

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF
ANCIENT CHRISTIANITY

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ENCYCLOPEDIA OF ANCIENT CHRISTIANITY

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PREFACE TO THE SECOND ENGLISH EDITION

A scholarly encyclopedia of Christian antiquity faces the daunting task of drawing together the results of research on a vast field of study. The *Dizionario patristico e di antichità cristiane* (DPAC) was first published from 1983 to 1988 by Casa Editrice Marietti. Soon it became a prevailing resource for patristic scholars. It was evident that it needed to be translated into English. So in 1992 the two-volume *Encyclopedia of the Early Church* (EEC) was published by James Clarke & Co. in Great Britain and Oxford University Press in the United States, translated by Adrian Walford with a foreword and bibliographic amendments by W.H.C. Frend.

The field of patristic studies has grown exponentially in the years since 1992, yet no comparable encyclopedia has appeared in English since that time.

For more than twenty years the 1992 English edition from James Clarke/Oxford remained the standard of the world of patristic studies. An ongoing process of revision by the original collaborators called forth the Italian publication of the second edition of the *Dizionario* in Italian during the years 2006 to 2010—the *Nuovo dizionario patristico e di antichità cristiane* (NDPAC); see the preface to the second Italian edition, which follows, for indications of the additions and changes that were made.

This is the English translation of that expanded second edition of the *Dizionario* under the title *Encyclopedia of Ancient Christianity* (EAC), published by InterVarsity Press. Both the Oxford and IVP editions have been produced by the indefatigable Professor Di Berardino and his colleagues at the Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum in Rome. To them a great debt is owed by all who engage in patristic studies now and in the future. A new baseline of competence and information has been set. This new standard is characterized by concise argument, breadth of international scholarship and richness of bibliography. This new edition has been expanded by more than 35 percent, to 3,220 articles, written by 266 contributors from 26 countries. Thirty new articles have been added since the Italian publication at the behest of Professor Di Berardino—apostolic see, Capua, Carmen de synodo Ticinensi, China, cosmopolitanism, death, diakonia/diaconate, Dialogi de sancta Trinitate IV-V, doorkeeper (porter), dynamis/energeia, eternity, forgiveness, freedom/free will, good, Hierotheus, incubatio, infinity/infinity, libelli miraculorum, love, Mara bar Serapion (letter of), oikeiōsis, old age, presanctified, Serapeion (Serapeum), subdeacon, Theosebia, Triumphus Christi heroicus, Tychon, unity and Virgo Parens—and the article on matristics has been updated.

Nothing like it exists in English. It covers key topics in early Christian studies with special attention to authors, texts and contexts of the first through eighth centuries. Many articles are offered on figures and subjects not found in previous patristic encyclopedias. This edition incorporates a far wider range of entries than its antecedents, more fully embracing archaeological, philosophical, historical, geographic and theological arenas. Art historians, linguistic experts, epigraphers and papyrologists are playing an increasing role in these findings. New insights into Eastern European (Polish, Czech, Bulgarian and Hungarian) and Syriac traditions of patristic studies are better represented than before. New entries have been added from Arabic, Coptic, Armenian and Gothic experts.

The expanded bibliographies alone are priceless for all who might venture into the study of the persons, events and ideas of early Christian thought. Primary sources, texts and commentaries open up a vast theater of reading on any of its subjects. W.H.C. Frend was right to say of the *Encyclopedia of the Early Church* in 1992: “There is no work that can properly be compared with it.” This is a more extensive continuation of that work.

The time frame of the *Encyclopedia* encompasses the period from Clement of Rome to Bede and John of Damascus—roughly AD 90 to 750, but with allowance for special cases such as Syria, Ethiopia, Mauretania and Arabia.

The sheer mass of scholarly work on early Christianity is astounding. New studies with new methods have been included. These contributors, along with our English translation editorial team of Joel Elowsky and James Hoover, are offering an unrivaled resource in English for scholars around the world.

The purpose of an encyclopedia is to condense massive information about locations, figures, interpretations and subjects into a suitably concise format commensurable with the importance of the subject. Its goal is succinct summaries of complex data, offering an impartial, fact-based summation of diverse scholarship along with sufficient bibliographies to guide readers further into this vast literature.

—Thomas C. Oden

PREFACE TO THE SECOND ITALIAN EDITION (2006)

The first edition of the *Dizionario patristico e di antichità cristiane* (DPAC) met with notable success, addressing a felt need for an informed and complete resource on Christian antiquity in general and on the church fathers in particular. Besides the reprint in Italian in 1999, it was translated into various other languages (Spanish, English, French and Portuguese); in recent years publishing houses in Eastern Europe have asked for translations. Twenty-two years after the first edition, therefore, the editors felt the need, not for a simple reprint—of limited value in this field—but for something new and different. Respecting the structure and tone of the first edition, and with the significant commitment of the Italian publisher *Marietti*, we have brought forth this new edition. (In the meantime *Marietti*, in a spirit of continuity and of service to Christian antiquity, published two large volumes—the fourth and fifth—of the *Patrology*.) The addition of *Nuovo* (*Nuovo dizionario patristico e di antichità cristiane* = NDPAC) to this edition is intended to indicate continuity with the preceding work, as well as the profound reworking accomplished in the new edition. In fact three possible strategies were considered: a simple revision of the work, correcting any errors; something totally new in a different tone—not easily realizable in the brief time available—or an in-depth revision of the already-existing text, with additions and some rewriting.

We chose the third option, involving various kinds of work: revision of all entries, with correction and updating of the text and bibliography, if possible done by the original author (if still living, of course, and available); new entries to be inserted (around 500 have been added); replacement of many entries with a new article written by a different author. These replacements were sometimes made necessary by new discoveries or the progress of research, or because the previous article was judged to be inadequate. Among those that were replaced, some of the most important are Athanasius, Augustinianism, *audientia episcopalis*, Bardesanes, *cathedra*, Cosmas and Damian, Germany, gnosis/gnosticism, Gregory the Great, Hippolytus, lay/layman/laity, Lusitania, Mani/Manicheans/Manicheism, mysticism/mystical theology, *paideia*, world. In recent decades, moreover, so-called apocryphal writings have had a notable development. Rather than a single entry, we chose to offer a brief general treatment and then to insert specific entries for each Christian apocryphal text. The same was done for the popes: previously, only some had a specific entry, while the majority were included in a general entry, “popes.” Now many have a brief individual presentation. Christian archaeology, in continual evolution, also required much rewriting and updating. Among the new entries we may note: (accusation of) atheism, autobiography, bishop, crown, dreams and the Fathers, Father/Fathers of the Church (in the Medieval and Renaissance periods), Gothic literature, Homer, (Christian) intolerance, Judaism, Lent, matristics, Mesopotamia, metempsychosis, miracle, panegyric, (Christian) poetry, (apostolic) presbyters, progress, relics, saint and holiness, (Holy) Scripture (ancient versions), seal, ship, suicide, *theologia negativa/via negativa*, (patristic) translations (in Eastern languages).

The insertion of new entries of a certain length and the space given to the apocryphal writings and the popes have significantly increased the size of the work, which is now divided in a more balanced way among three volumes.

A word of thanks is due to the great patrologists who collaborated on the first edition and were extremely generous in their counsel and collaboration, among whom were Jean Gribomont, Charles Pietri, Michele Cardinal Pellegrino, Vincenzo Loi, Achille Triacca, Cyril Vogel, Salvatore Costanza, Henri Crouzel, Carmelo Curti, Irénée-Henri Dalmais, Ivan Dujčev, Umberto Fasola, Paul-Albert Février, Margherita Guarducci, Adalbert Hamman, Richard Hanson, Sandro Leanza, Roger Le Déaut, Joseph Lecuyer, Pierre Nautin, Burkhard Neunheuser, Joseph-Marie Sauget, Victor Saxer, Agostino Trapè.

We offer heartfelt thanks, also on behalf of the *Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum*, to the Casa Editrice *Marietti*, which enabled us to complete the work in two years.

—Angelo Di Berardino

PREFACE TO THE FIRST ITALIAN EDITION (1983)

The *Dizionario patristico e di antichità cristiane* (DPAC) was born out of the simple recognition of the fact that no such work has existed to date; that is, a tool for the immediate use of those with a certain level of culture who are desirous of ready and precise information on any theme pertaining to the first eight centuries of the history of Christianity. We became aware of this lack during the preparation of the third volume of the *Patrology*—continuing the volumes of Prof. Johannes Quasten, published by Casa Editrice Marietti—and immediately set to work gathering suggestions and proposals on the structure and tone of the *Dictionary*.

Because of the many scholars of Christian antiquity associated with the Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, both as teachers and as participants in the traditional May Meetings, it was clear that this center could assume responsibility for the preparation of the *Dictionary*. Moreover an ample network of associations and friendships allowed for immediate contact with many competent scholars in the various sectors of Christian antiquity, allowing the work to be prepared in a short period of time. To this end it was also necessary to ensure an ample number of collaborators, whether as authors of the articles or as translators in the case of articles written in languages other than Italian.

This wide involvement was achieved: 167 scholars from 17 different countries, from different religious confessions and with various cultural interests. These scholars, each according to his or her expertise, intend to make available to everyone the significant progress in research in the field of Christian antiquity attained in recent decades; in doing so, they bring to the work not only broad scholarly knowledge, but also variety in approach and sensibility in treating the themes. The DPAC, therefore, with its multidisciplinary character, offers a well-documented historical and patristic background to theology, to Christian culture and to the life of the church today, including in the variety of its confessions of faith. The DPAC will thus be useful for a wide and varied public, whether desirous of an initial orientation or the further investigation of a theme, the latter thanks to a select and updated bibliography.

Chronologically, the *Dictionary* covers from the age of Christian origins to the end of the patristic period: for the West until Bede (ca. 673–735), and for the Greek East until John of Damascus (ca. 675–ca. 749). For the other Christian areas (Syriac, Coptic, Ethiopian, Georgian and Armenian), in some cases the chronological criteria have been more elastic due to the way in which evangelization took place, and to the peculiar nature of the writings and translations in those languages.

The articles that the DPAC comprises regard persons, doctrines, cultural currents, Christian sects, historical events, geography, liturgy, monasticism, spirituality, artistic works and archaeological evidence, while not ignoring the social, political, moral and ascetical aspects of the first eight centuries of Christian history.

When possible and considered appropriate, a comprehensive study of some themes was chosen, so as to offer a global and structured discussion of the theme (e.g., apocrypha, cemeteries, churches, wisdom books, etc.). Special priority has been given to prosopography: many personalities, including secondary, have been included for the first four centuries in specific detail; for the subsequent period more selectivity was exercised, because the period was less important for the origin and foundation of Christianity and because of the entry of many new nations with a host of new characters. The *Dictionary*, though not without inevitable lacunae, presents a surprising richness of information, as a quick glance through its pages will show. As an illustration, ancient philosophy in its relation with Christianity is approached from different angles in a variety of entries: in properly theological entries, in regard to some Fathers, and in specific treatments (Aristotelianism, Hellenism and Christianity, philosophy and ancient Christianity, Platonism and the Fathers, Stoicism and the Fathers), in addition to the inclusion of various pagan thinkers of the patristic period and of philosophical currents of the time. Frequently the composition of an article required the contribution of various specialties: for example, “Alexandria” required the contribution of a Coptologist (Orlandi), a patrologist (Simonetti) and an archaeologist (Falla Castelfranchi). In such cases it may prove useful to read the various treatments, inasmuch as they each offer a different approach, complementing the others. An example would be “angel,” with an article by a patrologist (Studer) which expounds on patristic theological reflection, and one by an art historian (Carletti) which documents how those reflections found artistic expression through iconography. Themes have also been included that have received little treatment elsewhere:

for example, (patristic) argumentation (Studer), protology (Bianchi and Sfameni Gasparro; this entry offers a different approach to other themes: creation, original sin, marriage, virginity), Paleoslavonic (Dujčev; regarding translations in that language), and so forth.

Heartfelt thanks are due to Fr. Claude Mondésert, director of “Sources Chrétiennes,” who graciously hosted us on 12 May 1978 at the offices of Sources Chrétiennes in Lyons to plan the *Dictionary*, with representatives of the Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum and some publishing houses present. Special recognition should also be given to Casa Editrice Marietti, who made possible the completion of the work in the brief period of four years.

—*Angelo Di Berardino*

A NOTE ON USING THE ENCYCLOPEDIA

Several features of the *Encyclopedia of Ancient Christianity* (EAC) are worth noting at the outset. Extensive, though not exhaustive, cross-referencing has been introduced to point readers to additional articles within the EAC worth exploring in relation to various topics. Such references are indicated by asterisks (*) preceding the approximate names of any additional articles to consult. So long as the referenced entry appears alphabetically within the flow that readers should expect, the form may not be exact. Thus “*celibate” refers readers to the article titled “celibacy of the clergy.” Where the appropriate entry would not be found alphabetically in proximity to its expected place, additional information is supplied within parentheses, as in the case of references to “deacon,” which take the following form “deacon (*see* *diakonia - diaconate).” Note that the form (*see* * . . .) always points to an article within the EAC. When “see” is in roman type, readers are being directed to a standard outside reference work or to a work cited in the bibliography for the entry.

Readers are cautioned that not all cross-referencing is unambiguous; there are no fewer than seventeen entries for “Eusebius” in the EAC, and while nearly all cross-references in this case are to Eusebius of Caesarea in Palestine, readers may need to consult more than one entry to ascertain whether they have identified the proper article. Context should make things clear. Generally, cross-referencing is supplied only at the first mention of a related topic within an article or, in the case of long articles, at first mention within each subsection. Common words that readers would undoubtedly expect to find within the EAC (bishop, priest, pope) are usually not cross-referenced.

Facing the daunting task of reformatting the bibliographies and various elements of classical references to conform to North American standards, we have decided to leave these items essentially as we found them in the Italian edition. Thus readers are likely to find references in the form “Eusebius, *HE* V,16,5” where they might expect “Eusebius, *HE* 5.16.5,” following the general European conventions that use commas where North Americans are more inclined to use periods, and vice versa. This means on occasion, though rarely, readers will find periods separating items in a series of page references. Readers should find no difficulty locating sources once they accustom themselves to these conventions. The bibliographies likewise tend to use italics for titles regardless of whether the titles indicate books, chapters within books, or journal articles. We have also adjusted all instances of the feminine *eadem* and its abbreviation to *Id.* (the masculine abbreviation for *idem*). We hope this provides no offense to women scholars, since we have done so in the interests of treating all alike, of avoiding what is a highly uncommon abbreviation, and of precluding unintentional mistakes in gender identification from mere initials.

Given the origins of the EAC, it will come as no surprise that, despite the multiple-languages sources found within them, the bibliographies are nevertheless weighted toward secondary sources in Italian. No systematic effort has been made to supplement them with additional bibliography in English, though this should not pose an obstacle to further research given the wide range of sources provided. Readers will note that frequently, though not universally, important reference works that are available in multiple languages are so noted.

Despite the extensive list of bibliographical abbreviations, readers will still find abbreviations not listed there. As the Italian edition notes, “Approximate abbreviations that can be easily understood are not included in this list,” though we have added quite a few as an aid to readers. Occasionally, critical editions or standard reference works are referred to simply by their editors. In referencing Cyprian’s letters, we have sometimes inserted *Hartel* following the reference to indicate his numbering of the letters, which differs substantially from the ANF numbering. Frequently, well-known works of ancient authors are referred to by abbreviations either in Latin or in English without further explanation. We have followed the lead of the Italian edition in this regard, allowing Latin to stand as is and translating Italian into English. Occasionally, it has seemed preferable to use an unambiguous Latin title rather than a loose English title.

In the interests of space, we have frequently used abbreviations for common words (“c.” for either “century” or “centuries”; “ca.” for “circa”; “esp.” for “especially”; “acc.” for “according”). We trust these will not prove an obstacle to our readers.

It has been a joy to work together in providing readers with this marvelous resource. We hope you will find much of value within it and be spurred to further research.

