδου . πὸ στρατιῶν τὸν φίλον καὶ προστάτην τειμῆς ἔνεκεν, ἔτους ηοφ, μηνὶ Ξανδικῷ. *Xanthicus* of A. S. 577 is April A. D. 266, and of 578, April A. D. 267. *Odenathus* and *Herodes* were slain before the middle of A. D. 267. See the Tables A. D. 267 p. 296. But these inscriptions establish that *Herodes* was still living in April; and we may place his death not "towards the beginning of that year" (as expressed in p. 296) but rather "after April and before August." 5 Mur. p. 744. 3 Boeckh p. 236 No 4507 Palmyræ: τὸ μνημεῖον τοῦ παφεῶνος ἔκτισεν ἐξ ιδίων Σεπτίμιος Ὀδαιναθος ὁ λαμπρότατος συνκλητικὸς ὁ Αιράνου . Ὀαβαλλάθου τοῦ Νασῶρου, αὐτῷ τε καὶ υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ υἱωνοῖς εἰς τὸ παντελὲς αἰώνιον τειμήν. We may with Eckhel tom. 7 p. 489 refer this inscription to *Odenathus* the husband of *Zenobia*. Inscribed before he was declared *Augustus*.

- 14 (29 *Zenobia*. See the Tables A. D. 272. 273 for the defeat and capture of *Zenobia*; A. D. 274 for the triumph of *Aurelian*. *Zenobia* survived the triumph: Trebell. XXX c. 30 *Huic ab Aureliano vivere concessum est; ferturque vixisse cum liberis matronæ jam more Romanæ, data sibi possessione in Tiburti quæ hodieque Zenobia dicitur*. Zosimus I. 59 is inaccurate in supposing that she died on her way to Rome. Eutropius IX. 13 relates *Zenobia posteros qui adhuc manent Romæ reliquit*.
- 15 (20 *Piso*. Trebell. Gallieno c. 2 *Macrianus Pisonem unum ex nobilibus principibus senatus ad Achaiam destinavit ob hoc ut Valentem qui illic proconsulari imperio rempublicam gubernabat opprimeret. Sed Valens, comperto quod Piso contra se veniret, sumpsit imperium. Piso igitur in Thessaliam se recepit, ubi missis a Valente militibus compluribus interfectus est; ipse quoque imperator appellatus cognomento Thessalicus. Idem XXX c. 21 Hic a Macriano ad interficiendum Valentem missus, ubi eum providum futurorum imperare cognovit, Thessaliam concessit atque illic paucis sibi consentientibus sumpsit imperium Thessalicusque appellatus interemptus est; vir summæ sanctitatis.—Ipse Valens, qui ad eum percussores misisse perhibetur, dixisse dicitur non sibi apud Deos inferos constare rationem, quod, quamvis hostem suum Pisonem tamen jussisset occidi, virum cui similem Romana respublica tunc non haberet. Senatus consultum de Pisonem factum—libenter inserui. Die VII Kal. Jul. quum esset nuntiatum Pisonem a Valente interemptum ipsum Valentem a suis occisum, Aurelius Fuscus—"Divinos" inquit "honores Pisoni decerno P. C. Gallienum et Valerianum et Saloninum imperatores nostros esse confido" &c.*



No XXX tyr.

- 16 (18 *Valens*. See N<sup>o</sup>. 15. Trebell. XXX c. 19 *Vir militaris—proconsulatum Achaia dato a Gallieno GALLIENUS. tunc honore gubernabat; quem Macrianus [Martianus male quidam] vehementer reformidans—misso Pisone—interfici præcepit. Valens diligentissime cavens et providens—sumpsit imperium, et brevi a militibus interemptus est.* Mentioned by Victor Epit.
- 17 (21 *Æmilianus*. Treb. XXX c. 22 *Qua re coactus Æmilianus sumpsit imperium, quum sciret sibi undecunque pereundum. Consenserunt ei Ægyptiacus exercitus—nec ejus ad regendam rempublicam vigor defuit. Nam Thebaidem totamque Ægyptum peragravit &c.—Et quum contra Indos pararet expeditionem, misso Theodoto duce Gallieno jubente dedit penas; siquidem strangulatus in carcere captivorum veterum more perhibetur.* Trebell. Gallieno c. 4 *Per idem tempus Æmilianus apud Ægyptum sumpsit imperium &c.* He was still living in 263. See the Tables.
- 18 (22 *Saturninus*. Trebell. XXX c. 23 *Optimus ducum Gallieni temporibus, sed a Valeriano dilectus fuit. Hic quoque—ab exercitibus sumpsit imperium.—Ea die qua est amictus a militibus peplo imperatorio, concione habita dixisse fertur “Commilitones, bonum ducem perdidistis et malum principem fecistis.” Denique quum multa strenue in imperio fecisset, quod esset severior et gravior militibus ab iisdem ipsis a quibus factus fuerat interemptus est.* His elevation is placed by Trebellius at 263. See the Tables.
- 19 (25 *Trebellianus*. Trebell. XXX c. 26 *Trebellianum factum in Isauria principem,—quem quum alii archipiratam vocassent, ipse se imperatorem appellavit. monetam etiam cudi jussit, palatium in arce Isauria constituit.—Sed per Gallieni ducem Causisoleum natione Ægyptium, fratrem Theodoti qui Æmilianum ceperat [see N<sup>o</sup>. 17], ad campum deductus est victus et occisus.* If this expression of Trebellius may be trusted, his overthrow was after the defeat of *Æmilianus*, who still reigned in Egypt in 263.
- 20 (28 *Celsus*. Trebell. XXX c. 29 *Afri quoque auctore Vibio Passieno proconsule Africæ et Fabio Pomponiano duce limitis Libyci Celsum imperatorem appellaverunt.—Hic privatus ex tribunis in Africa positus in agris suis vivebat.—Creatus per quandam mulierem Gallienam nomine consobrinam Gallieni septimo imperii die interemptus est.*

Tillemont is deceived on many occasions by the false coins of Goltzius; as in tom. 3 p. 353. Conf. Eckhel. tom. 7 p. 352. 447. 449. 461. 469. 470. 491. All these are quoted by Tillemont as genuine. The four years of *Odenathus* in Tillemont are only derived from the coins of Goltzius.

*Gallienus* was consecrated by the order of *Claudius*: Victor Cæs. p. 338 *Gallienum subacti a Claudio patres—divum dicere.* But in the judgment of Eckhel tom. 7 p. 416 coins of *divus Gallienus Augustus* have not yet been found.

Coins of *Gallienus* of which the years are not known are given in Eckhel p. 395—416. The most material are the following.

I Coins inscribed to Deities. 1 *Apollini cons. Aug.* 2 *Apollini Pal. S. P. Q. R.* 3 *Deo Augusto.* 4 *Dianæ cons. Aug.* 5 *Herculi cons. Aug.* 6 *Jano patri.* 7 *Jovi conservatori.* 8 *Jovi cons. Aug.* 9 *Jo. Cantab.* 10 *Libero P. cons. Aug.* 11 *Mercurio cons. Aug.* 12 *Neptuno cons. Aug.* 13 *deæ Segetiæ.* 14 *Serapidi comiti Aug.* 15 *Soli cons. Aug.* 16 *deo Volcano.*

II Coins recording German victories: p. 401. 1 *Imp. Gallienus P. F. Aug. Germ. + adlocutio Augg.* 2 *Imp. Gallienus P. F. Aug. + Germanicus maximus.* 3 *Imp. P. Lic. Gallienus P. F. Aug. + Germanicus max. ter.* 4 *Gallienus P. F. Aug. + Germanicus max. V.* 5 *Imp. Gallienus Aug. Germ. V. + Germanicus max. V. or restitutor. Galliar.* 6 *Gallienus Aug. Germ. V. + victoria Germanica.* 7 *Imp. C. P. Lic. Gallienus P. F. Aug. + victoriæ Augg. it. Germ.* 8 *Imp. Gallienus P. F. Aug. Ger. S. + virtus Augg.*

III Coins inscribed with the legions: p. 402.

GALLIENUS.

Gallienus Aug. +	}	<i>coh. præ. VI P. VI F. or VII P. VII F. sc. Pia Fidelis.</i>
		<i>leg. I adj. VI P. VI F. or VII P. VII F.</i>
		<i>leg. I Aug. VI P. VI F.</i>
		<i>leg. I Ital. VI P. VI F. and VII P. VII F.</i>
		<i>leg. I Min. VI P. VI F. and VII P. VII F.</i>
		<i>leg. II adj. VI P. VI F. VII P. VII F.</i>
		<i>leg. II Ital. VI P. VI F. VII P. VII F.</i>
		<i>leg. II Part. VI P. VI F. V P. V F.</i>
		<i>legio secunda Augus.</i>
		<i>leg. III Ital. VI P. VI F. VII P. VII F.</i>
		<i>leg. IIII Fl. VI P. VI F.</i>
		<i>leg. V Mac. VI P. VI F.</i>
		<i>leg. VI Mac. VII P. VII F.</i>
		<i>leg. VII Cl. VI P. VI F. VII P. VII F.</i>
		<i>leg. VIII Aug. VI P. VI F. VII P. VII F.</i>
		<i>leg. VIII Aug. VI P. VI F.</i>
		<i>leg. X gem. VI P. VI F.</i>
		<i>leg. XI Cl. VI P. VI F. or XI C. P. F.</i>
		<i>leg. XIII gem. VI P. VI F.</i>
		<i>leg. XIII gem. VI P. VI F.</i>
		<i>leg. IIXX VI P. VI F. VII P. VII F.</i>
<i>leg. XX VI P. VI F.</i>		
<i>leg. XXI gem. VI P. VI F.</i>		
<i>leg. XXII VI P. VI F.</i>		
<i>leg. XXX Ulp. VI P. VI F.</i>		

These valuable testimonies display the great resources of the empire even in this unfortunate reign.

IV Of other coins p. 405 the most memorable are these: 1 *Gallienus Aug. + abundantia Aug. S. P. Q. R.* 2 *Imp. C. P. Lic. Gallienus Aug. + æternitati Augg.* 3 *Imp. C. P. Licin. Gallienus P. F. Aug. + cohort. præf. principi suo.* 4 *Gallienus Aug. + concordia exerc. VIII. or fides exerc. VIII. or consercat. pietat. or fid. prætorianorum. or liberalitas Aug. IIII.* 5 *Imp. Gallienus Aug. + fides exercitus.* 6 *Gallienus P. F. Aug. + fidei equitum.* 7 *Gallienus Aug. P. R. + ob conseruationem patriæ. or ob reddit. libert.* 8 *Gallienus Aug. Senatus. + ob libertatem receptam.* 9 *Gallienus P. F. Aug. + restit. Galliar.* 10 *Gallienus Aug. + sæculares Aug. (conf. Eckh. p. 409.) or victoria Part. (see the Tables A. D. 264.) or victoria Aug. III (in others victoria VI. VII. VIII. VIII.) or vict. Gal. Aug. or vict. Gal. Aug. III.* 11 *Concordia Augg. + Salonina Aug.* 12 *Imp. C. P. Lic. Gallienus P. F. Aug. + S. P. Q. R. optimo principi.* 13 *Gallienæ Augustæ + ubique pax.<sup>u</sup> or victoria Aug.* 14 *Imp. Gallienus Pius Felix Aug. + virtus Gallieni Augusti.* 15 *Imp. Gallienus Pius Fel. Aug. + virtus Augustorum.* 16 *Gallienus Aug. + virtus Valeri.* *Gallienus* is called *Valerianus* in Alexandrian coins: see the Tables A. D. 257 and Eckhel tom. 7 p. 409. But only before the death of his father: Eckhel tom. 4 p. 91 "Epigraphe ab Alexandrinis vivo patre tributa est." 17 *Concordia Augg.* with the heads of *Gallienus* and *Salonina. + pietas Faleri<sup>v</sup>.*

<sup>u</sup> Eckhel p. 414 compares *pacata omnia apud Victorem Cæs.* p. 337.

<sup>v</sup> A coin apud Eckhel tom. 7 p. 392 bears *Gallie-*

*nus Aug. + p. m. tr. p. X cos. IIII p. p.* where the numbers do not correspond. See the Tables 262. 3. Perhaps from the negligence of that age.



Coins of *Salonina*: p. 418 1 *Cornelia Salonina Aug. + abundantia temporum. or æquitas pub- GALLIENUS. lica.* 2 *Salonina Aug. + annona Aug. or deæ Segetiæ.* Alexandrian coins of *Salonina* are inscribed L. ιε'. which confirm that she still survived at the death of *Gallienus*<sup>x</sup>.

Coins of the *Cæsar Saloninus* are in the Tables A. D. 255. His Alexandrian coins at A. D. 260. Coins of *Saloninus Augustus* are given by Eckhel tom. 7 p. 422. 1 *Imp. Salon. Valerianus Aug. + spes publica.* 2 *Imp. Valerianus P. F. Aug. + æquitas Aug.* 3 *Imp. C. P. Lic. Valerianus P. F. Aug. + principi juventutis. or victoriæ Augg. it. Germ.* Coins after his death: p. 423. 1 *Divo Cæs. Valeriano. + consecratio. or oriens Augg. or pietas Augg. or principi juvent.* He was named *Cæsar* in the beginning of the reign of *Gallienus*: *Victor Cæs. p. 336 Salonino filio cui honorem Cæsaris contulerat.* He was slain in A. D. 260: see the Tables. An inscription quoted by Eckhel tom. 7 p. 426 attests that he was living in 259, the 7th tribunician year of *Gallienus*: "dedicatam *Valeriano Gallieno, quorum utrique additur trib. pot. VII, et Salonino, qui dicitur P. Cornelius Saloninus Valerianus nobiliss. Cæs. pont.*"

The children of *Gallienus* and *Salonina* are commemorated in inscriptions apud Panvinium p. 379 Gruterum p. 275. 5. 7. *P. Licinio Salonin. Valeriano nob. Cæs. prin. juven. Valeriani Aug. nepoti Gallieni et Saloninæ Aug. filio mater pientissima. Imp. Q. Julio filio Gallieni Juliæ nobiliss. Aug. et Saloninæ Aug. puellæ fil. Gallieni Aug. et Salon. Aug. ordo populusque Suessanus parentibus eorum publice privatimque devoti.*

Inscriptions. 1 Murat. p. 254. 3 Aqua Spartæ: *Imp. Cæs. P. Licinio Egnatio Gallieno Pio Fel. Aug. pont. max. trib. pot. III [A. D. 255] cos. procos. p. p. D. D.* 2 Mur. p. 254. 4 Triventi: *Imp. Cæs. P. Licinio Egnatio Gallieno Aug. trib. pot. III cos. III . . . . .* Read *cos. II. Gallienus was cos. III* in his 5th tribunician year. 3 Murat. p. 1091. 2 item p. 254. 2 Vasione: *Imp. Cæs. P. Lic. Gallien. invicto P. F. Aug. Vasenses.* 4 Murat. p. 254. 5 in agro Tudertino: *Gallienus pat. pat. Vol. centurio.* 5 Mur. p. 1105. 1 Romæ. In fronte: *Publio Cornelio Licinio Valeriano nobilissimo Cæsari SS. col. Julia Castronovo devota numini ejus.* In sinistro latere: *Imp. Fl. Valerio Severo nobilissimo Cæsari Castronovanorum.* 6 Mur. p. 1105. 2 Romæ: *Corneliæ Saloninæ sanctissimæ Aug. col. Julia Castronovo. devota numini ejus.* 7 Murat. p. 254. 7 Pisauri: *P. Cornelio Licinio Valeriano Cæsari Pisauenses.* 8 Mur. p. 254. 6 in agro Niciensi: *Corneliæ Saloninæ sanctissim. Aug. conjugii Gallieni junioris Aug. N. ordo Cemenel. cur. Ant. Aurelio Januario V. E.* 9 Murat. p. 1046. 6 Ferentini: *Corneliæ Saloninæ sanctissimæ Aug. conjugii D. N. Gallieni invicti Aug. Ferentinates Novani devoti numini majestatique ejus.* 10 Mur. p. 1119. 2 Temesvaria in Hungaria: *Corneliæ Saloninæ Aug. conjugii Gallieni Aug. N. ordo mun. Tib. dev. num. majest. qu. ejus.*

## CLAUDIUS II. A. D. 268—270.

CLAUDIUS II.

*Claudius* is called by *Decius* apud Trebell. Claud. c. 16 in A. D. 250 *tribunum Claudium optimum juvenem.* If he was 56 at his death<sup>y</sup>, he was 36 at that period of the reign of *Decius.* *Claudius* supported *Gallienus* in his campaign against *Postumus* and *Victorinus*: Trebell. Gallieno c. 7. which may be placed at A. D. 265 or 266. His letter to *Regalianus—Regilliano Illyrici duci*—is recorded by Trebellius XXX c. 10. *Claudius* was elected *Augustus* by *Heraclianus* and *Martianus*: Trebell. Gallieno c. 15. At the death of *Gallienus* he was at Ticinus: *Victor Epit. p. 382 Ticini positum,* and according to both the Victors was not a party to the death of *Gallienus* and was named by *Gallienus* himself as his successor. *Zosimus* makes him a party to the conspiracy<sup>z</sup>,

<sup>x</sup> Zonaras XII tom. I p. 633 mentions τὴν βασιλισσαν—sc. *Saloninam Augustiam*—in his narrative of the war with *Aureolus* at Milan, at the close of the reign of *Gallienus.* which agrees with the date of

the Alexandrian coin.

<sup>y</sup> See the Tables A. D. 270.

<sup>z</sup> See the Tables A. D. 268.

CLAUDIUS II. and Zonaras XII tom. 1 p. 634 D ὁ Ἡρακλειανὸς κεκοινωνηκῶς τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς καὶ Κλαυδίῳ. But the authority of the Victors and of Trebellius, as nearer the times, is to be preferred.

Zonaras XII tom. 1 p. 636 B on the reign of *Claudius* observes, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ περὶ τοῦ χρόνου τῆς τοῦ Κλαυδίου ἀρχῆς ἀλλήλοις συμφωνοῦσιν οἱ συγγραφεῖς· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐφ' ἕνα ἄρξαι τοῦτον ἱστοροῦσιν ἐνιαυτὸν, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ δύο, ὧν ἔστι καὶ Εὐσέβιος.

Coins of *Claudius* not recorded in the Tables. Eckhel tom. 7 p. 471 1 *Imp. C. Claudius Aug. + conservat. pietat. or deo Cabiro. or Jovi fulgerat. or Juno regina. or juventas Aug. or Neptuno Aug. or regi artis. or salus Aug.* 2 *Imp. C. M. Aur. Claudius Aug. + Venus Aug.* 3 *Imp. Cæs. Claudius Pius Felix Aug.*

Tillemont tom. 3 p. 531 quotes a law of *Claudius* dated 26 Oct. 270; whence Norisius apud Eckhel tom. 7 p. 476 argues that *Claudius* “exeunte Octobri adhuc vixisse.” But Eckhel justly contends that no Alexandrian coin of *Claudius* is extant with L. δ'. A more certain proof is supplied by the coins of *Aurelian* quoted in the Tables A. D. 272, which demonstrate that L. α' of *Aurelian* was already current before 28 Aug. A. D. 270. Which justifies the emendation of Cod. Justin. proposed in the Tables A. D. 270. 3.

Inscriptions. 1 Panvin. p. 380 Gruter p. 275. 8 *Imp. Cæs. M. Aur. Claudio P. F. invicto Augusto Benacenses.* 2 Gruter p. 275. 10 Setabi Hispan. *Imp. Cæs. M. Aur. Claudio Pio Fel. invicto Aug. pont. max. trib. pot. cos. II<sup>a</sup> p. p. procos.* 3 Gruter p. 276. 1 Murator. p. 255. 5 Sagunti: *Senatus et populus Saguntinorum Claudio invicto Pio Felici imp. Cæs. pont. max. trib. pot. p. p. procos.* 4 Murat. p. 255. 4 Sagunti: *Claudio imp. victori O. F. pontifi. max. cos. I procos.* 5 Mur. p. 255. 2 p. 255. 3 Sagunti: *Imp. Cæs. Claudio invicto Pio Fel. pont. max. tribu. pot. III cos. II procos.* 6 Murat. p. 255. 6 Regii Lepidi: *Claudio victori ac triumphatori Aug. Domino ... rum.* 7 Mur. p. 255. 7 Thebis: Ἀγουστον αὐτοκράτορα Μ. Αὔρηλιον Κλαύδιον Καίσαρα ἡ πόλις. 8 Mur. p. 255. 8 *Ex voto pro sal. D. N. P. Claudi Aug. florentissimi princ. C. Julius Cyleros V. C. Aug. N. proc. V. cur.* 9 Mur. p. 1031. 8 Barchinone in basi statuæ: *Imp. Cæs. M. Aur. Claudio Pio Fel. Aug. pontif. max. trib. pot. cos. et procos. p. p. maximoque principi nostro ordo Barc. devotus numini majestatique ejus.* 10 Mur. p. 255. 9 Arelati: *Divo Claudio ex testamento L. Valeri Placidi.* 11 Murat. p. 255. 10 Panormi in prætorio: *Divo Claudio resp. Panhormit.*

CENSORINUS. CENSORINUS. Trebell. XXX c. 31 *Censorinus sub Claudio fuit ab iisdem militibus a quibus purpura velatus fuerat interemptus.* Idem c. 32 *Censorinum hominem nobilem, sed qui non tam bono quam malo reipublicæ septem diebus dicitur imperasse.* Idem c. 33 *Censorinus bis consul bis præf. prætorii ter præf. urbis quarto proconsul tertio consularis, legatus prætorius secundo, ædilitius quarto quæstorius tertio, extra ordinem quoque legatione Persica functus etiam Sarmatica. Post omnes tamen honores quum in agro suo degeret senex atque uno pede claudicans vulnere quod bello Persico Valeriani temporibus acceperat factus est imperator.—quumque se gravissime gereret—ab his ipsis—a quibus factus fuerat interemptus est.*

QUINTILLUS. QUINTILLUS. Tables A. D. 270.

Zonaras also XII tom. 1 p. 636 gives 17 days to *Quintillus*: μαθὼν τὴν ἀνάρρησιν τοῦ Αὔρηλιανοῦ ἑαυτὸν ἀνείλε, τεμὼν τὴν φλέβα τῆς οἰκείας χειρὸς, καὶ τῇ ἐκεῖθεν τοῦ αἵματος ἐναποψύξας ῥοῆν, ἑπτακαίδεκα μόνος ἡμέρας ὄνειρώξας ὥσπερ τὴν αὐταρχίαν.

AURELIANUS. AURELIANUS.

The offices of *Aurelian* before his elevation are described by Vopiscus Aurel. c. 10 *Habuit*

\* See the Tables A. D. 269. 1.



*multos ducatus, plurimos tribunatus, vicarias ducum et tribunorum diversis temporibus prope qua-* AURELIAN.  
*draginta.*

Tzschutke ad Eutrop. IX p. 688 places the elevation of *Aurelian* at the end of the year 270—“*exeunte anno, ut supra docui.*” sc. p. 673.—because “*lex Claudii commemoratur Oct. 26 A. D. 270.*” But the Alexandrian coins of *Aurelian*<sup>b</sup> and the acts performed between his accession and 11 Jan. 271 demonstrate that he had already succeeded *Claudius* many months before October. Wherefore, as already shewn, the date of that subscription in the code may be rejected as of no authority; and Tillemont tom. 3 p. 532 properly abandons it. *Aurelian* in 270 at the death of *Claudius* was engaged in the remains of the Gothic war: Vopisc. Aurel. c. 17 *Constat omne contra Mœotidas bellum divum Claudium nulli magis quam Aureliano credidisse. Extat epistola—“Flavius Claudius Valerio Aureliano suo salutem. Expetit a te munus solitum nostra respublica. Aggredere. quid moraris?—Gotthi a Thraciis amovendi; eorum enim plerique Hamimontum [sc. A. D. 270] Europamque vexant, qui te pugnante fugerunt. Omnes exercitus Thracicos omnes Illyricianos totumque limitem in tua potestate constituo.—Tecum erit etiam frater Quintillus, quum occurrerit. Ego aliis rebus occupatus summam belli illius virtutibus tuis credo.”—Secundis igitur præliis usus auspiciis Claudianis rempublicam in integrum reddidit, atque ipse statim consensu omnium legionum factus est imperator. Equites sane omnes ante imperium sub Claudio Aurelianus gubernavit, quum offensam magistri eorum incurrissent quod temere Claudio non iubente pugnassent.* After his elevation *Aurelian* visited Rome; and then, still in the year 270, engaged the Goths again in Pannonia: Zosim. I. 48 *Ἀὐρηλιανὸς δὲ κρατυνάμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐλάσας ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀκυλητὰν ἐχώρει, κακείθεν ἤλανθεν ἐπὶ τὰ Παιόνων ἔθνη, τούτοις τοὺς Σκύθας μαθὼν ἐπιθέσθαι.—περαιωθέντων δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ μάχης ἐν τῇ Παιονίᾳ γενομένης ἰσοπαλοῦς, νύξ ἐπιγενομένη τὴν νίκην ἀμφήριστον ἀμφοτέροις πεποίηκεν. ἐν δὲ τῇ νυκτὶ τὸν ποταμὸν οἱ βάρβαροι διαβάντες ἅμα ἡμέρᾳ περὶ σπονδῶν ἐπεκηρυκέοντο.* This war is noticed, though under other names, by Vopiscus Aurel. c. 18 *Item Aurelianus contra Suevos et Sarmatas iisdem temporibus vehementissime dimicavit, ac florentissimam victoriam retulit.* Orosius VII. 23 *Expeditione in Danubium suscepta Gothos magnis præliis profligavit.* The *Sarmatæ* the Scythians and the Goths are the same people, and Pannonia is the scene of the war. After the Pannonian campaign *Aurelian* engaged the *Marcomanni* and *Alamanni* in Italy: Zosim. I. 49 quoted in the Tables A. D. 271. He encountered them at Milan: Vopisc. Aurel. c. 18.

The letter of *Aurelian* on the Sibylline books was considered in the Senate Jan. 11 A. D. 271. which fixes the other transactions noticed in the Tables at 271. The *Juthungi*, to whom he grants peace in 271, had entered Italy with 80,000 foot and 40,000 horse: Dexippus p. 8 C *μέρει ἐλαχίστω τὰς πρὸς Ἴστρω πόλεις ἐπελθόντες Ἰταλίαν μικροῦ πάσαν κατειλήφαμεν, ἰππικῶ μὲν στρατεύσαντες ἐς μυριάδας δ' καὶ τούτων—Ἰουθούγγων καθαρῶς,—ἀσπίδα δὲ ἄγομεν διπλασίαν δυνάμεως τῆς ἰππικῆς.* *Aurelian* in his discourse to the ambassadors apud Dexippum p. 11 C says *ἀπείληπται γὰρ Ῥοδανοῦ μὲν εἴσω καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων ὀρίων.* Where for the corrupt Ῥοδανοῦ the conjecture of Tillemont may be accepted—*ποταμοῦ μὲν εἴσω.* or rather *τοῦ ποταμοῦ μὲν εἴσω.* Sc. the river Danube. Vopiscus, like Zosimus, seems to consider the victory on the Danube obtained over the *Juthungi* as the sequel of the Marcomannic war; for without naming them he proceeds *finito prælio Marcomannico Aurelianus—Romam petit*<sup>c</sup>.

The events of *Aurelian*'s reign in the historians mentioned in the Tables at 270 are in this order.

<sup>b</sup> See the Tables A. D. 270. 272.

<sup>c</sup> See the Tables A. D. 271.

## AURELIAN

VICTOR CÆS. p. 340.	VICTOR EPIT. p. 383.	EUTROP. IX. 13—15.	OROS. VII. 23.
<i>Aurelianus confestim in Persas. Quis deletis, Italiam repetivit Alamannorum vexationibus afflictam. Simul Germanis Gallia demotis Tetricum vicit. Post Celsum biennii imperii in triumphum ductus. monetarii deleti. fanum Soli constituit. muri. Aurelian slain. p. 341.</i>	<i>In Italia tribus præliis. Septimius imp. monetarii. muri. Tetricus. Aurelian slain.</i>	<i>Gothos vicit. Tetricum superavit. Zenobiam cepit. triumphum egit. monetarii. muri. templum Solis. Daciam intermisit. Aurelian slain.</i>	<i>Gothi ad Danubium. Zenobiam in potestatem redegit. Tetricum superavit. triumphus. muri. persecutio. Aurelian slain.</i>

Zosimus I. 48, 49 has also some inaccuracies. His account of the two campaigns of *Aurelian* in the North and West in 270, 271 is brief and indistinct. Then *Aurelian* builds the walls of Rome; which according to Zosimus had no walls before. The narrative then proceeds to the war with *Zenobia* c. 50—61 in which he is copious and clear; agreeing in the main points with *Vopiscus*. Then c. 61 *Aurelian* visits Alexandria—triumphs at Rome—builds the temple of the Sun—and then, τούτων διωκμένων, conquers *Tetricus*, regulates the coin at Rome, c. 62. and is slain near *Perinthus*.

*Vopiscus* Aurel. c. 39 relates that Dacia was abandoned: *Quum vastatum Illyricum ac Mæsiam deperditam videret, provinciam trans Danubium a Trajano constitutam sublato exercitu et provinciabilibus reliquit, desperans eam posse retineri; abductosque ex ea populos in Mæsiam collocavit appellavitque suam Daciam, quæ nunc duas Mæsias dividit.* *Eutropius* IX. 15 *Provinciam Daciam—intermisit &c.—appellavitque eam Daciam, quæ nunc duas Mæsias dividit et est in dextra Danubio in mare fluenti, cum antea fuerit in læva.* In what year of his reign is not distinctly marked. Alluded to in a coin apud *Eckhel* tom. 7 p. 481 *Imp. Aurelianus Aug. + Dacia felix.*

The revolt of the *monetarii* is described by *Vopiscus* Aurel. c. 38 *Fuit sub Aureliano etiam monetariorum bellum, Felicissimo rationali auctore, quod acerrime severissimeque compescuit, VII tamen millibus suorum militum interemptis, ut epistola docet missa ad Ulpium Crinitum ter consulem, qui eum ante adoptaverat* [sc. A. D. 258], "*Aurelianus Augustus Ulpio patri*" &c. Conf. *Eutropium* IX. 14 *Victorem* Epit. p. 383. *Victor Cæs.* p. 340 *Intra urbem monetæ opifices deleti, qui—pænæ metu bellum fecerunt usque eo grave, uti per Cælium montem congressi VII fere millia bellatorum confecerint. i. e. interfecerint.* *Aurelian* himself distinctly affirms that they slew 7000 of his soldiers. *Eckhel* tom. 7 p. 480 mistakes this for the number of the rebels: "aucto eorum ad VII millia numero." *Zosimus* I. 61 Τέτρικον καθελών—ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἀργύριον νέον δημοσίᾳ διέδωκε, τὸ κίβδηλον ἀποδόσθαι τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου παρασκευάσας. According to *Zosimus* this sedition happened in A. D. 274, a little before *Aurelian* quitted Rome for the last time. *Vopiscus* does not mark the date.

His victories over the Goths, commemorated in his title *Gothicus*<sup>d</sup>, are noticed by *Eutropius* IX. 13 *Gothos strenuissime vicit.* *Orosius* VII. 23 *Expeditione in Danubium suscepta Gothos magnis præliis profligavit.* *Ammianus* XXXI. 5, 15—17 ascribes it to the victories of *Aurelian* that the Goths were quiet *per multa sæcula.* *Duobus navium millibus perrupto, Bosporo et littoribus Propontidis* [A. D. 269] *Scythicarum gentium cateroæ transgressæ ediderunt quidem acerbis terra marique strages; sed amissa suorum parte maxima reverterunt. Ceciderunt dimicando cum barbaris imperatores Decii pater et filius* [A. D. 251]. *Obsessæ Pamphylicæ civitates, insulæ populatæ complures, inflammata*

<sup>d</sup> *Vopisc.* Aurel. c. 30. His titles are *Gotthicus, Sarmaticus, Armeniacus, Parthicus, Adiabenicus.*



*Macedonia, &c.*—*Post clades acceptas illatasque multas et sævas excisa est Philippopolis, centum hominum millibus (nisi fingunt annales) intra mœnia jugulatis. Vagati per Epirum Thessaliamque et omnem Græciam licentius hostes externi; sed adsumpto in imperium Claudio glorioso ductore, et eodem honesta morte præcepto* [A. D. 270], *per Aurelianum acrem virum et severissimum nozarum ultorem pulsati per longa sæcula sibi fuerunt immobiles; nisi quod postea latrocinales globi vicina cum sui exitio rarius incursabant.* Aurelian encountered the Goths in 270 at the time of the death of *Claudius*, and again in 272 on his progress to Palmyra. The great success appears to have been the victory obtained in 270 under the auspices of *Claudius* already mentioned.

The authorities in the Tables A. D. 275 may be adapted to the actual duration of this reign and of the *interregnum* that followed. The accounts of Syncellus, Malalas, Cedrenus are of no moment in this question. Zonaras XII tom. 1 p. 637 B includes the *interregnum*: ἐξ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἡνυκότα παρὰ τῆ βασιλείᾳ μηνῶν ὀλίγων ἐνδέοντας.

*Aurelian* left memoirs: Vopisc. Aurel. c. 1 *Ephemeridas illius viri habemus, etiam bella caractere historico digesta, quæ velim accipias et per ordinem scribas, additis quæ ad vitam pertinent.* Vopiscus therefore wrote from authentic documents.

Inscriptions. 1 Muratori p. 1051. 5 Interamnæ: *Imp. Cæs. L. Domitio Aureliano Pio Felici invicto Aug. pontif. max. Ger. max. trib. pot. cons. et procons. p. p. Interamnates Nahart. devoti numini ejus publice.* 2 Murat. p. 256. 3 Cordubæ: *Imp. Cæs. L. Domitius Aurelian. Pius Fel. invictus p. m. tr. p.* 3 Murat. p. 256. 4 Brixia: *Imp. L. Dom. Aur. Pio Fe. invicto Aug. trib. pot. p. p. M. Aurelius Rufinus P. P. nec ..... fort.* 4 Mur. p. 256. 2 in Piceno: *Imp. Cæsari L. Domitio Aureliano P. F. Aug. invicto p. m. trib. pot. cos. p. p. princ. juvent. or. Sept. pub. D. D.* 5 Grut. p. 45. 2 Pisauri in Piceno in basi. item apud Muratorium p. 256. 1 *Herculi Aug. consorti D. N. Aureliani invicti Augusti respub. Pis. curam agente C. Julio Prisciano V. C.* [V. E. Muratorius] *duc. cur. R. P. Pis. et Fan. P. M.* [al. P. P. M.] 6 Gruter p. 276. 3 item Pisauri in Piceno in basi: *Victoriæ æternæ Aureliani Aug. N. respublic. Pis. curam agen. C. Julio Priscia. V. E. ducen. cur. R. P. Pisaur. et Fan. P. P. M.* 7 Gruter p. 178. 3 Cæsena: *Balneum Aurelianum ex liberalitate imp. Cæs. M. Aurelii Pii Fel. Aug. servata indulgentia pecuniæ ejus quam Dominus Aurelianus concesserat facta usurarum exactione curante Statio Juliano V. F. curatore Resi. rejecit.* 8 A mutilated fragment in Muratori p. 474. 8 Saponariæ: *Balnea ex disciplina ..... L. Domiti Au ..... victi Aug. po ..... seriem ann ..... tuit Q. Æmilius Vict. Saxonianus.* 9 Murat. p. 461. 3 Forojulii: *Restitutor. orbis imp. Cæs. L. D. Aureliano Pio Fel. invicto Aug. pont. max. Ger. max. Got. max. Part. max. trib. pot. IIII cos. III p. p. p. cos. V.* These numbers are incompatible. The *third* consulship was in the *sixth* tribunician year. If this is not from the negligence of the times, such as Eckhel tom. 7 p. 479. 482 has remarked in the coins, we may without a number, as in N<sup>o</sup>. 1, read *CONS.* for *cos. IIII*. 10 Muratori p. 1994. 3 prope Beneventum: *Ulpia Severinæ &c.* given from Eckhel in the Tables A. D. 275. 3. *Severina* is also joined with *Probus* in an inscription given below. See *Probus* N<sup>o</sup>. 6.<sup>c</sup>

TACITUS. Tables A. D. 275. 276. 2. 3. Zonaras XII tom. 1 p. 637 BC Τάκιτος πρεσβυτῆς TACITUS ἀνὴρ, πέντε γὰρ ἐτῶν εἶναι καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα ἀναγράφεται ὅτε ἤρέθη.—Μαξιμίνόν τινα συγγενή ἑαυτοῦ ἡγεμόνα τῆς Συρίας προεχειρίσατο. ὁ δὲ κακῶς τῆ ἀρχῇ χρώμενος ἀνηρέθη παρὰ στρατιωτῶν, καὶ δέισαντες οἱ τοῦτον ἀνελόντες ὡς οὐκ ἀτιμωρήτους αὐτοὺς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ παρόψεται ἐπιδιώξαντες κάκεινον ἀνεῖλον οὐπω ἐβδομον μῆνα παρὰ τῆ βασιλείᾳ ἀνύσαντα, κατὰ δέ τινας μῆ ὄλους δύο ἐνιαυτούς. Inscriptions.

<sup>c</sup> In the Tables A. D. 275. 3 is an inscription to which the paragraph refers at p. 854 col. 2, where supply as follows: "The 6th tribunician year of

*Aurelian* was current at his death.—It had commenced therefore before March 275, and the second had commenced before March 271."

TACITUS. 1 Gruter p. 192. 5 gives a mutilated inscription which has *Tacitus Pius* —..... *Aug.*—..... *Ghotycus maximus* [sic lege] ..... *tribunicia potestas bis.* 2 Murat. p. 256. 5 Jaderæ: *Imp. Cæs. M. Claudio Tacito p. p. invicto Aug. N.* 3 Murat. p. 461. 4 in Lusitania: *Imp. Cæsari Marco Clodio Tacito Pio Felici invicto V. C. pontifici maximo tribunicia potestatis patri patriæ proconsuli.* 4 Murat. p. 2011. 3 in Lusitania: *Imp. Cæs. Cla. Tacito Pio invicto Aug. pont. max. trib. potest. pat. pat. procos. A Br. M. P. XXXIII.*

FLORIANUS. FLORIANUS. Tables 276. 2. 3. Zonaras XII tom. 1 p. 637 D οὗτος οὐδ' ὄλον τρίμηνον ἀνύσας ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ καὶ τῆς ζωῆς ἅμα καὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐκπέπτωκεν, ἀναιρεθεὶς ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν.

PROBUS. PROBUS.

Few historians of his reign: Vopiscus c. 1 *Probum principem—scriptorum inopia jam pene nescimus.*—c. 2 *usus autem sum—præcipue libris ex bibliotheca Ulpia ætate mea thermis Diocletianis, item ex domo Tiberiana. Usus etiam [ex] regestis scribarum porticus Porphyreticæ, actis etiam senatus et populi.* Zonaras XII tom. 1 p. 638 C ascribes to *Probus* not quite 6 years: ὁ δὲ χρόνος τῆς ἀπαρχίας τοῦ Πρόβου οὐχ ὀλόκληροι γεγόνασι ἐνιαυτοὶ ἕξ.

*Probus* is *adolescens* in the reign of *Valerian*: Vopiscus *Probo* c. 3. 4 “*Valerianus pater Gallieno filio, Augustus Augusto. Et meum secutus iudicium quod semper de Probo adolescente primo habui et omnium bonorum qui eundem sui nominis virum dicunt tribunatum in eum contuli*” &c. *Alia epistola de eodem ad præf. præf. cum salario.* “*Valerianus Augustus Mulvio Gallicano præfecto prætorii. Miraris fortassis quod ego imberbem tribunum fecerim contra constitutum divi Hadriani. Sed non multum miraberis si Probum cogitas adolescentem vere probum,*” &c. He was 50 years old at his death<sup>f</sup>: and therefore 22 in the 1st year of *Valerian*. *Aurelian* gave him the command of the tenth legion: Vopiscus *Probo* c. 6 “*Aurelianus Augustus Probo S. D. Ut scias quanti te faciam, decimanos meos sume, quos Claudius mihi credidit. Isti enim sunt qui quadam felicitatis prærogativa præsules nisi futuros principes non norunt.*” *Ex quo intellectum est Aurelianum in animo habuisse ut —Probum principem faceret.*

Tzschucke ad *Eutropium* IX. 16 p. 690 supposes the date in Vopiscus *Probo* c. 11 *III Non. Feb.* to mean 3 Feb. 276, and determines the death of *Tacitus* to February 276: “*Probus ante 3 Non. Feb. electus erat Augustus a militibus. Imperavit igitur Tacitus post 25 Sept. 275 ad Februarium 276 menses circiter 4.*” But this is not possible. For *Probus* did not address the senate till after the death of *Florianus*; and *Florianus* died at Tarsus, at least a month’s journey from Rome. If therefore that meeting of the senate was held 3 Feb. 276, the death of *Florianus* (who died *in summer* after two months’ reign) would be placed in January 276, and the death of *Tacitus* would be thrown back before Jan. 1 A. D. 276, when he was *consul*. The correction therefore proposed by Tillemont and adopted in the Tables A. D. 276 is required in that date of Vopiscus.

The communication of *Probus* is thus introduced. Vopiscus *Probo* c. 11 *Sciendum est quid ipse ad senatum scripserit, quid item ad eum amplissimus ordo rescripserit. Oratio Probi prima ad senatum.* “*Recte atque ordine P. C. proximo superiore anno factum est,*” &c. It is evident from the rest of the narrative that this discourse was not delivered in person by *Probus* in the senate. Thus Vopiscus *Caro* c. 5 uses *oratio* of a written communication. *Indicat oratio ejus ad senatum data.—Nam quum primum imperator esset creatus sic ad senatorium ordinem scripsit inter cætera,* &c. It also appears from *Zosimus* that, at the death of *Florianus*, *Probus* was at or near Tarsus; from whence his letter to the senate was sent. Vopiscus proceeds *Probo* c. 13 *Accepto igitur hoc S. C. secundum orationem permisit patribus ut—proconsules crearent* &c. where *Casaubon* reads *per*

<sup>f</sup> See the Tables A. D. 282.

<sup>g</sup> See Vopiscus quoted in the Tables A. D. 276.



*secundam orationem*, and Salmasius and Gruter *secunda oratione*— for “*supra habuimus primam* PROBUS. *orationem*.” But *Probus* had delivered no speech in the senate, and *oratio* means the letter upon which the vote of the senate was founded. We may therefore interpret *secundum orationem* “In conformity with the tenor of his letter he granted them privileges” &c.

Idatius in *Fastis* p. 165 places the death of *Probus* in a wrong year: *Caro et Carino. His cons. occisus est Probus Sirmium*. These were consuls after the death of *Probus*.

Coins of *Probus* not assigned to any particular year: Eckhel tom. 7 p. 503 1 *Imp. C. M. Aur. Probus Aug. + adlocutio Aug.* 2 *Virtus Probi Aug. + adlocutio Aug.* 3 *Imp. Probus Aug. + adlocutio militum. or felicia tempora. or fides maxima. or Herculi Romano Aug. or principis juventuti. or sæculi felicitas. or victorioso semper. or victoria Aug.* 4 *Imp. C. M. Aur. Probus Aug. + Calliope Aug. or exercitus Pers. or Herculi Erymanthio. or Siscia Probi Aug. or victoriæ Aug. or victoria Gothic.* 5 *Imp. C. Probus invict. P. F. Aug. + moneta Aug.* 6 “*antica varia*” + *victoria Germ. or victoriæ Augusti. vot. X.* in another *vot. XX multis XXXX.* “*antica varia*” + *votis X et XX fel. or votis X Probi Aug. et XX.*

Inscriptions. 1 Gruter p. 277. 3 Granatæ Hispan. *Imp. Cæs. M. Aur. Probo Pio Felici invicto Aug. numini majestatique devotus ordo Illiber. dedicatissimus D. P.* 2 Gruter p. 1085. 13 Ameriæ. *Imp. Cæsari M. Aurelio Probo Pio Felici invicto.* 3 Muratori p. 1090. 3 in Hispania: *Imp. Cæsari M. Aurelio Probo Pio Fel. invicto Aug. p. m. trib. potestatis VI cos. IIII [A. D. 281] respublica Tuccitanorum devota numini majestatique ejus D. D. curatore Julio Claudio sub colosso.* 4 Murat. p. 2011. 4 In vico Taulane in Provincia: *Imp. Cæs. M. Aur. Probo P. F. inv. Aug. III cos. p. p.* 5 Murat. p. 1994. 4 prope Beneventum: *Imp. Cæsari M. Aurelio Probo Pio Felici invicto Aug. cos. D. N.* 6 Muratori p. 1994. 6 Allifis. In antica parte: *Imp. Cæsari M. Aurelio Probo Pio Felici invicto Aug. cos. D. N. [A. D. 277.]* In postica: *Ulpie Severinæ Aug. conjugi D. N. invicti Aureliani Aug.*

SATURNINUS, PROCULUS, BONOSUS. Overthrown by *Probus*: Tables A. D. 280.

SATURNINUS.  
&c.

CARUS. His country and origin were uncertain: Vopiscus *Caro* c. 4 *Onesimus— dicit Romæ* CARUS. *illum et natum et literis eruditum, sed Illyricianis parentibus fuisse contendit. Sed Fabius Cerilianus— neque Romæ sed in Illyrico genitum, neque Pannoniis sed Pænis parentibus asserit natum. In ephemeride quadam legisse memini Carum Mediolanensem fuisse.* In Eutropius IX. 18 he is *Narbonensis natus in Gallia*; whom Hieronymus and Orosius follow.

Inscriptions: 1 Gruter p. 277. 4 Delphis: *αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Μάρκον Αὐρήλιον Κἄρον εὐσεβῆ εὐτυχῆ σεβαστὸν ἱερὰ Δελφῶν πόλις ἔδωκεν.* 2 p. 277. 5 in Hispania: *Imp. Cæs. M. Aur. Caro Pio Felici invicto Aug. pont. max. trib. pot. p. p. procos. II cos. ordo Ebusii D. N. M. E.* 3 p. 277. 6 in Hispania: *Imp. Cæs. Aug. Caro Pio Fel. invicto Augusto pont. max. tr. pot. p. p. procos. Licomienensis ordo D. N. M. Q. E. fecer.* 4 Murat. p. 256. 6 in Hispania: *Invictissimo Cæsari piissimo principi clementissimo imperatori Marco Aurelio Caro Pio et Felici invicto Augusto pont. maximo tribunicie p. procos.* 5 Murat. p. 1084. 4 Tarenti: *Herculi sancto servatori victori triumph. pro salute et victoria imp. Cæs. M. A. Cari ex voto ord. Tarent.*

CARINUS. Tables A. D. 282. 283. 2. 3. 284. 2. 3. 285.

CARINUS.

Eckhel tom. 7 p. 514 supposes *Carinus* to be in Gaul at the death of his brother *Numerian* in September 284. But this is inconsistent with his presence at the Roman games at that time. An inscription Aquis Flaviis in Lusitania apud Muratorium p. 1994. 5 names *Carinus: Imp. Cæs. M. Aur. Carino P. F. Aug. tr. p. . . . . p. p.*

## NUMERIAN. NUMERIAN.

Coins apud Eckhel tom. 7 p. 511. 1 *Imp. C. Numerianus P. F. Aug. cos. + adlocutio Augg.* 2 *Imp. Numerianus invict. Aug. + oriens Aug.* 3 *Imp. Numerianus Aug. + p. m. tr. p. cos. p. p.* 4 *Imp. Numerianus P. F. Aug. + principi juventut.* 5 *Imp. C. Numerianus P. F. Aug. cos. + triumphus Quadorum.* 6 *Imp. Numerianus Aug. + undique victores.* 7 *Divo Numeriano + consecratio.* The Alexandrian coins are in the Tables A. D. 284. 2. 3. Eckhel p. 516 contends "necesse non esse ut statuamus a Carino et Numeriano continuatos patris Cari annos fuisse." But they are necessarily continued. L.  $\beta'$  of the sons commenced Aug. 29 A. D. 283 and L.  $\gamma'$  Aug. 29 A. D. 284. Consequently their L.  $\alpha'$  was current to Aug. 28 A. D. 283, and this was also L.  $\alpha'$  of the Alexandrian coins of *Carus*.

The duration of the reigns of *Carus* and his sons is explained in the Tables A. D. 284. The Paschal Chronicle p. 274 A has 3 years:  $\text{K}\alpha\text{p}\text{o}\text{s}$   $\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha$   $\tau\text{o}\acute{\iota}\varsigma$   $\nu\text{i}\text{o}\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ — $\epsilon\text{r}\eta$   $\gamma'$ . Victor Epit. p. 384 has the right number: *Carus imperavit annos duos.* And Orosius VII. 24 *Carus biennio tenuit.* Through carelessness they give the whole two years to *Carus*, although both had Eutropius before them.

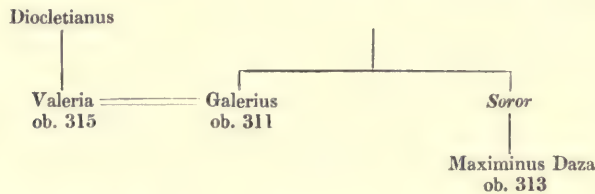
Inscriptions. 1 Murat. p. 256. 7 in Hispania: *Domino indulgentissimo Marco Numerio Numeriano nobilissimo et piissimo Cæsari.* 2 Murat. p. 461. 5 Carcassone in columna milliaria: *Principi juventutis M. Numerio Numeriano nobilissimo Cæsari N. M. P. I.*

## JULIANUS. JULIANUS. Tables A. D. 284. 2. 3.

## DIOCLETIAN. DIOCLETIAN.

After the division of the empire among two *Augusti* and two *Cæsars*, the persons who held supreme power were these :

IN THE EAST		IN THE WEST
<i>C. Val. Diocletianus Jovius</i> <i>Galerius Val. Maximianus</i> <i>Galer. Val. Maximinus Daza</i> <i>Val. Licinianus Licinius.</i>		<i>M. Aur. Val. Maximianus Herculus</i> <i>Flavius Val. Constantius Chlorus</i> <i>Flav. Val. Severus</i> <i>Flavius Constantinus</i> <i>M. Aurelius Maxentius.</i>



*Diocletian* was older than *Maximian*: Mamertin. Genethl. c. 7 p. 125 *disparis ætatis* &c. conf. Incert. Maximiano c. 9 p. 332. *Maximian* was 60 in 310, *Diocletian* 68 in 313<sup>h</sup>; which will place the birth of *Diocletian* at 245, and of *Maximian* at 250. Patarolus ad Panegyri. p. 333 has an erroneous account: "Diocletianus imperium deposuit annum agens 71. obiit enim septimo post anno, ætatis suæ 78, juxta scriptorum consensum, unum si excipias Zosimum qui tertio anno post ipsum dicit obiisse. At Maximianus obiit sexagenarius, multoque post imperium depositum." But *Diocletian* died in the 9th year after the abdication and not in the 7th, and after *Maximian*, and at 68 and not at 78.

<sup>h</sup> See the Tables.



For the tribunician years of *Diocletian* and *Maximian* see the Tables 293. 295.

The distribution of the provinces at the first appointment of the *Cæsars* in 292 is described by Victor Cæs. p. 346 *Cuncta quæ trans Alpes Gallicæ sunt Constantio commissa, Africa Italiaque Herculis, Illyricique ora ad usque Ponti fretum Galerio, cætera Valerius retentavit.* Praxagoras apud Photium Cod. 62 Κωνσταντίος Βρετανίας ἐβασίλευσε Μαξιμίνος δὲ τῆς Ῥώμης καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος Μαξιμίνος [sc. *Galerius*] τῆς τε Ἑλλάδος καὶ τῆς κάτω Ἀσίας καὶ Θράκης, Διοκλητιανὸς δὲ, ὁ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πρεσβύτατος, τῆς τε Βιθυνίας ἦρχε καὶ τῆς Ἀραβίας καὶ τῆς Λιβύης καὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου, ὅσων ὁ Νεῖλος ἐπερχόμενος ἄρδει.

The *vicennialia* were celebrated Nov. 20<sup>i</sup>. But the reign of *Diocletian* began Sept. 17<sup>k</sup>. The reason is obscure. Some have thought that *Maximian* was created *Cæsar* 20 Nov. 284. But he was not *Cæsar* before the death of *Carinus*, and his appointment would have no reference to the reign of *Diocletian*. Others suppose that *Diocletian* was elected by the army Sept. 17 and acknowledged by the senate Nov. 20. Others, more probably, that this day was selected merely because it was convenient. The 20th year was then current, so that any day within the 20th year might be taken.

The abdication is placed by Eusebius H. E. VIII. 13 in the second year of the persecution: οὐπω τῆς τοιαύτης κινήσεως δεύτερον ἔτος πεπλήρωτο. But in Mart. Pal. c. 3 having mentioned the end of the second year of the persecution—δευτέρου ἔτους διαλαβόντος,—Δύστηρον μηνὸς ἡμέρα κδ', ἣ πρὸ ἐννέα Καλανδῶν Ἀπριλλίων—he records the abdication: ἐν τούτῳ μεταβολή τις τῶν κρατούντων κ. τ. λ. Both these passages place the abdication too high; for it happened 1 May 305 in the third year of the persecution. The Paschal Chronicle p. 277 D p. 278 places the abdication at the wrong consuls: ὑπ. Διοκλητιανοῦ τὸ θ' καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τὸ η' A. D. 304. although at the right year<sup>l</sup>. Zosimus II. 7 appears also to refer the abdication to the 9th consulship: Διοκλητιανὸς ἐννάκις ὀκτάκις δὲ Μαξιμιανὸς γεγόνασιν ὑπατοί—καὶ τότε Διοκλητιανὸς ιδιώτης ἐκ βασιλείως ἐγένετο, καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς ταῦτο τοῦτο πεποίηκε.

His reign is erroneously called 25 years in Victor Epit. p. 385 *Diocletianus—imperavit annis viginti quinque.* Perhaps by an error of the transcriber. The date of his death is also erroneously assigned by La Baune Vit. Constantini p. 301 A. D. 313 to the third year after that period: *tertio post anno.* for which he refers to Victor Epit. who makes no mention of *tertio anno.*

On the character and court of *Diocletian* consult Eutropius IX. 26. The institution of new court ceremonies is placed by Hieronymus Chron. anno 2310 *Diocletiani* 10<sup>o</sup> [sc. A. D. 293].

*Valeria* the daughter of *Diocletian* was married to *Galerius*: Eutrop. IX. 22 Chron. Pasch. p. 277 D. Her sufferings after the death of *Galerius* in 311 are described by Lactantius Mort. Pers. c. 39—41. She was slain with her mother at Thessalonica by order of *Licinius*, fifteen months after the death of *Maximin*: Lactan. Ibid. c. 50. 51.—in A. D. 315.

Coins of *Diocletian* after his abdication: Eckhel tom. 8 p. 13. 14 1 *D. N. Diocletiano beatissimo* (or *beatiss.* or *bæatissimo* or *felicissimo*) *Sen. Aug. + providentia deorum quies Aug. (or Augg.) or vota publica.* 2 *D. N. Diocletiano P. F. S. Aug. + quies Augustorum.* (or *Augg.*) 3 *D. N. Diocletiano æter. Aug. +* — 4 *Diocletiano Sen. Aug. +* — 5 *D. N. Diocletiano B. S. Aug. + provid. deorum quies Augg.*

Inscriptions<sup>m</sup>: 1 Muratori p. 256. 8 Nemausi: *Imp. Cæsar. C. Valerio Diocletiano P. Fel. invic. pont. Aug. [lege p. p. Aug.] pont. max.* 2 Murat. p. 256. 9 Panormi: *Imp. Cæs. C. Valerio Diocletiano Pio Fel. inv. Aug. pontif. max. trib. pot. cos. III p. p. procos. resp. Panorm. D. N. M. Q.*

<sup>i</sup> See the Tables A. D. 303.

<sup>k</sup> Tables A. D. 284.

<sup>l</sup> See below in c. 2 at A. D. 305.

<sup>m</sup> Some inscriptions are inserted in the Tables at A. D. 286. 1. 287. 1. 2. 288. 3. 295. 1. 2. 296. 3. 305. 3.

**DIOCLETIAN.** *ejus D. D.* Within A. D. 287—289. 3 Murat. p. 257. 1 Augustæ Taurinorum: *Imp. Cæsari C. Valerio Diocletiano P. F. invict. Aug. ordo splendidissimus civit. Seg..... r. curante Aur. Saturnino V. præside D. N. M. Q. E.* 4 Mur. p. 257. 3 Mytilenis: *Imp. Cæs. C. Aurelio Valerio Diocletiano P. F. Fl. Val. Constantio et C. Val. Maximiano nobiliss. Cæsaribus Aurelius Accagathus Cenandius V. P. præes. proconsul numini majestatique eorum dicatissim. V. S.* 5 Murat. p. 25. 2 Aquileiæ: *Deo Soli Diocletianus et Maximianus invicti Aug.* 6 Murat. p. 257. 2 Item p. 1994. 7 ad Chersonesum Thraciæ: *αὐτοκράτορων Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων..... ἀγροῦς.....* 7 Mur. p. 257. 4 Palmyræ: ..... *es orbis et propagatores generis humani DD. NN. Diocletianus..... ssimi imp. et Constantius et Maximianus nobb. Cæs. castra feliciter condiderunt..... ntes Ossiano Hieroclete V. P. præf. provinciæ D. N. M. Q. eorum.* 8 Mur. p. 461. 7 Laude Pompeia: *Imp. Cæs. Aurel. Val. Diocletianus P. F. inv. Aug. et imp. Cæs. M. Aurel. Val. inv. Aug. Maximianus P. F. voto. et Flavius Val. Constantius et Galerius nobilissimi Cæsares M. P. ....* 9 Murat. p. 461. 8 Fani Fortunæ in Piceno: *Imp. Cæs. Flavio Diocletiano et Aurelio Valerio Maximiano Pius Felicibus semper Augg. et Flavio Valerio Constantio Galerio Val. Maximiano nobb. et invictiss. Cæs. ab urbe Roma ex S. C. desig.* Probably the same as the following: 10 Murat. p. 462. 2 Gruter p. 279. 2 Fani: *Imp. Cæs. Valerio Diocletiano et Aurelio Valerio Maximiano Pius Felicibus semper Augg. et Flavio Valerio Constantio Galerio Val. Maximiano..... Rom. C. XCI [CXCI Gruter] curante L. Turcio Apronian. V. C. præf. urb. fil. Asterio corr. Flam. et Piceni.* 11 Mur. p. 462. 1 Veronæ: *Imp. Cæs. C. Val. Diocletianus P. F. invict. Aug. et imp. Cæs. M. Aurel. Val. Maximianus P. F. invict. Aug. et Fl. Val. Constantius..... nob. Cæs. .... M. P. VIII.* 12 Murat. p. 462. 3 Veronæ: *Imp. Cæs. C. Aurel. Val. Diocletianus P. F. inv. Aug. et imp. Cæs. M. Aurel. Val. Maximianus P. F. inv. Aug. et Fl. Val. Constantius... .. nobill. Cæs. XVII.* 13 Gruter p. 178. 6 Romæ olim extabat. *Imp. Diocletianus et Maximianus Augg. repurgatis fontium rivis et itinerib. eorum ad perennem usum reffectis Tiberino patri aquarum omnium et repertoribus mirabilium fabricar. priscis viris honori dederunt, curante aquas L. Aelio Dionysio do. V. C.* 14 Gruter p. 198. 5 Romæ: *DD. NN. providentissimi imp. Diocletianus et Maximianus invicti Augusti ripam per seriem temporum conlapsam ad pristinum statum restituerunt per ped. CX, curante Manio Acilio Balbo Sabino V. C. curat. alvei Tiberis riparum et cloacarum sacræ urbis.* 15 Gruter p. 179. 1 referred to in the Tables A. D. 305. 3. Romæ: *DD. NN. C. Aurel. Valer. Diocletianus et M. Aurel. Valer. Maximianus invicti seniores Augg. patres imp. et Cæs. p. p. .... DD. NN. Fl. Valer. Constantius et Galer. Valer. Maximinus nobilissimi Cæsares FF. .... thermas felices Diocletiano cæptas ædificiis pro tanti operis magnitudine omni cultu jam perfectas numini ejus consecrarunt.....* 16 Apud Panvinium p. 385 Gruterum p. 278. 6 Romæ: *Magno et invicto imp. Cæs. C. Aur. Val. Diocletiano Pio Fel. Aug. Basilus Donatianus V. P. [V. E. Gruter] rationalis D. N. M. Q. ejus.* 17 Gruter p. 279. 1 Romæ: *Domino nostro piissimo Diocletiano invicto Augusto Aimilius Victor Parat. D. N. M. Q. ejus.* 18 Gruter p. 279. 4 Patavii: *Æterno imperatori nostro maximo optimoque principi Aurelio Valerio Diocletiano Pio Felici invicto Augusto Pætus Honoratus... vir corrector Italiæ numini ejus dicatiss.* 19 Grut. p. 1079. 2 Nicomediæ: *Perpetuo impo. C. Aur. Val. Diocletia. P. F. Aug. cujus providentia etiam lavacrum thermarum Antonianarum funditus eversum sua pecunia amplificatum populo suo exhiberi jussit.* 20 Gruter p. 1085. 14 Nolæ: *Imp. Cæsari C. Valerio Diocletiano Pio Felici Aug. col. fel. Aug. Nol.* 21 Gruter p. 167. 1. 2 Gratianopoli quæ olim Cularo: *DD. NN. imp. Cæs. Gaius Aurel. Valerius Diocletianus P. P. invictus Augustus et imp. Cæsar Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maximianus Pius Felix invictus Aug. muris Cularonensibus cum interioribus ædificiis providentia sua institutis adque perfectis portam Romanam Joviam vocari jusserunt. Item in porta urbis: DD. NN. Imp. Cæsar Gaius &c. portam Viennensem Herculeam vocari jusserunt.*



## Laws of A. D. 286.

DIOCLETIAN.

Cod. Just. VI. 9, 3 *Imp. Diocletianus et Maximianus AA. Crescentio. S. Kal. Januar. Maximo II et Aquilino cons.*

VI. 37, 13 *Imp. Diocletianus et Maximianus AA. Severæ. pp. XV Kal. Maii Maximo II et Aquilino cons.*<sup>mm</sup>

II. 25, 3 *AA. Nicomedi. Dat. IV Non. Maii.* III. 34, 7 *Juliano. pp. IV Non. Maii.* III. 29, 7 *AA. Ammiano. pp. V Id. Maii cons. ut supra<sup>n</sup>.* VI. 6, 7 *AA. Metrodoro. Dat. V Id. Maii.* VIII. 43, 9 *AA. Cassio. pp. V Id. Maii.* III. 42, 7 *AA. Vitalianis. pp. XVI Kal. Junii.* IV. 21, 7 *AA. Zinimæ. Dat. XV Kal. Jun.* VIII. 19, 4 *AA. Carpophoro. pp. XV Kal. Jun.* VIII. 16, 5 *AA. Eutychio. pp. XIII Kal. Jun.*

VIII. 48, 3 *AA. Martiano. pp. XVI Kal. Jul.* V. 16, 13 *AA. Rufinæ. pp. XII Kal. Jul.* II. 3, 17 *AA. Deximacho. pp. IX Kal. Jul. iisdem cons. quibus supra<sup>o</sup>.*

IV. 1, 3 *AA. Severæ. pp. X Kal. Sept.* VI. 37, 14 *AA. Tatiano. pp. II Kal. Sept.*

IX. 41, 7 *AA. Urbanæ. pp. Kal. Nov.* [VIII. 40, 1 *AA. Paulinæ. pp. III Non. Dec.*] VI. 1, 1 *AA. Æmilie. S. Id. Dec.*

Sine mense vel die. VI. 14, 1 *AA. Sarpedoni. Dat. IV Non. \** VII. 16, 8 *AA. Verinæ. Dat. prid. \** X. 31, 5 *AA. Alexandro. pp. VI Id. \**

## Laws of A. D. 290.

Cod. Just. VI. 23, 7 *AA. Rufinæ. pp. XVII Kal. Feb. ipsis AA. IV et III cons.* VIII. 14, 10 *AA. Alexandro. Dat. XIV Kal. Feb. ipsis IV et III AA. cons.*

III. 44, 10 *AA. Aquilianæ. pp. VIII Id. Feb. Diocletiano IV et Maximiano III AA. cons.* III. 32, 10 *Januario. pp. G. II Id. Feb. ipsis IV et III AA. cons.*

VI. 42, 18 *Apolausto. pp. Id. Mart. ipsis IV et III AA. cons.*

III. 44, 11 *Gaudentio. pp. VIII Id. April. ipsis IV et III AA. cons.*

I. 22, 1 *Gregorio. Dat. V Non. Maii Diocletiano IV et Maximiano III AA. cons.* IX. 41, 9 *ad Carissimum præsidem Syriæ. Dat. VI Id. Maii. Emissa ipsis IV et III AA. cons.* VIII. 51, 5 *Ursæ. pp. XVI Kal. Jun.* VI. 24, 8 *Hadriano<sup>oo</sup>. pp. X Kal. Jun.* VI. 26, 5 *Hadrianæ. pp. X Kal. Jun.* V. 30, 1 *Firminæ. pp. VIII Kal. Jun.* VIII. 51, 4 *Hermogeni et aliis. pp. V Kal. Jun.*

VI. 23, 8 *Marcellino. Dat. XVI Kal. Jul. ipsis IV et III AA. cons.* VI. 50, 12 *Justino. pp. XVI Kal. Jul.* VII. 20, 1 *Theodoro. pp. XIV Kal. Jul.* VI. 23, 9 *Patroclie. pp. X Kal. Jul.* VII. 75, 3 *Acyndino. pp. X Kal. Jul.* VIII. 45, 16 *Alexandro et Diogeni. pp. X Kal. Jul.*

IV. 1, 4 *AA. Maximæ. pp. Kal. Jul. ipsis AA. IV et III cons.* II. 4, 14 *Sopatæ. pp. IV Non. Jul.* I. 18, 4 *Julianæ. Dat. VIII Id. Jul.* IX. 35, 5 *Victorino. pp. VI Id. Jul.* VI. 58, 4 *Cæcilio. pp. Idib. Jul.* VIII. 54, 7 *Julio. pp. Id. Jul.* IX. 35, 6 *Flaviano. pp. Id. Jul.* II. 4, 15 *Pontio. pp. XV Kal. Aug.* IV. 7, 3 *Dizonti militi. pp. III Kal. Aug.*

VII. 32, 4 *Nepotiano. pp. Kal. Aug. ipsis IV et III AA. cons.* VIII. 26, 8 *Apollonio. pp. XIII Kal. Sept.* IX. 20, 8 *Considio. pp. VIII Kal. Sept.* IX. 41, 10 *Ptolemæo. pp. VI Kal. Sept.* V. 51, 6 *Cononi et aliis. pp. IV Kal. Sept.*

VIII. 48, 4 *AA. Proculiano. pp. Kal. Sept. ipsis IV et III AA. cons.* VI. 42, 19 *Ampliato. pp. VIII Id. Sept.* VIII. 54, 8 *Florcæ. pp. VIII Id. Sept.* VI. 36, 3 *Hyacyntho et aliis. pp. VI Id. Sept.* (II. 14, 1 *AA. Aristobulo salutem. Dat. IV Id. Sept.*<sup>p</sup>) VII. 35, 3 *Numidio correctori*

<sup>mm</sup> These two before May 1. The rest (those which have the month) were issued after May 1. Whence correct the observation in the Tables at A. D. 286. 3.

<sup>n</sup> Sc. *Maximo II et Aquilino* III. 29, 5.

<sup>o</sup> Sc. *Maximo II et Aquilino* II. 3, 16.

<sup>oo</sup> Read *Hadrianæ* from VI. 26, 5.

<sup>p</sup> Read with Beck *AA. IV et III cons.*

DIOCLETIAN. *Italix*. pp. IV Id. Sept. V. 38, 5 Severo. pp. III Id. Sept. IV. 6, 5 *Martiali*. pp. X Kal. Oct. VIII. 26, 9 *Hermiano*. pp. X Kal. Oct. III. 44, 12 *Victorino*. pp. III Kal. Oct. VI. 37, 15 *Trentio et aliis*. pp. III Kal. Oct.

Cod. Just. VIII. 10, 5 *Octavio*. pp. VI Non. Oct. VIII. 28, 10 *Rufino*. pp. III Non. Oct. IX. 9, 20 *Didymo*. pp. III Non. Oct. I. 19, 1 *Firminæ*. Dat. VIII Id. Oct. III. 38, 4 *ad Maximianum*. pp. XVI Kal. Nov. IX. 9, 21 *Silano*. pp. XIV Kal. Nov. IX. 9, 22 *Oblimosi*. pp. XII Kal. Nov. VII. 43, 9 *Leontio*. pp. XI Kal. Nov. IX. 2, 10 *Ursæ*. pp. III Kal. Nov.

IX. 9, 23 *Proculo*. pp. Kal. Nov. *ipsis IV et III AA. cons.* VIII. 45, 17 *Mutiano*. pp. V Id. Nov. VIII. 4, 1 *Theodoro*. pp. XV Kal. Dec. IX. 41, 11 *Boetho*. pp. V Kal. Dec. IV. 1, 5 *Juliano*. pp. IV Kal. Dec.

VI. 42, 20 *Juliano*. pp. III Non. Dec. *ipsis IV et III AA. cons.* VIII. 49, 1 *Herennio*. pp. III Non. Dec. IX. 23, 6 *Aufidio*. pp. VI Id. Dec. VIII. 39, 3 *Isidoræ*. pp. Id. Dec. VIII. 24, 2 *Gemello*. pp. XIII Kal. Jan.

Some of the laws issued *Cæss. cons.* are given in the Tables A. D. 294, to which these may be added:

Cod. Just. III. 28, 20 *AA. et CC. Saviano*. Dat. Non. Jan. *Sirmii Cæss. cons.* VI. 50, 15 *Pomponio supposita XVI Kal. Feb. Sirmii*. VIII. 54, 19 *Alexandriæ*. S. XVI Kal. Feb. *Sirmii*. II. 13, 18 *Dionysix*. S. XIV Kal. Feb. *Sirmii*. V. 12, 19 *Achilli*. Dat. XIII Kal. Feb. *Sirmii*. IV. 26, 12 *Victori*. Dat. XIII Kal. Feb. *Sirmii*. III. 34, 10 *Nymphidio*. pp. XI Kal. Feb. *Sirmii*. VI. 20, 12 *Philantæ*. Dat. XI Kal. Feb. *Sirmii*. V. 51, 10 *Pomponio*. S. X Kal. Feb. *Sirmii*. VIII. 54, 20 *Helinio*. S. VII Kal. Feb. V. 34, 9 *Maximiano*. S. III Kal. Feb. *Sirmii*.

VI. 20, 13 *Antistix*. Dat. VI \* Feb. *Sirmii*. Either Jan. 27 or Feb. 8. V. 18, 7 *Erotio*. S. V Id. Feb. *Sirmii*. V. 37, 19 *Vindiciano*. S. III Id. Feb. *Sirmii*. III. 28, 22 *Tantillæ*. Dat. Idib. Feb. *Sirmii*. IV. 13, 4 *Achivæ*. S. XII Kal. Mart. *Sirmii*.

VIII. 54, 21 *Antonix*. S. V Id. Mart. V. 18, 8 *Sallustix*. Dat. XIII Kal. April. *Sirmii*. III. 38, 6 *Thesidianæ et aliis*. Dat. V Kal. April. *Sirmii*.

V. 62, 18 *Sabino et aliis*. Dat. Non. April. V. 12, 20 *Tiberio*. Dat. V Kal. Maii *Sirmii*. VIII. 54, 10 *Hermonix*. S. V Kal. Maii *Cæss. cons.* II. 3, 25 *Euhemero*. S. IV Kal. Maii *Sirmii Cæss. III cons.* V. 31, 10 *Prisco*. S. prid. Kal. Maii *Sirmii Cæss. cons.* VIII. 54, 11 *Sabino*. S. II Kal. Maii.

IV. 22, 3 *Maximæ*. Dat. Kal. Maii *Sirmii Cæss. cons.*

V. 24, 1 *Cælestinæ*. S. VIII Kal. Jul. *Veronæ Cæss. cons.*

V. 16, 22 *Archinæ*. S. Kal. Aug. *Sirmii*. V. 12, 21 *ad Geminium*. Dat. Non. Aug. *Agrippinæ*. V. 16, 20 *Claudiæ*. Dat. V Id. Aug. *Viminacii*. V. 16, 21 *Maucalix*. Dat. III Id. Aug. *Viminacii*. VI. 24, 10 *Asclepiadæ*. S. XVI Kal. Sept. *Sirmii*. II. 20, 8 *Tryphonio*. Dat. XI Kal. Sept. *Viminacii*.

II. 43, 3 *Theodoræ*. Dat. XIII Kal. Oct. *Sirmii*. II. 13, 20 *ad Verrinum præsidem Syriæ*. Dat. X Kal. Oct. *Demesso*. II. 19, 21 *Michræ*. Dat. VI Kal. Oct. *Viminacii*. VIII. 54, 23 *Olympiadi*. *Subscriptum V Kal. Oct.*

II. 3, 26 *Corneliæ*. pp. III Id. Oct. *Variani*. IV. 2, 13 *Frontoni*. S. XVII Kal. Nov. *Nicomediæ*. V. 12, 24 *Aurelio et Lysimacho*. Dat. VI Kal. Nov. *Antiochiæ*.

V. 16, 23 *Cæcilianæ*. S. Kal. Nov. *Brundusii*. V. 18, 10 *Epigono*. S. VII Id. Nov. *Heracleæ*. II. 3, 27 *Aurelio Chresimo*. S. VI Id. Nov. *Heracleæ*. II. 4, 33 *Euchrusio*. S. V Id. Nov. *Melantiadæ CC. cons.* V. 12, 25 *Eutyichiano*. Dat. III Id. Nov. *Antiochiæ*. III. 32, 25 *Eugnomio*. Dat. XVI Kal. Dec. *Nicomediæ*. II. 19, 22 *Eulogio*. Dat. XI Kal. Dec. II. 4, 35 *Hammoni*. S. IX Kal. Dec. *Nicomediæ CC. cons.* II. 55, 1 *Attalo*. Dat. VI Kal. Dec. *Viminacii*. VI.



36, 5 *Flaviae*. Dat. VI Kal. Dec. *Dicelli*. IV. 2, 15 *Charidemo*. S. V Kal. Dec. V. 12, 22 *Li-* DIOCLETIAN.  
*byancae*. Dat. V Kal. Dec.

V. 51, 11 *AA. et CC. Chrusiano*. S. Kal. Dec. *Anchiali Cæss. cons.* I. 22, 2 *Statiæ*. Dat. Kal. Dec. *Sirmii*. IV. 5, 9 *Gratianæ*. S. IV Non. Dec. *Nicomediæ*. VI. 20, 15 *Philippo*. Dat. *Idib.* Dec. IX. 9, 27 *Phœbo*. pp. XVIII Kal. Jan. V. 12, 18 *Menestrato*. Dat. XIV Kal. Jan. *Sirmii*. V. 12, 26 *Demostheni*. Dat. VI Kal. Jan. V. 12, 27 *Pompeiano*. S. VI Kal. Januar. *Sirmii*. VI. 20, 16 *Socrati*. Dat. V Kal. Jan. VI. 34, 3 *Eutychildi*. Dat. V Kal. Jan.

ACHILLEUS. Tables A. D. 292. 297. He is mentioned by Victor Cæs. p. 347 (with some dif- ACHILLEUS.  
ference in the account of his fall). His overthrow is referred to by Malalas XII p. 409. 410.

## MAXIMIAN.

## MAXIMIAN.

*Maximian* was a Pannonian: Mamertin. Panegy. c. 2 p. 16.

The *quinquennalia* of *Maximian* mentioned in the Tables A. D. 291 are placed at the beginning of the 5th year, or *Kal. Ap.* 290, by Pagi, and after him by Arntzenius ad Mamertin. p. 84. But at the close of the 5th year, or A. D. 291, by Norisius apud Tillemont tom. 4 p. 602 and Schwarzius ad Mamertin. l. c. These *vota quinquennalia, decennalia, vicennalia*, were sometimes celebrated at the beginning of the year, as the *vicennalia* of *Diocletian* in 303<sup>pp</sup>, the *quinquennalia* of *Constantine* in 310: Eumen. gratiarum actio c. 13 p. 455 *quinto incipiente suscepta*. and the *quinquennalia* of the *Cæsars* in 321<sup>q</sup>. But just as often at the completion of the period<sup>r</sup>. And as the terms of Mamertinus are express, *quinquennio exacto*, and as there is no other evidence to oppose to this, the present celebration must be assigned to the close of the period, where Schwarzius places it.

*Maximian* in 307 resumes the empire<sup>s</sup>, marries his daughter *Fausta* to *Constantine*: Lactant. M. P. c. 27. is expelled by his son *Maxentius*: Lactant. c. 29. His treachery to *Constantine* and death are related by Lactantius M. P. c. 30<sup>t</sup>. His death is also described by Eutropius X. 3 *Massiliæ oppressus pœnas dedit justissimo exitu*. Who is followed by Orosius VII. 28 *Massiliæ oppressus et interfectus est*. and by Hieronymus quoted in the Tables. These three passages are inaccurate in describing the death of *Maximian* as immediately following his capture at *Massilia*; for that he was then spared and that some space intervened is attested by Lactantius and Eumenius the contemporaries<sup>v</sup>.

The 20th year of *Maximian* is mentioned by Panegy. Max. et Const. c. 8 p. 329 *Te vicesimo anno imperatorem octavo consulem Roma voluit detinere*. c. 10 p. 333 *illa viginti annorum continua felicitas*. c. 11 p. 336 *curis quas viginti annis expertus fueras*. marking the period to the abdication. The abdication is described c. 9 p. 331.

Zosimus II. 11 confounds *Maximian* with *Maximinus Daza*: 'Ερκόλιος νόσφ κατὰ τὴν Ταρσὸν ἐτελεύτησε<sup>w</sup>. Eusebius Vit. Constantini I. 47 records the death of *Maximian* out of the due order of events.

Inscriptions. 1 Panvin. p. 385 Gruter p. 192. 4 *Imp. Cæs. M. Aurelius Valerius Maximianus invictus Augustus Sarm. max. Goth. max. pont. max. imp. VIII cos. III p. p. procos. iter. reparavit*. 2 Panvin. p. 385 Gruter p. 281. 4 *Magno invicto ac super omnes retro principes fortissimo imp.*

<sup>pp</sup> On the 65th day of the 20th year.

<sup>q</sup> See the Tables 321. 3.

<sup>r</sup> See Tillemont tom. 4 p. 637. The *vicennalia* of *Constantine* were celebrated both at the beginning and at the end. Tables 325. 326.

<sup>s</sup> See the Tables 307. 2. 3.

<sup>t</sup> See the Tables A. D. 310.

<sup>v</sup> See the Tables A. D. 310. 2. 3.

<sup>w</sup> The error is remarked by Livineius ad Eumen. p. 391 Spark ad Lactantium c. 30 Reitemeier ad Zosimum Tzschutke ad Eutropium p. 751.

## MAXIMIAN.

*Cæs. M. Aurelio Maximiano Pio Fel. invicto Aug. cos. III p. p. procos. Septimius Valentio V. C. Aug. præf. præf. D. N. M. Q. ejus.* 3 Gruter p. 281. 5 Romæ: *M. Aurel. Val. Maximiano invicto Aug. pont. max. imp. VIII cos. III P. P. P.* These three within A. D. 290—292. 4 Gruter p. 281. 6 Apud Isaram fluvium: *Imp. Cæs. Aug. Maximiano P. F. invicto.* 5 Panvin. p. 385 Gruter p. 161. 3 In via Flaminia: *Æterni imperatores Diocletianus et Maximianus Augusti et perpetui Cæsares Constantius et Maximianus pontem Metauro.* 6 Panvin. p. 385 Gruter p. 279. 2 In Piceno: see above *Diocletian* N<sup>o</sup>. 10 from Muratori. 7 Gruter p. 159. 1 Patavii: *Imp. Cæs. C. Val. Diocletianus p. p. Aug. et imp. Cæs. M. Aur. Val. et [lege Valer.] Maximianus p. p. Aug. et Fl. Val. Constantinus [lege Constantius] et Gal. Val. Maximianus nobil. Cæs. [lege nobb. Cæss.] M.....* 8 Gruter p. 199. 4 Oreolo non procul ab Eborax: *DD. NN. ætern. imp. C. Aure. Valerio Jovio Diocletiano et M. Aur. Valerio [H]erculeo Maximiano Pius Fel. semper Augg. terminus inter Pacens. et Eborens. curante P. Datiano V. P. præside H. H. N. M. Q. eorum devotissimo. Heinc Pacenses. Heinc Eborenses.* 9 Murator. p. 461. 6 Cordubæ: *Imp. Cæs. Maximiano Pio Felici Aug. Eborax M. P. XII.* 10 Muratori p. 49. 7 Metis: *Deo Mercurio numini sanctissimo Herculi junior Augustus.* 11 Gruter p. 280. 3 Cluniæ in Hispania: *Diocletianus Jovius et Maximian. Herculeus Cæs. Augg. amplificato per orientem et occidentem imp. Rom. et nomine Christianorum deleti qui remp. evertabant.*

## CONSTANTIUS. CONSTANTIUS.

The elevation of *Constantius* and the distribution of the provinces in A. D. 305 is described by Zosimus II. 8 ἤδη δὲ καταστάντες αὐτοκράτορες Κωνσταντίος καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς ὁ Γαλλέριος ἀπέδειξαν Καίσαρας Σεβήρον καὶ Μαξιμίον ἀδελφῆς ὄντα παῖδα τοῦ Γαλλερίου, Σεβήρω τὴν Ἰταλίαν Μαξιμίω δὲ τὰ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἤλιον παραδόντες. Eutropius X. 1 *Constantius et Galerius Augusti creati sunt divisusque inter eos ita Romanus orbis ut Gallias Italiam Africam Constantius, Illyricum Asiam Orientem Galerius obtineret, sumtis duobus Cæsaribus. Constantius tamen contentus dignitate Augusti Italiæ atque Africæ administrandæ sollicitudinem recusavit. Idem X. 2 Galerius—Cæsares duos creavit, Maximinum quem Orienti præfecit et Severum cui Italiam dedit. Ipse in Illyrico commoratus est. Orosius VII. 25 Galerius Maximianus Illyricum Asiam et Orientem, Constantius Italiam Africam Hispaniam et Gallias obtinuit. Sed Constantius vir tranquillissimus Gallia tantum Hispaniaque contentus Galerio cæteris partibus cessit. Galerius duos Cæsares legit, Maximinum, quem in Oriente constituit, et Severum, cui permisit Italiam, ipse in Illyrico constitutus. Anonymus Valesii p. 610 Cæsares duo facti Severus et Maximinus. Maximino datum est Orientis imperium, Galerius sibi Illyricum Thracias et Bithyniam tenuit, Severus suscepit Italiam et quidquid Herculis obtinebat. Idem p. 611 Severus Cæsar ignobilis et moribus et natalibus, ebriosus, et hoc Galerio amicus. Hunc ergo et Maximinum Galerius Cæsares fecit, Constantino [i. Constantio] nihil tale noscente. Huic Severo Pannoniæ et Italiæ urbes et Africæ contigerunt. Julian Or. II ad Constantium II p. 51 C D relates the division of the provinces as between *Constantius* and *Maximian*: ὁ μὲν τῆς μητρὸς πατὴρ [sc. *Maximianus Herculeus*] τὴν Ῥώμην διῶκει κ. τ. λ.—ὁ γὰρ μὲν τοῦ πατρὸς γεννητῆς [sc. *Constantius Chlorus*] Γαλατίας ἔθνη κ. τ. λ.*

Eusebius Vit. Const. I. 18 places the abdication of *Diocletian* and the elevation of *Constantius* μετὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος τῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν πολιορκίας. and H. E. VIII. 13 οὕτω δεύτερον ἔτος πεπλήρωτο. This is not exact; for from the edict in Feb. 303 to the abdication May 1 A. D. 305 were two years complete and the third year current.

*Constantius* is placed before *Galerius* by Eusebius H. E. VIII. 5 δυνεὶν ἐπιπαρόντων—βασιλέων. τοῦ τε πρεσβυτάτου τῶν ἄλλων [sc. *Diocletian*] καὶ τοῦ τὸν τέταρτον ἀπὸ τούτου τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπικρατοῦντος

\* Sc. oppido Hispaniæ ulterioris; Mela III. 1, 8.



βαθμόν [sc. *Galerius*]. Vit. Const. I. 18 Κωνσταντίος πρῶτος Αὔγουστος καὶ Σεβαστὸς ἀνηγορεύετο, CONSTANTIUS. τὸ μὲν καταρχὰς τῷ τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων Καισάρων διαδήματι λαμπρυνόμενος, καὶ τούτων ἀπειληφῶς τὰ πρῶτα. Upon which Eckhel tom. 8 p. 35 observes that, as *Galerius* was nominated by *Diocletian*, he would have the precedence over *Constantius*, who was appointed by *Maximian Hercubius*; and concludes that *Eusebius* gave *Constantius* the precedence out of compliment to *Constantine*. But *Eusebius* is confirmed by the order of the names in Inscriptions<sup>y</sup>, and in all the consulships of *Constantius* and *Galerius*<sup>z</sup>.

*Constantine* found *Constantius* at the point of death according to *Lactantius de M. P. c. 24 Qui cum graviter laboraret, miserat literas ut filium suum Constantinum remitteret sibi videndum.*—*At ille incredibili celeritate usus pervenit ad patrem jam deficientem.* and *Victor Cæs. p. 348. Victor Epit. p. 387 forte iisdem diebus ibidem Constantium fata ultima perurgebant.* And *Eusebius Vit. Const. I. 21 αὐτίκα δ' οὖν ἐπειδὴ τῶν ἐπιβουλῶν τὰς μηχανὰς διαδρὰς σπεύδων ἀφίκετο πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, ὁμοῦ μὲν αὐτὸς χρόνιος παρῆν, κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ τῷ πατρὶ τὰ τῆς τοῦ βίου τελευτῆς ἐπὶ ξυροῦ ἴστατο· ὡς δ' ἀπροσδόκητον εἶδεν ὁ Κωνσταντίος παρεστῶτα τὸν παῖδα, ἐξαλλόμενος τῆς στρωμνῆς κ. τ. λ.* But the authorities in the Tables A. D. 306 shew that *Constantine* arrived some time before his father's death, and found him at *Boulogne*. *Arntzenius ad Eumen. Panegy. p. 370* and *La Baune in Vita Constantii p. 298* endeavour to reconcile the difference by supposing “duplex adventus Constantini,” one in 305, and one in 306. But they forget that *Constantine* was at *Nicomedia* with *Galerius* through the year 305.

*Constantine* is called *Augustus* at his father's death by *Eusebius Vit. Const. I. 22 αὐτοκράτορα καὶ σεβαστὸν ἐκ πρώτης ἀνηγόρευον φωνῆς.* and again *H. E. VIII. 13.* and by *Lactantius M. P. c. 24 Constantinus Augustus.* *Orosius VII. 25* calls him *imperator: Constantius Augustus in Britannia mortem obiit. Qui Constantinum filium—imperatorem Galliarum reliquit.* But the testimonies in the Tables at 306 and the coins of *Constantine* as *Cæsar* apud *Eckhel tom. 8 p. 72* shew that he was only *Cæsar*.

Coins of *Constantius* as *Cæsar* A. D. 292—304 apud *Eckhel tom. 8 p. 29.* 1 *Constantius Nob. Cæs. + comitatus Augg.* 2 “Antica varia” + *Herculi conservatori.* 3 *Fl. Val. Constantius Nob. Cæs. + præsidia reipublic.* or *principi juventut.*<sup>a</sup> or *victoria beatissimorum Cæss.* 4 *Constantius Nob. Cæs. + virtus Herculi Cæsaris.* or *virtus Illurici.* or *undique victores.* 5 “antica varia” + *vota V. or X. or XX.* 6 *Virtus Constanti Nob. C. + —*

Coins of *Constantius divus:*<sup>b</sup> *Eckhel tom. 8 p. 32.* 1 *Divo Constantio Aug. + Consecratio.* 2 *Divo Constantio Pio + Consecratio.* 3 *Divo Constantio Pio princ. + memoria æternæ.* 4 *Divus Constantius + consecratio.* 5 *Imp. Maxentius divo Constantio adfina vel cogn. + æterna memoria.*

Inscriptions. 1 *Gruter p. 281. 9 Cluniæ Hispan. Imp. Maximian. Hercul. Cæs. Aug. Constantio in occid. Cæs. effecto et imp. reip. longe et late auc. Diocletiano principi invic. et uno temp. collega effecto.* 2 *Gruter p. 281. 1 Tarracone: Pio adque inclito D. N. Constantio nobilissimo ac fortissimo et felicissimo Cæsari Badius Macrinus V. P. P. H. T. c numini majestatique ejus semper devotissimus.* 3 *Grut. p. 159. 5 Veronæ: Imp. Cæs. Fl. Val. Constantio M. P. VIII.* 4 *Grut. p. 284. 4 Septempedæ: Magno principi Flavio Valerio Constantio nob. Cæs. ordo Septempedanorum D. N. M. E.*

<sup>y</sup> See many inscriptions of *Diocletian* at p. 74, three inscriptions given above under *Maximian Hercubius*, and three quoted in the Tables at 305. 3.

<sup>z</sup> See the Tables at the years 294, 300, 302, 305, 306.

<sup>a</sup> Conf. *Eumen. pro instaur. Schol. c. 6 p. 191 Constantii vere principis juventutis.*

<sup>b</sup> See *Eutropius* quoted in the Tables A. D. 306. *Eumen. Panegy. Constantino c. 3 p. 318 divi Con-*

*stantii. c. 14 p. 344 divo Constanti.* *Incert. Panegy. c. 25 p. 536 divum Constantium.* *Eusebius* himself *H. E. VIII. 13 πρῶτός τε ἐν θεοῖς ἀνηγορεύετο παρ' αὐτοῖς.* He was consecrated by his army in Britain: *conf. Eumen. c. 8 p. 372 Neque enim fas erat diutius fieri principem consecratum.*

<sup>c</sup> *Sc. præfectus provincie Hispaniæ Tarraconensis. Conf. Gruter. p. 283. 9.*

CONSTANTIUS. *pub.* 5 Gruter p. 1086. 3 Nolæ: *D. N. Flavio Valerio Constantio nobiliss. ac beatiss. Cæsari ordo populusque Nolanus D. N. M. Q. ejus.* 6 Murat. p. 462. 4 in Albercæ vico, IV leucis ab Astensi civitate: *Imp. Cæs. Flavio Valerio Constantio nobilissimo Cæs. p. p. M. P. N. XXVIII.* 6 Mur. p. 1113. 6 Nicomediæ: *Optimo benignissimoque principi Flavio Valerio Constantio nob. Cæsari Germanico max. cons. [A. D. 294] colonia Nicomediensium D. N. M. Q. ejus.*

## HELENA.

HELENA was not the concubine but the wife of *Constantius*. This is attested by Victor and Eutropius quoted in the Tables A. D. 292. Anon. Valesii p. 609 *Constantius relicta Helena priore uxore filiam Maximiani Theodoram duxit uxorem, ex qua postea sex liberos Constantini fratres habuit. Sed de priore uxore Helena filium jam Constantinum habuit.* Eutropius X. 2 *Constantinus ex obscuriori matrimonio Constantii filius.* Implied also in Incerti Panegy. Maximiano et Constantino c. 4 p. 318 addressing *Constantine*: *Quo enim magis continentiam patris æquare potuisti, quam quod te ab ipso sine pueritiæ illico matrimonii legibus tradidisti? ut primo ingressu adolescentiæ formares animum maritalem.* These authorities justify Eusebius H. E. VIII. 13 *Κωνσταντίου—παῖδα γνήσιον Κωνσταντίνου αὐτοκράτορα—καταλιπών.—Κωνσταντίου—ἐπὶ διαδόχῳ γνησίῳ παιδί—τελευτήσας.* And Cedrenus tom. 1 p. 269 C *ἐγέννησεν ἐξ Ἑλένης τῆς πρώτης αὐτοῦ γυναικὸς Κωνσταντίνου.* She is called a concubine by Hieronymus Chron. Anno 2322 *Constantinus ex concubina Helena procreatus.* Repeated by Orosius VII. 25 *ex concubina Helena creatum.* and by Cassiodorus Chron. *natus dicitur ex Helena concubina.* Zosimus II. 8 *Κωνσταντίνος ἐξ ὁμιλίας γυναικὸς οὐ σεμνῆς οὐδὲ κατὰ νόμον συνελθούσης Κωνσταντίῳ γεγεννημένος. ἀσέμνου μητρός* II. 9. Chron. Pasch. p. 278 A B *ὁ γὰρ Κωνσταντίνος—ἐξ ἐτέρας τινὸς μίξεως ὑπῆρχεν αὐτῷ Κωνσταντίῳ παῖς ἀπὸ Ἑλένης.—ὁ νόθος ἐξ Ἑλένης αὐτῷ γενόμενος.* But La Baune Vit. Constantini p. 232 and Gibbon Vol. 2 p. 186 truly remark that the divorce of *Helena* proves her marriage: “*repudiari non dicitur nisi quæ uxor sit.*” Scaliger ad Euseb. Chron. p. 246 in discussing this question forgets that *Minervina* was not the wife of *Constantius Chlorus*, but of *Constantine*. *Helena* was of humble origin: Anon. Valesii p. 609 *Constantinus natus Helena matre vilissima in oppido Naïso atque eductus, quod oppidum postea magnifice ornauit.* That her son was born at Naïssus is confirmed by other authorities<sup>d</sup>. The place of *Helena*'s birth is doubtful. Bithynia according to Procopius *Ædif. V. 2 p. 96 B* *ἔστι δὲ τις ἐν Βιθυνίᾳ πόλις, Ἑλένης ἐπώνυμος οὖσα τῆς Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ βασιλέως μητρός· ἐκ ταύτης γὰρ τὴν Ἑλένην ὠρμήσθαί φασι.*

*Helena* died in about her 80th year<sup>e</sup>. Gothofredus Chronologia legum p. 28 supposes that she died at Rome 18 Aug. 326. La Baune in Vita Constantini p. 303 places her death at Rome 18 Aug. 327. “*Helena XV Kal. Sept. Romæ obit.*” Tillemont tom. 4 p. 228. 651 refers it to 328, because time was required for her transactions in Palestine described by Eusebius Vit. Const. III. 25. 26. 42 after the council of Nice. Eckhel tom. 8 p. 33 adopts the date of Tillemont. Valesius

<sup>d</sup> Steph. Byz. *Ναῖσός*: πόλις Θράκης, κτίσμα καὶ πατρὶς Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ βασιλέως. Constantin. Porphy. Them. II. 9 p. 26 *ἐπαρχία Δακίας—Ναῖσός ἡ πατρὶς τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου.* Hence Cedrenus tom. I p. 269 C relates that he was born *περὶ τὴν τῆς Δακίας πόλιν.* Firmicus lib. I c. 4 *Matheseos apud Valesium ad Ammian. 21. 10, 5 Apud Naïsum genitus.* On Firmicus see Gibbon Vol. 2 p. 187.

<sup>e</sup> Euseb. Vit. Constant. III. 46. 47 *ἐπεὶ δὲ λοιπὸν τὰ τῆς αὐτάρκους διανύσασα ζωῆς ἐπὶ τὴν κρείττονα λήξιν ἐκαλείτο, σχεδὸν που τῆς ἡλικίας ἀμφὶ τοὺς ὀγδοήκοντα ἑνιαυτοὺς διαρκέσασα, πρὸς αὐτῷ γενομένη τῷ τέλει συντάττετο καὶ διετίθετο, ἐπὶ μονογενεῖ νύμφῃ βασιλεῖ μονάρχῳ κοσμοκράτορι παισὶ τε τοῦτου Καίσαρσιν ἑαυτῆς ἐγγόνους*

*τὴν ὑστάτην βουλὴν διοριζομένη—τὴν τοῦ βίου κατέλυε τελευτὴν παρόντος αὐτῆ καὶ παρεστῶτος υἱοῦ τοσοῦτου.—καὶ τὸ σκῆνος δὲ τῆς μακαρίας οὐ τῆς τυχεύσης ἤξιούτο σπουδῆς. πλείστη γοῦν δορυφορία ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλεύουσαν πόλιν ἀνεκομίζετο, ἐνταυθοῖ δὲ ἥριος βασιλικὸς ἀπετίθετο.* Repeated by Socrates I. 17 *εὐσεβῶς διανύσασα τὴν ζωὴν ἐτελεύτησε περὶ ὀγδοηκοστὸν ἔτος, καὶ τὸ σῶμα αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν βασιλεύουσαν νέαν Ῥώμην διακομισθὲν ἐν τοῖς βασιλικαῖς μνήμασι ἀπετίθη.* And by Sozomen II. 2 *ἐπειδὴ ἔδει τὸν τῆδε καταλιπεῖν βίον, εὐκλεῶς ἐτελεύτησεν.* ἔτη μὴ ἀμφὶ τὰ ὀγδοήκοντα γεγονυῖα, τὸν παῖδα καταλιπούσα ἅμα Καίσαρσιν αὐτῆς ἐγγόνους πάσης τῆς Ῥωμαίων οἰκουμένης ἡγούμενον.



ad Euseb. Vit. Const. III. 47 argues rightly from the time of the death of *Crispus* that *Helena* HELENA. lived till A. D. 327. He understands Rome as the place of burial, as likewise La Baune and Tillemont<sup>ee</sup>.

Eusebius does not mark the year of her death nor how long she survived after the transactions in Palestine. The date of Gothofredus is wrong, because she survived *Crispus*, and perhaps *Fausta*<sup>f</sup>. The account of La Baune is also erroneous, because *Constantine* was present at her death, and *Constantine* was not at Rome in 327. If she died in 327, her death did not happen at Rome. She might have lived later than that year. If *Helena* reached her 80th year, her birth would be placed at the earliest at A. D. 248; perhaps a year or two later. Her husband *Constantinus* has 56 years in Nicephorus quoted by La Baune Vita Constantini c. 235. Malalas XII p. 416 gives him 60 years: ἦν δὲ ἐνιαυτῶν ἐξήκοντα. If he was 60 at his death in 306, he might be 2 years or perhaps 3 or 4 years older than *Helena*.

Coins of *Helena*. Eckhel tom. 8 p. 142 *Fl. Jul. Helenæ Aug. + Pax publica. Conse. or pietas Romana.* Conf. Eckhel Ibid. p. 143—145.

Inscriptions. 1 Gruter p. 284. 1 Scaliger ad Euseb. p. 246 Romæ: *Dominæ nostræ Fl. Jul. Helenæ piissimæ Aug. genetrici D. N. Constantini maximi victoris clementissimi semper Augusti aviæ Constantini et Constanti beatissimorum ac florentissimorum principum Julius Maximilianus [Maximianus Scal.] V. C. comes pietati ejus semper dicatiss.* 2 Gruter p. 284. 2 Scaliger Ib. p. 246 Neapoli: *Piissimæ ac venerabili dominæ nostræ Helenæ Augustæ matri domini nostri victoris semper Aug. Constantini et aviæ dominorum nostrorum beatissimorum Cæsarum ordo et populus Neapolitanus.* 3 Gruter p. 1086. 2 Neapoli: *Piissimæ et clementissimæ dominæ nostræ Augustæ Helenæ matri domini &c. et aviæ dominorum nostrorum Cæsarum beatorum uxori divi Constantii ordo Neapolitanorum et populus.* 4 Muratori p. 261. 1 Salerno: *Dominæ nostræ Flavie Augustæ Helenæ divi Constanti castissimæ conjugi procreatrici D. N. Constantini maximi piissimi ac victoris Augusti aviæ dominorum nostrorum Fl. Constantini et Constanti beatissimorum ac felicium Cæsarum Alpinus Magnus V. C. corr. Lucanice et Brittiorum statuit devotus excellentiæ pietatique ejus.* 5 Murat. p. 261. 2 Romæ: *Dominæ nostræ vener. Helenæ Augustæ genetrici D. N. Constantini maximi victoris et triumphatoris semper Augusti L. Pistrisii V. P. PP. rerum privatarum pietati eorum semper devotissimus.* 6 Murat. p. 260. 7 Romæ ad thermas Helenæ: *D. N. Helena ven. Aug. mat. .... avia beatiss. .... therma ..... istr ..... 7 Mur. p. 260. 6 Mazaræ in Sicilia: ..... Hel. Aug. respub. COIHL Y [sic] devota numini eorum.* Muratori proposes *resp. Lilyb.*

<sup>ee</sup> In Nicephorus VIII. 31 quoted by Valesius l. c. the body of *Helena* was brought from Rome to CP. two years after her death. But Socrates I. 17 appears rightly to understand Eusebius to speak of CP. and not of Rome.

<sup>f</sup> On this account Valesius ad Euseb. l. c. rejects the date of Cedrenus p. 297 A for the death of *Helena*: ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ Ἑλένη πρὸ δώδεκα ἐτῶν τῆς τελευτῆς αὐτοῦ ἀποθανοῦσα. which would be 325. Theophanes has these dates: p. 17 B *Constantini* 26<sup>o</sup> τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει Κρίσπος—ἐκοιμήθη. p. 20 B *Constantini* 21<sup>o</sup> τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει—Ἑλένην—μετὰ χρημάτων ἀπέστειλεν εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ὁ θεῖος Κωνσταντῖνος. p. 21 C κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν καιρὸν καὶ ἡ μακαρία Ἑλένη ἐκοιμήθη ἐν Κυρίῳ ἐτῶν π'.—

ἐτάφη δὲ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων ἐν ΚΠ.—πρώτη δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐτάφη ἡ μακαρία Ἑλένη. Repeated by Cedrenus p. 284 B τῷ κ' ἔτει. τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει καὶ Κρίσπος—ἐκοιμήθη, καὶ Ἑλένη ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ βασιλέως—εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἀπέρχεται. p. 285 A ἡ δὲ μακαρία Ἑλένη ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπανελθοῦσα—ἐτελεύτησεν ἐτῶν π', καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων. p. 295 C τῷ κ' ἔτει—ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἡ ἁγία—Ἑλένη πρὸς Κύριον ἐκδημεί ἐτῶν οὕσα π' καὶ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων θάπτεται πρώτη. The 21st year is consistent with the date of the death of *Crispus*. And this in the reckoning of Cedrenus is 12 years before the death of *Constantine*, to whom he gives 33 years: p. 296 D.

## GALERIUS. GALERIUS.

The edict of *Galerius* issued a few days before his death is given in the original by Lactantius, and in a Greek translation by Eusebius<sup>g</sup>, who has been faithful to the meaning of his original<sup>h</sup>. Valesius ad Euseb. VIII. 17 quoted by Heinechen observes of the tribunician years of *Galerius* in this edict "Galerius creatus est Cæsar a. 291 Kal. Mart. edictum emisit a. 311. Sequitur edictum illud scriptum fuisse ante Kal. Mart." Of *Licinius* he observes "Licinius Cæsar factus est III Id. Nov. anno 308. Quartus igitur annus tribunicie potestatis cœpit anno 311 III Id. Nov. ex quo efficitur edictum datum esse sub exitum anni 311. Quare necesse est horum duorum locorum alteruter mendosus sit." But Valesius himself has erred in placing the accession of *Galerius* one year too high, and the accession of *Licinius* one year too low. When these errors are rectified, the numbers in the edict are consistent with each other and with the true dates of those accessions<sup>i</sup>.

Coins of the *Cæsar Galerius* A. D. 292—304 Eckhel tom. 8 p. 35 1 *Maximianus nob. Cæsar + primo ausp. or virtus Jovi Cæsaris.* 2 "antica varia." + *principi juventutis. or votis X. or X m. XX. or vot. XX.* 3 *Maximianus nob. Cæsar + XCVI.<sup>k</sup> A Q.*

Coins of *Galerius Augustus* A. D. 305—311. Eckhel tom. 8 p. 36 1 *Gal. Maximianus P. F. Aug. + —* 2 *Imp. C. Gal. Val. Maximianus P. F. Aug. + —* 3 *Imp. Maximianus jun. Aug. + principi juventutis. or securit. pepret. DD. NN.* 4 *Imp. C. Gal. Val. Maximianus jun. Aug. + —*

Coins after his death. Eckhel tom. 8 p. 38 1 *Imp. Maxentius divo Maximiano socero or divo Maximiano socero Maxentius Aug. + æternæ memoriæ.* 2 *divo Maximiano Maximinus Aug. fil. + æternæ memoriæ Gal. Maximiani.* 3 *divo Gal. Val. Maximiano. + forti fortunæ.*

Inscriptions. 1 Muratori p. 257. 6 Romæ: *Nobilissimo Cæsari domino nostro Galerio Valerio... an. Persico maximo Sarmatico maximo Britannico maximo.* 2 Gruter p. 280. 4 Cluniæ Hispaniæ: *Diocletian. Cæs. Aug. Galerio in Oriente adopt. superstitione Christ. ubiq. deleta et cultu deor. propagato.*

## CARAUSIUS. CARAUSIUS. Tables A. D. 287—291. 293.

Coins. Eckhel tom. 8 p. 44. 1 *Imp. Carausius Aug. + adjutrix Aug. or Dianæ cons. or Mars ultor. or Marti pacifero. or victoria Ger.* 2 *Carausius Aug. + adventus Aug. or adventus Augg.* 3 *Imp. Carausius P. Aug. + Apollini cons. Aug.* 4 *Imp. Carausius P. F. Aug. + concordia Aug. or concordia militum. or Constant. Aug. or expectate veni. or fidem militum NN. or Germanicus maxu. or invictus Au. or leg. IIII Fl. or leg. VII Cl. or leg. VIII Ge. or principi juventut. or Romæ æternæ V. or ubertas. or voto publico. or votum publicum. multis XX. imp.* 5 *Imp. C. Carausius P. F. Aug. + felicitas.* 6 *Imp. C. M. Aur. V. Carausius P. Aug. + —* 7 *virtus Carausi. + pax Aug. or Romano. renova.* 8 *Imp. C. M. Carausius Aug. + pietas Aug.* 9 *Imp. C. Carausius A. + tutela Aug. Lo.* 10 "antica incerta." + *leg. II Part. VII P. or leg. VIII ... In. or leg. XX V. V. or leg. XXX Ulpia.*

<sup>g</sup> See the Tables A. D. 311.

<sup>h</sup> In Eusebius p. 76 ed. Heinechen sc. VIII. 17. for τῆ αὐτῆ ἀπονοία we must adopt the reading of the note τῆ αὐτῆ ἰπονοία. which is confirmed by Lactantius, who has in proposito perseverarent.

<sup>i</sup> Scaliger ad Eusebii annum 2326 p. 248 has much mistaken the character of *Galerius*, whom he

represents as an excellent prince and no persecutor: "Neque Christianos unquam persecutus fuit—bonus princeps et laudabilis, eximius et felix bellator."

<sup>k</sup> On this number, which also is found upon the coins of *Diocletian*, *Maximian*, and *Constantius Chlorus*, see Eckhel tom. 8 p. 12 p. 507.



SEVERUS. Tables A. D. 305—307.

SEVERUS.

His son *Severianus* was slain in 313: Lactant. M. P. c. 50 *Licinius—Severianum, jam ætate robustum, qui fugientem Maximinum fuerat ex acie secutus, tanquam post obitum ejus de sumenda purpura cogitasset, capitali sententiæ subjectum interemit.*

An inscription apud Muratorium p. 258. 4 Fabriani: *DD. NN. Flavio Valerio Constantio et Galerio Maximiano invictis. et clementissimis Augg. et DD. NN. Flavio Valerio Severo et Gneo Valerio Maximiano [lege cum Muratorio Galerio Valerio Maximino] nobilissimis ac fortissimis.....*

MAXIMINUS DAZA. Tables A. D. 305—308. 311. 313.

MAXIMINUS  
DAZA.

*Maximinus* is mentioned by Hieronymus ad Zachariam c. 14 tom. 6 p. 228 G *Legamus Ecclesiasticas historias, quid Valerianus, quid Decius, quid Diocletianus, quid Maximianus [sc. Galerius], quid sævissimus omnium Maximinus, et nuper Julianus, passi sint, &c.—quod computruerint carnes eorum, et oculi contabuerint &c. [de oculis Maximini Dazæ conf. Lactantium M. P. c. 49.]*

Inscriptions. 1 See Mur. p. 258. 4 quoted under *Severus*. 2 Murat. p. 130. 5 in urbe Teatina: *Pro salute Imp. Maximiani Aug. [sc. Galerii] et Maximini Cæs. taurobolium movit Petronius Marcellus sacerdot. de suo.* 3 Murat. p. 258. 5 Panormi: *D. N. Galerio Val. Maximino nobilissimo Cæs. respub. Panormi. D. N. M. Q. ejus.* 4 Gruter p. 280. 5 in foro civitatis Nepesinorum in Faliscis: *D. N. C. Galerio Maximino nob. Cæs. princip. jv. R. P. Nepesinorum.*

MAXENTIUS. Tables A. D. 306—312.

MAXENTIUS.

Lactantius M. P. c. 18 *Erat Maximiani filius Maxentius hujus Maximiani [sc. Galerii] gener.*

The day assigned for the death of *Maxentius* is unnecessarily doubted by Tillemont tom. 4 p. 634, who also tom. 4 p. 132 mistakes the time of the beginning of the war, which he places in 311. The body of *Maxentius* was found the day after his death: Anon. Valesii p. 611 § 12 *postera die corpus levatum flumine &c.* Compare for the fact itself Incert. Panegy. c. 18 p. 520 *Reperto et trucidato corpore.* Nazar. Panegy. c. 32 p. 622 *Caput reddidit Tiberis.*

For variations in the narrative *de Ponte Mulvio* conf. Arntzen. ad incert. Panegy. p. 516.

Coins: Eckhel tom. 8 p. 57. 1 *Maxentius P. F. Aug. + æternitas Aug. n. or Marti propag. imp. Aug. n. or principi imperii Romani. or conservatores Kart. suæ. or principi juventutis. or vot. QQ. mul. X. or vot. X fel. or vot. QQ. mul. XX.* 2 *Maxentius princ. invict. or princeps invictus + conservator Africæ suæ.* 3 *Imp. C. Maxentius P. F. inv. Aug. +* 4 *Imp. C. M. A. Val. Maxentius P. F. Aug. + principi juventutis. or victor omnium gentium Aug. n.*

Inscriptions: 1 Muratori p. 462. 5 Veronæ: *Imp. Cæs. M. Aur. Val. Maxentio P. Fel. invicto Aug. M. P. XI.* 2 Muratori p. 462. 6 in vico Avii diocesis Tridentinæ: *Imp. Cæs. M. Aur. Val. Maxentio P. F. Aug.* 3 Murat. p. 462. 7 Romæ: *Donino [sic] nostro Maxentio Pio Felici invicto Augusto VII.*

ROMULUS. Tables A. D. 308. 309.

ROMULUS.

*Romulus* died before his father *Maxentius*, by whom he was consecrated. Coins *Divi Romuli*: Eckhel tom. 8 p. 59

- |  |   |   |
|--|---|---|
| <p>1 <i>Divo Romulo nubiss. cons. or nubis. C.</i><br/>         2 <i>Divo Romulo nub. Aug.</i><br/>         3 <i>Imp. Maxentius divo Romulo nu. filio.</i><br/>         4 <i>Imp. Maxentius divo Romulo nu. cons. filio.</i></p> | } | <p>+ æterna memoria. or æternæ memoriæ.</p> |
|--|---|---|

ALEXANDER ALEXANDER. Tables A. D. 308. 311.

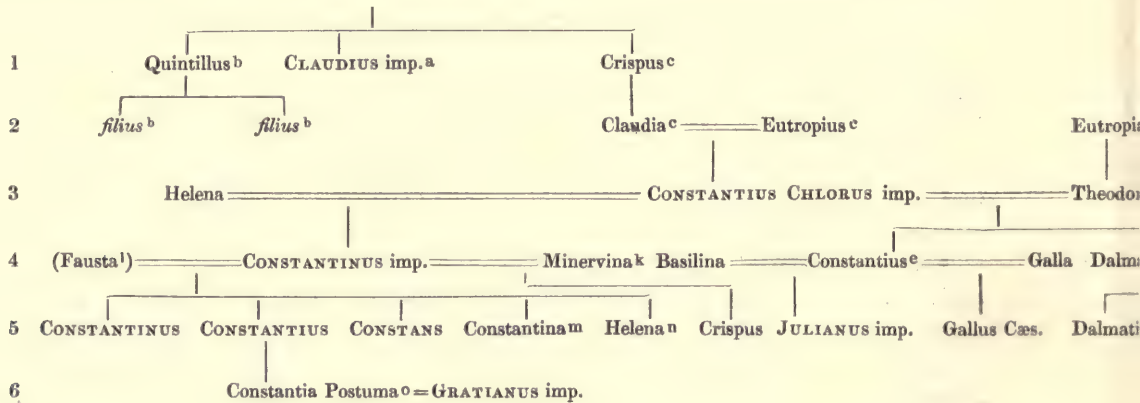
Victor Cæs. p. 349 adds *Ipse debili ætate, agrestibus et Pannonicis parentibus recordior*, which Anna Fabri ad c. 40 § 17 apud Arntzenium p. 432 understands of *Maxentius*. But as *Maxentius* was not *debili ætate*, this passage must be referred to *Alexander*, who is here called a Pannonian, although other authors call him a Phrygian.

LICINIUS. LICINIUS.

The renewed war is thus introduced by Anon. Valesii p. 613 quoted in the Tables A. D. 323. *Mox bellum inter ipsum Licinium et Constantinum efferbuit. Item cum Constantinus Thessalonice esset Gothi per neglectos limites eruperunt et vastata Thracia et Mæsia prædas agere cœperunt. Tunc Constantini terrore et impetu repressi captivos illi impetrata pace reddiderunt. Sed hoc Licinius contra fidem factum questus est, quod partes suæ ab alio fuerint vindicatæ. Deinde cum variasset inter supplicia et superba mandata, iram Constantini merito excitavit. Per tempora quibus nondum gerebatur bellum civile, sed item parabatur, Licinius scelere avaritia crudelitate libidine sæviebat, occisis ob divitias pluribus, uxoribus eorum corruptis.* The character of *Licinius* is marked by Victor Cæs. p. 351 *Huic parsimonia et ea quidem agrestis tantummodo inerat.—Licinio ne insontium quidem ac nobilium philosophorum servili more cruciatus adhibiti modum fecere.* And more fully by Victor Epit. p. 388 *Avaritiæ cupidine omnium pessimus, neque alienus a luxu venereo. asper admodum, haud mediocriter impatiens, infestus literis, quas in inscitiam immodicam virus ac pestem publicam nominabat; præcipue forenses industrias. agrarius plane, ac rusticantibus, quia ob eo genere ortus altusque erat, satis utilis, ac militicæ custos ad veterum instituta severissimus, spadonum et aulicorum omnium vehemens domitor, tineas soricesque palatii eos appellans.*

[The son of

CONSTANTINE



<sup>a</sup> On *Claudius* consult the following testimonies: Lamprid. Elagab. c. 35 ad Constantinum Aug. *Autor tui generis Claudius.* Trebell. Gallien. c. 7 *Claudio duce, qui postea imperium obtinuit, principe generis Constantini Cæsaris nostri.* Conf. c. 14 Claud. 1. 3. 10 Vopisc. Aurel. c. 44 Eutrop. IX. 22 *Constantius per filiam nepos Claudii traditur.* Eumen. panegy. Constantino c. 2 p. 351 *Ab illo enim divo Claudio manat in te avita cognatio* &c. and *Constantine* is called the third emperor of his family: p. 353 *post duos familiae tuæ principes [sc. Claudium Constantium] tertius imperator.* Idem Grat. actio c. 4 p. 429 *Divum Claudium parentem tuum.* Julian Or. I p. 6 D mentions the victories of *Claudius*, and their descent from him Or. II

p. 51 C *τά γε μὴν τῆς ἡμετέρας συγγενείας ἤρξατο μὲν ἀπὸ Κλαυδίου.* Cæs. p. 313 D *Κλαύδιος, εἰς ὃν ἀπιδόντες οἱ θεοὶ πάντες ἠγάσθησάν τε αὐτὸν τῆς μεγαλοφυχίας, καὶ ἐπένευσαν αὐτοῦ τῷ γένει τὴν ἀρχὴν δίκαιον εἶναι νομίσαντες οὕτω φιλοπάτριδος ἀνδρὸς ἐπὶ πλείστον εἶναι τὸ γένος ἐν ἡγεμονίᾳ.*

<sup>b</sup> *Quintillus.* Trebell. Claud. c. 10 *de fratre Quintillo, quem consortem habere volebat imperii, responsum est Ostendent terris hunc tantum fata.* c. 12 *Quintillus frater ejusdem vir sanctus—delatum sibi omnium iudicio suscepit imperium, non hereditarium sed merito virtutum,* &c. Idem c. 13 *Ipsi Claudio liberi nulli fuerunt, Quintillus duos reliquit.*

<sup>c</sup> *Crispus.* Trebell. Claudio c. 13 *Claudius Quin-*



The son of *Licinius* was slain by *Constantine* in the same year with *Crispus*<sup>1</sup>. An act still less LICINIUS. to be palliated than the other. *Crispus* was slain under a mistaken belief of his guilt. But what can be alleged for *Constantine* to excuse the murder of his sister's son at eleven years of age? He is commemorated in an inscription apud Muratorium p. 260. 4 Bracaræ: *DN..... Valerio..... Liciniano Licinio .... juniori ..... nob.* and with *Constantine II* apud Mur. p. 464. 1 On sati in agro Brixiano: *Constantino max. DDD. NNN. Flavio Licinio Liciniano ju. ... Fl. Constantino jun. Cæsar ..... VIII.*

VALENS. Tables A. D. 314.

VALENS.

MARTINIANUS. Tables A. D. 323.

MARTINIANUS

CONSTANTINUS.

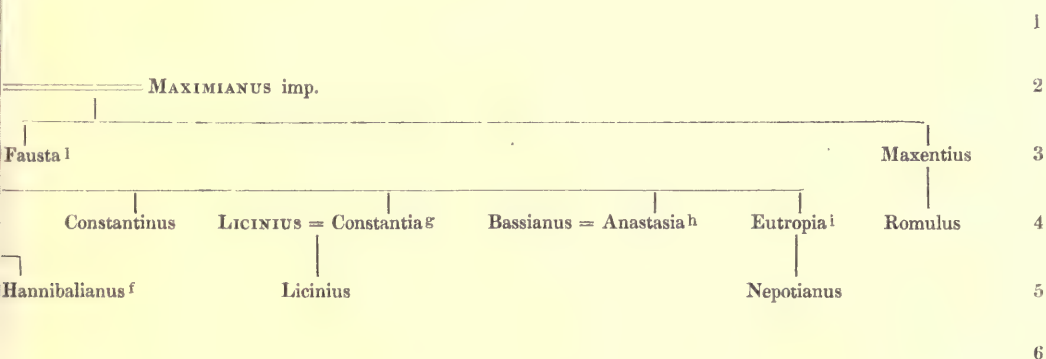
CONSTANTINUS

Valesius ad Ammian. 14. 1, 2 p. 5 has given the series of the House of *Constantine* from *Constantius Chlorus* to *Constantia* the daughter of *Constantius II*. The following Table exhibits the pedigree for six generations, beginning with *Crispus* the brother of *Claudius* and ending with *Constantia*. The authorities collected in the notes will illustrate some of the names mentioned in this Table.

The pedigree given by Theophanes p. 15 is both erroneous and defective.

<sup>1</sup> See the Tables A. D. 326.

CONSTANTINE



*tillus et Crispus fratres fuerunt, Crispi filia Claudia. ex ea et Eutropio nobilissimo gentis Dardanae viro Constantius Cæsar est genitus.* Panegyrist and other writers quoted above represented this as a descent from *Claudius* himself.

<sup>d</sup> *Theodora.* The marriage of *Chlorus* with *Theodora* is alluded to in Panegyri. c. 7 p. 326 *Maximiane, —quid providentia tua dignius facere potuisti quam ut ejus filio quem ibi pridem et adfinitate adsciveras et majestate sociaveras, &c.*

<sup>e</sup> *Julius Constantius.* See the Tables A. D. 338. Liban. Epitaph. tom. I p. 524 *αὐτίκα τὸ γένος αὐτῶ [Juliano] πάππος μὲν βασιλεὺς, ὅς μάλιστα δὴ χρημάτων ὑπεριδὼν μάλιστα δὴ τὰς τῶν ἀρχομένων εὐνοίας ἐκτήσατο,*

*πατὴρ δὲ βασιλεὺς μὲν υἱὸς βασιλεὺς δ' ἀδελφὸς, δικαιοτέρος δὲ τοῦ σχόντος τὴν βασιλείαν ἔχειν· ἀλλ' ὅμως ἡσύχαζε καὶ συνεχέτο τῶ λαβόντι, καὶ συζῶν ἀδόλως καὶ φιλῶν διετέλει. γήμας δὲ ὑπάρχον θυγατέρα χρηστοῦ [sc. *Basilinam Anicii filiam*],—ὄν ὁ πολέμιος [sc. *Constantinus*] νενικηκὼς ἠδέσθη,—ποιεῖται τούτου τὸν ἄριστον [sc. *Julianum*].*

<sup>f</sup> *Dalmatius* and his sons. See the Tables A. D. 335. 338. Socrates H. E. III. 1 *Κωνσταντίνος—δύο ἔσχεν ἑμοπατρίους ἀδελφούς οὐκ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς γενομένους μητρὸς, Δαλμάτιος ὄνομα τῶ ἐνὶ, θατέρω δὲ Κωνσταντίος.*

<sup>ε</sup> *Constantia.* Socrat. I. 25 *ἦν ἀδελφὴ τῶ βασιλεὶ Κωνσταντίνῳ τοῦ ὄνομα Κωνσταντία· γυνὴ δὲ ἐγεγένει Λικινίου τοῦ πρότερον μὲν συμβασιλεύσαντος αὐτῶ Κωνσταντίνῳ, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τυραννήσαντος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀνααιρεθέντος. She*

CONSTANTINE

*Constantine* was born Feb. 27 : *Natales Cæsarum apud Bucherium* p. 276 *Divi Constantini III Kal. Martii.* p. 282 *III Kal. Martii Natalis divi Constantini.* In Britain according to La Baune in *Vita Constantini* p. 296. But this is not asserted in the words *illic oriendo* apud Panegy. c. 4 p. 320. See the interpreters at p. 320, who shew that *Constantius* was not in Britain till 22 years after the birth of *Constantine*. It has been shewn already<sup>p</sup> that he was born at *Naissus*.

His early life is described by Praxagoras apud Photium cod. 62. He is present at Nicomedia at the abdication in A. D. 305 : Lactant. M. P. c. 19 *Constantinum omnes intuebantur.*—*Constantinus astabat* &c. Idem c. 18 *Eratque tunc præsens, jampridem a Diocletiano factus tribunus ordinis primi.* He is acknowledged *Cæsar* by *Galerius* in 306<sup>q</sup>. The title appears upon coins apud Eckhel tom. 8 p. 72. 1 *Constantinus Cæsar* or *nob. C.* or *nob. Cæs.* +— 2 *Fl. Val. Constantinus N. C.* or *nob. C.* + *concordia imperii.* or *plur. natal. fel.*

died before *Constantine* : Socrat. Ibid. Muratori p. 260. 5 gives an inscription Romæ : *Inlustri et divina prosap. genitæ venerabili soror. D. N. Constantini Aug. et amicitæ DD. NN. beatissimorum Cæs. D. N. Flavia Constantie.*

<sup>h</sup> *Anastasia.* Anon. Valesii p. 612 *Constantium Constantinus ad Licinium misit persuadens ut Bassianus Cæsar feret, qui habebat alteram Constantini sororem Anastasiam; ut exemplo Diocletiani et Maximiani inter Constantinum et Licinium Bassianus Italiam medius obtineret. Et Licinio talia frustrante, per Sinicionem Bassiani fratrem, qui Licinio fidus erat, in Constantinum Bassianus armatur. qui tamen in conatu deprehensus Constantino jubente convictus et stratus est.* Conf. Spanheim. ad Julianum p. 43. Ammianus 26. 6, 14 *Anastasianas balneas, a sorore Constantini cognominatas.*

<sup>i</sup> *Eutropia.* Zosim. II. 43, 3 *Μαργεντίου διαπίβουρος ἐν Κελτοῖς, Νεπωτιανὸς, ἐξ ἀδελφῆς Κωνσταντίνου τευχθεῖς Εὐτροπίας ὄνομα, συναγαγὼν πλῆθος κ. τ. λ.* On *Nepotianus* see the Tables A. D. 350.

<sup>k</sup> *Minervina.* The mother of *Crispus* : Zosim. II. 20, 3 *Victor* Epit. p. 388. The lawful wife of *Constantine* according to Panegy. c. 4 p. 318 (quoted above under *Helena*) *Quo magis continentiam patris æquare potuisti, quam quod te ab ipso fine pueritiae illico matrimonii legibus tradidisti?* &c. Conf. Panegy. Constantino c. 4 p. 481 *Te pudicitia soli dicata conjugio* &c.

<sup>l</sup> *Fausta.* See the Tables A. D. 326. 327. Zosimus II. 39 has a mistake or a false reading where he mentions the three sons of *Constantine*, *ἐτέχθησαν οὐκ ἀπὸ Φαύστης τῆς τοῦ Ἐρκοιλίου Μαξιμιανοῦ θυγατρὸς, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἄλλης.* which Reitemeier remarks and endeavours to correct. *Fausta* died a Heathen : Spanheim. ad Julianum p. 85.

<sup>m</sup> *Constantina.* First married to *Hannibalianus* and then to the *Cæsar Gallus* : Ammian. 14. 1, 2 *Facinora Cæsaris Galli, &c.—propinquitatem enim regie stirpis—efferebatur in fastus.—Cujus acerbitati uxor grave accesserat incentivum, germanitate Augusti turgida supra modum. quam Hannibaliano regi fratris filio antehac Constantinus junxerat pater, Megera quedam mortalis, inflammatrix sævientis adsidua. humani cruoris avida nihil mitius quam maritus.* Conf. 14. 7, 4. Idem

14. 9, 3 *Cæsaris imperio truci, ac stimulis reginæ exertantis aurem subinde per aulaum, nec diluere objecta permitti nec defensi periere complures.* Zosim. II. 45, 1 *Κωνσταντίος Γάλλον—Καίσαρα καθίστησι καὶ Κωνσταντίαν αὐτῷ κατεγγυήσας τὴν ἀδελφὴν κ. τ. λ.* Her death in A. D. 354 on her way to *Constantius* is mentioned by Ammianus 14. 11, 6 *Cum Bithyniam introisset, in statione quæ Cænos Gallicanos adpellatur assumpta est vi februum repentina.* She was buried at Rome : Ammian. 21. 1, 5 *Inter quæ (Julianus) Helena conjugis defunctæ suprema miserat Romam in suburbano viâ Nomentanæ condenda, ubi uxor quoque Galli, quondam soror ejus, sepulta est Constantina.* On her name conf. Vales. ad Ammian. 21. 1, 6 p. 394.

<sup>n</sup> *Helena.* See the Tables A. D. 355. Eutrop. X. 14 *Constantius Augustus—mox Julianum Cæsarem ad Gallias misit, patrualem suam, Galli fratrem, tradita ei in matrimonium sorore.* Her death was in 360 : see the Tables.

<sup>o</sup> *Constantia Postuma.* Ammian. 21. 15, 6 *Constantius—uxorem prægnantem reliquit, unde edita postuma ejusque nomine adpellata, cum adolevisset matrimonii jure copulata est Gratiano.* Idem 26. 7, 10 *Procopius—Constantii filiam parvulam, cujus recordatio colebatur, sinu ipse circumferens, necessitudinem prætendebat et Juliani.—Faustina matre puellæ casu præsentem.* Idem 26. 9, 3 *Ut ante relatam est, Constantii filiam parvulam cum matre Faustina et in agminibus et cum prope in acie starent lectica circumferens* &c. In A. D. 365. She was married to *Gratian* soon after the irruption of the *Quadi* in the autumn of 374 : Ammian. 29. 6, 7, 8. To the daughter of *Constantius II* we may with Valesius refer the notice in *Idatius* A. D. 383 *Merobaude II et Saturnino. Ipso anno ingressum est CP. corpus Constantiæ filie Augusti Constantini [lege Constantii] die II Idus Septembr.* And Chron. Pasch. p. 304 C *αὐτῷ τῷ ἔτει εἰσῆλθεν τὸ σκῆνομα Κωνσταντίας τῆς θυγατρὸς Κωνσταντίνου [lege Κωνσταντίου] Αὐγούστου ἐν ΚΠ. μηνὶ Γορπιαίῳ πρὸ μῶς καλῶνδῶν Σεπτεμβρίων [lege ἰδῶν ex Idatio. conf. F. H. III p. 361] καὶ κατετέθη μὴνὶ Ἀπελλαίῳ καλῶνδαις Δεκεμβρίαις.*

<sup>p</sup> Under *Helena* note d.

<sup>q</sup> See the Tables.



In 307 *Galerius* names him *filium Augustorum*<sup>r</sup>.

*Constantine* in 306 after his father's death defeated the *Franci*: Eutrop. X. 3 Nazarii Panegyrr. c. 17 p. 581—583 Eumen. Panegyrr. Constantino c. 10. 11 p. 377—384. where his cruelty to the vanquished is praised by his panegyrist and excused by Tillemont tom. 4 p. 97. He also at this time invaded the *Bructeri*: Eumen. Panegyrr. c. 12 p. 384. to whom he was equally savage: p. 385 *puberes qui in manus venerunt—ad pœnas spectaculo dati scœvientes bestias multitudine sua fatigarunt*. Eutropius X. 3 attests these cruelties: *Cœsis Francis atque Alamannis captisque eorum regibus, quos etiam bestiis—objecit*. Another testimony to his cruelty is given by Incert. Panegyrr. c. 23 p. 533 *tantam captivorum multitudinem bestiis objecit* &c. where Tillemont tom. 4 p. 147 pronounces a better judgment.

After the victories over the *Franci* he married *Fausta*: Panegyrr. c. 4 p. 319 *multa ille Francorum millia—interfecit* &c. This in A. D. 307<sup>s</sup>. In 310 he had already begun his bridge: Eumen. Panegyrr. c. 13 p. 386 *Insuper etiam Agrippinensi ponte faciundo reliquiis afflictæ gentis insultas, ne unquam metus ponat* &c. And in 310 all the *principes* are *concordes*: Eumen. c. 1 p. 350 *cum omnes vos, invictissimi principes, quorum concors est et socia majestas, debita veneratione suspiciam*. Livineius and Paturol. ad locum suppose that *Severus* is included. But *Severus* was dead in 307. The *principes* are *Galerius Licinius Maximin*. Perhaps *Maxentius* might at this time be also acknowledged by *Constantine*. In 311 *Constantine* subdues the *Alamanni* and other barbarous nations: Nazarius Panegyrr. c. 18 p. 585 *Chamavos, Cheruscos, Vangionas, Alamannos, Tubantes*. After the death of *Maxentius* in 312 he is at least two months at Rome: Nazar. Panegyrr. c. 33 p. 625 *Quidquid mali sexennio toto dominatio feralis inflixerat, bimestris fere cura sanavit*. which Arntzenius p. 463 by a forced interpretation understands of the campaign in Italy; but which other interpreters much more justly refer to the evils at Rome redressed by *Constantine* after his victory. In 313 *Constantine* is in Gaul<sup>t</sup>, and engages the barbarians: Nazarius Panegyrr. c. 21 p. 527 *Tibi jam militant quos exutos armis impiis adversus hostes barbaros rursus armavit, &c.* The Gothic war in 332 is described in the Tables. Add to the testimonies Eusebius Vit. Const. IV. 5. 6 τὰ Σκυθῶν καὶ Σαυροματῶν γένη μὴ πρότερον δουλεύειν μεμαθηκότα πρῶτος αὐτὸς ὑπὸ ζυγὸν ἤγαγε κ. τ. λ. Socrates H. E. I. 18 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα [after the building of CP.: I. 16] ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπιμελέστερος ὦν περὶ τὰ Χριστιανῶν ἀπεστράφη τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς θρησκείας—ὑπὸ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους καὶ βαρβάρων Σαρματῶν καὶ Γόθων κατατρεχόντων τὴν Ῥωμαίων γῆν—τοὺς μὲν κατὰ κράτος ἐνίκα κ. τ. λ. Libanius βασιλικῶ tom. 3 p. 282. 5 ἡ Σκυθῶν ἔθνος ἐπιπτεν ἢ Σαυροματῶν ὑπέκνπτεν. The combined testimonies refute Zosimus II. 31. 32, who asserts that after Constantinople was built he had no successful wars: *μείνας ἀπολέμος καὶ τρυφῇ τὸν βίον ἐκδούς*.

The age of *Constantine* at his death cannot be precisely fixed. By the authorities in the Tables A. D. 337 he is called 66 years current, 65, 62, 63 years. By Eusebius about twice 32 years. As he was born Feb. 27, he survived his birthday 2<sup>m</sup> 26<sup>d</sup>, and had entered his 64th year according to Eusebius, whom Tillemont follows tom. 4 p. 269.

Cassiodorus reckons the years of *Constantius Chlorus* to *Constantine*: *anni ipsius adscribuntur filio ejus Constantino—qui regnavit ann. XXX menses X*. But as this was the true duration of his reign from the death of his father, it is plain that the reign of *Constantius* was not included in that of his son. And in Hieron. Chron. anno 2321. 2322 two years of *Galerius* are marked between *Diocletian* and *Constantine*: *Galerius solus biennio Augustus imperium tenuit*; and these two years included the reign of *Constantius*. But as *Constantius* is not reckoned in the Chronicon of Hieronymus (who calls *Galerius* the *sole Augustus*), Cassiodorus supposed that his reign was computed in that of *Constantine*. In the duration of the reign of *Constantine* Victor Epit. is incon-

<sup>r</sup> Tables 307. 2. 3.

<sup>s</sup> See the Tables 307. 3.

<sup>t</sup> See the Tables.

CONSTANTINE sistent. He calls it 30 years p. 387,—*annos XXX.* and yet p. 389 he reckons  $10 + 12 + 10 = 32$  years.

The character of *Constantine* is not to be taken from Eumenius, Nazarius, Eusebius, or from the Christian writers who followed Eusebius. Eutropius X. 6. 7 impartially weighs his merits and defects: *Insolentia rerum secundarum aliquantum Constantinum ex illa favorabili animi docilitate mutavit. Primum necessitudines persecutus (filium suum) egregium virum et sororis filium commodæ indolis juvenem interfecit, mox uxorem, post, numerosos amicos. Vir primo imperii tempore optimis principibus, ultimo mediis comparandus. Innumeræ in eo animi corporisque virtutes claruerunt. Militaris gloriæ appetentissimus fortuna in bellis prospera fuit, verum ita ut non superaret industriam.—Pace Gotthis ad postremum data ingentem apud barbaras gentes memoriæ gratiam collocavit. Civilibus artibus et studiis liberalibus deditus, adfectator justis amoris, quem omni sibi et liberalitate et docilitate quæsit, sicut in nonnullos amicos dubius, ita in reliquos egregius, nihil occasionum prætermittens quo opulentiores eos clarioresque præstaret. Multas leges rogavit, quasdam ex bono et æquo, plerasque superfluas, nonnullas severas.* Victor observes Cæs. p. 351 *Constantinus cunctos hostes honore ac fortunis manentibus tenuit recepitque; eo pius ut etiam vetus veterrimumque supplicium patibulorum et cruribus suffringendis primus removerit. Hinc pro conditore seu deo habitus.* Victor Epit. p. 389 *Fuit ultra quam æstimari potest laudis avidus.—commodissimus tamen rebus multis fuit calumnias sedare legibus severissimis, nutrire artes bonas, præcipue studia literarum. legere ipse, scribere, meditari, audire legationes et quærimoniae provinciarum.—irrisor potius quam blandus, unde proverbio vulgari Trachala decem annis præstantissimus, duodecim sequentibus latro, decem novissimis pupillus ob profusiones immodicas nominatus.*

If he was merciful to the barbarians, it was in his latter years; for in the beginning of his reign we have seen instances of cruelty admitted by his panegyrists. The edict to abolish gladiators in 325<sup>v</sup> may be ascribed to the influence of that purer religion which he had embraced. But the deaths of *Crispus* and *Fausta* and the young *Licinius*, and of those many friends of whom Eutropius speaks, occurred after he became a Christian. An edict against the Arians reported by Socrates I. 9 p. 32 A B shews a sanguinary temper: *ἐκείνο μέντοι προαγορεύω, ὡς εἴ τις σύγγραμμα ὑπὸ Ἀρείου συνταγὴν φωραθείη κρύψας, καὶ μὴ εὐθέως προσενεγκῶν πυρὶ καταναλώσῃ, τοῦτο θάνατος ἔσται ἢ ζῆμια.* And yet he who thus denounced death against those who possessed the books of *Arius* afterwards himself favoured the *Arians*, received baptism from an Arian bishop, and persecuted the orthodox party.

The edict against the Heathen temples is placed by Hieronymus at A. D. 331: *Anno 2347 [A. D. 331½] Constantini 25º Edicto Constantini gentilium templa eversa sunt.* At the 26th and 27th of *Constantine* in Cedrenus p. 296 A τῷ κς' καὶ κς' ἔτει αὐτοῦ τὴν κατὰ τῶν εἰδώλων καὶ τῶν ναῶν αὐτῶν κατάλυσιν ἐπέτεινε, τὰς δὲ εἰσόδους αὐτῶν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκύρωσε. Noticed by Eunapius V. S. p. 20 = p. 37 *Κωνσταντῖνος γὰρ ἐβασίλευε, τὰ τε τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπιφανέστατα καταστρέφων, καὶ τὰ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀνεγείρων οἰκήματα.* Anon. Valesii p. 615 § 34 places this edict before the Gothic war: *Edicto siquidem statuit citra ullam cædem hominum paganorum templa claudi. Gothorum fortissimas et copiosissimas gentes—delevit.*

Laws of A. D. 313. See the Tables 313. 3. Add the following: Cod. Just. I. 22, 3 *Imp. Constantinus et Licinius AA. ad Bassum<sup>w</sup> pf. p. Dat. Kalend. Octob. Constantino A. III et Licinio A. III cons.*

Laws of A. D. 319: Cod. Theod. Vol. 3 p. 4 *ad Januarium. Dat. Id. Januar. acc. V Kal. Aug. Corintho Constantino A. V et Licinio Cæs. cons.* Vol. 3 p. 114 l. 1 *de maleficiis. Imp. Constantinus*

<sup>v</sup> See the Tables.

<sup>w</sup> *Bassus* is named as *pf. p.* in a law of March 18 A. D. 306: Cod. Just. VII. 57, 7. and was consul

in A. D. 317 and *præf. Urbi* in A. D. 317—319. See the Tables 317. 1 Bucherius p. 238, 239.



*A. ad Maximum. pp. Kal. Feb. Romæ Constantino A. V et Licinio Cæs. coss.* Wenck. II. 4, 1 p. 95 CONSTANTINE  
 Gothofr. Vol. 1 p. 96 *Imp. Constantinus A. ad Symmachum. Dat. prid. Non. Feb. Sirmii, accepta VIII  
 Id. Mar. Corinthi.* Gothofr. Vol. 4 p. 215 *Profuturo pf. annonæ. Dat. IV Id. Feb. Sirmio.* Cod.  
 Just. VI. 1, 5 *ad Januarium. Dat. XVI Kal. Martii.* Cod. Theod. Vol. 2 p. 440 *ad Optavianum.  
 Dat. XVIII Kal. Mart. Sirmio.* Vol. 3 p. 418 *ad Priscum rationalem. Dat. V Id. Mar. Sirmio.  
 Vol. 3 p. 112* Cod. Just. IX. 17, 1 *ad Verinum vicarium Africæ. Dat. XI Kal. Dec. Licinio V et  
 Crispo Cæs. cons.* [A. D. 318] *accept. prid. Id. Mart. Carthagine Constantino A. V et Licinio Cæs.  
 cons.* Cod. Theod. Vol. 3 p. 169 *ad Verinum. Dat. et acc. XV Kal. April. Constantino A. V et  
 Licinio Cæs. coss.* Vol. 4 p. 229 *ad Bassum p. U. pp. IV Kal. April. Rom.* Vol. 3 p. 238 *ad  
 Verinum vic. Africæ. pp. III Kal. April. Karthag.* Wenck. II. 19, 1 p. 129 Gothofr. Vol. 1 p. 172  
*ad Lucrium Verinum. Dat. Id. April. Sirmio.* Cod. Just. VIII. 53, 2 *ad Proculum. Dat. VII  
 Kal. Maii.* Cod. Theod. Vol. 2 p. 236 Cod. Just. XII. 29, 2 *ad Rufinum pf. p. Dat. V Kal. Maii  
 Sirmii.* Cod. Theod. Vol. 5 p. 340 *ad Proculum procons. Africæ. pp. Non. Maii Karthagine.  
 Vol. 3 p. 79* *ad Bassum. Dat. [lege pp.] V Id. Maii Romæ.* Wenck. II. 9, 1 p. 109 *ad Rufinum  
 pf. p. Dat. IV Id. Mai. III. 5, 1 p. 159* Gothofr. Vol. 1 p. 261 *ad Rufinum pf. p. Dat. III Id.  
 Mai. Sirmio.* Vol. 3 p. 115 l. 2 *de maleficiis. ad populum. Dat. Id. Maii.* Vol. 3 p. 378 *ad Se-  
 verum rationalem Afric. pp. X Kal. Jun. Rom. in foro Trajani.* Vol. 5 p. 59 *Amabiliano pf. an-  
 nonæ. pp. V Kal. Jun. Constantinop.* [dele cum Gothofredo.] *Constantino A. V et Licinio Cæs. coss.*  
 Vol. 3 p. 379 *ad provinciales. Dat. III Kal. Jun.* Vol. 2 p. 459 *Imp. Constantinus A. ad Leon-  
 tium. pp. V Id. Jun. Hierapoli.*<sup>x</sup> Cod. Just. II. 13, 22 *ad Bassum pf. U. Dat. XIII Kal. Jul.  
 Cod. Theod. Vol. 4 p. 230* *ad Severum vicarium. Dat. X Kal. Jul. Aquil.* Vol. 4 p. 350 *Patroclo.  
 Dat. Kal. Jul. Aquil.* Wenck. IV. 9, 1 p. 235 Gothofr. Vol. 1 p. 373 Cod. Just. VII. 10, 7 *ad  
 Bassum pf. U. prop. Id. Jul.* Cod. Theod. Vol. 2 p. 652 Cod. Just. VI. 60, 1 *consulibus pratoribus  
 tribunis plebis senatui salutem dicit. Dat. XV Kal. Aug. Aquileiæ, recitata apud Vettium Rufinum  
 pf. U. in senatu Non. Sept.* Wenck. II. 15, 1 p. 122 Gothofred. Vol. 1 p. 158 *ad Symmachum V. C.  
 Dat. VIII Kal. Aug. Naissi.* Vol. 3 p. 295 *ad Festum præsidem Sardinie. Dat. IV Kal. Aug.  
 Wenck. III. 1, 1 p. 152* Gothofr. Vol. 1 p. 241 *ad Profuturum pf. annonæ. pp. Id. Aug.* Vol. 5  
 p. 151 *ad Profuturum pf. annonæ. pp. Id. Aug.* Vol. 4 p. 110 *ad Catullinum proc. Africæ. pp. VI  
 Kal. Sept. Karthagine.* Vol. 2 p. 654 *Julio Severo. Dat. VII Id. Sept. Mediol. accept. Non. Oct.* Vol. 3  
 p. 74 *ad Bassum p. U. pp. prid. Non. Oct. Rom.* Vol. 2 p. 616 *ad Bassum p. U. Dat. Non. Oct.* Wenck.  
 III. 17, 1 p. 182 Gothofr. Vol. 1 p. 316 *Imp. Constantinus A. et Cæs. ad Bassum pf. p. Dat. IV Id. Oct.  
 Aquileiæ.* Wenck. III. 5, 2 p. 160 Gothofr. Vol. 1 p. 263 Cod. Just. V. 3, 15 *ad Maximum præ-  
 fectum Urbis. Dat. XVII Kal. Nov. prop. VI Kal. Sept. y Romæ.* Cod. Theod. Vol. 6 p. 22 l. 2  
*de episcopis. Octavio correctori Lucanie et Bruttiorum. Qui divino cultui ministeria religionis in-  
 pendunt (id est, hi qui clerici appellantur) ab omnibus omnino muneribus excusentur. Ne sacrilego  
 livore quorundam a divinis obsequiis avocentur. Dat. XII Kal. Nov.* Wenck. I. 16, 3 p. 75 Cod.  
 Just. VII. 49, 2 *ad Felicem præsidem Corsicæ. Dat. IX Kal. Nov. Sirmii.* Wenck. II. 6, 2 p. 100  
 Gothofred. Vol. 1 p. 110 *ad Felicem præsidem Corsicæ. Dat. IV Kal. Nov. Sirmii.* Wenck. II.  
 10, 1 p. 113 *Antiocho pf. vigilum. Dat. Kal. Nov. Serdicæ.* II. 10, 2 *Antiocho pf. vigilum. pp. Kal.  
 Nov. Serdicæ.* Gothofr. Vol. 4 p. 67 *ad Pacatianum vic. Britanniarum. Dat. XII Kal. Dec.* Vol.  
 3 p. 261 *ad Januarium p. U. Dat. VI Kal. Dec. Serdicæ.* Wenck. V. 2, 1 p. 281 Gothofr. Vol. 1  
 p. 434 *Rufino pf. p. Dat. Kal. Dec. Sirmii.* Vol. 3 p. 431 *ad populum. Dat. et pp. in foro Trajani  
 Kal. Dec.* Wenck. I. 2, 4 p. 20 Gothofr. Vol. 1 p. 14 *Crepereo Donatiano. pp. Id. Dec.* Wenck.

<sup>x</sup> "Ex hac subscriptione colligi videtur hanc legem a Licinio non a Constantino latam fuisse." Gothofred.

<sup>y</sup> *Septembres* by an error in all the copies. Gothofr. reads *Decembres*.



CONSTANTINE I. 12, 2 p. 57 *ad Proculum proconsulem Africæ. Dat. VII Kal. Jan.* All these *Constantino A. V et Licinio Cæs. coss.* IV. 16, 1 p. 254 Gothofred. Vol. 1 p. 389 *ad Proculum. Dat. VII Kal. Jan. Constantino A. V et Licinio coss.*

Laws of A. D. 320: Cod. Theod. Vol. 1 p. 251 *Imp. Constantinus A. ad populum. Dat. prid. Kal. Feb. Serdicæ Constantino A. VI et Constantio [lege Constantino] Cæs. coss.* Vol. 2 p. 643 *ad populum. Dat. prid. Kal. Feb. Serdica pp. Kal. Ap. Rom. Constantino A. VI et Constantio [lege Constantino] coss.* Vol. 4 p. 68 *ad populum. Dat. Kal. Feb. Constantino A. VI et Constantino Cæsare coss.* Vol. 4 p. 351 *ad edictum. pp. X Kal. Mart.* Vol. 3 p. 239 *ad Helianum [lege Ælianium] proc. Afric. pp. V Kal. Mart. Carthagine.* Vol. 2 p. 421 *Dat. Kal. Mart. in civitate Velocorum.* Vol. 2 p. 34 *Æliano p. U. [lege pf.] Dat. VII Id. Mart. Sirmio.* Vol. 3 p. 189 *ad populum. Dat. Kal. April. Aquil.* Vol. 3 p. 380 *ad Dometium Dracontium magistrum privatæ rei Afric. Dat. XIV Kal. Jun. Serdicæ Constantino A. VI et Constante Cæs. coss.* Vol. 3 p. 9 *ad Maximum p. U. Dat. XI Kal. Jun. Sirmio acc. Romæ Constantino A. VII et Constantio C. coss.* [Gothofr. *Constantino A. VI et Constantino Cæs.*] Cod. Just. V. 26, 1 *ad populum. Dat. XVIII Kal. Jul. Constantinis patre et filio coss.* Cod. Theod. Vol. 3 p. 33 *ad Florentium rationalem. Dat. prid. Kal. Jul. Serdicæ.* Vol. 4 p. 230 *ad Crispinum. Dat. VIII Id. Julias.* Vol. 6 p. 22 l. 3 *de episcopis. ad Bassum pf. p. Cum constitutio omissa præcipiat nullum deinceps decurionem vel ex decurione progenitum, ut etiam instructum idoneis facultatibus adque obeundis publicis muneribus opportunum, ad clericorum nomen obsequiumque confugere, sed eos de cetero in defunctorum dumtaxat clericorum loca subrogari qui fortuna tenues neque muneribus civilibus teneantur obstricti, cognovimus illos etiam inquietari qui ante legis promulgationem clericorum se consortio sociaverint, ideoque præcipimus, his ab omni molestia liberatis, illos qui post legem latam obsequia publica declinantes ad clericorum numerum confugerunt procul ab eo corpore segregatos curiæ ordinibusque restitui et civilibus obsequiis inseruire. pp. XV Kal. Aug.* Wenck. II. 11, 1 p. 117 Gothofr. Vol. 1 p. 145 *Furio Felici. Dat. V Kal. Aug. Constantino A. VI et Constantino Cæs. coss.* Cod. Just. I. 51, 2 *ad Bassum pf. U. [lege pf. p.] Dat. XV Kal. Sept. Constantino A. VI et Constantino C. coss.* Cod. Theod. Vol. 3 p. 489 *ad Maximum rationalem Africæ. Dat. prid. Kal. Oct. Constantino A. VI et Constante Cæs. coss.* Wenck. I. 12, 3 p. 58 *Æliano proconsuli Africæ. Dat. Kal. Oct. Constantino A. VI et Constantino Cæs. coss.* Gothofred. Vol. 2 p. 425 *ad universos veteranos. Dat. III Id. Oct. Constantinop. [dele cum Gothofredo]<sup>z</sup> Constantino A. VI et Constantio [lege Constantino] Cæs. coss.* Vol. 3 p. 240 *ad Januarium agentem vicariam præfecturam. pp. prid. Non. Dec. Rom.* Vol. 6 p. 257 *ad Maximum. l. 1 de paganis<sup>a</sup>. Si quid de palatio nostro aut ceteris operibus publicis degustatum fulgore esse constiterit, retento more veteris observantiæ, quid portendat, ab haruspibus requiratur et diligentissime scriptura collecta ad nostram scientiam referatur, ceteris etiam usurpandæ hujus consuetudinis licentia tribuenda, dummodo sacrificiis domesticis abstineant, quæ specialiter prohibita sunt. Eam autem denunciationem adque interpretationem quæ de tactu amphitheatri scribita est, de qua ad Heraclianum tribunum et magistrum officiorum scripseras, ad nos scias esse perlatam. Dat. XVI Kal. Jan. Serdicæ, acc. VIII Id. Mart. Crispo II et Constantino II CC. coss.* [sc. March 8 A. D. 321.] In almost all these laws Ed. Gothofred. has *Constantio Cæs.* for *Constantino Cæs.*

Laws of A. D. 321: Cod. Theodos. II. 18, 1 p. 127 Wenck. Vol. 1 p. 168 Gothofr. *ad Maximum. Dat. prid. Id. Januar. Sermii Crispo II et Constantino II coss.* Vol. 4 p. 231 *ad Maximum.*

<sup>z</sup> The same interpolation, derived from *Constantino* following, is in a law of Apr. 18 A. D. 329: see the Tables, 329. 2. and in a law of March 8 A. D. 326: see the Tables 326. 3, where in the preceding law *XV Kal. Mart. CP.* omit *CP.* which is not expressed in ed. Gothofred. by whom the date of that

law is rightly given *XV Kal. Mart. Const. A. VII et Constantio Cæs. coss.*

<sup>a</sup> Compare with this two laws of A. D. 319, l. 1 de maleficiis Vol. 3 p. 114 *Kal. Feb.* and l. 2 de maleficiis, Vol. 3 p. 115 *Id. Maii.*



*Dat. prid. Id. Januar. Sirmio.* Vol. 2 p. 115 *Severo p.U.* [forte l. p.p.] *Dat. X Kal. Feb. Sirmio* CONSTANTINE  
*acc. Non. Ap. Crispo II et Constantino II CC. cons.* Wenck. II. 19, 2 p. 129 Gothofr. Vol. 1 p. 174  
*ad Claudium præsidem Daciæ. Dat. VIII Id. Feb. Serdicæ.* Vol. 3 p. 326 *Petronio Probiano. Dat.*  
*III Kal. Mart. Serdicæ.* Cod. Just. III. 12, 3 de feriis. *Elpidio. Omnes judices urbanaque plebes et*  
*cunctarum artium officia venerabili die Solis quiescant. Rure tamen positi agrorum culturæ libere*  
*licenterque inserviant, quoniam frequenter evenit ut non aptius alio die frumenta sulcis aut vineæ scro-*  
*bibus mandentur, ne occasione momenti pereat commoditas cælesti provisione concessa. Dat. Nonis Mart.*  
*Cod. Theod. Vol. 2 p. 239 ad Julium Verum vicarium Italiæ. pp. Id. Mart.* Vol. 4 p. 535 *ad edic-*  
*tum. Dat. VII Id. April.* Wenck. II. 17, 1 p. 125 Cod. Just. II. 45, 2 *ad Verinum. Dat. VI*  
*Id. April. Thessal. pp. III Kal. Jun. Romæ.* Cod. Theod. Vol. 5 p. 279 *Menandro. Dat. III Id.*  
*April. Sirmio.* Vol. 4 p. 143 *ad Dometium Dracontium. Dat. XV Kal. Maii Sirmio. accep. XV*  
*Kal. Jun. Karthag.* Wenck. IV. 7, 1 p. 223 Gothofred. Vol. 1 p. 354 Cod. Just. I. 13, 2 de his  
 qui in ecclesiis manumittuntur. *Osio episcopo. Qui religionis mente in ecclesiæ gremio serculis suis*  
*meritam concesserint libertatem, eandem eodem jure donasse videantur quo civitas Romana solemnitatibus*  
*decursis dari consuevit. Sed hoc dumtaxat iis qui sub aspectu antistitum dederint placuit relaxari.*  
*Clericis autem amplius concedimus ut, cum suis famulis tribuunt libertatem, non solum in conspectu*  
*ecclesiæ ac religiosi populi plenum fructum libertatis concessisse dicantur, verum etiam cum postremo*  
*judicio libertates dederint, seu quibuscunque verbis dari præceperint, ita ut ex die publicatæ voluntatis*  
*sine aliquo juris teste vel interprete competat directa libertas. Dat. XIV Kal. Maii.* Wenck. II. 6, 3  
 p. 100 Gothofred. Vol. 1 p. 110 *ad Bassum pf.p. Dat. XIII Kal. Junii Sirmii.* Vol. 4 p. 290 *ad*  
*Bassum p.U.* [lege p.p.] *pp. XIII Kal. Jun. Sirmio.* Cod. Just. VIII. 10, 6 *Elpidio agenti vicem*  
*pf.p. Dat. VI Kal. Jun. Viminacii.* Cod. Theod. Wenck. II. 8, 1 p. 104 Gothofred. Vol. 1 p. 118  
 l. 1 de feriis. *Helpidio. Sicut indignissimum videbatur diem Solis venerationis suæ celebrem altercan-*  
*tibus jurgis et noxiis partium contentionibus occupari, ita gratum ac jucundum est eo die quæ sunt*  
*maxime votiva compleri. Atque ideo emancipandi et manumittendi die festo cuncti licentiam habeant,*  
*et super his rebus acta non prohibeantur<sup>b</sup>. pp. V Non. Junii Caralis.* Vol. 3 p. 116 l. 3 de maleficiis.  
 Cod. Just. IX. 18, 4 *ad Bassum pf.p.* [sic Cod. Just.] *Dat. X Kal. Jul.* [Jun. Cod. Just.] *Aquileiæ*  
*Crispo II et Constantino II Cæss. cons.* [sic Cod. Justin.] Wenck. IV. 12, 1 p. 243 Gothofr. Vol.  
 1 p. 379 Cod. Just. IV. 61, 4 *ad Junium Rufum consularem Æmiliæ. Dat. Kal. Jul.* [Cod. Just.  
 X Kal. Jul.] Vol. 6 p. 23 l. 4 de episcopis. Cod. Just. I. 2, 1 *ad populum. Habeat unusquisque*  
*licentiam sanctissimo catholico venerabilique concilio decedens bonorum quod optaverit relinquere. Non*  
*sint cassa judicia. Nihil est quod magis hominibus debetur quam ut supremæ voluntatis, postquam jam*  
*aliud velle non possunt, liber sit stilus, et licitum, quod iterum non redit, arbitrium. pp. V Non. Jul.*  
*Romæ.* Wenck. IV. 12, 2 p. 244 Cod. Just. IV. 61, 5 *Menandro. Dat. III Id. Jul.* Wenck.  
 IV. 12, 3 *Menandro. Dat. Kal. Aug.* Gothofr. Vol. 5 p. 23 l. 1 de medicis et professoribus. conf.  
 Cod. Just. X. 52, 6 *ad Volusianum. Medicos, grammaticos, et professores alios literarum immunes*  
*esse cum rebus quas in civitatibus suis possident præcipimus, et honoribus fungi. In jus etiam vocari*  
*eos vel pati injuriam prohibemus, &c. pp. Kal. Aug. Sirmio.* Wenck. II. 24, 1 p. 134 Gothofr.  
 Vol. 1 p. 195 *ad Verinum. Dat. IV Kal. Sept.* Vol. 3 p. 352 *ad Maximum pf. Dat. XVIII Kal.*  
*Oct. Sirmio.* Wenck. I. 4, 1 p. 24 l. 1 de responsis prudentum. *ad Maximum pf.p. Perpetuas pru-*  
*dentum contentiones eruere cupientes Ulpiani et Paulli in Papinianum notas, qui, dum ingenii laudem*  
*sectantur, non tam corrigere eum quam depravare maluerunt, aboleri præcipimus. Dat. IV Kal. Oct.*  
 Gothofred. Vol. 3 p. 170 Cod. Just. IX. 24, 1 *ad Januarium. Dat.<sup>c</sup> XII Kal. Dec. Romæ.* Gothofr.  
 Vol. 6 p. 221 l. 3 de Judæis. *Decurionibus Agrippinensibus. Cunctis ordinibus generali lege concedi-*

<sup>b</sup> Compare a law of Theodosius Nov. 3 A. D. 386: 425: Tables 425. 3.  
 Tables 386. 2 and a law of Theodosius II Feb. 1 A. D.

<sup>c</sup> "Dat. pro reddita vel proposita." Gothofr.

CONSTANTINE *mus Judæos vocare ad curiam. Verum, ut aliquid ipsis ad solatium pristinæ observationis relinquatur, binos vel ternos privilegio perpeti patimur nullis nominationibus occupari. Dat. III Id. Dec. Wenck. V. 1, 1 p. 270 Gothofred. Vol. 1 p. 422 ad Bassum pf.U. [lege pf.p.] pp. XIV Kal. Januar. Rom. All these are dated Crispo II et Constantino II Cæss. coss.*

Laws of A. D. 322 : Cod. Theod. Vol. 3 p. 5 *ad Agricolanum. pp. V Id. Feb. Probiano et Juliano cons.* Cod. Justin. III. 11, 5 *ad Maximum præfectum Urbi. pp. Romæ VIII Kal. April. Probiano et Juliano cons.* Wenck. IV. 8, 4 p. 224 Cod. Just. VII. 16, 42 *ad Maximum pf.U. Dat. prid. Id. Jun. Sirmii.* Gothofr. Vol. 1 p. 98 Wenck. II. 4, 2 p. 96 *Maximo pf.p. [lege pf.U.] Dat. X Kal. Jul. Sirmii.* Vol. 4 p. 190 *Menandro. Dat. prid. Non. Jul. Romæ.* Wenck. IV. 8, 5 p. 225 Gothofred. Vol. 1 p. 357 *ad Maximum pf.U. Dat. XIII Kal. Aug. Sirmio.* Gothofred. Vol. 1 p. 5 Wenck. I. 1, 1 p. 12 l. 1 *de constitutionibus principum et edictis. ad Lusitanos. Si qua posthac edicta sive constitutiones sine die et consule fuerint deprehensa, auctoritate careant. Dat. VII Kalendas Aug. Sabaricæ Probiano et Juliano VV. CC. coss.* Gothofred. Vol. 3 p. 267 l. 1 *de indulgentiis criminum. ad Maximum p.p. [lege p.U.] Propter Crispi adque Helenæ partum [paratum Gothofr.] omnibus indulgemus præter veneficos, homicidas, adulteros. Acc. III Kal. Nov. Romæ.* Wenck. III. 21, 1 p. 196 *ad Severum. Dat. XV Kal. Januar. Serdicæ.* Cod. Just. V. 71, 18 *Imp. Constantinus A. et Constantinus C. ad Senatam. Dat. XII Kal. Januar.* All *Probiano et Juliano cons.*

Add to the laws of A. D. 324<sup>d</sup> Cod. Theod. Vol. 4 p. 614 Cod. Just. X. 51, 6 *Imp. Constantinus A. Dalmatio. Dat. XIV Kal. Feb. Sirmii Crispo III et Constantino III CC. cons.*

Laws of A. D. 326<sup>e</sup>: Cod. Theod. Vol. 3 p. 159 *ad Maximum p.U. pp. VIII Kal. April. in foro Trajani Constantino A. VII et Constantio Cæs. coss.* Vol. 5 p. 170 *Lucrio Verino. Dat. III Id. April.* Vol. 3 p. 80 *Maximiano Macrobio. Dat. XIV Kal. Mart. Sirmio.* Vol. 3 p. 57 Cod. Justin. IX. 9, 30 *ad Evagrium pf.p. pp. Nicomediæ VII Kal. Maii.* Cod. Theod. Vol. 4 p. 294 *ad Ælianium procons. Afric. pp. VI Kal. Maii Karthag.* Vol. 4 p. 357 *ad Evagrium pf.p. Dat. XVI Kal. Jun.* Vol. 5 p. 27 *ad Rufinum pf.p. Dat. XII Kal. Jun.* Vol. 2 p. 246 Cod. Just. XII. 31, 1 *ad Severum pf.U. pp. X Kal. Jun.* Vol. 3 p. 71 Cod. Just. IX. 11, 1 *ad populum. Dat. IV Kal. Jun. Serdicæ.* Cod. Theod. Vol. 6 p. 30 l. 6 *de episcopis ecclesiis et clericis. ad Ablavium pf.p. Neque vulgari consensu neque quibuslibet petentibus sub specie clericorum a muneribus publicis vacatio deferatur. &c. pp. Kal. Jun.* Vol. 2 p. 515 *Menandro. Dat. X Kal. Jul.* Vol. 5 p. 280 *Secundo pp. Dat. III Kal. Jul.* Vol. 3 p. 173 Cod. Just. IX. 24, 2 *ad Tertullum procons. Afric. Dat. prid. Non. Jul. Mediolani.* Cod. Theod. Vol. 5 p. 407 l. 4 *de infirmandis his quæ sub tyrannis &c. ad senatam. Super his qui ex senatoribus ad navicularium munus a tyranno [sc. Licinio] dejecti sunt, ac restitui suis natalibus deprecantur, placuit vestræ sanctitati judicium examenque mandare &c. Dat. Id. Jul.* Vol. 2 p. 440 *ad Severum. Dat. III Kal. Aug. Aquileicæ.* Vol. 3 p. 419 *ad Severum p.U. Recitata III Non. August. in palatio.* Wenck. IV. 11, 4 p. 241 *Kal. Sept. Serdicæ.* Gothofred. Vol. 5 p. 61 *ad Ablavium pf.p. Dat. XIV Kal. Oct.* Wenck. IV. 22, 1 p. 263 Gothofred. Vol. 1 p. 408 *Severo. Dat. X Kal. Nov. Mediolan.* Vol. 5 p. 92 *ad decretum naviculariorum. Dat. V Kal. Nov.* Vol. 2 p. 574 *ad Philippum pf.p. Dat. III Nonas Nov. Arelato.* Vol. 4 p. 357 *ad \* pf.p. Dat. VIII Kal. Decemb.* Wenck. IV. 4, 1 p. 203 Gothofred. Vol. 1 p. 334 *\* \* \* pf.U. Dat. XI Kal. Jan.* Wenck. III. 17, 2 p. 183 Gothofr. Vol. 1 p. 317 *ad populum. Dat. pridie Kal. Jan. ipso A. VII et Cæs. coss.* Vol. 3 p. 381 Cod. Just. X. 1, 7 *ad Volusianum pf.U. Dat. prid. Kal. Januar. Sirmii.* Some of these, as Vol. 3 p. 80 Vol. 6 p. 30 Vol. 1 p. 334, have *Constante* for *Constantio*; the rest *Constantino A. VII et Constantio Cæs. coss.*

<sup>d</sup> See the Tables 324. 3.

<sup>e</sup> See the Tables 326. 2. 3.



Gothofred. places in 326 Cod. Just. VI. 62, 1 *Mastichiano præfecto annonæ. pp. XV Kal. \* CONSTANTINE. Lastronæ Constantio A. VII et Constante C. III coss. lege Constantino A. VII et Constantio Cæs.*

Laws of A. D. 327: Cod. Theod. Wenck. I. 5, 2 p. 26 *ad Maximum pf. p. Dat. XII Kal. Febr. Constantino et Maximo coss.* Gothofred. Vol. 4 p. 54 *Acacio com. Macedoniæ. Dat. III Kal. Mart. Thessal. Constantio et Maximo coss.* Vol. 2 p. 35 *Juliano p. U. Dat. prid. Non. Mart. acc. Romæ Constantio et Maximo coss.* Vol. 4 p. 358 *ad Annum Tiberianum com. pp. XI Kal. Maii Karthag. Constantio et Maximo coss.* Vol. 4 p. 70 *ad Afros. Dat. XV Kal. Jun. Serdicæ Constantino et Maximo coss.* Wenck. II. 24, 2 p. 135 Gothofred. Vol. 1 p. 198 *ad Constantium pf. p. Dat. IV Kalend. Jun. Constantinopoli<sup>f</sup> Constantio et Maximo coss.* Wenck. II. 7, 2 p. 102 Gothofred. Vol. 1 p. 114 *ad Julianum p. U. Dat. XIV Kal. Aug. pp. Romæ Constantino Cæs. V et Maximo coss.* Vol. 4 p. 235 *Victori rationali Urb. Rom. Dat. prid. Kal. Aug. Constantio et Maximo coss.* Wenck. I. 4, 2 p. 24 *ad Maximum pf. p. Dat. V Kal. Oct. Treviris Constantino [Cæs. V] et Maximo coss.*<sup>g</sup> Wenck. ad locum: "*Cæs. V. quæ a Cod. absunt, recte addit Closs. jubentibus Fastis.*" And Closs has made the same addition in Wenck. p. 26, which Wenck also approves. But this consul is not *Constantinus Cæsar* the son of *Constantine* (who was not *cos. IV* till A. D. 329, and never was *cos. V* at all), but *Constantius* the brother of *Constantine*. *Cæs. V* is properly absent from all the laws of the Code, except the law of *XIV Kal. Aug.* where *Cæs. V* is interpolated in both the copies.

For the laws of A. D. 329 see the Tables 329. 2. To which may be added the following: Cod. Theod. Vol. 4 p. 531 *Imp. Constantinus A. Tiberiano com. per Afric. Dat. Nicomediæ III Kalend. Aug. Constantino A. VII et Constante Cæs. coss.* But a law is issued on the same day, July 30 A. D. 326, from Aquileia. Wherefore we may, as Gothofred suggests, refer the law to A. D. 329 and read *Constantino A. VIII et Constantino Cæs. IV coss.*

Wenck. II. 25, 1 p. 136 Gothofred. Vol. 1 p. 199 Cod. Justin. III. 38, 11 *Imp. Constantinus A. Gerulo rationali trium provinciarum. Dat. III Kal. Maii Proculo et Paulino coss.* The consuls are corrupt in all the copies, and Gothofred. ad Cod. Theod. Vol. 1 p. 199 and Beck ad Cod. Just. p. 312 restore the true consuls *Optato et Paulino coss.* and refer this law to Ap. 29 A. D. 334.

Inscriptions: 1 Muratori p. 258. 6 Mutinæ: *Imp. Cæsari Flavio Constantino maximo semper Augusto divi Constanti filio bono reip. nato.* 2 Murat. p. 258. 8 item p. 260. 2 Arelate: *Imp. Cæs. Fl. Val. Constantino P. F. Aug. divi Constantii Aug. Pii filio.* 3 Murat. p. 258. 7 Arelate: *Imp. Cæs. Fl. Val. Constantino P. F. Aug. restitutori.* 4 Murat. p. 259. 1 Romæ: *Fundatori pacis et restitutori reipublicæ D. N. Fl. Constantino maximo victori ac triumphatori semper Augusto.* 5 p. 259. 2 Mazaræ in Sicilia: *Clementissimo et victoriosissimo D. N. Flavio Valerio Constantino maximo Pio Felici invicto Aug. Beticius Perpetuus V. C. corr. prov. Sicil. devotus numini majestatique ejus semper dicatus.* 6 p. 259. 3 Alatri: *Fortissimo et indulgentissimo principi DNO NRO Constantino victori perpetuo semper Augusto Decimius Germanianus vir clarissimus consularis provincie Beticæ numini majestatique illius dicatissimus.* Compare Gruter p. 283. 8 below at No. 20. 7 p. 259. 4 in oppido Divitensi: *Virtute D. N. Constantini max. Pii Fel. invic. Aug. suppressis domitisque Francis in eorum terris ..... mil. castr. Divitensium sub præsentia principis sui devoti numini majestatiq. ejus duodeviginti hæc vota fecer.* 8 p. 259. 6 in agro Bononiensi: *D. N. Fl. Valerio Constantino Pio Felici invicto Aug. Fl. Valeri Constanti divi Augusti Pii filio bono reip. nato.* 9 p. 259. 7 Nicie: *Imp. Cæs. Flavio Valerio Constantino Aug. Constanti Pii Augusti filio.* 10 Mur. p. 260. 1 item p. 1078. 2 Salerni: *Reparatori orbis sui D. N. Flavio Valerio Constantino Pio Felici invicto Augusto ordo populusque Salernitanus devoti numini majestatique ejus.* 11 Mur. p. 1994. 8 Gruter p. 281. 2 Mirabellæ: *Orbem terræ Romano nomini subjuganti domino nostro Fl. Constantino Pio Fel.*

<sup>f</sup> On this interpolation see the note <sup>z</sup> at p. 90.

<sup>g</sup> See this law in the Tables A. D. 327. 3.

CONSTANTINE *semper Aug. Annii Antiochus V. P. corr. Æmil. et flam. senatus.* 12 Mur. p. 1994. 10 Surrenti: *Instauratori orbis terrarum perpetuo ac ..... ntissimo imp. D. N. .... Valerio Constantino maximo Pio Felici semper victori Aug. resp. Surrentinorum.* 13 Murat. p. 463. 6 Cæsena: *D. N. Imperatori Cæsari Fl. Constantino maximo P. F. vict. Aug. pont. max. trib. pot. XXIII imp. XXII consuli VII p. p. proconsuli humanarum rerum optimo principi Divi Constanti fil. bono R. P. nato. M. P. XV.* A similar inscription at Parma (also extant in Muratori p. 259. 5) is given in the Tables A. D. 328 from Gruter. A third bearing the same numbers, Altini, is in Gruter p. 283. 3. 14 Mur. p. 1995. 1 CP. *υκάη τύχη Κωνσταντίνου μεγάλου βασιλέως τοῦ συστατικοῦ υικητοῦ αἱ Βενέτων εὐνοοῦντων.* 15 Gruter p. 282. 1 Romæ: *Imp. Cæs. Fl. Constantino Maximo triumphatori Pio Fel. Aug. p. p. ob res bene armis consiliisque gestas et rempubl. pacatam S. P. Q. R.* 16 apud Panvinium p. 394 Gruterum p. 282. 2 Inscriptio arcus Constantini in capite viæ Appiæ: *Imp. Cæs. Fl. Constantino Maximo P. F. Augusto S. P. Q. R. quod instinctu divinitatis mentis magnitudine cum exercitu suo tam de tyranno<sup>h</sup> quam de omni ejus factione uno tempore justis rempublicam ultus est armis arcum triumphis insignem dicavit, liberatori urbis, fundatori quietis.* 17 Gruter p. 283. 5 Celeiæ: *D. N. Fl. Constantino clementissimo atq. vict. Aug. Martinianus V. P. præses provinc. Norici mediterr. D. N. M. ejus.* 18 Gruter p. 283. 4 Ravennæ: *Propugnatori imperi Romani fundato. quietis publicæ D. Fl. Constantino Max. vict. semp. Aug. D. Claudi nepoti divi Constanti filio Sertorius Silvanus V. P. præpositus fabricæ devotu. N. M. Q. E.* 19 Gruter p. 283. 6. 7 Viennæ Allobrogum: *Virtute fortissimo et pietate clementissimo D. N. Fl. Constantino maximo et invicto Aug. M. Alfius Apronianus p. p. f. Vienne. D. N. M. Q. ejus.* 20 Gruter p. 283. 8 Cordubæ. Similar to No. 6; except that Gruter has *Geminianus* and *domino nostro* and *N. M. Q. E.* 21 Gruter p. 283. 9 Tarracone: *Piissimo fortissimo felicissimo DN. Constantino maximo victori semper Augusto Badius Marcinus V. P. P. P. H. Tarrac. numini majestatique ejus semper devotissimus.* 22 Gruter p. 1078. 9 Neapoli: *D. N. Fl. Val. Constantino Pio Fel. invicto Aug. divi Constanti Pii filio.* 23 Grut. p. 1086. 4 Nolæ: *D. N. Fl. Valerio Constantino Pio Felici imp. semper Aug. ordo populusque Nolanus D. N. M. Q. ejus.* 24 Gruter p. 1086. 6 Romæ: *Restitutori publicæ libertatis defensori urbis Romæ communis omnium salutis auctori D. N. imp. Fl. Val. Constantino Pio Felici invicto semper Aug. codicarii nabiculari infernates devoti N. M. Q. ejus, curante Aur. Victoriano V. P. præf. ann.* 25 Gruter p. 284. 5 *Imp. Cæsari Val. Constantio [lege Constantino] Pio Fel. invicto Aug. divi Constanti Pii Aug. filio For. Cl. Val. bono reipublice nato.* 26 Murat. p. 260. 3 Romæ: *Piissimo ac fortissimo fundatori pacis et restitutori publicæ libertatis victoriosissimo D. N. Fl. Val. Constantino maximo Pio Felici invicto Aug. Val. Rusticus V. P. rat. S. R. D. M. Q. ejus curante Val. Pelagione proc. SMV. una cum PP. et officinatoribus.* 27 Mur. p. 1092. 5 Spinatiolæ ultra Venusiam: *DN. N. Constantino Pio Fel. Aug. perp. p. p. triumphatori orbis ordo et plebs universa Venusinorum D. D.* 28 Gruter p. 165. 2 Fani Fortunæ in Piceno, in porta antiqua, quam ab Augusto primum erectam posteriori in honorem Constantini—verterunt. The inscription which refers to Constantine and his sons is this: *Dico Augusto Pio Constantino patri dominorum nostrorum, curante L. Turcio Secundo Aproniani præf. urb. fil. Asterio corr. Flam. et Piceni.* Upon Asterius see the inscriptions of Constantius II No. 3. 4.<sup>i</sup>

## CRISPUS. CRISPUS.

*Cæsar* in 317.<sup>k</sup> Slain in the 10th year<sup>l</sup>. The legitimate son of *Constantine*<sup>m</sup>.

Philostorgius II. 4 p. 470 C has the following account of the death of *Crispus*: *φησι τὸν Κων-*

<sup>h</sup> Referring to *Maxentius*, who was overthrown in A. D. 312.

<sup>i</sup> Other inscriptions of the reign of *Constantine* are

given in the Tables A. D. 321. 322. 323. 328. 334.

<sup>k</sup> Tables.

<sup>l</sup> Tables 326.

<sup>m</sup> See above, *Helena, Minervina.*



σταυτῖνον ἀνελεῖν τὸν ἴδιον παῖδα Κρίσπον, διαβολαῖς τῆς μητριᾶς συναρπασθέντα· κάκεινην δὲ πάλιν CONSTANTINE φωραθεῖσάν τιμι τῶν κουρσῶρων μοιχωμένην τῇ τοῦ λούτρον ἀλέα ἐναποπνιγῆναι προστάξει. καὶ τῷ παιδίῳ τοῦ ξίφους διδόντα Κωνσταντῖνον τὴν δίκην, μετ' οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν φαρμάκοις κατὰ τὴν Νικομήδειαν διατρίβοντα ἀνααιρεθῆναι.

Chrysostom Serm. 15 ad Philipp. tom. 4 p. 87 Sav. = tom. 11 p. 318 Montf. without giving names alludes to the deaths of *Crispus* and *Fausta* with many other tragic events of the emperors down to *Arcadius*—ὁ νῦν κρατῶν. *Fausta* was exposed to wild beasts: θηρίοις ἐξέδωκεν. *Crispus* slain: ὁ αὐτὸς δὴ οὗτος τὸν νῖδον ἀπέσφαξε τὸν αὐτοῦ.

Coins of *Crispus*: Eckhel tom. 8 p. 100. 101. 1 *Crispus nob. Cæs. + juventus.* or *moneta urbis vestrae.* 2 *Jul. Crispus nob. Cæs.* 3 *Fl. Jul. Crispus nob. Cæs. + Alamannia devicta.* or *gaudium Romanorum. Alamannia.* “in aliis Francia.” 4 *D. N. Crispus nob. Cæs.* 5 “*Antica varia*” + *Jovi Conservatori.* or *Soli invicto comiti.* or *principi juventutis.* or *principia juventutis.* or *ubique victores.* From the first two coins under N<sup>o</sup>. 5 it is proved that after A. D. 317 *Constantine* and *Crispus* still acknowledged the heathen gods. For although we grant to Tillemont tom. 4 p. 139. 635 that inscriptions with Pagan references might be erected by pagan cities without the approbation of the emperors, yet we cannot admit what he asserts tom. 4 p. 223 that coins would be so inscribed; because these were issued by the order of the emperors themselves.

Other coins are given in the Tables.

Inscriptions: 1 Muratori p. 462. 5 Veronæ: *DD. NN. Jul. Crispus et Cl. Constantinus nobb. Cæss. M. P. XI.* 2 Mur. p. 1995. 2 in vico Lamar in Lusitania: *Divo Flavio Julio Crispo nob. Cæs. Divo* would imply that this was placed after his death, which is not probable. We may therefore read *DNO* for *DIVO*. 3 Gruter p. 284. 7 Romæ: *Flavio Valerio Crispo nobilissimo Cæs. filio Constantini maximi adque invicti semper Aug. et nepoti divi Constanti Ovinius Gallicanus V. C. præf. Urb.<sup>n</sup> et judeæ sacrarum cognitionum devotus N. M. Q. ejus.*

## CONSTANTINE II.

CONSTANTINE II.

The succession of the three sons of *Constantine* is marked by Eunapius Vit. *Ædes.* p. 45 τὸν παῖδα κατέλιπε Κωνσταντίον, συμβασιλεύσαντα μὲν αὐτῷ, διαδεξάμενον δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ πατρὸς σὺν Κωνσταντῖνῳ καὶ Κώνσταντι τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς. And Eusebius Vit. C. I. 9 τρίτην παίδων γονὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς διάδοχον ἐγείρας.

The death of *Constantine II* is fixed by Gothofredus to April, from the laws quoted in the Tables at A. D. 340. But he assumes a greater certainty than the testimonies warrant. The first law, dated from Naissus, is rightly given to *Constans* by Gothofred. Vol. 1 p. xli Vol. 4 p. 370. In the second from Naissus the three provinces are the three Islands (Gothofr. Vol. 3 p. 434), and these belonged to *Constans*, to whom the law is rightly given Vol. 4 p. 370, although he calls it a law of *Constantius* at Vol. 3 p. 434, and of *Constantius* and *Constans* jointly Vol. 3 p. 433. The fourth law, from Aquileia, is inscribed *Impp. Constantinus et Constans AA.* and Gothofred. Vol. 1 p. 116 argues that *Constantine* was already dead: “ex hac lege factum discimus ante V vel VI Id. April. quo die hæc lex data dicitur Aquileiæ.” And again on another law from Aquileia of the same date, which he gives to *Constans*, he observes Vol. 3 p. 474 “data Aquileiæ post cæsum fratrem.” He argues again from the fifth law quoted in the Tables Vol. 4 p. 96 *Imp. Constantinus A. ad Marcellinum*—that this is a law of *Constans*, that *publicus inimicus* there mentioned is his brother *Constantine*, and that *Constantine* was then dead, at least before Ap. 29. This evidence is not conclusive. It does not follow that the edict of *Constans* issued from Aquileia Ap. 9 was of necessity issued after his brother's death. The interpretation of *inimicus* is properly questioned

<sup>n</sup> Conf. Corsin. præf. urb. p. 171.

CONSTANTINE II.

by Tillemont tom. 4 p. 670 and even doubted by Gothofred. himself Vol. 4 p. 97. The only proof then that *Constantine* fell before April is founded upon Zonaras, and upon the progress of *Constans* from Naissus to Aquileia, and thence to Milan.

The law from Milan June 25 is properly given to *Constans*, because *Tatianus* to whom it is addressed was præfect of Rome: Bucherius p. 240 *Constantio II et Constante* [A. D. 339]—*VIII Kal. Nov. Fabius Titianus P. U. Acyndino et Proculo* [A. D. 340] *ex die III Non. Maii in VII Id. Junii Junius Tertullus vicarius cognovit, eo quod ad Augustum profectus est, postea reversus Fabius Titianus P. U.* Quoted by Gothofred. Vol. 3 p. 137.

Inscriptions: 1 Muratori p. 259. 8 Arausione: *Constantino Pio nobili Cæsari divi Constantini Pii Augusti filio.* For *DIVI* we may read *D. N. Constantine II* after the death of his father, as Muratori remarks, was no longer *Cæsar*. 2 Murat. p. 261. 3 Salonæ: *Cl. Constantino nobilissimo ac præstantissimo Cæsari ..... fabrum ..... Veneris.* 3 Murat. p. 262. 6 Belgentiaci in diœcesi Tolosana: *D. N. Flavio Claudio Constantino patre Aug. majoribus imp. nato Cæsari orbi terræ [sic] profuturo.* 4 Murat. p. 464. 2 Parmæ: [*T.*] *Fl. Claudius Constantinus jun. nob. Cæs. M. P. L.* 5 Murat. p. 2011. 6 in agro Forojulensi: *Imp. Cæs. Fl. Val. Constantino P. F. Aug. divi Maximiani Aug. nepoti divi Constant. Aug. Pii filio. XXXIII.* *Constantine* the Great was also the grandson of *Maximian* by adoption; but as he would not have commemorated *divum Maximianum*, this inscription is to be assigned to *Constantine* the son, after A. D. 337. 6 Grut. p. 178. 1 Romæ: *Imp. Cæs. Fl. Constantinus max. Aug. sempiternus divi Constantini Aug. f. toto orbe victoriis suis semper ac feliciter celebrandus thermas fisci sui sumptu a fundamentis ceptas ac peractas civitati suæ Remorum pro solita liberalitate largitus est.* 7 Gruter p. 284. 6 Montoro, decimo a Corduba lupide: *DD. NN. Constantino et Constantio BB. beatissimisq. Cæss. R. P. EP.* 8 An inscription p. 282. 6 Romæ is given by one editor to *Constantius: Pissimo ac fortissimo fundatori pacis ac publicæ libertatis auctori D. N. Flavio Val. Constantino [al. Constantio] nobilissimo Cæs. Val. Honoratus V. P. rat. S. R. D. N. M. Q. ejus.* 9 Muratori p. 1994. 9 Aquis Flavis in Lusitania: *Dom. N. Constantin. NB. Cæs.*

CONSTANTIUS II.

Born in Illyricum: Julian. Or. I p. 5 D Ἰλλυριοὶ, ὅτι παρ' αὐτοῖς γέγονας κ. τ. λ. On the 13th of August according to Cod. Theod. Vol. 2 p. 42°. But Aug. 7 in Bucherius *Natales Cæsarum* p. 276 *Domini Constantii VII Idus Augusti.* p. 284 *Augustus. VII Idus Natalis Constantii.* Whence in Cod. Theod. we may correct the date and read *VII Id. Aug.* Tillemont tom. 4 p. 638 examines this question and seems to doubt the account of Bucherius.

Theophanes p. 29 A places the death of *Delmatius* in the 2nd year of *Constantius*. Followed by Cedrenus p. 297 D τῷ β' ἔτει Δαλμάτιος Καῖσαρ ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν ἀναιρεῖται. This account strictly interpreted would place the death of *Delmatius* after May 22 A. D. 338. But Theophanes antedates the years of *Constantius II*; for he reckons A. M. 5777 the 1st year of *Diocletian*<sup>p</sup> and A. M. 5829 the 1st year of *Constantius II*. The exact term then of 52 years had elapsed at the accession of *Constantius*. But the true interval from Sept. 17 A. D. 284 to May 22 A. D. 337 was 52<sup>y</sup> 8<sup>m</sup> 6<sup>d</sup>. Theophanes then antedated the years of *Constantius II* and threw back his second year to Sept. A. D. 337. And the death of *Delmatius*, at its true date assigned in the Tables, would fall within the second year by the computation of Theophanes.

The action at Singara, which some refer to A. D. 345, may be rather placed at 348. The arguments for 348 are these.

1 *Idatius* and *Hieronimus* both agree, or nearly so,

<sup>o</sup> See the Tables A. D. 356,

<sup>p</sup> See the Tables A. D. 284. 4,



2 Libanius βασιλικῶ tom. 3 p. 306. 21 calls this the *last battle*—τῆς τελευταίας μάχης—ἦν τελευ-  
 ταιαν τε καὶ μεγάλην τὴν αὐτὴν ἔξεστι προσειπεῖν. But Athanasius ad Monachos tom. 1 p. 819 B  
 alludes to a victory claimed by *Constantius* in A. D. 347 at the time of the synod of Sardica: ἄλλη  
 προφάσει χρησάμενοι ὡς βασιλέως αὐτοῖς ἐπινίκια κατὰ Περσῶν γράψαντος. Now if a victory was  
 claimed in 347, the battle in 345 could not be called by Libanius the *last battle*. Moreover the  
 second siege of Nisibis was in 346; and if the battle of Singara had preceded the repulse of the  
 Persians from Nisibis, it could not have been called the last battle.

3 The date of Julian, as it now stands,—ἕκτον ἔτος—will not place the battle of Singara in 345.  
 For the “sixth year” from January A. D. 350 will carry back the date to the summer of 344, and  
 this is still less consistent with *τελευταία μάχη* in Libanius.

The marriage with *Eusebia*<sup>q</sup> is referred by Tillemont tom. 4 p. 676 to 352, because ἤδη or *déjà*  
 in Julian implies that the war was not yet completed, and because Ammianus in lib. 14 makes no  
 mention of the marriage. But Julian p. 110 D expressly says that *Constantius* married μετὰ τὰ  
 τροπαῖα, and τὰς πόλεις ἐστιῶν κ. τ. λ. and this could not be done while the war was yet pending,  
 and *Magnentius* to be encountered at the Cottian Alps. And as a part of Ammianus only remains,  
 he may have described the marriage after the death of *Magnentius* in some former passage. In  
 the 14th book no description is given of the revolt of the Jews<sup>r</sup> which was suppressed in 353;  
 and *Constantius* first appears at Arelate in October<sup>s</sup>. An interval of two months, Aug. 11—Oct. 10,  
 after the death of *Magnentius* is not described in the extant history. The silence then of Am-  
 mianus is no proof that the marriage occurred in 352. After the death of *Eusebia* he married  
*Faustina*: Ammianus XXI. 6, 4 *Eodem tempore* [in the winter of A. D. 36<sup>q</sup>] *Faustinam nomine*  
*sortitus est conjugem, amissa jampridem Eusebia.*

*Faustina* is commemorated in an inscription apud Muratorium p. 263. 2 Lunæ: *Faustinæ Con-*  
*stanti Aug. piissimæ et nobilissimæ C. Junius Vitrasius V. C. augur D. N. M. Q. E. D. D.*

*Constantius* is called 45 or 46 at his death<sup>t</sup>. Libanius μονῶδ. tom. 1 p. 510. 4 gives him only 40  
 years: τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη κατέσχε τὴν γῆν, καὶ μόλις ποτὲ ἀπῆλθε νόσῳ. Ammianus 21. 15, 3 is  
 mutilated: *Abiit e vita III Non. Octobrium imperii vitæque anno quadragesimo et mensibus paucis.*  
 We may correct and supply *III Non. Novembrium imperii anno tricesimo octavo vitæque quinto et*  
*quadragesimo et mensibus paucis.* As he was born in August, he was in the third month of another  
 year at his death Nov. 3. If in his 46th year, he was born Aug. A. D. 316.<sup>v</sup> He was buried at  
 CP.<sup>w</sup> and treated with honour by *Julian*: Mamertin. Panegy. c. 27 p. 754 Liban. Epitaph. tom.  
 1 p. 561. 562. Ammianus says 21, 15, 2 “It was reported that he named *Julian* his successor.”  
 But this must remain doubtful. See Wagner ad Ammian. p. 423.

The timid character of *Constantius* is marked by Ammianus 16. 8, 10. Idem 16. 12, 69 *Magnilo-*  
*quentia elatus adulatorum tunc et deinde edictis propositis arroganter satis multa mentiebatur, se solum,*  
*cum gestis non adfuisset, et dimicasse et vicisse &c.* He was governed by the eunuchs of the palace:  
 Ammianus 18. 4, 3 names *Eusebius*. Libanius tom. 3 p. 437 (quoted by Valesius ad Ammian. l. c.)  
 ἡγάπα δὲ καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν εἶχε καὶ συμβούλους καὶ διδασκάλους ἐποιεῖτο—ὀλέθρους τινὰς εὐνούχους κ. τ. λ.  
 Athanasius ad Monachos p. 834 D εὐνούχοι δὲ ἦσαν οἱ καὶ ταῦτα καὶ τὰ κατὰ πάντων κινούντες. See  
 other testimonies apud Valesium ad l. c. p. 307. Victor Cæs. p. 355 draws his character in his  
 lifetime in A. D. 360, but admits the evil influence of court sycophants: *Hæc tanta—ministorum*  
*parte maxima absurdi mores—fœdaverè. atque, uti verum absolvam brevi, ut imperatore ipso clarius,*

<sup>q</sup> Placed in the Tables at A. D. 353.

<sup>r</sup> To this revolt he may allude in 14. 7, 7 *Sere-*  
*nianus ex duce, cujus ignavia populatam in Phœnicè*  
*Celsen ante retulimus.*

<sup>s</sup> See the Tables A. D. 353.

<sup>t</sup> See the Tables A. D. 361.

<sup>v</sup> Conf. Vales. ad Ammian. 21. 15, 3 p. 423.

<sup>w</sup> Ammian. 21. 16, 20.



CONSTANTIUS  
II.

*ita apparitorum plerisque magis atrox nihil.* Ammianus 14. 5 speaks of his inexorable temper. In 21. 15 the historian largely enters upon the character of *Constantius*, and describes his good and evil qualities. Of his conduct towards the Christians it is said 21, 16, 18 *Christianam religionem absolutam et simplicem anili superstitione confundens, in qua scrutanda perplexius quam componenda gravius excitavit discidia plurima; quæ progressa fusius aluit concertatione verborum, ut catervis antistitum jumentis publicis ultro citroque discurrentibus per synodos (quas adpellant) dum ritum omnem ad suum trahere conantur arbitrium, rei vehiculariæ succideret nervos.* Notwithstanding his persecution of the Consubstantialists and his support of the Arians *Constantius* is yet mentioned favourably by Theodoret H. E. III. 1 p. 914. He distinguishes him from *Valens* V. 7 p. 1024 *Κωνσταντίου τε ἡ εὐκολία καὶ ἡ Βάλεντος μοχθηρία.* Gregorius Naz. Or. 25 *εἰς Ἑρῶνα* in A. D. 379 admits that *Constantius* authorised persecution: p. 460 D *πάλιν πονηρὰ βασιλεία, καὶ πάλιν ἀναστῆ τὸ κακὸν—καὶ λύκοι βαρεῖς ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν διαλαβόντες ἡμᾶς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν σπαράττουσιν ἱερεῖς τε κατὰ ἱερέων ἐξοπλισθέντες, καὶ δῆμοι δῆμοις ἐπιμανέντες, καὶ βασιλεὺς ἀσεβεία διδοὺς παρρησίαν καὶ κατὰ τῆς ὀρθῆς δόξης νομοθετῶν.* And yet in Or. 4 *κατὰ Ἰουλιανοῦ* in A. D. 363 p. 93 A—94 B D he highly praises *Constantius*, without noticing his Arianism. In Or. 21 *εἰς Ἀθανάσιον* Gregorius p. 399 A speaking of *Georgius* of *Cappadocia* who expelled *Athanasius* in 356<sup>x</sup> adds concerning *Constantius* *οἰκειοῦται [sc. Georgius] τὴν βασιλέως ἀπλότητα· οὕτω γὰρ ἐγὼ καλῶ τὴν κουφότητα, αἰδοῦμενος τὴν εὐλάβειαν. καὶ γὰρ ἦν, εἰ δεῖ τάληθες εἰπεῖν, ζῆλον μὲν ἔχων ἀλλ' οὐ κατ' ἐπίγνωσιν.*

Inscriptions: 1 Muratori p. 262. 1 *Imp. D. N. Fl. Julio Constantio nobilissimo Cæs.* 2 Murat. p. 1067. 5 *Parmæ: Imp. Cæs. Fl. Val. Constantio et Fl. Val. Constanti D. N. N. mag. maxim. et clement. vict. perpetuis semper Augg. Parmenses optata devotione dedicarunt B. R. N.* 3 Muratori p. 463. 9 *Tibure: Beatissimo sæculo dominorum nostrorum Constanti et Constantis Augustorum senatus populusque Romanus clivum Tiburtinum in planitiem redegit curante L. Turcio Secundo Aproniani præf. Urb. fil. Asterio V. C. correctore Flam. et Picensi.* 4 Gruter p. 1079. 1 *Tibure: Constant. Constantis Augustorum senatus populusque Romanus pontem refecit curante L. Tur. Aproniani præf. [adde Urb. fil.] Asterio V. C. Flam.* 5 Murat. p. 262. 4 *Romæ: D. N. Constantio Augusto Fl. Leontius V. C. præf. Urbi iter. vice sacra judic. D. N. M. Q. ejus.* 6 Gruter p. 280. 6 *Romæ: Restitutori urbis Romæ atque orb. et extinctori pestifera tyrannidis D. N. Fl. Jul. Constantio victori ac triumphatori semper Augusto Neratius Cerealis V. C. præfectus urbi<sup>z</sup> vice sacra judicans D. N. M. que ejus.* 7 Gruter p. 179. 2 *prope Clitumni fluvium: Reparatores orbis adque urbium restitutores DD. NN. Fl. Jul. Constantius P. F. semper Aug. et Julianus nobilissimus ac victoriosissimus Cæs. ad æternam divini nominis propagationem thermas Spoletinis in præteritum igne consumptas sua largitate restituerunt<sup>a</sup>.* 8 Gruter p. 1023. 1 *in Dalmatia: Virtute et felicitate omnes retro principes*

<sup>x</sup> See the Tables.

<sup>y</sup> *Apronianus* was *præf. urbis* in A. D. 339: see the Tables A. D. 337. 1. *Asterius* his father and grandfather are commemorated in A. D. 346 in an inscription *Romæ* apud Gruterum p. 476. 7 (quoted in the Tables at A. D. 346. 1): *Asterii L. Turcio Aproniano V. C. filio L. Turci Aproniani V. C. præfecti urbis [A. D. 339] nepoti L. Turc. Secundi C. V. consulis quæstori prætori quindecimviro sacris faciundis correctori Tusciæ et Umbriæ omni virtute præstanti statuum &c.* Muratori p. 379. 1 *Romæ: Asteri constantiæ abstinentiæ testimonium sempitern. L. Turcio Aproniano V. C. fil. Turci Aproniani C. V. præf. urbi nepoti Turci Secundi cos. quæstori prætori XV sacris faciundis correctori Tusciæ et Umbriæ ob ejus insigne meritum singularemque justitiam qua omnifaria Lu-*

*centium utilitati honestatiq. prospexit consensu obsequentissimi ordinis ac ejusdem civitatis populi exacto administrationis tempore statuum ex ære patrono collocatam. Administravit DD. NN. III et II cos. [sic lege cum Corsinio. sc. A. D. 342], decreta est autem post consulatum Amantii et Albini. [A. D. 346.]* On these inscriptions see Corsin. præf. Urb. p. 191—196.

<sup>yy</sup> Upon *Leontius* conf. Ammianum XIV. 11, 14. XV. 7, 1.

<sup>z</sup> Sc. A. D. 352. 353. See the Tables. De *Neratio Cereale* Gruter p. 441. 3 *Romæ: Neratio Cereali V. C. consuli ord. [sc. A. D. 358] præf. Urb. conditori balnearum Cursius Satrius patrono omnia præstantissimo.*

<sup>a</sup> This inscription within A. D. 356—360.



*supergresso D. N. Fl. Jul. Constantio victori ac triumphatori semper Aug. Fl. Jul. Rufinus Sarmentius* CONSTANTIUS  
*V. C. præses prov. Dalmatiæ D. N. M. ejus.* 9 On the base of the obelisk erected by *Constantius* II.  
 at Rome in A. D. 357<sup>b</sup>. Gruter p. 186. 3.

## Parte australi :

*Patris opus munusque [suum] tibi, Roma, dicavit  
 Augustus [toto Constan]tius orbe recepto,  
 Et quod nulla tulit tellus nec viderat ætas  
 Condidit, ut claris exa[equ] et dona triumphis.  
 Hoc decus ornatum genitor cognominis urbis  
 Esse volens, cæsa Thebis de rupe revellit.*

## Parte orientali :

*Sed gravior divum tangebatur cura vehendi  
 Quod nullo ingenio nisique manuque moveri  
 Caucasæam molem discurrens fama monebat.  
 At Dominus mundi Constantius omnia fretus  
 Cedere virtuti terris incedere jussit  
 Haut partem exiguum montis, pontoque tumentis.*

## Parte septentrion. :

*Credidit, et placido [vexerunt æquora fl]uctu  
 Litus ad Hesperium T[iberi] mirante carinam.  
 Interea Romam Ta . . ro vastante tyranno,  
 Augusti jacuit donum studiumque locandi,  
 Non fastu sprete, sed quod non crederet ullus  
 Tanta molis opus superas consurgere in auras.*

## Parte occidentali :

*Nunc veluti rursus ru . . . avulsa metallis  
 Emicuit, pulsatque polos hæc gloria dudum  
 Auctori servata suo cum cæde tyranni  
 Redditur atque aditu Ro[mæ] virtute reperto  
 Victor ovans, Urbiq[ue] . . . . . tropæum  
 Principis et munus condi . . . que triumphis.*

Laws of A. D. 355.<sup>c</sup> Cod. Theod. Vol. 4 p. 289 *Imp. Constantius A. ad Volusianum pf. p. Dat. Kal. Jan. Med. Arbitione et Lolliano coss.* Cod. Just. VI. 22, 6 *ad Volusianum pf. U. [lege pf. p.] Dat. XII Kal. Mart. Mediolani Arbitione et Lolliano coss.* III. 26, 8 *ad Taurum pf. p. Dat. V Non. Mart. Sirmii.* Cod. Theod. Vol. 2 p. 625 Cod. Just. VIII. 56, 8 *ad Orfitum p. U. Dat. V Kal. April.* Cod. Theod. Vol. 2 p. 301 *ad Taurum. Dat. VIII Id. April.* Vol. 2 p. 619 *ad Orfitum p. U. Dat. VIII Kal. Maii.* Vol. 1 p. 296 *ad Volusianum vicarium urbis. Dat. [sc. reddita cum Gothofr.] prid. Kal. Maii Romæ.* Vol. 5 p. 152 *ad Orfitum p. U. [lege pf. p. ob Leontium p. U. conf. Corsin. præf. urb. p. 214] Dat. prid. Non. Jul. Med.* Vol. 4 p. 382 *ad Taurum pf. p. Dat. XVI Kal. Aug. Med.* I. 5, 5 p. 27 Wenck. *ad Taurum pf. p. Dat. XII Kal. Aug. Mediolani.*

<sup>b</sup> See the Tables p. 438.

<sup>c</sup> For the preceding and following years see the Tables. Add in A. D. 354 Cod. Justin. II. 20, 11 *Imp. Constantius A. ad Evagrium pf. p. X Kal. Oct.*

*Aquileiæ Constantio A. VII et Constantio Cæs. III cons.* I. 19, 3 *Imp. Constantius A. ad populum. Dat. prid. Kal. Oct. Constantio A. VII et Constantio Cæs. III cons.*

CONSTANTIUS II. Gothofred. Vol. 2 p. 192 *ad Lollianum p.p. Dat. XI Kal. Aug. Med. acc. XII Kal. Sept.* Vol. 4 p. 245 Cod. Just. VII. 62, 21 *ad Lollianum pf.p. Dat. VIII Kal. Aug. Messadensi. pp. Capuæ.* Cod. Theod. Vol. 1 p. 77 *ad Taurum pf.p. Data VIII Kal. Aug. Mediolani. Arbitione et Juliano [lege Lolliano] coss.* Vol. 4 p. 302 *ad Volusianum pf.p. Dat. IV Kal. Aug.* Vol. 4 p. 246 Cod. Just. VII. 62, 22 *ad Volusianum pf.p. Dat. III Kal. Aug.* Cod. Theod. Vol. 4 p. 580 *ad Taurum pf.p. Dat. Kal. Aug. Med.* Vol. 4 p. 73 *ad Taurum pf.p. Dat. IV Non. Sept. Dinummæ, acc. prid. Id. Nov. Karthag.* Vol. 6 p. 37 *Severo suo salutem. Data epistula IX Kal. Oct. acc. Non. Oct.* Vol. 3 p. 242 *ad populum. Dat. prid. Kal. Nov. Med.* These *Arbitione et Lolliano coss. Messadensis*, from whence *Constantius* dates July 25, is probably a place near Milan, and not, as Gothofredus Vol. 1 p. LIV supposes, a place in Rhaetia. The Rhaetian war we may place with Tillemont tom. 4 p. 683 within Feb. 18—July 6.

CONSTANS. CONSTANS.

His character is unfavourably drawn by Victor Cæs. p. 353 *Ministorum pravitate execrabilis, atque præceps in avaritiam despectumque militarium &c.* Victor Epit. p. 390 *Hic fuit debilis pedibus manibusque articularum dolore; fortunatus cæli temperie, fructuum proventu, nulla a barbaris formidine; quæ profecto majora fierent, si provinciarum rectores non pretio sed judicio procexisset.* Eutropius X. 9 *Constantis imperium strenuum aliquamdiu et justum fuit; mox cum et valetudine improspira et amicis pravioribus uteretur, ad gravia vitia conversus, cum intolerabilis provincialibus militibus injucundus esset, factione Magnentii occisus est.* Eutropius adds however *Rebus plurimis strenue in militia gestis, exercituique per omne vitæ tempus sine gravi crudelitate terribilis.* *Constans* was contracted to the daughter of *Ablabius*, afterwards married to *Arsaces*: Ammian. 20. 11, 3 (*Constantius*) *Olympiada Ablabii filiam præfecti quondam prætorio ei [sc. Arsaci] copulaverat conjugem, sponsam fratris sui Constantis.* Noticed by Athanasius ad Monachos p. 856 C (quoted by Vales. ad Ammian. l. c.) (Κωνσταντίος) τὴν μνηστῆν αὐτοῦ τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα βαρβάρους ἐκδέδωκεν, ἣν ἐκεῖνος [sc. *Constans*] μέχρι τελευτῆς ἐφύλαττε καὶ ὡς ἰδίαν ἀνέτρεφεν ἑαυτῷ γυναῖκα.

Coins: Eckhel tom. 8 p. 110 1 *Constans Augustus* + — 2 *Constans P. F. Aug. + Bononia Oceanen.* or *urbs Roma.* or *urbs Roma beata.* 3 *Imp. Constans Aug. + —* 4 *D. N. Constans Aug. + virtus exercitum.* or *vota publica.* 5 *Fl. Constans vel Constantis P. F. Aug. + —* 6 *Fl. Jul. Constans Aug. vel P. F. vel Pius Felix Aug. + felicia decennialia. vot. X mult. XX.* or *felicitas perpetua. SIS.* or *ob victoriam triumphalem. vot. X mult. XV—mult. XX.* or *tr. SIS.* or *MT. ES.* or *triumfator gentium barbararum.* or *virtus exercitus Gall.* 7 *Fl. Jul. Constans perp. Aug. + victoria Augustorum. XXV. SMNC.* 8 “*Antica varia.*” + *fel. temp. reparatio.* or *vot. XV mult. XX.* or *vot. XX mult. XXX.* An inscription apud Muratorium p. 261. 4 in civitate Pen-nensi: *D. N. Constanti piissimo felicissimo victori semper Augusto C. Aveninus Sex. Tranq. IIII vir ex S. C.*

The sons of *Constantine* issued l. 4 de paganis apud Cod. Theod. Vol. 6 p. 263<sup>d</sup> *ad Taurum pf.p. Placuit omnibus locis adque urbibus claudi protinus templa, et accessu vetitis omnibus licentiam delinquendi perditis abnegari. Volumus etiam cunctos sacrificiis abstinere [see the Tables A. D. 341. 3]. Quod si quis aliquid forte hujusmodi perpetraverit, gladio ultore sternatur. Facultates etiam perempti fisco decernimus vindicari, et similiter adfligi rectores provinciarum, si facinora vindicare neglexerint. Dat. Kal. Dec. Constantio IV et Constante II AA. cons.* We must read either *Constantio III et Constante II AA.* sc. A. D. 342, or *Constantio IV et Constante III AA.* sc. A. D. 346. Gothofred

<sup>d</sup> Conf. Cod. Just. I. 11, 1 *ad Taurum pf.p.* where *Constantio IV et Constante AA. cons.* Sc. A. D. the editions before Beck give the date *Kal. Dec.* 346.



Vol. 6 p. 263. 387 reads *Constantio VI et Constantio II coss.* A. D. 353 or *Constantio VII et Constantio III* A. D. 354, because *Taurus* was "præfectus prætorio ab anno 353 ad annum 361." But this would place the law after the death of *Constans*; and *Constans* concurred in the edicts against the pagans. See Sozomen III. 17 p. 529 B Theodoret H. E. V. 20 Symmachus Ep. X. 54 p. 288 quoted by Gothofred himself. *Taurus*, if the inscription is genuine, might be another *Taurus*, earlier in time than the *Taurus* of whom Ammianus speaks<sup>c</sup>. There might be two of the name of *Taurus* in those times, as there were two of the name of *Florentius* apud Ammianum 22, 3, 6.

MAGNENTIUS. Tables A. D. 350—353. VETRANIO A. D. 350. 351. DECENTIUS A. D. 351. MAGNENTIUS. 353. NEPOTIANUS A. D. 350. Victor Cæs. p. 353—*Magnentii, utpote gentis barbaræ, diro atrocique ingenio, simul his quæ post accidere, adeo extincta omnia sunt ut illud imperium haud injuria desideraretur. Tum quia Vetranio literarum prorsus expers et ingenio stolidior idcircoque agresti recordia pessimus, cum per Illyrios peditum magisterio milites curaret, dominationem, ortus Mœsie superioris locis squalidioribus, improbe occupaverat.* Of *Nepotianus* he adds p. 354 *Cujus stolidum ingenium adeo plebi Romanæ patribusque exitio fuit ut passim domus fora vicæ templeque cruore ac cadaveribus opplentur.* On *Magnentius* conf. Zosimum II. 54 on *Vetranio* Philostorg. III. 22 Chron. Pasch. p. 291 D 292 A. *Decentius* is mentioned by Steph. Byz. Δεκέτιοι: ἔθνος Παννονίας, ἀπὸ Δεκετίου τοῦ Μάγνου παιδὸς Μαγνετίου δ' ἀδελφοῦ. Inscriptions: 1 Murat. p. 1995. 3 in Lusitania: *D. N. imperatori semper Aug. Maximo Magnentio terra mariq. victori prov. dedicavit.* 2 Mur. p. 263. 3 Cartamæ in Hispania: *D. N. Magno Decentio imp. nostro piissimo florentissimo Cæsari.* 3 Mur. p. 2011. 5 in Lusitania: *D. N. Magno Decentio nobilissimo et florentissimo Cæsari B. R. P. nato. M. P. XXXII.*

Tzschutke ad Eutropium p. 784. 7 supposes *Idatius* to mark the date of the fall of *Nepotianus*. "Id factum esse notant fasti *Idatiani* A. D. 351 die VIII Kal. Januar. id est, anno 350 Decemb. 25." But *VIII Kal. Januar.* of the year 351 is not Dec. 25 of the year 350, and *Idatius* there speaks of *Vetranio* and not of *Nepotianus*.

SILVANUS. Tables A. D. 355. *Silvanus* was the son of a *Frank*: Ammian. 15. 5, 33 *Licet* SILVANUS. *ob tempestivam illam cum armaturis proditionem ante Mursense prælium obligatum gratia retineret Constantium, ut dubium tamen et mutabilem verebatur, licet patris quoque Boniti prætenderet postea facta, Franci quidem, sed pro Constantini partibus in bello civili acriter contra Licinianos sæpe versati.* Victor Cæs. p. 354 *Silvanus in Gallia ortus barbaris parentibus, ordine militiæ simul a Magnentio ad Constantium transgressus pedestre ad magisterium adolescentior meruerat*<sup>f</sup>.

GALLUS. Tables A. D. 351. 354. Ammianus names as the emperor's ministers in the death GALLUS. of *Gallus Eusebius, Pentadius, Mellobaudes, Serenianus, Apodemius*; and *Scudilo* and *Barbatio* as the enemies of *Gallus*. Philostorgius mentions *Eusebius*. Zosimus II. 55 *Dynamius*<sup>g</sup>, *Picentius*,

<sup>c</sup> A *Taurus* is *pf. p.* July 21 A. D. 353 in a law quoted in the Tables. And yet *Taurus* apud Ammianum 14. 11, 14 is *quæstor* in A. D. 354: *Eoque tempore Taurus quæstor ad Armeniam missus.* The *Taurus* of Ammianus is *pf. p.* in A. D. 355—361. See the laws of 355 quoted in the Appendix p. 99 and of A. D. 357—361 quoted in the Tables, and the testimonies given in 359. 4. He was consul in 361. See the Tables and Ammianus there quoted. Banished at the close of that year: Ammian. 22. 3, 4

*Dein Taurum ex præfecto prætorio in exsilium egere Vercellum.*

<sup>f</sup> Julian. ad Athenienses p. 273 D names *Silvanus* according to the emendation of Vales. ad Ammian. 15. 5, 3 p. 124, who for τοῦ Νείλου κἀν ἐν αὐτῷ reads τὸν Σιλωνάνον αὐτῷ. *Nepotianus* and *Silvanus* are named by Mamertinus Juliano c. 12 p. 698 *Heus Nepotiane atque Silvane*, &c.

<sup>g</sup> *Dynamius* by an error. Conf. Vales. ad Ammian. 15. 5, 3. 4.

GALLUS. *Lampadius*. Julian ad Athenienses p. 270 D, as might be expected, charges *Constantius* with all the wrong: ἐξ μὲν ἀνεψιῶν ἐμοῦ τε καὶ ἑαυτοῦ, πατέρα δὲ ἐμὸν ἑαυτοῦ δὲ θεῖον, καὶ προσέτι κοινὸν ἕτερον τὸν πρὸς πατρὸς θεῖον, ἀδελφόν τε ἐμὸν τὸν πρεσβύτατον<sup>h</sup>, ἀκρίτους κτείνας· ἐμὲ δὲ καὶ ἕτερον ἀδελφὸν ἐμὸν ἐβελήσας μὲν κτείνειν, τέλος δὲ ἐπιβαλὼν φυγῆν—ἐκείνον δὲ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον τῆς σφαγῆς ἐρρύσατο τὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὄνομα. Julian p. 271 A speaks of *Gallus* again: τὸν μακαρίτην ἀδελφὸν ἐμὸν Γάλλον. more fully p. 272 εἰς χάριν ἐνὸς ἀνδρογύνου τοῦ κατακομιστοῦ. sc. the eunuch *Eusebius*. He admits however the cruelty of *Gallus*: p. 271 D εἴ τι περὶ τὸν τρόπον ἄγριον καὶ τραχὺ τῶν ἐκείνου κατεφάνη. κ. τ. λ.

JULIANUS. JULIANUS. For his birth see the Tables A. D. 331. His early life and education are described by Socrates H. E. III. 1 Κωνσταντίῳ δύο ἐγευνήθησαν υἱοὶ, Γάλλος καὶ Ἰουλιανός. ὡς οὖν μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦ κτίστου τῆς ΚΠ. οἱ στρατιῶται τὸν νέον ἀνείλον Δαλμάτιον [A. D. 338], τότε δὴ καὶ οὗτοι ἀπορφανισθέντες τοῦ οἰκείου πατρὸς μικροῦ δεῖν τῷ Δαλματίῳ συνεκιδύνευσαν, εἰ μὴ Γάλλον μὲν νόσος προσδοκίαν ἔχουσα θανάτου ἐρρύσατο Ἰουλιανὸν δὲ ἡ ἡλικία, ὀκταετῆς γὰρ ἦν ἔτι, διέσωσεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ κατ' αὐτῶν τοῦ βασιλέως ὀρμὴ ἐκεχαύνωτο, Γάλλος μὲν τοῖς ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ κατὰ τὴν Ἐφεσον ἐφόλτα διδασκάλους, ἔνθα αὐτοῖς καὶ κτήσις ἦν ἐκ προγόνων πολλή· Ἰουλιανὸς δὲ αὐξηθεὶς τῶν ἐν ΚΠ. παιδευτηρίων ἠεροῦτο—ὑπὸ Μαρδουρίου τοῦ εὐνοῦχου παιδαγωγούμενος<sup>k</sup>. τῶν μὲν οὖν γραμματικῶν λόγων Νικοκλῆς ὁ Λάκων<sup>l</sup> ἦν αὐτῷ παιδευτῆς· ῥητορικὴν δὲ παρὰ Ἐκηβολίῳ κατῶρθον τῷ σοφιστῇ Χριστιανῷ τότε τυγχάνοντι. τούτου δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς Κωνσταντίος προενόησε μήπως Ἕλληνας διδασκάλους ἀκροώμενος πρὸς δευσιδαιμονίαν ἐκκλίνοι. Χριστιανὸς γὰρ ἦν ἐξ ἀρχῆς Ἰουλιανός.—μεθίστησιν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς μεγαλοπόλεως εἰς τὴν Νικομηδείαν, κελεύσας μὴ φοιτᾶν παρὰ Λιβανίῳ τῷ Σύρῳ σοφιστῇ. τότε γὰρ ὁ Λιβανίος ὑπὸ τῶν παιδαγωγῶν τῆς ΚΠ. ἐκβληθεὶς ἐν τῇ Νικομηδείᾳ τὰς διατριβὰς ἐποιεῖτο<sup>m</sup>.—Ἰουλιανὸς δὲ ἐκωλύετο φοιτᾶν παρ' αὐτῷ διότι Λιβανίος Ἕλληνας τὴν θρησκείαν ἐτύγχανεν ὦν. ὅμως δὲ ἐραστῆς ὦν τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ λεληθότως συνάγων αὐτοὺς ἠσκεῖτο. προκόπτοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν ῥητορικὴν, ἐφίσταται τῇ Νικομηδείᾳ Μάξιμος ὁ φιλόσοφος—ὁ Ἐφέσιος<sup>n</sup>. ὃν ὕστερον ὡς μαγγανείας ποιῶντα ὁ βασιλεὺς Οὐαλεντινιανὸς ἀνααιρεθῆναι ἐκέλευσεν<sup>o</sup>. By *Maximus Julian* was perverted—εὐθὺς ἐμμεῖτο καὶ τὴν θρησκείαν τοῦ παιδευτοῦ Socrates Ibid.

Julian ad Athenienses p. 278. 279 places the recovery of Agrippina in his second campaign, and after the recall of *Marcellus*. Having mentioned his first campaign A. D. 356: p. 278 A οὐ κακῶς—τοῦ πρώτου στρατηγηθέντος ἐνιαυτοῦ, καὶ πραχθέντος σπουδαίου—and his danger in the winter quarters A. D. 356<sup>p</sup>, he proceeds p. 278 B ἐκεῖνα μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐπράχθη τότε· ὡς δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἄρχων<sup>q</sup> ἐν ὑποψίᾳ γενόμενος αὐτῷ παρηρέθη καὶ ἀπηλλάγη τῆς ἀρχῆς, οὐ σφόδρα ἐπιτήδειος δόξας, ἔγωγε ἐνομίσθη ἠκιστα σπουδαῖος καὶ δεινὸς στρατηγός κ. τ. λ. Then follows his second cam-

<sup>h</sup> On these see Valesius ad Ammian. 21. 16. 8. The elder brother of *Julian* and *Gallus*, here mentioned by *Julian*, is mentioned nowhere else.

<sup>i</sup> *Julian* inherited from his grandmother property in Bithynia: *Juliani fragm.* p. 290 D ἀπεσώθη μοι τέλειος ὁ κληρὸς τῆς τίτης κ. τ. λ. Ep. 46 p. 426 D συγκτησεῖδιον μικρὸν ἀγρῶν τεττάρων δοθέντων μοι παρὰ τῆς τίτης ἐν Βιθυνίᾳ τῇ σῆ διαθέσει δῶρον δίδωμι.

<sup>k</sup> *Julian Misopog.* p. 352 A B ἄρα ποθεῖτε καὶ τοῦνομα ὑμῖν φράσω τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ—Σκύθης μὲν τὸ γένος, ὁμόνομος δὲ τοῦ τὸν Ξέρξην ἀναπέσαντος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατεῦσαι.—εὐνοῦχος ἦν, ὑπὸ τῷ ἐμῷ τετραμμένους πάπῳ, τὴν μητέρα τὴν ἐμὴν ὅπως ἀγάγη διὰ τῶν Ὀμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου ποιημάτων.—μετ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἑβδομον αὐτῷ παρεδόθη. *Libanius Epitaph.* tom. I p. 525 διέτριβε περὶ αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ μεγίστῃ μετὰ τὴν Ῥώμην πόλει, φοιτῶν ἐς

διδασκαλείον, ὁ βασιλέως μὲν υἱοῦς βασιλέως δὲ ἀδελφιδουῦς βασιλέως δὲ ἀνεψιός. His preceptors are εὐνοῦχος, βέλτιστος σωφροσύνης φύλαξ, καὶ παιδαγωγὸς ἕτερος, οὐκ ἄμοιρος παιδείας.

<sup>l</sup> *Libanius ad Julianum Vol. 1* p. 459 alludes to *Nicocles*: ἀνὴρ Λακεδαιμόνιος, ἱερεὺς δικαιοσύνης, ἡγεμὼν παιδείας, εἰδὼς, εἴπερ τις, τῆς Ὀμήρου γνώμης τὰ ἀπόρρητα—ὃν ἐδέξω μὲν νέος ὢν.

<sup>m</sup> See the Tables A. D. 350. 3.

<sup>n</sup> *Libanius ad Julianum tom. 1* p. 408 refers to *Maximus*: ὡς δὲ ἦκες εἰς Ἰωνίαν καὶ εἶδες ἄνδρα καὶ δοκῶντα καὶ ὄντα σόφον κ. τ. λ.

<sup>o</sup> See the Tables A. D. 372. 3. He was put to death by *Valens* and not by *Valentinian*.

<sup>p</sup> See the Tables A. D. 356 *Julian.* p. 278 B.

<sup>q</sup> *Marcellus.* See the Tables A. D. 357.



paign: p. 278 D ὁ Κωνσταντίος—δίδωσί μοι τῶν στρατοπέδων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἦρος ἀρχῆ κ.τ.λ. p. 279 B JULIANUS. ἐν τούτοις οὖσαν καταλαβὼν ἐγὼ τὴν Γαλατίαν πόλιν τε ἀνέλαβον τὴν Ἀγριππίαν ἐπὶ τῷ Ῥήνῳ—καὶ τεῖχος Ἀργέντορα πλησίον πρὸς ταῖς ὑπωρεῖαις αὐτοῦ τοῦ Βαρσέγου. After this campaign two years followed, A. D. 358, 359: p. 279 D τὸ δὴ μετὰ τοῦτο δεύτερος ἐνιαυτὸς καὶ τρίτος· καὶ πάντες μὲν ἀπελήλυντο τῆς Γαλατίας οἱ βάρβαροι πλείοται δὲ ἀνελήθησαν τῶν πόλεων, κ.τ.λ. This remarkable variation of Julian from Ammianus<sup>r</sup> is noticed by Petavius ad locum p. 99.

Zosimus III. 3—8 is not accurate in the Gallic campaigns and other acts of *Julian*. 1 c. 3 “at Argentoratum 60,000 were slain, and as many more perished in the Rhine.” ὥστε εἴ τις ἐθέλοι τῇ πρὸς Δαρείον Ἀλεξάνδρου μάχῃ ταύτην παραβαλεῖν τὴν νίκην, οὐκ ἂν εὖροι ταύτην ἐκείνης ἐλάττονα. Although we were to admit that the numbers were corrupted in the text, yet the comparison of *Julian* to *Alexander* is a gross exaggeration. 2 c. 4 “*Julian* crosses the Rhine, penetrates to the Hercynian forest, captures *Badomarius* the king’s son, and sends him to *Constantius*.” Petavius ad Julianum p. 101 has observed that *Badomarius* is a mistake for *Chnodomarius*. Reitemeier justly adds that the time is inaccurately marked. *Chnodomarius* was captured in the second campaign, before *Julian* had crossed the Rhine<sup>s</sup>; *Badomarius* after *Julian* was *Augustus*, in A. D. 360<sup>t</sup>. And these chiefs were not merely the sons of kings, but kings themselves. 3 c. 6. 7. 8 “The Saxons send the *Quadi* to expel the *Salii*—*Julian* spares the *Salii*—spares both the *Salii* and *Quadi*. Meanwhile *Constantius* is in the East.” Although we allow to Reitemeier that *Quadi* for *Chamavi* is an error of the transcriber, yet there are other mistakes. The *Salii* and *Chamavi* were encountered in the third campaign and not in the fourth; before the defeat of *Badomarius* and not after it. *Constantius* was not yet in the East, which he did not reach till after *Julian*’s fourth campaign was ended<sup>v</sup>. 4 c. 8 “Through *Julian* Illyricum is safe, and the barbarians beyond the Danube are repressed.” This was effected by *Constantius* himself in 358 and 359<sup>w</sup>. Falsely ascribed to *Julian* by Zosimus. 5 c. 8 “*Sapor* besieges Nisibis, which *Lucillianus* defends; and *Julian* himself describes all that was then done. *Constantius* sends for two legions.” Petavius acknowledges the error of placing here the siege of Nisibis. Heyne ad locum p. 636 attempts to justify Zosimus. To whom we may answer that *Lucillianus* might now be governor of Nisibis, since he was now in the East: Ammian. 17. 14, 3. But Zonaras XIII. 9 p. 20 A, who relates that Nisibis was attempted by *Sapor* in 359, is refuted by Ammianus; from whom we know that there was no siege of *Nisibis* in that year, but that *Amida* was besieged and taken<sup>x</sup>. Moreover *Julian* relates that siege of Nisibis in his panegyric upon *Constantius*, composed at least four years before 359. Nor does *Julian* name *Lucillianus*, who did not command in Nisibis at the siege described by *Julian*. 6 c. 9 “*Constantius* refuses *Julian* the title of *Cæsar*, and only grants him life.” But *Julian* himself ad Athen. p. 286 B C admits that *Constantius* allowed him to be *Cæsar*: πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι νῦν μοι Καῖσαρι γράφει. Recorded by Am-

<sup>r</sup> And also from his own account of the time of the recapture of Agrippina: p. 279 B. quoted in the Tables A. D. 356. Libanius Epitaph. tom. 1 p. 537. 538 relates the capture of Agrippina ἑναγχος, and before *Julian* had the full authority: οὐπω τοῦ πᾶν ὁ διανοηθεὶς πράττειν εἰς ἐξουσίαν ἦκων. Then he mentions the recal of *Marcellus*, as quoted in the Tables A. D. 357.

<sup>s</sup> Tables A. D. 357.

<sup>t</sup> Tables A. D. 359.

<sup>v</sup> See the Tables A. D. 359. 360.

<sup>w</sup> See the Tables.

<sup>x</sup> See the Tables A. D. 359.

<sup>y</sup> Spanheim p. 188 ad Julianum p. 168 calls the siege of Nisibis in 350 the *second* siege and supposes the third in 359 or 360. But he is obliged to admit that this third siege in 359 could be only “paucorum dierum, et irritam:” p. 189. Not therefore one of the three celebrated sieges mentioned by Festus. See the Tables A. D. 338. Valesius ad Ammian. 20. 7, 1 calls the siege in 350 the second, condemns Hieronymus for placing the second in 348, and assigns the third to 359, “cujus meminit Ammianus noster 18. 7.” But Ammianus so far from mentioning a siege in 359 distinctly says that there was *no* siege; *Nisibi transmissa* 18. 7, 8.

JULIANUS. mianus 20. 9, 4 *Intra Cæsaris se potestatem continere præcipiens. § 6 Cæsaris potestatem sufficere Juliano censebat.* 7 Zosim. III. 11 “δέκα διατρίψας ἐν τῷ Βυζαντίῳ μῆνας.” Inaccurate. See the Tables A. D. 362 p. 448.

Zosimus in his narrative of *Julian's* last campaign has also some inaccuracies. 1 III. 12, 4 “He enters Edessa.” That he did not enter Edessa we know from Ammianus. conf. Reitem. ad Zosimum l. c. 2 III. 26, 5 He omits *Julian's* retreat. Conf. Reitem. ad locum. 3 III. 30, 10—31, 1 “*Jovian* passes the Tigris before the treaty.” But Ammianus 25. 7, 14—8, 1 shews that the treaty preceded the passage of the river. 4 III. 36, 1. 2 “The empire is offered to *Sallust* after the death of *Jovian*.” But Ammianus 25, 5, 3, who was himself present, attests that this was done after the death of *Julian*. Finally we may observe that Zosimus III. 29, 1 describes the Persian monarchy as not far from ruin at the death of *Julian*—ὁ πόρρω ἀπωλείας ἐσχάτης. And yet a few days afterwards III. 30, 11 the Romans are ἐν πᾶσι κινδύνοις, ὑπο τε τῶν περιεστώτων κακῶν καὶ πρόσκει ἐνδεία τροφῆς πιεζόμενοι.

Noris Ep. Syromac. p. 238—240 quoted in the Tables A. D. 362 p. 448 reads *Julio* for *Junio* in Hieronymus, first because *Thammuz* was *July* and *Haziram* was *June*; secondly because *Julian* was still at CP. May 12 and then travelled 816 miles; thirdly because he composed the *Misopogon* after he had been 7 months at Antioch; and when he was “propediem ad bellum Persicum profecturus,” and after the death of his uncle *Julianus*. Written therefore in the end of February; and the seven months carry us back to the end of July. Noris on the death of the uncle *Julianus* argues thus. He was still alive Feb. 7. “Extat lex ad Julianum Com. Or. dat. VII Id. Mart. Antiochiæ.” But, as *Julian* had already left Antioch March 5, “levi emendatione VII Id. Feb. legendum est. Itaque ineunte Februario adhuc vivebat Julianus comes Or.” Noris adds, quoting Ammianus, “Rufinum—in locum avunculi sui recens defuncti provexit. Addit vomitu sanguinis extincto Felice comite S. L. eumque comite Juliano sequuto—præcesserat aliud sævum; nam Kal. Jan. quidam sacerdos” &c. Noris infers “Quare cum hic casus contigerit ante mortem Juliani com. Or. hujusce obitus accidit labente jam anno 363” &c. There is no need of altering the text of Hieronymus. For *Thammuz* corresponded partly with June and partly with July. 2 *Julian* would not occupy more than six weeks in his journey; which he hastened: *properans*. 3 We must carefully distinguish the two count *Julians* who are here described by Ammianus 23. 1, 4 *Iisdem diebus* &c. *imperator Apronianum Romæ decrevit esse præfectum, Octavianum proconsulem Africæ, Venusto vicariam commisit Hispaniæ, Rufinum Aradium comitem Orientis in locum avunculi sui Juliani recens defuncti provexit. Quibus—ordinatis terrebat omine quodam.—Felice enim largitionum comite profusio sanguinis repente extincto, eumque comite Juliano sequuto, vulgus publicos contuens titulos Felicem Julianum Augustumque pronuntiabat.* This *Julianus* is properly distinguished from the emperor's uncle by Wagner<sup>z</sup>, as *comes largitionum*. *Julianus com. Or.* was already dead, and his successor appointed, before the death of *Felix*; and in Theodoret<sup>a</sup> the death of *Julian* the emperor's uncle is related before the death of *Felix*. The date of the law quoted by Noris being corrupted will yield us no evidence. The emendation is a conjecture. We may read in that law VII Id. Jan.<sup>b</sup> If we refer it to Jan. 7 A. D. 363 the death of *Julianus comes orientis* might happen in January, and the *Misopogon* might be composed at the end of the same month<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>z</sup> In Indice ad Ammianum.

<sup>a</sup> H. E. III. 9 Ἰουλιανὸς μὲν γὰρ [ὁ τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ θεῖος III. 7] παραύτικα νόσῳ χαλεπῇ περιπεσὼν—διεφθάρη.—ὁ δὲ Φιλιξ ἐξαπίνης θεήλατον καὶ αὐτὸς δεξάμενος μάλιστα—ἀπέσθη καὶ αὐτός.

<sup>b</sup> Cod. Just. VIII. 36, 12. See the Tables A. D. 363 p. 458.

<sup>c</sup> See the Tables A. D. 363. 3 p. 455 for the *Misopogon*.



Ammianus 24. 8, 5 quoted in the Tables A. D. 363 p. 456 names *XVI Kal. Jul.* and then JULIANUS. 25. 5, 1 gives *V Kal. Jul.* as the day after the death of *Julian*. Wagner<sup>d</sup> remarks "*Quintum Kal. Julias*. Reinesius adscripsit *Decimum quintum*." Reinesius then supposed that *Julian* died *XVI Kal. Jul.* But Ammianus is consistent with the other authorities on the day of *Julian's* death. He enumerates many days between *XVI Kal. Jul.* and that event. 25. 1, 1 *Ubi primum dies inclaruit*. then a march to Hucumbra § 4. then a halt *per biduum*. then follows *postridie* § 5. then a progress to Maranga § 10. 11. and a halt of three days: *triduo indutiis destinato* c. 2, 1. After which *exorto jam die promotā castra* § 8. These incidents account for the space of ten days from the beginning of the retreat June 16 to the death of *Julian* June 26.

The character of *Julian* is fully drawn by Ammianus 25. 4 and by Eutropius X. 16. Victor Epit. p. 393 *Fuerat in eo literarum ac negotiorum ingens scientia. Æquaverat philosophos et Græcorum sapientissimos. Usu promptior corporis quam validior quidem, sed brevis fuit. Hæc minuebat quarundam rerum neglectus modus. Cupido laudis immodica, cultus numinum superstitiosus. audax plus quam imperatorem decet.* Augustine<sup>e</sup> C. D. V. 21 *Ipse apostatæ Juliano, cujus egregiam indolem decepit amore dominandi sacrilega et detestanda curiositas, cujus vanis deditus oraculis erat.* Eutropius adds *religionis Christianæ insectator, perinde tamen ut cruore abstineret.* Confirmed by Orosius VII. 30 *Arte potius quam potestate Christianam religionem insectatus &c.* Hieronymus Chron. Anno 2378 *Juliano ad idolorum cultum converso, blanda persecutio fuit, illiciens<sup>f</sup> magis quam impellens ad sacrificandum*<sup>g</sup>. Soerates III. 12 τὴν μὲν ὑπερβάλλουσιν ἐπὶ Διοκλητιανοῦ ὠμότητα ὑπερέθετο οὐ μὴν πάντη τοῦ διώκειν ἀπέσχετο. διωγμὸν δὲ λέγω τὸ ὄψωσόν ταραττεῖν τοὺς ἡσυχάζοντας.

But his narrow and intolerant spirit in forbidding the Christians to teach Grammar and Rhetoric is recorded by Ammianus 22. 10, 7 *Illud autem erat inclemens obruendum perenni silentio, quod arcebat docere magistros rhetoricos et grammaticos ritus Christiani cultores.* 25. 4, 20 *Erat illud inclemens, quod docere vetuit magistros rhetoricos et grammaticos Christianos, ni transissent ad numinum cultum.* And justifies the invective of *Gregory of Nazianzus*: In *Julianum* I p. 132 C πόθεν οὖν ἐπῆλθέ σοι τοῦτο, ὦ κουφότατε πάντων καὶ ἀπληστότατε, τὸ λόγων ἀποστερηῆσαι Χριστιανούς; τοῦτο γὰρ οὐ τῶν ἀπειλουμένων ἦν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἤδη νενομοθετημένων. πόθεν, κὰκ τίνας αἰτίας; κ. τ. λ. He had already mentioned this p. 79 D τῶν λόγων ἡμᾶς ἀπήλασεν κ. τ. λ.<sup>h</sup>

<sup>d</sup> Ad 25. 5, 1.

<sup>e</sup> Quoted by Valesius ad Ammian. 25. 4, 1 who adds the lines of Prudentius in Apotheosi 449

*Principibus tamen e cunctis non defuit unus  
Me puero, ut memini, ductor fortissimus armis,  
Conditor et legum celeberrimus, ore manuque  
Consultor patriæ, sed non consultor habendæ  
Religionis, amans tercentum millia divum.  
Perfidus ille Deo, quamvis non perfidus orbi.*

His management of the finances of the empire is praised by Ambrosius apud Vales. ad Ammian. 25. 4, 15 *Hoc laudant provinciæ Julianum &c.*

<sup>f</sup> Conf. Greg. Naz. epitaph. in Cæsarium p. 205 DE κλέπτων τὸν διωγμὸν ἐν ἐπιεικείᾳ πλάσματι—πειθοῦς ὄνομα προσεῖναι τῷ γνωμένῳ μὴ τυραννίδος—καὶ τοὺς μὲν χρήμασι τοὺς δὲ ἀξιώμασι τοὺς δὲ ὑποσχέσεσι τοὺς δὲ παντοίαις τιμαῖς ὑφελκόμενος.

<sup>g</sup> Tzschucke ad Eutropium p. 803. 34 asserts, "Neque tamen actum est sine cruore, ut docent exempla misere occisorum quæ passim leguntur." But the authorities which he quotes are not sufficient to

prove this. Ammianus 22. 11 does not shew that *Julian* put the Christians to death for their religion. Theodoret H. E. III. 6. 7 Chron. Pasch. p. 295. 296 Theophanes p. 41. 42 and Zonaras cannot be received as impartial witnesses against the clear testimony of Orosius and Hieronymus. These last in what they add record no acts of *Julian*, but speak only of what he intended to do: Hieron. anno 2379 *Julianus in Persas profectus nostrum post victoriam diis sanguinem voverat.* Orosius VII. 30 *Christianorum sanguinem diis suis vovit, palam persecuturus ecclesias, si victoriam potuisset adipisci.*

<sup>h</sup> Gregory returns to this subject again in *Julianum* II p. 174A ταῦτα οἱ τῶν λόγων ἀποκλεισθέντες ἡμεῖς, κατὰ τὴν μεγάλην καὶ θαυμαστὴν σου νομοθεσίαν. Socrates H. E. III. 12 νόμῳ ἐκέλευε Χριστιανούς παιδείσεως μὴ μετέχειν, ἵνα μὴ (φησὶν) ἀκονόμενοι τὴν γλῶτταν ἐτοίμως πρὸς τοὺς διαλεκτικούς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπαντῶσιν. Theodoret. H. E. III. 4 καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀπηγόρευσε τῶν Γαλιλαίων τοὺς παῖδας—ποιητικῶν καὶ ῥητορικῶν καὶ φιλοσόφων μεταλαχάνειν λόγων τοῖς οἰκείοις γὰρ (φησὶ) πτεροῖς,

JULIANUS. Ammianus 25. 6, 6 in relating the death of *Julian* mentions a rumour—*rumore jactato incerto, telo cecidisse Romano*. Libanius Epitaph. tom. 1 p. 614 in A. D. 365, adopting this rumour, charges the death of *Julian* upon the Christians: "I do not know the name of the man who slew *Julian*. That he was not a Persian clearly appears from this, that no one claimed the reward which the king of Persia offered for the service. We must therefore look among ourselves for the slayer of *Julian*. Those to whom his life was no benefit (because they lived in violation of his laws), those who had long plotted against him and had not liberty in his reign for their religious worship, took that opportunity of effecting the deed." He alludes to this in another oration tom. 3 p. 440. 16 ἄδικος ἐν Περσίδι σίδηρος—and in an oration addressed to *Theodosius* περὶ τῆς τιμωρίας Ἰουλιανοῦ<sup>hh</sup>. Although he had before ascribed the wound to a Persian hand<sup>i</sup>. Sozomen VI. 1. 2, quoting Libanius tom. 1 p. 614, thinks that the charge against the Christians might be true. But the words of Ammianus shew that Libanius founded his charge upon an uncertain rumour<sup>k</sup>.

Laws of A. D. 362. See the Tables. Upon the law dated *Kal. Aug. Nicomediæ* Gothofredus rightly questions the date, because *Kal. Aug.* is named in the law as a day yet future, and because before *Kal. Aug.* *Julian* was already at Antioch. But his correction Vol. 1 p. LXIII \* *Kal. Aug.* "Dies *Kal. Aug.* intercidit," cannot be admitted. *Julian* could not have been at Nicomedia in any part of July. He was already at Pessinus in June<sup>l</sup>. On another law Wagner ad Ammianum 22. 9, 8 observes, "*Ancyram*] Reinesius adscripsit Hic data est lex Cod. Theod. [Vol. 2 p. 146] *ad Secundum pf. p. VII Kal. Oct.*<sup>m</sup> *legam tamen Nov. vel VII Id. Oct.*" This is not intelligible. Neither was that law dated from Ancyra, nor was *Julian* at Ancyra in any part of October 362.

Inscriptions. 1 Panvinius p. 410 Gruter p. 284. 8 Romæ, to *Julian* as *Cæsar*: *Domino nostro Cl. Juliano nobilissimo ac fortissimo Cæs. Memmii Vitrasius Orfitus V. C. iterum præf. Urb. judex sacrar. cognition. tertium, D. N. M. Q. ejus*<sup>n</sup>. 2 Panvinius p. 411 Gruter p. 284. 9 Altini in columna: *Æterno principi D. N. Flavio Claudio Juliano ubique venerando &c.* More accurately given below at N<sup>o</sup>. 10 from Muratori. 3 Gruter p. 1086. 7 in foro Popilii: *Claudio Juliano victori ac triumphatori semper Aug. domino orbis terrarum, B. R. P. nato.* 4 Gruter p. 201. 5 in Hispania: *Trifnium IIvir. Sacilernusi. Idiensis, Soliensis, ex sentent. Juli Proculi jud. imp. Cæsare Juliano Aug.* 5 Murat. p. 264. 1 Augustæ Taurinorum: *Imp. Cæs. pontifex max. Claudius Julianus semper Augustus.* 6 Murat. p. 263. 4 Ancyræ: *Domino totius orbis Juliano Augusto ex*

κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν, βαλλόμεθα. See the Tables A. D. 362 col. 3. Add Sozomen V. 18 οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τοὺς τῶν Χριστιανῶν παῖδας ξυνεχώρει ἐκδιδάσκεισθαι τοὺς παρ' Ἑλλησι ποιητὰς καὶ συγγραφείας, οὐδὲ τοῖς τούτων διδασκάλους φοιτᾶν. *Julian* himself apud Cyrillum VII p. 229 C —Ε τοῦ χάριν ὑμεῖς τῶν παρ' Ἑλλησι παρεσθίετε μαθημάτων, εἴπερ αὐτάρκης ὑμῖν ἐστὶν ἢ τῶν ὑμετέρων γραφῶν ἀνάγνωσις; He endeavours to justify his prohibition by argument in Ep. 42 p. 422. He adds however p. 424 A ὁ βουλόμενος τῶν νέων φοιτᾶν οὐκ ἀποκλείεται οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ εἰλογον ἀγνοῦντας ἔτι τοὺς παῖδας ἐφ' ὃ τι τρέπονται τῆς βελτίστης ἀποκλείειν ὁδοῦ, φόβος δὲ καὶ ἄκοντας ἄξειν ἐπὶ τὰ πάτρια.—καὶ γὰρ, οἶμαι, διδάσκειν ἀλλ' οὐχὶ κολάζειν χρὴ τοὺς ἀνόητους. The prohibition was what Ammianus has explained it to be. addressed to those who taught, and not to those who learned; to the professors, and not to the pupils. Orosius VII. 30 rightly *Aperto præcepit edicto ne quis Christianus docendorum liberalium studiorum professor esset*. And Augustine Confess. VIII. 5 *Lege data prohibiti sunt Christiani docere literaturam et oratoriam.*

<sup>hh</sup> Libanius in that oration tom. 2 p. 27 urges *Theodosius* to revenge the murder of *Julian* by seeking and punishing the assassin; and asserts that the late calamities of the empire were to be ascribed to the anger of the Gods, because the murderer was left unpunished.

<sup>i</sup> See the Tables A. D. 363. 3 p. 461.

<sup>k</sup> Greg. Naz. in *Julian*. II p. 155 attests that there were many reports: οὐχ εἰς λέγεται λόγος, ἄλλος δὲ ἄλλω συμφέρεται καὶ συντίθεται, τῶν τε παρόντων ὁμοίως τῇ μάχῃ καὶ τῶν ἀπόντων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ Περσῶν αὐτὸν κατηκοντίσθαι φασὶν κ. τ. λ.

<sup>l</sup> See the Tables.

<sup>m</sup> Given in the Tables A. D. 362 p. 450.

<sup>n</sup> *Orfitus* was *Præf. U.* for the first time from Dec. 8 A. D. 353: See the Tables 353. 1. 354. 1. He was *præf. U.* the second time in A. D. 357: Ammianus 17. 4, 1 quoted in the Tables at 357. 2. He is still *præf. U. II* at March 25 A. D. 359: See Cod. Theod. quoted in the Tables 359. 3. Within 357—359 this inscription was erected to the *Cæsar Julian*.



*Oceano Britannico viis per barbaras gentes strage resistentium patefactis* ..... 7 Murat. p. 263. 5 in JULIANUS. castello Camponisco: *Restitutori omnium rerum et totius felicitatis domino nostro Fl. Juliano Pio Felici perpetuo semper Aug. bono reipublicæ nato.* 8 p. 263. 6 Juderæ: *D. N. Juliano victori ac triumphatori totiusque orbis Aug. bono reip. N.* 9 Mur. p. 263. 7 Regii Lepidi: *D. N. magno invicto Fl. Claudio Juliano victori ac triumphatori semper Aug. vic. .... rum bono reipublicæ nato.* 10 Mur. p. 263. 8 Parmæ: *Æterno principi D. N. Flavio Claudio Juliano ubiq. venerando semper Augusto ordo possessoresque Briaxillanorum pia devotione dedicarunt bono reipublicæ nato.* The same inscription is quoted at N° 2°.

A. D.

Works of Julian<sup>p</sup>.

355. Or. I ἐγκώμιον πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα Κωνσταντίου. After the appointment of *Julian* to be *Cæsar*: p. 44 D 45 B οὐκ ἀπόρησιν σοι—τοῖς φίλοις ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τιμὰς διανέμειν, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ καὶ βασιλείας ἔλοιο κοινωνόν κ. τ. λ.—δηλον ἐκ τοῦ λέγοντος ὅτι μὴ ψευδεῖς ἐπεισάγει λόγους. Composed in the winter of A. D. 35 $\frac{2}{3}$ , as it contains no incidents later than that date.
- 357 { II περὶ τῶν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος πράξεων.  
III ἐγκώμιον πρὸς τὴν βασίλισσαν Εὐσεβίαν. } Tables A. D. 357.
- IV εἰς τὸν βασιλέα Ἡλίον πρὸς Σαλούστιον. Addressed to *Sallust*: ὦ φίλε Σαλούστιε p. 157 B. Rome is called ἡ βασιλεύουσα πόλις p. 131 D. conf. p. 153 D. as in Or. I p. 5 B Ep. 35 p. 408 A p. 409 C. On *Julian's* boast p. 157 C that this piece was written in three nights—ἐν τρισὶ μάλιστα νυξί—see the Tables A. D. 362. 3 p. 451. The inscription at the beginning Ἰουλιανοῦ Καίσαρος would imply that it was composed before A. D. 360. But as it was written after *Julian* had openly professed Paganism: conf. p. 131 A. and therefore not sooner than Dec. A. D. 361, that title of the piece is inaccurate.
- 362 { VII πρὸς Ἡράκλειον κυνικόν.  
V εἰς τὴν μητέρα τῶν θεῶν.  
VI εἰς τοὺς ἀπαιδέτους κύνας. } Tables A. D. 362.
- 357 VIII παραμυθητικὸς ἐπὶ τῇ ἐξόδῳ Σαλουστίου. Tables A. D. 357.
- (361) Θεμιστίῳ φιλοσόφῳ<sup>9</sup>.
- 361 { Ἀθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ<sup>†</sup>.  
πρὸς Κορινθίους. } Tables A. D. 361.
- 362 { Καίσαρες.  
libri III κατὰ Χριστιανῶν. } Tables A. D. 362.

<sup>o</sup> For other inscriptions see the Tables 362. 2 p. 452.

<sup>p</sup> Suidas p. 1777 C Ἰουλιανὸς ὁ παραβάτης καὶ ἀποστάτης, Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς, Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως ἀνεψιός.—ἔγραψε κ. τ. λ.

Suidas enumerates

1 Καίσαρες.

2 περὶ τῶν τριῶν σχημάτων.

3 Κρόνια. Quoted by Suidas Ibid. Ἐμπεδότιμος p. 1221 A. Mentioned by *Julian* himself Or. IV p. 157 C.

4 Μισοπάγωνα ἢ Ἀντιοχικόν.

5 πόθεν τὰ κακά.

6 πρὸς τοὺς ἀπαιδέτους. Sc. Or. VI.

7 πρὸς τὸν κύνα Ἡράκλειτον, πῶς κυνιστέον. Sc. Or. VII.

8 ἐπιστολὰς παντοδαπὰς, καὶ ἄλλα.

<sup>9</sup> In reply to a letter of *Themistius*: p. 263 B C. who had named to him *Areius*, *Nicolaus*, *Thrasyllus*, *Musonius*: p. 265 C. *Julian* mentions his former letters to *Themistius*: p. 260 A. his love for Athens: Ibid. describes the difficulties of supreme power: p. 260—262. and prefers the influence of *Socrates* to that of *Alexander*: p. 264 C. He names p. 259 C *Carterius* and *Araxius*. Written at the beginning of his reign, as *Petavius* p. 95 justly remarks.

<sup>†</sup> *Libanius Juliano* tom. 1 p. 412. 20—413. 1 τὴν συγγραφὴν ἣν ὦν αὐτὸς ἐπραξας συνέθηκας, ὁ αὐτὸς γενόμενος καὶ στρατηγὸς καὶ συγγραφεύς. Referring probably to this piece.

JULIANUS. A. D. 363 *Fragmentum*<sup>s</sup>.  
 Μισοπάγων ἢ Ἀντιοχικός. Tables p. 455.  
*Epistolæ*<sup>t</sup>.

JOVIANUS. JOVIANUS.

The cause of his death is thus described: Eutropius X. 18 *Multi exanimatum opinantur nimia cruditate: inter cœnandum enim epulis indulserat; alii odore cubiculi, quod ex recenti tectorio calcis*

<sup>s</sup> Written after he had attempted to rebuild the Temple: See the Tables A. D. 363 p. 454. (Add to the testimonies there referred to Chrysostom. in Matt. 4 p. 47 A in Judæos 5 tom. I p. 646 A.) Addressed to some one person: p. 298 B C. He vindicates idolatry: p. 293. declaims against the Hebrew prophets: p. 295 C. against the Christians: p. 305 C D. Priests (that is, heathen priests) are to be honoured: p. 297. He thinks p. 292 C that a single pair could not have peopled the earth. The Gods are omniscient and invisible: p. 299 B. Most of the books of the Epicureans and Pyrrhonists were not then extant: p. 301 C *μήτε Ἐπικούρειος εἰσιέτω λόγος μήτε Πυρρώνειος. ἤδη μὲν γὰρ καλῶς ποιοῦντες οἱ θεοὶ καὶ ἀνθρώκασιν, ὥστε ἐπιλείπειν καὶ τὰ πλείστα τῶν βιβλίων.* He mentions p. 295 B *τὸν μέγαν Ἐμπεδοκίμων.* Also mentioned by *Julian*, not, as Petavius p. 103 supposes, in the *Cæsars*, but in the *Κρόνια*. from which Suidas *Ἐμπεδοκίμος* p. 1221 A preserves a fragment. Also given by Suidas *Ἰουλιανός* p. 1777 D. (*Julian* there quotes the Chalcidian *Iamblichus*: *μικρῶ πρότερον καὶ ὁ κλεινὸς ἡμῖν ἔδειξε καὶ ἱεροφάντων Ἰάμβλιχος* whom he also quotes in other passages given in the Tables A. D. 312. 3 p. 363.)

<sup>t</sup> Heyler has collected 83 epistles, of which 64 are contained in Spanheim's edition of the works of *Julian*. All these are given in the following list.

- N<sup>o</sup> 1 p. 372 ed. Spanheim. —  
 2 p. 373 D *Proeresio*.  
 3 p. 374 C *Libanio*. *Priscus* is mentioned.  
 4 p. 375 A *Ἀριστοξένου φιλοσόφου. Ἀριστομένει φιλ.* Petav. Spanh.  
 5 p. 375 D *Theodoræ τῆ αἰδεσιμωτάτης.*  
 6 A. D. 362 p. 376 A *Ecdicio pf. Ægypti*. Tables 362. 4 p. 451.  
 7 p. 376 C *Artabio*. He instructs him to spare the Christians.  
 8 p. 377 A *Georgio*.  
 9 A. D. 362 p. 377 D *Ecdicio pf. Ægypti*. Tables 362 p. 449. 451.  
 10 A. D. 362 p. 378 D *Alexandrinis*. Tables 362 p. 449. 451.  
 11 p. 380 D *Byzantiis*.  
 12 p. 381 A *Basilio*.  
 13 A. D. 361 p. 382 B *Juliano avunculo*. Tables 361 p. 447.  
 14 p. 382 D *Libanio*. Item N<sup>o</sup> 3. 27. 44. 76.  
 15 p. 383 A *Maximo philosopho*.  
 16 p. 383 C *Maximo philosopho*.

- 17 A. D. 356 p. 384 A *Oribasio*. Tables 356.  
 18 p. 386 B *Eugenio philosopho*.  
 19 p. 387 A *Hecebolo*.  
 20 p. 387 D *Eustochio*.  
 21 A. D. 362 p. 388 C *Callixenæ*. He appoints her priestess at Pessinus.  
 22 p. 389 B *Leontio*. He appoints him one of the *militēs domestici*: *ἐγκατελέξαμην σε τῷ τῶν οἰκείων συντάγματι.*  
 23 A. D. 362 p. 389 D *Hermogeni ex præf. Ægypti*. After the death of *Constantius*: *ἐκείνος ἦν οἷος ἦν—ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὖν. ἐπειδὴ μακαρίτης ἐγένετο, κούφη γῆ.* And before the trial of his minions: *ἐπειδὴ αὐτοῖς ἐπανάστανται πολλοὶ κατήγοροι, δικαστήριον ἀποκεκλήρωται.*  
 24 p. 390 B *Sarapioni τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ.*  
 25 A. D. 363 p. 396 D *Ἰουδαίων τῷ κοινῷ*. He is preparing for the Persian war and for the rebuilding of Jerusalem: p. 397 D 398 A.  
 26 A. D. 362 p. 398 C *Alexandrinis*. Tables 362 p. 451.  
 27 A. D. 363 p. 399 B *Libanio sophistæ*. Written from Hierapolis in A. D. 363 describing his march to Persia.  
 28 p. 402 C *Gregorio ἡγεμόνι.*  
 29 (A. D. 360) p. 402 D *Alypio (ἀδελφῷ Καισαρίου.)* Written by *Julian* now *βασιλεὺς*, and from Gaul. Between the spring A. D. 360 and the autumn A. D. 361.  
 30 p. 403 C *Alypio eidem*.  
 31 A. D. 362 p. 404 C *Aetio episcopo*. Tables 362 p. 449.  
 32 p. 404 D *Luciano sophistæ.*  
 33 p. 404 D *Dositheo*.  
 34 p. 405 B *Iamblichio*. Item 40. 41. 53. 60. 61.  
 35 p. 407 C *ἀνεπίγραφος ὑπὲρ Ἀργείων*. After praising the Argives, he proceeds to relate that they had been oppressed by the Corinthians now for the 7th year: p. 408 B. although they were entitled to the *ἀτέλεια*, on account of the Nemean games, which Delphi and Elis enjoyed on account of the Pythian and Olympic, and Corinth itself on account of the Isthmian. He addresses p. 410 A the person who is to judge the question, and names p. 410 B *Diogenes* and *Lamprias*, Argive citizens, who had come forward as advocates in this cause.  
 36 A. D. 362 p. 411 B *Porphyrio*. Tables 362. 4 p. 451. Conf. Suidam *ἐπιστολῆ* p. 1400 C.  
 37 p. 412 A *Amerio*.  
 38 A. D. 361 p. 414 A *Maximo philosopho*. Written soon after the death of *Constantius*.



*grave quiescentibus erat: quidam nimietate prunarum quas gravi frigore adoleri multas jusserat.* JOVIANUS. Ammianus 25. 10, 12. 13 *Super cujus obitu dubietates emersere complures. Fertur enim recenti calce cubiculi illiti ferre odorem noxium nequivisse, vel extuberato capite perisse succensione prunarum immensa, aut certe ex colluvione ciborum avida cruditate distentus.* Orosius VII. 31 *Dum ad Illyricum rediens per Galatiam iter agit, cum in cubiculum quoddam novum sese cubitum recepisset, calore prunarum et nidore parietum nuper calce illitorum adgravatus et suffocatus.* Sozomen H. E. VI. 6 ὁ δὲ

39 p. 416 A *Maximo philosopho.* He sends him home on account of ill health.

40 A. D. 363 p. 416 C *Iamblichio.* Tables 363. 3 p. 457.

41 p. 420 B *Iamblichio.* "You shall receive the orations which I lately composed (*ἔναγχος*), by the emperor's command, upon the celebrated bridge over the Hellespont." See Heyler p. 367.

42 p. 422 A Christian professors are forbidden to lecture upon Heathen authors. See above p. 105.

43 p. 424 C an edict confiscating the property of the church at Edessa.

44 p. 425 B *Libanio.*

45 A. D. 362 p. 426 A *Zenoni medico* (see the Tables 355. 3 p. 431). He restores *Zeno* from exile to Alexandria after the death of *Georgius*.

46 p. 426 D *Evagrio.* He gives him a farm in Bithynia.

47 p. 428 C *Thracibus.* He grants them a remission of taxes.

48 p. 429 B *Zenoni.* To whom he addressed Ep. 45.

49 p. 429 C *Arsacio pontifici Galatiæ.* Conf. Sozom. V. 16. *Julian* p. 430 D fragm. p. 305 B C testifies to the charity of the Christians towards the poor.

50 p. 432 B *Ecdicio præf. Ægypti.* De Nilo. Written about Oct. A. D. 362.

51 A. D. 362 p. 432 D *Alexandrinis.* Tables 362. 4 p. 453.

52 A. D. 362 p. 435 D *Bostrenis.* Tables 362. 4 p. 449.

53 p. 438 D *Iamblichio.* *Julian* is wintering in Thrace: ἡμᾶς μὲν ἐν Θράκη διάγειν μέση καὶ τοῖς ἐπαύθασιροῖς ἐγγειμάζειν.

54 p. 440 B *Georgio καθολικῷ.* See N<sup>o</sup> 8.

55 p. 441 A *Eumenio et Phariano.* In praise of philosophy. Written from Gaul: p. 441 C ἐκβεβαρβαρωμένοι. The third month of the fourth year since he had been separated from them. Perhaps written at the end of A. D. 358.

56 p. 442 A *Ecdicio.* Conf. N. 6. 9. 50. Concerning Alexandria.

57 p. 442 D *Elpidio philosopho.* *Libanius* Ep. 33 p. 15 *Juliano* (quoted by Heyler) writing to *Julian* in Gaul after the overthrow of Nicomedia in 358 (Tables A. D. 358. 3) mentions *Elpidius*: καὶ γὰρ εἰ νεώτερος Ἑλπιδίου σὺ γέγονας, τῶν καλῶν τούτων Ἑλπιδίου διδάσκαλος τῷ πρέσβυτέρῳ, τῆς ἐπιεικείας, τῆς προθυμίας τοῦ ποιῆν εἰς τοὺς φίλους κ. τ. λ.

58 p. 443 B *Alexandrinis.* On an obelisk to be removed to CP. After the death of *Constantius*: ὁ μακαρίτης Κωνσταντῖος.

59 p. 443 C *Dionysio.* Given more fully and correctly by Heyler p. 111—121. An invective against *Dionysius*, whom he chastises with an epistle rather than by imperial authority: p. 120 Heyl. *Dionysius* is now γέρων p. 117. A line of *Babrius* is quoted p. 113. In p. 118 read from Curtius IV. 8, 7 ἐπειτα τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἐκτορα (τὸ Παρμενίωνος παιδίον) τὸν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ—The words τὸ Π. π. are not to be expunged, as Heyler p. 456 supposes, but to be transposed.

60 p. 446 C *Iamblichio.*

61 A. D. 363 p. 448 D *Iamblichio.* Tables 363. 3 p. 457.

62 p. 450 B a fragment. The beginning is wanting. A letter of reproof to some priest. *Julian* is now *pont. max.* p. 451 B. conf. Misop. p. 362 B *Libanium* tom. 1 p. 394.

63 p. 452 A *Theodoro ἀρχιερέι.* He appoints him high priest of Asia. Defective at the end. *Julian* attests the firmness of the Jews in adhering to their rites: p. 453 D.

64 May 12 A. D. 362 p. 398 B p. 133 Heyler Cod. Theod. Vol. 5 p. 29 *ad medicos.* Tables 362. 2 p. 450.

65 p. 134 Heyler. *ad populum.*

66 p. 134 πρὸς ζῳγράφον.

[67] p. 135 *Arsaci Armenio.*

68 p. 136 *Sosipatro.*

69 A. D. 363 p. 137 *Philippo.* He mentions τῷ μακαρίτῳ Κωνσταντίῳ, and the Spring of his own expedition (into Persia).

70 p. 139 *Eutherio.* Written from CP.

71 p. 139 πατριάρχῃ.

72 p. 140 *Diogeni.*

73 p. 141 *Prisco.*

[74] p. 142 *Libanio.*

75 p. 143 *Euclidi philosopho.*

76 p. 144 *Libanio.* On his oration ὑπὲρ Ἀριστοφάνους. See the Tables A. D. 363. 3 p. 453. Conf. *Libanii* Ep. 670 Ἰουλιανῷ βασιλεῖ.

(77) p. 145 *Basilio.* Conf. num. 12.

[78—82] p. 147.

83 p. 150 *Eustathio philosopho.* Conf. *Eustathium* in Hom. Il. κ p. 800. 9 apud Heyler p. 526.

Ep. 67. 74. 78—82, and perhaps 77, we may with Heyler reject as spurious. He has not (p. 495) shewn sufficient cause for rejecting Ep. 68—73. 75.

JOVIANUS. Ἰοβιανὸς ἀμφὶ ὀκτὼ μῆνας<sup>v</sup> ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ διαγενόμενος ἀπιὼν ἐπὶ τὴν ΚΠ. ἐξαπλῆς ἐν Δαδαστάνοις χωρὶς τῆς Βιθυνίας καθ' ὁδὸν ἐτελεύτησεν, ἢ ἀφειδέστερον, ὡς τινες λέγουσι, δειπνήσας, ἢ ὑπὸ τῆς ὀδμῆς τοῦ οἰκήματος ἐν ᾧ ἐκάθευδεν, ἀσβέστῳ προσφάτως ἐγχρισθέντος\* ἐπιγενέσθαι γὰρ ἰκμάδα καὶ νοτισθῆναι τοὺς τοίχους ἀμέτρως, πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων αὐτόθι καιομένων, ὡς ἐν ὄρα χραιμῶνος, διὰ τὴν ἀλεάν.

Ammianus 25. 10, 14—16 gives the character of *Jovian*.

An inscription is extant apud Muratorium p. 464. 4 Veronæ: *D. N. Fl. Joviano victori ac triumphatori semper Augusto B. R. P. N. XV.*

VALENTINIANUS.

A native of Cibala: Hieron. Anno 2380 *Valentinianus tribunus scutariorum e Pannonia Cibalensis apud Nicæam Augustus appellatus fratrem Valentem CP. in communionem regni assumit.* Socrates IV. 1 Παννόνιος μὲν ἦν τὸ γένος, πόλεως Κιβάλεως. Zosimus III. 36 ἐκ Κιβάλεως ὄρμητο, πόλις δὲ αὕτη Παιονική. Libanius tom. 1 p. 665. 4 ἐξεταξέσθω δὴ καὶ τοῖν ἀδελφοῖν, οἷς πόλις ἡ Κίβαλις.

His character is given by Hieronymus Anno 2381: *Valentinianus egregius alias imperator et Aureliano moribus similis, nisi quod severitatem ejus nimiam et parcitatem quidam crudelitatem et avaritiam interpretabantur.* Victor Epit. p. 394 *Fuit vultu decens, solers ingenio, animo gravis, sermone cultissimus. quanquam enim ad loquendum parcus, severus, vehemens, infestus tamen vitiiis, maximeque avaritiæ; cujus punitor ipse fuit acer, et in iis quæ memoraturus sum Hadriano proximus &c.* Zosimus III. 36 πολέμων μετασχὼν οὐκ ὀλίγων παιδεύσεως οὐδεμιᾶς μετεσχῆκει. Ammianus has the following passages: 27. 7, 4 *Quanquam Valentinianus, homo propalam ferus, inter imperitandi exordia, ut asperitatis opinionem molliret, impetus truces retinere nonnunquam in potestate animi nitentur, serpens tamen vitium et dilatum aliquamdiu licentius erupit ad perniciem plurimorum.* 27. 9, 4. 5 *hunc imperatorem omnium primum in majus militares fastus ad damna rerum auxisse communium, dignitates opesque eorum sublimius erigentem; et, quod erat publice privatimque dolendum, inflexa sævitia punientem gregiarum errata, parcentem potioribus.* 30. 5, 3 *eo more, quo erat severus in gregariis corrigendis, remissior erga majores fortunas vel verbis asperioribus incessendas.* § 19 *Innata feritate concitus, ut erat immanis, dexteram stratoris militis jussit abscidi &c.*<sup>w</sup> Sulpicius Severus de Martino II. 6<sup>x</sup> *ad animum illius immitem ac superbum uxor accesserat Ariana.* Socrates IV. 1 speaks favourably: *μεγαλόψυχος ὁ ἀνὴρ, καὶ αἰεὶ τῆς παρουσίας τύχης μελίων ἐφαίνετο.* The faith of the two brothers, the one orthodox the other an Arian, is distinguished by Socrates IV. 1 *ἄμφω μὲν ἦσαν Χριστιανοὶ διεφώνουν δὲ περὶ τὴν τοῦ Χριστιανισμοῦ πίστιν. Οὐαλεντινιανὸς μὲν γὰρ τὴν πίστιν τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνόδου ἔσεβεν, Οὐάλης δὲ τῷ Ἀρειανῷ δόγματι ἐκ προλήψεως μᾶλλον προσέκειτο. τὴν δὲ πρόληψιν ἐποιήσατο τὸ ὑπὸ Εὐδοξίου τοῦ προεστῶτος τῆς ἐν ΚΠ. Ἀρειανῆς θρησκείας βεβαπτίσθαι αὐτόν· καὶ ζῆλον μὲν εἶχον ἄμφω σπουδαῖον περὶ δ' ἕκαστος ἔσεβε.* And by Sozomen VI. 6 *ἄμφω Χριστιανῶ τὴν θρησκείαν ἐγενέσθην, διαφόρῳ δὲ τὴν δόξαν καὶ τὸν τρόπον· Οὐάλης μὲν γὰρ Εὐδοξίῳ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ μυσταγωγῶ χρησάμενος ἠνίκα ἐβαπτίσθη τὴν Ἀρείου πίστιν ἐξήλου, καὶ δεινὸν ἠγέϊτο μὴ βιάζεσθαι πάντας ὁμοδόξους αὐτῷ ποιεῖν· Οὐαλεντινιανὸς δὲ τὰ αὐτὰ φρονῶν τοῖς ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνελθούσι τούτους μὲν ὠφέλει τοῖς δὲ ἐτέρως δοξάζουσιν οὐδὲν ἠνώχλειγ.*

<sup>v</sup> See the Tables A. D. 364 p. 460.

<sup>w</sup> Ammianus 29. 3, 2—9 gives examples of his cruelty. He admits however the useful qualities of *Valentinian*: 29. 4, 1 *Et hæc quidem morum ejus et propositi cruenti sunt documenta verissima. Solertiæ vero circa rempublicam usquam digredientis neque eum vel obtrectator pernicax incusabit.* And in his character of *Valentinian* 30. 8, 1—9, 6.

<sup>x</sup> Quoted by Valesius ad Ammianum 27. 7, 3.

<sup>y</sup> Socrates IV. 1 also attests the forbearance of *Valentinian*: *τοὺς μὲν οἰκείους συνεκρότει τοῖς δὲ ἀρειανίζουσιν οὐδαμῶς ἦν ὀχληρός.* And Ammianus 30. 9, 5 *Inter religionum diversitates medius stetit, nec ququam inquietavit neque ut hoc coleretur imperavit aut illud.* Both the brothers had refused to sacrifice in the reign of *Julian*: Socrates Ibid. For which *Va-*



His father *Gratian* is mentioned by Ammianus 30. 7, 2 *Natus apud Cibalas Pannoniæ oppidum Gratianus major ignobili stirpe cognominatus est a pueritia prima Funarius &c.*—*Ob ergo validi corporis robor et peritiam militum more luctandi notior multis post dignitatem protectoris atque tribuni comes præfuit rei castrensi per Africam, unde furtorum suspicione contactus digressusque multo postea pari potestate Britannum rexit exercitum.* *Valentinian* was born in A. D. 321<sup>a</sup>; his brother *Valens*, whom he raised to the empire, was about 8 years younger<sup>b</sup>. His son *Gratian*, whom he associated in 367<sup>c</sup>, was born in A. D. 359<sup>d</sup> before the elevation of his father. *Valentinian* married *Justina* the widow of *Magnentius*: Zosimus IV. 19 τῆς πρότερον Μαγνετίῳ συνοικήσασης. c. 43 Ἰουστίνα Μαγνετίῳ μὲν, ὡς εἴρηται μοι, πρότερον συνοικήσασα, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου καθαίρεσιν Οὐαλεντινιανῶ τῶ βασιλεῖ διὰ κάλλους ὑπερβολὴν συναφθεῖσα. his former wife the mother of *Gratian* being still alive<sup>e</sup>.

VALEN-  
TINIANUS.

At the division of the provinces between the two emperors<sup>f</sup> in 364<sup>g</sup> the great officers of the Empire, named by Ammianus 26. 5, were thus distributed:

To *Valentinian*

*Jovinus. per Gallias magister armorum.* promoted by *Julian*. Consul in 367.

*Equitius. Illyriciano præponitur exercitui, nondum magister, sed comes.* He is consul in 374: see the Tables. and still in Illyricum: Ammian. 29. 6, 3. After the death of *Jovian*,—*obscuris paucorum susurris nomen præstringitur Equitii, scholæ primæ scutariorum etiam tum tribuni*: Ammian. 26. 1, 4. See an inscription to *Equitius* in the Tables 370. 1.

*Dagalaiphus.* promoted by *Jovian*. *Comes domesticorum* under *Julian* in 361: Ammian. 21. 8, 1. Consul in 366.

*Mamertinus.* præfect of Italy Africa and Illyricum. He had been *Comes Largitionum* under *Julian*:

*Valentinian* lost his command according to Orosius VII. 32, and was banished according to Sozomen VI. 6, who affirms that he was in exile at Melitine in Armenia at the accession of *Jovian*. Ambrosius tom. 5 p. 113 B *qui militiam sub Juliano et tribunatus honores fidei amore contempsit.*

<sup>z</sup> Victor Epit. p. 394 has the same account, and adds, *eo merito adscitus in militiam usque ad præfecturæ prætorianæ potentiam conscendit.*

<sup>a</sup> For he died in his 55th year in A. D. 375: See the Tables 375 p. 484.

<sup>b</sup> *Valens* was near 50 at his death in August A. D. 378: Tables 378 p. 492. which places his birth at about A. D. 329.

<sup>c</sup> Tables A. D. 367.

<sup>d</sup> Tables A. D. 359 p. 442.

<sup>e</sup> Valesius ad Ammianum 30. 10, 4 comparing the account of Zosimus with reason rejects as fabulous the tale of Socrates IV. 31 that *Valentinian* had two wives at the same time. He has another sufficient argument against that account in his note upon Socrates p. 58. The first wife however of *Valentinian* was still living at the time of the second marriage; for *Gratian* after the death of his father acted in the matter of *Doryphorianus matris consilio*: Ammianus 28. 1, 57 *Doryphorianum capitis reum trusumque carcere Tulliano matris consilio princeps (Gratianus) exinde rapuit, &c.* But this is explained by Chron. Pasch. p. 302 C 303 C which records that *Valentinian*

put away his first wife (called *Marina* in Chron. Pasch. but *Severa* in Socrates): ἐξόρισεν αὐτὴν τῆς πόλεως. and that *Gratian* after his father's death recalled her: Γρατιανὸς Ἀύγουστος ἀνεκαλέσατο τὴν οἰκίαν μητέρα Μαρίναν τὴν δέσπουαν. *Justina* must have been very young at the death of her first husband, since *Valentinian II* the son of her second marriage was born in A. D. 371 (see the Tables 375 p. 486) 18 years after the death of *Magnentius*. She was already married to *Valentinian* in 369; for in that year Ammianus 28. 2, 10 mentions her brothers as kinsmen of *Valentinian*: *Constantianus tribunus stabuli impetu est clandestino exceptus moxque interfectus, Valentiniani adfinis, Cerealis et Justinæ germanus.* *Cerealis* assisted at the elevation of *Valentinian II* in 375: *Cerealis avunculus ejus &c.* Ammian. 30. 10, 5.

<sup>f</sup> In A. D. 364 both the emperors after their elevation were seized with fever: Ammian. 26. 4, 4 *Quibus perfectis* [the elevation of *Valens*] *constricti rapidis febribus imperatores ambo diu, spe vivendi firmata—suspectas morborum causas investigandas acerrime Ursacio officiorum magistro Delmatæ crudo, et Juventio Sisciano quæstori tunc commiserunt; ut loquebatur pertinax rumor, invidiam cientes Juliani memoriæ principis &c.*—*Sed hoc evanuit facile, ne verbo quidem tenuis insidiarum indicio ullo reperto.* Zosimus IV. 1 represents *Valentinian* alone as sick, and at Nicæa, before the appointment of *Valens*.

<sup>g</sup> Tables 364 p. 462.

VALENTI-  
NIANUS.

Ammian. 21. 8, 1. and consul: Tables A. D. 362. where his other offices under *Julian* are mentioned.

*Germanianus. praefectus Galliarum.* Appointed by *Julian* in 361 to the post of *Nebrius*: Ammian. 21. 8, 1. (De *Nebrius* Ammianus 21. 5, 11.)

To *Valens*

*Secundus Sallustius. praef. Orientis.* He held this office under *Julian*: Ammianus 25. 3, 14. and was offered the empire on the death of *Julian*: Ammian. 25. 5, 3 *Itum est voluntate omnium in Sallustium: eoque causante morbos et senectutem* &c. A different person from *Sallustius* who was *praef. Galliarum* in 361: Ammian. 21. 8, 1. and consul in 363: Tables A. D. 363. The praefect of the East is called *Secundus Sallustius* by Ammianus 22. 3, 1. and is employed by *Julian* at Chalcedon in December A. D. 361: Ammianus *Ibid.*<sup>h</sup>

*Victor.* A general under *Julian*: Ammian. 24. 1, 2 Zosim. III. 11, 6. 13, 6. 21, 7. Promoted by *Jovian*. Consul in 369. A native of CP.: Themist. Or. IX p. 128 D ἐγκαλλωπίσασθαι τῇ πατρίδι.

*Arinthæus.* One of the generals of *Julian* in the Persian war: Ammian. 24. 1, 2. Consul in 372.

*Lupicinus.* Served under the *Cæsar Julian* in Gaul in 359: Ammian. 18. 2, 7. Sent into Britain in 360: *Idem* 20. 1, 2. Consul in 367. *Lupicinus* is mentioned by *Libanius de vita sua tom. I p. 108. Conf. Valesium ad Ammian. 26. 8, 4.*

*Serenianus. Sociatus Valenti domesticorum praefecit Schola.* His death and character are in Ammianus 26. 10, 1. 2.<sup>i</sup>

<sup>h</sup> The two *Sallustii* are distinguished by Ammianus 23. 5, 4—6 *Julianus dum moratur apud Cercusium* [in April A. D. 363: Tables 363 p. 456]—*litteras tristes Sallustii Galliarum praefecti suscepit orantis suspendi expeditionem in Parthos—Posthabito tamen susore cautissimo, fidentius ultra tendebat.—Hic quoque omen illetabile visum est, adparitoris cujusdam cadaver extentum, carnificis manu deleti, quem praefectus Sallustius praesens—damnarat.* And by *Suidas* p. 3246 D ὅτι Σαλούστιος, ὁ τῆς αὐλῆς ἑπαρχος ἐπὶ Ἰουλιανοῦ, ἀνὴρ ἦν διαφερόντως περιττὸς εἰς φιλανθρωπίαν. ὦγε τοσοῦτον ἡμερότητος καὶ πρῶτητος ἠπῆρχεν εἰς ἅπαντας ὥστε καὶ τὸν Μάρκελλον ἐκείνον τὸν, ἦρκα ἦν Καίσαρ, ἰβριστικῶς αὐτῷ χρησάμενον, κ. τ. λ. from *Eunapius*: *conf. Vales. ad Ammian. 22. 11, 2.* who corrects the error of *Suidas*: *Idem* p. 3247 B Σαλούστιος ἑπαρχος πραιτοριῶν, ὃς προεβάλετο βασιλέα Βαλεντινιανόν. The first *Sallustius*, the praefect of Gaul, is referred to by *Libanius* by the name of *Phenix*. See the Tables A. D. 357. 3 p. 439. Improperly understood by *Valesius* ad Ammian. 25. 5, 3 of the praefect of the East. *Valesius* l. c. rightly however refers to the praefect of the East *Greg. Naz. in Julianum I p. 125 B φασί τοι διὰ ταῦτα καὶ τὸν τρηκαῦτα ἕπαρχον (γενέσθαι γὰρ ἄνδρα Ἑλληνα μὲν τὴν θρησκείαν, τὸν τρόπον δὲ ὑπὲρ Ἑλλήνων καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν πάλαι καὶ νῦν ἐπαινουμένον), ἐκείνο πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα μετὰ παρρησίας εἰπέω κ. τ. λ.* Explained by *Socrates III. 19* (Σαλούστιος τῷ ἐπαρχῷ) and *Sozomen V. 20* (Σαλούστιος ὁ τὴν ἕπαρχον ἐξουσίαν ἐπιτετραμμένος) to be *Sallustius*. They speak of *Julian* at Antioch in A. D. 363. The two *Sallustii* are confounded by *Wolf ad Libanii Ep. 1148 p. 550.* and by *Valesius* himself ad Ammianum 26. 7, 4. whom *Reitemeier* follows ad *Zosimum p. 580.*

The praefect of the East was removed in 365: Ammian. 26. 7, 4 *Nebrius in locum Sallustii praef. praet. factione Petronii recens promotus.* *Conf. Zosim. IV. 6, 2.* And appointed by *Valens* a second time: *Zosimus IV. 10, 6 ἕπαρχον τῆς αὐλῆς Αὐξόνιον ἀπεδείκνον, Σαλούστιον ταύτης διὰ τὸ γῆρας ἀφείδ, ἦδη δεύτερον ταύτην μεταχειρισάμενον τὴν ἀρχήν.* *Conf. Eunapium V. S. p. 61=109. ubi Σαλουτίου et Ἐξόνιον.* He was dismissed from his second praefecture in A. D. 367. An inscription apud *Gruter. p. 465. 8* is assigned to *Sallustius* praefect of the East by *Pagi Vol. I p. 503 Tillemont tom. 4 p. 697* and by *Wernsdorf Himerio p. 12. Saturnio Secundo V. C. praesidi provinciae Aquitanicae magistro memoriae comiti ordinis primi proconsuli Africae, item comiti ordinis primi intra consularium et quaestori, praef. praetorio iterum, ob egregia ejus in rempublicam merita DD. NN. Valentinianus et Valens victores ac triumphatores semper Augusti statuum sub auro constitui locarique jusserunt. Secundus praef. praet.* appears in *Cod. Theod. within the years 362—365.* He assisted at the election of *Valentinian*: *Philostorg. VIII. 8 p. 513 C συνεφαγαμένοι τῇ πράξει Σεκούνδου τε τοῦ ἐπαρχου καὶ Ἀρυνθαίου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ Δαγαλαίφου τῶν δομestikῶν οὗτος ἤγειτο.* The same person as the *Secundus* of *Gruter*. But if *Saturnius Secundus* was no other than *Sallust*, it is remarkable that the name *Sallustius* should not appear in that inscription.

<sup>i</sup> *Zosimus IV. 2, 5 οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι πάντες ὅσοι παρὰ Ἰουλιανοῦ διοικήσεις ἐθνῶν ἢ ἄλλας ἀρχὰς ἔτυχον ἐπιτετραμμένοι παρελύοντο τούτων ἐν οἷς καὶ Σαλούστιος ὁ τῆς αὐλῆς ἕπαρχος ἦν μόνου δὲ Ἀρυνθαίου καὶ Βικτωρος αἷς εἶχον πρότερον στρατιωτικαῖς ἀρχαῖς ἐπιμεινάντων ἡγεμονίας, παρήσαν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς, ὡς ἔτυχον, οἱ τούτων ἐπι-*



Inscriptions. 1 Gruter p. 285. 6 Romæ: *Victoriis triumphisque magnifico D. N. Valentiniano in-* VALENTI-  
*clyto principi semper Aug. Rufius Volusianus V. C. præf. Urb. iterum iudex sacrarum cognitionum* NIANUS.  
*clementie ejus dedicatus.* 2 Gruter p. 285. 7 Romæ: *Piissimo felicissimoq. principi Valentiniano*  
*invictissimo semper Aug.* 3 Murat. p. 264. 2 Asculi: *Propagatori Romani imperii D. N. Fl. Va-*  
*lentiniano Aug. semper victori ordo devotus M. ... Mes. P. C. Auc. .... D. D.* 4 Murat. p. 78. 4  
 Puteolis in basi: *Felicitati perpetuæ temporis D. Valentiniani victoris ac triumfatoris semper Aug.*  
*Avinius Valentinus V. C. cons. Camp. devotus numinis majes. que ejus.* 5 Gruter p. 1086. 9 *Legum*  
*domino Romanarum justitiæ æquitatisque rectori, domitori gentium barbararum conservatori libertatis*  
*D. N. Fl. Valentiniano fortissimo invictissimoque principi semper Augusto Fl. Maximus V. P. præf.*  
*Vig.<sup>k</sup> D. N. M. Q. ejus.* 6 Corsini præf. Urb. p. 229 ex Gudii marmore: *DD. NN. Valentinianus*  
*et Valens Augusti ornatui publico constitui locarique jusserunt, administrante Rufio Volusiano V. C.*  
*expræf. præf. Urb. jud. iterum scm. cog.* 7 Gruter p. 285. 10 *DD. NN. Fl. Valentiniano*  
*et Fl. Valenti divinis fratribus semper Augg.* 8 Muratori p. 264. 7 Augustæ Taurinorum: *Valen-*  
*tiniano et Fl. Valenti felicissimis Augg.* 9 Gruter p. 1086. 8 Muratori p. 264. 4 circa Brixiam in  
 columna: *DD. NN. Flavio Valentiniano et Flavio Valenti divinis fratribus semper Augustis devota*  
*Venetia conlocavit DDD. NNN. Valentiniano Valenti et Gratiano perpetuis piis felicibus semper Au-*  
*gustis.* 10 Muratori p. 265. 1 In Lavarete urbis Aquilanæ: *L. XXXIII. DDD. NNN. Flaviis*  
*Valentiniano Valenti et Gratiano piis felicibus ac triumphatoribus semper Auggg. bono R. P. natis.*  
 11 Murat. p. 265. 2 Reate: *DDD. NNN. FFF. LLL. Valentiniano Valenti et Gratiano piis feli-*  
*cibus ac triumphatoribus semper Auggg. bono R. natis. votis X multis XX.* 12 Murat. p. 264. 8  
 Romæ in foro Palatino: *Forum populo Romano domini et principes nostri Valentinianus et Valens*  
*et ..... curante Flavio Euprazio V. C.*

Laws of A. D. 364, bearing *divo Joviano et Varroniano coss.*<sup>1</sup>

Cod. Theod. Vol. 4 p. 102 *Impp. Valentinianus et Valens AA. ad Volusianum p. U. Dat. VI Id. April.* Vol. 5 p. 238 *Jovio p. U. Dat. VI Kal. [lege VI Id.] April.* Vol. 2 p. 636 *ad Jovinum p. U. Dat. III Id. April. CP.* Vol. 5 p. 8 *Secundo pf. p. Dat. XV Kal. Maii CP.* Vol. 2 p. 307 *ad Symmachum p. U. Dat. X Kal. Maii Antiochiæ<sup>m</sup>.* Vol. 3 p. 415 *ad Mamertinum p. p. Dat. X Kal. Maii Sirmio.* Vol. 4 p. 148 *ad Mamertinum pf. p. Dat. VI Kal. Maii.* Vol. 2 p. 276 l. 5 de re militari. *Dat. III Kal. Maii Hadrianopoli.*

Vol. 4 p. 403 *ad Mamertinum pf. p. Dat. Non. Maii.* Vol. 2 p. 488 Vol. 4 p. 404 *ad Mamerti-*  
*num p. p. Dat. III Id. Maii Hadrianopoli.* Vol. 4 p. 73 *ad Dracontium vic. Afric. Dat. III Id. Maii Hadrianop. Acc. VIII Kal. Oct. Karth.* Vol. 5 p. 67 *ad Ampelium proc. Afric. Dat. III Id. Mart. [lege Maii cum Gothofredo] Hadrianop.* Vol. 2 p. 531 *ad Mamertinum pf. p. Dat. III Id. Maii.* Vol. 2 p. 532 *ad Symmachum p. U. Dat. IX Kal. Jul. [Jun. Gothofr.] Philippopolim.* Vol. 5 p. 287 Cod. Just. VIII. 12, 5 *ad Symmachum pf. U. Dat. VIII Kal. Jun. Philippis.* V. 13, 14 p. 302 Wenck. Cod. Just. XI. 58. 3 *ad Mamertinum pf. p. Dat. VII Kal. Jun.* Cod. Theod. Vol. 2 p. 310 *ad Victorem mag. mil. Dat. VI Kal. Jan. [Jun. Gothofredus] Bonamansione<sup>n</sup>.* Vol. 5 p. 146 *ad Symmachum p. U. Dat. Kal. Jan. [dat. \* Kal. Jun. Gothofr.] Bonamansione pp. in foro Trajani.* Vol. 4 p. 587 *ad Mamertinum pf. p. Dat. III Kal. Jun. Serdicæ.*

θυμῶντες τυχῆν. Tillemont tom. 5 p. 21 observes that this account is not accurate. In the preceding list given by Ammianus are many who had held command under Julian.

<sup>k</sup> The same Maximus is in an inscription of Gratian: Gruter p. 1086. 10 Romæ: ..... *libertatis D. N. Fl. Gratiano fortissimo invictissimoque principi*

*semper Augusto Flavius Maximus V. P. præf. Vig. D. N. M. Q. ejus.*

<sup>1</sup> See the Tables 364 col. 1.

<sup>m</sup> Gothofredus p. LXVIII understands an island Antiochia near Constantinople.

<sup>n</sup> "A station between Philippopolis and Serdica;" Gothofred.

VALENTI-  
NIANUS.

Vol. 5 p. 153 *ad Symmachum p.U. Dat. IV Non. Jun. Naisso.* Vol. 5 p. 154 *ad Symmachum pf. Urb. Dat. VIII Id. Jun. Naisso.* I. 6, 2 p. 34 Wenck. *ad Symmachum pf.U. Dat. VI Id. Jun. Mediolani*<sup>o</sup>. Gothofred. Vol. 5 p. 186 Vol. 5 p. 261 Vol. 5 p. 288 *ad Symmachum p.U. Dat. VI Id. Jun. Naisso.* Vol. 5 p. 154 *ad Symmachum p.U. Dat. VI Id. Jan. [Jun. Gothofred.] Naisso.* Vol. 5 p. 155 *ad Symmachum p.U. Dat. VI Id. Jan. [Jun. Gothofr.] Naisso.* Vol. 5 p. 226 *ad Symmachum p.U. Dat. VI Id. Jul. [Jun. Gothofr.] Naisso.* Vol. 3 p. 297 *ad Symmachum p.U. Dat. V Id. Jun. Naisso.* Vol. 3 p. 298 *Anthemio. Dat. III Id. Jun. Naisso.* Vol. 5 p. 32 *ad Mamertinum pf.p. Dat. III Id. Jan. [Jun. Gothofr.]* Vol. 4 p. 16 *ad Symmachum p.U. Dat. Id. Jun. Naisso.* Vol. 5 p. 289 *Tauromedi duci Daciae ripensis. Dat. XIII Kal. Jul. Med.*

Vol. 1 p. 132 *Ampeliæ. Dat. III Non. Jul. Sirmio.* V. 13, 15 p. 303 Wenck. *ad Mamertinum pf.p. Dat. IV Kal. Aug. Sirmio.*

Cod. Just. X. 26, 2 *Anthemio præsidi. Dat. VII Kal. Sept. Arelati.* Cod. Theod. Vol. 4 p. 603 *ad Mamertinum pf.p. Dat. V Kal. Sept. Emonæ.* Vol. 2 p. 133 l. 2 de domesticis. *ad Severum comitem domesticorum. Dat. IV Kal. Sept.* Vol. 2 p. 133 l. 3 de domesticis. *ad Severum comitem domesticorum. Dat. XIII [lege IIII] Kal. Sept. Med. [dele Med.]p.*

Vol. 4 p. 587 *ad Mamertinum pf.p. Dat. VII Id. Sept. Aquil.* Vol. 5 p. 10 *ad Florentium com. S. L. Dat. VI Id. Sept.* Vol. 3 p. 126 *ad Secundum p.p. Dat. V Id. Sept.* Vol. 4 p. 405 Vol. 6 p. 45 *ad Byzacenos. Dat. IV Id. Sept. Aquil.* V. 13, 16 p. 304 Wenck. *ad provinciales Byzacenos. Dat. prid. Id. Sept. Aquileia.* Gothofred. Vol. 3 p. 437 Vol. 4 p. 406 *ad Byzacenos. Dat. prid. Id. Sept. Aquil.* Vol. 2 p. 533 *ad Florianum comitem R. P. Dat. prid. Id. Sept.* Vol. 4 p. 252 *ad Dracontium vic. Afric. Dat. prid. Id. Sept. Aquil. Acc. XVIII Kal. Dec. Tacapis.* Vol. 4 p. 144 *provincialibus Byzacenis. Dat. Id. Sept. Aquil.* Vol. 2 p. 240 *Have, Anthemi, karissime nobis. Dat. XIII Kal. Oct. Aquileia.* Vol. 2 p. 479 *ad Artemium correctorem. Dat. XIII Kal. Oct. Aquil. Acc. XV Kal. Nov. Salerni.* Vol. 2 p. 533 *ad Artemium. Dat. III Kal. Oct. Aquileiæ.* Vol. 3 p. 224 *ad Mamertinum p.p. Dat. prid. Kal. Oct. Altino.*

I. 16, 9 p. 81 Wenck. Gothofred. Vol. 1 p. 43 *Have Anthemi carissime nobis. Dat. Kal. Oct. Aquileiæ.* Vol. 3 p. 226 Vol. 5 p. 419 *ad Buleforum cons. Campaniæ. Dat. III Non. Oct. Altino.* Vol. 4 p. 304 Vol. 5 p. 260 *ad Symmachum p.U. Dat. VIII Id. Oct. Altino. acc. XVI Kal. Nov.* Vol. 5 p. 155 *ad Viventium p.U. Dat. VIII Id. Oct. Altino.* Vol. 3 p. 298 *Artemio. Dat. VIII Id. Oct. Altino.* Vol. 4 p. 281 *ad Mamertinum pf.p. Dat. Id. Oct. Veronæ.* V. 13, 17 p. 304 Wenck. *ad Mamertinum pf.p. Dat. et pp. Romæ<sup>q</sup> VI Kal. Nov.* Gothofred. Vol. 4 p. 407 *ad Terentium corr. Tusc. Dat. V Kal. Nov.*

Vol. 3 p. 384 *ad Cæsarium com. R. P. Dat. pridie Non. Feb. Med.* Vol. 4 p. 252 Vol. 4 p. 303 *Salutem dicunt ordini civitatis Karthaginis. Dat. prid. Non. Febr. Med.* In all these Gothofred. reads *prid. Non. Nov.* conf. Vol. 3 p. 386. Vol. 2 p. 430 *ad universos provinciales. Dat. XV Kal. Dec. Romæ.<sup>r</sup>* Vol. 3 p. 332 *ad Symmachum p.U. Dat. VII Kal. Dec. Mediol.*

Vol. 1 p. 147 II. 12, 2 p. 118 Wenck. *Sallustio p.p. pp. VI Id. Dec.* Gothofred. Vol. 4 p. 408 *ad Symmachum p.U. Dat. IV Id. Dec. Mediol.* Vol. 2 p. 308 *ad Mamertinum p.p. Dat. Idibus Decembr. Triv.<sup>s</sup>* Vol. 2 p. 603 *ad Eugrammimum. Dat. XVII Kal. Jan. CP.* V. 14, 3 p. 326

<sup>o</sup> Read *Med.* as below *XIII Kal. Jul. Med.* that is, *Mediana*, mentioned by Ammianus quoted in the Tables A. D. 364 p. 462. *Valentinian* is at Naissus June 8 and 19.

<sup>p</sup> At this date, Aug. 19 or 29, *Valentinian* had left *Mediana*, and had not yet arrived at *Mediolanum*. Perhaps for *Med.* we may read *Emon.* from whence he dates Aug. 28. *Med.* is probably derived by the transcriber from *Med.* which occurs in l. 4 de do-

mesticis p. 135.

<sup>q</sup> See below, note <sup>r</sup>.

<sup>r</sup> Perhaps *pp. XV Kal. Dec. Romæ.* as in Wenck. p. 305 at Oct. 27 *Dat. et pp. Romæ.* where we may read *Dat. Med. pp. Romæ.*

<sup>s</sup> Gothofr. Vol. 1 p. lxxi observes "Vitium in die." The fault is in the place; as Gothofr. himself admits Vol. 2 p. 308, and proposes *Trid. sc. Tridenti.*



Wenck. *ad Mamertinum pf. p. Dat. X Kal. Januar. Mediolani divo Jovi* ..... Gothofred. Vol. 4 VALENTINIANUS. p. 589 *Victori duci Ægypti. Dat. V Kal. Januar.* Vol. 1 p. 79 II. 1, 4 Cod. Ambros. apud Wenck p. 90 *ad Terentium correctorem Tusciæ. Dat. Kal. Januar. Mediolani divo Joviano &c. Lege Dat. \* Kal. Januar.* Sc. Dec. A. D. 364<sup>†</sup>.

In the following the date requires correction: Vol. 2 p. 530 l. 17 *de cursu publico. Imp. Valentinianus et Valens AA. ad Menandrum. Dat. prid. Idib. Mart. Med. divo Joviano et Varroniano coss.* As Valens was not yet emperor, and Valentinian was at Nicomedia, on the 14th of March, we may read *Imp. Valentinianus A.—Dat. prid. Id. Mart. Nicomed.*<sup>v</sup> Vol. 2 p. 247 Cod. Just. XII. 32, 1 *ad Mamertinum pf. p. Dat. prid. Kal. Novemb. Philippopoli.* Valentinian is now in Italy. Wherefore Gothofred substitutes *prid. Kal. Jun.* Vol. 5 p. 239 *ad Mamertinum pf. p. Dat. V Id. Decemb. Naissi.* Here for the same reason Gothofred. suggests *V Id. Jun.* at which date Valentinian is at Naissus. I. 6, 3 p. 34 Wenck. *Severo vicario urbis. Dat. VI Kal. Jul. Constantinopoli.* Valens did not reach CP. again till towards the end of the year. See the Tables 364 p. 462. We may therefore read *VI Kal. Jan.* sc. Dec. 27 A. D. 364.

Laws of A. D. 365, *Valentiniano et Valente AA. coss.* Cod. Theod. Vol. 5 p. 292 *ad Mamertinum pf. p. Dat. Kal. Januar. Med.* Vol. 5 p. 68 Vol. 5 p. 93<sup>w</sup> *ad Symmachum p. U. Dat. III Id. Jan. Med.* Vol. 2 p. 603 *provincialibus salutem dicunt. Dat. III Id. Jan. Med.* Vol. 5 p. 157 Vol. 3 p. 299 *ad Symmachum p. U. Dat. XVIII Kal. Feb. Mediol.* V. 15, 1 p. 334 Wenck. .... *Dat. XVII Kal. Febr. . . diolani Valentiniano et Valente AA. coss.* Gothofr. Vol. 3 p. 28 *Valentino consular. Piceni. Dat. XI Kal. Feb. Med.* I. 15, 5 p. 66 Wenck. *ad Dracontium vicarium Africæ. Dat. VIII Kal. Feb. Mediolani.* V. 11, 1 p. 298 Gothofred. Vol. 1 p. 460 *ad Clearchum vic. Asiæ. Dat. VI Kal. Feb.* Vol. 2 p. 578 Cod. Just. XII. 53, 1 *Mamertino pf. p. Dat. III Kal. Feb. Mediol.* Vol. 4 p. 419 *ad Mamertinum pf. p. Dat. III Kal. Febr.*

Vol. 3 p. 437 *ad provinciales Afros. Dat. prid. Non. Feb. Med.* Vol. 1 p. 129 *Pompeio Favonio. Dat. VIII Id. Febr. alleg. Kal. Apr. in basilica thermarum Com. x ipsis AA. coss.* Vol. 5 p. 293 *ad Dracontium. Dat. XIV Kal. Mart. Med.* Vol. 4 p. 281 *ad Symmachum p. U. Dat. XIV Kal. Mart. Med.* Vol. 3 p. 243 Cod. Just. IX. 36, 1 *edictum. Dat. XIV Kal. Mart. CP.* Cod. Theod. Vol. 2 p. 466 *ad Clearchum. Dat. XIV Kal. Mart. CP.* Vol. 2 p. 534 *ad Volusianum p. U. Pro-lata litteris sub die XII Kal. Mart. Rom. accepta IV Kal. April. Venabri consulatu Valentiniani et Valentis AA.* Vol. 4 p. 98 *ad Florentium com. S. L. Dat. X Kal. Mart. Med. y*

Vol. 3 p. 386 *ad Symmachum p. U. Dat. VII Id. Mart. Med.* Vol. 2 p. 535 *Mamertino pf. p. Dat. VI Id. Mart. Mediol.* I. 6, 4 p. 34 Wenck. *ad Symmachum pf. U. Dat. VI Id. Mart.* Gothofred. Vol. 5 p. 293 *ad Mamertinum pf. p. Dat. Id. Mart. Senigalia.* Vol. 4 p. 123 *Secundo pf. p. Dat. XIV Kal. April. CP.* Vol. 1 p. 129 *Mamertino p. p. Dat. XII Kal. April. ipsis AA. coss.* Vol. 2 p. 537 *ad Buleforum consularem Campaniæ. Dat. IX Kal. April. Med.* Ibid. et Cod. Just. XII. 51, 5 *ad Symmachum correctorem Lucaniæ z. Dat. VIII Kal. April. Med.* Cod. Theod. Vol. 2 p. 404 *edicta duo per Italiam et Alpes. Dat. VII Kal. April. Mediolani.* Vol. 2 p. 490 *ad Dracontium vicarium Africæ. Dat. III Kal. April. Med.*

<sup>†</sup> In Gothofred. l. c. the various readings are *Kal. Julii. Id. Jun.* and *Kal. Decemb. Med.* proving an error in the date, which may be in part restored from Cod. Ambros.

<sup>v</sup> Gothofredus Vol. 1 p. LXVIII suggests either *Nicomed.* or *prid. Id. Maii.* But as Valentinian was at Hadrianople on May 14, the former correction is to be preferred.

<sup>w</sup> In p. 93 *Id. Jun.* read *Id. Jan.*

<sup>x</sup> Id est, *Allegata Kal. Apr. in basilica thermarum*

*Commodianarum.*

<sup>y</sup> Two laws ascribed to Feb. and March 365 may be transferred to 368: V. 13, 18 p. 305 Wenck. *ad Florianum comitem. Dat. IV Kal. Mart. Treviris. Valentiniano et Valente AA. coss.* Gothofred. Vol. 4 p. 17 *ad Mamertinum pf. p. Dat. prid. Non. Mar. Trev. Valentiniano et Valente AA. coss.* Read in both *Valentiniano et Valente II AA. coss.* sc. A. D. 368, when Valentinian was in Treviris.

<sup>z</sup> *Lucaniæ et Brittiorum* Cod. Just.

VALEN-  
TINIANUS.

I. 6, 5 p. 35 Wenck. Cod. Just. I. 28, 1 *ad Volusianum pf. U. Dat. II Non. April. Mediolani.* Cod. Theod. Vol. 5 p. 241 *ad Maximum pf. annonæ. pp. pridie Non. April.* p. 242 *ad Mamertinum pf. p. pp. prid. Non. April.* Vol. 2 p. 444 *ad Petronium patricium. pp. Beryti Idib. April.* Vol. 2 p. 335 *ad Mamertinum p. p. Dat. XIV Kal. Maii Mediolani.* Vol. 2 p. 538 *ad Mamertinum p. p. Dat. VI Kal. Maii.* Vol. 1 p. 130 *ad Valentinianum consularem Piceni. Alleg. IIII Kal. Maii Flavia Fenestri in secretario, ipsis AA. coss.*

Vol. 3 p. 228 *ad Valentinum cons. Piceni. Dat. XVII Kal. Jan.* [lege cum Gothofr. Jun.] *Med.* Vol. 4 p. 19 *ad Dracontium vic. Afric. Dat. XVI Kal. Jun. Med.* Vol. 4 p. 305 *ad Symmachum p. U. Dat. XIII Kal. Jan.* [Jun. Gothofr.] *Med.* Vol. 4 p. 74 *ad Florianum com. R. P. Dat. VIII Kal. Jun. Med.* Vol. 2 p. 468 *Jovio magistro equitum. Dat. VIII Kal. Jun. Med.* III. 14, 1 p. 180 Wenck. *ad Theodosium magistrum equitum<sup>a</sup>. Dat. V Kal. Jun.* Vol. 4 p. 415 *ad Terentium corr. Tusc. Dat. V Kal. Jun. Med.* Vol. 2 p. 538 *ad Fortunatum consularem Pannoniæ secundæ. Dat. V Kal. Jun. Med.* Vol. 2 p. 278 *Jovio magistro equitum et peditum. Dat. prid. Kal. Jun. Med.*

Vol. 5 p. 68 *ad Symmachum p. U. Dat. III Id. Jun. Med.* [p. 68 male Jan.] Vol. 4 p. 20 *ad Dracontium vic. Afric. Dat. XV Kal. Jul. Med.* Vol. 4 p. 538 *ad Mamertinum pf. p. Dat. XIV Kal. Jul.* Vol. 3 p. 507 *ad Germanum consularem. Dat. IV Kal. Jul. Med.* Vol. 2 p. 56 *ad Volusianum p. U. Med. ... IV Kal. Jul. CP.* [dele CP.] Vol. 4 p. 417 *ad Volusianum p. U. Dat. IV Kal. Jul. Mediol.*

Vol. 4 p. 539 *ad Secundum pf. p. Dat. IV Non. Jul. Cæsarea.* Vol. 4 p. 540 *ad Mamertinum pf. p. Dat. XV Kal. Aug.* Vol. 1 p. 372 *Felici cons. Campaniæ. Dat. XIII Kal. Aug. Mediolani ipsis AA. coss.* Vol. 3 p. 407 *ad Severum vic. Urb. Dat. XI Kal. Aug. Med.* Cod. Just. VII. 39, 2 *ad Volusianum pf. U. Dat. VIII Kal. Aug.* Cod. Theod. V. 3, 19 p. 306 Wenck. *ad Germanianum com. S. L. Dat. V Kal. Aug.* Gothofred. Vol. 4 p. 543 Cod. Just. X. 70, 2 *ad Secundum pf. p. Dat. III Kal. Aug. CP.* Vol. 1 p. 132 *Æliæ Bavoniæ. Dat. III Kal. Aug. Mediolani ipsis AA. coss.* Vol. 4 p. 21 *ad Faventium vic. Ital. Dat. prid. Kal. Aug. Med.*

Vol. 4 p. 540 *ad Mamertinum pf. p. Dat.<sup>b</sup> prid. Non. Aug. Sirmio.* V. 15, 2 p. 334 Wenck. *ad Rufinum pf. p. Dat. VIII Id. Aug. Mediolani.* Gothofr. Vol. 5 p. 187 *ad Volusianum V. C. vic. Dat. VIII Id. Aug. Med.* Vol. 4 p. 48 *ad Symmachum p. U. pp. pridie Idus Aug.* Vol. 4 p. 543 *ad Dracontium vic. Afric. Acc. prid. Kal. Sept. Constantinæ.*

Vol. 4 p. 287 *ad Volusianum p. U. Dat. III Non. Sept. Med.* I. 16, 10 p. 81 Wenck. Gothofr. Vol. 1 p. 45 *ad Valerianum vicarium Hispaniarum. Prælatæ VII Id. Sept. Veronæ.* Vol. 3 p. 37 *ad Valerianum vic. Hispaniæ. Prælatæ literis V. C. vicarii VI Id. Sept. Veronæ.* Cod. Justin. I. 19, 5 *ad Volusianum pf. p. Dat.* [lege pp.] *XV Kal. Oct. Romæ.* Cod. Theod. I. 6, 6 p. 35 Wenck. *ad Prætextatum p. p. Dat. XII Kal. Oct. Novamansione.* Gothofred. Vol. 2 p. 340 *ad Rufinum pf. p. Dat. VIII Kal. Oct. Luceriæ.* Vol. 2 p. 280 *ad Equitum comitem et magistrum militum. Dat.* [sc. reddita. Gothofr.] *VIII Kal. Oct. Heracleæ.* Cod. Justin. XI. 61, 3 *ad Germanianum com. S. L. Dat. VIII Kal. Oct. Mediolani.*

Vol. 2 p. 311 *ad populum. Dat. Kal. Oct. Aquil.* Vol. 4 p. 417 *ad Severum p. U.<sup>c</sup> Dat. prid. Non. Oct. Veronæ.* Vol. 4 p. 418 *ad Auxonium vic. dioceseos Asiæ. Dat. prid. Non. Oct.* Vol. 5 p. 294 *ad Valentinianum cons. Piceni. Dat. prid. Non. Oct.* Vol. 4 p. 49 *ad Symmachum p. U. Dat. X Kal. Nov. Med.* Vol. 4 p. 544 Cod. Justin. X. 70, 3 *ad Mamertinum pf. p. Dat.<sup>d</sup> prid. Kal. Nov. Romæ.*

<sup>a</sup> l. 1 de nuptiis gentilium. Nulli provincialium, cuscunq̄ue ordinis aut loci fuerit, cum barbara sit uzore conjugium, nec ulli gentilium provincialis femina copuletur. Quodsi quæ inter provinciales atque gentiles affinitates ex hujusmodi nuptiis exstiterint (quod in iis

suspectum vel noziū detegitur), capitaliter expietur.

<sup>b</sup> "Dat. pro reddita." Gothofred. We may read pp. prid. &c.

<sup>c</sup> Vic. Urbis: Gothofr. See above at XI Kal. Aug.

<sup>d</sup> Lege pp. prid. &c. Conf. Gothofredum.



Vol. 3 p. 387 *ad Dracontium vic. Africæ. Dat. [sc. reddita] XV Kal. Dec. Adrumeto.* Vol. 3 VALEN-  
p. 83 *ad senatum. Dat. prid. Kal. Dec.* TINIUS.

Vol. 1 p. 80 II. 1, 5 p. 90 Wenck. *ad Felicem vicarium Macedoniæ. Dat. Kal. Dec.* Gothofred.  
Vol. 2 p. 311 *Secundo p.p. Acc. Kal. Dec. Calcedone.* Vol. 3 p. 491 *ad Cresconium. com. metallorum.*  
*Dat. IV Id. Dec. Parisis.* Vol. 2 p. 469 *ad Rufinum p.p. Dat. prid. Id. Dec. Parisis.* Cod. Just.  
I. 55, 1 *Senecæ defensori. Dat. XV Kal. Januar. Terici.*

A. D. 368. To the three laws inserted in the Tables add the following: Cod. Just. II. 6, 6 repeated by Wenck. p. 115 Cod. Theod. II. 10, 5 *Olybrio pf. U. pp. X Kal. Sept. Valentiniano et Valente AA. II cons.* A fragment of this law is extant in Gothofred. Vol. 1 p. 140 dated thus: *accepta XII Kal. Sept. ipsis AA. cons.* And Gothofr. Vol. 1 p. LXXXIII observes that Cod. Just. II. 6, 6 has also *ipsis AA. cons.* sc. A. D. 365, "non adsignatis consulatus numero." Beck ad Cod. Just. p. 203 has not noticed this. The law however is determined to A. D. 368 by the præfecture of *Olybrius*.

A. D. 369. To the laws in the Tables p. 473 may be added Cod. Theod. Vol. 4 p. 549 *Probo p.p. pp. VII Id. Jan. Sabariæ Valentiniano et Victore cons.* Vol. 5 p. 33 *ad Probum pf. p. Dat. XIV Kal. Febr. Sirmio Valentiniano NB. P. et Victore cons.* Vol. 5 p. 196 *ad Olybrium p. U. Dat. V Kal. Febr. Triv.* Vol. 2 p. 603 *ad Mamertinum pf. p. Missa a p.p. o. die Id. Febr. Med.* Vol. 3 p. 424 *ad Florentinum com. R. P. Dat. IV Kal. Aprilis.* Vol. 5 p. 10 *ad Probum pf. p. pp. Karthagine Kal. April.* Vol. 3 p. 493 *Fortunatiano com. R. P. Dat. prid. Kal. Maii Antiochiæ.* Cod. Just. III. 12, 5 *ad Olybrium pf. U. Dat. IV Non. Maii Tiberiade.* Cod. Theod. Vol. 2 p. 579 *ad Viventium p.p. o. Dat. XVI Kal. Jun. Complati.* Vol. 3 p. 494 *ad Probum pf. p. Dat. prid. Non. Jun. Martiatici.* Vol. 2 p. 447 *ad Probum pf. p. Dat. VII Id. Jun. Sirmio.* Vol. 4 p. 282 *ad Olybrium p. U. Dat. XIII Kal. Jul. Altaripa.* Vol. 3 p. 248 *ad Olybrium p. U. Dat. VIII Id. Jul.* Vol. 4 p. 307 Cod. Just. I. 4, 2 *ad Claudianum pf. p. e. Dat. VII [VIII Cod. Just.] Id. Jul.* Cod. Theod. Vol. 5 p. 243 *ad populum. pp. Romæ Kal. Aug.* Vol. 2 p. 242 *ad Probum p.p. O. Dat. III Kal. Sept. Brisiaci.* Vol. 5 p. 330 *Fortunaciano com. R. P. Dat. III Kal. Nov. Antiochiæ.*

Within the 12th indiction, that is, within Sept. 1 A. D. 368—Aug. 31 A. D. 369, the following: Cod. Theod. Vol. 3 p. 530 Cod. Justin. XI. 12, 1 *Imppp. Valentinianus Valens et Gratianus AAA. Auxonio pf. p. Data indictione XII.*

Many laws bearing *Valentiniano et Valente AA. cons.* or A. D. 365 belong to 368 *II AA. cons.* or to 370 *III AA. cons.* or to 373 *IV AA. cons.*<sup>f</sup> The laws of these years are of uncertain date, as in the reign of *Diocletian* the laws bearing *Cæss. cons.* are of doubtful years. Gothofredus transfers some laws of 365, 368, 370, 373 from one year to another, partly on account of the place from whence the emperor issued the edict, partly on account of the person to whom it was addressed. We may determine the year of some by their position in the Codes.

<sup>e</sup> p. U. Cod. Theod. Male.

<sup>f</sup> See the Tables A. D. 373 p. 480.

<sup>g</sup> Gothofredus Chronol. p. LXXXI &c. removes the following from 365 to 368.

*VIII Kal. Febr. missa Rom. ad Rufinum pf. p.* Vol. 2 p. 569.

*prid. Kal. Febr. dat. Marcianop. ad Fortunatianum.*

*XIV Kal. Mart. Triv. ad Claudium proc. Afric.* Vol. 6 p. 45.

*VII Id. Mart. Marcianop. ad Felicem com. S. L.* Vol. 3 p. 481. Rather in 370, because the preceding law was in 369.

*IV Id. Mart. Trev. ad Probum pf. p.* Vol. 3 p. 532. *Valentinian* was not in *Treviris* in 365.

*XIV Kal. April. Trev. ad Olybrium pf. U.* "Perhaps in 370." G.

*XII Kal. April. Trev. ad Probum pf. p.* Vol. 3 p. 462. "Perhaps in 370."

*VIII Kal. Apr. Trev. ad Probum pf. p.* "Perhaps in 370."

*III Kal. Apr. Trev. ad Olybrium pf. U.* "Perhaps in 370."

*III Non. Apr. Trev. ad Olybrium pf. U.* "Perhaps in 370."

*Non. April. pp. ad Maximum p.f. annonæ.* "Perhaps in 370."

*prid. Non. Apr. Alteio. ad Crescentem vic. Africæ.* "Perhaps in 370."

FIRMUS. FIRMUS. See the Tables A. D. 372—374.

Orosius VII. 33 relates the war with *Firmus* after the death of *Valentinian*: *Interea in Africa partibus Firmus sese, excitatis Maurorum gentibus, regem constituens Africam Mauritaniamque vastavit &c.* although begun in his reign: *Comes Theodosius—a Valentiniano missus effusas Maurorum gentes multis præliis fregit, ipsum Firmum adfectum et oppressum coëgit ad mortem.* On which account Tillemont tom. 5 p. 66 places the death of *Firmus* after the death of *Valentinian*. and therefore after Nov. 20 A. D. 375. But Ammianus expressly says that *Valentinian* was still living. In Ammianus 29. 5, 54 *Firmus* kills himself; and *Theodosius* returns to *Sitifis* in triumph: § 56.

*III Id. Apr. ad Olybrium p.U.* Vol. 3 p. 300. *Olybrius* was *p.U.* in 368—370 but not in 365. On the præfecture of *Olybrius* see Corsin. de præf. Urbis Romæ p. 245—248 and the inscriptions there quoted.

*XI Kal. Maii Trev. ad Florianum cons. Venetiæ.* Two laws Vol. 2 p. 589 Vol. 4 p. 74.

*VI Kal. Maii Triv. ad Viventium pf. p. Galliarum. prid. Non. Maii Triv. Remigio mag. Officiorum.* Vol. 2 p. 344 Cod. Just. I. 9, 4. "Perhaps in 370." G.

*XV Kal. Jul. Trev. ad Probum pf. p.*

*XI Kal. Jul. Med. Rufino pf. p.*

*XI Kal. Jul. Raven. ad Rufinum pf. p.*

*IX Kal. Jul. Sabariæ. ad Probum pf. p.*

*Non. Jul. Olybrio pf.U. Lecta in Pantheo.*

*prid. Kal. Aug. Vangionibus. ad Musufilum vic. Africa.*

*Kal. Aug. Marcianop. ad Modestum pf. p.* Vol. 4 p. 254. See Tillemont tom. 5 p. 697. Gothofr. repeats this law in 373 Chronol. p. xciii.

*III Non. Aug. Sirmio. ad Probum pf. p.*

*Kal. Sept. ad Auxonium pf. p.*

*IX Kal. Oct. ad Viventium p. p.*

*prid. Kal. Oct. Agrippinæ. ad Probum pf. p. Illyrici.*

*VI Non. Oct. Festo consulari Syriæ.*

*III Id. Oct. Germano pf. p. Galliarum.* Cod. Just. X. 31, 29.

*III Non. Nov. ad Probum pf. p.* Cod. Just. I. 55, 2.

*XIV Kal. Dec. ad Auxonium pf. p.*

*X Kal. Dec. ad Viventium pf. p. Galliarum.*

*Kal. Dec. Triv. ad Claudium proc. Africa.*

*Id. Dec. Marcianop. ad Auxonium pf. p.*

*X Kal. Jan. Directa Sirmio. ad Probum p. p.*

*III Kal. Jan. Dat. Trev. ad Viventium pf. p.*

These from 365 to 370 :

*XIV Kal. Feb. ad Olybrium p.U.*

*XIV Kal. Ap. Triv. ad Probum pf. p.* Vol. 3 p. 495. The preceding law is in 369.

*XIV Kal. Apr. Triv. ad Maximum pf. annonæ.* Vol. 5 p. 246. The preceding law is in 369.

*prid. Non. Apr. Alteio. ad Crescentem vic. Africa.*

*IX Kal. Maii Trev. Mauris Sitifensibus.* Vol. 2 p. 278 Vol. 4 p. 414. Two laws. "Perhaps in 373."

*VI Kal. Maii Triv. ad Viventium pf. p. Galliarum.*

*V Kal. Jun. ad Theodosium.* "Perhaps in 373." Vol. 1 p. 306. This has been already given at 365 from Wenck.

*IV Id. Jun. Cyzico. ad Modestum pf. p.*

*prid. Non. Aug. Hierap. ad Clearchum.* (See the Tables 373.)

*XVI Kal. Nov. Hierapoli. Modesto.* (See the Tables 373.)

*II Id. Dec. CP. ad Modestum pf. p.* Vol. 3 p. 127 "Perhaps in 373." G.

From 365 to 373 the following :

*Kal. Jan. Byritho. ad Modestum pf. p.* Because the præfecture of *Modestus* began in the middle of 370.

*XII Kal. Mart. ad Volusianum p.U.* This law, without reason referred by Gothofred. to 373, has been given in A. D. 365. See p. 115.

*XIII Kal. Jul. Apolloniæ. ad Zosimum præsidem Epiri novæ.*

*IV Kal. Jul.* Two laws *ad Volusianum p.U.* Given already p. 116 at A. D. 365.

*VIII Kal. Aug.* To the same *Volusianus.* Given at p. 116 in 365.

*VIII Id. Aug.* Also to *Volusianus.* Given in A. D. 365.

*III Non. Sept. ad Volusianum.* See A. D. 365.

*XV Kal. Oct. ad Volusianum.* See 365.

Gothofredus transfers

From 370 to 368: *III Kal. Feb. Dat. Triv. ad Prætextatum p.f.U.* Vol. 5 p. 34.

From 373 to 368: *XVIII Kal. Sept. Altino. ad Olybrium p.U.* Vol. 4 p. 283. (Given in the Tables 373 p. 480). Gothofred. p. lxxxiii ad hunc annum 368 retraho ab anno 373, quo certe *Olybrius* non fuit *p.U.* But the preceding law Vol. 4 p. 282 is addressed to *Olybrius p.U.* June 19 A. D. 369. He went out of office after March 1 and before April 29 A. D. 370. See the Tables A. D. 370. 3 p. 475 and, for his successor, Corsin. de præf. Urb. p. 248. There seems, then, an error in the month *XVIII Kal. Sept.* Perhaps we may read *XVIII Kal. Febr.*—*III AA. coss.* and place that law at Jan. 15 A. D. 370. On *Olybrius* see the testimonies in the Tables 379. 1.

From 370 to 368: *prid. Id. Nov. Marcianop. ad Auxonium pf. p.* Vol. 4 p. 174.

From 373 to 370: *XVI Kal. Feb. ad Jovinum magistrum militum.*

From 373 to 370: *X Kal. Mart. Trev. ad Julianum proc. Africa.*

From 368 to 370: *IV Id. Aug. Hierapoli. ad senatum.* Cod. Just. I. 55, 3.



*Valentinian* being yet alive: 29. 5, 46 *Theodosius* ait “*Comes Valentiniani sum, orbis terrarum domini* &c. And we may with *Valesius* refer the death of *Firmus* to the close of A. D. 374.

## VALENS.

VALENS.

Until the year 369 *Valens* was blameless: *Ammian.* 27. 5, 8 *Imperator rudis quidem, verum spectator adhuc æquissimus rerum, antequam adulationum perniciosis illecebris captus rempublicam funeribus perpetuo deflendis adfligeret.* *Ammianus* 31. 14, 1—7 impartially sums up his good and evil qualities: *Amicus fidelis et firmus, ultor acer ambitionum, severus militaris et civilis disciplinae corrector,—provinciarum æquissimus tutor—tributorum onera studio quodam molliens singulari.—Nec sub alio principe in hujusmodi negotiis melius secum actum esse meminit Oriens. Super his omnibus liberalis erat cum moderatione.* He admits however that *Valens* was *magnarum opum intemperans adpetitor—in crudelitatem proclivior, subagrestis ingenii, nec bellicis nec liberalibus studiis eruditus.—in sanguinem sæviebat et dispēdia locupletum,—nihil agi contra libidinem suam patiebatur, injurious alias et iracundus et criminantibus sine differentia veri vel falsi facillime patens.*

The cause of the revolt of the Goths in 377 is inaccurately told by *Zosimus* IV. 21, 1. See *Reitemeier* p. 589.

*Zosimus* IV. 2—24 describes the events from the death of *Jovian* to the death of *Valens* and election of *Theodosius* in a clear narration. He omits some facts. He does not name the father of *Theodosius*. He omits the death of *Arsaces*. He does not mark the three years of the Gothic war of *Valens* or the affairs of *Sapor* in Armenia. In some minor points he is not accurate; as the illness of *Valens* in 364, and the time of the death of *Serenianus*<sup>h</sup>. *Heyne* ad *Zosim.* IV. 20, 10 p. 638 vindicates the historian by alleging that he omits some things from brevity; that he enlarges too much on other matters either to vary his narrative or to relate what others had omitted; that when he differs from other historians he is not to be at once condemned for bad faith or error, but to be compared with other writers, and his accuracy balanced against theirs. But these arguments cannot justify positive errors. *Zosimus* has erred in the wars of *Aurelian*, in confounding *Maximian* with *Maximin*, in his account of the mother of *Constantine* and of the campaigns of *Julian*. He is convicted of error by the evidence of contemporaries.

The authorities quoted in the Tables<sup>i</sup> for the visit of *Valens* to Antioch give the following accounts. 1 *Socrates* IV. 14—21 “*Valens* in 370 sets forth from CP. to go to Antioch; is detained long at Nicomedia. after which a famine occurs in Phrygia. After the famine had begun, he proceeds to Antioch and stays there. After the arrival at Antioch, he proceeds to Edessa; examines the case of *Theodorus*—hears of the death of *Athanasius*.” 2 *Sozomen* VI. 13—19 “*Valens* on his way to Antioch is detained at Nicomedia. from Nicomedia, he proceeds through Cappadocia towards Antioch. at Cæsarea he finds *Eusebius*, *Basilius* being absent. In a second visit to Cæsarea on the 6th of January he finds *Basilius* bishop. He arrived at Antioch, was present at Edessa; and the death of *Athanasius* was told to him at Antioch.” 3 The author of the life of *Athanasius* apud *Phot. Cod.* 258 “*Valens* on his way to Antioch is detained at Nicomedia. After his transactions there he arrives at Antioch. After his arrival, *Athanasius* died.” 4 *Ammianus*: “*Valens* enters Antioch to stay there; is in danger from a plot; enquires into the matter of *Theodorus*.” 5 *Zosimus*: “*Valens* arrives by slow journeys at Antioch, from whence he securely directs the war against Persia, passing his winter at Antioch, his summer at Hierapolis; his

<sup>h</sup> Which *Zosimus* IV. 6, 8 places in the lifetime of *Procopius*. But *Ammianus* 26. 10, 1 (quoted by *Reitemeier* ad *Zosim.* p. 581) shews that it happened afterwards: *Marcellus—agens apud Nicæam præsi-*

*dium, proditione militum et interitu Procopii cognito, Serenianum intra palatium clausum [conf. 26. 8, 11]—occidit &c.*

<sup>i</sup> Tables A. D. 371. 372.

VALENS. winter again at Antioch. While the emperor was at Antioch, the affair of *Theodorus* happened.”  
 6 The Theodosian Code records that *Valens* was at CP. at least from Dec. 8 A. D. 370 to Apr. 7 A. D. 371<sup>k</sup>. 7 Libanius attests that he had completed his 57th year when *Valens* entered Antioch. 8 Malalas determines that the emperor entered Antioch on the 10th of November. 9 Theophanes and Cedrenus place the entry into the city at the 8th year of *Valens*.

Valesius<sup>l</sup> fixes the arrival “finita jam æstate A. D. 371,” founding his opinion upon l. 74. 76<sup>m</sup> de decurionibus, and upon the age of Libanius. Gothofredus supposes that in 370 *Valens* transacted the affairs at Nicomedia; that he was then at Cæsarea<sup>n</sup>; then that he arrived at Antioch; then passed three months at Hierapolis; and then returned to CP. in December. and that he came to Antioch again in 372. Tillemont, rejecting the opinion of Gothofredus, supposes tom. 5 p. 98—101 that *Valens* wintered at Cæsarea in 37½ because he was there at the Epiphany Jan. 6 A. D. 372, and that he made his entry into Antioch in the Spring of this year.

The opinion of Gothofredus is not tenable. 1 The compass of one year, 370, does not allow time for so many movements, as Tillemont has justly remarked. 2 The three months at Hierapolis in that year are founded upon dates assigned by conjecture to laws of uncertain date. 3 All the testimonies speak of one arrival and of a permanent stay at Antioch; Gothofredus supposes that *Valens* arrived twice, and that the stay which Ammianus and Zosimus describe as permanent was only a passing visit. The opinion of Tillemont, that *Valens* passed a whole winter at Cæsarea and entered Antioch in spring, is refuted by Malalas, who now confirms the judgment of Valesius by certain testimony. *Valens* from his chief station at Antioch—ἐν τοῖς αὐτόθι βασιλείοις Zosim. IV. 13—might visit Cæsarea in January without passing the winter there. He might visit Cæsarea, a distance of not more than 150 English miles, as he visited Edessa and other places.

Reiske ad Libanium tom. 1 p. 96 Vit. Liban. § 63. 66 imagines three arrivals of *Valens* at Antioch. In his note at p. 96 fixing with Malalas the arrival at Nov. 371 he adds “Sed Socrates IV. 2 Valentem ait jam ante Procopii rebellionem Antiochiam venisse. v. Vales. ad IV. 13. Idem auctor IV. 17 alterum Valentis adventum collocat in 370, et IV. 21 ait eum a. 371 Antiochiæ fuisse.” In the Life he writes at § 63 “Valentis adventus incidit in Aprilem medium anni 372.” And yet at § 66 “Juxta Malalam adventus incidit in Nov. anni 371. Sed Socrates IV. 2 ait ante Procopii rebellionem venisse. Idem IV. 17 alterum adventum refert ad a. 370, et rursus a. 371 IV. 2 [lege IV. 21] ait idem factum. Fallitur ergo Valesius in fine notarum ad Soer. IV. 13.” Now if the arrival was fixed to November 371, how could it happen in April 372? Reiske has given the evidence of Malalas and the opinion of Tillemont, not perceiving that both could not stand together. As to the arrival “ante Procopii rebellionem” it is true that Socrates IV. 2 and Sozomen VI. 7 report this; but the testimony of Ammianus<sup>o</sup> shews that they were mistaken<sup>p</sup>. As to the two visits referred to 370 and 371, these are one and the same visit: Socrates IV. 17 ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν παραγίνεται. In IV. 21 *Valens* is still there: κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν διάγοντι. Socrates then describes only two visits; one after the affairs of Nicomedia, which was in truth the first visit, and one before the affairs of *Procopius*, which was an error<sup>q</sup>.

<sup>k</sup> Quoted in the Tables A. D. 371. 2. 370. 3. Gothofredus prolongs the stay of *Valens* at CP. till May 1: Vol. 4 p. 25 ad *Modestum pf. p. Dat. Kal. Maii CP. Gratiano A. et Dagalaifo coss.* [A. D. 366.] where Gothofr. reads *Gratiano A. II et Probo A. D. 371* on account of *Modestus pf. p.*

<sup>l</sup> Ad Socratem p. 53, ad Ammianum 29. 1, 4.

<sup>m</sup> Cod. Theod. Vol. 4 p. 422 p. 426, quoted in the Tables 371. 2 p. 476.

<sup>n</sup> He quotes (Cod. Theod. Chronol. p. LXXXVIII) Theodoret. IV. 17 Socrates IV. 21 Sozomen VI. 15. This is by no means accurate. Theodoret speaks only of the second visit to Cæsarea, when *Basilius* was bishop. sc. in A. D. 372. Socrates does not mention Cæsarea at all.

<sup>o</sup> Quoted in the Tables A. D. 365 p. 464.

<sup>p</sup> As Valesius ad Ammian. 26. 7, 1 has observed.

<sup>q</sup> Reiske however has justly censured Valesius ad



Tillemont tom. 5 p. 105. 701<sup>r</sup> supposes Ammianus 29. 1, 4 to describe the return of *Valens* to VALENS. Antioch after a Persian campaign at the close of 373, and not his first entry into that city after his progress through Asia Minor. But the last mention of *Valens* by Ammianus 27. 12, 13 was the mission of *Arinthæus*, which was in 370, as Tillemont himself admits p. 103. And if the next mention of *Valens* was after the campaign of 373, there would be two complete years during which he is unnoticed by the historian. This arrangement also leaves a chasm of two years in the account of the Persian war; for *Arinthæus* is employed against *Sapor* in 370, and *Sapor* according to Tillemont is next mentioned 29. 1, 1 in the close of winter, the beginning of 373. It seems clear that Ammianus describes the first entry into Antioch, and that his narrative proceeds without any years omitted. *Arinthæus* is employed in 370; the winter described in 29. 1, 1 is the winter of 37 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; *Sapor* is in the field in 371 and is opposed by the generals of *Valens*. At the end of that year he returns to winter at Ctesiphon. At the same time *Valens* makes his first entry into Antioch, which according to Tillemont was in April 372, but according to Malalas in November 371.

Tillemont<sup>s</sup> has adopted that arrangement because Themistius in an oration in March 373 makes no mention of a victory. "Therefore the campaign which Ammianus describes was in 373, after the date of that oration, and in the end of 373 *Valens* returned victorious to Antioch." But the campaign described by Ammianus was not a victorious campaign; nor was *Valens* present<sup>v</sup>. And it required no particular notice from Themistius.

After the campaign of 371, described by Ammianus, *Sapor* was kept in check by the presence of *Valens* in 372 and 373; who in those years approached the Euphrates, or was stationed at Hierapolis. In 374 *Para* the Armenian was murdered; the year 375 was wasted in negotiations<sup>w</sup>, and in 376 the attention of *Valens* was withdrawn from Persia by the Goths.

Some inscriptions bearing the name of *Valens* are given under *Valentinian*<sup>x</sup>. Add 1 Muratori p. 264. 3 Patris in columna: τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡρώων Φλ. Βαλεντιανοῦ καὶ Βάλεντος τῶν Αὐγούστων. 2 Murat. p. 264. 5 Gruter p. 286. 4 ex Panvinio, Romæ: *Florentiss. et piissim. D. N. Valenti maxim. principi semper August. L. Vocontius Vicasius V. C. præf. urbi iter. præfec. leg. VI Pic Fel. pr. pr. prov. Gall. proc. XX her. ejusdem J. S. C. D. N. M. Q. E. D. D.* 3 Murat. p. 264. 6 Vicentis: *Imp. Cæsari D. N. Fl. Valenti Pio Felici semper Augusto civitas Vigentina.* [al. *Veicentina.*] 4 Mur. p. 262. 5 Pisauri: *Fundatorib. et conservator. imperii Romani DD. NN. Valentiniano et Valenti principib. maximis ac triumphatorib. Augg. B. R. P. N. impp.* 5 Mur. p. 1055. 3 in agro Lunensi: *Imp. Cæs. D. N. Valenti Pio Felici semper Aug. civit. Lun. M. P. Imp. Cæsari D. Gratiano Pio Fel. semper Aug. divi Valentiniani A. civit. Lunen. M. P. Imp. Cæs. DNE Valentiniano . . . . . semp. Aug. Divi Valentinia . . . . . civit. Lunen. M. P.* After *divi Valentiniani* supply *filio*. 6 Murat. p. 1070. 8 Pisis: *Imp. Cæs. D. NRO* [Fl. Valenti] *Pio Felici semp. Aug. imp. Cæs. D. N. Fl. Gratiano Pio Felici semp. Aug. divi Valentiniani Aug. filio imp. Cæs. Fl. Valentiniano Pio Felici semp. Aug. divi Valentiniani Aug. filio civit. Pisana. M. P. IIII.*

PROCOPIUS. Tables A. D. 365. 366.

PROCOPIUS.

Socratem IV. 13 for defending Socrates (Immerito Baronius Socratem reprehendit. Neque enim Socrates dicit Valentem jam antea venisse Antiochiam &c. p. 52.) Valesius had forgotten the narrative of Socrates himself in IV. 2.

<sup>r</sup> Referred to in the Tables A. D. 371 p. 476.

<sup>s</sup> Tillemont tom. 5 p. 701.

<sup>t</sup> "Valens victorieux vint passer l'hiver à Antioche." Tillemont tom. 5 p. 105.

<sup>v</sup> See Ammianus quoted in the Tables 371 p. 476.

<sup>w</sup> See the Tables A. D. 374. 375 p. 484. 486.

<sup>x</sup> See above p. 113.

## GRATIANUS. GRATIANUS.

His character is given by Ammianus 31. 10, 18. 19 *Præclaræ indolis adolescens, facundus et moderatus et bellicosus et clemens; ad æmulationem lectorum progrediens principum—ni vergens in ludibriosos actus natura laxantibus proximis semet ad vana studia Cæsaris Commodi convertisset, licet hic incruentus &c.* Victor Epit. p. 395 *Fuit autem Gratianus litteris haud mediocriter institutus &c.—parcus cibi somnique, et vini ac libidinis victor; cunctisque fuisset plenus bonis, si ad cognoscendam reipublicæ gerendæ scientiam animum intendisset.—Dum exercitum negligeret et paucos ex Alanis, quos ingenti auro ad se transtulerat, anteferet veteri ac Romano militi—odia contra se militum excitavit.*

Gratian in 374 married the daughter of *Constantius II.*<sup>2</sup> He had also a second wife, *Læta*, who survived him. *Læta* the widow of *Gratian*, and her mother *Pissamene* were living at Rome in the first siege A. D. 408<sup>a</sup>.

Inscriptions. 1 Grut. p. 159. 7 Emeritæ: *Imp. Cæs. Gratianus Pius Felix max. vict. ac triumph. semp. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. Alamanus max. Franc. max. Goth. m. tr. p. III imp. II cos. IIII prim. p. pp. restituit C. XI.* 2 Gruter p. 1082. 13 Romæ: *Fl. Gratianus Pius Felix maximus victor ac triumph. semper Aug. pont. max. Germanic. max. Alaman. max. Franc. max. Gothicus max. trib. pot. VI imp. II cos. primum ppp.* In the first inscription either the tribunician year or the consulship is wrong. *Gratian* could not be called *cos. IIII* before the tenth year of his reign. In the second, if the tribunician year is right, the number of the consulship is omitted. Perhaps however we may read *trib. pot. III imp. II cos.*

According to Zosimus IV. 36, 7—10 *Gratian* first declined the title of *pontifex maximus*. And yet he is so called in these inscriptions, and in an inscription in the Tables A. D. 370 p. 475 bearing *trib. pot. III*. And Ausonius Grat. Act. in A. D. 379, the 12th year of *Gratian*, gives him this title: p. 291. 14 *Pontifex religione.* p. 293. 1 *tu pontifex maximus.* But Zosimus implies § 10 that *Gratian* declined that title after the revolt of *Maximus* in the 16th year of his reign; which reconciles Zosimus with the preceding testimonies.

3 Muratori p. 465. 1 Romæ: *Salvis DDD. NNN. Gratiano Valentiniano et Theodosio victoribus semper Augustis Valerius Anthidius V. C. Au. præf. præt. stabulum ne animalia cursus publici longi itineris labore diutius disperirent providit constituit edificavit adque dedicavit IV (DIXMEIS) curante T. Casterio [al. Fl. Asterio] deputato IIX.* For the corrupt *DIXMEIS* Muratori proposes *ID. MAIAS.* 4 Murat. p. 464. 7 Romæ: *Florente imperio DDD. AAA. CCC. Q. NNN. Gratiani Valentiniani et Theodosi principum maximorum thermarum speciem ruine deformitate sordentem et periculosus ponderibus imminentem quæ labantem populum metu sollicitudinis deterrebat exclusa totius scabie vetustatis ad firmam stabilitatem usumque tectorum Anicius Auchenius Bassus<sup>aa</sup> V. C. proconsul Campaniæ vice sacra judicans reparavi in meliorem civitatis effigiem.*

## VALENTINIANUS II.

Born in 371<sup>b</sup>. Sometimes confounded with the son of *Valens*<sup>c</sup>. In the division of the pro-

<sup>y</sup> Zosimus IV. 35, 3 Ἀλανούς τινας αὐτομόλους δεξι-  
μενος καὶ στρατιαῖς ἐγκαταλέξας δωρεαῖς τε ἀδραῖς ἐτίμα—  
κ. τ. λ. τοῦτο τοῖς στρατιώταις κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἔτεκε  
μῖσος.

<sup>z</sup> See above p. 86. o.

<sup>a</sup> Zosim. V. 39, 7 Λαίτα ἡ Γρατιανοῦ βασιλεύσαντος  
γαμετή, καὶ Πισσαμένη ἡ μήτηρ ταύτης. *Gratian* had mar-  
ried *Læta* a short time before his death: Sozomen.

VII. 13 ἔναγχος γήμας, καὶ νέος ὦν, καὶ ἐρωτικῶς πρὸς  
τὴν γυναῖκα διατεθεῖς.

<sup>aa</sup> On *Anicius Auchenius Bassus*, who was also  
*præfectus urbi*, see two inscriptions apud Corsin.  
præf. Urb. p. 275.

<sup>b</sup> Tables 375 p. 486.

<sup>c</sup> See the Tables 369. 3 p. 471. 473.



vinces in A. D. 375, *Gratian* is to have Gaul Spain Britain, and *Valentinian II* Italy Illyricum VALENTINIANUS II. Africa<sup>d</sup>.

*Valentinian II* reigned 16<sup>y</sup> 6<sup>m</sup><sup>dd</sup> from 22 Nov. 375 to 15 May 392, and nearly 8<sup>y</sup> 9<sup>m</sup> from the death of his brother *Gratian*. In the text of Ambrosius de obitu Valentin. tom. 5 p. 113 ed. 1632 he is said to have perished *octavo regni anno*, where the Benedictine editor § 57 supplies *decimo octavo anno*. If Ambrosius intended to be exact, for *VIII anno* we must restore *XVII anno*. In Anecd. Paris. Cramer Vol. 2 p. 66 is this account: Οὐαλεντινιανὸς ὁ νέος βιώσας ἔτη κ' βασιλεύσας δὲ ἔτη η' καταστρέφει τὸν βίον. where for η' we may read either ιη' or ιζ'.

An inscription. Gruter p. 285. 8 Corsin. præf. Urb. p. 288 Romæ: *Extinctori tyrannorum ac publicæ securitati auctori D. N. Valentiniano Perpetuo ac Felici semper Augusto Ceionius Rufius Albinus V. C. præf. urbi iterum vice sacra judicans D. N. M. Q. ejus*. Corsini justly remarks that this inscription refers to the overthrow of *Maximus* which happened July 28 A. D. 388. *Albinus* is præf. Urbis in laws quoted in the Tables p. 520. 523 at 18 Aug. 389—4 April 390.

MAXIMUS. Tables A. D. 383. 387. 388.

MAXIMUS.

He was acknowledged by *Valentinian*: Socrat. V. 11 Οὐαλεντινιανὸς δὲ καὶ ἄκων τῇ ἀνάγκῃ τοῦ καιροῦ πεισθεὶς τὴν Μαξίμου βασιλείαν προσδέχεται. And by *Theodosius*: Zosim. IV. 37, 2—6 Μάξιμος δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔχειν ἐν ἐχυρῶ πιστευσάμενος ἔστειλε πρὸς Θεοδοσίον πρεσβείαν κ. τ. λ.—Θεοδόσιος δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐδέχετό τε βασιλέα Μάξιμον εἶναι, καὶ εἰκόνων αὐτῷ κοινωνεῖν καὶ βασιλέως προσηγορίας ἡξίου. Pacatus Panegy. c. 30 *Ut foedus abrumpere [sc. Maximus]—bellum edicere non timeret.—qui sub nomine pacis ludere—potuisset*. Confirmed by a coin given in the Tables A. D. 388 p. 518.

*Maximus* and his son *Victor* are commemorated in an inscription apud Muratorium p. 465. 3 Veronæ: *Impp. Augg. DD. NN. Mag. Maximo et Fl. Victo. perpetuis principibus M. P. V.*

EUGENIUS. Tables A. D. 392. 394.

EUGENIUS.

Chron. Pasch. p. 305 D ὑπ. Ἀρκαδίου τὸ γ' καὶ Ὀνωρίου τὸ β'.—αὐτῷ τῷ ἔτει Διογένης ὁ τύραννος ἀπεκεφαλίσθη ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ. An error for Εὐγένιος. The historians vary in some particulars of his death, but it seems that he was beheaded in the presence of *Theodosius*.

*Eugenius* is in an inscription apud Gruter p. 192. 1 Colonia Agrippinæ: .... *se et imperatoribus nost. [Theodo]sio et Arcadio et Fl. Eugenio ..... conlapsam jussu viri Cl. [Arbogas]tis comitis et instantia V. C. .... co]mitis domesticorum ei ..... es ex integro opere faciund. [cura]vit magister Prælius*. He is consul in an inscription apud Muratorium p. 394. 1 Καπιτωλίᾳ ζήσασα ἔτη κη' ἐν κίτεσι Σιλουανῶ ὑπαθείᾳ Εὐγενίου τοῦτο .....

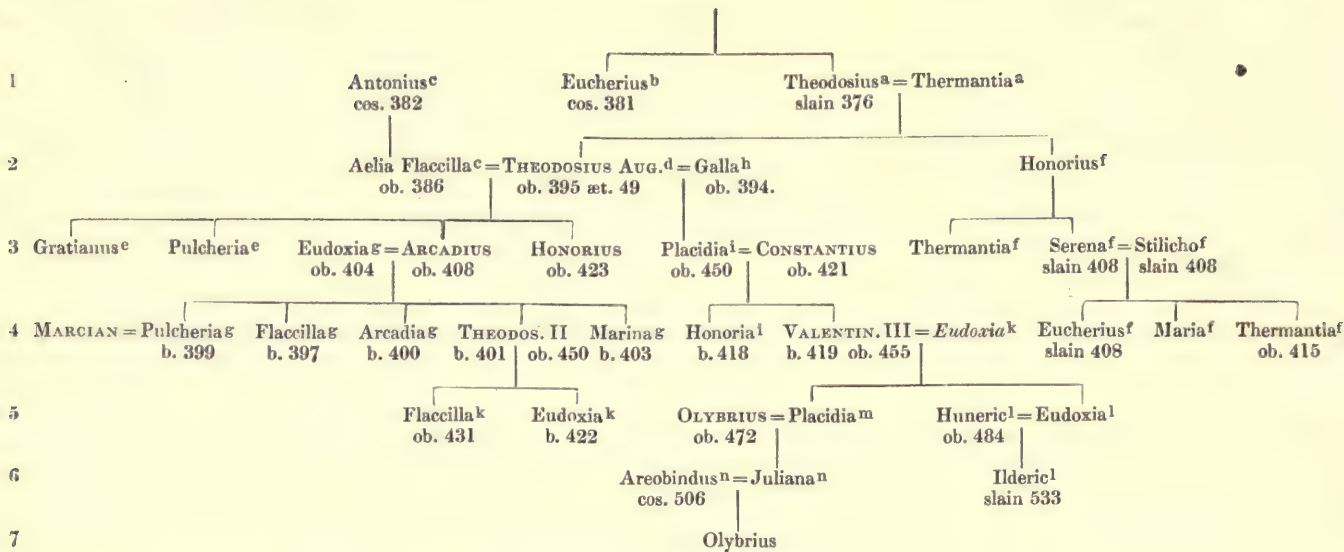
THEODOSIUS.

THEODOSIUS.

The various branches of the *Theodosian* family are set forth in the following Table. The testimonies are subjoined in the notes.

<sup>d</sup> Zosimus IV. 19, 2. 3.

<sup>dd</sup> In p. 3 at the reign of *Valentinian II* read 16<sup>y</sup> 5<sup>m</sup> 24<sup>d</sup>.



<sup>a</sup> Paulus Diac. XII p. 528 *Theodosius, genitus patre Theodosio matre Thermantia, XLI imperator*. Victor Epit. p. 396 has *Honorius: Theodosius genitus patre Honorio matre Thermantia, genere Hispanus, originem a Trajano principe trahens,—imperator effectus*. But many authorities establish that the father of the emperor was *Theodosius*, whose acts in Britain and Africa are recorded in the Tables at the years 367, 368, 369, 370 p. 474, and in the years 372, 373, 376. and who was slain in Africa in 376. He is celebrated by Claudian III cons. Hon. 52—56 IV cons. Hon. 24—29 Seren. 40. 41 and by Pacatus panegy. c. 5.

<sup>b</sup> That *Eucherius* was the emperor's uncle is collected from Themistius Or. XVI de consulatu Saturnini, who affirms that in the years preceding 383 (when *Saturninus* was consul) *Theodosius* had given the consulship to his uncle and his kinsman. Therefore in 381 and 382. We have *Eucherius* and *Syagrius* in 381, *Antonius* and another *Syagrius* in 382; whence Harduin ad Themistium infers that *Eucherius* was the uncle of the emperor and *Antonius* the kinsman. Themistius p. 203 D μετὰ τοὺς ἀφ' αἵματος συγγενεῖς ὁ ἐκ τῆς ἀρετῆς καταλεγῆσεται τὴν γὰρ τοῦ γένους ἀγχιστεῖαν πρώτην τιμήσας, τὸν πατράδελφον λέγω καὶ τὸν κηδεστήν, οὐκ ἔδοκας διάστημα μεταξὺ, ἀλλὰ συνάψας οἰκειότησιν ἀνδραγαθίαν ἔργῳ φανερόν κατέστησας ὅτι τῷ κρατοῦντι τῶν ὄλων οὐχ ἦπτον ἐντιμον εἶναι προσήκει τὸ κατ' ἀρετὴν ὑπερέχον τοῦ κατὰ γένεσιν ἐγγυτάτω. *Eucherius* is attested by Zosimus V. 2, 5 who under the reign of *Arcadius* mentions τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως θεῖον Εὐχέρειον.—the uncle (that is, the great-uncle) of *Arcadius*.

<sup>c</sup> It has been shewn in the preceding note that the uncle of *Theodosius* was *Eucherius*, consul in 381. It follows that his father-in-law—κηδεστής—was consul in 382, where the *Fasti* offer *Antonius et Syagrius*.

Sidonius Ep. I. 7 p. 47 mentions *Afranius Syagrius*, the grandfather of his friend *Ferreolus: Ferreolus praefectorius, Afranii Syagrii consulis e filia nepos*. Conf. Ep. VII. 12 *Ferreolo suo*. The consul of 382; for the consul of 381 was *Flavius Syagrius*. Tillemont tom. 5 p. 727 observes that Sidonius makes no mention of the alliance of *Ferreolus* to the imperial house, and we may determine that *Antonius* is the father-in-law of the emperor, with Valesius ad Sozom. p. 150 Harduin ad Themistium p. 476 Pagi Vol. I p. 560 and Ruhnkenius diss. I de Galla Placidia p. 15.

His daughter *Aelia Flaccilla* was the first wife of *Theodosius*: Socrat. IV. 31 p. 250 B Ἀρκάδιον καὶ Ὀνώριον ἐκ Πλακίδης [lege Πλακίδης] ἔσχε τῆς προτέρας γυναῖκός. Sozom. VII. 6 ἡ βασίλις Πλακίλλα, before A. D. 381. Zosimus IV. 44, 7 Πλακίλλης τῆς πρότερον αὐτῷ γημαμένης. Theophanes p. 48 B repeats Socrates. Cedenrenus p. 315 C Πλακίλλαν ἐξ ἧς ἔσχεν Ἀρκάδιον καὶ Ὀνώριον ἡς τελευτησάσης Γάλλαν ἀδελφὴν Γρατιανοῦ ἔγγμεν. Erroneously called the second wife by Chron. Pasch. p. 305 A. Her son *Honorius* was born Sept. 9 A. D. 384. see the Tables. She is mentioned by Themistius in Or. XIX. Tables A. D. 385. 3. She still lived at the first consulship of *Honorius* Jan. 1 A. D. 386: Claudian IV cons. Hon. 154—158

inter cunabula consul

*Proveheris. signasposito modo nomine fastos*

*Donaturque tibi qui te produxerat annus.*

*Ipsa Quirinali parvum te cinxit amictu*

*Mater, et ad primas docuit reptare curules.*

Pagi tom. 1 p. 565 refers her death to 385 on the authority of the Paschal Chronicle: "hoc anno obiit, ut auctor Chron. Al. insinuat." But the Paschal Chronicle p. 304 D 305 A makes no mention of her death at that year. She probably died in 386, about a year before the marriage with *Galla. Flac-*



*Theodosius* in early life served under his father in Britain: Pacatus c. 8, 3 *Illud cum patre di-vino castrense collegium &c.* Upon the death of his father in 376 he retired: Pacatus 9, 1 *a statione castrensi ad quietem.*

*cilla* died in Thrace: Greg. Nyssen. Or. in Flaccillam tom. 3 p. 527 B ὁ Θράκη, τὸ φευκτὸν ὄνομα, ὃ δυστυχῆς χωρίον κ. τ. λ. Her names appear on coins apud Eckhel tom. 8 p. 164 1 *Ael. Flaccilla Aug. + salus reipublicæ. S. XP. Conob.* 2 *Ael. Flaccilla Aug. + salus reipublicæ.*

<sup>d</sup> The panegyrist of *Theodosius* commemorate his Spanish origin (for which see the Tables A. D. 379): Themistius Or. XXXIV c. 7 τὸν Θεοδοσίον—ὡς τὸν Ἀδριανόν, ὡς τὸν Μάρκον. ὡς τὸν Ἀντωνίνον, τοὺς προπάτορας ἑαυτοῦ καὶ πολίτας καὶ ἀρχηγέτας. Or. XIX p. 229 C—Τραϊανόν—Μάρκον—Ἀντωνίνον, τοὺς σοὺς πολίτας καὶ ἀρχηγέτας. Claudian. III Cons. Hon. 176 IV Cons. Hon. 19 *Quæ diademata mundo Sparsit, Ibera domus.* 127 *Hispania patrem Auriferis eduxit aquis.* Conf. 393 Nupt. Hon. 40 in Stilich. II. 236, 237 in sec. Stilich. 53 laus Serenæ 50. Pacatus panegy. 4, 2 *Nam primum tibi mater Hispania est.* 4, 5 *hæc Trajanum illum, hæc deinceps Hadrianum misit imperio, huic te debet imperium.*

<sup>e</sup> *Gratianus* and *Pulcheria* the children of *Flaccilla* are noticed in these testimonies: Greg. Nyss. Or. Fun. de Flaccilla tom. 3 p. 533 A τοὺς ἄρρενας τῷ πατρὶ προσκατέλιπεν, ὥστε εἶναι αὐτοῦ τῆς βασιλείας ἐρείσματα, τῆς δὲ ἰδίας μερίδος μόνην τὴν θυγατέρα ἀποπεποιήται. Ambrosius de obitu Theodosii tom. 5 p. 122 F *Nunc Theodosius regnare se cognoscit—quando recipit etiam filium Gratianum et pulcherrima ac dulcissima sibi pignora quæ hic amiserat, quando ei sua Flaccilla adheret &c.* This daughter *Pulcheria* (the name appears in the title to the discourse of Gregory of Nyssa εἰς Πουλχεριανὸν λόγος. tom. 3 p. 514) died a little before the mother: Greg. Nyss. in Flaccillam p. 528 B οὐπω ἐπὶ τῇ προτέρᾳ πληγῇ ἀναπνεύσαντες—πάλιν ἐν τοσαύτῃ γεγόναμεν συμφορᾷ. τότε τὸ νεοθαλὲς ἄνθος ἀπωδυράμεθα, νῦν αὐτὸ τὸ ἔρνος ἀφ' οὗ τὸ ἄνθος ἐβλάστησεν. We learn from Greg. Nyss. that *Gratian* survived his mother, and was living in A. D. 386.

<sup>f</sup> *Honorius* was the brother of the emperor and the father of *Serena*: Zosim. V. 4, 2 *Σερήνα ἦν παῖς Ὀνωρίου, ὃς Θεοδοσίῳ τῷ τῶν βασιλεύοντων [sc. Arcadii et Honorii] πατρὶ γέγονεν ἀδελφός.* Claudian. Seren. 96 *gestabat Honorius arcto Te pater amplexu quoties ad limina princeps Theodosius, privatus adhuc, fraterna veniret.* In Claudian. Nupt. Mar. 39 the emperor *Honorius* addresses *Serena*: *O patrum germen, cui nominis heres Successi.*

*Thermantia* the sister of *Serena*: Claudian. Seren. 186 *Agnovit patrum similem Thermantia curam. Nupsit et illa duci sed longe fata sororis Inferiora tuis.* and of *Eucherius*: Claudian. I Stilich. II. 359 *adridet lato Thermantia fratri.* The elder daughter of *Honorius*: Claudian. Seren. 117 *Incedunt geminæ proles fraterna puella, Inde Serena minor, prior hinc Thermantia natu.*

*Serena* daughter of *Honorius* wife of *Stilicho*: Olympiod. apud Phot. p. 177 (Στελιχῶν) Σερήναν νόμφ γάμου ἠγάγετο, Θεοδοσίῳ ταύτην αὐτῷ κατεγγυήσαντος. Claudian. I Stilich. I. 73 *Dignum conjugio generum thalamisque Serenæ.* 78 *Et gener Augustis, olim socrer ipse futurus.* Their children are named by Marcellin. *Basso et Philippo* [A. D. 408]. *Stilicho comes, cujus duæ filiæ Maria et Thermantia singulæ uxores Honorii principis fuere, utraque tamen virgo defuncta, spreto Honorio—Eucherium filium suum paganum—cupiens Cæsarem ordinare; qui cum eodem Eucherio occisus est.* See the Tables A. D. 408. *Serena* is also slain in 408: see the Tables. An inscription Mediolani apud Gruter. p. 1056, 4 bears the names of *Serena* and *Stilicho* on the monument of *Nazarius*:

—*exultat hunc tumuli esse locum*

*Quem pius Ambrosius signavit imagine Christi  
Marmoribus Libycis fida Serena polit,  
Conjugis ut reditu Stiliconis lata fruatur  
Germanisque suis pignoribus propriis.*

*Eucherius* was slain in 408: Tables. He is named by Claudian. I in Stilich. II. 352. 358 VI cons. Hon. 552. Born at Rome: Claudian. in sec. cons. Stilichonis 176—178.

*Maria* married in 398: See the Tables 398. 2. 3. She died some time before 408. See the Tables 408.

*Thermantia* married *Honorius* in 408, and was dismissed in the same year after the death of her father *Stilicho*: Tables A. D. 408. *Thermantia* died in 415: Chron. Pasch. p. 305 B quoted in the Tables at 415. Zosimus V. 28, 5 mentions her death, but without marking the time: τῇ δευτέρᾳ θυγατρὶ συνάψαι τὸν Ὀνώριον ἔσπευδεν· οὗ δὴ γενομένου, τελευτᾶ μὲν ἡ κόρη μετ' οὐ πολὺν, ταῦτα τῇ προτέρᾳ παθοῦσα.

<sup>g</sup> *Eudoxia*. See the Tables for her marriage Ap. 27 A. D. 395. The meaning of Zosimus V. 3 there quoted is explained by S. Basnage Annal. Vol. 3 p. 150. *Bauto* the father of *Eudoxia* was consul in 385, and is described by Zosimus IV. 33, 2 under the reign of *Gratian*: Γρατιανὸς—Βαῦδωνι τῷ στρατηγῷ παραδούς, ᾧ καὶ Ἀρβογάστην συνέπεμψεν· ἄμφω δὲ ἦσαν Φράγκοι τὸ γένος, ἐνόη τε σφόδρα Ῥωμαίους καὶ χρημάτων ἀδωρότατοι. *Eudoxia* died Oct. 6 A. D. 404: Tables p. 558. 561. This date is unreasonably doubted by Savile apud Montfaucon. Chrysost. tom. 13 p. xix arguing from the silence of *Chrysostom*. The children of *Eudoxia* are named in Chron. Pasch. p. 306 C Ἀρκάδιος ἔσχεν γυναῖκα Εὐδοξίαν, ἐξ ἧς τίκτεται Θεοδοσίος ὁ νέος· ἔσχεν δὲ καὶ θυγατέρας Πουλχερίαν [Tables A. D. 399] καὶ Ἀρκαδίαν [A. D. 400—ob. 444] καὶ Μαρίναν [A. D. 403—ob. 449] and p. 306 D her eldest daughter *Flaccilla*, who was born June 17 A. D. 397. See the Tables. *Pulcheria* is mentioned in the Tables under the reigns of *Theodosius II* and *Marcian*. Her

THEODOSIUS. Zosimus IV. 33, 8 bears witness that *Theodosius* put down Paganism: τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἔδη κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐπολιόρκει πόλιν καὶ χώραν. He called upon the Roman senate to renounce paganism,

government in the Tables at A. D. 414. 3. Her death at A. D. 453.

<sup>h</sup> *Galla*. The daughter of *Valentinian*: Socrat. IV. 31 p. 250 A ὁ δὲ ἄγεται τὴν Ἰουστίναν, ἀφ' ἧς αὐτῷ γίνεται Οὐαλεντινιανός τε ὁ νέος καὶ θυγατέρες τρεῖς, Ἰουστα Γράτα Γάλλα ὧν αἱ μὲν δύο παρθενεύουσαι διετέλεσαν, Γάλλαν δὲ ὕστερον βασιλεὺς ἔγημε Θεοδόσιος ὁ μέγας, ἀφ' ἧς αὐτῷ Πλακιδία θυγάτηρ ἐγένετο. Compare Theophanes p. 48 B. The marriage is fixed by Zosimus IV. 44 to A. D. 387, followed by the war with *Maximus*. *Theodosius* and *Galla* met at Thessalonica in the autumn of 387. Compare the Tables p. 514. 516. Marcellinus therefore, quoted in the Tables at A. D. 386 p. 512, has brought *Galla* to CP. in the wrong year. *Galla* died about May 394: see the Tables p. 530.

<sup>i</sup> *Placidia*. Sozom. IX. 16 τοῦτω [sc. τῷ Ὀνωρίῳ] συνῆν Γάλλα Πλακιδία ὁμοπατρία αὐτοῦ ἀδελφῆ, παραπλησίως πολλὴν ποιουμένη λόγον τῆς θρησκείας καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἄγεται δὲ ταύτην Κωνσταντίος [A. D. 417] ὁ τὴν Κωνσταντίνου τυραννίδα καθελὼν [A. D. 411], ἀνὴρ μαχίμοτατος καὶ στρατηγικός, ὃν ὁ βασιλεὺς γεραίρων τῇ ἀδελφῇ στεφάνῳ καὶ ἀλουργίδι καὶ τῇ κοινῶνι τοῦ κράτους ἐτίμησεν [A. D. 421] ὀλίγον δὲ χρόνον ἐπιβίωσας ἐτελεύτησεν [421], Οὐαλεντινιανὸν τὸν Ὀνωρίου διάδοχον καὶ Ὀνωρίαν παῖδας καταλιπὼν. See the Tables in these years, and in 419. For her capture by the Goths in 409, her marriage with *Ataulphus* in 414, and her restoration to *Honorius* in 416, see the Tables. *Placidia* retired from Italy to the East in 423: see the Tables. Her son was appointed *Augustus* Oct. 23 A. D. 425: Tables p. 604. and for many years she governed the Western empire in his name. She died at Rome in 450: Prosper *Valentiniano VII et Avieno coss.* [A. D. 450] *Placidia defuncta est V Kal. Decembres.* At 451 in *Idatius: anno 280* [sc. a morte Honorii] *Valentiniani imperatoris mater Placidia moritur apud Romam.* For the reckoning of *Idatius* see the Tables A. D. 423 p. 600, 425 p. 604, 451 p. 642. Coins of *Placidia*: Eckhel tom. 8 p. 176 *D. N. Galla Placidia P. F. Aug. + salus reipublicæ. XP. or Imp. XXXXII cos. XVII p. p.* (referring to *Theodosius II*). See the Tables 444. 3 p. 631.) or *victoria Auggg. or vot. XX mult. XXX.* (referring to *Valentinian III*.) Ruhnkenius II de *Galla Placidia* quotes a coin "in cujus altera parte *Placidia Aug.* cernitur dextra erigens Italiam s. crucem gestans, addita epigraphe *vot. XXX mult. XXXX.*" and infers "illam vota tricennalia cum filio celebrasse, quæ incidunt in a. 451, quo anno victoriam ab *Attila* reportarunt." and that *Idatius* places her death in 452: "anno 280 *Valentiniani* qui in a. 452 incidit." and accordingly Ruhnkenius places the death of *Placidia* in 452. But as Eckhel makes no mention of that coin, its genuineness may be doubted: and *Idatius* does not there express A. D. 452, for his 27th year contains the death of *Theodosius* and the eleva-

tion of *Marcian*; and these happened in A. D. 450 in the 25th year of *Valentinian III*.

*Placidia* commemorates many emperors and many members of the *Theodosian* house in an inscription which she placed at Ravenna after her son was appointed *Augustus*. Therefore after Oct. 23 A. D. 425. Gruter p. 1048. 1 Muratori p. 1878. 2 Ravennæ in S. *Johannis Evangelistæ templo ad parietem ubi inter alia duæ naves in mari periclitantes depictæ: Galla Placidia Augusta pro se et iis [l. suis] omnibus vot. solvit.* Ad dextram juxta imagines Augustorum: *D. Constantinus D. Theodosius D. Arcadius D. Honorius, Theodosius nep.* Ad sinistram: *D. Valentinianus D. Gratianus D. Constantinus* [bene Tillemont *Constantius*] *Gratianus nep. Johannes nep.* Circa subsellia ad dextram: *DN. Theodosius, DN. Eudocia.* Ad lævam: *DN. Arcadius, DN. Eudoxia Aug.* Testudini inscriptum: *Sanctissim. ac beatissimo apostolo Johanni Evangelistæ Galla Placidia Augusta cum suo filio Plac. Valentiniano Aug. et filia sua [male editur filio suo] Justa Grata Honoria Aug. liberationis maris vot. solvit.* In this inscription *Theodosius II* and *Arcadius* are named twice. *Gratianus nep.* is *Gratian* mentioned above in note <sup>e</sup>. Of *Johannes nep.* no other record remains. From this inscription it appears that the invocation of Saints was already in use at A. D. 425. A part of this inscription is quoted by Noris tom. 1 p. 203, who adds a coin of *Honorina Augusta* also among the coins apud Eckhel tom. 8 p. 189 *D. N. Just. Grat. Honoria P. F. Aug. + bono reipublicæ. or salus reipublicæ. XP. or vot. XX mult. XXX.* Eckhel doubts whether there are "vota XX fratris *Valentiniani*," because "in nullo hactenus cognito *Valentiniani III* numo inscripta legimus vota XX soluta (conf. p. 187) neque in omnibus ejus votorum numis comparat *Victoria stans.*" But as a coin of *Galla Placidia* is extant with the same obverse, given above from Eckhel himself, it cannot be doubted that this obverse also refers to *Valentinian III*. His *vicennalia* might be celebrated in A. D. 444.

*Honorina* was disgraced at Rome in 434: see the Tables. But was protected by *Attila*: Tables A. D. 450. Add to the testimonies quoted at 434. 450 Paulus Diac. XV p. 550 Theophanes p. 90 C. The fear of *Attila* might influence *Valentinian* from 434 to 450, and on this account the title of *Augusta* remained to *Honorina*, and coins were issued with her name.

<sup>k</sup> *Flaccilla*, a younger daughter of *Theodosius II* and *Athenais* or *Eudoxia*, died according to Marcellinus in 431: Tables p. 614. *Eudoxia* the elder daughter was born in 422, the year after the marriage of her parents; betrothed to *Valentinian III* in 424, married in 437. In A. D. 455, when *Valentinian III* had been slain, *Eudoxia* sought the aid of *Geneseric*, and was carried with her daughters into



though in vain: Zosim. IV. 59, 2. who had worshipped *Jupiter* for almost 1200 years: § 3 ἡδὴ THEODOSIUS. διακοσίοις καὶ χιλίοις σχεδὸν ἔτεσιν. He withdrew the allowances formerly paid for sacri-

Africa. *Genserich* in 462 restored her to *Leo* with her daughter *Placidia*. See the Tables in those years.

Coins: Eckhel tom. 8 p. 188 *Licinia Eudoxia P. F. Aug. + salus reipublicæ. Comob. or vot. XXX mult. XXXX.* "Valentinianus et Licinia stantes."

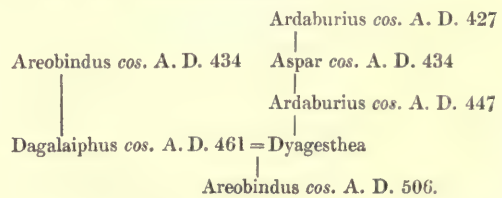
<sup>1</sup> *Eudoxia* the elder daughter of *Valentinian III*: see the Tables A. D. 437. 462. Married *Huneric*: Procop. Vand. I. 4 p. 186 C ἐν δὲ δὴ Ῥώμη Πλακιδία μὲν πρότερον ἐτελεύτα [A. D. 450] ἔπειτα δὲ Οὐαλεντιανὸς ὁ ταύτης υἱὸς [A. D. 455], ἅπαις ἄρσενος γόνου, θυγατέρε μὲντοι αὐτῷ δύο ἐξ Εὐδοξίας τῆς Θεοδοσίου παιδὸς ἐγενέσθη. c. 5 p. 189 B Γιζέριχος δὲ τὴν τε Εὐδοξίαν ἅμα Εὐδοκίαν καὶ Πλακιδίαν ταῖς αὐτῆς τε καὶ Οὐαλεντιανοῦ παισὶν αἰχμάλωτον εἶλε [A. D. 455].—Εὐδοκίαν μὲν οὖν Γιζέριχος Ὀνωρίχῳ τῷ τῶν παιδῶν πρεσβυτέρῳ ξυνώκησε, τὴν δὲ δὴ ἑτέραν (ἄνδρι γὰρ ξυνώκει Ὀλυβρίῳ τῶν ἐν βουλῇ τῇ Ῥωμαίων εὐδοκιμωτάτῳ) ἅμα τῇ μητρὶ Εὐδοξίᾳ, ἐξαιτησαμένου τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐς Βυζάντιον ἔπεμψεν [A. D. 462]. ἡδὴ δὲ τὸ τῶν ἐφῶν κράτος ἐς Λέοντα περιεστήκει. Evagrius II. 7 ἡ Ῥώμη ἀλίσκεται ὁ δὲ Γιζέριχος—λαβὼν τὴν Εὐδοκίαν σὺν καὶ ταῖς δύο θυγατράσιν ἐς τοῦπίσω τὴν ἔλασιν ποιεῖται—καὶ τὴν μὲν πρεσβυτέραν τῶν Εὐδοξίας θυγατέρων Εὐδοκίαν Ὀνωρίχῳ συνάπτει τῷ οἰκίῳ παιδί Πλακιδίαν δὲ τὴν νεωτέραν ἅμα Εὐδοξίᾳ τῇ μητρὶ σὺν θεραπείᾳ ὕστερον βασιλικαῖς ἐς Βυζάντιον ἐπέμπει, Μαρκιανὸν ἡμερούμενος [a mistake of Evagrius].—ἡ μὲν οὖν Πλακιδία γάμοις ὁμίλει κελεύσμασι Μαρκιανοῦ Ὀλυβρίῳ ταύτην ἐσοκισαμένη, ὃς ἐπίσημος τῆς γερονσίας ἐτίγχανεν ὢν, ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀλούσης ἀνὰ τὴν ΚΠ. ἀφικόμενος. After 16 years in Africa *Eudoxia* withdrew to Jerusalem: Theophanes p. 102 B *Leonis* 15<sup>o</sup> [A. D. 471] ἡ νῆπιος Εὐδοκία καὶ Θεοδοσίῳ ἐγγόνῃ ἐκκαίδεκα χρόνους ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ ποιήσασα μετὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς Ὀνωρίχου καὶ παιδᾶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ Ἰλδέριχου γεννήσασα, δυσφοροῦσα κατὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὡς Ἀρειανοῦ ὄντος, ἄδειαν εὐροῦσα καὶ φυγῇ χρησαμένη ἦλθεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ—ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν εἰρήνῃ. Conf. Zonaram XIII tom. 2 p. 48 D. She lived in Africa A. D. 455—471. *Huneric* succeeded *Genserich* in 477 and died in 484. *Ilderic* son of *Eudoxia* was deposed in 531: see the Tables in these years. He was slain in 533: Procop. Vand. I. 17 p. 218 B Γελίμερ δὲ—γράφει ἐς Καρχηδόνα πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀμμάταν Ἰλδέριχον μὲν καὶ ἄλλους—ἀποκτινύναι. His daughters were brought to CP. in 534, and kindly treated: Procop. II. 9 p. 256 B βασιλεύς τε Ἰουστινιανὸς καὶ ἡ βασίλισς Θεοδώρα τὰς Ἰλδέριχου παιδᾶς τε καὶ ἐγγόνους πάντας τοὺς ἐκ Οὐαλεντιανοῦ βασιλέως ξυγγενείας χρήμασιν ἱκανοῖς ἐδωρήσαντο. *Ilderic* survived the flight of his mother to Jerusalem 62 years. He died 78 years after *Eudoxia* had been brought to Carthage. That he was in advanced age appears from Procopius quoted in the Tables A. D. 531; for *Gelimer* who was heir presumptive (as *Ilderic* had no sons) was himself old, and yet was expected shortly to succeed *Ilderic*. See the message of *Justinian* apud Procop. Vand. p. 200 B οὐχ ὅσια

ποιεῖς—γέροντά τε καὶ ξυγγενῇ καὶ βασιλείᾳ Βανδύλων—ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχων κ. τ. λ.

<sup>m</sup> *Placidia* was already married to *Olybrius* before the capture of Rome in 455, according to Procopius quoted in note <sup>1</sup>. Confirmed by Priscus quoted in the Tables at A. D. 462. Evagrius (see the preceding note) supposes *Olybrius* to have taken refuge at CP. in 455, and afterwards to have received *Placidia* from *Marcian*. But Procopius and Priscus are to be preferred, because *Placidia* was not sent to CP. till after *Marcian's* death. *Marcian* therefore promoted the marriage before the capture of Rome. Theophanes p. 94 D agrees in this particular with Procopius and Priscus: Εὐδοξία—μετὰ μίας θυγατρὸς Πλακιδίας, γυναικὸς Ὀλυβρίου, ἐπανήλθεν ἐξ Ἀφρικῆς. Gibbon Vol. 6 p. 204 places the marriage of *Placidia* "after she was restored by *Genserich*." Zonaras XIII p. 48 D has this account: Γιζέριχος—τὴν Εὐδοκίαν τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ τῶν οἰκίαν υἱῶν Ὀνωρίχῳ συνέζευξε, τὴν δὲ γε λοιπὴν μαθὼν ἀνδρὶ κατηγγυῆσθαι τῷ πατρικίῳ Ὀλυβρίῳ ἐτήρει σὺν τῇ μητρὶ Εὐδοξίᾳ ἔνθα δύο διαγαγούσα ἐνιαυτοῦς ἡ βασίλισ Εὐδοξία ἐπανήλθεν εἰς τὸ Βυζάντιον μετὰ τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτῆς Πλακιδίας, Μαρκιανοῦ βασιλεύοντος. An error in the time of the return to CP.

<sup>n</sup> *Juliana* the daughter of *Olybrius* and *Placidia* was offered in marriage to *Theoderic* by *Zeno* after the two *Theoderici* had made peace with one another (see the Tables A. D. 478). Therefore in A. D. 479. Malchus p. 96 C D (Ζήνων) κρύφα πρὸς Θεοδέριχον [sc. τὸν Βαλαμῆρου] πράττει περὶ φιλίας.—ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι γάμον αὐτῷ δώσειν τῆς Ὀλυβρίου παιδὸς, ἢ ἄλλης τῶν ἐνδόξων γυναικῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει. After this date then *Juliana* married *Areobindus*: Chron. Pasch. p. 321 D Ὀλύβριος—ἔσχεν γυναῖκα Πλακιδίαν—καὶ γεννᾷ ἐξ αὐτῆς Ὀλύβριος Ἰουλιάναν τὴν γενομένην γυναῖκα Ἀρεοβίνδου τοῦ μεγάλου τοῦ μονομαχῆσαντος ἐν Περσίδι ἐξ ὧν γεννᾶται Ὀλύβριος ὁ μικρός.

*Areobindus*—Ἀρεόβινδος Ὀλυβρίου κηδεστής—is mentioned at A. D. 503 by Procopius and Theophanes quoted in the Tables p. 720. Theophanes adds p. 125 B τούτου [sc. Ἀρεοβίνδου] πρὸς πατῆρα ἐγένετο πάππος Ἀρεόβινδος ὁ κατὰ τὸν Θεοδοσίῳ τοῦ νέου χρόνον εἰδοκμήσας κατὰ Περσῶν [cos. A. D. 434 ob. A. D. 449: Tables p. 618. 638]. ἐτέχθη δὲ Ἀρεόβινδος τῷ Δαγαλαίφῳ ἀπὸ Δαγαθησθέας τῆς Ἀρδαβουρίου θυγατρὸς τοῦ παιδὸς Ἀσπαρος. For *Aspar* see the Tables A. D. 471. We obtain the following pedigree.



In the year 507 *Juliana* and *Areobindus* are men-

THEODOSIUS.

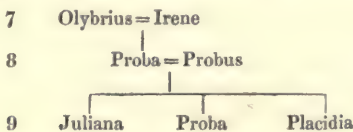
fices°. To this cause Zosimus ascribes the decline of the empire: 59, 4. In the year 385 *Cynergius* was sent to abolish paganism at Alexandria: Zosim. IV. 37, 5. 6. after *Maximus* had been acknowledged: Zosim. Ibid. The date is confirmed by Cod. Theod. l. 9 de paganis given in the Tables at May 25 A. D. 385, and aptly quoted by Reitemeier ad Zosim. l. c.

*Theodosius* had never been at Antioch in 387: Libanius in *Ellebich.* tom. 2 p. 11. 3 οὐδέπω δὲ αὐτὸν ἰδεῖν. The sedition is fixed to the year 387 by the testimonies given in the Tables. Sozomen VII. 23 relates the facts: the levy of money, the sedition, the overthrow of the statues, the intercession of *Flavianus*, the pardon obtained; but places them after the revolt of *Eugenius*: VII. 22 four years below the true time. Theodoret H. E. V. 19 describes the sedition, the mission of *Ellebichus* and *Cæsarius*, the intercession of the monk *Macedonius*. He places these events after the death of *Placidia*: V. 18 συνέβη μετὰ χρόνον τιτὰ τῆς τελευταίας τοιούδε τι γενέσθαι κ. τ. λ. c. 19 γυναῖκα—τοσαύτην μετὰ τελευταίην δέξασθαι παροιμίαν. But assigns no date to the sedition. Valesius<sup>p</sup> places it at the *decennalia* of *Theodosius* A. D. 388: "Id ipsum colligere est ex oratione Libanii de reconciliatione. ibi enim inter alia exempla proponit exemplum Valentiniani junioris, qui cum a Romanis Maximo tyranno adulantibus læsus fuisset, extincto postea Maximo, urbi pepercit. Quod iterum affert in oratione post reconciliationem. Ex quo apparet seditionem A. D. 388 contigisse, post cædem Maximi, qui oppressus est V Kal. Aug. 388." But 1 There is no allusion to *Valentinian II*. Libanius in the first oration p. 634 alludes to *Constantine* and his brother, and to Rome; and again in the second oration p. 664 to *Constantine* and to Rome. 2 If the sedition happened in 388 after *V Kal. Aug.* it could not have happened where it is fixed by *Chrysostom* himself, namely in the beginning of the year and before Lent.

In the war with *Eugenius* in 394 many marvellous circumstances are told by the ecclesiastical

tioned in the Tables in a sedition at CP. *Juliana* is named again by Theophanes p. 135 B at the 22nd of *Anastasius* A. D. 512. Ἰουλιὰνα—ἀντεποιεῖτο σφόδρα τῆς ἐν Χαλκηδόνι συνόδου.

Her son *Olybrius* is supposed by Pagi tom. 2 p. 438 Tillemont tom. 6 p. 378. 563 to have been consul in A. D. 491. But as the young *Olybrius* could not be more than 10 years old at that date, this is not probable. That consul may be called *Olybrius junior* to distinguish him from *Olybrius* consul in A. D. 464. The line of *Theodosius* was continued by *Olybrius* son of *Juliana*: Niceph. p. 404. 405 Ὀλύβριος ἀνὴρ Εἰρήνης θυγατρὸς Μάγνης ἀδελφῆς Ἀναστασίου βασιλέως· ἐξ ὧν ἐγεννήθη Πρόβα γυνὴ Πρόβου· καὶ ἐκ τούτων Ἰουλιὰνα γυνὴ Ἀναστασίου καὶ Πρόβα γυνὴ Γεωργίου Ἀρεοβίνδου καὶ Πλακιδία γυνὴ Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐπίκλην Μουστάκωνος: namely



*Probus*, the nephew of the emperor *Anastasius*, is mentioned at the year 518 by Anon. Vales. p. 623 *tres nepotes, id est, Pompeium Probum et Hypatium*. See the Tables. And in the war with Persia between 524 and 527 by Procopius Pers. I. 12 p. 33 D Πρόβου τὸν Ἀναστασίου τοῦ βεβασιλευκότος ἀδελφιδούν, ἄνδρα πατρικίον, ξὺν χρήμασι πολλοῖς ἐς Βόσπορον ἔπεμψεν κ. τ. λ. He is spared by *Justinian* in 527: Malal.

XVIII p. 171. He is in the sedition *νίκα* in 532: see the Tables. Chron. Pasch. p. 337 B ὁ δῆμος—ἔκραζον Πρόβου βασιλέα τῆ Ῥωμανία· καὶ ἔβαλον πῦρ εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ αὐτοῦ πατρικίου Πρόβου· καὶ ὀλίγων καυθέντων ελείφθη τὸ πῦρ καὶ ἐσβέσθη. Theophanes p. 157 A κατήλαθεν ὁ δῆμος—εἰς τὸν οἶκον Πρόβου κρίζοντες κ. τ. λ.—when his kinsmen *Pompeius* and *Hyphatius* were slain. *Probus* and his wife *Proba* were probably cousins; *Probus* might be the son or grandson of a brother or sister of *Magna*. *Magna* however is called by Theophanes p. 131 A not the sister but the sister-in-law of *Anastasius*: Μάγνα τῆ νύμφη Ἀναστασίου ἐπ' ἀδελφῶ.

*Joannes Mustaco*, who married the granddaughter of *Olybrius* and *Irene*, is mentioned by Theophanes p. 214 B at the 1st of *Mauricius* A. D. 582: Ἰωάννη τὸν Μουστάκωνα στρατηγὸν Ἀρμενίας ὁ βασιλεὺς πεποιήκεν. He was employed by *Mauricius* against the Avars in Thrace in 587: Theophylact. II. 17 p. 55 B βασιλεὺς—τὸν Ἰωάννην, ὃν δὴ Μυστάκωνα τοῖς πολλοῖς ἔθος ἀποκαλεῖν, στρατηγὸν προεστήσατο. And in the war to restore *Chosroes* in 591: Theophylact. IV. 15 p. 112 B V. 8 p. 129 D 130 C. V. 9 p. 131 C V. 15 p. 139 A. Theophanes p. 224 C ἐκελευσε Μαυρίκιος Ἰωάννην τὸν Μουστάκωνα τὸν τῆς Ἀρμενίας στρατηλάτην ἀναλαβεῖν τὰ στρατεύματα καὶ ἐνωθῆναι τῷ Ναρσῆ τοῦ ἅμα συστήσασθαι τὸν πρὸς Βαρὰμ πόλεμον.

° Zosim. IV. 59, 3 τότε δὲ ὁ Θεοδοσίος βαρύνεσθαι τὸ δημόσιον ἔλεγε τῆ περὶ τὰ ἱερά καὶ τὰς θυσίας δαπάνη, βούλεσθαι τε ταῦτα περιελείν.

p Referred to in the Tables p. 514.



writers. This success was predicted by *John the Hermit*: Prosper *Arcadio III et Honorio II* THEODOSIUS. *Joannes monachus anachoreta clarus habetur. qui ornatus propheticæ gratia Theodosium consulentem de eventu belli quod adversus Eugenium movebat victorem futurum prædixit.* Repeated by Casiodorus. Also told by Sozomen VII. 22 and by Theodoret V. 24. Alluded to by Claudian in Eutrop. I. 312—316. *Theodosius* has an auspicious dream the morning before his victory: Theodoret. *Ibid.* p. 1064. The victory was miraculously announced at CP.: Sozomen. VII. 24 p. 743 A.

Zosimus names as the generals of *Theodosius* in this war IV. 57 *Timasius, Stilicho, Gainas, Saul, Bacurius.* *Richomer* was now dead: IV. 55, 5. According to Zosimus *Bacurius* fell in the first battle; according to Socrates he gained for *Theodosius* the victory in the second. Orosius relates that *Arbetio* during the action came over from the enemy and contributed to the success. The celebrated *Alaric* served with *Theodosius* on this occasion: Socrates VII. 10 Ἀλάρικός τις βάρβαρος—τῷ βασιλεῖ Θεοδοσίῳ εἰς τὸν κατὰ Εὐγενίου τοῦ τυράννου πόλεμον συμμαχήσας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Ῥωμαϊκῇ ἀξίᾳ τιμηθεῖς. Zosimus V. 5, 5 σὺν αὐτῷ τὴν Εὐγενίου τυραννίδα καθεῖλε. The scene of action was περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν καλούμενον Φρίγγον Socrat. V. 25.—κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν, ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ Philostorg. XI. 2. *Frigidus amnis* Claudian. III cons. Hon. 99. According to Chron. Pasch. *Eugenius* was slain in Italy: p. 305 D Διογένης ὁ τύραννος [an error for *Eugenius*] ἀπεκεφαλίσθη ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ. That *Theodosius* used his victory with moderation is attested by Zosimus IV. 58, 7, 8.

Zosimus V. 38, 4 relates that *Theodosius* occupied Rome after his victory: τὴν Εὐγενίου καθελὼν τυραννίδα τὴν Ῥώμην κατέλαβε καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἀγιστείας ἐνεποίησε πᾶσαν ὀλιγορῖαν, τὴν δημοσίαν δαπάνην τοῖς ἱεροῖς χορηγεῖν ἀρνησάμενος κ. τ. λ. and that he then put down heathenism at Rome with *Serena.* τὴν Ῥώμην κατέλαβε is rendered by the editor *Romam venit.* But it may be doubted whether *Theodosius* visited Rome at this time. κατέλαβε therefore means *occupavit.* He occupied it by his generals, probably *Stilicho*, the husband of *Serena.* *Stilicho* is named in that passage of Zosimus 38, 10.

Zosimus has some errors in his account of the reign of *Theodosius.* 1 He relates IV. 35, 12 that *Gratian* was slain at Singidunum<sup>q</sup>. 2 He supposes the *Gruthungi* to be first heard of in A. D. 386, and yet they were encountered by *Valens* in 369<sup>r</sup>. 3 He speaks of the *embassy* of *Libanius* to CP. in 387: IV. 41, 3 αἰροῦνται Λιβανίου τε τὸν σοφιστὴν—καὶ Ἰλάριον—καὶ ὁ μὲν σοφιστὴς τὸν Περὶ τῆς στάσεως αὐτῷ τε βασιλεῖ καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ λόγον εἰπὼν ἴσχυσε τὸν βασιλέα μεταστῆσαι τῆς κατὰ Ἀντιοχέων ὀργῆς. He was misled by an expression of *Libanius*<sup>s</sup>. 4 He supposes an eclipse in the battle with *Eugenius* in 394<sup>t</sup>. 5 *Honorius* accompanies his father to Italy in Zosimus IV. 58, 1<sup>v</sup>. 6 The act of *Julius*, described in Zosimus IV. 26 is placed in the reign of *Theodosius.* But Ammianus is evidence that it happened in 378. Conf. Ammianum 31. 16, 8 *His diebus.* See Tillemont tom. 5 p. 714.

Zosimus in many parts of his narrative dwells upon the defects of *Theodosius*, whom he charges with negligence IV. 27, 1. 28, 1. The army is diminished through his mismanagement 29. 1. There is confusion in the armies 31, 1—3. He draws recruits from the barbarians 30, 1. 2. 56, 1. He is accused of folly and luxury 33, 5—8. He returns to his habits of luxury 50, 2. 3. Luxury again is mentioned 43, 4. 44, 1. His court is utterly corrupt 41, 1. His exactions are spoken of 32, 2—4. But yet in his acts *Theodosius* is very opposite by the account of Zosimus himself. The barbarians are detected and destroyed by his vigilance IV. 45, 5. 6. He takes his enemy by surprise 45, 6. and by his rapid movement captures him at Aquileia 46, 3—6. On his return to Thessalonica, finding Macedonia ravaged by barbarians, he with five followers traces the enemy

<sup>q</sup> See the Tables A. D. 383 p. 506.

<sup>r</sup> See the Tables in those years.

<sup>s</sup> See the Tables A. D. 387. 3 p. 515. 517.

<sup>t</sup> Tables 394 p. 530.

<sup>v</sup> Tables A. D. 394. See Reitemeier ad Zos. IV. 58, 1.



**THEODOSIUS.** to their concealment in person 48, 1—2. 4—9. then defeats and destroys them 48, 13. and *Timasius* admires the courage of the emperor 49, 1. In the war with *Eugenius* he masters the passes of the Alps 58, 2. After his auxiliaries were defeated he repairs the loss, attacks the victor the next day, and gains a complete victory 58, 7. Zosimus himself 50, 4. 5 “wonders at the character of *Theodosius*, inclined to luxury, and yet courageous and active.” Reitemeier ad Zosimum IV. 33, 5 p. 593 asserts that the charge of luxury was just. But he produces no witness except Philostorgius XI. 2 to confirm the account of Zosimus. And the Arian Philostorgius was not less hostile to this emperor than the heathen Zosimus. Tillemont on the contrary in describing the character of *Theodosius* inserts all that is said by his panegyrists Pacatus, Themistius, Claudian, Ambrosius, among the historical facts. We may reject this as exaggeration; but, accepting all that Zosimus admits in his favour, adding the account of Victor<sup>w</sup>, and forming a judgment from the acts and laws of *Theodosius*, we shall find much to praise and to admire.

To the laws of *Theodosius* quoted in the Tables may be added the following of Aug. 7 A. D. 389: Cod. Theod. Vol. 1 p. 121 Gothofr. l. 2 de feriis. p. 105 Wenck. Cod. Just. III. 12, 7 *Imppp. Valentinianus Theodosius et Arcadius AAA. Albino pf. U. omnes dies jubemus esse juridicos. illos tantum manere feriarum dies fas erit quos geminis mensibus ad requiem laboris indulgentior annus accepit, aestivis fervoribus mitigandis et autumnis fatibus decerpendis. Kalendarum quoque Januariarum consuetos dies otio mancipamus. His adjicimus natalitios dies urbium maximarum Romæ [Apr. 21] atque Constantinopolis [May 11], quibus debent jura deferre, quia et ab ipsis nata sunt. Sanctos quoque Paschæ dies, qui septeno vel præcedunt numero vel sequuntur, in eadem observatione numeramus. Necnon et dies Solis qui repetito in se calculo revolvuntur. Parem necesse est haberi reverentiam nostris etiam diebus, qui vel lucis auspicia vel ortus imperii prætulerunt. Dat. VII Id. Aug. Romæ Timasio et Promoto coss.* *Theodosius* was at Rome in that year from June 9 to Sept. 1. See the Tables.

Inscriptions: 1 Apud Gruter. p. 1019. 8 Terracinæ: After an inscription to *Trajan*, given in the Tables A. D. 110 p. 96, an inscription is added as follows, “sed rudi caractere, et longo post tempore adjectum:” *DDD. NNN. FFF. LLL. Theodosio Arcadio et Honorio PPP. (FFF. addit Fabret.) semper Auggg. bono reipub. natis.* Also in Muratori p. 465. 2 Terracinæ. who has *PPP. FFF. semper Auggg. bono reip. natis.* 2 A similar inscription apud Muratorium p. 265. 3 Signiæ: *Imppp. DDD. NNN. FFF. LLL. Theodosio Arcadio et Honorio &c.* 3 Muratori p. 265. 4 Romæ:

*Martia Theodosium dominorum Roma parentem  
Aetherio divum venerans sacravit in orbe.*

**ARCADIUS. ARCADIUS.**

Appointed *Augustus* 16 Jan. 383, succeeded his father in the East 17 Jan. 395, died May 1 A. D. 408 æt. 31<sup>x</sup>. He was born therefore in 377. His wife *Eudoxia* is described above at p. 125 g. For the character of *Arcadius* see Philostorgius XI. 3 Zosimus V. 14, 1 22, 5 24, 3.

To the laws of *Arcadius* issued in the year 395, quoted in the Tables p. 534, 535, add the following.

Cod. Theod. Vol. 6 p. 277 l. 13 de paganis. *Rufino pf. p. Statuimus nullum ad fanum vel quodlibet templum habere quempiam licentiam accedendi vel abominanda sacrificia celebrandi quolibet loco vel tempore. Igitur universi qui a catholica religionis dogmate deviare contendunt ea quæ nuper decrevi*

<sup>w</sup> Victor Epit. p. 396. 397 *Fuit Theodosius moribus et corpore Trajano similis—Mens vero prorsus similis. —Clemens animus, communis, solo habitu differre se ceteris putans, in omnes homines honorificus, verum effusus in bonos.—Largiri magno animo magna &c. Illa tamen quibus Trajanus aspersus est, vinolentiam et*

*cupidinem triumphandi, usque eo detestatus est, ut bella non moverit sed invenerit, prohibueritque lege ministeria lasciva psaltriasque comessionibus adhiberi &c.*

<sup>x</sup> See the Tables in those years.

<sup>y</sup> That is, the laws de hæreticis given in the Tables at 395. 4, dated March 13. 29.



*properent custodire, et quæ olim constituta sunt de hæreticis vel de paganis non audeant præterire, ARCADIUS. scituri quidquid divi genitoris nostri legibus est in ipsos vel supplicii vel dispendii constitutum nunc acrius exsequendum. Sciant autem moderatores provinciarum et his apparitio obsecundans, primates etiam civitatum, defensores, necnon et curiales, procuratores possessionum nostrarum, (in quibus sine timore dispendii cætus illicitos hæreticos inire comperimus, eo quod fisco sociari non possunt, quippe ad ejus dominium pertinentes,) si quid adversus scita nostra tentatum, non fuerit vindicatum atque in vestigio ipso punitum, omnibus se detrimentis et suppliciis subjugandos quæ scitis sunt veteribus constituta. Speciatim vero hæc in moderatores austeriora sancimus et decernimus; namque his non custoditis omni industria atque cautela non solum hanc mulctam quæ in ipsos constituta est exerceri, verum etiam quæ in eos præfinita est qui commissi videntur auctores. Nec his tamen remissa quibus ob contumaciam suam juste est inrogata, insuper capitali supplicio judicamus officia coercenda quæ statuta neglexerint. Dat. VII Id. Aug. CP. Olybrio et Probino coss. Vol. 4 p. 175 Heracliano com. Ægypti. Dat. prid. Kal. Oct. Vol. 6 p. 148 l. 29 de hæreticis. Marcello mag. officiorum. Sublimitatem tuam investigare præcipimus an aliqui hæreticorum vel in scriniis, vel inter agentes in rebus, vel inter palatinos, cum legum nostrarum injuria audeant militare; quibus, exemplo divi patris nostri, omnibus et a nobis negata est militandi facultas. Quosunque autem deprehenderit culpæ hujus adfines, cum ipsis quibus et in legum nostrarum et in religionum excidium conhibentiam præstiterunt, non solum militia eximi verum etiam extra mœnia urbis jubebis arceri. Dat. VIII Kal. Dec. CP. Vol. 2 p. 219 Osio C. S. L. Dat. IV Kal. Dec. CP. I. 14, 2 p. 63 Wenck. Cod. Just. I. 37, 2 de officio præfecti Augustalis. Rufino pf. p. [lege præfecto Augustali.] Dat. prid. Non. Dec. CP. Olybrio &c. Not the noted Rufinus, who was already dead before this date, but another Rufinus<sup>z</sup>.*

Laws of *Honorius* A. D. 395, to be added to the laws quoted in the Tables.

Cod. Theod. Vol. 4 p. 480 *Theodoro pf. p. Dat. XIII Kal. Feb. Vol. 2 p. 448 Basilio p. U. Dat. III Non. Mart. Med. Vol. 2 p. 559 Dextro pp. o. Dat. XV Kal. Ap. Med. Vol. 4 p. 194 l. 2 de indulgentiis debitorum. Dextro pf. p. Quingena viginti octo millia quadraginta duo jugera, quæ Campania provincia, juxta inspectorum relationem et veterum monumenta chartarum, in desertis et squalidis locis habere dignoscitur, hisdem provincialibus concessimus, et chartas superflue descriptionis cremari censemus. Dat. IX Kal. April. Med. Vol. 3 p. 187 Dextro p. p. Dat. prid. Id. April. Med. Vol. 2 p. 560 Dextro pp. o. Dat. VI Kal. Maii Med. Vol. 2 p. 593 Dextro pf. p. Dat. XVII Kal. Jun. Med. Vol. 4 p. 267 p. 481 p. 482 Ennoio proc. Afric. Dat. XVII Kal. Jun. Med. Vol. 4 p. 268 Andromacho p. U. Dat. VIII Kal. Jun. Med. Vol. 5 p. 78 provincialibus Afric. Dat. VII Kal. Jun. Med. Vol. 2 p. 369 ad Andromachum p. U. Dat. prid. Non. Jun. Med. Vol. 1 p. 84 II. 1, 8 p. 91 Wenck. Pasiphilo suo salutem. Dat. VIII Id. Junii Med. Gothofr. Vol. 2 p. 593 ad provinciales et ad proconsules. Dat. XVII Kal. Jul. Med. Vol. 4 p. 133 Messiano com. R. P. Dat. XVII Kal. Jul. Med. Vol. 4 p. 484 Dextro pf. p. Dat. XVII Kal. Jul. Med. Vol. 5 p. 307 Eusebio consulari Siciliæ. Dat. XI Kal. Jul. Med. Vol. 5 p. 308 Have, Vincenti K. NB. Dat. III Non. Jul. Med. Vol. 1 p. 150 Andromacho pf. p. Dat. prid. Non. Jul. Med. Vol. 2 p. 594 Andromacho p. U. Data prid. Id. Jul. Med. Vol. 1 p. 405 Petronio vicario Hispaniarum. Dat. VI Kal. Aug. Med. V. 13, 35 p. 315 Wenck. Cod. Just. XI. 69, 3 Hadriano com. S. L. Dat. VIII Id. Aug. Gothofr. Vol. 2 p. 16 Florentio p. U. Dat. XVIII Kal. Oct. Vol. 4 p. 485 Theodoro pf. p. Dat. IV Kal. Oct.*

<sup>z</sup> Wenck p. 63 observes that in Cod. Ambros. the title is *Rufino ppo. Augtal.* and alters this to *pf. p.* "quum Rufinus pf. p. sit notissimus præfectus autem Augustalis hujus nominis ignoretur—censeo librarium, cum scriptum esset *præfecto pratorio. Præfectus Augustalis*—hæc ad inscriptionem retraxisse. Ad

hanc igitur sententiam locum ita ut jam editus est correxi." But if the noted *Rufinus pf. p.* is meant, the date Dec. 4 cannot stand; for his successor *Cæsarius* was already in office at Nov. 30. See the Tables p. 534.



ARCADIUS. *Med.* Vol. 2 p. 660 *Florentino* [sic] *p.U. Dat. Id. Oct. Med.* Vol. 2 p. 65 *Dextro pf.p. Dat. Kal. Nov. Brixia.* Vol. 3 p. 426 *Eulogio com. R. P. Dat. XVIII Kal. Dec. Med.* I. 15, 14 p. 71 Wenck. *Eusebio pf.p. Dat. XIV Kal. Jan. Romæ.* Gothofred. Vol. 4 p. 486 *Ennoio suo sal. Dat. VII Kal. Jan.* Vol. 4 p. 34 *Ennoio<sup>a</sup> suo sal. Dat. XII Kal. Jan.* [lege *VII Kal. Jan.*] *Med.* All *Olybrio et Probino coss.*

Laws of *Arcadius* A. D. 396; not inserted in the Tables.

Cod. Theod. Vol. 2 p. 219 *Martiniano C. S. L. Dat. XV Kal. Feb. CP. Arcadio IV et Honorio III AA. coss.* Vol. 2 p. 152 *Osio magistro officiorum. Dat. XV Kal. Feb.* Vol. 2 p. 173 *Osio mag. off. Dat. VII Kal. Feb. CP.* Vol. 2 p. 153 *Cæsario p.p. Dat. XVI Kal. Mart. CP.* Vol. 5 p. 129 *Herodi ... Dat. XVI Kal. Mart.* Vol. 2 p. 154 *Claudio p.U. Dat. XV Kal. Mart. CP.* Vol. 1 p. 326 III. 19, 6 p. 194 Wenck. *Eutyichiano pf.p. Dat. VI Kal. Mart. CP.* Gothofr. Vol. 2 p. 175 *Cæsario p.p. Dat. IV Kal. Mart. CP.* Vol. 1 p. 337 IV. 4, 3 p. 205 Wenck. *Æternali proc. Asiæ. Dat. XII Kal. April.* Gothofr. Vol. 4 p. 333 *Æternali proc. Asiæ. Dat. XII Kal. April.* Vol. 5 p. 308 *Cæsario pf.p. Dat. IX Kal. April.* Vol. 3 p. 392 *ad Paulum ... Dat. V Kal. April. CP.* Vol. 1 p. 22 III. 1, 7 p. 156 Wenck. *Remigio pf. Augustali. Dat. III Kal. April. CP.* Vol. 1 p. 249 *Remigio pf.p. Augustali. Dat. III Kal. April. CP.* Vol. 2 p. 318 *Cæsario p.p. Dat. XV Kal. Maii.* Vol. 3 p. 446 *Laurentio com. R. P. Dat. VIII Kal. Maii CP.* Vol. 5 p. 357 Cod. Just. XI. 45, 1 l. 1 de *Maiuma. Cæsario pf.p. Clementiæ nostræ placuit ut Maiumæ provincialibus lætitia redderetur &c. Dat. VII Kal. Maii CP.* Cod. Theod. Vol. 2 p. 646 *ad Cæsarium pf.p. Dat. VIII Id. Maii CP.* Vol. 4 p. 170 ..... *præsidi (Frygiæ) Palæstinæ. Dat. prid. Kal. Jul. CP.* Vol. 5 p. 253 *Africano p.U. pp. III Kal. Aug. CP.* Vol. 3 p. 23 *Maximo pf.p. Dat. III Non. Aug. CP.* Vol. 4 p. 489 Cod. Just. II. 7, 3 *Africano p.U. Dat. III Non. Aug. CP.* Vol. 2 p. 30 *Cæsario pf.p. Dat. prid. Id. Aug. CP.* Ibid. *Africano p.U. Dat. prid. Id. Aug. CP.* Vol. 3 p. 278 *ad Cæsarium p.p. Dat. prid. Kal. Sept. CP.* Vol. 1 p. 331 plenius V. 1, 5 p. 275 Wenck. *Aureliano pf.p. Dat. prid. Non. Oct. CP.* Gothofred. Vol. 1 p. 297 *Eutyichiano pf.p. Dat. VI Kal. Dec. CP.* Vol. 4 p. 616 *Eutyichiano pf.p. Dat. XVIII Kal. Jan. CP.* Vol. 4 p. 171 *Euthymio vic. Asiæ. Dat. XII Kal. Jan.* Vol. 2 p. 65 *Simplicio pf.p. Dat. X Kal. Jan. CP.* Vol. 5 p. 401 *Claudio p.U. Dat. VIII Kal. Jan. CP.* Vol. 2 p. 66 ..... *p.U. Dat. IIII Kal. Jan. CP.* Ibid. *Eutyichiano pf.p. Dat. prid. Kal. Jan. CP.*

Vol. 5 p. 309 *Cæsario pf.p. pp. Regio.*

<sup>a</sup> All these *Arcadio IV et Honorio III AA. coss.*

Laws of *Honorius* in A. D. 396: Cod. Theod. Vol. 2 p. 438 *Florentino p.U. Dat. XIV Kal. Maii Med.* Vol. 2 p. 410 *ad populum. Dat. VI Kal. Maii Med.* Vol. 4 p. 269 *Messalæ pf.p. Dat. XIV Kal. Jun.* Vol. 2 p. 318 *Hilario p.p. Dat. III Kal. Jun. Med.* Vol. 2 p. 320 *Hilario p.p. Dat. XVI Kal. Jul.* Vol. 5 p. 165 *Eusebio pf.p. Dat. VII Id. Jul.* Vol. 5 p. 79 *Eusebio pf.p. Dat. X Kal. Jan. Med.* Vol. 4 p. 104 *Florentino p.U. Dat. VI Kal. Jan. Med.* Vol. 4 p. 160 *Hilario. Dat. V Kal. Jan. Med.* These also *Arcadio IV et Honorio III AA. coss.* The rest are given in the Tables.

A. D. 398 Laws of *Arcadius*: Cod. Theod. Vol. 1 p. 87 II. 1, 10 p. 93 Wenck. *ad Eutyichianum pf.p. Data III Non. Feb. CP.* Gothofred. Vol. 5 p. 131 *Eutyichiano pf.p. Dat. Non. Mart. CP.* Vol. 2 p. 320 ..... *Dat. VIII Kal. Ap. CP.* Vol. 2 p. 321 *Eutyichiano p.p. Dat. X Kal. Jun. CP.* Vol. 5 p. 312 *Eutyichiano pf.p. Dat. V Non. Jul. CP.* Vol. 6 p. 68 l. 32 de *episcopis. Cæsario pf.p. Si quos forte episcopi deesse sibi clericos arbitrantur, ex monachorum numero rectius ordinabunt, non obnoxios publicis privatisque rationibus cum invidia teneant, sed habeant jam probatos. Dat. VII Kal.*

<sup>a</sup> *Ennodio* in Vol. 5 p. 79 quoted in the Tables p. 534.



*Aug.* Vol. 3 p. 310 l. 16 de pœnis, Vol. 3 p. 361 l. 3 de his qui ad ecclesias confugiunt, Vol. 4 ARCADIUS. p. 270 l. 57 de appellationibus, *Eutyichiano pf. p. Dat. VI Kal. Aug. Mnizo*<sup>b</sup>. Vol. 6 p. 70 l. 33 de episcopis. *Eutyichiano pf. p. Dat. III Kal. Aug. Minizo*. Vol. 5 p. 312 *Severo p. U. Dat. V Id. Oct. CP.* Vol. 4 p. 493 *Eutyichiano pf. p. Dat. VIII Kal. Nov. CP.* Vol. 1 p. 24 l. 2, 11 p. 23 Wenck. *Eutyichiano pf. p. Dat. VIII Id. Dec. CP.* Gothofr. Vol. 3 p. 527 *Osio magistro officiorum. Dat. XVIII Kal. Jan. CP.* All *Honorio A. IV et Eutyichiano coss.* The rest in the Tables.

Laws of *Honorius A. D. 398*: Cod. Theod. I. 5, 11 p. 31 Wenck. *Vincentio pf. p. Dat. III Id. Feb. Med.* Gothofr. Vol. 4 p. 492 *Theodoro pf. p. Dat. Id. Feb. Med.* Vol. 5 p. 230 Vol. 5 p. 258 *Theodoro pf. p. Dat. prid. Id. Ap. Med.* Vol. 5 p. 166 Vol. 6 p. 66 *Theodoro pf. p. Dat. VII Kal. Maii Med.* I. 12, 6 p. 60 Wenck. *Victorio proconsuli Africae et Dominatori vicario Africae. Dat. XII Kal. Jun. Mediolani.* Vol. 1 p. 90 *Theodoro pf. p. Dat. IX Kal. Jun. Med.* II. 1, 11 p. 93 Wenck. Cod. Just. X. 19, 6 *Theodoro pf. p. Dat. IX Kal. Jun. Med.*<sup>c</sup> Cod. Theod. I. 11, 2 p. 56 Wenck. .... *Dat. IX Kal. Jul. Med.* I. 7, 3 p. 42 Wenck. *Stiliconi magistro militum. Dat. Id. Sept. Med.* Gothofr. Vol. 3 p. 446 *Firmino com. R. P. Dat. VI Kal. Nov. Med.* Vol. 3 p. 396 *Firmino com. S. L. Dat. Kal. Nov. Med.* Cod. Just. I. 24, 1 *Theodoro pf. p. Dat. XII Kal. Jan. Med.* VIII. 12, 13 Cod. Theod. Vol. 5 p. 311 *Theodoro pf. p. Dat. Kal. Jan. Med.* *Kal. Jan.* in both the codes; but Gothofred. refers this law to *XII Kal. Jan.* All these *Honorio A. IV et Eutyichiano coss.* The other laws of 398 are given in the Tables.

A. D. 399 to the Laws of *Honorius* add the following. Cod. Theod. I. 12, 7 p. 60 Wenck. *Messalæ pf. p. et præposito annonæ. Dat. III Kal. Oct. Altini.* I. 5, 12 p. 31 Wenck. *Messalæ pf. p. Dat. V Id. Oct.* Both *Theodoro V. C. cos.*

A. D. 400 Laws of *Honorius*: Cod. Theod. III. 20, 1 p. 195 Wenck. *Flaviano pf. p. Dat. III Non. Mart. Med.* Gothofr. Vol. 4 p. 84 *Apollodoro procons. Africae. Dat. prid. Id. Mart.* Vol. 2 p. 293 *Stilichoni magistro militum. Dat. XIII Kal. Ap. Med.* Vol. 2 p. 411 *Vincentio pf. p. Galliarum. Dat. XVI Kal. Jun. Med.* Vol. 4 p. 273 *Pompeiano pf. p. Dat. Kal. Jun. Med.* Vol. 5 p. 83 *Pompeiano proc. Afric. Dat. XVII Kal. Jul. Med.* I. 15, 15 p. 72 Wenck. *ad Vincentium pf. p. Dat. XIV Kal. Jul. Med.* Gothofred. Vol. 4 p. 617. 618 *Vincentio pf. p. Galliarum. Dat. III Kal. Jul. Med.* Vol. 4 p. 498 Vol. 5 p. 18 *Pompeiano proc. Africae. Dat. prid. Kal. Jul. Med.* Vol. 1 p. 419 *Vincentio pf. p. Galliarum. Dat. IV Id. Jul. Med.* Vol. 2 p. 563 *Messalæ p. p. o. Dat. XV Kal. Dec.* Vol. 3 p. 403 *Messalæ p. p. Dat. VI Kal. Dec. Med.* Vol. 1 p. 155 Vol. 2 p. 564 Vol. 4 p. 186 *Messalæ pf. p. Dat. V Kal. Dec. Med.* I. 5, 13 p. 31 Wenck. *ad Messalam pf. p. Dat. Kal. Dec. Med.* Gothofr. Vol. 2 p. 565 *Vincentio p. p. o. Dat. V Id. Dec. Med.* These *Stilichone et Aureliano coss.* The other laws in the Tables p. 549.

Inscriptions: 1 Grut. p. 287. 2 Romæ: *D. N. Fl. Arcadio Pio Felici victori ac triumphatori semper Augusto Cæcina Decius Albinus V. C. præfectus urbi*<sup>d</sup> *vice sacra judicans devotus numini majestatique ejus.* 2 Grut. p. 1051. 9 Bononiæ: *B. M. hic requiescunt duo fratres innocentes, Constantius Neofitus qui vixit annis octo m. II d. VI, depositus III Id. Novemb. cons. DD. NN. Arcadii. et Honor. Augg. Justus Fidelis qui vixit annis VII.* This belongs either to A. D. 394, or 396, or 402. 3 Murat. p. 265. 5 Romæ: *Imperatoribus invictissimis principib. .... DD. NN. Arcadio et Honorio semp. Aug. ... senatus populusque Romanus vindicata republica ..... et Africa re.....* Given more completely from Gruter in the Tables A. D. 398 p. 542. But Muratori adds "In latere basis: *C. Judentius V. C. p. Ur. DD.*" The inscription refers to the fall of *Gildo.* 4 Murat. p. 466. 1 Gruter p. 287. 1 Romæ: *Imppp. clementiss. et feliciss. toto orbe victoribbb. DDD. NNN. Arcadio Honorio et Theodosio*

<sup>b</sup> Various written *Mnizo, Mnyzo, Minizo* in these laws.

<sup>c</sup> *VIII Kal. Jun.* Cod. Just.

<sup>d</sup> *Albinus*, who was thus *præf. Urbi* before the death of *Arcadius* May 1 A. D. 408, was again *præf. Urbi* in the year 414. See the Tables 414. 3. 4 p. 587.

ARCADIUS. *Augg. ad perenne indicium triumph. quod Gothorum nationem in omne ævum dom. extra arcum simulacris eorum tropheisque decora ..... S. P. Q. R. totius operis splendore.* After the defeat of *Radagaisus* in A. D. 405.

HONORIUS. HONORIUS.

Born Sept. 9 A. D. 384, appointed *Augustus* 10 Jan. 393, succeeded his father in the West 17 Jan. 395, died in August 423<sup>e</sup>.

For the entrance of the Vandals into Gaul in the reign of *Honorius* A. D. 406, see the Tables p. 564. 566. The date proposed, May 31, is more probable than Dec. 31, because 1 all the authorities in which the consuls are mentioned name the consuls of the year 406 as the epoch of the event; 2 it was two complete years before the autumn of 408<sup>f</sup>; 3 it was three years before the occupation of Spain, which they entered in September or October 409<sup>g</sup>.

An inscription is extant in Muratori p. 466. 3 Romæ: *Salvis ac florentibus DD. NN. Honorio et Theodos. perpetuis semper Augg. Cæcina Decius Acinatus Albinus V. C. præf. urbi* [A. D. 414] *vice sacra judicans cellam tepidariam inclinato omni pariete labent. de qua cellarum ruina pendebat erectorum a fundamentis arcuum duplici munitione fulcivit D. N. M. Q. eorum.* Compare an inscription given in the Tables A. D. 414 p. 587. 2 Muratori p. 466. 2 Gruter p. 192. 2 Romæ: ..... *DD. NN. æternis principibus Honorio et Arcadio Anicius Acilius Glabrio Faustus V. C. præf. urbis vice sacra judic. fatali casu subversam in formam prisca usus restituit.*

Usurpers in the reign of *Honorius*.

<i>Marcus</i>	}	Tables A. D. 407.
<i>Gratian</i>		
<i>Constantinus</i> <sup>h</sup>		Tables 407. 408. 409. Slain in 411 <sup>i</sup> .
<i>Constans</i>		Tables 407. 408. 409. Slain in 411.
<i>Gerontius</i>	}	Tables A. D. 409. 411.
<i>Maximus</i>		

*Gerontius* according to Olympiodorus apud Phot. Cod. 80 p. 184 made his son *Maximus Augustus*, pursued *Constans* and slew him in Gaul at the time at which *Constantius* was sent by *Honorius*. He adds that *Constantine* was besieged in Arelate by *Constantius* and *Ulphilas*; that *Gerontius* fled at their approach, was besieged by his own soldiers, and slew himself: Γερόντιος—φεύγει, καὶ καταληφθεὶς, ὅτι ἐγκρατῶς ἦρχε τοῦ οἰκείου στρατοῦ, ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἐπιβουλευέται· πῦρ γὰρ κατὰ τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ ἀνήψαν· ὁ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπαναστάντας κρατερῶς ἐμάχετο ἕνα συναγωνιστὴν ἔχων Ἀλανὸν τὸ γένος, εἰς δούλους αὐτοῦ ἀριθμούμενον. τέλος τὸν τε Ἀλανὸν καὶ τὴν γυναικα, τοῦτο προθυμουμένους, ἀναρεῖ, ἐπικατασφάζει δὲ καὶ ἑαυτόν. Μάξιμος δὲ ὁ παῖς ταῦτα μαθὼν πρὸς τοὺς ὑποσπόνδους φεύγει βαρβάρους. Sozomen IX. 13 relates that *Gerontius* appointed his dependent *Maximus*—τὸν αὐτοῦ οἰκείου—and placed him in Tarraco; that he marched himself into Gaul and slew

<sup>e</sup> See the Tables in those years.

<sup>f</sup> See the Tables p. 566. 572. Add Orosius VII. 40 *Ante biennium Romanæ irruptionis—gentes Alano- rum Suevorum Vandalorum multaque cum his alie Francos proterunt, Rhenum transeunt, Gallias invadunt.*

<sup>g</sup> Tables p. 576 A. D. 409.

<sup>h</sup> Orosius VII. 40 *His [sc. Alanis Suevis Vandalis] per Gallias bacchantibus, apud Britannias Gratianus, municeps ejusdem insulæ, tyrannus creatur et occiditur.*

*Hujus loco Constantinus, ex infima militia, propter solam spem nominis sine merito virtutis eligitur, qui continuo ut invasit imperium in Gallias transiit.*

<sup>i</sup> *Constantine* is named in an inscription apud Gruterum p. 1052. 6 in Treveris: ἔνθα κείται Εὐσεβία ἐν εἰρήνῃ οὖσα ἱεροκομιτὴ ἀπὸ ἰ. κόμης Ἀδδανῶν ζήσασ. ἡμέρ. ὁ πρὸς ἐτῶν ἰ ἐν ὑπατείᾳ Ὀνωρίου τὸ η' [A. D. 409] καὶ Κωνσταντίνου τὸ α', μηνὶ Πανήμιου ιβ' ἡμέρα καὶ β. ἐν εἰρήνῃ. July 12 A. D. 409.



*Constans* at Vienne; that not long after *Gerontius* was besieged by his own soldiers in his house HONORIUS. and slew himself. Then followed the capture of *Constantine* at Arelate: *Sozom.* IX. 14<sup>k</sup>. *Orosius* VII. 42 has this account: *Constantem Constantini filium Gerontius comes suus, vir nequam ac improbus, apud Viennam interfecit, atque in ejus locum Maximum quendam substituit. Ipse vero Gerontius a suis militibus occisus est.*

*Maximus* was deposed in 412 and slain in 422<sup>l</sup>. Coins of *Maximus* are given by *Eckhel* tom. 8 p. 178 *D. N. Maximus P. F. Aug. + victoria Auggg. or victoria Romanor.*

*Attalus*<sup>m</sup>. Tables 409. 410. 414. 416.

*Jovinus*<sup>n</sup>. Tables A. D. 411. 412. 413.

*Sebastianus*. Tables 412. 413.

*Heraclianus*. 413 col. 1. 2. 3.

*Orosius* VII. 42 *Heraclianus Africae comes missus, cum Attalus umbram gestaret imperii, Africam strenue adversum judices ab eo missos tutatus [A. D. 409], consulatum adsecutus est; quo elatus supercilio Sabinum domesticum suum—generum adlegit; cum quo quorundam periculorum suspiciones dum patitur, fecit, atque aliquandiu Africana annona extra ordinem detenta, ipse tandem cum immensa, certe temporibus nostris satis incredibili classe navium, Romam contendit.—Occursu comitis Marini territus et in fugam versus, arrepta navi Carthaginem solus rediit, atque ita continuo militari manu interfectus est. Sabinus gener ejus CP. fugit, unde post aliquantum temporis retractus exilioque damnatus est.* As *Heraclianus* was consul Jan. 1 A. D. 413, his revolt was after that date.

*CONSTANTIUS*, who overthrew *Constantine* and caused the fall of *Gerontius*, was sent into Gaul CONSTANTIUS. in 411, was consul in 414, married *Placidia* in 417, was declared *Augustus* in 421 and died 7 months afterwards in the same year. See the Tables in these years. Coins apud *Eckhel* tom. 8 p. 175 *D. N. Constantius P. F. Aug. + victoria Auggg. R. V. Comob. or victoria Augustorum. R. V. Con.*

## THEODOSIUS II.

THEODOSIUS II.