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BIBLICAL ABBREVIATIONS

Acts	Acts of the Apostles	1-2 Kgs	1-2 Kings
Amos	Amos	Lam	Lamentations
Bar	Baruch	Lev	Leviticus
Bel	Bel and the Dragon	Lk	Luke
1-2 Chr	1-2 Chronicles	1-4 Macc	1-4 Maccabees
Col	Colossians	Mal	Malachi
1-2 Cor	1-2 Corinthians	Mk	Mark
Dan	Daniel	Mic	Micah
Dt	Deuteronomy	Mt	Matthew
Eccl	Ecclesiastes	Nah	Nahum
Eph	Ephesians	Neh	Nehemiah
1-2 Esd	Esdras	Num	Numbers
Esth	Esther	Obad	Obadiah
Ex	Exodus	1-2 Pet	1-2 Peter
Ezek	Ezekiel	Phil	Philippians
Ezra	Ezra	Philem	Philemon
Gal	Galatians	Pr	Proverbs
Gen	Genesis	Pr Azar	Prayer of Azariah
Hab	Habakkuk	Ps	Psalms
Hag	Haggai	Rev	Revelation
Heb	Hebrews	Rom	Romans
Hos	Hosea	Ruth	Ruth
Is	Isaiah	1-2 Sam	1-2 Samuel
Jas	James	Sir	Sirach
Jdth	Judith	Song	Song of Songs
Jer	Jeremiah	Sus	Susanna
Jgs	Judges	1-2 Th	1-2 Thessalonians
Jn	John	1-2 Tim	1-2 Timothy
1-3 Jn	1-3 John	Tit	Titus
Job	Job	Tob	Tobit
Joel	Joel	Wisd	Wisdom of Solomon
Jon	Jonah	Zech	Zechariah
Josh	Joshua	Zeph	Zephaniah
Jude	Jude		

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS

Approximate abbreviations that can be easily understood are not included in this list.

AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger, Berlin, 1896–
AAAd	Antichità altoadriatiche, Udine 1972–
AAAH	Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam spectantia, Oslo 1962
AAP	Atti dell'Accademia Pontaniana, Naples 1832–
AAPal	Atti dell'Accademia di Scienze, Lettere e Arti di Palermo
AARC	Atti dell'Accademia Romanistica Costantiniana
AAS	Acta apostolicae sedis, Vatican City 1909–
AASS	Acta Sanctorum, ed. Socii Bollandiani, Antwerpen 1643–; Venice 1734–; Paris 1863–
AAT	Atti e Memorie dell'Accademia delle Scienze di Torino. Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filosofiche, Turin
AATC	Atti e memorie dell'Accademia Toscana di Scienze e Lettere “La Colombaria.” Florence
AAWB	Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin, 1788–
AAWG	Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, 1942–
AAWW	Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna
AB	Analecta Bollandiana, Brussels
ABAW	Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.–hist. Klasse, Munich
ABR	The American Benedictine Review, Collegeville, MN
ABSA	Annual of the British School at Athens, London
AC	F.J. Dölger, <i>Antike und Christentum</i> , Münster i.W. 1929–1950
ACCS	Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture, ed. Th.C. Oden, Downers Grove, IL 1998–2010
AClass	Acta Classica: Journal of the Classical Association of South Africa, Pretoria
ACO	Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum, ed. E. Schwartz – J. Straub, Berlin 1914–
ACT	Ancient Christian Texts, ed. Th.C. Oden and G.L. Bray, Downers Grove, IL 2009–
ACW	Ancient Christian Writers, ed. J. Quasten – J.C. Plumpe, Westminster, MD – London 1946–
AD	Archaiologikon Deltion, Athens, 1915–
ADAW	Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin 1815–
AE	Archaiologikè Ephemeris, Athens
AEA	Archivo Español de Arqueología, Madrid
AEHE, IV ^e sect.	Annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, IV ^e section, Sciences hist. et philol., Paris
Aevum	Aevum. Rassegna di Scienze storiche, linguistiche e filologiche, Milan

AFLM	Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, University of Macerata
AFLPer	Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, University of Perugia
AG	Analecta Gregoriana, Rome 1930–
AGSU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Spätjudentums und Urchristentums
AHC	Annuaire Historiae Conciliorum, Amsterdam
AHB	Ancient History Bulletin, Calgary 1987–
AHP	Archivum Historiae Pontificiae, Rome 1963–
AIPhO	Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales de l'Université Libre de Bruxelles
AJ	Apocryphon Johannis
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology, New York 1897–
AJPh	American Journal of Philology, Baltimore 1880–
AJT	American Journal of Theology, Chicago 1897-1920
AK	Antike Kunst, published by Vereinigung der Freunde antiker Kunst in Basel, Olten
AKGWG	Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen and Philologisch-Historische Klasse
AKPA	Abhandlungen der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Berlin
Allen	P. Allen, <i>Evagrius Scholasticus the Church Historian</i> , Louvain 1981
ALMA	Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi, Brussels
Altaner	B. Altaner - A. Stuiber, <i>Patrologia</i> , Turin 1977
ALW	Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft, Fribourg 1950–
ANF	Ante-Nicene Fathers (reprint Grand Rapids, MI 1950–)
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt, Berlin
AnSE	Annali di Storia dell'Esegesi, Bologna 1984–
AnTh	L'Année théologique
AntTard	Antiquité tardive: revue internationale d'histoire et d'archéologie (IV ^e -VIII ^e s.), Turnhout 1993–
ARAM	Aram Periodical, Leuven 1989–
AS	Anatolian Studies. Journal of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, London
ASE	Anglo-Saxon England, Cambridge
ASNP	Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa
AST	<i>Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia</i> , Barcelona
AugL	Augustinus Lexikon, Basel-Stuttgart 1986–
AugM	Augustinus Magister
BA	Bibliothèque Augustinienne. Œuvres de S. Augustin, Paris 1949–
BAA	Bulletin d'Archéologie algérienne, Algiers
BAB	Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres de l'Académie Royale de Belgique, Brussels
BAC	Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, Madrid 1954–

BACr	Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana, Rome 1863–1894
BAGB	Bulletin de l'Association G. Budé, Paris
BALAC	Bulletin d'ancienne littérature et d'archéologie chrétiennes, Paris
Bardenhewer	O. Bardenhewer, <i>Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur</i> , I, 1902 (² 1913); II (² 1914); III (² 1923); IV, 1924; V, 1931
Baumstark	A. Baumstark, <i>Geschichte der syrischen Literatur</i> , Bonn 1922
Baz	Bazmavep, Venice 1943–
BBKL	Biographisch-Bibliographischen Kirchenlexikon, Herzberg
BbM	Banber Matenadarani
BCH	Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, Paris
BCLL	M. Lapidge - R. Sharpe, with foreword by Proisians MacCanna, <i>A Bibliography of Celtic-Latin Literature. 400–1200</i> , Dublin 1985
BECh	Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, Geneva
Beck	H.-G. Beck, <i>Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich</i> , Munich ² 1977
Bedjan	<i>Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum</i> (syriace), ed. P. Bedjan, 7 vols., Paris 1890–1897
BEL-Subs.	Bibliotheca Ephemerides Liturgicae, Subsidia
Benoit, Sarc.	F. Benoit, <i>Sarcophages paléochrétiens de Arles et de Marseille</i> , Paris 1952
Bertolini	O. Bertolini, <i>Roma di fronte a Bisanzio e ai Longobardi</i> , Bologna 1941
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
Bettiolo, <i>Lineamenti</i>	P. Bettiolo, <i>Lineamenti di patrologia siriana</i> , in <i>Complementi interdisciplinari di patrologia</i> , ed. A. Quacquarelli, Rome 1985, 503–603
BG	Berolinensis Gnosticus 8502
BGPhM	Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters, Münster
BHG	Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca, ed. Socii Bollandiani, Brussels ³ 1957
BHL	Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina, ed. Socii Bollandiani, 2 vols., Brussels 1898–1901 (reprint 1949) Supplementum ² 1911
BHO	Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis, ed. P. Peeters, Brussels 1910
BIAO	Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Archéologie Orientale, Cairo
BiblPatr	Biblioteca Patristica
BICS	Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London
BIEH	Boletín del Instituto de Estudios helénicos, Barcelona
Bieler	L. Bieler, <i>Ireland and the Culture of Early Medieval Europe</i> , London 1987
BJRL	Bulletin of the John Rylands Library
BKV	Bibliothek der Kirchenväter, ed. F.X. Reithmayr - V. Thalhofer, Kempten 1869–1888
BKV ²	Bibliothek der Kirchenväter, ed. O. Bardenhewer - T. Schermann - C. Weyman, Kempten–Munich 1911–1930
BKV ³	Bibliothek der Kirchenväter, Zweite Reihe, ed. O. Bardenhewer - J. Zellinger - J. Martin, Munich 1932–1938

Blaise	Albert Blaise, <i>Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs chrétiens</i> . Turnhout, 1954-1967, ² 2005
BLE	Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique, Toulouse 1877–
BLTW	<i>Bede: His Life, Times and Writings</i> , ed. A.A. Hamilton Thompson, Oxford 1935
BO	S. Assemani, <i>Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana</i> , 3 vols., Rome 1719–1728
Bolton	W.F. Bolton, <i>A History of Anglo-Latin Literature (597–1066)</i> , vol. 1, Princeton 1967
Bonser	W. Bonser, <i>An Anglo-Saxon and Celtic Bibliography (450–1087)</i> , 2 vols., Oxford 1957
Bovini, Sarc.	G. Bovini, <i>I sarcofagi paleocristiani della Spagna</i> , Vatican City 1954
BROB	Berichten van de Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek, 1950-2006
Brown, Bede	G.H. Brown, <i>Bede the Venerable</i> , Boston 1987
Brunhölzl	F. Brunhölzl, <i>Histoire de la littérature latine du moyen age</i> , tr. H. Rochais, 4 vols., Turnhout 1990–
BS	Bibliotheca Sanctorum, Rome 1961–
BSEAA	Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y de Arqueología, Valladolid
BSNAF	Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France, Paris 1871–
BStudLat	Bollettino di Studi Latini, Naples
BT	Bibliotheca scriptorum graecorum et romanorum Teubneriana, Leipzig
BullMusRoyArtHist	Bulletin des Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire, Brussels 1901–
BVAB	Bulletin van de Vereeniging tot Bevordering der Kennis van de Antieke Beschaving, Leiden 1926–
Byzantion	Byzantion. Revue internationale des Études byzantines, Brussels
ByzF	Byzantinische Forschungen, Amsterdam
ByzS	Byzantinoslavica, Prague.
ByzZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift, Munich
BZ	Biblische Zeitschrift
BzA	Beiträge zur Altertumskunde
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CAG	Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca, Berlin 1882–1909
CahSion	Cahiers Sioniens : Revue trimestrielle, Paris 1947–1955.
CALMA	Compendium Auctorum Latinorum Medii Aevii (500–1500), SISMEL-Edizioni del Galluzzo, Florence 2000–
CANT	M. Geerard, <i>Clavis Apocryphorum Novi Testamenti</i> , Turnhout 1992
CArch	Cahiers Archéologiques. Fin de l'antiquité et Moyen Age, Paris
Cath	Catholicisme, Paris 1948–
CAVT	J.C. Haelewyck, <i>Clavis Apocryphorum Veteris Testamenti</i> , Turnhout 1998
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly, Washington DC 1939–
CCAB	Corsi di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina, Bologna

CCAp	Corpus Christianorum, Series Apocryphorum, Turnhout
CCC	Civiltà Classica e Cristiana
CCG	Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca, Turnhout 1977–
CCL	Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina, Turnhout 1953–
CCHag	Corpus Christianorum Hagiographies
CCM	Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis, Turnhout 1966–
CD	Ciudad de Dios, El Escorial
CE	<i>The New Catholic Encyclopedia</i> , New York 1967
CEA	Collection d'études anciennes
Cecchelli, Rabb. Gosp.	C. Cecchelli - G. Furlani - M. Salmi, <i>The Rabbula Gospel</i> , Lausanne 1959
CF	Classical Folia. Studies in the Christian Perpetuation of the Classics, New York
CFP	Corpus dei papiri filosofici greci e latini: Testi e lessico nei papiri di cultura greca e latina, Florence 1989–
CGG	<i>Das Konzil von Chalkedon. Geschichte und Gegenwart</i> , ed. A. Grillmeier - H. Bacht, Würzburg 1951–1954; reprint 1962
Chabot	J.B. Chabot, <i>La littérature syriaque</i> , Paris 1935
Charlesworth	J. H. Charlesworth, <i>Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i> , 2 vols., New Haven, 1983–1985
Chevalier, Rep. Hymn.	U. Chevalier, <i>Repertorium Hymnologicum</i> , 6 vols., Louvain 1882–1921
ChHist	Church History. American Society of Church History, Chicago
ChQ	Church Quaterly
ChrOr	Christian Orient, Kerala, India, 1980–
CI	Codex Justinianus
CIG	Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum, Berolini 1828–1877
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Berolini 1869–
CISA	Contributi dell'Istituto di Storia antica, Milan 1972–2002
CivCatt	La Civiltà Cattolica, Naples, then Rome 1850–
CJ	Corpus Juris Civilis, Justinian
CJA	Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity
CLA	E.A. Lowe, <i>Codices Latini Antiquiores</i> , 12 vols., Oxford 1934–1972
CM	Classica et Mediaevalia, Copenhagen
CMCS	Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies, Leamington Spa, Warwickshire
CMG	Corpus Medicorum Graecorum
Coccia	E. Coccia, <i>La cultura irlandese precarolina miracolo o mito?: SM 8 (1967) 257–420</i>
Cod. Barb. lat.	Codex Barberini Latinus, Vatican
CoeD	Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta, Bologna ³ 1973
Cordiolani	A. Cordiolani, <i>Les traités de comput du haut moyen âge: ALMA 17 (1943) 51–72</i>
CORPUS	G. Valenti Zucchini - M. Bucci, <i>Corpus della scultura paleocristiana bizantina ed altomedievale di Ravenna, II. I sarcofagi a figure e a carattere simbolico</i> , Rome 1968

CP	Corona Patrum
CPG	M. Geerard, <i>Clavis Patrum Graecorum</i> , Turnhout 1974–
CPG/S	<i>Clavis Patrum Graecorum</i> , Supplement
CPh	Classical Philology, Chicago
CPL	E. Dekkers - A. Gaar, <i>Clavis Patrum Latinorum</i> , ³ 1996 (SEJG 3)
CPPM	Clavis Patristica Pseudoepigraphorum Medii Aevi, Brepols, Turnhout, I, 1990; II, 1994
CPS	Corona Patrum Salesiana, Turin 1934–
CQ	Classical Quarterly, Oxford
CRAI	Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris
Craveri	M. Craveri, <i>I vangeli apocrifi</i> , Turin 1969
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Paris-Louvain 1903–
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, Vienna 1865–
CSHB	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae, Bonn 1828–1897
CSt	Cristianesimo nella Storia, Bologna 1980–
CTh	Codex Theodosianus
CTNT	Commentario teologico del Nuovo Testamento
CTP	Collana di testi patristici, Rome 1976–
CUF	Collection des universités des France, Paris 1920–
DA	Dissertation Abstracts, Ann Arbor, MI 1938–
DACL	<i>Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie</i> , Paris 1907–1953
DAFC	<i>Dictionnaire apologétique de la foi Catholique</i> , Paris 1909–1931
DAGR	<i>Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines</i> , ed. Ch. Daremberg - E. Saglio, Paris 1877–1919
DB	<i>Dictionnaire de la Bible</i> , Paris 1895–1912
DBF	<i>Dictionnaire de biographie française</i> , Paris 1923–
DBI	<i>Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani</i> , Rome 1960–
DBS	<i>Dictionnaire de la Bible. Supplément</i> , Paris 1926–
DCB	<i>Dictionary of Christian Biography, Literature, Sects and Doctrines</i> , ed. W. Smith - H. Wace, 4 vols., London 1887
DDC	<i>Dictionnaire de droit canonique</i> , Paris 1924–1965
Delehaye PM	H. Delehaye, <i>Les passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires</i> , Brussels 1921
Denis	<i>Concordance grecque des pseudepigraphes d'Ancien testament: concordance, corpus des textes, indices</i> , Louvain-la-Neuve 1987
DHEE	<i>Diccionario de Historia eclesiástica de España</i> , Madrid 1972–1975
DHGE	<i>Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique</i> , Paris 1909–
Díaz	M.C. Díaz y Díaz, <i>Index Scriptorum Latinorum Medii Aevi Hispanorum</i> , Madrid 1959
Diehl	E. Diehl, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres</i> , 3 vols., Berlin 1925–1931; ed. J. Moreau, ² 1961
Diekamp	F. Diekamp, ed. <i>Doctrina Patrum de incarnatione Verbi</i> , Münster 1907; II ed. magazine, ed. B. Phanourgakis - E. Chrysos, Münster 1981

DIP	<i>Dizionario degli Istituti di perfezione</i> , Rome 1974–
DissA	Dissertation Abstracts, Ann Arbor, MI 1938–
Diz. Ep.	Dizionario epigrafico di antichità romane
DNP	<i>Der neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike</i> , ed. H. Cancik and H. Schneider, Stuttgart 1996–
Domínguez del Val	U. Domínguez del Val, <i>Historia de la antigua literatura latina hispanocristiana</i> , 5 vols., Madrid 1997–2002
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers, Cambridge, MA 1941–
DPAC	<i>Dizionario patristico e di antichità cristiane</i> , ed. Angelo Di Berardino, Casale Monferrato 1983–1988
DPha	<i>Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques</i> , ed. R. Goulet, Paris 1989–
DR	Downside Review, Bath, Downside Abbey and Exeter
DS	H. Denzinger - A. Schönmetzer, <i>Enchiridion Symbolorum</i> , Freiburg-Barcelona ³⁵ 1973
DSp	<i>Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique</i> , Paris 1933–
DTC	<i>Dictionnaire de théologie catholique</i> , Paris 1903–1970
Duchesne LP	<i>Liber pontificalis</i> , ed. L. Duchesne, 2 vols., Paris 1886–1892; III ed. C. Vogel, 3 vols., 1955–1975
Duchesne, <i>Fastes</i>	L. Duchesne, <i>Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule</i> , 3 vols., Paris 1910
Duval	R. Duval, <i>La littérature syriaque</i> , Paris 1907
EAA	<i>Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica, Classica e Orientale</i> , ed. R. Bianchi Bandinelli, Rome 1958–1961; Supplements 1970–
EAC	<i>Encyclopedia of Ancient Christianity</i> , ed. A. Di Berardino, T.C. Oden, J.C. Elowsky, J. Hoover, 3 vols., Downers Grove, IL 2014.
EApC	<i>Écrits apocryphes chrétiens</i> , ed. F. Bovon - P. Geoltrain, Paris 1997
EAEHL	<i>Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land</i> , 4 vols., New York 1975–1978
EAM	<i>Enciclopedia dell'Arte Medievale</i> , Treccani, Rome 1991–2002
EB	Estudios Bíblicos, Madrid.
EC	<i>Enciclopedia Cattolica</i> , Vatican City 1949–1954
EHBS	Epeteris Hetaireías Byzantinon Spoudon, Athens
EHR	English Historical Review
EI	<i>Enciclopedia Italiana</i> (Treccani), Rome 1929–1977, and Supplements
EJ	<i>Encyclopaedia Judaica</i> , Jerusalem 1971–
Elliott	J.K. Elliott, <i>The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation Based on M.R. James</i> , Oxford 1993
Emerton	E. Emerton, <i>The Letters of St. Boniface</i> , New York 1940
EntAC	Entretiens sur l'Antiquité classique, Geneva 1954–
EO	Échos d'Orient, Bucharest
EOMIA	<i>Ecclesiae occidentalis monumenta iuris antiquissima</i> , ed. C.H. Turner, 2 vols., Oxford 1899–1934
EPapi	<i>Enciclopedia dei Papi</i> , Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, Treccani, Rome 2000

EphLit	Ephemerides Liturgicae, Vatican City
EphemMar	Ephemerides Mariologicae
Eranos	Eranos. Acta Philologica Suecana, Uppsala
Eranos-Jb	Eranos-Jahrbuch, Leiden
Erbetta	M. Erbetta, <i>Gli apocrifi del Nuovo Testamento</i> , Turin 1966–1981
ES	E. Flórez, <i>España Sagrada</i> , Madrid 1747–
Esposito	M. Esposito, <i>Latin Learning and Medieval Ireland</i> , London 1988
EstEcl	Estudios Eclesiásticos, Madrid
EtByz	Études Byzantines, Bucharest
EThL	Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses, Louvain
EtudTheolRelig	Études théologiques et religieuses, Montpellier
ExcPhilol	Excerpta philologica, Cádiz 1991–
FBSM	Forschungen und Berichte, published by Staatlichen Museen, Berlin
FC	The Fathers of the Church, ed. R.J. Deferrari, New York 1947–
FCh	Fontes Christiani, Freiburg 1990–2001, Turnhout 2002–
Fedalto	G. Fedalto, <i>Hierarchia ecclesiastica orientalis</i> , 2 vols., Padua 1988
Ferrua Via Latina	A. Ferrua, <i>Le pitture della nuova catacomba della via Latina</i> , Vatican City 1960
FHG	Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum, Paris 1841–1870
FIFAO	Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo
Fil&Teol	Filosofia e Teologia
FKDG	Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte
Fliche-Martin	A. Fliche - V. Martin, <i>Storia della Chiesa</i> , It. tr. Turin, I ² 1958; II ³ 1972; III ³ 1972; IV ³ 1972; V ² 1971
FMS	Frühmittelalterliche Studien, Berlin
FP	Florilegium Patristicum, Bonn 1906–
FR	Felix Ravenna, Faenza
Frend	W.H.C. Frend, <i>The Rise of the Monophysite Movement</i> , Cambridge 1972
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments, Göttingen 1903–
FS	Festschrift
FZPhTh	Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie, Freiburg 1954–
Gams	Pius Bonifatius Gams, <i>Series episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae</i> , Regensburg, 1873
Garrucci, Storia	R. Garrucci, <i>Storia dell'arte italiana nei primi otto secoli della Chiesa</i> , Prato 1873–1881
Gaudemet	J. Gaudemet, <i>Conciles gaulois du IV^e siècle</i> , SC 241, Paris 1977
GAZ B.A.	Gazette des Beaux-Arts, Paris
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller, Leipzig–Berlin 1897–
GGA	Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen, Göttingen
GGB	<i>Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe: Historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen</i>

	<i>Sprache in Deutschland</i> , ed. O. Brunner et al., Stuttgart 1972–1997
GIF	Giornale Italiano di Filologia, Rome
GLNT	Grande Lessico del Nuovo Testamento (trad. del TWNT), Brescia
GNO	<i>Gregorii Nysseni Opera</i> , ed. W. Jaeger, Leiden 1952–
Glotta	Glotta. Zeitschrift für griechische und lateinische Sprache, Göttingen
GRBS	Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies, Duke University, Durham, NC
Grillmeier	A. Grillmeier, <i>Jesus der Christus im Glauben der Kirche</i> , Freiburg–Basel–Vienna 1979–
Griffe	E. Griffe, <i>La Gaule chrétienne à l'époque romaine</i> . 3 vols. Paris 1964–
Grumel, Regestes	V. Grumel, <i>Les registres des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople, I, 1</i> , Kadikoy–Bucharest 1932
HA	Handes Amsorya, Vienna
Harnack, Die Überlieferung	A. Harnack, <i>Die Überlieferung und Bestand der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius</i> , Leipzig 1893
Harp	The Harp, a Review of Syriac and Oriental Studies, Kottayam, Kerala, India 1989–
HAW	Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, Munich 1922–
HDG	Handbuch der Dogmengeschichte, Freiburg i.Br. 1956–
Hennecke–Schneemelcher	E. Hennecke, <i>Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung</i> , edited by W. Schneemelcher, Berlin 1968–1971
Herzog	Handbuch der lateinischen Literatur der Antike, edited by R. Herzog and P. Lebrecht Schmidt, vol. IV, Munich 1989
Hfl–Lecl	C.J. v. Hefele, <i>Histoire des conciles d'après les documents originaux</i> , tr. H. Leclercq, Paris 1907–1952
Histoire des Saints	<i>Histoire des saints et de la sainteté chrétienne</i> , ed. F. Chiovaro - J. Delumeau - A. Mandouze - B. Plongeron - P. Riché - C. Savart - A. Vauchez, 11 vols., Paris 1986–1988
Histoire littéraire de la France	P. Abraham - R. Desne, eds. <i>Histoire littéraire de la France</i> , 10 vols., Paris 1974–1980
HJ	Historisches Jahrbuch, München, 1880–
HLL	Handbuch der lateinischen Literatur der Antike
Honigmann	E. Honigmann, <i>Évêques et Évêchés monophysites d'Asie antérieure au VI^e siècle</i> , CSCO 127, Louvain 1951
HTR	Harvard Theological Review, Cambridge, MA
HWP	Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie. ed. Joachim Ritter et al, Basel - Darmstadt, 1971–2007
HWRhet	Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik, ed. Gert Ueding et al., Tübingen - Darmstadt, 1992–
ICL	D. Schaller - D. Könsgen, <i>Initia carminum latinorum saeculo undecimo antiquiorum</i> , Göttingen 1997
ICR	G.B. de Rossi, <i>Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae</i> , Rome 1857–1888; Suppl. fasc. I, ed. I. Gatti, 1915
ICUR	<i>Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores</i> , new series, Vatican City 1922–

IER	Irish Ecclesiastical Record
IG	Inscriptiones Graecae, Belin 1902–
IGCVO	K. Wessel - A. Ferrua - C. Carletti, <i>Inscriptiones graecae christianae veteres Occidentis</i> , Bari 1989
IHS	Irish Historical Studies
IJCT	International Journal of the Classical Tradition, New Brunswick, NJ 1994–
ILS	M. Dessau, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae selectae</i> , 3 vols., Berlin 1892–1916 (31962)
Impellizzeri	S. Impellizzeri, <i>La letteratura bizantina</i> , Florence 1975
Instr. Patr.	Instrumenta patristica, The Hague 1959–
IPA	Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, Rome
IstMitt	Istanbuler Mitteilungen, Istanbul 1933–
ITQ	Irish Theological Quarterly, Dublin
Jaffé	Ph. Jaffé, <i>Regesta Pontificum Romanorum</i> , reprint, Graz 1956
James	M.R. James, <i>The Apocryphal New Testament</i> , Oxford 1924
JAW	Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, Berlin
JbAC	Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum, Münster 1958–
JDAI	Jahrbuch des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Berlin
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, London
JECS	Journal of Early Christian Studies, Baltimore 1993–
JEH	Journal of Ecclesiastical History, London 1950–
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies, London
JJP	Journal of Juristic Papyrology
JKPh	Jahrbucher für klassische Philologie
JLW	Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft, Münster 1921–
Joannou	P. Joannou, <i>Discipline générale antique</i> , Grottaferrata 1962–1963
JÖBG	Jahrbuch der österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft, Vienna 1951–1968
JÖEAI	Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Instituts, Vienna 1898–
JÖEByz	Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik, Vienna 1969–
Jonkers	E.J. Jonkers, <i>Acta et symbola Conciliorum quae saeculo quarto habita sunt</i> , Leiden 1954
JourEthSt	Journal of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa, 1963–
JRH	Journal of Religious History, University of Sidney
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies, London
JRSAI	Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, Dublin
JS	Journal des Savants, Paris
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies, Oxford
KAV	Kommentar zu den apostolischen Vätern
Kenney	E.F. Kenney, <i>The Sources for the Early History of Ireland</i> , I, New York 1929

KfA	Kommentar zu frühchristlichen Apologeten
KLP	Der kleine Pauly, Stuttgart 1964–1976
Krumbacher	K. Krumbacher, <i>Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur von Justinian bis zum Ende des oströmischen Reiches (527–1453)</i> , Munich ² 1897
La MaisonD	La Maison–Dieu, Paris
Labourt	J. Labourt, <i>Le christianisme dans l'Empire perse sous la dynastie Sassanide (224–632)</i> , Paris 1904
LACL	Lexikon der Antiken Christlichen Literatur, ed. S. Döpp – W. Geerlings, Freiburg ³ 2002
Lampe	G.W.H. Lampe, <i>A Patristic Greek Lexikon</i> , IV reprint with corrections and additions, Oxford 1976
Lapidge-Sharpe	M. Lapidge, R. Sharpe, <i>A Bibliography of Celtic-Latin Literature, 400–1200</i> , Dublin 1985
Lauchert	F. Lauchert, <i>Die Kanones der wichtigsten altkirchlichen Concilien</i> , Freiburg i.Br. 1896 (reprint, Frankfurt 1961)
LCI	Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie
LCL	Loeb Classical Library, London–Cambridge, MA 1912–
Le Blant, Sarc.	E. Le Blant, <i>Les sarcophages chrétiens de la Gaule</i> , Paris 1886
LFC	Library of the Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church, ed. G.B. Pusey – J. Keble – J.H. Newman, Oxford 1838–1888
Libyca	Libyca. Bulletin des services des antiquités, Algiers
LingBibl	Linguistica Biblica, Bonn–Röttgen, 1970–
Lipsius-Bonnet	R.A. Lipsius - M. Bonnet, eds., <i>Acta apostolorum apocrypha</i> , Leipzig 1891, reprint 1972
LM	Lutherische Monatshefte
LMA	Lexikon des Mittelalters, Munich–Zürich 1977–
LNPF	A Select Library of Nicene and Post–Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, ed. Ph. Schaff – H. Wace (reprint Grand Rapids, MI 1951–)
LP	<i>Liber pontificalis</i> (see Duchesne LP)
LQF	Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen und Forschungen, Münster i.W. 1902–1940; 1957–
LTK	Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche, Freiburg i.Br. ² 1957–1965; ³ 1993–2001
Maassen	F. Maassen, <i>Geschichte der Quellen und der Literatur des canonischen Rechts im Abendlande</i> , Graz 1870 (reprint Graz 1956)
MAE	Medium Aevum, Oxford
Magi	L. Magi, <i>La sede romana nella corrispondenza degli imperatori e patriarchi bizantini (VI–VII sec.)</i> , Rome–Louvain 1972
MAL	Memorie della Classe di Scienze morali e storiche dell'Accademia dei Lincei, Rome
MAMA	Monumenta Asiae minoris antiqua, London 1928–
Manitius	Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters, Munich 1923
Mansi	J.D. Mansi, <i>Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio</i> (reprint Graz 1960–1962)

Mansilla, <i>Geografía I/II</i>	D. Mansilla Reozo, <i>Geografía eclesiástica de España. Estudio histórico geográfico de las diócesis I y II</i> , Iglesia nacional Española, Rome 1994
Marienlexicon	Marienlexicon, ed. on behalf of the Institutum Marianum Regensburg by R. Bäumer and L. Scheffczyk, St. Ottilien, 6 vols., 1988–1994
Martínez Díez, <i>Hispana IV/V</i>	G. Martínez Díez – F.F. Rodriguey, <i>La colección canónica hispana</i> , IV, Barcelona– Madrid 1984; V, Madrid 1992
Maspero	J. Maspero, <i>Histoire des patriarches d'Alexandrie depuis la mort de l'empereur Anastase jusqu'à la réconciliation des églises jacobites (518–616)</i> , Paris 1923
MD	Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici, Pisa 1978–
MDAI(K)	Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Cairo
MDAI(R)	Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Rome
MEFR	Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École française de Rome
MEFRA	Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École française de Rome, Antiquité
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Hannover–Berlin 1826–
MH	Museum Helveticum. Revue Suisse pour l'Etude de l'Antiquité classique, Bâle
MIL	Memorie dell'Istituto Lombardo, Accademia di scienze e lettere. Classe di lettere, scienze morali e storiche
MIOF	Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung, Berlin
Mirbt	C. Mirbt – K. Aland, <i>Quellen zur Geschichte des Papsttums und des römischen Katholizismus</i> , Tübingen ²1967
MLatJb	<i>Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch</i> , Cologne
MM	Madriider Mitteilungen, Heidelberg
Monceaux	P. Monceaux, <i>Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne</i> , Paris 1901–1923
Moraldi	L. Moraldi, <i>Tutti gli apocrifi del NT</i> , 1–3, Casale Monferrato 1999–2001
Mordek	H. Mordek, <i>Kirchenrecht und Reform im Frankreich</i> , Berlin 1975
Moricca	U. Moricca, <i>Storia della letteratura latina cristiana</i> , Turin 1928–1934
MSLC	Miscellanea di studi di letteratura cristiana antica, Catania 1949–
MSR	Mélanges de Science Religieuse, Lille
MTZ	Münchener theologische Zeitschrift, Munich
MUB	Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph, Beirut
MusAfr	Museum Africum, Ibadan, Nigeria
Muséon	Le Muséon. Revue d'Études Orientales, Louvain
MySal	Mysterium salutis: Grundriss heilsgeschichtlicher Dogmatik
NAC	Ernesto Bernareggi, ed., <i>Numismatica e Antichità Classiche</i> , Lugano: Arti grafiche Gaggini-Bizzozero, 1974
NAWG	Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.–hist. Klasse, Göttingen (cf. NGWG)
NBA	Nuova Biblioteca Agostiniana. Opere di s. Agostino, Latin–Italian edition, ed. A. Trapè, Rome 1965–
NEAEHL	New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land, 5 vols., New York 1993.
Nestori	A. Nestori, <i>Repertorio topografico delle pitture delle catacombe romane</i> , Vatican City 1993