Born 10 Apr. 401, *Augustus* 10 Jan. 402, succeeded his father 1 May 408, married *Athenais*<sup>o</sup> 7 June 421, died 28 July 450<sup>p</sup>.

<sup>k</sup> *Sozomen* also mentions the faithful follower, and the wife of *Gerontius*, who perished with him: *Γερόντιος—διασωθῆναι δυνάμενος οὐχ εἴλετο, κατασχεθεὶς ἔρωτι Νουνησίας τῆς αὐτοῦ γαμετῆς· περὶ δὲ τὴν ἔω, πῦρ ἐμβαλότων τῇ οἰκίᾳ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, οὐκ ἔχων λοιπὸν σωτηρίας ἐλπίδα ἐκόντος τοῦ συνόντος αὐτῷ Ἀλανοῦ ἀποτέμνει τὴν κεφαλὴν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τῆς ἰδίας γαμετῆς ὀλοφυρομένης καὶ μετὰ δακρύων προσωθούσης ἑαυτὴν τῷ ξίφει, καὶ πρὶν ὑφ' ἐτέροις γενέσθαι παρὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀποθανεῖν αὐτοῦσης.—Γερόντιος δὲ τρίτον ἑαυτὸν τῷ ξίφει παίσας, ὡς οὐ καιρίαν λαβὼν ἤσθετο, σπασάμενος τὸ παρὰ τὸν μηρὸν ξιφίδιον κατὰ τῆς καρδίας ἤλασε.*

<sup>l</sup> Tables p. 582. 600.

<sup>m</sup> De *Attalo* *Philostorgius* XII. 3\* *Ἀτταλον* (Ἀλάρικος) αὐτοῖς ἀναγορεύει βασιλεύει. οὗτος δὲ Ἴων μὲν ἦν τὸ γένος, Ἕλληνας δὲ τὴν δόξαν, τῆς αὐτῆς δὲ πόλεως ἑπαρχος. οὗτος δὲ [sc. *Alaricus*] λοιπὸν μετὰ τὴν ἀναγόρευσιν—τὸν Ἀτταλον λαβὼν, καὶ στρατηγὸς σχῆμα πληρῶν αὐτῷ, ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥάβενναν καθ' Ὀνωρίου στρατεύει. Coins are given in *Eckhel* tom. 8 p. 180 *Priscus Attalus P. F. Aug. +*

*gloria Romanorum. or invicta Roma aeterna. Conob. vel Comob. or restitutio reip. Conob. or victoria Romanorum. PST. or vot. V mult. X.*

<sup>n</sup> Coins apud *Eckhel* tom. 8 p. 179 *D. N. Jovinus P. F. Aug. + restitutor. reip. or victoria Aug. vel Auggg. vel Auggg. or vot. V mult. X. D. N. Sebastianus P. F. Aug. + victoria Auggg. Con. vel Kont.*

<sup>o</sup> For the history of *Athenais* or *Eudocia* consult the authorities quoted in the Tables at A. D. 421. Add *Malalas* XIV p. 52—55, who has the same narrative as the *Paschal Chronicle*. *Zonaras* XIII tom. 2 p. 40 C gives the same facts: Θεοδοσίῳ τοίνυν τελεῖν ἡγμένῳ εἰς μείρακας ἢ ἀδελφῇ Πουλχερίᾳ μνηστεύεται τὴν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν Εὐδοκίαν, κάλλους μὲν ἔχουσαν περιττῶς σοφίας δὲ μετασχούσαν παντοδαπῆς· ἢ θυγάτηρ μὲν ἦν Λεοντίου τινὸς φιλοσόφου [male Chron. Pasch. Ἡρακλείτου] Ἀθήνηθεν ὠρμημένου, Ἀθηναῖς δ' ὀνομάζετο. ὃς γνοὺς ἐξ ἐπιστήμης εὐτυχῆσαι μέλλουσαν τὴν θυγατέρα λαμπρῶς διατιθέμενος τὴν μὲν περιουσίαν αὐτοῦ τοῖς υἱοῖς καταλείπει (δύο δ' ἦσαν Οὐαλέριος καὶ Γένσιος [Γένσιος Malal. Chron.

THEODOSIUS  
II.

Jornandes Success. p. 705 reckons 43 years to *Theodosius: loco patris successit in imperio, adolescens egregius, regnavitque annos quadraginta tres.* In Paulus Diaconus XIV p. 544 *Theodosius* having reigned 21 years with *Honorius*, and 27 after his death, of which 25 with *Valentinian III*, — *apud CP. morbo consumptus obiit ibique sepultus est.* The years are rightly given, being computed from the elevation of *Theodosius* in 402. In Evagrius I. 22, quoted in the Tables A. D. 450 p. 640, for ὀκτὼ καὶ τριάκοντα we may read ὀκτὼ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα. Zonaras XIII tom. 2 p. 45 A θνήσκει δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς Θεοδοσίος πεντηκοντούτης γενόμενος, καὶ σχεδὸν ἅπαντας οὓς ἐβίω ἐνιαυτοὺς βασιλεύσας, βραχεῖς μὲν πάνν σὺν τῷ πατρὶ τοὺς δ' ἄλλους καθ' ἑαυτὸν τὴν δ' αἰτίαν τῆς αὐτοῦ τελευτῆς οἱ μὲν νόσον γεγενῆσθαι φασίν, οἱ δ' ἐν θήρᾳ οἱ ἐλαύνοντι συμπεσεῖν τὸν ἵππον ἰστόρησαν, καὶ πληγέντων αὐτῷ καιρίων μερῶν μετ' ὀλίγον θανεῖν.

In A. D. 415 l. 58 de hæreticis, partly given in the Tables p. 590, proceeds thus: after *iterandum. Ne eo quoque extra pœnam relegationis futuro, qui sponte adque ulro passus fuerit ad secundum se baptisma et geminata semel indulta fidei mysteria imbui temere, vel perperam devocari. Pari pœna deportationis absque alicujus intercessione in Eunomianos clericos processura, si conventus exercere vel in hac inclitya urbe vel in provinciis civitatibus ac territoriis, vel creare ausi fuerint clericos pestiferi dogmatis vel creari. Confirmatis itaque prioribus legibus, quæ promulgatæ sunt tam circa inhibendos conventus Eunomianorum quam etiam circa interdictas novissimas voluntates aut liberalitates, illud addimus, ut, si qui de Eunomianis speciali beneficio meruerant ut eis testamenti factio indulgeretur vel donandi vel accipiendi ex largitate licentia tribuatur, priventur hoc beneficio, et pares ceteris sint quibus pares sunt in dogmatis pravitate. Nulli penitus testari liceat Eunomiano in Eunomianum, nulli ejusdem perversitatis ex testamento quicquam percipere Eunomiani. nemo donet, nec Eunomianus ab*

Pasch.) τῇ δὲ θυγατρὶ ἑκατὸν χρυσίονους μόνους δοθῆναι ἐπέσκηψε, γράψας ἀρκεῖν αὐτῇ τὴν τύχην αὐτῆς. τῶν γούν συγγενῶν αὐτῆς σφετερισαμένων τὴν πατρικὴν οὐσίαν, ἡ Ἀθηναῖς νόμιμον τὸ οἰκεῖον ἀπῆτει λάχος, καὶ ἤξιον τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς μὴ κατὰ τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς διαθήκας ἀδίκους οὖσας ποιεῖν. οἱ δὲ καὶ τῆς οἰκίας αὐτὴν ἔξωσαν τῆς πατρικῆς. δεξαμένη τοῖνυν αὐτὴν ἡ πρὸς μητρὸς θεία ἀνελήλυθεν εἰς ΚΠ. καὶ τῆς Πουλχερίας ἐδέοντο κ. τ. λ.—βαπτίζει αὐτὴν ἔτι οὖσαν ἀμύητον, καὶ Εὐδοκίαν μετονομάσασα τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτῆν Θεοδοσίῳ συζεύγνυσι καὶ διαθήματι ταινωῖ καὶ Λύγούσταν καλεῖ.—ἡ δὲ βασιλὶς Εὐδοκία μετακαλεῖται τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς, καὶ μηδὲν αὐτοῖς μνήσασα, ἀλλὰ χάριτας μᾶλλον ὁμολογήσασα, ὡς οὐκ ἂν τυχοῦσα τῆς βασιλείας εἰ μὴ παρ' αὐτῶν ἐξώσθη,—τὸν μὲν Γενέσιον ἑπαρχον τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν διὰ τοῦ βασιλέως πεποίηκε τὸν δὲ Οὐαλέριον ἐτίμησε μάγιστρον. Her daughter *Eudoxia* was born in 422. See above p. 126 k. The wife of *Theodosius* was declared *Augusta* Jan. 2 A. D. 423 (Tables). In 444 *Eudocia* retired to Jerusalem: Tables p. 630. Conf. Zonaram XIII p. 44 C D. She lived there many years, and died according to Theophanes p. 94 A in the 5th of *Marcian* A. D. 454: τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει ἐτελεύτησεν Εὐδοκία ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις πολλὰ καταλείψασα ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις. Followed by Cedrenus p. 346 C τῷ ἔτει —Εὐδοκία ἡ τοῦ Θεοδοσίου γυνὴ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις τελευτᾷ πολλὰ καταλείψασα κ. τ. λ. Conf. Chron. Pasch. p. 316 D. But her death is placed at Oct. 20 A. D. 460 by Cyrillus monachus in vita Euthymii abbatis apud Pagium tom. 2 p. 364: *Beata Eudocia ecclesias quamplurimas Christo edificavit &c.—in manus Dei spiritum commendavit mense Octobri 20<sup>a</sup>, 14<sup>a</sup> indictione.*

Confirmed by Nicephorus XIV. 50 [p. 559 B] apud S. Basnage Annal. tom. 3 p. 502 who places the death of *Eudocia* at the 4th year of *Leo*, æt. 67. The 4th of *Leo* commenced Feb. 7, the 14th indiction Sept. 1 A. D. 460. The 67th year in October 460 would suppose her to be 27 at her marriage in June 421.

Some literary works of *Eudocia* are described by Photius: Cod. 183 ἀνεγνώσθη μετάφρασις τῆς ὀκτατεύχου ἡρῶν δ' αὐτὴν μέτρον μετεποίηε. λόγοι δ' ἦσαν ἡ κατὰ ἀριθμὸν καὶ τομὴν τῶν ἀμειφθέντων, Εὐδοκίας δὲ τῆς βασιλίδος ἐν ἐπιγραφαῖς πόνον ἔλεγεν ἡ βίβλος.—οἷς δ' ἔλεγεν ἡ βίβλος τὴν τὰ μέτρα τοῖς λόγοις τεχνησαμένην ἔλεγεν ὧδε:

δευτερίην καὶ τήνδε Θεοῦ Θέμιδος κάμε βίβλον  
Εὐδοκίῃ βασιλείᾳ Λεοντίῳ εὐπατέρει.

Idem-Cod. 184 ἀνεγνώσθη τῷ αὐτῷ μέτρῳ καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς γλώσσης μετάφρασις προφητικῶν λόγων, τοῦ τε θεοσπεσίου Ζαχαρίου καὶ τοῦ κλεινοῦ Δανιὴλ· ἡ αὐτὴ δὲ χάρις τοῦ τεχνίτου διέπρεπε κὰν τοῖτοισ. ἐμπεριείχοντο δὲ τῷ τεύχει τῷ αὐτῷ τοῦ μέτρον χαρακτῆρι λόγοι γ' εἰς μάρτυρα τὸν Κυπριανόν, κ. τ. λ.

Among the coins of *Eudocia* or *Eudoxia* the following are given to the wife of *Theodosius* by Eckhel tom. 8 p. 184. 1 *Æl. Eudocia Aug. + vot. XX mult. XXX. Conob.* 2 *Æl. Eudoxia Aug. + vot. XXX mult. XXXX. B. Conob.* 3 *Æl. Eudoxia Aug. + " sine epigraphe. crux in laurea."* 4 *Æl. Eudocia Aug. + " sine epigraphe. crux in laurea."* 5 See the Tables A. D. 444. 3.

P See the Tables in those years.



*Eunomiano liberalitatem prædii vel domus accipiat, etiamsi per interpositam alterius sectæ personam vel titulum venditionis imaginariæ fraus quædam legi fuerit excogitata. Tantum hi qui ab intestato venturi sunt ex legibus in eorum ex hæreditate succedant, adque his locus pateat successionis ad quos jura sanguinis legitimæ intestatorum deferunt hæreditates. Conventicula etiam eorum in domos si qua fuerint vel possessiones, pro norma generalium sanctionum ærario nostro absque dubio socientur; sibi hoc imputante domino qui interdictos cætus sciens passus est sub tecto proprio vel in prædio rustico exerceri. Illo incunctanter exsequendo, ut ubi ubi repperiti fuerint Eunomianorum clerici qui auctores iterati baptismatis extiterunt, comprehensi in perpetuum sub pœna deportationis ad exilium deducantur. Etiam illo addendo ut nemo Eunomianus vel militet vel provinciam sub administratione cujuslibet officii suscipiat gubernandam &c.*

THEODOSIUS II.

**JOANNES.** Tables 423—425. *Joannes* is described by Procopius Vand. I. 3 p. 182 D, who gives him 5 years: *πέντε γοῦν ἔτη τὴν τυραννίδα ἔχων μετρίως ἐξηγήσατο*<sup>q</sup>. But his reign began after the death of *Honorius* Aug. A. D. 423, and he was slain before Oct. 23 A. D. 425.

JOANNES.

Coins: Eckhel tom. 8 p. 186 D. *N. Johannes P. F. Aug. + salus reipublicæ. or victoria Augg. vel Augg. Conob. or victoria Augustorum. XP. or Urbs Roma. or "sine epigraphe crux in laurea."* He is consul in an inscription apud Muratorium p. 403. 1 extra Romam: *Consulatu Johanni Aug. Hic requiescit Dativa dep. VI Kal. Feb. in pace. &c.—et Basilia soror ejus hic requiescit dep. V Idus Martias in pace.* In Jan. and March of 424 or 425.

## VALENTINIANUS III.

VALENTINIANUS III.

Born July 419, appointed *Cæsar* in 424, *Augustus* Oct. 23 A. D. 425. Married *Eudoxia* 29 Oct. 437. He assassinates *Aëtius* in 454 and is slain himself 16 March 455<sup>r</sup>.

Inscriptions. 1 Gruter p. 159. 8 Arelate: *Salvis DD. NN. Theodosio et Valentiniano [sc. Theodosio II Valentiniano III] P. F. V. ac trium. semper Aug. XV cons. vir inl.... auxiliaris præ. præto. Gallia... de Arelate Ma..... miliaria poni S. ... M. P. I.* 2 Muratori p. 466. 4 Novæ in Sardinia: *Salvis DD. NN. imp. Theodosio et Placido Valentiniano Augg.*

*Subductos olim latices patriæque negatos  
Restituit populis puro Flaviolus amore.*

*Curante Valerio Ennodio principale ac primario ejusdem urbis.* 3 Muratori p. 406. 3 Romæ: *Domino rerum humanarum Valentiniano Augusto Petronius Maximus V. C. fori condito... post quatuor præfecturas et duos ordinarios consulatus auctori sibi tot honorum loca..... Maximus* was consul A. D. 433. 443, which determines this inscription to *Valentinian III.*

## MAXIMUS.

MAXIMUS.

After the death of *Valentinian III* the Western Empire was continued for 21 years longer till it ended in *Romulus* A. D. 476. *Maximus* reigned March 17—June 12 A. D. 455<sup>s</sup>. An inscription to the honour of *Maximus* is given in the Tables A. D. 421. 3 p. 599. His two consulships A. D. 433. 443 (see the first column of the Tables in those years) are commemorated in another inscription given above under *Valentinian III.*

**AVITUS.** Tables A. D. 455. 2. 3. 456. 2. 3.

AVITUS &amp;c.

*Avitus* reigned from the end of August 455 to September inclusive A. D. 456.

<sup>q</sup> Suidas p. 1790 C (*Ἰωάννης ὁ τυραννῆσας*) transcribes a part of the account of Procopius.

is *divus* in a law of *Marcian* Aug. 1 A. D. 455. Tables 455. 4.

<sup>r</sup> See those years in the Tables. *Valentinian III*

<sup>s</sup> For *Maximus* see the Tables 455. 2. 3 p. 650. 651.

MAJORIANUS. Appointed *Augustus* Ap. 1 A. D. 457, deposed Aug. 2 and slain Aug. 7 A. D. 461<sup>t</sup>.

SEVERUS. Tables A. D. 461. 464. 2. 3. 465 p. 666. He was proclaimed *Augustus* Nov. 19 A. D. 461, he died probably Nov. 14 (certainly after Sept. 25) A. D. 465.

ANTHEMIUS<sup>v</sup>. *Augustus* 12 Ap. 467, slain by *Ricimer* July 11 A. D. 472.

OLYBRIUS. For his marriage with *Placidia* see above p. 127 m. He was consul in 464, appointed *Augustus* in April 472, and died Oct. 23<sup>w</sup>.

GLYCERIUS. Appointed *Augustus* 5 March 473<sup>x</sup>. Deposed in 474<sup>y</sup>. His coins are given at A. D. 473. 3 p. 679.

NEPOS. *Augustus* June 24 A. D. 474<sup>z</sup>. His coins are in the Tables 474. 3. An inscription is given apud Muratorium p. 266. 7 Romæ tessella aurea literis argenteis: *Salvo D. N. Julio Nepote P. F. Aug. Audax V. C. præfectus urbi fecit*. *Nepos* was deposed and driven into Dalmatia by *Orestes* Aug. 23 A. D. 475<sup>a</sup>. Slain May 9 A. D. 480<sup>b</sup>.

ROMULUS AUGUSTUS<sup>c</sup>. *Augustus* 31 Oct. 475, deposed Aug. 23 A. D. 476.

MARCIANUS.

MARCIANUS. Appointed through the influence of *Pulcheria* Aug. 25 A. D. 450. Present at the council of Chalcedon in 451. His laws *de fide* are given in the Tables A. D. 452. 2. 4 p. 646. 647. *Marcian* died between 26 Jan. and 7 Feb. A. D. 457<sup>d</sup>. For his marriage with *Pulcheria*, see above p. 125 g. Zonaras XIII p. 45 C Πουλχερία δὲ μήπω πολλοῖς γνωσθείσης τῆς τοῦ αυτοκράτορος τελευτῆς τὸν Μαρκιανὸν μετεπέμψατο, ἄνδρα γηραιὸν ἤδη χρηστὸν δὲ τοῖς τρόποις καὶ σώφρονα, καὶ ἀπαγγέλλει αὐτῷ τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν θάνατον, καὶ φησὶν ὡς “σὲ παρὰ πάντας εἰς βασιλεία προκέκρικα, εἴ μοι δοῖς πληροφορίαν τηρήσαι μου τὴν παρθενίαν ἀνεπαφον, ἢν τῷ Θεῷ ἀνατέθεικα.” τοῦ δὲ συνθεμένου, μετακαλεῖται τὸν πατριάρχην καὶ τὴν βουλὴν, καὶ ἀναγορεύει τοῦτον καὶ ταιριοὶ διαδήματι. Idem XIII p. 49 A Μαρκιανὸς δὲ θνήσκει ἐξ βασιλεύσας ἔτη καὶ μῆνας τινὰς, ὡς μὲν τινες λέγουσι, νοσήσας, ὡς δὲ τινες, φαρμαχθεὶς νεύσει τοῦ πατρικίου Ἄσπαρος, πρεσβύτης γενόμενος, καὶ ζήσας ἐπὶ μακρόν.

LEO.

LEO. His accession was Feb. 7 A. D. 457. His war with *Genserik* in 468 is described in the Tables p. 668. 670. In October 473 he appointed his grandson *Leo Augustus*, and died 3 Feb. 474.

The deaths of *Aspar* and *Ardaburius* in 471<sup>e</sup> are mentioned by Zonaras XIV p. 49 CD (ὁ βασιλεὺς)—ἐπιβουλεύοντας αὐτῷ φωράσας τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἄσπαρα, κάκεινον καὶ τὸν Ἀρδαβούριον ἔκτεινε. Zonaras XIV p. 50 A describes the wife and daughters of *Leo*: οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶχε γυναῖκα κεκλημένην Βηρίναν [Tables A. D. 468 p. 668. 670], ἐξ ἧς ἐγένοντο αὐτῷ θυγατέρες δύο Ἀριάδνη καὶ Λεοντία· ὧν τὴν μὲν τῷ Ζήνωνι κατηγγύησε [Tables A. D. 469], τὴν δὲ Λεοντίαν συνέζευξε τῷ πατρικίῳ Μαρκιανῷ, υἱῷ Ἀνθεμίου τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ. and the appointment of his grandson: XIV p. 51 A—C τούτῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἔγγονος ἐξ Ἀριάδνης τῆς θυγατρὸς ἐγεννήθη καὶ Ζήνωνος, ὃν Λέοντα ὀνομάσας ἐκείνος βασιλικῷ ταιριοῖ διαδήματι ἐπὶ νηπία πάντῃ ἡλικίᾳ. τὸν γὰρ Ζήωνα μὴ προσήκοντα τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἔκρινεν ὅτι μήτε τὴν γνώμην εἶχε βασιλικὴν μήτε μὴν εἶδος ἄξιον τυραννίδος.—διὰ τοῦτο τινες ἰστοροῦσιν ἀναιρεθῆναι τὸν Ἄσπαρα καὶ τὸν Ἀρδαβούριον παρὰ τοῦ αυτοκράτορος Λέοντος θέλοντος τὸν

<sup>t</sup> See the Tables 457 p. 656, 458. 2. 3. 459. 2. 3. 460. 2. 3. 461 p. 662.

<sup>v</sup> Tables 467. 2. 3. 468. 3. 469. 2. 3. 472 p. 674. 676.

<sup>w</sup> See the Tables A. D. 472. 2. 3.

<sup>x</sup> Tables p. 676. 678.

<sup>z</sup> Tables p. 680.

<sup>b</sup> Tables p. 692.

<sup>c</sup> Tables 475. 2. 3. 476. 2. 3.

<sup>d</sup> Tables p. 654. 656.

<sup>y</sup> Tables p. 680.

<sup>a</sup> Tables 475 p. 682.

<sup>e</sup> See the Tables.



θυγατριδοῦν αὐτοῦ τὸν μικρὸν Λέοντα βασιλεύειν, φοβουμένον δ' ἐκείνους ὡς μέγα δεδυνημένους.—καὶ ὁ LEO. βασιλεὺς δὲ Λέων νοσήσας ἐξέλιπεν, ἢ βασιλεύσας ἐνιαυτοῦς, τὸν μικρὸν Λέοντα διάδοχον τῆς βασιλείας καταλιπών. The character of *Leo* is in Suidas v. Λέων βασιλεύς p. 2287 B quoting Malchus, and v. Ζήνων βασιλεύς p. 1582 A.

Coins of *Leo*: Eckh. tom. 8 p. 194.1 *D. N. Leo perpet. Aug. + imp. XXXXII cos. XVII P. P.*<sup>f</sup> or *victoria Augg. vel Auggg. vel Augustorum. or virtus Augusti.* 2 *D. N. Leo P. F. Aug.* + “sine epigraphe crux in laurea.” Coins of *Verina*: p. 195 *Ael. Verina Aug. + victoria Auggg.* or “sine epigraphe crux in laurea.”

LEO MINOR. Survived his grandfather ten months, and died in November 474. To the au- LEO MINOR. thorities quoted in the Tables add Zonaras XIV p. 51 C καταλειφθεις ὁ μικρὸς Λέων, νηπιᾶζων ἔτι, ἐφ' ἕνα ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπεβίω τῇ βασιλείᾳ, καὶ νήπιος ἐπαπῆλθε τῷ πάππῳ, τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πατέρα τὸν Ζήνωνα βασιλέα καταλιπών, αὐτὸς ταῖς αὐτοῦ χερσὶ τῇ ἐκείνου κεφαλῇ περιθεῖς τὸ διάδημα.

## ZENO.

ZENO.

Zonaras XIV p. 51 D ἦν δὲ ὁ Ζήνων ἐξ ἔθνους αἰσχίστου τοῦ τῶν Ἰσαύρων, αἰσχιστος καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ τὴν μορφήν καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν γεγυῶς.—κατὰ τούτου τοῦ Ζήνωνος ἐν Θράκῃ διατρίβων ὁ τῆς βασιλίσσης Βηρίνης ὁμαίμων ὁ—Βασιλίσκος ἀνταιρεῖ χεῖρα, τῆς Βηρίνης συναιρομένης αὐτῷ, καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου τινῶν. δειλὸς δὲ ὢν ὁ Ζήνων καὶ ἀνανδρὸς φεύγει αὐτίκα σὺν Ἀριάδνῃ τῇ γυναικί, ἐν Ἰσαυρίᾳ πρὸς τοὺς ὁμογενεῖς· ὁ Βασιλίσκος δ' ἐλθὼν ἐν τῷ κάμπῳ ἀναγορεύεται βασιλεύς.

Theophanes p. 96 A places the marriage of *Zeno* and *Ariadne* at the 2nd year of *Leo* A. D. 458: τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει—καὶ Ζήνων ἐξεύχθη Ἀριάδνῃ τῇ θυγατρὶ Λέοντος. Followed by Cedrenus p. 347 C τῷ β' ἔτει—Ζήνων Ἀριάδνῃ κ. τ. λ. But it appears from Candidus<sup>g</sup> apud Photium p. 173 that the marriage was after the fire of CP. διέρχεται τὸν συμβάντα τῇ πόλει ἐμπρησμόν—καὶ περὶ Τιτιανοῦ καὶ Βιβιανοῦ, καὶ ὡς περὶ αὐτῶν διενέχθη Ἀσπαρ καὶ ὁ βασιλεύς,—καὶ ὡς ὁ βασιλεὺς διὰ τοῦτο ἡταιρίσατο τὸ Ἰσαύρων γένος διὰ Ταρασικοδίσσα Ῥουσουμβλαδεώτου, ὃν καὶ Ζήνωνα μετονομάσας<sup>h</sup> γαμβρὸν ἐποίησατο, τὴν προτέραν γυναῖκα θανάτου νόμῳ ἀποβαλόντα. Therefore after September 465, in the 9th year of *Leo*. *Zeno* is consul by that name in 469, and is sent into Thrace<sup>l</sup>.

The flight of *Zeno* was in November A. D. 475, his return in July 477, his death Ap. 9 A. D. 491<sup>k</sup>. Zonaras XIV p. 52 C ἐλθὼν ἐς τὴν ΚΠ. ὁ Ζήνων [A. D. 477] ἐδέχθη ὑπὸ τε τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ. καὶ ὁ Βασιλίσκος τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ τῶν παίδων προστέφενεν κ. τ. λ.—ὁ Ζήνων δὲ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πενθερὰν τὴν βασιλίδα Βηρίναν ἐξώρισεν<sup>l</sup>. ὁ γοῦν Βασιλίσκος ἐπὶ δύο τυραννήσας ἐνιαυτοῦς, εἴτε ὡς εἴρηται εἴτε πῶς ἄλλως, διώλετο.—Ζήνων δὲ αὐθις τῆς ἐξουσίας δραξάμενος τὸν μὲν τοῦ Ἀρματίου υἱὸν προεχειρίσατο Καίσαρα, πληρῶν τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν, αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Ἀρμάτιον στρατηλάτην· καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον τὸν μὲν Ἀρμάτιον ἔκτεινε—τὸν δὲ υἱὸν ἐκείνου τὸν Καίσαρα πεποίηκε κληρικόν [see the Tables 477. 2 p. 688]. ἀνείλε δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἰλλον τὸν μάγιστρον τυραννίδι ἐπιχειρήσαντα [Tables 484. 2. 3. 488. 2], ὅτι ξυγὼ ἐπιβουλευόμενος παρὰ τῆς βασιλίσσης Ἀριάδνης, εἰδότος καὶ Ζήνωνος. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ Πελάγιον τὸν πατρικίον, ἄνδρα λογιώτατόν τε καὶ δικαιοτάτον,—καὶ ἄλλους δὲ πλείστους τῶν περιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν ὁ ἐχθιστος Ζήνων ἀπώλεσε.—καὶ οὕτω βιοῦς βιαίως ἀπερράγη τοῦ ζῆν, κ. τ. λ. On the character of *Zeno* compare Evagrius III. 1, 3. Suidas v. Ζήνων βασιλεύς p. 1582 A is more favourable to *Zeno*, pre-

<sup>f</sup> “Ut in numis Theodosii II.” Eckhel. See the Tables 444. 3 p. 631.

<sup>g</sup> See the Tables A. D. 457. 3.

<sup>h</sup> Evagrius II. 15 Λέων δὲ γαμβρὸν ἐπὶ θυγατρὶ Ἀριάδνῃ προσλαμβάνεται Ζήωνα, Ἀρικμήσιον μὲν ἐκ σπαργάνων καλούμενον, μετὰ δὲ τοῦ γάμου καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν προσκησάμενον ἐκ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Ἰσαύροις ἐς μέγα κλέος

ἐληλυθότος, οὕτω προσαγορευομένου.

<sup>i</sup> See the Tables.

<sup>k</sup> See the Tables in those years.

<sup>l</sup> *Verina* remained in this exile or imprisonment till 484, when she was rescued by *Illus*, and died soon after. See the Tables A. D. 484. 2.

ZENO. fers him to *Leo*, and ascribes his errors of government to the influence of *Sebastianus*. This fragment in *Suidas* is referred by *Valesius* to *Malehus*, who described the reign of *Zeno*<sup>m</sup>.

BASILISCUS. BASILISCUS<sup>n</sup>.

His reign or usurpation was from Nov. 475 to July 477.

*Zonaras* XIV p. 52 A may be added to the testimonies quoted in the Tables: τὴν οἰκεῖαν γαμετὴν Ζηνωνίδα Αὐγούσταν ἔστειψε. καὶ Μάρκον τὸν υἱὸν προεχειρίσατο Καίσαρα. ἦν δὲ καὶ οὗτος τοὺς τε τρόπους οὐδὲν βελτίων τοῦ Ζήνωνος, καὶ περὶ τὸ σέβας οὐκ ὀρθῶς διακείμενος. τῆς γὰρ Εὐτυχοῦς καὶ Διοσκόρου μετεῖχε καὶ οὗτος αἰρέσεως, παρὰ τῆς γαμετῆς εἰς ταύτην προβιβασθεῖς, καὶ σφόδρα τὰς τῶν ὀρθοδόξων ἐκκλησίας ἐκάκωσε, καὶ τὴν ἐν Καλχηδόνι σύνοδον τυραννικῶ γράμματι ἄκυρον εἶναι τεθέσπικε.

*Marcianus Romulus* and *Procopius*, sons of *Anthemius*, revolted against *Zeno* in 479. *Marcian* was the son-in-law of *Leo*<sup>o</sup>. *Leontius* was proclaimed *Augustus* by *Illus* and *Verina* in 484, and slain in 488P.

Coins of *Leontius*: *Eckhel* tom. 8 p. 201. 1 *D. N. Leontius perp. Aug. XP.* + *victoria Aug. Cono.* or *victoria Augg. Ant.* 2 *D. N. Leontius P. F. Aug.* + *victoria Augg. Conob.* 3 *D. N. Leontius perpet. Aug.* + *victoria Augustorum.*

ANASTASIUS. ANASTASIUS reigned from Ap. 11 A. D. 491 to 9 July 518<sup>q</sup>. Of *Dyrrachium*: see the Tables 491 p. 706. Add *Malalas* XVII p. 141 *Δυρράχιον, πόλις τῆς νέας Ἡπείρου ἐπαρχίας, ἐξ ἧς ὑπῆρχεν Ἀναστάσιος ὁ βασιλεὺς* ὅστις καὶ πολλὰ ἐκτίσεν ἐκεῖ. *Zonaras* XIV p. 53 D describes his elevation: ἡ Ἀριάδην τὸν δίκουρον Ἀναστάσιον σιλευτιάριον ὄντα—εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν ἀνήγαγε γνώμη καὶ τῆς γερούσιας καὶ τοῦ στρατεύματος, Οὐρβικίου τοῦ ἐκτομίου, μέγα τότε δυναμένου, σπουδάσαντος εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου ἀνάρρησιν. p. 54 B ὁ πατριάρχης Εὐφῆμιος ἐγγραφὸν ἰδιόχειρον τοῦ Ἀναστασίου δεξάμενος, ὡς δέχεται τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας δόγματα καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῆς ἐν Χαλκηδόνι συνόδου ὀρισθέντα φυλάξει πάντα<sup>r</sup>, στέφει αὐτόν· ὁ δὲ αὐτίκα τὴν Ἀριάδην μνηστεύεται, καὶ γραφὴν ποιεῖται βασιλείου ἀφιεῖσαν τὰ μέχρι τότε τῷ δημοσίῳ παρὰ τινῶν ὀφειλόμενα. ἤδη δὲ τεσσαρακοστῆς παραρρησίσης ἡμέρας μετὰ τὴν ταφὴν Ζήνωνος, καὶ τοὺς γάμους ἐτέλεσε.

His financial measures were beneficial to his subjects. He remitted an oppressive tax: *Theodorus lector* p. 566 D Ἀναστάσιος ἀπέστειλε τὸ χρυσάργυρον, καὶ τὰ κυνήγια ἔπαυσεν, καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ὀνίους οὐσας προῖκα παρέδωκεν. *Evagrius* III. 39 ὑπερμεγεθὲς δὲ κατεπράχθη αὐτῷ καὶ θεῖον τι χρῆμα, ἡ τοῦ καλουμένου χρυσαργύρου ἐς τελεὸν κωλύμη. *Zonaras* XIV p. 54 BC δασμοῦ δὲ τοὺς ὑπηκόους πιέζοντος τοῦ λεγομένου χρυσαργύρου, καὶ τοῦτον ἐξέκοψεν<sup>s</sup>. *Evagrius* and *Zonaras* l. c. describe this odious tax, and *Zonaras* adds p. 54 D ἀλλὰ ταύτην ἐκκόψας τὴν εἰσφορὰν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀναστάσιος καὶ αὐτὰς τὰς περὶ ταύτης ἀπογραφὰς ἐναντίον τοῦ δήμου κατέκαυσεν ἐν τῷ ἰππικῷ. καὶ ἦν μὲν ἐν τούτοις φιλότιμος καὶ τὴν τῶν πολιτικῶν πραγμάτων διοίκησιν καλῶς μετερχόμενος· τὰς γὰρ πολιτικὰς ἀρχὰς, ὀνίους παρεχομένας τὸ πρὶν, ἐκείνος ἀμισθοὺς ἐδίδου. He remitted seven years' taxes to towns that had been taken by the enemy: *Procop. Anecd.* p. 66 D Ἀναστάσιος βασιλεὺς ἐπτάετες ταῖς ἀλούσαις (τῶν πόλεων) τὰ τέλη ἐπιχωρεῖν ἔγνω. As to *Amida*: *Procop. Pers.* I. 7 p. 22 D Ἀναστάσιος—φόρους τε τοὺς ἐπετείους ἐς ἔτη ἑπτὰ ξύμπαντας ἀφήκε τῇ πόλει καὶ αὐτοὺς κοινῇ τε καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστον πολλοῖς τισιν ἀγαθοῖς ἐδωρήσατο. *Justinian* at the accession of *Justin* in 518 found the treasury full of treasure: *Procop. Anecd.* p. 56 D χρημάτων δημοσίων ἐμπλεων τὴν πολιτείαν εὗρεν. Ἀναστάσιος γὰρ προνοητικώτατός τε ἅμα καὶ οἰκονομικώτατος πάντων αὐτοκρατόρων γενόμενος δείσας, ὑπερ ἐγένετο,

<sup>m</sup> See the Tables A. D. 473. 3.

<sup>n</sup> Tables A. D. 468. 475. 476. 2. 3. 477.

<sup>o</sup> See the Tables A. D. 479, and *Zonaras* tom. 2 p. 50 A quoted above under *Leo*.

<sup>p</sup> See the Tables.

<sup>q</sup> See the Tables in those years.

<sup>r</sup> *Conf. Evagrius* III. 32.

<sup>s</sup> *Malalas* XVI p. 113 ἐκοψίσε τὴν λειτουργίαν τοῦ λεγομένου χρυσαργύρου.



μή οἱ ὁ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκδεξόμενος χρημάτων ὑποσπανίζων ἴσως τοὺς κατηκόους ληΐζεται, χρυσοῦ τοὺς ANASTASIUS. ἠσανουροὺς ἅπαντας κατακόρως ἐμπλησάμενος τὸν βίον ξυνεμετρήσατο<sup>†</sup>.

Zonaras XIV p. 57 D mentions the thunderstorm at the death of *Anastasius*<sup>v</sup>, and adds, ἐν ἐνὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν κοιτῶνων εὐρέθῃ κείμενος τεθνεὼς, ζήσας μὲν ἔτη πη', βασιλεύσας δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν κζ' ἐπὶ μῆσὶ τρισίν. ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις τούτου γέγονε σεισμὸς φοβερώτατος· καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ Βυζαντίῳ ἐν διαφόροις τόποις συμπτώματα συμβεβήκασιν· ἡ μεγάλη δὲ Ἀντιόχεια σχεδὸν ἅπασα κατεπτῶθη, καὶ οἱ ταύτης οἰκήτορες τοῖς συμπτώμασι κατεχώσθησαν<sup>w</sup>. οὗτος ὁ Ἀναστάσιος ἔκτισε τὸ μακρὸν λεγόμενον τεῖχος ἀπὸ τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης διήκον ἄχρι τῆς Σηλυμβρίας [see the Tables A. D. 507] διὰ τὰς ἐφόδους τῶν Μυσῶν ἢ Βουλγάρων, καὶ τῶν Σκυθῶν.

Coins: Eckhel tom. 8 p. 205 *D. N. Anastasius Aug. vel P. F. Aug. vel perp. P. F. Aug. vel PP. Aug. vel perp. Aug. vel P. Aug. vel P. A. + concord.* "præfixa nota arithmetica Γ. Δ. Ι. &c." or *invicta Roma. S. C. or victoria Augg. vel Auggg.* "addita sæpe nota arithmetica Græca."

JUSTIN I began to reign July 9 A. D. 518, appointed *Justinian* Ap. 1 and died Aug. 1 A. D. JUSTINUS I. 527. Zonaras XIV p. 58 B describes *Justin*: ἀνερρήθη βασιλεὺς Ἰουστίνος ὁ Θράξ, γονέων μὲν ἐκφύς ἀσήμων καὶ ἀφανῶν, αὐτὸς τὸ πρότερον αὐτουργῶν, ἢ βουκόλος τυγχάνων καὶ σφοδρὸς, εἶτα εἰς τύχην μεταταξάμενος στρατιωτικὴν, καὶ μέχρι ταγματαρχίας ἐφθακὸς καὶ κόμης γενόμενος. His wife was *Euphemia*: Zonaras p. 58 D γαμετὴν δ' ἔχων Λουπικίαν κεκλημένην ἔστεψεν αὐτὴν καὶ ἀνηγόρευσεν Αὐγούσταν, Εὐφημίαν μετονομάσας. Procop. Anecd. p. 20 B γυναικὶ δὲ ὄνομα Λουπικίην ξυνέκει· αὐτὴ δὲ δούλη τε καὶ βάρβαρος οὔσα τοῦ πρόσθεν αὐτὴν ἐωνημένου παλλακὴ γέγονε· καὶ αὐτὴ μὲν ξὺν Ἰουστίνῳ ἐπὶ βίῳ δυσμαῖς τὴν βασιλείαν ἔσχεν. Victor Tun. *Agapeto II et Magno coss.—Conjuncta Lupicina nomine dicebatur, quam CP.ani Euphemia postea vocaverunt.* Called by mistake *Theodora* by Theophanes p. 146 B. Cedrenus p. 364 D imagines a second wife: ἔστεψε Θεοδώραν τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ Αὐγούσταν, τῆς Εὐφημίας ἤδη τελευτησάσης. In Nicephorus p. 405 B among the *Augustæ* is named Εὐφημία Ἰουστίνου πρώτου<sup>x</sup>.

Procopius Anecd. p. 19 D affirms that *Justin* was illiterate: ἀμάθητος γραμμάτων ἀπάντων καὶ τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον ἀναγράφτος. And Malalas XVII p. 131 ἐν πολέμοις κοπωθεὶς, φιλότιμος, ἀγράμματος δέ.

Among the facts recorded in the Tables in the reign of *Justin* Zonaras mentions XIV p. 58 C the death of *Amantius* A. D. 518. p. 59 D the conversion of *Tzathus* A. D. 522 and persecution

<sup>†</sup> Some financial measures of *Anastasius* are censured by Evagrius III. 42. Compare Malalas XVI p. 108 ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀναστάσιος ἐποίησε χρυσοτέλειαν. p. 116 *de Marino Syro.*

<sup>v</sup> See the Tables 518 p. 734.

<sup>w</sup> Marcellinus mentions two earthquakes in the reign of *Anastasius*, one in 494, and one in 499: see the Tables. Cedrenus p. 358 C marks a third in the 12th of *Anastasius* A. D. 502; but none of these were at CP. An anonymous chronicle in the Tables has a fourth at A. D. 492, but without naming CP. Malalas XV p. 96 describes an earthquake at CP. but in the reign of *Zeno*: ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Ζήνωνος ἔπαθεν ὑπὸ θεομηνίας σεισμοῦ τὸ δεύτερον αὐτῆς πάθος ΚΠ. ἐπὶ ὀλίγον διάστημα, ἕως τοῦ Ταύρου. ἔπαθε δὲ τότε καὶ Νικομήδεια—τὸ ἕκτον αὐτῆς πάθος. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Ἐλενούπολις. Antioch suffered from an earthquake for the fourth time in the reign of *Leo* A. D. 458: Tables p. 658. noticed also by Zonaras XIV p. 50 C τούτου κρατοῦν-

τος καὶ σεισμὸν σφοδρότατον ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ γενέσθαι λέγεται. And for the fifth time in the reign of *Justin* A. D. 526: Tables p. 742. 744. But there was none in the reign of *Anastasius*; and Zonaras has improperly placed in his reign the earthquake of 526.

<sup>x</sup> Nicephorus gives a list of *Augustæ*—ὅσαι γεγόνασιν Αὐγούσται Ῥωμαίων—from *Constantine* to *Leo* A. D. 886. The *Augustæ* of these times are

Βηρίνα Λέοντος τοῦ μεγάλου.

Ἀρεάδην Ζήνωνος. . . . . } Tables A. D. 491.

Ἀρεάδην αὐτῆ Ἀναστασίου. } Her death A. D. 515.

Εὐφημία Ἰουστίνου πρώτου. Tables A. D. 518. 4 p. 735.

Θεοδώρα Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου. Tables A. D. 527.

Her death in 548.

Σοφία Ἰουστίνου. Tables A. D. 566. 573. 574.

Ἀναστασία Τιβερίου.

Κωνσταντία Μαυρικίου. Tables A. D. 577.

Λεοντία Φωκά.

Φλαυία, Εὐδοκία, Μαρτίνα, Ἡρακλείου.

**JUSTINUS I.** of the Manichees in 524. p. 60 A the overthrow of the cities Anazarbus and Edessa A. D. 525. p. 60 D the elevation of *Justinian*: μετακαλείται τὸν πατριάρχην Ἐπιφάνιον, μεταπέμπεται δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τέλει, καὶ βασιλέα τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν Ἰουστινιανὸν ἀναδείκνυσιν αὐτός.—καὶ—ἔξεισι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔστεμμένος ὁ Ἰουστινιανὸς, καὶ παρὰ πάντων εὐφημηθεὶς ἐπανῆκεν εἰς τὰ βασίλεια, μέ τότε τυγχάνων ἐνιαυτῶν. αὐτίκα δὲ καὶ ἡ γαμετὴ αὐτοῦ Θεοδώρα ἀνερρήθη Ἀγούστα, καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον τῷ Ἰουστίνῳ ἐπέλιπε τὸ βιώσιμον βασιλεύσαντι ἐννέα ἔτη ἐφ' ἡμέραις εἴκοσι.

**VITALIANUS.** **VITALIANUS.** Tables A. D. 514. 518. 520. Zonaras XIV p. 58 D Ἰουστίνῳ Βιταλιανὸς, ὃς ἐστάσασεν ἐπὶ Ἀναστασίου, πᾶν ὑκείωτο καὶ στρατηλάτης προεχειρίσθη, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ὑπάτευσεν [A. D. 520] καὶ μέγα παρὰ τῷ Ἰουστίνῳ ἠδύνατο. p. 59 A ὁ Βιταλιανὸς ἐδολοφονήθη παρὰ τῶν Βυζαντίων μνημιόντων αὐτῷ ὡς πολλοὺς ἀνελόνη ὄτ' ἐπανέστη κατὰ Ἀναστασίου. οἱ δὲ προστάζει τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰουστίνου καὶ τοῦ Ἰουστινιανοῦ φασὶν ἀναιρεθῆναι αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ.—στρατηλάτης δὲ τῶν στρατευμάτων Ἰουστινιανὸς προεκεχειρίστο.

**JUSTINIANUS.** **JUSTINIAN** reigned from 1 Apr. 527 to 13 Nov. 565. His birthplace is described by Procopius *Ædific.* IV p. 67 A ἐν Δαρδάνοις—οἱ δὲ μετὰ τοὺς Ἐπιδαμνίων ὄρους ἄκρηται, τοῦ φρουρίου ἄγχιστα ὕπερ Βεδεριανὰ ἐπικαλεῖται, χωρίον Ταυρήσιον ὄνομα ἦν, ἐνθεν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς—ἄρμηται. Agathias V p. 166 C πατὴρ δὲ ἦν αὐτῷ πόλις Ἰλλυρικὴ, Βεδεριανὰ μὲν ἐκ παλαιοῦ ὀνομαζομένη ὕστερον δὲ Πρώτη Ἰουστινιανὴ μετακληθεῖσα. κ.τ.λ. Hence he is called by Malalas XVIII p. 152 Θράξ ἀπὸ Βεδεριάνας.

Zonaras XIV p. 61 A describes the rapacity and profusion of *Justinian* and *Theodora*: ἦν δὲ οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς ῥᾶστος μὲν πρὸς ἔντευξιν καὶ ἀναπεπταμένους εἶχε τὰς ἀκοὰς πρὸς διαβολὰς, ὄξυς δὲ πρὸς ἄμνηναν, ἀφειδῆς πρὸς χρημάτων ἐξάντηλσιν καὶ πρὸς συλλογὴν αὐτῶν ἀφειδέστερος. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀνήλισκεν εἰς οἰκοδομὰς—τὰ δὲ εἰς πολέμους καὶ τὰς πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθισταμένους ταῖς αὐτοῦ θελήσεσιν ἐρίδας. ὅθεν αἰεὶ χρημάτων δεόμενος ἐξελέγετο ταῦτα ἐκ τρόπων οὐκ εὐαγῶν.—ἡ δὲ βασιλὶς—ἦν ποριμωτάτη πρὸς εὗρεσιν καινοτέρων καὶ πολυτρόπων ἐπινοιῶν ἐντεῦθεν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις διχόθεν αἱ συμφοραὶ οἱ τε γὰρ ἐτήσιοι δασμοὶ ἐπὶ μείζον ἐξήρουντο, καὶ καινοὶ προσεπινενόηοντο. Compare Evagrius IV. 30 p. 405 B. These accounts confirm Procopius *Anecdot.* p. 57 B, who mentions the exactions of *Justinian*, and his expedients to replenish the treasury p. 58 C. That he left the treasury exhausted is attested by Corippus<sup>v</sup> de *Justini laudibus* II. 260—273. 361—389.

Among the facts recorded in the Tables under the reign of *Justinian* Zonaras relates the following, upon which he may be compared with the testimonies given in the Tables. XIV p. 61 C—63 A the truce with Persia and the sedition *νίκα* in A. D. 532<sup>z</sup>. p. 65 C—66 D the Vandalic war A. D. 533. 534. p. 68 A—D the Gothic war which began in 535. p. 68 D the death of *Theodora* in 548. p. 69 D the charge against *Belisarius* A. D. 562 p. 814. p. 69 D the heresy of *Justinian* at the close of his life A. D. 565 p. 818.

The reigns of the Vandal kings of Africa are thus given by Zonaras XIV p. 64 C D.

	y.
<i>Gizericus</i> .....	39
<i>Honoricus</i> .....	8
<i>Gundamundus</i> .....	12
<i>Trasamundus</i> .....	27
<i>Uldericus</i> .....	
<i>Gelimer</i> .....	

<sup>v</sup> Quoted by Alemannus ad Procopium *Anecd.* p. 468 ed. Bonn.

<sup>z</sup> Zonaras adds p. 63 B ἐν τῇ στάσει ταύτῃ—τῆς με-

γάλης ἐκκλησίας καυθείσης—ἐτέραν πολλῶ μείζω καὶ περιφανετέραν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἀπήρξατο καινουργεῖν, τῆς οἰκοδομῆς αὐτῆς ἀρχθείσης κατὰ τὸ 5<sup>μ</sup> ἔτος, ἰνδικτιῶνος



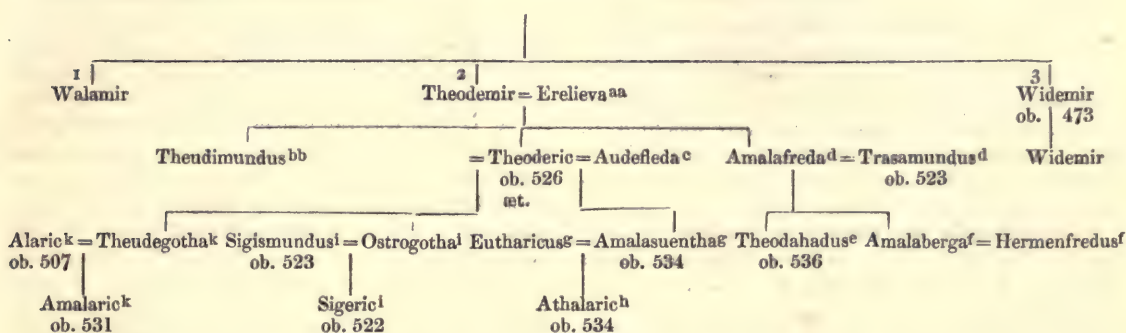
Compare the account in the Tables A. D. 484 p. 698<sup>zz</sup>.

## THEODERICUS.

THEODERICUS.

This great king deserves a place among the Roman emperors because he ruled Italy with the consent of the Eastern emperor, and adopted the Roman forms of government. His transactions before his march upon Italy are described at the years 478, 479, 483, 484, 487. In 488 he turned his steps towards Italy. His Italian campaigns are at the years 489—491, 493. From the death of *Odoacer* in 493 he reigned till 30 Aug. 526<sup>a</sup>.

*Theoderic* is called the son of *Walimir* by Anon. Valesii § 42. 58 and by the Greek writers Malchus, Damascius, Malalas, Theophanes<sup>b</sup>; but was in reality the son of *Theodemir*. The following Table with its explanatory notes will exhibit the House of *Theoderic*.



πεντεκαδεκάτης ἐνισταμένης, ἐν Φεβρουαρίῳ μηνί. February of the 15th indiction is Feb. A. D. 537, when A. M. 6040 was current in the reckoning of Zonaras. See upon this edifice Procopius and Agathias quoted in the Tables 532. 3 p. 755. Procopius de *Ædific.* p. 5 B observes that it was built not long after the sedition: οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον.

<sup>zz</sup> Where in l. 53 for "his six successors" read "his five successors." Jornandes there quoted names

- 1 Gizericus
- 2 Hunnericus
- 3 Gundamundus
- 4 Trasamundus
- 5 Hilderich
- 6 Gelimer.

<sup>a</sup> See the Tables in these years.

<sup>b</sup> For Malchus see the Tables A. D. 478. 2; for Damascius, A. D. 525. 3; for Malalas, A. D. 526. 2. Theophanes p. 112 D Θεοδέριχος ὁ Οὐαλάμερος.—τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Οὐαλάμερος μετὰ τοὺς Ἀττίλα παῖδας ἡγησάμενον τῶν Γότθων, ἐπὶ τῆς Λέοντος βασιλείας.

<sup>aa</sup> The mother of *Theoderic* is mentioned by Malchus at the year 479: p. 84 C ὁ Θεοδέριχος ἔλεγεν ὡς ἑτοίμος εἶη—ὁμήρουσ παρασχὼν τῆς ἀπάσης πίστεως τὴν τε μητέρα καὶ ἀδελφὴν μετὰ ἑξακισχιλίων τῶν μάλιστα μαχίμων ἐλθεῖν ὡς τάχιστα ἐς Θράκην κ. τ. λ. She accompanied him into Italy: Ennodius panegy. Theodor. p. 405 *Sanctam matrem et venerabilem sororem* &c. Anon. Valesii § 58 *Theodericus cujus pater Walimir*

*dictus rex Gothorum naturalis tamen ei fuit; mater Erelieva dicta Gothica catholica quidem erat, qua in baptismo Eusebia dicta.*

<sup>bb</sup> *Theudimundus* is mentioned by Malchus p. 81 D as the brother of *Theoderic*: Θεουδιμούνδος δὲ ὁ ἑτερος τῶν Βαλαμήρου παίδων ἐπὶ τῆς οὐραγίας. Referring to the march in Epirus noticed in the Tables A. D. 479 p. 692.

<sup>c</sup> The marriage with *Audefleda* (before A. D. 497) is mentioned in the Tables at 515 p. 732.

<sup>d</sup> *Amalafreda*: Jornandes Get. c. 58 *Amalafredam germanam suam, matrem Theodahadi qui postea rex fuit, Africae regi Wandalarumque conjugem dirigit Trasamundo, filiamque ejus, neptem suam, Amalabergam Thuringorum regi consociat Hermenfredo.* Procop. Vand. I. 8 p. 197 ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ γυνὴ ἐτελεύτησα, (Τρασαμούνδος) ἐς Θεοδέριχον τὸν Γότθων βασιλέα πέμψας ἦρει οἱ γυναῖκα τὴν ἀδελφὴν Ἀμαλαφρίδαν διδόνα, ἧς δὴ ἄρτι ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐτεθνήκει. ὁ δὲ οἱ τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἐπέμψε καὶ Γότθων δοκίμων χιλίους ἐν δορυφόρων λόγῳ, οἷς δὴ ὄμιλος θεραπείας εἶπετο ἐς πέντε μάλιστα χιλιάδας ἀνδρῶν μαχίμων. ἐδωρήσατο δὲ τὴν ἀδελφὴν Θεοδέριχος καὶ τῶν Σικελίας ἀκρωτηρίων ὄντων ἐν, ὁ δὲ καλοῦσι Διλιύβαιον καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔδοξεν ὁ Τρασαμούνδος πάντων δὴ τῶν ἐν Βανδύλοις ἡγησάμενων κρείστων τε εἶναι καὶ δυνατώτατος. *Trasamund* reigned from Sept. 496 to May 523: see the Tables A. D. 484. 523. *Theoderic* had another sister, who died in Macedonia: Malchus p. 81 A ὁ δὲ τοῦ Βαλαμήρου ἐπέμενε—τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀδελφὴν νόσφ κατεχομένην, ἐξ ἧς ἐτελεύτησε. The marriage of *Amalafreda*



THEODERICUS.

The three brothers served under *Attila* at the battle of Chalons in A. D. 451: *Jornandes Get. c. 38 Inter quos Ostrogotharum præminebat exercitus, Walamire et Theodemire et Widemire germanis*

and *Trasamund* was in 499: see below, note *f*. For her death see note *h*.

<sup>e</sup> *Theodahadus* is described in the Tables at 534. 2. 3. 536. 2.

<sup>f</sup> *Amalaberga's* marriage is recorded by *Jornandes* quoted in note *d*. *Procopius Goth. l. 12 p. 342 A Θεωδέρικος—Ἐρμενεφρίδω τῶν Θεορίγγων ἀρχοντι Ἀμελοβέργαν τὴν Ἀμαλαφρίδης τῆς ἀδελφῆς παῖδα (ἡγγύησεν)*. *Anonym. Valesii § 65—70 p. 622. 623 Ambulavit rex Theodericus Romam* [after Nov. A. D. 498: see the Tables 500. 2]—*Item Amalafrigda germana sua in matrimonium tradens regi Wandalorum Transimundo. —Deinde sexto mense revertens Ravennam alia germana sua Amalabirga tradens in matrimonio Hermenifrido regi Toringorum; et sic ibi per circuitum placuit omnibus*. Perhaps this marriage was in A. D. 500. *Amalaberga* is described by *Greg. Tur. H. Fr. III. 4 Hermenefridi uxor iniqua atque crudelis, Amalaberga nomine*.

<sup>g</sup> *Amalasuētha* was married to *Eutharic* in 515: see the Tables p. 732. *Eutharic* is in the Tables at 519. 1. 2. 3. *Amalasuētha* at 526. 2. 534. 2. 3 p. 760. 761.

<sup>h</sup> *Athalaric* succeeded his grandfather in Sept. 526: see the Tables; died in 534: Tables p. 760. *Chron. Pasch. p. 327 D Θεωδέρικ—οἰκήσεν τὴν Ῥάβενναν, πόλιν παραθαλασσίαν, ἕως τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ. καὶ μετὰ θάνατον αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο ῥῆξ Ῥώμης ὁ ἐκ γένους αὐτοῦ Ἀταλλάριχος*.

*Cassiodori Variarum libb. VIII. IX* are written in the name of *Athalaric*. Some epistles are quoted in the Tables, others shall be given here. VIII. 1—8 announce his accession: VIII. 1 *Justiniano imperatori Athalaricus rex*. He asks peace and friendship: *Primordia nostra solatia mereantur principis longævi habere*. He asks *amicitiam illis conditionibus quas cum divæ memoriæ domno avo nostro inelytos decessores vestros constat habuisse*. VIII. 2 *Senatui*. 3 *populo Romano*. 4 *universis Romanis per Italiam et Dalmatias constitutis*. 5 *universis Gothis per Italiam constitutis*. 6 *Liberio præfecto Galliarum*. 7 *universis provincialibus per Galliam constitutis*. 8 *Victorino episcopo*. 13 *Ambrosio*. He confers the quæstorship *per quintam indictionem* [commencing Sept. 1 A. D. 526]. 15 *Senatui urbis Romæ*. He commends them for electing a bishop recommended by *Theoderic*: *domni avi nostri respondistis in episcopatus electione judicio*. 16 *Opilioni*. He appoints him *comes sacrum ab indictione sexta* [A. D. 526]. 18 *Felici*. He appoints him *quæstor per sextam indictionem*. 20 *Albieno*. Appointed prætorian præfect *per sextam indictionem* in the room of one removed for misconduct.

IX. 1 *Hilderico regi Vandalarum*. He complains that *Amalafreda* had been put to death: *Parricidii genus est ut, quam vobis fecerat affinem conjunctio regis,*

*nefandis ausibus in ejus vos interitum misceretis.—Nam ex hoc nobilitati vestræ fuisset adjectum, si inter Hasdirigorum stirpem retinissetis Amali sanguinis purpuream dignitatem*. *Trasamundus* died in May 523. *Amalafreda* it should seem was not slain by *Hilderic* the successor till after the death of *Theoderic* in August 526. IX. 7 *Reparato*. He appoints him *præfectum Urbis*. 8 *Osuin*. Appointed governor of Dalmatia and Suavia. 9 *Universis Gothis et Romanis*. He informs them that he had sent *Osuin* to govern Dalmatia.—*Ut primordia nostra a præstitis inchoarent clementissimumque Dominum in ipso regni limine sentiretis, per quartam indictionem quod a vobis augmenti nomine quærebatur illustrem virum comitem patrimonii nostri nunc jussimus remove*. Indict. 4 ending Aug. 31 A. D. 526 was the last of the reign of *Theoderic*, and his successor here remits some taxes of that year. 10 *Universis possessoribus defensoribus Syracusanæ civitatis*. He remits the taxes of the preceding indiction 4, and mentions the current indict. 5: *Dudum quidem urbis ortum nostri imperii æstimavimus nuntiandum, &c.—per quartam indictionem* [A. D. 526] *quicquid a vobis supra consuetudinariam functionem augmenti nomine petebatur—liberalitas nostra concedit. —Quicquid a discussoribus novi census per quintam indictionem probatur affixum* [A. D. 526] *ad vestram fecimus deferre notitiam*. 11 *Gildie comiti Syracusanæ civitatis*. Again he mentions that certain imposts of indict. 4 are to be remitted: *Si aliquid per quartam indictionem probatur illatum, possessoribus sine aliqua imminutione reddatur*. 12 *Victori et Witi-giselo*. on the same subject: *Si quid super tributarium solidum per quartam indictionem a provincialibus exegistis sine aliqua eis imminutione reddatis*. 13 *Wilicæ*. He mentions indict. 5: *a quinta indictione* [A. D. 526]—*faciatis adjungi* &c. 15 *Joanni papæ* [who succeeded in 532: see the Tables 532. 4]. Against bribery in clerical appointments. *tempus papæ Bonifacii* is mentioned. *Bonifacius* is in the Tables A. D. 530. 532. *Jornandes Get. c. 59* describes the government of *Amalasuētha*:—*Theodericus eis in mandatis dedit—ut regem colerent, senatum populumque Romanum amarent, principemque Orientalem placatum semper propitiumque haberent, quod præceptum quamdiu Athalaricus rex ejusque mater viverent in omnibus custodientes pene per octo annos in pace regnarunt*. For the deaths of *Athalaric* and his mother see the Tables A. D. 534. An inscription is extant in *Muratori p. 468. l. Ticini: D. N. Atalaricus rex gloriosissimus has sedis spectaculi anno regni sui tertio fieri feliciter præcepit*. Within Sept. 1 A. D. 528—Aug. 31 A. D. 529.

<sup>i</sup> *Ostrogotha*. Her marriage is mentioned in the Tables 515. *Jornandes Get. c. 58* (quoted in the Tables 515 p. 732) *Theodericus filias habuit, unam*



*ductantibus, ipso etiam rege [sc. Attila] cui tunc serviebant nobilioribus; quia Amalorum generis eos THEODERICUS potentia illustrabat. Walamir was the chief favourite of Attila: Ibid. After the death of Attila in 453 they were seated in Pannonia: Jornandes c. 52 Ostrogotharum, qui in Pannonia sub rege Walamir ejusque germanis Theodemir et Widemir morabantur, quamvis divisa loca consilia tamen habuere unita. Nam Walamir inter Scarniungam et Aquam Nigram fluvios, Theodemir juxta lacum Pelsodis, Widemir inter utrosque manebat. Walamir gained a victory over the sons of Attila at the time of the birth of Theoderic: Ibid. Eoque tempore cum ad fratrem Theodemirem gaudii nuntium direxisset, eo mox die nuntius veniens felicius in domo Theodemiris reperit gaudium. ipso siquidem die Theodericus ejus filius quamvis de Erelieva concubina bonæ tamen spei puerulus natus erat. About the year 454<sup>1</sup>.*

*Theoderic in his eighth year is delivered as a hostage to Leo: Jornandes c. 52 Qui jam annorum septem incrementa conscendens octavum intraverat annum. Quem dum pater cunctatus daret, patruus Walamir extitit supplicator, tantum ut pax firma inter Romanos Gothosque maneret. Datus igitur Theodericus obses a Gothis ducitur ad urbem C.P.<sup>am</sup> Leoni principi, et quia puerulus elegans erat meruit gratiam imperialem habere. Paulus Diac. XVI p. 558. 559 describes Walamir and his brothers, and adds Leo imperator cum Gotthis Illyricum vastantibus fœdus iniit, ac Theodericum Theodemiris filium, ex Arilena concubina genitum, ab Walamire ejus patruo obsidem accepit. During this period according to Theophanes p. 112 D he received education: Θεωδέριχος—οὗ πολὺς ἐν βαρβάροις τε καὶ Ῥωμαίοις λόγος ὡς ἀνδρέου τε καὶ προμηθεύς, καὶ οὐδὲ λόγων ἀμοίρου· κατὰ γὰρ τὸ Βυζάντιον*

*nomine Thiudegatum, et aliam Ostrogotho, quas—regibus copulavit, id est, unam Alarico Vesegotharum et aliam Sigismundo Burgundionum. For Sigismund, see the Tables 515. 523. For Sigeric, the son of this marriage, see 516. 522.*

<sup>k</sup> *Theudegotha. See note i. and the Tables 515 p. 732. Procop. Goth. I. 12 p. 341 D Θεωδέριχος τῷ τηρικαῖτα τῶν Οὐσιγιόθων ἡγουμένῳ Ἀλαρίχῳ τῷ νεωτέρῳ Θεωδικοῦσαν τὴν αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα παρθένον ἡγγύησεν. Jornandes quoted in note<sup>1</sup> seems to confirm Procopius who gives Theudegotha to Alaric. But in the Anon. Valesii § 63 p. 622 Theudegotha is given to Sigismund and her sister is the wife of Alaric: Theodericus uxorem habuit ante regnum de qua susceperat filias: unam dedit nomine Arevagni [Ostrogotho Jornandi] Alarico regi Wisigotharum in Gallia, et aliam filiam suam Theodegotham Sigismundo filio Gundebai regis. Alaric is in the Tables at A. D. 485. 506. 4. 507. 2. 515. Amalaric the grandson of Theoderic is described in the Tables at 508. 511. He reigned till 531 in Spain: Isidorus p. 721 era 566<sup>a</sup> [A. D. 528] Anno imperii Justiniani primo regresso Italia Theoderico Amalaricus nepos annis quinque regnavit. Qui cum ab Ildeberto Francorum rege apud Narbonem prælio superatus fuisset, Barcinonem trepidus fugit, effectusque omnibus contemptibilis ab exercitu jugulatus interiit. Era 569<sup>a</sup> anno imperii Justiniani sexto post Amalaricum Teudix in Spania creatur in regnum annis XVII. From Isidorus himself, quoted in the Tables at 511, it appears that the reign of Amalaric was computed from A. D. 526 or anno eræ 564. And his 5 years will terminate anno eræ 569 A. D. 531, in the 5th year of Justinian. Jornandes Get. c. 58 Qui*

*Amalaricus in ipsa adolescentia Francorum fraudibus irretitus regnum cum vita amisit. Post quem Thiodis tutor ejusdem regnum ipsum invadens Francorum insidiosam calumniam de Hispaniis pepulit, et usque dum viveret Vesegothas continuit. For Thiodes or Theudes see the Tables 508. 2 p. 726. He is slain in 548: Isidorus p. 723 era 586<sup>a</sup> imperii Justiniani anno vicesimo tertio [immo vicesimo secundo] interempto Teudi, Teudisculus Gothis præficitur, regnans anno uno. Era 587<sup>a</sup> [A. D. 549] anno Justiniani 24<sup>o</sup> [l. 23<sup>o</sup>] extincto Theudisclo Agila rex constituitur, regnans annis quinque. p. 724 era 592<sup>a</sup> [A. D. 554] anno Justiniani 29<sup>o</sup> [rectius 28<sup>o</sup>] occiso Agilane Athanagildus regnum quod invaserat tenuit annis XIV. He was succeeded by Liuva in 567: see the Tables 569. 2. Jornandes Get. c. 58 writes in the reign of Agila: Post Thiodem Thiodisglossa regnum adeptus non regnans defecit, occisus a suis. Cui succedens hactenus Agil [sic lege] continuat regnum, contra quem Athanagildus insurgens Romani regni concitat vires. Conf. Isidorus p. 723. Jornandes wrote in 551 (see 551. 3) in the third year of Agila. The name of this king is absurdly given in edd. Grot. Benedictin. Hactenusagil.*

<sup>1</sup> *In the reign of Marcian: Jornandes Ibid. Post tempus non multum rex Walamir ejusque germani Theodemir et Widemir consueta dum traderent dona a principe Marciano, quæ ad instar strenuæ gentis acceperunt ut pacis fœdera custodirent, missa legatione ad imperatorem, vident Theodericum Triarii filium, et hunc genere Gothico, alia tamen stirpe non Amala procreatum, omnino florentem cum suis &c. The son of Triarius is described in the Tables at 478, 479; his death at A. D. 481.*

THEODERICUS. ὀμηνρείσας ποτὲ τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν διδασκάλων ἐφοίτησεν. In Anon. Valesii p. 620 § 61 *Theoderic* is called illiterate: *Hic dum inlitteratus esset, tantæ sapientiæ fuit ut aliqua quæ locutus est in vulgo usque nunc pro sententia habeantur &c.* p. 624 § 79 *Theodericus illiteratus erat et sic obruto sensu ut in decem annos regni sui quatuor literas subscriptionis edicti sui discere nullatenus potuisset. de qua re laminam auream jussit interrasilem fieri quatuor literas regis habentem Theod.* [ΘΕΟΔ.] *ut, si subscribere voluisset, posita lamina super chartam per eam penna duceret.* That he was illiterate is confirmed by the address of the Gothic chiefs to *Amalasuētha* in Procopius Goth. I. 2 p. 312 Β ἐννοεῖν αὐτὴν ἐδικαίουν ὡς ἄρα οἱ Θεωδέριχος χάρας τε τοσαύτης κύριος γεγονὼς καὶ βασιλείαν οὐδαμῶθεν αὐτῷ προσήκουσαν περιβαλλόμενος τελευτήσῃ, καίπερ περὶ γραμμάτων οὐδὲ ὅσον ἀκοὴν ἔχων. From these testimonies it appears that he neglected the arts of writing and reading, but yet in his residence at CP. acquired much practical knowledge and wisdom, and profited by oral instruction.

After ten years he is released: Jornandes Get. c. 55 *Theodemir Gothorum rex<sup>m</sup>—hiemis tempore Gothorum ductavit exercitum et tam Suevorum gentem quam etiam Alamannorum utrasque ad invicem fœderatas devicit.—inde quoque victor ad proprias sedes id est Pannonias revertens Theodericum filium suum, quem CP. obsidem dederat, a Leone imperatore remissum cum magnis muneribus gratanter excepit. Qui Theodericus jam adolescentiæ annos contingens expleta pueritia octavum decimum peragens annum<sup>n</sup>, adscitis satellitibus patris, ex populo amatores sibi clientesque consociavit, pæne sex millia viros; cum quibus inscio patre emenso Danubio super Babai Sarmatarum regem discurrit—eumque superveniens Theodericus interemit, familiamque et censum deprædans ad genitorem suum cum victoria repedavit.*

In the year 473 *Widemir* entered Italy, where he died, leaving his son *Widemir* his successor<sup>o</sup>. *Theoderic* attended his father into Illyricum<sup>p</sup>; and his ten years at CP. may be placed at A. D. 461—471, and could not be later than 462—472; agreeing with his birth at A. D. 454.

He succeeded his father in the reign of *Zeno*: Jornandes Get. c. 56. 57 *Rex Theodemir in civitate Cerras fatali ægritudine occupatus, vocatis Gothis, Theodericum filium regni sui designat hæredem et ipse mox rebus humanis excessit. Theodericum vero genti suæ regem audiens ordinatum imperator Zeno &c.* whom he aided against *Basiliscus*<sup>q</sup>. But this aid was given in 477. and *Theoderic* began to reign not later than 476, when he was about 22 years of age. In 478 he is called παῖς by the son of *Triarius*<sup>r</sup>.

*Theoderic* after the defeat of *Odoacer* sent an embassy to the East: Anon. Vales. p. 620 § 57 *Theodericus enim qui in legationem direxerat Faustus<sup>s</sup> Nigrum ad Zenonem. at ubi cognita morte ejus antequam legatio reverteretur, ut ingressus est Ravennam et occidit Odoacrem, Gothi sibi confirmaverunt Theodericum regem, non expectantes jussionem novi principis.* *Faustus* was probably sent in the beginning of 491. Ravenna was not taken till March 493, when the second year of *Anastasius—novi principis*—was nearly completed. *Theoderic* was acknowledged by *Anastasius*: Anon. Vales. p. 622 § 64 *Facta pace cum Anastasio imperatore per Festum de præsumptione regni; et omnia ornamenta palatii quæ Odoachar CP. transmiserat remisit.*

<sup>m</sup> *Walamir* had been slain in battle: Jornandes c. 53. Paulus Diac. XVI p. 559 *Occiso Walamire a Scythis, Thiodemir ejus germanus regia jura suscepit.*

<sup>n</sup> Paulus Diac. XVI p. 559 *Suavi patrata victoria Vindemir [lege Theodemir] domum revertitur. Theodericum filium a Leone imperatore missum gratanter excepit; qui Theodericus dum jam XVIII<sup>um</sup> annum ageret, &c.*

<sup>o</sup> See the Tables A. D. 473 p. 678.

<sup>p</sup> Tables Ibid.

<sup>q</sup> Anon. Valesii quoted in the Tables at 477 p. 686. Ennodius Panegy. p. 397 *Cum profugo [sc. Zenoni] per te scepra redderentur.*

<sup>r</sup> See the Tables A. D. 478. The son of *Theodemir* was then about 24 years old, but the son of *Triarius* had commanded armies for more than 20 years.

<sup>s</sup> *Faustus* or *Festus* is addressed by *Gelasius* Ep. 4 apud Acta Concil. tom. 5 p. 294; named in Ep. 8 *Anastasio imp.* tom. 5 p. 307.



Theophanes, besides the passages already quoted, has the following concerning *Theoderic*: THEODERICUS. p. 137 D *Anastasii* 23<sup>v</sup> Ὁρμισδᾶς ὁ ἐπίσκοπος Ῥώμης ὀχλούμενος ὑπὸ Θεοδερίχου χαρίζομένου Βιταλιανῶ<sup>t</sup> Εὐδόδιον τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἔπεμψεν καὶ τὸν Βιταλιανὸν ἀρχιδιάκονον ἐν τῷ κροτηθῆναι τὴν ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ σύνοδον. ἦλθον δὲ καὶ ἐπίσκοποι ὡς σ' ἐκ διαφόρων τόπων οἵτινες ἐμπαιχθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ παρανόμου βασιλέως καὶ Τιμοθέου ἐπισκόπου ΚΠ. ἀνεχώρησαν ἄπρακτοι. At a wrong date: for *Hormisdas* was not bishop of Rome till July of the 24th year of *Anastasius*. See the Tables A. D. 514. 4. Theophanes p. 145 A *Justinii* 6<sup>v</sup> τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει Θεοδερίχος κρατῶν τῆς Ῥώμης Ἀρειανοφρονῶν ἐβιάσατο τὸν πάππαν Ἰωάννην ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὸ Βυζάντιον πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Ἰουστίνου, καὶ πρεσβεῦσαι ὑπὲρ Ἀρειανῶν, κ. τ. λ.

This happened in the 7th year of *Justin*. See the Tables at 524. 3 and 525. 4.

Theodorus Lector p. 561 A Θεοδερίχος ὁ Ἄφρος, διάκονόν τινα εἶχεν ὀρθόδοξον, ὃν πάνν ἡγάπα.— οὗτος ὁ διάκονος, νομίζων Θεοδερίχῳ χαρίζεσθαι, τῆς τοῦ ὁμοουσίου πίστεως ἀποστὰς τοῖς Ἀρείου ἐφρόνησεν. γνοὺς δὲ Θεοδερίχος τὸν οὕτως ἀγαπώμενον εὐθέως ἀπεκεφάλισεν, εἰπὼν, “ εἰ τῷ Θεῷ πίστιν οὐκ ἐθύλαξας, πῶς ἀνθρώπῳ φυλάξεις; ” Repeated by Theophanes p. 122 B who also calls *Theoderic* Θεοδερίχος ὁ Ἄφρος<sup>v</sup>. Zonaras tom. 2 p. 55 A relating the same fact, and being misled by Theodorus or Theophanes, or by both, makes *Theoderic* a governor of Africa: λέγεται καὶ Θεοδερίχος ὁ τῆς Ἀφρικῆς ἡγεμῶν, Ἀρειανὸς ὢν, διάκονόν τινα ὀρθόδοξον αὐτῷ πάνν ὠκειωμένον κ. τ. λ. Valesius ad Theodorum lectorem p. 166 is at a loss for the reason of the epithet Ἄφρος: “ Fateor hujus cognomenti causam mihi prorsus ignotam esse.” Theodorus had probably written Ἀρειόφρων<sup>w</sup>, which was corrupted into Ἄφρος.

Inscriptions of the reign of *Theoderic*: 1 Gruter p. 108. 14 Romæ: *Regnante D. N. Theoderico Constantius V. C. P. U. dic.* 2 Muratori p. 266. 8 Romæ in geminis tegulis: *Regnante D. N. Theoderico felix Roma. Regnante D. N. Theoderico bono Romæ.* 3 Murat. p. 467. 6 Ravennæ: *Rex Theodericus faventi DO et bello gloriosus et otio fabricis suis amœna conjungens sterili palude siccata hos hortos suavi pomorum fecunditate ditavit.* 4 Mur. p. 504. 10 Romæ in tribus laterculis: *D. N. rege Theodorico. RE. DN. Theodorico rono Rum. [lege bono Rom.] Rege Theodorico felix Roma.*

JUSTINUS II. Began to reign Nov. 14 A. D. 565, appointed *Tiberius Cæsar* in December 574, JUSTINUS II. and died Oct. 5 A. D. 578. See the Tables in those years.

Coins: Eckhel tom. 8 p. 217 1 *D. N. Justinus P. F. Aug. or PP. Aug.* The reverse according to Eckhel bears *anno* with various numbers as far as *XIII*. Eckhel also gives for the reverse “ *concordia. I magnum.* ” or “ *felix respub. in corona.* ” or “ *victoria Auggg. additis variis notis arithmeticiis Græcis.* ” or “ *E. I. K. M forma majore, vel numeri X. XX. intra coronam.* ” or “ *sine epigraphe. monogramma Christi intra lauream.* ” 2 *D. N. Justino et Sofie Aug. + anno KA.* “ *in medio X et M.* ” 3 *D. N. Justin. et Sofia.* + “ *sine epigraphe, duæ Victoriæ alatæ clypeum tenent, in cujus medio stella, subtus K, in imo HM.* ”

An inscription: marmor Africanum apud Eckhel p. 218<sup>x</sup> *Salvis dominis nostris Christianissimis et invictissimis imperatoribus Justino et Sofia Augustis.*

<sup>t</sup> On *Vitalianus* see the Tables 514. 2.

<sup>v</sup> Theophanes again p. 123 B at the 10th of *Anastasius*: Θεοδερίχος ὁ Ἄφρος, κρατῶν τηρικαῖτα Ῥώμης, καίπερ Ἀρειανὸς ὢν, σύνοδον κροτήσας τοπικὸν Σύμμαχον μὲν ἐπίσκοπον Ῥώμης ἐκύρωσε [sc. A. D. 498] Λαυρέντιον δὲ εἰς Νοκέρειαν τὴν πόλιν ἐπίσκοπον προσέταξεν. ὁ δὲ

μὴ ἠσυχάσας ἀλλὰ στάσεις κινῶν ὑπὸ Συμμάχου καθαιρεῖται καὶ εἰς ἐξορίαν πέμπεται, καὶ οὕτω κατεπαύθη ἡ στάσις. For *Symmachus* and *Laurentius* see the Tables 498. 4.

<sup>w</sup> Suidas has this word v. Ἀρειανὸς p. 554 B. καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ [sc. Ἀρείου] καὶ Ἀρειόφρονες.

<sup>x</sup> From Maffei Mus. Veron. p. 460.

## TIBERIUS II. TIBERIUS II.

See the Tables A. D. 574, 575, 576, 577. He is appointed *Augustus* 26 Sept. 578. To the testimonies in the Tables add Zonaras XIV tom. 2 p. 72 A ὁ βασιλεὺς [*Justinus*] προσεκαλέσατο τὸν πατριάρχην Εὐτύχιον (θανόντος γὰρ τοῦ ἀπὸ σχολαστικῶν Ἰωάννου πάλιν οὗτος ἐπανήχθη καὶ εἰς τὸν θρόνον ἀποκατέστη τὸν ἀρχιερατικόν), συναθροίσας δὲ καὶ τὴν σύγκλητον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν κλῆρον τῆς ἐκκλησίας, βασιλεία τὸν Τιβέριον ἀνηγόρευσεν γ, ἐπ' ἀκροάσει πάντων αὐτῷ ἐντειλάμενος τὰ πρὸς Θεὸν εὐσεβεῖν κ. τ. λ.—ταῦτα παραινέσας καὶ συμβουλευσας ὁ Ἰουστίνος τῷ Τιβερίῳ ἐξέλιπε. Derived from Theophanes p. 210 B who reports the discourse of *Justin*. Evagrius V. 13 reports the discourse of *Justin*, but refers it to the time of the appointment of *Tiberius* as *Cæsar* in 574. *Anastasia Augusta*: Theophanes p. 211 A—C μηνὶ Ὀκτωβρίῳ—ἐβασίλευσε Τιβερίος—ὑπῆρχε δὲ τῷ γένει καὶ αὐτὸς Θραξ. βασιλεύσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἔκραξαν τὰ μέρη ἐπὶ τῆς ἵπποδρομίας “ἴδω, ἴδω, τὴν Ἀγούσταν Ῥωμαίων.”—καὶ ἔκραξαν τὰ μέρη “Ἀναστασία Ἀγούστα, τοῦ βίκας<sup>z</sup>.”—ἀκούσασα δὲ Σοφία ἡ τοῦ Ἰουστίνου γυνὴ ἐπλήγη τὴν ψυχὴν· ἐβούλετο γὰρ Τιβερίον λαβεῖν καὶ μείναι Ἀγούστα· οὐ γὰρ ᾔδει ὅτι εἶχε γυναῖκα. τινὲς δὲ ἔλεγον ὅτι καὶ ἐπὶ ζωῆς Ἰουστίνου προσεφιλιώθη αὐτῷ, καὶ αὐτῇ ἔπεισε Ἰουστίνον τοῦ ποιῆσαι αὐτὸν Καίσαρα. ὁ δὲ Τιβερίος πέμψας ἤγαγεν Ἀναστασίαν τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ἔχουσαν καὶ θυγατέρας δύο ἐξ αὐτοῦ, Χαριτῶ καὶ Κωνσταντίναν. καὶ ἔστειλεν αὐτὴν Ἀγούσταν. καὶ ἔρριψεν ὑπατεῖαν πολλήν [Jan. 1 A. D. 579]. Zonaras XIV p. 72 B τὴν οἰκείαν γαμετὴν Ἀναστασίαν Ἀγούσταν ἀνηγόρευσεν, ἡ δύο αὐτῷ θυγατέρας ἐγείνατο Χαριτῶ καὶ Κωνσταντίναν. Σοφία δὲ ἡ πρώην βασίλισσα τῶν ἀνακτόρων ὑπαπελθούσα εἰς τὰ ὁμώνυμα ἑαυτῇ κατωκίσθη βασιλεία, βασιλικὴν αὐτῇ τοῦ Τιβερίου δόντος ὑπηρεσίαν, ὡς οἰκεία μητρὶ.

Coins: Eckhel tom. 8 p. 218. 1 *D. N. Tib. Constant.* (rarius *Constantinus*) *PP. Aug.* or *D. N. Constantinus PP. A.* or *D. N. Tiberius P. A.* “*D. M. frequenter pro D. N.*” + “*Anno, additis numeris. In medio M. vel K magnum.*” or *victoria Aug. Augg. Auggg.* “*additis numeris Græcis.*” 2 *D. M. Constantinus PP. Ai. + victor. Tiberi Aus.* “*Crux. infra Conob.*” 3 *D. N. Tiberi. PP. Aug. + victor. Mauri. Aus.* “*Crux. infra Conob.*”

An inscription apud Muratorium p. 430. 5 Ravennæ: *Hic requiescit in pace Georgius V. C. Argentarius filius Petri V. C. Argentarii jun. qui vixit annis pl. m. XVII dep. sub d. prid. Nonar. Aug. Ind. XIII imp. DN.N. Tiberio Constantino PP. Aug. anno VI et P. C. ejusdem anno III.* Muratori calls these “*notas chronicas ad rite dignoscendum annos imperii et consulatus Tiberii.*” But these numbers cannot stand together. The 1st year of *Tiberius* began in December A. D. 574<sup>b</sup>, and therefore his 6th began in Dec. A. D. 579 and was current in August of the 13th indiction. Again, *Post consulatum annus III* began in Jan. A. D. 582 and was current in August of the 15th indiction, August of his 8th year. We must therefore read *anno VII*, and reckon *P. C. III* inclusive of the consulship itself, of which mode of reckoning there are some examples<sup>c</sup>.

The period of 63 years A. D. 579—641, which includes the reigns of *Tiberius Mauricius Phocas* and *Heraclius*, the rise of the Mohammedan power, and memorials in the West of the Gothic kings of Spain, will be most conveniently exhibited in a Table, in which the Events and the Literature shall be briefly given in two columns.

<sup>y</sup> See the Tables A. D. 577. 4.

<sup>z</sup> Sc. *tu vincas.*

<sup>a</sup> Eckhel. “*Mauricii insignes de Persis victorias deprecicat.*” See his campaigns in the Tables at

A. D. 577.

<sup>b</sup> See the Tables 574 p. 834.

<sup>c</sup> See the Tables A. D. 575 p. 838.



A. D.	EVENTS	AUTHORS																																																												
579	<p><i>Tiberii</i> 2 from Sept. 26. <i>Tiberius cos.</i> Chron. Pasch. p. 376 C <i>Indict.</i> 12. 1 <i>Tiberius</i> consul [from Jan. 1 A. D. 579]. <i>Τιβερίου Κωνσταντ. Αἰγ. μόνου</i> B. Second campaign of <i>Mauricius</i> in Persia: Tables 577 p. 838. 578 p. 842.</p> <p>Death of <i>Chosroes</i> in March: Tables 578 p. 842. <i>Hoormuz</i> succeeds him 11<sup>9</sup> 6<sup>m</sup>: Ibid. Nicephorus Callist. H. E. XVIII. 2 tom. 2 p. 810 D relates the death of <i>Chosroes</i> as if it immediately followed the campaign of <i>Justinian</i>: ὁ δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς συνάμα παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ εἰς τὴν Περσίδα εἰσβάλλει, καὶ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐκεῖσε διάγων οὐδεμίαν ποθὲν ἀντίστασιν εὗρισκεν· καὶ μηδὲν τι τοῦ στρατεύματος ἀποβαλὼν ἀμφὶ θερινὰς τροπὰς ἐκεῖθεν ἐξήει. σὺν πολλῇ δ' εὐθείᾳ [lege εὐθείᾳ] καὶ περιφανεί τῇ δόξῃ περὶ τὰ μεθόρια διετέλει θεριζῶν. ἐντεῦθεν Χοσρόης τῷ πολλῷ τῆς καταχεθείσης λίπης ἐν ἀμηχάνῳ γενόμενος καὶ τῇ παλιρροίᾳ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀποπνυγείς μετ' αἰσχύνης ἀπολείπει τὸ ζῆν—μετὰ δ' ἐκείνον ἐς Ὀρμισδαν τὸν παῖδα διέβαυεν ἢ ἀρχή. But the acts of <i>Justinian</i> are inaccurately described. He was in Persia in A. D. 57<math>\frac{1}{2}</math>, and <i>Chosroes</i> died in 579. See the Tables A. D. 575. 576 p. 836. 838.</p>	<p>Nicephorus ends his 17th book and begins his 18th at the death of <i>Justin II</i>: <i>Nicephori Callisti Xanthopuli</i> Hist. Eccles. lib. XVII tom. 2 p. 803 A ἐπ' ἔτη δὲ τέσσαρα συνδιαγαγὼν Τιβεριῶν Ἰουστίνου ὁ νέος ἐκλείπει τὸ ζῆν. p. 803 B περιέχει δὲ ἡ παρούσα ἰζ' μοι τῶν ἱστοριῶν χρόνον ἐτῶν τεττάρων πρὸς τοῖς ἐξήκοντα σὺν μισθῶν ὀκτώ' ὀπηρῆκα κόσμου μὲν ἔτος 5 ἐνενηκοστὸν ὄγδοον, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς θείας τοῦ Κυρίου γεννήσεως φ' τρίτου καὶ ἐνενηκοστὸν ἐπεραίνεται. Idem lib. I tom. 1 p. 41 C ὁ δὲ γε δέκατος τε καὶ ὄγδοος λαμπρῶς περιέξει μοι ὅσα ἐπὶ Τιβερίου καὶ Μαυρικίου τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων ταῖς ἐκκλησιαίας ἐγένετο—καὶ ὅπως ὁ μετὰ Μαυρῆσιον κακῶς τυραννήσας Φωκάς αἰσχροῦς ἀπηλλάγη τοῦ ζῆν.</p> <p>Nicephorus begins his history (dedicated tom. 1 p. 1—28 to <i>Andronicus Paleologus</i> who reigned A. D. 1283—1328) at the Nativity in the 42nd of <i>Augustus</i>: I. p. 68 C p. 125 D. But he gradually interpolates 14 years between the 19th of <i>Tiberius</i> and the death of <i>Justin II</i>, as appears from his own dates at the end of each book. The progress of his interpolations will be seen in the following extracts from his years compared with the true periods.</p> <table border="1" data-bbox="715 915 1246 1318"> <thead> <tr> <th>lib. pag.</th> <th>A. M.</th> <th>A. D.</th> <th>True year.</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>I. 125</td> <td>ends at the 19th of <i>Tiberius</i></td> <td>5539.</td> <td>33 32</td> </tr> <tr> <td>II. 219</td> <td>at the 14th inclusive of <i>Nero</i></td> <td>5575.</td> <td>70 68</td> </tr> <tr> <td>IV. 341</td> <td>at the death of <i>Pertinax</i></td> <td>5701.</td> <td>196 193</td> </tr> <tr> <td>VI. 437</td> <td>at the 1st of <i>Diocletian</i></td> <td>5795.</td> <td>290 284</td> </tr> <tr> <td>VIII. 667</td> <td>death of <i>Constantine</i></td> <td>5847.</td> <td>342 337</td> </tr> <tr> <td>IX. 809</td> <td>death of <i>Constantius II</i></td> <td>5872.</td> <td>367 361</td> </tr> <tr> <td>X. 104</td> <td>death of <i>Jovian</i></td> <td>5875.</td> <td>370 364</td> </tr> <tr> <td>XI. 216</td> <td>death of <i>Valens</i></td> <td>5891.</td> <td>386 378</td> </tr> <tr> <td>XII. 336</td> <td>death of <i>Theodosius</i></td> <td>5909.</td> <td>404 395</td> </tr> <tr> <td>XIII. 430</td> <td>death of <i>Arcadius</i></td> <td>5923.</td> <td>418 408</td> </tr> <tr> <td>XIV. 581</td> <td>death of <i>Theodosius II</i></td> <td>5965.</td> <td>460 450</td> </tr> <tr> <td>XV. 635</td> <td>death of <i>Leo</i></td> <td>5990.</td> <td>485 474</td> </tr> <tr> <td>XVI. 727</td> <td>death of <i>Anastasius</i></td> <td>6034.</td> <td>529 518</td> </tr> <tr> <td>XVII. 803</td> <td>death of <i>Justin II</i></td> <td>6098.</td> <td>593 578</td> </tr> </tbody> </table> <p>The space of 546 years from the 19th of <i>Tiberius</i> inclusive to the death of <i>Justin II</i> is expanded into 560 years by Nicephorus.</p>	lib. pag.	A. M.	A. D.	True year.	I. 125	ends at the 19th of <i>Tiberius</i>	5539.	33 32	II. 219	at the 14th inclusive of <i>Nero</i>	5575.	70 68	IV. 341	at the death of <i>Pertinax</i>	5701.	196 193	VI. 437	at the 1st of <i>Diocletian</i>	5795.	290 284	VIII. 667	death of <i>Constantine</i>	5847.	342 337	IX. 809	death of <i>Constantius II</i>	5872.	367 361	X. 104	death of <i>Jovian</i>	5875.	370 364	XI. 216	death of <i>Valens</i>	5891.	386 378	XII. 336	death of <i>Theodosius</i>	5909.	404 395	XIII. 430	death of <i>Arcadius</i>	5923.	418 408	XIV. 581	death of <i>Theodosius II</i>	5965.	460 450	XV. 635	death of <i>Leo</i>	5990.	485 474	XVI. 727	death of <i>Anastasius</i>	6034.	529 518	XVII. 803	death of <i>Justin II</i>	6098.	593 578
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580	<p><i>Tiberii</i> 3 from Sept. 26. <i>Post cons. Tiberii I.</i> Chron. Pasch. p. 376 C <i>Indict.</i> 13. 2 μετὰ ἰπ. <i>Τιβερίου νέου Κωνσταντίνου, ἀνύπατα</i> B. Third campaign of <i>Mauricius</i>: Tables 577 p. 838. 578 p. 842. Death of <i>Austregildis</i> in September: see 581. 2.</p>	<p><i>Eulogius</i> of <i>Alexandria</i>: Tables 578. 4 p. 843.</p>																																																												
581	<p><i>Tiberii</i> 4 from Sept. 26. <i>Post cons. Tiberii II.</i> Chron. Pasch. p. 376 C <i>Indict.</i> 14. 3 μετὰ ἰπ. <i>Τιβερίου νέου Κωνσταντίνου τὸ β' μόνου, ἀνύπατα</i> B. Fourth campaign of <i>Mauricius</i>: Tables 577 p. 840. 578 p. 842. <i>Zonaras</i> XIV tom. 2 p. 73 B C briefly describes these campaigns: ὁ βασιλεὺς—στρα-</p>	<p>[End of the <i>Chronicon</i> of <i>Marius</i>: <i>Anno II cons. Tiberii Constantini Augusti. Ind. XIV.</i> From Sept. 1 A. D. 580. one year below the true time. See <i>Introduct.</i> p. ix Tables 568. 1 p. 824. 578. 1. 2 p. 840.] <i>Marius</i> adds this notice: <i>Ea indictione mense Septembri Austregildis regina obiit: propter cujus trans-</i></p>																																																												

A. D.	EVENTS	AUTHORS
	<p>τηγὸν αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήσας Μαυρίκιον τὸν κόμητα τῶν φοιδεράτων, καὶ ὑποστράτηγον Ναρσὴν τὸν κουβικουλάριον, ἐκπέπομφε κατὰ τῶν Περσῶν πολέμου δὲ συρραγέντος, τὸ Ῥωμαϊκὸν ὑπερτέρησε στράτευμα καὶ πόλεις τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ πολλὴν χώραν ἀφείλετο· ὑποστρέψαντα δὲ τὸν Μαυρίκιον [sc. A. D. 582] μετὰ τιμῆς ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπεδέξατο, καὶ κηδεστὴν ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ Κωνσταντίνῃ αὐτὸν ἐποίησατο, τῆν δὲ ἑτέραν τὴν Χαριτῶ τῷ στρατηγῷ συνέζευξε Γερμανῷ.</p> <p><i>Leovegildi annus 14</i> from the close of this year: Tables 569 p. 826. 577 p. 840.</p>	<p><i>itum interfecti sunt duo medici Nicolaus et Donatus.</i> At the right date: Greg. Tur. H. Fr. V. 34. 36 <i>Anno quinto Childeberti regis Arvernorum—His diebus Austrechildis, Guntchramni principis regina,—priusquam nequam spiritum exhalaret—voluit leti sui habere participes &amp;c.</i> But the 5th year of <i>Childebert</i> ended in the computation of Greg. Tur. Dec. 24 A. D. 580. See the Tables 574. 4 p. 835. At the right indiction in Marius, September A. D. 580.</p>
582	<p><i>Mauricii 1</i> from Aug. 13. <i>Post cons. Tiberii III.</i> Chron. Pasch. p. 376 D <i>Indict. 15. 4</i> μετὰ ὑπ. Τιβ. —τὸ γ' ἴσον. ἀνύπατα B.</p> <p>Death of <i>Tiberius</i> Aug. 14: Tables 577 p. 840. Zonaras XIV tom. 2 p. 73 D νόσφ δὲ φθναδί περιπεσῶν ἐν τῷ τριβουναλίῳ φοραδίην ἐκκομισθεὶς ἐκεῖ τὸν Μαυρίκιον ἀναρρηθῆναι βασιλέα πεποίηκε, παρόντος τοῦ πατριάρχου Ἰωάννου καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς.—ὑποστρέψας δ' ἐκέθην εἰς τὰ βασιλεια τὴν ζωὴν ἐξεμέτρησε βασιλεύσας ἔτη τρία μῆνας δέκα καὶ ἡμέρας ὀκτώ. Μαυρίκιος δὲ τῆς τῶν κοινῶν διοικήσεως εἶχετο, στεφθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατριάρχου Ἰωάννου τοῦ νηστευτοῦ. ἦν δὲ ὅτε τῆς αὐταρχίας ἐπέβη ἐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα πρὸς τρισίν.</p>	<p><i>Euty chius CP.</i> ob. Ap. 6: Tables 577. 4 p. 841. <i>Joannes CP.</i> 13<sup>v</sup> 5<sup>m</sup>. Nicephorus p. 414 D Ἰωάννης ὁ νηστευτῆς διάκονος ΚΠ. ἐπὶ Τιβερίου ἔτη γ' μῆνας ε'. This period commences Ap. 12 A. D. 582 (see Theophanes quoted at 577. 4), and therefore terminates in the beginning of Sept. A. D. 595.</p>
583	<p><i>Mauricii 2</i> from Aug. 13. <i>Sine consule.</i> Chron. Pasch. p. 377 A <i>Indict. 1. 1</i> ἐνιαυτὸς ἀνύπατος. καὶ ἐκ κοινοῦ δόγματος ἐγράφη “μετὰ ὑπατεῖαν Τιβερίου—τοῦ τῆς θείας λήξεως ἔτους δ'.” ἀνύπατα [sc. <i>Post cons. Tib. IV</i>] B.</p>	
584	<p><i>Mauricii 3</i> from Aug. 13. <i>Mauricius cos.</i> Chron. Pasch. p. 377 A <i>Indict. 2. 2</i> ὑπ. Μαυρίκιον ἀγούστου τὸ α' ἴσον. Theophylact. I. 12 p. 25 A δεύτερον ἔτος τοῦτο τῆς Μαυρίκιου ἡγεμονίας, καὶ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ χεμῶνος ὡρα ὑπατος ἀναγορεύεται. Theophanes p. 214 D <i>Mauricii 2<sup>o</sup></i> τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει μηνὶ Δεκεμβρίῳ κ' ἰνδικτιῶν β' [Dec. 20 A. D. 583] ὑπατος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀναγορεύεται καὶ πολλοὺς θησαυροὺς τῇ πόλει ἐδωρήσατο· προβάλλεται δὲ Φιλιππικὸν στρατηγὸν τῆς ἐφῆς, ποιήσας αὐτὸν γαμβρὸν εἰς Γορδιαν τὴν ἰδίαν ἀδελφὴν. Repeated by Cedrenus p. 395 A τῷ β' ἔτει ὑπατος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀναγορεύεται κ. τ. λ. Μαυρίκιον Τιβερίου ἀγ. ἴσον B.</p> <p>The appointment of <i>Philippicus</i> is marked by Theophylact I. 13 A p. 25 B τῷ δ' ἐνισταμένῳ τούτῳ ἐνιαυτῷ—Φιλιππικὸς ἀντανίσταται καὶ στρατηγὸς ἀναγορεύεται ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, ἀνὴρ ἐπιδέξιος καὶ βασιλικῆς συγγενείας ἐγγύτατος· γαμέτης γὰρ ἐτύγχανεν ὡν Γορδίας ἀδελφῆς τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος.—μετοσῶρον τε ἀρχομένου [A. D. 584] παρὰ τὸν Τίγρην αὐλίζεται.</p>	
585	<p><i>Mauricii 4</i> from Aug. 13. <i>Post cons. Mauricii I.</i> Chron. Pasch. p. 377 A <i>Indict. 3. 3</i> μετὰ ὑπ. Μαυρίκιου. ἀνύπατα B [sc. <i>Post cons. Maur. I.</i>]</p>	



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	<p><i>Philippicus</i> in the East: Theophyl. I. 14 p. 26 C εἰς τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐνιαυτὸν τῇ Ἀρζανηῇ χώρα. In winter retires to CP. Ibid. p. 27 C χειμῶνος ὥρα ἤδη που παρεφαίνετο. καὶ τὸν βασιλέα ἀσπασόμενος ἐς Βυζάντιον ἦκεν. The winter of A. D. 58<math>\frac{5}{8}</math>.</p> <p><i>Leovegildi annus</i> 18 at the close of this year: Tables 569 p. 826. Joannes Biclár. <i>Anno IV Mauricii imp. qui est Leovegildi regis XVIII annus.</i></p> <p><i>Theodosius</i> born: Theophan. p. 215 C Cedren. p. 395 D.</p>	
586	<p><i>Mauricii</i> 5 from Aug. 13. <i>Post cons. Mauricii II.</i> Chron. Pasch. p. 377 B <i>Indict.</i> 4. 4 μετὰ ὑπ. Μαυρικίου—τὸ β' μόνου. ἀνύπατα [sc. <i>Post cons. Maur. II.</i>] B.</p> <p><i>Philippicus</i> in spring: Theophyl. I. 14, 15 p. 27 C ἦρος δὲ παρανίσχοντος—Φιλίππικὸς τῆς βασιλίδος ἐξεδήμησε πόλεως. <i>Heraclius</i> ὁ Ἡρακλείου πατὴρ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος II. 3 p. 34 B.—Winter: II. 10 p. 44 C. The winter of A. D. 58<math>\frac{6}{8}</math>. This campaign is described at the 4th of <i>Mauricius</i> by Theophanes p. 216 A—217 B Cedrenus p. 395 D—396 B.</p> <p>Joannes Biclár. <i>Anno IV qui est XVIII</i> &amp;c. <i>Anthane</i> [lege <i>Autharis</i>] <i>Longobardorum rex cum Romanis congressione facta superat.</i> In the beginning of 586, when those years were current together. <i>Autharis</i> after the <i>interregnum</i> of 10 years A. D. 574—584 (Tables 574 p. 834) reigned 6 years to September: Paulus Diac. Langob. III. 16 <i>Langobardi cum per annos decem sub potestate ducum fuissent, tandem communi consilio Authari Clephonis filium—regem sibi statuerunt.</i> III. 36 <i>Rex Authari apud Ticinum Nonas Septembres, veneno ut tradunt accepto, moritur, postquam sex regnaverat annos.</i> As he began to reign at the close of 584, his death is fixed to Sept. 5 A. D. 590.</p> <p>Joannes Biclár. <i>Anno IV</i> &amp;c. <i>Hoc anno Leovegildus rex diem clausit extremum et filius ejus Recaredus cum tranquillitate regni ejus sumit sceptrum.</i> <i>Anno V Mauricii, qui est Recaredi regis primus—Mauricius Theodosium filium suum—Cæsarem facit.</i> Isidorus p. 726 era 624 [A. D. 586]—<i>anno tertio</i> [lege <i>quarto</i>] <i>imperii Mauricii Livingildo defuncto filius ejus Recaredus in regno est coronatus.</i> Between Ap. 13 and May 8: Tables 569 p. 826.</p>	
587	<p><i>Mauricii</i> 6 from Aug. 13. <i>Post cons. Mauricii III.</i> Chron. Pasch. p. 377 B <i>Indict.</i> 5. 5 μετὰ ὑπ. Μαυρικίου—τὸ γ' μόνου. ἀνύπατα B.</p> <p><i>Philippicus</i> and <i>Heraclius</i> in spring: ἐπεὶ ἐαρτίτιδες ὄραι κ. τ. λ. Theophylact. II. 10 p. 44 C. <i>Heraclius</i> again Idem II. 18 p. 56 A. In this year <i>Comentiolus</i> in Thrace: Theophyl. II. 10 p. 44 D τούτῳ δῆτα τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ Κομεντίολος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀρχίαλον ἦκε.</p>	

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	<p><i>Mauricii</i> 5° <i>Comentiolus</i> apud Theophanem p. 217 C, <i>Heraclius</i> p. 218 D.</p> <p><i>Recaredi</i> 2 from April. See 586. Theophanes p. 220 D <i>Mauricii</i> 6° μην Σεπτεμβρίου ἰνδικτιῶνι ε' οἱ Λογγίβαρδοι κατὰ Ῥωμαίων πόλεμον ἤραντο. Sept. of A. D. 587.</p>	
588	<p><i>Mauricii</i> 7 from Aug. 13. <i>Post cons. Mauricii IV.</i> Chron. Pasch. p. 377 B <i>Indict.</i> 6. 6 μετὰ ὑπ.—τὸ δ' ἀνύπατα B.</p> <p>In spring <i>Priscus</i> succeeds <i>Philippicus</i>: Theophyl. III. 1 p. 62 A ἦρος δ' ἐπιγενομένου ὁ μὲν ἀπεχειροτονεῖτο ὁ δὲ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀπήρχετο. Easter: Idem p. 62 B. Winter: Theophyl. III. 4 p. 66 C. The winter of A. D. 588. This campaign is improperly referred to the 5th of <i>Mauricius</i> by Theophanes p. 219 B C.</p> <p><i>Recaredi</i> 3 from April. See 586. <i>Joannes Bicular. Anno VII Mauricii qui est Recaredi regis III</i>—<i>Francorum exercitus a Gonterano rege transmissus Bosone duce in Galliam Narbonensem obveniunt et juxta Carcassonensem urbem castra metati sunt. Cui Claudius Lusitaniæ dux a Recaredo rege directus obviam occurrit. Cum quo congressione facta Franci in fugam vertuntur et direpta castra Francorum et exercitus a Gothis caditur.</i> Isidorus p. 726 <i>Francis cum LX fere millibus armatorum Gallias irruentibus, misso Claudio duce—triumphavit.</i> Conf. Greg. Tur. H. Fr. IX. 31.</p>	
589	<p><i>Mauricii</i> 8 from Aug. 13. <i>Post cons. Mauricii V.</i> Chron. Pasch. p. 377 B <i>Indict.</i> 7. 7 μετὰ ὑπ.—τὸ ε' μόνον. ἀνύπατα B.</p> <p>Spring in Asia: Theophylact. III. 4 p. 66 C D ἐπιγενομένου δ' ἦρος. <i>Comentiolus</i> appointed: Idem III. 6 p. 68 D ὁ δὲ Φιλιππικός ἀπεχειροτονεῖτο παραντικά, Κομεντιόλον δὲ στρατηγὸν ὁ αυτοκράτωρ ἀνίστησιν. Evagrius VI. 15 πέμπεται τῆς ἡγεμονίας διάδοχος Κομεντιόλος, Θράξ γένος. <i>Mauricii</i> 6° Theophanes p. 221 A Cedrenus p. 396 D male. In the 8th of <i>Mauricius</i>—ἔτος ὄγδοον τῆς Μαυρικίου—<i>Bahram</i> is sent to Suania: Theophylact. III. 6 p. 69 C. <i>Romanus</i> meets him: p. 70 C. <i>Bahram</i>, reproached by <i>Hormisdas</i> for his defeat (III. 8 p. 72 C), revolts, and the long war is ended: p. 73 C. Conf. Evagrius VI. 15. 16. At the 6th of <i>Mauricius</i> in Theophanes p. 221 B—222 C.</p> <p><i>Recaredi</i> 4 from April. See 586.</p>	<p><i>Concilium Toletanum III</i>: <i>Joannes Bicular. Anno VIII Mauricii qui est Recaredi IV annus, sancta synodus episcoporum totius Hispaniæ Galliæ et Galliciæ in urbe Toletana præcepto principis Recaredi congregatur episcoporum numero LXXII, in qua synodo intererat—Recaredus.</i> Acta Concil. tom. 6 p. 693 <i>Anno quarto regnante gloriosissimo Domino Recaredo rege, die VIII Iduum Maiarum era 627.</i> Sc. May 8 A. D. 589.</p>
590	<p><i>Mauricii</i> 9 from Aug. 13. <i>Post cons. Mauricii VI.</i> Chron. Pasch. p. 377 C <i>Indict.</i> 8. 8 μετὰ ὑπ.—τὸ ε'. ἀνύπατα B.</p> <p><i>Mauricius</i> crowns his son <i>Theodosius</i> at Easter: Chron. Pasch. p. 377 C. Theophanes p. 225 B <i>Maur.</i> 8° μην Μαρτίου κς' ἰνδικτιῶνι ἡ τῆ ἡμέρα τοῦ</p>	<p>Death of <i>Pelagius</i> of Rome Feb. 8. <i>Gregorius</i> succeeds Sept. 3 A. D. 590: Tables 578. 4.</p> <p><i>Joannes Biclariensis</i> ends at the 4th year of <i>Recaredus</i>: Tables 569. 4.</p> <p><i>Gregorii Romani</i> Ep. I. 9 p. 496 <i>Petro subdiacono. Mense Novembri Indictione IX.</i></p>



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	<p>ἀγίου πάσχα, χρόνων τεσσάρων ἡμῖν, ἐστέφθη—ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου πατριάρχου ΚΠ. Repeated by Cedrenus p. 397 A.</p> <p><i>Comentiolus</i> is still in winter when the civil war begins in Persia: Theophylact. IV. 2 p. 91 D. <i>Hormisdas</i> deposed: p. 93 D. Slain: IV. 7 p. 100 A. In September: Tables 578 p. 842. <i>Chosroes</i> takes refuge with the Romans: Chron. Pasch. p. 377 C <i>Indict. IX Mauricii</i> 9 Χοσρόης—ἦλθε πρὸς Ῥωμαίους. After September 590. For the facts see Evagrius VI. 16—18 Theophylact. IV. 10 p. 104 A—11 p. 105 D. <i>Bahram</i> proclaims himself: p. 106 A B. Related at the 6th of <i>Mauricius</i> by Theophanes p. 222 B—223 D. At the 7th by Cedrenus p. 396 D.</p> <p><i>Recaredi</i> 5 from April. See 586.</p>	
591	<p><i>Mauricii</i> 10 from Aug. 13. <i>Post cons. Mauricii VII</i>. Chron. Pasch. p. 377 C <i>Indict. 9</i> 9 μετὰ ὑπ.—τὸ ζ'. ἀνύπατα B.</p> <p><i>Chosroes</i> in spring—ἦρος ἀρχομένου—sends ambassadors to <i>Mauricius</i>: Theophylact. IV. 13 p. 107 C. Meanwhile <i>Zadesprates</i> is slain: V. 1 p. 121 D. (on the 9th of February: p. 136 D.) <i>Narses</i> succeeds <i>Comentiolus</i>: V. 2 p. 122 D. Spring: 123 A ἦρος ἀρχομένου [sc. A. D. 591]. In summer <i>Chosroes</i> advances: V. 4 p. 124 C θέρους ἀρχομένου. Defeat of <i>Bahram</i>: V. 9 p. 131 A—139 A. Conf. Evagrius VI. 19. End of the Persian war in the 20th year: Tables 572 p. 830.</p> <p><i>Recaredi</i> 6 from April: see 586.</p>	<p><i>Chosroes</i> apud Theophylactum V. 13 p. 136 C Evagrius VI. 21 addresses a letter of thanks after his victory. He mentions Jan. 7 and Feb. 9 of the first year of his reign. sc. Jan. Feb. A. D. 591. He makes mention Χοσρόου βασιλέως υἱοῦ Καβάδου, τοῦ ἡμετέρου πατρός. <i>father</i> for <i>grandfather</i>.</p> <p><i>Gregorii Romani</i> Ep. I. 21 <i>Mense Feb. indict. IX</i>. Ep. I. 33 p. 521 <i>Romano patricio et exarcho Italia. Mense Martio indict. IX</i>. Ep. I. 45 p. 540 <i>universis episcopis per Illyricum. Mense Junii indict. IX</i>. Ep. II. 7 p. 573 <i>Maximiano episc. Syracusano. Mense Decembri indict. X</i>.</p>
592	<p><i>Mauricii</i> 11 from Aug. 13. <i>Post cons. Mauricii VIII</i>. Chron. Pasch. p. 377 D <i>Indict. 10</i> 10 μετὰ ὑπ.—τὸ η'. ἀνύπατα B.</p> <p><i>Mauricius</i> recalls the forces from the East: Theophylact. V. 16 p. 140 A τὰς δυνάμεις ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην ὡς τάχιστα μετεβίβαζεν, ἐπὶ τε τὴν Ἀγγί-αλον τὴν ἐκδημίαν παρασκευάζεται. Progress of <i>Mauricius</i> to Thrace at the time of an eclipse: Theophylact. p. 140 C κατ' ἐκείνην γοῦν τὴν ἡμέραν ἡλίου μεγίστη γέγονεν ἔκλειψις. Zonaras XIV tom. 2 p. 76 B εἰρήνης γενοῦσας πρὸς Πέρσας, τὰς δυνάμεις ἐξ ἐφάσ ἐπὶ τὴν Θράκην μετήνεγκε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξῆλθε τῆς Βυζαντίδος—ὄτε καὶ ὁ ἥλιος ἐσκιάσθη. Theophanes p. 225 D ἐξελ-θόντι δὲ αὐτῶ—γέγονεν ἡλίου ἔκλειψις. This eclipse is determined by authorities apud Pagium tom. 2 p. 697 Sam. Basnage Annal. tom. 3 p. 914 to March 19 A. D. 592. <i>Mauricius</i> after 15 days at Anchialus (Theophylact. VI. 3 p. 147 A) returns to CP.</p> <p>War with the Chagan: Theophylact. p. 147 C. <i>Priscus</i> appointed to command: VI. 4 p. 148 B. In the autumn he returns to CP. VI. 6 p. 151 A ὁ μὲν οὖν στρατηγὸς μετοπώρου ἀρχομένου—ἐς Βυζάντιον ἦκε. The march of the emperor is improperly re-</p>	<p><i>Gregorii Romani</i> Ep. II. 10 p. 575 <i>Paulo episc. Neapolitano. Mense Januario indict. X</i>. Ep. II. 14 <i>Mense Febuario indict. X</i>. Ep. II. 17 <i>Data mense Martio indict. X</i>. Ep. II. 26 <i>Mense Aprili indict. X</i>. Ep. II. 35 p. 598 <i>ad Joannem episc. Ravenatem. Mense Julii indict. X</i>. Ep. II. 47 <i>Dominico episc. Carthaginensi. Data X Kal. Aug. indict. X</i>. Ep. II. 48 <i>Mense Augusti indict. X</i>. Ep. III. 4 <i>Mense Octobri indict. XI</i>. Ep. III. 14 <i>Mense Decembri in-dict. XI</i>.</p>

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	ferred to the 9th of <i>Mauricius</i> by Theophanes p. 225 D Cedrenus p. 397 B. The campaign of <i>Priscus</i> more justly to the 10th year : Theophanes p. 226 D Cedren. p. 397 D.	
593	<p><i>Mauricii</i> 12 from Aug. 13. <i>Post cons. Mauricii IX.</i> Chron. Pasch. p. 377 D <i>Indict.</i> 11. 11 μετὰ ὑπ.—τὸ θ. ἀνύπατα B.</p> <p>In spring <i>Priscus</i> moves to the Danube : Theophylact. VI. 6 p. 151 A ἤρος δὲ ἀρχομένου ὁ στρατηγὸς—παρὰ τὸν Ἰστρον ἐπέμπετο. After this campaign winter : Idem VI. 10 p. 157 A and a sedition in the army : καταστασιάζει ἡ Ῥωμαίων πλῆθὺς, παρωσαμένη τοὺς λόγους τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος· οἴκοι τε τὴν τοῦ ψύχους ὥραν ἐνεχείρει ποιήσασθαι. The winter of A. D. 593½. <i>Petrus</i> is appointed to supersede <i>Priscus</i> : VI. 11 p. 159 A. Meanwhile <i>Priscus</i> passing the Danube makes a peace with the Chagan : VI. 11 p. 161 A. These events are related by Theophanes under the 11th of <i>Mauricius</i> : p. 228 A. the 12th : p. 229 B. the 13th : p. 230 A—D. Who is followed by Cedrenus p. 398 C D.</p>	<p>A letter of <i>Chosroes</i> in his third year (commencing Sept. A. D. 592) apud Theophylactum V. 14 p. 137 B Evagrium VI. 21 p. 460 B. Theophylact. l. c. τῷ δὲ ἐπιόντι ἐνιαυτῷ [sc. anno secundo] ὁ τοῦ Περσικοῦ βασιλεὺς ἀναγορεύει βασιλείαν Σιρῆν—τρίτῳ δὲ ἔτει ἠντιβόλει τὸν—Σέργιον παῖδα ἐκ τῆς Σιρῆς δοθῆναι αὐτῷ. μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ τοῦτου γεγονότος αὐτῷ—ἐπιστολὴν ἐξέπεμψεν. Written before the close of 593, when Evagrius published his history.</p> <p><i>Gregory of Antioch</i> died between March and August : Tables 570. 2. One year too high in Chron. Pasch. p. 377 D <i>Indict.</i> 10 <i>Post cons. Maur. VIII</i> [from Sept. 1 A. D. 591] τοῦτῳ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ Ἀναστάσιος πατριάρχης Ἀντιοχείας ἐπανῆλθεν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ μετὰ τελευταίῃν Γρηγορίου.</p> <p><i>Evagrius</i> ends his history in the 12th of <i>Mauricius</i> : Tables 542. 4 p. 779.</p> <p><i>Gregorii Romani</i> Ep. III. 16 <i>Mense Januario indict. XI.</i> Ep. III. 20 <i>Mense Feb. ind. XI.</i> Ep. III. 21 <i>Mense Mart. ind. XI.</i> Ep. III. 26 <i>Mense Apr. ind. XI.</i> Ep. III. 34 <i>Mense Maio ind. XI.</i> Ep. III. 46 <i>Mense Julio ind. XI.</i> Ep. III. 58 <i>Mense Aug. ind. XI.</i> Ep. IV. 11 <i>Mense Oct. ind. XII.</i> Ep. IV. 16 <i>Mense Nov. ind. XII.</i></p>
594	<p><i>Mauricii</i> 13 from Aug. 13. <i>Post cons. Maur. X.</i> Chron. Pasch. p. 378 A <i>Indict.</i> 12. 12 μετὰ ὑπ.—τὸ ε'. ἀνύπατα B.</p> <p><i>Petrus</i> the brother of <i>Mauricius</i> proceeds to Thrace : Theophyl. VII. 1 p. 166 A. A mutiny in the army is noticed p. 166 C D. <i>Petrus</i> violates the peace : VII. 4 p. 170 A.—is defeated, and <i>Priscus</i> reappointed : VII. 5 p. 172 B καταπολεμηθέντος τοίνυν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων τοῦ Πέτρου Πρίσκος γίνεται στρατηγός, καὶ—ὁ Πέτρος ἐς Βυζάντιον ἦκεν. <i>Mauricii</i> 15<sup>o</sup> apud Theophanem p. 231 C—232 D Cedrenum p. 399 A.</p>	<p>[Chron. Pasch. p. 378 A <i>Indict.</i> 12 <i>Mauricii anno</i> 12 τῆς ἐν ΚΠ.—ἐκκλησίας Κυριακὸς—ἡγείται ἔτη ιβ'. More than a year before the true time. <i>Joannes</i> died and <i>Cyriacus</i> succeeded in the first month of indict. 14 or Sept. 595. conf. a. 582. Theophylact. VII. 6 p. 172 C has an error of five years current : πρὸ τεττάρων τούτων ἐνιαυτῶν [four years before the close of A. D. 594] Ἰωάννης ὁ τὴν ἐς Βυζάντιον ἐκκλησίαν ἰθύνων τὸν τῆδε βίον ἀπέλειπεν.]</p> <p><i>Gregorii Romani</i> Ep. IV. 17 <i>Mense Januario indict. XII.</i> Ep. IV. 19 <i>Mense Apr. ind. XII.</i> Ep. IV. 20 <i>Mense Maio ind. XII.</i> Ep. IV. 23 <i>Mense Junio ind. XII.</i> Ep. IV. 30 <i>Constantinæ Augustæ. Mense Junio indict. XII.</i> Ep. IV. 40 <i>Mense Aug. ind. XII.</i> Ep. V. 4 <i>Constantio episc. Mediolanensi. Mense Sept. ind. XIII.</i> Ep. V. 7 <i>Mense Oct. ind. XIII.</i> Ep. V. 11 <i>Joanni episc. Ravennati. Mense Oct. ind. XIII.</i></p>
595	<p><i>Mauricii</i> 14 from Aug. 13. <i>Post cons. Maur. XI.</i> Chron. Pasch. p. 378 A <i>Indict.</i> 13. 13 μετὰ ὑπ.—τὸ ια'. ἀνύπατα B.</p> <p>In spring <i>Priscus</i>, restored to the command, proceeds from CP. Theophylact. VII. 7 p. 173 C ἤρος ἀρχομένου καὶ ὁ Πρίσκος τοῦ Βυζαντίου ἀποφοιτᾷ. Passes</p>	<p><i>Joannes</i> of CP. dies in September : See the year 582. <i>Cyriacus</i> succeeds : Nicephorus p. 414 D Κυριακὸς πρεσβύτερος τῆς αὐτῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ οἰκόνομος ἔτη ια'.</p> <p><i>Gregorii Romani</i> Ep. V. 18 <i>Joanni episc. CP. Data Kal. Jan. ind. XIII.</i> Ep. V. 24 <i>Romano exarcho</i></p>



A. D.	EVENTS	AUTHORS
	<p>the Danube: 173 D. Conference with the Chagan: VII. 10 p. 178 A. After the conference the forces of <i>Priscus</i> are successful: VII. 12 p. 179 D 180 A. And nothing memorable is performed for 18 months: VII. 12 p. 180 D ἐπὶ μῆνας ὀκτωκαίδεκα καὶ περαιτέρω Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ βαρβάροις τοῖς ἀπὸ τὸν Ἰστρον αὐλιζομένοις οὐδὲν ἄξιον συγγραφῆς διαπέπρακται. Within the years 596. 597. Theophanes p. 233 A C describes this campaign at the 16th of <i>Mauricius</i>.</p>	<p><i>Italiae. Mense Feb. indict. XIII.</i> Ep. V. 29 <i>Mense Mart. ind. XIII.</i> Ep. V. 34 <i>Mense Maio ind. XIII.</i> Ep. V. 38 <i>Mense Junio ind. XIII.</i> Ep. V. 51 <i>Mense Aug. ind. XIII.</i> Ep. V. 53. V. 54 <i>universis episcopis Galliarum qui sub regno Childeberti sunt.</i> V. 55 <i>Childeberto regi Francorum.</i> All dated <i>die XII Aug. ind. XIII.</i> Ep. V. 57 <i>Joanni episc. Corinthiorum.</i> Ep. V. 58 <i>Universis episcopis per Heliadum constitutis.</i> Both dated <i>die XV Aug. indict. XIII.</i> Ep. VI. 17 <i>Mense Oct. ind. XIV.</i> Ep. VI. 20 <i>Mense Nov. ind. XIV.</i></p>
596	<p><i>Mauricii</i> 15 from Aug. 13. <i>Post cons. Maur. XII.</i> Chron. Pasch. p. 378 A <i>Indict. 14. 14 μετὰ ὑπ.—τὸ ιβ'. ἀνόματα B.</i> Sickness of <i>Mauricius</i> in his 15th year: Theophylact. VIII. 11 p. 212 B.</p>	<p><i>Gregorii Romani</i> Ep. VI. 21 <i>Mense Januario ind. XIV.</i> Ep. VI. 26 <i>Mense Mart. ind. XIV.</i> Ep. VI. 29. VI. 31 <i>Mense Apr. ind. XIV.</i> Ep. VI. 35 <i>Mense Maio ind. XIV.</i> Ep. VI. 36 <i>Mense Jun. ind. XIV.</i> Ep. VI. 41 <i>Mense Jul. ind. XIV.</i> Ep. VI. 51 <i>ad fratres in Angliam euntes. Data die X Kal. Aug. imperante D. N. Mauricio Tiberio piissimo Aug. anno XIV, post consulatum ejusdem D. N. anno XIII, indictione XIV.</i> Gregorius, like Victor Tun. Marius and some others, reckons the years <i>post consulatum</i> inclusive of the year of the consulship. See the Tables 542. 1. 568. 1. 575. 2 p. 838. Ep. VI. 52 <i>Data die X Kal. Aug. ind. XIV.</i> Ep. VI. 60 <i>Mense Aug. ind. XIV.</i> Ep. VII. 12 <i>Mense Nov. ind. XV.</i></p>
597	<p><i>Mauricii</i> 16 from Aug. 13. <i>Post cons. Maur. XIII.</i> Chron. Pasch. p. 378 A <i>Indict. 15. 15 μετὰ ὑπ.—τὸ ιγ'. ἀνόματα B.</i></p>	<p><i>Gregorii Romani</i> Ep. VII. 14 <i>Mense Mart. indict. XV.</i> Ep. VII. 18 <i>Mense Maio ind. XV.</i> Ep. VII. 24 <i>Mense Junio ind. XV.</i> Ep. VII. 35 <i>Mense Julio ind. XV.</i> Ep. VII. 41 <i>Datum mense Aug. ind. XV.</i> Ep. VIII. 4 <i>Mense Nov. ind. I.</i> Ep. VIII. 5 <i>Mense Dec. ind. I.</i></p>
598	<p><i>Mauricii</i> 17 from Aug. 13. <i>Post cons. Maur. XIV.</i> Chron. Pasch. p. 378 A <i>Indict. 1. 16 μετὰ ὑπ.—τὸ ιδ'. ἀνόματα B.</i> The Chagan attacks Tomi, <i>Priscus</i> moves to its defence: Theophylact. VII. 13 p. 181 A ὁ Χαγᾶνος—<i>Τομέα τῆ πόλει</i> [<i>Τομέα et Τομέα Arrianus peripl. Pont. Euxin. p. 135</i>] ἐφίσταται, τούτων ὁ Πρίσκος πυθόμενος ἐπηρεαζομένη τῆ πόλει προσομιλεῖ. Ῥωμαῖοι τοιγαροῦν καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι εἰς τὰ περὶ Τομέαν τὴν πόλιν στρατοπεδεύοντες ὄρας ἐπιγυρομένης χειμῶνος οὐδαμῶς τὸν χάρακα διέλυσαντο. τοῦ δὲ ἡρος ἀνισχύοντος λιμὸς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐνέσκηψε. The winter of A. D. 598, the spring of 599. Theophanes p. 234 A refers this to the 18th of <i>Mauricius</i> ἰνδικτιῶνι γ' μηνὶ Μαρτίῳ, or March of A. D. 600. Cedrenus also p. 399 C τῷ ιγ' ἔτει. Which is refuted by Theophylact.</p>	<p><i>Gregorii Romani</i> Ep. VIII. 10 <i>Mense Feb. ind. I.</i> Ep. VIII. 14 <i>Mense Apr. ind. I.</i> Ep. VIII. 15 <i>Marianiano episc. Ravennati. Data mense Apr. indict. I.</i> Ep. VIII. 20 <i>eidem. Mense Maii ind. I.</i> Ep. VIII. 23. VIII. 27 <i>Mense Junio indict. I.</i> Ep. VIII. 33 <i>Mense Aug. ind. I.</i> Ep. IX. 25 <i>Mense Nov. ind. II.</i> Ep. IX. 26 <i>Mense Nov. ind. II.</i></p>
599	<p><i>Mauricii</i> 18 from Aug. 13. <i>Post cons. Maur. XV.</i> Chron. Pasch. p. 378 A <i>Indict. 2. 17 μετὰ ὑπ.—τὸ ιε'. ἀνόματα B.</i> At Easter hostilities suspended: Theophylact.</p>	<p><i>Gregorii Romani</i> Ep. IX. 28 <i>Mense Januario ind. II.</i> Ep. IX. 35 <i>Constantio episc. Mediolanensi. Data mense Feb. ind. II.</i> Ep. IX. 46 <i>Datum mense Apr. [al. Mart. al. Maio] indict. II.</i> Ep. IX. 60 <i>Dat.</i></p>

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	<p>VII. 13 p. 181 B. Easter of A. D. 599. (Referred to Easter 600 by Theophanes p. 234 B Cedrenus p. 399 C.)</p> <p><i>Comentiolus</i> is defeated: Theophylact. VII. 14. and retires to CP. c. 15 p. 184 A. Terror of the city and court: p. 184 B. <i>Mauricius</i> refuses to ransom the prisoners: Zonaras XIV tom. 2 p. 77 C ἐκ τῆς λοιμκῆς νόσου—ἀθυμήσας ὁ βάρβαρος ἔσπευσεν εἰς τὰ οἰκεία ἐπαναζεύξαι. δηλοῖ γοῦν τῷ Μαυρικίῳ ἐξωνήσασθαι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, ἐν ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ διδόντι νόμισμα. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς οὐ κατένευσε. Conf. Theophanem p. 235 B—D Cedrenum p. 399 D. And the war ceases: Theophylact. VII. 15 p. 184 D ἐν τούτοις δῆτα Ἀβάροις καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ὁ πόλεμος πέρας ἐλάμβανεν. (Who omits to tell that the prisoners were not ransomed and were put to death by the Chagan.)</p>	<p><i>mense Martio ind. II.</i> Ep. IX. 74 <i>Mense Julio ind. II.</i> Ep. X. 10 <i>Datum mense Dec. ind. III.</i></p>
600	<p><i>Mauricii</i> 19 from Aug. 13. <i>Post cons. Maur. XVI.</i> Chron. Pasch. p. 378 B <i>Indict.</i> 3. 18 μετὰ ἡπ.—τὸ 15'. ἀνύπατα B.</p> <p>Theophylact. VIII. 1 p. 197 D—198 A ἀποστῆλ-λουσι πρέσβεις αἱ περὶ τὴν Θράκην—δυνάμεις πρὸς Μαυρικίον—προδοσίαν κατατιώμεναι Κομεντιόλου τοῦ στρατηγού. τῆς στάσεως τοῖνον εἰς τὸ βασιλεῖον ἄστῳ ἰσχυρὰς γεγυῖας, δίδωσιν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ Κομεντιόλῳ καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσι διαιτητὰς, καὶ—λαμβάνει ἡ κατηγορία τὴν ἐγκοπήν καὶ αὐθις ὁ Κομεντιόλος γίνεται στρατηγός. θέρουσ δὲ ἐπιόντος ἔξω τῆς πόλεως γίνεται. War renewed: p. 198 B. Victories of <i>Priscus</i>: Theophylact. VIII. 2 p. 199 A—4 p. 201 B. Then winter approached: p. 201 C. passed by <i>Comentiolus</i> at Philippopolis: VIII. 4 p. 202 ἐκέισε τὴν ἅπασαν τοῦ χειμῶνος ὄραν ἐνδιατρίψας [A. D. 600] ἔαρος ἀρχομένου ἐς Βυζαντίον παραγίνεται. τῷ δὲ ἐπιόντι θέρει [A. D. 601] πάλιν στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ Μαυρικίον—ἀναδείκνυται. In the 19th year of <i>Mauricius</i> nothing is done: p. 202 A. In the 20th year <i>Petrus</i> appointed: ἔτει δὲ εἰκοστῷ τὸν αὐτάδελφον ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ Μαυρίκιος Πέτρον στρατηγὸν προεστήσατο τῆς Εὐρώπης. Therefore in August A. D. 601.</p> <p>Before the 20th year—πρὸ τούτου τοῦ ἐναντιοῦ—marriage of <i>Theodosius</i>: Theophylact. VIII. 4 p. 202 A B μετ' ὀλίγας τοῖνον ἡμέρας τοῦ γάμου, ὥρα χειμῶνος, σιτοδεία τις τοῖς Βυζαντίοις ἐνέσκηψε. Then followed the festival of Christmas: p. 202 B. and a sedition at CP. Dec. 25 of A. D. 600, the 19th year of <i>Mauricius</i>.</p> <p>Theophanes p. 236 D—238 A relates the victories of <i>Priscus</i> and the winter following under the 19th of <i>Mauricius</i>. And Cedrenus p. 400 D—401 B τῷ 15' ἔτει. The marriage of <i>Theodosius</i> is referred by Theophanes p. 238 D to November of the 20th year: τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει μηνὶ Νοεμβρίῳ Ἰνδικτιῶν ε'. Nov. A. D. 601. and by Cedrenus p. 401 D τῷ κ' ἔτει. But Theophylact determines that marriage to No-</p>	<p><i>Gregorii Romani</i> Ep. X. 21 <i>Joanni preposito Italia.</i> <i>Data mense Apr. ind. III.</i> Ep. X. 26. X. 27 <i>Mense Maio ind. III.</i> Ep. X. 31 <i>Mense Junio ind. III.</i> Ep. X. 63 <i>Mense Aug. ind. III.</i> Ep. XI. 26 <i>Data mense Nov. ind. IV.</i> Ep. XI. 27 <i>Mense Dec. ind. IV.</i></p>



A. D.	EVENTS	AUTHORS
	<p>member of the 19th year, A. D. 600. <i>Recaredi</i> 15 from April. See 586.</p>	
601	<p><i>Mauricii</i> 20 from Aug. 13. <i>Post cons. Maur. XVII.</i> Chron. Pasch. p. 378 B <i>Indict.</i> 4. 19 μετὰ ἡπ.—τὸ εἶ. ἀνύπατα B.</p> <p><i>Petrus</i>, being appointed to the command in the 20th year (conf. a. 600), proceeds to the Danube, and autumn commences: <i>Theophylact.</i> VIII. 5 p. 203 A ὁ Πέτρος ὁ στρατηγὸς τὰς δυνάμεις ἀθροίσας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰστρὸν χωρεῖ καὶ εἰς Παλάστολον ἀφικνεῖται, καὶ χάρακα ποιησάμενος οὕτω τὴν τοῦ θέρους ὥραν διήνυν. μετοπώρου τε ἀρχομένου κ. τ. λ. Autumn of A. D. 601. <i>Mauricii</i> 20<sup>o</sup> apud <i>Theophanem</i> p. 239 A—240 D.</p> <p><i>Recaredi</i> 16 from April: see 586. He reigned 15<sup>y</sup> 1<sup>m</sup> 10<sup>d</sup>. Conf. <i>Pagium</i> tom. 2 p. 719. His death therefore is in June A. D. 601: <i>Pagi</i> <i>Ibid.</i> <i>Isidorus</i> p. 727 <i>Era</i> 639 [A. D. 601] <i>anno imperii Mauricii</i> 17<sup>o</sup> [immo 19<sup>o</sup>] <i>post Recaredum regem regnat Liuba filius ejus annis duobus, ignobili quidem matre progenitus, sed virtutum indole insignitus. quem in primo flore adolescentiæ Wittericus—occidit anno atatis</i> 22<sup>o</sup>.</p>	<p><i>Gregorii Romani</i> Ep. XI. 31. XI. 32 <i>Datum mense Feb. ind. IV.</i> Ep. XI. 52 <i>Datum mense Junii ind. IV.</i> Ep. XI. 56 <i>Datum die X Julii ind. IV.</i> Ep. XI. 65 <i>Augustino episc. Anglorum.</i> XI. 66 <i>Edilbertho regi Anglorum.</i> XI. 68 <i>Virgilio episc. Arelatensi.</i> All dated <i>die X Kal. Jul. imperante D. N. piüssimo Mauricio Tiberio Aug. anno XIX post consulatum ejusdem D. N. anno XVIII indictione IV.</i> The computation includes the year of the consulship. See 596. Ep. XI. 76 <i>Data XV Kal. Jul. [an V Kal. Julii?] imperante D. N. &amp;c. anno XIX P. C. anno XVIII indict. IV.</i> Ep. XII. 1 <i>Mense Sept. ind. V.</i></p>
602	<p><i>Mauricii</i> 21 from Aug. 13. <i>Post cons. Maur. XVIII.</i> Chron. Pasch. p. 378 B <i>Indict.</i> 5. 20 μετὰ ἡπ.—τὸ ηἵ. ἀνύπατα [sc. <i>Post cons. Maur. XVIII.</i>] B.</p> <p>Summer: <i>Theophylact.</i> VIII. 5 p. 203 B τοῦ δὲ θέρους ἐπέγοντος, ἀκοή γίνεται Μαυρικίῳ—ὡς ἐπίτηδες ὁ Χαγάνος ἀναβολὴν τῷ πολέμῳ παρέσχετο κ. τ. λ. The summer of A. D. 602. Mutiny in the army of the Danube: <i>Theophylact.</i> VIII. 6 p. 204 A B ὥρας μετοπωρῆς ἐνδημούσης—στάσις μεγίστη. <i>Phocas</i>: p. 204 D. proclaimed: 205 C at CP. 210 C. <i>Mauricius</i> slain: VIII. 11 p. 211 C D. Chron. Pasch. p. 378 D—379 A “The revolt of <i>Phocas</i> was in Nov. <i>Indict.</i> 6 [sc. Nov. A. D. 602]. <i>Mauricius</i> fled Nov. 22, <i>Phocas</i> was proclaimed Nov. 23, and crowned by <i>Cyriacus</i> the patriarch; entered CP. on the 25th, and slew <i>Mauricius</i>, four of his sons and his brother <i>Petrus</i>, on the 27th.” <i>Theodosius</i> and <i>Comentiolus</i> are also slain: <i>Idem</i> p. 379 B. <i>Theophanes</i> p. 241 A—244 A under the 20th of <i>Mauricius</i> relates the disorders which preceded and followed the elevation of <i>Phocas</i>, who began to reign μηνὶ Νοεμβρίῳ ἰνδικτιῶνι 5<sup>o</sup> p. 244 B. Conf. <i>Cedrenum</i> τῷ κ<sup>o</sup> ἔτει p. 403 A—404 A <i>Zonaram</i> XIV tom. 2 p. 77 C 78 D 79 D <i>de Phoca.</i> <i>Idem</i> p. 80 A ἔθανε δὲ Μαυρίκιος ἐτῶν ξγ', εἰκοσι βασιλεύσας ἐναντιούς. He reigned Aug. 13 A. D. 582—Nov. 22 A. D. 602 20<sup>y</sup> 3<sup>m</sup> 10<sup>d</sup>. These acts are recorded in the Appendix ad epistolas <i>Gregorii</i> Opp. tom. 2 p. 1301 <i>Per indictionem VI die 23 mensis Nov. temporibus DN. papæ Gregorii coronatus est Phocas et Leontia Augusta Septimo in palatio quod dicitur Secundianas,</i></p>	<p>[Chron. Pasch. p. 378 B <i>Indict.</i> 5 <i>anno Mauricii</i> 20<sup>o</sup> τούτῳ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ μηνὶ Φεβρουαρίῳ γέγονεν ὁ γάμος Θεοδοσίου—ἀπὸ θ' καὶ αὐτῆς ἕως ι' τοῦ αὐτοῦ Φεβρουαρίου μηνός [Feb. 9—15 A. D. 602]. καὶ τῇ 5<sup>o</sup> τοῦ Ἰουλίου μηνός τῆς αὐτῆς ἐ' ἰνδικτιῶνος ἡδίκτου προτεθέντος ἐγράφη τῷ λοιπῷ μέρει τοῦ χρόνου τοῦ μέχρι δηλονότι Ἰανουαρίου τῆς 5<sup>o</sup> ἰνδικτιῶνος [Jan. 603] οὕτως κ. τ. λ. An error in the date of that marriage, which is fixed to November A. D. 600 <i>indict.</i> 4 <i>Mauricii</i> 19. See 600 col. 1.]</p> <p>Chron. Pasch. p. 379 B ἀπὸ κ' τοῦ αὐτοῦ Νοεμβρίου μηνός εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον τὸν μέχρι δηλονότι Ἰανουαρίου μηνός τῆς παρουσίας ἕκτης ἰνδικτιῶνος ἐγράφη ἐν τοῖς συμβολαίοις “<i>βασιλείας Φωκά εἵτους α'.</i>” His reign however began from Nov. 23, on which day he was crowned by <i>Cyriacus</i> ἐν τῷ Ἐβδόμῳ [Tables A. D. 364 p. 462] εἰς τὸν σεβασμὸν οἶκον τοῦ ἀγίου Ἰωάννου p. 378 D.</p> <p>[<i>Cedrenus</i> p. 404 C κόσμου ἔτος 586<sup>o</sup> τῆς θείας σαρκώσεως φε' Φωκάς ὁ τύραννος ἐβασίλευσεν. An erroneous date derived from <i>Theophanes</i> p. 244 B.]</p> <p><i>Gregorii Romani</i> Ep. XII. 24 <i>Datum mense Januario ind. V.</i> Ep. XII. 33. XII. 38 <i>Deusdedit episcopo Mediolanensi.</i> Both <i>Mense Maio indict. V.</i> Ep. XIII. 4 <i>Januario episc. Caralis.</i> XIII. 6 <i>Brunichilde reginæ Francorum.</i> Both <i>Mense Nov. indict. VI.</i></p>

A. D.	EVENTS	AUTHORS
	<p><i>et occisus est Mauricius imp. cum omnibus filiis suis masculis, id est, Theodosio jam coronato, Tiberio, &amp;c. — simul et Petro fratre suprascripti Mauricii Aug. Sed et aliqui procerum qui ei cohærebant, id est Constantius patricius et curator et Placidus, sed et Georgius notarius principis. Venit autem icona—Phocæ et Leontie Augg. Romam VII Kal. Maii et acclamatum est eis in Lateranis in basilica &amp;c.</i></p>	
603	<p><i>Phocæ 2</i> from Nov. 23. ἀνύπατα [sc. <i>Post cons. Maur. XIX</i>] B.  <i>Phocas consul</i> Dec. 7: Theophanes p. 245 B <i>Phocæ 2<sup>ο</sup> τούτω τῷ ἔτει μηνὶ Δεκεμβρίῳ ζ' ἰνδικτιῶνι ζ' [Dec. 7 A. D. 603] προσῆλθεν Φωκᾶς ἐν ταῖς ἐορταῖς ρήψας ὑπατερίαν πολλήν.</i> Cedrenus p. 405 C τῷ β' ἔτει προσῆλθε κ. τ. λ. Chron. Pasch. p. 380 A is therefore inaccurate: <i>Indict. 6 anno Phocæ 1 ἰπ. Φωκᾶ Αἰγούστου μόνου.</i>  Embassy of <i>Phocas</i> to <i>Chosroes</i> in the 5th month after his accession: Theophylact. VIII. 15 p. 217 D μηνὶ πέμπτῳ. <i>Chosroes</i> declares war: p. 218 C D. Revolt of <i>Narses</i>: Zonaras XIV tom. 2 p. 80 A.  <i>Wittericus</i> reigns: Isidor. p. 727 era 641 [A. D. 603] <i>Mauricii 20<sup>ο</sup> [immo Phocæ 1<sup>ο</sup>] extincto Liuvane Wittericus regnum quod vivente illo invaserat vindicat annis septem, vir quidem strenuus in armorum arte, sed tamen expers victoriae.</i></p>	<p><i>Theophylact</i> ends his history VIII. 15 p. 217 C 218 D about the middle of the first year of <i>Phocas</i>. <i>Gregorii Romani</i> Ep. XIII. 25. XIII. 26. Both <i>mense Mart. ind. VI.</i> Ep. XIII. 28 <i>Datum mense Apr. ind. VI.</i> Ep. XIII. 29 <i>Mense Maii ind. VI.</i> Ep. XIII. 31 <i>Phocæ Augusto. Gloria in excelsis Deo &amp;c. Dat. mense Junii ind. VI.</i> Ep. XIII. 36 <i>Mense Julii ind. VI.</i> Ep. XIII. 44 <i>Datum mense Aug. ind. VI.</i> Ep. XIV. 6 <i>Data mense Oct. ind. VII.</i> Ep. XIV. 9 <i>Data mense Dec. indict. VII.</i></p>
604	<p><i>Phocæ 3</i> from Nov. 23. <i>Phocas consul.</i> <i>Gregorius Romanus</i>: see col. 2. Chron. Pasch. p. 380 B <i>Indict. 7 anno Phocæ 2 μετὰ ἰπ. Φωκᾶ Αἰγούστου.</i> Male. Conf. <i>Pagium</i> tom. 2 p. 722. B recte hoc anno <i>Φωκᾶ Αἰγ. μόνου.</i>  Persian war: Theophanes p. 245 C Cedrenus p. 405 C.</p>	<p><i>Gregorii Rom.</i> Ep. ad <i>Felicem subdiaconum</i> apud <i>Pagium</i> tom. 2 p. 722 <i>Data VIII Kal. Feb. D. N. D. Phoca Aug. anno II et consulatus ejus anno primo, Indict. VII.</i> <i>Gregory</i> reckons the years <i>post consulatum</i> inclusive of the year of the consulship. See 596.  Death of <i>Gregory of Rome</i>: Paulus Diac. in vita p. 16 <i>Postquam sedem Romanæ et apostolicæ ecclesiæ annis XIII mensibus sex et diebus X gloriosissime rexit.— Sepultus est in ecclesia beati Petri apostoli ante secretarium IV Id. Martiarum.</i> In the 2nd of <i>Phocas</i>: <i>Idem Langobard. IV. 30 Migravit ad Christum, cum jam Focas per indictionem VIII [lege VII] anno regnaret secundo.</i> His episcopate of 13<sup>v</sup> 6<sup>m</sup> 10<sup>d</sup> began at Sept. 3 A. D. 590 (Tables 578. 4) and terminated March 12 A. D. 604 <i>Indict. 7 Phocæ anno 2.</i></p>
605	<p><i>Phocæ 4</i> from Nov. 23. <i>Post consulatum Phocæ I.</i> Chron. Pasch. p. 380 B <i>Indict. 8 anno Phocæ 3 μετὰ ἰπ. Φωκᾶ Αἰγούστου τὸ α'. ἀνύπατα B.</i>  Executions in June: Chron. Pasch. p. 380 C τούτω τῷ ἔτει [sc. <i>Phocæ 3<sup>ο</sup></i>] μηνὶ Δαυρίῳ κατὰ Ῥωμαῖους Ἰουνίῳ, ἡμέρα ζ'. June 7 A. D. 605.  <i>Constantina</i> and her daughters slain κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον Chron. Pasch. p. 380 D.—<i>Phocæ 5<sup>ο</sup></i> (A. D. 607) apud <i>Theophanem</i> p. 247 C Cedrenum p.</p>	



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	<p>406 A B τῷ ε' ἔτει.            Persian war continued <i>Phocæ</i> 3<sup>o</sup>: Theophanes p. 245 D Cedren. p. 405 D. <i>Narses</i> slain by <i>Phocas</i>: Theoph. p. 246 A Cedren. p. 405 D.</p>	
606	<p><i>Phocæ</i> 5 from Nov. 23. <i>Post cons. Phocæ II.</i> Chron. Pasch. p. 380 D <i>Indict. 9 anno Phocæ</i> 4 μετὰ ὑπ. Φωκᾶ—τὸ β'. ἀνύπατα B.            Persian war <i>Phocæ</i> 4<sup>o</sup>: Theophanes p. 246 C Cedrenus p. 406 A.</p>	<p>Death of <i>Cyriacus</i> of CP. Chron. Pasch. p. 381 A <i>Indict. 9 anno Phocæ</i> 4 τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει τελευτᾷ Κυριακὸς πατριάρχης ΚΠ. μηνὶ Ὑπερβερεταίῳ κατὰ Ῥωμαίους Ὀκτωβρίῳ, κβ', ἡμέρα ζ', καὶ κηδεύεται τῇ λ' τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνός, ἡμέρα πρώτη. In reality October of <i>Indict. 10 A. D. 606</i>, although in the 4th year of <i>Phocas</i>. Eleven years from the death of <i>Joannes</i> were completed in Sept. A. D. 606. conf. a. 595.</p>
607	<p><i>Phocæ</i> 6 from Nov. 23. <i>Post cons. Phocæ III.</i> Chron. Pasch. p. 381 A <i>Indict. 10 anno 5 μετὰ ὑπ. Φωκᾶ—τὸ γ'. ἀνύπατα B.</i>            Persian war: Theophanes p. 247 D <i>Phocæ</i> 5 Πέρσαι τὸν Εὐφράτην περᾶσαντες πᾶσαν τὴν Συρίαν καὶ Παλαιστίνην καὶ Φοινίκην αἰχμαλώτευσαν, πολλὴν ἄλωσιν ἐν Ῥωμαίοις ποιήσαντες. Also in Cedrenus p. 406 B τῷ ε' ἔτει.</p>	<p><i>Thomas</i> of CP. appointed: Chron. Pasch. p. 381 A <i>Indict. 10 anno Phocæ</i> 5 τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει μηνὶ Αὐδύναίῳ, κατὰ Ῥωμαίους Ἰανουαρίῳ, κγ' [Jan. 23 A. D. 607] γέγονε πατριάρχης ἐν ΚΠ. Θωμᾶς ἀπὸ διακόνων τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας καὶ σακελλάριος τοῦ πατριάρχου καὶ ἐπάνω τῶν χειροτονιῶν. Nicephorus p. 414 D Θωμᾶς διάκονος τῆς αὐτῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ σακελλάριος ἔτη γ' μῆνας ε'. Zonaras tom. 2 p. 80 B Κυριακοῦ τοῦ πατριάρχου ἐκλιπόντος μετὰ ἐνιαυτοῦς ἑνδεκα—πατριάρχης ἐγένετο Θωμᾶς. p. 80 D ὁ πατριάρχης Θωμᾶς ἐπὶ τρία ἔτη καὶ μῆνας δύο τῆς ἐκκλησίας προστὰς ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ ἀντ-εισήχθη Σέργιος. See 610.  <i>Eulogius Alexandrinus</i>. Tables 578. 4 p. 843.  <i>Theodorus</i> succeeds: Nicephor. p. 417 B Θεόδωρος ὁ Σκρίβων ἔτη β'. He has two years in Theophanes p. 246 D 248 A <i>Phocæ</i> 5<sup>o</sup>, 6<sup>o</sup>.</p>
608	<p><i>Phocæ</i> 7 from Nov. 23. <i>Post cons. Phocæ IV.</i> Chron. Pasch. p. 381 B <i>Indict. 11 anno Phocæ</i> 6 μετὰ ὑπ.—τὸ δ'. ἀνύπατα B.  <i>Priscus</i>, the son-in-law of <i>Phocas</i>, invites <i>Heraclius</i>: Theophanes p. 248 A <i>Phocæ</i> 6<sup>o</sup> τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει ὁ Πρίσκος [de quo Theophanes p. 246 D anno <i>Phocæ</i> 5<sup>o</sup>], μὴ ὑποφέρων ὄραν τοὺς ἀδίκους φόνους καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὰ [lege τὰ κακὰ τὰ] ὑπὸ Φωκᾶ γενόμενα, ἔγραψεν πρὸς Ἡράκλειον τὸν πατρίκιον καὶ στρατηγὸν Ἀφρικῆς ὥστε ἀποστεῖλαι Ἡράκλειον τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ Νικήταν τὸν υἱὸν Γρηγορᾶ τοῦ πατρίκιου καὶ ὑποστρατήγου αὐτοῦ, ὅπως ἔλθωσιν κατὰ τοῦ τυράννου Φωκᾶ. Zonaras tom. 2 p. 81 A στρατηγούτος ἐν Ἀφρικῇ καὶ Λιβύῃ Ἡρακλείου τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος μετέπειτα Ἡρακλείου, οἱ τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Πρίσκος ὁ στρατηλάτης [Idem p. 80 D τὴν δὲ θυγατέρα ὁ Φωκᾶς Δομνεντίαν Πρίσκῳ τῷ στρατηλάτῃ συνέζευξε] διεπέμποντο πρὸς αὐτὸν δεόμενοι ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς τυραννίδος Φωκᾶ. Repeated from Theophanes τῷ ε' ἔτει by Cedrenus p. 406 B, who has <i>Crispus</i> for <i>Priscus</i>.</p>	<p>An inscription of Aug. 1 A. D. 608 at Rome is given by Burgess Topogr. of Rome Vol. I p. 489. The lacunæ are supplied by Mr. Burgess. Opt[imo] clementis[simo piissim]oque principi domino [N. Phocæ imper]atori perpetuo A. DO coronato triumphatori semper Augusto Smaragdus exæros. sacri palatii ac patricius et exarchus Italia devotus ejus clementia pro innumerabilibus pietatis ejus beneficiis et pro [qui]ete procurata Ital. ac conser[vat]a libertate hanc st[at]uatam pietatis ejus auri splend[ore fulgen]tem huic sublimi column[æ ad] perennem ipsius gloriam imposuit ac dedicavit die prima mensis Augusti <i>indict. und. P. C. pietatis ejus anno quinto</i>. The 5th year <i>post consulatum</i> is reckoned inclusive of the consulship itself. See examples of this mode of computing at 596. P. C. mean <i>post consulatum</i>; not, as Mr. Burgess supposes, <i>præclaræ</i>. The <i>exarch Smaragdus</i> is addressed by Greg. Rom. Ep. XIII. 33 in A. D. 603, and is mentioned by Paulus Diac. Langob. III. 27. IV. 26. 29. 33.</p>
609	<p><i>Phocæ</i> 8 from Nov. 23. <i>Post cons. Phocæ V.</i> Chron. Pasch. p. 381 B <i>Indict. 12 anno Phocæ</i> 7 μετὰ ὑπ.—τὸ ε'. ἀνύπατα B.</p>	<p>The Paschal Chronicle p. 381 B C reckons 272 years from the death of <i>Constantine</i> to May 22 of the 12th indiction in the 7th of <i>Phocas</i>: ἐντεῦθεν</p>

A. D.	EVENTS	AUTHORS
	<p>The Persian war continues in the 7th of <i>Phocas</i>: Cedrenus p. 406 C τῷ ζ' ἔτει οἱ Πέρσαι ἐξῆλθον σὺν τῷ Καρδαρίχῃ καὶ παρέλαβον Ἀρμενίαν καὶ Καππαδοκίαν, ἔτρεψαν δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. παρέλαβον δὲ καὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν καὶ Παφλαγονίαν, καὶ ἦλθον μέχρι Χαλκήδονος λυμανόμενοι ἀφειδῶς πᾶσαν ἡλικίαν. Theophanes p. 248 B, who omits a year of <i>Phocas</i>, places this under the 6th year: <i>Phocæ</i> 6<sup>ο</sup> τοῦτω τῷ ἔτει—οἱ Πέρσαι ἐξῆλθον σὺν τῷ Καρδαρίχῃ κ. τ. λ. which Cedrenus has corrected. Compare Theophanes p. 248 C D with Cedrenus p. 406 B—D.</p> <p>The calamities of this reign are briefly summed up by Zonaras XIV tom. 2 p. 80 B C πολυειδῆ μέντοι τότε κακὰ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους κατέλαβεν. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ ἑφῆ Πέρσαι τὴν Συρίαν καὶ Παλαιστίνην καὶ Φοινίκην ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦς ἐποίησαντο, τὴν Ἀρμενίαν δὲ καὶ Καππαδοκίαν καὶ τὴν Παφλαγονίαν καὶ Γαλατίαν κατέδραμον, καὶ μέχρι Χαλκηδόνος προήλθουσιν ἅπαντα ληϊζόμενοι. ἐν δὲ τῇ Εὐρώπῃ Ἄβαρες τὴν Θράκην ἐδήλωσαν, καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαϊκὰ στρατόπεδα ἃ ἐν ἀμφοτέροις ἦσαν τοῖς τμήμασι διεφθάρησαν, καὶ ἄλλως δὲ πολλὴ τῶν ἀνθρώπων θνήσις ἐγένετο καὶ ἀφορία καρπῶν καὶ ζώων φθορὰ ἐκ βαρυτάτων χειμῶνων. ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ ὁ ἀλάστορ Φωκᾶς κ. τ. λ.</p>	<p>ἔστιν ελεῖν ὡς ἀφ' οὐπερ ὁ τρισμακάριος Κωνσταντῖνος ἐτελεύτησεν τὸν βίον μέχρι τῆς κβ' τοῦ Μαΐου μηνὸς τῆς ἐνεστῶσης ἰβ' ἐπιμεμήσεως καὶ τοῦ ζ' ἔτους τῆς Φωκᾶ βασιλείας πληροῦνται χρόνοι σοβ, ἀρχεται δὲ τὸ σογ' ἀπὸ κβ' τοῦ Μαΐου μηνὸς, ἰνδικτιῶνος ἰβ'. Having observed that in the year of the death of <i>Constantine</i> Easter-day was on Ap. 3 and Pentecost on May 22, he concludes p. 381 D εἰσὶν οὖν ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς τελευταίας Κωνσταντίνου ἔως νῦν χρόνοι σοβ, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς εἰκοσαετηρίδος αὐτοῦ σπα' πλήρεις.—ἔπατοι δὲ ἀπὸ Φηλικιανοῦ καὶ Τατιανοῦ εἰσὶν σοβ' ἔως τοῦ πάσχα τῆς ἰβ' ἡλιακῆς ἰνδικτιῶνος τῆς νῦν ἐνισταμένης [legendum ex 381 C vel τῆς ἰβ' ἡλιακῆς ἰνδ. vel τῆς ἰβ' σεληνιακῆς ἰνδ.]</p> <p>The 272 years are exact from May 22 A. D. 337 <i>cons. Feliciano et Titiano</i> to May 21 A. D. 609 in the 7th of <i>Phocas</i>. The reckoning from the 20th of <i>Constantine</i> is deficient; for from May 22 A. D. 326 towards the close of his 20th year to May 21 A. D. 609 are 283 years.</p> <p>Deaths of <i>Theodorus of Alexandria</i> and <i>Isacius of Jerusalem</i>: Chron. Pasch. p. 382 A <i>Ind.</i> 12. 7 τοῦτω τῷ ἔτει ὑποστατοῦσιν Ἀφρική καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρεια καὶ σφάζεται ἀπὸ ἐναντίων ὁ πάπας Ἀλεξανδρείας [sc. <i>Theodorus</i>: conf. a. 607]. παύεται δὲ καὶ Ἰσακίος ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων, καὶ γίνετα αὐτ' αὐτοῦ Ζαχαρίας ἀπὸ πρεσβυτέρων καὶ σκευοφυλάκων τῆς ἐκκλησίας ΚΠ. καὶ Ἔδεσσα ἰπὸ Πέρσας γίνετα. See col. I.</p>
610	<p><i>Post cons. Phocæ VI.</i> Chron. Pasch. p. 382 B <i>Indict.</i> 13 anno <i>Phocæ</i> 8 μετὰ ὑπ.—τὸ 5'. ἀνόπατα B. sc. <i>post consulatum Phocæ annus VI.</i> recte.</p> <p>Sedition at Antioch: Cedrenus p. 406 C D τῷ η' ἔτει ἀτακτῆσαντες οἱ Ἀντιοχείς Ἑβραῖοι στάσις ἐποίησαν κατὰ Χριστιανῶν, καὶ ἀποσφάττουσιν Ἀναστάσιον τὸν μέγαν πατριάρχην Ἀντιοχείας—σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν Ἀντιοχείων κατέσφαξαν. At the right year: Chron. Pasch. p. 382 B <i>Phocæ</i> 8<sup>ο</sup> κατὰ τὸ πέρασ τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου μηνὸς τῆς ἰδ' ἰνδικτιῶνος [Sept. A. D. 610] ἀπηγγέλη ὡς Ἀναστάσιος πατριάρχης γενόμενος Ἀντιοχείας ὁ ἀπὸ σχολαστικῶν ἀηρέθη ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν. Theophanes p. 248 C, who omits a year of <i>Phocas</i>, records this at the 7th year: τοῦτω τῷ ἔτει ἀτακτῆσαντες, κ. τ. λ. which Cedrenus has corrected.</p> <p>Elevation of <i>Heraclius</i>—death of <i>Phocas</i>: Chron. Pasch. p. 382 C τοῦτω τῷ ἔτει [sc. <i>Phocæ</i> 8<sup>ο</sup>] μηνὶ Ὑπερβηρεταίῳ, κατὰ Ῥωμαίους Ὀκτωβρίῳ γ', ἰνδικτιῶνος ἰδ', ἡμέρα ζ', ἀναφαίνονται πλοῖα ἰκανά—ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ Ἡράκλειος ὁ υἱὸς Ἡρακλείου κ. τ. λ. On Monday Oct. 5 <i>Phocas</i> is delivered up to <i>Heraclius</i> and slain: p. 383 A τῇ 5' [lege cum Pagio ε'] τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς, διαφασούσης ἡμέρας β'. On the same day περιώραν ἐνάτην—ἐστρέφθη Ἡράκλειος ὁ βασιλεὺς—ὑπὸ Σεργίου. p. 383 D ἀπὸ ζ' καὶ αὐτῆς τοῦ Ὀκτωβρίου μηνὸς τῆς παρουσίας ἰδ' ἰνδικτιῶνος [Oct. 7 A. D. 610] μέχρι ἰγ' τοῦ Ἰανουαρίου μηνὸς τῆς αὐτῆς ἰνδικτιῶνος [Jan. 13</p>	<p>Death of <i>Thomas of CP.</i> March 20: Chron. Pasch. p. 382 B <i>Ind.</i> 13 anno <i>Phocæ</i> 8 τοῦτω τῷ ἔτει μηνὶ Δύστρω, κατὰ Ῥωμαίους Μαρτίῳ, κ', ἡμέρα 5', τελευτᾷ Θωμᾶς πατριάρχης ΚΠ. καὶ κηδεύεται τῇ κβ' τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς, ἡμέρα α'. καὶ τῇ η' τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου [lege cum Ducangio τῇ ἰγ' τοῦ Ξανθοῦ] κατὰ Ῥωμαίους Ἀπριλλίῳ, τῆς αὐτῆς ἰγ' ἰνδικτιῶνος, τῷ μεγάλῳ σαββάτῳ γέγονε πατριάρχης ΚΠ. Σέργιος διάκονος τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας ΚΠ. καὶ πτωχοτρόφος, φρονεῖ λιμένος. Nicephorus p. 415 A Σέργιος διάκονος τῆς αὐτῆς ἐκκλησίας ἔτη κή, ἡμέρας κ'. The episcopate of <i>Thomas</i> from Jan. 23 A. D. 607 to March 20 A. D. 610 was 3<sup>ῃ</sup> 2<sup>ῃ</sup>, the term assigned by Zonaras p. 80 D.</p> <p><i>Anastasius of Alexandria</i> slain in September: see col. I. Add Zonaras tom. 2 p. 80 D Ἑβραῖοι στασιάζοντες κατὰ Χριστιανῶν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἀνείλον τῶν Ἀντιοχείων πολλοὺς καὶ αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν πατριάρχην τῆς πόλεως Ἀναστάσιον, καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν αὐτοῦ κατέκανσαν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ.</p> <p><i>Nicephorus Callisti Xanthopuli filius</i> concludes at the death of <i>Phocas</i>: Niceph. XVIII tom. 2 p. 887 τοιοῦτον μὲν δὴ τῷ κακῶν κακίστῳ Φωκᾶ τῆς τυραννίδος ἐγένετο τέλος, ἔτη ὀκτὰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων κατορρησασμένη ἀρχῆς.—τημναῦτα δὲ τῆς μὲν Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας ἡγήτο μετὰ Γρηγόριον Ἰννοκέντιος τῆς δὲ τῶν πόλεων βασιλίδος μετὰ Θωμᾶν Σέργιος τὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς ἡνάξι διείπεν' ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας θρόνον μετὰ Εὐλόγιον ἔτη ἑπτά</p>



A. D.	EVENTS	AUTHORS
	<p>A. D. 611] καὶ ἀπὸ ἰδ' καὶ αὐτῆς τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς ἐγράφη εἰς τὸν ἕξῃς χρόνον τὸν μέχρι Δεκεμβρίου πληρουμένου τῆς ἐ' ἐπινημέσεως [Dec. 31 A. D. 611] οὕτως· "Καὶ ὑπατείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ—δεσπότης." εἰ γὰρ καὶ μὴ προῆλθεν ἐπὶ δίφρου, ἀλλ' οὖν ἐκρίθη λογισθῆναι αὐτῷ εἰς ὑπατείαν. The fall of <i>Phocas</i> is related by Cedrenus p. 406 D—407 B τῷ ἡ' ἔτει. Idem p. 407 C <i>A. M.</i> 6103 <i>A. D.</i> 609 Ἡράκλειος—ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη λα', στεφθεῖς ὑπὸ Σεργίου πατριάρχου—ἐστέφθη δὲ ἅμα αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ μεμνηστυμένη αὐτῷ Φαβία ἢ καὶ Εὐδοκία μετονομασθεῖσα Αἰγούστα. Zonaras XIV tom. 2 p. 81 C D προκατέλαβε τοῖνυν Ἡράκλειος, καὶ προσώρμισε τῷ λιμένι τῶν Σεφίων, καὶ μάχης συγκροτηθείσης ὑπέσχχε τῶν τοῦ Φωκᾶ. κ. τ. λ.—τῷ μὲν οὖν κακίστῳ Φωκᾶ τοιοῦτον τὸ τέλος τῆς τυραννίδος ἐγένετο, ἔτη κατορχησαμένῳ τῆς βασιλείας ὀκτώ. p. 82 A Ἡράκλειος δὲ ὑπὸ Σεργίου τοῦ πατριάρχου στεφθεῖς αὐτίκα καὶ τὴν Εὐδοκίαν τὴν μνηστὴν ταινοῖ. Theophanes, who had lost a year of the reign of <i>Phocas</i> and had compressed the events of his last 3 years into 2, describes the death of <i>Phocas</i> under the 1st year of <i>Heraclius</i>: p. 250 A τοῖτῳ τῷ ἔτει μηνὶ Ὀκτωβρίῳ 8 ἰνδικτιῶνι ἰδ' ἦκεν Ἡράκλειος ἀπὸ Ἀφρικῆς φέρων πλοῖα κ. τ. λ.—καθὰ καὶ ὁ Πισίδιος Γεώργιος λέγει, καὶ στρατὸν πολὺν ἀπὸ Ἀφρικῆς καὶ Μαυριτανίας.—καὶ—νικᾷ Φωκᾶν τὸν τύραννον· οἱ δὲ δῆμοι τοῦτον παραλαβόντες ἀνέλκον—εἰσελθὼν δὲ Ἡράκλειος εἰς τὰ βασίλεια ἐστέφθη ὑπὸ Σεργίου. <i>Phocas</i> has 8 years in Cedrenus p. 404 C—ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη ἡ'—in Zonaras I. c. in Paulus Diac. Langob. IV. 37 <i>per octo annorum curricula</i>. Theophanes assigns only 7 years p. 244 B. And yet he places the elevation of <i>Phocas</i> at the right date <i>Nov. indict.</i> 6 and his death at the right date, <i>Oct. indict.</i> 14. <i>Phocas</i> reigned <i>Nov. 23 A. D. 602—Oct. 4 A. D. 610 7<sup>o</sup> 10<sup>m</sup> 12<sup>d</sup></i>. <i>Gundemar</i> in Spain: Isidorus p. 728 <i>era</i> 648 [A. D. 610] <i>anno imperii Focatis sexto [immo octavo] Gundemarus post Wittaricum regnat annis duobus</i>.</p>	<p>πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσιν ἱερευσάμενον [conf. a. 578. 607] Θεόδωρος ὁ Σκρίβων ἔτη δύο ἰέρωται, ὃν ὁ ἐκ Κύπρου Ἰωάννης ὁ ἐλεήμων λαμπρῶς διεδέχετο· μετὰ δὲ Ἄναστασιον τὴν τῆς Ἀντιόχου ἐκκληροῦτο ἱερωσύνην ὁ ἕτερος Ἄναστάσιος· ἀνὰ δὲ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα διάδοχος Ἰωάννου Νεαμῶς ἦν· μεθ' ὃν Ἰσαάκ ἔπειτα δὲ πρὸ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας [conf. a. 614] Ζαχαρίας καθίστατο. περιέχει δὲ καὶ ἡ παρούσα ἡ' μοι τῶν ἱστοριῶν χρόνον ἑτῶν δύο πρὸς τριάκοντα, ὅπηνίκα κόσμου μὲν ἔτος 5 ἑκατοστὸν καὶ [adde τριακοστὸν], ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς θείας τοῦ Κυρίου γεννήσεως ἑξακοσιοστὸν καὶ πέμπτον πρὸς τῷ εἰκοστῷ ἐπείραιντο. The right term of years. The redundancy which was 14 years at the death of <i>Justin</i> is still 14 and no more at the death of <i>Phocas</i>. See A. D. 579.</p> <p><i>Theophylact</i> after the fall of <i>Phocas</i> recites a Monody upon the death of <i>Mauricius</i>: VIII. 12 p. 213 B τούτων δῆτα ὑπὸ τοῦ συγγραφέως ἀδομένων ἐπὶ τοῦ βῆματος τῆς τυραννίδος ληξάσης, πληροῦται δακρύων ὁ ξύλλογος κ. τ. λ.</p> <p><i>Mohammed</i> declares himself: <i>Abulfeda in vita</i> p. 142 <i>Missionem propheticam accepit annos natus</i> 40, <i>Mecca substitit vocans homines ad Islamismum annos 13 et quod excurrit; Medina moratus est post Hejiram annos ferme decem</i>. Elmakin thus apud Gagnier ad <i>Abulf.</i> p. 14 <i>Ut autem annos implevit 40 vocatus est feria secunda, qui dies erat secundus mensis Rabii I anno 922 Alexandri bicornis [id est Seleucidarum] qui erat vigesimus Cesra filii Hormuz filii Nushirwanis</i>. The 922nd year of the <i>Seleucidae</i> began Oct. A. D. 610, the 20th of <i>Cesra II</i> Sept. A. D. 609. <i>Abulfeda in vita</i> p. 50 reckons from the Mission to the Flight of <i>Mohammed</i> 13<sup>o</sup> 2<sup>m</sup> 8<sup>d</sup>. But the Flight is fixed by <i>Abulfeda</i> to the 8th of <i>Rabia I</i> in the first year of the <i>Hejira</i> or the 68th day of that first year=Sept. 21 A. D. 622, which places what is called the Mission at the 1st of <i>Moharram</i>. <i>Abulfeda</i> carries back the Mission to A. D. 609. From the dates of Elmakin we may perhaps refer it to A. D. 610 in the 20th year of <i>Chosroes</i> and the 921st of the <i>Seleucidae</i>. <i>Abulpharajius</i> p. 102 <i>Post completos demum annos aetatis 40 prophetiae munus sibi arrogavit</i>.</p>
611	<p><i>Heraclii</i> 2 from Oct. 5. <i>Heraclius consul</i> Jan. 14—Dec. 31. See 610. Ἡρακλείου Αἰγ. μόνου Β. In May the Persians invade Syria: Theophanes p. 250 D τῷ δὲ Μαΐῳ μηνὶ ἐστράτευσαν οἱ Πέρσαι κατὰ Συρίας καὶ παρέλαβον τὴν Ἀπάμειαν καὶ τὴν Ἐδεσσαν, καὶ ἦλθον εἰς Ἀντιοχείας. Repeated by Cedrenus p. 407 D <i>Heraclii</i> 1<sup>o</sup>. Zonaras XIV tom. 2 p. 82 A οἱ Πέρσαι τὴν ἐφ' ἂν κατέτρεχον, καὶ τὰς μὲν τῶν χωρῶν ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐποιούντο τὰς δὲ ἐλιγίζοντο.—καὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην οἱ Ἄβαραι καὶ οἱ Σκύβαι ἠρήμωσαν. <i>Eriphania</i> born July 7: Theophanes p. 250 D <i>Heraclii</i> 1<sup>o</sup> τῇ ἐβδόμῃ τοῦ Ἰουλίου μηνὸς ἰνδικτιῶνος ζ'</p>	<p><i>Joannes Philoponus</i>, the disciple of <i>Ammonius</i>, still wrote in the time of <i>Sergius</i>: Jo. Philop. proœm. περὶ κοσμοποιίας p. 1. 2 πολὺς μὲν ἐμοὶ περὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως ἐν πολλαῖς πραγματείαις δῆνυσται λόγος—δέδειχα δὲ καὶ ὡς ἀρχὴν ἔχει τοῦ εἶναι, πλείοσιν ἐπιβολαῖς τοῦτο συλλογισάμενος [sc. in libris adv. Proclum]. πολλοὶ δὲ διὰ ταῦτα συνεχῶς ἡμῖν ἠνώχλουν, ἡρέμα πως καὶ ὑπωνείδισον.—μάλιστα δὲ σὺ, τιμωτάτῃ μοι κεφαλῇ Σέργιῳ, καὶ τῶν ἐν ἀρχιερεῦσιν θεοῦ τελούντων μέγιστον ἐγκαλλώπισμα, πολὺς ἐπέκεισο προτρέπων, μονοουχὶ καὶ βιαζόμενος, τὰ εἰς ἐμὴν συνεισφέρειν τῷ πράγματι δύναμιν. συνεργὸς δὲ τοῦ σπουδάσματος ἦν ὁ γνῶριμος τοῦ γένους</p>

A. D.	EVENTS	AUTHORS
	<p>[f. Ἰνδικτιῶν ιδ']. Zonaras p. 82 B γίνεται ἐκ τῆς Ἀυγούστης Εὐδοκίας θυγάτηρ Ἐπιφανία.</p>	<p>οὐκ ἔλαττον τὴν θεοσέβειαν Ἀθανάσιος, οἷα σκύμνος τῷ εἰς ἀρετὴν θρεψαμένῳ συμπαράθειον, πολὺς δὲ νοῦς ἐν ἀσκήσει λόγων αἰδέσιμον ποιεῖ νεότητα. Suidas p. 1789 B Ἰωάννης γραμματικὸς Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Φιλόπονος. τοῦτον συγγράμματα ἀμύπολλα, γραμματικὰ, φιλόσοφα, ἀριθμητικὰ, ῥητορικὰ, τῆς τε θείας γραφῆς, καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐπὶ Προκλείων ἐπιχειρημάτων, καὶ κατὰ Σεβήρου. πλὴν ὅτι παρὰ τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας διδασκάλων ὡς τριβείτης ἐκβάλλεται. Philoronus wrote Comm. in Aristot. lib. IV φυσ. ἀκροῶσ. in A. D. 617. conf. a.</p>
612	<p><i>Heraclii</i> 3 from Oct. 5. <i>Post cons. Heraclii I.</i> Chron. Pasch. p. 384 A <i>Indict.</i> 15 anno <i>Heraclii</i> 2<sup>o</sup> μετὰ ὑπ. Ἡρακλείου Ἀυγούστου. ἀνόματα B.</p> <p>Theophanes p. 251 A <i>Heraclii</i> 2<sup>o</sup> τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει παρέλαβον οἱ Πέρσαι Καισάρειαν τῆς Καππαδοκίας καὶ πολλὰς μυριάδας ἐν αὐτῇ ἠχμαλύτευσαν. Ἡράκλειος δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς—εἶρε παραλελυμένα τὰ τῆς πολιτείας Ῥωμαίων πράγματα. τὴν τε γὰρ Εὐρώπην οἱ βάρβαροι ἠρήμωσαν καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν οἱ Πέρσαι πᾶσαν κατέστρεψαν. Repeated by Cedrenus p. 407 D τῷ β' ἔτει. It was found that only two soldiers remained alive of the army which had placed <i>Phocas</i> on the throne: Theophylact. VIII. 12 p. 214 B Theophanes p. 251 B Zonaras XIV tom. 2 p. 82 B.</p> <p><i>Constantine</i> born May 3—Death of <i>Eudocia</i> Aug. 13 <i>indict.</i> 15: Chron. Pasch. p. 384 A B Theophanes p. 251 B Cedrenus p. 408 A τῷ β' ἔτει. Recorded by Zonaras p. 82 B. <i>Epiphania</i> crowned Oct. 4 <i>indict.</i> 1: Chron. Pasch. p. 384 B Theophanes p. 251 C <i>Heraclii</i> 3<sup>o</sup> Cedrenus p. 408 A τῷ γ' ἔτει.</p> <p>Isidorus p. 728 <i>Era</i> 650<sup>a</sup> [A. D. 612] anno imperii <i>Eraclii</i> 2<sup>o</sup> <i>Sisebutus</i> post <i>Gundemarum</i> regali fastigio evocatus regnat annis VIII mensibus VI. After Feb. 13; for his second year was still current Feb. 13 A. D. 614: Epitaphium apud Pagium tom. 2 p. 750 <i>Sacerdos</i>—<i>etatis</i> suae XLIII die Id. Febr. era DCLII [Feb. 13 A. D. 614], <i>feliciter</i> II <i>Sisebuti</i> regis.</p>	<p><i>Isidorus Hispalensis</i> flourished: Isidor. Pacensis apud Fabricium Bibl. Ecclesiast. p. 47 <i>Heraclii imp. temporibus</i>, in era 650<sup>a</sup> anno imperii supradicti secundo, <i>Hispalensem Isidorum metropolitanum pontificem clarum doctorem Hispania celebrat. qui anno VII Sisebuti Gothorum regis</i> [A. D. 618] <i>contra Acephalorum haeresim magna auctoritate Hispali in secretario sanctae Hierusalem concilium agit.</i> Ildensonus de Scriptoribus Eccles. c. 9 <i>Isidorus post Leandrum fratrem Hispalensis sedis provinciae Batae cathedram tenuit, vir decore simul et ingenio pollens.</i>—<i>Scriptis opera eximia et non parva; id est, librum de genere officiorum, lib. proemiorum, lib. de ortu et obitu prophetarum, lib. Lamentationum, quem ipse Synonymorum vocavit; libellos duos ad Florentinam sororem contra nequitiam Judaeorum; lib. de natura rerum ad Sisebutum principem; lib. differentiarum; lib. sententiarum.</i>—<i>Scriptis quoque ultimo ad petitionem Braulionis Casaraugustani episcopi librum Etymologiarum, quem cum multis annis conaretur perficere, inexplato opere diem extremum visus est conclusisse. Floruit temporibus Reccaredi, Liuwani, Witterici, Gundemari, Sisebuti, Suintiliani, et Sisenandi regum</i> [A. D. 586—636], <i>annis fere 40 tenens pontificatus honorem.</i> Conf. a. 636.</p>
613	<p><i>Heraclii</i> 4 from Oct. 5. <i>Post cons. Heraclii II.</i> Chron. Pasch. p. 384 C <i>Indict.</i> 1 anno <i>Her.</i> 3 μετὰ ὑπ.—τὸ β'. ἀνόματα B.</p> <p><i>Constantine</i> crowned Jan. 22: Chron. Pasch. p. 384 D καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς κβ' τοῦ Ἰανουαρίου μηνὸς ἐπετράπη γράφεσθαι—“<i>βασιλείας τῶν θειοτάτων ἡμῶν δεσποτῶν—Φλαβίου Ἡρακλείου τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἔτους γ' καὶ μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν αὐτοῦ ἔτους β', καὶ Φλαβίου Ἡρακλείου νέου Κωνσταντίνου—ἔτους α'.</i>” At Dec. 25 <i>Ind.</i> 1 [A. D. 612] in Theophanes p. 251 C. In Cedrenus p. 408 A τῷ γ' ἔτει. Zonaras tom. 2 p. 82 B ἄμφω τὰ παῖδε τούτῳ [<i>Epiphania</i> and <i>Constantine</i>] βασιλικῷ διαδήματι τετανίωκε.</p> <p>The Saracens invade Syria: Theophanes p. 251 C <i>Heraclii</i> 3<sup>o</sup> ἐπεστράτευσαν Σαρακηνοὶ κατὰ Συρίας, καὶ</p>	



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	<p>λυμνημένοι ικανὰ χωρία ὑπέστρεψαν. Also in Cedrenus p. 408 A τῷ γ' ἔτει.</p>	
614	<p><i>Heraclii</i> 5 from Oct. 5. <i>Post cons. Her. III.</i> ἀνύπατα B. Chron. Pasch. p. 385 A <i>Ind.</i> 2. 4 μετὰ ὑπ. τὸ γ'. <i>A Jan. 22 Constantini</i> 2.</p> <p>Damascus taken: Theophanes p. 251 B <i>Heraclii</i> 4<sup>o</sup> τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει ἔλαβον οἱ Πέρσαι τὴν Δαμασκὸν καὶ ἠχμαλώτευσαν λαὸν πολύν. Cedrenus p. 408 A τῷ δ' ἔτει. Jerusalem taken June of <i>indict.</i> 2 <i>Heraclii</i> 4<sup>o</sup>: Chron. Pasch. p. 385 A B τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει περὶ μῆνα Ἰούνιον—μετὰ πολλῶν τῆς ἀνατολῆς πόλεων ἦλθε καὶ Ἱερουσαλὴμ ὑπὸ Περσῶν καὶ σφάζονται πολλὰι χιλιάδες ἐν αὐτῇ—καὶ Ζαχαρίας ὁ πατριάρχης καὶ αἰχμάλωτος γίνεται. Conf. Eutychium tom. 2 p. 212. Referred to the next campaign <i>Heraclii</i> 5<sup>o</sup> by Theophanes p. 252 A Cedrenus p. 408 B.</p> <p><i>Heraclius</i> marries <i>Martina</i>: Theophanes p. 251 D <i>Heraclii</i> 4<sup>o</sup>. Cedrenus p. 408 B τῷ δ' ἔτει. Zonaras tom. 2 p. 82 C ἔγημε Μαρτίαν τὴν ἀδελφόπαιδα καὶ Αὐγούσταν αὐτὴν ἀηγόρευσε.</p> <p>Ineffectual attempt to treat with <i>Chosroes</i>: Zonaras p. 82 C. <i>Heraclii</i> 4<sup>o</sup> Theophanes p. 251 D Cedrenus p. 408 B.</p>	
615	<p><i>Heraclii</i> 6 from Oct. 5. <i>Post cons. Her. IV.</i> ἀνύπατα B. Chron. Pasch. p. 385 D <i>Ind.</i> 3 anno <i>Her.</i> 5 μετὰ ὑπ.—τὸ δ'. <i>A Jan. 22 Constantini</i> 3.</p> <p>Another <i>Constantine</i> born: <i>Heraclii</i> 5<sup>o</sup> Theophanes p. 252 B Cedrenus p. 408 C.</p>	
616	<p><i>Heraclii</i> 7 from Oct. 5. <i>Post cons. Her. V.</i> ἀνύπατα B. Chron. Pasch. p. 388 B <i>Ind.</i> 4. 6 μετὰ ὑπ.—τὸ ε'. <i>A Jan. 22 Constantini</i> 4.</p> <p>Theophanes p. 252 B <i>Heraclii</i> 6<sup>o</sup> τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει παρέλαβον οἱ Πέρσαι τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ Λιβύην ἕως Αἰθιοπίας.—τὴν Χαλκηδὸνα οὐκ ἔσχον παραλαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ φρουρὰν ἐτάσαντο τοῦ πολιορκεῖν ἀνεχώρησαν. Also in Cedrenus p. 408 C τῷ σ' ἔτει, who has Καρχηδὸνα for Χαλκηδὸνα. At the preceding year in Chron. Pasch. p. 386 B "<i>Indict.</i> 3 anno <i>Heraclii</i> 5 <i>post cons. IV Saen</i> the Persian approaches Chalcedon and Chrysopolis; and an embassy is sent to <i>Chosroes</i>." The particulars of the message are given p. 386 B—388 A.</p>	<p>Chron. Pasch. p. 388 B—D <i>Indict.</i> 4 anno <i>Her.</i> 6<sup>o</sup> <i>post cons. V</i> ἀπὸ τῆς γεννήσεως τοῦ δεσπότητος Χριστοῦ ἕως ταύτης τῆς ὑπατείας ἐπληρώθησαν ἔτη χιστ' καὶ ἠρξάντο τὰ χκ'. ἐκ τούτων ἐξαυροῦνται τὰ μέχρι τῆς σταυρώσεως αὐτοῦ ἔτη λγ', καὶ καταλείπονται φπς'. πρὸ φ' τοῖνον πς' ἐνιαυτῶν εἰσῆλθεν ὁ Μάρτιος μῆν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ε'. —ὁ γὰρ Μάρτιος τῆς ἐνεστώσης δ' ἰνδικτιῶνος [March 1 A. D. 616] εἰσέρχεται ἐν δευτέρᾳ τῆς ἐβδομάδος ἡμέρᾳ.—ψηφίζοντες οὖν πρὸ φπς' ἐτῶν τὴν σελήμην εὐρίσκομεν αὐτὴν τῇ κγ' τοῦ Μαρτίου μηνὸς ἐκείνου ἦτις ἦν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ παρασκευῇ ἔχουσαν ιδ'.—ἀνέστη δὲ κύριος τῇ ἐφεξῆς κυριακῇ ἦτις ἦν κέ' τοῦ αὐτοῦ Μαρτίου μηνός. This reckoning is consistent with the computation quoted in the Tables 562. 4, and these 586 years contain the two interpolated years which are there described. For if 586 years terminate in March of the 4th indiction A. D. 616, they commence at March 23—25 A. D. 30; and if the 619 years from the Nativity are completed Dec. 24 A. D. 615 <i>indict.</i> 4, they commence at Dec. 25 B. C. 5. But when the two redundant years are struck out, 584 years will carry us back to March A. D. 32 the true epoch intended by the Chronicle, from whence the 33 years (584 + 33 = 617) will place the Nativity, ac-</p>

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		cording to the meaning of this Chronicle, at Dec. 25 B. C. 3. See the Tables B. C. 32. 2.
617	<p><i>Heraclii</i> 8 from Oct. 5. <i>Post cons. Her. VI. ἀνόπατα</i> B. Chron. Pasch. p. 388 D <i>Ind. 5 anno Her. 7 μετὰ ἡπ.—τὸ ε'.</i> <i>A Jan. 22 Constantini 5.</i></p> <p>Theophanes p. 252 C <i>Heraclii</i> 7<sup>ο</sup> τοῦτω τῷ ἔτει ἐστράτευσαν οἱ Πέρσαι κατὰ Χαλκηδόνος καὶ παρέλαβον αὐτὴν πολέμῳ. Not noticed in Cedrenus p. 408 C.</p> <p><i>Constantine</i> consul: Theophanes p. 252 C τῷ δ' αὐτῷ ἔτει μηνὶ Ἰανουαρίῳ α' ἰνδικτιῶνος ε' [1 Jan. 617] ὑπάτευσεν Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ νέος—καὶ προεβάλετο Καίσαρα Κωνσταντῖνον τὸν μικρὸν τὸν ἴδιον ἀδελφὸν τὸν ἐξ Ἡρακλείου καὶ Μαρτίνης γεννηθέντα. In Cedrenus p. 408 C τῷ ζ' ἔτει.</p>	<p><i>Joannis Philoponi Comm. in Aristotelis φυσ. ἀκροῶσ. lib. IV</i> p. s 3 lin. 38 φαμέν γὰρ ἐνεστηκέναι νῦν καὶ ἐναντὸν καὶ μῆνα καὶ ἡμέραν ἐνιαυτὸν Διοκλητιανοῦ ἔτος τλγ', μῆνα Πάχων, ἡμέραν δεκάτην. This passage was therefore written May 5 A. D. 617. He elsewhere speaks of a period 88 years earlier as within his time: In <i>Proclum XVI.</i> 4 p. k 15 lin. 46 νῦν γὰρ ἐφ' ἡμῶν κατὰ τὸ διακοσιοστὸν τεσσαρακοστὸν πέμπτον Διοκλητιανοῦ ἔτος ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ζωδίῳ τῷ Ταύρῳ γεγόνασιν οἱ ἐπτά πλανώμενοι or A. D. 52<sup>9</sup>. But he had been taught by <i>Ammonius</i>; from whom he received what he has delivered in his commentaries upon Aristotle: as <i>Comm. in Aristot. φυσ. ἀκροῶσ. lib. I—IV, Comm. in Aristot. περὶ ψυχῆς</i>, in <i>Aristot. περὶ γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς</i> are Ἰωάννου Ἀλεξανδρέως τοῦ Φιλοπόνου ἐκ τῶν συνοουσιῶν τοῦ Ἀμμωνίου τοῦ Ἑρμείου. <i>Philoponus</i> had written in his youth (τῶν νέων δέ τις—τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους κατήγορος ἀνεφάνη <i>Simplicius ad Aristot. de cælo</i> p. 6 b lin. 34) against <i>Proclus</i> on the eternity of the world, before the commentary of <i>Simplicius</i> upon <i>Aristot. de Cælo</i>, who remarks upon him in that work. <i>Fabricius</i> therefore B. G. tom. 10 p. 644 need not have doubted the meaning of ἐφ' ἡμῶν, as if "paulo laxius accipiendum" &amp;c. For <i>Ammonius</i> had studied under <i>Proclus</i> before A. D. 485, and <i>Simplicius</i> was already eminent in 531. See the Tables 531. 3. The year 529 then fell within the lifetime of <i>Philoponus</i>, and ἐφ' ἡμῶν is used in its natural sense. <i>Philoponus</i> almost 50 years before 617 had written against <i>Joannes</i> of CP. <i>Photius Cod. 75 ἀνεγνώσθη Ἰωάννου τοῦ Φιλοπόνου βιβλιδάριον κατὰ τῶν ἐνθῆως δογματισθέντων περὶ τῆς ἀγίας καὶ ὁμοουσιῶν Τριάδος ὑπὸ τοῦ—Ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπισκόπου ΚΠ.—ἐν τῷ κατηγορικῷ λόγῳ ἐν εἶπεν ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης ἐπινεμήσεως, βασιλεύοντος Ἰουστίνου. sc. A. D. 56<sup>ξ</sup>.</i> (where <i>Photius</i> censures the heretical opinion of <i>Philoponus</i>.) <i>Joannes</i>, against whom he wrote, died Aug. 31 A. D. 577. (see the Tables.) The treatise of <i>Philoponus</i> was probably written in 568 or soon after. <i>Philoponus</i> was called in question for his heresy in the lifetime of <i>Joannes</i>: <i>Phot. Cod. 24 ἀνεγνώσθη βιβλίον ἔχον πεπραγμένα συστάνα παρὰ τῷ τῆς βασιλίδος ἐπισκόπῳ Ἰωάννῃ, Ἰουστίνου βασιλεύοντος, κ. τ. λ.</i></p>
618	<p><i>Heraclii</i> 9 from Oct. 5. <i>Post cons. Her. VII. ἀνόπατα</i> B. Chron. Pasch. p. 389 A <i>Ind. 6 anno Heraclii</i> 8 μετὰ ἡπ.—τὸ ζ'. <i>A Jan. 22 Constantini 6.</i></p> <p>Another treaty attempted in vain with <i>Chosroes</i>: Theophanes p. 252 C <i>Heraclii</i> 8<sup>ο</sup> τοῦτω τῷ ἔτει πάλιν Ἡράκλειος ἀπέστειλε πρέσβεις ἐν Περσίδι πρὸς Χοσρόην αἰτούμενος εἰρήνην. ὁ δὲ Χοσρόης καὶ πάλιν αὐτοὺς ἀπέπεμψατο λέγων κ. τ. λ. Repeated by Cedrenus p.</p>	



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	408 D τῷ ἡ' ἔτει. Zonaras XIV p. 82 C πάλιν οὖν ἐτέρα στέλλεται πρεσβεία πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰρήνην ἐξαπουμένη. ὁ δὲ Πέρσης ὑπερηφάνους καὶ βλασφῆμους τὰς ἀποκρίσεις πεποιήκε λέγων κ. τ. λ.	
619	<p><i>Heraclii</i> 10 from Oct. 5. <i>Post cons. Her. VIII.</i> ἀνόματα B. Chron. Pasch. p. 389 B <i>Ind. 7 anno 9</i> μετὰ ὑπ.—τὸ ἡ'. <i>A Jan. 22 Constantini 7.</i></p> <p>The Avars: Theophanes p. 252 D <i>Heraclii</i> 9<sup>o</sup> τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει ἐστράτευσαν Ἀβάρεις κατὰ τῆς Θράκης, καὶ ἀποστείλας ὁ Ἡράκλειος πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἤτει τὴν εἰρήνην. καὶ συνθεμένου τοῦ Χαγάνου ταύτην ποιεῖν ἐξῆλθεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔξω τοῦ μακροῦ τείχους.—ὁ δὲ βάρβαρος ἐκείνος τὰς τε συνθήκας ἀθετήσας καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους ἀφνω τυραννικῶς κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐχώρησεν. ἐκπλαγείς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῷ ἀπροσδοκίῳ τοῦ πράγματος φυγὰς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ὑπέστρεψε κ. τ. λ. Also in Cedrenus p. 408 D τῷ θ' ἔτει. Related by Zonaras p. 82 D ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπιστρατεύσαι διανοεῖτο κατὰ Περσῶν, διὸ καὶ ἔσπευδε θέσθαι πρὸς τὸν Χαγάνον σπονδὰς κ. τ. λ. p. 83 A αὐθις οὖν ὁ Ἡράκλειος πρεσβείαν ἔθετο πρὸς αὐτόν—ὁ δὲ σπένδεται. Sc. in A. D. 620. At a wrong year in Chron. Pasch. p. 389 B <i>Ind. ια'. ιγ'. μετὰ ὑπ. ιβ' μηνὶ Δαισίῳ.</i> Sc. June A. D. 623, when <i>Heraclius</i> was in Persia. Conf. a. 623. 2.</p>	<p>A law of <i>Heraclius</i>: Pagius tom. 2 p. 760 “pragmatica sanctio ab <i>Heraclio</i> emissa qua cavetur ne quis cooptetur in clerum nisi in defuncti locum subrogetur.”—<i>Dat. VIII Kal. Maias CP. DD. NN. piissimorum perp. Augg. Heraclii anno IX et post consulatum ejus anno VIII, et Heraclii novi Constantini filii ipsius anno VII indict. VII.</i> Ap. 24 A. D. 619.</p> <p>Inscriptio apud Pagium tom. 2 p. 760 Muratorium p. 432. 2 ex Baronio. Romæ: <i>Depositus die quartadecim. Augusti ind. septima et ejus filius Theoderic. qui vixit M. VII depositus Idus Octobris imp. DD. NN. piissimis Augg. Heraclio anno nono P. C. ejusdem DN. anno octavo, atque Heraclio Constantino novo filio ipsius anno septimo indictione septima.</i> Legit Pagius <i>octava.</i> Therefore Aug. 14 and Oct. 15 A. D. 619. But at Oct. 15 the 10th year of <i>Heraclius</i> was current. The error seems rather in the month <i>Octobris</i>, which agrees neither with <i>anno nono</i> nor with <i>indictione septima.</i> For <i>IDVS OCTOBRIS</i> we may read <i>II. K. SEPTEMBRIS.</i></p>
620	<p><i>Heraclii</i> 11 from Oct. 5. <i>Post cons. Heraclii IX.</i> ἀνόματα B. Chron. Pasch. p. 389 B <i>Ind. 8. 10</i> μετὰ ὑπ.—τὸ θ'. <i>A Jan. 22 Constantini 8.</i></p> <p>Peace with the Avars: Theophanes p. 253 B <i>Heraclii</i> 10<sup>o</sup> τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει Ἡράκλειος πρὸς τὸν Χαγάνον—πρέσβεις ἀποστείλας ἐνεκάλει κ. τ. λ. ἐπιστρατεύσαι γὰρ διανοούμενος κατὰ Περσίδος εἰρηνεύειν μετὰ τοῦ Χαγάνου ἤθελεν. ὁ δὲ Χαγάνος αἰδεσθεὶς—εἰρήνην ποιεῖν ὑπισχρεῖτο. In Cedrenus p. 409 B τῷ ι' ἔτει.</p> <p>Ancyra taken by the Persians: Theophanes p. 253 C Cedrenus p. 409 B τῷ ι' ἔτει.</p> <p>The 8<sup>m</sup> 6<sup>m</sup> of <i>Sisebutus</i>, which began in A. D. 612 (conf. a.), end in 620. His son succeeds: <i>Isidorus</i> p. 729 <i>Relicto Reccaredo filio parvulo, qui post patris obitum princeps paucorum dierum morte interveniente habetur. Menses septem</i> Pagius tom. 2 p. 761, because <i>Suinthila</i> was elected in 621. There might have been an <i>interregnum</i> before that election, which will reconcile the accounts.</p>	
621	<p><i>Heraclii</i> 12 from Oct. 5. <i>Post cons. Her. X.</i> ἀνόματα B. Chron. Pasch. p. 389 B <i>Ind. 9. 11</i> μετὰ ὑπ.—τὸ ι'. <i>A Jan. 22 Constantini 9.</i></p> <p>Preparation for war with Persia: Theophanes p. 253 C <i>Heraclii</i> 11<sup>o</sup> τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει—Ἡράκλειος—μετὰ τῶν Ἀβάρων εἰρηνεύσας, ὡς ἐνόμιζεν, μετήνεγκεν τὰ στρατεύματα τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν. Also in Cedrenus p. 409 B τῷ ια' ἔτει.</p> <p><i>Isidorus</i> p. 729 <i>Era</i> 659 [A. D. 621] <i>anno im-</i></p>	<p>[Constantinus Porphy. de administrando imperio c. 16 ἐκ τοῦ κανόνος ὃν ἐθεμάτισεν Στέφανος ὁ μαθηματικὸς περὶ τῆς τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἐξόδου.—ἐξῆλθον οἱ Σαρακηνοὶ μηνὶ Σεπτεμβρίῳ τρίτῃ, ἰνδικτιῶνος δεκάτης, εἰς τὸ δωδέκατον ἔτος Ἡρακλείου. ἔτος ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου 591.] This refers to the <i>Hejira</i>. But with an error in the year. Sept. of the 10th indiction will give Sept. 3 A. D. 621 in the 11th year of <i>Heraclius</i>. Cedrenus p. 409 C agrees with Constantine: τῷ ιβ' ἔτει,</p>

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	<p><i>perii Eraclii decimo [immo 11°] Suinthila gratia divina regni suscepit sceptrum.</i>—p. 730 <i>Hujus filius Riccimiros in consortio regni adsumptus pari cum patre solio conlatatur.</i></p>	<p>ἡγοῦν τῷ ρηλά ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου, μηνὶ Σεπτεμβρίῳ γ', ἡμέρα ε', ἐγένετο θεμάτιον τῶν Σαρακηνῶν παρὰ Στεφάνου Ἀλεξανδρείως τούτοις κανονίσαντος κρατῆσαι ἐν ἰσχύϊ μὲν ἔτη τθ', ἐν δὲ συστροφῇ καὶ ἀκαταστασίᾳ καὶ συμφορᾷ ἕτερα ἔτη νσ', ὡς εἶναι τὴν διακράτησιν αὐτῶν ἅπασαν εὐτυχούσαν καὶ δυστυχούσαν ἔτη τξέ κ. τ. λ. Sept. 3 was at the 5th day of the week in 621. But the 12th of <i>Heraclius</i> requires Sept. of the 11th indiction and of A. D. 622. And September A. D. 622 was also the true date of the Flight of <i>Mohammed</i>, to which the notice of Constantine or rather Stephanus refers.]</p>
622	<p><i>Heraclii</i> 13 from Oct. 5. <i>Post cons. Her. XI. ἀνύπατα</i> B. Chron. Pasch. p. 389 B <i>Ind. 10. 12 μετὰ ὑπ. —ἔτος α'.</i> <i>A Jan. 22 Constantini 10.</i></p> <p><i>Heraclius</i> sets forth on Monday Ap. 5: Theophanes p. 253 D <i>Heraclii</i> 12° τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει μηνὶ Ἀπριλλίῳ δ' ἰνδικτιῶνι ι' [Ap. 4 A. D. 622] τελέσας ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡράκλειος τὴν ἑορτὴν τοῦ πάσχα εὐθέως τῇ δευτέρᾳ ἑσπέρας ἐκίνησεν κατὰ Περσίδος. Cedrenus p. 409 D τῷ ιβ' ἔτει. After a successful campaign he left his army to winter in Armenia [A. D. 623] and returned himself to CP. Theophan. p. 256 C Cedrenus p. 411 C. Zonaras p. 83 D ἐξελθὼν μετὰ τὴν ἑορτὴν τοῦ πάσχα τῆς πόλεως καὶ προσβαλὼν Σαρβάρῳ τῷ τοῦ Χοσροῦ ἀρχιστρατῆρῳ—τρέπεται τοῦτον.</p> <p>Theophanes p. 256 C <i>Heraclii</i> 12° τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει Μάμεδ ἐφάνη ἀμνηρᾶς ἔτη θ', γ' ἔτος Ἡράκλειος ἐξουσία. <i>Heraclii</i> 13° p. 258 C δεύτερον ἔτος Ἀμεδ. <i>Heraclii</i> 21° p. 276 D τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει ἀπεβίω Μουάμεδ ὁ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἀρχηγὸς καὶ ψευδοπροφήτης. These dates are not exact. According to Theophanes, who reckons the years of <i>Heraclius</i> from September, <i>Mohammed</i> appeared at Medina in the 13th year; his 2nd year at Medina was conumery with the 14th. He died in the 22nd of <i>Heraclius</i>. See the year 632. Theophanes at the 21st of <i>Heraclius</i> p. 277 describes <i>Mohammed</i>—his descent from <i>Ishmael</i>—his marriage with <i>Cadajah</i>—his pretended visions of the angel <i>Gabriel</i>. p. 278 A "The sect prevailed in the parts of <i>Æthrib</i> [Medina] first secretly 10 y. then by war 10 y. and openly 9 y." Cedrenus p. 422 τῷ κα' ἔτει repeats this account, and adds a description of <i>Islam</i> p. 422 C—425 C.</p>	<p>The <i>HEJIRA</i> is dated from July 16 A. D. 622. Determined to this epoch by calculations given in Du Fresnoy <i>Tablettes</i> tom. I p. 216—219. Abulfeda in <i>vita</i> p. 42 on the Flight of <i>Mohammed</i>: <i>Facta fuit Fuga anno Missionis</i> [see A. D. 610] 13°. p. 45 <i>Illa Fuga est initium erae Islamiticae</i>. Fixed by the Caliph Omar: <i>Ibid. Disquisierunt quodnam temporis punctum facerent erae Islamiticae principium, atque in eo consenserunt ut initium ejus esset annus hujus Fugae. Fuga autem ab Mecca Medinam evenit per menses et dies istius anni—Al—Moharram et Safar, cum octo diebus mensis Rabii I.—Quare retro eundo et numerando dies 68, initium erae statuerunt primum diem mensis Moharram ejus anni.</i> Abulfeda p. 48. 49 in a series of dates gives from the conquest of Egypt by <i>Augustus</i> [B. C. 30] 652 years, from the accession of <i>Hadrian</i> [Aug. A. D. 117] 507 years, from the accession of <i>Diocletian</i> [Sept. A. D. 284] 339 years. Abulfeda apud Gagnier ad p. 45 <i>Contigit Hejira anno regni Heraclii 12°</i>. Eutychius tom. 2 p. 227 <i>A Diocletiano ad Hejiram anni 338, ab Alexandro</i> [sc. <i>erae Seleucidarum</i>] <i>anni 933</i>. These two last years are accurate. Both were current at July 16 A. D. 622. But Eutychius errs in the reign of <i>Heraclius</i>, whose years he makes conumery with the years of the <i>Hejira</i>: p. 227 <i>Anno primo Heraclii fuit Fuga Mohammedis mense Rabia I.</i> p. 239 <i>anno Heraclii 7° eodemque Hejirae 7°</i>. p. 323 <i>an. Hejirae 24<sup>i</sup> idque anno Heraclii 24°</i>. Conf. p. 251. 267. 320.</p> <p>The Flight of <i>Mohammed</i> on the 68th day from July 16 is fixed to Sept. 21 A. D. 622, 14 days before the 12th year of <i>Heraclius</i> was ended.</p> <p><i>Georgii Pisidae ἀκροάσεις τρεῖς</i>. Composed after the return of <i>Heraclius</i> to CP. at the close of this campaign. He describes the setting forth at Easter: I. 132. 154. the return to CP. at the end of the campaign: III. 336—339. <i>Georgius</i> was himself present in the expedition. See II. 122. III. 131. 343. 353. quoted by Quercius in <i>notis</i>.</p>
623	<p><i>Heraclii</i> 14 from Oct. 5. <i>Post cons. Her. XII.</i></p>	<p>[Chron. Pasch. p. 390 A = p. 713 ed. Bonn. <i>In-</i></p>



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	<p>ἀνύπατα B. Chron. Pasch. p. 389 B <i>Ind.</i> 11. 13 μετὰ ἰπ.—τὸ ιβ'. <i>A Jan. 22 Constantini</i> 11.</p> <p><i>Heraclius</i> in March sets forth to rejoin the army in Armenia: Theophanes p. 256 D <i>Heraclii</i> 13<sup>o</sup> τούτω τῷ ἔτει Μαρτίῳ ιε' [κέ' Petavius ad Nicephorum p. 67 ex Chron. Pasch. p. 390 A] ἰνδικτιῶν ια' [March 15 or 25 A. D. 623] ἀπάρας ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡράκλειος ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλίδος κατὰ τάχος ἀφίκετο εἰς Ἀρμενίαν. He enters Persia Ap. 20: p. 257 A τῇ εἰκοστῇ τοῦ Ἀπριλίου μηνὸς εἰσέβαλεν εἰς τὴν Περσίδα. At the end of the campaign he wintered in Albania: p. 258 C χειμῶνος δὲ σφοδροῦ ἐπιπεσόντος [A. D. 62<math>\frac{3}{4}</math>]—φθάσας αὐτὸς ἐν Ἀλβανίᾳ κ. τ. λ. where he releases 50,000 prisoners: Ibid. This campaign also in Cedrenus p. 411. 412 τῷ ιγ' ἔτει.</p>	<p><i>dict.</i> 12 anno <i>Heraclii</i> 14 P. C. XIII. τούτω τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ μηνὶ Δύστρῳ κατὰ Ῥωμαίους Μαρτίῳ ε' καὶ κ' τοῦ μηνὸς [sc. March 25 A. D. 624]—ἐξῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀνατολικά μέρη ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡράκλειος ἅμα τοῖς αὐτοῦ τέκνοις Ἡρακλείῳ καὶ Ἐπιφανίᾳ—καὶ τῇ βασιλίῳσῃ Μαρτίνα, καὶ ἐποίησεν σὺν αὐτοῖς τὴν πασχαλίαν ἑορτὴν πλησίον τῆς πόλεως Νικομηδείας, καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἑορτὴν αὐτὸς μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς—μετὰ Μαρτίνης—ᾤρμησαν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀνατολικά μέρη—τὰ δὲ τέκνα αὐτοῦ ὑπέστρεψαν ἐν ΚΠ. It is plain that this is placed at a wrong year by the error of the transcriber. In March of the 12th indiction <i>Heraclius</i> was in Albania, see 624 and Petavius ad Nicephori breviarium p. 67. But he set forth from CP. in March of the 11th indiction, and this account belongs to his second campaign in his 13th year and ought to have been there placed. That some passages have been transposed in this part of the Chronicle is shewn in the notes tom. 2 p. 489 ed. Bonn.]</p>
624	<p><i>Heraclii</i> 15 from Oct. 5. <i>Post cons. Her. XIII.</i> ἀνύπατα B. Chron. Pasch. p. 390 A <i>Ind.</i> 12. 14 μετὰ ἰπ.—τὸ ιγ'. <i>A Jan. 22 Constantini</i> 12.</p> <p>Theophanes p. 258 D <i>Heraclii</i> 14<sup>o</sup> τούτω τῷ ἔτει—ὁ Ἡράκλειος ἅμα ζαρι ἀπάρας τῆς Ἀλβανίας δι' ὑπτίων πεδίων—τὴν παράδοον ἐποίειτο εἰς Περσίδα. After a victory p. 259. 260 he winters in the enemy's country: p. 261 B μετὰ χαρᾶς ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς τόποις παρεχίμασεν. The winter of A. D. 62<math>\frac{3}{4}</math>. Cedrenus also describes this campaign τῷ ιδ' ἔτει p. 412 C—414 A.</p>	
625	<p><i>Heraclii</i> 16 from Oct. 5. <i>Post cons. Her. XIV.</i> ἀνύπατα B. Chron. Pasch. p. 391 A <i>Ind.</i> 13. 15 μετὰ ἰπ.—τὸ ιδ'. <i>A Jan. 22 Constantini</i> 13.</p> <p><i>Heraclius</i> in March passes the Euphrates: Theophanes p. 261 C <i>Heraclii</i> 15<sup>o</sup> τούτω τῷ ἔτει μηνὶ Μαρτίῳ α' ἐπισυνάξας ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡράκλειος τὸ ἑαυτοῦ στρατεύμα βουλὴν ἐποίειτο τὸ ποία ὁδὸς πορευθῆ κ. τ. λ. p. 262 A παραδραμῶν εὔρε πόρον· καὶ ἀκινδύνως τούτον ἐπέρασεν τῷ Μαρτίῳ μηνὶ καὶ καταλαμβάνει τὰ Σαμόσατα. κ. τ. λ. After this campaign he winters near the Halys: p. 263 A περάσας τὸν Ἄλυν ποταμὸν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρᾳ διέτριβεν ὄλον τὸν χειμῶνα [A. D. 62<math>\frac{3}{4}</math>]. All this is described by Cedrenus p. 414 A—415 A τῷ ιε' ἔτει.</p> <p>[Theophanes anno 15<sup>o</sup> p. 263 B Ἀράβων ἀρχηγὸς Ἀμεδ ἔτη θ'. He had already inserted this at the 12th year. The 15th year coincided with the 3rd year of <i>Mohammed</i>.]</p> <p><i>Suinthilani annus</i> 5<sup>lus</sup>. Conf. a. 621.</p>	<p><i>Isidorus Hispalensis</i> writes in the 5th year of <i>Suinthilanus</i>: Isidor. p. 730 <i>Comportatis igitur Gothorum regum temporibus ab exordio Athanarici regis</i> [Idem p. 710 <i>Era</i> 407 [A. D. 369] anno quinto <i>Valentis primus Gothorum gentis administrationem suscepit Athanaricus regnans annos XIII</i>] usque ad quintum gloriosissimi <i>Sunthilani principis annum regnum Gothorum per annos CCLVI Deo favente reperitur esse porrectum</i>. Sc. 369 + 256 = A. D. 625.</p>
626	<p><i>Heraclii</i> 17 from Oct. 5. <i>Post cons. Her. XV.</i> ἀνύπατα B. Chron. Pasch. p. 391 B <i>Ind.</i> 14 anno <i>Heraclii</i> 16 μετὰ ἰπ.—ἔτος ιε'. <i>A Jan. 22 Constantini</i> 14.</p>	<p><i>Georgii Pisida</i> εἰς τὴν γενομένην ἔφοδον τῶν βαρβάρων κ. τ. λ. He marks that the assault (see col. 1) was made in the summer season: ἐν θέρει v. 177. The assailants were in number 80,000: ὀκτῶ μυρι-</p>

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	<p>Theophanes p. 263 B—264 D <i>Heraclii</i> 16<sup>o</sup> “<i>Chosroes</i> collecting three armies sends one against CP. to cooperate with the Avars. <i>Heraclius</i> also forms three divisions; one is sent to protect CP. another is led by his brother <i>Theodorus</i> against the Persians, the emperor himself leads the third against Lazica, and invites the Eastern Turks or Chazars to an alliance. The Turks passing the Caspian Gates enter Persia. Meanwhile <i>Sarbarus</i> approaches Chalcedon and the Avars from Thrace assault CP. but are repulsed. <i>Sarbarus</i> winters [A. D. 62<math>\frac{1}{2}</math>] before Chalcedon.” Cedrenus has the same narrative p. 415 A—416 C τῷ 15<sup>ῳ</sup> ἔτει. Nicephorus in breviario p. 11 B—13 C describes the alliance with the Turks and the attack upon CP. by the Avars.</p> <p>The Paschal Chronicle p. 391 B—397 B relates at large that the city was assaulted by the Avars in conjunction with the Persians and gives the dates: <i>Indictione</i> 14 <i>anno Heraclii</i> 16<sup>o</sup> P. C. XV. The army of the Chagan approached June 29 τῆς παρουσίας 18<sup>ης</sup> Ἰνδικτιῶνος p. 392 B. The Chagan himself is before the city July 29: p. 393 C. He assaults it July 31: <i>Ibid.</i> A conference is held on Saturday Aug. 2: τῷ Σαββάτῳ—τῇ δευτέρᾳ τοῦ Ἀγούστου μηνός p. 394 C. The rear guard of the enemy retired τῇ παρασκευῇ p. 397 A—on Friday Aug. 8. Confirming Theophanes p. 264 C Cedrenus p. 416 A that the assault lasted 10 days: δέκα ἡμέρας τῇ πόλει παρακαθίσαντες. The defence was conducted by <i>Sergius</i> the patriarch, by <i>Bonus</i>, by the patricians <i>Georgius</i>, <i>Theodosius</i>, <i>Athanasius</i>.</p>	<p><i>archias</i> 219. The enemy was composed of the Sclave, the Hun, the Scythian, the Bulgarian, the Mede: 197. <i>Heraclius</i> had been three years absent from CP. ἤδη γὰρ εἶχε τρεῖς ἐτῶν περιδρόμους 250. That is, from March 623, when he left CP. for his second expedition. <i>Heraclius</i> planned the defence by letters: 266. 290—292. Compare Theophanes p. 263 C Cedrenus p. 415 B τοὺς μὲν ἐπεμψεν εἰς φυλακὴν τῆς πόλεως. <i>Pisides</i> v. 226 &amp;c. addresses his poem to <i>Sergius</i>. The peace with Persia is yet future: 308—310. Composed therefore before the death of <i>Chosroes</i>, either in the close of 626 or in 627. <i>Suidas</i> p. 809 B Γεώργιος διάκονος τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας καὶ χαρτοφύλαξ, τὸ ἐπικλῆν Πισίδης. ἐξαήμερον δὲ ἰάμβων εἰς ἔπη τρισχίλια [exstant 1910. conf. <i>Quercium</i> præf. p. xvi]. εἰς Ἡράκλειον τὸν βασιλέα καὶ εἰς τὸν κατὰ Περσῶν πόλεμον. ἔτι τε Ἀβαρικά. καὶ καταλογάδην ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν μάρτυρα Ἀναστάσιον [conf. <i>Quercium</i> præf. p. xxi].</p>
627	<p><i>Heraclii</i> 18 from Oct. 5. <i>Post cons. Her. XVI.</i> ἀνίπατα B. <i>Chron. Pasch.</i> p. 397 C <i>Indict.</i> 15 <i>anno Heraclii</i> 17 μετὰ ὑπ.—τὸ 15<sup>ῳ</sup>. <i>A Jan. 22 Constantini</i> 15.</p> <p>Death of <i>Bonus</i>: <i>Chron. Pasch.</i> p. 397 C <i>Ind.</i> 15 <i>anno</i> 17 P. C. XVI τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει μηνὶ Ἀρτεμισίῳ κατὰ Ῥωμαίους Μαῖῳ 11<sup>ῳ</sup> ἐτελείησθε Βόνος. May 11 A. D. 627.</p> <p>Sixth campaign of <i>Heraclius</i> in Asia, after a fourth winter A. D. 62<math>\frac{1}{2}</math> passed there. In September he enters Persia with his Turkish allies and is occupied Sept.—March of the 1st indiction A. D. 62<math>\frac{1}{2}</math> in the operations described by Theophanes (see col. 2) under the 15th indiction A. D. 62<math>\frac{1}{2}</math>. Saturday December 12 apud Theophanem p. 266 A is Dec. 12 <i>indict.</i> 1 A. D. 627. when that day fell upon Saturday. The spring following is the spring of the 1st indiction: conf. a. 628.</p> <p>[Theophanes p. 272 B <i>Heraclii</i> 17<sup>o</sup> Ἀράβων ἀρχηγὸς Μωαμὲδ ἔτη θ'. He had already inserted this notice at the 12th year. See 622. 625. <i>Idem</i> Ib. <i>Heraclii</i> 17<sup>o</sup> Περσῶν βασιλεὺς Σιρόης ἔτος δ'. An</p>	<p>[Theophanes p. 264 D—272 B (and after him Cedrenus p. 416 C—419 C τῷ 15<sup>ῳ</sup> ἔτει) has contracted two years into one, and has ascribed to the 17th year the acts of the 18th: <i>Heraclii</i> 17<sup>o</sup> τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει ἀπὸ μηνός Σεπτεμβρίου [he therefore computes the years of <i>Heraclius</i> with the indictions from Sept. 1] εἰσβαλὼν ἐν Περσίδι Ἡράκλειος σὺν τοῖς Τούρκοις ἀπροσδοκίτως διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα εἰς ἔκστασιν ἐνέβαλεν τὸν Χοσρόην τοῦτο μαθόντα. οἱ δὲ Τούρκοι τὸν χειμῶνα ὀρώντες, καὶ τὰς συνεχεῖς ἐπιδρομὰς τῶν Περσῶν μὴ ὑποφέροντες—ἤρξαντο κατ' ὀλίγον ὑπορρέειν, καὶ—ὑπέστρεψαν. <i>Heraclius</i> is in Persia Oct. 9 <i>Indict.</i> 15 [Oct. A. D. 626]: p. 265 B. Dec. 1 he passes the Zab: p. 265 C. A battle is fought Dec. 12 ἡμέρα σαββάτου p. 266 A. Dec. 23 he passes the Lesser Zab: p. 267 A. and celebrates Christmas-day ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ τόπῳ p. 267 B. He plunders a palace of <i>Chosroes</i> Jan. 1 [A. D. 627]: p. 267 D. <i>Chosroes</i> retired to Ctesiphon, which he had not visited for 24 years: p. 268 A. <i>Heraclius</i> ravaged Persia through the whole of February: ἔβλον τὸν Φεβρουάριον μῆνα p. 270 C. and advanced in March: <i>Ibid.</i> <i>Siroes</i> rebels: p. 271 A. before March 23: p. 271 B.</p>



A. D.	EVENTS	AUTHORS
	error of one year in the date of this event. See col. 2.]	<i>Chosroes</i> is seized: 271 D. and slain: 272 A. and peace is concluded: <i>Ibid.</i> The death of <i>Chosroes</i> is thus placed one year before the true time, and the campaign of 627 is omitted. Moreover Dec. 12 of the 15th indiction A. D. 626 is compared with Saturday. But in that year it fell upon Friday. The Paschal Chronicle enables us to rectify these errors. Conf. Petavium ad Nicephorum p. 70 Pagiom tom. 2 p. 773. Theophanes himself corrects his own error by assigning the true duration to the war. Conf. a. 628. 1.]
628	<p><i>Heraclii</i> 19 from Oct. 5. <i>Post cons. Her. XVII.</i> ἀνύπατα B. Chron. Pasch. p. 398 A <i>Indict. 1 anno Heraclii</i> 18 μετὰ ὑπ.—τὸ ιζ'. <i>A Jan. 22 Constantini</i> 16.</p> <p><i>Chosroes</i> slain Feb. 28. The intelligence is received at CP. May 15: Chron. Pasch. p. 398 A τῷ ἡ' ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας Ἡρακλείου καὶ μετὰ ὑπατείας ιζ', καὶ ις' ἔτει—Κωνσταντίνου, τῇ ιε' τοῦ Μαΐου μηνός, ἰνδικτιῶνος α' ἡμέρα πρώτη, αὐτῇ τῇ ἀγία πεντηκοστῇ, ἀνεγνώσθησαν ἀποκρίσεις ἐπ' ἄμβωνος ἐν τῇ—μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ σταλεῖσαι ἐκ τῶν ἀνατολικῶν μερῶν ὑπὸ Ἡρακλείου—δηλοῦσαι τὴν πῶσιν Χοσδρόου καὶ τὴν ἀναγόρευσιν Σεριοίου. The emperor's despatch is given p. 398 B—402 A written from Persia Ap. 8; and a copy of the letter or treaty with <i>Siroes</i> or <i>Cabades</i>, which breaks off in the middle at p. 402 D. <i>Heraclius</i> describes his progress from Oct. 17 to March 15: p. 399 B, and from Feb. 24 to March 30: p. 400 C. Ap. 3: p. 401 C. Ap. 8: 401 D. <i>Chosroes</i> was deposed Feb. 24 of indict. 1—τῇ κδ' τοῦ παρελθόντος Φεβρουαρίου μηνός τῆς ἐνισταμένης πρώτης ἐπιμεμήσεως [Feb. 24 A. D. 628] p. 398 C. <i>Siroes</i> proclaimed Feb. 25, <i>Chosroes</i> slain Feb. 28: p. 399 A. <i>Heraclius</i> concludes καὶ ἡμεῖς δὲ τῇ ἡ' τοῦ αὐτοῦ [sc. Ἀπριλίου] μηνός ἐκινήσαμεν σὺν θεῷ—ὀφειλοῦντες τῇ ὁδῷ ἡμῶν χρῆσασθαι ἐπὶ Ἀρμενίαν. The end of the war is recorded by Theophanes p. 272 C at the right place: <i>Heraclii</i> 18<sup>o</sup> τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει εἰρήνης γενομένης μετὰ Περσῶν καὶ Ῥωμαίων, ἀπέστειλεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Θεόδωρον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφὸν μετὰ γραμμῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων Σερίου τοῦ βασιλέως Περσῶν ὅπως τοὺς ἐν Ἑδέσση κ. τ. λ. Πέρσας ἀποστρέψωσιν ἐν Περσίδι.—ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐν ἑξ ἔτεσι καταπολεμήσας τὴν Περσίδα ἐν ἐβδόμῳ εἰρηνεύσας μετὰ χαρᾶς μεγάλης ἐπὶ ΚΠ. ὑπέστρεψεν. Repeated by Cedrenus p. 419 D τῷ ἡ' ἔτει. The war had lasted from Ap. A. D. 622 six years, and <i>Heraclius</i> returned in the 7th year. But the 6 years terminate in spring 628 in the 1st indiction. Zonaras tom. 2 p. 85 B recte ταῦτα ἐν ἑξ ἔτεσιν ἀνίστας Ἡράκλειος—τῷ ἐβδόμῳ ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὰ βασίλεια.</p> <p><i>Chosroes</i> had reigned from Sept. 590 to Feb. 628 37<sup>y</sup> 5<sup>m</sup>. Eutychius, who had placed his accession too high, assigns him 39 years. Tables 578 p. 842.</p>	<p>The Paschal Chronicle in the extant copy ends with the narrative May 15 A. D. 628 of the news of the death of <i>Chosroes</i>. see col. 1. But the author continued his Chronicle to the 20th of <i>Heraclius</i>: p. 19 A ἐπιτομὴ χρόνων τῶν ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ τοῦ πρωτοπλάστου ἀνθρώπου ἕως κ' ἔτους τῆς βασιλείας Ἡρακλείου—καὶ μετὰ ὑπατείας ἔτους ιθ', καὶ ἡ' ἔτους τῆς βασιλείας Ἡρακλείου νέου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ αὐτοῦ υἱοῦ, ἰνδικτιῶνος γ'. These years terminated Aug. 31, Oct. 4, Dec. 31, A. D. 630, and Jan. 21 A. D. 631. The extant copy p. 402 A contains the beginning of the letter of <i>Siroes</i>: ἴσον ὑπομηστικῶς γενομένου ἀπὸ Καβάτου τοῦ καὶ Σεριοίου τοῦ ἡμερωτάτου βασιλέως Περσῶν πρὸς Ἡράκλειον— He is named in Eutychius tom. 2 p. 252 <i>Kobades qui et Shirawaih appellatus</i>. This last name was corrupted by the Greeks into <i>Siroes</i>.</p> <p>The substance of the letter which was given in the Paschal Chronicle may be in part supplied from Zonaras XIV tom. 2 p. 85 A Σιρόης—ἐγκρατῆς τῆς τῶν Περσῶν ἀρχῆς γενοῦς διαπέμπεται πρὸς Ἡράκλειον—καὶ σπεισάμενος αὐτῷ πάντας τοὺς ἐν Περσίδι αἰχμαλώτους Ῥωμαίους ἐλευθέρους ἀφήκε, καὶ τὰ τίμια ξύλα τοῦ σωτηρίου σταυροῦ αὐτῷ ἀποδεδῶκε καὶ τὸν πατριάρχην τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ Ζαχαρίαν.</p> <p><i>Georgii Pisida</i> Ἡρακλίας, εἰς τὴν τελείαν πῶσιν Χοσρόου βασιλέως Περσῶν. After the news had arrived at CP. and before the return of <i>Heraclius</i>. Therefore in A. D. 628 after May 15.</p> <p><i>Pisida</i> reckons II. 173—193 from <i>Ardshir</i> the founder of the dynasty to <i>Chosroes II</i> χρόνους δέκα Σὺν ἐξ διαδραμόντας ἐξηκοντάσιον v. 179. which Quercius ad loc. p. 162 Bonn. interprets 76 years; and naturally wonders how this term of 76 years for the dynasty can be reconciled with Agathias. But ἐξηκοντάς means a term of sixty years; and ἐξ ἐξηκοντάδες are 6 times 60 or 360, and the whole period of the poet is 370 years from the founder of the dynasty to <i>Chosroes II</i>. These 370 years computed from the death of <i>Chosroes</i> in 628 will place <i>Ardshir</i> at A. D. 258. Computed from the accession in 590, they will carry back <i>Ardshir</i> to A. D. 220, not far from the true epoch.</p>

A. D.	EVENTS	AUTHORS
	<p>But in another place 38 : p. 252 <i>Cesra cum ad urbem suam pervenisset, et quam ibi cædem fecisset Heraclius vidisset, magno correptus est dolore, &amp;c. Ipso ergo post annos 38 abdicato, in locum ejus substituerunt filium ipsius Kobadem.</i></p>	
629	<p><i>Heraclii</i> 20 from Oct. 5. <i>Post cons. Her. XVIII.</i> ἀνύπατα B. Chron. Pasch. <i>Indict. 2 anno Heraclii</i> 19 μετὰ ὑπ.—τὸ ιγ'. <i>A Jan. 22 Constantini</i> 17.</p> <p>Journey of <i>Heraclius</i> to Jerusalem : <i>Theophanes</i> p. 273 B <i>Heraclii</i> 19° τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει ἀπάρas ὁ βασιλεὺς ἄμα τῷ ἔαρι [A. D. 629] ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλευούσης πόλεως ἐπὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἐπορεύετο, ἀπαγαγὼν τὰ τίμια καὶ ζωοποιὰ ξύλα τοῦ ἀποδοῦναι τῷ θεῷ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν.—εἰσελθὼν δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν Ἱεροσόλυμοις καὶ ἀποκαταστήσας Ζαχαρίαν τὸν πατριάρχην [conf. a. 614] καὶ τὰ τίμια καὶ ζωοποιὰ ξύλα εἰς τὸν ἴδιον τόπον—ἀπῆλασεν Ἑβραίουσ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγίας πόλεως, κελεύσας μὴ ἔχειν αὐτοὺς ἐξουσίαν ἀπὸ τριῶν μιλίων τῆς ἀγίας πόλεως πλησιάζειν. καταλαβὼν δὲ τὴν Ἐδεσσαν ἀπέδωκε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῖς ὀρθόδοξοις, ὑπὸ Νεστοριανῶν κατεχομένην ἀπὸ Χοσρόου. Also in <i>Cedrenus</i> p. 420 A τῷ ιθ' ἔτει. The date is confirmed by <i>Eutychius</i> tom. 2 p. 239—248 who describes this visit of <i>Heraclius</i>: <i>Anno nono imperii ejusdem, qui et Hejiræ nonus</i> [conf. a. 622. 2] <i>CP. egressus Heraclius Hierosolyma tendebat quo videret quid in ipsa devastassent Persæ.—Ubi autem Hierosolyma pervenisset, obviam ipsi facti sunt monasterii Alsik monachi urbisque Hierosolymitanæ incolæ, comitante ipsos Modesto.—Cum vero urbem ingressus ea quæ diruerant ac succenderant Persæ vidissent magna affectus est tristitia. Dein—Modesto ob ea quæ fecerat gratias egit.</i> p. 247 <i>Heraclius e Judæis—innumeros occidit.</i> &amp;c. The 7th year of the <i>Hejira</i> ended Ap. 30 A. D. 629, and included the visit of <i>Heraclius</i>. <i>Modestus</i>, here mentioned, had acted for <i>Zacharias</i> during his captivity A. D. 614—628. <i>Modestus Zachariæ vicarius.</i> Cf. <i>Pagium</i> tom. 2 p. 755.</p> <p>Death of <i>Siroes</i> : <i>Theophanes</i> p. 273 C <i>Cedrenus</i> p. 420 A (<i>Heraclius</i>) ἔλθων εἰς τὴν Ἱεράπολιν ἤκουσεν ὅτι Σιρόης τέθηκεν ὁ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς, Ἀδέσηρ δὲ ὁ τούτου υἱὸς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν Περσῶν παρέλαβεν—μῆνας ἑπτά. <i>Eutychius</i> tom. 2 p. 252 <i>Spatium quo regnavit octimestre erat. Deinde post ipsum regnavit Ardshir Shirawaihi—filius, quem statim adortus præfectus limitum occidentalium ipsum occidit, cum quinque tantum mensibus regnasset.</i> <i>Nicephorus</i> brev. p. 14 C εὐθὺς οὖν Σιρόης ἐτελεύτη. The 8 m. place the death of <i>Siroes</i> at the end of Oct. 628, and the 5 m. the death of <i>Adeser</i> at the end of March 629. <i>Heraclius</i> might reach Hierapolis before the death of <i>Adeser</i> was known there.</p> <p>[<i>Theophanes</i> p. 273 A <i>Heraclii</i> 18° p. 273 D <i>Heraclii</i> 19° at each year inserts Ἀράβων ἀρχηγὸς Μουαμέδ ἔτη θ. See A. D. 622. 625. 627.]</p>	<p>Death of <i>Zacharias</i> of Jerusalem. <i>Theophanes</i> has an erroneous date: p. 249 D <i>Heraclii</i> 1° Ἱεροσ. ἐπίσκοπος Ζαχαρίας ἔτη κβ'. β'. p. 278 C <i>Heraclii</i> 22° Ἱεροσ. ἐπίσκοπος Μόδεστος ἔτη β'. α'. His 22 years terminate in the 21st of <i>Heraclius</i>, and are placed by this account at A. D. 609—630. His appointment is rightly placed at A. D. 609 (conf. a.), but he was succeeded by <i>Modestus</i> in 629 : <i>Eutychius</i> tom. 2 p. 248 after describing <i>Heraclius</i> at Jerusalem terminate in the spring of 629 proceeds: <i>Heraclius Modestum monachum monasterii Al Ducesi præfectum patriarcham Hierosolymitanum constituit ac se Damascum sequi jussit.—Reversus igitur Heraclius ab Hierosolymis Damascum ibi substituit &amp;c. Sedit autem Modestus novem menses, dein mortuus est, ac post ejus mortem sex annis sine patriarcha mansit cathedra Hierosolymitana. Zacharias</i> therefore presided from <i>indict. 12</i> A. D. 609 (conf. a. 609) to <i>indict. 2</i> A. D. 629, a period of 21 years current. <i>Nicephorus</i> ascribes to him 22 years before his captivity: p. 410 D Ζαχαρίας πρὸ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἔτη κβ'. Μόδεστος ἔτος ἐν. which would place the episcopate of <i>Zacharias</i> at A. D. 593—614. <i>Nicephorus</i> in <i>brevario</i> has this account: p. 15 A after the deaths of <i>Siroes</i> and his successor, <i>Sarbarus</i> the usurper πᾶσαν τὴν ἀνατολικὴν γῆν Ῥωμαίους ἀποδίδωσι—τὰ τε ζωοποιὰ ξύλα πρὸς βασιλεία στέλλει.—Ἡράκλειος δὲ λαβὼν τὰ ζωοποιὰ ξύλα ἐσφραγισμένα, καθάπερ ἐλήφθησαν [sc. in A. D. 614], διαμείναντα πρὸς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἀφίκετο, καὶ Μοδέστῳ τῷ ἀρχιερεὶ καὶ τῷ αὐτοῦ κληρῳ ταῦτα ὑπέδειξεν. οἱ δὲ τὴν σφραγίδα σώαν ἐπεγίνωσκον.—τὴν τε κλεῖδα τὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὁ ἱεράρχης μείναςαν παρ' αὐτῷ ἤγαγε καὶ ἀνοίγοντα προσκυνούσων ἄπαντες. ὑψωθέντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκείσε εὐθὺς εἰς τὸ Βυζάντιον βασιλεὺς ἐξέπεμψεν.—δευτέρα δὲ ἦν ἰνδικτιῶν ἡνίκα ταῦτα ἐπράττετο. There are three errors in this account. 1 The relics from Jerusalem were restored by <i>Siroes</i>. 2 <i>Modestus</i> was not yet bishop when <i>Heraclius</i> came to Jerusalem. 3 The relics were not borne to CP. at this time, but remained at Jerusalem till A. D. 634. <i>Nicephorus</i> rightly gives <i>indict. 2</i> A. D. 629 as the date of the visit of <i>Heraclius</i> to Jerusalem.</p>



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630	<p><i>Heraclii</i> 21 from Oct. 5. <i>Post cons. Her. XIX.</i> ἀνίπατα B. Chron. Pasch. <i>Indict. 3 anno Heraclii 20</i> μετὰ ὑπ.—τὸ ἴθ. <i>A Jan. 22 Constantini 18.</i> See A. D. 628. 2.</p> <p><i>Heraclius</i> at Hierapolis. Theophanes p. 274 A—275 A <i>Heraclii 20°</i> Cedrenus p. 420 B—D τῷ κ' ἔτει Zonaras XIV tom. 2 p. 85 C D give the following account: "<i>Heraclius</i> at Hierapolis confers with <i>Athanasius</i> the Jacobite patriarch, who is promised the episcopate of Antioch if he will accept the council of Chalcedon. He pretends to accept the dogma of that council, that there were Two Natures in <i>Christ</i>, but enquires whether there were Two Wills or only One Will. <i>Heraclius</i>, being surprised by the strange expression [ξενοφωνηθεῖς Theophan. omitted by Cedrenus and Zonaras], writes to <i>Sergius</i>, and also asks the opinion of <i>Cyrus</i> bishop of Phasis. They agree that there was One Will. <i>Sergius</i> held only One Will. Whereupon the emperor writes to <i>Joannes</i> of Rome, who rejects the dogma. Meanwhile, upon the death of <i>Georgius</i>, <i>Cyrus</i> is appointed patriarch of Alexandria, and with <i>Theodorus</i> of Pharan asserts the dogma of One Will. At this time <i>Sophronius</i> is chosen bishop of Jerusalem and condemns the dogma and addresses <i>Sergius</i> of CP. and <i>Joannes</i> of Rome upon it. <i>Heraclius</i> is perplexed, and issues an edict [the ἔκθεσις, issued in A. D. 638 indict. 12] forbidding men to affirm either One Will or Two Wills." This account is questioned by Pagius. See col. 2.</p> <p>Theophanes and Cedrenus under that 20th year continue the narrative down to the death of <i>Constantians</i> in Sicily in A. D. 668.</p>	<p><i>Athanasius</i> mentioned in col. 1 is called by Theophanes and Cedrenus ἱ. cc. Ἀθανάσιος ὁ πατριάρχης τῶν Ἰακωβιτῶν, δεινὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ κακοῦργος τῇ τῶν Σύρων ἐμφύτῳ κακουργίᾳ. [πανουργία Cedrenus.] Zonaras l. c. omits his name: γενομένῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ Ἡρακλείῳ κατὰ τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ, ὁ τῶν Ἰακωβιτῶν καθολικὸς προσελήλυθεν, ὃν ἐκείνοι πατριάρχην ὠνόμαζον.—δεινὸς ὢν καὶ πονηρίας μεστός. Pagius tom. 2 p. 787 rejects the account of Theophanes (given in col. 1), and argues that <i>Heraclius</i> had already discoursed upon this question with <i>Paulus</i> in Armenia in 622, and with <i>Cyrus</i> in Lazica in 626; that it appears from <i>Sergius</i> the question was not discussed between 626 and 633; that <i>Honorius</i> was bishop of Rome and not <i>Joannes</i>, who was not appointed till 640; that <i>Athanasius</i> was not a Jacobite patriarch. These arguments shew that Theophanes is inaccurate in some parts of his narrative, but they do not prove that <i>Heraclius</i> did not converse with <i>Athanasius</i> in this year upon this subject. The emperor might at this time consult with <i>Sergius</i> and with <i>Cyrus</i> upon this dogma, which was published to the world by <i>Cyrus</i> from Alexandria 18 years before the year 649 (conf. a. 638). Pagius p. 787 asserts "Theophanem finxisse <i>Sergium</i> <i>Cyrum</i> <i>Phasidos</i> episcopum ad se accersitum de hac quaestione interrogasse" &amp;c. But in the narrative <i>Heraclius</i> himself, and not <i>Sergius</i>, consults <i>Cyrus</i>: ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς γράφει πρὸς Σέργιον, προσκαλεῖται δὲ καὶ Κύρον Theophan. Cedren. ὁ δ' αὐτοκράτωρ γράφει πρὸς Σέργιον—ἀλλὰ καὶ Κύρον ἐρωτήσας τὸν Φάσιδος, τῷ Σεργίῳ εὗρηκεν ὁμογνώμονα Zonar.</p>
631	<p><i>Heraclii</i> 22 from Oct. 5. <i>Post cons. Her. XX.</i> <i>A Jan. 22 Constantini 19.</i></p> <p>Theophanes p. 278 B "<i>Heraclii 21° Indict. 4 Nov. 7</i> [Nov. 7 A. D. 630] <i>David</i> son of <i>Heraclius</i> born, and on the same day <i>Heraclius</i> son of <i>Constantine</i>, who was baptized by <i>Sergius</i> Nov. 3 <i>indict. 5</i> [Nov. 3 A. D. 631]."</p> <p>Isidorus Pacensis apud Fabricium <i>Bibl. Eccles.</i> p. 47 <i>Heraclii temporibus Sisenandus in era 669° anno imperii ejus XX</i> [immo XXI] <i>regali locatus est solio.</i></p> <p>[Theophanes p. 276 D <i>Heraclii 21°</i> τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει ἀπεβίω Μουαμὲδ ὁ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἀρχηγὸς καὶ ψευδοπροφήτης, προχειριστάμενος Ἀβουβάχαρ συγγενῆ αὐτοῦ. Repeated by Cedrenus p. 421 D τῷ κ' ἔτει. One year before the true time.]</p>	
632	<p><i>Heraclii</i> 23 from Oct. 5. <i>Post cons. Her. XXI.</i> <i>A Jan. 22 Constantini 20.</i></p> <p>Death of <i>Mohammed</i> on Monday [12th] of <i>Rabia I anno Hej. 11°</i> = June 8 A. D. 632: Abulf. p.</p>	<p>The era of <i>Yazdeجرد</i> is 3624 days after the <i>Hejira</i>: Noris. <i>Ep. Syromac.</i> p. 71. 72 <i>Ulug Beghus scribit</i>, "<i>Sciendum est quod epocha Græca</i> [sc. <i>Seleucidarum</i> A. C. 312] <i>prior sit Arabica diebus 340,700,</i></p>

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	<p>138 <i>Fuit obitus—feria secunda qui erat dies 12<sup>us</sup> mensis Rabii I.</i> These characters are inconsistent. The 11th year of the <i>Hejira</i> began on <i>Sunday</i> March 29 A. D. 632. The 12th of <i>Rabia I</i>, being the 71st day, fell upon <i>Sunday</i> June 7. <i>Monday</i> therefore requires June 8 and the 13th of <i>Rabia I</i> for the day of his death. <i>Abubeker</i> succeeds on the same day: <i>Abulpharaj</i>. p. 108 <i>Abubekr chalifa renuntiatus est mense Rabia priore, ineunte anno 11<sup>o</sup> eodem die quo obiit propheta.</i> Euty chius tom. 2 p. 251 though erring in the day of <i>Mohammed's</i> death: <i>diem obiit die Luna qui secundus erat mensis Rabia I anno Hejra 11—Mortuus est autem annos natus 63.—Fuitque inauguratio ipsius Abubecr eodem die quo mortuus est Mohammed.</i></p> <p>An expedition into Syria was delayed a month by the death of <i>Mohammed</i>: <i>Abulf.</i> in vita p. 133 <i>Cæpit agrotare sub finem mensis Safar, die 27<sup>o</sup> ejusdem mensis</i> [the 57th day of the year]—<i>et quidem jam tum milites ad expeditionem bellicam ituros cum Osama—comparaverat et—ejus profectionem urgebat.</i> Auctores apud <i>Gagnier</i> ad p. 134 <i>Feria prima</i> [Sunday June 7]—<i>e castris redux Osama ad prophetam—ingressus est.—Deinde ad castra reversus Osama militibus proficiscendi signum dedit.—Postridie</i> [sc. Monday June 8]—<i>nuntius affertur de obitu propheta. quare expeditio in aliud tempus differtur; donec mense Rabia II sequente Abubekri jussu in Syriam profectus &amp;c.</i> <i>Heraclius</i> being at <i>Emesa</i>: <i>Ibid.</i> <i>Cujus irruptionis nunciis cum ad Heraclium qui tunc temporis in urbe Hems morabatur perlatus esset, ille statim duces suos convocans sic eos allocutus est, &amp;c.</i> <i>Abulfeda</i> in vita p. 156 observes <i>Constat obitus ejus tempore 124 Muslemorum millia recensita fuisse.</i></p> <p><i>Theophanes</i> p. 279 A marks the war in Syria at the right year, <i>Heraclii</i> 22<sup>o</sup>.</p> <p><i>Yazdejerd</i> is elected king of Persia: Euty chius tom. 2 p. 256 <i>Conquisito Cesra filio nomine Yazdejerdo—ipsum sibi regem præferunt, annos tum natum quindecim.—Regno autem præfectus est anno Abu Becri primo.</i> The troubled interval which followed the accession of <i>Siroes</i> Feb. 25 A. D. 628 is thus described by Euty chius <i>Ibid.</i> <i>Totum spatium quo regnavit Shirawaik [Siroes] et qui ipsi successerunt, tam viri quam fæminæ, tum qui regnasse perhibentur tum qui regum numero haud accensentur, usque ad Parachoradchoshraum, una cum intervallo quod inter duos quoslibet reges intercessit, IV annorum fuit, idque turbis et motibus plenum.</i> His detail makes the interval 4<sup>v</sup> 5<sup>m</sup> 22<sup>d</sup>, which places the elevation of <i>Yazdejerd</i> at Aug. 15 A. D. 632. <i>Elmakin</i> apud <i>Pagium</i> tom. 2 p. 799 records his accession at this year: <i>Convenerunt Persæ anno undecimo Hejira, imperante Abu Becro.—Petierunt filium Chosroæ no-</i></p>	<p><i>prior autem epocha Persica diebus 344,324.</i>—<i>Era Persica sive Jesdejirdis est posterior Hejira diebus 3624, uti tradunt Alfraganus, Alcabitus, Albumasar, astronomi Arabes, apud Ricciolium.</i> The numbers of <i>Ulug Beg</i> give the same amount; for 340,700 + 3624 = 344,324. But if the 3624 days commenced at July 16 A. D. 622, they will terminate at June 17 A. D. 632. <i>Albumazar</i> in <i>Gregory de Epochis</i> c. 19 p. 167 is quoted as follows: "This era was fixed, saith <i>Albumazar</i>, anno <i>Hejira</i> 11<sup>o</sup> <i>Rabia I</i> 22<sup>o</sup> feria 3." <i>Gregory</i> adds "Which answereth to the 16th of June A. D. 632." But here again (as in <i>Abulfeda</i> quoted in col. 1) the characters are inconsistent; for, as it has been shewn in col. 1 that the 11th year of the <i>Hejira</i> commenced upon <i>Sunday</i> March 29, the 22nd of <i>Rabia I</i>, the 81st day, fell in that year upon <i>Wednesday</i> June 17. <i>Abulfeda</i> however apud <i>Pagium</i> tom. 2 p. 799 also assigns <i>Tuesday</i>: "<i>Abulfeda Ismael</i> hanc eram pluribus explicat in diss. de cognitione epocharum c. 3, ubi ait principium hujus epochæ fuisse diem <i>Martis</i>, initio anni quo primum regnavit <i>Yesdejerdus filius Shahliari</i>. which will determine the era to <i>Tuesday</i> June 16, the 21st of <i>Rabia I</i>. This era commences at the inauguration of <i>Yazdejerd</i>. See the authorities quoted in col. 1, and <i>Pagius</i> p. 799. This is improperly reckoned the era of his defeat and death by some authors, who have been followed by <i>Scaliger</i>, <i>Petavius</i>, <i>Calvisius</i>, (see <i>Pagi</i> p. 799) and by <i>Gregory</i> p. 167. This error has been adopted in the <i>Tables</i> at A. D. 226 p. 240, where for "the dynasty terminated at the era of <i>Yazdejerd</i>—A. D. 632"—read "terminated at the death of <i>Yazdejerd</i> A. D. 652." <i>Ockley</i> Vol. 1 p. 112 rightly observes "The Persian era bears date from the beginning of that year in which <i>Yazdejerd</i> came to the crown." If the day on which the era commenced was the day of <i>Yazdejerd's</i> inauguration, which is probable, then the space from the accession of <i>Siroes</i> Feb. 25 A. D. 628 will be 4<sup>v</sup> 3<sup>m</sup> 23<sup>d</sup>, instead of 4<sup>v</sup> 5<sup>m</sup> 22<sup>d</sup> assigned by Euty chius.</p>



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	<i>mine Jazdejirdem atque eum regem super se constituerunt, cum annos haberet XV.</i>	
633	<p><i>Heraclii</i> 24 from Oct. 5. <i>Post cons. Her. XXII. A Jan. 22 Constantini</i> 21.</p> <p>The battle of Ajnadin: Ockley Vol. I p. 65. The armies met "on <i>Friday</i> July 13 in the year 633:" Ockley Ib. This is inaccurate; for in the 12th year of the <i>Hejira</i>, which began on <i>Thursday</i> March 18, July 13 fell upon <i>Tuesday</i>. <i>Khaled</i>, "the sword of God"—ὁ Χάλεδος, ὃν λέγουσι μάχαυαν τοῦ Θεοῦ Theophanes p. 278 D—after his victory addresses a letter to <i>Abubekr</i>, which is dated "on the 5th day of the week, being the 30th of <i>Jomada I.</i>:" Ockley Vol. I p. 78. = <i>Thursday</i> Aug. 12.</p> <p>Theophanes p. 279 B <i>Heraclii</i> 23<sup>o</sup> mentions the Syrian war of this year, but omits the battle of Ajnadin.</p> <p><i>Heraclius</i> in this campaign is at Antioch: Ockley Vol. I p. 39. 47.</p>	
634	<p><i>Heraclii</i> 25 from Oct. 5. <i>Post cons. Her. XXIII. A Jan. 22 Constantini</i> 22.</p> <p>Damascus taken "on <i>Friday</i> Aug. 23 A. D. 634 <i>Hej. 13.</i>" Ockley Vol. I p. 99. But as <i>Hej. 13</i> commenced on <i>Monday</i> March 7 A. D. 634, the 23rd Aug. fell upon <i>Tuesday</i> in that year.</p> <p>Death of <i>Abubekr</i>: Ockley Ibid. "<i>Abubekr</i> the Caliph died on the same day that Damascus was taken—Aug. 23." Hence Abulfaraj. p. 112 ascribes the capture to the reign of <i>Omar</i>: <i>Tempore Chalifatus Omari cepit Abu Obeida Damascum, postquam eam septem mensibus obsidisset, et fœdus iniit cum incolis Misani, Tiberiadis, Casarea, et Baalbeci. Cepit etiam Hemesam post duorum mensium obsidionem.</i> The reign and death of <i>Abubekr</i> are thus given: Eutych. tom. 2 p. 264 <i>Obiit</i> 28<sup>o</sup> <i>Jomada II, anni Hejræ</i> 13<sup>i</sup>—<i>Fuit Chalifatus ipsius</i> 2<sup>a</sup> 3<sup>m</sup> 22<sup>d</sup>. Abulfarajius p. 110 <i>Anno</i> 13<sup>o</sup> <i>Hejræ obiit die Lunæ</i> 8<sup>o</sup> <i>Jumadæ II, natus annos</i> 63. <i>Fuitque spatium Chalifatus ejus biennii et quatuor mensium, minus octo diebus.</i> Ockley p. 104 "63 years old, having reigned 2 lunar y. 3 m. 9 days." Theophanes p. 279 D Cedrenus p. 425 D <i>Heraclii</i> 24<sup>o</sup> Ἀβουβάρχαρος τελευταῖ ἀμηνρέσας δύο ἔτη καὶ ἡμισυ, καὶ παραλαμβάνει τὴν ἀρχὴν Οὐμαρος. But in <i>Hej. 13</i> the 23rd Aug. fell upon the 22nd of <i>Jumada II</i> the 170th day of <i>Hej. 13</i>; and he reigned, June 8 A. D. 632—Aug. 23 A. D. 634, 2<sup>y</sup> 2<sup>m</sup> 16<sup>d</sup>. In Arabian computation, from 13th of <i>Rabia I anno</i> 11<sup>o</sup> to 22nd <i>Jumada II anno</i> 13<sup>o</sup>, 2<sup>y</sup> 3<sup>m</sup> 10<sup>d</sup>.</p>	<p>[Theophanes p. 279 D and Cedrenus p. 425 D under the 24th of <i>Heraclius</i> thus describe the Syrian war: Οὐμαρος παραλαμβάνει Βόστραν τὴν πόλιν μετὰ καὶ ἄλλων πόλεων, ἀπεδήμησαν δὲ μέχρι τοῦ Γαβηθᾶ. τούτοις συμβαλὼν Θεόδωρος ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἡρακλείου ἀδελφὸς ἠτήθη καὶ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ἐν Ἐδέσση ἔρχεται. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς προχειρίζεται ἕτερον στρατηγὸν ὀνόματι Βαάνην, καὶ Θεόδωρον σακελλάριον μετὰ μεγάλης δυνάμει πέρπει κατὰ Ἀράβων. παραγενόμενος δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἐμεσαν συναντᾷ πλῆθος Σαρακηνῶν, καὶ ἀποκτείνει αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸν ἀμηνρέοντα αὐτῶν—παρὰ τὸν Βαρδανήσιον ποταμὸν παραφωσένει: Ἡράκλειος δὲ τὴν Συρίαν καταλιπὼν ὡς ἀπελπίσας, [ἀπελπίσας καταλιμπάνει τὴν Συρίαν Cedren.] ἄρας καὶ τὰ τίμια ξύλα ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ [conf. a. 629] ἐπὶ τὴν ΚΠ. ἀπήει. Βαάνην δὲ ἀπὸ Δαμασκοῦ εἰς Ἐμεσαν κελεύει στρέψασθαι, καὶ Θεόδωρον σακελλάριον ἔχοντα χιλιάδας μ'. καὶ διώκουσιν Ἀραβας ἀπὸ Ἐμέσσης ἕως Δαμασκοῦ. But Bosra was taken in the 23rd of <i>Heraclius</i> A. D. 633, and in the reign of <i>Abubekr</i>; and <i>Heraclius</i> after this journey to CP. returned again to Syria, which he finally left in 638. conf. a. 638. I.]</p>
635	<p><i>Heraclii</i> 26 from Oct. 5. <i>Post cons. Her. XXIV. A Jan. 22 Constantini</i> 23.</p> <p>The acts in Syria in this campaign are described</p>	<p>[Theophanes p. 280 and Cedrenus p. 426 under the 25th of <i>Heraclius</i> (the campaign of A. D. 635) have an inaccurate account of the events of the Sy-</p>

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	<p>by Ockley Vol. 1 p. 149. <i>Abu Obeidah</i> besieged Hems (Emesa) in November: Ockley p. 153 "<i>Abu Obeidah</i> went on towards Hems (whither <i>Caled</i> had gone before with a third part of the army) and sat down before it in November <i>Hej.</i> 14 A. D. 635." <i>Heraclius</i> at this time was in Syria: Ockley p. 148. A truce is granted for a year: Ockley p. 154 "<i>Abu Obeidah</i> consented to make a truce with them for one whole year and no longer; which was to commence on the 1st of <i>Du'hagjah</i> of the present year and expire on the last day of <i>Sjewal Hej.</i> 15." The 10th month <i>Sjewal</i> in <i>Hej.</i> 15 will expire Dec. 4 A. D. 636. But this representation allows only eleven months to the truce. To obtain "a whole year" we must substitute the 11th month <i>Du'kaadah</i> for the 12th month <i>Du'hagjah</i>; and the truce will commence Dec. 17 A. D. 635.</p>	<p>rian war. <i>Heraclii</i> 25<sup>o</sup> ἐστράτευσαν οἱ Σαρακηνοὶ τὴν Ἀραβίαν ἐπὶ τὰ μέρη Δαμασκοῦ πλήθος ὄντες ἄπειρον.—κατέλαβεν δὲ ὁ σακελλάριος [sc. <i>Theodorus</i>] πρὸς Βαάνην καὶ ἀπάραντες ἀπὸ Ἑμέσης συναντῶσι τοῖς Ἀραβι, καὶ συμβολῆς γενομένης τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἦτις ἦν τρίτῃ τῆς ἐβδομάδος κ' τοῦ Ἰουλίου μηνὸς [τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἐβδομάδος κ' τοῦ Ἰ. μ. legit <i>Pagius</i>] ἡττῶνται οἱ περὶ τὸν σακελλάριον. στασιάζαντες οἱ τοῦ Βαάνου Βαάνην προχειρίζονται βασιλείᾳ, καὶ Ἡράκλειον ἀπεκήρυξαν. τότε —οἱ Σαρακηνοὶ εὐρόντες ἀδειαν συμβάλλουσι πόλεμον. ἀνέμου δὲ πνεύσαντος κατὰ Ῥωμαίων νότον, μὴ δυνηθέντες ἀντιπροσωπῆσαι ἐχθροῖς διὰ τὴν κοινορτόν ἡττῶνται καὶ ἐάντους βάλλοντες εἰς τὰς στενοῦδος τοῦ Ἰερμοχθοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκεῖ ἀπώλοντο ἄρδην.—τότε οἱ Σαρακηνοὶ λαμπρῶς νικήσαντες ἐπὶ τὴν Δαμασκὸν ἔρχονται καὶ ταύτην παραλαμβάνουσι καὶ τὰς χώρας τῆς Φοινίκης, καὶ οἰκίζονται ἐκεῖ. καὶ στρατεύουσι κατ' Αἰγύπτου. The battle of Yermouk is here made to precede the capture of Damascus, and both are placed in 635. But Damascus was taken in August 634, and the victory of Yermouk was gained in November 636. The correction of <i>Pagi</i> restores the true day of the week to July 23 of 635. Perhaps however the characters <i>fer.</i> 3 July 23 are genuine, and <i>Theophanes</i> records an action which really happened on <i>Tuesday</i> July 23 A. D. 636, in the year of the battle of Yermouk.]</p>
636	<p><i>Heraclii</i> 27 from Oct. 5. <i>Post cons. Her.</i> XXV. <i>A Jan.</i> 22 <i>Constantini</i> 24. Battles on the river Yermouk: Ockley Vol. 1 p. 191—195, which determined the fate of Syria: p. 204. and continued several days: <i>Ibid.</i> These battles were all fought in November A. D. 636: Ockley p. 208. The Saracens after their victory rested a month at Damascus: Ockley p. 211. For the <i>Yermouk</i> or <i>Hieromax</i>, the scene of these actions, see <i>Gibbon</i> Vol. 9 p. 405. For the accounts of <i>Theophanes</i> and <i>Cedrenus</i> see 635. 2. Also mentioned by <i>Theophanes</i> p. 276 B quoted by Ockley p. 193 οὕτω δὲ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τότε ὑπὸ τε τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τῶν δυσσεβῶν ἱερέων ταραττομένης, ἀνέστη ὁ ἐρημικώτατος Ἀμαλῆκ τύπτων ἡμᾶς τὸν λαὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ γίνεται πρώτη φορᾶ πτώσις τοῦ Ῥωμαϊκοῦ στρατοῦ, ἢ κατὰ τὸ Γαβιθᾶ λέγω καὶ Ἰερμουχᾶν καὶ τὴν ἄθεσμον αἱματοχυσίαν. <i>Theophanes</i> adds l. c. μεθ' ἣν αἱ Παλαιστινῶν καὶ Καισαρέων καὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ἀλώσεις, εἶτα ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ὄλεθρος. Repeated by <i>Cedrenus</i> p. 421 B.</p>	<p><i>Isidorus Hispalensis</i> obiit: <i>Redemptus</i> archidiaconus <i>Isidori</i> apud <i>Pagium</i> tom. 2 p. 812 <i>Finem suum consummavit in pace pridie nonas Aprilis Luna XIX, era DCLXXIV.</i> sc. Ap. 4 A. D. 636. He was bishop of Seville nearly 40 years: <i>conf. a.</i> 612. Therefore from about A. D. 596. Add the testimony of <i>Braulio</i> apud <i>Fabricium</i> p. 47: <i>Braulionis</i> episcopi <i>Cæsaraugustani</i> in prænotatione librorum <i>Isidori. Isidorus vir egregius, Hispalensis ecclesie episcopus, Leandri episcopi successor et germanus, floruit a tempore Mauritiū imperatoris et Reccaredi regis. in quo quiddam sibi antiquitas vindicavit, imo nostrum tempus antiquitatis in conscientiam imaginavit.</i> —<i>Edidit</i>—<i>Etymologiarum codicem nimia magnitudine, distinctum ab eo titulis, non libris. quem, quia rogatu meo fecit, quamvis imperfectum ipse reliquerit, ego in XX libros divisi.</i>—<i>Obiit temporibus Heraclii imperatoris et Christianissimi Chintilani regis.</i></p>
637	<p><i>Heraclii</i> 28 from Oct. 5. <i>Post cons. Her.</i> XXVI. <i>A Jan.</i> 22 <i>Constantini</i> 25. <i>Baalbec</i> is occupied by the Saracens "on the 20th of January, <i>Hejira</i> 15." Ockley Vol. 1 p. 181. Therefore Jan. 20 of 637. Hems is entered after the battles of Yermouk: Ockley p. 191 "Never a man of them (the Saracens) went into the city till</p>	<p>[<i>Theophanes</i> p. 281 C <i>Heraclii</i> 26<sup>o</sup> τοῦτω τῷ ἔτει ἐπεστράτευσεν Οἰμαρος κατὰ Παλαιστίνης, καὶ παρακαθίσας τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν διετῆ χρόνον παρέλαβεν αὐτὴν λόγφ. <i>Σωφρόνιος</i> δὲ ὁ Ἱεροσολύμων ἀρχιερεὺς λόγον ἔλαβεν πάσης Παλαιστίνης ἀσφαλίστατον. εἰσελθὼν δὲ Οἰμαρος εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν τριχίους ἐκ καμήλων ἐνδύμασιν ἡμφιεσμένους ἐρρυπωμένους κ. τ. λ.—ἐν τούτοις ἀπεβία ὁ <i>Σωφρό-</i></p>



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	<p>after the great battle of Yermouk which determined the fate of Syria." And this agrees with the period of the truce (see 635), which expired Dec. 4 A. D. 636.</p> <p>Jerusalem taken. Ockley p. 211 "<i>Abu-Obeidah</i> having received orders to besiege it [at the close of 636] sent <i>Yezid</i> thither first with 5000 men," &amp;c. p. 215 "At last the patriarch [<i>Sophronius</i>] consented that the city should be surrendered upon condition that the inhabitants should receive the articles from the Caliph's own hands." <i>Omar</i> entered the city (Ockley p. 226) <i>Hej.</i> 16 A. D. 637: <i>Elmakin</i> apud Ockley p. 229. He continued there about 10 days: Ockley p. 230. On <i>Omar</i> at Jerusalem see Eutychius tom. 2 p. 284—291.</p> <p><i>Omar</i> while at Jerusalem "divided Syria into two parts, and committed all between Hauran and Aleppo to <i>Abu Obeidah</i>. <i>Yezid</i> took charge of all Palestine and the sea shore [Theophanes p. 282 A τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει [the year of the fall of Jerusalem] ἀπολύει Οὐμαρος τὸν Ἰασδὸν εἰς τὴν Συρίαν]. <i>Amrou</i> was sent to invade Egypt." Ockley p. 232. conf. p. 281. Aleppo and its castle were taken in 4 or 5 months: Ockley p. 233. 244. 250. Probably before the close of 637. Meanwhile <i>Yezid</i> attempted <i>Cæsarea</i> in vain: p. 233. And <i>Amrou</i> "did not march directly to Egypt, but continued awhile in Palestine."—"As he was marching towards <i>Cæsarea</i>, the Saracens found the weather extremely cold." p. 281. 282. conf. p. 292. "<i>Constantine</i> guarded that part of the country." p. 282. 292. We discern here the winter of A. D. 637½.</p> <p><i>Yazdegerd</i> defeated retires to <i>Ferganah</i>. Ockley Vol. 1 p. 229 "In the same year in which Jerusalem was taken <i>Saëd</i> was making havoc in the territories of Persia: he went to <i>Madayin</i>," &amp;c.—p. 230 "After this in the same year the Persians were defeated by the Saracens in a great battle near <i>Jaloulah</i>. <i>Yazdegerd</i>—retired to <i>Ferganah</i>, a city of Persia."</p>	<p>μιος, ὁ λόγῳ καὶ πράξει τὴν Ἱεροσολύμων κατακοσμήσας ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ κατὰ τῆς Ἡρακλείου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ μονοθελητῶν κακοδοξίας ἀγωνισάμενος Σεργίου καὶ Πύρρον [conf. a. 630]. Repeated by Cedrenus p. 426 τῷ κς' ἔτει. An error both in the duration of the siege and in the year of the surrender. The siege was begun, and the city was taken, within the 27th year of <i>Heraclius</i>. <i>Sophronius</i> therefore died in 637. Eutychius tom. 2 p. 291 also marks his death soon after the visit of <i>Omar</i>: <i>Porro mortuus est Sophronius patriarcha Hierosolymitanus, postquam munere illo IV annis functus esset.</i> Nicephorus p. 410 D ends with <i>Sophronius</i>: Μόδεστος ἔτος ἔν [conf. a. 629]. Σωφρόνιος.]</p>
638	<p><i>Heraclii</i> 29 from Oct. 5. <i>Post cons. Her.</i> XXVII. <i>A Jan.</i> 22 <i>Constantini</i> 26.</p> <p>Flight of <i>Heraclius</i> from Antioch: Ockley Vol. 1 p. 271. of <i>Constantine</i> from <i>Cæsarea</i>: p. 297. Both are at CP. on the 4th of July: <i>Constantin.</i> Porphyrog. de Cerem. II. 27 κατὰ τὴν τετάρτην τοῦ Ἰουλίου μηνός, ἰνδ. ιδ' [4 July 638] ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ θελήσας ἀναγορεῦσαι Ἡράκλειον κ.τ.λ. ὁ μὲν πατριάρχης εἰσῆλθεν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, παρόντος καὶ Κωνσταντίνου. <i>Heraclius</i> was still at Antioch after Aleppo had fallen and when the Saracens assaulted Antioch: Ockley p. 257. 259. 264. 267. therefore through the winter of 637½ and the spring of 638. <i>Constantine</i> in Palestine at the same period. conf. a. 637. Ockley</p>	<p>The ἔκθεσις of <i>Heraclius</i> was published in the 12th indiction; therefore not before September 638. The date is fixed by <i>Martinus of Rome</i> in the Lateran Council which was held <i>imperii Constantini anno IX sub die III Nonas Octobris indictione VIII</i>: <i>Acta Concil.</i> tom. 7 p. 78. and <i>sub die VIII Id. Oct. indictione VIII</i>: <i>Ib.</i> p. 103. and <i>Constantini anno IX sub die XVI Kal. Nov. indictione VIII</i>: <i>Ib.</i> p. 165. and <i>sub die XIV Kal. Nov. ind. VIII</i>: p. 215. and <i>sub die prid. Kal. Nov. ind. VIII</i>: p. 274. that is, Oct. 5. 8. 17. 19. 31 A. D. 649. <i>Acta Concil.</i> tom. 7 p. 86 <i>Martinus</i>—<i>præsidens sancto concilio dixit</i>—"Utinam quidem latenter in semetipsos tantummodo hoc malum circumscrisissent—<i>Cyrus Alex-</i></p>

A. D.	EVENTS	AUTHORS
	<p>p. 292. 297.</p> <p>After their departure Antioch surrenders: Ockley p. 273. "Abu Obeidah entered Antioch on Tuesday Aug. 21 Hej. 17 A. D. 638." Gibbon Vol. 9 p. 414 points out the inconsistency: Aug. 21 was on a Friday in 638. Perhaps the true date of the capture was Tuesday July 21. Theophanes p. 282 C refers this event to the right year; and Cedrenus p. 429 D τῷ κη' ἔτει παρέλαβον οἱ Ἄραβες τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν.</p> <p>Cæsarea surrendered in this year to Amrou the future conqueror of Egypt: Ockley p. 297 "Constantine departed for CP.—In the morning—the people surrendered the city to Amrou—in the 17th year of the Hejira and the 5th of Omar's reign." The 5th of Omar began on the 22nd of Jumada II the 170th day of Hej. 17. conf. a. 634. which day fell upon July 11 A. D. 638; and this date brings down the loss of Cæsarea to the middle or end of July, more than a month after the flight of Constantine. Ockley adds "in A. D. 639 and the 29th of Heraclius." These are not admissible. The year 639 is inconsistent with Hej. 17. The 29th of Heraclius would delay the capture till October.</p> <p>After this all the other towns in Syria surrendered: Ockley p. 297. and "all was subdued in six years from their first expedition in Abubekr's reign." p. 297. The conquest then was completed in 638; and the six years are within A. D. 632—638. Hej. 11—17.</p>	<p>andrina ecclesiae episcopus et Sergius CP.<sup>us</sup> antistes, necnon et ejus successores Pyrrhus et Paulus.—Et Cyrus quidem ante hos decem et octo annos [conf. a. 630] unam operationem in Christo in eadem Alexandria urbe definiens Divinitatis ejus et Humanitatis—ordinando capitula numero novem in ambone prædicans, cum anathemate qui sic non saperet, impie promulgavit; Sergius autem per epistolam propriam ad Cyrum scriptam &amp;c.—et non solum hoc sed etiam post aliquot annos ejusdem Cyri novæ adinventionis, hoc est per nuper XII indictionem elapsam, hæreticam et ipse conscribens Ecthesin fidei sub nomine tunc imperantis Heraclii unam—voluntatem et operationem instituit." A copy of the Ecthesis—ἡ ἔκθεσις Ἡρακλείου τοῦ βασιλέως—is extant Ibid. p. 201. Referred to by Theophanes p. 275 A Cedrenus p. 420 D Zonaras tom. 2 p. 56 A. conf. a. 630 col. 1.</p> <p>Death of Sergius in indict. 12: Nicephorus in breviario p. 30=p. 18 A κατὰ δὲ τὴν δωδεκάτην ἰνδικτιῶνα ἐτέλειτα Σέργιος ὁ τοῦ Βυζαντίου πρόεδρος. As he was appointed Ap. 18 A. D. 610 (conf. a.) the space assigned to him by Nicephorus quoted in 610, 28<sup>v</sup> 0<sup>m</sup> 21<sup>a</sup>, is too short, for these would terminate in the 11th indiction at May 8 A. D. 638. Pagius tom. 2 p. 818 from a comparison of copies supplies in the text of Nicephorus μῆνας ἐπτὰ. and this amended period 28<sup>v</sup> 7<sup>m</sup> 21<sup>a</sup> will place the death of Sergius in the right indiction at 8 Dec. 638. Theophanes p. 248 C 282 B rightly assigns 29 years current: Σέργιος ἔτη κβ'.</p>
639	<p>Heraclii 30 from Oct. 5. Post cons. Her. XXVIII. A Jan. 23 Constantini 27.</p> <p>A pestilence in Syria: Ockley Vol. 1 p. 299 "In the 18th year of the Hejira A. D. 639 there was such terrible mortality in Syria that the Arabs call that year the year of destruction. The Saracens lost by that plague 25,000 men, among whom was Abu Obeidah, then 58 years old."—"Caled survived them about 3 years and then died." After the death of Abu Obeidah Moawiyah is lieutenant in Syria. Named by Theophanes p. 282 C Heraclii 28<sup>o</sup> ἐπέμψθη Μαυίας ὑπὸ Οὐμάρου στρατηγὸς καὶ ἀμυρᾶς πάσης τῆς ὑπὸ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν χώρας ἀπὸ Αἰγύπτου ἕως τοῦ Εἰθράτου. Also in Cedrenus p. 429 D τῷ κη' ἔτει. One year before the time.</p> <p>Amrou invades Egypt: Ockley Vol. 1 p. 299—301. He entered Egypt June 6: Renaudot patriarch. Alex. p. 162 Scribit Severus—venisse Arabes in Ægyptum cum potentissimo exercitu—die 12<sup>o</sup> mensis Bāini. The month Bāini or Payni began on May 26: F. H. III p. 356. Siege of Alexandria in November: conf. a. 640.</p>	<p>Pyrrhus succeeds Sergius: Niceph. in breviario p. 30=18 A καὶ ἐπειδήπερ προσέκειτο Ἡρακλείου Πύρρου ἀδελφόν τε ἐκάλει,—καὶ ἅμα φκειωμένον Σεργίῳ καὶ συνδιατώμενον ἐγίνωσκε, τοῦτον ἀρχιερέα τοῦ Βυζαντίου ἀηγόρευσεν. Zonaras tom. 2 p. 86 A Σεργίου δὲ τοῦ τὸν θρόνον ἔχοντος ΚΠ. τὴν ζωὴν καταστρέψαντος, Πύρρος αὐτὸν διεδέξατο, τὰ αὐτὰ ἐκείνῳ δοξάζων. Nicephorus p. 415 A Πύρρος πρεσβύτερος τῆς αὐτῆς (ΚΠ.) μοναχὸς καὶ ἀρχων τῶν μοναστηρίων καὶ ἡγούμενος Χρυσοπόλεως. στάσεως δὲ γενομένης αὐτῷ παρητήσατο, ἔτη β' μῆνας θ' ἡμέρας θ'. Theophanes p. 282 C gives him 3 years current. Pyrrhus was deposed in October 641: Nicephorus in breviario p. 36=p. 21 D προχειρίζεται Παῦλος [the successor of Pyrrhus] κατὰ τὸν Ὀκτώβριον μῆνα τῆς πεντεκαδεκάτης ἰνδικτιῶνος. Theophanes p. 283 D Πύρρου δὲ ἐκβληθέντος τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς [conf. Zonaram tom. 2 p. 87 B], ἐχειροτονήθη πατριάρχης ΚΠ. Παῦλος—μηνὶ Ὀκτωβρίῳ ἰνδικτιῶνι ιε'. As the 2<sup>v</sup> 9<sup>m</sup> 9<sup>a</sup> terminated in Oct. 641, they commenced in January A. D. 639; Jan. of the 12th indiction.</p>



A. D.	EVENTS	AUTHORS
640	<p><i>Heraclii</i> 31 from Oct. 5. <i>Post cons. Her. XXIX. A Jan. 22 Constantini</i> 28.</p> <p>Alexandria taken: Ockley p. 309 "The Saracens entered and took possession <i>Hej.</i> 20 A. D. 640, after they had besieged it 14 months, and lost 23,000 men before it." Abulpharajius p. 112 <i>Amrus filius Aasi urbem Metsr vi cepit, cepit etiam Alexandriam deditioe.</i> Euty chius tom. 2 p. 316 <i>Ingressi sunt Moslemi Alexandriam postquam in ipsius obsidione menses XIV insumsissent.</i> p. 319 <i>Capta est vi, sine promisso aut pactis conventis, nullo cum ipsis inito fœdere aut sponsione. Capta autem est die Veneris mensis Moharram novilunio, anno Hejræ 20<sup>o</sup>—qui Chalifatus Omari octavus fuit.</i> Also fixed to <i>Friday</i> by Elmakin in Gibbon Vol. 9 p. 433. The 1st day of <i>Moharram</i> and of the 20th year of the <i>Hejira</i> fell upon <i>Thursday</i> Dec. 21. The capture therefore is determined to the 2nd of <i>Moharram</i>, <i>Friday</i> Dec. 22 A. D. 640. The 8th year of <i>Omar's</i> reign commenced in Arabian computation on the 22nd of <i>Jumada II</i>, the 170th day of <i>Hej.</i> 20: conf. a. 634. Which coincided with June 7 A. D. 641. And at the capture of Alexandria his 7th year was still current.</p> <p>At the time of <i>Amrou's</i> invasion the Copts in Egypt were 6,000,000: Euty chius tom. 2 p. 311 <i>Numerum inierunt eorum e Cophitis præsertim qui tributo pendendo obnoxii essent; fueruntque qui numerati sunt homines sexies millies mille, quorum census duodecies millies aureorum millia.</i> Quoted by Ockley p. 305. This Coptic population was composed of various races, aboriginal Egyptians, Nubians, Ethiopians or Abyssinians, and Jews: Renaudot p. 164. This number, 6,000,000, is credible if we understand it of the total Copt population, and not (with Euty chius) of the male adults only. In the reign of <i>Nero</i> A. D. 66 Egypt exclusive of Alexandria contained 7,500,000 inhabitants—<i>πεντήκοντα πρὸς ταῖς ἑπτακοσίας ἔχουσα μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων δίχα τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν κατοικοῦντων</i> Joseph. Bell. II. 16, 4. In the amount of tribute in Euty chius there must be exaggeration or error.</p>	<p>[<i>Joannes Philoponus</i> was still living according to Abulpharajius p. 114 (quoted by Ockley Vol. 1 p. 312—314): <i>Hoc tempore claruit inter Muslemios Johannes quem vocamus nos Grammaticum, qui Alexandrinus fuit fideique Christianorum Jacobiticorum professus.—Vixitque donec caperet Amrus Alexandriam, et ad Amrum accessit, qui, cognito quem in scientiis locum teneret honore ipsum affectit &amp;c.—Dixit illi Amrus, "Quid est quo opus tibi sit?" Dixit illi "Libri philosophici qui in bibliothecis regis reperiuntur."</i> &amp;c. But <i>Philoponus</i> was born about the year 525. This may be collected from the age of his master <i>Ammonius</i> the disciple of <i>Proclus</i>. For we may assume that <i>Ammonius</i> was at least 60 years of age in A. D. 525, 40 years after the death of his master <i>Proclus</i>. And we collect from <i>Philoponus</i> himself that he was born before A. D. 529. conf. a. 617. He was born then 116 years before the fall of Alexandria. This space of 116 years, 525—640 both inclusive, will bring that event below the lifetime of <i>Philoponus</i>. The account of Abulpharajius is adopted by Gibbon Vol. 9 p. 435 who introduces "<i>John</i> the last disciple of <i>Ammonius</i>" conversing with <i>Amrou</i> in December 640. But Gibbon has altogether missed the time of <i>Philoponus</i> when he supposes (<i>Ibid.</i> note) that the commentary dated May 10 A. D. 617 was an "early" work. Ockley accepts the tale, and Renaudot de patriarch. Alex. p. 170 Fabricius B. G. tom. 10 p. 640 Brucker H. Ph. tom. 3 p. 529, who reckons <i>Joannem octogenario majorem obiisse</i> after A. D. 640. Born therefore cir. A. D. 560. But this is refuted by <i>Joannes</i> himself, by the time of <i>Ammonius</i>, and by <i>Simplicius</i> who quotes <i>Joannes</i>.</p> <p><i>Leontius de Sectis</i> c. 5 quoted by Basnage <i>Annal.</i> tom. 3 p. 747 and by Pagius tom. 2 p. 555 attests "that while <i>Theodosius</i> yet lived at CP. the dogma of Tritheism was agitated again, of which <i>Joannes Philoponus</i> was the chief author." But <i>Theodosius</i> dwelt there till 567: See the Tables 567. 4. On <i>Theodosius</i> at CP. see the Tables p. 789 A. D. 548. 4. Pagius l. c. ad annum 535 quotes the address of <i>Philoponus</i> to <i>Sergius</i>, and then, forgetting the time of <i>Sergius</i>, adds that <i>Philoponus</i> lived <i>usque ad finem fere hujus seculi</i>; which supposes his death before the year 600. An opposite error to that of Abulpharajius.]</p>
641	<p><i>Post cons. Her. XXX. A Jan. 22 Constantini</i> 29.</p> <p>Death of <i>Heraclius</i>: Niceph. in breviario p. 31 = 18 D <i>ἔτελεύτα ζήσας ἔτη ἕξ καὶ ἐξήκοντα, ἐν δὲ τῇ βασιλείᾳ διανύσας ἔτη τριάκοντα μῆνας τέσσαρας ἡμέρας ἕξ.</i> These 30<sup>v</sup> 4<sup>m</sup> 6<sup>d</sup> from Oct. 5 A. D. 610 will terminate on <i>Saturday</i> Feb. 10 A. D. 641. Pagi tom. 2 p. 824 from an anonymous Oriental Chronicle</p>	<p><i>Pyrrhus</i> of CP. is deposed and <i>Paul</i> appointed in October. Conf. a. 639.</p>

A. D.	EVENTS	AUTHORS
	<p>collects <i>defunctus est die Dominica</i>. Therefore on Sunday Feb. 11. Theophanes p. 283 B places his death in March: <i>Heraclii 31<sup>o</sup> τελευτα μηνι Μαρτίω Ινδικτιώνι ιδ'—βασιλεύσας ἔτη λ' μήνας ι'.</i> βασιλεύει δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ μήνας τέσσαρας, καὶ φαρμακευθεὶς ὑπὸ Μαρτίνης τῆς αὐτοῦ μητριᾶς καὶ Πύρρου πατριάρχου τελευτα. καὶ βασιλεύει ὁ Ἡρακλεωνᾶς—σὺν τῇ μητρὶ Μαρτίνῃ—μήνας ἕξ.—καὶ ἐξορίσαντες αὐτοὺς ἀνεβίβασαν Κώνσταν υἱὸν Κωνσταντίνου ἑγγονον Ἡρακλείου—καὶ ἐκράτησεν ἔτη κζ'. Cedrenus p. 430 τῷ λα' ἔτει τελευτα—μηνι Μαρτίω ια', βασιλεύσας ἔτη λ' μήνας ι'.—μετὰ τούτων—Κωνσταντῖνος μήνας δ'—τελευτα δὲ φαρμακευθεὶς ὑπὸ Μαρτίνης—καὶ Πύρρου.—βασιλεύει δὲ Ἡρακλεωνᾶς σὺν μητρὶ Μαρτίνῃ μήνας ἕξ.—ἀνεβίβασαν Κώνσταντα τὸν υἱὸν Κωνσταντίνου—ὃς ἐκράτησεν ἔτη κζ. Abulpharajius p. 113 <i>Obiit Heraclius, cui successit filius ipsius Constantinus, quem quatuor post mensibus veneno sustulit Martina uxor patris ejus, filiumque suum Heracliolum substituit Davidis novi nomine illi indito. Magnates vero regni imperium ejus aegre ferentes eo abdicatione praefecerunt Constantinum occisi filium.</i> Zonaras XIV p. 87 A inaccurately: <i>θῆσκει ὁ βασιλεὺς τριακοστὸν ἐφ' ἐνὶ χρόνον ἀνύων—μεταβαίνει δὲ ἡ αὐταρχία πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Κωνσταντῖνον, ἧς βραχὺ τι ἀπόνωτο. ἕνα γὰρ μοναρχήσας ἑναυτὸν φαρμάκῳ διώλετο.</i> Constantine reigned 103 days (4 months current): Niceph. in breviario p. 33 <i>συμβασιλεύσας τῷ πατρὶ ἔτη κη' καὶ ἐπιβιούς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν ἔτι ἡμέρας ἑκατὸν τρεῖς ἐτελεύτησε.</i> These 103 days are Feb. 11—May 24 A. D. 641. The reign of his son <i>Constans</i> or <i>Constantine</i> had begun before Oct. 5, for his 9th year had begun before Oct. 5 A. D. 649: <i>Acta Concil. tom. 7 p. 77</i> quoted at 638. 2. little more than 4 months after the death of his father. The <i>sole</i> reign of <i>Heracleonas</i> then was less than 5 months.</p>	

The domestic history of *Heraclius* may be collected from Nicephorus. His wife *Martina* was the daughter of his sister *Mary* and of her first husband *Martinus*<sup>a</sup>. *Martina* accompanied *Heraclius* in his expedition in 623, and some of their children were born in Asia<sup>b</sup>. His children by both marriages were these.

Ex *Eudocia*

1 *Epiphania* A. D. 611. (Εὐδοκία Nicephoro p. 18. 25. 28.)

2 *Constantinus* A. D. 612. ob. 641.

<sup>a</sup> Niceph. breviario p. 16=10 D *θυγάτηρ αὐτῆς Μαρίας τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐτίγχανεν ἀδελφῆς, πατρὸς δὲ Μαρτίνου, ὃν Μαρία πρὸς Εὐτροπίου γαμέτην ἐκέκτητο.*

<sup>b</sup> *Heracleonas* was born in Lazica: Niceph. p. 17= p. 11 B *ἐπειράτο διὰ Λαζικῆς εἰς τὴν Περσικὴν εἰσβαλεῖν καθ' ἣν τίκτεται αὐτῷ υἱὸς ἐκ Μαρτίνης τῆς γυναίκος (μεθ' αὐτοῦ γὰρ ταύτην ἦγετο) ὃν καὶ ἐπωνόμασεν Ἡρακλεῖον.*

*Heracleonas* is *ἔτι δεκέτης* in the year of his father's death in Zonaras p. 87 B. But *Heraclius* was in Lazica in 626: Theophanes p. 263 C. compare the Table at A. D. 626. and *Heracleonas* must have been 16 at the time of his reign and deposition. See Pagi tom. 2 p. 826.



E *Martina*

- 1 *Heracleonas* (Ἡράκλειος Nicephoro p. 33—36.)
- 2 *Augustina Aug.*
- 3 *Anastasia Aug.*
- 4 *David Cæsar*
- 5 *Martinus NB.* (Μαρῖνος Nicephoro p. 31.)

The children of *Martina* are named in this order in A. D. 639 by the people of CP. apud Constantinum Porph. de cerem. II. 29 p. 630. Besides these surviving children of *Martina* two sons and two daughters died during the campaigns of *Heraclius* in Asia<sup>c</sup>. *Constantine*, who was born in 615, was one of these, as Pagi tom. 2 p. 826 reasonably concludes. Perhaps the *Flavius* of Nicephorus p. 16 was this *Constantine*.

## II.

## CONSULS.

THE consuls are illustrated in the Tables from Gruter and Norisius. In the following list farther testimonies are added in the notes from the copious and valuable collections of Muratori<sup>a</sup>, whose work was not within reach when the Tables were composed. From that collection the descriptions and the names of some consuls have been corrected or supplied: as *Eggius Ambibulus* at A. D. 126, *M. Antonius Hiberus* at 133, *Bruttius Præsens II* at 139, *M. Pompeius Macrinus* in 164, *Sosius Priscus Senecio* in 169, *P. Cornelius Sæcularis II et Junius Donatus II* in 260, *Antonius Marcellinus et Petronius Probinus* in 341, *Flavius Cæsarius et Nonius Atticus* in 397.

The second and third columns give an expanded view of the consulships in the Paschal Chronicle and in Cassiodorus, that these may be compared with the true list in each step of the series. From the 7th of *Constantine* A. D. 312 to the 20th of *Heraclius* A. D. 630 the Chronicle has the right number of consulships<sup>b</sup>, but in the preceding period, from the death of *Augustus* A. D. 14 to the 7th of *Constantine* A. D. 312, are some interpolations and some omissions, which disturb the series in many parts, and place many consulships either above or below their true position. In the whole number between *Sex. Pompeius Sex. Apuleius* A. D. 14 and *Constantin. II Licin. II* A. D. 312 the Chronicle has two interpolated years, which carry back the consuls *Pompeius et Apuleius* to A. D. 12 two years higher than their real station.

In F. H. III Introd. p. v—ix the errors of the Chronicle with respect to the consulships are shewn in a *descending* series from B. C. 280 down to the reign of *Augustus*; in the present Table the errors and variations are shewn in an *ascending* series proceeding from A. D. 579 upwards to the last year of *Augustus*. It must also be observed that the Chronicle shortens the space between the death of *Cæsar* and the death of *Augustus*, which is called 56<sup>y</sup> 6<sup>m</sup> p. 189 D, and for which only 56 years are allowed in the detail. But from the death of *Cæsar* March 15 B. C. 44 to the death of *Augustus* Aug. 19 A. D. 14 the real interval was 57<sup>y</sup> 5<sup>m</sup> 5<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> Nicephorus p. 25 = 15 C ὑπάρχοντι δὲ Ἡρακλείῳ ἐν τῇ Περσικῇ ἐτελεύτησαν αὐτῷ δύο υἱοὶ καὶ θυγατέρες δύο.

<sup>a</sup> *Novus thesaurus veterum inscriptionum, collectore*

*L. A. Muratorio.* 4 Voll. fol. Mediolani 1739—1742 pp. 2134.

<sup>b</sup> See below, A. D. 312 note °.

Cassiodorus omits the consuls of A. D. 503; and this omission brings down the preceding consulships one year too low as far as the year 347. At 347 an interpolation restores the consuls *Leontius* and *Sallustius* A. D. 344 to their right year and the preceding consulships are right up to A. D. 297. At that point *Maximian V Galerius II* are omitted, and the consuls are again below the true year. At 276 another omission brings down the consulships two years too low till we arrive in the ascending series at A. D. 227. There between *Alexander II et Marcellus* A. D. 226 and *Modestus et Probus* A. D. 228 he interpolates a consulship, and the variation is reduced to one year below the time. This continues up to the year 162 *Rusticus et Aquilinus*. Before that consulship he has two interpolated years, and *Varus et Bradua* in 160 are one year too high in the list of Cassiodorus. He interpolates again at 144, he omits at 130. At 117 he again interpolates. He has another interpolation at 102, another at 95. But he omits a consulship at the year 87, omits at 63 and at 56. At 51 he interpolates two consulships. At A. D. 40 one is omitted. At the year 38 is another interpolation, and another at 32. When these twelve interpolated consulships are balanced against the eight omitted<sup>c</sup>, between *Pompeius et Apuleius* A. D. 14 and *Cethegus* A. D. 504 he has on the whole amount four years too many, and the first consuls in this list are carried upwards four years too high. If we suppose, what is very probable, that *Dexicrates et Volusianus* A. D. 503, who were within the personal knowledge of Cassiodorus himself, were inserted by Cassiodorus, and omitted by the error of the transcriber, we shall find a redundancy of five years upon the whole period, and *Pompeius* and *Apuleius* will be placed in the list of Cassiodorus at A. D. 9.

A. D.	CONSULS	Ol. Ind. y.	CHRON. PASCH.	CASSIODOR.
				Sex. Pompeius Sex. Apuleius <i>His cons. Augustus ob.</i>
		198. 15. 55	Pompeius et Apuleius	<sup>a</sup> Drusus Cæs. et C. Norbanus
		1. 56	<sup>a</sup> Brutus et Flaccus <i>Augustus ob.</i>	<sup>b</sup> Sisenna Statilius et L. Scribon. L. Pomponius et C. Cæbilius
14	Sex. Pompeius Sex. Apuleius <i>Augustus ob.</i>	2. 1	<sup>b</sup> Taurus et Libo	<sup>d</sup> Tib. Cæsar et German. Cæs.
15	<sup>a</sup> Drusus et Flaccus	3. 2	Crassus et Rufus	<sup>e</sup> M. Silanus et C. Norbanus
16	<sup>b</sup> Taurus et Libo	199. 4. 3	Tiberius III et Rufus II	<sup>f</sup> M. Valerius et M. Aurelius
17	<sup>c</sup> Rufus et Flaccus	5. 4	.....	<sup>g</sup> Tib. Cæs. et Drusus Cæsar
18	<sup>d</sup> Tiberius III et Germanicus II	6. 5	Messala et Gratus	<sup>h</sup> D. Haterius et C. Sulpicius
19	<sup>e</sup> Silanus et Norbanus	7. 6	<sup>g</sup> Tiberius IV et Drusus	<sup>i</sup> C. Asinius et C. Antistius
20	<sup>f</sup> Messala et Cotta	200. 8. 7	<sup>h</sup> Agrippa et Galba	Scr. Cornelius et L. Visellius

<sup>c</sup> The interpolations are one at each of the years 32, 38, 95, 102, 117, 144, 226, 347, two at A. D. 51 and two at 161. The omitted consulships are at A. D. 40, 56, 63, 87, 130, 276, 297, 503.

17 An inscription apud Muratorium p. 301. 1 in Lucania: *J. O. et Mercurio Reduci ob reditum M. Clerii Pacati M. Vibius M. Lib. Geminus II X vot. P. C. Cæcilio Rufo L. Pomponio Flacco cos.*

18 Gruter p. 187. 14. 228. 8 Florentiæ: *Ti. Cæsare tert. Germanico Cæsare iter. cos. Cn. Acceio Cn. f. Arn. Rufo Lutatio T. Petilio P. f. Quir. IIvir. Decretum. adiculam et statuas has hostiam dedicationi victimæ natali Aug. VIII Kal. Octob. due quæ pp. immolari consuetæ sunt ad aram quæ numini Aug. dedicata est VIII Kal. Oct. immolentur, item natali Tiberi Cæs. perpet. acturi decuriones et pop. cenet,*

*quam impensam C. Cascellio Labeoni in perpet. pollicenti gratiæ agantur munificentia ejus, eoq. natali ut quodannis vitulus immoletur et natalib. Augusti et Tiberi Cæs. priusquam ad vescendum decuriones eant thure et vino genii eorum invitentur. Aram Numini Aug. pec. nostra ponendam et ludos ex Idib. Aug. dieb. sex faciundos curavimus. natali Augustæ mulsum et crustula mulierib. vicinis ad Bonam Deam pec. n. dedimus. item dedicatione statuarum Cæsarum et Augustarum mulsum et crustula pecunia nostra devotus omnib. et populo dedimus perpetuoque ejus die dedicationis daturus nos testati sumus. quem diem quo frequentior quotannis sit servabimus VI Idus Martias, quia hac Ti. Cæs. pont. max. felicissime creatus est.* [See the Tables A. D. 15].



A.D.	CONSULS	Ol. Ind. y.	CHRON. PASCH.	CASSIODOR.
21	g Tiberius IV et Drusus II	9.	8 <sup>i</sup> Pollio et Veter	M. Asinius et Cossus Cornelius
22	h Agrippa et Galba	10.	9 <sup>k</sup> Cethegus et Varus	m C. Calvisius et Cn. Gætulicus
23	i Pollio et Veter	11.	10 <sup>l</sup> Agrippa II et Lentulus	n L. Piso et M. Crassus
24	k Cethegus et Varro	201.	12. 11 <sup>m</sup> Gætulicus et Sabinus	o Appius Silanus et P. Silius
25	l Lentulus et Agrippa	13.	12 <sup>n</sup> Crassus et Piso	p C. Rubellius et C. Fusius
26	m Sabinus et Gætulicus	14.	13 <sup>o</sup> Silanus et Nerva	q M. Vinitius et L. Cassius
27	n Piso et Crassus	15.	14 <sup>p</sup> Geminus et Geminus	r Tib. Cæsar V
28	o Silanus et Nerva	202.	1. 15 [Rufus et Rubellinus]	s Cn. Domitius et Camillus Scribonian.
29	p Geminus et Geminus	2.	16 <sup>q</sup> Vinicius et Longinus	[Vinitius et Longinus]
30	q Vinicius et Longinus	3.	17 <sup>r</sup> Tiberius V solus	t Sulpicius et Sulla
31	r Tiberius V et Sejanus	4.	18 <sup>v</sup> Persicus et Vitellius	v Priscus et Vitellius
			<i>τὸ δ' ἄσχα ἐν ᾧ πέποιθεν.</i>	
32	s Ahenobarbus et Camillus	203.	5. 19 <sup>s</sup> Aruntius et Ahenobarbus	w Gallus et Novianus
33	t Galba et Sulla	6.	20 <sup>q</sup> Galba et Sulla	x Gallienus et Plautianus
				<i>His coss. Tiberius moritur.</i>
34	v Vitellius et Persicus	7.	21 <sup>w</sup> Gallus et Nonianus	a Proculus et Nigrinus
35	w Gallus et Nonianus	8.	22 <sup>x</sup> Lelianus et Plautus	b Julianus et Asprenas
			a. 4 <i>τῆς ἀναλήψεως.</i>	
			<i>His coss. Tiberius ob.</i>	
36	x Papinius et Plautius	204.	9. 1 <sup>a</sup> Proculus et Nigrinus	[Publicola et Nerva]
37	a Proculus et Nigrinus	10.	2 <sup>b</sup> Julianus et Aspernas	c Cæsar et Julianus
	<i>Tiberius ob.</i>			<i>His coss. Caligula occiditur.</i>
38	b Julianus et Asprenas	11.	3 <sup>c</sup> Claudius et Cersianus	e Cæsar II et Saturninus
39	c Cæsar II et Cæsianus	12.	4 <sup>d</sup> Claudius II solus	Secundus et Venustus
			<i>His coss. Caligula ob.</i>	
40	d Cæsar III Solus	205.	13. 1 <sup>e</sup> Claudius III et Antoninus	Tiberius et Gallus
41	e Cæsar IV et Saturninus	14.	2 <sup>f</sup> Claudius IV et Largus	h Crispinus et Taurus
	<i>Caligula ob.</i>			
42	f Claudius II et Largus	15.	3 <sup>g</sup> Claudius V et Vitellius	i Vinicius et Cornelius
43	g Claudius III et Vitellius II	1.	4 <sup>h</sup> Crispus et Taurus	k Asiaticus et Cornelius

21 Gruter p. 1042. 17 extra portam Capenam via Appia: M. Turranius M. f. Pal. Amator M. Turranius M. f. Pavinus &c.—D. D. Kal. Sept. Ti. Claudio Nerone Cæs. IIII Ti. Claudio Druso Cæs. II cos.

27 Murat. p. 302. 1. 2 Veronæ in tabula ahenea: M. Crasso Frugi L. Calpurnio Pisone cos. III Non. Febr. civitas Themetra ex Africa hospitium fecit cum C. Silio C. f. Fab. Aviola eum liberos posterosque ejus sibi liberis posterisque suis patronum cooptaverunt. C. Silius C. f. Aviola civitatem Themetrensem liberos posterosque eorum sibi liberis posterisque suis in fidem clientelamque suam recepit. egerunt Banno Himilis f. sufes, Azdrubal Baisillecis f. Iddibal Bosiharis f. leg. In altera tabula ahenea: M. Crasso Frugi L. Pisone cos. senatus populusque Thimiligensis hospitium fecerunt cum C. Silio C. f. Fab. Aviola præf. fabrum eumque liberos posterosque eorum sibi liberis posterisque suis patronum cooptaverunt. C. Silius Aviola præf. fabr. Teimiliigens. universos sibi liberis posterisque suis suorumque in fidem clientelamque suam suorumque recepit. egerunt legati Azrupal sufes Annobalis f. &c.

p col. 3 Sc. Gemini duo. Prosper and Victorius begin their lists from these consuls. The first consuls are thus given in Prosper and Victorius.

- 1 Rufino Gemino Rubellio Gemino
- 2 Vinicio et Longino

- 3 Sulpicio et Sulla
- 4 Prisco et Vitellio
- 5 Gallo et Noniano
- 6 Gallieno et Plautiano
- 7 Proculo et Nigrino
- 8 Juliano et Asprenate
- 9 Publicola et Nerva
- 10 Cæsare et Juliano
- 11 Cæsare II et Saturnino
- 12 Secundo et Venusto [Saturnino II et Ven. Prosp.]
- 13 Tiberio et Gallo
- 14 Crispino et Tauro [Crispo Victor.]
- 15 Vinicio et Cornelio
- 16 Asiatico et Silano
- 17 Tiberio II et Vitellio
- 18 Vitellio II et Publicola
- 19 Verannio et Gallo [Verino Prosp.]
- 20 Vetere et Nerviliano
- 21 Claudio et Orphito
- 22 Silano et Silio [Silvano et Silvio Victor.]
- 23 Tiberio III et Antonino
- 24 Silano et Othone
- 25 Silano II et Antonino [Silano et Antonino Victor.]

43 Muratori p. 304. 1 Tibure: Proserpina Bussiana L. Busseius L. f. Vel. Annianus Busseia Prima Victorina D. K. Febr. Ti. Claudio Cæs. IIII L. Vitellio

A. D.	CONSULS	Ol. Ind. y.	CHRON. PASCH.	CASSIODOR.
44	<sup>h</sup> Crispinus II et Taurus	206.	2. 5 <sup>i</sup> Vinnicius et Corvinus	<sup>l</sup> Tiberius II et Vitellius
45	<sup>i</sup> Vinnicius II et Corvinus	3.	6 <sup>k</sup> Asiaticus et Silanus	<sup>m</sup> Vitellius II et Publicola
46	<sup>k</sup> Asiaticus II et Silanus		* * * *	<sup>n</sup> Verannius et Gallus
47	<sup>l</sup> Claudius IV et Vitellius III		.....	<sup>o</sup> Vetus et Servilianus
48	<sup>m</sup> Vitellius et Vipsanius		.....	<sup>p</sup> Claudius et Orfitus
49	<sup>n</sup> Gallus et Veranius		.....	[ <sup>s</sup> Sylvanus et Sylvius]
50	<sup>o</sup> Vetus et Nervilianus		.....	[ <sup>t</sup> Tiberius III et Antoninus]
51	<sup>p</sup> Claudius V et Orfitus		.....	<sup>q</sup> Silanus et Otho
				<i>His coss. Claudius moritur.</i>
52	<sup>q</sup> Sulla et Otho		.....	<sup>r</sup> Silanus II et Antoninus II
53	<sup>r</sup> Silanus et Antoninus		.....	<sup>s</sup> Marcellinus et Aviola
54	<sup>s</sup> Marcellus et Aviola		.....	<sup>t</sup> Nero et Vetus
	<i>Claudius ob.</i>			
55	<sup>t</sup> Nero et Vetus		.....	<sup>w</sup> Nero II et Piso
56	<sup>v</sup> Saturninus et Scipio		.....	<sup>x</sup> Nero III et Messala
57	<sup>w</sup> Nero II et Piso		.....	<sup>y</sup> C. Capito et Apronius
58	<sup>x</sup> Nero III et Messala		.....	<sup>z</sup> Nero IV et Cornelius
59	<sup>y</sup> Apronius et Capito		.....	<sup>a</sup> Pius et Turpilianus
60	<sup>z</sup> Nero IV et Cornelius		.....	<sup>b</sup> Macrinus et Gallus
61	<sup>a</sup> Pætus et Turpilianus		.....	<sup>d</sup> Crassus et Bassus
62	<sup>b</sup> Marius et Gallus		.....	Sylvanus et Paulinus
63	<sup>c</sup> Regulus et Rufus		.....	Celsinus et Apuleius
64	<sup>d</sup> Bassus et Crassus		.....	<sup>f</sup> Telesinus et Paulinus
65	<sup>e</sup> Silianus et Vestinus Atticus		.....	<sup>g</sup> Capito et Rufus
66	<sup>f</sup> Telesinus et Paulinus	9. 13	<sup>ε</sup> Capito et Rufus	<sup>h</sup> Italicus et Turpilianus
67	<sup>g</sup> Capito et Rufus	10. 14	<sup>h</sup> Italicus et Trachalus	Sylvanus et Otho
			<i>His coss. Nero ob.</i>	<i>His coss. Nero se interfecit.</i>
68	<sup>h</sup> Italicus et Trachalus	212. 11.	1 <sup>A</sup> Galba et Rufinus	Vespasianus et Titus
	<i>Nero ob.</i>			
69	<sup>A</sup> Galba II et Vinius	12. 2	<sup>B</sup> Vespasianus solus	Vespasianus II et Titus II
70	<sup>B</sup> Vespasianus II et Titus	13. 3	<sup>C</sup> Vespasianus II et Nerva	Vespasianus III et Nerva
71	<sup>C</sup> Vespasianus III et Nerva	14. 4	<sup>D</sup> Vespasianus III et Titus	Vespasianus IV et Titus III
72	<sup>D</sup> Vespasianus IV et Titus II	213. 15.	5 [Vespasianus IV et Titus II]	Vespasianus V et Titus IV
73	<sup>a</sup> Domitianus II et Messalinus	1. 6	<sup>a</sup> Domitianus et Messalinus	Vespasianus VI et Titus V
74	<sup>b</sup> Vespasianus V et Titus III	2. 7	<sup>b</sup> Vespasianus V et Titus III	Vespasianus VII et Titus III

*II cos.* p. 304. 2 Romæ: *Pro salute Ti. Claudii Cæsaris Aug. pontif. max. tr. pot. III cos. III desig. IIII Præsens Aug. L. ex voto suscepto viat. et scrib. libr. et A. Larcus Lydus ded.* On *desig. IIII* see the remark of Muratori.

<sup>k</sup> col. 2 In Chron. Pasch. p. 233 A it is added at these consuls ἀπὸ τῆς ἀναλήψεως τοῦ Κυρίου—ἐτη ἰδ' μῆνες ι'.

55 Muratori p. 305. 1 Romæ: *Ex privat. L. Servilii Fortunati Macedon. T. Stati muneri Nero Claud. Cæs. L. Ant. Vetus cos.*

57 Mur. p. 305. 2 Romæ: *Nerone Claudio Cæsare Aug. Germanico II L. Calpurnio Pisone cos. C. Popilius Primo unguentarius fecit.*

69 Murat. p. 307. 5 prope Lugnanam in lamina ænea: *Gn. Flaccus Q. Ful. f. decumanam partem Herculi et pro reditu felicissimo ex Africa Vibi fratris et pro sal. Petinæ matris signa aurea Fortunæ Præn. et Feroniæ Sanctissimæ D. D. T. Vinio cos.*

70 Murat. p. 308. 1 Romæ: *Junoni reginæ D. D.*

*K. J. P. Annus P. f. Pal. Carus sacerdos Nept. patron. col. Ost. quinq. iter. Fl. Vespasiano Augusto II et Tito Vespasiano Cæs. cos.*

<sup>ε</sup> col. 2 After a hiatus of 20 years (the amount is determined by the indictions) the Chronicle p. 240 D resumes at these consuls.

<sup>B</sup> col. 2 At these consuls Chron. Pasch. adds p. 246 D a. 39 ἀπὸ τῆς ἀναλήψεως. p. 247 D a. 40 ἀπὸ τῆς ἀναλήψεως.—a 15<sup>o</sup> Tiberii ἐτη μβ.

<sup>o</sup> col. 3 At these consuls Prosper p. 379 marks the beginning of his first cycle: *Vetere et Nerviliano: Paschalis Cycli ratio ab his coss. incipit per annos XXCIV et ad eandem legem revertens.* But he had more properly placed the beginning at 1: *Tiberio II et Vitellio* [sc. A. D. 47] *initium Cycli primi.* which agrees with the beginning of the second in A. D. 131. See below.

<sup>y</sup> col. 3 Omitted by Prosp. and Victorius.

<sup>f</sup> col. 3 Omitted by Prosp. and Victorius.

<sup>h</sup> col. 3 *Silio Italico et Turpil.* Prosp.



A. D.	CONSULS	Ol. Ind. y.	CHRON. PASCH.	CASSIODOR.
75	<sup>c</sup> Vespasianus VI et Titus IV	3.	8 <sup>c</sup> Vespasianus VI et Titus IV	Commodus et Rufus
76	<sup>d</sup> Vespasianus VII et Titus V	214.	4. 9 <sup>d</sup> Vespasianus VII et Titus V	Vespasianus VIII et Titus VII
77	<sup>e</sup> Vespasianus VIII et Titus VI		5. 10 Titus VI et Domitianus II	Vespasianus IX et Titus VIII
			<i>His cons. Vespasian. ob.</i>	
78	<sup>f</sup> Commodus et Priscus		6. 1 <sup>h</sup> Titus VII et Domitianus III	Sylvanus et Verus
79	<sup>g</sup> Vespasianus IX et Titus VII <i>Vespasianus ob.</i>		7. 2 <sup>i</sup> Galba et Pollio	Domitianus et Messalinus
			<i>His cons. Titus ob.</i>	<i>His cons. Vespas. mortuus.</i>
80	<sup>h</sup> Titus VIII et Domitianus VII	215.	8. 1 <sup>k</sup> Domitianus IV et Sabinus	<sup>l</sup> Domitianus II et Rufus II
81	<sup>i</sup> Silva et Pollio <i>Titus ob.</i>		9. 2 <sup>l</sup> Domitianus V et Rufus	<sup>m</sup> Domitianus III et Sabinus
				<i>His cons. Titus perit.</i>
82	<sup>k</sup> Domitianus VIII et Sabinus		10. 3 <sup>m</sup> Domitianus VI et Sabinus	Domitianus IV et Rufus III
83	<sup>l</sup> Domitianus IX et Rufus II		11. 4 <sup>n</sup> Domitianus VII et Fulvius	<sup>o</sup> Domitianus V et Dolabella
84	<sup>m</sup> Domitianus X et Sabinus	216.	12. 5 <sup>o</sup> Domitianus VIII et Dolabella	<sup>q</sup> Domitianus VI et Rufus IV
85	<sup>n</sup> Domitianus XI et Fulvius		13. 6 <sup>p</sup> Domitianus IX et Saturninus	Flavius et Trajanus
86	<sup>o</sup> Domitianus XII et Dolabella		14. 7 <sup>q</sup> Domitianus X et Rufus II	<sup>s</sup> Domitianus VII et Nerva
87	<sup>p</sup> Domitianus XIII et Saturninus		15. 8 <sup>r</sup> Fulvius II et Atratinus	<sup>t</sup> Trajanus II et Glabrio
88	<sup>q</sup> Domitianus XIV et Rufus	217.	1. 9 <sup>s</sup> Domitianus XI et Nerva	<sup>v</sup> Domitianus VIII et Salvinius
89	<sup>r</sup> Fulvius II et Atratinus		2. 10 <sup>t</sup> Glabrio et Trajanus	<sup>w</sup> Sylvanus et Priscus
90	<sup>s</sup> Domitianus XV et Nerva II		3. 11 <sup>v</sup> Domitian. XII et Saturninus	<sup>x</sup> Asprenas et Clemens
91	<sup>t</sup> Trajanus et Glabrio		4. 12 <sup>w</sup> Pompeius et Crispinus	<sup>y</sup> Domitian IX et Clemens II
92	<sup>v</sup> Domitianus XVI et Saturninus	218.	5. 13 [Domitian. XIII et Clemens]	Nerva II et Rufus
93	<sup>w</sup> Collega et Priscus		6. 14 <sup>x</sup> Aspernas et Lateranus	Fulvius et Vetus
94	<sup>x</sup> Asprenas et Lateranus		7. 15 <sup>y</sup> Domitian. XIV et Clemens II	Sabinus et Antoninus
95	<sup>y</sup> Domitianus XVII et Clemens		8. 16 <sup>z</sup> Valens et Vetur	<sup>B</sup> Nerva III et Trajanus III
			<i>His cons. Domitian. ob.</i>	
96	<sup>z</sup> Valens et Vetus	219.	9. 1 <sup>A</sup> Nerva et Rufus III	<sup>C</sup> Senecio et Palma

75 Gruter p. 109. 7 Romæ: *Pro salute dominorum genio horreor. Saturninus et Successus horreari donum dederunt Imp. Vespas. VI Cæsare Tito IIII cos.* Murat. p. 309. 1 Tibure: *Herculi sanctissimo pacifero sacrum Julia Casantra et Jul. Fuficius V. S. L. M. dedic. XIII Kal. Jul. Imp. Vespasiano Aug. VI Tito Flavio Cæsare IIII cos.* The inscription quoted in the Tables A. D. 75. 1 from Gruter p. 223. 3 is of doubtful authority.

81 Murat. p. 312 Romæ fragmentum duorum lapidum spectantium ad fratres aruales. After mentioning acts of the year 80 the inscription proceeds: *L. Flavio Silva Nonio Basso Asinio Pollione Verrucoso cos. XVIII Kal. Febr. in luco Dea diæ piaculum factum per calatorem et publicos ejus sacerdoti quod arbor a vetustate decidit &c.—L. Flavio Silva Nonio Basso Asinio Pollione Verrucoso cos. III Nonas Jan. magister C. Junius Tadius Mefitanus collegi fratrum arvalium nomine vota nuncupavit pro salute imp. Titi Cæsaris divi f. Vespasiani Aug. pont. max. tribunic. potest. cos. VIII et Cæsaris f. Domitiani cos. VII et Juliae Aug. liberorumque eorum victimis immolatis in capitolio quæ superioris anni magister voverat persolvit Jovi O. M. boves mares II Junoni reginæ vaccas duas Minervæ vaccas duas, Saluti publicæ vaccas II, et in proximum annum nuncupavit præeunte L. Pompeio Vopisco C. Arruntio Castello Celere in ea verba quæ infra scripta sunt. Juppiter O. M. si imp. Titus Cæsar Vespasianus Aug. pont. max. trib. potest. p. p. et Cæsar divi f. Domitianus quos nos sentimus dicere vivent domusque eorum incolumis erit ad III Non. Jan. que*

*proximæ P. R. Q. reip. P. R. Q. . . . int et cum diem eosque servaveris ex periculis si qua sunt . . . . . tum diem eventumque bonum ita uti nos sentimus dicere . . . statu quo nunc sunt aut eo meliore servaveris ast tu . . . . . in. collegi fratrum arvalium bubus au . . . . .*

88 Murat. p. 314. 1 Romæ: *Numini domus Aug. sacrum decuriones in hac curia qui conveniunt aram et aream silic. S. P. straverunt dedicatum Nonis Januarii imperat. . . . . Cæsare Augusto Germanic. . . . . Minicio Rufo cos. Januario et Ti. Claudio excellenti immunibus ter . . . tuis a magisterio.* The name of *Domitian* twice erased. See the Tables A. D. 83. 1.

94 Mur. p. 314. 2 Romæ: *P. Rubrius Trophimus et Rubrius Agathos C. L. atrium refeceverunt et vermiculum straverunt item pavementum spicam straver. et sedilia circumitum refeceverunt impensa sua L. Nonio Torquato Asprenate T. Sextio Magio Laterano cos.*

96 Mur. p. 315. 1 Romæ: *D. M. P. Fannius Avilius Proculus fecit Titie Firmæ et P. Fannio Proculo parentibus bene merentibus et P. Fannio Primigenio liberto et Fannia Ranausidi libertis libertabusque posterisque eorum C. Antistio Vetere Manlio Valente cos.*

<sup>d</sup> col. 2 After this consulship at e are the wrong consuls; f, g, are omitted.

<sup>o</sup> col. 3 After these consuls, *Domitiano VI et Rufino* Victor.

<sup>t</sup> col. 3 *Trajanus et Glabrione* Victor.

<sup>y</sup> col. 3 *Domitiano IX et Clemente* Victor. The next two consulships are transposed in Prosper. Victorius agrees with Cassiodorus.

A. D.	CONSULS	Ol. Ind. y.	CHRON. PASCH.	CASSIODOR.
	<i>Domitian. ob.</i>		<i>His coss. Nerva ob.</i>	
97	<sup>A</sup> Nerva III et Rufus III	10.	1 <sup>B</sup> Trajanus solus	<sup>D</sup> Trajanus IV et Fronto <i>His coss. Domitian. occisus.</i> Trajanus V et Orphitus
98	<sup>B</sup> Nerva IV et Trajanus II <i>Nerva ob.</i>	11.	2 <sup>C</sup> Palma et Senecio	<sup>F</sup> Senecio II et Sura <i>His coss. Nerva perit.</i>
99	<sup>C</sup> Senecio II et Palma	12.	3 <sup>D</sup> Trajanus II et Pontianus	<sup>H</sup> Trajanus VI et Maximus Senecio III et Sura II
100	<sup>D</sup> Trajanus III et Fronto III	220.	13. 4 <sup>E</sup> Trajanus III et Pætus	<sup>G</sup> Urbanus et Marcellus
101	<sup>E</sup> Trajanus IV et Pætus	14.	5 Syrianus et Syrius	<sup>a</sup> Candidus et Quadratus
102	Sossius III et Sura II	15.	6 Trajanus IV et Maximus	<sup>b</sup> Commodus et Cerealis
103	<sup>G</sup> Saburranus II et Marcellus	1.	7 Syrianus II et Marcellus	<sup>c</sup> Senecio IV et Sura III
104	<sup>H</sup> Trajanus V et Maximus II	221.	2. 8 <sup>a</sup> Candidus et Quadratus	<sup>d</sup> Gallus et Bradua
105	<sup>a</sup> Candidus II et Quadratus II	3.	9 <sup>b</sup> Commodus et Ceratinus	Africanus et Crispinus
106	<sup>b</sup> Commodus et Cerealis	4.	10 <sup>c</sup> Syrianus III et Senecio II	Crispinus II et Solenus
107	<sup>c</sup> Sossius IV et Sura III	5.	11 <sup>d</sup> Gallus et Bradua	Piso et Rusticus
108	<sup>d</sup> Gallus et Bradua	222.	6. 12 <sup>e</sup> Palma et Tullus	<sup>h</sup> Trajanus VII et Africanus
109	<sup>e</sup> Palma II et Tullus	7.	13 <sup>f</sup> Orphitus et Priscianus	<sup>i</sup> Celsus et Crispinus
110	<sup>f</sup> Priscinus et Orfitus	8.	14 <sup>g</sup> Piso et Julianus	<sup>k</sup> Asta et Piso
111	<sup>g</sup> Piso et Bolanus	9.	15 <sup>h</sup> Trajanus V et Africanus	<sup>l</sup> Messala et Pedo
112	<sup>h</sup> Trajanus VI et Africanus	223.	10. 16 <sup>i</sup> Priscianus et Celsus	<sup>m</sup> Æmilium et Vetus
113	<sup>i</sup> Celsus II et Crispinus	11.	17 <sup>k</sup> Malsus et Vulciscus	<sup>n</sup> Niger et Apronianus
114	<sup>k</sup> Hasta et Vopiscus	12.	18 <sup>l</sup> Messala et Pedo	[Clarus et Alexander]
115	<sup>l</sup> Messala et Pedo	13.	19 <sup>m</sup> Ælianus et Veter	<sup>o</sup> Hadrianus et Salinator
116	<sup>m</sup> Ælius et Vetus		<i>His coss. Trajanus ob.</i>	<sup>p</sup> Hadrianus II et Rusticus
117	<sup>n</sup> Niger et Apronianus <i>Trajanus ob.</i>	224.	14. 1 <sup>n</sup> Apronianus et Niger	<sup>q</sup> Servilius et Fulvius
118	<sup>o</sup> Hadrianus II et Salinator	15.	2 <sup>o</sup> Hadrianus et Salinator	<i>His coss. Trajanus extinctus est.</i>
119	<sup>p</sup> Hadrianus III et Rusticus	1.	3 <sup>p</sup> Hadrianus II et Rusticius	<sup>r</sup> Verus et Augur
		2.	4 <sup>q</sup> Severus et Fulvus	
120	<sup>q</sup> Severus et Fulvus	225.	3. 5 <sup>r</sup> Severus II et Augurinus	

98 Muratori p. 315. 4 Romæ: C. Valerius C. lib. *Menander natus Nerva IIII cos. IIII Nonas Decembres vixit annis LX.*

101 Murat. p. 316. 1 Romæ: Cæs. Trajano N. IIII cos. ex rat. præ. Cæs. N. Ser. Clatiani.

110 Murat. p. 318. 1 Romæ: *Lentulo et Corvino Messala cos. qui hoc monumentum edificaverunt cum Ustrina L. Mælius Papia et Mælia Hilara et Rocius Surus et M. Casennius et Furius Bucconius hoc monumentum libertis libertabusque ut de nomine non exeat ita qui testamento scripti fuerunt Ser. Salvidieno Orfito M. Pæducaeo Priscino cos. iis liberti libertorum ad quos ea res pertinebat hoc monumentum negligentie curatum post multis annis restituerunt. Lollia Aprilis emit de L. Cornelio &c.—L. Flavio Silvano Pollione Verrucoso cos. [A. D. 81] aria [sic] emptæ de L. Octavio Spendonte quæ est contra eum monumentum quæ appellatur Veturiana et Cæciliana, longa P. XXII in agro P. XXIII, S. L. Mælius Successus qui cum Mælia Syntychen, matre sua semisse portionem habebat hujus ariæ peræquavit cum sociis suis ut omnibus communis set his qui S. SS. libertis libertabusq. posterisq. eorum ita qui testamento scripti fuerint. In altero latere: D. D. M. Aur. Aug. lib. Celadianus et Fl. Urbica comparaverunt sibi lib. libertabusque posterisque eorum H. M.*

D. M. A. For Flavio Silvano we may read Flavio Silva Non. that is, Flavio Silva Nonio. See an inscription quoted at A. D. 81, and the Tables at that year.

111 Mur. p. 318. 2 Romæ: *Servilia annorum XIII Pis. et Bol. cos.*

113 Mur. p. 319. 1 Romæ: *Celso II et Crispino cos. ex rat. Primigeni Cæsaris N. Ser. N. LXXXIV.*

115 Murat. p. 319. 2 Romæ: *Victoria M. . . . . socrum con. . . . . flaturæ arg. F. . . . . monete . . . &c.—dedicat . . . . . L. Vipstano Messala M. Vergiliano Pedone . . .*

<sup>m</sup> col. 3 *Æmiliano et Vetere Prosp.*

<sup>n</sup> col. 3 *Nigrino et Aproniano Prosp.* After this consulship *Clarus et Alexander* are also interpolated in Prosper and Victorius.

117 Muratori p. 319. 4 Romæ in figlina: *Op. dol. E. P. Q. Pomp. Janura. Nigro et Aproniano cos.*

119 Murat. p. 319. 5 ad ostia Tiberina: *Imp. Cæs. Hadriano III cos. exarat. testi. N. CCXXIX. p. 319. 6 Ibidem: Imp. Hadriano N. III cos. ex rat. test. N. CXLIIIX. p. 319. 7 Ibid. Imp. Cæs. Traj. Hadr. Aug. cos. ex a ratione marm. Rhod. num. CCX L. Juni Urvasi.* Muratori reads in all the three ex rat. for ex rationario.



A. D.	CONSULS	Ol. Ind. y.	CHRON. PASCH.	CASSIODOR.
121	<sup>r</sup> Verus II et Augurinus	4.	6 <sup>s</sup> Aviola et Pansa	<sup>s</sup> Aviola et Pansa
122	<sup>s</sup> Aviola et Pansa	5.	7 <sup>t</sup> Apronianus II et Pampinus	Paternus et Torquatus
123	<sup>t</sup> Pætinus et Apronianus	6.	8 <sup>v</sup> Glabrio et Torquatus	Glabrio et Apronianus
124	<sup>v</sup> Glabrio et Torquatus	226.	7. 9 <sup>w</sup> Asiaticus et Aquilinus	<sup>w</sup> Asiaticus et Quintus
125	<sup>w</sup> Asiaticus II et Aquilinus		8. 10 <sup>x</sup> Severus III et Ambibulus	<sup>x</sup> Verus et Ambiguus
126	<sup>x</sup> Verus III et Ambibulus		9. 11 <sup>y</sup> Titianus et Gallicanus	<sup>y</sup> Gallicanus et Titianus
127	<sup>y</sup> Gallicanus et Titianus		10. 12 <sup>z</sup> Torquatus et Libo	<sup>z</sup> Torquatus et Libo
128	<sup>z</sup> Torquatus II et Libo	227.	11. 13 <sup>a</sup> Marcellus et Celsus	<sup>a</sup> Celsus et Marcellinus
129	<sup>a</sup> Celsus II et Balbus		12. 14 <sup>b</sup> Catullinus et Libo II	<sup>c</sup> Pontianus et Rufinus
130	<sup>b</sup> Catullinus et Aper		13. 15 <sup>c</sup> Pontianus et Rufus	<sup>d</sup> Augurinus et Sergianus
131	<sup>c</sup> Pontianus et Rufinus		14. 16 <sup>d</sup> Augurinus et Sergianus	<sup>e</sup> Hiberus et Silanus
132	<sup>d</sup> Augurinus et Sergianus	228.	15. 17 <sup>e</sup> Iberius et Sisinnus	<sup>f</sup> Sergius II et Verus
133	<sup>e</sup> Hiberus et Sisenna		1. 18 <sup>f</sup> Severus et Varus	<sup>g</sup> Pompeianus et Atilianus
134	<sup>f</sup> Servianus III et Varus		2. 19 <sup>g</sup> Pontianus II et Aquilinus	<sup>h</sup> Pompeianus II et Commodus

123 Murat. p. 321. 3—11 Romæ: sc. 3 *Apron. et Pat. cos. PPB. salar. ex fig. L. Anni Veri.* 4 *Memmi Scepti Aproniano et Patin. cos.* 5 *Q. Oppi Verecundi dom. Lucill. Apron. et Patino cos.* 6 *L. Venuleio Apron. Q. Arrio Pat. cos. ex fig. . . . Anni Veri Salar. P. P. R. [lege Ventidio.]* (7 *Q. Oppi Verecundi dol. de dom. Lucill. Apron. et Patino cos. No 5 repeated.*) 8 *Apron. et Pat. cos. Coso. Herm.* 9 *Myrtilus dom. Lucili [lege Lucill.] Delio [lege dolio] Patin. et Apron. cos.* 10 *Ex fig. Cænt. C. Capetani Hermet. D. Patino et Apronian.* 11 *Ex fig. Q. Asin. Marcell. Opu. dol. C. Nunnidi Fortu. Pat. et Apro. cos. p. 322. 1—16. sc. 1 Romæ: Pat. et Apr. cos. Op. D. Dionys. Domiti Flucti.* 2 *Tibure: Peto et Aproniano cos. Q. Rusti. Q. L. Eutyc. opus dolear. prædia Heli.* 3 *Fæsulis: Opp. Dionys. Domit. P. F. Lucil. Pæ. et Apr. cos.* 4—16 Romæ: sc. 4 *cos. Patino et Apron. dol. ex fig. Anterotis Cæs. N. ser.* 5 *Dol. ex fig. Anterotis Cæs. N. ser. Patino et Aproni . . . cos.* 6 *Ex pr. Sent. Satr. Capio Pat. et Apron. cos.* 7 *Ex præd. P. L. Aug. Isini Pudent. Patin. et Apronia. cos.* 8 *Dol. ex præd. Cat. . . C. Aquili Aprilis Patino et Apronian cos.* 9 *Apr. et Pat. cos. ex f. Cromall. Sal. PPB.* 10 *Q. Oppius T. Op. dol. delic. dom. L. Petino et Apronia. cos.* 11 *Patino et Aproniano cos. M. Bas. Capioniana.* 12 *M. D. L. S. dol. delic. Patin. et Aproniano cos.* 13 *CLM CODDERL. Pæ-tino et Aproniano cos.* 14 *C. N. dom. Adjeco . . . SD. ex P. dom. Luc. Patino et Aproni. cos.* 15 *Dol. ex figa. et . . . is Cæs. N. S. Patino et Apronian. cos.* 16 *Ex f. Domit. Domi . . . IP. Patin. et Apron. cos.*

124 Mur. p. 322. 18 Romæ: *Dol. ex pr. C. Aquil. April. Glabr. et Torquat. cos.* Mur. p. 331. 1 *Pisauri Grut. p. 1024. 1 Arria L. f. Plaria Veræ Priscilla Flaminiæ M'Acili Glabronis cos. D. D. publice.* Improperly referred by Mur. to A. D. 152.

126 Mur. p. 323. 1 Romæ: *L. Bruttidi. Augustalis fec. opus dol. ex fig. Cæs. N. Prop. et Ambi. cos.* 323. 2 Romæ: *D. M. M. Ulpio Aug. lib. Mænophilo adjutori proc. Ap. ornamentis vivit ann. XXXV men. V. posuerunt P. Ælius Aug. lib. Mænophilus pater et Caminia Fortunata mater infelicissima et Julia Pas-serilla conjux pientissima ex decreto sociorum Anno*

*Vero III et Eggio Ambibulo cos.* The two inscriptions apud Norisium tom. 2 p. 940 quoted in the Tables at A. D. 126. 1 are justly rejected by Muratori as not describing a consul. Read therefore in the Tables *M. Annius Verus III Eggius Ambibulus.* Murat. p. 323. 3 *Cortonæ: Q. Oppi Pusti Fortunat. ser. fect. Vero III et Amb. cos.* 323. 4 Romæ: *Vero III et Ambibul. cos. ex P. Claudia Marcellinæ Regul.* 127 Mur. p. 323. 5 Romæ: *Tert. D. L. ex f. Can. op. dolii Tit. et Gall. cos.*

128 Murat. p. 323. 6 Romæ: *Ex pr. Q. Ser. Pudent. cur. hed. Torq. II et Libone cos.*

130 Mur. p. 323. 9 *Tibure: Catullino et Apro cos. opus dolear. Aeli Apollonophani Dilic. Cynosarg. Aug. N. F.* p. 324. 1 Romæ: *Q. Fab. Cat. M. Fla. Apr. cos. D. P. Q. Ser. Pud. Cured.*

131 Mur. p. 324. 2 Romæ: *Ex præd. Q. Ser. Pud. Suchedyts. Pontian. et Rufino cos.*

133 Murat. p. 324. 3 *Tibure: M. Antonio et Sisenna cos. ex P. Lucanoni. Hebet. Sc. M. Antonio Hiberno.* See below at A. D. 149.

A col. 3 This and the following consulships are thus given in Prosper and Victorius:

PROSPER	VICTORIUS
1 <i>Celso et Marcellino</i>	1 <i>Vetere et Valente</i>
2 <i>Catulino et Apro</i>	2 <i>Celso et Marcellino</i>
3 <i>Pontiano et Rufino</i>	3 <i>Augurino et Sergiano</i>
4 <i>Augurino et Sergiano.</i>	

b is omitted by Victorius and Cassiodorus.

c col. 3 Prosper p. 382 *Pontiano et Rufino* [A. D. 131] *Finis Cycli primi et sequentis exordium.* These are in Prosper the 85th consuls from *Tiberius II* [sc. *Claudius IV*] *et Vitellius* [A. D. 47] where his first cycle began.

f col. 3 *Sergiano II et Vero* Prosp. Victor.

134 Mur. p. 324. 4—12. Sc. 4 *Florentiæ: Serviano III cos. Sal. ex pr. L. Cimen.* 5 Romæ: *Ex fig. Domi VCODDION DOMIVSE Serviano III et Varo cos.* 6 *Tibure: Serviano III et Varo cos. ex figul. Dionysi et Festi ser. D. N.* 7 *Tibure: Serviano III et Varo cos. ex figul. P. Dionysi et Planci dom. Aug. ser.* 8 Romæ: *Ex fig. Caesar. O. D. Oppi*

A. D.	CONSULS	Ol. Ind. y.	CHRON. PASCH.	CASSIODOR.
135	<sup>g</sup> Pontianus et Atilianus		3. 20 <sup>h</sup> Commodus et Pontianus III	<sup>a</sup> Lælius et Albinus
136	<sup>h</sup> Commodus et Pompeianus	229.	4. 21 <sup>a</sup> Aelianus et Balbinus <i>His coss. Hadrian. ob.</i>	<sup>b</sup> Camerinus et Niger
137	<sup>a</sup> Elius Verus II et Balbinus		5. 1 <sup>b</sup> Camerinus et Niger	<sup>c</sup> Antoninus et Præsens
138	<sup>b</sup> Camerinus et Niger <i>Hadrian. ob.</i>		6. 2 <sup>c</sup> Antoninus et Præsentus	Antoninus II et Præsens II
139	<sup>c</sup> Antoninus II et Præsens II		7. 3 <sup>d</sup> Antoninus II et Verus	Severus et Silvanus
140	<sup>d</sup> Antoninus III et Aurelius	230.	8. 4 <sup>e</sup> Severus IV et Silanus	<sup>f</sup> Rufinus et Torquatus <i>His coss. Hadrian. moritur.</i>
141	<sup>e</sup> Siloga et Severus		9. 5 <sup>f</sup> Rufinus et Quadratus	<sup>g</sup> Torquatus II et Herodes
142	<sup>f</sup> Rufinus et Quadratus		10. 6 <sup>g</sup> Torquatus et Herodes	<sup>h</sup> Aviola et Maximus
143	<sup>g</sup> Torquatus et Herodes		11. 7 <sup>h</sup> Aviola et Maximus	<sup>i</sup> Antoninus III et Aurelius
144	<sup>h</sup> Avitus et Maximus	231.	12. 8 <sup>i</sup> Antoninus III et Aurelianus II	Gratus et Seleucus
145	<sup>i</sup> Antoninus IV et Aurelius II		13. 9 <sup>k</sup> Severus V et Verinus	Antoninus IV et Aurelius II
146	<sup>k</sup> Clarus II et Severus		14. 10 <sup>l</sup> Largus et Messalinus	<sup>l</sup> Largus et Messalinus
147	<sup>l</sup> Largus et Messalinus		15. 11 <sup>m</sup> Torquatus II et Julianus	<sup>m</sup> Torquatus III et Julianus
148	<sup>m</sup> Torquatus et Julianus	232.	1. 12 <sup>n</sup> Orphitus et Priscus	<sup>n</sup> Orphitus et Priscus
149	<sup>n</sup> Orphitus et Priscus		2. 13 <sup>o</sup> Glabrio et Veter	<sup>o</sup> Glabrio et Vetus

*Stabilis Serviano III et Varo. 9 Velitris: Serv. III cos. ex pr. Cl. Max. O. feg. fe. 10 Romæ: Ex fig. QAMODCNIN Fortunæ Serviano et Varo cos. 11 Romæ: ex fig. qa. M. OD. Ser. Graphici Serviliano III et Varo cos. 12 Romæ: ex fig. Arri Antonini C. . ndiniannau Servian. III et Varo cos.*

135 Murat. p. 325. 1 Albæ Juliæ in Transilvania: J. O. M. Junoni reg. Minervæ Jul. Bassus leg. Aur. trib. veteran. leg. XIII G. M. imper. pri. Idib. Decemb. Pontiano et Atelano [Atiliano] coss. milites facium. curar. 325. 2 Romæ: Op. dol. ex pr. Lucill. Fel. Cæ. fe. Pont. et Atilia. cos.

137 Muratori p. 325. 6 Tibure: L. Ael. Cæs. et Balbino cos. opus dolear. Aug. N. Q. Appi Verissimi et Oppi Mimita loc.

138 Murat. p. 325. 7 Romæ: Paristha ex pr. Liccio com. C. F. Nigro et Camerino cos. The same inscription is thus given p. 326. 1 OD Aristeia ex pr. L. Ocio com. C. F. Nigro &c.

139 Murat. p. 326. 2 Romæ: P. Petius Hilarus dedic. Kal. Jun. imp. T. Aelio Hadriano Aug. Pio II C. Bruttio Præsente II cos. Mur. p. 326. 4 Ephesi. After a fragment of a Greek inscription, which ends thus, φιλόθεε και φιλόανθρωπε Κάισαρ, κέλευσθαι δοθῆναι μοι τὰ ἀντίγραφα τῶν ὑπομνημάτων ὡς και ὁ θεός πα[τήρ σου] συνεχώρησεν, follows Imp. Cæs. T. Aelius Hadrianus Augustus Pius Sextilio Acutiano sententiam divi patris mei . . . si quid pro sententia dixit rescribere tibi permitto rescripsi recogn. undevicesimus act. VI Idus April. Romæ Cæs. . . . Antonino II et Præsente II cos. . . . is ἐσφραγισον ἐν Ῥώμῃ πρὸς τριῶν νωνῶν Μαίων αυτοκράτορι Κάισαρι Τ. Αἰλίῳ Ἀδριανῶ Ἀναγνείνῳ τὸ β Γαίῳ Βροντίῳ Πραίσειντι τὸ β ὑπάτοις. παρήσαν Τ. Φλ. Μακρεινὸς κ.τ.λ. At p. 327. 1 Muratori repeats 326. 2.

140 Murat. p. 327. 2 Romæ: Anton. Aug. III et Ver. cos. ex r. Eutyech. et Hermetis loc. Hecat. 327. 3 Romæ: Ex pr. dom. Lucill. O. D. ser. modes. imp. Antoni. et Vero cos.

141 Murat. p. 327. 4 Romæ: Silvano Aug. sacrum

C. Julius Castrensia ex voto. Dedic. VIII Kal. Jun. T. Hænio Severo M. Paduceo Siloga cos.

142 Muratori p. 327. 5 Romæ: Ex fig. Asinia Quadratilla O. D. C. Nunnidi Fortunat. Lucio Quadrato cos.

143 Mur. p. 327. 6 Tibure: Curantibus M. Antonio Floro C. Vecilio Karo III vir. dedicat. X Kal. Mart. C. Bellicio Torquato Ti. Claudio Attico cos. p. 327. 7 Romæ: D. M. Phæbus qui et Tormogus Hispanus natus Segisamone III K. Martias C. Bellicio Torquato Ti. Claudio Attico Herode cos. defunctus IIII Nonas Augustas Q. Mustio Prisco M. Pontio Læliano cos. Phæbion. et Primigenia filio karissimo filio dulcissimo fecerunt. Priscus and Lælianus are probably consules suffecti.

144 Murat. p. 328. 1 Florentiæ. Also in Gruter p. 301 militum laterculus. Referring to A. D. 143, 144. Torquato et Attico cos. FC. L. Vibius Secundus Aquil. &c. Avito et Maximo cos. C. Julius Primitivus Amitern. &c. Torquato et Attico cos. Sex. Bæbius Secundus Ticino &c. Avito et Maximo cos. Sp. L. Atilius Terentianus Bonon. &c. Torquato et Attico cos. C. Septicius Crispinus Amitern. &c. Avito et Maximo cos. Sp. T. Cæsernius Festinus Emona &c.

148 Mur. p. 329. 3 in via Flaminia. A mutilated inscription: . . . . LIVM. P. . LA . . . rum marmoribus ornatum . . . . ratam clipeo posito in curia ex arg. &c. At the end, posuit [Torqu]ato et Salvio Juliano coss. p. 330. 1 in Heilbronnensi oppido: Fortunæ respicienti sacr. Nasellius Proclianus leg. VIII Aug. prepositus cohort. I Helvetiorum Torquato et Juliano cos. V. S. L. L. M.

149 Murat. p. 330. 2 Romæ: L. Balbilius Numitorianus natus pr. Idus Maias Antonio Hiberno et Nummio Sisenna cos. [A. D. 133] decessit VII K. Januarias Orfito et Prisco cos. q. viz. an. XVII m. VII d. XII. Numitoria Cleopatra mater infelicissima fecit. The true interval requires that we should read viz. an. XVI.



A. D.	CONSULS	Ol. Ind. y.	CHRON. PASCH.	CASSIODOR.
150	°Gallicanus et Vetus		3. 14 P	P Gordianus et Maximus
151	P Condianus et Maximus		4. 15 q	q Glabrio II et Jumilius
152	q Glabrio et Homullus	233.	5. 16 r	r Præsens et Rufus
153	r Præsens et Rufinus		6. 17 s	s Commodus et Lateranus
154	s Commodus et Lateranus		7. 18 t	t Severus et Sabinus
155	t Severus et Sabinianus		8. 19 v	v Silvanus et Augurinus
156	v Silvanus et Augurinus	234.	9. 20 w	w Barbarus et Regulus
157	w Barbarus et Regulus		10. 21 x	x Tertullus et Sacerdos
158	x Tertullus et Sacerdos		11. 22 y	y Quintillus et Priscus
159	y Quintilius II et Priscus		12. 23 z	z Verus II et Bradua
160	z Bradua et Varus	235.	13. 1	^ Antoninus V et Aurelius III
161	^ Aurelius III et Commodus II		14. 2	[Post Cons. Antonin. VI et Comm. IV]
	<i>Antoninus ob.</i>			<i>Antoninus moritur.</i>
162	B Rusticus et Aquilinus		15. 3	[Duo Augusti]
163	C Lælianus et Pastor		1. 4	B Rusticus et Aquilinus

150 Mur. p. 330. 4 Romæ: *Ex pr. L. Æli Aug. Pii f. op. doliar. Aristio Success. Gallic. et Veter. cos.*

151 Mur. p. 330. 5 Algeziræ in Hispania. Quoted by Reimar ad Dionem in the Tables A. D. 151. 1. The Inscription begins thus: *L. Herennio Herenniano L. Cornelius Herennius Rusticus nepos ex testamento posuit Nonis Martiis Ser. Quintillo &c.*

152 Mur. p. 330. 6 Romæ tesserae in lamina ærea ex Hispania delatæ: *M. Licinio Crasso L. Calpurnio Pisone cos. [A. D. 27] IIII KL. Maias gentilitas Desoncorum ex gente Zoelarum et gentilitas Tridiavorum ex gente idem Zoelarum hospitium vetustum antiquom renovaverunt eique omnes Alisalium in fidem clientelamque suam suorumque liberorum posteriorumque receperunt. egerunt Arausabii Cæni et Turanus &c. per Abienum Pentili magistratum Zoelarum actum curanda Glabrione et Homullo cos. V Idus Julias idem gentilitas Desoncorum et gentilitas Triadavorum in eandem clientelam eadem fœdera receperunt ex gente Avolgorum Sempronium Perpetuum Orniacum et ex gente Visaligorum Antonium Arquium et ex gente Gabruagenorum Flavium Frononem Zoelas. egerunt L. Domitius Silo et F. Flavius Severus Asturicæ. p. 331. 2 Romæ: *Glabrione Omullo cos. ex rat. L. Zel. N. CXXCIII.* p. 331. 3 Romæ: *Dianæ Lucinæ invictæ Cn. Pompeius Cn. L. Barbius procurat. tubicin. Rom. voto suscepto L. M. D. III Kal. . . . et Omullo cos.**

154 Murat. p. 331. 5 Lubianæ: *L. Aelio Aug. f. Commodo cos. D. D.* p. 331. 6 Cestriæ: *J. O. M. Tanaro T. Elupius Galer. Præsens Guntia. pri. leg. XX V. V. Commodo et Laterano coss. V. S. L. M.* p. 331. 7 Romæ: *P. Lucili Culvin. opus dol. ex p. I. Luci. . . . lovini. Commod. et Læterano cos.*

155 Murat. p. 332. 1 Ancyra: Γ. Ἰούλιον Γ. υἱὸν Φαβία Σεουήρον γενόμενον πρῶτον μὲν πεντεκαίδεκαδρον τῶν ἐκδικαζόντων τὰ πράγματα ὑπὸ δημοσίῳ τιμηθέντα χιλίαρχον λεγεῶνος δ' Ἐσκυθικῆς ταμίαν κανδίδατον δήμαρχον κανδίδατον ἱερέ[α] εἶ καὶ ἕναδρον ἐπὶ τὸ ἱεροποιῶν στρατηγὸν οὐρβανον πρεσβευτήν λεγεῶνος Ἰούλπιος Νικηφόρου ἐπιμελητὴν ὁδοῦ Ἀππίας ὑπατον [sc. A. D. 155] πρεσβ.

ἀντιστράτηγον Συρίας Παλαιστίνης Τρέβιος Κόκκειος Ἀλεξανδρος τὸν ἑαυτοῦ εὐεργέτην. p. 332. 2 Neapoli: Given from Gruter in the Tables A. D. 155. 2.

157 Mur. p. 332. 3 In Dacia: *Herculi Aug. Valer. M. Felix Rufi Saturnini G. P. P. T. P. ex pr. IV stationis Tsiernen. IIII Id. anno XI Barbato [sic] et Regulo cos. ex voto posuit.* p. 333. 1 Præneste: in altera facie *Domus C. Valeri Hermaisci templum Serapis schola Faustiana fecit. C. Valerius Hermaiscus dedic. Idib. Dec. Barbaro et Regulo coss.*

159 Mur. p. 333. 2 Romæ: *Quintillo et Prisco cos. of. ex pra. Plauti Aquilin.* p. 333. 3 Carthagenæ: *C. Apsion. A. Cælio Illiano Maximo æd. sacr. . . . . ded. . . . Sept. Quintillio Prisco cos.* The inscription given in the Tables A. D. 159. 2 from Gruter was examined by Muratori at Milan, and he found it written *Eidib. Januar. Plautio Quintilio II Statio Prisco cos.*

160 Mur. p. 333 Lugduni; in anteriori facie *Taurobolio matris D. M. Id. quod factum est ex imperio matris D. Deum pro salute imperatoris Cæs. T. Aeli Hadriani Antonini Aug. Pii p. p. liberorumque ejus et status colonia Lugdun. L. Æmilius Carpus IIII Vir Aug. item dendrophorus vires excepit et a Vaticano translulit ara et bucranium suo inpendio consecravit sacerdote Q. Sammio Secundo ab XV viris occabo et corona exornato cui sanctissimus ordo Lugdunens. perpetuitatem sacerdoti decrevit App. Annio Atilio Bradua T. Clod. Vibio Varo cos. D. D. D.* In altero latere: *Cujus mesonyctium factum est V Id. Dec.*

r col. 3 *Præsente et Rufino Prosp.*

161 Murat. p. 334. 1 Puteolis: in anteriori facie *Tannonio Boionio Chrysantio puero egregio ab origine patrono ordinis et populi ob ejus insigne meritum universus ordo et populus statum digno curaverunt.* In latere: *Locus datus ex auctoritate Flavi Longini cl. V. cur. P. adsignata M. Valerio Pudente IIvir. curat. X Kal. April. imp. Cæsare M. Aurelio Antonino Aug. III et imp. Cæsare L. Aurelio Vero Aug. II cos.*

163 Mur. p. 335. 2 in Callæcia: *J. O. M. pro salute M. Aurelii Antonini et Aurelii Veri Augustorum*

A. D.	CONSULS	Ol. Ind. y.	CHRON. PASCH.	CASSIODOR.
164	<sup>D</sup> Macrinus et Celsus	236.	2. 5 <sup>D</sup> Macrinus et Celsus	<sup>C</sup> Laelianus et Pastor
165	<sup>E</sup> Pudens et Orfitus		3. 6 <sup>E</sup> Orphitus et Pudens	<sup>D</sup> Macrinus et Celsus
166	<sup>F</sup> Pudens et Pollio		4. 7 <sup>F</sup> Pudens II et Pollio	<sup>E</sup> Orfitus et Pudens
167	<sup>G</sup> Aurelius III et Quadratus		5. 8 <sup>G</sup> Aurelius III et Quadratus	<sup>F</sup> Pudens II et Pollio
168	<sup>H</sup> Apronianus et Paulus	237.	6. 9 <sup>H</sup> Apronianus et Paulus	<sup>G</sup> Verus III et Quadratus
169	<sup>A</sup> Priscus et Apollinaris		7. 10 <sup>A</sup> Priscus et Apollinaris	<sup>H</sup> Apronianus et Paulus
170	<sup>B</sup> Cethegus et Clarus		8. 11 <sup>B</sup> Cethegus et Clarus	<sup>A</sup> Priscus et Apollinaris
171	<sup>C</sup> Severus et Herennianus		9. 12 <sup>C</sup> Severus et Herennianus	<sup>B</sup> Cethegus et Clarus
172	<sup>D</sup> Maximus et Orfitus	238.	10. 13 <sup>D</sup> Orphitus II et Maximus	<sup>C</sup> Severus et Herennianus
173	<sup>E</sup> Severus II et Pompeianus		11. 14 <sup>E</sup> Severus II et Pompeianus	<sup>D</sup> Orfitus et Maximus
174	<sup>F</sup> Gallus et Flaccus		12. 15 <sup>F</sup> Gallus et Flaccus	<sup>E</sup> Severus II et Pompeianus
175	<sup>G</sup> Piso et Julianus		13. 16 Orphitus III et Rufus	<sup>F</sup> Gallus et Flaccus
176	<sup>H</sup> Pollio II et Aper II	239.	14. 17 <sup>H</sup> Pollio et Aper	<sup>G</sup> Piso et Julianus
177	<sup>I</sup> Commodus et Quintillus		15. 18 <sup>I</sup> Commodus et Quintillus	<sup>H</sup> Pollio et Aper
178	<sup>K</sup> Orfitus et Rufus		1. 19 <sup>K</sup> Orphitus IV et Rufus II	<sup>I</sup> Commodus et Quintillus
			<i>His cons. Marcus ob.</i>	
179	<sup>L</sup> Commodus II et Verus II		2. 1 <sup>L</sup> Commodus II et Verus	<sup>K</sup> Orfitus et Rufus
180	<sup>M</sup> Præsens II et Gordianus	240.	3. 2 <sup>M</sup> Præsens et Gordianus	<sup>L</sup> Commodus II et Verus II

*ob natale Aqu . . . a vexillarior. leg. VII Ge. sub cura Licini Pater. 7 leg. ejusd. . . mili . . . . Augustorum lib. proc. et Lucreti Paterni decan. coh. I Cel. et Baticæ Fab. Martian. bis proc. Augustor. et Juli Juli ante-signan. leg. ejusd. IIII Idus Junias L. Æliano [recte Mur. Læliano] et Pastore cos.*

164 Mur. p. 335. 4 Anagninæ: C. R. Tito F. Vitale frat. F. C. T. R. V N. Oct. Macrino et Celso cos. p. 335. 5 In agro Tiburtino: Mattuciae L. F. Pompeio Macrino cos. p. 335. 6 Romæ: Ovrinus Augustor. N. ser. pel. . . . Nymphas posuit puteum inst. . . legis D. D. quod dedicatum e. . . M. Pompeio Macrino P. Juven. . . . . p. 336. 1 Romæ: M. Pompeio Macri. P. Juven. Cel. cos. ex pr. Plauti Aquil. DO. Gruter therefore in the Tables A. D. 164. 1 is improperly quoted for the name of *Macrinus*.

166 Murat. p. 336. 2 Romæ: *Serbilio Pudente et Fufidio Pollione cos. cæsura Cia. Hier. Attici et Apolloni Lupi.*

167 Murat. p. 336. 3 in Callæcia: *Pro salute M. Aurelii Antonini Pii et Aurelii Veri Augustorum ob natales signor. vexillarior. coh. III Celtib. &c.—Idib. Octobris imp. Aurelio Vero III et Quadrato cos.*

168 Mur. p. 336. 4 Romæ: *Herculi victori pollenti potenti invicto D. D. L. M. C. Ulpius Fronto viator dedic. III I. Jul. L. Vettio Paulo T. Junio Montano cos.* As the colleague of *Paulus* is called *Apronianus* in all the authorities, either he was named *T. Junius Montanus Apronianus*, or these were *consules suffecti* in some year unknown.

169 Murat. p. 336. 5. 6 Arimini: *Aureliæ Calligeniæ Tib. Sabiniani pudentissimæ honorificentissimæq. femine col. fabb. splendidissimæ civitatis Ariminensium ob munificentiam in se. . . . trisq. collatam. L. D. D. D. Dedicat. Idib. Jan. Q. Sosio Prisco Senecione P. Cælio Apollinare cons. cujus dedicat. sing. D. D. HS. N. IIII.*

c col. 2 At this consulship Chron. Pasch. p. 257 D anno 133° από τῆς εἰς οὐρανοῦς ἀναλήψεως τοῦ Κυρίου.

161 A col. 2. 3 For the interpolations after this consulship see the Tables A. D. 161. 1.

G col. 3 *Vero IV et Quadrato* Prosp. Victor.

H col. 3 In Prosper p. 384 these consuls are inserted twice: *Aproniano et Paulo*.—*Aproniano et Paulo*. An error of the transcriber. Victorius agrees with Cassiodorus.

173 Muratori p. 337. 4 Tibure: *M. Popilio M. f. Quir. Fausto Lucilio sodali Titiali et sodali Ælian. . . Hadrianali et Antoniali et Faustianis. vixit ann. LXXXVI mens. VII d. VI h. VIII C. Popilius M. f. Quirina Caponianus fili indulgentiss. pos. Kal. Septemb. M. Aurelio Severo II Ti. Claudio Pompeiano cos.* Panvinus p. 347 seems to suppose *Pompeianus* to be the son-in-law of *Marcus*. But the son-in-law of *Marcus*, (who was twice consul: Capitolin. Marco c. 20 *filiam suam Claudio Pompeiano dedit, quem postea bis consulem fecit*), was consul for the first time in A. D. 176, when he was a *consul suffectus*. See the Tables A. D. 175. 2. *Pompeianus* therefore in A. D. 173 is another person.

175 *Julianus* is mentioned by Suidas p. 863 D Δαμόφιλος φιλόσοφος, σοφιστής, ὃν ἀνεθρέψατο Ἰουλιανὸς ὁ ἐπὶ Μάρκου τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπατος.

176 Muratori p. 339. 2 Aostæ in Delphinatu: *Pro salute imp. Cæs. M. Aur. Antonini Aug. tectum porticus cum suis columnis et pænul. duab. et oper. tect. Ser. Vireius Sextus decur. D. S. P. D. Pollione II et Apro II cos.*

178 Murat. p. 339. 3 J. O. M. *Nymphis C. Sp. L. Novirius Camerinus Optio leg. XXII pr. P. F. V. S. L. L. M. Orfito et Rufo cos.*

(180 Murat. p. 339. 5 In Lavarete agri Aquilani: *C. Brutti Præsensis I. . . . uxor C. Brutti Præsensis cos. mater Æsculapio ex argento P. C. testamento fieri jussit C. Bruttius Præsensis II cos. et her. posuit.* Muratori on account of this inscription rejects Gruter quoted in the Tables A. D. 180. 1 as spurious or in-



A. D.	CONSULS	Ol. Ind. y.	CHRON. PASCH.	CASSIODOR.
	<i>Marcus ob.</i>			<i>His coss. Marcus periit.</i>
181	<sup>n</sup> Commodus III et Burrus	4.	3 <sup>n</sup> Commodus III et Verus II	<sup>m</sup> Præsens et Gordianus
182	<sup>o</sup> Mamertinus et Rufus	5.	4 <sup>o</sup> Mamertinus et Rufus III	<sup>n</sup> Commodus III et Burrus
183	<sup>p</sup> Commodus IV et Victorinus II	6.	5 <sup>p</sup> Commodus IV et Victorinus	<sup>o</sup> Mamertinus et Rufus
184	<sup>q</sup> Marullus et Ælianus	241. 7.	6 <sup>q</sup> Marcellus et Ælianus	<sup>p</sup> Commodus IV et Victorinus
185	<sup>r</sup> Maternus et Bradua	8.	7 <sup>r</sup> Maternus et Bradua	<sup>q</sup> Marullus et Ælianus
186	<sup>s</sup> Commodus V et Glabrio II	9.	8 <sup>s</sup> Commodus V et Glabrio	<sup>r</sup> Maternus et Bradua
187	<sup>t</sup> Crispinus et Ælianus	10.	9 <sup>t</sup> Crispinus et Ælianus	<sup>s</sup> Commodus V et Glabrio
188	<sup>v</sup> Fuscianus II et Silanus II	242. 11.	10 <sup>v</sup> Fuscianus et Silanus	<sup>t</sup> Crispinus et Ælianus
189	<sup>w</sup> Silanus et Silanus	12.	11 <sup>x</sup> Commodus VI et Septimianus	<sup>v</sup> Fuscianus et Silanus
190	<sup>x</sup> Commodus VI et Septimianus	13.	12 <sup>z</sup> Commodus VII et Pertinax	<sup>w</sup> Duo Silani
			<i>His coss. Commodus ob.</i>	
191	<sup>y</sup> Apronianus et Bradua	14.	1 <sup>A</sup> Flaccus et Clarus	Commodus VI et Septimianus
192	<sup>z</sup> Commodus VII et Pertinax II	243. 15.	1 <sup>B</sup> Severus et Sabinus	<sup>y</sup> Apronianus et Bradua
	<i>Commodus ob.</i>			
193	<sup>A</sup> Falco et Clarus	1.	2 <sup>C</sup> Tertullus et Clemens	<sup>z</sup> Commodus VII et Pertinax
	<i>Pertinax ob.</i>			<i>His coss. Comm. strangulatur.</i>
194	<sup>B</sup> Severus II et Albinus II	2.	3 <sup>D</sup> Dexter et Priscus	<sup>A</sup> Falco et Clarus
				<i>His coss. Pert. occiditur.</i>
195	<sup>C</sup> Tertullus et Clemens	3.	4 <sup>E</sup> Lateranus et Rufinus	<sup>B</sup> Severus et Albinus
196	<sup>D</sup> Dexter II et Priscus	244. 4.	5 <sup>F</sup> Saturninus et Gallus	<sup>C</sup> Tertullus et Clemens
197	<sup>E</sup> Lateranus et Rufinus	5.	6 <sup>G</sup> Anulinus et Fronto	<sup>D</sup> Dexter et Priscus
198	<sup>F</sup> Saturninus et Gallus	6.	7 <sup>H</sup> Severus II et Victorinus	<sup>E</sup> Lateranus et Rufinus
199	<sup>G</sup> Anulinus II et Fronto	7.	8 <sup>A</sup> Mucianus et Fabianus	<sup>F</sup> Saturninus et Gallus

accurate, and concludes that the consul of this year was *C. Bruttius Præsens II*. But *C. Bruttius Præsens cos.* in this inscription is rather *Præsens* consul in A. D. 153, whose father and mother are here mentioned; and the sense seems to require that we should read *C. Bruttius Præsensis f. cos. et her.* that is, *filius et heres*. On the inscription in Gruter p. 1095. 1 (quoted in the Tables) Norisius tom. 2 p. 975 remarks "erronee exscripta aut suppleta est. ibi enim *Agrippina Augusta* nomen perperam insertum est [instead of *Crispina*].—Ex illo tamen quamvis depravato intelligitur prænomen Bruttii." Which opinion seems reasonable.)

182 Mur. p. 340. 1 Florentiæ. In anteriori facie: *Q. Tersina Q. f. Scap. Lupus Floren. miles coh. XII urb. 7 Dextri genium centuriæ cum base marmorea testamento poni jussit.* In dextro latere: *Posita Idib. April. Mamertino et Rufo cos.*

185 Mur. p. 343. 1 in Valentia: *M. Cornelio M. f. Gal. Nigrino Curiatio Materno cos. leg. Aug. pr. pr. provinc. Mæsia et cunc. Syria.* p. 343. 2 Smyrnæ: *Νεωκόρος Σμυρναίων δήμος ἐτίμησεν Μάρκον Ἀτίλιον Βραδούα τὸν ἀνθύπατον ἐπιμεληθέντος Μάρκου Ἀθηλίου Περπέρου τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν ὄπλων στρατηγού.* There is no reason for referring this last inscription to the consul of 185 rather than to the consul of 191.

190 Murat. p. 343. 4 Colonia: *J. O. M. et genio loci et Rheno Cl. Marcellinus BI cos.* [forte *BF. cos.*] *V. S. L. M. imp. Commodo VI cos.*

<sup>v</sup> col. 2 The consulships <sup>w-y</sup>— are omitted in Chron. Pasch.

<sup>m, n</sup> col. 3 These two consulships are contracted

by Prosper into one: *Præsente et Burro*, p. 385.

191 Murat. p. 344. 1 (and imperfectly in Gruter p. 16. 9) (Spoleti Gruter) Salonæ: *J. O. M. Q. Raonius Diodorus ex voto posuit libes merito IIII Idus Maias Aproniano et Bradua coss.* In Gruter: *..proniano et P. P. du. cos.* p. 344. 3 Romæ: *Item auxit salvo imp. L. Sep. Severo Per. Pio Fel. Aug. N. M. Cæcilius M. f. Jul. Rufus concord. 7 leg. III Cyrenaica ex corniculario Æli Juliani pr. vig. . . tetrastylum nymphæum crateram cum columella et altarium cum columella marmorea et aliam columellam item orbiculum cum columella et crateram ornavit J. D. D. D. dedicavit per Clodium Catullum pr. vig. adsistente Orbio Lætiano sub pr. et Castricio Honorato trib. coh. II vig. . . . pr. Kal. Aug. Aproniano et Bradua cos. . . . C. A. Herculanio Liberale V. A.* Begun in this year, completed in the reign of *Severus*.

192 Mur. p. 345. 1. Given already in the Tables A. D. 192 from Gruter and Panvinius.

193 Compare the inscriptions of *Pertinax* given above at p. 31, and of *Caracalla* N° 29.

196 Murat. p. 346. 2 Mediolani: *Mercurio lucrorum potenti et conservator. sacr. C. Gemellius C. fil. Ouf. Valerianus IIIIvir A. P. pref. J. D. cum Cilonia Secunda conjuge et Gemellio Valeriano Secundo et Valeria liberis suis ex voto donum posuit et dedicavit L. D. D. D.* Ex altero latere: *Dedicata III I. Junias Dextro II et Fusco cos.* Muratori p. 346 conjectures either that *Priscus* also bore the name of *Fuscus*, or that *Fuscus* was a *consul suffectus* of this year.

198 See N° 28 of the inscriptions of *Caracalla*.

<sup>z</sup> col. 2 Under this consulship Chron. Pasch. re-

A. D.	CONSULS	Ol. Ind. y.	CHRON. PASCH.	CASSIODOR.
200	<sup>h</sup> Severus et Victorinus	245.	8. 9 <sup>b</sup> Severus III et Antoninus	<sup>g</sup> Anulinus et Fronto
201	<sup>a</sup> Fabianus et Mucianus		9. 10 <sup>c</sup> Plautianus et Geta	<sup>h</sup> Severus II et Victorinus
202	<sup>b</sup> Severus III et Antoninus		10. 11 <sup>d</sup> Chilo et Libo	<sup>a</sup> Fabianus et Mucianus
203	<sup>c</sup> Geta et Plautianus II		11. 12 <sup>e</sup> Antoninus II et Geta II	<sup>b</sup> Severus III et Antoninus
204	<sup>d</sup> Cilo et Libo	246.	12. 13 <sup>f</sup> Albinus et Æmilianus	<sup>c</sup> Geta et Plautianus
205	<sup>e</sup> Antoninus II et Geta		13. 14 <sup>g</sup> Aper et Maximus	<sup>d</sup> Cilo et Libo
206	<sup>f</sup> Albinus et Æmilianus		14. 15 <sup>h</sup> Antoninus III et Geta III	<sup>e</sup> Antoninus II et Geta II
207	<sup>g</sup> Aper et Maximus		15. 16 <sup>i</sup> Pompeianus et Attus	<sup>f</sup> Albinus et Ælianus
208	<sup>h</sup> Antoninus III et Geta II	247.	1. 17 <sup>k</sup> Faustinus et Rufinus	<sup>g</sup> Aper et Maximus
209	<sup>i</sup> Pompeianus et Avitus		2. 18 <sup>l</sup> Gentianus et Bassus	<sup>h</sup> Antoninus III et Geta III
210	<sup>k</sup> Faustinus et Rufinus		3. 19 <sup>m</sup> Aper II et Aper	<sup>i</sup> Pompeianus et Avitus
			<i>His coss. Sev. ob.</i>	
211	<sup>l</sup> Gentianus et Bassus <i>Severus ob.</i>		4. 1 <sup>n</sup> Antoninus IV et Albinus	<sup>k</sup> Faustinus et Rufus
212	<sup>m</sup> Asper II et Asper	248.	5. 2 <sup>o</sup> Messala et Sabinus	<sup>l</sup> Gentianus et Bassus <i>His coss. Severus moritur.</i>
213	<sup>n</sup> Antoninus IV et Balbinus II		6. 3 <sup>p</sup> Lentulus et Cerealis	<sup>m</sup> Duo Aspri
214	<sup>o</sup> Messala et Sabinus		7. 4 <sup>q</sup> Sabinus II et Anulinus	<sup>n</sup> Antoninus et Balbinus
215	<sup>p</sup> Lætus II et Cerealis		8. 5 <sup>r</sup> Præsens et Extricatus	<sup>o</sup> Messala et Sabinus
216	<sup>q</sup> Sabinus II et Anulinus	249.	9. 6 <sup>s</sup> Antoninus V et Adventus	<sup>p</sup> Lætus et Cerealis
217	<sup>r</sup> Præsens et Extricatus II <i>Caracalla ob.</i>		10. 7 <sup>t</sup> Antoninus VI et Sacerdos	<sup>q</sup> Sabinus II et Venustus
			<i>His coss. Caracalla ob.</i>	
218	<sup>s</sup> Macrinus et Adventus		11. 1 <sup>v</sup> Antoninus et Comazon	<sup>r</sup> Præsens et Extricatus

cords the death of *Pertinax*, and under A. the death of *Julianus*.

200 See N<sup>o</sup> 8 of the inscriptions of *Severus*.

201 Murat. p. 348. 4 Vindobonæ: *Pro sal. dom. NN. L. Sept. Sever. et M. Aur. Antonini et \* \* \* Cas. Augg. cult. Jovis. Dedic. VIII K. Aug. Muciano et Fabiano cos.* On the name erased see the Tables A. D. 197. 1.

202 Murat. p. 348. 7 Romæ fragmentum marmoreum: *Imp. Cas. L. Sep. Severo Pio Pertin. Aug. N. III et imp. M. Aurelio Antonino Aug. fil. cos.* See also N<sup>o</sup> 34 of the inscriptions of *Severus*.

204 Muratori p. 350. 2 Romæ: *P. Cælio Apollinare cos. P. R. C. A. DCCCCXXII [A. D. 169] Q. Clodius Marcellus cooptatus. T. Aelio Cilone II Flabio Libone ... P. R. C. A. DCCCCL ... M. Valerius Pætus Aquil ... cooptatus. C. Julio [sic leg.] Aspro II C. Julio Aspro ... P. R. C. A. DCCCCLV. [A. D. 212] L. Julius Faustianus cooptatus. Aug. III et Coma[zonte] ... P. R. C. A. DCCCCLXX ... [A. D. 220] ... p. 350. 1 Romæ: *XL. L. Fab. Cil. M. Ann. Lib. cos.**

205 Mur. p. 351. 1 Romæ in cœmeterio Callisti. An inscription inaccurately transcribed, which ends in this manner: *Aur. Januarius factus dec. in provinc. Syria Foinicia et Aurel. Maximinus fact. dec. in prov. Dalmatia sub Mæcio Læto et Æmilio Papiniano pp. pp. Mem. Octavio Pisone et Valerio Herculano tribb. equit. sing. DDD. NNN. Auggg. [lege DD. NN. Augg.] et Ælio Flaviano et Aur. Lupo et Ulpio Pæto 7. 77 exercitator. Dedic. Imp. [lege Imp.] M. Aurelio Antonino II it [et legendum cum Muratorio] P. Septimio Geta coss. V Kal. Junias. Geta was not Augustus till A. D. 209, after his second consulship.*

209 Mur. p. 352. 5 Romæ: *Aurelio Muciano mil. coh. V pr. Barbati militare cepit Pompeianus et Avito cos. ann. XV vixit ann. XLV natus Tremonia. Cl. Paulina cojugi karissimo ex testamento fecit.*

212 Mur. p. 353. 1 prope Grottaferratam: *Asper bis cosul præfectus Urbi.* One of the brothers is commemorated in the following inscriptions apud Norisium Ep. Syromac. p. 184. 185 in basi grandiori, via Latina, XI ab urbe lapide: *C. Julio Aspro cos. prætori curatori via Appie sodali Augustali trib. pl. pr. quæstori prov. Africae curatori ædium sacr. Sex. Umidius amico incomparabili.* Alterum epigramma eodem loco erutum: *.. Julio Cn. f. Po. Aspro pr. tr. plebis quæst. provincie Africae Cornelius . . . . amico incomparabili.* The sister of their father is named in another apud Muratorium p. 353. 2 Romæ: *Julie Juliana sorori Aspri.* On these inscriptions conf. Corsin. præf. urb. p. 111—113.

<sup>e</sup> col. 3 *Antonino II et Geta Prosp.*

<sup>k</sup> col. 3 *Faustino et Rufino Prosp. Victor.*

213 Murat. p. 353. 3 in arce Tarraconensi: *Aucto-ritate imp. Cas. M. Aurelii Antonini Pii Felic. Aug. Parthic. max. Brit. max. pont. max. et decreto coll. XV sac. fac. Servius Calpurnius Domitius Dexter promagist. aram Circes sanctissimæ restituit. Dedicat. XVII K. Jul. imp. Antonino Aug. IIII Balbino II cos.*

218 Murat. p. 354. 1 Romæ: *Diana Cariciana. M. Aurelius Caricus Aquarius hujus loc. cum libertis et alumnis M. D. . . . . D. Aug. et Dedic. Idib. Aug. Oclatino Advento cos.* This inscription confirms the Fasti Græci quoted in the Tables A. D. 218. 1.



A. D.	CONSULS	Ol. Ind. y.	CHRON. PASCH.	CASSIODOR.
	<i>Macrinus ob.</i>		<i>His coss. Macrinus ob.</i>	
219	<sup>t</sup> Antoninus II et Sacerdos II	12.	1 <sup>w</sup> Gratus et Seleucus	<sup>s</sup> Antoninus et Adventus <i>His coss. Antoninus interficitur.</i>
220	<sup>v</sup> Antoninus III et Comazon	250. 13.	2 <sup>x</sup> Antoninus II et Alexander	<sup>t</sup> Antoninus II et Sacerdos <i>His coss. Macrinus occiditur.</i>
221	<sup>w</sup> Gratus et Seleucus	14.	3 <sup>y</sup> Maximus et Ælianus	<sup>v</sup> Antoninus III et Comazon
222	<sup>x</sup> Antoninus IV et Alexander <i>Elagabalus ob.</i>	15.	4 <sup>z</sup> Flavianus et Crispinus <i>His coss. Heliog. ob.</i>	<sup>w</sup> Gratus et Seleucus
223	<sup>y</sup> Maximus II et Ælianus	1.	1 <sup>A</sup> Fuscianus et Dexter	<sup>x</sup> Alexander et Augustus
224	<sup>z</sup> Julianus II et Crispinus	251. 2.	2 <sup>B</sup> Alexander II et Marcellus	<sup>y</sup> Maximus et Ælianus <i>His coss. Heliog. occiditur.</i>
225	<sup>A</sup> Fuscus II et Dexter	3.	3 <sup>C</sup> Albinus et Maximus II	<sup>z</sup> Julianus et Crispinus
226	<sup>B</sup> Alexander II et Marcellus	4.	4 <sup>D</sup> Modestus et Probus	<sup>A</sup> Fuscus et Dexter
227	<sup>C</sup> Albinus et Maximus	5.	5 <sup>E</sup> Alexander III et Dio	<sup>B</sup> Alexander II et Marcellus
228	<sup>D</sup> Modestus et Probus	252. 6.	6 <sup>F</sup> Agricola et Clemens	<sup>C</sup> Annianus et Maximus [Albinus et Maximus]
229	<sup>E</sup> Alexander III et Dio II	7.	7 <sup>G</sup> Pompeianus et Pelignianus	<sup>D</sup> Modestus et Probus
230	<sup>F</sup> Agricola et Clementinus	8.	8 <sup>H</sup> Lupus et Maximus III	<sup>E</sup> Alexander III et Dio
231	<sup>G</sup> Pompeianus et Pelignianus	9.	9 <sup>a</sup> Maximus IV et Paternus	Gratus et Seleucus
232	<sup>H</sup> Lupus et Maximus	253. 10.	10 <sup>b</sup> Maximus V et Urbanus	<sup>G</sup> Pompeianus et Felicianus
233	<sup>a</sup> Maximus et Paternus	11.	11 <sup>c</sup> Severus et Quintianus	<sup>H</sup> Lupus et Maximus
234	<sup>b</sup> Maximus II et Urbanus	12.	12 <sup>d</sup> Maximus VI et Africanus	<sup>a</sup> Maximus et Paternus
235	<sup>c</sup> Severus et Quintianus <i>Alexander ob.</i>	13.	13 <sup>e</sup> Perpetuus et Cornelius <i>His coss. Alexand. ob.</i>	
236	<sup>d</sup> Maximinus et Africanus	254. 14.	1 <sup>f</sup> Ulpicius et Pontianus	<sup>b</sup> Maximus II et Urbanus
237	<sup>e</sup> Perpetuus et Cornelianus	15.	2 <sup>g</sup> Gordianus et Aviola	<sup>c</sup> Severus et Quintianus <i>His coss. Alex. occiditur.</i>
238	<sup>f</sup> Pius et Pontianus <i>Maximin. ob.</i>	1.	3 <sup>h</sup> Albinus et Venustus <i>His coss. Maximin. ob.</i>	<sup>d</sup> Maximinus et Africanus
239	<sup>g</sup> Gordianus et Aviola	2.	1 <sup>i</sup> Gordianus II et Pompeianus	<sup>e</sup> Perpetuus et Cornelianus

219 Mur. p. 354. 3 Romæ in thermis Antonianis : *Dedic. Kal. Jan. domino N. Antonino Pio Fel. Aug. II et Sacerdote II cos. per Felicem Aug. lib. proc.*

222 Liber Pontificalis in vita Callisti papæ: *Calistus natione Romanus—fuit temporibus Macrini et Heliogabali, a consulatu Antonini et Alexandri.*

223 Murat. p. 354. 4 Romæ: *L. Mario Maximo V. C. pref. urbi cos. Q. Attius Q. f. Sabinus ob mer. p. 354. 5 Romæ: Jovi O. M. et Fidei cand. sacr. pro salute L. Mari Maximi C. V. pref. urb. cos. suffragator Q. Attius coll. F. C. p. 355. 2 prope Cliviam: In h. D. D. pro salute imp. Severi Alexandri Aug. Deo Apollini Dyserolus Olo de milites leg. XXX V. V. P. F. sub cura agent. T. F. Apr. Commodiani leg. Aug. P. P. F. Canuti Modesti leg. leg. Sept. Mucatrā imag. et Sept. Gallus et Sept. Mucatra et Sept. Deospor. et Sept. Samnus et Sept. Mucatra candidati V. S. L. M. Maximo et Æliano cos.*

<sup>n</sup> col. 3 Antonino IV et Balbino Prosp.

<sup>o</sup> col. 3 Prosper p. 386 *Messala et Sabino: finis cycli secundi et initium tertii.* The third cycle of 84 years terminates at A. D. 298. See below. But he has only 80 consulships in his third cycle, having omitted four, namely the consuls of the years 222, 245, 255, 276. See below. When these four are inserted, the term of 84 years is complete.

<sup>x</sup> col. 3 This consulship is omitted by Prosper.

224 Muratori p. 355. 3 in Dacia: *J. O. M. Divo*

*Fulc . . . . . ralis sacrum Juliano et Crispino cos.*

227 Mur. p. 356. 3 Antissiodori: *Pro salute dominorum V. S. L. M. dedicavit Modesto et Probo cos.*

229 Mur. p. 357. 1 Romæ: *Insul. L. Satri Felic. Alexandro Aug. III et Dionysio cos.* Also given in Panvinius p. 370 thus: *Alexandro Aug. III et Dionysio cos. insul. L. Satri Felic.* Both here and in Cod. Just. II. 12, 13 for *Dionysio* we may read *Dione II.*

230 Murat. p. 357. 2 prope Cliviam: *J. O. M. Martius Victor sig. leg. XXX V. V. Severianæ Alexandri P. F. V. S. L. M. Agricola et Clementianus cos.*

233 Mur. p. 358. 1 Romæ: *. . . . annis in pace . . . . an. pl. m. XLI DP. XIII Kal. Nob. . . . Pateri et Maximi. Annianus in pace qui bissit ann . . . VIII DP. Idus Feb. cons. DN. Leonis.*

235 Mur. p. 358. 3 Romæ: *Aurelia dulcissima filia quæ de sæculo recessit, vixit an. XV m. IIII Severo et Quintin. cos. p. 358. 4 Aquileiæ: T. Cæsern. Macedo Quinctian. cos. collegio fabrorum D. D.*

<sup>e</sup> col. 2 At this consulship Chron. Pasch. p. 268 C inserts anno 205<sup>o</sup> τῆς εἰς οὐρανὸς ἀναλήψεως.

<sup>c</sup> col. 3 After these consuls *Albinus* and *Maximus* are also interpolated by Prosper and Victorius.

<sup>g</sup> col. 3 From hence Prosper is quoted in the Tables col. 1.

239 Murat. p. 360. 3 prope Cliviam: *J. O. M. Junoni reginæ Minervæ T. Quartinius Saturnalis signifer leg. XXX V. V. pro se et suis V. S. L. M. imp.*

A. D.	CONSULS	Ol. Ind. y.	CHRON. PASCH.	CASSIODOR.
240	<sup>h</sup> Sabinus II et Venustus	255.	3 2 <sup>k</sup> Atticus et Prætextatus	f Pius et Proculus <i>His coss. Max. occiditur.</i>
241	<sup>i</sup> Gordianus II et Pompeianus	4.	3 <sup>l</sup> Aurelianus et Papus	g Gordianus et Aviola
242	<sup>k</sup> Atticus et Prætextatus	5.	4 <sup>m</sup> Peregrinus et Æmilianus	<sup>h</sup> Sabinus et Venustus <i>His coss. Pap. et Balb. occisi.</i>
243	<sup>l</sup> Arrianus et Papus	6.	5 <sup>n</sup> Philippus et Tatianus	<sup>i</sup> Gordianus II et Pompeianus
244	<sup>m</sup> Peregrinus et Æmilianus <i>Gordianus ob.</i>	256.	7. 6 <sup>o</sup> Præsentus et Albinus <i>His coss. Gord. ob.</i>	<sup>k</sup> Atticus et Prætextatus
245	<sup>n</sup> Philippus et Titianus	8.	1 <sup>p</sup> Philippus II et Philippus	<sup>l</sup> Arrianus et Papus
246	<sup>o</sup> Præsentus et Albinus	9.	2 <sup>q</sup> Philippus III et Philippus II	<sup>m</sup> Peregrinus et Æmilianus <i>His coss. Gord. interfectus.</i>
247	<sup>p</sup> Philippus II et Philippus	10.	3 <sup>r</sup> Æmilianus II et Aquilinus	<sup>n</sup> Philippus et Titianus
248	<sup>q</sup> Philippus III et Philippus II	257.	11. 4 <sup>s</sup> Decius et Gratianus	<sup>o</sup> Præsentus et Albinus
249	<sup>r</sup> Æmilianus II et Aquilinus <i>Philippus ob.</i>	12.	5 <sup>v</sup> Gallus et Volusianus	<sup>p</sup> Philippus II et Philippus
250	<sup>s</sup> Decius II et Gratus	13.	6 <sup>w</sup> Volusianus II et Maximus <i>His coss. Philippus ob.</i>	<sup>q</sup> Philippus III et Philippus II
251	<sup>t</sup> Decius III et Etruscus <i>Decius ob.</i>	14.	1 <sup>t</sup> Decius et Decius <i>His coss. Decius ob.</i>	<sup>r</sup> Æmilianus et Aquilinus
252	<sup>v</sup> Gallus II et Volusianus	258.	15. 1 <sup>x</sup> Valerianus et Gallienus	<sup>s</sup> Decius et Gratus
253	<sup>w</sup> Volusianus II et Maximus	1.	2 <sup>y</sup> Valerianus II et Gallienus II	<sup>t</sup> Decius II et Rusticus <i>His coss. Philippus occiditur.</i>
254	<sup>x</sup> Valerianus II et Gallienus	2.	3 <sup>z</sup> Maximus II et Glabrio <i>His coss. Gallus ob.</i>	<sup>v</sup> Gallus et Volusianus <i>His coss. Decius occiditur.</i>
255	<sup>y</sup> Valerianus III et Gallienus II	3.	1 <sup>a</sup> Valerianus III et Gallienus III	<sup>w</sup> Volusianus II et Maximus
256	<sup>z</sup> Maximus II et Glabrio	259.	4. 2 <sup>b</sup> Tuscus et Bassus	<sup>x</sup> Valerianus et Gallienus <i>His coss. Gallus et Volusianus ob.</i>
257	<sup>a</sup> Valerianus IV et Gallienus III	5.	3 <sup>c</sup> Æmilianus III et Volusianus II	<sup>y</sup> Valerianus II et Gallienus II
258	<sup>b</sup> Tuscus et Bassus	6.	4 <sup>d</sup> Secularius et Donatus	<sup>z</sup> Maximus II et Glabrio
259	<sup>c</sup> Æmilianus et Bassus	7.	5 <sup>e</sup> Gallienus IV et Volusianus III	<sup>a</sup> Valerianus III et Gallienus III
260	<sup>d</sup> Secularis II et Donatus II	260.	8. 6 <sup>f</sup> Gallienus V et Faustianus	<sup>b</sup> Tuscus et Bassus
261	<sup>e</sup> Gallienus IV et Volusianus	9.	7 <sup>g</sup> Albinus et Dexter	<sup>c</sup> Æmilianus et Bassus
262	<sup>f</sup> Gallienus V et Faustinus	10.	8 <sup>h</sup> Gallienus VI et Saturninus	<sup>d</sup> Secularis et Donatus
263	<sup>g</sup> Albinus II et Dexter	11.	9 <sup>i</sup> Valerianus IV et Lucianus	<sup>e</sup> Gallienus IV et Gentianus
264	<sup>h</sup> Gallienus VI et Saturninus	261.	12. 10 [Valerianus V et Lucianus II]	<sup>f</sup> Gallienus V et Victorinus

*D. N. Gordiano et Aviola coss. Kal. Jul. p. 360. 4 Clangenfurti in Carinthia: Pro salute Aug. in honorem DD. Soli invicto Mythr. Hilarus Aug. lib. tab. pr. N. et Epicetus ark. Aug. N. tem. vetustate conl. sumptu suo cum pictura refe. imp. D. N. Gordiano Aug. et Aviola . . . C. Rom. D. N. Licin. Marcello pat. D. VIII K. Julias. p. 361. 1 Romæ: Dedicata IIII Idus Mart. imp. Domino N. Gordiano Aug. et M' Acilio Aviola cos. per Q. Veturio felicissimo electo QQ. C. Julio Evangelo et Marcio Crystostomo T. Aurelio Eutyche curatoribus.*

240 Mur. p. 361. 2 Romæ: Campiæ Severinæ V. V. max. sanctissima benignissima pro conlatis in se beneficiis equest. ord. item secundæ militiæ Æmilii Pardalas trib. coh. I Aquitanicæ petito ejus ornatus dedic. IIII Idus Maias [III Idus Panvin.] Sabino II et Venusto coss. Partly given by Panvinus and Gruter, whose account is inserted in the Tables A. D. 240. 3.

<sup>l</sup> col. 3 Ariano et Pappo Prosp.

<sup>n</sup> col. 3 Omitted by Prosper.

260 Murat. p. 364. 1 Romæ: P. Cornelio Sæculari II et Junio Donato II cos. Kal. Julis Sentinis

*cum in scola sua frequens numerus coll. fabr. Sentinatum convenissent numerum abentibus C. Julio Martiale et C. Casidio Rufino QQ. et referentib. ipsis semper et in præteritum ita splendidissimum N. N. conisum esse ut adfectione splendoris sui in singulos quoque condignos merentes exhibeant vel maxime in honore adque dignitate Memmiæ Victoriæ quondam indoles mamoriæ femine matris numeri nostri proorsus usqueque esse provecum nomen domus ejus ut per ordinem generis sui omnes in numerum N. patroni in collegium nostrum appellarentur optandaque erant ut omnes universisque incolumes in numerum nostrum viderentur, et quoniam vir splendidus Coretius Fuscus patronus numeri debeat exemplo pietatis parentum et matris honorificentia, itaque si omnibus videretur tabula aream ei offerri &c. Some of the barbarisms in this inscription are, as Muratori calls them, "marmorarii sphalmata;" some perhaps proceed from the inaccuracy of the transcriber.*

<sup>y</sup> col. 3 Omitted by Prosper.

<sup>z</sup> col. 3 Glabrone et Maximo II Victor.

<sup>c</sup> col. 3 Æmiliano et Basso II Victor.



A. D.	CONSULS	Ol. Ind. y.	CHRON. PASCH.	CASSIODOR.
265	<sup>1</sup> Valerianus II et Lucillus	13. 11	<sup>a</sup> Gallienus VII et Sabinianus	<sup>g</sup> Albinus et Maximus
266	<sup>a</sup> Gallienus VII et Sabinillus	14. 12	<sup>b</sup> Paternus et Arcesilaus	<sup>h</sup> Gallienus VI et Saturninus
267	<sup>b</sup> Paternus et Arcesilaus	15. 13	<sup>c</sup> Paternus II et Marinianus	<sup>1</sup> Valerianus et Lucillus
268	<sup>c</sup> Paternus II et Marinianus <i>Gallienus ob.</i>	262. 1. 14	<sup>d</sup> Claudius et Paternus III <i>His coss. Valerian. ob.</i>	<sup>a</sup> Gallienus VII et Sabinillus
269	<sup>d</sup> Claudius II et Paternus	2. 1	<sup>e</sup> Antiochianus et Orphitus	<sup>b</sup> Paternus et Arcesilaus
270	<sup>e</sup> Antiochianus et Orfitus <i>Claudius ob.</i>	3. 2	<sup>f</sup> Aurelianus et Bassus <i>His coss. Claudius ob.</i>	<sup>c</sup> Paternus II et Marinianus
271	<sup>f</sup> Aurelianus et Bassus II	4. 1	<sup>g</sup> Quietus et Vudumianus	<sup>d</sup> Claudius et Paternus <i>His coss. Gallienus occiditur.</i>
272	<sup>g</sup> Quietus et Voldumianus	263. 5. 2	<sup>h</sup> Tacitus et Placidianus	<sup>e</sup> Antiochianus et Orfitus
273	<sup>h</sup> Tacitus et Placidianus	6. 3	[Quietus II et Bradumianus]	<sup>f</sup> Valerianus et Bassus <i>His coss. Claudius moritur.</i>
274	<sup>i</sup> Aurelianus II et Capitolinus	7. 4	<sup>i</sup> Aurelianus II et Capitolinus	<sup>g</sup> Quietus et Voldumianus
275	<sup>k</sup> Aurelianus III et Marcellinus <i>Aurelianus ob.</i>	8. 5	<sup>k</sup> Aurelianus III et Marcellus	<sup>h</sup> Tacitus et Placidianus
276	<sup>1</sup> Tacitus II et Æmilianus <i>Tacitus ob.</i>	264. 9. 6	<sup>1</sup> Tacitus II et Æmilianus <i>His coss. Aurelianus ob.</i>	<sup>i</sup> Aurelianus et Capitolinus
277	<sup>m</sup> Probus et Paulinus	10. 1	<sup>m</sup> Probus et Paulinus	<sup>k</sup> Aurelianus II et Marcellus
278	<sup>n</sup> Probus II et Lupus	11. 2	<sup>n</sup> Probus II et Lupus	<sup>m</sup> Probus et Paulinus
279	<sup>o</sup> Probus III et Paternus II	12. 3	<sup>o</sup> Probus III et Paternus	<sup>n</sup> Probus II et Paternus II <i>His coss. Aurel. occiditur.</i>
280	<sup>p</sup> Messala et Gratus	265. 13. 4	<sup>p</sup> Messala et Gratus	<sup>o</sup> Probus III et Paternus III <i>His coss. Tacitus occisus.</i>
281	<sup>q</sup> Probus IV et Tiberianus	14. 5	<sup>q</sup> Probus IV et Tiberianus	<sup>p</sup> Messala et Gratus
282	<sup>r</sup> Probus V et Victorinus <i>Probus ob.</i>	15. 6	<sup>r</sup> Probus V et Victorinus	<sup>q</sup> Probus IV et Tiberianus
283	<sup>s</sup> Carus II et Carinus <i>Carus ob.</i>	1. 1	<sup>s</sup> Carus et Carinus	<sup>r</sup> Probus V et Victorinus
284	<sup>t</sup> Carinus II et Numerianus <i>Numerianus ob.</i>	266. 2. 2	[Diocletianus et Bassus]	<sup>s</sup> Carus et Carinus
285	<sup>v</sup> Diocletianus II et Aristobulus	3. 3	<sup>t</sup> Carinus II et Numerianus	<sup>t</sup> Carus II et Numerianus

268 Mur. p. 365. 2 Romæ: *Pasto . . . iliana Marciana et Chr. . . . dano filio benemerenti DN. fec. . . vi. qui vixit annus XII M. II et . . . qui cru . . . accepit D. N. die XII Ka. . . . ctobres. . . . mo Paterno II coss. et rede . . . . XI Kal. vibas inter sanctis IHA . . . .*

269 Muratori p. 366. 1 Romæ: Latin in Greek letters. *Κωσουλε Κλυδειω εδ Πατερνω ρωνας Νοβενβρειβους δειε Βενερες λουνα XXIII Λευκες φελειε Σεβηρε καρεσσεμε ποσουτε εδ εισπειρειτω σανετω τουω . . . . τουα αννουωρωμ εL εδ μησωρων XI δεουρων X.*

270 Murat. p. 366. 2 in agro Tudertino: *Dedicata Id. Jan. Antiochiano II et Orfito cos., qua die sex viris juvenibus collegiatis et populo utr . . . .*

271 Mur. p. 367. 1 Romæ; sive Secenarii in Marsis: *L. Vibius Severus ædilis IIIIvir Q. Q. splendidus eq. Romanus patronus civitatis Superæquanorum item patronus civitatis Anzatium Frentanor. et Peluinorum Vestin. hic ob honorem ædilitatis L. Vibi Rufi fili sui eq. R. ad deam Pelinam primus huic loco venationem edidit deinceps ludos sollemnes L. Vibius Nepos filius æd. IIIIvir J. D. eq. R. patronus civitatis ob nomen fratris sui titulum publice dicavit Aureliano Aug. et*

*Basso II cos. XVI Kal. Jun.*

275 Murat. p. 367. 2 Beneventi: *J. Nonio Marcellino V. C. cos. Cap. [cons. Camp. Gruter p. 357. 5. 371. 1] patrono dignissimo ob insignia beneficia quibus longa populi tubedia [tædia Gruter] sedavit universa plebs Beneventana censuit ponendam.* Referred by Muratori to the consul of 275. But the name in Gruter is *T. Antonio Marcellino* at p. 357. 5, and *T. Avonio Marcellino* at p. 371. 1.

279 Murat. p. 367. 3 Romæ: *Vixit Severa Seleuciane cum Aurelio Sabutio annis dece et septe imp. Probo Aug. III et Nonio Paterno bis cons. quot vixit in seculo annis triginta duo et mensis duo. imp. Claudio Aug. et Paterno cons. [A. D. 269.] Igitur recte Fasti Græci et Victorius Paterno II.* As the year 269 has no reference to what precedes, we may read in the inscription *Claudio Aug. et Paterno coss. \* \* \* \**

<sup>k</sup> col. 3 After this consulship *Tacitus II et Æmilianus* are omitted in Prosp. Victor. and Cassiodorus.  
<sup>o</sup> col. 3 *Probo III et Paterno II* Victor. Recte. See above at 279.  
<sup>t</sup> col. 2 Chron. Pasch. p. 274 B *his coss. anno 255<sup>o</sup> τῆς εἰς οὐρανούς ἀναλήψεως τοῦ κυρίου.*

A. D.	CONSULS	Ol. Ind. y.	CHRON. PASCH.	CASSIODOR.
	<i>Carinus ob.</i>		<i>His coss. Carus cum filiis ob.</i>	
286	w Maximus II et Aquilinus	4.	1 v Diocletianus II et Aristobulus	v Diocletianus et Aristobulus <i>His coss. Probus occiditur.</i>
287	* Diocletian. III et Maximianus	5.	2 w Maximus et Aquilinus	w Maximus et Aquilinus <i>His coss. Carus interiit.</i>
288	v Maximianus II et Januarius	267.	6. 3 x Diocletianus III et Maximianus	x Diocletianus II et Maximianus <i>His coss. Numer. Carin. ob.</i>
289	z Bassus II et Quintianus	7.	4 v Maximianus II et Januarius	v Maximianus II et Januarius
290	<sup>A</sup> Diocletian. IV et Maximian. III	8.	5 z Bassus et Quintianus	z Bassus et Quintianus
291	<sup>B</sup> Tiberianus et Dio	9.	6 <sup>A</sup> Diocletian. IV et Maximian. III	<sup>A</sup> Diocletianus III et Maximianus III
292	<sup>C</sup> Hannibalian. et Asclepiodotus	268.	10. 7 <sup>B</sup> Tiberianus et Dio	<sup>B</sup> Tiberianus et Dio
293	<sup>D</sup> Diocletianus V Maximian. IV	11.	8 <sup>C</sup> Hannibalianus et Asclepiodotus	<sup>C</sup> Hannibalianus et Asclepiodotus
294	<sup>E</sup> Constantius et Galerius	12.	9 <sup>D</sup> Diocletian. V et Maximian. IV	<sup>D</sup> Diocletianus IV et Maximianus IV
295	<sup>F</sup> Tuscus et Anulinus	13.	10 <sup>E</sup> Constantius et Maximianus	<sup>E</sup> Constantius et Maximus
296	<sup>G</sup> Diocletian. VI Constantius II	269.	14. 11 <sup>F</sup> Tuscus et Anulinus	<sup>F</sup> Tuscus et Anulinus
297	<sup>H</sup> Maximianus V et Galerius II	15.	12 <sup>G</sup> Diocletian. VI et Constantius II	<sup>G</sup> Diocletianus V et Constantius II
298	<sup>a</sup> Faustus II et Gallus	1.	13 <sup>H</sup> Maximian. V et Maximianus II	<sup>a</sup> Faustus et Gallus
299	<sup>b</sup> Diocletian. VII Maximian. VI	2.	14 <sup>a</sup> Faustus et Gallus	<sup>b</sup> Diocletianus VI et Maximianus V
300	<sup>c</sup> Constantius III Galerius III	270.	3. 15 <sup>b</sup> Diocletian. VII et Maximian. VI	<sup>c</sup> Constantius III et Maximus III
301	<sup>d</sup> Titianus II et Nepotianus	4.	16 <sup>c</sup> Constantius III et Maximian. III	<sup>d</sup> Titianus et Nepotianus
302	<sup>e</sup> Constantius IV et Galerius IV	5.	17 <sup>d</sup> Tatianus et Nepotianus	<sup>e</sup> Constantius IV et Maximus IV
303	<sup>f</sup> Diocletian. VIII Maximian. VII	6.	18 <sup>e</sup> Constantius IV et Maximian. IV	<sup>f</sup> Diocletianus VII et Maximianus VI
304	<sup>g</sup> Diocletian. IX Maximian. VIII	271.	7. 19 <sup>f</sup> Diocletian. VIII et Maxim. VII	<sup>g</sup> Diocletian. VIII et Maximian. VII
305	<sup>h</sup> Constantius V et Galerius V <i>the abdication.</i>	8.	20 <sup>g</sup> Diocletian. IX et Maxim. VIII <i>the abdication.</i>	<sup>h</sup> Constantius V et Maximus V
306	<sup>i</sup> Constantius VI et Galerius VI	9.	1 <sup>h</sup> Constantius V et Maximian. V	<sup>i</sup> Constantius VI et Maximus VI

286 Mur. p. 368. 2 Romæ: *Cælia Claudiana V. V. maximæ sanctissimæ piissimæque, cujus egregiam sanctitatem et in deorum infatigabilem sacrorum operationem meritis suis laudis æternam adhibita gravitate nomen quoque Vestæ comprobavit, sacerdotes sacræ urbis. Dedicata V Kal. Mart. M. Junio Maximo II et Vettio Aquilino coss. curante Fl. Marciano V. E. fictore V. V.* Compare the inscription in the Tables A. D. 286. 1. p. 368. 3 in Latio: *Principi juventutis Junius Priscillianus Maximus V. C. cur. laur. lau. dic. N. M. Q. ejus. Dedicata Eid. Febr. Maximo II et Aquilino cos.*

291 Murat. p. 369. 1 Romæ: *Ex Virginio tuo beneme. convixist. libent. conjuca innocentissima Cervonia Silvana refrigera cum spirita sancta. Dep. Kal. Apr. Tiberiano II et Dionii coss.*

295 Mur. p. 369. 2 Romæ: *Stilia Alexandra anor. V m. [lege pl. m.] XIII virgo mortua es Tusco et Anullino cons. S III Kal. Sept. filia Alexandra Ros.* "σ sigma Græcorum respondens numerali Latino-rum notæ VI." Murat.

297 Mur. p. 369. 3 Romæ: [DD.] NN. *Maximiano Aug. V [M]aximiano Cæs. II cons. . . C. gessit Valerius Victor Paternus.*

298 Mur. p. 370. 1 Florentiæ: *Σμπλκία ή και Καλ-λώνιμος έζησεν έτη ια' ήμέρας κγ' έτελεύτησεν πρό νγ' καλ. Νοβεμβρ. Φάσση και Γάλλω ύπάτοις. p. 370. 2 Romæ: D. M. Q. Liberio. vicxit ann. N. II mens. N. III dies N. VIII. R. Anicio Fausto et Virio Gallo cons.*

299 Murat. p. 370. 3 Romæ: 'Απριλιων Φαρμουθι α' υπό τών κυρίων ήμών Διοκλητιανού Σεβ. τὸ ζ' και Μαξμια-

νοῦ Σεβ. τὸ ε' τόπος εἰδόθη υπό Βαλερίου ύπατικοῦ ιερῶν ναῶν.

300 Mur. p. 370. 4 Romæ: *Terentia Rufilla V. V. maximæ sanctissimæ religiosissimæ pudicissimæ præstantissimæ cujus merita circa me semper sensi Æl. Januaria quæ et Leontia ex voto digniss. posuit. Dedicata XIII Kal. Jan. Constantio III et Maximiano III Cæs. coss. curante Aur. Niceta.*

τ col. 2 Chron. Pasch. p. 275 C *his coss. anno 267<sup>o</sup> τῆς εις οὐρανοῦς ἀναλήψεως.*

η col. 2 Chron. Pasch. p. 275 D *his coss. anno 269<sup>o</sup> τῆς εις οὐρανοῦς ἀναλήψεως.*

β col. 3 *Tiberio et Dione Victor.*

γ col. 3 After this consulship, η is omitted in Cassiodorus, though inserted in Prosper and Victorius.

<sup>a</sup> col. 3 *Fausto et Gallo* item Victor. At this consulship Prosper p. 389 adds *Finis cycli tertii quartique principium.* See above at A. D. 214, note <sup>o</sup> col. 3.

301 Murat. p. 371. 1 Romæ. Partly given in the Tables A. D. 301. 1 from Panvinus. More fully in Muratori thus: *Mira sanctitatis adque in ceremoniis antistiti deorum Terentia Rufilla V. V. max. Aur. Eutyches voti compos redditus patrona ergu se prestantissimæ. Dedicata pri. Non. &c.*

305 Mur. p. 371. 2 Romæ: *M. D. M. I. DD. NN. Constantio et Maximiano nobb. Cæs. V cons. XVIII Kal. Maii Julius Italicus V. C. XVvir S. J. taurobo- lum percepti felic.*



A.D.	CONSULS	Ol. Ind. y.	CHRON. PASCH.	CASSIODOR.
	<i>Constantius ob.</i>			
307	j Maximian. IX et Constantinus	10.	2 <sup>i</sup> Constantius VI et Maximian. VI <i>His cons. Constantius ob.</i>	j Diocletianus IX et Constantinus
308	k Maximianus X et Galerius VII	272.	11. 3 j Constantinus Augustus solus	k Diocletianus X et Maximus VII <i>the abdication.</i>
309	<sup>l</sup> P. C. Maxim. X et Galer. VII	12.	4 <sup>k</sup> Decies et Galerius VII	<sup>l</sup> P. C. Diocletian. X et Maxim. VII
310	<sup>m</sup> II P. C. Max. X et Galer. VII	13.	5 <sup>n</sup> Maxim. VIII et Galer. Maximus	<sup>m</sup> II P. C. Diocl. X et Maxim. VII
311	<sup>n</sup> Galerius VIII solus	14.	6 [Constantinus II et Licinius]	<sup>n</sup> Maximus VIII et Licinius
312	<sup>o</sup> Constantinus II et Licinius II	273.	15. 7 <sup>o</sup> Constantinus III et Licinius II	<sup>o</sup> Constantinus II et Licinius II
313	<sup>p</sup> Constantin. III et Licinius III	1.	8 <sup>p</sup> Constantinus IV et Licinius III	<sup>p</sup> Constantinus III et Licinius III
314	<sup>q</sup> Volusianus II et Annianus	2.	9 <sup>q</sup> Volusianus et Annianus	<sup>q</sup> Volusianus et Annianus
315	<sup>r</sup> Constantinus IV et Licinius IV	3.	10 <sup>r</sup> Constantinus V et Licinius IV	<sup>r</sup> Constantinus IV et Licinius IV
316	<sup>s</sup> Sabinus et Rufinus	274.	4. 11 <sup>s</sup> Sabinus et Rufinus	<sup>s</sup> Sabinus et Rufinus
317	<sup>t</sup> Gallicanus et Bassus	5.	12 <sup>t</sup> Gallicanus et Symmachus	<sup>t</sup> Gallicanus et Bassus
318	<sup>u</sup> Licinius V et Crispus	6.	13 <sup>u</sup> Licinius V et Crispus	<sup>u</sup> Licinius V et Crispus
319	<sup>v</sup> Constantinus V et Licinius	7.	14 <sup>v</sup> Constantinus VI et Licinius V	<sup>v</sup> Constantinus V et Licinius
320	<sup>w</sup> Constantin. VI et Constantin.	275.	8. 15 <sup>w</sup> Constantinus VII et Constantius	<sup>w</sup> Constantinus VI et Constantinus
321	<sup>x</sup> Crispus II et Constantinus II	9.	16 <sup>x</sup> Crispus II et Constantius II	<sup>x</sup> Crispus II et Constantinus II
322	<sup>y</sup> Probianus et Julianus	10.	17 <sup>y</sup> Probianus et Julianus	<sup>y</sup> Probianus et Julianus
323	<sup>z</sup> Severus et Rufinus	11.	18 <sup>z</sup> Severus et Rufinus	<sup>z</sup> Severus et Rufinus
324	<sup>A</sup> Crispus III et Constantin. III	276.	12. 19 Crispus III et Constantius III	<sup>A</sup> Crispus III et Constantinus III
325	<sup>B</sup> Paulinus et Julianus	13.	20 Paulinus et Julianus	<sup>B</sup> Paulinus et Julianus
326	<sup>C</sup> Constantin. VII et Constantius	14.	21 Constantinus IX et Constantius IV	<sup>C</sup> Constantin. VII et Constantius IV
327	<sup>D</sup> Constantius et Maximus	15.	22 Constantius V et Maximus	<sup>D</sup> Constantius V et Maximus
328	<sup>E</sup> Januarius et Justus	277.	1. 23 Januarius et Justus	<sup>E</sup> Januarius et Justus
329	<sup>F</sup> Constantin. VIII Constantin. IV	2.	24 Constantinus X et Constantius V	<sup>F</sup> Constantin. VIII et Constantius VI
330	<sup>G</sup> Gallicanus et Symmachus	3.	25 Gallicanus et Symmachus	<sup>G</sup> Constantius VII et Symmachus
331	<sup>H</sup> Bassus et Ablavius	4.	26 Bassus et Ablavius	<sup>H</sup> Bassus et Ablavius

321 Murat. p. 373. 2 Romæ in Capitolio: in uno latere *Herculi invic. M. Jun. Cæsonius Nicomachus Anicius Faustus Paulinus C. V. P. V. D. D.* in altero *XII Kal. Octob. Crispo et Constantino Cæss. II cons. p. 373.* 3 Romæ: *DD. NN. Crispo et Constantino juniore nobilissimis Cæss. it. cons. III Non. Sextil. ordo M. Diditanorum hospitium amicitiamque fecit cum Q. Aradio Val. Proculo V. C. et ipsum liberos posterosque ejus sibi liberis posterisque suis patronum cooptavit. Q. Aradius Val. Proculus V. C. præses p. p. hospitium amicitiamque fecit cum ordine M. Diditanorum ipsos liberos posterosque eorum sibi liberisque suis in fidem clientelamque suam posterorumque suorum recepit agente ordine.* Add this to similar inscriptions quoted in the Tables A. D. 321. 2.

j col. 2 Chron. Pasch. p. 279 B *ινδ. ιδ. γ. υπ. Νοβίου Κωνσταντίνου Αγγούστου μόνου.* Νοβίου is a mere corruption of *novies*. this consulship being called *novies et Constantino*. See the Tables A. D. 307. 1.

k col. 2 After this consulship Chron. Pasch. p. 279 B omits <sup>l</sup> and <sup>m</sup>. Again after <sup>n</sup> Chron. Pasch. interpolates p. 280 A *Κωνσταντίνου Αγγούστου τὸ β' καὶ Λικινίου.*

o col. 2 From hence Chron. Pasch. has the right number of consulships. See the Tables A. D. 562. 4 p. 815. It has been thought desirable however to continue the list of the Chronicle in this second column, in order to exhibit the indictions, the years of

each reign, and any variations in the name or description of the consuls.

<sup>n</sup> col. 3 *Maximiano et Licinio* Victor. *Galerius* is called *Maximus* in Cassiod. at c & c. and in Victorius. Rightly *Maximianus* in Prosper. In the error of *Diocletian* for *Maximian* at <sup>k l m</sup> Cassiodorus is preceded by Prosper and by Victorius.

325 col. 2 Chron. Pasch. p. 282 B *anno 295<sup>o</sup> τῆς εἰς οὐρανοῦς ἀναλήψεως τοῦ κυρίου.* Under this year the Chronicle has these dates:

- 1 Council of Nice June 19.
- 2 *Constans (Constantius)* declared *Cæsar* Nov. 8.
- 3 *Vicennalia* at Rome.
- 4 Battle of Adrianople (against *Licinius*) June 27; of Chalcedon Sept. 18.
- 5 *Crispus* slain.

The true dates of 2 and 4 will be seen in the Tables.

c col. 3 *Constantino et Constantio* Victor.

d col. 3 *Constantino et Maximo* Victor.

f col. 3 *Constantino et Constante* Victor.

g col. 3 *Constantio et Symmacho* Victor.

330 col. 2 Chron. Pasch. p. 284 *anno 301<sup>o</sup> τῆς εἰς οὐρανοῦς ἀναλήψεως.*

331 Muratori p. 375. 1 Romæ: *Asellus et Lea Prisco patri benemerenti in pace, qui bixit annis LXIII mensibus III dies N. XII. V K. Oct. D. Basso et Ablavio cons.*

A. D.	CONSULS	Ol. Ind. y.	CHRON. PASCH.	CASSIODOR.
332	<sup>a</sup> Pacatianus et Hilarianus	278.	5. 27 Pacatianus <sup>et</sup> Hilarianus	<sup>a</sup> Pacatianus et Hilarianus
333	<sup>b</sup> Dalmatius et Zenophilus		6. 28 Dalmatius et Zenophilus	<sup>b</sup> Dalmatius et Zenophilus
334	<sup>c</sup> Optatus et Paulinus		7. 29 Optatus et Paulinus	<sup>c</sup> Optatus et Paulinus
335	<sup>d</sup> Constantius et Albinus		8. 30 Constantius VI et Albinus	<sup>d</sup> Constantius et Albinus
336	<sup>e</sup> Nepotianus et Facundus	279.	9. 31 Nepotianus et Facundus	<sup>e</sup> Nepotianus et Facundus
337	<sup>f</sup> Felicianus et Titianus <i>Constantinus ob.</i>		10. 32 Felicianus et Tatianus <i>His coss. Constant. ob.</i>	<sup>f</sup> Felicianus et Titianus
338	<sup>g</sup> Ursus et Polemius		11. 1 Ursus et Polemius	<sup>g</sup> Ursus et Polemius
339	<sup>h</sup> Constantius II et Constans		12. 2 Constantinus IV et Constans VII <i>His coss. Constant. moritur.</i>	<sup>h</sup> Constantius II et Constans
340	<sup>i</sup> Acyndinus et Proculus	280.	13. 3 Acyndinus et Proclus	<sup>i</sup> Acyndinus et Proculus
341	<sup>k</sup> Marcellinus et Probinus		14. 4 Marcellinus et Probinus	<sup>k</sup> Marcellinus et Probinus
342	<sup>l</sup> Constantius III et Constans II		15. 5 Constantius V et Constans II	<sup>l</sup> Constantius III et Constans II
343	<sup>m</sup> Placidus et Romulus		1. 6 Placitus et Romulus	<sup>m</sup> Placidus et Romulus
344	<sup>n</sup> Leontius et Sallustius	281.	2. 7 Leontius et Sallustius	<sup>n</sup> Leontius et Sallustius
345	<sup>o</sup> Amantius et Albinus		3. 8 Amantius et Albinus	<sup>o</sup> Constantius IV et Constans III
346	<sup>p</sup> Constantius IV et Constans III		4. 9 Constantius VI et Constans III	<sup>o</sup> Amantius et Albinus
347	<sup>q</sup> Rufinus et Eusebius		5. 10 Rufinus et Eusebius	[P. C. Amantii et Albini]
348	<sup>r</sup> Philippus et Salia	282.	6. 11 Philippus et Salia	<sup>q</sup> Rufinus et Eusebius
349	<sup>s</sup> Limenius et Catullinus		7. 12 Limenius et Catullinus	<sup>r</sup> Philippus et Salia
350	<sup>t</sup> Sergius et Nigrinianus		8. 13 Sergius et Nigrinianus	<sup>s</sup> Limenius et Catullinus

334 Murat. p. 375. 2 Lugduni: *Optato et Paulino consulibus Kal. Febraris depos. Selentioses.*

337 Mur. p. 393. 1 Romæ: *Fabius Titianus V. C. consul præf. urbi curavit.* 393. 2 Romæ: *Titus Fabius Titianus V. C. cons. ord. præf. urb. curavit.* p. 393. 5 Romæ: . . . *maximo victori ac triumphatori semper Aug. Fabius Titianus Aug. cons. ordinarius præf. urbi iterum* [see the Tables A. D. 351. 1] *judex cognitionum sacrarum majestati ejus dicatissimus.* These refer to the consul of this year. N° 5 is addressed to *Magentius* in 351. Conf. Zosimum II. 49 ἦκε Τετραυδς—λόγους ἀπὸ Μαγνητίου φέρων κ. τ. λ.

338 Mur. p. 376. 2 Romæ: *Attie Publicæ B. quesquanti in p.* [i. e. "bene quiescenti in pace." Murat.] *Ursus pater Urso et Polemio coss.* p. 376. 3 Romæ: *Eq. Heraclius qui fuit in sæculum an. XVIII m. VII d. XX et filo suo benemerenti in p. decessit VII IDV STEB.* [lege Idus Feb.] *Urso et Polemio cons.* p. 376. 4 Romæ: *Anime innocenti Gaudentiæ que vixit ann. V m. VII dies XXI in pace Mercurius pater filie. D. V Idus Novemb. Urso et Polemio coss.* p. 376. 5 Aquilæ: *Dedicata III Kal. Jul. Urso et Polemio cons. ob cuius dedicationem dedit plebi urbanae ad æpulum convivii panem et vinum tauros II verbeces XV præterea et arcæ eorum folles m. . . ex quorum usuris per singulos annos convivium dedicationis sibe exsibeant.*

339 Mur. p. 377. 1 Romæ: *Aur. Candidianæ benequesquanti* [conf. p. 376. 2] *in pace que vixit annis XXXI menses VIII cum marito fuit annos XI menses VIII dies X deposita Kal. April. Constantino Aug. II et Constante Aug. coss. Male Constantino pro Constantio.*

341 Muratori p. 377. 2 Neriti: *Antonio Marcellino et Petronio Probrino coss. II Nonas Maias succlamante populo Empurii Naunæ de . . offerenda tabula area in-*

*cisa patronatus M. Salv. Balerio viro splendido cui jamdudum secundum bocis ejusdem populi et voluntatem onor patronatus oblatus est &c.—placet itaque universo populo Empurii Naunitani tabulam aream incisam ei offerri debere quo gratius digne onorem sibi conlatum a devotissimo populo Empurii nostri libenti animo suscipiat, censuentibus Cn. Julio Memio prætore C. Jul. Secundo . . . Gem. Afrodio d. . . .*

343 Mur. p. 378. 1 Romæ: *Felicitas in pace XVIII Kal. Dec. Placido et Romulo coss.*

344 *Leontii et Sallustii consulatus* is named in Cod. Theod. V. 13, 15 p. 303 Wenck. in a law dated Sirmium July 29 A. D. 364.

345 Mur. p. 378. 3 Extra Romam: . . . *teni sorori castissim. B. Amantio et Albino con. . . . XXII. Dep. XIII K. Aug. . . . aulo cons.*

348 Murat. p. 379. 2 Romæ:

τὸν πάσης ἀρετῆς εἰδήμονα φωτὰ Φίλιππον  
πρέσβυν Ἀουίνης ἐμπέραμον σοφίης  
Ἀυσονίων ὑπατον πατέρα κλυτὸν Ἀντιγόνοιο  
θρέψε Μακροδονίη δέξατο δ' Ἑιταλίη.

p. 379. 3 Extra Urbem Romam: *Mire bonitatis atq. sanctitati L. Subiæ Januariæ conjugi que vixit mecum annos XVIII m. V d. XX Varadius Melissus maritus et sibi fecit. Deposita in pace III Kal. Apr. Filippo et Salio coss.*

<sup>o</sup> p col. 3 For the transpositions and interpolations of Prosper Victorius and Cassiodorus at A. D. 345 see Introduction p. xi and Tables A. D. 345. 1.

349 Murat. p. 380. 1 Romæ: *Limenio et Catulino cons. III Idus Januarias defunctus est Ewodium qui vixit annos LXV menses tres et dies XI. benemerenti in pace fecit conjur.* p. 380. 2 Romæ: . . . *menses IX dies XVII ibit in pace VI Kal. Decembres Limenio*



A. D.	CONSULS	Ol. Ind. y.	CHRON. PASCH.	CASSIODOR.
351	<sup>u</sup> P. C. Sergii et Nigriniani		9. 14 Sergius et Nigrinianus	<sup>t</sup> Sergius et Nigrinianus
352	<sup>v</sup> Constantius V et Constantius	283.	10. 15 Constantius VII et Constans	<sup>u</sup> P. C. Sergii et Nigriniani
353	<sup>w</sup> Constantius VI et Constant. II		11. 16 Constantius VIII et Constans II	<sup>v</sup> Constantius V et Constans
354	<sup>x</sup> Constant. VII et Constant. III		12. 17 Constantius IX et Constans III	<sup>w</sup> Constantius VI et Constans II
355	<sup>y</sup> Arbetio et Lollianus		13. 18 Arbetio et Lollianus	<sup>x</sup> Constantius VII et Constans III
356	<sup>z</sup> Constantius VIII et Julianus	284.	14. 19 Constantius X et Julianus	<sup>y</sup> Arbetio et Lollianus
357	<sup>A</sup> Constantius IX et Julianus II		15. 20 Constantius XI et Julianus II	<sup>z</sup> Constantius VIII et Julianus
358	<sup>B</sup> Datianus et Cerealis		1. 21 Datianus et Cerealis	<sup>A</sup> Constantius IX et Julianus II
359	<sup>C</sup> Eusebius et Hypatius		2. 22 Eusebius et Hypatius	<sup>B</sup> Titianus et Cerealis
360	<sup>D</sup> Constantius X et Julianus III	285.	3. 23 Constantius XII et Julianus III	<sup>C</sup> Eusebius et Hypatius
361	<sup>E</sup> Taurus et Florentius <i>Constantius ob.</i>		4. 24 Taurus et Florentius <i>His cons. Constant. ob.</i>	<sup>D</sup> Constantius X et Julianus III
362	Mamertinus et Nevitta		5. 1 Mamertinus et Nevitta	Taurus et Florentius
363	Julianus IV et Sallustius <i>Julianus ob.</i>		6. 2 Julianus IV et Sallustius <i>His cons. Julianus ob.</i>	Mamertinus et Nevitta <i>His cons. Constantius ob.</i>
364	Jovianus et Varronianus <i>Jovianus ob.</i>	286.	7. 1 Jovianus et Varronianus	Julianus IV et Sallustius <i>His cons. Julianus ob.</i>
365	Valentinianus et Valens		8. 1 Valentinianus et Valens	Jovianus et Varronianus <i>His cons. Jovianus ob.</i>
366	Gratianus et Dagalaiphus		9. 2 Gratianus et Dagalaiphus	Valentinianus et Valens
367	Lupicinus et Jovinus		10. 3 Lupicinus et Jovinus	Gratianus et Dagalaiphus

et Catulino cons. p. 380. 3 Asturicae: Aco Catulinus vir consularis praeses pro salute sua suorumque omnium posuit.

351 Murat. p. 380. 4 Romae: . . . eventi [forte . . . erenti] qui bixet cum co . . . XXI mes. III depositus . . . mes. III d. VIII. depositus T. . . Mannentio et Decentio cons. Some testimonies name in 351 Maguentius et Gæso. See the Tables A. D. 351. 1. For Decentius see above c. 1 p. 101.

355 Murat. p. 380. 5 Romae: Statilia Tigris filia dulcissima que vixit ann. XXII d. XVIII et cum marito fecit ann. IIII m. III d. VII Kal. Julias quiescet in pace Flavius Arbitione et Lolliano cons. p. 381. 1 Extra Romam: . . . Justina . . . XVII D. . . . cinctum sum vidua . . . VI Idus Sep. in pace . . . vixit annos XXV m. IIII . . . . . ioni et Lolliani cons.

358 Mur. p. 381. 2 Salone: Fl. Julius Zaconus et Aurelia Meria conjux ejus hoc sarcofagum sibi vibi posuerunt. Si quis post nostram pausationem hoc sarcofagum aperire voluerit, inferat ecclesiae Salon. argenti libras quinquaginta. Dep. Jul. Zaconis die III Novembres Datiano et Cereale cons.

359 Mur. p. 381. 3 Nolæ: a mutilated inscription ends with Eusebio et Ypatio cons. DP. in pace VI Kal. Jun. p. 382. 1 Romae: Eusebio et Ypatio CC. V Idus Junias deceset Prima que vixit annus XXXV m. II. Deposita in pac. p. 382. 2 Romae: Junius Bassus &c. Given already in the Tables A. D. 359. 1 from Gruter p. 1162.

360 Mur. p. 382. 4 Romae: Parentes Dionisio filio dulcissimo. vix. an. V m. VII d. VIII. DP. XVI Kal. Sept. Constantio X cos. in p. Dulcissime filie Erotianeti. vix. an. II m. VII d. XI. Dep. XIII Kal. Sep. Constantio X cos. in pac.

362 Mur. p. 382. 5 Romae: Mamertino et Nebitta

co. Nonius Victor Olympius V. C. et Aur. Victor Augustentius tradiderunt Leontica Kal. April. felic. alia tradiderunt con. SS. VI Idus Apr. felic. Leont. cons. SS. tradiderunt Cryphios VI Idus Apr. felic. p. 383. 1 Cinguli: Fl. Fortunio viro divotissimo palatino patrono dignissimo ob insignia ejus merita ordo Cingulanorum ponendum decrevit die VI Idus Octobres Mamertino et Nivitta cons.