NGWG	Nachrichten (1884–1893: von) der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften in (1884–1903: zu) Göttingen, Phil – hist. Klasse 1894–1933 (cf. NAWG)
NH	Nag Hammadi
NHC	The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices, Leiden 1972–
NHS	Nag Hammadi Studies, Leiden 1971–
Niermeyer	Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon minus, ed. J.F. Niermeyer – C. van de Kieft, Leiden 1993–
NovT	Novum Testamentum. An International Quarterly for New Testament and Related Studies, Leiden
NovTSup	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
NP	Der Neue Pauly, Stuttgart–Weimar 1996–2003
NRTh	Nouvelle Revue Théologique, Louvain
NT	New Testament
NTS	New Testament Studies, Cambridge
OC	Oriens Christianus. Hefte für die Kunde des christlichen Orients, Wiesbaden
OCA	Orientalia Christiana Analecta, Rome
OCD	S. Hornblower – A. Spawforth, eds., <i>The Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> , Oxford 31996
OCP	Orientalia Christiana Periodica, Rome
ODB	Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, ed. A.P. Kazhdan et al., 3 vols., New York–Oxford 1991
ODC	The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, ed. F.L. Cross, London 1974
OEANE	Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East, ed. E.M. Meyers, New York 1997
OLP	Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica, Leuven
Opitz, A.W.	H.G. Opitz, <i>Athanasius Werke</i> , Berlin–Leipzig 1936–1941
OrChr	Oriens Christianus, Rome
Orlandis, <i>Concilios</i>	J. Orlandis – D. Ramos-Lissón, <i>Historia de los concilios de la España romana y visigoda</i> , Pamplona 1986
OrSyr	Orient Syrien, Paris
Ortiz de Urbina	I. Ortiz de Urbina, <i>Patrologia syriaca</i> , Rome 21965
OS	Ostkirchliche Studien, Würzburg
OT	Old Testament
OxP	The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, London 1896–
PAA	Praktikà tes Akademías Athenon, Athens
PAAH	Praktikà tes en Athenais Archaialogikes Hetaireías, Athens
Palazzini	Dizionario dei Concili, ed. P. Palazzini, Rome 1963–1967
PAC	H.I. Marrou et al., <i>Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire</i> , 1982–
PAPhS	Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia
Patrologia	<i>Patrologia</i> . vol. III. I Padri latini (secoli IV–V), ed. A. Di Berardino, Turin 1978 (Sp. tr. BAC 422, Madrid 1981); vol. IV, Genoa 1996; vol. V, Genoa 2000

PbH	Patmabanasirakan Handes
PBSR	Papers of the British School at Rome, London
PCBE	Prosopographie Chrétienne du Bas-Empire, Rome 1982-
PCPhS	Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society, Cambridge
PdO	Parole de l'Orient, Kaslik
Perrone	L. Perrone, <i>La chiesa di Palestina e le controversie cristologiche. Dal concilio di Efeso (431) al secondo concilio di Costantinopoli (553)</i> , Brescia 1980
PG	Patrologiae cursus completus. J.-P. Migne, Series Graeca, Paris 1857-1866; 1928-1936
PhW	Philologische Wochenschrift, Leipzig
PL	Patrologiae cursus completus. J.-P. Migne, Series Latina, Paris 1841-1864
PLRE	The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, Cambridge 1971-1980
PLS	Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum, ed. A. Hamman, Paris 1957-1971
PMS	Patristic Monograph Series
PO	Patrologia Orientalis, Paris 1903-, now published at Turnhout
POC	Proche-Orient chrétien, Jerusalem 1951-
Potthast	A. Potthast, <i>Repertorium fontium historiae Medii Aevi</i> , Rome 1962-
PP	Parola del Passato. Rivista di Studi antichi, Naples
PRIA	Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin
PS	Patrologia Syriaca, ed. R. Graffin, Paris 1894-1926
PSt	Patristic Studies, ed. R.J. Deferrari, Catholic University of America, Washington D.C. 1922-
PTA	Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen, Bonn 1968-
PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien, Berlin 1963-
PWK	Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, ed. G. Wissowa - W. Kroll - K. Mittelhaus - K. Ziegler, Stuttgart 1893-
QC	Quaderni catanesi di studi classici e medievali, Catania 1979-1988.
QDipFLTCl	Quaderni del Dipartimento di Filologia, Linguistica e Tradizione Classica, Bologna 1995-
QLP	Questions Liturgiques et Paroissiales
Quasten	J. Quasten, <i>Patrologia</i> , 2 vols., Turin 1967-1969; vol. III, ed. A. Di Berardino, Casale Monferrato 1978
RA	Revue Archéologique, Paris
RAAN	Rendiconti dell'Accademia di archeologia, lettere e belle arti di Napoli, Naples
RAC	Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum, Stuttgart 1950-
RAL	Rendiconti della Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche dell'Accademia dei Lincei, Rome
RAM	Revue d'ascétique et de mystique, Toulouse
RB	Reallexikon der Byzantinistik, Amsterdam 1968-
RBen	Revue Bénédictine, Abbaye de Maredsous
RBi	Revue Biblique, Paris

RBK	Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst, Stuttgart 1966–
RBPh	Revue Belge de Philologie et d’Histoire, Brussels
RCCM	Rivista di cultura classica e medievale, Rome
RCT	Revista Catalana de Teologia, Barcelona 1976–
RD	Revue Historique de Droit français et étranger, Paris
RDC	Revue de droit canonique, Strasbourg
RE	Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche, Leipzig ¹ 1854–1866, ² 1863–1888, ³ 1896–1913
REA	Revue des Études Anciennes, Valence
REArm	Revue des Études Arméniennes, Paris
REAug	Revue des Études augustiniennes et patristiques, Paris 1955–
REB	Revue des Études Byzantines, Paris
RecAug	Recherches augustiniennes (Supplément à REAug), Paris
RecSR	Recherches de Science Religieuse, Paris
RecTh	Recherches théologiques. Faculté de théologie protestante de l’Université de Strasbourg, Paris
REG	Revue des Études Grecques, Paris
REL	Revue des Études Latines, Paris
Rend. Acc. Lincei	Rendiconti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rome
Rend. PARA	Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia; s. III, Rendiconti, Rome
Rep.	G. Bovini – H. Brandenburg – F.W. Deichmann, <i>Repertorium der christlichantiken Sarkophagen I: Rom und Ostia</i> , Wiesbaden 1967
Repertorium	Repertorium Fontium Historiae Medii Aevi, Rome 1962–
RESE	Revue des Études sud-est-européennes, Bucharest
RET	Revista Española de Teología, Madrid
RevPhilol	Revue de philologie, de littérature et d’histoire anciennes
RFIC	Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica, Turin
GGG ³	Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Tübingen ³ 1957–1965
GGG ⁴	Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Tübingen ⁴ 1998–2005
RHCE	Repertorio de Historia de las Ciencias eclesiásticas en España, Salamanca 1967–1977
RHD	Revue d’histoire du droit, Groningen
RHE	Revue d’histoire ecclésiastique, Louvain
RHEF	Revue d’histoire de l’Eglise de France, Paris
RHL	Revue d’histoire et de littérature religieuses, Paris
RhM	Rheinisches Museum, Frankfurt
RHPHR	Revue d’histoire et de philosophie religieuses, Paris
RHR	Revue de l’histoire des religions, Paris
RHT	Revue d’histoire des textes, Paris
RIA	Rivista dell’Istituto Nazionale di archeologia e storia dell’arte, Rome

RIL	Rendiconti dell'Istituto Lombardo. Classe di Lettere, Scienze morali e storiche, Milan
RIN	Rivista Italiana di Numismatica e Scienze Affini, Milan
Riv. lit.	Rivista liturgica, Turin–Leumann
Riv. St. Biz. Neoell.	Rivista di Studi bizantini e neoellenici, Rome
RivAC	Rivista di Archeologia cristiana
RivBib	Rivista biblica, Rome
Riv. Dioc. Mil.	Rivista Diocesana Milanese, Milan
RivStorItal	Rivista storica italiana, Naples 1884
RMAL	Revue du Moyen Âge Latin, Paris
ROC	Revue de l'Orient chrétien, Paris
ROE	Römisches Österreich. Jahresschrift der österreichischen Gesellschaft für Archäologie, Vienna
RomBarb	Romanobarbarica, Rome
RPAA	Rendiconti Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia, Rome 1921–
RPhL	Revue Philosophique de Louvain, Louvain
RQA	Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte, Freiburg i.Br
RSBN	Rivista di Studi bizantini e neoellenici, Rome 1964–
RSC	Rivista di Studi Classici, Turin
RSCI	Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia, Rome
RSLR	Rivista di Storia e Letteratura religiosa, Florence
RSO	Rivista degli studi orientali, Rome
RSPH	Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques, Paris
RSR	Revue de Sciences Religieuses, Strasbourg
RTAM	Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale, Louvain
RThom	Revue thomiste, Bruges
RThPh	Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie, Lausanne
RTL	Revue Théologique de Louvain, Louvain
SA	Studia Anselmiana, Rome 1933–
SAB	Sitzungsberichte der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Philos.–hist. Klasse, Berlin
Sacchi	P. Sacchi, <i>Apocrifi dell'AT</i> , 1–2, Turin 1981, 1989, 3–5, Brescia 1997, 1999, 2000
SAe	Scriptores aethiopicici (CSCO)
SAW	Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Vienna, Philos.–hist. Klasse, Vienna
SBA	Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Abteilung, Munich
SBF	Studii Biblici Franciscani Liber annuus, Jerusalem
SC	Sources Chrésiennes, Paris 1941–
ScEc	Sciences Ecclésiastiques, Montreal 1948–1967

SCH	Studies in Celtic History, Cambridge
Schanz	M. Schanz (C. Hosius – G. Kruger), <i>Geschichte der römischen Literatur</i> , Munich 1907–1920
Schneemelcher	W. Schneemelcher, <i>Neutestamentliche Apokryphen</i> , 1–2, Tübingen 1990–1997
Schneemelcher ET	W. Schneemelcher, <i>New Testament Apocrypha</i> , 1–2, ed. R McL. Wilson, Cambridge 1991–1992
ScTh	Scripta Theologica, Navarra 1969–
SDHI	Studia et Documenta Historiae et Iuris, Rome
SE	Sacris Erudiri. Jaarboek voor Godsdienstwetenschappen, Steenbrugge, 1948– (from vol. 38 under the subtitle: A Journal on the Inheritance of Early and Medieval Christianity)
SEA	Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum
Sharpe	R. Sharpe, <i>A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland Before 1540</i> , Turnhout 1997
SHAW	Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Heidelberg
SHHA	Studia Historica. Historia Antigua, Salamanca 1983–
SHib	Studia Hibernica
SIFC	Studi italiani di filologia classica, Florence
SISR	Società Italiana di Storia delle Religioni
Simonetti	M. Simonetti, <i>La crisi ariana nel IV secolo</i> , Rome 1975
SLH	Scriptores Latini Hiberniae
SM	Studi Medievali, Spoleto
SMGBZ	Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige Augsburg
SMSR	Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni, Rome
SNT	Supplements to Novum Testamentum, Leiden
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SO	Symbolae Osloenses, auspiciis Societatis Graeco-Latinae, Oslo
SP	Studia Patristica (in TU), ed. K. Aland – F.L. Cross, Berlin 1957–, then Leuven
SPAW	Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin.
SPFB	Sborník prací Filosofické fakulty brněnské univerzity
SPM	Stromata Patristica et Mediaevalia, ed. C. Mohrmann – J. Quasten, Utrecht–Brussels 1950–
SSR	Studi Storico-Religiosi, University of Rome
ST	Studi e Testi, Vatican City 1900–
STAC	Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum
Starowieyski	M. Starowieyski, ed. <i>Apokryfy Nowego Testamentu</i> , 1/1–2; 3, Kraków 2001, 2003
Stegmüller	F. Stegmüller et al., eds. <i>Repertorium biblicum medii aevi</i> , 11 vols. (1950–80)
Storia del cristianesimo	<i>Storia del cristianesimo</i> , ed. J.M. Mayeur – Ch. and L. Pietri – A. Vauchez – M. Venard, vol. I. <i>Il Nuovo popolo (Dalle origini al 250)</i> , Rome 2003, It. tr. (orig. Fr. 2000); vol. II. <i>La nascita di una cristianità (250–430)</i> , Rome 2000,

	It. tr. (orig. Fr. 1995); vol. III. <i>Le chiese d'Oriente e d'Occidente (432–610)</i> , Rome 2002, It. tr. (orig. Fr. 1998)
StudAns	Studia Anselmiana, Rome
StudBibLit	Studies in Biblical Literature
StudMon	Studia Monastica, Barcelona
StudPhilon	Studia Philonica Annual, Atlanta 1989–
StudRom	Studi Romani. Rivista bimestrale dell'Istituto di Studi Romani, Rome
SVF	Stoicorum veterum fragmenta, ed. Jo. von Armin, 4 vols., Stuttgart 1906
Synoden	J. Orlandis – D. Ramos-Lissón, <i>Die Synoden auf der Iberischen Halbinsel bis zum Einbruch des Islam (711)</i> , Paderborn 1981
SVGB	Schriften des Vereins für Geschichte des Bodensees
SZG	Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte, Zürich
TAD	Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi, Ankara 1933–
TDNT	Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, Grand Rapids 1964–1976
Théol. Hist.	Théologie Historique, Paris 1953–
ThGl	Theologie und Glaube, Paderborn 1909–
Thiel	Thiel, <i>Epistolae Romanorum Pontificum</i> , Brunsbergae 1868
ThLL	Thesaurus Linguae Latinae, Leipzig 1900–
ThLZ	Theologische Literaturzeitung, Berlin
ThQ	Theologische Quartalschrift, Tübingen
ThRev	Theologische Revue, Münster
ThRu	Theologische Rundschau, Tübingen
ThS	Theological Studies, Baltimore
Tillemont	S. Le Nain de Tillemont, <i>Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles</i> , 16 vols., Paris 1693–1712
TIP	Temi di iconografia paleocristiana, ed. and intro. by F. Bisconti, Vatican City 2000
Torsy	J. Torsy, <i>Lexikon der Deutschen Heiligen</i> , Cologne 1959
TPAPA	Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association
TRE	Theologische Realenzyklopädie, Berlin–New York 1976–
TSt	Texts and Studies, ed. J.A. Robinson, Cambridge 1891–
TTH	Translated Texts for Historians, Liverpool
TTZ	Trierer theologische Zeitschrift, Trier
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, Leipzig–Berlin 1882–
Turner	cf. EOMIA
TWNT	Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament, Stuttgart 1953–
TZ	Theologische Zeitschrift, Basel 1945–
VChr	Vigiliae Christianae. A Review of Early Christian Life and Language, Amsterdam
VChrS	Vigiliae Christianae Supplements, Leiden

Verzeichnis	H.J. Frede, <i>Kirchenschriftsteller. Verzeichnis und Siegel</i> , Freiburg i.Br 1995
VetChr	Vetera Christianorum, Bari
Vies des SS.	J. Baudot et Chaussin, <i>Vies des Saints et des Bienheureux</i> , Paris 1935–1959
Vives, <i>Concilios</i>	J. Vives, <i>Los concilios visigodos e hispano-romanos</i> , Barcelona–Madrid 1963
Volbach–Hirmer	W.F. Volbach – M. Hirmer, <i>Arte paleocristiana</i> , Florence 1958
WD	Wort und Dienst
WK	J. Wilpert, <i>Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms</i> , Freiburg i.Br. 1903
WMM	J. Wilpert, <i>Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV bis XIII Jahrhundert</i> , Freiburg i.Br. 1916
Wp	G. Wilpert, <i>Le pitture delle catacombe romane</i> , Rome 1903
Ws	G. Wilpert, <i>I sarcofagi cristiani antichi</i> , Vatican City 1929–1936
WS	Wiener Studien. Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie und Patristik, Vienna
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
Zahn	T. Zahn, <i>Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanon</i> , 2/1, Leipzig 1892 (Hildesheim 1975)
ZAC	Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum/Journal of Ancient Christianity, Berlin 1997–
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft
ZKG	Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, Stuttgart
ZKTh	Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie, Vienna
ZKWL	Zeitschrift für kirchliche Wissenschaft und kirchliches Leben, Leipzig
ZNTW	Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche, Berlin
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, Bonn
ZRGG	Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte, Cologne 1948–
ZRG KA	Zeitschrift der Savigny–Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte (Kanonistische Abteilung), Weimar
ZRG RA	Zeitschrift der Savigny–Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte (Romanistische Abteilung), Weimar
ZThK	Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche, Tübingen



AARON (iconography). The oldest known representation—before 256—is in the *synagogue of *Dura Europos (Kraeling, pl. 60), where Aaron and the tabernacle are depicted (Ex 29).