364 Mur. p. 383. 2 Romae: Puer natus divo Joviano Aug. et Varroniano cons. ora noctis IIII in uxit. VIII Idus Madias die Saturnis Luna vicesima Sico Capricorno nomine Simplicious. Muratori: "Legendum fortasse in exit. In calce restitue in signo Capricorni nomine Simplicius."

365 Murat. p. 383. 3 Romae: Bonæ memoriae filio dulcissimo Laurentio. vixit ann. XVI m. V d. IIII decesit IIII Idus Aug. Valentiniano et Valente cons.

366 Mur. p. 383. 5 Romae: Cecili dominus Felicis post cons. Valentiniani et Valentis VII Kal. Feb. depos. Apollinus qui vix. ann. XVIII m. VII d. VI. quiescet in pace. mater Leoparides. p. 383. 6 Romae: Benemerenti filiae Agapeni vircini in pace dep. III Kal. Dec. Gratano et Degalaifo cons. V. a. XX. p. 384. 1 Interamnæ: . . . . . quæ defuncta est XIII Kal. . . . . cons. Gratiano et Dalhfo.

367 Murat. p. 384. 2 Romae: Flavius Lupicino et Jobino cons. VII Idus Junias deceset de seculum puer Victorinus qui bixit annus XXXVII m. X d. X et cum uxore fecit anus II m. III. DP. V Idus Junias. venerenti in pace. p. 384. 3 extra Romam: Benemerenti in pace Festo qui vixit annos XI et menses VIII depositus XI K. . . . . Jovino et Lupicino. Benemerenti Compari Hilarino qui vixit a. . . . . Depositus VI Kal. Octob. Valentiniano II et Va . . . [sc. A. D. 368.]

A. D.	CONSULS	Ol. Ind. y.	CHRON. PASCH.	CASSIODOR.
368	Valentinianus II et Valens II	287.	11. 4 Valentinianus II et Valens II	Lupicinus et Jovinus
369	Valentinianus et Victor		12. 5 Valentinianus III et Victor	Valentinianus II et Valens II
370	Valentinianus III et Valens III		13. 6 Valentinianus IV et Valens III	Valentinianus et Victor
371	Gratianus II et Probus		14. 7 Gratianus II et Probus	Valentinianus III et Valens III
372	Modestus et Arintheus	288.	15. 8 Modestus et Arintheus	Gratianus II et Probus
373	Valentinianus IV et Valens IV		1. 9 Valentinianus V et Valens IV	Modestus et Arintheus
374	Gratianus III et Equitius		2. 10 Gratianus III et Equitius	Valentinianus IV et Valens IV
375	P. C. Gratiani III et Equitii		3. 11 Gratianus IV et Equitius II	Gratianus III et Equitius
376	Valens V et Valentinianus	289.	4. 12 Valens V et Valentinianus	P. C. Gratiani III et Equitius
377	Gratianus IV et Merobaudes		5. 13 Gratianus V et Merobaudes	Valens V et Valentinianus
378	Valens VI et Valentinianus II <i>Valens ob.</i>		6. 14 Valens VII et Valentinianus II <i>His coss. Valentinianus ob.</i>	Gratianus IV et Merobaudes
379	Ausonius et Olybrius		7. 1 Ausonius et Olybrius	Valens VI et Valentinianus II <i>His coss. Valens ob.</i>
380	Gratianus V et Theodosius	290.	8. 2 Gratianus VI et Theodosius	Ausonius et Olybrius
381	Eucherius et Syagrius		9. 3 Syagrius et Eucherius	Gratianus V et Theodosius
382	Antonius et Syagrius		10. 4 Antoninus et Syagrius II	Syagrius et Eucherius
383	Merobaudes II et Saturninus		11. 5 Merobaudes et Saturninus	Antonius et Syagrius

369 Mur. p. 384. 5 Romæ: *Hic posita est puella Benigna quæ vix. ann. XVI d. X. Dep. VIII Kal. Aug. Valentiniano n. p. et Victore.*

370 Murat. p. 384. 6 Romæ: *Aur. Alexander qui vit. annus XVII MN. VII. DP. XII Octob. Valentiniano III et Valente III coss. p. 385. 1 Romæ: Puer Rufin. qui vixit ann. XVIII di. VIII. D. prid. Idus Oct. DD. NN. Valentiniano et Valenti Auc. III con. p. 385. 2 Romæ: Benemer. mart. dulcis. qui vix. in pace. D. Non. Se. Dominis nostris Vtin. et VN. Augg. III coss.*

371 Murat. p. 385. 3 Romæ: *Hic jacet Muscula que et Galatia que vix. ann. duob. mens. duob. et D. XVII. Dep. XV Kal. Aug. Gratiano Aug. II et Probo coss. in pace. Bone memorie adque innocentie Surus qui bixit annos duos men. VII dies XVII. in pace dec. VII Idus Julias. Probus is commemorated in Muratori p. 385. 4 Veronæ: Petronio Probo V. C. totius admirationis viro procons. Africa præf. pratorio Ilyrici præf. præf. Galliar. II præf. præf. Italiae atq. Africa III cons. ordinario civi eximie bonitatis disertiss. atq. omnib. rebus eruditissimo patrono nepoti Probiani [see the Tables A. D. 322. 1. 3] filio Probinii [Tables A. D. 341] VV. CC. præf. urbis et cos. See the Tables A. D. 395. 1.*

373 Mur. p. 386. 1 Romæ: *Cintia B. M. in P. Q. V. an. P. M. XXV m. I d. V. Dep. D. V Non. Octob. Valentiniano Augg. IIII.*

374 Murat. p. 386. 4 Romæ: *Benemerenti in pace libera que bixit an. 5 II Neofita. Dep. die III Nonas Maias con. Gratiano III et Equitio.*

375 Murat. p. 386. 5 Sestini: *Votivitate et tota mente devota genium curie dedicatum in statuum in curia Aug. positum perpetue lucis posuit admenestrationis suæ Vesenus Frontinianus curator R. P. hujusce patriæ, posita sub die XII K. Octobris post consulatu. D. N. Gratiani Augusti III et Equitio consulibus. p. 386. 6 Romæ: Petroniæ dignæ conjuci que vixit annis XXI et fecit cum compare suo m. X d. V Kal.*

*Nob. pos. coss. Gratiani et Equiti Ursus maribus sibi et innocenti compari fecit. Cesquet in pace. p. 387. 1 extra Romam: Hic quiesce . . . . . ianus. Dep. . . . Martias post cons. Gratiani et . . . ti. p. 386. 3 extra Romam: Conpari Clementi. . . . o marito qui vix. . . . t Idibus Februar. . . . ani Aug. III et Equitii. . . . in pace.*

377 Murat. p. 387. 2 Romæ: *M. D. M. Ideæ et Attidi &c. Given from Gruter in the Tables A. D. 377. 1. But Gruter is less complete than Muratori. Mur. p. 387. 3 Pisauri: Joviano karissimo fecit Lampadius et Soteres fratres pientissimi Merobaude. p. 388. 1 Romæ: M. D. M. J. et Attidi menotyranno conservatoribus suis Lælius Hilarianus V. C. duo decembur urbis Romæ P. S. et hierocerua J. M. S. D. L. S. D. Hecate D. N. Gratiano Aug. et Merobaude coss. IIII Idus Maias. p. 388. 2 Romæ: Marcus . . . fecerunt . . . Petrus vixit . . . X Kal. Apr. DD. NN. . . . Gratiano IIII et Mer. . . . Anastasa Dec. III . . . quæ vix. ann. IIII d. X. Marcus qui vixit a . . .*

380 Murat. p. 388. 4 Romæ: *Venerenti in pacem qui vixit anus XVII m. XI. depositus III Nonas Octobris DD. NN. Gratiano Theodosi. Auculeo. [Augusto recte Mur.] p. 388. 3 Romæ: Leo depositus III Nonas Octobris DD. NN. Gratiano et Theodosio Augg. coss. ipsi benemerenti in pace qui vixit annos XVII mens. XI titulus positus. p. 388. 5 Romæ: H. O. Eustolius V. C. cum filia The . . . depositus X Kal. Aug. depo . . . DD. NN. Gratiano V et Theodosio Augg. coss. J. P.*

381 Murat. p. 389. 1 Romæ:

*Presbyter hic situs est Celerinus nomine Dio Corporeos rumpens nexus qui gaudet in astris.*

*Dep. VIII Kal. Jun. Fl. Syagrío et Eugerio. p. 389. 2 Romæ: . . . s et Innocentiæ Fl. . . annos V et menses IIII. De . . . grio et Eucherio vi. cl.*

383 Mur. p. 389. 3 Romæ: *Hic jacet Ticira. vixit annis V mensib. III. Dep. III Kal. Mai. Merubaude et*



A. D.	CONSULS	Ol. Ind. y.	CHRON. PASCH.	CASSIODOR.
384	Richomerus et Clearchus	291. 12.	6 Richomerus et Clearchus	Merobaudes II et Saturninus
385	Arcadius et Bauto	13.	7 Arcadius et Bauto	Ricimer et Clearchus
386	Honorius et Euodius	14.	8 Honorius et Euodius	Arcadius et Bauto
387	Valentinianus III et Eutropius	15.	9 Valentinianus IV et Eutropius	Honorius et Euodius
388	Theodosius II et Cynegius	292. 1.	10 Theodosius II et Cynegius	Valentinianus III et Eutropius
389	Timasius et Promotus	2.	11 Timasius et Promotus	Theodosius II et Cynegius
390	Valentinianus IV et Neoterius	3.	12 Valentinianus IV et Neoterius	Timasius et Promotus
391	Tatianus et Symmachus	4.	13 Tatianus et Symmachus	Valentinianus IV et Neoterius
392	Arcadius II et Rufinus	293. 5.	14 Arcadius II et Rufinus	Tatianus et Symmachus
393	Theodosius III et Abundantius	6.	15 Theodosius III et Abundantius	Arcadius II et Rufinus
394	Arcadius III et Honorius II	7.	16 Arcadius III et Honorius II	Theodosius III et Abundantius
			<i>His cons. Theodosius ob.</i>	
395	Olybrius et Probinus <i>Theodosius ob.</i>	8.	1 Olybrius et Probinus	Arcadius III et Honorius II
396	Arcadius IV et Honorius III	294. 9.	2 Arcadius IV et Honorius III	Olybrius et Probinus

*Saturnino cons.* p. 389. 4 Romæ: *M. D. M. J. et Attidi sancto menotyranno Q. Clodius Flavianus V. C. pont. major XVvir S. F. septemvir epulonum pontifex dei Solis taurobolio criobolique percepto aram dicavit Nonis Aprilibus FF. LL. Merobaude et Saturnino cons.* p. 389. 5 extra Romam: *Johan. venerabili benemerenti. deposita in pace cons. . . . dii et Saturn. . . . Vibo fecit.* p. 389. 6 Ibidem: *Locus domine ac b . . . . siati benem. . . . an. XXVIII. deposit. . . Mero- baude . . . . compar. se vivo.*

384 Murat. p. 390. 1 Romæ: *DD. NN. Clearcho et Ricomede VV. CC. consulibus benemerenti Olibioni qui vixit annus XV mesis VI dies XX decessit die XII Kalendas Octobres in pace.* p. 390. 2 Romæ: *Cassissima filia Domitianeni Viroine mater pro amore fecit que vixit annis . . . menses IIII dies tres. Deposita XV Kal. Octobres Ricimere et Ciarco consulibus.*

385 Murat. p. 390. 3 Vindobonæ: *Fl. Arcadio et Baudone cons. X Kal. Julius defunctus Leontius Neofitus qui vixit ann. plus minus XXVIII mes. V d. XV. venemerenti in pace.*

386 Mur. p. 390. 4 in agro Interamnæ: *Post consulatum Arcadi et Bautoni V. C. cons. VI Nonas Mart. deposita est Nervinia Euresia H. F. in pace que vixit annos pl. m. XXVIII Crispinus maritus sed et Umbria Abundantia dulcissima filia et sibi fecit.*

387 Mur. p. 391. 1 Romæ: *Felicitas que bix. an. III m. III et d. XIII. DP. III X KL. Feb. cons. Valentiniano III.* p. 391. 2 in Hispania: *Ex officina Homoni utere felix Vasconi in X. Proc. Tiberiano factus est horreum D. N. Valentiniano Aug. ter et Eutropio V. C. cons. scribe. Elefanto.* p. 391. 3 Romæ: . . . . pere mors . . . . per annos . . . . ecula lugens . . . . Valentiniano III et Eutropio . . . Qu. [sc. quievit: Murat.] *Onorio III Aug. cons. [A. D. 396.] p. 391. 4 Romæ: . . . . nti in pace Q. . . . ritum anni LVII. . . Kal. Jan. deposita est XIII . . . . no III et Eutropio cons.*

390 Mur. p. 392. 1. Given in the Tables 390. 1 from Gruter. Mur. p. 392. 2 extra Romam: . . . . miliana . . . . prætoria . . . . columna Paul . . . . natale X. Valentiniani Aug. III et Neoteri V. C. administrante

*ei Filippo vir. . .* In superiori parte columnæ: *Siricius episcopus A. Christo tota mente devotus: Christo* expressed by a monogram with ω. On Siricius see the Tables A. D. 384. 4.

391 Mur. p. 393. 3 Romæ: *Tetiliano benemerenti in pace qui vixit annus N. LXV d. V in pacem VII Idus Maias Tatiano et Symmaco cons.* 4 Romæ: *Hic posita est Adeodata Q. V. an. VI m. III d. XXIII in pace dep. III Non. Mai. Tatiano et Summa.*

392 Mur. p. 393. 6 Romæ: *Totius pudicitia veritas Ignatia Gerontia quæ vixit annos P. M. XLIII fecit cum compare suo ann. XXIII iuit in pace X Kal. April. D. N. Arcadio II et Rufino cons.* p. 393. 7 Pissauri: *Διόσκορος ναύκληρος ωδη ηκυμθη εν ηρηνη ηζησ. ητη κη. παρακατι. θ. καλ. Μαρ. υππατ. τῶ 'Αρκαδ. Σ. και 'Ρουφην. (ὠδε ἐκοιμήθη ἐν εἰρήνῃ. ἔζησεν ἔτη κη. παρακατέθη κ. τ. λ.)*

394 Murat. p. 394. 2 Romæ. In anteriori facie: . . . . probitate morum industriaque vivendi atque utrisque literis erudito jam inde a majoribus suis illustribusq. familiis civitatis patrono cujus opera ac beneficio recepit civitas elementum cujus mentum series temporis vetustasque consumerat. nam ejus cura sumptuque aqua modo non deest necessariis usibus civitatis vixit etiam in eruendis plurimis locis splendidissimum urbi præstitit ornamentum. huic igitur ob hæc insignia genera meritorum statuam Sænasium [Sænensium Mur.] ordo decrevit adque in æternæ urbis privatis ejus ædibus conlocavit. In latere: *Dedic. Idus Aug. DD. NN. Arcadio III et Honorio II Augg. cons.*

396 Mur. p. 395. 2 in oppido Bazzano: *Caterio filio dulcissimo qui vixit an. XXIII d. XIII. De. XII Kal. Sep. Arcadio III et Onorio III.* p. 395. 3 Romæ: *Hic requiescit Quodvultdeus honeste recordationis vir qui vixit annos L4I. Depositus in pace die V Idus Octobres cons. DD. NN. Arcadio Aug. quater et Honorio Aug. ter consulibus.* p. 395. 5 Romæ: *Huic tumulo quiescet totius fi. . . . integritatis homo opinionis boni au . . . . ratione fidelis mentis integræ . . . . amicorum ob hoc igitur Neofitus Spac . . . . Aufinianus qui vixit annis XLII. Depositus DD. NN.*

A. D.	CONSULS	Ol. Ind. y.	CHRON. PASCH.	CASSIODOR.
397	Cæsarius et Atticus	10.	3 Cæsarius et Atticus	<i>His coss. Theodosius moritur.</i> Arcadius IV et Honorius III
398	Honorius IV et Eutychianus	11.	4 Honorius IV et Eutychianus	Cæsarius et Atticus
399	Theodorus et Eutropius	12.	5 Theodorus solus	Honorius IV et Eutychianus
400	Stilicho et Aurelianus	295.	13. 6 Stilicho et Aurelianus	Mallius et Theodorus
401	Vincentius et Fravitta	14.	7 Vicentius et Fravitta	Stilicho et Aurelianus
402	Arcadius V et Honorius V	15.	8 Arcadius V et Honorius V	Vincentius et Fravitta
403	Theodosius et Rumoridus	1.	9 Theodosius et Rumoridus	Arcadius V et Honorius V
404	Honorius VI et Aristænetus	296.	2. 10 Honorius VI et Aristænetus	Theodosius et Rumoridus
405	Stilicho II et Anthemius	3.	11 Stilicho II et Anthemius	Honorius VI et Aristænetus
406	Arcadius VI et Probus	4.	12 Arcadius VI et Probus	Stilicho II et Anthemius
407	Honorius VII et Theodosius II	5.	13 Honorius VII et Theodosius II	Arcadius VI et Probus
408	Bassus et Philippus <i>Arcadius ob.</i>	297.	6. 14 Bassus et Philippus <i>His coss. Arcadius ob.</i>	Honorius VII et Theodosius II
409	Honorius VIII et Theodosius III	7.	1 Honorius VIII et Theodosius III	Bassus et Philippus
410	Varanes et Tertullus	8.	2 Varanes solus	<i>His coss. Arcadius moritur.</i> Honorius VIII et Theodosius III
411	Theodosius IV	9.	3 Honorius IX et Theodosius IV	Varan et Tertullus

*Arcadio IIII et Honorio III Aug. cos. p. 396. 1 Romæ: . . . in pace IIII Nonas . . . qui vixit annis LXXX. . . . io IV Honorio III ic posi.*

397 Mur. p. 396. 2 Romæ: *Reveca innocentia quæ vixit annum unum mensem unum dies XVII benemerenti in pace deposita VIII Kal. Septembres Flavio Cæsario et Nonio Attico VV. CC. cons. Parentes benemerenti fecerunt. 3 Romæ: Hic requiescit Perina in pace . . . a que bixit annos. Deposita VIII Kal. Sep. Fl. Cæsario et Attico VV. CC. Syra cum . . . 4 Romæ: . . . benata . . . se vibi . . . Fl. Cæsario . . . 5 Romæ: Sanctæ conjugii Cælestinae quæ vixit annis XX mensem I dies XXII fecit autem cum Ampliato marito annis IIII dies XXI benemerenti in pace. deposita VIII Kal. Junias. Hilaritati filia benemerenti in pace quæ vixit annis XXIII m. VIII d. XXVIII fecit cum marito annos V dies VI. Deposita IIII Non. Jul. Cæsario et Attico cos.*

398 Mur. p. 396. 6 Romæ: . . . ntiani et Epinicensis . . . . . III et Fl. Euticiano VV. CC. cos. . . . XVI Kal. Octobr. depositus est . . . . . acis qui vixit ann. P. M. LXV.

399 Mur. p. 397. 2 Romæ: *Stabilis V. C. tribunus . . . an. pl. min. KL [lege XL] depositus in pace . . . Ap]ril. Fl. Theodoro V. C. cons.*

400 Murat. p. 397. 3 Romæ: *Ubincentius qui vi. ann. P. M. LX. D. prid. Id. Jan. Fl. Stiliconi V. C. cos. in pace Q. p. 397. 4 Romæ in monte Cælio: L. Mario L. f. Quir. Maximo Perpetuo Aureliano cos. sacerdoti feciali leg. Augg. pr. pr. provincia Syria Colæ leg. Aug. pr. pr. provincia Germaniæ inferioris item provinc. Belgicæ duci exercit. Mysiaci apud Bizantium et apud Lugdunum leg. leg. I Italic. cur. vie Latina item reip. Faventinorum allecto inter prætorios trib. pleb. candidato questori urbano trib. laticl. leg. XXII Primig. item III Italicæ IIII viarum curandarum M. Julius Artemidorus 7 leg. III Cyrenaicæ.*

402 Murat. p. 397. 5 extra Romam: *Idem qui vixit annis P. M. XXVI. Deposita Cutinus in pace qui vixit annus P. M. XXVI. Deposita.*

*Onorio Augusto V. Laurentius amicus dolis iscribit. p. 398. 1 Romæ: Hic requiescit in pace . . . . . qui vixit annos XXXIII m. . . . XV oras VI. recessit . . . . . D. N. Onorio Aug. V. Cubecularia hunc titulum posuit.*

403 Mur. p. 398. 2 Romæ: *Hic requiescit in pace sacr. . . germana Sunius ut . . . . . Bonifatia DP. VIII Kal. Jan. cons. . . . Simboletiano C. F. Ares . . . m fecerunt se vivi locum cum suis . . . morido V. C. coss.*

404 Murat. p. 398. 3 Romæ: *Deposita Constantia VI Kal. Julius Honorio Aug. VI consule die dominica, quæ vixit annos plus minus sexaginta benemerenti in pace. p. 398. 4 Romæ: Hic requiescunt in pace Eretorius et Antonina virginii qui simul fecerunt ann. XXV. maritus vixit ann. XLV IIII et uxor vixit ann. XXXV II. DP. Idus Decembris Honorio 5 cos. p. 398. 5 extra Romam: Hic quiescet Cutinus in pace qui vixit . . . . . Honorio Augusto 5 Laurentio. The same inscription is at 402 Honorio V given already; where Cutinus and Laurentius are named. p. 399. 1 extra Romam: Hic requiescet Istratonii qui vixit annus XXXVI. Dep. consulatu D. N. Honori Aug. VI . . . . . ptim. V Idus Junias.*

405 Mur. p. 399. 3 Romæ: *Dis salutiferis. dedicata Stilikone et Antemio coss. Kal. Apr.*

406 Murat. p. 399. 4 extra Romam: *Dulci Maria quæ deposita est in pace die Idum Octobs. D. . . . VI et Petronio Probo V. C. cos.*

407 Murat. p. 399. 5 Tuscanellæ: *Innocentissimo filio Theodosio cujus præcipua claritas suadet D. cujus ego pater perenni luctu percussum talem filium superstitem habere N. merui, qui vixit annis XVIII quievit in pace XIII Kal. Octob. DD. NN. Honorio VII et Theodosio II Aug. p. 400. 1 Romæ: Hic requiescit in pace Felicissima quæ vixit annus LX, quæ fecit cum viro suo annus XLV. Deposita pridie . . . Honorio Aug. VII. Hilarianus conjugii votum posuit.*

410 Murat. p. 400. 2 Pisauri: *Romana dulkisma co. regeskit I. diem jud. Dep. III Kal. Mart. Var. Tertu.*



A. D.	CONSULS	Ol. Ind. y.	CHRON. PASCH.	CASSIODOR.
412	Honorius IX et Theodosius V	298.	10. 4 Theodosius V solus	Theodosius IV
413	Lucius		11. 5 Lucius solus	Honorius IX et Theodosius V
414	Constantius et Constans		12. 6 Constantius et Constans	Lucius V. C. cos.
415	Honorius X et Theodosius VI		13. 7 Honorius X et Theodosius VI	Constantius et Constans
416	Theodosius VII et Palladius	299.	14. 8 Theodosius VII et Palladius	Honorius X et Theodosius VI
417	Honorius XI et Constantius II		15. 9 Honorius XI et Constantius II	Theodosius VII et Palladius
418	Honorius XII et Theodos. VIII		1. 10 Honorius XII et Theodosius VIII	Honorius XI et Constantius II
419	Monaxius et Plinta		2. 11 Monaxius et Plinta	Honorius XII et Theodosius VIII
420	Theodos. IX et Constantius III	300.	3. 12 Theodosius IX et Constantius III	Monaxius et Plinta
421	Eustathius et Agricola		4. 13 Eustathius et Agricola	Theodosius IX et Constantius III
422	Honorius XIII et Theodosius X		5. 14 Honorius XIII et Theodosius X	Agricola et Eustathius
423	Asclepiodotus et Marinianus		6. 15 Asclepiodotus et Marinianus	Honorius XIII et Theodosius X
424	Castinus et Victor	301.	7. 16 Victor et Castinus	Marinianus et Asclepiodotus
425	Theodosius XI et Valentinianus		8. 17 Theodosius XI et Valentinianus	Castinus et Victor
426	Theodosius XII et Valentin. II		9. 18 Theodosius XII et Valentin. II	Theodosius XI et Valentinianus
427	Hierius et Ardaburius		10. 19 Hierius et Ardaburius	Theodosius XII et Valentinianus II
428	Felix et Taurus	302.	11. 20 Felix et Taurus	Hierius et Ardabures
429	Florentius et Dionysius		12. 21 Florentius et Dionysius	Felix et Taurus
430	Theodos. XIII et Valentin. III		13. 22 Theodosius XIII et Valentin. III	Florentius et Dionysius
431	Bassus et Antiochus		14. 23 Antiochus et Bassus	Theodosius XIII et Valentinian. III
432	Aetius et Valerius	303.	15. 24 Valerius et Aetius	Bassus et Antiochus
433	Theodosius XIV et Maximus		1. 25 Theodosius XIV et Maximus	Aetius et Valerius
434	Areobinda et Aspar		2. 26 Areobinda et Aspar	Theodosius XIV et Maximus
435	Theodosius XV et Valentin. IV		3. 27 Theodosius XV et Valentin. IV	Aspar et Areobindas
436	Isidorus et Senator	304.	4. 28 Isidorus et Senator	Theodosius XV et Valentinianus IV

414 Muratori p. 400. 3 Spoleti :

*Rapta jaces natis quos mater ad ubera liquit  
Atque viro pariter quem cito destituit.  
Triste ministerium gemini solvere parentes,  
Funere de tanto quos coquit ipse dolor.*

*Deposito Superæ diem quintum KL. Juliarum consule Constantio V. C. Quæ vixit ann. XXVII.*

415 Mur. p. 401. 2 B. M. *hic etiam requiescit Gallicanus V. C. qui vixit in seculo pl. m. an. LX. Dep. VI Id. Oct. DD. NN. Honorio X et Theodosio V Aug. cons.* Muratori reads *Theodosio VI*. The numbers might also be restored to *IX et V*, expressing A. D. 412. p. 401. 3 extra Romam : . . . *uni et Agape. . . ti manice ei . . . Kal. Maias . . . eodosio VI cons. . . . ann]us LXVIII.*

417 Murat. p. 401. 4 Florentiæ : *ἐνθα κτε[κείται] Μαία θυγάτηρ Ἰωάννου Κ<sup>ω</sup>. Νικερατων. ἔζησεν αὐτῆ [ἔτη] τρία μῆ. τρις ἡμ. ἐς' πύσση ἐτελεύτησεν μῆ. ξανδικῶ δ' ἑ ἰπατία Ὁνορίου Ἀγῆ. τὸ αὐ καὶ Κοσταντίου τὸ β.*

419 An epistle of Bonifacius of Rome apud Acta Concl. tom. 3 p. 436 is dated in this consulship : *Bonifacius episcopus Patroclo Remigio Maximo Hilario Severo Valerio Juliano Castorio Leontio Constantino Joanni Montano Marino Mauricio et ceteris episcopis per Gallias et septem provincias constitutis.—Data sub die Idus Junias Monaxio viro clarissimo consule.*

422 Murat. p. 402. 1 extra Romam : *Deposio Jenaries. Kal. Jenua . . cum virum suum an. XXVI c . . . i scripsit tibi virgineus tuus . . . rebellasti quod adominum ili . . . Anastasio ben . . . in pace viro H . .*

*. . qui vixit annis P. M. . . . die Nonas Octob. . . Theodosi Aug. X.*

423 Mur. p. 402. 2 extra Romam : *Hic quiescit . . que vixit an. . . in pace 5III K. IV. . . Mariniano V. p. 402. 4 Romæ : . . na Emisina que . . . cum virgineum suum . . . die Mariniano viri nob. . . .*

424 Murat. p. 402. 5 extra Romam : *Deps est in pace Filo . . Castino V. C. cons.*

425 Murat. p. 402. 6 Ravennæ : *Stephano Protasio et Gervasio beato martyrio et sibi memoria Lauricius dedicavit sub die XIII Kal. Octobr. Theodosio XI et Placido Valentiniano cons. p. 402. 7 Romæ : Hic requiescit Vitales Sema qui vixit an. pl. m. IIII et Benenat. qui vixit an. pl. m. IIII. D. pride Idus Augustas die Mercuris DD. NN. Teudosio Aug. XI et Valentano puero florentissimo Cæsare.*

426 Mur. p. 402. 8 Romæ : *D. NN. Theodosio XI et Valent. terrum cons. Idus Decem. Lege Theodosio XII et Valent. iterum.*

427 Mur. p. 403. 2 extra Romam : . . . *quem fatalis u. . . . set institutum est. . Hierio et Artabure cons.*

431 Muratori p. 404. 1 extra Romam : *Hic requiescit Felix V. C. vixit annis LXI recessit cons. Basso et Ant[iocho.]*

435 Murat. p. 404. 3 Catanæ : *Avitianus Fidelis hic in pace XPI. quiescit qui vixit an. XII requievit D. XVI KL. Aprili. cons. Theodosi XV et Fl. Valentiniani IIII.*

436 Mur. p. 404. 4 Florentiæ : *B. M. hic requiescit in pace Aquilia Paulina L. F. quæ vixit annos P. M.*

A. D.	CONSULS	Ol. Ind. y.	CHRON. PASCH.	CASSIODOR.
437	Aetius II et Sigisvultus		5. 29 Aetius II et Sigisvultus	Isidorus et Senator
438	Theodosius XVI et Faustus		6. 30 Theodosius XVI et Faustus	Aetius II et Sigisvultus
439	Theodosius XVII et Festus		7. 31 Theodosius XVII et Festus	Theodosius XVI et Faustus
440	Valentinianus V et Anatolius	305.	8. 32 Valentinianus V et Anatolius	Theodosius XVII et Festus
441	Cyrus		9. 33 Cyrus solus	Valentinianus V et Anatolius
442	Eudoxius et Dioscorus		10. 34 Eudoxius et Dioscorus	Cyrus V. C. cos.
443	Maximus II et Paterius		11. 35 Maximus II et Paternus	Dioscorus et Eudoxius
444	Theodosius XVIII et Albinus	306.	12. 36 Theodosius XVIII et Albinus	Maximus II et Paternus
445	Valentinian. VI et Nomus		13. 37 Valentinianus VI et Nomus	Theodosius XVIII et Albinus
446	Aetius III et Symmachus		14. 38 Leontius III et Symmachus	Valentinianus VI et Nonius
447	Callepius et Ardabures		15. 39 Ardaburius et Alypius	Aetius III et Symmachus
448	Postumianus et Zeno	307.	1. 40 Zeno et Postumianus	Callepius et Ardabures
449	Asturius et Protogenes		2. 41 Protogenes et Asterius	Postumianus et Zeno
450	Valentinianus VII et Avienus		3. 42 Valentinianus VII et Avienus	Asterius et Protogenes
	<i>Theodosius ob.</i>		<i>His coss. Theodosius ob.</i>	
451	Marcianus et Adelphius		4. 1 Marcianus et Adelphius	Valentinianus VII et Avienus
				<i>His coss. Theodosius moritur.</i>
452	Herculanus et Asporacius	308.	5. 2 Sphoracius et Herculanus	Marcianus et Adelphus
453	Opilio et Vincomalus		6. 3 Vincomalus et Opilio	Herculanus et Asporacius
454	Aetius et Studius		7. 4 Aetius et Studius	Opilio et Vincomalus
455	Valentinian. VIII et Anthemius		8. 5 Valentinianus VIII et Anthemius	Aetius et Studius
456	Joannes et Varanes	309.	9. 6 Varanes et Joannes	Valentinianus VIII et Anthemius
457	Constantinus et Rufus		10. 7 Constantinus et Rufus	Joannes et Varanes

LX. *Depositæ die 5 I KL. Octob. cons. Isidoro et Senatore VV. CC. con. p. 404. 5 Interamnæ: In pace C. . . post consula . . . Theodosi VX . . . Plac. Valen. IIII Aug.*

438 Murat. p. 404. 6 Romæ: . . . *et juste quo se vivi sibi emer. . . cons. D. N. Teodosio XVI et Anicio Acil. Glabrione Faust.*

439 Mur. p. 405. 1 extra Romam: *Hic requiescit Eutimus auriga qui vixit ann. . . m. I d. VII. Dep. V Idus Octob. Theodosio Aug. XVII et Festo V. C.*

441 Muratori p. 405. 3 Romæ: *P. CC. DD. NN. Valentiniani V et Anatoli die XV Kalendas Maias Constan. depositus in pace qui vixit annis LXX men . . . locus Constant. arcitec. qui fuit. p. 405. 4 Viennæ Allobrogum: . . . Οἰρήνης ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα, καὶ ἱερῶς τελευτῆ μετὰ τὴν ἵππατίαν τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Βαλεντινιανοῦ τὸ πέμπτον καὶ Ἀνατολίου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἐν μηνί [sic emendat Mur.] Περιτίου ἕκτη—* What follows is obscure and corrupt. But Muratori is not justified in supposing that Easter could ever fall within the month *Peritius*.

442 Muratori p. 406. 1 Nolæ: *DP. Ep. Paulini junioris d. IIII Septe. Fl. Diosmoro [sic] cons. p. 406. 2 Romæ:*

*Hæc tenet urna duos sexu sed dispare fratres*

*Quos uno Lachesis mersit acerba die.*

*Ora puer dubiæ signans lanugine vestis*

*Vix hiemes licuit cui geminasse novem.*

*Nec thalamis longinqua soror trieteride quinta*

*Tenarias crudo funere vidit aquas.*

*Ille Remi Latio fictum de sanguine nomen*

*Sed Gallos claro germine traxit avos,*

*Ast hæc Grajugenam resonans Arcontia linguam*

*Nomina virgineo non tulit apta choro.*

*Depositæ Nonis Novemb. consul. Dioscori V. C.*

444 Murat. p. 407. 1 Genuæ: *Hic requiescit bonæ memoriæ Sanctulus subdiac. in pace qui vixit annos P. M. LXXX. DP. ejus VI Kal. Maias cons. Albini Vi. C. cons.*

445 Mur. p. 407. 2 extra Romam: *Locus Leonis RI. presbeteri incomparabilis cujus filia hic requiescit in pace que vixit annos XX et d. XLI [f. XII]. DP. VIII Kal. Nob. cons. Valentiniani VI.*

446 Mur. p. 407. 3 Romæ: *Kal. Decem. Aetio III et Sym . . . quæ vixit pl. m. . . .*

447 Murat. p. 407. 4 extra Romam: *Hic quiescit Gaudiosa C. F. ancilla Dei que vixit annus XL et men. V. Dep. X Kal. Octob. Callepio V. C. con. p. 407. 5 Romæ: Hec Datilla H. F. Domus lucis A. . . . cujus animam pro casto sancto . . . nemo dubitat cælum pet. . . . fortassis poneret sepul. . . . sui parte tota cum sa . . . . V Kal. Mart. cons. Cal. . . .*

449 Diptychon Leodense apud Norisium tom. 3 p. 689 B Arevalum prolegom. ad Sedulium p. 77 Pagium tom. 2 p. 310: *Fl. Astyrius [Asturius Sirmund. ad Ennodium Ep. I. 24] V. C. et inl. com. et mag. utriusq. mil. cons. ord.* The consul of this year. Mentioned by Idatius in A. D. 443. See the Tables 443. 2 p. 628.

450 Mur. p. 407. 6 Romæ: *Hic positus est Antiochos candidatus premeceri qui vixit anus P. M. L. in pace 5 I Kal. Mart. domini nostri Valentiniani Augg. VII et Abinio cos.*

452 col. 2 Chron. Pasch. p. 319 D *Anno 422° τῆς εἰς οὐρανοῦς ἀναλήψεως τοῦ κυρίου.*

456 Mur. p. 408. 3 Romæ: *Dep. Timothea in pace d. Kal. Nov. cons. D. N. Aviti.* See the Tables A. D. 456. 1. Mur. p. 408. 4 Romæ: *In pace con. D. N.*



A. D.	CONSULS	Ol. Ind. y.	CHRON. PASCH.	CASSIODOR.
	<i>Marcianus ob.</i>		<i>His coss. Marcianus ob.</i>	
458	Leo et Majorianus	11.	1 Leo et Majorianus	Constantinus et Rufus <i>His coss. Marcianus ob.</i>
459	Ricimeres et Patricius	12.	2 Ricimeres et Patricius	Leo et Majorianus
460	Magnus et Apollonius	310.	3 Apollonius et Magnus	Ricimer et Patricius
461	Severinus et Dagalaiphus	14.	4 Dagalaiphus et Severianus	Magnus et Apollonius
462	Leo II et Severus	15.	5 Leo II et Serpentius	Severinus et Dagalaiphus
463	Basilius et Vivianus	1.	6 Vivianus et Basilius	Leo II et Severus
464	Olybrius et Rusticus	311.	2. 7 Rusticus et Olybrius	Basilius et Vibianus
465	Hermenericus et Basiliscus	3.	8 Basiliscus et Armenarichus	Rusticus et Olybrius
466	Leo III	4.	9 Leo III solus	Hermenericus et Basiliscus
467	Puseus et Joannes	5.	10 Puseus et Joannes	Leo III
468	Anthemius II	312.	6. 11 Anthemius II solus	Puseus et Joannes
469	Marcianus et Zeno	7.	12 Zeno et Marcianus	Anthemius II
470	Severus et Jordanes	8.	13 Gordianus et Severus	Marcianus et Zeno
471	Leo IV et Probianus	9.	14 Leo IV et Probianus	Severus et Jordanes
472	Festus et Marcianus	313.	10. 15 Marcianus et Festus	Leo IV et Probianus
473	Leo V	11.	16 Leo V solus	Festus et Marcianus
474	Leo junior	12.	1 Leo junior	Leo V
	<i>Leo ob.</i>		<i>Leo jun. ob.</i>	
475	Zeno II	13.	1 Zeno II	Leo junior <i>Hoc cos. Leo defunctus.</i>
476	Basiliscus II et Armatus	314.	14. 2 Basiliscus et Armatus	P. C. Leonis junioris
477	P. C. Basilisci II et Armati	15.	3 Basiliscus et Armatus	Basiliscus II et Armatus
478	Illus	1.	4 Illus solus	P. C. Basilisci II et Armati
479	Zeno III	2.	5 Zeno III solus	Illus V. C. cos.
480	Basilius junior	315.	3. 6 Basilius solus	Zeno II
481	Placidus	4.	7 Placidus solus	Basilius junior
482	Trocondus et Severinus	5.	8 Trocondus et Severianus	Placidus V. C. cos.
483	Faustus	6.	9 Faustus solus	Severinus V. C. cos.
484	Theodericus et Venantius	316.	7. 10 Theoderichus et Venantius	Faustus V. C. cos.

*Aviti.* p. 408. 5. 6 Romæ: *Locus Geronti presb. depositus XIII Kal. Jul. cons. Eparchi Aviti.* N° 5 for *dep. XIII Kal. Jul. has requiescit in DNO.* and to *Aviti* adds *V. C.*

462 col. 2 *Serpentius* (which is a corruption of *Severus*) also appears in Theophanes p. 97 A *Leonis* 6° *τούτω τῷ ἔτει ἐσφάγη Μαϊωρίνος εἰς Ταρτίωνα ὑπὸ Ῥεμικίου πατρικίου, καὶ ἐπήρθη εἰς βασιλέα Σευήρος καὶ Σερπέντιος νόναυς Ἰουλίαις.* Where we may read *Seυήρος* ὁ καὶ *Σερπέντιος*.

464 Murat. p. 409. 6 Romæ: . . . *pace Prætest. MIP. co . . . Aug. cons. Rustici et Olibri . . . pace. Dep. V Id. Mart. . . . et Hermineric.*

465 See Mur. at A. D. 464. *Idem* p. 410. 1 extra Romam: *Herclania . . . unt sibi et suis . . . consulat. . . Arminero et Basilisco VV. CC.*

468 Mur. p. 410. 3 Interamnæ: *Hoc parvo teg. . . qui fuit us . . . fidel . . . penituit vitæ . . . credere ne co. . . a domino celi . . . nec tamen id . . . ejhus que pe. . . Depositus in pa. . . DN. Anthemio . . . qui vixit annos . . .*

470 Murat. p. 410. 4 Vasionē: *Rusticus voto suo fecit. Moritur bonæ memoriæ mater mea Stephania XVIII Kal. Novembris die Lunæ Luna XVIII. Vixit annis XXVIII Severo et Jordane con. ut pro*

*voto suo fecit.* Read with Muratori *XIII Kal. Novembris.* that is, *Monday Oct. 19 A. D. 470.* *Idem* p. 410. 5 Lugduni: . . . *XXV recessit VI Kal. Octob. DN. N. Severo et Jordane VV. CC.*

471 Murat. p. 411. 1 Ticine: *ἔθα ἀναπαύσονται οἱ Καλοκυμ. Πατρίκιος καὶ Παῦλος γνήσιοι ἀδελφοὶ υἱοὶ Ἀββίωσα καὶ Ὠμμάρωτα τῶν ὄρων Ἀπαμείων. ἔτι προσετετητη μακαρες μνήμης Πέτρος Νητη ὃς ἐκ γνος τοῦ προγενοῦ Πατρικίου υἱὸς Θεοδώρου καὶ Εὐφομίας ἐτελ. μηνὶ Γορπιέου ε' ἐν ὑπατ. τ. δεσπην Δέονος τ. δ' καὶ Προβιανοῦ τ. λαμπ.* p. 411. 2 extra Romam: *Hic quiescit in pace Anthemius cubicul. qui vixit annos LX. Depositus III Non. Octobr. cons. Probiani.* 3 *Ibidem: . . . Palati qui vixit . . . dies VII. Depositus Probiani V. C. cons.*

472 Mur. p. 405. 2 extra Romam: *Hic quiescit in pace Prætextatus V. I. exquæstor SC. P. DP. VII Idus Octobr. Festo V. C. cons. [sc. A. D. 472] filia ejus Prætextata C. F. DP. XV Kal. Aug. Decio V. C. C. [A. D. 486.]*

474 Mur. p. 411. 5 Nicizæ: *Hic requiescit bonæ memoriæ Spectabilis Expectatus Q. vixit annos L m. VII cujus DP. est sub die VIII Kal. Junii DN. Leone juvne V. C. SS.*

484 Murat. p. 412. 1 *Hic requiescit Andreas notar. qui vixit ann. XXV. Depositus in pace sub die . . .*

A. D.	CONSULS	Ol. Ind. y.	CHRON. PASCH.	CASSIODOR.
485	Symmachus		8. 11 Symmachus solus	Theodericus et Venantius
486	Decius et Longinus		9. 12 Longinus et Decius	Symmachus V. C. cos.
487	Boethius		10. 13 Boethius solus	Decius et Longinus
488	Dynamius et Sifidius	317.	11. 14 Dynamius et Sifidius	Boethius V. C. cos.
489	Probinus et Eusebius		12. 15 Eusebius et Probinus	Dynamius et Sifidius
490	Longinus II et Faustus		13. 16 Longinus II et Faustus II	Probinus et Eusebius
491	Olybrius		14. 17 Olybrius solus	Faustus junior cos.
	<i>Zeno ob.</i>		<i>Hoc cos. Zeno ob.</i>	
492	Anastasius et Rufus	318.	15. 1 Anastasius et Rufus	Olybrius junior
				<i>Hoc cos. Zeno occubuit.</i>
493	Eusebius II et Albinus		1. 2 Eusebius II et Albinus	Anastasius et Rufus
494	Asterius et Præsidius		2. 3 Asterius et Præsidius	Albinus V. C. cos.
495	Viator		3. 4 Viator solus	Asterius et Præsidius
496	Paulus	319.	4. 5 Paulus solus	Viator V. C. cos.
497	Anastasius II		5. 6 Anastasius II solus	Paulus V. C. cos.
498	<sup>A</sup> Joannes et Paulinus		6. 7 Joannes et Paulinus	Anastasius II
499	<sup>B</sup> Joannes Gibbus		7. 8 Joannes solus	<sup>A</sup> Paulinus et Joannes
500	<sup>C</sup> Patricius et Hypatius	320.	8. 9 Patricius et Hypatius	<sup>B</sup> Joannes V. C. cos.
501	<sup>D</sup> Pompeius et Avienus		9. 10 Pompeius et Avienus	<sup>C</sup> Patricius et Hypatius

*Venantio V. C. cons.* p. 412. 2 Nolæ: *Dep. sanc. Felicis Epsc. V Id. Febr. pos. cons. Fausti V. C.* p. 412. 4 Sitiani in agro Novariensi: *D. Dic requisc. C. . . . Augusta parvula. vixit in sæculo anno uno et menses X et die XXXIII et deposita est sub die Idus Julias Indic. XII Fl. Sehudericò Vs. Cs. Cs.*

486 Mur. p. 413. 1 extra Romam: *Nonnosa fidelis in pace . . . qui vixit [l. que vixit] annos triginta. Deposita V K. Nobebrès Deci . . . s in pace qui vixit annis plus m. . . . depos. Idus Octobs. Decius is also named above at A. D. 472.*

487 Murat. p. 413. 2 Romæ: *Generosus eunuchus depositus in pace VII Id. Octob. Boetio V. C. cons.* p. 413. 3 Romæ: *Valens V. D. Comit. depositus Kal. Jul. cons. Boethi V. C.* p. 413. 4 Romæ: *Quie]scit in pace Sabina qui [lege que] vix . . . . quinque dies dece deposita IIII . . . cons. Boetio V. C. consul.*

488 Murat. p. 413. 5 Panormi: *Hic requiescit in pace Munatia religiosa femina que vixit anno pl. m. LXX. Deposita sub die pridie Nonas Februarius Dynamio et Sifidio VV. CC.*

489 Murat. p. 413. 6 Massiliæ: *Hic requiescit in pa. . . Nymfidius ex pra. . . . qui vixit annos. . . . recesset VIII Kalen. . . . Probino et Euseb. . . .*

490 Mur. p. 414. 1 Romæ: *Thomas cum Agnete se vivo comparaverunt die Kal. Septb. cons. Fausti V. C. junioris.* p. 414. 2 Nolæ: *DP. Theodosi epc. die VIII Idus Decembrues Fl. Fausto juniore V. C. cons.* Confirming the description of Cassiodorus.

491 Mur. p. 414. 4 Viennæ in Delphinatu: *In hoc tumulo conditur bonæ memoriæ Severianus qui religionem devota mente suscepit sic quem anima ad authorem DM. remeante terrena membra terris reliquit exactis vitæ annis XXXII obiit pridie Idus Augustas resurgit in XPO. DMO. nostro post consulato Longini bis et Fausti.*

492 Mur. p. 414. 6 Lugduni: *In hoc tumulo requiescit bone memorius Cesarius. vixit anus X. . . requibit*

*in pace sub die Kal. Decembris Anastasio et Rufo VV. CC.* p. 414. 8 in agro Aquilano: *Hic Hilarianus requiescit in pace s. d. X-I Kal. Decembris DN. Anastasio PP. Ag. consl. PP. is not, as Muratori interprets, patre patriæ, but perpetuo. sc. perpetuo Augusto.*

494 Mur. p. 415. 1 Ravennæ: *Hic RQ. in P. SCS. pap. Johan. D. S. an. XVI m. X d. XVII. DP. sub d. Non. Jun. Asteri et Præs. VV. CC.* 2 extra Romam: *Cæcilia que vix. . . Deposita in pace Asterio et Præsidio . . . 3 extra Romam: . . . s. d. X Kal. Aprilis de . . . cons. Asteri et P. . . . annus XI.*

Arevali prolegom. ad Sedulium p. 71 "In multis MSS. codd. Sedulii annotatur *Asterium* carmina Sedulii dispersa collegisse—Antiquissimus codex noster Vaticanus Reg. I sic habet: *Hoc opus Sedulii in certas chartulas dispersum reliquit, quod recollectum adunatum atque ad omnem elegantiam divulgatum est ob Turcio Ruffo Asterio V. C. ex consule ordinario atque patricio.* Post notam illico exscribitur epigramma Asterii *Sume sacer meritis*—Sed non exprimitur quis sit hic sacer meritis." Idem p. 78 "Extat in vetustissimo Virgilii codice Mediceo *Turcius Rufius Apro-nianus V. C. et inl. ex comite domest. protect. ex com. priv. largit. ex præf. urbi patricius et consul ordin. legi et distincxi codicem fratris Macharii V. C. non mei fiducia set ejus cui si et ad omnia sum devotus arbitrio XI Kal. Mai Romæ. Distincxi emendans, gratum mihi munus amici &c. [conf. Vales. ad Socratem H. E. II. 29 Anthol. Latin. II. 187 tom. I p. 371]." *Asterius* here described is taken for the consul of A. D. 449 by Sirmond, by Miræus ad Isidorum c. 7, but more rightly the consul of 494 by Arevalus himself proleg. p. 85 by Noris tom. 3 p. 687—692 Pagi tom. 2 p. 446 Burman Anthol. Lat. tom. I p. 371 and Corsini Præf. Urb. Rom. p. 364. For another *Asterius* in 339 see the inscriptions of *Constantius II* N<sup>o</sup> 4 above at p. 98.*





A. D.	CONSULS	Ol. Ind. y.	CHRON. PASCH.
525	Philoxenus et Probus	3.	7 Philoxenus et Probus
526	Olybrius	4.	8 Olybrius solus
527	Mavortius	5.	9 Mavortius solus
	<i>Justinus ob.</i>		<i>Hoc cos. Justinus ob.</i>
528	Justinianus II	327.	6. 1 Justinianus III
529	Decius		7. 2 Decius solus
530	Lampadius et Orestes		8. 3 Lampadius et Orestes
531	P. C. Lampadii et Orestis		* * * * *
532	II P. C. Lampadii et Orestis	328.	10. 5 II P. C. Lampadii et Orestis
533	Justinianus III		11. 6 Justinianus IV
534	Justinianus IV et Paulinus		12. 7 Justinianus V et Paulinus
535	Belisarius		13. 8 Belisarius solus
536	P. C. Belisarii	329.	14. 9 Belisarius solus
537	II P. C. Belisarii		15. 10 Belisarius II solus

525 Murat. p. 419. 5 Compendii in diptycho: *Fl. Theodorus Filoxenus Sotericus Filoxenus vir illust. com. domest. ex magistro m. per Thracia et consul ordinar.*

*τοῦτο τὸ δῶρον τῇ σοφῇ γερουσίᾳ  
ὑπατος ὑπάρχων προσφέρω Φιλόξενος.*

p. 419. 6 Mediolani: *Hic requiescit in pace sanc. M. Adeodatus presb. qui vixit in sæculo ann. plus minus octoginta quinque. Depositio sub die nono Kalendas Julii Probo jun. consule per indictione tertia.* [sc. June 23 A. D. 525.]

526 Mur. p. 414. 3 extra Romam: *Hic requiescit in pace Laurentius præpositus basilice beati Pauli apostoli qui vixit annus P. M. LX Olibrio V. C. cons. p. 414. 5 Interamnæ: VV. CC. Olibrio cons. S. est Aufidius qui vixit an. VII. Item hic pos. D. H. C. Le. p. 420. 1 Interamnæ: Hunc . . . si vis cogitor. . . . tor. Hic requie . . . venerabilis sem. . . . episcopatu. Depos. in pace V. Olibrio.* It cannot be determined whether these belong to A. D. 491 or to 526.

528 Mur. p. 420. 3 Romæ: *Hic requiescit in pace Pastor Num. vir V. qui vixit ann. XV men. XI die VII. Dep. s. d. XIII Kal. Decembris P. C. Maburti V. C. cons. 4 extra Romam: Hoclatarius qui vixit an. . . . P. C. Maborti V. C. cons.*

529 Mur. p. 420. 6 Romæ: . . . *Hic requies. . . . casta Deo . . . Decio junio . . . p. 421. 1 Caietæ: vv. 18.*

*Pande tuas, paradise, fores sedemque beatam,  
Andrea meritum suscipe pontificis &c.—  
—Præsule sub tanto florens ecclesia mater  
Crevit muneribus, crevit et officiis.*

*Vixit ann. P. M. LXX presb. Romanus VII et in ep. ann. XXVII m. X d. XX. Requievit in pace XIII Kal. Nov. cons. Deci jun.*

530 Mur. p. 421. 2 extra Romam: *Hic requievit in pace Constantinus horrearius qui viset P. M. an. XLVII. Dipositus est VII K. Dec. cons. Fl. Lampadii et Orestis VV. CC. p. 422. 1 Romæ: . . . is filius Kalop . . . . . nnus XX. Depositu. . . . Lampadi et Horestis. p. 422. 2 Romæ: Theodori Gennara filia . . . cons. Flavi Lampadi . . . cum marito annus I et mens. VI.*

531 Mur. p. 422. 3 Veronæ. Given in the Tables A. D. 531. 1 from Gruter. The numbers are thus expressed in Muratori: *Vixit ann. pl. m. LXXXV—sedit—annos 5II menses 5II et dies X5III et recessit sub d. 5III Kal.—ind. 5III.* p. 422. 4 extra Romam: *Hic requiescit in pace Theodosus qui vixit annus XII. Dep. V KL. Augustas. Hic requiescit in pace Dumilda H. F. quæ vixit pl. m. annus LIII. DPS. III Non. S. P. C. Lampadi et Orestis.*

532 Murat. p. 422. 5 Romæ: *Eunuchus qui vixit annos plus minus IV. depositus sub d. III Id. Februarum iter. P. C. Lampadi et Orestis VV. CC. cons. 6 Arelate: Hic in pace requiesc. bonæ memoriæ Thaumasta quæ vixit annos XL et obi. sub d. pr. Idib. Dec. indictione undecima iterum post cos. Lampadi et Orest. VV. CC.*

534 Murat. p. 423. 1 in oppido Anse:

*Germine sublimi Proba nomine mente provata  
Quæ subito raptâ est hic tumultata jacet.  
In qua qdquid habent cunctorum vota parentum  
Contulerat tribuens omnia pulchra ds.  
Hinc mestus pater est aviæ matricque perennis  
. . . . heu facinus . . . . . perit pietas.  
Accipe qui lachrymis perfundis jugiter ora,  
Mors nihil est. Vitam respice perpetuam.*

*Quæ vixit annis V mensis VIII obiit s. d. III Ids. Octubris Paulino V. K. C.*

535 Murat. p. 423. 3 Tusculi: . . . *qui vixit ann. LXVII. dep. d. Kal. . . Vilisari V. C. 4 Tusculi: . . con . . . ann. XV mensi . . . C. Vilisari. 5 Romæ: Hic requiescit . . . cons. Fl. Bilis.*

536 Mur. p. 423. 6 extra Romam: *Hic requiescit in pace . . . . . Andrea C. . . . quæ vixit virgo ann. . . . Dep. pridie Id. Octobr. . . . Bilisari V. C. ind. p. 424. 1 extra Romam: Hic requiescit i . . . qui vixit ann. pl. . . . iter. P. C. Paulini. 424. 2 extra Romam: Deus det qui vixit annus P. M. XX . . . Maias iterum pos. con. Paulini Avit. sol. et Tremisse. p. 423. 2 Ravennæ: Hic requiesc. vir juv. presb. B. . . . et Vindimius qu . . . vix. ann. . . . Dep. est sub d. . . . II P. C. Paulini cons. in . . .*

537 Mur. p. 424. 3 Aostæ in Delphinatu: *Hic requiescit in pace bone memoriæ Ingildus qui vixit annis*



A. D.	CONSULS	Ol. Ind. y.	CHRON. PASCH.
538	Joannes		1. 11 Joannes solus
539	Apio		2. 12 Apio Strategii f. solus
540	Justinus junior	330.	3. 13 Justinus jun. solus
541	Basilius		4. 14 Basilius solus
542	P. C. Basilii		5. 15 P. C. Basilii
543	P. C. Basilii II		6. 16 P. C. Basilii II
544	P. C. Basilii III	331.	7. 17 P. C. Basilii III
545	P. C. Basilii IV		8. 18 P. C. Basilii IV
546	P. C. Basilii V		9. 19 P. C. Basilii V
547	P. C. Basilii VI		10. 20 P. C. Basilii VI
548	P. C. Basilii VII	332.	11. 21 P. C. Basilii VII
549	P. C. Basilii VIII		12. 22 P. C. Basilii VIII
550	P. C. Basilii IX		13. 23 P. C. Basilii IX
551	P. C. Basilii X		14. 24 P. C. Basilii X

*III et mensibus octo obiit in XPO. III KL. Novembr. tertio P. C. Paulini jun. V. C. C.*

538 Murat. p. 424. 4 Romæ: *Hic requiescit Maria H. F. DP. in pace XIII Kal. Januarius Fl. Johanne Orientale V. Cl. con. 5 Nolæ: Hic requiescit in pace Januaria Q. vivit pl. m. ann. XXVIII cum marito fec. ann. XV m. XI d. X. Dep. d. XV Ka. Februar. P. C. Bilisari VI [recte Mur. III] ind. prima [sc. Jan. 18 A. D. 538]. Hic requiescit in pace Filicellus SBD.*

539 Murat. p. 424. 6 Ticini: *Hic in pace requiescit B. M. Theodora diaconissa quæ vivit in seculo annos pl. m. XLVIII. D. XI Kal. Aug. V P. C. Paulini jun. V. C. ind. II [sc. July 22 A. D. 539].*

540 Murat. p. 425. 1 extra Romam: *Hic requiescit Abundantius . . . etianus qui vivit ann. pl. m. XL. Dep. in pace VI Idus Septemb. Fl. Justino V. C. cons.*

541 Mur. p. 425. 3 Ravennæ: *Hic requiescit in pace vir SBL. Sedaignucus et cubicularius regis Theoderici, qui vivit ann. pl. m. XL. Depositus est sub d. III Id. Martias Basilio jun. V. C. cons. indictione quarta. [sc. March 12 A. D. 541]. p. 425. 4 Lugduni: In hoc tumultu requiescet bonæ memoriæ Necteria qui vivit annos XXV obiit in pace pridie Kal. Maias P. C. Justini.*

542 Mur. p. 425. 6 Curia in Rhætia:  
*Hic jacet in tumulo quem flevit Rhætica tellus  
 Maxima summorum gloria pontificum,  
 Abiectis qui fudit opes nudataque textit  
 Agmina captivis præmia larga ferens.  
 Est pius vicina polo, nec funeris ictum  
 . . . sentit ovans qui petit astra bonis.  
 Hic [lege his] pollens titulis Valentiniane sacerdos  
 Crederis a cunctis non potuisse mori.*

*Qui vivit in hoc seculo ann. pls. mn. LXX. Dps. sub die Id. Jan. Sps. P. C. S. Basili V. C. ind. V [Jan. 13 A. D. 542]. Paulinus nepos ipsius hæc fieri ordinavit.*

544 Murat. p. 425. 5 Romæ: . . . *Cappina R. se vivo hic req. . . . xit ann. plus m. XVII. De . . . ter P. C. Fl. Basili V. C. cons. Referred by Muratori to A. D. 542. But it either expresses i]ter. P. C. sc. A. D. 543, or ter P. C. sc. A. D. 544.*

545 Mur. p. 426. 1 Aostæ in Delphinatu: *Hic requiescit in pace bonæ memoriæ adulescens itegre carnis nomine Leudomari qui vivit annis numero IIII et dies VIII obiit in XPO sex. K. Mai. post C. IV Basili*

*VV. CC. SS. cns. p. 426. 2 Ravennæ: Consecuti beneficia archangeli Michaelis Bachauda et Julianus a fundamentis fecerunt et dedicaverunt sub die Non. Maii quater P. C. Basilii junioris viri clarissimi cos. ind. VIII [May 7 A. D. 545].*

546 Mur. p. 426. 3 Ticini: . . . *diaconus qui vivit in hoc seculo annos p. min. XLV. Dep. sub d. V Kal. Novembr. duodecies P. C. Paulini jun. V. C. ind. X [Oct. 28 A. D. 546]. p. 426. 4 Augustæ Prætoria: Hic requiescit in pace SCE memoriæ Gallus EPS. qui vivit in episcopatu annos XVII menses II dies XX. DPS. sub d. III Nonas Octobris duodecies P. C. Paulini junior. V. C. indictione decima.*

547 Mur. p. 426. 5 Ravennæ: *B. Vitalis basilicam mandato Ecclesiæ episcopi Julianus Argentarius edificavit consecrante viro reverendissimo Maximiano episcopo sub die XIV Kal. Maii series P. C. Basilii junioris V. C. ind. X [Ap. 18 A. D. 547]. p. 426. 6 Aostæ in Delphinatu: Hic requiescit in pace bonæ memoriæ Teoptcunde qui vivit annos num. X obiit in XO. VI KL. Decembr. novies P. cons. Johannis V. C.*

548 Mur. p. 426. 7 Tarracinæ: *Hic requiescit Johannes B. M. Q. V. pl. m. an. LX. DP. in pace C. III Idus Febr. septies P. C. Basili V. C.*

549 Murat. p. 427. 1 Ravennæ: *In hoc loco stetit arca beati Apollinaris sacerdotis et confessoris a tempore transitus sui usque dia e qua per virum beat. Maximianum episcopum translata est et introducta in basilicam quam Julianus Argentarius a fundamentis edificavit et dedicata ab eodem viro beatissimo die VII Idus Maiarum ind. XII octies P. C. Basili jun. [May 9 A. D. 549.]*

550 Murat. p. 427. 2 Ravennæ: *In honorem sancti protomartyris Stephani servus Christi Maximianus episcopus hanc basilicam ipso juvante a fundamentis construxit et dedicavit die III Id. Decembr. indict. XIII novies P. C. Basili jun. V. C. [Dec. 11 A. D. 550.]*

551 Murat. p. 427. 3 Ravennæ:  
*Clauditur hoc tumulto Benedicti fida jugalis,  
 Quæ tenuit castam defuncto conjuge vitam.  
 Nomine Pulcheria fuit, sed nomine formam  
 Signavit mentemque simul vitamque decentem.  
 Filius his Thomas, aluit quem blanda relicta  
 Simpliciter pietas, cari post fata mariti*

## A. D. CONSULS

552	P. C. Basili XI
553	P. C. Basili XII
554	P. C. Basili XIII
555	P. C. Basili XIV
556	P. C. Basili XV
557	P. C. Basili XVI
558	P. C. Basili XVII
559	P. C. Basili XVIII
560	P. C. Basili XIX
561	P. C. Basili XX
562	P. C. Basili XXI
563	P. C. Basili XXII
564	P. C. Basili XXIII
565	P. C. Basili XXIV
	<i>Justinian. ob.</i>
566	Justinus
567	P. C. Justin. I
568	P. C. Justin. II
569	P. C. Justin. III
570	P. C. Justin. IV
571	P. C. Justin. V
572	P. C. Justin. VI
573	P. C. Justin. VII
574	P. C. Justin. VIII
575	P. C. Justin. IX
576	P. C. Justin. X
577	P. C. Justin. XI
578	P. C. Justin. XII
	<i>Justinus ob.</i>
579	Tiberius cos.

## Ol. Ind. y. CHRON. PASCH.

333.	15. 25	P. C. Basili XI
	1. 26	P. C. Basili XII
	2. 27	P. C. Basili XIII
	3. 28	P. C. Basili XIV
334.	4. 29	P. C. Basili XV
	5. 30	P. C. Basili XVI
	6. 31	P. C. Basili XVII
	7. 32	P. C. Basili XVIII
335.	8. 33	P. C. Basili XIX
	9. 34	P. C. Basili XX
	10. 35	P. C. Basili XXI
	11. 36	P. C. Basili XXII
336.	12. 37	P. C. Basili XXIII
	13. 38	P. C. Basili XXIV
	14. 39	Justinus junior II solus
		<i>Justinianus ob.</i>
	15. 1	P. C. II Justini junioris
337.	1. 2	P. C. II Justin. jun. II
	2. 3	P. C. II Justin. jun. III
	3. 4	P. C. II Justin. jun. IV
	4. 5	P. C. II Justin. jun. V
338.	5. 6	P. C. II Justin. jun. VI
	6. 7	P. C. II Justin. jun. VII
	7. 8	P. C. II Justin. jun. VIII
	8. 9	P. C. II Justin. IX
339.	9. 10	P. C. II Justin. X
	10. 11	P. C. II Justin. XI
	11. 12	P. C. II Justin. XII
		<i>Justinus ob.</i>
	12. 1	Tiberius Aug.

*Officium sula exhibuit commune parentum ;  
Ipsius hic collo genetriz portata quiescit.  
Tale decus meruit funeris pia mater habere.*

DP. s. d. Id. FB. X P. C. Basil. ind. XIII. In v. 6 is sula for sola. p. 427. 4 Viennæ in Delphinatu: *In hoc tomolo quiescit in pace bonæ memoriæ famola Dei Dulcitia sanc. morebus optimis voluntate di . . . charitate largissima quæ vixit plus minus ann. XXXV obiit in pace non. Kal. Maias X P. C. Basili V. C. cons. indictione quarta decima* [Ap. 23 A. D. 551].

553 Murat. p. 427. 5 Nolæ: *Dep. sancte M. Reparati diae. Dep. d. XIII Kal. Novemb. XII P. C. Basili V. C.*

554 Mur. p. 428. 1 extra Romam: *Hic requiescit in pace Yppolitus V. C. amator pauperum qui dep. est . . . Aprilis XIII P. C. Basili ind. II . . . quis præsumpserit vel intul . . .*, [March or April A. D. 554.]

563 Muratori p. 428. 2 Romæ: *Locus Marcelli sub d. reg. seate concessum sibi et posteris ejus a beatissimo papa Joanne. qui vixit ann. pl. m. LXVIII. Dep. P. C. Basili V. C. ann. XXII ind. XI undecima Kal. Januarias.* [sc. Dec. 22 A. D. 563.]

565 Murat. p. 428. 3 Romæ: . . . *Lucina in pace qui visse pl. m. . . . P. C. Basili V. C. anno XXVIII . . . Dipo. Decembrum.*

568 Murat. p. 429. 2 Albingauni: *Hic requiescit in pace B. M. Honorata clarissima et P. F. conjunx Tzit-*

*tani com. et trib. quæ vixit in hoc sæc. ann. XL. Depos. est sub d. Kal. Febr. ind. prim. imp. et cons. D. N. Justino PP. Aug. anno tertio. Rogo te per D. M. Omupm. et JHM X . . . Nazarenum ne me tangas nec sepulcrum meum violis, nam ante tribunal aeterni judicis mecum causam dicis.* On Feb. 1 ind. 1 A. D. 568 the third year of Justin was current, and also *annus post consulatum tertius*, reckoned, as in some other instances, inclusive of the consulship itself. See the Tables A. D. 542. 1. 568. 1. 575. 2.

569 Mur. p. 429. 3 Capuæ: *Hic requiescit in somno pacis Justina abbatissa fundatrix sancti loci hujus, quæ vixit plus minus annos LXXXV. Deposit. sub die Kalendarum Novembrium imp. D. N. Justino PP. Aug. anno III P. C. ejusdem indictione tertia* [sc. Nov. 1 A. D. 569].

572 Mur. p. 430. 2 Capuæ: *Vir beatissimus Probinus episc. sedit ann. I mens. VIII dies IIII. Deposit. sub die XIII Kal. Septembres imp. D. N. Justino anno VII P. C. ejusdem anno V indictione quinta.* In Aug. 20 A. D. 572 the 5th indiction was still current, and the 7th year of Justin. But for P. C. anno V we must read P. C. anno VI. Murat. p. 430. 3 Ravennæ: *Hic requiescit in pace Faustinus V. C. . . . Q. vixit ann. pl. m. LIII. Deposit. est sub d. prid. Kal. Mai. ind. V* [Ap. 30 A. D. 572] *imp. D. N. Justino PP. A.*



The notation of the Paschal Chronicle from 580 to the end, with the fuller account which it contains of the times of *Heraclius*, in whose reign the author lived, will be found in the first chapter of this Appendix. Holstenius and Du Cange suppose that there were two authors of this Chronicle; that the first ended at the 17th of *Constantius II* A. D. 354, about whose time he lived; and that the second author continued the Chronicle to the 20th of *Heraclius*<sup>a</sup>. This opinion is adopted by Cave, Oudin, Harles<sup>b</sup>. But the only reason assigned for this opinion seems to be that a MS. ended at that point<sup>c</sup>. Which is no sufficient reason. There might be other causes why the MS. ended there. The internal evidence of the Chronicle itself is against the supposition that a first author lived about the time of *Constantius II*. 1 The unity of design implies one author. 2 Some errors occur in the narrative which a contemporary would probably have avoided; as the appointment of *Constantius* to be *Cæsar* is placed at a wrong year p. 282 D. at A. D. 325 instead of 323. the death of *Magnentius* p. 292 D is also at a wrong year. 3 In the Chronicle p. 11 A B are mentioned certain feasts observed by the Church; the Nativity Dec. 25 (a date also mentioned p. 202 D), the birth of *St. John the Baptist* at June 24, the Annunciation March 25, the Presentation in the Temple Feb. 2. But, as will be shewn hereafter, Dec. 25 was not appointed to be observed at Antioch till about A. D. 378; and the author of this Chronicle wrote in the East. The other dates are still more decisive. The feast of the Presentation in the Temple on the 2nd of February is referred by Cedrenus to the reign of *Justin*; by Nicephorus and Sigebertus to the reign of *Justinian*<sup>d</sup>. Bingham dates the original of the feast of the Annunciation March 25 from the 7th century<sup>e</sup>. There is no need to assume that the author of these passages inserted them in an older Chronicle. Till more sufficient proof of an elder author shall be given (at present this is mere conjecture), the most easy and obvious conclusion is that the whole Chronicle was compiled by one and the same author, who lived in the reign of *Heraclius*.

<sup>a</sup> Du Cange in præfatione p. 8 § x *Constat illum a quo ad Heraclium perductum est non esse totius operis scriptorem sed alterius quod in annum 354 desierit continuatorem et interpolatorem. Id docemur præsertim ex Holstenii observationibus quas codici suo Chronici Alex. edito subinde affixerat hisce post hæc verba [p. 292 D] εἰδὼν Ἀδελφούστου ἀδελφίτης. "Hic desiit auctor Chronici Paschalis. cætera sunt continuatoris." Inde ergo colligitur primum auctorem vixisse circa tempora Constantii. Quin porro continuator Chronici sub Heraclio vixerit negari fere non potest.*

<sup>b</sup> Cave tom. 1 p. 581 *Binis auctores agnoscere videtur, unum qui priorem operis partem contexit et ad a. 354—deduxit, alterum qui hunc excepit et ad Heraclii a. 20 continuavit; ut ex vetustissimo Holstenii codice ejusque in illum notis ostendit du Fresne. Oudin, tom. 1 p. 1601 Ex Du Cangii mente hoc Chronicon ex variis auctoribus est. advertit enim Holstenius ad marginem sui exemplaris primum scriptorem finisse ad annum 17 Constantii. Jacobus autem Goar continuatorem vixisse sub Heraclio.—Incertus igitur hujus Chronici auctor est, anonymusque jure censendus. Harles Introd. in linguam Græcam tom. 2. 1 p. 482 Duo fu-*

*erunt auctores, quorum alter quidem res ab orbe condito ad a. 354 exposuit, alter vero ad annum Heraclii 20<sup>um</sup> continuavit.* Vossius also remarks de Hist. Græcis II. 23 p. 277 *Facile mihi persuadeo non unius hanc fuisse operam; quod et Raderus ex inscriptione præfatione et Cæsarum syllabo conjectat.*

<sup>c</sup> See the two preceding notes.

<sup>d</sup> Cedren. p. 366 A *de Justino seniore: ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ δὲ ἐπιπέσθη ἑορτάζειν ἡμᾶς καὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν τῆς ὑπαπαντῆς τῆς μέχρι τότε μὴ ἑορταζομένης.* Nicephorus Callisti XVII. 28 p. 779 D *de Justiniano: τάρτεϊ δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Σωτήρος ὑπαπαντῆν ἄρτι πρῶτως ἀπανταχοῦ τῆς γῆς ἑορτάζεσθαι.* Sigebertus in Chronico p. 27 b *Justiniani 15<sup>o</sup> A. D. 542 CP. mortalitate magna insurgente statuta est solennitas purificationis beatæ Mariæ, quæ Græce Υπαπαντῆ id est obviatio dicitur, eo quod die illo Symeon obviaverit oblato in templum Domino.*

<sup>e</sup> Bingham Antiquities Vol. 9 p. 183. 184 "Before the time of the Council of Trullo it was come into use [sc. A. D. 692. conf. Acta Concil. tom. 7 p. 1371] — And therefore we may date its original from the 7th century." We learn from the Paschal Chronicle that it was already in use before A. D. 629.

## III.

## INDICTIONS. ERA OF DIOCLETIAN. ERA OF ANTIOCH.

IT has been shewn in a former work<sup>a</sup> that the era of Antioch was reckoned from Nov. 1 B. C. 49 U. C. Varr. 705. The first year therefore of Antioch was nearly conumerary with the 264th year of the *Seleucidæ*, which commenced in October B. C. 49 U. C. Varr. 705<sup>b</sup>. But if the first year was conumerary with the 264th, the 301st of Antioch, with which this Table begins, was conumerary with the 564th of the *Seleucidæ*.

That the era of *Diocletian* was reckoned from his accession in A. D. 284 is determined by Theon ad Ptolemæi *μεγ. συνταξ.*<sup>c</sup> who attests that the 29th day of *Athyr* in the year of *Nabonassar* 1112 fell within the 81st year of *Diocletian*. *Athyr* 29 of the 1112th year was Nov. 25 A. D. 364, and the 81st year of *Diocletian* was then current. But if the 81st year was current Nov. 25 A. D. 364, the first was already current Nov. 25 A. D. 284, and we are carried back to his accession Sept. 17. It is probable however that in Alexandrian computation the years of this era were deduced from Aug. 29, as in the Alexandrian coins of *Diocletian* given in the Tables at A. D. 285 p. 328.

The Indictions in Marcellinus<sup>d</sup> and in the Tables of Du Fresnoy tom. 1 p. 174 are compared with the consulship and the Julian year in which they end. In the following Table they are compared with the years in which they begin, because the years of the Christian era are here made the measure of the rest and contain the beginnings of all the other epochs.

The Paschal Chronicle rightly places the Indiction at September 1 : p. 187 Β αἱ ἰνδικτοὶ χρηματίζεω ἤρξαντο ἀπὸ πρώτης καὶ αὐτῆς τοῦ Γορπιαίου μηνός. But in that Chronicle each year of the indictions is reckoned one year too low. The indictions from *Constantine* are thus assigned : Chron. Pasch. p. 281 Β ἰνδικτιῶνων Κωνσταντινιανῶν ἐντεῦθεν ἀρχή. ἰνδ. α'. η'. ὑπ. Κωνσταντίνου Αὐγούστου τὸ δ' καὶ Λικίου τὸ γ'. ἰνδ. β'. θ'. ὑπ. Βολουσιανοῦ καὶ Ἀνιανοῦ. Repeated p. 374 D τὸ η' ἔτος Κωνσταντίνου—καθ' ἃ ἡ πρώτη ἰνδικτος ἐτέθη ἐν ὑπατεία Βολουσιανοῦ καὶ Ἀνιανοῦ. It appears then that the author reckons ind. 1 to begin at Sept. 1 *Constantino IV Licinio III coss.* and to terminate at Aug. 31 *Volusiano et Anniano coss.* in which consulship ind. 2 begins at Sept. 1. But

<sup>a</sup> See F. H. III p. 365—367. The era of Antioch has been noticed in the Tables of the present Work at A. D. 44. 3 p. 29 A. D. 212. 2 p. 220. 520. 2 p. 738.

<sup>b</sup> See the Table of Parallel Years in F. H. III p. 466.

<sup>c</sup> Theon p. 277 l. 1 ἔστω ζητεῖν ἡμᾶς τῆς κατὰ τὸ ἀριθμῆτος ἀπὸ Ναβονασάρου πρώτης συνοδικῆς συζυγίας τὸν χρόνον κ. τ. λ. He divides the period into its parts p. 282 fin. ἀφείλομεν τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς Ναβονασάρου κατ' Αἰγυπτίους ἑτῶν ἀριθμῆ τὰ μέχρι τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτῆς ἔτη κεδ', καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἀπὸ Φιλίππου ἔτη χηγ'. κ. τ. λ. 424 + 688 = 1112. Idem p. 284 ἵνα δὲ καὶ τῶν σεληνιακῶν ἐκλείψεων ἕνεκα ἐκ προχείρου ἔχωμεν παυσεληνιακὴν συζυγίαν ἐκλειπτικὴν ἐκτεθειμένην, ἐπελογισάμεθα τὴν γεγενημένην κατ' Ἀλεξανδρείας τῷ πᾶ ἔτει Διοκλητιανοῦ Ἀθὺρ μηνί, κατ' Αἰγυπτίους τῷ δὲ αὐτῷ [lege κατ' Αἰγυπτίους δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ] πᾶ ἔτει Φαμενώθ α', ἐπειδήπερ ἡ προγεγενημένη αὐτῆς σύνοδος κατὰ τὴν προεκτεθειμένην ἡμῖν ἔφοδον εἰς τὴν τοῦ Μεχίρ κα' ἔγγιστα πίπτει. ἃ συνάγεται ἀπὸ Ναβονασά-

ρου ἔτη ἀριθμῆ κ. τ. λ. Idem p. 285 l. 1 τὸν δὲ χρόνον τῆς μέσης συζυγίας κατ' Αἰγυπτίους μὲν μετὰ ὥρας 5' 5' ἰ τῆς ἐν τῇ 5' τοῦ Φαμενώθ μεσημβρίας, κατ' Ἀλεξανδρείας δὲ μετὰ ὥρας 5' 5' ἰ τῆς ἐν τῇ κθ' τοῦ Ἀθὺρ μεσημβρίας. That is to say, the 6th day of the moveable Egyptian month *Phamenoth* coincided with the 29th of the fixed Alexandrian *Athyr*. See F. H. II p. 328. 329 = 396. 397. But the 29th of the fixed Alexandrian *Athyr* fell upon Nov. 25. See F. H. III p. 356. And as the 1st day of the moveable Egyptian *Thoth*, which was at June 25 in A. D. 238 N. E. 986 (see F. H. III Introd. p. xvi), had fallen back in 126 years to May 24, the 6th day of the 7th month *Phamenoth*, the 186th day of the Egyptian year, also coincided with Nov. 25 in N. E. 1112. The 21st of the 6th month *Mechir*, the 171st day, fell in that year upon Nov. 10.

<sup>d</sup> See Introduction p. ix Tables A. D. 379. 3 p. 495.



in reality the first indiction commenced Sept. 1 of the preceding year and terminated at Aug. 31 of the consulship of *Constantine* and *Licinius*; the 2nd indiction commenced in the year preceding, and ended in the consulship of *Volusianus* and *Annianus*<sup>e</sup>. Each indiction then is computed one year too low. They are however apparently right as placed in the Chronicle, since the last 8 months of ind. 2 fell within the consulship of *Volusianus* and *Annianus*.

The Chronicle p. 187 A B places the beginning of the Indictions and the era of Antioch in the same year: χρηματίζει τῆς μεγάλης Ἀντιοχείας εἰς τιμὴν αὐτῆς ἔτος α' καὶ πρώτου ἔτος τῆς πεντεκαίδεκαετηρίδος τῶν ἰνδικτῶν ἀπὸ πρώτου ἔτους Γαίου Ἰουλίου Καίσαρος. ὑπ. Λεπίδου καὶ Πλάγκου. α'. Γάιος Ἰούλιος κ. τ. λ.—ἀρχὴ ἰνδικτιῶνων ἀπὸ πρώτου ἔτους Γαίου Ἰουλίου Καίσαρος καὶ τῶν προκειμένων ὑπ' αὐτῶν Λεπίδου καὶ Πλάγκου<sup>f</sup>, ἡγουν β' καὶ αὐτῆς τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου μηνός, Ἀντιοχεῖς τοὺς ἐαυτῶν χρόνους ἀριθμοῦσι, καὶ αἱ ἰνδικτοὶ δὲ χρηματίζεον ἤρξαντο ἀπὸ πρώτης καὶ αὐτῆς τοῦ Γορπιαίου μηνός. This is true when the era of Antioch is assigned to its proper position, the autumn of A. D. 49; but the notation of the Chronicle brings the indiction one year below, in this manner.

	True period.	Chron. Pasch.
Indict. 1 Sept. 1	B. C. 49	B. C. 48
Indict. 1 Sept. 1	B. C. 34	B. C. 33
Indict. 1 Sept. 1	B. C. 19	B. C. 18
Indict. 1 Sept. 1	B. C. 4	B. C. 3
Indict. 1 Sept. 1	A. D. 12	A. D. 13
Indict. 1 Sept. 1	A. D. 27	A. D. 28
Indict. 1 Sept. 1	A. D. 42	A. D. 43 ε

The Indictions and the era of Antioch both began in the same Julian year B. C. 49, the indications at Sept. 1, the era of Antioch a little later, at the 1st of *Dius*, which after the adoption of the Julian fixed year at Antioch coincided with November<sup>εε</sup>. But in the notation of the Chronicle the indiction falls within the first year of Antioch, towards the close of that year.

On reference to the preceding list of consuls we shall find that in the years marked in the Chronicle Ol. 204. 1—206. 2 the consuls are at the wrong indiction. Again, after the *lacuna*, the consuls from Ol. 211. 4 to 212. 4, and from Ol. 218. 2 to 235. 1 are at the wrong indiction<sup>h</sup>. In Ol. 235. 3—242. 1 they are at the right indiction; that is, as in Marcellinus, at the indiction which terminates in the consulship. Then deranged by omissions or interpolations from Ol. 242. 2 to 273. 1. Then again at the right indiction (that is, the indiction in which the consulships commence) from Ol. 273. 2 to the end.

<sup>e</sup> Compare the preceding list of consuls in c. 2 at A. D. 312—314 with the following Table at those years.

<sup>f</sup> The year B. C. 49 which contained these epochs was in reality the consulship of *Marcellus et Lentulus*. The consulship of *Lepidus et Planicus* here named in the Chronicle belonged to B. C. 42, and is assigned to the 1st year of *Cæsar* through the errors in the Chronicle which have been explained in F. H. III Introd. p. vi. vii.

<sup>ε</sup> See the indications, as exhibited in the Paschal Chronicle, given above in c. 2. Although the indications are regularly deduced in the Chronicle from the 1st year of *Julius Cæsar*, yet they must

only be considered for the first 24 periods or 360 years as a measure of time. That the indications were not in use before the reign of *Constantine* is shewn by Norisius Ep. Syromac. p. 197—199 = tom. 2 p. 208. 209 against Scaliger.

<sup>εε</sup> See F. H. III p. 353.

<sup>h</sup> Thus, for example, Ol. 204. 1 *Ind. 9 Proculus et Nigrino coss.* But ind. 9 commenced Sept. 1 A. D. 35 and ended Aug. 31 A. D. 36; and the consuls *Proculus* and *Nigrinus* began Jan. 1 A. D. 37. Ol. 218. 4 *Ind. 8 Valente et Vetere coss.* Indict. 8 ended Aug. 31 A. D. 95, but those consuls commenced Jan. 1 A. D. 96.

But when the consuls are at the right indiction they are at the wrong Olympic year; for the Olympic years compared with the consulships are each an unit too high. Thus in A. D. 73 *Domitiano et Messalino coss.* Ol. 213. 1 commenced in July and indict. 1 was current till Aug. 31. But in the Paschal Chronicle these consuls and this indiction are placed at Ol. 213. 2. In A. D. 162 *Rustico et Aquilino coss.* Ol. 235. 2 began in July and indict. 15 was current till Aug. 31. In the Chronicle these consuls and indict. 15 are at Ol. 235. 3. In A. D. 313 *Constantino III Licinio III coss.* indict. 1 was current till Aug. 31 and Ol. 273. 1 commenced in July; but the Chronicle refers these consuls and indict. 1 to Ol. 273. 2. At p. 374 A March of A. D. 562 *P. C. Basilii XXI* is said to fall in Ol. 335. 3. But in reality in March 562 Ol. 335. 1 was still current, and Ol. 335. 2 commenced in July. This mode of notation is continued throughout. The Olympiads are thrown back that they may correspond with the bissextile years of the Roman calendar. Thus A. D. 164 *Macrino et Celso coss.* was a bissextile year in which Ol. 235. 4 began in July; but in Chron. Pasch. this is called Ol. 236. 1. A. D. 420 *Theodosio IX Constantio III coss.* was bissextile, and contained Ol. 299 $\frac{3}{4}$ ; but this is called in the Chronicle Ol. 300. 1.

We may trace the true places of the indictions in some passages of the Chronicle. As in A. D. 527 the 5th indiction is marked as already current at April 1, which agrees with its true commencement at Sept. 1 A. D. 526<sup>i</sup>. Again p. 341 B *ἰνδ. ια'. ς'. ὑπ. Ἰουστινιανοῦ Ἀγούστου τὸ δ' ἴκονον* [A. D. 533]. *τούτω τῷ ἔτει μηνὶ Δίῳ κατὰ Ῥωμαίους Νοεμβρίῳ τῆς ιβ' ἰνδικτιῶνος*— Therefore in Nov. A. D. 533 the 12th indiction had already commenced. The true date; for indict. 12 commenced Sept. 1 A. D. 533. p. 344 A *ἰνδ. ιβ'. ζ'. ὑπ. Ἰουστινιανοῦ τὸ ε' καὶ Παυλίνου* [A. D. 534]. *ἐπὶ τούτων τῶν ὑπάτων—ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸ δ' καλανδῶν Ἰανουαρίων ἰνδικτιῶνος ιγ'.* At Dec. 29 A. D. 534 it is rightly said that the 13th indiction was current; for it began at Sept. 1. At A. D. 562 the 10th indiction is rightly marked as already current on the 20th of March<sup>k</sup>. p. 375 A B *ἰνδ. ια'. λς'. μετὰ ὑπ. Βασιλείου τὸ κβ' ἴκονον* [A. D. 563]. *τούτω τῷ λς' ἔτει—μηνὶ Ἀπελλαίῳ κατὰ Ῥωμαίους Δεκεμβρίῳ κδ' ἡμέρα πρώτη* [sc. *feria prima*], *τῆς ιβ' ἰνδικτιῶνος*— In Dec. 24 A. D. 563 the 12th indiction was already current. It is rightly marked that in A. D. 574 on the 7th of September the 8th indiction had already begun<sup>l</sup>, although that year is called in the Chronicle *indict. 7 P. C. Justiniani VIII.*

The right place of the indiction may be often traced in the Theodosian Code, although sometimes the notice is obscure or corrupt. The fourth indiction is current Nov. 16 A. D. 360<sup>m</sup>. In A. D. 367 indict. 10 is mentioned Cod. Theod. Vol. 3 p. 387 l. 11 *de jure fisci: Alexandrino com. R. P.—Decima indictione singulas tantum dependant centesimas &c.—Dat. VII Kal. Oct. Dorostori Lupicino. et Jovino coss.*<sup>n</sup> Gothofred. p. 388 supposes that this 10th indiction began *VII Kal. Oct.* A. D. 367 and was still future at the date of that law. But indict. 10 had already passed, and began in the preceding year 366, and the law refers to a payment then due upon it<sup>o</sup>. A. D. 369 within ind. 12: see above c. 1 *Valentinian.* p. 117. Ind. 15 A. D. 386 ind. 1 A. D. 387 ind. 9 A. D. 395 are in Cod. Theod. Vol. 4 p. 196 l. 3 *de indulgentiis debitorum: Andromacho p. U.—usque in consulatum primum clementiæ nostræ* [A. D. 386] *id est usque indictionem quintam decimam quæ proxima fuerit, reliqua universa concedimus.—Post consulatum vero mansuetudinis nostræ* [sc. A. D. 387], *id est, a prima indictione, in consulatum Olybrii et Probinii* [A. D. 395], *omnium reliquorum exactionem suspendi oportere censemus.—Ex consulatu sane Olybrii et Probinii, id est, ex nona indic-*

<sup>i</sup> See the Tables A. D. 527. 2 p. 746.

<sup>k</sup> See the Tables A. D. 562. 4 p. 813.

<sup>l</sup> See the Tables A. D. 574. 2 p. 834.

<sup>m</sup> See Cod. Theod. quoted in the Tables A. D. 360. 3 p. 445.

<sup>n</sup> This law is repeated Vol. 4 p. 548 (quoted in the

Tables A. D. 367) but the mention of the Indiction is omitted.

<sup>o</sup> See against Gothofredus Noris. Ep. Syromac. p. 406, who shews that Gothofredus numbers the indictions one year too late.



*tionē, in præsentem diem &c.*—*Dat. VII Kal. Jul. Med. Vincentio et Fravitta coss.* This law is therefore issued June 25 of the 14th indiction. Ind. 11 current in A. D. 368 ind. 5 current in A. D. 407 ind. 12 current A. D. 414 are named in Cod. Theod. at Ap. 9 A. D. 414 quoted in the Tables<sup>p</sup>. The 8th indiction is current at Aug. 26 A. D. 410: Cod. Theod. Vol. 4 p. 503 l. 173 de decurionibus: *Anthemio pf. p.*—*Placuit ut ab instanti octava indictione descriptiones &c. Dat. VII Kal. Sept. CP. Varane V. C. cons.* Ind. 8 A. D. 424 is mentioned Cod. Theod. Vol. 4 p. 42 l. 33 de annona: *Isidoro pf. p. Illyrici.*—*Quæ dispositio in perpetuum observanda initio indictionis octave congruum sumere debet exordium.*—*Dat. VI Id. Oct. CP. Victore V. C. cons.* This law was issued on the 40th day of the 8th indiction. The 14th indiction is mentioned as future in A. D. 430: Cod. Theod. Vol. 4 p. 155 l. 6 de collatione donatarum. *Antiocho pf. p.*—*Ex quarta decima feliciter futura indictione, translatione servata &c. Dat. prid. Kal. Jan. CP. DD. NN. Theodosio XIII et Valentiniano III AA. coss.* But as the 14th indiction was already current at Dec. 31 A. D. 430, we may read *prid. Kal. Jun. sc. May 31 A. D. 430*, when the 14th indiction was yet future.

The indiction began in each year at Sept. 1 both in the Eastern and Western Empire. This has been shewn by Norisius Ep. Syromac. p. 210. 406. 407. and is admitted by Sirmond apud Acta Concil. tom. 6 p. 606: “Romani cum reliqua Italia, sicut et Græci, novas indictiones inchoabant a *Kal. Sept.* quod in Gregorii magni Joannis VIII et Gregorii VII epistolis observare est.”<sup>q</sup>

In the description of the earthquake at Antioch, given in the Tables at the year 458, Sept. 14 of the second year of *Leo* is called by Evagrius the 506th year of Antioch and the 11th indiction. Scaliger ad Euseb. p. 157 uses this passage to prove that the indictions began after Sept. 14. Norisius Ep. Syromac. p. 208—218 argues that as the indiction began Sept. 1 this was Sept. 14 of A. D. 457, and consequently that the year of Antioch 506, being then current, had already commenced on the 1st of *Gorpiæus* or September. He contends that Evagrius marks the following day or the 15th as Sunday: *κυρίας επικαταλαβούσης ημέρας*—and that this happened in 457; that the eleventh indiction then current commenced Sept. 1 A. D. 457; that the earthquake is referred to the first year of *Leo* by Theophanes and Cedrenus, which will give A. D. 457; that Malalas places it Sept. 13 or Sunday and in the consulship of *Patricius*. But as these characters mark the year 459, he rejects the account of Malalas.

But it may be answered, 1 that Theophanes p. 95 A places the accession of *Leo* in the 11th indiction, which is not accurate. 2 that Evagrius places September of the 11th indiction in the second year of *Leo*, which is also inaccurate. 3 Malalas places September of the 506th year of Antioch within the consulship of *Patricius*, which is granted by Norisius to be an error. Each of these writers has committed a mistake. 4 Norisius, who has truly interpreted *ἐπικαταλαβούσης*, argues from the Sunday that Evagrius marks Sept. 14 as Saturday; which happened in 457; that Malalas has erroneously named Sept. 13 as Sunday, which was true in 459. But from Malalas we may correct Evagrius; and he will then express in the words of Norisius p. 210 “die 13<sup>a</sup> Gorpiæi sive Septembris circa horam quartam noctis jam cadente, ac post duas horas Dominica die Gorpiæi 14<sup>a</sup> adventura.” And this happened in September A. D. 458. Norisius himself p. 213 admits that Evagrius may have mistaken the indiction: “Quispiam suspicari posset a Joanne rhetore qui illum terræ motum accurate descripsit designatum fuisse annum 506 æræ Antiochenæ, ac secundum imperii Leonis diemque 14 Septembris, quibus indicatur U. C. 1211 A. D. 458, Evagrium vero notas feriæ atque indictionis XI perperam adposuisse quibus ille casus ad A. D. 457 retrahitur.” This last opinion, that Evagrius had mistaken the indiction, appears to be the

<sup>p</sup> See the Tables A. D. 407. l. 414. 3. Compare the Tables A. D. 415. 3 p. 589 l. 45.

<sup>q</sup> Although Sirmond contends that the ancient

practice was different, and the practice of the Franks in A. D. 572. 869.

truth. The event happened on Saturday Sept. 13 A. D. 458, towards the close of the 506th year, when the 2nd of *Leo* was current, and on the 13th day of the 12th indiction.

It has been already explained that in this following Table of Parallel Years the indictions the years of *Dioctetian* of Antioch of the *Seleucidae*, and the Olympic years, are all placed at that year of the Christian era in which they begin.

Ind. Sep. 1.	Diocl. Sep. 17.	Ant. Nov. 1.	Sel. Oct.	A. D. Jan. 1.	Olymp. July.	Ind. Sep. 1.	Diocl. Sep. 17.	Ant. Nov. 1.	Sel. Oct.	A. D. Jan. 1.	Olymp. July.	Ind. Sep. 1.	Diocl. Sep. 17.	Ant. Nov. 1.	Sel. Oct.	A. D. Jan. 1.	Olymp. July.
1		301	564	252		5	18	350	613	301	270. 1	9	67	399	662	350	2
2		302	565	253	258. 1	6	19	351	614	302	2	10	68	400	663	351	3
3		303	566	254	2	7	20	352	615	303	3	11	69	401	664	352	4
4		304	567	255	3	8	21	353	616	304	4	12	70	402	665	353	283. 1
5		305	568	256	4	9	22	354	617	305	271. 1	13	71	403	666	354	2
6		306	569	257	259. 1	10	23	355	618	306	2	14	72	404	667	355	3
7		307	570	258	2	11	24	356	619	307	3	15	73	405	668	356	4
8		308	571	259	3	12	25	357	620	308	4	1	74	406	669	357	284. 1
9		309	572	260	4	13	26	358	621	309	272. 1	2	75	407	670	358	2
10		310	573	261	260. 1	14	27	359	622	310	2	3	76	408	671	359	3
11		311	574	262	2	15	28	360	623	311	3	4	77	409	672	360	4
12		312	575	263	3	*1	29	361	624	312	4	5	78	410	673	361	285. 1
13		313	576	264	4	2	30	362	625	313	273. 1	6	79	411	674	362	2
14		314	577	265	261. 1	3	31	363	626	314	2	7	80	412	675	363	3
15		315	578	266	2	4	32	364	627	315	3	8	81	413	676	364	4
1		316	579	267	3	5	33	365	628	316	4	9	82	414	677	365	286. 1
2		317	580	268	4	6	34	366	629	317	274. 1	10	83	415	678	366	2
3		318	581	269	262. 1	7	35	367	630	318	2	11	84	416	679	367	3
4		319	582	270	2	8	36	368	631	319	3	12	85	417	680	368	4
5		320	583	271	3	9	37	369	632	320	4	13	86	418	681	369	287. 1
6		321	584	272	4	10	38	370	633	321	275. 1	14	87	419	682	370	2
7		322	585	273	263. 1	11	39	371	632	322	2	15	88	420	683	371	3
8		323	586	274	2	12	40	372	635	323	3	1	89	421	684	372	4
9		324	587	275	3	13	41	373	636	324	4	2	90	422	685	373	288. 1
10		325	588	276	4	14	42	374	637	325 <sup>a</sup>	276. 1	3	91	423	686	374	2
11		326	589	277	264. 1	15	43	375	638	326	2	4	92	424	687	375	3
12		327	590	278	2	1	44	376	639	327	3	5	93	425	688	376	4
13		328	591	279	3	2	45	377	640	328	4	6	94	426	689	377	289. 1
14		329	592	280	4	3	46	378	641	329	277. 1	7	95	427	690	378	2
15		330	593	281	265. 1	4	47	379	642	330	2	8	96	428	691	379	3
1		331	594	282	2	5	48	380	643	331	3	9	97	429	692	380	4
2		332	595	283	3	6	49	381	644	332	4	10	98	430	693	381	290. 1
3	1	333	596	284	4	7	50	382	645	333	278. 1	11	99	431	694	382	2
4	2	334	597	285	266. 1	8	51	383	646	334	2	12	100	432	695	383	3
5	3	335	598	286	2	9	52	384	647	335	3	13	101	433	696	384	4
6	4	336	599	287	3	10	53	385	648	336	4	14	102	434	697	385	291. 1
7	5	337	600	288	4	11	54	386	649	337	279. 1	15	103	435	698	386	2
8	6	338	601	289	267. 1	12	55	387	650	338	2	1	104	436	699	387	3
9	7	339	602	290	2	13	56	388	651	339	3	2	105	437	700	388	4
10	8	340	603	291	3	14	57	389	652	340	4	3	106	438	701	389	292. 1
11	9	341	604	292	4	15	58	390	653	341	280. 1	4	107	439	702	390	2
12	10	342	605	293	268. 1	1	59	391	654	342	2	5	108	440	703	391	3
13	11	343	606	294	2	2	60	392	655	343	3	6	109	441	704	392	4
14	12	344	607	295	3	3	61	393	656	344	4	7	110	442	705	393	293. 1
15	13	345	608	296	4	4	62	394	657	345	281. 1	8	111	443	706	394	2
1	14	346	609	297	269. 1	5	63	395	658	346	2	9	112	444	707	395	3
2	15	347	610	298	2	6	64	396	659	347	3	10	113	445	708	396	4
3	16	348	611	299	3	7	65	397	660	348	4	11	114	446	709	397	294. 1
4	17	349	612	300	4	8	66	398	661	349	282. 1	12	115	447	710	398	2

\* Indiction of *Constantine*.



Ind. Sep. 1.	Diocl. Sep.17.	Ant. Nov. 1.	Sel. Oct.	A. D. Jan. 1.	Olymp. July.	Ind. Sep. 1.	Diocl. Sep.17.	Ant. Nov. 1.	Sel. Oct.	A. D. Jan. 1.	Olymp. July.	Ind. Sep. 1.	Diocl. Sep.17.	Ant. Nov. 1.	Sel. Oct.	A. D. Jan. 1.	Olymp. July.
13	116	448	711	399	3	10	173	505	768	456	4	7	230	562	825	513	323. 1
14	117	449	712	400	4	11	174	506	769	457	309. 1	8	231	563	826	514	2
15	118	450	713	401	295. 1	12	175	507	770	458	2	9	232	564	827	515	3
1	119	451	714	402	2	13	176	508	771	459	3	10	233	565	828	516	4
2	120	452	715	403	3	14	177	509	772	460	4	11	234	566	829	517	324. 1
3	121	453	716	404	4	15	178	510	773	461	310. 1	12	235	567	830	518	2
4	122	454	717	405	296. 1	1	179	511	774	462	2	13	236	568	831	519	3
5	123	455	718	406	2	2	180	512	775	463	3	14	237	569	832	520	4
6	124	456	719	407	3	3	181	513	776	464	4	15	238	570	833	521	325. 1
7	125	457	720	408	4	4	182	514	777	465	311. 1	1	239	571	834	522	2
8	126	458	721	409	297. 1	5	183	515	778	466	2	2	240	572	835	523	3
9	127	459	722	410	2	6	184	516	779	467	3	3	241	573	836	524	4
10	128	460	723	411	3	7	185	517	780	468	4	4	242	574	837	525	326. 1
11	129	461	724	412	4	8	186	518	781	469	312. 1	5	243	575	838	526	2
12	130	462	725	413	*298. 1	9	187	519	782	470	2	6	244	576	839	527	3
13	131	463	726	414	2	10	188	520	783	471	3	7	245	577	840	528	4
14	132	464	727	415	3	11	189	521	784	472	4	8	246	578	841	529	327. 1
15	133	465	728	416	4	12	190	522	785	473	313. 1	9	247	579	842	530	2
1	134	466	729	417	*299. 1	13	191	523	786	474	2	10	248	580	843	531	3
2	135	467	730	418	2	14	192	524	787	475	3	11	249	581	844	532	4
3	136	468	731	419	3	15	193	525	788	476	4	12	250	582	845	533	328. 1
4	137	469	732	420	4	1	194	526	789	477	314. 1	13	251	583	846	534	2
5	138	470	733	421	300. 1	2	195	527	790	478	2	14	252	584	847	535	3
6	139	471	734	422	2	3	196	528	791	479	3	15	253	585	848	536	4
7	140	472	735	423	3	4	197	529	792	480	4	1	254	586	849	537	329. 1
8	141	473	736	424	4	5	198	530	793	481	315. 1	2	255	587	850	538	2
9	142	474	737	425	301. 1	6	199	531	794	482	2	3	256	588	851	539	3
10	143	475	738	426	2	7	200	532	795	483	3	4	257	589	852	540	4
11	144	476	739	427	3	8	201	533	796	484	4	5	258	590	853	541	330. 1
12	145	477	740	428	4	9	202	534	797	485	316. 1	6	259	591	854	542	2
13	146	478	741	429	302. 1	10	203	535	798	486	2	7	260	592	855	543	3
14	147	479	742	430	2	11	204	536	799	487	3	8	261	593	856	544	4
15	148	480	743	431	3	12	205	537	800	488	4	9	262	594	857	545	331. 1
1	149	481	744	432	4	13	206	538	801	489	317. 1	10	263	595	858	546	2
2	150	482	745	433	303. 1	14	207	539	802	490	2	11	264	596	859	547	3
3	151	483	746	434	2	15	208	540	803	491	3	12	265	597	860	548	4
4	152	484	747	435	3	1	209	541	804	492	4	13	266	598	861	549	332. 1
5	153	485	748	436	4	2	210	542	805	493	318. 1	14	267	599	862	550	2
6	154	486	749	437	304. 1	3	211	543	806	494	2	15	268	600	863	551	3
7	155	487	750	438	2	4	212	544	807	495	3	1	269	601	864	552	4
8	156	488	751	439	3	5	213	545	808	496	4	2	270	602	865	553	333. 1
9	157	489	752	440	4	6	214	546	809	497	319. 1	3	271	603	866	554	2
10	158	490	753	441	305. 1	7	215	547	810	498	2	4	272	604	867	555	3
11	159	491	754	442	2	8	216	548	811	499	3	5	273	605	868	556	4
12	160	492	755	443	3	9	217	549	812	500	4	6	274	606	869	557	334. 1
13	161	493	756	444	4	10	218	550	813	501	320. 1	7	275	607	870	558	2
14	162	494	757	445	306. 1	11	219	551	814	502	2	8	276	608	871	559	3
15	163	495	758	446	2	12	220	552	815	503	3	9	277	609	872	560	4
1	164	496	759	447	3	13	221	553	816	504	4	10	278	610	873	561	335. 1
2	165	497	760	448	4	14	222	554	817	505	321. 1	11	279	611	874	562	2
3	166	498	761	449	307. 1	15	223	555	818	506	2	12	280	612	875	563	3
4	167	499	762	450	2	1	224	556	819	507	3	13	281	613	876	564	4
5	168	500	763	451	3	2	225	557	820	508	4	14	282	614	877	565	336. 1
6	169	501	764	452	4	3	226	558	821	509	322. 1	15	283	615	878	566	2
7	170	502	765	453	308. 1	4	227	559	822	510	2	1	284	616	879	567	3
8	171	503	766	454	2	5	228	560	823	511	3	2	285	617	880	568	4
9	172	504	767	455	3	6	229	561	824	512	4	3	286	618	881	569	337. 1

\* Ol. 298 or 299 probably the last.

Ind. Sep. 1.	Diocl. Sep. 17.	Ant. Nov. 1.	Sel. Oct.	A. D. Jan. 1.	Olymp. July.	Ind. Sep. 1.	Diocl. Sep. 17.	Ant. Nov. 1.	Sel. Oct.	A. D. Jan. 1.	Olymp. July.	Ind. Sep. 1.	Diocl. Sep. 17.	Ant. Nov. 1.	Sel. Oct.	A. D. Jan. 1.
4	287	619	882	570	2	5	318	650	913	601	345. 1	5	348	680	943	631
5	288	620	883	571	3	6	319	651	914	602	2	6	349	681	944	632
6	289	621	884	572	4	7	320	652	915	603	3	7	350	682	945	633
7	290	622	885	573	338. 1	8	321	653	916	604	4	8	351	683	946	634
8	291	623	886	574	2	9	322	654	917	605	346. 1	9	352	684	947	635
9	292	624	887	575	3	10	323	655	918	606	2	10	353	685	948	636
10	293	625	888	576	4	11	324	656	919	607	3	11	354	686	949	637
11	294	626	889	577	339. 1	12	325	657	920	608	4	12	355	687	950	638
12	295	627	890	578	2	13	326	658	921	609	347. 1	13	356	688	951	639
13	296	628	891	579	3	14	327	659	922	610	2	14	357	689	952	640
14	297	629	892	580	4	15	328	660	923	611	3	15	358	690	953	641
15	298	630	893	581	340. 1	1	329	661	924	612	4	1	359	691	954	642
1	299	631	894	582	2	2	330	662	925	613	348. 1	2	360	692	955	643
2	300	632	895	583	3	3	331	663	926	614	2	3	361	693	956	644
3	301	633	896	584	4	4	332	664	927	615	3	4	362	694	957	645
4	302	634	897	585	341. 1	5	333	665	928	616	4	5	363	695	958	646
5	303	635	898	586	2	6	334	666	929	617	349. 1	6	364	696	959	647
6	304	636	899	587	3	7	335	667	930	618	2	7	365	697	960	648
7	305	637	900	588	4	8	336	668	931	619	3	8	366	698	961	649
8	306	638	901	589	342. 1	9	337	669	932	620	4	9	367	699	962	650
9	307	639	902	590	2	10	338	670	933	621	350. 1	10	368	700	963	651
10	308	640	903	591	3	11	339	671	934	622		11	369	701	964	652
11	309	641	904	592	4	12	340	672	935	623		12	370	702	965	653
12	310	642	905	593	343. 1	13	341	673	936	624		13	371	703	966	654
13	311	643	906	594	2	14	342	674	937	625		14	372	704	967	655
14	312	644	907	595	3	15	343	675	938	626		15	373	705	968	656
15	313	645	908	596	4	1	344	676	939	627		1	374	706	969	657
1	314	646	909	597	344. 1	2	345	677	940	628		2	375	707	970	658
2	315	647	910	598	2	3	346	678	941	629		3	376	708	971	659
3	316	648	911	599	3	4	347	679	942	630		4	377	709	972	660
4	317	649	912	600	4											

IV.

EUSEBIAN YEARS.

THE BIRTH of *Abraham* is placed by Eusebius in October B. C. 2016<sup>a</sup>. The years are computed from that point. In the following Table an expanded view is given of the first 104 years. In the obscure centuries that follow it is sufficient to mark the beginning of each century. But the thirteenth century contains the Olympic era, and in the following centuries the most important events of ancient history are registered down to the Christian era. From this last epoch the Eusebian years are every where quoted in the present Work, and this Table will exhibit them from the year 1201 to the end. The notation of

<sup>a</sup> Eusebius therefore places it 20 years above the date of Usher, but more than a century below the real time. I subjoin, to be compared with Eusebius, the dates of some eminent chronologers for the birth of *Abraham*, together with my own date for that event.

	B. C.
Hales .....	2153
Cuninghame .....	2146
Fasti Hellen. Vol. I ....	2130
Greswell .....	2064
Eusebius .....	2016
Usher .....	1996



the Armenian Copy is followed, which places the first Olympic games in the year 1240<sup>b</sup> and the Nativity in the close of the year 2015 in the 4th year of the 194th Olympiad<sup>c</sup>. The Eusebian years commence in October; and as 1240 contained the beginning of Ol. 1. 1 July B. C. 776, it commenced in October B. C. 777. Ol. 194. 4 was the 776th Olympic year commencing in July B. C. 1. But, as the Eusebian year 1240 was still current when the first Olympic year began, then  $1240 + 775 = 2015$ , and the 2015th year was still current when the 776th began. And as the year 1240 commenced in October preceding, or Oct. B. C. 777, so the year 2015 commenced in October preceding, or Oct. B. C. 2. These two epochs determine the position of the other years. Hieronymus throws back the year 1241, which in the mind of Eusebius began in October B. C. 776 and contained the last nine months of the first Olympic year, to July preceding, and reckons it to commence with that first Olympic year in July B. C. 776<sup>d</sup>. But it is not necessary to suppose that the notation of Hieronymus in Scaliger was also the notation of Eusebius on account of Ol. 65. 1 and 201. 4 quoted in F. H. III p. 303. For, as it is also there shewn, the year 1497 contained the last nine months of Ol. 65. 1 and the year 2044 the last nine months of Ol. 201. 4.

Eus. Oct. B.C.	Eus. Oct. B.C.	Eus. Oct. B.C.	Eus. Oct. B.C.	Eus. Oct. B.C.	Eus. Oct. B.C.	Eus. Oct. B.C.	Eus. Oct. B.C.
1 2016	14 2003	27 1990	40 1977	53 1964	66 1951	79 1938	92 1925
2 2015	15 2002	28 1989	41 1976	54 1963	67 1950	80 1937	93 1924
3 2014	16 2001	29 1988	42 1975	55 1962	68 1949	81 1936	94 1923
4 2013	17 2000	30 1987	43 1974	56 1961	69 1948	82 1935	95 1922
5 2012	18 1999	31 1986	44 1973	57 1960	70 1947	83 1934	96 1921
6 2011	19 1998	32 1985	45 1972	58 1959	71 1946	84 1933	97 1920
7 2010	20 1997	33 1984	46 1971	59 1958	72 1945	85 1932	98 1919
8 2009	21 1996	34 1983	47 1970	60 1957	73 1944	86 1931	99 1918
9 2008	22 1995	35 1982	48 1969	61 1956	74 1943	87 1930	100 1917
10 2007	23 1994	36 1981	49 1968	62 1955	75 1942	88 1929	101 1916
11 2006	24 1993	37 1980	50 1967	63 1954	76 1941	89 1928	102 1915
12 2005	25 1992	38 1979	51 1966	64 1953	77 1940	90 1927	103 1914
13 2004	26 1991	39 1978	52 1965	65 1952	78 1939	91 1926	104 1913
201 1816	401 1616	601 1416	801 1216	1001 1016	1102 915	1104 913	1106 911
301 1716	501 1516	701 1316	901 1116	1101 916	1003 914	1105 912	1107 910
1201 816	1224 793	1247 770	1270 747	1293 724	1316 701	1339 678	1362 655
1202 815	1225 792	1248 769	1271 746	1294 723	1317 700	1340 677	1363 654
1203 814	1226 791	1249 768	1272 745	1295 722	1318 699	1341 676	1364 653
1204 813	1227 790	1250 767	1273 744	1296 721	1319 698	1342 675	1365 652
1205 812	1228 789	1251 766	1274 743	1297 720	1320 697	1343 674	1366 651
1206 811	1229 788	1252 765	1275 742	1298 719	1321 696	1344 673	1367 650
1207 810	1230 787	1253 764	1276 741	1299 718	1322 695	1345 672	1368 649
1208 809	1231 786	1254 763	1277 740	1300 717	1323 694	1346 671	1369 648
1209 808	1232 785	1255 762	1278 739	1301 716	1324 693	1347 670	1370 647
1210 807	1233 784	1256 761	1279 738	1302 715	1325 692	1348 669	1371 646
1211 806	1234 783	1257 760	1280 737	1303 714	1326 691	1349 668	1372 645
1212 805	1235 782	1258 759	1281 736	1304 713	1327 690	1350 667	1373 644
1213 804	1236 781	1259 758	1282 735	1305 712	1328 689	1351 666	1374 643
1214 803	1237 780	1260 757	1283 734	1306 711	1329 688	1352 665	1375 642
1215 802	1238 779	1261 756	1284 733	1307 710	1330 687	1353 664	1376 641
1216 801	1239 778	1262 755	1285 732	1308 709	1331 686	1354 663	1377 640
1217 800	1240 777	1263 754	1286 731	1309 708	1332 685	1355 662	1378 639
1218 799	1241 776	1264 753	1287 730	1310 707	1333 684	1356 661	1379 638
1219 798	1242 775	1265 752	1288 729	1311 706	1334 683	1357 660	1380 637
1220 797	1243 774	1266 751	1289 728	1312 705	1335 682	1358 659	1381 636
1221 796	1244 773	1267 750	1290 727	1313 704	1336 681	1359 658	1382 635
1222 795	1245 772	1268 749	1291 726	1314 703	1337 680	1360 657	1383 634
1223 794	1246 771	1269 748	1292 725	1315 702	1338 679	1361 656	1384 633

<sup>b</sup> See F.H. vol. I p. 150.

<sup>c</sup> See F.H. III p. 258. 276.

<sup>d</sup> See F.H. I p. 152.



Eus.	Oct. B.C.	Eus.	Oct. B.C.	Eus.	Oct. B.C.	Eus.	Oct. B.C.	Eus.	Oct. B.C.	Eus.	Oct. B.C.	Eus.	Oct. B.C.	Eus.	Oct. B.C.
1385	632	1443	574	1501	516	1559	458	1617	400	1675	342	1733	284	1791	226
1386	631	1444	573	1502	515	1560	457	1618	399	1676	341	1734	283	1792	225
1387	630	1445	572	1503	514	1561	456	1619	398	1677	340	1735	282	1793	224
1388	629	1446	571	1504	513	1562	455	1620	397	1678	339	1736	281	1794	223
1389	628	1447	570	1505	512	1563	454	1621	396	1679	338	1737	280	1795	222
1390	627	1448	569	1506	511	1564	453	1622	395	1680	337	1738	279	1796	221
1391	626	1449	568	1507	510	1565	452	1623	394	1681	336	1739	278	1797	220
1392	625	1450	567	1508	509	1566	451	1624	393	1682	335	1740	277	1798	219
1393	624	1451	566	1509	508	1567	450	1625	392	1683	334	1741	276	1799	218
1394	623	1452	565	1510	507	1568	449	1626	391	1684	333	1742	275	1800	217
1395	622	1453	564	1511	506	1569	448	1627	390	1685	332	1743	274	1801	216
1396	621	1454	563	1512	505	1570	447	1628	389	1686	331	1744	273	1802	215
1397	620	1455	562	1513	504	1571	446	1629	388	1687	330	1745	272	1803	214
1398	619	1456	561	1514	503	1572	445	1630	387	1688	329	1746	271	1804	213
1399	618	1457	560	1515	502	1573	444	1631	386	1689	328	1747	270	1805	212
1400	617	1458	559	1516	501	1574	443	1632	385	1690	327	1748	269	1806	211
1401	616	1459	558	1517	500	1575	442	1633	384	1691	326	1749	268	1807	210
1402	615	1460	557	1518	499	1576	441	1634	383	1692	325	1750	267	1808	209
1403	614	1461	556	1519	498	1577	440	1635	382	1693	324	1751	266	1809	208
1404	613	1462	555	1520	497	1578	439	1636	381	1694	323	1752	265	1810	207
1405	612	1463	554	1521	496	1579	438	1637	380	1695	322	1753	264	1811	206
1406	611	1464	553	1522	495	1580	437	1638	379	1696	321	1754	263	1812	205
1407	610	1465	552	1523	494	1581	436	1639	378	1697	320	1755	262	1813	204
1408	609	1466	551	1524	493	1582	435	1640	377	1698	319	1756	261	1814	203
1409	608	1467	550	1525	492	1583	434	1641	376	1699	318	1757	260	1815	202
1410	607	1468	549	1526	491	1584	433	1642	375	1700	317	1758	259	1816	201
1411	606	1469	548	1527	490	1585	432	1643	374	1701	316	1759	258	1817	200
1412	605	1470	547	1528	489	1586	431	1644	373	1702	315	1760	257	1818	199
1413	604	1471	546	1529	488	1587	430	1645	372	1703	314	1761	256	1819	198
1414	603	1472	545	1530	487	1588	429	1646	371	1704	313	1762	255	1820	197
1415	602	1473	544	1531	486	1589	428	1647	370	1705	312	1763	254	1821	196
1416	601	1474	543	1532	485	1590	427	1648	369	1706	311	1764	253	1822	195
1417	600	1475	542	1533	484	1591	426	1649	368	1707	310	1765	252	1823	194
1418	599	1476	541	1534	483	1592	425	1650	367	1708	309	1766	251	1824	193
1419	598	1477	540	1535	482	1593	424	1651	366	1709	308	1767	250	1825	192
1420	597	1478	539	1536	481	1594	423	1652	365	1710	307	1768	249	1826	191
1421	596	1479	538	1537	480	1595	422	1653	364	1711	306	1769	248	1827	190
1422	595	1480	537	1538	479	1596	421	1654	363	1712	305	1770	247	1828	189
1423	594	1481	536	1539	478	1597	420	1655	362	1713	304	1771	246	1829	188
1424	593	1482	535	1540	477	1598	419	1656	361	1714	303	1772	245	1830	187
1425	592	1483	534	1541	476	1599	418	1657	360	1715	302	1773	244	1831	186
1426	591	1484	533	1542	475	1600	417	1658	359	1716	301	1774	243	1832	185
1427	590	1485	532	1543	474	1601	416	1659	358	1717	300	1775	242	1833	184
1428	589	1486	531	1544	473	1602	415	1660	357	1718	299	1776	241	1834	183
1429	588	1487	530	1545	472	1603	414	1661	356	1719	298	1777	240	1835	182
1430	587	1488	529	1546	471	1604	413	1662	355	1720	297	1778	239	1836	181
1431	586	1489	528	1547	470	1605	412	1663	354	1721	296	1779	238	1837	180
1432	585	1490	527	1548	469	1606	411	1664	353	1722	295	1780	237	1838	179
1433	584	1491	526	1549	468	1607	410	1665	352	1723	294	1781	236	1839	178
1434	583	1492	525	1550	467	1608	409	1666	351	1724	293	1782	235	1840	177
1435	582	1493	524	1551	466	1609	408	1667	350	1725	292	1783	234	1841	176
1436	581	1494	523	1552	465	1610	407	1668	349	1726	291	1784	233	1842	175
1437	580	1495	522	1553	464	1611	406	1669	348	1727	290	1785	232	1843	174
1438	579	1496	521	1554	463	1612	405	1670	347	1728	289	1786	231	1844	173
1439	578	1497	520	1555	462	1613	404	1671	346	1729	288	1787	230	1845	172
1440	577	1498	519	1556	461	1614	403	1672	345	1730	287	1788	229	1846	171
1441	576	1499	518	1557	460	1615	402	1673	344	1731	286	1789	228	1847	170
1442	575	1500	517	1558	459	1616	401	1674	343	1732	285	1790	227	1848	169



## EUSEBIAN YEARS.

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Eus. Oct.B.C.	Eus. Oct.B.C.	Eus. Oct.B.C.	Eus. Oct.A.D.	Eus. Oct.A.D.	Eus. Oct.A.D.	Eus. Oct.A.D.	Eus. Oct.A.D.								
1849	168	1907	110	1965	52	2023	7	2081	65	2139	123	2197	181	2255	239
1850	167	1908	109	1966	51	2024	8	2082	66	2140	124	2198	182	2256	240
1851	166	1909	108	1967	50	2025	9	2083	67	2141	125	2199	183	2257	241
1852	165	1910	107	1968	49	2026	10	2084	68	2142	126	2200	184	2258	242
1853	164	1911	106	1969	48	2027	11	2085	69	2143	127	2201	185	2259	243
1854	163	1912	105	1970	47	2028	12	2086	70	2144	128	2202	186	2260	244
1855	162	1913	104	1971	46	2029	13	2087	71	2145	129	2203	187	2261	245
1856	161	1914	103	1972	45	2030	14	2088	72	2146	130	2204	188	2262	246
1857	160	1915	102	1973	44	2031	15	2089	73	2147	131	2205	189	2263	247
1858	159	1916	101	1974	43	2032	16	2090	74	2148	132	2206	190	2264	248
1859	158	1917	100	1975	42	2033	17	2091	75	2149	133	2207	191	2265	249
1860	157	1918	99	1976	41	2034	18	2092	76	2150	134	2208	192	2266	250
1861	156	1919	98	1977	40	2035	19	2093	77	2151	135	2209	193	2267	251
1862	155	1920	97	1978	39	2036	20	2094	78	2152	136	2210	194	2268	252
1863	154	1921	96	1979	38	2037	21	2095	79	2153	137	2211	195	2269	253
1864	153	1922	95	1980	37	2038	22	2096	80	2154	138	2212	196	2270	254
1865	152	1923	94	1981	36	2039	23	2097	81	2155	139	2213	197	2271	255
1866	151	1924	93	1982	35	2040	24	2098	82	2156	140	2214	198	2272	256
1867	150	1925	92	1983	34	2041	25	2099	83	2157	141	2215	199	2273	257
1868	149	1926	91	1984	33	2042	26	2100	84	2158	142	2216	200	2274	258
1869	148	1927	90	1985	32	2043	27	2101	85	2159	143	2217	201	2275	259
1870	147	1928	89	1986	31	2044	28	2102	86	2160	144	2218	202	2276	260
1871	146	1929	88	1987	30	2045	29	2103	87	2161	145	2219	203	2277	261
1872	145	1930	87	1988	29	2046	30	2104	88	2162	146	2220	204	2278	262
1873	144	1931	86	1989	28	2047	31	2105	89	2163	147	2221	205	2279	263
1874	143	1932	85	1990	27	2048	32	2106	90	2164	148	2222	206	2280	264
1875	142	1933	84	1991	26	2049	33	2107	91	2165	149	2223	207	2281	265
1876	141	1934	83	1992	25	2050	34	2108	92	2166	150	2224	208	2282	266
1877	140	1935	82	1993	24	2051	35	2109	93	2167	151	2225	209	2283	267
1878	139	1936	81	1994	23	2052	36	2110	94	2168	152	2226	210	2284	268
1879	138	1937	80	1995	22	2053	37	2111	95	2169	153	2227	211	2285	269
1880	137	1938	79	1996	21	2054	38	2112	96	2170	154	2228	212	2286	270
1881	136	1939	78	1997	20	2055	39	2113	97	2171	155	2229	213	2287	271
1882	135	1940	77	1998	19	2056	40	2114	98	2172	156	2230	214	2288	272
1883	134	1941	76	1999	18	2057	41	2115	99	2173	157	2231	215	2289	273
1884	133	1942	75	2000	17	2058	42	2116	100	2174	158	2232	216	2290	274
1885	132	1943	74	2001	16	2059	43	2117	101	2175	159	2233	217	2291	275
1886	131	1944	73	2002	15	2060	44	2118	102	2176	160	2234	218	2292	276
1887	130	1945	72	2003	14	2061	45	2119	103	2177	161	2235	219	2293	277
1888	129	1946	71	2004	13	2062	46	2120	104	2178	162	2236	220	2294	278
1889	128	1947	70	2005	12	2063	47	2121	105	2179	163	2237	221	2295	279
1890	127	1948	69	2006	11	2064	48	2122	106	2180	164	2238	222	2296	280
1891	126	1949	68	2007	10	2065	49	2123	107	2181	165	2239	223	2297	281
1892	125	1950	67	2008	9	2066	50	2124	108	2182	166	2240	224	2298	282
1893	124	1951	66	2009	8	2067	51	2125	109	2183	167	2241	225	2299	283
1894	123	1952	65	2010	7	2068	52	2126	110	2184	168	2242	226	2300	284
1895	122	1953	64	2011	6	2069	53	2127	111	2185	169	2243	227	2301	285
1896	121	1954	63	2012	5	2070	54	2128	112	2186	170	2244	228	2302	286
1897	120	1955	62	2013	4	2071	55	2129	113	2187	171	2245	229	2303	287
1898	119	1956	61	2014	3	2072	56	2130	114	2188	172	2246	230	2304	288
1899	118	1957	60	2015	2	2073	57	2131	115	2189	173	2247	231	2305	289
1900	117	1958	59	2016	1	2074	58	2132	116	2190	174	2248	232	2306	290
1901	116	1959	58	2017 A.D.	1	2075	59	2133	117	2191	175	2249	233	2307	291
1902	115	1960	57	2018	2	2076	60	2134	118	2192	176	2250	234	2308	292
1903	114	1961	56	2019	3	2077	61	2135	119	2193	177	2251	235	2309	293
1904	113	1962	55	2020	4	2078	62	2136	120	2194	178	2252	236	2310	294
1905	112	1963	54	2021	5	2079	63	2137	121	2195	179	2253	237	2311	295
1906	111	1964	53	2022	6	2080	64	2138	122	2196	180	2254	238	2312	296

Eus.	Oct.A.D.	Eus.	Oct.A.D.	Eus.	Oct.A.D.	Eus.	Oct.A.D.	Eus.	Oct.A.D.	Eus.	Oct.A.D.	Eus.	Oct.A.D.	Eus.	Oct.A.D.
2313	297	2332	316	2351	335	2370	354	2389	373	2407	391	2425	409	2443	427
2314	298	2333	317	2352	336	2371	355	2390	374	2408	392	2426	410	2444	428
2315	299	2334	318	2353	337	2372	356	2391	375	2409	393	2427	411	2445	429
2316	300	2335	319	2354	338	2373	357	2392	376	2410	394	2428	412	2446	430
2317	301	2336	320	2355	339	2374	358	2393	377	2411	395	2429	413	2447	431
2318	302	2337	321	2356	340	2375	359	2394	378	2412	396	2430	414	2448	432
2319	303	2338	322	2357	341	2376	360	2395	379	2413	397	2431	415	2449	433
2320	304	2339	323	2358	342	2377	361	2396	380	2414	398	2432	416	2450	434
2321	305	2340	324	2359	343	2378	362	2397	381	2415	399	2433	417	2451	435
2322	306	2341	325	2360	344	2379	363	2398	382	2416	400	2434	418	2452	436
2323	307	2342	326	2361	345	2380	364	2399	383	2417	401	2435	419	2453	437
2324	308	2343	327	2362	346	2381	365	2400	384	2418	402	2436	420	2454	438
2325	309	2344	328	2363	347	2382	366	2401	385	2419	403	2437	421	2455	439
2326	310	2345	329	2364	348	2383	367	2402	386	2420	404	2438	422	2456	440
2327	311	2346	330	2365	349	2384	368	2403	387	2421	405	2439	423	2457	441
2328	312	2347	331	2366	350	2385	369	2404	388	2422	406	2440	424	2458	442
2329	313	2348	332	2367	351	2386	370	2405	389	2423	407	2441	425	2459	443
2330	314	2349	333	2368	352	2387	371	2406	390	2424	408	2442	426	2460	444
2331	315	2350	334	2369	353	2388	372								

## V.

## SCRIPTURE CHRONOLOGY.

BEFORE we enquire into the Gospel Chronology, it will be convenient to take a brief survey of the whole subject of Scripture Chronology as it is set forth in the first Volume of the *Fasti Hellenici*. It is there shewn that the Hebrew notation gives 1656 years from *Adam* to the Flood, and 352 from the Flood to the birth of *Abraham*; that 505 years are marked in Scripture from the birth of *Abraham* to the Exode; that from the Exode to the Temple were 612 years. Then followed the last 37 years of the reign of *Solomon*, and 389 from the death of *Solomon* to the destruction of the Temple, which happened in the 587th year before the Christian era. Reckoning upwards from this point, we obtain from these collected numbers B. C. 2130 for the birth of *Abraham*, B. C. 2482 for the Flood, and B. C. 4138 for the creation of *Adam*.

Mr. Cuninghame, whose laborious calculations and copious Tables are valuable aids to the student in Sacred Chronology, for all the time which follows the birth of *Abraham*, has preferred in the preceding periods the longer generations of the Septuagint, and places *Adam* at B. C. 5478 and the Flood at B. C. 3217. The chronology of Mr. Cuninghame has been adopted by Professor Wallace, who also accepts the longer computations of the Greek Version and rejects the numbers of the Hebrew Text; and has fully treated the subject in his dissertation on the True Age of the World<sup>a</sup>. The arguments by which he has maintained his propositions shall in this place be briefly examined.

## 1 Professor Wallace p. 50 observes

The argument that the shorter generations are repugnant to the course of nature is neither placed in a clear light nor fairly answered by Mr. Clinton Fast. Hellen. Vol. 1 p. 292.

I have affirmed at p. 294 that from *Jacob* to *Moses* the average of life was from 150 to 120 years, and I have shewn from Scripture that in this period *Benjamin* had 10 sons before he had attained 30

<sup>a</sup> A dissertation on the True Age of the World, in which is determined the Chronology of the period from the Creation to the Christian Era. By Professor Wallace. London 1844. 8vo. pp. 307.



years; that in the line of *Judah* two generations were of 15 years each; that in the line of *Joshua* 9 generations were of 20 years each. From which facts it was not an unfair but a necessary conclusion that the age of puberty was the same at that time as at present.

2 Wallace p. 55

Mr. Clinton sees nothing wonderful in the fact that Idolatry should have sprung up during the lives of *Noah* and *Shem*, and accounts for it on the principle of the fecundity of mankind and their dispersion.—It is very strange however that *Terah*, who is mentioned in *Joshua XXIV. 2* as the only idolater among the post diluvian patriarchs, should have dared to follow the practices of the Heathen while all his pious ancestors were yet alive!

The epithet *only* is added by Mr. Wallace himself. No such expression appears in the original text, which is as follows: “And *Joshua* said—Thus saith the Lord God of Israel, Your fathers dwelt on the other side of the flood in old time, even *Terah* the father of *Abraham* and the father of *Nachor*, and they served other Gods.”<sup>b</sup>

3 At p. 57 it is observed

The shorter computation is inconsistent with the credible accounts of profane history and the existence of so many populous kingdoms and empires in the days of *Abraham*.—The history of the battle of the four kings against five in *Gen. XIV* implies a very great degree of populousness and civilisation in a single region, and more than can be admitted on the shorter computation. Nor can Sir Isaac Newton’s answer be considered decisive, that the numbers of the allied armies must have been small because they were overcome by *Abraham* with a very small force; for it is the province of the Most High to save by many or by few. The account of *Egypt* at the descent of *Abraham* indicates that it was then an ancient populous and long established kingdom, and the profane records of its history—reach to a period far beyond that assigned by the Hebrew text. In an excellent article entitled *Annotations Géologiques à la Genèse*,—it appears that the epoch B. C. 2900 may in fact be considered as that of the foundation of the kingdom of *Egypt*.

We are not to be misled by the pompous appellations Kings and Kingdoms into the belief of the existence of populous states and empires. In the language of that early time the chief of every petty township was a king. *Joshua* conquered 31 kings within the narrow space of *Canaan*<sup>c</sup>. The territories of all the five kings the allies of *Abraham* lay within a region perhaps 17 miles in length<sup>d</sup>. With respect to the kingdom of *Egypt*, the years assigned to the Egyptian dynasties are not sufficiently authentic to justify us in placing that kingdom at B. C. 2900. *Josephus*<sup>e</sup> places *Menes* more than 1300 years before the reign of *Solomon*; that is, at about B. C. 2320. *Jackson*<sup>f</sup> in his *Chronological Antiquities* after a careful investigation places *Menes* at B. C. 2219, or 2220. *Hales* at B. C. 2231<sup>h</sup>.

4 p. 59 Mr. Clinton has proved that an army of *Medes* occupied *Babylon* about B. C. 2233—according to his own computation about 250 years after the Flood,—when, as he says, the population of the earth would amount to *many millions*. And yet in the same page he remarks “it is not likely that 101 years after

<sup>b</sup> Thus rendered in the LXX: πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ παρῴκησαν οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν τὸ ἀπαρχῆς, Θάρα ὁ πατήρ Ἀβραάμ καὶ ὁ πατήρ Ναχώρ, καὶ ἐλάτρευσαν θεοὺς ἑτέροις. *Dathe: Trans Euphratem habitarunt majores vestri antiquissimis temporibus, Terachus pater Abrahami et Nachoris, aliosque deos coluerunt.*

<sup>c</sup> *Joshua XII. 24.*

<sup>d</sup> See a Pastor’s memorial, by the Revd. J. Fiske, p. 314 “The original lake might have been 40 miles and the region of the five cities 17 miles in length.” Mr. Fiske adds a very judicious remark from *Wylie’s*

*Modern Judea*: “The kings of those days resembled the *Sheikhs* of modern times.”

<sup>e</sup> *Joseph. Ant. VIII. 6, 2 ἀπὸ Μιναίου τοῦ Μέμφιν οἰκοδομήσαντος, ὃς ἔτεσι πολλοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἐγένετο τοῦ πάππου ἡμῶν Ἀβράμου, μέχρι Σολομῶνος πλείονων ἐτῶν τριακοσίων καὶ χιλίων μεταξὺ διεληλυθῶτων. B. C. 1016 + 1300 = 2316 to the first year of *Solomon*.*

<sup>f</sup> *Vol. 2 p. 111—114.*

<sup>g</sup> *Analysis Vol. 3 p. 430.*

<sup>h</sup> Although he calls this date “rather too low.” p. 432.

that event the population would exceed 50,000 persons, and this number they would certainly have reached within 160 years of the Flood." Now even on the Eulerian ratio this number would increase only to about  $6\frac{1}{2}$  millions in his interval of 90 years, which is far from *many millions*.

There is no inconsistency in my argument. I have assumed as probable that the numbers would double themselves every twelve years for 300 years after the Flood. Not to repeat here the numbers given elsewhere<sup>i</sup>, it will be sufficient to remark, first, that in 156 years thirteen periods would produce 49,152, and in 168 years fourteen periods would produce 98,304. I was therefore justified in concluding that at 160 years from the flood the numbers would be at the least 50,000. Secondly, that in 240 years twenty periods would produce 6,291,456, and in 252 years twenty-one periods would give 12,582,912. Therefore in 250 years from the flood the numbers of mankind were fast advancing to this latter amount, and might be assumed at nine or ten millions. The term *many* is relative, and its value is fixed by the other circumstances: 9,000,000 or even 6,000,000 would be many in Holland, but few in France; would be many in Egypt, but few in China. If the inhabitants of the earth had been 9 or 10 millions, these might be called many at 250 years after the flood, at the time of a war between the Medes and Babylonians. When *Abraham* after the 75th year of his life<sup>k</sup> visited Egypt (in which Professor Wallace p. 58 imagines a difficulty) the population of the earth upon the lower estimate had attained more than two hundred millions<sup>l</sup>.

5 Mr. Wallace p. 61 writes as follows:

Mr. Clinton adds that "it is difficult to imagine what adequate motive the Jews could have had for shortening their genealogies." Not more difficult in our opinion than to imagine what adequate motive the Jews could have had for shortening the life of Jesus Christ. A difficulty however "to imagine an adequate motive" for any transaction is no proof that it did not take place.

But in this case, in the absence of all evidence, it is absolutely necessary to assign a motive. He who charges the Jews with corrupting their own genealogies, in order to make his accusation credible, is bound to shew why they did it. The whole force of the charge depends upon this. Mr. Horne in his Introduction to the Scriptures<sup>m</sup>, having traced the genuineness of the Pentateuch up to the reign of *Solomon*, very justly concludes that the Pentateuch which we possess is genuine because the Jews *could have had no motive* during the period between *Joshua* and *Solomon* for substituting a spurious production.

Professor Wallace however finds that they *had* a motive for corrupting their genealogies, which he states as follows.

Page 61 The Jews did not attempt to "shorten the genealogies," that is, to corrupt the chronology of the Scriptures, till all the witnesses were dead who knew Jesus.—But when they found afterwards that the Christians constantly proved out of the Septuagint that Jesus was the Messiah, they had then a sufficient motive for "shortening the genealogies," if they could make it appear from the Hebrew text that our Lord had come about 15 centuries earlier than the time fixed by tradition; and that the epoch of the true Messiah's advent had not yet arrived. p. 172 (according to the Rabbins) the world is to last in its fallen state 6000 years, and then is to be restored and purified as at the beginning.—There are to be seven ages of the world, each containing 1000 years. p. 178. 179 "The belief of the seven ages," says Dr. Russell, "has been detected in the writings of Heathens, Jews, and Christians. It is traced in the Sibylline Oracles, in Hesiod, in the work ascribed to Darius Hystaspes the king of the Medes, to Hermes Trismegistus.—Plato quotes from Orpheus the same mystical doctrine—that the earth was doomed in the seventh age to be consumed

<sup>i</sup> F. H. Vol. 1 p. 295 note 9.

<sup>k</sup> Perhaps in his 76th year: Gen. XII. 4—19. in the 328th year from the flood.

<sup>l</sup> See F. H. Vol. 1 p. 295.

<sup>m</sup> Vol. 1 p. 54. 55 of the 9th edition, 1846.



by fire<sup>n</sup>." Dr. Russell discovers in these opinions, however ill founded and absurd they may seem, the principal motive which actuated the Jews about the beginning of the second century in their attempt to vitiate the most authentic of their chronicles. "Their rejection of Christ," says he, "rendered necessary an extensive change in their dates and calculations." p. 188 It is manifest that there is great reason to suspect that the numbers contained in the Hebrew text which have reference to dates and to the age of the world have been systematically and extensively altered. Dr. Russell cites a passage from the celebrated Abulpharajius, in which he asserts that the Jews, believing it to have been foretold that the Messiah was to have been sent in the last times, altered the chronology in order to produce a reason for rejecting Jesus Christ. Thus they made it appear by their new computation that Christ was manifested in the very beginning of the *fifth* millennium, near to the middle of the period to which the duration of the earth was to be limited; that is,—not more than 7000 years in all. But the computation of the Septuagint, he observes, shewed that Christ did actually come in the middle of the 6th millenary, the very time at which the prediction of the Old Testament led mankind to expect his advent. The learned Doctor refers also to the candid Augustine, who states that the Jews were suspected of having corrupted their copies—and particularly of having altered the generations and lives of the antediluvian patriarchs out of dislike to the Christians.—Though Augustine saw that the temptation to vitiate the sacred text lay with the Rabbins, and that the Greek translators had no inducement to alter the original, he was unwilling to believe that either party could have intentionally altered the Scriptures, thinking it more probable that the differences had originated in the wish of a transcriber to render the generations more natural. p. 191 Dr. Russell states that the publication of the *Seder Olam Rabba* in A. D. 130 may with certainty be regarded as the epoch at which the Jews altered their genealogies, and changed the dates of the great events.

Hales<sup>o</sup> had already suggested the same argument from Ephrem Syrus and from Abulpharajius that the Jews expected the Messiah in the middle of the 6th millennium, and shortened the genealogies to make it appear that the true time was not yet come. He proceeds to shew that the origin of this notion of 6000 years is explained by Gregory of Oxford, whom he quotes. He refers also to the Sibylline Oracles, Hesiod, Hystaspes, and affirms that this period of 6000 years was adopted by the fathers, and that the prevalence of the tradition throughout the Pagan Jewish and Christian world was a sufficient reason with the Jews for shortening their Chronology.

Hystaspes<sup>p</sup> and the Sibyl are largely quoted by Lactantius VII. 15—21 p. 643—652. It is needless to urge that these are spurious writings, like the writings falsely ascribed to Orpheus and to Sanchoniatho. Nor is it necessary here to examine the authority of that cabalistic period of 6000 years. We have only to enquire how the Jews understood it, and whether they were induced on this account to mutilate their genealogies. This term of 6000 years was understood to terminate at the end of the world. The language was, *Ætate in sexta cessabit machina mundi*. The world was to be destroyed by fire, as in one of the Sibylline lines *ἔργα δὲ χειροποίητὰ θεῶν κατακαυθήσονται*<sup>q</sup>. Then was to follow a regeneration and a reign of *Apollo* or the *Sun*; as in the Sibyl quoted by Servius ad Eclog. Virg. IV. 4 *Finitis omnibus seculis rursus eadem renovari*. The Jews then would not, as Ephrem Syrus and Abulpharajius suppose, have altered their numbers to meet the argument of the Christian fathers. They would assert that the characters described had not yet appeared. The fathers are inaccurate in their period. For if there is any thing in the Jewish period of 6000 years, it is required that the *six millenniums* should be perfect and com-

<sup>n</sup> Where Mr. Wallace adds this note: "ἔπτα ἐν γενεῇ κατακαύσεται κόσμος ἀειδής. Philebos p. 157 cited by Dr. Russell p. 77 of his Connexion." Whether by accident or design I know not, the note of Mr. Wallace has *ἔπτα* instead of *ἑκτε*.

<sup>o</sup> Analysis of Chronology Vol. I p. 78.

<sup>p</sup> Hystaspes is mentioned by Justin Martyr Apol.

I. 20. 44. by Agathias II. 24 p. 62 C Clemens Al. Strom. VI p. 636 C Ammianus Marcellinus XXIII. 6, 32. "Conf. Walchii comment. de Hystaspe et ejus vaticiniis apud patres in commentat. Soc. reg. Gotting. tom. II p. 3—18." Wagner ad Ammian. l. c.

<sup>q</sup> Lactant. VII. 19.



plete from *Adam* to the birth of *Christ* in the reign of *Augustus*. But as the fathers could only obtain *five millenniums and a half* from their Chronology, they inaccurately substituted this defective and incomplete period for *six millenniums*. But how could 5500 years represent 6000 years?

Dr. Russell quotes and Professor Wallace approves a line of Orpheus from Plato recording the ages of the world and its destruction by fire. Their guide to this error has been Jackson. But it is remarkable that neither Russell nor Wallace should have taken the trouble to consult Plato himself in order to know what Plato really said<sup>r</sup>.

Mr. Wallace refers those mutilations of the genealogies to A. D. 130, which Dr. Russell, whom he follows, has affirmed to be with certainty the epoch. But Mr. Cuninghame himself admits that the shorter genealogies were known to Josephus and were inserted *before the Jewish war*: Synopsis of Chronology p. vii<sup>s</sup> "I have recently been led to change my opinion upon one point, being now "compelled by the force of evidence to conclude that the corruption of the Chronology must have "taken place at an earlier period than I formerly supposed. I now believe it to have been in the "interval between our Lord's death and the beginning of the Jewish war. This allows more than "30 years for the purpose, which is quite sufficient. I also conceive that it must have been well "known to Josephus, and the end for which it was done."

But this fact, that the shorter genealogies were already in the Hebrew within 30 years after the Ascension, makes the charge of corruption still less credible. For at that early period the Christians had not yet sufficient influence to be formidable to the Jews, who had hopes, while Jerusalem and their Temple yet stood, of putting down the rising sect. Is it to be believed that within 30 years of the Ascension the Jews would corrupt the genealogies in order to produce so obscure and unintelligible a result as that which arises from the period of 6000 years? To what purpose were they to mutilate their genealogies, when there were yet 500 years to their Messiah's advent, and half a *millennium* wanting to complete the destined period? If the short numbers were in the copies before the Jewish war, they were there before the Crucifixion. And this is confirmed by another consideration. The Jews are charged with expunging the *Second Cainan* from the postdiluvian patriarchs when they altered their numbers. It was done at the same time and from the same motive. But *Cainan II* was absent from the copies used by Philo, and Philo was an old man in A. D. 40 and probably 50 years of age at the time of the Crucifixion. He had therefore studied the Scriptures in Hebrew copies extant before that period. But if *Cainan II* was absent from those copies, we may infer that the long computations were absent also.

#### 6 Mr. Wallace observes p. 62

Mr. Clinton finally asserts that the translators had a very obvious motive for enlarging the Chronology because the Chaldeans and Egyptians laid claim to a remote antiquity. But the difference between the Hebrew and Septuagint is only about 15 centuries. This difference indeed was quite sufficient for the purpose of the Jews in denying the advent of the true Messiah, but it was wholly insufficient nay utterly useless for the purpose of coping with the pretensions of the Chaldeans and Egyptians. For it appears—that Berosus claimed for the Chaldeans—no less than 470,000 years, and from the fragments of Manetho and the Old Chronicle preserved by Syncellus that for the first Egyptian kings an antiquity is claimed of 36,525 years.—The argument therefore is so very absurd that it completely refutes itself.

<sup>r</sup> Lobeck Aglaophamus p. 788 ἔκτη δ' ἐν γενεῇ κατακαύσεται κόσμος αἰδιῆς. Eodemque modo hunc versum Boissardus de Divinat. p. 137 Jacksonus Ant. Chronol. p. 71 aliique *hujus inerudita atatis*, quorum unus ab altero errorem quasi per manus accepit, nullus autem quid tandem Plato dixerit quærere dignatus est. Is vero longe aliud quiddam dixit in Philebo p. 66 C,

ubi Socrates enumeratis quinque voluptatum generibus addit ἔκτη δ' ἐν γενεῇ, φησὶν Ὀρφεύς, καταπαύσασθε κόσμον αἰδιῆς. pro vulgari perorandi formula ἐνθάδε καταπαύσω τὸν λόγον. Dr. Russell and Professor Wallace are now to be added to the long list of those who have not deigned to consult Plato himself.

<sup>s</sup> Second ed. 1845.



The absurdity would be in supposing that these amounts of years were believed to be historical time, which were only astronomical periods. The Egyptians themselves never laid claim to more than 8000 years in the time of *Solon*, as we learn from Plato<sup>t</sup>. Eudoxus in the time of Plato interpreted those myriads of years to mean months: Proelus ad Timæum p. 31 l. 50 εἰ δὲ καὶ ὁ φησὶν Εὐδόξος ἀληθὲς, ὅτι Αἰγύπτιοι τὸν μῆνα ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκάλουν, οὐκ ἂν ἡ τῶν πολλῶν τούτων ἐνιαυτῶν ἀπαρίθμησις ἔχοι τι θαυμαστόν. And as months they are explained in the Armenian Eusebius<sup>v</sup>. But the 36,525 years were an astronomical cycle obtained by multiplying 1461 by 25: as Syncellus computes p. 52 A B. In like manner the Chaldean period of 432,000 years in Syncellus p. 30 A is an astronomical period produced by multiplying 24,000 by 18.<sup>w</sup> and 473,040 years were produced by multiplying 1460 by 324<sup>x</sup>.

7 It has been shewn in the first volume of the *Fasti Hellenici* p. 289 that the *second Cainan* was absent from the copies of Philo and Josephus, and omitted by Berosus. On this point Professor Wallace writes as follows.

Page 35 Syncellus very properly includes *Shem* in the genealogy, although he is necessarily omitted in the chronology because he was an antediluvian by birth, his antepaidogonian age being entirely omitted in the Scripture, and the birth of his son being reckoned from the flood. Hence we find that all the ancient writers reckon *Noah* the *tenth* from *Adam*, and *Abraham* the *tenth* from the flood, *Shem* being evidently the *eleventh* from *Adam*, and *Abraham* the *twenty-first*. p. 40 Nothing is more surprising than the pertinacity of error.—We have seen that when the second *Cainan* is admitted into the text *Abraham* must be reckoned the *tenth* generation from the flood; consequently, if he be rejected, *Abraham* must be reckoned only the *ninth*, contrary to the united voice of antiquity, both sacred and profane. Hales and Clinton have both cited extracts in proof of their argument—from Berosus Josephus and Philo shewing that *Abraham* was universally reckoned the *tenth generation after the flood*. The subterfuge adopted by the advocates of the *Hebrew verity* in reckoning *Shem*—as one of the generations after the flood in order to make up their number is too weak to require any comment. There is no doubt therefore that both Hales and Clinton are in the wrong and that Jackson and Cuninghame are “in the right.” p. 245 Africanus states that from the flood and *Noah* to the descent of *Abraham* into the promised land were ten generations—and from *Adam* twenty generations. We have sufficiently discussed the question of the number of generations in pp. 34—40. It is quite unnecessary therefore to resume the subject. Suffice it to say that *Shem* was an antediluvian, and therefore his generation could not be reckoned in the number of generations after the flood. Neither was it reckoned in the number before the flood, for *Noah* was reckoned the *tenth* from *Adam*, and *Abraham* the *tenth* from the flood.

And yet Mr. Wallace had told us at p. 35, 36, that Syncellus had properly included *Shem* in the genealogy, and that *Abraham* was the *twenty-first* from *Adam*. We are not however left in doubt of the meaning of Philo. For Philo<sup>xx</sup>, having marked ten generations of which *Noah* was the tenth, proceeds to give ten other generations, of which he expressly names *SHEM* as the first and *Abraham* as the last. And that twenty-one generations were reckoned by those who admitted the second *Cainan* is proved by Gregory of Nazianzus Or. 41 p. 733 D. For Gregory, who with the LXX admitted a second *Cainan*, reckons *Abraham* the 21st from *Adam*: τὸν εἰκοστὸν

<sup>t</sup> Plato Timæo p. 23 ὁ Σόλων—(ἡ θεὸς) τὴν τε ὑμετέραν καὶ τὴνδ' ἔλαχε καὶ ἔθρεψε καὶ ἐπαίδευσε, προτέρων μὲν τὴν παρ' ὑμῖν ἕτεσι χιλίοις—τῆνδε δὲ ὑστέραν τῆς δὲ ἐνθαδὶ διακοσμῆσεως παρ' ἡμῖν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς γράμμασι δὲκακισχιλίων ἐτῶν ἀριθμὸς γέγραπται. περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐνακισχιλίων γεγονότων ἔτη πολιτῶν σοὶ δηλώσω διὰ βραχέων νόμου τε καὶ τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῖς ὁ κάλλιστον ἐπράχθη.

<sup>v</sup> Euseb. Chron. I. 20 p. 93 *Ex Ægyptiacis Manethonis monumentis*.—*Summa temporum in mille*

*myriadas consurgit annorum, qui tamen lunares, nempe menstrui, sunt. Sed revera dominatio quam narrant Ægyptii Deorum Heroum et Manium tenuisse putatur lunares annos omnino 24,900, ex quibus fiunt solares anni 2206.*

<sup>w</sup> See Hales Vol. I p. 143.

<sup>x</sup> Hales Vol. I p. 144, explaining Diodorus.

<sup>xx</sup> In the passage quoted in *Fast. Hellen.* Vol. I p. 289 note P.

πρώτον Ἀβραάμ. But Origen, who omitted *Cainan II*, reckons *Abraham* the 20th from *Adam*: Comm. in Joannem tom. XX Vol. 2 p. 197 Ἀβραάμ εἰκοστὸς γενένηται ἀπὸ τοῦ πρωτοπλάστου δέκα γὰρ γενεαὶ ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ ἐπὶ Νῶε, καὶ δέκα ἀπὸ Νῶε ἐπὶ Ἀβραάμ. In the first series the ten generations include *Noah*, in the second series the ten are exclusive of *Noah*. On comparing Philo we perceive that Berossus in the phrase μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμόν δεκάτη γενεᾷ<sup>γ</sup> speaks inclusively of the generation in which the flood happened; and Hales is in the right in his interpretation of the meaning of Berossus. That Josephus omits the second *Cainan* will not I suppose be denied, who says Ant. I. 6, 4 Ἀρφαζάδου δὲ παῖς γίνεται Σάλης τοῦ δὲ Ἑβερὸς.

8 In the period from the Exode to the Temple I have the satisfaction of finding that the amount which I have assigned, 612 years, is confirmed by Mr. Cuninghame, who agrees also in 612 years for the interval. Mr. Wallace supposes a difference between the Hebrew and the Septuagint in this period.

Page 49 Mr. Clinton endeavours to defend the Hebrew chronology especially in the first two ages of the world: although he is forced to yield to the mass of evidence against it in the book of Judges.

He considers p. 59 my date for the flood obtained by "a computation partially interpolated from the Septuagint." That is, in the period from the exode to the temple, in which I have added 133 years to the numbers of Usher. But there is no such difference between the two copies. It will appear from the following list of dates that the Hebrew and the Septuagint agree.

	Hebrew	LXX
Moses. Deut. I. 3 . . . .	40	ἔτη μῶ ἔτει κ. τ. λ.
Joshua . . . . . Joshua XIV. 7. 10 <sup>z</sup> . . . .		
the Elders		
1 Servit. Mesopotam. Jud. III. 8 . . . . . 8		ὀκτώ
Othniel . . . . . III. 11 . . . . . 40		τεσσαράκοντα
2 Servit. Moab . . . . . III. 14 . . . . . 18		δεκαοκτώ
Ehud . . . . . III. 30 . . . . . 80		ὀγδοήκοντα
Shamgar . . . . . III. 31 . . . . .		
3 Servit. Canaan . . . . . IV. 3 . . . . . 20		εἴκοσι
Deborah and Barak . . . . . V. 31 . . . . . 40		τεσσαράκοντα
4 Servit. Midian . . . . . VI. 1 . . . . . 7		ἑπτὰ
Gideon . . . . . VIII. 28 . . . . . 40		τεσσαράκοντα
Abimelech . . . . . IX. 22 . . . . . 3		τρία
Tola . . . . . X. 2 . . . . . 23		εἴκοσι καὶ τρία
Jair . . . . . X. 3 . . . . . 22		εἴκοσι καὶ δύο
5 Servit. Ammon . . . . . X. 8 . . . . . 18		ὀκτωκαίδεκα
Jephthah . . . . . XII. 7 . . . . . 6		ἕξ
Ibzan . . . . . XII. 9 . . . . . 7		ἑπτὰ
Elon . . . . . XII. 11 . . . . . 10		δέκα
Abdon . . . . . XII. 14 . . . . . 8		ὀκτώ
6 Servit. Philistin . . . . . XIII. 1 . . . . . 40		τεσσαράκοντα
Samson . . . . . XVI. 31 . . . . . 20		εἴκοσι
Eli . . . . . 1 Sam. IV. 18 . . . . . 40		τεσσαράκοντα
Saul		
David . . . . . 1 Kings II. 11 . . . . . 40		τεσσαράκοντα
Solomon . . . . . 1 Kings VI. 1 . . . . . 3 y. 2 m.		ἔτει τετάρτῳ, μηνὶ δευτέρῳ

<sup>γ</sup> In F. H. Vol. 1 p. 289 note 4.

<sup>z</sup> The 40 years and the 45th year of the Hebrew

are in the Septuagint also τεσσαράκοντα and τεσσαροκοστὸν καὶ πέμπτου ἔτος.



The numbers which are the elements of our calculation are identical in both copies.

Mr. Wallace p. 73 speaks of a difference in the regal period.

The difference between the Hebrew and Septuagint chronologies in this period amounts only to about fifteen years, which is chiefly owing to an interregnum between the reigns of Amaziah and Uzziah not acknowledged by Usher and his followers.

Again p. 95

Eusebius acting under Jewish influence reduced the era—by the omission of fifteen years in the Monarchal period.

But here also no difference exists between the copies. In the texts upon which the interregnum is founded the Hebrew and the Septuagint have the same numbers <sup>a</sup>.

The period from the death of *Solomon* to the destruction of the Temple is thus given.

By Usher B. C. 975—588=(388) 387 y.

In F. Hellen. Vol. I B. C. 976—587=389 y. 1 m.

By Cuninghame B. C. 990—588=402 y.

In the second Volume of the *Fasti Hellenici* the edict of *Cyrus* and the termination of the Captivity are assigned to the 536th year before the Christian era <sup>b</sup>. Cuninghame and Wallace also agree in placing these events at that year.

We now proceed to the Gospel Chronology. The various opinions upon the *duration of the Ministry* have been touched upon in the Tables <sup>c</sup>, and the computations of some early fathers, of Irenæus of Clemens Alexandrinus of Tertullian, have been given. It is shewn from Augustine <sup>d</sup> that no evidence remained to fix the year of the Nativity or the year of the Ascension. The early fathers knew nothing upon this subject beyond what was contained in the Scriptures which we now possess. If the apostles in their oral teaching recorded more concerning the life and actions of their Master than is now extant in the Scripture narrative, more was not transmitted to succeeding times. The decisions of the fathers upon the year of the birth of *Christ* and the duration of the Ministry were founded as ours are upon Scripture and not upon traditions <sup>e</sup>.

The whole Gospel History chronologically considered refers to three periods. 1 before the Ministry. 2 during the Ministry. 3 from six days before the last Passover to the end of the Gospel History.

1 The following parts of the four Gospels belong to the First Period, including all the time before the Ministry.

Matthew I. 1—IV. 11.

Mark I. 1—13.

Luke I. 1—IV. 13.

John I. 1—18 describes the Eternal Existence and the Deity of the Son of God.

<sup>a</sup> The numbers in 2 Kings XIV. 21 *ἑκατὼν καὶ ἑξήκοντα* ἐτῶν and in XV. 1 *ἐν ἔτει εἰκοστῇ καὶ ἑβδόμῃ τῇ Ἱεροβοάμ* in the LXX are also 16 y and the 27th year in the Hebrew. The reasons for not admitting the interregnum are offered in F. H. Vol. I p. 316.

<sup>b</sup> See F. H. Vol. II p. 301—312=366—378. Towards the close of B. C. 536, within Ol. 61.1 U. C. Varr.-218.

<sup>c</sup> See the Tables A. D. 29 col. 2. 3. 4.

<sup>d</sup> See the Tables A. D. 29 col. 3 p. 15.

<sup>e</sup> If the *three decads of years* and the *three years* of the Ministry, which Hales Vol. I p. 199 confidently quotes as the testimony of *Ignatius*, were genuine, *Ignatius* might have received these from personal communication with *St. John*. But these occur in a spurious passage of the Epist. ad Trallenses. Compare the interpolated text in p. 13 of ed. Genév. 1623 with the genuine text in p. 336 of Jacobson's Edition Oxon. 1838.

3 The transactions of the Third Period are contained in these passages.

Matthew XXVI. 17 τῇ δὲ πρώτῃ τῶν ἀζύμων to the end, XXVIII. 20.

Mark XIV. 12 καὶ τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν ἀζύμων—to the end, XVI. 20.

Luke XXII. 7 ἦλθε δὲ ἡ ἡμέρα τῶν ἀζύμων—to the end, XXIV. 53.

John XII. 1 ὁ οὖν Ἰησοῦς πρὸ ἕξ ἡμερῶν τοῦ πάσχα—to the end, XXI. 25.

The arrangement of the times of these two parts is sufficiently clear. The Second Part comprehending the intermediate space is more difficult. The only probable method of arranging it is to select some particular facts and to distribute the other incidents around them.

The question is, whether there were three Passovers during the Ministry or only two; whether the last Passover was the fourth or the third. *St. John* notices six feasts, three of which are named as Passovers.

1 τὸ πάσχα τῶν Ἰουδαίων II. 13. The *first Passover*.

2 ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων V. 1.

3 τὸ πάσχα ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων VI. 4. The *last Passover but one*.

4 ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἡ σκηνοπηγία VII. 2.

5 τὰ ἐγκαλνία ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις X. 22.

6 ἦν δὲ ἐγγὺς τὸ πάσχα XI. 55. πρὸ δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς τοῦ πάσχα XIII. 1. The *last Passover*.

He mentions the first Passover II. 13 *And the Jews' Passover was at hand, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem.* II. 23 *Now when he was in Jerusalem at the Passover in the feast day many believed in his name.* This Passover happened before *John the Baptist* was cast into prison: III. 22. 24. after this Passover *Jesus* came into Galilee: IV. 3. after that journey another feast: V. 1 *after this there was a feast of the Jews, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem.* *St. John* then briefly relates some of the things which were done by *Jesus* during that stay at Jerusalem, and then proceeds VI. 1—4 *After these things Jesus went over the sea of Galilee which is the sea of Tiberias, and a great multitude followed him because they saw his miracles which he did on those that were diseased. And Jesus went up into a mountain and there he sat with his disciples. And the Passover a feast of the Jews was nigh.* Was the second of these three feasts a Passover, mentioned at V. 1, or was it some other feast?

The space from the Baptism to the Ascension was either a little more than three years, or a little more than two. Each of these periods is adopted by some of the ancient writers.

*Melito*, who flourished about A. D. 160—172, calls the Ministry three years: *apud Routh reliq. patrum tom. 1 p. 115 ἐπιστάσατο ἡμῖν τὴν θεότητα αὐτοῦ διὰ τῶν σημείων ἐν τῇ τριετίᾳ τῇ μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα.* *Hippolytus*, who flourished A. D. 220—227, places it within three years: *Routh Rel. patrum tom. 1 p. 136 "Hippolytus in Interpretatione sua in Daniele §. 4 Christum docet advenisse anno mundi 5530 passum vero esse anno 5533."* *Origen*, who wrote within A. D. 210—253, varies in his accounts. In his work *περὶ ἀρχῶν* compiled within A. D. 227—230<sup>f</sup> he imagined the period to be *a year and a few months*. But in the hom. in *Lucam* he rejects or doubts this opinion. In the work against *Celsus*, composed about A. D. 248<sup>g</sup> he reckons the ministry at less than 3 years; and in the comm. in *Matthæum*, composed according to *Eusebius* after the work against *Celsus*<sup>h</sup>, *almost 3 years*<sup>i</sup>. *Eusebius* A. D. 308—340 computed 3 years and a half<sup>k</sup>.

<sup>f</sup> That is, after A. D. 226 and before 231. See the Tables A. D. 229. 4.

<sup>g</sup> Towards the close of the reign of *Philip*: See the Tables A. D. 246. 4.

<sup>h</sup> Tables A. D. 246. 3.

<sup>i</sup> *Origenes περὶ ἀρχῶν* IV. 5 tom. 21 p. 491 ed. Berolin. ὀλίγου διαγεγενημένου χρόνου τῆς διδασκαλίας αὐτοῦ. ἐναντὶν γὰρ πον καὶ μῆνας ὀλίγους ἐδίδαξεν. Idem Serm. XXXII in *Lucam* tom. 5 p. 208 *Prædicare annum Domini acceptum* [Isaiah LXI. 1]. *Juxta sim-*



*Apollinarius of Laodicea* A. D. 362—366 reckoned only two years: Hieron. ad Danielem c. 9 p. 503 A *Apollinarius Laodiceus*—"Tricesimo enim juxta evangelistam Lucam anno etatis sue cepit in carne Dominus evangelium prædicare, et juxta Joannem evangelistam per tria paschata duos postea implevit annos." *Epiphanius* A. D. 347—402 reckons three passovers; Adv. hæc. tom. 1 p. 444 B οὐ μόνον δύο πάσχα ὁμολογεῖ τὰ εὐαγγέλια ἀλλὰ δύο μὲν πρῶτα λέγει καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ ἐν ᾧ πέποιθεν ὁ σωτῆρ, τρία Πάσχα τῶν ἐν τῷ κηρύγματι πεπραγματευμένων. p. 448 A πληρωθέντος τοῦ διητοιῦς χρόνου κ. τ. λ. *Chrysostom* A. D. 381—407 marks the third year current: Ep. 3 ad Olympiadem tom. 7 p. 70, 38 Sav. ὁ γὰρ τῶν ἀποστόλων χορὸς τρίτον ἔτος συγγενόμενος τῷ Χριστῷ. Interpreting John V. 1 tom. 2 p. 699, 32 "μετὰ ταῦτα ἦν ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων," he observes ποῖα ἑορτὴ; ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ ἢ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς. *Gaudentius* A. D. 387 quoted by Lardner Vol. 4 p. 503 allowed only one year: *Anniculus est quia post illud baptismum—usque ad passionis sue diem unius anni tempus impletur.* *Annianus* and *Panodorus* A. D. 412 reckoned 3 years to the ministry<sup>1</sup>.

The *Paschal Chronicle* cir. A. D. 629 p. 217 D numbers four passovers and computes 3 years and 76 days<sup>m</sup> from the Baptism to the Passion. *Andreas of Cæsarea* (cir. A. D. 800) assigns three years and a half to the Ministry: Comm. in Apocalypsin ex versione Peltani p. 170 spatium quod a Christi Baptismate usque ad illius in cælum ascensum fluxit—trietridem cum anni semisse. Lastly *Syncellus* A. D. 808 computes 3 years from the Baptism to the Crucifixion<sup>n</sup>.

Modern chronologers are also divided in their opinions. Scaliger, Archbishop Newcome, White, Hales and Greswell agree in four passovers. Others, as Cardinal Noris<sup>un</sup> Bishop Tomline<sup>o</sup> and Mr. Benson<sup>p</sup>, think that the feast in John V. 1 was not a passover, and that the last passover recorded in the Gospels was the third and not the fourth.

The Second of the Three Periods into which we divided the Gospel History<sup>q</sup> begins at the Baptism and terminates six days before the Last Passover. But this period again may be subdivided into two parts; the first part ends at the feeding the 5000, a miracle recorded by all the four Evangelists; the second embraces the rest of the second period. The space contained in this second subdivision is accurately defined. It includes the last Passover but one in Spring, the feast of Tabernacles in Autumn, the feast of Dedication in Winter, and ends six days before

*plicem intelligentiam aiunt uno anno Salvatorem in Judæa evangelium prædicasse* [see the Tables A. D. 29. 3 p. 13]. *et hoc esse quod dicitur prædicare annum Domini acceptum—Nisi forte quiddam sacramenti in prædicatione anni Domini divinus sermo significat.* Idem contra Celsum II. 12 tom. 18 p. 157 ὁ δὲ Ἰούδας παρὰ τῷ Ἰησοῦ οὐδὲ τρία διέτριψεν ἔτη. Idem comm. in Matthæum opp. tom. 4 p. 276 *Prædicationis Domini fere annos tres.*

<sup>k</sup> For Eusebius see the Tables A. D. 33. 2. But Eusebius has confounded the testimony of *St. John* with the testimony of *St. Luke*, and has attributed to *St. John* what he has not said. Eusebius affirms H. E. III. 24 that the three Gospels (of Matthew Mark and Luke) contain only one year's narrative after the imprisonment of *John the Baptist*: τοὺς ἄλλους γοῦν τρεῖς εὐαγγελιστὰς συνιδεῖν πάρεστι μόνᾳ τᾷ μετὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ δεσμοτηρίῳ Ἰωάννου τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ κάθειρξιν ἐφ' ἓνα ἐνιαυτὸν πεπραγμένα τῷ σωτῆρι συγγεγραφότας, which is inconsistent with his other account of 3 years and a half for the whole Ministry.

<sup>1</sup> See the Tables A. D. 412. 4.

<sup>m</sup> Tables A. D. 32. 2.

<sup>n</sup> Syncellus p. 325 C Ἰησοῦς δὲ ἦν ὡσεὶ ἐτῶν λ'—

ἐβαπτίσθη καὶ εἶδαξιν—ἐπὶ τρία ἔτη ὡς εἶναι τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς θείας αὐτοῦ συλλήψεως χρόνον—Μαρτίου κ' μέχρι τῆς ζωποιοῦ ἀναστάσεως κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν συμπεσοῦσαν ἡμέραν κ' Μαρτίου ἐτῶν λγ' καὶ ἡμέρας μᾶς—ἀφ' ἧς ἐπὶ τὴν εἰς οὐρανοῦς—ἀνάληψιν ἡμέραι μ'. p. 3 B τριάκοντα τριῶν μὲν ἐτῶν καὶ ἡμέρῶν τεσσαράκοντα τῆς ἐπὶ γῆς οἰκονομίας.

<sup>un</sup> Norisius tom. 3 p. 517 "Christus anno insequenti sexta Januarii [Jan. 6 A. D. 27] a Joanne baptizatus fuit, ac proinde tria tantum paschata celebravit antequam mortem duobus Geminis consulibus [A. D. 29] subiret."

<sup>o</sup> Elements of Christian Theology Vol. I p. 338. 523. Dr. Burton in his edition of the Greek Testament supposes John to speak of only three passovers, and the feast in V. 1. to be some other feast. See the notes to John II. 13. V. 1. VI. 4. XI. 55. And yet he calls the Ministry "three years;" note on Luke XIII. 32. Which, strictly taken, is inconsistent with the former opinion.

<sup>p</sup> As quoted in Horne's Introduction Vol. 2 p. 354.

<sup>q</sup> See above p. 227.

the last Passover in the spring following. The transactions of twelve months or a little more are contained in this part of the narrative. Our limits of inquiry are therefore confined to the space between the Baptism and the feeding the 5000. The accounts of the four evangelists in the Second Period are set forth in the following Table.

MATTHEW	MARK	LUKE	JOHN
A the baptism III. 13. B the temptation IV. 1.	A the baptism I. 9. B the temptation I. 13.	A the baptism III. 21. B the temptation IV. 1.	1 testimony of the Baptist I. 15—36. 2 Jesus in Galilee I. 43. 3 the marriage in Cana II. 1. 4 the PASSOVER at hand. II. 13. 5 he purgeth the temple II. 14. 6 teacheth Nicodemus III. 1. 7 baptizeth in Judea III. 22. John not yet in prison III. 24.
C Jesus in Galilee after John was cast into prison IV. 12.	C Jesus in Galilee after John was cast into prison I. 14.	C returned into Galilee IV. 14.	C departeth again into Galilee IV. 1.  8 talketh with the woman of Samaria IV. 7. 9 healeth the nobleman's son at Capernaum IV. 46.
E he went to Capernaum IV. 12—13.	E he went to Capernaum and cast out an unclean spirit I. 21—27.	E he went to Capernaum and cast out an unclean spirit IV. 31—36.	
D Peter and Andrew James and John called IV. 18—22.	D Peter and Andrew, James and John called I. 16—20.		D Peter and Andrew James and John called I. 37—42. Philip called I. 43.
he teaches through Galilee IV. 23—25.	F Peter's wife's mother healed I. 31. he teaches throughout Galilee I. 38, 39.	F Peter's wife's mother healed IV. 39. he teaches throughout Galilee IV. 43, 44.	
¶ the Sermon on the Mount, V. I—VII. 29.		D Peter and Andrew, James and John called V. 1—11.	
G the leper VIII. 2—4. the centurion's servant VIII. 5—13.	G he cures a leper I. 40—45.	G he cures a leper V. 12—15.	
F Peter's wife's mother cured VIII. 14—17.	H cures a paralytic II. 1—12.	H cures a paralytic V. 17—26.	
N he calms a tempest VIII. 23—27.	I Matthew called II. 13—17.	I Matthew called V. 27—32.	10 healeth at the pool of Bethesda, at a feast of the Jews V. 1, 2. [the PASSOVER.]



MATTHEW	MARK	LUKE	JOHN
O casts out the legion of devils VIII. 28.—IX. 1.	J ears of corn gathered on the Sabbath II. 23—28.	J ears of corn gathered on the Sabbath— <i>δευτέρῳ πρώτῳ</i> VI. 1—5.	
H cures the paralytic IX. 2—8.	K the withered hand III. 1—5.	K the withered hand VI. 6—10.	
I Matthew called IX. 9—13.	L he ordaineth the twelve apostles III. 13—19.	L he ordains the twelve apostles VI. 12—19.	
P Jairus' daughter IX. 18—26. he teaches throughout Galilee IX. 35.		¶ the Sermon on the Mount, VI. 20—49. the centurion's servant VII. 1—10. the dead man at Nain VII. 11—17.	
Q sends forth the twelve apostles X. 1—XI. 1.		δ' John the Baptist sends to enquire VII. 18—24. the woman anoints him at the Pharisee's house VII. 36—50. he preaches again throughout Galilee VIII. 1—3.	
δ' John the Baptist sends to enquire XI. 2—6.		M the parable of the sower VIII. 4—15.	
J ears of corn gathered XII. 1—8.	M the parable of the sower IV. 1—20.	N he stills a storm VIII. 22—25.	
K the withered hand healed XII. 9—13.	N he stills a storm IV. 35—41.	O casts out a legion of devils VIII. 26—39.	
	O casts out a legion of devils V. 1—20.	P Jairus' daughter VIII. 41—55.	
M the parable of the sower XIII. 1—23.	P Jairus' daughter V. 22—43.	Q he sends forth the twelve apostles IX. 1—6.	
	Q he sends forth the twelve apostles VI. 7—13.	R John the Baptist now dead IX. 7—9.	
	R John the Baptist already dead VI. 14. [he parenthetically relates the death of John VI. 17—29.]	S the 5000 IX. 10—17.	
R John the Baptist already dead XIV. 1, 2. [he parenthetically relates the death of John XIV. 3—11.]	S the 5000 VI. 30—44.		S the 5000 VI. 1—14. the PASSOVER being nigh VI. 4.
S the 5000 XIV. 13—21.			

The four narratives meet at this point. From this undoubted and unquestionable date the Gospel History of the Ministry proceeds through the last Passover but one to the last Passover itself; as in the following Table:

MATTHEW	MARK	LUKE	JOHN
(S the 5000.) T Jesus walks on the sea and calms a storm XIV. 22—33.	(S the 5000.) T he stills another storm VI. 45—52.  he returns into the land of Gennesareth VI. 53—56.	(S the 5000.)	(S the 5000.) T he walks on the sea and calms a storm VI. 16—21.

MATTHEW	MARK	LUKE	JOHN
X justifies the unwashed hands XV. 1—14.	X justifies the unwashed hands VII. 1—23.		11 He discourses at Capernaum VI. 24—71.†
Z cures a Canaanitish woman's daughter in the coasts of Tyre and Sidon XV. 21—28.	Z cures a Syrophenician woman's daughter in the borders of Tyre and Sidon VII. 24—30. thence coming to the sea of Galilee cures a deaf man VII. 31—37.		
AA feeds 4000 XV. 29—38. warns his disciples of the Pharisees XVI. 5—12.	AA feeds 4000 VIII. 1—9. at Bethsaida cures a blind man VIII. 22—26.		
BB Peter's confession of Christ XVI. 13—20.	BB Peter's confession of Christ VIII. 27—30.	BB Peter's confession of Christ IX. 18—21.	
CC Christ foretels his own death XVI. 21—27.	CC Christ foretels his own death VIII. 31—38.	CC Christ foretels his death IX. 22—26.	
DD the Transfiguration XVII. 1—13.	DD the Transfiguration IX. 2—13.	DD the Transfiguration IX. 28—36.	
he casts out the devil XVII. 14—21.	he casts out the devil IX. 14—29.	he casts out the devil IX. 41.	
EE he foretels his death while they abode in Galilee XVII. 22—23.	EE passes privately through Galilee and foretels his death IX. 30—32.	EE he foretels his death IX. 43—45.	
FF comes to Capernaum and pays the tribute money XVII. 24—27.	FF comes to Capernaum and (GG) teaches humility IX. 33—37.		
GG teaches humility XVIII. 1—14.	his discourse in answer to John IX. 38—50.	GG teaches humility IX. 46—48.	
Parable of the 10,000 talents XVIII. 21—35.		α in his way to Jerusalem he is rejected by the Samaritans IX. 51—56.	12 Jesus goeth up from Galilee to the feast of Tabernacles VII. 2—53.
		β he sends the 70 X. 1—16.	13 the woman taken in adultery VIII. 1—11.
		γ the 70 return 17—24.	14 he answereth the Jews VIII. 13—59.
		δ the good Samaritan X. 29—37.	15 the man that was born blind restored to sight IX. 1—X. 21.
		ε he is received by Martha and Mary X. 38—42.	
		ϛ the Lord's Prayer <sup>s</sup> XI. 1—10.	
		ζ he reproves the Pharisees <sup>t</sup> XI. 37—54.	
		η the fig-tree XIII. 6—9.	

† St. John adds VII. 1 περιπατεί ο Ἰησοῦς μετὰ ταῦτα ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ, οὐ γὰρ ἤθελεν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ περιπατεῖν ὅτι ἐζήρουν αὐτὸν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἀποκτείνειν. He remained in Galilee and the adjacent country between the last Passover but one and the feast of Taberna-

cles: from Spring to Autumn.

<sup>s</sup> Included by St. Matthew VI. 9 in the Sermon on the Mount.

<sup>t</sup> In Matt. XXIII after the Entry into Jerusalem.



MATTHEW	MARK	LUKE	JOHN
		θ he cures an infirm woman on the Sabbath XIII. 10—17. ι journeys towards Jerusalem XIII. 22. κ at the house of a Pharisee on the Sabbath the parable of the Great Supper <sup>v</sup> XIV. 15—23. λ the lost sheep <sup>w</sup> and lost piece of money XV. 1—10. μ the prodigal son XV. 11—32. ν the unjust steward XVI. 1—13. ο the rich man and Lazarus XVI. 19—31. HH he passed through the midst of Samaria and Galilee as he went to Jerusalem XVII. 11. π the ten lepers XVII. 12—19. II blesses the young children XVIII. 15—17. KK the young rich man XVIII. 18—30. LL he foretels his death XVIII. 31—34. MM heals a blind man near Jericho XVIII. 35—43. ρ the conversion of Zacchæus XIX. 1—10. σ the Ten Talents <sup>x</sup> related in the ascent to Jerusalem XIX. 11—28. NN the entry into Jerusalem by the way of Bethphage and Bethany and the Mount of Olives XIX. 29—46.	16 at Jerusalem at the feast of Dedication in the winter X. 22. 17 he went again beyond Jordan X. 40. 18 he raiseth Lazarus XI. 1—53. retires to Ephraim XI. 54. 19 Jesus at Bethany six days before the Passover XII. 1—9. NN his entry into Jerusalem XII. 12—15.
HH he departs from Galilee and goes beyond Jordan XIX. 1. II blesses the young children XIX. 13—15. KK the young rich man XIX. 16—30. LL he foretels his death XX. 17—19. MM heals two blind men near Jericho XX. 30—34.	HH he goes beyond Jordan into Judea. of divorce X. 1—12. II blesses the young children X. 13—16. KK the young rich man X. 17—31. LL he foretels his death X. 32—34. MM heals a blind man near Jericho X. 46—52.		
NN his entry into Jerusalem by Bethphage and Bethany and the Mount of Olives XXI. 1—17.	NN his entry into Jerusalem by Bethphage and Bethany and the Mount of Olives XI. 1—11.		

If the *Last Passover but one* was the second Passover, a space of less than a year is given from the first Passover named in the preceding table to the feeding the 5000. But the things transacted and the regions visited seem to require a longer time. After the first Passover *Jesus* came into Judea and dwelt there, and the *Baptist* continued his ministry<sup>y</sup>. Then followed the imprisonment of *John*, after which event *Jesus* came into Galilee<sup>z</sup>, then into Samaria<sup>a</sup>, thence again to Galilee<sup>b</sup>. Then he came to Nazareth<sup>c</sup>. Leaving Nazareth he came and dwelt in Capernaum<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>v</sup> In Matt. XXII. 2 after the Entry into Jerusalem.

<sup>w</sup> Told by St. Matthew XVIII. 12—14 under GG.

<sup>x</sup> Related by St. Matthew XXV. 14 at a later

period.

<sup>y</sup> John III. 22. 23.

<sup>a</sup> John IV. 3. 4.

<sup>c</sup> Luke IV. 16.

<sup>z</sup> Mark I. 14.

<sup>b</sup> John IV. 43.

<sup>d</sup> Matthew IV. 13.

After this he made the circuit of all Galilee<sup>e</sup>. Then he is present at Jerusalem at a certain feast<sup>f</sup>. From Jerusalem he journeys into Galilee<sup>g</sup>. In Galilee he delivers the Sermon on the Mount<sup>h</sup>, after which he is at Capernaum<sup>i</sup>. He teaches in Galilee<sup>k</sup> and at Capernaum<sup>l</sup>. Then he passed over to the country of the Gadarenes<sup>m</sup>. After this he is at Nazareth<sup>n</sup>. Being in Galilee he sends forth the twelve Apostles<sup>o</sup>, who return from their mission<sup>p</sup>. After their return he passed to the desert of Bethsaida and there wrought the miracle of feeding the 5000<sup>q</sup>. The discourses and actions of *Jesus*, and the miracles performed in his progress, might well occupy almost two years, extending over a second Passover to the approach of a third.

If the feast in St. John V. 1 was not a Passover, this would not determine that no passover intervened between the first and the last but one. For John has omitted other feasts, as for instance he has omitted to name the feasts of Tabernacles and of Dedication which fell within the first year of the Ministry. *Jesus* was absent from Jerusalem at the last Passover but one, and he might have also been absent from the second Passover, if there were four.

If the expression in St. Luke VI. 1 *σάββατον δευτερόπρωτον* is rightly interpreted by Scaliger, Casaubon<sup>r</sup>, Schleusner<sup>s</sup> and others to mean the first sabbath after the Passover, this would at once establish a Passover between the first and the last but one; for, as Mr. Greswell Vol. 2 p. 283 justly argues, that narrative must be inserted between John V. 1 and John VI. 4. But the interpretation offered by Valekenauer and Grotius<sup>t</sup> is perhaps equally probable, that *δευτερόπρωτον* means the Sabbath which followed Pentecost. Even this interpretation however would still confirm that a passover intervened between the first and the last but one. For as it is certain that this Pentecost could not have followed the *first* Passover, it must of necessity have followed a *second* Passover not named, which occurred between the Passover in John II. 13 and the Passover in John VI. 4, and therefore adds a fourth Passover to the Ministry.

The precise interval between the Baptism and the First Passover is not fixed by the Gospel narratives. We may collect however that it could not be long; for the first miracle which *Jesus* wrought was the miracle at Cana, and after this miracle he went down to Capernaum and *continued there not many days, and the Passover was at hand*<sup>v</sup>. Chrysostom in Joann. hom. 23 tom. 8 p. 133 A Montf. calls the interval "a few days:" *πρὸ ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν τοῦ πάσχα ἐβαπτίσατο*. Epiphanius places the Baptism at November 8<sup>w</sup>. The author of the Paschal Chronicle at Jan. 6, reckoning 76 days to the Passover<sup>x</sup>. Some modern chronologers agree in a short interval. Pagi tom. 1 p. 17 and Norisius tom. 3 p. 517 assign Jan. 6 for the Baptism. Mr. Greswell assumes Jan. 24 as the day of the Baptism and April 9 as the day of the Passover; and this also places the Passover at the 76th day after the Baptism. Other modern interpreters assume longer periods<sup>y</sup>.

<sup>e</sup> Matthew IV. 23.

<sup>f</sup> John IV. 54. V. 1.

<sup>g</sup> Luke VI. 1—4.

<sup>h</sup> Matt. V—VIII. 1 Luke VI. 20—49.

<sup>i</sup> Matt. VIII. 5 Luke VII. 1. <sup>k</sup> Matt. IX. 35.

<sup>l</sup> Mark III. 7. 9.

<sup>m</sup> Luke VIII. 26.

<sup>n</sup> Matt. IX. 1.

<sup>o</sup> Matt. X. 1. XI. 1.

<sup>p</sup> Luke IX. 10.

<sup>q</sup> Luke IX. 10—17.

<sup>r</sup> Casauboni in Baronium Exercit. XIV p. 308.

309 Observat Scaliger non a *δευτέρου* et *πρώτου* conflata esse illam vocem sed a *δευτέρα* et *πρώτου*. ut sit secundo—primum sabbatum, illud sabbatum quod secundam Paschatis proxime sit secutum. Rationes novæ sententiæ ex ipso auctore petant studiosi lib. VI de emend. temporum in diatriba de tertio Domini Paschate, et Isagoge. Canonum lib. I. 6, et lib. III in

commentario ejus capitis.

<sup>s</sup> Schleusner in v. *δευτερόπρωτος*. Mr. Greswell Vol. 2 p. 292 seems also to agree in the interpretation of Scaliger, and refers to Suidas v. *σάββατον* [p. 3238 B].

<sup>t</sup> Quoted by Burton in his note upon Luke VI. 1.

<sup>v</sup> John II. 11—13.

<sup>w</sup> Tables A. D. 28. 2. 31. 3.

<sup>x</sup> See the Tables A. D. 32. 2.

<sup>y</sup> Mr. Bennet, as quoted by Horne Introduction Vol. 2 p. 354, thinks that "the Baptism was performed in or about the month of November:" that is, about 5 months before the first Passover; which coincides with Epiphanius. Hales Vol. 1 p. 202 fixes it "near autumn," or 6 months before the



The beginning of the ministry of the *Baptist* is limited by the date of *Pilate's* government<sup>z</sup>. From Josephus we learn that he governed ten years, and we may collect that his first year was current in the 12th year of *Tiberius*. Our knowledge of the times of the procurators of Judea is derived from Josephus, who relates that after the banishment of *Archelaus* in A. D. 6<sup>a</sup> *Augustus* appointed three successive procurators, *Coponius*, *Ambivius*, and *Rufus*, the last of whom was still in office at the death of *Augustus*<sup>b</sup>; that *Tiberius* sent *Gratus* as the successor of *Rufus*, that *Gratus* remained eleven years in Judea, and was succeeded by *Pilate*: Ant. XVIII. 2. 2 διαδέχεται τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Τιβέριος Νέρων—καὶ πεμπτὸς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παρῆν Ἰουδαίους ἑπαρχος, διάδοχος Ἀννίου Ῥούφου, Οὐαλέριος Γράτος.—καὶ Γράτος μὲν—εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπαναχωρεῖ, ἕνδεκα ἔτη διατρίψας ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ, Πόντιος δὲ Πιλάτος διάδοχος αὐτῷ ἦκεν. *Rufus* then was still in office Aug. 19 A. D. 14. But *Gratus*, appointed by the new emperor, might arrive in Judea at the close of A. D. 14 or the beginning of A. D. 15. His eleventh year would be current from the close of A. D. 24 or the beginning of 25. If *Pilate* then arrived towards the close of summer A. D. 25, his predecessor had been eleven years current in his government<sup>c</sup>, and *Pilate's* first year is current in the 12th of *Tiberius* which began Aug. 19 A. D. 25. Eusebius H. E. I. 9 interprets Josephus in this manner: ὁ δ' αὐτὸς ἐν ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς ἀρχαιολογίας κατὰ τὸ δωδέκατον ἔτος τῆς Τιβερίου βασιλείας—Πόντιον Πιλάτον ἐπιτραπήναι τὴν Ἰουδαίαν δηλοῖ<sup>d</sup>. *Pilate* remained ten years in his government, and was then deposed by *Vitellius* and sent to Rome: Josephus Ant. XVIII. 4, 2 Σαμαρέων ἢ βουλή παρὰ Οὐϊτέλλιον ὑπατικὸν ἴασιν ἄνδρα Συρίας τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχοντα καὶ Πιλάτου κατηγοροῦν ἐπὶ τῇ σφαγῇ τῶν ἀπολωλότων.—καὶ Οὐϊτέλλιος Μάρκελλον τὸν αὐτοῦ φίλον ἐκπέμψας ἐπιμελητὴν τοῖς Ἰουδαίους γεννησόμενον Πιλάτον ἐκέλευσεν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἀπίναίαι πρὸς ἃ κατηγοροῦν Ἰουδαῖοι διδάξαντα [I. διδάζοντα] τὸν αὐτοκράτορα. καὶ Πιλάτος δέκα ἔτεσι διατρίψας ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίας εἰς Ῥώμην ἠπέιγετο, ταῖς Οὐϊτελλίου πειθόμενος ἐντολαῖς, οὐκ ὄν ἀντειπεῖν—πρὶν δὲ ἢ τῇ Ῥώμῃ προσχεῖν [I. προσσχέιν] αὐτὸν, φθάσει Τιβέριος μεταστάς. Josephus elsewhere observes that *Tiberius* in a reign of 22 years appointed only two procurators of Judea: ἔτη δύο πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσιν αὐτοκράτωρ γενόμενος δύο τοὺς πάντας Ἰουδαίους ἐξέπεμψε διοικήσοντας τὸ ἔθνος, Γράτῳ τε καὶ Πιλάτῳ ὃς αὐτῷ διεδέξατο τὴν ἡγεμονίαν<sup>e</sup>.

Passover. He has not explained his reasons. Usher Annals p. 818. 819 seems, as we collect from his dates, to place the Baptism in November A. D. 27 and the first Passover in the spring of A. D. 30, a space of two years and 5 months. He has not supported this long period by any arguments. When however from John II. 12 he says that Jesus “tarried at Capernaum many days,” he has not rendered the sense of the Evangelist, whose words are οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας.

<sup>z</sup> Luke III. 1. 2 *Pontius Pilate being governor of Judea—the Word of God came to John the son of Zacharias in the wilderness.*

<sup>a</sup> See F. H. Vol. III p. 256 A. D. 4.

<sup>b</sup> Joseph. Ant. XVIII. 1, 1 Κυρήνιος δὲ τῶν εἰς τὴν βουλὴν συναγομένων ἀνὴρ τὰς τε ἄλλας ἀρχὰς ἐπιτετελεκῶς καὶ διὰ πασῶν ἰδέυσας ὑπατος γενέσθαι—σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐπὶ Συρίας παρῆν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος δικαιοδότης τοῦ ἔθνους ἀπεσταλμένος καὶ τιμητὴς τῶν οὐσιῶν γεννησόμενος. Κορώνιος δὲ αὐτῷ συγκαταπέμπεται, τάγματος τῶν ἰππέων, ἡγησόμενος Ἰουδαίων τῇ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἐξουσίᾳ. παρῆν δὲ καὶ Κυρήνιος εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν προσθήκην τῆς Συρίας γενομένην, ἀποτιμησόμενος τε αὐτῶν τὰς οὐσίας καὶ ἀποδωσόμενος τὰ Ἀρχελάου χρήματα. XVIII. 2, 2 Κορώνιος μετ' οὐ πολὺ εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπαναχωρεῖ, διάδοχος δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς παραγίνεται Μάρ-

κος Ἀμβιβίου.—διαδέχεται δὲ καὶ τοῦτον Ἀννίου Ῥούφου, ἐφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ τελευτᾷ Καίσαρ.

<sup>c</sup> Perhaps 10<sup>y</sup> 8<sup>m</sup> reckoned from the beginning of A. D. 15, or 10<sup>y</sup> 10<sup>m</sup> computed from the close of A. D. 14.

<sup>d</sup> Eusebius in his Chronicle assigns a lower date to *Pilate's* government: Anno 2042 Tiberii 13<sup>o</sup> Pilatum Tiberius—mittit. This year began in Oct. A. D. 26. But it will be shewn below that the end of *Pilate's* government is inconsistent with so low a date for its beginning; and the account of Eusebius himself in his history, founded upon Josephus, is to be preferred. Eusebius is consistent with his own date in H. E. I. 9 when he afterwards at I. 10 compares the 15th of *Tiberius* with the 4th of *Pilate*: ἔτος πεντεκαίδεκατον Τιβερίου Καίσαρος ἀγοντος, τέταρτον δὲ τῆς ἡγεμονίας Ποντίου Πιλάτου. But if the 4th was at the 15th, the 1st was at the 12th year.

<sup>e</sup> Joseph. Ant. XVIII. 6, 5. Mr. Greswell Vol. I p. 281 renders this passage “Tiberius for the first twenty-two years of his reign appointed only two procurators.” But this is not said in Josephus, who merely expresses in general terms the reign of *Tiberius* at 22 years neglecting the fraction, which he adds on another occasion XVIII. 6, 10 where he

Norisius tom. 3 p. 516. 517 places the recal of *Pilate* from his government by *Vitellius* in November A. D. 36, and his commencement in A. D. 26<sup>f</sup>. But Lardner has shewn from Josephus himself that after the removal of *Pilate* *Vitellius* was present at Jerusalem at a passover in the lifetime of *Tiberius*; that he returned to Antioch, and from thence by the order of *Tiberius* proceeded to the Euphrates to negotiate with *Artabannus* king of Parthia; that after this negotiation he sent an account to *Tiberius* and received from him an answer; that *Vitellius* then prepared by command of *Tiberius* for a war in Petra; that on his way thither he was again at Jerusalem at a feast; finally that four days after his arrival he received the news of the emperor's death. This series of events determines this last visit to Jerusalem to the Passover of A. D. 37, the former visit to the Passover of A. D. 36, and the removal of *Pilate* (a few months before) to the autumn of A. D. 35, about 18 months before the death of *Tiberius*<sup>g</sup>. Lardner farther confirms from Tacitus Ann. VI. 31—38 that *Vitellius* was engaged in Parthian affairs in A. D. 36. But if the 10th year of *Pilate* ended in September or October A. D. 35, his first year commenced in September or October A. D. 25; and if the *Baptist's* Ministry began in October or November A. D. 25, it fell within the first year of *Pilate's* government.

The early fathers founded their era for the birth of *Christ* upon the narrative in *St. Luke*, from whom they collected that *Jesus* was in his 30th year in the 15th year of *Tiberius*. From hence they placed the Nativity 15 years before the death of *Augustus*, in the 42nd or 43rd year of that emperor's reign computed from the death of *Cæsar*, or the 28th year computed from the death of *Antony*. But *St. Matthew* determines that *Jesus* was born before the death of *Herod*; and the death of *Herod* is fixed by the combined evidence of Josephus and Dio<sup>h</sup>, and of the coins of *Herod Antipas*<sup>i</sup>, at the Passover of B. C. 4 in the 18th year before the death of *Augustus*<sup>k</sup>. The *Nativity* of our *Lord* is therefore thrown back to B. C. 5, full 18 years before the death of *Augustus*, and his 30th year is current in the 12th year of *Tiberius*, and the first Passover after the Baptism would be in the spring of that 12th year, A. D. 26. If these propositions are true, it will follow

more minutely defines the reign at 22<sup>v</sup> 5<sup>m</sup> 3<sup>d</sup>. ζθανε, σχὼν αὐτὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ πέντε μῆνας πρὸς ἐναντοῦν δυοῖν καὶ ἑκοσι.

<sup>f</sup> Norisius l. c. "Pilate A. U. 789 [A. D. 36] puta circa Novembrem annum decimum in provincia exegerat, ut in Judæam venisse dicendus sit A. U. 779 A. D. 26, quo anno Johannes Baptista labente Octobri—crimini expiationem populo indicere occupit." These dates are not quite consistent. If the *Baptist* began his ministry in October 26 and *Pilate* remained in Judea till November 36, either the *Baptist* began before the government of *Pilate* commenced or *Pilate* was in office more than ten years.

<sup>g</sup> The acts of *Vitellius* lie in this order in Josephus XVIII. 4, 2 Οὐιτέλλιος Μάρκελλον τὸν αὐτοῦ φίλον ἐκπέμψας ἐπιμελητὴν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις γενησόμενον Πιλάτον ἐκέλευσεν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἀπιέναι. § 3 Οὐιτέλλιος δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀφικόμενος ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ἀνῆκε, καὶ ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐορτὴ. Πάσχα δὲ καλεῖται.—ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας ὃ αὐθις ἐποικεῖτο τὴν ὁδόν. § 4 πέμπει δὲ καὶ Τιβέριος ὡς Οὐιτέλλιον γράμματα κελύων αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν φίλιαν πρὸς Ἀρτάβανον τὸν Πάρθων βασιλέα. § 5 —ὁ Τιβέριος ἤξιον φίλιαν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι πρὸς τὸν Ἀρτάβανον. ἐπεὶ δὲ κάκεινος προκληθεὶς ἀσμένως εἰδέχεται τὸν περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγον, ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην παρήσαν ὃ τε Ἀρτάβανος καὶ ὁ Οὐιτέλλιος.—ἐπὶ τούτοις Οὐιτέλλιος μὲν ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας ἦει Ἀρτάβανος δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς

Βαβυλωνίας.—πρὸς Οὐιτέλλιον δὲ ἐπιπεμφθεισῶν ἐπιστολῶν, καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπισημνησαντος πρὸς αὐτὸν κ. τ. λ. c. 5, 1 ὁ δὲ (Τιβέριος) ὀργῇ φέρον τὴν Ἀρέτα ἐπιχείρησιν γράφει πρὸς Οὐιτέλλιον πόλεμον ἐξευγεκύν. § 3 Οὐιτέλλιος δὲ παρασκευασάμενος ὡς εἰς πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Ἀρέταν δυοὶ τάγμασιν ὀπλιτῶν—ἐπὶ τῆς Πέτρας ἠπείγετο.—αὐτὸς τε μετὰ Ἡρώδου τοῦ τετράρχου καὶ τῶν φίλων εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἀνῆκε θύσων τῷ θεῷ, ἐορτῆς πατρίου τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐνεστηκυίας.—τρεῖς μὲν ἡμέρας ταύτῃ διατριβὴν ποιεῖται—τῇ τετάρτῃ δὲ καὶ γραμμάτων αὐτῷ παραγενομένων ἃ εἰδήλου τὴν Τιβερίου τελευτήν, ἄρκισεν τὴν πληθὺν ἐπ' εἰνοία τῇ Γαίου. The comments of Lardner upon these passages are given in Vol. I p. 94—96. He repeats them with new observations p. 371—377. The word ἠπείγετο in Josephus XVIII. 4, 2 Lardner p. 375—377 justly considers to be outweighed by the whole series of the narration. Norisius Cen. Pisan. p. 330—tom. 3 p. 523 has collected the testimonies to the government of *Vitellius* in the East. He was appointed to the command in Syria in A. D. 35, he was succeeded by *P. Petronius* in A. D. 39.

<sup>h</sup> See F. H. Vol. III Tables B. C. 4 p. 254. 256.

<sup>i</sup> See the Tables A. D. 39 col. 2.

<sup>k</sup> From March B. C. 4 in Jul. Per. 4710 to Aug. 19 A. D. 14 in Jul. Per. 4727 are 17<sup>v</sup> 5<sup>m</sup>.



that *St. Luke* reckoned the years of *Tiberius* from an earlier date than the death of *Augustus*. This solution of the difficulty has been adopted by Norisius, by Pagi, by Usher Lardner Hales Greswell and others, who assume that the years of *Tiberius* are computed by the Evangelist from U. C. 765 A. D. 12, two years before the death of *Augustus*. They have however no other reason for selecting that particular year as the epoch than because it is adapted to their own dates for the Ministry of the Baptist<sup>1</sup>.

Those who interpret the 15th of *Tiberius*<sup>m</sup> literally are beset with still greater difficulties. Samuel Basnage *Annales* Vol. 1 p. 115. 254. 402 places the Nativity in B. C. 5, the Baptism in the 15th of *Tiberius* in A. D. 30, and the Crucifixion in A. D. 33. By this chronology *Jesus* is 34 at his Baptism, whom *St. Luke* affirms to be 30. Mr. Cuninghame Fulness of the *Times* p. 61—69 Supplement p. 19 takes the 15th of *Tiberius* in its literal sense<sup>n</sup> and rejects the expedient of supposing a higher epoch for his reign. The positions of Mr. Cuninghame are The Nativity in the spring of B. C. 3<sup>o</sup>, the Ministry of *John* in the first two months of A. D. 28<sup>p</sup>, the Baptism of *Jesus* in spring or summer A. D. 28<sup>q</sup>. But he places the death of *Herod* in spring B. C. 1<sup>r</sup>, which is inadmissible; and he himself adopts the expedient which he had rejected and condemned; for he dates the reign of *Tiberius* from Jan. 1 A. D. 14, eight months before the death of *Augustus*. But this also is inadmissible; for the years of *Tiberius* were computed from August: his tribunician years from June, and the years of his reign from August<sup>s</sup>. Mr. Cuninghame places the Mission of the Baptist in the two first months of A. D. 28 (which he calls the two last months of 27) and supposes the 15th of *Tiberius* to commence at Jan. 1 A. D. 28. By this expedient he brings the ministry of *John* within that 15th year. But in reality both the Ministry of the *Baptist*, assumed to be in the two first months of 28, and the Baptism of *Jesus*, assumed to be in the spring or summer of 28, would have fallen within the 14th year of *Tiberius*, whose 15th year commenced August 19 A. D. 28.

The two numbers in *St. Luke*, the 15th year of *Tiberius*, and thirty years of age for *Jesus* at the Baptism, are irreconcilable with each other. But as it was impossible that *St. Luke* could have been ignorant of the age of *Jesus*, we are compelled to conclude that he computed the years of *Tiberius* in a peculiar manner. If the 15th year was current in October A. D. 25 and in the spring of A. D. 26 (within which limits we place the Ministry of *John* and the Baptism of *Jesus*), then the first year was current in October A. D. 11 and in the spring of A. D. 12.

It would be desirable to know what interval elapsed between the Nativity of *Christ* and the death of *Herod*. After the presentation in the Temple, *they returned into Galilee to their own city*

<sup>1</sup> Norisius tom. 3 p. 514—516 “biennio ante mortem Augusti.” Pagi tom. 1 p. 19. Usher *Annals* p. 817 “In the 15th year which was the 13th.” Lardner Vol. 1 p. 369 “about two years, or about three years, before Augustus died.” p. 370—“about 3 years before—about 2 years before.” Hales Vol. 1 p. 191 “More probably U. C. 765.” Greswell Vol. 1 p. 271—280 “The time requires to be placed either U. C. 765 *ineunte* or U. C. 765 *medio*.”

<sup>m</sup> In Luke III. 1.

<sup>n</sup> Fulness p. 63 he “takes the words of *St. Luke* in their plain and literal sense, as meaning the 15th year of the sole reign of *Tiberius*.” p. 67 he “lays aside the learned fable, and returns to the simple testimony of the written word, that it was in the 15th year of *Tiberius*’ sole reign that the word of God came to *John*.”

<sup>o</sup> Supplement p. 19 “The Nativity in the year

B. C. 3 and the death of *Herod* in B. C. 1.”

<sup>p</sup> Fulness p. 83 “The year A. C. 27 in the last two months.” Mr. Cuninghame however, by his explanation at p. 68, when he says “the two last months of A. D. 27” seems to mean “the two first months of A. D. 28.”

<sup>q</sup> Fulness p. 68.

<sup>r</sup> Supplement p. 18. 19.

<sup>s</sup> Fulness p. 68 “Counting the reign of *Tiberius* from Jan. 1 A. D. 14 according to the principles of the Canon of Ptolemy.” But that Canon, in which fractions of years were avoided, was a scientific application of the moveable Egyptian months to the years of *Nabonassar*, and was only in use among astronomers. In that Canon N. E. 762 is reckoned the first year of *Tiberius*, and as the year 760 began at Aug. 20, that year 762 had almost fallen back to Aug. 19 A. D. 14, the actual day of his accession.

*Nazareth*<sup>t</sup>. After the visit of the wise men from the East, the Holy Family proceeded to Egypt, and dwelt there till the death of *Herod*<sup>v</sup>. The time of that visit of the Magi is not determined by the Gospel Narrative. If they visited Bethlehem within the 40 days<sup>w</sup>, the Star must have appeared to them some months before the Nativity; which is the opinion of Chrysostom<sup>x</sup>. Others have supposed that the Star appeared at the Nativity, and that the Magi came to Jerusalem at a later period; which is much more probable. But the dates assigned by Epiphanius<sup>y</sup>, who places the visit of the wise men two years after the Nativity and the Nativity itself four years before the death of *Herod*, assume too large a space; for as the highest possible date for *Pilate's* government and therefore for the baptism of *Christ* is the autumn of A. D. 25, and as the scheme of Epiphanius would place the birth of *Christ* in January B. C. 8, his numbers thus would give thirty-three years for the age at the Baptism. We may assume the Nativity in the spring of B. C. 5, twelve months before the death of *Herod*, and 30 years nearly completed will be the age at the Baptism.

Clemens Alexandrinus quoted in the Tables A. D. 29 has recorded various opinions upon the day of the Nativity. But not only was the day unknown, but for three hundred years after the Ascension no day was set apart for the commemoration of the Birth of *Christ*. According to authorities quoted by Geiseler<sup>z</sup>, *Julius*, who was bishop of Rome A. D. 337—352, first appointed the 25th of December for that purpose. That it was not yet observed in Cyprus in the time of Epiphanius A. D. 376<sup>a</sup> we collect from his silence; for Epiphanius in an elaborate arrangement of the dates of the Gospel History Hæc. 51 p. 429—451 makes no mention of the 25th of December<sup>b</sup>. Chrysostom in a discourse pronounced at Antioch which may be assigned to Dec. 25 A. D. 387<sup>c</sup> attests that this day had been observed at Antioch less than ten years: Hom. εἰς τὴν

<sup>t</sup> Luke II. 22—39.

<sup>v</sup> Matthew II. 13—15. 19—23.

<sup>w</sup> That is, before the Presentation in the Temple.

<sup>x</sup> Chrysostom. Hom. 7 in Matt. tom. 2 p. 45 Sav. = tom. 7 p. 108 Montf. (quoted by Mr. Greswell Vol. 2 p. 143) καὶ γὰρ πρὸ πολλοῦ χρόνου δοκεῖ μοι ὁ ἀστὴρ φανῆναι· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ πολλὴν κατὰ τὴν ὁδοπορίαν ἔμελλον ἀναλίσκειν χρόνον οἱ μάγοι, ἵνα εὐθέως ἐπιστάσι τῷ τεχθέντι (ἔδει γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς προσκνηθῆναι τοῖς σπαργάνοις αὐτῶν—), πρὸ πολλοῦ τοῦ χρόνου δείκνυσιν ἑαυτὸν ὁ ἀστὴρ. εἰ γὰρ ἠνίκα ἐτέχθη ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ τότε αὐτοῖς ὄφθη ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ, πολλὴν κατὰ τὴν ὁδοπορίαν διατρίβοντες χρόνον οὐκ ἂν ἐν σπαργάνοις εἶδον αὐτὸν παραγενόμενοι.

<sup>y</sup> Epiphanius hæc. 20 p. 48 A προσερχθέντα ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις—ἀπενεχθέντα εἰς Ναζαρέτ, ἐλθόντα τῷ ἐξῆς ἐνιαυτῷ—εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, γενόμενον τε ἐν Βηθλεέμ—αὐθις πάλιν εἰς Ναζαρέτ ἀπενεχθέντα, καὶ κατὰ δευτέραν περίοδον ἐνιαυτοῦ εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ Βηθλεέμ ἐληλυθότα—κἀκέισε τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει αὐτοῦ γεννήσεως κατοπευθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν μάγων—καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ νυκτὶ—εἰς Αἴγυπτον παραληφθέντα, ἀπ' ἐκεῖθεν τε πάλιν διὰ δύο ἐτῶν ἐπανεληλυθότα. Hæc. 51 p. 430 A—D (where he replies to Porphyry and Celsus p. 429 D) ὁ μὲν Λουκᾶς τὰ πρὸ δύο ἐτῶν διηγείται, Ματθαῖος δὲ εἰπὼν τὴν γέννησιν ἀπεπήδησεν εἰς τὸν διετή χρόνον καὶ ἐδήλωσε τὰ γενόμενα μετὰ δύο ἔτη. p. 441 D ὁ Ματθαῖος—μετὰ δύο ἔτη τῆς γεννήσεως πάλιν ποιεῖται τὴν ὑφήγησιν. p. 154 C hæc. 30 οἱ μάγοι μετὰ δύο ἐτῶν χρόνον—ἦλθον ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων εἰς Βηθλεέμ. Hæc. 51 p. 431 D οὐκέτι ἐν φάτιγῃ—ἀλλ' ἐν οἴκῳ.—καὶ κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν νύκτα μετὰ δύο ἔτη τῆς γεννήσεως ὄφθη ὁ ἄγγελος καὶ εἶπε παραλαβεῖν τὸ παιδίον—εἰς Αἴγυπτον, καὶ ἄλλα δύο

ἔτη ποιεῖ ἐκεῖσε. He places the Nativity 4 years before the death of *Herod* p. 432 A τῷ γὰρ λγ' ἔτει τοῦ Ἡρώδου γεννᾶται ὁ Κύριος· λε' ἦλθον οἱ Μάγοι· λζ' ἔτει τελευτᾷ ὁ Ἡρώδης. But as he placed the Nativity in January B. C. 2 (see the Tables A. D. 28. 2), he has brought down the death of *Herod* to A. D. 3, six years below the true time.

<sup>z</sup> Geiseler Text Book Vol. I p. 292 “According to Epist. Johannis episcopi Nicæni in Auctar. bibl. Patrum ed. Combefis. tom. 2 p. 297 and an anonymous writer in Cotelerius ad Constit. Apostol. V. 13 this day was established by *Julius*.”

<sup>a</sup> For this date see the Tables 376. 4 p. 489.

<sup>b</sup> Epiphanius p. 439 A reckons the Epiphany to be the day of the birth of *Christ*: τῆς ἡμέρας τῶν Ἐπιφανίων, ἧ ἔστιν ἡμέρα τῆς αὐτοῦ γεννήσεως κατὰ σάρκα. p. 449 C τῆς τῶν γενεθλίων αὐτοῦ ἡμέρας, τουτέστιν Ἐπιφανίων, ἧτις τυγχάνει ἕκτη Ἰανουαρίου μηνός. Also p. 446 D quoted in the Tables A. D. 28. 2.

<sup>c</sup> Chrysostom in his sermon on the Nativity mentions his discourses against the Jews: tom. 2 p. 361 E = tom. 5 p. 516, 34 τελείται δὲ ἡ ἑορτὴ αὐτῆ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις περὶ τὰ ἔσχατα τοῦ Γορπιαίου μηνός, καθὼς καὶ ὑμεῖς μαρτυρεῖτε. τότε γὰρ τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ μακροὺς πρὸς Ἰουδαίους ἐπληρώσαμεν λόγους, τῆς ἀκαίρου αὐτῶν νηστείας κατηγοροῦντες. And in the discourses against the Jews he mentions the sedition at Antioch of Feb. A. D. 387: Hom. in Jud. VI tom. 1 p. 659 B = λόγ. γ' tom. 6 p. 343, 43 Sav. ἵστε δὴπου πάντες καὶ μέμνησθε ὅτε τοὺς ἀνδριάτας καθέλιον παρ' ἡμῶν μαροὶ τινας ἄνθρωποι καὶ γόγτες κ. τ. λ. We therefore obtain Feb.



γενέλιον ἡμέραν tom. 2 p. 355 A Montf.=tom. 5 p. 511. 512 Sav. καίτοιγε οὐπω δέκατόν ἐστιν ἔτος ἐξ οὗ δῆλη καὶ γνώριμος ἡμῖν αὕτη ἡ ἡμέρα γεγένηται. ἀλλ' ὅμως, ὡς ἄνωθεν καὶ πρὸ πολλῶν ἡμῖν παραδοθεῖσα ἐτῶν, οὕτως ἦρθησε διὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας σπουδῆς.—αὕτη παρὰ μὲν τοῖς τὴν ἐσπέραν οἰκοῦσιν ἄνωθεν γνωρίζομένη πρὸς ἡμᾶς δὲ κομισθεῖσα νῦν καὶ οὐ πρὸ πολλῶν ἐτῶν. This testimony will determine the institution at Antioch to Dec. 25 A.D. 378. After this period we have notices of that day; as at Milan in the reign of *Theodosius* in the year 390<sup>d</sup>. In the year 400 *Sulpicius Severus* records Dec. 25 as the day of the Nativity<sup>e</sup>. After that date *Augustine* in his work upon the Trinity<sup>f</sup>.

In Egypt Dec. 25 was not yet acknowledged when *Cassianus* published his tenth Conference: *Cassiani Collat. X. 2 tom. 2 p. 497 Intra Ægypti regionem mos iste antiqua traditione servatur ut peracto Epiphaniarum die (quem provincie illius sacerdotes vel Dominici baptismi vel secundum carnem natiuitatis esse definiunt, et idcirco utriusque sacramenti solemnitate non bifarie ut in occiduis provinciis, sed sub una diei hujus festiuitate concelebrant) epistolæ pontificis Alexandrini per universas dirigantur Ægypti ecclesias, quibus et initium quadragesimæ et dies Paschæ non solum per civitates omnes sed per univèrsa monasteria designentur.* That work of *Cassianus* was published about A. D. 420<sup>g</sup>. And yet in the council of Ephesus A. D. 431 apud Acta Concil. tom. 3 p. 1613 was recited

of 387 for the sedition (see the Tables A. D. 387. 2. 3. 4), *Gorpiæus* or September of 387 for those discourses against the Jews, and December of 387 for the sermon upon the Nativity. Montfaucon præf. tom. 2 p. 415 places this last at Dec. 25 A. D. 386 for no other reason than because that was the first year of *Chrysostom's* preaching at Antioch; and on this account supposes him to refer to three discourses against the Jews of the year 386 instead of five discourses against them of the year 387. But the three which belong to 386 were not all in September, for the first of the three was in August, as Montfaucon admits, tom. 1 p. 713 ed. Par. 1834. While the five which belong to 387 were all within 20 days of the month September, as Montfaucon himself has shewn tom. 1 præf. p. 715. They offer these notices: λόγ. α' Sav. tom. 6 p. 312 πάλιν—νηστεύειν μέλλουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι—μετὰ δέκα καὶ πλείους ἡμέρας τῆς νηστείας ἐκείνης ἀπαντᾶν μέλλούσης. λόγ. β' p. 320 he mentions τῆς προτέρας διαλέξεως. λόγ. γ' the day after the second: p. 336 κατὰ Ἰουδαίων λόγος γ'. τῇ προτεραία μακρὰν ὁμιλίαν εἰπὼν κατὰ Ἰουδαίων—νῦν ταύτην εἶπε. λόγ. δ' p. 346 ἔτι λείψανα τῶν ἑορτῶν αὐτῶν ὑπολείπεται κ. τ. λ. λόγ. ε' p. 354 after the fast had passed: παρῆλθεν ἡ νηστεία τῶν Ἰουδαίων. p. 355, 20 ἡ μὲν οὖν νηστεία αὐτῶν παρήλυθεν. It is far more probable that these five of the year 387 are those "many and long discourses against the Jews delivered in *Gorpiæus*" to which *Chrysostom* refers in his sermon on the Nativity.

<sup>d</sup> See the Tables A. D. 390. 2 p. 520.

<sup>e</sup> Sulp. Sev. H. S. II. 39 *Natus est—VIII Kalend. Januariæ.*

<sup>f</sup> Augustin. de Trin. IV. 5 tom. 3. p. 402 *Octavo enim Kal. Aprilis conceptus creditur—natus autem traditur VIII Kal. Januariæ.*

<sup>g</sup> For *Cassianus* see the Tables 401 p. 551. 433 p. 619. *Cassianus* in early life passed many years with the monks of Egypt: *Cassiani Collat. I. 1 tom. 2 p.*

23 XI. 1 tom. 2 p. 533. XVII. 31 tom. 2 p. 879. In the time of *Theophilus*: Collat. X. 2 p. 497 *post dies admodum paucos quam superior cum abbate Isaac fuerat agitata collatio [sc. coll. IX] Theophili prædicti urbis [Alexandriæ] episcopi solennes epistolæ comearunt &c.* After his ordination as deacon at CP. (see the Tables A. D. 401), he is sent to Rome in A. D. 404: *Palladii dialogus p. 11 C παραδραμόντος δὲ μνηρὸς ἡμερῶν ἐπέστη Παλλάδιος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος Ἐλενουπόλεως [Tables A. D. 400] δίχα γραμμάτων, ὃς ἔλεγε καὶ αὐτὸς πεφευγέναι τὴν τῶν ἀρχόντων μαρίαν· ἐγκεντρότερον δὲ ἡμῖν ἀφηγήσατο, ἐπιδείξας ἀντίγραφον διατάγματος περιέχοιτος ὡς τὸν κρύπτοντα ἐπίσκοπον ἢ κληρικόν, ἢ ὄλας δεχόμενον ἐν οἰκίᾳ κοινωρικὸν Ἰωάννου [sc. Chrysostomi], τὸν οἶκον δημεύεσθαι. μετὰ τὸν Παλλάδιον Γερμανὸς πρεσβύτερος ἄμα Κασσιανῶ διακόνῳ τῶν Ἰωάννου, ἄνδρες εὐλαβεῖς, ἐπιδότες γράμματα παντὸς τοῦ κλήρου Ἰωάννου· ὅπου γράφουσι βίαν καὶ τυραννίδα ὑπομεμενηκέναι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν κ. τ. λ. [Tables A. D. 403. 2. 4. 404. 4.] Germanus and Cassianus are named in the epistle of *Innocentius* of Rome apud Sozom. VIII. 26 p. 794 D *Chrysostomum tom. 3 p. 523 A.* The first ten conferences were written (in part at least) in the lifetime, but published after the death, of *Castor*: *Cassiani Collat. I. præf. p. 17 nunc autem quia derelinquens nos pontifex supradictus (papa Castor) migravit ad Christum, has interim decem Collationes summorum patrum—qui in eremo Scythica [sc. Schetica: conf. Pagium tom. 2 p. 64] morabantur, quas ille—simili sibi jusserat sermone conscribi—vobis potissimum, O beatissime papa Leonti et sancte frater Elladi, credidi consecrandas.* *Castor* was still living and addressed by *Bonifacius* June 13 A. D. 419. See the epistle quoted in c. 2 at the year 419. But it seems probable from *Pagi tom. 2 p. 171* that he died Sept. 23 of that year, and we may with *Oudin tom. 1 p. 1146* refer the publication of the *Collationes decem* to 420 or 421.*



ὁμιλία Παύλου ἐπισκόπου Ἐμέσης λεχθεῖσα κθ' Χοιὰκ [sc. Dec. 25] ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ Ἀλεξανδρείας, καθημένου τοῦ μακαρίου Κυρίλλου, εἰς τὴν γέννησιν τοῦ Κυρίου. This day then was appointed at Alexandria in the episcopate of *Cyril* (which began in October A. D. 412), within the years 420 and 431.

That our Lord anticipated the Paschal Supper is unanswerably proved by texts of *St. John* quoted by Casaubon in his argument against Baronius. The Last Supper of *Christ* with his disciples was *before the Passover*<sup>h</sup>. The priests *went not into the judgment hall lest they should be defiled, but that they might eat the passover*<sup>i</sup>. It was the *preparation of the passover*<sup>k</sup>. The *sabbath day was a high day*<sup>l</sup>. This anticipation was necessary for the Event which was to follow; for from hence it came to pass that *Jesus* expired upon the cross on the day and in the hour at which the Paschal Lamb was appointed to be slain. The Paschal Lamb was sacrificed towards the close of the 14th day of *Nisan*, and was eaten three hours afterwards on the evening on which the 15th day of *Nisan* commenced<sup>m</sup>.

The Paschal full moon was in the spring when the sun entered Aries: Josephus Ant. III. 10, 5 τεσσαρεσκαδεκάτη κατὰ σελήνην, ἐν κριῶ τοῦ ἡλίου καθεστῶτος<sup>n</sup>. and the Paschal Lamb was sacrificed before the full moon: Philo de vita Mosis III. 29 tom. 4 p. 231 τῷ μηνὶ τούτῳ [*Nisan*] περὶ τεσσαρεσκαδεκάτην ἡμέραν, μέλλοντος τοῦ σεληνιακοῦ κύκλου γίνεσθαι πλησιφανοῦς, ἄγεται τὰ Διαβατήρια δημοφανῆς ἑορτῆς, τὸ Χαλδαῖστὶ λεγόμενον Πάσχα. And yet the month began at the *phasis* of the moon: Philo de septen. § 17 tom. 5 p. 38 νομηνια γὰρ ἄρχεται φωτίζειν αἰσθητῶ φέγγει σελήνην ἡλιος, ἣ δὲ τὸ ἴδιον κάλλος ἀναφαίνει τοῖς ὄρωσι. And this happens according to Newton<sup>o</sup> when the moon is 18 hours old. Therefore the 14th of *Nisan* might commence when the moon was 13<sup>d</sup> 18<sup>h</sup> old, and wanted 1<sup>d</sup> 0<sup>h</sup> 22<sup>m</sup> to the full<sup>p</sup>. But sometimes the *phasis* was

<sup>h</sup> John XIII. 1. Casaubon. Exerc. in Baronium 16 p. 471 Disertis verbis dicuntur cæna et lotio pedum fuisse *præ* τῆς ἑορτῆς τοῦ πάσχα.

<sup>i</sup> John XVIII. 28. Casaub. p. 474 Judæi igitur Pascha nondum manducaverant.

<sup>k</sup> John XIX. 14. Casaub. p. 476 Si dies quo Dominus est cruci affixus parasceue fuit Paschatis, nondum videlicet Pascha præterierat.

<sup>l</sup> John XIX. 31. Casaub. p. 479 Parenthesis adjecta valet ad indicandum eximium cultum ejus Sabbati.—Illud quæritur, cur ab Johanne sabbatum illud dictum sit *dies magnus*. Constat propter ipsius sabbati religionem non fuisse ita dictum; nunquam enim ea appellatio sabbato reperitur tributa propter ipsum. Causa igitur est concursus alterius diei cui nomen *diei magni* conveniat—solique sunt e septem diebus Azymorum primus et ultimus qui ita dicti fuerint. Ultimum non convenire loco Johannis certum est; sequitur igitur illud sabbatum appellatum fuisse *diem magnum* propter concursum primi Azymorum.

<sup>m</sup> For the day see Exodus XII. 6 Levit. XXIII. 5 Numbers XXVIII. 16. Philo Judæus de Septenario § 18 tom. 5 p. 39 μετὰ δὲ νομηνια ἐστὶν ἑορτῆ—ἦν οἱ Ἑβραῖοι Πάσχα καλοῦσιν ἐν ᾗ θύουσι πανθημεί.— ἄγεται δὲ ἡ πάνθημος θυσία τεσσαρεσκαδεκάτη τοῦ μηνός. Josephus Ant. II. 14, 6 ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς τεσσαρεσκαδεκάτης, πάντες πρὸς ἔφοδον ἔχοντες ἔθνον. Idem Ant. III. 10, 5 τῷ μηνὶ τῷ Ξανθικῶ, ὃς Νισάν παρ' ἡμῶν καλεῖται καὶ τοῦ ἔτους ἐστὶν ἀρχή, τεσσαρεσκαδεκάτη κατὰ σελήνην. The hour of the day is marked by Josephus Bell. VI. 9, 3 ἐνστάσης ἑορτῆς (Πάσχα καλεῖται) καθ' ἣν

θύουσι μὲν ἀπὸ ἐνάτης ὥρας μέχρι ἐνδεκάτης. Philo tom. 5 p. 39 θύουσι πανθημεί ἀρξάμενοι κατὰ μεσημβρίαν ἕως ἑσπέρας. That is to say, they began to sacrifice at 3<sup>h</sup> P.M. and ended at 5<sup>h</sup> P.M. one hour before the 15th of *Nisan*, which began at 6 P.M. Mr. Greswell Vol. 3 diss. 4 p. 95 has pointed out this coincidence of the *ninth hour* in Matt. XXVII. 46 Mark XV. 34 Luke XXIII. 44 with that testimony of Josephus, and has successfully argued that the *Last Supper* was an anticipation of the Passover.

<sup>n</sup> Add Philo de mundi officio § 39 tom. 1 p. 38 quoted by Mr. Greswell vol. 1 p. 265 ὃ τε ἡγεμὼν ἡμέρας ἡλιος, διττὰς καθ' ἑκάστον ἐναντὸν ἀποτελῶν ἰσημερίας, ἔαρι καὶ μετωπώρῳ, τὴν μὲν ἑαρινὴν ἐν Κριῶ τὴν δὲ μετωπωρινὴν ἐν Ζυγῶ, ἐναργεστάτην παρέχεται πίστῳ τοῦ περὶ τὴν ἑβδόμην θεοπροποῦς· ἐκατέρα γὰρ τῶν ἰσημεριῶν ἑβδόμῳ γίνεται μηνί, καθ' ἃς καὶ ἑορτάζειν διείρηται νόμῳ τὰς μεγίστας καὶ δημοτελεστάτας ἑορτάς.

<sup>o</sup> Quoted by Mr. Cuninghame Synopsis p. 133.

<sup>p</sup> Mr. Cuninghame Vindication of the True Date of the Passion p. 16 thus states this point. A lunation being 29<sup>d</sup> 12<sup>h</sup> 44<sup>m</sup>, the age of the moon at the full will be 14<sup>d</sup> 18<sup>h</sup> 22<sup>m</sup>. Now the earliest possible *phasis* being 18 hours after the new moon gives the earliest possible beginning for the 1st of *Nisan* 18 hours. Adding 13 days we have the beginning of the 14th of *Nisan* at 13<sup>d</sup> 18<sup>h</sup>, being before the full moon 1<sup>d</sup> 0<sup>h</sup> 22<sup>m</sup>. Because 13<sup>d</sup> 18<sup>h</sup> 0<sup>m</sup>

1 0 22

14 18 22



delayed till the moon was 1<sup>d</sup> 17<sup>h</sup> 0<sup>m</sup> old, and then, if the 1st of *Nisan* was deferred till the *phasis*, the 14th would begin only 1<sup>h</sup> 22<sup>m</sup> before the full moon<sup>q</sup>.

This precision however in adjusting the month to the moon did not exist in practice. The Jews, like other nations who adopted a lunar year and supplied the defect by an intercalary month, failed in obtaining complete accuracy. We know not what their method of calculation was, at the time of the Christian era. But we are not to apply to their time the modern Jewish Calendar or the cycle of 19 years; nor are we to rely upon the accounts of Maimonides writing in the twelfth century, or of other Rabbinical doctors, for the practice of the Jews in the time of *Christ*; nor can it be determined from their computations in what year of that period the Paschal sacrifice fell upon the sixth day of the week<sup>r</sup>. They used a cycle of 84 years, which was by no means exact<sup>s</sup>, and sometimes they observed the passover before the equinox: Epiphani. hæc. 70 p. 823 B οὐτε οὖν δύναται ἀχθῆναι (τὸ πάσχα) ἐὰν μὴ ὑπερβῆ καὶ ἰσημερία: ὅπερ παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις οὐ φυλάσσεται· οὐδὲ ἀκριβῆ θέλουσι τοιαύτην ἐπιτελεῖν πραγματείαν. διέπεσε γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡπάτηται τὰ πάντα. A Paschal Homily by an unknown author apud Chrysostomum tom. 5 p. 942, 15 Sav. = tom. 8 p. 277 C Montf. λοιπὸν γὰρ Ἰουδαῖοι ποιοῦσι τὸ πάσχα πρὸ ἰσημερίας ἀδιαφόρως, ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ ἐμβολίμου μηνὸς ἐνστάτος ἀκουσίως μετ' ἰσημερίαν παραταθῶσι. τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἔστι σκοποῦ, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβάντος. αὐτίκα γοῦν νῦν εἰς τὸ ἐνεστῶς πρὸ ἰσημερίας ποιοῦσι.

If the first Passover after the Baptism was in the Spring of A. D. 26, the Crucifixion and the fourth Passover are determined to the year 29; and it remains to enquire whether the Passover

<sup>q</sup> Thus calculated by Cuninghame Vindication &c. p. 17: The latest appearance of the moon was when she set at 17 hours old, being invisible.

	0 <sup>d</sup> 17 <sup>h</sup> 0 <sup>m</sup>
add a day.....	1 0 0
<i>phasis</i> at .....	1 17 0
add 13 days.....	13 0 0
14th of <i>Nisan</i> begins at	14 17 0
before the full moon ..	0 1 22
	14 18 22

He adds "consequently in this case the whole day of the full moon, except the last 1<sup>h</sup> 22<sup>m</sup>, belongs to the 14th of *Nisan*." Where for the "14th" read "13th."

<sup>r</sup> Geiseler Vol. 1 p. 38 "From the uncertainty of the Jewish Calendar of that time it is impossible to find by an exact astronomical reckoning in which of the years the first day of the Passover fell upon a Friday." Mr. Benson Chronology of our Saviour's Life p. 304 also justly condemns those who take for granted either that the vernal equinox always preceded the 15th of *Nisan* or that we are perfectly acquainted with the Jewish method of computation or that this method was accurate. And he affirms p. 326 that the Jewish method of fixing the passover is not by any means so well known as to permit us to depend upon the precision of modern astronomy in ascertaining the period to which it was fixed at the time of the Crucifixion. And observes p. 334 that the year can neither be affirmed or denied merely by our calculations of the Paschal Full Moon, because we know not with sufficient accuracy the Jewish

method of determining the passover.

<sup>s</sup> Epiphanius hæc. 51 p. 449 Α προστιθέασιν τῷ σεληνιακῷ δρόμῳ μετὰ τὰς τῷδ' ἡμέρας καὶ ἄλλας κατ' ἔτος τέσσαρας ὥρας· ὡς εἶναι εἰς τὰ τρία ἔτη ἡμέραν μίαν. διὸ παρ' αὐτοῖς πέντε μῆνες τελοῦνται ἐμβολίμοι εἰς ἔτη ἰδ' διὰ τὸ ἀφαιρῆσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλιακοῦ δρόμου τῶν τξέ' ἡμερῶν καὶ ὠρῶν τριῶν τὴν μίαν ὥραν. προστιθεμένων γὰρ τῶν ὠρῶν, λοιπὸν γίνονται τξέ' ἡμέραι παρὰ ὥραν μίαν. ὅθεν αὐτοὶ ἐξάκις πολυπλασιάσαντες τὰ ἰδ' ἔτη τοῦ πδ' ἔτους ἐν τῷ πέ' τιθέασιν ἐμβολίμον ἓνα μῆνα· εἰς τὸ εἶναι λ' καὶ ἓνα μῆνα εἰς τὰ πέ' ἔτη. οἷτινες ὠφέλιον εἶναι κατὰ τὴν ἀκριβειαν λ' εἰς μὴν καὶ κδ' ἡμέραι καὶ ὥραι τρεῖς. Anatolius apud Bucherium p. 439 *Nonnulli 84 annorum circulum computantes nunquam ad veram Paschæ computandi rationem pervenerunt.* Conf. Norisium ad fastos consularis Opp. tom. 2 p. 620 A. Bingham Vol. 9 p. 109 "The first Christians of Jerusalem had no other way of finding out Easter but by the Jewish cycle of 84 years, which the Jews had used sometime before to settle the anniversary returns of their Passover. Which cycle, though it was a little faulty, continued to be used by the Christians for near 200 years" p. 110 "In the time of Hadrian some Christians began to enquire into the defects of the Jewish cycle, which was found to make Easter sometimes anticipate the Vernal Equinox, and so bring two Easters into one year." P. 112 "The Roman and Alexandrian accounts (of Easter) sometimes varied a week or a month from each other, which was owing purely to their different ways of calculation, because the Roman Church still proceeded by the old Jewish cycle of 84 and not by the new Alexandrian cycle of nineteen."



of that year was in March or April. The full moon of March is fixed by Mr. Cuninghame's calculation<sup>t</sup> to Friday March 18 at 9<sup>h</sup> 16<sup>m</sup> P. M. If that was the Paschal moon, we obtain these dates: the 14th of *Nisan* began at 6 P. M. of March 17 and the 15th of *Nisan* at 6 P. M. March 18, 3<sup>h</sup> 16<sup>m</sup> before the full moon; and the Paschal Lamb was slain at 3<sup>h</sup> P. M. of Friday March 18, 6<sup>h</sup> 16<sup>m</sup> before the full moon. It is no insurmountable objection that this was three days before the equinox; for we have seen from the preceding testimonies that a Jewish Passover was sometimes celebrated before the equinox, and, as Mr. Benson properly remarks<sup>v</sup>, in the Mosaic Law there is no injunction which refers to the equinox at all. It has been objected however that March 18 is inadmissible, because if the 16th of *Nisan* is at March 20 the corn would not be ripe for an offering. But the Law seems only to require that when the sheaf was offered on the 16th of *Nisan* the barley should be in the ear. That it could be ripe enough to be reaped and used as food at that early season is scarcely credible. If the passover had been delayed until ripeness in this latter sense had been attained, not only a full moon at the equinox would have been excluded, but many vernal full moons after the equinox; and it could rarely happen that the Passover could be celebrated at a vernal full moon at all<sup>w</sup>.

We are now to consider the full moon of *April* in A. D. 29. Mr. Benson<sup>x</sup> places the new moon at April 2 at 8 P. M. the full moon in the night between the 16th and 17th of April. Mr. Greswell<sup>y</sup> gives the full moon at April 16. Mr. Cuninghame having assigned the full moon of March, as we have seen, to March 18 at 9<sup>h</sup> 16<sup>m</sup> P. M., his calculation will fix the new moon at April 2 at 3<sup>h</sup> 38<sup>m</sup> P. M. and the full moon at April 17 at 10<sup>h</sup> A. M.<sup>z</sup>

The 17th of April fell upon *Sunday* in A. D. 29, and, as the crucifixion was upon the 6th day

<sup>t</sup> Vindication &c. p. 14.

<sup>v</sup> Benson's Chronology of our Saviour's life p. 309.

<sup>w</sup> See Leviticus XXIII. 6—11 appointing the 14th of *Nisan* for the Passover, the 15th for the first day of the feast of Unleavened Bread, and the 16th for the Sheaf Offering; "Ye shall bring a sheaf of the first fruit of your harvest [that is, your future harvest] unto the priest, and he shall wave the sheaf before the Lord to be accepted for you." Philo de Mundi opificio § 39 tom. 1 p. 39 having mentioned the two great festivals, the Passover in the spring and the feast of Tabernacles in the autumn, observes ἀμφοτέρως τὰ ὅσα ἐκ γῆς τελειογονεῖται, ἕαρι μὲν ὁ τοῦ σίτου καρπός— Again de vita Mosis III. 29 tom. 4 p. 230 τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἑαρινῆς ἰσημερίας πρῶτον ἀναγράφει μῆνα Μωϋσῆς.— κατὰ γὰρ ταύτην τὰ μὲν σπαρτὰ ἢ ἀναγκαῖα τροφή τελειογονεῖται. Josephus Ant. III. 10, 5 τῇ δευτέρῃ τῶν ἀξύμων ἡμέρᾳ, ἕκτη δ' ἐστὶν αὕτη καὶ δεκάτῃ, τῶν καρπῶν οὐδ' ἐθέρισαν, οὐ γὰρ ἤψαντο πρότερον αὐτῶν, μεταλαμβάνουσι· καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἠγούμενοι τιμᾶν δίκαιον εἶναι πρῶτον—τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶ τῆς κριθῆς ἐπιφέρουσι τρόπον τοῦτον. φρύξαντες τῶν σταχυῶν τὸ δράγμα καὶ πτίσαντες καὶ καθαρὰς πρὸς ἀλεστών τὰς κριθὰς ποιήσαντες, τῷ βωμῷ ἀσάβωνα προσάγουσι τῷ θεῷ. καὶ μίαν ἐξ αὐτοῦ δρᾶκα ἐπιβάλλοντες τὸ λοιπὸν ἀφίσω εἰς χρῆσιν τοῖς ἱερεῦσι. καὶ τότε λοιπὸν δημοσίᾳ ἕξεσι πᾶσι καὶ ἰδίᾳ θερίζειν. From the term φρύξαντες applied to the preparation of the corn for this offering, it would seem that the grain was not yet ripe. Sozomen VII. 18 p. 732 D has been quoted to prove that the corn must be ripe: Σαμαρείται, οἱ τοῦ Μωσέως νόμου τὰ μάλιστα ζηλωταὶ τυγχάνουσι, πρὶν τὸν νέον τελεσφορεῖσθαι καρπὸν οὐκ ἀνε-

χονται ταύτην ἐπιτελεῖν τὴν ἑορτὴν [sc. τὸ πάσχα]· νέον γὰρ, φασίν, αὐτὴν ἑορτὴν ὁ νόμος καλεῖ· μή ποτε τούτων φανέντων ἐορτάζω οὐ θέμις· ὡς ἐξ ἀνάγκης φθάσει τὴν ἐν τῷ ἡμῖ ἰσημερίαν. But the mention of the Samaritans on this occasion is rather a proof that they were more strict in their practice than the Jews themselves; and the word τελεσφορεῖσθαι, like τελειογονεῖσθαι in Philo, implies perfection of growth; which is attained when the corn is in the ear, and before it has arrived at ripeness. Mr. Cuninghame Vindication p. 35 reports the evidence of Dr. Robinson, who tells us that in Palestine barley harvest is a week earlier than wheat harvest, and that May is the earliest date which he assigns to wheat harvest; that on the 4th of June wheat harvest was beginning at Hebron; that at Jericho on May 12 the work was nearly completed; that on May 23rd 1838 Mr. Nicolayson writes from Jerusalem the barley harvest is all over. How is it consistent with these testimonies to suppose that the barley should be ready for reaping at the Paschal full moon, that is, in by far the greater number of years, before the middle of April? The account of Josephus shews that the reaping did not begin till after the 16th of *Nisan*.

<sup>x</sup> Chronology &c. p. 327.

<sup>y</sup> Vol. 1 p. 269 April 16 "first quarter."

<sup>z</sup> For an entire lunation, or 29<sup>d</sup> 12<sup>h</sup> 44<sup>m</sup>, being added to March 18<sup>d</sup> 9<sup>h</sup> 16<sup>m</sup> P. M. will terminate at April 17, 10<sup>h</sup> A. M. and half a lunation, or 14<sup>d</sup> 18<sup>h</sup> 22<sup>m</sup>, being added to March 18 at 9<sup>h</sup> 16<sup>m</sup> P. M. will give the new moon at April 2, 3<sup>h</sup> 38<sup>m</sup> P. M.



of the week, we obtain the following positions. The 1st of *Nisan* commenced at 6<sup>h</sup> P. M. April 1, at 21<sup>h</sup> 38<sup>m</sup> before the new moon according to Mr. Cuninghame; the 14th of *Nisan* at 6<sup>h</sup> P. M. of Thursday April 14; the Paschal Lamb was slain at 3 P. M. of *Friday* Ap. 15, 1<sup>d</sup> 19<sup>h</sup> before the full moon. Mr. Browne<sup>a</sup> prefers Friday March 18 as the day of the Crucifixion. I incline to the later date, and think that it may be probably assigned to *Friday April* 15. That *Nisan* should begin 21<sup>h</sup> 38<sup>m</sup> before the new moon is not improbable, when we consider the inaccuracy of ancient cycles. The Attic years of *Meton* had greater variations, even in the beginning of his cycle<sup>b</sup>.

## VI.

## KINGS OF PARTHIA—KINGS OF PERSIA.

ARSACES founded the Parthian Empire about B. C. 250<sup>a</sup>. He first acquired Parthia and then Hyrcania. His successors gradually extended their dominion over the adjacent provinces until it included almost all the countries East of the Euphrates which had belonged to the old Persian Monarchy<sup>b</sup>. The empire of the *Arsacidae* under about 28 kings subsisted 475 years, from the rise of *Arsaces* in B. C. 250 in the consulship of *Manlius* and *Regulus* to the overthrow of *Artabanus* by *Artaxerxes* in the beginning of A. D. 226, at the close of the 4th year of *Alexander Severus*.

Each of the Parthian kings in addition to his own name assumed the name of the founder *Arsaces*: Strabo XV p. 702 τοιοῦτον δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Παρθυαίοις Ἀρσάκαι γὰρ καλοῦνται πάντες· ἰδιὰ δὲ ὁ μὲν Ὀρώδης ὁ δὲ Φραάτης ὁ δ' ἄλλο τι. This also appears from Justin<sup>c</sup>, and from the coins of the Parthian kings which shall be described below.

<sup>a</sup> Quoted by Mr. Cuninghame.

<sup>b</sup> See F. H. II p. 338 = p. 409.

<sup>a</sup> See F. H. III p. 18. I read in Justin *L. Manlius Vulso* C. *Atilio Regulo* *coss.* that is, I understand with Valesius ad Ammianum 23, 6. 3 *CAIUS Atilius Regulus* *L. Manlius Vulso* the consuls of B. C. 250, and not *L. Manlius Vulso* *MARCUS Atilius Regulus* the consuls of B. C. 256. I prefer the lower date because it is more consistent with Justin himself, who refers the acts of *Arsaces* to the reign of *Seleucus* B. C. 246, and with the dates preserved by other authorities. Eusebius and Suidas, who are quoted in the Tables F. H. III p. 18, give B. C. 250 and 246. Moses Chorenensis II. 1 refers the rise of *Arsaces* to the 11th year of *Antiochus Theus*: *undecimo ejus anno a Macedonum jugo Parthi defecere*, that is, in B. C. 251; or 60 years after the era of the *Seleucidae* began: II. 2 *post sexaginta annos quam Alexander mortuus est, Parthis imperitavit Arsaces*. But the 60th year of that era (which is here meant) was completed in autumn B. C. 252. These dates also more nearly agree with the later date B. C. 250.

<sup>b</sup> Strabo XI p. 515 ἔπειθ' οὕτως ἴσχυσαν ἀφαιρούμενοι τὴν πλησίον αἰὲ διὰ τὰς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις κατορθώσεις,

ὥστε τελευτῶντες ἀπάσης τῆς ἐντὸς Εὐφράτου κύριοι κατέστησαν. ἀφείλοντο δὲ καὶ τῆς Βακτριανῆς μέρος βιασάμενοι τοὺς Σκύθας, καὶ ἔτι πρότερον τοὺς περὶ Εὐκρατίδαν καὶ νῦν ἐπάρχουσι τοσαύτης γῆς καὶ τοσοῦτων ἔθνων ὥστε ἀντίπαλον τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τρόπον τινα γεγόνασι κατὰ μέγεθος τῆς ἀρχῆς. Rennell Memoir of a Map of Hindostan p. 200 conveys a just idea of the extent of this empire: "Parthia rebelled, and together with Hyrcania and other adjoining provinces became an independent state under *Arsaces*. As the empire of the *Seleucidae* grew weaker, the Parthians extended their country westwards and the fine province of Media (now *Irak-Ajami*) fell to them, and within a century after the foundation of their state it had swallowed up all the countries from the Indus to the Euphrates, Bactria included." Parthia proper was a province of small extent: Strabo XI p. 514 ἡ Παρθυαία πολλὴ μὲν οὐκ ἔστι· συνετελεῖ γοῦν μετὰ τῶν Ὑρκανῶν κατὰ τὰ Περσικά· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τῶν Μακεδόνων κρατούντων ἐπὶ χρόνον πολὺν. πρὸς δὲ τῇ σμικρότητι δασεία καὶ ὀρεινὴ ἔστι καὶ ἄπορος. Parthia was a mountainous tract on the South Eastern border of the Caspian sea. The province of Hyrcania adjoined it on the west.

- I Arsaces.* B. C. 250. For the testimonies to *Arsaces* see F. H. III p. 18 appendix p. 311. The two years ascribed to *Arsaces* by Arrian, if reckoned from his first appearance, are too short a space for his acts. They were probably dated from his ultimate success in the reign of *Seleucus Callinicus* about B. C. 245. 244.
- II Tiridates.* The son of *Arsaces* according to Justin 41. 5 *Hujus filius et successor regni, Arsaces et ipse nomine.* His brother according to Arrian: See F. H. III p. 311. *Arsaces*, whose war with *Antiochus* in B. C. 209 is described by Polybius X. 28, was *Tiridates*: Justin. 41. 5 *adversus Antiochum Seleuci filium centum millibus peditum et viginti millibus equitum instructum mira virtute pugnavit*<sup>d</sup>. If we date the 37 years of *Tiridates* (F. H. III p. 311) from B. C. 244, which we have called the last year of *Arsaces*, and place them at B. C. 244—207, they will include that war of the year 209, and agree with Polybius and Justin.
- III Priapatus*<sup>e</sup>. The third king: Justin 41. 5 *Tertius Parthis rex Priapatus fuit, sed et ipse Arsaces dictus.*—*Hic actis in regno quindecim annis decessit, relictis duobus filiis Mithridate et Phrahate.* If his 15 years begin in B. C. 207, they may terminate in B. C. 192.
- Phrahates I.* The fourth *Arsaces*, according to Justin, succeeded his father about B. C. 192. He subdued the *Mardi*, and was succeeded by his brother *Mithridates*<sup>f</sup>.
- V Mithridates I.* *Arsaces V* according to Justin, succeeded his brother *Phrahates I.* He conquered Media, Elymæa, and from the Indian Caucasus to the Euphrates, and in India the provinces under *Porus*g.
- VI Phrahates II.* Son of *Mithridates*: Justin 42. 1 *Post necem Mithridatis Parthorum regis Phrahates filius ejus rex constituitur: qui cum inferre bellum—Syriæ statuisset, Scytharum motibus ad sua defendenda revocatur.* He succeeded within B. C. 138—130. See F. H. III p. 334 note t. Which gives about 60 years for the two reigns of *Phrahates I* and *Mithridates I.* After a short reign *Phrahates II* was slain by his Greek soldiers: Justin. 42. 1.
- VII Artabanus I.* Son of *Priapatus*:<sup>h</sup> Justin. 42. 2 *In hujus locum Artabanus patruus ejus rex substituitur. Scythæ autem contenti victoria, depopulata Parthia, in patriam revertuntur. Sed Artabanus, bello Thogariis illato, in brachio vulneratus statim decessit. Huic Mithridates filius succedit, cui res gestæ Magni cognomen dedere.*

<sup>e</sup> Justin 41. 5 *Arsaces—cujus memoriæ hunc honorem Parthi tribuerunt ut omnes exinde reges suos Arsacis nomine nuncupent.* This appears also in the letter of *Volagases I* to *Vespasian* apud *Dionem* 66. 11 τοῦ δὲ Οὐλογαίου ἐπιστείδαντος αὐτῷ οὕτως “βασιλεὺς βασιλέων Ἀρσάκης Φλαβίῳ Οὐεσπασίανῳ χαίρειν.”

<sup>d</sup> See F. H. 111 p. 315 u.

<sup>e</sup> Between *Tiridates* and *Priapatus* *Eckhel* tom. 3 p. 525 after *Vaillant* inserts an *Artabanus I.* But this is contrary to Justin who affirms that *Priapatus* was the *third Arsaces*; and *Brotier* ad *Tacitum* ann. II. 2 justly rejects this *Artabanus*, as inserted without authority.

<sup>f</sup> Justin. 41. 5 *Major (filius) Phrahates more gentis heres regni Mardos validam gentem bello domuit; nec multo post decessit, pluribus filiis relictis: quibus præteritis fratri potissimum Mithridati, insignis virtutis viro, reliquit imperium; plus regio quam patrio deberi nomini ratus, potiusque patriæ quam liberis consulendum.*

<sup>g</sup> Justin. 41. 6 *Eodem ferme tempore, sicuti in Parthis Mithridates ita in Bactris Eucratides, magni uterque viri, regna ineunt. Sed Parthorum fortuna felicior ad summum hoc duce imperii fastigium eos perduxit.—Inter Parthos et Medos bellum oritur. Cum varius utriusque populi casus fuisset, ad postremum victoria*

*penes Parthos fuit. His viribus auctus Mithridates—ipse in Hyrcaniam proficiscitur. unde reversus bellum cum Elymæorum rege gessit; quo victo hanc quoque gentem regno adjecit, imperiumque Parthorum a monte Caucasus—usque flumen Euphratem protulit, atque ita adversa valetudine correptus non minor Arsace proavo gloriosa senectute decessit.* *Diod.* tom. 10 p. 91 ὁ Ἀρσάκης ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπιείκειαν καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν ζηλώσας ἀτομάτην ἔσχε τὴν ἐπίρροιαν τῶν ἀγαθῶν, καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπὶ πλείον ἤξησε. μέχρι γὰρ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς διατείνας, τῆς ὑπὸ τὸν Πῶρον γενομένης χώρας ἐκυρίευσεν ἀκινδύνως.—καθόλου δὲ πολλῶν ἐθνῶν ἐγκρατὴς γενόμενος τὰ παρ' ἐκάστοις ἄριστα τῶν νομίμων κατέδειξε τοῖς Πάρθοις. *Orosius* V. 4 makes *Mithridates* the *sixth Arsaces*: *Mithridates tunc siquidem* [sc. in the time of the war with *Viriathus* B. C. 145—140] *rex Parthorum, sextus ab Arsace, victo Demetrio præfecto Babyloniam urbem finesque ejus universos victor invasit, omnes præterea gentes quæ inter Hydaspem fluvium et Indum jacent subegit, &c.*

<sup>h</sup> If *Artabanus* was the uncle of *Phrahates II*, he was the brother of *Mithridates I*, and therefore son of *Priapatus*. The three reigns which came between the death of his father and his own elevation might make him 65 years old or upwards at his accession.



- VIII Mithridates II magnus.** The son of *Artabanus*: Justin. 42. 2. *Idem Ibid. Multa bella cum finitimis magna virtute gessit multosque populos Parthico regno addidit. Sed et cum Scythis prospere aliquoties dimicavit ultorque injurie parentum fuit. Ad postremum Ortoadisti Armeniorum regi bellum intulit.*
- IX Sanatruces.** Contemporary with *Lucullus*: Appian. Mithrid. c. 104. He died within Ol. 177 B. C. 72—68: Phlegon apud Photium Cod. 97 καὶ ἄλλα δὲ πλείστα ἐν ταύτῃ ξυνηέχθη τῇ Ὀλυμπιάδι—καὶ Συνατρούκην τὸν Πάρθων βασιλέα τελευτήσαντα διεδέξατο Φραάτης ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς θεός. He was lately dead in B. C. 66 *cos. L. Tullo Emilio Lepido*: Dio 36. 28 (Μιθριδάτης) τότε μὲν ἐν ὀλιγωρία αὐτὸν [sc. *Pompeium*] ἐποιήσατο· τοῦ γὰρ Ἀρσάκου τοῦ τῶν Πάρθων βασιλέως ἀποθανόντος ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ Φραάτην τὸν διάδοχον αὐτοῦ προσεδόκησεν οἰκειώσεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ Πομπήσιος τὴν φιλίαν τῷ Φραάτῃ διὰ ταχέων ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς προσυνέθετο, καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν αὐτὸν τὴν τοῦ Τιγράνου προεμβαλεῖν ἀπέπεισε κ. τ. λ. Conf. Dion. 36. 34. Lucian. Macrob. c. 15 Συνατρόκης [conf. Eckhel tom. 3 p. 528] δὲ ὁ Παρθυαίων βασιλεὺς, ἔτος ὀγδοηκοστὸν ἦδη γεγονὸς, ἀπὸ Σακαυράκων Σκυθῶν καταχθεὶς βασιλεύειν ἤρξατο, καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ἕτη ἑπτὰ. The seven years might be B. C. 75—68, leaving about 60 years for the three preceding reigns. *Sanatruces* is the ninth *Arsaces*<sup>i</sup>.
- X Phrahates III Theus.** Appian. Mithrid. c. 104 Τιγράνης—πολεμῶν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ἠττώμενος ἐς Φραάτην ἐπεφεύγει τὸν Παρθυαίων βασιλέα, ἄρτι τὴν Συτρικίον τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρχὴν διαδεγεμένον. πλησίασαντος δὲ τοῦ Πομπηίου, κοινωσάμενος Φραάτῃ, συγχωροῦντός τε κἀκείνου, καὶ φιλίαν ἰδίαν ἐς τὸν Πομπηίου μνωμένον, κατέφευγεν ὁ παῖς ἰκέτης ἐς τὸν Πομπηίου· καὶ ταῦτα ὡν Μιθριδάτου θυγατριδοῦς<sup>k</sup>. This and the testimonies of Dio and Phlegon already given fix the accession of *Phrahates* at about B. C. 68. Slain by his sons: Dio 39. 56 τοῦ γὰρ Φραάτου ὑπὸ τῶν παίδων δολοφονηθέντος, Ὀρώδης τὴν τε αὐτοῦ διεδέξατο βασιλείαν καὶ Μιθριδάτην τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐκ τῆς Μηδίας ἧς ἤρχεν ἐξέβαλε.
- XI Mithridates III.** Brother of *Orodes*: Justin.<sup>l</sup> 42. 4 *Propter crudelitatem a senatu Parthico regno pellitur. Frater ejus Orodes cum regnum vacans occupasset, Babyloniam quo Mithridates confugerat diu obsidet, et fame coactos in deditionem oppidanos compellit. Mithridates autem fiducia cognationis ultro se in potestatem Orodis tradit. Sed Orodes plus hostem quam fratrem cogitans in conspectu suo trucidari eum jussit.* Appian. Syr. c. 51 ἐγένοντο Συρίας στρατηγοὶ τῶν τὰ ἐπώνυμα ἀρξάντων ἐν ἄστει—καὶ πρῶτος ἐκ τῶνδε ἐπέμφθη Γαβίνιος μετὰ στρατιάς<sup>m</sup>. καὶ πολεμῶν αὐτὸν ὀρμώντα Μιθριδάτης μὲν ὁ Παρθυαίων βασιλεὺς, ἐξελαυνόμενος τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ Ὀρώδου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, μετήγεν ἐξ Ἀράβων ἐπὶ Παρθυαίους. The narrative of Appian fixes the civil war of the two brothers to B. C. 57 or 56<sup>n</sup>. Wherefore the two reigns of *Phrahates III* and *Mithridates III* occupied about 12 years, B. C. 68—57.
- XII Orodes.** Brother of *Mithridates III*. His reign may be placed at B. C. 55—37. He slew *Crassus* in B. C. 53: See F. H. III p. 190. 192. Justin. 42. 4 *Bellum cum Romanis gessit Crassumque impera-*

<sup>i</sup> Between *Mithridates II* and *Sanatruces* Vaillant and Brotier insert *Mnascires* from Lucian Macrob. c. 16. But Eckhel justly regards this as doubtful, tom. 3 p. 528. The two interpolated reigns, *Artabanus* between *Tiridates* and *Priapatius* (see p. 244<sup>e</sup>) and *Mnascires* between *Mithridates* and *Sanatruces* cause *Sanatruces* to be reckoned *Arsaces XI* by Eckhel after Vaillant. Eckhel observes “Regum qui proxime [sc. post *Mithridatem II*] successere series plane incerta est. ad has Vaillantius redactus angustias *Mnascirem* quendam qui lacunam expleat huc cogit, quem Lucianus Parthorum regem appellat.” But no *lacuna* is to be discerned in this part of the series. The five kings *Phrahates I*, *Mithridates I*, *Phrahates II*, *Artabanus I*, *Mithridates II*, occupy less than 120 years, giving a proportion of less than 24 years to each reign. The collective reigns of the three last are 60 years, which terminate at about B. C. 75, where the accession of *Sanatruces* is fixed

by the testimonies.

<sup>k</sup> Plutarch. Pompeio c. 33 Πομπηίος δ' εἰς Ἀρμενίαν ἐνέβαλε, τοῦ νέου Τιγράνου καλοῦντος αὐτόν. ἦδη γὰρ ἀφειστήκει τοῦ πατρὸς.—καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον ἐπεμψε Φραάτης ὁ Πάρθος, ἀπαυτῶν μὲν τὸν νεανίσκον ὡς αὐτοῦ γαμβρὸν ἀξιώων δὲ τῶν ἡγεμονίων ἄρω χρήσθαι τῷ Εὐφράτῃ. κ. τ. λ. Conf. Dionem 37. 5. 6. *Phrahates* in the spring of B. C. 64 engaged in war with *Tigranes*. See F. H. III p. 174.

<sup>l</sup> Justin. 42. 4 confounds *Mithridates III* the brother of *Orodes* with *Mithridates II* the son of *Artabanus*, whom he had described in 42. 2. He omits *Sanatruces* and *Phrahates III*. Eckhel tom. 3 p. 527 and Vaillant, whom he quotes, have noticed this mistake of Justin.

<sup>m</sup> Dio 39. 56 de *Mithridate*: καὶ ὅς καταφυγὼν πρὸς τὸν Γαοῦνιον ἀπέπεισεν αὐτὸν συμπράξαι οἱ τὴν κάθοδον.

<sup>n</sup> See F. H. III p. 342 e p. 395 l.

*tothem cum filio et omni exercitu Romano delevit.* His son *Pacorus*<sup>o</sup> was slain by *Ventidius* in B. C. 38 : F. H. III p. 218. after whose death *Orodes* appoints *Phrahates* his successor, by whom he is murdered in the year following : Dio 49. 23 τῷ ἐπιγεγομένῳ ἔτει [sc. *Agrippa et Gallo coss.* B. C. 37] ὁ Ὀρόδης—ἐπειδὴ τῇ τε ἡλικίᾳ καὶ τῷ πένθει τῷ τοῦ Πακόρου ἔκαμνε, Φραάτῃ τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ τῶν λοιπῶν παίδων τὴν ἀρχὴν ζῶν ἔτι ἐνεχείρισε, καὶ ὃς παραλαβὼν αὐτὴν ἀνοσιώτατος ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο· τοὺς τε γὰρ ἀδελφούς—ἐδολοφόνησεν—καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκείων δυσανασχετοῦντα ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐπαπέκτενε.—τοῦτο μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀγρίππα καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Γάλλου ἵπατευόντων ἐγένετο<sup>p</sup>.

**XIII Phrahates IV.** Began to reign in B. C. 37. Justin 42. 5 describes his first acts : *Statim, quasi nollet mori, patrem interfecit, fratres quoque omnes triginta trucidat. Sed nec in filiis cessant parricidia. Nam cum infestos sibi optimates propter adsidia scelera videret, ne esset qui nominari rex posset, adultum filium interfici jubet.* In B. C. 20 he restored the Roman prisoners and standards to *Augustus* : F. H. III p. 240. Justin. 42. 5 (*Augustus*) *metum Phrahatis incussit ne bellum Parthiæ vellet inferre. Itaque tota Parthia captivi ex Crassiano sive Antonii exercitu recollecti, signaque cum his militaria Augusto remissa. Sed et filii nepotesque Phrahatis obsides Augusto dati*<sup>q</sup>. Slain about A. D. 15 by his son *Phraataces*. *Phrahates IV* therefore reigned about 52 years.

**XIV Phraataces.** Josephus Ant. XVIII. 2, 4 having related the accession of *Tiberius* and some events of his reign proceeds thus : τελευτῆ δὲ καὶ Φραάτης ὁ Παρθυαίων βασιλεὺς κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, ἐπιβουλῆς αὐτῷ γενομένης ὑπὸ Φραατάκου τοῦ υἱέως.—Φραατάκης δὲ—μοσηθεῖς—ἐξέπιπτε τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ οὕτω θνήσκει. συμφρονήσαντες δὲ οἱ γενναῖοι Πάρθων ὡς ἀβασιλεύοις μὲν ἀμήχανον πολιτεύεσθαι, οἱ δὲ βασιλεύοντες ἐκ τοῦ γένους τῶν Ἀρσακιδῶν, οὐ γὰρ ἑτέροις ἄρχειν νόμιμον.—Ὀρόδῃν ἐκάλουν πρεσβεύσαντες.—τοῦτον μὲν διησταίαντες ἀποκτείνουσιν—πρεσβεύσαντες δὲ εἰς Ῥώμην ἤτοῦντο βασιλεῖα τῶν ὀμνησθέντων· καὶ πέμπεται Βονώνης προκριθεὶς τῶν ἀδελφῶν. *Vonones* was appointed in A. D. 16 : Tacit. Ann. II. 1. 2 *Sisenna Statilio Tauro L. Libone consulibus—post finem Phraatis et sequentium regum* [sc. *Phraatacis et Orodis*] *ob internas caedes venere in urbem legati a primoribus Parthis qui Vononem vetustissimum liberorum ejus accirent.* The deaths of *Phrahates IV* and his two successors may therefore be referred to A. D. 15.

**XV Orodes II.** See *Arsaces XIV*.

**XVI Vonones I.** Son of *Phrahates IV*. Appointed king in A. D. 16 ; see *Arsaces XIV*. He is soon deposed by the Parthians : Tacit. Ann. II. 2 *Accepere barbari latantes, ut ferme ad nova imperia. mox subiit pudor, degeneravisse Parthos, &c.—Igitur Artabanus Arsacidarum e sanguine apud Dahas adultus excitus, primoque congressu fusus reparat vires regnoque potitur. victo Vononi perfugium Armenia fuit.* Josephus Ant. XVIII. 2, 4 παραχρῆμα ἐκάλουν Ἀρτάβανον Μηδείας βασιλεύοντα, γένους Ἀρσακιδῶν, πείθεται δὲ Ἀρτάβανος καὶ μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἔπεισιν ἵπανταίξει δὲ αὐτὸν Βονώνης· καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον—ἡττηθεὶς φεύγει πρὸς τοὺς ὄρους τῆς Μηδείας Ἀρτάβανος· καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ συναγαγὼν πολλὴν στρατιάν συμβάλλει τε Βονώνῃ καὶ νικᾷ. καὶ Βονώνης εἰς Σελεύκειαν ἀφιππάζεται σὺν ὀλίγοις τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν.—Βονώνης δὲ εἰς Ἀρμενίαν διαπίπτει—ὡς δὲ

<sup>o</sup> Called king by Tacitus Hist. V. 9 *Civili inter nos bello postquam in dicionem Marci Antonii provinciae cesserant, rex Parthorum Pacorus Judæa potitus, interfectusque a Publio Ventidio, et Parthi trans Euphraten redacti.* Plutarch. Anton. c. 34 describes him more accurately : Πάκορον τὸν βασιλέως παῖδα μεγάλῳ στρατῷ Πάρθων ἀδθῖς ἐπὶ Συρίαν ἐλαύνοντα συμπεσὼν Οὐεντιδίου ἐν τῇ Κυρρηστικῇ τρέπεται, καὶ διαφθεῖρει παμπόλους, ἐν πρώτοις Πακόρου πεσόντος. Justin 42. 4 describes the grief of the father : *Hæc cum in Parthia nuntiata essent, Orodes pater Pacori, qui paulo ante vastatam Syriam occupatam Asiam a Parthis audierat, victoremque Pacorum Romanorum gloriabatur, repente filii morte et exercitus clade audita, ex dolore in furorem vertitur, &c.*

<sup>p</sup> Justin. 42. 4 *Post longum luctum alia sollicitudo miserandum senem invadit ; quem ex numero triginta*

*filiorum in locum Pacori regem destinat.—Sed fatum Parthiæ fuit, in qua jam quasi solemnne est reges parricidas haberi, ut sceleratissimus omnium et ipse Phrahates nomine rex statueretur.* Plutarch. Crasso c. 33 Ὑρώδῃ δ' ἀποβαλόντι Πάκορον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων μάχῃ κρατηθέντα καὶ νοσήσαντι νόσον εἰς ὕδρωπα τραπέισαν Φραάτης ὁ υἱὸς ἐπιβουλεύων ἀκόντιον ἔδωκεν· ἀναδεξαμένης δὲ τῆς νόσου τὸ φάρμακον ἐφ' ἑαυτήν—καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἐκκουφισθέντος, ἐπὶ τὴν ταχίστην τῶν ἰδῶν ἐλθὼν ὁ Φραάτης ἀπέπνιξεν αὐτόν. From whence we may correct the names in Plutarch Anton. c. 37 Φραόρτου κτείναντος Ἑρώδῃ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν κατασχόντος. lege Φραάτου—Ὑρώδῃ.

<sup>q</sup> Tacit. Ann. II. 1 *Phraates quanquam depulisset exercitus ducesque Romanos cuncta venerantium officia ad Augustum verterat &c.*



αὐτῷ Τιβέριος μὲν ἀπέειπε—παράδιδωσιν αὐτὸν Σιλάνῳ τῷ τῆς Συρίας στρατηγῷ<sup>†</sup>. *Tiberius afterwards caused him to be slain: Sueton. Tib. c. 49 Sed et Vononem regem Parthorum, qui pulsus a suis quasi in fidem populi Romani cum ingenti gaza Antiochiam se receperat, spoliatum perfidia et occisum.*

**XVII Artabanus II.** Began to reign in A. D. 17. See *Arsaces XVI*. His transactions with the Romans in A. D. 34 35 are related by Tacitus Ann. VI. 31—37<sup>s</sup>. He had also another conference with the governor of Syria *Vitellius*, in the reign of *Caligula* A. D. 37<sup>t</sup>. *Artabanus* was twice expelled by the Parthian satraps and twice restored. First, in A. D. 35, 36, when *Tiridates* was set up against him<sup>v</sup>. In another rebellion one *Cinnamus* was appointed king, but *Artabanus* was restored and reigned till his death, which happened a short time afterwards<sup>w</sup>. We have no evidence to shew the precise year of his death. The revolt of *Cinnamus* was after A. D. 37, and *Artabanus II*, as will appear hereafter, probably died in the beginning of the reign of *Claudius*.

**XVIII Gotarzes.** Slew his brother *Artabanus*: Tacit. Ann. XI. 8 *Sub idem tempus* [sc. A. D. 47<sup>x</sup>]*—nun- tiabat discordare Parthos—nam inter Gotarzis pleraque sæva qui necem fratri Artabanoꝝ conjugique*

<sup>†</sup> Tacit. Ann. II. 4 *Armenii—profugum Vononem in regnum accipiunt. Sed ubi minitari Artabanus—rector Suriae Creticus Silanus excitum custodia circumdat &c.* In A. D. 18 *Vonones* was already removed from Armenia: Tacit. Ann. II. 53. 56 (*Tiberio III Germanico II* *coss.*) *Ambigua gens ea* [sc. *Armenii*] *antiquitus hominum ingenii et situ terrarum, quoniam nostris provinciis late prætentia penitus ad Medos porrigitur, maximisque imperiis interjecti et sæpius discordes sunt, adversus Romanos odio et in Parthum invidia. regem illa tempestate non habebant, amoto Vonone.* c. 58 [A. D. 18] *Ab rege Parthorum Artabano legati venerunt miserat amicitiam ac fœdus memoraturos, et cupere renovari dextras daturumque honori Germanici ut ripam Euphratis accederet; petere interim ne Vonones in Suria haberetur neu proceres gentium propinquis nuntiis ad discordias traheret. ad ea Germanicus de societate Romanorum et Parthorum magnifice, de adventu regis et cultu sui cum decore ac modestia respondit. Vonones Pompeiopolim Ciliciæ maritimam urbem amotus est.* We may therefore date the reign of *Artabanus* from A. D. 17.

<sup>s</sup> For the account of A. D. 36 in Josephus see above c. 5 p. 236.

<sup>t</sup> Dio 59. 27 Βιτέλλιος—κατέπληξέ τε ἀπαντήσας αὐτῷ ἑξαπινωαῖος περὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἦδη ὄντι, καὶ ἔς τε λόγους αὐτὸν ὑπηγάγετο καὶ θῆσαι ταῖς τοῦ Διγούστου καὶ τοῦ τε Γαίου εἰκόσιν ἠνάγκασε, σπονδὰς τε αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων σύμφορον δοῦς, καὶ προσέτι καὶ παῖδας αὐτοῦ ὁμήρους λαβῶν. Sueton. Calig. c. 14 *Artabanus Parthorum rex, odium semper contemptumque Tiberii præ se ferens* [conf. Sueton. Tib. c. 66 *Quin et Artabani Parthorum regis laceratus est literis &c.*] *amicitiam ejus ultro petiit venitque ad colloquium legati consularis, et transgressus Euphratem aquilas et signa Romana Cæsarumque imagines adoravit. Idem Vitellio c. 2 Lucius ex consulatu Syriæ præpositus Artabanum Parthorum regem summis artibus non modo ad colloquium suum sed etiam ad veneranda legionum signa pellexit.*

<sup>v</sup> Dio 58. 26 ὑπὸ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους [sc. Gallo et Servilio *coss.* A. D. 35] (ὁ Τιβέριος)—Τιριδάτην, ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικῆ καὶ αὐτὸν γένους ὄντα, ἐπεμφεν.—οὐ μέντοι καὶ

ἐπὶ πολὺ ὁ Τιριδάτης ἐβασίλευσεν' ὁ γὰρ Ἀρτάβανος Σκίθας προσλαβὼν οὐ χαλεπῶς αὐτὸν ἐξήλασε. Told by Tacitus Ann. VI. 37 *At Vitellius profugo Artabano et flexis ad novum regem popularium animis hortatus Tiridatem parata capessere &c.* VI. 41 *At Tiridates volentibus Parthis Nicephorium et Anthemusiada ceterasque urbes &c.—recepit.* The restoration of *Artabanus* VI. 43. 44.

<sup>w</sup> Josephus Ant. XX. 3 ὁ δὲ τῶν Πάρθων βασιλεὺς Ἀρτάβανος αἰσθόμενος τοὺς σατράπας ἐπιβουλήν εἰς αὐτὸν συνθετικῶς, μένει παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλὲς οὐχ ὄρων, ἔγνω πρὸς Ἰζάτην [king of *Adiabene*] ἀπαίρειν, πόρον παρ' αὐτοῦ βουλόμενος σωτηρίας εὐρέσθαι καὶ κάθοδον εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν.—ὁ δὲ Ἰζάτης—γράφει πρὸς τοὺς Πάρθους πείθων αὐτοὺς τὸν Ἀρτάβανον ὑποδέξασθαι,—τῶν δὲ Πάρθων δέξασθαι μὲν αὐτὸν θέλειν οὐκ ἀρνούμενον, μὴ δύνασθαι δὲ λεγόντων διὰ τὸ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐτέρω πεπιστευκέναι· Κίναμος δὲ ἦν ὄνομα τῷ παρεληφότι· καὶ δεδοικέναι μὴ στάσις αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦτου καταλάβῃ, μαθὼν τὴν προαίρεσιν αὐτῶν ὁ Κίναμος ταύτην αὐτοῖς γράφει τῷ Ἀρταβάνῳ· τέθηρατο γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ φύσει δὲ ἦν καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθός· παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν πιστεύσαστα παραγενέσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποληψόμενον τὴν αὐτοῦ. καὶ ὁ Ἀρτάβανος πιστεύσας παρήν.—καὶ Ἀρτάβανος οὕτω δὲ Ἰζάτου πάλιν εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν καθίσταται κ. τ. λ.—μετ' οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον Ἀρτάβανος τελευτᾷ. *Izates rex Adiabonorum* is mentioned in A. D. 49 by Tacitus Ann. XII. 13. 14.

<sup>x</sup> Sc. *Claudio IV et Vitellio III consulibus.* Conf. Tacit. Ann. XI. 11.

<sup>y</sup> From this passage Brotier reads *fratris f.* in Tacit. XI. 9. But this is unnecessary. *Gotarzes* is brother of *Vardanes*, and therefore son of *Artabanus II*, not only in Josephus but in Tacitus himself. Wherefore this *Artabanus* who was slain by his brother *Gotarzes* (to which the Parthian ambassadors allude in A. D. 49: Tacit. Ann. XII. 10 *jam fratres &c.*) was also a son of *Artabanus II*. This interpretation reconciles Tacitus with himself and with Josephus, and leaves the text unaltered. *Ernesti* ad XI. 9, though he misrepresents the meaning of Josephus, has rightly interpreted Tacitus XI. 8.



*ac filio ejus pręparaverat, unde metus ejus in ceteros, accivere Vardanem. Ille—ignarum et exterritum Gotarzen proturbat, neque cunctatur quin proximas pręfecturas corripiat, solis Seleucensibus dominationem ejus abnuentibus, in quos ut patris sui<sup>z</sup> quoque defectores ira magis quam ex usu pręsenti accensus, implicatur obsidione urbis valida.—Interim Gotarzes Daharum Hyrcanorumque opibus auctus bellum renovat; coactusque Vardanes omittit Seleuciam Bactrianos apud campos castra contulit. c. 9 at Parthi imperatores—fędus repente iciunt cognitis popularium insidiis quas Gotarzes fratri patefecerat. congressique primo cunctantes, dein complexi dextras apud altaria Deum pepigere fraudem inimicorum ulcisci atque ipsi inter se concedere. potiorque Vardanes visus retinendo regno; at Gotarzes, ne quid emulationis existeret, penitus in Hyrcaniam abiit; regressoque Vardani deditur Seleucia septimo post defectionem anno.* This city had therefore revolted in A. D. 41 and, as it should seem, after the death of *Artabanus*.

**XIX Vardanes.** Son of *Artabanus II* and brother of *Gotarzes* according to Tacitus Ann. XI. 8. 9 and Josephus; who makes him the immediate successor of *Artabanus*: Ant. XX. 3, 4 Ἀρτάβανος τελευταῖα τὴν βασιλείαν τῷ παιδὶ Οὐαρδάνῃ καταλείπων. οὗτος δὴ—μέλλων πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν κ. τ. λ.—μαθόντες οἱ Πάρθοι τὴν διάνοιαν Οὐαρδάνου, καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους στρατεύειν ἔκρινον, αὐτὸν μὲν ἀναιροῦσι τὴν ἀρχὴν δὲ τῷ ἀδελφῷ Γοτάρῃ παρέδωσαν. For the account of Tacitus see *Arsaces XVIII*. Tacitus adds XI. 10 that *Vardanes* after his victory was slain by the Parthians and that *Gotarzes* recovered the empire: *Interim Gotarzes penitentia concessi regni et vocante nobilitate—contrahit copias. et huic contra itum ad annem Erinden, in cujus transgressu multum certato pervicit Vardanes, prosperisque pręliis medias nationes subegit ad flumen Sinden quod Dahas Ariosque disternat. Ibi modus rebus secundis positus. nam Parthi quanquam victores longinquam militiam aspernabantur—regreditur ingens gloria atque eo ferocior et subjectis intolerantior, qui dolo ante composito incautum venationique intentum interfecere, primam intra juventam, sed claritudine paucos inter senum regum, si perinde amorem inter populares quam metum apud hostes quęsivisset.*

*Gotarzes* after the death of *Vardanes* is restored: Tacit. Ann. XI. 10 *Nece Vardanis turbata Parthorum res—multi ad Gotarzen inclinabant: quidam ad Meherdaten prolem Phrahatis, obsidio nobis datum. dein pręvaluit Gotarzes, potitusque regiam per sevitiā ac luxum adegit Parthos mittere ad principem Romanum occultas preces quis permitti Meherdaten patrium ad fastigium orabant.* That message arrives at Rome in A. D. 49<sup>a</sup>: Tacit. Ann. XII. 10; which will carry back the death of *Vardanes* to the beginning of the year 48. *Meherdates* is defeated and taken prisoner by *Gotarzes*: Tacit. Ann. XII. 14 *Dein Gotarzes morbo obiit accitusque in regnum Vonones Medos tum pręsidents.* The space from the death of *Artabanus* to the death of *Gotarzes* might be ten years from the end of A. D. 40 to the end of A. D. 50, and of this space, if Philostratus<sup>b</sup> is accurate, almost 4 years belonged to *Vardanes*, whose reign would extend from the middle of the year 44 to the beginning of 48.

**XX Vonones II.** A short and inglorious reign: Tacit. Ann. XII. 14 *Nulla huic prospera aut adversa, quis memoraretur. brevi et inglorio imperio perfunctus est, resque Parthorum in filium ejus Vologesen translata<sup>c</sup>.*

**XXI Volagases I.** Began to reign in A. D. 51: Tacit. Ann. XII. 44 *Eodem anno [sc. Claudio V et Orfito coss. A. D. 51] bellum inter Armenios Hiberosque exortum Parthis quoque ac Romanis gravissimorum inter se motuum causa fuit. genti Parthorum Vologeses imperitabat, materno origine ex pellice Gręca, concessu fratrum regnum adeptus.* In this year he invades Armenia: Tac. Ann. XII. 50 *contrahit*

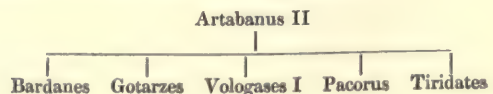
<sup>z</sup> The Seleucians had been *Artabani defectores* in A. D. 36 when they favoured *Tiridates*: Tacit. Ann. VI. 42 *adventantem Tiridatem extollunt—probra in Artabanum fundebant.*

<sup>a</sup> Sc. *Longino et Verennio consulibus*: Ann. XII. 5.

<sup>b</sup> See the Tables at A. D. 45. 3. The narrative of Philostratus places the interview of *Apollonius* with *Vardanes* about autumn A. D. 46.

<sup>c</sup> Josephus Ant. XX. 3, 4 gives a different account and omits *Vonones*: τούτων δὲ [sc. *Gotarzen*] μετ' οὐ πο-

λὸν χρόνον ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς τελευταῖαντα διαδέχεται Οὐολογάσης ὁ ἀδελφός· ὅς δὴ καὶ τοῖς ὁμοπατρίοις δυσὶν ἀδελφοῖς δυναστείας ἐπίστευσε, Πακόρω μὲν τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ τὴν Μήδων Τιριδάτῃ δὲ τῷ νεωτέρῳ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν. The genealogy is this, according to Josephus:





*copias fratremque Tiridaten deducere in regnum parat.* He treats with *Corbulo* in A. D. 54: Tac. XIII. 9. In A. D. 58 he renews war for Armenia: Tac. XIII. 34—41.<sup>d</sup> In A. D. 60 *Parthi Hyrcano bello distinebantur*: Tac. XIV. 25. The Hyrcanians had revolted in 58: Tac. XIII. 37 *Vologesen defectione Hyrcania aditineri.* mentioned again in A. D. 62: Tac. Ann. XV. 1, in which year *Vologasus* and his brothers *Tiridates* and *Pacorus* are engaged again in war with *Corbulo*: Tac. XV. 2—16. In 63 the Parthians negotiate: Tac. XV. 24—31. In 66 *Tiridates* is at Rome: Tac. XVI. 23 *Tiridates accipiendo Armenia regno adventabat*<sup>e</sup>. In 71 *Titus* at Antioch received ambassadors from *Vologases*<sup>f</sup>. In 75 *Vologases* applied to *Vespasian* for aid against the *Alani*: Dio 66. 15 τοῖς δὲ Παρθοῖς πολεμωθεῖσι πρὸς τινας καὶ τῆς παρ' αὐτοῦ συμμαχίας δεηθεῖσιν οὐκ ἐβοήθησεν. Sueton. Domit. c. 2 *Domitianus—cum Vologesus Parthorum rex auxilia adversus Alanos ducemque alterum ex Vespasiani liberis depoposcisset, omni ope contendit ut ipse potissimum mitteretur*<sup>g</sup>. An embassy from *Vologases* to the senate after the death of *Nero* is noticed by Suetonius Ner. c. 57.

XXII *Pacorus I.* Plin. Ep. X. 16 [cir. A. D. 104] *Trajano.—Quendam nomine Callidromum—a Decebalo muneri missum Pacoro Parthiæ regi, pluribusque annis in ministerio ejus fuisse, deinde fugisse atque ita in Nicomediam pervenisse. Quem ego perductum ad me, quum eadem narrasset, mittendum ad te putavi.* Martial Ep. IX. 36, 3 names *Pacorus*: *Scis quid in Arsacia Pacorus deliberet aula.* Written about A. D. 95.<sup>h</sup> *Pacorus* therefore reigned some years, and reigned in the time of *Domitian*. And as *Vologases I* was still living 20 years before that Epigram of Martial was written, *Pacorus* might be the immediate successor of *Vologases I*, although this is not certain. Probably the son of *Vologases I*, for his brother *Chosroes* was still living in A. D. 120, about 45 years after the death of *Vologases*.

XXIII *Chosroes.* The brother of *Pacorus I.*<sup>i</sup> Reigned in A. D. 114: Dio 68, 17 quoted in the Tables p. 98. 100. Victor Cæs. p. 320 de *Trajano*: *Imperati obsides Persarum regi nomine Cosdroæ.* Deposed by *Trajan* in 116: see the Tables A. D. 116. 2. But restored again and still living when *Hadrian* visited Asia: Spartian. Hadrian. c. 13 *Per Asiam iter faciens &c.—toparchas et reges ad amicitiam invitavit, invitato etiam Cosdroe rege Parthorum remissaque illi filia quam Trajanus ceperat, ac promissa sella que itidem capta fuerat.* A war with Parthia was prevented by *Hadrian*: Spartian. Hadr. c. 12 *Bellum Parthorum in motu tantum fuit, idque Hadriani colloquio repressum est.* *Chosroes* might have lived till the close of A. D. 121, for we first hear of his successor *Vologases II* in February 122. This date for the death of *Chosroes* agrees with the time of *Hadrian's* visit to Asia.

XXIV *Vologases II.* From the testimony of a coin which will be produced below we learn that he was already in the throne in *Peritius* of the 433rd year of the *Seleucidæ*, that is to say, in Feb. A. D. 122. Another coin shews that his last year was A. S. 460=A. D. 14<sup>g</sup>. He therefore reigned 28 years current. Dio 69. 15 in A. D. 135 refers to *Vologases II.*<sup>k</sup>

<sup>d</sup> The war in Armenia conducted by *Corbulo* in A. D. 64 is related by Dio 62. 19—23.

<sup>e</sup> See the other testimonies in the Tables A. D. 66 p. 48.

<sup>f</sup> See the Tables A. D. 71. 2. In A. D. 70 *Vologases* had promised aid to *Vespasian* in his contest for the empire: Sueton. Vesp. C. 6 *Vologesus Parthus—promisit—quadraginta millia sagittariorum.* Tacit. Hist. IV. 51 *aderant legati regis Vologesi quadraginta Parthorum equitum milia offerentes—gratiæ Vologeso actæ mandatumque ut legatos ad senatum mitteret et pacem esse sciret.*

<sup>g</sup> Josephus Bell. VII. 7, 4 on the *Alani*: τὸ τῶν Ἀλανῶν ἔθνος Σκύθαι περὶ τὸν Τάναϊν καὶ τὴν Μαιώτιν λίμνην κατοικοῦντες—κατὰ τοὺτους τοὺς χρόνους διανοηθέντες εἰς τὴν Μηδίαν καὶ προσωτέρω ταύτης ἔτι καθ' ἄρπαγην ἐμβαλεῖν, τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ὑγκανῶν διαλέγονται· τῆς παροδοῦ γὰρ οὗτος δεσπότης ἐστίν—κἀκείνου τὴν εἴσοδον

αὐτοῖς παρασχόντος,—χώραν πολυάνθρωπον καὶ παντοίων ἀνάμειστον βοσκημάτων διήρπαζον, μηδενὸς αὐτοῖς τολμῶντος ἀνθίστασθαι. καὶ γὰρ ὁ βασιλεύων τῆς χώρας Πάκορος ὑπὸ θεοῦς εἰς τὰς δυσχωρίας ἀναφυγῶν—μόλις παρ' αὐτῶν ἐρρύσαστο τὴν τε γυναῖκα καὶ τὰς παλλακὰς αἰχμαλώτους γενομένας, ἑκατὸν δούς τάλαντα. μετὰ πολλῆς οὖν ῥαστώνης—μέχρι τῆς Ἀρμενίας προῆλθον πάντα λεηλατοῦντες· Τιριδάτης δ' αὐτῆς ἐβασίλευεν. ὃς ὑπαντίστας αὐτοῖς καὶ ποιησάμενος μάχην παρὰ μικρὸν ἦλθεν ἐπ' αὐτῆς ζωὸς ἄλωνα τῆς παρατάξεως. Referred to by Reimar ad Dionem l. c.

<sup>h</sup> See the Tables A. D. 93. 4 p. 79.

<sup>i</sup> This is determined by Dio 68. 19 who calls *Parthamasiris* the king of Armenia τὸν βασιλέα τὸν Ἀρσακίδην τὸν Πακῶρου παῖδα τὸν Ὀσρόδου ἀδελφιδού.

<sup>k</sup> Dio l. c. ὁ μὲν οὖν τῶν Ἰουδαίων πόλεμος ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτησεν [See the Tables A. D. 135]. ἕτερος δὲ ἐξ Ἀλβανῶν—ἐκινήθη ὑπὸ Φαρασμάνου. καὶ τὴν μὲν Μηδίαν

- XXV Volagases III.** His first year is determined by a coin to A. S. 461=A. D. 178. Another coin establishes that he still reigned in A. S. 491=A. D. 478. That he died before A. D. 199 we learn from a coin of *Pacorus II* which is given below. The Parthian war A. D. 162—166 described in the Tables was in the reign of *Volagases III*. After his death his sons contended for the succession: Dio 77. 12 μέγιστον ἐμεγαλοφρόνει [sc. *Caracalla*] ὅτι τοῦ Βολογαίου τοῦ τῶν Πάρθων βασιλέως τελευτήσαντος οἱ παῖδες περὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐμάχοντο, ὡς ἐξ ἰδίας παρασκευῆς τὸ κατὰ τύχην συμβῆν γεγονὸς προσποιούμενος. οὕτω που σφόδρα αἰεὶ καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ καὶ τῇ διχοστασίᾳ τῇ τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ τῇ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἀλληλοφονίᾳ ἔχαιρεν<sup>1</sup>. Among the sons of *Volagases III* who thus contended for the throne the coins supply *Pacorus* and *Volagases*.
- XXVI Pacorus II.** Reigned according to the evidence of a coin at the time of the Parthian war of *Severus*, in A. D. 198. 199.<sup>m</sup>
- XXVII Volagases IV.** Reigned in the time of *Caracalla* A. D. 216. See the Tables 216. 3. He is attested by a coin dated in the 524th year of the *Seleucidæ*, A. D. 213. His successor *Artabanus* is in the throne in A. D. 216. See the Tables 216. 2 p. 224.
- XXVIII Artabanus III.** The last of the *Arsacidæ*. Reigned A. D. 216—226. See the Tables: 216. 217. 226. 227. Probably a son of *Volagases III*.

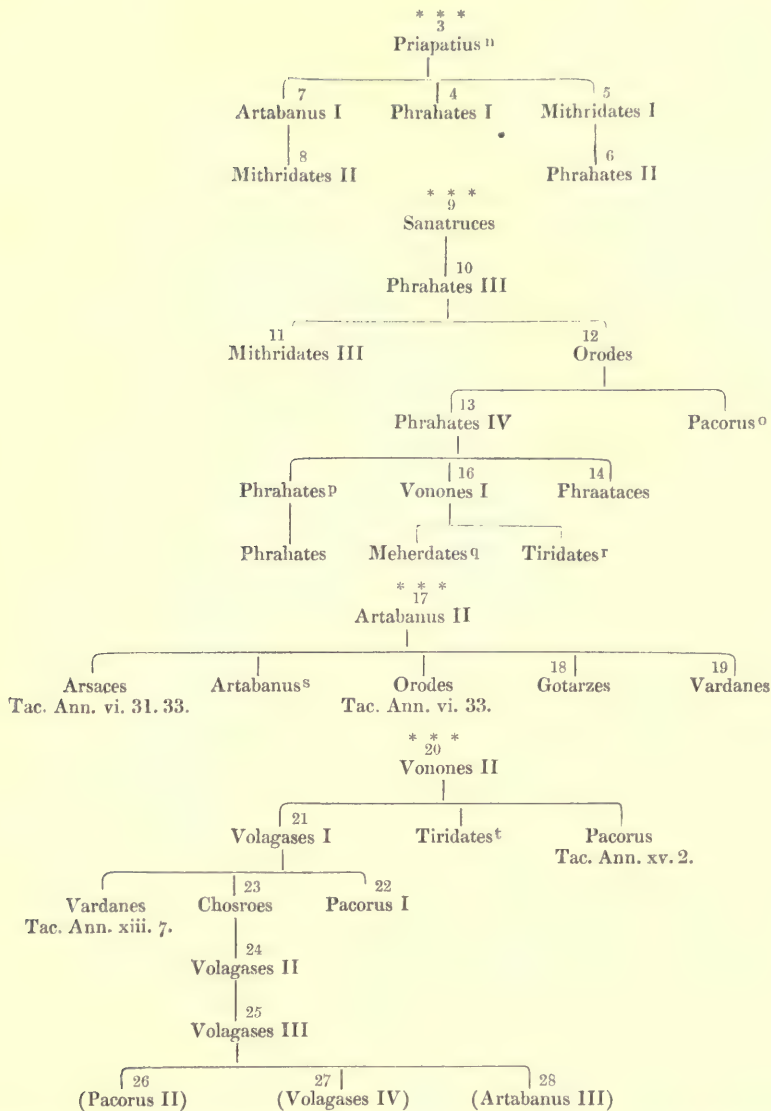
ἰσχυρῶς ἐλύπησε τῆς δ' Ἀρμενίας τῆς τε Καππαδοκίας ἀψάμενος, ἔπειτα τῶν Ἀλβανῶν τὰ μὲν δώροις ὑπὸ τοῦ Οὐλογοῦ πεισθέντων κ. τ. λ.—ἐπαύσατο. πρεσβευτὰς δὲ πεμφθέντας παρὰ τοῦ Οὐλογοῦ καὶ παρὰ τῶν Ἰαζύγων, ἐκείνου μὲν κατηγοροῦντος τινὰ Φαρασμάνου τούτων δὲ τὴν εἰρήνην πιστουμένων, ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσήγαγεν Ἀδριανός.

<sup>1</sup> Xiphilinus adds apud Dionem l. c. οὐκ ᾔκνησε δὲ γράψαι πρὸς τὸ συνέδριον καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν Πάρθοις βασιλεύοντων, ἀδελφῶν τε ὄντων καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους στασιαζόντων, ὅτι ἡ τῶν ἀδελφῶν διαφορὰ μέγα τι κακὸν τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Πάρθων ἐργάσθηται. Where Reimar p. 1298 § 68 misunderstands Xiphilinus: "Vologæso mortuo non

fili ejus inter se sed fratres contenderunt, ut statim est apud Xiphilinum." But these are not "the brothers of *Volagases III*," but "the brothers of each other." Xiphilinus and Dio himself are not at variance.

<sup>m</sup> See the Tables for that war A. D. 198. 199. *Volagases*, named by Dio 75. 9. 10, is son of *Sanatrucæ* king of Armenia: Dio 75. 9 τῷ δὲ Οὐλογοῦ τῷ Σανατροῦκου παιδὶ κ. τ. λ. Suidas p. 3252 C Σανατροῦκης Ἀρμενίων βασιλεὺς. To this *Volagases Severus* granted peace and a part of Armenia, while he was still pursuing the war with the Parthians. See the Tables A. D. 199. 2.





The coins of the Parthian kings are now to be considered. Vaillant supposed, and others after him, that the years of an epoch marked upon the Parthian coins were the years of the Parthian monarchy, and that they took their beginning from the rise of *Arsaces*. But others, as Barthelemy, Fréret, Pellerin, Harduin, have reasonably doubted this, and Eckhel, who had examined many more Parthian coins than were seen by Vaillant, has established by very sufficient arguments that the years upon those coins are the years of the era of *Seleucus*; and that these coins, some of which are also inscribed with the Macedonian months, were issued by some Greek city of Asia, as Seleucia<sup>v</sup>, which lay within the dominion of the Parthian kings.

<sup>n</sup> Justin does not inform us who was the father of *Priapatus*.

<sup>o</sup> Slain B. C. 38.

<sup>p</sup> Tacit. Ann. VI. 31, 32 Dio 58. 26.

<sup>q</sup> Tacit. Ann. XI. 10. XII. 10. 14.

<sup>r</sup> Tacit. Ann. VI. 32. 37. 44 Dio 58. 26.

<sup>s</sup> Tacit. Ann. XI. 8 coll. XI. 9. XII. 10.

<sup>t</sup> Tacit. Ann. XII. 51. XIII. 34.

<sup>v</sup> Seleucia in A. D. 36 is described by Tacitus Ann. VI. 42 *Civitas potens, septa muris neque in bar-*

Only the names of *Sanatruces*, *Gotarzes*, *Volagases*, *Pacorus*, appear upon these coins. The coins of the other kings are inscribed with the name of *Arsaces* alone, the name common to them all. But when the year of the *Seleucidæ* is added, we are enabled to assign the coin to that king in whose reign it was issued.

Coins given in Eckhel tom. 3 p. 525—538.

*Arsaces I.* βασιλέως Ἀρσάκου.

*Tiridates.* βασιλέως μεγάλου Ἀρσάκου.

*Phrahates I.* βασιλέως μεγάλου Ἀρσάκου ἐπιφανοῦς.

*Mithridates I.* βασιλέως βασιλέων μεγάλου Ἀρσάκου ἐπιφανοῦς.

*Phrahates II.* βασιλέως μεγάλου Ἀρσάκου θεοπάτορος νικατόρος.

*Mithridates II.* 1 βασιλέως μεγάλου Ἀρσάκου αυτοκράτορος φιλοπάτορος ἐπιφανοῦς φιλέλληος. 2 βασιλέως μεγάλου Ἀρσάκου εὐεργέτου ἐπιφανοῦς φιλέλληος.

*Sanatruces.* 1 βασιλέως Σανατροίκ. μεγάλου Ἀρσάκου θεοπάτορος εὐεργέτου. 2 βασιλέως μεγάλου Ἀρσάκου θεοπάτορος εὐεργέτου. 3 βασιλέως Ἀρσάκου ἐπιφανοῦς θεοπάτορος εὐεργέτου.

*Phrahates III.* 1 βασιλέως βασιλέων Ἀρσάκου μεγάλου δικαίου θεοῦ εὐπάτορος φιλέλληος. 2 βασιλέως μεγάλου καὶ φιλέλληος.

*Phrahates IV.* 1 βασιλέως βασιλέων Ἀρσάκου εὐεργέτου δικαίου ἐπιφανοῦς φιλέλληος. ξαντ. πσ. ἀππο 280 March or April B. C. 32.

2 βασιλέως βασιλέων Ἀρσάκου εὐεργέτου ἐπιφανοῦς φιλέλληος (δικαίου).

3 eadem epigraphæ. (ἀπσ<sup>w</sup>) μηνὸς Γορπιαίου. ἀππο 281 Aug. or Sept. B. C. 31.

4 βασιλέως βασιλέων Ἀρσάκου εὐεργε . . . δικαίου ἐπιφανοῦς φιλέλληος. ἐπσ. Ὑπερ. ἀππο 285 Sept. or Oct. B. C. 27.

5 πσ. σα. ἀππο 286 B. C. 27.

6 βασιλέως βασιλέων Ἰσάκου κεινέτου δικαίου ἐπιφανοῦς φιλέλληος. μην. Αὐδ. ζπσ. ἀππο 287 Dec. B. C. 26 or Jan. B. C. 25.

7 Περιτιο. ηπσ. ἀππο 288 Jan. or Feb. B. C. 24.

8 βασιλέ. βασιλέων Ἀρσάκου εὐεργετ. δικαίου . . . ἐπιφανοῦς φιλέλληος. [μην]ὸς Αὐδον.

9 ατ. [Δ]αίσιον. ἀππο 311 May or June B. C. 1.

10 βασιλέω. βασιλέων μεγάλου Ἀρσάκου δικαίου εὐ. ἐπιφανοῦς . . . λέλληος. Αὐδυναί. ορ Δαι. ορ Δίου. ορ Ἀρε. ορ Ἀρτεμ. ορ Δυστρ. ορ σα. Λωϊόν.

11 βασιλέως βασιλέων Ἀρσάκου εὐεργέτου δικαίου ἐπιφανοῦς φιλέλληος.

12 βασιλέως μεγάλου Ἀρσάκου εὐεργέτου ἐπιφανοῦς φιλέλληος.

*Gotarzes or Vardanes.* 1 βασιλέως βασιλέων Ἀρσάκου εὐεργέτου δικαίου ἐπιφανοῦς φιλέλληος. γντ.<sup>x</sup> Γορπιαί. ἀππο 353 Sept. A. D. 42.

*barum corrupta, sed conditoris Seleuci retinens. Trecenti opibus aut sapientia delecti ut senatus; sua populo vis. et quotiens concordēs agunt, spernitur Parthus. ubi dissensere, dum sibi quisque contra amulos subsidium vocant, accitus in partem adversum omnes valet.* But that Selencia issued those coins may be doubted for this reason, that some are extant which bear the dates corresponding to A. D. 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, the very period in which Seleucia was at war with the Parthians and sustained a siege of six years. See above under *Arsaces XVIII*. But other Greek cities were placed in those countries, of which Eckhel p. 550 names "in Parthia Apameam, Heracleam, in Media Laodiceam, Apameam." To which we may add the cities of *Bactriana*, which was acquired by the Parthians before the dates of these coins. The years which have hitherto been discovered extend

over a space of 245 years, from the year 280 to 524 B. C. 3 $\frac{2}{3}$ —A. D. 21 $\frac{2}{3}$ .

<sup>w</sup> Eckhel p. 530 "Barthelemeius—ἀπσ. Sed quæ lectio suspecta videtur Pellerinio."

<sup>x</sup> Eckhel p. 534 observes upon this series of coins *annis 353—375* that their editor the Abbé Sestin has given them all to one king, but without describing the lineaments; and that these years include five kings, which creates a difficulty: "Saltem inter *Arsaces* quinque (namely *Artabanus II*, *Gotarzes*, *Vardanes*, *Vonones II*, *Volagases I*) erunt dividendi, quos omnes eadem habuisse oris lineamenta verisimile non est." But *Artabanus II* and *Vonones II* have no concern in this question. The years embraced by these coins belong partly to the brothers *Gotarzes* and *Vardanes*, and partly to *Volagases I*, in which there seems no great difficulty.



- 2 δντ. Ἀπελαί. anno 354 Nov. or Dec. A. D. 42.  
 3 δντ. Ὑπερβερετ. anno 354 Sept. or Oct. A. D. 43.  
 4 εντ. anno 355 A. D. 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ .  
 5 ζντ. anno 357 A. D. 4 $\frac{5}{8}$ .  
 6 ηντ. anno 358 A. D. 4 $\frac{7}{8}$ .

*Gotarzes.* βασιλιε . . . Ἄρ . . . — Γοτέρζη Ἄρταβάνου.

*Volagases I.* ὕ 1 βασιλέως βασιλέων Ἄρσάκου εὐεργέτου δικαίου ἐπιφανοῦς φιλέλληνος. ζξτ. anno 367 A. D. 5 $\frac{5}{8}$ .

- 2 ηξτ. anno 368 A. D. 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ .  
 3 θξτ. anno 369 A. D. 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ .  
 4 εοτ. anno 375 A. D. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ .

*Volagases II.* 1 βασιλ . . . βασιλιε . . . ολαγάσ . . . δικαίου ἐπιφανοῦ . . . ιλέλλην. γλυ. Περιτ. anno 433 Jan. or Feb. A. D. 122.

- 2 ημν. anno 448 A. D. 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ .  
 3 ανν. anno 451 A. D. 13 $\frac{5}{8}$ .  
 4 βασιλ . . . λαγάσο. δικαίο . . . πιφανοῦς . . . λλην . . . γνν. Ἀπελαίω. anno 453 Nov. or Dec. A. D. 141.  
 5 δνν. anno 454 A. D. 14 $\frac{3}{4}$ .  
 6 βασιλέως βασιλέων Ἄρσάκου Βολαγάσου δικαίου ἐπιφανοῦς. ξν. anno 460 A. D. 14 $\frac{5}{8}$ .

*Volagases III.* 1 βασιλιε . . . αγάσου ἐπιφανοῦς φιλέλληνος. αξν. anno 461 A. D. 14 $\frac{5}{8}$ .

- 2 δξν. Ἀπελα. anno 464 Nov. or Dec.<sup>z</sup> A. D. 152.  
 3 εξν. anno 465 A. D. 15 $\frac{3}{4}$ .  
 4 ζξν. anno 466 A. D. 15 $\frac{3}{4}$ .  
 5 θξν. anno 469 A. D. 15 $\frac{7}{8}$ .  
 6 αξν. anno 491 A. D. 17 $\frac{5}{8}$ .  
 7 Δίου.

*Arsaces incertus:* 1 βασιλέως βασιλέων Ἄρσάκου μεγάλου . . . ηφ. anno 508 A. D. 19 $\frac{5}{8}$ .

- 2 Ἄρσάκ . . . ηφ. These were probably coins of *Pacorus II.*

*Pacorus II.* βασιλέως Ἄρσα . . . Πακό . . . καιό . . . ἐπιφαν . . . . ἔλλη . . . φι. anno 510 A. D. 19 $\frac{5}{8}$ .

*Volagases IV.* . . . Βολ[α]γά[σ]ου . . . δκφ. anno 524 A. D. 21 $\frac{3}{4}$ .

“Nummi ænei cum annis epochæ.” Eckhel p. 541.

- εντ. A. D. 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ . *Gotarzes* or *Vardanes*.  
 δοτ. A. D. 6 $\frac{2}{3}$ . *Volagases I.*  
 γκυ. A. D. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ . *Chosroes*.  
 εον. A. D. 16 $\frac{3}{4}$ . *Volagases III.*

It will assist our ideas concerning the power of the Parthians, if we set forth the extent and measure the area of those countries of Western Asia which were contained first within the old Persian empire, then shared among the successors of *Alexander*, and finally divided, though in unequal portions, between the Romans and the Parthians.

In computing the area of these countries, we may divide them into Four Regions<sup>a</sup>. The first

<sup>γ</sup> A coin is reported by Eckhel p. 536 from Vailant: βασιλέως βασιλέων Βολαγάσου δικαίου εὐεργέτου ἐπιφανοῦς φιλέλληνος ητ. anno 308 B. C.  $\frac{5}{8}$ . in the reign of *Phrahates IV.* But “*Vaillantius eum non vidit ipse sed ex collectione Morelliana recitat. numos vero ex hac citatos non admodum fidos esse testes— licet colligere.*” *Barthelemy* questions the authority of this coin. Perhaps for HT we may read OT sc. anno 370 B. C. 5 $\frac{5}{8}$ .

<sup>z</sup> *Dius* at October or November, *Apellæus* at No-

vember or December &c. We speak doubtfully, 1 because we know not when the Greek cities east of the Euphrates adopted the solar year, or whether they adopted it at all. 2 because, if they did adopt a fixed year, we know not whether the cities which issued these coins placed the month *Dius* in October, as at Pergamus, or in November, as at Antioch.

<sup>a</sup> The materials which have been used in calculating the surface of Western Asia are these:

Arrowsmith's map of Asia. 4 sh. 1801.

region is *Asia Minor*; which is truly described by Rennell<sup>b</sup> as an elevated tract of which the southern part is by far the highest<sup>c</sup>, being the proper Taurus itself, which rises abruptly from the neighbourhood of the sea coast, turning the waters towards the Euxine and Egean seas. This peninsula, bounded on the east by an imaginary line drawn from Issus in the south to Trapezus in the north, contains about 182,512 square English miles. But as Pontus and Cappadocia are bounded by the Euphrates, this line, passing obliquely through them in a north eastern direction, leaves a space equal to 13,510 square English miles enclosed between the line and the Euphrates, and containing parts of those provinces. We therefore obtain for the whole area of the twelve provinces of *Asia Minor*

	Sq. E. m.
The peninsula itself.....	182,512
Parts of Pontus and Cappadocia.....	13,510
	<hr/>
	196,022

The area of each of the twelve provinces cannot be accurately known because their limits inland are not ascertained with precision. But this space may be distributed nearly in the following manner.

Western coast

	Sq. E. m.
1 <i>Mysia</i> .....	11,365
2 <i>Lydia</i> .....	12,574
3 <i>Caria</i> .....	6,949

Southern coast

4 <i>Lycia</i> .....	6,405	
5 <i>Isauria</i> } .....	8,940	
<i>Pisidia</i> }		
<i>Pamphylia</i> }		
6 <i>Cilicia</i> .....	12,605	<hr/>
		58,838

Northern coast

7 <i>Bithynia</i> .....	18,467	
8 <i>Paphlagonia</i> .....	18,156	
9 <i>Pontus</i> .....	21,548	<hr/>
		58,171

Inland provinces

10 <i>Galatia</i> } .....	collectively .....	<hr/>
11 <i>Phrygia</i> }		
<i>Lycaonia</i> }		
12 <i>Cappadocia</i> }		
		79,013
		<hr/>
		196,022

Arrowsmith's outlines of the countries between Delhi and Constantinople. 6 sh. 1814—1817.

Kinneir's map of the countries between the Euphrates and the Indus. 2 sh. 1813.

Western Asia. Atlas to accompany Rennell's treatise, drawn by the late Major Rennell. 1831. In his map of Asia Minor the southern coast is laid down from Captain Beaufort's survey. It is sufficient to remind the reader once for all that the longitudes mentioned in this enquiry are longitudes east of Greenwich.

<sup>b</sup> Geography of Herodotus p. 176.

<sup>c</sup> This is confirmed by Mr. Hamilton, who has ascertained that mount Argæus, in Cappadocia, which Strabo XII p. 538 describes as ἔρει πάντων ἰψηλοτάτω καὶ ἀνέκλειπτον χιόνι τὴν ἀκρόρειαν ἔχοντι, ἀφ' ἧς φασὶν οἱ ἀναβαίνοντες (οἳτοι δ' εἰσὶν ὀλίγοι) κατοπτρεύεσθαι ταῖς αἰθρίας ἄμφω τὰ πελάγη, is 13,000 feet above the level of the sea. Researches in Asia Minor &c. vol. 2 p. 279. Mount Argæus is placed in Mr. Hamilton's map in lat. 38° 31' long. 35° 20', 124 English miles direct distance from the Mediterranean, and 194 direct distance from the Euxine.



The Second Region of Western Asia, which is also the second in Rennell<sup>d</sup>, is bounded on the south by an imaginary line at lat. 37° drawn from the north east corner of the Mediterranean to the south west corner of the Caspian sea. The northern limit is a line drawn at lat. 44° from the Euxine to the Caspian. The eastern boundary is the Caspian sea itself; on the west the space is limited by the Euxine sea and by the line which bounded *Asia Minor*. This space contains the mountainous region of Caucasus, the Caucasian countries *Iberia Albania Colchis Armenia*, the eastern parts of *Cappadocia* and *Pontus* above mentioned, and the adjacent districts. This division of western Asia contains an area of 229,989 square English miles. This elevated region overlooks to the north the Sarmatian plains, and to the south the "vast hollow space which contains *Syria Mesopotamia Assyria Babylonia*, and finally the great Arabian desert<sup>e</sup>."

The Third Region of Western Asia lies to the south of lat. 37° as far as the frontiers of Persia and Arabia; a line drawn diagonally from lat. 35° long. 40° to a point at lat. 30° long. 35° is taken as the south western limit<sup>f</sup>, and a line drawn from the same lat. 35° long. 40° to lat. 31° long. 46° 30' following for the most part the course of the Euphrates is assumed as the south eastern limit. On the side of Persia the boundary is not marked by natural characters, and a line is therefore assumed to represent the boundaries between Turkey and Persia thus: from lat. 37° to lat. 35° at long. 46°; from lat. 35° to lat. 31° at long. 46° 30'. The region thus defined, containing *Syria Mesopotamia Palestine* and the adjoining country, has an area of 179,784 square English miles. Of the countries included in the second and third regions here described, *Armenia* is estimated by Major Rennell to contain 97,000 square English miles. About 58,594 may be assigned to *Syria* exclusive of *Palestine*, and 50,312 to *Mesopotamia* taken in its most comprehensive sense.

We now proceed to the Fourth Region; the vast countries which lie eastward of long. 46° and which composed the chief provinces of the Persian Empire. This division of Asia is described by Rennell<sup>g</sup> as an elevated region of western Asia of unequal breadth, limited in the western quarter by the Caspian and Persian seas, but expanding to a much greater breadth beyond the Caspian<sup>h</sup>. He remarks that the highest ground of this tract lies towards the Caspian sea, as is shewn by the waters of Media which generally flow southward; that the northern part between the Caspian and mount Imaus contains *Parthia Murgiana Sogdiana*, which collectively overlook towards the north the low countries of *Chorasnia*; that the middle part contains *Arta* and *Bactriana*; that in the south are contained *Persia Carmania Arachosia*, which are bordered towards the Erythrean sea by *Gedrosia* or *Makran*. Dr. Prichard<sup>hh</sup> from more recent testimonies describes the whole of Iran and not only the northern part as a plateau of high table land, having a general elevation

<sup>d</sup> Geography of Herodotus p. 176.

<sup>e</sup> Rennell p. 176.

<sup>f</sup> This line passing through the deserts to the east of Palmyra terminates in Idumæa in lat. 30° long. 35°. The angle contained by these two lines may be taken as the most northern point of the Arabian desert. From thence to Mecca in lat. 21° 40' long. 41° the direct distance is 922 English miles. The lines here described enclose a space equal to the surface of the desert in that part. The whole area of Arabia collectively is about 1,195,433 square English miles.

Other distances in English miles, direct distance :

From Suez to Mecca . . . 750

Mecca to Babelmandel . . 700

— 1450

From Babelmandel to Bagdad 1453

From Suez to Bassora . . . . . 930

The voyage for the English steamers from Suez to Aden is 1600 miles.

<sup>g</sup> Geography of Herodotus, p. 177—179.

<sup>h</sup> The direct distance from the south west corner of the Caspian in lat. 38° long. 46° to the head of the Persian gulf is 484 English miles. But from the northern boundary of Khorasan to the southern limit of Makran the direct distance is 1000 English miles. Which confirms the account of Rennell. Dr. Prichard, Physical History of mankind, Vol. 4 p. 2 also expresses this character of the country: "The Western border of Iran seems shortened where the land is contracted between the southern extremity of the Caspian and the northern end of the Persian gulf."

<sup>hh</sup> Recherches into the Physical History of mankind Vol. 4 p. 2.

of between 3000 and 4000 feet, although intersected by valleys (running from north to south) through which the waters flow southward. According to his account "the northern boundary traced from its eastern extremity stretches westward along the northern limit of Khorasan and Kohestan, subsides into hills of moderate elevation on the borders of Balkh and Herat, rises further to the westward in Hyrcania into the height of Demavend; thence reaches Georgia in the same direction. The low countries of Mazanderan and Ghilan on the Caspian sea are placed beyond and below the northern side of the great upland. On the west in the meridian of Ecbatana the mountain tracts of Armenia and Georgia approach its borders. The plateau loses here the level character of its surface and rises into lofty heights. The western and southern sides of the Iranian upland are bounded by a vast series of mountain chains which make a great oblique sweep from the north west to the south east, rendering all the south western border of the plateau a series of longitudinal valleys and successive elevations, by which the traveller from the west, after crossing the Tigris, has to ascend over a series of long terraces which are separated by the courses of rivers or longitudinal valleys, but over which he mounts successively to a higher elevation. Further eastward in Makran the southern border of the Iranian plain presents its front immediately against the Indian ocean<sup>i</sup>."

The extent of this fourth region may be thus defined. The river *Oxus* is the north eastern limit of *Iran*; for the country beyond the Oxus was *Touran* and not *Iran*<sup>k</sup>. *Sogdiana* therefore was not *Iran*, although it belonged to the Persian Empire. We assume a line drawn from the mouth of the *Ochus* or *Tedjen* to the banks of the *Oxus* in lat. 40°<sup>l</sup> as the northern boundary of *Iran* in that quarter. The length of this line expressing the northern limit is from 272 to 300 miles<sup>m</sup>. The space contained between this line and lat. 37°, and inclosed by the Caspian sea and the river Oxus, is equal to 90,267 square English miles, having *Dahestan* on the border of the Caspian and *Khorasan* on the left bank of the Oxus. To this point at lat. 40° the province of *Khorasan* is bounded on the north-east by the Oxus, from a point at lat. 36° 42' long. 66° 30' fifty miles direct distance east of *Balkh*. We extend *Khorasan* to that point eastward because not only *Herat* but *Balkh* was included in *Khorasan*, and was one of the four royal cities of that province<sup>n</sup>. The Oxus at that point after a south-westerly course turns to the north-west and proceeds in that direction with little variation for 552 miles to lat. 40° 40', forming for 490 miles

<sup>i</sup> The heights of some points are given by Dr. Prichard p. 4 from Mr. Ainsworth: "The elevation of the great Persian upland east of Kurdistan is according to Fraser at Zergan 4500, at Ispahan 4000 (*Hamadan* is evidently higher), at *Tabriz* according to Brown 4500, and from several observations by myself at the lake of *Urumiye* 4300 feet. The sources of the *Zab* according to Col. Monteath are at an elevation of 7500 feet." Dr. Prichard adds p. 6 "The plateau of *Iran* varies in elevation. The south eastern corner, *Beluchistan* [in the province of *Makran*] is a high country, and the table land of *Kelat* [in *Khorasan*, near *Meshid*] rises according to *Pottinger's* estimate to 8000 feet, at *Kabul* the eastern border has still 6000 feet: towards the interior and the inland lake of *Zareh* and the valley of the *Hindwend*, and the desert plains which surround the lake, the level gradually subsides, but not to a depressed surface. Accurate measurements are wanting in this eastern region of *Iran*. The elevation of the western parts are better known. In a line from

*Abushir* through *Shiraz* *Isfahan* *Tehran*, and thence to *Meshid* the medium height between *Isfahan* and *Tehran* is 3900 feet. *Mount Demavend* exceeds the average elevation by 7000 feet. No part is depressed 1000 feet below the general level."

The peak of *Demavend* is in lat. 36° long. 51° 20' on the southern side of *Mazanderan* or *Hyrcania*.

<sup>k</sup> *D'Herbelot* p. 461 v. *Iran*.

<sup>l</sup> The *Ochus*, which enters the Caspian at lat. 38° 50' long. 53° 22', divides *Usbec Tartary* from *Persia*; and *Khorasan* on the banks of the Oxus reaches as high as lat. 40°. *Abiverd* in this province, the birthplace of *Nadir Shah*, is in lat. 38° 40', much below the boundary here assigned.

<sup>m</sup> The direct distance in English miles from the mouth of the *Tedjen* to the stream of the Oxus in lat. 40° is 272 miles in *Arrowsmith's* map and 312 miles in *Kinneir*.

<sup>n</sup> See *D'Herbelot* art. *Khorassan* p. 507. The four cities were *Balkh*, *Merou*, *Nischabour*, *Herat*.



of that course the boundary of Khorasan<sup>o</sup> in that quarter<sup>p</sup>. On the west and south Khorasan is bounded by the desert, on the east by Sigistan and India; that is by the country near Kandahar<sup>q</sup>. In Kinneir and Arrowsmith the frontier of Khorasan westward adjoins the province of Mazanderan as far as lat. 35° 17' long. 52° 10'. At that point the boundary takes a direction to the south-east for more than 500 miles as far as lat. 32° to the west of Sigistan and of the lake Zerrah<sup>r</sup>. From this position a direct line terminating at the Oxus beyond Bactra at the eastern limit of Khorasan and of Iran in that quarter is equal to 526 English miles. This vast circuit encloses a space (the northern parts of Iran between the Caspian and the Oxus being included) equal in extent to 259,000 square English miles. It contained many ancient provinces, *Margiana*<sup>s</sup> in the north, *Aria*<sup>t</sup>

<sup>o</sup> There is some variation in the course of the Oxus in Arrowsmith and Kinneir. In Arrowsmith's map the river runs NW from the point E. of Balkh at lat. 36° 42' long. 66° 30' to lat. 40° 49' 2" miles, and to lat. 40° 40' 60 miles more, making 552 miles. But in Kinneir the course from the same point NW is to lat. 40° 44' 2" miles and still NW to lat. 41° 15' 138 miles, making together 580 miles.

<sup>p</sup> The Oxus or Amoo rises far to the east of Balkh in lat. 37° 35' long. 71° 22' and descends the mountains by a winding course westwards and southwards for 360 miles to the point which has been described, 50 miles from Balkh. Then after the NW course above mentioned of 552 miles the river taking a semicircular sweep east and then north reaches in 180 miles a point in lat. 42° 35' where the old bed of this river was filled up 200 years ago; and since that time it has found its way northwards into the sea of Aral, about 1150 miles from the source of the river. But till that period the ancient course of the Oxus from that point in lat. 42° 35' was first westwards and then southwards into the Caspian sea, which it entered at lat. 39° 50', after an entire course of 1400 miles. *Alexander* in his way from Balkh across the Oxus to *Sogdiana* in B. C. 329 found the river (at 430 miles from its source and 970 from its mouth in the Caspian) 6 stadia in breadth: *Arrian*. *Exp. Al.* III. 29 τὸ μὲν εὖρος ἦν ἐς ἐξ μάλιστα σταδίου βάθος δὲ οὐδὲ πρὸς λόγον τοῦ εὖρους ἀλλὰ πολὺ δὴ τι βαθύτερος, καὶ ψαμμώδης, καὶ ρεῖμα ὀξύ. *Lieut. Burnes* in June A. D. 1832 crossed it in his way also from Balkh to *Sogdiana*, and found it upwards of 800 yards wide and 20 feet deep. Vol. 2 p. 214. The ancient course of the river into the Caspian is recorded by *Arrian* *Exp.* VII. 16 ἐκ Βάκτρων Ὀξος ποταμὸς μέγιστος τῶν Ἀσιανῶν ποταμῶν, πλήν γε δὴ τῶν Ἰνδῶν, ἐξήρσεν ἐς ταύτην τὴν θάλασσαν.

<sup>q</sup> *D'Herbelot* art. *Khorassan* p. 507 "Le Khorasan est borné par un désert vers le Couchant; vers le Midi il a un autre désert—le Segestan et les Indes vers le Levant, et le Mauaralnahar [sc. *Transoxiana*] avec une partie du Turkestan vers le Septentrion."

<sup>r</sup> *Arrowsmith's* map carries the southern limit of Khorasan 110 miles below this latitude, as far as lat. 30° 25'. But there is a variation in the geography of this part. The lake Zerrah is in Kinneir 92 miles in length from W. to E. and the centre of

the lake is at lat. 32° 11' long. 59° 32'. But in *Arrowsmith* this lake is only 50 miles in length and its centre is at lat. 31° 30' long. 60°.

<sup>s</sup> The position of *Margiana* is described by *Ptolemy* *Geogr.* VI. 10 περιορίζεται ἀπὸ μὲν δύσεως Ὑρκανία—ἀπὸ δὲ ἄρκτων μέρει Σκυθίας τῶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ Ὀξου ποταμοῦ μέχρι τοῦ πρὸς τῇ Βακτριανῇ αὐτοῦ τμήματος.—ἀπὸ δὲ μεσημβρίας, Ἀρείας μέρει—ἀπὸ δὲ ἀνατολῶν Βακτριανῇ—διαρρεῖ δὲ τὴν χώραν ποταμὸς ἀξιόλογος ὁ Μάργος.

<sup>t</sup> *Ptolemy*. VI. 17 ἡ Ἀρία περιορίζεται ἀπὸ μὲν ἄρκτων Μαργανῇ καὶ μέρει Βακτριανῆς—ἀπὸ δὲ δύσεως Παρθία καὶ τῇ ἐρήμῳ Καρμανία—ἀπὸ δὲ μεσημβρίας Δραγγιανῇ—ἀπὸ δὲ ἀνατολῶν Παροπανισάδας. *Strabo* XI p. 515 ἡ δὲ Ἀρία καὶ ἡ Μαργανῆ, ἃ κράτιστα χωρία ἐστὶ ταῦτη, τῇ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ὄρων ἐγκλειόμενα τῇ δ' ἐν πεδίοις τὰς οἰκήσεις ἔχοντα \* \* τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄρῃ νέμονται σκηνῆται τιναί, τὰ δὲ πεδία ποταμοῖς διαρρεῖται· ποτίζουσι δ' αὐτὰ τὰ μὲν τῶν Ἀρίῳ τὰ δὲ Μάργῳ· ὁμορεῖ δ' ἡ Ἀρία τῇ Βακτριανῇ.—διέχει δὲ τῆς Ὑρκανίας περὶ ἑξακισχιλίου σταδίου. συντελής δ' ἦν αὐτῇ καὶ ἡ Δραγγιανῆ μέχρι Καρμανίας. But the name *Ἀρειανῆ* is sometimes used by *Strabo* and by others in a more extended sense not for the province of *Aria* alone but for the whole of these regions. *Strabo* XV p. 688. 689 Ἐρατοσθένους ἐν τῷ γ' τῶν γεωγραφικῶν—περὶ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἡνίκα Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπήλθε· καὶ ἦν ὁ Ἰνδὸς ὄριον ταύτης τε καὶ τῆς Ἀρειανῆς. p. 696 speaking of Egypt and India: μέσῳ γὰρ μεγάλῳ ποταμοῦ καὶ δεῖνα ρεῖθρα· ὠκεανὸς μὲν πρῶτον—ἔπειτα ἡ Ἀρειανῆ καὶ ὁ Περσικὸς κόλπος καὶ ὁ Ἀράβιος. p. 720 μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ἐστὶν ἡ Ἀρειανῆ κ. τ. λ. p. 724 ἐπεκτείνεται δὲ τοῦνομα τῆς Ἀρειανῆς μέχρι μέρους τινὸς καὶ Περσῶν καὶ Μήδων καὶ ἔτι τῶν πρὸς ἄρκτον Βακτριῶν καὶ Σογδιανῶν· εἰσὶ γὰρ πῶς καὶ ὁμογλόττοι παρὰ μικρόν. *Dionys.* *Perieg.* 1096.

Ὠρείτας τ' Ἀραβάς τε λινοχλαίνους τ' Ἀραχώτας,  
Σατραπίδας θ' ὄσσους τε παρὰ πτυχι Παρνησοῖο  
Ξυῆ ὁμῶς μάλα πάντας ἐπωνυμίην Ἀριμηνοῦς.

Where *Eustathius* quotes *Strabo* XV p. 720 and *Herodotus* VII. 62 Μῆδοι ἐκαλέοντο πάλαι πρὸς πάντων Ἀριοι. In this extensive application of the terms Ἀριοι, Ἀρειανῆ, Ἀριμηνοὶ we trace the oriental appellation IRAN. *Schweighæuser* ad *Herodotum* l. c. has quoted the remark of a French writer: "Intelliguntur hoc loco incolæ regionis cui nomen Iran." The passages of *Strabo* and *Dionysius* confirm this opinion.

in the south, *Bactriana*<sup>v</sup> on the east, and *Parthia* and part of *Hyrkania* on the west, near the Caspian sea.

*Sigistan* and *Gedrosia* are limited on the east by India; for although Eratosthenes and Strabo extend Persia to the Indus, yet they admit that countries west of the Indus belonged to India. *Alexander* found Indians in the mountainous region to the south of *Bactra*, and within *Makran* itself he found an Indian people<sup>w</sup>. Accordingly Rennell remarks<sup>x</sup> that the Indian provinces on the Persian side of the Indus were very extensive, "Kabul Kandahar and that wide stripe of country along the Indus to the sea."

It is material for fixing the eastern limit of *Iran* in the latitude of *Sigistan* that we should trace the position of *Arachosia*. This province is placed by Rennell<sup>y</sup> between lat. 32° and 34° and in his map between long. 65° and 67°.<sup>z</sup> And this is consistent with the ancient accounts, which describe *Arachosia* to the east of *Drangiana*, to the south of *Bactra*, to the north of *Gedrosia*, and on the western confines of India<sup>a</sup>. We may therefore assume long. 66° 30' as representing the eastern limit of *Arachosia* and of *Sigistan*.

*Gedrosia* or *Makran* is bounded on the side of India by the river *Arabius*, which runs from north to south in long. 66° 30' and falls into the sea at long. 66° 40'. Therefore a line drawn from lat. 32° southwards to the sea at long. 66° 30' may be assumed as the eastern boundary of

<sup>v</sup> Strabo describes the position of *Bactriana* and *Sogdiana*: XI p. 516 τῆς δὲ Βακτρίας μέρη μὲν τινα τῆ Ἀρίας παραβέβληται πρὸς ἄρκτον τὰ πολλὰ δ' ὑπέρκειται πρὸς ἑω' πολλὴ δ' ἐστὶ καὶ πᾶμφορος πλὴν ἐλαίου.—καθ' ὅλου δὲ φησιν ἐκεῖνος [sc. *Apollodorus Ariamitenus*] τῆς συμπάσης Ἀριανῆς πρόσχημα εἶναι τὴν Βακτριανήν. p. 517 τὴν Σογδιανὴν ὑπερκειμένην πρὸς ἑω τῆς Βακτριανῆς, μεταξὺ τοῦ τε Ὠξου ποταμοῦ, ὃς ὀρίζει τὴν τε τῶν Βακτριῶν καὶ τὴν τῶν Σογδιῶν, καὶ τοῦ Ἰαξάρτου. οὗτος δὲ καὶ τοὺς Σογδιῶν ὀρίζει καὶ τοὺς Νομάδας.—φασὶ δ' οὖν ὀκτώ πόλεις τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εἶναι τῆ Βακτριανῆ καὶ τῆ Σογδιανῆ κτίσαι, τινὰς δὲ κατασκάψαι, ὧν Καρύτας μὲν τῆς Βακτριανῆς—Μαρακάνδα δὲ τῆς Σογδιανῆς καὶ τὰ Κύρα, ἔσχατον δὲ Κύρου κτίσμα ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰαξάρτῳ ποταμῷ κείμενον, ὅπερ ἦν ὄριον τῆς Περσῶν ἀρχῆς. p. 518 μέχρι μὲν δὴ τῆς Σογδιανῆς πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἦλιον ἰόντι ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰρκατίας γνώριμα ὑπῆρξε τὰ ἔθνη—τὰ ἕξω τοῦ Ταύρου κ. τ. λ. τὰ δ' ἐπεκείνα ἐπ' εὐθείας ὄτι Σκυθικά ἐστὶν ἐκ τῆς ὁμοειδίας εἰκάζεται.

<sup>w</sup> Eratosthenes apud Strabonem XV p. 689—Ἀριανῆς. ἦν ἐφεξῆς πρὸς τῆ ἐσπερία κειμένη Πέρσαι κατέιχον ὕστερον γὰρ δὴ καὶ τῆς Ἀριανῆς πολλὴν ἔσχον οἱ Ἴνδοι λαβόντες παρὰ τῶν Μακεδόνων. Strabo XV p. 723 ὀρίζεσθαι μὲν γὰρ φησὶ τὴν Ἀριανὴν ἐκ μὲν τῶν πρὸς ἑω τῷ Ἴνδῳ πρὸς νότον δὲ τῆ μεγάλης θαλάττης.—p. 724 *Paropamisadae Arachoti Gedroseni*—τούτων ἐκ μέρους τῶν παρὰ τὸν Ἴνδον ἔχουσι τινα Ἴνδοί—ἀ ἀφείλετο μὲν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος τῶν Ἀριανῶν καὶ κατοικίας ἰδίας συνεστήσατο. But *Alexander* found the Indians already there: Arrian. Exp. IV. 22. On his arrival at the Cophen he sent to *Taxiles* and to the Indians west of the Indus—τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰδε τοῦ Ἴνδου ποταμοῦ. On his march into *Gedrosia* he encountered an Indian people after he had passed the river *Arabius*: Arrian. Exp. VI. 21. 22 διαβὰς τὸν Ἀράβιον ποταμὸν—ἐπήγει τὴν χώραν τῶν Ὠρειτῶν.—τοῖς Ὠρειταῖς τοῖς ταύτῃ Ἴνδοῖς αὐτονόμοις ἐκ πολλοῦ ὄσιν. Conf. Arrian. Indic. c. 1 τὰ ἕξω Ἴνδου ποταμοῦ

τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέρην ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν Κωφίῃνα Ἀστακηνοὶ καὶ Ἀστακηνοὶ ἔθνεα Ἴνδικὰ ἐποικεοῦσι. Ibid. p. 551 ἔθνος Ἴνδικὸν οἱ Ἀραβίαις καλεόμενοι, ὧν καὶ ἐν τῇ μέζονι ξυγγραφῇ μνήμην ἔσχον [sc. Exp. VI. 21. 22], καὶ ὅτι εἰσὶν ἐπώνυμοι ποταμοῦ Ἀράβιος, ὃς διὰ τῆς γῆς αὐτῶν ῥέων ἐκδιδοὶ ἐς θάλασσαν, ὀρίζων τούτων τε τὴν χώραν καὶ τῶν Ὠρειτῶν.

<sup>x</sup> Geogr. of Herodotus p. 305.

<sup>y</sup> Memoir of a map of Hindostan p. 169, 170.

<sup>z</sup> Arokhage is placed by Rennell and Arrowsmith in long. 65° 30', by Rennell in lat. 31° 50', by Arrowsmith in his map of Asia at lat. 31° 30', in his later map at lat. 31° 10'.

<sup>a</sup> *Alexander* apud Arrian. Exp. III. 25. 28 passed from *Hyrkania* into *Parthia*, from *Parthia* into *Aria*: ἦγεν ὡς ἐπὶ Ζαδράκαρτα τὴν μεγίστην πόλιν τῆς Ἰρκατίας. Then ὡς ἐπὶ Παρθουαίους ἦγεν ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ τῆς Ἀρείας ὄρια. From *Aria* he proceeded to the *Zarangai* and from thence to *Arachosia*: see F. H. II p. 287. From *Arachosia* *Alexander* ἐπήλθε καὶ τῶν Ἰνδῶν τοὺς προσχώρους Ἀραχῳτοῖς Arrian. III. 28. Ptolem. Geogr. VI. 20 ἡ Ἀραχῳσία περιορίζεται ἀπὸ μὲν δύσεως Δραγγιανῆ ἀπὸ δὲ ἄρκτων Παροπανισάδαις ἀπὸ δὲ ἀνατολῶν Ἰνδικῆς μέρει ἀπὸ δὲ μεσημβρίας τῷ λοιπῷ μέρει τῆς Γεδρωσίας. *Drangiana* is marked by *Zarang*, which is in lat. 31° 30' long. 61° 30' about 176 miles direct distance west of *Arokhage*. Strabo XV p. 721 remarks that the road for *Craterus* on the return from India lay δι' Ἀραχῳτῶν καὶ Δραγγῶν εἰς Καρμανίαν. Ptolemy also VI. 21 observes of *Gedrosia* the most southern province of that quarter of *Iran* περιορίζεται ἀπὸ ἄρκτων Δραγγιανῆ καὶ Ἀραχῳσία. *Drangiana* lay to the south of *Aria*: Strabo XV p. 723 ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀρίας πρὸς νότον εἰς Προφθασίαν τῆς Δραγγιανῆς. He describes again p. 724 the position of *Drangiana*. The situation of *Arachosia* is accurately described by D'Anville Geogr. tom. 2 p. 290. 291.



*Arachosia* and *Makran*. This line will enclose a surface equal to the area of the south-eastern borders of *Iran*. But as *Kandahar*, which belongs to *India*, is seated in lat. 32° 50' long. 65° 42' the limitary line must be assumed further to the westward in the region of *Kandahar*; and we place it at long. 65° 30' from lat. 32° to 34°. To the north of lat. 34° we carry it eastwards again till it terminates at the *Oxus* in long. 66° 30' as before observed.

*Gedrosia* or *Makran* is bounded on the west by *Carmania*, and *Carmania* again on the west by *Persis* or *Fars*<sup>b</sup>. Westward of the river *Arabius* the southern boundary of *Iran* is the Indian sea and the Persian Gulf, till we arrive at the line already described as the western limit of this fourth region of Western Asia. The surface of this fourth region within the boundaries here assigned, which contain the countries eastward of the Caspian and those to the south of lat. 37° enclosed between long. 46° or 46° 30' and 66° 30', is equal to 892,529 English square miles. But to obtain the total extent of *Iran* we must add countries west of the Caspian and included already in the Second Region, but belonging to *Persia*; namely *Georgia* *Daghistan* *Shirvan* *Erivan*, containing collectively between lat. 37° and lat. 43° 108,816 square miles.

We obtain therefore for *Iran*

	Sq. E. M.	Sq. E. M.
West of the Caspian .....	108,816	
East of the Caspian .....	90,267	
South of lat. 37° .....	802,262	
	1,001,345. <sup>c</sup>	

The collected amounts of the Four Regions of Western Asia give the following numbers:

	Sq. E. M.	Sq. E. M.
I <i>Asia Minor</i> .....	182,512	
II <i>Caucasian countries</i> .....	229,989	
III <i>Syria Mesopotamia Palestine &amp;c.</i> .....	179,784	
IV <i>Southern and Eastern parts of Iran</i> .....	892,529	
	1,484,814	

*ARTAXERXES*, who overthrew *Artabanus* and founded the dynasty of *Sasan*, reigned 15 years. The kings of this dynasty, mentioned in the Tables and in the first Chapter of this Appendix, are here brought under one point of view and some additional testimonies concerning them are inserted in the notes.

	y. m.	A. D.
1 <i>Artaxerxes</i> .....	14. 10.	226
2 <i>Sapor I</i> .....	31.	241

<sup>b</sup> Ptol. Geogr. VI. 21 ἡ Γεδρωσία περιορίζεται ἀπὸ μὲν δύσεως Καρμανία—ἀπὸ δὲ ἀνατολῶν Ἰνδικῆς μέρει παρὰ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμόν. VI. 4 ἡ Πέρσις περιορίζεται—ἀπὸ δύσεως Σουσιανῆ—ἀπὸ δὲ ἀνατολῶν Καρμανία.

<sup>c</sup> Dr. Prichard Physical Hist. of Mankind Vol. 4 p. 3 states the whole extent of *Iran* to be “from 70 to 80 thousand square geographical miles, or about one-tenth part of the whole surface of *Asia*.” There must be some error in these numbers, which are obviously impossible. Eight hundred thousand square geographical miles would be nearer the truth. Nor can “one-tenth part” of the surface of *Asia* be admitted; for as *Asia* contains more than 15 millions of square English miles, one-tenth part would be

more than 1,500,000; and *Iran* is not a tenth but a fifteenth part of the surface of *Asia*.

<sup>1</sup> Tables 226. 227. Euty chius tom. I p. 367 *Anno imperii (Commodi) decimo exorti Persæ Babelem Amidum et Persiam occuparunt duce nempe Azdashiro filio Babeci filii Sasani Estochrista, qui primus regum denovo in Persiam regnavit.* p. 375 *Azdashir Babeci filius Persarum rex quanta fieri potuit cum justitia inter homines versatus est; sex etiam urbes condidit.—Obiit deinde Azdashir postquam annos 14 et sex menses regnasset. Regnavit post ipsum filius ipsius Sabur Ebn Azdashir annos 30 mensem unum, idque anno imperii Severi Cæsaris 12°.*

<sup>2</sup> Tables A. D. 272.

	y.	m.	A. D.
3 <i>Hormisdas I</i> .....	1.		272
4 <i>Vararam I</i> .....	3.		273
5 <i>Vararam II</i> .....	17.		276
6 <i>Vararam III</i> .....	0.	4.	293
7 <i>Narses</i> .....	7.	5.	293
8 <i>Hormisdas II</i> .....	7.	5.	301
9 <i>Sapor II</i> .....	70.		309
10 <i>Artaxer</i> .....	4.		379
11 <i>Sapor III</i> .....	5.		383
12 <i>Vararam IV</i> .....	11.		388

3 Tables A. D. 272. Eutychius tom. I p. 384 Anno 2<sup>o</sup> imperii Maximini mortuus est Sapor Azdashiri filius rex Persarum, post quem regnavit Hormoz Saporis filius (qui est Hormoz Al Horri) annum unum et menses decem. post quos mortuus est.

4 Tables A. D. 301. Eutychius tom. I p. 384 Anno 3<sup>o</sup> imperii Maximini Cæsaris regnum in Persas obtinuit Bahram Hormozi filius, qui annos tres cum tribus mensibus regnavit.

5 Tables A. D. 301. Eutych. tom. I p. 387 Anno Gordiani 3<sup>o</sup> mortuus est Bahram Hormozi filius, post quem regnavit Bahram Bahrami filius in Persas annos 17. Cujus tempore prodiens quidam origine Persa nomine Mani Manichæorum religionis auctor fuit.—quem prehensum medium divisit Bahram Bahrami filius. *Vararam II* reigned in the time of *Probus*; but *Probus* according to *Vopiscus* c. 17 in A. D. 277 addresses a letter *ad Narseum*; which *Tillemont* tom. 3 p. 539 supposes an error of *Vopiscus*. *Casaubon* ad *Vopiscum* p. 245 B “*Narseus* regulus Armeniæ fuit, jussu a rege Persarum hæc ad Romanum principem deferre munera. Mentionem de hoc facit *Victor* in *Diocletiano* [sc. *Victor Cæs.* p. 346].” But *Narseus* in *Victor* is *Narses* king of Persia in A. D. 297. The opinion then of *Tillemont* is more just.

6 Tables A. D. 295. 301. Eutychius tom. I p. 395 Anno imperii Gallieni 5<sup>o</sup> mortuus est Bahram Bahrami filius Persarum rex, post quem regnavit Bahram etiam Bahrami filius qui et *Shahan Shah* audit, menses quatuor, dein mortuus est, succedente ipsi fratre ipsius *Narse filio Bahrami filii Saporis filii Azdashiri filii Babec filii Sasani, qui in Persas annos novem regnavit, dein mortuus est.*

7 Tables A. D. 293. 301. *Theophanes* p. 4 A mentions *Vararam III* and *Narses*, but places them 5 and 6 years too high: *Diocletiani* 4<sup>o</sup> Οὐαράμης ἔτος α'. *Diocletiani* 5<sup>o</sup> Ναρσῆς ἔτη η'.

8 Tables A. D. 301. *Theophanes* p. 6 A *Diocletiani* 13<sup>o</sup> Ὀρμισδᾶς ἔτη ε'. Eutychius tom. I p. 396 Anno Gallieni 14<sup>o</sup> regnum in Persas obtinuit Hormoz Narsis filius annis 7 et quinque mensibus, dein mortuus est.

9 Tables A. D. 301. 309. 379. *Theophanes* p. 7 *Diocletiani* 19<sup>o</sup> Σαβάρης ἔτη ο'. Eutychius tom. I p. 399 Anno imperii Aurelii [immo *Aureliani*] quinto

mortuus est Hormoz Narsæ filius rex Persarum.—erat ex uxoribus ipsius quædam gravida—cumque filium peperisset Sabur appellatus est. p. 472 Totum autem quod vixit Sabur spatium annorum erat 72, quibus exactis mortuus est. Regnavit post ipsum in Persas filius ipsius *Ardshir Saburi filius annos quatuor, dein mortuus est; idque anno imperii Constantini filii Constantini primo. post ipsum in Persas regnavit frater ipsius Sapor Saporis filius annos quinque et menses quatuor idque anno regni Constantini filii Constantini quinto.* The account which makes *Ardshir II* the son of *Sapor* is more credible than that of *Agathias* and *Abulpharajius* (see the Tables A. D. 383) which calls him the brother of *Sapor*; an account not consistent with the circumstances of *Sapor's* accession. *Malcolm* Vol. I p. 888 has noticed the inconsistency: “We are informed by some authors that *Ardisheer* was the son of *Hoormuz*. But this descent is at variance with the facts relative to *Shahpoor's* succession, in which all eastern historians agreed.” *D'Herbelot* p. 749 understands *Ardshir* to be the frater uterinus of *Sapor II*. Also noticed by *Malcolm*; “Other authors say that *Ardisheer* was an uterine brother of *Sapor II* and never raised to the throne, but regent of the kingdom till his nephew came of age.”

10 Tables A. D. 383.

11 Tables A. D. 383.

12 Tables A. D. 383. 388. Eutychius tom. I p. 536 Anno *Theodosii* 10<sup>o</sup> mortuus est Sabur Saburi filius rex Persarum, post quem regnavit Bahram Saburi filius rex Persarum annos undecim. The brother of *Sapor III*: *Malcolm* Vol. I p. 89 *Shahpoor* was succeeded by his brother *Bahram IV*—*Kermanshah*, which title he received from having in the reign of his brother been ruler of *Kerman*, and he perpetuated it by founding the city of *Kermanshah*, now a large and prosperous town.” His descent is verified by the inscriptions given in *Malcolm* Vol. I p. 545 which describe *Shahpoor king of kings, of Iran and An-Iran the son of Hormuzd king of kings, of Iran and An-Iran grandson of Narses king of kings, and Varahram king of kings, of Iran and An-Iran, son of Shahpoor king of kings, of Iran and An-Iran, grandson of Hormuzd.* *Agathias* calls *Vararam IV* the son of *Sapor III*. Eutychius may agree with either interpretation.



	y.	m.	A. D.
13 <i>Yazdejerd I</i> .....	21.		399
14 <i>Vararam V</i> .....	20.		420
15 <i>Yazdejerd II</i> .....	17.		440
16 <i>Firoze</i> .....	24.		458
17 <i>Palasch</i> .....	4.		482
18 <i>Cabades</i> .....	12.		486
19 <i>Zamasphes</i> .....	4.		497
<i>Cabades again</i> .....	30.		501
20 <i>Chosroes I</i> .....	47.	6.	531
21 <i>Hormisdas III</i> .....	11.	6.	579
22 <i>Chosroes II</i> .....	37.	5.	590
23 <i>Siroes</i> .....	0.	8.	628

13 Tables A. D. 399. Eutychius tom. 1 p. 548 *Anno Arcadii* [adde quinto] *regno potitus est Yazdejerd Bahrami filius Al Aitham cognominatus in Persas annos 21.* tom. 2 p. 79 *Yazdejerd Bahrami filius Al Athim (scelestus) cognominatus Persarum rex rigidus et austerus fuit.* p. 80 *Regnavit autem Yazdejerd Al Athim annos 21 menses 5 dies 18. Mortuo Yazdejerdo convenientes Persarum magnates dixerunt Ne præficiamus nobis e progenie ipsius aliquem, ne eadem apud nos via incedat. Fuit autem Yazdejerdo filius nomine Bahram quem in nullum secum negotium admiserunt. —Regem ergo ipsum constituerunt, regnavitque Bahram Yazdejerdi filius (qui et Bahram Jaur cognominatus est) in Persas annos 18 cum mensibus 11 idque anno imperii Theodosii junioris 12º.* p. 83 (id est, p. 91) *Regnavit ergo Bahram Jaur post patrem suum Yazdejerdum filium Bahrami in Persas 18 annos, idque anno Theodosii junioris 30º.* See Malcolm Vol. 1 p. 89—96 upon *Yazdejerd Al Athim* and *Bahram Jaur*.

14 Tables A. D. 399. 420.

15 Tables A. D. 399. 440. Eutychius tom. 2 p. 100 *Anno 6º Marciani mortuus est Yazdejerd Bahrami filius rex Persarum.*

16 Tables A. D. 482. Eutychius tom. 1 p. 100 *Yazdejerdo e medio sublato de regno contenderunt duo ipsius filii, Phiruz et Hormos, aliis a partibus Firuzi aliis ab Hormozi stantibus, unde conflagravit inter ipsos bellum, donec Hormoz una cum tribus e domesticis suis occideretur. Regnavit ergo Phiruz Yazdejerdi filius in Persas 27 annos idque anno imperii Marciani sexto.*

17 Tables A. D. 482. Eutychius tom. 2 p. 127 *Mortuus est Phiruz cum regnasset annos 27. contenderuntque inter se de regno filii ipsius Kobad et Balabes donec Balabes victum Cobadum eo abdicaret, qui Chorasorum ergo petiit, auxilium a Chakano Turcarum imperatore contra fratrem suum petiit. Regnavitque Balabes bene se in omnibus gerens.—at cum quatuor annos regnasset fato functus est, idque anno imperii Zenonis 10º.* *Palasch* is the brother of *Firoze* in *Agathias*.

18 Tables A. D. 482. 486. 501. 531. Eutychius tom. 2 p. 131 *Regnavit Kobad Phiruzi filius annos*

*43 idque anno Zenonis 4º.* On *Cabades* Theophylact IV. 6 p. 98 D.

19 Tables A. D. 501. Syncellus p. 366 D *Ζαμάσφης ἔτη 8.* Theophanes p. 117 C *Anastasiu 1º Ζαμάσφης ἔτη 8.* p. 119 B *Anastasiu 3º τῷ δ' αὐτῷ ἔτει Ζαμάσφης ὁ υἱὸς Περῶζου βασιλέως Περσῶν ἐξέσωσας Καβάδην ἐκράτησεν ἔτη 8 ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ τῆς βασιλείας Περσῶν.* This last notice is inserted at the wrong year. The dates of Theophanes require that this should be placed at the 1st of *Anastasius*. Eutychius tom. 2 p. 176 *Kobadem Phiruzi filium loco quodam includentes ubi nemini ipsum adire permissum, quendam nomine Ramasph ipsius avunculum in locum ejus suffecerunt. Quo conspecto ipsos adortus—Bazarmahr cum aliquot Persarum nobilibus—Kobadem Phiruzi filium loco regnoque suo restituit, ejecto Maraspha.—Dein mortuus est Kobades cum esset totum quo regnavit spatium, una cum annis quibus regnum occupavit Ramasph, annorum quadraginta trium.*

20 Tables A. D. 531. 578. In Syncellus p. 360 D Theophanes p. 147 A *Chosroes* has 48 years.

21 See the Tables A. D. 578 and this Appendix c. 1 at A. D. 579. 590. In Syncellus p. 360 D *Hormisdas* has 15 years. On the transpositions in Syncellus see p. 679 Ed. Bonn. Theophanes p. 208 D *Justini II 9º Ὁρμίσδας ἔτη 15.* Theophanes, who had placed the Persian reigns each about five years too high, has brought the following reigns within a year of their true position by assigning 15 years to *Hormisdas*.

22 Tables A. D. 578 and Appendix c. 1 at the years 590. 591. 593, 2. 628. *Chosroes II* has 39 years in Syncellus p. 360 D Theophanes p. 224 B 225 B.

23 See this Appendix c. 1 at the years 628. 629. *Siroes* has only 6 months in the inscription quoted by D'Herbelot p. 623. He has one year in Theophanes p. 272 C *Heraclii 17º Περσῶν βασιλεὺς Σιρόης ἔτος 6.* But 8 months in Syncellus p. 361 A. Malcolm Vol. 1 p. 130 from Oriental authorities gives *Schiroueh* or *Siroes* 8 months.

	y.	m.	A. D.
24 <i>Adeser</i> .....		5.	628
( <i>Scheheriar</i> .....	—	—	} y. m. 3. 3. 629
<i>Toorandokht</i> .....	1.	4.	
( <i>Schenendah</i> .....		1.	
<i>Arzemandokht</i> .....	—	—	
( <i>Cesra</i> .....		1.)	
25 <i>Yazdejerd III</i> .....	20.		632

24 See Appendix c. 1 at the year 629.

The interval from the accession of *Siroes* to the accession of *Yazdejerd III* is thus filled by Euty chius (see Appendix c. 1 A. D. 632).

	y	m	d
<i>Siroes</i> .....		8	
<i>Azdshir</i> .....		5	
<i>Jorhan</i> .....			22
<i>Cesra</i> .....	3		
<i>Murla</i> .....	1	6	
<i>Hoshnastadah</i> .....		2	
<i>Arzmandokht</i> .....	1	4	
<i>Pharacoradchosra</i> .....		1	
	4	5	22

Sir John Malcolm Vol. 1 p. 130 (who has been followed in the text) relates from Oriental accounts that on the death of *Siroes* an ambitious noble raised *Ardisheer* his infant son to the throne, that *Schahriar* put *Ardisheer* to death, a child 7 years of age, who nominally reigned 5 months; that *Schahriar* was slain in a few days by the adherents of the royal family, who raised *Toorandokht* a daughter of *Chosroes II* to the throne. After 1<sup>y</sup> 4<sup>m</sup> she was succeeded by *Shenendeh*, who reigned one month, and *Arzemandokht* another daughter of *Chosroes II* was raised to the throne. She was murdered in a short time, and *Cesra* placed upon the throne. Being found unfit to rule, he was soon murdered. "Such were the events which preceded the reign of *Yezdjird*." D'Herbelot p. 117 gives *Ardschir* 1<sup>y</sup> 6<sup>m</sup>. "*Ardschir* fils de *Schirouieh* ou *Siroès*. Après la mort de son père il fut couronné à l'âge de sept ans roi de Perse du consentement de tous les grandes, à la réserve de *Scheheriar*.—Il marcha donc en diligence vers la ville de Madain où il entra en maître et se saisit de la personne du jeune prince qu'il fit mourir après un regne d'un an et demi seulement." And *Scheheriar* two years: Ibid. "Il ne put jouir de son usurpation que pendant deux ans." p. 765 "*Scheheriar*—n'en put jouir que deux ans, car comme il n'étoit pas de la famille royale, les grands du royaume se défirent de lui à la sollicitation de *Tourandokht* fille de *Khosrou Perviz* et soeur de *Schirouieh*." Theophanes p. 273 D 'Αδεσιρ—μήνας ἑπτὰ κρατήσαντος τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπανέστη αὐτῷ Σαρβαραζάς, καὶ τοῦτον πατάξας ἐβασίλευσε τῶν Περσῶν μήνας δύο. τοῦτον δὲ ἀνελόντες οἱ Πέρσαι Βοράνην κατεστήσαντο εἰς βασιλεία τὴν θυγατέρα Χοσρόου, ἧτις ἑκά-

τησε τῆς βασιλείας τῶν Περσῶν μήνας ἑπτὰ. ταύτην διεδέξατο Ὀρμίσδας ὑπὸ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν διωχθεῖς.

25 See this Appendix c. 1 at A. D. 632. 637.

According to D'Herbelot p. 449 *Yazdejerd* after his defeat in the 15th year of the *Hejira* A. D. 636 retired into Carmania Sigistan and Khorasan till the 31st year A. D. 652, when he was betrayed and slain. His flight and death are related by Abulpharajius p. 116.

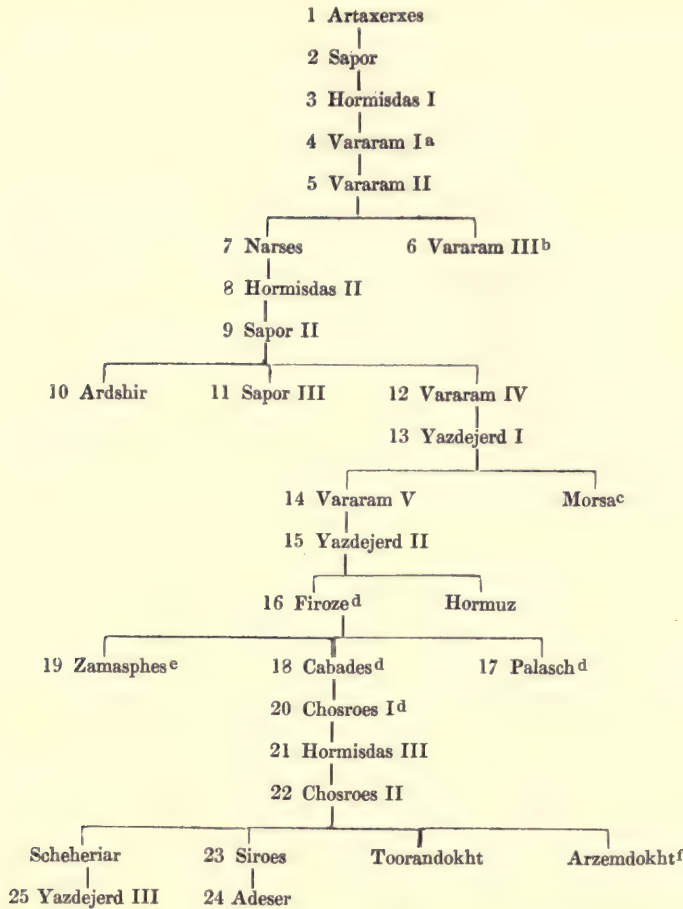
D'Herbelot p. 449 determines the era from the beginning of his reign: "C'est au commencement du règne de ce prince que l'on doit fixer l'époque de l'*Ere*—*Jezdégirdique*, et non pas au temps de sa défaite à Cadesie ni à sa mort en Khorasan."

Abulpharajius p. 52 gives the following descent:

- 1 *Cesra Nushirvan*
- 2 *Hormuz*
- 3 *Phiruz*
- 4 *Kobad*
- 5 *Shahriar*
- 6 *Yazdejerd*.

But as *Hormuz* began to reign in 579 and *Yazdejerd* was born in 617, these generations are not probable; and Abulpharajius himself at p. 136 gives another pedigree: *Yazdejerd f. Shahriari f. Cesra*. D'Herbelot p. 449 gives this account: "Quelques historiens font cet *Yezdegird* fils de *Schirovich* ou *Siroès*: mais tous les Orientaux le font fils de *Scheheriar*, qui n'étoit que particulier, mais qui descendoit de *Siroès* fils de *Cosroès Parviz* fils de *Nouschirvan*." But in the first place all the Oriental historians do not call him the son of *Schahriar*, for he is the son of *Siroes* in Euty chius and Elmacin quoted at A. D. 632. Secondly; *Cosroes Perviz* was not the son of *Nouschirvan* but the grandson. Lastly we may enquire, how could *Scheheriar* be a descendant of *Siroes* and yet the father of *Yazdejerd*, who was born eleven years before *Siroes* began to reign? D'Herbelot himself at p. 765 makes him the son of *Chosroes Perviz*: "*Scheheriar*, nom du 18<sup>e</sup> fils de *Khosrou Perviz*, qui se sauva de la cruauté de *Siroès* qui fit massacrer 17 autres de ses frères. Ce prince ne regna point, mais il fut père de *Jeздеjerd* dernier roi des Perses de la dynastie des *Sassanides*." Perhaps *Scheheriar* was one of the 17 who were slain in Feb. 628, when his son *Yazdejerd* was eleven years of age.





The defeat of *Yazdejerd* by the Arabians has been already related<sup>g</sup>. From the rise of *Artaxerxes* to the death of *Yazdejerd* the House of *Sasan* reigned in Iran for 19 generations and 426 years.

<sup>a</sup> D'Herbelot p. 158 gives the descent of *Vararam I*: "Il étoit fils de *Hormuz* fils de *Sapor* fils d'*Ardshir Babegan* premier fondateur de cette dynastie."

<sup>b</sup> D'Herbelot p. 158 "Il porta le surnom de *Baharamian*, c'est à dire, *des Baharams*, à cause qu'il étoit fils et petit-fils d'un *Baharam*." D'Herbelot p. 658 gives another descent for *Narses* and his brother: *Narsi Ben Bahram Ben Schabour Ben Ardeschir*. Also in Eutychius tom. 1 p. 395 given above at N° 6 from whom D'Herbelot might derive it. They are the sons of another *Vararam*, who never reigned, but was the grandson of *Artaxerxes*. D'Herbelot however adds "Mais les historiens Persiens qui donnent aussi à ce prince [*Narses*] 9 années de règne, disent qu'il étoit fils de *Behram II* et petit fils de *Behram I*." Which is the genealogy here followed.

<sup>c</sup> Attested by Eutychius tom. 2 p. 84, who after relating a victory obtained by *Vararam V* over the Tartars adds, *Bahramus autem fratrem suum Morsa Chorasano præficiens ipse Aderbijanum reversus est.*

<sup>d</sup> *Firoze* and his descendants are given in D'Herbelot v. *Firouz* p. 327.

<sup>e</sup> *Zamasphes* is the son of *Firoze* in Agathias and Theophanes, and in Malcolm Vol. 1 p. 105. although the brother of *Firoze* (that is, the uncle of *Cabades*) in Eutychius.

<sup>f</sup> *Arzmandokht Cesræ filia*, to whom Eutychius tom. 2 p. 255 gives a reign of 1<sup>y</sup> 4<sup>m</sup>, is also mentioned by Abulpharajius p. 112: *Cum viderent Persæ Arabes captis jam regionis finibus undique in terram ipsorum incursiones facere, dixerunt "In hoc delati sumus, eo quod præfecerimus nobis mulieres." Et conspirarunt ad Arzmidokht filiam Cesræ imperio exuendam, eique præficiendum juvenem nomine Yazdejerdum, qui oriundus erat e stirpe Cesræ filii Hormisdæ; quem in solio collocantes obedientiam et obsequium illi pacti sunt. Exercitum ergo constavit Yazdejerd—eique præficiens virum quendam illustrem e præcipuis principum suorum annis et experientia, nomine Rustamum, misit eum Hiram &c.* <sup>g</sup> See c. 1 at the year 637.

## VII.

## GREEK AUTHORS.

THIS catalogue of Greek Authors contains those who are recorded in the Tables and in the first chapter of this volume from the death of *Augustus* to the death of *Heraclius*. To these are added many names omitted in the Tables, but inserted here among their contemporaries. The series of Greek writers includes authors in various departments, poets, historians, sophists, orators, and in the different schools of philosophy stoics, peripatetics, Platonists, and others. But it seemed convenient and useful to place them all in one chronological series, rather than to class them according to their several subjects.

Their testimony to facts has been collected and set forth in former parts of this work. But at the end of this chapter shall be added by way of Supplement abstracts of some works which will guide to the knowledge of their modes of thinking and of reasoning upon many important questions.

- 1 *Eudorus peripateticus*. Contemporary with *Strabo*: *Strabo* XVII p. 790 ἀρκέσει δύο μηνῦσαι τοὺς ποιήσαντας καθ' ἡμᾶς τὸ περὶ τοῦ Νείλου βιβλίον, Εὐδώρον τε καὶ Ἀρίστωνα τῶν ἐκ τῶν περιπάτων—πότερος δ' ἦν ὁ τᾶλλότρια ὑποβαλλόμενος ἐν Ἀμμωνος εὐροί τις ἄν<sup>a</sup> Εὐδωρος δ' ἠτιῶτο τὸν Ἀρίστωνα ἢ μέντοι φράσις Ἀριστῶναιος μᾶλλον ἔστιν.
- 2 *Ariston peripateticus*. See N° 1.
- 3 *Alexander Ægæus*. The disciple of *Sosigenes*: Themist. paraphr. Aristot. περὶ ψυχῆς p. 79 a l. 46 λέγει δὲ αὐτὸν Σωσιγένης ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρου διδάσκαλος ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ περὶ ὄψεως κ. τ. λ. Alexander Aphrodis. in Aristot. Metaph. VI. 4 p. 741 b l. 48 = p. 432. 12 ὁ γὰρ Σωσιγένης ἐκ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ γνωρίμων ἐποίησεν αὐτῷ γνώριμα τὰ τῇ φύσει γνώριμα. Alexander (vulgo Aphrodis.) in Aristot. Meteorol. lib. III p. 116 a l. 10 ἱκανῶς ὁ διδάσκαλος ἡμῶν Σωσιγένης ἐν τῷ ὀγδόῳ περὶ τῆς ὄψεως ἔδειξεν. From this passage the extant commentary is rightly ascribed to *Alexander Ægæus* by Buhle ad Aristot. tom. 1 p. 291. *Alexander* of *Aphrodisias* flourished 250 years after *Sosigenes*<sup>b</sup>.  
*Alexander Ægæus* is quoted by Simplicius ad Aristot. Categor. p. 3 l. 19 apud Buhle tom. 1 p. 287 τῆς δὲ αὐτῆς ἐγένετο δόξης καὶ ὁ Αἰγαῖος Ἀλέξανδρος. and by Alexander Aphrod. apud Simplicium ad Aristot. de Cælo apud Schol. Berolin. p. 494 b l. 31. See below, N° 56. He is thus described by Suidas p. 181 C Ἀλέξανδρος Αἰγαῖος φιλόσοφος περιπατητικός, διδά-

<sup>a</sup> *Eudorus* is quoted on the philosophy of *Aristotle* by *Aspasius* apud *Alexandrum Aphrodis.* Schol. ad *Metaphys.* p. 552 b 30 = p. 44, 23 ἰστορεῖ δ' Ἀσπάσιος [see N° 56] ὡς ἐκείνης μὲν ἀρχαιοτέρας οὐσης τῆς γραφῆς, μεταγραφείσης δὲ ταύτης ὕστερον ὑπὸ Εὐδώρου καὶ Εὐαρμόστου.

<sup>b</sup> That this is falsely ascribed to *Alexander* of *Aphrodisias* is also affirmed by *Victorius Vossius* *Schottus* and *Harles*. See *Fabric.* tom. 5 p. 659. This argument is added p. 291 by *Buhle*, that passages are quoted by *Olympiodorus* and by *Philoponus* from the comment. of *Alexander Aphrodis.* in *Aristot. Meteorol.* which are not in the extant commentary. The *μονόβιβλος* quoted by *Philoponus* apud *Fabricium* tom. 5 p. 659 must also be referred to *Alexander*

*Ægæus*: καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ τοῦ φιλοσόφου ἐξηγητῆς ἐν τινι μονοβίβλῳ καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ διδάσκαλον Σωσιγένην ταύτης εἶναι τῆς δόξης, ὡς ὅτι τὸ ἐξ ὑποθέσεως ἀναγκαῖον συναγεῖ ἐνταῦθα ὁ Ἀριστοτελης.

*Alexander Aphrodis.* ad *Aristot. Metaphys.* p. 797 b l. 5 = p. 636. 20 has this passage: οὐ γὰρ εἰ τήμερόν ἐστι Σωσιγένης καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀληθές τὸ λέγειν ὅτι ἐγένετο ὁ Σωσιγένης ὅτε ἐγένετο καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος. ὕστερος γὰρ Σωσιγένης Ἀλεξάνδρου τῷ χρόνῳ, εἰ καὶ συνέβη ὅτε ἦν Ἀλέξανδρος εἶναι καὶ τὸν Σωσιγένην. *Fabricius* tom. 5 p. 674 corrects by interpreting *Sosigene enim posterior tempore est Alexander*. And we may read as he suggests, ὕστερος γὰρ Σωσιγένους Ἀλέξανδρος. For the question is concerning *Sosigenes* and his disciple *Alexander* of *Ægæ*.



σκαλος Νέρωνος τοῦ βασιλέως ἕμα Χαϊρήμονι τῷ φιλοσόφῳ. υἱὸν δὲ ἔσχε Καλλιὸν ὄνομα. οὗτος ἐκάλει τὸν Νέρωνα “ πηλὸν αἵματι πεφυρμένον.” Fabricius B. G. tom. 3 p. 460 understands from this that *Alexander* of *Ægæ* was the preceptor of the emperor *Nero*. But *Nero* began to reign more than 100 years after the time of *Sosigenes* the preceptor of *Alexander*, and we learn from Suetonius Tib. c. 57 that the line in Suidas was applied to *Tiberius* and not to *Nero*<sup>c</sup>. Wherefore we may understand Νέρωνος in Suidas to be *Tiberius Nero*, whose preceptor was the disciple of *Sosigenes*.

- 4 *Chæremone Stoicus*. The preceptor of *Tiberius*. See N° 3. He was also the preceptor of *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, who succeeded him and flourished in the reign of *Nero*. See N° 24<sup>d</sup>.
- 5 *Apion*. Tables A. D. 40 and F. H. III there quoted<sup>e</sup>.
- 6 *Apollonides Nicæus*. In the reign of *Tiberius*: Laert. IX. 109 Ἀπολλωνίδης ὁ Νικαεὺς, ὁ παρ' ἡμῶν, ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν εἰς τοὺς Σίλλους ὑπομνημάτων ἃ προσφωνεῖ Τιβερίῳ Καίσαρι φησὶ κ.τ.λ.
- 7 *Thrasyllus*. Tables A. D. 36.
- 8 *Euthydemus rhetor*. Taught *Apollonius Tyaneus* cir. A. D. 12: Tables A. D. 17.
- 9 *Amarantus Alexandrinus*. After *Juba* and before *Athenæus*: Athen. VIII p. 343 Ε ὀσφοβάγος δ' ἦν καὶ Λεοντεὺς ὁ Ἀργεῖος τραγωδὸς, Ἀθηνίωνος μὲν μαθητῆς οἰκέτης δὲ γενόμενος Ἰόβα τοῦ Μαυρουσίῳ βασιλέως, ὡς φησιν Ἀμάραντος ἐν τοῖς περὶ σκηνῆς<sup>f</sup>, γεγραφέναι φάσκων εἰς αὐτὸν τὸδε τὸ ἐπιγράμμα τὸν Ἰόβαν ὅτε κακῶς τὴν Ὑψιπύλῃν ὑπεκρίνατο. κ.τ.λ.
- 10 *Philo Judæus*. Tables A. D. 35. 40. Hieron. Magno p. 1082 *Quid loquar de Philone, quem vel alterum vel secundum Judæum Platonem critici pronunciant?* The works of *Philo* are described by Eusebius H. E. II. 17. 18 Hieron. Catal. c. 11. Photius Cod. 105 ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις ἤκμασε Γάϊου τοῦ Καίσαρος, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἰδίου ἔθνους γράφει πρὸς βεῦσαι Ἀγρίππα τῆς Ἰουδαίας βασιλεύοντος. φέρεται δὲ αὐτοῦ πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα συντάγματα ἠθίκους λόγους περιέχοντα καὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς ὑπομνήματα, τὰ πλεῖστα πρὸς ἀλληγορίαν τοῦ γράμματος ἐκβιαζόμενα· ἐξ οὗ, οἶμαι, καὶ πᾶς ὁ ἀλληγορικὸς τῆς γραφῆς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ λόγος ἀρχὴν ἔσχεν εἰσρρηναεῖς.
- 11 *Dioscorides Anazarbeus medicus*. Contemporary with *Lecanius Bassus* who was consul in A. D. 64, and who died when *Pliny* wrote the 26th book of his *Natural History*<sup>h</sup>. *Bassus* is

<sup>c</sup> See F. H. III B. C. 6 p. 255. *Theodorus* of *Gadara* who is there described was contemporary with the disciples of *Sosigenes*.

<sup>d</sup> Porphyrius apud Euseb. Præp. V. 10 p. 198 Β Χαϊρήμων ὁ ἱερογραμματεὺς ἀναγράφει ταῦτα, ὡς καὶ παρ' Αἰγυπτίους θρυλούμενα κ.τ.λ. Idem Ib. III. 4 p. 92 Β Χαϊρήμων μὲν γὰρ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι κ.τ.λ. The work on Egypt is mentioned by Suidas p. 3887 Β Χαϊρήμων γράφας ἱερογλυφικά. Conf. Porphyrium de Abst. IV. 6. IV. 8. Hieronymus adv. Jovinianum II p. 572 *Chæremo stoicus vir eloquentissimus narrat de vita anti-quorum Ægypti sacerdotum, quod omnibus mundi negotiis curisque postpositis semper in templo fuerint &c.* Origen adv. Celsum I. 59 names another work: ἀνέγνωμεν ἐν τῷ περὶ κομητῶν Χαϊρήμονος τοῦ στωϊκοῦ συγγράμματι. Conf. Porphyr. apud Euseb. H. E. VI. 19.

<sup>e</sup> Among those who wrote upon the Jews are mentioned by Tertullian Apologet. c. 19 *rex Juba et Apion et Thallus, et qui istos aut probat aut revincit Judæus Josephus*.

*Apion* is quoted under the name of Μόχθος (F. H. III p. 555) by Schol. Aristoph. Pac. 778 σημειοῦται

ταῦτα ὁ Μόχθος πρὸς τοὺς ἀθετοῦντας τὴν ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐᾳ Ἄρεως καὶ Ἀφροδίτης μοιχείαν.

<sup>f</sup> Quoted again Athen. X. p. 414 F Ἀμάραντος ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἐν τοῖς περὶ σκηνῆς Ἡρόδωρον φησὶ τὸν Μεγαρέα σαλπικτήν γενέσθαι κ.τ.λ.

<sup>g</sup> Photius adds a fabulous account that *Philo* was once a Christian. Eusebius H. E. II. 17 supposes that *Philo* κατὰ Κλαύδιον ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης εἰς ὀμιλίαν ἐλθεῖν Πέτρῳ, and afterwards wrote his treatise περὶ βίου θεωρητικοῦ—on the *therapeutæ* of Egypt—ὁ φημὲν σύγγραμμα εἰς ὕστερον καὶ μετὰ χρόνους αὐτῷ πεπονημένον. and that he described the Christian ascetics. But *Philo*, who was old in the reign of *Caligula*, did not write at so late a period as Eusebius supposes, and Christian monachism did not begin till two hundred years after, in the time of *Paul* and *Antonius*.

On *Philo's* love of allegory see Mosheim de rebus Christian. p. 307. 308. who also observes that the fathers learned from *Philo* to allegorise Scripture.

<sup>h</sup> Plin. H. N. 26. 1 *Duo consulares obiere contentibus hæc nobis eodem anno, Julius Rufus et C. Lecanius Bassus*. Between A. D. 72, when the 14th book was

mentioned by *Dioscorides* himself *περὶ ὕλης ἰατρικῆς proem. lib. I* Πολλῶν οὐ μόνον ἀρχαίων ἀλλὰ καὶ νέων συνταξαμένων περὶ τῆς τῶν φαρμάκων σκευασίας τε καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ δοκιμασίας, φίλτατε Ἄρειε, πειράσομαι σοὶ παραστήσαι κ. τ. λ.—δείγμα δὲ οὐ σμικρὸν τῆς ἐν σοὶ καλοκαγαθίας καὶ ἡ τοῦ κρατίστου Λεκαίου Βάσσου πρὸς σὲ διάθεσις, ἣν ἔγνωμεν συνδιαγούτες ὑμῖν ἀξιοζήλωτον τὸ παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ὑμῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους εὖνουν ὀρώντες<sup>i</sup>.

It appears that *Dioscorides* composed his work in mature, perhaps in advanced age: *proem. p. 3.* 4 ἡμεῖς δ' ὡς ἔστιν εἰπεῖν ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας ἀληκτόν τινα ἔχοντες ἐπιθυμίαν περὶ τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν τῆς ὕλης καὶ πολλὴν γῆν ἐπελθόντες, οἶσθα γὰρ ἡμῶν στρατιωτικὸν τὸν βίον, συναγώχαμεν τὴν πραγματείαν ἐν πέντε βιβλίοις, σοῦ προτρεψαμένου, ᾧ καὶ τὴν σύνταξιν ἀνατίθεμεν<sup>k</sup>.

12 *Andromachus* ὁ Νέρωνος ἀρχίατρος. Galen. tom. XIV p. 2.

13 *Erotianus*. Contemporary with *Andromachus*: *Erotian. proem. p. 2* Τὴν Ἰπποκράτους πραγματείαν, ἀρχίατρε Ἀνδρόμαχε, οὐκ ὀλίγα συμβαλλομένην πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὁρῶν ὅσοι λογικῆς ἀντιποιοῦνται παιδείας, καὶ τούτων ἑξαιρέτως τοῖς ἰατροῖς, οἳ δὴ τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἱστορίαν ἀποκηρύττουσι τῆς τέχνης,—εἰκότως ἠβουλήθην τὰς ἐμφερομένας αὐτοῦ τοῖς συγγράμμασιν ἀσαφεῖς καὶ κατὰ πολὺ τῆς κοινῆς ἀνακεχωρηκίας ὀμιλίας ἐξηγήσασθαι λέξεις.

14 *Pamphila*. Tables A. D. 58.

15 *Moderatus Pythagoreus*. Plutarch. Symp. VIII. 7 p. 727 B Σύλλας ὁ Καρχηρόνιος εἰς Ῥώμην ἀφικομένη μοι διὰ χρόνου—ἄλλους τε τῶν ἐταίρων παρέλαβεν οὐ πολλοὺς, καὶ Μοδεράτου τινὰ τοῦ Πυθαγορικοῦ μαθητὴν, ὄνομα Λεύκιον. From this passage we collect the time of *Moderatus*, whose disciple was the companion of *Plutarch*<sup>l</sup>.

composed (F. H. III p. 241) and A. D. 79, when *Pliny* died. For the consulship of *Bassus* see the Tables A. D. 64. *Pliny* is quoted by *Fabric. B. G. tom. 4 p. 675.* *Jonsius p. 146* observes that *Anazarba* is attested by *Pliny H. N. V. 27 Intus autem dicendi Anazarbeni.* which answers an objection founded by some upon *Suidas p. 282 C.*

It has been shewn in F. H. III p. 548 that *Suidas* has confounded *Phacas* who lived in the time of *Cleopatra* with *Dioscorides* of *Anazarba* who lived in the reign of *Nero*.

<sup>i</sup> Quoted by Galen tom. XI p. 794 ὁ δὲ Ἀναζαρβεὺς Διοσκοουρίδης ἐν πέντε βιβλίοις τὴν χρήσιμον ἅπασιν ὕλην ἔγραψεν οὐ βοτανῶν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ δένδρων καὶ καρπῶν καὶ χυλῶν καὶ ὀπῶν κ. τ. λ. tom. XII p. 330 φαίην ἀν ἔγωγε μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς ὀνόμασι ἐσφάλθαι τοὺς ἀνδρας, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἀθήεις Ἑλλάδος φωνῆς, οἷός ἐστιν ὁ Ἀναζαρβεὺς Διοσκοουρίδης, πολλὰ μὲν καλῶς εἴρηκε τῶν περὶ τῆς ἰατρικῆς ὕλης ἱστορουμένων, ἀγνοῶν δὲ τὰ σημαυόμενα τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ὀνομάτων. tom. XIII p. 1041 Διοσκοουρίδης ἐν τῷ α' περὶ ὕλης. tom. XIX p. 99 Δ. ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ ὕλης. p. 135 Δ. ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ ὕλης. tom. XIII p. 589 Δ. τὸν Ἀναζαρβεῖα γράψαντα τήνδε τὴν ῥῆσιν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ ὕλης. tom. VI p. 516 Δ. δὲ ἐν δευτέρῳ περὶ ὕλης. tom. XI p. 804 Δ. ἔγραψεν ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ περὶ ὕλης ἀκριβεστάτα. p. 840 ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ Διοσκοουρίδης. p. 861 ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ Δ. p. 858 φησὶ δ' ὁ Δ. [sc. III. 5.] p. 878 φησὶ δὲ Δ. [sc. II. 187.] tom. XII p. 36 ὡσπερ καὶ Διοσκοουρίδης [sc. III. 64.] p. 80 φησὶ Δ. [sc. III. 47.] p. 98 καθάπερ καὶ Δ. [sc. IV. 14.] p. 105 φησὶ Δ. [sc. IV. 4.] p. 171 ἀνεγνωκῶς δὲ ἐγὼ παρὰ Διοσκοουρίδην [sc. V. 113.] p. 272 θανυμάζω δ' ὅπως ὁ Διοσκοουρίδης [sc.

II. 81]. p. 203 ὁ Δ. [sc. V. 145.] tom. XIV p. 9 τίνα μὲν οὖν ἐν ἐκάστῃ χώρᾳ γίνεται κάλλιστα φάρμακα Διοσκοουρίδης τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι γεγράψασιν ἀληθῶς.

<sup>k</sup> Galen tom. XIII p. 857 mentions *Dioscorides* of *Tarsus*: Διοσκοουρίδης ὁ Ταρσεὺς ἔδωκεν Ἀρείῳ τῷ Ἀσκληπιαδεῖ φθασίας κατέχον τὰς αἰμορραγίας. *Jonsius p. 145.* 215 suspects that this may be *Dioscorides* of *Anazarba*, and *Fabricius tom. 4 p. 675* for ὁ Ταρσεὺς seems to adopt the reading Ἀναζαρβεὺς. But *Dioscorides* might have been also named from *Tarsus*, a neighbouring city, and a celebrated school: *Strabo XIV p. 673.*

<sup>l</sup> *Porphyrius Vit. Pythag. p. 80* ἡ δὲ περὶ τῶν ἀριθμῶν πραγματεία, ὡς ἄλλοι τε φασὶ καὶ Μοδεράτος ὁ ἐκ Γαδείρων πάνν συντεῶς ἐν ἔνδεκα βιβλίοις συναγαγὼν τὸ ἀρέσκον τοῖς ἀνδράσι, διὰ τοῦτο ἐσπουδάσθη κ. τ. λ. *Steph. Byz. Γάδειρα*:—ὁ πολίτης Γαδείρεως. οὕτω γὰρ τὰ πέντε βιβλία ἐπιγέγραπται τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν σχολῶν Μοδεράτου Γαδείρεως. *Longinus apud Porphyrium Vit. Plotini c. 20* οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐγγύς τι τὰ Νουμηνίου καὶ Κρονίου καὶ Μοδεράτου καὶ Θρασύλλου τοῖς Πλωτίνου περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν συγγράμμασιν εἰς ἀκρίβειαν. *Cronius* is quoted by *Porphyry de Antro Nymph. c. 2* ὡς φησι Κρόνιος. *Idem Vit. Plotini c. 14* ἐν δὲ ταῖς συνουσίαις ἀνεγνώσκετο μὲν αὐτῷ τὰ ὑπομνήματα εἴτε Σεβήρου εἴη εἴτε Κρονίου ἢ Νουμηνίου ἢ Γαίου [Tables A. D. 144] ἢ Ἀττικῶν· κἂν τοῖς περιπατητικοῖς τὰ τε Ἀσπασίου [Tables A. D. 144] καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἀδράστου τε. *Moderatus* is quoted by *Simplicius ad Aristot. Phys. Ausc. p. 50 b 1.40* ὡς καὶ Μοδεράτος ἱστορεῖ κ. τ. λ.—p. 45 καὶ ταῦτα δὲ ὁ Πορφύριος ἐν τῷ β' περὶ ὕλης τὰ τοῦ Μοδεράτου παραθέμενος γέγραφε κ. τ. λ.



- 16 *Thallus*. Flourished after Ol. 102, which he mentioned: Africanus apud Syncellum p. 322 C τούτο τὸ σκότος ἔκλειψεν τοῦ ἡλίου Θάλλος ἀποκαλεῖ ἐν τρίτῃ τῶν ἱστοριῶν. And before *Theophilus* of Antioch A. D. 181 who quotes *Thallus*: Theophil. III. 29 Κρόνου τοῦ Τιτᾶνος Θάλλος μέμνηται<sup>m</sup>.
- 17 *Heraclides grammaticus*. Tables A. D. 55<sup>n</sup>.
- 18 *Ammonius* the preceptor of *Plutarch*. Tables A. D. 66. 67.
- 19 *Agathinus medicus*. The preceptor of *Herodotus*. See N<sup>o</sup> 27. Described by Galen tom. 19 p. 353 ἰατρικῆς αἰρέσεις αἱ πρῶται δύο ἐμπειρικὴ καὶ λογικὴ, καὶ τρίτῃ μεθοδική. δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ τετάρτην αἰρεσιν ἐξευρεῖν Ἀγαθίνος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος, ἣν ὠνόμασεν ἐπισημητικὴν, ἔνιοι δὲ ἐκλεκτικὴν ἔτεροι τὴν ἐκτικὴν. tom. 11 p. 163 οὐδ' οὗτος [sc. *Asclepiades*] ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἀνασχυντος ὥστε τολμῆσαι παντάσῃν ἐξελάσαι φλεβοτομίαν τῶν ἰατρικῶν βοηθημάτων, ἀλλ' οὐδέ τις οὔτε τῶν νεωτέρων οὔτε τῶν παλαιῶν, οὐ Μαντίας, οὐκ Ἀθήναιος, οὐκ Ἀγαθίνος, οὐκ Ἀρχιγένης, οὐχ ὁ τῶν ἐμπειρικῶν χορός<sup>o</sup>.
- 20 *Josephus* p. Born A. D. 38, at Rome A. D. 64, in the Jewish war A. D. 67, finished his

<sup>m</sup> Quoted again by Africanus apud Eusebium præp. X. 10 p. 488 C Κύρος Περσῶν ἐβασίλευσεν ᾧ ἔτει Ὀλυμπίας ἤχθη νέ, ὡς ἐκ τῶν βιβλιοθηκῶν Διοδώρου καὶ τῶν Θαλλοῦ καὶ Κάστορος ἱστοριῶν—ἐστὶν εὐρεῖν. p. 489 A οἱ τε τὰ Σύρια Κάστορα καὶ Θαλλός. Tertullian. Apologet. c. 10 Saturnum—neque Diodorus Græcus aut Thallus, neque Cassius Severus aut Cornelius Nepos neque ullus commentator—aliud quam hominem promulgaverunt. For c. 19 see above under *Apion* N<sup>o</sup> 5.

<sup>n</sup> Apollonius de Syntaxi IV. 10 p. 332 Ἡρακλείδης ἐπιμερίζον τὰς οὐ δυναμένας λέξεις ὀξείαν ἐπιδέξασθαι ἐν τῷ περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῆδίας φησὶν κ. τ. λ. Ammonius v. νῦν: νῦν καὶ νῦν διαφέρει, φησὶ κατὰ τινὰς Ἡρακλείδης ἐν πρώτῃ περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῆδίας. Idem v. ἰκέσθαι: ἰκέσθαι καὶ ἀφικέσθαι διαφέρει, ὡς φησιν Ἡρακλείδης κ. τ. λ. Idem p. 124 σταφύλη βαρυντόνως—Ἡρακλείδης ὁ ἡμέτερος φησὶν, “ἡμαρτήσῃσι δοκεῖ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὀξυτονούμενον τούνομα.” Schol. Hom. II. i. 378 Ἡρακλείδης δὲ φησιν ὅτι τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἠ εἰς βραχὺ ᾧ μεταγόμενα Ἰωνικά ἐστίν. Eustath. ad Odys. v p. 1892. 32 οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει κατὰ τὸν Ἡρακλείδου λόγον ἔχοντα οὕτως κ. τ. λ. Bekker Anecd. Gr. p. 1196 παρὰ τῷ Ἡρακλείδῃ ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ τῆς λέσχης. Idem p. 1449 ἀρετὴ αἰρετὴ τίς ἐστίν, ἣν αἰροῦνται πάντες: οὗτος Δίδυμος ἐν ὑπομνήματι· ὁ δὲ Ἡρακλείδης ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἐτυμολογίας φησὶ κατὰ μετάθεσιν ἐρατὴ τις οὕσα κ. τ. λ.

<sup>o</sup> *Agathinus* is quoted Galen. tom. 8 p. 748 Φιλωνίδῃ τῷ Σικέλω κατὰ τὸ περὶ τῆς ἰατρικῆς ὀκτωκαίδέκατον—ὦν ἐπὶ βραχὺ καὶ Ἀγαθίνος ἐμνημόνευσε μεμφόμενος αὐτῷ—ὡς καὶ τὸν Βακχείον οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἐαυτῷ συνεπισπωμένῳ. p. 936 τὴν τοῦ Ἀγαθίνου ῥῆσιν. tom. 17. 1 p. 942 οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀγαθίνου εἰώθασιν μέγαν ἡμιτριταῖον ὀνομάζειν. Conf. tom. 7 p. 367 ὁ Ἀγαθίνος—ἡμιτριταῖος. tom. 13 p. 830 ἐκ τῶν Ἀγαθίνου.

p *Josephus* in *Vita* c. 1 thus gives the succession: πρόπαππος ἦν ἐμοὶ Σίμων ὁ Ψελλὸς ἐπικαλούμενος. οὗτος ἐγένετο καθ' ἃν καιρὸν ἠρχιεράτευσεν Σίμωνος ἀρχιερέως ὁ παῖς, ὃς πρῶτος ἀρχιερέων Ὑρκανὸς ὀνομάσθη. γίνονται δὲ τῷ Ψελλῷ Σίμωνι παῖδες ἐννέα, τούτων εἰς ἐστὶ Μαθθίας ὁ Ἡφλίου λεγόμενος· οὗτος ἠγάγετο πρὸς γάμον θυγατέρα

Ἰωνάθου ἀρχιερέως, τοῦ πρώτου ἐκ τῶν Ἀσσυριῶν παίδων γένους ἀρχιερατεύσαντος, τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Σίμωνος τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, καὶ γίνεται παῖς αὐτῷ Μαθθίας ὁ Κυρτὸς ἐπικληθεὶς, ἀρχοντας Ὑρκανοῦ τὸν πρῶτον ἐνιαυτὸν· τούτου γίνεται Ἰωσήπος ἐνάτῳ ἔτει τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀρχῆς, καὶ Ἰωσήπου Μαθθίας βασιλεύοντος Ἀρχελαίου τὸ δέκατον, Μαθθία δὲ ἐγὼ τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει τῆς Γαίῳ Καίσαρος ἡγεμονίας. ἐμοὶ δὲ παῖδες εἰσὶ τρεῖς· Ὑρκανὸς μὲν ὁ πρεσβύτατος ἔτει τετάρτῳ τῆς Οὐεσπασιανοῦ Καίσαρος ἡγεμονίας, ἐβδόμῳ δὲ Ἰουστὸς, ἐνάτῳ δὲ Ἀγρίππας.

A short survey of the times of *Jonathan* and his successors will prove that there is error in this account. *Jonathan* was slain (1 Macc. XII. 48 Joseph. Ant. XIII. 6, 6) in the close of B. C. 144, for the first year of *Simon* his successor was still current in the 170th year of the *Seleucidæ* B. C. 143: Joseph. Ant. XIII. 6, 7.

*Simon* governed 8 years current: Joseph. Ant. XIII. 7, 4. and was succeeded by his son *John Hyrcanus* in B. C. 136.

*Hyrcanus* presided over Judea 31 years current: Joseph. Ant. XIII. 10, 7. or B. C. 136—106.

*Aristobulus* son of *Hyrcanus* first assumed the title of king: διάδημα πρῶτος ἐπιτίθεται—and reigned a year—βασιλεύσας ἐνιαυτὸν. Joseph. Ant. XIII. 11, 1—3.

*Alexander Jannæus* his brother succeeded him, and died at the age of 49 after reigning 27 years current: Joseph. Ant. XIII. 15, 5. B. C. 105—78.

*Alexandra* succeeded her husband and reigned 9 years: Joseph. Ant. XIII. 16, 6. XV. 6, 4.

*Hyrcanus II* her son succeeded in Ol. 177. 3 *Hortensio et Metello consulibus* B. C. 69: Joseph. Ant. XIV. 1, 2. He was deposed in 3 months by his brother: Joseph. Ant. XIV. 1, 2. XV. 6, 4. but restored by *Pompey*: Ibid. in December of B. C. 63.

Now the date assigned to the third generation by *Josephus* in *Vita* seems to be erroneous, because if *Matthias II* was born in the 1st of *Hyrcanus* B. C. 136 and *Matthias III* in the 10th of *Archelaus* A. D. 6, there were 142 years for the two successive ge-

Antiquities A. D. 93. See the Tables in those years. His time is marked by Hieronymus Fabiolæ tom. 3 p. 103 *Josephus, nam ætate ejus adhuc templum stabat &c.* His books against *Apion*: Hieron. Magno p. 1082. An account of his works is given Hieron. Catal. c. 13. Hieronymus in Pelag. p. 992 considers the *Maccabæorum historia* to be the genuine work of *Josephus*.

- 21 *Musonius Rufus stoicus*. Tables A. D. 66. 69. 74. Add to the testimonies in the Tables the following: Plutarch. Mor. p. 453 D καὶ μὴν ὦν γε μεμνήμεθα Μουσωνίου καλῶν ἐν ἔστι τὸ “ Δεῖν αἰεὶ θεραπευομένους βιοῦν τοὺς σώζεσθαι μέλλοντας.” Plin. Ep. III. 11 C. *Musonium* [cir. A. D. 80] *socerum Artemidori quantum licitum est per ætatem cum admiratione dilexi*. Justin. Martyr Apol. 2 c. 8 τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν στωϊκῶν δὲ δογμάτων—μεμισήσθαι καὶ πεφονεύσθαι οἶδαμεν—καὶ Μουσώνιον δὲ ἐν τοῖς καθ’ ἡμᾶς καὶ ἄλλους οἶδαμεν. Aristides Or. 28 p. 362 προτρέπων μέ τις θαρρήσαι Μουσωνίου διήκει λόγον, κ. τ. λ. Origenes adv. Celsum III. 66 τῶν χθῆς καὶ πρώην γεγονότων τὸν Μουσώνιον. Julian. Themistio p. 265 CD Ἄρειον Νικολάου καὶ Θρασύλλου καὶ Μουσωνίου μνημονεύσω.—καὶ Μουσώνιος ἐξ ὧν ἔπαθεν ἀνδρείως καὶ διήρεγκεν ἐγκρατῶς τὴν τῶν τυράννων ὠμότητα γέγονε γνῶριμος. Themistius Or. 34 c. 15 καλῶς Νέρωνα ἀπετρέπετο Μουσώνιος κιθαροδοῦντα. Or. 7 p. 94 A Νέρωνος μὲν αἰδιδιμος ἢ πρὸς Μουσώνιον ἐπιείκεια. Macrob. Sat. I. 5 *Remittere (inquit Musonius) animum quasi amittere est*. Eunap. V. S. proœm. p. 6 εἴ τινα καὶ κυνισμοῦ χρῆν λόγον ποιείσθαι, παρ’ οἷς ἦν Μουσώνιος καὶ Δημήτριος καὶ Μένιππος καὶ ἕτεροὶ γέ τινες πλείους· οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν ἐπιφανέστατοι. Hieron. Chron. 9 Anno 2096 [A. D. 80] *Titus Musonium Rufum de exilio revocat*<sup>r</sup>.

Scaliger ad Euseb. Chron. p. 197. 201 supposes that the *Musonius* of Philostratus V. A. IV was a different person from *Musonius Rufus*. Jonsius Scr. H. Phil. III. 7 p. 247. 248 supposes a *Musonius cynicus* contemporary with *Musonius* the stoic. Fabricius B. G. tom. 3 p. 566 also distinguishes *Musonius Rufus* from *Musonius cynicus*. and Brucker H. Phil. tom. 2 p. 501—505. 540. But that there was only one *Musonius* of the reign of *Nero* is held by the following: Lipsius ad Tacit. Ann. XIV. 59 Tillemont tom. 1 p. 306. 307 Olearius ad Philostratum p. 176 Reimar ad Dionem p. 1023. 1024 Wernsdorf ad poet.

nerations, which is not probable; and because the grandfather of *Matthias II* is said to have lived in the time of that very *Hyrchanus*, or B. C. 136—106. We may remove the difficulty by reading ἄρχοντος Ἰγκανού τὸν λαὸν ἐναντιόν, and by placing the birth of *Matthias II* at the 31st year of *Hyrchanus*, B. C. 106. The genealogy will then stand as follows:

- 1 Simon Psellus fl. B. C. 136—106
- 2 Matthias I m. the daughter of *Jonathan*
- 3 Matthias II b. B. C. 106
- 4 Josephus b. B. C. 70
- 5 Matthias III b. A. D. 6
- 6 Josephus b. A. D. 38.

If the daughter of *Jonathan* was born in B. C. 144, the last year of her father's life, she would be 38 at the birth of *Matthias II*.

<sup>r</sup> Improperly placed in the reign of *Titus*.

<sup>r</sup> *Musonius* is quoted by Stobæus Serm. 1, 83. 2, 32. 5, 76. 6, 8. 35. 7, 23—25. 31, 6. 48, 14—16.

94, 23. 118, 26 Eclog. II. 9, 8, who has *Μουσωνίου*. Idem Serm. 1, 84 *Μουσωνίου ἐκ τοῦ περὶ σκέπης*. 19, 16 a long passage *Μουσωνίου ἐκ τοῦ Εἰ γραφήν ὕβρεως γράφεται τινὰ ὁ φιλόσοφος*. In Serm. 20, 60. 108, 60 he is quoted in this manner: Ῥούφον ἐκ τοῦ (or τῶν) Ἐπικτήτου Περὶ φιλίας. 19, 13 Ἐπικτήτου Περὶ φιλίας is in one copy Ῥούφον. Eclog. II. 8, 30 Ῥούφον. Heeren ad Eclog. II. 2 p. 205 thinks this *Rufus Stoicus*, *Epicteti auditor*, *ex cujus lectionibus calamo exscriptis locum Stobæus exscripsit*; and ad Eclog. II. 8, 30 p. 356 also thinks *Rufus Stoicus Epicteti discipulus fuisse videtur, diversus a Musonio Rufo Neronis æquali*. But Schweigh. ad Epictetum tom. 3 p. 195 more justly collects that these were the discourses of *Rufus* the preceptor of *Epictetus*, and that they were contained in the last books of the Dissertations published by Arrian.

*Herodes Atticus* apud Gellium IX. 2, 8. 9 quotes *Musonius: Musonium subridentem dixisse aiunt &c.* But not as if he had himself heard him. On the ἀπομνημονεύματα *Μουσωνίου* by *Pollio* see the Tables A. D. 118 p. 107.



min. tom. 5 p. 2 pag. 625 Harles ad Fabricium tom. 3 p. 566 and Wytttenbach there quoted<sup>s</sup>, Ruhkopf ad Senecam tom. 2 p. 203 Boissonade ad Eunapium p. 139. Brucker p. 502. 503 argues that *Musonius* the cynic was a different person from *Musonius* the stoic, and that Philostratus V. A. mentions *Musonius* a cynic. But *Musonius* a cynic is nowhere mentioned except in Eunapius p. 3. Nowhere is he called cynic in Philostratus. The variations in the narratives of Philostratus and others de *Musonio* may be adjusted as Tillemont has adjusted them<sup>v</sup>.

- 22 *Apollonius Tyaneus*<sup>w</sup>. Near 20 years of age in A. D. 17. In the East in A. D. 48: See c. 6 p. 248 *Vardanes* king of Parthia. *Apollonius* in the reign of *Nero*: A. D. 61—68. In Egypt in A. D. 69; in Ethiopia in 70, in Cilicia in 71, at Ephesus in 95. 96. His death in A. D. 97. See the Tables in those years.
- 23 *Damis*. The companion of *Apollonius*. Tables A. D. 45. He flourished A. D. 42—97<sup>x</sup>.
- 24 *Dionysius Alexandrinus*. Suidas p. 1016 Β Διονύσιος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ὁ Γλαύκου υἱός, γραμματικὸς, ὅστις ἀπὸ Νέρωνος συνῆν καὶ τοῖς μέχρῃ Τραϊανοῦ [A. D. cir. 54—100], καὶ τῶν βιβλιοθηκῶν προύστη καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν καὶ πρεσβειῶν ἐγένετο, καὶ ἀποκριμάτων. ἦν δὲ καὶ διδάσκαλος Παρθενίου τοῦ γραμματικοῦ μαθητῆς δὲ Χαιρήμονος τοῦ φιλοσόφου, ὃν καὶ διεδέξατο ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ. See *Chæremon* N<sup>o</sup> 4.
- 25 *Euphrates*. Contemporary with *Apollonius* and *Dio Pruscæus*. Tables A. D. 69. 119<sup>z</sup>.
- 26 *Dio Pruscæus*<sup>a</sup>. Tables A. D. 69. 90. 96. 99.

<sup>s</sup> Or rather Nieuwland: see Ruhkopf tom. 2 p. 203 Boissonade ad Eunapium p. 139.

<sup>v</sup> A second *Musonius*, the preceptor of *Lucius* the friend of *Herodes Atticus*, is given below at N<sup>o</sup> 67, a third in the time of *Longinus* at N<sup>o</sup> 215, a fourth in the reign of *Julian* at N<sup>o</sup> 256.

<sup>w</sup> To the testimonies in the Tables add the following: Themist. Or. 6 p. 72 D εἶργε τὸν ἐκ Τυάνων ὁ ἀδελφοκτόνος [sc. *Domitianus*]. *Caracalla* apud *Dionem* 77. 18 τοῖς μάγῃσι καὶ γόησιν οὕτως ἔχαρειν ὡς καὶ Ἀπολλώνιον τὸν Καππαδόκην τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ Δομετιανοῦ ἀνθήσαντα ἐπαίνειν καὶ τιμᾶν (ὅστις καὶ γόης καὶ μάγος ἀκριβῆς ἐγένετο) καὶ ἠρῶν αὐτῷ κατασκευάσαι. *Alexander Severus* apud *Lampridium Alex.* c. 29. See above c. 1 p. 41. *Ammianus* 23. 6, 19 *Apud Asbamæi quoque Jovis templum in Cappadocia, ubi amplissimus ille philosophus Apollonius traditur natus prope oppidum Tyana*. *Vopisc. Aureliano* c. 24 *Fertur Aurelianus de Tyana civitatis eversione vere dixisse vere cogitasse, verum Apollonium Tyanaem celeberrimæ famæ auctoritatisque sapientem, veterem philosophum, amicum verum deorum, ipsum etiam pro numine frequentandum, recipienti se in tentorium ea forma qua videtur subito astitisse* &c. *Libanius* πρὸς Ἀντιοχέας περὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ὀργῆς (Tables A. D. 363 p. 459) tom. 1 p. 505. 17 τοιοῦτον ἔχθρον ἐγὼ κἀν ἰδιώτην ἔδεισα: οὐκ ἔστι τοῦ Τυανέως πόρρω κατὰ τὸν βίον, ὃς δυοῖν ῥήμασιν ἔστιξε τὴν ἡμετέραν. See again *Liban.* tom. 1 p. 219 in the Tables A. D. 388. 3 p. 517. *Hieronimus Paulino* tom. 3 p. 4 describes him from *Philostratus*. *Idem Pammachio* tom. 2 p. 755 *Apollonius Tyaneus scribitur cum ante Domitianum staret—repente non comparuisse.* (from *Philostrat.* V. A. VIII. 5.) *Augustin.* Ep. 5 p. 26 *Quis autem vel risu dignum non putet quod*

*Apollonium et Apuleium caterosque magicarum artium peritissimos conferre Christo, vel etiam præferre conantur?*

<sup>x</sup> The assertion of *Philostratus* that he drew from the account of *Damis* is considered by some as an imposture. But there is no reason for this opinion, nor any proof to justify it. *Philostratus* might exaggerate or embellish many things, and introduce some fabulous additions, in order to increase the importance of his hero; and yet it would still be true that he derived the main facts from the memoirs of *Damis*.

<sup>y</sup> *De Parthenio Athenæus* XI p. 501 A Παρθένιος ὁ τοῦ Διονυσίου. *Idem* XI p. 467 C Παρθένιος ὁ τοῦ Διονυσίου ἐν πρώτῳ περὶ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἱστορικοῖς λέξεων ζητουμένων φησὶ κ. τ. λ. *Idem* XV p. 680 D Παρθένιος ὁ τοῦ Διονυσίου ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἱστορικοῖς λεξέων.

<sup>z</sup> Add these testimonies: *Euseb. adv. Hieroclem* c. 30 p. 530 B de *Apollonio Tyaneo*: τὸν φιλόσοφον Εὐφράτην ἐγχωρίζοντα κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης διατρίβοντα ὃς δὴ ἐσώστερον τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ κατηγορίαν ὡς δὴ κατὰ γόητος ὑποβάλλειν ἱστόρηται. *Marcus* περὶ ἑαυτοῦ X. 31 Εὐφράτην ἰδὼν Εὐτυχίωνα ἢ Σιλουανὸν φαντάζου. *Origenes* adv. *Celsum* VI. 41 quoting *Mæregenes* de *Apollonio*: ἐν οἷς περὶ Εὐφράτου (τοῦ) πάντῃ διηγῆσατο. add *Plin. Ep.* I. 10 referred to in the Tables A. D. 69 p. 55.

<sup>a</sup> *Themist. Or.* 11 p. 145 B Τραϊανὸς εἰς Δίωνα. *Or.* 13 p. 173 C Τραϊανὸς Δίωμ τῷ ἐκ Βιθυνίας.

*Dio* in 93 is mentioned by *Apollonius* apud *Philostr.* V. A. VIII. 7 p. 330 παρετίγχανον δὲ ὁμος Εὐφράτης καὶ Δίων, ὃ μὲν πολεμιώτατά μοι ἔχων ὁ δ' οἰκειότατα: Δίωνα γὰρ μὴ πανσαίμην γράφων ἐν φίλοις.

*Dio* speaks of himself as an old man *Or.* 12 p.

- 27 *Herodotus medicus*. The disciple of *Agathinus*. Galen. tom. 8 p. 750. 751 ὁ τοίνυν Ἀγαθίνος — τὸν Ἀθήναιον [sc. τὸν Ἀτταλέα τὸν πνευματικόν] φησιν οἶσθαι καὶ τὴν συστολὴν ὀνομάζεσθαι σφυγμὸν, ᾧ σημαιομένῳ κελεύει τὸν Ἡρόδοτον ἐπιστῆναι· τούτῳ γὰρ ἀνδρὶ προσεφώνησε τὸ βιβλίον, ἑαυτοῦ μὲν ὄντι μαθητῇ πάντῳ δ' ἐπιφανῶς ἰατρούσαντι κατὰ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν. Quoted by Galen de simpl. med. I tom. 11 p. 432 Ἡρόδοτος μὲν ἅπασας τὰς ἄλλας αἰρέσεις μοχθηρὰς ὑπολαμβάνει πλὴν τῆς πνευματικῆς. p. 441. 442 I. 34. p. 443 I. 36 τῶν ἐξ αὐτῶν, ὥσπερ Ἡρόδοτος καὶ Διοσκουρίδης. p. 559 III. 9 Ἡρόδοτος ὁ ἰατρός. p. 560 ἀλλ' εἶπερ Ἡρόδοτος οὐκ ἐτόλμησε χρῆσασθαι, δίκαιον οἶμαι τοὺς νῦν ἐστὶ πειραθῆναι τῆς τοῦ φαρμάκου δυνάμεως. He preceded *Crito*: Galen. tom. 13 p. 789 “ταύτην τὴν γραφὴν ἔλαβον παρὰ Ἡρόδοτου.” ταῦτα μὲν ἔγραψεν ὁ Κρίτων περὶ τῆς Ἰκεσίου. p. 801 ἔγραψεν ὁ Κρίτων ὧδέ πως· “ἡ διὰ ἰτεῶν λιτὴ, ὡς Ἡρόδοτος.” And *Crito* flourished in the reign of *Trajan*. See Nos 29, 30<sup>b</sup>.
- 28 *Marinus medicus*. The preceptor of *Quintus*. See Nos 39, 101.
- 29 *Rufus Ephesius*<sup>c</sup>. Suidas p. 3226 C Ῥούφος Ἐφέσιος, ἰατρός, γεγονὼς ἐπὶ Τραϊανοῦ σὺν Κρίτωνι. φέρεται αὐτοῦ βιβλία πλείστα, ἐξ ὧν καὶ ταῦτα κ. τ. λ.
- 30 *Crito*. A physician, contemporary with *Rufus Ephesius*. See No 29. Often quoted by *Galen*.
- 31 *Demetrius cynicus*<sup>d</sup>. Already known in A. D. 39. At Corinth in 61. Present at the death of *Thrasea* in 66. In Greece in A. D. 68, at Rome in 71, banished with other philosophers by *Vespasian* about A. D. 74<sup>e</sup>. In Italy in A. D. 93. See the Tables in these years.
- 32 *Plutarchus*<sup>f</sup>. A youth in A. D. 66. *Plutarch* in the reign of *Trajan* is described in the

197. 34 τῇ ἡλικίᾳ παρηκματός ἦδη. p. 199. 7 τὴν ἡλικίαν προήκων. Or. 40 p. 491. 35 καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχομαι πᾶσι, γηρῶν, κ. τ. λ.

His eloquence is marked by *Epictetus* Diss. III. 23, 17 οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος πάντῳ τεχνικώτατα γράφει, Δίωνος πολὺ κάλλιον.

Γετικά *Dionis*: *Philostr.* V. S. I. 7 ὡς δὲ καὶ ἱστορίαν ἱκανὸς ἦν συγγράφειν δηλοῖ τὰ Γετικά. καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐς Γέτας ἦλθεν ὅποτε ἦλθοτο [see the Tables A. D. 90]. Of his other works *Philostratus* remarks *Ibid.* p. 488 σοφιστικώταται δὲ τοῦ Δίωνος αἱ τῶν λόγων εἰκόνες· ἐν αἷς εἰ καὶ πολλὰς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐναργεῖς καὶ τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις ὅμοιους.

<sup>b</sup> *Herodotus* is quoted again by *Galen* tom. 19 p. 343 Ἡρόδοτος φησὶ μηδεμίαν αἰτίας προηγησαμένης ἐπίστε πρὸς τὴν τιμάν. tom. 6 p. 775 ἄλλοι μὲν τινες ἰατροὶ, καὶ μάλιστα Εὐρυφῶν τε καὶ Ἡρόδοτος, ἀξιοῦσι γε θηλάζειν κ. τ. λ. tom. 10 p. 474 ὥσπερ Εὐρυφῶν καὶ Ἡρόδοτος καὶ Πρόδικος ἀξιοῦσιν. tom. 17. 1 p. 999 καὶ τῶν ὑφ' Ἡρόδοτου γραφέντων ἕνα κατὰ τὸ βιβλίον δ' ἐπέγραψεν αὐτὸς Ἰατρον. *Fabricius* in *elencho medicorum* B. G tom. 13 observes “*Herodotus pneumaticus discipulus Athenæi Attalensis* [rather *Agathini* discipulus] floruit tempore *Hadriani*, ut suspicor.” But as *Crito* who quoted *Herodotus* lived in the reign of *Trajan*, the lowest date for *Herodotus* must be the reigns of *Domitian* and *Nerva*, or the beginning of the reign of *Trajan*.

<sup>c</sup> Quoted by *Galen* tom. 11 p. 796 Ῥούφῳ τῷ Ἐφεσίῳ πολλὰ μὲν κἂν τοῖς θεραπευτικοῖς βιβλίοις γέγραπται φάρμακα, καὶ περὶ βοτανῶν δὲ δι' ἑξαμέτρων ἐπῶν σύγκειται τέτταρα. tom. 5 p. 105 τῶν δὲ νεωτέρων ἄριστα γέγραπται περὶ μελαγχολίας τῷ Ἐφεσίῳ Ῥούφῳ. tom. 12 p. 425 δηλοῖ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ Ῥούφος ὁ Ἐφέσιος διὰ τῶνδε τῶν ἐπῶν

[8 hexameters]. tom. 16 p. 196 Ῥούφος ὁ Ἐφέσιος καὶ Σαβίνος ἐκ τῶν νεωτέρων—φασὶν κ. τ. λ. tom. 19 p. 710 Ῥούφου. conf. p. 711. tom. 14 p. 119 Ῥούφος μὲν οὕτω δὲν ἔφασκε σκενάσαι [7 iambs de antidotis]. tom. 13 p. 92 παρὰ Ῥούφου.

<sup>d</sup> *Demetrius* is named by *Lucian* πρὸς ἀπαιδευτον tom. 8 p. 18 Δημήτριος ὁ κυνικός. *Idem* περὶ ὀρχήσ. tom. 5 p. 156 Δημήτριον τὸν κυνικόν. *Idem* *Toxari* tom. 6 p. 88 Δημητρίου τοῦ Σουνιέως—συνεκπελεύσας γὰρ ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ὁ Δημήτριος Ἀντιφίλῳ τῷ Ἀλωπεκῆθεν, ἐταίρῳ ἐκ παίδων ὄντι καὶ συνεφέβη, συνῆν καὶ συνεπαιδεύετο, αὐτὸς μὲν τὴν κυνικὴν ἀσκήσων ἀσκούμενος ὑπὸ τῷ Ῥοδίῳ ἐκείνῳ σοφιστῇ· ὁ δὲ Ἀντιφίλος ἱατρικὴν ἄρα ἐμελέτα. See *Olearius* ad *Philostrat.* V. A. IV. 25 p. 163 VI. 33 p. 271. *Eunapius* V. S. proem. p. 3 mentions him with *Musonius Rufus* and *Menippus*. See No 21.

<sup>e</sup> The cause of their exile was the freedom of *Helvidius Priscus*, who had been prætor in A. D. 70 at the restoration of the Capitol: *Tacit.* *Hist.* IV. 5. and treated *Vespasian* with rudeness: *Sueton.* *Vesp.* c. 15 *Dio* 66. 12 *Arrian.* *Diss.* *Epictet.* I. 2, 19 *Schol.* *Juvenal.* V. 36. For which he was at last put to death: *Sueton.* *Vesp.* c. 15. On his death *Epictetus* *Diss.* IV. 1, 123. *Helvidius* is spoken of in A. D. 75 in the dialogue *de oratoribus* c. 5 as lately in the senate: *nuper* (in *senatu*) *Marcellus eloquentiam suam opposuit, qua accinctus—ejusmodi certaminum rudem Helvidii sapientiam elusit.*

<sup>f</sup> Some passages in which *Plutarch* speaks of himself are given in the Tables; to which these may be added. He taught at Rome: *Vit. Demosth.* c. 2. *De coh. ira* p. 453 A ἔγωγ' ὄν ἐναντῷ μὲν ἀφίγγεσθαι εἰς Ῥώμην δευτέρῳ. συνὼν δὲ σοι [sc. *Fundano*] μήνα τουτουῖ



- Tablos at 98. 106; his treatise *περὶ τοῦ μὴ χρᾶν ἔμμετρα* at A. D. 80, *περὶ τοῦ πρώτου ψύχρον* at A. D. 106, his *Lives* at 110. 113. He is mentioned as still living in A. D. 120.
- 33 *Nicetes Smyrnaeus*. Tables A. D. 97. The preceptor of *Scopelianus*: Tables A. D. 93.
- 34 *Aelianus tacticus*. Tables A. D. 97.
- 35 *Ptolemæus Chennus*. Suid. p. 3156 C Πτολεμαῖος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, γραμματικὸς, ὁ τοῦ Ἡφαιστίωνος, γεγονὸς ἐπὶ τε Τραϊανοῦ καὶ Ἀδριανοῦ τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων, προσαγορευθεὶς δὲ Χέννος. Περὶ παραδόξου ἱστορίας, Σφίγγα (δρᾶμα δὲ ἐστὶν ἱστορικόν), ἀνθόμηρον (ἔστι δὲ ποιήσις ῥαψωδιῶν κῶ), καὶ ἄλλα τινά.
- 36 *Zenobius sophista*. Suid. p. 1578 A Ζηνόβιος σοφιστῆς, παιδεύσας ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐπὶ Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος. ἔγραψεν ἐπιτομὴν τῶν παροιμιῶν Διδύμου καὶ Ταρραίου ἐν βιβλίοις τρισὶ, μετὰφρασιν Ἑλληνικῶς τῶν ἱστοριῶν Σαλουστίου τοῦ Ῥωμαϊκοῦ ἱστορικοῦ, καὶ τῶν καλουμένων αὐτοῦ βελῶν [corrigunt βέλλων], γενεθλιακὸν εἰς Ἀδριανὸν Καίσαρα, καὶ ἄλλα.
- 37 *Isæus*. Tables A. D. 101. Specimens of his style are in Philostratus V. S. p. 514.
- 38 *Ardys*. Tables A. D. 101.
- 39 *Quintus medicus*. The disciple of *Marinus*: Galen. tom. 15 p. 136. the preceptor of *Satyrus*: Tables A. D. 147<sup>s</sup>.
- 40 *Sabinus medicus Hippocrateus*. The preceptor of *Stratoniceus*: Tables A. D. 147. Mentioned with *Rufus Ephesius* (N<sup>o</sup> 29) by Galen tom. 16 p. 196 οἱ παλαιοὶ καὶ νεώτεροι τῶν Ἱπποκράτους ἐξηγηταὶ μὴ νοήσαντες τί ποτε σημαίνει τὸ ὄνομα τῆς “ἐρρίψεως”—“Ρούφος δὲ ὁ Ἐφέσιος καὶ Σαβίνος ἐκ τῶν νεωτέρων κ. τ. λ.
- 41 *Adrastus peripateticus*. Preceded Galen: Galen de libris propriis tom. 19 p. 42 speaking of commentaries upon the *Categories* of *Aristotle*: *κοινωνεῖν ἐκέλευσα τῶν ὑπομνημάτων ἐκείνοις μόνους τοῖς ἀνεγνωκόσι παρὰ διδασκάλου τὸ βιβλίον, ἢ πάντως γε προεισηγμένοις δι’ ἐτέρων ξηγητικῶν ὁποῖα τὰ τε Ἀδράστου καὶ Ἀσπασίου ἐστίν. Read by Plotinus: Porphyr. vit. Plot. c. 14 κἂν τοῖς περιπατητικοῖς τὰ τε Ἀσπασίου καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἀδράστου τε<sup>h</sup>.*

πέμπτον κ. τ. λ. de curiosit. p. 522 E ἐμοῦ ποτε ἐν Ῥώμῃ διαλεγόμενον, Ρούστικος ἐκείνος, ὃν ὕστερον ἀπέκτεινε Δομειτιανὸς τῇ δόξῃ φθονήσας, ἠκρόατο κ. τ. λ. But afterwards he dwelt in Greece: Vit. Demosth. c. 2 ἡμεῖς δὲ μικρὰν οἰκοῦντες πόλιν, καὶ ἵνα μὴ μικροτέρα γένηται φιλοχωροῦντες, ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ καὶ ταῖς περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν διατριβαῖς οὐ σχολῆς οὔσης γυμνάζεσθαι περὶ τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν διάλεκτον, ὑπὸ χρεῶν πολιτικῶν καὶ τῶν διὰ φιλοσοφίαν πλησιαζόντων, ὄψε ποτε καὶ πόρρω τῆς ἡλικίας ἠρξάμεθα Ῥωμαϊκοῖς γράμμασιν ἐντυγχάνειν κ. τ. λ. He was archon at Chæronea: Sympos. VI. 8, I p. 694 A θυσία τίς ἐστὶ πατριος.—ἄρχοντας οὖν ἐμοῦ πλείονες ἐκωνόνουν τῆς θυσίας. He alludes to his native town Chæronea de curiosit. p. 515 C τὴν ἐμὴν πατρίδα πρὸς ζέφυρον ἀνεμον κεκλιμένην—ἐπὶ τὰς ἀνατολὰς τραπήλαι λέγουσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Χαίρωνος. In his youth he had been an envoy to the proconsul: præc. rep. ger. p. 816 D μέμνημαι νέον ἐμαυτὸν ἔτι πρεσβευτὴν μεθ’ ἐτέρου πεμφθέντα πρὸς ἀνθύπατον. *Plutarch* was also a citizen of Athens, of the tribe *Leontis*: Sympos. I. 10, I p. 628 A. He held office at Delphi for many years: an seni &c. p. 792 F οἰσθὰ με τῷ Πυθίῳ λειτουργοῦντα πολλὰς Πυθιάδας· ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἂν εἶποις “ικανά σοι, ὦ Πλούταρχε, τέθνηται καὶ πεπόμενται καὶ κέχόρευται· νῦν δὲ ὧρα πρεσβύτερον ὄντα τὸν στέφανον ἀποθέσθαι καὶ τὸ χρηστήριον ἀπολιπεῖν διὰ τὸ γῆρας.”

The catalogue of the works of *Plutarch* published by his son is extant in Fabricius B. G. tom. 5 p. 159—171

Λαμπρίας περὶ τῆς ἀναγραφῆς τῶν Πλουτάρχου βιβλίων. Ἐπιστολή. Οὐδ’ ἄλλοτε ποτε τῆς γενομένης ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας πρὸς ἀλλήλους συνουσίας ἐκαθόμενος, κ. τ. λ.—τὴν γραφὴν ὣν ἠβελήσας τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς βιβλίων ἐπεμψά σοι. “Westermannus recte auctori vindicat in Plutarchi vita X or. p. 1 &c.” Hoffmann.

g Galen. tom. 2 p. 224 ἐγὼ δὲ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι κατ’ ἐκείνον ἔτι διέτριβον τὸν χρόνον, ὑπὸ Σατύρου παιδευόμενος, ἔτος ἤδη τέταρτον ἐπιδημοῦντι ἐν τῇ Περγάμῃ μετὰ Κουστονίου Ρουφίνου, κατασκευάζοντος ἡμῖν τὸν νεὸν τοῦ Διὸς Ἀσκληπίου· ἐτεθῆκει δ’ οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ Κόϊντος ὁ διδάσκαλος τοῦ Σατύρου.

h De *Adrasto* Simplicius in *Aristot. Categor.* p. 7 b apud Schol. Berolin. p. 32 b l. 46 οὐχ ὁ τυχὼν ἐστὶν ἀνὴρ ὁ μετὰ τὰς κατηγορίας εὐθὺς τὰ τοπικὰ τάξας βιβλία, ἀλλ’ Ἀδραστος ὁ Ἀφροδισιεὺς ἀνὴρ τῶν γνησίων περιπατητικῶν γεγονὼς, ἐν τῷ περὶ τάξεως τῆς Ἀριστοτέλους φιλοσοφίας, μετὰ τὴν τῶν κατηγοριῶν βίβλον τὰ τοπικὰ βούλεται τετάχθαι. p. 8 b apud Schol. Berolin. p. 39 a note \* ἱστορεῖ δὲ ὁ Ἀδραστος ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς τάξεως τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους συγγραμμάτων ὅτι φέρεται καὶ ἄλλο τῶν κατηγοριῶν βιβλίον ὡς Ἀριστοτέλους, καὶ αὐτὸ ὃν βραχὺ καὶ σύντομον κατὰ τὴν λέξιν καὶ διαίρεσιν ὀλίγοις διαφερόμενον, ἀρχὴν δὲ ἔχον “τῶν ὄντων τὸ μὲν ἐστὶ”—Simplicius præf. in *Physica* Aristot. p. 1 b l. 23 Ἀδραστος ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς τάξεως τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους συγγραμμάτων. In *Phys.* p. 26 b l. 24 ὁ δὲ Ἀδραστος βουλόμενος δηλώσαι τὸ ὅπερ ὃν παρεξήληθεν μὲν ὀλίγον τῶν προκειμένων,

- 42 *Artemon*. After *Dionysius Scytobrachion* and before *Athenæus*: Athen. XII p. 515 D Διονύσιος ὁ Σκυτοβραχίων, ὡς Ἀρτέμων φησὶν ὁ Κασανδρεὺς ἐν τῷ περὶ συναγωγῆς βιβλίων<sup>i</sup>.
- 43 *Apollodorus Pergamenus*. Tables A. D. 114.
- 44 *Dorotheus Ascalonita*. Flourished before *Athenæus* and after the grammarians *Trypho* and *Aristonicus*, who lived in the reign of *Augustus*, and whom *Dorotheus* quotes: Athen. XIV p. 662 F Δωροθέω τῷ Ἀσκαλωνίτῃ σύγγραμμα ἐκδεδοῦσθαι ἐπιγραφόμενον περὶ Ἀντιφάνου κ. τ. λ. Steph. Byz. Ἀσκάλων: πόλις Συρίας.—πολλοὶ δὲ ἐξ αὐτῆς κεχηρηματίκασι, φιλόσοφοι μὲν κ. τ. λ.—γραμματικοὶ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Ἀριστάρχου γνώριμος, καὶ Δωρόθεος· ἱστορικοὶ Ἀπολλώνιος καὶ Ἀρτεμίδωρος ὁ τὰ περὶ Βιθυνίας γεγραφώς, καὶ ἄλλοι<sup>k</sup>.
- 45 *Hermogenes Tarsensis historicus*. Sueton. Domit. c. 10 *Domitianus—occidit Hermogenem Tarsensem propter quasdam in historia figuras*.
- 46 *Scopelianus*. Tables A. D. 93. conf. a. 45. 133<sup>l</sup>.
- 47 *Timocrates Heracleota*. Contemporary with *Demonax*<sup>m</sup> and *Scopelianus*. Taught *Polemo*: Tables A. D. 133. and *Lesbonax*: see below N<sup>o</sup> 148<sup>n</sup>.
- 48 *Agrippa*. Flourished in A. D. 92: Ptolem. μεγ. συντ. VII. 3 p. 170 l. 7 Ἀγρίππας ἐν Βιθυνίᾳ τηρήσας ἀναγράφει ὅτι τῷ ἰβ' ἔτει Δομετιανοῦ, κατ' αὐτοὺς Μητρώου ζ', νυκτὸς ὥρας τρίτης ἀρχούσης, ἡ σελήνη ἐπεκάλυψε τῷ νοτίῳ κέρατι τὸ ἐπόμενον καὶ νότιον μέρος τῆς πλειάδος· καὶ ἔστιν ὁ χρόνος κατὰ τὸ ὠμ' ἔτος ἀπὸ Ναβονασάρου, κατ' Αἰγυπτίου Τυβί β' εἰς τὴν γ'. N. E. 840 commenced July 31 A. D. 92, and the 2nd of *Tybi*, the 122nd day, fell upon Nov. 29 A. D. 92, when the 12th of *Domitian* was current.
- 49 *Justus Tiberiensis*<sup>o</sup>. Tables A. D. 98. Hieron. Catal. c. 14 *Justus Tiberiensis de provincia Galilæa conatus est et ipse Judaicarum rerum historiam texere, et quasdam commentarios de*

χρήσιμα δὲ ὄντα τὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ ῥηθέντα, ὧν καὶ Πορφύριος ἐμνημόνευσε, κάλλιον οἶμαι μὴ παραδραμεῖν. λέγει δὲ κ. τ. λ. *Adrastus* is quoted Schol. ad Categor. ed. Berolin. p. 33 b l. 33 ὡς Ἀδραστος ἱστορεῖ.

*Theon Smyrnaeus* (who flourished A. D. 128—133: see N<sup>o</sup> 77) quotes *Adrastus*: Fabricius B. G. tom. 4 p. 37 "Citatur a Theone—*Adrastus peripateticus*, γνωριμώτερον περὶ τε ἀρμονίας καὶ συμφωνίας διεξιῶν, p. 78. 94. 97. 113. 117. 167. 169." [sc. ed. Bullialdi.]

<sup>i</sup> Another work: Athen. XIV p. 636 E Ἀρτέμων ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ Διονυσιακοῦ συστήματος Τιμόθεον φησὶ τὸν Μιλήσιον κ. τ. λ. p. 637 B ὁ προειρημένος Ἀρτέμων γράφει οὕτως· "ὄθεν πολλὰ τῶν ὀργάνων" κ. τ. λ.

<sup>k</sup> Schol. Hom. Il. i. 90 Πορφύριον. ἔλου βιβλίον [sic lege cum Coraio] ἐδήσε Δωροθέω τῷ Ἀσκαλωνίτῃ εἰς ἐξήγησιν τοῦ παρ' Ὀμήρῳ κλισίου. Athen. VII p. 329 D Δ. ὁ Ἀσκαλωνίτης ἐν τῷ ὀγδόῳ πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατὸν τῆς λέξεως συναγωγῆς θέτταν γράφει ἥτοι ἡμαρτημένῳ περιτυχῶν τῷ δράματι ἢ διὰ τὸ ἄηθες κ. τ. λ. partly quoted by Eustathius ad Il. ψ p. 1297 l. 23. Schol. Il. κ. 252 οὕτως καὶ Δωρόθεος ἐν τριακοστῷ πρώτῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς λέξεως ἀξιοὶ γράφειν—ἀποτεινόμενος πολλὰ πρὸς Ἀριστόνικον καὶ Τρύφωνα ἄλλως γράφοντας. Villosion remarks prolegom. p. XXXI upon i. 90 (which has βίου for βιβλίου) "si Dorotheus ille Ascalonita totam suam vitam contrivit in hac voce interpretanda, non potest idem esse atque ille Dorotheus qui laudatur in λ' τῆς Ἀττικῆς λέξεως." And Harles ad Fabric. tom. 1 p. 511 approves his observation. But Villosion is confuted by Athenæus. Wherefore if βίου had been the reading, Porphyry need not have been understood to the letter. The emendation however of Coray removes

the difficulty. Etymol. p. 87, 46 ἀμφιγρονεῖν:—τὸ ἀμφιγρονεῖν. Δωρόθεος. Phot. Cod. 156 ἀνεγνώσθη—Δωροθέου περὶ τῶν ξένων εἰρημένων λέξεων κατὰ στοιχείον. δῆλον δὲ ὡς οὐκ ἄχρηστον τοῖς φιλοπόνοις τὸ σύνταγμα. Quoted again Athen. XIV. 658 D ὡς φησὶν ὁ Ἀσκαλωνίτης Δωρόθεος.

<sup>l</sup> Suidas p. 3342 B Σκοπελιανὸς Κλαζομένιος, σοφιστῆς, γεγωνὸς ἐπὶ Νέρβα [A. D. 97], σοφιστεύσας ἐν Σμύρῃ. ἀκροατῆς δὲ ἐγένετο Νικήτου, συγχρονῶν Ἀπολλωνίῳ τῷ Τυανεῖ, πρὸς ὃν καὶ ἐπιστολὰς ἔγραψεν Ἀπολλώνιος [conf. A. D. 42]. Philostrat. V. S. I. 21 p. 515 ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας αὐτὸς τε καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι αὐτοῦ.

<sup>m</sup> Lucian. *Demonacte* c. 3. See N<sup>o</sup> 57.

<sup>n</sup> Philostrat. V. S. I. 25 p. 536 Τιμοκράτης—ἦν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου—καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ πατὴρ Ἡράκλεια, τὰ Ἑλλήνων ἐπαινοῦντες· ἐφιλοσόφει δὲ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν τοὺς ἱατρικοὺς τῶν λόγων, εἰδὼς εὖ τὰς Ἱπποκράτους τε καὶ Δημοκρίτου δόξας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤκουσεν Εὐφράτου τοῦ Τυρίου, πλήρεις ἱστορίας ἐς τὴν ἐκείνου φιλοσοφίαν ἄφηκεν.

<sup>o</sup> The history of *Justus* ended at the 3rd year of *Trajan* A. D. 100: Phot. Cod. 33 Ἀγρίππα—ὅς παρέλαβε μὲν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου [conf. A. D. 45], πρὸς τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ Νέρωνος καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ, τελευτᾶ δὲ ἔτει τρίτῳ Τραϊανοῦ, οὗ καὶ ἡ ἱστορία κατέληξεν. ἔστι δὲ τὴν φράσιν συντομωτάτος τε καὶ τὰ πλείεστα τῶν ἀναγκαϊοτάτων παρατρέχων. ὡς δὲ τὰ Ἰουδαίων νοσῶν, Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπάρχων τὸ γένος, τῆς Χριστοῦ παρουσίας καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν τελεσθέντων καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τερατουργηθέντων οὐδενὸς ἄλλου μνήμην ἐποίησατο. Οὗτος παῖς μὲν ἦν Ἰουδαίου τινὸς ὄνομα Πίστου, ἀνθρώπων δὲ, ὡς φησὶν Ἰώσηπος, κακουργότατος, χρημάτων τε καὶ ἡδονῶν ἥτων. ἀντεπολιτεύετο δὲ Ἰωσήφῳ κ. τ. λ.



*Scripturis componere; sed hunc Josephus arguit mendacii. Constat autem illum eo tempore scripsisse quo et Josephus.*

- 50 *Valerius Pollio*. Tables A. D. 118.
- 51 *Dionysius Milesius*. Tables A. D. 101. 119. Conf. A. D. 239.
- 52 *Dorion*. Contemporary with *Dionysius of Miletus*; lived at Sardis in the time of *Hadrian*: *Philostrat.* V. S. I. 22 p. 525 ἐσπέρας ἐς τὰς Σάρδεϊς ἦκων ὁ Διονύσιος ἤρετο Δωρίωνα τὸν κριτικὸν, ξένον ἑαυτοῦ, “Εἰπέ μοι,” ἔφη, “ὦ Δωρίων, ἔστι Πολέμων ἐνταῦθα;” κ. τ. λ.<sup>p</sup>
- 53 *Epictetus*. Withdrew to Nicopolis: Tables A. D. 90. Taught there in A. D. 103. Favoured by *Hadrian*: Tables A. D. 118<sup>q</sup>.
- 54 *Heliodorus philosophus*. Tables A. D. 118.
- 55 *Caius Platonicus*. His disciples were heard by *Galen* in A. D. 144. See the Tables, 144.
- 56 *Aspasius peripateticus*. Contemporary with *Caius* the Platonist. See the Tables A. D. 144. and with *Herminius*: *Simplicius ad Aristot. de Cælo apud Schol. Berolin.* p. 494 b l. 26—32 ὁ Ἀφροδισιεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος—διόρθωσιν τὴν ἀδυναμίαν ὡς Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Αἰγαίου παρατίθεται [N<sup>o</sup> 3]. Ἐρμίνου δὲ, φησὶν, ἤκουσα, καθὰ ἦν καὶ ἐν τοῖς Ἀσπασίου φερόμενον. p. 495 a l. 4 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἐρμίνου κατὰ τὸν Ἀσπασίου εἰρημένα. Imperfectly given in *Simplicius ed. Ven.* p. 105 a l. 48 &c. *Alexander Aphrod.* ad *Metaphys.* p. 552 b l. 30 = p. 44. 23 ἰστορεῖ δὲ Ἀσπασίος ὡς ἐκείνης μὲν ἀρχαιότερας οὔσης τῆς γραφῆς, μεταγραφείσης δὲ ταύτης ὑστερον ὑπὸ Εὐδώρου τε καὶ Εὐαρμόστου. p. 543 a l. 32 = p. 31. 23 ἢ ὡς Ἀσπασίος, ὁ μὲν ἀριθμὸς ἕλη κ. τ. λ. p. 704 b l. 11 = p. 340. 10 Ἀσπασίος δὲ ἤκουσε τοῦ “Ὅσα ἔτερα” κ. τ. λ. ὡς εἰρημένον.— *Aspasius* is quoted by *Simplicius*<sup>r</sup>. Mentioned by *Galen* tom. 19 p. 42. 43. See N<sup>o</sup> 41.
- 57 *Herminius peripateticus*. The preceptor of *Alexander Aphrodisiensis*: *Simplicius de Cælo* p. 105 a l. 51. Conf. *Schol. Berolin.* p. 494 b l. 31. Quoted by *Simplicius de Cælo* p. 105 b l. 6: see *Aspasius* N<sup>o</sup> 56<sup>s</sup>. *Demonax* πρὸς Ἐρμίνου τὸν Ἀριστοτελικὸν is mentioned by *Lucian*

<sup>p</sup> A different person from *Dorion* who wrote *de agricultura* apud *Athenæum* III p. 78 A, quoted by *Trypho*: *Τρύφων ἐν δευτέρῳ φυτῶν ἱστορίας Δωριωνά φησιν ἐν Γεωργικῇ ἱστορίῳν*. For *Trypho*, who quotes him, lived in the reign of *Augustus*.

<sup>q</sup> *Origen.* adv. *Celsum* III. 54 χθὲς καὶ πρόην τοῖς προτρεψαμένοις Ἐπίκτητον ἐπὶ τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν. *Epictetus* is mentioned by *Gellius* N. A. XIX. 1, 14 *Librum protulit Epicteti philosophi quintum dialéxeων, quas ab Arriano digestas congruere scriptis Zήνωνος et Chryssippi non dubium est.* Idem I. 2, 6 *Jussit proferrī dissertationum Epicteti digestarum ab Arriano primum librum.* Idem XVII. 19, 2 *Jam illud est vehementius quod Arrianus solitum eum dictitare in libris quos de dissertationibus ejus composuit scriptum reliquit.* *Epictetus* Diss. II. 12, 25—ἤμην ποτὲ ζηλωτὴς πρὶν εἰς ταῦτα ἐμπεσεῖν. referring to his exile or retreat from Rome in A. D. 90, and his residence at Nicopolis.

<sup>r</sup> *Simplic.* ad *phys.* p. 28 b l. 11 τινὲς δὲ τῶν τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους ἐξηγητῶν, ὧν καὶ Ἀσπασίος ἔστι, τὸ ὕπερ ἢ τῶν ὄντων τὸ γένος λαμβάνουσι, πρὸς οὓς ἰκανῶς ἀντείρηκεν Ἀλέξ. ὁ Ἀφροδισιεὺς. p. 99 b l. penult. ὁ μὲν Ἀσπασίος οὕτω γράφει τὴν λέξιν. p. 96 a l. ult. ἡ γραφή κατὰ μὲν τὸν Ἀσπασίον καὶ Θεμίσιον καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἀντιγράφων οὕτως. p. 127 a l. 37 οὕτως οὖν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ὁ Ἀσπασίος. p. 127 b l. 37 οὕτω μᾶλλον αὐτὴν ἐκδεκτικῶς ὡς Ἀσπασίος ἐκδέχεται. p. 138 b l. 41 ἐν τούτοις Ἀσπά-

σιος οὐ περὶ τῆς τῶν ἀπλανῶν σφαίρας ζοικε λέγειν, ὡς φησιν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος. p. 168 b l. 51 τινὲς μεταγράφουσι τὴν λέξιν, ὡς ὁ Ἀσπασίος φησιν, οὕτως. 132 b l. 48 ὁ δὲ Ἀσπασίος ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ μὲν ὡς ἐν τόπῳ ἀκούει. 135 a l. 6 ἄμεινον δὲ ἴσως ὁ Ἀσπασίος. 151 a l. 42 καλῶς ὁ Ἀσπασίος ἐπέστησε. 172 a l. 16 εἰ μὲν οὕτως εἴη γεγραμμένον ὡς Ἀλέξανδρός τε καὶ Ἀσπασίος γράφουσι “καὶ ἐτι φανερὸν”—οὕτω μὲν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ δὲ Ἀσπασίος “ὁ χρόνος” φησὶν “οὐκ ἔστι μόνιον τῆς κινήσεως.” κ. τ. λ. 178 a l. 40 ὁ δὲ Ἀσπασίος τὸ Νῦν σφοδρότητα τοῦ ἐγγύς εἶναι δηλοῦν φησι. 130 a l. 13 οὕτω μὲν οἶμαι ὁ Ἀσπασίος. 193 b l. 25 ὁ δὲ Ἀσπασίος οὕτως ἐξηγεῖται τὴν λέξιν ταύτην. 199 a l. 7 ὁ δὲ Ἀσπασίος ἐὰν γράφηται φησὶν “Ὅς εἰ ἡ ἀπλή γένεσις”—ἔσται μόνον φησὶ δεικνύμενον διὰ ταύτης τῆς λέξεως ὁ προέθετο. 219 a l. 1—4 ὁ μέντοι Ἀσπασίος καὶ ἄλλην εἶδε [f. οἶδε] τῆς τοιαύτης γραφῆς διαστολήν—καλῶς δὲ ὁ Ἀσπασίος ἐνταῦθα ὑπέστιξεν κ. τ. λ. 222 a l. 6 ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ Θεμίσιος καὶ Ἀσπασίος γράφουσι. 223 b l. 47 Ἀσπασίος συνήγαγεν. 214 a l. 50 de *Aristot.* *phys.* ἀκροάσ. *lib. V*: ὁ δὲ Ἀσπασίος εἰς ταύτην τὴν λέξιν ἐπεράτωσε τὸ βιβλίον. 239 a l. 2 ὁ Ἀσπασίος τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν σκοπὸν, καὶ τοῦτόν φησι τὸν λόγον, καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ ὁ Εὐδήμος.

<sup>s</sup> *Herminius* is quoted by *Alex. Aphrod.* ad *Anal. prior.* p. 28 b apud *Schol. Aristot. Berolin.* p. 155 a l. 15 ἡ χρῆσις οὖν ἢ χρῆται Ἐρμίνος οὐχ ἰκανῆ διαβάλλειν συζύγιαν κ. τ. λ. especially *Alexander Aphrod.* ad *To-*

Demon. c. 56 tom. 5 p. 251. Supposed by Buhle Aristot. tom. 1 p. 302 to be the same person as *Herminius* the Stoic. But *Herminius* the Stoic flourished in the youth of *Longinus*, about A. D. 220 (see the Tables A. D. 265); *Herminius* the peripatetic preceded *Alexander* of *Aphrodisias*, and was contemporary with *Demonax*, whose death is recorded by *Lucian*<sup>t</sup>. *Herminius* the peripatetic therefore flourished cir. A. D. 150.

58 *Philo Byblius*. Tables A. D. 47. 124. Eusebius Præp. I. 9 p. 30 D Σαγχουνιάθων—Φίλων δὲ τοῦτου πᾶσαν τὴν συγγραφὴν ὁ Βύβλιος, οὐχ ὁ Ἑβραῖος, μεταβαλὼν ἀπὸ τῆς Φοινίκων γλώσσης ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα φωνὴν ἐξέδωκε. μέμνηται τούτων ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν πεποιημένος συσκευὴν [sc. *Porphyrius*] ἐν τετάρτῳ τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὑποθέσεως, ὧδε τῷ ἀνδρὶ μαρτυρῶν πρὸς λέξιν “Ἱστορεῖ δὲ”—κ.τ.λ. “τὰ δὲ τοῦ Σαγχουνιάθωνος εἰς Ἑλλάδα γλώσσαν ἠρμήνευσε Φίλων ὁ Βύβλιος.”

59 *Lollianus*. Tables A. D. 132. Conf. A. D. 101.

60 *Marcus Byzantius*. Tables A. D. 133. Conf. A. D. 101<sup>w</sup>.

pica p. 271. 42 Ἑρμῖνος μέντοι τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς θέσεως καὶ τῆς ἀφαιρέσεως ἐπιτίμησιν μίαν φησὶν εἶναι. p. 274. 18 ἢ οὖν τοῦτο λέγει ὡς Ἑρμῖνος δοκεῖ, ἢ μᾶλλον ὡς ἅπασιν λέγει κ.τ.λ. Also by *Porphyry* ad *Categor.* apud *Schol.* p. 31 b note ἄρα οὖν πάντες ἐσφάλησαν περὶ τὴν πρόθεσιν τῆς τῶν κατηγοριῶν γνώσεως; Οὐδαμῶς· ἀλλὰ καὶ Βοηθὸς ἐν τοῖς εἰς τὰς κατηγορίας εἴρηκε ταῦτα, καὶ Ἑρμῖνος βραχέως. Εἰπέ τὰ Ἑρμῖνου. κ.τ.λ. p. 58 b l. 16 ἀλλὰ πῶς ὁ Ἑρμῖνος ἀπήνησεν; κ.τ.λ. by *Ammonius* ad ἑρμηνείαν apud *Schol.* Berlin. p. 101 b. l. 8 “ταυτὰ” ὀξυτόνως ἀναγνωστέον καὶ οὐ προπερισπωμένως ὡσπερ Ἑρμῖνος. p. 106 b l. 6 οὐκ ἔλλιπὴ φήσομεν ἡμεῖς καθάπερ Ἑρμῖνος. by *Simplicius* ad *Categor.* p. 3 apud *Schol.* Berlin. p. 40 a l. 17—20 ἄλλοι δὲ πρὸς τοῦτους καὶ ζητημάτων ἐφήσαντο μετρίως, ὡς ὁ Ἀφροδισιεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ Ἑρμῖνος καὶ ὅσοι τοιοῦτοι. ὦν καὶ Μάξιμον ἐγὼ τίθημι [see below N<sup>o</sup> 271 Tables A. D. 353 p. 430] τὸν Αἰδεσίου μετὰ τοῦ Ἰαμβλίχου μαθητῆν. *Simplic.* ad *Categor.* p. 5 b apud *Schol.* p. 56 b l. 39 σῶμα ἀξιοῖ ἀκούειν ὁ Ἑρμῖνος οὐ τὸ φυσικὸν (οὐσία γὰρ) ἀλλὰ τὸ μαθηματικόν. Quoted also *Schol.* ad *Categ.* p. 81 b l. 25 Ἑρμῖνος δὲ ὁ πρὸ τῶν τόπων ἐπιγράψας τὰς Κατηγορίας αἰτίαν λέγει τοιαύτην κ.τ.λ.

<sup>t</sup> *Demonax*, with whom *Lucian* ἐπὶ μήκιστον συνεγένετο, conversed with the following persons named in the treatise entitled *Δημώνιακος βίος*. c. 3 *Agathobulus* *Demetrius Epictetus* philosophers, *Timocrates* of *Heraclea* c. 3 (*Philostratus* V. S. I. 25 p. 541), *Favorinus* the sophist, the eunuch (*Philostrat.* *Ibid.*) c. 12, *Peregrinus* c. 21, *Herodes* ὁ πᾶν c. 24, the celebrated sophist, whose wife *Regilla* died before *Demonax*: c. 33 p. 245, *Agathocles* c. 29 and *Herminius* c. 56 the peripatetics, *Apollonius* ὁ φιλόσοφος c. 31. *Demonax* lived to near 100 years of age: c. 63 p. 253 ἐβίω δὲ ἔτη ὀλίγου δεόντα τῶν ἑκατόν.

<sup>v</sup> From this work of *Philo* *Porphyry* himself *Abst.* II. 56 p. 201 quotes *Sanchoniatho*: πλήρης δὲ ἡ Φοινικὴ ἱστορία τῶν θυσάντων, ἦν Σαγχουνιάθων μὲν τῇ Φοινίκων γλώττῃ συνέγραψεν Φίλων δὲ ὁ Βύβλιος εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλώσσαν δι' ὀκτῶ βιβλίων ἠρμήνευσεν. *Athen.* III. 126 A παρὰ τοῖς τὰ Φοινικὰ συγγεγραφόσι, *Συνιαθων* καὶ *Μωχῶ*. *Athenæus* probably derived his knowledge of *Suniatho* or *Sanchoniatho* from *Philo Byblius*. On *Mochus*—Μώχου τινὸς ἀνδρὸς Φοίνικος *Sext. Empir.* *Phys.*

I. 363 p. 621, ἀνδρὸς Σιδονίου Μόσχου [sic] πρὸ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν χρόνων γεγονότος *Strabo* XVI p. 757, Μώχος ὁ τὰ Φοινικὰ συνταξάμενος *Joseph. Ant.* I. 3, 9—see *Fabricius* ad *Sextum Empir.* p. 621 L.

*Lobeck* *Aglaopham.* p. 1265—1272 surveys the whole question of the genuineness of *Sanchoniatho*, and states the arguments on both sides, shewing that the works ascribed to him are spurious by many sufficient reasons. The following authors did not name *Sanchoniatho*.

Of Sidon

*Antipater*  
*Zeno*  
*Dionysius*  
*Boethus*  
*Diodotus*.

Of Tyre

*Apollonius*  
*Antipater*  
*Heraclitus*  
*Maximus*.

Of Berytus

*Mnaseas*  
*Aspasius*  
*Lysanias*  
*Hermippus*.

Writers of Tyrian affairs

*Dius*  
*Menander*  
*Philostratus*  
*Theodotus*  
*Hieronymus*  
*Histiæus*  
*Teucer*.

In the extract from *Sanchoniatho* according to *Philo* apud *Euseb.* præp. I. 10 p. 39 D mention is made of *Hesiod* and the cyclic poets, authors of the *Theogonies*, and *Gigantomachia* and *Titanomachia*. This passage proves either that *Sanchoniatho* is altogether spurious or that *Philo* added and interpolated, and that what he published was not the genuine work of *Sanchoniatho*.

<sup>w</sup> *Philostratus* V. S. II. 18 mentioning *Onomarchus*



61 *Favorinus*. Tables A. D. 106. 118. 133. Conf. A. D. 143. Lucian. Demonacte. See above N<sup>o</sup> 57. Idem Eunucho c. 7 tom. 5 p. 209 καὶ τις ἀκαδημαϊκὸς εὐνοῦχος ἐκ Κελτῶν, ὀλίγον πρὸ ἡμῶν ἐνδοκιμῆσας ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησι<sup>κ</sup>. Suidas p. 3743 A Φαβωρίνος Ἀρλεάτου [lege Ἀρελάτου] τῆς ἐν Γαλλίᾳ πόλεως, ἀνὴρ πολυμαθὴς κατὰ πᾶσαν παιδείαν, γεγωνὸς δὲ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἕξι ἀνδρόγυνος—φιλοσοφίας μετὰ, ῥητορικῇ δὲ μᾶλλον ἐπιθέμενος, γεγωνὸς ἐπὶ Τραϊανοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ παρατείνας μέχρι τῶν Ἀδριανοῦ χρόνων τοῦ βασιλέως. ἀντεφιλοτιμῆτο γοῦν καὶ ζῆλον εἶχε πρὸς Πλούταρχον τὸν Χαιρωνέα εἰς τὸ τῶν συνταπτομένων βιβλίων ἄπειρον. γέγραπται γοῦν αὐτῷ φιλόσοφά τε καὶ ἱστορικὰ, ὧν πολλὸς ἀριθμὸς. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τῶν βιβλίων αὐτοῦ ταῦτα· Περὶ τῆς Ὀμήρου φιλοσοφίας. Περὶ Σωκράτους καὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν ἐρωτικῆς τεχνῆς. Περὶ Πλάτωνος. Περὶ τῆς διαίτης τῶν φιλοσόφων. καὶ ἄλλα. οὗτος ἔγραψε καὶ γνωμολογικά.

(N<sup>o</sup> 153) adds γενέσθαι δὲ ἀγροικότερον τὸ εἶδος καὶ κατὰ τὸν τοῦ Μάρκου τοῦ Βυζαντίου αὐχμὸν.

<sup>x</sup> Philostratus V. S. I. 8 p. 489 (partly quoted in the Tables A. D. 118 p. 107) διφυῆς δὲ ἐτέχθη καὶ ἀνδρόθηλος· καὶ τοῦτο ἐδηλοῦτο μὲν καὶ παρὰ τοῦ εἶδους. ἀγενοῦς γὰρ τοῦ προσώπου καὶ γηράσκων εἶχεν· ἐδηλοῦτο δὲ καὶ τῷ φθέγματι· ὄξυηχὲς γὰρ ἤκούετο καὶ λεπτὸν καὶ ἐπίτονον, ὥσπερ ἡ φύσις τοῦ εὐνοῦχου ἤρμοκε. θερμὸς δὲ οὕτω τι ἦν τὰ ἐρωτικὰ ὡς καὶ μοιχοῦ λαβεῖν αἰτίαν ἐξ ἀνδρὸς ὑπάτου. Idem p. 491 ἤρμωστο δὲ τὴν γλώτταν ἀνεμῆνως μὲν σοφῶς δὲ καὶ προθύμως· ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ σὺν εὐροίᾳ σχεδιάσαι.—τὸν Ἐπὶ τῷ ἄωρῳ, καὶ τὸν Ὑπὲρ τῶν μονομάχων, καὶ τὸν Ὑπὲρ τῶν βαλανείων, γησιῶς τε ἀποφανόμεθα καὶ εὖ ἐνυκμιέμενος, καὶ πολλῶ μᾶλλον τοὺς φιλοσοφούμενους αὐτῷ τῶν λόγων, ὧν ἀριστοὶ οἱ Πυρρόναιοι. Gellius XI. 5, 5 *super qua re Favorinus quoque subtilissime argutissimeque decem libros composuit quos Pyrroneion τῶν τρόπων inscribit*. Hence Laertius IX. 79 αἱ ἀπορίαι—ἦσαν κατὰ δέκα τρόπους κ. τ. λ. § 87 τὸν ἕνατον Φαβωρίνος ὄγδοον, Σέξτος δὲ καὶ Αἰνησίδημος δέκατον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν δέκατον Σέξτος ὄγδοον φησὶ, Φαβωρίνος δὲ ἕνατον.

Gellius often mentions *Favorinus*, as in the following passages among others: I. 21, 4 *Sed enim cum Favorino Higini commentarium legissem, atque ei statim displicita esset insolentia et insuavitas illius, "Sensu torquebit amaro," risit &c.* II. 1, 3 *de Socrate*. II. 5 *Favorinus de Lysia et Platone solitus est dicere, Si ex Platone, inquit, oratione verbum aliquid demas velite, atque id commodissime facias, de elegantia tamen detraxeris, si ex Lysia, de sententia*. II. 12, 5 *Hoc idem Favorinus philosophus inter fratres quoque aut amicos dissidentes oportere fieri censebat, &c.* II. 22, 1 *Apud mensam Favorini in convivio familiari legi solitum erat aut vetus carmen melici poetæ aut historia partim Græcæ linguæ, alias Latinae*.—II. 26, 1 *Favorinus philosophus cum ad M. Frontonem consularem, pedibus ægrum, viseret, voluit me quoque ad eum secum ire*.—III. 1 *Hieme jam decedente apud balneas Sittias in area sub calido sole cum Favorino philosopho ambulabamus, atque ibi inter ambulandum legebatur Catilina Sallustii*.—III. 19, 1 *Apud cœnam Favorini philosophi cum discubitu fuerat ceptusque erat apponi cibus, servus assistens mensæ ejus legere inceperat aut Græcarum literarum quid aut nostratum; velut eo die quo affui ego legebatur Gabii Bassi eruditi viri liber de Origine verborum et vocabulorum*.—XII. 1 *Nuntiatum quondam est Favorino philosopho, nobis*

*presentibus &c.* a discourse of *Favorinus* upon maternal duties. XIII. 24, 2 *Quærebat Favorinus cum in area fori (Trajani) ambularet, et amicum suum consulem opperiretur causas pro tribunali cognoscentem, nosque tunc eum sectaremur, quærebat, inquam, quid nobis videretur significare proprie "manubiarum" illa inscriptio*.—XIV. 1 *Adversum istos qui sese Chaldaeos seu genethliacos appellant, ac de motu deque positu stellarum dicere posse quæ futura sunt profitentur, audivimus quondam Favorinum philosophum Romæ Græcæ disserentem egregia atque illustri oratione*.—XIV. 2, 11 *Jussi diem diffindi, atque inde a subselliis pergo ire ad Favorinum philosophum, quem in eo tempore Romæ plurimum sectabar, atque ei de causa ac de omnibus quæ apud me dicta fuerant, uti res erat, narro omnia, ac peto ut et ipsum illud in quo hærebam et cetera etiam quæ observanda mihi forent in officio judicis faceret me ut earum rerum essem prudentior*. Tum *Favorinus &c.* XVII. 10, 1 *Favorinum philosophum, cum in hospitio sui Antiatem villam æstu anni concessisset, nosque ad eum videndum Roma venissemus, meminî super Pindaro poeta et Virgilio in hunc fere modum disserere &c.* XVII. 19, 1 *Favorinum ego audivi dicere Epictetum philosophum dixisse plerosque istos qui philosophari videntur philosophos esse hujusmodi, ἀνεὺ τοῦ πράττειν, μέχρι τοῦ λέγειν*. XVIII. 1 *Familiares Favorini erant duo quidam non incelebres in urbe Roma philosophi. Eorum fuit unus peripatetica disciplinae sectator, alter stoica. His quondam ego acriter atque contente pro suis utrimque decretis propugnantibus, cum essemus una omnes Ostiæ cum Favorino, interfui. Ambulabamus autem in litore &c.* XVIII. 7, 2 *Domitio Favorinus noster cum forte apud fanum Carmentis obviam venisset, atque ego cum Favorino essem, Quæso, inquit, te magister, dicas mihi num erravi, quod, cum vellem δημογορίας Latine dicere, contiones dixi? &c.* XX. 1, 2 *Ad Cæcilium forte in area Palatina, cum salutationem Cæsaris opperiremur, philosophus Favorinus accessit collocutusque est, nobis multisque aliis presentibus*.—See also Gell. I. 3, 27. I. 10, 1. III. 3, 6. III. 16, 17. IX. 8, 4. IX. 13, 5. X. 12, 9. XVII. 12, 1. XIX. 3, 1.

y Galen. tom. 1 p. 41. 42 Τὴν εἰς ἑκάτερα ἐπιχείρησιν ἀρίστην εἶναι διδασκαλίαν ὁ Φαβωρίνος φησὶν ὀνομάζουσι δ' οὕτως οἱ ἀκαδημαϊκοὶ καθ' ἣν τὴν ἀντικειμένην προσαγορεύουσιν. οἱ μὲν οὖν παλαιότεροι τελευτῶν αὐτὴν εἰς ἐποχὴν ἵπολαμβάνουσιν.—οἱ νεώτεροι δὲ, οὐ γὰρ μόνος ὁ Φαβωρί-

- 62 *Dionysius tenuior*. The preceptor of *Fronto*: *Fronto* p. 240 *Meus magister Dionysius tenuior*. Quoted by Athenæus XI p. 475 F. Διονύσιος ὁ λεπτὸς ἐξηγούμενος Θεοδωρίδα τὸ εἰς τὸν Ἔρωτα μέλος.
- 63 *Dionysius Halicarnassensis junior*. Tables A. D. 126.
- 64 *Cephalion*. Tables A. D. 126<sup>z</sup>.
- 65 *Hermippus Berytius*. Tables A. D. 127.
- 66 *Taurus Berytius*. Tables A. D. 146. The preceptor of *Herodes Atticus*: conf. A. D. 143. Quoted and mentioned by *Gellius*, who conversed with *Taurus*: N. A. I. 26. *Taurus* resided at Athens: II. 2. *Gellius* accompanied him to Delphi: XII. 5. visited him at Athens: XVII. 8. *Taurus* lectured on the *Symposium* of *Plato*: XVII. 20. Read with *Gellius* the Problems of *Aristotle*: XIX. 6. conf. XX. 4. His instructions: VI. 10. X. 19. Is heard by *Gellius*: VI. 13. who meets *Calvisius Taurus* at the villa of *Herodes*: XVIII. 10<sup>a</sup>.

νος, ἐνίοτε μὲν εἰς τοσοῦτον προάγουσι τὴν ἐποχὴν ὡς μηδὲ τὸν ἥλιον ὁμολογεῖν εἶναι καταληπτόν· ἐνίοτε δὲ εἰς τοσοῦτον τὴν γνώσιν ὡς καὶ τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτὴν ἄνευ τοῦ διδασθῆναι πρότερον ἐπιστημονικὸν κριτήριον. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλο τί ἐστὶν ὁ Φαβωρίνος εἴρηκεν ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῆς Ἀκαδημαϊκῆς διαθέσεως, ὃ Πλούταρχος ἐπιγέγραπται. λέγει δὲ αὐτὸ ἐν τῷ Πρὸς Ἐπίκτητον, ἐν ᾧ δῆπουθεν ἐστὶν Ὀνήσιμος ὁ Πλούταρχου δοῦλος Ἐπικτήτῳ διαλεγόμενος. καὶ μέντοι κἀν τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα γραφέντι βιβλίῳ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς Ἀκαδημαϊκοὺς ἐπαυεῖ κ. τ. λ.—ἐν δὲ τῷ Πλούταρχῳ συγχαρῶν ἔοικεν εἶναι τι βεβαίως γνωστόν. p. 52 ὁ θαυμαστός Φαβωρίνος, ἐν δλον γράφας βιβλίον ἐν ᾧ δεικνυσι μηδὲ τὸν ἥλιον εἶναι καταληπτόν. To the works named by Galen Philostratus and Suidas we may add the following: ἀπομνημονεύματα. Laert. VIII. 73 Φαβωρίνος ἐν ἀπομνημονεμάτων πρώτῳ, de *Empedocle*. Idem I. 79 Φ. ἐν ἀπομνημ. πρώτῳ, de *Pittaco minore*. II. 23, 39. 40 Φ. ἐν τῷ α' τῶν ἀπομν. de *Socrate*. III. 25 ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν ἀπομν. Φαβωρίνου, de *Platone*. conf. § 48. V. 76 Φ. ἐν α' τῶν ἀπομν. de *Demetrio Phalereo*. IV. 5 Φαβωρ. ἐν β' ἀπομνημ. de *Aristotele*. VI. 89 Φ. ἐν β' ἀπομν. de *Cratete*. ἐν ἀπομνημ. τρίτῳ III. 40 de *Platone*. VIII. 12 de *Pythagora* ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ τῶν ἀπομνημ. III. 62 de *Platone*. IX. 23 de *Parmenide*. ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι VIII. 53 ἐν ἀπομνημονεύμασι VIII. 63 de *Empedocle*. VIII. 90 de *Eudoxo*. To this or to the following work may be referred Laert. III. 37 Φαβωρίνος που φησί de *Platone*. V. 41 Φ. δὲ φησι γηράσαντα αὐτὸν ἐν φορεῖᾳ περιφέρεσθαι, καὶ τοῦτο λέγειν Ἐρμύππον, de *Theophrasto*. IX. 29 Φ. δὲ φησι, de *Parmenide*. παντοδαπὴ ἱστορία: Laert. II. 1 Φαβωρίνος ἐν παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ, de *Anaximandro*. II. 20. 38 de *Socrate*. III. 3. 19 de *Platone*. IV. 54 de *Bione*. IV. 63 de *Carneade*. V. 5. 9 de *Aristotele*. V. 77 de *Demetrio Phalereo*. VI. 25 de *Aristippo*. VI. 73 de *Diogene Cynico*. VIII. 15 de *Pythagora*. VIII. 83 de *Alcæone*. IX. 34 de *Democrito*. IX. 50 de *Protagora*. Φαβωρίνος ἐν ὁγδὲ παντοδαπῆς ἱστορίας III. 24 de *Platone*. VIII. 12. 47 de *Pythagora*. Steph. Byz. Ἀδτριάται: Φαβωρίνος ἐν παντοδαπαῖς. Idem Τετράπολις: Φαβωρίνος ἐν πρώτῳ παντοδαπῆς ἄλλης ἱστορικῆς. Phot. Cod. 161 de *Sopatri* sophistæ eclogis: ὁ δὲ τρίτος λόγος συλλέγεται ἐκ τῆς Φαβωρίνου παντοδαπῆς ἄλλης. ἐκ τε τοῦ γ καὶ τοῦ ξ καὶ καθέξῃς, πλὴν τοῦ τ μέχρι

τοῦ ω. Steph. Byz. mentions other works: v. Ἀλεξάνδρεια: Φαβωρίνος ἐν τῷ περὶ Κυρηναϊκῆς πόλεως Ἀλεξανδριώτην φησί. Idem Ῥοπέις: ἔθνος οὐ μὲνηται Φαβωρίνος ἐν ἐπιτομῇ τετάρτῃ. Τῆς Παμφυλίας.

<sup>z</sup> Phot. Cod. 68 ἀνεγνώσθη Κεφαλαίωτος σύντομον ἱστορικόν. ἄρχεται ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλείας Νίνου καὶ Σεμιράμεως καὶ κάτεισι μέχρι τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀλεξάνδρου χρόνων. συμπεραίνεται δὲ αὐτοῦ ἡ ἱστορία ἐν λόγοις θ' κατ' ἐπωνυμίαν τῶν θ' μουσῶν κ. τ. λ.—ἔστι δὲ τὴν φράσιν ἰωνίζων, καὶ τοῦ προσήκοντος πλέον τῇ συντομίᾳ ἀποχρώμενος, οὐδ' ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἄξιον θαυμάσαι καὶ ζηλωσαι ἐνδεικνύμενος πλὴν τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν μαθήσεως. οὗτος τὸ μὲν γένος αὐτοῦ καὶ πατρίδα—ἀποσιωπᾷ, ὅτι δὲ διατρίβων ἐν Σικελίᾳ φύγης ἔνεκα τὴν ἱστορίαν συντάξεν ἀποφαίνεται.—καὶ τὸ ἐκ τόσον δὲ καὶ τόσον συνειλέχθαι αὐτῷ τὴν ἱστορίαν σεμνύνεσθαι οὐ πάνυ ψυχῆς τὸ μικρολόγον τε καὶ τὴν παιδαριώδη φιλοτιμίαν ἀποσειομένης ἀπόδειξις. φησι δ' ὅμως τὸν πρώτον αὐτῷ τῆς ἱστορίας συνειλέχθαι ἐκ λόγων μὲν φο', ὡν πατέρας λ' καὶ α' ἀπομνημονεῖ, τὸν δὲ β' ἐκ βιβλίων σὴ συγγραφέων δὲ κς' καὶ τὸν γ' δὲ ἐκ βιβλίων μὲν χ' συγγραφέων δὲ κς'. τὸν μὲντοι δ' ἐκ βιβλίων μὲν ω' συγγραφέων δὲ λβ' καὶ τὸν ε' δὲ ἐκ βιβλίων μὲν σ' συγγραφέων δὲ κς'. τὸν δὲ ε' ἐκ βιβλίων μὲν... συγγραφέων δὲ... τὸν δὲ ζ' ἐκ βιβλίων μὲν... συγγραφέων δὲ... τὸν δὲ η' ἐκ βιβλίων μὲν... συγγραφέων δὲ... καὶ τὸν θ' δὲ ἐκ βιβλίων μὲν... συγγραφέων δὲ τριάκοντα, ἐν οἷς καὶ ἡ Κεφαλαίωτος ἱστορία.

If the numbers are genuine, we have

	auctores	libros
lib. I	31	570
II	25	208
III	26	600
IV	32	850
V	26	200
*	*	
IX	30	*

Upon *Cephalion* see Lobeck *Aglaopham*. p. 997.

<sup>a</sup> *Calvisius Taurus* apud *Gellium* l. c. and *Taurus* ὁ Τύριος apud *Philostratum* (see the Tables A. D. 143. 3 p. 133) are no other than *Taurus Berytius*, who is again referred to by *Gellius* VI. 14 *Taurus noster in primo commentariorum in Gorgiam*. I. 9, 8 *Hæc super Pythagora noster Taurus cum dixisset* &c. *Stob.*



- 67 *Musonius Tyrius*. The preceptor of *Lucius*, who was the companion of *Herodes Atticus*: Philostrat. V. S. II. 1 p. 556 Μουσωνίῳ τῷ Τυρίῳ προσφουήσας (ὁ Λούκιος) εὐσκόπως εἶχε κ. τ. λ. where Olearius quotes the emendation *Τυρρήνῳ*, and refers to V. A. p. 176 note. where he makes however no mention of this passage. Tillemont tom. I p. 306 note justly remarks that this *Tyrian* is later in time than the Stoic *Rufus*. This is plain from the time of *Herodes Atticus*, who was 60 or 80 years later than *Rufus* the Stoic.
- 68 *Polemo Sophista*. Tables A. D. 133. 135. 143<sup>b</sup>.
- 69 *Philippus Thessalonicensis*. Composed the second Anthology after *Meleager*. Jacobs prolegom. tom. VI p. XLIV determines that, as *Philippus* included the poems of *Automedon*<sup>c</sup> who lived in A. D. 98<sup>d</sup>, he flourished not earlier than A. D. 100.
- 70 *Serapion Alexandrinus*. In the reign of *Hadrian*: Suid. p. 3257 Α Σαραπίων ὁ Αἴλιος χρηματίας, ῥήτωρ, Ἀλεξανδρεὺς. ἔγραψε περὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς μελέταις ἀμαρτανομένων, ἀκροάσεων βιβλία ζ', πανηγυρικὸν ἐπὶ Ἀδριανῷ τῷ βασιλεῖ, βουλευτικὰ Ἀλεξανδρέσιν, εἰ δικαίως Πλάτων Ὅμηρον ἀπέπεμψε τῆς πολιτείας, καὶ ἄλλα συχρᾶ, καὶ τέχνην ῥητορικὴν.
- 71 *Nicanor Alexandrinus*. Tables A. D. 127<sup>e</sup>.
- 72 *Telephus*. Tables A. D. 150<sup>f</sup>.
- 73 *Jason*. Suidas p. 1724 Β Ἰάσων Ἀργεῖος, ἱστορικὸς, νεώτερος Πλουτάρχου τοῦ Χαϊρωνέως, γραμματικὸς. ἔγραψε περὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος βιβλία δ'. ἔχει δὲ ἀρχαιολογίαν Ἑλλάδος, καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ

Eclog. I. 52 p. 906 οἱ περὶ Ταῦρον Πλατωνικοί. Schol. Platon. in Timæum p. 437 Bekker. Ταύρου τοῦ Πλατωνικοῦ ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου τῶν εἰς τὸν Τίμαιον ὑπομημάτων. Jo. Philoponus in Proclum VI. 8 ὁ Πλατωνικὸς Ταῦρος. VI. 21 ὁ εἰρημένος τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἐξηγητῆς Ταῦρος where a long quotation is given. VI. 28 τοῦ Πλατωνικοῦ Ταύρου ἐκ τῶν εἰς Τίμαιον ὑπομημάτων. XIII. 15 Ταύρου τοῦ Πλατωνικοῦ ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου τῶν εἰς τὸν Τίμαιον ὑπομημάτων.

<sup>b</sup> The death of *Polemo* is mentioned by Philostratus V. S. p. 539 ἦριξεν ἡ Σμύρνα ὑπὲρ τῶν ναῶν—ξύνδικον πεποιημένη τὸν Πολεμόνα.—ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν ὁρμῇ τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων ἀποδημίας ἐτελεύτησεν, ἐγένετο μὲν ἐπ' ἄλλοις ξυνδίκοις ἡ πόλις. The emperor—ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ—adjourned the cause till a written discourse of *Polemo* could be produced.

<sup>c</sup> Philippi Ep. I. 11 tom. 2 p. 194 κισσὸς δ' Αὐτομέδων.

<sup>d</sup> *Automedon* Ep. XI tom. 2 p. 193 in *Nicetem*: Νικήτης ὀλίγος μὲν, ἐπὶ προτόνοισιν ἀήτης Οἰά τε, πρηεῖς ἄρχεται ἐκ μελέτης. *Nicetes* (N<sup>o</sup> 33), whom *Automedon* celebrates, still lived in A. D. 97. See the Tables.

<sup>e</sup> Works of *Nicanor* apud Suidam p. 2593 Β Περὶ στιγμῆς τῆς παρ' Ὀμήρῳ καὶ τῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν διαφορᾶς ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ. Περὶ στιγμῆς τῆς καθόλου βιβλία ἕξ. Ἐπιτομὴν τούτων βιβλίον ἐν. Περὶ στιγμῆς τῆς παρὰ Καλλιμάχῳ. Κωμφοδούμενα. Περὶ ναυστάθμων. Περὶ τοῦ ὄναξ. Περὶ στιγμῆς, καὶ ἄλλα. Eustath. ad Hom. Π. α p. 20. 12 Νικάνωρ ὁ στιγματίας ἐπικληθεὶς διότι ἐπολυλόγησε περὶ στιγμῶν. Schol. Hom. Iliad. ad finem γ. δ' ἐκ Νικάνωρος περὶ τῆς Ὀμηρικῆς στιγμῆς ad finem α. β. ε. ζ. η. θ. &c. ἐκ τῶν Νικάνωρος περὶ στιγμῆς. Schol. Hom. Π. β 212 οὕτως Νικάνωρ. Quoted γ 46. 239. 318. 428. δ 83. 147. ε 245. 297. ζ 445. η 172. θ 18. 307. ι 47. 153. 538. λ 100. 186. 413. μ 295. ρ 42. Schol.

ad Dionys. Thrac. ed. Bekk. p. 758. 13 περὶ στιγμῆς. —κατὰ δὲ τινα μεταγενέστερον τεχνικόν, φημὶ δὲ τὸν Νικάνωρα, ὀκτώ εἰσι στιγμαί. conf. p. 761. 18. p. 763. 10 ἵνα δὲ μὴ δόξη τις ἡμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν καὶ τὴν τοῦ λεχθέντος Νικάνωρος διατύπωσιν περὶ τῶν στιγμῶν,—δεῖ ὡς ἐν συντόμῳ ἔνταθα μνησθῆναι τῆς τε θέσεως αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς διαφορᾶς τῆς τῷ Νικάνωρι εἰρημένης.

<sup>f</sup> Works of *Telephus* apud Suidam p. 3545.

ἔγραψε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν οἷς παρατίθεται πόσα χρητὰ εἰδέναι τὸν γραμματικόν [conf. intt. ad locum].

περὶ τῶν παρ' Ὀμήρῳ σχημάτων ῥητορικῶν βιβλία β'. περὶ συντάξεως λόγου Ἀττικοῦ βιβλία ε'.

περὶ τῆς καθ' Ὅμηρον ῥητορικῆς.

περὶ τῆς Ὀμήρου καὶ Πλάτωνος συμφωνίας.

ποικίλης φιλομαθίας βιβλία β'.

βίου τραγικῶν καὶ κωμικῶν.

βιβλιακῆς ἐμπειρίας βιβλία γ', ἐν οἷς διδάσκει τὰ κτήσεως ἀξία βιβλία.

ὅτι μόνος Ὅμηρος τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐλληνίζει.

περὶ ἡγήσιν Περγάμου.

περὶ τοῦ ἐν Περγάμῳ Σεβαστίου βιβλία β'.

περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησι δικαστηρίων.

περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησι νόμων καὶ ἐθῶν.

περὶ τῶν Περγάμου βασιλέων βιβλία ε'.

περὶ χρήσεως, ἧτοι ὀνομάτων ἐσθῆτος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἷς χρῶμεθα ἔστι δὲ κατὰ στοιχείον.

περὶ τῆς Ὀδυσσεῶς πλάνης.

ἀκνυόκιον ἔστι δὲ συναγωγὴ ἐπιθέτων εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ πρᾶγμα ἀρμοζόντων, πρὸς ἔτοιμον εὐπορίαν φράσεως βιβλία δέκα.

Schol. Hom. Π. δ 133 Τήλεφος γάρ φησι κ 53 ὁ Τήλεφος λέγει κακῶς εἰρηκεναί τὸν Δίδυμον. κ 545 οὕτως καὶ Τήλεφος ἐν τῷ ἡ' τοῦ γραμματικοῦ ἀξιοῖ. ο 668 Τήλεφος δὲ ἀκούει κ. τ. λ.

- τῶν Μηδικῶν τά τε καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἕως τῆς τελευτῆς αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὰ μέχρι τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἀλώσεως τῆς γενομένης ὑπὸ Ἀντιπάτρου τοῦ πατρὸς Κασάνδρου [sc. B. C. 322].
- 74 *Soranus Ephesius, medicus*. Suidas p. 3373 B Σωρανὸς Μενάνδρου καὶ Φοίβης Ἐφέσιος, ἰατρός, διατρίψας ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, καὶ ἐν Ῥώμῃ δὲ ἰατρεύσας ἐπὶ Τραϊανοῦ καὶ Ἀδριανοῦ τῶν βασιλέων [A. D. 99—138], βιβλία τε συντάξας πλείστα καὶ κάλλιστα.
- 75 *Dioscorides junior*. Tables A. D. 122. He transcribed from *Dioscorides of Anazarba*: Galen. tom. 19 p. 64 ἄπερ ὁ Διοσκουρίδης οὐκ αἰδεῖται μεταγράφων ἐκ τῶν Νίγρον τε καὶ Παμφίλου καὶ Διοσκουρίδους τοῦ Ἀναζαρβέως καὶ πρὸ τούτων Κρατεῦα τε καὶ Θεοφράστου καὶ Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Ταραντίνου καὶ ἄλλων μυρίων. οὕτως δὲ καὶ πόλεων ὀνόματα διηγέεται γνωριμωτάτων καὶ ἄστρον ὁμοίως ἐπιφανεστάτων, ἃ μὴδὲ ἂν παῖς ἀγνοήσειε<sup>h</sup>.
- 76 *Artemidorus Capito*. Contemporary with *Dioscorides junior*: Tables A. D. 122. Mentioned with the younger *Dioscorides* by Galen tom. 16 p. 2 οἱ περὶ Διοσκουρίδην καὶ Ἀρτεμίδωρον τὸν ἐπικληθέντα Καπίωνα, οἱ πολλὰ περὶ τὰς ἀρχαίας γραφὰς ἐκαινοτόμησαν. tom. 17. 1 p. 795 πάντων δὲ τῶν ὑπallaξάντων τὰς παλαιὰς γραφὰς τολμηροτάτους περὶ Καπίωνα καὶ Διοσκουρίδην εὐρίσκω πράξαντας τοῦτο. tom. 19 p. 83 οὕτω Διοσκουρίδης γράφει—ὁ γὰρ Διοσκουρίδης αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ Ἀρτεμίδωρος καὶ [dele καὶ] ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Καπίων ἐκ τοῦ συνήθους τοῖς ἄλλοις ὀνόματα πολλὰ μετεκόμισαν κ. τ. λ.
- 77 *Theon Smyrnaeus*. An astronomer in the reign of *Hadrian* A. D. 128—133. *Ptolemy*, who still lived in A. D. 161, knew *Theon*, although rather later in time than *Theon*<sup>i</sup>.

g Pseudo Galenus apud Galenum tom. 14 p. 684 μεθοδικῆς δὲ ἤρξε μὲν Θεμίσιον ὁ Λαοδικεὺς τῆς Συρίας παρ' Ἀσκληπιάδου τοῦ λογικοῦ ἐφοδιασθεὶς εἰς τὴν εὐρεσιν τῆς μεθοδικῆς αἰρέσεως, ἐτελείωσε δὲ αὐτὴν Θεσσαλὸς ὁ Τραλιανός· οἱ δὲ μετὰ τούτους Μνασίας Διονύσιος Πρόκομος Ἀντιπάτρος, διεστασίασαν δὲ περὶ τινῶν ἐν αὐτῇ Ὀλυμπιακὸς ὁ Μιλήσιος καὶ Μενεμάχος ὁ Ἀφροδισιεὺς καὶ Σωρανὸς ὁ Ἐφέσιος. Galenus tom. 10 p. 53 συγγέαντος αὐτῶν τὰ πράγματα Μενεμάχου, καὶ τοῦ ληρώδους Ὀλυμπικοῦ, καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ Ἀπολλωνίδου καὶ Σωρανοῦ καὶ τοῦ νῦν ἔτι ζῶντος Ἰουλιανοῦ. τούτῳ μὲν γε καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐνετύχομεν—ἐτῶν ἤδη πλείωνων ἢ εἰκοσι γεγονότων ἐξ οὐπερ ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας αὐτῶ συνεγενόμεθα. Galenus de comp. med. in locis tom. 12 p. 493 ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ Σωρανὸς ἔγραψε κ. τ. λ. p. 414 περὶ τῶν ὑπὸ Σωρανοῦ γεγραμμένων πρὸς ἀλωπεκιάς. p. 956 καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ Σωρανοῦ γεγραμμένων φαρμάκων πεπειράμεθα καλῶς ποιούντων. p. 987 καὶ Σωρανὸς δὲ φάρμακον ἀδιόριστως ἔγραψεν. tom. 13 p. 42. 43 Σωρανοῦ. Σωρανὸς δὲ οὕτω σκευάζειν αὐτὴν ἀξιοί. Tertullian. de anima c. 6 p. 220 *Sorano methodicæ medicinæ instructissimo auctore respondente animam corporaliūbus quoque ali.—Ipse Soranus plenissime super anima commentatus quatuor voluminibus, et cum omnibus philosophorum sententiis expertus corporalem animæ substantiam vindicat, etsi illam immortalitate fraudavit.* Soranus is quoted again Ibid. c. 8 p. 223 c. 14 p. 235 c. 15 p. 238 c. 44 p. 305. On the use of the ἐμβρονοσφάκτης c. 25 p. 266 *Hoc et Hippocrates habuit et Asclepiades et Erasistratus et majorum quoque prosector Herophilus* [conf. Tertullian. c. 10 p. 228], *et mitior ipse Soranus.*

<sup>h</sup> Galen tom. 19 p. 105. 106 distinguishes three of the name: οἱ μὲν γράψαντες τὰς ὀνομασίας τῶν φαρμάκων, καθάπερ Μενεσθεὺς τε καὶ Ἀνδρέας ὁ τοῦ Χρύσαρος

καὶ Ξενοκράτης καὶ Διοσκουρίδης ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, Ἰνδικὸν ὀνομάζουσι τὸ ζιγγίβερι, πλανηθέντες ἐκ τοῦ τινας οἰεσθαι ρίζαν αὐτὸ τοῦ πεπέρεως ὑπάρχειν· ἀλλὰ Διοσκουρίδης ὁ Ἀναζαρβέως σαφῶς διώρισέ τε καὶ ἀπεφήνατο περὶ ζιγγιβέρεως καὶ πεπέρεως [sc. II. 188. 189]· ὁ τοῖνον Διοσκουρίδης ὁ νεώτερος ὁ γλωττογράφος φυτὸν εἶναι φησιν ἐν Ἰνδία παραπλήσιον τῷ τοῦ πεπέρεως, οὗ ὁ καρπὸς ὀνομάζεται μυρτίδανον. Sprengel Dioscorid. p. viii supposes *Dioscorides of Alexandria* mentioned in this passage to be the same person as ὁ νεώτερος ὁ γλωττογράφος, but Jonsius p. 145 and Fabricius tom. 4 p. 676 understand *Dioscorides of Alexandria* to be no other than ὁ Φακάς, who flourished in the time of *Cleopatra*. And yet Fabricius afterwards tom. 6 p. 240 adopts the other opinion: “*Dioscoridem juniorem, glosso-graphum, Alexandrinum, quem a Dioscoride Phaca distinguit Galenus.*” Galen however in that passage does not distinguish the Alexandrian from *Phacas*, but from the γλωττογράφος; and the former opinion, that of Jonsius and of Fabricius tom. 4, is more just. Galen quotes in tom. 19 p. 775 *Διοσκουρίδου περὶ μέτρων καὶ σταθμῶν*. To whom this work belonged does not appear. In tom. 19 p. 89 *Διοσκουρίδης ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν ὑγιείων καὶ ἐν τῷ περὶ λαχάνων* we may read *Διοκλῆς*. conf. Galenum tom. 6 p. 455 *Διοκλῆς ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν πρὸς Πλεισταρχον ὑγιεινῶν*. tom. 18. 1 p. 712 *Διοκλῆς ἐν τῷ περὶ λαχάνων*. See Franzius ad Galen. Gloss. p. 451.

<sup>i</sup> His observation in the 12th year of *Hadrian* A. D. 128 is quoted by *Ptolemy Syntax*. X. 1 p. 239 ἐν ταῖς παρὰ Θέωνος εὐρομεν ὅτι τῷ ἰβ' ἔτει Ἀδριανοῦ, κατ' Αἰγυπτίου Ἄθῆρ κα' εἰς τὴν κβ' [Oct. 10 A. D. 128] ὁ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἑώως τὸ πλείστον ἀπέστη τοῦ ἡλίου κ. τ. λ. and the 13th of *Hadrian*: p. 239 ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς παρὰ



78 *Secundus*. The preceptor of *Herodes Atticus*. Tables A. D. 143.

79 *Diogenianus Heracleota*. Suid. p. 1003 Διογενειανὸς Ἡρακλείας Πόντου, γραμματικὸς, γεγονὸς ἐπὶ Ἀδριανοῦ βασιλέως. Διογενειανὸς Ἡρακλείας ἑτέρας, οὐ τῆς Πόντου, γραμματικὸς, γεγονὸς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Ἀδριανοῦ βασιλέως. ἐπιστατέον δὲ μήποτε ἐστὶν ὁ ἐκ τῆς Ἀλβάρκης Ἡρακλείας τῆς ἐν Καρία ἰατρός. ἦν γὰρ οὗτος παντοῖος λόγους. οὐ γὰρ εἶρον ῥητῶς τὸ ἐξ Ἡρακλείας αὐτὸν εἶναι τῆς ἐν Πόντῳ, ἀλλ' οὕτω παρὰ τισὶ δεδόξασται. Eudocia p. 133 Διογενειανὸς Ἡρακλείας Πόντου γραμματικὸς ἐπὶ Ἀδριανοῦ· ἡ ἐκ τῆς Ἀλβάρκης Ἡρακλείας τῆς ἐν Καρία κατὰ Λυσίμαχον<sup>k</sup>.

80 *Numenius rhetor*. Flourished in the reign of *Hadrian*: Suidas p. 2612 C Νουμήμιος ῥήτωρ· περὶ τῶν τῆς λέξεως σχημάτων. ὑποθέσεις τῶν Θουκυδίδου καὶ Δημοσθένους. χρειῶν συναγωγήν. Ἀδριανῷ παραμυθητικὸν εἰς Ἀντίνοον. *Antinous* died in A. D. 130.

81 *Strato Sardinianus*. After *Capito* the physician: Epigr. ult.<sup>1</sup> and before *Laertius*<sup>m</sup>. Near the time of *Diogenianus Heracleota*.

82 *Phlegon Trallianus*. Tables A. D. 138. Conf. A. D. 116<sup>n</sup>.

Θέωνος ἡμῖν δοθείσας εὐρίσκομεν ὅτι τῷ ιγ' ἔτει Ἀδριανοῦ κατ' Αἰγυπτίους Ἐπιφί β' εἰς τὴν γ' [May 19 A. D. 130] ἕως ὁ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης πλείστον ἀπέστη τοῦ ἡλίου. And the 14th: p. 234 τῷ μὲν γὰρ ιδ' ἔτει Ἀδριανοῦ κατ' Αἰγυπτίους Μεσορῆ ιγ' ἑσπέρας [July 5 A. D. 131] ὡς ἐν ταῖς παρὰ Θεώνος εἰλημμέναις τηρήσεσιν εὐρομεν (ὁ Ἑρμῆς) τὸ πλείστον ἀπέστη τοῦ ἡλίου. and the 16th of *Hadrian* A. D. 132: p. 239 ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς παρὰ Θεώνος τοῦ μαθηματικοῦ δοθείσας ἡμῖν εὐρομεν ἀναγεγραμμένην τήρησιν τῷ ις' ἔτει Ἀδριανοῦ κατ' Αἰγυπτίους Φαρμουθὶ κά εἰς τὴν κβ' [March 8 A. D. 133] καθ' ἣν φησιν ὅτι ὁ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἑσπέριος τὸ πλείστον ἀπέστη τοῦ ἡλίου κ. τ. λ.

His works: περὶ τῶν κατὰ μαθηματικὴν χρησίμων εἰς τὴν τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἀνάγνωσιν.

- 1 περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν γεωμετρίαν
- 2 ——— κατὰ ἀριθμητικὴν
- 3 ——— κατὰ μουσικὴν
- 4 ——— κατὰ ἀστρονομίαν,

μετὰ δὲ τὸν περὶ πάντων τῶν μαθηματικῶν λόγων τελευταῖον ἐπάξομεν καὶ τὸν περὶ τῆς ἐν κόσμῳ ἀρμονίας λόγον. Theon ipse apud Fabricium tom. 4 p. 35.

<sup>k</sup> Suidas: ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῦ βιβλία ταῦτα.

1 λέξεις παντοδαπὴ κατὰ στοιχείον ἐν βιβλίοις ε'. ἐπιτομὴ δὲ ἐστὶ τῶν Παμφίλου λέξεων βιβλίων ε' καὶ τετρακοσίων [lege cum Hemsterhusio ε' καὶ ἐνεήκοντα] καὶ τῶν Ζωπυρίου [see Suid. Πάμφιλος p. 2826 A quoted in F.H. III p. 556].

- 2 ἐπιγραμμάτων ἀνθολόγιον.
- 3 περὶ ποταμῶν λιμνῶν κρηνῶν ὀρῶν ἀκρωρείων.
- 4 περὶ ποταμῶν κατὰ στοιχείον ἐπίτομον ἀναγραφὴν.
- 5 συναγωγὴν καὶ πίνακα τῶν ἐν πάσῃ γῆ πόλεων.

On No 1 Hesychius *Eulogio* quoted by Kuster ad Suidam: Διογενειανὸς δὲ τις μετὰ τούτους γεγονὸς ἀνὴρ σπουδαῖος καὶ φιλόκαλος τὰ τε προσηρημένα βιβλία καὶ πάσας τὰς σποράδην παρὰ πᾶσι κειμένας λέξεις συναγαγὼν ὁμοῦ πάσας καθ' ἕκαστον στοιχείον συντέθεικε· λέγω δὴ τὰς τε Ὀμηρικὰς καὶ κωμικὰς καὶ τραγικὰς, τὰς τε παρὰ τοῖς λυρικοῖς καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ῥήτορσι κειμένας. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς παρὰ τοῖς ἰατροῖς τὰς τε παρὰ τοῖς ἱστοριογράφοις. συλλήβδην δὲ ὁμοῦ οὐδεμίαν λέξιν, ὥστε ἡμᾶς εἰδέναι, παρέλιπεν οὔτε τῶν παλαιῶν οὔτε τῶν ἐπ' ἐκείνου γεγενημένων. Quoted in Schol. Hom. II. ε. 576 ἐν τοῖς περὶ Σώφρονος

Ἀπολλόδορος ἐκ τῶν Διογενειανῶν τῆς ἐπιτομῆς Ἑλληνικῶν ὀνομάτων. Schol. Hermog. apud anecd. Gr. Bekker p. 1073 Αἰσχύλος ἐν Πέρσαις μένηται καὶ Διογενειανὸς ἐν τῇ λέξει τούτου. Eustath. ad Odys. ε p. 1533. 47 Διογενειανὸς δὲ φησιν, οἴακας λέγει οἷς τὰ πηδάλια ἐπιστρέφουσιν.

<sup>1</sup> Strato Epigr. 99. 1 Antholog. tom. 3 p. 90 ἱερὸς Καπίτων Χρῦσῃν ἔχρισεν· κ. τ. λ.

<sup>m</sup> Laert. V. 61 γεγόνασι Στράτωνες ὀκτώ.—ἔκτος ποιητῆς ἐπιγραμμάτων.

<sup>n</sup> His 13th book described Ol. 203 or 204: Euseb. Chron. anno 2048 [A. D. 3<sup>z</sup>] *Phlegon Olympiadum scriptor XIII<sup>o</sup> sic loquitur*: “Ol. 203. 4 *tanta fuit solis defectio quantam nemo antea cognoverat, sexta quippe diei hora adeo offusa est ut in caelo stelle viserentur. Magnus quoque terrae motus in Bithynia fuit Nicææque pars magna ruit.*” Hieronymus anno 2047 has the fourth year of the 202<sup>nd</sup> Olympiad; and Syncellus p. 324 D quoting Eusebius: Φλέγων ὁ τὰς Ὀλυμπιάδας—ἐν τῷ ιγ' ῥήμασιν αὐτοῖς τάδε· “Τῷ δ' ἔτει τῆς σβ' Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐγένετο ἔκλειψις ἡλίου μεγίστη τῶν ἐγνωσμένων πρότερον, καὶ νύξ ὥρα ἕκτη τῆς ἡμέρας ἐγένετο, ὥστε καὶ ἀστέρας ἐν οὐρανῷ φανῆναι· σεισμός τε μέγας κατὰ Βιθυνίαν γενόμενος τὰ πολλὰ Νικαίας κατεστρέψατο.” Which seems to have been the date of Eusebius himself. Joannes Philoponus also names Ol. 202: de mundi creatione II. 21 p. 88 τούτου δὲ τοῦ σκότους μᾶλλον δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς ταύτης καὶ Φλέγων ἐν ταῖς Ὀλυμπιάσιν ἐμήσθη· λέγει γὰρ ὅτι τῷ δευτέρῳ [lege ex sequentibus τετάρτῳ] ἔτει τῆς διακοσιοστῆς δευτέρας Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐγένετο ἡλίου ἔκλειψις μεγίστη τῶν οὐκ ἐγνωσμένων πρότερον, καὶ νύξ ὥρα ἕκτη τῆς ἡμέρας ἐγένετο, ὥστε καὶ ἀστέρας ἐν οὐρανῷ φανῆναι. p. 89 βασιλεύει μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν [sc. Τιβερίου] φησὶν ὁ Φλέγων τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει τῆς ρι' Ὀλυμπιάδος, τὴν δὲ ἔκλειψιν γεγενῆσθαι ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ ἔτει τῆς σβ' Ὀλυμπιάδος, ὡς συνάγεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ βασιλεῦσαι Τιβέριον ἕως τοῦ τετάρτου ἔτους τῆς σβ' Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐγγύς που ἔτη δέκα καὶ ἐννεα. Idem III. 9 p. 116 ὑπὲρ φύσιν ἢ ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῦ σωτήρος ἡλιακὴ γέγονεν ἔκλειψις, ἐν πανσελήνῳ γενομένη· ἥς καὶ Φλέγων ἐν ταῖς Ὀλυμπιάσιν μέμνηται. Africanus apud Syncellum p. 322 D does not name the Olympiad: Φλέγων ἱστορεῖ



83 *Valerius Diodorus*. Tables A. D. 137.

84 *Apollonius Dyscolus*. Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ τεχνικός Schol. Hom. Il. κ. 252. Anonymus in vita apud Meursium de *Apolloniis* p. 10 Ἀπολλώνιος οὗτος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς μὲν ἦν τὸ γένος μητρὸς μὲν Ἀριάδνης πατρὸς δὲ Μνησιθέου.—ἀφίκετο δὲ εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπὶ Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου καὶ διέγραψεν ἐκεῖσε τὰ κάλλιστα, καὶ τοσοῦτον ὕσον καὶ φίλος τῷ Μάρκῳ γέγονεν. Suidas p. 495 A Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ὁ κληθεὶς δύσκολος, πατὴρ Ἡρωδιανοῦ τοῦ τεχνουργοῦ γραμματικοῦ. Priscian. II. 4 p. 67 *Apollonius ostendit firmissima ratione*. VIII. 15 p. 423 *Apollonius summus auctor artis grammaticæ*. XI. 1 p. 515 *Trypho, quem Apollonius quoque sequitur, maximus auctor artis grammaticæ*. Quoted also XII. 1 p. 541. XIII. 5 p. 575. XVII. 27 p. 103. Idem XII. 3. p. 547 *Apollonius, quem nos quantum potuimus sequi destinavimus*. XVII. 1 p. 3 *In plerisque Apollonii auctoritatem sumus secuti*°.

ἐπὶ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος ἐν πανσελήνῳ [conf. Routh Rel. Patrum tom. 2 p. 336] ἔκλειψεν ἡλίον γεγονέναι τελείαν ἀπὸ ὥρας ἑκτῆς μέχρι ἐνάτης, δηλῶν ὡς ταύτην. (where μέχρι ἐνάτης seems an addition of Africanus.) Nor Origen adv. Celsum II. 33 p. 187 περὶ δὲ τῆς ἐπὶ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος ἐκλείψεως—καὶ περὶ τῶν μεγάλων τότε γενομένων σεισμῶν τῆς γῆς ἀνέγραψε καὶ Φλέγων ἐν τῷ ἐγ' ἢ τῷ ἰδ' οἶμαι τῶν χρονικῶν. Origen adv. Cels. II. 14 p. 162 from the same books recites a still more remarkable testimony: Φλέγων ἐν ἐγ' ἢ ἰδ' οἶμαι τῶν χρονικῶν καὶ τὴν περὶ τινῶν μελλόντων πρόρρησιν ἔδωκε τῷ Χριστῷ, συγχυθεὶς ἐν τοῖς περὶ Πέτρου ὡς περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ ἐμαρτύρησεν ὅτι κατὰ τὰ εἰρημένα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὰ λεγόμενα ἀπήτησε. But, as the latest possible date for the Crucifixion was the spring of Ol. 202. 2 A. D. 30 (see the Tables p. 14) and as the probable date was the spring of Ol. 201. 4 A. D. 29 (see above c. 5), the date of *Phlegon* as given by Eusebius, which is anno Eusebiano 2048 Ol. 202. 4 the spring of A. D. 33, is certainly three years and most probably four years too late to be referred to that event; and the earthquake in *Phlegon* is in *Bithynia* and not *Judea*. He may have spoken then of some other darkness.

Origen Comm. in Matthæum § 134 tom. 5 p. 51—55. 56 considers an objection of the sceptics to the darkness at the Passion, a darkness not recorded in history, and a darkness at the full moon, therefore not an eclipse. He examines this question at large: "It is urged by the objectors that no Greek or barbarian annalist mentions such a darkness. *Phlegon* indeed in his *Chronica* mentions a darkness in the reign of *Tiberius*, but has not said that this happened at the full moon." [We learn from hence that the words ἐν πανσελήνῳ were not in the text of *Phlegon*.] p. 53 Origen replies "1 (p. 54) No eclipse is mentioned by the evangelists. Matthew and Mark do not name the sun at all; Luke merely says ἐσκοίσθη ὁ ἥλιος, which words are perhaps an interpolation. 2 The whole earth only means *Judea*, or perhaps only *Jerusalem*. All the earth is used by a figure, as a similar figure is found in 1 Reg. XVIII. 9. 10. (p. 56) 3 The darkness was miraculous, like that in *Egypt* in the time of *Moses* for three days."

*Phlegon* is quoted by *Vopiscus Saturnino* c. 7.

Steph. Byz. Βελίτρα: πόλις Ἰταλίας, οὐ Ῥώμης ἀπωτέρω, ὡς φησι Φλέγων Ὀλυμπιάσῳ ἑκατὸν ἐβδομήκοντα τέσσαρα.

° Suidas p. 495 de *Apollonio*: ὃς ἔγραψε τὰδε

1 περὶ μερισμοῦ τῶν τοῦ λόγου μερῶν βιβλία δ'.

2 περὶ συντάξεως τῶν τοῦ λόγου μερῶν δ'. Extant. ed. Bekker. 8<sup>vo</sup> 1817. Quoted in Schol. Iliad. σ. 86 Ἀπολλώνιος ἐν τῷ περὶ συντάξεως. Priscian. XVIII. 5 p. 129 *Apollonius in III περὶ συντάξεως ostendit* &c. *Apollonius* apud Bekk. Anecd. Gr. p. 530. 29 ἐντελέστερον μέντοι δεδειξεται ἐν τῷ περὶ συντάξεως. p. 532. 31 ἐν τῷ περὶ συντάξεως ἀποδίδεται. p. 535. 25 ἐν τῷ περὶ συντάξεως ἀκριβέστερον εἰρήσεται. p. 542. 12 ἀκριβέστερον ἐν τῷ περὶ συντάξεως ἀποδώσομεν.

3 περὶ ῥήματος, ἦτοι ῥηματικῶν, ἐν βιβλίοις ε'. *Apollonius de Syntaxi* I. 36 p. 71 ἐπιδείκνυμεν ἐν τῷ περὶ ῥημάτων. III. 6 p. 207 ἀκριβώσομεν ἐν τῷ περὶ ῥημάτων. Priscian. VIII. 15 p. 423 *Ita esse confirmat Apollonius, summus auctor artis grammaticæ, docens in primo De Verbo* &c. Schol. in Dionys. apud Bekk. Anecd. Gr. p. 672. 34 ὁ δὲ Διονύσιος, ὡς φησιν Ἀπολλώνιος ἐν τῷ ῥηματικῷ—p. 882. 20 τὸν Ἀπολλωνίου ὄρον—"Ῥῆμά ἐστι μέρος" κ. τ. λ.

4 περὶ τῶν εἰς μι ληγόντων ῥημάτων παραγῶγων βιβλίον ἐν.

5 περὶ ῥημάτων [lege cum Kustero ὀνομάτων] ἦτοι ὀνοματικῶν, ἐν.

6 περὶ ὀνομάτων κατὰ διάλεκτον.

7 περὶ τῆς ἐν θηλυκοῖς ὀνόμασι εὐθείας, ἐν.

8 περὶ παρωνύμων, ἐν. Schol. Hom. Il. α. 508 Ἀπολλώνιος ἐν τῷ περὶ παρωνύμων. Schol. Il. ν. 102 πῶς δ' ἐσχημάτισται δεδῆλωται ἐν τῷ περὶ παρωνύμων.

9 περὶ συγκριτικῶν.

10 περὶ διαλέκτων Δωρίδος Ἰάδος Αἰολίδος Ἀτθίδος. *Apollonius* apud Bekk. Anecd. Gr. p. 624. 8 ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἰάδος τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀπεδείξαμεν.

11 περὶ σχημάτων Ὀμηρικῶν. *Apollonius* apud Bekk. Anecd. Gr. p. 495. 31 ἐν τοῖς περὶ σχημάτων εἴρηται. p. 503. 8 ἐντελῶς ἀπεδείξαμεν ἐν τῷ περὶ σχημάτων.

12 περὶ κατεψευσμένης ἱστορίας.

13 περὶ παθῶν. Steph. Byz. Καρία:—τὸ θηλυκὸν Κάερα.—Ἀπολλώνιος διὰ τοῦ ἰ φησὶ μακροῦ ἐν τῷ ε' περὶ παθῶν, καὶ ἐν τῷ περὶ γενῶν. *Apollonius* apud Bekk.



- 85 *Nicostratus*. Tables A. D. 164. Synesius Epist. 128 p. 264 Β ἀποστείλαί μοι τάχιστα τὰ βιβλία—τὸ Νικοστράτειον δὴ λέγω, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀφροδισιέως Ἀλεξάνδρου. Hermogenes ἰδεῶν II. 3 περὶ ἀφελείας. p. 396 ἀφελέστεραι δὲ συνθήκαι αἱ μᾶλλον λελυμέναι—οἶαι εἰσιν αἱ πλείσται παρά τε τῷ Ξενοφῶντι καὶ τῷ Σωκρατικῷ Αἰσχίνῃ, καὶ μέντοι καὶ τῷ Νικοστράτῳ. Imitated by *Ælian*: Philostrat. V. S. II. 31 ἢ μὲν ἐπίπαν ἰδέα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀφέλεια προσβάλλουσά τι τῆς Νικοστράτου ὥρας. To this *Nicostratus* Libanius alludes de vita sua p. 33 ὁ γενναῖος ἐκείνος καὶ πρὸς τῷ Νικοστράτῳ τοῦ Ἰσοκράτους καταφρονῶν which Reiske refers to *Nicostratus* the comic poet.
- 86 *Herodes Atticus*. Tables A. D. 143. 168. 175. *Herodes* flourished cir. A. D. 120—176. was consul A. D. 143. Younger than *Polemo*. His preceptors and his pupils are named in the Tables A. D. 143<sup>p</sup>.
- 87 *Alexander Cotyæensis*. Tables A. D. 161. The preceptor of *M. Aurelius*.
- 88 *Pausanias* ὁ περιηγητής. Tables A. D. 125. 161. 173. 176.
- 89 *Aristides Quintilianus*. Meibomius writes in substance as follows: “Mirandum est tanti auctoris nomen a veterum nullo commemoratum legi. Cicerone junior, quem lib. II citat [p. 70]. Antiquior Marciano Capella qui hunc transtulit [A. D. 457]. Ex musica historia accedit aliud argumentum. Euclides post Aristoxenum omnium qui extant antiquissimus; post hunc Aristidem Quintilianum colloco circa Plutarchi tempora ante Ptolemæum.”

An. Gr. p. 567. 15 ἐν τῷ περὶ παθῶν εἰδείχθη. 568. 8 ἐντελῶς ἐν τῷ περὶ παθῶν παρεστήσαμεν. p. 580. 29 ἐντελῶς ἐν τοῖς περὶ παθῶν εἰδείχθη.

14 περὶ τόνων κατηραγκασμένων βιβλία δύο. Bekker. Anecd. Gr. p. 1246 φησὶν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος ἐν τῷ περὶ κατηραγκασμένων τόνων. Apollonius apud Bekk. An. Gr. p. 581. 4 εἰρήσεται ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν διεψευσμένων τόνων. Idem de Syntaxi II. 17 p. 131 ἐν τῷ περὶ τόνων ἀκριβέστερον τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπίδεικνυμεν.

15 περὶ τόνων σκολιῶν βιβλίον ἐν.

16 περὶ προσωδιῶν, ε'.

17 περὶ στοιχείων.

18 περὶ προθέσεων. Schol. Hom. II. ε. 142 Ἀπολλώνιος ἐν τῷ περὶ προθέσεως.

19 περὶ τῶν Διδύμων πιθανῶν.

20 περὶ συνθέσεως.

21 περὶ διαφορουμένων.

22 περὶ τοῦ τίς.

23 περὶ γενῶν. Steph. Byz. Καρία. See above n.

13. Apollonius de Syntaxi I. 5 p. 23 πρὸς οὓς ἀντίρηται διὰ πλείονων ἐν τῷ περὶ γενῶν.

24 περὶ πνευμάτων. Ipse de Syntaxi IV. 5 p. 319 ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐν τῷ περὶ πνευμάτων ἠκριβώσαμεν. Idem apud Anecd. Gr. p. 612. 20 εἰρήται καὶ ἐν τῷ περὶ δασείας καὶ ψιλῆς.

25 περὶ κτητικῶν.

26 περὶ συζυγίας.

Add to the list of Suidas the following:

27 περὶ συνδέσμων. Apud Bekker. Anecd. Gr. p. 479. Quoted p. 543. 18 περὶ τοῦ ἐκτι—ἐν τῷ περὶ συνδέσμων ἐξεθέμεθα. p. 543. 26 ἠκριβώθη ὁ λόγος ἐν τῷ περὶ συνδέσμων. p. 564. 29 δείκνυται ἐν τῷ περὶ συνδέσμων.

28 περὶ ἐπιρρημάτων. Apud Bekker. Anecd. Gr. p. 529. Schol. Hom. II. ο. 138 Ἀπολλώνιος φησιν ἐν τῷ περὶ ἐπιρρημάτων. Perhaps also II. ε. 100 ἐν τῷ

περὶ ἐπιρρημάτων ἐροῦμεν.

29 περὶ ἀνωθυμῶν. Apud Bekker. Berolin. 8<sup>vo</sup> 1813. Apollonius apud Bekk. An. Gr. p. 491. 12 οὐ τὴν ἀπόδειξιν ἐν τῷ περὶ ἀνωθυμῶν ἐξεθέμην. p. 552. 3 ἐντελέστερον εἰρήται ἐν τῷ περὶ ἀνωθυμῶν. p. 557. 29 δείκνυται καὶ ἐν τῷ περὶ ἀνωθυμῶν. p. 581. 30 ἐν ἐτέροις ἐδιδάξαμεν κατὰ τὰς ἀνωθυμῶν γενικῶν. p. 612. 18 περὶ οὐ εἰρήται ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν ἀνωθυμῶν. Schol. Hom. II. δ. 343 οὕτως Ἀπολλώνιος ἐν τῷ περὶ ἀνωθυμῶν ε. 219 διὰ τί οὐ περιεπάσθη (τὸ νῶ) ἐν τῷ περὶ ἀνωθυμῶν δηλοῦται.

30 περὶ ὀρθογραφίας. Ipse de Syntaxi III. 30 p. 272 ἐντελέστερον ἀποδεικνυμένον ἐν τῷ περὶ ὀρθογραφίας. Quoted by Toup ad Suidam p. 495.

31 περὶ μετοχῆς. Ipse de Syntaxi III. 32 p. 302 ἀκριβέστερον ἐξεθέμεθα ἐν τῷ περὶ μετοχῆς ὑπγορευμένῳ. IV. 8 p. 327 ἐντελέστερον ἐξεθέμεθα ἐν τῷ περὶ μετοχῶν. See Toup ad Suid. p. 495. Apollonius apud Bekker. An. Gr. p. 554. 25 ἐντελέστερον ἐν τῷ περὶ μετοχῶν ἐκθισόμεθα. Schol. Hom. II. δ. 22 ὁ γὰρ Ἀπολλώνιος ἐν τῷ περὶ μετοχῆς ἀποδείκνυσιν ἀκριβέστατα ἐκ τῆς συντάξεως ὅτι οὐ δύναται εἶναι ἐπίρρημα μεσότητος.

p *Fronto* Epist. p. 20 is on good terms with *Herodes*. Again p. 50. and after the Parthian war of *Verus*: p. 97.

The pure Attic was still spoken in the interior of Attica in the time of *Herodes*, although corrupted in the city: Philostrat. V. S. II. I p. 553 οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἄστει Ἀθηναῖοι μισθοῦ δεχόμενοι Θράκια καὶ Ποντικά μείρακια, καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνῶν βαρβάρων ξυνεργηκότα, παραφθείρονται παρ' αὐτῶν τὴν φωνήν—ἡ μεσόγειος δὲ ἄμκτος βαρβάρους οὕσα ὑγαίνει αὐτοῖς ἡ φωνή, καὶ ἡ γλῶττα τὴν ἄκραν Ἀτθίδα ὑποβάλλει. II. 31 p. 624 Αἰλιανὸς Ῥωμαῖος μὲν ἦν ἠττικίζε δὲ ὥσπερ οἱ ἐν τῇ μεσογείᾳ Ἀθηναῖοι.

- Fabricius B. G. tom. 3 p. 642 "Scripsisse videtur ante Ptolemæum; ejus non omisisset mentionem."
- 90 *Enomæus cynicus*. Tables A. D. 120. In the time of *Hadrian*. Suidas p. 3658 A Οἰνόμαος Γαδαρεὺς, φιλόσοφος κυνικὸς, γεγονὸς οὐ πολλῶ πρεσβύτερος Πορφυρίου. Περὶ κυνισμοῦ. Πολιτείας. Περὶ τῆς καθ' Ὀμηρον φιλοσοφίας. Περὶ Κράτητος καὶ Διογένοῦς καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν<sup>9</sup>.
- 91 *Agathobulus*. Tables A. D. 120. In the time of *Hadrian*<sup>r</sup>.
- 92 *Alexander Platonicus, Caninius Celer, Annius Macer*. Preceptors of *Marcus* recorded in the Tables A. D. 133.
- 93 *Claudius Maximus*. A preceptor of *Marcus*: Capitolin. Marco c. 3.
- 94 *Rusticus stoicus*<sup>s</sup>. Tables A. D. 133.
- 95 *Seatus* (Tables A. D. 120) was also a preceptor of *Marcus*: A. D. 133. Themist. Or. XI p. 145 B καλὰ μὲν δὴ καὶ ὅποσα Μάρκος εἰς Σέξτον. Still living in A. D. 176.
- 96 *Apollonius Stoicus*. Another preceptor of *Marcus*: A. D. 133. Mentioned with others at A. D. 148<sup>t</sup>.
- 97 *Theodotus*. Tables A. D. 168. Opposed *Herodes Atticus* in 168.
- 98 *Aristocles*. Tables A. D. 144. Taught *Athenodorus, Euodius, Rufus, Heraclides*. Heard at Pergamus by *Herodes*.
- 99 *Pancrates poeta*. Tables A. D. 130.
- 100 *Mesomedes lyricus*. Tables A. D. 145.

Among the preceptors of *Galen* named in the Tables A. D. 147 are the following<sup>u</sup>:

<sup>9</sup> Quoted largely against Oracles by Eusebius Præp. V. 18—36 p. 209 A—234 C ἀπελέγχει τὸν χρησμὸν εἰ μάλᾳ τις τῶν νέων ἀνδρικῶ λογισμῶ, "γοήτων φωρὰν" ἐν οἰκίῳ συγγράμματι πεποιημένος. p. 213 C τοιαῦτα τῆς Οἰνόμαος παρρησίας τὰ τῆς τῶν γοήτων φωρᾶς, κυνικῆς οὐκ ἀπηλλαγμένα πικρίας. p. 234 C τοιαῦτα καὶ ὁ Οἰνόμαος. Idem Ib. VI. 6 p. 254 D ἄκουε δ' οὐν ἀθις τοῦ τῆν τῶν γοήτων φωρὰν τὸ οἰκίον ἐπονομάσαντος σύγγραμμα, ὡς εἰ μάλᾳ νεανικῶ φρονήματι τὸν πλάνον τῶν πολλῶν καὶ αὐτοῦ γε τοῦ Ἀπολλωνος ἐπανορθοῦται, δι' ὃν γράφει τάδε κατὰ λέξιν κ. τ. λ. p. 261 B τοιαῦτα πρὸς τὸν χρησμοδὸν ὁ Οἰνόμαος ἀπετείνωτο. Conf. Theodoret. Therap. VI p. 86. 19 X p. 141. 51 ὁ κυνικὸς Οἰνόμαος. Socrates H. E. III. 23 p. 202 A διὰ μὲν τὸν χρησμὸν τόνδε [de *Cleomede heroe*: conf. Euseb. Præp. V. 34 p. 230 B] Διογένης ὁ κύων καὶ Οἰνόμαος ὁ φιλόσοφος κατέγνωσαν τοῦ Πυθίου Ἀπολλωνος. Julian. Or. VI p. 187 C τοῦτο ἔοικεν Οἰνόμαος οὐκ ἀτόπως λέγειν "ὁ κυνισμὸς οὔτε Ἀντισθενισμὸς ἔστιν οὔτε Διογενισμὸς." p. 199 A ἔστω δὴ μὴ, κατὰ τὸν Οἰνόμαον, ὁ κύων ἀναίτης μηδὲ ἀναίσχυτος. Idem Or. VII p. 209 B δοίη γὰρ ἂν ὑπολαβεῖν πολλοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ [sc. τοῦ κυνισμοῦ] ταῦτα Οἰνόμαος. p. 212 A οὗτος ὁ Διογένης ὁποῖός τις ἦν τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους, μὴ διὰ τῶν Οἰνομάου λόγων—ἀλλὰ δι' ὃν ἔδρασαν ἔργων—γνωρίζεσθω. These passages in Julian are from the first or the last of the works named by Suidas. The work on Oracles is also quoted by Julian Or. VII p. 209 B ἐπιγνώσει σαφῶς ἐν τῇ τοῦ κυνὸς [sc. Οἰνομάου] αὐτοφονία καὶ τῷ κατὰ τῶν χρηστηρίων, καὶ πᾶσιν ἀπλῶς οἷς ἔγραψεν ὁ ἀνήρ. *Oenomaus* also wrote tragedies: Julian. Or. VII p. 210 D ταῖς Οἰνομάου δὲ ἐντυχῶν ἔγραψε γὰρ καὶ τραγω-

δίας τοῖς λόγοις τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ παραπλησίας, ἀρρήτων ἀρρητότερα, καὶ κακῶν πέρα, καὶ οὔτε ὅ τι φῶ περὶ αὐτῶν ἀξίως ἔχω κ. τ. λ.

<sup>r</sup> *Agathobulus* was contemporary with *Demonax*: Lucian. Demonacte c. 3. See above No 57.

<sup>s</sup> Themist. Or. XVII p. 215 A ἀπολανέτω τοῖνον ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνος τῶν Τραϊανῶν καιρῶν ἐπανιόντων, τῶν Ἀδριανῶν, τῶν Μάρκου, τῶν Ἀντωνίου, οἱ τὸν Ἀρειανὸν καὶ τὸν Ρούστικον ἐξαναοτήσαντες ἐκ τῶν βιβλίων μεριστὰς ἐποιούοντο καὶ συνεργοὺς τῆς τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιτροπίας. Idem Or. XIII p. 173 C συνήν—Μάρκος Ρουστικός.

<sup>t</sup> Marcus περὶ ἑαυτοῦ I. 8 παρὰ Ἀπολλωνίου τὸ ἐλεύθερον καὶ ἀναμφιβόλως ἀκύβετον κ. τ. λ. I. 17 παρὰ τῶν Θεῶν τὸ ἀγαθὸς πάμπους ἀγαθὸς γονεὺς ἀγαθὴν ἀδελφὴν ἀγαθὸς διδασκάλους ἀγαθὸς οἰκείου συγγενεῖς φίλους, σχεδὸν ἀγαθὰ πάντα σχεῖν.—τὸ γρῶναι Ἀπολλώνιον, Ρούστικον, Μάξιμον.

<sup>u</sup> Galenus tom. 15 p. 136 Ἡρόφιλος τε καὶ Εὐδήμος, οἷς εἰς τὴν μέθοδον οὐκέτι οὐδεὶς προσεξείρην οὐδὲν ἄχρι Μαρῖνου τε [No 28] καὶ Νομισιανοῦ, οὐδ' Ἡρακλειανὸς [No 145], ᾧ συνεγενόμενον ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας οὐκ ἐν παρέργῳ μαθηταὶ δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶνδε πολλοὶ τε καὶ ἄλλοι, διαπρεπέστατοι δὲ Νομισιανῶν μὲν ὁ διδάσκαλος ἡμῶν Πέλοψ, Μαρῖνον δὲ Κούντος. ἀλλὰ Κούντος μὲν [No 39] οὐτ' ἄλλο τι βιβλίον οὐτ' ἀνατομικὸν ἔγραψε τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἀνατομικὰς ἔχοντες οὐκ ὀλίγας βιβλούς. ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν Κούντου μαθητῶν ἔστιν ἀνατομικὰ συγγράμματα, καθάπερ τὰ Σατύρου τε τοῦ ἡμετέρου διδασκάλου καὶ Λύκου. Of *Pelops* he speaks tom. 19 p. 16 ἐπανήλθον ἐκ Ῥώμης εἰς τὴν πατρίδα [A. D. 167. See the Tables p. 159]—τρία δέ μοι βιβλία παρὰ τινῶν ἐδόθη γεγραμμένα πρὶν εἰς Σμύρναν ἐκ Περγάμου μεταβῆναι, Πέλοψ τε τοῦ ἱατροῦ καὶ



- 101 *Satyrus medicus, Quinti μαθητής.*  
 102 *Numesianus, Quinti μαθητής.*  
 103 *Pelops.*  
 104 *Stratonicus, Sabini μαθητής.*  
 105 *Æschrius empiricus.*  
 106 *Lycus Macedo, Quinti μαθητής.* Galen. tom. 19 p. 22 Λύκος ὁ Μακεδῶν, Κοῖντου μαθητῆς γε-  
 γονός. Conf. p. 57. tom. 17. 1 p. 502 αὐται μὲν αἱ ἐκ τοῦ προρρητικοῦ ῥήσεις ὑπὸ τοῦ Λύκου  
 προσεγράφησαν, ὡς εἰρηκότος οὕτω Κοῖντου κατὰ τὴν ἐξήγησιν τοῦ προκειμένου Πυθίωνος. tom.  
 18. 2 p. 1000 ὁ τοῦ Κοῖντου μαθητῆς Λύκος<sup>v</sup>.  
 107 *Antiochus sophista.* Mentioned in the Tables A. D. 173. For his time see A. D. 216 p. 227.  
 108 *Alexander sophista.* Tables A. D. 160. 170. Secretary to *Marcus.*  
 109 *Claudius Ptolemæus*<sup>w</sup>. Tables A. D. 139. 140. 161.  
 110 *Basilides Scythopolitanus*<sup>x</sup>. Tables A. D. 148. The preceptor of *Verus.*  
 111 *Iamblichus Babylonius.* Tables A. D. 166.  
 112 *Peregrinus.* Tables A. D. 165. Conversed with *Demonax*; Lucian. Demon. c. 21. See N<sup>o</sup> 57.  
 113 *Atticus Platonicus.* Tables A. D. 164. 177. Mentioned by Porphyry Vit. Plotin. c. 14y.  
 114 *Crescens cynicus.* Tables A. D. 153.  
 115 *Amyntianus.* Tables A. D. 167. Dedicated to *Marcus.*  
 116 *M. Aurelius Antoninus imp.* Born A. D. 121; reigned 161—180.  
 117 *Chryseros.* Tables A. D. 180.  
 118 *Phrynichus.* Tables A. D. 176. Lived in the times of *Marcus* and *Commodus.*  
 119 *Basilides sophista.* Tables A. D. 176. Contemporary with *Phrynichus.*  
 120 *Damophilus.* Suidas p. 863 D Δαμόφιλος φιλόσοφος, σοφιστής· ἄν ανεθρέψατο Ἰουλιανὸς ὁ ἐπὶ  
 Μάρκου τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπάτος [A. D. 175 z]· γράφας πάμπολλα, ἐξ ὧν ταῦτά μοι εὑρηται ἐπὶ ταῖς  
 τῶν βιβλίων θήκαις· Φιλόβιβλος, πρῶτος περὶ ἀξιοκτῆτων βιβλίων, πρὸς Λολλιανὸν Μάξιμον.  
 Περὶ βίου ἀρχαίων. (καὶ ἑτέρα πάμπολλα.) Conf. Eudociam p. 134.  
 121 *Herodianus grammaticus*<sup>a</sup>. Son of *Apollonius.* Tables A. D. 173. Flourished in the reign  
 of *Marcus.*

<sup>v</sup> Ἀλβίνου τοῦ Πλατωνικοῦ χάριν.—τὸ δὲ τρίτον ἡνίκα Πέλοψ  
 μετὰ Φιλίππου τοῦ ἐμπειρικοῦ διελέχθη δυοῖν ἡμερῶν, τοῦ  
 μὲν Πέλοπος, ὡς μὴ δυναμένης τῆς ἰατρικῆς δι' ἐμπειρίας  
 μόνης συστήναι, τοῦ Φιλίππου δ' ἐπιδεικνύοντος δύνασθαι.

<sup>w</sup> Galen writes against him tom. 18. 1 p. 196 Λύκος  
 τὸν ἔγραψε κ. τ. λ. tom. 16 p. 197 κάκιστον δὲ πάν-  
 των ὁ Λύκος ἡρμηρεύσατο. p. 198 ἀλλὰ τίς φέρει τὴν τοῦ  
 Λύκου τοῦ Μακεδόνος ἀσέλγειαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἀρτεμιδώρου  
 [sc. *Caritonis*] ἀμάθειαν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων πολυλαλίαν  
 καὶ ἀπιθάνους λόγους; tom. 17. 1 p. 966. Idem tom. 2  
 p. 71 ὥσθ' ὁ Λύκος οὐτ' ἀληθῆ λέγων φαίνεται κ. τ. λ. p. 227  
 Λύκου τι σύγγραμμα νῦν ἡμῖν ἐκομίσθη, μικροῦ δὲν εἰς πεν-  
 τακισχίλιους ἐκτεταμένον, ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις αὐτῶν ἐσφαλ-  
 μένον. *Lycus* is criticised again tom. 2 p. 449 tom. 3  
 p. 366 tom. 18. 2 p. 926. 927. 933.

<sup>x</sup> Suidas p. 3155 D οὗτος ἔγραψε Μηχανικὰ βιβλία γ',  
 Περὶ φάσεων καὶ ἐπισημασιῶν ἀστέρων ἀπλανῶν βιβλία β',  
 Ἀπλωσιν ἐπιφανείας σφαιράς, Κανὸνα πρόχειρον, Τὸν μέγαν  
 ἀστρονόμον ἦτοι σύνταξιν, καὶ ἄλλα.

<sup>y</sup> Sextus Empir. Logic. II. 258 οἱ στωικοὶ, ὡς οἱ  
 περὶ τὸν Βασιλεῖδην. Fabricius ad locum: "Puto Ba-  
 silidem Scythopolitanum intelligi."

<sup>z</sup> *Atticus* upon *Plato* is quoted by Proclus in *Ti-*

mæum. See below under *Iamblichus* N<sup>o</sup> 252, Works  
 n. 11.

<sup>a</sup> See above c. 2 at A. D. 175.

The following catalogue of the works of *Herodian*  
 is founded upon the list of Fabricius tom. 6 p. 282,  
 with additional testimonies from works published  
 since the time of Fabricius.

1 εἰς τὸ ἀνεκφώνητον. Etymol. M. v. δυσωπεῖσθαι p.  
 292. 55.

2 περὶ ἀνθοποιάκτων καὶ ἀνθοποιάκτων. Bekker. Anecd.  
 Gr. p. 1086.

3 περὶ τῶν ἀριθμῶν. Conf. Fabric. p. 278.

4 In *Apollonii* περὶ γενῶν. Steph. Byz. Καρία:—  
 Κάερα.—Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν μὲν τῇ ὀρθογραφίᾳ ἀμφίβολον  
 αὐτὸ φησιν. ἐν δὲ τῇ καθόλου, χρήσει ἐπόμενος διὰ διφθόγ-  
 γου· ἵπομνηματίζων δὲ τὸ περὶ γενῶν Ἀπολλωνίου, διὰ τοῦ  
 ἰ μακροῦ. See above, *Apollonii* Opp. n. 13.

5 In *Apollonii* περὶ παθῶν. Steph. Byz. Πινύξ:—  
 περὶ οὗ φησιν Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν τοῖς περὶ παθῶν οὕτως· κ. τ. λ.  
 Schol. Aristoph. Lys. 994 πάα πάσα: οὕτως Ἡρωδιανὸς  
 ἐν τῷ περὶ παθῶν. Etym. p. 143. 2 παρὰ τὸ Ἀριστοκλῆς  
 Ἀριστολλος. οὕτως Ἡρωδιανὸς εἰς τὴν Ἀπολλωνίου εἰσα-  
 γωγῆν, ἢ περὶ παθῶν. Etym. p. 56. 26 ἀλάγημαι:—Ἡρωδ.

Ammianus 22. 16, 15. 16 *Alexandria—Aureliano imperium agente civilibus jurgiis ad certamina interneciva prolapsis—amisit regionis maximam partem quæ Bruchion adpellabatur,*

ἐν τῷ περὶ παθῶν. p. 150. 9 ἀρτεμής:—Ἡρωδ. ἐν τῷ ὑπομνήματι τῶν περὶ παθῶν φησιν κ. τ. λ. Bekk. Anecd. Gr. p. 1219 l. penult. Ἡρωδ. ἐν τῷ περὶ παθῶν οὕτω κ. τ. λ. Etymol. Ἄρη p. 146. 5 καλεῖται δὲ καὶ Τάρνη, ὡς λέγει Ἡρωδ. ἐν τῷ περὶ παθῶν.

6 περὶ βαρβαρισμοῦ καὶ σολοικισμοῦ κατὰ πλάτος. Edidit Valckenærius ad Ammonium p. 191—204. Assigned to Herodian by Villoison Anecd. Gr. p. 175—178.

7 περὶ γάμου καὶ συμβιώσεως. Etymol. p. 149. 45 ἄρσην—παρὰ τοῦ ἔρδω: ἔρσω:—οὕτως Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν τῷ περὶ γάμου καὶ συμβιώσεως.

8 ὑπόμνημα τοῦ περὶ παθῶν Διδύμου. Schol. Hom. Il. p. 201 ζητεῖ ὁ Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν τῷ α' ὑπομνήματι τοῦ περὶ παθῶν Διδύμου. Il. γ. 272 Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν τῷ β' ποιήματι [lege cum Bekkero ὑπομνήματι] τῷ περὶ παθῶν Διδύμου. λ. 160 λέγει ὁ τεχνικός ἐν τῷ ὑπομνήματι τοῦ περὶ παθῶν Διδύμου κ. τ. λ.—ἐν δὲ τῇ Ὀμηρικῇ προσφῶδιᾳ ἐναντιοῦται τούτῳ.

9 περὶ διχρόνων. Bekker. Anecd. Gr. p. 1438 note.

10 περὶ ἐγκλινομένων καὶ ἐγκλιτικῶν καὶ συνεγκλιτικῶν μορίων. Editur apud Bekker. Anecd. Gr. p. 1142—1149.

11 ἐπιμερισμοί. Bekker. Anecd. Gr. p. 1402 οὕτως Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν ἐπιμερισμοῖς. p. 1431 ἐχείρ, καὶ ἀποβολῇ τοῦ ε χεῖρ. οὕτως Ἡρ. ἐν ἐπιμερισμοῖς. Schol. Aristoph. Avium 877 στρουθὲ μῆτερ: Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν τῷ “Βάσκ ἴθι Ἴρι ταχεῖα”—ἐπιμερισμῷ φησὶ τὸν Χάρητα λέγειν βαρύνει Ἄττικους τὸ στρουθὸς, ὁμοίως καὶ ἐν τῷ ις' τῆς καθόλου λέγων καὶ Τρύφωνα μεμῆσθαι ἐν δευτέρῳ περὶ Ἀττικῆς προσφῶδιᾳ. Schol. Hom. Il. δ. 66 ὑπερκύδαντας: λέγουσι δὲ τινας ὅτι ἐν τοῖς ἐπιμερισμοῖς λέγει ὁ Ἡρωδιανὸς ὅτι μετοχὴ ἐστίν—ἐν δὲ τῷ ὀνοματικῷ λέγει ὅτι ὄνομα ἐστίν.—τῷ ὀνοματικῷ δεῖ μᾶλλον πιστεῖν ἢ τοῖς ἐπιμερισμοῖς.—τοῦτο γὰρ ὠμολόγηται εἶναι Ἡρωδιανοῦ, ἀλλ' εἰσὶ καὶ ψευδεπίγραφοι. Conf. Eustath. ad locum p. 445. 30. Schol. ad Il. μ. 106 λελίδηκα: λελίδημα: λελιδημένος: λελιγμένος. Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν ἐπιμερισμοῖς. Ad ζ. 414. τ. 267 Ἡρωδ. ἐν ἐπιμερισμῷ. Etymol. p. 101. 35 νάκης: νάκον: νάκην: οὕτως Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν ἐπιμερισμοῖς. Idem p. 3. 1 ἀβακέως: Ἡρωδιανὸς εἰς τοὺς μεγάλους ἐπιμερισμούς. Suid. p. 2011 B καταπροΐζεται [Aristoph. Eq. 433]: Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν ἐπιμερισμοῖς παρὰ τὸ ἴσσω φησὶ.

12 ζητούμενα τῶν μερῶν τοῦ λόγου. Etym. p. 794. 38 Φιλοπότης: οὕτως Ἡρωδ. εἰς τὰ ζητούμενα τῶν μερῶν τοῦ λόγου.

13 περὶ κλίσεως ὀνομάτων. Steph. Byz. Βρίγες. Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν πρώτῃ κλίσει ὀνομάτων Βρίγαντας αὐτοὺς φησὶ.

14 περὶ τῆς λέξεως τῶν στίχων. In Appendice ad Draconem Stratoniceensem p. 88.

15 περὶ μονήρους λέξεως. Edidit Dindorf Lips. 1823 p. 1—47.

16 μονόβιβλος περὶ κυρίων καὶ ἐπιθέτων καὶ προσηγορικῶν. Schol. Eur. Hippol. 408 Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν τῷ μονοβίβλῳ τῷ περὶ κ. τ. λ.—λέγει εἶναι κ. τ. λ.

17 μονόβιβλος ὅτι τὰ εἰς ἀρ οὐδέτερα παραλλήλογα τῷ ᾧ ἀκλιτὰ εἰσι. Etymol. p. 491. 36 λέγει δὲ Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν μονοβίβλῳ κ. τ. λ.

18 μονόβιβλος περὶ τοῦ ἡδὺ ὕδαρ. Bekker. Anecd. Gr. p. 1194. 1 ἴστέον δὲ ὅτι λέγει ὁ Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ ἡδὺ ὕδαρ μονοβίβλῳ κ. τ. λ.

19 ὀνοματικόν. See above, n. 11. Bekker. Anecd. Gr. p. 1181 Ἡρ. ἐν τῷ ὀνοματικῷ. p. 1193 ἐν τῷ ὀνοματικῷ τοῦ Ἡρωδιανοῦ. p. 1195 ὁ Ἡρ. ἐν τῷ ὀνοματικῷ. p. 1272 ἐν τοῖς προλεγόμενοις τοῦ ὀνοματικῷ Ἡρωδιανοῦ. p. 1317. 1 p. 1390. Eustath. ad Odys. p. 1807. 16 ἐν δὲ γε τοῖς ὀνοματικαῖς Ἡρωδιανοῦ φέρεται κ. τ. λ.

20 περὶ ὀρθογραφίας. Steph. Byz. Καρία. See above n. 4. Bekker. Anecd. Gr. p. 1354 βοῖκὰ ζεύγη: Ἡρωδιανὸς δὲ διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου—ἐν τῷ περὶ ὀρθογραφίας. Schol. Hom. Il. a. 129 μέρηται αὐτὸν κὰν τῇ ὀρθογραφίᾳ Ἡρωδιανός. Priscian. Il. 1 p. 55 *Herodianus de Orthographia ostendit* &c.

21 περὶ πνευμάτων. Bekker. Anecd. Gr. p. 1428 οὕτως Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν τῷ περὶ πνευμάτων.

22 ἀνόματος προσφῶδια. Etym. p. 146. 14 Ἀρναῖος—Ἡρωδ. ἐν τῇ ἀνωμ. προσ.

23 Ἀττικὴ προσφῶδια. Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 485 κραγὸν κεκράξεται: Ἀρίσταρχος ὄξυτονῶς ἀντὶ τοῦ κραγαστικῶς, καὶ Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν Ἀττικῇ προσφῶδιᾳ.

24 καθολικὴ προσφῶδια. Schol. Hom. Il. o. 338 εἰρήσεται ἡμῖν ἐν τοῖς περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῶδιᾳ. Ad β. 461 ι. 292 λ. 446 ξ. 143 Ἡρωδ. ἐν τῇ καθόλου. Eustath. ad Hom. Il. p. 962. 15 παρὰ Ἡρωδιανῷ ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ προσφῶδιᾳ κείται. Schol. Aristoph. Av. 877. See above, n. 11. Schol. ad Eq. 1182 Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν τῇ καθόλου προπαροξύνει. Bekker. Anecd. Gr. p. 676. 21 Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν τῷ περὶ καθόλου προσφῶδιῶν ὠρίσατο. p. 1173 p. 1250 p. 1255 p. 1265 penult. p. 1383 ult. p. 1399 p. 1421 p. 1424 p. 1433 b Ἡρ. ἐν τῇ καθόλου.

Schol. Aristoph. Av. 1679 Ἴων ἐν Ὀμφάλῃ τοὺς βαρβάρους χελιδόνας ἀρσενικῶς φησιν, ὡς Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς καθόλου φησίν. Priscian. VI. 18 p. 283 *teste Herodiano, qui hoc ponit in I Catholicorum.* Schol. Apollon. I. 1297 Ἡρωδ. ἐν τῷ β' τῆς καθόλου. Steph. Byz. Ἀθάρραβις:—Ἡρωδ. ἐν τρίτῳ. Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 234 Χάβης: οὕτως Ἡρωδ. ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ τῆς καθόλου. Schol. Apollon. I. 785. 1047. II. 17. 110 Ἡρωδ. ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ τῆς καθόλου. Schol. Apollon. II. 791 Schol. Soph. CEd. Col. 195 Ἡρωδ. ἐν τῷ ε' τῆς καθόλου. Schol. Apollon. II. 1056 IV. 322 Schol. Aristoph. Pac. 70 Ἡρωδ. ἐν τῷ σ' τῆς καθόλου. Schol. Aristoph. Pac. 924 Ἡρωδ. ἐν τῷ ζ' τῆς καθόλου. Conf. Suidam p. 2268 A. Schol. Apollon. I. 54 Ἀμφρύσιοι:—προπαροξύνεται δὲ, ὡς ἐν τῇ η' τῆς καθόλου. Schol. Hom. Il. v. 521 Ἡρ. ἐν τῷ θ' τῆς καθόλου. Schol. Apollon. IV. 1309 Ἡρωδ. ἐν δεκάτῳ φησίν. Steph. Byz. Ἄρη. Ἡρωδ. ἐν ια'. Schol. Hom. Il. v. 212 Ἡρωδ. ἐν τῷ ια' τῆς καθόλου. Schol. Aristoph. Pac. 414 ἰφ' ἀρματωλίας:—μὲνηται Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν τῇ ια', καὶ Φρύνιχος ἐν τῇ σοφιστικῇ παρασκευῇ οὕτω τίθησι



*diuturnum præstantium hominum domicilium; unde Aristarchus grammaticæ rei donis excellens et Herodianus artium minutissimus sciscitator et Saccas Ammonius [N° 194] Plotini magister aliique plurimi scriptores multorum in literis nobilium studiorum, inter quos Chalcenterus eminuît Didymus [F. H. III p. 205 p. 551]. Priscianus præcæm. p. 4 Quid enim Herodiani artibus certius, quid Apollonii scrupulosis quæstionibus enucleatius possit inveniri?—Spatii quoque veniam peto, quamvis ad Herodiani scriptorum pelagus et ad ejus patris Apollonii spatiosa volumina meorum compendiosa sunt existimanda scripta librorum, hujus tamen te operis hortatorem sortitus, judicem quoque facio, Juliane consul ac patricie, &c. II. 6 p. 76 Incongruum videtur—nos Apollonii et Herodiani, qui omnes antiquorum errores grammaticorum purgaverunt, vestigia linquere. VI. 1 p. 218 Maximis auctoribus Herodiano et Apollonio confisus ingredior. Idem de XII vers. Æneid. c. 10 p. 340 Dionysius et Apollonius et Herodianus.*

122 *Varus Pergæus.* Tables A. D. 158. Between *Alexander* and *Hermogenes*.

123 *Arrianus.* Tables A. D. 103. 135. 148. Lucian. tom. 5 p. 64. 65 'Αρριανὸς ὁ τοῦ Ἐπικτήτου μαθητῆς, ἀνὴρ Ῥωμαίων ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις καὶ παιδεία παρ' ὄλον τὸν βίον συγγενόμενος<sup>b</sup>.

124 *Arrianus.* Tables A. D. 130. 147. Suidas p. 462 B ἔγραψε Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἱστορίαν τὴν καλομένην Βασιλικήν. καὶ αἱ μὲν τρεῖς βιβλίοι Ἀρριανοῦ αἱ πρώται περιλαμβάνουσιν ὅσα Ῥωμαίοις ἀγωνιζομένοις ἐς Ἰταλιώτας ἔτι περὶ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἡγεμονίας ἐπράχθη κ. τ. λ. *Arrian* himself

τὴν λέξιν. Steph. Byz. Ἀριάνθη: Ἡρωδ. ιβ'. Idem Ἀβακαῖνον: πόλις Σικελίας οὐδετέρως καὶ παροξυτόνως, καὶ ἡ παραλήγουσα διὰ διφθόγγου. ὡς Ἡρωδ. ἐν ιγ' περὶ οὐδετέρων. The number *lib. XIII* seems to refer it to this work. Schol. Hom. II. λ. 480 Ἡρωδ. ἐν τῷ ιε' τῆς καθόλου. Schol. Aristoph. Pac. 1150 ἐν τῷ ιε' τῆς καθόλου. Schol. Hom. II. α. 273 μέμνηται δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ιε' Ἡρωδιανός. ξ. 241 παρατίθεται ὁ Ἡρωδ. ἐν τῷ ιε' τῆς καθόλου. Schol. Hom. II. α. 493. π. 697. φ. 232. ψ. 137 Ἡρωδ. ἐν τῷ ιβ' τῆς καθόλου. Schol. Aristoph. Av. 877. See above n. 11. Schol. Hom. II. ω. 318 ἐν τῷ κ' τῆς καθόλου. Steph. Byz. Ἀβαί.—ἐστὶ δὲ ἄλλη Ἀβα πόλις Καρίας, ὡς Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν εἰκοστῷ βιβλίῳ. Schol. Apollon. I. 1294 Ἡρωδ. ἐν τῷ εἰκοστῷ φησὶν. Schol. Hom. II. ρ. 110 μέμνηται ὁ Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν τῷ μ'. Perhaps the number is corrupt.

25 Ὀμηρικὴ προσφθία. Suid. p. 2453 A μεμνήτο.—Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν τῇ Ὀμηρικῇ προσφθία. Conf. Schol. Aristoph. Pluti 992 Dindorf. Schol. Hom. II. λ. 160. See above n. 8.

ἐν τῇ Ἰλιακῇ προσφθία. Etymol. ἦδος. See below Συμπόσιον. Schol. Hom. II. α. 493 ὁ Ἡρωδ. ἐν τῇ Ἰλιακῇ προσφθία. γ. 20 ἐν τῇ Ἰλιακῇ προσφθία. ζ. 414 τὸ δὲ ἄμδν ἐν μὲν τῇ Ἰλιακῇ προσφθία φησὶν ὁ Ἡρωδιανὸς Δωρικώτερον εἶναι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀμέτερον ἐν δὲ ἐπιμερισμῷ [see n. 11] φησὶν ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄμδν ἐκτέταται. σ. 352 ἐν τῇ Ἰλιακῇ προσφθία ἐν τῇ ψ λέγει κ. τ. λ. Conf. ad ψ. 420. φ. 279. θ. 109. At the end of each book of the *Iliad* in Schol. ed. Bekker. are added the words τινὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἰλιακῆς προσφθίας Ἡρωδιανοῦ.

ἐν τῇ Ὀδυσσειακῇ προσφθία. Schol. Hom. II. π. 390 ἐν μέντοι τῇ Ὀδυσσειακῇ προσφθία φανερώς τὸ γραπτὸς περισπᾶ. Schol. Aristoph. Av. 862 Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ φησὶ τῆς Ὀδυσσειακῆς προσφθίας τὸ φορβειά διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου γράφεσθαι καὶ ὀξυτόνως.

περὶ παθῶν. See above, n. 5. 8.

26 περὶ πνευμάτων. Bekker. Anecd. Gr. p. 1428 οὕτως Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν τῷ περὶ πνεύματων.

27 περὶ συζυγῶν. Bekker. Anecd. Gr. p. 1402 φησὶν Ἡρωδ. ἐν τῷ περὶ συζυγῶν.

28 συμπόσιον. Steph. Byz. Δικαίρχεια: πόλις Ἰταλίας. ταύτην δὲ φασὶ κεκλησθαι Ποτιώλους, ἐν ἣ τὸ συμπόσιον ὁ Ἡρωδιανὸς ἔγραψε. Etymol. ἦδος p. 420. 35 Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν Ἰλιακῇ προσφθία: ἐν δὲ τῷ συμπόσιῳ φησὶν ὅτι τὸ ἦδος βούλουται τινες δασύνειν, ἐκρίναμεν δὲ μᾶλλον φιλοῦσθαι. Eustath. in II. β. p. 154. 39 Ἡρωδ. ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ συμπόσιῳ δασύνεσθαι αὐτὸ λέγει πρὸς τινων, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἦδος καὶ τῆς ἡδονῆς. ἐκρίναμεν δὲ, φησιν, ὥστε μᾶλλον φιλοῦν αὐτό. Conf. Schol. ad II. α. 576.

29 περὶ συντάξεως στοιχείων. Steph. Byz. Ἀγβάτανα:—Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν τῷ περὶ συντ. στ. ἐγκρίνει τὴν διὰ τοῦ κ γραφὴν. [sc. Ἀκβάτ.] Bekk. Anecd. Gr. p. 1385 ἰῶτα.—οὕτως Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν τῇ συντάξει τῶν στοιχείων.

30 περὶ σχημάτων. Schol. Hom. II. γ. 391 δινος—διὰ τοῦ ι φησὶν Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν τῷ περὶ σχημάτων. Edidit Villosion Anecd. Gr. p. 87—97. Etymol. p. 137. 31 ἀργύφειον:—ὁ δὲ Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν τῷ περὶ σχημάτων λέγει ὅτι γίνονται τινες συνθέσεις καὶ ἀπὸ μόνου ῥήματος οἶον ἀπὸ τοῦ βῶ κάραβος.

31 φιλέταιρος. Edidit Piersonus ad Mærin p. 431—453. Conf. Villosion. Anecd. Gr. p. 85.

32 Villosion An. Gr. p. 86 Ἡρωδιανοῦ περὶ στίχων τῆς λέξεως.

<sup>b</sup> Simplicius ad Aristot. Categ. p. 6 apud Schol. Aristot. Berolin. p. 70 a l. 10 ὑπὸ φαρμάκων ἐπιλαθῆσθαι συνέβη πάντων, ὡς τοῖς μετὰ Ἀντωνίνου [lege Ἀντωνίου] τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγῶ Πάρθους πολεμοῦσι συνέβη ἐπὶ βοτάνης τινὸς ἐδωδῆ, ὡς Ἀριανὸς ἱστορεῖ ἐν τοῖς Παρθικοῖς. The incident is recorded by Plutarch Vit. Anton. c. 45.



procem. c. 14 p. 20 Schw. Ἀππιανὸς Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἐς τὰ πρῶτα ἤκων ἐν τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ δίκαις ἐν Ῥώμῃ συναγορεύσας ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέων μέχρι με σφῶν ἐπιτροπεύειν ἤξιωσαν. καὶ εἰ τῷ σπουδῇ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ μαθεῖν, ἔστι μοι καὶ περὶ τούτου συγγραφῆ<sup>c</sup>.

125 *Hermogenes Tarsensis*. Tables A. D. 163. 173.

126 *Antiochus Laodicensis scepticus*. The preceptor of *Menodotus*. See below N<sup>o</sup> 139.

127 *Artemidorus*. Suid p. 585 A Ἀρτεμίδωρος Δαλδιανός. πόλις δὲ ἐστὶ Λυδίας ἢ Δάλδιδος. φιλόσοφος. ἔγραψεν Ὀνειροκριτικὰ ἐν βιβλίοις τέσσαρσιν, Οἰωνοσκοπικὰ καὶ Χειροσκοπικὰ. He mentions *Varus* and *Philager*: Tables A. D. 158. And appears to be their contemporary.

128 *Hephaestio*. Tables A. D. 160. Contemporary with *Athenæus*.

129 *Philager*. Tables A. D. 159. The preceptor of *Phœnix*, and the rival of *Herodes Atticus*.

130 *Maximus Tyrius*. Tables A. D. 148. Suidas p. 2396 B Μαξίμος Τύριος, φιλόσοφος, διέτριψε δὲ ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐπὶ Κομόδου ἔγραψε περὶ Ὀμήρου, καὶ τίς ἢ παρ' αὐτῷ ἀρχαία φιλοσοφία. εἰ καλῶς Σωκράτης οὐκ ἀπελογήσατο. καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ φιλόσοφα ζητήματα<sup>d</sup>.

131 *Aristides*<sup>e</sup>. Born A. D. 129 died A. D. 189. Was at Athens under *Herodes*, at Pergamus under *Aristocles*. Saw the emperor *Marcus* at Smyrna. He taught *Damianus*: Philostrat. V. S. II. 23. see the Tables A. D. 192 p. 191 f.

132 *Numenius*. Preceded *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who quotes him. Quoted also and read by *Origen*, *Plotinus*, *Porphyry*, *Eusebius*. The time of *Clemens*, who wrote in the reign of *Severus*<sup>g</sup>, will carry back *Numenius* to the time of the *Antonines*. Suidas p. 2612 B Νουμήμιος Ἀπαμῆνς ἀπὸ Συρίας, φιλόσοφος Πυθαγόρειος. οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τὴν τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἐξελέγξας διάνοιαν, ὡς ἐκ τῶν Μωσαϊκῶν τὰ περὶ Θεοῦ καὶ κόσμου γενέσεως ἀποσυλήσασαν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φησι “Τί γάρ ἐστι Πλάτων ἢ Μωσῆς ἀπτικίζων<sup>h</sup> ;”

<sup>c</sup> *Appian* a friend of *Fronto* is mentioned *Fronton*. Ep. XI ad *Antoninum* p. 28. 29 *Supplicavi tibi jam per biennium pro Appiano amico meo, cum quo mihi et vetus consuetudo et studiorum usus prope quotidianus intercedit.—Cum primum pro Appiano petivi, ita benigne admisisti preces meas ut sperare deberem. Proximo superiore anno petenti mihi propitius multa respondisti; illud vero etiam comiter, futurum ut cum Appiano, me rogante, procurationem dedisses, causidicorum scatebra exoreretur idem petentium, &c.* Maio refers this to *Appian* the historian. Two Greek epistles are extant, VI p. 426 παρὰ Ἀππιανοῦ Φρόντωνι. VII p. 432 Ἀππιανῷ παρὰ Φρόντωνος. referred by Maio ad Ep. XI p. 28 to the historian. The letters however contain no internal evidence that this was the historian. Epist. VI has nothing worthy of *Appian* in the matter or the style.

<sup>d</sup> *Reiske* in præfatione has pronounced a just judgment upon the empty and puerile declamations of *Maximus*, written rather in the style of a sophist than a philosopher.

*Maximus* had visited Arabia: Diss. 8, 8 tom. I p. 142 Ἀράβιοι σέβουσι μὲν, ὅτινα δὲ οὐκ οἶδα τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα εἶδον λίθος ἦν τετράγωνος. And Phrygia: Ibid. p. 143 Φρύγες οἱ περὶ Κελαιῶν νεμόμενοι τιμῶσι ποταμούς δύο, Μαρσίαν καὶ Μαίανδρον εἶδον τοὺς ποταμούς.

<sup>e</sup> Upon *Aristides* see the Tables A. D. 129. 160. 161. 162. 165. 168. 169. 171. 172. 176. 178 *Or. XX Or. XLI. 179 Or. XXI. 189.*

<sup>f</sup> *Libanius* tom. 3 p. 347 gives high praise to

*Aristides*; and describes p. 378 his life and labours: “*Aristides* visited the Hellespont, Ionia, Pergamus, Smyrna, Ephesus, Egypt, Rome.”

<sup>g</sup> See the Tables A. D. 194. 4.

<sup>h</sup> *Clem. Al. Strom. I p. 342 C* Νουμήμιος ὁ Πυθαγόρειος φιλόσοφος ἀπτικρος γράφει “Τί γάρ ἐστι Πλάτων ἢ Μωσῆς ἀπτικίζων;” Conf. *Theodoret. Therapeut. II p. 37. 50.* *Origenes* in *Celsum I. 15* ὁ Πυθαγόρειος Νουμήμιος, ὅστις ἐν τῷ α΄ Περὶ τάγαθῶν λέγων περὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν ὅσα περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ὡς ἀσωμάτου διειληφεν ἐγκατέταξεν αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἰουδαίους. *Idem IV. 51* ἐγὼ δὲ οἶδα καὶ Νουμήμιον τὸν Πυθαγόρειον, ἄνδρα πολλῶν κρείττον διηγησάμενον Πλάτωνα, καὶ τῶν Πυθαγορείων δογμάτων πρεσβεύσαντα, πολλαχοῦ τῶν συγγραμμάτων αὐτοῦ ἐκτιθέμενον τὰ Μωυσῆως καὶ τῶν προφητῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἀπιθάνως αὐτὰ τροπολογούντα, ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ Ἐποπι καὶ ἐν τοῖς Περὶ ἀριθμῶν καὶ ἐν τοῖς Περὶ τόπου. ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ Περὶ τάγαθῶν ἐκτίθεται καὶ περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἱστορίαν τινὰ, τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ οὐ λέγων. *Idem V. 38* ἀνέγνωμεν δὲ παρὰ Νουμημίου τῷ Πυθαγορείῳ περὶ τῆς κατασκευῆς αὐτοῦ κ. τ. λ. *V. 57* παρὰ τῷ Πυθαγορείῳ Νουμημίου ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ Περὶ ἀφθαρσίας ψυχῆς. *Hieronimus Magno p. 1083 Origenes decem scripsit stromateas Christianorum et philosophorum inter se sententias comparans, et omnia nostræ religionis dogmata de Platone et Aristotele Numenio Cornutoque confirmans.* *Porphyrius* de antro *Nympharum c. 10* φησὶν ὁ Νουμήμιος, διὰ τοῦτο λέγων τὸν προφήτην [sc. *Genes. I. 5*] εἰρηκέναι ἐμφέρεσθαι ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος Θεοῦ πνεῦμα. See other testimonies in *Cronius*, and in *Porphyry* apud *Euseb.* quoted in the Tables



- 133 *Cronius*. Porphy. de Antro Nymph. c. 21 p. 20 Νουμήμιος καὶ ὁ τούτου ἑταῖρος Κρόνιος. See other testimonies to *Cronius* above at N° 21 and in the Tables A. D. 206. 3. Nemesius c. 2 p. 117 Κρόνιος ἐν τῷ Περὶ παλιγγενεσίας.
- 134 *Adrianus*. Tables A. D. 131. 176. 192. His disciples : A. D. 192. He died at the age of 80 in A. D. 193.
- 135 *Chrestus*. Tables A. D. 179. His disciples Ibid. Succeeded *Adrianus* at Athens.
- 136 *Pollux*. Tables A. D. 176. 183. Favoured by *Commodus*. Taught *Antipater* : Tables A. D. 199.
- 137 *Zeno Atheniensis*. Taught *Antipater* : Tables A. D. 199.
- 138 *Polyænus*. Tables A. D. 163.
- 139 *Menodotus Nicomediensis*. The preceptor of *Herodotus* of *Tarsus*. Laertius IX. 115. 116 describes the succession in the sceptical school from *Pyrrho* and *Timon* to *Saturninus* the disciple of *Sextus Empiricus*: (Τίμωνος) διάδοχος, ὡς μὲν Μηνόδοτος φησὶ, γέγονεν οὐδεὶς, ἀλλὰ διέλιπεν ἡ ἀγωγή ἕως αὐτὴν Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Κυρηναῖος ἀνεκτέτατο· ὡς δὲ Ἰππόβοτος φησὶ καὶ Σωπίων, διήκουσαν αὐτοῦ Διοσκουρίδης Κύπριος καὶ Νικόλοχος Ῥόδιος καὶ Εὐφράνωρ Σελευκεὺς Πραῦλος τε ἀπὸ Τρωάδος.—Εὐφράνωρος δὲ διήκουσεν Εὐβουλος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς· οὐ Πτολεμαῖος· οὐ Σαρπηδῶν καὶ Ἡρακλείδης· Ἡρακλείδου δὲ Αἰνησιδῆμος Κνῶσσιος, ὃς καὶ Πυρρωναίων λόγων ὀκτὼ συνέγραψε βιβλία· οὐ Ζεύξιππος ὁ Πολίτης· οὐ Ζεῦξις ὁ Γωνιόπους· οὐ Ἀντίοχος Λαοδικεὺς ἀπὸ Λύκων· τούτου δὲ Μηνόδοτος ὁ Νικομηδεὺς, ἰατρὸς ἐμπειρικὸς, καὶ Θεωδῶδας Λαοδικεὺς. Μηνόδοτον δὲ Ἡρόδοτος Ἀριέως Ταρσεύς· Ἡροδότον δὲ διήκουσε Σέξτος ὁ ἐμπειρικὸς—Σέξτου δὲ διήκουσε Σατορνίνος ὁ Κυθηναῖος, ἐμπειρικὸς καὶ αὐτός<sup>1</sup>.

A. D. 206 p. 215. Porphyrius περὶ ψυχῆς apud Sto-bæum Ecl. I. 52, 21 p. 832 Νουμήμιος δὲ, τὴν συγκρα-  
 θετικὴν δύναμιν παραδεκτικὴν ἐνεργειῶν φήσας εἶναι, σύμ-  
 πτωμα αὐτῆς φησὶν εἶναι τὸ φανταστικόν κ. τ. λ. Eusebius  
 Præp. XI. 17 p. 536 D ὁ δὲ Νουμήμιος τὰ Πλάτωνος  
 πρεσβειῶν ἐν τοῖς Περὶ τάγαθῶν τάδε καὶ αὐτὸς περὶ τοῦ  
 δευτέρου αἰτιῶν λέγων διερμηνεύει κ. τ. λ. IX. 7 p. 411 B  
 καὶ αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ Πυθαγορικοῦ φιλοσόφου, τοῦ Νουμηρίου  
 λέγω, ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου Περὶ τάγαθῶν τάδε παραθήσομαι  
 κ. τ. λ. c. 8 καὶ ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ δὲ βίβλῳ Μωσέως ὁ αὐτὸς  
 τάδε λέγων μνημονεύει κ. τ. λ. XI. 21. 22 p. 543 B  
 πάλιν δὲ ὁ Νουμήμιος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ—p. 544 A  
 ταῦτα ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ· ἐν δὲ τῷ πέμπτῳ ταῦτα—p. 544 B  
 καὶ ἐν τῷ ἕκτῳ δὲ ἐπιλέγει κ. τ. λ. Idem XV. 17 p. 819  
 A ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου Περὶ τάγαθῶν Νουμηρίου. X. 9, 10 p.  
 525 ἐμοὶ δ' ἐξαρκεῖ τανῦν ἀνδρὸς ἐπιφανοῦς Νουμηρίου τοῦ  
 Πυθαγορείου παραθέσθαι λέξεις ἅς ἐν τῷ Περὶ τάγαθῶν δευ-  
 τέρῳ συγγράμματι ᾧδὲ πη διέξεισιν κ. τ. λ. XIII. 4. 5  
 p. 650 C διασαφεῖ δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν ὁ Νουμήμιος ἐν τῷ Περὶ  
 τῶν παρὰ Πλάτωνα ἀπορρήτων, ᾧδὲ πη λέγων κ. τ. λ. XIV.  
 4. 5 p. 727 A λαβὼν ἀνάγνωθι τὰς ᾧδὲ ἐχούσας Νουμη-  
 ρίου τοῦ Πυθαγορείου φωνὰς ἅς τίθεται ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ ὡς  
 ἐπέγραψε Περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀκαδημαϊκῶν πρὸς Πλάτωνα δια-  
 στάσεως· κ. τ. λ. Quoted also by Theodoret. Thera-  
 peut. II p. 33 καὶ Νουμήμιος δὲ ὁ Πυθαγόρειος ἐν οἷς Περὶ  
 τάγαθῶν γέγραφε κ. τ. λ. Quoted again Therapeut. I  
 p. 6. 28. Ther. V p. 73. 44 de anima : Νουμήμιος ὁ  
 Πυθαγόρειος—ἔφη, κ. τ. λ. Numenius upon Plato is  
 quoted by Proclus ad Timæum p. 24 D ἐπὶ ταύτης  
 ἔστι τῆς οἰήσεως ὁ φιλόσοφος Πορφύριος, ὃν καὶ θαυμά-  
 σαιεν ἂν τις εἰ ἕτερα λέγει τῆς Νουμηρίου παραδόσεως· ἀλλ'  
 οὐτοίγε ὑπὸ τοῦ θειοτάτου κατὰ γε τὴν ἐμὴν Ἰαμβλίχου

κομιδῇ γενναίως εὐθύνθησαν. p. 249 A εἰ δ' ὡς Ἀμελιος  
 γράφει, καὶ πρὸ τούτου Νουμήμιος κ. τ. λ. p. 187 B τῆς  
 μὲν προτέρας εἰσὶ δόξης οἱ περὶ Ἀρίστανδρον καὶ Νουμή-  
 μιον καὶ ἄλλοι πλείστοι τῶν ἐξηγητῶν τῆς δὲ δευτέρας Σε-  
 βήρος. Conf. Proclum p. 93 A p. 141 E 268 A 299 C.

<sup>1</sup> Of the *empirici Acron* was the founder : Pseudo-  
 Galenus in *εἰσαγωγῇ* tom. 14 p. 683 τῆς δὲ ἐμπειρικῆς  
 προέστησε Φιλίνος Κῶος, ὁ πρῶτος αὐτὴν ἀποτεμνόμενος  
 ἀπὸ τῆς λογικῆς αἰρέσεως, τὰς ἀφορμὰς λαβὼν παρὰ Ἡρο-  
 φίλου, οὐ καὶ ἀκουστής ἐγένετο. θέλοντες δὲ ἀπαρχαῖζειν  
 ἐαντῶν τὴν αἴρεσιν, ἵνα ἢ πρεσβυτέρα τῆς λογικῆς, Ἀκρωνα  
 τὸν Ἀκραγαντίνου φασὶν ἄρξασθαι αὐτῆς. *Acron* was  
 contemporary with *Empedocles*: Plin. H. N. 29. 1 *Alia*  
*factio ab experimentis se cognominans Empiricen capit*  
*in Sicilia, Acrone Agrigentino Empedoclis physici auc-*  
*toritate commendato.* Laert. VIII. 65 πάλιν δὲ Ἀ-  
 κρωνος τοῦ ἱατροῦ τόπον αἰτοῦντος παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς εἰς κα-  
 τασκευὴν πατρίου μνήματος διὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἱατροῖς ἀκρότητα,  
 παρελθὼν Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἐκώλυσε. Suidas p. 165 B Ἀκρων  
 Ἀκραγαντίνος, ἱατρὸς, υἱὸς Ξένωνος, ἐσοφίστευσεν ἐν ταῖς  
 Ἀθήναις ἅμα Ἐμπεδοκλεῖ. ἔστιν οὖν πρεσβύτερος Ἱππο-  
 κράτους. ἔγραψε περὶ ἱατρικῆς Δωριδί διαλέκτῳ κ. τ. λ. He  
 was at Athens in B. C. 430 : Plutarch. Mor. p. 383  
 D Ἀκρωνα γοῦν τὸν ἱατρὸν ἐν Ἀθήναις ὑπὸ τὸν μέγαν λοι-  
 μὸν εὐδοκμηῆσαι λέγουσι πῦρ κελεύοντα παρακαίειν τοῖς  
 νοσοῦσιν· ᾤησε γὰρ οὐκ ὀλίγους. Pseudo-Galenus *εἰσα-*  
*γωγῇ* apud Galen. tom. 14 p. 683 describes the  
 succession in the empirical school after *Philinus* : μετὰ  
 Φιλίνου [about B. C. 250] ἐγένετο Σεραπίων Ἀλεξανδρεὺς  
 [de quo Galenus tom. 10 p. 142 tom. 19 p. 38]·  
 εἶτα Ἀπολλώνιοι δύο πατὴρ τε καὶ υἱὸς Ἀντιοχεῖς [de  
 Apollonio empirico Galenus tom. 10 p. 142]· μεθ' οὓς

*Galen* in a work composed before A. D. 164 mentions *Menodotus* as then known by his writings: *Galen de libris propriis* Opp. tom. 19 p. 12 ὁπότε τὸ δεύτερον ἦγον ἐν Ῥώμῃ—ἐδόθη φίλῳ Πλατωνικῷ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιδημίαν ταύτην εἰσαγωγικὰ δύο βιβλία, τὸ μὲν ἀρτηριῶν καὶ φλεβῶν τὸ δὲ νεύρων ἔχον ἀνατομήν· καὶ τι ἐτέρῳ τῆς ἐμπειρικῆς ἀγωγῆς ὑποτύπωσις· ὧν οὐδὲν ἔχων ἐγὼ [sc. ἀντίγραφον] παρὰ τῶν ἐχόντων ἔλαβον ἡλικία τὸ δεύτερον ἦγον εἰς Ῥώμην. This treatise is extant in a Latin version apud Galenum ed. Charterii tom. 2 p. 340 *Menodotus* is named p. 340 *Atque hanc Menodotus experientiam particularem vocavit &c.* *Theudas* is named p. 341 *Nam Theudas quum prius dixisset &c.*<sup>k</sup> After that date *Galen* treated of works of *Menodotus* and *Theudas*: *Galen de libris propr.* c. 9 Opp. tom. 19 p. 38 recounts among his own works τῆς Θεοδᾶ εἰσαγωγῆς ὑπομνήματα πέντε. Περὶ τῶν Μηνοδότου Σεβήρῳ ἐνδέκα. Τῶν Σεραπίωνος πρὸς τὰς αἰρέσεις δύο ὑποτυπώσεις ἐμπειρικαί. Περὶ τῆς ἰατρικῆς ἐμπειρίας. Περὶ τῆς τῶν ἐμπειρικῶν διαφωνίας (βιβλία) τρία. Πρὸς τὰ ἀντειρημένα τῆς διαφωνίας τῶν ἐμπειρικῶν τοῦ τε Θεοδᾶ κεφαλ. ὑπομνήματα τρία. Εἰς τὸ Μηνοδότου Σεβήρῳ. They are named again by *Galen* Meth. Med. II tom. 10 p. 142 ὁ τε Μηνοδότος καὶ Σεραπίων καὶ Θεοδᾶς καὶ Γλαυκίας, Ἀπολλώνιος τε καὶ Καλλικλῆς καὶ Διόδωρος καὶ Ἑρακλείδης καὶ Λύκος, εἰς ἅπαντες ὑπάρχουσιν ἢ ἐμπειρικοί<sup>l</sup>.

140 *Theudas Laodicenus*. Contemporary with *Menodotus*. See N° 139.

141 *Lucianus*. Tables A. D. 165. 166. 182. Suidas p. 2338 A Λυκιανὸς Σαμοσατεύς.—γέγονε δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος Τραϊανοῦ καὶ ἐπέκεινα. ἦν δε οὗτος τὸ πρὶν δικηγόρος ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῆς Συρίας· δυσπραγῆσας δ' ἐν τούτῳ ἐπὶ τὸ λογογραφεῖν ἐγράφη, καὶ γέγραπται αὐτῷ ἄπειρα<sup>m</sup>.

*Lucian* records of himself that he was forty when he quitted the bar, and that he attained to an advanced age<sup>n</sup>.

142 *Eudemus peripateticus*. Tables A. D. 162. In the time of *Galen*.

143 *Alexander Damascenus peripateticus*. Tables A. D. 162. 175. In the time of *Galen*.

Μηνόδοτος καὶ Σέξτος, οἱ καὶ ἀκριβῶς ἐκρατύναντο αὐτήν. The author of the *εἰσαγωγή* has omitted many names in the succession between *Philinus* and *Sextus Empiricus*.

<sup>k</sup> As I have not access to the edition of *Chartorius*, I am indebted to a friend for these passages, who adds that *Menodotus* and *Theudas* are mentioned again in p. 341 seq. but that he does not see any hint as to the chronology of either of these writers. *Jonsius* p. 274 observes of those passages of *Galen* “*Menodotum et Theudam ultimo nominat, posteriorum omnino mentionem ibi facturum si alicujus nominis atque famæ tum fuissent.*” *Fabricius* tom. 5 p. 529 “*Eorum in hoc sæpius meminit, nullis memoratis junioribus.*” *Brucker* tom. 2 p. 636 “*Postremos ex empiricis laudat Menodotum atque Theudam.*” But we are not warranted in concluding from the mere silence of *Galen* in that treatise that *Herodotus* the empiric and *Sextus* the empiric were not yet living. *Fabricius* and *Brucker* determine that *Galen* composed this treatise *περὶ ὑποτυπώσεως ἐμπειρικῆς ἀπὸ αἰατῆς* 37°. But *Galen* himself attests that he came to Rome the second time in his 34th year, and that the book was already written before his coming. Therefore before A. D. 164. See the Tables 164 p. 155.

<sup>l</sup> *Galen*. tom. 2 p. 52 τὰ μὲν Ἀσκληπιάδου Μηνόδοτος ὁ ἐμπειρικὸς ἀφύκτως ἐξελέγχει. de phlebotomia tom. 11 p. 277 κακῶς ὁ Μηνόδοτος ἐπὶ τῇ καλουμένῃ πληθωρικῇ

συνδρομῇ μόνη τὰς φλεβοτομίας λέγει τετηρησθαι. tom. 15 p. 766 ὧν ἐστὶ καὶ Μηνόδοτος ὁ ἐμπειρικὸς, ἐπὶ μόνῃ τῇ πληθωρικῇ κ. τ. λ. tom. 18. 1 p. 575 πρὸς τοὺς ἀξιούοντας ἐπὶ τῇ πληθωρικῇ καλουμένῃ συνδρομῇ μόνον φλεβοτομίαν ἡμᾶς παραλαμβάνει· τούτων δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ Μηνόδοτος ὁ ἐμπειρικὸς. εἰδείχθη δὲ ἐν τῷ Περὶ φλεβοτομίας γράμματι κἀν τῷ Περὶ πλήθους ὁ λόγος οὗτος ψευδής.

*Menodotus* is quoted by *Sextus Empiricus* *Pyrhon*. I. 222 p. 57 ὡς ἐν ὑποτυπώσει διαλαμβάνομεν κατὰ Μηνοδότον καὶ Αἰησιδήμον.

<sup>m</sup> What follows in *Suidas*, τελευτῆσαι αὐτὸν λόγος ὑπὸ κυνῶν, ἐπεὶ κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας ἔλυττησεν, may be omitted, as an invention of the enemies of *Lucian*.

<sup>n</sup> *Lucian*. bis accusat. c. 32 tom. 7 p. 93 καλῶς εἶχέ μοι ἀνδρὶ ἤδη τετταράκοντα ἔτη σχεδὸν γεγονότι θορύβων μὲν ἐκείνων καὶ δικῶν ἀπηλλάχθαι. When he was appointed to an office in Egypt, he was ἐν γῆρα ὑστάτῳ καὶ σχεδὸν ἤδη ὑπὲρ τὸν οὐδὸν *Apol. pro mercede* conduct. c. 4 tom. 3 p. 273. He again refers to his age *Baccho* c. 6 tom. 7 p. 309 τὰ μὲν μειράκια τῆς τῶν Σατύρων οἱ ἄνδρες δὲ τῆς Πανικῆς· τῆς δὲ τοῦ Σεληνοῦ οἱ κατ' ἐμέ. *Hercule* c. 7 tom. 7 p. 316 τηλικῶδε ὄντι καὶ πάλοι τῶν ἐπιδείξων πεπανμένῳ. c. 8 p. 317 ὄρῳ ὅπως παραμυθούμαι τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ τὸ γῆρας τὸ ἐμαντοῦ. *Lucian* might have been born in the reign of *Trajan*, but it appears from *Lucian* himself (see the Tables A. D. 182) that he still wrote in the reign of *Commodus*, 65 years after the death of *Trajan*.



144 *Julianus medicus*. Seen by *Galen* at Alexandria : See above N<sup>o</sup> 74.

145 *Heraclianus medicus*. Conversed with *Galen* at Alexandria : See N<sup>o</sup> 101 note †.

146 *Galenus*<sup>o</sup>. His birth is recorded in the Tables at A. D. 130, his early education at 144,

<sup>o</sup> *Galen* besides his numerous medical works also composed philological, grammatical, and philosophical treatises, of which the following titles are given by *Galen* himself de libris propriis c. 11—17 tom. 19 p. 41—48.

- 1 *περὶ τῆς ἀποδείξεως libri XV.*
- 2 *εἰς τὸ περὶ ἑρμηνείας Ἀριστοτέλους libri III.*
- 3 *εἰς τὸ πρότερον τῶν περὶ συλλογισμῶν libri IV.*
- 4 *εἰς τὸ δεύτερον τῶν περὶ συλλογισμῶν libri IV.*
- 5 *εἰς τὸ πρότερον περὶ συλλογισμοῦ libri VI.*
- 6 *εἰς τὸ δεύτερον περὶ συλλογισμοῦ libri V.*
- 7 *εἰς τὸ Θεοφράστου περὶ καταφάσεως καὶ ἀποφάσεως libri VI.* On this work of *Theophrastus* conf. Laert. V. 44 et Menag. ad locum. Alexand. Aphrod. in *Aristot. Topica* p. 150. 14 Θεόφραστος ἐπὶ τέλει τοῦ *Περὶ καταφάσεως*, κ. τ. λ.
- 8 *εἰς τὸ πρότερον λέξεως Εὐδήμου.*
- 9 *ὑπομνήματα εἰς τὰς δέκα κατηγορίας.*
- 10 *ὑπομνήματα τῶν Χρυσίππου συλλογιστικῶν βιβλίων ἔτι παῖς ὧν ἐποιήσαμην.*
- 11 *περὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων εἰς τὰς ἀποδείξεις.*
- 12 *περὶ τῶν παραλειπομένων προτάσεων ἐν τῇ λέξει τῶν ἀποδείξεων.*
- 13 *περὶ τῶν ἰσοδυναμουσῶν προτάσεων.*
- 14 *περὶ τῶν κατὰ διότι ἀποδείξεων.*
- 15 *περὶ τοῦ τῶν συλλογισμῶν ἀριθμοῦ.*
- 16 *περὶ παραδείγματος libri II.*
- 17 *περὶ ἐπαγωγῆς.*
- 18 *περὶ εἰκότος.*
- 19 *περὶ εἰκότος.*
- 20 *περὶ ὁμοιότητος libri III.*
- 21 *περὶ ἐξ ὑποθέσεων ἀρχῶν.*
- 22 *περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸ γένος καὶ τὸ εἶδος καὶ τῶν συζυγούντων αὐτοῖς σημαινομένων ἡμῖν κατὰ τὴν αὐτόματον φωνήν.*
- 23 *περὶ τοῦ δυνατοῦ.*
- 24 *περὶ τῶν πολλαχῶς λεγομένων libri III.*
- 25 *περὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς τέχναις κοινῶν καὶ ἰδίων.*
- 26 *περὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦς προτρεπόντων λόγων.*
- 27 *περὶ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων προτάσεων.*
- 28 *περὶ τῶν μικτῶν προτάσεων καὶ συλλογισμῶν.*
- 29 *ὅπως χρῆθ' διακρίνειν τὴν πραγματικὴν ζήτησιν, τὸ κατ' ὄνομα καὶ τὸ σημαινόμενον.*
- 30 *περὶ Κλειτομάχου καὶ τῶν τῆς ἀποδείξεως αὐτοῦ λύσεων.*
- 31 *περὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ λόγου libri II.*
- 32 *περὶ τῆς ἀρίστης διδασκαλίας ἐπὲρ Ἐπικτήτου πρὸς Φαβουρίνον [N<sup>o</sup> 61].*
- 33 *περὶ χρείας συλλογισμῶν.*
- 34 *περὶ χρείας τῶν εἰς τοὺς συλλογισμοὺς θεωρημάτων libri II.*
- 35 *περὶ τῆς ἀρίστης αἰρέσεως.*
- 36 *περὶ ὀνομάτων ὀρθότητος libri III.*
- 37 *περὶ τοῦ τῶν ὄντων ἕκαστον ἐν τε εἶναι καὶ πολλὰ.*
- 38 *περὶ τοῦ ὅτι τοῖς ἀντικειμένοις ἐν καὶ ταυτὸν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀκολουθεῖν ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν.*

- 39 *περὶ τῆς ἀποδεικτικῆς αἰρέσεως.*
- 40 *περὶ τῆς λογικῆς δευτέρας καὶ θεωρίας.*
- 41 *διάλογοι πρὸς φιλόσοφον ἰδίως τοῦ κατὰ τὰς κοινὰς ἐννοίας.*
- 42 *πρὸς τοὺς ἐπηρεαστικῶς ἀκούοντας τῶν ὀνομάτων.*
- 43 *περὶ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ κοινῶν ἐν ταῖς τέχναις.*
- 44 *περὶ τῆς τῶν τεχνῶν συστάσεως libri III.*
- 45 *περὶ τῶν σημαινομένων ἐκ τῆς κατ' εἶδος καὶ γένος φωνῆς καὶ τῶν παρακειμένων αὐτοῖς.*
- 46 *σύνοψις τῆς ἀποδεικτικῆς θεωρίας.*
- 47 *περὶ τῆς κρίσεως τῶν διαφανούντων ἐκ τοῖς δόγμασιν.*
- 48 *ὅτι τῆς πρώτης οὐσίας ἀχάριστος ἢ ποσότης.*
- 49 *περὶ τοῦ προτέρου.*
- 50 *περὶ τῆς δι' ἀδυνατοῦ ἀποδείξεως.*
- 51 *περὶ τῶν ἕνεκ' αὐτοῦ ἰομένων.*
- 52 *περὶ τῶν πολλαχῶς λεγομένων libri II.*
- 53 *περὶ τῆς κατ' ὄνομα καὶ σημαινόμενον ζητήσεως.*
- 54 *περὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἐκάστῳ παθῶν καὶ ἀμαρτημάτων τῆς διαγνώσεως libri II.*
- 55 *περὶ ἡθῶν libri IV.*
- 56 *πρὸς τὸν Φαβουρίνον [see n. 32] κατὰ Σωκράτους.*
- 57 *περὶ ἀλυσίας.*
- 58 *περὶ τοῦ κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν τέλους.*
- 59 *περὶ τῆς τῶν ἐπιδεικνυμένων τοὺς ἀκούοντας συνουσίας.*
- 60 *περὶ τῶν ἀναγνωσκόντων λάθρα.*
- 61 *περὶ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων καὶ κολάσεως ἰσότητος.*
- 62 *περὶ παραμυθίας.*
- 63 *περὶ τῆς ἐν αὐτῇ Μενάρχου διατριβῆς πρὸς Βακχίδην καὶ Κύρον.*
- 64 *περὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς διαλόγοις συνουσίας.*
- 65 *πρὸς τοὺς ἀγοραίους ῥήτορας.*
- 66 *περὶ ἡδονῆς καὶ πόνου.*
- 67 *περὶ τῶν ἀκολουθῶν ἐκάστου [τῶν βιβλίων.]*
- 68 *περὶ τῶν δημοσίων ῥηθέντων πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν αἰρέσεων.*
- 69 *περὶ αἰδοῦς libri II.*
- 70 *περὶ τῶν δημοσίων ῥηθέντων κατὰ κολάκων libri II.*
- 71 *περὶ τῆς διαβολῆς, ἐν ᾧ καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἰδίου βίου.*
- 72 *Κρονίσκοι ἐπτά.*
- 73 *πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν αἰρέσεων.*
- 74 *περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Περτίνακος δημοσίων ῥηθέντων.*
- 75 *μέχρι πόσου τῆς παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς τιμῆς καὶ δόξης φροντιστέον ἐστί.*
- 76 *περὶ διαθηκῶν ποιήσεως.*
- 77 *περὶ τῆς Πλάτωνος αἰρέσεως.*
- 78 *περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ Πλάτωνος Τιμαίῳ ἱατρικῶς εἰρημένων ὑπομνήματα δ'. Galen. tom. 16 p. 48 ἡμεῖς ἐν τῷ εἰς τὸν Τίμαιον ὑπομνήματι.*
- 79 *πρὸς τοὺς ἐταίρους, ἢ Πλάτων.*
- 80 *περὶ τῶν ἰδίων δοξῶν libri III.*
- 81 *περὶ τῆς κατὰ Πλάτωνα λογικῆς θεωρίας.*
- 82 *Πλατωνικῶν διαλόγων συνόψεως ἡ'.*
- 83 *περὶ τῶν ἐν Φιλίβῳ μεταβάσεων.*
- 84 *περὶ τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς μερῶν καὶ δυνάμεων libri III.*

- 145, his first study of medicine at 147, his first visit to Rome at 162, his second visit at 164, his age in A. D. 167, his residence at Aquileia and at Rome in 169. His works are noticed at A. D. 174, 191, his lectures in the reign of *Pertinax* at A. D. 193, and his death is marked at A. D. 200.
- 147 *Pausanias Cappadox sophista*. Tables A. D. 125. 183. Taught *Ælianus* and *Aspasius*: Tables A. D. 222. 231. Mentioned by Galen tom. 8 p. 213: Πανσανίας ἀπὸ τῆς Συρίας σοφιστῆς εἰς Ῥώμην ἀφικόμενός ποτε κ. τ. λ.
- 148 *Lesbonax Mytilenæus*. Tables A. D. 164. The disciple of *Timocrates* (N<sup>o</sup> 47), and contemporary with *Lucian*: *Lucian*. tom. 5 p. 161 Λεσβώναξ γοῦν ὁ Μυτιληναῖος, ἀνὴρ καλὸς κάγαθος, χειρισόφους τοὺς ὄρηστὰς ἀπεκάλει, καὶ ἦε ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν αὐτῶν, ὡς βελτίων ἀναστρέψων ἀπὸ τοῦ θεάτρον· Τιμοκράτης δὲ ὁ διδάσκαλος αὐτοῦ ἰδὼν ποτε κ. τ. λ.
- 149 *Athenodorus sophista*. Tables A. D. 183. Contemporary with *Pollux*. When young heard *Aristocles*, when a man, *Chrestus*: Tables A. D. 144.
- 150 *Ptolemæus sophista*. Tables A. D. 196. Contended with *Heraclides*.
- 151 *Euodius*. The disciple of *Aristocles*. Tables A. D. 144. Philostrat. V. S. II. 16 Εὐοδιανὸν τὸν Σμυρναῖον τὸ μὲν γένος ἐς Νικήτην τὸν σοφιστὴν [N<sup>o</sup> 33] ἀνήγγεν—τὰ δὲ τῆς φωτῆς ἄθλα ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ τὸν ἐκέλευθ θρόνον.—εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ φασὶ καὶ Πολέμωνος ἠεροῦσθαι αὐτόν.
- 152 *Rufus*. Tables A. D. 143. 144. Philostrat. V. S. II. 17 Ῥούφον δὲ τὸν ἐκ τῆς Περίουθου σοφιστὴν μὴ ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας μηδὲ εἰ πολλοὶ ὕπατοι τὸ ἐκείνου γένος—ἀλλ' ἢ γλῶττα δηλοῦτω αὐτὸν καὶ ἡ ξυνεσις.—πλοσυριώτατος δὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἑλλησποντον καὶ Προποντιδα γενόμενος, καὶ δόξης αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῷ σχεδιάζειν πολλῆς μὲν ὑπαρχούσης Ἀθήνησι πολλῆς δὲ ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ τε καὶ Ἰταλίᾳ, οὐ-

85 ὅτι ταῖς τοῦ σώματος κράσεσιν αἱ τῆς ψυχῆς ἔπονται δυνάμεις *libri II*. καὶ ἄλλο καθ' ἑτέραν ἔκδοσιν.

86 περὶ τῶν Ἰπποκράτους καὶ Πλάτωνος δογμάτων *libri IX. libri VI*, προτρεψαμένου τοῦ Βοηθοῦ Galen. tom. 19 p. 15.

87 εἰς τὸ (Ἀριστοτέλους) περὶ ἐρμηνείας ὑπομνήματα τρία.

88 προτέρων ἀναλυτικῶν τοῦ προτέρου περὶ ε'.

89 τοῦ δευτέρου ὑπομνήματα ε'.

90 εἰς τὰς δέκα κατηγορίας ὑπομνήματα δ'.

(91 εἰς τὸ περὶ καταφάσεως καὶ ἀποφάσεως Θεοφράστου ὑπομνήματα ε'. See n. 7.)

92 εἰς τὸ περὶ τοῦ ποσαχῶς ὑπομνήματα γ'.

93 εἰς τὸ πρῶτον κωδὸν ἀκίνητον. Conf. Aristot. φυσ. ἀκροῦσ. VIII. 6.

94 εἰς τὸ περὶ λέξεως Εὐδήμου ὑπομνήματα γ'.

95 περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸ διῶτι ἀποδείξεων.

96 περὶ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων προτάσεων καὶ συλλογισμῶν.

97 περὶ τῶν ἐκ μικτῶν προτάσεων συλλογισμῶν.

98 περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν λέξιν σοφισμάτων.

99 περὶ τῆς κατὰ Χρύσιππον λογικῆς θεωρίας *libri III*.

100 τῆς Χρύσιππου συλλογιστικῆς πρώτης ὑπομνήματα γ'.

101 ————— δευτέρας ἐν.

102 περὶ τῆς λογικῆς δυνάμεως καὶ θεωρίας *libri VII*.

103 περὶ τῆς χρείας τῶν εἰς τοὺς συλλογισμοὺς θεωρημάτων.

104 ὅτι ἡ γεωμετρικὴ ἀναλυτικὴ ἀμείνων τῆς τῶν στωϊκῶν.

105 περὶ τῆς χρείας τῶν εἰς τοὺς συλλογισμοὺς θεωρημάτων *libri II*.

106 περὶ τῆς κατ' Ἐπικούρου εὐδαίμονος καὶ μακαρίου βίου *libri II*.

107 περὶ τῆς κατ' Ἐπικούρου ἀμαυροῦ ἡδονῆς *libri II*.

108 ὅτι τὰ ποιητικὰ τῆς ἡδονῆς ἑλλιπῶς Ἐπικούρω λέλεκται.

109 περὶ τῆς ἡδονικῆς αἰρέσεως.

110 εἰ ἡ φιλολογία χρήσιμος εἰς τὴν ἠθικὴν φιλοσοφίαν.

111 περὶ τῶν πρὸς τοὺς σοφιστάς.

112 Μητροδώρου ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Κελσὸν Ἐπικούρειον.

113 ἐπιστολὴ Πουδεντιανοῦ Ἐπικουρείου.

114 τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Ἀττικαῖς συγγραφεύσιν ὀνομάτων *libri XLVIII*. ἐν ὅκτω καὶ τεσσαράκοντα βιβλίοις ἀθροισάμενος ἐξ Ἀττικῶν συγγραφέων αὐτὰ Galen. tom. 19 p. 61.

115 τῶν παρ' Εὐπολίδι πολιτικῶν ὀνομάτων *libri III*.

116 (τῶν) παρὰ Ἀριστοφάνει πολιτικῶν ὀνομάτων *libri V*.

117 τῶν παρὰ Κρατίνῳ πολιτικῶν ὀνομάτων *libri II*.

118 τῶν ἰδίων κωμικῶν ὀνομάτων παραδείγματα.

119 εἰ χρήσιμον ἀνάγνωσμα τοῖς παιδευομένοις ἢ παλαιὰ κωμωδία.

120 πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιτιμῶντας τοῖς σολοκίξουσι τῇ φωνῇ *libri VI* (in aliis *VII*).

121 Ἀττικῶν παράσημος.

122 περὶ σαφηνείας καὶ ἀσαφείας.

123 εἰ δυνατόν τις εἶναι κριτικός καὶ γραμματικός.

124 Galen. Method. Medicin. VII. 5 tom. 10 p.

469 τὸ περὶ τῆς ἀποδεικτικῆς εὐρέσεως.

Galen on the Syllogism is quoted by Alexander Aphrodis. apud Schol. Aristot. Soph. Elench. p. 298 b l. 14 ἔχει δ' ὁ συλλογισμὸς οὕτως, ὡς καὶ Γαληνὸς φησιν. Named also by Alexander ad Topica p. 262. 23 τὰ τῷδε τινὶ τῶν ἐνδόξων ἐπόμενα. οἷον Πλάτωνι ἢ Ἀριστοτέλει ἢ Γαληνῷ καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ ἀποκρυμμένῳ.



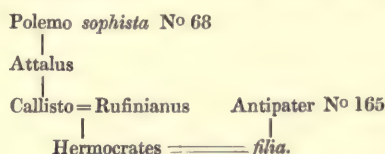
δαμοῦ κατέστησεν ἑαυτὸν ἐς ἀπέχθειαν ἢ πόλεως ἢ ἀνδρός.—ἀκροατῆς δὲ Ἡρώδου μὲν ἐν παισὶν Ἀριστοκλέους δὲ [N<sup>o</sup> 98] ἐν μειρακίοις γενόμενος—ἐλαμπρύνετο τῷ Ἡρώδῃ μᾶλλον.—ἐτελεύτα δὲ οἴκοι ἐν καὶ ἐξήκοντα ἔτη γενόμενος.

- 153 *Onomarchus*. Tables A. D. 179. Contemporary with *Adrianus* and *Chrestus*.  
 154 *Apollonius Naucratis*. Tables A. D. 196.  
 155 *Apollonius Atheniensis*. Tables A. D. 196. Ambassador to *Severus* at Rome.  
 156 *Proclus Naucratis sophista*. Tables A. D. 167. The preceptor of *Philostratus*: Tables A. D. 239.  
 157 *Phœnix Thessalus sophista*. Tables A. D. 159. Philostrat. V. S. II. 22 ἐβδομηκοντούτης δὲ ἀποθανὼν Ἀθήνησιν ἐτάφη οὐκ ἀφανῶς.  
 158 *Damianus*. Heard *Aristides* and *Adrianus*: Tables A. D. 192. Known to *Philostratus*: Tables A. D. 239. Philostrat. V. S. II. 23 ἀνδρα ἔλλογιμώτατον Δαμιανὸν, τὸν ἐξ Ἐφέσου. —Δαμιανῷ τοῦνυν ἔλλογιμώτατον μὲν καὶ τὸ ἄνω γένος καὶ πλείστου ἄξιοι τῇ Ἐφέσῳ. Suidas p. 862 B Δαμιανὸς Ἐφέσιος, σοφιστής. ὃς καὶ ἐν ὑπάτοις ἐνεγράφη ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Σενήρου, καὶ Βιθυνίας ἤρξε, καὶ τὴν στοὰν τὴν ἐκτὸς Ἐφέσου ἀποτειωμένην εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν θολικὴν κατεσκεύασε.  
 159 *Oppianus Cilix*. Tables A. D. 171. Preceded *Athenæus*.  
 160 *Adrantus*. A philologer contemporary with *Athenæus*<sup>p</sup>.  
 161 *Diotimus*. A friend of *Athenæus*: Athen. X p. 448 B C.  
 162 *Athenæus*. Tables A. D. 181. 194.  
 163 *Proclus*. Preceded *Alexander of Aphrodisias*, by whom he is quoted with *Athenæus*. See below, N<sup>o</sup> 334.  
 164 *Herodotus Tarsensis Empiricus*. The disciple of *Menodotus* and preceptor of *Sextus Empiricus*. See Laertius quoted at N<sup>o</sup> 139.  
 165 *Antipater sophista*. Tables A. D. 199. 212. Secretary to *Severus*. Taught *Caracalla* and *Geta*.  
 166 *Hermocrates*. Tables A. D. 199. Married the daughter of *Antipater*<sup>q</sup>.  
 167 *Antiochus Ægeus cynicus*. Tables A. D. 216. See N<sup>o</sup> 107.  
 168 *Heraclides Lycius sophista*. Tables A. D. 195. 196. The rival of the *Apollonii*, of *Ptolemæus* and *Antipater*<sup>r</sup>.  
 169 *Hippodromus sophista*. Tables A. D. 195. Presided at the *Pythia* of 195.

<sup>p</sup> Athen. XV p. 673 E de *Hephestione* N<sup>o</sup> 128: τοιοῦτος δὲ τις καὶ περὶ τὸν καλὸν ἡμῶν Ἀδραντὸν ἐγένετο· ἐκδόντος γὰρ τούτου πέντε μὲν βιβλία Περὶ τῶν παρὰ Θεοφράστῳ ἐν τοῖς Περὶ ἡθῶν καθ' ἱστορίαν καὶ λέξις ζητουμένων, ἕκτον δὲ Περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἠθικοῖς Νικομαχίους Ἀριστοτέλους, ἐν οἷς ἀμφιλαφῶς παραθεμένου περὶ τοῦ παρὰ Ἀντιφῶντι τῷ τραγωδιοποιῷ Πηλεΐππου, καὶ πλείστα ὄσα καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀντιφῶντος ἐπόντος, σφετερισάμενος καὶ ταῦτα, ἐπέγραψε τὸ βιβλίον κ. τ. λ. Casaubon ad Athenæum l. c. reads Ἀδραστὸν, and supposes the friend of *Athenæus* to be *Adrastus* of *Aphrodisias* the celebrated peripatetic: "Adrastum peripateticum multi nominant, atque hic Athenæo amicus, vel etiam fortasse præceptor, esse potuit; vixit enim sub Antoninis juvene adhuc Athenæo; ut non sine causa ejus viri nomen hoc loco restituendum esse videatur. Quod tamen non ponimus sed tantum proponimus." But *Adrastus* preceded *Theon* who

wrote in A. D. 128—133. See N<sup>o</sup> 77. And *Theon*, who quotes *Adrastus*, wrote at the least 66 years before the work of *Athenæus* was published. We therefore retain *Adrantus*, a writer contemporary with *Athenæus* and *Hephestio*.

<sup>q</sup> The pedigree quoted in the Tables will be this.



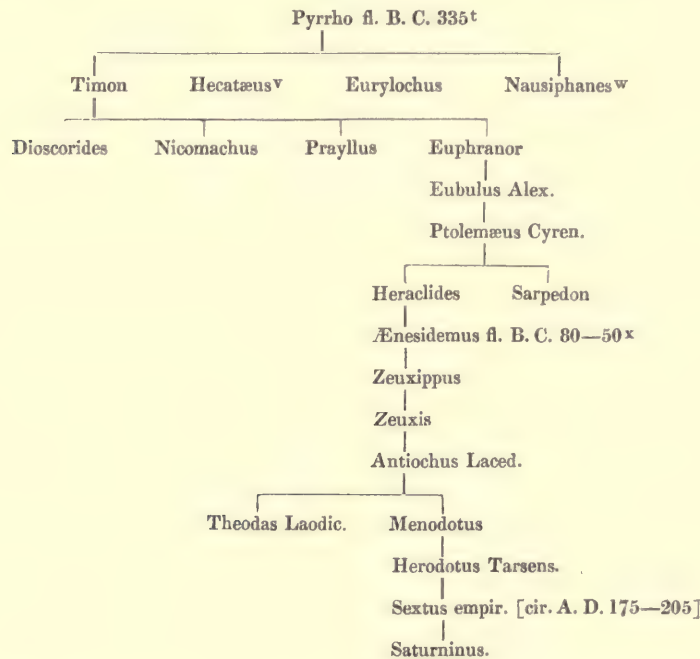
<sup>r</sup> Coins of *Heraclides* as στρατηγὸς Συμυρναίων are given by Olearius p. 614 and Eckhel tom. 2 p. 561 Συμρ. Αθηναί. ὄμο. στρ. Αι. [lege στρατ.] Ἡρακλείδου. and Συμρ. Λακεδαι. ὄμο. στρ. Ἡρακλείδου. On the reverse a head of *Commodus*.

170 *Varus Laodicenus*. Tables A. D. 158.

171 *Quirinus*. The disciple of *Adrianus*: Tables A. D. 192. Philostrate. V. S. II. 29 Κυρίνω δὲ τῷ σοφιστῇ πατρὶς μὲν Νικομήδεια ἐγένετο γένος δὲ οὔτε εὐδόκιμον οὔτ' αὖ κατεγνώσμενον.—'Αδριανοῦ δὲ ἀκροατῆς γενόμενος οὐ πᾶσιν ὁμολογεῖ τοῖς ἐκείνου.—τέρμα δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ βίου ἔτος ἐβδομηκοστὸν, καὶ τὸ σῆμα οἴκοι.

172 *Sextus Empiricus*. The disciple of *Herodotus of Tarsus* (N<sup>o</sup> 164). He marks his profession Math. I. 260 τὸν ἀρχηγὸν ἡμῶν τῆς ἐπιστήμης 'Ασκληπιῶν. Math. V. 104 p. 355 ὃν τρόπον ἐν τῇ ἱατρικῇ ἐτηρήσαμεν<sup>s</sup>. *Sextus* refers to his preceptor *Pyrrhon*. III. 120 p. 157 ἔνθα ὁ ὑφηγητῆς ὁ ἐμὸς διελέγετο, ἐνταῦθα ἐγὼ νῦν διαλέγομαι.

The *empirical school of medicine* is given above under *Menodotus* N<sup>o</sup> 139; the *sceptical school of philosophy* is also given from *Laertius* under *Menodotus*. According to the testimony of *Laertius* the succession from *Pyrrho* to *Saturninus* was this.



<sup>s</sup> He quotes his own ἱατρικὰ ὑπομνήματα *Logic*. I. 202 p. 412. his σκεπτικὰ ὑπομνήματα: *Pyrrhon*. I. 222 p. 57 περὶ δὲ τοῦ εἶ ἔστιν εἰλικρινῶς σκεπτικός πλατύτερον ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι διαλαμβάνομεν. *Math*. I. 61 p. 229 καθὼς ἐν τοῖς ἐμπειρικοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν ἐδιδάξαμεν. *Math*. VI. 52 p. 367 ἡμῖν ἐν τοῖς σκεπτικοῖς ὑπομνήμασι δεδείχθαι. *Math*. VI. 58 p. 367 ἐν τοῖς Πυρρωνεῖοις ὑπομνηματιζόμενοι διεξήειμεν. ubi confer Fabricii notam. He also wrote περὶ ψυχῆς: *Math*. VI. 55 p. 367 ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲν ἐστὶ ψυχῆ καθὼς ἐν τοῖς περὶ αὐτῆς ὑπομνήμασιν εἰδείκνυμεν. *Phys*. II. 284 p. 680 εἴρηται περὶ τούτων ἀκριβέστερον κἂν τῇ περὶ κριτηρίου σκέψει [sc. *Logic*. I. 96. conf. Fabricium] κἂν τοῖς περὶ ψυχῆς.

<sup>t</sup> *Pyrrho* may be assumed to have been 40 years of age in B. C. 335. See F. H. III p. 476.

<sup>v</sup> On *Hecataeus* see F. H. III p. 479.

<sup>w</sup> See F. H. III p. 476. *Sextus Empir.* *Math*. I. 1. 2 p. 215 Τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων ἀντίρρησιν κοινότερον μὲν διαθεῖσθαι δοκοῦσιν οἱ περὶ τὸν 'Επίκουρον—διὰ τὴν πρὸς Νανσιφάνη τὸν Πύρρωνος ἀκουστὴν ἔχθραν πολλοὺς γὰρ τῶν νέων συνέχε καὶ τῶν μαθημάτων σπουδαίως ἐπεμελείτο, μάλιστα δὲ ῥητορικῆς. γενόμενος οὖν τούτου μαθητῆς ὁ 'Επίκουρος ὑπὲρ τοῦ δοκεῖν αὐτοδίδακτος εἶναι καὶ αὐτοφυῆς φιλόσοφος ἤρνεῖτο ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου, τὴν τε περὶ αὐτοῦ φήμην ἐξαλείφειν ἔσπευδε, πολὺς τε ἐγένετο τῶν μαθημάτων κατήγορος, ἐν οἷς ἐκείνος ἐσεμνύνετο. *Cicero Nat. Deor.* I. 26 quoted by Fabricius ad locum: *In Nausiphane—quem, cum a se non neget auditum, vexat tamen omnibus contumeliis.*

<sup>x</sup> *Anesidemus* was contemporary with *Antiochus Academicus* and *Tubero*: Phot. Cod. 212 ἀνεγνώσθησαν Διησιδήμου Πυρρωνεῖων λόγων ἢ. ἢ μὲν ὀλη πρόθεσις τοῦ



From the ἀκμὴ of *Pyrrho* at B. C. 335 to the ἀκμὴ of *Ænesidemus*, assumed at B. C. 80, are six successions and 255 years, giving  $42\frac{1}{2}$  years to each succession. From *Ænesidemus* to *Sextus* are six successions. These at 255 years or  $42\frac{1}{2}$  to each would place *Sextus* at A. D. 175. This period of 510 years for the whole succession from *Pyrrho* to *Sextus*, exclusive of *Sextus* himself, ( $42\frac{1}{2} \times 12 = 510$ ) is as large an interval as any recorded accounts of similar successions will justify. *Menodotus* therefore is thrown back by this estimate to about A. D. 100. He might have flourished at A. D. 100—130. *Galen*, as we have seen, mentioned the works of *Menodotus* and *Theodas* before the year 164, but has not named *Herodotus* of *Tarsus*. The silence however of *Galen* is no decisive proof that *Herodotus* was not then living. *Sextus* might have flourished and composed his works in the latter years of the life of *Galen*.

173 *Alexander Aphrodisiensis peripateticus*<sup>z</sup>. Tables A. D. 200. The merit of *Alexander* as the

βιβλίον βεβαιώσειν ὅτι οὐδὲν βέβαιον εἰς κατάληψιν οὔτε δι' αἰσθήσεως ἀλλ' οὔτε μὴν διὰ νοήσεως κ. τ. λ.—γράφει δὲ τοὺς λόγους Αἰνησιδήμου προσφωῶν αὐτοὺς τῶν ἐξ Ἀκαδημίας τινὶ συναϊρεσιότητὶ Λευκίῳ Τουβέρωνι γένος μὲν Ῥωμαίων δόξῃ δὲ λαμπρῇ ἐκ προγόνων καὶ πολιτικὰς ἀρχὰς οὐ τὰς τυχοῦσας μετρίοντι. *L. Tubero* flourished with *Cicero* B. C. 89—50 who describes him pro Ligario c. 7 *Hæc ego novi propter omnes necessitudines quæ mihi sunt cum L. Tuberone, domi una eruditi militiæ contubernales, post affines, in omni denique vita familiares. magnum etiam vinculum, quod iisdem studiis semper usi sumus. Tubero* was in Asia in B. C. 59: F. H. III p. 183. joined *Pompey* in B. C. 50: Cic. pro Ligario c. 8. 9. He studied therefore under *Antiochus* the preceptor of *Cicero*. *Ænesidemus*, who dedicated to *Tubero*, probably composed his work before B. C. 50; and his ἀκμὴ may be placed at B. C. 80—50. Quoted by *Sextus Pyrrhon*. I. 210 p. 53 οἱ περὶ τὸν Αἰνησιδήμον ἔλεγον ὁδὸν εἶναι τὴν σκεπτικὴν ἀγωγὴν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἡρακλείτειον φιλοσοφίαν. I. 222 p. 57 διαλαμβάνομεν κατὰ Μηνόδοτον καὶ Αἰνησιδήμον. Math. VII. 345 p. 438 καθάπερ εἰδείξαμεν, τοὺς παρὰ τῷ Αἰνησιδήμῳ δέκα τρόπους ἐπιόντες. § 349 p. 438 de anima: οἱ μὲν ἐκτὸς τοῦ σώματος, ὡς Αἰνησιδήμος κατὰ Ἡρακλείτων. § 350 p. 439 ἥς στάσεως ἤρξε Στράτων τε ὁ φυσικὸς καὶ Αἰνησιδήμος. Math. VIII. 8 p. 460 οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Αἰνησιδήμον καὶ Ἡρακλείτων καὶ τὸν Ἐπίκουρον ἐπὶ τὰ αἰσθητὰ κοινῶς κατενεχθέντες ἐν εἰδῇ διέστησαν. § 215 p. 498 ὁ δὲ Αἰνησιδήμος ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ τῶν Πυρρωνείων λόγων—λόγον ἐρωτᾷ τοιοῦτον κ. τ. λ. Math. X. 233 p. 672 τὸ δὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἡρακλείτων ἀήρ ἐστίν, ὡς φησὶν ὁ Αἰνησιδήμος. Quoted also by *Sextus Pyrrhon*. I. 180 p. 45 Math. VIII. 40 p. 465 § 234 p. 502 IX. 218 p. 597 X. 38 p. 640 XI. 42 p. 699. *Laertius* IX. 62 quotes *Ænesidemus de Pyrrhone*; quotes him with *Sextus* IX. 87. Idem IX. 102 αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ ὁ Πύρρων οὐδὲν ἀπέλιπε, οἱ μὲντοι συνήθεις αὐτοῦ Τίμων καὶ Αἰνησιδήμος καὶ Νουμήμιος καὶ Ναυσιφάνης, καὶ ἄλλοι τοιοῦτοι. IX. 78 Αἰνησιδήμος ἐν τῇ εἰς τὰ Πυρρωνεῖα ὑποτυπώσει. IX. 106 Αἰνησιδήμος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Πυρρωνείων λόγων οὐδὲν φησὶν ὀρίξειν τὸν Πύρρωνα δογματικῶς—ταῦτα δὲ λέγει κἀν τῷ Κατὰ σοφίας κἀν τῷ Περὶ ζητήσεως. For IX. 116 see above under *Menodotus* No 139. Ari-

stocles apud Euseb. Præp. XIV. 18 quotes *Ænesidemus*: p. 760 B ὁπόταν γε μὴν Αἰνησιδήμος ἐν τῇ ὑποτυπώσει τοὺς ἐννέα διεξή τροπούς· κατὰ τοσοῦτους γὰρ ἀποφαίνειν ἀδηλα τὰ πράγματα πεπειράται. Conf. p. 758 D. p. 763 D ἐχθὲς καὶ πρόων ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τῇ κατ' Αἴγυπτον Αἰνησιδήμος τις ἀναζωπυρεῖν ἤρξατο τὸν ὕθλον τοῦτον.

<sup>y</sup> See above at No 139.

<sup>z</sup> We omit those works which are falsely ascribed to *Alexander*: ἰατρικῶν προβλημάτων βιβλία β', and περὶ πυρετῶν πρὸς Ἀπολλώνιον, which belong to some other *Alexander* a physician, and μονόβιβλος quoted by *Philoponus*, which seems to be of *Alexander Ægeus*. See above No 3. These being dismissed, the genuine works of *Alexander of Aphrodisias* are the following.

1 εἰς τὰς κατηγορίας. *Simplicius* de Cælo p. 38 b l. 2 τὰ ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου γραφόμενα ἐν τῷ τῶν κατηγοριῶν ὑπομνήματι.

2 εἰς τὰ Τοπικὰ ὑπομνήματα. fol. Venet. Ald. 1513.

3 εἰς τὰ τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους πρότερα ἀναλυτικά. Ven. Ald. 1520 Florentiæ 1521.

4 εἰς τὸ δεύτερον τῶν προτέρων ἀναλυτικῶν. *Alexander* himself in *Soph. Elench.* apud *Schol. Aristot.* Berolin. p. 302 b l. 1 Ἀριστοτέλης αὐτὸς ἐν δευτέρῳ τῶν προτέρων ἀναλυτικῶν εἴρηκε, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν ταῖς ἡμετέραις εἰς ἐκεῖνα σχολαῖς.

5 εἰς τὰ ὕστερα ἀναλυτικά. *Alexander* himself in *Soph. Elench.* initio apud *Schol. Berolin.* p. 296 a l. 7 ἐπινομεν ἐν οἷς τε περὶ τοῦ ἀπλῶς συλλογισμοῦ διελέγετο ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ ἐν οἷς τὴν ἀποδεικτικὴν παρεδίδου μέθοδον. *Philoponus* in *Proclum* III. 3 Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Ἀριστοτέλους ἐξηγητὴν ἐν τοῖς εἰς τὴν ἀποδεικτικὴν ὑπομνήμασι.

6 εἰς τὸ περὶ ἐρμηνείας. *Alexander* himself comm. in *Aristot. Metaphys.* p. 570. 6 ὡς ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τμήματι τοῦ περὶ Ἑρμηνείας δέδεικται.

7 εἰς τοὺς περὶ τῆς φυσικῆς ἀκροάσεως. *Alexander* in *Soph. Elench.* apud *Schol. Berolin.* p. 315 b l. 20 αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῷ ἐβδόμῳ τῆς φυσικῆς ἀκροάσεως εἴρηκε, καὶ ἡμεῖς ταῦτα ἐξηγοῦμενοι τεθεωρήκαμεν. p. 318 a l. 35 ἐν τοῖς εἰς τὰ φυσικὰ ἡμετέροις εἰρήκαμεν θεωρήμασι. *Themistius* p. 37 apud *Schol. Berolin.* p. 370 b ὁ Ἀφροδισιεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν τῷ περὶ Κράσεων γράμματι, κἀν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι τοῖς φυσικοῖς.

best interpreter of *Aristotle* is acknowledged by other commentators. *Simplicius* in *phys. ausc.* p. 56 b l. 44 'Αλεξάνδρον τοῦ γνησιωτάτου τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους ἐξηγητῶν. p. 17 b l. 22 τὸν γνησιώτερον [lege —τατον] τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους ἐξηγητῶν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. p. 169 a l. 7 καλῶς δὲ πάντα σχεδὸν ἐξηγούμενος ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος. p. 188 b l. 35 ὁ φιλοπονώτατος τῶν αὐτῶν ἐξηγητῶν ὁ ἐξ Ἀφροδισιάδος Ἀλέξανδρος. *Idem* *Comm. ad Categor. apud Schol. Aristot. Berolin.* p. 29 a n. ὦν ἐν πρώτοις κατ' ἐμήν ἐστι γνώμη ὁ Ἀφροδισιεύς Ἀλέξανδρος. *Philoponus* in *Proclum VI.* 27 τὰς τούτου [*Aristotelis* de *Cælo* lib. I] ῥήσεις παρατιθέμενος ἅμα, καὶ τὰς ὑπομνηματικὰς αὐτῶν ἐξηγήσεις Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀφροδισιεύος παραθήσομαι, σαφῆ τε διὰ τούτου τῆν Ἀριστοτέλους ἔννοιαν καθιστῶν διὰ τὸ φύσει περὶ τὴν φράσιν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀγκύλον.

174 *Dositheus magister.* Wrote in A. D. 207: *Dositheus* in *Hygini genealogia* p. 65 Μαξίμω καὶ Ἀπρω ὑπάτοις πρὸ γ' εἰδῶν Σεπτεμβρίων [Sept. 11 A. D. 207] Ὑγίνου γενεαλογία πᾶσιν γνωστὴν μετέγραψα, ἐν ᾗ ἔσονται πλείους ἱστορίαι διερμηνευμέναι ἐν τούτῳ τῷ βιβλίῳ<sup>a</sup>.

8 εἰς τὸ περὶ γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς. *Alexander* himself ἀπορ. καὶ λύσ. II. 22 p. 133 ἐξήγησις λέξεως ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου περὶ γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς Ἀριστοτέλους, ἄλλως ἔχουσα παρὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ εἰς αὐτὸ ὑπομνήματι.

9 εἰς τοὺς περὶ οὐρανοῦ. *Simplicius* in *Phys. Auscult.* p. 282 b l. 22—25 ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος—γράφει ἐν τῷ εἰς τὸ δεύτερον τῆς περὶ οὐρανοῦ ὑπομνήματι. *Philoponus* in *Proclum VI.* 27 Ἀριστοτέλους ἐκ τοῦ α' τῆς περὶ οὐρανοῦ πραγματείας.—Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἀφροδισιεύος ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὰ λεγόμενα ἐξηγητικῶν ὑπομνημάτων.

10 εἰς τὸ περὶ αἰσθήσεως καὶ αἰσθητῶν. *Ad calcem* *Simplicii* de *anima* fol. Venet. Ald. 1527 p. 93—125. Quoted by *Alexander* himself ἀπορ. καὶ λύσ. I. 2 p. 19 ἅμειον τέτακται τοῦτο τὸ πρόβλημα ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ “λέξεων τιῶν ἐκ τοῦ περὶ αἰσθήσεως καὶ αἰσθητῶν ἐξήγησις καὶ ἐπιδρομή.”

11 περὶ μίξεως. *Ad calcem* *Philoponi* ad *Aristot.* de *Gen. et Corrupt.* Venet. 1527.

12 εἰς τὰ μετεωρολογικά. The genuine commentary of *Alexander* of *Aphrodisias* ad *Meteorolog.* *Aristot.* but is quoted by *Olympiodorus* ad *Meteorolog.* *Aristot.* *Buhle* tom. 1 p. 291 and by *Philoponus*: *Buhle* *Ibid.*

13 περὶ ψυχῆς βιβλίον. *Ad calcem* *Themistii* fol. Ald. Venet. 1534 p. 123—141.

14 περὶ ψυχῆς β'. *Ibid.* p. 142—162. *Ad calcem* *libri de Fato* edidit *Orellius* capita 47. 48 8vo. Turici 1824 p. 124—154.

15 εἰς τοὺς περὶ ψυχῆς Ἀριστοτέλους. A distinct work from the two preceding, and no longer extant. Attested by *Alexander* himself ἀπορ. καὶ λύσ. I. 11 p. 45 ἐν τῷ α' περὶ ψυχῆς Ἀριστοτέλους.—εἴρηται μοι ἐν τῷ εἰς ἐκεῖνο τὸ βιβλίον ὑπομνήματι.

16 περὶ εἰμαρμένης, καὶ τοῦ ἐφ' ἡμῖν. *Ad calcem* *Themistii* fol. Ven. 1534 p. 163—172. *Item* *Orellii* 8vo. Turici 1824 Gr. Lat. p. 1—122.

17 ἀποσημειώσεις εἰς τοὺς σοφιστικὸς ἐλέγχους. fol. Venet. Ald. 1520. In this work he quotes, as we have seen, *Comm. in-lib. II Analyt. prior. Comm. in libros Analyt. posterior. Comm. in Phys. Auscult.*

18 φυσικῶν καὶ ἠθικῶν ἀποριῶν καὶ λύσεων βιβλία δ'. *Monachii* 8vo. Spengel. 1842 pp. 313.

19 εἰς τὰ μετὰ τὰ φυσικὰ Ἀριστοτέλους ὑπόμνημα.

Edidit *Bonitz* Berolini 1847 8vo. Although the latter half of this commentary, as we now have it, is not free from suspicion, yet it contains in the judgment of the learned editor valuable materials: præf. p. v “De posteriore commentarii parte [p. 405—816] quanquam non modo potest dubitari num *Alexandri* sit habenda, sed etiam priori parti [p. 3—404] auctoritate non prorsus eam esse parem debet omnino concedi, idem tamen commentarius inter omnes qui supersunt Græcos *Metaphysicorum* interpretes longe est præstantissimus.”

20 περὶ κράσεως. Quoted by *Themistius*. See above n. 7.

21 περὶ ἀρετῆς. *Fabricius* tom. 5 p. 667 “Exstat Græce in codice Cæsareo pp. 22 circiter in quarto implens ἐπιδρομή πόθεν ἢ τῶν ἀρετῶν εὗρεσις καὶ σύστασις. Incipit ἐπεὶ ἡ εὐδαιμονία τοῖς ἀνθρώποις σκοπὸς, καὶ δεῖ πάντα πράττειν ὕπὸς ταύτην κησαίμεθα ὡς τέλος τε καὶ μέγιστον τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀγαθῶν, ἀδύνατον δὲ κ. τ. λ.”

22 πρὸς *Zηνόβιον* τὸν Ἐπικουρείον. *Simplicius* in *phys. Ausc.* p. 113 b l. 48 ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τὸν Ἐπικουρείον *Zηνόβιον* ἀντιγεγραμμένος.

23 περὶ δαιμόνων. *Michael Ephesius* (apud *Fabricium* tom. 5 p. 667) περὶ τῆς καθ' ἕπαινον *μαντικῆς* Ἀριστοτέλους p. 148 a l. 42 εἴρηται Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐν τῷ περὶ δαιμόνων λόγῳ.

24 περὶ λίθων. *Michael Psellus*: *Fabricius* tom. 5 p. 668 “Quum laudasset de hoc argumento *Anaxagoram* *Empedoclem* et *Democritum*, τῶν δὲ, inquit, οὐ πολὺ πρὸ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐκ τῆς Ἀφροδισιάδος Ἀλέξανδρος, ἄνθρωπος περὶ πάντων ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν καὶ τῶν ἀπορρητῶν τῆς φύσεως προχειρότατος.”

<sup>a</sup> In the last edition of *Dositheus*, *Bocking* 12<sup>o</sup> *Bonnæ* 1832, are contained the following pieces:

Δοσιθέου τοῦ γραμματικοῦ ἐρμηνευμάτων βιβλίον τρίτον.  
1 *Divi Hadriani sententiæ et epistolæ*: θαυμαστόν ἐστὶ καὶ ἐπαινετόν—p. 1.

2 *Fabulæ Æsopice*: νῦν οὖν ἀρξομαι μύθους γράφειν—p. 24.

3 *Disputatio forensis, maxime de manumissionibus*: πολλῶ κόπῳ καὶ φιλοπονίᾳ—p. 39.

4 *Hygini genealogia*: p. 65.



- 175 *Oppianus Apamensis*. Tables A. D. 211.
- 176 *Philiscus Thessalus*. Tables A. D. 212. 219. Pleaded before *Caracalla*.
- 177 Disciples of *Chrestus* N° 135 : Tables A. D. 179.  
*Isagoras tragicus poeta*  
*Nicomedes orator*  
*Aquila orator*  
*Aristænetus orator*  
*Callæschrus philosophus*  
*Sospis philosophus*.
- 178 *Ælianus sophista*. Tables A. D. 222. Taught by *Pausanias* (N° 147); conversed with *Philostratus* of *Lemnos* in 222.
- 179 *Heliodorus*. Tables A. D. 213. 217. Still living when *Philostratus* wrote.
- 180 *Aspasius Ravennas*. Tables A. D. 231. Secretary to the emperor *Alexander*. Still living when the *Vitæ Sophistarum* were written.
- 181 *Cassianus sophista* }  
 182 *Aurelius sophista* } contemporary with *Aspasius*. Tables 231<sup>b</sup>.
- 183 *Saturninus scepticus*. The disciple of *Sextus Empiricus*. See above, *Menodotus* N° 139 and *Sextus* N° 172.
- 184 *Nicagoras sophista*. Tables A. D. 213. 245. Known to *Philostratus Longinus* and *Porphyry*.
- 185 *Apsines sophista*. Tables A. D. 213. 236. The friend of *Philostratus*. The disciple of *Heraclides* of *Lycia* N° 168 and of *Basilicus*, who was therefore contemporary with *Heraclides* : *Suidas* p. 722 Β Βασιλικὸς σοφιστῆς. περὶ τῶν διὰ τῶν λέξεων σχημάτων. περὶ ῥητορικῆς παρασκευῆς ἤτοι περὶ ἀσκήσεως. περὶ μεταποιήσεως. καὶ ἄλλα τινα.
- 186 *Philostratus Lemnius*. Tables A. D. 213. 214. 239. The disciple of *Proclus* N° 156, and of *Antipater* N° 165. Commanded by *Julia* to write the Life of *Apollonius*. Wrote that work at Rome. After this he composed the Lives of the Sophists<sup>bb</sup>.
- 187 *Philostratus Lemnius*. Born A. D. 192 : Tables A. D. 215. Conversed with *Ælianus* : Tables A. D. 222. Still living when the *βιοὶ σοφιστῶν* were written.
- 188 *Philostratus junior*. Author of the *εἰκόνες*. A third *Philostratus*, younger than the two preceding<sup>c</sup>.
- 189 *Dion Cassius*. Tables A. D. 180—229<sup>d</sup>.
- 190 Preceptors of *Alexander Severus* : Tables A. D. 220.  
*Nebo*  
*Serapio*  
*Stilio*

<sup>5</sup> *Troica* : . . . Ἐλενος ὅς πάντοτε μαντικῆς—p. 73.

<sup>6</sup> *De conversatione* : ἡμέρα. ἥλιος ἀνέτειλεν. ἡλίου ἀνατολή. φῶς κ. τ. λ. p. 89—95.

<sup>b</sup> *Philostratus* V. S. p. 627 describes them with contempt : ἦν δὲ αὐτοῖν ὁ μὲν οἶος καὶ ἐν κατηλείοις μελετᾶν κ. τ. λ.

<sup>bb</sup> The author of the life of *Apollonius* is called an *Athenian* by Hierocles apud Eusebium in Hieroclem p. 512 D τὰ δὲ Ἀπολλωνίου Μάξιμος ὁ Αἰγνεὺς καὶ Δάμυς ὁ φιλόσοφος ὁ συνδιατρίψας αὐτῷ, καὶ Φιλόστρατος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, παιδεύσεως μὲν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἦκοντες. conf. p. 513 B p. 514 B. But the authority of *Hierocles* is of no weight against the testimony of *Philostratus* himself.

<sup>c</sup> *Philostratus* proemio apud Olearium p. 861 ἐσπού-

δασταί τις γραφικῶν ἔργων ἔκφρασις τοῦμὲν ὁμωνύμου καὶ μητροπάτορι, λίαν Ἀττικῶς τῆς γλώττης ἔχουσα.

<sup>d</sup> *Dion* is a senator A. D. 190, prætor elect in 193, at Rome in 197, 202; at Nicomedia in 214, at Rome in 217, governor of Pergamus in 218; still in Asia in 219, in Bithynia in 222. His offices in the reign of *Alexander Severus* are mentioned at A. D. 229.

*Dion* mentions his call to write LXXII. 23. He was ten years in collecting materials and twelve years in composing the annals to the end of *Severus* : Ibid. συνέλεξα πάντα τὰ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις μέχρι τῆς Σεβήρου μεταλλαγῆς πραχθέντα ἐν ἔτεσι δέκα, καὶ συνέγραψα ἐν ἄλλοις δώδεκα τὰ γὰρ λοιπὰ ὅπου ἂν καὶ προχωρήσῃ γεγράφεται.

- 191 *Nestor poeta*. Tables A. D. 224. The father of the poet *Pisander*.
- 192 *Herodianus historicus*. Tables A. D. 180. 204. 238.
- 193 *Agathemerus*. Lived after the wall of *Severus* in Britain (A. D. 210), which he mentions<sup>e</sup>, and before *Marcianus Heracleota*, who quotes him. Dodwell with probability conjectures that he was not much below the reign of *Severus*.
- 194 *Ammonius Saccas peripateticus*. Taught at Alexandria in A. D. 201; taught *Origen* there in 206, *Plotinus* in A. D. 232—242<sup>f</sup>. Flourished cir. A. D. 190—244: Tables A. D. 232.  
On *Ammonius* see Mosheim Eccles. Hist. Vol. 1 p. 137. 138 and the note of the English translator, and Brucker there quoted. But the English translator is confused, and misunderstands the question. There are two questions: 1 Whether *Ammonius Saccas* ever was a Christian; 2 whether he was the author of the work described in Eusebius H. E. VI. 19 Hieron. Catal. c. 55. We answer both in the negative. *Ammonius* never was a Christian. Porphyry represents him as originally such in order to cast a reproach upon Christianity. It necessarily follows that *Ammonius* the Christian writer was not *Ammonius Saccas*.
- 195 *Theodosius*. Tables A. D. 270. The companion of *Ammonius Saccas*.
- 196 *Olymprius*. Porphyrius V. Plot. c. 10 τῶν δὲ φιλοσοφεῖν προσποιουμένων Ὀλύμπιος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, Ἀμμωνίου ἐπ' ὀλίγον μαθητὴς γενόμενος, καταφρονητικῶς πρὸς τὸν Πλωτῖνον ἔσχε διὰ φιλοπρωτίαν κ. τ. λ.
- 197 *Plotinus*. Born in 205, heard *Ammonius* A. D. 232—242; taught at Rome A. D. 244, died in Campania in 270. See the Tables in those years<sup>g</sup>.
- 198 *Herennius*. Tables A. D. 244. The companion of *Plotinus*.
- 199 *Pisander Larandensis poeta*. Tables A. D. 224.
- 200 *Origenes*. Tables A. D. 244. The companion of *Plotinus*; known to *Longinus*<sup>gg</sup>.
- 201 *Aquilinus*. Tables A. D. 244. συμφοιτητὴς Πλωτῖνου.  
Platonists known to *Longinus*, described in the Tables A. D. 265;
- 202 *Euclides*
- 203 *Democritus*
- 204 *Proclinus*
- 205 *Theodotus*
- 206 *Eubulus*. Tables A. D. 264. Contemporary with *Plotinus*.
- 207 *Diophanes rhetor*. Tables A. D. 264. Contemporary with *Plotinus* and *Porphyry*.  
Stoics known to *Longinus*: Tables A. D. 265.
- 208 *Themistocles*
- 209 *Phœbion*
- 210 *Annius*

<sup>e</sup> Agathemerus τῆς γεωγραφίας ὑποτιπώσεων ἐν ἐπιτομῇ II. 4 p. 224 ἢ δὲ Ἀλουίων (νῆσος) ἐν ἧ καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα ἴδονται μεγίστη τέ ἐστι καὶ ἐπιμηκεστάτη.

<sup>f</sup> See the Tables in all those years.

<sup>g</sup> Augustine Epist. 56 p. 304 speaks of *Plotinus*: *Tunc Plotini schola Romæ floruit, habitique condiscipulos multos acutissimos et solertissimos viros* &c.

<sup>gg</sup> Of this *Origen* Proclus speaks ad Timæum Platonis p. 20 D ἀπορείται δὲ ὑπὸ Λογγίνου καὶ Ὀριγένους ὁ λόγος, μήποτε καὶ τὸν Ὀμηρον περιεῖληφεν [sc. Plato Timæo p. 19 E] ἐν τοῖς ποιηταῖς—ὥστε, φησὶν ὁ Πορφύριος, τριῶν ὅλων ἡμερῶν διατελέσαι τὸν Ὀριγένην βοῶντα καὶ ἐρυθριῶντα καὶ ἰδρῶτι πολλῶ κατεχόμενον, μεγάλην εἶναι

λέγοντα τὴν ὑπόθεσιν καὶ τὴν ἀπορίαν κ. τ. λ.—ἀπαντῶν δὲ ὁ Πορφύριος φησιν ὅτι μέγεθος μὲν πάθει περιθεῖναι καὶ ὕψος Ὀμηρος ἰκανός—ἀπάθειαν δὲ νοερὰν καὶ ζωὴν φιλόσοφον ἐνεργοῦσαν οὐχ οἷόν τε παραδοῦναι. p. 26 C Λογγίνος μὲν ἠπόρει τί ποτε βούλεται τῷ Πλάτῳ τούτου τοῦ διγγήματος ἢ παράθεσις κ. τ. λ. Ὀριγένης δὲ πεπλάσθαι μὲν ἔλεγε τὸ διγγημα, καὶ τοσοῦτόν γε συνεχῶρει τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Νουμήμιον [N<sup>o</sup> 132], οὐ δι' ἡδονὴν δὲ πεπλάσθαι μεμηχανημένην κατὰ τὸν Λογγίνον. p. 29 B Ὀριγένης δὲ ἀπορήσας πῶς ἐλευθεριώτατον τὸν Σόλωνα προσεῖπεν κ. τ. λ.—ὁ δὲ Ἰάμβλιχος [N<sup>o</sup> 252] οὐδὲν εἶναι φησι τούτων ἀληθές κ. τ. λ. Quoted again with *Longinus* and *Porphyry* by Proclus p. 50 C.



- 211 *Medius*  
 212 *Herminus*  
 213 *Lysimachus*<sup>h</sup>  
 214 *Athenæus*  
 215 *Musonius*.

Peripatetics known to *Longinus* : Tables A. D. 265.

- 216 *Heliodorus Alexandrinus*  
 217 *Ammonius*  
 218 *Ptolemæus*.

- 219 *Amelius*. The disciple of *Plotinus* : Tables A. D. 246. 270.  
 220 *Apollonius grammaticus*. The preceptor of *Porphyrus* : *Porphyrus Quæst. Homer. c. 25* apud *Fabricium* tom. 5 p. 749 Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ διδάσκαλος ἡμῶν.  
 221 *Longinus*. Tables A. D. 233. 245. 265. 269. 271. His death A. D. 273.  
 222 *Trypho Stoicus*. Tables A. D. 264. Known to *Amelius* N<sup>o</sup> 219.

Disciples of *Plotinus* recorded in the Tables A. D. 270 :

- 223 *Paulinus*  
 224 *Eustochius*  
 225 *Zoticus*  
*Zethus*  
*Serapion*  
*Geminæ, mater et filia,*  
*Amphiclea.*

- 226 *Asinius Quadratus historicus*. Tables A. D. 247.  
 227 *Lupercus Berytius grammaticus*. Tables A. D. 266.<sup>i</sup>  
 228 *Nicomachus*. Tables A. D. 272. In the time of *Aurelian*<sup>k</sup>.  
 229 *Arrianus*. *Capitolin. Gordiano c. 2 Gordiani tres fuerunt, idque docente Arriano scriptore Græcæ historiæ, docente item Dexippo. Idem Balbino c. 1 Et Dexippus et Arabianus* [lege cum *Salmasio Arrianus*] *Maximum et Balbinum dicunt electos contra Maximinum post Gordianos. Idem Maximino jun. c. 7 Et Dexippus et Arrianus et multi alii Græci scripserunt Maximum et Balbinum imperatores contra Maximinum factos. Arrianus, who is named with Dexippus and described the events of the year 238, may be referred to this period, when Dexippus flourished.*  
 230 *Dexippus Herennius*. Tables A. D. 261. 267. 269.<sup>l</sup>  
 231 *Probus*. Tables A. D. 268. The companion of *Porphyrus*.  
 232 *Antonius Rhodius*. Tables A. D. 263. The companion of *Porphyrus*.

<sup>h</sup> Also mentioned in the Tables at A. D. 246.

<sup>i</sup> *Suidas* p. 2342 B *Eudocia* p. 282 ἔγραψε περὶ τοῦ ἄν γ'. *Peri tou taōs*. *Toup* from *Harpocratio* v. Ἀντιφῶν reads περὶ τοῦ Ἀντιφῶντος ἐν τῷ περὶ ταῶν. *Eudocia* however also has περὶ τοῦ ἄν βιβλία γ'. περὶ τοῦ ταῶς. His other works in *Suidas* and *Eudocia* are these :  
 περὶ τῆς καρίδος.  
 περὶ τοῦ παρὰ Πλάτωνι ἀλεκτρούνοσ.  
 κτίσιω τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Ἀρσινούτου [κτῆσιω *Eudocia*].  
 Ἀττικὰς λέξεις.  
 τέχνην γραμματικὴν.  
 περὶ γενῶν ἀρσενικῶν καὶ θηλυκῶν καὶ οὐδετέρων βιβλία

γ', ἐν οἷς πολλὰ κατευδοκιμεῖ Ἡρωδιανοῦ.

<sup>k</sup> *Nicostratus* a historian is mentioned by *Evagrius* H. E. V. 24 p. 442 C Νικοστράτου τοῦ σοφιστοῦ τοῦ ἐκ Τραπεζοῦντος συγγράψαντος τὰ ἀπὸ Φιλίππου τοῦ μετὰ Γορδιανὸν ἐκτίθεται ἕως Ὀδανάθου τοῦ ἐκ Παλμύρας καὶ τῆς Οὐαλεριανοῦ πρὸς Πέρσας αἰσχροῦς ἀφίξεως. Whom *Valesius ad Evagrium* p. 122 conjectures to be the *Nicomachus* of *Vopiscus*.

<sup>l</sup> Quoted by *Lampridius* Alex. c. 49. By *Trebellius* XXX tyr. c. 32 on the year 235. By *Capitolinus* Gordian. c. 2. 9. 19. 23 *Balbin*. c. 1. 15. 16. Followed by *Zosimus*. *Conf. Reitemeier* p. 532.

233 *Paulus*.234 *Andromachus*.

} Both of Syria: Tables A. D. 261.

235 *Porphyrus*<sup>m</sup>. Born A. D. 233, saw the celebrated *Origen* at *Cæsarea* cir. A. D. 249, visited

<sup>m</sup> In the following list of his works I have for obvious reasons classed them according to their subjects, rather than in the order adopted by Fabricius. In the last class however, containing n. 30—61, are some works which probably belonged to the philological class.

I *De Homero*.

1 *Ὀμηρικὰ ζητήματα* λβ' πρὸς Ἀνατόλιον. Schol. Hom. II. γ. 175 *Πορφύριος ἐν τοῖς Ὀμηρικοῖς ζητήμασι*. β. 249. 308 *Πορφ.* ἐν τοῖς *ζητήμασι*. On this work see Fabricius tom. 5 p. 733.

2 *κατάλογος*. Schol. Hom. II. ο. 333 ὡς φησι *Πορφ.* ἐν τῷ *κατάλογῳ*.

3 *περὶ τοῦ ἐν τῇ Ὀδυσσεΐα τῶν νυμφῶν ἄντρον*. 4to. Traj. Rhen. 1765 p. 1—32.

4 *περὶ Στυγός*, in Hom. *Iliad*. ο. *Odyss*. ε. Stob. *Ecl*. I. 4, 56 p. 140 I. 52, 46 p. 1004 § 47 p. 1014 § 48 p. 1016 § 49 p. 1018 § 54 p. 1044 § 55 p. 1054. II. 1, 18 tom. 2 p. 16 *Πορφυρίου ἐκ τῶν περὶ Στυγός*. Stob. *Serm*. 100. 21 *Πορφ.* ἐκ τῶν περὶ *Στυγός*. *Serm*. 105. 57 ἐκ τῶν *Πορφυρίου περὶ Στυγός*.

5 *σχόλια εἰς Ὀμηρον*. Conf. Harles ad Fabric. tom. 5 p. 742.

6 *περὶ τῆς Ὀμήρου φιλοσοφίας*. Suidas p. 3053 B *Suid*. *Eudocia* p. 364.

7 *περὶ τῆς ἐξ Ὀμήρου ὠφελείας τῶν βασιλέων βιβλία* ι'. *Eudoc*.

8 *περὶ τῶν παραλελειμμένων τῷ ποιητῇ ὀνομάτων*. Schol. Hom. II. γ. 250 *Πορφύρ.* ἐν τῷ *περὶ τῶν π. τῷ π. ὀνομάτων*. γ. 314 *Πορφύρ.* ἐν τοῖς *παραλελειμμένοις*.

II *De Platone*.

9 *In Platonis philosophiam libri II*. Conf. Fabric. tom. 5 p. 742.

10 *εἰς τὸν Σοφιστὴν τοῦ Πλάτωνος*. Boethius.

11 *εἰς τὸν Τίμαιον ὑπομνήματα*. Macrobius in *Somn. Scipionis* II. 3 *Hanc Platoniorum persuasionem Porphyrius libris suis inseruit quibus Timæi obscuritatibus non nihil lucis infudit*. Philoponus in *Proclum* VI. 10 *Πορφύριος λέγει ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν εἰς τὸν Τίμαιον ὑπομνημάτων*. Idem VI. 8 *καὶ ὁ Πορφύριος δὲ πρὸς τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ταύρου [see N° 66] καθηριζομένοις καὶ ἕτερα προστίθησι τοῦ γενητοῦ [sc. τοῦ γενητὸν εἶναι τὸν κόσμον] σημανόμενα*. Quoted again with *Taurus* VI. 21. Idem VI. 25 *ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ φησὶν ὁ Πορφύριος κ. τ. λ. XIII. 15 καὶ ὁ Πορφύρ. δὲ ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τὸν Τίμαιον ὑπομνήμασι ἐξηγούμενος κ. τ. λ.—πάλιν ὁ αὐτὸς Πορφύριος ταῦτά φησιν ἐπὶ λέξεως κ. τ. λ.* Quoted largely by *Proclus* himself in *Timæum*; as, among others, in these passages: p. 7 A *σχεδὸν ἅπαντα τὰ πρὸ τῆς φυσιολογίας ὁ μὲν ἐξηγεῖται πολιτικώτερον, ὁ Πορφύριος—p. 8 D ὁ δὲ γὰρ Πορφ. ἠθικὸν ἐν τοῖτοις ἀναγράφει τὸ τοὺς φίλους ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων χρεῖν πάντα ὑπομένειν*. p. 9 D *ἐν οἷς ἠθικὸν μὲν εὐροῖς ἀν. ὡς φησὶν ὁ Πορφύρ.* p. 34 A B *λέγει γοῦν καὶ ὁ*

*Πορφύρ.* p. 36 C D *ὁ δὲ γὰρ φιλόσοφος Πορφύρ. καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἀπὸ τῶν φαινομένων μεταίει τοὺς λόγους.—ὁ γὰρ μὴ φιλόσοφος Ἰάμβλιχος φυσικῶς ταῦτα θεωρεῖν ἀξιῶ ἀλλ' οὐκ ἠθικῶς*. p. 47 A *ὁ φιλόσοφος Πορφ. οὕτω διατάττεται*. p. 48 C *Πορφ. μὲν ἀσπίδα τὸ σῶμα καλῶν*. p. 49 C *Πορφ. δὲ εἰκότως φησὶ καὶ ἱατρικὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀθηναῖς ἦκειν κ. τ. λ.—οἷς καὶ ὁ θεῖος ἐπέπληξεν Ἰάμβλιχος ὡς οὐ καλῶς συγχέουσι τὰς τῶν θεῶν οὐσίας κ. τ. λ.* p. 54 A *ὁ μὲν οὖν Πορφ. ἐν τοῖτοις εἰς δαίμονας καὶ ψυχὰς ἀναπέμπων τὴν θεωρίαν*. p. 64 A—C *ὁ μὲν γὰρ φιλόσοφος Πορφ. διοριζόμενος τίνες μὲν τῶν παλαιῶν προσήκοντο τὴν εὐχὴν τίνες δὲ οὐ, περιήγαγεν ἡμᾶς ἐπ' ἄλλας καὶ ἄλλας δόξας λέγων ὡς συλλήβδην εἰπεῖν κ. τ. λ.—ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Πορφ. ὡς συντόμως εἰπεῖν*. p. 66 E *λυτέον δὲ τὴν ἀπορίαν ὡς ὁ Πορφ.* p. 67 D *Πορφ. δὲ καὶ Ἰάμβλιχος ἀμφότερα ψιλοῦσιν, ἢ ἢ τὸ λεγόμενον, πότερον γέγονε τὸ πᾶν ἢ ἀγενές ἐστι*. p. 83 C *οὕτω καὶ ὁ φιλόσοφος ἔκρινε Πορφ. εἰκότως*. p. 91 F *Πορφ. δὲ φησὶν ὅτι πατὴρ μὲν ἐστὶν ὁ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ γενῶν τὸ ἔλον ποιητὴς δὲ ὁ παρ' ἄλλου τὴν ὕλην λαμβάνων*. p. 94 A *μετὰ δὲ τὸν Ἀμέλιον [N° 219] ὁ Πορφ. οἴομενος τῷ Πλωτίνῳ [N° 197] συναΐδειν τὴν μὲν ψυχὴν τὴν ὑπερκόσμιον ἀποκαλεῖ δημιουργόν κ. τ. λ.* p. 119 B *φέρει δὴ οὖν καὶ ὅσα ὁ φιλόσοφος Πορφ. ἐν τοῖτοις ἱεροπρεπῆ νήματα παραδέδωκε συντόμως περιλάβωμεν. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἀποτείνεται πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Ἀττικῶν [N° 113] πολλὰς ὑποτιθεμένους ἀρχὰς κ. τ. λ.* p. 133 B *εἰσὶ ταύτης προστάται τῆς ἐξηγήσεως Πορφ. τε καὶ Ἰάμβλιχος [N° 252]*. p. 134 A *ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ Πορφ.* p. 172 F *εὖ μὲν καὶ ὁ φιλόσοφος Πορφ. τὸ κύκλω κύκλον ἐξηγήσατο*. p. 175 C *ὁ μὲν Πορφ. ὑποδιελὼν γενέσει μὲν πρεσβυτέραν ἀρετὴν δὲ προτέραν ἀκούει τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ σώματος*. p. 189 F *ἐξήτησεν ὁ Πορφ. ὀρθῶς κ. τ. λ.* p. 192 D *οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὁ Πορφ. καὶ ὁ Σεβήριος ἀξιούσιν*. p. 205 E *Πορφ. δὲ θαυμαστόν τινα τρόπον—διὰ πολλῶν κατεσκευάσεν*. p. 206 A *Given below under Theodorus N° 302 note*. p. 227 D *ὁ μὲν Πορφ. μέση ἀντὶ τοῦ φυτικῆς τῆς ψυχῆς ἀκούσας πειρᾶται συναρμώττειν αὐτὸ τῷ μέσῳ τοῦ παντός*. p. 235 D *ἢ γὰρ ὀρθότης δηλοῖ μὲν καὶ τὴν ὀρθοδοξίαν, ὡς ὁ τε Πορφ. ἐξηγήσατο καὶ ὁ Ἰάμβλιχος ἐπέκρινε*. p. 5 C *Πραξιφάνης δὲ ὁ τοῦ Θεοφράστου ἐταῖρος ἐγκαλεῖ τῷ Πλάτωνι κ. τ. λ.—ὁ δὲ γὰρ φιλόσοφος Πορφύριος ἅπαντ' ἀπὸ αὐτόν*. Quoted p. 29 C p. 50 C against *Longinus*. Named again p. 98 C with *Plotinus* and *Longinus*. p. 131 C with *Atticus Iamblichus Amelius*. p. 171 D with *Iamblichus*. p. 233 A with *Amelius*. p. 234 D with *Atticus* and *Iamblichus*.

12 *πρὸς Διοφάνην περὶ Ἀλκιβιάδου τοῦ ἐν τῷ συμποσίου τοῦ Πλάτωνος*. See the Tables A. D. 264 p. 291.

III *De Aristotele*.

13 *εἰσαγωγή περὶ τῶν πέντε φωνῶν, ὅτι εἰσαγωγή Πορφυρίου (τοῦ Φοίνικος τοῦ μαθητοῦ Πλωτίνου τοῦ Λυκοπολίτου) εἰς τὰς κατηγορίας*. Schol. Aristot. Berolin. p. 1 εἰς *Χρυσάριον*.



Rome cir. 262. At Rome in 263, 264. Retired to Sicily in 268, addressed by *Longinus* in 271. Wrote the Life of *Plotinus* in A. D. 301. See the Tables in those years.

Suidas p. 3053 A Πορφύριος ὁ κατὰ Χριστιανῶν γράψας, ὃς κυρίως ἐκαλεῖτο βασιλεὺς, Τύριος

14 εἰς τὰς Ἀριστοτέλους κατηγορίας ἐξήγησις κατὰ πύσιν καὶ ἀπόκρισιν. Paris. 1543 4to. See Schol. Berolin. p. 31 b not. 39 a not. Simplicius ad Categor. p. 2 apud Schol. Berolin. p. 40 a l. 16 συντόμως ἀποκαλύπτειν ἐσπούδασαν, ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ κατὰ πύσιν καὶ ἀπόκρισιν βιβλίῳ πεποίηκεν ὁ Πορφύριος. This work is quoted above under *Herminius* N<sup>o</sup> 57.

15 *Comment. in Aristot. φυσικῆς ἀκροάσεως*. See Fabric. tom. 5 p. 740.

16 περὶ ἀρετῶν. sc. *Comm. in Aristot. Ethica*. Conf. Fabric. tom. 5 p. 742.

17 *In Organum*. Conf. Fabric. tom. 5 p. 742.

18 περὶ τοῦ μίαν εἶναι τὴν Πλάτωνος καὶ Ἀριστοτέλους ἀίρεσιν ζ'. Suid. p. 3053 B Eudocia p. 364.

19 *In Aristot. περὶ ἐρμηνείας*. Boethius in Aristot. II. p. 282 apud Schol. Berolin. p. 95 b *Huius libri expositionem nos scilicet quam maxime a Porphyrio (quamquam etiam a ceteris) transferentes Latina oratione digessimus*.

20 πρὸς Ἀριστοτέλην, περὶ τοῦ εἶναι τὴν ψυχὴν ἐντελέθειαν. Suid. Eudoc.

21 ἐξήγησις τῶν κατηγοριῶν πρὸς Γεδάλιον *libri VII*. Simplicius ad Categor. α p. 2 apud Schol. Aristot. Berolin. p. 40 a l. 33 μετὰ δὲ τούτους ὁ πάντων ἡμῶν τῶν καλῶν αἴτιος Πορφύριος ἐξήγησιν τε ἐντελὴ τοῦ βιβλίου καὶ τῶν ἐνστάσεων πασῶν λύσεις οὐκ ἀπόπως ἐν ἐπτά βιβλίοις ἐποίησατο τοῖς Γεδάλιῳ προσφωνηθείσι.—μετὰ τούτων δὲ ὁ θεῖος Ἰάμβλιχος πολύστιχον καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον κατεβάλετο πραγματείαν, τὰ μὲν πολλὰ τοῖς Πορφυρίου καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς λέξεως κατακολουθῶν. Dexippus apud Schol. Berolin. p. 39 a l. 34 πολλὰς καὶ ἀπείρους συγγραφὰς εἰς τὸ βιβλίον τοῦτο ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ μάλιστα Πορφύριος, εἴθ' ὕστερον Ἰάμβλιχος, καταβέβληνται. Simplicius ad Categ. p. 5 b apud Schol. Berolin. p. 29 a not. ὁ δὲ Πορφύριος—ἐν τε τῷ πρὸς Γεδάλειον καὶ ἐν τῷ κατὰ πύσιν καὶ ἀπόκρισιν περὶ τῶν κατηγορουμένων.

22 περὶ συλλογισμῶν κατηγορικῶν. “Boethius I in Aristot. περὶ ἐρμηνείας et dialogo I in Porphyrii εἰσαγωγῆν.” Fabric. tom. 5 p. 746.

#### IV grammatica vel philologica.

23 γραμματικαὶ ἀπορίαι Suid. p. 3053 C Eudoc. p. 365.

24 περὶ προσφθίας. Villosion *Anecd. Gr.* p. 103 Πορφυρίου—περὶ προσφθίας “Ἰστέον ὅτι, ὡς ὁ Θράξ Διονύσιος” κ.τ.λ. apud Villosion. p. 103—118. Grammatical fragments of *Porphyry* are also in Villosion p. 181 p. 185.

25 *Commentarii in Hermogenem*. Aldi Rhet. Schol. in Hermog. p. 162 l. 15 Πορφυρίου. “Ἐπειδὴ τὰ ἀρχαῖα” κ.τ.λ.

26 εἰσαγωγὴ εἰς Ἀφθόνιον. Aldi Rhet. Schol. in Aphthon. p. xvi l. 18 “ὁ διαίρησις.” κατὰ τὸν Πορφύριον ἐν τῇ εἰσαγωγῇ καὶ ὁ Ἀφθόνιος ἐνταῦθα τὸ γένος διαί-

ρεῖ, κ.τ.λ.

27 εἰς τὴν Μινουκιανοῦ τέχνην. Suid. Eudoc.

28 σύμμικτα ζητήματα *libris VII*. Suid. Eudoc. Nemesius p. 139 Πορφύριος ὁ κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ κινήσας τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γλῶσσαν—οὗτος ὁ Πορφύριος ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ λόγῳ τῶν συμμίκτων ζητημάτων. Proclus in *Platonis πολιτείαν* p. 415 l. 43 οἶδα δὲ ἔγωγε τὸν Πορφύριον ἐν τοῖς συμμίκτοις ἱστοροῦντα προβλήμασι Μηδίου πρὸς Λογγίνον συνουσίαν τινὰ περὶ τῶν μορίων τῆς ψυχῆς κ.τ.λ.

29 φιλολόγου ἱστορίας *libri V*. Suid. p. 3053 B Eudoc. p. 364. Euseb. *Præp.* X. 3 p. 464 A Πορφυρίου περὶ τοῦ κλέπτας εἶναι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀ τῆς φιλολογίας [lege φιλολόγου] ἀκροάσεως. An extract follows p. 464 A—468 B. See the Tables A. D. 245 p. 263. Suidas Ὅμηρος p. 2668 A γέγονε δὲ (Ὅμηρος) πρὸ τοῦ τεθῆναι τὴν πρώτῃν Ὀλυμπιάδα πρὸ ἐνιαυτῶν νξ'. Πορφύριος δὲ ἐν τῇ φιλοσόφῳ ἱστορίᾳ πρὸ ρλβ' φησίν. κ.τ.λ. Legendum videtur φιλολόγου ἱστορία. The φιλόσοφος ἱστορία was upon other subjects. On the date of *Porphyry* for *Homer* see F. H. I p. 146.

#### V reliqua opera.

30 Πορφυρίου εἰς τὰ ἀρμονικὰ Πτολεμαίου ἰσόμμημα. De editionibus confer Fabricium tom. 5 p. 740.

31 πρὸς Ἀνεβῶ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον. Euseb. *Præp.* III. 2 p. 92 A ἄκουε οἶα καὶ ὁ Πορφύριος ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἀνεβῶ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον ἐπιστολῇ—ἱστορεῖ. Repeated by Theodoret *Serm.* 3 p. 47. 48. Euseb. *Præp.* V. 9 p. 197 C καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς αὐθις συγγραφεὺς ἐν τῇ πρὸς τὸν εἰρημένον Αἰγύπτιον ἐπιστολῇ. Idem XIV. 9 p. 740 D ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Ἀνεβῶ [sic recte Gaisford. Male Vigerus Νεκτανεβῶ] τὸν Αἰγύπτιον ἐπιστολῆς τοῦ Πορφυρίου μάθοις ἂν αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο ἀκούσας κ.τ.λ. Transcribed from Eusebius by Theodoret *Serm.* 1 p. 11 = p. 28 ed. Oxon. Augustin. C. D. X. 11 *Melius sapuit iste Porphyrius, cum ad Anebontem scripsit Ægyptium* &c.

32 περὶ ἀγαλμάτων. Stobæus *Eclog.* I. 26, 2 p. 526 Πορφυρίου ἐκ τοῦ περὶ ἀγαλμάτων. To this work Heeren refers Stob. *Ecl.* I. 3, 25 p. 46 and Euseb. *Præp.* III. 7 p. 97 D ἄκουε μεθ' οἷας ἐξενήκεται τῷ Πορφυρίῳ ἀλαζονείας κ.τ.λ. III. 9 p. 100 A φέρε καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐπιθεωρήσωμεν. ἐπάκουσον οὖν οἷα φησι κ.τ.λ. p. 102 A ταυτὰ σοι ὁ Πορφύριος. III. 11 p. 108 A. c. 13 p. 117 D ταυτὰ μοι ἐκ τῆς τοῦ προειρημένου ἀνδρὸς γραφῆς ἐπιτετημέσθω. Conf. Heeren. tom. 2 p. 211 “Ex paucis verbis quæ nobis ex hoc opere Stobæi diligentia servavit de integro libro iudicium ferre non liceret nisi Eusebius ampliora ex eo loca exhiberet, quibus inter se collatis patet Porphyrium in hoc libro deorum statuas figuras et attributa ad physicam et allegoricam rationem revocasse.”

33 ἐπιγράμματα. Eustathius in *Homerum* apud Fabric. tom. 5 p. 744.

34 περὶ θείων ὀνομάτων ἐν. Suid. Eudoc.



φιλόσοφος, μαθητῆς Ἀμελίου τοῦ Πλωτίνου μαθητοῦ [see the Tables A. D. 246] διδάσκαλος δὲ Ἰαμβλίου, γεγυῶς ἐπὶ τῶν χρόνων Ἀνρηλιανοῦ καὶ παρατείνας ἕως Διοκλητιανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως.

35 εἰς τὸ Θεοφράστου περὶ καταφάσεως καὶ ἀποφάσεως. Boethius II p. 286 in Aristot. περὶ ἑρμηνείας apud Schol. Berolin. p. 99 b *Porphyrius ait sese docuisse species enuntiationis esse Affirmationem et Negationem, in his commentariis quos in Theophrastum edidit.* Galen also wrote upon this work of *Theophrastus*. See above at N<sup>o</sup> 146 note<sup>o</sup> n. 7.

36 εἰς τὸ Θουκυδίδου προοίμιον. Suid. p. 3053 C Eudoc. p. 364.

37 πρὸς Ἀριστείδην *libri VII.* Suid. Eudoc.

38 πρὸς Μάρκελλον γυναῖκα. Eunapius V. S. p. 18 πρὸς Μάρκελλον γὰρ αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα γενομένην βιβλίον φέρεται, ἢν φησιν ἀγαγεῖσθαι καὶ ταῦτα οὖσαν πέντε μῆτρα τέκνων, οὐχ ἵνα παῖδας ἐξ αὐτῆς ποιήσῃται ἀλλ' ἵνα οἱ γεγονότες παιδείας τύχωσιν. Cyrill. in Julian. VI p. 209 A Πορφ. δὲ τὴν Μάρκελλον ὑπεράγασθαι μὲν τῆς φιλοσοφίας φησὶν εἰσοικίσασθαι δὲ ἀσμένως καὶ συμβιωτεύειν ἐλεῖσθαι γαμικῶς.

39 περὶ ἀνόδου ψυχῆς. *Porphyrius de anima* is quoted by Augustine C. D. X. 9. 10. Conf. Fabric. tom. 5 p. 743.

40 ὁ πρὸς Νημέριον λόγος. Cyrill. adv. Julian. III p. 79 A Πορφ. γοῦν ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ν. λόγῳ φησὶν οὕτως. p. 85 C ὁ Πορφ. οὕτω πάλιν. p. 95 B ἔφη γὰρ οὕτως ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ν. λόγῳ. V p. 166 B φησὶ γοῦν ὁ αὐτοῦ Πορφύριος ἐν τῷ πρὸς Νημέριον λόγῳ.

41 πρὸς τὸ Ζωροάστρου βιβλίον, νόθον τε καὶ νέον τὸ βιβλίον παραδεικνύς. See the Tables A. D. 264 p. 291.

42 περὶ ἰδεῶν πρὸς Δογγίνον. Longinus apud Porphyrium Vit. Plotin. c. 20 de *Porphyrio*: Πλωτίνου ἐπεχείρησε διὰ συγγράμματος ἀποδείξει βελτίω δόξαν περὶ τῶν ἰδεῶν τῆς ἡμῶν ἀρεσκούσης ἔχοντα. Longinus adds μετρίας ἀντιγραφῆ διελέγειν δοκοῦμεν. See the rest in the Tables A. D. 265 p. 293.

43 περὶ ψυχῆς πρὸς Βοηθὸν *libri V.* Suid. p. 3053 A Eudoc. p. 364. Euseb. Præp. XI. 27 p. 554 B ὁ Πορφύριος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν πρὸς Βοηθὸν περὶ ψυχῆς τούτου γράφων τὸν τρόπον. XIV. 10 p. 741 C ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν οἷς ἀντέγραψε Βοηθῷ περὶ ψυχῆς κ. τ. λ. XV. 11 p. 812 D συνιδεῖν οὐκ ἄτοπον καὶ τὰ Πορφυρίῳ ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Βοηθὸν περὶ ψυχῆς εἰρημέια. XV. 16 p. 818 B πρὸς τὴν περὶ Θεοῦ τῶν Στωϊκῶν δόξαν ἀπαρκεῖ παραθέσθαι τὰς Πορφυρίου λέξεις ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Β. ἀντιγραφείσῃ αὐτῷ περὶ ψυχῆς. Theodoret. Serm. I p. 11 = 28 ἀκούσατε οἷα φησὶν ἐν οἷς πρὸς Βοηθὸν περὶ ψυχῆς ἔγραψε.

44 περὶ τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς δυνάμεων. Stobæus Serm. 25, 1 Πορφυρίου περὶ τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς δυνάμεων. Idem Eclog. I. 52, 20 p. 826 ἐκ τῶν Πορφυρίου περὶ τῶν τῆς ψ. δ. Quoted again § 21 p. 832 § 22 p. 846 ἐν ταῦτῳ.

45 περὶ τοῦ ἐφ' ἡμῶν πρὸς Χρυσασάριον. Stobæus Ecl. II. 8, 37 p. 366 Πορφυρίου Περὶ τοῦ ἐφ' ἡμῶν "Ἐν ταῖς πρώτῃν ἡμῶν γεγονυῖαι, Χρυσασάριε, πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαλέξει" — § 38 p. 378 ἐν ταῦτῳ. § 39 p. 380 ἐν ταῦτῳ. § 40 p. 382 τοῦ αὐτοῦ.

46 ἱερὸς γάμος. A poem. Porphy. Vit. Plotin. c. 15 ἐμοῦ δὲ ἐν Πλατωνεῖσι ποίημα ἀναγνόντος τὸν Ἰερὸν

γάμον. On this poem see Creuzer ad locum p. cxii.

47 *Comm. in Plotinum.* Eunap. V. Plotini p. 13 Πορφύριος—πολλὰ τῶν βιβλίων ἑρμηνείας αὐτοῦ φαίνεται.

48 περὶ ὄλης *libri VI.* Suid. p. 3054 A Eudoc. p. 364. Fabricius tom. 5 p. 746 "Æneas Gazæus in Theophrasto p. 56 ait *eum in illo opere Plotini διανοῖξαι βιβλίον.*"

49 περὶ ἀρχῶν *libri II.* Suid. Eudoc.

50 περὶ ἀσωμάτων. Suid. Eudoc.

51 περὶ αἰσθήσεως. Nemesius c. 7 p. 182 Πορφύριος ἐν τῷ Περὶ αἰσθήσεως.

52 περὶ τοῦ γνῶθι σεαυτὸν *libri IV.* Suid. Eudoc. Stobæus Serm. 21, 26 Πορφυρίου. *Ex Sermone de hoc dicto Nosce teipsum.* Gesn. 21, 27 Πορφυρίου ἐκ τοῦ ἀ περὶ τοῦ Γνῶθι σεαυτὸν. 21, 28 τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ τετάρτου.

53 αἱ πρὸς τὰ νοητὰ ἀφορμαί. For the editions see Fabricius tom. 5 p. 733. Quoted by Stobæus Serm. 1, 88 Πορφυρίου ἐκ τοῦ περὶ τῶν πρὸς τὰ νοητὰ ἀφορμῶν. Idem Eclog. I. 43, 3 p. 716 Πορφυρίου ἐκ τῶν πρὸς κ. τ. λ. Again Ecl. I. 51, 4. 5 p. 778 I. 52, 13—19. 50 p. 1038. Idem Serm. 118, 19 Πορφυρίου τῶν πρὸς θάνατον ἀφορμῶν. 118, 32 Πορφ. ἐκ τῶν πρὸς θάνατον ἀφορμῶν. For θάνατον Gaisford reads τὰ νοητὰ.

54 Κρατύλος. Bekker Anecd. Gr. p. 1374 ἐπιστήμη ὡς εἰς ἐπίστασιν ἀγούσα τὸν νοῦν, φησὶν ὁ Πορφύριος ἐν Κρατύλῳ.

55 εἰς τὰ Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ Χαλδαίου. Suidas p. 3053 B εἰς τὴν τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ Χαλδαίου φιλοσόφου ἱστορίαν ἐν βιβλίοις δ'. Eudocia p. 264 εἰς τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ Χαλδαίου φιλοσόφου ἱστορίαν βιβλία δ'. Valesius p. 103 ad Sozomen. I. 18 p. 433 A (who has Ἰουλιανῷ τῷ καλομένῳ Χαλδαίῳ) reads εἰς τὰ Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ Χαλδαίου φιλοσόφου. θέν φιλοσόφου ἱστορίαν ἐν βιβλίοις δ'. and separates the two articles which had been improperly combined.

56 φιλόσοφος ἱστορία *libris IV.* Suid. Eudoc. (ubi male præcedentibus adhærent. conf. n. 55.) Eunapius proæm. p. 5 τὴν φιλόσοφον ἱστορίαν καὶ τοὺς τῶν φιλοσόφων ἀνδρῶν βίους Πορφύριος καὶ Σωτῖαν ἀνελέξατο κ. τ. λ. conf. F. H. III p. 526 v. Socrates H. E. III. 23 p. 197 D Πορφύριος μὲν γὰρ τοῦ κορυφαιοτάτου τῶν φιλοσόφων Σωκράτους τὸν βίον διέστυρεν ἐν τῇ γεγραμμένῃ αὐτῷ φιλοσόφῳ ἱστορίᾳ. Repeated by Nicephorus X. 36 p. 87 A. Theodoret. Serm. 4 p. 61. 22 Πορφυρίου ἢ φιλόσοφος ἱστορία. de *Socrate*. These passages were in the third book, as we shall see below. Cyrill. adv. Julian. I p. 19 C Πορφύριος ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ κοσμητῆ δόξαν ἔχων παρ' ἐκείνοις οὐκ ἀγεννῆ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ λόγῳ τῆς φιλοσόφου ἱστορίας. Idem I p. 28 A de *septem sapient.* Πορφύριος—γράφει οὕτως ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ βιβλίῳ τῆς φιλοσόφου ἱστορίας κ. τ. λ. Idem IX p. 300 B γέγραφεν ὧδε περὶ αὐτοῦ [de *Pythagora*] Πορφύριος ἐν βιβλίῳ πρώτῳ φιλοσόφου ἱστορίας.

*Lib. III*: Steph. Byz. Γάδαρα. πόλις Παλαιστίνης:



ἔγραψε βιβλία πάμπλειστα, φιλόσοφά τε καὶ ῥητορικὰ καὶ γραμματικά. An imperfect account of the time of *Porphyry*. He flourished indeed in the reign of *Aurelian*, but he was born

Πορφύριος τρίτῳ φιλοσόφου ιστορίας. Cyrill. adv. Julian. VI p. 208 A de *Socrate*: γράφει δὲ οὕτω περὶ αὐτοῦ Πορφ. ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ φιλοσόφων [i. φιλοσόφου] ιστορίας. Theodoret. Serm. I p. 8. 10 καὶ ὁ Πορφ. δὲ ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ τῆς φιλοσόφου ιστορίας τοῦτο συνέγραψεν. To *Lib. III* may be referred Theodoret Serm. 4 p. 56. 18 de *Socrate*. Idem Serm. 12 p. 174. 22 ὁ Πορφ. δὲ τὴν φιλόσοφον ιστορίαν συγγράψας πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸν [sc. *Socratem*] ἀκρόχολον καὶ εὐόργητον εἴρηκε γεγενῆσθαι. p. 175. 1 καὶ ταῦτα δὲ περὶ τοῦ βίου Σωκράτους ὁ Πορφ. ἔφη κ. τ. λ. Cyrill. VI p. 186 C γέγραφε γὰρ ὡδὶ πάλιν περὶ αὐτοῦ Πορφύριος κ. τ. λ.

*Lib. IV*: Cyrill. adv. Julian. I p. 31 A Πορφ. δὲ φησιν ἐν βιβλίῳ τετάρτῳ φιλοσόφου ιστορίας. de *Platone*. p. 32 C φησὶ γὰρ ὁ Πορφ. ἐν δ' βιβλίῳ φιλοσόφου ιστορίας ὡς εἰπόντος Πλάτωνος περὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ οὕτως. κ. τ. λ. Perhaps in *lib. IV* the following: p. 34 A Πορφ. γὰρ φησι, Πλάτωνος ἐκτιθέμενος δόξαν κ. τ. λ. p. 47 E φησὶ μὲν γὰρ ὁ Πορφ. δοξάσαι τὸν Πλάτωνα περὶ οὐρανοῦ— Idem VIII p. 271 A γράφει τοίνυν Πορφ. ἐν βιβλίῳ τετάρτῳ φιλοσόφου ιστορίας ἄκρι γὰρ τριῶν ὑποστάσεων ἔφη Πλάτων τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ προελθεῖν οὐσίαν κ. τ. λ.

57 Πυθαγόρου βίος. Lips. 8vo. 1816 pp. 98 Kiessling cum Iamblichio. In the opinion of Vossius probably a part of the φιλόσοφος ιστορία. Quoted by Cyrill. adv. Julian. VI p. 209 B γράφει δὲ ὡδε καὶ τὸν Πυθαγόρου βίον ἐξηγουόμενος. Conf. p. 36 Kiessl. Cyrill. X p. 340 D ὁ Πορφ. τὸν Πυθαγόρου βίον ἐναργῆ καθιστὰς ὡδε πη φησὶ.— Conf. p. 14—18 Kiessl. Cyrill. X p. 342 A Πορφ. δὲ Πυθαγόρου περὶ πάλιν ὡδε φησίν.— Conf. p. 30 Kiessl.

58 Πλωτίνου βίος. Written in the 17th year of *Diocletian* A. D. 301. See the Tables p. 345.

59 περὶ ἀποχῆς ἐμφύχων *libri IV*. Suid. Eudoc. Edidit de Rhoer 4to. Traj. Rhen. 1767 pp. 380. Quoted by Cyrill. adv. Julian. IV p. 124 C γράφει γοῦν ὁ Πορφ. ὡδὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐν βιβλίῳ δευτέρῳ Περὶ ἐμφύχων ἀποχῆς κ. τ. λ. Conf. de Abst. II. 41—43. Cyrill. IV p. 128 D γράφει δὲ καὶ Πορφύριος ἐν βιβλίῳ δευτέρῳ Περὶ ἀποχῆς ἐμφύχων κ. τ. λ. Conf. de Abst. II. 43. Cyrill. V p. 180 B διαμέμνηται δὲ καὶ Πορφ. τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν Ἑσσαιῶν κ. τ. λ. Conf. de Abst. IV. 13.

60 περὶ τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας. Large fragments in Eusebius. Euseb. Præp. III. 14 p. 123 C γράφει δὲ ὁ Πορφύριος καὶ ταῦτα ἐν οἷς ἐπέγραψε Περὶ τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας, ἐνθα καὶ τῶν χρησμῶν ἐμνημόνευσεν ὡδε πως ἐχόντων κ. τ. λ. IV. 6 p. 143 A—C οὗτος τοιγαροῦν ἐν οἷς ἐπέγραψε Περὶ τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας συναγωγῆν ἐποιήσατο χρησμῶν.—πρῶτον δὲ θεασάμεθα ὅπως τῆς γραφῆς ὁ δηλωθεὶς ἀνὴρ ἀρχόμενος ἀληθεύειν ἐπόμνυται. Repeated by Theodoret Serm. 10 p. 138. 39. Euseb. IV. 8 p. 144 D ἄκουε τῶν πρώτων αὐτοῦ φωνῶν ἐν ὧν τὰ περὶ τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας συναγωγῶν κ. τ. λ. p. 147 C τοιαῦτα μὲν τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ θεοσόφου. Conf. p. 147 D.

Repeated by Theodoret Serm. 10 p. 138. 11. Euseb. IV. 18 p. 166 B. repeated by Theodoret p. 138. 22. Euseb. IV. 19 p. 168 A τοῦτον δὲ μάρτυς ὁ καὶ πρόσθεν, ἐν οἷς ἐπέγραψε τῆς ἐκ λ. φ. ὡδε ιστορῶν κατὰ λέξιν. Cf. p. 173 A repeated by Theodoret Serm. 3 p. 47. 14. Euseb. IV. 22 p. 174 A ἄκουε δ' ὅπως καὶ περὶ τοῦτο γράφει ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῆς ἐκ λ. φ. V. 5 p. 189 C γράφει δὲ ταῦτα ὁ δεδηλωμένος ἐν οἷς ἐπέγραψε περὶ τῆς ἐκ λ. φ. V. 7 p. 192 A ἐν δὲ τῇ προλεχθείσῃ πραγματείᾳ τῆς ἐκ λ. φ.—λέγων ὡδε κ. τ. λ. V. 8 p. 193 repeated by Theodoret Serm. 10 p. 139. 14. Euseb. V. 10 p. 199 D ὁ δὴ οὖν αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ δηλωθείσῃ τῶν λογίων συναγωγῇ ταῦτα λέγει.— V. 14 p. 203 C προστίθησι τοῖς εἰρημέτοις καὶ ταῦτα.— V. 15 p. 204 D ἄκουε οἷά ὁ αὐτὸς συγγραφεὺς φησι περὶ τοῦ ἐκλειομένου αὐτῶν τὰ βοώμενα χρηστήρια. V. 36 p. 234 C μεταβάς αὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίαν ἐκ τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν διαβολῆν πεποιμένον ἀναγῶθι ἐκ τῶν περὶ εἰμαρμένης τοῦ Πυθίου χρησμῶν. Conf. VI. 1 p. 236 D VI. 5 p. 241 C repeated by Theodoret Serm. 10 p. 137. 37. Euseb. XIV. 10 p. 741 A ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς Ἄνεβῶ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον ἐπιστολῆς Πορφυρίου [n. 31], καὶ ἀφ' ὧν ἀπέγραψε Βοηθῶ περὶ ψυχῆς [n. 43], καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας. Conf. p. 742 A repeated by Theodoret Serm. 1 p. 10. 20. Euseb. IX. 10 p. 412 D ὁ δὲ Πορφ. ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς ἐκ λ. φ. αὐτὸν εἰσάγει τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θεόν. Theodoret. Serm. 10 p. 141. 50 συνῆγαγε διὰ τούτους οὐ μόνον ὁ Πορφ. ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῆς ἐκ λ. φ. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ κυνικός Οἰνόμαος [N° 90] διελέγχων τῶν χρησμολόγων τὸ ψεῦδος. Augustin. C. D. XIX. 23 *Nam in libris quos ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας appellat, in quibus eusequitur atque conscribit rerum ad philosophiam pertinentium velut divina responsa &c.* Philoponus de *Mundi Creatione* IV. 20 p. 181 Πορφύριος ὁ περὶ πᾶσαν ἀγρυπτιαν ἐσπουδακὸς ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ λόγῳ τοῦ περὶ τῆς ἐκ λογίων [sic lege cum Fabricio] φιλοσοφίας συντάγματος κ. τ. λ.

61 κατὰ Χριστιανῶν *libri XV*. Suidas p. 3053 B Eudocia p. 365. Cyrill. adv. Julianum I p. 28 A Πορφ. ὁ πικροὺς ἡμῶν καταχέας λόγους, καὶ τῆς Χριστιανῶν θρησκείας μονουχὶ κατορχούμενος. Theodoret. Serm. 12 p. 179. 40 ὁ Πορφ. ἐν οἷς καθ' ἡμῶν ἐνέγραψεν εἴρηκε κ. τ. λ. Euseb. Præp. I. 9 p. 31 A de *Sanchoniatone et Philone Byblio* (see N° 58): μέμνηται τούτων ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν πεποιμένους συσκευῆν, ἐν τετάρτῳ τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὑποθέσεως ὡδε τῷ ἀνδρὶ μαρτυρῶν πρὸς λέξιν. Idem X. 9 p. 485 A γράφει τοίνυν ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ τῆς καθ' ἡμῶν συσκευῆς ὁ Πορφ. ῥήμασιν αὐτοῖς τάδε— V. 1 p. 179 D αὐτὸς ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς τῶν δαίμωνων προῖρητος ἐν τῇ καθ' ἡμῶν συσκευῇ τοῦτον που λέγων μαρτυρεῖ τὸν τρόπον. Idem H. E. VI. 19 ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐν Σκελίᾳ καταστὰς Πορφύριος συγγράμματα καθ' ἡμῶν ἐνστησάμενος καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τὰς θείας γραφὰς διαβάλλειν πεπειραμένος. Written therefore after A. D. 268. See the Tables p. 299. Testimonies from *lib. III* are quoted in the Tables A. D. 206 p. 213. Socrates H. E. III. 23 p. 200 B relates the account of the adversaries of *Porphyry*: Πορφύ-



in the 12th year of *Alexander Severus* and lived through nearly the whole reign of *Diocletian*. See the Tables A. D. 301 and Eunapius there quoted. Eunapius adds πολλὰς γοῦν τοῖς ἤδη προπεπραγατευμένοις βιβλίους θεωρίας ἐναντίας κατέλιπε, περὶ ὧν οὐκ ἔστιν ἕτερόν τι δοξάζειν ἢ ὅτι προῖων ἕτερα ἐδόξασεν.

236 *Anatolius*. Tables A. D. 312. The preceptor of *Iamblichus*.

237 *Ephorus*. Suidas p. 1553 C Ἐφορος [Κυμαῖος] ἱστορικὸς ὁ νεώτερος. ἔγραψε τὰς Γαλιηνοῦ ἱστορίας [A. D. 253—268] ἐν βιβλίους κζ'. Κοριωθιακά. Περὶ τῶν Ἀλευάδων. καὶ ἄλλα.

238 *Callicrates Tyrius*. Tables A. D. 276.

239 *Minucianus sophista*. Tables A. D. 255.

240 *Agapetus*. Tables A. D. 255. Contemporary with *Minucianus*.

ριος μὲν γὰρ πληγὰς ἐν Καισαρείᾳ τῆς Παλαιστίνης ὑπὸ τῶν Χριστιανῶν εἰληφῶς καὶ μὴ ἐνεγκῶν τὴν ὀργὴν ἐκ μεγαλλοχολίας τὸν μὲν Χριστιανισμόν ἀπέλειπε, μίσει δὲ τῶν τυπτησάντων αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ βλάσφημα κατὰ Χριστιανῶν γράφειν ἐξέπεσε, ὡς αὐτὸν Εὐσέβιος ὁ Παμφίλου ἐξήλεγξεν. Which Nicephorus repeats H. E. X. 36 p. 88 D.

Hieronymus adv. Rufinum p. 892 *Adversum impiissimos Celsum atque Porphyrium quanti scripsere nostrorum*. Idem Magno p. 1082 *Scripserunt contra nos Celsus atque Porphyrius. priori Origenes alteri Methodius Eusebius et Apollinarius fortissime responderunt*.—*Methodius usque ad decem millia procedit versusum, Eusebius et Apollinarius XXV et XXX volumina condiderunt*. In Rufinum p. 854 *Asserui Porphyrium contra hunc prophetam* [sc. *Danielem*] *multa dixisse vocavique hujus rei testes Methodium Eusebium et Apollinarium, qui multis versusum millibus illius vesania responderunt*. For *Methodius* see the Tables A. D. 300. Upon *Eusebius* Hieronymus Catal. c. 81 *Eusebius*.—*Contra Porphyrium, qui eodem tempore scribebat in Sicilia ut quidam putant, libri XXX, de quibus ad me XX tantum pervenerunt*. *Eusebius* was contemporary with the latter years of *Porphyry*. See the Tables A. D. 297. Perhaps 32 years younger than *Porphyry*. For *Apollinarius* see the Tables A. D. 366. *Constantine* in his epistle apud Socratem H. E. I p. 32 A affirms that the work of *Porphyry* had been destroyed—ἀφανισθῆναι τὰ ἀσεβῆ αὐτοῦ συγγράμματα—before A. D. 325. But *Apollinarius* must have composed his 30 books against it after that date.

Hieron. Præf. ad *Danielem* tom. 5 p. 481. 482 *Contra prophetam Danielem XII<sup>m</sup> librum scribit Porphyrius nolens eum ab ipso cujus inscriptus est nomine esse compositum, sed a quodam qui temporibus Antiochi qui appellatus est Epiphanes fuerit in Judæa*.—*Cui solertissime responderunt Eusebius Cæsariensis episcopus tribus voluminibus, id est, XVIII et XIX et XX* [conf. comm. in *Matthæum* XXIV tom. 9 p. 58 C], *Apollinarius quoque uno grandi libro, hoc est, XXVI<sup>o</sup>; et ante hos ex parte Methodius*.—*Sed et hoc nosse debemus, inter cætera Porphyrium de Danielis libro nobis objicere, idcirco illum apparere confictum nec haberi apud Hebræos sed Græci sermonis esse commentum, quia in Susannæ fabula contineatur dicente Daniele ad presbyteros ἀπὸ τοῦ σχίνου σχίσαι καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πίνου*

*πίσαι. quam etymologiam magis Græco sermone convenire quam Hebræo. Cui et Eusebius et Apollinarius pari sententia responderunt Susannæ Belisque ac Draconis fabulas non contineri in Hebraico sed partem esse prophetiæ Habacuc filii Jesu de tribu Levi, sicut juxta LXX interpretes in titulo ejusdem Belis fabulæ ponitur*.—*Unde et nos ante annos plurimos, quum vertere-mus Danielem, has visiones obelo prænotavimus, significantes eas in Hebræo non haberi. Et miror quosdam μὲν μισοίρους* [sc. *Rufinum*: conf. Hieron. in *Rufinum* p. 854] *indignari mihi quasi ego decurtaverim librum, quum et Origenes et Eusebius et Apollinarius aliique ecclesiastici viri et doctores Græciæ has, ut dixi, visiones non haberi apud Hebræos fateantur, nec se debere respondere Porphyrio pro his quæ nullam Scripturæ Sanctæ auctoritatem præbeant*. The cavil of *Porphyry* founded upon Acts V. 1—11 is answered by Hieronymus *Demetriadi* tom. 1 p. 81. Another cavil founded upon John VII. 8—10 is noticed by Hieron. adv. Pelag. p. 1004. A frivolous objection to Matt. IX. 9 is recorded in Hieron. comm. in locum: *Arguit* [l. *arguunt*] *in hoc loco Porphyrius et Julianus Augustus vel imperitiam historici mentientis vel stultitiam eorum qui &c. Porphyry* ascribed the miracles of the Apostles to magic arts: conf. Hieron. comm. in Psalm. 81 tom. 8 p. 97 A. *Porphyry* apud Hieron. ad Ctes. p. 907 founds an objection upon the time of *Christ's* appearance: *Solet nobis objicere contubernalis vester Porphyrius qua ratione clemens et misericors Deus ab Adam usque ad Moysen et a Moyse usque ad adventum Christi passus sit universas gentes perire ignorantia legis et mandatorum Dei*.—*Quid necesse fuit eum in ultimo venire tempore et non priusquam innumerabilis periret hominum multitudo?* Hieronymus evades this question by observing "Consent to be ignorant. Concede to God the power over his own acts." But it may be answered to *Porphyry* that the benefits of the Atonement were not limited to those who were born after the Advent of *Christ*.

*Porphyry* is referred to in A. D. 364 by Greg. Naz. Or. 5 adv. Julian. p. 175 C οὗτος ὁ λόγος σοι τῶν Πορφυρίου ψευσμάτων καὶ ληρημάτων, οἷς ὑμεῖς ὡς θείας φωναῖς ἀγάλλεσθε. *Elias* Cretensis comm. ad locum p. 482 thinks that *Porphyry* gave the first hint to *Arius*: *Ab hoc Arianismus initium cepisse videtur*.



- 241 *Callinicus historicus*. Tables A. D. 266.
- 242 *Soterichus*. Suid. p. 3377 C Σωτήριχος Ὀασίτης, ἐποποιὸς, γεγωνὸς ἐπὶ Διοκλητιανοῦ [A. D. 284—304]<sup>n</sup>. Steph. Byz. Ὀασίς: πόλις Λιβύης. λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ὀασίς, καὶ ὁ πόλις Ὀασίτης. ὡς ὁ ποιητὴς Σωτήριχος.
- 243 *Genethlius Palæstinus sophista*. Tables A. D. 255.
- 244 *Charax*. Suid. p. 3877 D Χάραξ Περγαμνός, ἱερεὺς καὶ φιλόσοφος. ὡς εὔρον ἐν ἀρχαίῳ βιβλίῳ ἐπίγραμμα οὕτως ἔχον.
- εἰμὶ Χάραξ ἱερεὺς γεραρῆς ἀπὸ Περγάμου ἄκρης,  
ἔνθα ποτὲ πτολέμιζεν Ἀχιλλῆϊ πτολιπόρθῳ  
Τήλεφος Ἡρακλῆος ἀμύμονος υἱὸς ἀμύμων.
- ἔστι δὲ τῶν μετὰ Αὐγουστον πολλῶ νεώτερος· μέμνηται γοῦν ἐν τῷ β' τῶν βιβλίων Αὐγούστου ὡς πάλαι γενομένου Καίσαρος, καὶ ἐν τῷ ζ' Νέρωνος καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτὸν βασιλευσάντων. ἔγραψεν Ἑλληνικῶν ἱστοριῶν βιβλία μ'.<sup>o</sup>
- 245 *Ulrianius Antiochenus*. Tables A. D. 276. 308. The preceptor of *Proceresius*.
- 246 *Helladius Besantinus*. Tables A. D. 308. Quoted by Orion p. 153. 3 Βησαντίνος ἐν τῷ περὶ Χρηστομαθίας. Idem p. 135. 6 οὕτω Βηγαντίνος. Lege cum Larchero Βησαντίνος.
- 247 *Julianus sophista*. Tables A. D. 308. 340. Taught at Athens cir. 306—340.
- 248 *Gymnasius sophista*. Suid. p. 853 A Γυμνάσιος Σιδώνιος, σοφιστῆς, ἐπὶ τῶν Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ βασιλέως χρόνων. ἔγραψε μελέτας, καὶ εἰς Δημοσθένην ὑπόμνημα, καὶ ἄλλα τινά.
- 249 *Onasimus sophista*. Tables A. D. 309.
- 250 *Dionysius periegeta*. Within A. D. 280—300. See F. H. III p. 576.
- 251 *Alypius*. Tables A. D. 312. Died γηραιὸς before *Iamblichus*. Ibid. p. 363.

<sup>n</sup> Suidas adds the following list of his works :

ἐγκώμιον εἰς Διοκλητιανόν.

Βασσαρικά ἦτοι Διονυσιακά, βιβλία δ'.

τὰ κατὰ Πάνθειαν τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν. [“Xenoph. Inst. Cyri V. VII.” Kuster.]

τὰ κατὰ Ἀριάδην.

βίον Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Τυανέως.

Πύθωνα ἢ Ἀλεξανδριακόν. ἔστι δὲ ἱστορία Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνα ὅτε Θήβας παρέλαβε.

<sup>o</sup> Steph. Byz. Ἀθῆναι:—πόλις ἐν Ἀττικῇ περὶ ἧς φησὶ Χάραξ ὅτι ὁ Θησεὺς τὰς ἕνδεκα πόλεις τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ συνοικίας εἰς Ἀθήνας συνοικία ἐορτὴν κατεστήσατο. Schol. Apollon. IV. 1470 in Cod. Par. ὁ δὲ Πολύφημος ὅτι καταλειφθεὶς ἐν Μυσία πόλιν ἔκτισε Κίον—Χάρης φησὶν ἐν α' Χρονικῶν. Schol. Edita:—εἶρηκεν αὐτὸ Χάρις ἐν πρώτῳ χρόνῳ. Lege cum Schæfero Χάραξ ἐν πρώτῳ Χρονικῶν. Steph. Byz. Ἀδράστεια:—Χάραξ Ἑλληνικῶν δευτέρα. Idem Ταίναρος:—εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ Ταυάριοι Θήβαι, ὡς Χάραξ Ἑλληνικῶν δευτέρῳ. Ἀγρία:—Χάραξ ἐν δευτέρῳ Χρονικῶν. Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 508 οὕτως ὁ Χάραξ ἐν τῷ δ'. “Ἀγαμήδης ἄρχων Στυμφήλου τῆς Ἀρκαδίας ἐγάμει Ἐπικάστην” κ. τ. λ. Steph. Byz. Αὐταριάται: ἔθνος Θεσπρωτικόν Χάραξ ἐβδόμῳ Χρονικῶν. Idem Ἀλαβούριον: πόλις Συρίας Χάραξ ὄγδῳ Χρονικῶν. Ἄρσα: πόλις Ἰσπανίας, ὡς Χάραξ ἐν δεκάτῳ Χρονικῶν. Ἡφαιστία: πόλις ἐν Δήμῳ.—Χάραξ δ' ἐν δεκάτῳ χρ. φησὶν ὅτι Μυρηναῖοι—ἀπέκλεισαν τῷ Μιλτιάδῃ τὰς πύλας κ. τ. λ. Idem Σάλυες:—Χάραξ ἐν δεκάτῳ Χρονικῶν. Ὀρεός: πόλις Εὐβοίας.—μέμνηται τοῦ ἐθνικοῦ καὶ Χάραξ ἐν Χρονικῶν ἕκκαι-

δεκάτῳ: “Ἀθηναῖοι ἅμα Χαλκιδεῦσι τοῖς ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ καὶ Μεγαρεῦσι στρατεύσαντες εἰς Ὀρεὸν Φιλιστίδην τὸν τύραννον ἀπέκτειναν καὶ Ὀρείτας ἠλευθέρωσαν.”

Anonym. περὶ ἀπίστων c. 15 p. 92 Gale περὶ Ἰοῦς καὶ Ἀργῶν.—οὕτω Χάραξ ἐν Ἑλληνικοῖς. Idem c. 16 p. 92 περὶ Διονύσου, ὁ Χάραξ οὕτω φησὶν. ὅτι Σεμέλη κ. τ. λ. Eustathius ad Odys. δ p. 1504. 55 τὰ τέρατα τὸ πολυκέφαλον τὸ μυριόφθαλμον κ. τ. λ. ἔχουσι τοὺς θεραπεύοντας. ὅποιοί τινες ὁ Παλαίφατος, ὁ Ἡράκλειτος (οὐχὶ ὁ σκοτεινὸς ἀλλ' ἕτερός τις ὁ τοῖς ἀπίστοις προθέμενος ἐμφῆναι πίστιν), ὁ Χάραξ. Idem ad Odys. τ p. 1859. 44—θεραπεύσαντος μύθου πρὸς ἱστορίαν εἰς ὃ καὶ τις Ἡράκλειτος ἐπονῆσατο, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Χάραξ. Schol. Hom. II. σ. 483 γάμος μὲν Ἀθήνησι πρῶτον εῦρηται δὲ ὑπὸ Κέκροπος ὅθεν καὶ διφυᾶ φησὶν αὐτὸν λέγεσθαι ὁ Χάραξ. Eustathius ad Dionys. Perieg. 687 ἱστορεῖ δὲ Χάραξ τοὺς Ἀργοναύτας οὐ μᾶν νηὶ—ἀλλὰ πολλοῖς πλοίοις εἰσπλεῦσαι τὸν Εὐξείνων. ad 689 ὁ Χάραξ τὸ χρυσοῦν δέρμα μέθοδον εἶναι λέγει χρυσογραφίας μεμβράνας ἐμπεριειλημμένην, δι' ἣν, ὡς λόγος ἀξίαν, τὸν τῆς Ἀργούης καταρτισθῆναι στόλον φησὶ. Tzetz. ad Lycophron. 111 p. 388 Σαῖς κατ' Αἰγυπτίου ἢ Ἀθηνᾶ λέγεται, ὡς φησὶ Χάραξ. Suidas Ὀμηρος p. 2666 D—ὡς δὲ Χάραξ ὁ ἱστορικὸς, Μαίονος ἢ Μητίου, καὶ Εὐμήτιδος μητρός. Etymol. p. 525. 52 Κολώνεια:—φασὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τὸν ἐπὶ Ταρσηνοῦς ἀπύοντα πόλεμον κ. τ. λ.—ταῦτα εἶρηται Χάρακι ἱστοριογράφῳ. Eustath. ad Hom. II. ε p. 734. 48 τὴν Αὐλωνίαν [conf. Etymol. p. 170. 7 p. 494. 8] Χάραξ Καυλωνίαν φησὶν ἐν Ἰταλικοῖς.

252 *Iamblichus*. Tables A. D. 312. conf. a. 367. The preceptor of *Aedesius*. Taught cir. A. D. 309—329. P

P Works of *Iamblichus*.

1 Πυθαγόρου βίος. Exstat apud Kiessling 8<sup>vo</sup> Lips. 1815 pp. 534.

2 προτρεπτικός εἰς φιλοσοφίαν. Ibid. Lips. 1815 pp. 378. Quoted by Stobæus Serm. 1, 59 προτρεπτικῶν εἰς φιλοσοφίαν λόγων. conf. p. 16 Kiessl. Idem 2, 40 Ἰαμβλίχου ἐκ τῶν προτρεπτικῶν εἰς φιλοσοφίαν λόγων. Repeated at 43, 71. Conf. p. 18 Kiessl. Idem 46, 70 Ἰαμβλίχου ἐκ τῶν π. πρὸς φ. λ. Conf. p. 18 Kiessl. *Iamblichus ipse Vit. Pythag.* c. 30 p. 388 ἐν τοῖς Περὶ συμβολῶν δειχθήσεται. sc. προτρεπτικ. p. 318—378.

3 Περὶ μυστηρίων λόγος πρὸς τὴν Πυρφυρίου πρὸς Ἀνεβῶ ἐπιστολὴν ἀπόκρισις, καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ ἀπορημάτων λύσεις. Exstat 8<sup>vo</sup> Oxon. Gale 1678.

4 *Comm. in Pythagoræ χρυσᾷ ἔπη*. Hieron. in Rufin. III p. 889 *Cujus sunt illa χρυσᾷ παραγγέλματα? Nonne Pythagoræ? in quibus omnia ejus breviter dogmata continentur, et in quæ latissimo opere philosophus commentatus est Iamblichus, imitatus ex parte Moderatum [N<sup>o</sup> 15] virum eloquentissimum, et Archippum ac Lysidem Pythagoræ auditores, quorum Archippus ac Lysides in Græcia, id est Thebis, scholas habuere*. Schol. Hermogen. p. 383. 6 Ἰαμβλίχος φησὶ ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς Πυθαγορείου αἰρέσεως. Fabricius tom. 5 p. 770 “Decem libris universum opus Iamblichi περὶ Πυθαγορείου αἰρέσεως, sive collectionis Pythagoricorum dogmatum, ut Syrianus p. 57 b in *Aristot. Metaphys.* appellat, absolutebatur, facitque Iamblichus horum omnium mentionem in extremo commentarii ad Nicomachi Arithmeticon.”

5 περὶ ἀγαλμάτων. Phot. Cod. 215 ἀνεγνώσθη Ἰωάννου τοῦ Φιλοπόνου κατὰ τῆς σπουδῆς Ἰαμβλίχου ἢ ἐπέγραψε Περὶ ἀγαλμάτων. ἔστι μὲν οὖν ὁ σκοπὸς Ἰαμβλίχου θεῖα τε δεῖξαι τὰ εἰδῶλα κ. τ. λ. See below, *Philoponus* N<sup>o</sup> 381 works n. 14.

6 Ἄλυπιον βίος. Euanapius Vit. Iamblichi p. 30 ἀπελθὼν (ὁ Ἰαμβλίχος) καὶ γενόμενος ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὴν ὀξύτητα θαυμάσας—οὕτως ὑπερηγάσθη τὸν ἄνδρα [sc. *Alyrium*] τῆς ἀκριβείας καὶ συνέσεως ὥστε καὶ ἀπελθόντος τὸν βίον συνέγραψε. καὶ ἐνέτυχεν ὁ ταῦτα γράφων τοῖς γεγραμμένοις.

7 ἐπιστολαί. Fragments in Stobæus.

πρὸς Ἀγρίππαν Serm. 46, 76. τοῦ αὐτοῦ 46, 77.

πρὸς Ἀνατόλιον περὶ δικαιοσύνης Serm. 9, 38. ἐν ταῖς 9, 39.

πρὸς Ἀρετὴν περὶ σωφροσύνης Serm. 5, 136. ἐκ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τῆς περὶ σωφροσύνης 5, 61. ἐν ταῖς 5, 62—66.

πρὸς Ἀσφάλιον περὶ φρονήσεως Serm. 3, 55.

ἐπιστολὴ περὶ γάμου χρήσεως Serm. 74, 57.

πρὸς Δέξιππον περὶ διαλεκτικῆς Serm. 81, 17.

πρὸς Δυσκόλιον Serm. 46, 74. ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ 46, 75.

πρὸς Μακεδόλιον περὶ εἰμαρμένης Eclog. II. 8, 41 p. 394. 42. 43 p. 396. 44 p. 400. 45 p. 402. Eclog. I. 7, 17 p. 184.

πρὸς Ὀλύμπιον περὶ ἀνδρίας Serm. 7, 41. ἐν ταῖς 7, 42.

πρὸς Ποιμένιον. Eclog. I. 3, 34 p. 80.

πρὸς Σώπατρον περὶ διαλεκτικῆς Serm. 81, 18. ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ 81, 19. Σωπάτρῳ Serm. 11, 14. ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Σώπατρον ἐπιστολῆς Eclog. I. 6, 18 p. 186.

8 περὶ Θεῶν. Damascius περὶ ἀρχῶν c. 61 p. 171 ὁ Ἰαμβλίχος—ἐν τῇ περὶ Θεῶν. Julianus Or. IV p. 146 A Ἰαμβλίχον ὅς ἡμᾶς—ταῦτα διὰ τῶν λόγων ἐμίσησεν. p. 150 D Ἰαμβλίχος παρ' οὗπερ καὶ τὰλλα πάντα ἐκ πολλῶν μικρὰ ἐλάβομεν. p. 157 D θεραπεύομεν τὸν τῷ θεῷ φίλον Ἰαμβλίχον, ὅθεν δὴ καὶ νῦν ὀλίγα ἐκ πολλῶν ἐπινοῦν ἐλθόντα διεηλύθαμεν. ἐκείνου δὲ εὖ οἶδα ὡς οὐδεὶς ἐρεῖ τι τελειότερον.

9 περὶ κρίσεως ἀρίστου λόγου. Schol. Hermogen. p. 378. 6 ὅθεν καὶ Ἰαμβλίχος ἐν τῷ Περὶ κρ. ἀρ. λόγου φησὶ κ. τ. λ.

10 *Comm. in Aristotelem. In Categorias*. Described under *Porphyry* N<sup>o</sup> 235 in his works n. 21. *Simplicius ad Aristot. de Cælo* p. 38 b l. 13 ὁ θεῖος Ἰαμβλίχος ἐν τῷ εἰς τὰς κατηγορίας ὑπομνήματι. *Iamblichus* upon *Aristotle* is often quoted by *Simplicius*, as apud Schol. Berolin. p. 42 b l. 40 ὁ Πορφύριος ἐν τῷ κατὰ πεύσιν καὶ ἀπόκρισιν [n. 14] οὕτως ἔγραψεν ὁ δὲ Ἰαμβλίχος χωρὶς τοῦ τῆς οὐσίας “συνώνυμα λέγεται ὡν τό τε ὄνομα κοινὸν καὶ ὁ κατὰ τοῦνομα λόγος ὁ αὐτός.” ἐπεσημίματο δὲ ὅτι ἐν ἐνίοις ἀντιγράφοις οὐ φέρεται τὸ “καὶ ὁ κατὰ τοῦνομα λόγος.” καὶ ὅτι προσυπακούειν δεῖ. ἠκολούθησε δὲ καὶ τῇ Ἰαμβλίχου γραφῇ ὁ Συριανός. p. 47 a l. 4 καλεῖ δὲ ὁ Ἰαμβλίχος κ. τ. λ. p. 64 b l. 10 τετραγωνισμὸς κύκλου κ. τ. λ. τοῦτο δὲ Ἀριστοτέλης μὲν, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὕτω ἐγνώκει, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Πυθαγορείοις ἠρῆσθαι φησὶν Ἰαμβλίχος ὡς δηλὸν ἔστιν ἀπὸ τῶν Σέξτου τοῦ Πυθαγορείου ἀποδείξεων, conf. *Simplicium in Phys.* p. 13 b l. 26. Idem apud Schol. Berolin. p. 89 a l. 20 πρὸς δὴ ταῦτα φησὶν Ἰαμβλίχος. p. 90 b l. 22 λέγει δὲ ὁ Ἰαμβλίχος ἀντικείμεθα τοῖς τὰ κατὰ προτέραν καὶ ὑστέραν γινόμενα διαίρεσιν. *Simplicius in phys.* p. 186 b l. 8 ὁ θεῖος Ἰαμβλίχος ἐν τῷ α' τῶν εἰς τὰς κατηγορίας ὑπομνημάτων τὸν Ἀρχύταν ὀρίζεσθαι φησὶ τὸν χρόνον κ. τ. λ. p. 188 a l. 1 μετὰ δὲ τὸν Πλωτῖνον καὶ ὁ Ἰαμβλίχος ἡμῖν ἠκέτω—λέγει οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς περὶ τοῦ πρώτου καὶ ἀμεθέκτου χρόνου ἐν τῷ εἰς τὰς κατηγορίας ὑπομνήματι τὴν Ἀρχύτου λέξιν ἐξηγουμένους.

11 *Comm. in Platonem. In Alcibiadem I*. Proclus ad Alcib. I p. 11 ed. Creuzer καὶ μοι δοκεῖ καὶ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν ὁ θεῖος Ἰαμβλίχος τὴν πρώτην αὐτῷ διδόναι τάξιν ἐν τοῖς δέκα διαλόγοις ἐν οἷς οἴεται τὴν ἄληθιν τοῦ Πλάτωνος περιέχεσθαι φιλοσοφίαν. *Olympiodorus ad Alcibiad. I* ed. Creuzer p. 110 οὕτω μὲν κατὰ τὸν φιλόσοφον Πρόκλον ὁ δὲ θεῖος Ἰαμβλίχος οὐ διακρίνει τὰ ὑψηλότερα ἀπὸ τῶν κωωτέρων τῇ πλείονι μεταδόσει. *In Phædrum*: Proclus apud Fabricium tom. 9 p. 435 Ἰαμβλίχος—ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Φαίδρου ὑπομνήμασι. *In Parmenidem*: Syrianus in *Metaph. Aristot. lib. III* apud Fabricium tom. 9 p. 361 tom. 3 p. 79 tom. 5 p. 771.



253 *Proeresius*. Born in 276: Tables p. 313. He visited Gaul between 341 and 345: *Ibid.* p. 405. And before that visit had already succeeded *Julianus* at Athens: Tables A. D.

In *Timæum*. Simplicius ad phys. Aristot. p. 149 b l. 33 τὸ δ' αὐτὸ δείξω τὸν θεῖον Ἰάμβλιχον μαρτυρούμενον καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ βιβλίῳ τῶν εἰς τὸν Τίμαιον ὑπομνημάτων ἐν κεφαλαίῳ δευτέρῳ τάδε γέγραφε κ. τ. λ. *Idem* p. 165 b l. 42 Ἰάμβλιχος ἐν τῷ ὀγδόῳ τῶν εἰς Τίμαιον ὑπομνημάτων. p. 188 a l. 29 ἐν τοῖνυν τῷ ὀγδόῳ βιβλίῳ τῷ Πλάτῳ μάλιστα παρακολουθῶν κ. τ. λ. l. 32 λέγει δὲ ἐν τῷ ἕκτῳ κεφαλαίῳ ταῦτα κ. τ. λ. l. 53 ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ κεφαλαίῳ τάδε γέγραφε. *Idem* in Aristot. de anima p. 37 a l. 17 ἐκ τῶν Ἰαμβλίχου ληπτέον εἰς τὸν Τίμαιον ὑπομνημάτων. Largely quoted by Proclus in *Timæum*; as at p. 5 A ὀρθῶς φησὶν ὁ θεῖος Ἰάμβλιχος τὴν ὄλην τοῦ Πλάτωνος θεωρίαν ἐν τοῖς δύο τούτοις περιέχουσα διαλόγοις, Τίμαιῳ καὶ Παρμενίδῃ. p. 26 A ὁ δὲ γε θεῖος Ἰάμβλ. ἄλλως πως παραδίδωσι τὴν τοῦ γένους [sc. *Platonis*] διαδοχὴν. p. 63 B μέχρι τούτων συμπληρωταὶ τὸ τοῦ Τιμαίου προοίμιον, ὅπερ Σεβήρος μὲν οὐδὲ ἐξηγήσεως ἤξιωσε τὸ παράπαν, Λογγίνος δὲ οὐ πᾶν ἔλεγε περιττόν—Πορφύριος δὲ καὶ Ἰάμβλιχος τῇ πάσῃ τοῦ διαλόγου προθέσει σύμφωνον ἀπέφησαν, ὁ μὲν μερικώτερον ὁ δὲ ἐποτικώτερον. p. 67 B ὁ δὲ γε θεῖος Ἰάμβλιχος πῆ μὲν περὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἔσεσθαι φησὶ τὸν λόγον πῆ δ' οὐ. κ. τ. λ. p. 67 D “ἢ γέγονεν ἢ ἀγενὲς ἔστι.”—Πορφύριος καὶ Ἰάμβλιχος ἀμφοτέρα ψιλοῦσιν, ἢ τὸ λεγόμενον “Πότερον γέγονε τὸ πᾶν ἢ ἀγενὲς ἔστι.” p. 79 C ὅπερ καὶ ὁ θεῖος Ἰάμβλ. ἐπέκρινεν. p. 85 A οἱ περὶ Κράντορα τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἐξηγηταὶ φασὶ γενητὸν λέγεσθαι τὸν κόσμον ὡς ἀπ' αἰτίας ἄλλης παραγόμενον καὶ οὐκ ὄντα αὐτόγονον οὐδὲ αὐθιπόστατον, Πλωτίνος δὲ καὶ οἱ μετὰ Πλωτίνον φιλόσοφοι Πορφύριος καὶ Ἰάμβλιχος τὸ σύνθετόν φασιν ἐν τούτοις κεκλήσθαι γενητὸν, τούτῳ δὲ συνπάρχειν καὶ τὸ ἀφ' ἑτέρας οὐσίας ἀπογενεῖσθαι. p. 125 E Ἰάμβλιχος τὸ μὲν ζῶον ἐπὶ παντὸς τάττει τοῦ ζῶντος ἔχοντος. p. 131 C ὁ μὲν Ἀττικὸς [N<sup>o</sup> 113] ἐν τούτοις ἠπόρησεν, εἰ καὶ ὁ δημιουργὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ νοητοῦ ζῶον περιέχεται—καὶ ἀπορήσας ἔθετο ῥαδίως ἐνὲρ τὸ αὐτοζῶον εἶναι τὸν δημιουργόν. τούτῳ δὲ ἀπ' ἐναντίας ὁ Πορφύριος ὑφειμένην τῷ δημιουργῷ δίδωσι τάξιν παρὰ τὸ νοητόν.—μέσος δὲ ἀμφοῖν ὁ θεῖος Ἰάμβλιχος συνάπτων καὶ ἐνίζων τῷ δημιουργῷ τὸ παράδειγμα διὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν τὴν τοῦ νοῦ πρὸς τὸ νοητόν. Ἀμέλιος δὲ [N<sup>o</sup> 219] τὸν μὲν δημιουργόν εἰς ταῦτ' ἄγει τῷ νοητῷ. p. 234 D τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ὁ μὲν Ἀττικὸς ἐπὶ τῆς προσεκτικῆς δυνάμεως ἠκουσεν· ὁ δὲ Πορφύριος ἐπὶ τοῦ ἠνώχου τοῦ κινούτου τοῦ διττοῦ ἵππου, ὁ δὲ Ἰάμβλιχος ἐπὶ τῆς ὄλης ψυχῆς. p. 315 A καὶ ἔγωγε καὶ τὸν φιλοπονώτατον Ἀττικὸν ἐθαύμασα διττόν που τὸν κρατῆρα λέγοντα εὐρῶν, καὶ ταῦτα εἰσθῶτα σφόδρα παρέσθαι ταῖς ῥήσεσι· μέμνηται δὲ ὅμως ἐκείνου τοῦ διττοῦ κρατῆρος καὶ τὸν Φαῖδρον ἐξηγούμενος. κατὰ δὲ τὸν θεῖον Ἰάμβλιχον ὁ κρατῆρ ἔστιν εἰς μὲν ζωογόνος δὲ τις αἰτία κ. τ. λ. See also among other passages the following: p. 121 DF. 173 A. 236 F. 275 D. 282 A. 290 F. 311 B. 316 C. 324 D. 338 C. He is preferred by Proclus to the other commentators: p. 150 C Ἰάμβλιχος· οὗτος γὰρ ὁ ἀνὴρ διαφερόντως ἀντελάβετο τῆς τοιαύτης θεωρίας, τῶν ἄλλων ὡς περὶ καθευδόντων καὶ περὶ τὸ μαθηματικὸν κληιδουμένων μόνον. Conf. p. 249 A. *Iamblichus* often

criticises other interpreters: Proclus p. 47 B ὁ δὲ γε θεῖος Ἰάμβλιχος ἐπιτιμήσας τούτοις κ. τ. λ. p. 64 C ταύτη μὲν ὁ Πορφύριος ὡς συντόμως εἶπεν· ὁ δὲ γε θεῖος Ἰάμβλιχος τὴν μὲν τοιαύτην ἱστορίαν οὐδὲν ἡγείται προσήκειν ἐν τοῖς προκειμένοις. p. 94 A B μετὰ δὲ τὸν Ἀμέλιον ὁ Πορφύριος οἰόμενος τῷ Πλωτίνῳ συνάδει τὴν μὲν ψυχὴν τὴν ὑπερκόσμιον ἀποκαλεῖ δημιουργόν.—ἀλλὰ δὴ μετὰ τούτων ὁ θεῖος Ἰάμβλιχος πολλὰ μὲν ἀντιγράψας πρὸς τὴν Πορφυρίου δόξαν καὶ ὡς Πλωτίνειον αὐτὴν οὖσαν καταβαλὼν αὐτὸς δὴ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παραδιδούς θεολογίαν πάντα τὸν νοητὸν κόσμον ἀποκαλεῖ δημιουργόν. p. 116 C οἱ μὲν περὶ Πλούταρχον τὸν Χαίρωνά καὶ Ἀττικὸν λιπαρῶς ἀντέχονται τούτων τῶν ῥημάτων [sc. *Platon*. p. 30 A] ὡς τὴν ἀπὸ χρόνου τῷ κόσμῳ γένεσιν αὐτοῖς μαρτυρούντων· καὶ δὴ καὶ φασὶ προεῖναι μὲν τὴν ἀκόσμητον ὕλην πρὸ τῆς γενέσεως, προεῖναι δὲ καὶ τὴν κακεργάτην ψυχὴν τὴν τοῦτο κινούσαν.—οἱ δὲ περὶ Πορφύριον καὶ Ἰάμβλιχον ταύτην μὲν ἀπορραπίζουσι τὴν δόξαν ὡς τὸ ἄτακτον πρὸ τοῦ τεταγμένου καὶ τὸ ἀτελὲς πρὸ τοῦ τελείου καὶ πρὸ τοῦ νοεροῦ τὸ ἀνόητον ἐν τοῖς ἴδιαις ὑποτιθεμένην. p. 31 C Ἀσσύριοι δὲ, φησὶν Ἰάμβλιχος, οὐχ ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας ἐτῶν μόνας ἐτήρησαν. ὡς φησὶν Ἰππαρχος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅλας ἀποκαταστάσεις καὶ περιόδους τῶν ἑπτὰ κοσμοκρατόρων μνήμη παρέδωκαν. See p. 51 B p. 54 A where he differs from *Porphyry*. Other passages are quoted under *Porphyry*, Works n. 11, and *Theodorus* N<sup>o</sup> 302 note. Proclus p. 226 B ὁ μὲν οὖν Θεόδωρος τοιαῦτα ἅττα φιλοσοφεῖ περὶ τούτων—ὁ δὲ γε θεῖος Ἰάμβλιχος ἄσασαν τὴν τοιαύτην θεωρίαν ἀπερράπισεν ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς ἀμφὶ Ἀμέλιον (οὗτα γὰρ ἐπιγράφει τὸ κεφάλαιον) καὶ δὴ καὶ Νουμήριον [N<sup>o</sup> 132] ἀντιρρήσει. p. 341 D παρρησιασόμεθα πρὸς Πλωτίνον καὶ τὸν μέγαν Θεόδωρον ὁπαθὲς τι φυλάττοντας ἐν ἡμῖν καὶ αἰεὶ νοοῦν.—ὀρθῶς ὁ θεῖος Ἰάμβλιχος διαγωνίζεται πρὸς τοὺς ταῦτα οἰομένους. p. 45 DE ὁ φιλόσοφος Πορφύριος ταῦτα ἐξηγούμενος κ. τ. λ.—πᾶσαν δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἐξήγησιν ὁ θεῖος Ἰάμβλιχος ἀποδοκιμάζει λέγων μὴ περὶ βίῳ εἶναι τὸν λόγον ἐν τούτοις.

12 περὶ τῆς τελειότητος Χαλδαϊκῆς φιλοσοφίας. *Damascius* περὶ ἀρχῶν c. 43 p. 115 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐκείνο προβαλλόμεθα εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν, πότερον δύο εἰσὶν αἱ πρῶται ἀρχαὶ πρὸ τῆς νοητῆς πρώτης τριάδος, ἢ τε πάντῃ ἄρρητος καὶ ἡ ἀσύντακτος πρὸς τὴν τριάδα, καθάπερ ἠξίωσεν ὁ μέγας Ἰάμβλιχος ἐν τῷ κη' βιβλίῳ τῆς Χαλδαϊκῆς τελειότητος φιλοσοφίας. c. 70 p. 195 ὡς ἐν τοῖς Χαλδαϊκοῖς ὁμολογουμένως ὁ Ἰάμβλιχος.

13 μονόβιβλον ὅτι οὐκ ἀνθρώπων κ. τ. λ. *Nemesius* c. 2 p. 117 Κρόνιος μὲν γὰρ [N<sup>o</sup> 133]—ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Θεόδωρος ὁ Πλατωνικὸς [N<sup>o</sup> 302]—καὶ Πορφύριος ὁμοίως· Ἰάμβλιχος δὲ τὴν ἐναντίαν τούτοις δραμῶν κατ' εἶδος ζῶων ψυχῆς εἶδος εἶναι λέγει, ἡγοῦν εἶδη διάφορα. γέγραπται γοῦν αὐτῷ μονόβιβλον ἐπιγράφον ὅτι οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων εἰς ζῶα ἄλογα οὐδὲ ἀπὸ ζῶων ἀλόγων εἰς ἀνθρώπους αἱ μετενσωματώσεις γίνονται, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ ζῶων εἰς ζῶα καὶ ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων εἰς ἀνθρώπους.

14 περὶ ψυχῆς. *Simplicius* in Aristot. de anima p. 67 b l. 31 ὡς καὶ τῷ Ἰαμβλίχῳ ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ περὶ ψυχῆς πραγματεία δοκεῖ. p. 52 b l. 4 καὶ ἔστιν ὃ φησὶν ὃ Ἰαμ-



340. He still taught at Athens in 362: *Ibid.* p. 455, and died at the age of 91 in 367: *Ibid.* p. 469. *Proceresius* was heard at Athens by *Gregory of Nazianzus* and *Basil* in 355: *Tables* p. 431.

254 *Anatolius Berytius*. *Eunapius* V. *Proeres*. p. 149. 150 κατὰ δὲ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους ἤνεγκεν ὁ βασιλικὸς τῆς αὐλῆς ὄμιλος ἄνδρα καὶ δόξης ἐραστὴν καὶ λόγων [See the *Tables* A. D. 342. 3 p. 405]. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἐκ Βηρυτοῦ πόλεως καὶ Ἀνατόλιος ἐκαλεῖτο.—δόξης δὲ ἐραστῆς ὁ Ἀνατόλιος καὶ λόγων γενόμενος ἀμφοτέρων ἔτυχε· καὶ τῆς τε νομικῆς τελευμένης παιδείας εἰς ἄκρον ἀφικόμενος, ὡσὰν πατρίδα ἔχων τὴν Βηρυτὸν, ἢ τοῖς τοιούτοις μήτηρ ὑποκάθηται παιδεύμασι, καὶ διαπλεύσας εἰς Ῥώμην—εἰσφρήσας τε εἰς τὰ βασίλεια ταχὺ μάλα πρῶτος ἦν, καὶ διὰ πάσης ἐλθὼν ἀρχῆς ἐν πολλαῖς τε ἀρχαῖς εὐδοκίμησας—προῖων καὶ εἰς τὸν ἑπαρχον τῆς αὐλῆς ἤλασεν.—τυχὼν δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φιλοτιμίαν τύχης ἀξίας (τὸ γὰρ καλούμενον Ἰλλυρικὸν ἐπετέτραπτο) καὶ φιλοθύτης ὢν καὶ διαφερόντως Ἑλλην (καὶ τοι γέ ἡ κοινὴ κίνησις πρὸς ἄλλας ἔφερε ῥοπὰς), ἐξὸν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰ καίρια τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐλθεῖν καὶ διοικεῖν ἕκαστα πρὸς ὃ βούλοιοτο,—πρὸς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἔσπευσε. *Anatolius* held great offices from A. D. 339 till his death in 360.<sup>9</sup>

βλιχος ὁμώνυμος ἢ ἡμετέρα αἰσθησις τῇ ἀλόγῳ. p. 69 a 1. 14 ἢ φαντασία ἐν τῷ σωματοειδῇ καὶ τυπωτικῷ καὶ μεριστῷ κατέχεται. καὶ γὰρ εἰ καὶ τὰς λογικὰς ἡμῶν ὡς ὁ Ἰάμβλιχος βούλεται ἀποτυπῶνται ἐνεργείας πάσας, ὅμως κατὰ τὰ αἰσθητὰ ἀπεικονίζεται εἶδη μορφωτικῶς καὶ μεριστῶς. p. 61 a l. 23—28 τί μὲν καὶ ποῖος ὁ χωριστὸς τῶν ψυχῶν νοῦς κ. τ. λ.—εὐκαιρότερον ἡμῖν καὶ τελειότερον ἐν τοῖς εἰς τὸ λάμβδα τῆς μετὰ τὰ φυσικὰ γεγραμμένοις, ἐπομένως ταῖς Ἰαμβλίχου περὶ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸν Ἀριστοτέλους σκοπὸν θεωρίας, πεφιλοσόφηται. *Idem* *prosem.* ad *Aristot.* de anima lin. penult. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν σαφέστερον καὶ ἢ ὅλη τῶν λόγων ἐπιδείξει διεξόδος, ὡς καὶ Ἀριστοτέλει δοκοῦντα καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰαμβλίχου ἐναργέστερον ἐκπεφασμένα. *Philoponus* *comm.* ad *Aristot.* de anima p. q 10 l. 4 [Aristot. III. 4, 12] “ὡσπερ ἐν γραμματείῳ.”—ὅρα ὅτι “γραμματεῖῳ” εἶπε, φησὶν ὁ Ἰάμβλιχος, καὶ οὐ “Χαρτίῳ.” *Stobæus* *Serm.* 25, 6 Ἰαμβλίχου ἐκ τοῦ περὶ ψυχῆς. *Idem* *Eclog.* I. 51, 8 p. 790 Ἰαμβλίχου ἐκ τοῦ περὶ ψυχῆς. *Item* I. 52, 28 p. 858. 29—39 p. 872—926. 59 p. 1056. 60 p. 1064. In these fragments besides *Plato Aristotle Plotinus Porphyry*, who are often referred to, he quotes among others *Moderatus* p. 862. 864 *Cornutus* p. 922 *Albinus* p. 896 *Taurus* p. 906 *Numenius* p. 866. 894. 896. 1066. *Cronius* p. 910 *Amelius* p. 864. 866. 888. 898. 902.

<sup>9</sup> *Anatolius* is *vicarius Asiae* in November A. D. 339: *Cod. Theod.* Vol. 4 p. 241. Vol. 4 p. 370 l. 28 de *decur.* (ubi male *vic. Afric.* conf. *Gothofred.* ad *locum.*) Given in the *Tables* p. 400. He is *pf.p.* in May 346: l. 38 de *decur.* *Tables* p. 410. and April I A. D. 349: l. 39 de *decur.* *Tables* p. 414. He is *præf. Illyrici* in A. D. 359: *Ammianus* XIX. 11, 2 quoted in the *Tables* 358. 3 p. 439. His death in 360 is mentioned by *Ammianus* XXI. 6, 5 *Habita est iisdem diebus etiam Florentii ratio—et, Anatolio recens mortuo præfecto prætorio per Illyricum, ad ejus mittitur locum. cumque Taur<sup>o</sup> itidem pf.p. per Italiam amplissimi suscepit insignia magistratus.* [*sc. coss.* A. D. 361.]

Of the numerous letters of *Libanius* inscribed Ἀνα-

τολίῳ some may be addressed to another *Anatolius* who was slain in the Persian war in 363 (*Ammian.* 25. 3, 21 *Zosim.* III. 29, 5). These however may belong to *Anatolius* of *Berytus*: *Ep.* 18 *Anatolio*. To whom *Libanius* ascribes ἐπιμελειαν ἀγρυπνίαν πόνους ψήφον ὀρθήν, πρόνοιαν μέλλοντος, φρόνημα δίκαιον, γνώμης ὀξύτητα, γλώττης ἰσχύιν. He adds σοὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁ χρόνος τὰς οἰκίας πεποίηκε πόλεις. *Ep.* 78. 79. 317 τὰ δὲ ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς αὐτὸς μὲν πεποιηκὸς κ. τ. λ. *Ep.* 336 ὁπόσων ἀρχεῖς. *Ep.* 342 διατρίβων ἐν Παίσιον οὐκ ἐπελάθου τῶν τῆδε.—οὗτος—ὀρμήσας μὲν εἰς τὴν σὴν πόλιν [*sc. Berytium*] ἐπὶ κτήσει νόμων κ. τ. λ. τῆς δὲ σῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπαινουμένης κ. τ. λ. *Ep.* 351—ἀ περὶ Τουσκιανῶν [N<sup>o</sup> 266] πέπρακταί σοι. ὡς γὰρ ἀψάμενος τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκάλες τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ πάρεδρον ἐποιοῦ καὶ διέθει τὰς πόλεις ὁ λόγος τοῦ ἔργου,—ὁ δὲ τὸν δεῖνα κέκληκεν εἰς Παιονίαν ἀπὸ Φρυγίας. *Ep.* 1280 *Anatolio*. σὺ γὰρ δὴ Φοινίξ ὢν κ. τ. λ. *Ep.* 365 *Anatolio*.—λέγεται δὲ Μουσωνίῳ τὸ σὸν νεῦμα νόμος εἶναι κ. τ. λ. Perhaps *Musonius* who is described at N<sup>o</sup> 256. *Ep.* 366 *eidem*.—ἐθέλεις τοῖς ἐνθένδε βοηθεῖν. *Ep.* 394 p. 200—202 δύο νίκας ἡμῖν ὁ καλὸς Ἀνατόλιος ἀνήρηται, τὴν μὲν ὡς ἄριστος δικαστῶν τὴν δὲ ὡς κράτιστος σοφιστῶν.—μεγαλαυχουμέθᾳ γε Σύροι Ῥωμαῖοι ἄνδρα διδόντες δευνὸν κοσμησάι πόλεων πράγματα. *Ep.* 993 *Anatolio*.—Σύρος τε σὺ κ. τ. λ. *Ep.* 1242 *Anatolio*.—εἰ τὸ σὸν ἑώρων πρὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ, συνευξάμην ἂν σοι οἰκοὶ καθημένῳ κτήμασι τέρπεσθαι καὶ Βηρυτῶ τῇ παγκάλῃ. These also may be to *Anatolius* of *Berytus*: *Ep.* 423—ἐξὸν ἀρχεῖν, οὐκ ἐθέλεις. *Ep.* 426—ὡς ἄρξεις κ. τ. λ. *Ep.* 449. *Ep.* 463. *Ep.* 466 conf. *Vales.* ad *Ammian.* 19. 11, 2. *Ep.* 490 ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς ὄψει κ. τ. λ. *Ep.* 494 a—σὺ μὲν ὅπως λάβης τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἐκολάκυσσας κ. τ. λ. *Ep.* 498—ἀρχοντι—*Ep.* 551. 555. 556 (perhaps also 478) are written to *Anatolius* presiding over Phœnicia who is also marked in *Ep.* 588 *Magno*: τῷ καλὸν κάγαθὸν Ἀέτιον εἶναι τουτονὶ μὴ ζῆται καλλίω μάρτυρα τῆς Ἀνατολίου γνώμης. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνος περιῆν, Φωνίκεν ἂν αὐτὸς ὄψει. *Ep.* 588 is therefore written after A. D. 360. *Ep.* 587 *Anatolio* refers to the same facts, and speaks of *Anatolius*: ἐγὼ ταῦτα Ἀνα-



255 *Metrodorus philosophus*. Tables A. D. 330.

256 *Musonius*. At first a sophist, the rival of *Proaeresius*, he afterwards engaged in public affairs: Eunapius in *Vita Proaeres*. p. 161 ἐπανεστή δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ Μουσώνιος, εἰς σοφιστικὴν ὁμιλητῆς ὧν αὐτοῦ (περὶ οὗ πολλὰ διὰ τὰς ἄλλας ἐν τοῖς διεξοδικοῖς γέγραπται). καὶ ὅτε γε ἀντήρε, καταμαθὼν πρὸς τίνα ἔχει τὸν ἀγῶνα ταχὺ μάλα ἐπὶ τὴν πολιτικὴν κατεπήδησεν. Zosimus V. 5, 3 Μουσώνιος Ἕλληνα ἀνὴρ, καὶ παιδείας ἤκων εἰς ἄκρον. He was proconsul of Achaia: Himerius *Eclog.* 21 apud Photium *Cod.* 243 p. 1133 ἐκ τοῦ εἰς Μουσώνιον τὸν ἀνθύπατον Ἑλλάδος τὸ προοίμιον. Libanius *Ep.* 472 Μουσωνίῳ.—σὺ γὰρ δῆπουθεν ὁ τὴν Ἑλλάδα σεσῶκως καὶ νῦν ἀνοίξας τὰ βασίλεια τοῖς λόγοις<sup>r</sup>. *Musonius* is addressed as *vicarius* at Thessalonica by *Himerius* in 362.<sup>s</sup> He was *vicarius Asiae* and slain in battle by the Isaurians in 367.<sup>t</sup>

257 *Aedesius*. Succeeded *Iamblichus* about A. D. 329, died in 355. Tables A. D. 312. 355. 2. 3. Libanius *περὶ τοῦ μὴ ληρεῖν* tom. 1 p. 210 in A. D. 388 (see the Tables p. 517) mentions *Aedesius*: οὐκουν ὑγιαίνων μὲν Αἰδέσιος τὰς φρένας ὄχρετο, ταῦτό δὲ ὑπῆρξε τοῖς μετ' ἐκείνων ὧν ἐγὼ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ τὸν ἴσον βεβλώκα χρόνον.

258 *Theodorus*.

259 *Euphrasius*.

} Disciples of *Iamblichus*: Tables 312. 3.

τόλιος καλῶς, δε πολλὰ μὲν αὐτὸν [sc. *Aetium*] ἐθαύμασεν κ. τ. λ. And *Ep.* 587 thus speaking of the *Berytian* may be addressed to the other *Anatolius*, to him who fell in Persia; of whom *Libanius* says in that letter *Γαλάταις ὧν ἦρξας*. To whom also may be given *Ep.* 651 *Anatolio*, written in the reign of *Julian*, in A. D. 362, and therefore after the death of *Anatolius* of *Berytus*. Other epistles inscribed Ἀνατολίῳ, as *Ep.* 211. 298. 306. 314. 436. 596. 846. 920. 925. 1209 (where οἷς ὑπέσχου σώσειν τὰ περὶ Εὐφράτην) have no distinctive marks to assign them to the *Berytian*. *Anatolius* of *Berytus* however may be addressed in *Ep.* 943. 945. 1201.

The testimonies to *Anatolius* of *Berytus* are quoted by *Valesius* ad *Ammian.* 19. 11, 2 *Gothofredus* *Cod. Theod.* Vol. 6 p. 349 and *Wernsdorf* ad *Himerium* p. 297.

<sup>r</sup> *Musonius* is celebrated again by *Libanius* *Ep.* 519 *Μουσωνίῳ*.—λογίζομαι γὰρ ὡς εἴης μὲν ἡμερος εἴης δὲ λόγων ἐραστής τε καὶ ποιητής. πολλὰ δὲ σοι πεπύνηται βοηθοῦντι πολλοῖς, ἄλλοις τε καὶ μάλιστα γὰρ δὴ τοῖς περὶ τοὺς λόγους κ. τ. λ.

<sup>s</sup> See the Tables A. D. 362. 3 p. 449.

<sup>t</sup> *Ammianus* XXVII. 9, 6 *At in Isauria globatim per vicina digressi pradones oppida villasque uberes libera populatione vexantes magnitudine jacturarum Pamphyliam adflectabant et Cilicas. Quos cum nullis arcantibus inter necive cuncta disperdere Asiae vicarius ea tempestate Musonius advertisset, Athenis Atticis antehac magister rhetoricus; deploratis novissime rebus luxurque adjumento militari marcente, adhibitis semiermibus paucis—unum grassatorum cuneum—adoriri conatus, per angustum quemdam transiens devexatitatis amfractum ad inevitabiles venit insidias, et ibi cum his confossus est quos ducebat.* Fixed by *Ammianus* to A. D. 367; for it happened at the time of a revolt in Britain: XXVII. 8, 1. and when *Prætextatus* was *praefectus urbis* at Rome: XXVII. 9, 8 *Hæc inter*

*Prætextatus praefecturam urbis sublimius curans &c.* But the revolt in Britain was in 367, and *Prætextatus* was *praefectus* in the *Cod. Theod.* at Aug. 18 Sept. 24 Nov. 18 A. D. 367: see the Tables p. 468. And his successor *Olybrius* was in office in 368: *Ammian.* XXVIII. 1, 8 *Olybrium ea tempestate urbi praefectum.* The character and the acts of *Musonius* are in the fragments of *Eunapius* apud *Maium* *Cod. Vatican.* tom. 2 p. 270 φιλόκαλος γὰρ ὧν καὶ φιλάγαθος ὁ Μουσώνιος τοὺς πανταχόθεν καθείλκεν παρ' ἐαυτὸν ὡσπερ ἡ μαγνητικὸς λίθος τὸν σίδηρον. οὐκ ἦν δὲ βασανίζων ὅποιός τις ὁ δεῖνα, ἀλλὰ Μουσώνιον φίλον ἀκούσαντα ὅτι καλὸς ἦν εἰδέναι.—συνηρῆσθαι τοῦ πολέμου δοκοῦντος, Μουσώνιος ὑπὸν ἐπιβάς ἐξῆι τῶν Σάρδεων, καὶ ὁ Θεόδωρος τὸν συγγραφέα μεταπεμφόμενος ἐδάκρυσε τὴν ἕξοδον καὶ ἀνδρὶ τῶν γε ἀεράμων καὶ ἀτέγκτω δάκρυα κατεχείτο τῶν παρεῶν ἀκρατέστερον. τὸ ἐπὶ Μουσώνιον ἐπίγραμμα τὸ παρὰ Θεοδώρου τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν

ἔνθα μὲν Αἴας κείται ἀρήϊος ἔνθα δ' Ἀχιλλεύς,  
ἔνθα δὲ Πάτροκλος θεόφρων μῆστορ ἀτάλαντος,  
ἔνθα δ' ἐπὶ τρισσοῖσι πανεῖκελος ἠρώεσσι  
ψυχὴν καὶ βιοτοῖο τέλος Μουσώνιος ἦρως.

οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κατεκόπησαν παρὰ Ἰσαύρων, καὶ τοῦτο ὡσπερ δράματι μεγάλῳ καὶ τραχεῖ τὸ κατὰ Μουσώνιον ἐπεισόδιον οὐκ ἔλαττον ὁ δαίμων ἐπήνεγκεν. Conf. *Suid.* p. 1338 C. *Suidas* also gives another passage from *Eunapius* p. 2532 C *Μουσώνιος*. ἐπὶ Ἰοβιανῷ ἦν βασιλέως. What follows is from *Eunapius*, to whom it is given by *Vales.* ad *Ammian.* 27. 9, 6 πάντα ὅσα ἦν ἄριστα μικρὰ ἐφαίνετο πρὸς τὸν ὄγκον Μουσωνίου καὶ τὴν σὺν τῷ δραστηρίῳ τῆς γνώμης βαθύτητα δι' ἧ καὶ κατὰ λόγον εὐδοκίμων τὴν τε ἀλιτενὴν χῶραν τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπήλθε καὶ ὁ τὴν ἀνθύπατον καὶ μείζονα ἔχων ἀρχὴν πρὸς τὰς ἐπιδημίας ἐξίστατο κἀκείνος ἅπαντα ἐπὶ ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις τὴν θάλασσαν ἐπλήρωσε τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας εἰσφορῶν. ἐπεκάλει δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀδικον οὐδὲν τοῖς γινόμενοις, ἀλλὰ παιδιὰ τις ἦν ἅπασιν τοῖς καταβάλλουσι τὰ εἰσφερόμενα.

- 260 *Dexippus philosophus*. The disciple of *Iamblichus*: *Simplicius ad Aristot. Categor.* apud Schol. Berolin. p. 40 b l. 7 καὶ Δέξιππος δὲ ὁ Ἰαμβλίχου καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν τὸ τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους βιβλίον συντόμως ἐξηγήσατο, προηγουμένως δὲ τὰς Πλωτίνου ἀπορίας ὡς ἐν διαλόγῳ προτεινομένης αὐτῷ διαλύειν προτίθεται, οὐδὲν δὲ οὐδὲ οὗτος σχεδὸν τοῖς Πορφυρίου καὶ Ἰαμβλίχου προστεθεικώς. Buhle ad Aristot. tom. 1 p. 298 gives the title of that work: Δεξίππου φιλοσόφου Πλατωνικοῦ τῶν εἰς τὰς Ἀριστοτέλους κατηγορίας ἀποριῶν τε καὶ λύσεων κεφάλαια μ'. "Sunt dialogi tres, quibus auctor Seleuco cuidam Categorias explicat, simulque Plotini objectionibus Ennead. VI. 1. 2. 3 respondet." Buhle<sup>v</sup>.
- 261 *Apsines*. The son of *Onasimus*: Tables A. D. 309. the rival of *Proæresius*: Tables A. D. 340.
- 262 *Eragathus*. Tables A. D. 340 p. 401.
- 263 *Hephæstio*. Contemporary with *Proæresius*. Tables A. D. 340.
- 264 *Epiphanius Syrus*. Tables A. D. 340.
- 265 *Diophantus Arabs*. Tables A. D. 340. 367. The preceptor of *Libanius*: Tables A. D. 314.
- 266 *Tuscianus Syrus*. Tables A. D. 340 p. 403. Τουσκιανὸς ὁ ἐκ Φρυγίας apud Suidam p. 132 B Libanium Ep. 351. Contemporary with *Proæresius*<sup>vv</sup>.
- 267 *Sopolis*. Tables A. D. 340.
- 268 *Milesius poeta*. Admired by *Anatolius* at Athens in the time of *Proæresius*, after A. D. 347: Eunap. V. Proæres. p. 154 ὁ δὲ Ἀνατόλιος καὶ τὸν Μιλήσιον ὑπερεθαύμαζεν, ὃς ἦν μὲν ἐκ Σμύρνης τῆς Ἰωνικῆς, φύσεως δὲ ἀρίστης τυχῶν ἐς ἀφιλότιμόν τινα καὶ σχολαστὴν ἑαυτὸν ἐμβαλῶν βίον πρὸς τε ἱεροῖς ἦν καὶ γάμων ἡμέλησε ποιήσιν τε ἅπασαν καὶ μέλος ἐξήσκησε.—οὕτω γούν εἶλε τὸν Ἀνατόλιον ὥστε καὶ μοῦσαν ἐκάλει τὸν ἄνθρωπον. *Milesius* afterwards consoled *Proæresius* in a domestic calamity: πρὸς τοῦτο μὲν ἤρκεσεν ἡ Μιλησίου μοῦσα Eunap. Ibid. p. 161.
- 269 *Eusebius Alexandrinus*. Eunap. V. Proæres. p. 161 τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀξιούσιν ὀμιλητὴν ἴδιον ἀποπέμπειν ὁ Προαιρέσιος τὸν Εὐσέβιον ἐξέπεμψεν, ὃς ἦν μὲν ἐξ Ἀλεξανδρείας κ. τ. λ.
- 270 *Alexander sophista*. Suidas p. 182 A Ἀλέξανδρος—ὁ Κασίλωνος, σοφιστῆς, ἀδελφὸς Εὐσεβίου τοῦ σοφιστοῦ μαθητῆς δὲ Ἰουλιανοῦ. His brother was either *Eusebius* of *Caria* N° 275 (which is the opinion of the editor ad Suidam p. 182 D) or *Eusebius* of *Alexandria* N° 269.
- 271 *Maximus Ephesus*<sup>w</sup>. Tables A. D. 355. 2 363. 3 A. D. 364 p. 463 Appendix c. 1 *Julianus* p. 102. For his death see A. D. 372. 3.

<sup>v</sup> This work of *Dexippus* is quoted in Schol. Berolin. ad *Categor.* p. 39 p. 42 a l. 19 p. 43 b l. 35 p. 44 a l. 9 p. 45 b l. 30 p. 48 a l. 27 b l. 19 p. 50 a l. 24 b l. 15 p. 52 b l. 16. *Dexippus* the disciple of *Iamblichus*—μύστης Ἰαμβλίχου—is confounded by Tzetzes *Chil.* IX. 497—501 with the historian *Dexippus Herennius*, described above at N° 230.

<sup>vv</sup> *Tuscianus* is mentioned by Liban. Ep. 348 Τουσκιανὸς ἄγγελος ἦξει, λόγων δημιουργὸς τε καὶ κριτῆς ἀγαθός. Ep. 356 ἀπελευσάμεν ἀλλήλων ἐγὼ τε καὶ Τουσκιανός, ἐγὼ μὲν ἀκροώμενος τούτου λόγου δὲ ἐκείνος ἐμού. And Ep. 351 *Anatolio*, quoted above at N° 254 q.

<sup>w</sup> *Maximus* the disciple of *Aedesius* is mentioned by *Simplicius* apud Schol. *Aristot.* Berolin. p. 40 quoted at N° 57 note s. Schol. Berolin. p. 156 b l. 43 ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ λόγος τις ἐκινήθη μεταξὺ Θεμιστίου καὶ Μαξίμου (ὁ μὲν γὰρ Μάξιμος ἔλεγε πάντας τοὺς συλλογισμοὺς τελείους εἶναι ὁ δὲ Θεμιστίος μόνους τοῖς ἐν α' τοῦτο ἀπεδίδου. εἶ-

λαντο δὲ κριτὴν Ἰουλιανὸν τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, ὃς παρέσχε τὴν νικῶσαν Μαξίμῳ διδασκάλῳ αὐτοῦ γεγονότι), φέρε τῆς διδασκαλίας τούτων ἀκούσωμεν κ. τ. λ. *Maximus*, although not named, is alluded to by *Themistius Or.* VII p. 99 D—100 A in A. D. 367: ἀλλὰ τὸν καθηγητὴν ἐκείνου τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος [sc. *Juliani*] διασπαράττειν πρῶν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὠρμημένον, ἐξελόμενοι προῦπτου θανάτου—χρήμασι μόνους ἐζημιώσατε κ. τ. λ. Liban. Ep. 312 Θεμιστίῳ.—Σενήρος—μεθ' ἡμῶν μὲν ἐθήρευσε τὰ ῥητορικῆς μετὰ Μαξίμου δὲ τὰ φιλοσοφίας. Idem προσφωνητικὸς Ἰουλιανῷ tom. 1 p. 408. 7 (Tables A. D. 362 p. 451): see above c. 1 *Julianus* p. 102 note n. The death of *Maximus* is noticed by *Zosimus* IV. 15, 1 πρῶτος μὲν οὖν τῶν ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ γνωρίμων ἀνήρητο Μάξιμος· καὶ μετὰ τούτων ὁ ἐκ Φρυγίας Ἰλιάριος—καὶ Σιμωνίδης ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ Πατρικίος ὁ Λυδὸς καὶ ὁ ἐκ Καρίας Ἀνδρόνικος. ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι πάντες εἰς ἄκρον παιδείας ἐηλυθότες καὶ φθόνῳ μάλλον ἢ ψήφῳ δικαίᾳ κατακριθέντες.



- 272 *Maximus Byzantinus*. Contemporary with *Maximus of Ephesus*: Socrates H. E. III. 1 Μάξιμος ὁ φιλόσοφος, οὐχ ὁ Βυζάντιος ὁ Εὐκλείδου πατὴρ, ἀλλ' ὁ Ἐφέσιος. Speaking of cir. A. D. 350. These two *Maximi* are confounded by Suidas p. 2396 B C. See Kuster Valesius and Wyttenbach quoted by the editor p. 2396 E.
- 273 *Claudianus*. Eunar. V. Maximi p. 82 Μάξιμος—ἀδελφὸς εἶχε γνησίους, οὓς ἐκόλυεν εἶναι πρώτους αὐτὸς ὢν, Κλαυδιανὸν τε τὸν καταλαβόντα τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν κάκει παιδεύσαντα καὶ Νυμφιδιανὸν τὸν ἐν Σμύρῃ περιφανῶς σοφιστεύσαντα. ἦν δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος τῶν διαπλησθέντων τῆς Αἰδεσίου σοφίας. Idem V. Nymphidiani p. 176 Νυμφιδιανὸς δὲ ἦν μὲν ἐκ Σμύρνης, Μάξιμος δὲ ἦν ὁ φιλόσοφος ἀδελφὸς αὐτῷ καὶ Κλαυδιανὸς ἕτερος, φιλοσοφῶν καὶ αὐτὸς ἄριστα κ. τ. λ. —ὁ δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ Ἰουλιανὸς αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν γλῶτταν ἐπέτρεψε ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἐπιστήσας ὅσαι διὰ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐρμηνεύονται λόγων.—τελευτῆ δὲ αὐτῷ συνέβη γενομένην πρεσβύτην, καὶ μετὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Μάξιμον.
- 274 *Nymphidianus*. The brother of *Maximus of Ephesus*, died after A. D. 373. See N° 273.
- 275 *Eusebius Car.* Tables A. D. 355. 2. The disciple of *Aedesius*.
- 276 *Zeno medicus*. Tables A. D. 355. Contemporary with *Julianus* the sophist.
- 277 *Magnus medicus*. Tables A. D. 355. The disciple of *Zeno* N° 276.
- 278 *Oribasius medicus*. Tables A. D. 355 p. 431 A. D. 356. 362. The friend of the emperor *Julian*. His character is given by Eunapius quoted in the Tables at A. D. 361 p. 447. *Oribasius* was still living in 395. See the Tables p. 535.
- 279 *Ionicus medicus*. Eunar. V. S. p. 185. 186 Ἴωνικός ἦν μὲν ἐκ Σάρδεων καὶ πατὴρ ἱερατεύσαντος ἐπιφανῶς· Ζήνωνος δὲ [N° 276] ἀκροατὴς γενόμενος ἐς ἄκρον τε ἐπιμελείας ἐξέκετο καὶ Ὀριβασίῳ γε αὐτοῦ θαυμαστῆς ἐτύγχανεν.—ἐτελεύτα μικρὸν τι πρὸ τῆς γραφῆς ἐπὶ δύο παισὶν ἀξίοις λόγου τε καὶ μνήμης.
- 280 *Acacius*. Suidas p. 132 B Ἀκάκιος. ῥήτωρ δεινότατος, ἐπὶ Ἰουλιανοῦ καὶ Λιβανίου τοῦ σοφιστοῦ. ὃς ἐπεκάλει τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν καὶ διεμέμετο τὰς κρίσεις αὐτοῦ, σὺν Τουσκίανῳ τῷ ἐκ Φρυγίας [see the Tables A. D. 340 p. 403] καὶ αὐτῷ ῥήτορι ὄντι δεινῷ. Eunar. V. S. p. 176 Παλαιστίνης Καισάρεια τὸν Ἀκάκιον ἤνεγκε· καὶ ἦν συνασχῶν τῷ Λιβανίῳ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους.—ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀκάκιος ἐς τὸ ἄριστον ἀναδραμῶν καὶ πολλὴν ἑαυτῷ παρασχῶν δόξαν ὡς τοῦ Λιβανίου κρατήσων ἀπῆει νέος ὢν ἔτι.
- 281 *Nicocles Laco*. The preceptor of the emperor *Julian*. See above c. 1 *Julianus* p. 102. He was already eminent in A. D. 342 and was still living in 388.\*

\* *Nicocles* was διδάσκαλος at CP. cir. A. D. 342, when *Libanius* was under 30 years of age: Liban. de vita sua tom. 1 p. 24 καταβὰς εἰς λιμένα τὸν μέγαν ἐγὼ μὲν ὅστις Ἀθήναζε πλείο περιωὴν ἐπυθανόμην· λαβόμενος δέ μου τοῦ ἱματίου τῶν τις διδασκάλων, ἵστε αὐτὸν, Νικοκλέα λέγω τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον· οὗτός με ἐπιστρέψας πρὸς ἑαυτὸν “οὐ τοῦτόν σε” ἔφη “δεῖ πλεῦσαι τὸν πλοῦν ἀλλ' ἕτερον” καὶ “τίνα ἂν” ἔφην “ἕτερον ὁ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν γλιχόμενος ἢ τοῦτον πλείοι;” “Ὅτι, ὦ μακάριε, παρ' ἡμῖν σε” ἔφη “μένοντα χρὴ κυβερνήσαι τῶν πολλῶν τουτωνῶν καὶ εὐδαιμόνων τοὺς παῖδας.—ταυτηνὴ δὲ ἐγὼ σοι παραδώσω τὴν βασιλείαν αἴρων, τετταράκοντα νέους, τὰ πρώτα τῶν τῆδε.”—ἐγὼ δὲ—λαθὼν ᾠχόμεν πλέων.

*Nicocles* the *Laconian* is addressed by *Libanius* in Ep. 721 *Nicocli*.—μικρῷ ἔλαττω τῶν εἰς τὸν ἡμέτερον νομοθέτην [sc. *Lycurgum*] ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ λεχθέντων. Ep. 1137 *Nicocli*.—σὺ δέ μοι μὴ πάσης τῆς ἡμετέρας κατηγορεῖν μηδὲ τὴν ἐνὸς μοχθηρίαν πόλεως ὄλης ἔγκλημα ποιῆσαι.—πεντεκαίδεκα δὲ μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων πάντας εἶναι

χρηστοὺς οὐκ οἶδα ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν τῇ σῆ Σπάρτῃ. The 150,000 are the inhabitants of Antioch. Ep. 1429 b *Nicocli*.—ἡμῖν δὲ καὶ σοῦ καὶ τῶν σῶν πολιτῶν τῶν ἐκ Λήδας καὶ Μειλιχίου Διὸς πρὸς τὸν χειμῶνα ἂν δέοι. *Castor* and *Pollux*, the fellow citizens of the *Laconian Nicocles*.—Ἰουλιανῷ δὲ τῷ καλῷ πάλαι μὲν ἦσθα φίλος ἀπὸ τε τῆς ἐκεῖ [at CP.] καὶ τῆς ἐνταῦθα [at Antioch] συνηθείας. καὶ ἔτι γε πρότερον—ἦνίκα ἦρχε. Φρυγῶν, νῦν δ' αὐτῷ καὶ πάντα ἂν γένοιο κ. τ. λ. Written therefore while count *Julian* the uncle of the emperor was yet living, before Jan. A. D. 363. Ep. 1076 *Nicocli*.—ἀκούων δὲ πάλιν ἠφθαί σε τοῦ παιδεύειν τοὺς νέους, μακαρίζω μὲν τὴν πόλιν μακαρίζω δὲ αὐτοὺς τε ἐκείνους. καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνων πατέρας. Ep. 752 *Nicocli*.—οὐ συνίστημί σοι Θεόδωρον, ὃν αὐτὸς ἐξέθρεψας, οὐδ' ἀξίῳ φιλεῖν. πάλαι γὰρ φιλεῖς αὐτόν κ. τ. λ. Ep. 1324 *Nicocli*.—αὐτὸς δὲ Περγάμιος [de quo Ammianus 29. 1, 6 *Libanius ipse de vita sua* p. 115]—Νικοκλέα γε τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὄφελος οὐκ ἄγνοεῖ, σαφῶς δὲ οἶδεν ὅστις μὲν σὺ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς

282 *Hecebolius*. A preceptor of *Julian*: see *Julianus* c. 1 p. 102. v

283 *Libanius*<sup>z</sup>. Born A. D. 314. At the *Olympia* of Antioch in 328 he is 14 years of age, 18 at the games of 332, 22 in the year 336, and 50 at the games of 364. He was at Nicomedia in A. D. 346, at CP. in 352, and at Antioch in 353 where he finally settled. He was 57 when *Valens* visited Antioch in 371. See the Tables in those years. *Libanius* mentions his 76th year Ep. 866 *Prisco* [sc. N<sup>o</sup> 290].—τὸ δὲ ἡμέτερον ἐξ μὲν καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτη γέγονα, τὸ λειπόμενον δὲ οὐ πολὺ. He completed the 76th year in the close of A. D. 390. Eunapius V. Libanii p. 176 ἐτελεύτησε καὶ οὗτος εἰς γῆρας ἀφικόμενος μακρότατον. Fabricius tom. 6 p. 754 observes that Ep. 941 *Tatiano* was written *Tatiano consuli*: “Ulterius eum produxisset vitam adparet ex epistola ad Tatianum ὑπαρχον scripta, cujus consulatus incidit in an. 390 aut 391.” And Reiske in vita § 121 “Vixit adhuc an. 391. Nam Ep. 941 ad Tatianum cos. scripta est. Atqui Tatianus a. 390 aut 391 fuit consul.” *Libanius* Ep. 941 εἶπον γὰρ ἦξιεν τὰ ἦκοντα πρὶν ἦκειν.—τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν ἐρασθείη, τοιαῦτα μὲν εὐρίσκοντο ὑπαρχου; *Tatianus* succeeded *Cynegius* in 388: Zosimus IV. 45, 1 ἐπειδὴ Κυνήγιος ὁ τῆς αὐλῆς ὑπαρχος—ἔτυχε τεθνεὼς, ὃν τινα δέοι προσθήσασθαι τῆς αὐλῆς ὑπαρχον ἀνεξήτει· καὶ πολλοὺς πολλάκις ἀνασκοπήσας εἶρε τὸ τελευταῖον ἄνδρα πρὸς τοῦτο ἀρμόδιον. μετακαλέσας τοῖνυν ἐκ τῆς Ἀκυληῆς Τατιανὸν—ἀναδεικνύει τῆς αὐλῆς ὑπαρχον ἐν τῇ πατρίδι. He was consul in A. D. 391; and that epistle brings down the life of *Libanius* to the 77th year.

ὅστις δὲ περὶ λόγους ὅστις δὲ περὶ φίλους. The Laconian *Nicocles* is referred to in Ep. 1049 *Clearcho*.—οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ Κλέαρχε Νικοκλῆς, ᾧ σε ὁ πατήρ παρέδωκεν, οὗτος ᾧ σὺ τὸν ἀδελφόν. Ep. 1145 *Sozomeno*.—τύχης δὲ τινος ἀγαγούσης ἡμῖν Νικοκλέα τὸν σοφώτατον κ. τ. λ.—καὶ νῦν πάντα ἐμοὶ Νικοκλῆς.—Νικοκλεῖ χαρίζοιο ἂν πειθόμενός τέ μοι καὶ σπενδόμενος πρὸς τὸν ἀριστόν Λυκίων. Ep. 471 *Mygdonio*.—σὺ γὰρ Ἀθημασί τε τὰ γονέων ἐπλήρωσας εἰς ἐμέ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μὲν πρώτῳ μόνῳ ἐθάρρησά σοι μάλιστα, ἐπειδὴ, ὅτε διήγον ἐν Βιθυνίᾳ [see the Tables A. D. 347], τὸν σκηπτὸν ἐκείνων ἐκφυγὼν, σὺ τοῖς ἐκβαλοῦσιν ἐπὶ Θράκης ἐνεμάχου μόνος—ὥστε σε καὶ Νικοκλῆς ἐκ τῆς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀνδρείας ἐποίησατο φίλον. Ep. 1521 *Clearcho*.—Νικοκλῆς εἰ καὶ τάλλα φίλος, διὰ τοῦτο γέ τιμιος, ὅτι σε τοιοῦτον ἔθηκε—δεινὸν εἶπεν, ἐν ἔργῳ ἀμείνω, πᾶσαν φωτὴν εἰς ἔπαυον ἔλκοντα. Ep. 1351 *Nicocli* was written after the death of *Cynegius*: ἡμεῖς δὲ Κυνήγιον μὲν ἀνδρείως ἀποθανόντα λόγῳ πρότερον τετιμῆκαμεν. who died in 388: see the Tables p. 518, in which year *Libanius* addressed to *Nicocles* his oration πρὸς Θρασύδαιον: *Ibid.* p. 517. almost 50 years after *Nicocles* had first taught at CP. He was probably older than *Libanius* himself, and therefore in 388 far advanced in years. In Ep. 1057 *Alexandro Nicocles* is mentioned: φίλον ἐποίησας ἐμοὶ τε καὶ Νικοκλεῖ τὸν ἄνδρα. Ep. 1142 is addressed to *Nicocles*, in which *Alexander* is named: παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρον μάθοις ἂν κ. τ. λ. Ep. 727. 1082, 1088 are also inscribed to *Nicocles*.

γ Socrates H. E. III. 13 Ἐκρηβόλιος ὅστις τοῖς ἡθεσι τῶν βασιλείων ἐπόμενος ἐπὶ μὲν Κωνσταντίου διαπύρως χριστιανίζειν ὑπεκρίνατο, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἰουλιανοῦ γοργὸς Ἑλληνα ἐφαίνετο, καὶ αὐθις μετὰ Ἰουλιανὸν χριστιανίζεω ἤθελε. βίβλας γὰρ ἑαυτὸν πρηγῆ πρὸς τῆς πύλης τοῦ εὐκτηρίου οἴκου “Πατήσατέ με” ἐβόα “τὸ ἄλας τὸ ἀναίσθητον.” τοιοῦτος μὲν οὖν κούφος καὶ εὐχερῆς Ἐκρηβόλιος πρότερόν τε καὶ ὕστερον ἦν. Repeated by Suidas p. 1167 D 1168 A.

<sup>z</sup> The orations of *Libanius* given in the Tables are these.

- |       |  |
|-------|--|
| A. D. |  |
| 349   | βασιλικός.   |
| 358   | μονοβία ἐπὶ Νικομηδείᾳ. Conf. Ep. 31 αὐτὴν τε ταύτην ἐθρήνησα τὴν πόλιν.   |
| 362   | { προσφωνητικὸς Ἰουλιανῶ. p. 451. Conf. Ep. 680 ὕμνηται μὲν οὖν ὁ γενναῖός μοι βασιλεὺς, βραχεῖ δὲ τιμὴ μάλα λόγῳ. |
|       | { μονοβία ἐπὶ τῷ ἐν Δάφνῃ νεφ. p. 453. Conf. Ep. 695 ἂ δ' ἐπὶ τῷ πυρὶ—ἐφθραγῆμην ἀπέσταλκά σοι.                    |
|       | { ὑπὲρ Ἀριστοφάνους. p. 453.   |
| 363   | { εἰς Ἰουλιανὸν ὑπατον.  |
|       | { πρὸς Ἀντιοχείας. p. 459.   |
|       | { πρεσβευτικὸς, πρὸς Ἰουλιανόν.  |
|       | { μονοβία ἐπὶ Ἰουλιανῶ. p. 461.  |
| 365   | ἐπιτάφιος ἐπὶ Ἰουλιανῶ.  |
| 387   | { ad Theodosium περὶ τῆς στάσεως.  |
|       | { κατὰ τῶν πεφευγόντων.  |
|       | { ad Theodosium ἐπὶ ταῖς διαλλαγαῖς.   |
|       | { ad Caesarium.  |
|       | { ad Ellebichum.   |
|       | { πρὸς τὰς τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ βλασφημίας.  |
| (388) | { περὶ τοῦ μὴ ληρεῖν.  |
|       | { πρὸς Θρασύδαιον.   |

A. D. 388 An oration in praise of *Cynegius* after his death, not now extant, is mentioned in *Liban.* Ep. 1351, quoted above under *Nicocles* N<sup>o</sup> 281 note x. *Cynegius* died in March 388.

After the death of *Cynegius* the oration tom. 3 p. 72 κατὰ τῶν εἰσιόντων εἰς τὰς τῶν ἀρχόντων καταγωγάς. p. 104 συναγορεύει δὲ μοι καὶ τετελευτηκῶς ὁ τοῖς παρὰ σοῦ στεφανούμενος ἐπαῖνος Κυνήγιος.



- 284 *Himerius*. Tables A. D. 362. 368. Suidas p. 1764 B Ἰμέριος Ἀμεινίου ῥήτορος Προουσιάδος τῆς Βιθυνίας, σοφιστῆς τῶν ἐπὶ Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀντιπαιδεύσας Προαιρεσίῳ ἐν Ἀθήναις<sup>zz</sup>. πηρὸς τὰς ὄψεις ἐν γήρῳ. ἔγραψε μελέτας. Photius Cod. 165 p. 356 ἤκμασεν ἐπὶ Κωνσταντίου καὶ τοῦ δυσσεβεστάτου Ἰουλιανοῦ, καὶ τοῦ Ἀθήνησι κατὰ ῥητορείαν προύστη διδασκαλείου.
- 285 *Parnasius*. Eunap. V. Parnas. p. 166 ἐν τούτοις ἦν τοῖς χρόνοις [contemporary with *Himerius*] καὶ Παρνάσιος ἐπὶ τοῦ παιδευτικοῦ θρόνου ὀμιλητὰς εὐαριθμήτους ἔχων· καὶ τοι γε ὀνόματος οὐκ ἀπεστερημένος.
- 286 *Eustathius*. The disciple of *Iamblichus*: Tables A. D. 312. Ambassador to *Sapor* in 358. See the Tables 358. 2 and Eunapius there quoted<sup>a</sup>.
- 287 *Callistus poeta*. Socrates H. E. III. 21 p. 195 Α Κάλλιστος δὲ ὁ ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις τοῦ βασιλέως στρατευόμενος ἱστορήσας τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν ἐν ἠρωϊκῷ μέτρῳ τὸν τότε πόλεμον διηγούμενος ὑπὸ δαίμονος βληθέντα [A. D. 363] τελευτήσαι φησὶν<sup>b</sup>.
- 288 *Chrysanthius*. Tables A. D. 355. 2. 3. 367. The preceptor of *Eunapius*. He died in his 80th year<sup>c</sup>.
- 289 *Hellespontius*. Eunap. V. Chrysanth. p. 202 Ἑλλησπόντιος ὁ ἐκ Γαλατίας—ἀνὴρ διὰ πάντα ἄριστος—εἰς τὰς παλαιὰς Σάρδεϊς ἀφίκετο διὰ τὴν Χρυσανθίου συνουσίαν. In his old age: Ibid. p. 206 εἰς γῆρας ἀφικόμενος πρὶν ἔτι [lege πρὶν ἢ τι] τῶν χρησίων ἐκμαθεῖν. He died at Apamea the year before *Chrysanthius*<sup>d</sup>.
- 290 *Priscus*. Born A. D. 306, died at the age of 90 in 395. *Priscus* is in Greece in 355: Tables p. 430. in the expedition into Persia in 363: Tables p. 457. For his death in 395 see the Tables p. 533. Libanius addresses Ep. 866 Πρίσκῳ to this sophist in A. D. 390.<sup>e</sup>
- 291 *Epigonus*.  
292 *Veronicianus*<sup>f</sup> } disciples of *Ædesius*. Tables A. D. 355 p. 431.
- 293 *Sopater Apamensis*. Tables 326 p. 381. Slain between the years 330 and 337: Tables p. 387.
- 294 *Theon sophista*. Suid. p. 1875 B Θεὸν Γυμνασίου τοῦ σοφιστοῦ παῖς [N<sup>o</sup> 248] Σιδώνιος, σοφιστῆς, παιδεύσας κατὰ τὴν πατρίδα, γενόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου καὶ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων καὶ ὑπαρχος. As *Gymnasius* the father of *Theon* also flourished in the reign of *Constantine*, we may place *Gymnasius* at 310 and *Theon* at 335.
- 295 *Eustochius Cappadox*. Tables A. D. 350.
- 296 *Praxagoras Atheniensis*. Flourished cir. A. D. 329—341.<sup>g</sup>

<sup>zz</sup> When *Anatolius* visited Athens in the time of *Proæresius*, *Himerius* was present: Eunap. V. Proæres. p. 153 προσεγεγένητο γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἰμέριός τις σοφιστῆς ἐκ Βιθυνίας· οὐκ ἔγνω τοῦτον ὁ συγγραφεὺς, πλὴν ὅσα γε διὰ συγγραμμάτων.

<sup>a</sup> *Ædesius* left Cappadocia to *Eustathius*: Eunap. p. 49. 50 τὴν μὲν Καππαδοκίαν ἐξέλιπεν, Εὐσταθίῳ παραδοῖς ἐπιμελείσθαι τῶν ἐκείνη· καὶ κατὰ γένος οὐκ ἀφεστήκεσαν. *Sosipatra* the wife of *Eustathius* is described by Eunapius V. *Ædes*. p. 57—70 = p. 32—41. To this *Eustathius* Libanius addresses Ep. 123 Εὐσταθίῳ.—Of whom he says σὺ μὲν οὖν ὡς ἀν φιλοσόφων ὁ δοκιμώτατος κ. τ. λ.

<sup>b</sup> Valesius ad Socratem l. c. “Hic est *Callistus* ni fallor quem Libanius *Callitionem* appellat. Nam et poetam eum fuisse Libanius testatur.” Valesius refers to Libanii Ep. 1127 Καλλιστίῳ, of whom he says ἀλλὰ πρὸς Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Μουσῶν, παρ' ὧν σοι τὰ ἔπη, which expressions confirm the conjecture of

Valesius.

<sup>c</sup> Eunapius V. Chrysanthii p. 206 ὁ μὲν Ἑλλησπόντιος—παρελθὼν εἰς Ἀπάμειαν τῆς Βιθυνίας μετήλλαξε τὸ ζῆν, τῷ παρόντι τῶν ἐταίρων Προκοπίῳ πολλὰ ἐπισκήψας μόνον θαυμάζειν Χρυσάνθιον. p. 209 ὁ δὲ Χρυσάνθιος εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ὥραν τοῦ ἔτους κατὰ θέρος ἱστάμενον ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν θεραπείαν ἔλθων—τὰ ἄρθρα συνέκαμνε καὶ κλινοπέτης ἦν. καὶ Ὀριβάσιος [N<sup>o</sup> 278] ἐνταῦθα παραγίνεται δι' ἐκείνον—ἀλλ' ἐνίκα τὸ γῆρας, ὀγδοηκοστὸν γὰρ ὑπελθὼν ἔτος ἐτύχχανε, κ. τ. λ.

<sup>d</sup> See the preceding note.

<sup>e</sup> See above *Libanius* N<sup>o</sup> 283 for the date of that epistle.

<sup>f</sup> *Veronicianus* was still living in 395. Tables p. 535.

<sup>g</sup> Phot. Cod. 62 ἀνεγνώσθη Πραξαγόρου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου τὰ κατὰ τὸν μέγαν Κωνσταντίνου ἱστορίας βιβλία δύο. ἐν οἷς λόγοις διέξεισιν ὅτι ὁ πατὴρ Κωνσταντίνου Κωνσταντῖος Βρεττανίας ἐβασίλευσε κ. τ. λ. See above c. I p. 73.

- 297 *Themistius*. Still young in A. D. 347: Tables p. 411. and still composed orations in 385: Tables p. 509. Favoured by *Constantius II* in 355: Tables p. 429. and in 361: Tables p. 445. Appointed by *Theodosius* præfect of CP. in 384: Tables p. 507. Suidas p. 1855 Β Θεμιστίσιος φιλόσοφος, γεγυώνως ἐπὶ τῶν χρόνων Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ παραβάτου, ὑφ' οὗ καὶ ὑπαρχος προεβλήθη ΚΠ. [an error in the time of that office. See the Tables already quoted, p. 507. 509. <sup>h</sup>]
- 298 *Julianus imp.* Born A. D. 331, slain A. D. 363. For his works see c. 1 p. 107—109.
- 299 *Andronicus poeta*. Mentioned by Ammianus at A. D. 359. <sup>hh</sup>

*Praaxagoras* proceeds: κρατυνάμενος οὖν καὶ μίαν δείξας τὴν σύμπασαν βασιλείαν (ὁ Κωνσταντίνος) κτίζει τὸ Βυζαντίον [A. D. 330] ἐπόνυμον ἑαυτῷ. φησὶν οὖν ὁ Πραξαγόρας, καίτοι τὴν θρησκείαν Ἑλλην ὄν, ὅτι πάση ἀρετῇ καὶ καλοκαγαθίᾳ καὶ παντὶ εὐτυχίᾳ πάντας τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ βεβασιλευκότας ὁ βασιλεὺς Κωνσταντίνος ἀπεκρύνετο. ἐν οἷς αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ δύο συμπεραυνοῦνται λόγοι. ἔτος δὲ τῆς ἡλικίας ἦγε β' καὶ κ' Πραξαγόρας, ὡς αὐτὸς φησιν, ὅτε ταῦτα συνέγραψε. συνεγράψατο δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ ἕτερα βιβλία δύο, περὶ τῶν Ἀθηνησὶ βασιλευσάντων, ἔτος ἀνίων ιβ', συντάξε δὲ καὶ ἕτερα βιβλία ἕξ εἰς τὸν τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλεῖα Ἀλέξανδρον, λα' ἐλαύνων ἐνιαυτὸν· ἔστι δὲ τὴν φράσιν σαφῆς καὶ ἡδύς, ὀλίγον δὲ τοῦ δέοντος ἀπώτερος. κέχηρηται δὲ Ἰωνικῇ διαλέκτῳ. The praises which a heathen historian bestows upon *Constantine* make it probable that he wrote while *Constantine* was yet living. His later work at the age of 31 years would be composed in the reign of *Constantius II*.

<sup>h</sup> Suidas adds the following list of his works: τῆς Ἀριστοτέλους φυσικῆς ἀκροάσεως παράφρασιν ἐν βιβλίῳ η'. παράφρασιν τῶν ἀναλυτικῶν ἐν βιβλίῳ β'. τῶν ἀποδεικτικῶν ἐν βιβλίῳ β'. τοῦ περὶ ψυχῆς ἐν βιβλίῳ ζ'. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ἴδια παρειήγαγε περὶ τοῦ σκοποῦ καὶ τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς τῶν κατηγοριῶν ἐν βιβλίῳ α'. διαλέξεις.

Photius Cod. 74 ἀνεγνώσθησαν Θεμιστίου λόγοι πολιτικοὶ λς', ὧν εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ πρὸς Κωνσταντίνον τὸν βασιλεῖα καὶ εἰς Οὐάλεντα καὶ Οὐαλεντιανὸν τὸν νέον, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς Θεοδόσιον, τοὺς βασιλεῖς, ἐπαίνους αὐτῶν καὶ ἐγκώμια περιέχοντες. ἔστι δὲ τὴν φράσιν σαφῆς καὶ ἀπέριττος καὶ ἀνθηρὸς, καὶ λέξει πολιτικαῖς καὶ εἰς τὸ σεμνόν τι ἐπικλυούσαις χρόμενος. ἤκμαζε δὲ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς Οὐαλεντος χρόνοις, ὡς καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων δῆλον. ἐπὶ δὲ Κωνσταντίου ἔτι νέος ἦν [conf. a. 347], ὑφ' οὗ καὶ ἐνετάγη τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων γερουσίᾳ, ὡς καὶ ἡ πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν ἐν Ῥώμῃ γεουσίαν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιστολῇ ἀποσταλεῖσα δηλοῖ [a mistake for the senate of CP. conf. ann. 355. 356]. πατῆρ δὲ ἦν Θεμιστίου Εὐγένιος, καὶ αὐτὸς φιλοσοφίας. τοῦτου τοῦ Θεμιστίου εἰς πάντα τὰ Ἀριστοτελικά φέρονται ὑπομνήματα· οὐ μόνον δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ μεταφράσεις αὐτοῦ εἶδομεν, εἰς τὸ χρῆσιμον ἐπιτετημέναις, τῶν τε Ἀναλυτικῶν καὶ τῶν Περὶ ψυχῆς βιβλίων, καὶ τῶν Τῆς φυσικῆς ἀκροάσεως καὶ ἑτέρων τοιούτων. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ εἰς τὰ Πλατωνικά αὐτοῦ ἐξηγητικοὶ πονοὶ, καὶ ἀπλῶς ἐραστῆς ἐστὶ καὶ σπουδαστῆς φιλοσοφίας.

We may therefore add to the catalogue of

Suidas

ἐξηγητικά εἰς Πλάτωνα.

λόγοι πολιτικοὶ λς' of which 34 are extant. Nine-teen of these are given in the Tables within the years 347 and 385, and may be found in the Index p. 849. 850.

For a letter of *Julian* to *Themistius* see above c. 1 p. 107.

*Libanius* addresses many epistles to *Themistius*, among which are the following.

Ep. 1322: See the Tables A. D. 347. Ep. 1241: Tables A. D. 356. Ep. 371. 379: Tables A. D. 357 p. 437. Ep. 1061: Tables A. D. 363 p. 459. Ep. 38: Tables A. D. 384 p. 509. In Ep. 64 mention is made of the honours of *Themistius*. Ep. 491 *Themistio*, on the death of his son *Themistius*. Ep. 703 ἄμφω δὴ γὰρ παρὰ σοι, τὰ Πλάτωνος γενναῖά τε διδάξαι καὶ γλώττῃ καλῇ. Conf. Ep. 1111. 1223. 1510 a. *Themistius* is also named in Ep. 67 *Hygiēno*. Ep. 408 *Themistocli*. Ep. 429 *Andronico*. 430 *Araxio*. 431 *Hierocli*. 1175 *Olymprio*: σὲ μὲν μετὰ τοῦ γενναίου Θεμιστίου τῆς Πλάτωνος ἀπτεσθαὶ μελέτης. *Olymprius* is mentioned by *Libanius* in Ep. 68. 98. 255. 409, addressed to *Themistius*.

*Themistius* ad Aristot. Phys. Acroas. p. 53 apud Schol. Berolin. p. 407 a l. 6 ἐγὼ καὶ οἱ ἐμοὶ παῖδες τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐκ Νικαίας εἰς τὴν πατρίδα, ἐγὼ μὲν ἀπὴν δημοσίαν ἔχω οἱ δὲ ἄμαξαν, οὐκ ἐν ἴσῳ διηρῆσαμεν χρόνῳ, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν ἐν δύο νυκθημέροις οἱ δὲ ἐν τέτρασι.

<sup>hh</sup> Ammian. 19. 12, 11 *Andronicus post a studiis liberalibus et claritudine carminum notus in iudicium introductus* [A. D. 359: conf. 20. 1, 1], cum securam mente nullis suspicionibus urgeretur, purgando semper et fidentius absolutus est. *Libanius* Ep. 75 *Themistio*. Ἀνδρόνικος ὁ ποιητὴς οὕτω διέθηκε πρὸς αὐτὸν τὰς μέχρις Αἰθίοπων πόλεις ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν Ἀνδρόνικον τοιοῦτον ἀφιέντα μέλι.—ἐμοῦ δὲ αὐτῷ παραουόντος μὴ διαθεῖσθαι τὰς διδομένας ἀρχὰς, ὡς ἐνὸν ἀρχεῖν τὸ ὅμοι καὶ ἄδειν, “Ἄλλ' ἐγὼ” φησιν “εἰμὶ δώσω ἐμαντὸν Θεμιστίῳ μαθητῆν, κάλλιον ἡγουμένος τοῦ πολλῶν ἀρχεῖν.” Ep. 76 *Hygiēno*. φησιν “οὐ γράφεις” Ἀνδρόνικος. Photius Cod. 279 p. 1596 speaks of an Egyptian *Andronicus*: Ἀνδρονίκου πολιτευομένου, καὶ αὐτοῦ Ἐρμυπολίτου, πρὸς τὸν κόμητα Φοιβάμωνα τὸν κοινοπολιτῆν· καὶ οὗτος δὲ δραματικός ἐστὶ ποιητῆς, διαφόροις μέτροις τοὺς λόγους ἐκτείνων.

A *Carian Andronicus*, slain with *Maximus* in 373 (see N° 271 <sup>w</sup>), is mentioned by *Zosimus* IV. 15, 2



- 300 *Parrus*. Flourished A. D. 380: Tables p. 495. Suidas p. 2840 B adds βιβλία δὲ αὐτοῦ Χωρογραφία οἰκουμηνική. Εἰς τὰ τέσσαρα βιβλία τῆς Πτολεμαίου μεγάλης συντάξεως ὑπόμνημα. Ποταμοὺς τοὺς ἐν Λιβύῃ. Ὀνειροκριτικόν.
- 301 *Theon mathematicus*. Tables A. D. 380. Suidas p. 1874 D ἔγραψε μαθηματικά, ἀριθμητικά. Περὶ σημείων καὶ σκοπῆς ὀρνέων καὶ τῆς κοράκων φωνῆς. Περὶ τῆς τοῦ κυνὸς ἐπιτολῆς. Περὶ τῆς τοῦ Νείλου ἀναβάσεως. Εἰς τὸν Πτολεμαίου πρόχειρον κανόνα<sup>1</sup>. Εἰς τὸν μικρὸν ἀστρόλαβον ὑπόμνημα.
- 302 *Heliodorus*. Heliodorus ipse ad calcem Æthiopicorum: ἀνὴρ Φοίνιξ Ἑμισσηνός, τῶν ἀφ' Ἡλίου γένος, Θεοδοσίου παῖς Ἡλιοδώρος. Socrates H. E. V 22 p. 287 C D ἔγγων δὲ ἐγὼ καὶ ἕτερον ἔθος ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ· γενόμενος κληρικὸς ἐκεῖ ἦν νόμῳ γαμήσας πρὶν κληρικὸς γένηται μετὰ τὸ κληρικὸν γενέσθαι συγκαθειδύσας αὐτῇ ἀποκήρυκτος γίνεταί—ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ ἔθους ἀρχηγὸς Ἡλιοδώρος Τρίκκης τῆς ἐκεῖ γενόμενος (ἐπίσκοπος)· οὗ λέγεται πονήματα ἐρωτικά βιβλία ἂ νέος ὢν ἔταξε καὶ Αἰθιοπικὰ προσηγόρευσε. Phot. Cod. 73 ἀνεγνώσθη Ἡλιοδώρου Αἰθιοπικόν, κ. τ. λ.—“ταῦτα δὲ συνέγραψε Φοίνιξ ἀνὴρ Ἀμιυδηνός [sic] Θεοδοσίου παῖς Ἡλιοδώρος.” ἐν οἷς καὶ τὸ τέλος. τοῦτον δὲ καὶ ἐπισκοπικοῦ τυχεῖν ἀξιώματος ὑστερόν φασι<sup>k</sup>. The time of *Socrates* will carry back *Heliodorus* to about the year 380. His romance might be written before that period.

ὁ ἐκ Καρίας Ἀνδρόνικος. ὁ εἰς ἄκρον παιδείας ἐηλυθός. *Andronicus* a disciple of *Libanius* was put to death by *Valens* in A. D. 366: Liban. de vita sua tom. 1 p. 113 ἐπάνεμι δὴ πρὸς τὸν Βάλεντα, ὃν ἔδειξε μὲν χρηστὸν τὸ μὴ τῷ τυράννῳ [sc. *Procopio*] τοὺς τοῦ τυράννου φίλους ἐπαποκτεῖναι. ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ Ἀνδρονίκου τοῦ ἐμοῦ φίλου θάνατος Ἱερίου μᾶλλον τῆς ἀλώπεκος ἔργον ἢ τοῦ παρακρουσθέντος [sc. *Valentis*] ἦν. *Libanius* πρὸς τοὺς εἰς τὴν παιδείαν αὐτὸν ἀποσκώψαντας tom. 3 p. 453—456 describes him thus: “I can boast of some disciples who have shewn their merit in high stations.—*Andronicus* I cannot mention without tears. He governed the rich Phœnicia, but disdained to receive gifts from the people and was a just and impartial judge. Would that he had remained at home at Tyre, and had not accepted the call of *Procopius* and the government of Thrace! He knew that they contended with a power greater than their own, but he remained faithful. He was a trusty governor of Bithynia, and when the adverse party prevailed he scorned to fly, and was slain by the conqueror. *Andronicus* then is gone, but *Celsus* lives,” &c. *Valesius* ad *Ammian*. l. c. *Wolfius* ad *Liban*. Ep. p. 40 *Jacobs* ad *Antholog*. tom. 13 p. 843 suppose the disciple of *Libanius* and the poet in *Ammianus* to be the same person. But this is not clear. *Libanius* in tom. 3 p. 454—456 makes no mention of the poetical or literary talents of his pupil, who was a Tyrian: οἶκοι—ἐν Τύρῳ p. 455. 15. The opinion of *Reinesius* and *Wagner* ad *Ammianum* tom. 2 p. 353 is far more probable, that the poet in *Ammianus* was *Andronicus* of *Caria*, put to death in 372, who was a different person from *Andronicus* of *Tyre* slain in 366. The Egyptian poet in *Photius*, who does not give his time, was a third *Andronicus*. *Themistius* Or. 29 p. 347 B speaks of a certain poet: εἰ μὲν τις οἶός τε ἔστι

ξεντιθέναί τραγωδίαν καὶ ἔπη καὶ διθυράμβους, ὥσπερ ἔναγχος ἐπιδημήσας Αἰγύπτιος νεανίσκος, ἀλλ' ἀμαθῆς γε εἶναι ὁμολογεῖ τὴν ὑψηλοτέραν σοφίαν. That oration was composed after Or. 23, to which *Themistius* refers (τὸν πρόην λόγον) p. 344 C. And Or. 23 was written after his return from Rome in 378 (*Harduin.*), and before Or. 18 (*Petav.* ad p. 292 B) which belongs to A. D. 384. *Valesius* ad *Ammian*. l. c. remarks “De hoc *Andronico* intelligendus est *Themistius*” &c. But the time will not agree, ἔναγχος νεανίσκος τις Αἰγύπτιος could scarcely be said within A. D. 378—384 of one who was charged with political offences in A. D. 359. Nor do the terms ἀμαθῆς εἶναι ὁμολογεῖ τὴν ὑψηλοτέραν σοφίαν agree with *Liban*. Ep. 75; and that epistle *Valesius* himself applies to the *Andronicus* of *Ammianus*.

<sup>1</sup> *Theon* ad *Ptolemæum* p. 277. 284. 282 makes observations at Alexandria in the year of *Nabonassar* 1112, and the year of *Diocletian* 81, in A. D. 364, 365. See above c. 3 p. 210.

<sup>k</sup> Phot. Cod. 87 de *Achille Tatío*: πολλὴν δὲ ὁμοίτητα—πρὸς τὰ τοῦ Ἡλιοδώρου δράματα φυλάττει. *Idem* Cod. 94 de *Iamblichō*: ἀναιδέστερον δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ ὁ Φοίνιξ Ἡλιοδώρος. *Idem* Cod. 166 de *Antonio Diogene*: ἀνεγνώσθησαν Ἀντωνίου Διογένους τῶν ὑπὲρ Θούλην ἀπίστων λόγοι κδ'. δραματικὸν οἱ λόγοι, σαφῆς ἢ φράσις, κ. τ. λ. p. 364 ἔστι δ', ὡς ζοικεν, οὗτος χρόνῳ πρεσβύτερος τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐσπουδακῶν διαπλάσαι, οἷον Λουκιανοῦ [N<sup>o</sup> 141], Λουκίου, Ἰαμβλίχου [N<sup>o</sup> 111], Ἀχιλλέως Τατίου, Ἡλιοδώρου τε καὶ Δαμασκίου κ. τ. λ. τὸν χρόνον δὲ καθ' ὃν ἤκμασεν ὁ τῶν τηλικούτων πλασμάτων πατὴρ Διογένης ὁ Ἀντώνιος οὕτω τι σαφῆς ἔχομεν λέγειν πλὴν ἔστιν ὑπολογισασθαι ὡς οὐ λίαν πόρρω τῶν χρόνων τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀλεξάνδρου. μνημονεύει δ' οὗτος ἀρχαιότερον τινὸς Ἀντιφάνους, ὃν φησι περὶ τοιαῦτά τινα τερατολογήματα κατεσχολακεῖναι.



- 303 *Theodorus Asinæus*. Proclus in Platonis Timæum p. 225 A Θεόδωρος ὁ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίνης φιλοσόφος, τῶν Νουμηνείων λόγων ἐμφορηθείς. Idem p. 314 F ὡς περ πού φησι καὶ ὁ Ἀσινάϊος Θεόδωρος. p. 187 B οὕτω γὰρ ὁ Ἀσινάϊος λέγει Θεόδωρος, εὐρὼν παρὰ τῷ Πορφύριῳ τὴν δόξαν ὡς ἐκ Περσίδος ἤκουσαν. ταῦτα γοῦν Ἀντωνίνου ἱστορήσαι τὸν Ἀμμωνίου μαθητὴν. Heard by Proclus: Proclus p. 246 B τοιαῦτα γὰρ ἤκουσα καὶ τοῦ Θεοδώρου φιλοσοφοῦντος. from which we may infer that *Theodorus* was still living as late as A. D. 429, when *Proclus* was 19 years of age. He is quoted by Nemesius c. 2 p. 117 ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Θεόδωρος ὁ Πλατωνικός ἐν τῷ Ὅτι ἡ ψυχὴ πάντα τὰ εἶδη ἐστί, and with *Porphyrus Iamblichus* and others upon *Plato* by Proclus<sup>1</sup>. The testimony of *Proclus* that *Theodorus* lived to his time refutes the opinion of those who make him the disciple of *Porphyrus*<sup>m</sup>.
- 304 *Eunapius*.—τοῦ Σαρδιανοῦ Εὐναπίου Suid. Ρουφίνος p. 3225 C—was born A. D. 347 and came to Athens in his 16th year in 362: Tables p. 455. *Eunapius* in 364 is described in the Tables at p. 463. He returned to *Chrysanthius* in A. D. 367: Tables p. 469. His life of *Maximus* was written after A. D. 395: p. 533. his history ended at A. D. 404: p. 559. But some passages were written after the year 414: Tables p. 587.

<sup>1</sup> Proclus in Timæum p. 4 E εἴτ' οὖν Ἀμέλιος ἐθέλει ταύτη διατάττεσθαι εἴτε Θεόδωρος. p. 184 A ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἰάμβλιχος καὶ μετὰ τούτου Θεόδωρος εἰς τὴν ὑπερκόσμιον ψυχὴν ἀνάγουσι τούτους τοὺς λόγους. p. 258 D ὡς περ δὴ φησι Πορφύριος τε καὶ Θεόδωρος. p. 258 E ταῦτα μὲν οὖν φησι Πορφύριος τε καὶ Θεόδωρος, οἰκείας ὑποθέσεις περαινόντες. p. 129 E καθάπερ Ἀμέλιος φησι καὶ δὴ καὶ Θεόδωρος τούτω συνεπόμενος. p. 94 D E τὴν μὲν Ἰαμβλίχειον θεολογίαν ἀπὸ τούτων ἄξιον κρίνειν.—Θεόδωρος δὲ μετὰ τούτων τρεῖς μὲν Ἀμελίῳ συνεπόμενος εἰναί φησι δημιουργοῦς. p. 322 E τὴν εἰμαρμένην οὔτε τὴν μερικὴν φύσιν ῥητέον, ὡς τινες ἐκ τοῦ περιπάτου λέγουσι, καθάπερ Ἀλέξανδρος [sc. *Aphrodisis*].—οὔτε τὴν ἐν σχέσει ψυχῆν, ὡς Θεόδωρος,—οὔτε τὴν φύσιν ἀπλῶς, ὡς Πορφύριος. p. 292 C οἶδα γὰρ μὴ ὅτι καὶ ὁ θείος Ἰάμβλιχος γῆν μὲν ἀκούει τὴν τὸ μόνιμον πάν—περιέχουσαν οὐρανὸν δὲ τὴν προϊούσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ δημιουργικὴν ἐνέργειαν—οἶδα δὲ ὅπως καὶ ὁ θαυμαστός Θεόδωρος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ κατὰ σχέσιν ζωῆ ταύτας ἀμφοτέρως τὰς δυνάμεις ὑφίστησιν. See also p. 226 B 341 D quoted under *Iamblichus* N<sup>o</sup> 252 works n. 11. *Theodorus* is ὁ μέγας Θ. in p. 65 E 308 C 320 D. p. 206 A B ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Πορφύριος εἰπὼν παρέσχεν ἡμῖν συλλογίζεσθαι τι περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀληθές· ὁ δὲ γὰρ θείος Ἰάμβλιχος ἐξυμνεῖ τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς μετὰ πάσης δυνάμεως ὡς θαυμαστῶν τινῶν ιδιωμάτων ὄντας παρεκτικούς κ. τ. λ.—μετὰ δὴ τὴν παράδοσιν ταύτην οὕτω θαυμαστὴν οὖσαν καὶ ὁ φιλόσοφος Θεόδωρος οἰκείαν τιὰ διαπορευόμενος λόγων ἀτραπὸν λέγει κ. τ. λ. Proclus Theol. Platon. I. I apud Fabricius tom. 5 p. 692 τούτους δὴ τοὺς τῆς Πλατωνικῆς ἐποπτείας ἐξηγητὰς—θεῖον ἂν ἔγωγε, Πλωτῖνον τὸν Αἰγύπτιον, καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τούτου παραδεξαμένους τὴν θεωρίαν, Ἀμελίον τε καὶ Πορφύριον, καὶ τρίτους οἶμαι τοὺς ἀπὸ τούτων ὡς περ ἀνδριάντας ἡμῖν ἀποτεχθέντας, Ἰάμβλιχόν τε καὶ Θεόδωρον. Idem in Timæum p. 98 B C ὁ μὲν γὰρ θείος Ἰάμβλιχος αὐτὸ τὸ ὅπερ ὄν—ἀφωρίσατο κ. τ. λ.—ὁ δὲ γὰρ φιλόσοφος Πορφύριος τὴν μὲν ψυχὴν—δημιουργὸν ὑπέθετο—τρίτος δὲ ὁ θαυμαστός Θεόδωρος τὴν δημιουργικὴν τριάδα διαιρούμενος κ. τ. λ. Mentioned with *Iamblichus* p. 293 E F p. 296 C D p. 297 C p. 183 E.

<sup>m</sup> Jonsius de Script. Hist. Phil. p. 287 “Porphyrus præceptor fuit Theodori Asinæi juxta Photium Cod. 242.” Fabricius tom. 3 p. 190 “Theodorus Asinæus, quem Proclus se audisse testatur in Timæum p. 246 et alibi. Fuit e Porphyrii schola, teste Photio Cod. 242.” Repeated by Fabricius tom. 10 p. 373 “Th. Asin. e Porphyrii schola, teste Photio Cod. 242.” Brucker tom. 2 p. 232 “Porphyrus, qui præter Theodorum Asinensem Iamblichum Chalcedensem ex Cœle Syria magni in hac schola nominis philosophum discipulum habuit.” Repeated p. 249. Boissonade ad Eunapium p. 178 Θεόδωρος] “Bruckerus, ut ex nominum Historiæ ejus Philosophicæ Indice colligo, Theodorum hunc [apud Eunapium p. 12 = p. 22] eundem esse credidit ac Theodorum Asinensem, quem Damascius Photii p. 1057 [sc. Cod. 242] sub Porphyrio ait profecisse. Potuit quidem Porphyrium audire, et post ejus fata Iamblichum.” But Brucker in his text at p. 232 properly distinguishes *Theodorus of Asine* as a different person from the *Theodorus of Eunapius* whom he mentions afterwards.—“Ædesius et Eustathius Cappadox &c. quibus Theodorus et Euphrasius Græci adduntur.”

As *Porphyrus* died full 100 years before *Proclus* was born, and 120 years before he could have heard *Theodorus*, it is clearly impossible that *Theodorus of Asine*, whom *Proclus* heard, could have been the disciple of *Porphyrus*. The passage upon which this opinion is founded stands thus in Damascius apud Photium Cod. 242 p. 1057 de Severiano: οὐ γὰρ ἐπιδοῦναι βραδίως, οὐδὲ ἦν αὔξεσθαι κατὰ πῆχυν [conf. Suid. p. 2009 C], ὡς περ Θεόδωρος ὁ Ἀσινάϊος ἠξήθη ὑπὸ τῷ Πορφύριῳ. A passage somewhat obscure, and probably abridged by Photius. But *Damascius* could only mean that *Theodorus* drew from the philosophy and profited by the works of *Porphyrus*. We may add that, as *Iamblichus* died about 80 years before the birth of *Proclus*, *Theodorus of Asine* could not have been taught even by *Iamblichus*.



- 305 *Helladius* }  
 306 *Ammonius* } preceptors of *Socrates*. Tables A. D. 389 p. 521.
- 307 *Nemesius*. In his treatise *περὶ φύσεως ἀνθρώπου* he quotes *Apollinarius* of *Laodicea*, who flourished A. D. 366—377, *Eunomius*, who flourished A. D. 372—392, and *Theodorus Asinæus*, who still taught about A. D. 429, see N° 303.<sup>n</sup> The work of *Nemesius* might be composed in the latter time of *Theodorus*, within A. D. 409—429, before *Nestorius* had published his opinions<sup>o</sup>.
- 308 *Troilus sophista*. Flourished in 408. Tables A. D. 401. 408.
- 309 *Isidorus*. Tables A. D. 415. See A. D. 500 at p. 856. The husband of *Hypatia*.
- 310 *Hypatia*. Murdered at Alexandria in 415: Tables p. 589.
- 311 *Palladas*. Wrote after *Hypatia* had become eminent, and while she was yet living. Therefore about the year 410.<sup>p</sup>
- 312 *Eusebius poeta*. Author of the *Γαῖνλα*. Tables A. D. 401.
- 313 *Nonnus*. Suidas p. 2609 C *Νόννος*—*Πανοπολίτης ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, λογιώτατος· ὁ καὶ τὸν παρθένου θεολόγον παραφράσας δι' ἐπῶν*<sup>q</sup>. *Agathias* IV p. 133 B *τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ Μαρσῦα θρυλλομένα τῷ Φρυγί—ταῦτα δὴ οὖν ἅπαντα ποιητῶν ἂν εἴη τερατεία καὶ μῦθοι καὶ παλγνια.—ταῦτα γὰρ οἷ τε πρότερον ποιηταὶ ἄδουσι καὶ οἱ νέοι παραλαβόντες συνάδουσιν· ὧν δὴ καὶ Νόννος ὁ ἐκ τῆς Πανὸς τῆς Αἰγυπτίας γεγενημένος ἐν τινι τῶν οἰκείων ποιημάτων ἅπερ αὐτῷ Διονυσιακὰ ἐπώρομασται—ἐπάγει “Ἐξότε Μαρσῦαο”*<sup>r</sup>
- 314 *Ammonius poeta*. Flourished in 438. Tables p. 623.
- 315 *Heracleon sophista*. The preceptor of *Lachares*. Tables A. D. 429 p. 613.
- 316 *Plutarchus Nestorii*. Taught at Athens, and died in old age in A. D. 431. Succeeded by *Syrianius*. Tables A. D. 429 p. 613 A. D. 431 p. 615. Mentioned by Proclus ad *Parmenidem* apud Cousin Procli Opp. tom. 6 p. 27 *ἐπὶ τούτοις Πλούταρχος ὁ ἡμέτερος προπάτωρ—παραλαμβάνει κ. τ. λ.* That is, the preceptor of his master *Syrianius*.
- 317 *Olympiodorus historicus*. Tables A. D. 407. 425. His history comprehended A. D. 407—425. *Olympiodorus* was ambassador to the Huns (about A. D. 412): p. 455 ed. Bonn. He mentions his visit to Athens p. 460. Describes himself and his danger at sea p. 465.
- 318 *Olympiodorus peripateticus*. Tables A. D. 426. The preceptor of *Proclus*<sup>s</sup>.
- 319 *Leonas*. Tables A. D. 426. where for *Theonas* read *Leonas*. The preceptor of *Proclus*. Suidas p. 2288 A *Λεωνᾶς σοφιστῆς* transcribes *Marinus*.

<sup>n</sup> *Nemesius* c. 1 p. 36 *οἷς ἠκολούθησε καὶ Ἀπολιναρίος ὁ τῆς Λαοδικείας ἐπίσκοπος*. c. 2 p. 108 *Ἀπολιναρίῳ δὲ δοκεῖ τὰς ψυχὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ψυχῶν τίκεσθαι*. c. 5 p. 166 *Ἀπολιναρίος δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀβύσσου πεποικηκέναι τὸν Θεὸν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν βούλεται*. Idem c. 2 p. 104 *Εὐνόμος δὲ ἄριστο τὴν ψυχὴν οὐσίαν ἀσώματον ἐν σώματι κτιζομένην, συμφρονήσας ὁμοῦ Πλάτωνι καὶ Ἀριστοτέλει*. c. 2 p. 142 *λέγεται δὲ παρά τισι, καὶ μάλιστα παρὰ τοῖς Εὐνομιανοῖς, ἠρῶσθαι τὸν Θεὸν λόγον τῷ σώματι οὐ κατ' οὐσίαν ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰς ἐκατέρου δυνάμεις*. For *Theodorus* see N° 303. The title of his work is *Νεμεσίου ἐπισκόπου Ἐμέσης περὶ φύσεως ἀνθρώπου*.

<sup>o</sup> The Oxford editor in præfatione observes that *Nemesius* would have noticed *Nestorius*, “si ea tempestate *Nestorius* dogmata sua vulgasset.”

<sup>p</sup> Conf. *Palladæ* Ep. 115 tom. 3 p. 137 *Jacobs*. In *Cod. Vat.* apud *Jacobs* *Animadv.* tom. II. 3 p. 254 is this notice prefixed to the epigram: *εἰς τὴν φιλόσοφον Ὑπατίαν τὴν Θέωνος θυγατέρα, τοῦ αὐτοῦ Παλλάδα*.

From whence *Brunck* and *Jacobs* fix the time of *Palladas* himself. Conf. *Jacobs* *Anthol.* tom. 13 p. 927.

<sup>q</sup> *Eudocia* p. 311 *Νόννος Πανοπολίτης ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, λογιώτατος, ὁ καὶ τὸν παρθένον Ἰωάννην παραφράσας δι' ἐπῶν*. A distich upon *Nonnus* is given in *Jacobs* *Antholog.* tom. 4 p. 242.

<sup>r</sup> *Nonnus* is placed at A. D. 410 by *Cave* and *Harles* upon conjecture, and with no certain proofs. That he could not be much later may be concluded from the time of *Agathias*.

<sup>s</sup> *Suidas* p. 2662 D *Ὀλυμπιόδωρος, φιλόσοφος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς. οὗ κλέος εὐρύ* [from *Marinus* quoted in the *Tables*]. *παρὰ τοῦτον φοιτᾷ Πρόκλος ὁ Δύκιος ἐπ' Ἀριστοτελικοῖς λόγοις. Ὀλυμπιόδωρον δὲ ἀκρόωμενος, ἀνδρὸς δυνατοῦ λέγει, καὶ διὰ τὴν περὶ τοῦτο εὐκολίαν καὶ ἐντρέχειαν ὀλίγοις τῶν ἀκούοντων ὄντος ἐφικτοῦ· ἠγάσθη δὲ τὸ μειράκιον ὥστε καὶ θυγάτριον ἔχων ἠγμένον καὶ αὐτὸ φιλόσοφως βουλευθῆναι αὐτῷ κατεγγυῆσαι*.

- 320 *Orion*. The preceptor of *Proclus*. Tables A. D. 426.<sup>t</sup>  
 321 *Heron mathematicus*. The preceptor of *Proclus*. Tables A. D. 426. Suidas p. 1701 B<sup>o</sup> Ἡρώων ἐπέτρεψε ἐαυτὸν ὁ Πρόκλος. from Marinus.<sup>v</sup>  
 322 *Syrianus*. Tables A. D. 429 p. 613 A. D. 431 p. 615. See A. D. 536 p. 767. The preceptor of *Proclus*. Succeeded *Plutarchus* in 431, and survived but for a short time: Tables p. 617.<sup>w</sup>

<sup>t</sup> Four grammarians named *Orion* or *Orus* may be traced.

1 Suidas p. 2792 C Ὀρίων Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, γραμματικός Ἀνθολόγιον. Ἀττικῶν λέξεων συναγωγή. Περί ἐτυμολογίας. Ἐγμῶμιον Ἀδριανῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος.

2 Suidas Ibid. Ὀρίων Θηβαῖος τῆς Αἰγύπτου. Συναγωγὴν γνομῶν ἤγουσιν Ἀνθολόγιον πρὸς Εὐδοκίαν τὴν βασιλῖδα γυναῖκα Θεοδοσίου τοῦ μικροῦ [A. D. 421—444] βιβλία γ'. Etymol. ἄρθος p. 108. 40—οὕτως Ὀρίων ὁ Θηβαῖος. Called Ὀρος by Etymol. p. 29. 6 Αἰγυπτῶς.—οὕτως Ὀρος ὁ Θηβαῖος. p. 751. 11 τελετή.—ὁ δὲ Ὀρος ὁ Θηβαῖος λέγει κ. τ. λ.

3 Suidas p. 2793 A Ὀρος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, γραμματικός, παιδεύσας ἐν ΚΠ. Ἐγραψε περὶ διχρόνων, Ὅπως τὰ ἔθνικα λεκτέον [Steph. Byz. Νικίου κόμη Αἰγύπτου:—Ὀρος ἔθνικῶν πρώτῳ. Idem Ταῦτα:—Ὀρος ἐν δευτέρῳ περὶ ἔθνικῶν. Etymol. Magn. ἄστν p. 160. 9 οὕτως Ὀρίων περὶ ἔθνικῶν. Idem Δίνδυνον p. 276. 35 οὕτως Ὀρος ἐν τῷ περὶ ἔθνικῶν], Λύσεις προτάσεων τῶν Ἡρώδιανῶν, Πίνακα τῶν ἑαυτοῦ, Περὶ ἐγκλιτικῶν μορίων, Ὀρθογραφίαν κατὰ στοιχείων, Περὶ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου, Ὀρθογραφίαν περὶ τῆς αἰ διφθόγγου κατὰ Φρυνίχου κατὰ στοιχείων, Ἀνθολόγιον περὶ γνομῶν.

*Orion* of *Alexandria*, who probably lived in the reign of *Hadrian*, is a distinct person from *Orus* of *Alexandria*, who wrote after the time of *Herodian* and *Phrynichus*.

4 *Orion* or *Orus* of *Miletus*: Etymol. ἐνάδια p. 345. 6 οὕτως Ὀρίων ὁ Μιλήσιος. 315. 10 ἐγῶδα: ἐγὼ οἶδα. οὕτω Μιλήσιος ὁ Ὀρος. 414. 43 ζώτειον:—ὡς Ὀρος ὁ Μιλήσιος εἶρηκεν. p. 449. 49 θειάσας:—ὁ δὲ Μιλήσιος [sc. Ὀρος. conf. Gaisford. ad locum] παρὰ τῷ συγγραφεῖ ἐπιθειάσας [Thucyd. II. 75] θεοῦς ἐπικαλεσάμενος καὶ κατευξάμενος. p. 482. 24 Κάβαισος:—Ὀρος ὁ Μιλήσ. 551. 28 κῆρος:—ἀντὶ τοῦ καὶ οἶνος.—Ὀρος ὁ Μιλήσ. 621. 39 ἄλαι:—Ὀρος ὁ Μιλήσ. 48 ὀλιγαίμους. Ὀρος ὁ Μιλήσ. 622. 10 ἄλιτος:—Ὀρος ὁ Μιλήσ. 663. 48 περιδέρραιον:—ὁ δὲ Ὀρος ὁ Μιλήσιος διὰ τῆς αἰ διφθόγγου γράφει, καὶ δι' ἐνὸς ρ: φῶ μᾶλλον πειστέον. 691. 33 προῦργον:—οὕτως Ὀρος ὁ Μιλήσ. 710. 21 σειραῖνον: σημαίνει τὸ ξηραίνω, ὡς λέγει Ὀρος ὁ Μιλήσιος. 742. 2 σῶ μονοσύλλαβον οἱ σῶοι, καὶ παρὰ Θουκυδίδη.—λέγει δὲ Ὀρος ὁ Μιλήσιος ἔχειν τὸ ι προσγεγραμμένον ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ οἱ σῶοι οἱ σῶ, ὡς περὶ οἱ ζῶοι οἱ ζῶ. 753. 4 τερθρεία:—ὁ δὲ Ὀρος ὁ Μιλήσιος λέγει κ. τ. λ.

The work περὶ ἐτυμολογίας, which Suidas ascribes to *Orion* of *Alexandria*, is still extant and was really written by the *Theban Orion*. Quoted from the MS by Ruhnkenius ad Hesych. tom. 2 p. vii ad Timæi lexicon p. 217, and published by Sturz Lipsiæ 1820 bearing this title: Ὀρίωνος Θηβαίου γραμματικοῦ Καισαρείας περὶ ἐτυμολογιῶν. And at the end of the work

p. 172 τέλος τῶν ἐτυμολογιῶν Ὀρίωνος Θηβαίου γραμματικοῦ Καισαρείας. Schol. Hom. Π. κ. 290 Ὀρίων ἐν τῷ περὶ ἐτυμολογιῶν. sc. p. 161. 4. Etymol. Ἀβαρῖδα p. 2. 26 οὕτως Ὀρος ὁ Θηβαῖος ἐτυμολόγος.

The ὀρθογραφία, given by Suidas to the *Alexandrian Orus*, is assigned by Etymol. p. 816. 38 to the *Milesian*: Χῶ—ἀντὶ τοῦ καὶ οἰ—οὕτως εἶρον εἰς τὴν ὀρθογραφίαν Ὀρου τοῦ Μιλησίου. Steph. Byz. Ταίναρος:—Ὀρος δὲ φησιν ἐν τῇ ὀρθογραφίᾳ “Ταίναρον. πεδίον τῆς Λακωνικῆς, καὶ Ταυναρίται οἱ ἐν αὐτῷ.” Stephanus does not determine to which author it belongs. The ἀνθολόγιον περὶ γνομῶν, added by Suidas to the works of *Orus Alexandrinus*, is no other than the συναγωγή γνομῶν ἢ ἀνθολόγιον which belongs to the *Theban Orion*. Suidas seems to mention the same ἀνθολόγιον a third time among the works of *Orion* of *Alexandria*.

Fabricius B. G. tom. 6 p. 374 in addition to these four grammarians reckons the preceptor of *Proclus* as a distinct person from all. His account is this.

1 “*Orion* Thebanus cujus Anthologium ad Eudociam Suidas memorat.”

2 “*Orion* Alexandrinus cujus librum περὶ ἐτυμολογίας et elogium Hadriani Cæsaris, cujus forte temporibus vixit, Suidas commemorat.”

3 “*Orion* grammaticus junior Alexandrinus præceptor Procli philosophi. Marin. c. 8.”

4 “*Orion* vel *Orus* Milesius.”

5 “*Orus* Alexandrinus grammaticus, quem Suidas refert CP. docuisse.”

But the *Orion* of Marinus is not called an *Alexandrian*. He taught at that time at *Alexandria*, but he was τοῦ παρ' Αἰγυπτίους ἱερατικοῦ γένους καταγόμενος, which is consistent with the description *Θηβαῖος*. Marinus adds καὶ μετρίως τὰ τῆς τέχνης ἐπισκεμμένους οὕτως ὥστε καὶ συγγραμμάτια ἑαυτοῦ ἴδια ἐκπονήσαι καὶ τοῖς μεθ' ἑαυτὸν χρήσιμα καταλιπεῖν. The time of *Orion* the preceptor of *Proclus* A. D. 426—428 falls within the reign of *Eudocia* to whom the *Theban Orion* dedicated. Nor is it difficult to believe that he who had taught at *Alexandria* in 426—428 should afterwards teach at *Cæsarea*. It is probable then that the grammarian *Orion Thebanus* was the preceptor of *Proclus*.

<sup>v</sup> *Heron* apud Suidam l. c. who precedes is another *Heron*: Ἡρώων Κόντος Ἀθηναῖος, ῥήτωρ, τὰς ἐν Ἀθήναις δίκας γεγραφὼς, εἶτα Ἐξήγησεν Δεινάρχου, Ὑπομήματα εἰς Ἡρόδοτον Ξενοφῶντα Θουκυδίδη, Κεκρικμένων ὀνομάτων βιβλία γ', Ἐπιτομὴ τῶν Ἡρακλείδου ἱστοριῶν, Περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων ῥητόρων, καὶ τῶν λόγων οἱς ἐνίκησαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγωνιζόμενοι.

<sup>w</sup> Suidas p. 3463 C Συριανὸς Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, φιλόσοφος,



323 *Ammonianus grammaticus*. Damascius apud Suidam p. 248 C Ἀμμωνιανὸς γραμματικὸς, κοσμούμενος τῇ συγγενεῖα Συριανοῦ, καὶ ἅμα τῇ συμφύτῳ ὁμοιότητι τῶν τε ἡθῶν καὶ τοῦ σώματος.—

ἠγησάμενος τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις σχολῆς τε καὶ διατριβῆς, διδάσκαλος γενόμενος Πρόκλου, ὃς καὶ διάδοχος αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο. ἔγραψεν εἰς Ὅμηρον ὄλον ὑπόμνημα ἐν βιβλίοις ζ', εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν Πλάτωνος βιβλία δ', εἰς τὴν Ὀρφείως θεολογίαν βιβλία β', [εἰς τὰ Πρόκλου] Περί τῶν παρ' Ὀμήρῳ θεῶν, Συμφωνίαν Ὀρφείως Πυθαγόρου καὶ Πλάτωνος, Περί τὰ λόγια, βιβλία δέκα, καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ ἐξηγητικά. Eudocia p. 389 Συριανὸς Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, φιλόσοφος, ἔγραψεν κ. τ. λ. The words enclosed are with much reason omitted by Fabricius tom. 9 p. 358 as a spurious addition.

Among other works of *Syrianus* are the following.

*I Comment. in Platonem.*

1 *In lib. 10 de leg.* Simplicius ad Physic. Aristot. p. 144 b l. 25 τῶν μέντοι καὶ εἶδος ἔχειν αὐτὸ τιθεμένων καὶ δυνάμιν τῶν σωμάτων ὑπερτέρων ἔχειν λεγόντων Συριανὸν ἔγωγε θείην ἂν τὸν μέγαν τοῦ Δυκίου Πρόκλου καθηγημόνα, ὃς ἐν τοῖς εἰς τὸ δέκατον τῶν Πλάτωνος νόμων ὑπομνήμασι τοιαῦτα περὶ τοῦ τόπου γέγραφε κ. τ. λ.

2 *In Timæum.* Often quoted by Proclus in *Timæum*. *Syrianus* is not named by Proclus, but is called ὁ ἡμέτερος καθηγημῶν, as at p. 7 C. 24 D. 94 F. 96 B. 99 A. 150 A. 168 E. 171 F. 208 B. 224 E. 250 D. 287 B. 292 D. 301 E. 315 B. or ὁ ἡμέτερος διδάσκαλος, as at p. 47 D. 67 B. 74 A. 109 A. 134 C. 113 E. 190 A. 207 B. 310 E. 311 E. 324 D. or ὁ ἡμέτερος πατήρ: p. 218 C. 249 D.

3 *In Parmenidem*: Damascius περὶ ἀρχῶν c. 48 p. 128 l. 6 αὕτη μὲν ἡ ἀπόδειξις Συριανῶ τε καὶ Πρόκλου γέγραπται εἰς τὸν Παρμενίδην. Proclus in *Parmenidem* apud Cousin Procli Opp. tom. 4 p. 33 οἱ μὲν οὖν παλαῖοι περὶ τῆς τοῦ Παρμενίδου προθέσεως τοῦτον διέστησαν τὸν τρόπον ὅσα δὲ συνεισήγαγε τοῖς τούτων ἐπιστάσεσιν ὁ ἡμέτερος καθηγημῶν ἤδη λεκτέον. Idem tom. 6 p. 31 λοῖσθος ἀνὴρ ἄριστος ὁ τούτων ἡμῖν τῶν λόγων καθηγημῶν γενόμενος Ἀθήνησι, καὶ φῶς ἀνάψας νοερὸν τῆς περὶ ταῦτα πραγματείας. tom. 6 p. 93 εἰρήνη μὲν οὖν ὥσπερ καὶ ταῦτα ὀρθῶς ἔτι δὲ τελεώτερον ὁ ἡμέτερος καθηγημῶν ἔλυε τὴν ἔνστασιν λέγων κ. τ. λ. p. 98 πεισόμεθα δὲ τῷ ἡμέτερῳ καθηγημῶνί πᾶν γε σφόδρα, καὶ ἐν τούτοις εὐθυβόλως τὴν τοῦ Πλάτωνος τεθηρακτί διάνοιαν. p. 127 ἄμεινον οὖν, ὡς ὁ ἡμέτερος ὑφηγεῖται πατήρ, κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἐμφρονεστάτην καὶ ἀσφαλεστάτην ὁδὸν ταῦτα λέγει κ. τ. λ. p. 220 μήποτε οὖν ἄμεινον κἀνταῦθα τῆς τοῦ καθηγημῶνος ἡμῶν μεμνησθαι παραδόσεως. conf. p. 57. *Syrianus* is highly praised by Proclus in *Parmenid.* tom. 4 p. 4—τῆς—τοῦ Πλάτωνος μυστικωτάτης θεωρίας, ἣν ἐκφαίνει μὲν ἡμῖν αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ Παρμενίδῃ—ἀνήπλωσε δὲ ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ καθαρωτάταις ἐπιβολαῖς ὁ τῷ Πλάτῳ μὲν συμβαχεύσας—τῆς δὲ θεωρίας ἡμῖν γενόμενος ταύτης ἡγεμῶν καὶ τῶν θείων τούτων λόγων ὕψους ἱεροφάντης: ἃν ἐγὼ φαίην ἂν φιλοσοφίας τύπον εἰς ἀνθρώπους εἰσεῖν ἐπ' εὐεργεσίᾳ τῶν τῆδε ψυχῶν—καὶ σωτηρίας ἀρχηγὸν τοῖς γε νῦν οὖσιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ τοῖς εἰσαῦθις γειήσομένοις.

*II Comment. in Aristotelem.*

1 *In περὶ ἐρμηνείας.* Boethius II p. 287 apud Schol. Aristot. Berolin. p. 99 b l. 47 *Syrianus* vero, cui *Phi-*

*loxenus cognomen est, hoc loco quaerit cur proponens prius de negatione post de affirmatione pronuntiauerit.* Buhle Aristot. tom. 1 p. 313 “*Commentarius ejus, —sæpe citatus a Boethio p. 295. 352, nunc deperditus est.*”

2 *In Categorias.* Simplicius ad *Categor.* apud Schol. Berolin. p. 42 b l. 45 ἠκολούθησε δὲ καὶ τῇ Ἰαμβλίχου γραφῇ ὁ Συριανός. p. 49 a l. 13 λύει τοῦτο Συριανὸς λέγων ὅτι ὑπὸ τὸ κείσθαι ἀνίγεται τὸ ἔχσθαι, ἔχουεν δὲ μίαν κατηγορίαν τὸ κείσθαι. p. 51 b l. 24 ἀπορεῖ δὲ Συριανὸς οὕτως λέγων κ. τ. λ. p. 54 b l. 18—28 ὁ δὲ Συριανὸς ἐπικρίνας πλέον φησὶν “οὐδὲ κατὰ τὴν ποιότητα μάχονται” κ. τ. λ.—Τρίτη ἀπορία, εἰ τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ τὸ ἧττον οὐκ ἐπιδέχεται ἡ οὐσία, πῶς ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῷ περὶ Γενέσεως καὶ Φθορᾶς λέγει τὸν ἄερα ἧττον θερμὸν ὡς πρὸς πῦρ, οὐσία δὲ ταῦτα; καὶ λύει ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος λέγων “Οὐ καθὸ οὐσία τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ τὸ ἧττον ἐπιδέχονται ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν ποιότητα.” ὁ δὲ Συριανός, ὅτι οὐδὲ κατὰ τὰς ποιότητας τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ τὸ ἧττον ἐπιδέχονται, εἰάν οὐσιώδεις ληφθῶσιν, κ. τ. λ. p. 65 b l. 38 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐξηγηταῖς τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους δοκεῖ ὁ δὲ κριτικώτατος Συριανός κ. τ. λ. p. 68 b l. 40 ταῦτα μὲν οὗτοι ὁ δὲ Συριανός—ἀμφότερα ἀποδέχεται τὰ ἐπιχειρήματα. David apud Schol. Berolin. p. 66 a l. 17 ὁ μὲν διακριτικώτατος Συριανός, ὅτι οὐδὲν διαφέρει ἡ πρώτη ὑπογραφή τῆς δευτέρας κ. τ. λ.

3 *In Aristot. de Cælo.* Simplicius de *Cælo* p. 1 a l. 24 Συριανὸς δὲ ὁ μέγας καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτὸν ἠκολουθηκότες αὐτῷ περὶ τοῦ καλουμένου κυρίως οὐρανοῦ—τὴν πραγματείαν εἶναι φασί. p. 96 b l. penult. ἔπειτα ὡς ὁ μέγας Συριανὸς προστίθησιν ὅτι τὴν πράξιν τοῦ θείου κόσμου ἀθανασίαν φησὶν κ. τ. λ. p. 173 a l. 53 τῷ σοφωτάτῳ Συριανῷ δοκοῦντα εἰρήσθω. (sic apud Schol. Berolin. p. 517 b l. 16.)

4 *In Aristot. Phys. Ausc.* Simplicius *Phys.* p. 42 a l. 15 ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν μέγας Συριανός “Μήποτε” φησὶ “γένος μὲν τὴν κατηγορίαν λέγει.” p. 46 b l. 43 οὕτω μὲν οὖν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ ἔοικε καὶ Συριανὸς ὁ μέγας τὴν τοιαύτην ἐξήγησιν ἀποδέξασθαι. p. 53 a l. 32 ὁ δὲ μέγας Συριανός τῶν εἰρημένων ἕνα ἀναίρειν φησὶν αὐτοὺς διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν. p. 59 a l. 42 ἐφιστάνει δὲ ὁ μέγας Συριανός ὅτι ὁ ἀποδοθεὶς οὗτος τῆς φύσεως ὀρισμὸς πᾶσι σχεδὸν ἀρμόττει κ. τ. λ. p. 147 a l. 17 ἴδωμεν ὅπως καὶ τὴν ἀπορίαν τίθησιν ὁ φιλόσοφος Συριανός καὶ τὴν λύσιν ἐπάγει γράφων οὕτως. κ. τ. λ. p. 148 b l. 27 ὁ γοῦν φιλόσοφος Συριανός “Τὸν ταῦτα” φησὶ “διαποροῦντα παρακαλέσομεν πρὸς τὴν διάνοιαν τῶν πρῶτον ὀρίων” κ. τ. λ. p. 149 a l. 39 ὁ δὲ ἐν πλάτει, ὡς καὶ Συριανὸς ἔλεγε, καθ' ὃν καὶ ἡ κατὰ τόπον γίνεται κίνησις, κ. τ. λ. Schol. Berolin. in *Aristot. Phys. Ausc.* p. 343 b l. 3 Συριανοῦ. ἐπειδὴ γένεσιν ἀναίρουσι, δι' αὐτὴν καὶ τὴν ὄλην καὶ τὴν στέρησιν συναναίρουσιν, ἅπερ δὲ ἕνα τῶν εἰρημένων ἀρχῶν εἰσὶν διὰ γὰρ τὴν ἀπορίαν ἀναίρουντες τὴν γένεσιν προϋπάρχειν λέγουσι τὰ ὄντα ἢ τὸ ὄν ἐν εἶναι. In these remarks upon the φυσικαὶ ἀκρόσεις, or upon parts at least of that treatise, *Syrianus* seems to have had in view to criticise *Aristotle* and to vindicate the opinions of *Plato*.



τό τε γὰρ σῶμα καλός τε καὶ μέγας ἦν ἐκάτερος· ἔτι προσῆν ὑγιεία καὶ ἰσχύς οὐδὲν ἀποδέουσα τῆς ἄλλης εὐφύτας τοῦ τε ὄλου καὶ τῶν μερῶν. ἢ τε ψυχῇ ἔρρωτο πρὸς τὸ βέλτιστον αὐτοῖς τὸ ὁμοίωτροπον. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν θεοφιλέστερος ἦν ὁ Συριανὸς καὶ τῷ ὄντι φιλόσοφος· ὁ δὲ ἡγάπα τὴν ἐπὶ ποιητῶν ἐξηγήσει καὶ διορθώσει τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς λέξεως καθημένην τέχνην<sup>x</sup>.

324 *Domninus*. The disciple of *Syrianus*. Suidas p. 1042 D Δομνίνος φιλόσοφος, Σύρος τὸ γένος, ἀπὸ τε Λαοδικεῶν καὶ Λαρίσης πόλεως Συρίας, μαθητὴς Συριανοῦ καὶ τοῦ Πρόκλου συμφοιτητῆς, ὡς φησὶ Δαμάσκιος<sup>y</sup>. Marinus in Vita Procli c. 26 p. 20 τοιαύταις μὲν ἀρεταῖς συνεβίω [sc. *Proclus*] ἔτι συσχολάζων τῷ φιλοσόφῳ Συριανῷ, καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀρχαιοτέρων ἐπεξίων πραγματείας· τῆς δὲ Ὀρφικῆς καὶ Χαλδαϊκῆς θεολογίας στοιχεῖα ἅττα καὶ οἰονεὶ σπέρματα παρὰ τοῦ διδασκάλου λαβὼν διὰ τὸ μὴ φθῆναι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι [sc. *Orpheū*] αὐτῷ συγγενέσθαι (προέθετο μὲν γὰρ ἐξηγήσασθαι αὐτῷ τε καὶ τῷ ἐκ τῆς Συρίας φιλοσόφῳ καὶ διαδόχῳ Δομνίνῳ θάτερα τούτων, ἦτοι τὰ Ὀρφείως ἢ τὰ λόγια, καὶ ἀρῆσειν αὐτοῖς προὔτεινε τῶν ἐτέρων<sup>z</sup>) ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐ συνήχθησαν, οὐδὲ τὰ αὐτὰ εἶλοντο ἀμφοτέροι, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος μὲν [sc. *Domninus*] τὰ Ὀρφείως, ὁ δὲ ἡμέτερος τὰ λόγια—<sup>z</sup>), λαβὼν δ' οὖν—παρὰ τοῦ καθηγεμόνος τὰς ἀφορμὰς, καὶ μετ' ἐκεῖνον τοῖς τε εἰς Ὀρφεία αὐτοῦ

5 In *Metaphys.* Fabricius B. G. tom. 9 p. 359 “Latine tantum lucem viderunt *Syriani* commentarii in libb. III. XIII. XIV. [Gr. II. XII. XIII.] *Metaphysicorum Aristotelis*, in quibus—*Platonem* suum defendit. Prodiere ex Hieronymi Bagolini interpretatione Venetiis 1558. 4<sup>o</sup>. Græce nondum videntur lucem, licet exstent MSS. in variis bibliothecis Italiae et Galliae.” A MS. quoted by Fabricius l. c. has this title: Συριανοῦ τοῦ Φιλοξένου περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ β' τῆς μετὰ τὰ φυσικὰ Ἀριστοτέλους πραγματείας λογικῶς ἠπορημένων καὶ διαίτης ἡξιωμένων. et ejusdem ἐπίσκεψις τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους ἀποριῶν πρὸς τὰ μαθήματα καὶ τοὺς ἀριθμούς τῶν ἐν τῷ μ' καὶ ν' τῆς μετὰ τὰ φυσικὰ πραγματείας. Some original Greek passages of *Syrianus* are published in “*Scholia in Aristotelem*, collegit Ch. A. Brandis 4to Berolini 1836.” And many additional passages not given in the former edition are inserted in “*Scholia Græca in Aristotelis Metaphysica*, Brandis 8vo Berolini 1837.”

III *Commentarii in Aphthonium et Hermogenem*. Aldi præfatio ad *Rhetorum* tom. 2 Marco Musuro: “Dedicamus tibi hos *Syriani*, *Sopatri*, *Marcellini* in *Hermogenis Rhetorica* et *Aphthonii progymnasmata* commentarios.” Inscriptio codicis apud Fabricium tom. 6 p. 70: συναγωγή τῶν ἀναγκασιότατων ἐξηγήσεων εἰς τὴν ῥητορικὴν τῶν ἀποδοθειῶν ὑπὸ τε Χριστιανῶν ἐξηγητῶν καὶ Ἑλλήνων.—Ἑλληνας δὲ Σιμπλίκιος, Λογγίνος, Συριανὸς, Ἰάμβλιχος. *Syrianus* is quoted by Soperater ad *Hermog.* περὶ στάσι. apud Aldum p. 200 l. 23 ὁ συλλογισμὸς, ὡς καὶ Συριανῷ δοκεῖ, κοινὸν ἐστὶ κεφάλαιον.

IV *Hymnus in Achillem*. See *Zosimus* IV. 18, 7 quoted in the *Tables* p. 617.

V In *Ptolemæi* μεγάλῃν σύνταξιν. See below, under *Jo. Philoronus* N<sup>o</sup> 381 Works n. 17.

<sup>x</sup> Conf. Kuster. ad *Suidam* l. c. *Photius* Cod. 242 p. 1040 retains the last sentence, ἡγάπα—τέχνην, and the tale of Ἀμμωνιανῷ ὄνος.

<sup>y</sup> *Suidas* adds from *Damascius* ἐν μὲν τοῖς μαθήμασι κανὸς ἀνήρ, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις φιλοσοφίμασι ἐπιπολαώτερος. Then follows a long narrative concerning *Plu-*

*tarchus Nestorii* and *Domninus*. Then is subjoined p. 1043 D also from *Damascius* τούτῳ οὖν [sc. *Domnino*] ἤδη γεγρακῆτι νεώτερος ὢν ἐντυχύνει ὁ Ἀσκληπιάδης λέγεται. *Asclepiades* with *Heraiscus* is mentioned by *Damascius* apud *Photium* Cod. 242 p. 1048 ὁ δὲ τὸν Αἰγαῖον διαπεραιωθεὶς ὁ Ἰσιδώρος καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ Ἀσκληπιάδης ἔφρασκεν ἑωρακεῖν πλόκαμον ἐν τῷ Νεῖλῳ ποταμῷ κ. τ. λ. p. 1049 ἐνῆν τῇ τοῦ Ἡραίσκου τοῦ φιλοσόφου φύσει καὶ τὸς μολυσμοὺς τῆς γενέσεως ἀναυόμενον.—ἀποθανόντι δὲ ἐπειδὴ τὰ νομιζόμενα τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ὁ Ἀσκληπιάδης ἀποδιδόναι παρεσκευάζετο, τὰ τε ἄλλα κ. τ. λ.—λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὁ Πρόκλος ἑαυτοῦ ἀμείνω τὸν Ἡραίσκον ὁμολογεῖν· ἃ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἤδει καὶ ἐκεῖνον εἰδέναι, ἃ δὲ Ἡραίσκος, οὐκέτι Πρόκλον. *Damascius* apud *Suidam* p. 1682 C Ἡραίσκος. ὅτι τὴν μὲν φύσιν θεοειδέστερος ἦν Ἡραίσκος, ὁ δὲ τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν σοφίαν δαημονέστερος [sic lege cum *Kustero*] ὁ Ἀσκληπιάδης, ἅτε τοσοῦτον χρόνον αὐτὸς μὲν τῇ Αἰγυπτίαν προσδιδασκίαν, ἐκεῖνος δὲ, ἀποδημῶν.—ὁ μὲν δὲ Ἡραίσκος αὐτοφύης ἐγένετο διαγνώμων τῶν τε ζώοντων καὶ τῶν μὴ ζώοντων ἱερῶν ἀγαλμάτων.—ὁ δὲ Ἀσκληπιάδης ἐπιπλεῖον ἐν τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις βιβλίοις ἀνατραφεὶς ἀκριβέστερος ἦν ἀμφὶ θεολογίαν τὴν πάτριον, ἀρχὰς τε αὐτῆς καὶ μέσα διεσκεμμένος—ὡς ἔξεστιν εἰδέναι σαφῶς ἀπὸ τε τῶν ὕμνων ὧν συγγράφειν εἰς τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους θεοὺς, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πραγματείας ἣν ὠρμησε γράφειν περιέχουσαν τῶν θεολογιῶν ἀπασῶν τὴν συμφωνίαν. καὶ συγγραφὴν δὲ ἔγραψεν, Αἰγυπτίῳ ἀγγυλίῳ πράγματα περιέχουσαν οὐκ ἑλαττόνων ἐτῶν ἢ τριῶν μυριάδων, ἀλλὰ πλείωνων ὀλίγων. *Damascius* ipse περὶ ἀρχῶν c. 125 p. 385 οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι καθ' ἡμᾶς φιλόσοφοι γεγονότες ἐξήνεγκαν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν κεκρυμμένην εὐρόντες ἐν Αἰγυπτίοις δὴ τισὶ λόγοις.—τὰς δὲ δύο ἀρχὰς ὕδωρ καὶ ψάμμον, ὡς Ἡραίσκος· ὡς δὲ ὁ πρεσβύτερος αὐτὸς Ἀσκληπιάδης, ψάμμον καὶ ὕδωρ, ἐξ ὧν καὶ μεθ' ἃς γεννηθῆναι τὸν πρῶτον *Καμηφίν*. εἶτα τὸν δεύτερον ἀπὸ τούτου· εἶτα καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τὸν τρίτον.—οὕτω μὲν Ἀσκληπιάδης· ὁ δὲ νεώτερος Ἡραίσκος τὸν τρίτον ὀνομασθέντα *Καμηφίν*—τὸν ἥλιον εἶναι φησὶν αὐτὸν δῆπου τὸν νοῦν τὸν νοητὸν κ. τ. λ.

<sup>z</sup> See the works of *Syrianus* in *Suidas* quoted above, N<sup>o</sup> 322.



ὑπομνήμασιν ἐπιμελῶς ἐντυγχάνων, καὶ τοῖς Πορφυρίου καὶ Ἰαμβλίχου μυρίοις ὕσοις εἰς τὰ λόγια καὶ τὰ σύστοιχα τῶν Χαλδαίων συγγράμματα,—ἐπὶ τὰς ἀκροτάτας τῶν ἀρετῶν—ἀνέδραμεν.

- 325 *Zosimus*. End of his History in A. D. 410: Tables p. 577. Account of his time. Tables A. D. 432.<sup>a</sup>
- 326 *Lachares sophista*. Tables A. D. 429. See N<sup>o</sup> 327 b.
- 327 *Superianus*. Tables A. D. 429 p. 613.<sup>b</sup>
- 328 { *Eustephius*. } The disciples of *Lachares*. Tables 429.  
       { *Asterius*. }
- 329 *Nicolaus*. The disciple of *Lachares*, known to *Proclus*. Tables A. D. 429 p. 613. Lived to the reign of *Anastasius*. Tables A. D. 492 p. 709.
- 330 *Dioscorides grammaticus*. Brother of *Lachares* the sophist. Tables A. D. 429 p. 613.
- 331 *Hierocles*. The disciple of *Plutarchus Nestorii*: Tables A. D. 431 p. 615.<sup>c</sup>
- 332 *Joannes Stobæus*. *John* of *Stobi* in Macedonia lived after *Hierocles*, whom he quotes<sup>d</sup>; and

<sup>a</sup> Zosimus V. 5, 9 marks the ruin of Greece μέχρι τοῦ νῦν. For errors in his history see above p. 103 p. 129.

<sup>b</sup> Suidas p. 3362 A gives a fragment of Damascius, of which Photius has given an abstract: Σουπεριανὸς σοφιστῆς, τὸ γένος Ἰσαύρος, τῆς Λαχάρου διατριβῆς. ἐγένετο δὲ οὗτος ὁ Σουπεριανὸς ὀφθαλμῆς μὲν ἰκανῶς καὶ τὴν φύσιν ὑπονωθέστερος, οὕτω δὲ ἐπίπονος καὶ σπουδαῖος ὥστε πλειόνων ἢ Χ' ἐπὼν ἀρξάμενον ἀναγινώσκειν τὰ τῶν ῥητόρων βιβλία καὶ (ἀπλῶς φάναι) λόγους ἐλευθέρως προσέχειν τὴν διάνοιαν, ἑαυτὸν ἀπαιτεῖν πρὸς ἀνάγκης οὐδὲ ἐπιτιμήσεων οὐδὲ μαστίγων φειδόμενον κ. τ. λ.—οὐκ οὐδὲ διήμαρτεν ἐλπίδος, ἀλλὰ μικρὸν ὕστερον ἐν ταῖς λιπαραῖς καὶ αἰδιμίαις Ἀθηναῖς ἀηγορεύετο σοφιστῆς, οὐ πᾶν τῆς Λαχάρου δόξης ἀπολειπόμενος. οἶδα γὰρ καὶ Λαχάρην γεγονότα σοφιστὴν ἐξ ἐπιμελείας τὸ πλέον ἢ φύσεως' ἐνέτυχον γὰρ αὐτοῦ λόγους, καὶ μοι ἔδοξεν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου εἰκάσοντί μοι τὴν πρώτην ἐπιμελῆς μὲν εἶναι σφόδρα τὴν δὲ φύσιν ἀγεννέστερος. εἶδον δὲ καὶ εἰκόνα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀντικρυς ἀπαγγέλλουσαν οἷος ἦν Λαχάρης τὴν φύσιν ὅτι βραδύτερος μὲν πρὸς τοὺς λόγους καλὸς δὲ καὶ ἀγαθὸς τὴν ὄψιν πρὸς ἀρετὴν, φιλόσοφος ἄξιος καλεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ σοφιστῆς' ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄλλως θεοφιλῆς ἀνὴρ ἦν ὁ Λαχάρης. ὅς γε τὰς ὄψεις ἀποβαλὼν πάλιν ἀνεκτίσαστο. Idem p. 2496 D Μητροφάνης ἕγγονος Λαχάρου.—κατὰ τοῦτου τοῦ Μητροφάνους ἔγραψε λόγον Σουπεριανὸς ὁ σοφιστῆς.

<sup>c</sup> Phot. Cod. 214 ἀνεγνώσθη βιβλίον Ἱεροκλέους περὶ προνοίας καὶ εἰμαρμένης καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἐφ' ἡμῖν πρὸς τὴν θείαν ἡγεμονίαν συντάξεως κ. τ. λ. Conf. Cod. 251 ἀνεγνώσθη Ἱεροκλέους ὁ περὶ προνοίας κ. τ. λ. Hierocles mentions p. 549 *Ammonius*: ἡ Ἀμμωνίου σοφία διελαμψεν, ὃν καὶ θεοδίδακτον ἐπικαλεῖσθαι ἱκνεῖ κ. τ. λ. not *Ammonius Hermeæ* but *Ammonius Saccas* the preceptor of *Plotinus*. See Cod. 214 p. 553 Cod. 251 p. 1381 quoted in the Tables at A. D. 244. He also mentions Cod. 214 p. 552 Cod. 251 p. 1381 *Alexander* of *Aphrodisias*, and Cod. 214 p. 553 his own teacher *Plutarchus*. See the Tables A. D. 431. Bekker in *Index* ad Photium v. *Ammonius* and Harles ad *Fabricium* B. G. tom. 3 p. 161 erroneously suppose *Ammonius* men-

tioned by *Hierocles* to be *Ammonius Hermeæ* the disciple of *Proclus*.

*Hierocles* is named by *Damascius* apud Photium Cod. 242 p. 1036 τῶν δὲ νεωτέρων Ἱεροκλέα. p. 1037 Ἱεροκλῆς ὁ τὰς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ διατριβὰς ὑψηλοφροσύνη καὶ μεγαλῆγορία κοσμήσας κ. τ. λ.—οὗτος ποτε τὸν Πλάτωνος Γοργίαν τοῖς ἐταίροις ἐξηγήτο' εἰς δὲ τις τῶν ἀκρατῶν Θεοσέβιος ἀπεγράψατο τὴν ἐξηγήσιν κ. τ. λ. Suidas p. 1738 ex Damascio: ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ μαθητῆς Θεοσέβιος, ἀνὴρ, εἶπερ τις ἕτερος ὢν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν, εἰσῶθς ἀποβλέπειν εἰς τὰς ἀνθρώπων ψυχὰς. ἔλεγε δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς Θεοσέβιος ἐξηγούμενον φάναι ποτὲ τὸν Ἱεροκλέα κ. τ. λ. *Hierocles* therefore had been taught by *Plutarchus Nestorii* who died A. D. 431, and the disciple of *Hierocles* conversed with *Damascius*. Of *Hierocles* Suidas relates p. 1738 D—1740 A also from *Damascius* Ἱεροκλῆς φιλόσοφος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς.—τοῦ δὲ Ἱεροκλέους τὸ ἀνδρεῖον καὶ μεγαλόθυμον ἦθος ἀπέδειξεν ἡ συμβάσα τύχη περὶ αὐτόν. εἰς γὰρ τὸ Βυζάντιον ἀνελθὼν προσέκρουσε τοῖς κρατοῦσι, καὶ εἰς δικαστήριον ἀχθεῖς ἐτύπτετο τὰς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων πληγὰς κ. τ. λ.—φυγὴν δὲ κατακριθεὶς καὶ ἐπανελθὼν χρόνῳ ὕστερον εἰς Ἀλεξανδρείαν συνεφιλοσόφει τὰ εἰσῶθτα τοῖς πλησιάζουσιν. Suidas adds ἔξεστι δὲ μαθεῖν τὴν Ἱεροκλέους μεγαλογνώμονα φρόνησιν ἀπὸ τῶν συγγραμμάτων ὃν γέγραφεν εἰς τὰ χρυσᾶ ἔπη τῶν Πυθαγορείων, καὶ ἑτέρων βιβλίων Περὶ Προνοίας συχνῶν, ἐν οἷς φαίνεται ὁ ἀνὴρ τὴν μὲν ζωὴν ὑψηλόφρων τὴν δὲ γνώσιν οὐκ ἀκριβῆς. For fragments of his works see N<sup>o</sup> 332 note d.

<sup>d</sup> Stobæus Serm. 8, 19 Ἱεροκλέους ἐκ τοῦ Περὶ δικαιοσύνης. Serm. 39, 34—36 Ἱεροκλέους ἐκ τοῦ Πῶς πατριδί χρηστῆον. 67, 21—24 Ἱερ. ἐκ τοῦ Περὶ γάμου. 75, 14 Ἱεροκλέους. “Ἐν δὲ τῷ περὶ τοῦ γάμου καὶ τῆς παιδοποιίας τόπῳ θετέος ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ τῆς πολυτεκνίας λόγος” κ. τ. λ. 79, 53 Ἱεροκλέους ἐκ τοῦ Πῶς χρηστῆον τοῖς γονεῦσιν. 84, 20 Ἱερ. ἐκ τοῦ Περὶ φιλαδελφίας. 84, 23 Ἱερ. ἐκ τοῦ Εἰ συγγενεῖα χρηστῆον. 85, 21 Ἱερ. ἐκ τοῦ Οἰκονομικοῦ. Eclog. I. 4, 53 p. 136 Ἱεροκλέους ἐκ τοῦ Τίνα τρόπον θεοῖς χρηστῆον. 54 p. 138 ἐν ταυτῷ. II. 9, 7 p. 420 Ἱεροκλέους ἐκ τῶν Τίνα τρόπον θεοῖς χρηστῆον.

in the opinion of Heeren not long after him<sup>e</sup>. Suidas p. 1790 A Ἰωάννης ὁ ἐπονομαζόμενος Στοβεύς. Ἀνθολόγιον περιέχον τὰς παρὰ πᾶσι πολλῶν δόξας ἐν βιβλίῳ δ', ἐνάρετα πάντ' καὶ γέμοντα πάσης παιδεύσεως. γράφει δὲ τὰτα πρὸς Ἐπίμιον υἱὸν αὐτοῦ. Photius Cod. 167 ἀνεγνώσθη Ἰωάννου Στοβαίου ἐκλογῶν, ἀποφθεγμάτων, ὑποθηκῶν, βιβλία τέσσαρα ἐν τεύχεσι δυοῖ. προσφωνεῖ δὲ τὰτα, δι' ὃν καὶ τὴν συνάθροισιν φιλοποιήσαι λέγει, Σεπτίμῳ ἰδίῳ υἱῷ.

333 *Hyperechius grammaticus*. Tables A. D. 453.

334 *Proclus*<sup>f</sup>. Born A. D. 410: Tables p. 577. His preceptors at Alexandria: Tables A. D. 426. At Athens in 429: p. 611. 613. Still at Athens in 437: Ibid. p. 621. His death in April 485: Tables p. 699. 701. Suidas p. 3096 D Πρόκλος ὁ Λύκιος, μαθητὴς Συριανοῦ, ἀκουστῆς δὲ καὶ Πλουτάρχου τοῦ Νεστορίου τοῦ φιλοσόφου, καὶ αὐτὸς φιλόσοφος Πλατωνικός. οὗτος προέστη τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις φιλοσόφου σχολῆς· καὶ αὐτοῦ μαθητὴς καὶ διάδοχος χρηματίζει Μαρίνος ὁ Νεαπολίτης· ἔγραψε πάντ' πολλὰ φιλοσοφὰ τε καὶ γραμματικά, κ. τ. λ. Damascius

<sup>e</sup> Heeren Comm. de font. &c. tom. 2 p. 138 thinks "Stobæi ætatem in secundam seculi quinti partem inter A. D. 450—500 ponendam esse."

<sup>f</sup> Lobeck Aglaopham. p. 115 writes the name *Proculus*, because in Latin it was *Proculus*, derived from *procul*. But *Proclus* in Latin was written Πρόκλος in Greek. Thus *Proculus* in Cod. Theodos. is Πρόκλος in Zosimus IV. 45, 2, which Reitemeier ad locum p. 368 does not understand. *Proculus* in Liv. I. 16 is Πρόκλος in Plutarch. Romulo c. 28. By a similar change *Scapula* is Σκάππας in Appian. Civ. II. 105, Λέιπλος is used for *Lentulus* in Polyb. 31. 23, 9. 32. 1, 4. 32. 26, 1 Plutarch Crasso c. 9 Pomp. c. 80 Cic. c. 17 Appian. Civ. I. 40. 72. II. 2. 3. 4. 5. 33. 76. Κάτλος for *Catulus* in Plutarch Mario c. 14. 44 Sulla c. 4. 34 Pomp. c. 15. 25 Cic. c. 29 Appian. Civ. I. 74. 105. 107. Πρόκλος then was the usual Greek form; and as the philosopher conversed in Greek and dwelt at Athens he was probably never called *Proculus*, and, as we are here representing his Greek name, it seems proper to write *Proclus*.

<sup>g</sup> The works of *Proclus* are described by Fabricius B. G. tom. 9 p. 373—445. In the following list another arrangement has been adopted.

#### I In Platonem.

1 εἰς τὴν Πλάτωνος θεολογίαν βιβλία ἕξ. Hamburgi 1618 fol.

2 εἰς τὸν Τίμαιον ὑπομνημάτων βιβλία πέντε. Schneider Vratislaviæ 1847, 8° pp. 849.

3 εἰς τὸν πρῶτον Ἀλκιβιάδην. Creuzer Francof. ad Mœnum 1820. 8° pp. 339.

4 εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν. Basileæ 1534 fol. p. 349—433 ad calcem comm. in Timæum. Suidas p. 3096 D Eudocia p. 366 εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν Πλάτωνος βιβλία τέσσαρα.

5 εἰς τὸν Παρμενίδην. Stalbaum Lipsiæ 1841, 8°. Cousin inter Procli Opp. tom. 4 p. 3—224 tom. 5 p. 3—330 tom. 6 p. 3—253.

6 εἰς τὸν Κρατύλον. ἐκ τῶν Πρόκλου σχολίων εἰς τὸν Κρατύλον Πλάτωνος ἐκλογαὶ χρήσιμοι. Hæc excerpta e codd. edidit Boissonade 8°. Lips. 1820 pp. 119.

7 εἰς τὸν Φαῖδωνα. Marinus V. Procli c. 12 προῦτρεπε δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ μέγας [sc. Plutarchus A. D. 429: Tables A. D. 429. 431 p. 611. 615] καὶ ἀπογράφει τὰ λεγόμενα, τῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ τοῦ νέου ὀργάνῳ χρώμενος καὶ φάσκων ὅτι, συμπληρωθέντων αὐτῷ τῶν σχολίων, ἔσται καὶ Πρόκλου ὑπομνήματα φερόμενα εἰς τὸν Φαῖδωνα.

8 εἰς τὸν Φίλησον. Attested by Damascius apud Photium Cod. 242 p. 1036 Suidam p. 2400 A B v. Μαρίνος: Μαρίνος—ὑπόμνημα πολύστιχον εἰς Φίλησον συντάξας—τῷ Ἰσιδώρῳ ἐντυχεῖν τε—καὶ ἐπικρίναι κελεύει—ὁ δὲ ἀναγνοὺς ἐπιμελῶς—ποσοῦτον ἔφη μόνον "Ἰκανὰ εἶναι τὰ τοῦ διδασκάλου [sc. Procli] ὑπομνήματα εἰς τὸν διάλογον."

9 εἰς τὸν Φαῖδρον. Proclus in Timæum p. 329 D E δέδεκται ἡμῖν ἐν ταῖς εἰς Φαῖδρον συνοουσίαις.—ληπτέον ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς Φαῖδρον εἰρημένων.

10 *Pro Platone adversus Aristotelem*. Proclus in Timæum p. 226 D καὶ γὰρ βίβλον ἰδίᾳ ἐκδεδικώς οἶδα τῶν πρὸς τὸν Τίμαιον Ἀριστοτέλους ἀντιρρήσεων ἐπισκέψεις ποιουμένην.

11 εἰς τὸν Θεαίτητον. Proclus in Timæum p. 78 C εἴρηται γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐν τοῖς εἰς Θεαίτητον διὰ πλειόνων περὶ τούτων σαφέστερον. Marinus V. Procli c. 38 p. 94 = p. 30 ἤρεσκετο δὲ [sc. Proclus] πάντ' καὶ τοῖς εἰς Θεαίτητον (ὑπομνήμασι).

12 καθαριστὸς τῶν δογμάτων τοῦ Πλάτωνος. Suidas Δομνίνος p. 1043 A εὐθύνας [sc. Domninus] τῷ Πρόκλῳ δέδωκε γράψαντι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὄλην πραγματείαν Καθαριστὴν, ὡς φησιν ἡ ἐπιγραφή, τῶν δογμάτων τοῦ Πλάτωνος.

#### II Mathematica et astronomica.

13 ὑποτύποισι τῶν ἀστρονομικῶν ὑποθέσεων. Basileæ 1540. 4°.

14 σφαῖρα. Venetiis 1499 apud Aldum.

15 παράφρασις εἰς τὴν τοῦ Πτολεμαίου τετράβιβλον. Edidit Philippus Melancthon Basileæ 1554. 8°.

16 εἰς τὸ πρῶτον τῶν Εὐκλείδου στοιχείων βιβλία τέσσαρα. Ad calcem Euclidis Basileæ 1533 fol.

17 "Commentarius in Ptolemæi harmonica. 96 capitibus constans MS. in bibliotheca Palatina." Fabric. tom. 9 p. 426.

18 "Scriptum astrologicum de effectibus eclipsium



apud Photium Cod. 242 p. 1033 Ἰσίδωρος—τῶν μὲν παλαίτατα φιλοσοφησάντων Πυθαγόρα καὶ Πλάτωνα θειάζει,—τῶν νεωστὶ δὲ Πορφύριον καὶ Ἰάμβλιχον καὶ Συριανὸν καὶ Πρόκλον.