In early Christian art, Aaron appears in the episodes of *Moses, e.g., on the Servanne *sarcophagus (late 4th c.; Ws 15) bearded, in tunic and pallium—like a sacred figure—among the crowd of men and women, while Moses receives the law (Ex 24:12-18). This basic formula is embellished in the mosaics found in the right aisle of S. Maria Maggiore at Rome (mid-5th c.) in the scenes of the murmuring of the Israelites (Ex 16:1-3), the fall of quails (Ex 16:11-13), the battle with the Amalekites (Ex 18:8-13) and the return of the explorers (Num 13:26-31). Also at Rome, on the 5th-c. door of S. *Sabina (Jeremias, pl. 27), Aaron changes the rods into serpents before Pharaoh (Ex 7:8-13). The image of Aaron is also on ivory objects (very probably, scroll in hand, next to Moses who strikes the rock, on an object dated 420-430, preserved in the British Museum: Volbach, n. 117), in miniatures (*Evangelarium* of Rabbula, 6th c. [by himself in priestly dress]: Cecchelli, *Rabb. Gosp.*, pl. 3v; the 7th-c. Pentateuch of Ashburnham [in various scenes beside Moses]: von Gebhardt 1883; the 9th-c. codex of *Cosmas Indicopleustes, the prototype of which is from the 6th c. [alone in priestly dress]: Stornajolo, pl. 15). Lost evidence includes that of the meeting between Aaron and Moses present in the decorative cycle of S. Paolo fuori le Mura (see Cod. Barb. Lat. 4406), and that of Aaron and Moses before Pharaoh on the right wall of S. Peter's at the Vatican (see Cod. Barb. lat. 2733).

BS 2, 465ff.; LCI 1,2ff.; O. v. Gebhardt, *The Miniatures of the Ashburnham-Pentateuch*, London 1883; C. Stornajolo, *Le miniature della Topografia cristiana di Cosma Indicopleuste* (Vat. gr. 699), Milan 1908; C. Cecchelli, *I mosaici di S. Maria Maggiore*, Turin 1956; C.H. Kraeling, *The Synagogue: The Excavations at Dura Europos Final Report* 8, New Haven 1956; W.F. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters*, Mainz 1976; G. Jeremias, *Die Holztür der Basilika S. Sabina in Rom*, Tübingen 1980; D.H. Verkeek, *Exodus and Easter Vigil in*

the Ashburnham Pentateuch: The Art Bulletin 77 (1995) 94-105; N. Cavallaro, Aronne (s.v.), *Tempi di iconografia paleocristiana*, ed. F. Bisconti, Rome 2000, 127.

D. CALCAGNINI

ABA (mar) (4th c.). Poet and disciple of Ephrem of *Nisibis, Aba is known for biblical commentaries on the OT (Job; Ps 42:9) and the *gospels, and for metrical exhortations in 5-syllable verse. Only some fragments of his literary production remain.

F. Nau, ROC 17 (1912) 69-73; Duval 64; Baumstark 66; Chabot 32; Ortiz de Urbina 86.

J.-M. SAUGET

ABA I (mar). *Catholicos of the church of Persia (540-552). The importance of Aba I for the history of Persian Christianity is twofold, acting as he did both at the level of the exegetical and theological culture of the ecclesiastical schools, which he helped to spread, and at the level of the institutional structure of a church long characterized by external tensions and internal divisions. The information we have on his life and the little that is known of his literary production clearly evidence these two aspects of his activity.

Born of a Zoroastrian family, an employee of the *Sassanid cadaster, he converted from Zoroastrianism to the Christian religion and was baptized. At first he attended the famous school of *Nisibis, then went to the *Byzantine lands to study Greek, visiting *Constantinople and other parts of the Mediterranean, including *Egypt. Mar Aba, like his disciple *Thomas of Edessa, was known to *Cosmas Indicopleustes, who left a significant testimony about him (*Topografia Cristiana* II, 2). He then returned to Nisibis as a teacher; it is uncertain whether he also founded a theological school in the capital of the Sassanid Empire, *Seleucia-Ctesiphon. Elected ca-

tholicos (540-552), he undertook the reorganization of the church of *Persia, torn by an internal schism at the time, and traveled with other bishops through the ecclesiastical provinces. The acts of this itinerant synod have reached us thanks to the *Synodicon Orientale*, which also contains the canons of the council organized by Aba in 544: among these, other than the repeated prohibition of consanguineous marriages, common among the Persian aristocratic class, there clearly emerge, on the one hand, the intention of a more stable centralization of power in the hands of the catholicos of Persia, whose explicit authorization was required for the ordination of bishops or *metropolitans; and on the other hand the attempt to bind bishops, *presbyters and deacons (see *Diakonia* - Diaconate) to their respective dioceses. The endemic state of tension with the Zoroastrian clergy and with important functionaries of the Sassanid court brought Aba I persecutions and exile in Azerbaijan, though he was not condemned to death. Even during a later period of imprisonment at the imperial court, he was able to receive visits from his collaborators and direct the life of his church.

His literary work, in large part lost, is thought to have included a Syriac version of the OT, biblical commentaries, ecclesiastical canons, synodal letters (some of which are preserved in the *Synodicon Orientale*), liturgical hymns and homilies ("Abdišo," *Catalogo di scrittori ecclesiastici*, ch. 58, in BO III, I 74-81). Despite the extensive loss, his literary activity can be reconstructed from the work of his disciples. From their writings we know that he gave significant impetus to a literary genre typical of the Persian church, whose roots can be traced to *Narsai and *Jacob of Sarug: the "explanations" or "causes," treatises aimed at illustrating the rationale for liturgical celebrations, the *sacraments and the underlying theology of the latter—a theology that, being rooted in the liturgy, was more developed in its historical-salvific dimension than in a more technical *christological or *trinitarian dimension. These writings were fundamental for the formation of Persian Christian communities, as is well shown by the *Explanations of the Nativity* of Thomas of Edessa, which seems to rework some of his master's material. Aba's other significant initiative (539-540) was that of commissioning the translation of *Nestorius's *Book of Heraclides* to a group of translators, among whom was *Cyrus of Edessa; this work was Nestorius's apology in defense of his christological doctrine, written a day after reading the *Tome* of *Leo the Great. This text would become ever more decisive in a church like the Persian

which, initially influenced by the exegetical and theological formulations of *Theodore of Mopsuestia, increasingly inclined to the more technical christological framework of Nestorius: indeed, the formulas that will eventually dominate in the most conservative—and the most powerful—circles of the Persian church during the following century were more Nestorian than Theodorian.

General presentations: Labourt 162-194; Duval 209-210, and also 53, 72, 165, 175; Baumstark 119-120, 137, 357; Chabot 53-54; Ortiz de Urbina 124-126; P. Bettiolo, *Letteratura siriana: Patrologia V*, 473-475; W. Stewart McCullough, *A Short History of Syriac Christianity to the Rise of Islam*, Chico, CA 1982, 136-139.

On his life: see P. Bedjan, *Histoire de Mar Jabalaha, de trois autres patriarches, d'un prêtre et de deux laïques nestoriens*, Paris 1895; BHO 596; P. Peeters, *Observations sur la Vie syriaque de Mar Aba*, in *Recherches d'histoire et de philologie orientales*, Brussels 1951, 116-163; J.M. Fiey, *Aba, Katholikòs, confessore*, in *Enciclopedia dei Santi. Le Chiese orientali*, Rome 1998, I, 1-4.

On Aba and his world: H. Hainthaler, *Die "nestorianische" Schulbewegung*: Grillmeier, Band 2/3, 257-261; P. Bettiolo, *Scuola ed economia divina nella catechesi della chiesa di Persia - Appunti su un testo di Tommaso di Edessa (d. ca. 542)*, in *Esegesi e catechesi nei Padri (secs. IV-VII)*, S. Felici (ed.), Rome 1994, 147-157.

A. CAMPLANI

ABADDON (Heb. ĀBADDŌN). (1) Fearsome lord of the earth, *angel of death, first called Muriël whose feast is celebrated 13 Hathor; an image of perdition, synonymous with *death and Sheol (Job 26:6; 28:22; Ps 88:11 [87:12 LXX]; Rev 9:11); mentioned in the apocrypha (*Joseph the Carpenter* 24; *Acts of Thomas* 74; *Book of the Resurrection of Christ of the Apostle Bartholomew* 4,15; 7,1), present at the Lord's tomb at the moment of his resurrection, and will have a role in the universal* judgment.

(2) Title of a Coptic *apocrypha, composed of two parts: in the first, the patriarch *Timothy I of *Alexandria (380-385), preaching during the feast of Abaddon (where he was first called Muriël) in Alexandria, tells how he found this text in Jerusalem. He describes its contents—the main part of the apocrypha—to the faithful: Jesus, asked by the apostles before ascending to heaven, tells them the story of the *creation of the man from the earth, which the earth did not want to allow, fearing the immensity of man's future sins. The angel Muriël takes some of the earth against its will, and from it God forms the man—but gives him life only through Christ's intervention. After Adam's sin, God gives lordship over the earth to Muriël, making him the terrible angel of death. Upon Abaddon's request, God assigns him his feast day—13 Hathor. After telling this story,

Jesus commands the apostles to celebrate this feast, then ascends to heaven. The apocrypha, of a gnostic character, is important for an understanding of Coptic anthropology.

CANT 334; E.A. Wallis Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms . . . in the Dialect of the Upper Egypt*, London 1914, 225-249, 474-493 (with Eng. tr.); Ital. tr. - Erbetta 3, 471-481; T. Orlandi, *Coptic Encyclopaedia* 1,2; C.D.G. Müller, *Die Engellehre der koptischen Kirche*, Wiesbaden 1959, 273-279.

M. STAROWIEYSKI

ABANDONED and EXPOSED CHILDREN. The term *alumnus* (*alumna*), among its other meanings, indicates an abandoned or exposed child that has been taken in and raised (foundling). Together with *abortion, abandonment and exposure were common more or less everywhere in antiquity—except in the Jewish world—esp. of deformed or illegitimate babies, or those whose birth was accompanied by unfavorable omens. The two actions were different—although both frequently led to a horrible death of the newborn—in that exposure took place in specific places and with certain precautions (e.g., a medal around the neck) so that the baby might be taken in and raised, whereas abandonment implied greater disinterest in the newborn's fate. Girls were more readily exposed than boys, and even more so the children of slaves. Despite a certain disapproval that slowly gained ground, such behavior was socially and ethically acceptable and was ignored by the law, except in particular cases such as claims of freedom on the part of exposed freeborn children (see *Pliny, *Ep.* 10,65-67). From the time of *Constantine exposure decreased, due in part to the influence of Christian morality, but it never completely ceased. At first Constantine made funds available for the support of needy children (CTh 11,27,1-2), then he authorized the sale of newborns (*Fragmenta Vat.* 34; CTh 5,10,1) and encouraged the taking in of exposed children (CTh 5,9,1 of 331). The sanctioning of the sale of babies, to us offensive, nevertheless often saved them from death. In 374 *Valentinian outlawed (CTh 8,5,1,2) exposure, but sale was still permitted, including the sale of only the child's labor for a period of years (*Augustine, *Ep.* 10: Divjak). In general, newborns were taken in not so much to be saved but to be raised and used as slaves, for prostitution or in spectacles, as the Christian *Justin Martyr writes: "We have learned that it is characteristic of evil persons to abandon their babies at birth; and especially because we see that nearly all of them end up in prostitution—not only girls, but also boys" (1 *Apol.* 27,1); and "because some of the abandoned

would die if not taken in, and then we would become murderers" (*ibid.*, 29,1). In some cases, however, they were taken in to be adopted by childless couples. The phenomenon was more widespread in cities than in the countryside. In periods when there were many slaves, people had no need to take in exposed children. Many pagan and Christian inscriptions mention the infancy of the deceased; pagan inscriptions usually limit themselves to the term *alumnus* (e.g., CIL VIII,410, 11576, 12778, 13238, 22993, 24687, 2394, 2396, 2773, 3002, 3288, 7078, 7754), while Christian inscriptions (DACL 1,1295-1296), in addition to that term, include names indicating the origin of the foundlings: *Proiectus*, *Proiecta*, *Proiecticius*, *Stercorius* (see Diehl 3,128 and 152-153), and also *Copronimus* (in Greek), though not always, as Pomeroy has shown for *Egypt. Some inscriptions manifest sentiments of love and intimacy between the *alumnus(a)* and the patron or patroness. The most famous of these foundlings was *Hermas, the Roman Christian writer of the *Shepherd*, who writes of "the one who fed me, who sold me to a certain Rhode, who lives at Rome" (*Pastore*, *Visioni* 1,1). Christians criticized this widespread practice: Justin, 1 *Apol.* 27,1; *Athenagoras, *Supplica* 35,5; *Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* 3,3 and *Strom.* 2,18,92-93; *Tertullian, *Ad nationes* 1,15; *Apologia* 9; *Minucius Felix, *Octavius* 31,4; *Lactantius, *Inst. divinae* 6,20. *Augustine, perhaps referring to the practice of his community of Hippo, says that the babies were taken in by nuns: "Sometimes babies are exposed by merciless parents, to be raised by who cares what kind of person; then they are taken in and brought to baptism by holy virgins" (*Ep.* 98,6).

DACL 1,1288-1306; EC 1,646-648; 5,614-616; L. Annardi, *Ricerche storiche sulla esposizione degli infanti presso gli antichi popoli e specialmente presso i Romani*, Venice 1838; E. Eyben, *Family Planning in Graeco-Roman Antiquity*: *Ancient Soc* 11/12 (1980/81) 1-81; M. Bianchi Fossati, *Vendita ed esposizione degli infanti da Costantino a Giustiniano*: *SDHI* 49 (1983) 179-224; S.B. Pomeroy, *Copronyms and the Exposure of Infants in Egypt*, in *Studies . . . A.A. Schiller*, ed. R.S. Bagnall, Leiden 1986, 147-162; J.E. Boswell, *The Kindness of Strangers. The Abandonment of Children in Western Europe from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance*, New York 1988 (It. tr., Milan 1991); A. Russi, *I pastori e l'esposizione degli infanti nella tarda legislazione imperiale e nei documenti epigrafici*: *MEFRA* 88 (1986) 855-898; J. Bellemore - B.M. Rawson, *Alumni: the Italian evidence*: *ZPE* 83 (1990) 1-19; M. Memmar, *Ad servitum aut ad lupanar. . .*: *ZRG KA* 108 (1991) 21-93; W.V. Harris, *Child Exposure in the Roman Empire*: *JRS* 84 (1994) 1-22; G. Nathan, *The Family in Late Antiquity: The Rise of Christianity and the Endurance of Tradition*, London-New York 2000; B. Stawoska, *Einige Bemerkungen zur Onomastik und Prosopographie christlicher Inschriften für Alumnus*, in *Prosopographica*, L. Mrozewicz - K. Ilksi (eds.), Poznan 1993, 247-258.

A. DI BERARDINO

ABBOT – ABBESS. The Aramaic *abbā*, “father” (Gr. ἀββᾶς, Lat. *abbas*), is the name by which monks were called, especially the oldest and most venerable, in the first centuries of *monasticism in *Egypt and in the East. Later it came to designate the superior of the monastery *sui iuris*. In the East it remained alongside other terms, such as **hegumen* (from Gk. ἡγεμῶν) or **archimandrite*; in the West it prevailed over the term *praepositus*, which often continued to designate the second monk in the hierarchy of the *cenobium, immediately below the abbot. During the first centuries of monasticism, where written rules were not in place, the abbot was very often a charismatic personality who gathered the brothers around himself by the prestige of his actions and holiness; later his role became institutionalized and ever more clearly defined. The oldest of the European rules, the *Rule of the Four Fathers*, written probably after the middle of the 5th c., identifies the essence of cenobitism as obedience to the abbot (*Reg. IV Patr.* 1,10, Neufville: RBen 77 [1967] 74). The function of the abbot is the primary interest of the writer of the *Rule of the Master*; the *Rule of St. *Benedict* discusses at length the prerogatives and qualities of the abbot (ch. 2) and provides for his free election by the monks (ch. 64), which, in the earliest times, was followed by episcopal confirmation. Very soon abbots were participating in councils. In the Council of Constantinople in 448, 23 *archimandrites, along with the 30 participating *bishops, condemned the doctrine of *Eutyches.

Abbess is the superior in charge of a female monastery. The Latin name, *abbatissa*, developed in analogy with the masculine *abbas*, and is attested in 6th-c. burial inscriptions and in the writings of *Gregory of Tours.

J. Chapman, *Abbot*: Hastings, *Encycl. of Religion and Ethics*, I, 1,8-9; J.-M. Besse, *Abbé. Abbesse*: DACL I, 39-42; T.P. McLaughlin, *Le très ancien droit monastique de l'Occident*, Paris-Ligugé 1935; A. de Vogüé, *La communauté et l'abbé dans la Règle de saint Benoît*, Bruges 1961; S. Pricoco, *Alle origini del latino monastico*, in *Il latino e i cristiani*, E. Dal Covolo - M. Sodi (eds.), Rome 2002, 165-184.