*solis et lunæ juxta singulas signorum triplicitates et decanos Latine subjicitur tabulis astrologicis excusis Viennæ Austriæ 1551. 8°.* Fabric. tom. 9 p. 424.

### III Philologica.

19 ὑπόμνημα εἰς τὰ Ἡσιόδου ἔργα καὶ ἡμέρας. Suid. p. 3096 C Eudocia p. 366. Tzetzes apud Gaisford Poet. min. tom. 3 p. 9 ὁ μὲν σόφος Πρόκλος ἐπεξηγουμένος τὴν παρούσαν βίβλον τῶν ἔργων καὶ ἡμερῶν τοῦ Ἡσιόδου οὐδὲν γενναῖον καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου σοφίας ἀρμόδιον οὐδὲ ἀξίον ἐξηγήσεως ἐξεργάσατο. The *prolegomena* of Proclus are extant Ibid. p. 3—8, the *scholia* of Proclus are given with those of Tzetzes and Moschopolus p. 21—368.

20 περὶ χρηστομαθείας βιβλία τρία. Suidas p. 3096 C Eudocia p. 366. Photius Cod. 239 ἀνεγνώσθησαν ἐκ τῆς Πρόκλου χρηστομαθείας γραμματικῆς ἐκλογαί. ἔστι δὲ τὸ βιβλίον εἰς ὄκτω διηρημένον λόγους. καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ α' λέγει ὡς αἱ αὐταὶ εἰσὶν ἀρεταὶ λόγου καὶ ποιήματος κ.τ.λ. p. 992 οἱ μὲν δύο λόγοι τῆς Πρόκλου γραμματικῆς χρηστομαθείας ἐν τούτοις. Large and valuable fragments of this work are published by Professor Gaisford ad calcem He-phæstionis Oxon. 1810 p. 465—489.

Fabricius tom. 9 p. 417 and Harles Introd. in historiam linguæ Græcæ tom. II. I p. 380 ascribe the *chrestomathia* to Proclus *diadochus*. But Harles observes p. 381 "Valesius de critica c. 20 p. 168 ex commentariis Alexandri Aphrodisiensis in Aristotelis elenchos, ubi testimonio utitur—Procli in *Chrestomathia*, colligendum esse existimat libros *γραμματικῆς χρηστομαθείας* fuisse alterius Procli longe antiquioris." The words of Valesius are "Quod vero Suidas *γραμματικῆς χρηστομαθείας* libros eidem Proclo philosopho tribuit, in eo, mea quidem sententia, graviter labitur. Sunt enim alterius Procli longe antiquioris, ut didici ex commentariis Alexandri Aphrodisiensis in Aristotelis Elenchos. Hic enim non procul ab initio illius commentarii utitur testimonio Athenæi grammatici et Procli in *Chrestomathia*. Cum igitur constet Alexandrum Aphrodisiensem diu ante Proclum philosophi cognomento diadochi ætatem vixisse, Proclum qui *Chrestomathiam* scripsit a Proclo philosopho differre necesse est." But Alexander in the passage to which Valesius refers makes no mention of the *chrestomathia*. The text of Alexander stands thus ad Aristot. Soph. Elench. p. 4 b apud Schol. Berolin. p. 297 a l. 6; and I am informed by a friend who has consulted it that there is no variation in the first edition. ὥσπερ Ἀθήναιος ἐν τῷ δειπνοσοφιστῇ καὶ Πρόκλος ἐν τῇ Τῶν Ἑορτῶν Ἀπαριθμήσει εἰρήκασι. Valesius then has no authority for ascribing the *chrestomathia* to another Proclus who preceded Alexander.

21 ὑπόμνημα εἰς Ὀδον τὸν Ὅμηρον. Suid. p. 3096 D Eudocia p. 366.

### IV Reliqua opera.

22 περὶ προνοίας καὶ τῆς εἰμαρμένης καὶ τοῦ ἐφ' ἡμῖν.

Extant in the barbarous Latin version of Morbeka, and published by Cousin Parisiis 1820, 8° Procli Opp. tom. I p. 9—75.

23 περὶ τῶν δέκα πρὸς τὴν πρόνοιαν ἀπορημάτων. Extant in the Latin version of Morbeka apud Cousin tom. I p. 91—179. A fragment is preserved by Jo. Philoponus in Proclum II. 5 ὁ Πρόκλος συνομολογῶν φαίνεται ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῷ Περὶ τῶν δέκα πρὸς τὴν προν. ἀπορ. λέγει γὰρ ἐν ἐκείνῳ ταῦτα "Τῆς δὲ οὖν προνοίας" κ. τ. λ.

24 περὶ τῆς τῶν κακῶν ὑποστάσεως μονόβιβλος. Extant in the version of Morbeka apud Cousin tom. I p. 197—288. Conf. Fabric. tom. 9 p. 401 p. 426.

25 στοιχείωσις θεολογική, κεφάλαια σία. Edidit Creuzer *Initia philosophiæ ac theologiæ ex Platonicis fontibus ducta pars III* 8° Francofurti ad Mœnum 1822. Gr. Lat. pp. 316.

26 περὶ κινήσεως βιβλία δύο. Basileæ 1531. 8°. See Simplicius ad phys. p. 142 b l. 47 quoted by Fabricius tom. 9 p. 411.

27 ἐπιχειρήματα ἢ κατὰ Χριστιανῶν. Suidas p. 3096 E Eudocia p. 366. Answered by Jo. Philoponus in his treatise κατὰ Πρόκλου περὶ αἰδιότητος κόσμου, λόγοις ἢ.

28 ὑπομνήματα εἰς τὰς Πλωτίνου ἐννεάδας. Nota Codici vetusto MS. Iamblichi præfixa apud Fabricium p. 427 ἰστέον ὅτι φιλόσοφος Πρόκλος ὑπομηματίζων τὰς τοῦ μεγάλου Πλωτίνου ἐννεάδας λέγει, ὅτι ὁ ἀντιγράφων εἰς τὴν προκειμένην τοῦ Πορφυρίου ἐπιστολὴν ὁ θεοσπέσιός ἐστιν Ἰάμβλιχος.

29 In Aristotelis περὶ ἐρμηνείας. Ammonius Hermææ præf. in comm. ad librum περὶ ἐρμῆ. εἰ δέ τι καὶ ἡμεῖς δυνηθέντες εἰσενέγκειν περὶ τὴν τοῦ βιβλίου σαφήνειαν ἀπομνημονεύσαντες τῶν ἐξηγήσεων τοῦ θείου ἡμῶν διδασκάλου Πρόκλου τοῦ Πλατωνικοῦ διαδόχου, τοῦ εἰς ἄκρον τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως τὴν τε ἐξηγητικὴν τῶν δοκούντων τοῖς παλαίοις δύναμιν καὶ τὴν ἐπιστημονικὴν τῆς φύσεως τῶν ὄντων κρίσιν ἀσκήσαντος, πολλὴν ἂν τῷ λογίῳ θεῷ χάριν ὁμολογήσαιμεν. From Ammonius it would seem that this commentary was orally delivered by Proclus and not published. Conf. Fabric. tom. 9 p. 427.

30 μητρωακὴ βίβλος. Suidas p. 3097 A Eudocia p. 366. Conf. Marinum V. Procli c. 33.

31 εἰς τὴν Ὁρφέως θεολογίαν. Suidas p. 3096 E Eudocia p. 366. Conf. Marinum c. 27.

32 περὶ τὰ λόγια βιβλία δέκα. Suid. Eudoc. Proclus ipse in πολιτείαν p. 359 l. 41 εἴρηται διὰ πλείονων ἐν τοῖς εἰς τὰ λόγια γεγραμμένοις.

33 συμφωνία Ὁρφέως Πυθαγόρου καὶ Πλάτωνος. Suid. Eudoc. Marinus c. 22 ἐξηγουμένους τε πάντα ἐνθουσιαστικώτερον, καὶ εἰς συμφωνίαν ἄγων.

34 περὶ τριῶν μονάδων νοητῶν, τῆς ἀληθείας, τῆς καλονῆς, τῆς συμμετρίας. Proclus in πολιτείαν p. 433 l. 13 εἴπομεν ἡμεῖς ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν τριῶν τούτων μονάδων βιβλίῳ.

35 περὶ ἀγωγῆς δύο. Suid. p. 3096 D Eudocia p.

- 335 *Ulpianus Gazæus*. Contemporary with *Proclus*: Marin. Vit. Procli c. 9 ὡς μοί τις εἶπε τῶν (Πρόκλου) συμφοιτητῶν Οὐλπιανὸς ὁ Γαζαῖος, ἀνὴρ καὶ οὗτος τὴν ζῶν ἱκανῶς φιλοσοφήσας.
- 336 *Sallustius*. He lived in the time of *Proclus*, and was the friend of *Marcellinus* count of *Dalmatia*, whose death is recorded in the Tables p. 670 at A. D. 468.<sup>h</sup>
- 337 *Jacobus medicus*. Tables A. D. 462.
- 338 *Priscus Thrax*. Tables A. D. 448 p. 635. Accompanied *Maximin*. *Priscus* at Rome: p. 641. In Egypt in 452: p. 645. Related the death of *Aspar*: Tables A. D. 471 p. 675.
- 339 *Malchus sophista*. His history begins at 473: Tables p. 677,—and is continued to 491: p. 707.
- 340 *Candidus Isaurus*<sup>i</sup>. Begins at A. D. 457: Tables p. 655. His first book ends with 475: p. 683. His third book included the death of *Zeno* A. D. 491: Tables p. 707.
- 341 *Nestorianus chronographus*. Tables A. D. 474 p. 681.

366. Conf. Fabricium in Marin. c. 28 p. 68 θεωρητικῆ ἀγωγῆ.

36 Simplicius ad Aristot. de Cælo p. 157 a l. 35 apud Schol. Berolin. p. 515 a l. 5 ἐπειδὴ δὲ πρὸς ταύτας τὰς ἐνοστάσεις τὰς τῆ γενέσει τῶν σωμάτων τῆ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιπέδων λεγομένη [Aristot. de Cælo III. 7] προσενηχθείσας τινὲς μὲν καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν Πλατωνικῶν ἀντειρήκασι, Πρόκλος δὲ ὁ ἐκ Λυκίας ὀλίγον πρὸ ἐμοῦ γεγονὸς τοῦ Πλάτωνος διάδοχος βιβλίον ἔγραψε τὰς ἐναυθα τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους ἐνοστάσεις διαλύων, καλῶς ἔχειν ἔδοξέ μοι συντόμως ὡς δυνατὸν τὰς ἐνοστάσεις καὶ τὰς λύσεις ἐκείνας ὑποτάξαι. p. 157 b l. 37 πρὸς δὴ ταύτην τὴν ἐνοστασίην φησιν ὁ Πρόκλος ὅτι ἡμῖν αὐτὸ τοῦναντίον ῥητέον κ. τ. λ.

37 περὶ τῶν παρ' Ὁμήρῳ θεῶν. Suid. Eudoc. Anonymus peri ἀπίστων κ. τ. λ. p. 94 Gale οὕτω Πρόκλος. Referred to this work by Fabricius tom. 9 p. 429.

38 ὕμνοι. Conf. Jacobs Antholog. tom. 3 p. 148—153 Harles ad Fabricium tom. 9 p. 406.

<sup>h</sup> Damascius apud Photium Cod. 242 p. 1045 ὁ Σαλούστιος κινίζων οὐ τὴν εἰδημένην ὁδὸν ἐπορεύετο τῆς φιλοσοφίας κ. τ. λ. p. 1048 Damascius having mentioned *Genserich* and the death of *Marcellinus* (Tables p. 672) adds ὁ Σαλούστιος εἰς τοὺς τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀφορῶν προέλεγεν ἐκάστοτε τὴν βίαν γενησομένην ἐκάστῳ τελευτήν. τὴν δ' αἰτίαν τῆς προγνώσεως οὐδ' αὐτὸς εἶχε φράζειν. p. 1068 ὁ δὲ Σαλούστιος οὐκέτι τῷ δικανικῷ ἀλλ' ἤδη τῷ σοφιστικῷ βίῳ προσείχε τὸν νοῦν. ἐξέμαθε δὲ καὶ τοὺς δημοσίους ἅπαντας τοῦ Δημοσθένους λόγους. καὶ δὴ λέγειν ἦν ἱκανὸς, οὐ τοὺς νέους μμούμενος σοφιστὰς ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν ἀρχαῖον τόνον τῆς λογογραφίας ἀμιλλώμενος· ἀμέλει καὶ ἔγραψε λόγους οὐ πολὺ τι ἐκείνων λειπομένους, ἀντιπόδετος [conf. p. 1045 ὑπεδέδετο σπανιᾶκις] περιῶν τὴν οἰκουμένην (ὡς φάσαι λόγον) ἅπασαν. Suidas p. 3245 A ex Damascio: Σαλούστιος. οὗτος εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἦκεν Ἀθήνηθεν σὺν Ἰσιδώρῳ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ. παράδοξος δὲ ὁ τρόπος Σαλουστίου πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, τὰ μὲν φιλοσοφούντος ἐπὶ τὸ καρτερώτερον τὰ δὲ παίζοντος ἐπὶ τὸ γελιοτέρων· ἐκάτερον, οἶμαι, πέρα τοῦ μετρίου.—καὶ δὴ Σαλούστιος τὰ μὲν πατρόθεν ὄρμητο ἀπὸ Συρίας τὰ δὲ πρὸς μητρὸς Ἑμισσηνὸς ἐγενόμην. ὁ πατὴρ δὲ αὐτῷ Βασιλείδης ὠνομάζετο Θεόκλητα δὲ ἡ μητὴρ· εὐφυνὴ δὲ ἐπὶ πολλὰ γεγονὼς καὶ τὸ ἦθος αὐστηρὸς καὶ φιλότιμος, τὰ μὲν

πρῶτα ἀπέβλεπεν εἰς τὴν πολυάρατον δικανικὴν, καὶ ἐπαυδέετο λόγοις ῥητορικοῖς ὑπὸ Εὐνοῖφ σοφιστῆ, τότε ὄντι κατὰ Ἑμισσαν ὕστερον δὲ οὐκέτι τῷ δικανικῷ κ. τ. λ. [quæ Photius habet p. 1068]—ὁ δὲ Σαλούστιος, ἀρδρότερον ἤδη ἀπτόμενος τῆς τέχνης, ἐλάττω ἢ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὑπολαβὼν τὸν Εὐνόδιον, ἀπῆρεν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ ἀπεπειράτο τῶν ῥητορικῶν διδασκαλιῶν. p. 2402 A Μαρκελλίνος, ἀνὴρ ἐπιεικῆς καὶ γενναῖος, ἐδυναστεύε μὲν Δαλματίας, ἐν Ἠπειρῷ κατακημένων Ἰλλυριῶν.—ᾧ συνῆν Σαλούστιος ὁ φιλόσοφος. Item ex Damascio. conf. Kuster. ad locum. Suidas p. 456 D ἀπῆγεν: ἐκόλυεν, ἀπέτρεπε. Δαμάσιος· “Ὁ δὲ Σαλούστιος ἀπῆγε τοὺς νέους τῆς φιλοσοφίας” κ. τ. λ. p. 125 A τῷ Ἀθηνοδώρῳ πάντα παρεσκεύαστο πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν, τὰ τε ἀπὸ τῆς φύσεως καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπιεικοῦς προαιρέσεως, ὅτε Πρόκλος ἔζη.—ὄν ὁ Σαλούστιος θανμάζων ἐπὶ τῇ σπουδῇ ἔλεγεν κ. τ. λ. p. 1581 B C Ζήνων Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, ἀνὴρ Ἰουδαῖος μὲν γεγονὸς κ. τ. λ.—ἦν δὲ καὶ ἕτερος Ζήνων τοῦ Πρόκλου ἐταῖρος, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον, τῷ μὲν γένει Περγαμηνὸς τῆ δὲ φύσει καὶ αὐτὸς ἐνδεέστερος τὰ γε πρὸς ἐπιστήμην, ἐπιεικῆς δὲ καὶ τὰ ἦθη κατηρτημένους. ὁπότερος δὲ αὐτοῖν ἀφορμὴν τῆ διαστάσει παρέσχετο Σαλουστίῳ πρὸς τὸν Πρόκλον, οὐκ ἔχω φράζειν. Kuster ad Suidam p. 3245 E ed. Oxon. observes “Salustii hujus meminit Simplicius in Comm. ad Epictetum [sc. p. 90=p. 147 Schweigh.].—τὸν ἐφ' ἡμῶν Σαλούστιον—Hinc autem discimus Salustium et Simplicium eodem tempore vixisse.” But *Salustius* lived in the time of *Proclus*, who died in 485. *Simplicius* flourished in A. D. 531. If *Salustius* therefore reached the time of *Simplicius*, he must have been in old age in the early youth or boyhood of *Simplicius*.

<sup>i</sup> Phot. Cod. 79 τὴν δὲ φράσιν οὐκ ἔχει πρέπουσαν λόγῳ ἱστορικῷ· ταῖς τε γὰρ ποιητικαῖς λέξεσιν ἀπειροκάλως τε κέχρηται καὶ μειρακιωδῶς, καὶ ἡ συνθήκη αὐτῷ εἰς τὸ τραχύτερον καὶ δύσχηρον ἐκδιθρυραμβουῖται, ὥσπερ αὐ πάλιν εἰς τὸ ἐκλελυμένον τε καὶ ἐκμελὲς ὑπτιάζει. νεωτερίζει δὲ ταῖς συντάξεσιν οὐκ εἰς τὸ γλαφυρὸν μάλλον καὶ ἐπαφρόδιτον, ὥσπερ ἕτεροι, ἀλλ' ὥστε δυσχερῆς ἀκούσαι καὶ τοῦ ἡδέος ὑπερόριος. πλὴν αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ πολὺ βελτίον ἐνιαχοῦ τοῖς λόγοις πάντα γινόμενος συμμιγῆ τὴν ἱστορίαν καὶ ἐξ ἀνομοιστάτων ἀρμόζων ἀλίσκεται.



- 342 *Ammonius Hermææ*. The disciple of *Proclus*: See *Ammonius* himself, quoted at *Proclus* N<sup>o</sup> 334 Works n. 29. *Hermæas* the father of *Ammonius* was the disciple of *Syrianus*: *Damascius* apud Photium Cod. 242 p. 1044 ὁ Ἑρμείας γένος μὲν ἦν Ἀλεξανδρεὺς πατὴρ δ' Ἀμμωνίου καὶ Ἡλιοδώρου· οὗτος ἐπιεικὴς ἦν τὴν φύσιν καὶ ἀπλοῦς τὸ ἦθος. ἤκροάσατο δὲ Συριανοῦ σὺν Πρόκλῳ. After mentioning *Gregorius* the brother and *Ædesia* the wife of *Hermæas*, he proceeds: ὁ Ἀμμώνιος φιλοπονώτατος γέγονε. καὶ πλείστους ὠφέλησε τῶν πρόποτε γεγενημένων ἐξηγητῶν· μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ Ἀριστοτέλους ἐξήσκητο. ἔτι δὲ διήνεγκεν οὐ τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τοῦ Πρόκλου ἐταίρων. ὀλίγον δὲ ἀποδέω καὶ τῶν πρόποτε γεγενημένων εἰπεῖν, τὰ ἀμφὶ γεωμετρίαν τε καὶ ἀστρονομίαν. *Ammonius* taught *Damascius*: Tables A. D. 525 p. 743. He was also heard at Alexandria by *Simplicius*: *Simplic. de Cælo* p. 113 a l. 22 ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ ἡμέτερος διδάσκαλος Ἀμμώνιος ἐμοῦ παρόντος ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ παρατηρήσας διὰ σωματικῷ ἀστρολάβου τὸν ἀστέρα Ἀρκτοῦρον εὗρε πρὸς τὴν κατὰ Πτολεμαίων ἐποχὴν αὐτοῦ τοσοῦτον πλέον κινήθηντα ὅσον ἔδει κατὰ ἑκατὸν ἐνιαυτοὺς μίαν μοῖραν συγκινήθηναι. He taught *Asclepius* of *Tralles*: see N<sup>o</sup> 380. and *Joannes Philoponus*: see above c. 1 p. 164 A. D. 617.
- 343 *Timotheus Gazæus grammaticus*. Tables A. D. 494.
- 344 *Zosimus Ascalonita*. *Suidas* p. 1592 C Ζώσιμος Γαζαῖος ἢ Ἀσκαλωνίτης, σοφιστὴς, κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους Ἀναστασίου τοῦ βασιλέως. ἔγραψε λέξι ῥητορικὴν κατὰ στοιχείου, καὶ ὑπόμνημα εἰς τὸν Δημοσθένην καὶ εἰς Λυσίαν. Cf. *Eudociam* p. 203. They seem in this account to have blended two persons into one, *Zosimus* of *Gaza* a sophist and *Zosimus* of *Ascalon* a grammarian<sup>k</sup>.
- 345 *Eustathius Syrus*. Tables A. D. 479. 491 p. 707. He brought his history to 503: p. 721.
- 346 *Pamprepius*. Tables A. D. 484. Slain in 488: p. 703.
- 347 *Marinus*. Succeeded *Proclus* in 485. Tables A. D. 485 p. 701 A. D. 525 p. 743.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>k</sup> On *Zosimus* see Taylor and Dobree quoted by Gaisford ad *Suidam* l. c. *Zosimi Ascalonita vita Demosthenis* is given by Reiske ad calcem *Andocidis* p. 145—151. That the *scholia* ascribed to *Ulpius* are of *Zosimus* is shewn by Dobree in *Porson's Tracts Auctar.* p. 387. But Taylor *praef. ad Lysiam* p. 68 Reisk. (after *Fabricius* tom. 6 p. 588 = tom. 8 p. 71) confounds the *Zosimus* who lived under *Anastasius* with *Zosimus* who was slain by *Zeno* in *Cedrenus* p. 354 D, and (after *Ryckius*) with *Zosimus* the historian (N<sup>o</sup> 325) to whom belong the fragments *περὶ πρεσβειῶν*.

<sup>1</sup> *Photius* Cod. 242 p. 1056 ex *Damascio*: ὅτι ὁ διάδοχος Πρόκλου, φησὶν, ὁ Μαρῖνος γένος ἦν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ Νέας πόλεως πρὸς ὄρει κατακισμένης τῷ Ἀργαρίτζῳ καλουμένη. εἶτα βλασφημῶν ὁ δυσσεβὴς φησὶν ὁ συγγραφεὺς, ἐν ᾧ Διὸς ἡνίστου ἀγνώτατον ἱερὸν, ᾧ καθιέρωτο Ἀβραμὸς ὁ τῶν πάλαι Ἑβραίων πρόγονος, ὡς αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν ὁ Μαρῖνος. Σαμαρείτης σὺν τῷ ἀπαρχῆς ὁ Μαρῖνος γεγονὼς ἀπετάξατο μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων δόξαν, ἅτε εἰς καινοτομίαν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀβράμου θρησκείας ἀπορρύνεσαν, τὰ δὲ Ἑλλήνων ἡγάπησεν. ὅμως φιλοπονία τε καὶ ἀτύτοις πόνους ἐγκείμενος εὐφυστέρων ἦδη πολλῶν καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων κατέχουσε δόξας τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ὀνόματι ὁ Μαρῖνος· οὐκ εἶα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐρωτῶν ὁ Ἰσίδωρος ἀσθενεῖα σώματος ἐνοχλοῦμενον.—πλὴν ὁ Μαρῖνος ἐξ ὧν τε διελέγετο καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἔγραψεν (ὀλίγα δὲ ταῦτά ἐστι) δῆλος ἦν οὐ βαθείαν ἀδλακα τῶν νοσημάτων καρπούμενος [*Æschyl. S. Theb.* 593] ἐξ ὧν τὰ σοφὰ βλαστάει θεάματα τῆς τῶν ὄντων φύσεως. p. 1069 διὰ τὴν στάσιν ὁ Μαρῖνος ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν εἰς Ἐπίδαυρον ἀνεχώρησε,

τὰς ἄχρι τοῦ σώματος ἐκβανούσας ἐπιβουλὰς ὑφορώμενος. *Suidas* p. 2400 A *Eudocia* p. 300 *Μαρῖνος* Νεαπολίτης, φιλόσοφος καὶ ῥήτωρ, μαθητὴς Πρόκλου τοῦ φιλοσόφου καὶ διάδοχος. ἔγραψε βίον Πρόκλου τοῦ αὐτοῦ διδασκάλου, καὶ καταλογάδην καὶ ἐπικῶς [καὶ] ἄλλα τινὰ φιλοσόφων ζητήματα. *Damascius* apud *Suidam* p. 2400 B *Photium* p. 1036 *Μαρῖνος*. οὗτος τὴν Πρόκλου διατριβὴν παραδέξάμενος καὶ Ἰσίδωρου τοῦ φιλοσόφου τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους λόγων καθηγησάμενος, ἐλθόντι τὸ δεύτερον Ἀθήναζε, τοῦ κοινῷ διδασκάλου τετελευτηκότος, ᾔδειξεν αὐτῷ συγγεγραμμένον ὑπόμνημα πρὸς ἑαυτοῦ στίχων παμπόλλων εἰς τὸν Πλάτωνος Φίλησον.—ὁ δὲ ἀναγνούς κ. τ. λ. [see above, *Proclus*, Works n. 8]—συνεῖς δ' ἐκείνος παραντίκα διέφθειρε πυρὶ τὸ βιβλίον. ἦδη δὲ καὶ πρότερον δι' ἐπιστολῆς ἐκωώσατο πρὸς αὐτὸν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δόξαν περὶ τῶν εἰς *Παρμενίδην* ὑποθέσεων τε καὶ ἐξηγήσεων· τὰ τε ἐπιχειρήματα συντάξας ἔπεμψεν, οἷς ἐπέισθη μὴ εἶναι τὸν διάλογον περὶ Θεῶν ὁ Μαρῖνος ἀλλὰ περὶ Εἰδῶν. ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ ὑπομνήματα κατεβάλετο τοῦτον ἐξηγούμενα τὸν τρόπον τὰς *Παρμενίδου* διαλεκτικὰς ὑποθέσεις κ. τ. λ. *Conf. Photium* p. 1069 ὁ δὲ Μαρῖνος τῷ ἀτόνῳ τῆς φύσεως οὐδὲ τοῦ *Παρμενίδου* τὴν ὑπεραίρουσαν ἐξήγησεν τοῦ διδασκάλου [see *Proclus*, Works n. 5] ἤνεγκεν ἐπὶ τὰ εἶδη δὲ τὴν θεωρίαν κατήγαγεν ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπερουσίων ἐνάδων, ταῖς *Φίρμον* καὶ *Γαληνοῦ* τὸ πλέον ἐνομοίως ἐπισπώμενος ἢ ταῖς ἀκράτοις ἐπιβολαῖς τῶν μακαρίων ἀνδρῶν. *Marinus* is quoted upon *Aristot. de anima* by *Philoponus* ad *Aristot. de Anima* III. 5, l p. q 10 l. 41 οἱ ἐξηγηταὶ—Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν γὰρ ἐνεργεῖα νοῦν ἐκάλεσε τὴν μίαν τῶν πάντων ἀρχὴν—*Μαρῖνος* δὲ ἐνεργεῖα νοῦν εἶπεν οὐ τὴν μίαν τῶν πάντων ἀρχὴν ἀλλὰ



- 348 *Theosebivus*. The disciple of *Hierocles*. Conversed with *Damascius*. See N<sup>o</sup> 331 note c.
- 349 *Hegias*. *Damascius* apud Suidam p. 1639 A Ἡγίας. οὗτος ἀμείνων τοῦ πατρὸς ἦν τὰ πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἦκοντα καὶ τὰ πρὸς λόγους. ἔτι μὴν μειράκιον γεγωνὸς ἐλπίδας ἔσχευ ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ καὶ πᾶσι παρέσχευ ὡς οὐ πολὺ τι ἀπολειπόμενος τοῦ μεγάλου Πλουτάρχου [N<sup>o</sup> 316]. τοιγαροῦν ὁ Πρόκλος ἠξίωσεν αὐτὸν ἔτι νέον ὄντα τῆς τῶν Χαλδαϊκῶν λογίων ἀκροάσεως. κ. τ. λ. *Damascius* apud Photium p. 1065 ἦρι δὲ ἀρχομένῳ τοῦ Μαρίνου τὸ σῶμα ἀπολιπόντος, ἐβουλεύετο τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπολιπεῖν ὁ Ἰσίδωρος. παρῆναι δὲ Συριανὸν καὶ Ἡγίαν ὁ Ἰσίδωρος ὡς χρεῶν εἶη φιλοσοφίαν ὑπορρέουσαν ἀνασώσασθαι. *Marinus V. Procli* c. 26 p. 64 οὕτω δὲ ἀσθενῶς αὐτὸν [sc. *Proclum*] ἔχοντα προθυμότερον ἐπολεῖ μάλιστα περὶ τὰς ἐξηγήσεις Ἡγίας ὁ νέος, δελγμάτα φέρων καὶ ἐκ μειρακίου ἐναργῆ πασῶν τῶν προγονικῶν ἀρετῶν καὶ τῆς ἀπὸ Σόλωνος χρυσῆς ὄντως τοῦ γένους σειρᾶς. This refers to the last 5 years of the life of *Proclus*, within A. D. 480—485.<sup>m</sup>
- 350 *Zenodotus*. A successor of *Proclus*. Tables A. D. 525 p. 743.
- 351 *Asclepiodotus*. *Damascius* apud Photium p. 1056 Ἀσκληπιόδοτος ὁ φιλόσοφος ὁ Πρόκλου μαθητής. *Simplicius ad Aristot. Phys.* p. 188 b l. 20 Ἀσκληπιόδοτον—τὸν ἄριστον τῶν Πρόκλου μαθητῶν. A physician, the disciple of *Jacobus* [N<sup>o</sup> 337]: *Damascius* apud Phot. p. 1053 Ἰακώβῳ τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἰατρικὴν μαθητευθεὶς ὁ Ἀσκληπιόδοτος, καὶ κατ' ἔχνη βαλίων ἐκείνου, ἔστιν οἷς καὶ ὑπερεβάλετο.—Ἀσκληπιόδοτος τῶν μὲν νεωτέρων ἰατρῶν τὸν Ἰακώβον μόνον ἀπεδέχετο, τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτέρων, μετὰ τὸν Ἱπποκράτην, Σωραῖον τὸν Κίλικα τὸν Μαλλώτην [conf. *Suidam* p. 3373 C]. The character of *Asclepiodotus* is given from *Damascius* by *Suidas* p. 608 Ἀσκληπιόδοτος. οὗτος ἐκ παίδων εὐθύς κ. τ. λ.
- 352 *Asclepiades Aegyptius*. The friend of *Heraiscus*: see above N<sup>o</sup> 324 note γ.
- 353 *Heraiscus*. The disciple of *Proclus*. See N<sup>o</sup> 324 γ.
- 354 *Aeneas Gazæus*. Flourished soon after A. D. 484.<sup>n</sup>
- 355 *Isidorus Alexandrinus*. The preceptor of *Damascius*: Tables A. D. 500 in Add. and Corr. p. 855.
- 356 *Theo rhetor*. Tables A. D. 525. Taught *Damascius*<sup>o</sup>.
- 357 *Agapius Procli discipulus*. Tables A. D. 511. *Suidas* p. 40 B Eudocia p. 55 Ἀγάπιος Ἀθηναῖος φιλόσοφος, [ὁ φιλόσοφος, Ἀθηναῖος τὸ γένος Eudoc.] μετὰ Πρόκλου ἀποιχόμενον, ὑπὸ Μαρίνου ὃς ἐθαυμάζετο ἐπὶ φιλομαθίᾳ καὶ ἀποριῶν προβολῇ δυσσεπιβόλων. *Damascius* apud Photium p. 1073 σεμνὸς ὢν ἅμα καὶ εὐόμιλος ὁ Ἀγάπιος, τὴν τε ἀρχαίαν γλώτταν ὑπὲρ τὸν ἰδιώτην μελετήσας, ἐπέστρεψεν εἰς ἑαυτὸν τοὺς ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἀνθρώπους. θαῦμα δὲ ἑαυτοῦ παρέσχετο καὶ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τοῖς λογικωτέροις ὄρμητο γὰρ ἀπὸ πάσης τῆς παιδείας ζητητικὸς τε καὶ κριτικὸς ἠβούλετο εἶναι γραμματικῶν τε καὶ ῥητορικῶν.—*Damascius* apud *Suidam* p. 2606 D Νόμος καὶ Ἰαννουάριος ἐπιεικεῖα καὶ δικαιοσύνη τῶν πολιτῶν ὑπερφέροντες κ. τ. λ.—ἰδίᾳ δὲ ὁ μὲν

δαμόνιον τινα ἢ ἀγγελικόν. p. q 11 l. 3—6 ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἡπατᾶτο—ὁ δὲ Πλωτῖνος ἡπατᾶτο—Μαρίνος δὲ τοῖς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν χρησάμενος λόγοις δαιμόνιον νοῦν ἔλεγεν Ἀριστοτέλην εἰπεῖν τὸν ἐνεργεῖα νοῦν. *Ibid.* l. 43 πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ καὶ Μαρίνον ταῦτα λέγειν ἔχομεν κ. τ. λ.

<sup>m</sup> *Suidas* p. 1515 C Εὐπέθειος καὶ Ἀρχιάδας, δύο υἱοὶ Ἡγίου καὶ ὁ μὲν Εὐπέθειος ἐνφύστερος ἐγένετο τὰ δὲ ἦθη ἐπισσευρμένους ἐς ἰδιωτισμὸν—ὁ δὲ Ἀρχιάδας τὸ μὲν ὄλον τοῦ πατρὸς οὐκ ὀλίγῳ διαφέρων εἰς ἀρετὴν καὶ τῶν πολλῶν, κ. τ. λ. *Idem* p. 595 C Ἀρχιάδας. οὗτος οἷος ἦν τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπεδείκνυτο κ. τ. λ. *Damascius* apud Photium p. 1065 εἰς τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἀηκόαμεν φιλοσοφίαν καταφρονηθεῖσαν οὐδὲ πώποτε Ἀθήνησιν ὅσον ἐωράκαμεν ἀτιμαζομένην ἐπὶ Ἡγίου ὁ δὲ Ἀρχιάδας τὸ μὲν ὄλον τοῦ πατρὸς οὐκ ὀλίγῳ ἦν διαφέρων κ. τ. λ.—ὁ μὲν οὖν Εὐπέθειος εὐφυ-

έστερος ἐγένετο κ. τ. λ.

<sup>n</sup> *Aeneas* saw some who had suffered under the Vandalic persecution of that year. See upon *Aeneas Gazæus* *Ruinart Historia Pers. Vandalicæ* p. 483 *Fabre* and *Harles B. G.* tom. I p. 690 *Cave Script. Eccles. hist. lit.* tom. I p. 459 *Villoison Anecd.* tom. 2 p. 27.

<sup>o</sup> *Damascius* apud *Suidam* p. 1875 C Θέων σοφιστῆς λόγων ῥητορικῶν, γεγωνὸς ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς *Μαρκέλλης* τό γε ἀνέκαθεν, τὸ δὲ ἐξ ὑπογυίου πατρόθεν ἀπὸ Ἐκδικίου, διδασκάλου καὶ τούτου τέχνης ῥητορικῆς ἦν δὲ οὗτος ὁ Θέων οὐ μάλᾳ ἀγχίνους οὐδὲ ὀξὺς, φιλομαθῆς δὲ καὶ φιλόπονος εἰς ὑπερβολήν. ταῦτά τοι καὶ ἐγεγονέει πολυμαθέστατος ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ, πολλὴν ἀρχαίαν ἱστορίαν πολλὴν δὲ νέαν περιβαλλόμενος.



Νόμος εὐφνέστερος ἦν καὶ φιλομαθέστερος ἐν λόγοις.—ὡς γοῦν φάναι τὸ ὄλον, οὔτε Σεβηριανὸν οὔτε Ἀγάπιον τὸν φιλόσοφον εἶπομι ἂν γενέσθαι τοιούσδε περὶ λόγων κρίσιω. ὁ δὲ Ἰαννουάριος ἐμπειροπράγμων ἦν καὶ φρόνιμος ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἐπὶ πλέον ἢ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Νόμος, ἔτι δὲ σωφρονέστερος καὶ τᾶλλα μᾶλλον τεταγμένος. Idem apud Suidam p. 3685 D—3686 A τῶν δὲ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ γεγονότων κριτικούς ἀνδρας ἐπίσταμαι τρεῖς τὰ λεγόμενα κρίνειν δυναμένους ἄνευ γε μέτρου.—ἓνα δὲ τούτων οὐ φημι τὸν Ἰσίδωρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλῶ ἔλαττοῦσθαι τῶν τριῶν. οἱ δὲ κριταὶ Ἀγάπιος Σεβηριανὸς Νόμος· ἡμέτερος δὲ ἠλικιώτης ὁ Νόμος P.

358 *Christodorus*. Tables A. D. 511.

359 { *Anthemius Trallianus*.  
*Metrodorus*.  
*Olympius*. } Tables A. D. 532.

360 *Dioscorus medicus*. Tables A. D. 532.

361 *Alexander Trallianus medicus*<sup>q</sup>. Tables A. D. 532. Brother of *Anthemius Metrodorus Olympius* and *Dioscorus*.

362 *Isidorus Milesius mechanicus*. Tables A. D. 532.

363 *Zeno rhetor*. Tables A. D. 532 p. 757.

364 *Joannes Laurentius Lydus*<sup>r</sup>. Born A. D. 491 : Tables p. 705. Came to CP. in 511 : p. 727. Was 62 years of age in 553 : p. 799.

365 *Joannes rhetor*. Tables A. D. 526.

366 *Hesychius Milesius*. Tables A. D. 540.

367 *Procopius Gazæus*. The preceptor of *Choricus*, who is described below at N<sup>o</sup> 369. He flourished in the reign of *Anastasius*, to whom he addressed a panegyric discourse which is still extant<sup>s</sup>. His commentaries on various parts of Scripture are mentioned by Photius<sup>t</sup>, whose account of his other works is given below under *Choricus*.

P *Agapius* of *Alexandria*, a physician—Ἀγάπιος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, ἐξηγήσεις πλείστας ἱατρικῶν μαθημάτων συνέγραψε—mentioned by Suidas p. 40 B Eudocia p. 49, is a different *Agapius*.

q For the extant work of *Alexander*—Ἀλεξάνδρου Τραλλιανοῦ ἱατροῦ βιβλία δνοκαίδεκα—see Harles introd. ad historiam ling. Græcæ tom. II. 1 p. 436.

r Photius Cod. 180 p. 408 τὴν δὲ θρησκείαν ὁ ἀνὴρ ἔοικε δεισιδαίμων εἶναι· σέβεται μὲν γὰρ τὰ Ἑλλήνων καὶ θειάζει, θειάζει δὲ καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα, μὴ διδοὺς τοῖς ἀναγινώσκουσιν ἐκ τοῦ ῥάστου συμβαλεῖν πότερον οὕτω νομίζω θειάζει ἢ ὡς ἐπὶ σκηνῆς.

s Προκοπίου σοφιστοῦ Γάζης πανηγυρικός εἰς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα Ἀναστάσιον. Published by Villoison Anecd. tom. 2 p. 28—45, reprinted in Script. Hist. Byz. p. I Bonnæ p. 489—516. *Procopius* mentions p. 491 the descent of the emperor from *Epidamnus*; p. 492 the war with the Arabs in A. D. 497 (see the Tables p. 714); p. 504 the remission of the tax χρυσάργυρος (see above c. 1 p. 140); p. 508 the restoration of *Hierapolis*; p. 509 of *Cæsarea* and *Alexandria*; p. 510 the wall across the Chersonese, which was built in A. D. 507 (see the Tables p. 722). This discourse was therefore composed after the 17th year of *Anastasius* A. D. 507. Other orations are quoted by the author περὶ συντάξεως apud Bekker Anecd. Græc. as p. 125, 26 Προκοπίου ἐκ τῆς μονωδίας \* \*

Ἀντιόχου—“εἰ δὲ πόλιν σμικρὰν ἐπὶ σκηνῆς πορθουμένην ἐδάκρυσαν”—p. 153, 21 Προκόπιος ἐκ τῆς μονωδίας Ἀντιοχείας “ἄλλος κατεάγη τῆς κεφαλῆς”—l. 24 Προκόπιος “ὃ πόσοι μέσοι ξύλων ἀλλήλοις ἀντεριδόντων”—p. 133, 12 Προκοπίου Γαζαίου ἐπιταφίῳ Σαλαμινίου “λάφυρα δὲ τῶ κειμένῳ προσέφερον”—p. 135, 14 Προκοπίου ἐκ τοῦ ἐπιταφίου Σαλαμινίου “χρηστὸς ὁ Φωκίαν, τοὺς ζυγομαχοῦντας ἀλλήλοις διαλλάττων.” p. 139, 22 Προκόπιος εἰς τὸν σωφρόνως ἄρχοντα “καὶ ζῶσι τάχα μὴ δικάζειν εἰδῶς, εἰς τοὺς ἐν ἄδου κατέφυγεν.” p. 143, 24 Προκόπιος περὶ ἔαρος “ὑπὸ τὴν θηλὴν ὑπέχει τὸ στόμα καὶ ἐπισπᾶται τοῦ γάλακτος.” p. 146, 26 Προκόπιος, εἰς τὸ ῥόδον ἔκφρασις “Ἄρης γὰρ ταῦτα μαθὼν—ἦρα δὲ καὶ οὗτος—ἐξηλοτύπου τὸν νέον.” p. 169, 6 Προκόπιος εἰς τὸν γάμον Μελετίου “ὁ μὴ τὴν φύσιν ἀρνείται, καὶ περισαίνει τὸν ἔρωτα.”

t Photius Cod. 206 ἀνεγνώσθησαν Προκοπίου σοφιστοῦ ἐξηγητικαὶ σχολαὶ εἰς τε τὴν Ὀκτάτευχον τῶν παλαιῶν γραμμάτων καὶ εἰς τὰς βασιλείας καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ παραλειπούμενα, πολύχους μὲν οὗτος καὶ πολυστίχος ὁ ἐξηγητής.—καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς τὴν Θεοδωρήτου σύνωψίν τε καὶ φιλοκαλίαν τὸ σύνταγμα αἴρεται.—καὶ ἡ φράσις δὲ αὐτῶ ἐς τὸ ἄριστον ἤσκηται, εἰ καὶ τῆς ἐξηγητικῆς διατυπώσεως ἔχει τι καὶ κομψότερον. Cod. 207 ἀνεγνώσθη τοῦ αὐτοῦ φιλοπόρου ἀνδρὸς εἰς τὸν προφήτην Ἠσαΐαν, τὴν τε ὁμοίαν τοῖς προεξηγημένοις διάθεσιν φυλαττόμενον, καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν τῶν λόγων ἐπιδεικνύμενον δύναμιν, καὶ δῆλον ὅτι καὶ τὸ λυσικα-

- 368 *Petrus Thessalonicensis*. An envoy in 534: Tables p. 761. See A. D. 539 p. 771. Envoy to Chosroes in 550: p. 791. Negotiates a peace with Persia in 562: p. 815. Still living in 564: p. 816.<sup>v</sup>
- 369 *Choricus Gazæus*. Phot. Cod. 160 ἀνεγνώσθη Χορικίου σοφιστοῦ Γάζης μελέται καὶ συντάξεις λόγων διάφοροι. οὗτος χαίρει μὲν εὐκρινείᾳ καὶ καθαρότητι κ. τ. λ. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐραστῆς, τὰ Χριστιανῶν ὄργια καὶ τεμένη τιμῶν· πλὴν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ὀλιγῶρως καὶ λόγῳ σὺν οὐδενὶ μύθου καὶ ἱστορίας Ἑλληνικὰς, οὐ δέον, ἐγκαταμίγνυσι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ συγγράμμασιν.—ποικίλα δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ πολλὰ συγγράμματα φέρεται· πλασματικοῖς τε γὰρ καὶ πανηγυρικοῖς καὶ μονοφθάλαις καὶ ἐπιθαλαμίοις καὶ ἀντιρρητικοῖς ἔστιν αὐτοῦ λόγοις ἐντυχεῖν καὶ τοιοῦτοις ἑτέροις. ἤκμασε δὲ ἐν τοῖς Ἰουστινιανοῦ χρόνοις. γέγονε δὲ μαθητῆς Προκοπίου ῥήτορος, ἐνὸς τῶν ἀρίστων, οὐ τοῦ Καισαρέως δὲ [N<sup>o</sup> 370] ὃς εἰς μέγα κτῆμα καὶ ὄφελος κατ' ἐκείνο καιροῦ τὰς ἱστορικὰς γραφὰς συντάξας ἀειμνηστον αὐτοῦ κλέος τοῖς σπουδαιότεροις καταλέλοιπεν· ἑτέρῳ δὲ τινι [sc. No 367] προσωμίλησεν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πατρίδι καὶ αὐτῷ λαχόντι σοφιστεύειν, ὃς καὶ εἰς γῆρας ἐλάσας ἠδέως εἶχεν ὄραν ἀπ' ἑαυτοῦ τὸν ὀμιλητὴν τῆς σχολῆς ἐξηγούμενον. τούτου [sc. *Procorii Gazæi*] λόγοι πολλοὶ τε καὶ παντοδαποὶ φέρονται ἄξιον ζήλου καὶ μιμήσεως χρῆμα, καὶ δὴ καὶ βιβλίον ὄλον στίχων Ὀμηρικῶν μεταφράσεις εἰς ποικίλας λόγων ἰδέας ἐκμεμορφωμέναι, αἱ μάλιστα τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς περὶ ῥητορικὴν δύναμιν καὶ μελέτην ἱκανὰ πεφύκασιν ἀπαγγέλλειν· οὐ τινὸς, ὡς ἔστι δυνατὸν μαθητῆ, Χορικός μιμητῆς κατὰ τοὺς λόγους γέγονεν. ἄμφω δὲ ἦσθη εὐσεβεῖ, καὶ πολλαχοῦ τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν οὐδὲ παρέργως περὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς εἰκονουργίας διαλαμβάνουσιν. γέγονε δὲ Χορικός καὶ ἡ τοῦ διδασκάλου τελευτῇ ἐπιταφίου ὑπόθεσις<sup>w</sup>.

λοῦν παραπλήσιον. On these and other commentaries of *Procorius Gazæus* see Fabricius and Harles B. G. tom. 7 p. 563—565. The 59 Epistles of *Procorius* are described by Fabricius B. G. tom. 1 p. 691 tom. 7 p. 565.

<sup>v</sup> *Petrus* is quoted by Steph. Byz. v. Ἀκόναια.—Ἀκονίτις. οὕτω γὰρ τις νῆσος διαφέρουσα μὲν τῷ πανευφῆμῳ πατρικῷ καὶ τῷ πάντα σοφωτάτῳ μαγίστρῳ Πέτρῳ, κειμένη δὲ κατανατικῶν τῆς εὐδαίμονος πόλεως Χαλκηδόνος. He is mentioned with praise by his contemporary *Joannes Lydus* de Mag. Rom. II. 25. 26 τοῖς δὲ ἡμιρομένοις τοὺς ἐφεξῆς μὴ ἀγνοῆσαι μαγίστρον ἄχρις ἡμῶν ἀρκέσει πρὸς διδασκαλίαν Πέτρος ὁ πάντα μεγαλόφρων καὶ τῆς καθόλου ἱστορίας ἀσφαλῆς διδάσκαλος, δι' ὃν αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ λεγομένου μαγιστηρίου ἀνεγράψατο. προῆλθεν οὖν ἡ δύναμις ἐπὶ πλεόν τῆς ἀρχῆς· οὐ μόνον γὰρ τὰς τῶν ἐθνῶν πρεσβείας ἕψ' ἑαυτῷ τελοῦσας ὁ μάγιστρος ἔχει πιστεύεται τὸν τε δημόσιον δρόμον κ. τ. λ.—ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ τὴν τῶν πολιτικῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ διαφερόντως Πέτρος οὗτος ὁ πολὺς ὁ μηδενὶ ταῖς ἀρεταῖς κατὰ μηδὲν δεύτερος. διασώζει μὲν γὰρ καὶ φρουρεῖ τὴν αἰλὴν κ. τ. λ.

<sup>w</sup> Villoison Anecd. tom. 2 p. 17 “Bibliothecæ Matritensis Codex—*Choricii* XIX declamationes, quarum duæ duntaxat editæ sunt, et dialéξεις hactenus ineditas continet.” The titles are these.

1 εἰς Μαρκιανὸν ἐπίσκοπον Γάζης ἐγκώμιον. Fragments from Macarius are given by Villoison p. 18.

2 εἰς Μαρκιανὸν ἐγκώμιον δεύτερον. Fragments in Villoison p. 19. Auctor περὶ συντάξεως apud Bekker Anecd. Gr. p. 135, 16 Χωρικός ἐν τῷ πρὸς Μαρκιανόν· “ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἀναπετάσαντες τὰ πτερά”— p. 143, 26 Χωρικός ἐν τῷ εἰς Μαρκιανόν· “ἐμπαρωήσαντες δὴ τούτῳ πολλὰ, μᾶλλον δὲ σφίσις αὐτοῖς”—

3 εἰς Ἀρατιὸν δοῦκα καὶ Στέφανον ἄρχοντα. Fragments in Villoison p. 20.

4 εἰς Σοῦμμον στρατηλάτην. Published by Fabricius.

5 ἐπιθαλάμιος εἰς Ζαχαρίαν ἕνα τῶν αὐτοῦ φοιτητῶν. Fragments in Villoison p. 21.

6 ἐπιθαλάμιος εἰς Προκόπιον καὶ Ἰωάννην καὶ Ἠλίαν, φοιτητὰς αὐτοῦ. Villoison p. 21.

7 ἐπιτάφιος ἐπὶ Μαρίας μητέρι Μαρκιανοῦ Γάζης ἐπισκόπου καὶ Ἀναστασίου Ἐλευθεροπόλεως ἐπισκόπου. Given entire by Villoison p. 21—26.

8 ἐπιτάφιος ἐπὶ Προκοπίῳ σοφιστῇ. See above, Photius Cod. 160. Published by Fabricius.

9 μελέτη α' Πολυδάμας. Fragments in Villoison p. 47.

10 μελέτη β' Πριάμος. Fragments in Vill. Ibid.

11 μελέτη γ' Λυδοί. Fragments in Vill. p. 48.

12 μελέτη δ' Μιλτιάδης. Villois. p. 49.

13 μελέτη ε' φιλαργύρου ὑπὲρ κόρης αἰσχρᾶς καὶ πλουσίας τὸν νῖον βιαζομένου, ἀντιλέγει ὁ παῖς. Fragments in Villoison p. 50.

14 μελέτη ς' φιλαργύρος. Fragments in Villoison p. 51.

15 μελέτη ζ' τυραννοκτόνος. Given entire by Villoison p. 52—65.

16 μελέτη η' Σπαρτιάτης. Fragments in Villoison p. 65.

17 μελέτη θ' παιδοκτόνος. Fragments in Villoison p. 66.

18 μελέτη ι' ὁ ἀριστεύς. Fragments in Villoison p. 66.

19 ὑπὲρ τῶν μίμων. Villoison p. 67.



- 370 *Procopius historicus*. In Armenia in 526: Tables p. 745. in Africa in 533: p. 757. in Sicily in 536: p. 765. in Italy in 537, 538, 540: p. 769. 773. His *Anecdota* A. D. 559: p. 811. End of his history of the Gothic war A. D. 553: p. 798.
- 371 { *Januarius*  
 *Nomus* } Brothers contemporary with *Damascius*. See N° 357.
- 372 *Damascius*<sup>x</sup>. Described in the Tables A. D. 525. Withdrew to Persia in 531: Tables p. 753. see A. D. 533 p. 757. The preceptor of *Simplicius*: Tables A. D. 536 p. 767. The preceptors of *Damascius* himself were *Ammonius Hermæ*, *Isidorus Alexandrinus* (N° 355), *Theo* (N° 356), *Marinus*, *Zenodotus*.
- 373 *Simplicius*<sup>y</sup>. The disciple of *Ammonius Hermæ*: see N° 342. And of *Damascius*: see the Tables A. D. 525. 536. Withdrew to Persia in 531, returned in 533: Tables p. 753. 757.

<sup>x</sup> Works of *Damascius*.

*I* φιλόσοφος ιστορία. Suid. p. 861B Eudoc. p. 134. See Suid. Γρηγόριος ἀδελφ. Ἑρμείου p. 848 A Δῶρος p. 1056 C quoted by Kuster and Reinesius ad Suidam p. 861 H. The βίος Ἰσιδώρου was a part of the φιλόσοφος ιστορία. The Life of *Isidorus* was composed in the reign of *Theoderic*: see the Tables p. 743. And therefore before August A. D. 526.

*II* περὶ ἀρχῶν. Edidit Kopp. 8vo. Francof. ad Mœn. 1826 pp. 390.

*III* περὶ παραδόξων. Phot. Cod. 130 p. 312 ἀνεγνώσθησαν Δαμασκίου λόγοι τέσσαρες, ὧν ὁ μὲν πρῶτος ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχει Περὶ παραδόξων ποιημάτων κεφάλαια τινθ', ὁ δὲ δεύτερος παραδόξων περὶ δαιμονίων διηγημάτων κεφάλαια νβ', ὁ δὲ τρίτος περὶ τῶν μετὰ θάνατον ἐπιφαινομένων ψυχῶν παραδόξων διηγημάτων κεφάλαια ξγ', ὁ δὲ τέταρτος καὶ παραδόξων φύσεων κεφάλαια ρε' ἐν οἷς ἅπασιν ἀδύνατά τε καὶ ἀπίθανα καὶ κακόπλοστα τερατολογήματα καὶ μωρὰ καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἄξια τῆς ἀθεότητος καὶ δυσσεβείας Δαμασκίου. —κεφαλαϊώδης δὲ αὐτῶ ἐν τούτοις ὁ λόγος, καὶ οὔτε ἀκομψος οὔτε τὸ σαφές ὑπερορῶν, ὡς ἐν διηγήμασι τισιούτοις.

*IV* *Comm. in Platonem*. Suid. Eudoc.

1 Kopp præfat. ad *Damascium* περὶ ἀρχῶν p. XII Δαμασκίου διωδύχου ἀπορίαὶ καὶ λύσεις εἰς τὸν Πλάτωνος Παρμενίδην ἀντιπαραινόμεναι τοῖς αὐτὸν ὑπομνήμασι τοῦ φιλοσόφου.

2 *In Alcibiadem primum*. Quoted by Olympiodorus ad *Alcibiad*. I p. 91 Creuzer. ὁ δὲ Δαμάσκιος οὐχ οὕτως. οὐ γὰρ φησὶ χρεῖαν εἶναι κ. τ. λ. p. 126 ὁ δὲ γε Δαμάσκιος καὶ ἄλλως αὐτὸ ἐξηγεῖται. p. 209 πάλα μὲν ἐκράτει ἡ ἐξήγησις τοῦ φιλοσόφου Πρόκλου [in *Alcib*. I p. 130 C]—νῦν δὲ ἡ τοῦ φιλοσόφου Δαμασκίου. p. 222 κατὰ δὲ τὸν φιλόσοφον Δαμάσκιον καὶ πολιτικὸν σκοπὸν ἔχει καὶ καθαρτικὸν καὶ θεωρητικόν. †

*V* *Comm. in Aristotelem*.

1 *In Aristot. de celo*. Schol. Berolin. p. 454 a Δαμασκίου προλεγόμενα εἰς τὸ πρῶτον Ἀριστοτέλους περὶ οὐρανοῦ. p. 455 b παρεκβολαὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Δαμασκίου εἰς τὸ πρῶτον τοῦ περὶ οὐρανοῦ.

2 *In phys. auscult.* Kopp præf. p. XIV mentions ἐπιτομὴν σχολικὴν εἰς τὰ δ' πρῶτα καὶ τὸ η' περὶ φυσικῆς βιβλίας. To this may be referred the works mentioned by *Simplicius* ad *phys.* p. 183 b l. 43 παραιτούμαι δὲ

ἐνταῦθα τὸν ἐμαντοῦ καθηγεμόνα Δαμάσκιον οὐ τέσσαρα βουλόμενον εἶναι τὰ μέτρα ἀλλὰ τρία, ἀριθμὸν καὶ τόπον καὶ χρόνον, ἐν τοῖς Περὶ ἀριθμοῦ καὶ τόπου καὶ χρόνου γεγραμμένοις αὐτῷ συγγράμμασιν. p. 150 b l. 45—151 a l. 2 Δαμάσκιος ὁ ἡμέτερος διδάσκαλος ἤψατο μὲν καλῶς τοῦ κατὰ τὸν εὐθετισμὸν τόπου—οὐδὲν δὲ ἴσως χεῖρον καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων ἀκούειν ἐν τῷ Περὶ τόπου βιβλίῳ γράφοντος ὧδε· “ Πέφυκεν ἄρα” κ. τ. λ. p. 184 a p. 189 b ἐν τοῖς Περὶ χρόνου. See the Tables p. 767.

Kopp præf. ad *Damasc.* περὶ ἀρχῶν p. XV “Codex—biblioth. Monacensis continet ἐρμηνεῖα εἰς τοὺς ἀφορισμοὺς Ἰπποκράτους ὑπὸ φωνῆς Δαμασκίου φιλοσόφου.” Kopp however, after quoting the beginning of the commentary as a specimen, adds “facile ad suspicandum inducaris istos commentarios nostri Damascii non esse.”

<sup>y</sup> Works of *Simplicius*.

1 εἰς τὰς Ἀριστοτέλους κατηγορίας. Venetiis Calliergi 1499 fol. Conf. Schol. *Aristot.* Berolin. p. 39 (†).

2 *Commentarius brevis de syllogismis*. Conf. *Fabricium* B. G. tom. 9 p. 567.

3 ἐξήγησις εἰς τὸ Ἐπικτήτου ἐγχειρίδιον. Edidit Schweighæuser *Epicteti* &c. monumenta tom. IV *Argentorati* 1800. 8vo. pp. 526. *Simplicius* composed this commentary p. 525 ἐν προσήκοιτι καιρῷ—τυραννικῆς περιστάσεως. Perhaps referring to the oppressions endured by the philosophers in the reign of *Justinian*. See the Tables A. D. 529 p. 750.

4 ἐπιτομὴ τῶν Θεοφράστου φυσικῶν. Quoted by *Simplicius* himself ad *Aristot. de anima* p. 38 a l. 3 σαφέστερόν μοι ταῦτα ἐν τῇ ἐπιτομῇ τῶν Θ. φ. διώρισται.

5 εἰς τὰ μετὰ τὰ φυσικὰ Ἀριστοτέλους. *Simplicius* ipse ad *Aristot. de anima* p. 6 (imo 7) a l. 7 ἐν τοῖς εἰς τὰ μετὰ τὰ φυσικὰ μοι γεγραμμένοις εἴρηται. p. 61 a l. 26 εὐκαιρότερον ἡμῖν καὶ τελειότερον ἐν τοῖς εἰς τὸ λ τῆς μετὰ τὰ φυσικὰ γεγραμμένοις ἐπομένους ταῖς Ἰαμβλίχου περὶ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸν Ἀριστοτέλους σκοπὸν θεωρίας πεφιλοσόφηται. In *Aristot. de celo* p. 122 b l. 12 ὡς ἐν τοῖς σχολίοις τοῖς εἰς τὰ μετὰ τὰ φυσικὰ εἴρηται.

6 ὑπομνήματα εἰς τὰ γ' βιβλία τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους περὶ ψυχῆς. Venetiis Ald. 1527 fol. p. 1—92.

7 ὑπομνήματα εἰς τέσσαρα βιβλία Ἀριστοτέλους περὶ οὐρανοῦ. Edidit *Asulanus* fol. Ven. 1526 pp. 178. The Latin version of *Morbeka* (whom we have seen



374 *Eulamius*. Tables A. D. 525. 531. (*Eulamius* Agath. *Eulalius* Suid.)

375 *Priscianus Lydus*. Tables A. D. 531. *Philoponus* wrote against him: Fabricius B. G. tom.

as the translator of parts of *Proclus*) has been, as it seems, rendered back again into Greek by the editor. Conf. Gaisfordium Poet. Gr. Min. tom. 2 p. XLI "Amadeus Peyronius sagaciter detexit Simplicii commentarium in Aristot. de Cælo libros—mirum in modum depravatam esse atque adeo ex veteri Morbekæ versione recoctum, sincerum vero textum in Codice MS. Taurinensi exhiberi."—He adds "Oxonienis binis commentariis genuini exemplaribus MSS. gaudere, quarum alterum Coll. Nov. alterum Coll. C. C. bibliotheca adservatur." In Schol. Aristot. Berolin. ad libros *de cælo* the genuine and original text of *Simplicius* is quoted from MSS. Conf. p. 468 (\*\*).

*Simplicius* in *lib. I* defends *Aristotle* and *Proclus* on the eternity of the world, against a work of *Joannes Philoponus*, from which he largely quotes. *Philoponus* was young, and not known to *Simplicius*: p. 6 b 34—7 a 3=Schol. Berolin. p. 472 a 22 τῶν δὲ τις [νέων addit Ed. Ven.] ἐφ' ἡμῶν, δόξης ὡς ἔοικε θρηνησῆς, τῶν τε Ξενάρχου τινὰς ἐνστάσεις ὑποβαλλόμενος καὶ ἄλλας τοιαύτας ἀθροίσας, κατήγορος ἀνέδου τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους, σκοπὸν μὲν τὸν ὅλον ἐνστησαμένος, ὡς φησι, φθαρτὸν ἀποδείξει τὸν κόσμον.—διὰ ταύτην δὲ τὴν προθυμίαν τοῖς ἐνταῦθα λεγομένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους ἀντιλέγειν προτίθεται διὰ πολυστήχων βιβλίων, οὐ μόνον τῷ πλήθει καταπλήττειν ἐλπίσας τοὺς ἀνοήτους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποτρέπων οἶμαι τοὺς πλείστους καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς καθαριωτέρους τῆς τῶν διωλγίων φληνάφων ἐντέξεως.—εἰ δὲ που φανείην πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον τραχύτερον ἀπορρίπτων λόγον, μὴ νεμεσίση τις· οὐ γὰρ ἔστι μοί τις πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα φιλονεικία, ἢν οὐδὲ θεασάμενος οἶδα πάποτε, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν ἐμμελῆ δίκην ἄξιον ἐπιτιθέναί τούτῳ παρὰ Ἀριστοτέλους μὲν καὶ τῶν ἐξηγητῶν αὐτοῦ μαθόντι, εἰπερ τι ἄρα περὶ τούτων μεμάθηκεν· οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ Μενάνδρου καὶ Ἡρωδιανοῦ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἦλθεν ἡμῖν ἀκριβέστερον Ἀριστοτέλους τὰ περὶ τῆς φύσεως τῶν ὄντων πεπαιθεμένος. p. 10 b 27=p. 473 a 2 ὁ δὲ νεαρὸς ἡμῖν οὗτος κόραξ, μᾶλλον δὲ κολοῦς, "ἄκραντα γαρνόμενος Διὸς πρὸς ὄρνιθα θεῖον" κατὰ τὸν μεγαλορρήμονα Πίνδαρον, καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἐνταῦθα τῷ Ἀριστοτέλει ῥηθέντα παρεκδύμενος πρῶτην μὲν ἐνστασιν ἐπάγει τὴν τοῦ Ξενάρχου τρίτην ὑποβαλλόμενος. He is p. 17 a 1. 10 ὁ γραμματικός. 1. 16 εἰ γραμματικός ἐστίν, ὡς περ ἐαυτὸν ἐπιγράφει. p. 17 b 1. 11 ὁ γραμματικός. 1. 32 γραμματικὸν ἐαυτὸν εἶναι λέγων. p. 27 b 1. 11 οὗτος ὁ γραμματικὸν ἐαυτὸν ἐπιγράφων. p. 38 b 44 καλὸς οὐτοσί ὁ τῆς Ἀριστοτέλους ἐντρεχείας κατηγορῶν. p. 72 a 33=p. 489 b 6 οἱ καθ' ἡμᾶς σοφοὶ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς χρόνου γεγονένοι τὸν κόσμον λέγοντες. p. 28 a 1. 44=p. 475 b 35 τὰ δὲ τοιαῦτα τῶν παροραμάτων αὐτοῦ (τοῦ γραμματικοῦ) μηκύνειν ἐπὶ πλεόν ἀναγκάζομαι, οὐχ ὅτι πολλῶν δέεται λόγων εἰς διάλυσιν (καὶ τύφλω γὰρ τὸ λεγόμενον ἐστὶ δηλον), ἀλλ' ἵνα μάθωσιν οἱ διὰ τὰ μεγέθη τῶν βιβλίων αὐτοῦ, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ἀναγρῶναι θεταυμακότες αὐτὸν, οἷα ἀγρῶν οὗτος εἰς οἴους ἀγῶνας παραδύεται· κ. τ. λ. p. 45 b 33 ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ ὀγδόῳ τῆς φυσικῆς ἀκροάσεως τὴν αἰδίον κυκλοφορίαν δεικνύσας λόγους πειράται οὗτος ἐξελέγειν, καὶ πρὸς τὰς

ἀδαμαντίνους ὡς φησι τῆς τοῦ κόσμου αἰδιότητος ἀπαντῆσαι, νῦν μὲν ἀφείσθω κ. τ. λ. p. 45 b 25 οὗτος οἶεται—τροπαῖον τι στήσασθαι τῷ καταγελάσῳ τούτῳ βιβλίῳ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ αἰδιότητα. Five books of the work of *Philoponus* are mentioned by *Simplicius*. He quotes *lib. II*: p. 16 a 6 p. 18 a 7=p. 473 b 22—33 ἐπειδὴ δὲ κἂν εἰς τὸ μέγα πέλαγος ἐμπέση τις κἂν εἰς κολυμβήθραν, μᾶλλον δὲ κἂν εἰς βορβορῶδες τελμάτιον, νήχεσθαι ἀνάγκη, φέρε πάλιν ἐκτραπέυτες τὰ τοῦ Τελχίνου ἴδωμεν ῥήματα.—ὄρα πόσον ἐν ὀλίγοις φαίνεται τὸ τοῦδε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀνεπίστατόν τε ἅμα καὶ ἀπαίδευτον, καὶ μάλιστα εἰ καὶ γραμματικός ἐστίν, ὡς περ ἐπιγράφει,—λέγει δὲ οὕτως (ὁ γραμματικός) ἐν τῷ ἰγ' κεφαλαίῳ [τῷ ἐνάτῳ κεφ. ed. Ven. p. 18 a 6] τοῦ δευτέρου αὐτοῦ βιβλίου. *lib. III*: p. 19 a 21 ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸ ὑπ' Ἀριστοτέλους ἐν μετεωρολογικοῖς εἰρημένον, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ οὐρανὸς ἐμπύριος, ἀντιλέγων πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ τρίτον αὐτοῦ βιβλίον κατανάλωσεν. *lib. V*: p. 35 b 27—32 πάλιν ἀνάγκη πρὸς τὸν γραμματικὸν τοῦτον ἀποκλίνειν [sic Schol. Berolin. p. 477 a 45]—ταῦτα δὲ εἰπὼν τὸ πέμπτον ὅλον βιβλίον ἐτελείωσεν. p. 37 b 40 διαρρήδην ἔγραψεν ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ κεφαλαίῳ τοῦ πέμπτου βιβλίου λέγων κ. τ. λ. His work against *Proclus*: p. 31 a 24=p. 476 a 19—34 ἐπειδὴ δὲ δυσχεραίνων φαίνεται πρὸς τὴν ἀσώματον ἔλην καὶ ἀποδοδειχέαι φησὶν ἐν τῷ ια' λόγῳ [τῷ πρώτῳ βιβλίῳ ed. Ven.] τῶν ἐλέγχων τῶν πρὸς τὰ Πρόκλου ὅτι ἀδύνατόν ἐστι τὴν μυθευομένην ἀσώματον αὐτὴν καὶ ἀνείδειον ἔλην εἶναι [scil. in Proclum XI. 3], ἀλλ' εἰς ἔσχατον τὸ τριχῆ διαστατὸν ἀναλύεται τὰ σώματα, τοῖς μὲν ἐκεῖ κεκομψασμένοις αὐτῷ οὔτε ἐνέτυχον οὔτε ἠδέως ἀν' ἐντύχοιμι πλατέσι φληνάφοις, ὅποτε καὶ νῦν οὐκ οἶδα ὅπως τὰ Περὶ οὐρανοῦ τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους σαφηνίσαι προθέμενος εἰς τὴν Αὐγέου κόπρον ἐμπέτωκα.—πῶς οὖν δυνατὸν τάναντία συναληθεύειν περὶ τῆς ἔλης λεγέτω, καὶ μὴ δεκάδας λόγων ἐπιγράφων τοὺς ἀνοήτους καταπλητέτω. We learn from this passage, now first published in Schol. Berolin. from the genuine text of *Simplicius*, that *Philoponus* had already written the extant work κατὰ Πρόκλου, which *Simplicius* had not seen, but which he himself quotes in the work commented upon by *Simplicius*. The books to which *Simplicius* replies were a larger work, no longer extant.

Fabricius tom. 9 p. 418 had supposed that the extant work κατὰ Πρόκλου λύσεις ἢ' was replied to by *Simplicius*: "Hoc Philoponi opus oppugnat *Simplicius*." But in tom. 10 p. 644 he reasonably doubts this: "Non exploratum videtur hoc opere contineri commemorata *Simplicio* Philoponi quinque πολυστήχια βιβλία" &c. And his doubt is now confirmed by the text as it stands in Schol. Berolin. quoted above, which testifies that *Simplicius* had never seen the extant work—κατὰ Πρόκλου.

As *Philoponus* though young was already the author of voluminous works, we must place the commentary of *Simplicius de Cælo* at the earliest at A. D. 555, when *Philoponus* might be about 30 years of age.



10 p. 649 "In codice bibliothecæ Coislinianæ, ejus meminit Montfauconus p. 598, inter τοὺς Πλάτωνα ὑπομνηματίζοντας memoratur Ἰωάννης ὁ Φιλόπονος, ὅστις καὶ κατὰ Πρισκιανοῦ ἠγνούσατο, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ κατὰ Ἀριστοτέλους.

8 ὑπομνήματα εἰς τὰ ὀκτὼ Ἀριστοτέλους φυσικῆς ἀκρόα-  
σεως βιβλία. fol. Venetiis Ald. 1526 pp. 322.

Among the last of the works of *Simplicius*. It is described in the Tables A. D. 536, but was composed many years later than that date; for it was written after the death of *Damascius*, and after the work *de cælo*, which is quoted. And as we have seen that the work *de cælo* was not earlier than 555, this commentary in *physic. auscult.* may be placed within A. D. 555—560, more than 25 years after the return from Persia.

*Simplicius* in his commentary on the 8th book replies to arguments of *Philoponus* against *Aristotle*. *Philoponus* apud *Simplicium* p. 259 b—260 a shews against *Arist.* Phys. VIII. I, 11 that the bodies which receive motion need not exist before motion begins. He argues that motion is only the action of that thing which has the power of moving or of being moved. The development of the power and the power itself may coexist; the latter need not precede the former. *Simplicius* p. 260 b quotes other objections of *Philoponus*, who argues apud *Simplic.* p. 260 b 19 "Fire may at the same moment receive its existence and at the same moment receive its law of Nature, the tendency to move upwards." *Philoponus* argues thirdly p. 260 b 50 that, if the four elements or the bodies which they compose were to be changed into one another, they change either by some medium or without a medium. He concludes p. 262 a 22 that if it has been shewn to be false that things capable of motion existed before motion, it follows that the proposition that motion had no beginning is also false; and contends *ibid.* l. 45 that motion could only be eternal if it could be shewn that nothing could be made out of nothing. *Philoponus* apud *Simplic.* p. 262 a 48 quotes his own work against *Proclus*: ἄς τελείως μὲν ἐν τῷ ἐνάτῳ καὶ ἐνδεκάτῳ εἶπε γεγράφθαι τῶν πρὸς Πρόκλον, ἀριθμοῖς ἡμᾶς βιβλίων καταπλήττων. πρὸς ἄνδρας εὐκλείεις ἀντιγεγραμμένων. *Philoponus* apud *Simplic.* p. 262 b draws a just distinction between Nature and God. He affirms that Nature requires time and generation by which to give form to the world; that God without time or generation, by forming and arranging the parts gave being to the world. He required no instrument or agent to give being to the substance of things; it was enough that he willed them to be. *Philoponus* apud *Simplic.* p. 268 a 54 observes that *Aristotle* does not demonstrate but assume the proposition that time is eternal.

*Simplicius* p. 261 b &c. answers *Philoponus*. He begins his attack p. 259 b 33 ἐπειδὴ δὲ πολλὴν συρφετὸν ὁ γραμματικὸς ἐκείνος—κατὰ τῶν ἀνοήτων ἀνθρώπων ἐπεσώρευσε, φέρε τὸν Ἀλφειὸν μεθ' Ἡρακλείους—ἐκκαθάρωμεν. *Simplicius* p. 263 a 14 ascribes to *Aristotle* the

opinion that "God is the cause of the heavens and of eternal motion, but is himself without a beginning and incorruptible." He observes *Ibid.* 44 "If we grant to *Philoponus* that God out of nothing brought the world into being from eternity by some mode of operation, this does not refute *Aristotle*." p. 263 b " *Philoponus* having shewn, as he thinks, that the world is not eternal, has shewn that motion is not eternal. But that he has not refuted *Aristotle* I have shewn in my commentary on the first book *περὶ οὐρανοῦ*." p. 264 a 12—17 " *Aristotle* affirms that the substance fire existed before its property of motion upwards took effect. The moving power and the body moved existed before the motion." p. 264 a *fin.* "If God produced matter, he produced it from all eternity." l. 50—52 "When we are enquiring concerning motion, whether it is eternal or not, to say that if the world is not eternal God evidently made it out of nothing, is τῶν λίαν ἀνοήτων." p. 264 b 23 "Whence could any one imagine so great a variability in God, that, having not created them before, he should in a moment of time be the creator of the atoms of matter, and again cease from his work and deliver over to Nature the generation of the elements from each other and of other bodies from the elements? By this reasoning God would be the author of the elements alone and these corruptible. And yet the things which God created without any intervening agent, as proceeding from him, a Being subject to no change, and always the same, should also themselves be incorruptible." p. 266 a l. 1 " *Philoponus* agrees with *Plato* and *Aristotle* that Intelligence or Mind is abstracted from matter, and also that Mind is without parts, and may apprehend truth without the process of a syllogism; that in the mind there is a succession of thoughts and ideas, and yet that this is not Time." p. 266 a 49 "He affirms that in his 5th discourse against *Proclus* he has shewn (ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ τῶν πρὸς Πρόκλον ἀποδοδειχέναι φησί) that terms which belong to Time are not always used in their proper sense." The passage referred to is still extant *Adv. Proclum* V. 2. 3. *Simplicius* p. 266 b answers the arguments of *Philoponus*. He ridicules the proposition that the mind could pass through a succession of ideas from truth to another truth and a third, without Time. He argues p. 267 a that the progress of the mind from one idea to another is motion, and that motion implies time, as *Philoponus* himself allows. *Simplicius* p. 268 a (conf. 320 b l. 12) endeavours to give a peculiar meaning to *γένεσις* in *Plato*; which *Philoponus* more rightly had interpreted in his own favour,—"*Philoponus* thinks that *Plato* agrees with him in calling the world and time *γενητούς*." [But *Aristotle* himself



- 376 *Hermeias Phœnix*. Tables A. D. 531.  
 377 *Diogenes Phœnix*. Tables A. D. 531.  
 378 *Isidorus Gazæus*. Tables A. D. 531. See A. D. 500, in Additions and Corrections p. 856.  
 379 *Hermolaus grammaticus*. Tables A. D. 536.  
 380 *Asclepius Trallianus*. A disciple of *Ammonius Hermecæ*. His commentaries upon Aristot. Metaphys. are quoted in Schol. Aristot. Berolin. p. 518 σχόλια γενόμενα ὑπὸ Ἀσκληπίου ἀπὸ φωνῆς Ἀμμωνίου τοῦ Ἑρμείου. He mentions his master *Ammonius* p. 547 b l. 13 ὁ ἡμέτερος φιλόσοφος Ἀμμώνιος. p. 552 a l. 25 οὕτως μὲν ὁ ἡμέτερος φιλόσοφος ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀφροδισιάδος οὕτως. p. 559 b l. 9 ὁ ἡμέτερος φιλόσοφος Ἀμμώνιος. p. 577 b l. 26 ὁ δὲ ἦρως Ἀμμώνιος ὁ Πρόκλου μὲν γεγονώς ἀκροατῆς ἐμοῦ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ διδάσκαλος. p. 595 a l. 32 ὁ ἡμέτερος φιλόσοφος Ἀμμώνιος<sup>z</sup>.

understands *Plato* to mean what *Philoponus* supposes him to mean.] *Simplicius* p. 268 a 42 quotes *Moses* in Genes. I. and calls the account *μυθικὴ παράδοσις ἀπὸ μύθων Αἰγυπτίων εἰδικυμένη*. p. 269 a 5 "I have refuted the arguments of *Philoponus* against the eternity of the world in my Comm. on lib. I *περὶ οὐρανοῦ*." See again p. 270 b l. 22 p. 271 a l. ult.

*Philoponus* apud *Simplicium* p. 269 b. med. argues against Aristot. VIII. I, 14 on ἀφθαρτος κίνησις that when a substance cannot be moved it ceases to be; and that it does not follow that motion should remain. *Simplicius* replies that the particular motion ceases but that motion in general remains; motion in the elements of which animal parts are composed and into which they are resolved again. p. 270 a fin. "God created the world, according to *Philoponus*, by successive acts, and if he destroys he will destroy it in time. But when *Philoponus* adds ἀχρόνος, he admits that the Creator was always a Creator, and the world eternal; that the acts of God were not done in time like human acts."

*Philoponus* apud *Simplicium* p. 271 a 17 holds that God created matter out of nothing and can at his pleasure resolve it into nothing again. *Simplicius* l. 20 contends that matter produced out of nothing by the creator does not begin to be, but has an eternal existence. He replies p. 271 a 25 to *Philoponus* that his own admission is that the world, though beginning out of nothing, yet was to be changed into a more perfect world, and that this change is not destruction or decay but is perfection and consummation. *Philoponus* argues apud *Simplicium* p. 271 b. med. that the movements of the planets from the nature of their motions must have had a beginning.

p. 272 a 51 "The scope of *Philoponus* is to shew that God is not ἀμετάβλητος and that the world is not αἰδιος."

276 a 3. "He who demonstrates first principles acknowledges that these are not first principles: for his proof is taken from something that precedes them."

275 (277) b 50 "As he is absurd who applies the testimony of the senses to objects of pure intellect, so is he absurd who, neglecting the criterion of the

senses in matters which belong to them, applies pure reason to objects of sense."

282 b 7 "When Aristotle calls Nature the effecting cause of the motion of bodies, sometimes saying that neither God nor Nature does any thing in vain, sometimes shewing that Nature acts with an intelligent design, perhaps we are to understand by Nature the Mind of the Creator pervading all things."

p. 312 a 27—314 b 32 *Philoponus* is combated again: "I have endeavoured in my comm. on Aristot. lib. I *περὶ οὐρανοῦ* to answer the proposition of *Philoponus* that the heavens and the world began in time." *Simplicius* argues p. 312 b that a limited body may have the property of suffering motion for unlimited time, though not the power of causing it. He states p. 312 b fin. the argument of *Philoponus*. p. 313 a 5 " *Philoponus* in lib. IV τῶν πρὸς Ἀριστοτέλην has been answered in my comm. on lib. I *περὶ οὐρανοῦ*." See also p. 313 a 6 p. 314 a 36.

p. 313 b fin. He quotes a long ῥῆσις from *Philoponus*. *Philoponus* apud *Simplicium* p. 314 a 1 quotes his own lib. III τῶν πρὸς Ἀριστοτέλην. mentioned Ib. l. 35.

p. 314 a 38 "The Creation was more than 6000 years before the treatise of *Philoponus* against *Aristotle*—ὡς οὗτος οἰεταί."

p. 320 a 51 An argument of *Philoponus* considered. *Simplicius* every where speaks in angry terms of *Philoponus*. p. 261 a 20 ἐσκοτωμένος. p. 262 a 25 θορύβου τῶν κολοίων. l. 44 προπετέσι φαντασίαις. He is charged p. 263 a 28 with γιγαντικὴ θρασύτης. p. 266 b 12 τὴν περιέργον ἀδολεσχίαν. p. 263 b 22 δυσσυνεσία. Again p. 264 b 21 θανασιῶς ἀταλαπύρου ψυχῆς πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας ζήτησιν. *Philoponus* is always ὁ γραμματικὸς ἐκεῖνος, as p. 259 b 34 p. 265 b 41 p. 267 a 20 p. 268 a 8 b 42 p. 269 b 21. 51 p. 271 b 50 p. 312 a 27. From the tone and temper of these passages of *Simplicius* we may suspect that he found the arguments of his adversary cogent and difficult to be answered. *Simplicius* p. 272 a 50 concludes ταῦτα μὲν οὖν εἰρήσθω πρὸς τὸ ἕκτον τοῦ γραμματικοῦ βιβλίον ὃ τὴν αἰδιότητα τῆς κινήσεως ἀνελεῖν ἐπειράτο.

<sup>z</sup> He quotes *Alexander* of *Aphrodisias* apud Schol. minor. p. 189. 19 ἀπορεῖ δὲ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ὅτι κ. τ. λ.



381 *Joannes grammaticus Philoponus*<sup>a</sup>. A disciple of *Ammonius Hermæ* (N<sup>o</sup> 342) who had heard *Proclus* before A. D. 485. For memorials of *Philoponus* see c. 1 p. 161 A. D. 611 p. 164

And *Syrianus*: Schol. majora p. 766 b l. 36 Συριανὸς ὁ φιλόσοφος βοηθῶν τῷ Πλάτῳ ἀντιλέγει τοῖς ὑπ' Ἀριστοτέλους λεγομένοις δέκα ἐπιχειρήμασι. p. 771 b l. 43 ὁ δὲ Συριανὸς φησιν ὅτι διὰ τοῦτο κ. τ. λ.

<sup>a</sup> Works of *Philoponus*.

*I Philosophica.*

1 Ἰωάννου γραμματικοῦ Ἀλεξανδρέως τοῦ Φιλοπόνου κατὰ Πρόκλου περὶ ἀιδιότητος κόσμου λόγοι ιη'. Edidit Trincavelus fol. Venet. 1535. Habet quaterniones decem præter A duernionem. Conf. Suidam Πρόκλος p. 3097 Α οὗτός ἐστι Πρόκλος—πρὸς ἃν ἔγραψεν Ἰωάννης ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Φιλόπονος πᾶν θαυμασιῶς ὑπαντήσας κατὰ τῶν ἡ' ἐπιχειρημάτων αὐτοῦ, καὶ δείξας αὐτὸν κἂν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς ἐφ' οἷς μέγα ἐφρόνει ἀμαθῆ καὶ ἀνόητον. One of the earliest works of *Philoponus*, and quoted by *Philoponus* himself in the work against *Aristotle* to which *Simplicius* replies in *Comm. de Cælo lib. I*, and *Comm. in Phys. lib. VIII*. See above, *Simplicius*. Works n. 7. 8. *Philoponus* also refers to this work in his address to *Sergius* probably 60 years after it was written. See above c. 1 p. 161 A. D. 611.

2 *Libri sex in Aristotelem aliosque de aternitate mundi*. *Simplicius* replies to the first 5 Books in his *comm. de cælo lib. I* and to the 6th in his *comm. in phys. lib. VIII*. See Works of *Simplicius* n. 7. 8. In the first 5 books of this work *Philoponus* combated the opinions of *Aristot. Meteorolog. Aristot. de cælo*; and in *lib. VI* his dogmas concerning motion in *phys. ausc. lib. VIII*. To this work of *Philoponus* may be referred the notice apud *Fabric.* tom. 10 p. 649 quoted above at N<sup>o</sup> 375 ὅστις—ἡγγνώσαστο πολλὰ καὶ κατὰ Ἀριστοτέλους. And *Nicephorus H. E. XVIII. 47* πολλὰ δὲ ἀλλὰ συγγράμματα ὁ ῥηθεὶς Φιλόπονος καταλόιστε, πρὸς θ' Ἑλληνας κ. τ. λ.

3 εἰς τὸν Πλάτωνος Φαῖδωνα. *Philoponus ipse in Analyt. 2* apud *Schol. Berolin.* p. 225 a 22 ὅτι γὰρ οὐκ ἐκ τῶν αἰσθητῶν πραγμάτων λαμβάνει τὴν γνώσιν ἢ ψυχῆ, δέδεικται ἰκανῶς ἐν τοῖς εἰς τὸν Φαῖδωνα.

4 εἰς τοὺς Ἀριστοτέλους φυσικῆς ἀκροάσεως. *Philoponus ipse in Analyt. 2* p. 89 apud *Fabric.* tom. 10 p. 662 εἴπομεν περὶ αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ φυσικῇ ἀκροάσει. *Philop. de Anima* p. b 14 l. 27 τὰς διαφορὰς εἶναι τῶν φυσικῶν σωμάτων παρὰ τὰ σχήματα τῶν ἀτόμων ἐξ ἃν τὰ σώματα καὶ ἔτι παρὰ τὴν θέσιν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν τάξιν, ὡς πλατύτερον ἐν τῇ φυσικῇ ἀκροάσει εἴπομεν. *Philop. in Phys. lib. IV* περὶ κενοῦ p. q 1 l. 21 εἴρηται μοι πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ θεώρημα μέτρια ἐν ταῖς σχολαῖς τοῦ ἡ' ταύτης τῆς πραγματείας. p. t 11 l. 35 ὅτι δὲ ἡ κίνησις αἰεὶ ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ἡ' ταύτης τῆς πραγματείας πειράται μὲν [sc. *Aristoteles*] δεικνύται, πᾶν δὲ μᾶλλον δεικνύσιν ἢ τοῦτο, ὡς ἐν ταῖς σχολαῖς ἐκείνου τοῦ βιβλίου ἐδείξαμεν. *Philoponus in Phys. lib. IV* p. r 12 l. 50 in his *παρέκβασις* observes πρῶτον μὲν ἐκεῖνο φημι, ὅτι εἰ δέδεικται ἡμῖν ἐν τοῖς περὶ τοῦ τόπου λόγοις κ. τ. λ. But here he does not refer to any former commentaries but to his own extant remarks upon the beginning of *Aristot. lib. IV* p. n. seq.

5 εἰς τὰ πρότερα ἀναλυτικὰ σχολικὰ ἀποσημειώσεις ἐκ τῶν συνουσιῶν Ἀμμωνίου τοῦ Ἑρμείου, μετὰ τινῶν ἰδίων ἐπιστάσεων. fol. Venet. 1536.

6 εἰς τὰ ὕστερα ἀναλυτικὰ. fol. Venet. 1534.

7 εἰς τὸ περὶ ψυχῆς Ἀριστοτέλους σχολικὰ ἀποσημειώσεις ἐκ τῶν συνουσιῶν Ἀμμωνίου κ. τ. λ. fol. Ven. 1535.

8 σχολικὰ ἀποσημειώσεις ἐκ τῶν συνουσιῶν Ἀμμωνίου τοῦ Ἑρμείου, μετὰ τινῶν ἰδίων ἐπιστάσεων, εἰς τὸ Περὶ γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς Ἀριστοτέλους. fol. Venet. 1527 pp. 70=140.

9 εἰς τὰ μετεωρολογικὰ Ἀριστοτέλους εἰς τὸ πρῶτον. *libri III. ad calcem Olympiodori in Meteorologica.* fol. Venet. 1551.

10 Φιλόπονος εἰς τὰς κατηγορίας. Extant under the name of *Ammonius*: *Buhle Aristot. tom. 1* p. 51 "Difficultas tollitur prorsus inscriptione commentarii in præstantissimo codice Vindobonensi: Ἰωάννου γραμματικοῦ Ἀλεξανδρέως τοῦ Φιλοπόνου ἐκ τῶν συνουσιῶν Ἀμμωνίου τοῦ Ἑρμείου σχολικὰ ἀποσημειώσεις εἰς τὰς Ἀριστοτέλους δέκα κατηγορίας. quam inscriptionem verissimam esse exinde elucet quod ab Ammonii ἀποσημειώσεις *Philoponi* ἰδία ἐπιστάσεις, quæ in edd. commentarii confusæ cum illis sub uno Ammonii nomine leguntur, in hoc codice accurate distinctæ sunt." Conf. p. 303, item *Fabricium* tom. 5 p. 706 tom. 10 p. 645 *Schol. Aristot. Berolin.* p. 34 &c. The Ἀριστοτέλους βίος κατ' Ἀμμώνιον, prefixed to these commentaries, and placed by *Fabricius* tom. 10 p. 645 among the works of *Philoponus*, is rejected by *Buhle* p. 51. 52 as unworthy of both.

11 "Scholia in librum περὶ ἑρμηνείας *Aristotelis* inedita in *Cod. Vindobon. v. Fabricium B. G. Vol. 2* p. 112 [tom. 3 p. 213]." *Buhle* tom. 1 p. 303.

12 *In Porphyrii εἰσαγωγῇ*. *Buhle* p. 304 "Asservatur in bibl. Matritensi codex inter alia continens *Philoponi* in *Porphyrii* quinque voces commentarium: Ἰωάννου Φιλοπόνου τοῦ γραμματικοῦ εἰς τὰς ε' φωνάς. Incipit hic: καὶ τὸ πρὸς ὠφέλειαν οὐ μόνον τῶν οἰκείων μαθητῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων τῶν περὶ λόγους ἐσπουδακῶν. Liber plane ab illo discrepat qui apud *Nesselium* inscribitur Ἰωάννου γραμμ. τοῦ Φ. προλεγόμενα εἰς τὴν *Porphyrii* εἰσαγωγῇ ἀπὸ φωνῆς Ἀμμωνίου τοῦ Ἑρμείου. cujus initium μέλλοντας ἡμᾶς ἄρχεσθαι φιλοσόφων λόγων, ἀναγκαῖον— Enimvero codex Matritensis mihi *Scholia solius Philoponi*, nec ea, ut in *Cod. Vindobon. cum Ammonii Scholiis* confusa, continere videtur. Hinc diversitas codicum." Conf. *Fabric.* tom. 5 p. 738 u.

13 ἐξήγησις τῶν τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους μετὰ τὰ φυσικὰ, ἀπὸ τοῦ Φιλοπόπου Ἰωάννου. Extant in Greek in *Cod. Vindobon.*: *Fabric.* tom. 10 p. 648 *Buhle* p. 304. But published only in a Latin version. In *Schol. Aristot. Berolin.* p. 518 the editor seems to doubt the genuineness: "Ex Anonymi brevi expositione *Metaphysicorum* quæ sub *Philoponi* nomine a *Fr. Patritio* Latine *Ferrariæ* 1583 edita est in *Cod. Vat. Urbin.* 49 Græce legitur, addidi scholia quædam ad lib. I."



A. D. 617 p. 177 A. D. 640. He was born about A. D. 525, wrote some works before the commentary of *Simplicius de Cælo*; his treatise against *Joannes CP.* was composed about

14 κατὰ Ἰαμβλίχου. Phot. Cod. 215 ἀνεγνώσθη Ἰωάννου τοῦ Φιλοπόνου κατὰ τῆς σπουδῆς Ἰαμβλίχου ἢ ἐπέγραψε Περὶ ἀγαλμάτων. ἔστι μὲν οὖν ὁ σκοπὸς Ἰαμβλίχου θεῖά τε δεῖξαι τὰ εἰδῶλα—καὶ θείας μετουσίας ἀνάπλεα.—τούτων οὖν ἀπάντων ἔργα τε ὑπερφυῆ καὶ δόξης ἀνθρωπίνης κρείττονα γράφει ὁ Ἰαμβλίχος, πολλὰ μὲν ἀπίθανα μυθολογῶν, πολλὰ δὲ εἰς ἀδήλους φέρων αἰτίας, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ὁρωμένοις ἐναντία γράφειν οὐκ αἰσχυρόμενος. εἰς δύο δὲ τὴν ὅλην πραγματείαν διατέμνει τὴν μὲν μείζονα καλῶν τὴν δὲ ἐλάττονα, καθ' ἑκατέρας δὲ τούτων ὁ Φιλόπονος ἴσταται, λέξει μὲν κεχηρμένος ἤπερ εἰώθει, καὶ τὴν συνθήκην δὲ εἰς τὸν ὅμοιον ἑαυτῷ τύπον ἀρμοζόμενος. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ καθαροῦ καὶ εὐκροῦς οὐκ ἀποκλίνει, οὐ μέντοιγε τῇ λογαδίᾳ καὶ ἀπτικίζουσῃ φράσει καλλωπίζεται. κ. τ. λ.

15 περὶ κοσμοποιίας λόγος ἐπτά. 4to. Viennæ Austriæ 1630 pp. 282. Addressed after A. D. 610 to *Sergius*. See above c. 1 p. 161 A. D. 611. Photius Cod. 43 ἀνεγνώσθη Ἰωάννου τοῦ Φιλοπόνου εἰς τὴν ἐξαήμερον. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ βιβλίῳ καθαρὸς καὶ σαφὴς καὶ κρείττων τῇ λέξει ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ συμφωνῶν σχεδὸν ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις Βασιλείῳ τῷ μεγάλῳ, ἀντιπίπτων δὲ δι' ὅλου τῷ Μοφουεστίας Θεοδώρῳ [Phot. Cod. 38 οὗτος δὲ ἔστιν ὁ Μοφουεστίας, ὃν καὶ πλείστα εὐθύνας Ἰωάννης ὁ Φιλόπονος—τῆς τοιαύτης ἐρμηνείας ἐν οἰκείῳ τῷ ἐπισημασμένῳ ἐδείχθη σπουδαίως εἰσπραττόμενος], ὃς τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἐνοστήσασκεν ἐρμηνείαν τῆς κτίσεως τὸ βιβλίον ἐπέγραψεν. οὐ τὰς δόξας διελέγχων ὁ Φιλόπονος τὴν ἐναντίαν ἐγράφετο. Photius Cod. 240 gives an abstract of the work of *Philoponus*.

16 εἰς τὰ περὶ φυσικῆς ἀκροάσεως τέσσαρα πρῶτα βιβλία τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους ἀποσημειώσεις, ἐκ τῶν συνουσίων τοῦ Ἀμμωνίου τοῦ Ἑρμείου, μετὰ τινων ἰδίων ἐπιστάσεων. fol. Venet. 1535. The register gives (for pages there are none) *quaterniones XVIII prater m quinternionem et v duernionem*. Probably the latest of the works of *Philoponus*, written in A. D. 617. See above c. 1 p. 164.

### II *Arithmetica vel astronomica.*

17 *In Ptolemæi μεγάλῃν σύνταξιν*. Theodorus Meliteniota προοίμιον εἰς ἀστρονομίαν c. 6—8 apud Fabricium tom. 10 p. 406 τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ ἐν τοῖς τριῶν πρὸς τοῖς δέκα βιβλίοις τῆς μεγάλῃς συντάξεως—ἧς περί πλείστα συγγράμματα διεξοδικώτερον εἰργασται τῷ φιλοσόφῳ Συριανῷ [No 322] Θέωνι τε καὶ Πάππῳ τοῖς μαθηματικοῖς, καὶ Ἰωάννη γραμματικῷ τῷ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας πολίτῃ.

18 *In Nicomachi Geraseni arithmetica*. Fabric. tom. 10 p. 649.

19 *De usu astrolabii*. Fabric. tom. 10 p. 650.

### III *Theologica.*

20 βιβλιδάριον κατὰ τοῦ—Ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπισκόπου ΚΠ. Written about A. D. 568: Photius Cod. 75 quoted above c. 1 p. 164 A. D. 617. Photius l. c. proceeds thus: ἔστι δὲ τὴν φράσιν ὅμοιος ἑαυτῷ: σαφὴς τε γὰρ καὶ οὐδὲν μετέχων τόνου ἢ σεμνότητος. τοῖς ἐπιχειρήμασι δὲ οὐ

μόνον ἀσεβῆς ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν σαθρὸς καὶ ἀνίσχυρος, καὶ μηδ' ἐπιπολαίῳ φαντασίᾳ τῆς ἀληθείας τὰ οἰκεία δυναθεῖς ἐπιχρῶσαι κατὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας σοφίσματα: φύσεις γὰρ καὶ οὐσίας καὶ θεότητας καὶ θεοῦ πλασάμενος ἐντεῦθεν ἀβυροστόμω πᾶσαν βλασφημίαν τῆς Χριστιανῶν καταχέει πίστει, τὸ ἐν πόσα σημαίνει σμικρολογῶν.—πλὴν ἀλλ' ἐν γε τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ πατέρων ῥήσεις παραφέρει τοῦ τε θεολόγου Γρηγορίου καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου Ἀθανασίου τε τοῦ πολυάθλου καὶ τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις Κυρίλλου. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν αὐτῷ συντελοῦσιν οὐδ' αὐταὶ εἰς τὸν προκείμενον καὶ ἡσηγημένον σκοπὸν. He was called in question for his opinions before A. D. 578: Phot. Cod. 24. See above c. 1 p. 164 A. D. 617, Photius Ibid. ἃ τινα συνέστησαν μετὰ τῷ Κόνωνος καὶ Εὐγενίου τῶν τριθεϊτῶν καὶ Παύλου καὶ Στεφάνου, καὶ αὐτῶν τῆς τῶν διακρινομένων αἰρέσεως τυγχάνοντων. ἐν ᾧ φαίνονται Κόνων καὶ Εὐγένιος ἀντιποιοῦμενοι τοῦ Φιλοπόνου: τῶν γὰρ περὶ Παῦλον καὶ Στέφανον ἀπαυτῶν αὐτοὺς ἀναθεματίζουσι τὸν Φιλόπονον, οὗτοι οὐκ ἠέσχηοντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ προεκόμιζον μαρτυρίας ὡς σφοδρὰ Σεβήρῳ καὶ Θεοδοσίῳ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν φρονεῖ διδασκάλους. οὗτοι δὲ τὰς μὲν ἄλλας περὶ τὴν θεολογίαν λέγουσι φωνὰς εὐσεβεῖς, Τριάδα ὁμοούσιον καὶ ὁμοφυῆ, καὶ Θεὸν ἕνα, καὶ μίαν Θεότητα, βλασφημοῦσι δὲ λέγοντες μερικὰς οὐσίας καὶ ἰδικὰς θεότητας καὶ ἰδικὰς φύσεις τὸν Πατέρα καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν καὶ τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, ἑαυτοῖς τε καὶ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μαχόμενοι.

21 περὶ τοῦ πάσχα. Eddidit Corderius ad calcem libri de mundo, 4to. Viennæ Austriæ 1630 pp. 18.

22 περὶ ἀναστάσεως. Phot. Cod. 21 ἀνεγνώσθη Ἰωάννου Φιλοπόνου ὁ Περὶ ἀναστάσεως λόγος ἐν τόμοις \* \* ἐν οἷς τὴν τῶν σωμάτων ἀνάστασιν ἀναιρεῖ πολλά τε ἀπερισκεπτός λέγει, ἐπιχλευάζων καὶ τοῖς μακαρίους καὶ ἁγίους πατέρας ἡμῶν. Cod. 22 ἀνεγνώσθη Θεοδοσίῳ μονάζοντος τῶν τῷ Φιλοπόνῳ Ἰωάννη παραληφθέντων χρήσεων κατὰ τῆς τῶν σωμάτων ἀναστάσεως ἐσπουδασμένη ἀνατροπῆ, καὶ παρθένους ῥητῶν γραφικῶν τε καὶ πατρικῶν εἰς ἔλεγχον τῆς Ἰωάννου ματαιοπονίας. Cod. 23 ἀνεγνώσθη Κόνωνος καὶ Εὐγενίου καὶ Θεοδοσίου κατὰ Ἰωάννου, τὴν Περὶ ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ ματαιοπονίαν στηλιτευόντων: ἐν οἷς πολλὴν αὐτοῦ καταδρομὴν ποιοῦνται, ὥστε καὶ ἀλλότριον λέγειν αὐτὸν παντελῶς τοῦ δόγματος τῶν Χριστιανῶν. καὶ τοὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ τῆς αὐτῆς αὐτῷ δόξης ἐκοινώνουν, τὴν ἐν Χαλκηδόνι, ὡς ἐκεῖνος, οὐ παραδεχόμενοι σύνοδον. Nicephorus H. E. XVIII. 47 p. 873 A ὀρίζεται δὲ καὶ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν εἶναι τὴν τῶν λογικῶν ψυχῶν πρὸς τὸ φθαρτὸν σῶμα ἔνωσιν ἀδιάλυτον: οἷς οἱ περὶ Κόνωνα ἐναντιούμενοι αὐτόν τε καὶ τὰ τούτου συγγράμματα ἀπεώσαντο—κἀν καὶ πρότερον αὐτὸν ἀπεδέχοντο: “τὰ σώματα,” λέγοντες, “κατὰ μὲν τὴν ὅλην οὐ φθείρονται ἀλλὰ κατὰ μόνον τὸ εἶδος” κ. τ. λ.

23 κατὰ τῆς ἐν Χαλκηδόνι συνόδου. Phot. Cod. 55 ἀνεγνώσθη Ἰωάννου τοῦ Φιλοπόνου, μάλλον δὲ ματαιοπόνου, κατὰ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ οἰκουμενικῆς τετάρτης συνόδου. ἐν οἷς ἐστὶ τὴν μὲν φράσιν ὅμοιος ἑαυτῷ, ὠθεῖν δὲ πειράται ἀναισχύντως τὴν σύνοδον εἰς τὸ Νεστορίου φρόνημα. καὶ λέγει καταδέξασθαι τὴν σύνοδον τὸν ἀναθεματισμὸν Νεστορίου ἅτε μηδὲν ἡγουμένην εἰς ἀνθρώπων ἐξαμαρτεῖν ἐπικυρώσει



A. D. 568; he addressed *Sergius* after A. D. 610, and still wrote in May A. D. 617, when he was probably 92 years of age. Nicephorus H. E. XVIII. 47 τὸ μὲν γένος Ἀλεξανδρέως ἦν ὁ ἀνὴρ λίαν δὲ ἔστι φιλόσοφος ἀκριβέστατος, κὰν καὶ τὴν ἰδέαν τῶν λόγων οὐ πάντῃ τῶν ἐπαινουμένων ἔχων γνωρίζεται. περὶ δὲ τὰς ἀποδείξεις τῶν λόγων πάντῃ ἔστι θαυμασιώτατος· ἄκρος δ' εἰσάγαν κατὰ τὴν Πλάτωνος καὶ Ἀριστοτέλους παιδείαν· οἷς καὶ πλείω, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους ἀπαρρήτων λαμπροτάτας ἐξηγήσεις κατέλιπεν, αἱ καὶ ἐς δεῦρο δὴ διασώζονται.

382 *Nonnosus*. Photius Cod. 3 ἀνεγνώσθη *Nonnosus* ἱστορία, ἐν ᾗ διαλαμβάνεται πρεσβεία αὐτοῦ πρὸς τε Αἰθίοπας καὶ Ἀμερίτας καὶ Σαρακηνοὺς, τὰ ἰσχυρότερα τῶν τότε ἐθνῶν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ πρὸς

δόγματος, ὃ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ βαλλόμενος τῷ ἀναθέματι πάντων ὑπερετίμα καὶ ἔστεργε, πράγμα πλάττων καὶ τερατευόμενος, ὃ τῆς ἐκείνου φρενὸς καὶ τῆς ἀστηρίκτου γνώμης καθέστηκεν ἄξιον.—ἐν τμήμασι δὲ τέσσαρασι ποιείται τὴν ὄλην κατ' αὐτῆς κομωδίαν.

24 κατὰ Σεβήρου. Suidas p. 1789 B. Fabric. tom. 10 p. 652 “Ex hoc opere puto esse κεφάλαια ιζ' πρὸς τοὺς ἀκεφάλους MSS. in bibliotheca Cæsarea.—Incipit εἰ ὁ λέγων τὸν Θεὸν μόνον τὸν Χριστὸν μαριχαΐζει, καὶ ὁ λέγων μόνον ἄνθρωπον τὸν Χριστὸν παυλιανίζει, καὶ ὁ λέγων Θεὸν τέλειον τὸν Χριστὸν, ἄνθρωπον δὲ ἀτέλειον, ἀπολιναρίζει”

25 διαίσεις τῶν τριῶν ψυχικῶν δυνάμεων πρὸς τὰς τέσσαρας γενικωτάτας ἀρετὰς, πῶς ἐν ταῖς τρισὶν εἰσιν αἱ τέσσαρες. MS. Ibid. Fabricius p. 652 “Incipit φασί τινας, τε ἄποτε”

26 *Διατητής*. Composed at the request of *Sergius*, and therefore after A. D. 610. Nicephorus XVIII. 47 p. 872 C τῷ δυσσεβεῖ Σεργίῳ τηλικαῦτα τῆς Κωνσταντίνου ἱεραρχοῦντι παρακληθεὶς τὴν τοιαύτην συστήσασθαι αἴρεσιν λόγον δεινότητος συνεγράψατο, ὃς *Διατητής* ἢ *Περὶ ἐνώσεως ἐπιγράψαται*. ἐν κεφαλαίῳ δὲ δέκα τῆς αἰρέσεως πᾶσαν τομὴν ἐξυφάνατο. πρὸς γε μὴν ἀπόδειξιν τοῦ μυσταροῦ αὐτοῦ δόγματος πᾶσαν φιλοσοφίαν κεκίνηκεν ἐξακριβωσάμενος. c. 48 p. 874 C ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Φιλόπνοος καὶ ὅσοι ἐκείνου σύμφρονες τὴν κοινὴν ἀνθρωπιάν φύσιν καὶ αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν θεῖαν ἦν φαμεν ἀδιαίρετον εἰς πλείστα διύττησι προσώπα, ἀποδιαρῶν αὐτὴν καὶ κατὰ μόνην ἐπιστῶν τοῖς ἀτόμοις, καὶ ταῖς τρισὶ μερίζων τῆς ὑπερουσίου φύσεως ὑποστάσεων.—ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ ἄλλοι τούτοις ἀντέθεντο· μάλιστα δὲ πάντων ὁ μοναχὸς Λεόντιος γενναῖος ἐν λ' κεφαλαίῳ βίβλου ὄλην τούτοις ἀντέστησεν.—ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ὁ θαυμάσιος διάκονος καὶ βεφερενδάριος Γεώργιος ὁ Πισίδης [N<sup>o</sup> 393], ἠλικιώτης ὢν ἐκείνῳ, εἰ καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ λίαν νεώτερος, ἐν ἰάμβων μέτροις ἀρίστως ὡσπερ εἴθιστο γράφειν πρὸς τὴν εἰρημένην αἴρεσιν ἀντιβὰς κ. τ. λ. *Leontius* in another work, still extant, *de sectis*, animadvertens upon *Philoponus*, as we have seen above at p. 177. In a passage c. 5 § 6, quoted by Geiseler tom. 1 p. 321, *Leontius* thus speaks of *Philoponus*: ἔλεγε δὲ ταῦτα λαβὼν τὴν ἀφορμὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀριστοτελικῶν· ὁ γὰρ Ἀριστοτέλης φησὶν ὅτι εἰσὶ τῶν ἀτόμων καὶ μερικαὶ οὐσίαι, καὶ μία κοινὴ· οὕτως οὖν καὶ ὁ Φιλόπνοος ἔλεγεν ὅτι εἰσὶ τρεῖς μερικαὶ οὐσίαι ἐπὶ τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος, καὶ ἔστι μία κοινὴ. The fragments of the work of *Philoponus* preserved by Joannes Damascenus are thus described: Damasc. tom. 1 p. 101 περὶ φύσεως καὶ ὑποστάσεως, ὅπως οἱ ἐκ Σενήρου δοξάζουσι, καὶ πῶς τὰς μερικὰς δογματίζουσιν οὐ-

σίας, Ἰωάννου γραμματικοῦ τριβείτου τοῦ λεγομένου Φιλόπνοου, ἐκ τοῦ τετάρτου λόγου τοῦ *Διατητοῦ*. p. 102—107 ἐκ τοῦ *Διατητοῦ*, κεφ. ζ'. “ἕβδομος ἔστι λόγος,” κ. τ. λ. In the proposition of *Philoponus*, as *Leontius* l. c. has given it, there is this extreme absurdity, that he has applied to Spiritual Substance the properties which *Aristotle* affirmed of the elements of Matter.

In the 6th general Council, in Act. XI March 18 A. D. 681 apud Acta Concil. tom. 7 p. 921, 924, 925, after a long list of heretics, *Philoponus Conon* and *Eugenius* are anathematized as οἱ τρεῖς τῆς τριθείας τρισκατάρτοι πρόμαχοι, and *Themistius* ὁ τῆς ἀγνοίας πατήρ καὶ γεννήτωρ κ. τ. λ.

#### IV Grammatica.

27 Ἰωάννου γραμματικοῦ Ἀλεξανδρέως τοικῶν παραγελάτων ἐν ἐπιτομῇ. Edidit Dindorf 8vo Lips. 1825 pp. 40. Abridged from *Herodian*: Philop. p. 4, 24 τοῦτο παραδώσομεν ἐκ τῶν τοῦ πολυμαθεστάτου Ἡρωδιανῶ ἐν ἐπιτομῇ ἐκδεξάμενοι τὰ χρησιμώτερα.

28 συναγωγὴ τῶν πρὸς διάφορον σημασίαν διαφόρων τонуμένων λέξεων. Fabric. tom. 10 p. 648.

29 περὶ διαλέκτων ἐκ τῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ γραμματικοῦ τεχνικῶν. Villoison Anecd. tom. 2 p. 102. Conf. Fabricium tom. 6 p. 197. 294 tom. 10 p. 648. Gregorius Corinthius de dial. p. 1 ἰδοῦ σοι καὶ τὰς διαλέκτους ἐγχειρίζω—περὶ ὧν ὁ τε Φιλόπνοος Ἰωάννης ἐπόνησε καὶ Τρύφων ὁ γραμματικὸς καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ κ. τ. λ.

30 περὶ ὀρθογραφίας, et aliud περὶ λέξεως. “MSS. in bibliotheca Cæsarea.” Fabric. tom. 10 p. 650.

[Ἰπόμνημα εἰς τὸ περὶ ζῶων μορίων. Auctor Comm. in Aristot. de gen. animalium p. 27 b 46 τίς δὲ ἡ κυρτὴ περιφέρεια εἰρηταί μοι ἀκριβῶς ἐν τῷ εἰς τὸ περὶ ζῶων μορίων ἵπομν.]

[*Aristoteles* περὶ ζῶων γενέσεως μετὰ τῆς τοῦ Φιλόπνοου ἐξηγήσεως βιβλία πέντε. fol. Venet. 1526 pp. 119 (238). More probably the work of *Michael Ephesius*. See Fabric. tom. 10 p. 647 Buhle p. 185. If this is the work of *Michael Ephes.* he is also the author of the preceding commentary.]

It has been shewn in p. 177 A. D. 640 that some have mistaken the time of *Philoponus*. To these may be added *Lequien* ad Joannem Damascenum tom. 1 p. 104, who places *Philoponus* almost 100 years before *Mohammed*: “Vivebat sub Justiniano, centum fere annis ante Mohammedem.” He lived indeed under *Justinian*, for he was probably born two years before *Justinian's* accession; but he still wrote, as we have seen, in 617, only 5 years before the *Hejira*.

ἄλλα ἀνατολικά ἔθνη. Ἰουστινιανὸς δὲ τὸ τηρικαῦτα τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν περιεῖπε πολιτείαν, φύλαρχος δὲ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἐχρημάτιζε Κάϊσος ἀπόγονος Ἀρέθα, καὶ αὐτοῦ φυλάρχου γεγεννημένου, πρὸς δὲ τὸ Νουνόσου πάππος ἐπρεσβεύσατο παρὰ Ἀναστασίου τότε βασιλεύοντος ἀποσταλεῖς, καὶ τὰ πρὸς εἰρήμην ἐσπέισατο. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ Νουνόσου (Ἀβράμης δ' ἦν αὐτῷ ὄνομα) πρὸς Ἀλαμούνδαρον φύλαρχον Σαρακηνῶν ἐπρεσβεύσατο, καὶ δύο στρατηγούς Ῥωμαίων, Τιμόστρατον καὶ Ἰωάννην, νόμῳ πολέμου συλληφθέντας ἀνεσώσατο. Ἰουστίνῳ δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν τῶν στρατηγῶν διηκουεῖτο ἀνάρρυσιν.—πρὸς τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Κάϊσον καὶ ὁ Νουνόσου πατὴρ, πρὶν ἢ Νόννοσον πρεσβεύειν αἰρεθῆναι, Ἰουστινιανοῦ πέμποντος ἀπέσταλτο καὶ εἰρηρικὰς ἔθετο σπονδὰς, ὥστε καὶ τὸν υἱὸν Κάϊσου (Μαυίας δὲ ἐκαλεῖτο) ὄμηρα λαβεῖν καὶ πρὸς Ἰουστινιανὸν ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀποκομίσει. μεθ' ὃν χρόνον ἐπρεσβεύσατο Νόννοσος κ. τ. λ.

As the second embassy of *Abrames* was in the reign of *Justinian*, after A. D. 527, the mission of *Nonnosus* himself was probably not early in that reign, and may be placed within about A. D. 540—550.

383 *Isidorus mechanicus*. Tables A. D. 557.

384 *Paulus Silentarius*. Celebrated the dedication of *St. Sophia* in hexameter verse: *Agathias* V. 9 p. 153 A ὦν μὲν οὖν ἔδει ἐν ξυγγραφῇ τοῦ νεῷ περὶ ἐπιμνησθῆναι—ταῦτα ἔμοιγε ἀποχρόνως ἐκδεδιγῆναι [see the Tables A. D. 557 p. 807].—εἰ δὲ τις ἐθέλοι πόρρω που τυχὸν τῆς πόλεως ἀφικισμένος ἔπειτα γινώσκων σαφῶς ἅπαντα, καθάπερ παρῶν καὶ θεώμενος, ἀναλεγέσθω τὰ Παύλῳ τοῦ Κύρου τοῦ Φλώρου ἐν ἑξαμέτροις πεποιημένα, ὅς δὴ τὰ πρῶτα τελῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν βασιλέα σιγῆς ἐπιστάταις, γένους τε κοσμούμενος δόξῃ καὶ πλοῦτον ἄφθονον ἐκ προγόνων διαδεξάμενος, ὅμως παιδεία γε αὐτῷ καὶ λόγων ἄσκησις διεσπούδαστο. κ. τ. λ.—ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἦδε μὲν ἡ δευτέρα τοῦ νεῷ ἐπισκευὴ καὶ ἀνθρώποις ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον χρόνῳ [sc. post A. D. 558] ἀπειργασταὶ καὶ ξυνετελέεσθη.<sup>b</sup>

385 *Macedonius*. Flourished in the reign of *Justinian*: *Suidas* p. 30 B 31 A Ἀγαθίας—συνήκμασε Παύλῳ τῷ Σιλενταρίῳ, καὶ Μακεδονίῳ τῷ ὑπάτῳ, καὶ Τριβουνιανῷ [Tables A. D. 532 p. 755], ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰουστινιανοῦ χρόνων.<sup>c</sup>

386 *Agathias*. Began at A. D. 553: Tables p. 798. 799. *Agathias* in A. D. 554: p. 803. His 5th book included the year 559: p. 811. He wrote after the death of *Justin* A. D. 578: p. 841.<sup>d</sup>

387 *Joannes Epiphaniensis*. Tables A. D. 553. 578. His history contained 40 years A. D. 553—592: *Ibid.* p. 843.

388 *Menander rhetor*. Tables A. D. 562. 576.

389 *Malalas*. Quoted at A. D. 507: Tables p. 723. 725. at 528: *Ibid.* p. 749. Wrote after the death of *Justinian*: Tables A. D. 563 p. 817.

390 *Theophanes Byzantinus historicus*. Tables A. D. 567. 568. 571.

391 *Theophylactus Simocatta*. At CP. in 610. See above c. 1 p. 161. He wrote in the reign of *Heraclius*: VIII. 12 p. 214 B αὐτοκράτωρ Ἡράκλειος. After the death of *Chosroes* Feb. 28 A. D. 628: p. 214 C ἀναιρεῖται ὁ Βαβυλώνιος δράκων ὁ τοῦ Ὀρμισδοῦ Χοσρόης.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>b</sup> The former edifice was overthrown by the earthquake in December 557: *Agathias* quoted in the Tables p. 808.

The poem of *Paulus* on *St. Sophia* is published among the Byzantine Historians, 8vo Bekker Bonn. 1837, and his epigrams and other short poems are extant in *Jacobs Anthol.* tom. 4 p. 41—73, upon which see *Jacobs* tom. 13 p. 931.

<sup>c</sup> Forty-one epigrams of *Macedonius* are in *Jacobs Anthol.* tom. 4 p. 81—92.

<sup>d</sup> *Suidas* p. 30 A Ἀγαθίας σχολαστικὸς, Μυρναῖος, ὁ

γράφας τὴν μετὰ Προκόπιον ἱστορίαν τὸν Καισαρέα (τὰ κατὰ Βελισάριον καὶ τὰς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ ἐν Λιβύῃ πράξεις), τουτέστι τὰ κατὰ Ναρσήν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ τὰ ἐν Λαζική καὶ Βυζαντίῳ. οὗτος συνέταξε καὶ ἕτερα βιβλία ἔμμετρά τε καὶ καταλογάδην τὰ τε καλούμενα Δαφνιακά, καὶ τὸν κύκλον τῶν νέων ἐπιγραμμάτων ὃν αὐτὸς συνήξεν ἐκ τῶν κατὰ καιρὸν ποιητῶν· συνήκμασε δὲ Παύλῳ τῷ Σιλενταρίῳ [N<sup>o</sup> 384] κ. τ. λ. See N<sup>o</sup> 385. Ninety-five epigrams of *Agathias* himself are in the collection apud *Jacobs Anthol.* tom. 4 p. 3—39.

<sup>e</sup> *Theophylact* was from Egypt: VII. 16 p. 186 A



- 392 *Stephanus mathematicus*. See above c. 1 p. 165 A. D. 621.  
 393 *Georgius Pisides*. Described above in c. 1 p. 166, 167, 169 A. D. 622, 626, 628.<sup>f</sup>  
 394 *Chronicon Paschale*. The compiler lived in the reign of *Heraclius* and ended his Chronicle at the 20th year of that reign A. D. 630. See above c. 1 p. 169 A. D. 628. The reasons for supposing only one compiler have been given already at c. 2 p. 209. The notation of the Chronicle is explained in the Tables A. D. 562 Appendix c. 1 p. 163 A. D. 616 c. 2 *Consuls* p. 179 c. 3 p. 210—212.  
 395 *Syncellus*. Described in the fourth column of the Tables A. D. 284. 325. Wrote in A. D. 808. He marks his own time p. 3 BC p. 6 D 766 years after the Ascension, and *anno mundi* 6300 *indictione prima*. But at p. 207 B *anno mundi* 6302: ἕως τοῦ παρόντος 573 ἔτους. The former number was the number of *Syncellus*, although he wants 9 years of the true amount of time<sup>g</sup>.

ἔλκοντες τὸ γένος ἐντεῦθεν εἰκότως τοῖς περὶ τοῦ Νείλου διηγήμασιν οὐκ ἀπροσφόρος φιλοχωρήσωμεν. *Petrus*, who commanded at Alexandria in 602, was a relation of *Theophylact*: VIII. 13 p. 215 D συνήπτετο πρὸς γένος ἡμῶν.

<sup>f</sup> *Pisides* also wrote against *Philoponus*. See N<sup>o</sup> 381 *Philoponus*, Works n. 26. And wrote after *Leontius*: Niceph. XVIII. 48 there quoted: ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ [sc. *Leontio*]—Γεώργιος ὁ Πισίδης, ἡλικιώτης ὢν ἐκείνῳ, εἰ καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ λίαν νεώτερος. Fabricius tom. 8 p. 310 refers ἐκείνῳ to *Leontius*: “Nicephorus *Leontii* illius ἡλικιώτην, quanquam annis aliquanto juniorem [immo ΔΙΑΝ νεώτερον] fuisse ait *Georgium*.” But Baronius and Pagi tom. 2 p. 555 to *Philoponus*: “Nicephorus ait *Philoponum* fuisse cœtaneum *Georgio Pisidio*.” And as τούτῳ refers to *Leontius*, ἐκείνῳ seems to mean “the former,” that is, *Philoponus*; than whom *Georgius* might well be called λίαν νεώτερος, since *Philoponus* was about 85 when *Heraclius* began to reign, and *Georgius* still wrote in the 19th year of *Heraclius*. But there is inaccuracy or error in calling them ἡλικιώτας.

<sup>g</sup> The dates of *Syncellus* for the Nativity the Baptism and the Passion are given in the Tables A. D. 29 p. 12. See also above c. 5 p. 229. In p. 3 B C he thus expresses the times: σαφῶς ἀποδείξει τῷ 573 ἔτει τοῦ κόσμου τὴν ἔνσαρκον αὐτοῦ γεγενῆσθαι οἰκονομίαν—καὶ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ὀκτακοσίων δύο ἐτῶν, ἅγ' μὲν ἐτῶν καὶ ἡμερῶν τεσσαράκοντα τῆς ἐπὶ γῆς οἰκονομίας, ἑπτακοσίων δὲ καὶ ἐξήκοντα ἕξ καὶ μηνῶν δέκα καὶ ἡμερῶν εἴκοσι τῶν μετὰ τὴν ἀγίαν αὐτοῦ ἀνάληψιν, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἀπὸ τῆς πρωτοκτίστου ἡμέρας ἕως τοῦ κοσμικοῦ καθολικοῦ ἑξάκισ χιλιοστοῦ τριακοσιοστοῦ ἔτους ἰνδικτιῶνος πρώτης. p. 6 D ἕως τοῦ νῦν ἐνεστῶτος ἑξάκισ χιλιοστοῦ τριακοσιοστοῦ ἔτους ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου ἰνδικτιῶνος πρώτης. The number 802 agrees with his number at p. 207 B, 6302; but the details require 800 at p. 3 B and 6 D; for 5500 + 800 = 6300. And he also gives

y	m	d
33	0	40
766	10	20
800	0	0

*Syncellus*, as we collect from p. 312 A p. 315 D,

computed the Incarnation not from the Nativity at Dec. 25 in the 43rd year of *Augustus* but from the Conception at March 25 preceding. From that epoch he deduced the 33<sup>y</sup> 0 40<sup>d</sup> which terminate at the Ascension May 3 of the 19th of *Tiberius*.

He reckoned all his years from March 25: p. 6 C. and, like the Paschal Chronicle (see the Tables A. D. 32 p. 16), anticipated the beginnings of the years of *Tiberius* and reckoned the 19th year not from Aug. 19 the true beginning, but from the 25th of March preceding. His epoch therefore for the Ascension is May 3—ἀναληφθεὶς εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς τῇ μ' ἡμέρᾳ, Μαΐου γ' p. 327 C—A. D. 32. From this point the 33<sup>y</sup> 0 40<sup>d</sup> carry back the Annunciation to March 25 B. C. 1 and the Nativity to Dec. 25 of the same year, 7 days only before the Vulgar Era began. *Syncellus* however has erred in the amount of the following period. For 766<sup>y</sup> 10<sup>m</sup> 20<sup>d</sup> computed from May 3 A. D. 32 will terminate at March 24 A. D. 799, when the seventh indiction was current. Nine years then are to be added to bring his period to the first indiction in March 808. But indications that he had lost some years are supplied by *Syncellus* himself. We have seen in the Tables A. D. 284 p. 327 that he lost 6 years between the death of *Augustus* and the death of *Probus*. And these are to be restored. The other 3 years he omitted between the death of *Probus* and the year 808. We conclude then from the place of the first indiction, and from the six years which we know to have been omitted, that the year 808, when the first indiction was current, was the epoch at which *Syncellus* wrote. Wherefore Pagi tom. 3 p. 394 has not given the time of *Syncellus* with sufficient exactness when he places him at the year 792: “hoc circiter anno opus illud publicavit.” For in March 792 the fifteenth indiction was current; and the 800 and 766 years reckoned upwards from 792 would carry back the Nativity to the 36th year of *Augustus*, and the Ascension to the 12th of *Tiberius*.

Perhaps to this omission of 9 years may be ascribed the error of placing the Nativity in the 43rd of *Augustus* at the consuls of A. D. 9: p. 315 D τῇ κ' (τοῦ Δεκεμβρίου μηνός) ἐγεννήθη ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν—κατὰ τὸ μγ' ἔτος τῆς Αὐγούστου Ῥωμαίων Καίσαρος βασιλείας, ἐν ὑπα-

396 *Theophanes*. Described in the fourth column of the Tables at A. D. 284. 325. 491. 565. He brought down his Chronography to the year 812: *Ibid.* p. 327.

The few following names in alphabetical order contain some authors whose time is not fully known, and some who were omitted by an error in the proper place in the Chronological Series.

397 *Ariston Pellæus*. After A. D. 135 and before the year 325, when *Eusebius* quotes him: See the Tables A. D. 135. 2.

398 *Cornutus*. *Suid.* p. 2161 Α Κορνούτος, Λεπτίτης, φιλόσοφος· Λεπτίς δὲ πόλις Λιβύης· γεγωνὸς ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐπὶ Νέρωνος, καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀναιρεθεὶς σὺν τῷ Μουσωνίῳ. ἔγραψε πολλὰ φιλοσοφὰ τε καὶ ῥητορικά. These were not slain but only banished. *Dio* 62. 29 speaks of *Cornutus*: ὁ δὲ Νέρων—παρεσκευάζετο ὡς καὶ τὰς τῶν Ῥωμαίων πράξεις ἀπάσας συγγράψων ἐν ἔπεσι, καὶ περὶ γε τοῦ πλήθους τῶν βιβλίων—παραλαβὼν ἄλλους τε καὶ Ἀνναῖον Κορνούτου, εὐδοκιμοῦντα τότε γε ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ. καὶ αὐτὸν ὀλίγου μὲν καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐς νῆσον δ' οὖν ἐνέβαλεν, ὅτι τιῶν τετρακόσια ἀξιούτων αὐτὸν βιβλία γράψαι, πολλὰ τε αὐτὰ εἶναι ἔφη καὶ μηδένα αὐτὰ ἀναγνώσεσθαι. *Euseb. Chron. Anno* 2080 [from Oct. A. D. 64] *Nero—Cornutum philosophum vertere solum coëgit*. *Hieronymus* places this *Anno* 2083 and adds (*Cornutum*) *præceptorem Persii*. Confirmed by *Suetonius* in *vita Persii*: *Cum esset annorum XVI* [A. D. 50] *amicitia cœpit uti Annæi Cornuti, ita ut ab eo nusquam discederet.—Per Cornutum cognovit Annæum etiam Lucanum, æquævum auditorem Cornuti. Nam Cornutus illo tempore tragicus fuit, sectæ Stoicæ, qui libros philosophiæ reliquit.*<sup>h</sup> *Cornutus* was studied by *Origen*: *Porphyr.* apud *Euseb.* H. E. VI. 19 ἔχρητο (Ὁριγένης) καὶ Χαιρήμονος τοῦ στωϊκοῦ [N° 4] Κορνούτου τε ταῖς βίβλοις, παρ' ὧν τὸν μεταληπτικὸν τῶν παρ' Ἑλλησι μυστηρίων γνῶσις τρόπον ταῖς Ἰουδαϊκαῖς προσήψε γραφαῖς. See *Hieron. Magno* p. 1083 quoted above at N° 132 *Numenius* note h. *Theodoret. Serm.* 2 p. 35. 6 Κορνούτος ὁ φιλόσοφος τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν θεολογίαν ξυντέθεικε.

399 *Diodotus astrologus*. *Auctor Comm. in Aristot. Meteorolog.* p. 78 b l. 27 ἀδύνατον δὲ εἶναι ἔλεγε Διόδωτος ὁ ἀστρολόγος ἐν τούτοις ἀνὴρ οὐδενὸς δεύτερος τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀνάκλασιν ὑπὸ γῆν γίνεσθαι τῆς ὄψεως ἀπὸ τῆς ἀναθυμιάσεως, ὅταν ὑπὲρ τὸ κέντρον τοῦ κύκλου ἢ ἀναθυμίασις συνίσταται. The time of *Diodotus* is determined by the time of *Alexander Ægæus* (N° 3) the author of that commentary.

400 *Diogenes Laertius*. After *Saturninus* (N° 183) whom he mentions, and before *Sopater* apud *Photium Cod.* 161 who quoted from *Laertius*: ἀνεγνώσθησαν ἐκλογαὶ διάφοροι ἐν βιβλίοις ἱβ' Σωπάτρου σοφιστοῦ. συνείλεκται δὲ αὐτῷ τὸ βιβλίον ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ διαφόρων ἱστοριῶν καὶ γραμμάτων.—p. 340 ὁ δὲ ἔκτος αὐτῷ συνελέγη λόγος ἐκ τε τῆς αὐτῆς Ῥούφου μουσικῆς βίβλου—σύγκειται δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκ τῶν Δαμοστράτου ἀλιευτικῶν δευτέρου λόγου καὶ ἐκ τῶν Λαερτίου Διογένηος φιλοσόφων βίων βιβλίου πρώτου καὶ πέμπτου ἐνάτου τε καὶ δεκάτου, ἐν οἷς τὰ περὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων διέξεισιν, ὅθεν τε τὸ φιλοσοφίας ἱερὸν χρῆμα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔφυ καὶ ὅπως ἤκμασε τίνες

τεία Σουλπικίου Καμερίνου καὶ Γαῖου Ποππαίου, ὡς ἐν ἀκριβέσι καὶ παλαιοῖς ἀντιγράφοις φέρεται. Ταῦτα οὐκ ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν συντετάχαμεν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν παραδόσεων τοῦ—Ἰπολύτου—Ἀννιανοῦ τε—καὶ Μαξίμου. The Nativity then is either at Dec. 25 A. D. 9, or, if he anticipated the year of these consuls, at Dec. 25 A. D. 8. and the Annunciation at March 25 preceding. From these epochs the 800 years will terminate either at March 24 of 808, or at March 24 of 809. It must be acknowledged however that in the consuls at the year of the crucifixion *Syncellus* has an error, of which no

such explanation can be given: p. 321 Α σταυροῦται—Μαρτίου κγ' ἐν ἵπατεία Νέρωνος τὸ τρίτον καὶ Βαλερίου Μεσάλα. These were consuls of A. D. 58. A metachronism of 25 years.

<sup>h</sup> The biographer adds *Persius—reliquit circa HS. XX matri et sorori, scriptis tantum ad matrem codicillis rogavit eam ut daret Cornuto sestertia, ut quidam dicunt, centies, ut alii volunt, plus—et libros circiter septingentos Chrysippi, sive bibliothecam suam omnem. Verum Cornutus sublatis libris pecuniam sororibus quas frater hæredes fecerat reliquit.*



τε τίνων αἰρέσεων ἀρχηγοὶ καὶ προστάται κατέστησαν. Vossius Hist. Gr. II. 13 p. 224 Jonsius Scr. Hist. Phil. p. 272 and Menagius ad Laertium tom. 2 p. 1 refer this to *Sopater* who was slain in 335. But that collection probably belongs to a later *Sopater* whom we trace in Suidas p. 3373 A Σώπατρος Ἀπαμεύς, σοφιστῆς, ἢ μᾶλλον Ἀλεξανδρεύς. ἐπιτομὰς πλείστων. τινὲς δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐκλογὴν τῶν ἱστοριῶν τούτου εἶναι φασιν. and Eudocia p. 382 καὶ ἕτερος Σώπατρος Ἀπαμεύς· οὗτος ἔγραψεν ἐπιτομὰς πλείστων· τινὲς δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐκλογὴν τῶν ἱστοριῶν τούτου ἔ. φ. The author of the *διαίρέσεις ζητημάτων* apud Aldi Rhetores tom. 1 p. 287—455 was according to Fabricius tom. 6 p. 103 “non *Sopater* (N<sup>o</sup> 293) Plotinianæ scholæ successor, quem Constantinus occidit; sed alius sophista, ducentis annis junior.” The *Sopater* of Photius is with reason supposed by Fabricius tom. 10 p. 720 to be “fortasse non diversus ab auctore commentariorum” apud Aldum.

- 401 *Eubulus*. Before *Porphyrus*: Porphyr. de Abst. IV. 16 p. 349 διήρητο δὲ οὗτοι εἰς γένη τρία, ὡς φησι Σύμβουλος [recte legunt Εὐβουλος] ὁ περὶ τῆς τοῦ Μίθρα ἱστορίας ἐν πολλοῖς βιβλίοις ἀναγράφας. Hieronymus adv. Jovinianum II p. 573 *Eubulus quoque, qui historiam Mithrae multis voluminibus explicuit, narrat apud Persas tria genera Magorum &c.* Quoted by the editor ad Porphyr. l. c.
- 402 *Hippobotus*. Before *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and therefore before A. D. 194: Clem. Al. Strom. I p. 300 D Πυθαγόρας μὲν οὖν Μνησάρχου Σάμιος, ὡς φησιν Ἰππόβοτος. Quoted by Porphyrus Vit. Pythag. in fine: Ἰππόβοτος δὲ καὶ Νεάνθης περὶ Μυλλίου καὶ Τιμόχας ἱστοροῦσι \* \* \*. And by Iamblichus Vit. Pythag. c. 31 p. 390 καὶ ἐξ ὧν δ' Ἰππόβοτος καὶ Νεάνθης περὶ Μυλλίου καὶ Τιμόχας τῶν Πυθαγορείων ἱστοροῦσι μαθεῖν ἔνεστι τὴν ἐκείνων τῶν ἀνδρῶν σωφροσύνην κ. τ. λ. Quoted also by Laertius I. 19 Ἰππόβοτος ἐν τῷ περὶ αἰρέσεων ἐννέα φησὶν αἰρέσεις καὶ ἀγωγὰς εἶναι. II. 88 εἶναι δὲ τὴν ἡδονὴν ἀγαθόν, κἂν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀσχημοτάτων γένηται, καθά φησιν Ἰππόβοτος ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν αἰρέσεων. I. 42 on the number of the σοφοί· Ἰππόβοτος δ' ἐν τῇ τῶν φιλοσόφων ἀναγραφῇ Ὀρφέα, Λίνον, Σόλωνα, Περλιάνδρον, Ἀνάχαρσιν, Κλεόβουλον, Μύσωνα, Θαλῆν, Βίαντα, Πιπτακόν, Ἐπίχαρμον, Πυθαγόραν<sup>i</sup>.
- 403 *Horapollon*. Suidas p. 2781 D Ὠραπόλλων Φαινεβύθειας, κώμης τοῦ Πανοπολίτου νόμου, γραμματικὸς, διδάξας ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ καὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, εἶτα ἐν ΚΠ. ἐπὶ Θεοδοσίου. ἔγραψε Τεμενικὰ, ὑπόμνημα Σοφοκλέους, Ἀλκαίου, εἰς Ὅμηρον. Phot. Cod. 279 ἀνεγνώσθη Ἑλλαδίου Βησαντίνου [N<sup>o</sup> 246]—Χρηστομαθειῶν α' β' γ' δ'. p. 1597 ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ τεύχει περιείχετο καὶ—Ὠραπόλλωνος γραμματικοῦ περὶ τῶν πατρίων Ἀλεξανδρείας. συντίθησι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς δράματα τῷ ὁμοίῳ τύπῳ.
- 404 *Marcianus Heracleota*. Flourished after *Artemidorus* (N<sup>o</sup> 127) whom he quotes II p. 35 apud Fabricium tom. 4 p. 613 *ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐντὸς Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν ἀπάσης θαλάσσης ἀκριβῆ τὸν περίπλου πεποιήμεθα ἐν ταῖς ἐπιτομαῖς τῶν ἰα' βιβλίων Ἀρτεμιδώρου τοῦ Ἐφεσίου γεωγράφου, ὃν νομίζομεν τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς θαλάσσης ἐπιμελέστατον περίπλου ἐν τοῖς τῆς γεωγραφίας βιβλίοις πεποιῆσθαι.* And before *Stephanus Byzantinus*, by whom he is quoted<sup>k</sup>.

<sup>i</sup> Laertius V. 90 quotes *Hippobotus de Heraclide*. VI. 85 de *Cratete*. VI. 102 de *Menedemo*. VII. 25 de *Zenone Cittico*: συνδιέτριψε δὲ καὶ Διοδώρῳ. καθά φησιν Ἰππόβοτος. VII. 38 ἦσαν δὲ Ζήνωνος μαθηταὶ καὶ οἷδε, καθά φησιν Ἰππόβοτος, Ἀθηνόδωρος Σολεύς· Φιλωνίδης Θηβαῖος· Κάλλιππος Κορίνθιος· Ποσειδώνιος Ἀλεξανδρεύς· Ζήνων Σιδώνιος. VIII. 51. 69. 72 de *Empedocle*. VIII. 43 Ἰππόβοτος γέ τοι φησὶ λέγειν Ἐμπεδοκλέα Τηλαυγεί “κλυτὴ κούρε Θεανοῦς Πυθαγορέω τε.” IX. 5 de *Heraclito*. IX. 40 de *Democrito*. IX. 115 de *Timone*.

<sup>k</sup> As among other passages is the following: Steph. Byz. Ἀσπίς:—ἀκρωτήριον Αἰθιοπίας τῆς κατ' Αἰγύπτου, ὡς Μαρκιανὸς πρώτη περιόδων. Γυψήϊς: νῆσος Αἰθιοπίας, ὡς Μαρκιανὸς ἐν περίπλῳ πρώτῃ. Ἀστάρτη: νῆσος ἐν Αἰθιοπία. Μ. ἐν περίπλῳ πρώτῃ. Βαβαί: πόλις Λιβύης. Μ. ἐν περίπλῳ αὐτῆς. Ἀκυτάνια: ἐπαρχία τῆς Κελτικῆς Γαλατίας, μία τῶν τεσσάρων. Μ. ἐν περίπλῳ αὐτῆς. Ἀδαρούπολις: πόλις Περσικῆ, ὡς Μαρκιανὸς ἐν περίπλῳ τοῦ Περσικοῦ κόλπου. Σιαγαθουργοί: ἔθνος περὶ οὗ φησιν Μ. ἐν περίπλῳ Σαρματίας.

- 405 *Maximus Aegiensis*. Between *Apollonius Tyaneus* A. D. 99 and *Philostratus* A. D. 235. Philostrat. V. A. I. 3 p. 5 ἐνέτυχον δὲ καὶ Μάξιμον τοῦ Αἰγίως βιβλίῳ ξυνειληφότι τὰ ἐν Αἰγαίς Ἀπολλωνίου πάντα. Hierocles apud Eusebium in Hieroclem p. 512 D τὰ δὲ Ἀπολλωνίου Μάξιμος ὁ Αἰγίους καὶ Δάμις ὁ φιλόσοφος ὁ συνδιατρίψας αὐτῷ. Upon which Eusebius remarks ὁ δὲ Μάξιμος κομιδῆ βραχέα τῶν κατὰ μέρος αὐτῷ πεπραγμένων ἀνεγράψατο.
- 406 *Menander sophista*. Suid. p. 2455 Β Μένανδρος, Λαοδικεὺς τῆς παρὰ Λύκῃ τῷ ποταμῷ, σοφιστής. ἔγραψεν ὑπόμνημα εἰς τὴν Ἑρμογένους τέχνην καὶ Μινουκιανοῦ [N° 239] προγυμνάσματα. καὶ ἄλλα.
- 407 *Mæragenes*. Philostrat. V. A. I. 3 p. 6 οὐ γὰρ Μοιραγένει τε [lege γε] προσεκτέον βιβλία μὲν ξυνθέντι ἐς Ἀπολλώνιον τέτταρα πολλὰ δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἀγνοήσαντι. III. 41 p. 130 φησὶν ὁ Δάμις τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ξυμφιλοσοφεῖν τῷ Ἰάρχα, καὶ ξυγγράφαι μὲν ἐκεῖθεν περὶ μαντείας ἀστέρων βίβλους τέτταρας, ὧν καὶ Μοιραγένης ἐπεμήθησθ. Origenes in Celsum VI. 41 p. 373 ἀγαγόντω τὰ γεγραμμένα Μοιραγένει τῶν Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Τυανέως μάγου καὶ φιλοσόφου ἀπομνημονευμάτων.
- 408 *Onosander*. Suid. p. 2691 Α Ὀνόσανδρος, φιλόσοφος Πλατωνικός. τακτικὰ περὶ στρατηγημάτων [conf. Fabricium et Harles ad Fabric. tom. 4 p. 336], ὑπομνήματα εἰς τὰς Πλάτωνος Πολιτείας. Leo imp. Tactic. p. 215 Ὀνήσανδρος [sic] καὶ αὐτὸς στρατηγικὸν συντάξας λόγον. Onosander proem. p. 1. 2 (προσφωνεῖν ἡγοῦμαι πρέπει) στρατηγικῆς περὶ θεωρίας, ᾧ Κόιντε Οὐηράνιε, Ῥωμαίοις καὶ μάλιστα Ῥωμαίων τοῖς τὴν συγκλητικὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν λελογχόσι, καὶ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Σεβάστου Καίσαρος ἐπιφροσύνην τοῖς τε ὑπάτοις καὶ στρατηγικαῖς ἐξουσίαις κοσμουμένοις, διὰ τε παιδείαν ἧς οὐκ ἐπ' ὀλίγον ἔχουσιν ἐμπειρίαν, καὶ προγόνων ἀξίωσιν. *Onosander* is supposed to address *Veranius* who was consul in A. D. 49. This however is not quite certain. But we know that his treatise was composed at a time of peace, and when the empire had attained its full measure of extent and power<sup>1</sup>.
- 409 *Ptolemæus Ascalonita*. Suidas p. 3156 D Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Ἀσκαλωνίτης, γραμματικός, ὃς ἐπαίδευσεν ἐν Ῥώμῃ. ἔγραψε Προσφιδίαν Ὀμηρικὴν, Περὶ Ἑλληνισμοῦ ἤτοι ὀρθοεπίας βιβλία ιε'. Περὶ μέτρων, Περὶ τῆς ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐᾳ Ἀριστάρχου διορθώσεως, Περὶ διαφορᾶς λέξεων, καὶ ἕτερα γραμματικά. Before *Apollonius Dyscolus* (N° 84) who quotes him de pronomine p. 101 Α ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀσκαλωνίτην ἐκείναι προσεπνεύσθησαν κ. τ. λ.<sup>m</sup>

As among the writers of the period embraced by this work there are many of the peripatetic school, *Alexander of Aphrodisias*, *Ammonius Hermææ*, *Themistius*, *Damascius*, *Simplicius*, *Joannes Philoponus*, and others, of whom large commentaries remain upon the Physical and Metaphysical works of *Aristotle*, I have thought it no unacceptable service, as an introduction to the study of their works, to insert an abstract from the treatises of *Aristotle* himself which express his dogmas upon those subjects. And this the rather because, although his logical, his rhetorical, his ethical

<sup>1</sup> Onosander p. 5 ὡς στρατηγῶν τε ἀγαθῶν ἀσκησις ἔσται παλαιῶν τε ἡγεμόνων κατὰ τὴν σεβαστὴν εἰρήνην ἀνάθημα. p. 6 οὐ γὰρ τύχη μοι δοκοῦσιν ὑπεράραγτες τοὺς τῆς Ἰταλίας ὄρους ἐπὶ πέρατα γῆς ἐκτεῖναι τὴν σφετέραν ἀρχήν, ἀλλὰ πράξεισι στρατηγικαῖς.

<sup>m</sup> Schol. Hom. II. a. 396 Πτολεμαῖος συγκατατίθεται κ. τ. λ. 464 Πτολεμαῖος τὸ Ε̅ τελευταῖον λαμβάνει κ. τ. λ. β 162 ὡς Τυραννίων καὶ Πτολεμαῖος. γ 155 Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Ἀσκαλωνίτης ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς Κρατητείου αἰρέσεως φησιν κ. τ. λ. φ 38 ὁ Ἀσκαλωνίτης ἐνθάδε γενόμενος ἀξιώψι λούσθαι τοὺς ὄρηκας κ. τ. λ. 159. 160 ὁ Ἀσκαλωνίτης ἐκ πλήρους λαμβάνει τὴν ἀνωταμίαν καὶ ὀρθοσυνεῖ. Am-

monius σταφυλὴν (quoted by Kuster ad Suidam): σταφυλὴν ὀξυτονητέον, ὡς ἀλκήν, καὶ σταφυλὴν βαρυτόνως, ὡς Μελίτην, διαφέρειν φησὶ Πτολεμαῖος ἐν δευτέρᾳ περὶ τῶν ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐᾳ προσφιδίων. Etymol. p. 353. 29 ἐπαλιξίτης: ὁ λίθος ὁ ἐπάνω τῆς ἐπάλξεως, τῷ κανόνι τοῦ Ἀσκαλωνίτου. p. 413. 30 ζῶς: ἀξιοὶ ὁ Ἀσκαλωνίτης περισπᾶσθαι, οὐχ ἰγίως. 567. 51 παρατητέον δὲ τὸν Ἀσκαλωνίτην οἰόμενον ἀπὸ τῆς λῆς εὐθείας κεκλίσθαι τὴν λιγὶ δοτικὴν κ. τ. λ. p. 59. 5 ὡς φησιν ὁ Ἀσκαλωνίτης κ. τ. λ. Πτολεμαῖου τοῦ Ἀσκαλωνίτου περὶ διαφορᾶς λέξεων is published by Harles apud Fabricium tom 6 p. 157—163.



and political treatises are well known among us, yet the works contained in this review have received less attention, at least in our times, in this country. In the following sketch I have passed over or briefly noticed those passages which were obvious and easy, and have attempted to set forth more at large those which were abstruse, and which on that account required a full and careful interpretation. Some passages are paraphrased and some abridged. The works of *Aristotle* included in this abstract are these five: φυσικῆς ἀκρόασις βιβλία ὀκτώ. περὶ οὐρανοῦ βιβλία τέσσαρα. περὶ γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς βιβλία δύο. περὶ ψυχῆς βιβλία τρία. περὶ τῶν μετὰ τὰ φυσικὰ βιβλία τρισκαίδεκα<sup>n</sup>. These are all parts of the same subject. In his physical discourses he has much that is metaphysical, in his metaphysical books he has much that belongs to the department of physics. *Aristotle* places the metaphysical treatise last, because from the infirmity of human reason we must proceed to this through the physical philosophy. The subjects of metaphysical speculations, as he himself explains, are the first in the order of Nature, but the last in the order of human enquiry. In the metaphysics of *Aristotle* the acuteness of that powerful intellect is eminently displayed; and, although his physical dogmas convey less instruction to us who have the superior light of modern physical science, yet they are important as exhibiting the opinions which were held upon these subjects by *Aristotle* himself and by the philosophers who preceded him.

<sup>n</sup> Among the authors contained in this chapter, the following have written commentaries upon these works, or upon parts of them.

No	No
1 <i>Eudorus</i>	318 <i>Olympiodorus</i>
3 <i>Alexander Ægæus</i>	322 <i>Syrianus</i>
41 <i>Adrastus</i>	334 <i>Proclus</i>
56 <i>Aspasius</i>	342 <i>Ammonius Hermeæ</i>
57 <i>Herminus</i>	347 <i>Marinus</i>
146 <i>Galenus</i>	372 <i>Damascius</i>
173 <i>Alexander Aphrodisiensis</i>	373 <i>Simplicius</i>
194 <i>Ammonius Saccas</i>	375 <i>Priscianus Lydus</i>
235 <i>Porphyrus</i>	380 <i>Asclepius</i>
297 <i>Themistius</i>	381 <i>Jo. Philoponus</i> .

ARISTOTELIS φυσικῆ ἀκρόασις.

- |      |  |   |
|------|--|---|
| I, 1 | “THE principles—ἀρχαί—are first to be defined.”  | from any thing else, and yet all things from these. I   |
| 2, 1 | “The elements are either one or more; and if one, then either it is ἀκίνητος or κινουμένη. If more than one, then the elements are either finite or infinite.” | And this condition is fulfilled; for <i>first</i> principles are not derived from any others, and opposites or contraries are not taken from each other; therefore τὰ ἐναντία ἀρχαί. He considers and examines this ques- |
|      | The elements—ἡ ἀρχή—τὸ στοιχεῖον—mean the elements of Matter.  | 5, 3  |
| 2, 5 | He enquires in what sense some called ἐν τὰ πάντα,   | qualities. He enquires whether the elements are two   |
|      | 3 or traced all matter to one element, and rejects their   | 6, 1  |
| 4, 1 | position. He next examines another mode by which   | one element because opposition in principles could  |
| 4, 4 | they defend their dogmas. All the physical philosophers agree in the opinion that ἐκ μὴ ὄντων γενέσθαι   | not exist in less than two at the least; nor is the   |
| 5, 1 | ἀδύνατον. They all make opposite qualities elements  | 6, 8  |
| 5, 2 | —τὰναντία ἀρχάς <sup>o</sup> . He approves of this, because elements should proceed neither from one another nor   | number unlimited. They are either two or three. Two ἀρχαί, because two opposites. To which he adds  |
|      |  | 7, 12   |
|      |  | Form as a third—τὸ εἶδος or τὸ ὑποκείμενον—an attribute of either of the ἀρχαί. He admits in a certain  |
|      |  | 8, 4  |

<sup>o</sup> Because these cannot be contained in one another.

I degree γίγνεσθαι οὐδὲν ἐκ μὴ ὄντος, but makes a distinction. It is the province of the First Philosophy<sup>P</sup> to enquire into the element of Form.

II.1,1 Some things exist by nature, others from other causes. Things exist by nature which have in themselves the principle of motion; but things which have received their form from the hands of man do not exist by nature. The material of a table is the wood, of a statue the brass. The material of a thing is the original element of which it is composed. Each science has its proper object. The mathematician enquires into the forms of surfaces and solids, but it is not his province to examine their properties or their nature. Nature has two parts, form and matter; the physical philosopher must examine both these, but form only to a certain extent. The Causes of things—*αἴτια*—are fourfold; there are the material (which is twofold), the agent, and the end or purpose. We must try to find the remote and primary cause.

4 Some deny that there is such a thing as Chance, others hold that the heavens are made by chance, although they admit that inferior works, as animals and plants, are not from chance, but are formed by the arrangements of Nature. Others think fortune or chance to be among the causes, but fortune not discerned by us and directed by a higher and divine intelligence. Chance is not the cause either of things that are always the same or of things that are generally the same; but some things come to pass occasionally or unexpectedly, and of these Chance is the cause. There is such an agent then as Chance or Fortune. Things may be done with an end proposed (that end being proposed either by nature or by the will of man); but when accidental circumstances attend the act, these are from chance or fortune; they are particulars not within the power or foresight of man. Fortune and chance are different. Fortune is concerned in the acts of voluntary and intelligent agents, Chance belongs to animals and lifeless matter. But since chance and fortune are only causes of accidents to things upon which either Mind or Nature are operating, it is plain that chance and fortune are preceded by Mind and Nature.

7 Causes are fourfold; the material, the form, the moving power, the end or object. But the last

three, the form the moving power and the end, are often reducible to one head. Our objects of enquiry are threefold; that which is not moved, that which receives motion but is not subject to decay, and lastly the things which are subject to decay. We are to consider Matter, the End and Object, and the First moving Cause. Nature as an artist works with an end proposed; the artificer in his operations only imitates nature. That which comes to pass of necessity in the operations of nature is not the design and purpose, but a part of the process by which the design and purpose are effected. The inherent properties of matter are necessary particles of matter; but these operate to produce the effect; they are not themselves the effect.

As Nature operates by motion and change, we must enquire into the properties of Motion. Motion is in things that are infinitely connected, in things that are infinitely divisible. Motion requires a Place, a Vacuum, Time. Motion changes that which it acts upon either in Substance or Quantity or Quality or Place. Motion changes things, increases or diminishes them, produces or destroys, moves or impels. In Matter, that which gives motion itself receives motion. It is not easy to define motion.—A body is capable of receiving motion and of acting upon another body. Motion is given and received. Both these qualities may be in the body which receives motion; or the active power only in the agent and the passive power in the recipient. Physical enquiries are employed upon magnitudes or extension, upon motion, and upon time. Each of these must be either finite or infinite. We must therefore enquire whether there is an Infinite, and what it is. He examines the dogmas of other philosophers upon this subject,—*Pythagoras Plato Anaxagoras Democritus*. That there is an Infinite is inferred from five arguments; from Time, from the Divisibility of Magnitudes, from the perpetual succession of Generation and Decay; fourthly because that which has a limit must always be limited by something, and this may proceed *ad infinitum*. Lastly an Infinite is especially inferred from the properties of Numbers; for number and the magnitudes assumed by mathematicians and the external space around and beyond the heavens—all these seem to be infinite. But if

<sup>P</sup> τῆς πρώτης φιλοσοφίας. Which is the department of the Theologist or Metaphysician. "He discourses of this in the

work *περὶ τῶν μετὰ τὰ φυσικά.*" Jo. Philoponus in Phys. Ausc. p. e 13. <sup>q</sup> Compare II. 1, 11.



III there is a vacuum and a space unlimited, a body  
 4, 13 may be infinite. And yet there are many difficulties  
 in the way, whether we assert or whether we deny  
 an Infinite. He proceeds to survey its characters.  
 4, 14 Every Infinite is infinite either by addition or by di-  
 5 vision or by both. He sets forth the difficulties; and  
 concludes 5, 12—20 that the infinite cannot be a body;  
 for a body is in some place and has a position in it,  
 above, below, in front, in rear, on the right or on  
 the left. But this cannot happen to the Infinite; it  
 6, 1 cannot be in a place; it cannot be a quantity. Again,  
 if there is no Infinite, many inconveniences follow.  
 Time would have a beginning and an end. Numbers  
 would not be infinite. We must admit then that the  
 Infinite may be produced by addition or division.  
 6, 2 Magnitude is not infinite, but it may be infinitely  
 divided. Time is infinite. The succession of objects  
 may be infinitely continued, although each particular  
 part is finite; a man has not the attribute of in-  
 finity, but the successive generations may be infinitely  
 6, 8, 9 continued. Addition may in like manner be infinitely  
 made to a body. But, as the universe itself has its  
 6, 9 boundaries, the additions cannot go to give infinite  
 magnitude to bodies, unless we admit the dogma of  
 the physiologists that there is body or matter beyond  
 6, 10 the bounds and limits of the universe<sup>r</sup>. The Infinite  
 is not that which has nothing beyond it, but rather  
 that which has always something beyond it. That  
 which has nothing beyond it is perfect and a whole,  
 7, 4 to which nothing is wanting. As no magnitude ap-  
 prehended by the senses can be infinite, the Infinite  
 cannot be the excess of a limited magnitude: for  
 then it would be greater than the Heavens. The  
 Infinite has not the same properties when applied to  
 magnitude as it has when applied to motion and  
 to time.  
 8 Some other difficulties are considered. The per-  
 petual succession of generation and decay might be  
 continued without an infinite, because each successive  
 step is of a limited body. Again, bodies that touch  
 one another are not necessarily limited on that ac-  
 count; to touch and to be bounded are not the same  
 properties. A limited body, as the heavens<sup>rr</sup>, may  
 have bounds, and a circumference,—bounds there-  
 fore that touch nothing. Because we imagine an  
 infinite body in our thoughts, it does not follow that  
 an infinite body exists in nature. Things do not  
 follow our ideas, but our ideas ought to be adapted

to things. Time and motion are infinite, but cor-  
 poreal magnitudes are not either infinitely divided or  
 infinitely increased by addition.

Place is difficult to be defined; and former en- IV. 1  
 quirers supply nothing. That there is place is ma-  
 nifest from the movement of bodies—fire upwards—  
 earth downward; for these six positions, above, be-  
 low, right and left, in front in rear, are the divisions  
 of parts of place. Some hold that a vacuum is a 1, 4—7  
 place without a body; but a place in which a body  
 may be contained; for all bodies are in some place.  
 If so, place precedes every thing else, and when the  
 bodies it contains are withdrawn or destroyed it still  
 remains. It has, like bodies, three divisions, length 1, 8  
 and breadth and depth; but we may doubt whether  
 it is a body, for it contains bodies. It cannot be an 1, 9, 10  
 element, for the elements of sensible bodies are bo-  
 dies, and it has dimensions and yet no body; and  
 again purely intellectual things have no dimensions.  
 Place is the cause of nothing. It is neither the cause 1, 11  
 as matter, nor as form, nor as an end, nor as causing  
 motion. As every body is in some place and fills its 1, 12  
 place, what shall we say of bodies that increase?  
 The place which contains them must increase with  
 the bodies. Place is a limit; the form and impress 2, 1  
 of the thing contained, by which the dimensions and  
 the matter are bounded. But place is distinct from 2, 4, 5  
 the form and the material; for these are inseparable  
 from the thing, but the place is not; for the place  
 which contained air may, when the air is withdrawn,  
 contain water. The place of any thing is the vessel  
 containing it. A thing is contained in another thing 3, 1—7  
 in many ways; as the parts in the whole—as the  
 whole in its parts (for the parts make up the whole)  
 —as the species in its genus—as the genus in its  
 species—as form in matter,—or as the contents in a  
 vessel.

Having examined 8—19 in what sense a thing may  
 be said to be contained in itself, he proceeds to a de- 4  
 finition of Place. It surrounds the substance which  
 it contains, but is not a part of that substance. It  
 moves with the substance which it contains. Motion  
 is essential to place; motion exhibited in the move-  
 ment or in the increase and diminution of bodies.

Place will be one of four things; either the Form, 4, 9  
 or the Material, or the Interval between the extreme  
 parts of two bodies, or the Extremes themselves if  
 there is no interval. But it cannot be the first, for

<sup>r</sup> Conf. III. 7, 1.

<sup>rr</sup> This illustration is from Philoponus ad locum p. m 19.



IV the form is inherent in the thing contained; nor is it the interval or deficient space between two bodies, for this will be occupied by some other body, as when water is withdrawn from a vessel the vacancy is occupied by the air; nor is the Material the place: for the material is inseparable from the thing itself, and does not contain the thing, but the place is distinct from the thing and does contain it. If then the place is none of these it must be the fourth, the boundary of the surrounding body. The Place is immovable; the thing contained may be removed into another place; as a Vessel is a moveable Place so Place is an immovable Vessel. When a body is surrounded by another body, it is in a Place, otherwise not. The Universe is not in a place because its exterior surface is not surrounded by any material substance; the parts of the Universe which are inclosed within it have all their several places<sup>s</sup>.

6, 2 We must begin our enquiries concerning a *vacuum* by examining the opinions of those who affirm it, and then of those who deny it, and thirdly by setting forth the dogmas common to both. The arguments of those who deny a vacuum are insufficient, for they are founded upon this: that the vacant space which men observe between bodies is in reality occupied by the air. Those who affirm a vacuum say that there would be no motion if there were no vacuum through which the bodies move; for if all space were full there could be no motion through or into a space already preoccupied. The Pythagoreans held that a vacuum surrounded the external surface of the Universe, and that emanations from this vacuum proceeded like currents of air through the heavens and entered the interior of the Universe and formed the spaces which separate bodies from one another. To determine this question we must state the meaning of the term *vacuum*. A *vacuum* is a place in which nothing is contained. They suppose a body to be a

thing palpable, to be heavy or light. A vacuum then contains nothing heavy or light.

Some hold the *material* to be a vacuum, as they hold it to be a place. But this is an error; for the material cannot be separated from the body itself; the vacuum can be separated. A vacuum is not a body, but the intervening space between bodies. It is supposed that motion is a proof of a vacuum. But a vacuum is not necessary because there is motion, for motion may happen in spaces full of matter by change of place, by condensation in one part and rarefaction in another. The contrary of what they affirm is true; if there were a vacuum there could be no motion. In a vacuum bodies would be at rest. All motion is either by force or by nature; but if there is a forcible motion there must be a natural motion, for a forcible motion, that is, a motion contrary to nature, presupposes a natural motion. But how could there be a natural motion in a *Vacuum* or in an Infinite? In an Infinite there is no middle, no upper or lower; in a vacuum there is no difference between one part of space and another. If a body were to be moved in a vacuum, it would never stop; it must be always at rest or for ever in motion. The rate at which a body moves depends upon two causes, either the degree of resistance from the medium through which it passes or the specific gravity of the body itself. The resistance of the medium (whether earth or water or air) in retarding the motion is in proportion to the density of that medium. But there is no proportion between a vacuum and the moving body; the vacuum offers no resistance; numbers cannot represent the proportion of a positive body to a nonentity. A proportion may be calculated between motion and motion, but no proportion between a *vacuum* and a *plenum*<sup>v</sup>. Of moving bodies the rate of motion is in proportion to their specific gravity or their relative magnitudes. But these last cannot

<sup>s</sup> Aristotle IV. 5, 5 supposes the Universe to be a sphere of which the Earth is the centre, and the Heavens the circumference. The elements in his opinion lie in this order, proceeding from the Earth the centre to the Heavens the circumference: Earth—Water—Air—Fire—Æther—Heaven. Sextus Empir. in *Physicos* II. 30—33 p. 638. 639 describes the Aristotelian doctrine to be this: τῆς γῆς ὕδατι περιεχομένης, καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος ἀέρι περιεχομένου, καὶ τοῦ ἀέρος πυρὶ, καὶ τοῦ πυρὸς οὐρανῷ. and comments upon this passage of Aristotle.

<sup>t</sup> Philoponus p. q 9 l. 21 (as already remarked at No 381 Works of *Philoponus* n. 4) quotes his own Comm. on the 8th book of this work, where he combated a proposition of Aristotle on the question how bodies are moved that are moved *παρὰ φύσιν*. and argues against Aristotle that a body might be projected or hurled by some impelling force through a *vacuum*,

and that motion might exist in a vacuum. He repeats the argument p. q 11 p. q 13 lin. ult. He argues well against the positions of Aristotle in IV. 8, 12. 13 on motion through a vacuum. He urges p. r 14 l. 18 If the heaven, that is, the exterior surface of the great sphere of the universe, can move in a circle through a vacuum, much more would bodies moving in a straight line move through a vacuum because there is no opposing medium to stay the motion. He examines Aristotle's positions in a *παρέκβασις* p. r 9 line 44—r 16.

<sup>v</sup> As the proportions of things can only be compared with homogeneous things, a line with a line, a surface with a surface, a body with a body, the vacuum can be compared with nothing because there is nothing homogeneous to a vacuum. See Philoponus p. q 15.



- IV govern the motion through a *vacuum*; for in a *plenum* the magnitudes or the weight conquer the opposing medium through which they pass, and produce a greater rate of speed, but in a vacuum there are no opposing influences to retard motion; the rates of all bodies would be equal.
- 9, 1 Some suppose that Rarity and Density prove a vacuum. It is argued that bodies could not expand into rarity if there were not a vacuum to admit the expansion. But this would not shew that a vacuum was the cause of motion upwards; for light bodies
- 9, 5 (as fire) move upwards. We affirm that the opposite qualities, as hot and cold, are contained in the same materials; the materials of a large body or a small
- 9, 6 body are the same; for when water becomes air there is the same substance, only exhibited in another form. What was a latent power has become an active power. If a quantity of air is compressed into a smaller compass, or a small quantity is dilated into a larger bulk, the same substance exists in both
- 9, 7 quantities. Mere addition of bulk does not change
- 9, 8 the qualities of substances; the same substance is dense at one time and rare at another, the dense heavy, the rare light.
- 10 Of *Time* it may be said that a part has passed and has ceased to be, a part is future and has not yet begun. Of these two parts Time is composed. But that which is composed of nonexistent things seems
- 10, 2 to have no existence in itself<sup>w</sup>. The present *Now* is not a part of time but a measure of the parts. It divides the past from the future, it remains always
- 10, 7 the same or is perpetually changing. Some affirm that the motion of the Universe is time; others that the sphere of the Universe itself is time. But a part of the circumference of the sphere may be time, and
- 10, 8 not the whole circumference; and, if there are many heavens or worlds, the motion of each would be Time, and there would be many Times at once. The notion that the sphere itself of the Universe is time is too absurd to need refutation.
- 10, 9 The opinion that motion and change are Time remains to be considered. Motion and change reside in the body which suffers motion and change, but
- 10, 10 time is everywhere. Change is fast or slow, but time is not composed of fast and slow, for time is the measure and definition of fast and slow. The quantity

and quality of time are not measured by time. And IV. 11, 1 yet change is necessary to time; for when our thoughts are suspended during sleep we are unconscious of the lapse of time; we connect the moment of our awaking with the moment at which our sleep began. Time is not motion, but yet it exists not 11, 3 without motion. Motion and time are perceived together. As all bodies are moved from something to something, and all magnitudes are connected with one another, motion follows magnitude, time follows motion; the amount of time is according to the amount of the motion. We discover time when we 11, 5 define motion, and perceive the successive parts of motion; a part of motion has gone before, a part will follow after, and a third part divides these two; and this progress is denominated Time. By Time we 11, 7 number Motion. We determine quantities by number, and the quantity of motion by Time. Time therefore in a certain sense is Number. But number 11, 8 is twofold, the thing computed, and the instrument with which we compute; Time is the former of these, the thing measured and computed. It is manifest 11, 12 that if there were no Time the present *Now* could not exist; and if there were no *Now*, Time could not exist. Time is the number or measure of the movement; the present *Now* is as it were an unit of the number. Time is connected with the present *Now*, and yet is divided from it. Time is not called swift 12, 2 and slow, but much and little, long and short. It is not swift and slow, for no number which we can compute is called swift and slow. We not only mea- 12, 5. 6 sure motion by time, but time by motion, as we 12, 7 measure magnitudes by motion, and motion by magnitudes. All things that are in time are compre- 12, 12 hended by time, and are acted upon by time; as we say that things decay and grow old and are forgotten, but we do not say that things learn or become young and beautiful; for Time is called the cause of decay; it is the number and measure of motion, and motion changes the existing state. So that it is 12, 13 manifest that the things which exist for ever, so far as they exist for ever, are not in time. They are not comprehended in time; their existence is not measured by time; they are not under the influence of time, as not being within time. But as Time is the 12, 14 measure of Motion, it is also the measure of Rest;

<sup>w</sup> *Ænesidemus* held Time to be a body: Sextus Empir. Pyrrhon. III. 138 p. 161 κατ' οὐσίαν τε οἱ μὲν σῶμα αὐτὸν ἔφασαν εἶναι, ὡς οἱ περὶ Αἰνησιδήμων. Again Sext. Emp. Math. X. 216

p. 669 σῶμα μὲν οὖν ἔλεξεν εἶναι τὸν χρόνον Αἰνησιδήμος, κατὰ τὸν Ἡράκλειτον' μὴ διαφέρειν γὰρ αὐτὸν τοῦ ὕψους καὶ τοῦ πλάτους σώματος.

IV for not every thing that is without motion is at rest, but only that which, being capable of motion, is deprived of motion. Time will measure in things subject to motion and rest the quantity of motion and the quantity of rest. Whatever is corruptible and has a beginning, whatever sometimes is and sometimes is not, is subject to time. But of things which do not exist those which are subject to time are either past events or future events<sup>x</sup>.

14, 1 All change and all motion are made in time; fast and slow are said in reference to time. In past changes or movements the most remote from the present is the first, and the nearest is the last; but in future movements the nearest to the present is the first, and the most remote is the last. We may enquire whether, if there were no intelligent mind to take account of time, time would exist at all. Time seems to be the motion of the sphere of the Universe because other motions are measured by this; so that time may be said to move in a circle, because it is measured by the revolutions of the great circle.

V: 1 Change and motion are in time out of something into something. But we are rather to consider *into* what than *from* what the change is made. Corruption is a change into non-existence; production is a change out of nothing into being. Change is made into opposites and into intermediate qualities and into contraries<sup>y</sup>. There are three modes of change; from a subject into another subject; from a subject into a thing non-existent; from a non-existent into a subject. The change from a non-existent into a subject is production or generation, either absolute or relative; the change from a subject into a non-existent is decay, either of the substance itself or of some accident belonging to the subject. The change into decay or generation cannot be called motion, for these are changes out of nothing and into nothing, and a non-existent cannot be said to be subject to motion. Two then of the three modes of change, those into decay and into production, are not motion; there remains only the third form, the change from a subject into another subject, which can be called Motion. But substances are either opposite or intermediate qualities. The categories are Substance, Quality, Place, Time, Relation, Quantity, Action, Passion; and hence there are three motions, of Quality, Quantity, and Place<sup>z</sup>. Motion cannot be

affirmed of Substance or of Relation or of Action or of Passion.

Things are said *to be together*, or *they are separate*, or *they touch each other*, or *they lie between*, or *they lie in successive order*, or *they are joined in connexion*. The successive order comes first; for things that touch are in successive order, although all that is in successive order (as numbers) does not always touch. And if things are in connexion they must touch one another; but all that touches is not necessarily next in connexion. We speak of motion in three respects, the subject, the circumstance, the time. A single motion must be continuous; for, if it is suspended, rest intervenes, and the resumed motion is another, and not identical with the former. The motion to be single must be in one species, and in one period of time. A motion is one and perfect, when it is one in genus, in species, in substance. It is one, if it is uniform.

As the change is denominated from that *into* which the change is made, and not from that *out* of which (for health is the change into health, disease the change into disease), motions are opposite when the movement is made from an opposite into an opposite; as the motion from health to disease is opposite to the motion from disease to health, the motions from below upwards, and from above downwards, the motions from front to rear and from rear to front, are opposite. But the bare motion into something opposite is not motion but only change. Rest is contrary to motion, for it is the privation of motion. But that rest is opposite to motion which is the rest in the position from which the motion was to be made; for motion has two subjects, that *from* which and that *into* which. And these two states of rest are also opposed to each other; rest in health to rest in disease, rest in health to motion out of health into disease. When qualities are not opposites, the transition from one to the other is not motion but only change; and rest in these is not to be called rest, but rather absence of change—*ἀμεταβλησία*. We are not to call a state Rest unless the qualities in which it resides are also motions.

Local changes, Motion, and a state of Rest, are opposed to each other. Thus fire mounts upwards by nature, downwards contrary to nature; wherefore its natural rest above is opposed to its unnatural motion

<sup>x</sup> IV. 13, 7 *Paron* the Pythagorean is mentioned.

<sup>y</sup> V. 1, 7 *νητή treble—ὄπάρη bass*. Hence his illustration,

*ὄλον ἢ μέση βαρεία πρὸς τὴν νητὴν, καὶ ὀξεῖα πρὸς τὴν ὄπάρην.*

<sup>z</sup> Conf. V. 2, 9.



V downwards. Earth on the contrary rests above unnaturally, and its motion downwards is natural and opposed to that rest. We have natural rest opposed to unnatural motion, and unnatural rest opposed to natural motion<sup>a</sup>.

VI. 1 If things are in connexion when their extremities are the same<sup>b</sup>, and if they touch when their extremities come together, and are in succession when no homogeneous matter lies between them, then things that are indivisible cannot be in connexion; as points. A line has connected parts, but points have no parts; nor can their extremes lie together, for, having no 1, 2 parts, they have no extremities. When bodies touch, either the whole touches the whole or a part touches a part, or a part the whole. But as that which is indivisible has no parts, the whole must touch the whole; therefore it cannot be in connexion, for a body to be in connexion must have parts; nor can it be in successive order, for there will always be space between the points, and succession requires that no- 1, 4 thing should lie between. "This reasoning applies equally to magnitudes and to time and to motion." He proceeds to shew 1, 4—10 that if magnitudes are composed of indivisible parts their motions must also be composed of indivisible parts; but motion is not composed of indivisible parts, 2 therefore it follows that magnitude is not. He shews by further arguments that time and magnitude and motion are composed of parts divisible; that as all time is composed of parts in con- 2, 8 nexion, so all magnitude is composed of parts in 3, 1 connexion<sup>c</sup>. The term "Now" is used in two senses. It is an element with respect to time as a point is with respect to a line, the mark of separation, though indivisible itself; and it is also a portion of time, the present opposed to the past or future. In the former sense it divides the past from the future; it is the limit of both; it is homogeneous with both. The Present is Time, as the Past and Future are Time. 3, 3 If the element "Now" were divisible, part of the future would be contained in the past, and part of the

past in the future. Moreover, part of "now" would VI. 3, 4 belong to the past and part to the future. As these things are impossible, "now," which divides the past from the future, is the same element, and therefore indivisible. There is something then in time indi- 3, 5 visible and not subject to motion. Whatever under- 4, 1 goes change is divisible; for, as all change is out of something into something, part of the subject will be in that out of which it passes and a part in that into which it passes. It is therefore divided; for the en- 4, 2 tire undivided subject cannot be at the same time in both or in neither. Motion is divisible in two ways, 4, 3 by time and by the motion of the parts of the body that is moved. The motion coincides with the time, 4, 7. 8 the time with the motion. As all change is out of 5 something into something, it follows that the subject which has changed has passed into that into which the change is made. It has left that out of which it has passed. If the change is out of nothing into 5, 2 something, it has ceased to be nothing, and it has come into existence. The moment of the transition 5, 4 is not a part of time, but an atom or a point, an indivisible element<sup>d</sup>, separating that *from* which and that *into* which; as the element "now" separates the past time from the future. Three things are con- 5, 11 cerned in a change: 1 the subject of the change: 2 the time when; 3 the state into which the subject passes, with reference to place, to quality, to quantity, to generation and decay. The two first are divisible into parts. With the third the question is different.—A limited motion cannot be made in un- 7 limited time, nor an unlimited motion in limited 7, 6 time<sup>e</sup>; nor again can a limited magnitude pass 7, 7 through an unlimited space in limited time. And 7, 8 since this is so, it is also manifest that an unlimited magnitude cannot pass through a limited space in limited time; for in either case the Infinite would be measured by the Finite, which is impossible. Infinite 7, 10 motion cannot be effected in limited time because neither limited magnitudes traverse unlimited space nor unlimited magnitudes limited space, and because

<sup>a</sup> Simplicius p. 214 a l. 38 ad V. 6, 10 quotes τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ φυσικοῦ Στράτωνος εἰρημένα ἐν τῷ περὶ κινήσεως, who describes the effect of gravitation, though not acquainted with the cause; for he observes the increased impetus of bodies falling from a height to the earth: ἀπὸ πολλοῦ κινούμενον ἐπὶ τὸν οἰκεῖον τόπον αἰεὶ καὶ μᾶλλον δυναμύεται πρὸς τοῦτο.

Simplicius p. 214 b l. 28 thus characterises the commentators upon Aristotle: "Porphyrus συνοψίζει, Themistius παραφράζει, Alexander (sc. Aphrodis.) ἐξηγεῖται."

Simplicius p. 215 a sums up the whole subject of the

5th Book.

<sup>b</sup> See V. 3.

<sup>c</sup> See Simplicius p. 219 a—221 a on VI. 2.

<sup>d</sup> From hence Alexander apud Simplicium p. 229 b solves the sophism, in what time *Dio* died? &c.

<sup>e</sup> Simplicius p. 234 a l. 1 thus sums up the argument: "The time in which the subject is moved in a limited motion is measured by parts limited in number. But unlimited time is not measured by such parts; the time therefore in which the limited motion is made is not unlimited time."

- VI an infinite body is not moved in limited time. He  
 10, 1 examines c. 9 four sophisms of *Zeno Eleates*. That  
 which has no parts, that is, not divisible into quantities,  
 cannot be subject to motion except by accident, when  
 the body is moved in which it is contained; as a man  
 (who is not a part of the ship) partakes of the motion  
 10, 2—6 of the ship. Motion supposes parts in that which is  
 10, 7 subject to motion. All motion is in time, and time  
 is divisible. If then a thing without parts were to be  
 moved in time, as that which it contains would be  
 also divisible, an element an atom without parts  
 10, 8, 9 would be divisible, which is impossible. No change  
 can be infinite; for all change is out of something  
 10, 11—12 into something, and therefore has limits. A succes-  
 sion of changes or motions may be infinitely con-  
 tinued, as the revolution of a circle is a series of  
 motions which may be perpetual in time, though not  
 infinite in magnitude<sup>f</sup>.
- VII. 1, 1 ε Whatever is moved must be moved by something.  
 If it has not the principle of motion in itself, it must  
 1, 2 be moved by something else. That which is self-  
 moved will never cease to move because the motion  
 of some other body ceases. If then a body is stayed  
 and ceases from motion because something else is at  
 rest, that body is moved by some other power and  
 1, 4 not by its own. Whatever is moved in Place is moved  
 1, 4—12 by something else; and that which moves it is moved  
 by something else; and this again by something else;  
 although this succession of causes and effects will not  
 proceed *ad infinitum*. It must stop somewhere, and  
 there will be something which is the first cause of  
 2, 1 motion. That which first causes the motion, that  
 from which the motion begins, is close to the body  
 moved. Nothing is interposed between them. As  
 there are three motions, in Place, Quality, and Quan-  
 tity, their forms of motion are also three; the motion  
 with reference to place is Movement; in quality it is  
 change; in quantity it is increase or diminution.  
 2, 2 First as to Movement. Whatever is moved is

moved by itself or by some other power. If things VII  
 are self-moved, it is manifest that in these the moving  
 power and that which receives motion lie together.  
 Nothing can come between them. But when things 2, 3  
 receive motion from something else, this happens in  
 four ways. They are either dragged, or thrust, or  
 borne along, or whirled by a circular motion. And 2, 6  
 to be borne along is common to all the other three  
 forms of motion. The whirling motion partakes both 2, 7  
 of dragging and thrusting; for the moving power  
 partly draws the objects to itself, and partly repels  
 them from itself.

But as the dragging and the repelling force are 2, 7  
 together in the body that is dragged and repelled, it  
 is evident that nothing is interposed between the  
 cause and the subject of Motion in Place. There can 2, 9  
 be nothing between the cause of Motion in Place and  
 that which suffers the motion; for it is impossible  
 for the moving power to move a body without touch-  
 ing it. And not only so, but in the motion of 2, 10  
 quality, which is effected by change; that which  
 acts and that which is acted upon lie together; they  
 touch one another and are connected. Nothing will 2, 13  
 lie between them. Nor does any thing come between  
 in the motion of quantity, the motion into increase  
 by the addition of something, and the motion into  
 decay by the deduction of something. It is evident  
 then that nothing comes between the first cause of  
 the motion and the last subject in the connected se-  
 ries which receives the motion. All motions are not 4, 1  
 capable of being compared with one another. There 4, 2  
 is no analogy between a circle and a straight line.  
 Things that are *not homonymous* may be compared. 4, 3  
 He shews that in motion in place there is an analogy 5  
 between the moving power and the thing moved;  
 but an analogy only to a certain degree, and not ex-  
 tending to all cases<sup>h</sup>.

Did <sup>i</sup>motion ever begin to be, and does it ever VIII. 1, 1  
 cease to be, or has it neither beginning nor end?

<sup>f</sup> Simplicius p. 241 a b sums up the contents of the 6th book.

<sup>g</sup> Simplicius remarks p. 242 a upon this book as follows: "The most important topics of the 7th book are more fully handled in the 8th book. On which account *Eudemus*, omitting this book as superfluous, passes to the eighth and last book, and *Themistius*, who paraphrases the whole work, omits many parts of this book. But, since this book appears not inconsistent with the others, and not unworthy of *Aristotle*, I should say that possibly this was first written by him, and that afterwards in the last book he treated the subject of this with more care and fulness; and that the 7th was afterwards inserted by others into the body of the work. And it may have its use, as a preparation for that elaborate discussion which the

same topics receive in the last book of the work."

<sup>h</sup> Simplicius p. 255 b l. 43 & c. gives a summary of the 7th book.

<sup>i</sup> Simplicius p. 257 a begins with these remarks: "In this 8th book *Aristotle* excellently concludes his treatise. He shews that every material body is moved, and moved by something; that the first author of motion is motionless, unchanged and unchangeable. But since τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῶν τις γεγονότων Τελχίων [*Jo. Philoponus*] has libelled the heaven itself and the whole world, and has written five bulky volumes against the treatise *περὶ οὐρανοῦ* of *Aristotle*, denying the eternity of the heaven, which I have refuted in my commentary on the first book of *Aristotle περὶ οὐρανοῦ*, and has written a sixth book denying



VIII. 1, 2 All physiologists affirm that there is motion. But those who hold a plurality of worlds and affirm that some worlds are destroyed and others produced in perpetual succession affirm that motion always exists; those who assert only one world, and that not perpetual, treat of motion accordingly. For if it is possible that at some time there may be motion, this might happen in two ways; either as *Anaxagoras* holds, who says that, all things being in confusion and without motion for an indefinite time, the Divine Mind caused motion and arranged matter: or as *Empedocles*, that matter is moved and is at rest by turns. Let us consider this question. All bodies must exist which are susceptible of motion; and in every motion that must be moved which is capable of receiving motion; change operates upon that which is susceptible of change, motion in place upon that which is capable of being moved from place to place. There must be a subject for motion to act upon. But this subject must either have begun to exist at some time out of nothing or must have always existed. If therefore the things that are subject to motion received existence and had a beginning, there must have been some other change and motion preceding them, by virtue of which they were produced; but if they always existed before motion existed, this appears, and as we proceed in the enquiry will still farther appear, to be contrary to reason.

1, 7 For if, some things being capable of giving motion and some of receiving it, there be sometimes a power that gives the first motion and a body that receives it, and sometimes again there be a cessation from motion and no impulse given, there must be some cause of this rest (rest being a cessation of motion), whence it would follow that before the first change there was a preceding change; and, change being motion, there is a motion before the first motion.

1, 8 Some moving powers cause a simple motion; as fire causes heat. Others cause opposite and complex motions. When bodies approach each other (having the quality the one of moving, the other of being moved) they cause motion or receive it. But if there was not always motion, and if motion was sometimes produced and sometimes suspended, a change must have happened in one of the two powers or in both; and here again is change preceding the first motion.

1, 11 And besides how could there be time if there was

not motion? Time is the measure of motion. Time VIII is eternal; therefore motion is eternal. All other philosophers admit that time had no beginning; *Plato* alone gives it an origin. He says that it was produced together with the heavens, and that the heavens had a beginning. The element "Now" is always the end of the past and the beginning of the future. But the present "Now" is Time. Time then is perpetual; and if time, then motion is perpetual. Again, motion will never be destroyed; for, as, if it had a beginning, there must have been some change which preceded the first motion, so, if it had an end, there would be some which would follow the last. That which is destroyed must be destroyed by something; and that something by something else; for decay is change, and change is motion. It is evident then that motion is perpetual. We cannot affirm of motion that it once was and once was not. Nothing is without order in the operations of Nature. Nature is the cause of order. But there is no proportion between the Infinite and the Infinite; and order is proportion. But rest for infinite time, and then motion, and no reason why now rather than before, and no order in it—this is not the work of Nature. There was no time then and there will be none in which there is not motion. The objections are easily solved. That there was once no motion might seem from this; that no change is infinite; for every change has its boundary. Senseless matter has no moving power within itself. Being at rest, it receives an impulse. Motion then might seem to have a beginning. Animals move themselves: and here motion seems to have a beginning. They are at rest before they begin to move. If this happens in animals, why not in the Universe? It may be answered that, though each change is limited, yet the succession of changes may be perpetual; that successive changes form one series; that matter sometimes is at rest and sometimes in motion because the external cause of motion is sometimes applied and sometimes withheld; that living animals appear to move themselves but are really moved by external agents which give an impulse to the will of the animal. We enquire why some substances are sometimes in motion and sometimes at rest. One of three things must happen. Either all things are always at rest or always in motion, or some things are in motion and some at rest,

the eternity of motion as set forth in this 8th book of *Aristotle*, I have judged it proper to introduce into my commentary on

this 8th book a refutation of his arguments." See No 373 *Works of Simplicius* n. 7. 8.



- VIII or thirdly some substances are always without motion and others always in motion, or others partake of both states. The first proposition may be easily dismissed. Nor can we admit that some things are always at rest and some always in motion. It is evident that some things are moved and some at rest sometimes. Either then all things are at rest or all in motion, or else some are at rest and some in motion. But if some are in motion and some at rest, it follows that all are sometimes at rest and sometimes in motion, or that some always rest and some always move, or, lastly, that some of them always rest some always move and some alternately rest and move.
- 3, 12—14 That all things always move or are always at rest, or that some substances are always in motion and some always at rest, is alike impossible. It remains to enquire whether all things alternately rest and move, or whether some are in this state and some always at rest some always in motion.
- 4, 2 Bodies are moved either by themselves or by another power; the motion is either natural, or forced and contrary to nature. What is self-moved is moved naturally, as animals move themselves by a natural motion, although an animal body may also be moved by an unnatural motion. What is moved by another power is either moved according to nature or contrary to nature. Of those things which receive their impulse from another power, some are moved contrary to nature, but some again according to nature. And herein is a difficulty; for we enquire by what power these last are moved. Heavy and light bodies are moved by force to the opposite places; but the motion of the light body upwards and of the heavy body downwards is a natural motion, but it is not clear from whence this motion comes. It cannot come from the bodies themselves, for that would suppose them to have life and volition; and if they could give themselves motion they could also stay their own motion (as animals do). If fire could mount upwards by its own will, it could descend downwards by its own will. The moving force must be distinct from the body moved, as when inanimate substances are put in motion by an animated body.
- 4, 14 Inanimate bodies have a latent power and an active power. That which is cold has the latent property of heat; when changed it becomes fire and will burn, that which is heavy has the latent property of lightness; water may become air, and then it acquires the active power of a light body. The same thing happens in the two other forms of motion, quantity and quality. But we enquire why and by what impulse the different substances are directed each to its proper place, the light body upwards, the heavy body downwards; why a body is changed in quality, why extended in quantity? The principle of motion within these bodies is not that by which they give motion but that by which they receive it; the passive and not the active quality. All motions are either natural or unnatural and forced. Motions contrary to Nature are given by some other agent. Of the natural motions again both those which are self-produced and those which are produced by some external agent (either the power which gave the qualities of lightness and of weight or the power which removed the impediment to their action) are equally produced by a moving power. It follows that all things are moved by some moving power. These motions are given in two ways; for either the power which gives the impulse is itself impelled by some other power or it is itself the cause of the motion, either immediately and at once acting upon the subject, or working through intermediate agents; as the stick impelled by the hand of the man moves the stone. Both the last and the first of the moving powers may be said to give the motion; but especially the first; for this moves the last; without the first power the last power would not give the motion. If then all bodies that are moved receive motion from something, and either from a power that is impelled by another power, or not, and if from a power that is impelled by another, it follows that there must be some first moving power, the original cause of the motion, which does not derive its moving force from any other (for the series of successive causes cannot be infinite, since in an infinite there can be no first)—if then the primary cause of the motion is moved but not by any other power, it follows that this first moving power is itself the cause of its own motion. Every thing that gives motion moves either with itself or with some instrument. But it cannot give motion without itself moving by itself the implement employed. If it moves with itself, there is no need of something else with which to give the motion; but if there should be an implement employed, we still arrive at last at some Original Moving Power which will give the motion not with any instrument, but with itself. We must stop somewhere. If the first cause of the motion is moved, but moved by



VIII nothing else (or it would not be the first), the first moving power is of necessity the cause of its own motion. Three things of necessity belong to motion, the thing moved, the moving power, the instrument or agent. The thing moved must receive motion, but need not give it; the intermediate body or instrument must both give and receive. It accompanies the motion of the thing moved. But the moving power itself the original cause of the impulse may be motionless. That which is last in the series suffers motion but does not impart it; that which is first receives motion from itself. It is probable then, not to say necessary, that there is also a Power which gives motion being motionless itself; and *Anaxagoras* is right in his doctrine that the Divine Mind the author of motion is exempt from passion and from mixture. If that which gives motion must be moved itself, it may be moved either after the same form of motion, as being warmed it communicates warmth, or it must be moved in one form, and give motion in another. He argues 5, 12—14 that both these are impossible, and concludes 5, 15 that the substance which first receives motion will either be moved by a power which is itself at rest, or will be the author of its own motion.

5, 15 But if we were to enquire whether the original cause of motion is in that which moves itself or in that which receives motion from another, we shall at once assign it to the former. The power which is self-moved precedes the body which suffers motion.

5, 16 We must enquire, if a substance moves itself, how it produces the motion. Whatever is moved is divisible into parts. But that which moves itself cannot possibly move the whole of its own substance; for, being entire and undivided, it would give and receive the same movement; it would be wholly active and wholly passive at the same time. Of a substance then which moves itself a part gives the motion and a part receives it. But it is not possible for the motion to be of such a sort as that each part should be the cause of the motion to each; for there would be no first cause of the motion if each were to move each. That which precedes is rather the cause of the motion than that which follows; for otherwise we have two movements, the one given by another power, the other by the thing itself. Besides it is not necessary that the moving power should be moved by any other than itself. That other part therefore would move it by accident and not of necessity. If

so, it is possible that no motion may be given by that other part, and one part is moved while the other gives motion and remains motionless. But further, 5, 20 of that which first is self-moved neither one nor more of the parts will each give motion to itself; for if the whole is self-moved, it will either be moved by some of its parts or the whole by the whole. If by one of 5, 21 the parts, this part alone, and not the whole, will be the first cause, moving of itself. If the whole moves itself, a part will give the motion and a part will receive it (as man is the author of his own motion, the mind gives the impulse, the body receives it). A 5, 22 substance then which is the cause of motion to itself is compounded of that which, being motionless, conveys motion, and of that which receives motion and which may or may not transmit the motion to something else. Every substance which gives motion to 5, 24 itself contains within it a power that gives motion and a substance that receives it. And that which is 5, 27 the primary cause of the motion is motionless.

But since motion is perpetual, there must be some 6, 1 first cause of motion (either one cause or more) and that cause itself motionless. If we grant that some 6,2,3 of the causes of motion, motionless themselves, may sometimes exist and sometimes cease to be, it is plain that there must be somewhere a power which imparts to these the property of sometimes existing and sometimes not existing. Every substance which moves itself must have magnitude; for nothing suffers motion that has not parts. But the cause of motion need not have parts. It follows that of the continuous succession of production and decay the cause cannot belong to those which do not always exist. Whatever may be the number of substances 6, 5 causing their own motion which are generated and perish in continuous succession, we must ascend at last through all these to something which is the cause of that continuous change, and which gives the impulse to those substances as they to others. If 6, 6 then motion is perpetual, that primary cause of motion, whether one cause or many, is perpetual also. We may rather suppose it one than many. One is sufficient, motionless, perpetual, to be the first cause of motion to other substances. We have shewn that 6, 7 motion always exists; and if so, it is continuous; for that which is always is continuous. And if continuous, it is one, if the moving power is one, and the subject of motion is one. Hence again we are led to 6, 8 believe that there is some First Cause not subject it-



- VIII self to motion; and moreover from the moving principles. For it is evident that some things are sometimes in motion and sometimes at rest; that neither all move nor are all at rest; that neither some are always in motion and some always at rest. Proceeding to establish that whatever is moved is moved by something, and this either motionless or in motion, and either moved by itself or by some other power, we conclude that the impulse is given by a power which moves itself, and that this power again receives its impulse from something not subject to motion. Living animals appear to be the cause of their own motion, but there is in reality some external power which gives them the impulse. Their movements are from accidental causes. But as there is in substances an incessant and eternal motion, the cause of this must be not accidental but necessary and perpetually acting. That which is not subject to motion will communicate a motion uniform, one, and the same, because it does not change with the changes of the subject upon which it acts; but that which is moved by the power which has received its impulse from the primary and motionless author of the movement will not impart to other objects a motion always uniform. According to the varieties of place and form and circumstance it will give to these objects various motions, and sometimes motion and sometimes rest. We now see why all things are not in motion and all are not at rest, why some are not always moving some not always at rest, and why some subjects are alternately in motion and at rest. The reason is now evident. Some are acted upon by a perpetual motionless cause, and are always changing; some by a cause subject itself to motion and to change; so that these also suffer change. But the motionless cause of motion, being simple and always the same and in the same state, will impart a single and simple motion.
- 7, 1 We must enquire whether it is possible for a motion to be continuous; and, if it is possible, what that motion is and what is the first of all motions. For if there must be always motion and this continuous, that which first imparts motion must give that movement which is single uniform and the first.
- 7, 2 Of the three forms of motion the motion by quantity, by quality, and by place, the movement in place must be the first. For there can be no increase (which is the motion in quantity) without change preceding. But change (by which one substance passes into another substance) cannot happen without movement. VIII Movement in place then must be the first of motions; and if there are two forms of movement, the first of these must be the first of all motions. This is proved by another argument. That is first which being absent (either in time or substance) the others will not happen, but which may exist though the others are absent. Now—motion being continuous—there is no need that the movement in place should partake of increase or of change, of generation or decay, but none of these can happen without the continuous motion impressed by the first author of the motion. In individual bodies indeed generation produces movement in place; for after generation come change and increase or growth, and movement in place is the motion of the perfected body. But another movement in place must have preceded that generation which was the cause of it; for generation only seems to be the first of motions because a thing must be produced in order to be at all. This is true of individual things; but some other thing not generated itself and differing from the things generated must have been set in motion before generation began; and since generation cannot be the first thing of all (for generation leads to decay, and thus all things that receive motion would be corruptible) it is evident that none of the motions by succession (for generation is followed in succession by increase, change, corruption, and decay) could be the first motion. Neither generation then nor any of the other changes could precede the movement in place. That which is generated is imperfect and is proceeding to its perfection; and thus what is last in the course of generation is first in the order of Nature. But in things generated the movement in place is the state at which they arrive when they are developed and perfected. This kind of motion then precedes all others in its nature. It departs not out of its perfect nature in its progress. It does not change its being; as in the motion of quality and quantity the subject suffers change. Especially is it evident that the substance which moves itself accomplishes its motion by this movement in place. We must now shew which is the first of the two motions in place. The movement in place is alone continuous. All the other motions are from opposites to opposites; but that which changes will have an interval of rest between the motions. The change is not continuous.



VIII. 8, 1 Let us now shew that an infinite motion is possible, one, and continuous; and this a circular motion. Every movement in place is either in a circle or a straight line or compounded of both. If one of the two former is not continuous, this last, which is 8, 2 compounded of them, cannot be continuous. But that the motion in a limited straight line is not continuous is manifest; for it must return back again, and then the motion is in the opposite direction. 8, 3 But a motion to be one and continuous must be single, uninterrupted in time, and uniform in the mode. There are three things in a movement, the subject moved, the time, and thirdly the place or the form 8, 4 or the magnitude. If either on a straight line, or in the circular movement the moving body turns back and retraces its path, the body will stop and pause at the point from which it turns to move in the opposite direction; and then motion is not continuous. And this is evident both from the senses and from reason.—He confirms this by an argument, 8, 6—13, and concludes, 8, 13, “The body, then, which, moving in a straight line returns back again, must necessarily pause in its motion. It follows that it is not possible for motion to be continuous and perpetual on a straight line<sup>k</sup>.” He examines 8, 14 8, 30. 31 —24 a sophism of *Zeno Eleates*.—But the motion in a circle will be one and continuous. It proceeds from a given point and travels round the circle to the same point again, while the motion on a straight line proceeds from a given point to another point at the end of the straight line, and returns to the original 8, 32 point by an opposite motion. The motion in a circle may be continuous, because the course may be repeated in the same orbit and in the same direction perpetually. The motion in a straight line cannot be continuous, because a continuous motion would require that two motions in an opposite direction should be performed at once. For the same reason a motion in a semicircle or any other segment of a circle cannot be continuous; for here again the body must change its direction and return by an opposite movement. In all these the point from which the movement begins and the point at which it ends do not lie together. But in the circle these lie together, because the motion in the orbit returns to the same

point from which it commenced, and this motion in VIII a circle is alone perfect. The motion in a limited straight line, returning by an opposite movement, pauses between. It has a successive motion but not a continuous motion. The motion in a circle, always proceeding in the same direction, renews its course in the same path, and does not pause between. No 8, 35 change is infinite and continuous except the motion in a circle.

The motion in a circle is the first of the motions. 9, 1 The movements in place (as it was shewn) are either circular, or on a straight line, or compounded of both. But this last is preceded by the others, for it is compounded out of them. The circular movement precedes the movement on a straight line. The circular motion is simple and perfect. The motion on a straight line cannot be infinite; for on an infinite 9, 2 straight line there could be no motion, and motion on a limited straight line, if it returns back again, is imperfect and perishes. But both in nature and reason that which is perfect is before the imperfect; that which is incorruptible before that which is subject to decay. Again, that which can be perpetual is before that which cannot. Now the movement in a circle can be perpetual, but none of the other motions can be perpetual; for in them there must be a pause, and when there is a pause the motion is ended and destroyed. The motion in the straight line has a 9, 3 beginning and an end and a middle, and rests between its passage from the end back again to the beginning. The sphere also rests in a certain sense; 9, 4 for it occupies the same place. It revolves round its centre, and the centre is the beginning the middle and the end. The centre rests, the circumference revolves. As the revolution in a circle is the mea- 9, 5 sure of other motions, it is therefore the first; for things are all measured by the first; and because it is the first it is the measure of the others. The circular motion alone proceeds at the same rate. The motion in the straight line is not at the same rate throughout; as in the motion downwards a body increases in its speed the farther it is removed from the point from which it started<sup>l</sup>. That the motion in 9, 6—11 place precedes all other motions is admitted by all philosophers.

<sup>k</sup> The argument is summed up by Simplicius p. 301 b l. 49—54. He sums up again at 8, 25 p. 305 a l. 38 the various steps of the proof.

<sup>l</sup> Simplicius quoted above at V. 6, 10 had already noticed that effect of the law of gravitation from *Strato*. In his com-

mentary upon VIII. 9, 5 at p. 309 b he remarks it again. This fact, which was known to *Aristotle* and *Strato*, is neglected by *Sextus Empiricus*, who supposes in *Physicos* II. 162 p. 660 that a body falling perpendicularly downwards will *not* increase its speed as it descends.

VIII. 9, 12—10, 1 The first cause of motion is motionless. It is also not divisible into parts. We have shewn that nothing limited can give motion for an unlimited time; for there are the moving power, the subject of motion, the time in which the movement is performed. These must be either all infinite, or all or some limited.—He shews 10, 2. 3 by an example that nothing can be infinitely moved by a limited power. He proceeds to shew 10, 4—7 that it is not possible for unlimited power to be contained in a limited magnitude, or for a limited power to fill unlimited magnitude<sup>m</sup>. He solves a difficulty, 10, 8—13, and considers the proposition, that the motion of some bodies is continued after the motion of the first cause of the impulse has ceased. Since motion is continuous and one, it follows that this motion should be of some magnitude (for nothing that has no magnitude is moved), and this motion of one magnitude given by one; for otherwise the motion would not be continuous, but repeated in successive motions. Now the moving power being one either receives motion and transmits it, or being motionless is the author of motion. If the moving power has received motion, it must accompany the motion and itself suffer change, and must have also received the motion from something else; so that we come to a primary motion given by

a motionless power. This motionless power does not VIII change with the motion. It will always be able to give motion. This motion so given will be uniform. That which receives the primary motion is also liable 10, 15 to no change. Its relation to that primary motionless author of its motion is always the same; its motion is uniform. The primary motion must reside either in the centre of the universe or in the circumference. But that is moved most rapidly which is nearest to the moving power; and as the motion of the circumference is the most rapid, there the moving power resides<sup>n</sup>. That motion alone is continuous which is 10, 17 given by the motionless power. This power is always the same and will always and continuously bear the same relation to the substance which receives the motion. From these positions it is manifest that 10, 18 the first motionless author of motion can have no magnitude; for that magnitude must be either limited or infinite. Infinite it cannot be, for it has been 10, 19 shewn that no magnitude is infinite. It has been also now shewn that no limited body can have infinite power and that no substance can be moved by a limited power for perpetual time. But the first cause of motion causes perpetual motion and for ever. It is therefore indivisible, without parts, without magnitude.

ARISTOTELIS περὶ οὐρανοῦ.

I. 2. 1 ALL natural bodies are capable of motion in place. 2, 2 Nature is the beginning of their motion. Motion in place is in a straight line, or a circle, or mixed of 2, 3 both. The circular motion moves round the centre, the straight motion is upwards or downwards; so that all simple motions are either from the centre upwards or to the centre downwards or round the 2, 4 centre. As bodies are either simple or compound, their motions must be either simple or in some degree mixed, mixed in the compound motion, and the predominant quality will predominate in the motion.

As the circular motion is simple, it is the motion of a I. 2, 5 simple body; and there must be some simple body which is formed by nature to move in a circle. Since 2, 6 the unnatural motion is opposed to the natural, the circular motion, being simple, must be contrary to the nature of the body moved if it is not according to that nature. If fire is moved in a circle, its natural motion is opposed to this. But one is opposed to one; the motion upwards to the motion downwards. If there is another body borne in a circle contrary to nature, there must be some other kind

<sup>m</sup> Simplicius ad 10, 3. 4 p. 314 b ult. quotes *Plato* as agreeing with *Aristotle de Deo, et de celo.* p. 315 b l. 1 He explains the term of *Aristotle ἐν χρόνῳ*, "Things which being moved themselves convey motion to other things perform their movements in time; not because they move but because they are moved. Time is the measure of motion,—motion in the thing which suffers motion. But the First Cause of motion, motionless itself, placed beyond all reach of motion, displays its energies without time, because they are beyond the reach of time."

<sup>n</sup> Simplicius p. 319 a 30 gives the remarks of *Alexander* and *Eudemus* together with his own upon this passage. Simplicius p. 320 b 10 sums up the subject of this treatise, comparing

*Aristotle* with *Plato*; and asserts that *γένεσις* in *Plato* is to be understood in the same sense as *κίνησις* in *Aristotle*, and affirms p. 321 a that *Aristotle* like his master attributes to the Great First Cause not only the arrangement of Matter but the creation of Matter. He quotes p. 321 b 7 a book of his own master *Ammonius Hermæ* περὶ τοῦ καὶ ποιητικῶν αἰτίων ἡγεῖσθαι τὸν Θεὸν τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου τὸν Ἀριστοτέλην. The passages quoted from *Aristotle* by Simplicius p. 321 a do not establish this, and Simplicius admits p. 321 b 10 that *Aristotle* has not clearly expressed it: οὐχ ὅτω φανερώς εἶπεν.

Simplicius p. 321 b 21—322 a fin. recapitulates the contents of this 8th book.



I of motion which would be natural. This is impossible; for if the motion upwards, it is fire or air; if  
 2, 7 the motion downwards, it is earth or water. Moreover this circular motion is the first of motions; for the perfect precedes the imperfect; and the circular motion is perfect; but no motion on the straight line can be perfect, for it cannot be infinite since it has a limit and an end, and no limited line is  
 2, 8 perfect. If then this first motion must belong to that body which is first in nature, and the circular precedes the motion on a straight line, and the bodies moved on the straight line are simple bodies (fire upwards, earth downwards), it follows that the circular motion must be the motion of some simple body.  
 2, 9 Hence it is evident that there is some other material substance besides our four elements, more excellent  
 2, 10 than all these, and prior in time. If there is a circular movement according to nature, it is plain that there is some simple and first substance which is moved naturally in a circle, as fire moves upwards  
 2, 11 and earth downwards; for if the bodies which are borne in the circular motion are moved contrary to nature, it would be against all reason that the motion—this unnatural motion—should alone be continuous and perpetual. So that if fire were the element which is so borne, this motion of fire would be no less unnatural than the motion downwards; for its  
 2, 12 natural motion is in a straight line upwards. Wherefore we may believe that there is some body besides our elements having a nature so much the more excellent, the farther it is removed from our earth.  
 3, 2 A heavy body is that which descends to the centre, a light body that which ascends from the centre. The heaviest body lies at the bottom, the lightest mounts above all the others. Weight and lightness are relative; air is lighter than water, water than  
 3, 3 earth. The body which is borne round in a circle can have neither weight nor lightness; it does not move either towards the centre or from the centre.  
 3, 4 But since the whole and each of its parts are borne in the same direction by nature, this body has neither weight nor lightness, nor can it be moved either upwards or downwards, neither itself nor any of its  
 3, 5 parts. We may also conclude that it is not generated nor corruptible, nor subject to increase or change. Generation and decay are produced by the action of opposite qualities, and the motions of opposites are  
 3, 6 opposite; and there is no motion opposite to the  
 3, 7 motion in a circle. Again, increase is produced by

the junction of some kindred part, and diminution I by its resolution into its elements; but this body has no elements from which it was produced. It is not subject to change; for change is motion in quality, 3, 8 and qualities proceed from something which suffers change. But all bodies which suffer change are subject to increase or diminution. Since, then, the body which moves in a circle has no increase or diminution, it is probably not subject to change.

This first of bodies then is eternal, not subject to 3, 9 increase or diminution, nor to age or change or passion. And this is confirmed by the *phenomena* of nature. All nations assign to the Divinity the high- 3, 10 est region for his habitation, and an immortal being will reside in an immortal dwelling. Our senses con- 3, 11 firm that in all past time no change has happened to the heavens or to any part of them. It is plain then 3, 14 that the simple bodies cannot be more than these; for the motion of a simple body is simple, and there are only three simple motions, the circular and the straight; the latter in two parts. In the straight 4, 1—2 line the motion upwards is opposed to the motion downwards, but there is no other motion opposed to the circular.

We must now enquire whether a body can be in- 5, 1 finite.—Every body must be either simple or com- 5, 4 pound, so that an infinite body (if there were one) must be simple or compound. But if the simple bodies are limited, that which is compounded of them must be limited also. It remains, then, to 5, 5 enquire whether a simple body can be infinite. That the body which moves in a circle is limited is plain from this. If it were infinite, the length of the *radii* 5, 6 from the centre to the circumference of the circle would be infinite; they would be bounded by nothing; and there could be no motion in a circle. 5, 7 But we see the heavens moving in a circle.—He shews by other arguments 5, 8—19 that there can be no infinite circle, and therefore no infinite body moved by a circular motion, and concludes, 5, 19, the body which is moved in a circle is neither without end nor without limits.

Straight motions to the centre and from the centre 6, 1 are both finite; for they are in opposite directions. But if one of two opposites is limited, the other is limited. But the centre is limited; the progress of the moving body must stop there. If that extreme of the line is limited, the upward extremity is limited also; and if the places which bodies occupy are

I limited, the bodies themselves are also limited.  
 6, 2 Again, if the extremes of the line above and below are limited, that which lies between them is limited; for otherwise motion would be infinite, and that is impossible. The centre therefore is limited, and the body contained in the centre must also be limited. But the body which is borne upwards or downwards  
 6, 3 can be contained in the centre. Hence it is evident that a body cannot be infinite. Moreover, if weight is not infinite, none of the heavy bodies can be infinite; for the weight of an infinite body must be infinite. So also of light bodies; if weight is infinite, lightness is infinite.—He argues 6, 4—12 that it is impossible that there should be infinite weight and  
 6, 13 infinite lightness. It is plain then that there can be  
 6, 14 no infinite body. We must next enquire whether there can be more worlds than one. Let us first consider what is meant by infinite.  
 7, 1 Every body must be either infinite or limited; and, if infinite, either composed of dissimilar parts or of similar: and if of dissimilar, these are either limited or infinite. They cannot be infinite, for, as motions are limited, the forms of simple bodies must be limited.  
 7, 2 The parts of an infinite body cannot be infinite, for weight and lightness (their qualities) are not infinite.  
 7, 3 Their places must be infinite in magnitude, and their motions infinite. But we have shewn that the mo-  
 7, 5 tions upwards and downwards are limited. Nor can the infinite be composed of similar parts; for it would have no motion except the motion of those parts. It must have unlimited weight or unlimited lightness. Moreover no unlimited body could have the circular  
 7, 6 motion; nor could an unlimited body be moved at all; for it would require another place into which it must be carried; and, as (being infinite) it would  
 7, 15 already fill all space, this is impossible. An infinite body composed of similar parts could not be moved in a circle, for an infinite has no centre, and a circle moves round its centre. Nor in a straight line; for this would require another infinite place into which it might pass by its natural motion, and another infinite into which it might be carried contrary to its  
 7, 16 nature. And the motion in the straight line, whether natural or forcible, would require the moving power  
 7, 17 to be infinite in both cases. If therefore the infinite body can be moved both according to nature and by another force contrary to nature, there would be two infinities, that which gives the movement and that  
 7, 19 which receives it. In an infinite, where there is no

middle, no boundary, no upper or lower place, there I would be no place into which bodies could be borne by motion, and therefore no motion.

There cannot be a plurality of heavens. All things<sup>8, 1</sup> rest or are moved either forcibly or by nature. If a<sup>8, 2</sup> motion is forcible, the contrary motion is natural. But if the earth in that other world is borne by force to the centre of our universe, it would move naturally from hence thither, and the contrary. But the natural motion is one and only one. Again, all these<sup>8, 3</sup> worlds (being similar) must be made of the same elements, and these elements must have the same powers. The earth then in that other universe would<sup>8, 5</sup> by nature tend to our centre, and the fire to our circumference. But this is impossible; for then their earth would have its natural motion from their centre, and their fire towards their centre. But to assume<sup>8, 6</sup> that the qualities of the elements in another universe are different is contrary to reason. There are three<sup>8, 15</sup> material elements; one of the body which tends to the centre, one of the body which moves in a circle; a third of the body which lies between these two. That which floats on the surface is within this mid-<sup>8, 16</sup>dle region.

It is not possible that there can be more worlds,<sup>9, 1-7</sup> because this our universe comprehends and embraces within itself all the particles of matter. The term<sup>9, 8, 9</sup> Heaven is used in three senses; 1 the circumference of the universe: 2 the space between the circumference and the centre—the region of the Sun and Moon and Planets: 3 the universe itself, or the whole of what is contained within the sphere of the universe. The heavens in this third sense contain every natural and sensible body; for no body is or can be beyond the circumference of the heavens. The universe is composed of the whole of its proper<sup>9, 12</sup> material substances. There cannot be a plurality of worlds. There can be no place or *vacuum* or time<sup>9, 13</sup> beyond the circumference of the universe; for in every place there may be a body; in a *vacuum* there may be a body; time is the measure of motion, and there can be no motion without a body. But it has<sup>9, 14</sup> been shewn that beyond the universe there is no body and there can be none. Neither place nor time nor change affect those beings who are placed beyond the outer surface of the universe; they subsist eternally, not subject to change or passion.

Is the Heaven produced or not? Is it corruptible<sup>10, 1</sup> or incorruptible? It is impossible to say that it was<sup>10, 3</sup>



I produced and yet is perpetual. Whatever is produced  
 10, 4 is liable to perish. That which had no beginning but  
 could never have been otherwise in all eternity can-  
 not change; for change implies a preexisting cause  
 10, 5 of the change. But if the world was produced, its  
 materials must be subject to change, and not always  
 necessarily in the same state; so that when put to-  
 gether they may be dissolved, and when dissolved  
 may be replaced. If so, the world would not be in-  
 10, 8 corruptible. The world then cannot be at the same  
 10, 12 time eternal and the offspring of production. Some  
 however, as *Plato* in the *Timæus*, hold that the world  
 was born, but yet that it will exist for ever. We  
 11, 2 must consider this point. A thing is said to be not  
 generated or produced, if any thing not existing be-  
 fore is brought into being without birth and change;  
 or if any thing, although it is capable of being pro-  
 duced, does not exist; or lastly if it is absolutely in-  
 11, 3 capable of being produced. A thing is said to be  
 generated or produced, if, not having existed before,  
 it afterwards exists; or if it is capable of being pro-  
 11, 5 duced. In like manner<sup>o</sup> that is corruptible which,  
 having once existed, ceases to be or may cease to be.  
 11, 6 Again, that is not subject to corruption which, with-  
 out suffering decay, is sometimes in being and some-  
 times not; or which is in being, but capable of ceas-  
 ing to be; or which now is, but will not be hereafter.  
 11, 7 But "incorruptible" in its proper sense means that  
 which exists and is incapable of being destroyed after  
 such a sort as that it is now in being and afterwards  
 does or can cease to be.  
 11, 8 We must consider the terms *Possible* and *Impos-*  
*sible*. Incorruptible is that which it is not possible  
 to destroy. A thing is not produced which it is im-  
 possible to produce, so as that, being before not in  
 existence, it should afterwards come into existence.  
 12, 1 If it is possible for some things both to be and not  
 to be, some time must be assigned to these states.  
 12, 6 Whatever is always in being is incorruptible. It has  
 not been produced; for, if it had been produced,  
 there might be a time when it may cease to be.  
 That is corruptible which was once in being and now  
 12, 7 has either ceased or may cease to exist. It is im-  
 possible for a thing to be eternal and corruptible;  
 nor can it have been produced; for if that which is  
 eternal can never cease to be, it never was produced.  
 12, 8 That, of which it can be said that it is capable of

either existing or of not existing, holds a middle I  
 place between that which must always be and that  
 which can never be. It is evident that a substance 12, 10. 11  
 produced and corruptible is not eternal; otherwise it  
 would be at once capable of existing for ever and  
 capable of not existing for ever. That is not pro- 12, 11  
 duced, which now is, and cannot be truly said to  
 have never been before; that is incorruptible which  
 now is, and of which it cannot be truly said that it  
 will ever cease to be. These attributes accompany 12, 12. 13  
 each other; what has not been produced is incor-  
 ruptible; what is incorruptible has not been pro-  
 duced; and both these are eternal. The incorruptible  
 is eternal. In the same manner the produced and  
 the corruptible accompany each other. What is cor- 12, 22  
 ruptible perishes at some time or other; and if it is  
 produced it was produced at some time. There was  
 a time when it was not. It is impossible that what 12, 23  
 once began to be can be incorruptible, or what never  
 began to be and always existed can ever perish.

The Heaven, then, or the Universe, neither had a II, 1, 1. 2  
 beginning nor will have an end. Its circular motion  
 is perfect and incessant for ever. The ancients as- 1, 3  
 signed the heaven and the upper region to the Gods.  
 The opinion of the Pythagoreans is to be considered, 2, 1  
 who attribute a right and a left to the heavens.  
 There are three divisions; above below; before be- 2, 3  
 hind; right and left. All these belong to perfect  
 bodies<sup>p</sup>. Above is the point from which *length* be- 2, 4  
 gins; the right, from which *breadth* begins; before,  
 from which *depth* begins. The motions begin from  
 the same points; increase from above; movement in  
 place from the right; motion in quality or sensible  
 motion from the front. But all these three are only 2, 5  
 found in those bodies which, being living bodies,  
 have the principle of motion in themselves. Sense-  
 less matter is either not moved at all or is moved  
 only one way, fire upwards, earth downwards; in 2, 6  
 these we use the terms above below right and left  
 with reference to ourselves.

As the heaven is a living body and has in itself the 2, 10  
 principle of motion, it has the divisions above below,  
 right and left. Some find a difficulty in this on account 2, 11  
 of the spherical form of the universe. But its length 2, 12. 13  
 is from pole to pole; the pole above us is the lower,  
 the pole beneath us (which is invisible to us) is the  
 upper. The right is the point from whence move- 2, 14

<sup>o</sup> See on this passage Alexander apud Simplicium Schol. Berlin. p. 490 a.

<sup>p</sup> Aristotle II. 2, 2 quotes his own treatise *περὶ τὰς τῶν ζώων κινήσεις*.

II ment begins. In the revolution of the globe it is the quarter from which the rising of the stars proceeds, and the left is the point at which they set. If therefore the revolution begins at the right, and comes back to the right again, the invisible pole must be the upper; for, if it were the visible pole, then motion would commence from the left. Those then who dwell there are in the upper hemisphere and on the right, we who dwell here are in the lower and on the left; contrary to the opinion of the Pythagoreans.

2, 15 But in the inferior orbit of the planets we are on the upper hemisphere or on the right, the others on the lower and on the left, because here the motion is in the contrary direction.

4, 1 The heaven is spherical; for a sphere is the first of forms. Every plane is either contained by straight lines or by a circle. That which is contained by straight lines has many boundaries, the circle is only bounded by one line. And one precedes other numbers; the simple precedes the compound. Again, that is complete to which nothing can be added. But a straight line may be extended by addition; a circle can receive nothing from without. Its form is complete. For these reasons a circle is the first of all plane surfaces. And a sphere is to solid bodies what a circle is to planes. But since the first form belongs to the first body, and the first body resides in the circumference, that which is borne by the circular motion is a spherical body. And the body next in continuity to the first body must be also spherical, and those bodies within this which are enclosed by its orbit and touch its orbit—namely the planets—all these are also spheres. As beyond the exterior surface of the great circumference of the universe there is neither a *vacuum* nor a place, this great circumference which encloses the universe must be also spherical; for if it were not, there must be a place and a body and a *vacuum* beyond it. For if a body contained by straight lines, and therefore angular, were moved in a circle, it would never occupy the same place, because the angles of this body would be perpetually shifting their places. Moreover, if the motion of the heavens is the measure of other movements, because it is alone continuous and uniform and perpetual, and if the least movement is the most rapid, it is evident that the motion of the heavens is the most rapid of all motions. The shortest line from

<sup>q</sup> The term Nature—*φύσις* (*προνοούσης τῆς φύσεως*)—is here used by Aristotle in the sense ascribed to it by Simplicius ad

a point to the same point again is the circular, and in the shortest line is the quickest motion. As then the Heaven is borne in a circle and by the quickest movement, the heaven is spherical.

The motion of the heavens is uniform; it is never unequal; for if it were unequal, there would be by turns a remission and acceleration of the speed, and a proper and suitable rate of motion. In the motion of the heavens there is no remission and no acceleration. An inequality of motion must proceed either from the moving power or the body moved or from both. None of these can happen to the heaven. The body moved is the first body, simple, not generated, not corruptible, not subject to change. Much more is the Moving Power endued with these qualities. If the body moved, though corporeal, suffers no change, neither can the moving power, which is incorporeal, be subject to change. The motion then cannot be unequal; for inequality would require change either in the whole or its parts. The parts are not unequal, for the intervals of distance have not changed in all time. The whole cannot be supposed to change; for remission happens through impotence, and impotence is contrary to Nature. But as there is nothing contrary to nature in the first elements, so there can be no impotence, no remission, no acceleration; and it is absurd to suppose the moving power impotent for unlimited time and then again potent for unlimited time. The heaven then is one only, not generated, eternal, uniform in its motion.

The fixed stars are made of that element the law of whose nature is to move in a circle; their heat and fire are produced by the passing through the air, which is kindled by their motion, as rapid motion produces fire in wood or stones or iron. The orbits of the stars move, but the stars themselves are without motion of their own, and are fixed in their orbits. They do not even turn on their own axis; for the moon always presents the same face to us. If they were self-moved, they would have their individual and proper motion; since they have not that motion, it is evident that they do not move themselves. The noiseless motion of the stars (like the parts of a ship in a vessel) was perhaps arranged beforehand by the foresight of Nature<sup>q</sup>. That the moon is spherical is known from eclipses of the sun. The Egyptians and

*φυσ. ἀκροῦσ.* p. 282 b l. 7 quoted above N<sup>o</sup> 373 p. 330 *Simplicius Works* n. 8.



- II Babylonians have watched the stars from the earliest periods of time.
- 13, 1 The general opinion is that the earth is in the centre. But the Pythagoreans hold that fire is in the centre; that the earth is one of the stars and moves in an orbit; and that the motion produces day and night<sup>r</sup>. They think the centre the most honourable post, and place there the fire as the noblest element.
- 13, 3
- 13, 5 But the circumference of the universe is rather the most honourable post. Some have doubted the form of the earth.—He reviews 13, 8—31 the various opinions of *Plato Xenophanes Empedocles*, of *Thales Anaximenes Anaxagoras*, of *Democritus* and *Anaximander*; and concludes 14, 5—8 that the earth remains motionless in the centre by a law of nature.—
- 14, 9—14 The earth is spherical because all its parts tend equally to the centre. That the form is globular is also proved by the eclipses of the moon. Those who have attempted to compute the earth's circumference reckon it 400,000 stadia<sup>s</sup>: which is not large, compared with the size of the other stars.
- III. 1, 3, 4 The nature of that first element of which the heaven is composed has been mentioned. It remains to speak of the other elements, and also to enquire into generation and decay. For generation or production either does not exist at all, or it exists only in these elements and in the things which they compose.
- 1, 4 Former philosophers differ from the positions which are here laid down, and from each other.—He surveys 1, 5—20 the opinions of *Melissus Parmenides Heraclitus* and others, and of the Pythagoreans 1, 20.
- 2, 1 Motion belongs to all simple bodies. If motion forced and unnatural, there must be also a natural, which is implied in the unnatural. The unnatural motions may be many, but the natural must be one.
- 2, 2 Rest also must be by force in the place to which the body is carried by force; rest natural in the place to

which it is carried by nature. If there is rest in a place by nature, the motion into that place is a natural motion. When *Leucippus* and *Democritus* tell us that the elementary bodies are always moved in a vacuum and in infinite space, they ought to shew what motion; and also what is the natural motion of those bodies; for if the elements are moved by each other forcibly, there must be some natural motion of each, opposed to that forcible motion; and the first movement may have been natural. It is said in the *Timæus* that before the world was produced the elements moved in disorder. But motion must be either forcible or natural. If natural, there must have been a world; for that which first moved must have moved itself, and moved naturally; and the elements moved must have assumed the order they now occupy, the heavy to the centre, the light from the centre. And if infinite bodies are to be moved in infinite space, if the cause of motion is one, they must be borne in one motion, and then the motion is not disorderly; if the moving causes are infinite, the motions will be infinite. Besides, disorder would be unnatural, for order is in the course of Nature. Each body then has a natural motion, not forced and contrary to nature. But some bodies have also the properties of weight and lightness. Generation or production does not belong to all bodies, nor yet to none. It is impossible for all bodies to be produced unless there were a vacuum capable of containing them; for in that place which the body produced occupies when it is produced there must have before been a vacuum. One body may be produced out of another body, as fire out of air, but not out of no other preexisting body.

It remains to say what bodies can be said to be generated or produced. But we must first enquire into the nature of the elements of which those bodies

<sup>r</sup> The juster views of *Pythagoras* may be collected from Alexander Aphrod. ad *Metaphys.* I apud Schol. Berolin. p. 542 b 2 = p. 22. 15 = p. 30. 28 ed. Bonitz. καὶ γὰρ καὶ ταύτην [sc. τὴν γῆν] ἡγοῦντο κινεῖσθαι κύκλῳ περὶ μένουσαν τὴν ἑστίαν, ἢ πῦρ ἐστὶ κατ' αὐτοῦς. Conf. Laetium VIII. 85 Plutarchum de Placit. III. 13 Numa c. 11 Simplicium ad Aristot. de Cælo p. 124 a apud Schol. Berolin. p. 505 a. Compare Aristarchus in F. H. III p. 492 and Fabricius ad Sextum Empiricum Phys. II. 174 p. 663.

*Pythagoras* had also a competent knowledge of the annual motions of the planets *Saturn Jupiter* and *Mars*: Anonymus in vita *Pythag.* apud Photium Cod. 249 p. 1317 = p. 112 Kiessl. μέγαν ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ τὴν τοῦ Κρόνου περίοδον φασίν, ὅτε τῶν λοιπῶν ἐξ πλανωμένων ἐν ἐλάττονι χρόνῳ οὗτος ἐν τριάκοντα τὸν οἰκείον δρόμον ἀπαρτίξει. καὶ γὰρ ὁ μὲν τοῦ Διὸς ἐν ἰβ' ἔτεσι τὸν ἴδιον διαπεραίνει κύκλον, ἐν δυοσι δὲ ὁ Ἄρης, ὁ δὲ ἥλιος ἐνιαυτῷ,

<sup>s</sup> *Ἐρμῆς δὲ καὶ Ἀφροδίτη ἰσοταχεῖς τῷ ἡλίῳ, σελήνη δὲ προσγειοτάτη καὶ ἐλάχιστον κύκλον περιουσα ἐν μηνί.*

<sup>s</sup> Simplicius apud Schol. Berolin. p. 508 b "A degree, or  $\frac{1}{360}$  of the earth's circumference, has been found to be 500 stadia, and  $360 \times 500 = 180,000$  stadia [about 22,500 English miles]. *Archimedes* found the circumference of a circle to be 3 diameters and  $\frac{1}{2}$  of a diameter, which gives the diameter of the earth 57,273 stadia."

The data of Simplicius produce the following numbers :

7) 57,273 (8181 $\frac{1}{2}$ )	
	3
171,819	
8181	
180,000	

III. 3, 2 are composed. An element may be said to be that into which other bodies may be divided and resolved, 4, 1 but indivisible itself. Are the elements limited or 4, 4 infinite, and, if limited, what is their number? It is far better to assume that the elements are limited in number, and as few as possible.—He examines and rejects the theory of *Leucippus* and *Democritus* 4, 6 5, 1 —11.—The elements then being limited in number, it remains to enquire whether they are one or more. Some assign only one element; and this is water with some, air with others, fire with others, and with 5, 2—5 others again something thinner than water but denser 5, 6 than air. It is none of the three last. It is not fire. 5, 10 All who assume only one element have this common error, that they allow only one natural motion, the 5, 11 same for all bodies. But as there are more than one motion, there must be more than one element.

6, 1 Are the elements eternal, or are they subject to production and decay? They cannot be eternal, for we see fire and water and each of the simple bodies 6, 2 dissolved. But their dissolution must be either infinite or must have a pause. If infinite, there will be an infinite time for their dissolution and another infinite time for their composition; for the parts are dissolved in one time and are put together in another; and we have an infinite time in which the infinite composition is effected, and a preceding infinite time in which they were dissolved. But two 6, 3 infinites are impossible. Again, if the dissolution shall stop somewhere, the body in which it stops will either be an indivisible atom, or capable of division and yet never to be divided. It will not be an atom, nor yet divisible and never to be divided; for a less body more easily decays than a large body. If then the larger body is so destroyed as to be resolved into a less, the lesser body will suffer this still more easily.

6, 4 We see fire destroyed in two ways; extinguished by some opposite quality, and burning out of itself. The elements then of bodies must be corruptible and generated. But as they were produced, they must have been produced either from that which had a body or from that which had no body. If from a body, either 6, 5 from some other or from one another. They cannot be produced from that which has no body, for every thing produced is produced somewhere. If the place in which it is produced has a body, there are two bodies at once in the same place; that which is produced, and that which already existed. But if the place contains no body, there must be a limited *va-*

*cuum*, which is impossible. But the elements cannot III. 6, 6 have been produced from any other body; for then that other body would precede the elements. It 6, 7 follows that the elements are produced from one another. How are they produced from one another? 7, 1 —He examines 7, 1—13 and refutes the theories of *Empedocles* and *Democritus*.

The attempt to give forms to the simple bodies, as 8, 1 the elements, is absurd. In the first place, the elements would not fill the whole of space. In plane surfaces 3 forms appear to fill the space; the triangle the square the hexagon. In solids, two; the pyramid and the cube. In the next place, all the simple bo- 8, 2 dies seem to adapt their forms to the surrounding place. The figure then of the element cannot remain, for it would not fill the place which it occupies. If the form is changed and adapted to the surrounding place, it would cease to be the element; as water, for instance, having lost the form of water would cease to be water. It is plain then that the element has no definite form. That the elements should have 8, 5 a stated figure is inconsistent with their qualities and motions. Because fire moves easily and warms and 8, 6 burns, some suppose it a sphere, others a pyramid; for they suppose that these forms most readily move, and they think that fire burns on account of its angular points. But they are wrong in supposing the 8, 7 motion of these forms to belong to fire; for fire mounts upwards in the straight line, but the sphere and the pyramid revolve in a circle. And if the earth 8, 8 is a cube (as they say) because it rests in its own place, fire will also be a cube when it rests in its own place. They are wrong again in ascribing the 8, 9 burning quality of fire to its angles, for all the elements would have the power of warming and burning, for all are supposed to have angles. Moreover 8, 13 they can allot no form to cold; and yet heat and cold are opposite qualities. But all should have a form or none. It is evident then that the difference 8, 15 of the elements does not consist in their figures.

Weight and lightness have sometimes an absolute IV. 1, 3 and sometimes a relative meaning. We say of some bodies that they are heavier or lighter than some other bodies. The absolute properties of weight and lightness have not been treated of by former philosophers, but only the relative. But it is a law of 1, 4 Nature of some bodies to be borne upwards from the centre, and of others to be borne downwards towards the centre. The greater part of former 2, 1



IV enquirers have thought it sufficient to shew that of two bodies one is lighter than the other, and then they think they have demonstrated the absolute qualities of weight and lightness. It is argued, as in the *Timæus*, that a substance in large quantities is heavier than a small quantity of the same substance. But fire always ascends, and the greater the quantity of the fire the lighter it is, and the more rapid is its ascent. They think in general that the cause of the lightness of light bodies is that they contain a greater quantity of *vacuum* intermixed with the particles of matter. Some of those who deny a *vacuum* have not defined lightness and weight at all; as *Anaxagoras* and *Empedocles*. Others, who have, say nothing of the abstract weight or lightness of bodies.—He refutes 2, 12—18 those who account for lightness by imagining a *vacuum*.

3, 1 We will first enquire why some bodies are always carried upwards, others always downwards, others both upwards and downwards; and we will then 3, 2 enquire concerning weight and lightness. There are 3, 3 three motions; in magnitude, in form, in place. That which causes motion in place and that which receives motion have some relation to one another. That which is capable of weight and lightness gives the motion upwards or downwards; that which has the power of weight or lightness receives the motion.

3, 5 Each is carried to his proper place. All motions upwards and downwards are limited by the centre 4, 1 and the circumference. That is simply heavy, which tends to the bottom and lies beneath; that is light, which rises to the surface and floats above all other

substances. Fire has simply and absolutely the property of rising upwards, earth, of sinking downwards. Those bodies are heavy and light in another sense 4, 2 which have both qualities; as air and water have both. These are relatively light and heavy; they are lighter than earth, heavier than fire. Compared with each other they have absolute weight and lightness—air is always lighter than water. The positive 4, 3 weight and lightness of compound bodies depends upon their elements. Every thing has some weight 4, 4 except fire, every thing has some lightness except earth. That is absolutely light which always mounts 4, 6. 7 upwards, as fire; that is absolutely heavy which always sinks downwards, as earth. Weight and light- 4, 10 ness are properly two, for they belong to two places, the centre and the circumference. The two other 4, 11 properties of heavy and light, which belong to water and air, have their places in the middle region between the centre and the circumference. One ele- 4, 12 ment is light and always at the top, another is heavy and always at the bottom; the others are both light and heavy. Water sinks beneath every thing but earth; air rises above every thing but fire. One 5, 2 thing alone rises above all other things, and one alone sinks beneath all others; two others both rise and sink; so that their materials must be also four in number. Those other theories, of a *vacuum* or a 5, 6—9 *plenum* or magnitudes or the triangular forms of the elements, would not account for the *phenomena*. The 6, 1 figures of the elements are not the cause of their rising and sinking, but merely of the speed or slowness of their motions.

ARISTOTELIS περί γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς<sup>t</sup>.

I. 1, 2 THOSE who derive all from one element make generation and change the same thing; those who reckon more than one element, as *Empedocles* *Anaxagoras* *Leucippus*, make a distinction between generation and change. Those who reckon one element are compelled to call generation and decay by the name of Change; for the subject-matter is always one and the same, and this undergoes a change. Those who reckon more elements make a distinction, because generation and decay proceed from the con-

junction and dissolution of bodies. And these must I. 1, 7 affirm change to be something else, although this cannot be according to their principles. In the affec- 1, 9 tions which produce change are varieties in the elements. One material is always assigned to all the 1, 10 elements, whether they are moved in place or quantity or quality.—He discovers 1, 12—15 an inconsistency in *Empedocles* concerning the elements.

*Plato* has considered only the subject of generation 2, 1, 2 and decay; and generation only as far as it concerns

<sup>t</sup> Philoponus (who follows Ammonius: see No 381 *Philoponus Works n. 8*) in the opening of his commentary p. 1 a—2 a gives a summary of the treatise *περί οὐρανοῦ* and then of this treatise. At p. 28 b l. 28 &c. he inserts a general survey

of the works of *Aristotle* upon *Physics*. At p. 37 a l. 43—p. 37 b l. 47 Philoponus remarks upon *Aristot. lib. III et IV de Cælo*.

I the elements. He has not considered change or increase. *Democritus* alone has extended the enquiry 2, 4 farther. *Democritus* and *Leucippus*, giving forms to the elements, produce change and generation out of these forms; generation from their composition and separation, change from their order and position. 2, 5 They imagined infinite forms, and supposed the varieties to be produced by the transposition or ad- 2, 6 mixture of the smallest particles. Since it is generally supposed that generation and change are different, that the former is produced by conjunction and separation, the latter by a change of the affecting influences, we must enquire into this subject. If generation is composition, many difficulties happen 2, 7 on both sides. First, are generation and change and increase produced, the first magnitudes being indivisible, or is there no magnitude not capable of divi- 2, 8 sion? Next, are the magnitudes solid bodies, or (as said in the *Timæus*) plane surfaces? They are rather in bodies indivisible. And yet there is a difficulty.— He sets forth the difficulties 2, 9—24, and then observes 2, 25, Simple generation and decay do not come from composition and division, but from the whole being transposed out of one thing into another. Such a transposition as this some suppose 2, 26 to be change, but this is not so. When the transfer is in the material, it is generation and decay, but when it is in the affecting influences, and in the accidents, it is change. What is separated and put together is easily destroyed, as will appear hereafter. It is sufficient now to have shewn that generation cannot be mere composition, as some suppose.

3, 1 Is any thing generated simply and destroyed simply, or is it always something that is produced out of something? If there is generation simply, it might 3, 2 come from what is non-existent. A particular generation comes from some particular which does not already exist, but simple generation comes from that which was simply non-existent. By *simply* is signified that which first comes into being, or that which comprehends all. If it is that which comes first, there will be a generation of a substance from that 3, 3 which is no substance. But that to which substance does not belong can have none of the predicaments of substance, namely quality or quantity or place. That which has altogether no existence is a negation wholly of all being; so that the thing generated

would be produced from nothing. In a certain sense I. 3, 4 however generation comes from that which does not exist, and in another sense from that which does exist; for that must preexist which exists in latent power but does not exist in effective power. Again, 3, 5 we must enquire whence comes simple generation. Can there be a generation of substance and not of its quality or quantity or place? In like manner with respect to decay; for if any thing is generated, there 3, 6 will manifestly be (in latent power though not in active power) some substance from which the thing is generated, and into which that which is destroyed must pass. But will this which exists in latent power possess the properties (quantity or quality or place) in perfection, or only in latent power? For, if in 3, 7 latent power, that which is in perfection is divided from it, and (what the early philosophers avoided to affirm) something is produced out of nothing. But if to that which is a substance only in latent power the predicaments shall belong in perfection, then the affecting influences will be separated from their subject matter. We must endeavour to shew the cause 3, 8 of generation. There is one cause, that from whence all motion begins, and another cause, namely matter, of which last we are now to speak. Of the former we have spoken already in the treatise *Upon motion*<sup>v</sup>, and have shewn that the first cause of motion is for ever motionless, and that which first receives motion always moves. We will now speak of that cause 3, 10 which resides in the form of matter, the cause by which decay and generation never fail. It may be 3, 11 doubted how generation is continued, if that which perisheth passes into nothing; for that which is nothing has neither quality nor quantity nor place. Whence comes it then that the universe, which is limited, has not disappeared and been consumed? Is the succession perpetual because the decay of one 3, 12 substance is the generation of another? This is suf- 3, 13 ficient for the generation and decay of each particular substance. But we may enquire again why some substances are said simply to be generated and to decay and some not simply;—why some are generated and decay absolutely, others with certain limitations. A difference arises from the kind of sub- 3, 15 stance into which the change is made. The production of fire may be a simple generation, the extinction of fire may be a decay with reference to some

<sup>v</sup> Sc. φυσ. ἀκρόσ. lib. 8.



I other substance; as the production of earth on the contrary may be a generation not absolute, the decay may be absolute and simple decay. *Parmenides* distinguishes these two elements by calling fire a substance existent, and earth a non-existent. The passage to a simple non-existent is simple and absolute decay; the passage to a simple existent substance is simple and absolute generation. This then is one sort of difference between simple and not simple generation and decay. Another sort of difference is produced by the nature of the matter. That which produces something is more a substance—is a positive substance; that which suffers something or loses something is less a substance,—is inferior. Another sort of difference is made by the popular opinion which appeals to the senses. That which passes into a sensible substance they suppose to be generated; that which passes into something invisible they hold to be destroyed. Existence and non-existence they measure by the evidence of the senses; what is known exists, what is unknown is not in existence. But simple generation and decay are differently measured by popular opinion and by truth. Judging by the senses men think the air less a substance than the earth, but in truth it is more a substance. Simple generation then proceeds from the decay of something, simple decay produces the generation of something, because the subject matter differs in the nature of its substance, because some substances are more absolutely substances and others less so, because finally some substances are apprehended by the senses, others are not. We are now to consider another difficulty; why one thing is said to be not simply generated but generated with a certain attribute, while another thing is said to be generated absolutely. This is marked by the predicaments, by the qualities ascribed to substances. Generation is the *decay* of *non-existence*, because that which was not is called into being; decay is the *generation* of *non-existence*, because that which existed ceases to be. But it may be doubted whether this simple non-existent is one of two opposites, as earth and the heavy element is non-existent, fire and the light element is existent, or whether earth also may be called existent, and the non-existent expresses that matter which is the common material both of earth and of fire.

- 4, 1 Generation and change differ from each other.  
4, 2 Change happens when the sensible subject matter

remains and when its qualities suffer alteration into opposite or intermediate qualities. But when the simple subject-matter itself is altered and passes into something else, as air into water or water into air, this is generation. A new substance is generated, the former substance perishes. When an alteration is made in quantity, this is increase and diminution; when in place, this is movement; when in quality, this is change; when nothing whatever remains of that which was affected with these accidents, this is generation and decay. Matter in its proper sense means the subject matter susceptible of generation and decay; and in a certain degree susceptible of the other alterations abovementioned.

We must now speak of Increase, in what respect it differs from Generation and from Change; whether only in the subject matter (for generation is the passing from one substance into another, increase and diminution respect the quantity, change, the quality of things), or whether in the mode also. Generation and change do not require alteration of place; but this is required in Increase and Diminution. Not however a complete motion out of one place into another, but only an additional space. The enlarged body fills a larger space than before; the diminished body withdraws into a less. The alteration then effected by generation and change and increase are not only in the subject but also in the mode. Is the magnitude which is the object of increase and diminution in latent power of extension and a body, or in actual force without a body and without magnitude; assuming these by the process of the increase? Does that increase come from a separate portion of matter existing apart, or from matter already contained in some other body?—He examines these questions and concludes that increase is not an alteration of a substance having magnitude only in latent power and having no magnitude in effect; for then we should have a separate *vacuum*, which is impossible. And moreover such an alteration would be proper to generation and not to increase; for increase is the enlargement, diminution is the lessening of an existing magnitude. Wherefore the substance to be increased must already possess some magnitude, and increase cannot proceed from matter that has no magnitude, for this would be generation and not increase.

What are the causes of increase and diminution? It appears that any part of the subject is increased

I by the addition of something, and any part diminished by the subtraction of something. The added substance must either be without a body or must have a body. If without a body, there will be a separate *vacuum*; if it has a body, there will be two bodies in the same place—the body which receives, and the 5, 16 body which gives increase; which is impossible. In simple generation and decay the original substance is altered, in increase and change it remains the same. In change it suffers an affecting influence, in 5, 17 increase it receives an addition of magnitude. Which is the increased substance, that which receives, or 5, 18 that which gives the increase? That of which the substance remains after the union may be said to be 5, 19, 20 the increased body. The beginning of the motion is in the thing which receives increase and the thing which suffers change. The body nourished by food is increased, the food itself perishes. The moving principle then is not in the food which supplies but in the body which receives. We have these positions. That which is increased remains in substance; it receives increase from the addition of something, diminution from the subtraction of something. Every part of the increased or diminished substance receives increase or diminution. There are not in one place two magnitudes at once. The substance which gives 5, 21 the increase is not without a body. We must now state the cause of increase, after having defined first that substances of similar parts are first increased, and then substances of dissimilar parts; secondly that substances are spoken of in two senses, both as the subject matter and also as the body formed of that matter;—as matter when invested with form. 5, 22 That any or every part should be increased can only happen to the body formed of the subject matter, 5, 23 and not to the matter in its elementary state. This is especially manifest in the increase in substances 5, 24 composed of dissimilar parts. What is the substance which gives the increase? It is clearly in latent power a similar substance to that which is to be increased, but in active power it is another substance, and becomes incorporated with the thing increased, 5, 25 by losing its own nature. How is it affected? Is 5, 27 it mingled with the body which receives it? That which supplies the increase (as food does to a living body) must augment the quantity of the substance, otherwise it is not increase but merely sustenance.

We must speak of Matter and the elements as I. 6, 1 they are called, whether they exist or not; whether each is eternal, or is generated in some way; and if generated whether all are generated from one another in a similar manner, or whether some one among them precedes the others. Those who pro- 6, 2 duce the elements by generation have recourse to separation and conjunction, to doing and suffering. Conjunction is mixture. But as there can be no change or separation or conjunction without decay and suffering, those who hold more elements than one generate them by supposing them mutually to act and to be acted upon. And yet even one element 6, 3 must imply an active power. We must also consider 6, 4 the contact of the elements; for they can neither act nor be acted upon nor be mingled without contact. Three things then are to be considered, Contact, Mixture, and Action. Things which are in contact 6, 6 are in position; and to be in position is to be in a place<sup>w</sup>; and as place implies above or below, things which are in contact have weight or lightness. They act and are acted upon. Things in general are said 6, 9—11 to be in contact, of which the extremities touch; things are in contact again, when one acts upon the other. But in an especial sense things are in contact when they act reciprocally upon one another;—when each acts and each is acted upon.

We must next speak of doing and suffering. Most 7, 1 philosophers say that *dissimilar* and different substances act and are acted upon by one another. On 7, 2 the contrary *Democritus* holds that *similar* substances act and are acted upon; that dissimilar substances can suffer nothing from each other. But if every 7, 3, 4 similar substance, in so far as it is similar, acted upon similar substances, nothing would be exempt from corruption and from motion; for every substance in nature would move itself. Nor can that 7, 5 which is wholly dissimilar and in no respect like act or be acted upon. A line cannot act upon colour. Substances then which act upon each other must be 7, 6, 7 partly alike and partly dissimilar. They must be the same in *genus* but dissimilar and opposite in *species*. That which acts transforms the substance upon which 7, 8 it acts into its own likeness. There is an analogy 7, 10 between the action or passion and the motion of substances; for, as that which gives the first motion 7, 11, 12 may be motionless, and that which gives the last

<sup>w</sup> He refers to his definition of contact in *φυσ. ἀκροῦσ.* lib. 5.



I motion in the series must itself receive motion, so in action the first agent is itself not acted upon, but the last agent gives the impulse, having itself received  
 7, 14 it. As in motion the first author of motion is motionless, so in action the first agent acts but is not acted upon.

8, 1 Some think that each substance is acted upon through certain pores through which the acting power is conveyed; that in this manner sight and hearing are effected.—He examines 8, 2—20 the theories of *Empedocles* and of *Leucippus Democritus* and some others upon the mode of action and passion. He refutes 8, 21 the theory which supposes bodies to be acted upon through certain pores.

9, 1, 2 How are substances generated? How do they act? How are they acted upon? The substances must be endued the one with latent power, the other with active power. The agent must assimilate the thing acted upon to itself; it must touch the thing acted upon, either immediately or through some medium; as heat from fire passing through air warms the body<sup>x</sup>.

10, 1 In the third place we are to consider Mixture.

10, 2 It is affirmed that, if the two substances to be mingled are both unchanged, there is no mixture; that, if one of them is destroyed, there is no mixture;

10, 3 that, if both perish, there is no mixture. Mixture differs from Generation and Decay. We do not say that the fuel is mingled with the fire, but that the

10, 5 fire is generated and the fuel destroyed. Nor can the qualities of things (which are inseparable from the things) be said to be mingled with the things; for each of the bodies mingled must before the mixture be separate. Mixture may be thus defined:

10, 6, 7 As all substances have a latent power and an active power, the substances mingled retain their latent power after the mixture, before that substance which is to be produced by the mixture is invested with another power in effect. But, it is enquired, when substances divided into little parts are so placed together that each disappears to the senses, (as when barley

10, 9 is mingled with wheat) is this mixture or not? We answer that, if the individual parts remain, there is not mixture but a placing together of the particles,

10, 10 which differs from mixture. Mixture produces something which has similar parts. Some substances are

10, 11 active, some are passive. Those substances reciprocally

act upon one another of which the elementary material is the same; but those which are not made of the same elements have no reciprocal action. These will act, but not be acted upon; and in these there is no mixture. In active and passive substances again, and such as are easily divided, when much is compounded with little, and large quantities are joined with small, there will be no mixture but only increase of the predominant quantity, which assimilates to itself the lesser. But when there is some sort of equality between them, then there is mixture; neither predominates, but some third substance is produced common to both and partaking of both. Those substances then are susceptible of mixture which have an opposition of active powers; which are capable of being mutually acted upon. Of substances which are divisible and capable of being acted upon, those are susceptible of mixture which are most easily dissolved, as fluids. Mixture is the union of the bodies susceptible of mixture, after they have undergone a change.

It remains to enquire into the elements of bodies. II. 1, 1 Generation and decay belong to all substances which have been put together by nature not without sensible bodies. The subject matter of those substances some call one, as air or fire or some intermediate element, others more than one, either two, as fire and earth, or three, as fire earth and air, or four, as fire earth air and water, from which elements compounded or separated or changed the generation and decay of substances are produced. But we say that there is *one original matter* out of which sensible bodies are compounded, and this not susceptible of separation, but always containing opposite or contrary properties. Out of this original matter the elements are produced. We must define these, assuming that the principle and beginning is that original matter, not susceptible of separation, but subject to contraries and to opposites. Heat is not the material of cold, nor cold of heat, but the original subject matter is the material of both. We have first as the principle that which is in latent power a sensible body, next we have the contraries cold and heat, thirdly we have fire and water, and what are called the elements. These elements are changed into one another.

We seek for that from which a sensible body takes

<sup>x</sup> See Philoponus Comm. p. 41 a l. 27—34.

II its beginning. The sensible body is known by contact. Those contraries therefore only form the principles of a body, which belong to contact. We must define the differences and contrarieties of bodies that are tangible and apprehended by contact. The contrarieties in contact are heat and cold, dry and moist, heavy and light. Heavy and light are neither agents nor are acted upon. But the elements, as they are mingled and pass into one another, must reciprocally act and be acted upon. Now the other four, heat and cold, moisture and dryness, are partly agents and partly passive. All the subvarieties (as hard and soft, rough and smooth: 2, 3—10) are reducible to these four.

3, 1 There are four elements (hot and cold, moist and dry) and of these four six combinations. But as the opposites (as hot and cold, moist and dry) cannot exist together, the combinations of the elements will remain four in number, and each of these combinations will belong to one of the elementary bodies, namely Fire is warm and dry, Air warm and moist, Water cold and moist, Earth cold and dry. Those who reckon only one simple elementary body, and then produce the rest by densation and rarefaction, in reality reckon two, namely, dense and rare, hot and cold; for these are the agents, the elementary matter is only the material upon which they work. Of those who reckon two (as *Parmenides* fire and earth) make the intermediate bodies, air and water, mixtures of these two; those who reckon three (as *Plato*) make one intermediate body or mixture from the three.

3, 5 Some reckon four at once, as *Empedocles*; but he again reduces them to two. The simple elementary bodies being four in number, there are two for each of the two places; fire and air for the circumference, earth and water for the centre; the extremes and the simplest are Fire and Earth, the intermediate and the more compound are Water and Air. They are contraries to one another, Water to Fire, Earth to Air. Each of the four has one predominant quality; earth is dry rather than cold, water cold rather than moist, air moist rather than hot, fire hot rather than dry.

4, 2 All these elements change into one another. Generation is out of opposites into opposites, and all the elements contain properties contrary to one another.

Both the properties of Fire, dryness and warmth, are contrary to both the properties of Water, moisture and cold. One of the properties of Air, *warmth*, is contrary to one of the properties of Water, *cold*. Each element is produced from each, but of those which have few opposites the transition into each other is more easy and rapid; of those which have all the qualities opposite the transition will be difficult and slow. The production of water from fire and of earth from air is a slow process. When one property only is changed, the transition is more easy, but the change is of another sort. For when the cold of water perishes and the dryness of fire, the warmth of the one remains and the moisture of the other, and the produce is *Air*; when the warmth of fire and the moisture of water perish, the dryness and the cold which remain will produce *Earth*, for these are the characters of earth. When the warmth of air and the dryness of earth perish, *Water* is produced; for the remaining properties, moist and cold, belong to water. Lastly, when the moisture of air and the cold of earth perish, warmth and dryness remain, and these are *Fire*.—He examines and refutes some opinions of former philosophers concerning the elementary matter which is the basis of the elements. He refutes some other theories concerning the elements.

All compound bodies which have their place near the centre of the universe are composed of all the simple elements. They have earth in them and water, they have fire and air. The food of living substances seems to testify this. All are fed with the same elements of which they are composed, and all are fed with various compounds.

We must speak of generation in general, how many forms of it there are, and whence it begins. The constituent parts in generation are the same as in the element and original substance of the heavens, namely, the elementary matter and the form. But a third property is wanting; for these two are not sufficient of themselves, not even in those eternal substances. It must belong to things that are capable of being generated that they should be able either to be or not to be; for some things necessarily exist, others

<sup>y</sup> Explained by Philoponus comm. p. 51 a l. 51 &c. and p. 54 b l. 2—11.

<sup>z</sup> *Empedocles* among other things derived the Soul from the

elements. *Aristotle* shews this to be an absurd opinion.

On c. 5 compare Philoponus p. 53 a.



II some cannot be at all; it is impossible for the former not to be; to the latter existence is impossible. Some things again can either exist or not, and these are 9, 5 the subjects of generation and decay. That third principle must be added, which all obscurely imagine, but of which none has plainly spoken. Some have thought that the forms of things are a sufficient 9, 6 cause of generation; others the elementary matter itself; for that the principle of motion is in this. Neither of these opinions is just. If the former were the causes of generation, why do they not always 9, 8 produce without intermission? The Matter by means of motion is not the sufficient cause; for it belongs 9, 9 to Matter to receive motion and to be acted upon, but to give motion and to act belongs to another power. We see this in the works of Art and Nature. The water does not create the animals, the wood does 9, 13 not create the couch. If fire acts upon a substance or gives it motion, fire only works as an implement, and even less skilfully than an implement.

10, 1 The circular movement of the Universe (which has been shewn to be perpetual) is the cause of perpetual 10, 2 generation. That circular motion preceded generation, because that which already exists is the cause of generation to that which does not exist. But the circular motion already exists, that which is to be generated is not yet in being; the motion then precedes 10, 3 the generation. Generation and decay are in continual succession, and the circular movement of the heavens is the cause of generation. But, as that which is uniformly the same must always produce the same effects, that circular movement which is the cause of generation cannot also be the cause of decay.

10, 5 Generation and decay then are caused not by the first motion of the Universe but by the oblique cir- 10, 6 cular course of the sun and stars. From the obliquity it happens that the sun and stars are sometimes re- 10, 7 mote and sometimes near. The approach causes 10, 9 generation, the recess decay. When the Sun approaches there is generation, when he is remote 10, 10 from the earth there is decay. Generation and decay 10, 11 will always be continuous and unintermitted. As Nature always aims at the best, and as it is better to be something than to be nothing, the Deity has supplied the deficiency by making generation per- 10, 12 petual. The circular motion, being alone perpetual, is the cause of this. Generation and decay proceed-

ing in a perpetual round imitate the circular motion. II The body which is borne in a circle produces per- 10, 17 petual motion, and motion produces time.

Is there any thing which must necessarily be, or 11, 1 have all things only a possible existence? That which 11, 2 will surely be *must* be at some time or other; that which *may* be may possibly never be at all. Does 11, 3 this happen in generation? That which precedes has 11, 4 such a relation to its consequence that, if the consequence will happen, the condition must of necessity happen too. If then the consequence is necessary, 11, 5 the condition is necessary: if the condition, the consequence;—it being assumed that the consequence is of such a sort as to happen of necessity. Whenever then the consequence must have necessary existence, there the terms correspond; and whenever the condition precedes, the consequence must always follow. There must always be generation, if the generation 11, 8 of a thing is of necessity; for that which is of necessity and that which always exists mean the same thing. It is impossible for that not to be, which must be of necessity; so that if it is of necessity it is perpetual, and if it is perpetual it is of necessity. If then the generation of a thing is of necessity, it is 11, 9 perpetual. Wherefore the simple and necessary generation of things must return back and come round in a circle. Generation being perpetual, and there- 11, 10 fore unlimited, cannot move by the straight line upwards or downwards. It must move then in a circle. The terms must correspond. If a given subject is 11, 11 generated of necessity, that which preceded was also of necessity; again, if the condition, then the consequence; and this in continual succession. In the circle then there is for motion and generation a simple and absolute necessity: if the generation is necessary, it must proceed in a circle; and this is 11, 12 consistent with the eternal motion of the heavens. Whence comes it that water and air are generated 11, 13 in a circle, but men and other animals do not return in a circle? That the same individual is not born again, but that generation here seems to proceed in a straight line? The reason may be this: The mo- 11, 14 tion of substances which are composed of imperishable materials returns again and revolves; but that which is of perishable materials does not return in its individual form. The individual perishes, though the species is preserved.

I

ARISTOTELIS περὶ ψυχῆς<sup>a</sup>.

- 2, 1 1, 1—10 THE difficulties of the enquiry. It is necessary to mention the opinions of former philosophers, that we may follow them where they are right, and avoid them where they are wrong. That which has life seems to differ from lifeless matter in two things especially, in the power of motion and of perception. Some say that the Soul is the cause of motion, and as they suppose that nothing which is not moved itself can give motion, they think that the Soul is one of the things which receive motion.
- 2, 3, 4 *Democritus* and *Leucippus* call it Fire, and suppose the soul to be that which gives motion to animals.
- 2, 6 The Pythagoreans seem to hold the same opinion.
- 2, 8 *Anaxagoras* holds that the soul is the moving principle. *Empedocles* thinks that the soul is in all the elements. *Plato* forms the soul out of the elements.
- 2, 15 *Democritus* supposes that the Soul and the Mind are the same thing. *Anaxagoras* seems to distinguish them, and yet in their operations he speaks as if they were of one and the same nature. *Thales* from what is reported of him<sup>b</sup> seems to consider the soul as a certain moving principle. *Diogenes of Apollonia* thought that air was the soul. *Heraclitus*, that the soul was altogether incorporeal and in perpetual motion. *Alcmaeon*, that it was immortal, and resembled the immortal substances because it was always in motion; for all the divine substances, the moon the sun the stars, the whole heaven, are in perpetual motion. *Hippo* called the soul water, *Critias* the blood. But all define the soul by three things, motion, perception, and an incorporeal nature. The soul is considered either an element or composed of the elements. *Anaxagoras* alone thinks the Mind exempt from affecting influences and having nothing in common with other substances. But how with such properties it is to know and apprehend he has not explained, nor is it very clear. Those who hold opposite qualities in the elements compose the soul of opposites.
- 3, 1 We must first consider Motion. Perhaps we may find it impossible for motion to belong to the soul. That the power which gives motion is not necessarily moved itself has been shewn already. There are four motions, movement in place, change, diminution, increase. If the Soul has a natural motion, it must have a place; for all these four forms of motion require a place. If it is moved naturally, it may be also moved by force, and if by force, then also naturally. Moreover it will rest naturally in the place into which it is carried by nature, and rest by force in the place into which it is carried by force. But it is not easy even to feign a supposed case, in which there can be a forcible movement or forcible rest of the Soul. Again, if it is moved upwards it is fire, if downwards, it is earth. Since it moves the body, it will communicate those motions which it has itself; and on the contrary the motions of the body will also be the motions of the soul. But the body moves by the motion in place. The soul then might change its place. (I am speaking of that motion which would be inherent in its nature and which it would give to itself.) It might go forth out of the body and enter it again, and thus reanimate the dead. Some say that the soul moves the body in which it dwells after the same manner in which it is moved itself. Thus *Democritus*. But we will ask whether the same causes produce rest. It altogether appears that the soul does not move the living animal in this manner, but moves it by a certain impulse of the Will and Intellect. *Timæus* in *Plato* teaches that the soul moves the body; that being itself moved it moves the body because it is interwoven with the body; that it is composed of the elements and divided into parts according to a certain harmony of numbers; that it moves in a circle; and that the circular motion of the heavens is the motion of the soul. But in the first place it is not just to say that the soul has magnitude; for it is evident that the Soul of the World spoken of by *Timæus* must be what is called Mind; it cannot be the soul of the senses or the soul of the appetites; for these do not move in a circle. But the Mind is one and perpetual, as is also Intellect. The Mind is not divided into parts. The movement of the Mind is thought; the

<sup>a</sup> ψυχῆ is used by *Aristotle* in this treatise in a large and comprehensive sense, to express not merely the Soul, but the principle of Life, whether in plants or animals or men or higher intellectual beings. ψυχῆ therefore is the vital principle: 1 τὸ

θρεπτικόν in plants, 2 τὸ θρεπτικὸν καὶ τὸ αἰσθητικόν in animals, 3 τὸ θρεπτικὸν καὶ τὸ αἰσθητικὸν καὶ τὸ διανοητικόν in man.

<sup>b</sup> Simplicius comm. p. 8 a l. 1 observes that *Thales* left nothing in writing.



I movement of the circle is motion in an orbit. But if thought is motion in an orbit, the mind which moves  
 3, 19, 20 in that orbit is a circle. The Mind will be perpetually employed in thought, for the circular motion is perpetual. Each thought is limited and has a definite object; and the process of reasoning is rather in a  
 3, 21 straight line. Whatever is forced is not desirable; and if the motion of the Mind is not inherent in its  
 3, 22 nature, it is contrary to nature. And if, as many are accustomed to say, it is better for the Mind not to be encumbered with a body, this union with a body  
 3, 23 is laborious and a thing to be avoided. Nor is the cause of the circular motion plain to us. Neither the substance of the soul can be the cause of that circular motion nor the body. The soul rather impels the body.

4, 1 Some call the soul Harmony; for Harmony is the mixture and adjustment of opposites, and the body is composed of opposites.—He examines and rejects this opinion 4, 1—7; and concludes 4, 8 that the soul cannot be either Harmony or Movement in a  
 4, 9 circle. But it might seem that the soul has motion from this. It has pain and pleasure, hope and fear, it feels and thinks. All these are supposed to be  
 4, 10 motions. But if pain and pleasure and thought are motions, and motion proceeds from the soul, these happen partly by movement in place and partly by  
 4, 11 change. It is safer perhaps to say, not that the soul feels pity or learns or thinks, but that the man does  
 4, 12 these acts by means of the soul. And this not as if the motions were in the soul itself, but as if they proceeded sometimes *as far* as the soul, sometimes *from* the soul, as for instance sensation proceeds from the senses, memory from the soul. But the Mind seems to dwell in it and not to be subject to  
 4, 13 destruction. Old age does not seem to weaken the powers of the mind, but only the organs and instru-  
 4, 14 ments with which the mind acts. Thought and intellect are impaired through the decay of some other inward faculty; the Mind itself is impassible; to think, to love, to hate, are not the affections of the mind itself but of him who possesses the mind.  
 4, 15 When the man perishes, memory perishes; but this did not belong to the mind but to the being who has perished. The mind itself is perhaps something more divine, and is impassible. It is evident from hence that the soul cannot suffer motion; and, if it can-  
 4, 16 not be moved at all, it cannot move itself. But the most absurd of all the opinions is that which

affirms that the soul is Number moving itself.—He I examines this opinion and refutes it, 4, 16—23. 5, 1—4.

There are three modes by which they define the 5, 5 Soul. Some suppose it easily susceptible of motion because it moves itself; some that it is a corporeal substance thinner than any other body. The difficulties in these two have been already considered. It remains to examine the third opinion which affirms the soul to be composed of the elements. It is com- 5, 6 posed of the elements (they say) that it may apprehend and know substances. But this would produce many impossibilities. For they assume that the soul apprehends similar substances by the aid of similar substances within itself. But there are not the elements alone, but other substances infinite in number, compounded of these. If therefore we grant that the 5, 7 soul comprehends the elements by the elements, yet by what faculty will it comprehend or perceive the whole of compounded substances and forms? Each of these is compounded of the elements according to a methodical arrangement. To no purpose then 5, 8 would the elements be in the soul, unless the compound forms were in the soul also; for it is to apprehend each object by means of that object's similitude. Again, there is material substance, and there 5, 9 is quantity or quality or some other attribute of material substance. Now is the soul made of all these or not? For the elements do not seem to enter into all these. Will the soul then contain only those qua- 5, 10 lities which are made of the elements? How then is it to apprehend the other qualities? It is also absurd 5, 11 to say that like is not acted upon by like, and yet that like apprehends its own likeness and knows its own likeness by means of a similar and kindred property within itself. But they assume that to apprehend and feel and know is to be acted upon and to be moved.—He farther refutes by other arguments 5, 12—24 the notion of *Empedocles* that each of the corporeal elements is apprehended and known by a similar particle in the soul. And concludes 5, 24 "It is manifest then from what has been said that the soul does not possess its faculty of knowing because it is composed of the elements, and that it is not justly or truly said to be subject to motion."

Since the Soul knows and feels and conjectures, 5, 25 and has desires and wishes and all the other impulses, and since through the soul animals have the motion in place and increase, and growth and decay,



I does each of these properties belong to the entire soul, or is each function performed by a separate part of the soul? Is life in some one of these or in many or in all? or is some thing else the cause of life? Some affirm that the soul is divisible, and that one part thinks and another part desires. What is it then that holds the soul together, if it is divisible? Not the body; for the soul rather holds the body together. If some other thing keeps the soul together and makes it one, that other thing will be the soul; and again we must enquire whether that other thing is one or manifold? If it is one, why is not the soul also one at once? If divided into parts, we have again the same enquiry, what is it that holds them together; and so on *ad infinitum*. We may also doubt with respect to the parts of the soul, what power has each part within the body. If the whole soul holds together the whole body, each part should hold together some part of the body. But this seems an impossibility. Plants live when divided; some animals, as worms<sup>bb</sup>, when divided have life in each divided part; and motion in each, for a while; and yet all the parts of the soul (that is, the life) are contained in each of these divided parts, of the plant or of the worm. The vital principle in plants is a kind of soul; for both animals and plants participate in this. It is separated indeed and distinct from sensation, but nothing has sensation without this vital principle.

II. 1, 2 <sup>c</sup>In substance there is first the elementary material, secondly the form, thirdly that which is compounded of these<sup>d</sup>. Of natural bodies some have life, some have not. By life we mean sustenance increase and decay. Every natural living body then is a compound substance. The body is not the life; the life or the Soul is the form of a natural body which has life in latent power. The life or the soul is the first perfect manifestation of a natural organic body having life in latent power. A living substance differs from a lifeless substance by possessing the property of life. Life is said in many senses. If one of them is present, we say that the subject lives. Intellect, sensation, motion, and rest in place, increase, decay, all these are life. Wherefore all plants are said to live; they have within them a living principle by which they receive increase and decay and sustenance. But they have no other living principle. Animals have

sensation besides; and the first and most simple of all sensations is the touch. As the power of receiving nutriment (which plants have) may exist apart from the sense of touch, so the sense of touch or feeling may exist apart from the other senses. The soul or life is defined to have the properties of nutriment, sensation, thought, and motion. Is each of these the Soul, or is each only a part of the Soul? And if they are parts, can they be separated? Now, as some plants when divided retain life in each divided part, so we see worms after division retain sensation in each part and motion; and if sensation, then the properties which belong to sensation,—the whole life is in each divided part. The mind and the intellectual faculty seems to be another kind of life,—a different quality of the soul, and this alone may be separable and may exist apart, as what is immortal is separate from what is subject to decay. The other properties of the soul are not separable. Some animals have all, some have some of those properties, some have only one. It is well conjectured that the soul is neither without a body and yet that it is not a body. It is not body but is an attribute of body, and of a body which has certain properties.

The powers of the soul comprehend nutrition, appetite, sensation, motion in place, intellect. Plants have the nutritive faculty alone. Other living substances have this, and sensation; and, if sensation, then appetite; for where there is sensation there is appetite and desire and pain and pleasure; for all animals have one sense at least, the touch. Some animals have all the senses, and also the motion in place; others have besides all the rest the intellect and mind; as men have, and if there are any other beings like man, or even nobler than man. The faculty of sensation is not found without the nutritive faculty. But the sense of touch often exists without the other senses; for many animals have neither sight nor hearing. Again, of sentient animals some have the motion in place, some are without it. The last quality is Reason and Thought. Those of corruptible animals who have these have all the other attributes of life,—all the other parts of the Soul.

We must here speak of nutriment and generation; for the nutritive life is the first and most common property, that by which all live. Its business is to propagate and to be fed; for it is the most natural

<sup>bb</sup> In the original, *insects*.—τῶν ζῴων ἐν τῶν ἐντόμων.

<sup>c</sup> Simplicius comm. in lib. II p. 22 a l. 39 &c. gives a sketch

of the subject of the first and second books περὶ ψυχῆς.

<sup>d</sup> See below, 2, 15.



II act of all living substances to propagate their kind, 4, 4 to produce another self. As that which is corruptible cannot partake of immortality, and would be extinct, it is preserved by successive generation; the individual 4, 7 perishes, but the species remains. All physical bodies both of plants and animals are the organs of the soul; they exist for the uses of the soul.—He gives his ideas 4, 14—24 on the process of nutrition. c. 5 on the senses in general<sup>e</sup>. c. 6 of the objects of sense. 7 of the Sight. 8 The Hearing. 9 Smelling. 10 The Taste. 11 The Touch. 12 of the senses in general.

III. 1 He treats of the relation of the senses to the four elements and to the properties of the elements. He shews that there are only five senses. c. 2 He examines the modes in which the senses convey the 3, 1—4 sensible objects to the mind.—The ancients thought that to judge is the same thing as to perceive by the senses. But it is manifest that sensation and judgment 3, 5 are not the same thing. And even thought, which embraces right judgment and the contrary, is not the same thing as sensation; for sense directed to its proper objects is always true, and belongs to all animals, but thought may be erroneous, and belongs to no being that has not also reason. For imagination differs from both sensation and thought. It does not exist without sensation, and without imagination 3, 6 there is no apprehension. It is plain that 3, 7 thought and apprehension are not the same. Apprehension itself has varieties; it includes knowledge, 3, 8 opinion, judgment, and their contraries. Thought differs from sensation; and, as thought seems divided into imagination and apprehension, we will first consider 3, 9 imagination. Imagination is one of those faculties or habits by which we judge truly or falsely. These are, sensation, opinion, knowledge, intellect. 3, 10 It is not sensation; for sensation is a faculty or an act;—the faculty of vision and the act of seeing. Imagination presents images when the senses are not acted upon. Sensation is always present, imagination

not. Sensations always truly express the objects presented to the senses; but most of our imaginations are false. When we perceive an object clearly by the senses, we do not say that we imagine it. And yet 3, 12 imagination is not one of the faculties which always discover the truth, as knowledge or intellect, for there are false imaginations. Is it then Opinion? But Belief follows Opinion; and none of the wild 3, 13 animals have belief, though many have imagination. Moreover every opinion is accompanied by persuasion, and persuasion by reasoning. But though some of the wild animals have Imagination, none of them have Reason<sup>f</sup>. Imagination then can neither be 3, 14 Opinion with Sensation, nor Opinion through Sensation—Opinion working upon sense, nor a combination of Opinion and Sensation as its elements<sup>g</sup>. If the Opinion and the Sense are directed to the same object, when a thing is presented to the sense, if that and no other is contemplated by the Opinion, then the Opinion and the Sense thus united are Imagination. The senses may present some images that 3, 15 are false, but upon which we may at the same time form a true opinion. As the Sun appears to be a foot in diameter; but is believed to be larger than the world<sup>h</sup>. The sense conveys false information which the judgment corrects. Imagination then is 3, 16 neither of these, nor is it formed out of these<sup>i</sup>. But 3, 17 since imagination is a kind of motion proceeding from the impulse of the senses, and since this motion must resemble the sensation from which it proceeds, this kind of motion can only happen to those living things which have senses, and it may be both true and false<sup>k</sup>. The sense has for the most part 3, 18. 19 a true perception of its own object, although the senses are sometimes deceived by accidental circumstances. Imagination may be said to be a motion 3, 20 proceeding from the action of the Senses. This motion 3, 21 guides the acts of wild animals, and sometimes even of men when their reason is obscured by suffering or disease or sleep. That part of the Soul 4, 1

<sup>e</sup> On this passage see Simplicius Comm. p. 32 a l. 51 &c.

<sup>f</sup> Philoponus Comm. pag. P 10 l. 28 "Opinion is the lowest step in the scale of Reasoning; Imagination is the highest step in the faculties of sensation." Simplicius Comm. p. 61 a l. 5 "Imagination is the highest principle of action in irrational animals."

<sup>g</sup> He here combats an opinion of *Plato*: Simplicius Comm. p. 59 a l. 35 Philoponus Comm. in lib. III pag. P 12.

<sup>h</sup> Philopon. Comm. pag. P 12 l. 16 "The sun is 170 times larger than the earth."

<sup>i</sup> Philopon. Comm. pag. P 14 l. 36, 37 "The Imagination is the receptacle of the forms which are conveyed by the senses."

<sup>k</sup> Philoponus Comm. pag. P 15 l. 46 "Aristotle distinguishes 1 between one part of the irrational Soul and another. 2 between the rational and the irrational, between Reason and the Senses. 3 He compares the rational part, or the mind, with itself."

Idem Comm. pag. P 13 l. 36 "As in substances we have one power which only gives motion, another which only receives motion, a third power which both gives and receives, so in Sensation. The object of sense gives motion, the sense itself receives and conveys motion, the imagination (in irrational animals) only receives the motion thus conveyed."



III by which Thought is performed must be considered ; whether it is separable or not ; wherein it differs from the senses ; and how it performs the act of thought<sup>1</sup>.

4, 2 If thinking resembles perceiving by the senses, the mind must be impassible, and capable of receiving forms, and must have the same relation to the objects of thought that the senses have to the objects

4, 3 of sense. As the mind then embraces all objects, it must be unmixed and apart, that (as *Anaxagoras* says)

4, 4 it may master them. The mind then, or the thinking part of the Soul, is nothing in active power before the process of thought begins. Wherefore it cannot be justly said to be mingled with the body, for then it would partake of the affections of the body, cold or heat ; nor can it use the body as an instrument

4, 5 as the senses do. The soul has been well described as the repository of forms or ideas, except that this belongs not to the whole soul but to the thinking part alone, and that the forms are not in perfect development but only in latent power. But the impassiveness of the intellectual part of the soul differs

4, 6 from the impassiveness of the sentient part ; for the senses are disabled by too strong an impulse upon them, as the eye by too much light ; but the mind which comprehends some abstruse subject is not less but more capable of comprehending lighter subjects, because the senses cannot operate without the body,

4, 9 but the mind is separable from the body. The mind by the senses judges of matter and of the heat and cold of bodies, another faculty judges of abstract properties. When the mind then approaches these

4, 10 two classes of subjects, it applies either two different faculties or the same faculty in different states. If the Mind is simple, impassive, having nothing in common with other things, as *Anaxagoras* holds, there might be a doubt how it can think, if to think

4, 11 is to be affected in some way. It might also be doubted whether the mind can contemplate itself ; in which case it would not be a simple substance but

something compounded like other substances. It III may be answered that to be affected in some way is 4, 12 said in a general sense, and that the mind is nothing in effective power until it thinks. The mind, before the process of thought, resembles a tablet on which nothing is written<sup>m</sup>. The mind itself is contemplated 4, 13 as other subjects of abstract thought are contemplated ; for in substances that have no material elements the thinking faculty and its object are the same. Theoretical science and the abstract objects contemplated by the science are the same. Material substances are only capable of being contemplated ; they cannot contemplate themselves. The mind which contemplates them is exempt from matter.

As there are in all things the material, and the 5, 1 working cause<sup>n</sup>,—the agent and the thing worked upon,—so the Soul has these properties. The mind effects every thing. It works as a habit works ; as 5, 2 light exhibits colours, so the mind exhibits forms or ideas. It is separable, impassive, unmixed, effective in its substance. The efficient cause is always nobler than the subject on which it acts ; although the 5, 3 latent power in time precedes its exhibition in effect ; the Mind however always thinks. When separated from other qualities it assumes its own nature, and this part only of the soul is immortal and eternal. We forget, because to remember is to be exempt from affecting influences ; but that part of the Mind which is subject to those influences is corruptible, and the Mind does not operate without this corruptible part.

The contemplation of indivisible things is con- 6, 1 cerned in subjects wherein there is no falsehood. Upon subjects in which there may be truth and falsehood the thoughts are compound<sup>o</sup>. Truth and 6, 3 falsehood are not only in qualities but also in time, whether past or future. Dimensions and qualities are 6, 6 known by their contraries or opposites ; as a point is known by the absence of magnitude. If any subject 6, 7 has no opposite, that subject knows itself, and is in

<sup>1</sup> Philoponus Comm. pag. q 1 l. 52 " He enquires 1 Whether the mind is perishable. 2 He distinguishes the Mind or thinking part from the Senses. 3 He enquires how the process of thought is performed. He begins with the second head of enquiry, the difference between the mind and sense."

<sup>m</sup> Philoponus Comm. p. q 10 l. 4 " *Iamblichus* applies a forced interpretation to this."

<sup>n</sup> Philoponus Comm. p. q 10 l. 29 " He proceeds to the Mind in its active energy, and enquires into its powers. 1 It does all things. 2 It works with its own substance. 3 The mind always thinks. 4 It has a vital principle. 5 It is immortal and separable. 6 It resembles a habit and is compared

with light. (7 . . . . .) 8 The mind in latent power and the mind in active energy differ in time. 9 The mind forgets things. 10 It always acts by the instrumentality of the Imagination." (These propositions do not lie in this order in *Aristotle* himself.) Philoponus p. q 10 l. 40—q 11 mentions that *Alexander, Marinus, Plotinus, Plutarch* all differed from one another in their interpretation of this chapter. The interpretations of the three former are all rejected by Philoponus.

<sup>o</sup> Philoponus Comm. p. q 14 l. 26 " A simple term is indivisible ; a proposition is compounded of two terms, the subject and the predicate."



III active energy, and is separable. What is affirmed or denied of individuals may be either true or false<sup>p</sup>. The contemplation of substance and form, abstract ideas, is always true, but the contemplation of relative properties is not always true. The idea of vision is a truth; but whether the man is white or not may be true or false.

7, 1 Knowledge in its effective action is identical with the object known. Knowledge in latent power precedes in time in a certain sense, but in a general and

7, 2 absolute sense not even this. To perceive by the senses is merely to affirm and to think. But when we have pleasure or pain, the motion of the mind assenting or dissenting pursues or avoids, and to have pleasure or pain is to act for good or evil

7, 3 through the medium of the senses. Images presented by the imagination are as it were senses to the thinking part of the Soul. When it affirms good

7, 4 or denies evil, it avoids or pursues them. The Soul never thinks without consulting the imagination.

7, 7 The thinking part contemplates the forms of things

7, 8 in the images supplied by the imagination. But when as it were discerning by the aid of the images and ideas in the mind it calculates and deliberates and compares the future with the present, and tells itself that here is to be found pleasure or pain, then it avoids or pursues, practically. Apart from practice, truth and falsehood are contemplated by the same effort by which good and evil are weighed; but with this difference, that apart from practice the *simple* and *abstract* qualities are contemplated, but in practical deliberations the *relative* qualities in connexion

7, 10 with some particular subject<sup>q</sup>. In a word, the mind is that which in effective energy contemplates things themselves.

<sup>p</sup> Philoponus Comm. p. r 3 l. 11 "Aristotle lays down three distinctions in the operations of the Mind; the first has one, the second a twofold, the third a threefold division. 1 The mind contemplating abstract and simple ideas is always true, but the contemplation of compound ideas admits both truth and falsehood. 2 The mind in latent power is distinguished from the mind in effective energy in two ways: *a* the mind in energy is the ideas themselves, but the mind in latent power does not yet embrace them. *b* the mind in latent power precedes the other in time in individual cases, but absolutely does not precede; for the latent force and the energy are always present together. 3 He distinguishes the theoretical from the practical mind in three ways: *a* The practical mind is employed upon particulars, the theoretical upon universals. *b* The practical always consults the imagination which supplies images conveyed by the senses, the theoretical not always. *c* What is the most important distinction of all, the theoretical mind is conversant with truth and falsehood; the practical contemplates good and evil."

To sum up all that has been said concerning the III. 8, 1 soul, we may repeat that the soul is in a certain sense all substances. Things are either perceived by the senses or apprehended by the mind; and knowledge is in a certain sense identical with the things known, sensation identical with the things perceived. We have sensation and knowledge in latent power of 8, 2 objects in latent power, and knowledge and sensation in active force of objects in active force. The sentient and the intellectual parts of the soul are the same in latent power with reference to the objects of knowledge and sense. The material substances themselves 8, 3 which are embraced by the senses cannot be in the soul, but only their forms. As no subject of thought 8, 4 (as it seems) exists apart from sensible magnitudes, the objects of thought, both those which are abstract and those which belong to the habits and affections, are included in the sensible forms. Wherefore no- 8, 5 thing can be learned or understood without the aid of the senses; and when the mind contemplates abstract truth, it must contemplate a kind of image; for images presented by the imagination are, as it were, objects offered by the senses, except that they are divested of matter.

Since the soul<sup>r</sup> of living animals has two powers, 9, 1 the power of judgment which is the business of the understanding and senses, and the power of motion in place, we must consider the moving impulse, whether it is a separate part of the soul, or whether the whole. In what sense are we to speak of the parts 9, 2 of the soul, and how many are there? They appear 9, 3 in some sort numberless, and not, as some reckon, only three parts, reason, passion, appetite, or as others, the rational and irrational. There are other divisions of the soul; the nutritive, common to plants

<sup>q</sup> Philoponus Comm. p. r 7 l. 30 "Aristotle having distinguished the simple intellect from the compound, and the practical from the theoretical, and the mind in latent power from the mind in active power, returns to the consideration of the objects of thought. The objects of thought are forms (for the things themselves are not in the mind but their images or forms). Form is threefold: 1 Material form, as in physical philosophy. 2 form wholly abstracted from matter. 3 form compounded of the material and the immaterial, as in mathematical science."

Ibid. line 46 "Aristotle dividing subjects of thought into their classes, 1 immaterial ideas, 2 ideas compounded of matter and of immaterial forms, 3 ideas wholly material, holds first that in subjects which are divested of matter there is no need of the images supplied by the imagination. Secondly, that matter is apprehended by the mind using the senses and imagination as instruments."

<sup>r</sup> Philoponus Comm. p. r 11 upon this passage takes a general view of the whole subject.

III and animals, the sentient part, the imagination, the  
 9, 5 appetite, which seems to differ from the rest. We  
 cannot separate this last; for the Will resides in the  
 reasoning faculty, desire and anger in the irrational.  
 9, 6 We are now enquiring what is the cause of motion  
 9, 7 in place to the animal. It is not the nutritive faculty,  
 9, 8 for then plants might have motion. Nor the sentient  
 part, for some animals which have sense are motion-  
 9, 10 less. It is not the rational, for the mind contem-  
 plating abstract truth contemplates nothing to be  
 9, 12 done or to be avoided; which would be motion. It  
 is not the appetite that directs this kind of motion.  
 10, 1 It seems however that either the appetite or the  
 intellect give motion, if we may reckon imagination  
 as a branch of thought; for many things follow the  
 imagination. And in irrational animals imagination  
 10, 2 directs and not reason. Both these then cause mo-  
 tion in place, the mind and the appetite; the mind  
 calculating with a certain purpose, and this the prac-  
 tical mind; for this differs from the theoretical mind  
 in its object and end, and all appetite has a definite  
 10, 3 object. These two, then, appear to be the moving  
 cause, the appetite and the practical understanding;  
 and when the imagination moves it does not move  
 without the appetite. The object of appetite is the  
 10, 4 cause of motion. For the mind does not appear to  
 give motion without the appetite. The Will is ap-  
 petite; and when there is motion according to rea-  
 son there is motion according to Will. Appetite  
 may move contrary to reason; for desire is appetite.  
 Now every impulse of the intellect is right, but the  
 appetite and the imagination may be either right or  
 10, 5 wrong. Wherefore the object of appetite is always  
 the cause of motion; that object is either good or  
 10, 6 apparent good, and this practical good. If the Soul  
 is divided into parts according to its powers, these  
 are the Nutritive Power, the Sentient, the Intellect,  
 the Will, the Appetite; for there is a more substantial  
 difference in these than between desire and anger.  
 10, 8 We have three things, the moving Power, the moving  
 Instrument, the thing moved. The moving power  
 is twofold; one motionless, the other receiving and  
 giving motion. The motionless power is the prac-

tical good; that which gives and receives motion is III  
 the appetite; the animal is the thing moved. The  
 instrument employed in giving the motion is a bodily  
 instrument.

Whence is the motion of imperfect animals which 11, 1  
 have only one sense, the sense of touch or feeling?  
 They appear to have pain and pleasure, and, if these,  
 then desire. But how can they have Imagination?  
 Imagination which is supplied by the senses is in 11, 2  
 other animals; but the deliberative imagination is only  
 in rational animals; for to deliberate is to reason. Ap- 11, 3  
 petite does not deliberate. Every living substance 12, 1  
 must have the nutritive life from its birth to its de-  
 cay. All need not have sensation, for simple bodies 12, 2  
 cannot have the sense of feeling, and no living animal  
 is without this. But a living animal must have sen-  
 sation, for Nature<sup>s</sup> does nothing in vain, and every 12, 3  
 moving body which had not sensation would perish,  
 and would not reach the end and purpose for which  
 Nature designed it; nor is it possible for a body  
 which has motion in place to have a soul and an  
 intelligent mind, and not to have sensation. And if 12, 4  
 an animal has sensation it must have a body;—not 12, 5  
 a simple body, for this could not have the sense of  
 feeling. The objects of the other senses, the smell 12, 6. 7  
 the sight the hearing, are perceived through a *me-*  
*dium*; the feeling and the taste (which is also the  
 touch or feeling) are essential to the preservation of  
 the animal. It is plain that no animal body can be 13, 1  
 composed of a single element (as of fire or air); for  
 without the touch it could have no other sense. A 13, 2. 3  
 sentient body could not be composed of earth alone,  
 for earth would have no feeling. Plants have no sen-  
 sation because they are composed of earth. Animals 13, 4. 5  
 deprived of the sense of feeling must perish. The  
 other senses in their excess (colours or sounds or  
 odours) destroy only the organ of the sense; but 13, 6. 7  
 things applied in excess to the touch or feeling will  
 destroy life. The sense of feeling is essential to the  
 being of the animal, the other senses he has for con-  
 venience; vision that he may see, taste that he may  
 receive pleasure, hearing that he may perceive sounds,  
 a voice that he may give a signal to others.

<sup>s</sup> See above at page 356 de Cœlo II. 9, 10 the remark of Simplicius in *φυσ. ἀεροδ.* p. 282 b l. 7.



ARISTOTELIS τὰ μετὰ τὰ φυσικά.

I 3, 1 THE causes of things are fourfold; 1 the essence or matter itself, 2 the form of matter, 3 the cause of motion, 4 the end or purpose<sup>v</sup>. He reviews the opinions of former philosophers: *Thales* 3, 5. *Anaximenes*, *Diogenes*, *Hippasus*, *Heraclitus*, *Empedocles* 3, 8. 4, 4. *Anaxagoras* 3, 9. 4, 5-8. *Parmenides* 3, 13. *Hermotimus* 3, 17. *Leucippus* and *Democritus* 4, 9. the Pythagoreans 5, 1-9. 15, 16. *Alcmaeon* 5, 7. He mentions *Parmenides*, *Xenophanes*, *Melissus* 5, 12, 13. *Plato* c. 6.<sup>w</sup>

I min.<sup>x</sup> 2, 1. 2. It is evident that the causes of things have a beginning and cannot be infinite; nor is the end and purpose infinite. In ascending upwards to a cause we stop somewhere, in proceeding downwards to the end and purpose we also end somewhere<sup>y</sup>.

2, 3 Of things which come between two extremes, that which precedes them is the cause; for, if three things lie together in a connected series, the first is the cause and not the last. That for the sake of which other things are done is the end and object. It is not done for the sake of other things, but others for the sake of this. But an end then cannot be infinite; if it were, there would be no object and purpose in our acts. We act for an end, and that end 3, 1 is the conclusion. Our studies are governed by our 3, 2 habits. Some require mathematical proof in all subjects; some expect testimonies; some, precision in all; others are offended by too minute an accuracy. We must learn how each subject ought to be discussed. Mathematical precision is not to be expected in all things. It suits those subjects which

have no material properties about them; it is not I.3,4 adapted to physical enquiries.

I 1, 1-3 The first step to knowledge is to feel our own ignorance. We must suspend our decision till 1, 4 we have heard all the opposite arguments on both sides of the question. We are to enquire 1 Whether 1, 5 it belongs to one or to many sciences to investigate all the causes of things. 2 Whether it is the province of this science to survey the first principles alone. 3 Whether it is the office of the same science to ex- 1, 6 amine all substances, or whether of many sciences; and if of many, whether these are kindred sciences. 4 Whether it is to be affirmed that those only which 1, 7 are cognisable by the senses are substances, or whether there are other substances besides these<sup>z</sup>, and whether all substances are reducible to one form or whether there are various forms. 5 Whether sub- 1, 8 stances only are to be examined or their properties also. 6 Whether the metaphysician<sup>a</sup> is to enquire 1, 9 concerning the same and its contrary, the similar and the dissimilar, identity and its opposite, the former and the latter, and all other such questions after which logicians enquire; what are the properties of these, and not only what each of them is, but also whether they are contrary to one another. 7 Whe- 1, 10 ther the principles and elements are the *genera* of things. 8 But he is especially to examine whether 1, 11 any thing besides matter is of itself the cause or not. 9 Whether this is separable from matter or not, and whether it is one or more in number<sup>b</sup>. 10 And 1, 11 whether there is any substance besides matter and

<sup>t</sup> Asclepius ex Ammonio apud Schol. p. 519 b l. 35—40 "This treatise is not well arranged. Many things are repeated from his former works. It was sent to his companion *Eudemus* of Rhodes."

<sup>v</sup> Asclepius apud Schol. p. 604 a l. 9 τέσσαρες ἀρχαί, ὕλικόν εἰδικόν ποιητικόν καὶ τελικόν.

<sup>w</sup> Aristot. I. 1, 17 εἴρηται ἐν τοῖς ἠθικοῖς. I. 3, 2—ἐν τοῖς Περὶ φύσεως. I. 4, 4 He uses an image from an unskilful boxer, which had been already used by *Demosthenes* Philipp. I p. 51. Those who with Lord Brougham in his *Life of Burke* p. 85 suppose that the Orator borrowed this image from the Philosopher forget the times. The oration of *Demosthenes* was composed in the 8th year of *Philip* B. C. 352, but this treatise of *Aristotle* was not published till *Alexander* was in Asia, more than 20 years after that oration of *Demosthenes*. Conf. *Plutarchum* Alex. c. 7. In *Plutarch* l. c. for ἡ μετὰ τὰ φυσικά πραγματεία some read ἡ περὶ τὰ φυσικά πρ. which would bring the present treatise to a still later period; for the φυσικὴ ἀκρόασις preceded it.

*Aristotle* Met. I. 5, 7 mentions *Alcmaeon* as ἐπὶ γέροντι Πυθαγόρα, and I. 4, 9 *Leucippus* as τὸν ἐταῖρον Δημοκρίτου.

<sup>x</sup> At I min. 1 in 5 MSS. apud Bekker and in Schol. p. 589 a

l. 41 "This book most ascribe to *Pasicles* the *Rhodian*, who was the disciple of *Aristotle* and the son of *Boëthus* brother of *Eudemus*." A notice improperly inserted also at the beginning of lib. I *maj.* in Schol. p. 520 a l. 7. ex Ammonio apud Asclepium.

<sup>y</sup> Asclepius apud Schol. p. 604 a l. 10 "In lib. I min. (ἐν τῷ ἐλάττανι α') he shews that the causes are limited both upwards and downwards, and in their forms."

This treatise is called ἡ θεολογικὴ πραγματεία by Ammonius Comm. in ἐρμηνείαν apud Schol. Aristot. Berolin. p. 102 a l. 6.

<sup>z</sup> Alexander Aphrod. apud Schol. p. 605 b l. 31—38 "Plato reckoned three substances, Ideas, Mathematics, Matter." Conf. p. 616 a l. 15.

This is marked as qu. 4 by Alexander apud Schol. p. 615 b l. 40.

<sup>a</sup> Sc. δὲ πρῶτος φιλόσοφος. Conf. Asclepium apud Schol. p. 519 a l. 14 l. 16 p. 519 b l. 19 l. 26. p. 613 b l. 9 Alexandrum p. 613 b l. 36 Syrianum apud Schol. min. p. 115 l. 27 Alexandrum ad III. 1 apud Schol. p. 636 a l. 21 p. 637 b l. 16 p. 640 b l. 7—16 p. 650 a l. 18—31.

<sup>b</sup> Alexander apud Schol. p. 607 a l. 20 "He treats of these subjects [sc. qu. 8. 9] in *lib. XI* of this work."



II. 1, 12 its form. 11 Whether the principles of things are limited in number or in form. 12 Whether the principles of corruptible and of incorruptible things are the same or not. 13 Whether all are incorruptible or whether the principles of corruptible things are themselves corruptible. 14 But (what is the most difficult enquiry of all) he must farther consider whether Unity and Being are themselves substances, as 1, 14 *Pythagoras* and *Plato* affirm them to be. 15 And whether the principles of things, both in latent and in effective power, are universal or particular. 16 Whether the principles of things are the causes by 1, 15 means of motion, or in some other way. 17 Finally, whether numbers and length and mathematical figures and points are substances or not.

2, 1 We will first examine the first question<sup>c</sup>, whether it is the office of one or more sciences to know all the four causes. How can one science know causes that are not opposed to one another? And moreover 2, 2 many substances have not all the causes; for motion and practical end (which is the final cause and purpose) cannot belong to things that are motionless.

2, 3, 4 Mathematics have no practical end and object. And 2, 5 yet, if the knowledge of the causes is to be divided into many sciences, one for each, which of these shall we call that science, that first philosophy, which we 2, 6 seek? All the four causes may belong to the same subject. A house comprehends motion, the design 2, 8 or final cause, material, and form. Our philosopher will know a substance by knowing what it is rather 2, 9 than what it is not. He must know the cause of its 2, 10—12 motion. And yet it may be doubted whether it belongs to the same science to know the demonstrable 2, 14 causes of things and to know their essence. But if the knowledge of the substance is one thing and the knowledge of the demonstrable cause is another, 2, 15 which of these sciences is superior? And are the sciences of all substances one or many? and if many, of what substance is this science the knowledge? 2, 18 Again, is our philosophy the science of substances alone, or does it comprehend the accidents to sub-

stance? Farther, are the substances which are the II. 2, 20 objects of sense alone to be called substances, or are there others besides these?—He refers 2, 21—30 to his own first book<sup>d</sup>, and animadverts again upon the *ideas* and the *mathematical substances* of *Plato*, and shews the absurdities which arise from this theory. He enquires<sup>e</sup> whether the elements and principles of 3, 1 things are in their *genera*, or whether in the individual properties of each. He balances the arguments on both sides, and leaves it doubtful whether the *genus* of a thing is its principle or whether its principle lies in its *species* and difference.

If there is any other substance besides the col- 4, 2 lected objects of sense, whether is this in all things, or present in some and not in others, or is it in nothing<sup>f</sup>? If there is nothing besides the particulars 4, 3 which are approached by the senses, nothing could be perceived by the intellect, all would be apprehended by sense alone, and there could be no knowledge, unless sense is called intellect. Nothing could be eternal or motionless; for all sensible objects perish and move. And if nothing eternal, then there 4, 4 could be no generation. If there is generation and 4, 5 motion, there must be a limit; for no motion is infinite. If matter exists because it is not generated, 4, 6 much more does the form of the substance exist; for, if neither the form nor the matter exist, nothing will exist at all. There must be something, then, besides the collective produce of the matter and the form, from which that produce is generated. And 4, 7 yet it may be doubted with respect to what objects we shall assume this preexisting form and pattern; for it cannot be true of all. And is this preexisting and eternal substance one for all things, or in it are 4, 8 there many and various forms? And how does mat- 4, 8 ter become each of these, and how do the whole of sensible objects pass into these two, the matter and the form? In the elementary principles again there is another difficulty. If they are one in form, nothing can be numerically one. And how can there be any knowledge, if there is no such thing as numerical

<sup>c</sup> Asclepius apud Schol. p. 608 b l. 26 "He does not handle the questions in the same order in which he proposed them, but takes the 3rd question in the 4th place, and the 4th in the second, and so of the rest."

<sup>d</sup> Alexander apud Schol. p. 616 a l. 19 justly argues from hence that *lib. I* was written by *Aristotle* himself.

<sup>e</sup> Syrianus apud Schol. min. (sc. Berolin. 8<sup>vo</sup> 1837) p. 92, 31 ad 3, 1 "In the stating of his questions the 6th was "Whether the philosopher was to enquire concerning the same and its contrary" &c. (sc. 1, 9.) But now, omitting this question, which he ably argues in the third book, he considers here in

the 6th place the question which he had named the 7th in order (sc. 1, 10), whether the principles of things are in their *genera* or in their *species*."

<sup>f</sup> Syrianus apud Schol. minor. p. 99 l. 11 "The order of this question also has been transposed. It is the 10th among his questions (sc. qu. 10, in c. 1, 11) but is taken the 8th (?) in order in the discussion of the points. He enquires whether there are any substances besides sensible substances or not; if there are not, he says that the knowledge of substances is gone."



II. 4, 11 unity<sup>g</sup>? A difficulty inferior to none has been omitted by others. Whether the principles of corruptible and of incorruptible things are the same<sup>h</sup>. If they are the same, how happens it that some are 4, 20 corruptible and some incorruptible? *Empedocles* (quoted 4, 15—19) does not make some things corruptible and some incorruptible, but all corruptible except the elements. But the present difficulty is, why some things are corruptible and some are not, 4, 21 if all are from the same beginnings. If they are different, we ask whether the principles of corruptible things are themselves incorruptible or corruptible. If corruptible, then, as every thing is resolved into its own elements, these corruptible elements must come from something else. These elements must be preceded by other elements. They are not 4, 22 themselves the principles. And how could corruptible things exist at all, if their elements are to be destroyed? But if the elements of corruptible things are incorruptible, why do corruptible things proceed from these incorruptible principles, while incorruptible things proceed from others? But the most difficult and at the same time the most necessary enquiry is, whether Being and Unity are substances<sup>i</sup>, or whether they have some other nature for their 4, 25 basis. *Plato* and the Pythagoreans hold them to be 4, 26 entities or real substances; *Empedocles* makes friendship the cause of Unity. Others air, fire, or the 4, 27 elements; for whatever is the principle and beginning of things, this they call Unity and Being. If 4, 28 Unity and Being do not exist as absolute entities, it is plain that Number cannot exist as a separate 4, 29 substance. But if Unity and Being do exist, their essence must be Unity and Being; nothing else is predicated of them. But, if these are real substances, we may doubt how there can be any thing else except these,—how substance can be more than one<sup>k</sup>; 4, 30 for there can be nothing besides Being—nothing that is not Being; so that (according to *Parmenides*) it must follow that all things are One and that One is Being. There is a difficulty both ways. For, whe-

ther Unity is not Substance, or whether there is an II absolute Unity, in either case Number cannot be a substance. If Unity is not substance, we have already 4, 31 shewn the reason; if it is, we have the same difficulty as with Entity or Being; for from what besides Unity can another abstract Unity proceed?<sup>kk</sup>—He concludes this topic by examining 4, 31—34 an axiom of *Zeno of Elea*.

The next difficulty is, whether numbers and bo- 5, 1 dies and surfaces and points are essential substances or not. If they are not, the definition of Being and of Substance escapes from us. For affections, motions, the end or purpose, temperament, description (or number)<sup>m</sup>, seem to denote the essence of nothing; for all these are predicated of some subject. For water, earth, fire, and air, which seem especially 5, 2 to mark substance, have only warmth, cold, and the like, for their qualities and not for their substance. But it may be affirmed that a body is less a substance 5, 3 than the surface is; and the surface less than the line, and the line less than the point; for by these the body is bounded, and it seems to be possible that these should exist without the body, but the body cannot exist without these. Wherefore men used to 5, 4 think that Substance and Being were a body and that other things were the affections and qualities of this. But those who came afterwards, and who were accounted wiser, held Number to be Substance. If 5, 5 then surfaces and lines and points are not substance, there is no entity or substance whatever; for the accidents of these cannot well be called substance. Again, if it is admitted that length and breadth and points are more substances than the bodies are, and if these are not objects of sense, there can be no substance whatever. These attributes of body are 5, 6 not inherent in body but are divisions of body into breadth or depth or length. Moreover either any one form is contained in a solid body or nothing; so that, if the figure of *Hermes* is not contained in the unwrought material, the stone, neither is the half of a cube contained in a cube. So that if a body is 5, 7

<sup>g</sup> Alexander apud Schol. p. 626 a l. 19 "If each of the elements is one in form, while they are many in number, nothing in the elements and principles of things can be one in number. And if none of these is numerically one, none of the things composed of them can be numerically one; for that which is composed of a principle one in form but not in number will itself be one in form but not in number."

<sup>h</sup> Quest. 12. Sc. c. 1, 12.

<sup>i</sup> This is quest. 14 in c. 1, 13.

<sup>k</sup> Syrianus apud Schol. minor. p. 109 l. 18 "*Plotinus Por-*

*phyry Iamblichus*, and all who have dwelt theoretically upon this question, shew that it is an abstruse enquiry."

<sup>kk</sup> Alexander apud Schol. p. 631 b l. 18—25 "As there could be no Being besides Being, so no Unity besides Unity."

<sup>l</sup> Syrianus apud Schol. min. p. 111 l. 11 "In the statement of the questions this was the 17th and last [sc. 1, 15], but now it is the 13th in order on account, I suppose, of its connexion with that which had been previously treated."

<sup>m</sup> Alexander apud Schol. p. 632 b l. 36 οἱ λόγοι δὲ [sc. c. 5, 1], οὗς ἀριθμὸς λέγει.



II substance, and yet these lines and points and planes are still more substance than body is, and if these are not entities or substances, it follows that Being 5, 8 and Substance escape us altogether. Farther, substance, if it comes into being not existing before, or having existed ceases to be, suffers this through generation and decay. But points and lines and planes cannot be generated or perish, sometimes existing, sometimes not; for, when bodies are joined or divided, these lines and points are sometimes one and sometimes two; and yet the point, being indivisible, is not divided. As these are the divisions of body, *Now* is the division of time. This cannot be generated or destroyed, and yet it always seems to be different, not being a substance.

6, 1 We may altogether doubt<sup>n</sup> why it is necessary, besides sensible bodies and the intermediate substances or mathematics, to search for other substances, namely the Forms and Patterns. For if we are to do this because mathematical substances differ in other respects from sensible objects, yet in this they do not differ, that they contain many similar 6, 3 forms. If there are not, besides sensible and mathematical substances, others, such as some call forms or ideas, there will be no substance one in number, nor will the principles of things be of a certain quality 6, 5 in number, but in form. But if we shall assume that such substances as Form exist, and that principles are one in number but not in form, we have shewn the impossibilities which would follow. We may also doubt whether elements are in latent power or 6, 6 in active power. If in active power<sup>o</sup>, there will be something which precedes the first principles. For some principle which contains the latent power precedes the principle which contains the active power. But latent power is not necessarily developed into active power. If the elements are in latent power, it is possible that nothing may exist at all; for that

<sup>n</sup> Syrianus apud Schol. min. p. 113 l. 7 "He has not proposed this question separately in the first series of questions [sc. c. 1]. But it seems to be a part of the 5th question [sc. c. 1, 8], for he enquires in this concerning *Ideas*; or a part of the 9th question [sc. c. 1, 11], for there also he speaks of ideas."

<sup>o</sup> This according to the interpretation of Alexander apud Schol. p. 635 b l. 23, who reads "εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλως πως." sc. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐνεργεῖα. The edd. of Aristotle have εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλως, πῶς πρότερόν τι ἔσται τῶν ἀρχῶν; κ. τ. λ. which has the same meaning, though less plainly expressed, namely, "If in active power, how can there be any thing preceding the first principles?—Which would follow from this supposition."

<sup>p</sup> Alexander apud Schol. p. 635 b l. 38 adds in explanation, "So that, if the elementary principles are in latent power, it is possible that they may never exist; and, if these never exist,

is in latent power, and possible, which is not yet in II being<sup>p</sup>. We may also doubt whether principles are 6, 7 general or individual.

There is a science<sup>q</sup> which contemplates Being in III. 1, 1 itself and the things that appertain to Being. This science is by no means the same as those which refer to particulars. None of the other sciences surveys Being in general; but they investigate the accidents which affect some detached portion of Being, as Mathematics do. But since we are seeking the principles and remote causes of things, it is plainly necessary that they should belong to some detached and peculiar Nature. The elements of Being which are the subject of this enquiry must be the elements, not as accidents or qualities affecting things, but as identical with the substances themselves. Wherefore we must assume the first cause of Being as Being.

Being or Entity is said in many senses, but yet 2, 1 with reference to unity and to one Nature. It is 2, 3 said with reference to one principle; some things are said to be because they are affections of substance, others because they conduct to Being, because they are either privations or qualities or effective or generative causes of Being. It is the office 2, 5 of one science to contemplate entities as such. The perception and knowledge of subjects is one for one; as one grammatical science contemplates all the sounds. It belongs to one science to contemplate 2, 6 all the forms of Being, and the forms of the forms. As many as are the forms of Unity, so many are the 2, 8 forms of Being. It is the office of the same science to contemplate these, their likeness in Substance, their likeness in Quality. There are as many parts 2, 9 of philosophy as there are substances. Mathematical 2, 10 science is divided into its parts. The same 2, 11, 12 science contemplates the opposite qualities of things; so that, though Unity is affirmed in many sciences, 2, 13

neither will those things exist which are produced out of them."

<sup>q</sup> Syrianus apud Schol. min. p. 115 l. 20 "He does not work here the 16th question in his series [sc. II. 1, 14] whether the principles of things are moved or not. Having stated therefore [read *προθελς* for *προσθελς*] 17 questions, he has not treated of the 6th [c. 1, 9] or the 16th [I, 14]. The 6th is omitted because he had already handled it before; the 16th because, having granted that some things are corruptible and some eternal, he had a necessary conclusion that some were moved and some motionless. To the other 15 questions he adds (after discussing the 14th) the argument concerning *Ideas* [II. 6] and has brought all these 16 into a logical form of discussion. Some he will dwell upon in *lib.* 3; others in *libb.* 6, 7, 8, 9, the greater part of them in *lib.* 11. He will endeavour to discourse against *Ideas* and *Numbers* in the two last books [*libb.* 12, 13]."



III yet it is the part of one and the same science to  
 2, 15 know them all. It is the province of the metaphy-  
 sical philosopher to be able to contemplate all sub-  
 2, 17 jects. He is to discern Unity and Being, and the  
 2, 18 accidents which appertain to them; for there are  
 some attributes of Being, as Being; and these the  
 2, 21 philosopher must examine. Almost all acknowledge  
 that entities or substances are composed of oppo-  
 sites; some call them odd and even, others hot and  
 cold, others finite and infinite, others Friendship and  
 Contention<sup>r</sup>.

3, 1 It is the office of the same philosophy to enquire  
 into Axioms or acknowledged Truths, and into Sub-  
 stance itself. For these axioms are found in all  
 3, 9—12 subjects. It is the first of all axioms that it is im-  
 possible for the same thing to be and not to be at the  
 4, 1, 2 same time. We are not to seek for a demonstration  
 of this truth. It is not possible to demonstrate all  
 truths; for we should never have an end.—He ar-  
 gues against many sophistical objections 4, 3—6, 11.

7, 1 —Nothing can lie between the two opposite asser-  
 tions. We must either affirm or deny. It is false to  
 affirm of Being, that it does not exist, or of that  
 which is not that it does exist. It is true again to  
 affirm of Being that it is, and of that which is not  
 that it is not. What is asserted must be either true  
 7, 3 or false. The mind either affirms or denies every  
 thing that is the subject of thought and intellect.

IV. 1, 1 A principle or beginning is said in many ways.  
 It may be the first in a series of motions, or the first  
 1, 2 in a series of acts. It may be a cause; for causes  
 1, 3 are beginnings. It is common to all principles or  
 beginnings that they are the first elements from  
 which any thing exists or is known. Of these prin-  
 ciples some are contained in the the subject, some are  
 αττιον extraneous<sup>s</sup>. c. 2 Repeated from φνσ. ακροάσ. II. 3.

στοιχείον c. 3 An *element* is the first indivisible part which is  
 contained in any thing and of which any thing is  
 composed. An element is small, simple, indivisible.

φύσις c. 4 *Nature* is the advance of any thing to its per-  
 fection; as the growth of plants. It is the develop-  
 ment of any thing into a larger form. An increase  
 therefore in quantity, not a change in quality. It is  
 the original and proper material of a thing. c. 5

ἀναγκαίον That is said to be *necessary* without which nothing

can exist; without which good cannot be secured or  
 evil avoided. That which we are forced to do we  
 do of necessity. c. 6 A thing is said to be *one* <sup>ἓν</sup>  
 relatively and absolutely.—Having explained 6, 11—  
 25 what things are one absolutely, he concludes 6, 26  
 “Things are one in Number, in Species, in Genus,  
 in Analogy.”—c. 7 *Being* is said relatively and abso- <sup>τὸ ὄν</sup>  
 lutely. The forms of Being absolutely are as many  
 as the forms of the Categories; such as genus,  
 quality, quantity, relation, action, passion, place,  
 time, and the rest. Being is also said in latent  
 power and in active power<sup>t</sup>. c. 8 *Entity* or *Sub-* <sup>οὐσία</sup>  
*stance* are said of simple bodies, as earth, fire, water,  
 and the like, and of those which are compounded of  
 these bodies, and of that which being contained in  
 them is the cause of their existence, as the life is of  
 an animal; and of those parts contained in a body,  
 which being destroyed, the whole body would perish.  
 c. 9 *The same* or *sameness* is said relatively with <sup>ταῦτά</sup>  
 respect to individuals. Things are said to be *the*  
*same* absolutely, as Unity is said absolutely. They  
 are said to be the same when their material is the  
 same in form or number, when their substance is the  
 same. Sameness is a kind of Unity. c. 10 Of *Op-* <sup>ἀντικείμενα</sup>  
*posites* and *Contraries*. c. 11 Things are said to be <sup>ἐναντία</sup>  
*before* and *after* a given thing. A thing is before <sup>πρότερα</sup>  
 another thing in place or time or motion, or latent  
 power, or in order. In reasoning, generals come  
 first; in objects of sense, particulars come first.  
 c. 12 Of *latent powers* both active <sup>δύναμις</sup> and passive.  
 c. 13 *Quantity* is said of magnitudes and of numbers. <sup>ποσόν</sup>  
 c. 14 *Quality* is the difference of a substance from <sup>ποιόν</sup>  
 another substance. c. 15 *Relation* is said as 2 to  $\frac{1}{2}$  <sup>πρός τι</sup>  
 or as 3 to  $\frac{1}{3}$ . It is also said as the agent is to the  
 patient, as the thing measured is to the measure, as  
 the thing learned is to the science, as the thing ap-  
 prehended by the sense is to the sense itself. c. 16  
 That is said to be *complete* and *perfect* to which no- <sup>τέλειον</sup>  
 thing is wanting; beyond which not a single part or  
 fraction can be taken. c. 17 The *end* of a thing is <sup>πέρας</sup>  
 the last term of it; that beyond which nothing can  
 be taken, that within which all is contained. It is  
 that to which motions or actions tend, and not that  
 from which they proceed. c. 18 *In so far as* is said <sup>καθ' ὃ</sup>  
 in many senses. It is said with reference to the form

<sup>r</sup> Asclepius apud Schol. p. 647 b l. 35 “The Pythagoreans made ten combinations, light and darkness, good and evil, white and black, finite and infinite, hot and cold.”

<sup>s</sup> Confer Alexandrum apud Schol. p. 687 a l. 18—689 a l. 36.

<sup>t</sup> Alexander apud Schol. p. 701 b l. 3 “He will speak of

Being absolutely taken in *lib. VI. VII*, and of Being in latent and in active power in *lib. VIII*.”

<sup>v</sup> Alexander apud Schol. p. 710 a l. 3 “Of which he treats in *lib. VIII* of this work.”

## IV

*διδοεσις* and with reference to the material. c. 19 *Disposition* is the order of any thing that has parts. c. 20 *πάθος* contains definitions of *habit*. c. 21 *Affection* is that which bodies suffer when they undergo motion or *στέρησις* change, especially injurious change. c. 22 *Privation* is defined. c. 23 *To have* is said in many senses: 1 as a fever is said to *have* a man. 2 as brass *contains* the form of the future statue. 3 *to contain*, as a vessel *contains* water, or a whole its parts. 4 *to hold*, as the pillars *hold* the incumbent weight. *ἐκ τινος* c. 24 He shews in how many senses a thing is said *μέρος* to be *of or from* another thing. c. 25 *Part*.—That into which any quantity is divided; and also that into which any whole subject is divided, without *ἅλον* reference to quantity. c. 26 *A whole* is that of which no part is wanting; that which contains the things contained, so that they make one whole; either each part may be a whole or all the parts together may be a whole. When a quantity has a beginning a middle and an end, if the position of the parts makes no difference, that quantity is called *all*; but if it makes a difference, then it is called *κολοβόν* *the whole*. c. 27 He explains in what sense a thing is called *mutilated*. c. 28 *Genus* is explained *γένος* and defined. c. 29 Things are said to be *false*, *τὸ ψεῦδος* either when they cannot be at all, or did not happen at the time assigned, or when they deceive by a false appearance. A discourse is false which represents the thing that is not. c. 30 That is said *συμβεβηκός* *to happen* or to be *by accident*, which really happens to a thing, but yet not of necessity nor for the most part.

V. 1, 8 If there is any substance eternal and motionless and separate from matter, it is the office of the critical and abstract science to know this. Not however of physical science nor of mathematical, but of some science which precedes both; for Physical science deals with subjects that suffer motion; mathematical with subjects that are without motion indeed, but yet that are not separated but contained in matter; but the first and highest philosophy contemplates subjects that are separable and motionless. We have then three theoretical sciences, Mathematical, Physical, and Theology. Theoretical

sciences then are more excellent than other sciences, V and among the theoretical this last is the most excellent. But since Being is used in many senses, it 2, 1 must be observed of Contingent Being that this is not the subject of theoretical science. Plato said 2, 3 not amiss when he said that the art of sophistry dealt with things that had no existence; for the 2, 4 discourses of the sophists are upon contingent matters, and that which is only contingent may be almost said to have no existence.

Being is affirmed in many senses. It is, first, VI. 1, 1 Essence generally; Essence in the abstract. It is 3, 1 secondly the *genus* of a thing; thirdly the *species*; fourthly it is the subject matter of the object proposed for consideration. In one sense the material, 3, 2 in another sense the form, or thirdly that which is produced from these. The enquiry "What is it?" 4, 12 is answered in many ways. In one sense it is the substance and the particular substance; in another sense it is each of the attributes of substance, quantity, quality, and the like. For as Being belongs to 4, 13 all, though not equally, (for it belongs to Substance in an especial sense, but to the Attributes as a consequence,) so the question "What is it?" is answered simply with respect to substance, but in a certain sense only with respect to the others. Unity 4, 17 or "One" is said as "Being" is said: and Being signifies partly the particular substance, partly the quantity, and partly the quality<sup>w</sup>. The greater part 16, 1 of what are accounted substances are in reality powers or parts of animals.

We enquire into the causes and the beginning and VII. 1, 1 the elements of substances. The four physical elements of matter are acknowledged by all to be substances. Animals, the Heavens, and the parts of each are acknowledged to be substances. But besides these some hold that forms and mathematical lines and figures are substances.—He proceeds 1, 5. 6 to enquire into the acknowledged material substances; and examines 2, 1 the opinion of *Democritus*. 2, 3 He enquires how we are to define the substances of bodies<sup>x</sup>.—The substance of sensible 2, 10 bodies is partly the matter, partly the form, and thirdly that which is made up of these.

<sup>w</sup> VI. 11, 9 *Σωκράτης ὁ νεώτερος*. de hoc Asclepius et Alexander apud Schol. min. p. 195, 20—30.

VI. 11, 13 The contemplation of sensible and material substances is in some sense the office of the physical and *second* philosophy; for the physical philosopher must not only know matter but the principles of matter.

VI. 12, 1 He quotes his own *Analytics*.

<sup>x</sup> *Archytas* quoted VII. 2, 9.

οἱ Ἀρισθένειοι VII. 3, 7.

VII. 6, 8 *Lycophron* quoted: ὁ σοφιστής Schol. min. p. 223, 2—6.



VIII. 1, 2 We must define latent power and perfection of  
 2, 1 power. Some latent powers, being in things with-  
 out life, will be irrational; some, being in living  
 things, will be rational powers. Arts and sciences  
 are latent powers; they are the beginnings of a  
 2, 2 change. The rational powers embrace their oppo-  
 sites; as health has a reference to disease. The  
 irrational powers are single; as the latent power  
 of warmth can only give warmth and nothing more;  
 2, 4 for opposites are not contained in the same quality,  
 although the science of that quality embraces the  
 3, 1 science of its opposite. The Megaric philosophers  
 say that the latent power only exists when it is ex-  
 ercised, that when the active power does not work  
 3, 2, 3 the latent power has no existence. But the artificer  
 3, 4 must possess his power or he cannot use it. And  
 if this dogma were true in inanimate things, there  
 could be no qualities at all, and the sophism of *Pro-*  
 3, 5 *tagoras* might be addressed to them. Again, if that  
 which is without latent power is impotent and in-  
 capable, that which has not happened would be in-  
 capable of happening at all. Motion and generation  
 3, 7 would be annihilated. It is manifest then that latent  
 3, 9 power and active power are different things. The  
 name *energy* or active power comes especially from  
 motions; for active power seems especially to be a  
 movement.  
 6, 1 Let us define active power or energy. Energy is to  
 6, 3 the latent power as the awakened is to the sleeper;  
 as he that seeth is to him that shuts his eyes, as that  
 which is parted off from the material is to the ma-  
 6, 4, 5 terial itself, as that which is wrought is to that which  
 is unwrought. But all things are not said to be in  
 active power alike; they are said relatively. The  
 infinite and the *vacuum* are said to be in latent and  
 6, 7, 8 active power in another sense from that in which we  
 say this of many other things. Acts which terminate  
 6, 8, 9 are done for some ulterior object. They cease when  
 the object is attained. These then may be called  
 Motions; for every motion is a thing imperfect.  
 When the end is reached, the motion ceases. But  
 6, 10 thought and vision are acts that do not terminate.  
 He who has thought continues to think. Such acts  
 7, 1 as these I call active powers, the others I call mo-  
 tions. We must define when a thing is in latent

power and when it is not. A subject is not in latent VIII. 7,  
 power while it is yet in its original elements; nor 1—4  
 till it has passed through the first changes. The 7, 4  
 earth is not a statue in latent power; for it must  
 first be changed into brass of which the statue is  
 composed. A cup is not wood, but wooden. Wood  
 is not earth, but earthy.

Active power precedes latent power. It precedes 8, 1  
 in reason and in substance; sometimes in time, but 8, 2  
 not always. It precedes in reason because the first  
 principle of latent power has this power from being  
 capable of action. That energy which first produces 8, 3  
 the identity of form precedes the latent power in  
 time, but not in number; for active power is pro- 8, 5  
 duced by a latent power which proceeds from an-  
 other preceding active power. For it has been shewn  
 that in all generation something is produced by  
 something out of something, and this similar in form  
 to that which produced it. The active power then in 8, 8  
 this way precedes the latent power in generation and  
 in time; and also in substance, because that which  
 follows in generation precedes in form and substance.  
 And also because every thing that is generated pro- 8, 9  
 ceeds to its beginning and its end. Its beginning is  
 that for the sake of which the generation is effected;  
 and the generation is for the sake of its end and pur-  
 pose. But that end and purpose is Active Power,  
 and for the sake of this the latent power is assumed.  
 Animals do not see that they may have sight, but  
 they have sight that they may see. Moreover matter 8, 10  
 exists in latent power that it may proceed to form.  
 But when it is endued with active power, then it  
 exists in form<sup>z</sup>. In some things the use is the ulti- 8, 12  
 mate object beyond which nothing is proposed; as  
 sight is for the sake of vision. Other things have  
 some ulterior purpose; as the art of building is to  
 produce a house. In the last of these, the active 8, 13  
 power is in the thing produced; but in the former  
 the energy or active power resides in the things  
 themselves. It is plain then that substance and form 8, 14  
 are active powers, and that active power precedes  
 latent power in its substance; and (as we have said)  
 an active power is always preceded by some other  
 active power until we arrive at the First Cause of  
 Motion. But the active power precedes in a more 8, 15

<sup>y</sup> Schol. ad VII. 6, 9 p. 777 b. 15 = p. 223. 19 ὅρα δὴ τὸ διδασκαλικὸν καὶ δαιμόνιον τοῦδε τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὅπως ἐκ τῶν διστέρων (οὐ γὰρ ἄλλως ἐνῆν τοῦτο ποιῆσαι) καὶ ἡμῖν γνωρίμων ἐπὶ τὸν πολυτίμητον πατέρα καὶ ποιητὴν πάντων Θεὸν ἀγαγεῖν ἡμᾶς μεθοδεύει, καὶ δείξει ὅτι, ὡς ὁ χαλκεὺς αἰτιῶς ἐστὶ τοῦ τὸν χαλ-

κὸν καὶ τὴν σφαῖραν ἐν εἶναι, οὕτω καὶ ἡ ἐνοποιὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ δημιουργικὴ δύναμις πάντων τῶν ὄντων αἰτία ἐστὶ τοῦ ἔχειν ὥσπερ ἔχει.

<sup>z</sup> VIII. 8, 11 He mentions Παύσωνος Ἐρμῆν. *Pauson* the statuary: Schol. p. 233, 6.

- VIII peculiar sense than this; for eternal things precede in their substance corruptible things, and nothing that is eternal exists in mere latent power. Which may be thus proved. Every latent power implies at the same time its opposite. It is possible that a latent power may not be called into active power at 8, 16 all. A latent power then may either exist or not exist. It is possible for the same thing both to be and not to be. But that which is capable of not existing may possibly not exist; and that which may 8, 17 possibly not exist is corruptible. Nothing then that is absolutely incorruptible can exist absolutely in latent power. These all exist in active power, nor can things that have necessary existence exist in latent power. And yet these precede all other things; for if these were not nothing could have existed at all. Nor can any motion that is eternal have latent power 8, 18 only. The Sun and the heavenly bodies are always in active power.
- 9, 1 Active power is more excellent than latent power; for of things that are in latent power the opposites are possible. The possibility of health implies the possibility of disease; and these latent powers, these 9, 2 possibilities, may both exist together. But the opposite active powers cannot exist together. The active power of health excludes disease. The active power of disease excludes health. The active power 9, 3 then is the more excellent. In things however that are evil the active power is necessarily worse than the latent power, because in the latent power the evil is only possible, in the active power it would be certain and present. It is plain then that evil is not inherent in things; for evil naturally follows and comes after the latent power. There is no evil then, nothing corrupted, in original and eternal substances, 9, 4 for corruption is an evil. Mathematical proportions 9, 5 are discerned by active power. Active power is thought and reasoning. The latent power then comes from active power.—10 He enquires into truth or falsehood with respect to things themselves, and with respect to our reasonings upon them.
- IX. 1, 1 First principles are called "one" in four ways. 1, 3 That which is absolutely continuous is one. Especially that is one, of which the motion is indivisible and simple. Yet more, that is one, which is a whole and has figure and form. Especially if it contains in 1, 4 itself the cause of its being continuous. Things are one that are comprehended under one idea; that are indivisible in form or number. That is one, which is the cause of Unity in substances. *One* then is said of IX. 1, 5 that which is continuous by nature, of that which is a whole. It is said of particulars and of universals. All these are *One*, when their motion is indivisible, or when the idea which comprehends them is indivisible. But it must be observed that *One* in the ab- 1, 5, 6 stract is a different thing from *One* in the concrete. A thing is one, when it is indivisible, when it is in- 1, 8 separable in place or form or in thought. Unity is the measure of the quantity of things; their quantity 1, 9 is measured by one or by number, and all number is measured by Unity. *One* is the first element of number. Hence that is said to be the measure, by which 1, 10 each object is known. This measure is Unity in length and breadth and depth and weight and speed. In all these the element and measure is something 1, 12 one and indivisible. Motion is measured by the sim- 1, 14 ple and the swiftest motion. Unity is in this sense 1, 16 the measure of all things, that we know whereof the substance is composed by dividing it in quantity or in form. *One* is indivisible because the first element 1, 17 of each object is indivisible. But the measure must 1, 18 always have a relation to the thing measured; length measures length, weight measures weight, a monad numbers monads (for number is a collection of monads). The objects of science are measured by 1, 19 science, the objects of sense are measured by the senses. In this sense *Protagoras* might say that man 1, 20 is the measure of all things; a saying which is more profound in appearance than in reality.
- Concerning Unity in the abstract we must enquire 2, 1 what Unity is, whether a substance, as the Pythagoreans and *Plato* hold, or whether it has reference to a subject, as the physical philosophers call it "Friendship," or "Air," or "the Infinite." But if nothing 2, 2 universal can be a substance (which has been shewn) this cannot be a substance; for Being and Unity are above all other things affirmed universally. *Genera* 2, 3 are not substances separable from other things, nor can Unity be a *genus* for the same reasons for which Being and Substance cannot be *genera*. Being and 2, 4 Unity are equal terms; so that, since a certain Unity is contained in qualities and quantities, the nature of Unity must be enquired, as the nature of Being is to be enquired. If all things were colours, all things 2, 5 would be measured by colours, and some one colour (as white) would be Unity. If all things were har- 2, 6 monies, they would be measured by the number of tones, and the first tone would be Unity. Unity 2, 8



IX therefore is a certain property in every species, and has no self-existent nature; but as in colours we search for one colour, which is Unity, so in substances we search for one substance, which is Unity.

2, 9 That Unity and Being have in some sort the same meaning, is plain; for if in any of the categories Being is denied, Unity is equally denied also, and no additional declaration is required to exclude Unity.

3, 1 Unity and Plurality are opposed to each other in many ways. Plurality is divided or divisible, Unity

3, 2 is undivided or indivisible. To Unity belong Identity, Likeness, Equality, to Plurality belong Difference,

3, 3 Unlikeness, Inequality. Identity is said in many

3, 4 ways. Similar things are not altogether identical.

3, 6 Difference and dissimilitude are said in many ways. "Another thing" and "the same thing" are opposite

3, 7 terms. "To be something else" and "to be different"

3, 8 must be distinguished. Things that are "something else" with respect to one another need not be other in any particular quality. But things that are "different" differ in some particular, as in *genus* or in

3, 9 *species*: *genus* or *species* are the qualities in which they differ. They differ in *genus*, when they have no common matter; they differ in *species*, when their *genus* is the same.

4, 1 Things that differ in *genus* cannot approach each other; they cannot be compared. But things that differ in *species* are produced from opposites as from

4, 2 extremes. But the space between extremes, and therefore between opposites, is the greatest. The greatest is always complete. That is greatest, which cannot be exceeded. That is complete, which admits of nothing beyond it. A complete difference has an

4, 3 end; beyond the end there is nothing, it admits of no addition. Contrariety then is complete difference.

5, 1 Since One is contrary to One, it may be doubted how One is opposed to many, and equality to the

5, 7 great and the little. Equality is neither great nor small; and is opposed to both as a privative negation. Wherefore it lies between them.

6, 1 If "many" were simply opposed to "one," some

6, 7 impossibilities would follow. One is opposed to many in numbers, as the measure is opposed to the thing

6, 8 measured. Plurality is number measured by unity.

6, 9 Knowledge however or science has not quite the same relation to the thing known. Knowledge might seem to be the measure, and the thing known to be the thing measured; but it happens that all science is not known and every thing that is known is not

science. Wherefore in a certain sense science is IX measured by the thing known. Things that lie be- 7, 1 tween other things are composed of opposites. For whatever lies between belongs to the same *genus* as the things between which it lies. Things are said to 7, 2 lie between into which that which suffers change first passes. In the transition from white to black we first pass through the intermediate colours of purple or brown. But that which lies between and those 7, 3 two things between which it lies must all belong to the same *genus*; and yet it must lie between opposites. It is therefore composed of opposites. 7, 5 These opposites or contraries are as it were *species* 7, 6 of the *genus*; for from the *genus* and the difference comes the *species*.

Things that differ in *species* must belong to the 8, 1 same *genus*. It may be enquired why a woman and 9, 1 a man do not differ in *species*. Oppositions which 9, 2, 3 are contained in the original matter do not make a difference of *species*. A white man and a black man are of the same *species*. But may not the original 9, 5 matter sometimes produce a difference in species? Why is a horse of a different species from a man? Is it because an opposition is contained in the definition? But the sexes of animals are affections which 9, 6 belong to their nature. The same seed becomes a male or a female animal accordingly as it is influenced.

Since contraries differ in species, and the corrupt- 10, 1 ible is contrary to the incorruptible, it is necessary that the corruptible and the incorruptible should differ in kind. In Universal Terms it might seem not to be necessary that an incorruptible and a corruptible thing should differ in *species*. But although some 10, 3 contrary qualities may happen to some things by accident, yet to other things this is impossible; and among these are the corruptible and the incorruptible. For nothing is corruptible by accident; for that which is accidental may not happen at all; but corruption is of necessity to those things to which it belongs. It would follow then that one and the same thing would be corruptible and incorruptible. Cor- 10, 4 ruption then is inherent in the substance of whatever is corruptible. The same reasoning applies to the incorruptible. Both belong of necessity to their subjects. They are necessarily different in *genus*. It is 10, 5 manifest then that they cannot be *species* in such a sense as some affirm, for in that case one man might be corruptible, another incorruptible. Things that

- IX differ in *genus* are more widely separated than those which differ in *species*.
- X. 1, 1 Wisdom (or the first and highest philosophy) is employed upon *principles*. Is Wisdom one science or many? If one, then one science contains contraries, and principles are not contrary to one another. If more than one, of what sciences is it com-
- 1, 2 posed? Again, is it the office of one or more sciences to contemplate demonstrative principles? If of one, why of this one more than of any other? If of more than one, which sciences must we assume? Again, is it the science of all substances or not? for if not of all, it is difficult to determine which. If there is one science of all, it is not clear how it is possible for
- 1, 3 the same science to embrace all. Again, does demonstration apply to substances only, or to contingent matter? If to contingent matter, it does not belong to substances. But if another kind of demonstration, which is this, and is it to be called Wisdom? for we have one demonstrative wisdom which concerns accidents and another which concerns the first and highest subjects, namely that which treats of sub-
- 1, 4 stances. We must not assume that the science about which we enquire treats of physical causes. It does not treat of the end and object (as Good is), for this is among things practical and things in motion, and this first moves (for it is the end and purpose); and that which first moves is not among the essences
- 1, 5 that are motionless. It may be altogether doubted whether the science about which we enquire concerns sensible substances, or others than these. If others, it might treat either of forms or of mathematics.
- 1, 6 Clearly not of forms. They place mathematics between forms and sensible objects as a third and intermediate quality between forms and the sensible
- 1, 7 objects of the world about us. The science in question is not about mathematics; for these are not separable; nor about sensible substances, for these are
- 1, 7, 8 corruptible. It may be altogether doubted to what science it belongs to enquire into the material of Mathematics. Not to physical science, for this treats of things that have in themselves the beginning of motion and rest; nor yet to that which enquires into demonstration and science. It remains then that the philosophy in question must consider this subject.
- 1, 9 But it might be doubted whether the science about which we enquire ought to be applied to what are called the Elements. It might rather seem however that this science ought to be applied to Universals—

to the primary *genera*, to Being and Unity; for these X. 1, 10 especially may be supposed to contain all things that exist, and especially to resemble principles because they are first in nature; if these are destroyed, the rest perishes with them; for all are Being and Unity.

It may also be doubted whether we ought to as- 2, 1  
sume any thing except individuals or not, and of these the science in question is composed. But individuals are infinite. But besides individuals we have *genus* and *species*; and this science treats of neither of these. Altogether it is difficult to know 2, 2  
whether we ought to suppose some separable substance besides those sensible substances which surround us or not, and to suppose that these are Being and that Wisdom treats of these. For this is to seek some other substance and to enquire whether any thing exists separable in its own nature and belonging to none of the sensible substances. But if there 2, 3  
is some other substance besides the sensible, besides which of the sensible substances are we to assume it? If this principle about which we now enquire 2, 4  
is not separable from bodies, what else can it be than original matter? and yet this does not exist in active power but only in latent power. Species and Form might seem to be a more fit principle than this. But these are corruptible, and it would follow that there was absolutely no eternal substance separable and subsisting of itself. But this is absurd; for all the 2, 5  
most ingenious enquirers have agreed that there is such a principle as this; for how could there be order if something did not exist eternal and separable and stable? Again, if there is a substance and principle 2, 6  
such as we now seek, one and the same for all, both for things eternal and things corruptible, we may doubt why from the same principle some things should be eternal and some not eternal; for this is absurd. And if there is one principle for corruptible 2, 7  
things and another for eternal, if the principle of the former is eternal, we shall have the same difficulty; for when the principle is eternal, why should not the things which proceed from that principle be eternal too? But if the principle is corruptible, another principle precedes it, and another precedes *that*, and so on *ad infinitum*. If again those principles which 2, 8  
appear especially exempt from motion, namely, Being and Unity, are assumed, in the first place if each of these does not denote individuality and substance, how will they be separable and self-existent? And



X these are qualities which we seek in eternal and pri-  
 2, 9 mary principles. But if each does signify individuality  
 and substance, all things that are will be substance;  
 for Being is affirmed of all, and Unity of some. But  
 2, 10 it is false to say that all things are substance. More-  
 over how can this be true if we affirm, as some affirm,  
 that Unity is the primary principle, and that this is  
 substance, and that from Unity and Matter Number  
 is produced, and that Number is Substance? But  
 how can we imagine *two* and each of the other num-  
 2, 11 bers that are put together to be Unity? If we  
 assume lines and surfaces to be principles, these are  
 not separable substances, but sections and divisions  
 of planes or of bodies; and points are the divisions  
 of lines and also their boundaries. All these are con-  
 2, 12 tained in something else and are not separable. Besi-  
 des, how may we imagine the substance of Unity  
 and of a point? for every substance is produced or  
 generated, a point is not. There is also this farther  
 difficulty, that every science is of Universals, but  
 substance does not belong to Universals: it is rather  
 individual and separable. So that if science treats of  
 principles, how can we suppose a principle to be a  
 2, 13 substance? Again, is there any thing besides the  
 sum of things or not? I mean Matter and its Form.  
 If not, then all matter is perishable. If there is, it is  
 the species and the form. But it is difficult to define  
 in what this is found, and from what it is absent;  
 for in some things (as in a house) it is plain that the  
 form is not separable from the thing. Finally, we  
 may ask, are principles the same in form or in num-  
 ber? If in number, all will be the same.  
 3, 1 As the science of the philosopher is to know Being  
 as such universally and not in its details, and as  
 Being is affirmed in many senses, if the parts of Be-  
 ing have nothing in common, this knowledge is not  
 included under one science. If it has its parts in  
 3, 4 common, the knowledge may be one science. Since  
 every Entity as such is referred to some one common  
 principle, each of the contrarieties will be referred to  
 the primary differences of Being, whether those pri-  
 mary differences have plurality and unity, or whether  
 likeness and unlikeness, or whether any other differ-  
 3, 5 ence. It is just the same whether the reference of  
 Being is to be had to Being or to Unity; for Unity  
 3, 6 in a certain sense is Being and Being is Unity. Since  
 it is the office of one and the same science to con-  
 template contraries, and each of these is affirmed by  
 privation, or the absence of the opposite quality, in

all these we must assume the privation not of the X  
 whole subject but only of the last form of it. And as 3, 7  
 the mathematician contemplates his subject by clear-  
 ing it of all extraneous matter, we are to proceed in  
 like manner with respect to Being. For it is the 3, 8  
 office of no other science than Philosophy to con-  
 template the accidents and the contrarieties which  
 affect Being as such; for to Physical Science we  
 assign the contemplation of entities, not as they are  
 entities but as they partake of motion. The art of  
 Logic and the art of the Sophist concern the things  
 that are contingent to substance, but not as they are  
 entities; nor do these arts concern Being itself as  
 such. So that it is left to the Philosopher to con- 3, 9  
 template Being as such.

Since the mathematician applies common axioms 4, 1  
 to his own particular use; it is the office of the First  
 Philosophy to contemplate the principles of those  
 common axioms. He does not survey them indivi- 4, 2  
 dually and their application to each particular object,  
 but contemplates their essence as such. In like man- 4, 3  
 ner Physical Science contemplates the accidents and  
 principles of substances as they are affected by mo-  
 tion, and not as they are essences. But we have said  
 that the First Philosophy is the science of these as  
 they are Entities. Wherefore Physics and Mathe-  
 matics must be assumed as parts of that higher  
 Wisdom.

Some propositions are always true; as that it is 5, 1  
 impossible for the same thing to be and not to be at  
 one and the same time. These cannot be demon-  
 strated simply; for there is no proposition more plain 5, 2  
 than they are themselves, from which they can be  
 inferred. A proposition equivalent to this (that the 5, 3  
 same thing cannot both be and not be at the same  
 time) must be used against an opponent who asserts  
 that contrary affirmations can be true of the same  
 subject. Those who are about to communicate with 5, 4  
 one another in discourse must understand the propo-  
 sitions; otherwise how shall they converse? Each  
 word must have one known signification, and not  
 many. If a word has many significations, the par-  
 ticular meaning in which it is used must be made  
 clear. He then who asserts that a thing is and is 5, 5  
 not does not affirm that which he affirms. What the  
 word signifies he affirms that it does *not* signify; so  
 that if the phrase, that a thing exists, has any mean-  
 ing, the contradictory affirmation cannot be also true  
 of the same thing. Again, if a word has any signifi- 5, 6

X cation, and this is true, it must be of necessity. But that which is of necessity cannot be at some time non-existent. Opposite affirmations then cannot be true of the same subject. Moreover if the affirmation and the negation are equally true, a man may be a horse or any other animal. *Heraclitus* himself by this mode of question might be compelled to confess that it is never possible for the opposite affirmations to be true of the same things.

6, 1 The position of *Protagoras*, that man is the measure of all things, is nothing more than to say that whatever a man imagines really and absolutely exists.

6, 2 If this is so, it follows that the same thing is both evil and good; for it often happens that one thing appears good to some and the contrary good to others, and each man's fancy is the measure of truth.

6, 5 But, when men dispute with one another, to respect equally the opinions of both the disputants is foolish; for it is manifest that one of the two opinions must be false. And this is plain from what happens to the senses; for the same thing would never appear sweet to some and the contrary to others, if the taste were not vitiated. This being so, we must suppose the one to be the measure and standard of the true taste, and the other not. The same rule is to be applied in considering good and evil and other such qualities. And it is altogether absurd to judge the truth from the *phenomena* around us; which appear to be changing and never to remain in the same condition. We should investigate the truth from things that are always the same and that suffer no change. Besides, according to this reasoning, if there is motion, and every thing is moved from something to something, it would follow that the thing moved would be in that out of which it is to be moved and would not be in it, and that at the same time it would be moved forwards towards something and yet would be already in it. If we are always changing and never remain the same, what wonder if things do not appear the same to us, as in the case of the sick man, to whom the objects of sense do not appear the same as they did when he was in health? Although the objects themselves have undergone no change, but the diseased sense presents them differently. It is not possible that opposite affirmations should be true at one and the same time of the same thing; nor that contraries should be true, because every contrariety is affirmed by the privation of that thing to which it is contrary. It is not possible for all affirmations to be

false or all to be true, for this reason also, that, if all are false, he who shall assert even this, that all are false, could not speak the truth; if all are true, he who asserts that all are false would speak the truth.

Every science, as medicine, gymnastics, mathematics, seeks some principles and causes in the subjects of its knowledge. Each marks out and limits for itself some subject of enquiry upon which it labours, and of which it supposes the existence. It does not contemplate the abstract nature of that existence. This is the office of another science apart from those sciences. But each of the above named sciences assuming in a certain sense the properties of each department of enquiry attempts to shew the rest. But its survey is superficial rather than accurate. Some sciences lay hold of the properties by means of the senses, some by means of a hypothesis. Wherefore it is evident that the abstract essence and nature of a thing is not demonstrated by those sciences. It is plain that the science of Physics is different from practical and operative science. For in operative science the beginning of the movement is in the operator and not in the thing wrought, and in practical science the movement is not in the thing done but in those who act. But the science of Physics treats of those things which have the principles of motion in themselves. It is plain then from these considerations that physical science must be neither practical nor operative, but theoretical; for it must fall under one of these classes. But since it is necessary in some sort for each science to know the properties of things, and to begin from this point, it ought to be known in what manner the physical philosopher is to define and to assume substance; whether the concrete substance or the abstract substance lies within his province. There is a science which contemplates Being in the abstract. We must consider whether physical philosophy is that science. Now physical science treats of subjects that have the principle of motion in themselves. Mathematical science is theoretical, and treats of subjects that are unchangeable, but yet that are not separable from matter. It follows that there is another science different from both of these, which contemplates Being in its abstract and separable and motionless state, if there is a Substance possessing these attributes. And if there is such a Substance, we must place the Deity there, and this will be the primary principle in the most absolute sense. It is manifest then that there



X are three classes of theoretical sciences, the Physical, the Mathematical, the Theological. And the last named is the most excellent of them all, for it treats of the most august of substances. It may be doubted whether the science of Being as such is to be assumed  
 7, 10 as the science of Universals or not. Each of the mathematical sciences treats of some one definite subject, but the science of Universals embraces all. If therefore Physical Substances are primary entities, physical science might be the first. But if there is another nature and substance separable and not subject to motion, it follows of necessity that the knowledge of this substance precedes physical science; and that by preceding this it is the science of Universals.

8, 1 Since Being is said in many ways, of which one is contingent Being, we are first to consider this form of Being. That none of those sciences is employed upon contingent Being is manifest; for the science of building a house does not contemplate what will  
 8, 2 happen to those who are to inhabit the house. Every science considers its own department alone; its own  
 8, 3 proper end and object. The sophistical art alone enquires after contingent Being; on which account *Plato* has not said amiss that the sophist wastes his time upon things that are non-existent. But if we endeavour to discern what contingent matter is, it  
 8, 4 will be clear to us that there cannot possibly be a science concerning contingent Being. All things are either always and from necessity, or for the most part, or lastly neither for the most part nor always,  
 8, 5 but by chance. But that which is contingent happens neither always nor of necessity nor for the most part. But all science treats of that which always exists, or for the most part exists; and contingent matter be-  
 8, 6 longs to neither of these classes. It is manifest that the causes and beginnings of contingent matter are not such as the causes of that which is self-existent; for all things then would be of necessity. For if a series of effects necessarily followed one another, and if the first step in the series of effects came to pass of necessity, that would also come to pass of necessity which was caused by the first, and then all the  
 8, 7 others down to the last in the series of effects; so that all things would be of necessity, and contingent and possible effects would be utterly taken away.  
 8, 7, 8 And if we assume that the effects are yet future, the

same thing would follow; for all future effects would X come to pass of necessity. That which exists in truth 8, 9 and not by accident is partly in connexion with the thought and is affected by the thought. We do not enquire into this. We enquire into that Entity which is beyond all influence and separable from all. Of that which is not of necessity but indefinite—I mean contingent Being—the causes are not subject to order or to limits<sup>a</sup>.

The enquiry is concerning Substance. The begin- XI. 1, 1  
 nings and the causes of Substance are sought for. If the Universe is a whole, then substance is the first part of that whole. If it is a succession of parts, substance is still the first part; then quality; then quantity. Other things are not absolutely entities, but qualities and motions. Other things are not se- 1, 2  
 parable. Philosophers now assume Universals rather to be substance; the old philosophers held Individuals to be substance, as fire and earth. There are three 1, 3  
 substances; the sensible substances, which are divided into two, one corruptible, as plants and animals, one eternal, of which we must enquire whether the elements are one or many. A third substance is 1, 4  
 motionless and according to some separable. Some divide it into two, others place forms and mathematics under this head; others reckon mathematics alone, and omit forms. The two former belong to physical sciences; for they belong to motion. The last belongs to another science. Sensible substance 1, 5  
 is subject to change.

Since Being is of two kinds, every thing changes 2, 2  
 from Latent Being into Active Being. In every thing 3, 1  
 that suffers change there is the thing that is changed, or the original material; the cause of change or the first mover; and that thing into which the change is made, namely the form.

Since there are three substances, two of them phy- 6, 1  
 sical and the third not subject to motion, we must speak of this, because it is necessary that there should be some substance eternal and motionless. For substances are the first of all entities, and if all are corruptible, all things must perish. But it is impossible for Motion to begin or to perish; for there was always motion. Nor can Time begin or perish; for nothing could precede and nothing could follow, if there were not Time. Motion is continuous, as Time 6, 2  
 is continuous. The only continuous motion is the

<sup>a</sup> X. 8, 10—12, 15 are repeated from Phys. Auscult. II. 5. III, 1. III, 4. V, 1. Conf. Schol. min. p. 259, 23.

- XI circular motion in place. If however there shall be a power capable of giving motion, and operating but yet not acting, there will be no motion; for Latent
- 6, 3 Power may possibly not become Active Power. It is in vain then to assume Eternal Substances (as they do who assume the forms), if they do not contain some principle capable of change. Nor is this enough, nor is there any other substance besides the forms; for if that principle does not act, there will be no
- 6, 4 motion. Nor even if it does act, and its substance is only a latent power, will there be motion; for there will be no perpetual motion; for that which is in latent power only may never be at all. We must have then such a principle whose substance shall be active power. These substances must subsist without matter, for they must be perpetual, if any thing is
- 6, 5 so. Therefore they must be in active power. And yet there is a difficulty; for every thing that acts appears to have latent power, but every thing that has latent power does not appear to act; so that the latent power must precede. And yet, if so, nothing will exist; for it is possible to be capable of Being,
- 6, 6 and yet not to exist. How can any thing be moved, if there is nothing in active power to be the cause of motion? The lifeless matter does not move itself.
- 6, 7 Wherefore some, as *Leucippus* and *Plato*, assume active power as always present, for there is always motion. But of what kind and from what cause they do not explain. Nothing is moved by chance. There must be always some principle, either Nature or
- 6, 8 Force or Intellect. To suppose that latent power precedes active power is sometimes right, sometimes
- 6, 9 not. *Anaxagoras* attests that the active power comes first, and *Empedocles* and those who, like *Leucippus*, assert perpetual motion.
- 7, 1 We know that something suffers incessant motion, and this the circular. The Heavens then (which are so moved) are eternal. There is then some power
- 7, 2 which moves them. We have the thing moved and the moving power. There is something then intermediate, which, motionless itself, gives motion, something eternal, both a Substance and an Active Substance. It imparts motion in this manner. The objects of desire and thought move without being
- 7, 3 moved; the principles of these are the same. The Intellect is moved by the object which it contem-
- 7, 5 plates. If any thing is moved, it is possible for that thing to be in another state; so that if the first movement (of the Heavens) is the efficient power or act
- by which they are moved, it is possible for this to XI be in another state in Place though not in Essence. But, since there is something which gives motion being itself motionless and being an efficient power, this cannot possibly by any means be in another state. For movement is the first of changes, and of 7, 6 this the circular movement; and this power imparts this motion. This power therefore exists of necessity, and existing of necessity it is good, and so is a principle. For Necessity is said in these ways following; it acts by force because the Will is not consulted; it is that without which good cannot subsist; it is that which cannot be otherwise, but which absolutely must be. On such a principle the Heavens and Nature depend. Such as the best way of life is 7, 7 for a short season to us, such is the perpetual existence of that Power. The mind comprehends itself by 7, 8 participating in the thing comprehended. It becomes the object of comprehension by approaching and considering, so that the mind and the object of the mind's thought are the same; for the mind is the recipient of the object comprehended and of essence or substance, and holding these it is in action. Such a contemplation is an act of the mind the most grateful and the best. If therefore the Deity is for ever 7, 9 in such a state of excellence as we sometimes attain, this is admirable; but if he is for ever in a much more perfect state than we, this is more admirable still. And this is the life of the Deity; for the Action of the Mind is life, and in him subsists that mental action. But selfexisting energy is the life of the Deity, the best and eternal. We affirm that the Deity is a living Being, the best and eternal; so that life and continual and eternal existence belong to God; for God is this. Those who think (as the Pythago- 7, 10 reans and *Speusippus*) that the most excellent and the best is not in the beginning, because the beginnings of plants and animals are causes of their being, but that perfection comes afterwards, judge amiss. For the seed of plants and animals comes from others 7, 11 already perfect, and the primary element is not the seed, but the plant or animal which produced the seed. It is manifest then from what has been said 7, 12 that there is a Substance eternal, motionless, apart from the things of sense. It has been also shewn that this substance can have no magnitude, but is without parts, and indivisible. For he imparts motion for unlimited time, and nothing limited can have unlimited power. This substance cannot have Li- 7, 13



XI mited Magnitude for this reason; and there is no such thing as Unlimited Magnitude<sup>b</sup>. This Substance is also passionless and immutable, for all other motions come after the motion in place.

8, 1  
8, 3 Is such a Substance one or many? The beginning and the first of Beings is altogether motionless, but

8, 4 imparts the primary eternal and single motion. But since that which is moved must be moved by something, the first author of motion must be motionless in himself, and the eternal motion must be caused by an Eternal Power, and a single motion by One; and since, besides that simple motion of the Universe which we affirm that the first motionless Essence has given, we see other eternal motions, those of the planets, each of these must receive its motion from

8, 7 some Substance motionless in itself and eternal. The number of the movements must be received from astrology; for this science contemplates that substance which, though sensible and material, is yet eternal. The other mathematical sciences, as arithmetic and geometry, treat of no substance at all<sup>c</sup>.

8, 17 It is evident that there is only one Heaven. If there were many, the beginning of each would be one in

8, 18 form but many in number. But things that are many in number have Matter, and the primary abstract Being has no Matter. The First Cause of motion then is One both in definition and in number; and is motionless; therefore that which receives perpetual and continuous motion is One only; therefore the Heaven is one only.

9, 1 The Mind seems to be the most divine of the things that appear to us; but there is some difficulty in discerning its nature and properties. For whether it does not think at all, but is like one that sleeps, or whether it does think, but this under the direction of some other power, it will not be the most excellent

9, 2 in its substance. Again, whether its substance is Mind or the Act of Thought, what does it think? It must either contemplate itself or something else; and if something else, either the same or different objects. Is there no difference then in contemplating noble objects and common objects? or is it not an absurd

9, 3 employment to contemplate some things? It is plain then that the most divine and august Essence thinks and never changes; for change is for the worse, and is also a kind of motion. In the first place, if thought

is not the act of thought but only the latent power, XI it may be inferred that continuous thought is a laborious effort. Next, it is plain that there would be something more august than the mind, namely, the object of thought. For to think and the act of 9, 4 thought will also belong to him whose thoughts are employed upon the vilest objects; so that, if this is to be avoided, the act of thought will not be the most excellent of things. The mind therefore, if it is the most eminent of things, surveys itself, and thought is the contemplation of acts of thought. Science however and perception by the senses and opinion and thought appear always to refer to something else, and to the thought itself only incidentally. Moreover, if to think and to be the object of thought 9, 5 are different, to which belongs the praise of excellence? For to exist as an act of thought, and to exist as an object contemplated by thought, is not the same thing. We conclude that the object of thought is not different from the mind itself, and that subjects which are abstracted from Matter are the same as the mind itself, and that thought is one of the subjects contemplated by thought. A diffi- 9, 6 culty still remains, whether the object of thought is a compound subject; for then it might change in its parts. Every thing that has no matter is indivisible (as is the state of the mind of man, that is, the mind of a compound being<sup>d</sup>, for some space of time). For it has not what is good in this or in that particular, but as it were in a whole embraces excellence, as something other than itself. In this state is the act of thought, contemplating itself through all eternity.

We must also consider after what manner the Na- 10, 1 ture of the Universe holds that which is good and the best; whether as separated of itself, or whether as constituting order and arrangement. All philo- 10, 5 sophers form all things of contraries. But this neither rightly determines what "all things" mean nor what "contraries" mean; nor do they explain how those things which contain contraries are composed of contraries. For contraries are not affected by each other. We solve this difficulty by assuming a third quality. They make matter one of the contraries, as inequality is contrary to equality, or many to one. This is solved in like manner; for Matter, 10, 6 being one, is contrary to nothing. And moreover

<sup>b</sup> Conf. Phys. Ausc. III. 5 de Cælo I. 5.

<sup>c</sup> XI. 8, 9—11 he quotes on astronomy *Eudorus* and *Calippus*.

<sup>d</sup> This seems to be the interpretation of the Scholiast p. 810 a l. 43 = p. 282, 10 ed. minor. = Comment. Alex. Aphrodis. p. 689. 33.

XI every thing would partake of evil excepting only one thing; and evil itself would be one of the elements. Others hold that neither Good nor Evil are principles; and yet Good is especially a principle in all things. Others rightly judge that Good is a principle, but do not explain how it is a principle; whether as an End, or as a moving Cause, or as a Form.

10, 7 *Empedocles* absurdly makes "Friendship" the good. He also absurdly makes the opposite principle "Enmity" to be incorruptible; for this opposite principle

10, 8 is no other than the nature of Evil. *Anaxagoras* reckons Good as a principle by giving motion; for the mind gives motion. But it gives motion for some object and purpose; therefore it is another quality.

10, 9 Nor does any of them explain why some things are corruptible and some incorruptible; for they derive all things that subsist from the same principles. Moreover some derive entities from that which is non-existent; others, not to be compelled to do this, make all things Unity. And besides, no one explains why Generation always continues, or what is the

10, 10 cause of Generation. And for those who assume two principles it is necessary to make another principle predominant; and for those who assume the Forms, because another principle is predominant. And to others it is necessary to grant something contrary to Wisdom and to the Master Science. But to us this is not requisite; for nothing is contrary to the First

10, 11 Cause. For all contraries contain matter and are in latent power the same; and the contrary implies ignorance with respect to its contrary. But nothing is contrary to the First Cause. If there is nothing but sensible substances, there will not be beginning and order and generation and celestial bodies, but always the beginning of a beginning, as all the theologians

10, 12 and physical philosophers assume. And if we grant Forms and Numbers, yet these will be the causes of nothing, or at least not the causes of motion. And how could Magnitude and Continuousness come of things that have no magnitude? For Number cannot produce continued succession, either as a moving cause or as a form. Moreover nothing can be composed of contraries which is capable of operating, and of giving motion; for it is possible for a thing

so composed not to exist at all. And yet operation XI comes after latent power. It would follow then that 10, 13 Entities are not eternal. But it is shewn that there are eternal Entities. We must reject then some of their theories. Again, no one gives any explanation how Numbers can be one, or the Soul can be one, and the Body, in a word, the Forms and the Matter, unless he adopts our position, that the Author of Motion operates. But those who affirm that the 10, 14 mathematical number is the first element and so another substance perpetually succeeds, and other principles of each, form the substance of the Universe of many adventitious and independent parts, and assume many principles. But the Universe does not admit of bad government. The Rule of Many is no good thing. There must be One Ruler.

Since the enquiry is whether besides the sensible XII. 1, 2 substances there is a Substance motionless and eternal; and, if there is, what that Substance is, it is especially necessary to survey what has been said by others<sup>e</sup>. There are two opinions upon this subject. 1, 3 Some say that Mathematics are a substance, and again that Ideas are a substance. But since some 1, 4 reckon them to be two classes, namely, ideas and mathematical numbers, others assign one nature to both, and others affirm that mathematics alone are substances, we must first consider Mathematics alone; whether they exist as substances or not, and if they do, in what manner they exist. We next enquire separately concerning Ideas. After that enquiry we 1, 5 must examine whether the substances of the Universe are Numbers and Ideas; for this third enquiry remains next after the question concerning Ideas. If 1, 6 Mathematics exist, they must either be sensible substances (as some say that they are) or apart from sensible substances (as some also say). If in neither of these ways, they either do not exist, or they exist in another manner. They cannot be sensible sub- 2, 1 stances. A body is a kind of substance, it has some- 2, 15 thing as it were complete. But how are mathematical lines substances? They are not substances as being Form and Figure, as if the Soul had form and figure; nor as Matter, like a material body. For nothing can be composed of lines and surfaces and

<sup>e</sup> Schol. p. 289 Brandis = p. 698. 1—11 Alex. Aphrodis. comment. "In *lib.* 12 and *lib.* 13, which is the last book of the work, he surveys the opinions of the Pythagoreans and of *Plato* concerning Principles, enquiring with great acuteness whether and in what manner Mathematics exist; whether *Ideas* or

Forms of things exist, and whether they exist in Number; and thirdly whether Ideas and Numbers are the Principles of things. In *lib.* 12 he treats of the first two questions, and of the third in *lib.* 13."



XII. 2, 18 points. They are neither substances, nor does their existence precede the existence of sensible substances, nor can they be separated from the substance to which they are applied. Mathematical lines and surfaces and points either do not exist at all, or they exist in a certain sense; and on this account they do not simply exist; for Existence or Being is said in many senses. Concerning Forms or IDEAS we must first consider the notion of an Idea by itself, apart from Numbers<sup>f</sup>. *Heraclitus* first gave occasion to the doctrine concerning Forms, by teaching that all sensible substances were in a perpetual flux and motion. If then there were any science or Wisdom, it seemed that there must be some other Natures stable and fixed, besides the sensible substances; for that no science could contemplate things that passed away in a current. *Socrates* treated of Ethics, and first sought to define them universally. But *Socrates* did not make the universal definitions separable from their subjects; others made them separate and called these universal principles Ideas or Forms<sup>g</sup>. It will be well to consider again with respect to Numbers what happens to those who account them Substances separable and the causes of the things that exist. If Number is an Entity, some part of it must be first, and some part must follow; and each of these must differ in form.

9, 19 He considers this subject 6, 2—9, 16<sup>h</sup>.—Since some say that Ideas (or Forms) and Numbers are substances distinct from sensible substances, and that their elements are the elements and principles of Being, we must consider this question. Those who assume Mathematical Numbers alone shall be considered afterwards. We may now observe upon those who speak of Ideas or Forms. They assume Ideas universally to be Substances, and yet again assume

that they are separable from individuals; which is not possible. They connect these two things together because they held Ideas to be other than Sensible Substances. They supposed in sensible objects that each was in a state of flux and instability, but that there was something universal besides these and different in its mode of Being. There is a difficulty both to those who do affirm Ideas, and to those who do not.—He sets forth this difficulty

10, 2—7. All make Principles to be Opposites, not only in material substance, but in those substances which are not subject to motion. But if nothing can be prior to the First Principle of all things, it is impossible that a principle can be any thing else than the principle; for Opposites coalesce in some subject, and that subject precedes them in time<sup>i</sup>. Opposites have not an abstract and separate existence, but are contained in something. But *Plato* and *Pythagoras* make principles of opposites. *Plato* sets Unity against Inequality, *Pythagoras* opposes Unity to Multitude. According to *Plato* Number is produced from Inequality; according to *Pythagoras* from Multitude<sup>k</sup>. But what they call the elements of Number are not fitly set forth; for some of them call the Great and the Little combined with Unity the three elements of Number, the two former being the material and Unity the form; others make Many and Few the two elements (combined with Unity); others for Great and Small Many and Few substitute that which contains and that which is contained. Others of the Pythagoreans set Difference and Diversity against Unity, others Multitude against Unity. But if, as they hold, principles are composed of opposites, to Unity nothing can be opposed, or if any thing Unity is opposed by Multitude; not certainly by Inequality or by Difference. Multitude however is rather op-

<sup>f</sup> Syrianus ad XII. 4, 7 apud Schol. min. p. 299. 20 defends the *Ideas* of *Plato* against *Aristotle*. "The Platonists shew the existence of *Forms* in many ways, one of which they state thus: God upholds the Universe. God works by the fact itself of his existence. He who works by the fact itself of his existence makes a similitude of himself. He who upholds the Universe makes the world an image of himself. If so, he has within himself patterns of the Causes of things; and these patterns are *Ideas*. The Platonists have many other arguments; as, the Perfect precedes the Imperfect, Unity precedes Multitude. The Indivisible precedes that which is divisible. That which is always the same precedes that which is liable to change. They shew that things do not begin with what is worse but end in it, and begin with what is wholly perfect and excellent and beautiful. We are not to suppose that the thoughts of men are capable of embracing what is absolutely equal, and the like, and that the Mind of the Divine Architect has not in itself absolute Equality and absolute Justice and absolute Beauty

and Excellence."  
<sup>g</sup> XII. 4, 6—5, 7 repeated from *lib. I*, except the passage 4, 14—15.

<sup>h</sup> Schol. min. p. 322, 12 "Some begin the 13th book here." (that is, at 9, 18 p. 265 ed. Oxon. = p. 286, 17 ed. Brandis.)

Syrianus apud Schol. min. p. 324. 8 "Thus far (sc. XII. 10, 9. fin. ed. Oxon. p. 268 = p. 289. 15 ed. Brandis) (*Alexander*) ὁ Ἀφροδισεύς brings the 12th book. What follows he assigns to the 13th book." (sc. XIII. 1, 1 ed. Oxon.)

<sup>i</sup> *Alexander Aphrodis.* Comm. in *Metaphys.* p. 774, 7 thus states the argument: τοῦ ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ ὄντος ἔστι τι πρότερον, τὸ ὑποκειμενον αὐτῷ· τῆς τῶν ὄντων πάντων ἀρχῆς οὐκ ἔστι τι πρότερον· ἢ τῶν ὄντων ἕρα πάντων ἀρχῆ· οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ. \*Ἡ οὕτως· εἰ ἔστιν ἡ τῶν ὄντων πάντων ἀρχῆ ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ, ἔσται τι αὐτῆς πρότερον· ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐκ ἔστι τι πρῶτον αὐτῆς· οὐκ ἔρα ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ ἔστιν.

<sup>k</sup> *Alex. Aphrodis.* Comm. p. 775. 23—31 οἱ μὲν, ὥσπερ ὁ Πλάτων—οἱ δὲ περὶ Πυθαγόραν κ. τ. λ.

XIII.1,10 posed to Fewness than to Unity. One is a measure ; it is the measure of Magnitude, of Weight, of Quality, of Quantity. One is indivisible ; One has no independent existence, One measures the amount of any given quantity. Number signifies how many of these measures or monads are contained in that quantity. Wherefore One is not Number but only the measure by which Number is estimated. Many and Few, Great and Small are accidents of Number and Magnitude and are not qualities inherent in their substances. Moreover Great and Little and the like are relative properties. But qualities which exist only in relation to something else are not first principles or primary elements. It is absurd or rather impossible to call the thing which is relative to something else the material and element of substance ; for all the accidents of substance, as quality or quantity, come after substance, and relative proportion comes after these. Can things that are eternal be composed of elements ? We answer that things composed of elements have Matter<sup>1</sup>. Now the elements of which Numbers are composed exist in latent power only. But that which exists only in latent power may never be at all, and therefore is not eternal. Numbers therefore are not eternal, being composed of elements which may possibly never exist at all<sup>m</sup>.

He examines 2, 5—18 the dogma of *Parmenides*, ἐν τῷ ὄντι.

3, 1 Having remarked upon those who make Ideas real substances, and those Ideas Numbers, he proceeds :  
 3, 2 The Pythagoreans because they saw in sensible bodies many of the things that appertain to Numbers held that substances were numbers—these numbers  
 3, 3 not being separable from these substances. Those who admit mathematical numbers alone can say nothing of this kind. They can only say that if there is no mathematical number there will be no mathematical science. The Pythagoreans who make material bodies out of numbers, bodies that have weight and lightness out of elements that have neither weight nor lightness, seem to speak of other bodies  
 3, 4 than those which we perceive by our senses. Those who make number separable, because their specula-

tions do not refer to sensible bodies, hold that numbers exist and are separable, and in like manner form mathematical magnitudes. Some think that because 3, 6 a point is the limit of a line, a line of a surface, a surface of a solid, these are necessarily substances. But these are only boundaries, and boundaries are 3, 7 not substances. There is a limit to walking and to other motions, and this might as well be called a substance. We may also enquire whether it is not 3, 8 absurd that in number and in mathematics what precedes should have no influence upon what follows. But if no number is affirmed at all the mathematical magnitude will nevertheless follow. Those who assume *Ideas* do not perceive this, for they form magnitude out of matter and number ; but their ideal forms contribute nothing to the essences of things no more than do the mathematical figures. Those 3, 11 then mistake who in their love for ideas connect them thus with mathematics. Those who first assumed two sorts of numbers<sup>o</sup>, numbers combined with Forms and numbers combined with Mathematics, have not explained how and from whence the mathematical number comes ; which they place between the numbers combined with ideal forms and the numbers combined with sensible bodies,—between the ideal and the sensible number.

He sets forth 3, 12—14 the difficulties with which they are beset, and also 3, 15. 16 the difficulties of the Pythagoreans.

Inequality then precedes equality, which is produced from it. And yet if Ideal Numbers always had equality, they could not have been once unequal ; for that which has always been could have had nothing before it. The Ideal Forms then are not eternal. Are these elements, Great and Small and Unity, 4, 2 coexistent with Good and with Excellence, or do Good and Excellence follow after them ? Some to 4, 3 avoid the difficulty of assuming Good and Unity—Unity as they understand it—to be the same thing, hold that those qualities come afterwards. *Phere-* 4, 5 *cydes* however and the *Magi* and *Empedocles* and *Anaxagoras* make Good the principle and first element of all things ; and some of those who hold ideal

<sup>1</sup> Alexander Aphrod. p. 783. 3 expresses the argument in this syllogism : οἱ ἀριθμοὶ ἐκ στοιχείων· τὰ ἐκ στοιχείων σύνθετα· τὰ σύνθετα ἔλλην ἔχει· οἱ ἀριθμοὶ ἄρα ἔλλην ἔχουσι· τὰ δὲ ἔχοντα ἔλλην οὐκ ἀίδια· οἱ ἀριθμοὶ ἄρα οὐκ ἀίδιοι.

<sup>m</sup> Alexander Aphrodis. p. 783. 27 ἔστιν οὖν ἡ συναγωγή τοῦ λόγου τῆς αὐτῆς· οἱ εἰδητικοὶ ἀριθμοὶ σύνθετοὶ εἰσι· τὰ σύνθετα ἔλλην ἔχει· τὰ ἔλλην ἔχοντα δύνανται μὴ εἶναι· τὰ δυνάμενα μὴ

εἶναι οὐκ ἀίδια· οἱ ἀριθμοὶ ἄρα οὐκ ἀίδιοι.

<sup>n</sup> Conf. Alex. Aphrodis. Comm. in *Metaphys.* p. 784, 15 &c.

<sup>o</sup> Alexander Aphrod. p. 796. 6 οἱ δὲ πρῶτοι, φησὶν (αἰνιττεται δὲ τὸν Πλάτωνα), δύο ποιήσαντες τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς, τὸν τε εἰδητικὸν καὶ τὸν μαθηματικὸν, καὶ μεταξὺ τοῦ εἰδητικοῦ καὶ τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ τάξαντες τὸν μαθηματικὸν, οὔτε εἰρήκασιν οὔτε ἔχουσι ἄν εἰπεῖν πῶς καὶ ἐκ τίνος ἔσται ὁ μαθηματικὸς ἀριθμὸς.



XIII numbers as principles understand Unity and Good to 4, 7 be combined. And it would be strange indeed if Good did not appertain to the First Cause of all things the Eternal the Selfexistent, who is incorruptible only because he has this attribute of Good.

4, 8 But to call the First Cause, to which the attribute of Good belongs, Unity or an element and an element of number is impossible; for then all the monads which compose these numbers would also have that attribute, and if ideal forms were numbers, these also 4, 10 would have their attribute of Good<sup>p</sup>. Again, if Unity is Good, then the opposite principle, whether they call it Multitude or Inequality or Great and Small, would be the evil principle, and these ideal forms will be produced from Unity or Good and from the opposite to Unity, which will be Evil.

4, 11 Others call Inequality the principle of Evil. From which it would follow that all things would partake of Evil except Unity itself; and Numbers would partake of Evil still more even than Magnitudes. Evil would be the receptacle of Good and would seek and desire that which must destroy it; for opposites have 4, 12 a tendency to destroy opposites. These inconveniences follow, 1 because they make every principle an element, 2 because they make opposites to be principles, 3 because they reckon Unity a principle, 4 because they make numbers primary substances and separable and ideal forms<sup>q</sup>.

5, 1 It is plain then that they have not rightly delivered principles and primary substances. Nor is it just to compare the principles of the Universe with the origin of animals and plants because in these the perfect is produced from the indefinite and imperfect.

5, 2 For here the origin of the animal and plant is not the seed but the parent which produced the seeds<sup>r</sup>. A man produces a man. And it is also absurd to assign a place to solid bodies and to mathematics; for each body has its own place from which it is separable; but mathematical figures are no where 5, 3 and have no place. Those who assert that substances are from principles and that numbers are the first

substances should define how one thing proceeds XIII from another thing and then shew how number proceeds from its principles. Is it by mixture? But all things are not capable of mixture, and that which is produced by mixture is something else, but Unity will not be separable (as they would have it) nor become of another nature. Is it by composition, like 5, 4 syllables? But there must be position, and the mind will apprehend separately Unity and Multitude. Number then is either a Monad and Multitude or One and Inequality. Farther, since things are produced from another thing which remains inherent in them, or from something which does not remain, in which of these two ways is Number produced? Not in the first, for that mode of production is wrought by an artificer<sup>s</sup>. Do Numbers then spring from their 5, 5 principles in the second way, as from a seed? But that which is so produced comes from something else which remains. Since then some assume One as an opposite to inequality, Numbers will come from Opposites. There is something else then from which 5, 6 remaining and combined with one of these Opposites Number is produced.

But whence comes it then that other things produced from opposites or which encounter opposites are destroyed, but Number is not? that Unity and its opposite meet in the composition of Numbers, and yet that neither is destroyed by the other? Nor 5, 7 is it defined how Numbers are the causes of Substances and of Being; whether as limits (as points are the boundaries of lines); or how do Numbers 5, 8 produce the affections of bodies, whiteness, sweetness, warmth, and the like? It is manifest that numbers are not substances nor the causes of Form; for the proportion of each ingredient makes the substance, numbers are only the material, as, three parts of fire and two parts of earth compose the flesh or the bone<sup>t</sup>. For substance is compounded of so many 5, 9 parts mixed with so many parts, and the substance is not the numbers but the proportion of the numbers. The number then, whether taken as a monad

<sup>p</sup> Alex. Aphrodis. p. 801. 29 εἰ τὰ εἶδη ἀριθμοί, οἱ δὲ ἀριθμοὶ μονάδες, αὐτὰ δὲ ὑπερ ἀγαθόν, τὰ εἶδη ἄρα ὑπερ ἀγαθόν.

<sup>q</sup> Alex. Aphrodis. p. 802, 22 ποῖον δὲ ἔτοπον ἔπεται τῷ πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν στοιχείων ποιοῦντι; Τὸ πάντα εἶναι ἀγαθὰ, εἰ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ὡς στοιχείων ἀρχή. ἄλλο δὲ ἔπεται τὸ ἀκράτου μετέχειν τοῦ κακοῦ, ὅτι τὰς πρώτας οὐσίας εἰρήκασιν ἀριθμοὺς εἶναι. τέσσαρα οὖν ἔτοπα ἔπεται ταῖς τέσσαρσιν ὑποθέσεσιν, ἐν μὲν τὸ πάντα εἶναι ἀγαθὰ καὶ κακὰ πλὴν ἐνός, ἄλλο τὸ εἶναι τὸ κακὸν ἀρχὴν, ἄλλο τὸ εἶναι τὴν ἀρχὴν μὴ ἀγαθόν, τέταρτον τὸ μετέχειν τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς ἀκράτου τοῦ κακοῦ.

<sup>r</sup> See above, XI. 7, 10. 11.

<sup>s</sup> Thus explained by Alex. Aphrodis. p. 804. 9 κατὰ τίνα δὴ τούτων τῶν δύο τρόπων ὁ ἀριθμὸς συνθέσει τῇ τῶν στοιχείων γέγονε; τὸ μὲν οὖν ὡς ἐνυπαρχόντων τῶν στοιχείων ἐξ αὐτῶν γενήσθαι λέγειν τὸν ἀριθμὸν ψεῦδος· ταῦτα γὰρ οὕτω γίνεται ὧν ἐστὶ γένεσις, τουτέστιν ἅπερ τεχνητὰ ἐστὶ· γένεσις γὰρ οὐκ ἐκ τέχνης ἐκάλεισεν.

<sup>t</sup> Alex. Aphrodis. p. 806. 32 ἀποχρητὰ τοῖς Ἐμπεδοκλεῖ περὶ συστάσεως ὁστῶν ῥηθείσι.

XIII or as numbering the proportions of the ingredients employed, is not the efficient cause of the thing produced. It is neither the composing matter nor the form nor the end and purpose.

- 6, 1 We may well doubt how Good can be produced by numbers, because the mixture of the portions of  
6, 2 substance is made out of numbers even or odd. In mixture the proportions are by the addition of numbers, not by the multiplying of numbers, into them-  
6, 3 selves or into one another. But if all things must partake of Number, many things must turn out of the same class and various substances must come under the same number. Is this the cause of that  
6, 4 substance or is the cause obscure and unknown? If the same number is allotted to various things, those which fall under the same number would be the same

with one another. *Seven vowels, seven strings to the XIII. 6, 5 lyre, seven chiefs at Thebes, seven Pleiades.* Was the number *seven* the cause of all these being seven? But the good and bad numbers, as they reckon 6, 9 them<sup>u</sup>, and the mathematical numbers, which they make the causes of Nature, can be shewn in no sense to be the causes<sup>v</sup>. They shew indeed that Good is 6, 10, 11 inherent in certain analogies of numbers; but here the numbers do not precede or cause the things to which they are annexed. They are not the causes, but the accompaniments. At the same time we have the Four Seasons and the number four. Moreover 6, 12 the ideal numbers the abstract and independent monads are not the causes of Harmonies<sup>w</sup>.

These objections are incident to their theory, and 6, 13 still more might be collected against it.

<sup>u</sup> Alex. Aphrodis. p. 814. 9 δύο συστοιχίας—ἐποίησαν, τὴν μὲν τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ὅφ' ἦν ἑταπτον τὸ ἐν, τὸ φῶς, τὸ περιττὸν, τὰ ὅμοια, ἄλλην δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ, ὅφ' ἦν τὸ πλῆθος, τὸ ἕρτιον, τὰ ὅμοια.

<sup>v</sup> Alex. Aphrodis. p. 814. 16 οὔτε γὰρ ὡς ποιητικὰ οὔτε ὡς τελικὰ οὔτε ὡς ὕλικὰ ἢ εἰδικὰ αἰτία κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον εἶναι δύνανται τῶν φυσικῶν.

<sup>w</sup> Alex. Aphrodis. p. 815. 9 συλλογίζεται οὖν οὕτως· οἱ εἰδητικοὶ ἀριθμοὶ διαφόρους ἔχουσι μονάδας· οἱ συνιστάντες τὰς ἀρμονίας ἀριθμοὶ οὐκ ἔχουσι διαφόρους μονάδας· οὐκ ἔρα οἱ εἰδητικοὶ ἀριθμοὶ συνιστᾶσι τὰς ἀρμονίας· ὥστε εἰ τις αὐτοὺς διὰ τοῦτο εἶναι λέγει, ψευδῶς λέγει.

ACACIUS 280  
Adrantus 160  
Adrastus peripat. 41  
Adrianus 134  
Aedesius 257  
Aelianus sophista 178  
Aelianus tacticus 34  
Aeneas Gazæus 354  
Aenesidemus 172  
Aeschrius 105  
Agapetus sophista 240  
Agapius 357  
Agathemerus 193  
Agathias 386  
Agathinus medicus 19  
Agathobulus 91  
Agathocles peripat. 57  
Agrippa 48  
Alexander Ægæus 3  
—— Aphrodisiensis 173  
—— Cotyæensis 87  
—— Damascenus 143  
—— Platonius 92  
—— sophista 108  
—— sophista jun. 270  
—— Trallianus 361  
Alypius 251  
Amarantus Alexandr. 9  
Amelius 219  
Aminias rhetor 284

Ammonianus grammaticus 323  
Ammonius grammaticus 306  
—— Hermeæ 342  
—— peripateticus 217  
—— Plutarchi 18  
—— poeta 314  
—— Saccas 194  
Amphiclea 225  
Amyntianus 115  
Anatolius 236  
Anatolius pf.p. 254  
Andromachus medicus 12  
—— rhetor 234  
Andronicus poeta 299  
Annius Macer 92  
—— stoicus 210  
Anthemius 359  
Antiochus Ægæus 167  
—— sophista 107  
—— Laodic. scepticus 126  
Antipater medicus 74  
—— sophista 165  
Antoninus imp. 116  
Antonius Diogenes 302  
—— Rhodius 232  
Apion 5  
Apollodorus Pergamenus 43  
Apollonides medicus 74  
—— Nicæus 6  
Apollonius Atheniensis 155

Apollonius Dyscolus 84  
—— grammaticus 220  
Apollonii duo medici 139  
Apollonius Naucratis 154  
—— stoicus 96  
—— Tyaneus 22  
Appianus 124  
Apsines Gadareus 185  
—— Lacedæmon. 261  
Aquila 177  
Aquilinus 201  
Ardys rhetor 38  
Aristænetus orator 177  
Aristides 131  
Aristides Quintilianus 89  
Ariston Pellæus 397  
Ariston peripateticus 2  
Aristocles 98  
Arrianus 123  
Arrianus junior 229  
Artemidorus 127  
Artemidorus Capito 76  
Artemon Cassandrus 42  
Asclepiades Ægyptius 352  
Asclepiodotus 351  
Asclepius Trallianus 380  
Asinius Quadratus 226  
Aspasius peripateticus 56  
Aspasius Ravennas 180  
Asterius 328



Athenæus 162  
 ——— stoicus 214  
 Athenodorus 149  
 Atticus Platonius 113  
 Aurelius rhetor 182  
 Basilicus sophista 185  
 Basilides Scythopolitanus 110  
 ——— sophista 119  
 Beronicianus 292  
 Caius Platonius 55  
 Callaschrus 177  
 Callicrates Tyrius 238  
 Callinicus 241  
 Callisto poeta 287  
 Candidus Isaurus 340  
 Caninius Celer 92  
 Cassianus rhetor 181  
 Cephalion 64  
 Chæremon 4  
 Charax 244  
 Choricus 369  
 Chrestus 135  
 Christodorus 358  
 Chronicon Paschale 394  
 Chrysanthius 288  
 Chryseros 117  
 Claudianus 273  
 Claudius Maximus 93  
 Cornutus 398  
 Crescens 114  
 Crito medicus 30  
 Cronius 133  
 Damascius 372  
 Damianus 158  
 Damis 23  
 Damophilus 120  
 Demetrius cynicus 31  
 Democritus Platonius 203  
 Demonax 57  
 Dexippus Herennius 230  
 Dexippus philosophus 260  
 Diodotus astrologus 399  
 Diogenes Laertius 400  
 Diogenes Phoenix 377  
 Diogenianus 79  
 Dion Cassius 189  
 — Prusæus 26  
 Dionysius Alex. grammat. 24  
 ——— Halicarn. junior 63  
 ——— Milesius 51  
 ——— medicus 74  
 ——— periegeta 250  
 ——— tenuior 62  
 Diophanes 207  
 Diophantus 265  
 Dioscorides Anazarb. 11  
 Dioscorides junior medicus 75  
 ——— grammaticus 330

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 Diotimus 161  
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 ——— of Plotinus 225  
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 Dorion 52  
 Dorotheus Ascalonita 44  
 Dositheus magister 174  
 Ecdicius rhetor 356  
 Epagathus 262  
 Ephorus historicus 237  
 Epictetus 53  
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 Eubulus 401  
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 Eunapius 304  
 Euodius Smyrnæus 151  
 Euphrasius 259  
 Euphrates 25  
 Eusebius Alexandr. 269  
 ——— Car 275  
 ——— scholasticus 312  
 Eustathius Cappadox 286  
 ——— Syrus 345  
 Eustephius 328  
 Eustochius Cappadox 295  
 Eustochius Plotini 224  
 Euthydemus rhetor 8  
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 Galenus 146  
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 Genethlius sophista 243  
 Georgius Pisida 393  
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 ——— philosophus 54  
 ——— sophista 179  
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 ——— sophista 263  
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 ——— stoicus 212  
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 Hermogenes historicus 45  
 ——— Tarsensis 125  
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 Herodes Atticus 86  
 Herodianus Apollonii 121  
 ——— historicus 192  
 Herodotus medicus 27  
 ——— Tarsensis medicus 164  
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 Heron rhetor 321 note v.  
 Hesychius Milesius 366  
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 Himerius 284  
 Hippobotus 402  
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 Jacobus medicus 337  
 Iamblichus Babylon. 111  
 ——— philosophus 252  
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 Jason historicus 73  
 Joannes Epiphaniens. 387  
 ——— Lydus 364  
 ——— philoponus 381  
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 ——— Gazæus 378  
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 ——— mechanicus 362  
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 ——— medicus 144  
 ——— sophista 247  
 Justus Tiberiensis 49  
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 Lycus Macedo medicus 106  
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 Macedonius poeta 385  
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Malchus 339  
 Marcianus Heracleota 404  
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 ——— Procli 347  
 Maximus Ægiensis 405  
 ——— Byzantius 272  
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 Medius stoicus 211  
 Menander rhetor 388  
 ——— sophista 406  
 Menemachus medicus 74  
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 ——— philosophus 255  
 Milesius poeta 268  
 Minucianus 239  
 Mnaseas medicus 74  
 Moderatus Pythagoreus 15  
 Mœragenes 407  
 Musonius Longini 215  
 ——— Rufus 21  
 ——— sophista 256  
 ——— Tyrius 67  
 Nebo 190  
 Nemesius 307  
 Nestor poeta 191  
 Nestorianus chronogr. 341  
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 Nicetes Smyrnæus 33  
 Nicocles Laco 281  
 Nicolaus Lycius 329  
 Nicomachus historicus 228  
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 ——— historicus 228  
 Nomus 371  
 Nonnosus 382  
 Nonnus Panopolites 313  
 Numenius Pythagoreus 132  
 ——— rhetor 80  
 Numisianus medicus 102  
 Nymphidianus 274  
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 Olympiacus medicus 74  
 Olympiodorus historicus 317  
 ——— peripateticus 318  
 Olympius Alexandrinus 196  
 ——— Trallianus 359  
 Onasimus Spartanus 249  
 Onomarchus sophista 153  
 Onosander 408  
 Oppianus Apamensis 175  
 Oppianus Cilix 159

Oribasius medicus 278  
 Origenes Plotini 200  
 Orion grammaticus 320  
 Oriones varii 320  
 Palladas 311  
 Pamphila 14  
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 Pancrates poeta 99  
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 Parthenius grammaticus 24  
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 ——— silentarius 384  
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 ——— sophista 147  
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 Philager 129  
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 ——— Thessalonic. 69  
 Philiscus sophista 176  
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 ——— Judæus 10  
 Philostratus Lemnius 186  
 ——— Lemnius junior 187  
 Philostratus tertius 188  
 Phlegon Trallianus 82  
 Phœbion stoicus 209  
 Phenix sophista 157  
 Phrynichus 118  
 Pisander poeta 199  
 Plotinus 197  
 Plutarchus Chæronensis 32  
 ——— Nestorii 316  
 Polemo sophista 68  
 Pollux 136  
 Polyænus 138  
 Porphyrius 235  
 Praxagoras historicus 296  
 Priscianus Lydus 375  
 Priscus sophista 290  
 ——— Thrax 338  
 Proæresius 253  
 Probus Porphyrii 231  
 Proclinus Platonius 204  
 Proclus diadochus 334  
 ——— grammaticus 163  
 ——— medicus 74  
 ——— sophista 156  
 Procopius Cæsar. 370  
 ——— Gazæus 367  
 Ptolemæus Ascalonita 409  
 ——— Chennus 35  
 ——— Claudius 109  
 ——— peripateticus 218  
 ——— rhetor 150

Quintus medicus 39  
 Quirinus sophista 171  
 Rufus Ephesius 29  
 ——— Perinthius sophista 152  
 Rusticus stoicus 94  
 Sabinus medicus 40  
 Sallustius 336  
 Saturninus scepticus 183  
 Satyrus medicus 101  
 Scopelianus sophista 46  
 Secundus 78  
 Serapion Alexandrinus 70  
 ——— Plotini 225  
 ——— rhetor 190  
 Severianus 357  
 Sextus empiricus 172  
 ——— philosophus 95  
 Simplicius 373  
 Sopater Apamensis 293  
 Sopolis 267  
 Soranus Ephesius medicus 74  
 Sospis philosophus 177  
 Soterichus Oasites 242  
 Stephanus mathematicus 392  
 Stilio 190  
 Stobæus 332  
 Strato Sardinus 81  
 Stratonius medicus 104  
 Superianus 327  
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 Taurus Berytius 66  
 Telephus grammaticus 72  
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 Themistocles stoicus 208  
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 ——— sophista 97  
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Zenobius 36  
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 — medicus 276  
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Zethus Plotini 225  
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 — Gazaus 344  
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VIII.

ECCLESIASTICAL AUTHORS.

HAVING described in the preceding Chapter the Secular Greek Authors, I proceed in like manner to exhibit in order of time the Ecclesiastical Authors, both Greek and Roman, who belong to this work. After the description of the Authors themselves, some abstracts of particular works shall be given, and some testimonies shall be produced, to shew the opinions that were held upon many points in those first ages of the Christian Church.

In the account which will be given of the early heretics it is not proposed to enter into a minute enquiry into all their dogmas, but only to assign them a place in the Chronological Series, and to collect some testimonies to these authors themselves and their opinions from writers either contemporary or near their time.<sup>a</sup>

The early heretics are distributed by Theodoret Hær. tom. 4 p. 281 into two classes: τὸ μὲν πρῶτον βιβλίον τῶν μύθων ἐκείνων τὴν διήγησιν δέξεται ὧν οἱ πατέρες δημιουργὸν μὲν ἀνέπλασαν ἕτερον τὴν δὲ μίαν τῶν ὄλων ἀρνηθέντες ἀρχὴν ἀρχὰς ἑτέρας οὐκ οὔσας ὑπέθεντο, δοκῆσει δὲ φανῆναι τὸν κύριον εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἔφασαν. τούτων δὲ τῶν δογμάτων πρῶτος μὲν εὐρετῆς Σίμων ὁ μάγος ὁ Σαμαρείτης, ἔσχατος δὲ Μάνης ὁ γῆς ὁ Πέρσης. τὸ δὲ δεύτερον (βιβλίον) τοὺς τὰναντία τούτοις ἐπιδείξει τεθηρσκευκώτας· οἱ μίαν μὲν ἀρχὴν εἶναι τῶν ὄλων συνωμολόγησαν ψιλὸν δὲ ἄνθρωπον τὸν κύριον προσηγόρευσαν. ταύτης δὲ τῆς αἵρέσεως ἦρξε μὲν Ἐβίων [N° 5] μέχρι δὲ Μαρκέλλου [N° 115] καὶ Φωτεινοῦ [N° 147] τὰς διαφόρους ἐπινοίας ἐδέξατο. Idem Dialog. II tom. 4 p. 79 Σίμων καὶ Μένανδρος καὶ Μαρκίον καὶ Βαλεντίνος καὶ Βασιλείδης καὶ Βαρδισάνης καὶ Κέρδων [N° 16] καὶ Μάνης [N° 97] ἠρνήθησαν ἄντικρυς τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Ἀρτέμων δὲ καὶ Θεόδοτος καὶ Σαβέλλιος [N° 91] καὶ Παῦλος ὁ Σαμοσατεὺς [N° 92] καὶ

<sup>a</sup> Tertullian is an early writer upon this subject. Theodoret hær. fab. tom. 4 p. 282 describes his own authorities: τοὺς τῶν παλαιῶν αἵρέσεων μύθους ἐκ τῶν παλαιῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας διδασκάλων συνέλεξα, Ἰουστίνου τοῦ φιλοσόφου καὶ μάρτυρος [N° 30], καὶ Εἰρηναίου [N° 51]—καὶ Κλήμεντος ὁς ἐπικλῆν Στρωματεὺς προσηγόρευται [N° 54], καὶ Ὠριγένους [N° 71], καὶ Εὐσεβίου τοῦ τε Παλαιστίνου [N° 117] καὶ τοῦ Φοίνικος [N° 128], καὶ Ἀδαμαντίου, καὶ Ῥόδωνος [N° 53], καὶ Τίτου [N° 141], καὶ Διοδώρου [N° 162], καὶ Γεωργίου, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ κατὰ τοῦ ψεύδους τὰς γλώττας καθώπλισαν. Again hær. fab. I. 25 against *Marcion* and his followers: πλείστοι κατὰ τῆσδε τῆς ἀσεβείας συνέγραψαν. καὶ γὰρ Ἰουστίνος ὁ φιλόσοφος καὶ μάρτυς, καὶ Θεόφιλος ὁ τῆς Ἀντιοχείων ἐπίσκοπος [N° 34], καὶ Φίλιππος ὁ Γορτύνης ἐπίσκοπος [N° 39], καὶ Εἰρηναῖος οὐ καὶ πρόσθεν ἐμνήσθημεν ἐπίσκοπος Λουγδοῦνου, καὶ Μόδεστος [N° 41] καὶ Ὠριγένης καὶ Ῥόδων καὶ Ἀδαμάντιος καὶ Ἰππολύτος [N° 70] καὶ ὁ Ἐμμεσηνὸς Εὐσέβιος. Again I. 26 tom. 4 p. 322 κατὰ τῆς

τοῦ Μάνεντος δυσσεβείας συνέγραψαν—Τίτος καὶ Διόδωρος, ὁ μὲν τὴν Βοσθηρῶν ἐκκλησίαν ποιμένας ὁ δὲ τὴν Κιλικίων ἰθύνας μητρόπολιν. συνέγραψε δὲ καὶ ὁ Λαοδικεὺς Γεώργιος, ἀνὴρ τῆς μὲν Ἀρείου προστατεῶν αἵρέσεως τοῖς δὲ φιλοσόφοις ἐντεθραμμένους μαθήμασι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ ὁ Φοίνιξ Εὐσέβιος οὐ καὶ πρόσθεν ἐμνήσθημεν. On *Georgius of Laodicea* see Theodoret. H. E. II. 6 tom. 3 p. 842 II. 27 p. 909 Phot. Cod. 85. Athanas. Apolog. de fuga tom. 1 p. 701 B ἀκούω Λεόντιον—καὶ Γεώργιον τὸν νῦν ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς Ἀρειανούς πολλὰ περὶ ἐμοῦ θρυλλοῦντας. p. 718 D ὁ δὲ Γεώργιος καὶ πρεσβύτερος μὲν ὧν διὰ τὴν κακίαν αὐτοῦ καθηρέθη, καὶ ὀνομάσας δὲ ἐαυτὸν ἐπίσκοπον οὐδὲν ἤττον πάλιν κυθηρέθη ἐν τῇ κατὰ Σαρδικὴν μεγάλῃ συνόδῳ [A. D. 347]. He mentions again Γεώργιον τὸν ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ ad monachos tom. 1 p. 820 A. Philostorgius VIII. 17 Γεώργιος δὲ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς μὲν τὸ γένος καὶ τῶν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας ὀρωμένων τῆς δὲ κατὰ Συρίαν Λαοδικείας ἐπιστατῶν.

Μάρκελλος καὶ Φωτεινὸς εἰς τὴν ἐναντίαν ἐκ διαμέτρου βλασφημίαν κατέπεσον, ἄνθρωπον γὰρ μόνον κηρύττουσι τὸν Χριστὸν, τὴν δὲ πρὸ τῶν αἰῶνων ὑπαρχούσαν ἀρνοῦνται θεότητα.

A general sketch is presented in the following testimonies: Justin Martyr dial. cum Tryphone c. 35 εἰσὶν αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν τινες καλούμενοι Μαρκιανοὶ οἱ δὲ Οὐαλεντιανοὶ οἱ δὲ Βασιλειδιανοὶ οἱ δὲ Σατορυλιανοὶ, καὶ ἄλλοι ἄλλῳ ὀνόματι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχηγέτου τῆς γνώμης ἕκαστος ὀνομαζόμενος. Hegesippus apud Eusebium H. E. IV. 22 referred to in the Tables A. D. 173 p. 169 Σίμων ὅθεν οἱ Σιμωνιανοί. —Μετανδριανισταὶ καὶ Μαρκιωνισταὶ καὶ Καρποκρατιανοὶ καὶ Οὐαλεντιανοὶ καὶ Βασιλειδιανοὶ καὶ Σατορυλιανοὶ, ἕκαστος ἰδίως καὶ ἐτέρως ἰδίαν δόξαν παρεισήγαγον. ἀπὸ τούτων ψευδόχριστοι, ψευδοπροφήται, ψευδαπόστολοι, οἵτινες ἐμέρισαν τὴν ἔνωσιν τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Athanasius contra Arianos tom. 1 p. 308 D οἱ δὲ ἀκολουθήσαντες Μαρκίῳ οὐκέτι μὲν Χριστιανοὶ Μαρκιωνιανοὶ δὲ λοιπὸν ἐκλήθησαν. οὕτω καὶ Οὐαλεντίνος καὶ Βασιλείδης καὶ Μανιχαῖος καὶ Σίμων ὁ μάγος τοῖς ἀκολουθήσασι μεταδεδώκασι τοῦ ἰδίου ὀνόματος, καὶ οἱ μὲν Οὐαλεντιανοὶ κ. τ. λ. Greg. Naz. Or. 25 p. 460 A ἦν ὅτε γαλήνην εἴχομεν ἀπὸ τῶν αἰρέσεων, ἦν ἴκα Σίμωνες μὲν καὶ Μαρκίῳ Οὐαλεντῖνός τε τινες καὶ Βασιλεῖδαι καὶ Κέρδωνες Κήρυθοί τε καὶ Καρποκράταις, καὶ πᾶσα ἡ περὶ ἐκείνους φλυαρία τε καὶ τερατεία ἐπὶ πλείστον τὸν τῶν ὄλων Θεὸν τεμνόντες—ἔπειτα κατεπόθησαν τῷ ἑαυτῶν βυθῷ, καὶ τῇ σιγῇ παραδοθέντες ὥσπερ ἦν ἄξιον. Μοντανὸς δὲ [N<sup>o</sup> 27] τὸ πονηρὸν πνεῦμα, καὶ τὸ Μανουῦ σκότος, καὶ ἡ Ναυάτου θρασύτης ἢ καθαρότης, Σαβελλίον τε ἢ κακὴ συνηγορία τῆς μοναρχίας εἴξε καὶ ὑπεχώρησεν. The two classes of heretics—οἱ ἀναίροῦντες αὐτοῦ [*Christi*] τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα καὶ μόνην αὐτοῦ τὴν θεότητα παραδεξάμενοι, οἳ τε τοῦτοι ἐναντιοὶ καὶ τὴν θεότητα αὐτοῦ περιγράψαντες τὸν δὲ ἄνθρωπον ὡς ἄγιον καὶ δικαιοτάτον πάντων ἀνθρώπων ὁμολογήσαντες,—are noticed by Origen Comm. in Joannem tom. X Vol. 1 p. 283.

All these were heretics in one sense, as presenting false views of the Christian doctrine. But the founders of Gnosticism in its various forms may be more justly considered as philosophers, or rather sophists, who adapted the Law and the Gospel to Heathen systems. They had the wild inventions of the Egyptians the Indians the Chaldæans; they had the Two Principles of the Persians; they had the mythology of Greece; they had the philosophy of *Plato* and *Pythagoras* and other Grecian masters. Out of these elements, combined with the Hebrew Scriptures and with Christianity, they produced their systems.

- 1 CLEMENS Romanus A. D. 70
- 2 Simon Magnus A. D. 35—65
- 3 Nicolaus
- 4 Cerinthus
- 5 Ebion
- 6 Menander
- 7 Ignatius A. D. 90—115
- 8 Polycarpus A. D. 100—166
- 9 Papias A. D. 100
- 10 Quadratus A. D. 125
- 11 Aristides A. D. 125
- 12 Saturninus cir. A. D. 110—134
- 13 Carpocrates
- 14 Basilides A. D. 134
- 15 Valentinus A. D. 140—144
- 16 Cerdon A. D. 140
- 17 Marcion A. D. 150
- 18 Isidorus Basilidis filius
- 19 Epiphanes Carpocratis filius
- 20 Prodicus
- 21 Secundus
- 22 Ptolemæus
- 23 Heracleon
- 24 Alexander

Valentini discipuli

- 25 Marcus
- 26 Lucanus } Marcionis discipuli
- Apelles }
- 27 Montanus A. D. 171. 173—212
- 28 Agrippa Castor A. D. 135
- 29 Hermas A. D. 136
- 30 Justinus Martyr A. D. 151
- 31 Hegesippus A. D. 152—173
- 32 Athenagoras A. D. 168
- 33 Melito A. D. 172
- 34 Theophilus Antiochenus A. D. 171—181
- 35 Apollinarius Hierapolitanus A. D. 172—174
- 36 Dionysius Corinthius A. D. 173
- 37 Pinytus A. D. 173
- 38 Tatianus A. D. 173
- 39 Philippus A. D. 183
- 40 Musanus A. D. 183
- 41 Modestus A. D. 183
- 42 Julius Cassianus A. D. cir. 174—190
- 43 Bardesanes A. D. 173
- 44 Praxeas
- 45 Theodotus coriarius
- 46 Victor Romanus A. D. 189—197
- 47 Theodotus τραπεζίτης



- 48 Artemon  
 49 Florinus  
 50 Hermogenes  
 51 Irenæus A. D. 177. 183—197  
 52 Pantænus A. D. 180—194  
 53 Rhodon A. D. 196  
 54 Clemens Alexandrinus A. D. 189—205  
 55 Miltiades A. D. 184  
 56 Apollonius A. D. 212  
 57 Serapion Antiochenus A. D. 190—203  
 58 Theophilus Cæsareæ }  
 59 Bacchylus Corinthius } A. D. 190—197  
 60 Polycrates Ephesus }  
 61 Demetrius Alexandrinus A. D. 190—233  
 62 Heraclitus A. D. 195  
 63 Maximus *περὶ ὕλης*  
 64 Candidus }  
 65 Apion } A. D. 195  
 66 Sextus }  
 67 Arabianus }  
 68 Judas A. D. 202  
 69 Tertullianus A. D. 190—214  
 70 Hippolytus A. D. 190—227  
 71 Origenes A. D. 210—253  
 72 Ammonius  
 73 Ambrosius A. D. 235—246  
 74 Noetus  
 75 Heraclas Alexandrinus A. D. 233  
 76 Tryphon Origenis discipulus A. D. 254—261  
 77 Minucius Felix  
 78 Caius A. D. 210  
 79 Beryllus Bosrenus A. D. 210—227  
 80 Alexander Hierosolym. A. D. 214—250  
 81 Julius Africanus A. D. 221. 222  
 82 Geminus Antiochenus A. D. 227  
 83 Theoctistus Cæsareæ A. D. 231—261  
 84 Gregorius Thaumaturgus A. D. 239—265  
 85 Cornelius Romanus A. D. 251. 252  
 86 Cyprianus A. D. 246—258  
 87 Pontius diaconus A. D. 259  
 88 Firmilianus A. D. 231—268  
 89 Dionysius Alexandrinus A. D. 249—265  
 90 Novatianus A. D. 251  
 91 Sabellius A. D. 270  
 92 Paulus Samosatenus A. D. 262—270  
 93 Malchion A. D. 269  
 94 Eusebius Laodicensis A. D. 273—279  
 95 Anatolius A. D. 279  
 96 Theotecnus Cæsareæ A. D. 261—284  
 97 Manes A. D. 241—273  
 98 Archelaus A. D. 278  
 99 Victorinus Petavionensis  
 100 Pierius }  
 101 Achillas } A. D. 283  
 102 Theognostus A. D. 285  
 103 Meletius Ponti episcopus A. D. 283  
 104 Pamphilus A. D. 284—309  
 105 Lucianus  
 106 Phileas  
 107 Arnobius A. D. 284—296  
 108 Lactantius A. D. 290—317  
 109 Antonius monachus A. D. 252—357  
 110 Methodius A. D. 300—312  
 111 Rhæticus A. D. 313  
 112 Cæcilianus A. D. 313  
 113 Donatus Casarum Nigrarum ep. A. D. 313  
     Donatus Carthag. A. D. 328—355  
 114 Arius A. D. 315—336  
 115 Marcellus A. D. 314—373  
 116 Eusebius Nicomediæ A. D. 325—341  
 117 Eusebius Cæsareæ A. D. 308—340  
 118 Eustathius presbyter CP. A. D. 336  
 119 Jacobus Nisibenus A. D. 338—350  
 120 Eustathius Antiochenus A. D. 324  
 121 Juvencus A. D. 329  
 122 Maximinus A. D. 343  
 123 Athanasius A. D. 326—373  
 124 Firmicus Maternus A. D. 343  
 125 Basilius Ancyranus A. D. 336—363  
 126 Audeus A. D. 341  
 127 Theodorus Heracleota A. D. 341  
 128 Eusebius Emesenus A. D. 347  
 129 Triphylus A. D. 346  
 130 Asterius A. D. 336  
 131 Acacius Cæsareæ A. D. 340—360  
 132 Serapion Thmuis A. D. 348—355  
 133 Dionysius Mediolanens. A. D. 355  
 134 Hilarius diaconus A. D. 355  
 135 Aetius A. D. 353—366  
 136 Aerius  
 137 Lucifer A. D. 355—370  
 138 Eusebius Vercellensis A. D. 355—370  
 139 Victorinus rhetor A. D. 354  
 140 Fortunatianus A. D. 357  
 141 Titus Bostrenus A. D. 348—363  
 142 Hilarius episcopus A. D. 356—367  
 143 Damasus Romanus A. D. 366—384  
 144 Apollinarius Laodicensis A. D. 366—380  
 145 Gregorius Bæticus A. D. 361—392  
 146 Pacianus Barcelonensis  
 147 Photinus A. D. 342—376  
 148 Phœbadius A. D. 358—392  
 149 Didymus Alexandrin. A. D. 350—395  
 150 Optatus Afer A. D. 371  
 151 Macedonius A. D. 352—360  
 152 Rogatus A. D. 361  
 153 Aquillius Severus A. D. 371  
 154 Cyrillus Hierosolym. A. D. 348—388  
 155 Agelius episc. Novatian. A. D. 345—384  
 156 Ephrem Syrus A. D. 350—373  
 157 Euzoius Cæsareæ A. D. 367—381  
 158 Basilius Cæsareæ A. D. 355—379  
 159 Gregorius Nazianzenus A. D. 355—390  
 160 Sabinus Macedonianus  
 161 Lucius A. D. 372  
 162 Diodorus Tarsensis A. D. 378—381

- 163 Epiphanius A. D. 367—403  
 164 Philastrius Bresciæ A. D. cir. 380—387  
 165 Optimus Pisida A. D. 375  
 166 Ennomius Cyzicenus A. D. 360—392  
     Theophronius Eunomianus A. D. 392  
 167 Priscillianus A. D. 379—385  
 168 Latronianus A. D. 385  
 169 Tiberianus Bæticus A. D. 385  
 170 Idacius Hispanus A. D. 380—389  
 171 Martinus Turonensis A. D. 371—397  
 172 Ambrosius Mediolanens. A. D. 375—397  
 173 Maximus A. D. 379—381  
 174 Evagrius Antiochenus A. D. 389—392  
 175 Ambrosius Alexandrinus A. D. 391  
 176 Gregorius Nyssenus A. D. 370—394  
 177 Theotimus A. D. 392—402  
 178 Dexter A. D. 392  
 179 Gaudentius Bresciæ cir. A. D. 387  
 180 Amphilocheus Iconiens. A. D. 375—394  
 181 Sophronius A. D. 393  
 182 Macarius Ægyptius Monachus  
     Macarius Alexandrinus  
 183 Evagrius Macarii discipulus  
 184 Prudentius  
 185 Commodianus  
 186 Faustinus A. D. 382  
 187 Helvidius A. D. 382  
 188 Jovinianus A. D. 393  
 189 Rufinus A. D. 371—410  
 190 Asterius Amasenus A. D. 400  
 191 Dorotheus Arianus A. D. 376—407  
 192 Jo. Chrysostomus A. D. 381—407  
     Auctor dialogi de vita Chrysostomi A. D. 408  
 193 Gelasius Cæsareæ A. D. 381—394  
 194 Tichonius A. D. 391  
 195 Sulpicius Severus A. D. 400  
 196 Severianus A. D. 397—401  
 197 Olympius  
 198 Isaac  
 199 Theophilus Alexandrinus A. D. 385—412  
 200 Joannes Hierosolym. A. D. 388—416  
 201 Annianus } A. D. 412  
 202 Panodorus }  
 203 Vigilantius ante A. D. 402  
 204 Hieronymus A. D. 363—430  
 205 Augustinus A. D. 386—430  
 206 Anonymus de morte Pauli A. D. 396  
 207 Palladius A. D. 420  
 208 Atticus CP. A. D. 406—425  
 209 Orosius juvenis A. D. 415  
 210 Pelagius A. D. 410  
 211 Celestius A. D. 409—418  
 212 Julianus Capuanus A. D. 413—439  
 213 Patricius A. D. 430  
 214 Maximus Taurinensis  
 215 Avitus presbyter  
 216 Paulinus Nolanus A. D. 393—431  
 217 Evagrius A. D. 423  
 218 Chrysanthus Novatianus A. D. 407—419  
 219 Theodorus Mopsuestæ A. D. 394—429  
 220 Marius Mercator A. D. 429  
 221 Nestorius A. D. 428—439  
 222 Hesychius presbyter A. D. 414—433  
 223 Nilus Chrysostomi discipulus  
 224 Theodorus Ancyranus A. D. 431  
 225 Cyrillus Alexandrinus A. D. 412—444  
 226 Philippus Sidetes A. D. 426  
 227 Leporius cir. A. D. 420  
 228 Philostorgius A. D. 388—425  
 229 Synesius A. D. 398—(420)  
 230 Isidorus Pelusiota A. D. 431  
 231 Victorinus Massiliensis  
 232 Cassianus A. D. 401—433  
 233 Socrates A. D. 400—439  
 234 Sozomenus A. D. 439  
 235 Philippus presbyter A. D. 420—456  
 236 Petronius Bononiensis A. D. 432  
 237 Eucherius A. D. 432—449  
 238 Vincentius Lirinensis A. D. 434  
 239 Syagrius  
 240 Dracontius A. D. 425  
 241 Hilarius Arelatensis A. D. 439—449  
 242 Theodoretus Cyri A. D. 423—(457)  
 243 Eutherius A. D. 431  
 244 Leo Romanus A. D. 440—461  
 245 Proterius Alexandrinus A. D. 451—457  
 246 Salvianus A. D. 440—493  
 247 Eutyches A. D. 447  
 248 Victor Africanus  
 249 Cerealis Afer A. D. 428  
 250 Possidens A. D. 430  
 251 Arnobius junior  
 252 Musæus ob. cir. A. D. 458  
 253 Basilius Seleuciæ A. D. 448—458  
 254 Claudianus Viennensis  
 255 Cæcilius Sedulius A. D. 425—450  
 256 Prosper Aquitanus A. D. 428—463  
 257 Victorius Aquitanus A. D. 457  
 258 Gennadius CP. A. D. 458—471  
 259 Isaac Antiochenus A. D. 440—460  
 260 Sabas natus A. D. 439 ob. A. D. 532  
 261 Samuel Edessenus A. D. 467  
 262 Vincentius presbyter  
 263 Idatius Lemicanus A. D. 464  
 264 Faustus A. D. 475  
 265 Gelasius Cyzicenus A. D. 475  
 266 Sidonius Apollinaris A. D. 456—482  
 267 Euthalius A. D. 458—490  
 268 Theodulus A. D. 478—491  
 269 Victor Vitensis A. D. 488  
 270 Joannes Antiochenus  
 271 Eugenius A. D. 476—505  
 272 Gelasius Romanus A. D. 492—496  
 273 Pomerius  
 274 Gennadius A. D. 493  
 275 Basilius Cilix A. D. 500—520



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| 276 Cæsarius A. D. 506—524                  | 305 Theodosius                             |
| 277 Ennodius A. D. 510                      | 306 Themistius                             |
| 278 Alcimius Avitus A. D. 496—517           | 307 Gregorius Turonensis A. D. 573—595     |
| 279 Fulgentius Ruspensis A. D. 508—532      | 308 Eustratius CP. presbyter A. D. 582     |
| 280 Theodorus anagnostes A. D. 528          | 309 Joannes Bicular. A. D. 569—590         |
| 281 Fulgentius Ferrandus A. D. 530—546      | 310 Eulogius Alexandrinus A. D. 580—607    |
| 282 Aprigius A. D. 531                      | 311 Columbanus A. D. 565—597               |
| 283 Cyrillus Scythopolitanus A. D. 532—555  | 312 Licinianus A. D. 583—600               |
| 284 Justinianus Hispanus } A. D. 534        | 313 Severus A. D. 583—600                  |
| 285 Justus Hispanus } A. D. 534             | 314 Leander Hispalensis A. D. 583—597      |
| 286 Cosmas Indopleustes A. D. 523—548       | 315 Columbanus Luxoviensis A. D. 570—614   |
| 287 Aurelianus Arelatensis A. D. 546        | 316 Gregorius Romanus A. D. 590—604        |
| 288 Julianus Halicarnassensis A. D. 539     | 317 Evagrius scholasticus A. D. 593        |
| 289 Benedictus Cassinensis A. D. 528—543    | 318 Maximus Cæsar-Augustanus A. D. 599—615 |
| 290 Theodorus Cæsareæ A. D. 538—553         | 319 Leontius A. D. 610—617                 |
| 291 Zacharias rhetor A. D. 547              | 320 Isidorus Hispalensis A. D. 586—636     |
| 292 Primasius Adramytenus A. D. 550         | 321 Maximus monachus A. D. 612—662         |
| 293 Liberatus A. D. 534—555                 | 322 Ildefonsus A. D. 685                   |
| 294 Agapetus diaconus A. D. 527             |  |
| 295 Facundus A. D. 545                      | 323 Alexander Lycopolitanus                |
| 296 Rusticus diaconus Romanus A. D. 540—555 | 324 Andreas Cæsareæ                        |
| 297 Junilius A. D. 540—550                  | 325 Andreas Cretensis                      |
| 298 Martinus Hispanus A. D. 561             | 326 Arethas Cæsareæ A. D. 914              |
| 299 Victor Tununensis A. D. 556—566         | 327 Beda A. D. 703—735                     |
| 300 Agnellus Ravennas A. D. 556—569         | 328 Hermias                                |
| 301 Joannes scholasticus A. D. 565—577      | 329 Joannes Damascenus A. D. 730—755       |
| 302 Venantius Fortunatus A. D. 570          | 330 Isidorus Pacensis A. D. 754            |
| 303 Conon                                   | 331 Nicephorus Callisti A. D. 1310         |
| 304 Eugenius                                | 332 Oecumenius                             |

- 1 *Clemens Romanus*. Although he was later in time than *Simon Magus*, yet we place him first, that the succession in the Roman church may be touched upon before an account is given of the early heretics. Hieron. Catal. c. 15 *Clemens, de quo Apostolus Paulus ad Philippenses*<sup>a</sup> [IV. 3],—*quartus post Petrum Romanus episcopus; siquidem II Linus, III Anacletus* [Eusebius H. E. III. 4. 15 and Irenæus apud Eusebium V. 6 agree. The fourth including *Peter* himself], *tametsi plerique Latinorum secundum post Petrum apostolum putent fuisse Clementem. Scripsit ex persona Romanæ ecclesiæ ad ecclesiam Corinthiorum valde utilem epistolam quæ et in nonnullis locis etiam publice legitur; quæ mihi videtur characteri epistolæ quæ sub Pauli nomine ad Hebræos fertur convenire.* Conf. Eusebium H. E. III. 16. 38. Tertullianus Præser. Hær. c. 32 p. 40 *Romanorum (ecclesiæ) Clementem a Petro ordinatum exhibet.* Hieronymus adds *Obiit tertio Trajani anno* [A. D. 100]. From Eusebius H. E. III. 34 *ἔτει τρίτῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς Κλήμης Ἐλαρέστῳ παραδοὺς τὴν λειτουργίαν ἀναλύει τὸν βίον, τὰ πάντα προστάς ἔτη ἑννέα.*
- 2 *Simon magus*. Fl. cir. A. D. 35—65: Tables p. 121. 123. Justin Martyr Apol. I. 26 *Σίμωνα μὲν τινα Σαμαρέα τὸν ἀπὸ κόμης λεγομένης Γιττῶν, ὃς ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος διὰ τῆς τῶν ἐνεργούντων δαιμόνων τέχνης δυνάμεις ποιήσας μαγικὰς ἐν τῇ πόλει ὑμῶν βασιλίδι Ῥώμῃ θεὸς ἐνομίσθη, καὶ ἀνδριάντι παρ' ὑμῶν ὡς θεὸς τετίμηται· ὃς ἀνδρὶὰς ἀνεγίγχεται ἐν τῷ Τίβερι ποταμῷ μεταξύ τῶν δύο γεφυρῶν, ἔχων ἐπιγραφὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ταύτην<sup>b</sup> “ Σίμωνι δέω σάγκτω.” καὶ σχεδὸν*

<sup>a</sup> But the silence of Irenæus makes this doubtful. See Jacobson Patr. Apostol. tom. I p. IX.

<sup>b</sup> An error of Justin, who mistook a Sabine deity for *Simon Magus*. An error in which he has been

followed by Eusebius and others. See Valesius and Heinechen ad Euseb. H. E. II. 13 and Pagi tom. I A. D. 42 p. 36. Upon *Simon Magus* see Origen Cels. V. 62 tom. 19 p. 285, VI. 11 tom. 19 p. 319.

πάντες μὲν Σαμαρεῖς ὀλίγοι δὲ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις ἔθνεσιν ὡς τὸν πρῶτον θεὸν ἐκείνον ὁμολογοῦντες προσκυνούσι· καὶ Ἑλένην τινὰ τὴν συμπερινοστήσασαν αὐτῷ κατ' ἐκεῖνο τοῦ καιροῦ, πρότερον ἐπὶ τέγους σταθείσαν, τὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐννοῶσαν πρῶτην γενομένην λέγουσι. Conf. Eusebium H. E. II. 13 Justinum Mart. Apol. I. 56. Idem Apol. II. 15 τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἔμφῳ ἔθνει ἄσεβοῦς καὶ πλάνου Σιμωνιανοῦ διδάγματος κατεφρόνησα. Dial. cum Tryphone c. 120 ἐγγράφως Καίσαρι προσομιλῶν εἶπον πλανᾶσθαι αὐτοὺς πειθομένους τῷ ἐν τῷ γένει αὐτῶν μάγῳ Σίμωνι, ὃν θεὸν ὑπεράνω πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας καὶ δυνάμεως εἶναι λέγουσι<sup>c</sup>.

- 3 *Nicolaus*. Tertullian. præser. hæc. c. 46 p. 62 *Alter hæreticus Nicolaus emersit. hic de septem diaconis qui in Actis Apostolorum allecti sunt fuit. Hic dicit tenebras in concupiscentia luminis et quidem fœda et obscœna fuisse &c.—Satis est nobis quod totam istam hæresin Nicolaitarum Apocalypsis Domini gravissima sententiæ auctoritate damnavit.* Idem de pudicitia c. 19 p. 422 *Hæreticam feminam, quæ quod didicerat a Nicolaitis docere susceperat, in ecclesiam latenter introducebat et merito ad pœnitentiam urgebat*<sup>d</sup>.
- 4 *Cerinthus*. Tertullian. præser. hæc. c. 48 p. 71 *Post Carpocratem Cerinthus*. And yet Irenæus affirmed that he had seen *St. John*: Euseb. H. E. IV. 14. Conf. III. 28 where the editor marks that this is fabulous<sup>e</sup>.
- 5 *Ebion*. Tertullian. præser. hæc. c. 48 p. 71 *Cerinthi successor Ebion fuit*. Idem virg. veland. c. 6 p. 13 *Mariam—virginem constat fuisse, licet Hebion resistat*. Hieronymus apud August-

<sup>c</sup> Tertullianus de anima c. 34 p. 287 *Simon Samarites in Actis Apostolorum redemptor Spiritus Sancti posteaquam damnatus ab ipso cum pecunia sua in interitum frustra flevit, conversus ad veritatis expugnationem quasi pro solatio ultionis, fultus etiam artis suæ viribus, ad præstigias virtutis alicujus Helenam quandam Tyriam de loco libidinis publicæ eadem pecunia redemit, dignam sibi mercedem pro Spiritu Sancto, et se quidem fingit summum patrem, illam vero injectionem suam primam qua injecerat angelos et archangelos condere &c.* Greg. Naz. Or. 41 p. 732 B τὴν ὀγδοάδα καὶ τριακάδα οἱ ἀπὸ Σίμωνος καὶ Μαρκίωνος, οἷς δὴ καὶ ἰσαριθμοὺς τινὰς αἰῶνας ἐπονομάζουσι καὶ τιμῶσιν. According to Theodoret Hæc. fab. I. 1 tom. 4 p. 289 this sect spread into many branches, which soon disappeared: ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς πικροτάτης ἀνεφύησαν ῥίζης Κλεοβανοὶ, Δοσιθεανοὶ, Γορθηνοὶ, Μασβόθειοι, Ἀδριανισταὶ, Εὐτυχηταὶ, Καίνισται· ἀλλ' οὗτοι πάντες, σμικρὰς τινὰς ἐναλλαγὰς τῆς δυσσεβοῦς ἐπινοηκότες αἰρέσεως, οὐκ ἐπὶ πλείστον διήρκεσαν, ἀλλὰ λήθη παντελεῖ παρεδόθησαν.

<sup>d</sup> Hieronymus Heliodoro p. 7 *Sed et Nicolaum respice, quem Dominus in Apocalypsi sua damnat sententiæ; qui tam turpia et nefanda commentus est ut Nicolaitarum hæresis ex illa radice nascatur.* Idem Sabiniano diacono tom. 1 p. 354 *Nec mirum—sanctum hominem in homine deligendo potuisse falli; quum—de quondam ordinis tui hominibus Nicolaus Antiochenus immunditiarum omnium et Nicolaitarum hæreseos auctor extitisse referatur.* Idem ad Ctesiph. p. 901 *Simon magus hæresim condidit Helenæ meretricis adjutus auxilio; Nicolaus Antiochenus omnium immunditiarum repertor choros duxit femineos.* Idem dial. Orthodox. et Luc. p. 690 *Apostolis adhuc in sæculo superstitionibus—phantasma domini corpus asserebatur.—Tunc Simon*

*magus et Menander [N<sup>o</sup> 6] discipulus ejus Dei se asseruere virtutes; tunc Basilides [N<sup>o</sup> 14] summum Deum Abraxas cum CCCLXV editionibus commentatus est; tunc Nicolaus, qui unus de septem diaconis fuit, die noctuque nuptias faciens obscœnos et auditu quoque erubescendo coitus somniavit.—Ad eos venio hæreticos qui evangelia laniaverunt, Saturnium quendam [N<sup>o</sup> 12] et Ophitas et Gnoitam Carpocratem [N<sup>o</sup> 13] et Cerinthum et hujus successorem Hebionem—quorum plurimi vivente adhuc Joanne apostolo eruperunt.*

<sup>e</sup> De Cerintho Caius apud Eusebium III. 28 ἀλλὰ καὶ Κήριθος ὁ δι' ἀποκαλύψεων ὡς ὑπὸ ἀποστόλου μεγάλου γεγραμμένων τερατολογίας ἡμῖν ὡς δι' ἀγγέλων αὐτῷ δεδειγμένους ψευδόμενος ἐπεισάγει λέγων μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐπίγειον εἶναι τὸ βασίλειον τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ πάλιν ἐπιθυμίαις καὶ ἡδοναῖς ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ τὴν σάρκα πολιτευομένην δουλεύειν. καὶ ἐχθρὸς ὑπάρχων ταῖς γραφαῖς τοῦ θεοῦ ἀριθμὸν χιλιοταετίας ἐν γάμῳ ἑορτῆς, θέλων πλανᾶν, λέγει γίνεσθαι. Dionysius apud Eusebium I. c. Κήριθον δὲ τὸν καὶ τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνου κληθεῖσαν Κηριωθιανὴν αἴρεσιν συστησάμενον, ἀξιώπιστον ἐπιφημίαις θελήσαντα τῷ ἑαυτοῦ πλάσματι ὄνομα. τοῦτο γὰρ εἶναι τῆς διδασκαλίας αὐτοῦ τὸ δόγμα, ἐπίγειον ἔσσεσθαι τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ βασιλείαν. καὶ ὡν αὐτὸς ὠρέγετο φιλοσόφματος ὡν καὶ πᾶν σαρκικός, ἐν τούτοις ὀνειροπολεῖν ἔσσεσθαι, γαστροὺς καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ γάστρα πλησμονῶν, τουτέστι σιτίους καὶ ποτοὺς καὶ γάμοις, καὶ δι' ὧν εὐφρηνότερον ταῦτα φήθη ποιεῖσθαι, ἑορταῖς καὶ θυσίαις καὶ ἱερῶν σφαγαῖς. Caius in that passage does not, as Geiseler Vol. 1 p. 125. 8 supposes, "attribute the Apocalypse to Cerinthus," but only affirms that Cerinthus founded a pretended Revelation of his own upon the Apocalypse of *St. John*. On this subject see Fabricius tom. 4 p. 791. 792.



tinum Ep. 11 p. 58 *Dum metuis Porphyrium blasphemantem in Hebionis incurris laqueos, iis qui credunt ex Judæis observandam legem esse decernens*<sup>f</sup>.

- 6 *Menander*. For his time see the Tables p. 121. 123. Justin. Martyr Apol. I. 26 Μένανδρον δέ τινα, καὶ αὐτὸν Σαμαρέα τὸν ἀπὸ κόμης Καππαρεταίας, γενόμενον μαθητὴν τοῦ Σίμωνος, ἐνεργηθέντα καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν δαιμονίων καὶ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ γενόμενον πολλοὺς ἐξαπατῆσαι διὰ μαγικῆς τεχνῆς οἶδαμεν. ὃς καὶ τοὺς αὐτῷ ἐπομένους ὡς μηδὲ ἀποθνήσκοιεν ἐπεισε· καὶ νῦν εἰσὶ τινες ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοῦτο ὁμολογοῦντες. c. 56 Σίμωνα μὲν καὶ Μένανδρον ἀπὸ Σαμαρείας· οἱ καὶ μαγικὰς δυνάμεις ποιήσαντες πολλοὺς ἐξηπάτησαν καὶ ἐτι ἀπατωμένους ἔχουσι<sup>ε</sup>.
- 7 *Ignatius*. A. D. 90—115: Tables p. 95. 101. Hieron. in Pelag. III p. 1023 *Ignatius vir apostolicus et martyr scribit audacter Elegit Dominus apostolos qui super omnes homines peccatores erant*.
- 8 *Polycarpus*. A. D. 100—166: Tables A. D. 150. 166. Hieron. Catal. c. 17 *Polycarpus Joannis apostoli discipulus* [Irenæus apud Euseb. H. E. V. 20], *et ab eo Smyrnæ episcopus ordinatus* [Irenæus apud Euseb. IV. 14], *totius Asiæ princeps fuit. Quippe qui nonnullos apostolorum et eorum qui viderant Dominum magistros habuerit et viderit &c.—Ecclesiam in Urbe regente Aniceto* [A. D. 157] *Romam venit, ubi plurimos credentium Marcionis et Valentini* [N<sup>o</sup> 15] *persuasione deceptos reduxit ad fidem. Cumque ei fortuito obviam fuisset Marcion, et diceret &c.* [ex Irenæo apud Euseb. H. E. IV. 14].—*Quarta post Neronem persecutione Smyrnæ sedente proconsule et universo populo—igni traditus est. Scripsit ad Philippenses valde utilem epistolam quæ usque hodie in Asiæ conventu legitur*.
- 9 *Papias*. A. D. 100: Tables p. 87. Hieron. Catal. c. 18 *Papias Johannis auditor<sup>h</sup> Hierapolitanus episcopus in Asia quinque tantum scripsit volumina quæ prænotavit Explanatio sermonum Domini<sup>i</sup>, in quibus quum se in præfatione asserat non varias opiniones sequi, sed apostolos auctores*

<sup>f</sup> Euseb. H. E. III. 27 ἄλλους δὲ ὁ πονηρὸς δαίμων τῆς περὶ τὸν Χριστὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ διαθέσεως ἀδυνατῶν ἐκσεῖσαι θατεραλήπτους εὐρῶν ἐσφραγερίζετο. Ἐβιωναίους τούτους οἰκειῶς ἐπεφήμιζον οἱ πρῶτοι, πτωχῶς καὶ ταπεινῶς τὰ περὶ τὸν Χριστὸν δοξάζοντας. λιτὸν μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ κοινὸν ἠγοῦντο, κατὰ προκοπὴν ἦθος αὐτὸ μόνον ἄνθρωπον δειδικαιωμένον, ἐξ ἀνδρός τε κοιωνίας καὶ τῆς Μαρίας γεγεννημένον. δεῖν δὲ πάντως αὐτοῖς τῆς νομικῆς θρησκείας, ὡς μὴ ἂν διὰ μόνης τῆς εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν πίστεως καὶ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὴν βίου σωθησομένοις. Idem VI. 17 αἵρεσις δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν Ἐβιωναίων οὕτω καλουμένη, τῶν τὸν Χριστὸν ἐξ Ἰωσήφ καὶ Μαρίας γεγονέναι φασκόντων ψιλὸν τε ἄνθρωπον ὑπειληφῶτον αὐτὸν, καὶ τὸν νόμον χρῆναι Ἰουδαϊκώτερον φυλάττειν ἀπισχυρίζομένων. Tertullian. de præscr. hæ. c. 33 p. 42 *Joannes—in epistola eos maxime Antichristos vocat qui Christum negarent in carne venisse, et qui non putarent Jesum esse filium Dei. Illud Marcion hoc Ebion vindicavit*. Theodoret. hæ. fab. tom. 4 p. 282 quoted above at p. 395 μίαν μὲν ἀρχὴν εἶναι τῶν ὄλων συνωμολόγησαν, ψιλὸν δὲ ἄνθρωπον τὸν κύριον προσηγόρευσαν. ταύτης δὲ τῆς αἵρέσεως ἤρξε μὲν Ἐβίων κ. τ. λ. See Theodoret. H. E. I. 3 p. 739 quoted below at N<sup>o</sup> 48. hæ. fab. II. 1 tom. 4 p. 328.

<sup>g</sup> Tertullian. de resurrectione carnis c. 5 p. 219 *Futile et frivolum istud corpusculum quod malum denique appellare non horrent (hæretici) etsi angelorum fuisset operatio, ut Menandro et Marco placet*. Idem de anima c. 23 p. 258 *Saturnius Menandri Simoniani discipulus—hominem affirmans ab angelis factum, pri-*

*moque opus futile et invalidum et instabile &c.* c. 50 p. 315 *Menandri Samaritani furor conspuatur dicentis mortem ad suos non modo non pertinere verum nec pervenire*. Idem præscr. hæ. c. 46 p. 60 *Post (Simonem) Menander discipulus ipsius similiter magus eadem dicens quæ Simon ipse; quicquid se Simon dixerat hoc se Menander esse dicebat, negans habere posse quendam salutem nisi in nomine suo baptizatus fuisset*. Euseb. H. E. III. 26 Σίμωνα τὸν μάγον Μένανδρος διαδεξάμενος ὕπλον δεύτερον οὐ χεῖρον τοῦ προτέρου τῆς διὰ βολικῆς ἐνεργείας ἀποδείκνυται τὸν τρόπον. ἦν καὶ οὗτος Σαμαρεὺς, εἰς ἄκρον δὲ τῆς γοητείας οὐκ ἔλαττον τοῦ διδασκάλου προελθὼν μείζον ἐπιδαψιλεύεται τερατολογίας, κ. τ. λ.

<sup>h</sup> Irenæus apud Euseb. H. E. III. 39 Παπίας Ἰωάννου μὲν ἀκουστῆς Πολύκαρπον δὲ ἐταῖρος. Eusebius ipse in Chronico anno 2116: *Post Joannem apostolum auditores ejus cognoscebantur Papias et Polycarpus*. Andreas Cæsareæ in Apocalypsin p. 94 ed. Peltani: *Papias B. Joannis discipulus*. Anastasius Sinaita apud Routh tom. 1 p. 15 Παπίου τοῦ πάνυ τοῦ Ἱεραπολίτου, τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἐπιστηθίῳ φοιτήσαντος. Hieronymus Theodoræ tom. 1 p. 288 *Irenæus—Papiæ auditoris evangeliste Joannis discipulus*.

<sup>i</sup> Euseb. H. E. III. 36 διέπρεπε Πολύκαρπος—καθ' ὃν ἐγνωρίζετο Παπίας τῆς ἐν Ἱεραπόλει παροικίας καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπίσκοπος. Idem III. 39 τοῦ δὲ Παπία συγγράμματα πέντε τὸν ἀριθμὸν φέρεται, ἀ καὶ ἐπιγέγραπται Λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεως. τούτων καὶ Εἰρηναῖος ὡς μόνων αὐτῷ

*habere, ait " Considerabam quid Andreas quid Petrus dixissent, quid Philippus quid Thomas quid Jacobus quid Johannes quid Matthæus, vel alius quilibet discipulorum Domini; quid etiam Aristion et senior Johannes discipuli Domini loquebantur. Non enim tantum mihi libri ad legendum prosunt quantum viva vox, usque hodie in suis auctoribus personans." Ex quo apparet in ipso catalogo nominum alium esse Johannem qui inter apostolos ponitur, et alium seniore Johannem quem post Aristionem enumerat. Hoc autem diximus propter superiorem opinionem quam a plerisque retulimus traditam, duas posteriores epistolas Johannis non apostoli esse sed presbyteri. Hic dicitur mille annorum Judaicam edidisse δευτέρωσιν, quem secuti sunt Irenæus<sup>k</sup> et Apollinarius et cæteri qui post resurrectionem aiunt in carne cum sanctis Dominum regnaturum. Tertullianus quoque in libro De spe fidelium et Victorinus Petabionensis et Lactantius hac opinione ducuntur.*

Irenæus asserts and Eusebius in Chronico admits that Papias was the disciple of St. John the evangelist. Eusebius H. E. III. 39 denies this, and infers that Papias conversed only with Aristion and the presbyter John. But as these also were disciples of the Lord—οἱ τοῦ κυρίου μαθηταί—, and therefore contemporary with the apostles and witnesses of the Ministry, Papias, who heard them, must have flourished at A. D. 100 or near that date.

10 *Quadratus*. A. D. 125 : Tables p. 110.<sup>1</sup>

11 *Aristides*. A. D. 125 : Tables p. 110. Euseb. H. E. IV. 3 καὶ Ἀριστείδης δὲ πιστὸς ἀνὴρ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ὁρμώμενος εὐσεβείας τῷ Κοδράτῳ παραπλησίως ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ἀπολογία ἐπιφωνήσας Ἀδριανῷ καταλέλοιπε. σώζεται δὲ γε εἰς δεῦρο παρὰ πλείστοις καὶ ἡ τούτου γραφή.

γραφέντων μνημονεῖαι, ὧδέ πως λέγων " Ταῦτα δὲ καὶ Παπίας Ἰωάννου μὲν ἀκουστῆς Πολυκάρπου δὲ ἐταῖρος γεγονὸς, ἀρχαῖος ἀνὴρ, ἐγγράφως ἐπιμαρτυρεῖ ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν αὐτοῦ βιβλίων. ἔστι γὰρ αὐτῷ πέντε βιβλία συντεταγμένα." καὶ ὁ μὲν Εἰρηναῖος ταῦτα. αὐτὸς γε μὴν ὁ Παπίας κατὰ τὸ προοίμιον τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων ἀκροατὴν μὲν καὶ αὐτόπτην οὐδαμῶς ἐάντων γενέσθαι τῶν ἱερῶν ἀποστόλων ἐμφαίνει, παρεληφέναι δὲ τὰ τῆς πίστεως παρὰ τῶν ἐκείνοις γνωρίμων διδάσκει δι' ὧν φησι λέξων " Οὐκ ὀκνήσω δέ σοι καὶ ὅσα ποτὲ παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καλῶς ἔμαθον καὶ καλῶς ἐμνημόνευσα συγκατατάξαι ταῖς ἐρμηνείαις, διαβεβαιούμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀλήθειαν. οὐ γὰρ τοῖς τὰ πολλὰ λέγουσιν ἔχαιρον ὡσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τὰληθῆ διδάσκουσιν" οὐδὲ τοῖς τὰς ἀλλοτριᾶς ἐντολὰς μνημονεῖουσιν ἀλλὰ τοῖς τὰς παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου τῇ πίστει δεδομένας καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς παραγομένας τῆς ἀληθείας. εἰ δὲ που καὶ παρηκολουθηκὸς τις τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἔλθοι, τοὺς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀνέκρινον λόγους, τί Ἀνδρέας ἢ τί Πέτρος εἶπεν ἢ τί Φίλιππος ἢ τί Θωμᾶς ἢ Ἰακώβος, ἢ τί Ἰωάννης ἢ Ματθαῖος ἢ τις ἕτερος τῶν τοῦ κυρίου μαθητῶν, ἃ τε Ἀριστίων καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ἰωάννης οἱ τοῦ κυρίου μαθηταὶ λέγουσιν. οὐ γὰρ τὰ ἐκ τῶν βιβλίων τοσοῦτον με ὠφελεῖν ὑπελάμβανον ὅσον τὰ παρὰ ζώσης φωνῆς καὶ μενούσης." ἔνθα καὶ ἐπιστήσαι ἄξιον δις καταριθμοῦναι αὐτῷ τὸ Ἰωάννου ὄνομα ὧν τὸν μὲν πρότερον Πέτρῳ καὶ Ἰακώβῳ καὶ Ματθαίῳ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀποστόλοις συγκαταλέγει, σαφῶς δηλῶν τὸν εὐαγγελιστὴν τὸν δ' ἕτερον Ἰωάννην διαστείλας τὸν λόγον ἐτέροις παρὰ τὸν τῶν ἀποστόλων ἀριθμὸν κατατάσσει, προτάξας αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἀριστίωνα. σαφῶς τε αὐτὸν πρεσβύτερον ὀνομάζει.—καὶ ὁ νῦν δὲ ἡμῖν δηλούμενος Παπίας τὸς μὲν τῶν ἀποστόλων λόγους παρὰ τῶν αὐτοῖς παρηκολουθηκότων ὁμολογεῖ παρεληφέναι, Ἀριστίωνος δὲ καὶ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Ἰωάννου αὐτήκων ἐάντων φησὶ γενέσθαι. ὀνομασί γούν

πολλάκις αὐτῶν μνημονεύσας ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ συγγράμμασι τίθησιν αὐτῶν παραδόσεις.

<sup>k</sup> Euseb. H. E. III. 39 καὶ χιλιᾶδα τινὰ φησὶν ἐτῶν ἔσσεσθαι μετὰ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν σωματικῶς τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ βασιλείας ἐπὶ ταυτησὶ τῆς γῆς ὑποσησομένης. ἃ καὶ ἡγοῦμαι τὰς ἀποστολικὰς παρεκδεξάμενον διηγήσεις ὑπολαβεῖν τὰ ἐν ὑποδείγμασι πρὸς αὐτῶν μυστικῶς εἰρημένα μὴ συνεωρακότα. σφόδρα γὰρ τοι σμικρὸς ὢν τὸν νοῦν, ὡς ἂν ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων τεκμηράμενον εἰπεῖν, φαίνεται. πλὴν καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸν πλείστοις ὅσοις τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν τῆς ὁμοίας αὐτῷ δόξης παραιτίος γέγονε, τὴν ἀρχαιότητα τάνδρος προβεβλημένοις, ὡσπερ οὖν Εἰρηναῖοι καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος τὰ ὅμοια φρονῶν ἀναπέφηνεν. Eusebius l. c. quotes from Papias on the gospels of St. Mark and St. Matthew the following : " καὶ τοῦτο ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἔλεγε Μάρκος μὲν ἐρμηνευτῆς Πέτρον γενόμενος ὅσα ἐμνημόνευσεν ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν, οὐ μόνον τάξει τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἢ λεχθέντα ἢ πραχθέντα. οὔτε γὰρ ἤκουσε τοῦ κυρίου οὔτε παρηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ ὕστερον δὲ, ὡς ἐφῆν, Πέτρῳ δὲ πρὸς τὰς χρείας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς διδασκαλίας ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡσπερ σύνταξιν τῶν κυριακῶν ποιούμενος λόγων ὥστε οὐδὲν ἡμαρτε Μάρκος οὕτως ἕνα γράψας ὡς ἀπεμνημόνευσεν. ἐνὸς γὰρ ἐποίησατο πρόνοιαν, τοῦ μηδὲν ὧν ἤκουσε παραλιπεῖν ἢ ψεύσασθαι τι ἐν αὐτοῖς." ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἰστόρηται τῷ Παπίᾳ περὶ τοῦ Μάρκου. περὶ δὲ τοῦ Ματθαίου ταῦτ' εἴρηται " Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἐβραῖδι διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνεγράψατο, ἡρμήνευσε δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἡδύνατο ἕκαστος." κέχρηται δ' ὁ αὐτὸς μαρτυρίας ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωάννου προτέρας ἐπιστολῆς καὶ τῆς Πέτρον ὁμοίας.

<sup>1</sup> On the question whether *Quadratus* the apologist was *Quadratus* bishop of Athens mentioned by Dionysius apud Euseb. H. E. IV. 23 see Lardner Vol. 2 p. 288. 289.



- 12 *Saturninus*. Cir. A. D. 110—134: Tables p. 121. 123. The disciple of *Menander*. See Tertullian quoted at N° 6.<sup>m</sup> *Idem præscr. hæc. c. 46 p. 60* (quoted in the Tables A. D. 134 p. 121)—*Saturninus, et hic similiter dicens innascibilem virtutem, id est deum, in summis et illis infinitis partibus et in superioribus manere, longe autem distantes ab hoc angelos inferiores mundum fecisse*<sup>mm</sup>.
- 13 *Carpocrates*. Tertullian. de anima c. 23 p. 258 *Sed et Carpocrates tantundem sibi de superioribus vindicat, ut discipuli ejus animas suas jam et Christo, nedum apostolis, et persequant et cum volunt præferant.* c. 35 p. 289. 290 *Sed non tibi soli metempsychosis hanc fabulam instruxit, inde etiam Carpocrates utitur, pariter magus pariter fornicarius, etsi Helena minus* [see N° 2].—*Apud Carpocratem si omnium facinorum debitor anima est, quis erit inimicus et adversarius ejus intelligendus?* *Idem præscr. hæc. c. 48 p. 70 Carpocrates præterea hanc tulit sectam. Unam esse dicit virtutem in superioribus principalem. ex hac prolato angelos atque virtutes, quos distantes longe a superioribus virtutum mundum istum in inferioribus partibus condidisse; Christum non ex virgine Maria natum sed ex semine Joseph hominem tantummodo genitum, sane præ cæteris justitiæ cultu integritate meliorem; hunc apud Judæos passum, solam animam ipsius in cælo receptam*<sup>n</sup>.
- 14 *Basilides*. A. D. 134: Tables p. 121. See Eusebius H. E. IV. 7 there quoted<sup>o</sup>. Epiphanius

<sup>m</sup> Theodoret. hæc. fab. I. 2 tom. 4 p. 289 τοῦτον [sc. *Menandrum*] ἐσχληκότες διδάσκαλον Σατορνίλος καὶ Βασιλίδης, ὁ μὲν αὐτῶν πατρίδα τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν τὴν Ὀρόντη τῷ ποταμῷ γειτονεύουσαν, ὁ δὲ Βασιλίδης τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ἐναντίους τῷ διδασκάλῳ καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἀνέπλασαν μύθους· ἄμφω δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος [A. D. 117—138] ἐγένοντο. De *Saturnino* Epiphanius hæc. 23 p. 62.

<sup>mm</sup> See Eusebius H. E. IV. 7 quoted in the Tables p. 121. Eusebius adds τὰ μὲν οὖν πλείεστα τὸν Σατορνίον τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ Μενάνδρῳ ψευδολογήσας ὁ Εἰρηναῖος δηλοῖ. προσχρήματι δὲ ἀπορρητοτέρων τὸν Βασιλείδην εἰς τὸ ἄπειρον τεῖναι τὰς ἐπινοίας. Conf. *Irenæum* hæc. I. 22.

<sup>n</sup> Eusebius H. E. IV. 7 γράφει δὲ Εἰρηναῖος συγχρονίσει τούτοις [*Saturnino et Basilidi*] Καρποκράτην, ἐτέρας αἰρέσεως τῆς τῶν γνωστικῶν ἐπικληθείσης πατέρα· οἱ καὶ τοῦ Σίμωνος οὐχ ὡς ἐκεῖνος κρύβδην ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ εἰς φανερόν τὰς μαγείας παραδίδοναι ἤξιον. Clem. Al. Strom. III p. 428 οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Καρποκράτους καὶ Ἐπιφάνους ἀναγόμενοι κοινὰ εἶναι τὰς γυναῖκας ἀξιούσιν· ἐξ ὧν ἡ μεγίστη κατὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος ἐρρῆ βλασφημία. Ἐπιφάνης οὗτος, οὗ καὶ τὰ συγγράμματα κομίζεται, υἱὸς ἦν Καρποκράτους καὶ μητρὸς Ἀλεξανδρίας τοῦνομα, τὰ μὲν πρὸς πατρός Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἀπὸ δὲ μητρὸς Κεφαλληνεὺς· ἔζησε δὲ τὰ πάντα ἑτη ἑπτακαίδεκα, καὶ θεὸς ἐν Σάμῃ τῆς Κεφαλληνίας τετίμηται.—καὶ συνιόντες εἰς τὸ ἱερόν οἱ Κεφαλλῆνες κατὰ νομηνίαν γενέθλιον ἀποθέωσιν θύουσιν Ἐπιφάνει. Athanasius in *Arianos* tom. I p. 363 C αἰσχυρῆσονται μὲν προηγουμένως ὡς τὰ Οὐαλεντίνου [N° 15] καὶ Καρποκράτους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αἰρετικῶν ζηλοῦντες καὶ φθεγγόμενοι. ὧν ὁ μὲν τοὺς ἀγγέλους ὁμογενεῖς εἴρηκε τῷ Χριστῷ ὁ δὲ Καρποκράτης ἀγγέλους τοῦ κόσμου δημιουργοὺς εἶναι φησι. Conf. *Irenæum* hæc. I. 24.

<sup>o</sup> Clemens Alexandrinus has these passages concerning *Basilides*: Strom. IV p. 539 B Βασιλείδης—δικαιοσύνην δὲ καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτῆς τὴν εἰρήνην ὑπολαμβάνει ἐν ὄγδοαί μιν ἐνδιατεταγμένας. p. 536 B ἀφίενται

γούν πρὸς τοῦ κυρίου αἱ πρὸ τῆς πίστεως (ἁμαρτία),—πλὴν οὐδὲ πάσας ὁ Βασιλείδης φησὶ, μόνας δὲ τὰς ἀκουσίους καὶ κατὰ ἄγνοιαν ἀφίεσθαι. p. 540 D “παρεπίδημος ἐγὼ εἰμι μεθ' ὑμῶν.” καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ξένην τὴν ἐκλογὴν τοῦ κόσμου ὁ Βασιλείδης εἰληφέναι λέγει, ὡς ἂν ὑπερκόσμιον φύσει οὖσαν. Strom. V p. 545 D εἰ γὰρ φύσει τις τὸν θεὸν ἐπίσταται, ὡς Βασιλείδης οἶεται. p. 546 A παρέλκουσι τοῖνον αἱ ἐντολαὶ αἶ τε κατὰ τὴν παλαιὰν αἶ τε κατὰ τὴν νέαν διαθήκην, φύσει σωζόμενον, ὡς Οὐαλεντίνος βούλεται, τινὸς καὶ φύσει πιστοῦ καὶ ἐκλεκτοῦ οὗτος, ὡς Βασιλείδης νομίζει. Strom. II p. 363 A ἐνταῦθα φυσικὴν ἡγοῦνται τὴν πίστιν οἱ ἄμφι τὸν Βασιλείδην. p. 408 D οἱ ἄμφι τὸν Βασιλείδην προσαρτήματα τὰ πάθη καλεῖν εἰώθασιν· πνεύματά τινα ταῦτα κατ' οὐσίαν ὑπάρχειν προσρητημένα τῇ λογικῇ ψυχῇ. p. 375 C “ἀρχὴ σοφίας φόβος θεοῦ.”—ἐνταῦθα οἱ ἄμφι τὸν Βασιλείδην τοῦτο ἐξηγούμενοι τὸ ῥητὸν αὐτὸν φασὶν ἀρχοντα ἐπακούσαντα τὴν φάσιν τοῦ διακονουμένου πνεύματος ἐκπλαγῆναι τῷ τε ἀκούσματι καὶ τῷ θεάματι παρ' ἐλπίδας εὐηγγελισμένον, καὶ τὴν ἐκπληξιν αὐτοῦ φόβον κληθῆναι, ἀρχὴν γενόμενον σοφίας φυλοκριμητικῆς τε καὶ διακριτικῆς καὶ τελειωτικῆς καὶ ἀποκαταστατικῆς. οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὸν κόσμον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐκλογὴν διακρίνας ὁ ἐπὶ πᾶσι προπέμπει. εἶκοι δὲ καὶ Οὐαλεντίνος ἔν τινι ἐπιστολῇ τοιαῦτά τινα ἐν νῷ λαβών. αὐταῖς γὰρ γράφει ταῖς λέξεσι “Καὶ ὡς περίφοβος ἐπ' ἐκείνου” κ. τ. λ. Strom. V p. 583 D ἓνα δ' οὖν νεὼν ἰδρυσάμενος τοῦ θεοῦ μονογενῆ τε κόσμον, ὡς φησὶν ὁ Βασιλείδης, καὶ τὸν ἓνα, ὡς οὐκ ἐτι τῷ Βασιλείδῃ δοκεῖ, κατήγγειλε θεόν. Strom. II p. 409 A δουρείου τινὸς ἵππου (κατὰ τὸν ποιητικὸν μῦθον) εἰκόνα σώζει ὁ κατὰ Βασιλείδην ἄνθρωπος, ἐν ἐνὶ σώματι τοσοῦτων πνευμάτων διαφόρων στρατὸν ἐγκεκολλημένον. Strom. III p. 426 οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄμφι τὸν Οὐαλεντίνον ἄνωθεν ἐκ τῶν θείων περιβόλων τὰς συζυγίας καταγαγόντες εὐαρεστοῦνται γάμψ· οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Βασιλείδου πυθομένων φασὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων μὴ ποτε ἄμεινόν ἐστι τὸ μὴ γαμῆν, ἀποκρίνασθαι λέγουσι τὸν κύριον κ. τ. λ.—ἐξηγούνται δὲ τὸ ῥητὸν ὡδὲ πως κ. τ. λ. Strom.

hær. 24 p. 68 Βασιλείδης μὲν οὖν—ἐν τῇ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων χῶρᾳ στειλάμενος τὴν πορείαν ἐκείσε τὰς διατριβὰς ἐποιεῖτο· εἶτα ἔρχεται εἰς τὰ μέρη τοῦ Προσωπίτου καὶ Ἀθριβίτου. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τὴν Σαίτην καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ Ἀλεξανδριοπολίτην χῶρον ἦτοι νομόν.

- 15 *Valentinus*. A. D. 140—144: Tables p. 129. 133. Orosius VII. 14 *Antoninus Pius*.—*Hujus temporibus Valentinus hæresiarches et Cerdo magister Marcionis Romam venerunt*. From Hieron. Chron. quoted in the Tables A. D. 140. P
- 16 *Cerdon*. A. D. 140: Tables p. 129. q Tertullian. Marcion. I. 2 p. 5 (*Marcion*) *habuit et Cerdonem quendam informatorem scandalii hujus, quo facilius duos Deos cæci perspexisse se existi-*

I p. 340 quoted in the Tables p. 13. fragmenta p. 792 B ἢ περιστερὰ δὲ σῶμα ᾤφθη· ἦν οἱ μὲν τὸ ἄγιον πνεῦμα φασίν· οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Βασιλείδου τὸν διάκονον· οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Οὐαλεντίνου τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἐνθυμήσεως τοῦ πατρὸς τὴν κατέλευσιν πεποιμένον ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ λόγου σάρκα. p. 794 C τὸ “θεὸς ἀποδοῖς ἐπὶ τρίτην καὶ τετάρτην γενεὰν τοῖς ἀπειθοῦσι” φασίν οἱ ἀπὸ Βασιλείδου κατὰ τὰς ἐνσωματώσεις, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Οὐαλεντίνου τοὺς τρεῖς τόπους δηλοῦσθαι τοὺς ἀριστεροῦς, τετάρτην δὲ γενεὰν τὰ σπέρματα αὐτῶν. Strom. IV p. 506 A—507 A Βασιλείδης δὲ ἐν τῷ εικοστῷ τρίτῳ τῶν ἐξηγητικῶν περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸ μαρτυρίον κολαζομένων αὐταῖς λέξεσι τάδε φησὶ “Φημι γὰρ τὸ ὁπόσοι ὑποπίπτουσι ταῖς λεγομέναις θλίψεσιν ἦτοι ἡμαρτηκότες ἐν ἄλλοις λαθάνοντες πταισµασιν εἰς τοῦτο ἄγονται τὸ ἀγαθόν, χρηστότητι τοῦ περιούγιου,” κ. τ. λ.—εἰς ὑποβάς πάλιν ἐπιφέρει “ὡς οὖν τὸ νῆπιον οὐ προημαρτηκός, ἢ ἐνεργῶς μὲν οὐχ ἡμαρτηκός οὐδὲν ἐν ἑαυτῷ, τῷ δὲ τὸ ἁμαρτησῆαι ἔχον, ἐπὶ ὑποβλήθῃ τῷ παθεῖν εὐεργετῆται τε πολλὰ κερδαῖνον δύσκολα· οὕτως δὲ καὶ τέλειος μὴδὲν ἡμαρτηκός ἔργῳ τύχη, πάσχη δὲ καὶ πάθη, ταῦτο ἔπαθεν ἐμφερός τῷ νηπίῳ.”—εἰς ὑποβάς καὶ περὶ τοῦ κυρίου ἄντικρυς ὡς περὶ ἀνθρώπου λέγει· “Ἐὰν μὲν τοι παραλιπὼν τούτους ἅπαντας τοὺς λόγους ἔλθῃς ἐπὶ τὸ δυσωπεῖν με διὰ προσώπων τινῶν, εἰ τύχοι, λέγων “ὁ δεῖνα οὖν ἡμαρτεν” ἔπαθεν γὰρ ὁ δεῖνα.” εἰ μὲν ἐπιτρέψῃς ἔρω “οὐχ ἡμαρτεν μὲν, ὁμοῖος δὲ ἦν τῷ πάσχοντι νηπίῳ.” εἰ μὲντοι σφοδρότερον ἐκβιάσαιο τὸν λόγον, ἔρω ἄνθρωπον ὄντιν’ ἂν ὀνομάσῃς ἄνθρωπον εἶναι, δίκαιον δὲ τὸν θεόν. καθαρὸς γὰρ οὐδεὶς, ὡσπερ εἶπέ τις, ἀπὸ ῥύπου.” Ἀλλὰ τῷ Βασιλείδῃ ἢ ὑπόθεσις προημαρτησάσαν φησὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐν ἐτέρῳ βίῳ τὴν κόλασιν ὑπομένειν ἐν ταῦθα· τὴν μὲν ἐκλεκτὴν ἐπιτίμως διὰ μαρτυρίου, τὴν ἄλλην δὲ καθαιρομένην οἰκεία κολάσει. καὶ πῶς τοῦτο ἀληθές, ἐφ’ ἡμῖν κειμένον τοῦ ὁμολογῆσαι καὶ κολασθῆναι ἢ μή; λύεται γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀρνησομένου ἢ κατὰ τὸν Βασιλείδην πρόνοια. Conf. Irenæum hær. I. 23.

On *Basilides* Hieronymus in Pelag. p. 900 *Partem habent Gnosticæ hæreseos de Basilidis impietate venientem*. In Jovin. p. 608 *Basilides magister luxuriæ et turpissimorum complexuum post tot annos ita in Jovinianum quasi in Euphorbium transformatus est* &c. in Vigilantium p. 649 *Quia ad radices Pyrenæi habitas vicinusque es Iberiæ, Basilidis antiquissimi hæretici et imperitæ scientiæ incredibilia portenta prosequeris*. Theodoræ tom. I p. 288 *Lucinius noster, spurcissima per Hispanias Basilidis hæresi saviente, et instar pestis et morbi totas intra Pyrenæum et Oceanum vastante provincias, fidei ecclesiasticæ tenuit puritatem, nequaquam suscipiens Armagil, Barbelon, Abraxas,*

*Balsamum, et ridiculum Leusiboram, cæteraque magis portenta quam nomina, quæ ad imperitorum et muliercularum animos concitandos quasi de Hebraicis fontibus hauriunt*. Hedybiæ tom. 3 p. 291 *Multo melius est simpliciter imperitiam confiteri—quam, dum volumus Dei probare justitiam, Basilidis et Manichei hæresim defendere et Iberas nenas Ægyptiaque portenta sectari*.

P Tertullian. præscr. hær. c. 30 quoted in the Tables p. 139. Clem. Al. Strom. IV p. 509 B Οὐαλεντίνος δὲ ἐν τινι ὁμιλίᾳ κατὰ λέξιν γράφει “Ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς ἀθάνατοι ἐστέ” κ. τ. λ. Strom. V p. 546 A quoted in No 14. Strom. VI p. 641 B ἦδη δὲ καὶ τῶν τὴν κούνητα [sc. *Deum se revelasse gentibus*] πρεσβευόντων ὁ κορυφαῖος Οὐαλεντίνος ἐν τῇ Περί φίλων ὁμιλίᾳ κατὰ λέξιν γράφει “Πολλὰ τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐν ταῖς δημοσίαις βίβλοις εὐρίσκεται γεγραμμένα ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ· τὰ γὰρ κενὰ ταῦτά ἐστι τὰ ἀπὸ καρδίας ῥήματα· νόμος ὁ γραπτὸς ἐν καρδίᾳ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ λαὸς ὁ τοῦ ἡγαπημένου, ὁ φιλούμενος καὶ φιλῶν αὐτόν.” δημοσίας γὰρ βίβλους εἶτε τὰς Ἰουδαϊκὰς λέγει γραφὰς εἶτε τὰς τῶν φιλοσόφων, κοινῶς ποιῆ τὴν ἀλήθειαν. Athanasius in Arianos tom. I p. 363 C quoted in No 13. Idem p. 441 B ὁ λόγος—ἔλαβέ γε ἀληθινὴν σάρκα, καὶ μαινῆται Οὐαλεντίνος. p. 515 A πλασάσθωσαν ἕτερον λόγον καὶ τὰ Οὐαλεντίνου ζηλώσαντες Χριστὸν ἕτερον ὀνομασάσθωσαν. p. 515 D—516 A τὴν Οὐαλεντίνου ἔννοιαν καὶ θέλησιν προβάλλονται, ἵνα μόνον διαστήσωσι τὸν υἱὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς.—ἐκείνοι μὲν οὖν ἀκουέτωσαν ὡς Σίμων ὁ μάγος ἤκουσεν. ἢ ἀσέβεια Οὐαλεντίνου σὺν ὑμῖν εἶη εἰς ἀπόλειαν. p. 517 D μὴδὲ τὸ Οὐαλεντίνου ἐπεισαγαγέσθω τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. De Valentino idem ad Serapionem tom. I p. 185 A de Synodis tom. I p. 882 C p. 927 A de incarnat. p. 623 D epistola apud Athanasium tom. I p. 885 B. Athanasius ad monachos p. 854 C *Μανιχαῖοι γὰρ καὶ Οὐαλεντῖνοι, σὺν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄλλοι, καπηλεύοντες τὰς θείας γραφὰς τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ἐπιπλάστοις λόγοις μυθολογοῦσιν*. Theodoret. hær. fab. I. 7 tom. 4 p. 296 ἐκ τούτων πασῶν τῶν αἰρέσεων [sc. *Simonis Menandri Saturnini Basilidis Carpocratis*] ὁ Βαλεντίνος λαβὼν ἀφορμὰς τοὺς ἀπεράντους αὐτοῦ συνέθηκε μύθους. συνεστήσατο δὲ τὴν αἵρεσιν ἐπ’ Ἀντωνίου τοῦ πρώτου [A. D. 138—161]. Conf. Irenæum hær. I. 1—5.

q Syncell. p. 351 A κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους Ὑγιεινοῦ καὶ Πίου ἐπισκόπων Ῥώμης ἕως Ἀνικήτου Οὐαλεντινιανὸς καὶ Κέρδων ἀρχηγοὶ τῆς Μαρκίανος αἰρέσεως ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἐγνωρίζοντο.



*maverunt.* I. 22 p. 42—*si ab ævo Deus et non a Tiberio, imo (quod verius) a Cerdone et Marcione.* Præser. hæ. c. 51 p. 74 *Accedit his Cerdon quidam. hic introducit initia duo, id est, duos deos, unum bonum et alterum sævum; bonum superiorem, sævum hunc mundi creatorem*<sup>r</sup>. In Marcion. III. 21 p. 170 *Exinde vocatis omnibus populis in regno ejus [sc. Christi], ex quo Deus regnavit a ligno, nullo adhuc Cerdone, nedum Marcione.* IV. 17 p. 253 *Sic nec Marcion aliquid boni de thesauro Cerdonis malo protulit, nec Apelles [N<sup>o</sup> 26] de Marcionis.*

17 *Marcion.* A. D. 150: Tables p. 139. See A. D. 140 p. 129 A. D. 194 p. 197. For his time see A. D. 151 p. 139. 141. *Ponticus nauclerus: Tertullian. Marcion. V. 1.*<sup>s</sup>

<sup>r</sup> Theodoret. hæ. fab. I. 24 tom. 4 p. 314 *Μαρκίων δὲ καὶ Κέρδων ὁ τούτου διδάσκαλος καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐκ τῆς Σίμωνος ἐξαπάτης ἔλαβον τῆς βλασφημίας τὰς ἀφορμὰς, ἀλλ' ἐτέραν ἐκαυοτόμησαν ἀσεβείας ὁδόν. ὁ γὰρ δὴ Κέρδων ἐγένετο μὲν ἐπὶ Ἀντωνίου τοῦ πρώτου, ἔφη δὲ ἄλλον εἶναι θεόν τὸν πατέρα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἄγνωστον τοῖς προφήταις, ἄλλον δὲ τοῦ παντός ποιητὴν καὶ τοῦ νόμου τοῦ Μωσαϊκοῦ νομοθέτην' καὶ τὸν μὲν εἶναι δίκαιον τὸν δὲ ἀγαθόν.*

<sup>s</sup> Tertullian. præser. hæ. c. 38 p. 50 *Marcion exerte et palam machæra non stilo usus est, quoniam ad materiam suam cædem Scripturarum confecit. Valentinus autem pepercit; quoniam non ad materiam Scripturas sed materiam ad Scripturas excogitavit. Marcion accepted St. Luke's Gospel, but is charged with corrupting it: Tertullian. Marcion. III. 24 p. 180 *Evangelium vestrum.* IV. 3 p. 188 *Nam ex his commentatoribus quos habemus Lucam videtur Marcion legisse quem cæderet.* This question is treated by Tertullian Marcion. IV. 4 p. 192 IV. 5 p. 195 V. 6 p. 395. In the epistles of *St. Paul* he is charged with omissions: Tertullian. Marcion. V. 17 p. 455 *Non miror si syllabas subtrahit, cum paginas totas plerumque subducit.* He rejected some epistles of *St. Paul*: Tertullian. Marcion. V. 21 p. 470 *Miror tamen—quod ad Timotheum duas et unam ad Titum—recusaverit.* Hieron. præf. comm. in Philemon. tom. 9 p. 208 *Pauli esse epistolam ad Philemonem saltem Marcione auctore doceantur [conf. Tertullian. l. c.], qui, cum cæteras epistolas ejusdem vel non susceperit vel quedam in his mutaverit atque corroserit, in hanc solam manus non est ausus mittere quia sua illam brevis defendebat.* Idem præf. ad comm. in ep. ad Titum tom. 9 p. 195 *Licet non sint digni fide qui fidem primam irritam fecerunt, Marcionem loquor et Basilidem et omnes hæreticos qui Vetus laniant Testamentum, tamen eos aliqua ex parte ferremus si saltem in Novo continerent manus suas &c.* His mutilations of the text of Scripture are examined in detail by Epiphanius hæ. 42 p. 312—374. *Marcion* held that the Old Testament and the New were from different authors: Tertullian. de carne Christi c. 6 p. 356 *Quid illi cum Mose qui Deum Mosi rejicit? Si alius Deus est, aliter sint res ejus.* In Marcion. IV. 4 p. 192 *Si enim is evangelium quod Luca refertur penes nos—ipsum est quod Marcion per Antitheses suas arguit, ut interpolatum a protectoribus Judaismi, ad concorporationem legis et prophetarum qua etiam Christum inde confin-**

*gerent &c.* Hieron. Ageruchia tom. 1 p. 120 *Hæc dicimus, non separatim legem et evangelium, ut Marcion calumniatur, sed unum atque eundem suscipientes Deum.* Hence Clemens Al. Strom. IV p. 492 C *ὡα μὴ ὡς Μαρκίων ἀχαρίστως ἐκδέξῃται τις τὴν δημιουργίαν κακῆν.* Hieron. Algasia tom. 3 p. 320 *Marcion enim, qui justum Deum et creatorem legis facit et prophetarum, bonum autem Evangeliorum et Apostolorum, cujus vult esse filium Christum, duos introducit Deos, alterum justum et alterum bonum.* Idem ad Pammachium p. 735 *Si de Marcionis arguereris hæresi, quæ alterum bonum alterum justum Deum ferens illum invisibilem hunc visibilium asserit creatorem.* Præf. comm. in Ep. ad Philem. tom. 9 p. 208 *alterum mihi conditorum, juxta Valentinum Marcionem et Apellen, formica vermium culicum locustarum, alterum cæli terræ maris et angelorum debent introducere.* In Pelagianos p. 932 *Dicat hæc Marcion et omnes hæretici qui creatoris operibus illudunt.* p. 1028 *Querit hoc Marcion et omnes hæreticorum canes qui vetus laniant testamentum, et hujuscemodi syllogismum texere consueverunt. Aut scivit Deus hominem in paradiso positum prævaricatorum esse mandatum illius, aut nescivit &c.* An argument by which *Marcion* maintained from *St. Paul* that *lex non ex Deo erat Christi* is answered by Tertullian Marcion. V. 20 p. 469.

He held that *Christ* was a *phantasma*: Tertullian. Marcion. III. 10. 11. Idem de carne Christi c. 1 *Marcion ut carnem Christi negaret negavit etiam nativitatem, aut ut nativitatem negaret negavit et carnem.* The Marcionites quoted *St. Paul Philipp. II. 6. 7* as favouring their opinion that *Christ* was a *phantasma*: Tertullian. in Marcion. V. 20 p. 467. Whom Tertullian there answers. Idem de anima c. 17 p. 245 *Marcion phantasma Christum maluit credere, totius corporis in illo dedignatus veritatem.* *Marcion* held apud Tertullian. V. 19 p. 464 *de Epicuri schola dominum hebetem, ne timeri dicat eum, collocans et cum Deo creatore materiam de porticu Stoicorum, negans carnis resurrectionem, de qua proinde nulla philosophia consentit.* Conf. V. 9 p. 409 *carnis resurrectionem negans.* Hieron. ad Pammachium p. 755 *Numquid juxta Marcionem dicere possumus quod ideo nativitas ejus in phantasmate fuerit quia contra naturam qua tenebatur elapsus est?* p. 757 *Audivi nuper de Marcionis schola væ, inquit, ei qui hac carne et in his ossibus resurrexerit.*

*Marcion* discouraged marriage: Tertullian. Marcion. IV. 23 p. 281 *Deus Marcionis, qui connubium*

- 18 *Isidorus Basilidis filius*. Clem. Al. Strom. II p. 409 B αὐτὸς γοῦν ὁ τοῦ Βασιλείδου υἱὸς Ἰσιδωρος ἐν τῷ Περὶ προσφυοῦς ψυχῆς—οἶον ἑαυτοῦ κατηγορῶν γράφει κατὰ λέξιν “Ἐὸν γὰρ τῷ” κ. τ. λ. III p. 427 A “ἀντέχου τοίνυν” φησὶ κατὰ λέξιν ὁ Ἰσιδωρος ἐν τοῖς ἠθικοῖς “μαχίμης γυναικός, ἵνα μὴ ἀποσπασθῆς τῆς χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ.” κ. τ. λ. VI p. 641 C Ἰσιδωρός τε ὁ Βασιλείδου υἱὸς ἅμα καὶ μαθητῆς ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν προφήτου Παρχῶρ ἐξηγητικῶν καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ λέξιν γράφει “Φασὶ δὲ οἱ Ἀττικοὶ μεμνησθῆναι τινα Σωκράτει, παρεπομένου δαίμονος αὐτῷ.”<sup>t</sup>
- 19 *Eriphanes Carprocratis filius*. Clem. Al. Strom. III p. 428. See N<sup>o</sup> 13.<sup>v</sup>
- 20 *Prodicus*<sup>w</sup>. Clem. Al. Strom. I p. 304 B Ζωροάστρην τὸν μάγον τὸν Πέρσην ὁ Πυθαγόρας ἐδήλωσεν· βίβλους ἀποκρύφους τῶνδρος τοῦδε οἱ τὴν Προδίκου μετιόντες αἴρεσιν αὐχοῦσι κεκτήσθαι. III p. 438 B τοιαῦτα οἱ ἀπὸ Προδίκου, ψευδωνύμως γνωστικούς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀναγορεύοντες, δογματίζουσιν. VII p. 722 D ἐνταῦθα γενόμενος ὑπεμνήσθη τῶν περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν εὔχεσθαι πρὸς τινῶν ἑτεροδόξων, τουτέστι τῶν ἀμφὶ τὴν Προδίκου αἴρεσιν παρεισαγομένων δογμάτων. VII p. 762 D Μαρκίῶνος φέρε εἰπεῖν, ἢ Προδίκου καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων, τὴν ὀρθὴν οὐ βαδισάντων ὁδόν.
- 21 *Secundus Valentini discipulus*. Tertullian. præscr. hæ. c. 49. See N<sup>o</sup> 22. 23.<sup>x</sup>

*aversatur*. IV. 29 p. 310 *ipse Marcion—Deum suum intuens detestatore nuptiarum*. V. 7 p. 400 *Sequitur de nuptiis congregi, quas Marcion, constantior apostolo, prohibet*. Hieron. ad Pammach. p. 612 *Neque enim nos Marcionis et Manichæi dogma sectantes nuptiis detrahimus*. He recommended abstinence: Tertullian. de jejuniis in psychicos c. 15 p. 418 *Spiritus Sanctus prædamans jam hæreticos perpetuam abstinentiam præcepturos ad destruenda et despicienda opera creatoris, quales invenimus apud Marcionem apud Tatianum apud Jovem hodiernum de Pythagora hæreticum*. Basilus ad Amphiloichium tom. 2 p. 773 A ὡσπερ Μαρκιανιστῶν ἐστὶν ἀποβλάστημα ἢ κατ’ αὐτοὺς αἴρεσις, βδελυσσομένων τὸν γάμον καὶ ἀποστρεφόμενων τὸν οἶνον καὶ τὴν κτίσιν τοῦ Θεοῦ μεμασμένην εἶναι λεγόντων. He was not charged with impurity: Hieron. in Rufin. III p. 892 *Scripterunt multi contra Marcionem Valentinum Arium et Eunomium. A quo eis objecta est turpitudine?* Conf. Tertullian. præscr. hæ. c. 30 p. 36. The tale of Eriphanus p. 302 C is refuted by the express declaration of Hieronymus and by the silence of other authors.

Marcion is mentioned by Athanasius tom. I p. 275 D Μαρκίῶνος γὰρ τοῦ ματαιόφρονος δίδαγμα εἰς τρεῖς ἀρχὰς τῆς μοναρχίας τομὴν καὶ διαίρεσιν. Conf. p. 467 C. p. 286 A πόθεν Μαρκίῶν καὶ Μανιχαῖο τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἀρνούμενοι καὶ τὸν νόμον; p. 392 B οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἄγγελοι δημιουργεῖν δυνήσονται κτίσμα ὄντες καὶ αὐτοὶ· κἂν Οὐαλεντίνος καὶ Μαρκίῶν καὶ Βασιλείδης τοιαῦτα φρονῶσι. p. 625 A τί γὰρ ἕτερον παρ’ ἡμᾶς εἶρηκε Μαρκίῶν; οὐχὶ οὐρανοφανὲς τὸ σῶμα ἐν ὁμοίῳσι ἀνθρωπίνῃ μόνῃ καὶ οὐκ ἀληθείᾳ; Conf. p. 631 C p. 927 A p. 308 D. Rhodon apud Eusebium H. E. V. 13 ἕτεροι δὲ, καθὼς καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ναύτης Μαρκίῶν, δύο ἀρχὰς εἰσηγοῦνται. Theodoret. hæ. fab. I. 24 tom. 4 p. 315 ὁ δὲ Μαρκίῶν ὁ Ποντικός ταῦτα παρὰ Κέρδωνος παιδευθεὶς οὐκ ἔσπερξε τὴν παραδοθεῖσαν διδασκαλίαν, ἀλλ’ ἠῤῥησε τὴν ἀσέβειαν· τέταρτος γὰρ ἀγεννήτους οὐσίας τῷ λόγῳ διέπλασε, καὶ τὸν μὲν ἐκάλεσεν ἀγαθὸν τε καὶ ἄγνωστον, ὃν καὶ πατέρα προσηγόρευσε τοῦ κυρίου, τὸν δὲ δημιουργόν τε καὶ δίκαιον, ὃν καὶ πονηρὸν ὠνόμαξε. καὶ πρὸς τούτους τὴν ὕλην κακῆν τε

οὔσαν καὶ ὑπ’ ἄλλῃ κακῷ τελούσαν· τὸν δὲ δημιουργόν περιγενόμενον τοῦ κακοῦ τὴν ὕλην λαβεῖν τε καὶ ἐκ ταύτης δημιουργῆσαι τὰ σύμπαντα· ἐκ μὲν τοῦ καθαρωτάτου τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐκ δὲ τοῦ λοιποῦ τὰ στοιχεῖα τὰ τέτταρα, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ὑποστάθμης τὸν ἄδην καὶ τὸν τάρταρον. p. 316 οὗτος ἐκ μὲν τῶν εὐαγγελίων τὸ κατὰ Λουκᾶν ἐδέξατο μόνον, καὶ τὴν γενεαλογίαν περικόψας τὰ πλείστα· τὸν δὲ νόμον καὶ τοὺς προφήτας καὶ τὴν παλαιὰν πᾶσαν ἐκβέβληκεν ὡς ὑπ’ ἄλλοτριῶν δεδομένην θεοῦ· κατεληλυθέναι δὲ τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν λέγει ἵνα τῆς τοῦ δημιουργοῦ δουλείας τοὺς εἰς αὐτὸν πεπιστευκότας ἐλευθερώσῃ.

Hieronymus refers to a work of Marcion: In Rufinum p. 793 *Rufinus tres elucubravat libros, et ἀρτώσεις Marcionis de meis opusculis fabricatus est*.

Chrysostom ad Constantium Ep. 145 tom. 7 p. 172. 16 Sav. mentions the Marcionites in A. D. 404.

<sup>t</sup> Theodoret. hæ. fab. I. 4 tom. 4 p. 293 καὶ Ἰσιδωρος δὲ ὁ τοῦ Βασιλείδου υἱὸς μετὰ τινος ἐπιθήκης τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς μυθολογίαν ἐκράτυνε. καταγωνίζονται δὲ τούτους [*Basilidem et Isidorum*] Ἀγρίππας [N<sup>o</sup> 28] ὁ καὶ Κάστωρ ἐπίκλην, καὶ Εἰρηναῖος, καὶ Κλήμης ὁ στραματεὺς καὶ Ὀριγένης, τῆς ἀληθείας ὑπερμαχοῦντες.

<sup>v</sup> Theodoret. hæ. fab. I. 5 p. 293 ὁ δὲ Καρποκράτης Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ὢν τὸ γένος ὑπὸ μὲν ἀγγέλων καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν κτίσιν ἔφησε γεγενῆσθαι, τὸν δὲ Κύριον Ἰησοῦν ἐκ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ καὶ τῆς Μαρίας γεννηθῆναι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις παραπλησίως, ἀρετῇ δὲ αὐτὸν διατρέψαι, καὶ καθαρὰν ἐσχηκότα ψυχὴν καὶ μεμνημένην τῆς μετὰ τοῦ ἀγεννήτου διαγωγῆς.—p. 295 καὶ Ἐπιφάνης δὲ τούτου παῖς διὰ Πλατωνικῆς ἡγμένος παιδείας τὴν τοῦτου μυθολογίαν ἐπλάτυνεν. Ἀδριανὸς δὲ καὶ οὗτοι βασιλεύοντες τὰς πονηρὰς αἱρέσεις ἐκράτυναν.

<sup>w</sup> The disciple of *Carprocrates*: Theodoret. hæ. fab. I. 6 p. 295 Πρόδικος δὲ τούτου [*Carprocratem*] διαδεξάμενος τὴν τῶν καλουμένων Ἀδαμῶν συνεστήσατο αἵρεσιν. οὗτος προφανῶς λαγνεύει τοῖς Καρποκράτους προστέθεικε δόγμασι· κοινὰς γὰρ εἶναι τὰς γυναῖκας ἐνομοθέτησεν κ. τ. λ.—τοιαῦτα καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ Προδίκου ψευδωνύμως γνωστικοὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀναγορεύοντες δογματίζουσιν.

<sup>x</sup> Theodoret. hæ. fab. I. 8 tom. 4 p. 300 ὁ δὲ Σεκοῦνδος τὸν Βαλεντίνου διαδεξάμενος διχῆ τὴν ὁδοῦ δι-



- 22 *Ptolemæus Valentini discipulus.* Tertullian. præscr. hæc. c. 49 p. 73 *Post hunc extiterunt Ptolemæus et Secundus hæretici, qui cum Valentino per omnia consentiunt, in illo solo differunt. nam cum Valentinus Æonas tantum triginta finxisset, isti addiderunt alios complures, quatuor enim primum deinde alios quatuor adgregaverunt*<sup>y</sup>.
- 23 *Heracleon Valentini discipulus.* Tertullian. Valentin. c. 4 p. 148 *Deduxit et Heracleon inde tramites quosdam et Secundus et magus Marcus. Multum circa imagines legis Theotimus operatus est.* Clem. Al. Strom. IV p. 502 B Ἡρακλέων ὁ τῆς Οὐαλεντίνου σχολῆς δοκιμώτατος<sup>z</sup>.
- 24 *Alexander Valentini discipulus.* Tertullian. de carne Christi c. 16 p. 379 *Insuper argumentandi libidine ex forma ingenii hæretici locum sibi fecit Alexander ille &c.* c. 17 p. 381 *Sed remisso Alexandro cum suis syllogismis quos in argumentationibus torquet, etiam cum psalmis Valentini quos magna impudentia quasi idonei alicujus auctoris interserit &c.* Hieron. proœm. in comm. ad Galatas tom. 9 p. 123 de commentatoribus in Ep. ad Galat. *Prætermitto—et Alexandrum veterem hæreticum.*
- 25 *Marcus.* Tertullian. Valentin. c. 4. See N<sup>o</sup> 23. de resurr. carnis c. 5. See N<sup>o</sup> 6. On his dogmas see Theodoret. hæc. fab. I. 9 tom. 4 p. 301. Conf. Irenæum hæc. I. 8. 9.
- 26 *Lucanus Marcionis discipulus.* *Apelles Marcionis discipulus.* Known to Rhodon (N<sup>o</sup> 53): See the Tables A. D. 196 p. 199.<sup>a</sup>

εἶπε, καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτῆς ἐκάλεσε δεξιὸν τὸ δὲ εὐώνυμον· καὶ προστέθεικε φῶς καὶ σκότος. καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ μυριοὶ ἐντεῦθεν ἀνεφύησαν αἰρέσεως ἄρχηγοί, Κοσσιανός, Θεόδοτος, Ἡρακλέων, Πτολεμαῖος, Μάρκος [N<sup>o</sup> 25], διάφορα προσεπινοήσαντες δόγματα.

<sup>y</sup> Tertullian. Valentin. c. 4 p. 148 *Eam postmodum Ptolemæus instravit nominibus et numeris æonum distinctis in personales substantias, sed extra Deum determinatas, quas Valentinus in ipsa summa divinitatis ut sensus et adfectus et motus incluserat.* c. 19 p. 170 *Hoc est mulum de asino pingere, et Ptolemæum describere de Valentino.* Conf. c. 20 p. 171 c. 33 p. 183. Athanasius in Arianos tom. 1 p. 510 D Πτολεμαῖος γὰρ ὁ Οὐαλεντίνου ἔφη δύο ζυγοὺς ἔχειν τὸν ἀγένητον, ἔνοιον καὶ θέλησιν· καὶ πρῶτον ἐνενοήσεν εἶτα ἠθέλησε κ. τ. λ. Eriphanus hæc. 33 p. 214 D τοῦ περὶ Σεκοῦνδον καὶ τὸν ὀνομασθέντα Ἐπιφάνη ἐξ Ἰσιδώρου τὴν παραίνεσον εἰς ἑαυτῶν ὑπόνοιαν ἀπεμπολήσαντος, Πτολεμαῖος διαδέχεται, τῆς μὲν αὐτῶν τῶν καλουμένων γνωστικῶν ὑπάρχων αἰρέσεως καὶ τῶν κατὰ Οὐαλεντίνου σὺν ἑτέροις τισίν. p. 216 B παραθήσομαι τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φύσει Πτολεμαίου Φλώρα τινὶ γυναικὶ γραφέντα—πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς εἰρημένους καὶ τὸν νόμον τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν διὰ Μωϋσέως βλασφημῶν οὐκ αἰσχύνεται. ἂ καὶ ἔστι ταῦτα· “Πτολεμαῖος πρὸς Φλώραν. Τὸν διὰ Μωϋσέως τεθέντα νόμον” κ. τ. λ. Conf. Irenæum hæc. I. 6.

<sup>z</sup> *Heracleon's* interpretations of parts of *St. John's* Gospel are often quoted and censured by *Origen*: Comm. in Joannem tom. II. 15 Opp. Vol. 1 p. 130 πάντων δὲ βιαίως κατὰ τὸν τόπον γενόμενος ὁ Ἡρακλέων τὸ “ὁ γέγονεν ἐν αὐτῷ ζωὴ ἦν”—κ. τ. λ. tom. VI. 2 p. 177 οὐχ ὑγιῶς δὲ ὁ Ἡρακλέων ὑπολαμβάνει “οὐδεὶς τὸν Θεὸν ἐώρακε πώποτε”—κ. τ. λ. tom. VI. 8 p. 200. 12 p. 206. 208. 209. 15 p. 222. 23 p. 234. 235. 23 p. 238 where *Heracleon* with many copies reads Βηθανία for Βηθαβάρη in Joan. XI.—38 p. 271. 272 πάλιν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ὁ Ἡρακλέων γενόμενος—“ἀμύνης τοῦ θεοῦ”—κ. τ. λ.

—οὐχ ἡγοῦμαι δὲ εἶναι ἀναγκαῖον μετὰ τηλικαύτας γεγενημένας ἐξετάσεις ταυτίσειν περὶ τὸν τόπον, ἀγωνιζομένους πρὸς τὰ εὐτελῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡρακλέωνος εἰρημένα. Again tom. X. 9 p. 291—293. 14 p. 309 19 p. 338—342. 21 p. 351. 22 p. 356. Again tom. XIII. 10 Opp. tom. 2 p. 18. 11 p. 20 ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν ἀνέγνωμεν [Joan. IV] “πέντε ἄνδρας ἔσχεσ.” παρὰ δὲ τῷ Ἡρακλέωνι εὔρομεν “ἕξ ἄνδρας ἔσχεσ.” 15 p. 25. 16 p. 27. 25 p. 43. 44. 28 p. 51. 30 p. 56 ὁ δὲ Ἡρακλέων τὴν ὑδρίαν [Joan. IV] τὴν δεκτικὴν ζωῆς ὑπολαμβάνει κ. τ. λ. 32 p. 60. 34 p. 65. 38 p. 70. 41 p. 79. 44 p. 85. 46 p. 87. 48 p. 95. 49 p. 99. 100. 50 p. 101. 51 p. 103. 52 p. 108. tom. XIX. 3 p. 167. 4 p. 180. tom. XX. 8 p. 211. 18 p. 240. 20 p. 250 p. 253 p. 254. 22 p. 264. 30 p. 290. 291. tom. VI. 23 Vol. 1 p. 236 *Heracleon* on the δημιουργός is quoted: οἷεται γὰρ τὸν δημιουργὸν ἐλάττωνα ὄντα τοῦ Χριστοῦ κ. τ. λ. tom. XIII. 59 Vol. 2 p. 123—125 on the δημιουργός and on the mortality of the soul: εἶκοι δὲ βασιλικὸν ὁ Ἡρακλέων λέγειν τὸν δημιουργὸν κ. τ. λ.—οὐκ οἶδα δὲ πῶς καὶ περὶ ἀθανασίας ψυχῆς ἀπιστεῖ κ. τ. λ. tom. XIII. 17 Vol. 2 p. 29 *Heracleon* quoted an apocryphal book: πολλὸν δὲ ἐστὶ νῦν κρείττον παρατίθεσθαι τοῦ Ἡρακλέωνος τὰ ῥητὰ, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπιγεγραμμένου Πέτρου κηρύγματος παραλαμβανόμενα, καὶ ἴστασθαι πρὸς αὐτὰ ἐξετάζοντας καὶ περὶ τοῦ βιβλίου, πότερον ποτε γνήσιόν ἐστιν ἢ νόθον ἢ μικτόν. κ. τ. λ.

<sup>a</sup> Tertullian de anima c. 23 p. 258 *Apelles sollicitas refert animas terrenis escis de supercaelestibus sedibus ab igneo angelo Dei.* c. 36 p. 292 *Apelles, non pictor sed hæreticus, ante corpora constituens animas viriles ac muliebres sicut a Philumena didicit.* Præscr. hæc. c. 30 p. 36 *Sed et Apellis stemma retractandum est. Tam non vetus et ipse quam Marcion institutor et reformator ejus, sed lapsus in fœmina desertor continentie Marcionensis ab oculis sanctissimi magistri Alexandriam concessit. Inde post annos regressus non melior nisi tantum, qua jam non Marcionites, in alteram fœminam*

- 27 *Montanus*. Tables A. D. 173. 212.<sup>b</sup>  
 28 *Agrippa Castor*. Tables A. D. 135 p. 123.  
 29 *Hermas*. Tables A. D. 136 p. 125.<sup>c</sup>

*impegit, illam virginem Philumenen quam supra edidimus, postea vero immane prostibulum et ipsam, cujus energemate circumventus quæ ab illa didicit phanero-seis scripsit. Adhuc in seculo supersunt qui meminerint eorum, etiam proprii discipulos et successores ipsorum. c. 37 p. 48 Qua potestate, Apelles, limites meos com-moves? c. 51 p. 75 Exstitit post Marcionem Lucanus quidam nomine, Marcionis sectator atque discipulus, et hic per eadem vadens blasphemia genera eadem docet quæ Marcion et Cerdon docuerant. Post hos subsequitur Apelles discipulus Marcionis, qui posteaquam in carnem suam lapsus est a Marcione segregatus est. De carne Christi c. 6 p. 355 Pervenimus—a Marcione ad Apellem, qui, posteaquam a disciplina Marcionis in muliere lapsus est dehinc in virgine Philumene spiritu eversus est, solidum Christi corpus et sine nativitate suscepit ab ea. c. 24 p. 395 Energema Apelliæ virginis Philumenes filium. Hieron. ad Ctes. p. 901 Apelles Philumenem suarum comitem habuit doctrinarum.*

<sup>b</sup> *Tertullian* in a work written after he became a Montanist thus speaks of *Montanus*: de jejuniis c. 1 p. 390 *Paracletus controversiam faciunt; propter hæc novæ prophetiæ recusantur: non quod alium Deum prædicent Montanus et Priscilla et Maximilla, nec quod Jesum Christum solvant nec quod aliquam fidei aut spei regulam evertant, sed quod plane doceant sæpius jejunare quam nubere. c. 12 p. 415 Quid ergo cessatis Paracletum quem in Montano negatis in Apicio credere? Adv. Praxeam c. 1 p. 190 Idem (Praxæas) tunc episcopum Romanum agnoscentem jam prophetias Montani Priscæ Maximillæ, et ex ea agnitione pacem ecclesiis Asiæ et Phrygiæ inferentem, falsa de ipsis prophetis et ecclesiis eorum adseverando—coegit et literas pacis revocare jam emissas. c. 8 p. 204 Paracletus docet. c. 30 p. 267 Sermones novæ prophetiæ. De anima c. 9 p. 225 Est hodie soror apud nos revelationum charismata sortita, quas in ecclesia inter Dominica solennia per exstasin in spiritu patitur, conversatur cum angelis, aliquando etiam cum Domino, &c. Hieronymus ad Marcellam p. 658. 659 compares the dogmas of the Church with those of the Montanists: Nos Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum in sua unumquemque persona ponimus, licet substantia copulemus; illi Sabellii dogma sectantes Trinitatem in unius personæ angustias cogunt. Nos secundas nuptias non tam appetimus quam concedimus, Paulo jubente ut viduæ adolescentulæ nubant; illi in tantum putant scelerata conjugia iterata ut quicumque hoc fecerit adulter habeatur. Nos unam quadragesimam secundum traditionem apostolorum toto anno tempore nobis congruo jejunamus; illi tres in anno faciunt quadragesimas.—Apud nos apostolorum locum episcopi tenent; apud eos episcopus tertius est: habent enim primos de Pepuza Phrygiæ patriarchas, secundos quos appellant Cenones;*

*atque ita in tertium, id est, pene ultimum locum episcopi devolvuntur.—Illi ad omne pene delictum ecclesiæ obserant fores; nos quotidie legimus “Malo pœnitentiam peccatoris quam mortem.”—Aperta est convincenda blasphemia dicentium Deum primum voluisse in veteri testamento per Moysen et prophetas salvare mundum, sed, quia non potuerit explere, corpus sumpsisse de virgine, et in Christo sub specie filii prædicantem mortem obisse pro nobis; et, quia per duos gradus mundum salvare nequiveret, ad extremum per Spiritum Sanctum in Montanum Priscam et Maximillam insanas feminas descendisse. Idem ad Pammachium p. 722 Montanus cum insanis feminis prosternatur. Ad Ctesiph. p. 901 Montanus immundi spiritus prædicator multas ecclesias per Priscam et Maximillam nobiles et opulentas feminas primum auro corruptit deinde hæresi polluit. Conf. Hieron. in Nahum tom. 6 p. 132 in Habacuc tom. 6 p. 145 in Jovinianum p. 557 Hedybiæ tom. 3 p. 289. 290. Athanasius de Synodis tom. 1 p. 872 Β ελαθον εαυτους πεσοντες εις την παρανοιαν των απο Φρυγιας—και ωσπερ εκεινοι Μαξιμιλλαν και Μοντανον οτως οτοι αντι του Χριστου Κωνσταντιον δεσποτην επιγραφονται. Cf. p. 882 C. Basilius ad Amphiloichium tom. 2 p. 758 C D οι τοιουν Πεπουζηνοι προδηλωσ εισιν αιρετικοι: εις γαρ το πνευμα το αγιον εβλασφημησαν Μοντανω και Πρισκιλλη την του παρακλητου προσηγοριαν αθεμιτως και ανασχυντως επιφημισαντες κ. τ. λ. Theodoret. hæc. fab. III. 2 tom. 4 p. 341 τῆς δὲ κατὰ Φρύγας καλουμένης αἰρέσεως ἤρξατο Μοντανός, ἀπὸ κόμης τινὸς ἐκεῖ διακειμένης ὀρμώμενος, Ἀρδαβάν καλουμένης. οὗτος οἰστηθεὶς ἔρωτι φιλαρχίας παράκλητον ἑαυτὸν προσηγόρευσε, καὶ προφήτιδας ἐποίησατο δύο, Πρίσκιλλαν καὶ Μαξιμίλλαν, καὶ τὰ τούτων συγγράματα προφητικὰ προσηγόρευσε βίβλους, Πέπουζαν δὲ τὴν κόμην ὠνόμασεν Ἱερουσαλήμ· οὗτος καὶ γάμον διαλύειν ἐνομοθέτησε καὶ νηστείας καινὰς παρὰ τὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπεισηγάγεν ἔθος· τὸν δὲ περὶ τῆς θείας Τριάδος οὐκ ἐλυμήνατο λόγον, καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου δημιουργίας ὁμοίως ἡμῖν ἐδογματίσεν.*

<sup>c</sup> *Origen* supposed the author of the *Pastor* to be *Hermas* the companion of *St. Paul*: Comm. in ep. in Romanos lib. X Vol. 7 p. 437 de *Herma* in Rom. XVI. 14 *Puto tamen quod Hermas iste sit scriptor libelli illius qui Pastor appellatur, quæ scriptura valde mihi utilis videtur, et, ut puto, divinitus inspirata.* And he quotes the work as a book of authority: Comm. in Matth. Vol. 4 p. 324 *Sic et in aliqua parabola refertur Pastoris, si cui placeat etiam illum legere librum.* p. 341 *Nam sicut legimus apud Pastorem &c. Hom. in Lucam 35 Vol. 5 p. 218 Transeat ad volumen quod titulo Pastoris scribitur. περι ἀρχῶν I. 3 p. 44 Oberthur Nam in eo libello qui Pastoris dicitur angeli pœnitentia quem Hermas conscripsit ita refertur &c. Ibid. II. 1 p. 88 Sed et in libro Pastoris in primo mandato ita ait &c. Ibid. III. 2 p. 259 Sed et Pastoris liber hæc eadem declarat &c. Ibid. IV. 11 p. 334.*



- 30 *Justinus Martyr*. Tables A. D. 141 p. 131 A. D. 151 p. 139. His *Apoloogy I* in A. D. 151.<sup>d</sup>  
 31 *Hegesippus*. A. D. 152—173. Tables p. 141. 169.<sup>e</sup>  
 32 *Athenagoras*. A. D. 168. Tables p. 161.  
 33 *Melito*. A. D. 172: p. 167.<sup>f</sup>

336 ἡμεῖς ἐν τῷ ὑπὸ τινῶν καταφρονουμένῳ βιβλίῳ τῷ Πουμένι περὶ τοῦ προστάσσεσθαι τὸν Ἑρμᾶν δύο γράφαι βιβλία, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτὸν ἀναγγέλλειν τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἃ μεμάθηκεν ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος οὕτω διηγούμεθα· ἔστι δὲ ἡ λέξις αὕτη· “Γράφεις δύο βιβλία” κ. τ. λ.

<sup>d</sup> De *Justino* Euseb. H. E. IV. 18 πλείστα δὲ οὗτος καταλείπειν ἡμῖν πεπαιδευμένης διανοίας—ὑπομνήματα.—ὁ μὲν τις ἐστὶν αὐτῷ λόγος πρὸς Ἀντωνῖνον τὸν Εὐσεβῆ—ὁ δὲ δευτέραν περιέχων ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας πίστεως ἀπολογίαν ἣν πεποιήται πρὸς τὸν τοῦ δεδηλωμένου αὐτοκράτορος διάδοχόν τε καὶ ὁμώνυμον Ἀντωνῖνον Οὐῆρον—καὶ ἄλλος ὁ πρὸς Ἕλληνας—καὶ αὐθις ἕτερον πρὸς Ἕλληνας εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλήλυθεν αὐτοῦ σύγγραμμα ὃ καὶ ἐπέγραψεν Ἐλεγχον· καὶ παρὰ τούτους ἄλλο περὶ Θεοῦ μοναρχίας—ἐπὶ τούτους ἐπιγεγραμμένον ψάλτης, καὶ ἄλλο σχολικὸν περὶ ψυχῆς—καὶ διάλογον δὲ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους συντάξεν ὃν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐφεσίων πόλεως πρὸς Τρύφωνα τῶν τότε Ἑβραίων ἐπισημότατον πεποιήται.—μέμνηται δὲ [see dial. cum Tryph. p. 179 C] καὶ τῆς Ἰωάννου ἀποκαλύψεως, σαφῶς τοῦ ἀποστόλου αὐτὴν εἶναι λέγων.—πλείστα δὲ καὶ ἕτερα παρὰ πολλοῖς φέρεται ἀδελφοῖς τῶν αὐτοῦ πόνων. Hieronymus Catal. c. 23 quoted in the Tables p. 131 adds the other works of *Justin*: *Exstat ejus et aliud volumen contra gentes—et quartum adversus gentes cui titulum prænотavit ἔλεγχος; sed et alius de monarchia Dei, et alius liber quem prænотavit Psalter, et alius de anima. Dialogus contra Judæos quem habuit adversus Tryphonem principem Judæorum. Sed et contra Marcionem insigni volumina quorum Irenæus quoque in quinto adversus hæreses libro meminit.* [See Euseb. H. E. IV. 11 quoted in the Tables p. 141. Idem IV. 18 Εἰρηναῖον—ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ—ἐπιλέγοντα “Καὶ καλῶς ὁ Ἰουστίνος ἐν τῷ πρὸς Μαρκίωνα συντάγματι φησὶν”—τοῦτο δὲ ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ—“Καλῶς ὁ Ἰουστίνος ἔφη,” κ. τ. λ.] *Et alius liber contra omnes hæreses, cujus facit mentionem in Apologetico quem dedit Antonino Pio.* Conf. Photium Cod. 125. Photius adds to these works a work against *Aristotle*: ἔτι ἕτερα αὐτοῦ πραγματεία κατὰ τοῦ πρώτου καὶ δευτέρου τῆς φυσικῆς ἀκροάσεως, ἧτοι κατὰ εἶδους καὶ ὕλης καὶ στερήσεως, ἐπιχειρηματικοὶ καὶ βίαιοι καὶ χρειώδεις λόγοι, καὶ κατὰ τοῦ πέμπτου σώματος ὁμοίως, καὶ κατὰ τῆς αἰδίου κινήσεως, ἣν Ἀριστοτέλης δεινότῃ λογισμῶν ἐναπέτεκεν, ἔτι δὲ ἀποριῶν κατὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας κεφαλαιώδεις ἐπιλύσεις. To these may be added, still extant, ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Διόγνητον, not named by Eusebius Hieronymus or Photius; for which and for other reasons some have doubted the genuineness of this piece. See Fabric. tom. 7 p. 65 w.

<sup>e</sup> Fragments of *Hegesippus* in Eusebius H. E. II. 23 Ἦγσ. ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ αὐτοῦ ὑπομνήματι. On the death of *James the Just*. III. 16 on the tumult at Corinth in the time of *Clemens Romanus*. III. 20. 32 on the grandsons of the apostle *St. Jude*, who were brought

before *Domitian* cir. A. D. 95. III. 11. 32 IV. 22 on *Simeon Clopas*. IV. 8 quoted in the Tables on the honours paid to *Antinous*. IV. 11 on *Anicetus* of Rome. IV. 22: See the Tables p. 169 and above p. 396. Idem IV. 22 καὶ ἕτερα δὲ πλείστα γράφει—ἐκ τε τοῦ καθ' Ἑβραίους εὐαγγελίου καὶ τοῦ Συριακοῦ, καὶ ἰδίως ἐκ τῆς Ἑβραϊδος διαλέκτου τινὰ τίθησιν ἐμφαίνων ἐξ Ἑβραίων ἐαντὸν πεπιστευκέαι. καὶ ἄλλα δὲ ὡς ἐξ Ἰουδαϊκῆς ἀγράφου παραδόσεως μνημονεύει.

Stephanus Gobarus quoted in the Tables p. 141 apud Photium Cod. 232 p. 893 Ἠγήσιππος ἀρχαῖός τε ἀνὴρ καὶ ἀποστολικὸς ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων—on the interpretation of I Cor. II. 9 and also on Matth. XIII. 16.

<sup>f</sup> Works of *Melito* apud Hieron. Catal. c. 24 Eusebius H. E. IV. 26.

1 *de Pascha libri II*. περὶ τοῦ πάσχα δύο Euseb.

2 *de vita prophetarum lib. I*. περὶ πολιτείας [καὶ] προφητῶν Euseb.

3 *de ecclesia lib. I* περὶ ἐκκλησίας Euseb.

4 *de die Dominica lib. I*. ὁ περὶ Κυριακῆς λόγος Euseb.

5 *de plasmate* Hieron. ὁ περὶ φύσεως ἀνθρώπου Euseb. ὁ περὶ πλάσεως Euseb. ὁ περὶ πίστεως ἀνθρώπου καὶ πλάσεως τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν εἰληφῶς Niceph. H. E. IV. 10.

6 *de sensibus lib. I*. ὁ περὶ αἰσθητηρίων Euseb. Niceph.

7 *de fide lib. I*. ὁ περὶ ὑπακοῆς πίστεως Euseb. Niceph.

8 *de anima et corpore lib. I*. ὁ περὶ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος Euseb.

9 *de baptisate lib. I*. ὁ περὶ λουτροῦ Euseb.

10 *de veritate lib. I*. ὁ περὶ ἀληθείας Euseb.

11 *de generatione Christi lib. I*. ὁ περὶ κτίσεως καὶ γενέσεως Χριστοῦ Euseb. Niceph.

12 *de prophetia sua lib. I*. λόγος αὐτοῦ περὶ προφητείας Euseb.

13 *de philoxenia lib. I*. ὁ περὶ φιλοξενίας Euseb.

14 *Clavis*. ἡ κλεῖς Euseb.

15 *de diabolo lib. I*. τὰ περὶ διαβόλου Euseb.

16 *de apocalypsi Joannis lib. I*. τῆς ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰωάννου Euseb.

17 περὶ ἐνσωμάτου Θεοῦ lib. I.

18 *ἐκλογῶν libri VI*. Eusebius: ἐν δὲ ταῖς γραφεύσαις αὐτῷ ἐκλογαῖς ὁ αὐτὸς κατὰ τὸ προοίμιον ἀρχόμενος τῶν ὁμολογουμένων τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης γραφῶν ποιείται κατάλογον—“Μελίτων Ὀνησίμῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν. ἐπειδὴ πολλάκις” κ. τ. λ.—“ἐξ ὧν καὶ τὰς ἐκλογὰς ἐποίησάμην εἰς ἐξ βιβλία διελῶν.”

19 περὶ σαρκώσεως Χριστοῦ πρὸς Μαρκίωνα. om. Euseb. *Lib. III* is quoted apud Routh tom. I p. 115.

20 λόγος εἰς τὸ πάθος. Apud Routh. tom. I p. 116. om. Eusebius.

21 *Apologeticus*. See the Tables p. 167.

- 34 *Theophilus Antiochenus*. A. D. 171—181. Tables p. 165 p. 181.  
 35 *Apollinarius Hierapolitanus*. A. D. 172. 174. His works are given in the Tables p. 167. s  
 36 *Dionysius Corinthius*. A. D. 173. Tables p. 167 p. 169.  
 37 *Pinytus*. A. D. 173. Tables p. 167. A. D. 183 p. 183.  
 38 *Tatianus*. A. D. 173. Tables p. 169 p. 199. <sup>h</sup>  
 39 *Philippus*. A. D. 183 Tables p. 183.  
 40 *Musanus* or *Musianus*. A. D. 183. A. D. 205 p. 213. Wrote against the *Severians*: Theodoret. hæ. fab. I. 21 quoted above in N<sup>o</sup> 38.  
 41 *Modestus*. A. D. 183. Wrote against heresies: Theodoret. hæ. fab. I. 25 tom. 4 p. 318.  
 42 *Julius Cassianus*. Cir. A. D. 174—190. Clem. Al. Strom. III p. 465 B τοιούτοις ἐπιχείρει καὶ ὁ τῆς δοκίσεως ἐξάρχων Ἰούλιος Κασσιανός· ἐν γοῦν τῷ Περὶ ἐγκρατείας ἢ Περὶ εὐνουχίας κατὰ λέξιν φησὶν “Καὶ μηδεὶς λεγέτω” κ. τ. λ. Strom. III p. 469 D διὰ ταῦτα ἡ δόκησις Κασσιανῶ· διὰ ταῦτα καὶ Μαρκίῳνι, ναὶ μὴν καὶ Οὐαλεντίνῳ, τὸ σῶμα τὸ ψυχικόν. Strom. I p. 320 B πάσης σοφίας ἀρχαιοτάτη ἢ κατὰ Ἑβραίων φιλοσοφία. εἴρηται μὲν οὖν περὶ τούτων ἀκριβῶς Τατιανῶ ἐν τῷ Πρὸς Ἑλληνας, εἴρηται δὲ καὶ Κασσιανῶ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν ἐξηγητικῶν.  
 43 *Bardesanes*. A. D. 173. Tables p. 169. <sup>i</sup>

g *Apollinarius* also wrote *de Pascha*: Chron. Pasch. p. 6 C Ἀπολλιναρίου ἐπισκόπου Ἱεραπόλεως, ὅτι ἐν φῶ καιρῷ ὁ Κύριος ἔπαθεν οὐκ ἔφαγε τὸ τυπικὸν πάσχα. Καὶ Ἀπολλινάριος δὲ ὁ οὐσιώτατος ἐπίσκοπος Ἱεραπόλεως τῆς Ἀσίας, ὁ ἐγγὺς τῶν ἀποστολικῶν χρόνων γεγωνῶς, ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ πάσχα λόγῳ τὰ παραπλήσια ἐδίδαξε λέγων οὕτως· “Εἰσι τοίνυν οἱ δι’ ἄγνοιαν φιλονεικοῦσι” κ. τ. λ.

h Tertullian. de jejuniis c. 15 p. 418 quoted above at N<sup>o</sup> 17. Idem præscr. hæ. c. 52 p. 76 *His hæreticis omnibus accedit Tatianus quidam alter hæreticus. Hic Justinus Martyris discipulus fuit, post hunc divisa, sentire cepit; toties enim secundum Valentinum sapit, adjiciens illud, Adam nec salutem consequi posse.* Irenæus apud Euseb. H. E. IV. 29 quoted in the Tables adds αἰδῶνάς τινας ἀοράτους ὁμοίως τοῖς ἀπὸ Οὐαλεντίνου μυθολογήσας, τὸν γάμον τε φθορὰν καὶ πορνείαν παραπλησίως Μαρκίῳνι καὶ Σατορνίῳ ἀναγορεύσας· τῇ δὲ τοῦ Ἀδάμ σωτηρίᾳ παρ’ ἑαυτοῦ τὴν ἀντιολογίαν ποιησάμενος. Eusebius concludes Ibid. καταλείπει δὲ οὗτος πολὺ τι πλήθος συγγραμμάτων, ὃν μάλιστα παρὰ πολλοῖς μνημονεύεται διαβόητος αὐτοῦ λόγος ὁ Πρὸς Ἑλληνας, ἐν φῶ καὶ τῶν ἀνέκαθεν χρόνων μνημονεύσας τῶν παρ’ Ἑλλησιν εὐδοκίμων ἀπάντων προγενέστερον Μωϋσεία τε καὶ τοὺς Ἑβραίων προφήτας ἀπέφηνεν· ὅς δὴ καὶ δοκεῖ τῶν συγγραμμάτων ἀπάντων αὐτοῦ κάλλιστός τε καὶ ὠφελιμώτατος ὑπάρχειν. Hieron. Catal. c. 29 abridges Eusebius: *Tatianus, qui primum Oratoriam docens non parvam sibi ex arte rhetorica gloriam comparaverat, Justinus Martyris sectator fuit, florens in ecclesia quamdiu ab ejus latere non discessit. postea vero inflatus eloquentiæ tumore novam condidit hæresim quæ ἐγκρατιῶν dicitur. quam postea Severus auxit, a quo ejusdem partis hæretici Severiani usque hodie appellantur* [Euseb. IV. 29]. *Porro Tatianus infinita scripsit volumina, e quibus unus contra gentes florentissimus exstat liber, qui inter omnia opera ejus fertur insignis. Et hic sub imperatore M. Antonino Vero et L. Aurelio Commodo floruit.* Theodoret. hæ. fab. I. 20. 21 Τατιανὸς δὲ ὁ Σύρος σοφιστῆς ἐγεγονεὶ τὸ πρώτων,

ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοῦ θεοπεσίου Ἰουστίνου τοῦ μάρτυρος ἐγένετο φοιτητής. μετὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ διδασκάλου τελείωσιν ἐπόθησε γενέσθαι προστάτης αἵρέσεως. ἠρανίστατο δὲ τὰς τοῦ πλάσματος ἀφορμὰς, ἀπὸ μὲν Βαλεντίνου τῶν αἰῶνων τὰς προβολὰς, ἀπὸ δὲ Σατορνίλου καὶ Μαρκίῳνους τὸν γάμον βδελύττεσθαι καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐμφύχων καὶ τὴν τοῦ οἴνου μετάληψιν. τοῦτον ἔχουσι ἀρχηγὸν οἱ λεγόμενοι Ὑδροπαραστάται καὶ Ἐγκρατιταί.—τὴν τοῦτου διδασκαλίαν Σευήρος διαδεξάμενος ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας προσηγορίας τοὺς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ πεφενაკισμένους ὠνόμασεν. ἐντεῦθεν Σευηριανούς τινὲς τοὺς Ἐγκρατιτὰς καλοῦσιν. οὗτοι καὶ τοῦ θείου Παύλου τὰς ἐπιστολάς καὶ τῶν πράξεων τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐκβάλλουσι. κατὰ τούτων συγγράφει Μουσανὸς [N<sup>o</sup> 40] τῆς ἀληθείας συνήγορος, καὶ Κλήμης ὁ στρωματεὺς, καὶ Ἀπολλινάριος ὁ τῆς κατὰ Φρυγίαν ἱεράς πόλεως γεγωνῶς ἐπίσκοπος, καὶ Ὀριγένης.

Hieron. præf. in Ep. ad Titum tom. 9 p. 195 *Tatianus Encratitarum patriarches, qui et ipse nonnullas Pauli epistolas repudiavit, hanc vel maxime, hæc est, ad Titum, apostoli pronuntiandam credidit, parvi pendens Marcionis et aliorum qui cum eo in hac parte consentiunt assertionem.* Idem in Jovin. p. 579 *Reprobat apostolus [sc. 1 Tim. IV] eos qui prohibebant nuptias et jubebant cibis abstinere.—Marcionem designat et Tatianum et ceteros hæreticos qui abstinentiam indicunt perpetuam ad destruenda et contemnenda et abominanda opera Creatoris.* Cf. Hieron. ad Pammachium p. 612 *Tatiani principis Encratitarum errore decepti &c.* p. 619 *Tatianum Encratitarum principem qui abjicit matrimonia reprehendimus.* Conf. Clem. Al. Strom. III p. 460 A.

i Euseb. H. E. IV. 30 ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς βασιλείας [sc. imp. Marco] πληθυσσῶν τῶν αἵρέσεων ἐπὶ τῆς μέσης τῶν ποταμῶν Βαρδησάνης, ἰκανώτατός τις ἀνὴρ ἔν τε τῇ Σύρων φωνῇ διαλεκτικώτατος, πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ Μαρκίῳνα καὶ τινὰς ἐτέρους διαφόρων προϋσταμένους δογμάτων διαλόγους συστησάμενος τῇ οἰκείᾳ παραδέδωκε γλώττη τε καὶ γραφῇ, μετὰ καὶ πλείστον ἐτέρων αὐτοῦ συγγραμμάτων, ὅς οἱ



- 44 *Praxeas*. Against whom Tertullian wrote. See N<sup>o</sup> 27. *Praxeas* held *patrem compassum esse cum filio*: Tertullian. c. 1 p. 189. 190 *Ipsum dicit patrem descendisse in virgine, ipsum ex ea natum, ipsum passum*.—*Iste primus ex Asia hoc genus perversitatis intulit homo*.
- 45 *Theodotus coriarius*. Auctor apud Eusebium H. E. V. 28 Βίκτωρ τὸν σκυτέα Θεόδοτον τὸν ἀρχηγὸν καὶ πατέρα ταύτης τῆς ἀρνησιθέου ἀποστασίας ἀπεκήρυξε τῆς κοινωρίας, πρῶτον εἰπόντα ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν Χριστόν.—Νατάλιος ἦν τις ὁμολογητῆς, οὐ πάλαι ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων γενόμενος καιρῶν· οὗτος ἠπατήθη ποτὲ ὑπὸ Ἀσκληπιοδότου καὶ ἐτέρου Θεοδότου τινὸς τραπέζιτου ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι ἄμφω Θεοδότου τοῦ σκυτέως μαθηταὶ τοῦ πρώτου ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ φρονήσει μᾶλλον δὲ ἀφροσύνῃ ἀφορισθέντος τῆς κοινωρίας ὑπὸ Βίκτορος, ὡς ἔφην, τοῦ τότε ἐπισκόπου<sup>κ</sup>. A third *Theodotus* a Montanist is named by Eusebius H. E. V. 3 τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Μουτανὸν καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδην καὶ Θεόδοτον περὶ τὴν Φρυγίαν ἄρτι τότε πρῶτον τὴν περὶ τοῦ προφητείου ὑπόληψιν παρὰ πολλοῖς ἐκφερομένων.
- 46 *Victor Romanus*. A. D. 189: Tables p. 187. A. D. 197: p. 200. 201.
- 47 *Theodotus trapezites*. See N<sup>o</sup> 45.<sup>1</sup>

γνώριμοι—ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλήνων ἀπὸ τῆς Σύρων μεταβεβλήκασι φωνῆς. ἐν οἷς ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ πρὸς Ἀντωνίνου ἰκανώτατος αὐτοῦ περὶ εἰμαρμένης διάλογος· ὅσα τε ἄλλα φασὶν αὐτὸν προφάσει τοῦ τότε διωγμοῦ συγγράφαι. ἦν δ' ἄρα οὗτος πρότερον τῆς κατὰ Οὐαλεντίνου σχολῆς· καταγνοῦς δὲ ταύτης πλείστα τε τῆς κατὰ τοῦτον μυθοποιίας ἀπελέγξας ἐδόκει μὲν πως αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ ἐστὶ τὴν ὀρθοτέραν γνώμην μετατεθεῖσθαι, οὐ μὴν καὶ πατελῶς γε ἀπερρύψατο τὸν τῆς παλαιᾶς αἵρέσεως ῥύπον. Hieron. Catal. c. 33 *Bardanes in Mesopotamia clarus habitus est, qui primum Valentini sectator deinde confutator novam hæresim condidit. Ardens ejus a Syris prædicatur ingenium et in disputatione vehementis. Scripsit infinita adversum omnes præne hæreticos qui ætate ejus pullulaverant; in quibus clarissimus et fortissimus liber quem M. Antonino de Fato tradidit, et multa alia super persecutione volumina, quæ sectatores ejus de Syra lingua verterunt in Græcam. Si autem tanta vis est et fulgor in interpretatione, quantum putamus in sermone proprio?* Theodoret. hæ. fab. I. 22 Βαρδησάνης δὲ ὁ Σύρος, ἐξ Ἐδέσης ὀρμώμενος, ἐν τοῖς Οὐήρου Μάρκου Καίσαρος ἤκμασι χρόνοις. τοῦτον φασὶ πολλὰ τῆς Βαλεντίνου περικόψαι μυθολογίας. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῆ Σύρων συνέγραψε γλώττῃ, καὶ ταῦτα τινὲς μετέφρασαν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα φωνῆν. ἐντετύχηκα δὲ καὶ γὰρ λόγοις αὐτοῦ καὶ κατὰ εἰμαρμένης γραφεῖσι καὶ πρὸς τὴν Μαρκίωνος αἵρεσιν καὶ ἄλλοις οὐκ ὀλίγοις. φασὶ δὲ καὶ Ἀρμόνιον, τοῦτου παῖδα γενόμενον, ἐν Ἀθήναις τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν παιδευθῆναι φωνῆν. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ οὗτος συνέγραψε τῇ Σύρων γλώττῃ χρησάμενος. τὴν τῶν ἀμφοτέρων δὲ πλάνην Ἐφραίμ ὁ Σύρος ὁ πανεύφημος γενναίως διήλεγξεν. A fragment *de Fato* is preserved by Eusebius Præp. X. 10 p. 273 A—280 C. παραθήσομαι δέ σοι καὶ τῶνδε τὰς ἀποδείξεις ἐξ ἀνδρὸς Σύρου μὲν τὸ γένος ἐπ' ἄκρον δὲ τῆς Χαλδαϊκῆς ἐπιστήμης ἑλληλεκτός. Βαρδησάνης ὄνομα τῷ ἀνδρὶ. ὃς ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τοὺς ἐταίρους διαλόγοις τάδε πῆ μνημονεύεται φάσαι. κ. τ. λ. Epiphanius hæ. 56 p. 476 D Βαρδησάνης,—ἐξ οὐπὲρ ἢ αἵρεσις τῶν Βαρδησιανιστῶν γεγένηται, ἐκ Μεσοποταμίας μὲν τὸ γένος ἦν κατὰ τὴν Ἐδεσσηνῶν πόλιν κατοκούντων.—διήρκεσεν—ἄχρι τῶν χρόνων Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος, οὐ τοῦ Εὐσεβεῖος καλουμένου ἀλλὰ τοῦ Οὐήρου· ὃς

πολλὰ (πρὸς) Ἀβεΐδαν τὸν ἀστρονόμον κατὰ εἰμαρμένης λέγων συνελογήσατο.

Hieron. in Jovinian. p. 573 *Bardanes vir Babylonius in duo dogmata apud Indos Gymnosophistas dividit, quorum alterum appellat Bragmanas alterum Samanæos*. Mentioned by Porphyry de Abst. IV. 17 p. 355 δύο αἵρέσεις ὄν τῆς μὲν Βραχυμάνες προΐστανται τῆς δὲ Σαμαναῖοι. κ. τ. λ.—ὡς Βαρδησάνης ἀνὴρ Βαβυλωνίος, ἐπὶ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν γεγονὼς, καὶ ἐντυχὼν τοῖς περὶ Δαμάδαμν πεπεμμένους Ἰνδοῖς πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα, ἀνέγραψεν. Idem de Styge (see above c. 7 p. 298 *Porphyry Works* n. 4) apud Stobæum Ecl. I. 56 tom. 1 p. 140 Heer. Ἰνδοὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ ἐξ Ἐμοσῶν [sc. *Elagabalū*] εἰς τὴν Συρίαν Βαρδισάνῃ τῷ ἐκ Μεσοποταμίας εἰς λόγους ἀφικόμενοι ἐξηγήσατο, ὡς ὁ Βαρδισάνης ἀνέγραψεν, εἶναι τινα λίμνην ἐτι καὶ νῦν παρ' Ἰνδοῖς δοκιμαστηρίου λεγόμενῃ κ. τ. λ. Heeren ad Stobæum l. c. after Vossius contends that this Babylonian was a different person from *Bardanes* of whom Eusebius Theodoret and Epiphanius speak. But Fabricius tom. 4 p. 247 thinks that they were the same. And this is more probable. For Porphyry in Stobæus calls *Bardanes* the *Mesopotamian*. Heeren asserts that the Babylonian was a century later than the former. But from *M. Aurelius* A. D. 161—180 to *Elagabalus* A. D. 218—222 are only 50 or 55 years. *Bardanes* might survive through that period, and be living in the generation before *Porphyry*, who was born only 53 years after the death of *Marcus*.

<sup>κ</sup> Theodoret. hæ. fab. II. 5 tom. 4 p. 331 καὶ Θεόδοτος δὲ ὁ Βυζάντιος ὁ σκυτεύς ταῦτα τοῦτω πεφρονηκῶς ἐτέρας ἠγήσατο φρατρίας. τοῦτον δὲ ὁ τρισμακάριος Βίκτωρ ὁ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπίσκοπος ἀπεκήρυξεν, ὡς παραχαράξαι πειραθέντα τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὰ δόγματα. κατὰ τῆς τοῦτον αἵρέσεως ὁ μικρὸς συνεγράφη λαβύρινθος, ὃν τινες Ὀριγένους ὑπολαμβάνουσι ποίημα, ἀλλ' ὁ χαρακτήρ ἐλέγχει τοὺς λέγοντας. Mentioned by Hieronymus in Helvidium p. 469 *Hebionem et Theodotum Byzantium et Valentinum*.

<sup>1</sup> Theodoret. hæ. fab. II. 6 τοὺς δὲ Μελχισεδεκίανους τμήμα μὲν εἶναι τοῦτων φασὶ, καθ' ἐν δὲ μόνον διαφωνεῖν,

- 48 *Artemon*. Euseb. H. E. V. 28 τούτων [conf. c. 27] ἐν τινος σπουδάσματι κατὰ τῆς Ἀρτέμωνος αἰρέσεως πεπονημένῳ, ἣν αὐθις ὁ ἐκ Σαμοσάτων Παῦλος καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀνανεώσασθαι πεπειράται. In Epistola apud VII, 30 τῇ μιαιρᾷ αἰρέσει τῇ Ἀρτεμᾷ. τί γὰρ οὐ χρὴ μόλις τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ δηλῶσαι;—τῷ δὲ Ἀρτεμᾷ οὗτος ἐπιστελλέτω καὶ οἱ τὰ Ἀρτεμᾷ φρουοῦντες τούτῳ [sc. *Paulo Samosat.*] κοινωνεῖτωσαν. Theodoret. H. E. I. 3 tom. 3 p. 739 ἡ ἔναγχος ἐπαναστάσα [sc. *Αἰτιῶν*] τῇ ἐκκλησιαστικῇ εὐσεβείᾳ διδασκαλίᾳ Ἐββίωνός ἐστι καὶ Ἀρτεμᾷ, καὶ ζῆλος τοῦ κατὰ Ἀντιόχειαν Παύλου τοῦ Σαμοσάτῳ<sup>m</sup>.
- 49 *Florinus*. Euseb. H. E. V. 20 Εἰρηναῖος διαφόρους ἐπιστολὰς συντάττει—τὴν δὲ πρὸς Φλωρίνου περὶ μοναρχίας ἢ περὶ τοῦ μὴ εἶναι τὸν Θεὸν ποιητὴν κακῶν. ταύτης γὰρ τοι τῆς γνώμης οὗτος ἐδόκει προασπίζειν. δι' οὗ αὐθις ὑποσυρόμενον τῇ κατὰ Οὐαλεντίνου πλάνῃ καὶ τὸ περὶ οὐδοῶδος συντάττεται τῷ Εἰρηναίῳ σπουδάσμα.—ἐν ἧ γέ μὴν προειρήκαμεν πρὸς τὸν Φλωρίνου ὁ Εἰρηναῖος ἐπιστολῇ αὐθις τῆς ἅμα Πολυκάρπου συνουσίας αὐτοῦ μνημονεύει λέγων “Ταῦτα τὰ δόγματα, Φλωρίνε, ἵνα πεφεισμένως εἶπω, οὐκ ἔστιν ὑγιούς γνώμης.—εἶδον γάρ σε παῖς ὢν ἔτι ἐν τῇ κάτω Ἀσίᾳ παρὰ τῷ Πολυκάρπῳ λαμπρῶς πράττοντα ἐν τῇ βασιλικῇ αὐλῇ” κ. τ. λ.<sup>n</sup>
- 50 *Hermogenes*. Against whom *Tertullian* wrote. Mentioned as still living by Tertullian. præser. hæ. c. 30 p. 38 *Hermogenes et multi alii adhuc ambulantes pervertentes vias Dei*. Mentioned again de Monogamia c. 16 p. 167 *Hermogenem aliquem plures solitum mulieres ducere quam ringere*. Theodoret. hæ. fab. I. 19 tom. 4 p. 311 ὁ δὲ Ἐρμογένης ἐξ ὑποκειμένης ὕλης καὶ συναγενητόν τὸν Θεὸν ἐφη δημιουργῆσαι τὰ πάντα.—οὗτος τοῦ κυρίου τὸ σῶμα ἐν τῷ ἡλίῳ εἶπεν ἀποτεθῆναι, τὸν δὲ διάβολον καὶ τοὺς δαίμονας εἰς τὴν ὕλην ἀνασχεθῆσθαι. κατὰ τούτου συνέγραψε Θεόφιλος ὁ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἐπίσκοπος καὶ Ὁριγένης ὡσαύτως. κατὰ δὲ Βαλεντίνου καὶ τῶν ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ Εἰρηναῖος καὶ Κλήμης καὶ Ὁριγένης.
- 51 *Irenæus*. His mission to Rome A. D. 177 Tables p. 175. Named at A. D. 183: p. 181. 183. and at A. D. 197: p. 201.<sup>o</sup>
- 52 *Pantænus*. A. D. 180 Tables p. 179. See A. D. 190 p. 187. Described also at A. D. 194 p. 195.

τὸ τὸν Μελχισεδέκ δύναμιν τιὰ καὶ θείαν καὶ μεγίστην ὑπολαμβάνειν, κατ' εἰκόνα δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸν Χριστὸν γεγενῆσθαι. ἤρξε δὲ τῆς αἰρέσεως ταύτης ἄλλος Θεόδοτος ἀργυραμοιβὸς τὴν τέχνην.

<sup>m</sup> Theodoret. hæ. fab. II. 4 καὶ Ἀρτέμων δὲ τις, οὗ τινες Ἀρτεμᾶν ὀνομάζουσι, τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὸν τῶν ὄλων Θεὸν παραπλησίως ἡμῖν ἐδόξασεν, αὐτὸν εἰρηκῶς εἶναι τοῦ παντός ποιητὴν, τὸν δὲ κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἄνθρωπον εἶπε ψιλὸν ἐκ παρθένου γεγεννημένον, τῶν δὲ προφητῶν ἀρετῇ κρείττονα.

<sup>n</sup> Theodoret. hæ. fab. I. 23 tom. 4 p. 313 καὶ Φλωρίνος δὲ καὶ Βλάστος εἰς τὸν τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ πρεσβυτέρων συντελοῦντες κατάλογον εἰς τὴν Βαλεντίνου λώβην ἀπέκλιναν. τούτων φασὶ τὴν νόσον τὸν τρισμακάριον Εἰρηναῖον ὀλοφύρομενον τὴν κατὰ Βαλεντίνου ποιήσασθαι συγγραφὴν. From the letter of *Irenæus* ad *Florinum* apud Euseb. V. 20 it seems that *Florinus* added new opinions of his own to the dogmas of *Valentinus*: ταῦτα τὰ δόγματα οὐδὲ οἱ ἕξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας αἰρετικοὶ ἐτόλμησαν ἀποφῆνασθαι ποτε.

<sup>o</sup> Works of *Irenæus*: Hieron. Catal. c. 35 Euseb. H. E. V. 5—8. 20. 26.

1 *Quinque adversus hæreses libri*. Quoted Hieron. Theodoræ p. 288 Magno p. 1083 Euseb. H. E. V. 5.

6. 7. 8. Extant in a Latin version, with some fragments in Eusebius.

2 πρὸς Ἑλληνας. Euseb. V. 26 φέρεται τις αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ἑλληνας λόγος συντομώτατος καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἀναγκαῖος περὶ ἐπιστήμης ἐπιγεγραμμένος. Hieronymus from a wrong interpretation of Eusebius makes it two works: *Contra gentes volumen breve, et de disciplina aliud*.

3 ad *Marcianum*. Euseb. V. 26 ἄλλος ὃν ἀνατέθεικεν ἀδελφῷ Μαρκιανῷ τοῦνομα, εἰς ἐπίδειξιν τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ κηρύγματος. Hieron. *Ad Martianum fratrem de apostolica prædicatione*.

4 βιβλίον διαλέξεων διαφόρων. Euseb. Hieron. Quoted by Joann. Damascenus tom. 2 p. 724 Εἰρηναῖος ἐκ τῶν διαλέξεων “τὸ ἔργον τοῦ Χριστιανοῦ οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἄλλο ἢ τὸ μελετᾶν ἀποθνήσκειν.”

5 ad *Blastum de schismate*. Euseb. V. 20 Hieron.

6 ad *Florinum*. Euseb. V. 20. See N<sup>o</sup> 49. Hieron. *Ad Florinum de monarchia, sive quod Deus non sit conditor malorum*.

7 de *Ogdoade*. Hieron. *Egregium commentarium in cuius fine significans se apostolicorum temporum vicinum fuisse sic subscripsit* &c. From Eusebius V. 20.

8 *Epistola ad Victorem de Pascha*. Hieron. c. 35 Euseb. V. 23. 24. See the Tables A. D. 197.



- 53 *Rhodon*. A. D. 196: Tables p. 199. Wrote against heresies: Theodoret. hæc. fab. præf. tom. 4 p. 282 I. 25 tom. 4 p. 318.
- 54 *Clemens Alexandrinus*. Tables A. D. 180 p. 179 A. D. 194 p. 195. Still living in A. D. 203: p. 211. Named at A. D. 205 by Eusebius: Tables p. 213.
- 55 *Miltiades*. A. D. 184 Tables p. 183.<sup>p</sup>
- 56 *Apollonius*. A. D. 212 Tables p. 221. Wrote against the Montanists.
- 57 *Serapion Antiochenus*. Placed at A. D. 190—203. Tables p. 187. 211.<sup>r</sup>
- 58 *Theophilus Cæsareæ* }  
 59 *Bacchylus Corinthius* } A. D. 190—196. Tables p. 189. 199.<sup>s</sup>  
 60 *Polycrates Ephesius* }
- 61 *Demetrius Alexandrinus*. His episcopate was at A. D. 190—233: Tables p. 187 p. 247. For his conduct to *Origen* see A. D. 228 p. 243 A. D. 231 p. 245. 247.
- 62 *Heraclitus*. A. D. 195 p. 197.
- 63 *Maximus* περὶ ἕλης. Tables A. D. 195 p. 197.
- 64 *Candidus* }  
 65 *Apion* } Tables A. D. 195 p. 197.  
 66 *Sextus* }  
 67 *Arabianus* }
- 68 *Judas*. Tables A. D. 202 p. 209.
- 69 *Tertullianus*<sup>t</sup>. Flourished cir. A. D. 190—214. A Montanist before A. D. 207: Tables

<sup>p</sup> Tertullian. in Valentin. c. 5 p. 149 *Ut Justinus philosophus et martyr, ut Miltiades ecclesiarum sophista, ut Irenæus omnium doctrinarum diligentissimus explorator.*

<sup>r</sup> Works of *Serapion*: Euseb. H. E. VI. 12 Hieron. Catal. c. 41.

1 *Epistola ad Caricum et Pontium*. Euseb. V. 19 Hieron. c. 41. See the Tables A. D. 190 p. 189.

2 *Epistola ad Dominum*. Euseb. VI. 12 τοῦ μὲν οὖν Σαραπίανος τῆς περὶ λόγους ἀσκήσεως καὶ ἄλλα μὲν εἰκὸς σώζεσθαι παρ' ἑτέροισι ὑπομνήματα, εἰς ἡμᾶς δὲ μόνῃ κατήλθε τὰ πρὸς Δομνίνον ἐκπεπωκότα τινὰ παρὰ τὸν τοῦ διωγμοῦ καιρὸν [A. D. 202] ἀπὸ τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν πίστεως ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰουδαϊκὴν ἐβελοθησκεῖαν· καὶ τὰ πρὸς Πόντιον καὶ Καρικὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸς ἄνδρας, καὶ ἄλλαι πρὸς ἑτέροισι ἐπιστολαί· ἑτέροις τε συντεταγμένοι αὐτῷ λόγος περὶ τοῦ λεγομένου κατὰ Πέτρον εὐαγγελίου, ὃν πεποιήται ἀπελέγχων τὰ ψευδῶς ἐν αὐτῷ εἰρημένα διὰ τινος ἐν τῇ κατὰ Ῥωσσοὺν παροιμία. Hieron. *Ad Dominum quoque qui persecutionis tempore ad Judæos declinaverat volumen composuit.*

3 *de Petri evangelio*. Euseb. Hieron. *Et alium de evangelio quod sub nomine Petri fertur librum ad Rhosensem Cilicis ecclesiam, quæ in hæresim ejus lectione diverterat.* Eusebius gives extracts.

4 *Epistolæ*. Euseb. Hieron. *Leguntur et sparsim ejus breves epistolæ auctoris sui ἀσκήσει et vitæ congruentes.*

<sup>s</sup> *Theophilus Bacchylus Polycrates* all took part in the controversy concerning Easter. See the Tables A. D. 197 p. 201.

<sup>t</sup> Hieronymus Catal. c. 53 thus speaks of the works of *Tertullian*: *Specialiter adversum ecclesiam*

*texuit volumina De pudicitia De jejuniis De monogamia, De exstasi libros VI et septimum quem adversum Apollonium [Nº 56] composuit. Ferturque—multa quæ non exstant opuscula condidisse.*

Some of the extant works were composed before and some after he became a Montanist.

*I ante Montanismum*

- 1 *de oratione.*
- 2 (A. D. 197) *ad martyres.*
- 3 (A. D. 198) *de spectaculis.*
- 4 (A. D. 198) *de idololatria.*
- 5 (A. D. 199) *apologeticus.*
- 6 (A. D. 199) *ad nationes.*
- 7 (A. D. 199) *de testimonio animæ.*
- 8 *de baptismo.*
- 9 *ad uxorem.*

*II post Montanismum*

- 10 *de corona militis.*
- 11 *de virginibus velandis.*
- 12 *de cultu feminarum.*
- 13 *de fuga.*
- 14 *de exhortatione castitatis.*
- 15 *de monogamia.*
- 16 *de jejuniis.*
- 17 *de pudicitia.*
- 18 *adversus Praxeam* [Nº 44].
- 19 *adversus Hermogenem* [Nº 50].
- 20 *de anima.*
- 21 *contra gnosticos scorpiace.*
- 22 *adversus Valentinianos.*
- 23 A. D. 207 *adversus Marcionem* [Nº 17] *lib. I.* Tables p. 215.

p. 215. Lived to extreme old age: See the Tables A. D. 208 p. 215 p. 217. He alludes to his early paganism: de pœnitentia c. 1 p. 41 *Hoc genus hominum, quod et ipsi olim fuimus, cœci sine Domini lumina.* Apologet. c. 18 p. 48 *Hæc et nos risimus aliquando. De vestris fuimus. Fiunt non nascuntur Christiani.* He joins Montanus: in Praxeam c. 1 p. 191 *Et nos quidem postea agnitio Paracleti atque defensio disjuncta a psychicis.* c. 13 p. 216 *nos Paracleti discipuli.* He marks his own time: Apologet. c. 25 p. 72 *grande documentum nostræ etiam ætati proposuit, Marco Aurelio apud Sirmium reipublicæ exempto.* He mentions c. 35 p. 86 *Cassius, Niger, Albinus.* c. 4 p. 14 *Nonne vanissimas Papias leges—Severus constantissimus principum exclusit?* He marks Africa as his country: c. 9 p. 25 *Infantes penes Africam Saturno immolabantur palam usque ad proconsulatum Tiberii, qui ipsos sacerdotes in eisdem arboribus templi sui—crucibus exposuit, teste militia patricæ nostræ, quæ id ipsum munus illi proconsuli functa est.*

*Tertullian præser. hæ. c. 21 p. 24 testifies to the equal authority of all the apostolical churches for establishing by tradition what the Apostles taught upon the fundamental doctrines: Si Dominus Jesus Christus apostolos misit ad prædicandum, alios non esse recipiendos prædicatores quam quos Christus instituit.—Quid autem prædicaverint, id est, quid illis Christus revelaverit, et hic præscribam non aliter probari debere nisi per easdem ecclesias quas ipsi apostoli condiderunt ipsi eis prædicando, tam viva (quod aiunt) voce quam per epistolas postea. Si hæc ita sunt, constat proinde omnem doctrinam quæ cum illis ecclesiis apostolicis matricibus et originalibus fidei conspiraret veritati deputandam; sine dubio tenentem quæ ecclesie ab Apostolis Apostoli a Christo Christus a Deo accepit<sup>v</sup>.*

70 *Hippolytus*<sup>w</sup>. Tables A. D. 222 p. 235 A. D. 227 p. 241. As he conversed with *Irenæus*

24 *de præscriptionibus hæreticorum. adversus Marcionem II. III. IV.*

25 *de carne Christi.*

26 *de resurrectione carnis. adversus Marcionem V.*

27 *cir. A. D. 209 de pallio.* Tables p. 217.

28 *de patientia.*

29 *A. D. 211 ad Scapulam.* Tables p. 219.

30 *de pœnitentia.*

(31 *adversum Judæos.*)

*Tertullian de baptismo c. 15 p. 202 refers to his Greek writings: Sed et de isto plenius jam nobis in Græco digestum est. Again de corona c. 6 p. 346 Sed et huic materiæ—Græco quoque stilo satisfecimus.* On this subject see Semler tom. 5 p. 229. 230. 258. 261 &c. and Geiseler Vol. 1 p. 147. Semler unreasonably insinuates a doubt.

<sup>v</sup> Hieronymus has these testimonies to *Tertullian*: Catal. c. 53 *Vidi ego quendam Paulum Concordiæ, quod Oppidum Italiæ est, senem, qui se beati Cypriani jam grandis ætatis notarium, cum ipse admodum esset adolescens, Romæ vidisse diceret, referreque sibi solitum nunquam Cyprianum absque Tertulliani lectione unum diem præteruisse, ac sibi crebro dicere "Da magistrum."* Idem ad Pammachium p. 778 *Beatus Cyprianus Tertulliano magistro utitur, ut ejus scripta probant; cumque eruditi et ardentis viri delectetur ingenio, Montanum cum eo non sequitur.* Idem Paulino p. 138 *Tertullianus creber est in sententiis, sed difficilis in loquendo.* Ad Eustochium p. 205 *Legas Tertullianum ad amicum*

*philosophum scribentem et de virginitate alios libellos.* Idem Magno p. 1084 *Quid Tertulliano eruditus quid acutius? Apologeticus ejus et contra gentes libri cunctam sæculi continent disciplinam.*

<sup>w</sup> The genuine titles of the works of *Hippolytus* may be gathered from Eusebius and Photius quoted in the Tables, from Hieronymus c. 61 and from Theodoret. Some of more doubtful authority are added in the chair of *Hippolytus*.

1 *In Hexæmeron.* Euseb. VI. 22.

2 *eis τὰ μετὰ τὴν ἑξάμηρον.* Euseb. VI. 22.

3 *In Exodum.* Hieron.

4 *In Canticum Cantorum.* Euseb. Hieron.

5 *In Genesim.* Hieron. Idem Damaso tom. 3 p. 59 upon Isaac blessing Jacob: *Quoniam autem polliciti sumus et de eo in figura quid significaret adjungere, Hippolyti martyris verba ponamus; a quo et Victorinus noster non plurimum discrepat.*

6 *In Zachariam.* Hieron.

7 *In Psalmos.* Hieron. Theodoret. tom. 4 p. 130—132 *τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰππολύτου ἐπισκόπου καὶ μάρτυρος—ἐκ τῆς ἐρμηνείας τοῦ β' ψαλμοῦ.* tom. 4 p. 133 *ἐκ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ εἰς τὸν κ' ψαλμόν.*

8 *In Esaiam.* Hieron.

9 *De Daniele.* Hieron. Phot.

10 *In Ezekiel.* Euseb. VI. 22.

11 *De Apocalypsi.* Hieron. Andreas ad Apocal. XIII. 1 p. 99 Peltani, ad XVII. 10 p. 143 Peltani, Arethas ad Apocal. p. 878. Uterque in præcæmio: see the Tables p. 81.



and still wrote in the sixth year of *Alexander*, he may be placed at A. D. 190—227. If he was a martyr (which is not however mentioned by Eusebius) his life was extended beyond the reign of *Alexander* to the time of *Maximin* A. D. 235.

The name of his bishoprick was unknown to Eusebius Hieronymus and Theodoret<sup>x</sup>. Later writers assign him a diocese<sup>y</sup>.

71 *Origenes*. Born A. D. 185 : Tables p. 183. In his 17th year at the death of his father A. D. 202 : p. 209. Studied under *Ammonius* at Alexandria in A. D. 206 : p. 213 p. 215. In his early youth he wrote commentaries upon philosophy<sup>z</sup>. *Origen* visited Antioch in 226 : p. 239. 241. a presbyter in 228 : p. 241. 243. at Casarea A. D. 231 : p. 245. 247. He died in his 69th year in A. D. 253 : p. 275.<sup>a</sup>

12 *De proverbiiis*. Hieron.

13 *De Ecclesiaste*. Hieron.

14 *De Saul et Pythonissa*. Hieron.

15 *De Antichristo*. Hieron. Phot.

16 *De Resurrectione*. Hieron.

17 *Contra Marcionem*. Euseb. Hieron.

18 *De Pascha*. Euseb. Hieron. Inscr. Marmor.

19 *Contra omnes haereses*. Euseb. Hieron. Phot. Theodoret. tom. 4 p. 341 ή Νικολαϊτῶν αἵρεσις.—κατὰ τούτων συνέγραψεν Ἰππόλυτος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος καὶ μάρτυς.

20 *Contra gentes*. Hieron. Magno p. 1083 *Contra gentes Miltiades—Hippolytus quoque et Apollonius propria opuscula condiderunt.* πρὸς Ἑλληνας Inscr. Marmorea.

21 προσομιλία *de laude Domini Salvatoris, in qua, presente Origene, se loqui de ecclesia significat.* Hieron. Catal. c. 61.

22 λόγοι τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰππολύτου ἐπισκόπου καὶ μάρτυρος apud Theodoret. tom. 4. εἰς τὸ “Κύριος ποιμαίνει με” κ. τ. λ. p. 54. 55. εἰς τὴν τῶν ταλάντων διανομήν p. 130. εἰς τὴν ὥδην τὴν μεγάλην p. 131. εἰς τοὺς δύο ληστὰς p. 233.

23 πρὸς βασιλῖδα τινὰ ἐπιστολή. Theodoret. tom. 4 p. 131. 232.

In Inscript. Marmor. are added the following.

[24 εἰς τὴν ἐγγαστριμίθων.]

[25 περὶ χαρισμάτων.]

[26 ἀποστολικὴ παράδοσις.]

[27 πρὸς Πλάτωνα.]

[28 περὶ τὰγαθοῦ, καὶ πόθεν τὸ κακόν.]

[29 προτρεπτικὸς πρὸς Σεβηρίαν.]

<sup>x</sup> Euseb. H. E. VI. 20 Ἰππόλυτος, ἐτέρας πού καὶ αὐτὸς προεστὼς ἐκκλησίας. Hieron. Catal. c. 61 *Hippolytus cujusdam urbis episcopus; nomen quippe urbis scire non potui.* For Theodoret see note w.

<sup>y</sup> A. D. 492 Gelasius Romanus *de duabus in Christo naturis adversus Eutychem et Nestorium* (see Gennadius quoted in the Tables p. 709) apud Sam. Basnage Vol. 2 p. 288 Oudin Vol. 1 p. 222 *Hippolyti episcopi et martyris, Arabum metropolis.*

A. D. 620 Chron. Pasch. p. 6 A Ἰππόλυτος ὁ τῆς εὐσεβείας μάρτυς, ἐπίσκοπος γεγονὼς τοῦ καλουμένου Πόρτου πλησίον τῆς Ῥώμης.

A. D. 808 Syncellus p. 358 B Ἰππόλυτος ἱερός φιλόσοφος ἐπίσκοπος Πόρτου τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην.

A. D. 610 Leontius *de sectis* § 6 apud Fabricium ad Hippolyti Opp. p. IX κλήμης καὶ Ἰππόλυτος ἐπίσκοπος Ῥώμης.

A. D. 730 Jo. Damascenus tom. 2 p. 787 C τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰππολύτου Ῥώμης.

A. D. 1057 Cedrenus p. 247 D οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ θείος Ἰππόλυτος Ῥώμης κ. τ. λ.

A. D. 1117 Zonaras tom. 1 p. 620 B τότε Οὐρβανὸς τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως προεστὼτος [A. D. 222—230] καὶ Ἰππόλυτος ἦνθι, ἀνὴρ ἱερώτατος καὶ σοφώτατος, ἐπίσκοπος τοῦ κατὰ Ῥώμην Πόρτου γενόμενος, ὃς καὶ πολλὰ συγγράμματα συνεγράψατο, διάφορα τῆς θείας γραφῆς ἐξηγησάμενος.

A. D. 1310 Nicephorus H. E. IV. 31 τοῖς δὲ κατὰ Σευῆρον χρόνοις [sc. *Alexandrum*] καὶ Ἰππόλυτος ὁ Πόρτου τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπος γεγονὼς ἀκμάζων ἦν.

If *Hippolytus* had been bishop of a diocese near Rome, it is strange that the Roman bishop *Gelasius* should not have known it.

<sup>z</sup> Euseb. H. E. VI. 18 εἰσῆγεν ὅσους εὐφρῶς ἔχοντας ἑώρα καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ φιλόσοφα μαθήματα, γεωμετρίαν καὶ ἀριθμητικὴν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα προπαιδεύματα παραδιδούς· εἰς τε τὰς αἵρέσεις τὰς παρὰ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις προάγων καὶ τὰ παρὰ τούτοις συγγράμματα διηγούμενος, ὑπομηματιζόμενός τε καὶ θεωρῶν εἰς ἕκαστα, ὥστε μέγαν καὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς Ἑλλησι φιλόσοφον τὸν ἄνδρα κηρύττεσθαι.

<sup>a</sup> Hieronymus Catal. c. 54 (parts of which are quoted in the Tables) thus proceeds concerning *Origen*: *Sed et illud, quod ad Mamæam matrem Alexandri imperatoris religiosam fœminam rogatus venit Antiochiam* [see the Tables p. 241], *et summo honore habitus est.—Quis ignorat et quod tantum in Scripturis divinis habuerit studii ut etiam Hebræam linguam contra ætatis gentisque suæ naturam edisceret, et exceptis LXX interpretibus alias quoque editiones in unum congregaret volumen, Aquila scilicet Pontici proselyti et Theodotionis Hebionæi et Symmachi ejusdem dogmatis, qui in evangelium quoque κατὰ Μαρθαῖον scripsit commentarios, de quo et suum dogma confirmare conatur. Præterea quintam et sextam et septimam editionem, quas etiam nos de ejus bibliotheca habemus, miro labore reperit et cum cæteris editionibus comparavit. Et quia indicem operum ejus in voluminibus epistolarum quas ad Paulam scripsimus in quadam epistola contra Varronis opera conferens posui, nunc omitto, illud de im-*

72 *Ammonius*. Hieron. Catal. c. 53. A distinct person from *Ammonius Saccas* the preceptor of *Origen*. See above, Greek Authors N° 194 p. 296.

*mortali ejus ingenio non tacens, quod Dialecticam quoque et Geometriam et Arithmeticam Musicam Grammaticam et Rhetoricam omniumque philosophorum sectas ita didicit ut studiosos quoque secularium literarum sectatores haberet, et interpretaretur eis quotidie, concursusque ad eum miri fierent; quos ille propterea recipiebat ut sub occasione sæcularis literaturæ in fide Christi eos institueret.—Et super Origenis statu si quis scire velit quid actum sit &c.* See the Tables A. D. 250 p. 269.

Works of *Origen* after A. D. 226 are recorded in the Tables from Eusebius.

His works at Alexandria between A. D. 226 and 235 (Tables p. 243. 245) are the following.

*Comm. in Joannem tom. I—V.*

*in Genesim tom. I—VIII.*

*in Psalmos 1—25.*

*περί ἀναστάσεως βιβλία δύο.*

*in Lamentationem.*

*περί ἀρχῶν.*

*στρωματεῖς libb. X.*

In A. D. 235 *De martyrio*. Tables p. 249. After that date *Comm. in Joann. tom. XXII.* p. 249. Within A. D. 239—249 *Comm. in Esaiam, Comm. in Ezekiel*. Tables p. 255.

After A. D. 245

*Homiliæ ex ore exceptæ.* Tables p. 263.

*Contra Celsum libri VIII.* p. 263.

*Comm. in Matthæum tomi XXV.* Ibid.

*in prophetas XII minores tomi XXV.* Ibid.

*Epistola varia.*

Among the other works of *Origen*, of which the time is uncertain, may be named the following.

*Hexapla et Tetrapla*: Euseb. H. E. VI. 16. The *Hexapla* before the *Tetrapla*. One contained six Greek versions, the other contained four. Conf. intt. ad Euseb. l. c. tom. 2 p. 193—195 Heinechen.

*Comm. in I Corinth.* Before *Hom. 17 in Lucam*: Opp. tom. 5 p. 151.

*Homiliæ in Lucam, Comm. in Lucam.* Before *Comm. in Joann. tom. XXXII. 2*: Opp. tom. 2 p. 378.

*Comm. in Rom. tomi XV.* Before *Cels. V. 47*: Opp. tom. 19 p. 257, VIII. 65: tom. 20 p. 206. and before *Comm. in Matth. XVII. 32*: Opp. tom. 4 p. 159.

*Epistola ad Africanum de Susanna*: Euseb. H. E. VI. 31.

*Epistola ad Gregorium Thaumaturgum.*

*Comm. in Galatas tomi V.* Hieron. præem. in Galat. tom. 9 p. 123 Ep. 89 Augustino tom. 2 p. 1103.

Hieronimus, who praised *Origen* in A. D. 392, afterwards condemned him as heretical. Hence *Augustine* Ep. 19 Hieronymo p. 87 (apud Hieronymum Ep. 97 p. 1150) *Origenem ac Didymum reprehensos abs*

*te lego etiam in recentioribus opusculis tuis—quamvis Origenem mirabiliter ante laudaveris.*

*Origen's* heretical opinions are set forth by Epiphanius hæ. 64 p. 527. 528 and again by Epiphanius ad Joan. Hierosolym. apud Hieronymum Ep. 60 p. 713—717; collected by Hieronymus Ep. 61 p. 726. 727 in Joann. Hierosol. into eight points.

1 That the persons of the Trinity are not equal: *Sicut incongruum est dicere quod possit Filius videre Patrem, ita inconueniens est opinari quod Spiritus Sanctus possit videre Filium.*

2 He held the preexistence of souls, which were placed in human bodies as a punishment for former transgressions.

3 That future punishments would not be eternal, and that the devils will be forgiven at last. Athanas. tom. 1 p. 236B τέλος κηρύττων τῆς κολάσεως, ἐν αἷς φησι συγχώρησιν πάσης ἀμαρτίας γενέσθαι, καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ τοῖς δαίμοσι παρὰ Θεοῦ.

4 He interpreted Genesis III. 21 to mean "He gave them bodies"—*quod tunicas pelliceas humana corpora interpretetur.*

5 That there will be no resurrection of the body and no difference of sexes in the future world.

6 He treats the description of Paradise in Genesis II. 8—14 as an allegory.

7 He allegorises Gen. I. 6. 7. *Aquas quæ super cælos in Scripturis esse dicuntur sanctas supernasque virtutes, quæ super terram, et infra terram, contrarias et dæmoniicas esse arbitratur.*

8 That the image of God in which man was made (Genes. I. 26. 27) was lost after the Fall. *Dicit ab eo perditam et in homine post Paradisum non fuisse.*

The charges against him were afterwards enlarged into fifteen propositions apud Anonymum Photii Cod. 117, in which, however, all the articles named by Hieronymus are not included.

But although *Origen* was rudely assailed by Theophilus and Epiphanius and Hieronymus, yet he was more favourably judged by others of equal name: Stephanus Gabarus apud Phot. Cod. 232 p. 904 ἔτι Ὀριγένην καὶ Θεόγρωστον ὁ τε μέγας Ἀθανάσιος ὁ Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐν πολλοῖς ἀπεδέχετο λόγοις, καὶ Τίτος ὁ Βόστρων [N° 141], καὶ ὁ θεόλογος Γρηγόριος ἐν ἐπιστολαῖς φιλόκαλον αὐτὸν λέγει, καὶ ὁ Νύσσης δὲ εὐφήμεος εἰς μνήμην ἄγει. ἀλλὰ καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀλεξανδρείας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκείνων γράφων, ἔτι δὲ καὶ μετὰ θάνατον ἐκείνου πρὸς Θεόσκενον τὸν τῆς Καισαρείας ἐπίσκοπον [N° 96] γράφων δι' ἐπαίνων τὸν Ὀριγένην ἄγει· καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ἱεραπόλεως ἐπίσκοπος καὶ μάρτυς πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν Ὀριγένην γράφων λίαν οικειοῦται τὸν ἄνδρα τοῖς λόγοις. Athanasius himself in Arianos tom. 1 p. 277 A περι δὲ τοῦ αἰδῖως συνείναι τὸν λόγον τῷ πατρὶ, καὶ μὴ ἑτέρας οὐσίας ἢ ὑποστάσεως, ἀλλὰ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἴδιον αὐτὸν εἶναι, ὡς εἰρήκασιν οἱ ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ, ἐξέστω πάλιν ἡμᾶς ἀκοῦσαι καὶ παρὰ τοῦ φιλοπόνου



- 73 *Ambrosius*. The disciple and friend of *Origen*. Tables A. D. 235 p. 249 A. D. 246 p. 265 Died before A. D. 253.
- 74 *Noetus*. Epiphanius hæc. 57 p. 479 C ἕτερος πάλιν μετὰ τοῦτον [sc. *Bardesanem*] Νοητὸς ὀνόματι ἀνέστη, οὐ πρὸ ἐτῶν πλείονων ἀλλ' ὡς πρὸ χρόνου τῶν τούτων [before A. D. 375] ἑκατὸν τριάκοντα, πλείω ἢ ἐλάσσω, Ἀσιανὸς τῆς Ἐφέσου πόλεως ὑπάρχων<sup>b</sup>.
- 75 *Heraclas Alexandrinus*. Bishop of Alexandria in A. D. 233: Tables p. 247. See A. D. 221 p. 235 A. D. 231 p. 245. Succeeded by *Dionysius* in 249: p. 267.
- 76 *Tryphon Origenis discipulus*. Tables A. D. 254 p. 275. See A. D. 261 p. 287.<sup>c</sup>
- 77 *Minucius Felix*. Hieron. Catal. c. 58 *Minucius Felix Romæ insignis causidicus scripsit dialogum Christiani et ethnici disputantium, qui Octavius inscribitur. Sed et alius sub nomine ejus*

Ἐπιφάνιος, ἃ μὲν γὰρ ὡς ζητῶν καὶ γυμνάζων ἔγραψε, ταῦτα μὴ ὡς αὐτοῦ φρονούντος δεχέσθω τις.—τούτου τοῦ φιλοπόνου τοῦ φρόνημά ἐστι. μετὰ γοῦν τὰ ὡς ἐν γυμνασίᾳ λεγόμενα πρὸς τοὺς αἰρετικούς εὐθὺς αὐτὸς ἐπιφέρει τὰ ἴδια λέγων οὕτως· “Εἰ ἔστιν εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἀορατοῦ” κ.τ.λ. Athanasius quotes him again with approbation in a passage marked in the Tables A. D. 285 p. 329. Cf. Socratem H. E. VI. 13. Anonymus apud Photium Cod. 117 ἀνεγνώσθη βιβλίον ὑπὲρ Ἐπιφάνιου καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ θεοστυγῶν δογμάτων ἐν τόμοις εἴ. ἀνεπίγραφον δὲ τὴν ὀνομασίαν ἐτύγχανε τοῦ συντεταχότος.—ὁ δὲ τοῦ συγγράμματος πατὴρ μάρτυρας ὑπὲρ Ἐπιφάνιου τε καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ δογμάτων Διονύσιον προκομίζει τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείας [N° 89], Δημήτριόν τε καὶ Κλήμεντα καὶ ἑτέρους πλείους· μᾶλλον δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων Παμφίλῳ τε τῷ μάρτυρι ἐπερίδεται καὶ τῷ Εὐσεβίῳ, ὃς τῆς κατὰ Παλαιστίνην Καισαρείας ἐπεσκόπησεν. ἡ δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀπολογία οὐκ ἔστι λύσις τῶν ἐπικλημάτων ὡς ἐπὶ πλείστον, ἀλλὰ συνηγορία τῆς κατηγορίας.—Ψυχῶν τε γὰρ προὔπαρξιν συνμολογεῖ, γραφικαῖς καὶ πατρικαῖς φωναῖς (ὡς οὔεται) τὸν λήρον τοῦτον ἐπισυγκροτῶν, καὶ σωμάτων ἄλλων εἰσάγει ἀνάληψιν. περὶ μέντοι τῆς ἀγίας τριάδος οὐδὲν οὔτος τῶν ἐσφαλμένων λέγει. φησὶ δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ Ἐπιφάνιου μηδὲν αὐτὸν κατὰ δόξαν ἐσφαλθαι περὶ τῆς τριάδος, ἀντιφερόμενον δὲ τῆς αἵρέσεως Σαβελλίου εἰς μέγα κακοῦ ἡρμένῃ τότε, καὶ τὴν τῶν προσώπων τριάδα ἐναργεστάτην καὶ πολλοῖς τρόποις διαφέρουσαν ἀγωνιζόμενον παραστήσαι, πέρα τοῦ προσήκοτος καὶ εἰς τὸνναντίον ἀπειχεθῆναι, ἐξ οὗ δόξα καὶ τῷ Ἀρειανῷ ἀρρωστήματι προεαλωκέναι. ὑπὲρ μέντοι γε τῶν ἄλλων αὐτοῦ δογμάτων, ὅσοις μήτε συγκαταθέσθαι τοῦ θαρρεῖν πρόφασιν ἔχει μήτε τῶν προειρημένων αἰτίαν πορίσασθαι δυνατὸν οἶδε, πολλὴν εἰσάγει σπουδὴν ἀποφῆναι ἢ γυμνασίας αὐτῷ χάριν εἰρῆσθαι ἢ ὑπὸ τινῶν ἑτεροδόξων τοῖς αὐτοῦ συγγράμμασι παρεμβεβληθῆναι. καὶ προάγει καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκείνου τούτου βοῶντα καὶ διατιυόμενον· φωρᾶσαι γὰρ αὐτὸν φησὶ καὶ ἔτι ζῶντα ταύτην κατ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ῥαδιουργίαν. ἔστι δὲ ἃ λέγει μάτην αὐτοῦ κατηγορηθῆναι κεφάλαια πεντεκαίδεκα, ἅτινα καὶ διελέγχει διαβολὰς εἶναι, ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου συγγραμμάτων ποιούμενος τοὺς ἐλέγχους ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ τόμῳ. Augustinus de hæc. c. 43 “*Origeniani, inquit (Epiphanius) —“ mortuorum resurrectionem repellunt, Christum autem creaturam et Spiritum Sanctum introducentes, paradisum autem et caelos et alia omnia allegorizantes.” Hæc quidem de Origene Epiphanius, sed qui eum defendunt unius ejusdemque substantiæ esse dicunt docuisse*

*Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum; neque resurrectionem repulisse mortuorum, quamvis et in istis eum convincere studeant qui ejus plura legerunt. Sed sunt hujus Origenis alia dogmata quæ catholica ecclesia omnino non recipit, in quibus nec ipsum falso arguit nec potest ab ejus defensoribus falli; maxime de purgatione et liberatione ac rursus post longum tempus ad eadem mala revolutione rationalis universæ creaturæ.—De qua vanissima impietate adversus philosophos a quibus ista didicit Origenes in libris de Civitate Dei diligentissime disputavi.*

In behalf of *Origen* we may contend that his meaning was sometimes exaggerated or perverted by his adversaries; that much was added by his followers which was not his own; that his zeal in combating an error sometimes carried him (as it has carried others) into the opposite extreme; that his opinions are sometimes corrected and explained by other passages in his works; that his speculations were not all intended to be published; that he sometimes proposed opinions as problems for consideration, as conjectures and not certainties; that he was humble and unassuming and by no means confident in himself; finally that his errors of judgment were very much outweighed by his merits.

<sup>b</sup> Epiphanius I. c. οὗτος ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐπάρματι μανίας ἐπαρθεὶς ἐτόλμησε λέγειν τὸν πατέρα πεπονηθέναι, ἔτι δὲ μείζονί τι τὴν τύφῳ καὶ παραφροσύνῃ ἐνεχθεὶς ἑαυτὸν ἔλεγε Μωϋσέα καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Ἄαρῶν. Theodoret. hæc. fab. III. 3 tom. 4 p. 342 ὁ δὲ Νοητὸς Σμυρναῖος μὲν ἦν τὸ γένος ἀνεπέσαστο δὲ τὴν αἵρῃσιν ἦν Ἐπίγονος μὲν τις οὕτω καλούμενος ἀπεκύησε πρῶτος Κλεομένης δὲ παραλαβὼν ἐβεβαίωσε. ταῦτα δὲ ἐστὶ τῆς αἵρέσεως τὰ κεφαλαῖα. ἕνα φασὶν εἶναι θεὸν καὶ πατέρα τῶν ὄλων δημιουργόν· ἀφᾶν μὲν ὅταν ἐθέλη φαίνεσθαι δὲ ἡνίκα ἂν βούληται. καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀορατὸν εἶναι καὶ ὀρώμενον καὶ γεννητὸν καὶ ἀγέννητον· ἀγέννητον μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γεννητὸν δὲ ὅτε ἐκ παρθένου γεννηθῆναι ἠθέλησεν· ἀπαθὴ καὶ ἀθάνατον, καὶ πάλιν αὐτὸ παθητὸν καὶ θνητὸν. ἀπαθὴς γὰρ ὢν, φησὶ, τὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ πάθος ἐθέλησας ὑπέμεινε. τούτων καὶ ἰὸν ὀνομάζουσι καὶ πατέρα, πρὸς τὰς χρεῖας τούτου κάκεινο καλούμενον.—ταύτης μετὰ τὸν Νοητὸν ὑπερήσπισε Κάλλιστος, ἐπιθήκας τιὰς καὶ οὗτος ἐπινοήσας τῇ δυσσεβείᾳ τοῦ δόγματος.

<sup>c</sup> Conf. Fabricium B. G. tom. 7 p. 332.



*fertur de fato vel contra mathematicos, qui, cum sit et ipse disertus hominis, non mihi videtur cum superioris libri stilo convenire. Meminit hujus Minucii et Lactantius in libris suis.* Sc. Inst. div. I. 11, V. 1. Flourished therefore before A. D. 306, when *Lactantius* lived, and after *Origen*, since he is placed by Hieronymus below *Trypho* the disciple of *Origen*<sup>d</sup>.

78 *Caius*. A. D. 210. Tables p. 217.<sup>c</sup>

79 *Beryllus*. Bishop of *Bosra*. Flourished A. D. 210—227: Tables A. D. 210 p. 217 A. D. 227 p. 241.

80 *Alexander Hierosolymitanus*. Succeeded *Narcissus* in A. D. 214: Tables p. 223. Perished in the Decian persecution A. D. 250: p. 269.

81 *Julius Africanus*. His chronology and works: Tables A. D. 221 p. 233. See A. D. 222 p. 235.<sup>f</sup>

82 *Geminus Antiochenus*. Tables A. D. 227.<sup>g</sup>

83 *Theoctistus Cæsareæ Palæstinæ episcopus*. Received *Origen* in A. D. 231: Tables p. 245. Mentioned at A. D. 252: p. 271. Succeeded by *Domnus* in 261: p. 287.

84 *Gregorius Thaumaturgus*. The disciple of *Origen*: Tables A. D. 232 p. 247. Appointed bishop of *Cæsarea* in Pontus about the year 261: Euseb. quoted in the Tables p. 287. He was present at the council upon *Paul* of *Samosata* in A. D. 264: Tables p. 291.<sup>h</sup>

<sup>d</sup> Hieron. Magno p. 1084 *Minucius Felix caudidicus Romani fori in libro cui titulus Octavius est, et in altero contra mathematicos,—quid gentilium scripturarum dimisit intactum?* Epitaph. Nepotiani tom. I p. 31 *Hoc Lactantii illud Hilarii est, sic Minucius Felix &c. Minucius* himself p. 335 speaks of an intended treatise of *Fato*: *De fato satis vel si pauca pro tempore, disputaturi alias et uberius et plenius.*

<sup>e</sup> Eusebius adds VI. 20 that *Caius* received only 13 epistles of *St. Paul*: τῶν τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀποστόλου δεκατριῶν μόνων ἐπιστολῶν μνημονεύει, τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους μὴ συναριθμήσας ταῖς λοιπαῖς· ἐπεὶ καὶ εἰς δεῦρο παρὰ Ῥωμαίων τισὶν οὐ νομίζεται τοῦ ἀποστόλου τυγχάνειν. Hieron. Catal. c. 59 *Epistolas Pauli XIII tantum enumerans decimam quartam, quæ fertur ad Hebræos, dicit non ejus esse; sed et apud Romanos usque hodie quasi Pauli apostoli non habetur.* Phot. Cod. 48 τούτων τὸν Γάϊον πρῶτον φασὶ γεγενῆσθαι τῆς κατὰ Ῥώμην ἐκκλησίας ἐπὶ Οὐίκτορος καὶ Ζεφυρίνου τῶν ἀρχιερέων, χειροτονηθῆναι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐθνῶν ἐπίσκοπον. συντάξαι δὲ καὶ ἕτερον λόγον ἰδίως κατὰ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος [N 48] αἰρέσεως, καὶ κατὰ Πρόκλου δὲ σπουδαστοῦ Μοντανῶ σπουδαίαν διάλεξιν συνεταχέναι, ἐν ᾗ ἰγ' μόνas ἐπιστολὰς ἀριθμείται Παύλου, οὐκ ἐγκρίνων τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους.

<sup>f</sup> Hieron. Magno p. 1083 *Exstant et Julii Africani libri, qui temporum scripsit historias.*

<sup>g</sup> Hieron. Catal. c. 64 *Geminus Antiochenæ ecclesiæ presbyter pauca ingenii sui monumenta composuit, florens sub Alexandro principe* [A. D. 222—235] *et episcopo urbis suæ Zebenno* [A. D. 228] *eo vel maxime tempore quo Heraclas Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ pontifex ordinatus est* [A. D. 233].

<sup>h</sup> Hieron. Catal. c. 65 quoted in the Tables p. 247 adds *Theodorus proficiens πανηγυρικὸν εὐχαριστίας scripsit Origeni, et convocata grandi frequentia ipso quoque Origene præsentate recitavit, qui usque hodie ex-*

*stat. Scripsit et μετάφρασιν in Ecclesiasten brevem quidem sed valde utilem. Et alia hujus vulgo feruntur epistola. Sed præcipue signa atque miracula quæ jam episcopus cum multa ecclesiarum gloria perpétravit.* Idem Magno p. 1083 *Exstant libri—Theodori qui postea Gregorius appellatus est, viri apostolicorum signorum atque virtutum.* Addressed by *Origen* in a letter still extant: Philocal. c. 13 tom. 25 p. 66. Socrates H. E. IV. 27 de *Gregorius Naz. et Nysseno*: ἄλλος ἐστὶν ὁ Ποντικός Γρηγόριος, ὅστις ἐκ τῆς ἐν Πόντῳ Νεοκαισαρείας ὁρμώμενος ἀρχαιότερος τούτων ἐστὶ μαθητῆς γὰρ Ὀριγένους ἐγένετο. περὶ τούτου τοῦ Γρηγορίου πολλοὶ ὁ λόγος ἐν τε Ἀθήναις καὶ Βηρυτῶ καὶ ἄλλῃ τῇ Ποντικῇ διοικήσει, ὡς δὲ εἰπεῖν, καὶ πάσῃ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ· οὗτος γὰρ ὡς τῶν Ἀθήνησι παιδευτηρίων ἀναχωρήσας ἐν τῇ Βηρυτῶ νόμους ἐμάνθανε· πυθόμενός τε ἐν τῇ Καισαρείᾳ τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα ἐρμηνεύειν Ὀριγένην, δρομαῖος ἐπὶ τὴν Καισαρείαν παραγίνεται· ἀκροασάμενός τε τῆς μεγαλοφώνου θεωρίας τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων, πολλὰ χαίρειν εἰπὼν τοῖς Ῥωμαϊκοῖς νόμοις, ἀχώριστος ἦν τοῦ λοιποῦ· καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παιδευθεὶς τὴν ἀληθῆ φιλοσοφίαν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα τῶν γονέων [immo τῆς μητρὸς. Conf. Gregorium p. 56 B] καλεσάμενος ἀνεχώρησε· κακεὶ πρῶτον μὲν λαϊκὸς ὢν πολλὰ σημεῖα ἐποίησε.—μέμνηται δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ Πάμφιλος ὁ μάρτυρ ἐν τοῖς περὶ Ὀριγένους ποιηθείσιν αὐτῶ βιβλίοις, ἐν οἷς καὶ συστατικὸς λόγος Γρηγορίου εἰς Ὀριγένην παράκειται.

Suidas p. 847 C, having inserted from the translation of Hieronymus c. 65 Θεόδωρος—ἐτίγχανεν, adds ἐτελεύτησεν ἐπὶ Αὐρηλιανοῦ [within A. D. 270—275]. But, as *Gregorius* is not named by Euseb. VII. 30 in the last council upon *Paul* of *Samosata* in A. D. 269, he probably died before the accession of *Aurelian*, within A. D. 265—268.

*Gregorius* is mentioned by Basil Cæsar. Ep. 62 (28) p. 840 D τοῦ μεγάλου προστάτου τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὑμῶν Γρηγορίου. Ep. 75 (204) p. 878 B πατέρες πνευματικοὶ οἱ



- 85 *Cornelius Romanus*. He was elected in A. D. 251 and died in exile Sept. 14 A. D. 252 : Tables p. 269. 271. 273.
- 86 *Cyprianus*. Appointed bishop of Carthage in 248 : Tables p. 265. His letters to *Cornelius* : p. 271. 273. *de mortalitate* A. D. 253 p. 275. His exile in 257, his death Sept. 14 A. D. 258 : Tables p. 281.<sup>l</sup>
- 87 *Pontius diaconus*. Tables A. D. 259 p. 283.
- 88 *Firmilianus*. Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia. Favoured *Origen* in A. D. 231 : Tables p. 245. Mentioned in A. D. 252 : p. 271. and in 261 : p. 287. He was present at the council against *Paul* in A. D. 264 : p. 291. and died on his way to the third synod in 269 : p. 293. He was therefore bishop about 39 years A. D. 231—269 inclusive<sup>k</sup>.
- 89 *Dionysius Alexandrinus*. Succeeds *Heraclas* in the catechetical school in 233 : Tables p. 247. and in the episcopate in 249 : p. 267. He died in 265 : p. 293.<sup>l</sup>

ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν ὑμετέραν θεμελιώσαντες, Γρηγόριον λέγω τὸν πᾶν, καὶ ὅσοι ἐφεξῆς ἐκείνῳ τῆς παρ' ἡμῶν ἐπισκοπῆς τὸν θρόνον διαδεξάμενοι. Conf. Ep. 63 (207) p. 844. 845. Ep. 64 (210) p. 849 B he interprets *Gregorius* : ὡς ἄρα Γρηγορίου εἰπόντος ἐν ἐκθέσει πίστεως πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν ἐπινοία μὲν εἶναι δύο ὑποστάσει δὲ ἓν. τοῦτο δὲ ὅτι οὐ δογματικῶς εἴρηται ἀλλ' ἀγωνιστικῶς ἐν τῇ πρὸς Αἰλιανὸν διαλέξει οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν συνιδεῖν. where *Basil* urges that *Gregorius* in arguing with a gentile had used expressions which the heretics now interpreted in a meaning never intended by *Gregory* himself.

Theodoret. hæ. fab. II. 8 tom. 4 p. 334 de *Paulo Samosateno* : τῶν συνελθούτων [sc. A. D. 264] ἐπρωτεύον Γρηγόριός τε ὁ μέγας ὁ περιβρῦλλητος, ὁ τὰς παρὰ πάντων ἀδομένας θαυματουργίας ἐπιτελέσας διὰ τῆς ἐνοικουσίας τοῦ πνεύματος χάριτος, καὶ Ἀθηνῶδωρος ὁ τούτου ἀδελφός, καὶ Φιρμιλιανός [N<sup>o</sup> 88] ὁ Καισαρέων τῆς Καππαδοκίας ἐπίσκοπος, περιφανῆς ἀνὴρ καὶ γνώμων ἐκατέραν ἔχων, καὶ τὴν θύραβεν καὶ τὴν θείαν καὶ πρὸς τούτους Ἐλενος ὁ τὴν Κιλικίων ἰθύνων μητρόπολις.

<sup>l</sup> Hieron. dial. Luc. et orth. p. 690 *Beatus Cyprianus*—*hereticorum baptisma reprobans ad Stephanum tunc Romanæ urbis episcopum, qui a beato Petro vigesimus sextus fuit, super hac re Africanam synodum direxit; sed conatus ejus frustra fuit.* Conf. p. 691. Idem Paulino tom. 1 p. 138 *Beatus Cyprianus instar fontis purissimi dulcis incedit et placidus, et cum totus sit in exercitatione virtutum, occupatus persecutionum angustiis, de Scripturis divinis nequaquam disseruit.* Magno p. 1084 *Cyprianus quod idola Dii non sint qua brevitate qua historiarum omnium scientia quorum verborum sensum splendore perstrinxit!* Conf. ad Eustochium tom. 1 p. 205 Paulæ tom. 3 p. 394 Nepotiano tom. 1 p. 13. Hieronymus ad Lætam de institutione filiæ p. 65 recommends *Cyprian Athanasius* and *Hilarius* : *Cypriani opuscula semper in manu teneat, Athanasii epistolæ et Hilarii libros inoffenso decurrat pede.*

*Cyprian* is quoted by *Augustine* Ep. 23 p. 98 Ep. 28 p. 118 Ep. 47 p. 183 Ep. 48 p. 206. 207. 208 Ep. 89 p. 471 Ep. 107 p. 567. 568. 576. 577. Idem

Ep. 48 p. 194 *Toleravit Cyprianus collegarum avaritiam.*

<sup>k</sup> *Firmilian* upon baptism is quoted by Basil. Cæsar. ad Amphiloichium tom. 2 p. 759 *Ἀ πλὴν ἀλλ' ἔδοξε τοῖς ἀρχαίοις, τοῖς περὶ Κυπριανὸν λέγω καὶ Φιρμιλιανὸν τὸν ἡμέτερον, τούτους πάντας μὴ ψήφῳ ὑποβαλεῖν, καθαρὸς καὶ ἐγκρατίτας καὶ ὑδροπαραστάτας καὶ ἀποτακτίτας.*

<sup>l</sup> The letters and tracts of *Dionysius* were distributed over a space of 17 years current, the term of his episcopate. They shall be given for the most part in the order in which they lie in Eusebius ; by whom they are partly quoted in the order of time and partly classed according to their subjects. Hieronymus Catal. c. 69 enumerates the works of *Dionysius*, but not in the same order.

1 A. D. 251 *ad Fabium*. Tables A. D. 250 p. 269. Euseb. H. E. VI. 41. 42 ἐν ἐπιστολῇ τῇ πρὸς Φάβιον ἐπίσκοπον Ἀντιοχείων τῶν κατὰ Δέκιον μαρτυρησάντων ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τοὺς ἀγῶνας τοῦτον ἱστορεῖ τὸν τρόπον κ. τ. λ. VI. 44 τῷ δ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ Φαβίῳ ὑποκατακλινομένῳ πως τῷ σχίσματι καὶ Διονύσιος—ἐπιστέλλας πολλὰ τε ἄλλα περὶ μετανοίας ἐν τοῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν γράμμασι διελθὼν τῶν τε κατ' Ἀλεξανδρείαν ἔναγχος τότε μαρτυρησάντων τοὺς ἀγῶνας δῶδων κ. τ. λ. Hieron. c. 69 *Ad Fabium Antiochena urbis episcopum scripsit de pœnitentia.*

2 *Ad Novatianum* A. D. 251 : Euseb. VI. 45 Hieron. Tables p. 271.

3 *Ad Ægyptios*  
*Ad Cononem*  
*Ad Alexandrinus*  
*Ad Origenem de martyrio*  
*Ad Laodiceos*  
*Ad Armenios.*

Euseb. VI. 46 γράφει δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἐπιστολὴν περὶ μετανοίας, ἐν ἣ τὰ δόξαντα αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν ὑποπεπωκότων παρατίθεται, τάξεις παραπτωμάτων διαγράφας. καὶ πρὸς Κόνωνα (τῆς Ἑρμουπολιτῶν δὲ παροικίας ἐπίσκοπος ἦν οὗτος) ἰδία τὶς περὶ μετανοίας αὐτοῦ φέρεται γραφή. καὶ ἄλλη ἐπιστρεπτικὴ πρὸς τὸ κατ' Ἀλεξανδρείαν ποιῆμιον αὐτοῦ. ἐν τούτοις ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ Περὶ μαρτυρίου πρὸς τὸν Ὀριγένην γραφεῖσα, καὶ τοῖς κατὰ Λαοδικεῖαν ἀδελφοῖς, ὧν προϊστάτο Θηλυμίδης ἐπίσκοπος καὶ τοῖς κατὰ Ἀρμε-

90 *Novatianus*. A. D. 251. 252: Tables p. 271. *Novatus* retired to Rome in A. D. 250, excited *Novatian* against *Cornelius* in 251. 252. *Socrates* H. E. IV. 28 describes *Novatian* and

νίαν ὡσαύτως Περὶ μετανοίας ἐπέστειλεν, ὧν ἐπεσκόπευε Μερουζιάνης. Hieron. *Ad Laodicenses de penitentia et ad Origenem de martyrio ad Armenios de penitentia et de ordine delictorum* [legendum videtur ex Eusebio et ad *Aegyptios de ordine delictorum*]. Steph. Gobarus apud Photium Cod. 232 p. 904 de *Origene*. See above, *Origenes* N<sup>o</sup> 71 p. 416.

4 *Ad Cornelium Romanum* A. D. 252: Tables p. 271.

*Ad Romanos per Hippolytum*  
*Ad Romanos epistola varia.*

Euseb. VI. 46 ἐξῆς ταύτη καὶ ἑτέρα τις ἐπιστολὴ τοῖς ἐν Ῥώμῃ τοῦ Διονυσίου φέρεται διακονικὴ διὰ Ἰππολύτου. τοῖς αὐτοῖς δὲ ἄλλῃν περὶ εἰρήνης διατυπύεται καὶ ὡσαύτως περὶ μετανοίας, καὶ αὐτὴν ἄλλῃν τοῖς ἐκείσε ὁμολογηταῖς ἔτι τῇ τοῦ Νουάτου συμφερομένοις γνώμῃ. τοῖς δὲ αὐτοῖς τούτοις ἑτέρας δύο μεταθεμένοις ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπιστέλλει. καὶ ἄλλοις δὲ πλείοσιν ὁμοίως διὰ γραμμάτων ὁμιλήσας ποικίλας τοῖς ἔτι νῦν σπουδῆν περὶ τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ ποιουμένοις καταλέλοιπεν ὠφελείας. Hieron. *Ad Romanos per Hippolytum alteram*.

5 *Ad Stephanum Romanum duo* A. D. 256.

*Ad Xystum epistola* A. D. 256. Tables p. 279.  
*Ad Philemonem.*  
*Ad Dionysium.*

Euseb. VII. 2. 5 Στεφάνῳ τὴν πρώτην ὁ Διονύσιος τῶν περὶ βαπτίσματος ἐπιστολῶν διατυπύεται.—Στέφανον—Ἰούστου διαδέχεται. τούτῳ δευτέρῳ ὁ Διονύσιος περὶ βαπτίσματος χαράξας ἐπιστολὴν κ. τ. λ. VII. 7 καὶ ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ δὲ τῶν περὶ βαπτίσματος ἢν Φιλῆμονι τῷ κατὰ Ῥώμην πρεσβυτέρῳ ὁ αὐτὸς γράφει Διονύσιος ταῦτα παρατίθεται κ. τ. λ.—ἡ τετάρτη αὐτοῦ τῶν περὶ βαπτίσματος ἐπιστολῶν πρὸς τὸν κατὰ Ῥώμην ἐγράφη Διονύσιον, τότε μὲν πρεσβυτείου ἡξιωμένον οὐκ εἰς μακρὸν δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν τῶν ἐκείσε παρεληφτότα [sc. July A. D. 259]. VII. 9 καὶ ἡ πέμπτη δὲ αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Ῥωμαίων ἐπίσκοπον Ἰούστου ἐγγράφητο κ. τ. λ.—φέρεται τις καὶ ἄλλη—See the Tables p. 279. 281.—VII. 9 καὶ ἄλλη δὲ τις αὐτοῦ μετὰ ταύτας φέρεται πρὸς τὸν κατὰ Ῥώμην Διονύσιον ἢ περὶ Λουκιανῷ. Hieron. *Ad Xystum—duas epistolas, et ad Philemonem et ad Dionysium Romanae ecclesiae presbyteros duas epistolas, et ad eundem Dionysium postea Romae episcopum*.

6 *Ad Hermammonem* A. D. 262. See the Tables p. 289. Hieron. c. 69 *Ad Hermammonem*.

7 *Ad Germanum*. Euseb. H. E. VII. 11 περὶ δὲ τοῦ κατὰ αὐτὸν [sc. *Valerianum*] διωγμοῦ σφοδροτάτου πνευσάντος οἷα σὺν ἑτέροις ὁ αὐτὸς—ὑπέστη δηλώσουσιν αἱ αὐτοῦ φωναί, ὡς πρὸς Γερμανὸν τῶν κατὰ αὐτὸν ἐπισκόπων κακῶς ἀγορεύειν αὐτὸν περὶ ὁμιλιῶν ἀποτεινόμενος τοῦτον παρατίθεται τὸν τρόπον κ. τ. λ.—Eusebius had already VI. 40 quoted largely from this epistle: τὰ γὰρ τοῦ κατὰ Διονύσιον ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Γερμανὸν ἐπιστολῆς αὐτοῦ παραθήσομαι. Idem VII. 11 ὁ δ' αὐτὸς καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Δο-

μέτιον καὶ Δίδυμον ἐπιστολῇ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν διωγμὸν αἰθῆς μνημονεύει ἐν τούτοις κ. τ. λ.

8 *Ad Flavium*

*Ad Domitium et Didymum*

*Ad Alexandrinos*

*Epistola varia.*

Euseb. H. E. VII. 20 ὁ γὰρ μὴν Διονύσιος πρὸς ταῖς δηλωθείσας ἐπιστολαῖς αὐτοῦ ἔτι καὶ τὰς φερομένας ἑορταστικὰς τοτηρικαῦτα συντάττει πανηγυρικωτέρους ἐν αὐταῖς περὶ τῆς τοῦ πάσχα ἑορτῆς ἀνακινῶν λόγους. τούτων τὴν μὲν Φλαυῖον προσφώνει τὴν δὲ Δομετίῳ καὶ Διδύμῳ [conf. VII. 11]. ἐν ἧ καὶ κανόνα ἐκτίθεται ὀκταετηρίδος, ὅτι μὴ ἄλλοτε ἢ μετὰ τὴν ἑαρινὴν ἰσημερίαν προσήκοι τὴν τοῦ πάσχα ἑορτὴν ἐπιτελεῖν παριστάμενος. πρὸς ταύταις καὶ ἄλλῃν τοῖς κατὰ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν συμπερσεβυτέροις ἐπιστολὴν διαχαράττει ἑτέροις τε ὁμοῦ διαφόρως, καὶ ταύτας ἔτι τοῦ διωγμοῦ συνεστῶτος. VII. 21 ἐπιλαβούσης δὲ ὅσον οὐπω τῆς εἰρήνης, ἐπάνευσεν μὲν εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν πάλιν δὲ ἐνταῦθα στάσεως καὶ πολέμου συστάτος—αἰθῆς ἐν τῇ τοῦ πάσχα ἑορτῇ ὡσπερ τὶς ὑπερόριος ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας διὰ γραμμάτων αὐτοῖς ὠμίλει. Hieron. *Est ejus ad Dionysium [emendat Fabricius Domitium] et ad Didymum altera epistola, et ἑορταστικαὶ de pascha plurimae, declamatorio sermone conscriptae, et ad Alexandrinam ecclesiam de exilio*.

9 *Ad Hieracem*

*Paschales*

*De Sabbato*

*De gymnastica.*

Euseb. VII. 21 καὶ Ἱεράκι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα τῶν κατὰ Αἴγυπτον ἐπισκόπων ἑτέραν ἑορταστικὴν ἐπιστολὴν γράφων τῆς κατὰ αὐτὸν τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων στάσεως μνημονεύει διὰ τούτων κ. τ. λ.—VII. 22 μετὰ ταῦτα λοιμικῆς τὸν πόλεμον διαλαβούσης νόσου, τῆς τε ἑορτῆς πλησιαζούσης, αἰθῆς διὰ γραφῆς τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ὠμίλει τὰ τῆς συμφορᾶς ἐπισημανόμενος πάθῃ διὰ τούτων κ. τ. λ.—μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν εἰρηνευσάντων τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, τοῖς κατὰ Αἴγυπτον ἀδελφοῖς ἑορταστικὴν αἰθῆς ἐπιστέλλει γραφὴν, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἄλλας διαφόρους πάλιν διατυπύεται. φέρεται δὲ τις αὐτοῦ καὶ Περὶ σαββάτου, καὶ ἄλλη Περὶ γυμνασίου. Hieron. *Et ad Hieracem in Aegypto episcopum, et alia de mortalitate, et de sabbato, et περὶ γυμνασίου*.

10 *De Apocalypsi ad Nepotem*.

Euseb. VII. 24. 25 ἐπὶ τούτοις ἅπασιν σπουδάζεται αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ Περὶ ἐπαγγελιῶν δύο συγγράμματα ἢ δὲ ὑπόθεσις αὐτῷ Νέπωσ ἢν ἐπίσκοπος τῶν κατὰ Αἴγυπτον Ἰουδαϊκώτερον τὰς ἐπιγγελημένας τοῖς ἀγίοις ἐν ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς ἐπαγγελίας ἀποδοθήσεσθαι διδάσκων κ. τ. λ. Hieron. *Duo libri adversum Nepotem episcopum qui mille annorum corporale regnum suis scriptis asseverat, in quibus et de Apocalypsi Joannis diligentissime disputat*. Theodoret. *hær. fab.* III. 6 tom. 4 p. 346 Νέπωσ δὲ τῆς Αἰγυπτιακῆς ἐπίσκοπος πόλεως κατὰ μὲν τὰ ἄλλα πάντα τοῖς τῆς ἐκκλησίας δόγμασι συνεφώνει, περὶ δὲ τὰς θείας ἐπαγ-



his seat: Ναυάτος πρεσβύτερος ὦν τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐκκλησίας διεκρίθη ἐπειδὴ Κορνήλιος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος τοὺς ἐπιθύσαντας πιστοὺς ἐν τῷ διωγμῷ, ὃν ὁ βασιλεὺς Δέκιος κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκίνησεν, εἰς

γελίας ἡμάρτανεν, ἐν τῇ γῆ ταύτας ἡγούμενος ἔσεσθαι, καὶ βρῶσιν καὶ πόσιν καὶ τὰς Ἰουδαϊκὰς ἐορτὰς καὶ χιλίων ἐτῶν περιόδους ἐν τούτοις δαπανωμένας. κατὰ τούτου πάλιν συν-έγραψε Διονύσιος ὁ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐπίσκοπος, ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπαίνων ἐν δὲ τούτοις διελέγχων τὸν πλάνον. On the fragments of *Dionysius* upon this subject see the remarks of Lardner Vol. 3 p. 102—132.

## 11 *Contra Sabellium*

*Ad Ammonem*

*Ad Telesphorum*

*Ad Euphranorem*

*Ad Ammonem et Euporum*

*Libri IV ad Dionysium.*

Euseb. VII. 26 ἐπὶ ταύταις τοῦ Διονυσίου φέρονται καὶ ἄλλαι πλείους ἐπιστολαί, ὥσπερ αἱ κατὰ Σαβελλίον πρὸς Ἄμμωνα τῆς κατὰ Βερνίκην ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπον, καὶ ἡ πρὸς Τελέσφορον καὶ ἡ πρὸς Εὐφράνορα, καὶ πάλιν Ἄμμωνα καὶ Εὐπόρον. συντάττει δὲ περὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὑποθέσεως καὶ ἄλλα τέσσαρα συγγράμματα ἃ τῷ κατὰ Ῥώμην ὁμωνύμῳ Διονυσίῳ προσφωνεῖ. Hieron. *Et adversum Sabellium et ad Ammonem Beronices episcopus et ad Telesphorum et ad Euphranorem, et quatuor libri ad Dionysium Romanæ urbis episcorum.* Athanasius tom. 1 p. 274 C Διονύσιος δὲ ὁ γενόμενος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας κατὰ τοῦ Σαβελλίου γράφων τὴν τε κατὰ σάρκα οἰκονομίαν τοῦ σωτήρος διὰ πλειόνων ἐξηγουόμενος, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς διελέγχων τοὺς σαβελλιζόντας, ὅτι μὴ ὁ πατήρ ἐστιν ὁ γενόμενος σὰρξ ἀλλ' ὁ τούτου λόγος, ὡς εἶπεν ὁ Ἰωάννης· ἐπειδὴ ὑπενοήθη ὡς ποίμα καὶ γενιτὸν λέγων τὸν υἱὸν καὶ μὴ ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρὶ, γράφει πρὸς τὸν ὁμώνυμον αὐτῷ Διονύσιον τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Ῥώμης ἀπολογούμενος συκοφαντίαν εἶναι ταύτην κατ' αὐτοῦ· μήτε γὰρ ποιητὸν εἰρηκέναι τὸν υἱὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁμοούσιον αὐτὸν ὁμολογεῖν διεβεβαιώσατο. ἔχει δὲ αὐτοῦ ἡ λέξις οὕτως· “Καὶ δὲ ἄλλης ἐπιστολῆς ἔγραψα ἐν οἷς ἤλεγξα καὶ ὁ προφέρουσα ἔγκλημα κατ' ἐμοῦ ψεῦδος ὄν· ὡς οὐ λέγοντος τὸν Χριστὸν ὁμοούσιον εἶναι τῷ Θεῷ. εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο φημι μὴ εἰρηκέναι που τῶν ἁγίων γραφῶν, ἀλλὰ γε τὰ ἐπιχειρήματά μου τὰ ἐξῆς, ἃ σεσιωπήκασι, τῆς διανοίας ταύτης οὐκ ἀπάδει· καὶ γὰρ ἀνθρωπινῇ γονῇ παρεθέμην, δηλὸν ὡς οὖσαν ὁμογενῆ, φήσας πάντως τοὺς γονεῖς μόνον ἐτέρους εἶναι τῶν τέκνων ὅτι μὴ αὐτοὶ εἶεν καὶ τέκνα, ἢ μήτε γονεῖς ἀναγκαῖον ὑπάρχον εἶναι μήτε τέκνα.” κ. τ. λ. Athanasius vindicates *Dionysius* in a treatise tom. 1 p. 548—569 περὶ Διονυσίου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Ἀλεξανδρείας ὅτι—μάτην αὐτὸν συκοφαντοῦσιν οἱ Ἀρειομανῖται ὡς ὁμόδοξον αὐτῶν. He quotes p. 552 D τὴν πρὸς Ἀμμώνιον ἐπιστολήν. p. 555 A C τὴν πρὸς Εὐφράνορα καὶ Ἀμμώνιον κατὰ Σαβελλίον ἐπιστολήν. Again p. 557 B p. 558 A p. 567 D. The books to *Dionysius* of Rome are quoted by Athanasius p. 559 D γράφει ταῖς λέξεις ταύταις ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῷ ἐπιγραφόμενῳ Ἐλέγχῳ καὶ Ἀπολογίᾳ μεθ' ἕτερα οὕτως—p. 568 A ἡ ἀπολογία. Again p. 565 B ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ βιβλίῳ. p. 561 A λέγων ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ βιβλίῳ. p. 563 D οὕτως ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ βιβλίῳ φησίν. Idem de synodis tom. 1 p. 918 B C ὁ δὲ τῆς

Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπος—γράφει πρὸς τὸν ὁμώνυμον ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ κείνος λοιπὸν ἀπολογούμενος τὸ μὲν βιβλίον ἐπιγράφει Ἐλέγχου καὶ Ἀπολογίας. γράφει δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς ἐκείνον κ. τ. λ. Eusebius Præp. VII. 18. 19 p. 333 B Διονυσίου ὅς ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν πρὸς Σαβέλλιον αὐτῷ γεγυμνασμένων τάδε—γράφει κ. τ. λ.

Hieron. in Rufinum p. 836 *Dionysium Alexandrinæ urbis episcopum, virum eruditissimum, contra Sabellium IV voluminibus disputantem in Arianium dogma delabi.* Basilius Cæsar. Ep. 41 (9) p. 802 C *Maximo.* ἃ δὲ ἐπιζητεῖς τῶν Διονυσίου, ἦλθε μὲν εἰς ἡμᾶς καὶ πᾶν πολλά.—οὐ πάντα θαυμάζομεν τοῦ ἀνδρός· ἔστι δὲ ἃ καὶ παντελῶς διαγράφομεν. σχεδὸν γὰρ ταυτησὶ τῆς νῦν περιθρλουμένης ἀσεβείας, τῆς κατὰ τὸ ἀνόμιον λέγω, οὗτος ἐστίν, ὅσα γε ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν, ὁ πρῶτος ἀνθρώποις τὰ σπέρματα παρασχών. αἴτιον δὲ οἶμαι οὐ πονηρία γνώμης ἀλλὰ τὸ σφόδρα βούλεσθαι ἀντιτείνειν τῷ Σαβελλίῳ.

Basilius ad Amphilochem p. 757 B refers to *Dionysius* on baptism, and censures him for admitting the Pepuzians: τὸ δὲ τῶν Πεπουζιῶν οὐδένα μοι λόγον ἔχειν δοκεῖ· καὶ ἐθαύμασα πῶς κανονικὸν ὄντα τὸν μέγαν Διονύσιον παρῆλθεν. p. 758 D εἰ καὶ τὸν μέγαν Διονύσιον τοῦτο παρέλαθεν, ἀλλ' ἡμῖν οὐ φυλακτέον τὴν μίμησιν τοῦ σφάλματος.

## 12 *Epistolæ variæ*

περὶ φύσεως

περὶ πειρασμῶν.

Euseb. H. E. VII. 26 καὶ πλείους δὲ παρὰ ταύτας εἰσὶν αὐτοῦ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐπιστολαὶ καὶ δὴ καὶ πολυεπεῖς λόγοι ἐν ἐπιστολῆς χαρακτῆρι γραφέντες· ὡς οἱ Περί φύσεως Τιμοθέῳ τῷ παιδὶ προσπεφωνημένοι καὶ ὁ Περί πειρασμῶν, ὃν καὶ αὐτὸς Εὐφράνορι ἀνατέθεικεν. Hieron. *De natura ad Timotheum, de tentationibus ad Euphranorem.* Euseb. Præp. XIV. 23 p. 772 C ἐγὼ δέ σοι καὶ Διονυσίου τῆς κατὰ Χριστὸν φιλοσοφίας ἐπισκόπου ἀνδρός ἀπὸ τῶν Περί φύσεως βραχέα τῶν πρὸς Ἐπίκουρον ἀντειρημένων παραθήσομαι. c. 24 p. 773 D ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐξῆς ἀνασκευάζει τὸ δόγμα κ. τ. λ. c. 27 p. 784 A ταῦτά μοι ἀπὸ πλείστων ἐξήρθισται τῶν πρὸς Ἐπίκουρον Διονυσίῳ τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐπισκόπῳ πεποιημένων.

## 13 *Ad Basilidem*

*Comm. in Ecclesiastem.*

Euseb. H. E. VII. 26 ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ Βασιλεῖδῃ τῶν κατὰ Πεντάπολιν παροικίων ἐπισκόπῳ γράφων φησὶν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐξήγησιν πεποιῆσθαι τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστοῦ. διαφόρους δ' ἡμῖν καὶ πρὸς τοῦτον καταλέλοιπεν ἐπιστολάς. Hieron. c. 69 *Ad Basilidem quoque multæ epistolæ, in quarum una se asserit etiam in Ecclesiasten cæpisse scribere commentarios.* Exstat apud Routh tom. 2 p. 385—394 Διονυσίου—ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Βασιλεῖδην ἐπιστολῆς περὶ τοῦ μεγάλου σαββάτου, πότε χρὴ ἀπονηστίζεσθαι.

14 *Adversus Paulum Samosatenum epistola* A. D. 26½ Tables p. 291. 293. Hieron. c. 69 *Sed et adversus Paulum Samosatenum ante paucos dies quam*

κοινωνίαν ἐδέξατο. διὰ ταύτην οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν διακριθεὶς εἰς ἐπισκοπὴν παρὰ τῶν συμφρονησάντων αὐτῷ ἐπισκόπων προχειρισθεὶς ταῖς πανταχοῦ ἐκκλησίαις ἔγραφε μὴ δέχεσθαι τοὺς ἐπιτεθυκότας εἰς τὰ μυστήρια, ἀλλὰ προτρέπει μὲν αὐτοὺς εἰς μετάνοιαν τὴν δὲ συγχώρησιν ἐπιτρέπει Θεῷ τῷ δυναμένῳ καὶ ἔξουσίαν ἔχοντι συγχωρεῖν ἁμαρτήματα<sup>m</sup>.

- 91 *Sabellius*. May be placed at A. D. 256—270. His opinions were already known in A. D. 257: See Dionysius quoted in the Tables p. 279. Contemporary with *Dionysius* of *Alexandria* and *Dionysius* of *Rome*, who both wrote against him: Athanas. tom. 1 p. 274 C Διονύσιος ὁ γενόμενος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας κατὰ τοῦ Σαβελλίου γράφων κ.τ.λ. p. 275 B ἰδοὺ καὶ ὁ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπος Διονύσιος γράφων κατὰ τῶν τὰ τοῦ Σαβελλίου φρονούντων κ.τ.λ. p. 552 A ἐν Πενταπόλει τῆς ἁγῶς Λιβύης τηρικαυτὰ τινας τῶν ἐπισκόπων ἐφρόνησαν τὰ Σαβελλίου. καὶ τοσοῦτον ἴσχυσαν ταῖς ἐπινοίαις ὡς ὀλίγου δεῖν μηκέτι ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις κηρύττεσθαι τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ. τοῦτο μαθὼν Διονύσιος (αὐτὸς γὰρ εἶχε τὴν μέριμναν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐκείνων) πέμπει καὶ συμβουλεύει τοῖς αἰτίοις παύσασθαι τῆς κακοδοξίας. Conf. p. 554 C 555 A p. 558 p. 567 B 568.<sup>n</sup>

*moreretur insignis ejus fertur epistola. Moritur duodecimo Gallieni anno.* See the Tables A. D. 265 p. 293.

<sup>m</sup> The Novatians are described by *Asclepiades* apud Socratem H. E. VII. 25 p. 367 a Novatian bishop in the time of *Atticus* A. D. 406—425: Ἀττικὸς ἐν Νικαίᾳ ποτὲ—γενόμενος Ἀσκληπιάδην τε τὸν ἐκεῖ Ναυατιανῶν ἐπίσκοπον γηραῖον ὄντα ἰδὼν ἠρώτησε πόσους ἐναντοὺς ἐπίσκοπος ὦν τυγχάνεις, τοῦ δὲ πενήκοντα εἰπόντος, “Εὐδαίμων” ἔφη “τυγχάνεις, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, τοσοῦτου χρόνου καλοῦ ἔργου ἐπιμελούμενος.” πρὸς δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν Ἀσκληπιάδην “Ἐγὼ” ἔφη “τὸν μὲν Ναύατον ἐπαινῶ τοὺς Ναυατιανούς δὲ οὐκ ἀποδέχομαι κ.τ.λ.—οὐκ ἐπαινῶ ὅτι περὶ εὐτελῶν πταισμάτων τῆς κοινωνίας τοὺς λαϊκοὺς ἀποκλείουσι.” πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ἀσκληπιάδης “Ἐκτός” ἔφη “τοῦ ἐπιθῆσαι καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ κατὰ τὰς γραφὰς εἰσὶν ἁμαρτίαι πρὸς θάνατον, δι’ ἃς ἡμεῖς μὲν [πρὸς] τοὺς κληρικοὺς ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ τοὺς λαϊκοὺς ἀποκλείομεν, θεῷ μόνῳ τὴν συγχώρησιν αὐτῶν ἐπιτρέποντες.” These notices of *Novatian* by *Socrates* and *Atticus* may be accepted as impartial; but the account of *Cornelius* apud Eusebium VI. 43 (referred to in the Tables p. 271) is the account of an adversary. Hieronymus Catal. c. 70 thus speaks of *Novatian*: *Novatianus Romanæ urbis presbyter adversus Cornelium cathedram sacerdotalem conatus invadere Novatianorum quod Græce dicitur καθάρων dogma constituit, nolens apostatas suscipere penitentes. Hujus auctor Novatus Cypriani presbyter fuit. Scripsit autem de pascha, de sabbato, de circumcisione, de sacerdote, de oratione, de cibis Judaicis, de instantia, de Attalo, multaque alia; et de Trinitate grande volumen, quasi ἐπιτομὴν operis Tertulliani faciens; quod plerique nescientes Cypriani existimant.*

Hieronymus mentions *Novatian* in these passages: *Paulæ* tom. 1 p. 188 *Postularis—commentarios Fortunatiani, et propter notitiam persecutionum Aurelii Victoris historiam, simulque epistolas Novatiani, ut, dum schismatici hominis venena cognoscimus, libentius sancti martyris Cypriani bibamus antidotum.* *Damaso* tom. 3 p. 51 ταῦτά σοι ἐσχεδιάσα duabus tantum quæsti-

*unculis prætermisissis, non quo non potuerim et ad illas quoque aliquid respondere; sed quod ab eloquentissimis viris, Tertulliano nostro scilicet et Novatiano, Latino sermone sint editæ.* *Marcellæ* tom. 3 p. 268 on blasphemy against the Holy Spirit in Matth. XII. 32 Mark III. 29 he argues against the interpretation of *Novatian*: *Novatianus affirmat non posse peccare in Spiritum Sanctum nisi eum qui Christianus sit et postea negaverit &c.* In *Jovin.* II p. 557 *Ne Montanus et Novatus hic rideant, qui contendunt non posse renovari per penitentiam eos qui crucifixerunt sibi filium Dei &c.* *Tranquillino* p. 1056 *Ego Origenem propter eruditionem sic interdum legendum arbitror, quomodo Tertullianum Novatum Arnobium Apollinarium et nonnullos ecclesiasticos scriptores Græcos pariter et Latinos, ut bona eorum eligamus vitemusque contraria.*

*Greg. Naz. Or. 39* p. 689 B τί νομοθετεῖς, ὦ νέε φαρισαῖε, καὶ καθαρὲ τὴν προσηγορίαν οὐ τὴν προαίρεσιν; καὶ φυσῶν ἡμῖν τὰ Ναύατου μετὰ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀσθενείας; οὐ δέχη μετάνοιαν; οὐ δίδως ὄδυρμοῖς χώραν; οὐ δακρύεις δάκρυον; —Μὴ σὺ γε τοιοῦτου κριτοῦ τύχους. Conf. p. 690 B C.

On *Novatianus* and the *Novatians* see *Theodoret Hær. fab. III. 5* tom. 4 p. 344—346 ὁ δὲ Ναύατος τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας πρεσβύτερος ἦν κ.τ.λ.—τοὺς δὲ τῆς οἰκείας συμμορίας οὐ Ναυατιανούς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ καθαρούς προσηγόρευσεν κ.τ.λ.

<sup>n</sup> The date affixed to *Sabellius* at No 91 p. 397, “A. D. 270,” ought rather to be “A. D. 256—270.” He was the disciple of *Noëtus*, and was recent in the time of *Epiphanius*: *Epiphanius* hær. 62 p. 513 A Σαβελλίους τις ἐν χρόνοις ἀνέστη οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον παλαιωτάτοις. πρόσφατος γὰρ οὗτος. *Augustin.* hær. c. 41 *Sabelliani ab illo Noëto [No 74] quem supra memoravimus deflurisse dicuntur. nam et discipulum ejus quidam perhibent fuisse Sabellium.* And *Noëtus* (who preceded *Sabellius*) flourished in A. D. 245. *Sabellius* was an African: *Basil. Cæsar.* Ep. 41 (9) p. 802 D τῇ ἀσεβείᾳ τοῦ Λίβυος. Ep. 63 (207) p. 842 B Σαβέλλιος ὁ Λίβυος. Ep. 78 (125) p. 889 D τοῦ Λίβυος Σαβελλίου. *Greg. Naz. Or. 2* p. 29 D Σαβέλλιος ὁ Λίβυος.



92 *Paulus Samosatensis*. Bishop of Antioch in A. D. 262: Tables A. D. 260 p. 285. First council upon *Paul* in 264: Tables p. 291. He was deposed in 270: p. 303.<sup>o</sup>

*Zenobia* was his patroness: Athanas. tom. 1 p. 857 D Ἰουδαία ἦν Ζηνοβία, καὶ Παύλου πρόεστη τοῦ Σαμοσατέως.

93 *Malchion*. Tables A. D. 269 p. 301.<sup>p</sup>

94 *Eusebius Laodicensis episcopus*. Tables A. D. 273 p. 309 A. D. 279 p. 319.

Theodoret. hær. fab. II. 9 tom. 4 p. 335 Σαβέλλιος ὁ Λίβυς ὁ Πενταπολίτης τοιαύτης ἤρξεν αἰρέσεως· μίαν ὑπόστασιν ἔφησεν εἶναι τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, καὶ ἐν τριώνυμον πρόσωπον, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ποτὲ μὲν ὡς πατέρα καλεῖ ποτὲ δὲ ὡς υἱὸν ποτὲ δὲ ὡς ἅγιον πνεῦμα. καὶ ἐν μὲν τῇ παλαιᾷ ὡς πατέρα νομοθετῆσαι ἐν δὲ τῇ καινῇ ὡς υἱὸν ἐνανθρωπήσαι, ὡς πνεῦμα δὲ ἅγιον τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ἐπιφωιτῆσαι. κατὰ τούτου συνέγραψε Διονύσιος ὁ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρῶν ἐπίσκοπος.

Athanasius mentions *Sabellius* tom. 1 p. 241 A οὐ γὰρ υἱοπατέρα φρονούμεν ὡς οἱ Σαβελλιανοὶ μονοουσίον καὶ οὐχ ὁμοούσιον. p. 885 B οὐδ' ὡς Ὁ Μανιχαῖος μέρος ὁμοούσιον τοῦ πατρὸς τὸ γέννημα εἰσηγήσατο· οὐδ' ὡς Σαβέλλιος τὴν μονάδα διαρῶν υἱοπατέρα εἶπεν. p. 898 C τοιοῦτοί εἰσιν οἱ πατροπασσιανοὶ μὲν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις Σαβελλιανοὶ δὲ καλούμενοι παρ' ἡμῖν. Conf. p. 456 C 488 B 531 D 532 B. p. 521 B ὅτι μὴ κατὰ Σαβέλλιον ὁ αὐτὸς πατήρ καὶ υἱός, ἀλλὰ ὁ πατήρ πατήρ καὶ ὁ υἱὸς υἱός. p. 525 B εἰ γὰρ ὁ λέγων δύο ἐλληρίζει—ὁ λέγων ἐν σαβελλίζει. p. 531 A μαινεται δὲ καὶ Σαβέλλιος λέγων τὸν πατέρα εἶναι υἱὸν καὶ ἔμπαιλν τὸν υἱὸν εἶναι πατέρα, ὑποστάσει μὲν ἐν ὀνόματι δὲ δύο. Conf. p. 154 A 525 D 528 D. Ad Serapionem tom. 2 p. 20 A διὰ τούτου Σαβέλλιος ἀλλότριος τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκρίθη, τολμήσας εἰπεῖν ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρὸς τὸ “υἱός” καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ τὸ τοῦ πνεύματος ὄνομα. He marks the distinction between Sabellians and Arians tom. 1 p. 522 B. He condemns *Sabellius Paul of Samosata Valentinus Basilides* and the *Manichees* p. 576 A 578 A.—*Sabellius* and *Photinus* p. 581 B.

Greg. Naz. Or. 20 p. 378 E προσκυνούμεν οὐδὲν πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, τὰς μὲν ιδιότητας χωρίζοντες ἐνοῦντες δὲ τὴν θεότητα· καὶ οὔτε εἰς ἐν τὰ τρία συναλείφωμεν, ἵνα μὴ τὴν Σαβελλίου νόσον νοσήσωμεν, οὔτε διαιρούμεν εἰς τρία ἔκφυλα καὶ ἀλλότρια, ἵνα μὴ τὰ Ἀρείου μανῶμεν. Or. 21 p. 393 D τῆς Σαβελλίου καινοτομίας, ὃς πρῶτος θεότητος συστολὴν ἐπενόησε. Or. 31 p. 684 B ἀπέστω γὰρ ἡμῶν ἐξ ἴσου καὶ ἡ Σαβελλίου συναίρεσις καὶ ἡ Ἀρείου διαίρεσις, τὰ ἐκ διαμέτρον κακὰ, καὶ ὁμότιμα τῆν ἀσέβειαν. Conf. Or. 31 p. 576 C Σαβελλίως συνάψαι καὶ Ἀρειανῶς διαστήσαι. Conf. Or. 30 p. 544 B.

Basilus Cæs. Ep. 73 p. 873 A describes Sabellianism: τὰ Σαβελλίου—εἴ τις τὸν αὐτὸν πατέρα λέγει καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα καὶ ἐν πράγμα πολυώνυμον ὑποτίθεται καὶ μίαν ὑπόστασιν ὑπὸ τῶν τριῶν προσηγοριῶν ἐκφωνοῦμένην, τὸν τοιοῦτον ἡμεῖς ἐν τῇ μερίδι τῶν Ἰουδαίων τάσσομεν. Conf. Ep. 64 p. 847 C Ἰουδαϊσμός ἐστίν ὁ Σαβελλισμός ἐν προσήματι Χριστιανισμοῦ. De *Sabellio* conf. Ep. 64 p. 848 A 850 A Ep. 59 p. 833 C Ep. 79 p. 897 D Ep. 293 p. 1060 C Ep. 345 p. 1122 B Ep. 349

p. 1129 D Ep. 364 p. 1140 D Ep. 391 p. 1172 B. Idem Ep. 300 p. 1070 A αὕτη ἡ φωνὴ [sc. ὁμοουσία] καὶ τὸ τοῦ Σαβελλίου κακὸν ἐπανορθοῦται· ἀναίρει γὰρ τὴν ταυτότητα τῆς ὑποστάσεως καὶ εἰσάγει τελείαν τῶν προσώπων τὴν ἔννοιαν.

The heresy of *Sabellius* is noticed by Hieronymus *Marcellæ* p. 658 dial. orthodox. et Luc. p. 679 Marco p. 1057.

<sup>o</sup> Athanasius tom. 1 p. 258 B μᾶλλον Σαδδουκαίων καὶ τοῦ Σαμοσατέως ἐστὶ τούτο τὸ φρόνημα κ. τ. λ. p. 273 C τούτου τοῦ Καϊάφα καὶ τοῦ Σαμοσατέως ἀτεχνῶς ἐστὶ τὸ φρόνημα. p. 286 D τί δὲ καὶ τῷ Σαμοσατέϊ τὰ τῶν γραφῶν ἀρνούμενω τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγον; p. 345 A οὐκ ἔστι τούτου τῆς ἐκκλησίας, τοῦ δὲ Σαμοσατέως ἐστὶ καὶ τῶν νῦν Ἰουδαίων τὸ φρόνημα. p. 413 D οὐ γινώσκουσι τὸν πατέρα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· οὕτω Μανιχαῖοι καὶ Φρύγες, καὶ οἱ τοῦ Σαμοσατέως μαθηταί, τὰ ὀνόματα λέγοντες οὐδὲν ἡττόν εἰσιν αἰρετικοί. p. 383 C de *Arianis*: εἰ μὲν οὖν νομίζουσιν ὅτι καὶ πρὸ τοῦ γέννηται ἄνθρωπος καὶ σταυρὸν ὑπομείνη οὐκ ἦν κύριος καὶ βασιλεὺς ὁ σωτήρ, ἀλλὰ τότε ἀρχὴν ἔχει τοῦ εἶναι κύριος, γνώτωσαν ὅτι τοῦ Σαμοσατέως ἐκ φανεροῦ πάλιν φθέγγονται ῥήματα. Julius Romanus apud Athanasium tom. 1 p. 744 A ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Νοβάτον καὶ τὸν Σαμοσατέα Παῦλον παραδείγματος τὰ τῶν συνόδων ἰσχύειν δόγματα χρή.

On his doctrine Athanasius tom. 1 p. 332 B εἰ μὴ ἄρα κατὰ τὸν Σαμοσατέα μὴδὲ εἶναι αὐτὸν πρὶν ἄνθρωπον γενέσθαι εἴποιεν. p. 543 B τινὲς τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Σαμοσατέως διαρῶντες τὸν λόγον ἀπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ φάσκουσι τὸν μὲν υἱὸν εἶναι τὸν Χριστὸν τὸν δὲ λόγον ἄλλον εἶναι· καὶ τούτου πρόφασιν λαμβάνουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν Πράξεων [sc. Act. X. 36]. ὁ καλῶς μὲν Πέτρος εἶπεν αὐτοῖς δὲ κακῶς ἐδέχονται. Cf. p. 544 B D 546 B 547 A 578 A 502 A. Idem ad Maximum p. 164 D ἵνα μὴ ὁ Σαμοσατέως πρόφασιν εὖρη ἄνθρωπον αὐτὸν λέγων ὡς ἄλλον ὄντα παρὰ τὸν θεὸν λόγον. De Synodis p. 897 C ὅποιοί εἰσιν οἱ ἀπὸ Παύλου τοῦ Σαμοσατέως, ὕστερον αὐτὸν μετὰ τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν ἐκ προκοπῆς τεθεοποιῆσθαι λέγοντες τῷ τὴν φύσιν ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον γεγονέναι. Conf. p. 919 D. *Paul* was condemned by 70 bishops: Ibid. p. 919 A.

p Hieron. Magno p. 1053 *Exstant libri*—*presbyterorum Pamphili Pierii Luciani Malchionis, Eusebii Casariensis episcopi et Eustathii Antiocheni et Athanasii Alexandrini, Eusebii quoque Emiseni et Triphylii Cyprii et Asterii Scythopolitæ et Serapionis confessoris, Titii quoque Bostrensis episcopi Cappadocumque Basilii Gregorii et Amphilochoii, qui omnes in tantum philosophorum doctrinis atque sententiis suos referciunt libros ut nescias quid in illis primum admirari debeas, eruditionem sæculi an scientiam Scripturarum.*

- 95 *Anatolius Laodicensis episcopus*. Tables A. D. 279 p. 319.  
 96 *Theotecnus Cæsareæ Palæstinæ episcopus*. See the Tables A. D. 261 p. 287 A. D. 264 p. 291. Succeeded by *Agapius*: Tables A. D. 284 p. 325.  
 97 *Manes*. Flourished A. D. 261: Tables p. 287. Was put to death within A. D. 273—275: Tables A. D. 272 p. 307. See A. D. 278 p. 317 and Appendix c. 6 p. 260 note 5. *Chronicon Edessenum* apud Assemanum Bibl. Orient. tom. 1 p. 393 quoted by Lardner Vol. 3 p. 425 Anno [sc. *Seleucidarum*] *quingentesimo quinquagesimo primo* [A. D. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ 0] *natus est Manes*. This date for his birth will make him 21 years of age in A. D. 261, and from 33 to 35 at his death.

As Manichæism was widely diffused and continued long, and as *Manes* is treated by some modern writers with more favour than he deserves, I propose to insert a brief outline of his system. His scheme was this<sup>r</sup>.

q Eriphanus de pond. c. 20 p. 176 A assigns the date of Photius: ἐν τῷ ἐνάτῳ ἔτει τῆς τοῦτων [Valeriani et Gallieni] βασιλείας ἀνέβη Μάνης ἀπὸ τῆς Περσίδος. But in hæc. 66 p. 617 C he places Manichæism at the 4th year of *Aurelian* A. D. 273: Μανιχαῖοι—ἐν χρόνις Αὐρηλιανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως γεγόνασι, περὶ ἔτος τέταρτον τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας. ἔστι δὲ ἡ πολυθρύλλητος καὶ ἐν πολλοῖς μέρεσι τῆς γῆς φημιζομένη (αἰρεσις) ἐκ Μάνης τινός.—Μάνης δὲ οὗτος ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Περσῶν ὠρμάτο γῆς, Κούβρικος μὲν τὸ πρῶτον καλούμενος, ἐπονομάσας δὲ ἑαυτῷ Μάνη ὄνομα. p. 637 D 638 A ὁμοῦ ἀπὸ ἀναλήψεως Χριστοῦ ἕως τοῦ Μάνη, καὶ Αὐρηλιανοῦ καὶ Πρόβου βασιλέων, ἔτη σοσ' κατὰ τινὰς χρονογράφους, κατὰ δὲ ἄλλους σμς'.—βασιλεῖς δὲ οἱ καθ' ἑξῆς ὄν καὶ οἱ χρόνοι συνημμένοι, Αὐρηλιανοῦ περιλειφθέντος ἔτος πρῶτον Τάκιτος μῆνας ἕξ· Κἄρος καὶ Καρίνος καὶ Νουμεριανὸς μῆνας δύο [lege ἕτη δύο]: Διοκλητιανὸς ἔτη εἴκοσι. κ. τ. λ.—ὡς εἶναι ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰρημέου Μάνη ἕως τοῦ παρόντος, τούτεστιν Οὐάλειτος μὲν ἔτους γ' Γρατιανοῦ δὲ ἔτους θ' Οὐαλεντιανοῦ δὲ νεωτέρου ἔτους α', ἔτη ος' [lege cum Petavio ρς']. ἵνα ἐν τετάρτῳ ἔτει Αὐρηλιανοῦ καὶ ἐν χρόνις Ὑμεναίου ἐπισκόπου Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπίτευκτος ἐξαποσταλῆ τῷ κόσμῳ. For the time of *Eriphanus* see the Tables p. 489. But the true period from the 4th of *Aurelian* A. D. 273 to the 9th of *Gratian*, both inclusive, was 103 years. *Eriphanus* Ibid. p. 698 B Πρόβος ἦν ὁ κατ' ἐκείνο καιροῦ βασιλεὺς, καὶ Αὐρηλιανὸς ὁ πρὸ αὐτοῦ, ὅτε οὗτος ὁ Μάνης ἐνεδήμει.

r *Manes ipse in epistola fundamenti apud Augustinum contra epistolam fund. c. 16 Hæc quippe in exordio fuerunt, duæ substantiæ a sese divisæ. et luminis quidem imperium tenebat Deus Pater in sua sancta stirpe perpetuus, in virtute magnificus, natura ipsa verus, æternitate propria semper exultans, continens apud se sapientiam et sensus vitales; per quos etiam duodecim membra luminis sui comprehendit, regni videlicet proprii divitias affluentes. In unoquoque autem membrorum ejus sunt recondita millia innumerabilium et immensorum thesaurorum. Ipse vero Pater in sua laude præcipuus, magnitudine incomprehensibilis, copulata habet sibi beata et gloriosa sæcula [sc. αἰῶνας], neque numero neque prolixitate æstimanda, cum quibus idem sanctus atque illustris pater et genitor degit, nullo*

*in regnis ejus insignibus aut indigente aut infirmo constituto. Ita autem fundata sunt ejusdem splendidissima regna supra lucidam et beatam terram, ut a nullo unquam aut moveri aut concuti possint. c. 19 Juxta unam vero partem ac latus illustris illius ac sanctæ terræ erat Tenebrarum terra profunda et immensa magnitudine, in qua habitabant ignea corpora, genera scilicet pestifera. Hic infinitæ tenebræ ex eadem manantes natura inæstimabiles cum propriis fœtibus ultra quas erant aquæ cænosæ ac turbidæ cum suis inhabitatoribus, quarum interius venti horribiles ac vehementes cum suo Principe et genitoribus. Rursum regio ignea et corruptibilis cum suis ducibus et nationibus. Pari more introrsum gens caliginosa ac fumi plena, in quo morabatur immanis Princeps omnium et Dux, habens circa se innumerabiles principes, quorum omnium ipse erat mens atque origo. hæque fuerunt naturæ quinque terræ pestifera. This treatise contained almost the whole doctrine of *Manes*: Augustin. Ibid. c. 6 *Illum consideremus librum quem Fundamenti Epistolam dicitis, ubi totum pæne quod creditis continetur. Felix the Manichee apud Augustinum Actis cum Felice II. 1 remarks Nullam scripturam inter manus habui, quia non mihi sunt reddita unde me instruere possem.—Modo peto codices reddantur mihi, et venio ad certamen.—Omnes scripturas quæ mihi sublata sunt. Ista enim epistola Fundamenti est,—quod et ego dixi, quia ipsa continet initium medium et finem. The works of *Manes* were written in Chaldæan or in Syriac: Titus Bostr. I p. 99 apud Fabricium tom. 7 p. 314. Theodoret hæc. fab. I. 26 thus describes the dogmas of *Manes*: οὗτος δύο ἀγεννήτους καὶ αἰδίους ἔφησεν εἶναι, Θεὸν καὶ Ὑλην καὶ προσσηγόρευσε τὸν μὲν Θεὸν φῶς τὴν δὲ Ὑλην σκότος καὶ τὸ μὲν Φῶς ἀγαθὸν τὸ δὲ Σκότος κακὸν ἐπιτέθεικε καὶ ἄλλα ὀνόματα τὸ μὲν γὰρ φῶς ἀκόμασε δένδρον ἀγαθὸν ἀγαθῶν πεπληρωμένον καρπῶν, τὴν δὲ Ὑλην δένδρον κακὸν, συμβαίνοντα τῇ ρίζῃ φέρον καρπούς. ἀφεστηκέαι τῆς ὕλης ἔφησε τὸν θεόν, καὶ παντάσῃ ἀγνοεῖν καὶ αὐτὸν τὴν ὕλην καὶ τὴν ὕλην αὐτόν. καὶ σχεῖν τὸν μὲν θεὸν τὰ τε ἀρκτῶρα μέρη καὶ τὰ ἔφα καὶ τὰ ἐσπέρια, τὴν δὲ ὕλην τὰ νότια. αἰῶσι δὲ πολλοῖς ὕστερον διαστασιάσαι πρὸς ἑαυτὴν τὴν ὕλην καὶ τοὺς ταύτης καρπούς πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοῦ δὲ**



The Good God reigned from all eternity in a region of light, surrounded by luminous intelligent beings, emanations from himself, substances without definite forms. This world of light contained

πολέμου συστάτος, καὶ τῶν μὲν διοκόντων τῶν δὲ διοκομένων, μέχρι τῶν ὄρων τοῦ φωτός αὐτοὺς ἀφικέσθαι, εἶτα τὸ φῶς θεασαμένους ἡσθῆναι τε ἐπ' αὐτῶ καὶ θαυμάσαι, καὶ βουληθῆναι πασσοδεῖ κατ' αὐτοῦ στρατεῦσαι, καὶ ἀρπάσαι, καὶ κεράσαι τῷ φωτὶ τὸ ἴδιον σκότος. ὤρμησεν οὖν—ἡ ὕλη μετὰ τῶν δαιμόνων καὶ τῶν εἰδώλων καὶ τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος κατὰ τοῦ φανέντος φωτός. Tyro apud Acta Archelai p. 147 ed. Fabricii Eriphanium hæc. 66 p. 642 οὗτος δύο σέβει θεοὺς ἀγεννήτους αὐτοφυεῖς αἰδίου ἐνα τῷ ἐν ἀντικείμενον, καὶ τὸν μὲν ἀγαθὸν τὸν δὲ πονηρὸν εἰσηγείται, φῶς τῷ ἐν ὄνομα θέμενος καὶ τῷ ἐτέρῳ σκότος. καὶ τοῦ μὲν φωτός εἶναι μέρος τὴν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ψυχὴν τοῦ δὲ σκότους τὸ σῶμα, καὶ τὸ τῆς ὄλης δημιουργημα. μῆξιν δὲ ἦτοι σύγκρασιν τοῦτον λέγει γεγόνεαι τὸν τρόπον, ἀπεικάζων τοὺς δύο τῷδε τῷ παραδείγματι καθάπερ δύο βασιλεῖς ἀντιμαχόμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὄντες ἀπαρχῆς ἐχθροί, καὶ ἀνὰ μέρος ἐκάστων τὰ ἴδια ἔχοντες. κατὰ δὲ σύστασιν τὸ σκότος ἐπέλθον ἐκ τῶν ὄρων αὐτοῦ προσεμαχίσαστο τῷ φωτὶ. γνόντα δὲ τὸν ἀγαθὸν Πατέρα τὸ σκότος ἐν τῇ γῇ αὐτοῦ ἐπιδημηκὸς προβάλλειν ἐξ αὐτοῦ δύναμιν λεγομένην Μητέρα τῆς Ζωῆς· καὶ αὐτὴν προβεβληκέναι τὸν Πρώτον ἄνθρωπον, τὰ πέντε στοιχεῖα· εἰσὶ δὲ ἄνεμος φῶς ὕδωρ πῦρ καὶ ὕλη [lege ἀήρ cum Beausobrio]· καὶ ταῦτα ἐνδυσάμενον ὡς πρὸς κατασκευὴν πολέμου κατελθεῖν κάτω καὶ πολεμήσαι τῷ σκότει. οἱ δὲ τὸ σκότος ἄρχοντες ἀντιπολεμοῦντες αὐτῷ ἔφαγον ἐκ τῆς πανοπλίας αὐτοῦ, ὃ ἐστὶν ἡ ψυχὴ. τότε δεινῶς ἐθλίβη ἐκεῖ κάτω ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος ὑπὸ τοῦ σκότους, καὶ εἰ μὴ εὐξαμένου εἰσήκουσεν ὁ Πατὴρ καὶ ἀπέστειλεν ἑτέραν δύναμιν προβληθείσαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, λεγομένην Ζῶν Πνεῦμα, καὶ εἰ μὴ κατελθὼν δέδωκεν αὐτῷ δεξιὰν καὶ ἀνήνεγκεν ἐκ τοῦ σκότους, πάσαι ἂν ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος κατεχόμενος ἐκωδένευσεν. Augustin. hæc. 46 *Iste duo principia inter se diversa et adversa eademque aeterna et coaeterna—composuit, duasque naturas atque substantias, boni scilicet et mali, sequens alios antiquos hereticos, opinatus est. quarum inter se pugnam et commixtionem, et boni a malo purgationem, et boni quod purgari non poterit cum malo in aeternum damnationem, secundum sua dogmata asseverantes multa fabulantur.—Ex his autem suis fabulis vanis atque impiis coguntur dicere animas bonas, quas censent ab animalium malarum naturæ scilicet contrariæ commixtione liberandas, ejus cujus Deus est esse naturæ.* Simplicius in Epictet. p. 267 Heyne well describes the system: ἀναγκάζονται δὲ οἱ δύο λέγοντες τῶν ὄλων ἀρχὰς, τὸ τε ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ κακὸν, καὶ τὸν ἀγαθὸν παρ' αὐτοῦσι λεγόμενον Θεὸν μηκέτι πάντων αἴτιον λέγειν, μηδὲ παντοκράτορα δικαίως ἀνυμνεῖν, μηδὲ δύναμιν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀκροτάτην καὶ ὄλην ἀνατιθέναι, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς ὄλης δυνάμεως, εἴπερ ἄρα καὶ τοῦτο· μηδὲ νομίζειν πάντα ἀγαθαίνειν καὶ φωτίζειν αὐτὸν, πηγὴν λεγόμενον ἀγαθότητος καὶ φωτός. οἷα δὲ καὶ ὅσα βλάσφημα εἰς τὸν θεὸν τοῖς ὑπ' ἐκείνων λεγομένοις ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀκολουθεῖ! καὶ γὰρ δεῖδὸν εἰσαγοῦσιν αὐτὸν, δεδοκίκατα τὸ κακὸν ἐγγὺς τῶν ὄρων αὐτοῦ γεγόνεον, μὴ καὶ ἐντὸς εἰσέλθῃ, καὶ διὰ ταύτην τὴν δειλίαν ἀδικίως καὶ ἀσυμφόρως μέρη ἐαυτοῦ καὶ μέλη τὰς ψυχὰς οὐσας (ὡς φασί) μηδὲν ἀμαρ-

τούσας πρότερον ἔρριψε τῷ κακῷ, ἵνα τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν διασώσῃ· ὡσπερ στρατηγός (φασί) πολεμίων ἐπιόντων μέρος αὐτοῖς τοῦ οἰκείου στρατοῦ προίεται, ἵνα τὸ λοιπὸν διασώσῃ. ταῦτα γὰρ ἐστὶν αὐτῶν τὰ ῥήματα, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἴσως τῶν λέξεων. ὁ δὲ ῥίψας τὰς ψυχὰς κατ' αὐτοὺς, ἦτοι ὁ κελύσας ῥιφῆναι, ἢ ἐπελάθετο ἢ οὐκ ἐνόησεν οἷα μέλλουσιν αἱ ψυχὰι πάσχειν ἐκδοθεῖσαι τῷ κακῷ· ὅτι ἐμπίπρυνται καὶ ταγνίζονται (ὡς φασί) καὶ κακοῦνται παντοίως, μήτε ἀμαρτοῦσαι τι πρότερον καὶ μέρη τοῦ Θεοῦ οὔσαι, τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον (ὡς φασί) αἱ ἀσεβεῖς αὐτῶν γεγόμεναι (τοιαῦται δὲ εἰσι παρ' αὐτοῖς οὐχ αἱ φονεύσασαι ἢ μοιχεύσασαι ἢ τι τῶν ἐξαγίστων τούτων ἀπὸ ζωῆς διεφθαρμένης ποιήσασαι, ἀλλ' αἱ μὴ λέγουσαι δύο ἀρχὰς εἶναι τῶν πάντων, τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ κακόν)—αὐταὶ οὖν οὐδὲ ἐπιστρέφουσιν ἔτι (φασί) εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν, ἀλλὰ μένουσι τῷ κακῷ συγκεκολλημέναι· ὥστε καὶ ἀτελῆ μένουν ἐκείνων, μέρη αὐτοῦ ἀπολέσαντα. On the five elements Augustin. Hæc. 46: *Quinque enim elementa quæ genuerunt principes proprios genti tribuunt tenebrarum, eaque elementa his nominibus nuncupant, fumum tenebras ignem aquam ventum. In fumo nata animalia bipedia, unde homines ducere originem censent; in tenebris serpentia, in igne quadrupedia, in aquis natatilia, in vento volatilia. His quinque elementis malis debellandis alia quinque elementa de regno et substantia Dei missa esse, et in illa pugna fuisse permixta, fumo aera, tenebris lucem, igni malo ignem bonum, aquæ male aquam bonam, vento malo ventum bonum.* Augustine contra Faustum XXI. 14 on the form of the prince of darkness: *Regnabat Deus in terra sua; regnabat et Hyle in sua.—Verumtamen Deo vestro ille saltem princeps tenebrarum non ita longo intervallo comparari potest, cui nemo resistebat &c.—Huc accedit quia illi principi non tantum sui generis, id est, bipedes, quos parentes hominum dicitis, sed etiam cuncta animalium ceterorum genera subdita erant.* Conf. Mosheim de rebus Christian. p. 767 p. 793. On the two sexes of the demons Manes himself apud Augustinum de natura boni c. 44. Some passages of the system from Manes himself are given by Titus Bostrensis contra Manichæos I quoted by Mosheim p. 761 ἦν γὰρ ποτὲ, φησὶν, ὅτε ἡ ὕλη ἠτάκει καὶ ἐγέννα καὶ ἠῆξάνετο, καὶ διετέλει πολλὰς προβαλλομένη δυνάμεις. Idem I p. 87 apud Mosheim p. 766 Σατανᾶς ἦν πονηρὸς, καὶ οὔτε ποτὲ οὐκ ἦν, αἰεὶ γὰρ ἦν· καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ τίνος ἦν, ἦν γὰρ. καὶ ῥίξα ἦν, φησὶ, καὶ ἦν κύριος, καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν. Again I. p. 70 Mosheim p. 768 of the irruption of the demons into the realm of light: καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἐπαύσαντο ἀλλήλοις ἐπανιστάμενοι μέχρι οὐ τὸ φῶς ὄψέ ποτε ἐφάρασαν.—ἀγνοοῦντες κ. τ. λ. Idem I p. 71 apud Mosheim p. 790 φησὶν ἡ παρ' αὐτοῖς βίβλος, πρὸς ἀλλήλους στασιάζοντες ἐπέπολασαν καὶ μεχρὶ τῶν μεθορίων· καὶ τὸ φῶς εἶδον, θέαμά τι κάλλιστον καὶ εὐπρεπέστατον. Manes in libro mysteriorum apud Titum Bostrensem I. p. 68 (quoted by Mosheim p. 793) ὁ δὲ ἀγαθὸς δυνάμιν ἀποστέλλει τινὰ φυλάξουσαν μὲν δῆθεν τοὺς ὄρους, τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς δέλεαρ ἐσομένην εἰς ἀκούσιον

five elements, light or lucid earth, water, air, fire, ether. But there also existed from all eternity another independent world, the realm of Darkness and Matter and Evil. The Being who ruled in this region was a giant in human shape. From him had been produced a race of demons of either sex, who from their conjunction after the manner of human generation had peopled that world of darkness. This region also had its five elements; darkness or earth instead of light, wind instead of air, an evil and destructive fire, smoke instead of ether. The two Beings who reigned in these two worlds were independent of each other. Each was supreme within his own limits. The God of Light was conscious of the existence of the world of darkness, but the realm of light was unknown to the Evil One.

At length, after countless ages, the demons (princes or *ἄρχοντες*) of the world of darkness chanced to discover the region of light. They entered that domain, captured some of those bright substances the emanations of the God of Light and bore their prize away. Those particles of light, destined hereafter to be the souls of men, are carried to the king of the dark region. The God of Light essayed to recover those emanations of himself from their captivity. He first formed a Power, the *Mother of Life*. From her issued a Being of similar form to the king of darkness himself. This Being, named the *First Man* because he bore the form which was afterwards given to *Adam*, proceeded on his mission, to recover the captured substances. He failed in his attempt. The God of Light prepared an agent more potent than the first, and produced the *Living Spirit*, who was to invade the realm of darkness and to rescue those imprisoned particles of light by force. What followed shall be told by *Manes* himself apud Augustinum de natura boni c. 46: *Iniquis igitur commentis ad eos qui aderant ait (princeps tenebrarum) "Quid vobis videtur maximum hoc lumen quod oritur? Intuemini quemadmodum polum movet [sc. Spiritus Vivens], concutit plurimas potestates. Quapropter mihi vos æquum est id quod in vestris viribus habetis luminis prærogare; sic quippe illius magni [sc. Primi Hominis] qui gloriosus apparuit imaginem fingam, per quam regnare poterimus, tenebrarum aliquando conversatione liberati."* *Hæc audientes ac diu secum deliberantes justissimum putaverunt id quod postulabantur præbere. Nec enim fidebant se idem lumen jugiter retenturos. Unde melius rati sunt principi suo id offerre, nequaquam desperantes eodem se pacto regnaturos. Quo igitur modo lumen illud quod habebant præbuerint considerandum est. Nam hoc etiam omnibus divinis scripturis arcanisque cœlestibus adpersum est; sapientibus vero quomodo sit datum scire minime est difficile, nam coram aperteque cognoscitur ab eo qui vere ac fideliter intueri voluerit. Quoniam eorum qui convenerant frequentia promiscua erat, feminarum scilicet ac masculorum, impulit eos ut inter se coirent; in quo coitu alii seminarunt alix gravidæ effectæ sunt. Erant autem partus vis qui genuerant similes, vires plurimas parentum, uti primi, obtinentes. Hæc sumens eorum princeps uti præcipuum donum gavisus est. Et, sicuti etiam nunc fieri videmus, corporum formatricem naturam mali inde*

τῇ ὄλῃ σωφρόνισμον, ὁ δὲ καὶ γέγονε. Titus I p. 68 apud Mosheim p. 795 θεασαμένη ἡ ὄλῃ τὴν ἀποσταλείσαν δύναμιν προσεκίσθησε μὲν ὡς ἐραθεῖσα ὄρμη δὲ πλείους λαβοῦσα ταύτην κατέπιε, καὶ ἐδέθη τρόπον τινὰ ὡσπερ θηρίον.

The *First Man* in his contest with the Powers of Darkness produced the *passible Jesus* (not the *Christ*, who is in the scheme of *Manes* the *impassible Jesus*). The soul or luminous part of this offspring of the *First Man* was seized and imprisoned in the elements of matter with the other particles of light. On the *passible Jesus* see Mosheim p. 796—798 and the testimonies there collected.

The Manichee in Augustine denies that they acknowledged two Gods. But although they withheld

the name, they gave the substance. Their Evil Principle like his adversary was eternal, self-existent, independent, supreme within his own domain. See on this subject Mosheim p. 765 against Beausobre. Agapius the Manichee apud Photium Cod. 179 thus describes the Evil Principle: *ἀρχὴν ποιητὴν ἀθανάτου ἀντανίστησιν ἐξ αἰδίου τῷ θεῷ, ἣν ποτὲ μὲν φύσιν ἄλλοτε δ' ὄλῃν καὶ ἄλλοτε δὲ Σατανᾶν καὶ διάβολον καὶ ἄρχοντα τοῦ κόσμου καὶ θεὸν τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου καὶ μυρίους ἄλλοις ἀποκαλεῖ.*

<sup>s</sup> According to *Manes* however in another fable (produced below at p. 430 note <sup>f</sup>) the demons retained a part of the luminous substance, which *Manes* induces them to part with by another expedient.



*vires sumentem figurare, ita etiam ante dictus princeps sodalium prolem accipiens habentem parentum sensus, prudentiam, lucem simul secum in generatione procreatam, comedit, ac plerisque viribus sumptis ex istiusmodi esca, in qua non modo inerat fortitudo sed multo magis astutiae et praevis sensus ex fera genitorum gente, propriam ad se conjugem evocavit, ex ea qua ipse erat stirpe manantem, et facto cum ea coitu seminavit ut ceteri abundantiam malorum quae devoraverit, nonnihil etiam ipse adjiciens ex sua cogitatione ac virtute ut esset sensus ejus omnium eorum quae profuderat formator atque descriptor; cujus compar accipiebat haec ut semen consuevit culta optime terra percipere. In eadem enim construebantur et contexebantur omnium imagines caelestium ac terrenarum virtutum, ut pleni videlicet orbis id quod formabatur similitudinem obtineret<sup>ss</sup>. Briefly but accurately expressed by Augustine hæc. 46 *Adam et Evam ex parentibus principibus fumi asserunt natos, cum pater eorum nomine Saclas sociorum suorum fetus omnium devorasset, et quidquid inde commixtum divinæ substantiæ ceperat cum uxore concumbens in carne prolis tanquam tenacissimo vinculo colligasset*<sup>t</sup>.*

By this process *Adam* contained those luminous particles which had been captured by the demons, and which were to be disseminated among all his posterity. The God of Light thus frustrated commanded the *Living Spirit* to create the earth for the habitation of *Adam* and his race<sup>v</sup>; from whence the imprisoned souls might gradually be transferred to their original seats.

<sup>ss</sup> Augustine l. c. introduces this remarkable passage in this manner: *Nam et a quibusdam principibus gentis tenebrarum sic dicunt Adam primum hominem creatum ut lumen ab eis ne fugeret teneretur. In epistola enim quam Fundamenti appellant quomodo princeps tenebrarum, quem patrem primi hominis [sc. Adami] inducunt, ad ceteros socios suos tenebrarum principes locutus fuerit et egerit, ita scripsit Manichæus. "Iniquis" &c. It is prefaced thus by *Manes* himself apud Augustinum contra epistolam Manichæi c. 13 *De eo igitur, frater dilectissime Pattici, de quo mihi significasti dicens nosse te cupere cujusmodi sit nativitas Adæ et Evæ, utrum verbo sint iidem prolati an primogeniti ex corpore, respondebitur tibi ut congruit. Namque de his a plerisque in variis scripturis relationibusque dissimili modo insertum atque commemoratum est. Quapropter veritas istius rei ut sese habet ab universis fere gentibus ignoratur, et ab omnibus qui etiam de hoc diu multumque disputarunt. Si enim illis super Adæ et Evæ generatione provenisset manifesto cognoscere, nunquam corruptioni et morti subjacerent.* Mosheim p. 803. 805 &c. who has all these passages successfully argues against Beausobre that *Manes* intended this to be received not as an allegory but as an account of real events.*

<sup>t</sup> Tyrbo apud Epiphanium hæc. 66 p. 643 Hippolytum Fabricii tom. 2 p. 148 τότε τοίνυν καὶ ἡ ὕλη—ἐκάλεσε πάντας τοὺς τῶν ἀρχόντων πρωτίστους, καὶ ἔλαβεν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀνὰ μίαν δύναμιν, καὶ κατεσκεύασε τὸν ἄνθρωπον, τὸν κατὰ τὴν ἰδέαν τοῦ πρώτου ἀνθρώπου ἐκείνου, καὶ ἔδωκε τὴν ψυχὴν ἐν αὐτῷ. αὕτη ἐστὶ τῆς συγκρίσεως ἡ ὑπόθεσις. Theodoret. hæc. fab. I. 26 tom. 4 p. 319 καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον δὲ οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ πλασθῆναι λέγουσιν ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς ὕλης ἀρχόντος, Σακλᾶν δὲ τοῦτον προσαγορεύουσιν καὶ τὴν Εὐάν ὡσαύτως ὑπὸ τοῦ Σακλᾶ καὶ τοῦ Νεβρώδ γενέσθαι.

<sup>v</sup> Tyrbo apud Acta p. 147 apud Epiphanium p. 643

τότε ζῶν πνεῦμα ἔκτισε τὸν κόσμον, καὶ αὐτὸ φορέσαν ἐτέρας τρεῖς δυνάμεις κατελθὼν ἀνήνεγκε τοὺς ἀρχοντας καὶ ἐστερέωσεν ἐν τῷ στερεώματι, ὃ ἐστὶν αὐτῶν σῶμα ἢ σφαῖρα· τότε πάλιν τὸ ζῶν πνεῦμα ἔκτισε τοὺς φωστήρας, ἃ ἐστὶ τῆς ψυχῆς λείψανα, καὶ οὕτως ἐποίησε τὸ στερέωμα κυκλεῦσαι. καὶ πάλιν ἔκτισε τὴν γῆν εἰς εἶδη ὀκτώ. ὁ δὲ ὁμοφόρος κάτω βασιτάζει· καὶ ἐπὶν κάμη βασιτάζων τρέμει καὶ σεισμοῦ αἴτιος γίνεται παρὰ τὸν ὠρισμένον καιρὸν. τούτου ἕνεκα τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἀπέστειλεν ὁ ἀγαθὸς πατήρ ἐκ τῶν κόλπων εἰς τὴν καρδίαν τῆς γῆς, καὶ εἰς τὰ ταύτης κατώτατα μέρη, ὅπως αὐτῷ τὴν προσήκουσαν ἐπιτιμίαν δῶ. καὶ ὁσάκις ἂν σεισμός γένηται, ἢ τρέμει κάμων, ἢ ἀντιφέρει εἰς τὸν ἕτερον ὄμον. Theodoret. hæc. fab. I. 26 p. 319 ἐντεῦθεν ἀναγκασθῆναι φασὶ τὸν θεὸν δημιουργῆσαι τὸν κόσμον· τὰ δὲ τοῦ κόσμου μέρη οὐκ αὐτοῦ λέγουσιν ἀλλὰ τῆς ὕλης εἶναι ποιήματα· ἐδημιούργησε δὲ διαλῦσαι αὐτῆς τὴν σύστασιν βουληθεῖς καὶ εἰς εἰρήνην ἀγαγεῖν τὰ μαχόμενα, ὥστε κατὰ βραχὺ καὶ τὸ ἀνακαθῆναι τῇ ὕλῃ φῶς ἐλευθερώσασιν. Augustin. hæc. c. 46 *Mundum a natura boni, hoc est, a natura Dei factum confitentur quidem, sed de commixtione boni et mali, quæ facta est quando inter se utraque natura pugnavit. The Omophorus is the coadjutor of Splenditenens: Augustin. contra Faustum XX. 9 Quis enim Splenditenens suspendit mundum, et quis Atlas cum illo supportat?—Vos primum hominem cum quinque elementis belligerantem et Spiritum Potentem [sc. τὸ ζῶν πνεῦμα] de captivis corporibus gentis tenebrarum, an potius de membris Dei vestri victis atque subjectis, mundum fabricantem, et Splenditenentem reliquias eorundem membrorum Dei vestri habentem in manu—et Atlantem maximum subter humeris suis cum eo ferentem, ne totum ille fatigatus abiciat. XV. 5 Ostende nobis machos tuos, Splenditenentem ponderatorem et Atlantem laturarium. Illum etiam dicis capita elementorum tenere mundumque suspendere, istum autem genu fixo scapulis validis subbajulare tantam molem, utique ne ille deficiat.* Tyrbo apud Acta p. 152 Epiphanium

The earth was formed of mixed materials, partly good and partly evil. It had five elements, after the pattern of the five elements in the world of light. *Adam* being the offspring of the Evil Principle, *Moses* and the prophets are rejected by *Manes* as adversaries of the God of Light. They are the interpreters of the father of *Adam*.\*

To withdraw the luminous substances, the souls of men, from their evil tabernacles of matter, *Christ* was sent; who was a man in appearance only, and not really born or crucified. Through *Christ* those luminous particles, those imprisoned souls, after various transmigrations, and after purification in the fires of the Sun and in the waters of the Moon, are to be restored to the region of the God of Light. When all is accomplished, the two empires of Light and Darkness will

p. 646 ἄρχων ἐστὶν [sc. *princeps tenebrarum*] ὁ εἰπὼν τοῖς ἐτέροις ἄρχουσιν ὅτι “ Δεῦτε, δότε μοι ἐκ τοῦ φωτὸς οὐ ἐλάβομεν, καὶ ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατὰ τὴν ἡμῶν τῶν ἀρχόντων μορφήν, καθ’ ἣν εἶδομεν, ὁ ἐστὶ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος.” καὶ οὕτως ἔκτισε τὸν ἄνθρωπον. τὴν δὲ Ἔδαν ὁμοίως ἔκτισαν, δόντες αὐτῇ ἐκ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας αὐτῶν, πρὸς τὸ ἐξαπατήσαι τὸν Ἀδάμ· καὶ διὰ τούτων γέγονεν ἡ πλάσις τοῦ κόσμου, ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἄρχοντος δημιουργίας. Mosheim p. 819 shews that according to *Manes* the production of *Adam* preceded the formation of the earth.

\* Augustin. hæc. 46 *Deum qui legem per Moysen dedit et in Hebræis prophetis locutus est non esse verum Deum, sed unum ex principibus tenebrarum.* Agapius Manichæus apud Phot. Cod. 179 τὴν δὲ παλαιὰν γραφὴν κωμῶδει [*Agapius*], Μωϋσεία τε αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς προφήτας καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν πρόδρομον ὁ τρισάθλιος δυσφημῶν.

† Tyrbo apud Acta p. 148 Epiphanium p. 643 C ὅτε δὲ εἶδεν ὁ πατήρ ὁ ζῶν θλιβομένην τὴν ψυχὴν ἐν τῷ σώματι, εὐσπλαγχνος ὢν καὶ ἐλεήμων ἐπεμφε τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν ἡγαπημένον εἰς σωτηρίαν τῆς ψυχῆς. διὰ γὰρ ταύτην τὴν πρόφασιν, καὶ τὴν τοῦ ὠμοφύρου, ἀπεστείλην αὐτόν. καὶ ἔλθων ὁ υἱὸς μετεσχημάτισεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς ἄνθρωπου εἶδος, καὶ ἐφαίνετο τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὡς ἄνθρωπος, μὴ ὡς ἄνθρωπος· καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ὑπελάμβανον αὐτὸν γεγενῆσθαι. ἔλθων οὖν ποιεῖται τὴν δημιουργίαν πρὸς σωτηρίαν τῶν ψυχῶν, καὶ μηχανὴν συνεστήσατο ἔχουσαν δώδεκα κάδους, ἧτις ὑπὸ τῆς σφαίρας στρεφομένη ἀνιμάται τῶν θησκότων τὰς ψυχάς· καὶ ταύτας ὁ μέγας φωστήρ ταῖς ἀκτίσι λαβῶν καθαρίζει καὶ μεταδίδωσι τῇ σελήνῃ· καὶ οὕτως πληροῦται τῆς σελήνης ὁ δίσκος ὁ παρ’ ἡμῖν προσαγορευόμενος· πλοῖα γὰρ ἴτοι πορθμεῖα εἶναι λέγει τοὺς δύο φωστῆρας. κ. τ. λ.—τῆς γὰρ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ πατρὸς οὐσίας πάσαν ψυχὴν καὶ πᾶν κινούμενον ζῶον μετέχειν λέγει. Cf. Theodoret. hæc. fab. I. 26 p. 320. Augustin. hæc. c. 46 *Christum novissimis temporibus venisse ad animas non ad corpora liberanda. nec fuisse in carne vera sed simulatam speciem carnis ludificandis humanis sensibus præbuisse, ubi non solum mortem verum etiam resurrectionem similiter mentiretur.* Theodoret. hæc. fab. I. 26 τὸν δὲ κύριον οὕτε ψυχὴν ἀνεληφέναι φασὶν οὕτε σῶμα, ἀλλὰ φανῆναι ὡς ἄνθρωπον, καὶ οὐδὲν ἀνθρώπων ἔχοντα· καὶ τὸν σταυρὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ πάθος καὶ τὸν θάνατον φαντασίᾳ γενέσθαι. *Christ* dwells in the sun, the Holy Spirit in the air: Faustus apud Augustinum XX. 2 *Patrem quidem ipsum lucem incolere credimus summam ac principalem, quam Paulus alias inaccessibleem vocat; Filium vero in hac secunda ac*

*visibili luce consistere;—necnon et Spiritus Sancti, qui est majestas tertia, aeris hunc omnem ambitum sedem fatemur ac diversorium.* Of the purification of souls Augustine hæc. c. 46 *Quidquid vero undique purgatur luminis per quasdam naves, quas esse lunam et solem volunt, regno Dei tanquam propriis sedibus reddi. Quas itidem naves de substantia Dei pura perhibent fabricatas. Lucemque istam corpoream animalium mortalium oculis adjacentem non solum in his navibus, ubi eam purissimam credunt, verum etiam in aliis quibusque lucidis rebus, ubi secundum ipsos tenetur admixta crediturque purganda, Dei dicunt esse naturam.* *Manes* himself apud Augustinum de natura boni c. 44 *Penitus abluta animæ ascendunt ad lucidas naves, que sibi ad evectationem atque ad suæ patriæ transfretationem sunt preparata.* Of the transmigration Tyrbo apud Acta p. 149 Epiphanium hæc. 66 p. 644 ἐρῶ δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ τοῦτο, πῶς μεταγγίξεται ἡ ψυχὴ εἰς πέντε σώματα. πρῶτον καθαρίζεται μικρὸν τι ἀπ’ αὐτῆς, εἶτα μεταγγίξεται εἰς κυνὸς ἢ εἰς καμήλου ἢ εἰς ἐτέρου ζῶου σῶμα. εἴαν δὲ ἡ πεφονευκία ψυχῆ, εἰς κελεφῶν σῶμα μεταφέρεται. εἴαν δὲ θερύσασα εὐρεθῆ, εἰς μογιλάους. τῆς δὲ ψυχῆς ἐστὶ τὰ ὀνόματα ταῦτα, νοῦς ἔννοια φρόνησις ἐνθύμησις λογισμός· οἱ δὲ θερύσται ὅσοι θερύσουσιν εὐκαίσι τοῖς ἄρχουσι τοῖς ἀπαρχῆς οὖσιν εἰς σκότος, ὅτε ἔφαγον ἐκ τῆς τοῦ πρώτου ἀνθρώπου πανοπλίας. διὸ ἀνάγκη αὐτοὺς μεταγγισθῆναι εἰς χόρτον ἢ εἰς φασθλία ἢ εἰς κριθὴν ἢ εἰς στάχυν ἢ εἰς λάχανα, ἵνα θερύσθωσι καὶ κοπῶσι. καὶ εἴ τις πάλιν ἐσθίει ἄρτον, ἀνάγκη καὶ αὐτὸν βρωθῆναι, ἄρτον γενόμενον. εἴ τις φονεύσει ὄρνιθιον, ὄρνιθιον ἔσται. εἴ τις φονεύσει μῦν, καὶ αὐτὸς μῦς ἔσται. εἴ τις πάλιν ἐστὶ πλούσιος ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κόσμῳ, καὶ εἴαν ἐξέλθῃ ἐκ τοῦ σκηνώματος αὐτοῦ, ἀνάγκη αὐτὸν εἰς πτωχοῦ σῶμα μεταγγισθῆναι, ὥστε περιπατοῦντα αὐτὸν ἐπαυτῆσαι, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνελεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς κόλασιν αἰώνιον. τοῦ δὲ σώματος τούτου ὄντος τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ τῆς ὕλης, ἀνάγκη τὸν φυτεύοντα περσεῖαν διελθεῖν πολλὰ σώματα ἕως ἂν καταβληθῇ ἡ περσεῖα ἐκείνη. Theodoret. hæc. fab. I. 26 ψυχῶν δὲ μετεσσωματώσεις λέγουσι γίνεσθαι, καὶ τὰς μὲν εἰς πτηνῶν τὰς δὲ εἰς κτηνῶν καὶ θηρίων καὶ ἐρπετῶν σώματα καταπέμπεσθαι. πάντα δὲ νομίζουσιν ἐμψυχα, καὶ τὸ πῦρ καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὸν ἀέρα καὶ τὰ φντὰ καὶ τὰ σπέρματα. Agapius apud Phot. Cod. 179 p. 405 κρατύνει δὲ καὶ [sc. *Agapius*] τὰς μετεμψυχώσεις, τοὺς μὲν εἰς ἄκρον ἀρετῆς ἐληλακώτας εἰς Θεὸν ἀναλύων τοὺς δ’ εἰς ἔσχατον κακίας πυρὶ διδοὺς καὶ σκότῳ, τοὺς δὲ μέσως πῶς πολυτεταμένους πάλιν εἰς σώματα κατὰ γῶν.



return to their primeval state, each ruled by its own independent Chief; except that some of the particles of light, the souls of men, who had not been purified, are for ever excluded from the world of Light. The Frontiers of the Realm of Light are to be secured by a strong guard against future invasion<sup>z</sup>.

The God of the Manichees is not omnipotent, for he cannot subdue the realm of darkness; nor omniscient, for he did not foresee the issue of the contest, when he sent forth the *First Man* with insufficient powers; nor omnipresent, for he reigns in limited space<sup>a</sup>.

*Manes* calls himself the apostle of *Jesus Christ*, or the Paraclete promised in the Gospel of *St. John*<sup>b</sup>. He appointed twelve masters, and seventy-two bishops, under whom were presbyters and deacons. His disciples were divided into the elect, and the auditors or catechumens<sup>c</sup>. The account of gross and impure rites imputed to the Manichees may be rejected as calumnies invented

<sup>z</sup> Tyrbo apud Acta p. 153 Epiphanium p. 647 μετὰ δὲ πάντα ταῦτα ἐπὶ τέλει λέγει, κάθως αὐτὸς ἔγραψεν, ὁ πρεσβύτερος, ὅταν προφανῆ αὐτοῦ τὴν εἰκόνα, τότε ὁ ὁμοφόρος ἀφίησιν ἔξω τὴν γῆν, καὶ οὕτως ἀπολύεται τὸ μέγα πῦρ καὶ ὅλον ἀναλισκεὶ τὸν κόσμον. εἶτα πάλιν ἀφίησι τὸν βῶλον μετὰ τοῦ νέου αἰῶνος, ὅπως πᾶσαι αἱ ψυχαὶ τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν δεθῶσιν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα· τότε δὲ ταῦτα γενήσεται ὅταν ὁ ἀνδριάς ἔλθῃ. αἱ δὲ προβολαὶ πᾶσαι, ὁ Ἰησοῦς, ὁ ἐν τῷ μικρῷ πλοίῳ, καὶ ἡ Μήτηρ τῆς ζωῆς, καὶ οἱ δώδεκα κυβερνήται, καὶ ἡ παρθένος τοῦ φωτός, καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος ὁ τρίτος ὁ ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ πλοίῳ, καὶ τὸ ζῶν πνεῦμα, καὶ τὸ τεῖχος τοῦ μεγάλου πυρός, καὶ τὸ τεῖχος τοῦ ἀνέμου καὶ τοῦ αἵματος καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ τοῦ ἔσθωθεν πυρός τοῦ ζῶντος, πρὸς τὸν μικρὸν φωστῆρα οἰκοῦσιν ἄχρις ἂν τὸ πῦρ καταναλώσῃ τὸν κόσμον ὅλον, ἐν πόσοις ποτὲ ἔτεσιν, ὧν οὐκ ἔμαθον τὴν ποσότητα. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀποκατάστασις ἔσται τῶν δύο φύσεων· καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες οἰκήσουσι τὰ κατώτερα μέρη ἑαυτῶν, ὁ δὲ πατὴρ τὰ ἀνώτερα, τὸ ἴδιον ἀπολαβάν.

The guard which is to defend the frontiers is to be composed of those souls, (part of the luminous substance,) who are to dwell neither in the world of light nor in the world of darkness: Augustin. hæc. c. 46 *A nobis sejunctam atque seclusam substantiam istam mali, et finito isto sæculo post conflagrationem mundi in globo quodam tanquam in carcere sempiterno esse victuram. Cui globo affirmant accessurum semper et adhæsurum quasi coopertorium atque tectorium ex animabus, natura quidem bonis, sed tamen quæ non poterint a natura malæ contagione mundari.* Felix apud Augustinum Actis cum Felice II. 16 *Hoc quod dixit sanctitas tua, quia pars quæ se non mundavit ab coinquinacione gentis tenebrarum; et sic dicit Manichæus, quia non sunt missi in regnum Dei. Hoc enim asseris tu, quia damnati sunt. Sed Manichæus non hoc dicit, quia damnati sunt, sed ad custodiam positi sunt illius gentis tenebrarum.* See upon this part of the subject Mosheim p. 884. 885, who quotes these passages. Whether the souls which are not purified are only excluded from the realm of light, or whether they are plunged into the realm of darkness, in either case the Evil Principle has the advantage in the contest; for he either disables those bright substances from regaining their original nature or retains possession

of a part of his conquest.

<sup>a</sup> *Manes* assigned to his God the North, the East, the West, and the South to the Power of Darkness. See Theodoret. hæc. fab. I. 26 quoted above p. 424 note <sup>r</sup>. Augustine in Epistolam fundamenti c. 20. 21 comments on that dogma of *Manes*, *Juxta unum latus erat terra tenebrarum.* That land of darkness was of immense extent: *Manes* in Ep. fundamenti apud Augustinum c. 15 *terra profunda et immensa magnitudine.* Although the world of light was larger than the world of darkness: Augustin. Confess. V. 10 *Constituēbam ex adverso sibi duas moles, utramque infinitam, sed malam angustius, bonam grandius.* But as it is impossible for the Deity to be present in any place in which he is not supreme, he is necessarily absent from that part of space which is occupied by the Evil Principle of *Manes*.

<sup>b</sup> *Manes* apud Epiphanium hæc. 66 p. 623 Β *Μανιχαῖος ἀπόστολος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.* Apud Augustinum in Ep. fundamenti c. 5 *Manichæus apostolus Jesu Christi providentia Dei patris.* In Faustum XIII. 4 *Omnes ejus epistole ita exordiuntur "Manichæus apostolus Jesu Christi."* Idem in epistolam c. 8 *Apostolatam suum Paracleti promissione commendat, ut evangelica auctoritate imperitos premat.* Idem hæc. c. 46 *Promissionem Domini Jesu Christi de Paraclete Spiritu Sancto in suo hæresiarcha Manichæo dicunt esse completam. Unde se in suis literis Jesu Christi apostolum dicit, eo quod Jesus Christus se missurum esse promiserit atque in illo miserit Spiritum Sanctum.* *Manes* apud Tyrbonem p. 151 calls his doctrine τὴν γνώσιν τοῦ παρακλήτου. But Mosheim p. 744 reasonably concludes that *Manes* distinguished the *Paraclete* from the *Holy Spirit*.

<sup>c</sup> Augustin. Hæc. c. 46 *Ex Electis suis habent duodecim quos appellant magistros, et tertium decimum principem ipsorum, episcopos autem LXXII qui ordinantur a magistris. et presbyteros, qui ordinantur ab episcopis. Habent etiam episcopi diaconos.* The two classes, the *electi* and the *auditores*, are marked by Augustine himself disp. cum Fortunato c. 3 *Nostis nos non Electum vestrum sed Auditorem fuisse.*



by their enemies. They were by all testimonies of austere lives, given to fasting and abstinence<sup>d</sup>. They discouraged marriage, that they might hasten the return of souls to the realm of Light.

Lardner<sup>e</sup> is unwilling to pronounce *Manes* an impostor. But he cannot be acquitted of the charge of imposture. The fundamental dogma of the Two Principles he received from others, and probably believed; and in asserting this he might be no impostor. But the details of his system contained absurd fables which were inventions of his own. He knew them to be fables, and yet he laboured to persuade others to accept them as truth<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> See Lardner Vol. 3 p. 408—411.

<sup>e</sup> Lardner Vol. 3 p. 455 "Upon the whole I do not chuse to deny that *Mani* was an impostor, but I do not discern evident proofs of it. I plainly see that he was an arrogant philosopher and a great schemist; but whether he was an impostor I cannot certainly say.—Every bold dogmatizer is not an impostor."

<sup>f</sup> A passage which Augustine has preserved de natura boni c. 44 ought to be inserted as a specimen of *Manes*: *Hoc in libro VII Thesauri—positum est*: "Tunc beatus ille pater, qui lucidas naves habet diversoria et habitacula seu magnitudines, pro insita sibi clementia fert opem qua exiit et liberatur ab impiis retinaculis et angustiis atque angoribus suæ vitalis substantiæ. Itaque invisibili suo nutu illas suas virtutes quæ in clarissima hac navi [sc. sole] habentur transfingurat, easque parere facit adversis potestatibus quæ in singulis caloribus tractibus ordinatæ sunt. Quæ quoniam ex utraque sexu masculorum ac feminarum consistunt, ideo prædictas virtutes partim specie puerorum investium parere jubet generi adverso feminarum, partim virginum lucidarum forma generi contrario masculorum; sciens eas omnes hostiles potestates propter ingentam sibi lethalem et spurcissimam concupiscentiam facillime capi, atque iisdem speciebus pulcherrimis quæ apparent mancipari hocque modo dissolvi. Sciat autem hunc eundem nostrum beatum patrem hoc idem esse quod etiam suæ virtutes, quas ob necessariam causam transformat in puerorum et virginum intemeratam similitudinem. Utitur autem his tanquam propriis armis atque per eas suam complet voluntatem. Harum vero virtutum divinarum quæ ad instar conjugii contra inferna genera statuuntur, quæque alacritate ac facilitate id quod cogitaverint momento eodem efficiunt, plenæ sunt lucidæ naves. Itaque cum ratio poposcerit ut masculis appareant eadem sanctæ virtutes, illico etiam suam effigiem virginum pulcherrimarum habitu demonstrant. Rursus cum ad feminas ventum fuerit, postponentes species virginum, puerorum investium speciem ostendunt. Hoc autem visu decoro illarum ardor et concupiscentia crescit, atque hoc modo vinculum pessimarum cogitationum earum solvitur, vivaque anima quæ eorundem membris tenebatur hac occasione laxata evadit et suo purissimo aëri miscetur; ubi penitus ablute animæ ascendunt ad lucidas naves quæ sibi ad evectationem atque ad suæ patriæ transfretationem sunt præparata. Id vero quod adhuc adversi generis maculas portat per aestus atque calores particulatim descendit atque arboribus ceterisque plantationibus ac satis omni-

bus miscetur, et caloribus diversis inficitur. Et quo pacto ex ista magna et clarissima navi figura puerorum ac virginum apparent contrariis potestatibus quæ in cælis degunt quæque igneam habent naturam, atque ex isto adspectu decoro vite pars quæ in earundem membris habetur laxata deducitur per calores in terram; eodemque modo etiam illa altissima virtus [sc. Christus] quæ in navi vitalium aquarum habitat in similitudine puerorum ac virginum sanctarum per suos angelos apparet his potestatibus quarum natura frigida est atque humida, quæque in cælis ordinatæ sunt. Et quidem his quæ feminae sunt in ipsis forma puerorum apparet, masculis vero virginum. Hac vero mutatione et diversitate divinarum personarum ac pulcherrimarum humidæ frigidæque stirpis principes masculi sive feminae solvuntur, atque id quod in ipsis est vitale fugit; quod vero resederit laxatum deducitur in terram per frigora, et cunctis terræ generibus admiscetur." Conf. Augustinum hæc. c. 46 Tyrbonem apud Acta p. 149. Upon these passages see Mosheim p. 875—881 who adds other testimonies, and fully establishes against Beausobre that this was really a dogma of *Manes* himself.

Upon *Manes* Athanasius in Arianos tom. 1 p. 286 A πόθεν Μαρκίῳ καὶ Μανιχαίῳ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ἀρνούμενοι καὶ τὸν νόμον; p. 307 D ἀντὶ γὰρ Χριστοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς Ἄρειος, ὡς παρὰ Μανιχαίου Μανιχαῖος. p. 360 B εἰ γὰρ τοῖς ἀθείοις Μανιχαῖοις ἑαυτοὺς ἐγκαταμίξαντες ἀρνοῦνται τὸ "ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο" καὶ τὴν ἔνσαρκον αὐτοῦ παρουσίαν, μὴ προφερέτωσαν τὰς παροιμίας [sc. Solomoniis]. p. 410 C Μανιχαῖοις λοιπὸν ζηλοῦσιν οἱ ἄθλιοι· κἀκεῖνοι γὰρ τὰ μὲν ἔργα τοῦ θεοῦ βλέποντες ἀρνοῦνται αὐτὸν τὸν μόνον ὄντα καὶ ἀληθινὸν θεόν, ἕτερον δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀναπλάσσουν οὐ μίτη ἔργον μίτη τῶν μαρτυρίαν ἀπὸ τῶν θείων λογίων δεικνύειν δύναται. p. 411 B οἱ Μανιχαῖοι πλάττοντες ἑαυτοῖς ἕτερον, καὶ τὸν ὄντα θεὸν ἀρνοῦμενοι. Ad Monachos p. 851 C παρὰ Μανιχαῖοις γὰρ ἔλεος οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔχθρὸν ἐστὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς τὸ ἐλεῖν πένητα. p. 854 C Μανιχαῖοι γὰρ καὶ Οὐαλεντινοὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄλλοι καπηλεύοντες τὰς θείας γραφὰς τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ἐπιπλάστοις λόγοις μυθολογοῦσιν. Conf. p. 298 C 330 A 413 D 467 D 487 D 501 C 828 C p. 156 C D 164 D. Idem p. 625 A τί δὲ ἄλλο εἴρηκε Μανιχαῖος; οὐ θεοειδὲς τὸ σῶμα ἐν ὁμοίῳσιν τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς μόνῃ ἀλλότριον δὲ σαρκὸς ἀνθρωπίνης; ἥς τὴν φύσιν ἀμαρτιᾶν λέγει ἀσεβῶν καὶ οὐ τὴν πράξιν. p. 627 C D φύσικὴν εἶναι τὴν ἀμαρτιᾶν λέγοντες, κατὰ τὸν ἀσεβέστατον Μανιχαῖον—οὐδὲ γὰρ φύσεως ἀν εἰδημοουργὸς ὁ διάβολος, κατὰ τὴν τῶν Μανιχαίων ἀσέβειαν. p. 632 D Μανιχαῖος ἀπιστήσας τῇ σαρκώσει καὶ ἀνθρωπήσει τοῦ κυρίου ἀσεβῆς κατὰ πάντα γέγονε, λέγων δυσὶν



98 *Archelaus*. Tables A. D. 278 p. 319.

99 *Victorinus Petavionensis*. Hieron. Catal. c. 74 *Victorinus Petavionensis* [Petau in Pannonia] *episcopus non æque Latine ut Græce noverat. Unde opera ejus grandia sensibus viliora videntur compositione verborum. Sunt autem hæc: Commentarii in Genesim, in Exodum, in Leviticum, in Esaiam, in Ezekiel, in Abacuc, in Ecclesiasten, in Cantica Canticorum, in Apocalypsim Joannis; adversum omnes hæreses, et multa alia. Ad extremum martyrio coronatus est.* His martyrdom in the persecution of A. D. 303—311 will place *Victorinus* in the reign of *Dioctetian* A. D. 284—303. This is confirmed by his position in the list of Hieronymus, who has this order:

- 69 *Dionysius Alex.* A. D. 249—265
- 70 *Novatianus* A. D. 251
- 71 *Malchion* A. D. 269
- 72 *Archelaus* A. D. 278
- 73 *Anatolius* A. D. 279
- 74 *Victorinus*
- 75 *Pamphilus* A. D. 284—309
- 76 *Pierius* A. D. 283
- 77 *Lucianus*
- 78 *Phileas*
- 79 *Arnobius* A. D. 284—296
- 80 *Lactantius* A. D. 290—317
- 81 *Eusebius Cæsareæ* A. D. 308—340. 5

ὑποκείσθαι δημιουργοῖς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ποιητῆ τε καὶ ἀγαθῷ.  
Conf. p. 882 C 885 B.

Hieron. in Ctesiph. p. 899 *Manichæus electos suos—dicit omni carere peccato, nec si velint posse peccare; ad tanta enim eos virtutum culmina transcendisse ut carnis operibus illudant.* Ibid. p. 906 *Manichæorum dogma—qui de diversis naturis ecclesiæ bella concinant, asserentium malam esse naturam quæ immutari nullo modo possit.* p. 955 *Manichæus nobis consurgit repente, qui legem dicit abolitam et solos Novi Testamenti legendos libros.* Conf. p. 943. Ad Pammachium p. 738 *Nemo dubitat errare Manichæum qui dicit animam esse Dei substantiam.* p. 743 *Hæreticos vero in quorum parte sunt Marcion Apelles Valentinus, Manes (nomen insanæ), penitus et carnis et corporis resurrectionem negare, et salutem tantum tribuere animæ.* Conf. p. 735. 736. Idem ad Jovin. II p. 599 *Neque enim ejusdem substantiæ est, quod Manichæi solent dicere, anima humana et Deus.* Conf. Hedybia tom. 3 p. 280. 291.

A form of abjuration is extant apud Hippolytum Fabricii tom. 2 p. 202: *Prosperi ex Manichæo conversi—anathematismi.—Capitula S. Augustini quæ debeant publica voce relegere &c.* Subscribed thus: *Ego Prosper hanc chartulam anathematis Manichæorum relegi et—manu propria subscripsi &c.—sub die XIII Kal. Dec. Olybrio juniore V. C. consule* [Nov. 19 A. D. 491 or A. D. 526]. The dogmas of the Manichees are recited: *Duas esse naturas ingentias, diversis principii existentes &c. Duas naturas bellum inter se ges-*

*sisse, et partem Dei in eodem bello principibus tenebrarum et omnibus gentibus ad malam naturam pertinentibus fuisse permixtam et ab eis teneri colligatam oppressam inquinatam &c. Hominem primum [sc. Adamum] non a Deo factum sed a principibus tenebrarum genitum, ut pars Dei quæ in eorum membris captiva tenebatur copiosius et abundantius in eo teneretur &c.* Beausobre tom. I p. 232 contends that the Manichees did not hold those luminous substances to be a part of the substance of the Divinity. *Manes* however accounted them emanations from the Deity (Beausobre tom. I p. 588), or *προβολάς*. And in a passage preserved by Augustine de natura boni c. 44 quoted above the God of *Manes* calls them *suæ vitalis substantiæ*. *Agapius* also apud Photium p. 404 calls the souls of men “of the same substance with God:” *τὴν ψυχὴν ὁμοούσιον τῷ Θεῷ*. Which seems to justify the charge of Hieronymus and Augustine and Simplicius.

§ Hieronymus Paulino p. 138 refers to *Victorinus: Inclyto Victorinus martyrio coronatus quod intelligit eloqui non potest.* Idem Magno p. 1084 *Victorino martyri in libris suis licet desit eruditio, tamen non deest eruditionis voluntas.* Adv. Rufinum p. 868 *Ego non accusavi quare Origenem pro voluntate transtuleris. hoc enim et ipse feci et ante me Victorinus Hilarius Ambrosiusque fecerunt.* p. 791 *Martyrem Victorinum, qui simplicitatem suam in eo probat dum nulli molitur insidias.* Ad Pammach. p. 784 *Nec disertiores sumus Hilario nec fideiores Victorino, qui Origenis tractatus non ut interpretes sed ut auctores proprii operis trans-*

- 100 *Pierius*. Tables A. D. 283 p. 323. Phot. Cod. 118 p. 300 μάρτυς δὲ καὶ ὁ Πιέριος ἄμα τῷ ἀδελφῷ Ἰσιδώρῳ τῶν ἀθλητικῶν ἀξιοθέντες στεφάνων, οἷς (ὡς φασί) καὶ νεῶς καὶ οἶκοι ὑπὸ τῶν εὐσεβούντων ἰδρύθησαν<sup>h</sup>.
- 101 *Achillas*. Tables A. D. 283 p. 323.
- 102 *Theognostus*. Tables A. D. 285 p. 327. 329.
- 103 *Meletius Ponti episcopus*. Tables A. D. 283 p. 323.<sup>i</sup>
- 104 *Pamphilus*. Tables A. D. 284 p. 325. Imprisoned in 307: p. 353. *Libri pro Origene*: A. D. 308 p. 355.
- 105 *Lucianus*. Euseb. H. E. VIII. 13 τῶν δ' ἀπ' Ἀντιοχείας μαρτύρων τὸν πάντα βίον ἄριστος πρεσβύτερος τῆς αὐτόθι παροικίας Λουκιανὸς ἐν τῇ Νικομηδείᾳ καὶ αὐτὸς, βασιλέως ἐπιπαρόντος, τὴν οὐράνιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ βασιλείαν λόγῳ πρότερον δι' ἀπολογίας εἶτα δὲ καὶ ἔργοις ἀνακηρύξας. He perished in the renewed persecution under *Maximin* (Euseb. IX. 2), soon after the death of *Galerius*, towards the close of A. D. 311: Euseb. IX. 6 Λουκιανὸς τε, ἀνὴρ τὰ πάντα ἄριστος βίῳ τε ἐγκρατῆς καὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς μνηθήμασι συγκεκροτημένος,—ἀχθεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς Νικομηδέων πόλεως, ἔνθα τῆνικαῦτα βασιλεὺς διατρίβων ἐτύγχανε, παρασχῶν τε ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρχοντος τὴν ὑπὲρ ἧς πρόστατο διδασκαλίας ἀπολογίαν, δεσμωτηρῶ παραδοθεὶς κτύννυται<sup>k</sup>.
- 106 *Phileas*. Also suffered martyrdom under *Maximin*: Hieron. Catal. c. 78 *Phileas de urbe Ægypti quæ vocatur Thmuis, nobili genere et non parvis opibus, suscepto episcopatu elegantissimum librum de martyrum laude composuit; et disputatione actorum habita adversum judicem qui eum sacrificare cogebat pro Christo capite truncatur, eodem in Ægypto persecutionis auctore quo Lucianus Nicomedicæ<sup>l</sup>.*

*tulerunt*. Adv. Vigilantium p. 1053 *Taceo de Victorino Pictaviensi [Petaviensi Fabricius] et ceteris qui Origenem in explanatione duntaxat Scripturarum secuti sunt et expresserunt*. Adv. Helvidium p. 469 *Victorini Pictaviensis [i. Petaviensis] episcopi verba proponit.—de Victorino vero id assero quod et de evangelistis fratres eum dixisse Domini non filios Mariæ, fratres autem eo sensu quem superius exposuimus, propinquitate non natura*. Damaso tom. 3 p. 59 in *Genesin XXVII—Hippolyti martyris verba ponamus; a quo et Victorinus noster non plurimum discrepat, &c.*

<sup>h</sup> De *Pierio* Hieron. Magno p. 1083. See N<sup>o</sup> 93. *Idem Pammachio p. 639 de I Corinth. Origenes Dionysius Pierius Eusebius Cæsariensis Didymus Apollinarius latissime hanc epistolam interpretati sunt*. Phot. Cod. 119 ἀνεγνώσθη βιβλίον Πιερίου πρεσβυτέρου, ὃν καὶ σὺν τῷ ἀδελφῷ Ἰσιδώρῳ τὸν ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ ἀγωνίασθαί φασιν ἀγῶνα, Παμφίλου τε τοῦ μάρτυρος ὑφηγητὴν [see the Tables A. D. 284 p. 325].—λόγους δὲ τὸ βιβλίον περιεῖχε ἰβ'. ἔστι δὲ τὴν φράσιν σαφῆς τε καὶ λαμπρὸς καὶ ὡσπερ βέων τῷ λόγῳ, μηδὲν τε ἐπιμελὲς ἐνδεικνύμενος, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐξ αὐτοσχεδίου ὁμαλῶς τε καὶ λείως καὶ ἡρέμα φερόμενος, τοῖς δὲ ἐνθυμήμασι, εἴπερ τις ἄλλος, γονιμώτατος, κ. τ. λ.—οὗτος ὁ Πιέριος πρεσβύτερος ἦν τῆς κατὰ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐκκλησίας Θεωνᾶ τῆνικαῦτα ταύτης ἀρχιερατεύοντος [A. D. 283—301], ἠνίκα Κᾶρος καὶ Διοκλητιανὸς τὰ Ῥωμαίων σκήπτρα ἔφερον. καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον δ' αὐτὸν ἐλάσαι λέγουσι φιλοπονίας καὶ εὐφύας, καὶ τῆς ἐν πλήθει ὁμολίας τέρψιν παρέχειν σὺν ὠφελείᾳ, ὥστε καὶ νέον ὀνομασθῆναι Ὀριγένην. ἦν γὰρ τότε ἐν τοῖς ἀξιολογώτατοις Ὀριγένης. διαλεκτικὴν δὲ καὶ ῥητορικὴν αὐτὸν φασιν ἀσκηθῆναι, καὶ

ἐγκρατείας δὲ καὶ ἐκουσίου πτωχείας ἐραστὴν γενέσθαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτὸν καὶ μαρτυρῶν τὸν βίον τελειῶσαι, οἱ δὲ μετὰ τὸν διωγμὸν τὸν ὑπόλοιπον τοῦ ζῆν χρόνον ἐν Ῥώμῃ διαγενομένα. Hieron. Catal. c. 76 proceeds thus: *Constat hunc miræ ἀσκήσεως et appetitorem voluntariæ paupertatis scientissimumque dialecticæ et rhetoricæ artis, et post persecutionem omne vitæ suæ tempus Romæ fuisse versatum. Hujus est longissimus tractatus de propheta Osee quem in vigilia Paschæ habitum ipse sermo demonstrat*.

<sup>i</sup> Eusebius H. E. VII. 32 quoted in the Tables adds ὁ δὲ Μελέτιος (τὸ μέλι τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐκάλουσιν αὐτὸν οἱ ἀπὸ παιδείας) τοιοῦτος ἦν οἷον ἂν γράψειε τις τῶν κατὰ πάντα λόγων ἔνεκα τελειώτατον. ῥητορικῆς μὲν γε τὴν ἀρετὴν οὐδὲ οἷον τε θαυμάζειν ἐπαξίως. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν εἶναι αὐτῷ φαίη ἂν τις τὸ κατὰ φύσιν τῆς δ' ἄλλης πολυπειρίας τε καὶ πολυμαθείας τίς ἂν τὴν ἀρετὴν ὑπερβάλοιτο; ὅτι δὴ ἐπὶ πάσαις λογικαῖς ἐπιστήμασι τὸν τεχνικώτατον καὶ λογικώτατον καὶ μόνον πείραν αὐτοῦ λαβὼν ἂν εἶπες. ἐφάμιλλα δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς παρῆν τοῦ βίου. τοῦτον κατὰ τὸν τοῦ διωγμοῦ καιρὸν τοῖς κατὰ Παλαιστίνην κλίμασι διαδιδράσκοντα ἐφ' ὅλοις ἔτεσιν ἐπτά κατενοήσαμεν.

<sup>k</sup> Hieron. Catal. c. 77 *Lucianus vir disertissimus Antiochenæ ecclesie presbyter tantum in Scripturæ studio laboravit ut usque nunc quedam exemplaria Scripturarum Lucianeæ nuncupentur. Feruntur ejus de fide libelli, et breves ad nonnullos epistolæ. Passus est Nicomedicæ ob confessionem Christi sub persecutione Maximini sepultusque Helenopoli Bithyniæ*. Hieronymus mentions him ad Magnum p. 1083. See N<sup>o</sup> 93.

<sup>l</sup> Euseb. H. E. VIII. 9 Φιλώρωμος—ἀρχὴν τινα οὐ τὴν



- 107 *Arnobius*. Taught at Sicca A. D. 284: Tables A. D. 296 p. 339. See A. D. 326 p. 381.<sup>m</sup>
- 108 *Lactantius*. Tables A. D. 290 p. 333. The preceptor of *Crispus*: Tables A. D. 317 p. 371.<sup>n</sup>
- 109 *Antonius monachus*. Born A. D. 252: Tables p. 271. 273. Completed his 104th year: See the Tables A. D. 357 p. 437. 439.
- 110 *Methodius*. Tables A. D. 300 p. 343. Suffered martyrdom in 312: p. 361.
- 111 *Rheticus Æduorum episcopus*. Tables A. D. 313 p. 365.
- 112 *Cæcilianus Carthaginis episcopus*. Opposed by the Donatists: Tables A. D. 313 p. 365.<sup>o</sup>
- 113 *Donatus Numida, Casarum Nigrarum episcopus*. His party accused *Cæcilianus* in A. D. 313: Tables p. 365.  
*Donatus Carthaginis episcopus*. Banished from Carthage in 355: Tables p. 431. Distinguished by *Augustine* from *Donatus de Casis Nigris* p.
- 114 *Arius*. His doctrine was condemned in A. D. 321: Tables p. 373. 435. He was expelled from the Church by *Alexander* bishop of *Alexandria*. *Athanasius*, then a deacon, advised *Alexander* to expel him. *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia* supported *Arius*, who was restored by the Arian council of Jerusalem at the close of A. D. 335 (see the Tables p. 393) and died in 336.<sup>q</sup> *Epiphanius* hæc. 69 p. 727 D ἐγένετο δὲ οὗτος ὁ Ἄρειος ἐν χρόνοις Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ

τυχοῦσαν τῆς κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν βασιλικῆς διοικήσεως ἐγκεχειρισμένος—Φιλέας τε τῆς Θμουϊτῶν ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπος, διαπρέψας ἀνὴρ ταῖς κατὰ τὴν πατρίδα πολιτείας τε καὶ λειτουργίας κ. τ. λ.—ἄμφω τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀπερμήθησαν. VIII. 10 ἀπὸ τῶν Φιλέων πρὸς Θμουϊτᾶς γραμμάτων “Τούτων ἀπάντων ὑποδειγμάτων”— VIII. 13 πρῶτος Πέτρος αὐτῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπίσκοπος [Tables A. D. 301], θεῖόν τι χρῆμα διδασκάλων τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ θεοσεβείας, ἀναγεγράφθω, καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ πρεσβυτέρων Φαῦστος καὶ Δίος καὶ Ἀμμώνιος, τέλειοι Χριστοῦ μάρτυρες’ Φιλέας τε καὶ Ἰσύχιος καὶ Παχύμιος καὶ Θεόδωρος, τῶν ἀμφὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐκκλησιῶν ἐπίσκοποι.

<sup>m</sup> On *Arnobius* Hieron. Paulino p. 138 *Arnobius inæqualis et nimius est et absque operis sui partitione confusus*. Not wholly approved: Hieron. Tranquilino p. 1056 quoted under *Novatianus* N<sup>o</sup> 90 p. 422.

<sup>n</sup> *Damasus* Hieronymus apud Hieronymum tom. 3 p. 49 speaks of *Lactantius*, but not with approbation. Hieron. Paulino tom. 1 p. 138 *Lactantius quasi quidam fluvius eloquentiæ Tullianæ utinam tam nostra confirmare potuisset quam facile aliena destruxit*. *Pammachio* p. 783 *Lactantius in libris suis et maxime in epistolis ad Demetrianum Spiritus Sancti omnino negat substantiam, et errore Judaico dicit eum vel ad Patrem referri vel ad Filium, et sanctificationem utriusque personæ sub ejus nomine demonstrari. Quis mihi interdicere potest ne legam Institutionum ejus libros, quibus contra gentes scripsit fortissime, quia superior sententia detestanda est?*

<sup>o</sup> *Mensurius* bishop of Carthage, who had been summoned to Rome by *Maxentius*, died before his return to Carthage, and with the permission of *Maxentius* *Cæcilianus* was appointed successor of *Mensurius*: *Optatus* p. 17 *Mensurius—profectus causam dixit; jussus est reverti; ad Carthaginem pervenire non potuit.—Jubente Deo indulgentiam mittente Maxentio Christianis libertas est restituta; Botrus et Celestius, ut dicitur, apud Carthaginem ordinari cupientes*

*operam dederunt ut absentibus Numidis soli vicini episcopi peterentur, qui ordinationem apud Carthaginem celebrarent. Tunc suffragio totius populi Cæcilianus eligitur, et manus imponente Felice Autumnitano episcopus ordinatur; Botrus et Celestius de spe sua dejecti sunt*. This might happen at the close of A. D. 311, a year before the death of *Maxentius*.

<sup>p</sup> *Augustin*. *Retract. I. 21 Librum contra epistolam Donati, qui partis Donati secundus post Majorinum episcopus apud Carthaginem fuit, eodem presbyterii mei tempore scripsi.—Quod dixi Donatum cujus epistolam refellebam rogasse ut imperator inter ipsum et Cæcilianum transmarinos episcopos judices daret, non ipsum sed alium Donatum, ejusdem tamen schismatis, hoc fecisse probabilis invenitur. Ille autem non erat Carthaginiensis Donatistarum episcopus, sed a Casis Nigris, qui tamen primus apud Carthaginem ipsum nefarium schisma commisit* [sc. A. D. 313]. *Idem* hæc. c. 69 *Donatiani vel Donatistæ sunt qui primum propter ordinatum contra suam voluntatem Cæcilianum ecclesiæ Carthaginensis episcopum schisma fecerunt, objicientes ei crimina non probata, et maxime quod a traditoribus divinarum scripturarum fuerit ordinatus. Sed post causam cum eo dictam atque finitam falsitatis rei deprehensi—in hæresim schisma verterunt.—Hujus hæresis principem accipimus fuisse Donatum, qui de Numidia veniens et contra Cæcilianum Christianam dividens plebem, adjunctis sibi ejusdem factionis episcopis, Majorinum apud Carthaginem ordinavit episcopum. Cui Majorino Donatus alius in eadem divisione successit, qui eloquentia sua sic confirmavit hanc hæresim ut multi existiment propter ipsum potius eos Donatistas vocari. Estant scripta ejus ubi apparet eum etiam non catholicam de Trinitate habuisse sententiam*. To this second *Donatus* then, the bishop of Carthage, are to be referred the notices in Hieronymus Catal. c. 93 and Chron. at A. D. 328, 355, quoted in the Tables p. 385 p. 431.

<sup>q</sup> *Athanasius* tom. 1 p. 294 C ὁ τοῖνυν μακαρίτης Ἄ-



μεγάλου καὶ μακαρίτου βασιλέως, υἱοῦ Κωνσταντίου γέροντος.—πάντες δὲ τὸν Κωνσταντῖνον τὸν πατέρα τῶν περὶ Κωνσταντῖνον καὶ Κώνσταν καὶ Κρίσπον ἴσασις ἐκθραζόμενον ἐν Χριστιανισμῷ

λέξανδρος ἐπίσκοπος ἐξέβαλε τὸν Ἄρειον τῆς ἐκκλησίας λέγοντα ταῦτα “ Οὐκ αἰεὶ ὁ θεὸς πατὴρ, οὐκ αἰεὶ ἦν ὁ υἱός· ἀλλὰ, πάντων ὄντων ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐστίν· καὶ, πάντων ὄντων κτισμάτων, καὶ αὐτὸς κτίσμα καὶ ποίημά ἐστι· καὶ, πάντων οὐκ ὄντων πρότερον ἀλλ’ ἐπιγενομένων, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγος ἦν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν· καὶ οὐκ ἦν πρὶν γεννηθῆναι, ἀλλ’ ἀρχὴν ἔχει τοῦ εἶναι· τότε γὰρ γέγονεν ὅτε βεβούληται αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς δημιουργῆσαι. ἐν γὰρ τῶν ἔργων ἐστὶ καὶ αὐτός.” p. 301 A φανερώς τε κατηγορεῖτοσαν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ μακαριώτατου ἐπισκόπου ὡς ἀδίκως ἐκβαλόντος τὸν Ἄρειον λέγοντα ταῦτα. p. 308 D οὕτως ἄρα καὶ τοῦ μακαρίου Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸν Ἄρειον ἐκβαλόντος οἱ μὲν μετὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου μείναντες ἔμειναν Χριστιανοί. Conf. p. 883 D. Apolog. p. 725 C D Ἄρειου τοῦ ἀσεβήσαντος—τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκβληθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ μακαρίτου ἐπισκόπου Ἀλεξάνδρου, οἱ περὶ Εὐσέβιον μαθητὰί τῆς ἀσεβείας αὐτοῦ καὶ κοινωνοὶ τυγχάνοντες—ἐγραφον πολλὰ παρακαλοῦντες Ἀλεξάνδρον τὸν ἐπίσκοπον μὴ ἀφείναι τὸν αἰρετικὸν Ἄρειον ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας· Ἀλεξάνδρον δὲ—μὴ δεχομένου τὸν ἀσεβῆ, εἰς Ἀθανάσιον τότε διάκονον ὄντα ἐλυποῦντο ἐπειδὴ τὰ πλείστα συνόντα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ πολυπραγμονοῦντες αὐτὸν ἤκουον, καὶ τιμώμενον παρ’ αὐτοῦ. Arius after the Nicene council A. D. 325 was supported by Eusebius of Nicomedia against Alexander of CP. Athanasius tom. I p. 301 D. The death of Arius under remarkable circumstances is related by Athanasius tom. I p. 301 D 302 A. Conf. p. 670. 671 p. 809 D 844 C Socratem I. 38 Sozomenum II. 279. Gregorius Naz. Or. 21 p. 393 C τῆν Ἰουδα ῥήξιν ὑποστὰς ἐπ’ ἴσην προδοσίᾳ τοῦ Λόγου.

Asterius [N<sup>o</sup> 130] agreed with Arius: Athanas. tom. I p. 256 A τοῦτο γὰρ Ἀστέριος ὁ θύσας [Ἀστέριός τις ἀπὸ Καππαδοκίας πολυκέφαλος σοφιστῆς εἰς ὃν τῶν περὶ Εὐσέβιον—θύσας ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ διωγμῷ p. 887 C] ἔγραψεν ὁ δὲ Ἄρειος μεταγράφας δέδωκε τοῖς ἰδίοις. p. 269 A τοιαῦτα γὰρ καὶ Ἀστέριος ὁ λεγόμενος σοφιστῆς παρ’ αὐτῶν μαθὼν ἔγραψε, καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ δὲ Ἄρειος μαθὼν, ὡς περ εἴρηται.

The Thalia of Arius: Socrat. I. 9 p. 30 A ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι Ἄρειος βιβλίον συνέγραψε περὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ δόξης ὁ ἐπέγραψε Θαλίαν. ἔστι δὲ ὁ χαρακτήρ τοῦ βιβλίου χαῦνος καὶ διαλελυμένος, τοῖς Σωταδίοις ἄσμασις ἦτοι μέτροις παραπλήσιος· ὅπερ καὶ αὐτὸ τότε [A. D. 325] ἡ σύνοδος ἀπεκέρυξεν. Conf. Sozomen. I. 21. Athanasius tom. I p. 264 B ἐν ἀσματίῳ Ἄρειος καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ Θαλίᾳ ὡς ἐπαπορῶν μυθολογεί “ Πολλοὺς λαλεῖ λόγους ὁ Θεός.” Conf. p. 308 A 309 D. p. 310 C ἡ μὲν οὖν ἀρχὴ τῆς Ἀρειανῆς Θαλείας καὶ κουφολογίας ἦθος ἔχουσα καὶ μέλος θηλυκὸν αὐτῆ· “ Κατὰ πίστιν ἐκλεκτῶν Θεοῦ, συντετῶν Θεοῦ, παίδων ἁγίων ὀρθοδόμων, ἅγιον Θεοῦ πνεῦμα λαβόντων, τὰδε ἔμαθον ἐγωγε ὑπὸ τῶν σοφῆς μετεχόντων ἀστέριον θεοδιδάκτων κατὰ πάντα σοφῶν τε· τούτων κατ’ ἔχρος ἦλθον ἐγὼ βαίων ὁμοδόξως ὁ περικλυτὸς, ὁ πολλὰ παθὼν διὰ τὴν Θεοῦ δόξαν, ὑπὸ τε Θεοῦ μαθὼν σοφίαν καὶ γνῶσιν ἐγὼ ἔγνω.” p. 311 D ἔθηκεν ἐν τῇ Θαλίᾳ ὡς ἄρα καὶ τῷ υἱῷ ὁ πατὴρ ἀόρατος ὑπάρχει. Quoted again p. 314 D 316 A.

p. 408 A ἀλλὰ Ἄρειος μὲν ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ Θαλίᾳ συνέθηκεν, ὁ δὲ σοφιστῆς Ἀστέριος ἔγραψεν ἄπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς προτέροις εἶπομεν οὕτως. κ. τ. λ. p. 883 D—884 A ἐν Θαλίᾳ ζηλώσας οὐδένα τῶν φρονιμῶν ἀλλὰ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον Σωσάτην [lege Σωτάτην] ἐν τῷ ἦθει καὶ τῇ ἐκλύσει τοῦ μέλους γράφει μὲν πολλὰ, ἀπὸ μέρους δὲ ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ ταῦτα· “ Αὐτὸς γοῦν ὁ Θεός—” Conf. p. 289 D 302 D 552 C.

Theodoret H. E. I. 1 describes the expulsion of Arius by Alexander: Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ τῶν ἀποστολικῶν δογμάτων συνήγορος πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸν παρανείσεσιν ἐπειράτῳ πως μεταπειθεῖν καὶ συμβουλαῖς, ἐπειδὴ δὲ κορυβαντιῶντα εἶδε—τῶν ἱερατικῶν ἐξήλασε καταλόγων. And gives a letter of Arius to Eusebius of Nicomedia I. 4.

On Arius and the Arians Hieronymus Pammachio Ep. 61 p. 723 Ariani (quos optime nosti) multo tempore propter scandalum nominis ὁμοούσιον se damnare simulabant, venenaeque erroris circumlinebant melle verborum &c. Conf. p. 735. Dial. orthod. cum Lucif. p. 679 Edoctus ab Arianis unum esse verum Deum Patrem, Filium et Spiritum sanctum credidit creaturas. Conf. p. 676. Idem p. 678 Ariana haeresis magis cum sapientia saeculi facit, et argumentationum rivos de Aristotelis fontibus mutuatur. Conf. Hieron. Damaso p. 663. 664 Chromatio p. 328. Idem in Pelag. I p. 933 Ariani Dei filio non concedunt quod tu [Pelagiane Critobule] omni homini tribuis. Conf. Algasia tom. 3 p. 320. Idem ad Ctesiph. p. 902 Arius ut orbem deciperet sororem principis [sc. Constantiam cf. Socrat. H. E. I. 25] ante decepit. In Rufin. I p. 837 Antequam in Alexandria quasi demonium meridiano Arius nasceretur. This account, that Arius was born at Alexandria, is confirmed by Constantine apud Socratem I. 25 ὅπως ἂν τῆς πατρὶδος εὐμενείας τε καὶ ἐπιμελείας τυχῶν ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα [sc. Alexandriam] ἀφίκεσθαι δυναθῆς. If however the account of Epiphanius her. 69 p. 727 C φασὶν αὐτὸν Δίβυν τῷ γένει is accurate, nasceretur in Hieronymus must be understood of his doctrine and not of his birth. Greg. Naz. Or. 25 p. 460 C οὗτος ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων ἀρξάμενος πόλεως κακέει τὸ δεινὸν ἐκμελετήσας, ἔπειτα ὡς περ τις ἀγρία φλόξ ἀπὸ μικροῦ τοῦ σπινθήρος τὸ πολὺ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐπίδραμῶν, ὑπὸ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν καταλύεται.

Arius is mentioned by Basil of Caesarea Ep. 220 (70 Garn.) p. 1002 D. Idem Ep. 61 (90) p. 838 A λαλεῖσθω καὶ παρ’ ἡμῶν μετὰ παρρησίας τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐκείνου κήρυγμα τῶν πατρῶν τὸ καταστρέφον τὴν δυσώνημον αἵρεσιν τοῦ Ἀρείου στερεοῦν δὲ τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἐν τῇ ὑγιανοῦσῃ διδασκαλίᾳ, ἐν ᾗ ὁ υἱὸς ὁμοούσιος τῷ πατρὶ ὁμολογεῖται καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ὁμοτίμως συναριθμεῖται τε καὶ συλλατρεύεται. Conf. Ep. 324 (91) p. 1098 C. Ep. 69 (92) p. 857 C σχεδὸν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν ὄρων τοῦ Ἰλλυρικῆς μέχρι Θηβαΐδος τὸ τῆς αἰρέσεως κακὸν ἐπινέμεται, ἧς τὰ ποιηρὰ σπέρματα πρότερον μὲν ὁ δυσώνημος Ἄρειος κατεβάλετο, ριζωθέντα δὲ διὰ βάθους ὑπὸ πολλῶν τῶν ἐν μέσῳ κ. τ. λ. Ep. 78 (125) p. 891 B κατὰ μικρὸν δὲ προϊόντα τὰ ποιηρὰ τῆς ἀσεβείας σπέρματα, ἃ πρότερον μὲν ὑπὸ Ἀρείου



καὶ πίστει τῇ τῶν πατέρων ἀποστολικῇ τε καὶ προφητικῇ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, ἕως αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀρείου μὴ νοθευθεῖσθαι· συμβέβηκε δὲ τοῦτου ἀποσχίσαι πλήθος.

- 115 *Marcellus Ancyrae episcopus*. A. D. 325 p. 381. Deposed in 336: p. 395. restored in 347: p. 413. Conf. Socratem H. E. II. 20 p. 102 D. On *Marcellus* in his exile see the Tables A. D. 342 p. 405. 407. Hieron. Catal. c. 86 *Marcellus Ancyranus episcopus sub Constantino et Constantio principibus floruit multaque diversarum ὑποθέσεων scripsit volumina, et maxime adversum Arianos. Feruntur contra hunc Asterii et Apollinarii libri Sabellianæ eum hæresis arguentes. Sed et Hilarius in VII<sup>o</sup> adversum Arianos libro nominis ejus quasi hæretici meminuit. Porro ille defendit se non esse dogmatis cuius accusatur, sed communionem Julii et Athanasii—se esse munitum* [conf. Marcellum ipsum apud Epiphanium p. 834]. *Marcellus* was expelled again after the death of *Constans* in 350. See the Tables A. D. 351 p. 421. He died about two years before *Epiphanius* published the work upon heresies: Epiph. hæ. 72 p. 833 D Μάρκελλος γέγονεν ἐν Ἀγκύρᾳ· ἔτι γὰρ δεῦρο ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔτους τούτου [A. D. 376: Tables p. 489] ὡς ἀπὸ δύο ἐτῶν ἔτελεύτα, ἢ πλεῖω ἢ ἐλάσσω. His life was therefore prolonged to about the year 373, to extreme old age<sup>r</sup>.

τοῦ προστάτου τῆς αἰρέσεως κατεβλήθη, ὕστερον δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ ἐκείνου κακῶς διαδεξαμένων ἐπὶ λύμῃ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐξεγράφη. Conf. Ep. 196 (130) p. 980 B. Ep. 75 (204) p. 882 C οὐδὲ μολυνθέντες ποτὲ τὰς ψυχὰς τῇ δυσωνύμῳ τῶν Ἀρειανῶν βλασφημίᾳ, ἀλλ' εἴ τινας ποτε ὠρμημένους ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ διδασκάλου εἰς κοινωνίαν προσελαβόμεθα ἐπικρυπτομένους τὴν ἐν τῷ βάθει νόσον,—οὕτω προσηκάμεθα κ. τ. λ. Ep. 349 (214) p. 1129 B ἐνθυμήθητι γὰρ, ὦ θαυμάσιε, ὅτι οἱ παραχαράκται τῆς ἀληθείας, οἱ τὸ Ἀρειανὸν σχίσμα τῇ ὑγιεί τῶν πατέρων ἐπεισάγοντες πίστει οὐδεμίαν ἄλλην αἰτίαν προβάλλονται τοῦ μὴ παραδέχεσθαι τὸ εὐσεβὲς τῶν πατέρων δόγμα ἢ τὴν τοῦ ὁμοουσιῶν διάνοιαν, ἣν αὐτοὶ πονηρῶς καὶ ἐπὶ διαβολῇ τῆς ὅλης πίστεως ἐξηγοῦνται, λέγοντες τὸν υἱὸν κατὰ τὴν ὑπόστασιν ὁμοουσίον λέγεσθαι παρ' ἡμῶν. Conf. Ep. 79 (223) p. 897 C. Ep. 73 (226) p. 872 D ὁμοίως καὶ τοὺς τὰ Σαβελλίου [N<sup>o</sup> 91] νοσοῦντας καὶ τοὺς τὰ Ἀρείου δόγματα ἐκδικούοντας—εἴ τις ἀνόμιον λέγει κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν τὸν υἱὸν τῷ πατρὶ, ἢ εἰς κτίσμα καταίγει τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἀναθεματίζομεν, καὶ ἐγγὺς εἶναι τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς τιθέμεθα πλάτης. In Ep. 82 (244) p. 910 A *Arius* is mentioned with *Apollinarius* and *Aetius*. Ep. 321 (266) p. 1093 τὰ μὲν οὖν παρὰ τῶν Ἀρειανῶν ἔκπαλαι κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας σκευωρούμενα, εἰ καὶ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα καὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν διαβεβημένα τὴν οἰκουμένην, ἀλλ' οὖν φορητὰ ἡμῖν ἐστί διὰ τὸ παρὰ φανερῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ πολεμίων τοῦ λόγου τῆς ἀληθείας γίνεσθαι. Conf. Ep. 74 (263) p. 874 B. Ibid. p. 875 A Εὐστάθιος ὁ ἐκ τῆς Σεβαστείας τῆς κατὰ τὴν μικρὰν Ἀρμενίαν, ὃς, πάλαι μαθητευθεὶς τῷ Ἀρείῳ ὅτε ἠκμαζεν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας, τὰς πονηρὰς κατὰ τοῦ μονογενοῦς συντιθεὶς βλασφημίας, ἀκολουθῶν ἐκείνῳ καὶ ἐν τοῖς γησιωτάτοις αὐτοῦ τῶν μαθητῶν ἀριθμούμενος, ἐπειδὴ ἐπανήλθεν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κ. τ. λ.

Augustine hæ. c. 49 sums up the doctrine thus: *Ariani, ab Ario, in eo sunt notissimi errore quo Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum nolunt esse unius ejusdemque naturæ atque substantiæ, aut (ut expressius dicitur) essentiæ, quæ οὐσία Græce appellatur, sed esse Filium creaturam, Spiritum vero Sanctum creaturam creature, hoc est; ab ipso Filio creatum volunt. In eo*

*autem quod Christum sine anima solam carnem suscepisse arbitrantur, minus noti sunt; nec adversus eos ab aliquo inveni de hac re aliquando fuisse certatum.*

<sup>r</sup> Basilius Cæsar. Ep. 63 (207) p. 842 B Σαβέλλιος ὁ Λίβυς καὶ Μάρκελλος ὁ Γαλάτης μόνου ἐκ πάντων ἐτόλμησαν καὶ διδάξαι ταῦτα καὶ γράψαι ἄπειρ νῦν παρ' ὑμῖν. Ep. 74 (263) p. 876 D ἡμᾶς δὲ λυπεῖ τοῖς Μαρκελλοῦ πεποιθὸς δόγμασιν. Ep. 78 (125) p. 889 D ὅπου γε καὶ Μάρκελλος ἐτόλμησεν ἀσεβῶν εἰς τὴν ὑπόστασιν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ, ψιλὸν αὐτὸν ἐξηγούμενος λόγον, ἐκείθεν προφασίσασθαι τὰς ἀρχὰς εἰληφέναι, τοῦ ὁμοουσιῶν τὴν διανοίαν κακῶς ἐξηγούμενος. Ep. 52 (69) p. 825 C Μαρκελλῶ—τῷ εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν ὑπαρξίν τῆς τοῦ μονογενοῦς θεότητος ἀσεβήσαντι καὶ κακῶς τὴν τοῦ λόγου προσηγορίαν ἐκδεξαμένῳ. Cf. Ep. 10 (239) p. 795 D Ep. 293 (265) p. 1062 D Ep. 321 (266) p. 1094 B.

The two books of *Eusebius* against *Marcellus* still extant (ad calcem Demonstr. Evang. ed. Paris. pp. 56) were written cir. A. D. 336 at the time of the deposition of *Marcellus*. These were followed by *περὶ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς θεολογίας κατὰ Μαρκελλοῦ βιβλία τρία* p. 57—195. *Eusebius* in *Marcellum* I. 4 p. 19 remarks of *Marcellus* ἄρτι μὲν γὰρ πρὸς Ἀστέριον [N<sup>o</sup> 130] τὴν ἀντίφρῃσιν ποιεῖται ἄρτι δὲ πρὸς Εὐσέβιον τὸν μέγαν [N<sup>o</sup> 116] καὶ ἔπειτα ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἄνθρωπον—τρέπεται Παυλίνον, ἄνδρα μὲν τιμηθέντα τῆς Ἀντιοχείων ἐκκλησίας πρεσβείῳ δὲ διαπρεπῶς τῆς Τυρίων ἐπισκοπεύσαντα [Τύρου Παυλίνος Theodoret. H. E. I. 4. Philostorgius III. 15 Παυλίνον—ὃς ἐκ τῆς ἐφορείας Τύρου εἰς τὴν τῆς Ἀντιοχείας μετέστη—ἐκείνος μετὰ μῆνας ἐξ ἀπεβίω. Sozom. I. 15 πρεσβεύεται ὁ Ἀρειὸς πρὸς Παυλίνον τὸν Τύρου ἐπίσκοπον καὶ Εὐσέβιον τὸν Παμφίλου], οὕτω τε ἐν τῇ ἐπισκοπῇ διαλέψαντα ὡς τὴν Ἀντιοχείων ἐκκλησίαν ὡς οἰκίον ἀγαθῶ μεταποιηθῆναι αὐτῷ. ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτον μακαρίως μὲν βεβιωκότα μακαρίως δὲ ἀναπεπαυμένον πάλαι τε κεκοιμημένον καὶ μηδὲν αὐτῷ διανοχλοῦντα ὁ θαυμάσιος οὗτος συγγραφεὺς σκώπτει· καὶ ἐκ τούτου μεταβὰς Ὀριγένην πολεμεῖ, πρόπαλαι καὶ αὐτῷ πεπαυμένῳ τοῦ βίου· ἔπειτα Ναρκίσσῳ ἐπιστρατεύεται [ὁ Νερωνιάδος Νάρκισσος Theodoret. H. E. I. 6 p. 757].



- 116 *Eusebius Nicomediæ episcopus*. Tables A. D. 337 p. 395. 397. Died in 342: p. 404. 405. 407.<sup>s</sup>  
 117 *Eusebius Cæsareæ episcopus*. His time: Tables A. D. 296 p. 339 A. D. 297 p. 339. 341.  
 Taught at Cæsarea in 306: p. 349. He died in 340: p. 401.<sup>t</sup>  
 118 *Eustathius presbyter CP*. Tables A. D. 336 p. 393.  
 119 *Jacobus Nisibenus*. A. D. 338 p. 399 A. D. 350 p. 417.  
 120 *Eustathius Antiochenus episcopus*. Tables A. D. 324 p. 377.<sup>v</sup>  
 121 *Juvenus presbyter*. Tables A. D. 329 p. 385. Hieron. Catal. c. 84 *Juvenus nobilissimi generis Hispanus presbyter*.—*Floruit sub Constantino principe*.  
 122 *Maximinus Treverorum episcopus*. Tables A. D. 343 p. 407.  
 123 *Athanasius*. Succeeds *Alexander* at Alexandria: Tables A. D. 326 p. 381. His exile in

καὶ τὸν ἕτερον Εὐσέβιον διώκει [sc. *Eusebium ipsum Cæsariensem*]. *Narcissus* and *Paulinus* are named by Athanasius de synodis tom. I p. 886 B = p. 584 A ed. Ven. as of the Arian party: πρὸ δὲ τοῦ γενέσθαι τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ σύνοδον ἔγραψαν καὶ οἱ περὶ Εὐσέβιον Νάρκισσον τε καὶ Πατρόφιλον καὶ Μάρω, Παυλίον τε καὶ Θεόδοτον καὶ Ἀθανάσιον τὸν ἀπὸ Ναζαρθῶν τὰ ὅμοια αὐτοῖς. *Eusebius* was appointed by the synod in 336 to refute *Marcellus*: In *Marcellum* II. 4 p. 55 D ταῦτα τὴν ἁγίαν σύνοδον ἐν τῇ βασιλικῇ συνεληθούσαν πόλει ἐξ ἐπαρχιῶν διαφόρων, Πόντου τε καὶ Καππαδοκίας Ἀσίας τε καὶ Φρυγίας καὶ Βιθυνίας Θράκης τε καὶ τῶν ἐπέκεινα μερῶν, στηλιτεύει τὸν ἄνδρα διὰ τῆς κατ' αὐτοῦ γραφῆς καὶ μὴ θέλουσαν ἐξεβιάζετο. ταῦτα καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τὴν μετὰ χεῖρα ἐξέτασιν προελθεῖν κατηνάγκασεν ὁμοῦ καὶ τοῖς δόξασι τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ παρισταμένους ὁμοῦ τε καὶ τοῖς συλλειτουργοῖς προστάξασι τοῦτο πράξει τὸ ἱκανὸν ποιουμένους. *Theodoret*. hær. fab. II. 10 Μάρκελλος δὲ ὁ Γαλάτης τούτῳ μὲν [sc. *Sabellio*] παραπλυσίως ἠρήθη τῶν ὑποστάσεων τὴν τριάδα. ἔκτασιν δὲ τινα τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς θεότητος ἔφησεν εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν ἐληλυθέναι, καὶ ταύτην Θεὸν Λόγον ἐκάλεσε. μετὰ δὲ τὴν σύμψασαν οἰκονομίαν πάλιν ἀνασπασθῆναι καὶ συσταλῆναι πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ἐξ οὐπερ ἐξετάθη. τὸ δὲ πανάγιον Πνεῦμα παρέκτασιν τῆς ἐκτάσεως λέγει, καὶ ταύτην τοῖς ἀποστόλοις παρασχέθη. καὶ ἀπαξασπλῶς ὑπέθετο τριάδα ἐκτενομένην καὶ συστελλομένην κατὰ διαφόρους οἰκονομίας.

<sup>s</sup> Hieron. Dial. orth. et Luc. p. 686 *Nam cum in synodo Nicæna quæ propter Arianam perfidiam congregata est octo episcopus Arianos susceptos sciamus—An tandem et tunc recepti sunt Ariani? Quinam quæso.—Eusebius episcopus Nicomediensis, Theogonus episcopus Nicænus, Saras tunc presbyter Libyæ, Eusebius episcopus Cæsareæ Palestinæ, et reliqui quos enumerare longum est. ipse quoque caput horum et causa malorum Arius presbyter, et Euzoïus diaconus qui post Eudoziūm Antiochenus episcopus fuit* [see below at N<sup>o</sup> 191], et *Achillas lector* [Ἀχιλλᾶς apud *Theodoretum* H. E. I. 3 p. 729 *Socratem* I. 6 Ἀχιλλεύς apud *Athanasium* Montfauc. tom. I p. 314 ed. Ven.]. *Hi quippe tres, Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ clerici, auctores hujus hæreseos extiterunt.* *Socrates* I. 6 p. 9 D *συνελαμβάνοντο τῇ Ἀρείου δόξῃ* [cir. A. D. 315] πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ ἄλλοι, μάλιστα δὲ Εὐσέβιος αὐτῆς ἀντίετο, οὐχ ὁ *Καίσαρεὺς* ἀλλ' ὁ πρότερον μὲν τῆς Βηρυτιῶν ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπος τότε δὲ τῆς ἐν Βιθυνίᾳ Νικομηδείας τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ὑποδύς. Conf.

*Alexandrum* *Alexandriæ* apud *Socratem* p. 10 B. *Eusebius* after the council of Nice was banished by *Constantine*: *Socrat.* I. 9 p. 38 οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ *Νικομηδεῦσι* κατὰ *Εὐσέβιον* καὶ *Θεόγγιδος* γράφων καθάπτεται μὲν τῆς *Εὐσέβιον* κακοτροπίας οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀρειανισμῷ ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τῷ τυράννῳ [sc. *Liciniū*] ἤδη πρότερον εἰσοῶν τοῖς αὐτοῦ πράγμασιν ἐπέβουλευσε. παρῆμι δὲ ἕτερον ἐλέσθαι ἐπίσκοπον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. But restored: I. 14 *Εὐσέβιος* δὲ καὶ *Θεόγγυς* βιβλίῳ μετανόιας τοῖς κορυφαίοις τῶν ἐπισκόπων ἀποστειλαντες ἀνεκλήθησάν τε τῆς ἐξορίας ἐκ βασιλικοῦ προστάγματος, καὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἐαυτῶν ἀπέλαβον.

<sup>t</sup> That *Eusebius* was at first an Arian is marked by Athanasius de synodis tom. I p. 886 C ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ *Καισαρείας* τῆς *Παλαιστίνης* *Εὐσέβιος* γράφων πρὸς *Εὐφρατίωνα* τὸν ἐπίσκοπον οὐκ ἐφοβήθη φανερῶς εἰπεῖν ὅτι ὁ *Χριστὸς* οὐκ ἔστιν ἀληθινὸς Θεός. by *Hieronymus* *Pam-mach.* p. 778 *Eusebius—impietatis Ariana apertissimus propugnator est.* *Ad Ctesiph.* p. 901 *Eusebii Cæsariensis, quem fuisse Arianum nemo est qui nesciat.* *Conf. Dial. orth. et Luc.* quoted at N<sup>o</sup> 116. *Theodoret.* H. E. I. 7 p. 763 *Εὐσέβιος—ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Καισαρείας, πρότερον μὲν συντρέχων τῇ Ἀρειανῇ αἰρέσει ὕστερον δὲ ὑπογράφας τῇ ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνόδῳ, ἔγραψε καὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις διαβεβαιούμενος ὅτι καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν τινῶς λογίους καὶ ἐπιφανεῖς ἐπισκόπους συγγραφείας εὕρομεν ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ θεότητος τῷ τοῦ ὁμοουσίου χρησαμένους ὀνόματι.*

The works of *Eusebius* mentioned in the Tables are these.

A. D. 308 *pro Origene.* p. 355.

325 *Chronicon.* p. 379.

post 325 *Historia Ecclesiastica.* p. 379.

In which are quoted  
*pro Origene libri VI*  
*vita Pamphili*  
*comm. in prophetas*  
*comm. in Danielelem*  
*de martyribus.*

336 λόγος τριακοταετηρικός. p. 393.

337 *vita Constantini.* p. 397.

<sup>v</sup> *Eustathius* was calumniated by his adversaries: *Hieron.* in *Rufin.* III p. 892.



- 336: p. 393. His return in 338: p. 397. He withdraws to Rome: A. D. 341 p. 403. After three years at Rome he is at Milan, in Gaul, and at Serdica: A. D. 347 p. 411. He returned to Alexandria in 349: p. 415. 417. *Athanasius* is quoted in A. D. 355: p. 429. 431. He retires to the desert in 356: p. 433. where his apology to *Constantius* was composed: p. 435. He is quoted on the synods of Ariminum and Seleucia in A. D. 359 p. 441. 443. *Athanasius* returned to Alexandria in 362: p. 449. but was again expelled by *Julian*: p. 451. 453. Restored by *Jovian* in 363: p. 457. His address to *Jovian* *περὶ πίστεως* Ibid. His letters to *Joannes* and *Palladius* in 372: p. 479. His death May 2 A. D. 373: p. 481. See A. D. 371 p. 477.
- 124 *Julius Firmicus Maternus*. Tables A. D. 343 p. 407.
- 125 *Basilius Ancyranus episcopus*. Appointed A. D. 336: p. 395. Deposed in 347: p. 413. Bishop again in 351: p. 421. The synod which was held at CP. in 360 (Tables p. 445) deposed *Basilius*: Socrat. II. 42 καθαιροῦσι—Βασίλειον δὲ τὸν καὶ Βασιλᾶν—τὸν ἐν Ἀγκύρᾳ εἰς τὸν τόπον Μαρκέλλου προχειρισθέντα, ὡς ἀδίκως τινὰ βασανίσαντα—καὶ ὅτι συκοφαντίας τισὶν ἔρραψεν—ἔτι μὴν καὶ ὅτι δι' ἐπιστολῶν τὰς ἐν Ἀφρικῇ ἐκκλησίας ἐτάραξεν. Sozomen IV. 24 has a fuller account of the charges against *Basilius*. In A. D. 363 he applied in vain to *Jovian* to be restored: Socrates III. 25.
- 126 *Audæus*. Tables A. D. 341 p. 405.
- 127 *Theodorus Heracleota*. Tables A. D. 341 p. 405.<sup>w</sup>
- 128 *Eusebius Emesenus episcopus*. Tables A. D. 347 p. 411 A. D. 348 p. 413.<sup>x</sup>
- 129 *Triphyllius*. Tables A. D. 346 p. 409.
- 130 *Asterius*. Flourished in 335: Tables p. 391. For Hieron. Augustino p. 1116 see N<sup>o</sup> 127. Mentioned with *Arius* by *Athanasius*. See N<sup>o</sup> 114 p. 434.
- 131 *Acacius Cæsareæ episcopus*. Succeeded *Eusebius* in 340: p. 401. Described at A. D. 348: p. 415. Composed the Acts of the Synod at CP. in 360: p. 445. Is succeeded by *Euzoius* (N<sup>o</sup> 157): Tables A. D. 367 p. 469.<sup>y</sup>
- 132 *Serapion Thmuis*. Tables A. D. 348 p. 413. Supported *Athanasius* in 355: p. 431.
- 133 *Dionysius Mediolanensis episcopus*. Was banished for supporting *Athanasius* in 355: p. 429. 431.
- 134 *Hilarius diaconus*. Tables A. D. 355 p. 431.<sup>z</sup>

<sup>w</sup> Hieron. præf. ad Galat. tom. 9 p. 123 Augustino p. 1103 de commentariis in ep. ad Galatas: *Præmittito Didymum—Eusebium quoque Emesenum et Theodorum Heracleotem, qui et ipsi nonnullos super hac re commentarios reliquerunt.* p. 1116 *In explanatione Psalmorum, quos apud Græcos interpretati sunt multis voluminibus, primus Origenes, secundus Eusebius Cæsariensis, tertius Theodorus Heracleotes, quartus Asterius Scythopolitanus, quintus Apollinarius Laodicensis, sextus Didymus Alexandrinus.* Minerio tom. 3 p. 371 *Super quo* [1 Cor. XV] *Theodorus Heracleotes in commentariis apostoli sic locutus est &c.* p. 380 *Super quo* [1 Thess. IV]—*dicendum est quid videatur aliis, Theodoro videlicet Apollinario et Diodoro* [N<sup>o</sup> 162], *qui unam sequuntur sententiam.*

<sup>x</sup> Hieronymus Catal. c. 91 quoted in the Tables adds his works: *E quibus vel præcipui sunt adversum Judæos et gentes et Novatianos, et ad Galatas libri decem, et in Evangelia homiliae breves plurimæ.* Idem præf. ad Galatas tom. 9 p. 123 Augustino p. 1103. See N<sup>o</sup> 127. Idem Magno p. 1084. See N<sup>o</sup> 93.

<sup>y</sup> Add to the testimonies quoted in the Tables Hieron. Minerio tom. 3 p. 380 *Origenes in tertio volumine ἐξηγηματικῶν ἐπιστολῆ Pauli ad Thessalonicenses primæ post multa quæ vario prudentique sermone diseruit hæc intulit; de quibus nulli dubium est et Acacium pleraque libasse.*

<sup>z</sup> Hieron. dial. orth. et Lucif. p. 688 *Restat unum, quod quæso te ut edisseras, quid adversum Hilarium dicendum sit, qui ne baptizatos quidem recipiat ab Arianis.—Hilarius cum diaconus de ecclesia recesserit solusque, ut putat, turba sit mundi, neque eucharistiam conficere potest, episcopos et presbyteros non habens, neque baptisma sine eucharistia tradere; et, cum jam homo mortuus sit, cum homine pariter interit et secta, quia post se nullum clericum diaconus potuit ordinare, ecclesia autem non est quæ non habet sacerdotes.* p. 693 *Legat et ipsius Hilarii libellos quos adversus nos de hæreticis rebaptizandis edidit, et ibi reperiet ipsum Hilarium confiteri a Julio Marco Sylvestro et ceteris veteribus episcopis similiter in pœnitentiam omnes hæreticos susceptos.* Conf. p. 692.

- 135 *Aetius*. The preceptor of *Eunomius*. Described in the Tables A. D. 353 p. 425. Recalled from exile by *Julian* in 362: p. 449.<sup>a</sup>
- 136 *Aerius*. Augustin. hæ. c. 53 *Aeriani ab Aerio quodam sunt, qui cum esset presbyter doluisse fertur quod episcopus non potuit ordinari, et in Arianorum hæresin lapsus propria quoque dogmata addidisse nonnulla, dicens offerri pro dormientibus non oportere* [Epiphan. p. 907 A], *nec statuta solemniter celebranda esse jejunia, sed cum quisque voluerit jejunandum* [Epiphan. p. 907 B], *ne videatur esse sub lege. Dicebat etiam presbyterum ab episcopo nulla differentia debere discerni* [Epiphan. p. 906 D]. *Quidam perhibent istos sicut encratitas vel apotactitas non admittere ad communionem suam nisi continentes et eos qui sæculo ita renuntiaverint ut propria nulla possideant. Ab esca tamen carniunt non eos abstinere dicit Epiphanius* [p. 907 D]. *Philaster vero et hanc eis tribuit abstinenciam. Philaster was still living in A. D. 376, when Epiphanius wrote. If Augustine used only the epitome of Epiphanius, he drew those particulars from the ἀνακεφαλαίωσις tom. 2 p. 148 C D.*<sup>b</sup>
- 137 *Lucifer Caralitanus episcopus*. Banished in A. D. 355: Tables p. 429. 431. Recalled from exile in 362: p. 449. Sozomen. V. 12 μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀθανασίου κάθοδον [A. D. 362: Tables p. 449] Λουκίφερ ὁ Καράλλων τῆς Σαρδουίας ἐπίσκοπος καὶ Εὐσέβιος ὁ Βερκέλλων τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ Λιγύων ἐκ τῶν ἄνω Θηβῶν ἐπανήλθον. ἐνθάδε γὰρ ἐπὶ Κωνσταντίου διηλεκῶς φεύγειν προσετάχθησαν. Conf. Socratem III. 5 Theodoretum H. E. III. 2 p. 915. *Lucifer* died in A. D. 370: Tables p. 473.<sup>c</sup>
- 138 *Eusebius Vercellensis episcopus*. His banishment: Tables A. D. 355 p. 429. 431. His return in 362: p. 449. Theodoret. H. E. III. 2 tom. 3 p. 915 Ἰουλιανὸς—τοὺς ὑπὸ Κωνσταντίου τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐξελαθέντας ἐπισκόπους καὶ τὰς ἐσχατίας τῆς οἰκουμένης οἰκοῦντας εἰς τὰς οἰκείας ἐπανελθεῖν ἐκκλησίας προσέταξε. τοῦτου δὴ οὖν τοῦ νόμου τεθέντος, εἰς μὲν τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἐπανήλθεν ὁ θεῖος Μελέτιος εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ὁ πολυύμνητος Ἀθανάσιος, Εὐσέβιος δὲ καὶ Ἰλάριος ὁ ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ Λουκίφερ ὁ Σαρδῶ τὴν νῆσον ποιμαίνειν λαχῶν ἐν τῇ Θηβαίων τῇ πρὸς Αἴγυπτον διήγον. ἐκεῖ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὁ Κωνσταντίος ἐξωστράκισεν. Compare Socrates and Sozomen quoted at N° 137. The death of *Eusebius* of *Vercellæ* is recorded at A. D. 370 p. 473. *Athanasius* however was not restored till 363 in the reign of *Jovian*. See the Tables p. 445. 451. 457.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Aetius* died at CP. where according to Philostorgius his eyes were closed by his disciple *Eunomius*. See below N° 166. Augustin. hæ. c. 54 *Aetiani ab Aetio sunt vocati iudemque Eunomiani ab Eunomio Aetii discipulo, quo nomine magis innotuerunt. Eunomius quippe in dialectica prævalens acutius et celebrius defendit hanc hæresim, dissimilem per omnia Patri asserens Filium et Filio Spiritum Sanctum.* Phot. Cod. 40 p. 25 οὗτος ὁ Ἀέτιος παρ' αὐτῶν μὲν τῶν συναρσιωτῶν διὰ τὸ κἀκείνους ὑπερβαλέσθαι τῇ δυσσεβείᾳ—τῆς διακονίας καθρέθη, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ δυσσεβεστάτου Ἰουλιανοῦ ἀνεκλήθη τε καὶ φιλοφρόνως ἐδεξιώθη. See the Tables A. D. 362 p. 449.

<sup>b</sup> Epiphan. hæ. 75 p. 905 A B οὗτος ὁ Ἀέριος ἔτι καὶ δεῦρο ζῆ ἐν σαρκὶ καὶ περίεστι τῷ βίῳ, Ἀρειανὸς μὲν τὸ πᾶν ἄλλως γὰρ οὐ φρονεῖ ἀλλ' ὡς Ἀρειος' καὶ ἔτι ἐπέκεινα μειζόνως.—οὗτος γίνεται συσχολαστῆς Εὐστάθιου Σεβαστίου τοῦ τῆς Σεβαστείας Πόντου τε καλουμένης χώρας ἦτοι μικρᾶς Ἀρμενίας. ὁμοῦ γὰρ ἦσαν ἀσκούντες ὁ τε προειρημένος Εὐστάθιος καὶ ὁ Ἀέριος. ὅτε δὲ ὁ Εὐστάθιος ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἐκείνος μᾶλλον ἐπεθύμει, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔφθασεν εἰς τοῦτο· ἐντεῦθεν ζῆλος γίνεται κ. τ. λ. On *Eustathius* see N° 114 p. 435.

<sup>c</sup> From him arose a rigid sect the *Luciferiani*: Augustin. hæ. c. 81 *Luciferianos a Lucifero Caralitano episcopo exortos et celebriter nominatos nec Epiphanius nec Philaster inter hæreticos posuit; credo tantummodo schisma non hæresim eos condidisse credentes.* Gennadius c. 16 *Luciferianis ita displicuit recipere episcopos qui in Ariminensi concilio* [A. D. 359] *Arianis communicaverant quomodo Novatianis apostatas penitentes.* Hieronymus dial. orth. et Lucif. describes them, but speaks of *Lucifer* with respect p. 687 *Cogor de beato Lucifero secus quidquam quam et illius meritum et mea humanitas poscit existimare. Sed quid faciam?—Præterea illa quæ quidam ex maledicis quasi satis firma defendunt, hoc illum amore gloriæ et nominis in posteros transmittendi fecisse, necnon et pro similitate quam adversus Eusebium propter Antiochenam dissensionem susceperat. Nihil istorum de tali viro credo. unum est quod etiam in præsentī constanter loquar, verbis eum a nobis dissentire non rebus; siquidem eos recipiat qui ab Arianis baptisma consecuti sunt.* He marks p. 692 the exile of *Lucifer*: *Antequam Ariminensis synodus fieret, antequam Lucifer exularet.*

<sup>d</sup> Hieron. Augustino p. 1117 *Apud Latinos autem*



- 139 *C. Marius Victorinus*. Tables A. D. 354 Col. 3 p. 427.<sup>e</sup>  
 140 *Fortunatianus*. Tables A. D. 357 p. 437.  
 141 *Titus Bostrenus episcopus*. Tables A. D. 348 p. 413 A. D. 363 p. 457. Banished by *Julian* in 362: p. 449.  
 142 *Hilarius episcopus Pictaviensis*<sup>f</sup>. Tables A. D. 356 p. 433 A. D. 360 p. 443. Restored in 362 after the death of *Constantius*: p. 445. Compare *Theodoret* quoted at N° 138. *Hilarius* died in 367: p. 469.  
 143 *Damasus Romanus*. Succeeded *Liberius* in 366: Tables p. 467. Mentioned in A. D. 375: p. 487. The death and character of *Damasus* are given at A. D. 384 p. 507.<sup>g</sup>  
 144 *Apollinarius Laodicenus episcopus*. Tables A. D. 366 p. 465. 467. At c. 5 p. 229 *Apollinarius*

*Hilarius Pictaviensis et Eusebius Vercellensis episcopus Origenem et Eusebium transtulerunt*. Sc. in *explanatione Psalmorum*. Idem adv. *Vigilantium* p. 1053 *Vercellensis Eusebius qui omnium Psalmorum commentarios hæretici hominis [sc. Origenis] vertit in nostrum eloquium, licet, hæretica prætermittens, optima quæque transtulerit*. Hieronymus dial. orth. et Luc. p. 686 marks the restoration of *Eusebius* in 362: *Tunc ad reditum Eusebii lugubres vestes Italia mutavit. Concurrebant episcopi qui Ariminensibus dolis irretiti [A. D. 359] sine conscientia hæretici ferebantur*.

<sup>e</sup> Hieron. Procem. lib. XIII in *Ezekiel*. tom. 5 p. 454 *Illud rhetoris Victorini breviter admoneo, ut obscuritatem voluminum ex tribus rebus fieri scias, vel rei magnitudine, vel doctoris imperitia, vel audientis duritia*. Idem procem. in comm. ad *Galat.* tom. 9 p. 123 *Non quia ignorem C. Marium Victorinum, qui Romæ pueros rhetoricam docuit, edidisse commentarios in apostolum, sed quod occupatus ille eruditione secularium literarum scripturas omnino sanctas ignoraverit, et nemo possit quamvis eloquens de eo bene disputare quod nesciat*.

<sup>f</sup> Hieronymus Catal. c. 100 quoted in the Tables p. 433 proceeds thus: (*Consecit*) in *Psalmos commentarios, primum videlicet et secundum, et a LI ad LXII, et a CXVIII usque ad extremum; in quo opere imitatus Origenem nonnulla etiam de suo addidit* [adv. *Vigilantium* p. 1053 *Confessor Hilarius qui Psalmorum interpretationem et homilias in Job ex libris ejus—transtulit*. Conf. ad *Pammachium* p. 784. In *Rufinum* p. 791 *Hilarium confessorem, qui quadraginta ferme millia versuum Origenis in Jobum et psalmos transtulit*. Conf. p. 833. 868 præf. comm. in *Michæam* lib. II tom. 6 p. 119 ad *Pammachium* p. 1169]. *Est ejus et ad Constantium libellus quem viventi CP. porrexerat* [Tables A. D. 360 p. 443], *et alius in Constantium quem post mortem ejus scripsit. et liber adversum Valentem et Ursacium historiam Ariminensis et Seleucensis synodi continens* [ad *Florentium* p. 55 *prolixum valde librum de synodis sancti Hilarii, quem ei apud Treveros manu mea ipse descripseram*]. *et ad præfectum Salustium* [præf. *Galliarum* A. D. 361: see above c. 1 p. 112] *sive contra Dioscorum* [Magno p. 1084 *Hilarius meorum confessor temporum et episcopus XII Quintiliani libros et stylo imitatus est et numero* (sc. libb. XII adv. *Arianos*), *brevique libello quem scripsit*

*contra Dioscorum medicum quid in literis possit ostendit*]. *et liber hymnorum, et mysteriorum alius. et commentarii in Matthæum* [conf. Hieron. præf. in *Origenis* hom. in *Lucam* apud *Origen.* tom. 5 p. XXVIII. Idem *Damaso* tom. 3 p. 236 *Noster Hilarius in commentariis Matthæi ita posuit &c.*]. *et tractatus in Job quos de Græco Origenis ad sensum transtulit, et alius elegans libellus contra Auventium, et nonnullæ ad diversos epistola. Aiunt quidam scripsisse eum et in Cantica Canticorum, sed a nobis hoc opus ignoratur*.

That *Hilarius* was not qualified to translate from the Greek appears from Hieron. *Marcellæ* tom. 3 p. 216 *Miror te in Hilarii commentariis non legisse "excussorùm filios" "credentium populos" interpretari quod scilicet apostolos illo nomine putaverit appellatos, &c.—Quid igitur faciam? Tantum virum, et temporibus suis disertissimum, reprehendere non audeo, qui et confessionis suæ merito et vitæ industria et eloquentiæ claritate ubicunque Romanum nomen est prædicatur. nisi quod non ejus culpæ adscribendum est qui Hebræi sermonis ignarus fuit, Græcarum quoque literarum quandam aurulam ceperat, sed Heliodori presbyteri, quo ille familiariter usus est, ea quæ intelligere non poterat quomodo ab Origene essent dicta quærebat*. *Rufinus* in *Hieronymum* apud Hieron. *Opp.* tom. 4 p. 150 *H* animadvertens upon this vindication: *Non continuo qui sanctus et prudens est Latinus etiam Græcæ linguæ notitiam sufficienter habet &c.* That *Hilarius* did not translate faithfully, but remodelled *Origen* to his own taste, is admitted by Hieronymus adv. *Rufin.* p. 792 *Sequar regulam præcessorum, et ejus præcipue viri (Hilarii)—qui cum ultra LXX libellos Origenis quos Homileticos appellavit, aliquantos etiam de tomis in apostolum scriptis transtulisset in Latinum, in quibus cum aliquanta offendicula inveniantur in Græco, ita climavit omnia interpretando atque purgavit ut nihil in illis quod a fide nostra discrepet Latinus lector inveniat*.

<sup>g</sup> Hieron. *Eustochio* de virginitate p. 205 *Legas—papa Damasi super hac re versu prosaque composita*.

*Damasus* proposes five questions to Hieronymus apud Hieron. *Ep.* tom. 3 p. 49. *Hieronymus* replies to three of them p. 50—60. He proposes another question upon *Matt.* XXI. 9 apud Hieron. *Ep.* tom. 3 p. 235 to which Hieronymus replies p. 236—239.



is placed at A. D. 362—366; at c. 7 N<sup>o</sup> 307 p. 315 at A. D. 366—377. But we may assign to him a longer period, namely A. D. 362—380.<sup>h</sup> He was already distinguished, although

<sup>h</sup> For the time of his death see Hieronymus quoted in the Tables p. 467. *Apollinarius* and his father in 362 are described by Socrates H. E. III. 16 ὁ μέντοι τοῦ βασιλέως νόμος ὃς τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς Ἑλληνικῆς παιδείας μετέχευε ἐκάλωε [see above c. 1 p. 105] τοὺς Ἀπολιναρίους —φανερωτέρους ἀπέδειξε· ὡς γὰρ ἄμφω ἦσθη ἐπιστήμονες λόγων, ὁ μὲν πατὴρ γραμματικῶν σοφιστικῶν δὲ ὁ υἱός, χρειώδεις ἑαυτοὺς πρὸς τὸν παρόντα καιρὸν τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς ἀπεδείκνουν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ εὐθὺς γραμματικὸς ἄτε τὴν τέχνην γραμματικὴν Χριστιανῶ τύπῳ συνέταττε, τὰ τε Μωϋσείως βιβλία διὰ τοῦ ἠρωϊκοῦ λεγομένου μέτρου μετέβαλε, καὶ ὅσα κατὰ τὴν παλαιὰν διαθήκην ἐν ἱστορίας τύπῳ συγγέγραπται· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τῷ δακτυλικῷ μέτρῳ συνέταττε, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τῷ τῆς τραγωδίας τύπῳ δραματικῶς ἐξεργάζετο, καὶ παντὶ μέτρῳ ῥυθμικῶ ἔχρητο, ὅπως ἂν μηδεὶς τρόπος τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς γλώττης τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς ἀνήκοος ἦ. ὁ δὲ νεώτερος Ἀπολιναρίος εὖ πρὸς τὸ λέγεον παρεσκευασμένος τὰ εὐαγγέλια καὶ τὰ ἀποστολικά δόγματα ἐν τύπῳ διαλόγων ἐξέθετο, καθὰ καὶ Πλάτων παρ' Ἑλλήσιν. Conf. Sozomen. V. 18. Suidas in his account of the works of *Apollinarius* p. 487 D E ascribes to the son a part of what Socrates assigns to the father: οὗτος [sc. *Apollinarius Laodicensis*] ἔγραψε καταλογάδην κατὰ Πορφυρίου τοῦ δυσσεβοῦς τόμους λ', καὶ δι' ἠρώων ἐπὼν πᾶσαν τὴν τῶν Ἑβραίων γραφήν. ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ ἐπιστολάς καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ εἰς τὴν γραφήν ὑπομήματα· τοῦ δὲ γε Ἀπολιναρίου καὶ Φιλοστόργιος [sc. *Lib. VIII*. Conf. Philostorg. VIII. 11 p. 514 D] μνήμην πεποιήται ἐν τῇ κατ' αὐτὸν ἱστορίᾳ, καὶ φησὶν “Ἀπολιναρίος γὰρ ἤκμαζε κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους ἐν τῇ Λαοδικείᾳ τῆς Συρίας καὶ Βασιλείος ἐν Καισαρείᾳ τῆς Καππαδοκίας καὶ Γρηγόριος ἐν τῇ Ναζιανζῶ. σταθμὸς δὲ οὗτος ὁ τόπος ἐστὶ τῆς αὐτῆς Καππαδοκίας. τρεῖς δὲ οὗτοι ἄνδρες τότε τοῦ Ὁμοουσίου προὔμαχον κατὰ τοῦ ἑτεροουσίου, μακρῶ πάντας παρενεγκόντες τοὺς πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον ἄχρις ἐμοῦ τῆς αὐτῆς αἰρέσεως προστάνας, ὡς πᾶσι παρ' αὐτοῖς κριθῆναι τὸν Ἀθανάσιον. τῆς τε γὰρ ἕξοθεν καλουμένης παιδείσεως ἐπιπλείστον οὗτοι προεληλύθεισαν, καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν γραφῶν—πολλὴν εἶχον τὴν ἐμπειρίαν· καὶ μάλιστα γὰρ αὐτῶν ὁ Ἀπολιναρίος· οὗτος γὰρ δὴ καὶ τῆς Ἑβραϊδος διαλέκτου ἐπαίειν οὐδ' ἦν. καὶ μὴν καὶ συγγραφῆν ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἐς τὸν αὐτοῦ τρόπον ἦν ἰκανώτατος. τῷ μὲν γε Ἀπολιναρίῳ τὸ ὑπομνηματικὸν εἶδος τῆς λέξεως μακρῶ ἄριστα εἶχε, Βασιλείος δὲ πανηγυρίσαι λαμπρότατος ἦν, τῷ δὲ γε Γρηγορίῳ καὶ παρ' ἄμφοτέροις ἐξεταζομένῳ μείζω βάσιν εἰς συγγραφὴν εἶχεν ὁ λόγος, καὶ ἦν εἰπεῖν μὲν Ἀπολιναρίου μὲν ἁδρότερος Βασιλείου δὲ σταθερώτερος.” κ. τ. λ. Suidas concludes p. 488 D τσαῦτα περὶ αὐτῶν ὡς ἐν παραδρομῇ Φιλοστόργιος ὁ Ἀρειανὸς ἔγραψεν. Hieronymus frequently quotes the commentaries of *Apollinarius* upon Scripture. The references are given by Lardner Vol. 4 p. 383—386. The work against *Porphyry* has been described already in the Tables A. D. 300 p. 343 and A. D. 366 p. 467, and in this volume p. 302 under *Porphyry* N<sup>o</sup> 235 Works n. 61. For Hieron. Augustino p. 1116 see above N<sup>o</sup> 127. Epi-

phanus hær. 76 p. 996 C mentions *Apollinarius* in A. D. 376: ὁ πρεσβύτης καὶ σεμνοπρεπὴς ὁ ἀεὶ ἡμῶν ἀγαπητὸς καὶ τῷ μακαρίτῃ πάτρι Ἀθανασίῳ καὶ πᾶσιν ὀρθοδόξοις Ἀπολιναρίος ὁ ἀπὸ Λαοδικείας, οὗτος ἦν ὁ ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦτο τὸ ῥῆμα [sc. τῶν διμοιριτῶν] ἐπινοήσας.

Augustine hær. c. 55 records his opinions: *Apollinarius a catholica dissenserunt dicentes sicut Ariani Deum Christum carnem sine anima suscepisse. In qua questione testimoniis evangelicis victi mentem, qua rationalis est anima hominis, defuisse anima Christi, sed pro hac ipsum Verbum in eo fuisse dixerunt. De ipsa vero ejus carne sic a recta fide dissensisse perhibentur ut dicerent carnem illam et Verbum unius ejusdemque substantiae, contentiosissime asseverantes Verbum carnem factum, hoc est, Verbi aliquid in carnem fuisse conversum atque mutatum, non autem carnem de Mariæ carne fuisse susceptam.* Theodoret. hær. fab. V. 11 tom. 4 p. 420 Ἐβριωνῶιο δὲ καὶ Θεοδοσιανοῦ καὶ Ἀρτεμιανῶιο καὶ Φωτειανοῦ ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον εἰρήκασιν ἐκ τῆς παρθένου τὸν Χριστὸν γεγενῆσθαι, Ἀρειοὺς δὲ καὶ Εὐνόμιος σῶμα μὲν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν εἰληφέναι τὴν θεότητα δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐνηργηκέναι τὴν χρεῖαν, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολιναρίος ἔμφυχον μὲν ἔφησεν εἶναι τοῦ σωτήρος τὸ σῶμα, οὐ μὴν τὴν λογικὴν ἐσηκέναι ψυχὴν· περιττὸς γὰρ ἦν (φησὶν) ὁ νοῦς, τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου παρόντος. Basil. Ep. 345 (224) p. 1121 D—1122 B (written in A. D. 375) ἀλλ' ἐροῦσιν ὅτι κοινῶς Ἀπολιναρίου ἐγώ, καὶ τῶν τοιοῦτων δογμάτων τὴν διαστροφὴν ἔχον ἐν ἐμαντῷ.—δειξάτωσαν ἢ κοινωρικὰ γράμματα παρ' ἐμοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν διαπεμπόμενα ἢ παρ' ἐκείνου πρὸς ἐμέ.—εἰ δὲ ἐπιστολὴν προφέρουσι τὴν λοιπὴν πρὸς κ' ἐπὼν γραφείσαν αὐτῷ παρὰ λαϊκοῦ πρὸς λαϊκὸν [cir. A. D. 350]—γνωρίσατε αὐτόθεν τὴν ἀδικίαν, ὅτι οὐδεὶς ὢν ἐν ἐπισκοπῇ ἐγκαλεῖται, εἴ τι κατὰ ἀδιαφορίαν ἐν τῷ λαϊκῷ βίῳ ἀπαρτηρήτως ἔγραψεν. Conf. Ep. 73 p. 872 C D. Ep. 293 (265) p. 1059 D (written in A. D. 377) καὶ γὰρ τῷ ὄντι πολλὴν εὐρομην λύπην παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀντεχομένοις τῆς τοῦ κυρίου εἰρήνης ἐπὶ ταῖς νεωτεροποιίαις ταῖς παντοδαπαῖς Ἀπολιναρίου τοῦ Λαοδικέως, ὃς τοσοῦτ' ἄλλο ἐλύπησεν ἡμᾶς ὅσ' ἔδοξεν εἶναι ἐξ ἡμῶν τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς. p. 1060 B τί γὰρ ἐν ἔργοις παρ' αὐτοῦ θερμὸν καὶ τολμηρὸν οὐκ ἐπράχθη; τί δ' ἐν λόγοις οὐ παρεπενοήθη νεώτερον καὶ ἐπικεκινδυνευμένον; οὐ πᾶσα μὲν ἐκκλησία ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν ἐμερίσθη; κ. τ. λ. Ep. 74 (263) p. 876 A δευτέρως μετ' αὐτὸν ἐστὶν Ἀπολιναρίος, οὐ μικρῶς καὶ αὐτὸς τὰς ἐκκλησίας παραλυτῶν· τῇ γὰρ τοῦ γράφειν εὐκολίᾳ πρὸς πᾶσαν ὑπόθεσιν ἔχον ἀρκούσαν αὐτῷ τὴν γλώσσαν ἐπέπλησε μὲν τῶν ἑαυτοῦ συνταγμάτων τὴν οἰκουμένην.—ἔστι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ Περὶ ἀναστάσεως μυθικῶς συγκείμενα, μᾶλλον δὲ Ἰουδαϊκῶς, κ. τ. λ. See Hieronymus quoted in the Tables p. 467. Basil. Ep. 82 (244) p. 909 D ἐγὼ δὲ Ἀπολιναρίου μὲν οὐδέποτε ἐχθρὸν ἠγησάμην, ἀλλ' ἐστὶν ἐφ' οἷς καὶ αἰδοῦμαι τὸν ἄνδρα, οὐ μὴν οὕτως ἐμαντὸν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ συνήψα ὥστε τὰ ἐκείνου ἐγκλήματα αὐτὸς ὑποδέχεσθαι. ὅπου γε ἔχω τιὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγκαλεῖν αὐτῷ, ἐντυχῶν τισι τῶν συνταγμάτων αὐτοῦ. οὐ μὴν



not yet a bishop, in 362, and he lived till the reign of *Theodosius*. He was the friend of *Basil* and of *Gregory*: *Suidas* p. 487 D Ἀπολιναρίος, Λαοδικεὺς τῆς Συρίας, γεγρονὸς ἐν ἡμέραις Κωνσταντίου καὶ Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ παραβάτου, καὶ ἕως τῆς ἀρχῆς Θεοδοσίου τοῦ μεγάλου, σύγχρονος Βασιλείου καὶ Γρηγορίου τῶν ἐκ Καππαδοκίας θαυμαζομένων· ἐγένετο δὲ γνώριμος ἀμφοτέρων, καὶ Λιβανίου τοῦ σοφιστοῦ καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν· οὗτος οὐ μόνον γραμματικὸς καὶ τὰ ἐς τὴν ποίησιν δεξιὸς, ἀλλὰ πολλῶ πλείω καὶ ἐς φιλοσοφίαν ἐξήσκητο, καὶ ῥήτωρ ἦν ἀμφιδέξιος.

145 *Gregorius Bæticus*. Described in the Tables A. D. 361 p. 445 A. D. 370 p. 473. Still living in 392: p. 527.

146 *Pacianus Barcelonensis*. Survived to the reign of *Theodosius*: Tables A. D. 379 p. 493.

147 *Photinus*. His heresy in A. D. 342: Tables p. 407. Condemned by a synod at Sirmium in A. D. 351: p. 421. His death in 376: p. 487.<sup>i</sup>

148 *Phæbadius*. Preserved his constancy at the synod of Ariminum A. D. 359: Tables A. D. 358 p. 439. Still living when Hieronymus wrote the Catalogue: p. 439.<sup>j</sup>

Sulpicius Severus H. S. II. 59 adds that he made some concessions at last: *Dein conceptæ a Fægadio [i. Phæbadio] et Servatione professiones edi cæpere, in queis primum damnatur Arius totaque ejus perfidia. Cæterum non etiam patri æqualis et sine initio sine tempore Dei filius pronunciatur.*

Περὶ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου ἡ αἰτήσις αὐτὸν οἶδα βιβλίον ἡ ἀποσταλὲν ὑποδεξάμενος. ἀλλὰ πολυφωνότατον μὲν αὐτὸν ἀκούω πάντων συγγραφέων γεγενῆσθαι, ἄλλοις δὲ ἐντετύχηκα τῶν συνταγμάτων αὐτοῦ. Conf. Ep. 59 (129) p. 832 D Ep. 382 (131) p. 1157 A. Hieronymus Augustino p. 1103 (written in A. D. 404) *Et Laodiceum de ecclesia nuper egressum.*

<sup>i</sup> Augustin. hæc. c. 45 *Photinus ab Epiphano* [hæc. 71 p. 829—833 ἀνακεφαλαιώσσει tom. 2 p. 147 D] *non continuo post Paulum [sc. Samosat.]—sed aliis interpositis ponitur. Non tacetur sane similia credidisse, secundum aliquid tamen adversatus ei dicitur, sed quid sit ipsum aliquid omnino non dicitur. Philaster autem continuatim ponit ambos sub singulis et propriis numeris quasi hæreses duas, cum dicat Photinum in omnibus Pauli secutum fuisse doctrinam.* Theodoret. hæc. fab. II. 11 ὁ δὲ Φωτεινὸς μίαν ἐνέργειαν πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος εἶρκεν, ἐτέροις ὀνόμασι τὴν τῶν Σαβελλίου δογμάτων κηρύττων διανοίαν κατὰ τῶν τετάρων τούτων [sc. contra Paulum Sabellium Marcellum Photinum] συνέγραψεν ὁ θεῖος Διόδωρος ὁ τὴν Κιλικίαν ἰδίνας μητρόπολιν [N<sup>o</sup> 162]. Athanasius de synodis p. 897 D 898 A ἀναθεματίζομεν τοὺς—Χριστὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ μεσίτην καὶ εἰκόνα τοῦ Θεοῦ μὴ εἶναι πρὸ αἰῶνων θέλοντας, ἀλλ' ἐκ τότε Χριστὸν αὐτὸν γεγονέναι καὶ υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐξ οὗ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐκ τῆς παρθένου σάρκα ἀνείληφε, πρὸ τετρακοσίων οὐχ ὄλων ἐτῶν· ἐκ τότε γὰρ τὸν Χριστὸν ἀρχὴν βασιλείας ἐσχηκέναι ἐθέλουσι, καὶ τέλος ἔξω αὐτὸν μετὰ τὴν συντέλειαν καὶ τὴν κρίσιν. τοιοῦτοι δὲ εἰσιν οἱ ἀπὸ Μαρκελλοῦ καὶ Φωτεινοῦ τῶν Ἀγκυρογαλατῶν, οἳ τὴν προαιώνιον ὑπαρξίαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τὴν θεότητα καὶ τὴν ἀτελεύτητον αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν ὁμοίως Ἰουδαίοις ἀθετοῦσιν. Conf. Augustinum Ep. 112 p. 613 de Photinianis.

<sup>j</sup> Hieronymus gives the last names in his Catalogue in this order:

- 100 *Hilarius* A. D. 356—367
- 101 *Victorinus* A. D. 354
- 102 *Titus Bostrenus* A. D. 348—363
- 103 *Damasus* A. D. 366—384
- 104 *Apollinarius* A. D. 362—380
- 105 *Gregorius Bæticus* A. D. 361.—“*Superest.*”
- 106 *Pacianus* A. D. 380. *Obiit.*
- 107 *Photinus* A. D. 342—376
- 108 *Phæbadius* A. D. 358.—“*Vivit.*”
- 109 *Didymus* A. D. 350.—“*Vivit.*”
- 110 *Optatus* A. D. 371—(391)
- 111 *Aquilius Severus* A. D. 371
- 112 *Cyrillus Hierosol.* A. D. 348—388
- 113 *Euzoius* A. D. 367—381
- 114 *Epiphanius* A. D. 367.—“*Superest.*”
- 115 *Ephræm* A. D. 350—373
- 116 *Basilius Cæsar.* A. D. 355—379
- 117 *Gregorius Naz.* A. D. 355—390
- 118 *Lucius Arianus* A. D. 373
- 119 *Diodorus Tarsens.* A. D. 378—381
- 120 *Eunomius* A. D. 360.—“*Vivit.*”
- 121 *Priscillianus* A. D. 379—385
- 122 *Latronianus* A. D. 385
- 123 *Tiberianus* A. D. 385
- 124 *Ambrosius Med.* A. D. 375.—“*Superest.*”
- 125 *Evagrius Antioch* A. D. 389.—(*Vivit.*)
- 126 *Ambrosius Alexandr.*—“*Superest.*”
- 127 *Maximus philos.* A. D. 379—381
- 128 *Gregorius Nyssen.* A. D. 370.—(*Vivit.*)
- 129 *Joannes Chrysost.* anno 392
- 130 *Gelasius Cæsar.* anno 392
- 131 *Theotimus Scythop.* anno 392
- 132 *Dexter*—anno 392
- 133 *Amphilochius* A. D. 375.—(*Vivit.*)
- 134 *Sophronius*—anno 392
- 135 *Hieronymus ipse* anno 392.



- 149 *Didymus Alexandrinus*. Described at A. D. 350: Tables A. D. 417. At Alexandria in 363: p. 455. *Didymus* in 372: p. 479. æt. 83 A. D. 392: p. 527.<sup>k</sup> *Didymus* died at the age of 85 years: Palladius Lausiaca c. 3 p. 904 C apud Bibl. Patrum Paris. 1624 tom. 2 πλείστον μὲν οὖν σύστημα χοροῦ ἁγίου ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν ἐτελειώθησαν τότε ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐκκλησίᾳ—ἐν οἷς τελειοῦται ὁ μακάριος Δίδυμος ὁ συγγραφεύς.—τελειοῦται δὲ οὗτος ἐτῶν ὀγδοήκοντα πέντε<sup>l</sup>.
- 150 *Optatus Afer*. Described in the Tables A. D. 371 p. 477.
- 151 *Macedonius CP*. Appointed by the Arians in A. D. 352 after the exile of *Paul*: Tables p. 425. Socrates II. 12 κατὰ ταυτὸν δὲ οἱ ἄρειανίζοντες ἐν τῇ λεγομένῃ ἐπὶ Παῦλον ἐκκλησίᾳ χειροτονοῦσι τὸν Μακεδόσιον.—τότε δὲ διαπύρως τὴν Ἀρειανὴν συγκροτοῦντες θρησκείαν οὐ τοὺς τυχόντας κατὰ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν πολέμους ἐτίρρυσαν, ὧν εἷς ἦν ὁ διὰ Μακεδονίου ἐν τῇ ΚΠ. γενόμενος<sup>m</sup>.
- 152 *Rogatus*. An African bishop who seceded from the other Donatists. He flourished in the reign of *Julian* A. D. 361—363 and in the youth of *Augustine*. His successor was living in A. D. 408: Augustinus Ep. 48 (93) *Vincentio* (within A. D. 408) p. 186 *Me adolescentem vivo adhuc Rogato, cui successisti, et apud Carthaginem noveras.* p. 191 *Non solum cum illis communiter Donatistis a Donato verum etiam proprie Rogatistæ a Rogato appellamini.* p. 192 *Rogatus auctor vester &c.*—*Nondum a Maximianistis separati eratis quando Juliano imperatori in sua petitione dixerunt quod apud eum sola justitia locum haberet; quem certe apostatam noverant.*—*Si nihil justum in imperatore petendum est, cur a Juliano petatum est quod justum putatum est?* p. 200 *Partem Donati, unde pars Rogati brevissimum frustum de frusto majore præcisum est.* p. 212 *Exciderat mihi cum Rogatista me rem habere.* Idem in Joann. evan-

<sup>k</sup> Hieron. Catal. c. 109 *Didymus Alexandrinus capta a parva ætate oculis et ob id elementorum quoque ignarus* [Tables p. 479] *tantum miraculum sui omnibus præbuit ut dialecticam quoque, et geometriam quæ vel maxime visu indiget, usque ad perfectum didicerit. Is plura opera et nobilia conscripsit; commentarios in Psalmos omnes* [conf. Hieron. Augustino p. 1116], *commentarios in evangelium Matthæi et Joannis, et de dogmatibus, et contra Arianos libros duos, et de Spiritu Sancto librum unum quem ego in Latinum verti; in Esaiam tomos XVIII* [conf. Hieron. præem. in Esaiam tom. 5 p. 3 *Didymus cujus amicitii nuper usi sumus ab eo loco ubi scriptum est "Consolamini"* [c. 40]—*XVIII edidit tomos*], *in Osee, ad me scribens, commentariorum libros tres, in Zachariam meo rogatu libros quinque, et commentarios in Job, et infinita alia quæ digere proprii indicis est.* Hieron. Augustino p. 1103 refers to *Didymi Comm. in Pauli ad Galatas*. Menerio tom. 3 p. 372. 373 *Comm. in Pauli ad I Corinth. Didymus—contraria via graditur.—I Cor. XV. 52 ἐν ἀτόμῳ—Idem Didymus ita explanavit &c.* Idem in Rufinum p. 882 de infantium animabus: *Exstat liber Didymi ad te, quo sciscitanti tibi respondit non eos multa peccasse, et ideo corporum carceres tantum eis tetigisse sufficere. Magister meus et tuus eo tempore quo tu ab eo ista quærebis tres explanationum in Osee prophetam libros ad me me rogante dictitavit. ex quo apparet quid me quid te docuerit.* Upon *Didymus* conf. Niceph. H. E. IX. 17 p. 715. 716.

<sup>l</sup> I am indebted to a friend (who has consulted Bibl. Patrum tom. 2) for this passage, which is defective in the edition of Meursius, who has at p. 15 πλείστον—ἐκκλησίᾳ, but omits the rest. The notice of Hieronymus, who fixes the 83rd year completed of *Didymus* to A. D. 392, determines his death at 85 to A. D. 394, when *Palladius* had been six years in his monastic life. Sigebertus in Chronico p. 4 a places the death of *Didymus* before the war with *Eugenius* and before the death of *Theodosius*; but assigns all these events to wrong years: A. D. 396 *Didymus absque oculis anno ætatis 85 Alexandria obiit.* A. D. 397 *Theodosius Eugenium et Arbogastem in bello perimit et ipse non multo post obiit.* He has the right order; but the true dates of these events are, *Didymus, obiit* A. D. 394, *Eugenius opprimitur* Sept. 6 A. D. 394, *Theodosius obiit* Jan. 17 A. D. 395.

<sup>m</sup> Add the narrative in Sozomen III. 9. Theodoret. H. E. II. 5 ἀλλὰ τοῦτον [sc. *Paulum*] οὕτω θανάτῳ μᾶλλον δὲ τῇ τῶν οὐρανῶν παραπέμψαντες βασιλείᾳ Μακεδόσιον ἀπὸ τούτου προῖβάλοντο, ὁμογνώμονα τούτων ὑπειληφότες, ἐπειδὴ παραπλησίως αὐτοῖς ἐβλασφήμει τὸ πανάγιον πνεῦμα. ἀλλὰ μικρὸν ὕστερον καὶ τοῦτον ἐξήλασαν κτίσμα λέγειν οὐκ ἀνασχόμενον, ὃν υἱὸν ἢ θεῖα προσαγορεύει γραφή. οὐ δὴ χάριν οὗτος ἐκείνων ἀποκριθεὶς ἰδίᾳ αἰρέσεως προστάτης γεγενῆσθαι, ὁμοούσιον μὲν οὐδὲ οὗτος τῷ Πατρὶ τὸν Υἱὸν εἶναι λέγων, ὅμοιον δὲ εἶναι κατὰ πάντα τῷ γεγεννηκότῳ διδάσκων, κτιστὸν δὲ τὸ Πνεῦμα προφανῶς ὀνομάζων. *Macedonius* was deposed in 360: Tables p. 445.



gelium tractat. X tom. 9 p. 110 *Alterum propositum habet Carthagine Primianus, alterum habet Maximianus, alterum habet in Mauretania Rogatus.*

- 153 *Aquilius Severus.* Tables A. D. 371 p. 477.
- 154 *Cyrillus Hierosolymitanus episcopus.* His appointment is described at A. D. 348 p. 413. 415. He was restored a fourth time at the close of 380: Tables A. D. 381 p. 499. and died in 388: Ibid.
- 155 *Agelius, a Novatian bishop of CP.* A. D. 345—384: Tables p. 509. Persecuted by *Macedonius*: Socrat. II. 38 p. 142 B *ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ Ναυματιανὸς εἰδὼς καὶ αὐτοὺς φρονούντας τὸ ὁμοούσιον. συνηλαύνοντο οὖν καὶ οὗτοι τὰ ἀνήκεστα πάσχοντες· καὶ φεύγει μὲν αὐτῶν ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, Ἀγέλιος ὄνομα αὐτῶν.*<sup>n</sup>
- 156 *Ephrem Syrus.* Described in the Tables A. D. 350 p. 417. 419. His death in 373: p. 481.<sup>o</sup>
- 157 *Euzoivus Cæsareæ episcopus.* The successor of *Acacius*: Tables A. D. 367 p. 469. Deposed in December 380: Tables A. D. 381 p. 499.
- 158 *Basilus Cæsareæ episcopus.* Studied at Athens in 355: Tables p. 431. He is described at A. D. 370: p. 473. 475. succeeded *Eusebius*: p. 475. *Basil* in 375: p. 487. and in 376: p. 487. He died Jan. 1 A. D. 380: p. 495. 497. His successor *Helladius* is present at CP. in 381: p. 501.<sup>p</sup>
- 159 *Gregorius Nazianzenus episcopus.* His birth in A. D. 326: Tables p. 383. His education at Athens A. D. 355: p. 431. His two orations against *Julian* A. D. 363: p. 459. *ἐπιτάφιος εἰς τὸν πατέρα* A. D. 374: p. 483. *Gregorius* at CP. in 379: p. 493. He is appointed to

<sup>n</sup> *Acesius* a Novatian bishop was present at the council of Nice in A. D. 325: Socrat. I. 10 Sozomen. I. 22. and was bishop of CP. before the death of *Constantine*, within A. D. 330—336: Sozomen. II. 32 p. 493 D *Ἀκέσιος ὁ τότε ἐν ΚΠ. τῆς αὐτῶν αἵρέσεως ἐπίσκοπος, βασιλεῖ κεχαρισμένος ὧν διὰ τὸν βίον, ὡς εἰκός, ἐβόηθει τῇ ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἐκκλησίᾳ.* *Agelius* who was appointed in 345 seems to have been his immediate successor. The successors of *Agelius* were these:

*Marcianus* A. D. 384: Tables p. 509  
*Sisinnius* A. D. 395: p. 535  
*Chrysanthus* A. D. 407: p. 571  
*Paulus* A. D. 419: p. 597 p. 619  
*Marcianus II* Aug. 21 A. D. 438: p. 623.

The Novatians were persecuted by *Cyril* at *Alexandria* in 412: Socrates VII. 7 *εὐθέως οὖν Κύριλλος τὰς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Ναυματιανῶν ἐκκλησίας ἀποκλείσας πάντα μὲν αὐτῶν τὰ ἱερά κειμήλια ἔλαβεν, τὸν δὲ ἐπίσκοπον αὐτῶν Θεόπεμπτον πάντων ὧν εἶχεν ἀφείλετο.* And at Rome by *Celestinus* in 425: Socrates VII. 11 *οὗτος ὁ Κελεστίνος τὰς ἐν Ῥώμῃ Ναυματιανῶν ἐκκλησίας ἀφείλετο καὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον αὐτῶν Ῥουστικουλαν κατ' οἰκίας ἐν παραβύστωφ συνάγει ἠνάγκασεν· ἄχρι γὰρ τούτου Ναυματιανοὶ μεγάλως ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἠγθησαν.—ἀλλ' ὁ φθόνος καὶ τούτων ἤψατο, τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκοπῆς ὁμοίως τῇ Ἀλεξανδρέων πέρα τῆς ἰερωσύνης ἐπὶ δυναστείαν ἦδη πάλαι προελθούσης.*

<sup>o</sup> The disciples of *Ephrem*—*μαθηταὶ ἐπισημότατοι*—named by Sozomen III. 16 p. 525 D are these

*Abbas*  
*Zenobius*  
*Abraam*

*Maras*  
*Symeon*  
*Paulonas*  
*Aranad.*

<sup>p</sup> The epistles of *Basilus Cæsar.* are 428 in ed. Paris. fol. 1618, which include 80 epistles of Greg. Naz. that are numbered but not inserted. Deducting these, we have 348 in that Paris edition. To these Garnier in the Benedictine edition Paris. fol. 1721—1730 has added from other sources 17 epistles, namely N<sup>o</sup> 42—46. 318. 319. 357—359. 361—365. 188. 217. He joins into one (N<sup>o</sup> 204) Ep. 75 141 of the former edition. Garnier arranges all the epistles in a new order.

1 ante episcopatum Ep. 1—46 A. D. 357—370.  
 2 in episcopatu Ep. 48—291 A. D. 370—378.  
 3 incerti temporis Ep. 292—360.

Ep. 47 belongs to Greg. Naz. Conf. Greg. Naz. Ep. 42 tom. 2 p. 37 A. Ep. 361—365 are spurious, namely

361 *Apollinario*  
 362 *Apollinarius Basilio*  
 363 *Apollinario*  
 364 *Apollinarius Basilio*  
 365 *Theodosio imp.*

Conf. Fabricium tom. 9 p. 61 § XIX.

For the letters of *Basilus* concerning *Apollinarius* see N<sup>o</sup> 144. Many others of his epistles are quoted in various parts of this work. His epistles to *Libanius* the sophist may be mentioned here, as they shew the friendly intercourse between *Basil* and *Libanius*.

the Church of CP. by *Theodosius* Nov. 26 A. D. 380: p. 499. *Gregory* in 381: p. 501. His orations in 381: p. 503. He retires from CP. in July 381: p. 503. His death and age A. D. 390: p. 521. 523.<sup>a</sup>

- |              |             |  |              |             |   |
|--------------|-------------|--|--------------|-------------|---|
| Ed.<br>Garn. | Ed.<br>1618 |  | Ed.<br>Garn. | Ed.<br>1618 |   |
| 335.         | 142         | Libanio. Ep. Liban. 1580.  | 353.         | 160         | Libanio. Ep. Liban. 1598. <i>Basil</i> had read and approves the discourse extant in Liban. tom. 4 p. 134.  |
| 336.         | 143         | Libanius Basilio. Ep. Liban. 1581. <i>Libanius</i> mentions their early acquaintance, first at CP. and then at Athens, and their friend <i>Celsus</i> . He praises <i>Firminus</i> (to whom <i>Basil</i> addresses Ep. 174 p. 956).  | 354.         | 161         | Libanius Basilio. Ep. Liban. 1599. In reply to the preceding. He requests a discourse of <i>Basil</i> : ἐπεὶ σοι κατὰ μέθης λόγος πεπόνηται, βουλόμεθα τούτῳ περιτρυχεῖν. Sc. ὁ περὶ γαστριμαργίας καὶ μέθης λόγος. tom. 3 p. 129 ed. Par.  |
| 337.         | 144         | Libanio. Ep. Liban. 1582. He sends him two pupils in rhetoric.   | 355.         | 162         | Libanius Basilio. Ep. Liban. 1600. He has read with admiration <i>Basil's</i> discourse.  |
| 338.         | 145         | Libanius Basilio. Ep. Liban. 1583. In reply to the preceding.  | 356.         | 163         | Libanio. Ep. Liban. 1601. <i>Basil</i> is the disciple of "fishermen:" ἀλιέων μαθητής. Sc. <i>apostolorum</i> .   |
| 339.         | 146         | Libanio. Ep. Liban. 1584. He remarks upon the preceding letter. He had introduced to <i>Libanius</i> the son of <i>Anysius</i> .   | 357          | —           | Libanius Basilio. Ep. Liban. 1602. <i>Libanius</i> mentions τῶν κοινῶν διατριβῶν. that is, CP. or Athens. See Ep. 336=1581.   |
| 340.         | 147         | Libanius Basilio. Ep. Liban. 1585. in reply to the preceding letter.   | [358]        | —           | Libanius Basilio. Ep. Liban. 1603. <i>Libanius</i> mentions that <i>Alcimus</i> (Ep. Liban. 513) had gone to Rome and left the charge of instructing the youth—περιθέετα σοι τὸν τοῦ συνεῖναι τοῖς παιδαρίοις πόνον—to the person to whom this letter is addressed. Hence Wolf concludes that this letter was not addressed to <i>Basil</i> . |
| 341.         | 148         | Libanius Basilio. Ep. Liban. 1586. He alludes to Paul. Ephes. IV. 26.  | 359          | —           | Basilius Libanio. Ep. Liban. 1604.  |
| 342.         | 149         | Libanio. Ep. Liban. 1587.  | 359) b       | —           | Libanius Basilio. Ep. Liban. 1605. <i>Basil</i> had lately visited Antioch, and had seen <i>Libanius</i> in behalf of some young men. <i>Libanius</i> promises τοὺς νεανίσκους ὑπὲρ ὧν ὡς ἡμᾶς ἤλθεε—φιλεῖν.  |
| 343.         | 150         | Libanius Basilio. Ep. Liban. 1588.   |              |             |   |
| 344.         | 151         | Libanio. Ep. Liban. 1589.  |              |             |   |
| [345.]       | 152]        | Libanius Basilio. <i>Basiano</i> Ep. Liban. 1590. <i>Libanius</i> had often met the person to whom he writes at the house of <i>Strategius</i> : πολλάκις ἐν Στρατηγίου σοι συγγενόμενος: which does not agree with <i>Basilius</i> . Wolfius p. 723 determines that the letter was addressed to <i>Basianus</i> and not to <i>Basil</i> . |              |             |   |
| 346.         | 153         | Libanius Basilio. Ep. Liban. 1591. He sends back two pupils whom <i>Basil</i> had sent him.  |              |             |   |
| 347.         | 154         | Libanius Basilio. Ep. Liban. 1592. <i>Basil</i> is at this time a bishop. Written therefore after A. D. 370.   |              |             |   |
| 348.         | 155         | Libanio. Ep. Liban. 1593. In reply to the preceding letter. <i>Basil</i> is now an old man: γέροντα.   |              |             |   |
| 349.         | 156         | Libanius Basilio. Ep. Liban. 1594. <i>Basil</i> had sent some other Cappadocians to <i>Libanius</i> for instruction.   |              |             |   |
| 350.         | 157         | Libanio. Ep. Liban. 1595. An answer to the preceding. He writes in the winter.   |              |             |   |
| 351.         | 158         | Libanio. Ep. Liban. 1596. <i>Libanius</i> had declaimed with great applause at Antioch. His discourse described δυσκόλου τρόπον ἀνδρός. See or. δύσκολος γήμας λάλον γυναῖκα. tom. 4 p. 134 Reisk.   |              |             |   |
| 352.         | 159         | Libanius Basilio. Ep. Liban. 1597. He sends the oration or μελέτη referred to in Ep. 351=158=1596.   |              |             |   |
- <sup>a</sup> The orations of *Gregory* recorded in the Tables are these.
- A. D.
- 363 κατὰ Ἰουλιανοῦ α' β'.
- 368 ἐπιτάφιος εἰς Καισάριον τὸν ἀδελφόν p. 469.
- 369 ἐπιτάφιος εἰς Γοργονίαν p. 471.
- 374 ἐπιτάφιος εἰς τὸν πατέρα.
- 379 εἰς Ἡρώνα τὸν φιλόσοφον [sc. *Maximum*] p. 495.
- 380 εἰς ἐάντὸν μετὰ τὰ κατὰ Μάξιμον p. 499.
- 381 { συντακτῆριος p. 503.  
ἐπιτάφιος εἰς Βασίλειον p. 503.
- The place of his father's episcopate is called *Nazianzum* by some writers, as by Geiseler Vol. 1 p. 183, but more properly *Nazianzus* by others, as by Mr. Hamilton Travels in Asia Minor Vol. 2 p. 228 and by D'Anville Geograph. tom. 2 p. 66. That *Nazianzus* was the name is confirmed by the following examples.



- 160 *Sabinus Macedonianus*. A writer quoted by Socrates I. 8 p. 22 A Σαβίνος ὁ τῶν ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ τῆς Θράκης Μακεδονιανῶν ἐπίσκοπος συναγωγῆν ὧν διάφοροι ἐπισκόπων σύνοδοι ἐγγράφως ἐξέδωκαν ποιησάμενος. I. 9 p. 31 D Σαβίνος ὁ τῆς Μακεδονίου αἰρέσεως προεστὼς τούτοις μὲν ἐκὼν οὐ προσέχει κ. τ. λ. Conf. II. 15 p. 92 B. Idem II. 39 de Seleuciæ synodo: εἰς Σελεύκειαν τῆς Ἰσαυρίας τὴν ἐπικαλουμένην Τραχείαν συναληλύθασιν· τοῦτο δὲ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐνιαυτῷ πεποιήκασιν ὑπατευόντων Εὐσεβίου καὶ Ὑπατίου [A. D. 359: Tables p. 441].—παρήσαν γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὄξυγράφοι τὰ παρ' ἐκάστου λεγόμενα σημειούμενοι· ὧν τὰ μὲν καθ' ἕκαστα ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ Σαβίνου ζητησάτωσαν οἱ φιλομαθεῖς διὰ μακροτέρων ἐγκείμενα. Conf. III. 10 p. 182 D III. 25 p. 204 D. Idem IV. 12 p. 224 D ὅτι μὲν οὖν Μακεδονιανοὶ—τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ πίστιν ἐκύρωσαν αὐτὸς Σαβίνος ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ τῶν συνοδικῶν ὡμολόγησεν. *Sabinus* was half an Arian: IV. 22 p. 231 A οἶα μὲν οὖν κακὰ ἐπὶ τῆς εἰσόδου Λουκίου [A. D. 373: Tables p. 483] γεγένηται—ὅπως τε οἱ μὲν βασάνοις ποικίλαις ὑπεβλήθησαν οἱ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τὰς βασάνους ἐξωρίσθησαν Σαβίνος μὲν οὐδ' ἠγνισαοῦν πεποιήται μνήμην, ἀρειανίζων γὰρ τὸ ἥμισυ κρύπτει τὰ τῶν φίλων ἀδικήματα. *Sabinus* therefore wrote between A. D. 373 and 439.
- 161 *Lucius Arianus*. Tables A. D. 373 p. 483.<sup>r</sup>
- 162 *Diodorus Tarsensis*. Described in A. D. 378: Tables p. 491. Present at CP. in 381: p. 501.<sup>s</sup>
- 163 *Epiphanius*. Appointed bishop of Constantia in Cyprus in 367: Tables p. 555. Wrote his work concerning heresies in 376: p. 489. and his work *περὶ μέτρων* in 392: p. 525. *Epiphanius* assisted at CP. in the measures against *Chrysostom*, and died on his return to Cyprus in 403: p. 555. after an episcopate of 36 years, A. D. 367—402 both inclusive.
- 164 *Philastrius Brixia episcopus*. Known to *Augustine*: Augustin. Quod vult Deo, præf. libri de hæres. tom. 6 p. 6 *Philastrius quidam Brixianensis episcopus, quem cum sancto Ambrosio Mediolani etiam ipse vidi* [cir. A. D. 385], *scripsit hinc librum, nec illas hæreses prætermittens quæ in populo Judæo fuerunt ante adventum Domini, easque XXVIII commemoravit, et post Domini adventum CXXVIII. Scripsit hinc etiam Græce episcopus Cyprius Epiphanius in doctrina catholicæ fidei laudabiliter diffamatus; sed ipse utriusque temporis hæreses colligens LXXX complexus est.—Neque enim putandum est aliquas ignorasse Epiphanium quas noverat Philastrius, cum Epiphanium longe Philastrio doctiorem invenerimus, &c.—Vide ergo ne forte librum sancti Epiphani tibi mittere debeam; ipsum enim arbitror Philastrio doctius hinc locutum.*
- Philastrius* was succeeded by *Gaudentius* in the time of *Ambrosius*. See below N<sup>o</sup> 179.
- 165 *Optimus Pisida*. Tables A. D. 375 p. 487.
- 166 *Eunomius Cyzicenus*. Described in the Tables A. D. 372 p. 479. He was appointed bishop of Cyzicus in 360<sup>t</sup>: Theodoret. H. E. II. 23 tom. 3 p. 898 τότε τῆς μὲν ΚΠ. ἐκκλησίας ὁ Εὐδόξιος

Ναζιανζός Auctor Vitæ Gregorii p. CXXVI.  
τῆς Ναζιανζοῦ Auctor Vitæ p. CXXVII.  
τῇ Ναζιανζῷ Philostorgius apud Suidam p. 488 A  
p. 845 E.  
τὴν Ναζιανζόν Socrat. V. 8 Theodoret. H. E. V. 8  
p. 1025.

The expression of Socrates IV. 26 p. 242 D τῆς Ναζιανζοῦ πόλεως is not decisive.

*Gregorius Nazianzenus* is rendered *Gregory Nazianzen* by many English writers, and even by Gibbon. But this is not to be justified. The phrase *Gregory Nazianzen* is not more admissible than *John Antiochen* or *James Nisiben* or *Neanthes Cyzicen*.

<sup>r</sup> Socrates IV. 36 mentions *Lucius* as bishop: τὸν κρατοῦντα τότε τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν Λούκιον. And relates IV.

37 that *Lucius* was rejected and *Petrus* restored in the time of *Valens*: Πέτρον ἐπανελθόντος ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης μετὰ γραμμάτων Δαμάσου τοῦ Ῥώμης ἐπισκόπου βεβαιούντων τὴν τοῦ ὁμοουσίου πίστιν καὶ τὴν τοῦ Πέτρον κατάστασιν, ἀναθαρρήσας οὖν ὁ λαὸς τὸν μὲν Λούκιον ἐξελαίνουσιν ἀντεισάγουσι δὲ τὸν Πέτρον. ἀλλὰ Λούκιος μὲν ὡς εἶχεν ἐπὶ τὴν ΚΠ. ἔπλεεν.

<sup>s</sup> Hieron. Minerio tom. 3 p. 372 *Diodorus Tarsensis episcopus præterito hoc capitulo* [sc. I Cor. XV] *in consequentibus breviter annotavit &c.* Ibid. p. 380: see above N<sup>o</sup> 127.

<sup>t</sup> Valesius ad Socratem IV. 7 remarks the error of Socrates IV. 7 and of Sozomen VI. 8, who refer the appointment of *Eunomius* to the time of *Valens* A. D. 365.

τυραννικῶς ἀρπάξει τὸν θρόνον τῆς δὲ Κυζίκου τὸν Ἐλεύσιον ἐξελάσαντες αὐτ' ἐκείνου κατέστησαν τὸν Εὐνόμιον. Idem c. 25 ζῶντος Ἐλευσίου τὴν Κυζίκου ἔλαβεν ὁ Εὐνόμιος. Deposed by *Constantius*: Ibid. τότε Κωνσταντίος αὐτὸν ἐξελάσειν ἠπειλῆσε τὸν Εὐδόξιον εἰ μὴ τὸν Εὐνόμιον ἀγαθὸν δικάσοι.—αὐτὴν δέισας τὴν ἀπειλὴν ὁ Εὐδόξιος φυγεῖν ἐκ τῆς Κυζίκου τῷ Εὐνομίῳ διὰ γραμμάτων ἐδήλωσεν.—ὁ δὲ Εὐνόμιος δέισας ὑπεχώρησεν.—ἐντεῦθεν λοιπὸν ἰδίαν φρατρίαν συνεστήσατο. Philostorgius V. 3 τῶν περὶ Εὐστάθιον καὶ Εὐσέβιον καὶ Ἐλεύσιον καθαιρεθέντων, οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Μάριον καὶ Εὐδόξιον γυνάμη Κωνσταντίου τῆς Κυζίκου τὸν Εὐνόμιον ἐπίσκοπον χειροτονούσιν. Idem VI. 1—4 τὸν Εὐνόμιον τινας ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ Κυζίκου Εὐδοξίῳ διαβάλλουσιν ὡς ἀνόμιον τῷ πατρὶ τὸν υἱὸν εἰσηγούμενον κ. τ. λ.—ἐπὶ τούτοις θόρυβος τὴν ΚΠ. τῶν ἐκκλησίαν εἶχεν.—κατ' Εὐνομίον κινηθεὶς ὁ Ἀκάκιος—πέθει ταῖς διαβολαῖς τὸν Κωνσταντίον μετὰπεμπτον ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ ποιήσασθαι τὸν Εὐνόμιον.—καὶ θάπτον αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπαναδραμεῖν ἐκέλευσε παροικίαν μέζονι συνόδῳ ταμιευόμενος τὴν τῶν προκειμένων διάγωνσιν<sup>v</sup>. *Eunomius* was sent into exile by *Valens* for taking part with *Procorius*: Philostorg. IX. 6—8 ὁ δὲ Ἀέτιος τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ συναλαβὼν ἐπὶ τὴν ΚΠ. ἀπαίρει κάκει συνῆν Εὐνομίῳ τε καὶ Φλωρεντίῳ, καὶ μετ' οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον τελευτᾷ<sup>w</sup>.—συκοφαντοῦσιν Εὐνόμιον ἐν τῷ οἰκίῳ ἀργῷ κατακρύψαι τὸν Προκόπιον.—ὑπερόριος δ' οὖν εἰς τὴν Μαυρουσίδα γῆν ἐκπέμπεται. But in the reign of *Theodosius* he is again at CP. and is again sent into exile: *Socrates* V. 20 τοῦτο δὲ Ἰστέον ὡς βασιλεὺς Θεοδοσίος οὐδένα τούτων ἐδίωκε, πλὴν ὅτι τὸν Εὐνόμιον ἐν ΚΠ. ἐπὶ οἰκίας συνάγοντα καὶ τοὺς συγγραφέντας αὐτῷ λόγους ἐπιδεικνύμενον, ὡς ταῖς διδασκαλίαις πολλοὺς λυμαινόμενον, εἰς ἐξορίαν πεμφθῆναι ἐκέλευσε. Philostorgius X. 6 Θεοδοσίος ὁ βασιλεὺς—τὸν Εὐνόμιον ἐκ τῆς Καλχηδόνας τὴν ταχίστην τοὺς ἀρπασομένους ἐκπέμπει καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ἀλμυρίδα φυγάδα ποιεῖν ἐγκελεύεται.—ἀλλ' ἢ μὲν Ἀλμυρίσιν—ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀλίσκεται, ὁ δὲ Εὐνόμιος ἐκείθεν εἰς Καισάρειαν τῆς Καππαδοκίας ὑπερορίζεται, μισητὸς ὢν τοῖς ἐκείσε κ. τ. λ.—ἐκείθεν δὲ εἰς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ διάγειν ἀγροὺς ἀφείθη· Δακοροννοὶ δὲ τοῖς ἀγροῖς τὸ ὄνομα. *Sozomen*. VII. 17 ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ὑπερορίαν φυγῆν Εὐνομίον τότε κατεδίκασεν· ἔτι γὰρ ἐν ΚΠ. ἐν προαστείοις διατρίβων ἢ ἐν οἰκίαις καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐκκλησίαζε καὶ τοὺς λόγους οὖς συνεγράψατο ἐπεδείκνυτο, καὶ πολλοὺς ἔπειθεν ὁμοίως φρονεῖν· ὡς ἐν ὀλίγῳ πολυάνθρωπον γενέσθαι λαὸν τῆς ἐπωνύμου αὐτῷ αἰρέσεως. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον τῆς φυγῆς τελευτήσας ἔτυχε τῆς ἐν τῇ πατρίδι ταφῆς· κόμη δὲ αὕτη Καππαδοκῶν, Δακὸρα ἦν δ' ὀνομαζομένη νομοῦ τῆς πρὸς τῷ Ἀργαλίῳ Καισαρείας<sup>x</sup>. *Eunomius* there-

<sup>v</sup> This order was given by *Constantius* a little before his death: *Philostorg*. VI. 1. We collect however from *Theodoret* II. 25 that *Eunomius* resided at CP. μεμένηκεν Εὐδοξίῳ συμπεφραγμένος—ὁ τῆς ἐπισκοπικῆς ἀξίας γεγυμνωμένος. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ ΚΠ. γεγένηται. Although he met *Procorius* at Cyzicus in 366: *Προκοπίῳ* ἔτι τῆς τυραννίδος ἐποχουμένῳ *Philostorgius* IX. 6.

<sup>w</sup> According to *Theodoret* II. 25 tom. 3 p. 904 he neglected his master: ὅτι δὲ φιλοτιμίας πάθει δουλεύον ἰδίαν συνεστήσατο σύλλογον αὐτὰ τὰ πεπραγμένα βοᾷ. ἡνίκα μὲν γὰρ Ἀέτιος ἀποκρηχθεὶς ἐξηλάθη, οὐ συνεξῆλθεν ἐκείνῳ, καίτοι διδάσκαλον αὐτὸν καὶ Θεοῦ ἄνθρωπον ὀνομάζων. But *Philostorgius* IX. 6 attests that *Eunomius* was present at the death of *Aetius*: Ἀέτιος τελευτᾷ, Εὐνομίον τότε στόμα συνελόντος καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τοῖς δακτύλοις περιστειλαντος καὶ γε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κηδείαν μετὰ τῶν ὁμοφρόνων τελεσαμένον πρὸς τὸ λαμπρότατον.

<sup>x</sup> *Sozomen* adds Θεοφρόνιος δὲ, ὅς ὑπ' αὐτῷ διδασκάλῳ τοὺς ὁμοίους ἐπαίδευσεν λόγους· Καππαδοκῆς δὲ καὶ οὗτος· συνίστατο τοῖς αὐτοῦ δόγμασι, μετρίως δὲ διὰ τῶν Ἀριστο-

τέλους μαθημάτων ἐλθὼν ἐπιτηδείαν πρὸς εἶδισιν τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς συλλογισμῶν εἰσαγωγὴν κατέλιπεν, ἢν Περὶ γυμνασίας νοῦ ἐπέγραψεν κ. τ. λ.

The *Eunomian* heresy is described by *Sozomen* VI. 26 p. 675 A Ἰστέον ὡς τῆς κατὰ Εὐνόμιον δόξης πρῶτος Ἀέτιος ὁ Σύρος [N<sup>o</sup> 135] εὐρετῆς ἐγένετο, ἀνόμιον τῷ πατρὶ τὸν υἱὸν κτιστόν τε καὶ ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων γεγενῆσθαι μετὰ Ἄρειον ἀποφηνάμενος· καὶ οἱ τὰδε φρονούντες Ἀετιανοὶ τὸ πρὶν ὀνομάζοντο· ἐπεὶ δὲ, ὡς ἐν τῇ Κωνσταντίου βασιλείᾳ εἴρηται, τῶν μὲν ὁμοούσιον τῶν δὲ ὁμοιούσιον τῷ πατρὶ τὸν υἱὸν δοξαζόντων, ὅμοιον τότε ἔδοξε λέγειν τοῖς τότε κρατοῦσι κατὰ τὴν ἐν Ἀρμίνιῳ σύνοδον, Ἀέτιος κατεδικάσθη φεύγειν ὡς εἰς θεὸν βλασφημῶν, ἢ δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ συστάσασθαι αἵρεσιν τρόπον τινὰ τὸν ἐν μέσῳ διελεύθη χρόνον, οὔτε ἄλλου τῶν ἐν λόγῳ οὔτε Εὐνομίου εἰς τὸ φανερὸν ἐπὶ ταύτῃ παρρησιάζεσθαι τολμώντος· ὡς δὲ τὴν Κυζικηνῶν ἐκκλησίαν ἀπὸ Ἐλευσίου παρεῖληφεν, οὐκέτι παντελῶς ἡρεμῆν ἠνείχετο, καὶ ἐν πλήθει διαλεγόμενος αὐθις τὴν Ἀετίου δόξαν εἰς μέσον ἤγαγεν.



fore died soon after A. D. 392, in which year Hieronymus records Catal. c. 120 that he was still living and that he dwelt in Cappadocia<sup>y</sup>.

- 167 *Priscillianus*. Mentioned at A. D. 379 p. 493 A. D. 380 p. 497 and at 385 p. 511. He was put to death by *Maximus*: p. 511. His persecutors are condemned: A. D. 389 p. 519.
- 168 *Latronianus* }  
 169 *Tiberianus* } Described in the Tables A. D. 385 p. 511.
- 170 *Idacius Hispanus*. See the Tables A. D. 380 p. 497. In conjunction with *Ursacius* he procured the death of *Priscillian* in 385: p. 511. and for this was banished in 389: p. 519.<sup>z</sup>
- 171 *Martinus Turonensis*. See the Tables A. D. 381 p. 503. His interview with *Maximus* in 386: p. 511. His age and episcopate are examined p. 513. His death A. D. 397 p. 539.<sup>a</sup>
- 172 *Ambrosius Mediolanensis episcopus*. Appointed Dec. 7 A. D. 374: Tables p. 485. His conduct on the massacre at Thessalonica: A. D. 390 p. 520. *Ambrosius* died at Easter 397: p. 539.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>y</sup> At c. 7 N<sup>o</sup> 307 p. 315 *Eunomius* has a period of twenty years A. D. 372—392. But a longer term may be given; a term of more than thirty years A. D. 360—392.

<sup>z</sup> Sulp. Severus dial. III. 15 describes the conversation of *Martinus* with *Maximus* in 386 (Tables p. 511): *Maximus imperator, alias sanc bonus, depravatus consiliis sacerdotum post Priscilliani necem Ithacium episcopum Priscilliani accusatorem ceterosque illius socios, quos nominari non est necesse, vi regia tuebatur.*—*Congregati apud Treveros episcopi tenebantur qui quotidie communicantes Ithacio communem sibi causam fecerant. Maximus urges to Martinus* Ibid. *non esse causam qua Ithacii ceterorumque partis ejus communionem putaret esse damnandam.*—*Quinetiam ante paucos dies habita synodus Ithacium pronuntia- verat culpa non teneri.* It was not till after the death of their protector *Maximus* that the two bishops were condemned, in A. D. 389.

Two bishops were concerned in these transactions. These are named

- Idacius et Ursacius* Isidor. c. 2.  
*Idacius et Ursacius* Honorius III. 2.  
*Hidacius et Ithacius* Hieron. Catal. c. 121.  
*Ithacius et Ursacius* Prosper ad A. D. 389.  
*Idacius Emerite civitatis sacerdos et Ithacius Sos- subensis episcopus* Sulp. Sev. H. S. II. 62.  
*Idacius et Ithacius* Idem II. 63. *Trachius* II. 63.  
*Ithacius* Idem II. 63.  
*Idacius et Ithacius* II. 64.  
*Idacius et Nardacius* Idem II. 65.

Hornius ad Sulp. Sever. II. 65 p. 433 makes a wrong distinction. He supposes three bishops, *Ithacius Nardacius* and *Ursacius*. But this is contrary to Sulp. Severus himself. Two bishops only were removed, *Ithacius* and *Ursacius*. But Prosper and Isidorus relate that they were both *communione privati*; Severus that only one was deprived—*solus omnium*—and that the other voluntarily retired. It seems that *Idacius* in Isidorus is the turbulent bishop called *Ithacius* in Sulpicius, who took the leading part against

*Priscillian*. The other bishop who had a less guilty share in the proceedings—*minus nocens* Sulp. II. 65—is *Ursacius* in Prosper Isidor. Honor. *Hidacius* in Hieron. *Idacius, Trachius, Nardacius* (perhaps corruptions of *Ursacius*) in Sulpicius Severus.

Trithemius c. 140 names the two bishops *Idacius* and *Ursacius*, but mistakes *Idacius* for *Idacius Lemicanus* who lived in A. D. 460 and is described below at N<sup>o</sup> 263.

<sup>a</sup> Sulpicius Sev. in vita Martini c. 4 *Relicta militia sanctum Hilarium Pictavae episcopum civitatis—expovit, et aliquandiu cum eo commoratus est. Tentavit autem idem Hilarius, imposito diaconii officio, sibi eum arctius implicare et ministerio vincere divino &c.* Before the exile of *Hilarius*: Ibid. p. 448 (*Martinus*) *Italiam repetens, cum intra Gallias quoque discessu sancti Hilarii, quem ad exilium hareticorum vis coegerat, turbatam ecclesiam comperisset &c.* Therefore in A. D. 356. According to the dates of Sulpicius *Martinus* in 356 is only 20 years of age. But Greg. Tur., who places the death of *Martinus* at the age of 81 in A. D. 397, will place his birth in A. D. 316. Sulpicius himself Dial. II. 7 confirms that date; for he records of *Martinus* in A. D. 386 that he was then 70: *Martino jam septuagenario*. Born therefore in 316. and when *Julian* was in command in Gaul in 356, which was also the year of the exile of *Hilarius*, *Martinus* was 40 years of age.

Pagi tom. 2 p. 474 p. 541 follows Sulpicius in the life of *Martinus*; Basnage tom. 2 p. 838 follows Gregory.

<sup>b</sup> Works of *Ambrosius* named in the Tables.

- A. D.  
 384 *Valentiniano contra Symmachum* p. 507.  
 388 *Theodosio* p. 517.  
 392 *de morte Valentiniani* p. 525.  
 393 *Eugenio imp.* p. 529.  
 395 *de morte Theodosii* p. 533.

Hieron. Pammachio p. 784 *Nuper sanctus Ambrosius sic Hexaameron Origenis compilavit ut magis Hippolyti sententiam Basilique sequeretur.* Idem in Ru-

- 173 *Maximus episcopus CP.* Described at A. D. 379: Tables p. 495. He is rejected by *Theodosius* A. D. 380: p. 499. and deposed in 381: p. 501.<sup>c</sup>
- 174 *Evagrius Antiochenus episcopus.* A. D. 389—392. Described at 389: p. 521.
- 175 *Ambrosius Alexandrinus episcopus.* Described at 391: p. 523. Hieronymus there quoted does not record that he flourished or began to be eminent in 392, but that he still lived. Wherefore we may place *Ambrosius* with those who began to be eminent about 20 years before, at A. D. 371 or 372.
- 176 *Gregorius Nyssenus.* See the Tables A. D. 375 p. 487 for his time. His ἐπιτάφιος λόγος εἰς Μελέτιον in A. D. 381: p. 503. Is present at the council of CP. in 394: p. 531. Bishop of Nyssa in Cappadocia: Theodoret. H. E. IV. 27 Γρηγόριος ἐκάτερος, ὃ τε Ναζιανζοῦ καὶ ὁ ἐκ Νύσσης—οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ τῆς εὐσεβείας ὑπερμαχοῦντες ἠρίστευον<sup>d</sup>.
- 177 *Theotimus episcopus.* Mentioned by Hieronymus at A. D. 392, by Socrates and Sozomen at 394. 402: Tables A. D. 394 p. 531.
- 178 *Dexter.* Tables A. D. 393 p. 529.
- 179 *Gaudentius Brixianus episcopus.* The successor of *Philastrius* (N<sup>o</sup> 164), whom he succeeded in the time of *Ambrosius* of Milan: Gaudentius Serm. 16 (*quem prima die ordinationis ipsius quorundam civium notarii exceperunt*). p. 159 *Post illam venerandæ memoriæ patris mei Philastryi vocem &c.—Obsecro communem patrem Ambrosium &c.* p. 157 *beatus pater Ambrosius ceterique venerandi antistites—tales ad me epistolas cum vestra legatione miserunt.*

finum p. 791 *Ambrosii pene omnes libri Origenis sermonibus pleni sunt.* Conf. p. 833 p. 868. Idem *Algasia* tom. 3 p. 319 *Ambrosius Mediolanensis episcopus quid de hoc loco senserit ex commentariis ejus legere poteris.* For Hieron. Catal. see the Tables A. D. 392 p. 527.

<sup>c</sup> *Maximus* is described by Theodoret H. E. V. 8 tom. 3 p. 1025 in these terms: Τιμόθεος—Μάξιμόν τινα κεχειροτόνηκε κυρικόν, εὐθὺς αὐτοῦ τὰς κυρικὰς ἀποκείρας τρίχας· καὶ τῆς Ἀπολιναρίου δὲ τερθρείας ἀνάπλωος οὗτος ἦν· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἤνεγκαν τοῦ γεγεννημένου τὴν ἀτοπίαν οἱ τμηκαῦτα συνειλεγμένοι. Sc. in A. D. 381.

<sup>d</sup> Suidas p. 847 A Γρηγόριος Νύσσης ἐπίσκοπος, ἀδελφὸς Βασιλείου τοῦ Καισαρέως, ἀνὴρ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐλλογιμώτατος καὶ πάσης ὑπάρχων παιδείας ἀνάπλωος, προσκείμενος δὲ μᾶλλον τοῖς τῇ ῥητορικῇ χαίρουσι. καὶ γοῦν εὐδόκιμος ἐν ταύτῃ γεγένηται καὶ λαμπρὸς, εἴ τις ἄλλος τῶν πάλαι ταύτῃ γεγεννημένων. οὗτος συνέταξε κατ' Εὐνομίου λόγον ἐξαίρετον [conf. Phot. Cod. 6. 7. 138 Hieron. Catal. c. 128] καὶ τεῦχος θαυμάσιον εἰς τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευὴν· ἄλλας τε πυκνάς καὶ συνεχεῖς ὁμιλίας. εἰς τε τὰ ἄσματα τῶν ἁσμάτων καὶ εἰς τὸν Ἐκκλησιαστήν· καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀδελφὴν Μακρίναν μακρὸν τινα καὶ περικαλλῆ περὶ ψυχῆς συνέθηκε λόγον. ἄλλα τε πολλὰ γεγραφήκει· καὶ τὸν πολυθαύμαστον ἔπαινον τοῦ πρώτου τῶν μαρτύρων Στεφάνου, καὶ βίον δὲ συνέταξε Γρηγορίου τοῦ ἐν θαύμασι διαλάμψαντος.

*Gregory* is mentioned by *Basil* Ep. 385 (225) in A. D. 375 *Demostheni præfecto* p. 1159 "We give thanks in the first place to God and in the next place to our emperors [τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν] for having entrusted the government of our country to you. I wished that you would summon me that I might explain to you all the truth. But since the tribunal has passed me over and has summoned 'my brother

*Gregorius* [τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ συλλειτουργὸν Γρηγόριον], and since he is detained by illness, on this account we all intercede with you not to be angry at this delay. No public interest has suffered by our delay, and no ecclesiastical matter." &c. *Gregory* was in exile in 376: *Basil*. Ep. 404 (232) p. 1191 A οὐ μὴν ἔξω κατηφείας διηγάγομεν τῷ τὸν θεοφιλέστατον ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν πεφευγαδευμένον εἶναι. Alluded to again Ep. 264 (237) p. 1036 D ἀγώγιμον προσέταξε γενέσθαι τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν ἐμόν. Ep. 10 (239) p. 795 A οὗτοι νῦν ἐξήλασαν τῆς Νύσσης τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν ἐμόν. *Gregory* refers to his own exile de vita *Macrinae sororis* tom. 2 p. 188 A πολὺς γὰρ ἦν ὁ διὰ μέσου χρόνος ἐν ᾧ τὰς ἐπισκέψεις αἱ τῶν πειρασμῶν περιστάσεις ἐκόλυσαν ἄς ὑπέμενον πανταχοῦ τῆς πατρίδος ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς αἵρέσεως [sc. *Arianorum*] ἐπιστατούντων ἐξελαυνόμενος· καὶ ἀριθμοῦντι μοι τὸν διὰ μέσου χρόνον ἐν ᾧ τὴν κατ' ὀφθαλμοῦς συντυχίαν οἱ πειρασμοὶ διεκόλυσαν οὐκ ὀλίγον ἐφαίνετο τὸ διάστημα, ὅκτῳ μικροῦ δεῖν παραμετροῦμενον ἔτεσιν. He marks the juncture of time at which he wrote this by the council of Antioch, nine months after the death of his brother *Basil*: p. 187 C D ὁ μέγας Βασιλεῖος τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ζωῆς ἐχωρίζετο.—ἔνατος ἦν μετὰ τὸ πάθος τοῦτο μὴν ἡ μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦτο, καὶ σύνοδος ἐπισκόπων κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχου πόλιν ἠβροίζετο. That is, Oct. A. D. 380. See the Tables p. 497. which carries back the beginning of his troubles to A. D. 373.

*Greg. Naz.* Ep. 197 p. 162 B *Gregorio Nysseno* on the death of *Theosebia* calls her p. 163 A Θεοσεβίαν τὴν ὄντως ἱερὰν καὶ ἱερέως σύζυγον καὶ ὁμότιμον καὶ τῶν μεγάλων μυστηρίων ἀξίαν. From whence we learn that *Theosebia* was the wife of *Gregory* of *Nyssa*. Conf. Niceph. H. E. XI. 19 καίπερ ὃ οὗτος καὶ γυναικὶ ὁμολήσας.



*Philastrius* still lived in 385, *Ambrosius* died in 397. *Gaudentius* was appointed within that period.

180 *Amphilochius Iconiensis episcopus*. Mentioned in A. D. 375 : p. 487. Present at the council in 381 : p. 501. *Amphilochius* presided at the synod of Side : A. D. 383 p. 505. He was also present at the council of CP. in 394 : p. 531.<sup>c</sup>

181 *Sophronius*. Tables A. D. 393 p. 529.

182 *Macarius Ægyptius monachus*. Born A. D. 298—died A. D. 387. Gennad. c. 10 *Macarius monachus ille Ægyptius, signis et virtutibus clarus, unam tantum ad juniores professionis sue scripsit epistolam*. *Palladius Lausiaca* c. 19 νεώτερός τις ἦν ἡλικία ὀνόματι Μακάριος. c. 21 τὰ κατὰ τοὺς ἁγίους καὶ ἀθανάτους πατέρας Μακάριον τὸν Αἰγύπτιον καὶ Μακάριον τὸν Ἀλεξανδρέα—ὄκνῶ διηγῆσθαι καὶ γραφῇ παραδοῦναι, μήποτε καὶ ψεύστου δόξαν ἀπενέγκωμαι.—τούτων τῶν ἀοιδίμων καὶ ὄντως μακαρίων—ὁ μὲν πρῶτος ἀθλητὴς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Μακάριος ὀνόματι Αἰγύπτιος τῷ γένει ὑπῆρχεν, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος τῇ ἡλικίᾳ πρῶτος δὲ τοῖς προτερήμασι τῶν μοναχῶν, καὶ αὐτὸς Μακάριος καλούμενος τῷ ὀνόματι, Ἀλεξανδρέων πολίτης γέγονεν. p. 38 the Egyptian ἔζησεν τὰ σύμπαντα ἔτη ἐνενηκόντα. ἀπὸ τούτων ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ πεποίηκεν ἐξήκοντα ἔτη. p. 42 πρὸ ἐνιαυτοῦ τῆς εἰς ἔρημον εἰσόδου ἐμῆς [A. D. 388] οὕτως—ἐκεκοίμητο. Idem c. 22 τῷ δὲ ὁμοζύγῳ τούτου—λέγω δὲ τῷ ἀγίῳ Μακαρίῳ τῷ Ἀλεξανδρεῖ συντετύχηκα πρεσβυτέρῳ ὄντι τῶν λεγομένων κελλίων<sup>f</sup>. κ. τ. λ.

183 *Evagrius monachus*. The disciple of *Macarius* of *Egypt*: see N° 182. Gennad. c. 11 *Evagrius monachus supradicti Macarii familiaris discipulus divina atque humana literatura insignis (cujus etiam liber qui adtitulatur Vitæ patrum velut continentissimi et eruditissimi viri mentionem facit) scripsit multa monachis necessaria*. *Socrates* IV. 23 p. 234 D *Εὐάγριος*—ἐν τῇ ΚΠ. ὑπὸ Γρηγορίου τοῦ Ναζιανζηνοῦ εἰς τὴν τοῦ διακόνου προχειρισθεὶς τάξιν, εἶτα ἅμα αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον κατελθὼν καὶ τοῖς προλεχθεῖσιν ἐντυχῶν ἄνδρασι [sc. *Macarius*] τὸν ἐκείνων βίον ἐζήλωσεν. *Sozomen*. VI. 30 *Εὐάγριος* ὁ σόφος, ἐλλόγιμος ἀνὴρ νοῆσαι τε καὶ φράσαι δεινός κ. τ. λ.—ἐγένετο δὲ τῷ μὲν γένει Ἰβήρων πολίτης πρὸς τῷ καλουμένῳ *Εὐξείνῳ* πόντῳ ἐφιλοσόφησε δὲ καὶ ἐπαιδεύθη ὑπὸ Γρηγορίῳ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ Ναζιανζοῦ τοὺς ἱεροὺς λόγους· ἠνίκα δὲ ἐπετρόπευε τὴν ἐν ΚΠ. ἐκκλησίαν [A. D. 381] ἀρχιδιάκονον αὐτὸν εἶχεν. The preceptor of *Palladius* (N° 207): See the Tables A. D. 420 p. 599.<sup>g</sup>

<sup>c</sup> *Sozomen*. VI. 6 p. 710 C in A. D. 381: λέγεται τῶν ἐνδημούντων ἐπισκόπων—πρεσβύτης τις— Referred to *Amphilochius* by *Theodoret*. H. E. V. 16. Idem *hæc*. fab. IV. 11 tom. 4 p. 368 *περὶ Μεσσαλιανῶν ἡγοῦν εὐχιστῶν ἢ ἐνθουσιαστῶν*.—ὁ δὲ πάντων ἄριστος Ἀμφιλόχιος ὁ τοῦ Ἰκονίου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἰθύνας ἀκριβέστερον τὴν αἴρεσιν ἐστηλίτευσε, τοῖς ὑπ' ἐκείνου πραχθεῖσιν ὑπομνήμασιν ἐντεθεικῶς αὐτῶν τὰς φωνὰς ἐναργῶς δηλοῦσας τοῦ δόγματος τὴν διαφορὰν.

<sup>f</sup> *Socrates* IV. 23 p. 234 C ἐγένοντο ἐν τοῖς μοναχοῖς κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον δύο ἄνδρες θεοφιλεῖς, ὁμώνυμοι ἑαυτοῖς· ἑκατέρῳ γὰρ αὐτῶν ὄνομα ἦν Μακάριος· ὧν ὁ μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἁνῶ Αἰγύπτου ἦν ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων πόλεως. ἀμφότεροι δὲ πολλῶν ἔνεκεν ἐγένοντο περιβόητοι, δι' ἄσκησιν διὰ βίον διὰ τρόπον κ. τ. λ. *Sozomen*. III. 14 ἄρξομαι δὲ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου καὶ Μακαρίων τῶν δύο—τούτων δὲ ὁ μὲν Αἰγύπτιος ὁ δὲ πολιτικὸς ὡς ἀπὸς ὀνομάζετο· ἦν γὰρ τῷ γένει Ἀλεξανδρέως.—διεβίω δὲ (ὁ Αἰγύπτιος) ἀμφὶ τὰ 4 ἔτη, 5 δὲ ἐκ τούτων ἐν ταῖς ἐρήμοις διέτριβεν. *Rufinus* was taught at Alexandria by both: In *Hieron*. tom. 4 p. 147 C *Ego qui sex annis Dei causa (Alexandriæ)*

*commoratus sum, et iterum post intervallum aliquot aliis diebus, ubi Didymus—ubi Paulus—et, ut ad eremi magistros veniam quibus et attentius et frequentius vacabamus, ubi Macarius Antonii discipulus, et alter Macarius et Isidorus* [Tables A. D. 388 p. 517] *et Pambas* [*Palladius Lausiaca* c. 13 *Socrat*. IV. 23 p. 233]. *Macarius* apud *Rufinum* *Ibid*. p. 136 C *Vir fide eruditione nobilitate vita clarus Macarius cum opuscula adversus fatum vel mathesin haberet in manibus* &c. is neither of them, but another *Macarius*, for whom *Rufinus* translated the Apology of *Pamphilus* into Latin : p. 136 D.

<sup>g</sup> *Gennadius* adds a catalogue of the works of *Evagrius*. *Socrates* IV. 23 p. 235 A τοῦτῳ καὶ βιβλία ἄγαν σπουδαῖα συγγέγραπται, ὧν τὸ μὲν Μοναχὸς ἢ Περὶ πρακτικῆς ἐπιγέγραπται τὸ δὲ Γνωστικὸς ἢ πρὸς τὸν καταξιωθέντα γνώσεως· κεφάλαια δὲ αὐτοῦ πενήκοντα· τὸ δὲ Ἀντιρρητικὸς ἀπὸ τῶν θείων γραφῶν πρὸς τοὺς πειράζοντας δαίμονας ἐν ὀκτῶ διηρημένον μέρει κατὰ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ὀκτῶ λογισμῶν· καὶ ἐξακόσια Προγνωστικὰ Προβλήματα. ἔτι μὴν καὶ στιχηρὰ δύο κ. τ. λ. Idem III. 7 p. 176 B *Εὐάγριος*

- 184 *Prudentius*. Born A. D. 348: Tables p. 413. Described at A. D. 404: p. 559.
- 185 *Commodianus*. Gennad. c. 15 *Commodianus dum inter sæculares literas etiam nostras legit, occasionem accepit fidei. Factus itaque Christianus et volens aliquid studiorum suorum muneris offerre Christo suæ salutis auctori, scripsit mediocri sermone quasi versu librum adversus Paganos. Et quia parum nostrarum attigerat literarum, magis illorum destruere potuit dogmata quam nostra firmare. Unde et de divinis repositionibus adversum illos vili satis et crasso (ut ita dixerim) sensu disseruit—Tertullianum et Lactantium et Papiam auctores secutus. Moralem sane doctrinam et maxime voluntariæ paupertatis amorem optime prosecutus studentibus inculcavit<sup>h</sup>.*
- 186 *Faustinus*. Tables A. D. 382 p. 503.
- 187 *Helvidius*. Against whom *Hieronymus* wrote in A. D. 382: Tables p. 503.<sup>i</sup> Gennadius c. 32

ἐν τῷ μοναχικῷ προπετῶς μὲν καὶ ἀπερισκέπτως θεολογῶν ἀποσυμβουλεύει, ὀρίζεσθαι δὲ ὡς ἀπλοῦν τὸ θεῖον πάντη ἀπαγορεύει κ. τ. λ.

Hieron. Ctesiphonti p. 900 *Evagrius Ponticus Hyperborita, qui scribit ad virgines scribit ad monachos scribit ad eam cujus nomen nigredinis [sc. Melania] testatur perfidia tenebras, edidit librum et sententias περὶ ἀπαθείας [cf. Hieron. præf. in Jeremiam lib. IV]. —Hujus libros per Orientem Græcos, et, interpretante discipulo ejus Rufino, Latinos plerique in Occidente lectitant. Qui [sc. Rufinus] librum quoque scripsit quasi de monachis, multosque in eo enumerat, qui nunquam fuerunt, et quos fuisse scribit, Origenistas—Ammonium videlicet et Eusebium et Euthymium [Socrat. VI. 7 p. 310 D ἄνδρες εὐλαβεῖς Διόσκορος Ἀμμώνιος Εὐσέβιος Εὐθύμιος. Conf. VI. 9 Sozom. VI. 30. Idem VIII. 12 Ἀμμωνίῳ καὶ Διοσκόρῳ Εὐσεβίῳ τε καὶ Εὐθύμιῳ] et ipsum *Evagrium*. Idem in Pelag. p. 912 *Ut præteream Manichæum Priscillianum Evagrium Hyperboritam Jovinianum et totius pene Syriæ hæreticos, quos sermone gentili Abin et Paanin, id est perversos et Massilianos, Græce εὐχίτας vocant.**

<sup>h</sup> Cave tom. 1 p. 137 places *Commodianus* before the time of *Constantine* at A. D. 270. But 1 *Hieronymus* in *Catalogo*, who wrote at 392, makes no mention of *Commodianus*. 2 Gennadius, who wrote in 493, places him after *Evagrius* who lived in 388, and after *Prudentius* who lived in A. D. 400. And *Honorius II.* 15 has the same order. 3 Gennadius observes that *Commodianus* followed *Lactantius*. But *Lactantius* himself lived in the reign of *Constantine*. These considerations may outweigh an inference drawn from certain obscure expressions in the work of *Commodian*.

<sup>i</sup> *Hieronymi adversus Helvidium de perpetua virginitate beatæ Mariæ*. tom. 2 p. 451—473.

*Helvidius* had four arguments.

His first argument was founded on *Matth. I.* 18 *Cum esset desponsata, and priusquam convenirent.* p. 452. *Hieronymus* contends in reply p. 454 *Non sequitur cum cum Maria post partum convenisse, cujus conveniendi desiderium uteri conceptione sublatum est.* And endeavours to explain by sophistries founded upon *Deuteronomy* the phrase *accepit uxorem suam*

in *Matt. I.* 24. He argues however with some force p. 455 that, as *Joseph* is called the father of *Jesus* in the Evangelists *ex opinione vulgi*, so other expressions may be used in a popular sense.

The 2nd argument of *Helvidius* is from *Matt. I.* 25 *Et non cognovit eam donec pepererit filium. Apparet igitur cognitam esse post partum.* *Hieronymus* p. 456 again sophistically attempts to explain *cognoscebat* and *donec* and *usque*. To the inference of *Helvidius* p. 459 *Post partum ergo cognovit cujus cognitionem ad partum usque distulerat*, the reply of *Hieronymus* p. 459 is to the last degree gross and revolting, and is no answer to the proposition of *Helvidius*.

The 3rd argument p. 461 is that the term *primogenitus* in *Luke II.* 7 implies other sons. This argument *Hieronymus* has failed to answer.

The 4th argument of *Helvidius* p. 462 is that the brethren of *Jesus* are mentioned; as in *Matt. XII.* 47 *XIII.* 55. 56 *Mark VI.* 3 *John II.* 12 *VII.* 5. 10 *Acts I.* 14 *Galat. I.* 19 *I Cor. IX.* 5. *Helvidius* supposed p. 463 that *Mary* the mother of *James* and *Joses* in *Mark XV.* 40 *Matt. XXVII.* 56 *Luke XXIV.* 10 was the virgin *Mary*. *Hieronymus* answers that, if *Mary* had other sons, she would not have been recommended to the care of *John*; in *John XIX.* 26. Which is no sufficient reply; because the brothers of *Jesus* did not believe on him: *John VII.* 5. and therefore would not be mentioned on that occasion. He argues well p. 463 that *Mary* the mother of *James* and *Joses* could not be the virgin *Mary* because the latter is always called by the evangelists the mother of *Jesus*. *Hieronymus* next contends p. 464. 465 that the term brother is often used in Scripture in other senses, and that *Mary* the wife of *Cleopas* the sister of the virgin *Mary* (*John XIX.* 25) was the mother of *James* and *Joses*; and that these were the first cousins of *Jesus*, though called his brothers.

*Helvidius* finally argued that there was no merit in virginity, which was needlessly therefore ascribed to the mother of *Jesus*. He asked p. 470 were virgins more holy than *Abraham* or *Isaac* or *Jacob*, who were all married? *Hieronymus* replies in his usual manner p. 470—473, not denying the lawfulness of marriage but asserting the superior merit of celibacy. He



quoted at p. 503. 505 proceeds thus: *In cujus opere ita sanctarum Scripturarum sensum ad suam percursitatem flectere conatus est ut earum testimoniis asserere voluerit Sanctam Mariam post natiuitatem Domini quæ virgo peperit Joseph sponso suo junctam et ex ejus consortio filios suscepisse qui fratres Domini appellati sunt. Cujus pravitatem Hieronymus arguens libellum documentis scripturarum sufficienter factum aduersum eum edidit.* The treatise of Hieronymus, of which an abstract is given below, will not justify this decision.

188 *Jovinianus*. Against whom *Hieronymus* wrote in A. D. 393 : Tables p. 529.<sup>k</sup> He died before the year 406 : p. 567.

affirms p. 470 that under the Old Testament marriage was allowed from necessity, but that since *St. Paul* had recommended celibacy virginity was become preferable, and of higher dignity than marriage ; that the world was now too full : p. 473 *Jam plenus est orbis, terra nos non capit.* p. 471. 472 that the daily cares of common life with a family of children interfere with the service of God.

It was incumbent upon *Hieronymus* to establish two propositions. First he was to shew against *Helvidius* that the Evangelists do not affirm that the marriage of *Mary* and *Joseph* was consummated after the birth of *Jesus*. But the three first arguments of *Helvidius* remain unshaken. The fourth proposition founded on the mention of brethren is not refuted. If the term brother is sometimes used of other relations and in another sense, it will not follow of necessity that the term is so used by the evangelists when speaking of the brethren of *Jesus*. But it was not enough to shew that the evangelists do not affirm what *Helvidius* maintained. *Hieronymus* was bound in the second place to prove that the Scriptures positively affirm the perpetual virginity. This he has not done. All the texts cited favour the proposition of *Helvidius*, but none of them favour this. *Helvidius* with reason asks p. 459, if *Mary* remained perpetually a virgin, why do the Scriptures use language contrary to the real meaning? *Numquid non potuit Scriptura dicere "Et accepit uxorem suam et non fuit ausus amplius contingere eam." Sicut de Tamar dixit et Juda. Aut defuerunt Matthæo verba quibus id quod intelligi volebat posset effari?* It may be added that *Mary* after the birth of *Jesus* is nowhere called a virgin in Scripture. *Hieronymus* p. 470 lays down the rule *ut hæc quæ scripta sunt non negamus, ita ea quæ non sunt scripta renuimus.* He affirms *natum Deum esse de virgine credimus quia legimus, Mariam nupsisse post partum non credimus quia non legimus.* But the last proposition must stand thus ; and his own canon is against him : *Natum Deum esse de virgine credimus quia legimus, Mariam post partum virginem permansisse non credimus quia non legimus.*

*Helvidius* is addressed with coarse abuse in every part of this treatise. But it is not said that he denied any fundamental doctrine. He did not deny the Incarnation : Hieron. p. 469 *Vere Joseph pater fuit? Quamvis sis hebes, dicere non audebis.* Some in *Hie-*

ronymus had explained the brethren of *Jesus* by supposing *plures habuisse uxores Josephum et de his esse fratres Domini.* But he rejects this p. 470 — *Audaci temeritate confingunt.* *Hieronymus* asserts p. 469 that *Ignatius Polycarp Ireneus Justin Martyr multosque alios apostolicos viros* had maintained the perpetual virginity against *Hebion Theodotus* of *Byzantium* and *Valentinus*. But *Helvidius* refers to *Tertullian* and *Victorinus* : p. 469 *Tertullianum in testimonium vocat et Victorini Pictaviensis episcopi verba proponit. Et de Tertulliano quidem nihil amplius dico quam ecclesie hominem non fuisse. De Victorino vero id assero quod et de evangelistis, fratres eum dixisse Domini, non filios Mariæ, fratres autem eo sensu quem superius exposuimus, propinquitate non natura.* Upon the reply of *Hieronymus* see *Beausobre* tom. 1 p. 360. 361. A passage of *Tertullian* is extant de monogamia c. 8 p. 149 *Et Christum quidem virgo enixa est, semel nuptura ob partum.* Perhaps the passage quoted by *Helvidius*.

<sup>k</sup> *Hieronymi aduersus Jovinianum libri duo.* tom. 2 p. 474—610.

*Jovinian* held four propositions.

- 1 No merit in virginity.
- 2 No lapse after baptism.
- 3 No merit in fasting.
- 4 That in the Resurrection all would be equal.

*Hieronymus* in *lib. I* answers the first proposition. His reasoning p. 501 is fanciful. He endeavours p. 502 to give a reason for circumcision. The five kings of Canaan p. 505 typify the five senses. He argues p. 506 upon *Joshua* having no children. He affirms p. 511. 512 that only *Peter* was married. It is assumed that *John* was beloved above all the other apostles p. 512 because he was unmarried : *ideo plus amatur.* But in the first place most of the other apostles were also unmarried, and secondly *Peter*, who was married, was next to *John* in the highest degree of favour. *Hieronymus* p. 512 renders in *John XXI. 22* *ἐὰν αὐτὸν θέλω μένειν, si eum sic volo esse,* and understands a reference to his virginity. He critically examines *Isaiah VII. 14* and rightly determines the meaning p. 521. But his inference p. 523 from *Ezekiel c. 24* is not warranted. *Hieronymus* p. 523 reasserts his proposition, which he has not yet proved. He draws an unwarrantable argument p. 526 from *1 Tim. III. 2* *μίας γυναίκας ἀνδρα.* Two arguments of *Jovinian* are stated but not an-



- 189 *Rufinus*. Gennad. c. 17 *Rufinus Aquileiensis presbyter non minima pars fuit doctorum ecclesie, et in transferendo de Græco in Latinum elegans ingenium habuit. Denique maximam partem Græcorum bibliothecæ Latinis exhibuit. Basilii scilicet Cæsariensis Cappadociae episcopi, Gre-*

swered in p. 527. *Hieronymus* p. 528 confounds the use with the abuse, and represents the apostle's praise of chastity as a praise of abstinence. He applies 2 Pet. III. 3 to *Jovinian*, and proceeds to a coarse invective against him. Of all the texts quoted by *Hieronymus* p. 538 only Apocal. c. 7 has any reference to his purpose. *Hieronymus* p. 539 states the argument of *Jovinian* from the marriage in Cana: John II. and proceeds to shew p. 540 that the heathens valued virginity. He enumerates *Atalanta*, *Harpalice*, the vestal virgins, *Minerva*, and others; gives a fabulous narrative of the thirty tyrants of Athens p. 540, another equally fabulous at p. 543, mentions the voluntary sacrifice of the Indian widows p. 543, gives examples of those who only married once p. 543—546, asserts in conclusion p. 552 that the Athenian hierophant abstained from marriage.

He examines *lib. II* p. 553 the second proposition of *Jovinian*, that there was no lapse after baptism. He contends p. 557 that God considers good works, and shews that works are necessary p. 558 from the epistle of *St. James*. He collects against *Jovinian* examples from the Old Testament p. 560. *Hieronymus* p. 535 quotes Josephus on *St. James* without suspicion.

*Jovinian's* third proposition *de cibis* is treated at p. 561 and his argument fairly stated p. 562. *Hieronymus* argues p. 565 that different meats are in use among different nations; which is no answer to *Jovinian*. He asserts p. 568 that abstinence is necessary as a discipline; that the five senses are the passages through which the mind is corrupted. Here also *Hieronymus* confounds the use with the abuse. He produces p. 575 arguments for abstinence drawn from the Old Testament. The fasting of *Daniel* is extolled upon wrong grounds p. 578. Arguments are adduced from the New Testament p. 579. He notices p. 581 an argument of *Jovinian* founded upon Matt. XI. 19 *φαγὸς καὶ οἰνοπότης*. and another founded upon *Peter's* eating in Acts c. 10. He again p. 582 gives examples from the Old Testament in favour of fasting.

*Hieronymus* proceeds p. 583 to consider the fourth and last proposition of *Jovinian*. It was maintained by *Jovinian* that the sheep and the goats in Matt. c. 25 represent the good and the wicked. (*Hieronymus* however ad Marcellam tom. 3 p. 266 corrects an opinion expressed in this treatise upon the sheep and the goats.) It was argued that the good would be all equal in their lot and the wicked equal in their punishment; that "many mansions" in John c. 14 meant "many churches" p. 584; that there was an unity in the church (p. 585) and an equality of merits and equality of rewards and punishments. *Hierony-*

*mus* p. 586 answers him, but mingles with his argument a personal abuse of *Jovinian* himself p. 586. *Jovinian* contended that in the wilderness the same measure of manna was given to all; both to the good and to the evil. To which *Hieronymus* p. 593 justly replies that the same is given in the Lord's Supper to all communicants; *Christi corpus æqualiter accipimus*, but that the spiritual efficacy is in proportion to the different degrees of merit in the receivers: *pro accipientium meritis diversum fit quod unum est*. He shews p. 600 that there are gradations in guilt: *Sunt peccata levia, sunt gravia. Aliud est decem millia talenta debere, aliud quadrantem*. He notices p. 601 the various destiny of *Esau* and *Jacob*. He thinks p. 602 flying from persecution not so meritorious as martyrdom: *Si fugero, non eadem erit corona morientis*. He shews p. 603. 604 from various texts that different degrees are appointed in heaven. He admits p. 603 that it is a difficult thing to believe Revelation: *In crucifixum credens Dominum difficultate fidei magnitudinem meruit præmiorum*. and contends again p. 605 that different degrees of merit will obtain different rewards.

*Hieronymus* p. 606 returns to the question of virginity. In his peroration p. 606 he recapitulates: *Diximus de nuptis viduis virginibus—transivimus ad secundam partitionem—tertio venimus ad jejunia—quarta, id est, extrema divisio oves et hædos—in duos ordines distribuerat*. From p. 607 to the end he pours forth an abusive address to *Jovinian*. It appears from p. 607 that *Jovinian* had many followers: *multi acquiescunt sententiæ tuæ*.

*Hieronymus* in another treatise, *Apologia ad Pammachium condiscipulum quondam et sodalem* tom. 2 p. 611—633 answers p. 611 the objection that some thought him too vehement in asserting the merits of virginity. p. 612 *Pammachius* and *Victorinus* had procured the condemnation of *Jovinian* at Rome. It is asserted p. 612 "There is no medium between *Jovinian's* opinion and mine. If I am reproved for preferring virginity to the married state, let *Jovinian* be commended, who makes them equal." He owns p. 621 that he sometimes says more than he means, and that in calm doctrine he is more cautious than in polemical writings: *Aliud est quærere, aliud definire; in altero pugnandum, in altero docendum est, &c.* And he asserts p. 622 that this is the practice of other ecclesiastical writers: *Interdum coguntur loqui non quod sentiunt sed quod necesse est*. He repeats p. 623 his sophistical exposition of 1 Cor. c. 7 *Bonum est mulierem non tangere*; and p. 626 interprets 1 Cor. VII. 5 *nolite fraudare invicem* &c. in a sense which is contrary to the meaning of the Apostle.



gorii Nazianzeni eloquentissimi hominis [Hieron. in Rufin. p. 817], *Clementis Romani Recognitionum libros*, *Eusebii Cæsariensis Palæstinæ Ecclesiasticam Historiam*, *Xysti sententias* [conf. Hieron. in Ctes. p. 900], *Evagrii sententias* [Hieron. in Ctes. p. 900]. *Interpretatus est etiam sententias Pamphili martyris adversum mathematicos. Horum omnium quæcunque, præmissis prologis, a Latinis leguntur a Rufino interpretata sunt; quæ autem sine prologo, ab alio translata sunt, qui prologum facere noluit. Origenis autem non omnia (quia et Hieronymus aliquanta) transtulit quæ sub prologo discernuntur*<sup>1</sup>. Conf. Trithemium c. 102. The *apologia Pamphili martyris pro Origene* is extant apud Hieron. tom. 4 p. 115—128 Origenis Opp. tom. 24 p. 289—412. Palladius Lausiaca c. 66 p. 123 ἦ [sc. cum *Melania*] συνέζη ὁ εὐγενέστατος καὶ μονότροφος Ῥουφίνος, ὁ ἀπὸ Ἰταλίας ἐξ Ἀκυληίας τῆς πόλεως πρεσβυτερίου εἰς ὕστερον καταβιωθεὶς, οὐ γνωστικώτερον καὶ ἐπιεικέστερον ἐν ἀνδράσι οὐχ εὐρίσκειτο<sup>m</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Gennadius adds *Proprio autem labore, imo gratia Dei et dono, exposuit idem Rufinus Symbolum* [apud Hieron. tom. 4 p. 69] *ut in ejus comparatione alii nec exposuisse credantur. Disseruit et Benedictionem Jacob super patriarchas triplici, id est, historico morali et mystico sensu* [de quo opere Paulinus Rufino apud Basnage tom. 3 p. 201]. *Scriptis et epistolas ad timorem Dei hortatorias multas, inter quas præminent illæ quas ad Probam dedit. Historiæ etiam ecclesiasticæ quam ab Eusebio scriptam et ab ipso interpretatam diximus addidit decimum et undecimum librum. Sed et obrectatori opusculorum suorum [sc. Hieronymo] respondit duobus voluminibus, arguens et convincens se Dei intuitu et ecclesiæ utilitate auxiliante Domino ingenium agitasse, illum vero emulationis stimulo incitatum ad obloquendum stilum vertisse. Rufini ad Anastasium apologia pro fide sua* is extant apud Hieronymi Opp. tom. 4 p. 133.

<sup>m</sup> Rufinus was thirty years absent from Aquileia: apud Hieronymum tom. 4 p. 135 A *Ego, sicut et ipse et omnes norunt, ante annos fere triginta in monasterio jam positus per gratiam baptismi signaculum fidei consecutus sum per sanctos viros Chromatium Jovinum et Eusebium opinatissimos et probatissimos in ecclesia Dei episcopos, quorum alter tunc presbyter beatæ memoriæ Valeriani, alter archidiaconus, alius diaconus simulque pater mihi et doctor symboli ac fidei fuit. Apologia ad Anastasium p. 133 E *Æquum putavi ut quoniam ipse post triginta fere annos parentibus redditus sum, et durum satis atque inhumanum erat si tam cito desererem eos quos tam tarde reviseram, simul et quia tam longi itineris labor fragiliorem me reddidit ad iterandos labores, literis meis satisfacere beatitudinæ tuæ &c. Conf. Hieron. in Rufin. p. 820. Idem p. 821 *Illud vero ridiculum, quod post XXX annos ad parentes se reversum esse jactat &c.—Sicque præterit longi itineris lassitudinem, quasi XXX annis semper cucurrerit, aut biennio Aquileiæ sedens præteriti itineris labore confectus sit. p. 827 *Illâ lassitudo, quod XXX annorum itinere confectus Romam venire non potuit. p. 861 *Quid per XXX annos in oriente profeceris. p. 879 *Rursum admones, ut sciamus te per XXX annos Græcis voluminibus devoratis Latina nescire. It appears from hence that Rufinus had been two years******

at Aquileia when he wrote his Apology to Anastasius. Rufinus had been at least a year at Rome before he proceeded to Aquileia: Hieron. in Rufin. p. 789 *Sanctum presbyterum Rufinum* [de quo Augustinus Ep. 59 p. 333] *ob quandam causam per Romam Mediolanum misimus et oravimus ut nostro animo et obsequio vos videret &c. In Rufin. p. 878 *Paulinianus et Eusebius post annum vestræ navigationis profecti sunt; Rufinus in causa Claudii post biennium missus.**

From hence Norisius tom. 1 p. 15 collects that Rufinus passed almost two years at Rome. There at the request of Macarius he translated the treatise of Origen *περὶ ἀρχῶν* when he had for 30 years discontinued the use of Latin: adv. Hieron. p. 136 C *Macarius cum opuscula adversus fatum—haberet in manibus—quid Origenes, quem opinatissimum apud Græcos audierat, sentiret de talibus percunctatur.—Continuo id sibi poscit in Latinum verti. Nullum dicebam me usum hujuscemodi operis habuisse et ad Latinum sermonem tricennali jam pene incuria torpuisse. Perstitit tamen deprecans &c. The letter to Anastasius—*apologia ad Anastasium pro fide*—apud Hieronymum tom. 4 may be placed at A. D. 401, and the 30 years which terminated at that epoch commenced in 371. But this period of 30 years used in general terms is named indifferently at A. D. 398, the date of the translation of Origen, at A. D. 399, the date of the return to Aquileia, and at A. D. 401, the date of the letter to Anastasius.*

Rufinus after he left Aquileia in 371 passed 6 years at Alexandria: In Hieron. p. 147 C *Ego qui sex annis Alexandria commoratus sum &c. And afterwards many years with Melania: Pallad. c. 66 quoted above. He was not at Alexandria after Theophilus was bishop: Hieron. in Rufin. p. 872 *tu postquam hic episcopus factus est Alexandria non fueris. That is, not after July A. D. 385. At the time of the destruction of the Serapeum at Alexandria in 390 (see the Tables A. D. 389 p. 520 A. D. 390 p. 522) Rufinus was in Palestine: Rufin. H. E. XI. 22—30 quoted by Geiseler Vol. 1 p. 187. n. 8.**

Norisius and Pagi supposed that Rufinus accompanied Melania in her voyage from Rome, or in her voyage at the return. But the editor of the works



- 190 *Asterius Amasenus episcopus*. His discourse Jan. 1 A. D. 400 is noticed in the Tables p. 547. Phot. Cod. 271 ἀνεγνώσθη—Ἀστερίων ἐπισκόπου Ἀμασείας ἐκ τοῦ προτρεπτικοῦ εἰς τὴν μετάνοιαν. p. 1492 τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ εἰς τὸν πρωτομάρτυρα Στεφανόν.—τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ “ἄνθρωπος τις κατέβαιγεν ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ εἰς Ἱεριχώ.” p. 1493 τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ “ἄνθρωποι δύο ἀνέβησαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν προσεύξασθαι.” p. 1496 τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν Ζακχαῖον. p. 1497 τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τοὺς δύο υἱοὺς τοὺς παρὰ τῷ Λουκᾷ. p. 1500 τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν δούλον τοῦ ἑκατοντάρχου. p. 1501 τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν παρεμβασιν τῶν νηστειῶν.—τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν ἐκ κοιλίας τυφλόν. p. 1505 τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν Ἰάειρον καὶ τὴν αἰμορροῦσαν.
- 191 *Dorotheus Arianus*. The Arian bishop of Antioch. Succeeded *Euzoius*<sup>n</sup> in 376: Tables p. 489. Afterwards transferred to CP. where he died in A. D. 407: p. 571.
- 192 *Joannes Chrysostomus*. Taught by *Libanius*: Tables A. D. 369 p. 473. Then three years with *Meletius*, six in retirement, five years a deacon, twelve a presbyter. See A. D. 375 p. 487. Succeeded *Nectarius* at CP. in A. D. 398: p. 541. His exile: A. D. 403 p. 554. 556. 557. His second exile June 20 A. D. 404: p. 559. at Cucusus: A. D. 405 p. 561. at Arabissus: A. D. 406 p. 565. His death Sept. 14 A. D. 407: p. 567. 569. His remains are brought to CP. in 438: p. 623.<sup>o</sup>
- Palladius vel auctor dialogi de vita Chrysostomi*: Tables A. D. 408 p. 571.

of Noris has shewn tom. 4 p. 839 that this is not recorded of *Rufinus*; and the history of *Melania* is there given from *Palladius* himself as follows: The elder *Melania* at 22 years of age lost her husband, abandoned her family at Rome and proceeded to the East in the beginning of the reign of *Valens*. She remained 27 years at Jerusalem, 37 years in all in the East, and returned to Italy at the age of 60 in A. D. 402.