S. PRICOCO

ABDIAS of Babylon (late 6th c.). Presumed first bishop of Babylon, one of the 72 disciples of the Lord. He is the presumed author of a collection of *apocryphal *Acts of the *Apostles* (Peter, Paul, Andrew, James the Great, John, James the brother of the Lord, Philip, Thomas, Matthew, Simon and Jude). In the conclusion of the biography of Simon or Jude is written: “Abdias, bishop of Babylon, or-

ained by the apostles themselves (Simon and Jude); he wrote of their deeds in Hebrew. His disciple Eutropius then made a complete Greek version. It was then narrated in its entirety and arranged in 10 books by the African (*Julian).” In reality, the collection of Pseudo-Abdias was composed in Gaul in the 6th-7th c., as it depends on earlier authors (among them *Gregory of Tours), and was later revised.

R.A. Lipsius, M. Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum* 2/1, Leipzig 1898, 128-216; AASS at the respective names; EC 1, 56; L. Duchesne, *Les anciens recueils des légendes apostoliques*: Compte-rendu du III Congrès sc. intern. des Catholiques, Brussels 1985, 69-79; L. Moraldi, *Apocrifi del Nuovo Testamento*, Turin 1971, II, 1431-1606; Erbeta 2,21-24 (on his character); E. Jounod and J.D. Kaestli: CCAp 2,750-834 (*Virtutes Iohannis*); K. Schäferdiek, *Die “Passio Iohannis” des Melito von Laodikeia und die “Virtutes Iohannis”*: AB 103 (1985) 367-382; M. Brossard-Dandré, *La passion de Jacques le Mineur selon le Pseudo-Abdias et ses sources. Actes apocryphes d'un apôtre apocryphe, in Apocryphité. Histoire d'un concept transversal aux religions du livre*. En hommage à P. Geoltrain, S.C. Mimouni et al. (eds.), Turnhout 2002, 229-242.

S.J. VOICU

ABDON and SENNEN. *Roman *martyrs buried at Rome in the catacomb of Pontianus on the Via Portuense. The **Depositio Martyrum*, in the *Roman *Chronography of 354*, commemorates the two martyrs on 30 July: *Abdos et Semnes, in Pontiani, quod est ad Ursum Piliatum*. In the *Index coemeteriorum vetus* (catalog, 7th c.), the *cemetery where Abdon and Sennen are buried, is called *Cymiterium Pontiani ad Ursum Pileatum Abdon et Sennen via Portuensi*. The itinerary *Notitia ecclesiarum urbis Romae* (7th c.) specifies that Abdon and Sennen lie above ground: *Ascendis . . . Deinde intrabis in ecclesiam magnam*. In the other two itineraries, the *De locis sanctis martyrum qui sunt foris civitatis Romae* (7th c.) and the *Notitia portarum urbis Romae* (12th c., from a source thought to be prior to 682), Abdon and Sennen are simply mentioned among the other martyrs of the Via Portuense. According to the *Passio* they were two Persian princes martyred during the persecution of *Decius. In the cemetery of Pontianus a fresco (5th-6th c.) presents the Lord holding out the crown of martyrdom to Abdon and Sennen, who are identified by their names written vertically (Wp 258). They are wearing mantles and *Phrygian caps. Abdon has a more mature appearance, with a short, rounded beard; Sennen is younger, with a pointed beard. Abdon has been identified with the person depicted on a terra cotta lamp, shown praying in sumptuous Persian dress and having a short, rounded beard similar to the man depicted in the fresco at Pontianus.

DACL 1, 42ff.; EC 1, 58ff.; BS 1, 53ff.; LCI 5,4-5; P. Bruzza, *D'una rarissima lucerna fittile sulla quale è effigiato un santo in vesti persiane*: Studi e Documenti di Storia e di diritto 10 (1889) 416ff.; R. Valentini and G. Zucchetti, *Codice topografico della città di Roma 2*, Rome 1942; G. Matthiae, *Pittura romana del medioevo. Secoli IV-X* (with a biographical update by M. Andaloro), Rome 1987.

D. CALCAGNINI

ABDUCTION. Generally speaking, abduction is the kidnapping of a man or a woman. The specific term refers to a social phenomenon and is intended to indicate the snatching, often violently, of a woman for sexual purposes or for marriage. In ancient writings, it did not always have a negative connotation.

At *Rome from ancient times the practice was known (one should recall the abduction of the Sabine women). However, judging from the literature of the late Republic and of the early centuries of the empire (excluding rhetorical texts that probably referred to fictitious cases), in the Roman-Italian milieu, at least since the beginning of the Principate, the practice was not widespread. Few juridical considerations and few primary sources prior to the pre-*Constantinian age make any earlier assessment uncertain.

There is no unanimity among critical scholars in evaluating whether and in what way during the Republic abduction could be prosecuted as an *iniuria*, that is, as a private crime. The texts of the classical age seem rather to prosecute it in the generic sense as an offense. Later, but it is difficult to say exactly when, “to abduct a woman” (*mulierem rapere*) was prosecuted as a crime.

The *Justinian Digest reports only one passage, inserted under the rubric *ad legem Iulia de vi publica* (“according to the Julian Law on public force”), relating to this crime from a classical jurist (D. 48,6,5,2 = Marcian, *Inst.* 14). However, it is not certain that the crime referred to is abduction. As expected in the Digest, abduction—an accusation also applicable to foreigners, for which the death penalty was prescribed with no diminishing of the crime—does not necessarily refer to a specific law. The many opinions of scholars on how the law concerning abduction emerged are due to the paucity and uncertainty of the sources. The text seems to refer to the prosecution *ex lege Iulia de adulteriis* (“according to the Julian Law on the *adulterers”), and in practice, abduction was prosecuted at times with the accusation of *stuprum* (*rape).

Constantine (CTh 9,24,1, from 318 or 320 or 326) changed the understanding of abduction and furthered its suppression. No resolution following this

crime (i.e., marriage and/or a young maiden’s declaration of her own consent) exonerated the protagonists (including a woman and any other possible accomplices in the abduction) from very severe punishments. Not prosecuting the crime had as its primary objective that of protecting the family’s will in marital choices. This objective was not opposed by the fact that the same family was to be punished if it did not demonstrate that it wanted to stop the crime but that it favored, however, some settlement; moreover, compensations for such a crime—in terms of freedom or Roman citizenship—was established for the slave or the citizen under Latin law who had denounced the crime.

In practice a restrictive interpretation of Constantine’s law was affirmed, concerning the nullification of a marriage between an abductor and the one abducted. This posed, however, grave consequences, especially for children. To lower the possible risks in this regard, in 374, it was decreed that juridical actions against abduction or marriage resulting from it had to be taken within five years at most (CTh 9,24,3).

Before Constantine, the ordinances appear to make reference to a crime of which all women, *liberae* (“free”) or even *ingenuae honestae vitae* (“those of a noble upright life”), could become victim. *Virgins or *widows were, therefore, included. Nevertheless, the imperial legislation from Constantine onward treated virgins and widows as a specific object of rights that it clarified or reformed. Constantine spoke explicitly only of *virgines* (“virgins”) or *puellae* (“young girls”). In 354, *Constantius II further hardened the gravity of the crime and equated the abduction of widows who had chosen a life of chastity with that of consecrated virgins (CTh 9,25,1). Emperor *Julian was perhaps more lenient (*Ammianus 16,5,12 and *Sozomen 6,3); Emperor *Jovian returned to the heavy-handed approach (CTh 9,25,2) when he established the death penalty even for the attempt to convince virgins or widows who were consecrated to God to marriage. With regard for the given circumstances, the crime and the ways of applying punishments were specified also in CTh 11,36,7 (from 344), CTh 9,38,2 (from 353) and CTh 9,2,5 (from 409). *Honorius, in 420, confirmed the earlier laws and added deportation and confiscation of goods for those who were responsible for a failed attempt to abduct a consecrated virgin. *Codex Theodosianus collected the pertinent laws on abduction in the context of ordinances relating to a multiplicity of crimes.

Subsequently, in the West, Majorian’s *Nov.* 6,4 (from 458), concerning the women who had chosen

virginity, refers, in this group, to the preceding laws with some aggravating circumstances (he also punishes attempted abduction) and specifications (the patrimony of the guilty individual is not confiscated but is assigned to the accuser).

For the Eastern empire, however, there is nothing until Emperor *Justinian. With Justinian, notwithstanding the recovery of classical texts, jurists arranged abduction laws according to the forms given by Constantine, with some modifications: women were no longer subjected to punishment in any case whatsoever; protection for slave women and free women was expanded, within certain limits; and he sought to compensate the victim of abduction with patrimonial resources or the establishment of a dowry so that the woman could either live autonomously even without marrying or be helped in finding a husband.

It is difficult to reconstruct the procedures against abduction in the first edition of the **Codex Justinianus*, probably framed according to the model provided by the CTh. The new law, which emanated from Justinian, to which the *Institutiones* made reference, is contained in the *codex repetitae praelectionis* (CI. 9,13,1). This codex completely reworked the entirety of the earlier material and substituted the ordinances, which were first cited both in the title *de raptu virginum seu viduarum* (“on the abduction of virgins or widows”) and in the subsequent title *de raptu sanctimonialium* (“on the abduction of consecrated women”). In sum, it established that the crime remained punishable, with the exception of some cases of abduction of slave women or free women who were not widows and *honestae* (“upright women”). Abduction could also take place with regard to a fiancé if it occurred through force (*per vim*); abductors and accomplices caught red-handed must be tried and executed without the ability to appeal; the victim, if she was a free woman, would possess the abductor’s goods and would not be able to marry him; *deportatio* was to be inflicted on the parents who did not wish to take action against the guilty individual. As in the case of Constantine’s ordinances, the Justinian norms were not implemented in every instance, as shown by the *novellae*.

With respect to the ecclesiastical ordinances on abduction, the first were given by the Council of *Ancyra in 314 (can. 11), which decreed that women engaged to be married and abducted must be restored to their *sponsi* (“spouses”), even if they were violated. In 375, *Basil of Caesarea, in *Cappadocia, repeated the canon and perfected it with the ordinance on the basis of which, if not bound to anyone,

she must be restored to her family, which must then decide to give her to her fiancé or at least to the abductor (can. 22, in *Ep.* 199, to *Amphilochius, bishop of *Iconium), and with specifications concerning the punishments (*Ep.* 270).

There are some ecclesiastical sources from the end of the 4th c. and the beginning of the 5th c. in favor of the marriage between the abductor and the abducted. Thus, can. 67 of the so-called **Apostolic Canons* concluded that the abductor of a young woman to whom he was not engaged must keep her, and that he should be excluded from communion. This work also made several appeals to the OT (see Dt 22:28-29 but also Ex 22:16), texts to which *Ambrose also referred, *Apol. Dav.* 1,8,42 (ed. Hadot, SC 239, Paris 1977).

Other ecclesiastical canons punish the abductor and the consenting woman if she had made a promise of chastity: thus can. 26 (27) of the *Concilium Arausicanum* (“Council of *Orange”) (CCL 148, 85, from the year 441); can. 46 of the so-called *Concilium Arelatense II* (“Second Council of *Arles”) (ibid., 123, the years 442–506); can. 104 and some manuscripts of the so-called *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua* (“Ancient Statutes of the Church”) (ibid., 185, from ca. 475), which imposed excommunication. Especially important was can. 27 of the Council of *Chalcedon (451): in abduction for the purpose of marriage, the guilty and the accomplices are to be punished with excommunication if it pertains to the laity; deposition if it pertains to ecclesiastical officials.

In canon law, abduction is the kidnapping of a woman, including the violent trapping of a woman, for purposes of marriage. It was understood both as a crime—with the purpose of marrying a woman, or having her carnally, with or without her consent—and as a nullifying impediment to marriage.

L. Desanti, *Costantino, il ratto e il matrimonio riparatore*: SDHI 52 (1986) 195ff.; L. Desanti, *Giustiniano e il ratto*: Annali Univ. Ferrara Giur. 1 (1987) 183-201; F. Gorla, s.v. *Ratto*: Enciclopedia del diritto, 38, Milano 1987, 707-725; F. Botta, “*Per vim inferre*.” *Studi su “stuprum” violento e “raptus” nel diritto romano e bizantino*, Cagliari 2004.

T. SARDELLA

ABEL

I. Abel - II. Abel and Cain (iconography).

I. Abel. The NT writings allude both explicitly and implicitly to the story of Abel (Gen 4:1-16); Jesus himself mentions the righteous Abel, whose innocent blood was shed (Mt 23:35). It is also likely that the parable of the murderous vineyard workers (Mt

21:35-39) contains an allusion to the death of Abel. The similarity between Abel's blood that "cries out" to God and the interceding blood of Christ can be noted in the relation between type and antitype in the letter to the Hebrews (Heb 11:4; 12:24).

The figure of Abel offering *sacrifice is as important as that of him as victim of his brother's envy. Abel the shepherd, who sacrifices the firstborn of the flock to God, was considered by the Fathers to be the prefiguration of Christ the *shepherd (*De promiss. et praedic. Dei* I, 6, PL 51, 738). *Ambrose sees the pure sacrifice of Abel as an image of the *eucharistic sacrifice; the *lamb offered to God as the firstfruits of creatures became the archetype of the sacrifice of Christ (Ambr., *De inc. Dom. sacr.* I, 4 PL 16, 819). *Augustine developed this *typology, basing it upon Heb 12:24 (*Contr. Faustum* 12,9-10). The parallelism between the blood that "cries out" and the interceding blood is found in other Fathers also (*Greg. Naz., *Or.* 25,16; *John Chrys., *Adv. Iud.* 8,8). *Paulinus of Nola sees in Abel the figure of the suffering righteous one, i.e., of the suffering Christ in believers (*Ep.* 38,3). For *Cyril of Alexandria, Abel the shepherd is the image of Emmanuel: Abel as the innocent victim signifies the pure sacrifice of Christ, superior to that of the old law (*Glaphyra in Gen.* I, 1,3). In the writings of the Fathers he is also the prototype of the *martyr, of the persecuted righteous one, of the virtue of patience (Cypr., *Ep.* 56; *Exhort. mart.* 5; *De or. dom.* 24; *De bono pat.* 10; *Hom. Clem.* II, 16; Ambr., *Exhort. virg.* 6,36). During the *Arian crisis (4th c.), *Athanasius considered the figure of Abel as the martyr for orthodox doctrine (*De decr. Nyc. Syn.*: PG 25, 432). The Fathers frequently saw Abel as the archetype of the Christian who witnesses to the truth (John Chrys., *In Gen. hom.* 19,6); the firstfruits of justice (Theodor., *Quaest. in Gen.* 45); the type of the righteous, uncircumcised man offering sacrifice (Just., *Dial.* 19,3), whose sacrifice surpasses that of the Pharisees (Iren., *Adv. haer.* IV, 18,3); the example of the righteous one put to death (ibid., IV, 34,4; *Dem.* 17: SC 62, 57). The further development of this typology is found in Ambrose and Augustine. For the former, Cain signifies the Jewish people, while Abel signifies the pagan people converted to Christianity (*Cain et Abel* I, 2,3). For Augustine, Abel represents the city of God, whereas Cain is the image of the city of the devil (*Civ. Dei* XV, 1); thus Abel also becomes the figure of the church in the world as persecuted pilgrim—persecuted, but also consoled by God (*Civ. Dei* XV, 18,2; XVIII, 51,2). The prayer *Supra quae* of the Roman canon mentions the sacrifice of Abel, along with *Abraham and *Melchizedek.

DTC I, 29-35; TWNT I, 6-7; LTK³ 5, 1126-1127; L. Ruppert, *Genesis, Forschung zur Bibel* 70, Stuttgart- Würzburg 1992; A. Louth, *Genesis 1-11*, ACCS OT I, Downers Grove 2001 (ital. tr. M. Conti, *La Bibbia Commentata dai Padri* AT 1/1, Rome 2003).