*Rufinus* translated the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius when *Alaric* ravaged Italy: præfatio ad Chromatium metropolitam Aquileiensem apud Pagiū tom. 2 p. 6 *Tempore quo diruptis Italiæ claustris ab Alarico duce Gothorum—injungis mihi ut H. E. quam vir eruditissimus Eusebius Cæsariensis Græco sermone conscripsit in Latinum vertam*. Perhaps in A. D. 408. See the Tables p. 572. He was in Sicily at the close of 410: *Rufinus Ursacio apud Valesium ad Euseb. H. E. p. 129* quoted by *Norisius* tom. 1 p. 39 *Basnage* tom. 3 p. 228 *Ubi fugitur per varia discrimina?—in conspectu etenim ut videbas etiam ipse nostro barbarus qui Rhegino oppido miscbat incendia angustissimo a nobis freto, ubi Italiæ solum Siculo dirimendum securitas potuit?* *Alaric* occupied Rhegium at the close of A. D. 410, just before his death: Tables p. 578. That *Rufinus* died in Sicily soon after we learn from *Hieronimus* præf. comm. in *Ezekielem* [A. D. 413] tom. 5 p. 314 ad *Eustochium*: *Verum quia et tu indesinenter hoc flagitas et magno vulnere cicatrix paulatim obducitur, Scorpiusque [id est, Rufinus] inter Enceladum et Porphyrium Trinacriæ humo premitur*.

Among the works of *Rufinus* is the extant Latin version of *Josephus*; on which see *Casaubon* quoted by *Cave* tom. 1 p. 287. On his ecclesiastical history *Socrates* II. 1 remarks Ῥουφίνος ὁ τῆ Ῥωμαίων γλώττη

τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἱστορίαν συντάξας περὶ τοὺς χρόνους ἐπλανήθη—ἡμεῖς οὖν πρότερον Ῥουφίνῳ ἀκολουθήσαντες τὸ πρῶτον καὶ τὸ δεύτερον τῆς ἱστορίας βιβλίον ἢ ἐκείνῳ ἐδόκει συνεγράψαμεν ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ τρίτου ἄχρι τοῦ ἐβδόμου βιβλίου τὰ μὲν παρὰ Ῥουφίνου λαβόντες τὰ δὲ ἐκ διαφόρων συναγαγόντες τινὰ δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἔτι ζώντων ἀκούσαντες ἐπληρώσαμεν. The Apology of *Pamphilus* was translated before A. D. 392: Tables p. 355. The first book of the invective against *Hieronimus* is lost; the second in two parts is extant apud *Hieronimus* tom. 4 p. 134—153.

<sup>n</sup> *Euzoius* is mentioned by *Hieronimus* Dial. Luc. et orth. See N<sup>o</sup> 116. and by *Athanasius* tom. 1 p. 314 ed. Ven. He was appointed by *Constantius*: *Socrates* II. 44 p. 158 A ὁ βασιλεὺς—Εὐζόϊον τὸν ἤδη πρότερον ἄμα Ἀρείῳ καθαιρεθέντα τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἐπίσκοπον προχειρισθῆναι πεποίηκεν. Conf. *Sozom.* IV. 28. Appointed in the place of *Meletius*: *Sozomen.* Ibid. *Theodoret.* Ep. 112 *Domno* tom. 4 p. 1184. *Constantius* a little before his death is baptized by *Euzoius*: *Athanas.* tom. 1 p. 597 D ed. Ven. Mentioned Ibid. p. 769. *Euzoius* in the reign of *Julian* is mentioned by *Socrates* III. 6. *Idem* III. 9 p. 181 τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐκράτει Εὐζόϊος ὁ τῆς Ἀρειανῆς προεστὼς θρησκείας. In the time of *Valens*: *Idem* IV. 1 τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν Ἀρειανῶν ἠγεῖτο Εὐζόϊος. At the death of *Athanasius* A. D. 373: *Idem* IV. 21 Εὐζόϊος ὁ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῆς Ἀρειανῆς προεστὼς θρησκείας ἀρπάξει τὸ εὐπεχειρήτον τοῦ καιροῦ. *Euzoius* died in 376: Tables p. 489.

<sup>o</sup> Works of *Chrysostom* mentioned in these volumes.

A. D.

(392) His treatise περὶ ἱερωσύνης before this date: Tables p. 527. According to *Socrates* VI. 3 p. 302 D within A. D. 381—386: τῆς τοῦ διακόνου ἀξίας παρὰ Μελετίου τυχῶν [Tables p. 487] τοὺς Περὶ ἱερωσύνης λόγους συνέταξε.



- 193 *Gelasius*. Succeeded *Euzoivus* at Cæsarea in 381: Tables p. 499. Still living at the council of CP. in 394: p. 531.
- 194 *Tichonius*. Contemporary with *Rufinus* (N° 189): Tables A. D. 391 p. 523.
- 195 *Sulpicius Severus*. Tables A. D. 400 p. 547.<sup>p</sup>
- 196 *Severianus*. The rival of *Chrysostom*: Tables A. D. 399 p. 543.<sup>q</sup>
- 197 *Olympius*. Gennadius c. 23 *Olympius natione Hispanus episcopus scripsit librum fidei adversus eos qui naturam et non arbitrium in culpam vocant, ostendens non creatione sed inobedientia insertum nature malum*. He flourished in the time of *Rufinus*, of *Joannes* of Jerusalem and *Theophilus* of Alexandria<sup>r</sup>.
- 198 *Isaac*. Gennadius c. 26 *Isaac scripsit de sanctæ Trinitatis tribus personis et incarnatione Domini librum obscurissimæ disputationis et involuti sermonis, confirmans ita in una Deitate tres esse personas ut sit aliquid in singulis proprium quod non habeat alia &c.* Contemporary with *Olympius*: see N° 197.
- 199 *Theophilus*<sup>s</sup>. Succeeded *Timotheus* at Alexandria in July A. D. 385. Destroyed the temple

A. D.

- 386 κατὰ Ἰουδαίων λόγοι τρεῖς. c. 5 of this volume p. 239.
- 387 { ἀνδριάντων *Or. XXI*. Tables p. 513. 515.  
κατὰ Ἰουδαίων λόγοι πέντε. c. 5 of this vol. p. 239.  
On the Nativity: c. 5 p. 239.
- *Oratio de Babyla*: App. c. 1 p. 52. Delivered at Antioch.
- 399 { κατὰ τῶν θεάτρων. Tables p. 543.  
εἰς Εὐτρόπιον. Tables p. 545.  
ὁμιλία. Tables p. 547.
- 403 κατὰ Εὐδοξίας. Tables p. 557.
- 405 *Epistola varia*. Tables p. 560. 561.

<sup>p</sup> Gennadius proceeds c. 19 *Epistolas ad amorem Dei et contemptum mundi hortatorias scripsit sorori suæ multas, quæ notæ sunt. Scripsit ad Paulinum [sc. Nolensem] duas, et ad alios alias; sed, quia in aliquibus etiam familiaris necessitas inserta est, non digeruntur. Composuit et Chronica. scripsit et ad multorum profectum Vitam B. Martini monachi et episcopi, signis et prodigiis ac virtutibus illustris viri; et Collationem Postumiani et Galli, se mediante et iudice, de conversatione monachorum orientalium et ipsius Martini habitam in Dialogi speciem tribus incisionibus comprehendit. In quarum priore refert suo tempore apud Alexandriam in synodo episcoporum decretum Originem cautius a sapientibus pro bonis legendum et a minus capacibus pro malis refutandum. Hic in senectute sua a Pelagianis deceptus et agnoscens loquacitatis culpam silentium usque ad mortem tenuit, ut peccatum quod loquendo contraxerat tucendo penitens emendaret.*

<sup>q</sup> Some works of *Severianus* are preserved among the works of *Chrysostom*; as

*De mundi creatione* λόγοι ζξ. Savil. tom. 7 p. 587 Montfaucon. tom. 6 p. 436.

λόγος περὶ τοῦ κατὰ Μωσέως ὄψεως. Savil. tom. 5 p. 659 Montfaucon. tom. 6 p. 511.

*De sigillis librorum*. Savil. tom. 5 p. 689 Montfaucon. tom. 12 p. 403. Conf. Theodoret. dial. III

tom. 4 p. 254 Σεβηριανοῦ ἐπισκόπου Γαβάλων ἐκ τοῦ εἰς σφραγίδας λόγου.

<sup>r</sup> Gennadius has this order

No.

- 10 *Macarius Ægyptius monachus* A. D. 340—387
- 11 *Evagrius monachus*
- 13 *Prudentius* A. D. 374—404
- 16 *Faustinus* A. D. 382
- 17 *Rufinus* A. D. 371—410
- 18 *Tichonius* A. D. 391
- 19 *Sulpicius Severus* A. D. 400
- 21 *Severianus* A. D. 399
- 23 *Olympius*
- 26 *Isaac*
- 30 *Joannes Hierosolymit.* A. D. 388—416
- 32 *Helvidius* A. D. 382
- 33 *Theophilus Alexandrin.* A. D. 385—412
- 35 *Vigilantius* ante A. D. 402
- 36 *Simplicianus Mediolanensis episcopus* A. D. 397: Tables p. 539
- 38 *Augustinus* A. D. 386—430.

Of *Olympius* Augustine (cir. A. D. 421) in *Julianum Pelag.* I. 8 *Olympius Hispanus episcopus, vir magnæ in ecclesia et in Christo gloriæ, in quodam sermone ecclesiastico "Si fides" inquit "unquam in terris incorrupta mansisset" &c.*

<sup>s</sup> Gennadius c. 33 *Theophilus Alexandrinæ civitatis episcopus scripsit adversum Origenem unum et grande volumen quo omnia pene ejus dicta et ipsum pariter damnat, simul docens non a se primum eum sed ab antiquis patribus, et maxime Heracla, fuisse et a presbyterio ejectum et de ecclesia pulsum et de civitate fugatum. Sed et anthropomorphitas hæreticos, qui dicunt Deum humana figura et membris constare, disputatione longissima confutans &c.—Paschalem etiam recursum quem magna apud Nicæam synodus post 95 annos agi in tempore et die et luna secundum suum statum invennerat, additis quibusdam ipsius festivitatis rationibus et expositionibus, Theodosio obtulit.* See the Tables A. D. 380 p. 497. For his three paschal epistles see

of *Serapis* in 390. See A. D. 389 p. 520. 390 p. 522. Is present at CP. in 394: p. 531. Addressed by *Joannes* of *Jerusalem* in 397: p. 541. His conduct in promoting the exile of *Chrysostom* in A. D. 403 is described in the Tables p. 556. He died Oct. 15 A. D. 412: p. 583.

200 *Joannes Hierosolymitanus*<sup>t</sup>. Tables A. D. 397 p. 541. His predecessor *Cyrillus* died in 388. See N<sup>o</sup> 154. *Joannes* lived till A. D. 416; for he was one of the 14 bishops who absolved *Pelagius* in the synod of *Diospolis*: Augustin. in *Julianum* I. 32. Conf. *Retractat.* II. 47. The date is determined by *Lucianus* apud *Norisium* tom. 1 p. 81A to December *consulatu Honorii X Theodosii VI* sc. Dec. A. D. 415, at which date *Joannes* *esset in Lydda quæ est Diospolis synodum agens.*

201 *Annianus* }  
202 *Panodorus* } Tables A. D. 412 p. 581.

203 *Vigilantius*. Tables A. D. 406 p. 567.<sup>v</sup> Where the reasons are offered for supposing two of the name.

A. D. 401 p. 549 A. D. 402 p. 551 A. D. 404 p. 557.

His writings against *Origen* are mentioned by *Hieronymus* in *Rufin.* p. 797 in A. D. 402. Idem p. 799 *Ergo et (contra Origenem) epistolæ papæ Theophili et Epiphaniï et aliorum episcoporum quas nuper ipsis jubentibus transtuli te petunt &c.* Conf. p. 801 *Pammachio et Marcellæ* Ep. 78 p. 1059 A. D. 402.

In *Hieron.* Ep. 67—73 p. 1044—1050 it is mentioned that *Theophilus* wrote to *Anastasius* p. 1048. *Theophilus Hieronymo* p. 1046 boasts of his victory. *Hieronymus Theophilo* p. 1047 speaks of the violent measures against the *Origenists*: *Breviter scribimus, quod totus mundus exultet et in tuis victoriis gloriatur &c.—suspendisti plagam ut ferires fortius &c.* *Theophilus* had obtained an imperial rescript against them: *Hieron.* in *Rufinum* p. 872. The violence of *Theophilus* against the *Origenists* is related by *Socrates* VI. 7 p. 311 B *θερμός τις, ὡς ζοικεν, ὁ Θεόφιλος ὦν οὐ μακρὰν ἐποίητο τὴν κήσιν κατ' αὐτῶν*—and the stratagem by which he obtained the support of *Epiphanius*: VI. 10. He describes VI. 2 the duplicity of *Theophilus* in 388 when the war with *Maximus* was yet pending: *ἤνικα ὁ βασιλεὺς Θεοδοσίος πρὸς τὸν τύραννον ἠγωνίζετο Μάξιμον, Θεόφιλος διὰ Ἰσιδώρου ξένα πέμπων βασιλεῖ δισσὰς αὐτῷ ἐπιστολάς ἐνεχείρισεν, ἐντειλάμενος προσενεγκεῖν τῷ νικήσαντι καὶ τὰ δῶρα καὶ τὰ γράμματα. τούτοις διακονοῦμενος Ἰσιδῶρος καταλαβὼν τὴν Ῥώμην τῇ νίκῃ ἐφέδρευεν ἄλλ' οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν τὸ γενόμενον ἔλαθεν, ἀναγνωστοῦ τοῦ συνόντος αὐτῷ τὰς ἐπιστολάς ἐπικλέψαντος κ.τ.λ.* For this service *Theophilus* proposed *Isidorus* as the successor of *Nectarius* at CP. in 398 instead of *Chrysostom*. But *Chrysostom* prevailed: *Ibid.* *Theophilus* afterwards quarrelled with his friend *Isidorus*: VI. 9. The avarice of *Theophilus* is marked by *Socrates* VI. 7 p. 311 A *οἱ μοναχοὶ—ὀρώντες τὸν ἐπίσκοπον χρηματιστικὸν τε μετερχόμενον βίον καὶ πολλὴν σπουδὴν περὶ χρημάτων κήσιν τιθέμενον, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα (τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον) πάντα λίθον κινούντα, παρητοῦντο συνείναι αὐτῷ.*

<sup>t</sup> *Hieronymus* Ep. 61 *Pammachio* p. 721—764 *adversus errores Joannis Hierosol.*

He begins p. 721. 722 with addressing *Pammachius*.

He had been silent 3 years: p. 721 *post triennium loquor*. But as he proceeds he addresses *Joannes* himself: p. 723 *Scimus omnes quid tibi scripserit* [namely *Epiphanius*], *quid in te arguerit* [namely an inclination to the Arian heresy], *in quo, ut tu vis, calumniatus sit. Responde ad singula, &c.* p. 724 *Habes papam Epiphanium qui te aperte missis literis hæreticum vocat.* *Hieronymus* p. 727 states the doctrine of the Trinity, but makes too minute an examination p. 729. Eight propositions of *Origen* (see above N<sup>o</sup> 71 p. 416) were objected to in *Joannes*; to three only he had attempted a reply: p. 726 *Triam tantum tangis, et præteris. in cæteris grande silentium est.* p. 733 *Epiphanius per totum triennium suas injurias devorat.* These things occurred p. 734 in the time of *Siricius* of *Rome* [who died in 398: Tables A. D. 402 p. 553. in November: *Pagi* tom. 2 p. 20]. He enquires p. 737. 738 into the nature of human souls. He promises p. 740 to write against *Origen* more fully, *si Christus vitam dederit*. He treats p. 741 of the Resurrection, and notices *Origen's* opinion p. 742. The Creed delivered by the Apostles was not written: p. 747 *Symbolo fidei et spei nostræ, quod ab apostolis traditum non scribitur in charta et atramento, sed in tabulis cordis carnalibus.*

*Hieronymus* treats *Joannes* throughout with too much asperity.

*Rufinus* in *Hieron.* p. 137C mentions *sancti episcopi Joannis epistolam de fide ad sanctum Theophilum scriptam.* *Chrysostom* from *Cucusus* in A. D. 405 addresses a friendly letter to *Joannes*: Ep. 126 tom. 7 p. 159 Sav.

<sup>v</sup> *Hieronymi* Ep. 53 *Ripario contra Vigilantium* A. D. 404 p. 640. A coarse invective against *Vigilantius* for teaching that the relics of martyrs were not to be honoured. He wonders p. 641 that the bishop of the presbyter *Vigilantius* should spare him. Through the whole letter *Hieronymus* is not only angry but furious. He desires in conclusion that the book of *Vigilantius* might be sent to him. In the treatise against *Vigilantius* p. 644—657 A. D. 406 he argues in this manner p. 646 “This short dis-



204 *Hieronymus*. Born A. D. 331: Tables p. 387. His age examined at A. D. 363: p. 455.<sup>w</sup> *Hieronymus* left Rome in August A. D. 385: p. 509. 511. He was in Egypt and then at Bethlehem in 386: p. 511. Still living in 416: p. 591. Died in his 90th year Sept. 30 A. D. 420: p. 597. 599.<sup>x</sup> Prologus ad Gennadium: *Hieronymus noster literis Græcis ac Latinis Romæ*

course dictated by me is drawn from me by *Riparius* and *Desiderius* the presbyters, who write that the parishes in their neighbourhood are contaminated; and have sent me his book by *Sisinnius*. They tell me that some are found who favour him and acquiesce in his blasphemies." He had won some bishops: p. 645 *Proh nefas! episcopus sui sceleris dicitur habere consortes, si tamen episcopi nominandi sunt, qui non ordinant diaconos nisi prius uxores duxerint*. *Hieronymus* quotes p. 647 some passages of *Vigilantius* shewing the folly of venerating relics of martyrs and arguing p. 648 that while we live we ought mutually to pray for one another, but that after death prayers are unavailing. The reply of *Hieronymus* to this reasoning is abusive in language and weak in argument. At p. 648 he assumes without proof that, because God can give to martyrs the power of being present every where, he has given this power. The lighting of candles at the shrines of saints, which *Vigilantius* p. 649 had condemned, is ill defended p. 650. *Eunomius* (N<sup>o</sup> 166) is mentioned p. 650. 651 as the author of this heresy: *Audes dicere "Ergo cineres suos amant animæ martyrum et circumvolant eos?"—O portentum in terras ultimas deportandum! Rides de reliquiis martyrum et cum auctore hujus hæreseos Eunomio ecclesiis Christi calumniam struis*. *Vigilantius* p. 651 disapproved of vigils as full of mischief. To which *Hieronymus* p. 652 gives no sufficient answer. *Vigilantius* argues p. 652 against the miracles pretended to have been wrought at the tombs of saints. *Hieronymus* p. 652. 653 replies with rude invective.

The resources of distant provinces were remitted to Jerusalem for the subsistence of the monks. This *Vigilantius* condemned p. 654. and held that each province ought to maintain its own poor by charitable contributions. He censured monachism p. 655 and enquired, if all secluded themselves in solitude, who could attend the churches? These reasonable objections are met by *Hieronymus* with furious declamation p. 653—655 *Videris mihi dolere et aliud, ne, si inoleverit apud Gallos continentia et sobrietas atque jejunium, tabernæ tuæ lucra non habeant, et vigiliis diaboli ac temulenta convivia tota nocte exercere non possis, &c.—Nec a suo studio monachi deterrendi sunt a te, lingua viperea, et morsu sævissimo &c.*

*Hieronymus* concludes by remarking p. 656 that this invective was dictated in haste: *Hæc—unius noctis lucubratione dictavi, festinante admodum fratre Sisinnio*.

He mentions p. 649 that *Vigilantius* had quoted *librum apocryphum Esdræ*.—*Quem ego librum nunquam legi. Quid enim necesse est in manus sumere quod ecclesia non recipit?*

<sup>w</sup> He speaks of his early studies Ep. 4 p. 46 *Dum essem juvenis et solitudinis me deserta vallarent—cuidam fratri qui ex Hebræis crediderat me in disciplinam dedi, ut, post Quintiliani acumina Ciceronis fluvios gravitatemque Frontonis et lenitatem Plinii, alphabetum discerem &c.* Ep. 41 *Rufino* p. 324 *Scis ipse—ut ego et ille pariter a tenera infantia ad florentem usque adoleverimus ætatem—et, cum post Romana studia ad Rheni semibarbaras ripas eodem cibo pari frueremur hospitio, ut ego primus caperim velle te colere*. Procem. ad Abdiam tom. 6 p. 91 *Hoc est illud tempus, mi Pammachi, hac luce dulcior, quo egressi scholam rhetorum diverso stadio ferebamur; quando ego et Heliodorus carissimus pariter habitare solitudinem Syriæ Chalcididis nitebamur*. His baptism at Rome: Ep. 58 p. 665 *Ego Christi vestem in Romana urbe suscipiens*. His preceptors: Ep. 51 p. 634 *Frustra ergo Alexandri verti commentarios; nequidquam me doctus magister per εἰσαγωγὴν introduxit ad Logicam; et, ut humana contemnam, sine causa Gregorium Nazianzenum et Didymum in Scripturis Sanctis catechistas habui; nihil mihi profuit Hebræorum eruditio &c.* On Gregory of Nazianzus see the Tables A. D. 382 p. 505 A. D. 390 p. 521 in Jovinianum p. 495. Procem. ad Ephes. tom. 9 p. 160 C *Alexandriam perrexi ut viderem Didymum et ab eo in Scripturis omnibus quæ habebam dubia sciscitarer*. His retreat to the wilderness: Ep. 22 p. 193 *In illa vasta solitudine quæ exusta solis ardoribus horridum monachis præstat habitaculum*. Ep. 2 p. 10 *Dum essem adolescens, immo pene puer, et primos impetus lascivientis ætatis eremi durtia refrœnarem*. Ep. 6 p. 54 *In ea mihi parte eremi commoranti quæ juxta Syriam Saracenis jungitur &c.* His return to Rome: Ep. 16 p. 166 *Me Romam cum sanctis pontificibus Paulino et Epiphano ecclesiastica traxisset necessitas; quorum alter Antiochenam Syriæ alter Salaminiam Cypri rexit ecclesiam* [conf. Ep. 27 p. 252]. And in the time of *Damasus*: Ep. 11 p. 118 *Cum in chartis ecclesiasticis juvarem Damasum Romanæ urbis episcopum, et Orientis atque Occidentis synodicis consultationibus responderem*.

<sup>x</sup> Works of *Hieronymus*.

Of 130 titles named by Trithemius c. 100 among the works of *Hieronymus*, 128 are contained in the collection now extant.

The works of *Hieronymus* consist of commentaries translations letters and treatises. The letters to *Marcella*, which formed one book, are brought together in the following list under one point of view. The other works are placed for the most part in the order of time.

1 Ep. 41 *Rufino Aquileiensi* A. D. 364. He writes from Syria: p. 322 *Cum me Thracia Pontus atque*

*apprime eruditus, presbyter quoque ibidem* [this is refuted by *Hieronymus* himself Ep. 61 p. 762] *ordinatus est. Porro ad Bethleem oppidum juvenis advenit.—Inter cætera operum suorum*

*Bithynia totumque Galatiæ et Cappadociæ iter et fer-  
vido Cilicum terra fregisset æstu, Syria mihi velut fi-  
dissimus naufrago portus occurrit.*

2 *Vita Pauli monachi* A. D. 365. On this Life see the Tables p. 273. Quoted in *vita Hilarionis* p. 374 *Olim detrahentes Paulo meo* &c.

3 Ep. 1 *ad Heliodorum exhortatoria* A. D. 366. A puerile declamation in praise of monastic life. Quoted ad *Nepotian.* p. 10 *Dum essem adolescens immo pene puer—scripsi ad avunculum tuum sanctum Heliodorum exhortatoriam epistolam* &c.

4 Ep. 5 *Florentio.*

5 Ep. 38 *Theodosio.*

6 Ep. 6 *Florentio.* A. D. 366. He writes p. 54 in *ea parte eremi commorans quæ juxta Syriam Saracenis jungitur.*

7 Ep. 37 *Juliano diacono* A. D. 366. Written from the desert: p. 317 *Hic ubi nunc sum non solum quid agatur in patria sed an ipsa patria perstet ignoro.*

8 Ep. 43 *Chromatio Jovino et Eusebio* A. D. 366. Written p. 326 in *ea eremi parte quæ inter Syros ac Saracenos vastum limitem ducit.*

9 Ep. 42 *Nicææ hypodiacono Aquileiæ.*

10 Ep. 44 *Chrysogono monacho Aquileiæ.*

11 Ep. 21 *Paulo Concordiensi.* *Paulus* is now 100 years old: p. 187.

12 Ep. 45 *Antonio monacho.*

13 Ep. 39 *ad virginæ Hermonenses.*

14 Ep. 36 *Castorinæ materteræ.* He requests her p. 315 to be reconciled after a difference of so many years—*iram tantorum annorum.*

15 Ep. 77 *Marco presbytero Celedensi* (A. D. 375.) Written from the desert, not long before he left it. He asserts his orthodoxy p. 1057. 1058 *Hæreticus vocor homousion prædicans trinitatem. Sabellianæ impietatis arguor, tres subsistentes veras integras perfectasque personas indefessa voce pronuntians. si ab Arianis, merito; si ab orthodoxis,—orthodoxi esse desiderunt, aut, si eis placet, hæreticum me cum Occidente hæreticum eum Ægypto, hoc est, cum Damaso Petroque condemnent.—Non mihi conceditur unus angulus eremi. Quotidie exposcor fidem &c. Unum tantum placet, ut hinc recedam. Jam jam cedo.—Ego ipse, nisi me et corporis imbecillitas et hiemis retineret asperitas, jam modo fugerem. Veruntamen, dum verum tempus adveniat, obsecro ut paucis mihi mensibus eremi concedatur hospitium.*

16 Ep. 57 *Damaso Romano* A. D. 375. He appeals to *Damasus* on the Arian heresy. He writes from the desert: p. 663 *ad eam solitudinem commigravi quæ Syriam juncto barbariæ fine determinat.*

17 Ep. 58 *Damaso* A. D. 378. He writes again from the desert: p. 665 *Ego, ut ante jam scripsi,—nunc barbaro Syriæ limite teneor.—Hic præsidiiis fulta mundi Ariana rabies fremit. hinc in tres partes scissa ecclesia ad se rapere me festinat.*

18 *Altercatio Luciferiani et orthodoxi.* See No 137. 19 *Chronicon* A. D. 378. Tables p. 491.

20 *In Hieremiam et in Ezekiel homiliæ Origenis XXVIII quas de Græco in Latinum verti.* Cf. Ep. 28 *Lucinio* p. 284 *Origenis—pauca transtulimus.* Præf. in *Hom. Ezek.* tom. 10 p. 90 *Oberth. Origenem faciam Latinum, hominem juxta Didymum—alterum post Apostolum ecclesiarum magistrum.—Itaque post XIV homilias in Hieremiam, quas jam pridem confuso ordine interpretatus sum, et has XIV in Ezekielem per intervalla dictavi.* Published among the works of *Origen.*

21 Ep. 49 *Innocentio.*

22 Ep. 143 *Damaso de Seraphim.* Quoted Ep. 65 p. 779 *Habetur liber in manibus ante viginti annos editus.* An exposition of *Isaiah* VI. 6—8. Mystical and too fanciful, but critical in reporting the varieties in the text.

23 Ep. 144 *Damaso Hieronymo de Osanna.*

24 Ep. 145 *Damaso de Osanna.*

25 Ep. 146 *Damaso de frugi et luxurioso filiis.* Quoted in *Jovinian.* II p. 603 *Super qua parabola libellum quondam Damaso episcopo dum adhuc viveret dedicavi.* A discourse in 29 pages upon the parable in *Luke* c. 15.

26 Ep. 124 *Damaso Hieronymo.* Proposing five questions. See No 143.

27 Ep. 125 *Damaso de tribus quæstionibus.* An answer to the preceding.

28 *Homilia in Cantica Canticorum duæ. ex Origene versæ et Damaso dicatæ.* Ep. 65 p. 778 *Duo loca sunt in quibus Origenem laudavi, præfatiuncula ad Damasum in homilias Cantici Cantic. et prologus in librum Hebraicorum nominum.* p. 783 *Origenes—in Cantico Cantic. ipse se vicit.—Hic cujus interpretor libros.* This work of *Origen* is commended by *Greg. Nyssen.* tom. 1 p. 473 B τῷ Ἀριγένοῦς φιλοπόνοῦς περὶ τὸ βιβλίον τοῦτο σπουδάσαντος.

29 *Adversus Helvidium* A. D. 382. See No 187.

30 Ep. 22 *Ad Eustochium de virginitate servanda.* *Pammachio* p. 630 *In libro ad Eustochium multo duriora de nuptiis diximus.* *Jovinian.* I p. 495 *Plenius super hac re—in eo libro quem ad Eustochium scripsi arbitrator absolutum.* Conf. Ep. 2 *Nepotiano* p. 24. Defended against *Rufinus*: in *Rufin.* I p. 816. Mentioned 30 years afterwards Ep. 8 *Demetriadi* tom. 1 p. 86 *Ante annos circiter XXX de virginitate servanda edidi librum.* Where he remarks that this discourse had offended many.

31 Ep. 149 *Marcellæ de blasphemia in S. S.* Against *Novatian.* The letters to *Marcella* were collected into one book: *Hieron. Catal.* c. 135 *ad Marcellam epistolarum librum unum.*

32 Ep. 23 *Marcellæ de Blæsilla.*

33 Ep. 24 *Marcellæ de exitu Leæ.* Written at Rome; for *Lea* is buried at *Ostia*: p. 227.

34 Ep. 15 *Marcellæ de Asella.* Three days after



*opuscula usque ad Theodosii XIV<sup>um</sup> imperii annum a beato Petro sumens exordia usque in semetipsum de viris illustribus scripsit.—Literis quoque Hebraicis atque Chaldaicis ita edoctus*

Ep. 24 : p. 159 *Nudiustertius de beatæ memoriæ Lea aliqua dixeramus.* In praise of *Asella*, who is still living. She became a recluse at 12, is now 50, and her austerities are proposed as an example for all females.

35 Ep. 74 *Marcellæ.* p. 1051 *Jampridem cum voluminibus Hebræorum editionem Aquilæ conféro.*

36 Ep. 102 *Marcellæ.* After the preceding : p. 1177 *Post priorem epistolam in qua de Hebræis verbis pauca perstrinxeram.* *Hieronymus* had corrected the Latin MSS. of the New Testament by the Greek original : p. 1178.

37 Ep. 100 *De Bonaso.*

38 Ep. 54 *Marcellæ de Montano.* A clear and forcible exposition of his doctrines, which are refuted. See above N<sup>o</sup> 27 p. 408.

39 Ep. 17 *Paula et Eustochium Marcellæ ut commigret Bethlehem.* Written from Bethlehem by *Hieronymus* in their names.

40 Ep. 18 *Marcellæ. Invitat ad Bethlehem.* The words are repeated p. 182 which had been written in the preceding letter. Compare p. 179 with 183.

41 Ep. 20 *Marcellæ de acceptis munusculis.*

42 Ep. 148 *Marcellæ de quinque quæstionibus.* Post A. D. 392. Written after the books against *Jovinian* : tom. 3 p. 266.

43 Ep. 130 *Marcellæ de Teraphim.*

44 Ep. 133 *Marcellæ de Cantico Canticorum.* He mentions tom. 3 p. 136 a commentary by *Rheticus* (N<sup>o</sup> 111)—*qui quondam a Constantino imp. sub Silvestro episcopo ob causam Montensium missus est Romam*—who mistook *Tarshish* for *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*.

45 Ep. 136 *Marcellæ de decem Dei nominibus.*

46 Ep. 137 *Marcellæ de Alleluia, Amen, Maranatha.*

47 Ep. 138 *Marcellæ de Sela.* He praises *Aquila* : tom. 3 p. 177 *Aquila qui verborum Hebræorum diligentissimus explicator est.*

48 Ep. 141 *Marcellæ Psalmi 126 expositio.* *Origen* and *Aquila* are quoted again. Of *Origen* he says tom. 3 p. 215 *Non quod talis tantusque vir (Adamanium dicimus) aliquid præterierit* &c. A passage quoted by *Rufinus* in *Hieron.* p. 148 A.

49 Ep. 155 *Paulæ Urbicæ.* Ante A. D. 384. An exposition of Psalm 118. *Blæsilla* is still living tom. 3 p. 394.

50 Ep. 25 *Paulæ super obitu Blæsillæ filiæ* A. D. 384. Written at Rome : Ep. 3 p. 28 *In eo libro quo Paulam Romæ consolati sumus.* Ep. 26 p. 248 *Desse Blæsillam* &c. Ep. 27 p. 252 *Blæsillam, super cujus morte eam Romæ consolatus sum.* Ep. 30 p. 290 *Plures anni sunt* &c.

51 Ep. 19 *Eustochio de acceptis ab ea munusculis.*

52 Ep. 99 *Asellæ de Paula et Eustochio et Melania* A. D. 385. Written after the death of *Damasus* : p. 1160. At his departure from Rome : p. 1161 *Hæc cum jam navem conscenderem—conscripsi.* p.

1159 He had been almost 3 years at Rome : *pene certe triennium cum eis vixi.* *Paula* was not yet gone to Jerusalem : p. 1162 *Saluta Paulam et Eustochium* &c. See the Tables p. 511.

53 *Comm. in Pauli ad Philemonem.*

54 *Comm. in Pauli ad Galatas libris III.* Proœm. tom. 9 p. 123 ad *Paulam et Eustochium.* *Pauci admodum dies sunt ex quo epistolam Pauli ad Philemonem interpretatus ad Galatas transcenderam—et ecce subito literæ mihi de urbe allatæ sunt nunciantes et Albinam—præsentia Domini redditam et sanctam Marcellam matris contubernio destitutam magis vestrum, O Paula et Eustochium, flagitare solatium. Et quia hoc interim fieri non potest propter grandia maris in medio spatia atque terrarum* &c. *Marcella* then is now at Rome, *Hieronymus* *Paula* and *Eustochium* at Bethlehem. *Origen* is his guide : *Origenis commentarios sum secutus. scripsit enim ille vir in Ep. Pauli ad Galatas V propria volumina et X<sup>um</sup> Stromatum suorum librum commaticum super explanatione ejus sermone complevit.*

55 *Comm. in Pauli ad Ephesios libri III.* A. D. 386. Tables p. 855.

56 *Comm. in ep. ad Titum lib. I. ad Paulam et Eustochium.*

57 *Comm. in Ecclesiasten.* A. D. 386. Tables p. 541. 855. *Ad Paulam et Eustochium.* Proœm. tom. 7 p. 51 *Memini me ante hoc ferme quinquennium, cum adhuc Romæ essem et Ecclesiasten sanctæ Blæsillæ legerem—rogatum ab ea ut in morem commentarioli obscura quæque dissererem.—Itaque quoniam in procinctu nostri operis subita morte subtracta est [A. D. 384]—O Paula et Eustochium,—tanto vulnere tunc percussus obmutui. Nunc in Bethlehem positus angustiori videret civitate et illius memoriæ et vobis reddo quod debeo ; hoc breviter admonens, quod nullius auctoritatem secutus sum, sed de Hebræo transferens magis me LXX intt. consuetudini coaptavi in his duntaxat quæ non multum ab Hebraicis discrepabant.* Quoted Ep. 65 p. 778 n. 107 Ep. 75 p. 1053 n. 132.

58 *Questionum Hebraicarum in Genesin liber I.* He writes *procul ab urbibus foro litibus turbis remotus* tom. 3 p. 396. He speaks with respect of *Origen* p. 397.

59 *De locis liber I ex Eusebio.* Conf. in *Rufin.* p. 798.

60 *Hebraicarum nominum liber I.* Of *Origen* he says tom. 3 p. 608 *Origenem, quem post apostolos Ecclesiarum magistrum nemo nisi imperitus negat.* See n. 20.

61 *De Spiritu Sancto Didymi, quem in Latinum transtuli, liber I.* He was employed upon this when he wrote to *Damasus* n. 27 tom. 3 p. 51 *Didymi—librum in manibus habeo, quem translatum tibi cupio dedicare.* Conf. *Lucinio* p. 284 in *Rufinum* p. 835. *Rufinus* in *Hieron.* p. 149 C criticises this translation.

ut omnes Testamenti veteris libros ex Hebræorum scilicet codicibus verteret in Latinum; Daniëlem quoque prophetam Chaldaico stylo locutum et Job justum Arabico in Romanam linguam

62 In Lucam homilia 39 Origenis ab Hieronymo versæ. Prologus apud Origenis Opp. tom. V p. XXVII = tom. 12 p. 294 Oberthur *Petiistis ut Adamantii nostri in Lucam homilias—interpreter.—Illud quod olim Romæ sancta Blæsilla flagitaverat, ut 36 tomos illius in Matthæum et 5 alios in Lucam et 39 in Joannem nostræ lingue traderem, nec virium nearum nec otii nec laboris est. Perspicitis enim, quantum apud me et auctoritas vestra et voluntas valet, prætermisi paululum Hebraicarum questionum libros* [conf. præf. ad nom. Hebraica Hieron. tom. 3 p. 608], *ut ad arbitrium vestrum—hæc, qualiacunque sunt, non mea sed aliena dictarem.* Probably addressed to Paula and Eustochium.

63 In Psalmos 1—16 tractatus septem.

64 Ep. 139 Cypriano de psalmo 89. tom. 3 p. 179.

65 Paulæ de Origenis et Varronis operibus. ante A. D. 392. Conf. Catalog. c. 54. Quoted by Rufinus in Hieron. p. 148 C.

66 Vita Malchi captivi monachi. tom. 1 p. 399.

67 Vita sancti Hilarionis. See the Tables A. D. 357 p. 439.

68 Novum Testamentum Græcæ fidei reddidi. Cf. Ep. 28 Lucinio n. 93 p. 284 Ep. 89 Augustino p. 1117 n. 124 Catalog. c. 135.

69 *Vetus juxta Hebraicum transtuli.* Conf. Catalog. c. 135 Ep. 28 Lucinio p. 284 n. 93. Ep. 52 Pammachio p. 639 *Libros XVI prophetarum quos in Latinum de Hebræo sermone verti.—transtuli nuper Job in linguam nostram, cujus exemplar a sancta Marcella consobrina tua poteris mutuari.* Job is mentioned in Rufin. p. 851. He quotes his preface Ibid. p. 852. His translation of the Psalms Ibid. p. 852.

70 In Michæam explanationum libri II Paulæ et Eustochio. Ante A. D. 392: Tables p. 525.

71 In Sophoniam liber I Paulæ et Eustochio. ante 392: Tables p. 525.

72 In Nahum liber I Paulæ et Eustochio. ante 392: Tables p. 525.

73 In Habacuc libri II Chromatio episcopo. ante 392: Tables p. 525. Præf. tom. 6 p. 145 *De Nahum orationibus tuis jam liber editus est. De Zacharia et Malachia, si vita comes fuerit, disseretur.*

74 In Aggæum liber I Paulæ et Eustochio. ante A. D. 392: Tables p. 525. Hieron. Catal. c. 135 *Multaque alia de opere prophetali, quæ nunc [A. D. 392] habeo in manibus et necdum expleta sunt.*

75 Hieron. Catal. c. 135 *Epistolarum ad Paulam et Eustochium, quia quotidie scribuntur, incertus est numerus.*

76 Catalogus, sive de viris illustribus liber. A. D. 392. Tables p. 527.

77 *Adversus Jovinianum libri II.* A. D. 393. Tables p. 529. See above N° 188.

78 Ep. 50 *Apologia ad Pammachium.* A. D. 393. A long vindication of the books against Jovinian.

See above N° 188. Conf. Ep. 51 n. 81 p. 635 *Pammachio responsum dedi ut potui.*

79 Ep. 52 *Ad Pammachium apologeticon.* (A. D. 394.) He refers to Ep. 50 n. 78: p. 638 *Apologeticum ipsius operis [in Jovinianum] tibi misi, quem προσεφώνησα, et te poscente edidi.*

80 Ep. 147 *Amando presbytero.* tom. 3 p. 259.

81 Ep. 51 *Domnioni apologeticon pro libris contra Jovinianum.* A sharp satire against a monk who had attacked the positions of Hieronymus upon marriage.

82 Ep. 2 *Nepotiano de vita clericorum et sacerdotum.* A. D. 392: Tables p. 527. Ten years after A. D. 383: p. 24 *Coegisti me, Nepotiane carissime, lapidato jam virginitatis libello quem sancta Eustochio Romæ scripseram [n. 30], post annos decem rursus Bethlehem ora reserare.*

83 Ep. 13 *Paulino de institutione monachi.* A. D. 395. To Paulinus (N° 216) afterwards bishop of Nola. An excellent letter. Written after the books against Jovinian: p. 136. When Hieronymus was now canus: p. 132. Paulinus was young: p. 137. Hieronymus shews p. 133 that it is not necessary to visit Jerusalem. God is everywhere; not less in Britain than in Jerusalem. Monachism is not necessary: p. 135. Hieronymus p. 134 reckons 180 years from Hadrian to Constantine.

84 Ep. 132 *Vitali de Solomone.* tom. 3 p. 133.

85 Ep. 10 *Furiæ de viduitate servanda.* A. D. 395. Written from Bethlehem to Furia at Rome: p. 107. Two years after the books against Jovinian: p. 110 *Scio me ante hoc ferme biennium edidisse libros contra Jovinianum.* Quoted Ep. 150 *Hedybiæ* tom. 3 p. 275.

86 Ep. 101 *Pammachio de optimo genere interpretandi.* A. D. 396: Tables p. 537.

87 Ep. 75 *Vigilantio de Origene.* (A. D. 396.) He complains that he is falsely charged with heresy because he admired Origen; that he did not admire the errors of Origen but his excellencies.—*Vigilantius* is reproved with much asperity for uttering the censure.

88 Ep. 3 *Epitaphium Nepotiani.* A. D. 396: Tables p. 537.

89 Ep. 154 *Desiderio.* (A. D. 396.) He mentions the work *de illustribus viris.* tom. 3 p. 391. Copies of the work were with Marcella: p. 390 *Marcella quæ manet in Aventino.* Desiderius himself was now at Rome: Ibid. p. 391.

90 Ep. 103 *Paulino presbytero.* (A. D. 396.) An exhortation to the study of the Scriptures. He marks p. 8 the three divisions of Science, τὸ δόγμα τὴν μέθοδον τὴν ἐμπειρίαν. The study of the Scriptures, like other branches of learning, requires a guide. Many mistakes in expositors and defects in the mode of teaching and preaching. He recites p. 9 the books of the Old Testament. He goes through the New Testament p. 13.

91 *Comm. in Jonam.* (A. D. 397.) After the epi-



*utrumque auctorem perfecta interpretatione mutaverit. Matthæi nihilominus Evangelium ex Hebræo fecit esse Romanum.—Solutus omnium Romanorum omnes XVI prophetarum commen-*

taph on *Nepotianus* n. 88. see the Tables p. 525. 527, and before the comm. on *St. Matthew*. See n. 98.

92 Ep. 98 *Augustino*. *Augustine* is now a bishop : p. 1158.

93 Ep. 28 *Lucinio*. (A. D. 397.) To *Lucinius* residing in Spain. His wife *Theodora* is *socia in spiritu* p. 283. *Hieronymus* names some of his works p. 284. *Lucinius* had sent six copyists to transcribe the works of *Hieronymus*: p. 284, 285, 289, who is now employed upon the *Heptateuch*: p. 284. He had not translated *Josephus Papias* or *Polycarp*: p. 284 *falsus ad te rumor pertulit* &c. The *Septuagint* p. 284 had been translated *ante annos plurimos*. See n. 69. He had lately interpreted parts of *Isaiah*: p. 285.

94 Ep. 29 *Theodoræ*. *Epitaphium Lucinii*. (A. D. 397.) *Lucinius* died the year before an intended voyage to *Bethlehem*.

95 Ep. 61 *Pammachio adversus Joann. Hierosol.* A. D. 397: Tables p. 541. See N° 200.

96 Ep. 62 *Theophilo adv. Joann. Hierosol.* (A. D. 397.) He professes p. 768 his willingness to be at peace with *John*, and p. 770 defends his own translation of *Origen*. The apostles are to be followed: p. 770. Other guides may err: *Scio me aliter habere apostolos aliter reliquos tractatores; illos semper vera dicere, istos in quibusdam ut homines aberrare.*

97 Ep. 68 *Theophilo de Origenistis*. He thinks p. 1046 that *Theophilus* had acted with too much lenity: *Super nefaria hæresi quod multam patientiam geris* &c. See N° 199.

98 *Comm. in Matthæum*. A. D. 398. Ed. *Benedictin.* tom. 4 prolegom. "In *Matt.* comm. edidit quum Romam *Eusebius Cremonensis* proficisceretur ex oriente. Prefectio *Eusebii* contigit circa A. D. 398, nam anno præterito *Rufinus* Romam redierat et librum *περὶ ἀρχῶν* transtulerat vivente adhuc *Siricio*. Vide *Hieron.* in *Rufin.* III *Chron.* *Prosperi Baronium* anno 398. In *Matthæi* expositione meminit libri de opt. gen. interpretandi [n. 86 A. D. 396] et commentarium in *Jonam* [n. 91 A. D. 397]."

The *comm. in Matth.* was written many years before the commentary on *Jeremiah*. See præf. in *Jeremiam* tom. 5 p. 219 *ante annos plurimos*.

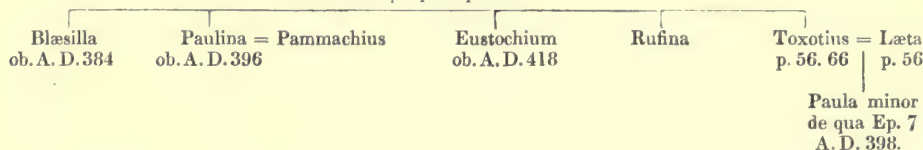
99 Ep. 126 *Evagrio*. A. D. 398. Written at the same time: tom. 3 p. 66 *vix in quadragesimæ diebus hæc fabricare potui, cum alteri me operi præpararem; paucos dies qui supererant in Matthæi expositione consumpsi.*

100 Ep. 32 *Abigao presbytero Hispano*. Written after the death of *Lucinius* (n. 94): p. 302 *filiam meam Theodoram, sororem beatæ memoriæ Lucinii.*

101 Ep. 76 *Tranquillino de Origene*. A moderate and equitable judgment upon *Origen*.

102 Ep. 7 *Lætæ de institutione filæ*. The daughter of *Lætæ* had been dedicated to celibacy before her birth: p. 58 *prius Christo consecrata est quam genita.* *Hieronymus* approves of this flagrant violation of the right of the daughter to determine for herself, and urges *Lætæ* to compel her to fulfil this destiny. *Lætæ* is connected with *Paula Blæsilla* and *Eustochium* (addressed in other epistles) in this manner:

Paula = Toxotius  
ob. A. D. 404 | Ep. 26 p. 248



103 Ep. 70 *Theophilo de Origenistis*. A. D. 398. See above N° 199.

104 Ep. 26 *Epitaphium Paulinæ. Pammachio*. A. D. 398. Two years after her death: p. 239 *per biennium tacui*. and two years before the epitaph on *Fabiola* n. 117.

105 Ep. 140 *Principiæ de psalmo 44.*

106 Ep. 64 *Pammachius et Oceanus de præfatione Rufini* *περὶ ἀρχῶν*. A. D. 398.

107 Ep. 65 *Pammachio et Oceano respondet de Origene*. A. D. 399. Written p. 779 20 years after the letter on the *Seraphim* n. 22, almost 150 years after *Origen's* death: p. 784, and 400 years in the reckoning of *Hieronymus* after the *Nativity*: p. 785. *Rufinus* in *Hieron.* p. 144 F names the term of 150 years and p. 151 D in round numbers the 400 years.

108 Ep. 153 *Paulino de Origene*. A. D. 399. tom. 3 p. 387.

109 Ep. 66 *Rufino de Origene*. A. D. 400. He complains that *Rufinus* in the preface *περὶ ἀρχῶν* had misrepresented him. Written two years before the books *adversus Rufinum*: p. 811 *ante biennium*.

110 Ep. 69 *Theophilus Hieronymo de Origenistis*. A. D. 399. See N° 199.

111 Ep. 71 *Theophilo de Origenistis*. A. D. 400. See N° 199.

112 Ep. 72 *Theophilus Hieronymo de Origenistis*. A. D. 400. See N° 199.

113 Ep. 83 *Oceano. Num repetens matrimonium a baptismo possit fieri sacerdos.* (A. D. 400.)

114 Ep. 84 *Magno oratori Romano*. He argues from examples that profane learning may be and is

tatus est libros.—Nonagenarius ferme, ut perhibent, postea in Domino requievit. Trithemius c. 100 Hieronymus presbyter et monachus, patre natus Eusebio ex oppido Stridonis, vir in

applied to illustrate Scripture. He gives a list of 34 Greek and 8 Latin fathers who had so applied it.

115 Ep. 9 *Salvinae de servanda viduitate*. Quoted Ep. 150 *Hedybiae* n. 138 tom. 3 p. 275 Ep. 11 *Ageruchiae* n. 141 tom. 1 p. 126.

116 Ep. 128 *Fabiola de vestitu sacerdotum*. Quoted in *Epitaphio Fabiolae* n. 117.—prioris ad se voluminis tom. 1 p. 296.

117 Ep. 30 *Epitaphium Fabiolae*. A. D. 400. Four years after the epitaph. *Nepotiano* n. 88. p. 290 *Plures anni sunt quod super dormitione Blasilla* [n. 50] *Paulam ex recenti adhuc vulnere consolatus sum. Quartae aetatis circulus volvitur ex quo ad Heliodorum episcopum Nepotiani scribens epitaphium quicquid habere potui virium—consumpsi. Ante hoc ferme biennium Pammachio meo* [n. 104] *pro subita peregrinatione Paulinae brevem epistolam dedi.*

118 Ep. 127 *De 42 mansionibus in Exodo. Fabiolae*. tom. 1 p. 296 *Reddatur memoriae illius.*

119 *Comm. in Abdiam Pammachio*. He mentions tom. 6 p. 91 a term of 30 years, and a former work upon *Abdias*.

120 Ep. 78 *Pammachio et Marcella de Origenistis*. A. D. 402. See the Tables p. 551.

121 *Adversus Rufinum libri tres*. A. D. 402. Tables p. 553.

122 Ep. 91 *Augustino*. A. D. 402. *Paula longa infirmitas* is mentioned p. 1121.

123 Ep. 92 *Augustino*. A. D. 403.

124 Ep. 89 *Augustino*. A. D. 404. *Hieronymus* describes himself as at this time p. 1115 *aetatis ultimae et pene decrepitem ac monasterii et ruris secreta sectantem. Augustine* is p. 1119 *juvenis et in pontificali culmine constitutus. Hieronymus* in this letter mentions the following works: *Epitaph. in Nepotianum* [n. 88] p. 1102, *Comm. in Galatas* [n. 54] p. 1103, *Ad Pammachium* p. 1117 [n. 86], *Novum Testamentum Graecae fidei redditum* p. 1117 [n. 68].

125 Ep. 53 *Ripario contra Vigilantium*. See N<sup>o</sup> 203.

126 Ep. 27 *Epitaphium Paulae*. A. D. 404. Tables p. 559.

127 Ep. 31 *Theophilo. De Theophili Paschali libro*. A. D. 404. Soon after the death of *Paula*: p. 300 *Sanctae et venerabilis Paulae confectus sum dormitione.*

128 *Theophilo: Paucis* &c. in ed. Benedictin. tom. IV Part. II Class. V.

129 Ep. 96 *Augustino*. A. D. 405.

130 Ep. 135 *Suniae et Fretela*.

131 Ep. 47 *Ad matrem et filiam*. Quoted *adv. Vigilantium* p. 646 *illam quam scripsi ad Gallias matri et filiae inter se discordantibus.*

132 Ep. 75 *Adversus Vigilantium*. A. D. 406. See N<sup>o</sup> 203.

133 Ep. 152 *Ad Minerium et Alexandrum monachos*. Written tom. 3 p. 386 *extrema aetate*. He

mentions p. 387 *fractum ac senile corpusculum*. After he had been censured for praising *Origen*: p. 386 *Si quis contrariae factionis immurmurat, quare eorum explanationes legam quorum dogmatibus non acquiesco. &c.*

134 *Comm. in Zachariam*. A. D. 406. See n. 137.

135 *Comm. in Malachiam*.

136 *Comm. in Joelem*.

137 *Comm. in Amos*. Procem. ad Pammachium tom. 6 p. 78 *Non a primo usque ad novissimum iuxta ordinem quo leguntur, sed ut potuimus et ut rogati sumus ita eos disseruimus. Naum Micheam Sophoniam et Aggaeum primo φιλοπονωτάτας Paulae ejusque filiae Eustochio προσεφώνησα* [n. 70. 71. 72. 74]. *Secundo in Abacuc II libros Chromatio Aquileiensi episcopo delegavi* [n. 73], *tertio post longi temporis silentium Abdiam et Jonam tibi imperanti* [Ep. 91. 119] *edisserui; praesenti anno qui VI consulatus Arcadii Aug. et Anicii Probi fastis nomen imposuit* [A. D. 406] *Exuperio Tolosanae ecclesiae pontifici Zachariam* [n. 134] *et ejusdem urbis Minerio et Alexandro monachis Malachiam prophetam interpretatus sum, statimque recurrans ad principium voluminis Osee et Joel et Amos tibi negare non potui.*

138 Ep. 150 *Hedybiae*. Twelve questions answered, which *Hedybia* had sent *de extremis Galliae finibus* tom. 3 p. 270. He quotes p. 275 his letters to *Furia* (n. 85) and *Salvina* (n. 115) and p. 283 his comm. on *Matthew* (n. 98).

139 Ep. 151 *Algasiae*. Eleven questions answered. Sent from Gaul at the same time with n. 138: tom. 3 p. 302. He quotes p. 303. 309. 310. 311 *comm. in Matth.* and p. 334 *comm. in Amos* (n. 137), which brings these two letters to A. D. 406.

140 Ep. 46 *Rustico. ad continentiam hortatur*.

141 Ep. 11 *Ageruchiae vitae de monogamia*. A. D. 409. See the Tables p. 573. 575.

142 Ep. 34 *Juliano consolatio*. The devastation of whole provinces by the barbarians is mentioned p. 306.

143 Ep. 48 *Sabiniano diacono increpatoria*. He had gained the affections of a maiden at Bethlehem who had promised to remain a virgin: p. 354—357. An offence in the opinion of *Hieronymus* p. 354 worse than adultery.

144 Ep. 59 *Avito*. A. D. 409. A sketch of *Origen's* treatise *περὶ ἀρχῶν*. p. 694 *Ante annos circiter decem Pammachius ad me cujusdam schedulas misit quae Origenis περὶ ἀρχῶν interpretata volumina continerent* &c. See n. 106. 107. 109.

145 Ep. 81 *Augustino* p. 1064.

146 Ep. 82 *Marcellino et Anapsychiae*. He states the various opinions on the human soul. He mentions p. 1065 *Libris contra Rufinum olim editis* [n. 121], and the interruption of his Commentary upon *Ezekiel* by the sack of Rome A. D. 410; and p. 1066 *Fabiola* as still living; who died in A. D. 400 (see n. 117).



*secularibus literis valde eruditus, et in divinis scripturis inter omnes doctores eruditissimus, multarum linguarum peritia insignis, sacræ legis interpret, hæreticorum malleus et expugnator fortissimus &c.*—*Nunc ergo quæ de scriptis et opusculis ejus invenimus per ordinem consignemus &c.*—*Hæc sunt quæ de scriptis beatissimi doctoris Hieronymi ad præsens nobis consignanda occurrerunt.*—*Inter omnes enim ecclesiæ doctores nullus plus Hieronymo profuit; qui præter innumera opuscula Vetus Testamentum de Hebraico in Latinum transtulit, ac Novum ad Græcam veritatem correxit atque legendum ecclesiæ fideliter obtulit.*—*Moritur tandem post multos labores plenus dierum sub Honorio et Theodosio principibus A. D. 422 indictione quinta ultima die mensis Septembris—ætatis suæ anno nonagesimo nono.* The fifth indiction marks Sept. 30 A. D. 421 one year below the true date. His age was perhaps written in Trithemius *XXCIX*.

205 *Augustinus* y. Born Nov. 13 A. D. 354: Tables p. 427. From the age of 19 to 28 a Ma-

Either then in p. 1066 an error in the name, or another *Fabiola*.

147 Ep. 4 *Rustico monacho de vivendi forma*. He mentions p. 52 *Sanctus Exuperius Tolosæ episcopus*. See n. 137.

148 *Comm. in Osee ad Pammachium* [see n. 137]. Written 22 years after he had heard *Didymus*: Hieron. tom. 6 p. 4 *Ante annos circiter viginti duos, cum rogatu sanctæ—Paulæ—essem Alexandria, vidi Didymum et eum frequenter audivi.* &c.

149 *Comm. in Daniele* *Pammachio et Marcellæ*. Procem. tom. 5 p. 482. Written after n. 148 and before n. 150 (see n. 150), and n. 150 was written before n. 153, on which he was employed in A. D. 410. See n. 153. He had translated the *Chronicon* of *Eusebius* (n. 19) long before: in c. 9 p. 502 G *ante annos plurimos in Latinam linguam transtuli*.

150 *Comm. in Esaiam Eustochio*. A. D. 410. Procem. tom. 5 p. 3 *Expletis longo vix tempore in XII prophetas XX explanationum libris* [see n. 70. 119. 137. 148] *et in Daniele commentariis* [n. 149], *cogis me, virgo Christi Eustochium, transire ad Esaiam, et quod sanctæ matri tuæ Paulæ dum viveret* [see n. 126] *pollicitus sum tibi reddere; quod quidem et fratri tuo Pammachio promississe me memini*. About thirty years after A. D. 380: Tables A. D. 382 p. 505.

151 Ep. 16 *Epitaphium Marcellæ*. A. D. 412. Tables p. 583. Addressed *Principiæ virgini*. *Marcella* had heard *Athanasius* and *Petrus* at Rome: p. 165.

152 Ep. 8 *Demetriadi de servanda virginitate*. A. D. 413. Written 30 years after the letter to *Eustochium* (n. 30): p. 86.

153 *Comm. in Ezekielem, ad Eustochium*. (A. D. 413). Procem. tom. 5 p. 314 *Finitis in Esaiam XVIII explanationum voluminibus, ad Ezekielem, quod tibi et sanctæ memoriæ matri tuæ Paulæ, O virgo Christi Eustochium, sæpe pollicitus sum, transire cupiebam, et extremam, ut dicitur, manum operi imponere prophetali. et ecce subito mors mihi Pammachii atque Marcellæ, Romanæ urbis obsidio* [A. D. 410], *multorumque fratrum et sororum dormitio nuntiata est. atque ita consternatus obstuvui &c.*—*Quod opus si per Do-*

*mini misericordiam ad calcem perduxero, transibo ad Hieremiam*. Completed after the letter to *Demetrius* n. 152: Ep. 8 tom. 1 p. 68 *Occupatus in explanatione templi Ezekielis &c.*

154 *Comm. in Jeremiam*. Procem. tom. 5 p. 219 *Post explanationes XII prophetarum, Esaiæ. Danielis, et Ezekielis, ad extremum in Hieremiam manum mittimus, tibi, frater Eusebi, eosdem commentarios dedicantes, ut evangelicum virum Matthæo evangelistæ copules, quem ante annos plurimos* [see n. 98] *te hortante disserui*.

155 Ep. 129 *Dardano. de terra promissionis*. tom. 3 p. 113.

156 Ep. 12 *Gaudentio de Pacatula infantula educatione*. He marks the sack of Rome p. 130 *Urbs—Romani imperii caput uno hausta est incendio. nulla est regio quæ non exules Romanos habeat*. He writes p. 131 *post neces amicorum luctumque perpetuum*.

157 *In Ctesiphontem adversus Pelagianos*. A. D. 415. Tables p. 589.

158 *Dialogorum adversus Pelagianos libri duo*. A. D. 416. Tables p. 589, at A. D. 415.

159 Ep. 94 *Augustino*. He quotes p. 1133 the dialogue *adversus Pelagianos, quem nuper edidi*. He names *Paula* and *Eustochium* p. 1133 *sanctæ et venerabiles filiæ tuæ Paula et Eustochium et genere suo et exhortatione tua dignæ gradiuntur*. The elder *Paula* died in A. D. 404. See n. 126. This is therefore *Paula minor* the daughter of *Læta*, described at n. 102.

160 Ep. 80 *Augustino*. Ep. Augustin. 195 p. 951 ed. Ven.

161 Ep. 79 *Augustino*. A. D. 419. Ep. Augustin. 202 p. 993 ed. Ven. Sent by *Innocentius*. On the Celestine heresy put down by *Augustine*. *Eustochium* is now dead: p. 1062 *Dormitione sanctæ et venerabilis filiæ vestræ Eustochii doluisse.—Has literas de sancta Bethlehem sancto presbytero Innocentio dedi perferendas*.

y Works of *Augustine*.

Before his episcopate, within A. D. 386—395, in *Retractat. lib. I* the following:

nichee: A. D. 373 p. 481. At 29 years of age he proceeds to Rome: A. D. 383 p. 505. At Milan in 385: p. 509. *Augustine* in 387: p. 515. 517. *Coëpiscopus* to *Valerius* A. D.

- 1 *Retractat. I. 1 Libri de academicis.* A little before Nov. A. D. 387: Tables p. 517.
- 2 *De beata vita.* Tables A. D. 386 p. 513.
- 3 *De ordine. Inter illos de Academicis.*
- 4 *Soliloquia. lib. II. Inter hæc scripsi.*
- 5 *De immortalitate animæ. lib. I. Post libros Soliloquiorum jam de agro Mediolanum reversus scripsi librum De immortalitate animæ.*
- 6 *De disciplina libri. Per idem tempus quo Mediolani fui baptismum percepturus etiam disciplinarum libros conatus sum scribere—sed earum solum de Grammatica librum absolvere potui, quem postea de armario nostro perdidit.—Sed eosdem sex libros jam baptizatus jamque ex Italia regressus in Africam scripsi.*
- 7 *De moribus ecclesie et de moribus Manichæorum. Jam baptizatus, cum Romæ essem.*
- 8 *De animæ quantitate dialogus. Romæ.*
- 9 *De libero arbitrio libri III.* Begun at Rome, finished in Africa: quorum secundum et tertium in Africa, jam etiam Hippone regio presbyter ordinatus, sicut tunc potui, terminavi. He quotes them Ep. 7 p. 31. 33 Ep. 34 p. 143 Ep. 28 p. 110 p. 115. p. 116.
- 10 *De Genesi contra Manichæos. libris II. Jam in Africa constitutus.*
- 11 *De Musica lib. VI. conf. n. 6* Ep. 131 p. 746 *Licentium* apud *Augustin.* Ep. 40.
- 12 *De Magistro. Per idem tempus.* Written after A. D. 385: *Confess. IX. 6.*
- 13 *De vera religione.* Quoted Ep. 32 ad *Paulinum* p. 136.
- 14 *De utilitate credendi ad Honoratum. Apud Hipponem regium presbyter scripsi.*
- 15 *Contra Manichæos de duabus animabus. Scripsi adhuc presbyter.*
- 16 *Contra Fortunatum Manichæum. Eodem tempore presbyterii mei disputavi. Acta contra Fortun. c. 1 V Kal. Sept. Arcadio Aug. II et Rufino VV. CC. cons. habita disputatio adversus Fortunatum Manichæorum presbyterum in urbe Hipponensium regionum in balneis Sossii, sub præsentia populi. Aug. 28 A. D. 392.*
- 17 *De fide et symbolo. Per idem tempus.*
- 18 *De Genesi ad literam imperfectus.*
- 19 *De Sermone in monte. libri II. Per idem tempus.*
- 20 *Psalmus contra Donatistas.*
- 21 *Librum etiam contra epistolam Donati [Nº 113]—eodem presbyterii mei tempore scripsi. See above p. 433.*
- 22 *Contra Adimantum Manichæi discipulum.*
- 23 *Expositio quarundam propositionum ex epistola ad Romanos. Cum presbyter adhuc essem.*
- 24 *Expositio Pauli ad Galatas. Post hunc librum.*
- 25 *Expositio Pauli ad Romanos inchoata.*
- 26 *Quoddam prolixum opus, cujus est titulus De diversis questionibus octoginta tribus.*
- 27 *De mendacio liber obscurus et amfractuus.*

In his episcopate, A. D. 395—430, in *Retractat. lib. II*, the following:

- 28 *Retract. II. 1 Librorum quos episcopus elaboravi primi duo sunt ad Simplicianum ecclesie Mediolanensis antistitem, qui beatissimo successit Ambrosio, De Diversis Quæstionibus.*
29. 2 *Contra epistolam Manichæi quam vocant Fundamenti. See above Nº 97 p. 424.*
30. 3 *De agone Christiano.*
31. 4 *De doctrina Christiana.*
32. 5 *Duo libri contra partem Donati.* Not now extant.
33. 6 *Confessionum nearum libri XIII.*
34. 7 *Contra Faustum Manichæum. Scripsi grande opus verbis ejus propositis reddens responsiones meas. Triginta et tres disputationes sunt. Quoted Ep. 19 p. 83.*
35. 8 *Contra Felicem Manichæum. Acta cum Felice I. 1 Honorio Aug. VI consule, VII Id. Dec. Augustinus episcopus dixit &c. Dec. 7 A. D. 404.*
36. 9 *De natura boni adversus Manichæos.*
37. 10 *Contra Secundinum Manichæum.*
38. 11 *Contra Hilarum tribunicium laicum.* Not extant.
39. 12 *Quæstiones evangeliorum libris II.* On Matthew and Luke.
40. 13 *Adnotationes in Job. Utrum meus habendus sit an potius eorum qui eas—redegerunt in unum corpus descriptas de frontibus codicis non facile dixerim.*
41. 14 *De catechizandis rudibus.*
42. 15 *De Trinitate libri XV. Libros de Trinitate, quæ Deus est, XV scripsi per aliquot annos. Mentioned Ep. 7 p. 33 and Ep. 101 p. 515 as still unpublished. Gennadius c. 38 Edidit senex quos juvenis cæperat de Trinitate libros XV.*
43. 16 *De consensu evangelistarum libri IV.*
44. 17 *Contra epistolam Parmeniani Donatistarum Carthaginiensis episcopi successorisque Donati libri III.*
45. 18 *De baptismo libri VII contra Donatistas.*
46. 19 *Contra Centurium Donatistam.* Not extant.
47. 20 *Ad inquisitiones Januarii libri II. Scil. Epistolæ 118. 119 ed. Lugdun.*
48. 21 *De opere monachorum.*
49. 22 *De bono conjugali contra Jovinianum. Joviniani hæresis sacrarum virginum meritum æquando pudicitie conjugali tantum valuit in urbe Roma ut nonnullos etiam sanctimoniales—dejecisse in nuptias diceretur &c.—Huic monstro sancta ecclesia quæ ibi est fidelissime ac fortissime restitit &c. Propter hoc librum edidi. See above Nº 188.*
50. 23 *De sancta virginitate. Posteaquam scripsi De bono conjugali.*
51. 24 *De Genesi ad literam lib. III. Per idem tempus.*
52. 25 *Contra literas Petilianæ Donatistæ libri III. Antequam finirem libros de Trinitate et libros de Genesi ad literam, irruit causa respondendi literis Petilianæ.*



395 p. 533. He is appointed bishop A. D. 395: p. 533. Has a coadjutor in 426: p. 609. He died Aug. 28 A. D. 430: p. 615. Gennadius c. 38 *Augustinus Afer, Hipponensis oppidi episcopus, vir eruditione divina et humana orbi clarus, fide integer et vita purus, scripsit quanta nec inveniri possunt.*

206 *Anonymus de morte Pauli.* Tables A. D. 396 p. 537.

207 *Palladius Helenopolis episcopus.* Begins his monastic life A. D. 388: Tables p. 517. Appointed bishop in 400: p. 549. *Historia Lausiaca* A. D. 420 p. 599. Transferred to Aspona. See A. D. 421 p. 599.

208 *Atticus.* Succeeds *Arsacius* at CP. in Feb. A. D. 406: Tables p. 567. His death Oct. 10 A. D. 425: p. 605.

53. 26 *Ad Cresconium grammaticum Donatistam libri IV.*

54. 27 *Probationes et testimonia contra Donatistas.*

55. 28 *Contra nescio quem Donatistam.*

56. 29 *Admonitio Donatistarum de Maximianistis.*

These last three works, 54, 55, 56, are not extant.

57. 30 *De divinatione Dæmonum. Per idem tempus.*

58. 31 *Sex quæstiones contra paganos.*

59. 32 *Expositio epistolæ Jacobi.* Not extant.

60. 33 *De peccatorum meritis et remissione et de baptismo parvulorum ad Marcellinum libri III.* Quoted Ep. 158 p. 830, and by Hieron. adv. Pelagianos p. 1043.

61. 34 *De unico baptismo.*

62. 35 *Contra Donatistas de Maximianistis.* See Ep. 158 p. 830.

63. 36 *De gratia Testamenti Novi ad Honoratum.* Among the Epistles. Sc. Ep. 120 p. 666. Conf. Ep. 158 p. 830.

64. 37 *De spiritu et litera ad Marcellinum.*

65. 38 *De fide et operibus.*

66. 39 *Breviculus collationis contra Donatistas.* A. D. 411: Tables p. 581.

67. 40 *Librum scripsi grandem satis quantum existimo diligenter ad ipsos Donatistas post collationem quam cum episcopis eorum habuimus.—Multo autem brevius in quadam epistola.* Conf. Ep. 152 p. 800 Ep. 166 p. 870.

68. 41 *De videndo Deo ad Paulinam epistola.* Sc. 112 p. 604.

69. 42 *De natura et gratia contra Pelagianos.*

70. 43 *De civitate Dei libri XXII.* Within A. D. 411—428. See F. H. I p. 291.

71. 44 *Ad Orosium contra Priscillianistas et Originistas.*

72. 45 *Ad Hieronymum libri duo.* Sc. Ep. 28. 29. See the Tables A. D. 415 p. 589.

73. 46 *Ad Emeritum Donatistarum episcopum.* Not extant. Another to *Emeritus* is extant: Sc. Ep. 164.

74. 47 *De gestis Pelagii.* A. D. 417. Compare on this subject the documents and letters quoted in the Tables A. D. 416 p. 591 A. D. 417 p. 593.

75. 48 *De correctione Donatistarum.* Sc. Ep. 50 (185 ed. Ven.) ad *Bonifacium.*

76. 49 *De præsentia Dei.* Sc. Ep. 57 ad *Dardanum.*

77. 50 *Posteaquam Pelagiana hæresis ab episcopis ecclesiæ Romanæ, prius Innocentio deinde Zosimo, operantibus conciliorum Africanorum literis, convicta atque damnata est, scripsi duos libros adversus eos, unum De gratia Dei alterum De peccato originali.*

78. 51 *Gesta cum Emerito Donatista.* A. D. 418: Tables p. 597.

79. 52 *Contra sermonem Arianorum.*

80. 53 *De nuptiis ad Valerium comitem libri II.*

81. 54 *Locutionum libri VII.*

82. 55 *Quæstionum libri VII.*

83. 56 *De anima et ejus origine libri IV.*

84. 57 *De conjugii adulterinis libri II.*

85. 58 *Contra adversarium legis et prophetarum libri II.*

86. 59 *Contra Gaudentium Donatistarum episcopum libri II.*

87. 60 *Tunc et Contra mendacium scripsi librum.*

88. 61 *Sequuntur libri IV quos contra duas epistolas Pelagianorum ad episcopum Romanæ ecclesiæ Bonifacium scripsi.*

89. 62 *Contra Juliani Pelagiani libros IV libri VI.* For *Julianus* see below No 212.

90. 63 *Enchiridion ad Laurentium de fide spe et caritate.*

91. 64 *De cura pro mortuis gerenda.*

92. 65 *De octo Dulciti quæstionibus. Non esset in hoc opere commemorandus inter libros meos, cum sit confectus ex iis quæ a me in aliis antea conscripta sunt.* On *Dulcitus* see Ep. 61.

93. 66 *De gratia et libero arbitrio ad monachos Adrumetinos.*

94. 67 *Rursus ad eosdem scripsi alterum librum quem De correptione et gratia prænotavi.*

95 *Retractionum libri II. Hæc opera nonaginta tria [nonaginta quatuor ed. Lugdun. tom. 1 p. 86] in libris CCXXXII me dictasse recolui quando hæc retractavi, utrum adhuc essem aliquos dictaturus ignorans, atque ipsam eorum retractionem in libris duobus edidi urgentibus fratribus, antequam Epistolas ac Sermones ad populum, alios dictatos alios a me dictos, retractare cepissem.* There are 93 Works, if n. 92 is omitted.

96 *Contra Juliani secundam responsionem, imperfectum opus.* A. D. 430. Tables p. 615.

- 209 *Orosius*. A young man in 415: p. 589. His apology *contra Pelagium* A. D. 415 p. 589. *Orosius* is described at A. D. 416: p. 593. His history ends at the year 417: p. 592. 594.
- 210 *Pelagius*. Tables A. D. 409 p. 575. Published his doctrine in 413: p. 585. In Palestine in 416: p. 591. *Pelagius* and *Cælestius* are condemned: A. D. 418 p. 595. On *Pelagius* see below N° 220.
- 211 *Cælestius*. A disciple of *Pelagius* in A. D. 409: p. 575. and in 413: p. 585. Still taught in 429: p. 613. On *Cælestius* see *Mercator* N° 220.
- 212 *Julianus Capuæ episcopus*. A disciple of *Pelagius*: Tables A. D. 413 p. 585 A. D. 418 p. 595 A. D. 430 p. 615. See *Mercator* N° 220. *Julianus* still lived in A. D. 439: p. 625.
- 213 *Patricius*. Born in Britain<sup>z</sup>. His time is determined by the times of his contemporaries. He visited Gaul when *Martinus* was bishop of Tours, who died in 398; and was the disciple of *Germanus* who flourished in A. D. 418—448. He was contemporary with *Palladius* who was sent into Scotland in A. D. 431. After the death of *Palladius* he proceeded to Ireland<sup>a</sup>.  
Sigebertus in *Chronico* affirms that *Patricius* lived 122 years: *Zenonis* 18° A. D. 491 *Sanctus Patricius secundus Hyberniæ archiepiscopus anno ætatis suæ 122° in Christo quievit*. He adds *Odoacer a Theoderico perimitur et Theodericus Italia potitur*. which happened in the year 490. *Patricius* then by this account was born in 368 or 369, and died in 490 or 491.<sup>b</sup>
- 214 *Maximus*. Gennad. c. 40 *Maximus Taurinensis ecclesiæ episcopus, vir in divinis scripturis satis intentus et ad docendum ex tempore plebem sufficiens, composuit in laudem apostolorum tractatus et in Joannis Baptistæ nativitatem et generalem omnium martyrum homiliam. Sed et de capitulis evangeliorum et de actibus apostolorum multa sapienter exposuit. Fecit et duos de S. Eu-*

<sup>z</sup> *Probus* in *vita Patricii* apud *Bedæ* *Opp.* tom. 3 p. 225 *Sanctus Patricius, qui et Sochet vocabatur, Brito fuit natione. Hic in Britannii natus est a patre Calpurnio diacono qui fuit filius Potiti presbyteri, et matre Concessa nomine, de vico Bannavæ Tyburniæ regionis haud procul a mari occidentali.* *Basnage* tom. 3 p. 472 post *Usserium* “*Natale Patricii solum inter castrum Dumbritanicum et civitatem Glascuensem. Itaque a Patricio Kirk Patrick nomen habuit. Urbi Nemthur natales ejus assignant. Patricio mater Concessa, quæ Baronio nonnullisque Martini celeberrimi Turonensis episcopi soror, Joscélino vero sororis filia rectius fuisse traditur.*” *Cave* tom. 1 p. 421 “*Ortu Britannus in oppido Nemthur, hodie Kirk Patrick dicto, inter fretum Dumbritonæ et urbem Glascuensem sito.*”

<sup>a</sup> *Probus* in *vita* p. 227 *Pervenit ad Martinum episcopum Turoni et IV annis mansit cum eo, et tonso capite ordinatus est ab eo in clericum.* p. 228 *Venit ad caput omnium ecclesiarum Romam, ibique benedictione apostolica petita et accepta reversus est itinere quo venerat illuc. Transnavigato vero mari Britannico et arrepto versus Gallias itinere venit ad hominem sanctissimum ac probatissimum in fide et doctrina, omnium pæne Galliarum primatem eximium, Germanum videlicet Autisiodorensis ecclesiæ episcopum; apud quem non parvo tempore demoratus est.* p. 229 *Sciebat quod Palladius archidiaconus Cælestini papæ—ordinatus ob eodem papa directus fuerat ad hanc insulam [sc. Hiberniam].—Cumque aggressus Palladius mare transme-*

*asset et ad fines Pictorum pervenisset, ibidem vita decessit.* The episcopate of *Germanus* is fixed from his biographer *Constantius* by *Pagi* tom. 2 p. 267 to 30<sup>o</sup> 25<sup>d</sup> from July 7 A. D. 418 to July 31 A. D. 448. *Palladius* is mentioned by his contemporary *Prosper* in *Chronico* p. 401 *Florentio et Dionysio coss.* [A. D. 429.] See the *Tables* p. 611. *Idem Basso et Antiocho* [A. D. 431] *ad Scotos in Christum credentes ordinatur a papa Cælestino Palladius, et primus episcopus mittitur.* *Idem contra collatorem* p. 197 *Cælestinus—ordinato Scotis episcopo, dum Romanam insulam studet servare catholicam, fecit etiam barbaram Christianam.* The progress then of *Patricius* as a missionary to Ireland was soon after A. D. 431.

<sup>b</sup> *Usher* quoted by *Basnage* tom. 3 p. 472, who agrees with him, places the birth of *Patricius* at A. D. 371. and this is adopted by *Cave* tom. 1 p. 421. But the account may be suspected which assigns to *Patricius* 122 years. In his biographer *Probus* p. 241 he has 132: *peractis totius vitæ ejus CXXX duobus annis.—post ætatem annorum, ut ante dictum est, CXXXII.* The more moderate term of 83 years (*Pagi* tom. 2 p. 442) is more probable. But these 83 years could not have ended at A. D. 491, as *Miræus* supposes apud *Fabricium* p. 23; for this would place his birth at 408 or 409, ten years after the death of *Martin* of Tours. The 83 years then, if that was the true period, might be placed at about A. D. 371—454.



*sebi Vercellensis episcopi [N<sup>o</sup> 138] et confessoris vita tractatus &c.—Moritur Honorio et Theodosio juniore regnantibus.* Miræus however shews that he still lived Nov. 17 A. D. 465, when he was present at a synod at Rome<sup>c</sup>.

- 215 *Avitus presbyter.* Gennad. c. 46 *Lucianus presbyter, vir sanctus, cui revelavit Deus temporibus Honorii et Theodosii Augustorum locum sepulcri et reliquiarum corporis S. Stephani martyris primi. Scripsit ipsam revelationem in Græco sermone.* c. 47 *Avitus presbyter, homo Hispanus genere, ante relatam Luciani presbyteri scripturam in Latinum transtulit sermonem, et addita epistola sua per Orosium occidentalibus edidit.*
- 216 *Paulinus.* Gennad. c. 48 *Paulinus Nolæ Campaniæ episcopus composuit versu brevia sed multa, et ad Celsum quendam Epitaphii vice consolatorium libellum super mortem Christiani et baptizati infantis, spe Christiana munitum; et ad Severum plures epistolas, et ad Theodosium imperatorem ante episcopatum prosa panegyricum super victoria tyrannorum, eo maxime quod fide et oratione plusquam armis vicerit<sup>d</sup>. Fecit et Sacramentarium et Hymnarium, ad sororem quoque epistolas multas de contemptu mundi dedit. Edidit et ex diversis causis diversa disputatione tractatus. Præcipuus tamen omnium ejus opusculorum est liber de pœnitentia et de laude generali omnium martyrum. Claruit temporibus Honorii et Valentiniani. Paulinus died June 22 A. D. 431.<sup>e</sup>*

<sup>c</sup> Acta Concil. tom. 5 p. 85 *Flavio Basilisco et Hermenerico consulibus sub die XV Kal. Dec. residente viro venerabili Hilario papa in basilica sancta Mariæ et Maximo Taurinæ civitatis Galliarum.*

<sup>d</sup> Hieron. Ep. 13 *Paulino* p. 137 (quoted by Fabricius ad loc.) *Librum tuum quem pro Theodosio principe prudenter ornateque compositum transmisisti libenter legi; et præcipue mihi in eo subdivisio placuit; cumque in primis partibus vincas alios, in penultimis te ipsum superas.—Felix Theodosius qui a tali Christi oratore defenditur. illustrasti purpuras ejus, et utilitatem legum futuris sæculis consecrasti.* See N<sup>o</sup> 204 Hieronymus Works n. 83. The panegyric was composed between Sept. 6 A. D. 394, when *Eugenius* was slain, and Jan. 17 A. D. 395, when *Theodosius* died. Hieronymus p. 131 alludes also to the panegyric: *illo ore quo religiosissimus princeps defenditur.*

<sup>e</sup> *Paulinus* was a consul *suffectus* before the consulship of *Ausonius* (who was consul A. D. 379): *Ausonius* Ep. 20 p. 269

*Quamquam et fastorum titulo prior, et tua Romæ Præcessit nostrum sella curulis ebur.*

In A. D. 394 he was 40 years of age: *Paulinus Augustino* inter *Augustini* Opp. Ep. 31 (25) p. 132 *D. fratri Augustino Paulinus et Therasia peccatores.—Cum hoc pentateucho tuo contra Manichæos armaveris &c.—ætas mihi secundum carnem jam ea est qua fuit ille ab apostolis in porta speciosa verbi potestate sanatus* [sc. more than 40 years: Acts IV. 22]. Of *Augustine* he adds p. 133 *Si officium commune consideres, frater es, si maturitatem ingenii tui et sensuum, pater mihi es, etsi forte sis ævo junior.* *Augustine* therefore was yet a presbyter and about 40 years of age. But he completed his 40th year in November A. D. 394 and was appointed bishop in 395. See above N<sup>o</sup> 205. *Paulinus*, who was a little older, was more than 40

in 394, and therefore born before 354. How much before, we have no means of knowing. As he was now a presbyter and had been ordained on Christmas day, his ordination could not have been later than Dec. 25 A. D. 393. He thus describes it Ep. 6 (1) *Severo. Nos modo in Barcinonensi civitate consistimus. Post illas literas quibus rescripsisti die Domini, quo nasci carne dignatus est, repentina (ut ipse testis est) vi multitudinis, sed credo ipsius ordinatione, correptus et presbyteratu initiatus sum, fateor, invitus.—Veni igitur, si placet, ante Pascha &c.* Written therefore before Easter A. D. 394. He was appointed bishop of Nola after A. D. 402, when his predecessor *Paulus* was still living: *Pagius* tom. 2 p. 57. And before A. D. 405; for *Pelagius* quoted by *Pagi* *Ibid.* p. 56 attests that he was already bishop 12 years before A. D. 417. His death is fixed to June 22 A. D. 431: *Ursacius de vita Paulini* apud *Muratorium* p. CXXVII. CXXXII. c. 1 *Sanctus Paulinus episcopus Burdigala oppido Galliarum oriundus fuit.—c. 12 Obiit sanctus Paulinus episcopus X Kal. Julii Basso et Antiocho VV. CC. consulibus.*

*Therasia* the wife of *Paulinus* is described by *Ambrosius* Ep. 30 (58) *Sabino* (cir. A. D. 393) *Paulinum splendore generis in partibus Aquitaniæ nulli secundum, venditis facultatibus tam suis quam etiam conjugalibus, in hos sese induisse cultus ad fidem comperi ut ea in pauperes conferat quæ rededit in pecuniam.—Matrona quoque virtuti et studio ejus proxime accedit, neque a proposito viri discrepat. Denique transscriptis in aliorum jura suis prædiis virum sequitur.* *Hieronymus* Ep. 13 *Paulino* A. D. 395 p. 136 alludes to *Therasia*, whom he calls *soror tua*. p. 139 *sanctam conservam tuam.* *Augustin.* Ep. 34 (31) A. D. 396 *Domini—Paulino et Therasia Augustinus in Domino salutem.* *Idem* Ep. 250 (95) cir. A. D. 406 *Paulino et Thera-*

- 217 *Ecagrius*. Tables A. D. 423 p. 601.
- 218 *Chrysanthus Novatianus*. Appointed bishop in 407: Tables p. 571. Died in 419: p. 597. See above N<sup>o</sup> 155.
- 219 *Theodorus Mopsuestæ episcopus*. The friend of *Chrysostom*. Appointed bishop A. D. 394: Tables p. 531. The death of *Theodorus* was in A. D. 429: p. 613. Gennadius c. 12 *Theodorus Antiochenæ ecclesiæ presbyter, vir scientia cautus et lingua disertus, scripsit adversum Apollinaristas et Eunomianos de incarnatione Domini libros XV ad XV millia versuum continentes. In quibus ratione purissima et testimoniis Scripturarum ostendit Dominum Jesum sicut plenitudinem Deitatis ita plenitudinem humanitatis habuisse. Docet et hominem duabus tantum substantiis constare, id est, anima et corpore, sensumque et spiritum non alteram substantiam sed officia esse animæ ingenita quibus spirat quibus rationalis est quibus sensibile facit corpus. Quartum decimum autem hujus operis librum proprie de increata et sola incorporea dominaque omnium Sanctæ Trinitatis natura, et de creaturarum ratione disserens pro sensu cum auctoritate Sanctarum Scripturarum explicuit. Quinto decimo vero volumine totum operis sui corpus, citatis etiam patrum traditionibus, confirmavit et communivit<sup>f</sup>.*
- 220 *Marius Mercator*. Flourished A. D. 429: Tables p. 613.<sup>g</sup> He is also quoted at A. D. 413 p. 585 at 416 p. 591 at 418 p. 595.

*sia Augustinus*. She was still living in 408: Paulinus Ep. 45 inter Ep. Augustini 249 (94). Written A. D. 408 *Augustino episcopo Paulinus et Therasia peccatores*. The time of her death is not known.

<sup>f</sup> Phot. Cod. 4 ἀνεγνώσθη Θεοδώρου Ἀντιοχέως ὑπὲρ Βασιλείου κατὰ Εὐνομίῳ ἐν λόγοις κέ. ἔστι δὲ τὴν μὲν φράσιν οὐ πᾶν λαμπρὸς ταῖς δὲ διανοίαις καὶ τοῖς ἐπιχειρήμασι λίαν πυκνὸς καὶ ταῖς γραφικαῖς ἄριστα πλουτῶν μαρτυρίας. κατὰ λέξιν δὲ σχεδὸν τῶν Εὐνομίῳ λόγων τὴν ἀνασκευὴν ποιεῖται ἀμαθῆ τε λίαν τῶν τε θύραθεν μαθημάτων καὶ πολλῶ μᾶλλον τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς θεοσοφίας διὰ πολλῶν ἐπιδεικνύς, ὁ δὲ Μοψουεστίας γεγωνὸς ἐπίσκοπος οὗτός ἐστιν, οἶμαι. Idem Cod. 38 ἀνεγνώσθη Θεοδώρου Ἀντιοχέως οὗ ἡ ἐπιγραφή Ἐρμηνεία τῆς κτίσεως ἐν τόμοις ἑπτὰ ἢ πρώτη βιβλος ἐπεραίνετο. τὴν δὲ φράσιν οὐτε λαμπρὸς οὐτε λίαν σαφὴς φεύγων δὲ τὸν δυνατὸν αὐτῷ τρόπον τὰς ἀλληγορίας καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν τὴν ἐρμηνείαν ποιούμενος. ταυτολογεῖ δὲ τὰ πλείστα καὶ ἄχαρις πως καὶ ἀηθρὸς εἶναι δοκεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ Νεστορίου δόγμα, εἰ καὶ πρὸ Νεστορίου ὑπῆρχεν, ὑπερευγόμενος. *Philoponus* wrote against this work. See above c. 7 *Philoponus* Works n. 15 p. 332. Phot. Cod. 177 ἀνεγνώσθη βιβλίον οὗ ἡ ἐπιγραφή Θεοδώρου Ἀντιοχέως [addit ed. Rothomag. ὁ Μοψουεστίας ἐστίν, ὡς ἀπὸ τινῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἐμάθομεν, ommissa in ed. Bekkeri] πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας φύσει καὶ οὐ γνώμῃ πταίειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. διαπεραίνεται μὲν αὐτῷ ὁ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀγὼν ἐν λόγοις ε', πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς δύσεως τοῦτο τὸ νόσημα νενοσηκότας γράφει τὸ βιβλίον ὧν καὶ τῆς αἵρεσεως ἀρχηγὸν [sc. *Pelagium*] λέγει γενέσθαι ἐκείθεν μὲν ὀρμώμενον τοῖς δὲ τῆς ἀνατολῆς ἐπιχωριάζοντα τόποις κ. τ. λ.—p. 397 ὁ δὲ Θεόδωρος οὗτος εἰ μὲν ποιεῖ ἀποπεμπόμενος αὐτὰ, ἐνιαχοῦ δὲ καὶ ἄριστα αὐτῶν καὶ σὺν ἰσχύϊ τὸ ἀλλόκοτον καὶ βλάσφημον τῶν ὑπολήψεων ἐπιρραπίζει καὶ ταῖς γραφικαῖς φωναῖς ὡς ἐκείνοι κακῶς ἐξελάμβανον τὰς καταλήλους ἐννοίας ἀρμόζων ἀμαθείς αὐτοὺς τελείως ἐξελέγχει. οὐκ αἰεὶ δὲ, ἀλλὰ τὴν τε Νεστορίου αἵρεσιν ὠδίνων ἡμῖν ἐν πολλοῖς ὥπται, καὶ τὴν Ὀριγένους κατὰ γε τὸ τέλος ὑπο-

φωνεῖν τῆς κολάσεως. κ. τ. λ.—p. 400 ἔστι μὲν οὗτος ὁ Θεόδωρος ὁ καὶ κατ' Εὐνομίῳ ἐν κ' καὶ ἡ' λόγοις [κέ' λόγοις supra] οὐκ ἀγεννῶς ἀγωνισάμενος, τὴν Βασιλείου τοῦ θεοσπεσίῳ—κρατύνων δόξαν. Idem Cod. 81 ἀνεγνώσθη βιβλιδάριον Θεοδώρου περὶ τῆς ἐν Περσίδι μαγκῆς.—οὗτος ὁ Θεόδωρος ὁ Μοψουεστίας εἶναι δοκεῖ τὴν τε γὰρ Νεστορίου αἵρεσιν καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ λόγῳ κρατύνων προαναφώνει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀμαρτῶλων ἀποκατάστασιν τερατεύεται. Photius Cod. 230 de *Eulogio* p. 856 mentions again the Nestorianism of *Theodorus*. Auctor de XII scriptoribus ecclesiasticis apud Fabricium p. 69 *Theodorus Mopsuestenæ urbis episcopus ita clare copioseque scientiæ doctrina refulsisse fertur ut predicaretur (si referre fas est) mille voluminum summam in Græco conscripsisse adversus omnium hæreticorum errores. Hunc Acephalorum episcopi in præjudicio Chalcedonensis concilii, Justiniano principe compellente, damnare post mortem cum Iba et Theodoreto episcopis censuerunt, dum constet eum laudabilium virorum testimoniis clarissimum ecclesiæ doctorem fuisse. Vixit usque ad imperium senioris Leonis*. See *Isidorus* in the Tables A. D. 545 p. 783, and the fifth council: Tables A. D. 553 p. 800. By the fifth council he is called the preceptor of *Nestorius* apud *Acta Concilii* tom. 6 p. 22 *Theodorum Mopsuestenum doctorem Nestorii qui multa pejora Nestorio blasphemavit*. His works are quoted *Ibid.* tom. 6 p. 42. 43 *Theodori Mopsuesteni ex lib. III contra impium Apollinarium*. the work mentioned by Gennadius and Photius. Other works of *Theodorus* are quoted tom. 6 p. 48—66.

<sup>g</sup> His *Commonitorium* quoted at p. 613 proceeds thus: Apud *Acta Concil.* tom. 3 p. 349. 350 *Cælestius—est accusatus, sicut gestorum confectio se habet,—tanquam hæc non solum ipse doceret, sed et per provincias conspirantes sibi diversos qui hæc per populos disseminarent misisset, id est,*



- 221 *Nestorius*. Appointed bishop of CP. in 428. Tables p. 611. Marcellin. *Felice et Tauro* *cons.* [A. D. 428] *Nestorius Antiochia natus, vir satis quidem eloquentie sapientie vero parum habens. CPianis admodum adnitentibus ex presbytero episcopus ordinatus est.* He was deposed and banished in 431: p. 615. Still living when Socrates wrote: Tables Ibid. that is, in A. D. 439. He died before the council of Chalcedon A. D. 451. See N<sup>o</sup> 291.
- 222 *Hesychius presbyter*. Theophanes p. 71 C *Theodosii II anno 7<sup>o</sup>* [A. D. 414] τῷ δ' αὐτῷ ἔτει ἦνθει ταῖς διδασκαλαῖς Ἡσύχιος πρεσβύτερος Ἱεροσολύμων. Idem p. 79 C *Theodosii II 26<sup>o</sup>* [A. D. 433] τῷ δ' αὐτῷ ἔτει Ἡσύχιος πρεσβύτερος Ἱεροσολύμων ἐτελεύτησεν<sup>h</sup>.
- 223 *Nilus*. Nicephorus H. E. XIV. 53 οἷους ἀνδρας καὶ ὁ τηρικαῦτα χρόνος [sc. imperante *Theodosio II*] προήνεγκεν, ἀρετῇ καὶ λόγῳ τὸ εὐδόκιμον ἐσχηκότας, οἷος ἐκείνος Ἰσιδώρος ὁ τοῦ Πηλουσίου ὄρους καθηγησάμενος [N<sup>o</sup> 230], Νεῖλός τε καὶ Μάρκος οἱ περιβόητοι ἀσκηταί. ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὁ τὴν σοφίαν πολὺς Θεοδώρητος τῆς Κυρρεστῶν ἐκκλησίας ἱερατεύσας [N<sup>o</sup> 242]. ὦν εὐρὸν κλέος, κατὰ τὴν ποιήσιν· διδασκάλῳ τῷ μεγάλῳ Χρυσοστόμῳ καὶ κατ' ἄμφω φιλοσοφίας χρυσάμενοι. ὁ μὲν οὖν θεῖος Ἰσιδώρος ἐξ ἔτι νέου τοῖς ἀσκητικοῖς οὕτω πόνοις ἐνδύρωσεν—ὡς ἀγγελικὸν ἀντικρυς μετελθεῖν βίον.—καὶ δὴ πολλὰ μὲν αὐτῷ ἐγράφη ὠφελείας ἀπάσης ἔμπλεω, μάλιστα δ' ἐπιστολαὶ χάριτος παντοίας μεσταί, θείας τε ἅμα καὶ ἀνθρωπίνης, ὡσεὶ χιλιᾶδες δέκα κ. τ. λ. c. 54 τῷ δὲ θεσπεσίῳ Νεῖλῳ πατρὶς μὲν ἡ τῆς Κωνσταντινου ἐτύγχανε πόλις, ἧς τῷ περιόντι τῆς εὐγενείας καὶ ἔπαρχος ἐχρημάτισε· πλοῦτῳ δὲ βαθεὶ καὶ δυναστείᾳ περιρρεόμενος ἀσκητικὴν ἀντηλλάττετο ἀγωγὴν—λόγου δὲ δυνάμει κρατῶν καὶ τῇ θεῖᾳ νευρούμενος χάριτι συγγράμματα διάφορα καταλείπει πρὸς ἀσκησιν ὑπαλείφοντα<sup>i</sup>.

1 *Adam mortalem factum, qui sive peccaret sive non peccaret moriturus fuisset.*

2 *Peccatum Adæ ipsum solum læsit, non genus humanum.*

3 *Parvuli qui nascuntur in eo statu sunt in quo fuit Adam ante prævaricationem.*

4 *Neque per mortem vel prævaricationem Adæ omne genus hominum moriatur, nec per resurrectionem Christi omne genus hominum resurgat.*

5 *Lex mittit ad regnum calorū quomodo et evangelium.*

6 *Ante adventum Domini fuerunt homines impeccabiles, id est, sine peccato.*

*De quibus omnibus capitulis suprascriptis exemplaribus synodaliū gestorum patres et episcopi regionis illius restiterunt Cælestio et jusserunt ut eadem condemnaret quia essent hæretici sensus. Sed Cælestius nullo modo adquiescens, quinimo resistens actis iisdem, quibus frequenter auditus est, ecclesiastica communione privatus est; a qua sententia ad Romani episcopi examen credidit appellandum. Qua mox idem ipse appellatione neglecta Ephesum Asiæ urbem contendit, ibique ausus est per obreptionem locum presbyterii petere. Inde post aliquantos annos sub sanctæ memoriæ Attico episcopo urbem CP. petiit, ubi in similibus detectus magno studio sancti illius viri ex prædicta alma urbe detrusus est, literis super ejus nomine in Asiam et Thessalonicam et Carthaginem ad episcopos missis; quarum exemplaria habentes proferre sumus parati. Prædictus tamen Cælestius etiam hinc ejectus ad urbem Romam sub sanctæ memoriæ Zosimo episcopo tota festinatione perrexit &c. Conf. A. D. 418. 413. 416. Marius quotes tom. 3 p. 353 a treatise of Pelagius: *Denique libellus est ejus, quem habemus in manibus, ad**

*quandam Livianiam viduam sermonem continens exhortatorium, in quo ita habetur: "Simplicitatem" inquit "sequi Christi famulam decet, non hanc quæ stultitia magis est quam simplicitas, sed illam de qua Scriptura dicit Benedicta animi omnis simplex, dicente alibi Scriptura—Maledictus omnis homo qui non permanet in omnibus quæ scripta sunt in libro legis ut faciat ea. Hinc" inquit "ostenditur" &c. Marius Mercator concludes p. 354 Hos igitur in ejusmodi amplissimis erroribus deprehensos (Pelagium scilicet et Cælestium) ad satisfactionem ecclesiæ Julianus et ceteri sui participes vel modo condemnent. Et si quos confidunt adversus catholicam fidem non recte sentire, nominatim designare non dubitent, et ecclesiastico ordine a nobis accipient pro nostra possibilitate responsum, aut ab eo certe quem dicunt a sensu catholico deviare [sc. ab Augustino]. Sicut enim superius præfati sumus, jam multi qui Cælestium et Pelagium cum eo fuerant secuti, Juliani quoque participes et socii facti, derelicto eo Pelagioque damnato, sedi se apostolicæ submittentes—a sanctis patribus digni habiti miseratione suscepti sunt. Marius Mercator is published fol. Paris. 1679, and by Baluzius 8<sup>vo</sup> Paris. 1674.*

<sup>h</sup> Fabricius B. G. tom. 7 p. 419. 548 treats of *Hesychius of Jerusalem*. Phot. Cod. 275 ἀνεγνώσθη Ἡσύχιου πρεσβυτέρου Ἱεροσολύμων εἰς Ἰάκωβον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ κυρίου καὶ Δαβὶδ τὸν θεοπάτορα. Another *Hesychius* is described by Photius Cod. 51 ἀνεγνώσθη Ἡσύχιου πρεσβυτέρου ΚΠ. εἰς τὸν χαλκοῦν ὄφιν λόγῳ δ'. ἔστι δὲ ὁ λόγος κ. τ. λ.—ὁ δὲ γε ἀνήρ, ὡς ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦδε αἰποῦ τεκμηριῶσαι τοῦ συντάγματος, τῶν ὀρθοδοξούντων ἐστίν. Conf. Fabric. B. G. tom. 7 p. 547.

<sup>i</sup> Having mentioned the narrative of the martyrs in mount Sinai slain by an incursion of the Blemmyes

- 224 *Theodorus* or *Theodotus Ancyranus*. His discourse against *Nestorius* at the council of Ephesus A. D. 431 is given in *Acta Concil. tom. 3 p. 1545* Θεοδότου ἐπισκόπου Ἀγκύρων ὁμιλία λεχθεῖσα ἐν Ἐφέσῳ πρὸς Νεστόριον ἐν ἡμέρᾳ Ἰωάννου τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ. *Gennadius c. 55 Theodorus Ancyranus Galatiæ episcopus scripsit adversum Nestorium adhuc Ephesi positus librum redargutionis et confutationis dialectica quidem arte ordinatum sed auctoritate sacrarum Scripturarum detextum. Multis enim adsertionibus usus est antequam Scripturarum testimonia poneret.*
- 225 *Cyrillus* succeeds *Theophilus* at Alexandria Oct. 18 A. D. 412: *Tables p. 583*. Opposed to the Nestorians: A. D. 428 p. 611. Influences the council of Ephesus against *Nestorius* in 431: p. 615. *Cyril* died in 444.<sup>k</sup>
- 226 *Philippus Sidetes*. *Tables A. D. 426 p. 607*.
- 227 *Leporius*. *Gennad. c. 59 Leporius adhuc monachus, postea presbyter, præsumens de puritate vitæ, quam arbitrio tantum et conatu proprio non Dei se adjutorio obtinuisse crediderat, Pelagianum dogma cœperat sequi. Sed a Gallicanis doctoribus admonitus et in Africa per Augustinum a Deo emendatus scripsit Emendationis suce libellum, in quo et satisfacit de errore et gratias agit de emendatione. Simul et quod male senserat de incarnatione Christi corrigens catholicam sententiam tulit, dicens manentibus in Christo duabus naturis unam credi Filii Dei personam.* The time of *Leporius* is determined by the times of *Pelagius* and *Augustine*, between the years 413 and 430.
- 228 *Philostorgius*<sup>l</sup>. His history ends at A. D. 425: *Tables p. 605*. He mentions his parents and his time IX. 9 ἐν Βορισσῳ (κώμη δὲ τῆς δευτέρας Καππαδοκίας τὸ χωρίον) πρεσβύτερος Ἀνύσιος ᾧκει, υἱοὺς μὲν τέσσαρας ἔχων θυγατέρα δὲ μίαν ἧς Εὐλάμπιος μὲν ἢ ὀνομασία. Φιλο-

—ἐκεῖ δὴ καὶ τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς παῖδας μετρίως διέξεισιν—*Nicephorus* adds ἄριστοι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἕτεροι λόγοι πεπύθνηται—ὃν οἶμαι πάντων τὰ πρῶτα φέρεσθαι ὃν πρὸς Ἕλληνας ἐπιγράφει, καὶ τὰ πρὸς Εὐλόγιον. κεφάλαια δὲ συντάττει ἄλλα μὲν εἰς πλάτος ἠπλωμένα· πολλὰ δὲ συντεμῶν εὐσύνοπτον οἶον καὶ πρόχειρον τὸν πνευματικὸν καρπὸν.—*Μάρκος* δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς πολλὰ μὲν συγγράμματα καταλείπειν, ἀσκητικὴ πρότερον πολιτεία ἐγγυμασάμενος. *De Nilō Photius Cod. 276 ἀνεγνώσθη τοῦ μακαρίου Νεῖλου ἐκ τοῦ εἰς τὸ πάσχα λόγου πρώτου· οὗ ἡ ἀρχὴ* “Ἀναστάσεως λόγοις τὴν τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἡμέραν τιμήσωμεν”— p. 1532 ἐκ τοῦ λόγου δευτέρου. p. 1536 ἐκ τοῦ εἰς τὴν ἀνάληψιν ἄ λόγου. p. 1537 ἐκ τοῦ εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἑορτὴν γ' λόγου. For the works of *Nilus* see *Fabricius tom. 10 p. 3—17*.

<sup>k</sup> *Noris. tom. 1 p. 404* “*Teste Athanasio ex Cyrilli sorore Isidora nepote sedit magnæ Alexandriæ civitatis XXXII annis archiepiscopus* [sc. A. D. 412—444]—*Athanasius conquestus de injuriis sibi a Dioscuro post Cyrilli avunculi mortem irrogatis ait omnia hæc adversum me—perpetrata in totis octo hodie annis eo circumveniente me &c. Hic libellus recitatus est III Id. Oct. Marciano Aug. consule A. D. 451—Chalcedone.—Quare Cyrillus decessit A. D. 444.*” *Theophanes p. 84 A* places the death of *Cyril* at a wrong date: *Theodosii 39<sup>o</sup>* [A. D. 446] τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει Κύριλλος Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ Πρόκλος ΚΠ. εὐσεβῶς ἐκομήθησαν—*Κύριλλον δὲ Διόσκορος ὁ δυσσεβῆς διεδέξατο.*

The character of *Cyril* is given by *Isidorus Pelusiota Ep. I. 310. 370* quoted by *Nicephorus XIV. 53*

p. 567 πολλοὶ γὰρ σε κωμφοῦσι τῶν συνελεγμένων εἰς Ἐφεσον [in *Phot. D. 431*] ὡς οἰκείαν ἀμυνόμενον ἔχθραν ἀλλ' οὐ τὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὀρθοδόξως ζητοῦντα, ἀδελφίδους ἔστι, φασί, Θεοφίλου, μιμούμενος ἐκείνου τὴν γνώμην. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐκείνος μανίαν σαφῆ κατεσκέδασε κατὰ τοῦ θεοφύρου καὶ θεοφίλου Ἰωάννου [N<sup>o</sup> 192], οὕτως ἐπιθυμῆι καυχῆσθαι καὶ οὗτος, εἰ καὶ πολὺ τῶν κρινόμενων ἐστὶ τὸ διάφορον. His conduct to the Novatians has been described already at N<sup>o</sup> 155.

<sup>l</sup> *Phot. Cod. 40 ἀνεγνώσθη Φιλοστοργίου, Ἀρειανοῦ τὴν θρησκείαν, ὡς δὴθεν ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ἱστορία. ἱστορεῖ δὲ πάναντία σχεδὸν ἅπασιν τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς ἱστορικοῖς, ἐξαιρεῖ τοὺς ἀρειανίζοντας ἅπαντας, λοιδορίας πλύνει τοὺς ὀρθοδόξους, ὡς εἶναι τὴν ἱστορίαν αὐτοῦ μὴ ἱστορίαν μᾶλλον ἀλλ' ἐγκώμιον μὲν τῶν αἰρετικῶν ψόγον δὲ γυμνὸν καὶ κατηγορίαν τῶν ὀρθοδόξων. ἔστι δὲ τὴν φράσιν κομψὸς κ. τ. λ.—ἱστορεῖ δὲ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀρείου περὶ τὴν αἴρεσιν σπουδῆς τε καὶ κατάρξεως μέχρι τῆς Ἀετίου τοῦ δυσσεβεστάτου ἀνακλήσεως.—καὶ ἡ μὲν ἱστορία αὐτοῦ δι' ἐνὸς βιβλίου τόμοις ἕξ συμπληρουμένη μέχρι τούτου πρόεισι τοῦ χρόνου. ἔστι δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ ψευδολόγος τε καὶ οὐδὲ μυθολογίας ἀπεχόμενος. ἐξαιρεῖ δὲ ἐν μὲν λόγοις μάλιστα Ἀέτιον καὶ Εὐνόμιον—ἐν τεραστίοις δὲ καὶ βίβῳ Εὐσέβιον τὸν Νικομηδείας [N<sup>o</sup> 116], ὃν καὶ μέγαν ἀποκαλεῖ, καὶ Θεόφιλον τὸν Ἰνδὸν καὶ ἄλλους πλείονας, κατηγορεῖ δὲ Ἀκακίου μάλιστα τοῦ Καισαρείας τῆς κατὰ Παλαιστίνην ἐπισκοπήσαντος [N<sup>o</sup> 131].—καὶ ταῦτα μὲν μοι ἤδη ἀνεγνώστο, μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἐν ἄλλῳ βιβλίῳ καὶ ἕτεροι αὐτοῦ λόγοι ἐξ, ὡς συμπληροῦσθαι αὐτῷ τὴν σύμψασαν πραγματείαν ἐν λόγοις ιβ'.*



στόργιον δὲ ἐγείνατο τὸν ταῦτα γεγραφότα· ὁ δὲ ταύτης ἀνὴρ Καρτέριος ὄνομα τὴν Εὐνομίον δόξαν ἐτίμα. X. 6 αὐτὸν [sc. *Eunomium*] φησι Φιλοστόργιος εἰκοστὸν ἔτος ἄγων ἐν ΚΠ. παραγεγυῶς θεάσασθαι. *Eunomius* was at CP. in the reign of *Theodosius*, before his exile, within A. D. 380 and 388. Within this period he was seen by *Philostorgius*, who was accordingly 20 years of age between the years 380 and 388.

229 *Synesius*<sup>m</sup>. Tables A. D. 399 p. 547. His discourse *περὶ βασιλείας* in 399: *Ibid.* Suidas p. 3451 A *Συνέσιος Πενταπόλεως τῆς ἐν Λιβύῃ Θηβαΐδος, φιλόσοφος, ἐπίσκοπος Πτολεμαῖδος τῶν ἱερατικῶν γενόμενος. ἔγραψε βιβλία διάφορα γραμματικά τε καὶ φιλόσοφα, καὶ λόγους βασιλικούς κ. τ. λ.—καὶ τὰς θαυμαζομένας ἐπιστολάς.* Conf. *Eudociam* p. 388 *Evagrium* I. 15 *Nicephorum* H. E. XIV. 55.

230 *Isidorus Pelusiota*. The disciple of *Chrysostom*. See *Nicephorus* XIV. 53 quoted at N<sup>o</sup> 223. *Isidorus* condemned *Cyril* for his conduct in the council of Ephesus. See above N<sup>o</sup> 225.<sup>n</sup>

231 *Victorinus Massiliensis*. Gennad. c. 60 *Victorinus rhetor Massiliensis ad filii sui Etherii personam commentatus est in Genesin, id est, a principio libri usque ad obitum patriarchæ Abrahamæ tres diversos edidit libros Christiano quidem et pio sensu, sed utpote sæculari literatura occupatus homo, et nullius magisterio in divinis scripturis exercitatus, levioris ponderis sententiam figuravit. Moritur Theodosio et Valentiniano regnantibus.* Within A. D. 425—450.

232 *Cassianus*. Described in the Tables A. D. 401 p. 551 and in this Volume c. 5 p. 239 g. He still lived in 433. Tables p. 619.<sup>o</sup>

233 *Socrates*<sup>p</sup>. Instructed by *Helladius* and *Ammonius*: Tables A. D. 389 p. 521. *Socrates* is described at A. D. 395 p. 533. His history terminates at A. D. 439: p. 625.

<sup>m</sup> *Synesius* Ep. 66 *Theophilo Alexandrino* marks the period of his appointment to the episcopate: p. 206 Ἰωάννη τῷ μακαρίτῃ—τιμάσθω γὰρ παρ' ἡμῶν ἡ μνήμη τοῦ τελευτήσαντος. p. 207 Α τοῦτ' ἐν ἔτος ἦδη τρίτον ἐξήκει μετὰ τὴν ἀμνηστίαν καὶ τὰς διαλλαγάς. [that is, after the appointment of *Atticus* to CP. who is named p. 206 D]—ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ οὔτε πόρρωθεν ἐνετράφημ' τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς ἱεροῖς οὔτε ἦδη μοι καθέκει πολλὰ μεμαθηκέαι πέρυσιν οὕτω γεγονότι τοῦ καταλόγου. *Chrysostom* therefore was now dead; three years had passed since that event, and *Synesius* had been scarcely a year a bishop. But as *Chrysostom* died in Sept. A. D. 407, the episcopate of *Synesius* is fixed to the close of A. D. 409.

His brother *Euoptius*, to whom so many of his letters are addressed (see Ep. 3 p. 160), was his successor in the episcopate and was present at the council of Ephesus in 431: *Acta Concil.* tom. 3 p. 996 D.

The sentiments of *Synesius* upon the office of a bishop are explained in his letter to his brother Ep. 105 p. 247—249 ἀνόητος ἂν εἴην εἰ μὴ πολλὴν χάριν εἰδείην Πτολεμαίους—quoted by *Nicephorus* XIV. 55 p. 571 C. *Photius* Cod. 26 ἀνεγνώσθη ἐπισκόπου Κυρήνης, Συνέσιος αὐτῷ ὄνομα, Περὶ προνοίας, Περὶ βασιλείας καὶ Περὶ ἄλλων τινῶν τὴν μὲν φράσιν ὑψηλὸς καὶ ὄγκον ἔχων, ἀποκλίνων δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ ποιητικώτερον. ἀνεγνώσθησαν δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπιστολαὶ διάφοροι, χάριτος καὶ ἠδονῆς ἀποστάζουσαι.—ἦν δ' οὗτος ἐξ Ἑλλήνων, φιλοσοφία σχολάζων κ. τ. λ. The mistake of *Photius* in calling him the bishop of Cyrene has been noticed by *Fabricius* and others.

<sup>n</sup> *Isidori* Ep. I. 311 Θεοδοσίῳ βασιλεῖ was written at the time of the council of Ephesus A. D. 431: εἰ μὲν αὐτὸς λαμβάνη καιροῦ παρέρχεται τοῖς κρινομένοις ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, προσέσθαι τούτοις εὐ οἶδα τὸ ἀμειπτον κ. τ. λ.

<sup>o</sup> *Mosheim* Ecclesiastical History Vol. 1 p. 425. 427 affirms of *Cassianus* that he took a middle course between *Pelagius* and *Augustine*. His followers were *Faustus* (N<sup>o</sup> 264), *Vincentius Lirinensis*, and *Gennadius Massiliensis*. His opponents were *Augustine* and *Prosper*.

<sup>p</sup> *Photius* Cod. 28 ἀνεγνώσθη Σωκράτους ἐκκλησιαστικῆ ἱστορία ἐφεξῆς οὖσα τῆς Εὐσεβίου· ἄρχεται μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς Κωνσταντινῶν βασιλείας καὶ κάτεισιν ἕως τῆς τοῦ νέου Θεοδοσίου βασιλείας. ὁ δὲ συγγραφεὺς παρὰ Ἀμμωνίῳ καὶ Ἑλλαδίῳ τοῖς Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι γραμματικοῖς φοιτῶν ἔτι παῖς ὢν τὰ τῆς γραμματικῆς ἐδιδάσκετο, Ἑλληνιστοῖς οὖσι καὶ διὰ στάσιν ἐκπεσοῦσι τῆς πατρίδος καὶ ἐν ΚΠ. διατρίβουσιν. περιέχει δὲ ἡ βιβλος χρόνον ἑτῶν ρμ'. ἡ δὲ πᾶσα ἱστορία ἐν τόμοις αὐτῷ συντίθεται ἐπτά. ἡ δὲ φράσις οὐδὲν ἔχει ἀξιώλογον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς δόγμασιν οὐ λίαν ἐστὶν ἀκριβής.

*Socrates* I. 13 conversed with a Novatian who remembered the council of Nice: Αὐξάνων τις τῆς Ναυατιανῶν ἐκκλησίας πρεσβύτερος μακροβιώτατος γέγονεν· ὅς καὶ τῇ ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνόδῳ κομιδῆ νήπιος ὢν ἅμα τῷ Ἀκεσίῳ παρέβαλλε καὶ τὰ κατὰ Ἀκέσιον [see N<sup>o</sup> 155] ἐμοὶ διηγῆσατο· οὗτος ἐξ ἐκείνων τῶν χρόνων ἄχρι τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ νέου Θεοδοσίου ἐξέτεινε, καὶ νεωτέρῳ μοι σφόδρα τυγχάνοντι τὰ περὶ Εὐτυχιανοῦ διηγῆσατο. *Valesius* ad *Socratem* I. 10 remarks that the interval is 83 years, and on this account with some reason calls in question

- 234 *Sozomenus*. Flourished in the reign of *Theodosius II*, to whom he dedicates in 439. His preface was written after A. D. 443 : p. 629. The history of *Sozomen* begins at the year 324 : Tables p. 377. and terminates at 415 : Tables A. D. 439 p. 625. 627.<sup>9</sup>
- 235 *Philippus presbyter*. The disciple of *Hieronymus*. Died in A. D. 456 : p. 653.
- 236 *Petronius Bononiensis episcopus*. See his time attested by *Eucherius*. Tables A. D. 432 p. 619.
- 237 *Eucherius*. Described at A. D. 432 p. 617. The time of his death is examined at 456 p. 653 and is there referred to A. D. 451. Placed in 449 in a Chronicle quoted in the Tables at A. D. 456 p. 655. See below at N<sup>o</sup> 241. A year below the date of Gennadius.
- 238 *Vincentius Lirinensis*. His work *adversus hæreticos* in A. D. 434 : Tables p. 621.
- 239 *Syagrius*. Gennad. c. 65 *Syagrius scripsit de fide adversum præsumptuosa hæreticorum vocabula quæ ad destruenda vel ad immutanda Sanctæ Trinitatis nomina usurpata sunt &c.*—*Sub hujus Syagrii nomine VII de fide et regulis fidei libros prætitulatos inveni. Sed quia linguam variant non omnes ejus credidi esse.* *Syagrius* is placed by Gennadius between *Vincentius* (N<sup>o</sup> 238) and *Salvianus* (N<sup>o</sup> 246).
- 240 *Dracontius*. Isidorus Hispalensis c. 24 *Dracontius composuit heroicis versibus hexaemeron creationis mundi, et luculenter quod composuit scripsit*<sup>r</sup>. *Eugenii epistola ad Chindasuinthum regem : Clementiæ vestræ jussis, serenissime princeps, plus volendo deserviens quam valendo Dracontii cujusdam libellos multis videns erroribus involutos, Christo Domino tribuente valorem, pro tenuitate mei sensuli subcorrexi*<sup>s</sup> &c.
- Dracontii satisfactio ad Guntharium regem Wandalarum, dum esset in vinculis.* This king according to Arevalus was the brother of *Genserich*, who is described in the Tables at A. D.

the testimony of *Auzanon*. *Socrates* knew the Arian bishop *Timotheus* cir. A. D. 410 : VII. 6 p. 343 τῷ δὴ Τιμοθέῳ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐνετύχηκα καὶ ἔγνων ὅπως τοῖς ἐπερωτώσιν ἔτοιμος ἦν ἀποκρίνασθαι. and the Novatian bishop *Paulus* in 419 : VII. 17 p. 354 A. He passes VII. 32 a moderate judgment upon *Nestorius*, whose errors he ascribes to ignorance : p. 374 A ἐγὼ δὲ ἐντυχὼν τοῖς παρὰ Νεστορίου λόγοις δοθεῖσιν ἀγροῦντα ἐφευρίσκω τὸν ἄνδρα κ. τ. λ. *Socrates* V. 19 received from *Eudæmon*—*Εὐδαίμων τις τῆς ἐκκλησίας πρεσβύτερος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς τὸ γένος*—a transaction of the time of *Nectarius*, within A. D. 382—398 : τὰτα παρὰ τοῦ Εὐδαίμονος ἀκούσας ἐγὼ τῇ γραφῇ τῆδε παραδόναι ἐθάρρησα.

*Socrates* V. 22 p. 282—291 treats fully and clearly of various customs which prevailed in the different churches in his time. He gives VII. 36 a remarkable list of bishops who had been translated to other sees.

At II. 47 he has the date *Ol. 285. 1 Tauro et Florentio coss.* [A. D. 361] where the Olympic year is right. But in the following the Olympic years are wrong.

IV. 38 *Ol. 289. 4 Valente VI Valentiniano II* A. D. 378. The true Olympic year was 289. 2.

V. 26 *Ol. 294. 1 Olybrio et Probino* A. D. 395 instead of *Ol. 293. 3.*

VI. 23 *Ol. 297. 2 Basso et Philippo* May 1 A. D. 408. The true year *Ol. 296. 3.*

VII. 48 A. D. 439 *Ol. 305. 2* instead of 304. 3. See the Tables p. 625.

<sup>9</sup> Photius Cod. 30 ἀνεγνώσθη Σαλαμάνου Ἐρμεῖου Σωζομένου σχολαστικοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικῆ ἱστορία ἐν λόγοις θ'. προσφωνεῖ δὲ τὴν ἱστορίαν πρὸς Θεοδοσίον τὸν νέον. ἀρχεται δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπατείας Κρίσπου καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς Κωνσταντίνου [A. D. 324] καὶ κάτεισι μέχρι τῆς τοῦ νέου Θεοδοσίου βασιλείας. οὗτος δὲ δίκας ἦν λέγων ἐν ΚΠ. [conf. *Sozomenum ipsum* II. 3 p. 446 A] ἔστι δὲ Σωκράτους ἐν τῇ φράσει βελτίων, διαφωνῆ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ κατὰ τινὰς ἱστορίας.

<sup>r</sup> On the position of *Dracontius* in that Catalogue see Areval. prolegom. ad *Dracontium* p. 7.

<sup>s</sup> De *Eugenio* Ildefonsus c. 14 *Eugenius alter post priorem pontifex subrogatur. Hic cum ecclesiæ regia clericus esset egregius, vita monachi delectatus est.—Libellos quoque Dracontii de creatione mundi conscriptos, quos antiquitas protulerat vitiatos,—subtrahendo immutando vel meliorando ita in pulchritudinis formam coëgit ut pulchriores de artificio corrigentis quam de manu processisse videantur auctoris. Et quia de die septimo idem Dracontius omnimodo reticendo simplenum opus visus est reliquisse, iste et sex dierum recapitulationem singulis versibus renovit et de die septimo quæ illi visa sunt eleganter dicta subjunxit. Clarus habitus fuit temporibus Cinthasuindi et Reccesuindi regum fere XII annis tenens dignitatem simul et gloriam sacerdotis. Chintasuinthus began to reign A. D. 642 : Pagius tom. 2 p. 827. His son *Reccesuinthus* died in A. D. 672 : Idem tom. 3 p. 64. Within that period *Eugenius* flourished, about 220 years after *Dracontius*.*



428 p. 610. Under him "anno circiter 425 *Dracontius* in *Bætica* sub *Vandalorum* ditione vivebat et carmina quæ nunc habemus dum vinculis detineretur conscribebat." Arevalus prolegom. p. 74.

- 241 *Hilarius*. Gennad. c. 69 *Hilarius Arelatensis episcopus, vir in Sanctis Scripturis doctus, paupertatis amator et erga inopum provisionem non solum mentis pietate sed et corporis sui sollicitus labore fuit &c.*—*Ingenio vero immortalis aliqua et parva edidit quæ eruditæ animæ et fidelis linguæ indicio sunt; in quibus præcipue et ad multorum utilitatem necessario opere Vitam sancti Honorati prædecessoris sui composuit. Moritur Valentiniano et Marciano regnantibus.* He presided at a council in A. D. 439: *Synodus Regiensis in secunda provincia Narbonensi* Pagius tom. 2 p. 278. *Acta Concil.* tom. 4 p. 537 *Ego Hilarius episcopus—his definitionibus sub die III Kal. Dec. Theodosio Aug. XVII et Festo VV. CC. consulibus subscripsi.* He died in 449: *Chronicon Tironis Prosperi* (if this is to be trusted; quoted in the *Tables* p. 655 at the year 456) apud *Prosperum Opp.* tom. 2 p. 150 *Anno [sc. a morte Honorii] XXVI Eucherius Lugdunensis episcopus et Hilarius Arelatensis egregiam vitam morte consummant.* *Honorius* died A. D. 423. But this date A. D. 449 is confirmed by *Leo Romanus* Ep. 36 marked in the *Tables* p. 639. *Ad episcopos per Arelatensem Galliæ provinciam constitutos.*—*Quod ergo in Arelatensium civitate, defuncto sanctæ memoriæ Hilario, virum etiam nobis probatum fratrem Ravennium, secundum desideria cleri honoratorum et plebis unanimiter consecrastis.*—*Data II Kal. Sept. Asterio et Protogene coss.*
- 242 *Theodoretus Cyri episcopus*<sup>t</sup>. His *History* ends in A. D. 429: p. 613. It was written within 443—450: p. 631 A. D. 444. *Theodoret* was deposed by the council of *Ephesus*—the

<sup>t</sup> He was the disciple of *Chrysostom*. See *Nicephorus* quoted above at N° 223. *Theodoret* speaks of his early life Ep. 81 tom. 4 p. 1140 *Νόμῳ ὑπάτῳ [sc. cos. A. D. 445].—πρὸ αὐτῆς τῆς συλλήψεως ὑπέσχοντό με τῷ Θεῷ προσφέρειν οἱ φύσαντες, καὶ ἐκ σπαργάνων κατὰ τὰς ἐπαγγελίας ἀνέθηκαν [conf. *Hist. Rel.* c. 13 tom. 3 p. 1213, 1215], τροφῆς τοιαυτῆς ἤξισαν. ἐν μοναστηρίῳ τὸν πρὸ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς διατελέσας χρόνον ἄκων τὴν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἐδεξάμην χειροτονίαν. πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι διετέλεσα ἔτη οὔτε κατετευχθεὶς ὑπὸ τινος οὔτε αἰτισάμενος ἕτερον.* Ep. 80 *Eutrechio præfecto* tom. 4 p. 1138 *ἀρχιερεὺς δὲ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι ἐπισκοπήσας ἔτη, καὶ τὸν πρὸ τούτου χρόνον ἐν ἀσκητηρίῳ βιώσας, οὐκ ἐνόησας ποτὲ δικαστήριον οὐδὲ παρά του πώποτε γραφὴν ὑπομείνας.* As he was appointed bishop in 423, these epistles are fixed to A. D. 448. Wherefore in Ep. 81 we must either interpret ὑπάτῳ *consulari* or read with *Baronius* ὑπατικῷ. *Theodoret* had been approved by *Theodotus* and *Joannes*: Ep. 83 *Dioscoro episcopo* p. 1146 *ἔξ μὲν γὰρ ἔτη διετέλεσα διδάσκων ἐπὶ τοῦ τῆς μακαρίας καὶ ὁσίας μνήμης Θεοδοῦτος τῆς Ἀντιοχείων ἐπικόπου [Tables A. D. 429 p. 613] ὃς καὶ βίῳ λαμπρῷ καὶ τῇ τῶν θείων δογμάτων ἐκκόσμητο γνώσει' τρίς καὶ δέκα πάλιν ἕτερα ἐπὶ τοῦ τῆς ὁσίας καὶ μακαρίας μνήμης Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, ὃς τοσοῦτον ἐγάνυτο διαλεγόμενων ἡμῶν ὡς ἄμφω τῷ χεῖρι κινεῖν καὶ διανίστασθαι πολλάκις.* He mentions his works Ep. 145 *monachis CP.* tom. 4 p. 1245 *ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔργον εἶχοντες τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀποστολικῶν δογμάτων ἀγῶνας καὶ τοῖς τοῦ κυρίου ποιμνίοις τὴν διδασκαλικὴν προσφέρομεν πᾶν, καὶ πρὸς τούτους πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα συνεγράψαμεν βίβλους, τὴν τε θείαν γραφὴν ἐρμη-*

*νεύοντες καὶ τὸ τῶν αἱρέσεων διελέγοντες ψεῦδος.* He again mentions his works Ep. 113 *Leoni* in A. D. 449: p. 1191 *ἔστι γὰρ μοι τὰ μὲν πρὸ εἴκοσι ἐτῶν συγγεγραμμένα τὰ δὲ πρὸ ὀκτωκαίδεκα τὰ δὲ πρὸ πεντεκαίδεκα τὰ δὲ πρὸ δυοκαίδεκα τὰ μὲν πρὸς Ἀρειανούς καὶ Εὐνομιανούς τὰ δὲ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους καὶ Ἕλληνας τὰ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Περσίδι μάγους, ἄλλα περὶ τῆς καθόλου προνοίας, ἕτερα δὲ περὶ θεολογίας καὶ τῆς θείας ἐνανθρωπήσεως. ἡρμήνευταί μοι διὰ τὴν θείαν χάριν καὶ τὰ ἀποστολικὰ συγγράμματα καὶ τὰ προφητικὰ θεοπύσματα.* In this epistle to *Leo* in 449 he speaks of his old age: p. 1192 *τὸ συκοφαντούμενον καὶ μάτην πολεμούμενόν μου γῆρας τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀξιώσαι κηδεμονίας.*

Gennadius c. 89 *Theodoretus Cyri civitatis episcopus —dicitur scripsisse multa; ad meam tamen notitiam ista sunt que venerunt &c.* *Sunt et ejus decem H. E. libri* [conf. *Fabric. et Cyprian. ad locum p. 40*] *quos imitatus Eusebium Cæsariensem scripsit, incipiens a fine librorum Eusebii usque ad suum tempus, id est, a vicennialibus Constantini usque ad imperium Leonis senioris, sub quo et mortuus est.* *Marcellin. Leone Aug. III solo cos.* [A. D. 466] *Theodoritus episcopus Cyri civitatis scripsit de incarnatione Domini adversus Eutychem presbyterum et Dioscorum &c.* A metachronism of many years. If, according to Gennadius, he reached the reign of *Leo*, he probably died in A. D. 457, many years before the date at which *Marcellinus* supposes him to be writing against *Eutyches*.

The diocese of *Theodoret* contained 800 parishes: Ep. 113 p. 1190 *ἐν ὀκτακοσίαις ἐκκλησίαις ἔλαχον ποιμαίνειν τοσαύτας γὰρ ἡ Κύρος παροικίας ἔχει.*

- ληστρική σύνοδος in which *Dioscorus* presided—when he had held his episcopate 26 years: Ep. 113 *Leoni episcopo Romano* tom. 4 p. 1189. 1190 ὁ γὰρ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας δικαιοτάτος πρόεδρος [sc. *Dioscorus*] οὐκ ἠρέσθη τῇ ἀνόμῳ ταύτῃ καὶ ἀδικωτάτῃ καθαιρέσει τοῦ—Φλαβιανοῦ—ἡμᾶς δὲ—κατέκρινεν ὡς ἠθέλησεν.—ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδύρομαι μὲν τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὸν κλύδωνα, τὴν δὲ ἡσυχίαν ἀσπάζομαι· ἐξ γὰρ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη τὴν ἐγγχειρισθεῖσάν μοι παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν ὄλων ἐκκλησίαν ἰθύνων κ. τ. λ. But he was deposed in 449; which determines his appointment to 423. *Theodoret* was restored by the council of Chalcedon in 451: p. 643. See the law of *Marcian* in A. D. 453 p. 647. He is condemned in the 5th council A. D. 553: p. 800.
- 243 *Eutherius Tyanorum episcopus*. De Eutherio conf. Schulze ad *Theodoret* Opp. tom. 5 p. 1113—1174. It appears from the following testimony referred to Ibid. p. 1114 that *Eutherius* was present at the council of Ephesus A. D. 431. Acta Concil. tom. 3 p. 1093 ἀναφορὰ Νεστορίου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐπισκόπων πρὸς τοὺς βασιλέας περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων παρὰ τῇ ἀγίᾳ συνόδῳ γραφεῖσα πρὸ τοῦ παραγενέσθαι ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τὸν Ἀντιοχείας.—καὶ εἰσιν οἱ ὑπογράψαντες Νεστόριος ἐπίσκοπος ΚΠ. κ. τ. λ.—Εὐθέριος ἐπίσκοπος Τυάνων.
- 244 *Leo Romanus*. Appointed bishop in 440: Tables p. 626. Described at A. D. 447: p. 635. *Leo* detects the Manichees in 443: p. 629. Ambassador to *Attila* in 452: p. 645. intercedes with *Genserich* in 455: p. 651. Death of *Leo* in 461: p. 663.<sup>v</sup>
- 245 *Proterius Alexandrinus episcopus*. Successor to *Dioscorus* in 451, slain in 457: Tables A. D. 452 p. 647 A. D. 453 p. 649.<sup>w</sup> *Proterius ad Leonem de Pascha* A. D. 454 p. 649.
- 246 *Salvianus*. A. D. 440 p. 627.
- 247 *Eutyches*. A. D. 448 p. 635.
- 248 *Victor Africanus*. Gennad. c. 77 *Victor Cartennæ Mauritanicæ civitatis episcopus scripsit adversus Arianos librum unum longum quem Genserico regi per suos audiendum obtulit, sicut ex proœmio ipsius libri didici. Et de pœnitentia publicani librum unum in quo et regulam vivendi pœnitentibus juxta Scripturarum auctoritatem instituit, et ad Basilium quendam super morte filii consolatorium librum spe resurrectionis perfecta instructione munitum. Homilias etiam composuit multas, quas a fratribus salutis propriæ sollicitis in libros digestas servari cognovi.* The reign of *Genserich* places *Victor* within A. D. 440—476.
- 249 *Cerealis Afer*. Gennad. c. 96 *Cerealis episcopus natione Afer interrogatus a Maximino Arianorum episcopo si paucis posset vel divinæ Scripturæ testimoniis absque disputationis duntaxat assertione fidem catholicam assignare; quam ille in nomine Domini, suffragante sibi veritate, non paucis testimoniis, sicut Maximinus irridens petierat, sed copiosis tam veteris quam novi Testamenti indicibus approbavit et libello edidit.* The Arian bishop *Maximinus* is mentioned at A. D. 440 p. 626 in the reign of *Genserich*; from whence we collect the time of *Cerealis*.
- 250 *Possideus*. The friend and biographer of *Augustine*: Tables A. D. 430 p. 614. 615.<sup>x</sup>
- 251 *Arnobius junior*. De hoc conf. *Norisium* Hist. Pelag. Opp. tom. 1 p. 448—450. In the Roman synod held by *Gelasius* cir. A. D. 494 apud Acta Concil. tom. 5 p. 390 (quoted apud

<sup>v</sup> His letters are marked in the Tables at the years 443—460, namely at 443 p. 629, at 444 p. 631, at 446 p. 633, 447 p. 635, 448 p. 637, 449. 450 p. 639, at 451 p. 645, at 452 p. 647, at 453. 454 p. 649, 457 p. 657, at 458 p. 659, at 459, 460 p. 661.

<sup>w</sup> *Isidorus Hispal.* c. 10 *Proterius Alexandrinæ antistes ecclesiæ scripsit ad Leonem Romanæ sedis episcopum de festivitate Paschali. Hunc autem Leonis Augusti temporibus Dioscori hæretici successores auctore Timotheo seditione facta crudelissime peremerunt*

*ipsumque Timotheum sibi pro Alexandrino episcopo constituerunt.*

<sup>x</sup> *Isidorus Hispal.* c. 8 *Possidius Africanæ provinciæ episcopus stilo prosecutus est vitam sancti Augustini. Cui etiam operi subiecit Indiculum scriptorum ejus, enumerans quanta idem beatissimus doctor scripserit; ubi plus quam quadringentorum librorum volumina supputantur. Homiliarum vero et epistolarum questionumque infinitus modus est, ut pene vix possit quisquam articulo suo aliena tanta scribere quanta ille proprio labore composuit.*



Noris. tom. 4 p. 923 A) *Arnobius* is named among apocryphal authors: *Opuscula omnia Fausti Manichæi apocrypha, opuscula Commodiani apocrypha,—opuscula Arnobii apocrypha, opuscula Tichonii* [N° 194] *apocrypha, opuscula Cassiani presbyteri Galliarum* [N° 232] *apocrypha,—opuscula Fausti Regensis Galliarum* [see N° 232 note °] *apocrypha*. *Arnobius* therefore flourished before *Gelasius* of *Rome*. That he lived after *Leo* is shewn by *Cave* tom. 1 p. 449 from his commentary on the *Psalms* in which *Leo* is quoted. Therefore between A. D. 461 and 494.

252 *Muscæus*. Tables A. D. 458 p. 657.

253 *Basilius Seleucia episcopus*. The name of *Basilius* is in the council of CP. against *Eutyches* in 448: *Acta Concil.* tom. 4 p. 1021 B. And in the *ληστρικὴ σύνοδος* in favour of *Eutyches* in 449: *Acta Concil.* tom. 4 p. 1184 B. and also in the council of *Chalcedon* A. D. 451: *Ibid.* p. 1736 C. and annexed to the epistle *episcoporum Isauriæ ad Leonem imp.* *Ibid.* tom. 4 p. 1872 A—1875 D—in A. D. 457 or 458, the 1st or 2nd year of *Leo*.

254 *Claudianus Viennensis*. *Gennad.* c. 83 *Claudianus Viennensis ecclesiæ presbyter, vir ad loquendum artifex et ad disputandum subtilis, composuit tres quasi de statu vel de substantia animæ libros in quibus agit intentione tota quatenus ostendat aliquid esse incorporeum præter Deum. Scripsit et alia nonnulla, inter quæ et hymnum de passione Domini cujus principium est "Pange lingua gloriosi."—Fuit autem frater Mamerti Viennensis episcopi.* The friend of *Sidonius Apollinaris* (N° 266).<sup>z</sup>

255 *Cæcilius Sedulius*. *Isidorus Hispal.* c. 7 *Sedulius presbyter edidit tres libros dactylico heroico metro compositos, quorum primus signa et virtutes veteris Testamenti potentissime resonat, reliqui vero gestorum Christi sacramenta et miracula intonant.* *Trithemius* c. 142 *Sedulius—claruit sub Theodosio anno 430.* *Arevali prolegom.* p. 13 "Hæc habemus e MSS. Codd. Quidam exhibet libros suos scripsit tempore *Valentiniani et Theodosii.* alius in tempore *impp. minoris Theodosii filii Arcadii et Valentiniani filii Constantii.* alius in tempore *Valentini et Theodosii.* alius tempore *Theodosii et Valentiniani.* *Sedulius* therefore flourished, as *Arevalus* determines, within A. D. 424<sup>a</sup>—450. His works were collected by *Asterius*, who was consul in A. D. 494. See above c. 2 p. 204 at the year 494.

256 *Prosper Aquitanus*. Addressed *Augustine* on the *Pelagians* A. D. 428.<sup>b</sup> For his *Chronicle* see the Tables A. D. 378 p. 491 A. D. 433 p. 619 A. D. 445 p. 631 and 455 p. 651. *Prosper* still lived in A. D. 463: p. 665.

257 *Victorius Aquitanus*. Tables A. D. 457 p. 657.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>y</sup> According to *Photius* the friend of *Chrysostom*: *Phot. Cod.* 168 *ἀνεγνώσθησαν τοῦ μακαρίου Βασιλείου ἐπισκόπου Σελευκείας λόγοι ἰε' κ.τ. λ.—ἔοικε δὲ οὗτος μάλ- λον εἶναι ἢ ὁ Καισαρείας μέγας Βασιλείος ὁ τῶ τρισμακα- ρίστῳ Ἰωάννῃ τῷ Χρυσσοστόμῳ φίλος γεγονώς καὶ ὁμωρό- φιος, πρὸς ὃν καὶ ὁ Περὶ ἱερωσύνης λόγος συντέτακται· πολλὰ γὰρ ἴχνη τῶν ἐκείνου καὶ λόγων καὶ νοημάτων, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν κατὰ τὴν θείαν γραφὴν, ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Βασιλείου λόγοις ἐπιφαίνεται, ὡς ἂν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πηγῆς τῶν μαθη- μάτων ἀρυσσασμένων ἄμφω τὰ πρόσφορα.—ἔστι δὲ Βασιλείος οὗτος ὁ καὶ μέτροις ἐκτείνας τὰ τῆς πρωτομάρτυρος Θέκλης ἔργα καὶ ἄθλα καὶ νικητήρια· καὶ ἄλλα δὲ αὐτοῦ συγγράμ- ματα φέρονται.* See *Cave* tom. 1 p. 441 who reasonably doubts the account that *Chrysostom* addressed *Basil* of *Seleucia*. That treatise was composed before A. D. 386,—*Basil* was still living in A. D. 458.

<sup>z</sup> Apud *Sidonium Ep.* IV. 2 *Claudianus Sidonius papa S.* is a letter from *Claudian* himself. *Sidonius Ep.* IV. 11 writes the epitaph of *Claudian*: *Sidonius Petreio suo salutem. Angit me nimis damnnum sæculi mei, nuper erepto avunculo tuo Claudiano.—Ejus hoc carmen est "Germani decus et dolor Mamerci" &c.—Ecce quod carmen cum primum affui super unanimi fratris ossa conscripsi.*

<sup>a</sup> Rather A. D. 425.

<sup>b</sup> Apud *Augustinum Ep.* 225 ed. Ven. *Prosper Augustino de reliquiis Pelagianæ hæreseos in Gallia—clam succrescentibus.* *Augustin.* Opp. tom. 7. 2 p. 646 ed. Lugdun. On *Prosper's* cycle of 84 years see c. 2 p. 182 o 185 c 191 o 194 a.

<sup>c</sup> On his list of consuls see c. 2 p. 181 seq.

- 258 *Gennadius CP. episcopus.* Appointed successor to *Flavianus* in 458, died in 471: p. 675. Memorials of *Gennadius* at A. D. 470 p. 673.
- 259 *Isaac Antiochenus.* A. D. 459 p. 661.
- 260 *Sabas.* Born Jan. A. D. 439, died in December A. D. 532 in his 94th year<sup>d</sup>.
- 261 *Samuel Edessenus.* Tables A. D. 467 p. 669.
- 262 *Vincentius presbyter.* Gennad. c. 80 *Vincentius presbyter, et ipse natione Gallus, in divinis Scripturis exercitatus linguam habens usu loquendi et majore lectione politam, commentatus est in psalmos. Cujus operis legit aliqua homini Dei Cannatæ, me audiente, promittens simul, si Dominus vitam et vires daret, se in toto psalterio eodem studio laboraturum.* Therefore still living in A. D. 493.
- 263 *Idatius Lemicanus.* Memorials of himself are in the Tables A. D. 407 p. 569 A. D. 427 p. 609. His captivity A. D. 460 p. 661. Conclusion of his Chronicle A. D. 468 p. 669. 671. It began at the 1st year of *Theodosius* and included the 12th of *Leo* A. D. 379—468: Tables A. D. 429 p. 609.
- 264 *Faustus Regii Galliarum episcopus.* We collect that he still lived in 493 when *Gennadius* wrote<sup>e</sup>.
- 265 *Gelasius Cyzicenus.* Described in the Tables A. D. 475 p. 683. 685.
- 266 *C. Sollius Apollinaris Sidonius.* A youth in 449: Tables 449. 3 p. 637. Married the daughter of *Avitus*: 456. 3 p. 655. He is at *Arelate* in 461: p. 663. at *Rome* in 467: p. 669. *Panegyricus Avito* A. D. 456 p. 653. *Panegyricus Majoriano* A. D. 458 p. 657. 659. *Panegyricus Anthemio* A. D. 468 p. 669. 671.<sup>f</sup>
- 267 *Euthalius.* A. D. 458 p. 659.
- 268 *Theodulus.* A. D. 478 p. 691.

<sup>d</sup> According to *Cyrillus in vita Sabæ apud Norisium* tom. 1 p. 584 *A. Sabas* was born *Theodosio A. XVII cos.* and in January: *Cyrillus apud Norisium* p. 583 *D Incipiente 91<sup>o</sup> ætatis anno Sabæ—Theodosius jam senex et plenus dierum—ad cælum transivit mense Januario die XI indictione VII.* sc. Jan. 11 A. D. 529. *Sabas* died according to *Cyrillus apud Sam. Basnage* tom. 3 p. 698 *ætatis suæ anno 94<sup>o</sup> post consulatum Lampadii et Orestis II sexto præsentis a Deo protecti imperii 5<sup>o</sup> Decembris mensis indictione decima.* Sc. Dec. 5 A. D. 532, when the 6th of *Justinian* was current. But in December of 532 the eleventh indiction was current, as *Basnage* observes; and may be restored to the text of *Cyrillus*. The 94th year commenced, as we learn from the preceding epochs, in Jan. A. D. 532. As I have not access to the work of *Cyrillus* himself, I give the evidence from the reports of *Norisius Pagi* and *Basnage*.

<sup>e</sup> *Gennad. c. 85 Faustus ex abbate Lerinensis monasterii apud Regium Gallie episcopus factus, vir in divinis Scripturis satis intentus, ex traditione symboli occasione accepta composuit librum de Spiritu Sancto &c.—Edidit quoque opus egregium de gratia Dei qua salvamur et libero humanæ mentis arbitrio &c.—Legi ejus et adversus Arianos et Macedonianos parvum libellum in quo coessentialem prædicat Trinitatem, et alium adversus eos qui dicunt esse in creaturis aliquid incorporeum.—Est et ejus epistola in modum libelli ad diaconum quendam Gratium nomine edita, qui a fide ca-*

*tholica discedens ad Nestorianam abiit impietatem.—Sunt vero et alia ejus scripta, quæ, quia necdum legi, nominare nolui. Viva tamen voce egregius doctor et creditur et probatur. Scripsit postea ad Felicem præfectum prætorii et patriciæ dignitatis virum filium Magni consulis [A. D. 466], jam religiosum, epistolam ad timorem Dei hortatoriam &c.* On *Faustus* see above N<sup>o</sup> 232 note o N<sup>o</sup> 251 Tables A. D. 497 p. 715.

<sup>f</sup> *Sidonius* after A. D. 468 became a bishop: *Gennad. c. 92 Sidonius Arvernorum episcopus scripsit varia et grata opuscula et sanæ doctrinæ. Homo siquidem tam divinis quam humanis ad integrum imbutus acerbique ingenio scripsit ad diversos diverso metro vel prosa compositum epistolarum insigne volumen, in quo quid in literis posset ostendit. Verum in Christiano vigore polens etiam inter barbaræ ferocitatis duritiem quæ eo tempore Gallos opprimerat catholicus pater et doctor habetur insignis. Floruit ea tempestate qua Leo et Zeno Romanis imperabant.* The period assigned is within A. D. 457—490. But *Sidonius* began to be eminent in the reign of *Marcian* and died in the reign of *Zeno*. *Sidonius* Ep. IX. 12 (quoted by *Savaron* in *Vita* c. 10) attests that he was at least 12 years a bishop: *Desidiæ nostræ verecundia comes ad hoc sententiam inclinat ut me postquam in silentio decurri tres Olympiadas tam pudeat novum poema conficere, quam pigeat.* Written therefore at least 12 years after A. D. 468.



- 269 *Victor Vitensis*. A. D. 488 p. 703.
- 270 *Joannes Antiochenus*. Still living in A. D. 493 : Tables p. 711.
- 271 *Eugenius*. A. D. 483 p. 696 A. D. 493 p. 711. Died in 505 : p. 721.
- 272 *Gelasius Romanus*. He was appointed March 2 A. D. 492 and died Nov. 19 A. D. 496 : Tables p. 709 p. 713.<sup>g</sup>
- 273 *Pomerius*. A. D. 493 p. 711.
- 274 *Gennadius*. A. D. 493 p. 709. 711.
- 275 *Basilius Cilix*. His work is described from Photius at A. D. 500 p. 717 A. D. 520 p. 739.
- 276 *Cæsarius Arelatensis episcopus*. Already bishop in A. D. 506 : Tables p. 723. Present at a council at Arelate in 524 : Acta Concil. tom. 5 p. 765 *Cæsarius in Christi nomine episcopus definitionem hanc—relegi et subscripsi. Not. sub die VIII Idus Junias Opilione V. C. consule* [June 6 A. D. 524]. and at the synod of Arausio in 529 : Acta Concil. tom. 5 p. 814 *Cæsarius in Christi nomine episcopus constitutionem nostram relegi et subscripsi. Not. sub die V Non. Julias Decio Junio V. C. consule* [July 3 A. D. 529].<sup>h</sup>
- 277 *Ennodius*. A. D. 510 p. 727.
- 278 *Alcimus Avitus*. Described in the Tables at A. D. 496 p. 712. 713. See 497 p. 715. Managed a conference in 501 : p. 717. 719. Still living in A. D. 517 : p. 733. 735.
- 279 *Fulgentius Ruspensis*. Tables A. D. 497 p. 715. Auctor vitæ apud Basnage tom. 3 p. 605 *Beatum spiritum feliciter in manus Domini tradidit, annum sui episcopatus agens XXV vitæ autem totius LXV*. He died Jan. 1, and, as Basnage calculates tom. 3 p. 704, A. D. 533. which would fix the episcopate at A. D. 508—532.
- 280 *Theodorus anagnostes*. Suidas p. 1864 B Θεόδωρος ἀπὸ ἀναγνωστῶν τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας ΚΠ. ἔγραψεν ἱστορίαν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἀπὸ τῶν χρόνων Κωνσταντίνου ἕως τῆς βασιλείας Ἰουστινιανοῦ. Nicephorus H. E. I. 1 p. 35 after mentioning *Sozomenus Theodoretus Philostorgius Socrates* proceeds ἐντεῦθεν πάλιν ὁ Βυζάντιος ἀναγνωστῆς Θεόδωρος καὶ ὁ Κίλιξ Βασίλειος [N<sup>o</sup> 275] καὶ ὁ ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων Εὐάγριος [N<sup>o</sup> 317] τὰ τῶν ἀνωτέρω χρόνων καὶ πρὸ αὐτῶν ὑπερβάντες οἱ μὲν τοὺς οἰκείου χρόνου τοῖς ἐκέλευον παρέξευξαν, τὸ τῆς πραγματείας δυσχερὲς ὑπολογισάμενοι ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ τὸν βίον τῷ συγγράφειν ἀπολιπόντες τὴν τῆς ἐπιβολῆς ὑπόστασιν ἤκιστα συνετέλεσαν. *Theodorus* therefore flourished in the reign of *Justinian*. Fragments of *Theodorus* down to the reign of *Anastasius* (conf. p. 583) are in *Valesius* p. 551—584.
- 281 *Fulgentius Ferrandus*. Victor Tun. *Post cons. Basilii V. C. anno VI* [A. D. 546 *Victori Ferrandus Carthaginis ecclesie diaconus clarus habetur*. *Facundus* IV. 3 *Pelagius et Anatolius Romani diaconi—laudabilis in Christo memorie Ferrando Carthaginensi diacono scripserunt &c.* *Ferrandus* therefore was already dead when *Facundus* wrote; and *Facundus*

<sup>g</sup> His epistles are quoted at A. D. 493 p. 709 A. D. 494 p. 711 A. D. 495 p. 713.

<sup>h</sup> *Venantius Fortunatus* V. 2, 68

*Regula Cæsarii præsulis alma fui  
Qui fuit antistes Arelas, de sorte Lirini,  
Et mansit monachus pontificale decus.*

This work of *Cæsarius* is mentioned by Greg. Tur. H. Fr. IX. 39 *Cæsarii Arelatensis episcopi Constituta*. c. 40 *Arelatensem urbem expetunt de qua regula sancti Cæsarii atque Cæsariæ beatæ suscepta*. Gennad. c. 86 *Cæsarius Arelatensis urbis episcopus, vir sanctitate et virtutibus ceber, scripsit egregia et grata et valde monachis necessaria opuscula. De gratia quoque et libero arbitrio edidit testimonia divinarum Scriptura-*

*rum et sanctorum patrum judiciis munita, ubi docet hominem nihil de proprio agere boni posse nisi eum divina gratia prævenierit. Quod opus etiam papa Felix per suam epistolam roboravit* [A. D. 528 *Felices epistola III* apud Acta Concil. tom. 5 p. 799 *Cæsario. Data III Non. Februar. P. C. Mavortii V. C.*] *et in latius promulgavit. Floruit hic eo tempore quo et Faustus* [N<sup>o</sup> 264], *Anastasio remp. administrante.*

*Fabricius* observes ad *Gennadium* p. 39 that in 493 when *Gennadius* wrote *Cæsarius* was not yet bishop, and the letter of *Felix* not yet written. Whence he concludes that this chapter (which is also absent from most MSS.) was added by some other writer.

- wrote cir. A. D. 547: Tables p. 783. The disciple of *Fulgentius Ruspensis*. See the testimonies quoted by Basnage tom. 3 p. 704.
- 282 *Aprigius*. Tables A. D. 531 p. 753.
- 283 *Cyrillus Scythopolites*. The author of the life of *Sabas* quoted above at N° 260. This work—*βλος τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Σαβᾶ*—was written about A. D. 555.<sup>i</sup>
- 284 *Justinus Hispanus* }  
285 *Justus Hispanus* } A. D. 534 p. 759.
- 286 *Cosmas Indicopleustes*. A. D. 548 p. 787. 789.
- 287 *Aurelianus Arelatensis episcopus*. A. D. 546 p. 785.
- 288 *Julianus Halicarnassensis*. Banished with *Severus* in 539.<sup>j</sup>
- 289 *Benedictus Casinensis*. Petrus diaconus, bibliothecarius Casinensis, c. 1 p. 165 ed. Fabric. *Benedictus monachorum institutor, vir egregius,—provinciae Nursiae extitit oriundus ex patre Euproprio nomine, matre Abundantia, avo Justiniano, nutrice Cyrilla. Postquam XII monasteria Christo adjuvante construxit temporibus Justiniani imperatoris—Casinum advenit &c. Scripsit autem jam senex in eodem Casinensi cœnobio monachorum regulam &c. Fuit autem temporibus Anastasii Zenonis Justini et Justiniani imperatorum. Honor. III. 30 Benedictus abbas monasterii Casini scripsit regulam monachorum, per totum mundum promulgatam, qui omnium justorum spiritu plenus scribitur. Conf. Anon. Mellicensem c. 20. Gregorius Romanus procem. dial. I. II Opp. tom. 2 p. 208 Liberiori genere ex provincia Nursiae exortus Romæ liberalibus literarum studiis traditus fuerat<sup>k</sup>.*

<sup>i</sup> Oudin tom. 1 p. 1420 “Cyrillus Scythopolitanus vitas sanctorum Euthymii archimandritæ et sancti Sabæ magnæ Lauræ abbatis scripsit post concilium quintum Oecumenicum A. D. 548 in quo Origenistæ damnati sunt, atque ut has vitas duas scriberet relicto monasterio proprio venit ad magnam Lauram, ubi per biennium illas dum componeret permansit. Non itaque ante A. D. 550 utramque hanc vitam complevit.” He quotes *Cyrillus* himself: *Cum congregata fuisset CP. quinta sancta synodus, et Origenis et Nestorii dogmata fuissent ab ea percussa anathemate, et qui novam Lauram tenerant Origenistæ illinc essent expulsi—permittente mihi admirabili Jo. Silentiario, eo inquam qui erat episcopus,—discedo a cœnobio et ipse quoque versor in hac Laura. Cum autem ad eam transissem, secutus paternas literas quæ a me portabantur ut componerem historiam BB. Euthymii et Sabæ, duos quidem annos deinceps continuos quievi in Laura et cœptum opus sum persecutus.* But Oudin, who censures Cave p. 1419 for inaccuracy, is himself inaccurate; for the fifth general council was not held in A. D. 548 but in A. D. 553. See the Tables p. 800. To the other testimonies may be added *Cyrillus* himself as quoted by Norisius tom. 1 p. 653 “Cyrillus Scythopolitanus in vita Sabæ recte dicit expulsus post octo menses a quinta synodo peracta ex nova Laura Origenistis quietem datam monachis S. Sabæ et universæ provinciæ anno XXIII<sup>o</sup> a morte Sabæ. Hic decessit A. D. 531 indict. X Dec. 5. Adde 22 annos; habebis annum 553.” &c. It has been shewn however at N° 260 that the other characters of time, the year of *Justinian*, the year *II post*

*consulatum*, require Dec. 5 A. D. 532; from whence the 23rd year commenced in December A. D. 554, eighteen months, instead of eight months, after the termination of the Council in June A. D. 553. We may probably read in the numbers of *Cyrillus* anno XXII<sup>o</sup> a morte Sabæ; which will express December 553. Upon *Cyrillus* see Fabricius B. G. tom. 11 p. 97. 98.

<sup>j</sup> Victor Tun. *Apione V. C. consule* [A. D. 539]. *Severus Antiochenus hæresis princeps, a quo Severiani vocantur, et Julianus Halicarnassensis episcopi apostolicæ fidei et Chalcedonensis synodi impugnatores exilio Alexandria Justiniani jussione mittuntur, ubi adversus sequaces Chalcedonensis synodi scribentes ex duabus unam in Christo naturam esse dixerunt, quam dudum Severus corruptam et Julianus adstruit incorruptam. Alexandria Ægyptus et Libya in utrisque est Christi inimicis divisa; Theodosiani enim Severum et Gaianitæ Julianum secuti sunt. Sed a Theodosianis aliæ duæ hæreses exierunt, una Agnoitarum et altera Tritheitarum. Agnoitæ siquidem perversitati a quo exierunt id adjiciunt, quod Christi divinitas ignoret futura quæ sunt scripta de die et hora novissima, Tritheitæ vero, sicut tres personas in Trinitate, ita quoque tres adstruunt Deos esse.*

<sup>k</sup> Gregorius Ibid. (quoted by Basnage Annales tom. 3 p. 760) *Hujus ego omnia gesta non didici, sed pauca quæ narro quatuor discipulis illius referentibus agnovi; Constantino scilicet reverendissimo valde viro, qui ei in monasterii regimine successit; Valentiniano quoque, qui annis multis Lateranensi monasterio præfuit; Symplicio, qui congregationem illius post eum*



- 290 *Theodorus Cæsareæ episcopus*. Favoured the Origenists in the reign of *Justinian*: Liberatus c. 24 apud Acta Concil. tom. 6 p. 457 *Reserato aditu in adversarios ecclesiæ ut mortuus damnaretur, Theodorus Cæsareæ Cappadociæ episcopus, dilectus et familiaris principum, secta acephalus* [at de hoc conf. Norisium tom. 1 p. 593 B 617 D], *Origenis autem defensor acerrimus et Pelagio æmulus, cognoscens Origenem fuisse damnatum, dolore damnationis ejus, ad ecclesiæ conturbationem damnationem molitus est in Theodorum Mopsuestenum* [N<sup>o</sup> 219] *eo quod Theodorus multa opuscula edidisset contra Origenem exosusque et accusabilis haberetur ab Origenistis, et maxime quod synodus Chalcedonensis (sicut probatur) laudes ejus susceperit, in tribus epistolis. Cujus damnationem memoratus Theodorus tali machinatione perfecit &c. Theodorus was anathematized by Vigilius in August 551: See the Tables p. 793. Marked again by Vigilius in the Tables A. D. 552 p. 797.<sup>1</sup>*
- 291 *Zacharias rhetor*. His Ecclesiastical History treated of the times of *Marcian Leo* and *Zeno*. According to Evagrius he favoured the Nestorians, and was not always accurate<sup>m</sup>. The

*tertius rexit; Honorato etiam* [conf. Dial. II. 15 p. 240], *qui nunc adhuc cellæ ejus in qua prius conversatus fuerat præst. Paulus Diac. Langob. IV. 18 Circa hæc tempora* [sc. regnante *Agilulfo*] *cænobium beati Benedicti patris, quod in Castro Cassino situm est, a Langobardis noctu invaditur. &c.—Fugientes—monachi Romam petierunt, secum codicem sanctæ regulæ quam præfatus pater composuerat, et quedam alia scripta,—deferentes. Cæterum post beatum Benedictum Constantinus, post hunc Simplicium, post quem Vitalis, ad extremum Bonitus congregationem ipsam rexit, sub quo hæc destructio facta est.* On the narrative of Gregory in Dial. I. II see Basnage tom. 3 p. 760. 761. The year of the death of *Benedictus* is not clear: Petavius apud Basnage p. 760 “Faustus ejus discipulus, ut testis est Sigebertus, scriptum reliquit eum obiisse XII Kal. April. pridie Paschatis; idemque Leo Hostiensis refert, sed addit A. D. 542 indictione secunda obiisse Benedictum. Quæ sunt *ἀόιστara*. Nam indictio quinta fuit anno 542. Reliqui characteres inextricabiles sunt.” *Authari* king of the Lombards died Sept. 5 A. D. 590 and *Agilulfus* began to reign in May A. D. 591. Compare c. 1 of this volume p. 151 with Paulus Diac. Langob. III. 36. The destruction therefore of the monastery by the Lombards was after the latter date.

<sup>1</sup> Cyrillus Scythopolitanus apud Norisium tom. 1 p. 556 D *Postquam enim fuit ecclesia recens liberata ab hæresibus—et fuit in ea quies et tranquillitas, malignus in eam rursus invidum injiciens oculum movet adversus eam quosdam Nonni asseclas, Domitianum inquam et Theodorum, qui, cum jam olim sentirent ea quæ Origenes, ubi etiam assumpserunt auxilium temporis et rerum alter quidem Galatarum Theodorus autem Cæsareæ Cappadociæ creati sunt antistites, magnam suam ostentarunt potestatem.* The anathema of *Vigilius* dated Aug. 14 A. D. 551 (quoted in the Tables p. 793) begins in this manner p. 1314. 1315 *Quoniam tu, Theodore Cæsareæ Cappadociæ civitatis episcopo, qui hactenus ab ordinationis tui tempore unius anni spatium in ecclesia, cujus gubernacula susceperas, non passus es residere, sed auctoritate nominis episco-*

*palis abusus universalis ecclesiæ scandala generare non cessas, &c.—Nos vero longanimitatem nostram, divina largitate concessam, tam circa te quam circa seductos abs te, pene hoc quinquennio elapso monstravimus. Primum quidem in eo quod—condescendentes quorundam animis quos aliqua dissipatione credimus temperandos, quia tu jam eos pluribus annis inquietissimus stimulator accenderas &c.* From whence we learn that in August 551 *Theodorus* had been several years a bishop. *Theodori archiepiscopi Cæsariensis epistola* are mentioned in Fabricius tom. 1 p. 703.

Liberatus c. 23 apud Acta Concil. tom. 6 p. 457 (quoted by Noris. tom. 1 p. 566) describes the edict of *Justinian* against *Origen*: *Pelagius æmulus existens Theodoro Cæsareæ Cappadociæ episcopo, volens ei nocere eo quod esset Origenis defensor, una cum Menna archiepiscopo CP. flagitabat a principe ut juberet fieri quod illi monachi supplicabant, ut Origenes damnaretur ipsaque capitula talia docentia. Annuît imperator facillime, gaudens se de talibus causis judicium ferre. Jubente eo dictata est in Origenem et illa capitula anathematis damnatio, quum subscribentes una cum Menna archiepiscopo apud CP. reperti deinde directa est Vigilio Romano episcopo, Zoilo Alexandrino, Euphræmio Antiocheno et Petro Hierosolymitano. Quibus eam accipientibus et subscribentibus, Origenes damnatus est mortuus, qui vivens olim fuerat antea damnatus.* The edict of *Justinian* is still extant apud Acta Concil. tom. 6 p. 312—353. The date of this edict is not certain, but Norisius tom. 1 p. 568 and Pagius tom. 2 p. 565 both agree that it was issued about A. D. 543.

<sup>m</sup> *Zacharias* apud Evagrium H. E. II. 2 affirms that *Nestorius* was still living and favoured by the council of Chalcedon A. D. 451: *Ζαχαρίας μὲν ἐμπαθὸς ὁ ῥήτωρ καὶ Νεστόριον ἐκ τῆς ὑπερορίας μετὰπεμπτον γενέσθαι φησί· τὸ δὲ γε μὴ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχειν τεκμηριῶ τὸ πανταχοῦ τῆς συνόδου τὸν Νεστόριον ἀναθεματίζεσθαι. δηλοῖ δὲ εὖ μάλᾳ καὶ Εὐστάθιος ὁ τῆς Βηρυτῶν ἐπίσκοπος γράφων πρὸς Ἰωάννην ἐπίσκοπον—ἐπὶ λέξεως ἔδδε· “Ὑπαντήσαντες δὲ πάλιν οἱ ζητοῦντες Νεστορίου τὰ λείψανα τῆς συνόδου κατεβῶων “οἱ ἅγιοι διὰ τί ἀναθεματίζονται;”*



Ecclesiastical History of *Zacharias* is said to be still extant<sup>n</sup>.

- 292 *Primasius Adrumetinus episcopus*. Summoned to CP. in A. D. 551: Victor Tun. *Post cons. Basilii anno XI Reparatus archiepiscopus Carthaginensis ecclesie Firmus Numidarum episcoporum primates et Primasius et Verecundus concilii Byzaceni episcopi pro fidei causa ad urbem regiam ejusdem [sc. Justiniani] præcepto principis evocantur*. He joins with *Vigilius* in the condemnation of *Theodorus* in Aug. A. D. 551 (Tables p. 793): *Acta Concil. tom. 5 p. 1316 C*. Ibid. p. 1358 C *Primasius Dei gratia episcopus civitatis Adrumetinæ,—concilii Byzaceni, huic constituto quod beatus papa Vigilius in causa trium capitulorum protulit consentiens subscripsi*. But he afterwards changed his opinion: Victor Tun. *P. C. Bas. anno XII [A. D. 552] Reparatus archiepiscopus—officio sumptibusque privatus Eucayda exilio relegatur.—Firmus Concilii Numidicæ primas donis principis corruptus damnationi eorum capitulorum assensum præbuit.—Primasius quoque Aquimetensis monasterio relegatus. Sed Boetio primate Byzaceni concilii morte prævento, ut ei succederet, memoratæ damnationi protinus assensit reversusque ad sua quæ prius defendebat validissimis persecutionibus impugnavit.—Sed in quibus peccavit latere non potuit. Siquidem postquam a catholicis sui concilii antistitibus pro suis prævaricationibus condemnatus infelici morte exstinguitur*. He died therefore before A. D. 566, when *Victor* wrote<sup>o</sup>.

ὡς ἀγανακτήσαντα τὸν βασιλέα τοῖς δορυφόροις ἐπιτρέψαι μακρὰν αὐτοῦ ἀπελάσαι.” Πῶς οὖν ὁ Νεστόριος μετεκαλείτο, τῶν ἐντεῦθεν μεταστὰς, οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν. He is quoted Evagr. II. 8 p. 302 A on the death of *Proterius* A. D. 457: τῷ μὲν τοι γε Ζαχαρία τὰ περὶ τούτων διηγουμένῳ δοκεῖ πεπράχθαι μὲν τὰ τούτων πλείω ἐξ αἰτίας δὲ Προτερίου μεγίστας ταραχὰς τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἐμπούησαντος· οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ δήμου ταῦτα τετολμησθαι ἀλλ’ ἐκ τινῶν στρατιωτικῶν, ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς Τιμοθέου πιστούμενος πρὸς Δεόντα γεγενημένης. On *Amphilochius* of *Side* in the time of *Leo*: II. 10 p. 304 A B οἱ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ πόλεων ἐπίσκοποι τοῖς ἐν Καλχηδόνι τυπωθείσιν ἐνέμειναν καὶ τὴν Τιμοθέου χειροτονίαν ἀπάσαις κατέκριναν ψήφοις· Ἀμφιλόχιος δὲ μόνος ὁ Σίδης ἐπιστολὴν γέγραφε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καταβοῶσαν μὲν τῆς Τιμοθέου χειροτονίας οὐκ ἀποδεχομένην δὲ τὴν ἐν Καλχηδόνι σύνοδον, εἶπερ καὶ ταῦτα τῷ Ζαχαρίᾳ τῷ ῥήτορι πεπόνθηται τῷ καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν αὐτὴν Ἀμφιλοχίου ἐντεταχότι ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ συγγράμματι. On the letter of the emperor *Basiliscus* A. D. 476: III. 5 p. 338 A ὡς μὲν οὖν Ζαχαρία γέγραπται τῷ ῥήτορι, ταῦται ταῖς ἐγκυκλίαις συλλαβαῖς [sc. *Basilisci*. Cf. III. 4] συντίθεται ὁ Τιμόθεος [sc. *Æliurus*] ἄρτι τῆς ὑπερορίας, ὡς ἔφην, ἐπανηγεμένος. Niceph. H. E. XVI. 5 p. 668 B τῶν δ’ ἐγκυκλίων γραμμάτων διαδοθέντων, ὡς Ζαχαρίας φησὶν, οἱ τὰ Ἐδτυχοῦς φαναζόμενοι καὶ τὸν μονήρη βίον μεταδιώκοντες, ὥσπερ τινὲς ἐρμαῖφ περιτυχόντες κ. τ. λ. Another rescript of *Basiliscus* is given apud Niceph. XVI. 6 p. 669 C ἀλλὰ Ζαχαρίας μὲν ὁ τὴν ὄλην πραγματείαν ἐκπαθῶς συγγραφόμενος παρήκε τῇ κατ’ αὐτὸν ἱστορίᾳ τὰ ἀντεγκύκλια· ἐγὼ δὲ πού εὐρὼν τῇ συγγραφῇ παραθήσομαι· ἔχουσι δ’ ἐπὶ λέξεως οὕτως· “Αὐτοκράτορες Καίσαρες Βασιλίσκος καὶ Μάρκος” κ. τ. λ. He is quoted on *Timotheus Æliurus* by Evagrius III. 6 ὁ αὐτός φησι τὸν Τιμόθεον ἐξομήσαντα τῆς βασιλίδος τὴν Ἐφεσίων καταλαβεῖν. III. 7 Ἀκάκιον δὲ φησι τὸν τῆς ΚΠ. πρόεδρον ἐπὶ τοῦτοις περιπαθήσαντα συγκινήσαι τὸ μοναδικὸν καὶ τὸν δι-

μον τῆς βασιλευούσης, ὡς αἰρετικῶ τοῦ βασιλίσκου τυγχάνοντος. On the conduct of the Asiatic bishops after the death of *Basiliscus*: III. 9 εἶτε οὖν Ζαχαρίας ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐσυκοφάντησε τοῦτους, εἶτε αὐτοὶ διεψεύσαντο φήσαντες ὡς οὐκ ἠβούλοντο ὑπογράψαι, λέγειν οὐκ ἔχω. Conf. Niceph. XVI. 9 p. 672 B ταῦτα μὲν οἱ ἐπίσκοποι. εἴ’ οὐ Ζαχαρίας ὁ ταύτας ἐμπαθῶς συνταξάμενος τοῦτοις ἔφθη συκοφαντήσας, εἶτε καὶ αὐτοὶ διεψεύσαντο—ἀκριβῶς συνορᾶν οὐκ ἔχω. Evagrius III. 12 p. 343 quotes him on the appointment of *Joannes* at Alexandria A. D. 482: Ἰωάννης—ἐαυτῷ μνόμενος τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν, ὡς Ζαχαρίας φησὶν, ἐφωράθη ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως· καὶ ὄρκους ὑποσχὼν μὴ ποτε τὸν τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐπιζητήσῃν θρόνον ἀνὰ τὴν οἰκειαν ἐπαναζεύξαι· καὶ θεοπίζει γε βασιλεὺς μετὰ τελευταίην Τιμοθέου ἐκεῖνον ἐπίσκοπον γενέσθαι ἢ ἀνὸς κληρῶν καὶ τὸ κοινὸν ψηφίσουτο. οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν δὲ τελευτήσαντος τοῦ Τιμοθέου, ὁ Ἰωάννης χρήματα δούς, ὡς τῷ αὐτῷ Ζαχαρίᾳ γέγραπται, καὶ ἐς τὰ ὁμοσμένα τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀλοήσας ἐς ἐπίσκοπον τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων προβάλλεται. And on *Joannes* of *Alexandria* in the time of *Felix* of *Rome* A. D. 483: III. 18 p. 349 ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης ὁ ἐν Ῥώμῃ πεφηνγὸς Φήλικα τὸν μετὰ Σιμπλίκιον τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπον—πέθει, ὡς Ζαχαρίας λέγει, καθαίρετικὸν Ἀκακίφ διαπεμφθῆναι παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Φήλικος κ. τ. λ.—καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Ζαχαρία γέγραπται· δοκεῖ δέ μοι μηδὲν τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦτο πραχθέντων εἶδέναι, μόνην δὲ ἀκοὴν ἠρωτηριασμένην ἀφηγγήσασθαι.

<sup>n</sup> Harles apud Fabric. B. G. tom. 7 p. 420 “Inter Codd. Constantini Varenii erat (ut me per literas docuit cel. Alter) Ζαχαρίου ῥήτορος ἱστορία ἐκκλησιαστική.—Inter Codd. Jo. Sutzū Ζαχαρίου ῥήτορος ἱστορία ἐκκλησιαστική.” Conf. Vossium de Hist. Græc. lib. IV part. III p. 524.

<sup>o</sup> Isidorus Hispal. c. 9 *Primasius Africanus episcopus composuit sermone scholastico de heresibus libros tres directos ad Fortunatum episcopum, explicans in eis*



- 293 *Liberatus*. At Rome A. D. 534: Tables p. 761. His *breviarium*: Tables A. D. 555 p. 805.
- 294 *Agapetus diaconus*. Tables A. D. 527. 3 p. 747.
- 295 *Facundus Afer Hermianensis ecclesie episcopus*. Described in the Tables A. D. 545 p. 783.
- 296 *Rusticus diaconus Romanus*. *Rusticus* was the kinsman of *Vigilius* and accompanied him to CP. in 547; but afterwards condemned and opposed him; for which *Vigilius* deprived *Rusticus*: *Vigilius* Valentiniano apud Acta Concil. tom. 6 p. 191 (March 18 A. D. 550: Tables p. 791) *Quod nunc quoque sancti Chalcedonensis concilii adversarii (inter quos etiam Rusticum et Sebastianum comperimus istius auctores scandali, quos olim pro meritis suis a sacra communione suspendimus, in quibus nos, si non respuerint celeriter, fraternitas tua cognoscat canonicam sententiam prolaturos) qui sub prætextu falsæ defensionis student ut eandem synodum contra prædictas tres synodos [sc. of A. D. 325, 381, 431] dixisse (quod absit) ostendant*<sup>p</sup>. *Rusticus* was banished by *Justinian* in 553: *Victor Tun. Post cons. Bas. anno*

*quod olim beatus Augustinus in libro hæreseon imperfectum morte interveniente reliquerat; in primo ostendens quid hæreticum faciat, secundo et tertio digerens quid hæreticum demonstret. Claruit Justiniano regnante. Placed by Trithemius c. 154 a century too high: Primasius episcopus Africanus et, ut quidam volunt, beati Augustini discipulus—multa dicitur composuisse opuscula.—De quibus ego tantum reperi Contra hæreses ad Fortunatum episc. lib. III, in Apocalypsin Johan. ad Castorium lib. V, de libro Apocal. beati Johan.—Claruit sub Theodosio imp. II A. D. 440.*

<sup>p</sup> The letter of *Justinian* at the opening of the council apud Acta Concil. tom. 6 p. 20—26, dated IV Non. Maias CP. imperii domini Justiniani perp. Aug. anno XXVII P. C. Basilii V. C. anno XII [May 4 A. D. 553], recounts the conduct of *Vigilius* and the condemnation of *Rusticus*: p. 23 *Vigilio—cum pervenisset ad hanc regiam civitatem de tribus capitulis subtiliter omnia manifestavimus, et interrogavimus eum quid sapit de hoc; et ipse non semel nec bis, sed etiam sæpius in scriptis anathematizavit impia tria capitula. Quod vero ejusdem voluntatis semper fuit de condemnatione trium capitulorum et per plurima alia declaravit et per condemnationem Rustici et Sebastiani aliquando diaconorum antiquioris Romæ; qui, cum primum suscepissent factum ab eo Judicatum, in quo anathematizavit eadem impia capitula [a fragment of the Judicatum is preserved in the margin], postea susceperunt et defenderunt eorum impietatem. Sed etiam Valentiniano episcopo Scythiæ et Aureliano Arelati [Tables p. 791]—scripsit et manifestavit de condemnatione istorum capitulorum, et præcepit eis nihil suscipere quod a condemnatis diaconis scribitur contrarium prædicto Judicato. Vigilius himself in his letter to *Rusticus* and *Sebastianus* apud Acta Concil. tom. 6 p. 183—189 relates the proceedings: *Diu vobis, Rustice et Sebastiane, canonibus et decessorum nostrorum congruentem ultionem inferre pro apostolica moderatione distulimus.—Ut excessus vestros ex plurimis paucos interim in quantum possumus designemus, venientibus nobis hic in regiam civitatem [Feb. A. D. 547] tu, Rustice, dum aliqua nobis ignorantibus legeres quæ hominem loci tui omnino legere non decebat, et plura**

*committere dicereris quæ etiam nostram, si te non prohibuissemus, (quod absit) opinionem atque animam ledere potuisset; dicente quoque de te nobis aliqua Paulo diacono etiam te præsentem, sicut oportuit, et pro affinitate qua nobis a germano quem dileximus jungebaris, et pro eo quod nos te ad Leviticum proveheramus officium, frequenter et secreta paterna monuimus caritate ut, si ea quæ de te dicebantur ex aliqua parte cognosceres, a talibus temperares, ne, quia Dei causam indiscussam non pateremur qualibet ratione relinquere, canonicum per nos in te judicium proveniret. Tu autem non solum admonitionem nostram audire malevolu spiritu noluisti, sed etiam—ad hoc malitia tua perducta est ut, nostra admonitione contempta, in odium potius prosilires, et occasionem quæres quatenus causa capitulorum—quæ te etiam instante certum est flagitata, ita ut—clamitares dicens non solum nomen et scripta Theodori Mopsuesteni a nobis debere damnari sed et territorium ejus ipsum ubi positus est, et, si ossa ejus evulsa quisquam de sepultura ejiceret et cum eodem territorio incenderet, gratanter acciperes. Et cum necesse esset ut negotium quod fuerat in judicio nostro perductum te etiam quam maxime inter alios tam sacri ordinis quam sequentis consentiente sententia finiretur, quod constat effectum, et quid de eodem Judicato feceris, quomodo etiam in palatio ut fratri nostro Mennæ (ad quem scripseramus) celeriter traderetur institeris, nulli habetur incertum.—Nam et sabbato sancto, quo ipsum te—imminente protulimus Judicatum, in ecclesiam sessum processisse et communicasse et officium tuum implese cognosceris.—Quod etiam succedente dominico die paschæ [Easter-day A. D. 548] similiter effecisti; et diu in eadem perdurando sententia alios ut Judicatum nostrum libenti animo sequerentur nihilominus hortabaris.—Ergo dum et te præ omnibus imminente prolatum fuerit Judicatum et tanta in ejus Judicati laude succensus per multum tempus scriperis, fecerisve ut nunquam te crederemus ab hac posse rectitudine deviare, immutatum te subito post hæc quadam animi levitate vulgante opinione comperimus, et cum adversariis ecclesie qui contra Judicati nostri seriem nitebantur, et a nobis sunt per Judicati ipsius tenorem a communione suspensi, secreta tractare. Et, dum filius noster Paulus diaconus*

*XIII CP. Synodus &c.—Ibi tria sæpe fata capitula cum defendentibus ea damnationi subjiciunt &c.—Quorum decretis Rusticus Romanæ ecclesiæ diaconus et Felix Guillensis monasterii provinciæ Africanæ hegumenos contradicentes scripto Thebaida in exilium cum suis sociis transmittuntur*<sup>q</sup>.

- 297 *Junilius*. Contemporary with *Primasius* (N<sup>o</sup> 292) in the reign of *Justinian*: *Trithemius* c. 155 *Junilius episcopus cujusdam urbis in Africa, nomen autem civitatis invenire non potui, vir certe in sacris Scripturis valde doctus, et in secularibus disciplinis meo judicio sufficienter instructus, sensu profundus eloquio dulcis et ornatus, multa dicitur conscripsisse opuscula, sed ego tantum vidi opus insigne quod scripsit ad Primasium supradictum episcopum, quod prænotavit De partibus divinæ legis, lib. I. De cæteris nullum vidi. Claruit eo tempore quo et Primasius, A. D. 440.* He places *Junilius* at 440 because he had placed *Primasius* there. A prochronism of full 100 years. See N<sup>o</sup> 292.
- 298 *Martinus Hispanus Bracarensis episcopus*. Described in the Tables A. D. 561 p. 813 A. D. 572 p. 831.
- 299 *Victor Tununensis*. His Chronicle begins at A. D. 445: p. 633. and ends at 566: p. 819. *Victor* was imprisoned in 555: p. 805. and 556: p. 807. brought before *Justinian* A. D. 564: p. 817.
- 300 *Agnellus Ravennatensis episcopus*. Epitaphium apud Muratorium p. 1823. 1 Ravennæ: *Hic r̄q. in p̄c. Agnellus arciepsc. q̄s. ann. XIII mense uno dies VIII qui vixit annos octuginta tres depositus est sub d. Kal. Aug. ind. II.* He lived in the time of *Narses*: *Oudin* tom. 1 p. 1443 ex anonymo in vita *Agnelli*: “*Hunc Narsetes maxime dilexit et omnes fortunas Gothorum quæ intra civitatis muros erant illi attribuit.*” *Narses* governed Italy A. D. 554—567. The second indiction referring to that period will be at A. D. 56 $\frac{2}{3}$ . The numbers on the epitaph will place the birth of *Agnellus* at A. D. 486, his episcopate at about June 24 A. D. 556, and his burial at Aug. 1 A. D. 569.<sup>f</sup>

*ad Italiam discedere voluisset, posteaquam et ad eum pervenit quod scandalum ecclesiæ, in communione adhuc nostra positus, secrete et hic et in Africana provincia—facere nitebaris, tunc tibi caput insistere &c.—ad hoc es propria voluntate perductus ut tactis evangelicis sacramenta præstares, et verba tua a notario scripta in nostro teneantur scrinio; quibus inter alia legeris promississe te nunquam a nostro penitus obsequio discessurum. Posteaquam vero pejor te Sebastianus—noscitur advenisse, ita ut mox tui immemor sacramenti conjugationem inter vos contra statuta canonum, nobis ignorantibus, facientes in apertum uterque prorumperetis scandalum.* He then p. 185—187 goes through the acts of *Sebastianus*; and proceeds to pronounce sentence p. 188 *Hæc ergo sustinentes per multa temporis spatia patientia sacerdotali resecare distulimus, credentes vos forsitan respisci et ab illicitis temperare. Sed quia—commoniti nolulistis audire et neque ad ecclesiam neque ad nos reverti—ideo necesse nobis est in vos canonice vindicare.—Oportet ergo nos jam post tantas admonitiones in vobis, Rustice et Sebastiane, per auctoritatem beati Petri—regulariter vindicare, propterea ne, si jam diutius differamus, omnis ecclesiasticus ordo solvatur. Ideoque, quod a nobis cum gemitu sed cum beati Petri auctoritate dicendum est, pro suprascriptis excessibus alienos vos a diaconi esse honore decernimus et omni*

*ministerio officii Levitici prædictum vobis honorem auferentes penitus submovemus, &c.*

The inconstancy and inconsistency of *Vigilius* himself, who now defended the three chapters and now condemned, is well exposed by *Basnage* tom. 3 p. 778.

<sup>q</sup> *Rusticus* is the author of a work still extant, *dialogus adversus acephalos*. In the preface quoted by *Basnage* tom. 3 p. 782 he thus speaks of himself: *Intentio mihi est ea quæ sæpius in colloctionibus, tam CP. quam Alexandriæ Ægypti, sive in Antinoe Thebaidis et in adjacentibus locis, seu lecta sive etiam dicta, vel per me vel per alios defendentes, de fide definitionem sanctæ synodi Chalcedonensis colligere.*

<sup>r</sup> *Oudin* p. 1444 quotes the epitaph from the anonymous author of the life with the following numbers:—*qui sedit annos XIII mensem unum dies octo. Vixit annos LXXXIV, depositus est sub die Kalendarum Augusti indictione XIII.* which would place his episcopate at June A. D. 553—July A. D. 566. And yet the biographer himself apud *Oudinum* p. 1443 places the appointment of *Agnellus* at A. D. 558—“*Maximiano defuncto suffectus a. 558.*” which is inconsistent with his own numbers. *Muratori* in his note on p. 1823. 1 attests that *indict. II* and not *indict. XIII* is the right reading. He gives another inscription p. 1823. 2 “*ex Agnelli vitis archiepisco-*



- 301 *Joannes scholasticus*. Appointed to succeed *Euty chius* at CP. in A. D. 565: p. 817. 819.<sup>s</sup>  
On his death Aug. 31 A. D. 577 *Euty chius* was restored: p. 839. *Philoponus* wrote against *Joannes* about A. D. 568. See c. 1 A. D. 617 p. 164.
- 302 *Venantius Fortunatus*. Described at A. D. 570 p. 827. 829.
- 303 *Conon*  
304 *Eugenius*  
305 *Theodosius*  
306 *Themistius* } Wrote against *Philoponus*<sup>t</sup>.
- 307 *Gregorius Turonensis episcopus*. For his time and works see A. D. 574 p. 833. 835. *Gregory* succeeded *Euphronius* about the close of A. D. 573 and probably died Nov. 17 A. D. 595.
- 308 *Eustratius CP. presbyter*. Lived in the time of the patriarch *Euty chius*, upon whom he composed a funeral discourse in A. D. 582<sup>v</sup> still extant in a Latin version. Conf. Fabricium tom. 10 p. 725. A work of *Eustratius* is quoted by Photius<sup>w</sup>.
- 309 *Joannes Gerundensis ecclesie episcopus, Biclariensis monasterii fundator*. Described at A. D. 569 p. 825. 827. His Chronicle began at the accession of *Justin II*: A. D. 566 p. 820. and ended at 590. See above c. 1 p. 152.
- 310 *Eulogius Alexandriae episcopus*. Described at A. D. 578 p. 843. His episcopate was at A. D. 580—607.
- 311 *Columbanus*. Beda Hist. Eccles. III. 4 Anno—565<sup>o</sup> (*quo tempore gubernaculum Romani imperii post Justinianum Justinus minor accepit*) venit de Hibernia presbyter et abbas habitu et vita monachi insignis, nomine Columbanus, in Britanniam praedicaturus verbum Dei provinciis septentrionalium Pictorum.—Venit autem in Britanniam Columbanus regnante Pictis Bridio filio Meilochon—9<sup>o</sup> anno regni ejus; gentemque illam verbo et exemplo ad fidem Christi convertit; unde et praefatam insulam ab eis in possessionem monasterii faciendi acceperit. neque enim magna est, sed quasi familiarum quinque juxta aestimationem Anglorum. Quam successores ejus usque hodie tenent; ubi et ipse sepultus est cum esset annorum 77, post annos circiter 32 ex quo ipse Britanniam praedicaturus adiit. Fecerat autem priusquam in Britanniam veniret monasterium nobile in Hibernia—ex quo utroque monasterio per plurima exinde monasteria per discipulos ejus et in Britannia et in Hibernia propagata sunt; in quibus omnibus

porum Ravennatum.” *Salvo domno papa Agnello de donis Dei et servorum ejus quae obtulerunt ad honorem et ornatum sanctorum apostolorum et reliqua pars de summa cervorum qui perierant et Deo auctore inventi sunt haec absida Musivo exornata est.* The Catalogue of bishops of Ravenna by this later *Agnellus* is quoted in Noris. tom. 4 p. 915. 916. The bishop *Agnellus* has left a work described by Oudin p. 1444 “*Scripsit Agnellus Ravennatensis episcopus Epistolam de ratione fidei ad Arminium, quam reperies tomo 5 Bibl. Patrum Colon. 1618.*”

<sup>s</sup> Add Zonaras XIII tom. 2 p. 69 D—70 A Ἰουστινιανὸς περὶ τὰ τελευταῖα αἰρέσει ἀλώσιμος γεγονὸς τῇ τῶν ἀφθαρτοδοκῆων, οἱ οὐ φθαρτὴν τὴν σάρκα προσλαβεῖν τὸν κύριον ἀλλ’ ἀφθαρτον ἅμα τῇ προσλήψει εἶναι αὐτὴν δογματίζουσι, οὕτω πιστεύειν ἅπαντας ἔσπευδεν, ἀπιλέγοντα δ’ αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπιδιαθέμενον τὸν πατριάρχην Εὐτύχιον ὑπερόριον ἔθετο εἰς Ἀμάσειαν καὶ προχειρίσθη πατριάρχης ὁ ἀπὸ σχολαστικῶν Ἰωάννης Ἀντιοχείας ὄν ἀποκρισιάρχος.

<sup>t</sup> See Photius and Nicephorus quoted in c. 7 p. 332 *Philoponus* N<sup>o</sup> 381 Works n. 20. 22.

<sup>v</sup> *Euty chius* died Ap. 6 A. D. 582: Tables p. 841 Appendix c. 1 p. 150.

<sup>w</sup> Phot. Cod. 171 ἀνεγνώσθη βιβλίον Εὐστρατίου πρεσβυτέρου τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας, φράσει μὲν συγκείμενον οὐκ ἐπαινετῇ λογισμοῖς δὲ οὐ λίαν ψεκτοῖς· σαφὴς δ’ ὁ λόγος. ἡ δὲ πρόθεσις τῷ ἀνδρὶ τρία ταῦτα συστήσαι, ἐν μὲν ὅτι μετὰ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τοῦ σώματος αὐτίκα ἐνεργοῦσιν αἱ τῶν ἁγίων ψυχαὶ οὐ μόνον δὲ τῶν ἁγίων ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπλῶς, κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν ἐκάστη ἀξίωσιν, πᾶσα ἀνθρωπίνη ψυχὴ καὶ ὅτι ἐπιφανόμενοι πολλοὶς πολλὰ καὶ κατὰ διαφόρους τρόπους αἱ ψυχαὶ αὐταὶ κατ’ ἴδιαν ὑπαρξίῳ ἐπιφαίνονται, ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ δύναμις τις θεία εἰς τύπους σχηματιζομένη τῶν ἁγίων ψυχῶν τὰς ἐνεργείας ἐπιδείκνυσι—τρίτον δὲ αὐτῷ κεφάλαιον σπουδάζεται ὅτι πάντως αἱ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν πίστει τελευτῶντων τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἐπιτελούμεναι θυσίαι καὶ προσφοραὶ ἢ ἄλλως δεήσεις καὶ ἱκεσίαι καὶ ἐλεημοσύναι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν παρὰ τῶν πιστῶν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ πταισμάτων ἄφεσιν καταπράττονται τοῖς ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐπιτελεῖται ταῦτα κ. τ. λ.

*idem monasterium insulanum in quo ipse requiescit corpore principatum tenet.* According to these dates *Columbanus* was born about A. D. 520 and died A. D. 597.\*

- 312 *Licinianus*. Isidor. Hispal. c. 29 *Licinianus Carthaginiensis Spartariæ episcopus, in Scripturis doctus, cujus quidem nonnullas epistolas legimus; de sacramento denique baptismatis unam et ad Eutropium abbatem, postea Valentia episcopum, plurimas. Reliqua vero industriae et laboris ejus ad nostram notitiam minime pervenerunt. Claruit temporibus Mauricii Augusti* [A. D. 583—601]. *Occubuit CP. veneno (ut ferunt) extinctus ab æmulis.*
- 313 *Severus*. Isidor. Hispal. c. 30 *Severus Malacitanæ sedis antistes collega et socius Liciniani episcopi edidit Libellum unum adversus Vincentium Cæsaraugustanæ urbis episcopum, qui ex catholica fide in Arianam pravitatem fuerat devolutus. Est et alius ejusdem de virginitate ad sororem libellus qui dicitur Annulus. Cujus quidem fatemur cognovisse titulum ignorare eloquium. Claruit temporibus prædicti imperatoris* [see N° 312], *quo etiam regnante vitam finivit.*
- 314 *Leander*. Presided in the synod of Toledo May 8 A. D. 589: *Joannes Bicular. Summa synodalis negotii penes sanctum Leandrum Hispalensis ecclesiæ episcopum et beatissimum Eutropium monasterii Servitani abbatem fuit.* The time of that synod is given above c. 1 A. D. 589 p. 152. *Leander* was succeeded in the episcopate by his brother *Isidorus*. See c. 1 A. D. 612 p. 162 A. D. 636 p. 174. By whom he is described.
- 315 *Columbanus Luxoviensis*. *Jonas in vita Columbani apud Bedæ opera tom. 3 p. 200—221 Columbanus qui et Columba ortus est in Hibernia insula.* In his 20th year he visited Britain: c. 3 p. 202 *Vicesimum ætatis annum agens arrepto itinere cum XII comitibus Christo duce ad littus maris accedunt.* c. 4 *A Britannicis finibus progressi ad Gallias tendunt.* In the reign of *Sigebert*: c. 5 p. 203 *Pervenit ergo fama beati Columbani ad aulam Sigeberti regis, qui eo tempore duobus regnis Austrasiarum Burgundionumque inclytus regnabat Francis.* Therefore before A. D. 575, when *Sigebert* died. He founds *Luxovium*: c. 9 p. 205. At the accession of *Theodebert* and *Theoderic* A. D. 596 he was now celebrated: c. 17 p. 210 *Creverat nam-*

\* Another *Columbanus*, a contemporary, also passed from Ireland into Britain and from thence into Gaul. See N° 315.

The ruins of Iona, which were visited by Johnson in 1773, gave occasion to the noble sentiment which he has so finely expressed in his Journey to the Hebrides p. 395.

† *Isidorus Hispal. c. 28 Leander genitus patre Severiano Carthaginiensis provinciæ Hispania, professione monachus et ex monacho Hispalensis ecclesiæ provinciæ Beticæ constitutus episcopus, vir suavis eloquio ingenio præstantissimus vita quoque tantum atque doctrina clarissimus, ut etiam fide ejus atque industria populi gentis Gothorum ab Ariana insania ad fidem catholicam reverterentur. Hic namque in exilii sui peregrinatione composuit duos adversus hæreticorum dogmata libros &c.—Scripsit et epistolas multas ad papam Gregorium—ad cæteros quoque coepiscopos plurimas promulgavit familiares epistolas, et, si non satis splendidas verbis, acutas tamen sententiis. Floruit sub Reccaredo* [A. D. 586—601]—*cujus etiam temporibus mirabili obitu actualis vitæ terminum clausit.* Trithemius c. 216 *Leander episcopus Hispalensis ex monacho &c.—Cujus prædicatione et industria Hermigildus* [conf. Greg. Rom. dial. III. 31] *filius Levigildi regis Gothorum*

*Ariani ad fidei orthodoxæ confessionem reductus in vigilia paschæ a patre hæretico interfectus martyris coronam accepit. Cujus frater Richardus* [sc. *Recaredus*] *mox ut defuncto patre regnum suscepit instante et prædicante Leandro* [conf. Greg. Rom. Ep. I. 43] *hæresi renunciavit et totam gentem Wesegothorum sibi subditam ad fidem catholicam convertit.—Claruit A. D. 590 sub Mauricio imp. Moritur sub Richardo Gothorum principe.* The 40 years assigned to his successor (see c. 1 p. 162) would place his death at A. D. 596 or 597. According to Trithemius he died before June A. D. 601. On the year of his death Basnage observes tom. 3 p. 943 “Tempus obitus non exploratum satis est. Legitur in ipsius epitaphio *Obiit felicis memoriæ Leander episcopus die III Kal. Mart. era DCXLI.* Periisset igitur Feb. 27 A. D. 603. Quam sane chronologiam admittere non possumus, cum regnante etiamnum Recaredo perierit.—Liquido constat ex Gregorianis epistolis pallioque ad Leandrum misso A. D. 599 adhuc egisse inter homines. Ad annum 601 vitam Leandri extendere chronologiæ regulis non prohibemur.” But that epistle of *Gregory* Ep. IX. 121 p. 1026 has no date, and A. D. 601 for the death of *Leander* would leave only 35 years to his successor instead of “near 40 years.”



que jam passim fama sancti viri in universas Galliae et Germaniae provincias. He is expelled by Theoderic 20 years after Luxovium had been founded: c. 19 p. 213 *Egressus cum suis vicesimo anno post incolatum eremi illius per urbem Vesontionum Augustodunumque ad Avalonem Castrum pervenit*. As there were 21 years between the death of Sigebert his first patron and the accession of Theoderic, we must suppose Luxovium to have been established some time after the death of Sigebert. Columbanus took refuge with Clothaire: c. 23 p. 215 *Post ad Clotharium Helperici regis filium, qui in Austrasiis Francis regnabat, perguit*. Then visited Theodebert: c. 26. After the death of Theodebert he entered Italy: c. 29 p. 220 *Beatus ergo Columbanus, cum vidisset—devictum a Theoderico Theodebertum, relicta Gallia atque Germania Italiam ingreditur, ubi ab Egilolfo Longobardorum rege honorifice receptus est*. He received from the king of the Lombards the valley in which he founded Bobium, where he died a year after the foundation. c. 29 p. 221 *Expleto anni circulo in antedicto cœnobio Bobiensi vita beata functus animam membris solutam caelo reddidit IX Kal. Decembris*. Theodebert was slain in A. D. 612, and the transactions which followed, inclusive of a year passed at Bobium, may bring the death of Columbanus to Nov. 23 A. D. 614.<sup>z</sup>

316 *Gregorius Romanus*. Paulus Diac. in vita Gregorii p. 1 *Gregorius hac urbe Romana patre Gordiano matre vero Silvia editus non solum de spectabili senatorum prosapia verum etiam religiosa originem duxit. Nam Felix istius apostolicæ sedis antistes [A. D. 526—530]—ejus atavus fuit*. Gregory was appointed Sept. 3 A. D. 590: Tables A. D. 578 p. 841. and died March 12 A. D. 604. See above c. 1 p. 158.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>z</sup> Sigebertus c. 60 *Columbanus abbas Luxoviensis in Hibernia Scotorum insula natus et in Gallias pro Christo peregrinatus tanto sapientiæ thesauro est ditatus ut adhuc adolescens librum Psalmorum elimato sermone scriberet, et alia multa ederet vel ad canendum digna vel ad docendum utilia*. Anonymus Mellicensis c. 25 *Columba qui et Columbanus abbas, qui ex Hibernia oriundus, postquam cum discipulis suis Gallo et aliis plura terrarum loca pertransiit, plures ad fidem Christi—perduxit plura etiam diversis in locis monasteria construxit. Scripsit manu sua monachorum regulam, ad quos etiam unam exhortatorium brevem licet sed de contemptu mundi copiose disserentem dictavit epistolam*. Trithemius c. 223 *Columbanus primus fundator et abbas Luxoviensis cœnobii, natione Scotus, vir eximie sanctitatis meriti et doctrinæ, pater multorum millium monachorum et monasteriorum plurium fundator, divini verbi seminator egregius, ex Hibernia veniens in Galliam et Germaniam, velut olim Druidum princeps, cultus divini et cœnobio auxit et famulos. Cum adhuc junior esset, magnum studium literis sanctis impendit adeo ut elegantis stylo scripserit in totum psalterium commentariorum lib. I et quasdam ad fratres epistolas. Moritur sub Mauricio imperatore A. D. 598 indictione prima XI Kal. Dec.*

Sigeberti Chronicon A. D. 602 *Sanctus Columbanus ex Hibernia in Burgundiam venit ibique permissu Theoderici regis cœnobium Luxovium edificare cœpit*. Idem anno 614 *Sanctus Columbanus a Theoderico rege instinctu Brunehildis aviæ expellitur Francia. qui post, relicto Gallo discipulo suo in Alemannia, cœnobium Bobium construxit in Italia*.

Centuriæ Magdeburgenses Cent. 6 c. 10 p. 402

“Columbanus ut scribit Aventinus in Annalibus Boiorum lib. III A. D. 575 ad Boios et Venedos profectus est ut eos ad fidem Christi converteret.” Cent. 7 p. 299 “Columbanus natus ex vetere prosapia Scotorum apud Hibernos et Scotos Druidum magister et princeps erat. [this he has from an erroneous interpretation of Trithemius].—In Burgundiam cum discipulis venit et Luxoviense cœnobium extruxit. Cum autem Theoderici regis Austrasiarum &c.—in exsilium pellebatur. Plura in ea peregrinatione loca Galliae Germaniæ et Italiæ peragravit. In Bavaria docuit, ut Aventinus indicat. Bobiense monasterium condidit, Pascha dominico die Asianorum more celebravit, ut patet ex Beda III. 25 et Trithemio.—Mortuus est in Italia in Bobiensi monasterio anno 598. Beda in vita ejus.” [this date is from Trithemius and not from the biographer.] Cave tom. 1 p. 542 Bagnage tom. 3 p. 940 Oudin tom. 1 p. 1572, although each omits something, all draw from the life of Columbanus, of which, though published in the works of Bede, the real author was Jonas. A letter of Columbanus written at Bobium to Bonifacius of Rome is quoted apud Noris. Opp. tom. 4 p. 977 *Columbani literæ ad Bonifacium IV, quas Flamingus Lovanii publicavit*. Referred to also by Pagius tom. 2 p. 694. But Bonifacius IV was elected Aug. 25 A. D. 608 and died May 7 A. D. 615 *Heraclii* anno 5<sup>o</sup>. Pagius tom. 2 p. 741 ex epitaphio. Those therefore who place the death of Columbanus in 598 place it before the death of Theodebert whom he survived, and before the episcopate of Bonifacius IV to whom he wrote an epistle.

<sup>a</sup> The epistles of Gregorius are placed in the Tables



- 317 *Evagrius*. His time and age examined: A. D. 540 p. 773 A. D. 542 p. 777. 779. His work was completed at the close of A. D. 593: See 553. 3 p. 803, 578. 3 p. 843.
- 318 *Maximus*. Still living when *Isidorus* wrote: *Isidor. Hispal. c. 33 Maximus Cæsaraugustanæ civitatis episcopus multa versu prosaque componere dicitur. Scripsit et brevi stylo historiam de iis quæ temporibus Gothorum in Hispaniis acta sunt historico et composito sermone. Sed et multa alia scribere dicitur quæ necdum legi<sup>b</sup>.*
- 319 *Leontius scholasticus Byzantius et monachus*. His treatise *περὶ αἱρέσεων* was written according to the probable conjecture of Fabricius B. G. tom. 8 p. 310 after the death of *Philoponus*, of whom he speaks c. 5 § 6. and therefore after A. D. 617.<sup>c</sup> *Leontius* also wrote against the *διατηρῆς* of *Philoponus*, which was composed after A. D. 610: See above c. 7 p. 333 *Philoponus* N<sup>o</sup> 381 Works n. 26.<sup>d</sup>

c. 1 at the years 590 p. 152 591. 592 p. 153; 593. 594. 595 p. 154; at 596—599 p. 155; at 600 p. 156 601. 602 p. 157; at 603. 604 p. 158. *Gregorius* Ep. I. 25 p. 515 *Joanni CP.* characterises the first five councils and their objects: *Sicut sancti evangelii quatuor libros sic quatuor concilia suscipere et venerari me fateor; Nicænum scilicet in quo perversum Arii dogma destruitur, CP.<sup>um</sup> quoque in quo Eunomii et Macedonii error convincitur, Ephesinum etiam primum in quo Nestorii impietas judicatur, Chalcedonense vero in quo Eutychis Dioscorique pravitas reprobatur, tota devotione complector, integerrima approbatione custodip, quia in his velut in quadrato lapido sanctæ fidei stræctura consurgit.—Quintum quoque concilium pariter veneror in quo et epistola quæ Iba dicitur, erroris plena, reprobatur, Theodorus personam Mediatoris Dei et hominum in duabus subsistentiis separans ad impietatis perfidiam cecidisse convincitur, scripta quoque Theodoretii per quæ beati Cyrilli fides reprehenditur ausu dementia prolata refutantur.* Ep. V. 18 *Joanni CP.* Jan. 1 A. D. 595 he condemns the assumption of an universal authority: p. 743 *Certe Petrus apostolorum primus—Paulus Andreas Johannes quid aliud quam singularium sunt plebium capita? et tamen sub uno capite omnes membra. Atque, ut cuncta brevi cingulo locutionis astringam, sancti ante Legem sancti sub Lege sancti sub Gratia, omnes hi perficientes corpus Domini in membris sunt ecclesiæ constituti, et nemo se unquam universalem vocari voluit. Vestra autem sanctitas agnoscat quantum apud se tumeat quæ illo nomine vocari appetit quo vocari nullus præsumpsit qui veraciter sanctus fuit.*

<sup>b</sup> *Maximus* was not yet bishop in A. D. 599: *Acta Concil. tom. 6 p. 1339. 1340 Concilium Barcinonense die Kal. Nov. anno feliciter XIV<sup>o</sup> Recaredi regis [Nov. 1 A. D. 599].—Subscriptiones. Maximus ecclesiæ Cæsaraugustanæ minister in his constitutionibus subscripsi.* He is bishop in 610: *Acta Concil. tom. 6 p. 1359 Facta constitutio sacerdotum in urbe Toletana sub die X Kal. Nov. anno primo—Gundemari regis [see above c. 1 p. 161] æra DCXLVIII [Oct. 23 A. D. 610]. p. 1363 Ego Maximus ecclesiæ Cæsaraugustanæ episcopus subscripsi.* And still living in 615: *Acta Concil. tom. 6 p. 1383 Sub die Idus Ja-*

*nuarias anno feliciter tertio—Sisibuti regis [Jan. 13 A. D. 615: see above A. D. 612 c. 1 p. 162] convenientes in unum episcopi provinciæ Tarraconensis in locum Egara, id sancta constituit synodus &c.—Subscriptiones. Maximus subscripsi.*

<sup>c</sup> This treatise extant in Golland *Bibl. patrum* tom. 12 ed. Ven. 1788 has this title: *Λεοντίου σχολαστικῶ Βυζαντίου σχόλια ἀπὸ φωνῆς Θεοδώρου τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου ἀββᾶ καὶ σοφωτάτου φιλοσόφου τὴν τε θείαν καὶ ἐξωτικὴν φιλοσοφῆσαντος γραφὴν.* It contains ten πράξεις p. 625—656.

πρᾶξις α' p. 625 ἀνάγκαιόν ἐστι μέλλοντας ἡμᾶς αἱρέσεων ἐπιμνησθῆναι πρῶτον περὶ τεσσάρων τῶν ἐν ταῖς τῶν πατέρων χρήσεσι διαλαβεῖν· εἰσὶ δ' αὐτὰ οὐσία φύσις ὑπόστασις πρόσωπον.

πρᾶξις β' p. 627 ἀκολουθόν ἐστι μετὰ τὰ προλαβόντα περὶ αἱρέσεων διαλαβεῖν· εἰσὶ δὲ πᾶσαι πδ', ἃς ἀπαριθμεῖται Ἐπιφάνιος ὁ Κύπρου ἐπίσκοπος.

πρᾶξις γ' p. 632 ἐπειδὴ περὶ Χριστιανῶν δογμάτων ὁ λόγος, ἀνάγκαιόν ἐστι τῶν χρόνων διαίρεσιν ποιήσασθαι.

πρᾶξις δ' p. 635 μετὰ τὴν αἴρεσιν Ἀρείου—ἀνεφύσησαν καὶ ἄλλοι δύο αἱρέσεις, ἧ τε Μακεδονίου καὶ ἡ Ἀπολιωρίου.

πρᾶξις ε' p. 639 Τὸ ἐνωτικὸν of Zeno.

πρᾶξις ς' p. 642 He defends the council of Chalcedon.

πρᾶξις ζ' p. 644 Against the monophysites.

πρᾶξις η' p. 649 Also against the monophysites.

πρᾶξις θ' p. 652.

πρᾶξις ι' p. 653 ἄξιόν ἐστι μετὰ τὰ προρρηθέντα ἅπαντα καὶ περὶ τῆς δόξης τῶν Γαλιανῶν καὶ ἄλλων τῶν διεξελθῆναι. § 3 He treats of the ἀγνοηταί. § 4. 5 p. 655 contra *Origenem*.

In πρᾶξις ε' § 6 p. 641 he speaks of *Philoponus*: *ἔτι δὲ καθεζομένου τοῦ Θεοδοσίου ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐκινήθη τὸ δόγμα τῶν τριθεϊτῶν, οὗ αἰρεσιάρχης γέγονεν ὁ Φιλόπωνος.—ἔλεγε δὲ ταῦτα κ. τ. λ.* Then follows the passage quoted at p. 333 *Philoponus*, Works n. 26.

<sup>d</sup> *Leontius* wrote *περὶ αἱρέσεων* while he was σχολαστικός, but he is called μοναχὸς by Nicephorus who describes his other work. If this is to be understood literally, that *Leontius* was already a monk when he wrote that other work, the treatise *de Sectis* was first written and the work in Nicephorus *εἰς λ' κεφαλαίους* against the *διατηρῆς* of *Philoponus* was later.



- 320 *Isidorus Hispalensis episcopus*. Described in c. 1 of this volume at A. D. 612 p. 162 A. D. 636 p. 174. His *Chronicon Gothorum* comprehending 256 years A. D. 369—625 is described at p. 167. He died in 636.
- 321 *Maximus monachus*<sup>e</sup>. Of a noble family at CP., he received a liberal education, and was at first in the service of the emperor *Heraclius*. But when the monothelete question began to be mentioned (about A. D. 622) he withdrew from the court and became a monk<sup>f</sup>. He was a distinguished opponent of the monotheletes<sup>g</sup>. His zeal and influence and the treatment which he endured are described by Theophanes in the following passages: p. 275 C *Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ῥώμης κοιμηθέντος* [Oct. 11 A. D. 642] *Θεόδωρος χειροτονεῖται πάπας ἀντ' αὐτοῦ. Πύρρος δὲ τὴν Ἀφρικὴν καταλαβὼν συνοψίζεται τὸν ἀγιώτατον ἀββᾶν Μάξιμον τὸν αἰδέσιμον ἐν μοναχικοῖς κατορθώμασι καὶ τοῖς ἐκεῖσε ἐνθέοις ἱεράρχαις, οἵτινες αὐτὸν ἐλέγξαντες καὶ πείσαντες*

<sup>e</sup> Photius Cod. 192 A ἀνεγνώσθη τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις Μαξίμου μοναχοῦ τοῦ καὶ ὁμολογητοῦ πρὸς Θαλάσσιον ὀσιώτατον πρεσβύτερον καὶ ἡγούμενον προσπεφωνημένον βιβλίον, ἐν ᾧ γραφικῶν ἀπορημάτων ρξδ' ἀναγράφει λύσεις. ἐν μέντοι τῷ προομίῳ διαλαμβάνει περὶ τῆς γενέσεως τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν παθῶν, καὶ φησιν ὡς τὸ κακὸν μηδὲν μηδ' ὀλῶς τῶν ὄντων ὑπάρχον κ. τ. λ. Cod. 192 B ἔτι ἀνεγνώσθησαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπιστολαὶ περὶ διαφόρων ὑποθέσεων ψυχωφελῶν τε καὶ ἀναγκαίων τοῖς ὀρθοῦν τὰ ἤθη—ἐσπουδακῶσι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ζ' καὶ κ'. ὧν ἦν μία πολυστίχος ἢ πρὸς τινα φιλόσοφον Ἰωάννην.—τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἐπιστολῶν τρεῖς μὲν εἰσι πρὸς Θαλάσσιον πρεσβύτερον καὶ ἡγούμενον δύο δὲ πρὸς Ἰωάννην κουβικουλάριον δύο δὲ πρὸς Σωφρόνιον μονάζοντα τὸν ἐπίκλην Εὐκρατᾶν καὶ μία πρὸς Ἰωάννην σοφιστὴν καὶ μία πρὸς Ἰανίαν ἡγουμένην καὶ μία Θαλασσίῳ ἡγουμένῳ καὶ πρεσβυτέρῳ καὶ μία Ἰορδάνῃ πρεσβυτέρῳ καὶ Στεφάνῳ ἡγουμένῳ καὶ πρεσβυτέρῳ καὶ μία Κυρισικίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ ἔτι ἑτέρα μία Ἰωάννῃ κουβικουλαρίῳ ὁμοίως καὶ Στεφάνῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ καὶ ἡγουμένῳ καὶ μία Κόνωνι πρεσβυτέρῳ καὶ ἡγουμένῳ ἔτι Θαλασσίῳ ἡγουμένῳ καὶ πρεσβυτέρῳ καὶ δύο Ἰωάννῃ ἐπισκόπῳ ἔτι Ἰωάννῃ κουβικουλαρίῳ περὶ τῆς κατὰ Θεὸν λύπης καὶ Κωνσταντίνῳ Ἰλλουστρίῳ καὶ ἀπὸ σακελαριῶν δύο καὶ τῷ ἀββᾷ Πολυχρονίῳ τρεῖς καὶ πρὸς Ἰουλιανὸν Ἀλεξανδρεῖα ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ἀκεφάλων αἵρέσεως ἐπιστραφέντα μία καὶ ὡς ἀπὸ Γεωργίου ἐπάρχου Ἀφρικῆς πρὸς μοναστηρίαν ἀποκοινησάσας ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ μία. Cod. 193 ἀνεγνώσθη τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀγίου Μαξίμου λόγος ἀσκητικὸς εἰς πέντε ἐσχηματισμένους καὶ ἀποκρίσιν.—συνετέτακτο δὲ καὶ ἑτέρα πραγματεία εἰς ὑ κεφάλαια πληθυνομένη, ἣ καὶ προσεπέφωνητο Ἐλπιδίῳ τῷ κ. τ. λ. Cod. 194 ἔτι ἀνεγνώσθη τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀγίου ἀνδρὸς πρὸς Γεώργιον ἑπαρχὸν ἐπιστολὴ πολλῆς ὠφελείας καὶ κατανύξεως γέμουσα.—ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ τεύχει συνανεγνώσθη λόγος κεφαλαιῶς ρ' διελθιμῶν, καὶ ἕτερος ὁμοίως τοῖς ἴσοις ἀπρητισμένους ἐν οἷς θεολογία τε διαλάμπει καὶ ἤθων διακόσμησις διαπρέπει κ. τ. λ.—ἐν ταύτῳ δὲ συνανεγνώσθησαν τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολαὶ διάφοροι, ὧν πρώτη μὲν πρὸς Πέτρον Ἰλλούστριον, ἧς ἐπιγραφὴ μὲν “Περὶ τοῦ κατὰ Χριστὸν μυστηρίου λόγος ἐπίτομος, καὶ Κατὰ τῶν Σεβήρου δογμάτων.”—ἑτέρα δὲ πρὸς Κοσμῶν διάκονον Ἀλεξανδρείας Περὶ κοινῶν καὶ ἰδίου, τουτέστιν οὐσίας καὶ ὑποστάσεως κ. τ. λ.—ἔτι δὲ πρὸς Πύρρον ἔτι πρεσβυτέρου βαθμῶν ἔχοντα καὶ οὐπω τῆς ἀρχιερατικῆς ἐπιβάσαντα καθέδρας [before A. D. 639]. θειάζει δ' ἐν αὐτῇ τὸν Πύρρον καὶ εὐσεβῆ γνῶσιν αὐτῷ καὶ ὀσιότητα ἐπιμαρ-

τύρεται.—γράφει δὲ καὶ πρὸς Θωμᾶν τινὰ αἰτησάμενον ῥητῶν τῶν ἀπορουμένων ἐπιλύσεις τὰ δὲ ῥητὰ τοῦ θεολόγου τέ ἐστι Γρηγορίου [N<sup>o</sup> 159] καὶ τοῦ θείου Διονυσίου.—Cod. 195 ἀνεγνώσθη τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀγίου ἀνδρὸς ἐπιστολὴ. Μαριανῶ πρεσβυτέρῳ προσπεφώνηται ἐν ἣ περὶ τε φυσικοῦ θελήματος ἤτοι θελήσεως διέξεισι καὶ βουλήσεως καὶ βουλῆς ἤτοι βουλεύσεως, περὶ τε προαιρέσεως καὶ περὶ τίνων βουλευόμεθα, καὶ περὶ γνώμης καὶ ἐξουσίας καὶ δόξης, καὶ περὶ φρονήματος εἶτον φρονήσεως.—ἀνεγνώσθη δ' ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τεύχει διάλογος περὶ τῶν δύο θελημάτων καὶ τῶν δύο ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ ἐνεργειῶν τὰ πρόσωπα δὲ τοῦ διαλόγου Πύρρος καὶ Μάξιμος, ὧν ὁ μὲν τῆς ὀρθοδοξοῦσης προΐσταται γνώμης Πύρρος δὲ τοῦ αἰρετίζοντος ἀντεχόμενος φρονήματος ὅμως, ὥσπερ συνεχόμενός τε καὶ συναυνοῦμενος τοῖς ὀρθοδοξοῦσιν ἐνθυμήμασί τε καὶ δόγμασι, τίθεται τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ, ἀνομολογῶν ἑαυτὸν οὐκ ὀρθῶς πεφρονηκέναι τὰ πρότερον ἐν δὲ τῇ Ῥώμῃ αὐτὸν ὁ λόγος δεικνυσὶν ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς τὴν διάλεξιν, μεθ' οὗ ἦν αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ φωνῆν ἐπιβάλλον, ὅτε τοῦ ΚΠ. ἐξέπεσε θρόνου. For the works of *Maximus* see Fabric. tom. 9 p. 637—677.

<sup>f</sup> Auctor vitæ apud Combefis p. II Μαξίμω τοίνυν τῷ θείῳ καὶ ὁμολογητῇ πατρὶς μὲν ἡ πρώτη τῶν πόλεων καὶ μεγάλῃ Κ. πολις ἦν καὶ νέαν Ῥώμην ὁ λόγος οἶδε προσονομάζειν. πατέρες δὲ εὐγενεῖς ἄνωθεν, καὶ τῇ κατὰ κόσμον περιφανεῖα μὴ πολλῶν δεύτεροι. p. III ἐπεὶ δὲ οὗτος καὶ ἐπὶ διδασκάλους ἐφοῖτα, παιδείας ὡς εἰκὸς παντοίας ἐπιμελούμενος, τί χρὴ καὶ λέγειν ὅσην ἐντὸς ὀλίγου χρόνου γνῶσιν ἑαυτῷ συνελέξατο γραμματικὴν μὲν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἐγκύκλιον παιδευσιν ἐξασκήσας ἐπιμελέστατα. p. IV πρὸς τὰ βασιλεία τούτου τοῦ τότε κρατοῦντος Ἡράκλειος δ' οὗτος ἦν εὐνοία τῇ πάσῃ μετακαλεσαμένου καὶ ὑπογραφῆα πρῶτον τῶν βασιλικῶν ὑπομνημάτων καταστησαμένου· ᾧ καὶ οἷα τηλικῶδε ἀνδρὶ, καὶ τοσοῦτου οἴκου, ἐν πᾶσί τε ἐχρήτο τοῖς ἀνὰ χεῖρα, καὶ ὑπουργῶν καὶ συλλήπτορα τῶν καλλίστων ἐκέκτητο.—ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μικρὰ ταῦτα πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν, καὶ δόξαν καὶ χρήματα καὶ τιμὴν καὶ ὅσα φιλοτιμίας ἦπται τῆς περιττῆς, ἡγησάμενος· ἄλλως τε καὶ τὴν πίστιν τότε καινοτομουμένην ὀρᾶν τῷ πολλὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὸ τῶν μονοθελητῶν διαλυμαίνεσθαι δόγμα, καταλείπει μὲν ἅπαντα—πρὸς δὲ τὸν μονάδα βίον—σπουδῇ προσχωρεῖ τῷ κατὰ τὴν ἀντιπέραν ἤλιον φροντιστηρίῳ, ὃ τῆς Χρυσοπόλλεως προσωνομάσται. τότε κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν ἀνθούντι, δοὺς ἑαυτόν.

<sup>g</sup> Auctor Vitæ p. VI—XII.



πρὸς τὸν πάπαν Θεόδωρον ἀπέστειλαν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ. p. 276 A Θεοδώρου δὲ τοῦ πάπα τελευτήσαντος [May 13 A. D. 649] Μαρτίνος ὁ ἀγιώτατος χειροτονεῖται ἐν Ῥώμῃ. καταλαβόντος δὲ καὶ Μαξίμου ἀπὸ Ἀφρικῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ καὶ τὸν πάπαν Μαρτίνον πρὸς ζῆλον ἐξάψαντος, σύνοδον ρυ' ἐπισκόπων συναθροίσαντες [A. D. 649] Σέργιον καὶ Πύρρον Κῦρον καὶ Παῦλον ἀνεθεμάτισαν. p. 288 C *Constantis* 16<sup>o</sup> [A. D. 657] τῷ δ' αὐτῷ ἔτει τὰ κατὰ τὸν ἅγιον Μάξιμον καὶ τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ ἐπράχθη ὑπὲρ τῆς ὀρθῆς πίστεως ἀγωνισαμένων κατὰ τῶν μονοθελητῶν· οὗς Κώνστας εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κακοδοξίαν μὴ ἰσχύσας μετενέγκαι τὴν θεόσοφον καὶ πολυμαθεστάτην γλώσσαν τοῦ ἁγίου ἀπέτεμεν μετὰ τῆς δεξιᾶς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ<sup>h</sup>. The death of *Maximus* is fixed by his fellow sufferer *Anastasius* to Aug. 13 A. D. 662.<sup>i</sup>

- 322 *Ildefonsus episcopus Toletanus*. The successor of *Eugenius II*. Appendix Juliani episcopi Toletani apud Fabricium p. 65 *Ildefonsus memoria sui temporis clarus—novissime Toletance sedis adscitus in cathedram præsul post secundum Eugenium in sacerdotium consecratur*<sup>k</sup>. He fled from his parents and became a monk: *Ibid. Contemptis parentum rerumque mundanarum affectibus Agaliense monasterium petiit. &c.—Agaliense illico monasterium adiit monachumque se in eo multis fere annis decenter exhibuit.—Rector deinde effectus Agaliensis cænobii monachorum mores exercuit rem discrevit vitamque servavit. Principali post hæc violentia Toletum reducitur atque inibi post decessoris sui obitum pontifex subrogatur. Scripsit sane quam plurimos libros luculentiore sermone potissimos, quos idem in tot partibus censuit dividendos &c.—Scripsit autem et alia multa quæ variis rerum ac molestiarum occupationibus impeditus aliqua cæpta aliqua semiplena reliquit. Adscitus autem in pontificatum nono gloriosi *Recceswinthi principis* anno novem annis et duobus fere mensibus clarus habitus fuit vitæ meritis et retentione regiminis, expletoque *XVIII*<sup>o</sup> prædicti principis anno, sequenti die *X**

<sup>h</sup> Repeated by Cedrenus p. 435 C τῷ 15' ἔρει. and told by the biographer p. XXV. Zonaras XIV p. 87 C D Κώνστας—Μάξιμον καὶ τοὺς αὐτοῦ φοιτητὰς ἄμφω ἐκόλασεν ἀπηνέστατα, καὶ Μαρτίνον τὸν ἀγιώτατον πάπαν τῆς Ῥώμης ὑπερορία κατέκρινεν, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἀπέθανεν. ὁς σὺν τῷ ἀοιδίμῳ πατρὶ Μαξίμῳ παραγενομένῳ ἐν Ῥώμῃ σύνοδον ἀθροίσας ἀρχιερέων ἀνάθεματι τοὺς τὰ τῶν μονοθελητῶν φρονοῦντας ὑπέβαλε. The barbarous sentence against *Maximus* at CP. is given in Pagi tom. 3 p. 28. It is positively declared that the cruel sentence was executed; and yet 5 years afterwards, as we shall see below, *Maximus* is represented as conversing with those about him and predicting the day of his death. The author of his life accounts for this p. XXVI by supposing a miracle. We may suppose that the executioners were more merciful than the judges.

<sup>i</sup> Pagi tom. 3 p. 33 "Tempus mortis S. *Anastasio* presbyteri et apocrisarii S. *Maximi* abbatis et *Anastasio* ejus discipuli discimus partim ex ejusdem *Anastasio* apocrisarii epistola—partim ex Hypomnestico quod, sicuti et ea epistola, exstat in Collectaneis *Anastasio*.—Epistola missa est a tertio exilio, id est, *Lazico*. Cum venissemus (inquit *Anastasio*) ad regionem *Lazorum VI Id. Jun. V indictionis* [June 8 A. D. 662] statim separaverunt nos ab invicem, diripientes omnia usque ad unam acum et filum, et dominum *Maximum* abbatem, neque in subjugali neque in vehiculo sedere valentem,—cum plectentes virgulas ex iis quasi lectulum texissent bajulantes detulerunt et incluserunt in castro *Schemari* vocitato, juxta gentem eorum qui

*dicuntur Alani*.—Asserit postea *Anastasius* apocrisarius S. *Maximus*, cum esset custodiae mancipatus in castro superius memorato, dixisse ad quosdam—*XIII die Augusti mensis hujus instantis quintæ indictionis feria septima assumet me Dominus. Quod et factum est. Igitur XIII die prædicti Augusti mensis præteritæ quintæ indictionis* [Aug. 13 A. D. 662]—*feria septima—perrexit ad Dominum*. In fine ejusdem epistolæ legitur hoc scholion: *Obiit et ipse sanctus pater noster et martyr Anastasius, qui hanc scripsit epistolam, die Dominico hora tertia V Id. Oct.—indictione X* [Oct. 11 A. D. 666]. In Hypomnestico dicitur de S. *Maximo* et *Anastasio* ejus discipulo *Pariter et Anastasius discipulus ejus ab XI indictione præteriti cycli* [A. D. 65½] *per tria exilia, Bizyes scilicet et Perberei Thracensium regionis, atque prædictum Luzicum, in multis contritionibus—annis decem peractis, ad regnum migravere supernum. S. quidem Maximus, sicut dictum est, mense Augusto die XIII indictione V—discipulus vero ejus Anastasius mense Julio die XXIV indictionis ejusdem* [July 24 A. D. 662]."

<sup>k</sup> *Eugenius II* is described by *Ildefonsus* de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis c. 14 *Idem Eugenius alter post priorem* [de quo *Ildefonsus* c. 13] *pontifex subrogatur*.—*Clarus habitus fuit temporibus Cinthasindi et Reccesuindi regum fere XII annis tenens dignitatem simul et gloriam sacerdotis*. From the times of his successor we learn that he died in the 9th year of the reign of *Recceswinthus*, and his 12 years current are at A. D. 646—657.



*Kal. Feb. domicilio carnis exuatur* [sc. Jan. 23 A. D. 667]. The 19th year of *Recceswinthus* began Jan. 23 A. D. 667, his 1st began Jan. 23 A. D. 649,<sup>1</sup> and the 9<sup>y</sup> 2<sup>m</sup> of the episcopate of *Ildefonsus* carry back his appointment to Nov. A. D. 657, when the 9th year of *Recceswinthus* was current<sup>m</sup>.

Thus far of authors who lived within a period of about 630 years, from the times of the Apostles to A. D. 667. The few remaining names added in alphabetical order are of writers quoted in the present work, but either of uncertain age or belonging to later times.

323 *Alexander Lycopolitanus*. Mentioned by Photius adv. Manichæos I. 11 among the writers against the Manichees: *εἰ δὲ τισὶ φίλον καὶ ἀνωθέν ποθεν ἰδεῖν αὐτῶν τὴν δυσσέβειαν*,—*Κύριλλός τε αὐτοῖς ὁ τὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς πόλεως ἐγκεκερισμένος πῆδαλια* [N<sup>o</sup> 154: cf. Fabric. tom. 7 p. 325] *τῆς ἱστορίας καθηγήσεται, καὶ ὁ πολλὸς ἐν θαύμασιν Ἐπιφάνιος*—*Τίτος τε ὁ Βοστρονῶν ἐπίσκοπος* [see above p. 425] *καὶ Σαραπίων ὁ τῆς Θμουέως* [N<sup>o</sup> 132] *ὃ τε τῆς πόλεως Λύκων Ἀλέξανδρος τοὺς ἀρχιερατικοὺς ἐγκεχειρισμένους νόμους*. From the title of his work apud Galland *Bibl. Veterum Patrum* tom. 4 p. 73—87 Venet. 1768 it appears that he was once a gentile: *Ἀλεξάνδρου Λυκοπολίτου ἐπιστρέψαντος ἐξ ἔθνων πρὸς τὰς Μανιχαίων δόξας*. And Tillemont Beausobre and Mosheim quoted by Lardner Vol. 8 p. 350. 351, rejecting the account of Photius, think that the work was written by a heathen<sup>n</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Jan. 22, as Pagi computes tom. 3 p. 4.

<sup>m</sup> *Julianus* the biographer of Toledo: Appendix Felicis episcopi Toletani apud Fabricium p. 66 *Julianus episcopus, discipulus Eugenii II—post beatæ memoriæ Quiricum quarto in loco præceptorem suum sequens urbis regiæ pontificale culmen adeptus est.—Post decessoris sui obitum divinæ memoriæ Ildefonsi a XVII<sup>o</sup> ferme anno Reccesuinđi principis necnon et per omne Wambanis imperii tempus usque ad III<sup>um</sup> regni gloriosissimi Egicanis regis annum in levitici presbyterii ac pontificatus honore consistens celebre nomen obtinuit.—Præsulatus autem honorem et sacerdotii dignitatem annis X obtinuit mense iudæo VII; quique etiam inevitabilis mortis præventus occasu anno tertio Egicanis principis prid. Non. Mart. æra DCCXXIIX diem vitæ clausit extremam* [March 6 A. D. 690]. *Julian's* 10<sup>y</sup> 1<sup>m</sup> 7<sup>d</sup> carry back his appointment to A. D. 680, and, as 680 was bissextile, to Jan. 29. The succession of bishops was this.

*Eugenius II* A. D. 646

*Ildefonsus* Nov. A. D. 657

*Quiricus* Feb. A. D. 667

*Julianus quartus ab Eugenio* Jan. 29 A. D. 680.

*Quiricus* appears in *Actis Concil. tom. 7 p. 555. Concilium Toletanum XI. Collectis in unum Carthaginis provinciæ sacerdotibus in Toletana urbe anno IV—Wambani principis sub die VII Idus Nov.* [Nov. 10 A. D. 675.] p. 571 *Ego Quiricus urbis regiæ metropolitanus episcopus hæc gesta &c. subscripsi.*

The Gothic kings mentioned in the Tables A. D. 569 p. 824 and their successors down to era 728 are these.

*Agila* A. D. 549. See above c. 1 p. 145 note k.

*Athanagildus* A. D. 554. Isidorus quoted at c. 1 p. 145.

*Liuva I* A. D. 567. Tables p. 824.

*Lewigildus* A. D. 568. Ibid.

*Recaredus* A. D. 586. p. 826.

*Liuva II* June A. D. 601. See above c. 1 p. 157.

*Wittericus* A. D. 603. p. 158.

*Gundemar* A. D. 610. p. 161.

*Sisebutus* A. D. 612. p. 162.

*Recaredus II* A. D. 620. p. 165.

*Swinthila* A. D. 621. p. 165. 166.

*Sisenandus* A. D. 631. p. 171.

*Chintila* A. D. 636 before April. Compare Braulio quoted at p. 174. His first year was current June 30 after the death of *Isidorus*: *Acta Concil. tom. 6 p. 1483. Concilium Toletanum V. Apud urbem Toletanam—in hanc convenimus concordiam et gloriosi principis nostri Cinthilæ regis initia.*—p. 1488 *Datum sub die prid. Kal. Julias anno feliciter primo regni nostri Tolet.* In the subscriptions p. 1487 the name of a bishop of Hispala does not appear.

*Tulga* Jan. A. D. 640. Pagi tom. 2 p. 824.

*Chintaswinthus* May 6 A. D. 642. Pagi tom. 2 p. 827.

*Recceswinthus* Jan. 23 A. D. 649. See above p. 488.

*Wambanes* Sept. 19 A. D. 672. Pagi tom. 3 p. 64.

His 4th year was accordingly current at Nov. 10 A. D. 675.

*Ervigius* Oct. A. D. 680. Pagi tom. 3 p. 94.

*Egicanes* Nov. A. D. 687. Pagi tom. 3 p. 122. His third year was current March 6 A. D. 690 when *Julianus* died.

<sup>n</sup> *Alexander* c. 2 thus begins his subject: *Τοιάδε οὖν τις φήμη τῆς ἐκείνου δόξης ἀπὸ τῶν γνωρίμων τοῦ ἀνδρὸς*

324 *Andreas Cæsareæ episcopus.* Quoted in the Tables at A. D. 95 p. 81. Oudin de scriptoribus eccles. tom. 2 p. 93 “Andreas Cæsareæ Cappadocum archiepiscopus A. D. 840. De quo eximie Cavus ad annum 500 “Videtur—floruisse anno 500.” “Scripsit ad *Macarium* quendam commentarios in Apocalypsin quos Latine vertit Theodorus Peltanus soc. Jesu. Extant Græco-Latine ad finem comment. *Chrysostomi* in Evangelium Joannis in editione Morelliana tomo VIII.” Itā Cavus—ex Bellarmino, quem etiam non nominatum expressit<sup>o</sup>.”

ἀφίκετο πρὸς ἡμᾶς. δύο ἀρχὰς ἐτίθετο, Θεὸν καὶ Ὑλὴν εἶναι δὲ τὸν μὲν Θεὸν ἀγαθὸν τὴν δὲ Ὑλὴν κακὸν· ἀγαθῶ δὲ πλείον τὸν Θεὸν ὑπερβάλλειν ἢ κακῶ τὴν Ὑλὴν· τὴν δὲ Ὑλὴν λέγει οὐχ ἦν Πλάτων· τὴν πάντα γινομένην ὅτ' ἂν λάβῃ ποιότητα καὶ σχῆμα· δι' ὃ πανδεχὴ καὶ μητέρα καὶ τιθὴν, καλεῖ· καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης τὸ στοιχεῖον περὶ ὃ τὸ εἶδος καὶ ἡ στέρησις· ἀλλ' ἕτερον τι παρὰ ταῦτα· τὴν γὰρ ἐν ἐκάστῳ τῶν ὄντων ἔτακτον κίνησιν, ταύτην Ὑλὴν καλεῖ· συντετάχθαι δὲ τῷ Θεῷ δυνάμει ἐτέρας οἷον ὑπηρετίδας, ἀγαθὰς πάσας· καὶ ἄλλας τῇ Ὑλῇ ὁμοίως πάσας κακὰς· τὸ δὲ λαμπρὸν καὶ τὸ φῶς καὶ τὸ ἄνω, πάντα ταῦτα σὺν τῷ Θεῷ εἶναι· τὸ ἀμυδρὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ σκότος καὶ τὸ κάτω σὺν τῇ Ὑλῇ εἶναι δὲ καὶ τῷ Θεῷ ὀρέξει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτας ἀγαθὰς, καὶ τῇ Ὑλῇ ὁμοίως, ἀλλὰ πάσας κακὰς.

c. 3 Εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν οὖν ποτε τὴν Ὑλὴν ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὸν ἄνω ἀφικέσθαι τόπον· ἀφικόμενῃ δὲ θαυμάσαι τό τε λαμπρὸν καὶ τὸ φῶς ὅσον ἦν παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ. καὶ δὴ θέλει τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην κατασχέειν τὸν Θεὸν παρωσαμένην. τὸν δὲ καὶ βεβουλήθηθα. μὲν ταύτην τιμωρήσασθαι, ἀπορεῖν δὲ κακοῦ ὧ καὶ τιμωρήσεται· μὴ γὰρ εἶναι κακὸν ἐν Θεοῦ οἴκῳ. πέμψαι οὖν τινα Δύναμιν τὴν ὑφ' ἡμῶν καλουμένην ψυχὴν ἐπὶ τὴν Ὑλὴν, ἥτις αὐτῇ διὰ πάσης μυχθήσεται· ἔσεσθαι γὰρ τῆς Ὑλῆς θάνατον τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα ποτε τῆς Δυνάμεως ταύτης χωρισμὸν. οὕτως οὖν κατὰ πρόνοιαν τοῦ Θεοῦ μεμίχθαι τὴν ψυχὴν τῇ Ὑλῇ, ἀνόμοιον τι πρᾶγμα ἀνομοίῳ· ἐν δὲ τῇ μίξει συμπαθεῖν τῇ Ὑλῇ τὴν ψυχὴν· ὡς περὶ γὰρ ἐν φαύλῳ ἀγγεῖῳ συμμεταβάλλεται πολλάκις τὸ ἐνυπάρχον, οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ὑλῇ τοιοῦτό τι τὴν ψυχὴν παθοῦσαν παρὰ τὴν οὐσαν ἡλαττώσασθαι φύσιν εἰς μετουσίαν κακίας. οἰκτεῖραι οὖν τοῦτο τὸν Θεὸν καὶ πέμψαι τινα ἐτέραν Δύναμιν ἢ ἡμεῖς καλοῦμεν Δημιουργόν· ἥς δὴ ἀφικόμενης καὶ τῇ κοσμοποιῖᾳ ἐπιχειρηκίας, ἀποκεκρίσθαι τῆς Ὑλῆς ἐκεῖνο τῆς Δυνάμεως ὅσον ἀπὸ τῆς μίξεως οὐδὲν ἦν ἄποπον πεπονηθὸς, καὶ γεγενῆαι Ἥλιον καὶ Σελήνην πρῶτον· τὸ δὲ ἐν μετρία γεγονὸς κακία ἀστέρων καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν σύμπαντα. τῆς οὖν Ὑλῆς ἥς ἀπεκρίθησαν Ἥλιος καὶ Σελήνη τὸ μέρος ἐκτὸς τοῦ κόσμου ἀπεληγάσθαι, καὶ εἶναι ἐκεῖνο πῦρ, καυστικὸν μὲν σκοτῶδες δὲ καὶ ἀφεγγες, νυκτὶ προσόμοιον. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις στοιχείοις καὶ φυτοῖς καὶ ζώοις τοῖς ἐν τοῖτοις ἀνωμάλως φέρεσθαι τὴν θείαν Δύναμιν μεμιγμένην. δι' ὃ δὴ καὶ τὸν κόσμον γεγενῆαι καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ Ἥλιον καὶ Σελήνην, ταῖς γενέσεσι καὶ ταῖς φθοραῖς αἰετὴν τὴν Δύναμιν τὴν θείαν τῆς Ὑλῆς ἀποχωρίζοντας καὶ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν παραπέμποντας. c. 4 Ἐπεὶ γὰρ τοι τῷ Δημιουργῷ ἐτέραν Δύναμιν ἐπὶ τὸ φωτεινὸν τοῦ Ἥλιου καθέλκουσαν ταῦτα διαπραγματεύσασθαι, καὶ εἶναι καὶ ἐμφανὲς τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ, ὡς ἂν τις εἴποι, τυφλῶ δῆλον. ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς αὐξήσεσι τὴν Σελήνην λαμβάνειν τὴν ἀποχωριζομένην Δύναμιν ἀπὸ τῆς Ὑλῆς, καὶ πλήρη γίνεσθαι ταύτης τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον· πληρωθεῖσαν δὲ ἐν ταῖς μειώσεσιν εἰς τὸν Ἥλιον ἀναπέ-

πειν· τὸν δὲ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ἀπείναι [f. ἀφείναι]. ποιήσαντα δὲ τοῦτο ἐκδέχεσθαι πάλιν τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐτέρας πανσελήνου πρὸς αὐτὸν τῆς ψυχῆς μετοίησιν· καὶ παραλαβόντα ὁμοίως πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν εἶαν αὐτομάτως φέρεσθαι· καὶ τοῦτο διὰ παντὸς ἐκποιεῖν. καὶ εἰκόνα δὲ ἐν Ἠλίῳ ἐωρᾶσθαι τοιαύτην οἷον ἐστὶ τὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἶδος· καὶ ἀντιφιλοτιμήσασθαι τὴν Ὑλὴν ποιῆσαι τὸν ἀνθρώπον ἐξ αὐτῆς, κατὰ τὴν διὰ πάσης αὐτῆς τῆς δυνάμεως μίξιν, ἔχοντα καὶ αὐτὸν τὴν ψυχῆς· πολὺ μὲν τοι συμβεβλήθη τὸ εἶδος εἰς τὸ πλείον τι παρὰ τὰ ἄλλα θητὰ ζῶα τῆς Δυνάμεως τῆς θείας τὸν ἀνθρώπου μετασχέειν· ὑπάρχειν γὰρ αὐτὸν θείας Δυνάμεως εἰκόνα· τὸν δὲ Χριστὸν εἶναι Νοῦν· ὃν δὴ καὶ ἀφικόμενον ποτε ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄνω τόπου πλείστον τε τῆς Δυνάμεως ταύτης πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν λελυκέναι καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ἀνασταυρωθέντα παρασχέσθαι γνώσιν τοῖσδε τρόπῳ· καὶ τὴν Δύναμιν τὴν θείαν ἐνηρμόσθαι [adde καὶ] ἐνεσταυρωθῆσαι τῇ Ὑλῇ. ἐπεὶ οὖν ἀπόλλυσθαι τὴν Ὑλὴν ἐστὶ Θεοῦ δόγμα, ἀπέχεσθαι μὲν ἐμψύχων πάντων σιτίζεσθαι δὲ λάχανα καὶ πᾶν ὃ τι ἀναίσθητον, ἀπέχεσθαι δὲ γάμων καὶ ἀφροδισίων καὶ τεκνοποιίας, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιπλεῖον ἢ Δύναμις ἐνοικήσῃ τῇ Ὑλῇ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ γένους διαδοχὴν, μὴ ἐξάγειν δὲ ἑαυτοὺς μηχανωμένους κάθαρσιν ὧν ἐλυμήνατο ἡ μίξις τῆς Ὑλῆς τὴν Δύναμιν.

c. 5 Τὰ μὲν κεφαλαιωδέστερα ὧν λέγουσιν ἐστὶ ταῦτα. τιμῶσι δὲ μάλιστα Ἥλιον καὶ Σελήνην, οὐχ ὡς θεοὺς ἀλλ' ὡς ὁδὸν δι' ἧς ἐστὶ πρὸς Θεὸν ἀφικέσθαι. ἀποχωρισθείσης δὲ ἀκριβῶς τῆς θείας Δυνάμεως, τὸ ἔξω πῦρ φασὶ συμπέσον ἐαυτὸ τε καὶ τὸ ἄλλο σύμπαν ὅτι δι' ἂν [1. ὃ τι δὴ ἂν] λείπηται τῆς Ὑλῆς συγκαταφλέξειν. οἱ δὲ ἐν τοῖτοις χαριέστεροι καὶ Ἑλληνικῶν οὐκ ἄπειροι λόγων ἀναμνησκουσιν ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων· ἐκ μὲν τῶν τελετῶν τὸν κατατεταμένον Διόνυσον τῷ λόγῳ ἐπιφημίζοντες ὑπὸ τῶν Τιτάνων, καθάπερ λέγουσιν αὐτοὶ τὴν θείαν Δύναμιν μερίζεσθαι εἰς τὴν Ὑλὴν· ἐκ δὲ τῶν ποιήσεων τῆς Γιγαντομαχίας ὅτι μὴδὲ αὐτοὶ ἡγήσαν τὴν τῆς Ὑλῆς κατὰ Θεοῦ ἄνταρσιν. ἐγὼ δὲ ὡς μὲν ταῦτα οὐχ ἰκανὰ ψυχαγωγῆσαι τοὺς ἀβασανίστους τὸν λόγον προσιεμένους οὐκ ἂν εἴποιμι· ὅπου γε καὶ τινες τῶν συνεχολακῶν ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ φιλοσοφεῖν μετέστησεν ἢ τοιαύτη ἀπάτη τῶν λόγων πρὸς ἑαυτήν· εἰς ἐξέτασιν δὲ ὅπως ἔχει νῦν ἑμαυτὸν καθεὶ ἀπορῶ τί χρῆσθωμαι. κ. τ. λ. Compare this sketch with the testimonies collected above at p. 424—430.

<sup>o</sup> Oudin proceeds as follows: “Lambecius tom. 4 commentariorum Bibliothecæ Cæsareæ Vindobonensis p. 180 “Codex MS. Theologicus Græcus 172 est chartaceus mediocriter antiquus in folio constatque foliis 120 et ad Andream Taumarum Epidauriotam olim pertinuit. Continetur eo *Andreas Cæsareensis* in Cappadocia archiepiscopi commentarius in Apocal. —Cujus præfatio—incipit hoc modo: Ἀνδρέου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Καισαρείας Καππαδοκίας ἐπιστολὴ. Κυριῶ μου



- 325 *Andreas Cretensis*. Ἀνδρέας Ἱεροσολυμίτης, ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Κρήτης. Placed by Cave tom. 1 p. 582 at A. D. 635—680, and by Fabricius tom. 11 p. 62 at A. D. 680.<sup>9</sup> By Oudin tom. 1 præf. p. 3 tom. 2 p. 174 upon conjecture at A. D. 840 or 850.<sup>r</sup> A Catalogue of forty extant homilies of *Andreas* is given by Fabricius tom. 11 p. 84. 85, twenty of which are contained in the edition of Combefis fol. Paris. 1644.<sup>s</sup>
- 326 *Arethas Cæsariensis episcopus*. Quoted in the Tables A. D. 95 p. 81. Oudin tom. 2 p. 426 “Certam ejus ætatem docuit me B. de Montfaucon Palæographia Græca fol. Paris. 1708, ubi profert codicem lib. 1 c. 6 p. 43 “Codex regius 2271 membr. ad calcem habet ἐγράφη χειρὶ Βαδάνου νοταρίου Ἀρέτα ἀρχιεπισκόπου τῆς Καισαρείας Καππαδοκίας ἔτει κόσμον 5κκβ [6422] scil. A. D. 914.” Et libro 4 c. 2 “Eximix notæ est codex regius num. 2271.—Codex “annum et calligraphi nomen in fine profert: ἐγράφη κ. τ. λ.” *Arethas* therefore flourished A. D. 914. [5508 + 914 = 6422].<sup>t</sup>
- 327 *Beda*. He brings down his History to A. D. 731: Ecclesiasticæ historiæ gentis Anglorum

ἀδελφῶ καὶ συλλειτουργῶ. Πολλάκις αἰτηθεὶς παρὰ πολλῶν ἐξ ἀγοπῆς μείζονα τῆς ἐμῆς δυνάμεως ὡς ἐσχκόντων ὑπόληψιν κ. τ. λ. Ipse autem commentarius incipit his verbis: ἀποκάλυψις μὲν ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν κρυπτῶν μυστηρίων δῆλωσις, καταγαζομένου τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ εἶτε διὰ θείων ὀνειράτων εἶτε κ. τ. λ.” Oudin. p. 95 “Unus Codex *Origenis*, duo *Methodii monachi* unus *Andree Cretensis*, quinque autem *Andree Cæsarensis archiepiscopi*. p. 98 Dico hunc *Andream* sub seculi tantum noni medium scripsisse his argumentis ductus. I Auctor ex aliis transscribit atque transscribere se profitetur, quod seculis ecclesiæ quinque et sex primis inauditum fuit seculique noni proprium. Ergo hic auctor spectat ad seculum nonum. Auctor ait in prologo *Constat namque beatos illos viros patresque nostros Gregorium theologum, Cyrillum Alexandrinum, multosque his vestustiores, Papiam Irenæum Methodium et Hippolytum divinum fideque dignum esse* &c.—Perpetuus est in citatione veterum. c. 3 citat *Epiphanium et Irenæum*. c. 13 *Methodium*. c. 16 *Eusebium* H. E. IX. 8. c. 18 *Irenæum*. c. 33 *Methodium*. c. 34 *Antonium in vitis patrum*. c. 36 *Methodium et Hippolytum*. c. 44 in fine *Dionysium Areopagitam*. c. 47 *Vitas patrum* quoad historiam de angelis custodibus. c. 49 Ambigere videtur an pœna dæmonum et damnatorum æterna futura sit, licet nihil definiat. c. 53 *Hippolytum* citat et *Irenæum*. c. 63 *Irenæum et magnam Methodium*: ὁ δὲ μέγας Μεθόδιος ἐν τῷ περὶ ἀναστάσεως λόγῳ αὐτοῦ ἐξέθετο οὕτως κ. τ. λ. [sc. *Methodius Olympi Lyciæ episcopus* N° 110 Tables p. 343]. c. 66 *Epiphanium*. Qui igitur hos omnes ut fidei suæ regulam profert ab illorum temporibus se multis annorum centuriis esse remotum indicat.”

2 “Attribuit hic auctor commentarium in Apocal. *Gregorio Nazianzeno*. Cum ergo hujus commentarii nullus veterum meminerit, inde conjicimus auctorem hunc esse recentioris Græciæ, scribentem post commentarium in Apocalypsin *Gregorio Naz.* suppositum; qui mos Græcorum recentiorum fuit.”

3 “Allegat hic auctor c. 44 *Dionysium Areopagitam*—ubi supponit opera *Dionysii Areopagite* quæ a

Severianis conficta fuisse a catholicis credebantur.”

4 “Hæc scribendi ratio ex laciniis patrum simul junctis seculo nono primum incepit. et usque ad seculi noni finem continuavit.” Oudin instances a collection made by *Walafrius Strabus* in 830, by *Jonas* in 830, by *Photius* adhuc laicus after 850, by *Anastasius bibliothecarius* in 870. and concludes “Jure igitur, cum *Andreas* eadem methodo commentarium suum in Apocalypsin scripserit, anno 840 vel circiter assignandus videtur.”

As I have not been able to procure a copy of the Greek original, I have been constrained to use for *Andreas* the Latin version of Peltanus.

P Fabricius B. G. tom. 11 p. 62 “*Andreas*, natus Damasci, aliquamdiu antequam CP. proficisceretur Hierosolymis monachi vitam vixit, unde Hierosolymitanus in quibusdam codd. dicitur.”

q Fabricius: “A Theodoro patriarcha Hierosol. ad sextam synodum anno 680 celebratam CP. subsidio adversus Monotheletas missum esse Græci ipsi in synaxario adfirmant constitutumque in illa urbe diaconum et orphanotrophum;—ab eo tempore archiepiscopum Cretensem factum ex multis testimoniis constat.”

r An abstract of Oudin’s arguments, which are far from satisfactory, is given by Harles ad Fabricium tom. 11 p. 63.

s Fabricius p. 84 “*homiliarum XXI editarum et ineditarum XIX.*” In reality 20 are published. The list of Fabricius at p. 68—71 agrees with Combefis as far as N° 15. 16. 17. Then follow in Combefis, though not so numbered in his edition,

18 οὐδὲν ὡς ἀληθῶς—p. 229.

19 τὴν σύλληψιν σήμερον—p. 252.

20 χορευέτω πᾶσα κτίσις—p. 258.

These two last are marked in Fabricius p. 85 as *ineditæ*.

t The commentary of *Arethas* quoted in the Tables p. 81 is published with *Æcumenius* in ed. Veron. 1532 p. 878—998, and in ed. Cramer Svo. Oxon. 1840 p. 176—582.



V. 24 tom. 3 p. 147 *Hic est in presentiarum universæ status Britannicæ, anno adventus Anglorum in Britanniam circiter 285° Dominicæ autem incarnationis anno 731°.* He gives an account of himself at the close of his history Opp. tom. 3 p. 151 as follows: *Hæc de Historia Ecclesiastica Britannorum et maxime gentis Anglorum prout vel ex literis antiquorum vel ex traditione majorum vel ex mea ipse cognitione scire potui, Domino adjuvante, digessi Beda famulus et presbyter monasterii beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli quod est ad Wirimudam et Ingirium. Qui natus in territorio ejusdem monasterii, cum essem annorum septem, cura propinquorum datus sum educandus reverendissimo abbati Benedicto ac deinde Coelfrido, cunctumque ex eo tempus vitæ in ejusdem monasterii habitatione peragens omnem meditandis Scripturis operam dedi, atque inter observantiam disciplinæ regularis et quotidianam cantandi in ecclesia curam semper aut discere aut docere aut scribere dulce habui. Decimo nono autem vitæ meæ anno diaconatum, tricesimo gradum presbyteratus, utrumque per ministerium reverendissimi episcopi Joannis jubente Ceolfrido abbate suscepi. Ex quo tempore accepti presbyteratus usque ad annum ætatis meæ 59<sup>um</sup> hæc in Scripturam sanctam meæ meorumque necessitati ex opusculis venerabilium patrum breviter annotare sive etiam ad formam sensus et interpretationis eorum superadjicere curavi<sup>v</sup>.*

If we suppose that this account of himself was subjoined by *Beda* in A. D. 732, the 59 years current will carry back his birth to A. D. 574. He died May 26 A. D. 735, in about his 62nd year<sup>w</sup>.

328 *Hermias*. Ἑρμείου φιλοσόφου διασυρμὸς τῶν ἕξω φιλοσόφων. His time is unknown. See Fabricius B. G. tom. 7 p. 114 Lardner Vol. 2 p. 246.

329 *Joannes Damascenus*. Suidas p. 1790 Ἰωάννης ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Μανσοῦρ, ἀνὴρ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔλλογιμώτατος, οὐδενὸς δεύτερος τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν ἐν παιδείᾳ λαμπάντων. συγγράμματα αὐτοῦ πᾶν πολλὰ καὶ μάλιστα φιλόσοφα· εἰς τε τὴν θείαν γραφὴν Παράλληλοι κατ' ἐκλογὴν, καὶ οἱ Ἀσματικοὶ Κανόνες ἰαμβικοὶ τε καὶ καταλογάδην. συνήκμαζε δ' αὐτῷ καὶ Κοσμῆς ὁ ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων,

<sup>v</sup> Repeated from *Bede* himself by Sigebertus c. 68 Anon. Mellicensis c. 31 Trithemius c. 242, where Anon. Mellicensis rightly has *annum ætatis suæ quinquagesimum nonum*, but Sigebertus *annum LVIII*. perhaps an error of the transcriber for *LVIII*.

<sup>w</sup> Sigebertus adds c. 68 *Obiit anno 734 Dominicæ incarnationis Leone Romanis imperante—super Anglos regnante Edilberto*. But Sigebert in *Chronico* places the death of *Beda* at A. D. 731. Honorius IV. 1 *Beda monachus et presbyter Anglicæ provinciæ scripsit infinita &c.—Sub Leone floruit Romæ moritur et sepe-litur*. Trithemius c. 242 *Beda monachus et presbyter &c.—Moritur sub Leone imperatore A. D. 732 indictione XV ætatis suæ anno 72 pridie Kal. Jun.* Wilhelmus Malmesburiensis I. 54 p. 81 places the death of *Beda* *anno dominicæ incarnationis 734° ætatis suæ 59°*. He died *die Ascensionis*. Idem I. 61 p. 91. which fell in that year upon May 26: Pagi tom. 3 p. 219 “*Sanctus Cuthbertus qui ejus morti interfuit—ait Gravatus quidem est infirmitate maxima anhelitus &c. usque ad diem Ascensionis Dominicæ id est VII Kal. Junii vitam ducebat*. And Pagi shews that these characters determine the year to A. D. 735 “*quo Pascha XV Kal. Maii ascensio VII Kal. Junii celebrata sunt*.”

Lists of the works of *Beda* are given by Sigebertus

c. 68 Anon. Mellicensis. c. 31 Trithemius c. 242. The eight volumes of the works of *Beda* fol. Colonia Agrippinæ 1688 contain 139 titles. All these are recited from the Cologne edition of 1612 by Henry in his *History of Britain* Vol. 4 p. 421. But among them the Lives of the Saints in tom. 3 p. 153—265, No 50—59 in Henry's Catalogue, were not all written by *Bede*; and Oudin tom. 1 p. 1682—1709 in his review of the Cologne edition assigns these to their proper authors in this manner:

- |  |   |                   |
|--|---|-------------------|
| 50 <i>Vitam Cuthberti</i>  | } | scripsit Beda.    |
| 51 <i>Felicis Nolæ episcopi</i>  |   |                   |
| 52 <i>Vedasti</i> . Gallus anonymus.   |   |                   |
| 53 <i>Columbani Luxoviensis</i>  | } | Jonas Luxoviensis |
| 54 <i>Attale</i>   |   |                   |
| 55 <i>Patricii libris II</i> . Probus; ut ex fine operis constat. [sc. p. 242 <i>a me humili Probo &amp;c.</i> ] |   |                   |
| 56 <i>Eustasii Luxoviensis</i> . Jonas.  |   |                   |
| 57 <i>Bertolfi Bobiensis</i> . Jonas.  |   |                   |
| 58 <i>Arnolphi Metensis episcopi</i> . Paulus Diaconus.  |   |                   |
| 59 <i>Burgundoforæ abbatissæ</i> . incertus auctor.  |   |                   |

These also are spurious.

60 *Justini martyrium, carmine*.

61 *Martyrologium*.

Conf. Oudinum p. 1692.



ἀνὴρ εὐφύεστατος καὶ πνέων μουσικὴν ὄλωσ τὴν ἐναρμόνιον. *Joannes* flourished A. D. 730—755 within the reigns of *Leo Isaurus* and of *Constantine*<sup>x</sup>.

330 *Isidorus Pacensis episcopus*. Still living in A. D. 754: Pagi tom. 3 p. 294 “*Isidorus episcopus Pacensis* hoc anno Chronicon suum absolvit, ut ostendit clausula ab eo ad finem operis sui subjuncta: *Fiunt igitur ab exordio mundi usque ad æram cœptam 792<sup>am</sup>*” &c. era 792 = A. D. 754. Oudin tom. 1 p. 1794 “*Isidorus Pacensis* orditur ab æra 653 [A. D. 615] sive ab anno *Heraclii* 7<sup>o</sup> quo *Mahumetes* Saracenorum dux *Syriam Arabiam* et *Mesopotamiam* occupavit, desinitque in æram 798 [immo 792] id est A. D. 754, quo tempore se scripsisse testatur sub finem operis<sup>z</sup>.”

331 *Nicephorus Callisti*. Described above c. 1 p. 149 A. D. 579 p. 160 A. D. 610.

332 *Æcumenius*. Author or compiler of commentaries upon the Acts of the Apostles the Epistles and the Apocalypse. His commentary on the Apocalypse bears this title apud Cramer p. 173 ἐκ τῶν Οἰκουμενῶν τῷ μακαρίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Τρίκκης Θεσσαλίας θεοφιλῶς πεπονημένων εἰς τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου.

*Æcumenius* was later than A. D. 914, for he quotes not only *Photius* who flourished A. D. 858, and *Andreas* cir. A. D. 840, but *Arethas*, who lived in A. D. 914.<sup>a</sup> How long after the time of *Arethas* *Æcumenius* lived is not known.

<sup>x</sup> Theophanes p. 342 B *Leonis Isauri anno* 12<sup>o</sup> [A. D. 728] ἐν τῇ κατὰ Συρίαν Δαμασκῷ Ἰωάννης ὁ Χρυσορρόας, πρεσβύτερος καὶ μοναχός, ὁ τοῦ Μασσοῦρ, διδάσκαλος ἄριστος βίῳ καὶ λόγῳ προέλαμπεν. p. 350 B *Constantini* 2<sup>o</sup> [A. D. 742] τοῦτον [sc. *Petrum*, slain by the Moslems] ἐγκωμίους λόγων τετίμηκεν ὁ ὅσιος πατὴρ ἡμῶν Ἰωάννης ὁ καλῶς ἐπικληθεὶς Χρυσορρόας διὰ τὴν ἐπανθοῦσαν αὐτῷ τοῦ πνεύματος ἔν τε λόγῳ καὶ βίῳ χρυσαυγῇ χάριν. ὃν Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ δυσσεβῆς βασιλεὺς ἐτησίῳ καθυπέβαλεν ἀναθέματι διὰ τὴν ὑπερβύλλουσαν ἐν αὐτῷ ὀρθοδοξίαν κ.τ.λ. Conf. Cedrenum p. 456 C. Sigebertus c. 75 *Joannes monachus* et *presbyter de Damasco Syriae vita et doctrina clarus cognomento Chrysorrhous, animatus scriptis Gregorii papa quibus impugnabat impietatem Leonis imperatoris, scripsit et ipse Græcis Græce contra Leonem imperatorem*. To the same purpose Trithemius c. 248, who adds *Claruit sub Leone imperatore anno 730*. Auctor vitæ apud Leonem Allatium inter Damasceni Opp. tom. 1 prolegom. p. III οὗτος ἦν ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Λέοντος τοῦ Ἰσαύρου καὶ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ [A. D. 717—774] ἐκ Δαμασκοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἐκ γένου περιφανοῦς καὶ τῇ ὀρθοδόξῳ διαπρέποντος πίστει. *Nicephorus* in *breviario* p. 42 D Κωνσταντῖνος σύνοδον ἱερέων ἀθροίζει ὀκτῶ καὶ τριακότα καὶ τριακοσίους τὸν ἀριθμὸν τυγχάνουσαν. ταύτης ἐξῆρχε Θεοδόσιος ὁ τῆς Ἐφεσίων πόλεως ἀρχιεπίσκοπος.—ὅρον δὲ πίστεως ἐκτίθειται ἐν ᾧ ὑπεσημῆσαντο ἅπαντες κακῶς καὶ δυσσεβῶς συμφρονησαντες τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν εἰκονισμάτων καθαίρεσιν ἐκφώνησαντες, καὶ ὡς περ νηπιωδῶς ἐπ’ ἀγορᾶς ταῦτα ἀνεθεμάτιζον. μεθ’ ὧν καὶ Γερμανὸν τὸν ἀρχιερέα τοῦ Βυζαντίου γεγονότα Γεώργιον τε τὸν ἐκ Κύπρου τῆς ἡσίου ὀρμώμενον καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν ἀπὸ Δαμασκοῦ τῆς Συρίας τὸ ἐπίκλην Μασσοῦρ. Theophanes p. 359 A *Constantini* 13<sup>o</sup> [A. D. 753] τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ δυσσεβῆς κατὰ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ σεπτῶν εἰκόνων παράνομον

συνέδριον τλῆ ἐπισκόπων συνέλεξε ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἱερείας παλατίῳ—οἱ καθ’ ἑαυτοὺς τὰ δόξαντα δογματίσαντες—ἀπὸ δεκάτης τοῦ Φεβρουαρίου μηνὸς ἀρξάμενοι διάρκεσαν ἕως ἡ τοῦ Αὐγούστου τῆς αὐτῆς ζ’ ἰνδικτιῶνος [Feb. 10 Aug. 8 A. D. 754]—ἀναθεματίσαντες Γερμανὸν τὸν ἀγιώτατον καὶ Γεώργιον τὸν Κύπριον καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν Χρυσορρόαν Δαμασκηνὸν τὸν Μασσοῦρ, ἀνδρας ἀγίους καὶ αἰδεσίμους διδασκάλους. At the time of this synod, Aug. 754, *Damascenus* was still living. Conf. *Fabricium* tom. 9 p. 686 note d. Upon *Damascenus* conf. *Brucker Hist. Phil.* tom. 3 p. 534. 723.

<sup>y</sup> But the 7th of *Heraclius* commenced Oct. 5 A. D. 616 and was current *er. Hispan.* 65<sup>z</sup>. And the Moslems did not invade Syria till the 22nd of *Heraclius* A. D. 632 *er. Hispan.* 670.

<sup>z</sup> *Isidorus in Chronico* is quoted by *Fabricius* de *Ildefonso* p. 59 *Wamba Gothorum rex anno regni sui quarto in æra 723* [A. D. 685] *in Toletana urbe—concilium salutis parat, præsidente tunc sanctissimo Ildefonso* [N<sup>o</sup> 322] *mellifluo in libris de virginitate nostræ Domine Mariæ, ut anchora fidei*.

<sup>a</sup> Prolegom. in *Æcumenium* ed. Veron. fol. 3 οὗτος γὰρ ἀνὴρ πᾶσαν τὴν Χρυσοστόμου πραγματείαν—εἰς βραχὺ συστειλόμενος ταύτη καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἁγίων τὰς ἐξηγήσεις προσέθηκε, τὸ ὄνομα ἐκάστου τῇ ἐπιγραφῇ προμηνύσας, οἷον Κυρίλλου Γενναδίου Θεοδώριτου Γρηγορίου Βασιλείου Σενηριανοῦ καὶ τῶν τοιοῦτων· ἐξαιρέτως δὲ Φωτίου τινός, ἀφ’ οὗ ὅσα μετεκομίσθησαν ἐξηγήσεις τοῦ σκοποῦ, κατὰ γε ἐμὲ, μάλιστα πάντων τυγχάνουσιν.—τὰ δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀποκάλυψιν τοῦ μακαρίου Ἰωάννου συνετέθη μὲν ὑπὸ Ἀνδρέου τοῦ τῆς Καισαρείας Καππαδοκίας ἐπισκόπου, ἀλλ’ εἰς σύνοψιν καὶ βραχύτητα συνετύχθη τὸ ὕστερον ὑπὸ Ἀρέθα τινός τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως ἐπισκόπου, ὡς καὶ ἡ ἐπιγραφὴ μνηνεῖ ρητῶς.

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 ——— Corinthius 36  
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 ——— diaconus 217  
 ——— monachus 183  
 ——— scholasticus 317  
 Eucherius 237  
 Eugenius 271  
 Eugenius 304  
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Some specimens of *Origen* and *Hieronymus*, which were too long to be inserted in the notes of this chapter, have been reserved for this place and shall be added here by way of Supplement. It is proposed briefly to survey the work of *Origen* *περὶ ἀρχῶν*, and perhaps some other passages, and then to subjoin abstracts of the treatises of *Hieronymus* against *Rufinus* and against the Pelagians.

ORIGENIS *περὶ ἀρχῶν*.

THIS work is extant in the Latin translation of *Rufinus*, which was made in A. D. 398. But this version by the admission of *Rufinus* himself was far from faithful or exact<sup>a</sup>. Another and more accurate version was made by *Hieronymus*, of which some fragments only remain. The original work of *Origen* is lost, although still extant in the time of *Photius*. But considerable fragments are preserved, chiefly in the *Philocalia*, which contains selections from the works of *Origen*, and in *Justinian* apud *Acta Concil.* tom. 6 p. 345—354 in his edict against the Origenists which has been described above at N<sup>o</sup> 290 p. 479. Of *lib. I. II* but few Greek fragments remain. In *lib. III* almost a third part, and in *lib. IV* one half of the original has been preserved. The rest exists only in the inaccurate version of *Rufinus*.

*Origen* in his preface observes c. 2 p. 12<sup>b</sup> *Cum multi sint qui se putant sentire quæ Christi sunt, et nonnulli eorum diversa a prioribus sentiant, servetur vero ecclesiastica prædicatio per successionis ordinem ab apostolis tradita et usque ad præsens in ecclesiis*

*permanens, illa sola credenda est veritas quæ in nullo ab ecclesiastica et apostolica discordat traditione.*—c. 4 p. 13 *Species vero eorum quæ per prædicationem apostolicam manifeste traduntur istæ sunt. Primo quod unus Deus est qui omnia creavit atque composuit, quique, cum nihil esset, esse fecit universa.*—*Et quod hic Deus in novissimis diebus, sicut per prophetas ante promiserat, misit Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum primo quidem vocaturum Israel secundo vero etiam gentes post perfidiam populi Israel. Hic Deus justus et bonus pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi legem et prophetas et evangelia ipse dedit, qui et apostolorum Deus est et Veteris et Novi Testamenti. Tum deinde quia Jesus Christus ipse qui venit ante omnem creaturam natus ex patre est. Qui cum in omnium conditione patri ministrasset, per ipsum enim omnia facta sunt [Joann. I. 3], novissimis temporibus seipsum exinanienti [Philipp. II. 7] homo factus incarnatus est cum Deus esset, et homo factus mansit quod erat Deus. Corpus assumpsit nostro corpori simile, eo solo differens quod natum ex virgine et Spiritu Sancto est. Et quoniam hic Jesus Christus natus*

<sup>a</sup> Rufinus in prologo p. 8—10 *Scio quamplurimos fratrum scientiæ Scripturarum desiderio provocatos poposcisse ab aliquantis viris et Græcarum literarum peritis ut Origenem Romanum facerent et Latinis auribus eum donarent. Inter quos etiam frater et collega noster [sc. Hieronymus] ab episcopo Damaso deprecatus cum hominibus duas de Cantico Canticorum in Latinum transtulisset ex Græco [see above N<sup>o</sup> 204 Works n. 28] ita in illo opere ornate magnificeque præfatus est ut cuius legendi Origenem et avidissime perquirendi desiderium commoveret—asserens eum quod cum in cæteris libris omnes vincat in Cantico Canticorum etiam ipse se vicerit. Pollicitur sane in ipsa præfatione se et ipsos in Cantica Canticorum libros et alios quamplurimos Origenis Romanis auribus largiturum. Sed ille, ut video, in stylo proprio placens rem majoris gloriæ sequitur, ut pater verbi sit potius quam interpres. Nos ergo rem ab illo quidem captam sequimur et probatam, sed non æquis eloquentiæ viribus tanti viri ornare possumus dicta; unde vereor ne vitio meo id accidat ut is vir quem ille alterum post apostolos ecclesiæ doctorem scientiæ et sapientiæ merito comprobatur [see Hieronymus N<sup>o</sup> 204 Works n. 20. 60] inopia sermonis nostri longe inferior videatur. Quod ego sæpe considerans reticebam, nec deprecantibus me frequenter in hoc fratribus annuebam. Sed tua vis, fidelissime frater Macari [see above p. 453 m], tanta est, cui obsistere ne imperitia quidem potest. Propter quod—cessi, ea tamen lege atque eo ordine ut, quantum fieri potest, interpretando sequar regulam præcessorum, et ejus præcipue viri [Hieronymi] cujus superius fecimus mentionem; qui, cum ultra LXX libellos Origenis quos homileticos appellavit, aliquantos etiam de tomis in Apostolorum scriptis, transtulisset in Latinum, in quibus cum aliqua officinula inveniuntur in*

*Græco, ita climavit omnia interpretando atque purgavit ut nihil in illis quod a fide nostra discrepet Latinus lector inveniat. Hunc ergo etiam nos licet non eloquentiæ viribus disciplina tamen regulis in quantum possumus sequimur, observantes scilicet ne ea quæ in libris Origenis a seipsis discrepantia inveniuntur atque contraria proferamus, cujus diversitatis causam plenius tibi in Apologetico [see above p. 453] quem Pamphilus pro libris ipsius Origenis scripsit edidimus, brevissimo libello superaddito, in quo evidentibus (ut arbitror) probamentis corruptos esse in quamplurimis ab hæreticis et malevolis libros ejus ostendimus; et præcipue istos quos nunc exigit ut interpres, id est, *περὶ ἀρχῶν*.—Sicubi ergo nos in libris ejus aliquid contra id invenimus quod ab ipso in cæteris locis pie de Trinitate fuerat definitum, velut adulteratum hoc et alienum aut prætermisimus aut secundum eam regulam protulimus quam ab ipso frequenter invenimus affirmatam. Si qua sane velut peritis jam et scientibus loquens, dum breviter transire vult, obscurius protulit, nos, ut manifestior fieret locus, ea quæ de ipsa re in aliis ejus libris apertius legeramus adjecimus explanationi studentes. nihil tamen nostrum diximus, sed, licet in aliis locis dicta, tamen sua sibi reddidimus. Hoc autem idcirco in præfatione commonui ne forte calumniatores iterum se criminandi putent invenisse materiam.*

<sup>b</sup> The other works of *Origen* are quoted from ed. Berolin. 12<sup>o</sup> 1831—1848. But for the treatise *περὶ ἀρχῶν I* quote the pages of Oberthur 8<sup>vo</sup> tom. 3 Wirceburgi 1781, because the 21st volume of the Berlin edition (which contains the work *περὶ ἀρχῶν*) was not yet published when this abstract was made.



et passus est in veritate, et non per phantasiam communem hanc mortem sustinuit, vere mortuus; vere enim a mortuis resurrexit et post resurrectionem conversatus cum discipulis suis assumtus est. Tum deinde honore ac dignitate Patri ac Filio sociatum tradiderunt Spiritum Sanctum. In hoc non jam manifeste discernitur utrum natus an innatus vel filius etiam Dei ipse habendus sit necne. Sed inquirenda jam ista pro viribus sunt de sacra Scriptura et sagaci perquisitione investiganda.—c. 5 p. 14 Est et illud definitum in ecclesiastica prædicatione, omnem animam rationabilem esse liberi arbitrii et voluntatis; esse quoque ei certamen adversus diabolum et angelos ejus contrariasque virtutes, ex eo quod illi peccatis eam onerare contendant, nos vero, si recte consulti que vivamus, ab hujusmodi onere nos exuere conemur. Unde et consequens est intelligere non nos necessitati esse subjectos, ut omni modo etiamsi nolimus vel mala vel bona agere cogamur.—De anima vero utrum ex seminis traduce ducatur ita ut ratio ipsius vel substantia inserta ipsis seminibus corporalibus habeatur, an vero aliud habeat initium, et hoc ipsum initium si genitum est aut non genitum, vel certe si extrinsecus corpori inditur necne, non satis manifesta prædicatione distinguitur. c. 6 p. 15 De diabolo et angelis ejus contrariisque virtutibus ecclesiastica prædicatione docuit quoniam sunt quidem hæc; quæ autem sint aut quomodo sint non satis clare exposuit. Apud plurimos tamen ista habetur opinio quod angelus fuerit iste diabolus, et apostata effectus quamplurimos angelorum secum declinare persuaserit.—Est præterea et illud in ecclesiastica prædicatione, quod mundus iste factus sit et a certo tempore cæperit, et sit pro ipsa sui corruptione solvendus. Quid tamen ante hunc mundum fuerit, aut quid post mundum erit, jam non pro manifesto multis innotuit. Non enim evidens de his in ecclesiastica prædicatione sermo profertur. c. 8 p. 15 Tum demum quod per Spiritum Dei Scripturæ conscriptæ sint, et sensum habeant non eum solum qui in manifesto est sed et alium quandam latentem quamplurimos.—c. 9 p. 16 Quæremus si vel alio nomine res ipsa quam Græci philosophi ἀσώματος, id est, incorpoream, dicunt in Scripturis Sanctis invenitur. Deus quoque ipse quomodo intelligi debeat inquirendum est, corporeus et secundum aliquem habitum deformatus, an alterius naturæ quam corpora sunt, quod utique in prædicatione nostra manifeste non designatur. Eadem

quoque etiam de Christo et de Spiritu Sancto requirenda sunt, sed et de omni anima atque omni rationabili natura nihilominus requirendum est. c. 10 p. 17 Est etiam illud in ecclesiastica prædicatione, esse angelos Dei quosdam et virtutes bonas qui ei ministrant ad salutem hominum consummandam. Sed quando isti creati sint vel quales aut quomodo sint non satis in manifesto designatur. De sole autem et stellis utrum animantia sint an sine anima manifeste non traditur.

I. 1, 1—9 De Deo.

2, 1—13 De Christo.

3, 1—8 De Spiritu Sancto. Origen p. 45 understands Isaiah VI. 3 Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus—of the Trinity. So understood also by Athanasius contra Arianos tom. I p. 701 D ed. Patav. Origen. § 5 p. 46 Arbitror ergo operationem quidem esse Patris et Filii tam in Sanctis quam in peccatoribus &c. A passage justly censured by Photius Cod. 8, preserved in the original by Justinian<sup>c</sup>. § 6 p. 48 “Men are not accountable for their acts in infancy.”

4, 1—2 De diminutione vel lapsu.

5, 1—5 Of rational creatures. He argues § 4 p. 59 from Ezekiel and from Isaiah that the bad angels were created good, and that the good angels are not impeccable.

6, 1—4 De fine vel consummatione. He expects § 1 p. 63 to be censured by prejudiced persons: Si jam præjudicatum et præventum in aliis animum gerit, hæretica hæc et contra fidem ecclesiasticam putet, non tam ratione convincens quam animi sui præjudicio definiens. Quæ quidem a nobis etiam cum magno metu et cautela dicuntur &c. He seems to think p. 68 that future punishments will not be eternal, but proportioned to the degrees of guilt.

I, 7, 1—5 De incorporeis et corporeis. Origen thinks c. 6, 4 p. 69 that every creature is corporeal: Solius Dei, id est, Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, naturæ id proprium sit ut sine materiali substantia et absque ulla corporeæ adjectionis societate intelligatur subsistere. And yet c. 7, 1 p. 70 he argues that all intelligent beings are incorporeal: Omnes animæ atque omnes rationabiles naturæ factæ sunt vel creatæ, sive sanctæ sint sive nequam, quæ omnes secundum propriam naturam incorporeæ sunt; sed et per hoc ipsum, quod incorporeæ sunt, nihilominus factæ sunt; quoniam

<sup>c</sup> Thus in the original: ὅτι ὁ μὲν Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ συνέχων τὰ πάντα φθάνει εἰς ἕκαστον τῶν ἕντων, μεταδίδους ἕκαστῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου τὸ εἶναι· ὃν γὰρ ἔστιν· ἐλάττων δὲ παρὰ τὸν πατέρα ὁ υἱὸς φθάνων ἐπὶ μόνῳ τὰ λογικά· δεύτερος γὰρ ἔστι τοῦ πατρὸς· ἔτι δὲ ἦττον τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐπὶ μόνους τοὺς ἁγίους δίκτυο-

μενον· ὅστε κατὰ τοῦτο μέζων ἢ δύναμις τοῦ πατρὸς παρὰ τὸν υἱὸν καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον· πλείων δὲ ἢ τοῦ υἱοῦ παρὰ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον· καὶ πάλιν διαφέρουσα μᾶλλον τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἢ δύναμις παρὰ τὰ ἄλλα ἅγια.



*quidem omnia a Deo per Christum facta sunt, &c.* He thinks p. 72 the stars animated beings: *animantia et rationabilia*, an opinion justly ridiculed by Photius Cod. 8. *Origen* proves this by assuming as literal all the texts in which the stars are figuratively mentioned—he who on other occasions takes all Scripture in a figurative sense. He is of opinion 7, 4 p. 73 that the soul of man is not made with the body, but *extrinsecus factis jam corporibus insertum*.

8, 1—3 *De Angelis*. He interprets § 1 p. 76 the “angels of the churches” in Rev. c. 2 to mean real angels, as in his Hom. in Lucam 23 tom. 5 p. 177 and Hom. 12 p. 128. He affirms § 2 p. 77 *uni eidemque conditori diversas naturas rationabilium creaturarum adscribi videtur absurdum, &c.* and holds p. 77. 78 that created intelligences are all liable to err; that the devil was made capable of good, but that he fell through his own perversity of will. And concludes § 3 p. 79 *nulla igitur natura est quæ non recipiat bonum vel malum, excepta Dei natura, quæ bonorum omnium fons est, et Christi.*—*Similiter quoque et natura Spiritus Sancti, quæ sancta est, non recipit pollutionem; naturaliter enim vel substantialiter sancta est. Si qua autem alia natura sancta est, ex assumptione hoc vel inspiratione Spiritus Sancti habet ut sanctificetur, non ex sua natura hoc possidens, sed accidens sibi, propter quod et decidere potest quod accidit<sup>d</sup>.*

II. 1, 1—5 *Of the world and material bodies*. He argues § 4 p. 87 that those who assert the eternity of matter have no right to blame those who deny that God was the artificer of the world, because they are themselves guilty of a similar error, in asserting Matter to be coeternal with God. He quotes § 5 p. 88 texts which affirm that the world was made out of nothing; namely 1 Macc. VII. 28 and a sentence *ex libro Pastoris, in primo mandato*, and Psalm 148. 5. He might have illustrated this argument more fully.

II. 2, 1. 2 *De perpetuitate corporeæ naturæ*. He enquires c. 1 p. 88 whether matter although created might not have been created from all eternity. An opinion held by some theologians in modern times.

<sup>d</sup> Photius Cod. 8 thus describes the first book of this work: ἀνεγνώσθη Ὀριγένους τὸ Περὶ ἀρχῶν, λόγοι δ', ὧν ὁ μὲν πρῶτος περὶ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος· ἐν ᾧ πλείστα βλασφημεί, τὸν μὲν υἱὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς πεποιῆσθαι λέγων, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ὑπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ, καὶ διήκει μὲν τὸν πατέρα διὰ πάντων τῶν ὄντων, τὸν δὲ υἱὸν μέχρι τῶν λογικῶν μόνων, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα μέχρι μόνων τῶν σεσωσμένων. λέγει δὲ καὶ ἄλλα παραλογώτατα καὶ δυσσεβέας πλήρη· μετεμψυχώσεις τε γὰρ ληρωθεὶ καὶ ἐμψύχους τοὺς ἀστέρας, καὶ ἕτερα ταῦτοις παραπλήσια.

But it may be more reasonably affirmed that whatever was created must have had a beginning. There must have been a time when it was not yet in being. *Origen* asserts p. 89 that intelligent (created) natures must have bodies; that the Trinity alone is incorporeal.

### 3, 1—7 *De initio mundi et causis ejus*.

§ 2 p. 91 Given in a fragment of Hieronymus. “If all beings once existed without material bodies, matter may be destroyed, and, as it was formed out of nothing, may be resolved into nothing again. There may also come a time when its use will again be necessary.” § 3 p. 94 A fragment of Hieronymus concludes thus: *Idcirco arbitror pro varietate causarum diversos mundos fieri, et elidi errores eorum qui similes sui mundos esse contendunt*. He thinks § 5 p. 96 that after a succession of ages there will be a *restitutio omnium, cum ad perfectum finem universa pervenient<sup>e</sup>*. He well distinguishes § 6 p. 99 between the matter created in Genes. I. 1 and the creation *post biduum* recorded in I. 6—8. He repeats this interpretation II. 9, 1 p. 138 *Hæc ergo sunt quæ in initio, id est, ante omnia a Deo creata esse existimandum est &c.<sup>f</sup>*

### II. 4, 1—4 *The same God of the Law and the Gospel*.

He has in § 3 p. 106 a false sentiment, thus rendered by Hieronymus: *Restat ut invisibilis sit Deus. Si autem invisibilis per naturam est, neque Salvatori visibilis erit*. Also faithfully given by Rufinus. *Origen* endeavours to explain and justify his expression at p. 107. He answers the heretics § 4 p. 107. 108 by the same argument which he uses in his comm. in Matth. namely, that God is figuratively spoken of in the New Testament no less than in the Old Testament.

### 5, 1—4 *De justo et bono*.

He argues § 1 p. 108 against those heretics who held that the Just God of the Law was not Good; that the Good God of the Gospel was not Just.

### 6, 1—7 *Of the Incarnation*.

*Origen* § 1 p. 116 misinterprets, or rather misapplies, the text in Joann. XXV. 25.

<sup>e</sup> Origen II. 3, 6 p. 97. 98 quotes *Clemens apostolorum discipulus*, and p. 99 *Baruch prophetae librum*.

<sup>f</sup> II. 3, 6 p. 99 *De hujuscemodis opinionibus plenius in eo loco tractavimus, cum requireremus quid esset quod in principio fecit Deus cælum et terram*. Perhaps referring to his Commentaries on Genesis. See the Tables A. D. 229 p. 243.

At II. 3, 7 p. 100 a fragment in Hieronymus may be compared with the version of Rufinus.



II. 7, 1—4 *De Spiritu Sancto.*

He affirms § 1 p. 124 "None of the heretics has held that there were two Holy Spirits." p. 125 *Marcion* and *Valentinus* held *differentias Deitatis*.

8, 1—5 *De anima.*

He observes § 4 p. 135 *videtur quasi medium quoddam esse anima inter carnem infirmam et spiritum promptum*. Hence his expression IV. 11 p. 334 preserved in the Greek original: ὁ ἀθροῦπος συνέστηκεν ἐκ σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς καὶ πνεύματος. The same thought is expressed in Comm. ad Rom. Opp. tom. 6 p. 56 ed. Berolin. *Quod homo spiritus et corpus et anima esse dicatur.*—*Media proculdubio ponitur anima, quæ vel desiderius spiritus acquiescat vel ad carnis concupiscentias inclinatur.*

9, 1—8 *De mundo et motibus rationabilium creaturarum—et de causis earum*. A false sentiment § 1 p. 136 limiting God's power is extant in the original; partly concealed by Rufinus<sup>h</sup>.

*Origen* § 3 p. 139 *Mundum nunc dicimus* &c. by *mundum* means here the Universe. He considers § 5 p. 141 the objection of the followers of *Marcion* *Valentinus* and *Basilides*, who held that souls were of different natures, and argued against the justice of God from the various and unequal conditions in which he placed intelligent creatures. *Origen* replies § 5 p. 142 that God created all intelligent natures equal, but that some fell through the depravity of their own wills. Hence the diversity between intelligent creatures; not from the design of the Creator but from the abuse of their own free will. He refers § 7 p. 143. 144 to the case of *Esau* and *Jacob*, whom he supposes to have existed before their birth in the body, and to have had their lots assigned *ex præcedentis vitæ meritis*. And he thinks the justice of God

g *Et duos quidem Deos ausos esse hæreticos dicere, et duos Christos audivimus; duos autem Spiritus Sanctos nunquam cognovimus ab aliquo prædicari.*

h Thus extant in Justinian apud Acta Concil. tom. 6 p. 345 E πεπερασμένην γὰρ εἶναι καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ Θεοῦ λεκτέον, καὶ οὐ προφάσει εὐφημίας τὴν περιγραφὴν αὐτῆς περιαιρετέον.—πεποίηκε γὰρ τὸσαῦτα ὅσων ἡδύνατο περιδράσασθαι καὶ ἔχειν ὑπὸ χεῖρα καὶ συγκρατεῖν ὑπὸ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πρόνοιαν. ὥσπερ καὶ τὸσαύτην ὕλην κατεσκεύασεν ὅσων ἡδύνατο διακοσμήσαι. Given in Oberthur tom. 3 p. 136 with some variations. Rufinus suppressing a part of the meaning thus gives the passage: *Certum est quod præfinito aliquo apud se numero (Deus) eas fecit. Non enim, ut quidam volunt, finem putandum est non habere creaturas; quia, ubi finis non est, nec comprehensio ulla nec circumscriptio esse potest. Quod si fuerit, utique nec contineri vel dispensari a Deo quæ facta sunt poterunt. Naturaliter nempe quicquid infinitum fuerit et incomprehensibile erit.*

i *Præius mihi videtur de Resurrectione sermo movendus, ut sciamus quid est illud quod vel ad supplicium vel ad requiem vel*

will be manifest, if we consider that the causes of the diversity in celestial or terrestrial or infernal beings preceded their corporeal existence: *præcedentes corpoream nativitatem.*

10, 1—8 *De resurrectione et iudicio, de igne inferni et penis.*

He repeats § 1 p. 146 some arguments from his treatise *de resurrectione*<sup>i</sup>. And argues p. 147 against some heretics who denied the resurrection of the body. § 7 p. 154 Referring to Matth. XVIII. 10 he observes *quoniam unicuique fidelium, etiamsi minimus sit in ecclesia, adesse angelus dicitur* &c. and understands *minimus* figuratively, as he does also in his Homil. in Lucam Opp. tom. 5 p. 98. 177. 218. So again in *περὶ εὐχῆς* c. 11 p. 452 Oberthur τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ μικρῶν. Ibid. c. 28 p. 544 τίς ὁ ἕκαστου ἡμῶν ἄγγελος.

11, 1—7 *De repromissionibus*. He observes § 2 p. 156 "Some think that the pleasures after the resurrection will be carnal." But he argues p. 158. 159 that they will be intellectual. He speaks § 6 p. 161 of the intermediate state: *Puto quod sancti quique discedentes de hac vita permanebunt in loco aliquo in terra posito, quem Paradisum dicit Scriptura divina, velut in quodam eruditionis loco et (ut ita dixerim) auditorio vel schola animarum, in quo de omnibus his quæ in terris viderant doceantur, indicia quoque quædam accipiant etiam de futuris.*—*Si quis—purior mente et exercitior sensu fuerit, velocius proficiens cito ad aeris locum ascendet et ad calorum regna perveniet per locorum singulorum (ut ita dixerim) mansiones quas Græci quidem σφαίρας—appellaverunt scriptura vero divina cælos nominat* &c. In what follows a sentence is quoted by Hieronymus which had been softened by Rufinus<sup>k</sup>.

*ad habitudinem veniet; de quo in aliis quidem libris quos de Resurrectione scripsimus plenius disputavimus, et quid nobis de his videretur ostendimus. Sed et nunc propter consequentiam tractatus pauca inde repetere non videtur absurdum.*

k In Hieronymus thus given: *Cumque in tantum profecerimus ut nequaquam carnes et corpora, forsitan ne animæ quidem, fuerimus, sed mens et sensus ad perfectum veniens nulloque perturbationum nubilo caligans, intrinsecus rationabiles intelligibilesque substantias facie ad faciem. Which Rufinus had translated *Et ita crescens per singula rationabilis natura non sicut in carne vel corpore et anima in hac vita crescebat, sed mente ac sensu aucta ad perfectam scientiam mens jam perfecta perducitur, nequaquam jam ultra istis carnalibus sensibus impedita sed intellectualibus incrementis aucta, semper ad purum et (ut ita dixerim) facie ad faciem rerum causas inspicions, potitur perfectione primo illa qua in id ascendit, secundo qua permanet.**

Photius Cod. 8 thus proceeds: ἔστι δ' ὁ μὲν πρῶτος αὐτῶ μεμολογημένος περὶ πατρὸς καὶ (ὡς ἐκεῖνός φησι) περὶ Χριστοῦ



III.<sup>1</sup> 1, 1—22 *Of free will.* Extant in the Greek original, with this title p. 166 *περὶ αὐτεξουσίῳν καὶ τῶν δοκούτων ἀναρῆναι τοῦτο γραφικῶν ῥητῶν λύσις καὶ ἐρμήνευσις.* He produces § 6 p. 178 texts which shew that we have liberty of Will and that we are capable of good works. *Origen* concludes p. 182 *μυρία μὲν οὖν ἔστιν ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς σφόδρα σαφῶς πάριστῶντα τὸ αὐτεξουσίῳν.* Some texts are quoted p. 184 which seem to imply the contrary. He answers p. 186—250 the objections founded upon these latter texts. § 12 p. 202 The Devil, who was created innocent, fell through his own pride. § 16 p. 218 *σημειώτεον τὸν τόπον πρὸς τοὺς ἑτεροδόξους λεξιθηροῦντας μὲν τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης τοιαῦτα, ἔνθα ἐμφαίνεται (ὡς αὐτοὶ τολμῶντες λέγουσιν) ὁμότης τοῦ δημιουργοῦ ἢ ἀμνητική καὶ ἀνταποδοτική τῶν χειρόνων προαίρεσις—ἵνα λέγωσιν οὐκ ἀγαθότητα εἶναι ἐν τῷ κρίσαντι.* Against *Marcion Valentinus* and *Basilides.* Conf. II. 5. II. 7. II. 9.

§ 18 p. 230 He ascribes Psalm 127 to *Solomon.*

§ 20 p. 242 On *Jacob* and *Esau*: *τί ἄσπονον ἀνελεύθοντας εἰς τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς τόπον πρεσβύτερα αἴτια τοῦ τὸν Ἰακώβ ἡγαπήσθαι καὶ τὸν Ἰσαὺ μεμισῆσθαι γεγονότα εἰς τὸν Ἰακώβ πρὸ τῆς ἐσωματώσεως κ. τ. λ.;* Translated and quoted by Hieronymus Ep. 59 Avito p. 701. For Hieronymus Avito see above N<sup>o</sup> 204 Works n. 144 p. 462. *Origen* § 21 p. 244—248 argues that souls had deserved well or incurred wrath in their preexistent state, and that on this account some became vessels of favour and some vessels of wrath (as *Jacob* and *Esau*) after their union with the body. Two fragments of this argument are quoted and translated by Hieronymus l. c.

*καὶ περὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος, ἔτι δὲ καὶ περὶ λογικῶν φύσεων· ὁ δὲ δεύτερος περὶ κόσμου καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ κτισμάτων, καὶ ἔτι ὅτι εἰς Θεὸς νόμου καὶ προφητῶν, καὶ ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς παλαιᾶς καὶ καινῆς διαθήκης Θεός, καὶ περὶ τῆς τοῦ σωτήρος ἐνανθρωπήσεως, καὶ ὅτι τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα ἐν Μωϋσῆ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προφήταις καὶ ἁγίοις ἀποστόλοις· ἔτι περὶ ψυχῆς, περὶ ἀναστάσεως, περὶ κολάσεως, περὶ ἐπαγγελιῶν.*

<sup>1</sup> Rufinus in prologo: *Superiores duos περὶ ἀρχῶν libellos, te non solum insistente verum etiam cogente, diebus quadragesimæ [A. D. 398] interpretatus sum. Sed quoniam illis diebus etiam tu, religiose frater Macari, et vicinus monebas et amplius vacabas, etiam ego amplius operabar; hos vero posteriores duos tardius explicuimus, dum tu ad nos ab extrema et ultima urbis [sc. Romæ] parte rarior exactor accedis. Verum si meministi quod in præfatiuncula priore commonui, quia indignaturi essent quidam si nos audissent non aliquid de Origene male loqui, continuo id, ut arbitror, prosecutum probasti. Quod si in illo opere ita inflammati sunt hi qui hominum linguas ad male loquendum excitant demones,—quid in hoc futurum putas, in quo omnes eorum cæcas et occultas vias quibus humanis cordibus irrepunt et animas infirmas ac fragiles decipiunt revelabit? Videbis illico perturbari omnia, seditiones moveri, clamores tota urbe diffundi, ad damnationem vocari eum qui evangelicæ lucernæ lumine diabolicæ ignorantiæ tenebras fugare conatus est.—Illud autem*

The rest of *lib. III* capp. 2—6 is extant only in the version of *Rufinus.*

III. 2, 1—7 *De contrariis potestatibus.*

*Origen* § 1 p. 252. 253 collects the texts which mention evil spirits and angels. As 1 (3) Reg. XXII, 1 Chron. XXI, Ecclesiastes X Zachariah III Isaiah XXVII Ezekiel XXVIII Job I Matth. IV Joann. XIII.

He thinks § 2 p. 254 that the devil does not really act upon our bodies; that the first impulse of wrong desires arises in ourselves p. 256; that then the devil enters and prompts to greater degrees of wickedness. And he concludes § 3 p. 258 *esse quedam delicta que nequaquam malignis virtutibus perurgentibus committamus, alia vero esse quibus instinctu earum ad nimietatem quandam immoderationemque provocemur.* § 4 p. 259 Some of our thoughts proceed from ourselves, some are excited by the evil spirits, some are inspired by God and holy angels. But these suggestions leave us free to act. We may cast away the evil thought which comes from Satan; we may disobey the good thought which God inspires. § 5 p. 262 Perhaps however man is unable to resist the devil except through divine help. § 5 p. 262 On *Jacob* and the Angel in Genes. XXXII. 24 he understands the angel to be a friendly power and not the antagonist against whom *Jacob* wrestled. § 6. 7 p. 264 The powers that are against us—*contrariæ potestates*—can only act by God's permission; as in the case of *Job.* Calamities come *non quidem a Deo, nec tamen sine Deo.*

3, 1—5 *De triplici sapientia*<sup>m</sup>.

His triple division, founded upon 1 Cor. II. 6. 7, is

*necessario commoneo, quod, sicut in prioribus libris fecimus, etiam in istis observavimus, ne ea quæ reliquis ejus sententiis et nostræ fidei contraria videbantur interpretarer, sed velut inserta ea ab aliis et adulterata præterirem. De creaturis vero rationalibus si quid novi dixisse visus est, quia non in hoc est summa fidei, scientiæ gratia et exercitii, cum forte nobis adversum nonnullas hæreses tali ordine necessario respondendum est, neque in his libellis neque in superioribus prætermisi, nisi si qua forte jam in superioribus dicta repetere etiam in his posterioribus voluit, et brevitatis gratia aliqua ex his rescare commodum duæ. Rufinus returned from the East in A. D. 397. Conf. Annotations in Noris. Opp. tom. 4 p. 837. And made his translation of the first two books in Lent A. D. 398.*

<sup>m</sup> *Origen* § 1 p. 252 refers to Jude v. 9: *Serpens—de quo in Ascensione Moysi cujus libelli meminit in epistola sua apostolus Judas, Michael archangelus cum diabolo disputans &c.*

*Origen* § 4 p. 259 *Pastoris liber declarat &c.—Eadem quoque Barnabas in epistola sua declarat, cum duas vias esse dicit, unam lucis alteram tenebrarum, quibus et præsee certos quosque angelos dicit; viæ quidem lucis angelos Dei, tenebrarum autem viæ angelos Satanae.* For *Origen's* references to the *Pastor*, see above N<sup>o</sup> 29 p. 408.

At IV § 35 p. 399 he quotes the book of *Enoch*: *Sed et in libro suo Enoch ita ait "Ambulavi usque ad imperfectum"—quod*



1 The wisdom of this world ; 2 the wisdom of the princes of this world ; 3 the wisdom of God. The wisdom of this world, Grammar, Rhetoric, Geometry, Music, perhaps Medicine. The wisdom of the princes of this world consists in Occult Philosophy, Astrology, the various heterodox opinions of the Greeks upon Divinity. By the princes of this world are meant the guardian angels of kingdoms, as of Greece and Persia in Daniel, and the Prince of Tyre in Ezekiel. § 4 p. 269 With respect to heterodox interpretations of Scripture, *Origen* thinks that the powers hostile to man and to *Christ*—*contrarie virtutes*—have prompted their organs and (as it were) their prophets the hæresiarchs to teach various errors contrary to Christian truth ; that those apostate spirits who have forsaken God—*apostata et refuga virtutes quæ a Deo recesserint*—have endeavoured through envy by suggesting false doctrines to draw men from attaining the true faith. The minds of men are acted upon by good and by evil spirits ; by the evil in two ways ; either without their own consent or knowledge, like the possessed with devils in the Gospel, or with their own consent, as *Judas Iscariot*. Men are influenced by good spirits as the prophets were, both by angels and by God ; their freedom of will either to obey or to resist the impulse still remaining entire. He enquires § 5 p. 270 why the mind of man is sometimes influenced by good and sometimes by evil spirits ; and he suspects the cause to be of an earlier date than man's corporeal existence. § 5 p. 271 Some are possessed by evil spirits from their very birth, and Divine Providence cannot be freed from injustice except we suppose that these souls had transgressed in their preexistent state, and are now punished in the body. The soul, whether in the body or out of the body, must always possess freedom of will ; and freedom of will tends either to good or evil. The movement to evil before they enter the world appears to be the cause why an evil destiny is allotted to some from their very birth, or even before they have seen the light.

### III. 4, 1—5 *De humanis tentationibus.*

He examines § 1 p. 273 what is the principle within us which leads to concupiscence. It is a question with some whether we have two souls, one of a celestial the other of an inferior nature ; or whether the mere union of the soul with the body incites us

to those acts which are agreeable to the body ; or thirdly (as some of the Greeks have thought) whether the soul is divided into parts, one rational, one irrational ; and the irrational part again subdivided into two, the inclination to concupiscence and the inclination to anger. The last tripartite division has no great authority in Scripture ; the other two may be confirmed by some texts of Holy Writ. § 2 p. 273. 274 Of the two souls (according to the first opinion) the celestial comes from Heaven ; such are the souls of *Jacob* of *Jeremiah* of *John the Baptist*. The inferior soul originates with the body and is called *the flesh which lusteth against the Spirit*. It is argued that this *lusting of the flesh* is not merely the body, because many evil impulses, as ambition, avarice, and the like, are not of a carnal or corporeal origin ; these then are more justly assigned to the above mentioned corporeal soul as their cause. p. 275 The inclinations of the inferior soul are intermediate between the flesh and the spirit, inclining to either. When they incline to the carnal desires, they make the man carnal ; when they obey the spirit, they make him spiritual. We have therefore in man a Will of the Spirit, a Will of the Flesh, and a Will of that intermediate principle.

§ 4 p. 277 Those who argue that we have only one soul reason thus. When we feel within ourselves opposite impulses, there is a kind of combat within us impelling us different ways. But when the flesh incites to lust, and our better thoughts resist the impulse, it is not to be imagined that one vital principle contends against another, but only that the body prompts us to fulfil the natural desires. Wherefore *the flesh lusting against the Spirit* they understand to mean that the corporeal necessities withdraw the man from spiritual things. Thus also they understand *the wisdom of the flesh is at enmity with God* ; not that the flesh has really a soul or wisdom, but this is said by a metaphor. As when it is said by a metaphor to *Cain* *The voice of thy brother's blood crieth from the ground*. But when heresies, strifes, envyings, and the like, are described among the works of the flesh, they interpret it thus ; that when the soul by yielding to the passions of the body is become gross, being oppressed with the load of sin, and losing its spiritual sense, it is called *Flesh* and receives the name of that to which its chief care is

*ipsum puto posse intelligi quod scilicet ambulaverit mens prophetæ perscrutans et disserens singula quæque rerum visibilibus*

&c.—*Scriptum namque est in eodem libello, dicente Enoch "Universas materias perspexi," &c.*

given. They enquire farther who is the author of this evil principle the lust of the flesh. God is the author both of Spirit and Flesh. If then we affirm that God created something hostile to himself, we affirm an absurdity. If the wisdom of the flesh is hostile to God, and if it is assumed that the principle to which these qualities are ascribed is a separate soul, the Creator will seem to have formed a nature which cannot be subject to him or to his law. And wherein will this doctrine differ from the opinion of those heretics who assert that souls were created with a diversity of natures ?

III. 5, 1—8 *Quod mundus ex tempore cæperit.*

§ 1 p. 280 *De ecclesiasticis definitionibus unum habetur præcipue secundum historię nostrę fidem, quod mundus hic factus sit et ex certo tempore cæperit, et secundum promulgatam omnibus consummationem sæculi pro sui corruptione solvendus sit.* He adds that the heretics agree with the Church in these opinions.

That the world had a beginning is clear from the account of *Moses*. That it will have an end is shewn by *Jacob* Genes. XLIX. 1, by *David* Psalm. 102. 26, by *St. Paul* Rom. VIII. 20 1 Cor. VII. 31. Our Lord himself declares the first in Matth. XIX. 4 and the second in affirming that *Heaven and Earth should pass away*. § 2 p. 281 If any object to this account, we will ask him whether God can comprehend all things or not. If he says (as of necessity he must) that God comprehends all things, it follows that they must have a beginning and an end; for that which had no beginning cannot be comprehended. § 3 p. 282 But they object, if the world began in time, how was God employed before he created it<sup>n</sup>? To suppose that God was ever unemployed—that Infinite Goodness was not always doing good, that Omnipotence was not always exercising his power, is impious and absurd. This is their objection to us, when we fix the age of the world from the Scriptures. I answer that before this world existed there was another world, and that there will be another after it. Would you know where a future world is promised? Hear *Isaiah* LXVI. 22. Would you know where former worlds are described? Hear *Ecclesiastes* I. 9. 10, which

testifies not only that there have been former worlds but that there will be future worlds,—not coexistent, but successive<sup>o</sup>. § 4 p. 284. 285 Intelligent creatures also had a divine habitation above, in which they dwelt before they descended to the lower and visible world. This visible world and these corporeal tabernacles were formed for their reception. Other beings to administer this lower world are sent by the Creator. Of these the sun the moon the stars occupied the higher region. Other beings, whom we believe to be angels, in certain places and at certain times (known only to the Creator) assist in managing the world. This state of things in the Universe is directed by Providence; while some intelligent natures fall from on high, some gradually descend, some willingly; others precipitated against their will; some willingly take the office of aiding the weak, others are compelled to minister. Whence it follows that various worlds must be created; and after this which we inhabit another very different world will be framed<sup>p</sup>.

§ 6 p. 286 But because the souls which dwell on this earth have needed many to help or to direct them, so in the last times, when all things are verging to decay, the aid of the Creator himself was necessary, to restore and repair what had been ruined. Whence the only begotten Son assumed our nature and became man. *Origen* p. 287 explains the text of *St. Paul* 1 Cor. XV. 28 *then shall the Son be subject to him*, and concludes § 8 p. 288. 289 “But in what mode and at what time that subjection shall be effected is known only to God himself, to his Son and Spirit.”

III. 6, 1—9 *De consummatione mundi.*

The highest happiness of man is, as far as may be, to be like God<sup>q</sup>. This may be shewn from Scripture. But it is now to be enquired whether at the end of things we shall have bodies, or be, like God, incorporeal. § 1 p. 290 It cannot be doubted that, if all bodies have a reference to this visible world, the future life will be incorporeal. The words of our Lord himself imply this: *John* XVII. 21 *that they also may be one in us*. Either then God will be clothed

<sup>n</sup> This question is touched upon by *Simplicius* against *Philoponus*, quoted above in c. 7 N<sup>o</sup> 373 p. 329.

<sup>o</sup> This in the version of *Hieronymus*: *Nobis autem placet et ante hunc mundum alium fuisse mundum et, post istum, alium futurum. Vis discere quod post corruptionem hujus mundi alius sit futurus? Audi Isaiam—Vis nosse quod ante fabricam istius mundi alii mundi in præterito fuerint? Ausculta Eccl-*

*siastes.—Quod testimonium non solum fuisse, sed futuros mundos esse testatur, non quod simul et pariter omnes fiant, sed alius post alium.*

<sup>p</sup> This passage from *Hieronymus* *Avito* p. 702. 703 inserted in *Oberthur* p. 284. 285.

<sup>q</sup> *Summum bonum, prout possibile est, similem fieri Deo.*



with a body as we are (which is an irreverent supposition) or else, unless we are to despair of ever attaining to his likeness, we must exist, as he does, incorporeally<sup>r</sup>.

§ 2 p. 292—§ 3 p. 293 *God will be all in all.* 1 Cor. XV. 28. This cannot include animal or vegetable bodies<sup>s</sup>. We may seek therefore the meaning of this expression. If God is to be all in all, he will be all in each individual; so that every intelligent being will be purified from all evil; for there can be no evil where God is. Thus at the end all things will be restored to what they were at the beginning. But in the opinion of some that perfect beatitude can only continue unimpaired if the intelligent natures who are to enjoy it shall be totally divested of all corporeal admixture. It is not to be doubted that after certain intervals matter will again exist, bodies be created, and worlds formed, on account of the various wills of intelligent creatures who after their perfect beatitude will gradually admit evil thoughts. It must be observed also that many intelligent beings preserve their purity through a second or a third or a fourth world; that others lose almost none of their pristine perfection; that some again fall with a stupendous ruin. God discerns the merits of all and ordains that he who has surpassed all in wickedness shall be the *Satan* of a future world<sup>t</sup>.

§ 4 p. 294 But since the apostle mentions a spiritual body, we may enquire into the nature of that spiritual body. It will exceed in glory and purity all that can be imagined from the visible creation. *The last enemy that shall be subdued is death.* This does not mean that death shall be annihilated or his substance perish; but his hostile quality will be destroyed. Death will cease to be an enemy. Nothing is impossible to Omnipotence. No disorders in the thing created which the Creator cannot cure. He

made all things that they might exist; what he has created to exist can never cease to be. Things created may receive a change and be placed according to their merits in a worse or a better state; but substances which God has created with the design that they should exist cannot be annihilated<sup>v</sup>. The vulgar suppose that our bodies perish; but we who believe the Resurrection understand only a change. The substance of the body remains, to be raised and renewed a spiritual body. In this state our bodies will be placed at the restitution of all things, when God shall be all in all. This will come to pass not all at once, but by degrees and in parts<sup>w</sup>, after the lapse of infinite ages; when after many and gradual improvements death himself shall cease to be an enemy. When therefore all rational spirits shall be restored to this state, then our bodies will be changed into spiritual bodies; the same body which each man now inhabits (and not another or a new body) will be transformed into a better.

§ 7 p. 298 This whole reasoning shews that God created two natures, one visible and corporeal, the other invisible and incorporeal. These two undergo separate changes. The invisible nature, which is the rational and intellectual, is changed through the exercise or abuse of freedom of will; the visible and corporeal undergoes a change of its material substance into other forms at the pleasure of the Artificer.

§ 8 p. 298 It remains to be enquired whether, when God shall be all in all, the whole corporeal nature will receive one form and quality. *In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.* At the consummation of all things this heaven and earth will be the inheritance of the holy and the meek: Matt. V. 5. At the restitution the saints making gradual advances will first arrive at that earth in which they

<sup>r</sup> From the version of Hieronymus Avito p. 703 apud Oberthur p. 290. The passage in Hieronymus—*Nec dubium est quin, si omnia corpora ad mundum istum sensibilem pertineant, quæ appellantur ab apostolo visibilia, futura sit vita incorporaliū incorporalis*—does not appear in Rufinus.

<sup>s</sup> The original text is preserved by Justinian: *λεγομένου τοῦ Θεοῦ πάντα γενέσθαι ἐν πάσιν, ὡς περ οὐ δυνάμεθα κακίαν καταλιπεῖν, οὗτε Θεὸς πάντα γίνεται ἐν πάσιν οὗτε ἄλογα ζῶα, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἐν κακίᾳ ὁ Θεὸς γένηται καὶ ἐν ἀλόγοις ζώοις· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἄψυχα, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς ὁ Θεὸς, ὅτε πάντα γίνεται. οὕτως οὐδὲ σώματα ὅτινα τῇ ἰδίᾳ φύσει ἄψυχα ἔστιν.*

<sup>t</sup> From the version of Hieronymus Avito p. 704 *Nec dubium est quin post quedam intervalia temporum rursus materia subsistat et corpora fiant et mundi diversitas construat propter varias voluntates rationabilium creaturarum, quæ post perfectam beatitudinem usque ad finem omnium rerum paulatim ad*

*inferiora delapsæ tantam malitiam receperunt ut in contrarium verterentur, dum nolunt servare principium et incorruptam beatitudinem possidere. Nec hoc ignorandum, quod multæ rationabiles creaturæ usque ad secundum et tertium et quartum mundum servant principium, nec mutationi in se locum tribuant; aliæ vero tam parum de pristino statu amissuræ sint ut pene nihil perdidisse videantur; et nonnullæ grandis ruina in ultimum præcipitandæ sint barathrum. Novitque dispensator omnium Deus in conditione mundorum singulis abuti juxta meritum et opportunitates et causas quibus mundi gubernacula sustentantur et initiantur; ut qui omnes vicerit nequitia et penitus se terræ coæquaverit in alio mundo qui postea fabricandus est fiat diabolus.* Much of this is omitted by Rufinus.

<sup>v</sup> § 5 p. 296 *Interitum ea quæ a Deo ad hoc facta sunt ut essent et permanerent recipere non possunt.*

<sup>w</sup> *Paulatim et per partes.*



will be trained for higher destinies. Then *Christ* will assume his kingdom and reign over his saints until he also subjects them to the Father, who hath subjected all things to him; that, when they are fit for God's presence, God may be all in all. Then all corporeal natures will be transmuted into the best of all substances, the substance of the Divinity<sup>x</sup>.

IV § 1—27 *Ἐπι τοῦ θεοπνεύστου τῆς θείας γραφῆς καὶ πῶς ταύτην ἀναγνωστέον καὶ νοητέον· τίς τε ὁ τῆς ἐν αὐτῇ ἀσαφείας λόγος, καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὸ ῥητὸν ἐν τισιν ἀδυνατόν ἢ ἀλόγος.* § 1—23 in the Greek original; § 24—27 the subject continued in the version of *Rufinus*.

§ 2 p. 304 *Origen* remarks the wide diffusion of Christianity ἐν σφόδρα ὀλίγοις ἔτεσιν.

§ 3 p. 306 Of the prophecies concerning *Christ*.

§ 5 p. 310 *Christ* taught ἐνιαυτὸν που καὶ μῆνας<sup>z</sup> ὀλίγους.

§ 8 p. 322 μετὰ τὸ—εἰρηκεῖν περὶ τοῦ θεοπνεύστου εἶναι τὰς θείας γραφὰς, ἀναγκαῖον ἐπεξελεῖν τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς ἀναγνώσεως καὶ νοήσεως αὐτῶν.

§ 8 p. 324. 326 “The heretics from certain texts of Scripture argued against the goodness of the Creator<sup>a</sup>. All these errors arose from interpreting Scripture in a literal sense instead of a spiritual or figurative sense.” *Origen* § 12 p. 338 seeks and prefers a recondite meaning. He mentions § 14 p. 346 the subjects of enquiry which are to be sought for. § 15 p. 350 Scripture is often intentionally obscure; and this not only in the Old Testament but also in the New. § 16 p. 354 The tree of knowledge and other particulars in the history of *Adam* he takes to be allegorical. § 17 p. 356 Some of the Laws of *Moses* are allegorical. § 18 p. 360 Some commands in the New Testament figurative. He points out § 22 p. 376 allegorical meanings in the prophets, as in *Ezekiel XXVI* on the Prince of Tyre.

<sup>x</sup> Thus given in Hieronymus Avito p. 705 *Ad extremum intulit* [sc. libri III] “*Et erit Deus omnia in omnibus, ut universa natura corporea redigatur in eam substantiam quæ omnibus melior est, in divinam scilicet qua nulla est melior.*” *Origen* apud *Rufinum* p. 299 thus concludes: *Haecenus nobis etiam corporeæ naturæ vel spiritualis corporis ratione discussa, arbitrio legentis relinquimus ex utroque quod melius judicaverit eligendum. Nos vero in his finem libri tertii faciamus.*

The third book is thus described by Photius Cod. 8: ὁ δὲ τρίτος περὶ αὐτεξουσίου· πῶς ὁ διάβολος καὶ αἱ ἀντικείμεναι δυνάμεις κατὰ τὰς γραφὰς στρατεύονται τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ γένει· ὅτι γενητὸς ὁ κόσμος καὶ φθαρτὸς ἀπὸ χρόνου ἀρξάμενος.

<sup>y</sup> Photius Cod. 8 upon *Origen* περὶ ἀρχῶν: ὁ δὲ τέταρτος περὶ τέλους· ὅτι θεαὶ αἱ γραφαί. τέλος, ὅπως δεῖ ἀναγινώσκειν καὶ νοεῖν τὰς γραφὰς.

<sup>z</sup> See above c. 5 p. 228.

<sup>a</sup> § 8 p. 326 ὡς ἔβησαν ὡς ἀπελοῦς καὶ οὐκ ἀγαθοῦ τυγχάνοντος τοῦ δημιουργοῦ τὸν σωτήρα ἐπιδημηκέναι τελειότερον καταγέλλοντα θεόν.

§ 17 p. 356 In the law of *Moses* it is ordained that every male child which is not circumcised on the eighth day shall be cut off. Upon which *Origen* observes that this is unreasonable—ἀλογον—for that it ought to have been enacted that the parents should be punished; for theirs was the neglect.

§ 24 p. 384 (in the version of *Rufinus*) Mosaic institutions figurative. p. 385 Types are noticed<sup>b</sup>.

IV § 28 p. 390—§ 37 p. 404 ἀνακεφαλαιώσις *de Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto et cæteris quæ superius dicta sunt*<sup>c</sup>. In the version of *Rufinus*.

α' § 28 p. 391 Of the Father and the Son. § 29 p. 392 *Christ* is omnipresent. § 30 p. 393 All things were created through the Son. On the incarnation *Origen* remarks “It is not to be supposed that the whole Divinity of the Son was enclosed within the limits of his human body and was present nowhere else—acting nowhere else. The Divinity of the Son was fully present in his human body, and yet at the same time inseparably present with the Father. § 31 p. 394 Nor yet do we affirm that a part of the Deity of the Son was with *Jesus* in the body and a part elsewhere; for it is impossible that an incorporeal nature should have parts or be divisible. When the Son assumed flesh, he took both a human soul and a human body: § 31 p. 394.

β' § 32 p. 396 § 33 p. 397 *Of the Visible World. of ὄλη or Matter.*

He argues § 34 p. 398 that Quality is the attribute of Matter. § 35 p. 399 All things were created by God except the Father Son and Spirit<sup>d</sup>. p. 400 God created all things, limiting them by Number and Measure; Number with reference to intellectual, Measure with reference to material substances. The Father comprehends all things; comprehends his own nature; comprehends the Son. It cannot be

<sup>b</sup> At § 25 p. 386 a fragment is inserted from Hieronymus Avito p. 706 *Sicut enim per umbram evangelii umbram legis implevit, sic, quia omnis lex exemplum et umbra est caeremoniarum caelestium, diligentius requirendum utrum recte intelligamus legem quoque caelestem et caeremonias superni cultus plenitudinem non habere, sed indigere evangelii veritate, quod in Joannis apocalypsi evangelium legitimus sempiternum, ad comparationem videlicet hujus nostri evangelii quod temporale est, et in transituro mundo ac saeculo praedictatum.*

<sup>c</sup> The original text of this passage is in Eusebius contra Marcellum I. 4 p. 22 A quoted by Marcellus: Ἐπεὶ ἐπαναλαμβάνοντα περὶ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος ὀλίγα τῶν τότε παραλειμμένων διεξελεῖν· περὶ Πατρὸς ὡς ἀδιαίρετος ἂν καὶ ἀμεριστος Υἱοῦ γίνεται πατήρ· οὐ προβαλὼν αὐτὸν, ὡς οἰονταί τινες. εἰ γὰρ προβολὴ ἐστὶν ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ γεννᾷ μὲν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ὅποια τὰ τῶν ζώων γεννήματα, ἀνάγκη εἶναι τὸν προβαλόντα καὶ τὸν προβεβλημένον. Inserted by Oberthur p. 390.

<sup>d</sup> *Nihil esse quod factum non sit, præter naturam Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.*



said that the Son comprehends the Father. The Father has a more perfect and a purer knowledge of his own nature than the Son has<sup>e</sup>.

§ 35 p. 401 Intellectual nature is subject to change because it is created; for that which once was not and then began to be is by its very nature liable to change. To this intellectual nature moral good or evil belong as accidents and not as parts of its substance. It is also necessary that this intellectual nature should have a body, and, being liable to change, should have various bodies adapted to its various degrees of merit. God therefore necessarily formed corporeal natures which by their change of qualities should be fitted for all the purposes of the Creator. And these corporeal natures must remain as long as those Beings exist who want such receptacles. Now, as rational creatures will always exist, bodies also must always exist, unless it can be shewn that rational creatures can exist without a body. Which I have proved to be very difficult and almost impossible for our understandings to comprehend. If, however, we can shew that a rational nature when divested of body is self-existent, and in a worse condition when encumbered with a body, in a better without it, we cannot doubt that bodies do not exist as primary substances, but only at intervals, being adapted to the various movements of the intellectual natures for whose use they are designed; being sometimes created and then again resolved into nothing when those intellectual natures have purified themselves and become worthy of higher destinies. And this will happen in constant succession<sup>f</sup>.

γ § 36 p. 402 *Of the immortality of intellectual natures.* He endeavours to prove it in this manner:

<sup>e</sup> This in the version of *Hieronymus*, which stands thus *Avito p. 707 Rursumque blasphemans de Filio sic locutus est. "Si enim Patrem cognoscit Filius, videtur in eo quod novit Patrem posse eum comprehendere, ut si dicamus artificis animum artis scire mensuram. Nec dubium quin, si Pater sit in Filio, comprehendatur ab eo in quo est. Sin autem comprehensionem eam dicimus, ut non solum sensu quis et sapientia comprehendat sed et virtute et potentia cuncta teneat qui cognovit, non possumus dicere quod comprehendat Filius Patrem. Pater vero omnia comprehendit. Inter omnia autem et Filius est: ergo et Filium comprehendit. Curiosus lector inquirat utrum ita a semetipso cognoscatur Pater quomodo cognoscitur a Filio; sciensque illud quod scriptum est; "Pater qui me misit major est omnibus" verum esse contendet, ut dicat et in cognitione Filio Patrem esse majorem, dum perfectius et purius a semetipso cognoscitur quam a Filio."* Suppressed by *Rufinus*, who has only this passage: *Illa enim natura soli sibi cognita est. Solus enim Pater novit Filium, et solus Filius novit Patrem, et solus Spiritus Sanctus perscrutatur etiam alta Dei.*

Whatever participates with another in the same things is of the same substance with that other. As all eyes participate in light (though not in the same degree) and therefore are of one nature, in like manner all minds participate in intellectual light, although in different degrees and measures; and are therefore of the same nature. If then the celestial spirits partake of intellectual light, and so of the Divine Nature, by partaking of wisdom and holiness, the human soul also partakes of the same light and wisdom, and is of the same nature. And as the celestial spirits are incorrupt and immortal, so doubtless is the human soul. Moreover, since the Trinity, Father Son and Holy Spirit, from whom alone all created nature derives intellectual light, is incorruptible and eternal, it is a necessary consequence that every nature which derives this eternal nature from God should be also incorruptible and eternal. God (the Father Son and Holy Spirit) is conscious of an intellectual nature; angels and heavenly spirits are conscious of it; the mind of man is conscious of it—man who was formed in the image of God. It follows then that God and these natures are in some sort of one substance<sup>g</sup>.

p. 403 Besides it seems impious to suppose that a mind which is capable of contemplating God should suffer extinction of its being; as if the very power of contemplating God were not sufficient to confer perpetual existence upon an intelligent nature.

§ 37 p. 403 He who ventures to ascribe decay of its being to the soul, which was formed in *the image of God*, is guilty of an impiety to the Son. For he also is said to be the image of God in Scripture.

*Origen* observes p. 404 "The soul of man is capable of progressive improvement. Advancing from

<sup>f</sup> Given by *Hieronymus Avito p. 707 μετεμύχων quoque et abolitionem corporum per hoc rursum sentire convincitur. "Si quis autem potuerit ostendere incorporalem rationabilemque naturam, cum exspoliaverit se corpore, vivere per semetipsam, et in peiori conditione esse quando corporibus vestitur, in meliori quando illa deponit, nulli dubium est corpora non principaliter subsistere, sed per intervalla et ob varios motus rationabilium creaturarum nunc fieri, ut qui his indigent vestiantur, et rursum cum illa depravatione lapsos se ad meliora correxerint, dissolvi in nihilum, et hac semper successione variari."* This does not appear in *Rufinus*.

<sup>g</sup> From *Hieronymus Avito p. 708 Ipsum quoque hominem secundum animæ dignitatem unius esse substantiæ. "Intellectualem" inquit "rationabilemque naturam sentit Deus et unigenitus Filius ejus et Spiritus Sanctus, sentiunt angeli et potestates ceteræque virtutes, sentit interior homo qui ad imaginem et similitudinem Dei conditus est. Ex quo concluditur Deum et hæc quodammodo unius esse substantiæ."*

smaller things to greater, from visible to invisible, it arrives at a higher intellectual power. Placed in the body it proceeds from things corporeal, which are

discerned by the senses, to things intellectual, which are not discerned by the senses."

*Origen* in his treatise *περὶ εὐχῆς*<sup>h</sup> c. 5 p. 426—c. 6 p. 434 examines the question on the efficacy of prayer. He states the arguments of those who think prayer unnecessary because God has preordained all events, has predestined some to be rejected, as *Esau*, and others to be accepted, as *Jacob*. You comprehend all in two propositions. 1 If God foresees events and they are predestined, prayer is unavailing. 2 If all things are ordered by the Will of God, and his Will is absolute and not to be changed, then prayer is unavailing.—*Origen* replies by asserting that there are three causes of motion. 1 Matter is moved by some external agent. 2 Plants and living bodies are moved

by their internal structure. 3 Intelligent beings are moved by their internal structure but impelled by their own will. It is evident that men, being both animated and intelligent, possess the third kind of motion, and are impelled by their own wills. But in what manner they will exercise their wills must of necessity be foreknown to God, to whom all future events are foreknown; and in his commands issued beforehand he has a reference to what he knows will be our future conduct. Not that his foreknowledge is the cause of our acts, which, if we were to suppose that God did not foresee them, would nevertheless as certainly come to pass.

*Origen* in the fragments of his commentary upon St. Paul to Titus apud Opp. tom. 5 p. 283—292 on the text III. 10. 11 *Hæreticum hominem post unam correptionem<sup>i</sup> devota* &c. gives his ideas concerning a heretic to the following effect.—p. 285 He is a heretic who believes that there is one God of the Law and the Prophets and another God of the Gospel. All such are heretics, as the followers of *Marcion* and *Valentinus* and *Basilides*, and those who call themselves *Tethiani*. *Apelles* is a heretic (though he does not wholly deny that the Law and the Prophets are from God) because he holds that the God who created this world created it for the glory of another and eternal God; and that this other and eternal God sent *Jesus* into the world at the request of that creator to correct and amend the world which he had made.

The heretic and the orthodox are defined by *Origen* p. 286—290 in the following propositions.

He is a heretic

1 Who thinks any thing falsely concerning *Christ*, whethers *α'* after those who call him the son of *Joseph* and *Mary*, as the Ebionites and Valentinians; or *β'* after those who deny him to be the *λόγος* and call him a mere man; or *γ'* after those who confess him to be God but do not believe him to have assumed

man's nature; who affirm that all his acts were apparent only and not real; who affirm that he was not born of a virgin, but first appeared in Judea at 30 years of age; or *δ'* who believe him to have been born of the virgin, but only in appearance and not actually her son; or *ε'* who assert that *Jesus* did not exist as a separate nature before his coming in the flesh, but had in himself only the divinity of the Father; or *ς'* who, from a superstitious fear of either affirming two Gods or else of denying the Son's divinity, assert that the Father and the Son were one and the same person, two names but one *ὑπόστασις*. These are called in Latin the *patripassiani*.

2 Again, those are heretics who affirm that the Holy Spirit of the Prophets and the Holy Spirit of the Apostles were different, because they make one God for the Law and another for the Gospel.

3 Those are heretics who deny that all human souls are of the same nature or substance.

4 Those who attempt to take away free will, holding a pernicious dogma destructive of human virtue, as if it were not in man's choice to do or speak or think any good thing; from whence the human mind would be led to a neglect of divine judgment.

5 It is also an orthodox faith which believes in the punishment of sins and the rewards of a good life in *Christ's* kingdom.

<sup>h</sup> This treatise was addressed to *Ambrosius*: c. 2 p. 410 Ἀμβρόσιε θεοσεβέστατε καὶ φιλοπονότατε, καὶ Τατιανῆ κοσμιωτάτῃ καὶ ἀνδρειοτάτῃ. c. ult. p. 592 ταῦτα κατὰ δύναμιν ἐμήν—ἡμῖν διήθληται, φιλομαθέστατοι καὶ γηρησιώτατοι ἐν θεοσεβείᾳ ἀδελφοί,

Ἀμβρόσιε καὶ Τατιανῆ. For *Ambrosius* (No 73) see the Tables A. D. 235 p. 249.

<sup>i</sup> So in the fragments. But the text of Scripture has *μετὰ μίαν καὶ δευτέραν νοουθεσίαν*.



6 The orthodox believer will also believe in the resurrection of the dead.

7 He will also believe in the existence of the devil and his angels, and in their efforts against the faithful followers of *Christ*. He will believe that they cannot force man or impose upon him a necessity of sinning, but that they can deceive and persuade him who does not carefully guard his own heart.

8 The orthodox believer will also hold that no

man is delivered over to perdition by God; but that every one who perishes perishes by his own fault, having the free will and power to choose what was good.

9 Concerning the devil himself it is to be believed and held that he fell into disobedience through his own will; that he was created immaculate, and that it was in his own power to have remained in his original state].

*HIERONYMI ad Pammachium et Marcellinum adversus Rufinum libri tres*<sup>k</sup>.

*Rufinus* had translated *Origen* *περὶ ἀρχῶν* in 398. *Hieronymus* was informed of that work by *Pammachius* and *Oceanus*. He addressed a letter to *Rufinus* himself in 400, and composed these books in A. D. 402.<sup>l</sup>

I *Lib. I Rufinus*<sup>m</sup> objects to me that I have translated the work of *Origen* *περὶ ἀρχῶν*. p. 790 and that I formerly commended *Origen*. p. 791 But *Hilarius* also translated from *Origen* 40,000 lines on Job and the Psalms<sup>n</sup>. The works of *Ambrosius* are full of *Origen*<sup>o</sup>. *Victorinus* the martyr approves<sup>p</sup>. Now, because I have censured some doctrines of *Origen*, *Rufinus* has renounced my friendship. p. 792 and is said to have written three books against me<sup>q</sup>. To those books, whenever they come to light and reach my hands, I will endeavour to reply. p. 794 They ask why I translated *Origen* *περὶ ἀρχῶν*. My answer is short. Your letters, *Pammachius*, and those of your friends persuaded me. You told me that these books had been fraudulently translated by others. You sent me a copy of that translation, which when I compared with the Greek original, I immediately perceived that what *Origen* had impiously said of the Father and Son and Holy Spirit had been softened by the interpreter; that other doctrines, on the fall

of the angels, on the descent of souls, on the resurrection, on the world of *Epicurus*, on the restitution of all things, had been either so rendered as they stood in the Greek, or had been confirmed from the commentaries of *Didymus* a known vindicator of *Origen*<sup>r</sup>. Now one who was not his friend might say "Either change all that is evil or publish all that is good. If you omit some hurtful things which you pretend are interpolations of the heretics, prune away all that is noxious. But if you profess to give a faithful translation, why do you change some things and leave others untouched?" But I, desirous only of vindicating myself, have expressed in my version simply what I found in the Greek, not that the reader might trust my version, but that he might be put upon his guard against trusting the other. My translation had a double use; that *Origen* might be shewn to be heretical, and that *Rufinus* might be shewn to be a false interpreter. True, I have translated formerly seventy books of *Origen*, and much from his *tomes*; but no one ever complained of my labours. What was fit for Latin ears was delivered to them. But why publish to them what Greece condemned? what the world rejected? I, a translator of many works of *Origen*, for many years have given no offence; you, *Rufinus*, are now distinguished by a rash at-

<sup>j</sup> p. 290 *Deseruisse statum suum in quo fuerat immaculatus; qui utique potuisset in hoc statu in quo ab initio fuit usque ad finem perseverare, si voluisset.*

<sup>k</sup> Tom. 2 p. 789—895 Romæ 1566.

<sup>l</sup> For the translation made by *Rufinus* see above p. 496. For the correspondence that ensued see at N<sup>o</sup> 204 Works of *Hieronymus* n. 106 at A. D. 398, n. 107 in 399, n. 109 in 400, and these books against *Rufinus*, n. 121 in A. D. 402. The notices of time contained in the work against *Rufinus* are explained in the Tables p. 553, where at l. 14 for *Marcellam* read *Marcellinum*.

<sup>m</sup> Hieronymus Epitaph. Marcellæ (Works n. 151 p. 463) tom. 1 p. 168 describes the rise of Origenism at Rome: *Cum venenata spurcaque doctrina Romæ invenerit quos induceret,*

*tunc librorum περὶ ἀρχῶν infamis interpretatio—tunc nostrorum διδασκalicῶν contradictio, et pharisæorum turbata est schola—ita ut sacerdotes quoque et nonnullos monachorum maximeque sæculi homines in assensum sui traheret, ac simplicitati illuderet episcopi, qui de suo ingenio ceteros æstimabat.* *Siricius* of Rome. Then follows *Ibid. Non multum tempus in mediis; succedit in pontificatu vir insignis Anastasius, quem diu Roma habere non meruit &c.*

<sup>n</sup> See above N<sup>o</sup> 142 p. 439.

<sup>o</sup> See N<sup>o</sup> 172 p. 447.

<sup>p</sup> See N<sup>o</sup> 99 p. 431.

<sup>q</sup> For the books of *Rufinus* against *Hieronymus* see above N<sup>o</sup> 189 p. 454 note <sup>m</sup>.

<sup>r</sup> See *Didymus* at N<sup>o</sup> 149 p. 442.

I tempt. You tell us in your preface that you have translated the book of *Pamphilus the martyr* in defence of *Origen*, and you labour to obtain for *Origen* the sanction of a martyr's approbation. *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea*, an Arian, composed six books in defence of *Origen*. p. 796 The first book of this work you publish under the name of the martyr *Pamphilus*. If this is the work of *Pamphilus*, which of the six is the first of *Eusebius*? In the very book which you render mention is made of the book that follows. In the second and following books *Eusebius* refers to the first. If the whole six books are written by *Pamphilus*, why did you not translate the others? I do not suppose that you were ignorant that *Pamphilus* left no written work; for *Eusebius* himself, the friend of *Pamphilus*, in his three books of the Life of *Pamphilus* asserts in the third book "He himself wrote nothing except some letters to his friends." p. 797 And this account is given after *Pamphilus* was dead. By that book which you have published with the name of the martyr the consciences of many have been wounded<sup>s</sup>. Of what weight are the letters of *Theophilus* and *Anastasius* proclaiming *Origen* a heretic, when you have placed against them the testimony of a martyr in his favour? Acknowledge your fault. Say that *Pamphilus* was not the author. I have myself translated many works of *Eusebius*. p. 798 Am I therefore an Arian because he was an Arian? Are you offended because I translated the books *περὶ ἀρχῶν*? What could I do? I was told from Rome that your commendation of me in your preface involved me in the charge of being an Origenist. I was called upon to reply; my silence would imply an assent to the charge. You will observe that this burden was laid upon me against my will. If you had translated these books without naming me, you might complain with reason that I had translated after you. Now you complain without cause. My translation is my defence. But my translation is directed not against you but against *Origen*. You corrected what you supposed was added by the heretics; I published what all Greece admits to have been written by *Origen* himself.

p. 800 I hear that you ridicule my letter and affirm that I make *Barabbas* my preceptor in Hebrew<sup>t</sup>.

No wonder that you can write *Barabbas* for *Barhannina*, when you can write *Pamphilus* for *Eusebius*. Hear then, thou man of wisdom. I did not call him my preceptor, but I wished to shew my diligence in the study of the Scriptures. Was any injury done to you if I followed *Apollinarius* and *Didymus* instead of you? Could I not name in that letter *Gregorius*, in whom I glory as my teacher? I named those only who were in the same charge as myself, that I might shew myself, like them, an admirer of the learning of *Origen* but not of his faith. *Origen* himself, *Clemens*, *Eusebius*, are wont to write "The Hebrews so explained it." p. 801 *Origen* names the patriarch *Huillus*, who lived in his time, and ends the 30th tome upon *Isaiah* with his exposition of the 89th Psalm; which is inscribed "The song of *Moses*." And the eleven others which have no inscriptions he gives to *Moses* with the same expositor.

I hear that *Rufinus*, when the letters of *Theophilus* against *Origen* were read to him, exclaimed that he had never known before that *Origen* had written such things. And yet *Rufinus* had translated him and had published his defence (written by a heretic) under the name of a martyr. Let it be allowed to me then not to have known the books *περὶ ἀρχῶν*, which I had not read before, and to have known only the homilies which I had translated, and in which there was no mischief. Let me hear wherein I am heretical. Let me know his charge. p. 802 For it is not possible that in my commentaries on the Ephesians<sup>v</sup>, which I hear he censures<sup>w</sup>, I have spoken both well and ill; have drawn both sweet and bitter from the same fountain. What his actual charge is against those books I know not. For the report only of his writings has reached me and not the writings themselves. The style of authors differs according to the subject. *Chrysippus* and *Antipater*, *Demosthenes* and *Æschines*, *Lysias* and *Isocrates* exhibit three different forms of style. Read the rhetorical books of *Cicero* and he will teach you that there is one style of writing for history, another for orations, another for dialogues, another for letters, another for commentaries. I have so followed *Origen* *Didymus* and *Apollinarius* in the commentary on the Ephesians as not to surrender my own faith. Is any one responsible for all the dif-

<sup>s</sup> *Hieronymus* many years afterwards recurs to this subject: ad Ctesiphont. p. 901.

<sup>t</sup> *Rufinus* in Hieron. p. 147 D apud Hieronymi Opp. tom. 4 *Barabbam ejus de synagoga magistrum*.

<sup>v</sup> See *Hieronymus* Works n. 55 p. 459.

<sup>w</sup> *Rufinus* in Hieron. p. 139 C *Proferantur ergo isti qui ei soli ex omnibus scriptis suis placent, id est, in epist. Pauli ad Ephes. libri tres, et in Ecclesiasten (ut puto) unus, &c.*



I ferent interpretations because he records the various expositions of preceding commentators? p. 805 He is angry because I have said that *Origen* justifies falsehood. Now *Origen* does this in the 6th book of his *Stromata*. p. 806 I am told that he also criticises me because in my exposition of the second Psalm I have mentioned the variations in the Hebrew upon one word of that Psalm. Is the orthodox faith in danger, then, if the reader is informed in how many ways a Hebrew line is interpreted? p. 807 Read *Aristotle*, and his commentator *Alexander*<sup>x</sup>, and learn what ambiguities there are in words.

p. 807 But since *Paulinianus* has mentioned to me some passages of his censure upon my commentary on the Ephesians<sup>y</sup>, I will dwell a little on this point. *Origen* wrote three books upon that epistle; *Didymus* and *Apollinarius* also wrote upon it; whom I translating or imitating will now add what I have said in the preface to that work, &c.—p. 809 I dictated that commentary 18 years ago, when *Origen* was a celebrated name, and the books *περὶ ἀρχῶν* were not yet known to the Latins. And yet at that time I declared my opinion, and shewed what displeased me in *Origen's* doctrines.—*Hieronymus* proceeds to vindicate his commentary p. 810—814 upon five other points on which he is informed that *Rufinus* founds objections. He then passes p. 816 to another charge against him. *Rufinus* objects to me mingled sacrilege and perjury because in my letter to *Eustochium* I had promised to lay aside profane studies in future<sup>z</sup>. But I did not engage to forget all that I had learnt already, and besides what I have there related passed in a dream<sup>a</sup>. p. 819 I hear also that his follower *Chrysogonus* objects to my sentiments on baptism. They have the treatise to which they object. Let *Rufinus* reply to it.

II *Lib. II* p. 820 Thus far in vindication of myself. I now come to his apology, in which he endeavours to satisfy *Anastasius* of Rome. He would have gone to Rome to refute the charge against him, but that he had now returned to Aquileia after an absence of 30 years, and was unwilling again to leave his parents. Now his parents are dead. He has been two

years at Aquileia and might, if he felt it requisite, II have journeyed to Rome to defend his character in person. He boasts that in the time of the Arian persecution in Africa he was imprisoned for the faith at Alexandria and was exiled. p. 821. 822 What imprisonment? what exile? State to us now your creed on the points disputed; p. 822 on the incarnation, on the resurrection of the body, on the devil, on the state of the soul. p. 826 I know that various opinions on the origin of the soul are expressed by *Tertullian Lactantius* and others. p. 826. 827 *Rufinus* treats the subject in a style full of faults and absurdities, and concludes by professing ignorance, like another *Arcesilaus* or *Carneades*. p. 828 He is cautious of pronouncing, lest, if he condemn *Tertullian* or *Lactantius*, he should also condemn *Origen*. Having set forth his creed, or rather his profession of ignorance, he proceeds to excuse himself for translating the books *περὶ ἀρχῶν*. p. 829 “He has been requested to translate some pieces of *Origen* into Latin. If there were any merits, or any faults, they did not belong to him. Why should the faults of the author be imputed to the translator? He has only rendered the Greek sense in Roman language.”—And do you wonder that men should censure you, when you can say of open blasphemies “If there are any faults?” p. 830 “You were requested to render the Greek into Latin.”—I wish you had done so. You have added, you have omitted, and then you say that the faults and merits belong to the author. In the first book *περὶ ἀρχῶν* you justify by reasons borrowed from *Didymus* the blasphemies of *Origen*. p. 831 Your own preface condemns you as a bad translator. You there tell that you have omitted much, although you are silent upon what you have inserted. You say “I could not change all. I have omitted only what was added by the heretics.” What you have left, then, is *Origen's* own.—*Hieronymus* p. 832 proceeds to survey *Origen's* opinions.

He then resumes his address to *Rufinus* p. 833. No one objects to you that you have translated *Origen*—otherwise the same objection might be made against *Hilarius* and *Ambrosius*—but that you have translated heretical opinions. I myself so translated

<sup>x</sup> Compare *Rufinus* in *Hieron.* p. 141 D referring to some former mention of *Alexander*: *Sic tibi Alexandri tui Aristotelici commentarii profuere?*

<sup>y</sup> See note v.

<sup>z</sup> See above *Hieronymus Works* n. 30 p. 458. The passage of *Hieronymus* tom. 1 p. 212. 213 is quoted by *Rufinus* in *Hie-*

ron. p. 145 D—G &c. where he absurdly insists upon the merit of abandoning profane studies and the guilt of reading the *εἰσαγωγή* of *Porphyry*. *Hieronymus* takes a juster view of this subject in his epistle to *Magnus*, *Works* n. 114 p. 461.

<sup>a</sup> *Hieron.* ad *Eustoch.* tom. 1 p. 213.



II 70 homilies and some tomes of *Origen* as to keep out of view the evil<sup>b</sup>. In the book *περὶ ἀρχῶν* I openly shewed what the reader was to avoid. If you will not hear the admonition of a brother, hear the censure of a bishop. I subjoin a copy of the letter which *Anastasius* addressed to *Joannes* against you.

You say you have proved in your supplement to the Apology which *Pamphilus* wrote for *Origen* that his books had been corrupted by the heretics, and especially the books *περὶ ἀρχῶν*.—*Hieronymus* proceeds p. 834 (822) to quote and examine some parts of the first book of *Pamphilus*, or rather *Eusebius*, *pro Origene*.—There is blasphemy in the very passage which you produce in his defence.—p. 835 (823) *Eusebius*, a most learned man—learned I say, not orthodox—through six volumes labours no other point than to shew *Origen* of his own creed; that is, an Arian. *Didymus* also, who in his opinion of the Trinity is certainly orthodox, acknowledged as genuine those very passages in the books *περὶ ἀρχῶν* which you reject as spurious.

p. 836 But how does he prove that *Origen* has been corrupted by heretics? *Clement of Rome* (he says) in the books called the Recognitions speaks the language of *Eunomius*. *Clement of Alexandria* sometimes calls the Son a creature. *Dionysius of Alexandria* disputing against *Sabellius* lapses into Arianism. Hence he concludes that their writings have been interpolated by heretics. p. 837 By this mode of reasoning neither *Marcion* nor *Manes* nor *Arius* nor *Eunomius* can be accused; because whatever they have written amiss has been inserted by their enemies. Certain passages of *Origen* are objected to, and instead of defending him you accuse others, and tell us of the errors of *Dionysius* or of *Clemens*.

p. 838 (826) *Rufinus* affirms that *Origen* himself in a letter to his friends at Alexandria complains of corruption in his writings. He subjoins a copy of this letter; and he who charges others with falsifying has himself falsified the meaning of this letter, of which he gives an unfaithful interpretation. *Origen* in that letter inveighs against *Demetrius* and other bishops for excluding him from the Church. But *Rufinus*, concealing the true object of the letter, ascribes to *Origen* what *Origen* never said. *Hiero-*

<sup>b</sup> *Hieronymus* then in his translations had not been exact in rendering the sense of *Origen*. *Rufinus* in Hieron. p. 149 G—H affirms that *Hieronymus* added and omitted at pleasure: *Hoc genus interpretandi uterque nostrum tenuit*, and that *Hierony-*

*mus* p. 838. 839 (826. 827) subjoins a part of *Origen's* letter, and a specimen of the fraudulent translation of *Rufinus*. He quotes p. 840 a dialogue between *Candidus* a Valentinian and *Origen*, in which *Candidus* misrepresents him. If all the heretical passages in *Origen's* works are not *Origen's* own, but inserted by others (and almost all his tomes are full of such passages), then nothing is *Origen's*.

*Rufinus* not content with calumniating the Greeks passes to the Latins, and first produces *Hilarius*. We are told that after the council of Ariminum [in A. D. 359] his book was corrupted by the heretics; that in a certain synod of bishops he ordered his book to be brought to him from his house—the book containing without his knowledge heretical passages—that when these passages appeared the author was excommunicated and left the synod. p. 841 Now shew me where this synod was held in which you pretend that *Hilarius* was excommunicated. In what city? under what consuls? by the rescript of what emperor? Who were these bishops? of Gaul only, or also of Italy and Spain? You have not produced a single fact; but, that you may defend *Origen*, you bring this charge against that eminent man. He next proceeds to *Cyprian* and informs us that the book of *Tertullian de Trinitate* is read under the name of *Cyprian* by the Macedonian heretics at Constantinople. Now in this there are two falsehoods; for neither is the book *Tertullian's* nor is it ascribed to *Cyprian*, but to *Novatian*: whose name it bears and whose style it exhibits. p. 842 (830) He then attacks *Epiphanius* who had pronounced *Origen* heretical in his letter to *Joannes*. He affirms that *Epiphanius* had read by his own acknowledgment 6000 books written by *Origen*, and was therefore indebted to *Origen* for his knowledge. *Rufinus* insinuates that many attempt to deter others from reading *Origen*, that they may themselves steal from him without detection. Thus *Anastasius Theophilus Venerius* and *Chromatius* and the whole synod which condemned *Origen* as heretical are plagiarists from his works. p. 843 (819) But the chief attack is against *Epiphanius*, whose various knowledge of five languages, the Greek the Syrian the Hebrew the Egyptian, and in part even the Latin, is made a subject of accusation. But of the 6000 books

*mus* had set him the example of this free translation: *Verbum de verbo interpretari antea et stultum esse et malitiosum pronunciasti. In hoc secutus sum te.*



II of *Origen* who believes you? How could *Epiphanius* read what *Origen* never wrote? Compute the lists of his books contained in the third book of *Eusebius* on the life of *Pamphilus*; you will not find the third part of six thousand.

p. 844 With respect to that book which passes under the name of *Pamphilus*, I was deceived by your manuscript and imagined that *Pamphilus* and *Eusebius* had written different works. Whence ten years ago in my Catalogue of authors<sup>c</sup> I ascribed that book to *Pamphilus*. But as *Eusebius* himself says that *Pamphilus* left no writings except letters to his friends, and as the book which bears his name is no other than the first of the six books of *Eusebius*, it is clear that you wished to introduce a heresy under the sanction of a martyr's name. I have now read the books *περὶ ἀρχῶν* and many other pieces which I had not read before; that I may now know what to avoid and what to approve. In my youth I translated his homilies.

p. 845 I am told that a letter is circulating in my name in which I am made to say that I repent of my translations made from the Hebrew in my youth. I am astonished at this forgery. The author of this forged epistle insinuates that I had translated the Scriptures from the Hebrew in order to disparage the Septuagint Version. I disparage the Septuagint<sup>d</sup>, which I gave diligently amended in the Roman language many years ago? All my tracts are built upon that text; my commentaries on the twelve prophets<sup>e</sup> interpret mine and the Septuagint edition.—He gives p. 846 (818) his preface to Genesis. He observes that in the New Testament many things are quoted from the Old which did not appear in their copies<sup>f</sup>. He mentions p. 847 (831) that the interpreters in the time of *Ptolemy* wilfully suppressed some particular texts; that the tale of the 70 cells was false; that *Aristeas*, who lived at the time, and *Josephus*

after him, only relate that the translators met in one hall; that they translated but did not prophesy<sup>g</sup>; that they were not inspired but used their learning and knowledge of languages in executing the work. They translated before the Advent of *Christ*; we, who live after the Resurrection, write not a prophecy but a history. I do not condemn the Seventy, but I prefer the Apostles to them all. If you think that I have erred in my translation, ask the Hebrews. What they have concerning *Christ* your copies want.—He quotes p. 848 his remarks on the four books of Kings to shew his respect for the Septuagint, and his preface to the Chronicles addressed to *Chromatius*, in which he had said that, if the text of the 70 interpreters remained as they had left it, his translation from the Hebrew would have been unnecessary; but now there were different copies in every region, and the genuine and ancient translation was corrupted. Alexandria and Egypt follow *Hesychius* in their copy of the Septuagint. From Constantinople to Antioch the copies of *Lucianus*<sup>h</sup> are approved. The intermediate provinces use the Palestine copies which *Eusebius* and *Pamphilus* published as corrected by *Origen*. And the whole world is ranged under this threefold division. *Origen* not only exhibited four editions in four columns but with greater boldness added the edition of *Theodotion*, marking with asterisks what was omitted and with *virgule* what was superfluous. Why then may not the Latins admit my labours? I leave the old edition untouched. I found a new one upon Hebrew, and, what is more, upon apostolical authority. I have given five texts on the authority of the Apostles and of our Lord himself, which are not in the Septuagint. p. 850 The Apocrypha is rejected by the church. We find those texts in the Hebrew original. The Greeks themselves after the Septuagint version, and after the Gospel had been preached, diligently read the

<sup>c</sup> See *Hieronymus*, Works n. 76 p. 460 Tables A. D. 308 p. 355 A. D. 392 p. 527.

<sup>d</sup> *Rufinus* in Hieron. p. 151 censures *Hieronymus* upon this subject.

<sup>e</sup> See *Hieronymus* Works n. 119. 134—137.

<sup>f</sup> He instances Matt. II. 15 from Hos. XI. 1, John XIX. 37 from Zechar. XII. 10, Matt. II. 23 from Isaiah (in reality I Sam. I. 11), John VII. 38 from Proverbs XVIII. 4, and I Cor. II. 9 from Isaiah LXIV. 4. Passages not found in the Septuagint. *Hieronymus* *Algasia* tom. 3 p. 306 (see above Works n. 139 p. 462) marks in Isaiah XLII a difference between the Septuagint and the Hebrew; and observes that Matthew XII. 17 follows the Hebrew. p. 307 Matthew II. 15

quotes Hosea XI. 1 from the Hebrew and not from the Septuagint. p. 307 When the Septuagint differs from the Hebrew, the evangelists and apostles follow the Hebrew. *Hieronymus* *Rustico* tom. 1 p. 335 (Works n. 140 p. 462) marks in Jerem. III a passage *juxta Hebraicam veritatem, quod in Græcis et Latinis codicibus non habetur*. In Pelag. p. 992 he notices in Ecclesiastes X. 1 a variation between the Seventy and the Hebrew. *Ibid.* p. 1015 a variation in Isaiah VI.

<sup>g</sup> *Rufinus* in Hieron. p. 151 C adheres to the fable of the seventy-two cells: *Septuaginta duorum virorum per cellulas interpretantium unam et consonam vocem dubitandum non est Spiritus Sancti inspiratione prolata*.

<sup>h</sup> See above No 105 p. 432 note <sup>k</sup>.

II Jews and Ebionites *Aquila Symmachus* and *Theodotion*, and used these interpreters in their churches through the labours of *Origen* in his *Hexapla*.

*Hieronymus* proceeds to tell p. 851 that he had many years before translated into Latin the book of Job from the Septuagint as marked by *Origen*; that he afterwards rendered that book from the Hebrew, and he quotes the preface in which he vindicated his own labour. It was there urged, if among the Greeks, after the Septuagint version, after the preaching of the Gospel, the Jew *Aquila* and the Judaizing heretics *Symmachus* and *Theodotion* were received, who craftily glossed over many texts, and are even yet read and expounded in the churches, how much more should I, a Christian, escape censure for my translation?—He then gives p. 852 his preface to the Psalms which he had rendered long ago from the Septuagint and then again from the Hebrew; and the end of his preface to the books of *Solomon* p. 853 which he had also translated first from the 70 and then from the Hebrew, dedicated to the bishops *Chromatius* and *Heliodorus*; and a part of his prologue to Isaiah translated from the Seventy. Upon Daniel he says p. 854, I wished to shew what the Hebrew said, and to inform the reader that this prophet is read in the churches according to *Theodotion* and not according to the Septuagint. There are four editions, *Aquila Symmachus* the *Seventy Theodotion*. The churches read *Daniel* in the last<sup>i</sup>. And when I observe what the Hebrews say against the story of *Susanna*, of the three children, and of *Bel* and the dragon, (which are not in the Hebrew copy,) he who censures me for this proves himself a sycophant<sup>j</sup>; for I have not declared my own opinion but what they urge against us. Now you, who are so curious in all that concerns me, and bring an accusation against all that I have written in so many years, why did not you read at least these prefaces to the books which you accused? p. 855 You have, as I know, at a great cost purchased the editions of *Aquila Symmachus* and *Theodotion*. Your *Origen*—and let me call him mine—mine for his genius and

learning but not for the truth of his doctrines—in all his works, after the Seventy interpreters explains the Jewish translators. *Eusebius* and *Didymus* do the same. I omit *Apollinarius*, who, with a zeal but not according to knowledge, attempted to combine the translations of all in one, and to weave a text of Scripture not by the rule of truth but by his own judgment. The apostolical men, the apostles and evangelists, our Lord himself, use the Hebrew copies; as in John VII. 38, and on the cross itself quoting Psalm XXI. 1<sup>k</sup>, he quotes as in the Hebrew and not as in the Seventy. p. 855 I say then without disparaging the Seventy that the authority of the Apostles is better. Wherever the Seventy and the Hebrew agree, they quote the Seventy; but wherever they differ the Apostles quote the Hebrew. Let my accuser then shew some text in the New Testament quoted from the Seventy which is not in the Hebrew, and our dispute is at an end.

p. 856 I have exceeded the limits of an epistle, and intending to refute a heresy have been compelled to vindicate myself. I wait for the three books of *Rufinus*.

*Lib. III.* Addressed to *Rufinus* himself in reply to III his letter. *Hieronymus* examines p. 859. 860 the statement of *Rufinus* in his letter, that copies had got abroad against his will<sup>l</sup>. He quotes p. 861 and examines another passage in which *Rufinus* charges him with boasting of his own eloquence. p. 862 *Hieronymus* himself possessed three languages, Hebrew Greek and Latin, *Epiphanius* five<sup>m</sup>. The invectives of *Rufinus* had reached him two days before<sup>n</sup>.

He relates p. 863 the causes of their dispute from the beginning. He calls upon *Rufinus* p. 864. 865 to a reconciliation, and to join with him in condemning the errors of *Origen*. He repeats p. 866 that he was misled by *Rufinus* when some years before (namely in A. D. 392) he ascribed the first book of *Eusebius pro Origene* to *Pamphilus*; that when the question against *Origen* was agitated he sought with greater diligence and found in the library at *Cæsarea*

<sup>i</sup> See Hieron. præf. in Daniele tom. 5 p. 482 B. On the interpolated passages see above c. 7 No 235 *Porphyrius* Works n. 61 p. 302.

<sup>j</sup> *Rufin.* in Hieron. p. 151 BC *Nam omnis illa historia de Susanna—ab isto abscissa est et abjecta atque posthabita. Trium puerorum hymnus—ab isto e loco suo penitus erasus est.*

<sup>k</sup> Matt. XXVII. 46.

<sup>l</sup> *Rufin.* in Hieron. p. 153 D *Meos vero non codices sed*

*schedulas imperfectas inemendatas furto cujusdam nebulonis et fraude subtractas sibi que delatas &c.*

<sup>m</sup> Hieron. p. 862 *Ego—Hebræus Græcus Latinus, trilinguis. Hoc modo et tu bilinguis eris qui tantum habes Græci Latini que sermonis scientiam—et papa Epiphanius πεντάγλωττος.* See p. 843 quoted above at p. 510.

<sup>n</sup> *Ante biduum mihi—in manus venerunt quæ in me declamasti.*



III the six books of *Eusebius ἀπολογίας Ὁριγένους*. He renews p. 867 his complaint against the preface to the books *περὶ ἀρχῶν*. He restates with great vehemence the charges against *Rufinus*, the forgery of a book in the name of the martyr *Pamphilus*, the garbled translation of the work *περὶ ἀρχῶν*, the insidious praise of *Hieronymus* in the preface. *Hieronymus* p. 868 justifies himself for quoting in his commentaries *Origen Didymus* and *Apollinarius*, though differing in their views of the subject. He affirms p. 872 that the heretical faction lately driven from Egypt and Alexandria had taken refuge at Jerusalem; that *Rufinus* falsely called himself the disciple of *Theophilus*. He denies p. 873 that he had ever charged *Vigilantius* with participating in the heresy of Alexandria. He ridicules the plea of *Rufinus* that the letter of *Anastasius* against him was not genuine, and challenges him to come to Rome and prove the fact.

*Hieronymus* p. 875 relates his own departure from Rome in August 385<sup>o</sup>; his voyage to Rhegium, his interview with *Epiphanius* in Cyprus, with *Paulinus* at Antioch; his arrival at Jerusalem in the winter, his progress to Egypt, his return to Bethlehem. He lays open p. 876 the conduct of *Rufinus* in misrepresenting *Epiphanius*. He explains p. 878 the causes of the journeys of his own friends *Vincentius Paulinianus Eusebius* and the presbyter *Rufinus* to Rome.

He again p. 879 vindicates his version of the Hebrew Scriptures, which he had already treated largely in the second book. He replies p. 880 to the cavil of *Rufinus* that he had at one time censured *Origen*

and *Didymus* and praised them at another. The same III men were not equally right in all their notions. We praise the genius of *Tertullian*, we condemn his heresy. We admire in *Origen* his knowledge of the Scriptures, we reject his false doctrines. We celebrate in *Didymus* his retentive memory and his pure faith in the Trinity; we withdraw from him in the matters in which *Origen* has misled him.—*Hieronymus* ridicules *Rufinus* p. 881 for his profession of ignorance. He states p. 882 the perplexing question of the origin of souls. Three opinions were proposed, one *Origen's*, another *Tertullian's*, the third the general opinion of *Hieronymus* and others. But the true difficulty p. 883 is omitted by *Rufinus*, who asserts what no one ever questioned, but is silent upon the point really in dispute.

He returns p. 885 to the charge made by *Rufinus* that his papers had been stolen by the emissaries of *Hieronymus*. He justifies p. 887 his own translation of the work *περὶ ἀρχῶν* as necessary, and asserts his right to do it. He repeats that *Eusebius* and not *Pamphilus* was the true author of the Apology. p. 888 That *Rufinus* called upon him to produce the books of *Pythagoras*<sup>q</sup>; which was an idle cavil; for, though *Pythagoras* left no writings, yet he left doctrines and precepts, which *Hieronymus* p. 889 had learnt from *Cicero Iamblichus* and other writers.

He remarks p. 891 upon the conclusion of the letter of *Rufinus*, and ends his invective p. 893—895 by applying some texts from the book of Proverbs and from the 57th Psalm.

#### *HIERONYMI ad Ctesiphontem adversus Pelagianos*<sup>s</sup>.

He answers the questions of *Ctesiphon* to the following effect. p. 898 The Pelagians say that man is capable of attaining perfection. This is derived from *Manes*, from *Priscillian*, who have a part of the gnostic heresy of *Basilides*. p. 899, 900 *Evagrius* of Pontus<sup>t</sup>, who writes to virgins, to monks, to *Melania*, has published a book *περὶ ἀπαθείας*. His works have

been interpreted into Latin by his disciple *Rufinus*, who also has written a book in which he enumerates many whom he calls Origenists, *Ammonius*, *Eusebius*, *Euthymius*, *Evagrius* himself, *Isidorus* and others. *Rufinus* ascribes a book of *Xystus* the Pythagorean to *Sixtus* the Roman bishop, that the Pythagorean dogma which equals man to God might pass under

<sup>o</sup> See the Tables p. 509. 511.

<sup>p</sup> Rufinus in Hieron. p. 147 E—H *Ait duas esse solas præfatiunculas suas in quibus laudare visus est Origenem. Rufinus* proceeds to quote many passages from the works of *Hieronymus* in praise of *Origen*, and affirms p. 149 F that he had produced ten: *Agnoscaturn quam verum sit hoc quod scribit, quod in suis duabus tantum præfatiunculis Origenis meminerit, in his non fidem ejus sed ingenium, non dogmatisten eum sed*

*interpretem laudans. Adhibui interim decem.*

<sup>q</sup> Rufinus in Hieron. p. 145 H *Denique inter cætera etiam Pythagoræ libros legisse se jactat: quos ne exstare quidem eruditi homines asserunt.*

<sup>r</sup> See above p. 463 *Hieronymus Works* n. 157. 158.

<sup>s</sup> Tom. 2 p. 897—911.

<sup>t</sup> See above N<sup>o</sup> 183 p. 449. 450.

the authority of a martyr: p. 901 From this book you have quoted many testimonies. *Rufinus* did the same in the name of the martyr *Pamphilus*, to whom he attributed the first of six books written by the Arian *Eusebius*<sup>u</sup>, that he might pour into Latin ears with better effect the far-famed books of *Origen* *περὶ ἀρχῶν*. Your doctrine is an offshoot from *Origen*.

p. 901 The second opinion of *Jovinian*<sup>v</sup> (that there is no lapse after baptism) is your opinion. My answer to him is an answer to you.—After mentioning p. 901. 902 that *Simon Magus Nicolaus Marcion Apelles Montanus*, that *Arius Donatus* and *Priscillian* were all aided by women, he proceeds to the Pelagian doctrine. p. 902 They affirm the grace of God assisting us means no more than that he has given us free will. p. 903 One of their doctors argues thus: "If I do nothing without God's help, and all that I do is his, then not I but God works all things, and free will is given in vain. I therefore either use the power of willing once given to me, or, if I want aid, free will is destroyed in me." They assert then that, having freedom of will, they have no need of further aid, not knowing the Scripture <sup>w</sup>*What hast thou that thou didst not receive* &c. Now, who destroys free will? He who gives God thanks and refers all that flows into the stream to the fountain, or he who says "I have no need of thee—Thou hast given me free will. Am I to do nothing without thy help?" But hear the Apostle<sup>x</sup>: *Whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God*. Hear *St. James*<sup>y</sup>: *Ye ought to say, If the Lord will, we will do this or that*. Is freedom of will then destroyed if you recur in all things to God as the author? p. 905 You say the commands of God are easy, and yet you can shew me no man that has fulfilled them all. Answer me. Are they easy or difficult? If easy, shew me the man that has performed them. If difficult, why do you dare to affirm that they are easy, when none has fulfilled them?

p. 905 You sometimes say "Either the commands are possible and rightly given by God, or impossible, and therefore no fault in those who cannot perform them." You say that man can be without sin if he will; and then you vainly add "not without God's grace." For if man can be without sin of himself,

what need of God's grace? If he can do nothing without the grace of God, why affirm that man can do what he cannot do? You say, God has commanded what is possible. Granted. Who denies it? p. 906 But the Apostle<sup>z</sup> teaches how that is to be understood: *What the law could not do, God, sending his own Son—condemned sin in the flesh*. And again<sup>a</sup>: *No flesh shall be justified by the works of the law*. By the Law he means not the Law of *Moses* only, but all commands. For he says<sup>b</sup> *I consent to the Law of God after the inward man* &c.

p. 906 You will say that we assent to the dogmas of the Manichees, who assert two natures. Impute this to the Apostle who assures us that God is of one nature and man of another. p. 907 The spirit and the flesh oppose each other<sup>c</sup>. In what manner the flesh is frail hear from the Apostle<sup>d</sup>: *What I would I do not, but the evil which I hate, that I do*. What power hinders his will? Hear the Apostle again<sup>e</sup>: *Shall the clay say to the potter, Why hast thou made me thus?* Object farther, why he said<sup>f</sup> *Jacob have I loved, Esau I have hated*. Why so many thousands died for the sin of *Achan*<sup>g</sup>? Why the ark was taken for the offence of the sons of *Eli*<sup>h</sup>? Why 70,000 perished for the fault of *David*<sup>i</sup>? and finally p. 907—what your *Porphyry*<sup>j</sup> is wont to object—why God suffered whole nations from *Adam* to *Moses* and from *Moses* to *Christ* to perish in ignorance? Why should *Christ* come at the end of time, and not before that innumerable multitude had perished? The Apostle will answer, acknowledging his own ignorance and leaving the knowledge to God. Consent then to be ignorant. Concede to God the power over his own acts. p. 908 We do not differ from brute animals merely in this, that we are formed with freedom of will. The Free Will itself rests upon God's help and wants his aid in all things.

p. 908 You who boast that man is capable of perfection and yet confess yourself a transgressor answer me. Do you wish or not to be free from sin? If you do, why not fulfil your wish? If you do not, you shew yourself a contemner of God's precepts, and if a contemner, then a sinner. p. 908. 909 You have another argument which is not to be endured. "It is one thing to be, and another thing to be ca-

<sup>u</sup> See above N<sup>o</sup> 117 p. 436 notet.

<sup>v</sup> See N<sup>o</sup> 188 p. 451.

<sup>x</sup> 1 Cor. X. 31.

<sup>z</sup> Rom. III. 20.

<sup>y</sup> IV. 15.

<sup>w</sup> 1 Cor. IV. 7.

<sup>z</sup> Rom. VIII. 3.

<sup>b</sup> Rom. VII. 22.

<sup>c</sup> Galat. V. 17.

<sup>d</sup> Rom. IX. 13.

<sup>e</sup> 1 Sam. XXIV.

<sup>d</sup> Rom. VII. 15.

<sup>g</sup> Joshua VII.

<sup>j</sup> See above c. 7 N<sup>o</sup> 235 n. 61 p. 302.

<sup>e</sup> Rom. IX. 20.

<sup>h</sup> 1 Sam. III. IV.



pable of being. To be is not in our own power; to be capable of being is affirmed generally; though another has not attained it, yet he who will is able to attain it." Now what kind of reasoning is this? That is possible to be, which has never been. That is possible to be done, which no one has ever done. You attribute to some one, of whose existence you are ignorant, you assign to this nameless person what you cannot shew was ever found in the patriarchs and prophets and apostles.

He charges them in conclusion p. 909 with con-

cealing their real sentiments and not daring to speak out. The Eunomians the Arians the Macedonians tell us their meaning. This heresy alone is ashamed to publish what it fears not to teach in secret. p. 911 Upon the point that many are called just in Scripture, as *Zacharias, Elizabeth, Job* and others, in my promised work I will with God's assistance speak more largely; it may be sufficient now to say that they are so called not because they are wholly faultless but because they are righteous for the most part.

*HIERONYMI adversus Pelagianos dialogi tres*<sup>k</sup>.

In his preface p. 912—914 he mentions the preceding letter to *Ctesiphon*. He mentions again *Manes Priscillian Evagrius Jovinian*. He notices the heretics of Syria, the *euxirai*. In the present work he proposes to write in the Socratic form of dialogue. *Atticus* speaks the doctrine of *Hieronymus* himself, *Critobulus* delivers the opinions of *Pelagius*<sup>l</sup>.

I *Lib. I. Critobulus* contends p. 917 that, Free Will being once granted, the rest is in our own power. p. 918 that man can be without sin if he will; that if no man has been without sin it is because the will was not perfect; p. 921 that *Job Zacharias* and *Elizabeth* were examples of just persons. *Atticus* replies p. 925. 926 that *St. Paul* himself was not perfect; that the perfection ascribed to men was not the complete and divine perfection, but such as suited the infirm nature of man; that *Job* and *Zacharias* and *Elizabeth* were called just only in a lower sense; that there were different degrees of merit. *Zacharias* and *Elizabeth* were in the opinion of *Hieronymus* p. 929 inferior in merit to the virgin *Mary*. p. 930 While we are in the body, we must be satisfied with incomplete perfection; when the mortal shall have put on immortality, God will be all in all; so that there will not be wisdom only in *Solomon*, gentleness in *David*, zeal in *Phineas*, faith in *Abraham*, love of his Lord in *Peter*, but all qualities will be in all.

*Critobulus* argues p. 933 that either God has given possible commands or impossible. If possible, we can do them if we will; if impossible, we are not ac-

countable for not performing them. In either case I man can be without sin if he will. It is replied p. 934 that of many virtues and qualities each is possible to some, all are attainable by none; that different kinds and degrees of merit will be required from different men according to their lights and opportunities. p. 936 To have all perfection, not one being wanting, belongs only to Him *who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth*<sup>m</sup>. In the various pursuits of men in the art of rhetoric, or in commentaries on the Scriptures, all have not the same gifts.

*Atticus* p. 938—954 examines many positions of *Pelagius*, quoted from his rules or heads of discourse. It is held p. 938 that no one can be without sin except he has a knowledge of the law. This is too severe a condition, and would exclude multitudes. The rules quoted and censured by *Atticus* are the following, taken from the book of *Pelagius*. § 14 "That women may sing in the churches." This is contrary to the Apostle's precept 1 Tim. II. 12. *Pelagius* adds "that the servant of God should say nothing bitter; his conversation should be sweet and gentle," and yet § 22 and § 31 he asserts "that the priest should boldly censure all." These are held by *Atticus* p. 939 to be inconsistent. § 72 p. 940 "The grace of God consists in the power of free will once given." § 73 "In the day of judgment the wicked must not be spared." This is an intercepting of God's mercy. § 20 p. 941 "No man can have a knowledge of the Scriptures except he learns them." "That an un-instructed person ought not to use a knowledge of

<sup>k</sup> Tom. 2 p. 912—1044.

<sup>l</sup> *Hieronymus* refers to his own work against *Helvidius* A. D. 382. See above N<sup>o</sup> 187 p. 450.—against *Jovinian* A. D.

393. See N<sup>o</sup> 188 p. 451.—against *Rufinus* A. D. 402.

<sup>m</sup> 1 Pet. II. 22.

I the law." § 73 p. 942 "That a Christian ought to be of such patience as to part with his goods joyfully and gratefully if any one spoils him." This goes farther than the Gospel requires. Is it not enough to lose our own with patience? Must we give thanks and express joy at our losses? § 164 "Love your enemies as your neighbours." § 161 "Never trust your enemy." Two contrary propositions. But though we are commanded to love our enemies, are we required to love them as our neighbours? as we love our friends? If I love them as my friends, what more can I do for my friends? § 123 p. 943 "The kingdom of Heaven is promised in the Old Testament." On the contrary it is manifest that the kingdom of heaven is first promised in the Gospel. You call us Manichees (says *Atticus*) because we call the Law a shadow. We do not condemn the Law with *Manes*, we only assert that the Gospel is better. The Law is the promise, the Gospel the fulfilment; the Law is the beginning, the Gospel the completion; the Law is the foundation, the Gospel the superstructure.

§ 100 "Man can be without sin and perform God's will." This has been considered already. § 123 p. 944 "Thou must not sin at all—*ne leviter quidem*." § 131 "Evil must not be in the thoughts." *Atticus* p. 946—954 treats of sins of ignorance. But all his examples of expiations for sins of ignorance are from the ceremonial Law and from the Old Testament.

II *Lib. II. Critobulus* replies p. 955 that sins of ignorance were expiated under the Law, but that under the Gospel no man is punished for sins of ignorance. He repeats p. 956 that men being delivered from death by *Christ* need sin no more. *Atticus* p. 956—958 quotes Rom. VII and other texts to shew the corruption of man. To the position that the commands of God are easy *Atticus* p. 960 opposes many texts of Scripture, and p. 992 (962) the perturbations to which the mind of man is subject. p. 993 (963) God alone is immortal, because other beings are so *per gratiam*. God is immortal *per naturam*. God alone is wise, because others who are called wise are only so in an imperfect sense. The perfection of man is *ex gratia*; the perfection of God alone *ex natura*.

p. 994 It is one thing to be purified by God, another II thing to be without sin of ourselves. p. 995 What have you that you have not received? And if you have received it, why do you boast as if you had it of yourselves<sup>n</sup>? p. 996 We are not preserved then by the power of free will but by the clemency of God. Having proved these positions from *St. Paul*, *Atticus* p. 997 proceeds to quote the Gospels and shews that God has there commanded things so difficult as almost to seem impossible, overthrowing the doctrine that his commands are easy. p. 1001 The Son of God in his human nature could not do some things<sup>o</sup>. Are *we* then, who are altogether carnal, able to do all things that we would? The Son knows not the day and hour<sup>p</sup>. Shall *we* then pretend to full knowledge? The Son of God felt human infirmity, and prayed, if it were possible, that the hour might pass<sup>q</sup>.—*You* say that it is possible to be always free from sin. p. 1002 *Christ* is tempted<sup>r</sup>. And yet this successor of *Jovinian* presumes to say that those who have been baptized in faith cannot be tempted afterwards. p. 1003 The Apostles themselves are fallible. The Saviour in his agony is comforted by an angel<sup>s</sup>.—*You* want no help from God, having once received freedom of will. p. 1004 The Saviour says *I can do nothing of myself*<sup>t</sup>. On which the Arians found a calumny. To whom the Church replies that this is said in his human character.—*You* on the contrary say "I can be without sin if I will." *Paul* and *Silas* were prevented by the Spirit from preaching in Asia or from going into Bithynia<sup>v</sup>. Why so, if the free will once given was all-sufficient? *Atticus* p. 1007. 1008 confirms by other texts and by examples from the Old Testament, and by many passages from the prophets p. 1013. 1014 that man can only stand through the help and compassion of God. p. 1014 And yet this heir of *Jovinian* can say "I am altogether without sin, I am greater than the Apostle. He does what he would not, and what he would he does not<sup>w</sup>. But I do what I will, and what I do not will I forbear to do. I have prepared the kingdom of heaven for myself by my own virtues. I am not obnoxious to the sentence incurred by *Adam*." He quotes p. 1016—1021 other passages to shew the infirmity the insufficiency and the evil propensities of man. p. 1021 You ask in what *Abel Enoch Joshua*

<sup>n</sup> 1 Cor. IV. 7.

<sup>p</sup> Mark XIII. 32.

<sup>o</sup> Mark VI. 5.

<sup>q</sup> Mark XIV. 35.

<sup>r</sup> Luke IV.

<sup>s</sup> Luke XXII. 43.

<sup>v</sup> Acts XVI. 6. 7.

<sup>t</sup> John V. 19. 30.

<sup>w</sup> Rom. VII. 19.



II and other holy men have transgressed. I answer that I know not; for I am not conscious of what passes within. But God sees the thoughts, and in his sight no man is justified.

III *Lib. III. Critobulus* p. 1022 affirms that those who are baptized, being cleansed from all sin, are just and may remain so. This is called the exploded invention of *Jovinian*, long since condemned in Rome and Africa; and he is referred to the books against *Jovinian* for an answer<sup>x</sup>. Baptism remits former sins but does not ensure our future righteousness; this is to be maintained by labour industry and diligence and by the help of God. We can only ask; He must give. We begin, He accomplishes. We offer all we can; He supplies our deficiency. p. 1024 We say that God can do whatever he will and that man cannot of his proper will and of himself be free from sin. If he can, then you needlessly insert "by the grace of God;" which is not needed, if you are all-sufficient of yourselves. If you cannot act without that grace, then you foolishly affirm that you have a power which you have not. For it is manifest that whatever depends upon another's will is not theirs for whose power you are contending, but His without whom they can do nothing. p. 1025 God indeed commands possibilities. But because men do not perform possibilities therefore they need God's mercy. Shew me an example of a man who has performed fully every point of duty, and then you may shew one who has no need of indulgence. But take the example of *David*, a holy man and especially chosen by God. And yet he transgressed. Man, if he remits his vigilance but a little, feels his own weakness. p. 1026 *St. Paul* was not perfect. The natural wants the physical infirmities of man will divide his attention with higher matters, and will not suffer his whole time to be employed upon solemn thoughts and holy meditations. p. 1028 You may complain that God has not repressed evil, that he has permitted the existence of the devil. This is the language of *Marcion* and the whole tribe of heretics. They argue thus. Either God knew that man in Paradise would fall, or he did not know it. If he knew it, then man who could not avoid what God foreknew is not in fault,

but God who so formed him. If he knew it not, you III destroy his divinity by destroying his prescience. Why was *Saul* chosen, who was to become a most impious king? Was it not either ignorance or injustice to choose twelve Apostles, of whom one was a devil? Why choose the traitor *Judas*?—The answer is, God judges the present and not the future. Nor does he from his prescience condemn those of whom he knows that they will hereafter displease him. Such is his goodness, so unspeakable his clemency, that he elects those whom he sees to be now good and yet knows will be wicked hereafter, granting them an opportunity for conversion and penitence. *Adam* therefore did not sin because God foreknew it, but God foreknew what *Adam* of his own free will would do. We see in the example of the Ninevites<sup>y</sup> and in the declaration of *Jeremiah*<sup>z</sup> that God will spare when man repents.

It is answered p. 1029 "You give free will in words, you take it away in fact; making God the author of evil when you assert that man can do nothing of himself and that all we do is to be imputed to God. Our doctrine on the contrary is that the good and evil done by man through free will is to be imputed to himself and not to that Being who once for all granted him free will." *Atticus* replies that even by this reasoning if God does not assist, yet he is the author of evils, because he could prevent and yet permitted. He then shews p. 1031 from Scripture in the examples of *Jacob* and *Joseph* that all depend upon the immediate agency of God; that *St. Paul* affirms our sufficiency to be from God; p. 1032 that our Lord in the Gospels declares *I am the vine, you are the branches. No man can come to me unless the Father draw him*<sup>a</sup>; p. 1033. 1034 that, as the perpetual health of the body cannot be secured, so the perpetual purity of the mind (for sin is to the mind what disease is to the body) cannot be maintained without God; p. 1035 that if we are invited to perfection in Scripture, this is to be understood of good things to come. The Lord addressing his disciples calls them *evil*<sup>b</sup>. *Abraham* fell to the ground from a sense of his own weakness<sup>c</sup>. p. 1306 It is said in Genesis *I have seen God face to face*<sup>d</sup>. It is said again *Thou canst not see my face, for no man can*

<sup>x</sup> See No 188 p. 451.

<sup>a</sup> John VI. 44.

<sup>d</sup> Gen. XXXII. 30.

<sup>y</sup> Jonah IV. 10. 11.

<sup>b</sup> Matt. VII. 11.

<sup>z</sup> Jerem. XVIII. 7. 8.

<sup>c</sup> Genes. XVII. 3.



III *see my face and live*<sup>e</sup>. And again *The invisible and only God, whom no man hath seen or can see*<sup>f</sup>. And *No man has seen God at any time*<sup>g</sup>. The latter expressions teach you how to understand the first. p. 1037 A resemblance to God and a true contemplation of him is then promised when he shall appear in his glory.

p. 1037 *Pelagius* writing to a widow<sup>h</sup> in what manner saints should pray prescribes a form exhibiting a proud self confidence, like that of the Pharisee in the Gospel. p. 1039 Compare that prayer with the form commanded by our Lord. p. 1040 Our Lord says *Lead us not into temptation*. You with *Jovinian* say that after baptism there is no temptation and no sin. *Pelagius* flatters that widow and is not ashamed to ascribe to her a piety and truth which even the angels do not claim. p. 1041 Those two clauses of prayer and panegyric *Pelagius* is wont to deny to be his own, though the style confirms them to be his.

p. 1042 *Critobulus* exclaims Grant at least that children are without sin, who from their age are in-

capable of transgressing. *Atticus* replies I grant it, III if they are baptized. Infants are baptized that their sins may be remitted by baptism. *Critobulus* enquires What evil had they done? Is any one loosed who is not bound? *Atticus* quotes *St. Paul*<sup>i</sup> *Death reigned from Adam to Moses even over those who had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression*. He argues that all men are liable either on their own account or through *Adam*; that children by baptism are loosed from the guilt derived from *Adam*; adults both from that and from their own personal sins. He quotes *Cyprian* p. 1043 who calls the nature derived from *Adam* "the contagion of the old death." *Atticus* mentions *Augustine ad Marcellinum de infantibus baptizandis*<sup>k</sup>, and a letter of *Augustine* to *Hilarius* against the doctrine of *Pelagius*<sup>l</sup>; and concludes p. 1044 "If the remission to children by baptism of the sin which another has committed seems to you unjust, because he who could not sin wants not that remission, go to your favourite *Origen*<sup>m</sup>. You follow him in other matters, and may also adopt his error in this."

<sup>e</sup> Exodus XXXIII. 20.

<sup>f</sup> 1 Timoth. VI. 16.

<sup>h</sup> See above N<sup>o</sup> 220 p. 469 note  $\epsilon$ .

<sup>k</sup> *Scrispsit dudum Augustinus ad Marcellinum duos libros &c.—Tertium quoque ad eundem Marcellinum contra eos qui dicunt—posse hominem sine peccato esse si velit.* Sc. tom. 13

<sup>g</sup> John I. 18.

<sup>i</sup> Rom. V. 14.

*Augustini* Opp. ed. Ven. p. 2—103. See above N<sup>o</sup> 205 Works n. 60 p. 465. Written A. D. 412.

<sup>l</sup> He refers to *Augustine* Ep. 89 (157) *Hilario* Syracusano p. 453 ed. Lugdun.

<sup>m</sup> *Transile ad amasium vestrum. sc. Origenem.* Conf. ad Ctesiph. p. 901 *Doctrina tua Origenis ramusculus est.*

It remains in conclusion to collect the Testimony of the Fathers to some important questions which force themselves on the attention of earnest and thoughtful minds.

1 Some have been apt to hold the authority of the Fathers in too high respect, while others passing to the other extreme have rejected it altogether. But in the first place their evidence is important. They possessed the advantage of being near the apostolical times, and within reach of tradition of what the Apostles taught. With reference to the Ministry of *Christ* upon earth, we of these latter days *behold Him but not nigh*. The immediate successors of the Apostles might converse with those who remembered the time when *He dwelt among them full of grace and truth*. Even *Hieronymus* and *Chrysostom* were scarcely more distant from the Resurrection and Ascension than *we* are from *Luther*. But in the next place, besides their value as reporters of evidence, the ancient Fathers with all their imperfections are valuable interpreters in many respects. In the fundamental doctrines they are safe guides. Of that Faith which was founded upon Scripture and asserted by the Nicene Fathers they are the best expositors. If in the display of an impassioned eloquence they are often inconclusive reasoners, if in the heat of contest they sometimes press an argument too far, the same or equal faults may be charged upon many modern preachers and interpreters. The Greek Fathers also possessed the important advantage that the language in which the New Testament is written was their own vernacular tongue, the language in which



they thought and discoursed and wrote. In their commentaries they expounded the original text<sup>a</sup>. They comprehended every shade of meaning which that unrivalled language was capable of conveying; and, when they set forth the abstruse doctrines, they could express themselves with greater force and clearness in Greek than in most other languages<sup>b</sup>.

2 On the fundamental doctrines, the Trinity the Incarnation the Atonement, they appeal to the apostolic teaching. They explain and interpret Scripture by tradition of the apostolical doctrine preserved in the churches founded by Apostles; and they testify that their belief on these great questions was deduced from the apostolic times<sup>c</sup>. They acknowledge that the Apostles alone were inspired; that other interpreters are fallible; and that Theology like other sciences is now to be acquired by study and labour<sup>d</sup>.

3 But the Fathers gradually lapsed into gross errors and superstitions. They taught that Saints were to be invoked and relics to be honoured; that self-inflicted austerities had a spiritual effect; that monachism was the most acceptable mode of life; that the state of celibacy was more pleasing to God than the state of marriage. They multiplied forms and ceremonies fasts and festivals. They claimed exorbitant power for the clergy. They persecuted heretics with intolerant zeal. In these things however they had not the same authority to produce. They are witnesses against themselves. And this is important; for testimony is always valuable when it is at variance with the prejudices and opposed to the inclinations of the witness. From their own evidence it appears that these things were devised by themselves and not enjoined by the Apostles, were the inventions of men and not the commandments of God.

4 The Jewish polity under the Law was a system of rites and ceremonies appointed by Divine Command. But under the Gospel the ceremonies of the Law were abolished. That weight which neither the Jews of that age nor their fathers had been able to bear was no longer to be laid upon the faithful. The Christians were called to liberty. The old observances were laid aside. The Apostles themselves instituted no forms. Socrates<sup>e</sup> on this subject speaks as follows: "No law

<sup>a</sup> Hence the petition in the Lord's Prayer, *ῥῶσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ*, is interpreted in its true meaning by Chrysostom in *Matth. Opp. tom. 7 p. 254 A πονηρὸν δὲ ἐνταῦθα τὸν διάβολον καλεῖ*.

<sup>b</sup> The superiority of the Greek language is felt by *Greg. Naz. Or. 21 p. 409 D τῆς γὰρ μᾶς οὐσίας καὶ τῶν τριῶν ὑποστάσεων λεγομένων μὲν ὑφ' ἡμῶν εὐσεβῶς, τὸ μὲν γὰρ τὴν φύσιν δηλοῖ τῆς θεότητος τὸ δὲ τὰς τῶν τριῶν ιδιότητας, νοουμένων δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἱταλοῖς ὁμοίως, ἀλλ' οὐ δυναμένους διὰ στενότητα τῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς γλώττης καὶ ὀνομάτων πενίαν διελεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας τὴν ὑπόστασιν. Basil. Cæsar. Ep. 349 (214 Garn.) p. 1130 B observes that the brethren in the West, feeling the poverty of the Latin tongue, express οὐσία in the Greek language: οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς δύσεως ἀδελφοὶ ἐν οἷς τὸ στενὸν τῆς ἐαντῶν γλώττης ὑφορώμενοι τὸ τῆς οὐσίας ὄνομα τῇ Ἑλλάδι φωνῇ παραδεδώκασιν. Augustine de Trinitate V. 8. 9, though he was imperfectly acquainted with the Greek language (see Augustine himself de Trinitate III proem. adv. Petilianum II. 38 *Ego quidem Græcæ linguæ perparum assecutus sum et prope nihil*), felt the difficulty of expressing in Latin the difference between οὐσία and ὑπόστασις.*

<sup>c</sup> Thus *Irenæus* quoted at A. D. 179 p. 177 of the church of Rome down to his own time. Thus *Terullian* quoted Vol. 2 p. 414 of all the apostolical churches.

<sup>d</sup> *Hieronymus* quoted above Works n. 90 p. 460, n. 96 p. 461. *Clemens Alex. Strom. I p. 291 B* censures those who neglect the aids of learning: *ἔτιοι δὲ εὐφρεῖς οἰόμενοι εἶναι ἀξιόσοι μῆτε φιλοσοφίας ἀπτεσθαι μῆτε διαλεκτικῆς, ἀλλὰ μὴδὲ τὴν φυσικὴν θεωρίαν ἐκμανθάνειν* μόνη δὲ καὶ ψιλὴν τὴν πίστιν ἀπαιτοῦσιν κ. τ. λ. and observes p. 292 B *εἰ δὲ οἱ προφῆται καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι οὐ τὰς τέχνας ἐγνώκεσαν δι' ὧν τὰ κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν ἐμφαίνεται γυμνάσματα, ἀλλ' ὁ νοῦς γε τοῦ προφητικοῦ καὶ τοῦ διδασκαλικοῦ πνεύματος ἐπικεκρυμμένους λαλούμενος διὰ τὸ μὴ πάντων εἶναι τὴν συνείσαν ἀκοὴν τὰς ἐντέχνους ἀπαιτεῖ πρὸς σαφήνειαν διδασκαλίας· ἀσφαλῶς γὰρ ἐγνώκεσαν τὸν νοῦν ἐκείνων οἱ προφῆται καὶ οἱ τοῦ πνεύματος μαθηταί· ἐκ γὰρ πίστεως καὶ ὡς οὐχ οἶόν τε ῥαδίως, ὡς τὸ πνεῦμα εἶρηκεν· ἀλλ' οὐχ οὕτως ἐκδέξασθαι μὴ μεμαθηκότας. Greg. Naz. Or. 2 p. 37 B C ἄρ' οὐν ὀρχήσεως μὲν καὶ αὐλήσεως ἐστὶ διδασκαλία καὶ μάθησις, καὶ χρόνου πρὸς τοῦτο δεῖ καὶ ἰδρώτων συχνῶν καὶ πόνων, καὶ μισθοῦ καταβαλεῖν ἐστὶν ὅτε καὶ προσαγωγῶν δεσθῆναι, καὶ ἀποδημήσαι μακρότερα καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ μὲν ποιῆσαι πάντα τὰ δὲ παθεῖν οἷς ἐμπειρία συλλέγεται, τὴν δὲ σοφίαν ἢ πᾶσιν ἐπιστατεῖ καὶ πάντα ἐν ἐαυτῇ τὰ κατὰ συλλαβοῦσα ἔχει (ὡς καὶ τὸν Θεὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτο μᾶλλον ἢ τι ἄλλο χαιρεῖν ἀκούοντα, ἐπειδὴ καλεῖται πολλοῖς ὀνόμασιν) οὕτω κούφον τι καὶ πεπατημένον πρᾶγμα ὑποληψόμεθα ὥστε θελήσαι δεῖν μόνον καὶ εἶναι σοφόν; πολλῆς τοῦτο τῆς ἀμαθίας.*

<sup>e</sup> *Socrates H. E. V. 22* Ἰουδαῖζεν γὰρ Χριστιανοῖς



“ of *Christ* allowed the faithful to follow Jewish rites. On the contrary the Apostle forbids this, not only casting out circumcision but counselling them not to dispute about festal days. He says *You that desire to be under the law do you not hear the law?* Then he shews that the Jewish people was a servant, but that *those who came to Christ were called to liberty*. He counselled them by no means to observe days or months or years. He loudly exclaims that *the observances were a shadow*. Wherefore he says *Let no man judge you in eating or drinking or in the matter of a festival or a new moon or a sabbath, which are the shadow of the future*. Again setting his seal upon these things he says *The priesthood being transferred, a transfer of the law necessarily follows*. Nowhere therefore has the Apostle nor have the evangelists imposed a yoke of servitude upon those who came to their preaching. They left it to the gratitude of those who had received the benefits to honour the Passover and the other festivals. Whence, since men love festivals, for in these they rest from their labours, each in his several abode, as he pleased, commemorated the Crucifixion. Neither *Christ* nor the Apostles commanded these observances by any law. Neither the Gospels nor the Apostles have threatened us with any penalty or punishment or imprecation, as the Mosaic Law threatens the Jews.—The object of the Apostles was not to legislate concerning festal days but to point the way to a good life and piety.”

There is evidence to shew that the Apostles observed the first day of the week or the *Lord's day*. But of so little importance was the observance of other stated days in their eyes, that *St. Peter* and *St. Paul* in Italy and *St. John* and *St. Philip* in Asia observed Easter by a different rule and commemorated the Crucifixion on different days<sup>f</sup>. From the testimony of the Fathers we discern that certain festivals and days were not observed in the early times. Centuries passed before even the Nativity of *Christ* or of the Baptist, or the Presentation in the Temple or the Annunciation were appointed to be celebrated<sup>g</sup>.

οὐδὲ εἰς τοῦ Χριστοῦ νόμος ἐπέτρεψεν· ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου δὲ καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος ἐκώλυσεν, οὐ μόνον τὴν περιτομὴν ἐκβάλλων ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ ἑορτῶν μὴ διακρίνεσθαι παραιῶν. διὰ Γαλάταις γράφων [IV. 21] φησὶ “ λέγετέ μοι οἱ ὑπὸ νόμον θέλοντες εἶναι τὸν νόμον οὐκ ἀκούετε;” καὶ βραχίαια περὶ τούτου διαλεχθεὶς δοῦλον μὲν δείκνυσι τὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων λαὸν ἐπ’ ἐλευθερία δὲ κεκλήσθαι τοὺς προσεληλυθότας Χριστῷ. παρῆναι δὲ καὶ μηδαμῶς παρατηρεῖσθαι ἡμέρας καὶ μῆνας καὶ ἐνιαυτούς [Gal. IV. 10]. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Κολασσεῖς [II. 16. 17] μεγάλη φησὶ τῇ φωνῇ σκιὰν εἶναι τὰ παραφυλάγματα. “ διὰ” φησὶ “ μηδεὶς ὑμᾶς κρινέτω ἐν βρώσει ἢ ἐν πόσει ἢ ἐν μέρει ἑορτῆς ἢ νομηνίας ἢ σαββάτου, ἅτινά ἐστι σκιὰ τοῦ μέλλοντος.” καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἑβραίους δὲ [VII. 12] ὁ αὐτὸς ἐπισφραγιζόμενος τὰ τοιαῦτα φησὶ “ Μετατιθεμένης γὰρ τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἐξ ἀνάγκης καὶ νόμον μετέθεσις γίνεται.” οὐδαμῶς τοίνυν ὁ ἀπόστολος οὐδὲ τὰ εὐαγγέλια ζυγὸν δουλείας τοῖς τῷ κηρύγματι προσελθούσιν ἐπέθηκαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἑορτὴν τοῦ πάσχα καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἑορτὰς τιμᾶν τῇ εὐγνωμοσύνῃ τῶν εὐεργετηθέντων κατέλιπον. ὅθεν ἐπειδὴ φιλοῦσι τὰς ἑορτὰς οἱ ἄνθρωποι, διὰ τὸ ἀνίσθαι τῶν πόνων ἐν αὐταῖς, ἕκαστοι κατὰ χώρας ὡς ἐβουλήθησαν τὴν μνήμην τοῦ σωτηριώδους πάθους ἐξ ἔθους τινὸς ἐπέτελεσαν. οὐ γὰρ νόμῳ τούτο παραφυλάττειν ὁ Σωτὴρ ἢ οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἡμῖν παρήγγειλαν, οὐδὲ καταδίκεν ἢ τιμωρίαν ἡ κατάραν, ὡς ὁ Μωϋσέως νόμος τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, καὶ ἡμῖν τὰ εὐαγγέλια ἢ οἱ ἀπόστολοι διηπέλιψαν.—σκοπὸς μὲν οὖν γέγονε τοῖς ἀποστόλοις οὐ περὶ ἡμερῶν ἑορταστικῶν νομοθετῶν, ἀλλὰ βίον ὀρθὸν καὶ τὴν θεοσεβίαν εἰσηγήσασθαι. *Augustine* Ep. 119 Januario p. 664 (quoted by Geiseler

Vol. 1 p. 309) speaks thus of the ceremonies which had been multiplied in his time: *Quod autem instituitur præter consuetudinem ut quasi observatio sacramenti sit approbare non possum, etiamsi multa hujusmodi propter nonnullarum vel sanctarum vel turbularum personarum scandala devitanda liberius improbare non audeo. Sed hoc nimis doleo quod multa quæ in divinis libris saluberrime præcepta sunt minus curantur, et tam multis præsumtionibus sic plena sunt omnia ut gravius corripiatur qui per octavas suas terram nudo pede tetigerit quam qui mentem vinolentia sepelierit. Omnia itaque talia, quæ neque sanctarum Scripturarum auctoritatibus continentur nec in conciliis episcoporum statuta inveniuntur nec consuetudine universæ ecclesiæ roborata sunt, sed pro diversorum locorum diversis moribus innumerabiliter variantur, ita ut via aut omnino nunquam inveniri possint causæ quas in eis instituendis homines secuti sunt, ubi facultas tribuitur, sine ulla dubitatione resecanda existimo. Quamvis enim neque hoc inveniri possit, quomodo contra fidem sint, ipsam tamen religionem, quam paucissimis et manifestissimis celebrationum sacramentis misericordia Dei esse liberam voluit, servilibus oneribus premunt; ut tolerabilior sit conditio Judeorum, qui, etiamsi tempus libertatis non agnoverint, legalibus tamen sarcinis non humanis præsumtionibus subjiciuntur.* See on this epistle August. *Retract.* quoted above, Works n. 47 p. 464.

<sup>f</sup> See A. D. 197 p. 200.

<sup>g</sup> See above c. 2 p. 209 c. 5 p. 238. That the



5 The Gentiles might remark with wonder that the Christians had neither altars nor temples<sup>h</sup>. The Table of the Lord was a Table and nothing more. *Athanasius* and *Chrysostom* still called it by the name which it had received from *St. Paul*<sup>i</sup>; and although soon after the apostolic age by an easy metaphor it was called an altar<sup>k</sup>, yet the Gentiles in the time of *Minucius Felix* and *Origen* and *Arnobius*<sup>l</sup> might observe that the Christians had no altars, because their Holy Table was applied to none of the purposes of an altar. In the time of *Athanasius* the Table was still of wood<sup>m</sup>. *Themistius* in describing the different religions in the time of *Jovian* opposes the Tables of the Christians to the Altars of the Heathen<sup>n</sup>. *Theodoret*<sup>o</sup> is careful to explain that the bread and wine used in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper underwent no miraculous change. They still remained bread and wine. *Chrysostom*<sup>p</sup> affirms of the bread that it was still bread after consecration.

6 The heathen nations had temples—*ιερά*—for their worship because their gods were supposed to dwell in the sacred place. At Jerusalem also the Temple was the appointed place for the sacrifices and ceremonies of the Law. The Holy Spirit was especially present in the Holy Place. But the Christians were taught that *God dwelleth not in temples made with hands*<sup>q</sup>; that *Christ* was present *wherever*<sup>r</sup> *two or three were gathered together in his name*. The disciple was commanded

other days here mentioned were not fixed till after the Nativity had been placed at Dec. 25 is manifest; for their position depended upon this. The Nativity of the Baptist was assumed to be six months before, the Annunciation nine months before, and the Presentation in the Temple 40 days after, the Nativity of *Christ*.

That the first day of the week was observed by the Apostles is shewn by Bingham Vol. 9 p. 13—17 who quotes among other testimonies the following: Acts XX. 7 1 Cor. XVI. 2 Rev. I. 10 Ignatius ad Magnes. c. 9 Clem. Al. Strom. VII p. 877 Potter Justin Martyr Apol. II p. 99 [sc. c. 67 p. 83 D 84 A] Tertullian Apol. c. 16 ad nationes I. 13 Coron. mil. c. 3 Jejun. c. 13 Melito apud Euseb. H. E. IV. 26.

<sup>h</sup> Origenes contra Cels. VIII. 20 p. 137 *φεύγομεν βωμοὺς καὶ ἀγάλματα καὶ νεὸς ἰδρῖεσθαι*. *Minucius Felix* p. 91 *Cur nullas aras habent templa nulla nulla nota simulachra?* *Arnobius* VI p. 189 *Consuestis crimen nobis maximum impietatis affigere quod neque aedes sacras venerationis ad officia construamus, non Deorum alicujus simulachrum constituamus aut formam, non altaria fabricemus non aras*.

<sup>i</sup> 1 Cor. X. 21 *τραπέζης Κυρίου*. *Athanasius* ad Monachos tom. I p. 847 D of the table at Alexandria: *τὴν τράπεζαν, ξυλίνην γὰρ ἦν*. The expression however seems to intimate that in some places it was no longer of wood. *Chrysostom*. in Matt. tom. 7 p. 375 A *καὶ γὰρ πολλὰ ἡμᾶς ἐστὶ τὰ συναγοῦντα μία τράπεζα πρόκειται πᾶσιν*. p. 375 C *ἐκοινωνήσαμεν τραπέζης πνευματικῆς, κοινωνήσωμεν καὶ ἀγάπης πνευματικῆς.—καὶ τοι γὰρ πολλοῖς οὐχὶ τράπεζα μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πόλεως εἶναι μᾶς ἤρκεσεν εἰς φιλίαν*. *Contra Judæos* Or. 2 tom. 1 p. 605 B *τὴν τράπεζαν αὐτὴν οὐκ αἰδῆ*; Or. 8 p. 684 A *ποιὰ χειρὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἀψῆς τραπεζῆς*;

<sup>k</sup> On the word *θυσιαστήριον* in Ignatius Ep. Ephes. c. 5 Magnes. c. 7 Trall. c. 7 Philadelph. c. 4 see the

Annotations ad Ephes. c. 5 p. 269 ed. Jacobson.

<sup>l</sup> See note <sup>h</sup>.

<sup>m</sup> See note <sup>i</sup>.

<sup>n</sup> Themistius Or. V p. 67 D quoted at A. D. 364 p. 461 *καὶ πάλαι μὲν εἰς Θηραμένης* [Xen. Hellen. II. 3, 31], *νῦν δὲ ἅπαντες κόθορνοι,—οἱ αὐτοὶ πρὸς βωμοῖς πρὸς ἱερείοις πρὸς ἀγάλμασι πρὸς τραπέζαις*.

<sup>o</sup> Theodoretus Dial. 2 Opp. tom. 4 p. 126 *οὐδὲ γὰρ μετὰ τὸν ἀγιασμὸν τὰ μυστικὰ σύμβολα τῆς οἰκίας ἐξίσταται φύσεως· μένει γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας οὐσίας καὶ τοῦ σχήματος καὶ τοῦ εἶδους, καὶ ὁρατὰ ἐστὶ καὶ ἀπτά οἷα καὶ πρότερον ἦν· νοεῖται δὲ ἅπερ ἐγένετο καὶ πιστεύεται καὶ προσκυνεῖται, ὡς ἕκενα ὄντα ἅπερ πιστεύεται*. Quoted by Geiseler Vol. 1 p. 295.

<sup>p</sup> *Chrysostomi* epistola ad Cæsarium monachum Opp. tom. 3 p. 897 ed. Par. in versione Latina: *Sicut enim antequam sanctificetur panis panem nominamus, divina autem illum sauctificante gratia, mediante sacerdote, liberatus est quidem appellatione panis dignus autem habitus dominici corporis appellatione, etiamsi natura panis in ipso permansit, et non duo corpora sed unum corpus Filii predicamus*. *Origen* Comm. in Matt. Vol. 4 p. 416. 417. 420, so far as we can discern from the translation of *Rufinus*, explains that the bread and wine are not really *Christ's* body and blood; that they had a mystical meaning; that *Christ* himself the Bread ate it with us, that *Christ* himself the Wine drank it with us.

<sup>q</sup> Acts VII. 48.

<sup>r</sup> Matt. XVIII. 20 "*Wheresoever two or three*"—Ill interpreted by some "*When two or three*"—The reference is to the place and the smallness of the number. So interpreted by Origen ad Matt. tom. 3 p. 236 *παρόντι ὅπου δύο καὶ τρεῖς*—and by *Chrysostom* tom. 1 p. 609 E *εἰ δὲ ὅπου δύο ἢ τρεῖς—ὅπου τριακόσιοι—πολλῶ μᾶλλον*. tom. 9 p. 284 C *ὅπου δύο ἢ τρεῖς—εἰ δὲ δύο μέγα ἰσχύουσι, πόσῳ μᾶλλον πλείους*; tom. 11 p. 535 B *εἰ ὅπου δύο ἢ τρεῖς, πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἐφ' ἑμῶν*.



to enter his closet and shut the door and pray to the Father who seeth in secret<sup>s</sup>. The efficacy of prayer depended upon the devotion of the worshipper and not upon the place or the form of words. The building in which the Christians assembled was not called a Temple or a Holy Place, but a place of prayer, or a house of the congregation, or *ecclesia*. The place of worship received its name from those who assembled in it<sup>t</sup>. As the place in which the assembly of the Athenian people met was from them called *ecclesia*<sup>v</sup>, so the place in which the faithful Christians met was called *ecclesia* from them.

7 The Fathers of the Church, even the wisest and the best, obstinately persisted in the pernicious error that celibacy was more acceptable and more holy than marriage. But the declaration of the Apostle, that false teachers should arise, *forbidding to marry*, was too clear to be mistaken; and the Fathers in commenting upon it were compelled to bear testimony to its meaning. Even *Hieronymus* himself, the great champion of celibacy and monachism, in many passages of his works finds it difficult to defend his own favourite dogma<sup>w</sup>.

<sup>s</sup> Matt. VI. 6.

<sup>t</sup> In the time of the monk *Antonius* it was called "the Lord's house," or *κυριακόν*: *Athanasius* in *vita Antonii* Opp. tom. 2 p. 457 C ἔφερον εἰς τὸ τῆς κόμης κυριακόν. p. 492 A εἰς τὸ κυριακὸν ἤρχοντο. The place of worship was also called *οἶκος εὐκτήριος* by *Basil Cæsar*. Ep. 63 p. 1147 C and *προσευκτήριον* by *Eusebius* H. E. VIII. 1 where he marks the increasing pomp and splendour of the buildings at the time of the persecution in A. D. 302: πῶς ἂν τις διαγράψει τὰς μυριάδους ἐκεῖνας ἐπισυναγωγὰς [conf. *Pauli* Ep. 2 ad *Thess.* II. 1 *Heb.* X. 25] καὶ τὰ πλήθη τῶν κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν ἀβροισμάτων, τὰς τε ἐπισήμους ἐν τοῖς προσευκτηρίοις συνδρομάς; ὧν δὴ ἕνεκα μηδαμῶς ἔτι τοῖς παλαιοῖς οἰκοδομήμασιν ἀρκούμενοι εὐρείας εἰς πλάτος ἀνὰ πάσας τὰς πόλεις ἐκ θεμελίων ἀνίστων ἐκκλησίας. Thus expressed by *Nicephorus* H. E. VII. 2 p. 441 οἱ κατὰ χώρας τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἡγεμόνες οὐκ ἐλαχίστης θεραπείας ἤξιντο. πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοις ἐναργῶς εἰδείκνυ καὶ ἡ μυριάδους ἐκείνη τῶν προσευκτηρίων οἴκων συναγωγῇ ὧν στενοχωρουμένων διὰ τὸ πλῆθος εὐρείας ἦν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἰδεῖν κρηπίδων εἰς πλάτος ἅμα καὶ μέγεθος κατὰ πάσας χώρας ἐκκλησίας ἀγειρομένας.

The Christian place of worship is called *ecclesia* by *Aurelian* apud *Vopiscum* *Aurel.* c. 20 *Quasi in Christianorum ecclesia non in templo deorum omnium tractaretis*. And by *Ammianus* XXI. 2, 5. Called "a house" by *Eunapius* V. S. p. 20=37 *Κωνσταντίνος*—τὰ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπιφανέστατα καταστρέφον καὶ τὰ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀνεγείρων οἰκήματα. "*Ecclesia*" in *Socrates* H. E. VII. 13 ἡ ἐπώνυμος Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐκκλησία. *Sozomen*. IV. 9 τὴν Θεωνᾶ καλουμένην ἐκκλησίαν. *Socrates* relates V. 7 that *Greg. Naz.* at CP. ἐνδον τῆς πόλεως ἐν μικρῷ εὐκτηρίῳ τὰς συναγωγὰς ἐποιεῖτο, ὧτιν ἕσπερον οἱ βασιλεῖς μέγιστον οἶκον εὐκτήριον προσσυνέψαντες Ἀναστασίαν ὀνόμασαν [see the *Tables* A. D. 380 p. 499]. Afterwards *Demophilus* the Arian apud *Socratem* V. 7 συγκαλεσάμενος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τὰ πλήθη ἐν μέσοις τε ἀναστὰς—ἐφθέγγετο "Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν χωρίζει" κ. τ. λ. It was not till the reign of *Constantine* that the edifice for Christian worship

was called *ναός*. We know from *Origen* that the Christians had no temples down to A. D. 250. For *Origen* *Cels.* VIII. 19 speaks of temples in a figurative sense: εἰ δὲ καὶ ναοὺς ναοὶς δεῖ παραβαλεῖν, ἵνα παραστήσωμεν τοῖς ἀποδεχομένοις τὰ Κέλσου, ὅτι νεὼς μὲν ἰδρῦσθαι τοὺς πρέποντας τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἀγάλμασι καὶ βωμοῖς οὐ φεύγομεν κ. τ. λ. and describes the Christians as living temples of the Spirit. He then proceeds c. 20 p. 137 πρὸς τοὺς ἐγκαλοῦντας ἡμῖν ἐπεὶ μὴ νομίζομεν δεῖν σέβειν τὸ θεῖον παρ' ἀναισθήτους ναοῖς ἀντιπαραλαμβάνομεν τοὺς καθ' ἡμᾶς ναοὺς.—οὐκ εἰς τὸ πιστὸν οὖν ἀφανοῦς καὶ ἀπορρήτου κοινωνίας καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτο σύνθημα φεύγομεν βωμοῦς καὶ ἀγάλματα καὶ νεὼς ἰδρῦσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅτι εὐρόντες διὰ τὴν Ἰησοῦ διδασκαλίαν τὸν τρόπον τῆς εἰς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβείας φεύγομεν τὰ φαντασίᾳ εὐσεβείας ἀσεβεῖς ποιοῦντα τοὺς ἐσφαλμένους ἀπὸ τῆς διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εὐσεβείας.

The building for public worship is in *Theodoret* H. E. II. 9 νεὼς καὶ ἐκκλησία: tom. 3 p. 853 δεῖσθαι ἔφη καὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τοῖς τὰς ἐκκλησίας κατέχουσι κοινωνεῖν οὐ βουλομένους εὐκτηρίων νεῶν, καὶ δίκαιον ἕνα καὶ τοῦτοις τῶν οἴκων παρασχεθῆναι τῶν θείων. What is called *ecclesia* in *Ammianus* XXI. 2, 5 speaking of *Julian* is called *ναός* by *Zonaras* tom. 2 p. 22 B relating the same fact: εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν ναόν.

<sup>v</sup> *Lucian*. tom. 2 p. 82 διαστρώσαντα τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. *Steph. Thesaur.* tom. 2 p. 22 "ἐκκλησία de loco apud *Demosth.* *Cor.* [p. 284. 30] οἱ πρυτάνεις τὴν βουλὴν ἐκαλοῦν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον, ἡμεῖς δ' εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπορεύεσθε." Called *ἐκκλησιαστήριον* by *Schol. Ven.* ad *Hom.* II. β 788 speaking of *Troy*: πρὸ γὰρ τῶν βασιλείων ἦν τὸ ἐκκλησιαστήριον. *Isidorus Pelus.* Ep. II. 246 uses the same word for the place of Christian worship: ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἐκκλησία καὶ ἄλλο ἐκκλησιαστήριον· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἀμώμων ψυχῶν συνέστηκε τὸ δ' ἀπὸ λίθων καὶ ξύλων οἰκοδομεῖται.

<sup>w</sup> I add some passages on both sides of the question. *Irenæus* quoted at A. D. 173 p. 169 speaks justly and liberally of marriage. *Athanasius* tom. I p. 105C extols celibacy as τὴν ὑπὲρ τὸν νόμον παρθεῖαν. and p. 958 A virginity: ἢ οὐχὶ μέγα σημεῖον κόρην ποι-



8 The ambiguous word *ecclesia* gradually came to be used in so many senses that it is necessary to trace and distinguish the various meanings of the word. It means 1) an assembly

ἡσα παρθενεύει; He again extols virginity tom. 1 p. 698 B C p. 825 C D tom. 2 p. 496 p. 501 B. *Athanasius* takes a liberal view of the subject tom. 2 p. 35—37 approving of marriage, but preferring celibacy as more holy in his opinion. *Clemens Alexandr.* in many passages celebrates celibacy, but in others allows and vindicates marriage; as in *Strom.* II p. 421—424. *Strom.* III p. 431 he combats *Marcion*: ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ Μαρκίωνος [N<sup>o</sup> 17] φύσιν κακὴν ἔκ τε ὕλης κακῆς καὶ ἐκ δικαίου γενομένην δημιουργοῦ· ᾧ δὲ λόγῳ μὴ βουλόμενοι τὸν κόσμον τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ γεγόμενον συμπληροῦν ἀπέχεσθαι γάμου βούλονται κ. τ. λ. and *Tatian* and *Cassianus*: *Strom.* III. See above N<sup>o</sup> 38 N<sup>o</sup> 42 p. 410. In *Strom.* IV p. 533 B he commends marriage: καλὰ μὲν εἶναι πάντα ὅσα εἰς χριστιανισμὸν ἡμῶν ἐκτίσθη· ὡς γάμον (φέρει εἰπεῖν) καὶ παιδοποιῖαν, μετὰ σωφροσύνης παρελημμένα. *Strom.* VII p. 741 B he writes thus: τὸ γαμεῖν δὲ εἴαν ὁ λόγος ἔρη λέγω καὶ ὡς καθήκει. γεγόμενος γὰρ τέλειος εἰκόνας ἔχει τοὺς ἀποστόλους· καὶ τῷ ὄντι ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἐν τῷ μονίῳ ἐπανελεύσθαι δείκνυται βίον, ἀλλ' ἐκείνος ἀνδρᾶς νικᾷ ὁ γάμος καὶ παιδοποιῖα καὶ τῇ τοῦ οἴκου προνοίᾳ ἀνηδόνως τε καὶ ἀλυπτήτως ἐγγυμασάμενος μετὰ τῆς τοῦ οἴκου κηδεμονίας, ἀδιάστατος τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ γεγόμενος ἀγάπης, καὶ πάσης κατεξανιστάμενος πείρας, τῆς διὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν οἰκετῶν τε καὶ κτημάτων προσφερομένης. τῷ δὲ ἀοικῶ τὰ πολλὰ εἶναι συμβέβηκεν ἀπειράστῳ, μόνου γοῦν ἑαυτοῦ κηδόμενος ἠττάται πρὸς τοὺς ἀπολειπομένους μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίαν κ. τ. λ. *Clemens* asserts *Strom.* III p. 448 B that the Apostles *Philip* and *Paul* were married: ἡ καὶ τοὺς ἀποστόλους ἀποδοκιμάζουσι; Πέτρος μὲν γὰρ καὶ Φίλιππος ἐπαιδοποιήσαντο· Φίλιππος δὲ καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας ἀνδράσιν ἐξέδωκεν· καὶ ὁ γε Παῦλος οὐκ ὀκνεῖ ἐν τινὶ ἐπιστολῇ τὴν αὐτοῦ προσαγορεύειν σύζυγον.—Mistaking (as *Potter* remarks) *Philip* the deacon for *Philip* the Apostle, and misinterpreting σύζυγος in *Philipp.* IV. 3. He speaks again of the wife of *Peter* *Strom.* VII p. 736 B φασὶ δ' οὖν τὸν μακάριον Πέτρον, θεασάμενον τὴν αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα ἀγομένην τὴν ἐπὶ θάνατον, ἡσθῆναι μὲν τῆς κλήσεως χάριν καὶ τῆς εἰς οἶκον ἀνακομιδῆς, ἐπιφωνήσαι δὲ εὖ μάλα προτροπικῶς τε καὶ παρακλητικῶς ἐξ ὀνόματος προσειπόντα “μεμνήσθω αὐτῆ τοῦ Κυρίου.”

*Chrysostom Olympiadi* Ep. 2 tom. 7 p. 61, 10 Sav. admits that celibacy was not enjoined by *Christ*: τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ παρθενία πρᾶγμα, καὶ τοσοῦτου δεῖται τοῦ πόνου, ὅτι κατελθὼν ὁ Χριστὸς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἵνα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀγγέλους ποιήσῃ—οὐδὲ τότε ἐθάρρῃσεν ἐπιτάξαι τοῦτο, οὐδὲ εἰς νόμον αὐτὸ τάξιν ἀγαγεῖν.

*Tertullian* ad uxorem II. 1 p. 76. 77. 84 celebrates celibacy, but fully admits the lawfulness of marriage. He confesses de virginibus velandis c. 14 p. 28. 29 that many professing virginity for the sake of the reputation of sanctity secretly indulged their natural desires: *Non enim confitebuntur nisi ipsorum infantium suorum vagitibus prodita.*

*Basilius Caesar.* *Amphilochio* Ep. 2 p. 766 quæst. 2 on virgins who had married after their engagement of virginity says that the clergy treated such as widows who had contracted a second marriage; and excluded them for a year. But he thinks that as the church is now stronger and the number of such virgins greater they should now be treated with greater rigour. He calls them adulteresses who had been spouses of *Christ* and had deserted their husband &c. But *Basil* equitably determines p. 767 D that those who are pledged to virginity in their infancy by their parents are not bound; that it must be their own act at the age of maturity, at more than 16 or 17 years of age. Then it is to be binding, and those who lapse are to be inexorably punished.

It appears from *Augustine* Ep. 109 p. 587 ad monachas that down to A. D. 423 the date of this epistle these societies were voluntary, and that the nun might leave or be expelled from the society: *Convicta secundum præpositæ vel presbyteri arbitrium debet emendatorium sustinere vindictam; quam si ferre recusaverit, et si ipsa non abscesserit, de vestra societate projiciatur.* The sentiments of *Augustine* himself upon the question appear in his remarks at *Retract.* II. 22. See above, *Works* n. 49 p. 464.

*Hieronymus* upon this subject has been already quoted at N<sup>o</sup> 187 p. 450 N<sup>o</sup> 188 p. 451 N<sup>o</sup> 204 *Works* n. 102 p. 461 n. 143 p. 462. But on the other hand Ep. 30 tom. 1 p. 292 he admits or excuses a second marriage. In *Jovinian.* I p. 539 *Cum hæreticorum sit damnare conjugia et Dei spernere conditionem, quidquid de laude Jovinianus dixerit nuptiarum libenter audimus, ecclesia enim nuptias non damnat sed subjicit.* In *Pammach.* p. 613 *Non ignoramus honorabiles nuptias.—Legimus primam Dei sententiam “Crescite.”—Sed ita nuptias recipimus ut virginitatem preferamus.* p. 615 *Videant me secundas et tertias nuptias concessisse in Domino.* p. 617. 618 *Via regia sit ita appetere virginitatem ne nuptiæ condemnentur.—Omnia licent, sed non omnia expediunt. Non damno digamos, immo nec trigamos, et, si dici potest, octogamos.* p. 620 *Quidquid de laude dixerint nuptiarum libenter audimus. Ecclesia matrimonia non damnat sed subjicit.* p. 631 *Protestor me non damnasse nuptias neque damnare.* Ad *Eustochium* tom. 1 p. 202 *Laudo nuptias, laudo conjugium.* Conf. p. 203, ad *Marcellam* p. 658 *Oceano* p. 1071. 1073 *Salvinæ* tom. 1 p. 97.

*Gregorius Nazianz.* Or. 39 p. 690 A censures *Novatus* for forbidding young widows to marry; to whom *St. Paul* had given permission. He remarks however Or. 40 p. 703 E οὐ γὰρ ἐπεὶ ἡ παρθενία τιμωτέρα ἐν τοῖς ἀρίμοις ὁ γάμος.

Some ages passed before celibacy could be fully established among the clergy: *Hieronymus* *Oceano*



generally<sup>x</sup>; 2) a legislative or judicial assembly, either *a*) the legislative assembly of Athens<sup>y</sup>, or *b*) the assembly of any other place<sup>z</sup>.

3) The whole Christian society collectively, of either sex and of every age and profession, is called *ecclesia*. And this either *a*) the Christian society throughout the world<sup>a</sup>, or *b*) of each particular place<sup>b</sup>, or *c*) the congregation assembled for prayer<sup>c</sup>. 4) The building for public worship

tom. 2 p. 1068 (see above, Works n. 113 p. 461) "*Carterius* a Spanish bishop had a wife before his baptism, and after her death and after baptism married another. You think that he does not come within the description of *St. Paul* 1 Tim. III. 3.—I wonder that you should produce this single example, when the world is full of persons married under similar circumstances, not only presbyters but bishops; whom if I were to name their number would be greater than that of the synod of Ariminum." Conf. p. 1073. Socrates H. E. V. 22 p. 287 C of bishops in Thessaly: πολλοὶ γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς καὶ παῖδας ἐκ τῆς νομίμης γαμετῆς πεποιήκασιν. *Gregory* of Nazianzus was himself the son of a bishop: see A. D. 326 p. 383. *Synesius* bishop of Pentapolis refuses to part with his wife, and in writing to his brother *Euoptyus* on the subject displays a mind superior to the narrow prejudices of his time: Ep. 105 p. 248 D ἐμοὶ τοιγαροῦν ὁ τε Θεὸς ὁ τε νόμος ἢ τε ἱερὰ Θεοφίλου χεῖρ γυναικᾶ ἐπιδέδωκε. προαγορεύω τοίνυν ἅπασιν καὶ μαρτύρομαι ὡς ἐγὼ ταύτης οὔτε ἀλλοτριώσομαι καθάπαξ οὔτε ὡς μοιχὸς αὐτῆ λάθρα συνέσομαι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἥκιστα εὐσεβὲς τὸ δὲ ἥκιστα νόμιμον. ἀλλὰ βουλήσομαι τε καὶ εὐξομαι συχνὰ μοι πάντων καὶ χρηστὰ γενέσθαι παιδία.

*Athanasius* ad Dracontium tom. 1 p. 958 D observes μοναχοὶ δὲ πατέρες τέκνων γεγόνασιν ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπισκόπους πατέρας τέκνων—οἶδαμεν. *Filii clericorum* in the time of *Athanasius* are mentioned in a law of *Constantius II* of Apr. 11 A. D. 349 given in the Tables at p. 416.

*Eriphanus* hæc. 59 p. 496 C remarks in 376 ἀλλὰ πάντως ἐρεῖς μοι ἔν τισι τόποις ἔτι τεκνογονεῖν πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους καὶ ὑποδιακόνους.

*Paphnutius* an Egyptian bishop is memorable for the wise and prudent counsel which he gave on this subject in Socrates H. E. I. 11 at the council of Nice in 325.

<sup>x</sup> Schleusner collects the following examples of *ecclesia* in this sense: Act. VII. 38 ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ. Heb. II. 12 from Psalm. 22. 22 (21. 23) ἐν μέσῳ ἐκκλησίας ὑμῶν σὲ. (Again Psalm. 22. 25 (21. 27) παρὰ σοῦ ὁ ἔπιανός μου ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ μεγάλῃ.) Psalm. 26. 5 (25. 5) ἐμίσησα ἐκκλησίαν πονηρευομένην. 1 Paral. XIII. 2 καὶ εἶπε Δαβὶδ τῇ πάσῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ Ἰσραὴλ. 1 Macc. II. 56 Χάλεβ ἐν τῷ ἐπιμαρτύρασθαι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἔλαβε γῆς κληρονομίαν. Sirach XXIV. 1 ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ὑψίστου τὸ στόμα αὐτῆς [ἡ σοφία] ἀνοίξει. XLIV. 15 (14) τὸν ἔπιανον ἐξαγγελεῖ ἐκκλησία.

<sup>y</sup> Suid. ἐκκλησία κυρία p. 1171 B. Idem ἐκκλησίαν. Ἀριστοφάνης Πλούτῳ [171]. Aristoph. Pl. 330. 725. 950 Equit. 76. 746. Acharn. 19. 169. 173 Eccles.

89 Av. 1030. Xenoph. Hel. I. 1, 14 Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐκκλησίαν ποιήσας. I. 7, 9 ἐντεῦθεν ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίουν. Thucyd. I. 31 καταστάσης ἐκκλησίας. I. 44 γενομένης δις ἐκκλησίας. I. 139 ποιήσαντες ἐκκλησίαν. II. 22 Περικλῆς—ἐκκλησίαν οὐκ ἐποίησε. V. 46 τῇ δ' ὑστεραῖ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὁ Νικίας. Plato Euthyphrone p. 3 C ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.

<sup>z</sup> Xenoph. Hellen. III. 3, 8 οὐδὲ τὴν μικρὰν καλουμένην ἐκκλησίαν συλλέξαντες. of Lacedæmon. Act. XIX. 39 ἐν τῇ ἐνόμῳ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπιλυθήσεται. XIX. 32 ἦν γὰρ ἡ ἐκκλησία συγκεχυμένη. of Ephesus. Schleusner makes this last a separate meaning; but without reason. This was an assembly of the people of Ephesus collected in the theatre; no unusual place of meeting.

<sup>a</sup> Schleusner has collected the texts of Scripture which bear this meaning. Matt. XVI. 18 ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ οἰκοδομήσω μου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. 1 Cor. X. 32 XI. 22 τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ. Ephes. V. 23 ὁ Χριστὸς κεφαλὴ τῆς ἐκκλησίας. 24 ἡ ἐκκλησία ὑποτάσσεται τῷ Χριστῷ. 25 ὁ Χριστὸς ἠγάπησε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. 27 ἵνα παραστήσῃ αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ ἕνδοξον τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. 29 καθὼς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. 32 εἰς Χριστὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. 1 Tim. III. 15 ἐκκλησία Θεοῦ ζῶντος. Heb. XII. 23 ἐκκλησία πρωτοτόκων ἀπογεγραμμένων ἐν οὐρανοῖς. 1 Cor. VI. 4 XII. 28 Ephes. I. 22 III. 10. 21 τῆς ἐκκλησίας. τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. In this sense Origen Comm. in Joann. Vol. 1 p. 270 ἐτέρων ὄντων παρὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. in Matt. Vol. 3 p. 120 τῶν ὄχλων τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Vol. 3 p. 344 Vol. 4 p. 69 τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ μικροῦς. Vol. 4 p. 25 οἱ ἄρχοντες—τῆς ἐκκλησίας δουλεύεωσαν αὐτῇ. p. 90 καὶ νῦν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστὸς. Conf. p. 68. 69. p. 145 τὴν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πεπιστευμένην ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν.

<sup>b</sup> Schleusner refers to these texts: Act. VIII. 1 τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις. IX. 31 αἱ μὲν οὖν ἐκκλησίαι καθ' ὅλης τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ Γαλιλαίας καὶ Σαμαρείας εἶχον εἰρήνην. 1 Cor. I. 2 τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῇ οὐσῃ ἐν Κορίνθῳ. 1 Thess. I. 1 τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Θεσσαλονικέων. Coloss. IV. 15. 16 ἐν τῇ Λαοδικέῳ ἐκκλησίᾳ. Galat. I. 2 ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Γαλατίας. Apocal. I. 4 Ἰωάννης ταῖς ἐπιτά ἐκκλησίας ταῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ. II. 1 τῆς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ. 8 τῆς ἐν Σμύρῃ. 12 τῆς ἐν Περγῶν. 18 τῆς ἐν Θυατείροις. III. 1 τῆς ἐν Σάρδεσιν. 7 τῆς ἐν Φιλαδελφείᾳ. 14 τῆς ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ. Add Rom. XVI. 1 τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐν Κεγχραῖς. XVI. 4 πᾶσαι αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τῶν ἐθνῶν. XVI. 5 Coloss. IV. 15 Philem. v. 2 1 Cor. XVI. 19 αἱ κατ' οἶκον ὑμῶν ἐκκλησίαι. XVI. 1 ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Γαλατίας. XVI. 19 αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τῆς Ἀσίας. Clemens Romanus Ep. 1 ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ παροικοῦσα Ῥώμῃν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῇ παροικοῦσῃ



was called *ecclesia*. Examples have been given already of *ecclesia* in this sense. It is not used in this meaning in the New Testament.

5) *Ecclesia* in Matth. XVIII. 17 is used in a peculiar sense, and perhaps has a reference to Jewish institutions<sup>d</sup>.

6) These meanings of the word *ecclesia* are found in the ancient republics and secular and gentile writers, and in Scripture and the early Church. But when the clergy increased in influence and power they applied the term exclusively to themselves. The clergy were *ecclesia*, the people were the laity; the power of the Church meant the power of the clergy, the revenues of the Church were the revenues of the clergy. *Ecclesia* for the clergy appears in the Theodosian Code<sup>e</sup>. In this sense the word is applied by the church of Rome, and some English theologians assign

Κόρωθον. Eccl. Smyrnesium apud Eusebium H. E. IV. 15 ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ παροικοῦσα Σμύρναν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῇ παροικούσῃ ἐν Φιλομηλίῳ καὶ πάσαις ταῖς κατὰ πάντα τόπον τῆς ἁγίας καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας παροικίαις. An early use of the term καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας for the whole Church of *Christ* throughout the world.

<sup>c</sup> As in 1 Cor. XI. 18 *συνερχομένων ὑμῶν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ*. XIV. 19 ἀλλ' ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ θέλω πέντε λόγους κ. τ. λ. 28 *σινάτω ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ*. 33 ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῶν ἁγίων. 34 ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις σινάτωσαν. 35 αἰσχρὸν γάρ ἐστι γυναιξὶν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ λαλεῖν. 3 Joh. 6 ἐνώπιον ἐκκλησίας. In this sense Isidorus Pelus. Ep. II. 246 τὸ ἄθροισμα τῶν ἁγίων τὸ ἐξ ὀρθῆς πίστεως καὶ πολιτείας ἀρίστης συγκεκριημένον ἐκκλησία ἐστίν. And Tertullian Exhort. Cast. c. 7 tom. 3 p. 119 *Ubi tres* [referring to Matt. XVIII. 20] *ecclesia est licet laici*. Where Tertullian also observes *Nonne et laici sacerdotes sumus?* Clemens Alex. Strom. VII p. 715 B also uses *ecclesia* in this sense. Having admitted that the Christians had no temples, he argues that the elect assembled for worship were to be called ἐκκλησία, and that the congregation of the faithful so assembled was the temple of God more truly than any structure decorated by human art: p. 714 B ἡ γὰρ οὐ καλῶς καὶ ἀληθῶς οὐκ ἐν τόπῳ τινὶ περιγράφομεν τὸν ἀπερίληπτον, οὐδ' ἐν ἱεροῖς καθείργουμεν τὸ [I. τὸν] πάντων περιεκτικόν; p. 715 B πῶς οὐ κυρίως τὴν εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ κατ' ἐπίγνωσιν ἁγίαν γενομένην ἐκκλησίαν ἱερὸν ἂν εἴποιμεν Θεοῦ, τὸ πολλοῦ ἄξιον, καὶ οὐ βαναύσῳ κατεσκευασμένον τέχνῃ, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀγύρτου χειρὶ δεδαυδαμένον, βουλήσει δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰς νεῶν πεποιμένην. οὐ γὰρ νῦν τὸν τόπον ἀλλὰ τὸ ἄθροισμα τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν ἐκκλησίαν καλῶ. Perhaps in this sense Origen in Matt. Vol. 4 p. 135 τὰ πολυάνθρωπα ἄθροίσματα τῶν (ἵνα ἀπλούστερον ὀνομάσω) ἐκκλησιῶν.

Mr. Hallam observes in his Constitutional History of England Vol. 1 p. 84 "In Cranmer's bible the word *ecclesia* is always rendered *congregation* instead of *church*, either as the primary meaning, or, more probably, to point out that the laity had a share in the government of a Christian society." The word *congregation* is more fitly employed in many passages. In the texts quoted in this note that word is preferable. The English Bible renders *ecclesia* by *congregation* in 1 Chron. XIII. 2 Psalm XXII. 22. 25

XXVI. 5 1 Macc. II. 56 Sirach XXIV. 2 XLIV. 15, by *assembly* in Acts XIX. 32. 39.

<sup>d</sup> H. Steph. Thesaur. tom. 2 p. 23 interprets ἐκκλησία apud Matt. XVIII "Synedrium seu presbyterium seu seniorum collegium." Schleusner "Collegium presbyterorum." The annotator on the N. T. London 1768 remarks "Constat Christum de temporibus et rebus N. T. loquentem uti locutionibus a consuetudine sui temporis et ecclesiae Judaicæ ductis." Cranmer translates the passage thus: "Tell it unto the congregation; if he hear not the congregation, let him be to thee as an heathen man and a publican." It is evident that the assembly here called *ecclesia* had not the power of compelling or commanding, but only the power of advising.

<sup>e</sup> Cod. Theod. Vol. 4 p. 466 l. 123 de decurionibus A. D. 391 *Durum super his qui relicta curia vel senatorialium dignitatem adepti sunt et Christianitatis obtentu curialium se consortio separarunt cuidam sanctionum nostrarum processit auctoritas, ut, si eorum personas vel honor vel religio defenderet, quod ex curiali substantia vel ipsi retinerent vel in alios transtulissent obnoxium publicis descriptionibus haberetur. Evidens etiam præcepto nostro tempus expressum est, ex quo consulatu si qui de curialibus ad ecclesiam confugissent, omni scient patrimonio curiae esse cedendum.—Si qui autem divino cultu occupati et sacrosanctis mysteriis servientes legitima filiorum successione nituntur, si nullum filii eorum adhuc in ecclesia locum tenentes, vel his quæ per leges comprehensa non defendantur officiis, hos cum patrum facultatibus curiae inservire decernimus.* Here *ecclesia* is the clerical body. Cod. Theod. Vol. 4 p. 389 l. 50 de decurionibus A. D. 362 *Decuriones qui ut Christiani declinant munia revocentur. Christiani here are the clergy. This however in a law of Julian. But the same expression is in a law of Honorius Cod. Theod. Vol. 1 p. 441 repeated Cod. Just. de episcopali auditione I. 4, 11 Et, ut facilis executio proveniat, Christianos proximorum locorum volumus hujus rei sollicitudinem gerere. (ut Romanos captivos qui reversi fuerint nemo teneat, nemo injuriis aut damnis afficiat, added in Cod. Just.) Ecclesia for the clergy in l. 46 de episcopis quoted at A. D. 425 p. 605 privilegia ecclesiae sive clericis delata.*



this meaning, in opposition to their own articles, in which the true definition is given<sup>f</sup>. A dextrous disputant can apply the word *ecclesia* or *church* as he finds it convenient to his argument, sometimes in its original sense to the whole Christian community, sometimes in the limited sense which it afterwards acquired, to the clergy only.

9 The texts which speak of death by *Adam* are Genes. II. 17 *Thou shalt surely die.* III. 19 *Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return.* Romans V. 17 *Death reigned by one.* 1 Cor. XV. 22 *As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive.* The precise nature of that death is not defined in Scripture; but the texts seem to imply *extinction of Being*. From that death however the whole race of mankind was liberated by *Christ*. The benefit was as universal as the penalty<sup>g</sup>.

<sup>f</sup> Art. 19 *Ecclesia Christi visibilis est cætus fidelium in quo verbum Dei purum prædicatur.* "The visible church of *Christ* is a congregation of faithful men." Wheatly on the Common Prayer 6th ed. London 8vo. 1729 Appendix to introduction p. 33 in remarking upon the 20th article lays down the following doctrine in direct opposition to the preceding article: "I have given a true account of this matter, that others, who are led away by Erastian principles, and think that the civil magistrate only has authority in matters of religion, may be convinced that this is not agreeable to the doctrine of our Church, who declares in her 20th article that *the Church*—that is, the ecclesiastical governors the bishops and their presbyters, for there may be a Church where there is no Christian civil magistrate—*hath power to decree rites and ceremonies, and also authority in matters of faith.*" Wheatly's supposition, that "the Church must mean the clergy where there was no Christian civil magistrate," is the reverse of the truth; for in the time of heathen princes *ecclesia* meant the whole society of Christian people. But when Christian princes reigned, and when there was a Christian civil magistrate, then it was that *ecclesia* came to be used in its limited sense, and to mean the clergy only.

On the authenticity of that 20th article see the remarks of Mr. Hallam in his Constitutional History of England Vol. I p. 192 note. It is not yet fully proved that this article had the sanction of the legislature.

The puritan *Cartwright* in the reign of *Elizabeth*, he who held that "No civil magistrate in councils for church matters can either be the chief moderator, overruler, judge, or determiner;" he who held that "Civil magistrates must remember to submit themselves unto the Church, to submit their sceptres, to throw down their crowns, before the Church," gives the name of *Church* to the priests. An account of *Cartwright* is given by Mr. Hallam Constitutional Hist. Vol. I p. 185—187.

<sup>g</sup> Bishop Tomline Elements of Theology Vol. 2 p. 240 "Many persons, although they reject the Pelagian system, do not accede to this opinion of

*Augustine* concerning original guilt, as thinking it incompatible with the justice and goodness of God to make the whole race of man liable to punishment for the sin of *Adam* in which they had no concern; and the case which appears the most repugnant to the Divine Attributes is that of infants and idiots, who, being incapable of sinning, ought not to be subject to punishment. These men admit that a mortal and corrupt nature is derived from *Adam* to all his descendants; and that this corruption is so strong that no man ever lived to the age of maturity without sin; and consequently that every such person is liable to divine punishment for the sins which he has himself actually committed, but not for *Adam's* sin. They therefore think that infants and idiots die because of *Adam's* sin, but that no farther punishment awaits them."—p. 242 "It must be acknowledged that *original guilt* is a difficult and abstruse subject; and, as the Scriptures do not inform us what were the full and precise effects of *Adam's* disobedience upon his posterity, it is perhaps scarcely to be expected that there should be an uniformity of opinion upon that point."

Chrysostom tom. 9 p. 610 B Montf. admits that the doctrine, "that all should be punished for the sin of one" was not thought reasonable: τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐνὸς ἀμαρτήσαντος πάντας κολάζεσθαι οὐ σφόδρα δοκεῖ κατὰ λόγον γίνεσθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς. But the injustice is in the interpreter and not in the Scripture itself, which expresses *death* and not *punishment*. When the Scriptures speak of *punishment*, this is said with reference to *adults* and to the actual sins of men.

The Fathers for the most part in referring to death by *Adam* speak in general and indefinite terms. Athanasius tom. I p. 56 D speaks generally: τῇ τοῦ θανάτου φθορᾷ. Conf. p. 57 B 350 D 435 D. p. 485 B θνητοὶ καὶ φθαρτοί. p. 589 B through the Redeemer the race of man became ἀπὸ μὲν θνητοῦ ἀθάνατον καὶ ψυχικὸν ἐν γέγονε πνευματικόν. p. 164 B through *Adam* πᾶς ἄνθρωπος ὑπεύθυνός ἐστι θανάτῳ. p. 620 A διαφθορὰν καὶ θάνατον. p. 626 D he speaks more definitely upon Genes. III. 19 τῇ ψυχῇ λέγων θανάτῳ ἀποθανῆ. for he adds δυοὶ τόποις οἴχεσθαι. p. 627 A τὸν τάφον καὶ τὸν ἄδην. Justin Martyr dial. cum Tryphone c. 88 ἀπὸ τοῦ



10 But this included the case of unbaptized children. It is impossible to suppose that these will be excluded from the benefits to which all mankind are admitted. What is granted to adults who have not known *Christ* will much more be granted to infants, who are incapable of sin. *Gregory of Nazianzus* does not venture to condemn unbaptized children. He places them in an intermediate state<sup>h</sup>. *Ambrosius*<sup>i</sup> affirms in the case of *Valentinian II* that salvation is possible when the rite of baptism is wanting. But if this is possible to an adult, how much more to an infant! *Chrysostom* declares generally and without reserve that the souls of children are with God<sup>k</sup>.

Ἀδὰμ ὑπὸ θάνατον καὶ πλάνην ἐπεπτώκει. Chrysost. speaks generally in these passages: Hom. X in Rom. V. 12 tom. 9 p. 519 Montfaucon. tom. 6 p. 408 E p. 487 B. On Genesis II. 17 tom. 2 p. 66 B p. 398 A tom. 3 p. 751 B tom. 4 p. 148 C p. 177 C p. 682 C tom. 5 p. 306 C tom. 8 p. 159 E tom. 10 p. 439 B tom. 11 p. 368 C p. 369 D. On Genesis III. 19 tom. 2 p. 310 D p. 460 B tom. 4 p. 177 C p. 219 A p. 245 A tom. 5 p. 204 D p. 306 C tom. 6 p. 506 D tom. 10 p. 395 E tom. 12 p. 460 D. In commenting upon Genes. II. 17 in tom. 2 p. 443 C he affirms that though the body died the soul survived. In tom. 7 p. 166 A he observes οὐκ ἔτι γὰρ γῆ εἶ καὶ εἰς γῆν ἀπελεύση—ἀλλὰ τὰ πολλῶ τούτων χαλεπώτερα, τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον κ. τ. λ. which supposes the sentence upon *Adam* to be less than what is threatened to sinners in the Gospel. In tom. 6 p. 189 B the meaning is not clear: γῆ εἶ καὶ εἰς γῆν ἀπελεύση· καὶ μὴν οὐκ ἦν γῆ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀθάνατον εἶχε ψυχὴν. He treats of *Adam's* fall Ep. 3 Olympiadi tom. 7 p. 69, 17 Savil. but generally. Methodius apud Phot. Cod. 234 p. 909 θάνατος ἐδόθη παρὰ Θεοῦ τῷ ἐξημαρτηκῷ, ἵνα μὴ ἀθάνατον μείνη τὸ κακόν. Greg. Naz. Or. 38 p. 671 A imitates this: κερδαίνει [*Adamus*] μὲν τι κἀναυθα, τὸν θάνατον, καὶ τὸ διακοπήναι τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, ἵνα μὴ ἀθάνατον ᾖ τὸ κακόν. He adds καὶ γίνεται φιλανθρωπία ἢ τιμωρία· οὕτω γὰρ πείθομαι κολάζειν Θεόν. which seems to mean that death was extinction of Being. Greg. Naz. Or. 45 p. 851 B has the same passage again: κερδαίνει μὲν τι κἀναυθα, τὸν θάνατον—πείθομαι κολάζειν Θεόν.

Theodoret on Genesis III. 19 speaks in general terms tom. 1 p. 700 p. 1250 p. 1369 tom. 4 p. 1073 p. 1081 and tom. 4 p. 160 quoting Chrysostom. On Rom. V. 17 Theodoret tom. 4 p. 450 p. 199 p. 424. On I Cor. XV. 22 tom. 4 p. 93 p. 200 p. 211 p. 374 p. 1296. To these passages might be added many others from others of the Fathers; as from Basil Cæsar. Ep. 65 = 261 p. 852 B p. 853 B, which speak generally and indefinitely of death by *Adam*.

As the benefits of the Atonement extended to all mankind, those who lived before the Advent and those to whom the Gospel has not been preached will participate: *Ambrosius de officio ministrorum* III. 19 tom. 3 p. 205 *Christus Dominus pro universis mortuus est*. Bishop Tomline tom. 2 p. 320 "The acceptance of those who were never made acquainted with the Gospel will be for the sake of *Christ Jesus*,

who died as a propitiation for the sins of the whole world. The merits of his death are not limited to those who call upon his name; for *how shall they call upon him in whom they have not believed? and how shall they believe without a preacher?* Rom. X. 14. St. Paul by thus shewing that it has been absolutely impossible for a great part of mankind to believe in the Gospel intimates that their unbelief will not be imputed to them as a fault." The remark of Mr. Rose Sermons Cambridge 1825 p. 74 is important: "It is very impious to assert that it was necessary to man's salvation that a knowledge of his own redemption should be communicated to him; as if the Saviour of the World could not have paid the price of man's sin without informing man of his own happiness. There are still and were in former ages, and may be for many ages yet to come, men on whom the light of the Gospel has never shone; and God will never condemn man for not knowing what it was physically impossible for him to know."

<sup>h</sup> Greg. Naz. Or. 40 p. 708 B of children who die unbaptized. "Those who are unable to attain baptism either through infancy or some involuntary hindrance will neither be glorified nor punished by the Just Judge. They have not the seal indeed of baptism, but they are guiltless, and rather suffering wrong than committing it. It does not follow that he who does not merit punishment is worthy of honour. On the other hand it does not follow that he who does not deserve honour merits punishment."

<sup>i</sup> *Valentinian II* died before *Ambrosius* arrived to administer the rite A. D. 392 p. 525. Upon which *Ambrosius* observes de morte Valentiniani tom. 5 p. 112 M *Sed audio vos dolere quod non acceperit sacramentum baptismatis. Dicite mihi quid aliud in nobis est nisi voluntas, nisi petitio? Atqui etiam dudum hoc voti habuit ut et antequam in Italiam venisset initiaretur, et proxime baptizari se a me velle significavit, et ideo præ cæteris causis me accersendum putavit. Non habet ergo gratiam quam desideravit? Non habet quam poposcit? Certe quia poposcit accepit.* Again p. 115 M *Credamus vel testimoniiis angelorum quod deversa labe peccati ablutus ascendit quem sua fides lavit.*

<sup>k</sup> Chrysostom. in Matth. tom. 7 p. 336 D Montf. ψυχὰι γὰρ δικαίων ἐν χειρὶ Θεοῦ [sc. Sap. III. 1]· εἰ δὲ αἰ τῶν δικαίων, καὶ αἰ τῶν παιδῶν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκέιναι πονηραί.

11 *Augustine* upon this subject represents Divine Providence like the Evil Principle of the Manichees, as a Power cruel and unjust and pleased with the contemplation of misery. For his doctrine is that infants who die unbaptized are destined to eternal torments<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Augustine* Hieronymo Ep. 28 Tables p. 589 written A. D. 415 discusses the question of original sin p. 112. and understands death through *Adam* to mean punishment p. 118. Conf. Ep. 47 p. 182. Which sentiment he endeavours to explain and justify p. 118. A question is proposed to *Augustine* Ep. 88 *infantem non baptizatum morte præventum non posse perire merito, quoniam sine peccato nascitur*; which he answers Ep. 89. He argues thus. He supposes p. 457 only the baptized to partake of the Redemption. In Rom. V. 18 after *κατάκριμα* he inserts p. 459 *de qua condemnatione parvuli per sacramentum baptismi liberandi sunt*. Which is not in *St. Paul*. And yet *Augustine* admits p. 459. 494 that *antiqui iusti* (namely before the Advent of *Christ*, and *ante legem* p. 495) were redeemed through *Christ*. He thinks Ep. 99 p. 502 that wise and good heathens were liable *inferni cruciatibus*.

The two ideas which possess his mind on this question are these; that death through *Adam* means eternal torments, and that these eternal torments are the portion of all infants who die unbaptized. In Ep. 105 he largely treats the subject. Original sin is imputed p. 538. Ibid. p. 539 (*Adamus*) *hereditarium vitium transmisit ad posteros quos in se habuit cum peccaret*. and their lot is *supplicio destinari* p. 539. Ibid. p. 540 *Nullus parvulus nisi renatus &c. intrat in regnum cælorum*. He is involved in a necessary difficulty p. 540. 541 *Cur ergo in regnum cælorum non accepto regenerationis lavacro parvulus nullus intrabit? Num quidnam ipse sibi parentes infideles vel negligentes de quibus nasceretur elegit? &c.*—*Cur providentia Dei—non consulit omnibus parvulis filiorum suorum, et nonnullis consulit etiam parvulis impiorum?* &c. He states the case of *Jacob* and *Esau* p. 541, which is not a parallel case, since the question there concerned *temporal* blessings. He argues p. 544 that these were not predestined punishments for the future acts which would be committed in their maturity, because in infants dying there were no future acts. The question is argued again Ep. 106 p. 552 &c. where he truly lays down the doctrine that infants who receive eternal life receive it by the free gift of God through *Christ*. When *Augustine* affirms p. 556 *Laudet misericordiam qui liberatur*, he truly states the doctrine; but when he adds *Non culpæ judicem qui punitur*, he is again involved in the difficulty of reconciling this with sense or reason or justice, so far as infants are concerned.

*Augustine* is pressed again by the difficulty Ep. 106 p. 560. According to his argument p. 559. 560. 574 the sacrament of the Lord's Supper is also necessary to infants. He is especially involved in the difficulty

Ep. 107 p. 575 where he argues the twelve propositions against *Pelagius*. He seems to concede p. 580 that those who lived before the Advent (and therefore children before the Advent) might be saved without baptism, which had not then been instituted; for he states the parallel case of circumcision: *Sicut antiqui iusti si non circumciderentur, non erat eis peccatum &c.*—Are children then *after* the coming of *Christ* in a worse condition than children *before* his Advent? Is the efficacy of the Atonement to extend to all children who died before the Advent, and to be limited only to the baptized after it? *Augustine* states Ep. 157 the atrocious doctrine of eternal torments for infants who die unbaptized. Yet here again he admits p. 819 that some before the coming of *Christ* were saved through *Christ*: *illi iusti, qui priusquam venerat in carne crediderunt*. But he seems to limit this to those who knew through the prophets and believed in *Christ's* future coming. He is in difficulty with the question of eternal misery for the sin of *Adam* at p. 826. The human soul of the Saviour—*Mediatoris anima* p. 828—perplexes him. The lot of infants—*parvulorum sors*—is stated by *Augustine* Ep. 107 p. 573, and he concludes p. 574 (*gratia Dei*) *multis non detur parvulis, et sine illa plerique moriantur*. At Ep. 157 p. 821 he mentions *infantibus qui sine hac gratia in ipsius massæ damnatione moriuntur*; and then expresses the following horrible sentiment: (*Deus*) *tam multos creando nasci voluit quos ad suam gratiam non pertinere præcivit, ut multitudine incomparabili plures sint illis quos in sui regni gloriam filios promissionis prædestinare dignatus est, ut etiam ipsa rejectorum multitudine ostenderetur quam nullius momenti sit apud Deum justum quantalibet numerositas justissime damnatorum*.

The question concerning the future state of infants is no trifling question; for it concerns more than half the entire human race. For it is an ascertained fact that in the civilised countries of modern Europe half the species die in childhood. Much more then is this proportion true of barbarous countries, and of countries in which, as in China, infanticide prevails. In the stupendous mystery of the Trinity, and the still more stupendous mystery of the Incarnation, much, or rather all, is above our reason and beyond it. But this was to be expected; for even in the visible works of God there is much that is infinitely beyond the comprehension of man; how much more then in things invisible and spiritual. But in the Divine Dispensations there can be nothing *contrary* to reason. The doctrine of *Augustine* disparages God's Attribute of Justice, and is contrary to reason and common sense. In difficult or ambiguous texts



12 That there will be different degrees of blessedness in Heaven and different degrees of punishment for the wicked is the opinion of the greatest authorities among the Fathers<sup>m</sup>. Those who hold that the lot of all in both states will be equal, and that all transgressions will be visited with the same measure of punishment, are refuted by the interpretations of the Fathers not less than by Scripture itself and by reason.

13 The Spirit of Christianity was especially adverse to intolerance. The precept was *Judge not that ye be not judged*<sup>n</sup>. Another Scripture said *Who art thou that judgest another's servant? To his own Master he stands or falls*<sup>o</sup>. Those who would have called down fire to consume their enemies were met by the rebuke *Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of*<sup>p</sup>. The weapon with which the Faith was to be propagated was Persuasion and not Force. But when the clergy had attained power, that spirit and those precepts were forgotten. From that time for many ages the persecution of heretics never ceased. Not only the church of Rome but the Greek church and the

it is better to follow the counsel of Gregory of Nazianzus, who advises us, when there is a doubt, to adopt that interpretation which is most consonant to benevolence and humanity: Greg. Naz. Or. 39 p. 690 B *εἰ δὲ ἀμφίβολον, νικάτω τὸ φιλάνθρωπον*. The Greek Fathers, who were better acquainted with the original text than the Latins, and who preserved in the apostolical churches some tradition of the apostolic teaching, thought more worthily than *Augustine* of the Divine Attributes.

A difficulty has been felt by some in the text Rom. V. 12 *for that all have sinned*. Upon which Burnet (quoted by Tomline p. 238) arguing in support of *Augustine* remarks "It being affirmed that all who die have sinned, and it being certain that many infants die who have never actually sinned, these must have sinned in *Adam*. They could sin in no other way." But this difficulty is removed by the interpretation of *Erasmus*, who observes that *St. Paul* in that text speaks of adults and of adults only.

Dr. Hales Analysis of Chronology Vol. 2 p. 977 interpolates the church catechism, where the doctrine of the 9th article is stated, in this manner: "*Being by nature born in sin* [or prone to sinning and thereby] *children of wrath* [or obnoxious to Divine punishment], *we are hereby made children of Grace*." If the words which he substitutes, or by which he interprets, were the terms made use of; if, instead of *being by nature born in sin and children of wrath*, it had been written *being by nature prone to sinning and thereby obnoxious to Divine punishment*, few would have objected to that passage.

<sup>m</sup> On the first see *Hieronymus* against *Jovinian* quoted at p. 452, In *Pelagium* p. 928 *Multa mansiones sunt apud Patrem, quia et merita diversa*. *Augustine* Ep. 142 p. 985 from 1 Cor. XV. 41. *Origen* Comm. in Matt. tom. XIII. 15 Vol. 3 p. 236 on the text XVIII. 1 *ὅτι μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν ἰσότης τῶν ἀξιουμένων τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν κατελήφισαν, καὶ ὅτι μὴ οὕσης ἰσότητος ἐστὶ τις μείζων* κ. τ. λ. *Chrysostom* on both points Opp. tom. 1 p. 33 E Montf. αὐτὸς γὰρ

*φησὶν* "ἀποδώσει ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ." καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῇ γένεσιν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ πολλὰς ἂν εὐροί τις τὰς διαφορὰς: "Μοναὶ γὰρ" φησὶ "πολλαὶ εἰσι παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ μου." καὶ "Ἄλλη δόξα ἡλίου καὶ ἄλλη δόξα σελήνης." On the first point *Theodoret* tom. 1 p. 895 ταύτην ἡμᾶς τὴν διαφορὰν ὁ κύριος ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς εὐαγγελίοις ἐδίδαξε φήσας "Πολλαὶ μοναὶ παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ μου." συνωδὰ καὶ ὁ μακάριος ἔφη Παῦλος κ. τ. λ. [1 Cor. XV. 21—23.] Idem tom. 2 p. 32 οὐ πάντες οἱ πεπιστευκότες τῆς ἰσῆς ἀξίας ὑπάρχουσι: "πολλὰ γὰρ μοναὶ παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ μου" φησὶν ὁ Χριστός: τοῦτεστιν ἀξιωματῶν διαφοραί. On the second point, the different degrees of punishment, *Chrysostom* tom. 5 p. 42 B Montf. ἴδοι δ' ἂν τις καὶ ἀπὸ συνέσεως ἐπιτεταμένης καὶ ἀπὸ ἀφελείας διαφορὰν γινομένην κολάσεως, ὅταν λέγῃ "ὁ δοῦλος ὁ εἰδὼς τὸ θέλημα τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ ποιήσας δαρήσεται πολλὰς, ὁ δὲ μὴ εἰδὼς μὴδὲ ποιήσας δαρήσεται ὀλίγας." καὶ πολλὰ ἕτερα εὐροί τις ἂν τὰ ποιῶντα διαφορὰν κολάσεως καὶ διαφορὰν ἐλέους καὶ φιλάνθρωπίας. tom. 7 p. 322 B οὐ γὰρ ὁμοίως πάντα ἐπὶ πάντων κρίνεται: "Δυνατοὶ γὰρ" φησὶ "δυνατῶς ἐτασθήσονται [Sap. VI. 7]. καὶ "ὁ εἰδὼς τὸ θέλημα τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ ποιῶν δαρήσεται πολλὰς." ὅστε ἡ πλείων γνώσις πλείονος κολάσεως ἐστὶν ὑπόθεσις. Ibid. p. 730 E καὶ ἀπὸ συνέσεως πολλὴ ἡ διαφορὰ: ὁ γὰρ εἰδὼς τὸ θέλημα κ. τ. λ.—καὶ τὸ μετὰ τὰ παραδείγματα τσαυτὰ καὶ τηλικαῦτα ἀμαρτάνει πλείονα φέροι τὴν τιμωρίαν. tom. 2 p. 311 D "ὁ γὰρ δοῦλος," φησὶν, "ὁ μὴ εἰδὼς τὸ θέλημα τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ ποιήσας δαρήσεται ὀλίγας." Conf. tom. 9 p. 481 E p. 752 E. *Theodoret* tom. 1 p. 156 τὰ μείζονα τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων μείζονων ἀξία τιμημάτων οὕτω καὶ ὁ κύριος ἐδίδαξεν: "ὦ μὲν γὰρ" φησὶ "πολὺ δοθήσεται πολὺ καὶ ἀπαιτήσουσι παρ' αὐτοῦ. p. 292 ὁ κύριος ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς εὐαγγελίοις "Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ὀλίγον δοθήσεται" κ. τ. λ. *Hieronymus* tom. 5 p. 12 E ad *Esaiam* II. 4 *Ergo et inter gentes judicandum est; nec omnes increduli pari sententia condemnandi, sed pro diversitate meritum diversa passuri sunt*. Conf. *Hieron.* tom. 5 p. 360 C tom. 7 p. 43 H.

<sup>n</sup> Matth. VII. 1 Luke VI. 37.

<sup>o</sup> Rom. XIV. 4.

<sup>p</sup> Luke IX. 54. 55.



Protestant churches were persecutors. Mr. Hallam<sup>q</sup> has shewn that in England complete liberty of conscience was not finally established by law till the reign of *George* the third. Some specimens however remain of men who conformed to the precepts of their religion rather than to the practice of their times. The death of *Priscillian* was condemned, and its authors punished<sup>r</sup>. *Martin* of *Tours* interposed with *Maximus* to stay persecution<sup>s</sup>. *Chrysostom* advised to spare heretics, not to slay them, to deal mildly with them<sup>t</sup>. *Augustine* in the preamble to a treatise against the Manichees<sup>v</sup> has these noble sentiments, which ought to be perpetually remembered by every theologian: *Unum verum Deum omnipotentem ex quo omnia per quem omnia in quo omnia et rogavi et rogo ut in refellenda et revincenda hæresi vestra, Manichæi, cui et vos fortasse imprudentius quam malitiosius adhæsisistis, det mihi mentem pacatam atque tranquillam, et magis de vestra correctione quam de subversione cogitantem. Quanquam enim Dominus per suos servos regna subvertat erroris, ipsos tamen homines in quantum homines sunt emendandos esse potius quam perdendos jubet. Et quidquid divinitus ante illud ultimum iudicium vindicatur, sive per improbos sive per justos, sive per nescientes sive per scientes, sive occulte sive palam, non ad interitum hominum sed ad medicinam valere credendum est.—Nostrum igitur fuit eligere et optare meliora, ut ad vestram correctionem aditum haberemus non in contentione et æmulatione et persecutionibus, sed mansuete consolando benevole cohortando leniter disputando; sicut scriptum est “Servum autem Domini non oportet litigare.”—Illi in vos sæviant qui nesciunt cum quo labore verum inveniat et quam difficile caveantur errores. Illi in vos sæviant qui nesciunt quam rarum et arduum sit carnalia phantasmata piæ mentis serenitate superare. Illi in vos sæviant qui nesciunt cum quanta difficultate sanetur oculus interioris hominis.—Illi in vos sæviant qui nesciunt quibus suspiriis et gemitibus fiat ut ex quantulacunque parte possit intelligi Deus. Postremo illi in vos sæviant qui nunquam tali errore decepti sunt quali vos deceptos vident.*

*Augustine* wrote thus in A. D. 397. Unhappily he afterwards abandoned these generous opinions and adopted very different maxims<sup>w</sup>.

<sup>q</sup> In his admirable work already quoted, the Constitutional History of England Vol. 2 p. 336, “Such a genuine toleration as Christianity and philosophy alike demand had no place in our Statute book before the reign of *George III.*”

<sup>r</sup> See the Tables at A. D. 380 p. 497 A. D. 385 p. 511 and Vol. 2 p. 447.

<sup>s</sup> See the authors quoted at A. D. 386 p. 511.

<sup>t</sup> *Chrysostom*. Opp. tom. 1 p. 696 A τὰ γὰρ αἰρετικὰ δόγματα τὰ παρ’ ὧν παρελάθομεν ἀναθεματίζειν χρὴ καὶ τὰ ἀσεβῆ δόγματα ἐλέγχειν, πᾶσαν δὲ φειδῶ ἀνθρώπων ποιέεισθαι, καὶ εὐχεσθαι ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῶν σωτηρίας. p. 461 D παρακαλῶ πάντας ὑμᾶς καθάπερ τοὺς φρενίτιδι περιπεσόντας νόσῳ καὶ παραπαίοντας κατὰ δύναμιν τὴν ὑμετέραν πειρᾶσθαι θεραπεύειν μετὰ προσηρείας καὶ ἐπιεικείας. tom. 7 p. 482 B τὶ οὖν ὁ δεσπότης [Matth. XIII. 30]; κωλύει λέγων “Μήποτε ἐκριζώσητε ἅμα αὐτοῖς τὸν σίτον.” τοῦτο δὲ ἔλεγε κωλύων πολέμους γίνεσθαι καὶ αἵματα καὶ σφαγὰς. οὐ γὰρ δεῖ ἀναρῆναι τὸν αἰρετικόν· ἐπεὶ πόλεμος ἄσπονδος εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην ἔμελλεν εἰσάγεσθαι.

<sup>v</sup> *Augustin*. contra epistolam Fundamenti c. 1. 2. See *Augustin*. Works n. 29 p. 464.

<sup>w</sup> In Ep. 48 *Vincentio* p. 185 written in A. D. 408 *Augustine* “formerly dealt with heretics by argument.” p. 195 *Nam mea primitus sententia erat neminem ad unitatem Christi esse cogendum; verbo esse agendum*

*disputatione pugnandum ratione vincendum, ne fictos catholicos haberemus quos apertos hæreticos noveramus.* But now he calls for imperial edicts against them: p. 197 *Immo vero serviant reges terræ Christo etiam leges ferendo pro Christo.—Convertantur leones ad comminuenda ossa calumniantium.* However he recommends in Ep. 127=100 written A. D. 408 *Donato* proconsuli that the lives of the Donatists should be spared: p. 738 *Corrigi eos cupimus non necari, nec disciplinam circa eos negligi volumus nec suppliciiis quibus digni sunt exerceri.* Sic igitur eorum peccata compece ut sint quos pœniteat peccasse. In A. D. 412 Ep. 158=139 *Marcellino* p. 829 he urges against the Donatists every degree of punishment except the infliction of death: *Pœna sane illorum—rogo te ut præter supplicium mortis sit, et propter conscientiam nostram et propter catholicam mansuetudinem commendandam.—Quæcunque præter sanguinem vindicta processerit magna lenitas apparebit.* In A. D. 418 Ep. 105=194 *Sixto* presbytero Romano, where he treats at large of the Pelagian question, he gives the following rules for the treatment of heretics: p. 529 *Alii severius coercendi, alii vigilantius vestigandi, alii tractandi quidem lenius, sed non segnius sunt docendi, ut, si non timentur ne perdant, non tamen negligantur, ne pereant.*



14 The Theodosian Code in the laws against heretics quoted in this Work exhibits the intolerance of the times. It is declared that the least deviation from the appointed path is to be called Heresy<sup>x</sup>. The penalties enacted were a prohibition of publicly exercising their worship, or expulsion from the cities and from particular districts, or interdiction of civil rights, or incapacity of bequeathing or inheriting by will, or confiscation, or corporal punishment, or death. The Novatians are treated with less rigour than the rest; but even these in some laws are included in the same description as other heretics. Against the Manichees many edicts were issued<sup>y</sup>. The

Paley at the close of his Evidences for Christianity among many valuable and just remarks has one observation to which we cannot assent. He says Vol. 2 p. 367 "I apologize for no species nor degree of persecution; but I think that even the fact has been exaggerated. The slave-trade destroys more in a year than the Inquisition hath done in a hundred years, or perhaps hath done since its foundation." But, if we number those who have been destroyed by persecution, we must not limit our view to the victims of the Inquisition alone. We must take a wider survey of the times that preceded it and the countries into which it was not introduced. We must add, for example, the Paulicians, who arose in A. D. 660 and were persecuted for many centuries in the East and in the West. We must add the *Albigenses*, who were exterminated by *Innocent III* (who died in 1216) before the establishment of the Inquisition, which began in 1233. We must add the heretics who were destroyed in England in the reigns of *Henry IV* and *V*, and of *Henry VIII* and his successors, under the act *de hæretico comburendo*, which was passed in A. D. 1400. Paley has not shewn that "the fact has been exaggerated." But we are not to limit the enquiry to those only who suffered death from their oppressors. When life was spared, the persecution was exercised in other forms. Through the whole period from *Constantine* to A. D. 1688, a period which will include the revocation of the edict of Nantes and the reign of *James II* of England, there was exile, or confiscation, or imprisonment, or torture for the heretic. The sum of all must be computed before we can estimate the full amount of misery. And, lest the mention of the *slave trade*, and the ideas excited by that odious term, should abate somewhat of the abhorrence which is due to the Inquisition, we must observe that the guilt of that tribunal does not merely consist in the number of its victims, but that we must bear in mind all the circumstances—the mockery of a judicial process, the hypocritical pretext of religion, the lingering torments of the rack and the flames, and all this inflicted by men who called themselves ministers of *Christ*.

<sup>x</sup> De Hær. l. 28 *Hæreticorum vocabulo continentur et latis adversus eos sanctionibus debent subcumbere qui vel levi argumento a judicio catholicæ religionis et tramite detecti fuerint deviare.*

<sup>y</sup> I propose in this note to enumerate the laws against heretics which are contained in the Code, and to mark the pages in which they are quoted in the Tables of this Work.

*Constantine* condemned to death those who possessed and concealed the books of *Arius*. See above p. 88. This edict does not appear in the Code. The laws of *Constantine* in the Code are

l. 1 *de hæc.* A. D. 326 p. 382 denying to heretics and schismatics the privileges granted to others.

l. 2 A. D. 326 p. 382. Moderate to the Novatians.

During the reigns of *Constantius II Julian* and *Valens* the Arians prevailed, and in the reigns of *Constantius II* and *Valens* persecuted their opponents. No laws of these two emperors against heretics are inserted in the Code. In the 53 years from A. D. 326 to A. D. 379 only two laws, one of *Valentinian* and the other of *Gratian*, appear in the Code; namely

l. 3 A. D. 372 p. 479 against the Manichees.

l. 4 A. D. 376 or 378 (conf. Gothofred. p. 115) *Cod. Theod. Vol. 6 p. 114 ad Hesperium pf. p. Olim pro religione catholica sanctitatis ut cætus hæretica usurpationis conquiescerent jussimus, sive in oppidis sive in agris extra ecclesias quas nostra pax obtinet conventus agerentur, publicari loca omnia in quibus falso religionis obtentu altaria locarentur. Quod sive dissimulatione judicum sive profanorum improbitate contigerit, eadem erit ex utroque pernicies. Dat. X Kal. Maii Trev. Valente et Valentiniano AA. coss.*

But in the 56 years which follow the edicts against heretics are numerous; 61 laws are recorded within A. D. 379—435, namely

l. 5 A. D. 379 p. 494 against heretics generally.

l. 6. 381 p. 500. The Photinians Arians and Eunomians are named.

l. 7. 381 p. 501 against the Manichees.

l. 8. 381 p. 502 against the Eunomians Arians Aetians.

l. 9. 382 p. 502 against the Manichees the *Encratite Succophori Hydroparastatæ* and *Quartadecimani*.

l. 10. 383 p. 505 against the *Tascodrocitæ*.

l. 11. 383 p. 505 against Eunomians Arians Macedonians Pneumatomachi Manichees &c. all classed together.

l. 12. 383 p. 507 against Eunomians Arians Macedonians Apollinarians without distinction.



most severe language is employed against the *Quartadecimans*. Those who presumed to commemorate the Crucifixion on the day on which it was observed by the apostle and evangelist *St. John* are pronounced to have committed an offence *which exceeds the madness of all heretics*. And in another law it is declared that *those who differ from others in the day of observing Easter are worse than all heretics, and are to be banished like the Manichees*<sup>2</sup>.

1. 13. 384 p. 509 against the same.
1. 14. 15. 388 p. 519 against Apollinarians and all sects.
1. 16. 388 p. 518 against the Arians.
1. 17. 389 p. 520 against the Eunomians.
1. 18. 389 p. 520 against the Manichees.
1. 19. 389 p. 520 against the clergy of the heretics.
1. 20. 391 p. 524 against all heretics.
1. 21. 392 p. 526 against all heretics.
1. 22. 394 p. 531 against all heretics.
1. 23. 394 p. 531 against the Eunomians.
1. 24. 394 p. 531 against all heretics.
1. 25. 395 p. 535 against Eunomians especially.
1. 26. 395 p. 535 against all heretics.
1. 27. 395 p. 535 restores to the Eunomians the power of making wills.
1. 28. 395 p. 535 quoted already in note x.
1. 29. 395 Cod. Theod. Vol. 6 p. 148 *Marcello mag. Officiorum*. Given above in c. 1 p. 131.
1. 30. 396 p. 536 against all heretics.
1. 31. 396 p. 538 against the Eunomians.
1. 32. 396 p. 538 against the Eunomians.
1. 33. 397 p. 538 against the Apollinarians.
1. 34. 398 p. 543 against the Eunomians and Montanists.
1. 35. 399 p. 545 against the Manichees. Inquisitors are appointed to search them out.
1. 36. 399 p. 544 against the Eunomians.
1. 37. 400 p. 549 against the Donatists.
1. 38. 405 p. 562 against Manichees and Donatists.
1. 39. 405 p. 564 against the Donatists.
1. 40. 407 p. 568 against Manichees Phrygians Priscillianists.
1. 41. 407 p. 568. 570 Donatists Manichees or other heretics may be excused the penalties assigned by law, upon confession of error.
1. 42. 408 p. 571 against all heretics.
1. 43. 408 p. 571 against Donatists Manichees Priscillianists and Gentiles.
1. 44. 408 p. 573 against the Donatists.
1. 45. 408 p. 573 against all heretics.
1. 46. 409 p. 575 against Donatists and other heretics, Jews and Gentiles.
1. 47. 409 p. 577 against all heretics.
1. 48. 410 p. 577 against Montanists and Priscillianists.
1. 49. 410 p. 577 against the Eunomians. The privilege granted by l. 36 of inheriting or bequeathing by will is withdrawn.
1. 50. 410 p. 577 on the same subject.
1. 51. 410 p. 579. Heretics who publicly assemble are threatened with proscription and death.
1. 52. 412 p. 582 against the Donatists.
1. 53. 412 p. 582 against one *Jovianus* and his followers. Gothofredus reads *Jovinianum* and understands this law of *Jovinian* (N<sup>o</sup> 188) "de quo et in quem Ambrosius Hieronymus Augustinus." But *Jovinian* was already dead in A. D. 406: see the Tables p. 567, and could not be referred to in l. 53 A. D. 412.
1. 54 l. 55. 414 p. 587 against the Donatists.
1. 56. 415 p. 588 against all heretics, who are threatened, as in l. 51, with proscription and death.
1. 57. 415 p. 590 against the Montanists.
1. 58. 415 p. 590 against the Eunomians.
1. 59. 423 p. 601 against Manichees, against Phrygians (who are Pepyzitæ or Priscillianists), against Arians, Macedonians, Eunomians, Novatians, Sabbatians and other heretics. The Sabbatians are so called from one *Sabbatius*, who revived or continued the practice of observing the Crucifixion on the 14th day of the moon: Socrates VII. 5 Sozomen. VII. 18.
1. 60. 423 p. 603 against Eunomians Arians Macedonians and all other heretics.
1. 61. 423 p. 603 explaining former laws against the Eunomians and others.
1. 62. 425 p. 607 against the Manichees and every hostile sect.
1. 63. 425 p. 607 against all heretics.
1. 64. 425 p. 607 against the Manichees.
1. 65. 428 p. 610 Twenty-three heresies are named in this law, and to these are appointed different degrees of penalty and punishment. Gothofred. Vol. 6 p. 189 distributes them into four classes. The Manichees have the most severe treatment of them all.
1. 66. 435 p. 621 against *Nestorius*.
- Among the laws of *Valentinian III* Novell. l. 26 is directed against the Manichees. Given at A. D. 445 p. 632.
1. 4 l. 5 de apostatis A. D. 391 p. 522. 524 contain severe provisions.
- <sup>2</sup> In l. 9 de hæ. A. D. 382 p. 504 it is ordered that they should be searched out by inquisitors and treated as Manichees: *Summa exploratione rimetur ut quicumque in unum Pascha diem non obsequenti religione convenerint tales indubitanter quales hac lege damnavimus habeantur*. A. D. 413 p. 584 l. 6 ne baptismum iteretur—*hoc delictum etiam hæreticorum vesaniam superat*. A. D. 423 p. 601 *Manichæi*—*Ariani*



15 Some particular facts and opinions deserve to be noticed, which rest upon early and unsuspected authority.

Laymen were permitted to teach; for *Origen* while yet a layman presided in the catechetical school at Alexandria<sup>a</sup>. Fasting and abstinence were not held in great esteem, and were not supposed to convey any spiritual benefits; for a martyr at Lyons in A. D. 177, who had been accustomed to subsist upon bread and water, and proposed during his imprisonment to continue that practice, as a self-discipline, was dissuaded by his Christian brethren, and was advised to partake of the gifts which God had designed for the use of man<sup>b</sup>.

It is held that men are responsible for their own acts alone. *Ezekiel XVIII. 20* expresses that *the son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son*. This declaration of the prophet is applied to the state of man by *Basil* and *Hieronymus*<sup>c</sup>. *Justin Martyr* in speaking of the actions of men excludes the idea of Destiny<sup>d</sup>.

*Hieronymus* admits that Faith is a difficult thing<sup>e</sup>; but *Gregory of Nazianzus* truly observes that the difficulties in the doctrine of the Trinity are not greater than the difficulties in the constitution of man and in the laws of visible and material Nature<sup>f</sup>.

*itidem Macedonianique et Eunomiani Novatiani ac Sabbatiani ceterique hæretici*. A. D. 423 p. 603 l. 24 de Paganis. *Manichæos—necnon et eos qui omnibus hæreticis hac una sunt persuasione peiores quod in venerabili die Paschæ ab omnibus dissentiunt—eadem pæna multamus, bonorum proscriptione atque exilio*.

<sup>a</sup> See the Tables A. D. 206 p. 215 A. D. 215 p. 225 A. D. 225 p. 239. 241. Euseb. H. E. VI. 14 ó γέ τοι Ἀδαμάντιος (καὶ τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν τῷ Ὠριγένει ὄνομα), Ζεφυρίνου κατὰ τοῦσδε τοὺς χρόνους τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας ἡγουμένου [A. D. 197—217], ἐπιδημήσαι τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ αὐτὸς που γράφει—ἐνθα οὐ πολὺ διατρίψας, ἐπάνεισιν εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. καὶ διὰ τὰ συνήθη τῆς κατηχήσεως ἐνταῦθα μετὰ πάσης ἐπλήρου τῆς σπουδῆς, Δημητρίου τῶν τῆδε ἐπισκόπου ἔτι τότε παρορμῶντος αὐτόν.

<sup>b</sup> Epistola ecclesiæ Lugdunensis (quoted at A. D. 177 p. 175) apud Euseb. H. E. V. 3 ἡ δ' αὐτῆ τῶν προειρημένων μαρτύρων γραφὴ καὶ ἄλλην τινα μνήμης ἀξίαν ἱστορίαν περιέχει, ἣν καὶ οὐδεὶς ἂν γένοιτο φθόνος μὴ οὐχὶ τῶν ἐντευχόμενων εἰς γνώσιν προσθεῖναι. ἔχει δὲ οὕτως· Ἀλκιβιάδου γὰρ τινος ἐξ αὐτῶν πάντων αὐχμηρόν βιούντος βίον, καὶ μηδενὸς ὄλωσ τὸ πρότερον μεταλαμβάνοντος, ἀλλ' ἡ ἄρτω μόνῳ καὶ ὕδατι χρωμένον, πειρωμένον τε καὶ ἐν τῇ εἰρκτῇ οὕτω διάγειν, Ἀττάλῳ μετὰ τὸν πρῶτον ἀγῶνα, ὃν ἐν τῷ ἀμφιθεάτρῳ ἤνυσεν, ἀπεκαλύφθη ὅτι μὴ καλῶς ποιοῖη ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης μὴ χρώμενος τοῖς κτίσμασι τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἄλλοις τύπον σκανδαλοῦ ὑπολειπόμενος. πεισθεὶς δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδης πάντων ἀνέδην μετελάμβανε καὶ ἠγαθήσει τῷ Θεῷ. οὐ γὰρ ἀνεπίσκεπτοι χάριτος Θεοῦ ἦσαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἦν σύμβουλον αὐτοῖς.

<sup>c</sup> Basil. Cæsar. Ep. 79 p. 897 C πῶς δὲ κάκεινο οὐκ ἐνθυμῆ, ὅτι πατὴρ οὐ λήψεται ἁμαρτίαν παιδὸς οὐδὲ υἱὸς λήψεται ἁμαρτίαν πατρὸς· ἕκαστος δὲ ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἁμαρτίᾳ ἀποθανείται. Hieron. Ep. 3 p. 29 *Anima inquit quæ peccaverit ipsa morietur. Ergo quæ non peccaverit ipsa vivet*. Ep. 25 p. 231 quoting that text he adds *iniquum sit longævi patris delicta in innocentem infantiam repensare*. Ep. 48 p. 358 *Jam superius dixi nec pa-*

*trem pro filio nec filium pro patre puniri*. Pammachio p. 739 *Nasci de adulterio non ejus culpa est qui nascitur sed illius qui generat*. p. 740 *Non in seminibus sed in voluntate nascentis causa est vitiorum atque virtutum. Si offensa est nasci in corporibus humanis, quomodo Isaac, Sampson, Joannes Baptista de reprobatione nascuntur?* Ep. 128 tom. 3 p. 98 *Voluntas in homine non natura damnatur*. Theodoret affirms tom. 3 p. 56 οὐ γὰρ διὰ τὴν τοῦ προπάτορος ἁμαρτίαν ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν οἰκείαν ἕκαστος δέχεται τοῦ θανάτου τὸν ὄρον. Chrysostom Ep. 2 Olympiadi tom. 7 p. 58, 21 Sav. τότε οὐδεὶς ὑπὲρ ὧν ἄλλος ἐπλημμελήσῃ κρινεται, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ὧν αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἤμαρτε.

<sup>d</sup> Justin. Martyr Apol. I. 43 κατ' ἀξίαν τῶν πράξεων ἐκάστου ἀποδοῦσθαι—εἰ γὰρ εἴμαρται τόνδε τινα ἀγαθὸν εἶναι καὶ τόνδε φαῦλον, οὐθ' οὕτως ἀποδεκτέος οὔτε ἐκείνος μεμπτέος.

<sup>e</sup> Hieron. in Jovinian. p. 603 quoted above N° 188 p. 452 note.

<sup>f</sup> Greg. Naz. Or. 20 p. 382 E—383 A ἀκούεις γέννησιν; τὸ πῶς μὴ περιεργάζου. ἀκούεις ὅτι τὸ Πνεῦμα προῦν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς; τὸ ὅπως μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖ. εἰ δὲ πολυπραγμονεῖς Υἱοῦ γέννησιν καὶ Πνεύματος πρόοδον, καγὼ σου πολυπραγμονῶ τὸ κράμα ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, πῶς εἰ χουὸς καὶ εἰκὼν Θεοῦ, τί τὸ κινεῖ σε ἢ τί τὸ κινούμενον; πῶς τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ κινεῖ καὶ κινεῖται; πῶς ἡ αἴσθησις ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ μένει καὶ τὸ ἐκτὸς ἐπισπάται; πῶς ὁ νοῦς ἐν σοὶ μένει καὶ γεννᾷ λόγον ἐν ἄλλῳ νοί; πῶς λόγῳ νόημα διαδίδεται; καὶ οὕτω τὰ μείζονα λέγω, τίς οὐρανοῦ περιφορὰ τίς ἀστέρων κίνησις ἢ τάξις ἢ μέτρα ἢ σύνοδος ἢ ἀπόστασις; τίνας δ' ὄροι θαλάσσης; πόθεν δὲ ἀνέμων ρεύματα ἢ ὠρῶν περιτροπαὶ ἢ ὄμβρων ἐπιχύσεις; εἰ τούτων μηδὲν κατενόησας, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, κατανοήσεις δὲ ἴσως ποτὲ, ὅταν ἀπολάβῃς τὸ τέλειον (“ὄψομαι γάρ” φησι “τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, ἔργα τῶν δακτύλων σου”), ὡς ὑπονοεῖσθαι τὰ νῦν ὁράμενα μὴ εἶναι τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀληθείας ἰνδάλματα· εἰ σαυτὸν οὐκ ἔγνωσ, ὅστις εἰ ὁ περὶ τούτων διαλεγόμενος, εἰ ταῦτα οὐ κατέλαβες ὧν καὶ ἡ αἴσθησις μάρτυς, πῶς Θεὸν ἀκριβῶς

That upon some questions appertaining to Theology men must think differently according to the different bias of their minds is acknowledged by *Gregory*, who, writing against the Eunomians, remarks that every one is not qualified to discourse concerning God<sup>s</sup>, and advises men to contend against the heathen sects of philosophers rather than to argue too curiously upon questions of doctrine<sup>h</sup>. He concludes that men may express their thoughts upon the following questions; upon the plurality of worlds—matter—the soul—good and evil intellectual natures—the Resurrection and the future Judgment and the retribution appointed for all men according to their works, and upon the sufferings of *Christ*<sup>i</sup>.

Upon Creeds it were much to be desired that modern theologians had imitated the moderation and followed the examples of *Athanasius* and *Basil*. *Athanasius* writes thus: “Those who accept all the other points of the Nicene Creed, but do not admit the word *Homoüsian*, we will not reject as adversaries<sup>k</sup>.” *Basil* holds that “nothing can be added to the Creed agreed upon by the Nicene Council, not even in the smallest particulars, except the Doxology with reference to the Holy Spirit, because the Fathers only mentioned that subject incidentally; that question being not yet agitated.” But the dogmas interwoven with this Creed concerning the Incarnation *Basil* “neither examines nor accepts.” He considers them “as too abstruse for human comprehension,” and knows that “when the simplicity of the Faith is once disturbed there is no end of arguments<sup>l</sup>.”

## IX.

## BISHOPS OF ROME, ALEXANDRIA, &amp;c.

EUSEBIUS supplies materials for the years and successions of the bishops down to his own time. The lists of Nicephorus continue the series for some centuries longer, and supply valuable information, although in the years assigned to each episcopate the numbers are sometimes erroneous through the mistake of Nicephorus himself, and sometimes corrupted through the fault of

ὅπερ τε καὶ ὅσον ἐστὶν εἰδέναι ὑπολαμβάναι; πολλῆς τοῦτο τῆς ἀλογίας. Just thoughts eloquently expressed. Add the argument of *Basil*. *Cæsar*. Ep. 168 (16 Garn.) p. 953, who concludes “If we know not the structure of an ant, how can we boast of comprehending the nature of God?”

<sup>g</sup> *Greg. Naz.* κατὰ Εὐνομιανῶν Or. 27 p. 489 B οὐ παντός, ὃ οὔτοι, τὸ περὶ Θεοῦ φιλοσοφεῖν, οὐ παντός.

<sup>h</sup> *Ibid.* p. 494 C ἔχεις καὶ ἄλλας ὑποθέσεις πολλὰς τε καὶ φιλοτίμους· ἐκεῖ τρέφον μετὰ τοῦ χρησίμου τὴν νόσον.

<sup>i</sup> Or. 27 p. 494 D—495 B βάλλε μοι Πυθαγόρου τὴν σιωπὴν—βάλλε μοι Πλάτωνος τὰς ἰδέας καὶ τὰς μετενωματώσεις καὶ περιόδους τῶν ἡμετέρων ψυχῶν καὶ τὰς ἀναμνήσεις.—<sup>2</sup> *Ἀριστοτέλους τὴν μικρολόγον πρόνοιαν καὶ τὸ ἔντεχρον—βάλλε μοι τὸ κενὸν τὸ πλήρες—φιλοσόφει μοι περὶ κόσμον ἢ κόσμων, περὶ ὕλης, περὶ ψυχῆς, περὶ λογικῶν φύσεων βελτιόνων τε καὶ χειρόνων, περὶ ἀναστάσεως, κρίσεως, ἀναποδόσεως, Χριστοῦ παθημάτων. ἐν τοῦτοις γὰρ καὶ τὸ ἐπιτυχάνειν οὐκ ἀχρηστον καὶ τὸ διαμαρτάνειν ἀκίνδυνον.*

<sup>k</sup> *Athanasius de synodis Opp.* tom. 1 p. 915 D πρὸς

δὲ τοὺς ἀποδεχομένους τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα τῶν ἐν Νικαίᾳ γραφέντων περὶ δὲ μόνον τὸ “ὁμοούσιον” ἀμφιβάλλοντας μὴ ὡς πρὸς ἐχθροὺς διακείσθαι. καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἡμεῖς οὐχ ὡς πρὸς Ἀρειομανίτας οὐδ’ ὡς μαχομένους πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ἐνιστάμεθα, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἀδελφοὶ πρὸς ἀδελφοὺς διαλεγόμεθα, τὴν αὐτὴν μὲν ἡμῖν διάνοιαν ἔχοντας, περὶ δὲ τὸ ὄνομα μόνον διατάζοντας.

<sup>l</sup> *Basil. Cæsar.* Ep. 325 (258 Garn.) p. 1099 D—1100 B ὅτι οὐδὲν δυνάμεθα τῇ κατὰ Νίκαιαν πίστει προστιθέναι ἡμεῖς οὐδὲ τὸ βραχύτατον, πλὴν τῆς εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον δοξολογίας διὰ τὸ ἐν παραδρομῇ τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν τούτου τοῦ μέρους ἐπιμνησθῆναι, οἴπω τοῦ κατ’ αὐτὸ ζητήματος τότε κεκηνημένου· τὰ δὲ προσυφαινόμενα τῇ πίστει ἐκεῖνη δόγματα περὶ τῆς τοῦ κυρίου ἐνανθρωπήσεως, ὡς βαθύτερα τῆς ἡμετέρας καταλήψεως, οὔτε ἐβασανίσασαμεν οὔτε ἐδεξάμεθα, εἰδότες ὅτι, ἐπειδὴν τὴν ἀπλότητα τῆς πίστεως ἅπαξ παρακινήσωμεν, οὐκέτι πέρασ τῶν λόγων εὐρήσωμεν, αἰ τῆς ἀντιλογίας εἰς τὸ πλεῖον ἡμᾶς προαγούσης, καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἀκεραιτέρων παρατάξομεν τῇ παρεισαγωγῇ τῶν ξενιζόντων.



his transcriber. Many references to Eusebius and Nicephorus have been already given, and others shall be added in this Chapter.

The following Catalogue contains the bishops of Rome Alexandria Antioch Jerusalem Constantinople who belong to this work. The notes, omitting what has been said before, give some account of those who are not already described.

1 ROME	2 ALEXANDRIA	3 ANTIOCH	4 JERUSALEM	5 CP.
1 Linus				
2 Anacletus	1 Annianus A. D. 63		2 Simeon	
3 Clemens	2 Abilius 85	1 Euodius [43]		
4 Euarestus	3 Cerdon 98		3 Justus [108]	
5 Alexander	4 Primus 109	2 Ignatius [70]	4 Zacchæus	
		3 Heros 115	5 Tobias	
			6 Benjamin	
			7 Joannes	
			8 Matthias	
			9 Philippus	
			10 Seneca	
6 Xystus A. D. 117	5 Justus 120		11 Justus	
			12 Levi	
			13 Ephraim	
			14 Joseph	
			15 Judas	
			16 Marcus A. D. 136	
7 Telesphorus A. D. 127	6 Eumenes A. D. 131	4 Cornelius A. D. 129	17 Cassianus	
8 Hyginus 138			18 Publius	
9 Pius 142	7 Marcus 143	5 Eros 143	19 Maximinus	
			20 Julianus	
10 Anicetus 150	8 Celadion 153		21 Gaius	
			22 Symmachus	
			23 Gaius	
			24 Julianus	
			25 Capito	
			26 Maximus	
			27 Antoninus	
			28 Valens	
12 Eleutherus 171	9 Agrippinus 168	6 Theophilus 171	29 Dolichianus	
	10 Julianus 180	7 Maximus I 183	30 Narcissus 190	
13 Victor 185	11 Demetrius 190	8 Serapion 190	31 Dius	
			32 Germanio	
			33 Gordianus	
			<i>Narcissus</i> again	
14 Zephyrinus 197		9 Asclepiades 203	34 Alexander 214	
15 Callistus I 217		10 Philetus 218		
16 Urbanus I 222				
17 Pontianus 230	12 Heraclas 233	11 Zebinus 229		
18 Anteros 235				
19 Fabianus 236		12 Babylas (238)		
20 Cornelius 250	13 Dionysius 249	13 Fabius 250	35 Mazabanes 250	
21 Lucius 252		14 Demetrianus 252		
22 Stephanus I 252				
23 Xystus II 257				
24 Dionysius 259		15 Paulus I Sam. (260)		
25 Felix I 270	14 Maximus 265	16 Domnus I 270	36 Hymenæus 262	

1 ROME	2 ALEXANDRIA	3 ANTIOCH	4 JERUSALEM	5 CP.
26 Eutychianus 275		17 Timeus 272		
27 Caius 283	15 Theonas 283	18 Cyrillus 280		
28 Marcellinus 296			37 Zabdas 298	
29 Marcellus I 308	16 Petrus I 301	19 Tyrannus 302	38 Hermon 300	
30 Eusebius 310				
31 Melciades 310	17 Achilles 312	20 Vitalis		
32 Silvester 314	18 Alexander 313	21 Philogonius	39 Macarius 324	
		22 Paulinus I 321		
		23 Eustathius 325		
		24 Paulinus II 328		
	19 Athanasius 326	25 Eulalius 329		1 Alexander A. D. 326
33 Marcus 336		26 Euphronius		
34 Julius 337		27 Placillus (332)	40 Maximus 336	2 Eusebius 340
	20 Gregorius 341	28 Stephanus I 342		3 Paulus 340
35 Liberius 352	<i>Athanasius</i> again 347	29 Leontius	41 Cyrillus 348	4 Macedonius I 342
36 Felix II 355	21 Georgius 356	30 Eudoxius 358	42 Eutychius	
<i>Liberius</i> again 358		31 Anianus 359	<i>Cyrillus</i> again	
		32 Meletius 360	43 Irenæus	5 Eudoxius 360
37 Damasus 366	<i>Athanasius</i> again 363	33 Euzoius 361	<i>CyriI</i> again	6 Demophilus 370
	22 Petrus II 373	34 Paulinus III 362	44 Hilarius 376	7 Evagrius 370
	23 Lucius 373	<i>Meletius</i> again 362		
	<i>Petrus</i> again	35 Dorotheus 376		8 Greg. Naz. 380
	24 Timotheus I 377	<i>Meletius</i> again 378	<i>CyriI</i> again 381	9 Nectarius 381
	25 Theophilus 385	36 Flavianus 381	45 Joannes I 388	
				10 Joann. Chrysost. 398
38 Siricius 385		37 Porphyrius 404		11 Arsacius 404
39 Anastasius I 398		38 Alexander 413	46 Prayllus 416	12 Atticus 406
40 Innocentius I 402	26 Cyrillus 412	39 Theodotus 420		13 Sisinnius 426
41 Zosimus 417		40 Joannes I 429	47 Juvenalis 425	14 Nestorius 428
42 Bonifacius I 418				15 Maximianus 431
43 Coelestinus 422				16 Proclus 434
44 Sixtus III 432				17 Flavianus 447
				18 Anatolius 449
45 Leo I 440	27 Dioscorus 444	41 Domnus II 442	48 Anastasius 458	19 Gennadius 458
	28 Proterius 452	42 Maximus II 449		
46 Hilarus 461	29 Timotheus II 457	43 Basilius 456	49 Martyrius 478	20 Acacius 471
		44 Acacius 458		
47 Simplicius 468		45 Martyrius 459		
	30 Timotheus III 460	46 Julianus 471		
	<i>Timoth. II</i> again 476	47 Petrus 476		
	<i>Timoth. III</i> again 477	48 Joannes II 477		
		49 Stephanus II 478		
	31 Joannes I 482	50 Stephanus III 480		
48 Felix III 483	32 Petrus III (483)	51 Calandio 481	50 Salustius 486	21 Fravitta 489
		<i>Petrus</i> again 485		22 Euphemius 489
49 Gelasius 492	33 Athanasius II 490	52 Palladius 488	51 Elias 494	23 Macedonius II 496
50 Anastasius II 496	34 Joannes II 496	53 Flavianus II 498	52 Joannes II 513	24 Timotheus 511
51 Symmachus 498	35 Joannes III 506	54 Severus 512		25 Joannes II 518
52 Hormisdas 514	36 Dioscorus II 517	55 Paulus II 519		26 Epiphanius 520
53 Joannes I 523	37 Timotheus IV 519	56 Euphrasius 521		
54 Felix IV 526		57 Ephraïmus 527	53 Petrus 524	
55 Bonifacius II 530				
56 Joannes II 533	38 Gaianus 537			
57 Agapetus 535	39 Theodosius 537			
58 Silverius 536	40 Paulus 538			27 Anthimus 535
59 Vigilus 537				28 Menas 536



1 ROME	2 ALEXANDRIA	3 ANTIOCH	4 JERUSALEM	5 CP.
60 Pelagius I 555	41 Zoilus 541	58 Domnus III 545	54 Macarius 544	29 Eutychius 552
61 Joannes III 560	42 Apollinarius 551	59 Anastasius I 559	55 Eustathius 552	30 Joannes III 565
62 Benedictus I 574	43 Joannes III 569	60 Gregorius 570	<i>Macarius</i> again 563	<i>Eutychius</i> again 577
63 Pelagius II 578	44 Eulogius 580		56 Joannes III 573	31 Joannes IV 582
64 Gregorius I 590		<i>Anastasius</i> again 593	57 Amos 594	32 Cyriacus 595
65 Sabinianus 604		61 Anastasius II 599	58 Isacius 601	
66 Bonifacius III 607	45 Theodorus 607		59 Zacharias 609	33 Thomas 607
67 Bonifacius IV 608	46 Joannes IV 609			34 Sergius 610
68 Deus dedit 615	47 Georgius 616			
69 Bonifacius V 619			60 Modestus 629	
70 Honorius I 625	48 Cyrus 630		61 Sophronius 633	35 Pyrrhus 639
71 Severinus 640				
72 Joannes IV 640				36 Paulus 641
73 Theodorus 642				<i>Pyrrhus</i> again 655
74 Martinus I 649				37 Petrus 655
75 Eugenius I 654				38 Thomas II 666
76 Vitalianus 657				39 Joannes V 668
77 A Deo datus 672				40 Constantinus 674

1 *Bishops of Rome.*

The first twelve are here given as they stand in Irenæus quoted in the Tables A. D. 179 p. 177, who does not number *St. Peter* among the bishops, and reckons *Eleutherus* the twelfth.

The two lists of Roman bishops in Eusebius, the Catalogue in Bucherius, and the series of names in Augustine, shall be given in parallel columns, that their variations may be compared.

Euseb. H. E.	Euseb. Chron.	Pont. apud Bucherium p. 269 Syncellum tom. 2 p. 198.	Augustin. Ep. 165 p. 867.
A. D. y.	A. D. y.	A. D. y. m. d.	
Petrus . . . . .	39. 20.	Petrus . . . . 30. 25. 1. 9.	Petrus
Linus . . . . .	68. 12.	Linus . . . . 56. 12. 4. 12.	Linus
Anacletus . . . .	80. 12.	Clemens . . . . 68. 9. 11. 12.	Clemens
Clemens . . . . .	92. 9.	[Cletus] . . . . 76. 6. 2. 10.	Anacletus
Euaristus . . . .	100. 8.	Anacletus . . 84. 12. 10. 3.	Euaristus
Alexander . . . .	109. 10.	Euaristus . . 96. 13. 7. 2.	Alexander
Xystus . . . . .	119. 10.	Alexander . . 109. 7. 2. 1.	Sixtus
Telesphorus . . .	128. 11.	Sixtus . . . . 117. 10. 3. 21.	Telesphorus
Hyginus . . . . .	139. 4.	Telesphorus 127. 11. 3. 3.	Higinus
Pius . . . . .	142. 15.	Hyginus . . [150] 12. 3. 6.	Anicetus
Anicetus . . . . .	157. 11.	Pius . . . . . 146. 20. 4. 21.	Pius
Soter . . . . .	168. 8.	* * *	Soter
Eleutherus . . . .	177. 13.	Soter . . . . [171] 9. 3. 2.	Eleutherus
Victor . . . . .	189. 10.	* * *	Victor
Zephyrinus . . . .	201. 18.	Victor . . . . [198] 9. 2. 10.	Zephyrinus
Callistus . . . . .	218. 5.	* * *	Calixtus
Urbanus . . . . .	223. 8.	Callistus . . 218. 5. 2. 10.	Urbanus
Pontianus . . . .	231. 6.	Urbanus . . 223. 8. 11. 12.	Pontianus
Anteros . . . . .	238. — 1 <sup>m</sup>	Pontianus . . 231. 5. 2. 7.	Anteros
Fabianus . . . . .	238. — 1 <sup>m</sup>	Anteros . . 235. 0. 1. 10.	Fabianus
Cornelius . . . .	250. 3.	Fabianus . . 236. 14. 1. 10.	Cornelius
Lucius . . . . .	252. — 8 <sup>m</sup>	Cornelius . . 251. 2. 3. 10.	Lucius
Stephanus . . . .	254. 2.	Lucius . . . . 252. 3. 8. 10.	Stephanus

Euseb. H. E.		Euseb. Chron.		Pont. apud Bucherium p. 269 Syncellum tom. 2 p. 198.			Augustin. Ep. 165 p. 867.
A. D.	y.	A. D.	y.	A. D.	y.	m. d.	
Xystus.....	255. (11.)	255.	11.	Stephanus..	253.	4. 2. 21.	Sixtus
Dionysius ....	266. 9.	263.	12.	Sixtus ....	256.	2. 11. 6.	Dionysius
Felix .....	275. 5.	273.	[19.]	Dionysius..	259.	8. 2. 4.	Felix
Eutychianus ..	280. —10 <sup>m</sup>	280. {	-2 <sup>m</sup> 15.	Felix ....	269.	5. 11. 25.	Eutychianus
Caius .....	281. 15.			Eutychianus	275.	8. 11. 3.	Gaius
Marcellinus ..	296.	296.	9. <i>H</i>	Caius ....	283.	12. 4. 7.	Marcellinus
Eusebius .....	}		304. —7. <i>H</i>	Marcellinus	296.	8. 3. 25.	Marcellus
Miltiades .....	}		304. 3. <i>H</i>	Marcellus..	308.	1. 7. 20.	Eusebius
Sylvester .....	}		311. 23. <i>H</i>	Eusebius.....	0	4. 16.	Melciades
Marcus .....	}		330. — 8 <sup>m</sup>	Miltiades ..	311.	3. 6. 9.	Sylvester
Julius .....	}		330. 16. 4 <sup>m</sup>	Sylvester ..	314.	21. 0. 11.	Marcus
Liberius .....	}		349.	Marcus....	336.	0. 8. 20.	Julius
Damasus .....	}		366.	Julius ....	337.	15. 1. 11.	Liberius
				Liberius ..	352.	.....	Damasus
							Siricius
							Anastasius

Eusebius in Chronico numbers them exclusive of *St. Peter*. *Anacletus* is the second and *Caius* the 27th bishop. The dates of *Marcellinus Eusebius Miltiades* and *Sylvester* are from the Translation of

Hieronymus; *Marcus Julius Liberius* and *Damasus* are from his Supplement. The rest are given in the continuation of Prosper in this manner

	A. D.	y.	m.	d.
Siricius .....	384.	—	16.	
Anastasius .....	398.	4.	0.	22.
Innocentius .....	402.	15.	2.	21.
Zosimus .....	416.	1.	9.	9.
Bonifacius.....	419.	3.	8.	6.
Celestinus.....	423.	9.	10.	17.
Xystus .....	432.	8.	0.	19.
Leo .....	440.			

In the liber pontificalis apud Acta Concil. tom. I ascribed to Damasus the bishops to *Eleutherus* are thus given

	A. D.	y.	m.	d.
p. 71 Linus .....	56	11.	3.	12.
p. 74 Cletus .....		12.	1.	11.
p. 75 Clemens.....	68	9.	0.	0.
p. 513 Anacletus .....	84	9.	3.	10.
p. 534 Euaristus .....	96	9.	10.	2.
p. 543 Alexander .....		10.	7.	2.
p. 555 Sixtus .....		10.	3.	21.
p. 562 Telesphorus .....		11.	3.	21.
p. 567 Hyginus .....	138	4.	3.	4.
p. 573 Pius .....	146	(19)	4.	3.
p. 583 Anicetus .....	150	11.	4.	3.
p. 589 Soter .....	162	9.	7.	21.
p. 592 Eleutherus .....		15.	3.	2.

16 *Urbanus I.* Acta Concil. tom. 1 p. 635 *Urbanus natione Romanus ex patre Pontiano sedit annos IV menses X dies XII.* His appointment is determined by the death of his predecessor to A. D. 222. But Pagi tom. 1 p. 214 extends his pontificate to A. D.

230. He quotes the *Chronicon Damasi* to this effect: *Urbanus annos VIII menses XI dies XII. Fuit temporibus Alexandri a consulatu Marimi et Aeliani* [A. D. 223].

17 *Pontianus.* Pagi tom. 1 p. 214 places his ap-



pointment at June 22 A. D. 230. The account of the liber Damasi is given in the Tables A. D. 236 p. 251 instead of being reserved for the Appendix. (See Tables p. 243.)

21 *Lucius*. On the pontificate of *Lucius* conf. Pagium tom. I p. 248. *Stephanus* succeeded in the same year: Pagi Ibid. *Xystus II*, who suffered martyrdom Aug. 6 A. D. 258, presided less than a year: Liber pontificalis de *Stephano* apud Pagium tom. I p. 265 Acta Concil. tom. I p. 747 *Stephanus*—*fuit temporibus Valeriani et Gallieni et Maximii usque ad Valerianum IV et Gallienum III* [A. D. 257]—*Sepultus est in cæmeterio Callisti via Appia IV Nonas Augusti. et cessavit episcopatus dies XXII.*

28 *Marcellinus*. Liber pontificalis apud Acta Conc. tom. I p. 947 *Marcellinus natione Romanus ex patre Projecto sedit annos IX menses II dies XVI. Fuit autem temporibus Diocletiani et Maximiani ex die Kalendarum Julii, a consulatu Diocletiani VI et Constantii II* [A. D. 296] *usque ad Diocletianum IX et Maximianum VIII* [A. D. 304]. *Quo tempore fuit persecutio magna.—Cessavit episcopatus annos VII* [recte Pagius annis III] *menses VI* [Pagius III] *dies XXV, persequente Diocletiano Christianos.* His successor *Marcellus* was appointed in A. D. 308: Pont. apud Bucherium p. 272 *Marcellus anno uno mensibus VII diebus viginti. Fuit temporibus Maxentii, a consulatu X et Maximiano* [A. D. 308]. *Marcellus* is confounded with his predecessor, and is omitted, by Hieronymus in Eusebii Chronico, by Nicephorus in catalogo p. 411 C D.

The pontificate of *Eusebius* is determined to A. D. 310 by Pagius tom. I p. 356.

31 *Melciades*. Liber pontificalis apud Acta Concil. tom. I p. 1417 et emendatius apud Pagium tom. I p. 367 *Melciades natione Afer sedit annos III menses VII dies VIII ex die VI Nonas Julii a consulatu Maximiano VIII solo* [A. D. 311] *quod fuit mense Septembri Volusiano et Rufino usque in III Idus Januarii Volusiano et Anniano consulibus* [A. D. 314]. Pagi throws back the beginning of this episcopate to A. D. 310 because the 3<sup>y</sup> 7<sup>m</sup> 9<sup>d</sup> terminate in Jan. A. D. 314.

Theodoret. H. E. I. 2 κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον [cir. A. D. 313—319] τῆς μὲν Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας Σίλβετρος κατέχε τὰς ἡνίας Μιλτιάδην διαδεξάμενος, ὃς μετὰ Μαρκελλίων τὸν ἐν τῷ διαγωγῆ διαπρέψαντα τὴν τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης χειροτονίαν ἐδέξατο. Theodoret omits *Marcellus* and *Eusebius*.

32 *Silvester*. Liber pontificalis apud Acta Concil. tom. I p. 1431 et rectius apud Pagium tom. I p. 431 *Silvester natione Romanus ex patre Rufino sedit annos XXI mensibus XI. Fuit temporibus Constantini, a consulatu Volusiani et Anniani ex die prid. Kalendas Februarii usque in diem Kalendarum Januariarum Constantio et Albino coss.* [A. D. 335.] On Kal. Jan. for prid. Kal. Jan. see Pagius p. 431.

33 *Marcus*. Liber pont. apud Pagium tom. I p. 431 *Marcus menses VIII dies XX. Fuit temporibus Con-*

*stantini, Nepotiano et Facundo coss.* [A. D. 336] *ex die XV Kal. Feb. usque in diem Non. Oct. consulis SS.*

34 *Julius I*. Liber pont. apud Pagium tom. I p. 477 *Julius annos XV menses II dies VI. Fuit temporibus Constantis, a consulatu Feliciani et Titiani* [A. D. 337] *ex die VIII Id. Feb. in diem prid. Id. April. Constantio V et Constantio Cæsare coss.* [A. D. 352.]

35 *Liberius*. Liber pontificalis Damasi apud Pont. Bucherii p. 273 *Fuit temporibus Constantii ex die XI Kalendas Junias in diem. . . . a consulibus Constantio V et Constantio Cæsare* [June 21 A. D. 352]. Liber pontificalis apud Acta Concil. tom. 2 p. 795 *Hic a Constantio deportatur in exilium eo quod nolisset hæresi Arianae consentire, et fuit in exilio annos tres. et congregantes sacerdotes concilium ordinaverunt in locum ejus episcopum Felicem presbyterum venerabilem virum.* For the exile of *Liberius* see the Tables A. D. 355 p. 429. 430. He returned from exile Aug. 2 A. D. 358: Tables A. D. 357 p. 437 A. D. 358 p. 439. His death is marked in Pagi tom. I p. 514 "*Marcellinus et Faustinus presbyteri Luciferiani, qui hoc tempore vixerunt, in præfatione libelli precum ad imp. Valentinianum Theodosium et Arcadium tradunt Liberium humanis rebus exemptum VIII Kalendas Octobres Gratiano et Dagalaipho consulibus.*" Sc. Sept. 24 A. D. 366.

38 *Siricius*. Succeeded *Damasus* at the end of December 384 or the beginning of January 385: see the Tables A. D. 384 p. 509. He was succeeded by *Anastasius* in A. D. 398: Tables p. 553. and in March: Liber pontificalis apud Acta Concil. tom. 2 p. 1209 *Siricius natione Romanus ex patre Tiburtio sedit annos XV menses XI dies XXV.—Sepultus est in cæmeterio Priscillæ via Solaria VIII Kal. Mart. et cessavit episcopatus dies XX.* Wherefore his episcopate was not 15<sup>y</sup> 11<sup>m</sup> 25<sup>d</sup>, nor, as Pagi amends it tom. 2 p. 20, 13<sup>y</sup> 11<sup>m</sup> 5<sup>d</sup>, but from the end of December A. D. 384 to Feb. 22 A. D. 398, about 13<sup>y</sup> 2<sup>m</sup>. Prosper is inaccurate in Chronico p. 396 *Ricimere et Clearcho coss.* [A. D. 384] *Romanæ ecclesiæ post Damasum Siricius 36<sup>us</sup> præfuit annis XV.* And *Marcellinus: Merobaude II et Saturnino coss.* [A. D. 383] *Romanæ ecclesiæ Siricius 36<sup>us</sup> antistes factus vixit annos XV.*

40 *Innocentius I*. Succeeded in A. D. 402: Tables p. 553. Liber pontificalis apud Acta Concil. tom. 3 p. 1 *Innocentius natione Albanensis ex patre Innocentio sedit annis XV mensibus II diebus XXI.—Hic invenit Pelagium et Celestium hæreticos et damnavit eos.—Sepultus est in cæmeterio Priscillæ ad Ursum pileatum V Kal. Aug.* Prosper in Chronico: *Præest annis XV mensibus II diebus XXI.* *Marcellinus: Vixit annos XV.* Gennadius c. 43 *Innocentius urbis Romæ episcopus scripsit decretum occidentalium ecclesiarum et orientalium adversus Pelagianos datum, quod postea successor ejus papa Zosimus latius promulgavit.*

Among the 34 epistles of *Innocentius* apud Acta Concil. tom. 3 are the following: Ep. 1 *Decentio.*

*Data XIV Kal. April. Theodosio Aug. VII et Palladio VV. CC. coss. A. D. 416. Ep. 2 p. 11 Victricio episcopo. Dat. XV Kal. Mart. Honorio Aug. VI et Aristæneto coss. A. D. 404. Ep. 3 Exuperio episcopo. p. 16 Dat. X Kal. Mart. Stilichone II et Anthemio VV. CC. coss. A. D. 405. Ep. 12 Aurelio episcopo. p. 25 Data IV Non. Junii Julio Quarto et Palladio VV. CC. coss. Lege Junio Quarto Palladio V. C. consule A. D. 416. Ep. 22 Episcopis Macedonia. p. 36 Datum Id. Dec. Constantio V. C. consule A. D. 414. Ep. 24 Concilio Carthaginensi. p. 47 Datum IV Kal. Feb. post consulatum Theodosii Aug. II [lege VII] et Juni Quarti V. C. A. D. 417. Ep. 25 ad Milevetanum concilium. p. 49 Datum VI Kal. Feb. Honorio et Constantio VV. CC. coss. A. D. 417.*

*Innocentius* is at Rome during the first siege in A. D. 408: Zosim. V. 41, 3 τῷ τῆς πόλεως ἐπισκόπῳ ἦν δὲ Ἰννοκέντιος. κ. τ. λ. At the second siege in 409 he is with *Honorius* at Ravenna: Idem V. 45, 9 τοῦ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπισκόπου τοῖς πρέσβεσι συναπαράντος. Sozom. IX. 7 πρεσβευσάμενον Ἰννοκετίου. Oros. VII. 39 *apud Ravennam tunc positus.*

41 *Zosimus.* Liber pontif. apud Acta Concil. tom. 3 p. 397 *Zosimus natione Græcus, ex patre Abranio, sedit annum I menses II dies undecim.—Sepultus est—VII Kal. Januar.—et cessavit episcopatus dies XI.* Prosper Chron. p. 399 *Theodosio VII et Palladio coss. [A. D. 416] Zosimus 39<sup>us</sup> Romanæ ecclesiæ episcopatum suscipit anno I mensibus IX diebus IX.*

As the 15<sup>y</sup> 2<sup>m</sup> 21<sup>d</sup> of *Innocentius* commenced according to Prosper himself in A. D. 402, they terminate in A. D. 417, and the succession of *Zosimus* is fixed to that year. The episcopate of 1<sup>y</sup> 9<sup>m</sup> 9<sup>d</sup> ends a day or two before Dec. 26 A. D. 418. The years 417, 418 are confirmed by the dates of his epistles.

*Zosimi* epistolæ apud Acta Concil. tom. 3 p. 399. Ep. 1 *Hesychio episcopo. p. 400 Data VIII Kal. Mart. Honorio XII et Theodosio VIII Augg. coss. A. D. 418. Ep. 2 Clero et presbyteris Ravennatum. Dat. V Non. Oct. Honorio XII et Theodosio VIII Augg. coss. Ep. 3 Ad Africanos episcopos. p. 402 Data . . . Honorio Aug. XI et Fl. Constantio coss. A. D. 417. Ep. 5 episcopis Gallie. p. 410 Data XI Kal. Apr. Honorio Aug. XI et Constantio II coss. Ep. 6 episcopis Africa &c. p. 412 Data sub die X Kal. Oct. Honorio Aug. XI et Constantio II coss. Ep. 7 episcopis provinciæ Viennensis ac Narbonensis. p. 413 Data III Kal. Oct. Honorio Aug. XI &c. Ep. 8 Hilario episcopo Narbonensi. p. 413 Data III Kal. Oct. Honorio Aug. XI &c. Ep. 9 Patroclo episcopo Arelatensi. p. 415 Data III Kal. Oct. Honorio Aug. XI &c. Ep. 10 Concilio Carthaginensi. p. 416 Data XII Kal. April. Honorio Aug. XII consule, accepta III Kal. Maias A. D. 418. Ep. 11 Patroclo episcopo Arelatensi. p. 417 Data III Non. Mart. Honorio XII et Theodosio VIII Augg. consulibus. Ep. 12 Massiliensibus. p. 417 Data III Non. Mart. Honorio XII &c. Ep. 13 episcopis per Byzantium*

*constitutis. p. 418 Data XVI Kal. Dec. Honorio VII [lege XII] et Theodosio VIII Augg. coss. Nov. 16 A. D. 418.*

42 *Bonifacius I.* Liber pontificalis apud Acta Conc. tom. 3 p. 433 *Bonifacius natione Romanus, ex patre Jocundo presbytero, sedit annos III menses VIII dies VII. Hic sub contentione ordinatur cum Eulalio. et fuit dissensio in clero menses VII dies XV.* Prosper Chron. p. 399 *Honorio XII et Theodosio VIII coss. A. D. 418 Bonifacius annis III mensibus VIII diebus VI.* As this period began at the close of December A. D. 418, it terminated in the beginning of September A. D. 422.

Three letters of *Bonifacius* are extant in Actis Conc. tom. 3 p. 434. Ep. 1 *Honorio Augusto. p. 435 Datum Kalendis Juliis. Ep. 2* Given above at p. 201 A. D. 419. Ep. 3 *Hilario episcopo Narbonensi. p. 438 Data V Id. Feb. dominis nostris Honorio XIII et Theodosio X Augg. coss. A. D. 422.*

43 *Cælestinus.* Liber pont. apud Acta Conc. tom. 3 p. 467 *Cælestinus natione Romanus ex patre Prisco sedit annis VIII [Pagius emendat VIII] mensibus X diebus XVII.* Prosper Chron. p. 400 *Mariniano et Asclepiodoto coss. [A. D. 423] Cælestinus XLI Romanæ ecclesiæ præsidet episcopus annis IX.* Idem apud Scaligerum *annis IX mens. X dieb. XVII.* Marcellinus A. D. 423 *Cælestinus—vixit annos IX.* Pagius tom. 2 p. 242 fixes the period to 9<sup>y</sup> 10<sup>m</sup> 9<sup>d</sup>, and, as this term commenced in September A. D. 422, it terminated in August A. D. 432.

Gennadius c. 54 *Cælestinus urbis Romæ episcopus decretum synodi adversus Nestorium habitum volumine describens ad orientis et occidentis ecclesias dedit, duabus in Christo manentibus perfecte naturis, unam Filii Dei credendam esse personam. Huic enim sententiæ supradictus Nestorius ostensus est esse contrarius. Similiter etiam Xystus successor Cælestini pro eadem re et ad ipsum Nestorium et ad orientis episcopos adversum errorem ejus succidendum sententias direxit.*

*Cælestini* epistolæ 14 apud Acta Concil. tom. 3 p. 469. Ep. 1 p. 469 *episcopis Gallie. Ep. 2 episcopis provinciæ Viennensis et Narbonensis. p. 481 Data VIII Kal. Aug. Flaviis Felice et Tauro V. C. consulibus. A. D. 428. Ep. 3 episcopis Apulie et Calabria. p. 482 Data III Kal. Aug. Florentio et Dionysio VV. CC. coss. A. D. 429. Ep. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9 in Actis Concilii Ephesini A. D. 431. Ep. 9 Theodosio imp. p. 484 Data Idibus Maii Basso et Antiocho coss. A. D. 431. Ep. 10 Cyrillo. p. 484 Data Nonis Maii Basso et Antiocho coss. Ep. 11 Synodica Ephesinæ synodo. p. 487 Data Idibus Martii Aetio et Valerio coss. A. D. 432. Ep. 12 Theodosio Aug. p. 489 Data Idibus Martii Flavio Aetio et Valerio VV. CC. coss. Ep. 13 Maximiano CP. p. 490 Data Idibus Martiis Flavio Aetio &c. Ep. 14 ad clerum et plebem CP. p. 495 Data Idibus Martii Flavio Aetio &c.*

44 *Sixtus III.* Liber pontificalis apud Acta Conc. tom. 4 p. 499 *Sixtus natione Romanus ex patre Sixto sedit annis VIII et diebus XIX. Hic post annum unum*



et menses VIII incriminatur a quodam Basso. Eodem tempore audiens hoc Valentinianus Augustus jussit concilium et sanctam synodum congregari. Et, facto conventu cum magna examinatione, per judicium synodicum purgatur a LVI episcopis. Prosper in Chron. p. 401 Aetio et Valerio coss. [A. D. 432] Romana ecclesia XLII præficitur episcopus Xistus annis VIII diebus XIX, totius urbis pace et consensu mirabili. Marcellinus: Valerio et Aetio coss. Romana ecclesie Xystus XLII episcopus ordinatus vixit annis VIII. He was succeeded by Leo in A. D. 440: Tables p. 626.

Hieronymus omits Marcellus (N<sup>o</sup> 29) whom he confounds with Marcellinus. Hence he numbers Marcellinus 28 and Eusebius 29. He omits again Felix II (N<sup>o</sup> 36) who presided during the exile of Liberius; and Liberius is called by Hieronymus the 34th instead of the 35th, Damasus the 35th instead of the 37th. From these omissions all the succeeding bishops of Rome are reckoned two below the real number in Prosper and Marcellinus.

52 (Marcellino 50) Hormisdas. Appointed A. D. 514, died A. D. 523: Tables p. 731. 741.

Among the epistles of Hormisdas apud Acta Conc. tom. 5 p. 561 are the following: Ep. 1 Anastasius Aug. Hormisdæ pontifici. p. 562 Data prid. Id. Jan. CP. et accepta Anthemio et Florentio VV. CC. coss. [A. D. 515] V Kal. April. per Patricium. Ep. 2 Hormisdæ episcopus Anastasio Augusto. p. 563 Data prid. Non. April. Florentio V. C. cos. Ante ep. 4 Anastasius Aug. Hormisdæ pontifici. p. 565 Data V Kal. Jan. CP. Senatore V. C. cos. [A. D. 514] accepta prid. Id. Maii Florentio V. C. cos. Ep. 4 Anastasio Aug. p. 566 Data VIII Id. Julii Florentio cos. Ep. 5 Hormisdæ episcopus Anastasio Aug. p. 571 Data III Id. Aug. Florentio V. C. cos. p. 573 Anastasius Aug. Hormisdæ papa per Theopompum et Severianum VV. CC.—Data XVII Kal. Aug. CP. Petro V. C. cos. A. D. 516. Ep. 6 Hormisdæ Anastasio Aug. p. 575 Data Romæ. p. 575 Epistola Anastasii ad senatum urbis Romæ per Theopompum et Severianum VV. CC.—Data V Kal. Aug. Chalcedone Petro V. C. cos. Ep. 7 Hormisdæ Joanni episcopo Nicopolitano. p. 579 Data XVII Kal. Dec. Petro V. C. cos. Ep. 8 Hormisdæ synodo Epiri veteris. p. 582 Data XIII Kal. Dec. Petro V. C. cos. Ep. 9 Hormisdæ Joanni Nicopolitano. Data VIII Kal. Dec. Petro V. C. cos. Regula fidei. p. 583 Data XV Kal. Apr. Agapeto V. C. cos. A. D. 517. p. 583 Avitus episcopus Viennensis Hormisdæ. p. 584 Accepta III Kal. Feb. Agapeto V. C. cos. Ep. 10 Hormisdæ episcopus Avito episcopo. p. 586 Data XV Kal. Mart. Agapeto cos. For Avitus see the Tables A. D. 517 p. 733. 735. Ep. 11 Hormisdæ Anastasio Aug. per Ennodium et Peregrinum episcopos. p. 588 Data III Non. April. Agapito V. C. cos. Ep. 12 Timotheo CP. episcopo. Data ut supra. Ep. 13 Commonitoria ad universos hæreticos episcopos orientis. p. 590 Data III Non. April. Agapito V. C. cos. Ep. 14 Episcopis orientis orthodoxis. p. 591 Data Agapito V. C. cos. 15 Possessori episcopo. p. 592 Data

III Non. April. Agapito V. C. cos. 16 ad populum et monachos CP. p. 593 Data III Non. Apr. Agapito V. C. cos. 17 Ennodio et Peregrino episcopis. p. 593 Data prid. Id. April. Agapito cos. 18 Iisdem. 19 Hormisdæ Anastasio Aug. 20 Joanni episcopo Nicopolitano. p. 595 Data V Non. Mart. Agapito V. C. cos. 21 Eidem. Data prid. Id. April. Agapito V. C. Data prid. Id. April. Agapito V. C. cos. Anastasius cos. 22 Dorotheo episcopo Thessalonicensi. p. 597 Aug. Hormisdæ papa. p. 598 Data V Id. Jul. CP. Anastasio Aug. IV et Agapito V. C. coss. p. 598 exemplum relationis minorum archimandritarum et ceterorum monachorum secundæ Syriæ ad Hormisdam. 23 Hormisdæ presbyteris diaconis et archimandritis secundæ Syriæ. cf. p. 1112.—p. 1119 Data IV Id. Feb. P. C. Agapeti V. C. A. D. 518. Ep. 24 Joanni Tarracoenensi episcopo. p. 603 Data IV Non. April. Agapito V. C. cos. 25 Universis episcopis Hispaniæ. p. 605 Data IV Non. April. Agapito &c. p. 610 Justinianus comes Hormisdæ papa. Ep. 30 Hormisdæ Casario Arelatensi. p. 612 Data VI Id. Sept. Florentio V. C. cos. A. D. 515. Ep. 31 p. 612 Justiniano Aug. Ep. 32 p. 614 Justino Aug. 33 p. 615 Euphemiæ Augustæ. 34. 35 Joanni CP. episcopo. 36 p. 618 Theodosio archidiacono CP. et universis catholicis a pari. 37 p. 618 Justiniano viro illustri. 38 Celeri et Patricio a pari. 39 præf. præf. Thessalonicensi. 40 Hormisdæ Anastasiæ et Palmatiæ a pari. p. 621 Exemplum libelli Joannis episcopi CP. Data mense Martio die XXVII indict. XII consensu domini Justini imp. Aug. Eutharico V. C. cos. A. D. 519. p. 626 Justinus imp. Hormisdæ. Datum V Kal. Maii CP. p. 627 Justinianus comes Hormisdæ. p. 628 Pompeius Hormisdæ, Juliana Anicia Hormisdæ, Anastasia Hormisdæ. p. 629 Theodoretus episcopus Ligidensis Hormisdæ. Accepta XIII Kal. Jul. domino Eutharico V. C. cos. Ep. 41 Hormisdæ Germano ceterisque legatis. Data VII Kal. Maias Eutharico V. C. cos. 42 Iisdem. Data III Kal. Maias Eutharico V. C. cos. 43 Iisdem. eodem die. 44 Justino Augusto. p. 632 Data VII Idus Julii Eutharico V. C. cos. 45 Joanni episcopo CP. p. 633 Data VII Idus Julii Eutharico V. C. cos. 46 Justiniano viro ill. Data consule superscripto. 47 Pompeio. 48 Aniciæ. 49 Anastasiæ. 50 Grato viro sublimi. 51 p. 635 episcopis per Hispaniam constitutis. 52 Germano ceterisque legatis. p. 636 Data Eutharico V. C. cos. 53 Dioscoro diacono. Data consule superscripto. 54 Eidem. Data supradicto consule. 56 Thomæ et Nicostrato episcopis. p. 638 Data quo supra consule. 56 Joanni episcopo et Dioscoro diacono. Data quo supra consule. 57 Justino Aug. 58 Euphemiæ Augustæ. 59 Justiniano viro illustri. 60 Germano viro ill. 62 Legatis Germano et Joanni episcopis &c. p. 642 Data III Id. Oct. Eutharico V. C. cos. 63 Legatis Germano &c. de Joanne CP. occiso. p. 644 Data III Non. Dec. Eutharico V. C. cos. p. 649 Justinianus V. C. Hormisdæ. 66 Hormisdæ Justiniano V. Ill. Data IV Non. Sept. Eutharico V. C. cos. 67 Eidem. p. 658 Justinianus Aug. [lege Justinus Aug.]



*Hormisdæ papæ. Data VII Id. Jun. CP. Vitaliano et Rustico coss. A. D. 519. p. 659 Justinus Aug. Hormisdæ. Euphemia Augusta Hormisdæ. p. 660 Celer vir illustris Hormisdæ. Juliana Anicia Hormisdæ. Ep. 68 Hormisdæ legatis suis. Data IV Id. Jul. Rustico V. C. coss. A. D. 520. 69 p. 661 Iisdem. Data Id. Jul. Rustico &c. p. 661 Relatio Possessoris episcopi Afri per Justinum diaconum episc. Accepta XV Kal. Aug. Rustico &c. 70 Hormisdæ Possessori episcopo. p. 664 Data Id. Aug. 71. 72 Epiphano CP. episcopo. p. 665 Relatio Epiphani. Accepta XV Kal. Oct. Rustico &c. p. 667 Justinianus vir ill. Hormisdæ. Accepta XV Kal. Oct. Rustico &c. p. 668 Relatio Epiphani. Accepta prid. Kal. Dec. Rustico &c. p. 670 Sacra Justini Aug. Data prid. Kal. Sept. CP. Accepta Roma Kal. Oct. Rustico &c. p. 670 Relatio Dorothei episcopi Thessalonicensis. Ep. 73 Dorotheo. Data IV Kal. Nov. Rustico &c. 74 Justino Aug. Data IV Kal. Nov. Rustico &c. p. 672 Justinus Aug. Hormisdæ papæ. Data Id. Sept. Chalcedone Rustico V. C. coss. Accepta prid. Kal. Dec. consule SS. 75 Hormisdæ Synodo CP. Data VII Kal. April. Valerio V. C. coss. A. D. 521. Gesta in causa Abundantii episcopi Trajanopolitani in scrinio habemus. Ep. 76 Epiphano episcopo CP. p. 677 Justinianus vir cl. Hormisdæ. p. 678 Justinianus vir cl. Hormisdæ. 77 Hormisdæ Justiniano viro ill. p. 679 Justinianus vir ill. Hormisdæ. 78 Hormisdæ Justino Aug. p. 682 Data VII Kal. April. Valerio V. C. coss. 79 Justino Aug. p. 684 Data VII Kal. April. Valerio &c. 80 Epiphano episcopo CP. conf. p. 1119—1125 Data VII Kal. April. Valerio &c.*

53 *Joannes I.* Succeeded A. D. 523, died A. D. 526. Tables p. 741. 745.

*Joannis epistolæ apud Acta Concil. tom. 5 p. 743. Ep. 1 Joannes Urbis Romæ episcopus Zachariæ archiepiscopo salutem. p. 745 Data XV Kal. Nov. Maximo et Olybrio VV. CC. coss. Lege Maximo V. C. coss. A. D. 523. 2 Joannes episcopus omnibus per provincias Italia constitutis episcopis. Data III Id. Jun. Maximo et Olybrio VV. CC. coss. Lege Maximo V. C. coss. Both were written in A. D. 523. In the consulship of Olybrius A. D. 526 the dates June 11 and Oct. 18 were after the death of Joannes.*

55 *Bonifacius II.* Succeeded *Felix IV* in A. D. 530, died in 532: Tables p. 753.

*Epistolæ apud Acta Concil. tom. 5 p. 827. Ep. 2 p. 830 Cesario Arelatensi episcopo. Data VIII Kal. Februar. Lampadio et Oreste VV. CC. consulibus A. D. 530. But as Felix was still living at Jan. 25, we may read VIII Kal. Januar. Dec. 25, or VIII Kal. Januar. Dec. 24.*

56 *Joannes II.* Appointed Jan. 1 A. D. 533: Tables p. 755.

*Epistolæ apud Acta Concil. tom. 5 p. 887. Ep. 3 p. 893 Athalaricus rex Joanni papæ. p. 895 Cassiodorus Joanni papæ. Ep. 3 Joannes ad Senatores. Ep. 4 p. 899 Universis episcopis per Gallias constitutis. Data VII Id. April. Flavio Paulino juniore V. C.*

*cos. A. D. 534. 5 Joannes presbyteris &c. Data VII Id. April. Paulino juniore V. C. coss. p. 900 Episcopi Africani Joanni. Ep. 6 Joannes Cesario Arelatensi.*

57 *Agapetus.* Appointed A. D. 535: Tables p. 763.

*Letters of Agapetus: Tables p. 765. Add Ep. 2 apud Acta Concil. tom. 5 p. 939 Agapetus episcopis Africanis. Data V Id. Sept. Ep. 3 Reparato. Data V Id. Sept. post cons. Paulini V. C. A. D. 535. Ep. 4 Justiniano Aug. Datum Id. Oct. Ep. 6 p. 945 Ep. 7 p. 946 Cesario Arelatensi episcopo. Data XV Kal. Aug. post cons. Paulini junioris V. C. p. 947 Secunda fidei confessio quam Justinianus obtulit pontifici Agapeto CP. Datum XVIII Kal. April. CP. Flavio Belisario V. C. consule. Lege post cons. Flavii Belisarii. sc. A. D. 536. Conf. Norisium tom. 3 p. 869. 870. Ep. 8 p. 948 p. 1010 Agapetus Petro Hierosolymitano episcopo de Anthimi depositione et Mennæ subrogatione.*

60 *Pelagius I.* Succeeded A. D. 555: Tables p. 805.

*Pelagii epistolæ apud Acta Concil. tom. 6 p. 463. See the Tables A. D. 556 p. 807. Add Ep. 2. 3. 4. 5 p. 467—470 all addressed Pelagius Narsæ patricio et duci in Italia. Ep. 13. 14 p. 477. 478 Childeberto regi. Ep. 16 p. 479 Childeberto regi Pelagius episcopus. In this epistle he adduces the first four General Councils, but not the fifth: Definitiones quæ in quatuor sanctis conciliis statuta sunt.*

65 *Sabinianus.* Liber pontificalis apud Acta Concil. tom. 6 p. 1349 *Sabinianus natione Tuscus de civitate Ulera ex patre Bono sedit annum unum menses V dies IX.—et cessavit episcopatus menses XI dies XXVI.* He succeeded Gregory in A. D. 604: see Pagi tom. 2 p. 722.

66 *Bonifacius III.* Liber pont. apud Acta Concil. tom. 6 p. 1351 *Bonifacius natione Romanus—sedit menses VIII dies XXVIII. Hic obtinuit apud Phocam principem ut sedes apostolica B. Petri apostoli caput esset omnium ecclesiarum, id est, ecclesia Romana, quia ecclesia CP. primam se omnium ecclesiarum scribebat.—Sepultus est—die XII mensis Novembris.—Et cessavit episcopatus menses X dies VI.* The periods of 1<sup>y</sup> 5<sup>m</sup> 9<sup>d</sup> and 11<sup>m</sup> 26<sup>d</sup> from the appointment of Sabinianus will place this pontificate in A. D. 607.

67 *Bonifacius IV.* See above c. 8 N<sup>o</sup> 315 note z p. 485. Liber pont. apud Acta Concil. tom. 6 p. 1353 *Bonifacius natione Marsorum de civitate Valeria, ex patre Joanne medico, sedit annos VI menses VIII dies XIII.* Appointed according to Pagi tom. 2 p. 728 Aug. 25 A. D. 608. He died imperante Domino Heractio, anno ejus V.: Epitaph. apud Pagium p. 741. Sc. A. D. 615.

68 *Deus dedit.* Liber pont. apud Acta Concil. tom. 6 p. 1385 *Deus dedit natione Romanus ex patre Stephano subdiacono sedit annos III dies XXIV.—Defunctus et sepultus est die VIII mensis Novembris—et cessavit episcopatus mensem unum dies XVI.* As he succeeded in A. D. 615, he died in November A. D. 618.

69 *Bonifacius V.* Liber pont. apud Acta Concil. tom. 6 p. 1395 *Bonifacius natione Campanus de civi-*



*tate Neapoli sedit annos V dies XIII.—Sepultus est die XXV mensis Octobris.—Et cessavit episcopatus menses VI dies XVIII.* The interval which followed the death of his predecessor was more than a year, and his episcopate commenced Dec. 23 A. D. 619 according to Pagi tom. 2 p. 756. He presided 5<sup>y</sup> 10<sup>m</sup>: Epitaphium apud Pagium p. 771

*Culmen apostolicum quinque et bis mensibus annis*

*Rexit, et ad magni culmen honoris abit.*

and Pagi determines his death to Oct. 22 A. D. 625.

70 *Honorius I.* Liber pont. apud Acta Conc. tom. 6 p. 1417 *Honorius natione Campanus ex patre Petronio consule sedit annos XII menses XI dies XVII. Hic temporibus suis multa bona fecit.—Sepultus est sub die IV Id. Oct. et cessavit episcopatus annum unum menses VII dies XVII.* Ordained Oct. 27 A. D. 625. five days after the death of his predecessor: Pagi p. 772.

Honorii epistolæ apud Acta Concil. tom. 6 p. 1422. Ep. 6 p. 1425 *Honorio Dorovernensi episcopo. Data die III Id. Junias imperantibus DD. NN. piissimis Augg. Heraclio anno XXIV, proconsulatus ejusdem anno XXIII, et consulatus ejus anno III, sed et Heraclio felicissimo Casare, id est, filio ejus anno III indictione VII, id est, anno Dominicæ incarnationis 633<sup>o</sup>.* The indiction and the year of *Heraclius* mark June of A. D. 634. Ep. 7 p. 1426 *episcopis per Epirum constitutis. Data Idus Decembres indictione XIV<sup>a</sup>.* December 13 A. D. 625.

71 *Severinus.* Liber pont. apud Acta Conc. tom. 6 p. 1503 *Severinus natione Romanus ex patre Abieno sedit menses duos dies IV.—Sepultus est IV Non. Aug. et cessavit episcopatus menses IV dies XXIX.* His pontificate is fixed to A. D. 640 by Pagi tom. 2 p. 814.

72 *Joannes IV.* Liber pont. apud Acta Concil. tom. 6 p. 1509 *Joannes natione Dalmata ex patre Venantio scholastico sedit annum unum menses IX dies XVIII.—Sepultus est sub die IV Id. Oct. et cessavit episcopatus mensem unum dies XIII.* Appointed Dec. 24 A. D. 640: Pagi tom. 2 p. 818.

73 *Theodorus.* Liber pont. apud Acta Conc. tom. 6 p. 1527 *Theodorus natione Græcus ex patre Theodoro episcopo de civitate Hierosolyma sedit annos VI menses V dies XVIII.—Sepultus est sub die II Id. Maii, et cessavit episcopatus dies LII.* The periods assigned under *Joannes IV.*, namely, 1<sup>y</sup> 9<sup>m</sup> 18<sup>d</sup> + 1<sup>m</sup> 13<sup>d</sup> = 1<sup>y</sup> 11<sup>m</sup>, computed from Dec. 24 A. D. 640 will fix the appointment of *Theodorus* at Nov. A. D. 642; and his episcopate of 6<sup>y</sup> 5<sup>m</sup> 18<sup>d</sup> is terminated at May A. D. 649.

74 *Martinus I.* Liber pont. apud Acta Conc. tom. 7 p. 1 *Martinus de civitate Tudertina provincia Tuscia sedit annos VI mensem I dies XXVI. Hujus temporibus Paulus CP. episcopus—audacter præsumpsit patennis definitionibus contraire &c.—Martinus congregavit episcopos in urbem Romam numero CV [CL Theophanes] et fecit synodum—juxta episcopium Lateranense. Sedentibus episcopis et presbyteris, adstantibus diaconis et clero universo, condemnaverunt Cyrum Alex-*

*andrinum Sergium Pyrrhum et Paulum patriarchas CP.* [see above c. 8 N<sup>o</sup> 321 p. 488]—*Depositus die XVI mensis Septembris, et cessavit episcopatus dies XXVIII.* The preceding interval of 55 days brings the appointment of *Martinus* to July A. D. 649. According to authorities quoted by Pagi tom. 3 p. 13. 14 he died in his exile in Cherson *in mense Septembrio die XVI<sup>a</sup> indictione XIV<sup>a</sup>* Sept. 16 A. D. 655. Whence Pagi p. 14 assigns 6<sup>y</sup> 2<sup>m</sup> 12<sup>d</sup> to his pontificate, including the term of his exile. For particulars of his imprisonment and exile see below *Bishops of CP.* 36 *Paulus.*

75 *Eugenius I.* Liber pont. apud Acta Conc. tom. 7 p. 445 *Eugenius natione Romanus—clericus a cunabulis, ex patre Ruffiniano, sedit annos II menses VIII dies XXIV.—Sepultus est sub die IV Non. Junii. et cessavit episcopatus mensem I dies XXIX.* His election in the absence of *Martinus* is fixed by Pagi tom. 3 p. 17 to Sept. 8 A. D. 654 and his death to June 1 A. D. 657.

76 *Vitalianus.* Liber pont. apud Acta Conc. tom. 7 p. 457 *Vitalianus natione Signiensis provinciæ Campanie de patre Anastasio sedit annos XIV menses VI.—Sepultus est sub die VI Kal. Feb. Et cessavit episcopatus menses II dies XIII.* The interval of 1<sup>m</sup> 29<sup>d</sup> brings the succession of *Vitalianus* to July 30 A. D. 657. His episcopate of 14<sup>y</sup> 6<sup>m</sup> brings his death to *VI Kal. Feb.* A. D. 672. Among his epistles Ep. 2. 3. 4 apud Acta Concil. p. 461. 462 are dated *VI Kal. Feb. Indict. II.* Jan. 27 A. D. 659.

77 *A Deo datus.* Liber pont. apud Acta Concil. tom. 7 p. 537 *A Deo datus natione Romanus ex monachis, de patre Jobiniano, sedit annos IV menses II dies V.—Sepultus est sub die VI Kal. Jul. Et cessavit episcopatus menses IV dies XV.* The preceding interval of 2<sup>m</sup> 13<sup>d</sup> will place his appointment at April A. D. 672. His 4<sup>y</sup> 2<sup>m</sup> 5<sup>d</sup> terminate at *VI Kal. Jul.* A. D. 676, which carries back the beginning to 22 Ap. 672, and Pagi tom. 3 p. 57 enlarges the preceding interval to 2<sup>m</sup> 25<sup>d</sup>.

Pagi fixes the days of each bishop's accession. But we cannot be certain in all cases of the precise day. 1 The years and months and days assigned in the *liber pontificalis* are often variously given in different copies; and, although the year and the month may be fixed from other testimony, yet the days must remain often uncertain. 2 The day of a bishop's death is often called the day of the funeral. 3 The day of accession and day of the death are sometimes included in the episcopate, but sometimes reckoned to the *dies interpontificiales*. See Pagi tom. 2 p. 414. 4 Pagi endeavours so to adjust the periods as to place the ordination on a *Sunday*. But he himself admits that this rule was not always observed.

Pagi tom. 2 p. 686 "Anastasio seu, ut verius loquar, auctori libri pontificalis."—"Plures auctores" tom. 2 p. 490. Geiseler Vol. 1 p. 373 "The collection of *vita paparum Rom.* is by very different authors, but two general divisions may be observed.



the 1st consists of short notices of each pope, and ends with *Sisinnius* [A. D. 708], soon after whose time it was compiled; the 2nd beginning with *Con-*

*stantine* [A. D. 709—715] gives copious biographies, and contains important materials for ecclesiastical history in general."

## 2 Bishops of Alexandria.

1 *Annianus*. Euseb. H. E. II. 24 Νέρωνος δὲ ὕδου ἀγοντος τῆς βασιλείας ἔτος, πρῶτος μετὰ Μάρκον τὸν ἀποστολον καὶ εὐαγγελιστὴν τῆς ἐν Ἀλεξάνδρειᾳ παροικίας Ἀννιανὸς τὴν λειτουργίαν διαδέχεται, ἀνὴρ θεοφιλῆς ὢν καὶ τὰ πάντα θαυμάσιος. Idem Chron. apud Hieronymum. Anno 2078 [A. D. 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ ] *Neronis 8<sup>o</sup> post Marcum evangelistam primus Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ ordinatur episcopus Annianus, qui præfuit annis XXII.* Conf. Syn-cellum p. 336 B.

2 *Abilius*. Euseb. H. E. III. 14 τετάρτῳ μὲν οὖν ἔτει Δομετιανοῦ τῆς κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν παροικίας ὁ πρῶτος Ἀννιανὸς δύο πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσιν ἀποπλήσας ἔτη τελευτᾷ, διαδέχεται δ' αὐτὸν δεύτερος Ἀβίλιος. Idem Chron. apud Hieron. Anno 2100 [A. D. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ ] *Domitiani 4<sup>o</sup> Secundus Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ constituitur episcopus Abilius, qui præfuit annis XIII.*

3 *Cerdon*. Euseb. III. 21 Τραϊανῷ πρῶτον ἔτος ἦν, ἐν ᾧ τῆς κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν παροικίας Ἀβίλιον δέκα πρὸς τρισὶν ἔτεσιν ἡγησάμενον διαδέχεται Κέρδων, τρίτος οὗτος τῶν αὐτόθι μετὰ τὸν πρῶτον Ἀννιανὸν πρόεστη. Idem Chron. Armen. Hieron. Anno 2113 [A. D. 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ ] *Nervæ 1<sup>o</sup> Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ tertius episcopus Cerdon annis XI.*

4 *Primus*. Euseb. H. E. IV. 1 ἀμφὶ δὲ τὸ δωδέκατον τῆς Τραϊανῷ βασιλείας ἔτος, ὁ μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἡμῖν τῆς ἐν Ἀλεξάνδρειᾳ παροικίας δηλωθεὶς ἐπίσκοπος τὴν ζῶην μεταλλάττει, τέταρτος δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων τὴν τῶν αὐτόθι λειτουργίαν κληροῦται Πρίμος. Idem Chron. Armen. Anno 2124 [A. D. 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ ] *Trajanæ 11<sup>o</sup> Primus annis XII.* Apud Hieron. anno 2122 *Trajanæ 9<sup>o</sup>.*

5 *Justus*. Euseb. H. E. IV. 4 ἔτει δὲ τρίτῳ τῆς (Ἀδριανῷ) ἡγεμονίας—Πρίμον μεταλλάξαντα δωδεκάτῳ τῆς προστασίας ἔτει διαδέχεται Ἰουστὸς. Idem Chron. Armen. Anno 2136 [A. D. 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ ] *Hadriani 4<sup>o</sup> Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ quintus episcopus præficitur Justus annis XI.*

6 *Eumenes*. Euseb. H. E. IV. 5 ἤδη δὲ δωδέκατον ἐχούσης ἔτος τῆς ἡγεμονίας Ἀδριανῷ, Ξύστον—διαδέχεται Τελεσφόρος· ἐνιαυτοῦ δὲ μετὰ καὶ μηνῶν διαγενομένου, τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων παροικίας τὴν προστασίαν Εὐμένης ἕκτῳ κλήρῳ διαδέχεται, τοῦ πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἔτεσιν ἔνδεκα διαρκέσαντος. Idem Chron. Armen. Anno 2147 [A. D. 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ ] *Hadriani 15<sup>o</sup> Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ sextus episcopus Eumenes annis XIII.* Hieron. (ubi male *Hymenæus*) anno 2146 *Hadriani 14<sup>o</sup>.*

*Hadrian* in epistola apud Vopiscum p. 960 at this time calls the bishop of Alexandria the *patriarch*: *Ipse ille patriarcha* &c. See above c. 1 p. 20.

7 *Marcus*. 8 *Celadion*. Euseb. H. E. IV. 11 κατὰ γὰρ μὴν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν Μάρκος ἀναδείκνυται ποιμὴν, Εὐμενοῦς ἔτη τὰ πάντα δέκα πρὸς τρισὶν ἐκπλήσαντος. τοῦ δὲ Μάρκου ἐπὶ δέκα ἔτη τῆς λειτουργίας ἀναπανασαμένου, Κελαδίων τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐκκλησίας τὴν λειτουργίαν παραλαμβάνει. Idem Chron. apud Hieronymum: Anno 2159 [A. D. 14 $\frac{3}{4}$ ] *Antonini 6<sup>o</sup> Alexandria septimus episcopus*

*patus suscepit Marcus annis X.* Idem Chron. Hieron. Anno 2165 [A. D. 1 $\frac{3}{8}$ ] *Antonini 12<sup>o</sup> Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ octavus episcopus præfuit Celadion ann. XIV.* Idem Armen. Anno 2171 [A. D. 15 $\frac{5}{8}$ ] *Antonini 18<sup>o</sup> octavus Celadion annis XIV.*

9 *Agrippinus*. Euseb. H. E. IV. 19 ἤδη δὲ εἰς ὕδου ἐλαυνούσης ἔτος τῆς δηλουμένης ἡγεμονίας [*Marc*ι]—τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων παροικίας Κελαθίωνος τέταρτον ἐπὶ δέκα ἔτεσιν προστάτης, τὴν διαδοχὴν Ἀγριππίνου διαλαμβάνει. Idem Chron. Armen. Anno 2185 [A. D. 1 $\frac{3}{8}$ ] *Marc*ι 9<sup>o</sup> *Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ [duodecimus] episcopus Agrippinus annis IX.* Idem apud Hieron. Anno 2182 [A. D. 16 $\frac{3}{4}$ ] *Marc*ι 6<sup>o</sup> *Alex. eccl. nonus episcopus præfuit Agrippinus ann. XII.*

10 *Julianus*. Tables A. D. 180 p. 179. Euseb. Chron. Armen. Anno 2197 [A. D. 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ ] *Commodi 2<sup>o</sup> decimus Julianus annis X.* Apud Hieron. Anno 2195 [A. D. 1 $\frac{7}{8}$ ] *Marc*ι 19<sup>o</sup> *decimus Julianus ann. X.*

24 *Timotheus I*. Present at the second Council A. D. 381. Tables p. 501. Nicephorus p. 416 D Τιμόθεος ὁ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ συνόδῳ ἔτη ἡ. *Timotheus* has also 8 years in Theophanes p. 56 C *Theodosii 1<sup>o</sup>* [A. D. 379] Πέτρου τελευτήσαντος Τιμόθεος ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ [Τιμόθεον ἀδελφὸν ἑαυτοῦ *Socrat. IV. 37*] ἀντ' αὐτοῦ χειροτονεῖται τῆς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἐκκλησίας τῶν ὀρθοδόξων ἐπίσκοπος. Placed too low in Theophanes, who places also the succession of *Theophilus* too low. See the Tables p. 517. As the 8 years of *Timotheus* terminated in July A. D. 385, they commenced in 377.

29 *Timotheus II* *Ælurus*, 30 *Timotheus III* *Salochialus*.

*Timotheus II* succeeded in A. D. 457: Tables p. 649. Expelled in 460: Leo Romanus Ep. 137 *Leonis Aug. June 17 A. D. 460* (Tables p. 661) *omnes ecclesiæ Dei lætari quod ab Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ jugo improbus parricida depulsus est &c. Nunc ergo—illud adjungite ut de catholico civitatis illius præseulo quod Deo placeat decernatis.* Idem Ep. 138 *Gennadio June 17 A. D. 460 Agnovi Timotheum postquam ecclesiæ Alexandrinæ civitatis expulsus est CP., nonnullis hoc fidei adversariis agentibus, venire permissum.* His successor *Timotheus III* is addressed by Leo Ep. 139 *Timotheo episcopo catholico Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ Aug. 18 A. D. 460. Victor Tun. Magno et Apollonio coss. [A. D. 460] Timotheus episcopus interfecto Proterii episcopi Leonis principis præcepto vi a sede Alexandrinæ raptus ecclesiæ Chersona exilio relegatur, et post menses V eidem Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ alius pro eo Timotheus cognomento Solafratatus synodi Chalcedonensis defensor episcopus ordinatur.* Theophanes p. 96 B C *Leonis 3<sup>o</sup>* [A. D. 4 $\frac{3}{8}$ ] τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει—Τιμόθεον καταψηφίζονται ὡς φονεὸς καὶ αἰρετικὸς—ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τὸν μὲν Αἰλοῦρον ἐξώρισεν εἰς Γάγγραν ἔνθα ὁ Διόσκορος ὁ τούτου διδάσκαλος. ὁ αὐτὸς δὲ ἐκεῖ ἤρξατο παρσωναγωγὰς ποιεῖν καὶ παραχὰς ἄς μαθῶν



ὁ βασιλεὺς μετεξώρισεν αὐτὸν ἐν Χερσῶνι<sup>a</sup>. Τιμόθεος δὲ ἄλλος, ἐπικλῆν Λευκός, ὁ καὶ Σαλοφακιάλος, ὀρθόδοξος καὶ ἀγαθὸς ἀνὴρ, ὑπὸ πάντων φιλούμενος, ἐχειροτονήθη ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ἐπίσκοπος Ἀλεξανδρείας. From the date of Leo's epistle we may collect that *Timotheus III* was appointed in July, and the preceding five months will carry back the expulsion of *Timotheus II* to Feb. A. D. 460. He was restored by *Basiliscus* in A. D. 476: Victor Tun. *Post cons. Leonis junioris* [A. D. 475] *Timotheus episcopus cognomento Aelurus—ab exilio Chersona rediit, et fugato alio Timotheo Salafatiatio—Alexandrinam ecclesiam etiam pervadit.* Theophanes p. 104 A *Zenonis I* [A. D. 474] βασιλικός—Τιμόθεον τὸν Αἰλουρον ἀνεκαλέσατο διὰ τύπου καὶ Πέτρον τὸν Γραφία κρυπτόμενον ἐν τῇ μονῇ τῶν ἀκοιμήτων—Βασιλικός δὲ τούτου [*Timotheus*] μετὰ τύπων εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν κατὰ τῆς συνόδου ἐξέπεμψεν, καὶ Πέτρον Γραφία εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν.—Τιμόθεος δὲ ὁ Σαλοφακιάλος ἐπίσκοπος Ἀλεξανδρείας μαθὼν Τιμόθεον τὸν Αἰλουρον παραγενέσθαι ὑπεχώρησεν ἐν τοῖς μοναστηρίοις τῆς Κατώπου. *Zeno* fled at the close of 475, and *Basiliscus* might make these appointments in the beginning of 476. *Timotheus II* died in 477: Victor Tun. *Post cons. Armati V. C.* [A. D. 477] *Timotheus Aelurus—moritur et Alexandrinæ ecclesie præsulatum alius Timotheus Salafatiatus—resumit.* Theophanes p. 107 D *Zenonis 3<sup>o</sup>* [A. D. 476] Τιμόθεος δὲ ὁ Αἰλουρος ἐν τούτοις θήσκει, ἀντ' αὐτοῦ δὲ Πέτρος ὁ Μογγὸς εἰσάγεται, ἀνὴρ κακοῦργος καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐχθρὸς, προκαθηρημένος ἤδη.—τούτῳ κατὰ θεῖον ζῆλον ἐπελθόντες οἱ μοναχοὶ λς' μόνas ἡμέρας ληστρικῶς κρατήσαντι τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἀπελαύνουσι· καὶ Τιμόθεον πάλιν τὸν Σαλοφακιάλον ἀποκαριστώσιν ἀξίως τῷ θρόνῳ. *Liberatus* in breviario c. 16 apud Acta Concil. tom. 6 p. 444 *Exilio relegatur Timotheus Aelurus Chersonam arcta custodia et fit pro Proterio Timotheus cognomento Salophaciolus sive Asbus. Hic Timotheus catholicorum episcopus vixit quidem sine seditione quiete in Alexandrina ecclesia omni tempore Leonis et omni tempore Zenonis, donec Basiliscus arripuit tyrannidem Zenone in Isauriam fugiente.—Tunc enim Basilisco reddente episcopatum Timotheo Aeluro, et hæreticis sedibus suis restituitis, fugit Timotheus catholicus in Canopi castellum et in monasterio latuit.—Zeno reversus est ad imperium; Timotheus Aelurus metuens zelum quem habebat circa Chalcedonense concilium optavit sibimet mortem, et istud perseveranter orans ab humana vita hausto veneno sublatus est.—Post cujus obitum ordinauerunt sibi hæretici episcopum Petrum cognomento Moggum.—Morabatur autem tunc Timotheus catholicus (ut dictum est) in Canopo castello. Et cognoscens Zeno imperator calliditatem hæreticorum scripsit Anthemio augustali, ut Petrum quidem sacerdotio privaret Timotheum vero in episcopatum reduceret et auctores inthronizati Petri puniret.* Gennadius c. 72 supposed *Timotheus Aelurus* to be still living in 492: *Vivere adhuc in exilio jam hæresiarcha dicitur et habetur.* That this was an error appears from *Liberatus Theophanes* and *Victor*.

*Timotheus III* died in A. D. 482: *Simplicii Romani Ep. 17 July 15 A. D. 482 (Tables p. 695) Ad nos ex more relatio missa patefecit—obiisse Timotheum, inque ejus vicem consona fidelium voluntate Joannem—subrogatum.* His death therefore may be referred to June A. D. 482. Placed too high in *Victor Tun. Post cons. Zenonis III* [A. D. 480] *Timotheus cognomento Salafatiatus synodi Chalcedonensis defensor moritur, et pro eo Alexandrinæ ecclesie Joannes—episcopus ordinatur. Quem Zenonis præcepto principis Petrus, qui superstate Timotheo Salafatiatio episcopo ab hæreticis fuerat ordinatus, ejiciens Alexandrinam ecclesiam pervadit.* Theophanes p. 110 D *Zenonis 7<sup>o</sup>* [A. D. 480] —ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Τιμόθεος ὁ Σαλοφακιάλος ἐτελεύτησεν, καὶ ἐχειροτονήθη Ἰωάννης ὁ Ταβεννισιώτης, ἀνὴρ σοφὸς καὶ τῶν ὀρθῶν δογμάτων ὑπέρμαχος. *Liberatus* c. 16. 17 tom. 6 p. 445 *Post breve vero tempus moritur Timotheus Salophaciolus anno episcopatus sui XXIII<sup>o</sup> mense sexto, obiit autem sine molestia. ordinatur autem a communicatoribus ejus episcopis et clericis et monachis—Joannes ex œconomō cognomento Talaia.* But from the first appointment of *Timotheus III* in July 460 to his death about June 482 are only 22 years complete, instead of 22<sup>y</sup> 6<sup>m</sup>.

31. 32 *Joannes I.* Was appointed in June A. D. 482. On his appointment see *Zacharias* quoted above at p. 480 note. But *Petrus Mongus* was preferred by *Zeno*: *Simplicii Ep. 17 (July 15 A. D. 482) Illud me non mediocriter fecit attonitum quod iisdem literis suis Petrum, qui hæreticorum socius dudum existisse probatur et princeps,—ad præfata ecclesie regimen existimet provehendum.* Related at a wrong year by *Theophanes* p. 112 B *Zenonis 11<sup>o</sup>* [A. D. 484] οἱ Πέτρον τοῦ Μογγοῦ σπουδασταὶ διὰ χρημάτων καὶ φενακισμῶν ἐπεισαν Ζήνωνα ἐκβληθῆναι Ἰωάννην—καὶ Πέτρον τὸν Μογγὸν πάλιν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀπὸ Εὐχαίτων ὑποστρέψαν· τότε καὶ ἐνωτικὸν ἐποίησε Ζήνων καὶ πανταχοῦ ἐξέπεμψεν.—καὶ ἔγραψεν Ἀκάκιος τοῖς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ δέξασθαι τὸν Μογγὸν καὶ Ἰωάννην ἀποβαλέσθαι. Ἰωάννης δὲ—σοφῶς καὶ ἀταραχῶς ἐξῆλθε. On the expulsion of *Joannes* and the appointment of *Petrus* see *Liberatus* c. 17 tom. 6 p. 445. 446, who concludes *Joannes Talaia judicatur a Zenone ab episcopatu pelli. Acacius auxilio patronorum persuasit Zenoni ut fieret Henoticon.—Henoticon vero Zenonis—hujusmodi est &c.* Given by *Liberatus* c. 18. The death of *Petrus* is recorded by *Theophanes* p. 115 B in the 16th of *Zeno* A. D. 489: τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει Πέτρος ὁ Μογγὸς ἀπέθανεν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, καὶ Ἀθανάσιος ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ἐχειροτονήθη ὁ ἐπικλῆν Κηλίτης. *Victor Tun. Post cons. III Longini V. C.* [A. D. 490] *Petrus Alexandrinæ incubator ecclesie sub damnatione moritur. cujus episcopatum simul et errorem suscepit Anastasius [lege Athanasius].* On *Petrus Mongus* see *Damascius* in vita *Isidori* apud *Photium* p. 1057, and *Liberatus* in breviario c. 18 tom. 6 p. 448. 449.

33 *Athanasius II.* His appointment is placed by *Victor* in A. D. 490. His death in 495: *Victor Tun. Anastasio et Rufo coss.* [A. D. 492] *Alexandrinæ ec-*

<sup>a</sup> Conf. Procopium *Edif.* III. 7 p. 63 A.



*clesiæ Athanasius præerat hæreticus. Idem Victore V. C. cos. [A. D. 495] Athanasio Alexandrino mortuo, Johannes cognomento Hemula succedit; quo occumbente post paucos dies ei Johannes alius cognomento Niceta succedit episcopus.* Theophanes gives the following datè: p. 115 B his accession in A. D. 489. p. 121 A Anastasii 6<sup>o</sup> [A. D. 496] τῷ δ' αὐτῷ ἔρει Ἀθανασίου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Ἀλεξανδρείας τελευτήσαντος ἐχειροτονήθη Ἰωάννης ὁ Μοναζῶν πρεσβύτερος καὶ οἰκονόμος, ὁ ἐπὶ κλην Ἡμοῦλα. He presided 7 years current: Severus apud Renaudot p. 125 *Mortuo Petro ordinatus est in ejus locum Athanasius ecclesiæ cujusdam Alexandria præpositus, vir bonus et plenus Spiritu Sancto, qui munere sibi credito præclare functus est. Nulla ejus tempore persecutio, turbæ nullæ ecclesiam agitaverunt. Sedit annos 7 obiitque 20<sup>a</sup> mensis Thoth.* Pagi tom. 2 p. 453 quoting the same authority from which Severus drew thus expresses the time: "In historia Coptitarum legitur Athanasium episcopum Alexandrinum sedisse cum Petro Mongo, obiisseque die 20<sup>a</sup> mensis Thoth die Martis, postquam eam ecclesiam administrasset annos VI dies CCXXIII." Pagi adds "Dies 20<sup>a</sup> mensis Thoth concurret cum die 17<sup>a</sup> Septembris in quam anno 496 feria tertia incidebat." The death of Athanasius is therefore fixed to Sept. 17 A. D. 496, and his 6<sup>y</sup> 223<sup>d</sup> commence at Feb. 7 A. D. 490. Liberatus in breviario c. 18 apud Acta Concil. tom. 6 p. 450 thus speaks of Athanasius: *Athanasio hæretico tempus episcopatus sui complente, post eum ordinatur Joannes cognomento Mela, qui et ipse secutus Petrum et Athanasium præcessores, et in Edicto Unitivo [sc. ἐνωτικῷ] communicavit aliis sedibus, id est, CP.<sup>æ</sup> et Antiochenæ et Hierosolymitana.*

34 *Joannes II.* Succeeded in September A. D. 496. His death is thus given by Theophanes p. 127 D Anastasii 15<sup>o</sup> [A. D. 505] Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Ἀλεξανδρείας τελευτήσαντος, Ἰωάννης ὁ Νικαίου χριροτονεῖται ἀν' αὐτοῦ. Theophanes assigns 9 years to *Joannes II.* Also 9 years in Eutychius tom. 2 p. 132: *Johannes monachus patriarcha Alexandrinus, qui Jacobita fuit, sedit annos IX dein mortuus est.* Pagi tom. 2 p. 470 "Auctor historiæ patriarcharum Coptitarum testatur eum ecclesiam Alexandrinam rexisse annos VIII et dies CCXXIV, et IV<sup>o</sup> Bescinas, die Veneris, vitam cum morte commutasse, seu 29<sup>a</sup> Aprilis, quæ anno 505 in feriam sextam cadebat." The 8<sup>y</sup> 224<sup>d</sup> are Sept. 18 A. D. 496—Ap. 29 A. D. 505 both inclusive. Renaudot p. 126 "Elmacinus annos 9 numerat, vacasseque ait sedem anno uno post ejus mortem."

35 *Joannes III.* Theophanes gives him 11 years and thus assigns his death p. 139 Anastasii 26<sup>o</sup> [A. D. 516] τοῦτῳ τῷ ἔρει Ἰωάννου τοῦ Νικαίου ἐπισκόπου Ἀλεξανδρείας αἰρετικῷ ἀποθανόντος, Διόσκορος ὁ μικρὸς Τιμοθέου τοῦ Αἰλοῦρου ἀνεψιὸς προεβλήθη ἐπίσκοπος Ἀλεξανδρείας. Eutychius gives 11 years tom. 2 p. 132 *Johannes alter patriarcha Alexandrinus qui etiam Jacobita, et cum annos XI sedisset mortuus est.* Victor Tun. by mistake had placed his succession at A. D. 495, and at A. D. 497 mentions him again: *Anastasio*

*Aug. cos. Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ Joannes cognomento Niceta adhuc præsidebat.* But places his death at A. D. 517: *Agapeto V. C. cos. Joannes Alexandrinus episcopus moritur, et pro eo Dioscorus ordinatur.* Pagi tom. 2 p. 496 fixes the time: "Auctor historiæ patriarcharum Coptitarum ait eum sedisse annos XXI et dies XXIII, et defunctum esse 27<sup>a</sup> Bescinas die Luna, seu die 22<sup>o</sup> Maii, qui anno 517 in feriam secundam incidebat.—Reponendi anni XI." The 11<sup>y</sup> 23<sup>d</sup> are at Ap. 30 A. D. 506 May 22 A. D. 517. Severus apud Renaudot. p. 127 *Sedit Joannes annis XI obiitque 27<sup>a</sup> mensis Pachon.* Confirming the emendation of Pagi. But Pagi has omitted to observe that from Ap. 29 A. D. 505 where he places the death of *Joannes II* to May 22 A. D. 517, where he places the death of *Joannes III*, are twelve years and 23 days. Which will be explained if we admit the interval of one year recorded by Elmacin apud Renaudot. p. 226. Liberatus c. 18 p. 451 *Post quem [sc. Jo. Melam] ordinatus est Alexandria Joannes Machiota [l. Niceta], qui etiam ipse suos priores secutus est, suscipiens quidem Unitivum Zenonis Edictum, non autem Chalcedonense concilium.—Mortuo Joanne Alexandria, ordinatur Dioscorus junior, sub quo interfectus est a populo Theodosius augustalis filius Calliopi.*

36 *Dioscorus II.* Succeeded in May A. D. 517. He has 3 years in Theophanes p. 140 C 141 B. Mentioned p. 141 C at the 1st year of *Justin* A. D. 518. Victor Tun. *Valerio et Justiniano coss. [A. D. 521] Alexandria ecclesiæ Dioscoro episcopo mortuo Timotheus succedit.* Renaudot p. 129 "Hæc habet Severus: *Joannes a secretis et epistolis habuerat virum omnibus animi dotibus insignem, pium, humilem, Dioscorum nomine, cui inter ecclesiasticos similis erat nullus; illum igitur Alexandrini ordinarunt sibi patriarcham.—Sedit Dioscorus ann. III, vel, ut habet alia ejus vita, annum unum menses sex, obiitque 17 mensis Paophi seu Babæ.* Elmacinus, qui nihil habet præter ejus nomen et successionem post obitum Joannis, sedisse ait illum annos II menses V, atque ita Makrizius, *Chronicon annos duo dies 146. Abulbircat annos duos menses IV obiisseque ait—17<sup>a</sup> Paophi.*" From May 22 inclusive the 146 days will terminate at Oct. 14 which is the 17th of *Phaophi*, the day assigned for the death of *Dioscorus*. And the 2<sup>y</sup> 146<sup>d</sup> are at May 22 A. D. 517—Oct. 14 A. D. 519 both inclusive.

37 *Timotheus IV.* Succeeded *Dioscorus* in Oct. A. D. 519. See the Tables A. D. 567 p. 823 for *Timotheus* and his successors. Pagi there quoted tom. 2 p. 554 fixes the death of *Dioscorus* at Oct. 8 because he had read 10<sup>a</sup> *Babæ* in his copy: p. 506 "Vita functus est *Dioscorus junior* 10<sup>a</sup> *Babæ die Martis, inquit auctor historiæ patriarcharum Coptitarum postquam sedisset annos II dies CXLVI.* Verum legendum die XI<sup>a</sup> *Babæ* seu 8<sup>a</sup> *Octobris* quæ anno 519 in feriam tertiam incidit. Præterea legendum dies CXL." But the numbers in Renaudot, 17<sup>a</sup> *Babæ* and dies 146, correspond, and confirm each other; and for *feria tertia* we may substitute *feria secunda*.



40 *Paulus*. Succeeded *Theodosius* at the close of A. D. 538. Tables p. 823. Liberatus c. 23 *Postquam ergo Theodosius Alexandrinus in exilium missus est, Paulus quidam unus abbatum Tabennensium monachorum ad Alexandrinam sedem ordinatur episcopus.—Plane orthodoxus, suscipiens Chalcedonensem synodum. Ordinatus est a Menna CP. presente Pelagio responsario Vigilii, et apocrisiarius Euphræmii Antiocheni et apocrisiarius Petri Hierosolymorum.* Theophanes p. 188 A *Justiniani* 14<sup>o</sup> [A. D. 541] τῷ δ' αὐτῷ ἔτει Τιμοθέου ἐπισκόπου Ἀλεξανδρείας τελευτήσαντος, Σεύηρος ὁ δυσσεβῆς Ἀντιοχείας μοιχὸς πρόεδρος καὶ Ἰουλιανὸς ὁ Ἀλικαρνασεὺς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ φυγόντες περὶ φθαρτοῦ τε καὶ ἀφθάρτου διενεχθέντες κατ' ἀλλήλων γεγόνασιν—καὶ οἱ μὲν Θεοδοσίον οἱ δὲ Γαϊῶν προεβάλλοντο εἰς ἐπίσκοπον Ἀλεξανδρείας· καὶ Γαϊῶν μὲν ἐκράτησε τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἐνιαυτὸν ὁ δὲ Θεοδοσίος δύο· τούτους δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς πέμψας ἤγαγεν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ—Παῦλον δὲ τινα δοκούμενον εἶναι ὀρθόδοξον ἐπίσκοπον Ἀλεξανδρείας προεβάλετο. Theophanes has placed these facts at too low a date. See the Tables p. 823. Victor Tun. *Basilio V. C. cos.* [A. D. 541] *Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ Theodosio atque Gaiano exulatis Paulus—a defensoribus synodi Chalcedonensis ordinatur episcopus, qui Dioscori hæretici prædecessoris sui depositionem celebrans Palæstino concilio deponitur, et pro illo Zoilus ordinatur episcopus.*

If, according to Victor, *Zoilus* succeeded in 541, *Paulus* had something more than two years. De *Paulo* Procopius Hist. Arcan. c. 27 τοῦ φόνου ἐηλεγμένου Παύλου τῆς ἱερωσύνης εὐθὺς καθεῖλον, φυγόντα δὲ Ῥόδωνα ἐς Βυζάντιον τὴν τε κεφαλὴν ἀφεῖλον κ. τ. λ.

41 *Zoilus*. Theophanes p. 188 D *Justiniani* 16<sup>o</sup> [A. D. 543] Ζωῖλος ἔτη ζ'.—*α'*. p. 192 A *Justiniani* 23<sup>o</sup> [A. D. 550] Ἀπολιναρίος ἔτη ιθ'. His deposition is at A. D. 551 in Victor Tun. *Post cons. Basilii anno XI. Apollinarius Zoilo tria memorata capitula damnare nolenti episcopus Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ subrogatur.* He had probably more than 7 years; for these would only place his appointment at A. D. 544, more than two years after the deposition of his predecessor.

The years of the preceding bishops from *Proterius* to *Zoilus* are thus given in Nicephorus p. 417

Προτέριος ὀρθόδοξος—ἔτη 5  
 Τιμόθεος Ἀίλουρος ἔτη β'  
 Τιμόθεος ὁ Λευκὸς ἔτη ιε'  
 Πέτρος ὁ Μογγὸς ἔτος ἐν  
 Ἰωάννης ὁ ἐκβληθεὶς ἔτη γ'  
 Πέτρος τὸ δεύτερον ἔτη 5'  
 Ἀθανάσιος αἰρετικὸς ἔτη ζ'  
 Ἰωάννης ἔτη θ'  
 Ἰωάννης ἄλλος ἔτη ια'  
 Διόσκορος ἔτη γ'  
 Τιμόθεος ὁ ἐπὶ Ἰουστινιανοῦ ἔτη ιζ'.  
 Γαϊῶν ἔτος ἐν  
 Θεοδοσίος ἔτη β'  
 Παῦλος ἔτη β'  
 Ζωῖλος ἔτη ζ'.

The sum of all these numbers is 92 years. But from the appointment of *Proterius* in A. D. 452 to

the deposition of *Zoilus* in 551 are 99 years, a deficiency therefore of 7 years in the whole amount in Nicephorus. Intervals—*dies vel menses vel anni interpontificiales*—might in part supply this deficiency; and an interval (which Pagi tom. 2 p. 560 seems to suppose) might precede the episcopate of *Zoilus*.

42 *Apollinarius*. Already appointed before September 551: Malalas XVIII p. 230 μηνὶ Σεπτεμβρίῳ ἰνδικτιῶνος ιε' [Sept. A. D. 551] γέγονε τὰ ἐγκαίμια τῆς ἁγίας Εἰρήνης κ. τ. λ. καὶ ἐξῆλθον τὰ ἅγια λείψανα ἐκ τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας μετὰ καὶ τῶν δύο πατριάρχων, λέγω δὴ Μηνᾶ τοῦ πατριάρχου ΚΠ. καὶ Ἀπολλιναρίου τοῦ πάπα Ἀλεξανδρείας. He has 19 years in Nicephorus p. 417 B Ἀπολιναρίος ἔτη ιθ'. and in Theophanes p. 192 A already quoted: Ἀπολιναρίος ἔτη ιθ'. *α'*. *Apollinarius* is mentioned by Theophanes p. 204 D *Justiniani* 2<sup>o</sup> A. D. 567. and p. 205 B *Justiniani* 3<sup>o</sup> A. D. 567. But as the first year of *Apollinarius* began in A. D. 551, the 19th was current in 569.

43 *Joannes IV.* Appointed before the exile of *Anastasius* of Antioch: Theophanes p. 206 A *Justiniani* 5<sup>o</sup> [from Sept. 1 A. D. 569] τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει Ἀναστάσιος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος Ἀντιοχείας ὁ μέγας καταψάμενος ἐν τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις τῶν συνοδικῶν Ἰωαννοῦ τοῦ ΚΠ. τοῦ χειροτονήσαντος Ἰωάννην τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείας, καὶ τούτου χειροτονηθέντος ἐξεβλήθη— For the rest see the Tables p. 828. *Joannes IV* has eleven years in Nicephorus p. 417 B Ἰωάννης ἔτη ια'—and in Theophanes p. 205 C *Justiniani* 4<sup>o</sup> [from Sept. 1 A. D. 568] Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπίσκοπος Ἰωάννης ἔτη ια'. *α'*. p. 208 A 209 B 211 A Ἰωάννης ἔτη ια'. As the last year of his predecessor *Apollinarius* was current in A. D. 569, and as the first year of his successor *Eulogius* was at A. D. 580 (see the Tables A. D. 578 p. 843), the appointment of *Joannes* is fixed to the close of A. D. 569.

47 *Georgius*. His predecessor *Joannes V* withdrew when Alexandria was taken by the Persians: Leontius apud Pagium tom. 2 p. 762 *Quando permittente Deo pro peccatis nostris futurum erat ut traderetur Alexandria sine Deo Persis—fugam arripuit in propriam patriam, videlicet in Cyprum, in civitatem suam.* Where he died: Leontius *Ibid.* But Alexandria was taken by the Persians in A. D. 616: See above c. 1 p. 163. And *Georgius* was therefore appointed in that year. He has 14 years in Theophanes p. 253 B 256 D 261 B 264 D 274 A 276 C Γεώργιος ἔτη ιδ'. *Idem* p. 279 B *Heraclii* 23<sup>o</sup> [from Sept. 1 A. D. 632] Γεώργιος ἔτη ιδ'. *ιδ'*. *Ibid.* *Heraclii* 24<sup>o</sup> Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπίσκοπος Κύρος ἔτη ι'—*α'*. But, as the 14 years commenced in A. D. 616, they terminated in A. D. 630, and *Cyrus* was already bishop of *Alexandria* in 631. See above c. 1 p. 171 A. D. 638 p. 176.

48 *Cyrus*, who succeeded in A. D. 630, was called to CP. Nicephorus in breviario p. 30=18, having related the death of *Sergius* A. D. 638 and the succession of *Pyrrhus* A. D. 639 (see c. 1 p. 176), adds ἦδη δὲ χρόνους τισὶ πρότερον Κύρον τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείας πρόεδρον μετὰ κλητὸν ἐς Βυζάντιον ἦν πεποικῶς καὶ ἐν αἰτία μεγάλῃ εἶχεν ὡς τὰ τῆς Αἰγύπτου πάσης Σαρακηνοῖς προέ-



μενον πράγματα. κ. τ. λ.—Ὁ δὲ (Ἡράκλειος) Ἕλληνα τὸν Κύρον ἀπέκαλε ὡς Ἕλληνα καὶ θεομάχῳ καὶ κατὰ Χριστιανῶν φρονούντι τῷ Ἀμβρῶ τῷ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν φυλάρχῳ συμβουλευσάντα τὴν τοῦ βασιλείως κατεγγυηθῆναι θυγατέρα. ἐν τούτοις οὖν ἀνανακτήσας κατ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀναίρησεν ἀπειλῶν τῷ τῆς πόλεως αὐτὸν ὑπάρχει ὡς αἰκισομένη παραδίδωσι. But as *Amrou* entered Egypt in June A. D. 639, and took Alexandria in 640, *Cyrus* was not called to CP. till A. D. 640. *Heracleonas* during his short reign in 641 (see above p. 178) restored *Cy-*

*rus*: Nicephorus in brevario p. 33=p. 20 A Κύρον τὸν πρόεδρον Ἀλεξανδρείας τῷ οἰκείῳ θρόνῳ ἀποκαθίστησι. His successor was *Petrus*, who is named by Theophanes p. 284 C *Constantis* 3<sup>o</sup> Πέτρος ἔτη ι'—α'. The 3rd of *Constans* in reality commenced before Oct. 5 A. D. 643, but in the reckoning of Theophanes at Sept. 1 A. D. 644. *Petrus* might succeed in A. D. 644. Nicephorus Chron. p. 417 B (where in the present copies *Cyrus* is omitted) ends his catalogue of bishops of Alexandria with *Petrus*: Πέτρος ἔτη ι'.

### 3 Bishops of Antioch.

1 *Euodius*. Euseb. Chron. Arm. Anno 2058 *Claudii* 2<sup>o</sup> [A. D. 4<sup>§</sup>] *primus Antiochiæ episcopus Euodius fuit*. In Euseb. Hieron. Anno 2059 *Claudii* 3<sup>o</sup>.

2 *Ignatius*. Euseb. Chron. Arm. Anno 2085 [A. D. 7<sup>§</sup>] *Vespasiani* 1<sup>o</sup> *Antiochiæ secundus episcopus Ignatius fuit*. In Euseb. Hieron. Anno 2084 *Neronis* 14<sup>o</sup>. Euseb. H. E. III. 22 ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας Εὐοδίου πρώτου καταστάτος, δεύτερος ἐν τοῖς δηλουμένοις Ἰγνάτιος ἐγνωρίζετο. A. D. 70 will be 45 years before the death of *Ignatius*. But as Eusebius has erred in the year of the death of *Ignatius* (see the Tables A. D. 107) he may have placed the beginning of the episcopate too high.

3 *Hero*. Euseb. Chron. Armen. Anno 2122 [A. D. 10<sup>§</sup>] *Trajani* 9<sup>o</sup> *tertius episcopus Antiochiæ fuit Hero*. Euseb. Hieron. Anno 2123 *Trajani* 10<sup>o</sup>. See the Tables A. D. 107. The succession of *Hero* is determined by the death of his predecessor to A. D. 115.

4 *Cornelius*. Euseb. Chron. Arm. Hieron. Anno 2144 [A. D. 12<sup>§</sup>] *Hadriani* 12<sup>o</sup> *Antiochiæ quartus episcopus Cornelius*.

5 *Eros*. Euseb. Chron. Arm. Anno 2158 [A. D. 14<sup>§</sup>] *Antonini* 5<sup>o</sup> *Antiochiæ episcopus Hero*. Hieron. Anno 2158 *Antiochiæ quintus constituitur episcopus Heros ann. XXIV*. Euseb. H. E. IV. 20 Θεόφιλος ἕκτος—τετάρτου μὲν τῶν ἐκείσε μετὰ Ἡρώνα καταστάτος Κορηλίῳ, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν πέμπτῳ τότῳ τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν Ἐρωτος διαδεξαμένου. The 24 years would place *Theophilus* anno 2180 A. D. 16<sup>§</sup>. But *Theophilus* is placed by Eusebius and Hieronymus at 2186 or 2184. See the Tables A. D. 171 p. 165.

The years of these five bishops are thus given in Nicephorus:

Εὐόδιος ἔτη κγ'  
Ἰγνάτιος—ἔτη δ'  
Ἡρώνα ἔτη κ'  
Κορηλίῳ ἔτη ιγ'  
Ἐρώτος ἔτη κς'.

Making 86 years. But from the accession of *Euodius* to the accession of *Theophilus* are computed in Eusebius 128 years anni 2058—2186. Wherefore we may supply Ἰγνάτιος—ἔτη μδ' to bring the amount to a nearer agreement with Eusebius.

10 *Philetus*. Euseb. H. E. VI. 21 αὐτοκράτωρ Ἀλέξανδρος διαδέχεται—[A. D. 222]—ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχείων ἐκκλησίας Ἀσκληπιάδην Φιλητὸς διαδέχεται.

Idem Chron. Arm. Anno 2233 [A. D. 21<sup>§</sup>] *Caracalla* 6<sup>o</sup> *Antiochenorum decimus episcopus Philippus*. Hieron. Anno 2233 *Macrini* 1<sup>o</sup>.

11 *Zebinus*. See the Tables p. 243. Euseb. Chron. Armen. Anno 2245 [A. D. 2<sup>§§</sup>] *Alexandri* 6<sup>o</sup> *Antiochiæ episcopus XI Zebennus*.

12 *Babylas*. Euseb. H. E. VI. 29 τότε δὲ [sc. imperante *Gordiano*] καὶ τοῦ κατ' Ἀντιόχειαν ἐπισκόπου Ζεβίνου τὸν βίον μεταλλάξαντος Βαβύλας τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδέχεται. Nicephorus p. 417 D Βαβύλας ὁ ἐπὶ Δεκίῳ μαρτυρήσας ἔτη ιγ'. His death in A. D. 250 would place the beginning of the 13 years current at A. D. 238, the 1st of *Gordian*. The notice of Eusebius in Chron. Arm. is at a wrong year: Anno 2270 (A. D. 25<sup>§</sup>) *Antiochenæ ecclesie XII episcopus Babylas, deinde XIII Fabianus*. But *Babylas* had already suffered martyrdom anno 2265. Hieronymus, who records the death of *Babylas* at 2267, omits the notice of Eusebius at 2270.

20 *Vitalis*. Theodoret. H. E. I. 2 ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ δὲ μετὰ Τύραννον, τῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἀρξαμένης εἰρήνης, Βιτάλιος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παρέλαβεν.—Φιλογόνιος δὲ μετὰ τούτου. Hieron. Chron. Anno 2344 A. D. 32<sup>§</sup> *Antiochiæ post Tyrannum XX<sup>us</sup> ordinatur episcopus Vitalis. Post quem XXI<sup>us</sup> Philogonus. Cui succedit XXII<sup>us</sup> Paulinus. Post quem XXIII<sup>us</sup> Eustathius*.

21 *Paulinus*. Theodoret. H. E. I. 3 p. 748 συνφῶδὰ τούτοις ἐπέστειλε [sc. *Alexander*] καὶ Φιλογονίῳ τῷ τῆς Ἀντιοχείων ἐκκλησίας προέδρῳ. II. 4 p. 751 ἀντιπάλους δὲ κέκληκε [sc. *Arius*] Φιλογονίῳ τῆς Ἀντιοχείων τὸν προέδρον. His successor *Paulinus* is omitted by Theodoret H. E. I. 7 p. 756 Εὐστάθιος ὁ τῆς Ἀντιοχείων ἐκκλησίας τὴν προεδρίαν λαχὼν Φιλογόνιος γὰρ, οὐ πρόσθεν ἐμνήσθη, εἰς τὴν ἀμείνω μεταβεβήκει βίον, τούτου δὲ ἄκοντα ποιμαίνειν ἀντ' ἐκείνου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐκείνην ψήφῳ κοινῇ κατηνάγκασαν ἀρχιερεῖς τε καὶ ἱερεῖς καὶ ἅπας ὁ λαός. But *Paulinus* is mentioned by Sozomen III. 11 p. 512 B Ὅσιον—ὅτι φίλος ἐγένετο Παυλίῳ καὶ Εὐσταθίῳ τοῖς ἡγησαμένοις τῆς Ἀντιοχείων ἐκκλησίας. and by Nicephorus p. 418 A

Φιλογόνιος ἔτη ε'  
Παῦλος ἔτη ε'

Εὐστάθιος ὁ ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ τῇ πρώτῃ—ἔτη ιγ'.

*Paulinus* was deposed; see Pagl tom. 1 p. 392. and perhaps on that account omitted by Theodoret. He was still living in A. D. 347: Pagl Ibid.



23 *Eustathius*. See Sozomen I. 2 quoted in the Tables A. D. 324 p. 377. Upon *Romanus* see Valesius ad Sozomen. l. c. corrected by Pagi tom. I p. 392. The Tables in Theophanes p. 12 A place *Eustathius* many years too high: *Constantini* 11° [A. D. 316] Ἀντιοχείας ἐπίσκοπος Εὐστάθιος ἔτη ιβ'. α'. p. 15 B *Constantini* 19° [A. D. 324] Ἀντιοχείας ἐπίσκοπος κγ' Εὐστάθιος ἔτη ιβ'. θ'. p. 16 B *Constantini* 20° [A. D. 325] Εὐστάθιος ἔτη ιβ'. ε'. But Theophanes adds *Ibid.* τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει τῆς Ἀντιοχείων ἐκκλησίας χηρευούσης, ἡ σύνοδος Εὐστάθιον ἐκώρυσεν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Βερροίας τῆς Συρίας. On his exile Philostorgius II. 7 μετὰ τρεῖς ὄλους ἔνιαυτοὺς Εὐσέβιον καὶ Μάριν καὶ Θεόγιν ψήφῳ βασιλέως τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου ἐπανόδου τυχόντας πίστεώς τε σύμβολον αἰρετικῆς ἐκείναι, καὶ πανταχόσε διαπέμψαι ἐπ' ἀνατροπῇ τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνόδου· καὶ τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείας Ἀλέξανδρον καθελῆναι τε καὶ ἀποκηρύξαι—ἀλλὰ καὶ Εὐστάθιον τὸν Ἀντιοχείας, παιδίσκης μίξιν καὶ αἰσχρᾶς ἡδονῆς ἀπόλασιν αἰτίαν ἐπιγραφάμενος [see above p. 436 note v Theodoret H. E. I. 21], φηγὴν αὐτῷ βασιλεὺς ἐτιμήσατο εἰς τὴν ἐσπέραν μεθόριον ποιησάμενος· πενήκοντα δὲ καὶ διακοσίους εἶναι τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ παρανόμου τούτου συνεδρίου· καὶ τὴν Νικομήδειαν αὐτοῖς τῶν παρανομηθέντων ποιήσασθαι συνέδριον. Conf. Theodoret. H. E. I. 20. Thirty years before the appointment of *Meletius* (A. D. 360): Theodoret. H. E. II. 27 p. 910 τριάκοντα μὲν γὰρ ἔτη μετὰ γε τὰς κατ' Εὐσταθίου τοῦ πανευφήμου γεγενημένας ἐπιβουλὰς διετέλεσαν τῆς Ἀρειανικῆς ἀνεχόμενοι βδελυρίας. Athanasius Apolog. ad Constantium tom. I p. 702 D ποία ἐκκλησία νῦν οὐ θρηνεῖ διὰ τὰς ἐκείνων κατὰ τῶν ἐπισκόπων αὐτῶν ἐπιβουλὰς; Ἀντιόχεια μὲν δὲ Εὐστάθιον τὸν ὁμολογητὴν καὶ ὀρθόδοξον. Idem ad monachos tom. I p. 812 B Εὐστάθιος τις ἦν ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Ἀντιοχείας, ἀνὴρ ὁμολογητῆς, καὶ τὴν πίστιν εὐσεβῆς· οὗτος ἐπειδὴ πολὺς ἦν ζήλων ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας—διαβάλλεται Κωνσταντίνῳ [sic recte Montfaucon] τῷ βασιλεῖ, πρόφασιν τε ἐπινοεῖται ὡς τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ ποιήσας ὕβριν, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐξόριστος αὐτὸς τε γίνεται καὶ πολὺς σὺν αὐτῷ πρεσβυτέρων καὶ διακόνων ἀριθμὸς. Hieronymus Chron. quoted above records the deposition of *Eustathius* at the year 2344 A. D. 32½. which agrees with the term of Philostorgius, three whole years from June A. D. 325; therefore after June A. D. 328, about 31 years (called by Theodoret 30 years in round numbers) before the appointment of *Meletius* in 360. To this tumult in 328 Eusebius refers, though not naming *Eustathius*, Vit. Const. III. 59 τὴν Ἀντιοχείων ἐκκλησίαν τραγμαῖς διελάμβανε συμφοραῖς κ. τ. λ. *Eustathius* was still living in A. D. 370, 42 years after his expulsion. Socrat. H. E. IV. 14. 15 οἱ Ἀρειανοὶ εἰς τὸν τόπον Εὐδοξίου [A. D. 370: see the Tables p. 472] καθιστώσι Δημόφιλον. καιροῦ δὲ νομίσαντες δεδράχθαι οἱ τοῦ ὁμοουσίου τῆς ἐαυτῶν πίστεως Εὐάργιον τινα προεβάλλοντο· καὶ χειροτονεῖ τούτου Εὐστάθιος, ὁ πάλαι ποτὲ ἐπίσκοπος Ἀντιοχείας γεγονώς· ὃς πρότερον μὲν ὑπὸ Ἰωβιανοῦ [A. D. 363] τῆς ἐξορίας ἀνακέκλυτο τότε δὲ παρῆν εἰς τὴν ΚΠ. σκόπῳ τοῦ στηριξάου τοῦ τῆς ὁμοουσίου πίστεως, καὶ κατ' αὐτὴν λαθάνων διέτριβεν.—εἰς γνῶσιν τοῦ βασιλέως ταχέως ἔρχεται τὰ γινόμενα—ἐκέλευσε τε ἐν ταυτῷ συλληφθέντας τὸν χει-

ροτονήσαντα καὶ τὸν χειροτονηθέντα ἄλλον ἀλλαχοῦ περιορίζεσθαι· Εὐστάθιος μὲν οὖν ἐν Βιζύῃ τῆς Θράκης πόλει περιορίζετο Εὐάργιος δὲ εἰς ἄλλον τόπον ἀπήχθη.

24 *Paulinus II*. Transferred from Tyre to Antioch. See above N° 115 p. 435 note r. He had been long dead in A. D. 336. Euseb. *Ibid.*

Hieronymus Chron. Anno 2344 A. D. 32½ records the deposition of *Eustathius* and thus proceeds:

*Quo in exilium ob fidem truso, usque in presentem diem* [A. D. 378] *Ariani ecclesiam occupaverunt. Id est*

*Eulalius*  
*Eusebius*  
*Euphronius*  
*Placillus*  
*Stephanus*  
*Leontius*  
*Eudoxius*  
*Meletius*  
*Euzoios*  
*Dorotheus*  
*Rursum Meletius.*

*Quorum idcirco tempora non digessi, quod eos hostes potius quam episcopos Christi iudicavi.*

Nicephorus p. 418 gives the catalogue thus:

Εὐστάθιος—μεθ' ὃν Ἀρειανοὶ ἐξέ-  
Εὐλάλιος ἔτη γ'  
Εὐφρόνιος ἔτη η'  
Φακέλλιος, ἐφ' οὗ τὰ ἐγκαίνια τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας  
Ἀντιοχείας [A. D. 341], ἔτη ιβ'  
Στέφανος ἔτη γ'  
Λεόντιος ἔτη η'  
Εὐδόξιος ἔτη β'  
Ἀνιανὸς ἔτη δ'  
Μελέτιος ὁ ὁμολογητῆς, ὁ καὶ ὑπὸ Οὐάλεντος ἐκβληθεῖς,  
ἔτη κέ'  
Εὐζώϊος Ἀρειανὸς ἔτη ε'  
Μελέτιος πάλιν, ὅτε καὶ συνήλθον ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ συνόδῳ  
ΚΠ. [A. D. 381.]

*Paulinus II* is omitted by Hieronymus and Nicephorus, and by Sozomen III. 20. But he was succeeded after 6 months by *Eulalius*: Philostorg. III. 15 p. 486—ἀπεβίω· ἀντ' αὐτοῦ δὲ Εὐλάλιος τὸν θρόνον εἶχεν. Idem apud Suidam v. Ἀέτιος p. 105 B ἐπεὶ δὲ Παυλῖνος ἐπεθῆκει, Εὐλαλίον τρίτον καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔχοντος τὸν θρόνον κ. τ. λ. This *Paulinus* is addressed by Eusebius H. E. X. 1 ἱερώτατε Παυλίνε. Idem X. 4 πανηγυρικὸς—Παυλῖνον Τυρίων ἐπισκόπῳ προσπεφωνημένος.

25 *Eulalius*. Named by Theodoret H. E. I. 20. 21 p. 803 who omits *Paulinus II*: καὶ ἐκεῖνος μὲν [sc. *Eustathius*] διὰ τῆς Θράκης εἰς Ἰλλυρικὴν πόλιν ἀπήχθη. οἱτοὶ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ χειροτονοῦσιν Εὐλάλιον· τούτου δὲ ὀλίγον ἐπιβιώσαντος χρόνον, Εὐσέβιον μεταθεῖναι τὸν Παλαιστίνον ἠθέλησαν· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξέφυγε τὴν μετάθεσιν καὶ βασιλεὺς διεκώλυσεν, Εὐφρόνιον προεβάλλοντο· καὶ τούτου δὲ τελευτήσαντος, ἑνιαυτὸν γὰρ καὶ μῆνας ὀλίγους μετὰ τὴν χειροτονίαν ἐβίω, Φλακίτῳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκείνης



προεδρίαν παρέδοσαν. Hieronymus quoted above inserts *Eusebius*, but, as appears from Theodoret, without reason. Nicephorus H. E. VIII. 45 p. 640 mentions that *Eusebius* was proposed, ὡς δ' ἐκείνος ἀπίετο, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπηγόρευσε τὴν μετὰθεσιν, σχολιάσαι φασι τὸν θρόνον ἐξῆς ἐπὶ ἑτῆ ὀκτώ· εἶτα χειροτονοῦσιν Εὐφρόνιον. Conf. Socratem I. 24 p. 59. 60. Socrates p. 60 A omitting *Eulalius* names *Euphronius*. Sozomen II. 19 also omitting *Eulalius* relates that *Eusebius* declined the episcopate of Antioch and that *Euphronius* was appointed.

26 *Euphronius*. See 24.

27 *Placillus*. Present at the synod of Tyre A. D. 335: *Epistola episcoporum ad Dionysium comitem apud Athanas.* tom. I p. 797 C πολλάς ὁρῶντες συσκευὰς καθ' ἡμῶν γνωμῆνας καὶ ἐπιβουλὰς ἐκ συσκευῆς τῶν περὶ Εὐσέβιον καὶ Νάρκισσον καὶ Φλάκλλον καὶ Θεόγγιν καὶ Μάρων κ. τ. λ. He was also at the synod of Antioch in 341 (Tables p. 402): Socrates II. 8 p. 85 προειστήκει τότε τῆς ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἐκκλησίας Πλάκιτος, διαδεξάμενος Εὐφρόνιον. Sozomen. III. 6 Εὐσέβιος ὁ ἐπίκλην Ῥεμισσῶν—παραγεγόμενος εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν, ἐπεὶ συνέβη Εὐστάθιον καθαιρεθῆναι διὰ τὴν Κύρου κατηγορίαν, Εὐφρονίῳ τῷ μετ' αὐτὸν συνῆν—καὶ Πλακίτῳ πάλιν τῷ μετὰ Εὐφρόνιον συνδιέτριβεν ὡς δὲ συνέβη ταύτην ἐνθάδε συγκροτεῖσθαι σὺν ὁδον κ. τ. λ. See Nicephorus quoted at 24.

28 *Stephanus I*. See 24. The predecessor of *Leontius*: Athanas. tom. I p. 812 C. *Stephanus* was deposed: Theodoret. H. E. II. 7 Στέφανος δὲ, αὐτὸς γὰρ τῆς Ἀντιοχείων ἐκκλησίας κατέχων τοὺς οἴκας κ. τ. λ.—c. 8 ταῦτα μαθόντες οἱ δικασταὶ—Στεφάνου τὴν πονηρίαν μεμαθηκότες τοῖς τηλικαῦτα παροῦσι τῶν ἐπισκόπων καθελεῖν τοῦτον ἐπέτρεψαν, καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐξήλασαν. οὐ μὴν παντάπασιν ἡ ἐκκλησία τῆς Ἀρειανικῆς ἠλευθερώθη λώβης· Λεόντιος γὰρ μετ' ἐκείνου τῆς προεδρίας ἔτυχεν, ἀνὴρ τὸ μὲν γένος Φρόξ τὴν δὲ γνώμην κρυψίνους.

29 *Leontius*. See 24. Athanasius Hist. Arianorum tom. I p. 812 C ἐκ τούτων ἐστὶ Λεόντιος ὁ ἀπόκοπος, ὁ νῦν [A. D. 358] ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ, καὶ ὁ πρὸ αὐτοῦ Στέφανος. Conf. Athanas. Apol. de fuga sua tom. I p. 718 C. Theodoret. H. E. II. 19 ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ δὲ μετὰ Στέφανον, ὃς Φλάκιτον διαδεξάμενος τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἐξηλάθη συλλόγῳ, Λεόντιος τὴν προεδρίαν ἐδέξατο, παρὰ τοὺς ἐν Νικαίᾳ γραφέντας ὄρους ταύτην λαβῶν· ἐκτομίας γὰρ ἦν, αὐτουργὸς γενόμενος τῆς τολμῆς· λέγει δὲ καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς τολμῆς ὁ μακάριος Ἀθανάσιος κ. τ. λ. Referring to Athanas. tom. I p. 718 C. Socrates II. 26 Λεόντιος ὁ τῆς ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἐκκλησίας τότε προσηκῶς· ὅστις ἠνίκα πρεσβύτερος ἦν ἀφρηθή τῆς ἀξίας, ὅτι γυναικὶ συνδιημερεύων Εὐστολίῳ ὄνομα καὶ τὴν εἰς αὐτὴν αἰσχρὰν ὑπόνοιαν ἐπικρύψαι σπουδάσας τῶν γεννητικῶν ἐξέτεμεν ἑαυτὸν, καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ παρρησιέστερον τῇ γυναικὶ συνδιήγεν—γνώμη δὲ καὶ σπουδῇ τοῦ βασιλέως Κωσταντίου τῆς ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἐκκλησίας προεβλήθη ἐπίσκοπος μετὰ Στέφανον, ὃς Πλάκιτον διεδέδεκτο πρότερον. Sozomen. III. 20 τὰς δὲ ἐκκλησίας κατέχευε Λεόντιος. μετὰ γὰρ τὴν Εὐστάθιου φυγὴν οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἐναντίας αἰρέσεως τὸν Ἀντιοχείας ἐπετρόπευον θρόνον· πρῶτος μὲν Εὐφρόνιος· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Πλάκιστος, καὶ ἐφεξῆς Στέφανος· ὡς ἀναξίον δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀποχειροτονηθέντος, Λεόντιος τότε τὴν

ἐπισκοπὴν διεῖπεν· ὃν ὡς ἐτέροδοξον παρηγέτω Ἀθανάσιος. In Chron. Pasch. p. 289 B *coss. Sergio et Nigriniano* A. D. 350 mention is made of *Leontius*, who is ὁ μακάριος Λεόντιος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος Ἀντιοχείας τῆς Συρίας, ἀνὴρ κατὰ πάντα πιστὸς τε καὶ εὐλαβὴς καὶ ζηλωτὴς ὑπάρχων τῆς ἀληθοῦς πίστεως. His death is recorded by Sozomen IV. 12 ἔτι δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν τῇ πρὸς δύσιν ἀρχομένη διάγοντος, ἀγγέλλεται τετελευτηκέναι Λεόντιος ὁ Ἀντιοχείας ἐπίσκοπος· ὡς φυλακῆς δὲ προσδεομένης τῆς ἐνθάδε ἐκκλησίας, ἐδέθη τοῦ βασιλέως Εὐδόξιος ἐπανελεῖν εἰς Συρίαν· ἐπιτραπέσι δὲ τούτου σπουδῇ καταλαμβάνει τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ περιποιεῖται ἑαυτῷ τὴν ἐνθάδε ἐπισκοπὴν. Philostorgius IV. 3. 4 αὐτὸς δὲ [sc. *Constantius*] ἐν Σιρμίῳ διήγεν· ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸν Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπον Λιβέριον—τῆς φυγῆς κατάγει.—Λεοντίου τοῦ Ἀντιοχείας ἐπισκόπου τελευτήσαντος, Εὐδόξιος ἐκ Γερμανικίας μετασχησάμενος οἱ ὁμόδοξοι ἐπιβιβάζουσι τῷ θρόνῳ· ὁ δὲ τῆς Ἀρειανῆς μὲν δόξης ἦν. These incidents, the emperor at Sirmium in spring 358 (Tables p. 438), the return of *Liberius* Aug. 2 A. D. 358 (Tables p. 437), and the testimony of Athanasius that *Leontius* still lived in that year, place the death of *Leontius* at the close of A. D. 358. Socrates in his narrative II. 37 p. 132 Λεοντίου τελευτήσαντος—Εὐδόξιος Γερμανικίας ἐπίσκοπος ὢν—κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην τότε παρὸν ἐπέγεισθαι σκέπτεται, καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ δολίως διαλέγεται κ. τ. λ.—appears to place the death of *Leontius* a year earlier. Which is inconsistent with Athanasius. Conf. Pagium tom. I p. 487.

30 *Eudoxius*. Appointed at the close of A. D. 358. See 29. Theodoret. H. E. II. 20 Γερμανικεῖα πόλις ἐστὶν ἐν μεθωρίᾳ τῆς Κιλικῶν καὶ Σύρων καὶ Καππαδοκῶν κείμῃ, εἰς δὲ τὴν Εὐφρατισίαν καλουμένην ἑπαρχίαν τελεῖται τῆσδε τῆς ἐκκλησίας προστατῶν Εὐδόξιος εἶτα Λεόντιος τεθνηκέναι μαθὼν κατέλαβε τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν. He was already bishop of Germanicia A. D. 341, when he was present at the Arian synod of Antioch (Tables p. 402): Sozomen III. 5 μετέσχον δὲ ταύτης τῆς συνόδου οὐ μόνον Εὐσέβιος [N<sup>o</sup> 116] ὃς μετὰ Παῦλον ἐκβεβλημένος ἐκ Νικομηδείας μεταστὰς τὸν ΚΠ. εἶχε θρόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀκάκιος [N<sup>o</sup> 131] ὁ Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Παμφίλου διάδοχος—Εὐδόξιος τε ὁ Γερμανικίας, ὃς ὕστερον μετὰ Μακεδόνην τὴν ΚΠ. ἐπετράπη ἐκκλησίαν. Present again at the synod in 345: Athanas. de synodis tom. I p. 895 D ἐπὶ τούτοις ὡσπερ μεταγρόντες συλλέγουσι πάλιν τὸ συνέδριον ἑαυτῶν μετὰ ἑτῆ τρία, καὶ ἀποστέλλουσιν Εὐδόξιον κ. τ. λ. Socrates II. 19 τριετοῦς δὲ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ διαδραμόντος χρόνου, αὐθις οἱ ἀνατολικοὶ ἐπίσκοποι συνέδριον ποιησάμενοι καὶ ἑτέραν πίστιν συντάξαντες τοῖς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ἀποστέλλουσι δι' Εὐδοξίου τοῦ τότε ἐπισκόπου Γερμανικίας κ. τ. λ. Sozomen III. 11 τριῶν δὲ ἤδη γενομένων ἐνιαυτῶν πάλιν οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς ἑω ἐπίσκοποι τοῖς ἀνὰ τὴν δύσιν ἑτέραν διεπέμψαντο γραφὴν, ἣν μακρόστιχον ἔκθεσιν ὀνομάζουσιν—Εὐδοξίου δὲ, ὃς τῆς Γερμανικίας ἐπίσκοπος ἦν, Μαρτυρίου τε καὶ Μακεδονίου διακομισάντων ταύτην τὴν γραφὴν κ. τ. λ. Three years after A. D. 342. Conf. Valesium ad Socrat. II. 19 Pagium tom. I p. 462. Deposed in September A. D. 359 by the synod of Seleucia: Socrat. II. 40 p. 152 καθέλιον αὐτὸν τε Ἀκάκιον—καὶ Εὐδόξιον τὸν πρότερον μὲν Γερμανικίας μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ Ἀντιοχείας τῆς ἐν



Συρία τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ὑποδύναται. Theodoret. H. E. II. 27 Εὐδοξίου δὲ μετὰ Λεόντιον ἐκείνον τὸν θρόνον ἀρπάσαντος εἶτα ἐξελαθέντος. Sozomen. IV. 22 καθαιρούσιν ἄλλους τέ τινας—καὶ Εὐδόξιον τὸν Ἀντιοχείας.

31 *Anianus*. Omitted by Hieron. Chron. and by Theodoret. II. 27. Appointed by the synod of Seleucia Sept. A. D. 359: Socrates II. 40 καθιστώσιν εἰς τὸν τόπον Εὐδοξίου τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἐπίσκοπον Ἀνιανὸν τοῦ νομαῖ· ὃν συλλαβόντες οἱ περὶ Ἀκάκιον Λεωνῆ καὶ Λαυρικίῳ παρέδωσαν· οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐξόριστον ποιήκασι. Sozomen. IV. 22 p. 577 ἀντὶ δὲ Εὐδοξίου Ἀνιανὸν ἐχειροτόνησαν—πρεσβύτερον ὄντα τοῦ ἐκείσε κλήρου. συλλαβόντες δὲ τοῦτον οἱ ἀμφὶ Ἀκάκιον Λεωνῆ καὶ Λαυρικίῳ παρέδωκαν. οἱ δὲ τότε μὲν ἐν στρατιωτικῇ φρουρᾷ αὐτὸν εἶχον, ὕστερον δὲ ὑπερορίαν αὐτοῦ φυγὴν κατεδίκασαν.

Nicephorus p. 418 B (see 24) gives to *Anianus* four years. But for the whole interval between *Eustathius* A. D. 328 and *Meletius* A. D. 360 (less than 32 years) he gives 40 years. The numbers then of Nicephorus are not to be trusted; and Pagi tom. 1 p. 445 is not justified in giving 12 years to *Placillus* because 12 years are assigned by Nicephorus.

32 *Meletius*. Hieron. Chron. Anno 2376 [A. D. 364] *Constantii 23<sup>o</sup> Meletius Sebastiae Armeniorum episcopus ab Acacio et Georgio Arrianis episcopis Antiochiam transfertur; et post non grande temporis intervallum, quum presbyteros qui ab Eudoxio antecessore suo depositi fuerant suscepisset, exiliū justissimam causam subita fidei demutatione delusit*. Socrates II. 43. 44 Μελέτιος—τῆς Ἀρμενίων Σεβαστείας ἐπίσκοπος προσβλήθη Εὐσταθίου καθαιρεθέντος· ἐκ δὲ τῆς Σεβαστείας εἰς Βέρουαν τῆς Συρίας μετνήχθη. γενόμενος δὲ ἐν τῇ κατὰ Σελεύκειαν συνόδῳ [Sept. A. D. 359] καὶ τῇ πίστει τῇ περὶ Ἀκάκιον ὑπογράψας, ὡς εἶχεν, ἐπὶ τὴν Βέρουαν ἀνεχώρησε. γενομένης δὲ τῆς ἐν ΚΠ. συνόδου, οἱ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ πυθόμενοι τὸν Εὐδόξιον—ἐπὶ τὸν πλοῦτον ΚΠ. ἀποκεκλικέναι [Jan. 27 A. D. 360. Tables p. 445], μεταπεμφάμενοι τὸν Μελέτιον ἐκ τῆς Βεροίας εἰς τὴν Ἀντιοχείας ἐκκλησίαν ἐνθροονίζουσιν. Sozomen. IV. 28 Εὐδοξίου κατασχόντος τὴν ΚΠ. ἐκκλησίαν, πολλοὶ τὸν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ θρόνον περιποιοῦν ἑαυτοῖς ἐσπούδαζον κ. τ. λ.—οὕτω διακειμένης τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἐκκλησίας, ἔδοξε τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Εὐδόξιον καλῶς ἔχειν μεταστῆσαι ἐνθάδε Μελέτιον ἐκ τῆς Σεβαστείας, οὐὰ γὰρ λέγειν τε καὶ πείθειν ἰκανὸν, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν βίον ἀγαθὸν, καὶ ὁμόδοξον αὐτοῖς τὸ πρῶν ὄντα. Philostorg. V. 1 Μελέτιον τῆς Σεβαστείας τῶν Ἀρμενίων μεταπεμφάμενος (Ἀκάκιος) ἀντὶ Εὐδοξίου τῷ θρόνῳ ἐγκαθιδρύει. Described at large by Sozomen l. c. and by Theodoret H. E. II. 27 Εὐδοξίου—ἐξελαθέντος, καὶ μετὰ πολλὰς συνόδους τὴν ΚΠ. παρανόμως κατεσχρήκτος, ἢ Ἀντιοχείῳ ἐκκλησίᾳ ποιμένος ἐστέρητο. τότε δὴ οὖν οἱ συνεληλυθότες ἐπίσκοποι (πολλοὶ δὲ ἦσαν πάντοθεν συνελεγμένοι) χρῆναι ἔλεγον προσβληθῆναι πρότερον τῇ ποίμνῃ νομέα—ἐκείνον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν Μελέτιος ὁ θεσπέσιος πόλιν τιγὰ τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἰθύνων κ. τ. λ.—ἐπειδὴ δὲ βασιλικὴν δεξάμενος κλῆσιν ἦκεν ὁ μέγας Μελέτιος κ. τ. λ. But he is immediately expelled: Socrates II. 44 προβαίνων [sc. *Meletius*] τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ παρετίθετο πίστιν, καὶ διδάσκει τὸ ὁμοούσιον· ταῦτα πυθόμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν μὲν ἐξόριστον γενέσθαι ἐκέλευσεν Εὐζώϊον δὲ τὸν ἦδη πρό-

τερον ἅμα Ἀρείῳ καθαιρεθέντα τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἐπίσκοπον προχειρισθῆναι πεποίηκεν. Sozomen. IV. 28 p. 588 ἐκβάλλεσθαι τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ ὑπερορίαν οἰκεῖν προσέταξεν ὁ βασιλεὺς· ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο γέγονε, ἐπιτρέπεται τὸν Ἀντιοχείῳ θρόνον Εὐζώϊος. Philostorg. V. 5 τὸν Ἀντιοχείας Μελέτιον ὑπὸ τοῦ Κωνσταντίου καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ διατρίβοντος [Tables p. 444] ὑπερόριον ἐς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδα τὴν Μελιτήνην ἐκπέμψαι, ὡς ἐπιορκίας ἀλόγῃ—μεταπέμπεται δὲ ἐξ Ἀλεξανδρείας—Εὐζώϊον κ. τ. λ. Theodoret. II. 27 p. 909 Μελέτιον—παρεσκευάσαν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἐξοστρακίσαι πατρίδα καὶ παραντῖκα Εὐζώϊον ἀντ' ἐκείνου προῦβάλοντο. This expulsion of *Meletius* happened in the winter of A. D. 364. *Meletius* was restored by *Julian* A. D. 362: Theodoret. H. E. III. 2 τούτου τοῦ νόμου τεθέντος, εἰς μὲν τὴν Ἀντιοχείαν ἐπανήλθεν ὁ θεῖος Μελέτιος. He is at Antioch in 363: Tables p. 457. He was expelled again by *Valens*: Sozomen. VI. 7 (*Valens*) ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ διέτριβεν ἡνῖκα δὴ Μελετίου μὲν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ὑπερορίαν φυγὴν κατεδίκασε· Παυλίνου δὲ τὸν βίον αἰδεσθεῖς ἐφέισατο, τοὺς δὲ Εὐζώϊῳ μὴ κοινωνοῦντας τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἀπήλυνεν, εἰς χρήματά τε ἐξήμιον καὶ ἠκίεστο καὶ ἄλλως ἐπέτριβε. Theodoret. IV. 12 ἐξήλασε μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιόχου τὸν μέγαν Μελέτιον, ἐκ δὲ Σαμοσάτων τὸν θεῖον Εὐσέβιον κ. τ. λ. This was done after Nov. 10 A. D. 371 during the stay of *Valens* at Antioch. For *Valens* at Antioch see the Tables p. 474. 476 and Vol. 2 c. 1 p. 119. 120. After the death of *Valens* A. D. 378 he is restored by *Gratian*: Theodoret H. E. V. 3 relates the contest between the parties of *Paulinus Euzoius* and *Meletius*, and concludes p. 1019 ὁ στρατηγὸς, κριτὴς τῶν εἰρημέων γενόμενος, τῷ μεγάλῳ Μελετίῳ τὰς ἐκκλησίας παρέδωκεν· ὁ δὲ Παυλίνος διέμεινε τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀποκριθέντων προβάτων ἡγοούμενος.

*Meletius* died in A. D. 381: Tables p. 501, 503 and Theodoret V. 8.

33 *Euzoius*. Appointed by *Constantius* in the winter of 364: see *Meletius*. *Euzoius* is described above c. 8 p. 454 note n.

34 *Paulinus III*. Hieronymus quoted in the Tables A. D. 362 p. 449. Add Socrates III. 6. Idem III. 9 τῶν μὲν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐκράτει Εὐζώϊος—Παυλίνος τε μίαν τῶν μικρῶν ἔνδον τῆς πόλεως ἐκκλησιῶν εἶχεν, ἥς αὐτὸν Εὐζώϊος αἰδοῖ τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐξέβαλε· Μελέτιος δὲ ἔξω τῶν πυλῶν τῆς πόλεως τὰς συναγωγὰς ἐποίεῖτο. See 32. Niceph. H. E. X. 17 p. 40.

35 *Dorotheus*. Succeeded *Euzoius* in 376: Tables p. 489.

36 *Flavianus*. Succeeded *Meletius* in 381: Tables p. 501. *Flavianus* in A. D. 387 is mentioned by Chrysostom in the Tables p. 515. *Flavianus* in A. D. 394: Tables p. 531. He refused to take part in the proceedings against *Chrysostom*, and died at the time of the exile of *Chrysostom* A. D. 404: Theophanes p. 68 C Ἰννοκέντιος ὁ Ῥώμης καὶ ὁ Φλαβιανὸς Ἀντιοχείας οὐκ ἐκοινώνησαν τῇ ἐκβολῇ Ἰωάννου, ἀλλὰ διὰ γραμμάτων τῆς πόλεως τὸν κλῆρον παρεμυθίσαντο, καὶ ἐδυσχέρανον ἐπὶ τοῖς τολμήμασιν. Sozomen. VIII. 24 p. 792 D ἐτελεύτησε δὲ καὶ Φλαβιανὸς, μὴ συνθέμενος τῇ Ἰωάννου καθαι-



ρέσει διαδέχεται δὲ τὴν Ἀντιοχείων ἐκκλησίαν Πορφύριος· καὶ, ἐπειδὴ κατ' αὐτοῦ κεκρημένοι ἐπεψηφίσαστο, πολλοὶ τῶν ἐν Συρίᾳ τῆς ἐνθάδε ἐκκλησίας ἐχωρίσθησαν. Auctor dialogi de Chrysostomo p. 57 B τῇ γὰρ Ἰωάννου ἐξορία τῇ εἰς τὴν Ἀρμενίων συνήκμασεν ὁ θάνατος Φλαβιανοῦ τοῦ Ἀντιοχείων ἐπισκόπου. θεασάμενος ὁ Πορφύριος τὴν τε ἀνδρωϊτὴν καὶ τὴν γυναικωνίτην πόθῳ ἐκκρεμαμένην κ. τ. λ. The unpopularity of *Porphyrius* the adversary of *Chrysostom* is marked Ibid. p. 58 A. p. 58 C συνέρρυσαν πάντες μετὰ πυρὸς καὶ φρυγάνων, συναφανίσαι τὸν Πορφύριον τοῖς δωματίοις βουληθέντες· ὁ δὲ Πορφύριος, οὐκ ἀνοοῶν ὁ μείσσηται μῖσος, καταλείψας τὸν Θεὸν καταφεύγει ἐπὶ τὸν στρατοπεδάρχην κ. τ. λ. *Flavianus* died before Nov. 18 A. D. 404, when his successor *Porphyrius* is mentioned in a law of *Arcadius* l. 6 de his qui super religione contendunt, quoted in the Tables p. 558; a law mentioned by the author of the dialogue de Chrysostomo p. 38 B εἶχε δὲ ἡ κατὰ τῶν ἐπισκόπων ἀντιγραφὴ τὴν ἀπειλὴν ταύτην· “ εἰ τίς οὐ κοινωνεῖ τῶν ἐπισκόπων Θεοφίλῳ καὶ Πορφυρίῳ καὶ Ἀτικῶ, τῆς μὲν ἐκκλησίας ἐκβαλέσθω τῆς δὲ ἰδίας τῶν πραγμάτων οὐσίας ῥηπτέσθω.” The episcopate of *Flavianus* extended from the middle of 381 to the middle of 404, 23 complete years. He has 22 in Nicephorus p. 418 C Φλαβιανὸς ἔτη κβ'.

37 *Porphyrius*. Succeeded before Nov. 18 A. D. 404. See 36. Socrates VII. 9 κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν Φλαβιανοῦ τελευτήσαντος, Πορφύριος τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν διεδέξατο· μετὰ δὲ Πορφύριον αὐθὺς Ἀλέξανδρος. His death is fixed by a notice in Theodoret. H. E. III. 2 to A. D. 413. See 38.

38 *Alexander*. Theodoret. H. E. III. 2 ἀλλ' ὁ Λουκίφερ—ἐχειροτόνησεν αὐτοῖς, οὐκ εὖ γε ποιῶν, τὸν Παυλίον ἐπίσκοπον [*Paulinum* III. See 34]. τοῦτο τὴν διάστασιν ἐκείνην μακροτέραν εἰργάσατο. πέντε γὰρ καὶ ὄγδοῦντα διέμεινεν ἔτη μέχρι τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ πάσης εὐφημίας ἀξίον προεδρίας. This term commences at the deposition of *Eustathius*: conf. Vales. ad locum p. 27. And as that deposition was at the close of A. D. 328 (see 23), the 85 years place the appointment of *Alexander* at A. D. 413.

39 *Theodotus*. Theophanes p. 72 B *Theodosii* II 12° [A. D. 419] Ἀντιοχείας ἐπίσκοπος Θεόδοτος ἔτη δ'. This date for his appointment is consistent with authorities quoted by Noris tom. 1 p. 292 Pagi tom. 2 p. 176 which establish that *Alexander* still lived through A. D. 418. But *Theodotus* still lived at the time of the death of *Theodorus* of *Mopsuesta*. See Theodoret quoted in the Tables p. 613. And the death of *Theodotus* must be referred to A. D. 429. His episcopate therefore was of 10 years instead of 4 years. The last 6 years of *Theodotus* and the 13 years of his successor are described by Theodoret quoted above p. 473 notet, who adds in the same epistle to *Dioscorus* p. 1147 πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἑβδομον ἔστιν ἔτος τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου τοῦ κυρίου Δόμνου. The 13 years of *Joannes* terminate in A. D. 442, the 7th year of *Domnus* is current at A. D. 448, at which date that epistle was written by Theodoret.

40 *Joannes I*. His episcopate is determined by Theodoret, quoted at 39, to A. D. 429—442.

41 *Domnus II*. Succeeded in 442: see 39. Deposed by the council of Ephesus in August A. D. 449. See the Tables p. 637. 639.

42 *Maximus*. Succeeded *Domnus*: Niceph. p. 418 C Μάξιμος ὁ ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ συνόδῳ ἐν Καλχηδόνι, ὃς ἐξεβλήθη διὰ πταίσμα, ἔτη δ'. Theophanes p. 87 D Μάξιμος ἔτη δ'. He was appointed in 449. See 41. The charge against *Maximus* is referred to by *Leo* of Rome Ep. 113 Datum V Id. Mart. *Valentiniano Aug. VIII* cos. A. D. 455: *De Antiocheni autem episcopi statu multo animi dolore contristor, si, quod absit, vera adversus eum ab accusatoribus proferuntur*. His successor was appointed before the death of *Marcian*: Leo Ep. 118 X Kal. Sept. *Constantino et Rufo* cos. A. D. 457 *Basilio episcopo Antiocheno. Ordinationem quidem dilectionis tue secundum ecclesiasticum morem tuo vel fratrum nostrorum provincialium episcoporum debueramus sermone cognoscere. Sed quia—sanctae memoriae Marcianus princeps suis scriptis consecrationem tuam nobis cognitam fecit, nec de tuo possumus merito dubitare quem novimus &c.* *Basilius* was therefore appointed before Feb. A. D. 457, about the close of 456, seven years after the deposition of *Domnus*. *Maximus* at the council of Chalcedon A. D. 451 is mentioned by Liberatus in breviario c. 13 apud Acta Concil. tom. 6 p. 441 *Firmata sunt quae convenerunt inter Maximum Antiochenum et Juvenalem Hierosolymitanum episcopos, ut duae Phoenices et Arabia dependerent sedi Antiochenae, Hierosolymitanae vero tres Palaestinae provinciae.*

43 *Basilius*. Succeeded at the close of A. D. 456. See 42. Norisius tom. 2 p. 225 has shewn that he still lived in the beginning of A. D. 458 from the following testimonies: Marcellin. Chron. *Leone imp. et Majoriano* cos. [A. D. 458] *Leo imp. pro tomo Chalcedonensi per universum orbem singulis orthodoxorum episcopis singulas consonantesque misit epistolas &c.* The letter itself of *Leo* is given in Actis Concil. tom. 4 p. 1835. *Exemplar epistolae Leonis imp. ad Anatolium episcopum CP.* “*Votum quidem*” &c. addressed *Leoni rev. urbis Romae pontifici, Basilio episcopo Antiochia Syriae &c.* Norisius adds other testimony which shews that the letters of *Leo* were received in the winter; therefore in the beginning of A. D. 458. This is consistent with Nicephorus p. 418 C who records that *Acacius* was bishop at the time of the earthquake:

Ἀκάκιος, ἐφ' οὗ ἡ πόλις πέπτωκεν, ἔτος ἔν.  
Μαρτύριος ἔτη ιγ'  
Ἰουλιανὸς ἔτη ιε'.

But the earthquake happened Sept. 13 A. D. 458. Tables p. 658 Vol. 2 c. 3 p. 213. Pagi tom. 2 p. 359, having placed the earthquake at a wrong year, on this account charges Nicephorus with error. The opinion of Norisius has been examined and rejected above c. 3 p. 213.

44 *Acacius*. Succeeded between February and September A. D. 458. See 43. Called *Alexander* in the



present copies of Victor Tun. *Leone Aug. V et Probino coss.* [A. D. 471]—*Antiochenæ ecclesie post Alexandrum Martyrius et post Martyrium Julianus ordinatur episcopus.*

45 *Martyrius*. The episcopate of *Acacius* determines the succession of *Martyrius* to A. D. 459. See 43. 44. His 13th year was current at A. D. 471, where Victor names his successor *Julianus*. Victor therefore and Nicephorus (understood of current years) agree.

During the episcopate of *Martyrius Peter* the fuller disturbed the Church of Antioch: Theodorus Lector p. 554 C 555 A *Μαρτυρίου τὴν Ἀντιοχείας ἐπισκοποῦντος ἐκκλησίαν, κατέλαβε τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν Ζήνων ὁ στρατηλάτης, ὁ γαμβρὸς ἐπὶ θυγατρὶ Ἀριάδῃ τοῦ βασιλέως Λέοντος* [Theophanes p. 96 A *Leonis 2º* (A. D. 458) *τούτῳ δ' αὐτῷ ἔτει καὶ Ζήνων ἐξείχθη Ἀριάδῃ τῇ θυγατρὶ Λέοντος Cedrenus p. 347 C τῷ β' ἔτει*]. *τούτῳ Πέτρος πρεσβύτερος τοῦ ἐν Καλχηδόνι ναοῦ Βάσσης τῆς μάρτυρος, ὁ ἐπίκλην κναφεὺς, ἠκολούθησεν ἐπὶ Ἀντιόχειαν τῷ Ζήνωνι τοῦ βασιλέως γαμβρῷ, ἐποφθαλμίσας δὲ τῷ θρόνῳ τῆς πόλεως παῖσει τὸν Ζήωνα συνεργῆσαι αὐτῷ, καὶ μισθωσάμενος τινας τῆς λώβης τοῦ Ἀπολιωρίου μυρίου θορύβους κατὰ τῆς πίστεως καὶ Μαρτυρίου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰργάσατο, ἀναθέματι βάλλων τοὺς μὴ λέγοντας ὅτι θεὸς ἐσταυρώθη. ἐν οἷς καὶ τὸν λαὸν εἰς διαίρεσιν ἤγαγε, καὶ ἐν τῷ τρισαγίῳ Πέτρος τὸ "Ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς" προσέθηκεν. πρὸς βασιλέα ἐλθὼν Μαρτύριον σὺν πολλῇ τιμῇ ἀπελύθη, σπουδῇ καὶ παρανοήσει Γενναδίῳ· ἐλθὼν δὲ εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ βλέπων Ἀντιοχεῖς παραχαῖς καὶ στάσει χαίροντας, καὶ Ζήωνα τούτοις συμπράττοντα, ἀπετάξατο τῇ ἐπισκοπῇ, ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας εἰπὼν "Κλήρω ἀνυποτάκτῳ καὶ λαῷ ἀπειθεῖ καὶ ἐκκλησία ἐρρηπωμένη ἀποτάττωμαι, φυλάττων ἑμαυτῷ τὸ τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἀξίωμα." Μαρτυρίου ἀναχωρήσαντος, τυραννικῶς ὁ κναφεὺς τῷ θρόνῳ ἐπεπήδησε κ.τ.λ.—γνοὺς δὲ ταῦτα Γενναδίος διδάσκει πάντα τὸν βασιλέα. ὁ δὲ κελεύει τὸν κναφεῖα πεμφθῆναι εἰς ἐξορίαν. ὕπερ προμαθῶν φυγῇ χρησάμενος τὴν ἐξορίαν διέφυγεν. ψηφῶ δὲ κοινῇ Ἰουλιανὸς τῇ ἐπισκοπῇ χειρίζεται. Repeated by Theophanes p. 97 D *Leonis 7* [A. D. 463] *τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει—Ζήνων ἐλθὼν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν εὗρεν ἐπίσκοπον ἐν αὐτῇ τὸν ἱερὸν Μαρτύριον. Πέτρος δὲ ὁ κναφεὺς ἠκολούθει τῷ Ζήνωνι κ.τ.λ. Liberatus in breviario apud Acta Concil. tom. 6 p. 449 *Addidit Acacius quod de alio Petro Antiocheno hæretico scripserat, Petrum apud CP. monasterium gubernasse, et hoc propter crimina derelicto Antiochiam refugisse, ubi, pulso Martyrio episcopo, per vilissimum populum et hæreticum sedem illius occupasset, continuoque damnatum ab episcopis et Leonis imperio Samum [Oasim reponit Basnagius] deportatum.* From Theophanes Nicephorus and Victor compared we collect that the visit of *Zeno* and *Peter* was at A. D. 463; the resignation of *Martyrius* and election of *Julianus* in his stead at 471. Cedrenus p. 349 A also places the narrative of Theodorus Lector and the beginning of the troubles excited by *Peter* the fuller at the 7th of *Leo* A. D. 463: τῷ ζ' ἔτει Λέων ὁ βασιλεὺς Ζήωνα τὸν γαμβρὸν αὐτοῦ στρατηγὸν τῆς ἐφᾶς ἀπίσης πεποίηκε, Πέτρος δὲ κναφεὺς ἀκολουθῶν Ζήνωνι κ.τ.λ.**

46 *Julianus*. Was appointed in A. D. 471. See 45.

He died during the reign of *Basiliscus*: Theophanes p. 104 *Βασιλίσκος—ἀνεκαλέσατο διὰ τύπου Πέτρον τὸν γραφεῖα κρυπτόμενον ἐν τῇ μονῇ τῶν ἀκοιμήτων.—ἐξέπεμψε Πέτρον γραφεῖα εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν.—Ἰουλιανὸς δὲ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος Ἀντιοχείας τέθνηκεν ἀπὸ λύπης τῶν γενομένων. Πέτρος δὲ ὁ γραφεὺς καταλαβὼν τὸν θρόνον εἰς ἀναθέματα καὶ παραχαῖς ἐχώρησεν. In A. D. 476. For *Basiliscus* reigned from Nov. 475 to July 477. Tables p. 684. 686.*

47 *Petrus Fullo*. A. D. 476. See 46. Expelled by *Joannes*: Liberatus in breviario c. 18 p. 449 *Petrus fugiens redisse dicitur CP. et dedisse fidem se per vilissimas turbas nihil audere. Sed—Basilisci temporibus a Timotheo illo damnato, qui CP. venerat, Antiochiam missus est episcopatum tenere. Quo facto, idem Petrus Joannem ordinat Apamenis episcopum. A quibus non receptus rediit Antiochiam et Petrum episcopatus sui pellit auctorem et invadit ejus ecclesiam. Cum quo simul damnatus est.* Theophanes p. 107 D *Zenonis 3º* A. D. 476 [more rightly *Zenonis 4º* A. D. 477: Tables p. 688] ὁ δὲ Ζήνων Πέτρον γραφεῖα ἀπειστράφη διὰ τὸ συντρέχειν αὐτὸν τῷ Βασιλίσκῳ. ψήφῳ δὲ τῆς ἀνατολικῆς συνόδου καθήρεθαι καὶ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννης ἐχειροτονήθη, ὁ μετὰ τρίμηνον ἐκβληθεὶς, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν Στέφανος ἀνὴρ εὐλαβῆς προεβλήθη Ἀντιοχείας ἐπίσκοπος. ὁ δὲ Πέτρος εἰς Παύσιον ἐξοριζόμενος ἀπατήσας τοὺς ἀπάγοντας προσέφυγεν εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Θεόδωρον Εὐχαΐτων. Simplicius however Ep. 8 *Zenoni imp.* quoted in the Tables p. 687 Oct. 8 A. D. 477 had probably not yet heard of the appointment of *Stephanus*: p. 104 *Ante omnia precor ut Alexandrinam ecclesiam—catholico ac legitimo restitui censeatis antistiti, eisque etiam quos temeritate diabolica diversis ordinasse perhibetur ejectis, rectæ fidei subrogari constitutis episcopos.* *Petrus* might therefore be expelled in the close of A. D. 477 and *Joannes II* in the beginning of 478. Malalas XV p. 86 by an error supposes *Petrus* to have been appointed by *Zeno*: Ζήνων—τῷ μηνὶ τῷ ὀγδόῳ τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας ἐποίησεν ἐπίσκοπον—Πέτρον. June A. D. 475.

48 *Joannes II*. See 47.

49 *Stephanus II*. Appointed in the beginning of 478. See 47. Nicephorus in Chron. p. 418 D has these numbers:

Πέτρος ὁ γραφεὺς ὁ καὶ ὑπὸ Ζήνωνος ἐκβληθεὶς ἔτη γ'.  
Ἰωάννης ὁ μετὰ τρίμηνον ἐκβληθεὶς.  
Στέφανος ἔτη γ'  
Στέφανος ἄλλος ἔτος ἕν  
Καλανδίων ἔτη δ'  
Πέτρος πάλιν ὁ γραφεὺς ἔτη γ'  
Παλλάδιος ἔτη ε'.

*Stephanus* has also 3 years in Theophanes p. 108 A *Zenonis 4º* [A. D. 477] *Στέφανος ἔτη γ'*. p. 110 B *Zenonis 7º* [A. D. 480] *Στέφανος ἕτερος ὁ ρύφεις εἰς τὸν Ὀρόντην ποταμὸν ἔτος ἕν.* p. 111 A *Zenonis 8º* [A. D. 481] *Καλανδίων ἔτη δ'*. Three years current will place the death of *Stephanus II* at the close of A. D. 480 and the death of *Stephanus III* at the close of A. D. 481.

50 *Stephanus III*. See 49. Of him Evagrius speaks III. 10 μετὰ γοῦν Πέτρον Στέφανος τὸν Ἀντιοχείας θρόνον



παλαμβάνει· ὃν παίδες Ἀντιοχείων καλὰ μοῖσι διεχειρήσαντο, ἴσα δόρασιν ὀξυνθείσιν, ὡς Ἰωάννη τῷ ῥήτορι [c. 8 N<sup>o</sup> 291 p. 479] γέγραπται. μετὰ Στέφανον δὲ Καλανδίων τοὺς τῆς αὐτῆς καθέδρας οἶκας ἐπιτρέπεται. Simplicius Rom. Ep. 15 *Acacio* apud Acta Concil. tom. 5 p. 110 (which epistle is without a date) mentions the murder of *Stephanus*: *De sacrilega et funestissima cæde quæ apud Antiochiam facta est sauciatus et nimium affectus mærore respondeo.* And in Ep. 14 p. 109 *Zenon imp. Facinora apud Antiochiam perpetrata coercita reperi-mus.—Hi qui in episcoporum neces sacrilega cæde versati sunt dignis jubentur perire suppliciis.* dated X Kal. Jul. post cons. Illi V. C. cos. Sc. June 22 A. D. 479. But, as that epoch was too early for the death of *Stephanus III*, Pagi with reason tom. 2 p. 403 suspects the date. He substitutes *Post cons. Placidi V. C.* or June 22 A. D. 482.

51 *Calandio*. Appointed at the close of 481. See 50. *Candidus* apud Photium Cod. 79 p. 176 ὡς Πέτρον τοῦ δυσσεβοῦς τὰς τῆς ἀνατολῆς ταρασσόντος ἐκκλησίας Καλανδίανα Ζήνων ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὸ ἱεράσθαι Ἀντιοχείας ἀπέστειλε. Expelled, and *Peter* restored: *Liberatus* in breviario c. 18 p. 450 *Interea Calandion archiepiscopus Antiochenus deponitur. Accusatur in aperto tanquam indevotus principi* &c. *Theophanes* p. 115 *Zenonis* 16<sup>o</sup> [A. D. 489] τούτω τῷ ἔτει—Ζήνων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνεθεὶς τῶν τυράννων ἐξέβαλε τῆς ἐκκλησίας Ἀντιοχείων Καλανδίανα καὶ ἐξώρισεν εἰς Ὀασιν, Πέτρον δὲ τὸν γραφεὶα κατέστησεν.—Πέτρος δὲ ὁ γραφεὺς εἰσελθὼν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν πολλὰ κακὰ πέπραχε κ. τ. λ. In *Cedrenus* also p. 353 D τῷ 15<sup>o</sup> ἔτει. *Calandio* is named by *Simplicius* Ep. 16 June 22 A. D. 482 (quoted in the Tables p. 695) *Antiocheni exordium sacerdotis qua ratione fuerit serius indicatum—et ipse vel synodus ipsius indicavit.—Fratris et coepiscopi nostri Calendionis sacerdotium gremio apostolicæ sedis amplexi* &c. The expulsion of *Calandio* by *Petrus* is fixed to A. D. 485 by Pagi tom. 2 p. 423 from the date of a Roman synod in which *Petrus* was condemned, held in that year. The letter of the synod—*epistola synodi Romanæ ad clericos et monachos orientales* apud Acta Concil. tom. 5 p. 247—is dated III Non. Oct. *Sym-macho V. C. cos.* sc. Oct. 5 A. D. 485. *Calandio* therefore presided 4 years, as in *Nicephorus* and in *Theophanes* himself p. 111 A, and his deposition is placed 4 years too low by *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus*.

Evidence to the troubles at Alexandria and Antioch in the reigns of *Leo* and *Zeno* is contained in an authentic document quoted by Pagi and *Basnage* and extant in Act. Concil. tom. 5 p. 173—176. It has been reserved for this place, that it may be presented under one view. *Breviculus historiae Eutylianistarum, sive Gesta de nomine Acacii.* IN CAUSA fidei Christianæ, cui ab exordio sui nunquam defuisse probantur inimici, nostro quidem sæculo, sed intervallo temporum, Nestorius et Eutyches non nova dogmata suæ perversitatis sed nomina prodiderunt. Nam Nestorius ante LVIII fere annos, Photini et Pauli Samosatani secutus errorem, Oasitano exilio [A. D. 431] meruit re-

legari, dicendo (sicut ab auctoribus suis didicit) Christum Dominum nostrum hominem tantummodo de virgine Maria esse progenitum. Contra quem Eutyches post annos non plurimos æstimans disputandum, rectum tramitem tenere nesciens, offendit, et in Apollinaris est raptus insaniam, in hæc verba prorumpens quibus assereret Christum verum hominem non fuisse nec in eo duas naturas esse credendas, sed unam tantummodo Dei Verbi, veruntamen incarnatam, &c.—Cum ergo Eutychem istum, presbyterum et abbatem CP. civitatis, Eusebius Dorylitanus episcopus suadere talia reperisset, zelo fidei quam etiam cum Agens in rebus esset ostendit, —detulit ad Flavianum episcopum, et ad iudicium provocavit. Dicta causa est. Cum partes suas Eutyches videret urgeri, per Chrysapium spatarium Theodosii præsidium principis expetivit. Cujus præcepto Florentius V. Ill. exconsule discussioni Eutyche abesse non potuit, et jam in præsentia ipsius convincitur Eutyches atque damnatur. Offenditur imperator, et in Ephesina civitate mandat synodum congregari. Adsunt fere CXL episcopi, principibus Dioscoro Alexandrino episcopo, Juvenali Hierosolymitano, &c.—Tota die, id est, VI Id. Aug. [A. D. 449] nihil aliud nisi quondam Nestorii damnati, id est, prioris Ephesinæ synodi gesta [A. D. 431] releguntur.—Cum Eutyche blasphemiam relegerent, ab omnibus adclamatum est hanc esse veram fidem.—Dejicitur contradicentibus vicarius Romanis Flavianus, et recipitur Eutyches. Damnatur etiam Eusebius episcopus accusator ejusdem presbyteri &c.—Ducitur in exilium Flavianus, et apud Epipam—defunctus est.—Fit Anatolius CP. episcopus, homo partium Dioscori. Exempto anno moritur Theodosius imp. Chrysaphius punitur, Marcianus factus est princeps. Læsam fidem graviter ferens indicit synodum apud Nicæam, in qua et ipse et Pulcheria resedit et omnis cum eo senatus et potestates. Quam synodum postea transulit Chalcedona [A. D. 451] propter palatii vicinitatem &c.—Mortuo principe Marciano, collectis turbis hæreticorum Timotheus [sc. Ælurus] et Petrus [sc. Mongus] veniunt Alexandriam, et ordinatur ab hæreticis Timotheus episcopus. Duo igitur apud Alexandriam episcopi esse cæperunt. Ante triduum paschæ quo cæna Domini celebratur [March 29 A. D. 457] collecta multitudine perditorum occupatur ecclesia, ad quam se sanctæ memoriæ Proterius de more contulerat. Ibi supradicto die in baptisterio occiditur laniatur ejicitur, et funus ejus incenditur, cineresque ipsius sparguntur in ventos. Leo sumit imperium; ad quem tanti facinoris catholicorum querela pervenit &c.—Omnes illi episcopi qui Chalcedone fuerant congregati quid Alexandriæ factum fuisset agnoscunt, interrogatique cum suis provincialibus episcopis rescribunt Chalcedonensem synodum usque ad sanguinem esse defendendam, quia non aliter fidem statuit quam synodus Nicæna, Timotheum non solum episcopum non haberi sed etiam Christiani appellatione privari. Quo deposito, fit alter Timotheus [Timoth. III] catholicus episcopus Alexandriæ. Vix Timotheus hæreticus depellitur, fugit Petrus, mittitur in exilium Timotheus Chersona, qui locus est



in Ponto abditus. Quamdiu vixit imperator Leo, vixit Timotheus episcopus Alexandria cum quiete. Sed cum Basiliscus occupasset imperium [A. D. 476], damnare cepit Chalcedonensem synodum et catholicos persequi. Tunc denique Timotheus ille damnatus [sc. Ælurus] accepta libertate venit CP. et damnatos hereticos locis suis reddidit. Vadit Alexandriam; fugit Timotheus catholicus et in monasterio latet. Petrus ille [sc. Mongus] iterum se junxit Timotheo, cum quo fuerat antea damnatus. Redit imperator Zeno ad regnum [July A. D. 477], Basiliscus opprimitur. Mittitur Alexandriam ut pulso pervasore Timotheus catholicus redderetur ecclesie: sed Timotheo damnato morte preventivo, Petrus [Mongus] consors ipsius ab uno heretico Alexandrinis episcopus ordinatur. Quem nihilominus dejici jussit Christianissimus imperator et reduci Timotheum catholicum, sicut Acacii CP. literis continetur. Cum plurimi—ad communionem catholici episcopi Timothei nolent penitus convenire, diversis sacris tenuit universos clementissimus imperator. Scripsit ad papam Simplicium Timotheus rogans ut scriberetur imperatori de Petro, qui latebat in Alexandrina civitate et insidiabatur ecclesie, ut ad longinquum deportaretur exilium. Per ferme triennium sancte memoriae papa Simplicius non desiit scribendo ad Acacium episcopum ut ageret cum imperatore et fieret de Petro quod Timotheus episcopus postulabat.—Defuncto isto Timotheo episcopo, Joannes economus catholicus [sc. Joannes I] a catholicis ordinatur episcopus. Qui cum de consuetudine majorum ad apostolicam sedem synodica scripta misisset, superveniente Uranio subadjuva, et contra Joannem jam episcopum sacra principis deferente, ab episcopatus illius confirmatione papa suspensus est. Et quia in iisdem sacris de restituendo Petro [sc. Mongo] quem ipse damnavit fecerat mentionem, hæc pars omnino est abnegata. Unde videtur clementissimus imperator offensus. Cum ergo Simplicii nihil totiens ad Acacium directa propter Alexandrinæ ecclesie quietem et catholicae fidei integritatem scripta proficerent, supervenit idem sanctus Joannes episcopus, qui (sicut decebat) ab apostolica sede susceptus est.—Cui dum Acacii scripta legeremus, quæ de Petro [sc. Fullone] et Joanne Antiochenis miserat, excessus Acacii etiam in hac causa gravissimos deprehendit. Illo enim tempore quo de Petro Alexandrino damnato retulerat, non longe post etiam de Petro [Fullone] et Joanne scripserat, Petrum apud CP. monasterium gubernasse; sed hoc propter crimina derelicto Antiochiam fugisse. Ibi pulso Martyrio catholico episcopo [A. D. 471] per hereticos sedem ipsius occupasse, continuoque damnatum a Leone tunc principe ad Oasitanum exilium esse directum, de quo lapsum CP. rediisse ac dedisse fidem quod nullas ulterius turbas facere prorsus auderet. Sed—Basilisci temporibus a Timotheo illo damnato [sc. Æluro] qui CP. venerat ad Antiochiam remissum fuisse, ut iterum illic episcopatum teneret. Quo facto idem Petrus Joannem quendam presbyterum, de quo Acacium diximus retulisse, ordinat Apamenis episcopum, a quibus non receptus venit Antiochiam et Petrum episcopatus sui

pellit auctorem et invadit ejus ecclesiam. Quos iterum damnatos dicit Acacius, petens ab apostolica sede ut, si forte ad eam confugerent, nec visu dignos haberet.—Quod cum præfatus Joannes Alexandrinus episcopus relegisset, tacere non potuit, quod illum Joannem [sc. Joannem Antioch. II] quem Acacius damnaverat cum Petro—post tot damnationes Tyrriorum miserit ecclesie præsidere. Postquam ergo non solum nihil profecisse literas decessoris sui sanctus Felix papa cognovit, et ludibria quædam Acacio fieri in eversionem totius ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ, electis Vitale episcopo Troentinate—et Miseno Cumanæ ecclesie episcopo—direxit ut Petrus de Alexandrina pelleretur ecclesie et ut libello sancti Joannis episcopi Alexandrini responderet Acacius, atque ipsi denunciaretur Acacio ut anathema diceret Petro. Qui, quamvis hostili more detrusi in custodiam chartas amiserint, tamen perfidis hereticis atque damnatis accommodare non debuerant quæ sola negari potuit, voluntatem. Non solum ergo non egerunt quæ jussa sunt—sed etiam hereticis communicaverunt, confirmationem Petri episcopatus, ad quem pellendum missi fuerant, deferentes, atque contumelias in episcopum Joannem Acacio dirigente portantes. Quibus rebus habita synodo [V Kal. Aug. A. D. 484] commotus beatissimus papa Vitalem et Misenum ab officio et communione suspendit, Acaciumque damnavit. Cujus audacia deteriora committens etiam Petrum [sc. Fullonem] Antiochenum ejecto catholico Calendione, quem ipse [A. D. 481] ordinaverat, ad Antiochenam misit ecclesiam.

Victor Tun. records the acts of 484 and 485 at the year 487: *Post cons. Longini Acacius CP. Petrus Alexandrinus Petrus Antiochenus—a Felice R. E. præseule et synodo in Italia facta damnantur.* And the death of Fullo in 488: *Post cons. II Longini. Petrus Antiochenus sub damnatione moritur.* What follows in Victor—*In ejus loco Calendionem ordinat,—cui Petrus successit hereticus,* is transposed from its proper place, and belongs to a former year *Placido V. C. cos. A. D. 481,* whose consulship is omitted in the present text.

The death of *Petrus Fullo* in A. D. 483 agrees with the term of 3 years assigned in Nicephorus (see 49) and in Theophanes p. 113 A. D. The death of *Stephanus III,* the episcopate of *Calandio,* his expulsion and the restoration of *Petrus,* are related by Malalas XV p. 91.

52 *Palladius.* Succeeded *Petrus Fullo* in 488. He has ten years in Nicephorus (see 49) and in Theophanes p. 115 A 116 B 117 C 120 A. Idem p. 122 C *Anastasii 8<sup>o</sup>* [A. D. 498] Παλλαδίου δὲ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Ἀντιοχείας τελευτήσαντος, Φλαβιανὸν πρεσβύτερον καὶ ἀποκριτάριον τῆς ἐκκλησίας Ἀντιοχείων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐψηφίσατο. φασὶ δὲ Φλαβιανὸν τοῖς ἐν Χαλκηδόνι δόγμασιν ἀντικεῖσθαι. At the right date. If his 1st year commenced in 488, his 10th year terminated in 498.

53 *Flavianus II.* Appointed in 498. Succeeded by *Severus* in 512. Tables p. 729. He presided therefore 14 years, from his appointment to his deposition. Theophanes only assigns 13 years: p. 122 D *Anastasi 9<sup>o</sup>* Φλαβιανὸς ἔτη ιγ'. α'. Conf. p. 124 B 126 D



129 B. Idem p. 132 D *Anastasioi* 21° *Flavianii* 13° p. 134 A τότε καὶ Φλαβιανόν κ. τ. λ. (Tables p. 729). In the reckoning of Theophanes (see above c. 1 p. 1) the 1st of *Anastasioi* was computed from Sept. 1 A. D. 491, the 9th of *Anastasioi* and the 1st of *Flavianus* from Sept. 1 A. D. 499, the 21st of *Anastasioi* and the 13th of *Flavianus* from Sept. 1 A. D. 511. But *Flavianus* was appointed in 498, within the 8th year of *Anastasioi*, and *Severus* in Nov. 512 in the 22nd of *Anastasioi*.

58 *Domnus III*. Succeeded *Ephraimius* in A. D. 545. Tables p. 747. Theophanes p. 189 C *Justiniani* 17° *Ephraimi* 17 p. 190 A *Justiniani* 18° [from Sept. 1 A. D. 544] *Ephraimi* 18° *Justiniani* 19° [from Sept. 1 A. D. 545] Δόμνος ἔτη ιδ'. α'. p. 197 A *Justiniani* 32° [from Sept. 1 A. D. 558] Δόμνος ἔτη ιδ'. ιδ'. p. 198 C *Justiniani* 33° [from Sept. 1 A. D. 559] Ἀναστάσιος ἔτη ια'. α'. *Anastasioi* therefore succeeded *Domnus III* in A. D. 559. He was expelled and succeeded by *Gregory* in A. D. 570: Tables p. 828. Restored in the middle of 593. Tables *Ibid*. His successor is addressed by *Gregory* of Rome Ep. IX. 49 tom. 2 p. 962 *Indict. II. ad Anastasium Antiochenum episcopum. Fraternalitatis tue scripta suscepi professionem fidei recte servantia*, &c. A preceding epistle Ep. IX. 46 bears date in some MSS. *mense Martio Indict. II*, and a following epistle Ep. IX. 60 is also dated *mense Martio Indict. II*. Whence we may collect that the letter

to *Anastasioi II* was written in March A. D. 599, and *Anastasioi I* might die at the close of 598. He has 6 years in Theophanes p. 229 D after his restoration: *Mauricii* 13° [from Sept. 1 A. D. 594] Ἀναστάσιος ἔτη ε'. [lege ς]. p. 232 D Ἀναστάσιος ἔτη ς'. p. 234 A *Mauricii* 18° [from Sept. 1 A. D. 599] Ἀναστάσιος ἔτη ς'. ς'. p. 236 C *Mauricii* 19° [from Sept. 1 A. D. 600] Ἀναστάσιος [sc. alter] ἔτη θ'. α'. Each of these dates is more than a year too low. *Anastasioi I* was restored in the 11th of *Mauricii*, and died in the 17th.

*Nicephorus* p. 419 assigns these numbers:

Φλαβιανὸς ὁ ἐκβληθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἀναστασίου ἔτη ζ'.

Παῦλος ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτη γ'.

Εὐφράσιος ὁ ἐν τῇ πτώσει τῆς πόλεως χωσθεὶς ἔτη ε'.

Ἐφραίμους ὁ ἐπὶ Ἰουστινιανοῦ ἔτη ιγ'.

Δόμνος ἔτη ιδ'.

Ἀναστάσιος ἔτη ια'.

Γρηγόριος ἔτη κδ'.

Ἀναστάσιος τὸ δεύτερον ἔτη ς'.

Ἀναστάσιος ἔτερος ἔτη θ'.

He omits *Severus* and gives wrong numbers to *Flavianus*. For the rest he agrees with Theophanes.

61 *Anastasioi II*. Succeeded about the beginning of A. D. 599. Slain in a sedition in September A. D. 610. see above c. 1 p. 160. in the 11th year current of his episcopate. And he presided about 10<sup>th</sup> 8<sup>m</sup>. instead of 9 years, the term assigned by Theophanes and *Nicephorus*.

#### 4 Bishops of Jerusalem.

2—16 *Simeon—Marcus*. Twelve bishops of Jerusalem are placed in 26 years between *Justus* and *Marcus*. *Simeon* was bishop after the death of *St. James*; and *St. James* was put to death A. D. 67 or 70: *Hegeppus* apud Euseb. H. E. II. 23. Euseb. H. E. IV. 5 τῶν γε μὴν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐπισκόπων τοὺς χρόνους γραφῇ σωζομένους οὐδαμῶς εἶρον κομιδῇ γὰρ οὐν βραχυβίους αὐτοὺς λόγος κατέχει γενέσθαι. τοσοῦτον δ' ἐξ ἐγγράφων παρελήφα, ὡς μέχρι τῆς κατὰ Ἀδριανὸν Ἰουδαίων πολιορκίας πεντεκαίδεκα τὸν ἀριθμὸν αὐτοῦ γεγονόσιν ἐπισκόπων διαδοχαί, οὓς πάντας Ἑβραίους φασὶν ὄντας ἀέκαθεν τὴν γνώσιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ γνησίως καταδέξασθαι—πρῶτος τοιγαροῦν Ἰάκωβος ὁ τοῦ κυρίου λεγόμενος ἀδελφὸς ἦν· μεθ' οὗν δεύτερος Συμεών· τρίτος Ἰούστος· Ζαχαρίας δ'· ε' Τωβίας, ς' Βενιαμίν, Ἰωάννης ζ', ἠ' Μαθθίας, θ' Φίλιππος, ι' Σενεκᾶς, ια' Ἰούστος, Λευὶς ιβ', Ἐφρῆς ιγ', ιδ' Ἰωσήφ· ἐπὶ πάνσι, ιε' Ἰούδας. Idem IV. 6 ἡ μετέπειτα συστάσα Ῥωμαϊκῆ πόλις [A. D. 135: Tables p. 122]—Ἀιλία προσαγορεύεται· καὶ δὴ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίας ἐξ ἔθνων συγκροτηθείσης πρῶτος μετὰ τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς ἐπισκόπους τὴν τῶν ἐκείσε λειτουργίαν ἐχειριζέται Μάρκος. Idem Chron. Arm. anno 2077 de *Jacobo et Simeone*. Idem anno 2125 *Hierosolymitanae ecclesiae sedem quartus tenuit Zacchæus, deinde quintus Tobias, post hunc VI Benjamin exin VII Johannes, tum VIII Matathias, denique IX Philippus*. Idem anno 2139 *Decimus successit Eneacas, post hunc Justus XI, post quem XII Levinus, deinde XIII Ephremus, exin XIV Josephus ad ex-*

*tremum XV Judas. Hi omnes ex circumcissione episcopi fuerunt usque ad urbem ab Hadriano obsidione circumdatam. Idem anno 2152 Hierosolymitanae ecclesiae primus ex ethnicis episcopus fuit Marcus annis XVI [lege Marcus sextus decimus], cessantibus qui de circumcissione fuerant episcopi.*

17—30 *Cassianus—Narcissus*. Euseb. H. E. V. 12 Νάρκισσος [Tables A. D. 190 p. 189 A. D. 196 p. 199] πεντεκαδεκάτην ἄγων διαδοχὴν ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων κατὰ Ἀδριανὸν πολιορκίας.—μετὰ Μάρκον ἐπισκοπεῦσαι Κασσιανὸν αἱ τῶν αὐτοῦ διαδοχαὶ περιέχουσι· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Πούπλιον, εἶτα Μάξιμον, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις Ἰουλιανόν· ἔπειτα Γάϊον, μεθ' οὗν Σύμμαχον, καὶ Γάϊον ἕτερον, καὶ πάλιν ἄλλον Ἰουλιανόν· Καπίτανά τε πρὸς τούτοις \* \* \* καὶ Οὐάλεντα καὶ Δολιχινόν, καὶ ἐπὶ πάνσι τὸν Νάρκισσον, τριακοστὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων. Idem Chron. Arm. anno 2173 *Episcopus XVII Cassianus, XVIII Publius, XIX Maximinus, XX Julianus, XXI Gaius, XXII Symmachus, XXIII Gaius, XXIV Julianus, XXV Apion*. Idem anno 2199 *XXVI episcopus Maximus, XXVII Antoninus, XXVIII Valens, XXIX Dulichianus, XXX Narcissus, XXXI Dios, XXXII Germanio, XXXIII Gordianus, XXXIV iterum Narcissus, quem nuper nominavimus. Tot episcoporum—haud par erat tempora singillatim a nobis apponi, neque enim quot annos pontificatum singuli gesserint deprehendere nobis licuit. Narcissus after his return resigned the charge to Alexander A. D. 214. Tables p. 223. His seces-*



sion might be between A. D. 197—212, about 15 years.

46 *Prayllus*. 47 *Juvenalis*. 48 *Anastasius*.

*Prayllus* succeeded *Joannes* after Dec. A. D. 415 : see above c. 8 p. 456. After *Prayllus* Nicephorus p. 410 C proceeds

Ἰουβενάλιος ὁ ἐν ταῖς δυσὶ συνόδοις Ἐφέσου καὶ Καλ-  
χιδόνος [see A. D. 431 p. 616 A. D. 451 p. 645]  
ἔτη λη'.

Θεοδόσιος ὁ ἐκβληθεὶς ὑπὸ Μαρκιανοῦ, καὶ πάλιν Ἰου-  
βενάλιος.

Ἀναστάσιος ἔτη ιη'

Μαρτύριος ἔτη η'

Σαλούστιος, ἀφ' οὗ ἀπέσχισεν ὁ Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπος διὰ  
τὸ ἐνωτικὸν Ζήνωνος, ἔτη η'.

Auctor Vitæ Cyriaci apud Pagium tom. 2 p. 357 *Cyriacus Hierosolymam venit jam XVIII annos natus, IX<sup>o</sup> quidem imperii Leonis anno pontificatus autem Anastasii Hierosolymorum episcopi VIII<sup>o</sup>. Anastasius was appointed in July: Cyrillus in vita Euthymii apud Pagium tom. 2 p. 360 LXXXIII<sup>o</sup> magni Euthymii ætatis anno, Juvenalis archiepiscopus cum XXXXIV [legit Pagius XXXIV] annos in patriarchatu implesset e vita migravit, Anastasius vero—universi populi suffragio in sedem Jacobi evecus est initio mensis Julii. If the 9th of Leo was current with the 8th of Anastasius, the 2nd was current with the 1st; and as the 2nd of Leo commenced Feb. 7 the 1st of Anastasius commenced in July A. D. 458, as Pagi has determined.*

Theophanes assigns to *Juvenalis* 38 years : p. 80 D *Theodosii II* 31<sup>o</sup> [A. D. 438] Ἰουβενάλιος ἔτη λη'. α'. conf. p. 84 B 89 B 91 C 97 C 99 A 101 B 102 C 103 C. Idem p. 105 B *Zenonis* 2<sup>o</sup> [A. D. 475] *Juvenalis* 38<sup>o</sup>. p. 106 C *Zenonis* 3<sup>o</sup> [A. D. 496] Ἀναστάσιος ἔτη ιη'. α'. An error of 17 years in the times of *Juvenalis* and of *Anastasius*. The succession of *Juvenalis* would be placed by 44 years at A. D. 415 when *Joannes* was still living. He had therefore 38 years, from A. D. 421, or 34 years, from A. D. 425.

*Anastasius*, who has 18 years in Nicephorus and Theophanes, survived till A. D. 478. See 49. He presided therefore 20 years from July A. D. 458, instead of 18 years.

49 *Martyrius*. Died in the 8th year of his episcopate in A. D. 486 : Cyrillus (see c. 8 N<sup>o</sup> 283 p. 478) in vita Sabæ (see c. 8 N<sup>o</sup> 260 p. 476) c. 38 apud Pagium tom. 2 p. 428 *Saba jam XLVIII<sup>um</sup> ætatis sue annum agente, patriarcha Martyrius anno sui pontificatus octavo excessit e vivis. Sabas* was born in Jan. A. D. 439 : see above p. 476. His 48th year commenced in Jan. A. D. 486, to which year the death of *Martyrius* is determined. *Martyrius* died about April. See 50. And, as his 8th year was current in April 486, his first year might commence in 478.

50 *Salustius*. Cyrillus in vita Sabæ c. 31 apud Pagium tom. 2 p. 443 *Postquam archiepiscopus Sa-*

*lustius obtenta sede Hierosolymorum per VIII annos mensesque III in Christo dormisset, mense Julio XXIII<sup>a</sup> die Indictione II Elias in patriarchatu successit, LVI<sup>o</sup> beati Sabæ ætatis anno. The 56th year of Sabas commenced in Jan. A. D. 494. see 49. and the death of Salustius is in July of the second indiction A. D. 494. The 8<sup>o</sup> 3<sup>m</sup> of his episcopate carry back his appointment and the death of his predecessor to April A. D. 486. Salustius has 8 years in Nicephorus and in Theophanes p. 124 A.*

51 *Elias*. Appointed July 23 A. D. 494. See 50. His deposition is fixed to A. D. 513 by Cyrillus : Pagi tom. 2 p. 489. 490 “*Mittit Severus sua synodalia ad Eliam patriarcham, quibus minime admissis non mediocriter ad iram accendit imperatorem* [sc. *Anastasium*], inquit Cyrillus in vita Sabæ. Addit Cyrillus *Eliam* [immo *Severum*] *iterum easdem synodicas suas mense Maio VI<sup>a</sup> indictionis* [May A. D. 513] *misisse Hierosolymam cum quibusdam clericis et imperatoris copiis, sed sanctum Sabam eos a sacra civitate expulisse; dein imperatorem ira exardescens misisse Olympium qui ducatum Palæstinæ tenebat, huncque Eliam ab episcopatu depulisse ac Joannem Marciani filium, qui sponderet Severum in communicatorem admittere, episcopum Hierosolymorum fecisse.*” *Elias* survived till A. D. 518, and died ten days after the emperor *Anastasius*: Pagi tom. 2 p. 500 “*Cyrillus in vita Sabæ c. 60 tradit Sabam circa solstitium æstivum indictionis XI* [A. D. 518] *in urbem Ailam ad Eliam ibidem exulantem profectum esse.—Contigit ut Elias nono mensis Julii die pro solito non exiret, qui tandem egressus circa sextam horam noctis dixit “Hac hora migravit e vita Anastasius imperator.” Quem diem quum Saba notasset, reversus Hierosolymam agnovit nocte X<sup>a</sup> diei Julii mensis imperatorem extinctum.—Additque Eliam decimo die post Anastasium defunctum esse, ideoque die XIX<sup>o</sup> ejusdem mensis.*”

52 *Joannes II*. Appointed in 513. See 51. Died in A. D. 524 : Pagi tom. 2 p. 527. 528 “*Cyrillus in vita Sabæ c. 68 Dum Sabas annum agit ætatis LXXXVI<sup>um</sup> Joannem post peractos in patriarchatu VII annos cum IX mensibus ad Deum migrasse, et reliquisse successorem beatissimum Petrum Eleutheropolitam.*” The 86th year of *Sabas* commenced in Jan. A. D. 524. See c. 8 N<sup>o</sup> 260 p. 476. The term assigned to *Joannes* by Cyrillus 7<sup>o</sup> 9<sup>m</sup> commenced, as Pagi explains, from a point of time in the 4th year of his episcopate.

53 *Petrus*. Succeeded *Joannes* in 524. See 52. He has 20 years in Nicephorus p. 410 C Πέτρος ἐπὶ Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως ἔτη κ'. and in Theophanes p. 190 B 192 A 194 C 195 D 197 A 199 C 203 A. Victor Tun. marks the year of his death : *Post cons. Basilii V. C. anno IV* [A. D. 544] *Hierosolymitanæ ecclesiæ præsulatum post Petrum Macarius suscipit.*

54 *Macarius*. Appointed in 544. See 53.

55 *Eustochius*. Victor Tun. *Post cons. Basilii V. C. anno XII* [A. D. 552 *Victori*] *Macarius Hierosolymitanus episcopus ejicitur, et eo superstite Eustochius*



ordinatur. Idem Anno XXXVII imperii Justiniani [A. D. 563] *Eustochius Hierosolymitanus episcopus, qui fuerat Macario superstitite ordinatus, ejicitur, et rursum Macarius reformatur.* Evagrius IV. 39 ἐπισκοποῦντος τὴν Ἱεροσολύμων Μακαρίου, ἀδθις ἀποδοθέντος τῷ οἰκείῳ θρόνῳ, ἐπεὶ Ὀριγένην καὶ Δίδυμον καὶ Εὐάγγριον ἀναθεματίκε, μετὰ τὴν Εὐστοχίου καθάρεισιν.

56 *Joannes III.* Succeeded *Macarius*: Niceph. p. 410 D

Μακάριος πάλιν ἔτη δ'  
Ἰωάννης ἔτη κβ'  
Ἀμῶς ἔτη η'  
Ἰσάκιος ἔτη η'.

Theophanes p. 205 C πάλιν Μακάριος ἔτη δ'. p. 209 C 211 A 213 D 217 B Ἰωάννης ἔτη κ'. p. 228 A Ἀμῶς ἔτη η'. p. 236 C Ἰσάκιος ἔτη η'. Evagrius closed his history in the interval between the death of *Joannes* and the appointment of his successor: VI. 24 Ἱεροσολύμων τε Ἰωάννου ὁ μετὰ βραχὺ τελευτήσαντος, οὕτω τις τοὺς αὐτοσε οἶακας ἐνεχειρίσθη. ἐνταῦθά μοι τὰ τῆς ἱστορίας πεπαύσθω κ. τ. λ. *Joannes* therefore died in A. D. 593, and at the close of that year, when *Evagrius* wrote (see the Tables p. 779), *Amos* was not yet appointed.

The year of the death of *Macarius* and the succession of *Joannes* can only be assigned upon the uncertain evidence of Nicephorus and Theophanes, and of the years assigned to *Macarius* and *Joannes*. The term of 22 years will begin in A. D. 571, of 20 years in 573, and *Macarius* after his restoration presided either 8 or 10 years.

57 *Amos*. Appointed in the beginning of 594. See 56. His death is fixed to A. D. 601 by Greg. Rom. Ep. XI. 46 *Isacio episcopo Hierosolymitano.* Respondet synodicae *Isacii* epistolæ. A preceding letter of *Gregory* (quoted above p. 157), Ep. XI. 32, is dated *mense Feb. ind. IV*; a following letter, Ep. XI. 52, is dated *mense Junii ind. IV*. Between these dates Ep. XI. 46, written on the accession of *Isacius*, determines his appointment to the beginning of A. D. 601. The period of 8 years assigned to *Amos* by Nicephorus and Theophanes must be understood of 7 years complete and 8 years current.

Called *Νεαμῶς* by Nicephorus Callisti H. E. XVIII. See above p. 161.

58 *Isacius*. Succeeded in 601. See 57. His death is marked at A. D. 609 in c. 1 p. 160. Agreeing with the term of 8 years assigned by Nicephorus and Theophanes.

59 *Zacharias*. Succeeded in 609. See above c. 1 p. 160. Mentioned at A. D. 610 by Nicephorus, quoted p. 161. He died in 629: *Ibid.* p. 170.

60 *Modestus*. 61 *Sophronius*. *Modestus* was appointed in the spring of A. D. 629. See above c. 1 p. 170. He has 2 years in Theophanes, but in Nicephorus p. 410 D one year, and in Eutychius nine months, followed by an interval of 6 years. See c. 1 p. 170.

*Sophronius* survived the capture of Jerusalem, and died at the close of A. D. 637 in the beginning of the 28th year of *Heraclius* and of the 11th indiction. He has 4 years in Eutychius quoted at p. 175. The 4 years current might commence in the beginning of 633, *Heraclii* 23<sup>o</sup> *Indict.* 6. The nine months of *Modestus* might terminate in the beginning of 630, *Heraclii* 20<sup>o</sup>, leaving a space of 3 years instead of 6 between the two pontificates. Theophanes p. 279 D assigns 3 years to *Sophronius*, and places his first year at the 24th of *Heraclius* A. D. 633<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>, and his death after the capture of Jerusalem at the 26th of *Heraclius*. See c. 1 p. 174. 175.

The appointment of *Sophronius* is noticed by *Serгий Ep. ad Honorium Romanum* apud Acta Concil. tom. 7 p. 954 E τούτων οὕτως προεληλυθόντων, Σωφρόνιος ὁ ὀσιώτατος μοναχός, ὁ ταῦν, ὡς ἐξ ἀκοῆς μόνης μεμαθήκαμεν, τῆς Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν χειροτονηθείς πρόεδρος, οὕτω γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἐξ ἔθους συνοδικὰ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἐδεξάμεθα—Mentioned again *Ibid.* p. 956 D p. 957 E, and in the reply of *Honorius* *Ibid.* p. 959 E.

After the death of *Sophronius* the see was vacant for 29 years: Eutych. tom. 2 p. 291 *Post mortem autem ipsius ex quo decessit manserunt Hierosolyma absque patriarcha annos viginti novem.* Zonaras XIV tom. 2 p. 90 D observes that at the 6th council Nov. A. D. 680 Ἀλεξανδρείας οὐκ ἦν πατριάρχης οὐδὲ Ἱεροσολύμων, ὅτι ὑπὸ τοὺς Σαρακηνοὺς αἱ πόλεις αὐταὶ ἐτίγχανον.

### 5 Bishops of Constantinople.

1 *Alexander*. His predecessor *Metrophanes* survived till the council of Nice A. D. 325: Euseb. Vit. Const. III. 7 τῆς δὲ γε βασιλευούσης πόλεως ὁ μὲν προεστὼς ὑστερεὶ διὰ γῆρας, πρεσβύτεροι δ' αὐτοῦ παρόντες τὴν αὐτοῦ τάξιν ἐπλήρουν. That *Metrophanes* of CP. (or rather Byzantium) is intended, as Pagi tom. 1 p. 386 rightly judges, and not *Silvester* of Rome, is proved by the subscriptions to the Council apud Gelasium Actis Conc. tom. 2 p. 236 Ἀλέξανδρος ΚΠ. τότε πρεσβύτερος ἔτι ὢν, εἰς ὑστερον δὲ τῆς ἐπισκοπικῆς ἱερατείας τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίας λαχὼν, σὺν Παύλῳ ἔτι τότε ἀναγνώστη ὄντι καὶ νοταρίῳ αὐτοῦ, ταῖς ἐν ταῖς νήσοις πάσαις Κυκλάσις. *Alexander* therefore succeeded *Metrophanes* at Byzantium

about A. D. 326. He died in A. D. 340; for he survived *Arius*: conf. Pagium tom. 1 p. 443 "aliquanto post *Arium* ex hac luce migravit." Socrates H. E. II. 5. 6 supplies the year: ἐν ὑπατεία Ἀκινδύνου καὶ Πρόκλου [A. D. 340]—ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον κατὰ τὴν ΚΠ.—Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ κατὰ τήνδε τὴν πόλιν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν προεστὼς—τὸν ἔνθαδε βίον ἀπέλειπεν, κγ' μὲν ἔτη κατὰ τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν διατρίψας, ζη' δὲ ἔτη τὰ πάντα βιούσ. Conf. Sozom. III. 3. Theophanes p. 26 D Κωνσταντίνος—τῷ δεκάτῳ τρίτῳ αὐτοῦ ἔτει [A. D. 318] καταλαβὼν τὸ Βυζάντιον Μητροφάνην τὸν πρὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου εὔρεν ἐπίσκοπον πρῶτα, εἶτα Ἀλέξανδρος ἔτη κγ'. Also 23 years in Nicephorus H. E. IX. 4 Nicephori Chron. p. 413 C.



Which Pagi approves tom. 1 p. 441. But Pagi forgets that 23 years ending at A. D. 340 would place the commencement at A. D. 317, and that he had himself shewn at p. 386 the true commencement of *Alexander* to be after A. D. 325. *Alexander* then presided 14 years and not 23, and these authors had placed his appointment too high. Theodoret H. E. I. 2 also places him too high: τῆς δὲ ΚΠ. κατὰ τοῦτον αὐτὸν τὸν καιρὸν [within A. D. 313—319] Ἀλέξανδρος τῆς ἱερατικῆς ἡξιούτο λειτουργίας.

2 *Paulus*. Succeeded *Alexander* in A. D. 340: Socrates. II. 6 Sozom. III. 3 Niceph. H. E. IX. 4. For his expulsion see the Tables A. D. 342 p. 404, his death A. D. 352 p. 423.

*Eusebius of Nicomedia* is appointed to CP. in the same year with *Paulus* A. D. 340. On *Eusebius* see the Tables p. 397.

6 *Demophilus*. Succeeded *Eudoxius* in A. D. 370: Socrates IV. 14 Εὐδόξιος οὗτος ὁ τῆς Ἀρειανῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπος εἶθὺς μετὰ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἔξοδον τέλει τοῦ βίου ἐχρήσατο ἐν ὑπατείᾳ Οὐαλεντιανοῦ τὸ τρίτον καὶ Οὐαλεντος τὸ τρίτον [A. D. 370], δεκαεννέα ἑνιαυτοὺς τῆς ἐν ΚΠ. ἐκκλησίας τὸν θρόνον κατεσχικώς. Conf. Philostorgium IX. 10. 14. Sozomenus VI. 13 ἐχομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ [sc. *Valentis*] τῆς ὁδοῦ τελευτῆ τὸν βίον Εὐδόξιος ἐπὶ ἑνδεκα ἑνιαυτοῖς κρατήσας τὼν ἐν ΚΠ. ἐκκλησιῶν. Nicephorus Chron. p. 413 C Εὐδόξιος Ἀρειανὸς, πρότερον Γερμανικίας ἔπειτα Ἀντιοχείας, ἔτη 1. Δημόφιλος Ἀρειανὸς, ὁ πρότερον Βεροίας τῆς Θράκης, ἔτη 1, μῆνας 1. *Eudoxius* was transferred from *Antioch* to CP. in A. D. 360. See *Bishops of Antioch* 23. 30 Tables p. 472. He therefore presided at CP. 10<sup>y</sup>, or 11<sup>y</sup> current, and *Valesius* ad Socrat. IV. 14 rightly ascribes δεκαεννέα in Socrates to corruption of the text.

7 *Evagrius*. Also appointed on the death of *Eudoxius*. See *Bishops of Antioch* 23. Nicephorus Chron. p. 413 C Εὐάγριος ὀρθόδοξος, χειροτονηθεὶς ὑπὸ Εὐσταθίου τοῦ Ἀντιοχείας, παρεθῆ καὶ ἐξωρίσθη ὑπὸ Οὐαλεντος.

*Valesius* ad Socr. IV. 14 rejects the account that *Eustathius* the deposed bishop of *Antioch* was still living, because the time is too remote, and because the place of his exile and death is *Trajanopolis* in Hieronymus. But the space of 42 years from his deposition in A. D. 328 to the appointment of *Evagrius* in 370 does not seem incredible, and *Eustathius* might have passed, or have been transferred, from Bizya in Thrace to *Trajanopolis*, also in Thrace. His place of exile is called *Philippi* in Theodorus Lector p. 557 D Victor Tun. anno 490. Perhaps by an error for *Trajanopolis*.

17 *Flavianus*. Succeeded *Proclus* in A. D. 447. See Pagi tom. 2 p. 302 and the testimonies there collected. Deposed in A. D. 449. Tables p. 637.

21 *Fravitta*. Succeeded *Acacius* in A. D. 489: Victor Tun. *Eusebio V. C. cos.* [A. D. 489] *Acacius CP. episcopus sub damnatione moritur, et pro eo Flavianus episcopus ordinatur; cui tertio promotionis suæ mense mortuo Euphemius synodi Chalcedonensis decretorum custos in episcopatu succedit.* Nicephorus p. 414 B

Φραῖτας πρεσβύτερος τῆς ἁγίας Θεέκλης Συκῶν μῆνας γ' ἡμέρας ιζ'. Theophanes p. 114 D Zenonis 15<sup>o</sup> [A. D. 489] Ἀκακίον τελευτήσαντος Φραβίτας τρίμηνον τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς κρατήσας. Zonaras XIV tom. 2 p. 54 A μετὰ γὰρ Ἀκακίον, κάκιστον τοῖς ὀρθοδόξοις γενόμενον, καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἔτη κατεσχηκότα δέκα πρὸς τοῖς ἑπτὰ, καὶ θανόντα, Φραβίτας κεχειροτόνητο πατριάρχης, ὁμόδοξος Ἀκακίῳ καὶ Ζήνωνι. μετὰ δὲ τρεῖς μῆνας πρὸς τῷ ἡμίσει καὶ οὗτος μετέλλαξε τὴν ζωὴν, καὶ προσέστη τῆς ἐκκλησίας ΚΠ. ὁ Εὐφῆμιος, ὅσιος ἀνὴρ καὶ ὀρθοδόξοτατος. For the deposition of *Euphemius* in A. D. 496 see the Tables p. 713.

36 *Paulus II*. Appointed Oct. A. D. 641 on the deposition of *Pyrrhus*. See above c. 1 p. 176. He has 12 years in Zonaras XIV tom. 2 p. 88 C τοῦ πατριάρχου δὲ Παύλου δώδεκα ἑνιαυτοὺς ἀνοσίως προστάτος τῆς ἐκκλησίας, εἰτα θανόντος, εἰσαγεται πάλιν ὁ Πύρρος. And in Theophanes p. 283 D ἐχειροτονήθη Παῦλος—μηνὶ Ὀκτωβρίῳ ἰνδικτ. ιε' [Oct. A. D. 641] ἐπισκοπήσας ἔτη ιβ'. Which would terminate in Oct. A. D. 653. But the death of *Paul* is fixed by the imprisonment and exile of *Martin of Rome* to the year 655. Attested by the letter of *Martin* himself and the narrative of his companion, which are extant apud Acta Concil. tom. 7 p. 65—75 and quoted by Pagi tom. 3 p. 6. 7. *Martinus* Ep. XV *Theodoro* p. 66 describes his abduction from Rome: *In ecclesia—morabamur a die sabbati, quando Calliopas cum Ravennati exercitu et Theodoro cubiculario introivit civitatem* [June 15 A. D. 653].—*Porro, dominico die* [June 16]—*nunciavit &c. Ego vero ipse graviter infirmus eram ab Oct. mense usque ad predictum tempus, id est, usque ad XVI Kal. Jul.* [sc. June 16.] He was put on board a ship June 19: p. 67 *Eadem nocte quæ illuscenscit in feria quarta, quæ erat XIII Kal. Julias.* [June 19]—*tulerunt me de palatio.—Circa horam quartam diei ad portum pervenimus.* He reached Messina July 1: *Pervenimus Kal. Julias Messenam.* He remained in the isle of Naxos a year: *Ibi annum fecimus.* The narrative of his companion supplies the rest: *Commemoratio eorum quæ sæviter acta sunt &c. in Martinum papam.* He reached Byzantium Sept. 17 A. D. 654: p. 69 *Cumque tandem pervenisset Byzantium beatus ille XVII die Septembris mensis &c.* He was imprisoned 93 days: *Fecit ergo sanctus idem apostolicus clausus et sine participatione penitus sermonis alicujus XCIII dies. In ipsa vero XCIII<sup>a</sup> die, quæ est dies parasæve, mane tulerunt eum de custodia constituendum in cella sacellarii, jubentes pridie convenire omnem senatum, quod et factum est.* Friday Dec. 19 A. D. 654. He is imprisoned yet 85 days longer: p. 74 *Fecit ergo in eodem Diomedis ergastulo LXXXV dies post primas XCIII, hoc est, omnes simul CLXXVIII.* Until March 13 A. D. 655. He is banished to Cherson: *Dictum est ergo quia in Chersonam exulatur; et post dies aliquot cognovimus quia illic clanculo navigio transvectus est.* He died there Sept. 16 of the 14th indiction: p. 75 *mense Septembris, die XVI<sup>a</sup> indictione XIV<sup>a</sup>.* The days of the week in these narratives and the indiction determine

these events to June 15 A. D. 653—Sept. 16 A. D. 655, for indict. 14 commenced Sept. 1 A. D. 655.

When *Martinus* was brought out Dec. 19 A. D. 654, *Paulus* was near his end: p. 72 *Sequenti die abiens imperator in patriarchium visendi gratia Paulum patriarcham (proximus enim erat morti) narravit ei quæ consummata sunt in sanctissimum virum. Ingemiscens vero Paulus et conversus ad parietem dixit Hei mihi &c. Interea defuncto Paulo et Pyrrho residere nitente &c. Paulus* therefore died soon after Dec. 19 A. D. 654. He completed his 13th year in Oct. preceding, and was in the 14th year of his episcopate.

*Pyrrhus* thus restored presided only 4<sup>m</sup> 23<sup>d</sup>: Zonaras XIV tom. 2 p. 88 D οὗτος οὖν τὸ δεύτερον μῆνας τέσσαρας τὸν θρόνον τῆς ΚΠ. κατεσχικῶς τέθηκε. Theophanes p. 286 C Πύρρος πάλιν ἀποκατεστάθη μῆνας δ' καὶ ἡμέρας κγ'. Nicephorus Chron. p. 415 A Πύρρος πάλιν ἀποκατέστη μῆνας δ' ἡμέρας κγ'. He died therefore and was succeeded by *Petrus* in A. D. 655. Not however in the 12th of *Constans*, as Zonaras p. 88 C assigns it—τῷ δωδεκάτῳ τῆς βασιλείας Κωνσταντος ἔτει—for the 12th of *Constans* began before Oct. 5 A. D. 652, and was current in Ind. 11. But it has been shewn that *Paulus* died in Ind. 13 in the 14th of *Constans*.

37 *Petrus*. Zonaras XIV tom. 2 p. 88 D προεχειρίσθη πατριάρχης Πέτρος, ὁμόδοξος καὶ οὗτος τοῖς πρὸ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπὶ δώδεκα τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἄρχας ἐνιαυτοὺς θήσκει. In Theophanes p. 286 C the clauses are transposed, and ought to stand thus: *Constantis* 11<sup>o</sup> Παῦλος τελευταῖα καὶ Πύρρος πάλιν ἀποκατεστάθη μῆνας δ' καὶ ἡμέρας κγ'. ΚΠ. ἐπίσκοπος Πέτρος ἔτη ιβ'. In Ed. Bonn. is substituted Παῦλος ἔτη ιβ'. But Παῦλος ἔτη ιβ' had been already placed by Theophanes p. 283 C at indict. 15 before the accession of *Constans*. The question at p. 286 C is of *Petrus* who succeeded *Pyrrhus*, and

who has also 12 years in Theophanes. Cf. p. 289 C D *Constantis* 23<sup>o</sup> 24<sup>o</sup>.

The appointment of *Petrus* is fixed by the dates in 36 to A. D. 655. He died 15 years before the 6th council A. D. 680: Tarasius apud Pagium tom. 3 p. 22 *A Petro usque ad sextam synodum non plures anni transferantur quam XV; quinque intermedio eo tempore pontifices fuerunt; Thomas et Joannes et Constantinus a predictis hæreticis fuerant ordinati, nec propterea reprobatii sunt*. He died therefore, as Pagi determines, A. D. 666, in the 12th year current of his pontificate.

38 *Thomas II*. Zonaras XIV tom. 2 p. 88 D μετὰ Πέτρον προέστη τῶν ὀρθοδόξων Θωμᾶς, τῆς ὀρθῆς ἐχόμενος δόξης, ὃς μετὰ δύο ἔτη καὶ μῆνας ἐπτὰ τὸν βίον μετηλλαχῶς Ἰωάννην ἔσχε διάδοχον. Nicephorus p. 415 B Θωμᾶς πρεσβύτερος τῆς αὐτῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ Χαρισφύλαξ ἔτη β' μῆνας ἐπτὰ. As he succeeded in 666 (see 37), his 2<sup>y</sup> 7<sup>m</sup> will terminate in the close of 668.

39 *Joannes V*. Nicephorus p. 415 B Ἰωάννης πρεσβύτερος καὶ σκευοφύλαξ τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας ἔτη ε' μῆνας θ'. Zonaras assigns no years. In the Tables of Theophanes p. 292 A he has 6 years: *Constantis* 27<sup>o</sup> Ἰωάννης ἔτη σ'. He succeeded towards the close of 668. See 38. and the 5<sup>y</sup> 9<sup>m</sup> will place his death in 674.

40 *Constantinus*, who succeeded in 674, has 1<sup>y</sup> 8<sup>m</sup> 7<sup>d</sup> in Nicephorus: Κωνσταντῖνος διάκονος τῆς αὐτῆς ἐκκλησίας σκευοφύλαξ καὶ οἰκονόμος ἔτος α' μῆνας ἢ ἡμέρας ζ'. He has two years in Zonaras XIV tom. 2 p. 90 D θανόντος δὲ τοῦ πατριάρχου Ἰωάννου, προκεχειρίστο Κωνσταντῖνος, καὶ μετὰ δύο ἔτη ἐξέλιπε, καὶ ἀνάγεται εἰς τὸν ἀρχιερατικὸν τοῦτον θρόνον Θεόδωρος, ὃς μετὰ δύο ἐνιαυτοὺς ἐκβληθεὶς διάδοχον ἔσχε Γεώργιον. *Constantinus* therefore died in 676, *Theodorus* was expelled in 678, and *Georgius* was present in the 6th council in 680. Cf. Acta Concil. tom. 7 p. 630 A.



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**Acacius Cæsareæ** episc. eccl. N° 131.  
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**Acacius Gr.** N° 280.  
**Acesius** Novat. eccl. N° 155.  
**Achillas Alex.** episc. A. D. 312 p. 363 A. D. 321 p. 373. 375 Vol. 2 p. 536.  
**Achillas Arianus** eccl. N° 116.  
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**Achilleus** tyrannus A. D. 292 p. 334. Defeated A. D. 297 p. 338 Vol. 2 p. 77.  
**Acholi** *Lat.* a historian quoted by *Lamprid.* Alex. c. 14. 48. 64. 68. see *Encolpius*. *Vopiscus Aurel.* c. 12 quotes *ex libris Acholii qui magister admissionum Valeriani principis fuit, libro Actorum ejus nono.*
- Acron** Agrigentinus Vol. 2 p. 287 i.  
**Adamantius** his mission A. D. 479 p. 692.  
**Adeodatus** Rom. episc. Vol. 2 p. 537. 543.  
**Adonia** a festival in the summer at Antioch A. D. 362 p. 448.  
**Adrantus** Gr. N° 160.  
**Adrastus** peripateticus Gr. N° 41.  
**Adrianus** Gr. N° 134.  
**Ædesius** Gr. N° 257.  
**Ægæ** in Cilicia its era A. D. 253 p. 274.  
**Ægidius** comes his war with the Goths A. D. 463 p. 664. his death A. D. 464 p. 664. See 511 p. 728.  
**Ægyptus**, its population in A. D. 66 and A. D. 640 Vol. 2 p. 177<sup>a</sup>.  
**Ælia Capitolina** founded by *Hadrian* A. D. 131 p. 118 A. D. 135 p. 122.  
**Ælianus** vel *Helianus*, a leader of the *Bagaudæ* in Gaul A. D. 286 p. 328.  
**Ælianus sophista** Gr. N° 178.  
**Ælianus tacticus** Gr. N° 34.  
**Ælius Maurus Lat.** a historian, after A. D. 211 : *Spartian.* Severo c. 20 *Legisse me memini apud Ælium Maurum Phlegontis Tralliani libertum Septimium Severum quum moreretur* &c.  
**Æmilianus** the lieutenant of *Niger* defeated and slain A. D. 194 p. 194.  
**Æmilius Æmilianus** imp. assumes the empire A. D. 253 p. 274. Slain A. D. 254 p. 276. See Vol. 2 p. 55.  
**Alexander Æmilianus** tyrannus A. D. 263 p. 290 Vol. 2 p. 63.  
**Æneas Gazæus** Gr. N° 354.  
**Ænesidemus** Gr. N° 172. Quoted Vol. 2 p. 343.

<sup>a</sup> Add *Diodorus* I. 31 τοῦ σύμπαντος λαοῦ τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν φασὶ γέγονέναι περὶ ἑπτακοσίας μυριάδας, καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς δὲ οὐκ ἐλάττους εἶναι. *Steph. Byz.* Διόσπολις : πρὶν δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Περσῶν ἀφανισθῆναι, φησὶ Βάτων ὅτι μυρίας τρισχιλίας κώμας εἶχε καὶ τριάκοντα, ἀνθρώπων δὲ μυριάδας ἑπτακοσίας, ἀρουρῶν δὲ τόπον μεμετρημένον τρισχιλίων καὶ ἑπτακοσίων, ἑκατὸν δὲ πόλεις

διακεκοσμημένας, τετρακόσια στάδια τὸ μήκος. These numbers, 13,030 villages (18,000 in *Diodorus*), and 7,000,000 inhabitants, and 3700 ἀρουραι, must be understood of the whole of Egypt. See *Wess.* ad *Diod.* I. 31. The 13,000 or 18,000 towns became 30,000 in the time of the *Ptolemies* : *Diod.* I. c. which are 33,333 in *Theocrit.* XVII. 82.

- Aerius eccl. N<sup>o</sup> 136.  
 Æschrion Gr. N<sup>o</sup> 105.  
 Ætherius slain A. D. 566 p. 820.  
 Aetius married a daughter of *Severus* Vol. 2 p. 32.  
 Aetius joins *Placidia* A. D. 425 p. 604. in Gaul p. 606. A. D. 428 p. 610. *magister militum* A. D. 429 p. 612. defeats the Goths A. D. 430 p. 614. In Gaul A. D. 431 p. 614. repulsed by *Bonifacius* seeks aid from the Huns A. D. 432 p. 616. resumes his power and is *patricius* A. D. 433 p. 618. his war with the Burgundians A. D. 435. 436. 437 p. 620. with the Goths A. D. 438 p. 622. engages *Attila* A. D. 451 p. 640. 642. slain A. D. 454 p. 648. His origin character and services p. 650. Born in *Mœsia*, son of *Gaudentius* A. D. 439 p. 624.  
 Aetius eccl. N<sup>o</sup> 135.  
 Afranius alytarcha A. D. 212 p. 220 A. D. 516 p. 732 520 p. 738.  
 Africanus Pannoniæ rector slain A. D. 355 p. 428.  
 Africanus eccl. N<sup>o</sup> 81.  
 Agapetus diaconus eccl. N<sup>o</sup> 294.  
 Agapetus Rom. ep. A. D. 535 p. 763 Vol. 2 p. 536. at CP. A. D. 536 p. 765. his death A. D. 536 p. 767. *epistolæ* Vol. 2 p. 542.  
 Agapetus sophista Gr. N<sup>o</sup> 240.  
 Agapius Cæsar. eccl. N<sup>o</sup> 96.  
 Agapius Gr. N<sup>o</sup> 357.  
 Agathemerus Gr. N<sup>o</sup> 193.  
 Agathias Gr. N<sup>o</sup> 386.  
 Agathinus medicus Gr. N<sup>o</sup> 19.  
 Agathobulus Gr. N<sup>o</sup> 91.  
 Agathocles peripateticus Gr. N<sup>o</sup> 57.  
 Agelius eccl. N<sup>o</sup> 155.  
 Agila Gothorum rex (A. D. 554—562) Vol. 2 p. 145 k. *Agil* Jornandi Ibid.  
 Agilulfus Langobardorum rex XIV (A. D. 590—615) Vol. 2 p. 479 k. 485 (ubi *Egifulfus*). He succeeded in 590: Vol. 2 p. 151. and in November: Paulus Diac. Langob. III. 36. was recognised by all the Lombards in May 591: Ibid. and reigned 25 years: Idem IV. 43.  
 Agnellus Ravenn. episc. eccl. N<sup>o</sup> 300.  
 Agnellus junior Vol. 2 p. 483 r.  
 Cn. *Julius* Agricola in Britain A. D. 78 p. 64. 79, 80 p. 66. 81, 82 p. 68. 83, 84 p. 70. his death A. D. 93 p. 76.  
*Calpurnius* Agricola engages the Britons A. D. 162 p. 150.  
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 Agrippa Castor eccl. N<sup>o</sup> 28.  
 Agrippa Judæus A. D. 39 p. 22. at Rome A. D. 40 p. 24. His reign and death A. D. 44 p. 28.  
 Agrippa minor Judæus A. D. 45 p. 28 A. D. 48 p. 32 A. D. 53 p. 36.  
 Agrippina Claudii A. D. 28 p. 10 A. D. 49 p. 32. slain A. D. 59 p. 40.  
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- Alexander CP. episc. Vol. 2 p. 536 p. 558.  
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<sup>b</sup> *Agelmundus* Paulo Diac. Langob. I. 14 Sigeberto Chron. p. 19. This first king has 33 years also in Paulus Diac. I. 14. sc. A. D. 389—422. The next seven kings occupy more than

116 years; for the 8th still reigned in A. D. 538: Tables A. D. 551 p. 794.

- p. 557. 51. his origin elevation and financial measures Vol. 2 p. 140. Laws: Tables p. 714. 726. 733.
- Anastasius I Rom. episc. A. D. 402 p. 553 Vol. 2 p. 453 m p. 507 m. p. 536.
- Anastasius II Rom. episc. Vol. 2 p. 536. A. D. 496 p. 713. epistolæ A. D. 497 p. 715. his death A. D. 498 p. 715.
- Anatolius Berytius Gr. N° 254.
- Anatolius CP. episc. Vol. 2 p. 536. appointed successor to *Flavianus* in 449. died in 458: A. D. 471 p. 675. See Vol. 2 p. 554.
- Anatolius dux A. D. 441 p. 626. envoy to *Attila* A. D. 449 p. 636.
- Anatolius Iamblichi præceptor Gr. N° 236.
- Anatolius Laodicensis eccl. N° 95.
- Anatolius magister officiorum (Ammian. 25. 3, 21) slain in Persia in 363 Vol. 2 p. 307 q.
- Anaxagoras Vol. 2 p. 340. 349. 357. 359. 366. 370. 373. 386. 390.
- Anaxilas dux A. D. 441 p. 626.
- Anaximander Vol. 2 p. 357.
- Anaximenes Vol. 2 p. 357. 373.
- Q. Ancarius præses orientis A. D. 258 p. 280.
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- Andreas Casareæ eccl. N° 324.
- Andreas Cretensis eccl. N° 325.
- Andreas slain at the accession of *Justin I* A. D. 519 p. 736.
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- Andromachus rhetor Gr. N° 234.
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- Annius Macer Gr. N° 92.
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- Anonymus de morte Pauli eccl. N° 206.
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- Antinous A. D. 130 p. 116 A. D. 134 p. 120.
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- Antiochus Ægæus Gr. N° 167.
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- Antiochus scepticus Gr. N° 126 Vol. 2 p. 287. 292.
- Antiochus sophista Gr. N° 107.
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- Gallus* Antipater *Lat.* a mean historian<sup>c</sup>.
- Antipater medicus Gr. N° 74.
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- Apollonides medicus Gr. N° 74.
- Apollonides Nicæus Gr. N° 6. For the other memorials of *Apollonides* see F. H. III p. 556 t.

<sup>c</sup> Trebell. Claudio c. 5 *Gallus Antipater, ancilla honorum* [conf. Salmasium ad locum] et *historicorum deonestamen-*

*tum, principium de Aureolo sic habuit* "Venimus ad imperatorem nominis sui."



- Apollonius Atheniensis Gr. N° 155.  
 Apollonius dyscolus Gr. N° 84.  
 Apollonius eccl. N° 56.  
 Apollonius grammaticus Gr. N° 220.  
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 Apollonius medicus alter Gr. N° 139.  
 Apollonius Naucratis Gr. N° 154.  
 Apollonius Stoicus Gr. N° 96.  
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 Appianus Gr. N° 124.  
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<sup>d</sup> Apuleius describes his country and his time Apolog. tom. 2 p. 445 *De patria mea vero quod eam sitam Numidia et Getulica in ipso confinio meis scriptis ostendisti, quibus memet professus sum, cum Lolliano Avito C.V. præsentē publice dissererem, Seminumidam et Semigetulum. Avitus* was proconsul of Africa: Ibid. p. 588 *Carthaginem pergit, ubi jam prope exacto consulatus sui munere Lollianus Avitus te, Maxime, opperiebatur. Of Avitus* Capitolin. Pert. c. 1 *Per Lollium Avitum consularem virum. Consul* in A. D. 144. A rescript of *Marcus* and *Verus* ad *Lollium Avitum Bithyniæ præsidem* is in *Ulpian Digest*. lib. 50. 2, 3 de decurionibus tom. 1 p. 1100. Confer intt. ad Apuleium tom. 2 p. 445. *Apuleius* is mentioned with *Apollonius Tyaneus* by *Augustine* Ep. 6 p. 26 *Apuleius qui nobis Afris Afer est notior. Ep.* 49 p. 230 *Apuleius Madaurensis vel Apollonius Tyaneus* &c.

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*Asturius dux utriusque militiæ* A. D. 441. 443 p. 628. cos. A. D. 449.  
*Mæonius Astyanax Lat.* a historian: *Trebell.* XXX tyr. c. 12 *Verba igitur Balistæ* [A. D. 261], quantum *Mæonius Astyanax, qui consilio interfuit, asserit, hæc fuerunt "Mea atas"* &c.  
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*Atax Alanorum rex* slain by the Goths A. D. 418 p. 594.  
*Julius Aterianus Lat.* a historian: *Trebell.* XXX tyr. c. 6 *Satis credimus Julii Ateriani partem libri cuiusdam ponere in quo de Victorino* [A. D. 265] sic loquitur "Victorino qui Gallias post Junium Posthumum rexit neminem existimo preferendum" &c.  
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*Auctor de Chrysostomo* eccl. N° 192.  
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*Augarus Osroënus* A. D. 114 p. 100. met *Trajan* at Edessa A. D. 115 p. 100.

<sup>e</sup> The province of Asia according to *Agrippa* apud *Josephum* *Bell.* II. 16, 4 p. 478 Oberthur contained 500 cities: τί δὲ αἱ πεντακῶσιαι τῆς Ἀσίας πόλεις; οὐχὶ δὶχα φρουρᾶς ἕνα προσκυ-

νοῦσιν ἡγεμόνα, καὶ τὰς ὑπατικὰς βάρβους; and *Philostratus* V. S. II. 1 p. 548 πεντακῶσιαν πόλειον.



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- Augarus Arethæ filius A. D. 502 p. 718.
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- Lollianus* Avitus cos. A. D. 144. See *Apuleius*.
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- Aurelianensis urbs rescued from *Attila* A. D. 451 p. 640.
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 Basilii Seleuciæ eccl. N° 253.  
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- Candidus* a lieutenant of *Severus* A. D. 195 p. 196.
- Caninius* Celer Gr. N<sup>o</sup> 92.
- Capitol restored A. D. 82 p. 68. Capitoline games A. D. 86 p. 70.
- Cornelius* Capitolinus Lat. a historian: *Trebell.* XXX tyr. c. 15 de *Zenobia*: *Mulierum omnium—ut Cornelius Capitolinus asserit, speciosissima.*
- Julius* Capitolinus Lat. lived in the reign of *Constantine* g.
- Caracalla* imp. born A. D. 188 p. 184. Cæsar A. D. 196 p. 198. Augustus A. D. 198 p. 202. marries *Plautilla* A. D. 202 p. 208. succeeds A. D. 211 p. 218. in Gaul A. D. 213 p. 220. invades the *Alamanni* A. D. 214 p. 222. in Egypt A. D. 215 p. 224. passes the Euphrates A. D. 216 p. 224. slain near Edessa A. D. 217 p. 226. the son of *Julia* Vol. 2 p. 32. 35. Inscriptions Vol. 2 p. 37—39. Laws of *Caracalla*: Tables p. 219—229 Vol. 2 p. 36. 37. made all his subjects Roman citizens Vol. 2 p. 8.
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- Casaubonus* quoted Vol. 2 p. 234. 240. examined Vol. 2 p. 260. 5.
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- erunt, *Spartiano*, *Capitolino*, *Trebellio Pollione*, et *Vopisco*. *Spartianus* ab *Hadriano* usque ad *Maximinos* historiam deduxerat; *Capitolinus* autem a *Maximinis* initium duxit et usque ad *Philippos* perduxit. Quem ut continuaret *Trebellius* a *Philippis* incepit et in *Claudium* et ejus fratrem *Quintilium* desit; atque hinc exorsus *Vopiscus* non ultra *Carinum* perrexit. Qui vero factum sit ut *Philippus* et qui *Philippum* sunt secuti imperatores usque ad *Valerianum* amiserimus nescio." The interval omitted is from the death of *Gordian III* A. D. 244 to the elevation of *Valerian* A. D. 253.

- 514 p. 730. 731. magister A. D. 526 p. 745. præf. præf. A. D. 534 p. 761. æt. 93 A. D. 573 p. 831. his death A. D. 575 p. 837.
- Cassius *Lat.* J. C. In the reign of *Claudius*: Tacit. Ann. XII. 12 *Ea tempestate* [A. D. 49] *Cassius ceteros præminebat peritia legum.* Epictetus Diss. IV. 3, 12 *τούτους ὑποταγμένον, οὐ τοῖς Μασουρίον καὶ Κασσίον.*
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- Celestinus *Lat.* a historian: Trebell. Valer. jun. *Valerianus junior a patre absente Cæsar est appellatus, a fratre, ut Celestinus dicit, Augustus.*
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- Celsus tyrannus Vol. 2 p. 63.
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- Censorinus *Lat.* A. D. 238 p. 253.
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- Censorius comes A. D. 432. 433 p. 618. 437 p. 620. 440 p. 626. slain A. D. 448 p. 636.
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- Cerycus dux A. D. 528 p. 748.
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- Chamavi invaded by *Julian* A. D. 358 p. 438.
- Charax Gr. N<sup>o</sup> 244.
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 CP. 536 p. 767.

<sup>h</sup> This name is exhibited more variously than almost any other Teutonic name. The original form was probably *Chludwig*. It is written

*Chlothovechus* in Concil. Aurel. A. D. 511 apud Acta Concil. tom. 5 p. 543.

*Chlodovechus* Greg. Tur. H. Fr. II. 27 &c.

*Chlothoæus* or *Χλωθαῖος* Agath. I. 3 p. 14 A.

*Chlodoveus* Fredegario.

*Luduin* Cassiod. Var. III. 4.

*Lodon* Jornand. Get. c. 58.

*Fludivius* Isidor. Chron. p. 720.

*Ludovicus* Latine.

*Clovis* in modern writers.

*Louis* in modern French.

- CONCILIUM CP. 553 p. 800 GENERALE V.  
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 Toletanum XI A. D. 675 Vol. 2 p. 489 m. In  
 p. 493 z are two errors in the text of Fabricius  
 or of Isidorus. 1 We must read *in æra* 714.  
 sc. A. D. 675, when the 4th year of *Wamba*  
 was current. 2 *Ildefonsus* there named was  
 dead 8 years before, and *Quiricus* presided in  
 that council.  
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- Decius Decii filius Cæsar A. D. 250 p. 268. 269. A. D. 251 p. 268. 269. 271.
- Delmatius Constantini frater Vol. 2 p. 84 f.

<sup>1</sup> Quoted de *Albino* Capitolin. *Albino* c. 5 *Ælium Cordum* legat qui frivola super hujusmodi omnibus cuncta persequitur. c. 7 *quarum* [sc. *Severi literarum*] *exemplum hoc esse Cordus ostendit* &c. c. 11 *Cordus in suis voluminibus*. *Macrino* c. 1 *Junio Cordo studium fuit eorum imperatorum vitas edere quos obscuriores videbat; qui non multum profecit. Nam et pauca reperit et indigna memoratu, asserens se minima quæque persecuturum*. Quoted de *Maximino* Capitolin. *Maximin.* c. 4. 6. de *Maximino juniore* *Max. jun.* c. 1. 2. 3. 5. de *Gordianis*: *Idem Gord.* c. 4. c. 5 *Quæ a Junio* [sc. *Cordo*] *in literas relata est*. c. 12 *dicit Junius Cordus* &c. c. 14 *literarum exemplum tale Junius Cordus dicit*. c. 19. 21. 22. 26. 31. 33.

de *Balbino*: *Idem Balbin.* c. 4 *Ego libris quos Junius Cordus affatim scripsit legisse memini* &c. conf. c. 12. de *Valeriano*: *Trebell. Valeriano* c. 3 *Literas quarum seriem Julius refert*. *Legge cum Casaubono Junius.* sc. *Cordus*.

<sup>k</sup> A law of *Theodosius* Sept. 6 A. D. 381 is addressed *Cynegio* *pf. p.* A. D. 381 p. 503. a law 8 March 383 *Cynegio com. S. L.* p. 505. a law of A. D. 385 March 28 *Cynegio pf. o.* Ap. 26 *Cynegio pf. o.* Ap. 30 *Cynegio p. p.* May 25 *Cynegio pf. p.* Three laws of A. D. 389 addressed to *Cynegius* either bear a wrong date or a wrong address, for he died in 388. See *Gothofred. ad Cod. Theod.* l. 17 de *cohortalibus* Vol. 2 p. 498. For *Libanius* de *Cynegio* see above Vol. 2 p. 310 x z.

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 Evagrius Antiochenus eccl. N° 174.  
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<sup>1</sup> And by Origen *περὶ ἀρχῶν* IV § 17 p. 358 ἄλλοι δὲ, ὧν—ἔστι Δοσίθεος ὁ Σαμαρεὺς. Comm. in Joann. tom. XIII. 27 Vol. 2 p. 49 ἀπὸ Σαμαρείων Δοσίθεός τις ἀναστράς— Conf. in Celsum VI. 11 tom. 19 p. 320 Comm. XXVIII in Matt. tom. 4 p. 250 Hom. XXV in Lucam tom. 5 p. 181.

<sup>m</sup> Lamprid. Alex. c. 48 de *Alexandro Severo*: Scio vulgum

*hanc rem quam contexui Trajani putare, sed neque in vita ejus id Marius Maximus ita exposuit, neque Fabius Marcellinus, neque Aurelius Verus, neque Silius Valens, qui omnem ejus vitam in literas miserunt. Contra autem et Septimius et Achaolius et Encolpius vitæ scriptores ceterique de hoc talia prædicaverunt.*

- Evagrius diaconus eccl. N° 217.  
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   *Gregorius* to CP. in 588: A. D. 570 p. 828.  
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 Eubulus Alexandrinus scepticus Vol. 2 p. 287. 292.  
 Eubulus Platonius Gr. N° 206.  
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 Eucherus Stilichonis filius Vol. 2 p. 125 f.  
 Eucherus Theodosii avunculus Vol. 2 p. 124 b.  
 Euclides Platonius Gr. N° 202.  
 Eudemus peripateticus Gr. N° 142.  
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   Vol. 2 p. 125 g. procures the exile of *Chrysostom*  
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*Ælia* Eudoxia vel Eudocia Theodosii II. or *Athenais*,  
   married to *Theodosius* A. D. 421 p. 598. Augusta  
   A. D. 423 p. 602. retires to Jerusalem A. D. 444  
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   born A. D. 422 p. 600 married to *Valentinian III*  
   A. D. 437 p. 622. then to *Maximus* A. D. 455 p.  
   650. calls in *Genesic* Ibid. is carried to Carthage  
   A. D. 455 p. 652. restored A. D. 462 p. 662.  
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 Eugenius Toletanus episc. Vol. 2 p. 488 k.  
 Eugenius II Toletanus episc. described in Vol. 2 p.  
   472 s 488 k. and again in p. 489 m, where his  
   time is more fully given.  
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- Florentinus a counsellor of *Alexander Severus* A. D. 223 p. 237.
- Florentius præf. præt. in Gaul in *Julian's* second campaign: *Ammian.* 16. 12, 14. hostile to *Julian* A. D. 357 p. 437. fled to *Constantius* when *Julian* became Augustus: *Ammian.* 20. 8, 20 *Florentii fuga præfecti.*
- Florianus Taciti imp. frater A. D. 276 p. 314. his death *Ibid.*
- Florinus eccl. N<sup>o</sup> 49.
- Florus præfectus Alexandriae A. D. 452 p. 645.
- Fortunatianus eccl. N<sup>o</sup> 140.
- Franci first appear in Gaul in the reign of *Gallienus* A. D. 256 p. 278. see 263 p. 290. They are led in triumph by *Aurelian* A. D. 274 p. 310. repulsed by *Probus* before 276 p. 314. who engaged them again in 277 p. 316.<sup>n</sup>

<sup>n</sup> Zosimus I. 71 and Eumenius panegy. Constantio c. 18 p. 288 describe the *Franci* in the reign of *Probus*. They were repulsed by *Carausius* A. D. 287 p. 330. defeated in Britain by *Constantius* A. D. 296: see 297. 3 p. 339. Conf. Eumenius c. 17 p. 286. They were overthrown by *Constantine* in 306 after his father's death: *Eutrop.* X. 3 *Nazarius* Constantino c. 16. 17 p. 580—584. and by *Crispus* in 321. 322. See

*Crispus.* Libanius βασιλικῶ tom. 3 p. 317. 4 describes the *Franci* in the reign of *Constantius II* cir. A. D. 340—348: ἐστὶ γένος Κελτικὸν ὑπὲρ Ῥήνον ποταμῶν—οὕτως ἐδ' πεφραγμένον πρὸς τὰ τῶν πολέμων ἔργα ὥστε τὴν προσηγορίαν ἀπ' αὐτῶν εὐράμενοι τῶν πράξεων ὀνομάζονται Φρακτοί· οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν κέκληνται Φραγκοί. κ. τ. λ. He still adopts this fanciful etymology Epitaph. Juliano tom. 1 p. 545. 15. Φρακτοὺς χιλίους

- Frantanes Suevus competitor of *Maldra* A. D. 457 p. 656. his death 458 p. 658.
- Fravitta CP. episc. Vol. 2 p. 536. 559.
- Fravitta defeats *Gainas* A. D. 400 p. 548. cos. A. D. 401 Ibid.
- Du Fresnoy* quoted A. D. 29 p. 14.
- Fridericus Visigothos kills his brother *Torismond* A. D. 452 p. 644. slain A. D. 463 p. 664.
- Frigeridus sent by *Gratian* to the aid of *Valens* A. D. 377 p. 488.
- Frisii A. D. 28 p. 10.
- Julius Frontinus* was succeeded in A. D. 78 by *Agri-cola* in Britain 78 p. 64.
- Julius Frontinus* rhetor *Lat.* A. D. 220 p. 233. a preceptor of *Alexander Severus*.
- Sextus Julius Frontinus Lat.* curator aquarum A. D. 97 p. 83.
- Fronto comes envoy to the *Suevi* A. D. 456 p. 652.
- M. Fronto orator Lat.* A. D. 143 p. 131. 133.
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- Fulgentius Ruspensis eccl. N<sup>o</sup> 279.
- Fulvia Pia Severi imp. mater Vol. 2 p. 32.
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- Minucius Fundanus* proconsul Asiæ A. D. 125 p. 110.
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- A. Gabinius* in Syria assists *Mithridates III* Vol. 2 p. 245.
- T. Gabinius Secundus* in Germany A. D. 41 p. 26.
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- Gaianus Alex.* episc. Vol. 2 p. 536. his episcopate in A. D. 537: Tables A. D. 567 p. 823.
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- Dr. Gaisford* quoted Vol. 2 p. 300. 308. 328.
- Galba* imp. in Germany A. D. 41 p. 26. in Spain A. D. 61 p. 42. proclaimed A. D. 68 p. 50. adopts *Piso* A. D. 69 p. 52. is slain Ibid. Inscriptions Vol. 2 p. 10.
- Galbio dux* slain by *Bonifacius* A. D. 427 p. 608.
- Galenus Gr.* N<sup>o</sup> 146. Works Vol. 2 p. 289. 290.
- Galerius Antoninus Antonini* imp. filius. The sons of *T. Antoninus* are without a name in the authorities quoted at Vol. 2 p. 21. But one is named in a coin apud Eckhel. tom. 7 p. 42 *M. Γαλέριος Ἀνω-*
- νείνος αυτοκράτορος Ἀνωγείνου υἱός + Θέα Φανστείνα.*
- Galerius Maximianus* imp. *Cæsar* A. D. 292 p. 334. his Persian war A. D. 297 p. 338. *Narses* defeated A. D. 298 p. 340. Augustus A. D. 305 p. 348. repulsed from Rome 307 p. 352. created *filios Augustorum* Ibid. p. 354. his sickness A. D. 310 p. 358. edict to stay the persecution 311 p. 358 Vol. 2 p. 82. his death A. D. 311 p. 358. coins and inscriptions Vol. 2 p. 82.
- Galgacus* A. D. 84 p. 70.
- Galla Constantii* the mother of *Gallus Cæsar* Vol. 2 p. 84. 85.
- Galla Placidia Theodosii* filia. see *Placidia*.
- Galla Theodosii* Vol. 2 p. 124 A. D. 386 p. 512. 387 p. 514. 390 p. 522. her death 394 p. 530. see Vol. 2 p. 126 h.
- Gallia* contained under the Romans about 234,455 square English miles<sup>o</sup>.
- Galliena consobrina Gallieni* imp. Vol. 2 p. 63.
- Gallienus* imp. associated in the empire in A. D. 253: Tables A. D. 254 p. 276. in Gaul A. D. 255 p. 276. events of his reign Ibid. his Alexandrian coins A. D. 266 p. 294. slain A. D. 268 p. 298. events of his reign from various authors Vol. 2 p. 56—58. Coins Vol. 2 p. 63—65. Inscriptions p. 65. Laws: Tables p. 292—297.
- L. Junius Gallio Lat.* A. D. 32 p. 17.
- Gallio filius Lat. Novatus*, the adopted son of *L. Junius Gallio* A. D. 41 p. 25. on his death see A. D. 65 p. 47.
- Gallus* imp. succeeds *Decius* A. D. 251 p. 270. returns to Rome A. D. 252 p. 270. his 4th tribunician year A. D. 254 p. 274. slain with his son A. D. 254 p. 274. 276.
- Asinius Gallus Lat.* orator A. D. 30 p. 15.
- Constantius Gallus Cæsar* A. D. 351 p. 420. his cruelties at Antioch A. D. 353 p. 426. his death 354 p. 426 Vol. 2 p. 101.
- Didius Gallus* succeeded *Ostorius* in Britain: A. D. 78 p. 64.
- Gargilius Martialis Lat.* a historian: *Lamprid.* Alex. c. 37 *Longum omnia inserere quæ Gargilius Martialis ejus temporis scriptor singulatim persequutus est.* See *Capitolinus*.
- Gaudentius Aetii pater* A. D. 439 p. 624 A. D. 454 p. 648.

κ. τ. λ. The *Franci* were defeated by *Constans* in 341. 342. See *Constans*. Franks and Saxons are among the allies of *Magnentius* A. D. 350. 351: *Julian.* Or. I p. 34 D. Franks are in the service of the empire in the time of *Silvanus* A. D. 355: *Ammian.* 15. 5, 11. *Julian* in 358 invaded the Salian Franks p. 438. The *Franci* are mentioned in A. D. 360 p. 444. in the time of *Maximus* A. D. 388 p. 516. and of *Eugenius* A. D. 392 p. 526.

<sup>o</sup> France contains by *Necker's* estimate 205,817 square English miles; by another calculation 206,884. mean area 206,350. The population in 1846 was 35,400,486, or somewhat more than 171½ to each square mile. For 206,350 × 171½ = 35,389,025. But ancient Gaul was more extensive. It reached on the north to the Rhine—*μέχρι τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ Πήρου* *Strabo* IV p. 177—and included the provinces which lie

between the northern frontier of France and the Rhine. These provinces contain 23,651 square English miles. To these is to be added Savoy, which contains 4434 square English miles, and which under the Romans was also included in Gaul. Gaul Spain and Italy therefore under the Roman empire may be computed thus:

	Sq. E. m.
Gaul . . .	{ 206,350
	{ 23,651
	{ 4,454
	-----234,455
Italy . . . . .	88,493
Spain and Portugal	216,721
	-----539,669

See *Hispania, Italia*.



- Gaudentius eccl. N<sup>o</sup> 179.  
 Gaza its two eras A. D. 130 p. 116.  
 Gedrosia its position and eastern boundary Vol. 2 p. 258. 259.  
 Geiseler, *text book of Ecclesiastical history* 3 Vols. 8<sup>vo</sup> Philadelphia 1836. quoted Vol. 2 p. 238. 241 r. 333 n. 26. on the bishops of Rome p. 543.  
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 Gelasius Cæsareæ eccl. N<sup>o</sup> 193.  
 Gelasius Cyzicenus eccl. N<sup>o</sup> 265.  
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 A. Gellius *Lat.* contemporary with *Taurus Berytius* (A. D. 146 p. 135) : Vol. 2 p. 276.  
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 Gennadius eccl. N<sup>o</sup> 274.  
 Gennadius CP. episc. eccl. N<sup>o</sup> 258 Vol. 2 p. 476. where for *Flavianus* read *Anatolius*. *Gennadius* succeeded *Anatolius* A. D. 458, and was succeeded by *Acacius* in 471: A. D. 471 p. 675. See Vol. 2 p. 536. 553.  
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- Mr. Hallam Constitutional History of England* 4th ed. 1846. 2 Vols. 8vo. quoted Vol. 2 p. 525 c p. 526 f p. 530.
- Mr. Hamilton* quoted Vol. 2 p. 27 r p. 254 c p. 444 q.
- Hannibalianus rex appointed A. D. 335 p. 390. slain A. D. 338 p. 398.
- Q. Haterius *Lat.* orator A. D. 26 p. 10. 11.
- Hecebolius Gr. N<sup>o</sup> 282.
- Heeren quoted Vol. 2 p. 268 r. examined de *Bardesane* p. 411 i.

<sup>p</sup> The Ostrogoths reigned in Italy under *Theoderic* and his successors till they were expelled by *Narses* A. D. 493—554. The Visigoths reigned in Southern Gaul from A. D. 418 to the expulsion or death of *Giselaicus* in A. D. 511. They reigned in Spain under *Amalaric* and his successors from A. D. 526 till the coming of the Arabians, who entered Spain July A. D. 710

*anno Hejiræ* 91<sup>o</sup> and defeated *Roderic* in July A. D. 711 *anno Hejiræ* 92<sup>o</sup>: Pagi tom. 3 p. 172. Isidorus deduces the reign of the Goths from the accession of *Athamaric* A. D. 369: Vol. 2 p. 167. Which gives to their dominion (A. D. 369—710) 341 years.



- Hegesippus eccl. N° 31.  
 Hegias Procli Gr. N° 349.  
 Hejira A. D. 622 Vol. 2 A. D. 621 p. 165 A. D. 622 p. 166.  
 Helena Constantii Chlori A. D. 326 p. 380. 382 Vol. 2 p. 80. 81.  
 Helena Juliani A. D. 355 p. 430 Vol. 2 p. 84 p. 86 n. at Rome with *Eusebia* A. D. 357 p. 434. her death A. D. 360 p. 444.  
 Helenopolis A. D. 327 p. 382.  
 Heliodorus Æthiopicorum auctor Gr. N° 302.  
 Heliodorus Alexandrinus Gr. N° 216.  
 Heliodorus philosophus Gr. N° 54.  
 Heliodorus sophista Gr. N° 179.  
 Helius Neronis libertus A. D. 67 p. 50.  
 Helladius Alexandrinus Gr. N° 305.  
 Helladius Besantinus Gr. N° 246.  
 Hellespontius Gr. N° 289.  
 Helvidius eccl. N° 187.  
 Henoticon Zenonis Vol. 2 p. 545. 31 p. 546. 35.  
 Henry, *history of Britain*, quoted on the works of *Bede* Vol. 2 p. 492 w.  
 Hephæstio Alexandrinus gramm. Gr. N° 128.  
 Hephæstio sophista Gr. N° 263.  
 Heraclas Alexand. episc. eccl. N° 75 Vol. 2 p. 535.  
 Heracleon eccl. N° 23.  
 Heracleon sophista Gr. N° 315.  
 Heracleonas Heraclii filius Vol. 2 p. 178 b. 179. his reign and deposition A. D. 641 p. 178.  
 Heraclianus medicus Gr. N° 145.  
 Heraclianus tyrannus A. D. 412 p. 580. his revolt and death A. D. 413 p. 584. 585.  
 Heraclides grammaticus Gr. N° 17.  
 Heraclides Lycius Gr. N° 168.  
 Heraclides scepticus Vol. 2 p. 287. 292.  
 Heraclitus eccl. N° 62.  
 Heraclitus Ephesius quoted Vol. 2 p. 357. 366. 373. 384. 389.  
 Heraclius dux A. D. 468 p. 670.  
 Heraclius Heraclii pater commands in the Persian war A. D. 586. 587 Vol. 2 p. 151. mentioned at 608 p. 159.  
 Heraclius imp. his elevation A. D. 610 Vol. 2 p. 160. 161. cos. A. D. 611 p. 161. makes a truce with the Avars A. D. 619 p. 165. 620 Ibid. his Persian war A. D. 622 Vol. 2 p. 166. A. D. 623. 624. 625 p. 167. A. D. 626 p. 168. sixth campaign A. D. 627 p. 168. his return in the 7th year A. D. 628 p. 169. at Jerusalem in 629 p. 170. at Hierapolis in 630 p. 171. at Emesa at the first irruption of the Moslems into Syria A. D. 632 p. 172. at Antioch in 633 p. 173. still in Syria in 635 p. 174. his flight from Antioch 638 p. 175. his death 641 p. 177.  
 Heraclius Constantini filius Heraclii nepos A. D. 631 Vol. 2 p. 171.  
 Heraiscus Gr. N° 353.  
 D' Herbelot quoted Vol. 2 p. 257 q p. 260—263. examined p. 262. 25.  
 Herculanus protector domestic. A. D. 354 p. 426.  
 Herculanus Orestis filius slain with his father A. D. 472 p. 676.  
 Herennianus Palmyrenus son of Odenathus A. D. 267 p. 294 Vol. 2 p. 62.  
 Herennius Plotini Gr. N° 198.  
 Hermas eccl. N° 29.  
 Hermeas Gr. N° 342.  
 Hermeias Phœnix Gr. N° 376.  
 Hermenfredus Thoringorum rex married *Amalaberga* Vol. 2 p. 143.  
 Hermericus Suevorum rex A. D. 419 p. 596 A. D. 430 p. 614. 433 p. 618. abdicates A. D. 438 p. 622. his death A. D. 441 p. 628.  
 Hermias eccl. N° 328.  
 Hermigarius Suevus slain by *Genserich* A. D. 429 p. 612.  
 Herminus peripateticus Gr. N° 57.  
 Herminus stoicus Gr. N° 212.  
 Hermippus Berytius Gr. N° 65.  
 Hermocrates Gr. N° 166.  
 Hermogenes eccl. N° 50.  
 Hermogenes historicus Gr. N° 45.  
 Hermogenes patricius A. D. 529 p. 750. employed in Persia in 530 p. 752. 531 p. 752. 532 p. 756.  
 Hermogenes slain in a sedition at CP. A. D. 342 p. 404.  
 Hermogenes Tarsensis Gr. N° 125.  
 Hermolaus grammaticus Gr. N° 379.  
 Hermon Hierosol. episc. Vol. 2 p. 536 A. D. 300 p. 343.  
 Hermotimus quoted Vol. 2 p. 373.  
 Herodes Antipas banished A. D. 39 p. 22.  
 Herodes Atticus Gr. N° 86.  
 Herodes magnus died B. C. 4: A. D. 39 p. 22 A. D. 29 p. 12 Vol. 2 p. 236.  
 Herodes Palmyrenus slain with his father *Odenathus* A. D. 267 p. 294 Vol. 2 p. 61.  
 Herodianus Apollonii Gr. N° 121. Works Vol. 2 p. 283—285.  
 Herodianus historicus Gr. N° 192.  
 Herodotus medicus Gr. N° 27.  
 Herodotus Tarsensis medicus Gr. N° 164.  
 Heron mathematicus Gr. N° 321.  
 Heron rhetor Gr. N° 321 Vol. 2 p. 316 v.  
 Heros Antioch. episc. Vol. 2 p. 535. 548.  
 Heruli appear on the northern coast of Spain A. D. 456 p. 654. among the forces of *Odoacer* A. D. 476 p. 684. 491 p. 706. received by *Anastasius* into the empire A. D. 512 p. 728. conquered by the 7th king of the Lombards A. D. 551 p. 794 in A. D. 512 p. 728. prepare to join *Belisarius* A. D. 545 p. 782. *Heruli* among the forces of the Romans in 555 p. 806.  
 Hesychius Milesius Gr. N° 366.  
 Hesychius presbyter eccl. N° 222.  
 Hesychius presbyter CP. Vol. 2 p. 469 h.  
 Hesychius tribunus envoy to *Theoderic* A. D. 456 p. 654.

- Hibba comes Ostrogothus defeats the *Franci* A. D. 508 p. 724.
- Hierocles Gr. N° 331.
- Hieronimus eccl. N° 204 Vol. 2 p. 398 at N° 204 read "A. D. 363—420." his works p. 457—463. abstracts of his opinions on some subjects Vol. 2 p. 450 i p. 451 k p. 457 v p. 507 p. 515—518. In his *Chronicon* between *Commodus* and *Probus* he corrects *Eusebius* A. D. 276 p. 313. His notation of the reigns of *Carus* and his sons is given at A. D. 283 p. 325. From *Diocletian* to *Valens* his series is one year too low: A. D. 346 p. 410. His list of Roman bishops Vol. 2 p. 541.
- Hierosolyma taken by *Titus* A. D. 70 p. 58. by the Persians A. D. 614 Vol. 2 p. 163. by the Saracens A. D. 637 Vol. 2 p. 175.
- Hilarion monachus A. D. 357 p. 439.
- Hilarius Arelatensis eccl. N° 241.
- Hilarius diaconus eccl. N° 134.
- Hilarius Hierosol. episc. Vol. 2 p. 536. A. D. 348 p. 413.
- Hilarius Pictaviensis eccl. N° 142.
- Hilarus Rom. episc. A. D. 461 p. 663. epistolæ A. D. 462 p. 663. 463. 464 p. 665. 465 p. 667. his death A. D. 468 p. 671.
- Himerius Gr. N° 284.
- Hippasus quoted Vol. 2 p. 373.
- Hippo besieged by the Vandals A. D. 431 p. 614.
- Hippo philosophus Vol. 2 p. 366.
- Hippobotus Gr. N° 402.
- Hippodromus Gr. N° 169.
- Hippolytus eccl. N° 70.
- Hispalis stormed by the Vandals A. D. 425 p. 606 A. D. 428 p. 610.
- Hispania<sup>q</sup>.
- Justa Grata Honoria* Valentiniani III soror Vol. 2 p. 126 i. banished A. D. 434 p. 618. protected by *Attila* A. D. 450 p. 640.
- Honorius imp. born A. D. 384 p. 506. Augustus A. D. 393 p. 528. joins his father A. D. 394 p. 530. 532. succeeds in the West A. D. 395 p. 532. his death A. D. 423 p. 600. Laws of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*: Tables p. 534—573 Vol. 2 p. 130—133.
- Honorius I Rom. episc. Vol. 2 p. 171. 537 p. 543. epistolæ p. 543.
- Honorius Theodosii frater Vol. 2 p. 125 f.
- Horapollo Gr. N° 403.
- Hormisdas I Persarum rex succeeds *Sapor* A. D. 272 p. 308 Vol. 2 p. 260.
- Hormisdas II Pers. rex A. D. 301 p. 344 Vol. 2 p. 260.
- Hormisdas III Pers. rex (A. D. 579—590) his accession A. D. 578 p. 842 Vol. 2 p. 149. 261. slain A. D. 590 Vol. 2 p. 153.
- Hormisdas Rom. episc. A. D. 514 p. 731. his letter to *Justin* A. D. 518 p. 736. his epistles Vol. 2 p. 541. 542. his death A. D. 523 p. 741.
- Hormuz Yazdejerdi II filius Vol. 2 p. 261. 16 p. 263. *Mr. Hartwell* Horne quoted Vol. 2 p. 222.
- Hortarius Alamannorum rex A. D. 357 p. 436.
- Hosius Cordubæ episcopus A. D. 357 p. 435.
- Hostilianus imp. A. D. 251 p. 271 A. D. 252 p. 270 Vol. 2 p. 54. dies at the close of A. D. 252 p. 272.
- Huldin Hunnorum rex A. D. 405 p. 562.
- Humericus Vandalorum rex, his accession A. D. 477 p. 688. his edict A. D. 483 p. 696. 484 p. 698. his death *Ibid*.
- Hunni expel the Goths A. D. 376 p. 486. The Huns and *Alani* in 379 p. 492. Huns repulsed 381 p. 500. their ravages in 395 p. 534. ravage Thrace 422 p. 600. in Pannonia 50 years A. D. 427 p. 608. invade *Illyricum* 441 p. 626. see 442 p. 628. see *Attila*. They retreat from Italy A. D. 452 p. 644. their war with Persia 505 p. 720. they invade Asia Minor 515 p. 732. Huns in 551 p. 792: see *Sabiri*. *Avares*. Huns in Thrace A. D. 559 p. 810.
- Hyginus Rom. episc. Vol. 2 p. 535. 537.
- Hymenæus Hierosol. episc. Vol. 2 p. 535 A. D. 262 p. 289. 291 A. D. 298 p. 341.
- Hypatia Gr. N° 310.
- Hypatius nephew of *Anastasius* commands in the Persian war A. D. 503 p. 720. restored by *Vitalianus* A. D. 515 p. 730. succeeded in the East by *Belisarius* A. D. 529 p. 750. slain A. D. 532 p. 754.
- Hyperechius Gr. N° 333.
- Hyrcanus governed Judæa B. C. 136—106 Vol. 2 p. 267 p.
- Hyrchanus II reigned in Judæa restored by *Pompey* Vol. 2 p. 267 p.
- Jackson *Chronological Antiquities* &c. quoted Vol. 2 p. 221. his erroneous interpretation of Plato Vol. 2 p. 224.
- Jacobus medicus Gr. N° 337.
- Jacobus Nisibenus eccl. N° 119.
- Iamblichus Babylonius Gr. N° 111.
- Iamblichus philosophus Gr. N° 252. Works Vol. 2 p. 304—306.
- Jani templum clausum A. D. 71 p. 58.
- Januarius Gr. N° 371.
- Jason Gr. N° 73.
- Iboreas Langobardorum dux A. D. 379 p. 494. *Ibor* apud Paulum Diac. Langob. I. 7 Sigebertum Chron. p. 19.
- Idatius Hispanus eccl. N° 170.

<sup>q</sup> The area of Spain and Portugal collectively exceeds the area of France. But France contains more than twice the number of inhabitants. This great disproportion is chiefly to be ascribed to the moral and political disadvantages of Spain and Portugal. In the following table the population is given of Spain exclusive of the islands as it stood in 1833, and of

Portugal as it stood in 1844.

	Inhabitants.	Sq. E. miles.	to each sq. m.
Spain . . . . .	11,959,694	180,293	66½
Portugal . . . . .	3,412,041	36,428	93½
	15,371,735	216,721	70¼



- Idatius Lemicanus eccl. N<sup>o</sup> 263 gives one year too much to *Honorius* A. D. 423 p. 602. See A. D. 425 p. 604. 606 A. D. 451 p. 642.
- Ignatius eccl. N<sup>o</sup> 7.
- Ilauph joins Totilas A. D. 549 p. 788.
- Ildebadus Gothorum rex elected A. D. 540 p. 774. is slain 541 p. 774.
- Ildefonsus Toletanus episc. eccl. N<sup>o</sup> 322. In Vol. 2 p. 399 at N<sup>o</sup> 322 read "A. D. 657—667." and see *Concilium Toletanum XI*.
- Ildeericus Vandalorum rex A. D. 484 p. 698 Vol. 2 p. 127 l. succeeds A. D. 523 p. 740. deposed A. D. 531 p. 754.
- Ilidigeris the son-in-law of *Antonina* Procop. Vand. II. 8 p. 254 D. left in command at Carthage A. D. 536 p. 764.
- Illus A. D. 477 p. 686. 688. A. D. 479 p. 692. revolts A. D. 484 p. 696. 485 p. 700. slain 488 p. 702.
- Indictions A. D. 312 p. 364 Vol. 2 p. 210—213.
- Ingenuus tyrannus A. D. 260 p. 286 Vol. 2 p. 60.
- Innocentius comes slain A. D. 499 p. 716.
- Innocentius I Rom. episc. A. D. 402 p. 553 Vol. 2 p. 536. 539. epistolæ p. 540.
- Innocentius III Rom. episc. destroyed the *Albigenses* Vol. 2 p. 531 w.
- Inquisition established in 1233. Vol. 2 p. 531 w.
- Joannes I Alex. episc. Vol. 2 p. 536. 545.
- Joannes II Alex. episc. Vol. 2 p. 536. 546.
- Joannes III Alex. episc. Vol. 2 p. 536. 546.
- Joannes IV Alex. episc. Vol. 2 p. 547. In Vol. 2 p. 537 read "43 Joannes IV 569."
- Joannes V Alex. episc. Vol. 2 p. 547. In Vol. 2 p. 537 read "46 Joannes V 609."
- Joannes I Antioch. episc. Vol. 2 p. 536. 552.
- Joannes II Antioch. episc. Vol. 2 p. 536. 553.
- Joannes Antiochenus presbyter eccl. N<sup>o</sup> 270.
- D. Joannes Baptista, when the celebration of his birthday began: Vol. 2 p. 209 p. 521 g.
- Joannes Cappadox deprived of his office became a priest: Procop. Pers. I. 25 p. 78 B. called to CP. A. D. 549 p. 790.
- Joannes I CP. episc. Vol. 2 p. 536. See *Chrysostom*.
- Joannes II CP. episc. Vol. 2 p. 536 A. D. 518 p. 735. 520 p. 739.
- Joannes III CP. episc. A. D. 565 p. 817 A. D. 577 p. 839 Vol. 2 p. 164. 537.
- Joannes IV CP. episc. appointed A. D. 582 Vol. 2 p. 150. his death A. D. 595 p. 154. See Vol. 2 p. 537.
- Joannes V CP. episc. Vol. 2 p. 537. 560.
- Joannes Damascenus eccl. N<sup>o</sup> 329.
- Joannes Epiphaniensis Gr. N<sup>o</sup> 387.
- Joannes Gerundensis eccl. N<sup>o</sup> 309.
- Joannes Gibbus A. D. 484 p. 698. sent against the Isaurians A. D. 492 p. 708. 493 p. 710. 498 p. 714. cos. A. D. 499 p. 716.
- Joannes I Hierosol. episc. eccl. N<sup>o</sup> 200 Vol. 2 p. 536.
- Joannes II Hierosol. episc. Vol. 2 p. 536. 557.
- Joannes III Hierosol. episc. Vol. 2 p. 537. 558.
- Joannes Lydus Gr. N<sup>o</sup> 364.
- Joannes magister milit. a Vandal slain in Thrace A. D. 441 p. 626.
- Joannes Mustaco A. D. 582—591 Vol. 2 p. 128 n.
- Joannes Philoponus Gr. N<sup>o</sup> 381. Works Vol. 2 p. 331—333.
- Joannes rhetor Gr. N<sup>o</sup> 365.
- Joannes I Rom. episc. A. D. 523 p. 741. at CP. A. D. 525 p. 743. his death A. D. 526 p. 745. epistolæ Vol. 2 p. 542. See Vol. 2 p. 536.
- Joannes II Rom. episc. A. D. 532 p. 755. his death A. D. 535 p. 763. epistolæ Vol. 2 p. 542. See Vol. 2 p. 536.
- Joannes III Rom. episc. A. D. 560 p. 813. his death A. D. 573 p. 831. See Vol. 2 p. 537.
- Joannes IV Rom. episc. A. D. 640 Vol. 2 p. 487 p. 537. 543.
- Joannes Rogathinus came to Africa A. D. 563 p. 816.
- Joannes Rustici frater tried for the death of *Gubazes* A. D. 554 p. 804.
- Joannes scholasticus eccl. N<sup>o</sup> 301.
- Joannes Scytha A. D. 484 p. 698. sent against the Isaurians A. D. 492 p. 708. his success in the Isaurian war A. D. 496 p. 712. 497 p. 714. cos. A. D. 498 p. 714.
- Joannes Sisinnioli filius left with *Solomon* in Africa A. D. 539: Procop. Vand. II. 19 p. 282 B. slain in battle in A. D. 543: 544 p. 780.
- Joannes tyrannus rebels A. D. 423 p. 600. A. D. 424 p. 602. slain A. D. 425 p. 604.
- Joannes Vitaliani nepos son-in-law of *Germanus*: Procop. Goth. III. 40 p. 561 C. left in command in Italy A. D. 540 p. 772. 547 p. 784. appointed to the command A. D. 550 p. 790. 792. at Salona in the spring of A. D. 551 p. 792.
- St. John at Patmos A. D. 95 p. 81. lived to the reign of *Trojan* A. D. 100 p. 87.
- Samuel* Johnson quoted Vol. 2 p. 484 x.
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- Ionicus Gr. N<sup>o</sup> 279.
- Jonsius quoted Vol. 2 p. 288 k p. 314 m.
- Jornandes *Lat.* A. D. 530 p. 753. *de regnorum successione* A. D. 551 p. 793. *Getica* A. D. 552 p. 797.
- Josephus Gr. N<sup>o</sup> 20.
- Jovianus imp. his elevation A. D. 363 p. 458. his death A. D. 364 p. 460. Vol. 2 p. 108. 109. 110.
- Jovinianus eccl. N<sup>o</sup> 188.
- Jovinus served under *Valentinian* A. D. 364 Vol. 2 p. 111.
- Jovinus revolts A. D. 411. 412 p. 580 Vol. 2 p. 135. slain A. D. 413 p. 584.
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- Irenæus dux A. D. 528 p. 748. in Palestine A. D. 529 p. 750.
- Irenæus eccl. N<sup>o</sup> 51.
- Irenæus Hierosol. episc. Vol. 2 p. 536 A. D. 348 p. 413.

- Irene Olybrii junioris Vol. 2 p. 128 n.  
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 Isidorus Basilidis filius eccl. N° 18.  
 Isidorus Gazæus Gr. N° 378.  
 Isidorus Hispalensis eccl. N° 320.  
 Isidorus Hypatiæ Gr. N° 309.  
 Isidorus mechanicus Gr. N° 362.  
 Isidorus mechanicus jun. Gr. N° 383.  
 Isidorus Pacensis eccl. N° 330.  
 Isidorus Pelusiota eccl. N° 230.  
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 Juliana Olybrii filia Vol. 2 p. 124 p. 127 n A. D. 507 p. 722.  
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*Sabinus* Julianus slain by *Carinus* A. D. 284 p. 326. his coins p. 327.  
 Julianus revolts in Palestine A. D. 529 p. 750. slain Ibid.  
 Julianus Alex. episc. A. D. 180 p. 179 Vol. 2 p. 535. 544.  
 Julianus Antioch. episc. Vol. 2 p. 536. 553.  
 Julianus Capuanus eccl. N° 212.  
 Julianus comes largitionum Vol. 2 p. 104.  
 Julianus comes Orientis Vol. 2 p. 104. the uncle of the emperor *Julian*. Died in the beginning of 363: p. 455.

<sup>r</sup> The area of Italy may be thus given. Central and Southern Italy, Lat. 44° being assumed as the northern limit, 50,230 square English miles. Italy to the north of Lat. 44° exclusive of Savoy 38,263 square English miles: Total 88,493. The population at 20,400,000 (see Vol. 2 p. 9) will give 230½ persons to each square mile. For 88,493 × 230½ = 20,397,636. The extent and population of Great Britain may be compared, which contains an area of 86,940 square English miles and in 1841 had 18,660,495 inhabitants. Nearly 214½ to each square mile.

Savoy on the confines of France and Italy has an area of

- Julianus Halicarn. eccl. N° 288.  
*Didius* Julianus imp. A. D. 193 p. 192 Vol. 2 p. 31.  
*Fl. Claudius* Julianus imp. born A. D. 331 p. 386. abandons the Christian Faith A. D. 351 p. 421. *Julian* in 355 p. 430. *Cæsar* Ibid. sent into Gaul Ibid. his first campaign A. D. 356 p. 432. his 2nd campaign 357 p. 436. his 3rd campaign 358 p. 438. his 4th campaign 359 p. 440. *Augustus* A. D. 360 p. 442. he proceeds to CP. A. D. 361 p. 446. at Antioch 362 p. 448. 363 p. 454. The time of his arrival Vol. 2 p. 104. attempts to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem A. D. 363 p. 454. his march into Persia Ibid. his death Ibid. Vol. 2 p. 105. 106. his birth and education Vol. 2 p. 102. his character p. 105. 106. Inscriptions and coins A. D. 362 p. 452. Inscriptions Vol. 2 p. 106. 107. Laws: Tables p. 450. 458 Vol. 2 p. 106. Works of *Julian* Vol. 2 p. 107—109.  
*Salvius* Julianus Lat. IC<sup>us</sup>. see *Salvius*.  
 Julianus magister militiæ slain A. D. 493 p. 710.  
 Julianus medicus Gr. N° 144.  
 Julianus sophista Gr. N° 247.  
 Julianus Toletanus episc. quoted Vol. 2 p. 488.  
 Julius Rom. episc. A. D. 341 p. 403 Vol. 2 p. 238. 536. 539.  
 Junilius eccl. N° 297.  
 Jus Latii its effect Vol. 2 p. 8. 10. Add *Strabo* IV p. 187 on the city of Nemausus.  
 Justa Valentiniani filia Vol. 2 p. 126 h.  
 Justina Magnentii afterwards married to *Valentinian* Vol. 2 p. 111. *Justina* and her daughter *Galla* A. D. 387 p. 514 Vol. 2 p. 126 h.  
 Justinianus. envoy to the *Suevi* A. D. 454 p. 648.  
 Justinianus Germani filius appointed to the command in Italy A. D. 550 p. 790. 792. conducts the Persian war A. D. 575 p. 836. after his campaign winters in Persia Ibid. returns in summer of 576: A. D. 575 p. 836. is repulsed in 576 p. 838. See Vol. 2 p. 149.  
 Justinianus Hispanus eccl. N° 284.  
 Justinianus imp. patricius A. D. 520 p. 738. cos. A. D. 521 p. 738. his elevation A. D. 527 p. 746. cos. II A. D. 528 p. 748. assists the *Lazi* against the Persians Ibid. treaty with *Cabades* A. D. 529 p. 750. truce with *Chosroes* A. D. 532 p. 754. he suppresses the sedition *vika* 532 p. 754. 756. treaty with *Chosroes* 532. 533 p. 756. he sends the armament to Africa 533 p. 756. his Gothic war 535 p. 762—555 p. 804. 562 p. 814. five years' truce

4454 square English miles, and in 1839 contained 564,137 inhabitants.

Savoy in the Roman times was included in Gaul. It is now added to Italy, and the total extent and population of the Italian States exclusive of the Islands are as follows:

	Sq. E. m.	Inhabitants.
Italy . . . . .	88,493	20,399,403
Savoy . . . . .	4,454	564,137
	92,947	20,963,540



- with *Chosroes* 545 p. 782. another five years' truce 551 p. 792. he concludes another truce 557 p. 808. purchases the retreat of the Huns 559 p. 810. a peace with *Chosroes* for 50 years 562 p. 812. 815. his edict *περὶ φθαρτῶν καὶ ἀφθάρτων* 565 p. 818. his death 565 p. 818. See 566 p. 820. his native place Vol. 2 p. 142. some facts of his reign Ibid. his rapacity and profusion Ibid. his edict against the philosophers 529 p. 750. Laws: Tables p. 757. 761. 763. 767. 769. 771. 775. 777. 779. 781. 785. 793. 803. 807. 819.
- Justinus Germani filius cos. A. D. 540. accompanies his father into Syria 540 p. 774. commands in Colchis 555 p. 804. commands in chief 557 p. 806. slain 566 p. 820.
- Justinus I imp. serves in the Persian war A. D. 503 p. 720. his elevation 518 p. 734. treaty with *Cabades* 521 p. 740. war with Persia 524 p. 740. his death 527 p. 746. his early life and character Vol. 2 p. 141.
- Justinus II imp. his elevation A. D. 565 p. 818. cos. A. D. 566 p. 818. 820. 822. jealous of *Narses* A. D. 567 p. 822. his Persian war 572 p. 828. truce for a year 573 p. 832. truce for 3 years 575 p. 836. his death 578 p. 840. duration of his reign Ibid. coins Vol. 2 p. 147. Laws: Tables p. 819. 825. 829.
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- Justus Alex. episc. Vol. 2 p. 535. 544.
- Justus Hispanus eccl. N° 285.
- Justus Tiberiensis Gr. N° 49.
- Juthungi defeated on the Danube A. D. 271 p. 304. 306. Vol. 2 p. 67. defeated by *Aetius* A. D. 430 p. 614.
- Juvenalis *Lat.* A. D. 118 p. 105.
- Juvenalis Hierosol. episc. Vol. 2 p. 536. 557.
- Juvencus eccl. N° 121.
- Izates Adiabenes rex Vol. 2 p. 247 w.
- Kandahar its position Vol. 2 p. 259.
- Khorasan its extent and boundaries Vol. 2 p. 256. 257.
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- Kuster examined Vol. 2 p. 322 h.
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- Lactantius eccl. N° 108.
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- Lætus engages the Parthians A. D. 195 p. 196.
- Lampadius appointed pf. p. by *Attalus* A. D. 409 p. 574.
- Lampridius see *Spartianus*.
- Langobardi A. D. 389 p. 520. They issued from Scandinavia probably some years before A. D. 370, occupied Rugiland 40 years A. D. 487—526: A. D. 551 p. 794. 796. Pannonia 42 years A. D. 526—568: p. 794. 796. and entered Italy A. D. 568 p. 824. see *Gepida*. They were ten years A. D. 574—584 without a king 574 p. 834 Vol. 2 p. 151.
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- Lateranus a lieutenant of *Severus* in Parthia A. D. 195 p. 196. cos. A. D. 197 p. 200.
- Latronianus eccl. N° 168.
- Lazica a country of Colchis A. D. 528 p. 748. occupied by the Romans A. D. 549 p. 790. war in *Lazica* 553 p. 798. 554 p. 802. See *Colchis*.
- Leander Hispalensis eccl. N° 314.
- Lentienses Alamannicus populus, pass the Rhine A. D. 378 p. 490. are defeated at Argentaria by *Gratian* Ibid.
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- Leontia Phocæ Vol. 2 p. 157.
- Leontius Antioch. episc. A. D. 348 p. 414 Vol. 2 p. 536. 549. 550.
- Leontius Athenaidis pater Vol. 2 p. 135 o. 136 o.
- Leontius Byzantius eccl. N° 319.
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- Marcellus Anycræ episc. eccl. N° 115.
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- Marcellus magister equitum under *Julian* A. D. 356 p. 432. counteracts *Julian* Ibid. dismissed A. D. 356 p. 434. conf. 357 p. 436.
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- Marcianus sent into Africa composes affairs A. D. 563 p. 816. a kinsman of *Justinian*: Theophanes p. 202 C.
- Marcianus general of the East against the Persians A. D. 572 p. 830. his campaign in 573 p. 830. deprived of his command p. 832. Whom Theophylact calls III. 10 περίβλεπτον ἄνδρα, οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους τοῦ βασιλείου τυγχάνοντα.
- Gessius Marcianus Alexandri imp. pater* Vol. 2 p. 32.
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- Marcianus imp. his elevation A. D. 450 p. 638. his death A. D. 457 p. 654. 656. see Vol. 2 p. 138. Laws: Tables p. 639. 643. 646. 647. 649. 651. 653. 655.
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- Marcus revolts A. D. 407 p. 568. is slain Ibid.
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- Marcus Byzantium Gr. N° 60.
- Marcus eccl. N° 25.
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- Marcus monachus contemporary with *Nilus* Vol. 2 p. 469. 470.
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- Mardi subdued by *Phrahates I*: Vol. 2 p. 244.
- Margiana its position Vol. 2 p. 257 t.
- Maria Stilichonis filia Vol. 2 p. 125 f. married to *Honorius* A. D. 398 p. 540.
- Marina Arcadii filia Vol. 2 p. 125 g. born A. D. 403 p. 554. her death A. D. 449 p. 638.
- Mariniana. Eckhel tom. 7 p. 388 gives a coin of Viminacium of the 2nd year of *Valerian* A. D. 254 with this inscription: *Divæ Marinianæ + P. M. S. col. Vim. an. XV [A. D. 254].<sup>s</sup>* *Mariniana*, who was already dead before this date, might have been the wife of *Valerian* while yet in a private station.
- Marinus revolts A. D. 249 p. 266. defeated by *Decius* Ibid.
- Marinus medicus Gr. N° 28.
- Marinus Procli Gr. N° 347.
- M. Aurelius Marius* A. D. 267 p. 296. 297 Vol. 2 p. 59.
- Marius Aventicensis episc. *Lat. Chronicon* A. D. 456—580. Introd. p. ix. See A. D. 455 p. 651 A. D. 566 p. 820 A. D. 568 p. 824 A. D. 578 p. 840 A. D. 581 Vol. 2 p. 149.
- Marius Maximus *Lat.* See *Encolpius* and *Capitolinus*<sup>t</sup>.
- Marius Mercator eccl. N° 220.
- Marius Victorinus rhetor eccl. N° 139.
- M. Valerius Martialis Lat.* his birth A. D. 43 p. 27. comes to Rome A. D. 66 p. 47. his works to A. D. 93 p. 77. 79. *lib. X* A. D. 99 p. 85. *lib. XI* A. D. 100 p. 89. *lib. XII* A. D. 104 p. 93.

<sup>s</sup> The era of Viminacium was computed from U. C. 993 A. D. 240: Eckhel tom. 2 p. 9.

<sup>t</sup> Quoted de *Hadriano* Spartian. Hadr. c. 2. de *Ælio Vero* Spartian. Vero c. 5. de *Antonino* Capitolin. Pio c. 11. de *Marco* Capitolin. Marco c. 1 c. 25. Vulcatius Cassio c. 6 *Docet Marius Maximus in vita divi Marci.* c. 9 *Marii Maximi secundum librum de vita Marci, in quo ille ea dicit quæ solum Marcus mortuo jam Vero egit.* de *Commodo* Lamprid. Comm. c. 13. 15. See 13—20. de *Pertinace* Capitolin. Pert. c. 2 c. 15. de *Albino* Capitolin. Albino c. 3. 9. 12. de *Severo* Spartian. Sev. c. 15. *Idem Geta c. 2 Geta dictus est vel a patris nomine vel avi patris; de cujus vita et moribus in vita Severi Marius*

*Maximus primo septenario satis copiose retulit.* Lamprid. Elagab. c. 11 *Marius Maximus dicit in vita ipsius Heliogabali.* Idem Alex. c. 5 *Marius Maximus in vita Severi.* c. 21 *in multorum vita Marius Maximus dicit.* c. 30 *in libris suis Marius Maximus loquitur quum Hadriani disserit vitam.* Quoted Ibid. c. 65. 68. Vopiscus Firmo c. 1 *Marius Maximus, qui Avidium Marci temporibus, Albinum et Nigrum Severi, non suis propriis libris sed alienis innexuit.*—*Marius Maximus, homo omnium verbosissimus, qui et mythistoricis se voluminibus implicavit.* Quoted Schol. Juvenal. Sat. IV. 53. Much read in the time of Ammianus. Conf. Ammian. 28. 4, 14.

- Martialius magister A. D. 448 p. 636.
- Martianus the father-in-law of *Alexander Severus* Vol. 2 p. 41. perhaps the counsellor of *Alexander* A. D. 223 p. 237.
- Martina Heraclii Vol. 2 p. 163. daughter of his sister p. 178. married A. D. 614 p. 163. accompanied *Heraclius* to Asia A. D. 623 Vol. 2 p. 167. promotes the elevation of her son *Heracleonas* A. D. 641 p. 178.
- Martinianus appointed Cæsar by *Licinius* A. D. 323 p. 374. 376. slain A. D. 324 p. 376.
- Martinus negotiates a peace A. D. 545 p. 782. commands in *Lazica* A. D. 554 p. 804. in Colchis A. D. 555 p. 804. superseded 557 p. 806.
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- Martinus Hispanus eccl. N<sup>o</sup> 298.
- Martinus I Rom. episc. Vol. 2 p. 488. 537. 543. 559. 560.
- Martinus Turonensis episc. eccl. N<sup>o</sup> 171.
- Martyrius Antioch. episc. Vol. 2 p. 536. 553.
- Martyrius Hierosol. episc. Vol. 2 p. 536. 557.
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- Massana Clephi Langobardorum regis uxor A. D. 574 p. 834.
- Masurius Sabinus *Lat.* IC<sup>us</sup>. v
- Matidia Marcianæ filia Vol. 2 p. 18.
- Matidia Matidiæ filia Vol. 2 p. 18.
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- Mauri their war with the Romans A. D. 534 p. 760. renew the war A. D. 543 p. 778. 544 p. 780.
- Mauricius imp. general in the East A. D. 577 p. 838. his campaigns A. D. 579. 580. 581 p. 838. 840. succeeds *Tiberius* A. D. 582: A. D. 577 p. 838. 840. his campaigns 579. 580. 581 Vol. 2 p. 149. 150. his elevation in 582 Vol. 2 p. 150. cos. A. D. 584 p. 150. assists *Chosroes II* against *Bahram* A. D. 590. 591 Vol. 2 p. 153. his war with the Avars Ibid. he refuses to ransom the prisoners taken by the Avars A. D. 599 Vol. 2 p. 156. mutiny in the army of the Danube A. D. 602 p. 157. *Mauricius* slain with his sons Ibid.
- Ælius Maurus*. See *Ælius*.
- Maxentius imp. proclaimed at Rome A. D. 306 p. 350. cos. A. D. 308 p. 354. cos. II A. D. 309 p. 356. his war with *Constantine* A. D. 312 p. 360. 362. his death Ibid. Vol. 2 p. 83. coins and inscriptions Ibid.
- Maximianus CP. episc. A. D. 431 p. 615. 617 A. D. 434 p. 619 Vol. 2 p. 536.
- Valerius Herculeus* Maximianus imp. Augustus A. D. 286 p. 328. conference at Milan A. D. 291 p. 332. guards the Rhine 296 p. 338. his Alexandrian coins A. D. 299 p. 340. his abdication 305 p. 348. slain A. D. 310 p. 356.
- Maximinus envoy to *Attila* A. D. 448 p. 636 A. D. 449 p. 638. sent to the Saracens A. D. 452 p. 645. dies in Africa p. 647.
- Maximinus an Arian bishop A. D. 440 p. 626.
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- Maximinus præfectus annonæ. his cruelties at Rome A. D. 370 p. 474.
- Maximinus Treverorum episc. eccl. N<sup>o</sup> 122.
- Maximus a general of *Trajan* A. D. 116 p. 102.
- Trebellius* Maximus succeeded *Petronius* in Britain A. D. 78 p. 64.
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- Marius* Maximus. See *Marius*.
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- Maximus a general in the service of *Valens* drives the Goths into rebellion by his avarice A. D. 377 p. 488.
- Maximus Ægiensis Gr. N<sup>o</sup> 405.
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- Maximus Alex. episc. Vol. 2 p. 535. A. D. 265 p. 293 A. D. 283 p. 323.
- Maximus I Antioch. episc. Vol. 2 p. 535 A. D. 181 p. 181.
- Maximus II Antioch. episc. Vol. 2 p. 536 p. 552.
- Maximus Byzantium Gr. N<sup>o</sup> 272.
- Maximus Cæsar-Augustanus eccl. N<sup>o</sup> 318.
- Maximus eccl. N<sup>o</sup> 63.
- Maximus Ephesus Gr. N<sup>o</sup> 271.
- Maximus Gerontii, the follower and successor of *Gerontius* Vol. 2 p. 134. 135. A. D. 409 p. 574. deposed A. D. 412 p. 582. brought captive from Spain and put to death A. D. 422 p. 600.
- Maximus Hierosol. episc. Vol. 2 p. 536 A. D. 348 p. 413.
- Maximus monachus eccl. N<sup>o</sup> 321.

v Persius Sat. V. 90 *Si quid Masuri rubrica vetavit*. Scholiastes: *Masurius autem hic Sabinus legis consultus fuit. Rubricas vocat minium quo tituli legum annotabantur*. Athenæus I p. 1 C οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ δέλτῳ δῆθεν ἐπιδημήσαντες ἦσαν Μασούριος, νόμων ἐξηγητῆς, καὶ πάσης παιδείας οὐ παρέργως ἐπιμέλειαν ποιούμενος. Idem XIV p. 623 E Μασούριος ὁ πάντα ἕριστος καὶ σοφός· καὶ γὰρ νόμων ἐξηγητῆς οὐδένης δεύτερος, καὶ περὶ μου-

σικῆν ἐνδιατρῆσων δελ. Conf. V p. 185 A VI p. 271 B. Quoted Gell. IV. 20, 11 *Refert Sabinus Masurius in VII Memoriali*. V. 6, 13 *Massurius Sabinus in XI Librorum Memorialium*; de *Tiberio Cæsare Augusto*. Plin. H. N. XV. 29 *Massurius auctor est* &c. Conf. VII. 5. 43. X. 7. XV. 30. XVI. 44. XXVIII. 9 p. 208 ed. Var.



- Maximus Taurinensis eccl. N° 214.  
*Magnus* Maximus tyrannus proclaimed A. D. 383 p. 504. his war with *Theodosius* A. D. 387 p. 514. slain 388 p. 516. See Vol. 2 p. 123.  
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 Mediolanum taken by the Goths A. D. 539 p. 770. surrenders to *Alboin* A. D. 569 p. 826.  
 Medius stoicus Gr. N° 211.  
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 Melania her age and history Vol. 2 p. 454 m.  
 Melciades Rom. episc. Vol. 2 p. 536. 539.  
 Meletius Antioch. episc. Vol. 2 p. 536. 551.  
 Meletius a quo Meletiani, condemned by *Petrus* A. D. 302 p. 345.  
 Meletius Ponti episc. eccl. N° 103.  
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 Melito eccl. N° 33.  
 Memmia Alexandri Severi Vol. 2 p. 41.  
 Menander eccl. N° 6.  
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 Menemachus medicus Gr. N° 74.  
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 Mensurius Carthag. episc. Vol. 2 p. 433 o.  
 Mermeroos Persa in *Lazica* A. D. 551 p. 792. effects nothing in 552 p. 798. his death 554 p. 802.  
 Merobaudes Asturii gener sent into Spain A. D. 443 p. 628. recalled Ibid.  
 Merobaudes comes cos. A. D. 377. serves with *Gratian* A. D. 377 p. 490. betrays *Gratian* A. D. 383 p. 506. put to death by *Mazimus*: Pacat. Panegyri. c. 28, 4 p. 90.  
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 Mesopotamia its area Vol. 2 p. 255.  
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 Methodius eccl. N° 110.  
*L. Volusius* Metianus vel Mæcianus *Lat.* I. C.<sup>us</sup> the preceptor of *Marcus Aurelius*: *Capitolin.* Marco c. 3 *Studit et juri, audiens L. Volusium Metianum*<sup>v</sup>.  
 Metrodorus Gr. N° 359.  
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 Misimiani a Colchian tribe A. D. 555 p. 804.  
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 Missionaries sent to Gaul A. D. 250 p. 268.  
 Mithridates I *Arsaces V.* Vol. 2 p. 244. coins p. 252.  
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 Mnaseas medicus Gr. N° 74.  
 Moawiyah appointed governor of Syria A. D. 639 Vol. 2 p. 176. afterwards caliph A. D. 661—679. he held possession of Syria either as governor or as caliph near 40 years: *Ockley* Vol. 2 p. 130.  
 Mochus Vol. 2 p. 274 v.  
 Modares a Goth in the service of *Theodosius* A. D. 379 p. 494.  
 Moderatus Pythagoreus Gr. N° 15.  
 Modestinus a counsellor of *Alexander Severus* A. D. 223 p. 237.  
 Modestus eccl. N° 41.  
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*M. Licinius Crassus* Mucianus supports *Vespasian* A. D. 69 p. 56.  
 Mundila defends Milan: *Procop.* Goth. II. 12 p. 416 B. he is taken by the Goths A. D. 538. 539 p. 770.  
 Mundo Getarum dux A. D. 505 p. 722. in the service of *Justinian.* repulses the Getæ and Bulgarians A. D. 530 p. 752. aids in suppressing the sedition *vika* A. D. 532 p. 756.

<sup>v</sup> Named with honour in a law of *Marcus* himself: *Digest.* XXXVII. 14, 17 de jure patronatus. *Ulpianus libro XI ad legem Juliam et Papiam: Divi fratres [sc. Marcus et Verus] in hæc verba rescripserunt: Comperimus a peritioribus dubitatum*

*aliquando &c.—Sed et Volusius Mæcianus amicus noster, ut et juris civilis præter veterem et bene fundatam peritium anxie diligens, religione rescripti nostri ductus est ut coram nobis affirmaverit &c.* Quoted by *Casaubon* ad *Capitolinum* p. 59.

- Muratori quoted Vol. 2 p. 180 &c. examined Vol. 2 p. 202. 204. 205. 207.
- Murentius dux served under *Valerian* A. D. 258 p. 280.
- Mursa battle of A. D. 351 p. 420.
- Musæus eccl. N° 252.
- Musanus eccl. N° 40.
- Musonius Longini Gr. N° 215.
- Musonius Rufus Gr. N° 21.
- Musonius sophista Gr. N° 256.
- Musonius Tyrius Gr. N° 67.
- Nachoragan Persa defeated in Colchis A. D. 555 p. 804. 806. put to death A. D. 557 p. 808.
- Nadir Shah, position of his birthplace in Khorasan Vol. 2 p. 2561.
- Narbo besieged by the Goths A. D. 436 p. 620. delivered 437 p. 620.
- Narcissus Claudii libertus A. D. 43 p. 26 A. D. 48 p. 30. slain A. D. 54 p. 38.
- Narcissus Hierosol. episc. A. D. 190 p. 189. A. D. 214 p. 223 Vol. 2 p. 535. 556.
- Narcissus Neroniadis episc. Vol. 2 p. 435 r.
- Narses aids *Justinian* in the sedition *vika* A. D. 532 p. 756. appointed to the command in Italy A. D. 551 p. 792. arrives at Ravenna A. D. 552 p. 796. defeats *Totilas* Ibid. takes Rome Ibid. defeats *Teias* 553 p. 798. the Goths agree to withdraw from Italy Ibid. his successful campaign in 554 p. 802. *Narses* in 555 p. 804. his trophies in 562 p. 814. deprived of his command 567 p. 822. the time of his death examined 573 p. 833.
- Narses cubicularius employed against the Persians A. D. 578—581 Vol. 2 p. 150. appointed to the chief command A. D. 591 Vol. 2 p. 153. revolts from *Phocas* 603 Vol. 2 p. 158. slain 605 p. 159.
- Narses Persarum rex A. D. 293 p. 336 A. D. 301 p. 344 Vol. 2 p. 260.
- Nativity, when appointed to be celebrated Vol. 2 p. 209. see *Gospel Chronology*.
- Nazarii rhetoris filia A. D. 336 p. 393.
- Nazarius rhetor *Lat.* A. D. 324 p. 377. *Panegyricus Constantino* A. D. 321 p. 373.
- Nebo Gr. N° 190.
- Nebriidius faithful to *Constantius* in A. D. 361 Vol. 2 p. 112 and *Ammianus* there quoted.
- Nectarius CP. episc. A. D. 381 p. 501 A. D. 397 p. 541 Vol. 2 p. 536.
- Nemea A. D. 362 p. 450.
- Olympius* Nemesianus poeta *Lat.* A. D. 283 p. 323.
- Nemesius Gr. N° 307.
- Julius* Nepos imp. A. D. 472 p. 676. his elevation 474 p. 680. son of *Nepotianus*<sup>x</sup>: see Vol. 2 p. 138. deposed and driven to Salonæ by *Orestes* A. D. 475 p. 682. still living in 479 p. 692. slain A. D. 480 p. 692.
- Nepotianus comes A. D. 460 p. 661 A. D. 462 p. 662. his death A. D. 464 p. 664.
- Nepotianus Eutropiæ filius Vol. 2 p. 86 i. his elevation and death A. D. 350 p. 416.
- Nepotianus magister militum Dalmatiæ A. D. 473 p. 679.
- Nero imp. born A. D. 37 p. 20. adopted 50 p. 32. receives the toga virilis 51 p. 34. succeeds A. D. 54 p. 38. visits Greece 67 p. 50. his death 68 p. 52.
- Nerva imp. his elevation A. D. 96 p. 82. his death 98 p. 84. Inscriptions Vol. 2 p. 14.
- Nestor poeta Gr. N° 191.
- Nestorianus chronographus Gr. N° 341.
- Nestorius CP. episc. eccl. N° 221 Vol. 2 p. 536. 554.
- Nicagoras Gr. N° 184.
- Nicanor stigmatias Gr. N° 71.
- Nicephorus Callisti eccl. N° 331.
- Nicetes Smyrnæus Gr. N° 33.
- Nicocles Laco Gr. N° 281.
- Nicolaus eccl. N° 3.
- Nicolaus Lycius Gr. N° 329.
- Nicolochus Rhodius scepticus Vol. 2 p. 287. At p. 292 for *Nicomachus* read *Nicolochus*.
- Nicomachus historicus Gr. N° 228.
- Nicomedes orator Gr. N° 177.
- Nicostratus comes slain A. D. 499 p. 716.
- Nicostratus historicus Gr. N° 228.
- Nicostratus orator Gr. N° 85.
- Pescennius* Niger A. D. 184 p. 182. invited to assume the empire A. D. 193 p. 192. his defeat and death A. D. 194 p. 194. See Vol. 2 p. 31.
- Nigrinus put to death by *Hadrian* A. D. 118 p. 104.
- Nilus eccl. N° 223.
- Ninilingis dux slain in the Isaurian war A. D. 492 p. 708.
- Nisibis occupied by *Lusius* A. D. 116 p. 102. besieged A. D. 338 p. 396 A. D. 346 p. 408 A. D. 350 p. 418.
- Noetus eccl. N° 74.
- Nomus envoy to *Attila* A. D. 449 p. 636. 638.
- Nomus Gr. N° 371.
- Nonnosus Gr. N° 382.
- Nonnus Panopolites Gr. N° 313.
- Appius* Norbanus A. D. 91 p. 76.
- Henricus* Norisius *de epochis Syromaced.* 4<sup>to</sup> Lips. 1696. *Opera omnia* 4 Voll. fol. Veronæ 1729—1732. Norisius quoted A. D. 24 p. 8. A. D. 115 p. 100 A. D. 152 p. 140. A. D. 175 p. 170. Vol. 2 p. 171. 172. 236. 237. 470 k. 476 d. 478 i. 552. 39. 43. examined A. D. 99 p. 84 A. D. 547 p. 786 Vol. 2 p. 104. 213. compare p. 552. 43.
- Novatianus eccl. N° 90.
- C. Rutilius* Numatianus poeta *Lat.* A. D. 416 p. 591.
- Numenius Pythagoreus Gr. N° 132.
- Numenius rhetor Gr. N° 80.
- Numerianus imp. A. D. 282 p. 322. slain A. D. 284 p. 324. See Vol. 2 p. 72. coins and inscriptions Ibid.

<sup>x</sup> The father of *Nepos* was probably not *Nepotianus comes* who died A. D. 464, but rather *Nepotianus* who was *magister militum Dalmatiæ* in 473.



- Numisianus medicus Gr. N° 102.  
 Nymphidianus Gr. N° 274.  
 Ochus or Tedjen river described Vol. 2 p. 256.  
 Ockley *History of the Saracens* 2 Vols. 8<sup>vo</sup>. Cambridge 1757. quoted Vol. 2 p. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. examined p. 174. 176.  
 Octavia Neronis A. D. 53 p. 36.  
 Odenathus Palmyræ rex repulses *Sapor* A. D. 260 p. 286. his power in the East A. D. 262 p. 288. Augustus 264 p. 290. marches to Ctesiphon Ibid. defends the empire in the East A. D. 265 p. 292. slain 267 p. 294. See Vol. 2 p. 61. Inscriptions p. 62.  
 Odenathus conspired against his kinsman *Odenathus* A. D. 267 p. 294.  
 Odoacer Turcilingorum rex A. D. 476 p. 684. defeats the *Rugi* A. D. 487 p. 700. routed by *Theoderic* 489 p. 702. 704. 490 p. 704. 491 p. 706. slain 493 p. 708. 710.  
 Oecumenius eccl. N° 332.  
 Oenomaus cynicus Gr. N° 90.  
*Anicius Olybrius* imp. marries *Placidia* the daughter of *Valentinian III* Vol. 2 p. 127 m. A. D. 462 p. 662. his elevation A. D. 472 p. 674. his death p. 676.  
 Olybrius junior Julianæ filius Vol. 2 p. 124. 127 n.  
 Olybrius præf. urbis Romæ A. D. 370 p. 474.  
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 Olympia at Antioch A. D. 44 p. 28. 29 A. D. 212 p. 220. cease A. D. 520 p. 738.  
 Olympiacus medicus Gr. N° 74.  
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 Olympias Ablavii filia, betrothed to *Constans*, married to *Arsaces* Vol. 2 p. 100.  
 Olympiodorus historicus Gr. N° 317.  
 Olympiodorus peripateticus Gr. N° 318.  
 Olympius the adversary of *Stilicho* A. D. 408 p. 570.  
 Olympius Alexandrinus Gr. N° 196.  
 Olympius Hispanus eccl. N° 197.  
 Olympius Palæstinæ dux A. D. 513 Vol. 2 p. 557. 51.  
 Olympius Trallianus Gr. N° 359.  
 Omar elected caliph A. D. 634 Vol. 2 p. 173. enters Jerusalem A. D. 637 p. 175.  
 Onasimus Spartanus Gr. N° 249.  
 Onomarchus sophista Gr. N° 153.  
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 Onoulfus Odoacri frater A. D. 511 p. 726.  
 Oppianus Apamensis Gr. N° 175.  
 Oppianus Cilix Gr. N° 159.  
*P. Porphyrius* Optatianus *Lat.* A. D. 325 p. 379.  
*Suetonius* Optatianus *Lat.* a historian: *Vopisc. Tacito* c. 11 *Si quis omnia de hoc viro cupit scire, legat Suetonium Optatianum, qui ejus vitam affatim scripsit.*  
 Optatus eccl. N° 150.  
 Optimus eccl. N° 165.  
 Orestes patricius envoy from *Attila* to CP. A. D. 448. 449 p. 636. the father of *Romulus Augustus* A. D. 475 p. 682. de *Oreste* confer *Priscum* p. 57 A. *Orestes* was slain A. D. 476 p. 684.  
 Oribasius medicus Gr. N° 278.  
 Origenes eccl. N° 71. abstracts of Origen *de principiis* &c. Vol. 2 p. 496—507.  
 Origenes Plotini Gr. N° 200.  
 Orion grammaticus Gr. N° 320.  
 Oriones varii Gr. N° 320 Vol. 2 p. 316 t.  
 Orodes *Arsaces XII.* Vol. 2 p. 245.  
 Orodes II *Arsaces XV.* Vol. 2 p. 246.  
 Orodes Artabani II filius Vol. 2 p. 251.  
 Orosius eccl. N° 209.  
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*P. Ostorius* in Britain A. D. 50 p. 34. his death A. D. 50: *Tacit. Ann.* XII. 39.  
*M. Ostorius Scapula* Publii filius: *Tacit. Ann.* XII. 31. his death A. D. 66 p. 48.  
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*M. Salvius* Otho born A. D. 32 p. 16. his elevation and death A. D. 69 p. 54.  
*Casimir* Oudin quoted Vol. 2 p. 209. 478 i. 482 r. 490. and note o. 491. see note r. quoted on the works of *Beda* Vol. 2 p. 492 w. examined de *Isidoro Pacensi* p. 493 y.  
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*Antonius Pagi* *Critica historico-chronologica in Annales Baronii, opus posthumum.* fol. tom. 1—3 Antverpiæ 1727 tom. 4 Colon. Allobrog. 1727. Pagi quoted A. D. 68 p. 50 Vol. 2 p. 543. 466 a. 476 d. 546. 37. 548. 21. 549. 23. 550. 30. 552. 39. 554. 50. 558. 1. upon *Georgius Pisides* p. 335 f. upon *Beda* p. 492 w. upon the bishops of Rome 539—543. examined A. D. 238 p. 252. 548 p. 788. 554 p. 804. 574 p. 835. at A. D. 640 Vol. 2 p. 177. de *Syncello* Vol. 2 p. 335 g. examined Vol. 2 p. 552. 43. 559. 1.  
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- Palasch Persarum rex A. D. 482 p. 694 Vol. 2 p. 261.  
 Paley quoted Vol. 2 p. 531 w.  
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 Palladas Gr. N° 311.  
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 Papias eccl. N° 9.  
*Æmilius* Papinianus *Lat.* IC<sup>us</sup> in Britain A. D. 210 p. 217. slain A. D. 212 p. 220. Conf. Zosimus I. 9. The authority of *Papinian* is mentioned in a law of *Constantine* A. D. 321 p. 375, and in a law of *Valentinian II* A. D. 426. See *Paulus* IC.<sup>us</sup> Disciples of *Papinian* A. D. 223 p. 237.  
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 Parthenius grammaticus Gr. N° 24.  
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 Patriciolus Asparis filius appointed *Cæsar* by *Leo* A. D. 471 p. 674. escaped at the death of his father according to *Candidus*, but according to all other accounts was slain with his father: *Ibid.*  
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 Parthaspates Parthorum rex appointed by *Trajan* A. D. 116 p. 102.  
*Æmilius* Parthenianus *Lat.* a historian: Vulcat. Avidio Cassio c. 5 *De hoc multa gravia contra militum licentiam facta inveniuntur apud Æmilium Parthenianum, qui affectatores tyrannidis jam inde a veteribus historiæ tradidit.*  
<sup>y</sup> *Seneca* Ep. 40 *Fabianus vir egregius.* Ep. 58 *Fabianum disertum et elegantem &c.* Ep. 100 *Fabiani Papii libros qui inscribuntur Civitum legisse te cupidissime scribis.* Quoted ad *Marciam* c. 23 *Quæst. Nat.* III. 27. *Seneca pater præf. Con. II Cum repeterem quos unquam bene declamantes audissem, occurrit mihi inter alios Fabianus philosophus, qui adolescens admodum tantæ opinionis in declamando quantæ postea in disputando fuit. Exercebatur apud Arellium Fuscum &c.*  
<sup>z</sup> Mentioned in these testimonies. *Seneca* rhetor excerpt. *Controv.* III p. 426 *Passienus noster cum cepit dicere secundum principium statim fuga fit; ad epilogum omnes revertuntur.* p. 428 *Passienum qui nunc primo loco stat. Seneca Benef. I. 15 Crispus Passienus "Malo" aiebat "divi Augusti iudicium, malo Claudii beneficium."* *Idem* *Nat. Quæst. præf. lib. IV Crispus Passienus quo ego nil cognovi subtilius in omnibus rebus.* *Quintilian.* *Inst.* VI. 1, 50 *Egregie tractatum a Passieno cum Domitiæ uxoris suæ [conf. VI. 3, 74] pecuniaria lite adversus fratrem ejus Ahenobarbum ageret.* *Idem* X. 1, 24 *Nobis pueris insignes pro Voluseno Catulo Domitii Afri, Crispi Passieni, Decimi Lælii orationes ferebantur.* *Plin.* H. N. XVI. 44 *Ætate nostra—Passienus Crispus bis consul, orator, Agrippinæ matrimonio et Nerone privigno clarior postea.* *Sueton.* *Nerone* c. 6 *Claudio imperium adeptio (Nero) Crispi Passieni vitrici sui hereditate ditatus est.* *Tacit.* *Ann.* VI. 20 *Scitum Passieni oratoris dictum &c. (de Caligula.)* *Plin.* *Ep.* VII. 6, 11 *Julii oratoris, quo audito Passienus Crispus dixit &c.*  
<sup>a</sup> *Sigebertus* c. 80 *Paulus monachus Casinensis canobii natione Italus propter scientiam literarum a Carolo magno imperatore adscitus scripsit vitam primi Gregorii papæ [conf. *Langob.* III. 25], scripsit gesta pontificum Mettensium [Langob.*



- Paulus dux Thracum besieged in Milan: Procop. Goth. II. 12 p. 416 B. taken by the Goths A. D. 538. 539 p. 770.
- Paulus Emesæ episc. A. D. 431: Vol. 2 p. 240.
- Julius Paulus IC<sup>us</sup>. Lat. A. D. 223 p. 237. Contemporary with *Ulpian*.<sup>b</sup>
- Paulus Novat. episc. A. D. 419 p. 597 A. D. 433 p. 619 Vol. 2 p. 443 n.
- Paulus Orestis frater slain A. D. 476 p. 684.
- Paulus a priest—*τῶν τῆς ἱερῶν* Procop. Vand. II. 23—recovers Adrumetum A. D. 544 p. 780.
- Paulus Samosatenus eccl. N<sup>o</sup> 92 Vol. 2 p. 535.
- Paulus Silentarius Gr. N<sup>o</sup> 384.
- Paulus Syrus Gr. N<sup>o</sup> 233.
- Paulus tribunus notariorum A. D. 500 p. 716 A. D. 517 p. 734.
- Paulus Tyrius contemporary with *Philo Byblius*: Suid. p. 2897 C *Παῦλος Τύριος ῥήτωρ, γεγονὼς κατὰ Φίλωνα τὸν Βύβλιον ὃς ἐπὶ Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως πρεσβεύσας μητρόπολιν τὴν Τύρον ἐποίησεν. ἔγραψε Τέχνην ῥητορικὴν Προγραμμάσματα Μελέτας.*
- Pausanias periegeta Gr. N<sup>o</sup> 88.
- Pausanias sophista Gr. N<sup>o</sup> 147.
- Pelagia Bonifacii uxor A. D. 432 p. 618.
- Pelagius eccl. N<sup>o</sup> 210.
- Pelagius I Rom. episc. A. D. 555 p. 805. epistolæ A. D. 556 p. 807 Vol. 2 p. 542. his death A. D. 560 p. 813.
- Pelagius II Rom. episc. A. D. 578 p. 841 Vol. 2 p. 152. 537.
- Pelops medicus Gr. N<sup>o</sup> 103.
- Pentadius caused the recal of *Sallustius* the friend of *Julian* A. D. 357 p. 439.
- Peregrinus Gr. N<sup>o</sup> 112.
- Perennis præf. præf. A. D. 184 p. 182. slain A. D. 185 p. 182.
- Perpetual edict of *Hadrian* A. D. 132 p. 119.
- Persecutions of the Christians by the Heathen. under *Nero* A. D. 64. 65 p. 46. 47. under *Domitian* A. D. 95 p. 80. 81. under *Trajan* A. D. 104 p. 91 A. D. 115 p. 101. In Asia in A. D. 166 p. 157, and under the *philosophic* emperor *Marcus* carried on with great cruelty in Gaul in A. D. 177 p. 175. under *Maximin* A. D. 235 p. 249. under *Decius* A. D. 250 p. 269. under *Valerian* A. D. 257. 258 p. 281. under *Diocletian* A. D. 303 p. 344. &c. under *Maximin* A. D. 311 p. 360. See A. D. 313 p. 366. Persecutions in Persia A. D. 414 p. 586 A. D. 420 p. 596.
- Persicum bellum begins A. D. 572 p. 828. ends in the 20th year A. D. 591: *Ibid.* p. 830. Vol. 2 p. 153. See *Phocas*. Persians invade Syria A. D. 611 Vol. 2 p. 161. invade Egypt and approach Chalcedon A. D. 616 Vol. 2 p. 163. take Ancyra A. D. 620 Vol. 2 p. 165. See *Heraclius*.
- A.* Persius Flaccus *Lat.* born A. D. 34 p. 19. his death A. D. 62 p. 45.
- Pertinax imp. born A. D. 126 p. 112. Described Vol. 2 p. 30 z p. 31. his elevation and death A. D. 193 p. 190. his laws in *Cod. Just.* A. D. 193 p. 192.
- Pestilence A. D. 167 p. 158. 252 p. 272. 273. 542 p. 778. 543 p. 778. 780. 558 p. 808. in Syria A. D. 639 Vol. 2 p. 176.
- St. Peter* suffered martyrdom at Rome A. D. 65 p. 47.
- Petronius Arbitrator his death A. D. 66 is described by *Tacitus Ann.* xvi. 18. 19.
- Petronius Bononiensis eccl. N<sup>o</sup> 236.
- Petronius in Judæa A. D. 40 p. 24.
- Petrus I Alex. episc. A. D. 301 p. 345 A. D. 312 p. 363 A. D. 321 p. 373. Vol. 2 p. 536.
- Petrus II Alex. episc. A. D. 373 p. 481. 483 Vol. 2 p. 536. His death in 377 Vol. 2 p. 544. 24.
- Petrus III Alex. episc. Mongus Vol. 2 p. 536. 545. 554. 555.
- Petrus Antioch. episc. Fullo Vol. 2 p. 536. 553.
- Petrus CP. episc. Vol. 2 p. 537. 560.
- Petrus dux A. D. 528 p. 748.
- Petrus Hierosol. episc. Vol. 2 p. 536. 557.
- Petrus Mauricii frater commands against the Avars

VI. 16] *scripsit miracula sancti Arnulphi*—*Historiam quoque* &c. Trithemius c. 253 *Paulus* &c. *Hic olim ante conversionem suam diaconus fuit Aquileiensis ecclesie et Desiderii ultimi regis Longobardorum cancellarius, et cum eodem captus [A. D. 774] a Carolo in Galliam ductus &c. Scripsit—non pauca volumina.—Rogatu Aldeburgæ filie Desiderii regis addidit ad Chronicam Eutropii libros duo [quinque inquit editor Trithemii].*

*Gesta episcoporum Metensium*

*Vitam Gregorii*

*Vitam Arnulphi*

*Vitam Benedicti metricè*

*Gesta Longobardorum libri VI.*

—*Claruit A. D. 780.* Paulus ipse Langobard. IV. 39 *Eo tempore quo Langobardorum gens de Pannoniis ad Italiam venit, Leuphis meus abavus ex eodem Langobardorum genere cum eis pariter adventavit. Qui postquam aliquot annos in Italia vixit, diem elaudens extremum quinque ex se genitos filios adhuc parvulos reliquit.—Quintus eorum germanus nomine Lupicis, qui noster postea proavus extitit, &c.—Iste—extitit meus proavus. Hic etenim genuit avum meum Arichim, Arichis vero patrem meum Warnefrid. Warnefrid ex Theudelinda conjuge suo genuit me Paulum meumque germanum Arichim, qui nostrum avum*

*cognomine retulit.*

<sup>b</sup> His authority is acknowledged in a law of *Constantine* given at A. D. 327 p. 383, and in a law of *Valentinian III* Nov. 7 A. D. 426 *Cod. Theod.* Vol. 1 p. 30 I. 4, 3 p. 25 *Wenck.* de responsis prudentum: *Papiniani, Pauli, Gaii, Ulpiani atque Modestini scripta universa firmamus ita ut Gaium quæ Paulum Ulpianum et cunctos comitetur auctoritas, lectionesque ex omni ejus opere recitentur. Eorum quoque scientiam quorum tractatus atque sententias prædicti omnes suis operibus miscuerunt ratam esse censemus ut Scævola, Sabini, Juliani, atque Marcelli omniumque quos illi celebrarunt, si tamen eorum libri propter antiquitatis incertum codicum collatione firmantur. Ubi autem diversæ sententiæ proferuntur, potior numerus vincat auctorum, vel, si numerus æqualis sit, ejus partis præcedat auctoritas in qua excellentis ingenii vir Papinianus emineat, qui, ut singulos vincit, ita cedit duobus. Notas etiam Pauli atque Ulpiani in Papiniani corpus factas, sicut dudum statutum est [sc. A. D. 321], præcipimus infirmari. Ubi autem pares eorum sententiæ recitantur, quorum par censetur auctoritas, quod sequi debeat eligat moderatio judicantis. Pauli quoque Sententias semper valere præcipimus, &c. *Dat. VII Id. Novemb. Ravennæ DD. NN. Theodosio XII et Valentiniano II AA. coss.**

- A. D. 593. 594 Vol. 2 p. 154. reappointed in A. D. 601 p. 157. slain by *Phocas* A. D. 602 p. 157.
- Petrus rhetor *Lat.* A. D. 355 p. 429.
- Petrus Thessalon. Gr. N° 368.
- Petza Gothorum dux assists the *Getae* A. D. 505 p. 722.
- Pharasmanes Colchus serves in the army of *Anastasius* A. D. 503 p. 720.
- Pherecydes philosophus Vol. 2 p. 390.
- Pherogdathes envoy from *Chosroes* A. D. 578 p. 842.
- Philager Gr. N° 129.
- Philagrius præfectus Ægypti A. D. 341 p. 404.
- Philastrus Brixiae episc. eccl. N° 164.
- Phileas eccl. N° 106.
- Philetus Antioch. episc. A. D. 228 p. 243 Vol. 2 p. 535. 548.
- Philinus archon A. D. 220 p. 232.
- Philinus empiricus Vol. 2 p. 287 i.
- Philippicus marries the sister of *Mauricius*, commands in the Persian war A. D. 584 Vol. 2 p. 150. A. D. 585. 586. 587 p. 151. recalled A. D. 588 p. 152.
- Philippus cos. A. D. 348. employed in 351 p. 420.
- Philippus Cretensis eccl. N° 39.
- Philippus empiricus Gr. No 101.
- Philippus imp. præf. præt. A. D. 243 p. 260. procures the death of *Gordian III* A. D. 244 p. 260. returns to Rome *Ibid.* His war with the *Carpi* A. D. 245 p. 262. slain 249 p. 266. The question whether *Philip* was a Christian examined Vol. 2 p. 51—53. Inscriptions Vol. 2 p. 53. Laws: Tables p. 262—267.
- Philippus junior A. D. 244 p. 260. Augustus A. D. 247 p. 264. slain 249 p. 266.
- Philippus presbyter eccl. N° 235.
- Philippus Sidetes eccl. N° 226.
- Philippus tetrarcha A. D. 44 p. 28 A. D. 53 p. 36.
- Philippus Thessalon. Gr. N° 69.
- Philiscus Gr. N° 176.
- Philo Byblius Gr. N° 58.
- Philo Judæus Gr. N° 10.
- Philogonius Antioch. episc. Vol. 2 p. 536. 548.
- Philostorgius eccl. N° 228.
- Philostratus Lemnius Gr. N° 186.
- Philostratus Lemnius junior Gr. N° 187.
- Philostratus tertius Gr. N° 188.
- Philoxenus recalled from exile by *Justin* A. D. 519 p. 736. cos. A. D. 525 p. 742 Vol. 2 p. 206.
- Phlegon Trallianus Gr. N° 82.
- Phocas imp. revolts A. D. 602 Vol. 2 p. 157. cos. A. D. 603 p. 158. his Persian war A. D. 604. 605. 606. 607 p. 158. 159. A. D. 609 p. 160. calamities of his reign 609 p. 160. see 612 p. 162. slain A. D. 610 p. 160.
- Phœbadius eccl. N° 148.
- Phœbion stoicus Gr. N° 209.
- Phœnix sophista Gr. N° 157.
- Photinus eccl. N° 147.
- Phraataces *Arsaces XIV.* Vol. 2 p. 246.
- Phrahates I *Arsaces IV.* Vol. 2 p. 244. a coin p. 252.
- Phrahates II *Arsaces VI.* Vol. 2 p. 244. a coin p. 252.
- Phrahates III *Arsaces X.* Vol. 2 p. 245. coins p. 252.
- Phrahates Phrahatis IV filius Vol. 2 p. 251.
- Phrahates Phrahatis IV nepos Vol. 2 p. 251.
- Phrynichus Gr. N° 118.
- Picti their inroads into Britain A. D. 360 p. 442 A. D. 446 p. 632.
- Pierius comes domesticorum slain A. D. 490 p. 704.
- Pierius eccl. N° 100.
- Pontius* Pilatus Judææ procurator, time of his government Vol. 2 p. 235.
- Pinytus eccl. N° 37.
- Pisander poeta Gr. N° 199.
- Piso conspires against *Nero* A. D. 65 p. 46.
- Piso adopted by *Galba* and slain A. D. 69 p. 52.
- Piso tyrannus slain by *Valens* A. D. 261 p. 286 Vol. 2 p. 62.
- Pissamene mater *Lætæ Gratiani uxoris* Vol. 2 p. 122.
- Pius Rom. episc. A. D. 136 p. 125 Vol. 2 p. 535. 537.
- Placidia Probæ filia *Olybrii junioris neptis* Vol. 2 p. 128 n. the wife of *Joannes Mustaco* *Ibid.*
- Placidia Theodosii filia Vol. 2 p. 124. 126 i. captured by the Goths A. D. 409 p. 574. married to *Ataulphus* A. D. 414 p. 586. restored after his death A. D. 416 p. 590. married to *Constantius* A. D. 417 p. 592. dismissed from the West A. D. 423 p. 600.
- Placidia Valentiniani III filia Vol. 2 p. 124. 127 m. married to *Olybrius* *Ibid.* taken to Carthage A. D. 455 p. 652.
- Placillus Antioch. episc. A. D. 348 p. 414 Vol. 2 p. 536. 550.
- Plato quoted on Egyptian chronology Vol. 2 p. 225. quoted by *Aristotle* Vol. 2 p. 340. 357. 359. 373. 386. 389. in *Timæo* p. 355. 360. 364. 366. 374. 375. 378. 380.
- Fulvius* Plautianus A. D. 202 p. 208. cos. II A. D. 203 p. 208. slain *Ibid.* see p. 210.
- Fulvia* Plautilla Caracallæ A. D. 202 p. 208. slain A. D. 212 p. 220.
- Aulus* Plautius commanded in Britain. see A. D. 78 p. 64.
- C. Plinius Secundus *Lat.* born A. D. 24 p. 9. *Pliny* A. D. 72 p. 61. *Historia Naturalis* A. D. 77 p. 65. his death A. D. 79 p. 65. a list of his works is given by his nephew *Epist.* III. 5. his historical works are mentioned *Epist.* V. 8, 5.
- C. Plinius Cæcilius Secundus *Lat.* born A. D. 61 p. 43. described at A. D. 79 p. 65 A. D. 80 p. 67. prætor A. D. 90 p. 75. *Actio in Publicium Certum* A. D. 96 p. 81. *Pliny* in A. D. 98 p. 85. *Panegyricus* A. D. 100 p. 87. proconsul of Bithynia A. D. 103 p. 89. *Pliny* in A. D. 104 p. 91. in 105 p. 93. In Italy in 107 p. 95.
- Plotina Trajani manages the succession of *Hadrian* A. D. 117 p. 102. described Vol. 2 p. 15.



- Plotinus Gr. N° 197.  
 Plutarchus Chæronensis Gr. N° 32.  
 Plutarchus Nestorii Gr. N° 316.  
 Polemo rex A. D. 38 p. 22.  
 Polemo sophista Gr. N° 68.  
 Pollentia battle of A. D. 403 p. 554.  
*Trebellius Pollio* Lat. A. D. 291 p. 333 A. D. 307 p. 353. Vopiscus Firmo c. I *Trebellius Pollio ea fuit diligentia eaque cura in edendis bonis malisque principibus ut etiam triginta tyrannos uno breviter libro concluderet.*  
 Pollux Gr. N° 136.  
 Polyænus Gr. N° 138.  
 Polybius libertus A. D. 48 p. 32.  
 Polycarpus eccl. N° 8.  
 Polycrates eccl. N° 60.  
 Pomerius eccl. N° 273.  
*Claudius Pompeianus* the son-in-law of *Marcus* A. D. 175 p. 170. married to *Lucilla*: Capitolin. Marco c. 20. See Vol. 2 p. 21. Add Dio 72. 4.  
*Pompeius dux* A. D. 505 p. 722. the nephew of *Anastasius* A. D. 532 p. 754. slain Ibid.  
*Cn. Pompeius magnus* Vol. 2 p. 7. 9 p. 245 k.  
*Pomponia Græcina* A. D. 57 p. 38.  
*Pontianus* Rom. episc. A. D. 236 p. 251 Vol. 2 p. 535. 537. 538.  
*Pontius diaconus* eccl. N° 87.  
*Sabina* Poppæa Neronis A. D. 58 p. 40. married to *Nero* A. D. 62. 63 p. 44. her death A. D. 65 p. 46.  
*Porphyrius Antioch.* episc. Vol. 2 p. 536. 552.  
*Porphyrius* Gr. N° 235. Works Vol. 2 p. 298—302.  
*Posides libertus* A. D. 48 p. 32.  
*Possideus* eccl. N° 250.  
*Postumus imp.* in Gaul A. D. 258 p. 280 A. D. 260 p. 284. associates *Victorinus* A. D. 265 p. 292. slain 267 p. 296. See Vol. 2 p. 58. 59.  
*Postumus filius* Vol. 2 p. 59.  
*Bruttius Prærens* the father of *Crispina Commodi* A. D. 177 p. 174.  
*Prætextatus præf. urbis Romæ* A. D. 367 Vol. 2 p. 307 t.  
*Praxagoras historicus* Gr. N° 296.  
*Prayllus Hierosol.* episc. Vol. 2 p. 536. 557.  
*Prayllus scepticus* Vol. 2 p. 287. 292.  
*Praxeas* eccl. N° 44.  
 Presentation in the Temple, when a day was appointed for the commemoration of this event. Vol. 2 p. 209<sup>c</sup> p. 521 g.  
*Priapatius Arsaces III.* Vol. 2 p. 244.  
*Prichard* his description of *Iran* quoted Vol. 2 p. 255. 256. examined Vol. 2 p. 259 e; where consult the Additions and Corrections.  
*Primasius Adrumetinus* eccl. N° 292. At p. 399 N° 292 read "Adrumetinus."  
*Primus Alex.* episc. Vol. 2 p. 535. 544.  
*Priscianus grammaticus* Lat. lived in the reign of *Anastasius*. a MS. of *Priscian* is extant which was written A. D. 527. See A. D. 527 p. 746.  
 His panegyric upon *Anastasius—Laudes sapientissimi imperatoris Anastasii Isaurici et Parthici et Gotthici Victoris dictæ a Prisciano grammatico*—is published in Corp. Scriptorum Hist. Byzant. Part. 1 p. 517—526.  
*Priscianus Lydus* Gr. N° 375.  
*Priscillianus* eccl. N° 167.  
*C. Lutorius Priscus* condemned A. D. 21 p. 6.  
*Stadius Priscus* invades Armenia A. D. 163 p. 150.  
*L. Priscus* opposes *Decius* and is slain A. D. 250 p. 268.  
*Priscus dux* succeeds *Philippicus* in the Persian war A. D. 588 Vol. 2 p. 152. commands in the war against the Avars A. D. 592 Vol. 2 p. 153. A. D. 593 p. 154. superseded by *Petrus* Ibid. restored to the command A. D. 594 p. 154. his campaign in 595 p. 155. in 598 p. 155. in 600 p. 156.  
*Priscus Phocæ* gener revolts A. D. 608 Vol. 2 p. 159.  
*Priscus sophista* Gr. N° 290.  
*Priscus Thrax* Gr. N° 338.  
*Proæresius* Gr. N° 253.  
*Proba Olybrii junioris filia* Vol. 2 p. 128 n.  
*Proba Probæ filia Olybrii neptis* Vol. 2 p. 128 n.  
*Probatus* defeated in Egypt by the generals of *Zenobia* A. D. 269 p. 300.  
*Probus Anastasii nepos* A. D. 532 p. 754 Vol. 2 p. 128 n.  
*Sicorius Probus* envoy to Persia A. D. 298 p. 340.  
*Probus imp.* appointed A. D. 276 p. 314. in Gaul A. D. 277 p. 316. in Illyricum 278 p. 316. his Alexandrian coins A. D. 279 p. 318. slain A. D. 282 p. 320. account of *Probus* Vol. 2 p. 70. coins and inscriptions p. 71.  
*Probus Porphyrii* Gr. N° 231.  
*Probus Severi imp.* gener Vol. 2 p. 32.  
*Boionia Procilla* Vol. 2 p. 21.  
*Procleianus Phœnicisæ dux* A. D. 528 p. 748.  
*Proclinus Platonicus* Gr. N° 204.  
*Proclus CP.* episc. A. D. 434 p. 619 Vol. 2 p. 536. 559.  
*Proclus diadochus* Gr. N° 334. Works Vol. 2 p. 320—322.  
*Proclus grammaticus* Gr. N° 163.  
*Proclus medicus* Gr. N° 74.  
*Proclus sophista* Gr. N° 156.  
*Procopius* revolts A. D. 365 p. 462. 464. defeated and slain A. D. 366 p. 464.  
*Procopius Anthemii imp.* frater A. D. 465 p. 666.  
*Procopius Cæsar.* Gr. N° 370.  
*Procopius Gazæus* Gr. N° 367.  
*Procopius Marciani frater Anthemii filius* A. D. 479 p. 692.  
*Proculus* a counsellor of *Alexander Severus* A. D. 223 p. 237.

<sup>c</sup> Add to the testimonies there quoted Theophanes p. 188 B. *Justiniani* 15<sup>o</sup> [A. D. 54½] τούτω τῷ ἔτει—ἡ ὑπαπαντή τοῦ

κυρίου ἔλαβεν ἀρχὴν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι ἐν τῷ Βυζαντίῳ τῇ δευτέρῃ τοῦ Φεβρουαρίου μηνός.

- Euty chius* Proculus Siccensis grammaticus *Lat.* the preceptor of *Marcus* A. D. 133 p. 119.<sup>d</sup>
- Proculus Tatiani filius put to death A. D. 392 p. 526.
- Proculus tyrannus overthrown by *Probus* A. D. 280 p. 318. 320.
- Prodicus eccl. N° 20.
- Profuturus a general in the service of *Valens* A. D. 377 p. 488. 490.
- Promotus served with *Theodosius* against the Greothungi A. D. 386 p. 510.
- Prosper Aquitanus eccl. N° 256.
- Protagoras Vol. 2 p. 380. 384. conf. *Platonem Theæteto* p. 152 A. Cratylo p. 385 E.
- Proterius Alex. episc. eccl. N° 245. See A. D. 453 p. 649 Vol. 2 p. 536. 554.
- Prudentius eccl. N° 184.
- Ptolemæus Ascalonita Gr. N° 409.
- Ptolemæus Chennus Gr. N° 35.
- Ptolemæus Claudius Gr. N° 109.
- Ptolemæus Cyrenæus scepticus Vol. 2 p. 287. 292.
- Ptolemæus Mauretaniæ dux A. D. 24 p. 8. slain A. D. 40 p. 24.
- Ptolemæus peripateticus Gr. N° 218.
- Ptolemæus rhetor Gr. N° 150.
- Ptolemæus Valentini discipulus eccl. N° 22.
- Pulcheria Marciani Vol. 2 p. 124. 125 g. born A. D. 399 p. 542. Augusta A. D. 414 p. 586. her government A. D. 414 p. 587. her death A. D. 453 p. 648.
- Pulcheria Theodosii filia Vol. 2 p. 124. 125 e.
- Pupienus imp. A. D. 238 p. 252. 253 Vol. 2 p. 46.
- Pyrrho Vol. 2 p. 287. 292.
- Pyrrhus CP. episc. appointed A. D. 639 Vol. 2 p. 176. his conference with *Maximus mense Julio indict. III*: Pagi tom. 2 p. 833. sc. July A. D. 645. charged with conspiring with *Martina* against *Constantine* A. D. 641 Vol. 2 p. 179. deposed in 641 p. 177. See Vol. 2 p. 537. 560.
- Pythagoras Vol. 2 p. 340. on the earth and planets p. 357 r. quoted p. 374. 389.
- Pythagoreans Vol. 2 p. 355. 356. held that the earth moved p. 357. quoted p. 373. 375. 380. 386. 390.
- Pythia still celebrated A. D. 362 p. 450.
- Quadi A. D. 174 p. 168. in Pannonia A. D. 261 p. 286. *Quadi* in A. D. 358 p. 438. ravage *Illyricum* A. D. 374 p. 482. their embassy to *Valentinian* A. D. 375 p. 484.
- Ummidius* Quadratus A. D. 60 p. 42.
- Quadratus eccl. N° 10.
- Quartadecimani A. D. 197 p. 200 Vol. 2 p. 532.
- Quercius *ad Georgium Pisidam*. his computation examined Vol. 2 A. D. 628 p. 169.
- Quietus tyrannus Macriani filius A. D. 261 p. 286. slain A. D. 262 p. 288.
- Quinquegentiani A. D. 292 p. 334. defeated by *Maximian* A. D. 297 p. 338.
- Quinquennalia Neronis A. D. 60 p. 42 A. D. 65 p. 46.
- Maximiani A. D. 291 p. 332. Juliani A. D. 360 p. 444. Arcadii A. D. 387 p. 512. Theodosii II A. D. 407 p. 566. A. D. 415 p. 588. A. D. 439 p. 624.
- M. Fabius* Quintilianus *Lat.* accompanied *Galba* to Rome A. D. 68 p. 51. teaches at Rome A. D. 89 p. 73. He was with *Nicetes* the preceptor of the younger *Pliny*: *Plin.* Ep. VI. 6, 3. who gave a portion to his daughter: Ep. VI. 32 *C. Plinius Quintiliano suo.* *Quintilian* was celebrated about A. D. 91 by *Martial* Ep. II. 90. *Ausonius* Grat. Act. p. 290 *Quintilianus consularia per Clementem ornamenta sortitus.*
- Quintillus Claudii imp. frater A. D. 270 p. 302. slain *Ibid.* See Vol. 2 p. 66 p. 84 b.
- Quintus medicus Gr. N° 39.
- Quiricus Toletanus episcopus A. D. 667 Vol. 2 p. 489 m.
- Quirinus sophista Gr. N° 171.
- Radagaisus Gothorum rex enters Italy A. D. 400 p. 548. defeated and slain A. D. 405 p. 562.
- Rando Alamannus A. D. 368 p. 470.
- Recaredus I Gothorum rex (A. D. 586—601) A. D. 569 p. 826 Vol. 2 p. 151. 157. 486 b. 489.
- Recaredus II Gothorum rex A. D. 620 Vol. 2 p. 165. 489.
- Recceswinthus Gothorum rex A. D. 649 Vol. 2 p. 472 s. 488. 489.
- Recharius Suevorum rex A. D. 448 p. 636. slain A. D. 456 p. 652.
- Rechila Suevorum rex A. D. 438 p. 622. 439 p. 624. 440 p. 626. 441 p. 628. his death A. D. 448 p. 636.
- Regalianus tyrannus A. D. 260 p. 284 Vol. 2 p. 60.
- Regilla Herodis Attici uxor A. D. 143 p. 132 Vol. 2 p. 274 t.
- Reimar quoted A. D. 199 p. 202. examined A. D. 117 p. 104 Vol. 2 p. 250 l.
- Reiske quoted A. D. 331 p. 386 A. D. 364 p. 461 Vol. 2 p. 286. 310. examined Vol. 2 p. 120.
- Remigius the accomplice of *Romanus* in Africa A. D. 372 p. 478. slain A. D. 373 p. 480.
- Remismundus Suevus A. D. 460 p. 660. 463 p. 664. reigns over the *Suevi* A. D. 464 p. 664. 466 p. 666.
- Renaudot quoted Vol. 2 p. 546.
- Rennell quoted Vol. 2 p. 243 b. on the geography of Western Asia Vol. 2 p. 254—258.
- Rheticus *Æduorum* episc. eccl. N° 111.
- Rhodon eccl. N° 53.
- Richomeres sent by *Gratian* to the aid of *Valens* A. D. 377 p. 488. defeats the Goths A. D. 377 p. 490.

<sup>d</sup> Trebell. XXX. 22 *Fertur apud Memphin in aurea columna Egyptiis literis scriptum tunc demum Ægyptum liberam fore quum in eam venissent Romani fasces et prætexta Romanorum; quod apud Proculum grammaticum, doctissimum sui temporis*

*virum, quum de peregrinis regionibus loquitur invenitur.* The preceptor of *Marcus* in the opinion of *Casaubon* ad *Capitolin.* Marco c. 2 and of *Fabricius* B. G. tom. 9 p. 365.



- Ricimer comes defeats the Vandals A. D. 456 p. 654.  
deposes *Majorian* A. D. 461 p. 662. kills the king of the *Alani* 464 p. 666. marries the daughter of *Anthemius* A. D. 467 p. 668 A. D. 468 p. 671. his death A. D. 472 p. 674.
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- Rodolphus Herulus A. D. 512 p. 728.
- Rogatus eccl. N° 152.
- Roma, walls rebuilt by *Aurelian* A. D. 271 p. 306. first siege by *Alaric* A. D. 408 p. 572. second siege 409 p. 574. third siege and capture 410 p. 576. 578. captured by *Genserich* 455 p. 650. taken by *Belisarius* A. D. 536 p. 766. by *Totilas* 546 p. 784. by *Narses* 552 p. 796. its five captures p. 796.
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- Romanus patricius slain A. D. 470 p. 672.
- Romanus serves in the Persian war A. D. 503 p. 720. plunders the coast of Italy A. D. 508 p. 724.
- Romanus repulses *Bahram* A. D. 589 Vol. 2 p. 152.
- Romulus Augustus A. D. 475 p. 682. deposed A. D. 476 p. 684.
- Romulus Marciani frater A. D. 479 p. 692.
- Romulus Maxentii filius cos. A. D. 308 p. 354. cos. II A. D. 309 p. 656. died before his father Vol. 2 p. 83.
- Rev. Hugh James* Rose quoted Vol. 2 p. 527 g.
- Rotharis Langobardorum rex XVII (A. D. 636—652) A. D. 568 p. 824.
- Roxolani A. D. 118 p. 104.
- Rufinus cos. A. D. 392. pf. p. A. D. 392 p. 526. slain A. D. 395 p. 534.
- Rufinus eccl. N° 189. his prologues to *Origen* de *principiis* Vol. 2 p. 496 a. 500 l.
- Rufinus patricius employed in Persia A. D. 530 p. 752. 532 p. 754. 756.
- Festus Rufus Lat. Breviarium* auctor A. D. 364 p. 463.
- L. Verginius Rufus* cos. A. D. 63 p. 44. cos. III A. D. 97 p. 82. his death *Ibid.*
- Rufus Ephesius Gr. N° 29.
- Annius Rufus* Judææ procurator Vol. 2 p. 235.
- Rufus Judææ præfectus A. D. 132 p. 118.
- Rufus Perinthius Gr. N° 152.
- Bassæus Rufus* præf. præf. under *Marcus* Vol. 2 p. 29.
- Rugiland conquered by *Odoacer* A. D. 487 p. 700. 702. occupied by the Lombards A. D. 487—526: A. D. 551 p. 794. 796 A. D. 568 p. 824.
- Ruhnkenius de *Galla Placidia* examined Vol. 2 p. 126 i.
- Rusticulus Novatianus Vol. 2 p. 443 n.
- Rusticus comes scholariorum plunders the coasts of Italy A. D. 508 p. 724.
- Rusticus diaconus eccl. N° 296.
- Rusticus dux brought to trial for the death of *Gubazes* A. D. 554 p. 804.
- Rusticus stoeicus Gr. N° 94.
- Sabas dux in the service of *Zenobia* A. D. 269 p. 300.
- Sabas eccl. N° 260.
- Sabbatius Gallicanæ ecclesiæ episc. A. D. 353 p. 425.
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- Sabinianus repulses *Theoderic* A. D. 479 p. 692. his death A. D. 481 p. 694.
- Sabinianus Sabiniani filius cos. A. D. 505. defeated by the Goths A. D. 505 p. 722.
- Poppæus Sabinus* in Thrace A. D. 26 p. 10.
- Fabius Sabinus Alexandri* præceptor. *Lat.* A. D. 223 p. 237.
- Julius Sabinus* imp. slain A. D. 79 p. 64.
- Ælius Sabinus Lat.* a historian quoted by *Capitolinus Maximino jun. c. 6 Scribit Ælius Sabinus &c.* (de Maximini filio.)
- Sabinus Macedonianus eccl. N° 160.
- Sabinus medicus Gr. N° 40.
- Flavius Sabinus Vespasiani* frater served under *Vespasian* in Britain A. D. 43 p. 26. præf. urbis A. D. 69 p. 54. slain A. D. 69: *Tacit. Hist. III. 74 Dio* 65. 17.
- Sabiri Hunni enter Western Asia A. D. 532 p. 756. mentioned again A. D. 555 p. 806.
- Saed defeats *Yazdegerd* A. D. 637 Vol. 2 p. 175.
- Saen Persa marches to Chalcedon A. D. 616 Vol. 2 p. 163.
- Salvius Julianus IC.<sup>us</sup> *Lat.* A. D. 132 p. 119.
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- Sallustius in Gaul with *Julian* A. D. 356 p. 433. recalled in 357 p. 437. præf. Galliarum A. D. 361 Vol. 2 p. 112. cos. A. D. 363 p. 454.
- Secundus Sallustius* præf. Orientis Vol. 2 p. 112. present with *Julian* at his death *Ibid.* attached to the service of *Valens* in 364 *Ibid.* on the two *Sallustii* Vol. 2 p. 112 h.
- Salmasius quoted A. D. 237 p. 250.
- Cornelia Salonina* Gallieni Vol. 2 p. 65. children of *Gallienus* and *Salonina* *Ibid.*
- Saloninus Gallieni filius Cæsar A. D. 255 p. 276. slain A. D. 260 p. 284. See Vol. 2 p. 65.
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- Salustius Hierosol. episcopus Vol. 2 p. 536. 557.
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- Saraceni infest the empire A. D. 448 p. 634. invade Phœnicia and Syria A. D. 502 p. 718. their in-

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- Scheheriar Sirois frater Vol. 2 p. 262. 263.
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- Senecio Bassiani frater adheres to *Licinius* A. D. 314 p. 368.
- Septimius *Lat.* a historian. See *Encolpius*. Lamprid. Alex. c. 17 (de *Alexandro Severo*) *Addit Septimius, qui vitam ejus non mediocriter exequutus est* &c.
- Septuagint version described by Hieronymus Vol. 2 p. 511. 512.
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*Ælius Lampridius Spartianus* <sup>e</sup>.  
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*Curritur ad vocem jucundam et carmen amica  
 Thebaidos, lætam fecit cum Statius urbem  
 Promisitque diem, tanta dulcedine captos  
 Afficit ille animos—*  
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*Cornelia Supera Æmiliani* Vol. 2 p. 55.  
 Superianus Gr. N° 327.  
*Palfurius Sura* *Lat.* a historian: Trebell. Gallieno c. 18 *Longum est ejus [Gallieni] cuncta in literas mittere; quæ qui volet scire legat Palfurium Suram, qui Ephemeridas ejus vitæ composuit.*  
 Statius Surculus rhetor *Lat.* A. D. 58 p. 41.  
 Surenas the title of the chief officer among the Persians: *potestatis secundæ post regem—the grand visier—*A. D. 375 p. 486.  
 Syagrius Ægidii filius A. D. 464 p. 664.

<sup>e</sup> That *Lampridius* and *Spartianus* are the same author is suspected by Vossius *Hist. Lat.* II. 7 p. 793 and determined by Fabricius *Bibl. Lat.* tom. 3 p. 93 from the inscriptions in Cod. Palat. *Spartianus* addresses *Diocletian*: I *Ælii Spartiani Hadrianus imp. ad Diocletianum Aug.* II *Ælii Spartiani Ælius Verus ad Diocletianum Aug.* After A. D. 292: c. 2 *Nostris temporibus vestra clementia Maximianus atque Constantius Cæsares dicti sunt.* c. 5 he refers to his *Life of Hadrian*: *Nos ipsi in ejus vita.* He proposed to write all after *Cæsar*: c. 7 *mihî propositum fuit omnes qui post Cæsarem dictatorem—vel Cæsares vel Augusti vel principes appellati sunt, quique in adoptionem venerunt vel imperatorum filii vel parentes Cæsarem nomine consecrati sunt singulis libris exponere.* III *Ælii Spartiani Didius Julianus ad Diocletianum Aug.* IV *Ælii Sp. Severus ad Diocletianum Aug.* V *Ælii Sp. Pescennius Niger ad Diocl. Aug.* c. 9 *Hæc sunt, Diocletiane maxime Augustorum, quæ de Pescennio didicimus ex pluribus libris.* VI *Ælii Sp. Antoninus Caracallus.* VII *Antoninus Geta—ad Constant. Aug.* VIII *Ælii Lampridii (Ælii Spartiani Cod. Pal.) Commodus ad Diocletianum Aug.* IX *Ælii Lampridii (Ælii Spartiani excerpta) Diadumenus.* X *Ælii Lampridii (Ælii Spartiani excerpta) Heliogabalus ad Constantinum Aug.* c. 2 *Tu. Constantine sacratissime, &c.* He proposes to write c. 34. 35 the two Gordians, *Alexander, Aurelianus, Claudius.* *His jungendi sunt Diocletianus aurei parens sæculi et Maximianus (ut vulgo dicitur) ferrei, ceterique ad pietatem tuam.—His addendi sunt Licinius Severus [Alexander] atque Maxentius, quorum omnium jus in ditionem tuam devenit.* Written therefore after A. D. 324. XI *Ælii Lampridii (Ælii Spartiani Cod. Pal.) Alexander Severus ad Constantinum Aug.* c. 65 *Constantine maxime &c.* c. 67 *imperator Constantine.* c. 64 *Hactenus imperium P. R. eum principem habuit qui ditius imperaret, post eum certatim irruentibus, et aliis semestribus aliis annis, plerisque per biennium, ad summum per triennium, imperantibus, usque ad eos principes qui latius im-*

*perium tetenderunt; Aurelianus dico et deinceps; de quibus, si vita suppeditaverit, ea quæ comperta fuerint publicabimus.* The following are inscribed *Julii Capitolini*:

*Antoninus Pius  
 Marcus  
 Verus  
 Pertinax  
 Albinus  
 Macrinus.*

But are all given to *Spartianus* in Excerpt. confirmed by internal evidence: *Pius, ad Diocletianum Aug.* Marco c. 19 *ut in vita Commodi docebitur.* *Verus, ad Diocletianum Aug.* c. 11 *Diocletiane Auguste.* c. 2 *ut in Marci vita exposuimus.* c. 9 in *Marci vita plenissime disputatum est.* *Albinus, ad Constantinum Aug.* c. 4 *Constantine maxime.* c. 1 *In Pescennii vita diximus.* *Macrinus, ad Diocletianum Aug.* c. 15 *Hæc—de pluribus collecta serenitati tuæ, Diocletiane Auguste, detulimus.* The life of *Avidius Cassius* inscribed *Vulcatii Gallicani* is also given to *Spartianus* in Cod. Palat. Conf. *Salmasium* ad c. 1. Addressed *Diocletiano Aug.* c. 3 *Diocletiane Auguste.* *Salmasius* ad *Maximinos* c. 1 “*Huc usque Spartianus. Superiores enim omnes vitas [Hadrianum—Alexandrum A. D. 117—235] ab uno Spartiano fuisse conscriptas tam liquido mihi liquet &c.—Hactenus enim Spartiani excerpta antiquissima et optime notæ. quæ quidem excerpta in Alexandrum Severum desinunt.—Hinc igitur incipit Julius Capitolinus. Eumque ab his tibi duobus Maximinis memoriam vitæ Cæsarem cepisse, ubi scilicet desit Spartianus, affirmamus.”*

<sup>f</sup> Addressed by *Pliny* Ep. III. 8. V. 11. IX. 34. Mentioned in Ep. I. 24. X. 95. *Spartianus* *Hadriano* c. 11 *Septicio Claro prefecto pratorii* [conf. c. 9] *et Suetonio Tranquillo epistolarem magistrum multisque aliis, qui apud Sabinam usorem injussu ejus familiaris se tunc egerant quam reverentia domus aulicæ postulabat, successores dedit.*



- Syagrius eccl. N° 239.
- Q. *Aurelius* Symmachus *Lat.* præfectus urbis Romæ A. D. 384 p. 507. *Symmachus* in 388 p. 519. cos. A. D. 391 p. 522. 523. *Symmachus Stilichoni* A. D. 397 p. 539.
- Symmachus patricius slain at Ravenna A. D. 525 p. 742.
- Symmachus recalled from Africa to CP. A. D. 539 p. 772.
- Symmachus Rom. episc. Vol. 2 p. 536 A. D. 498 p. 715. 717. epistolæ A. D. 501 p. 719. his death 514 p. 731.
- Syncellus Gr. N° 395.
- Synesius eccl. N° 229. See Vol. 2 p. 524 w.
- Syria its area Vol. 2 p. 255. invaded by the Saracens A. D. 632 Vol. 2 p. 172. A. D. 633. 634. 635 p. 173. A. D. 636. 637 p. 174. A. D. 638 the conquest completed in six years p. 175. 176.
- Syrianus expels *Athanasius* from Alexandria A. D. 356 p. 433.
- Syrianus Gr. N° 322. Works Vol. 2 p. 317. 318.
- Tacitus imp. appointed A. D. 275 p. 312. his death 276 p. 312. See Vol. 2 p. 69.
- C. *Cornelius* Tacitus. *Lat.* a little older than *Pliny* A. D. 61 p. 43. prætor A. D. 88 p. 73. consul suffectus 97 p. 82. *Actio in Marium Priscum* A. D. 100 p. 87.<sup>g</sup>
- Tacfarinas A. D. 17 p. 4. A. D. 20. 21. 24 p. 6. 8.
- Taifalæ Gothi in Thrace A. D. 379 p. 492.
- Tamchosro Persa slain A. D. 581: A. D. 577 p. 840.
- Tarraco stormed by the barbarians A. D. 261 p. 286.
- Tatianus banished through the arts of *Rufinus* A. D. 392 p. 526.
- Tatianus eccl. N° 38.
- Taurus Berytius Gr. N° 66.
- Taylor examined de *Zosimo* Vol. 2 p. 323 k.
- Teias Gothorum rex appointed A. D. 552 p. 796. slain A. D. 553 p. 798.
- Telephus Gr. N° 72.
- Telesphorus Rom. episc. Vol. 2 p. 535. 537.
- Temples heathen destroyed A. D. 399 p. 544.
- Tertullianus eccl. N° 69.
- Tetricus imp. A. D. 267 p. 296 A. D. 268 p. 298 Vol. 2 p. 60. subdued by *Aurelian* A. D. 274 p. 310.
- Tetricus minor Vol. 2 p. 60.
- Thales Vol. 2 p. 357. 366. 373.
- Thallus Gr. N° 16.
- Thelane Odoacris filius A. D. 493 p. 708.
- Themistius eccl. N° 306.
- Themistius Gr. N° 297.
- Themistocles stoicus Gr. N° 208.
- Theocritus slain A. D. 519 p. 736.
- Theoctistus Cæsareæ eccl. N° 83.
- Theodahadus Ostrogothorum rex Vol. 2 p. 143 A. D. 534 p. 760. slain A. D. 536 p. 766.
- Theodas empiricus Gr. N° 140.
- Theodebaldus Francorum rex (A. D. 548—554) A. D. 553 p. 801. his accession 548 p. 788.
- Theodebertus I Francorum rex (A. D. 534—548) A. D. 534 p. 760. 553 p. 801. his expedition into Italy 539 p. 770. his death 548 p. 788.
- Theodebertus II Francorum rex Sigiberti nepos (A. D. 596—612) Vol. 2 p. 485.
- Theodemirus Ostrogothorum rex Vol. 2 p. 144 A. D. 473 p. 678.
- Theodericus I Francorum rex (A. D. 511—534) A. D. 553 p. 801. his death A. D. 534 p. 760.
- Theodericus II Francorum rex Sigiberti nepos (A. D. 596—613) Vol. 2 p. 485.
- Theodericus Ostrogothorum rex Theodemiri filius Vol. 2 p. 143. accompanies his father into Illyricum A. D. 473 p. 678. receives an embassy from *Zeno* A. D. 477 p. 686. his acts in 478 p. 690. repulsed by *Sabinianus* 479 p. 692. his negotiations with *Zeno* 483 p. 696. cos. A. D. 484 p. 696. threatens CP. 487 p. 700. approaches Italy 488 p. 702. enters Italy 489 p. 702. his second campaign 490 p. 704. his third campaign 491 p. 706. kills *Odoacer* 493 p. 708. 710. at Rome A. D. 500 p. 716. defeats the Bulgarians 504 p. 720. his measures in Gaul and Spain after the death of *Alaric II* 508 p. 724. 726. 511 p. 726. 728. puts to death *Boethius* A. D. 524 p. 743. and *Symmachus* 525 p. 742. death of *Theoderic* 526 p. 744. The son of *Theodemir* Vol. 2 p. 143. ten years a hostage at CP. Vol. 2 p. 145. his education *Ibid.* p. 145. 146. acknowledged by *Anastasius* p. 146. Theophanes and Theodorus Lector upon *Theoderic* p. 147. Inscriptions *Ibid.*
- Theodericus Triarii filius. his sister was married to *Aspar* A. D. 471 p. 674. he negotiates with *Zeno* A. D. 478 p. 690. war of the two *Theoderici* *Ibid.* they make peace *Ibid.* he approaches CP. A. D. 478 p. 690. his death 481 p. 694. his three marches to CP. *Ibid.* See Vol. 2 p. 146.
- Theodericus Visigothorum rex kills his brother *Torismund* A. D. 452 p. 644. favours *Avitus* A. D. 455 p. 652. his expedition into Spain 456 p. 652. See 460 p. 660. 462 p. 662. slain by *Euric* 466 p. 666.
- Theodora Eutropiæ filia married to *Constantius Chlorus* A. D. 292 p. 334. See Vol. 2 p. 85 d.
- Theodora Justiniani A. D. 527 p. 746 Vol. 2 p. 141. 142. her death A. D. 548 p. 786.
- Theodoretus eccl. N° 242.
- Theodorides<sup>h</sup> Visigothorum rex A. D. 418 p. 594. 439 p. 624. 448 p. 636. slain in the battle with *Attila* A. D. 451 p. 642.

<sup>g</sup> *Pliny* addresses *Tacitus* in Ep. VI. 16. 20 on the eruption of Vesuvius. Ep. IV. 13. VII. 20 on their studies. Ep. VII. 33 on his history then intended. Ep. VIII. 7. IX. 10. 14 are also addressed to *Tacitus*. The emperor *Tacitus* apud Vopiscum *Tacito* c. 10 *Cornelium Tacitum scriptorem historiae Au-*

*gustæ, quod parentem suum eundem diceret, in omnibus bibliothecis collocari jussit, &c.*

<sup>h</sup> *Theodericus* Jornandi, *Theodorus* Greg. Tur., *Theodores* et *Theodorides* Idatio.

- Theodorus Alex. episc. A. D. 607 Vol. 2 p. 159. 537.  
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- Theodorus anagnostes eccl. N° 280.
- Theodorus Ancyranus eccl. N° 224.
- Theodorus Asinæus Gr. N° 303.
- Theodorus Bacchi envoy to Persia A. D. 576 p. 838.
- Theodorus Cæsareæ eccl. N° 290.
- Theodorus Cappadox left in command in Africa :  
Procop. Vand. II. 8 p. 254 D A. D. 536 p. 764.
- Theodorus CP. episc. in A. D. 676—678 Vol. 2  
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- Theodorus Heracleota eccl. N° 127.
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- Theodorus Iamblichi Gr. N° 258.
- Theodorus Mopsuestæ eccl. N° 219.
- Theodorus Nicomediensis A. D. 562 p. 814.
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- Theodorus Pharan. episc. A. D. 630 Vol. 2 p. 171.
- Theodorus præfectus urbis CP. A. D. 525 : A. D. 520  
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- Theodorus Rom. episc. Vol. 2 p. 487. 537. 543.
- Theodorus Sacellarius engages the Moslems A. D. 634  
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- Theodorus Tzanus : Agathias II. 21 p. 58 B IV. 18  
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defeats his countrymen A. D. 558 p. 810.
- Theodorus put to death by *Valens* at Antioch 372  
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- Theodosius Ammonii Gr. N° 195.
- Theodosius Alex. episc. Vol. 2 p. 536. from July 537  
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- Theodosius imp. repulses the *Sarmatæ* A. D. 374 p.  
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- Theodosius II imp. born A. D. 401 p. 550. Augustus  
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*anus*. plot to assassinate *Attila* A. D. 448 p. 636.  
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- Theodosius Mauricii filius born A. D. 585 Vol. 2 p.  
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- Theon mathematicus Gr. N° 301.
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- Theophanes chronographus Gr. N° 396. antedates  
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- Titianus *Lat.* described by *Capitolinus Maximino jun. c. 1 Maximinus—grammatico Latino usus est Philemone, jurisperito Modestino, oratore Tatiano [Titiano emendat Casaubon.] filio senioris Tatiani [Titiani Casaubon.] qui Provinciarum libros pulcherrimos scripsit.*
- Titianus junior, orator, *Lat.* lived in the time of *Maximin* A. D. 236. See *Titianus*.
- Titianus præfect in Gaul A. D. 343 p. 406. The same *Titianus* who was præfect of Rome from Oct. 24 A. D. 339 to Feb. 24 A. D. 341: *Bucherius* p. 240 Vol. 2 p. 96.
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- Titus imp. born A. D. 41 p. 26. besieges Jerusalem A. D. 70 p. 56. 58. at Antioch A. D. 71 p. 58. at Rome Ibid. celebrates games A. D. 80 p. 66. his death A. D. 81 p. 68. Inscriptions Vol. 2 p. 13.
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- Tricennalia Constantini A. D. 335 p. 390. Honorii A. D. 422 p. 600. Theodosii II A. D. 430 p. 614.
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- L. Volusius Metianus* *Lat.* IC.<sup>us</sup> the preceptor of *Marcus*: *Capitolin.* Marco c. 3 *Studuuit et juri, audiens L. Volusium Metianum.* For the other preceptors of *Marcus* see A. D. 133 p. 119.
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- Urbicius sent by *Valens* to *Sapor* A. D. 375 p. 486.
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- Ursicinus magister equitum, an old companion in arms of *Constantine*: *Ammian.* 15. 5, 19 is succeeded in Gaul by *Marcellus* A. D. 356 p. 432. rejoins *Constantius* A. D. 357 p. 434.
- Usher quoted A. D. 29 p. 14 Vol. 2 p. 466 b. examined Vol. 2 p. 234 y.
- Vulcatius Gallicanus *Lat.* a historian to whom the *Life of Avidius Cassius* is ascribed: *Vulcatii Gallicani V. C. Avidius Cassius.* But the real author seems to be *Ælius Lampridius Spartianus.* See *Spartianus.*
- Vulcatius Terentianus *Lat.* a historian who lived in the time of the *Gordians*<sup>i</sup>.
- Wacho Langobardorum rex VIII A. D. 551 p. 794. reigned in 538: *Ibid.*
- Walamir Ostrogothus Vol. 2 p. 144. the favourite of *Attila* p. 145. *Walamir* and his brothers in 460: A. D. 481 p. 694. served at the battle of Chalons Vol. 2 p. 144.
- Professor Wallace* examined on the patriarchal genealogies Vol. 2 p. 220—226. on the period of the Judges p. 226. on the regal period p. 227. has adopted an erroneous interpretation of Plato p. 223. 224.
- Wallia Gothorum rex A. D. 415 p. 588. his war in Spain A. D. 417 p. 592. his death A. D. 418 p. 594.
- Waltari Langobardorum rex IX. A. D. 551 p. 794.
- Wambanes Gothorum rex A. D. 672 Vol. 2 p. 489.
- Western Asia, fourth region described Vol. 2 p. 255—259. its area p. 259.
- Wheatly on the Common Prayer quoted Vol. 2 p. 526 f.
- Widemir Gothus A. D. 473 p. 678 Vol. 2 p. 144. seated with his brothers in Pannonia after A. D. 453 Vol. 2 p. 145. entered Italy in 473, where he died p. 146.
- Widemir Widemiri filius successor to his father A. D. 473 p. 678 Vol. 2 p. 146.
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- Wittericus Gothorum rex Vol. 2 p. 489. his accession A. D. 603 Vol. 2 p. 158. his death A. D. 610 p. 161.
- Wittericus Gothus Eutharici pater A. D. 515 p. 732.
- Xenophanes Vol. 2 p. 357. 373.
- Xerxes Cabadis filius A. D. 528 p. 748.
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- Xystus II vel Sixtus Rom. episc. A. D. 258 p. 281 Vol. 2 p. 535. 538.
- Yazdejerdes I A. D. 399 p. 546 Vol. 2 p. 261. persecutes the Christians A. D. 414 p. 586.
- Yazdejerdes II A. D. 399 p. 546 A. D. 440 p. 626 Vol. 2 p. 261. his war with the empire A. D. 441 p. 626. makes peace *Ibid.*
- Yazdejerdes III his appointment A. D. 632 Vol. 2 p. 172. defeated retires to Ferganah A. D. 637 Vol. 2 p. 175. betrayed and slain A. D. 650 Vol. 2 p. 262.
- Yazdejerd era of June 16 A. D. 632 Vol. 2 p. 171. 172. not the era of his defeat and death but of his inauguration p. 172.
- Yermouk battles on this river A. D. 636 Vol. 2 p. 174.
- Yezid a Saracen leader besieges Jerusalem in 637 Vol. 2 p. 175. commands all Palestine *Ibid.*
- Zabdas Hierosol. episc. A. D. 298 p. 341 Vol. 2 p. 536.
- Zacharias envoy to *Chosroes* A. D. 575 p. 836 A. D. 578 p. 842.
- Zacharias Hierosol. episc. Vol. 2 p. 161. 537. 558. captured by the Persians A. D. 614 Vol. 2 p. 163. his death A. D. 629 p. 170.
- Zacharias rhetor eccl. N<sup>o</sup> 291.
- Zadesprates Persa slain A. D. 591 Vol. 2 p. 153.
- Zamasphes Persarum rex A. D. 501 p. 716 Vol. 2 p. 261.
- Zebinus Antioch. episc. Vol. 2 p. 535. 548.
- Zemarchus Cilix ambassador to the Turks A. D. 569 p. 826. he travels to their seat at mount Altai A. D. 569 p. 826. returns with a Turkish envoy *Ibid.* See A. D. 576 p. 839.
- Zeno Atheniensis Gr. N<sup>o</sup> 137.
- Zeno Eleates Vol. 2 p. 351.
- Zeno imp. in Thrace A. D. 469 p. 672. at Antioch Vol. 2 p. 553. 45. his elevation A. D. 474 p. 682. he treats with *Geneseric* A. D. 475 p. 682. his flight 475 p. 684. besieged 476 p. 686. his re-

<sup>i</sup> *Capitolin.* Gordianis c. 21 *Sane quidem quod apud Vulcatium Terentianum, qui sui temporis scripsit historiam, videtur*

*mirabile inserendum censui. Dicit enim Gordianum seniore*  
*Augusti vultum sic representasse &c.*



- turn 477 p. 686. he receives *Theoderic* 483 p. 696. cruelties of *Zeno* 490 p. 704. his death 491 p. 704. 706. his reign and character Vol. 2 p. 139.
- Zeno medicus Gr. N° 276.
- Zeno rhetor Gr. N° 363.
- Zenobia succeeds *Odenathus* in the government A. D. 267 p. 294. invades Egypt A. D. 269 p. 300. her war with *Aurelian* A. D. 272 p. 306 A. D. 273 p. 308. See Vol. 2 p. 62.
- Zenobius Gr. N° 36.
- Zenodotus Procli Gr. N° 350.
- Ælia Zenonis Basilisci* A. D. 475 p. 684. exiled with him A. D. 477 p. 686. 688.
- Zephyrinus Rom. episc. Vol. 2 p. 535. 537.
- Zerrah lake, its extent and position not accurately known Vol. 2 p. 257 r.
- Zethus Plotini Gr. N° 225.
- Zeuxippus scepticus Vol. 2 p. 287. 292.
- Zeuxis scepticus Vol. 2 p. 287. 292.
- Ziligdis Hunnorum rex A. D. 521 p. 740.
- Zoilus Alex. episc. Vol. 2 p. 537. 547.
- Zosimus Ascalonita Gr. N° 344.
- Zosimus Gazæus Gr. N° 344.
- Zosimus historicus Gr. N° 325.
- Zoticus Plotini Gr. N° 225.
- Zosimus Rom. episc. Vol. 2 p. 536. 540. his epistles p. 540.

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 ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.
 

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- Page
- 3 at Valentinian II read 16 5 24. See p. 123.
- 21 l. 9 at Fulvius (Antonini pater) omit "cos. A. D. 120"
- 25 l. 14 for τὸν r. τοὺς
- 26 l. 6 r. Θεσσαλονικεῖς
- 30 note z l. 5 for bis r. his
- 78 l. 18 for "is" r. "are"
- 84 l. 18 for ob r. ab
- 87 l. 15 r. Patarol.
- 103 note r l. 6 r. διανοηθείη
- 125 note f col. 1 l. 12—14. This clause is at a wrong place. Omit "And of *Eucherius—fratri*," and insert in col. 2 line 25 "The brother of *Thermantia*: Claudian. 1 Stilich. II. 359 *adridet lato Thermantia fratri*."
- 143 in the Table, at "Theoderic" r. "ob. 526 at. 72"
- 160 A. D. 610 col. 2 l. 14 for *Alexandria* r. *Antioch*
- 164 col. 2 l. 2 for B. C. r. A. D.
- 234 note y l. 1 r. Mr. Benson
- 248 note b add "Philostratus gives more than four years to *Vardanes*, namely 2 2+1 8+4+(1)=4 3. These numbers, if Philostratus is to be trusted, would carry back the accession of *Vardanes* to the beginning of 44."
- 255 l. 29 r. *Margiana*
- 259 note c add as follows: "In my remark upon Dr. Prichard's numbers I have supposed him to compute according to the method used in England, and to express geographical miles of 60 to a degree; and, as four English square miles are contained in three geographical of 60 to the degree (see F. H. II p. 384 (472) note p), the 1,001,000 square English miles of *Iran* are equal to 750,750 geographical square miles. Perhaps however Dr. Prichard derived his 70 or 80 thousand from some German writer who had adopted a measure four times larger, or geographical miles of 15 to the degree. In that case his estimate for *Iran* is far too large; for, as the square geographical mile at 15 to a degree will contain 16 geographical miles at 60 (4×4=16), his lowest number 70,000 multiplied by 16 will give 1,120,000 square geographical miles at 60 to the degree; which number exceeds the actual surface of *Iran* by about 369,250 geographical, or 492,333 English square miles."

*Page*

- 269 l. 8 for A. D. 48 r. A. D. 46—48.  
 279 note n l. 1 r. "Ol. 202 or 203"  
 280 note n col. 1 l. 15 r. "Ol. 202. 1"  
 288 l. 18 r. Λουκιανός  
 292 in the Table l. 3 for "Nicomachus" r. "Nicolochus"  
 305 note col. 2 l. 26 and 47 r. [N° 303]  
 324 note m l. 2 r. εὐφυνέστερος  
 333 l. 6 r. ἀπορρήτων  
 364 col. 1 l. 27 for Of those r. Those  
 395 note a l. 6 r. ἐπίκλην.  
 397 at N° 54 r. A. D. 180—205. at N° 91 r. A. D. 257—270. at N° 149 r. A. D. 350—394. at N° 161  
 r. A. D. 373.  
 398 at N° 204 r. A. D. 363—420.  
 399 at N° 292 r. Adrumetinus. at N° 322 r. A. D. 657—667.  
 411 note col. 1 l. 21 r. ἤκμασε  
 416 note col. 2 l. 41 r. Gobarus  
 442 l. 8 for A. D. 352 r. A. D. 342  
 447 note a l. 2 r. expetivit  
 463 note at n. 158 r. libri tres.  
 476 l. 1 for *Flavianus* r. *Anatolius*  
 496 note a col. 1 l. 11 r. *Pollicetur*  
 537 bishops of Alexandria, at N° 43 r. "Joannes IV." at N° 46 r. "Joannes V"  
 537 bishops of Jerusalem, at N° 55 for "Eustathius" r. "Eustochius"  
 541 col. 2 l. 10 r. *Anastasius Aug.*  
 545 note a for *Ædif.* r. *Ædif.* The passage of Procopius is this: Βοσπόρου καὶ Χερσῶνος πόλεων, αἵπερ κατὰ  
 τὴν ἐκείνη ἀκτὴν ἐπιθαλασσίδια μετὰ λίμνην τε τὴν Μαιώτιδα καὶ τοὺς Ταύρους καὶ Ταυροσκύθας ἐν ἐσχάτῳ οἰκοῦν-  
 ται τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς.

The names in this work are given for the most part as they are exhibited in the author quoted. Some names are variously written in different authors. Thus, Θαλλός in Eusebius is Θάλλος in Syncellus. Μῶχος in Josephus is Μωχός in Athenæus. *Delmatius* and *Dalmatius* both occur. *Eudocia* and *Eudoxia* are names of the same person.









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