L. VANYÓ

II. Abel and Cain (iconography). As sons of *Adam and Eve, Abel personifies the righteous one of the OT and the sacrifice of Christ, whereas Cain is the first representative of the moral disorder deriving from their parents' *sin. Abel is the suffering "righteous one," innocently killed by his envious brother, and thus a type of the innocent Christ (Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 4,18,3; Cyprian, *De domin. orat.* 24); his sacrifice is an image of the eucharistic sacrifice (Ambrose, *De incar.* 1,4). From the 4th c., they are normally represented on *sarcophagi offering their gifts to God (Gen 4:3-4): Abel, a shepherd and guardian of the flock, offers a lamb; Cain, an agricultural offering, the fruits of the earth: at least a sheaf of grain, occasionally a bunch of grapes (Rome, Museo Pio Crist. Vat., sarcophagus 149: middle third, 4th c.). In a sarcophagus at Fermo the sacrifice is offered to Christ-*Logos*, and on a fragment preserved in the garden of the Palazzo Colonna at Rome (first quarter, 4th c.), to the *Trinity. The only known example of *cemetery painting is that of cubicle B (second quarter, 4th c.) of the cemetery of Via D. Compagni, in which Abel and Cain are portrayed, with their characteristic attributes, alongside their sorrowful parents, who are seated on a rock. The two brothers also appear in the Pentateuch of Ashburnham (Paris, Bibl. Nat., fol. 6, 7th c.), in their usual attitude: Abel as guardian of the flock, Cain with a plow, intent on his work in the fields. The latter is also depicted in the same manuscript (Paris, Bibl. Nat., *nouv. acqu. lat.* 2334; 7th c.) in an attitude of despair: one of his seven sins, for which he will be condemned to the seventh generation. In a few scenes Cain is also depicted killing Abel, for example at St. Paul Outside the Walls at Rome, and in the miniatures of the Cotton Bible. Finally, Abel is portrayed by himself, in the act of sacrifice, in St. Vitale (middle 6th c.) and St. Apollinaris in Classe (7th c.) at Ravenna, beside the sacrifices of Melchizedek and Abraham, respectively.

L. De Bruyne - K. Rathe: EC 1, 65; F. Salvoni: EC 3, 302ff.; H. Aurenhammer: LCIK 1, 8-9; G. Henderson: LCI 1, 5-10; Id.: LCI 3, 471-474; Ws II, 229-230; P.H. Michel, *L'iconographie de Cain et Abel: CahCiv Médiévale* 1 (1958) 194-199; A. Ferrua, *Catacombe sconosciute. Una pinacoteca del IV secolo sotto la Via Latina*, Florence 1990; TIP 91-92.

G. SANTAGATA

ABELITES. *Augustine (*De haer.* 87) describes Abelites as a sect that he knew to be active in the countryside around Hippo but that became extinct in 428 with the conversion of its last followers to the Catholic Church. The distinguishing characteristic of the sect was the *virginity practiced by its members, who lived as couples, though with each couple adopting a boy and a girl who would in turn form another couple upon the death of their adoptive parents, so as then to adopt two more children. Their name, *Abelonii*, which Augustine believed to be of Punic origin, goes back to a Jewish and *gnostic tradition (with a *Manichean influence) according to which Abel lived as a virgin though he was married.

F. COCCHINI

ABERCIOUS (late 2nd c.), also Avircius. A late anonymous romanticized biography of Abercius, bishop of Hierapolis in *Phrygia during the reign of *Marcus Aurelius, was reported by Simeon Metaphrastes (AASS 22 Oct). Abercius was a great traveler, preaching the gospel and visiting the most illustrious churches of the time. After returning to the city, at age 72 he personally dictated a long inscription, coming to be identified with the person in the inscription discovered by W.M. Ramsay at Hieropolis, the city of Phrygia *Salutaris* (c. 170–200). It is, at least thus far, the most illustrious of the Christian epigraphs, which in 1888 John Baptist de Rossi called *epigramma dignitate et pretio inter Christiana facile princeps*. A marble sepulchral altar has the epigraph on the front face and two relief laurel crowns on the two sides. Two large fragments of the text are preserved, including the left side face, found by Ramsay in 1883 and given to Leo XIII in 1892 on the occasion of his priestly jubilee. First displayed in the Lateran Museum, they are today in the Vatican Museum. The text can be reconstructed almost entirely, thanks to another epigraph from the same place that partially reproduces it and to a series of manuscript codices in the *Life* of Abercius, which pass the famous inscription down to us in its entirety, though not without uncertainties. In the 19th and 20th c. its Christian character was at times unsuccessfully denied; today it is recognized by all. The epigraph consists of the epitaph of Abercius, bishop of Hierapolis, which he had engraved: 22 hexameters, written in a noble style and sprinkled with arcanelly ambiguous expressions, according to the taste of the time. Its contents are in brief: vv. 1-2: Abercius thought of his own tomb while still living; 3-6: he is a disciple of Christ, the Good Shepherd;

7-9: he went to Rome at Christ's command; 10-11: he traveled through Syria and beyond the Euphrates; 12-16: everywhere he had the apostle Paul as a spiritual companion and was assisted by the faith and the nourishment of the Eucharist; 17-18: he himself, at 72 years of age, dictated his epitaph; 19: he invites his companions in faith to pray for him; 22-20: he threatens any violators of the tomb.

The importance of the text can easily be seen, including as it does, at such an early date, the main tenets of the Christian faith. Of particular interest are vv. 7-9: (“ . . . who [Christ] sent me to Rome to contemplate a kingdom and to see a queen in golden vestments and golden clothes. And he saw there a people with a splendid seal”). This is an arcane double-reference: the kingdom is that of Marcus Aurelius, but also that of Christ; the queen is Rome and, at the same time, the church; the seal is that of the empire, but also of faith. Essentially Abercius considers Rome the center of the universal church, an idea shared by many others in the *Asia Minor of that period. Also very important are vv. 12-16, which have preserved for us an example (perhaps the first known to us) of the acrostic Ἰχθύς, as well as a profession of faith: Christ, the mystical Fish (Ἰχθύς), concealed in the Eucharist under the species of bread and wine, is the son of God (πέγέ—“Fount”) and of *Mary (Παρθένος ἀγνή—“chaste Virgin”)—a strong allusion to the twofold nature, divine and human, of the Redeemer.

J.B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*, pt. II, London 1891, I, 498-499 (see 2nd ed. revised by M. Holmes, Leicester 1990); Quasten, *Patrologia*, I, 154-155; RAC 1, 12-42; M. Guarducci, *Epigraphia graeca*, Rome 1978, IV, 337-386; Id., *L'iscrizione di Abercio e Roma*: *AncSoc* 2 (1971) 174-203; Id., *L'iscrizione di Abercio*: *AncSoc* 4 (1973) 271-279; B. McNeil, *Avircius and the Song of Songs*: *VChr* 31 (1977) 23-24; W. Wischmeyer, *Die Aberkiosinschrift*: *JbAC* 23 (1980) 22-47; G. Kretschmar, *Erfahrung der Kirche. Beobachtungen zur Aberkios-Inschrift*, in *Communio sanctorum. Mélanges offerts à Jean-Jacques von Allmen*, Geneva 1982, 73-85; M. Violante, *Il casto pastore dell'iscrizione di Abercio e il Pastore di Erma*: *Orpheus* 8 (1987) 355-365; D. Bundy, *The Life of Abercius: Its Significance for Early Syriac Christianity*: *Second Century* 7 (1989-1990); LACL 2; I. Ramelli, *L'epitaffio di Abercio*: *Aevum* 74 (2000) 191-206.

M. GUARDUCCI

ABGAR. Initially reported by *Eusebius (*HE* I, 13-22; II, 6-7), the name Abgar indicates several kings of the *Osroene kingdom (northwestern Mesopotamia), whose capital was *Edessa (today Urfa in Turkey). One king ordinarily referred to is Abgar V, called Ukama (AD 9-46), to whom a legend attributes the evangelization of the city. Afflicted by a terrible illness, Abgar is said to have written the

Lord Jesus a letter asking to be healed; Jesus then left orders to Thomas to send the disciple Addeo (Thaddaeus) after his ascension to heal the king and spread the faith in his city. The purpose of this legend was to trace the beginning of the faith in Edessa back to Jesus himself and to the apostolic era, thus attributing apostolic dignity to its church. The sources of the story, which comes to us through the Greek text of Eusebius (which provides a translation done by him from the original Syriac in the Edessan archives, included in the list of apocryphal texts of the **Decretum Gelasianum*), are (1) two letters between Jesus and Abgar and (2) the account of the arrival of the apostle in the city, the healing of the king and the evangelization of the country—events that Eusebius places in the years 27–28. The accounts are certainly apocryphal, probably from the early 3rd c., at the time of King Abgar IX the Great (179–216)—according to other sources Abgar VIII (**Chronicle of Edessa*)—who, with significant reservation, is considered the first Christian king of Edessa. His conversion is to have taken place after meeting Pope *Eleutherus. The accounts pertaining to Abgar V were clearly written after 174, given the citations of the gospel based on the **Diatessaron of *Tatian*, composed during these years. Another later trace has reached us from the pilgrimage of *Egeria (XIX, 2) who, having visited Edessa (381–384), recounts the stories told her by bishop Eulogius (379–387) about the Christianization of the city, namely, the above-mentioned letters between Abgar and the Lord, and miracles that protected the city from various Persian invasions.

There are thus two Abgars linked to Christian history, the difficulties in establishing their historicity notwithstanding. A third source, chronologically, for this obscure personality is the *Doctrine of Addai (Thaddaeus)*, another apostolic *apocrypha, more extensive than the previous two (*Addai). Composed ca. 400 and also preserved in Syriac, it includes correspondence between Abgar and Jesus, and other items on the evangelization of Edessa. This source relates how Annanias, messenger of Abgar and hypothetical author of the letter dictated by the Lord, was not only supposed to have been the archivist of Edessa but also to have received a self-portrait from the Lord and taken it to Abgar—an image now venerated in the Byzantine tradition as “the holy face of Edessa.” Another apocryphal writing bearing Abgar’s name is also based on *The Acts of Thaddaeus*. Other texts and authors of the primitive church make reference to Abgar, among them: *Julius Africanus, *Evagrius of Pontus, *John of Damascus, *Origen and *Augustine. The last two, de-

nying that Jesus would have left anything written, consider these traditions apocryphal.

Today the text of the letters is preserved in Syriac, Armenian, Greek, Latin, Georgian, Arabic, Palaeoslavonic, Coptic and Celtic. The correspondence between Jesus and Abgar, though considered apocryphal and legendary, remains a living tradition of the Syrian (during Lent), Armenian (Nestorian), Malabarese and *Coptic churches.

CANT 88-89, 229; BHG 1702-1704 (I, c, d, e); BHO 9, 24, 1141; Eusebius, HE 1,13-22; Egeria, *Peregrinatio ad loca sancta* XIX, 1-19; J.A. Fabricius, *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, Hamburg 1703; G. Philips, *The Doctrine of Addai the Apostle, Now First Edited in a Complete Form in the Original Syriac with an English Translation and Notes*, London 1876; R.A. Lipsius, *Acta Apostolorum Apocryphorum*, Leipzig 1891, I, 273-283; M. Erbetta, *Gli Apocrifi del Nuovo Testamento*, Casale Monferrato 1975, III, 77-78; J. Rhodes, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, Oxford 1980; J.W. Drijvers, *Addai und Mani. Christentum und Manichäismus im dritten Jahrhundert in Syrien*: OCA 221, Rome 1983; J. Tixeront, *Les origines de l'Église d'Édesse et la légende d'Abgar*, Paris 1988; W. Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen II*, Tübingen 1989, 436-437; L. Moraldi, *Gli Apocrifi del Nuovo Testamento*, Casale Monferrato 1994, II, 1657-1688; A. Luther, *Die ersten Könige von Osrhoene*: Klio (1991); A. Desreumaux, *Histoire du roi Abgar et de Jésus*, Turnhout 1993; J. González, *La leyenda del Rey Abgar y Jesús, orígenes del Cristianismo en Edesa*, Madrid 1995; I. Ramelli, *Edessa e i romani fra Augusto e i Severi: aspetti del Regno di Abgar V e di Abgar IX*: Aevum 73 (1999) 107-143; C. and F. Jullien, *Les Actes de Mar Mari. Lapôte de la Mésopotamie*, Turnhout 2001; A. Markovic, *Prelude to Constantine*, Frankfurt 2004.

J.F. RUBIO NAVARRO

ABIBUS DOLICHENUS (ABIBUS [HABIB] of DOLICHE) (d. after 435). Bishop of Doliche (Euphratean *Syria), suffragan of *Alexander of Hierapolis. Abibus was deposed from his episcopal see between 434 and 435 for remaining faithful to *Nestorius even after the peace accord between *John of Antioch and *Cyril of Alexandria (433). Signatory and addressee of many collective letters in the *Collectio Casinensis*, Abibus wrote to Alexander of Hierapolis and other bishops of Euphratean Syria about his removal, specifying that he had never sent “libels of refusal” to the *patriarch of *Antioch, and declaring himself ready to continue to fight for the true faith.

CPG 6388, 6408, 6418, 6438, 6445, 6460; *Collectio Casinensis*, ACO I, 4, 149, 157-159, 162-163; PG 84, 732-733, 743-746, 749-751; *Patrologia V*, 185.

P. MARONE

ABITINA, Martyrs of. In the city of Abitina in 304, modern Chouhoud el-Bâtin (Beschaouch), a group

of 50 Christians was arrested for continuing to meet regularly to celebrate the *liturgy in opposition to the orders of the first edict of *Diocletian. The future martyrs underwent a first interrogation in their city's forum; all having confessed their faith, they were then transferred in chains to *Carthage to be judged by the proconsul *Anulinus. Upon their arrival there they were interrogated again, individually or in small groups, and cruelly tortured, but none denied their first confession. The experiences of the martyrs of Abitina are narrated in a single text, the *Passio Saturnini, Dativi, Felicis, Ampelii et sociorum* (BHL 7492; ed. Franchi de' Cavalieri), which, though not easily interpreted or placed chronologically, is very important for the history of *Donatism and, more generally, of African Christianity. The narrative section recording the events of the arrest and trial (chs. 2-18) is framed between a prologue (ch. 1) and an epilogue (chs. 19-23), in which the behavior of traitors and those in communion with them is stigmatized. In the famous *Appendix*, a strict opposition is expressed between an association of reprobates, the *conuenticula traditorum*, infected by every kind of wickedness (the bishop *Mensurius and his deacon *Caecilian are, among other things, accused of having allowed the martyrs to starve to death in prison, keeping the usual food from being brought them), and a church of the pure who kept themselves free from any sort of defilement, thus earning for themselves (for the first and only time in the surviving Donatist literature) the honorific title of *ecclesia martyrum* (see *Passio Dativi* 22; ed. Franchi de' Cavalieri, 69).

Scholars have long investigated the composite character of this text, its evident polemical quality and the possibilities regarding its date. Monceaux (III, 144) hypothesized that a prologue and an appendix had been added to an original ancient document. These were composed by two different Donatist authors (the author of the *Appendix* being the more violent of the two), both active while *Caecilian, bishop of Carthage, was still alive, and probably during the so-called *persecutio Cecilianensis* (316-321). P. Franchi de' Cavalieri (3-46), however, considering the *Passio* to be a unitary whole, claimed it to be the work of a single author active in the 5th c. He based this conclusion primarily on the fact that in the *Collatio* of 411 (see *Capitula* III, 433, 445-447; Aug., *Brev. cols.* III, 17,32), a text concerning the martyrs of Abitina was presented and read that only with difficulty could have been the same as the one we have. The different positions of the two authors have been taken up again at times, and still today scholars seem equally divided among those who,

sustaining a "high" chronology, see the document at the origin of Donatist polemical argumentation (Brisson, Tilley, Saxer, Scorza Barcellona) and those who place the document (at least in its present form) much later, seeing in it the final outcome of a centuries-old debate (Maier, Lazewsky, Zocca).

If it is true, as it seems, that Augustine preached on the occasion of their feast (Lambot), it seems that the martyrs whose experiences are narrated in the document were in any case celebrated equally by both *Catholics and Donatists.

Monceaux III, 140-147; DHGE I, 129-130; Delehaye OC 84-85; Id., *Contributions récentes à l'hagiographie de Rome et d'Afrique*: AB 54 (1936) 293-296; BS 11,682-4; P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, *La Passio dei martiri abitinesi*, in Id., *Note Agiografiche* 8 (Studi e Testi, 65), Vatican City 1935, 3-71; C. Lambot: RB 50 (1938) 10-15; 67 (1949) 264-265; J.P. Brisson, *Autonomisme et christianisme dans l'Afrique romaine de Septime Sèvre à l'invasion arabe*, Paris 1958, 127-129; D. Raynal, *Culte des martyrs et propagande donatiste à Uppena*: Cahiers de Tunisie 21 (1973) 33-72; A. Beschtaouch, *Sur la localisation d'Abitina, la cité des célèbres martyrs africains*: CRAI (1976) 255-267; Maier I, 57-92; S. Lancel, *Actes de la conférence de Carthage en 411*, SC 194, Paris 1972, 95-96; C. Lepelley, *Les Cités de l'Afrique Romaine au Bas-Empire*, II: *Notices d'histoire municipale*, Paris 1981 (on Abitina 56-62); Y. Duval, *Loca Sanctorum Africae. Le culte des martyrs en Afrique du IV^e au VI^e siècle*, Rome 1982, II, 684-691; Saxer, *Afrique latine*, 60-64; Fontaine, *Littérature narrative sur le martyre et l'ascèse*, 584-585; W. Lazewsky, *Il martirio come lotta spirituale con il diavolo nella letteratura agiografica donatista*, Rome 1983, 14-19; M.A. Tilley, *Donatist Martyr Stories: The Church in Conflict in Roman North Africa* (Translated Texts for Historians 24), Liverpool 1996, 25-49; M.A. Tilley, *The Bible in Christian North Africa: The Donatist World*, Minneapolis 1997, 58; F. Scorza Barcellona, *Lagiografia donatista*, in M. Marin - C. Moreschini (eds.), *L'Africa cristiana. Storia, religione, letteratura*, Brescia 2002, 140-145; E. Zocca, *Dai "santi" al "Santo": un percorso storico linguistico intorno all'idea di santità (Africa Romana secs. II-V)*, Rome 2003, 102-106, 185-187; F. Dolbeau, *La "Passion" des martyrs d'Abitina: remarques sur l'établissement du texte*: AB 121 (2003) 273-276.

E. ZOCCA

ABLABIUS (d. 338). Prefect of the Eastern praetorium. Originally from *Crete and of humble origins, he held high offices within the imperial administration and in 315 was probably in *Italy as the *vicarius Africae*. *Constantine sent him a law, charging him with its promulgation throughout Italy (CTH XI, 27,1). From 326 to 337 Ablabius fulfilled the position of prefect of the Eastern praetorium. In 331 he was consul together with Annius Bassus. In 333 Constantine directed an imperial rescript to him (C. *Sirm.* I) regarding the *episcopale iudicium*. Under *Constantius II he was deposed from the office of praetorian prefect and retired to his possessions in *Bithynia, where he was killed in 338. *Constantine chose

Ablabius's daughter Olympia as the companion of his son *Constans; at the death of the latter, she was given in marriage to Arsaces, king of *Armenia.

PLRE, I, Ablabius 4, 3-4; DNP 1, Ablabius 1, 25; Storia del Cristianesimo 2, 217, 220, 267, 273.

G. PILARA

ABORTION. In the thought of the Fathers, the issue of abortion is set in the context of the proposal of a fundamental choice of civilization made by Yahweh to his people: "Today I call heaven and earth as witnesses against you: I have placed before you life and death, a blessing and a curse. Choose life, that you and your descendants may live, to love Yahweh your God, to listen to his voice and to adhere to him: so that he may be your life and your length of days in the land that Yahweh swore to your fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac and to Jacob" (Dt 30:19-20). The earliest writings, the **Didache* and the *Letter of *Barnabas*, following the schema of the two ways, life and death, teaching that the one who walks in the way of life does not kill and, consequently, will not take the life of a fetus by abortion (*phthora*) (*Didache*, 15-17; *Barn.*, *Ep* 19,5). The act of abortion, in addition to being a grave lack of love for one's neighbor, is above all an offense against the law of God, precisely because it destroys one of his creatures. The crime of abortion sets on the way of death not only the woman who has an abortion but also the one who performs it, leading both along the road to eternal punishment (*Barn.*, *Ep* 20).

The *apologists constructed their arguments specifically on the absolute respect of Christians for the life of the unborn. "How can we kill a person," asks *Athenagoras, "we who judge women who use abortive measures to be murderers, and consider them accountable to God for their abortions?" (see Athenag., *Legatio* 35). *Minucius Felix contrasts *pagans and Christians even more sharply in matters of life and death: "There are even women who, drinking certain medications, destroy the beginning of the future person in their womb, committing murder before giving birth. . . . We, on the other hand, are not permitted to take part in murder or to hear it spoken of" (Minuc., *Octavius* 30,2). *Tertullian also, in his concise and at times violent style, accuses the gentiles of practicing abortion: "You have little appetite for human viscera, because you devour them, alive and full-grown; rarely do you lick human blood, because you pour out the blood of the future; rarely do you eat infants, because you sweep away the whole child in advance" (see Tertull., *Ad natio-*

nes I, 15,8). Before the divine commandment—*non occides*—there is no difference between taking the life of one already born and destroying the life of one not yet born: one who will be a person later is already one now (see Tertull., *Apologeticum* 9,8; *De exhort. cast.* 12,5).

For all the Greek and Latin fathers, abortion is morally a sin and legally a crime, because it involves the unjust killing of a human life that is, from its beginning, under the protection of the providential love of God. In his comment on Ex 23:19: "Do not boil a kid in its mother's milk," *Clement of Alexandria concludes that abortion, the killing of a living fetus, turns the mother's womb into a tomb of death instead of a cradle of life as the Creator wills (see Clem. Alex., *Strom.* 2,18). *Basil of Caesarea leaves no doubt on the matter, considering the distinction between an ensouled and an unensouled fetus a subtlety of philosophers and learned pagans, unacceptable by Christians. As the violent killing of a human life-in-becoming, abortion is always homicide (see Basil., *Ep.* 188,2). Basil judges both those who provide abortive drugs and those who use them to be likewise murderers (*ibid.*). *Ambrose of Milan considers abortion such a horrendous crime that it must be revoked as soon as the mind becomes aware of it (see Ambr., *Ep.* 60,1). For *Augustine, the cruel lust of some women reaches the point of destroying the fetus in their own womb when drugs to induce sterility have failed; they choose to destroy their offspring before it is born (see Aug., *De nuptiis et concupiscentia*, I, 15,17). At the time of the Fathers the moral judgment on abortion was thus strongly negative, because it is homicide. On the juridical question of the crime in the case of abortion prior to animation, appeal to Augustine's judgment is certainly false (see Honings, 79-83).

J.H. Waszink: RAC I, 55-60; M. Roberti, "Nasciturus pro iam nato habetur" nelle fonti cristiane primitive, in *Cristianesimo e Diritto Rom.*, Milan 1935, 65-84; E. Nardi, *Procurato aborto nel mondo greco romano*, Milan 1971; B. Sesboüé, *Les chrétiens devant l'avortement d'après le témoignage des Pères de l'Église: Etudes* 139 (1973) 262-283; B. Honings, *Aborto e animazione umana*, Rome 1973; P. Sardi, *Laborto ieri e oggi*, Brescia 1975; E. Eyben, *Family Planning in Graeco-Roman Antiquity: AnSoc* 11/12 (1980/81) 1-81; D.A. Dombrowski, *St. Augustine, Abortion, and libido crudelis: Journal of the History of Ideas* 49 (1988) 151-156; M.J. Gorman, *Abortion and the Early Church: Christian, Jewish and Pagan Attitudes in the Greco-Roman World*, Downers Grove, IL 1982; J.M. Riddle, *Contraception and Abortion from the Ancient World to the Renaissance*, Cambridge, MA 1992; A. Lindemann, "Do not let a woman destroy the unborn babe in her belly." *Abortion in Ancient Judaism and Christianity: Studia Theologica. Scandinavian Journal of Theology* 49 (1995) 253-271.

B. HONINGS

ABRAHAM

I. In the Fathers - II. Iconography.

I. In the Fathers. Recalled various times in the NT as among the most eminent personalities of the old covenant, Abraham becomes a typologically rich figure in the early Christian tradition, because of the many interpretations suggested by his whole story. He has in *semetipsum quadruplicem figuram*: of the OT, of the Jewish people, of Christ and of the pagans (Greg. of Elvira, *Tract.* 2). Because of Abraham's faith, *Irenaeus presents him as the "prophet of our faith" (*Adv. haer.* IV, 21,1, based on Gal 3:5-9), as well as calling him one who knows God through the Word, instructed in the prophetic vision of the coming of the Son of God (Iren., *Adv. haer.* IV, 7,1; V, 1,2). *Origen, along the lines of *Philo, interprets his person as a symbol of philosophical ethics (*CCt. prol.* 3,1-16) and his entire experience as an *allegory of spiritual progress (*Comm. Jo.* XX, 67-74); he is numbered among the prophets based on Gen 20:7 (*Hom. Hier.* 1,5). The departure from Canaan for the Promised Land is read as an example of the way of *purification necessary for the faithful to reach God (Ambr., *Abr.* 1,2,4; Jerome, *Ep.* 71,2,2; 108,31,1-2; 125,20,5; Greg. Nyss., *Eun.* XII; *Scala Parad.* III); his obedience in following God's invitation (Gen 12:1) is an exemplar of the monastic vocation (Jerome, *Ep.* 31,1; Euch., *De laude eremi* 1); his abandonment of land, relations and his father's house is a sign of the three renunciations to which monks are called (Cassian, *Conl.* III, 6); being led out "of the land of the Chaldeans" (Gen 15:7) is an invitation to abandon astrological beliefs and horoscopes (Orig., *Hom. Hier. lat.* I, 4); the two-fold symbolism of sand and stars, by which he is promised an inheritance (Gen 14:16; 15:5), is indicative of the Hebrew people and of Christians (Justin, *Dial.* 120,2); the three animals he sacrifices to celebrate the covenant (Gen 15:9) symbolize the three epochs into which human history is divided: before the law, under the law and under grace (Quodvultdeus, *Liber de prom. et praed.* 12,18); the three men who appear at Mamre (Gen 18:1ff.) are the Logos with two angels (Justin, *Dial.* 56; Origen, *Hom.* IV,1 in *Gen.*; Hilary, *Trin.* 4,25), or the Logos with Moses and Elijah (Greg. of Elvira, *Tract.* 2,11), or finally the Trinity (Aug., *Trin.* 2,11,20); the age of his body is interpreted as "mortification" (Orig., *Com. Rom.* IV, 7), thus the lack of offspring is due to the practice of continence (Did., *Gen.* 16,1-2); his obedience to God in sacrificing Isaac shows his faith (Clem. Rom., *1Clem.* X, 1-6), which is faith in the resurrection (Orig., *Hom. VIII in Gen.*; Cyr. of Jer., *Catech.* V, 5; August., *Civ.* XVI, 32). In sacrificing Isaac, and on the

basis of Rom 8:32, Abraham becomes a type of God the Father (Orig., *Hom. VIII in Gen.*; Aug., *Civ.* XVI, 32) and shows himself an example of patience (Cyp., *De patient.* X) and manifests his virtues: wisdom, in believing in God; justice, in rendering to God what he had received; fortitude, in obeying; temperance, in the way he carried out the command (Ambr., *De offic.* I, 119). His prayer of intercession (Gen 18:16-33) is an example of humility (Cyp., *De paenit.* II, 4); his smile when God promised him a son (Gen 17:17) is a sign of wonder, not unbelief (Ambr., *De Abr.* I, 4,32; II, 11,86; August., *Civ.* XVI, 26), as was that of Sarah, to whom he is compared (Prud., *Dittochaeon* IV); his wedding with Keturah shows his ceaseless zeal for doctrine (Orig., *Hom. XI in Gen.*), as well as constituting a proof for *heretics of the possibility of contracting a second marriage (Aug., *Civ.* XVI, 34). At Mamre, Abraham saw an image of the passion of Christ (Chrom., *Serm.* 15), while he himself is depicted in the royal official of Jn 4:46-53 (Orig., *Com. Jo.* XIII, 57-58). The sons that God will raise up to him from stones (Lk 3:8) are the pagans and all those who have a heart of stone (Orig., *Hom. Hier.* 4,5). Finally, the expression "bosom of Abraham" (Lk 16:22) indicates the intermediate region between heaven and hell, where the righteous are consoled as they await resurrection (Tertull., *Adv. Marc.* IV, 34,10), or the "refuge of eternal peace" (Ambr., *De Obitu Valent.* 72), or the *secretum* where the rich receives the poor (August., *Serm.* 14,4-5), or the hand itself of the poor person for someone who gives him the fruits of his fast (Peter Chrys., *Serm.* 8); those who rest in it are the righteous who "participate in the things revealed to him" (Orig., *Com. Jo.* XXXII, 266), believers like him, who was himself a believer (Orig., *Fr. XIV in Jo.*).

DSP 1,110; RAC 1, 18-28; TRE 1, 372-382 (with ample bibl.); B. Botte, *Abraham dans la liturgie*, Cahiers Sion 5 (1951) 88-95; J. Daniélou, *Abraham dans la tradition chrétienne*: Cahiers Sion 5 (1951) 160-179; J.R. Lord, *Abraham: A Study in Ancient Jewish and Christian Interpretation*, Duke 1968; BS 1, 89-112; R. Tremblay, *La signification d'Abraham dans l'œuvre d'Irénée de Lyon*: Augustinianum 18 (1978) 435-457; F. Cocchini, *Rom 4,19 nell'interpretazione origeniana*: Augustinianum 22 (1982) 251-262; E. Norelli, *La sabbia e le stelle. Gen 13,16; 15,5; 22,17 nell'esegesi cristiana dei primi tre secoli*: Augustinianum 22 (1982) 285-312; M. Simonetti, *La tipologia di Abramo in Gregorio di Elvira*: Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Cagliari VI (1987) 141-153; *The Sacrifice of Isaac in the Three Monotheistic Religions*, F. Manns (ed.), Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Analecta 41, Jerusalem 1995; F. Cocchini, *Omelia VIII: la prova di Abramo, in Mosè ci viene letto nella Chiesa. Lettura delle Omelie di Origene sulla Genesi*, E. dal Covolo - L. Perrone (eds.), Biblioteca di Scienze Religiose 153, Rome 1999, 81-108; M. Dulay, *Le sacrifice d'Abraham*, in Id., *Le berger divin, in "Des forêts de symboles." L'initiation chrétienne et la Bible (I^{er}-VI^e siècle)*, Paris 2001, 141-155.

F. COCCHINI

II. Iconography. 1. With the exception of the fresco representation in the private hypogeum of Via D. Compagni (4th c.) (Ferrua, *Le pitture*, pl. 24,2) and the mosaic of the basilica of St. Maria Maggiore (5th c.), both of which illustrate the vision of Mamre (Gen 18:1-7), and the miniature Genesis cycle of Vienna (6th c.), early Christian art gives particular precedence in Abraham's story to the episode of the sacrifice of Isaac (Gen 22:1-19), even from the earliest times when the formulation of the scene was not yet fixed. This precedence is due to the fact that the biblical event fits perfectly—along with those of *Noah saved from the *flood, the three young Jews saved from the flames (see Fiery Furnace) and *Daniel among the lions—into those themes that are paradigmatic of the divine work of salvation (Testini, *Tardoantico*, 121).

2. The sacrifice was painted on a wall of the so-called chapel of the sacraments A3 (Wp 41,2) at St. Callistus (1st half 3rd c.), in a somewhat rare formulation, which depicts—beyond the almost fixed elements of the bundle of sticks, the ram and a tree—Abraham and Isaac in an attitude of prayer, expressing the moment of deliverance that has already occurred. This is repeated in an arcosolium of the anonymous cemetery of the Via Anapo (4th c.) (Wp 146,2). In a painting of the synagogue of *Dura Europos (ca. 244), only the upper part of the human figures is shown; a tent with a person in it is painted in the background, perhaps symbolizing the promise of God to Abraham to multiply his descendents. This peculiarity also appears in a different form, on glass, in the Vatican Library (Garrucci, *Vetri ornati*, 9), and on a funeral relief at Cagliari (Giordani, *Di un singolare rilievo*, 170-171). A painting of the so-called Greek Chapel in the Catacombs of Priscilla (middle 3rd c.; Nestori, 39, n. 27) depicts Abraham about to deliver the mortal blow; in the same cemetery, in the so-called cubicle of the *velatio* (late 3rd c.) (Wp 78,2), Isaac, with a bundle of sticks on his shoulders, approaches his father, who is already at the place of offering. In the course of the 4th c. the scene is enriched with other elements (such as the hand of God, the angel and the servant with the ass), though Abraham's dramatic gesture and Isaac's carrying the wood are given pride of place. A fresco in the church of Sts. Marcellinus and Peter (Wp 108,1) is among the 30 or so known examples, showing Abraham leading his son, who carries a bundle of sticks, to the altar.

3. Unlike cemetery painting, early Christian *sculpture represents the sacrifice according to a virtually fixed schema, showing Abraham as he is about to impart the mortal blow with a *gladium* to his son,

who kneels with his hands tied behind his back; the action moves from left to right. While respecting the fixity and brevity of the schema, the scene is frequently enriched by the compositional elements already mentioned in frescoes, with a preference for the altar on which a fire has already been lit, the divine hand and the angel. The episode is sculpted according to the simplest iconographic plan on the oldest *sarcophagus bearing the scene, that of the late 3rd-c. Le Mas d'Aire (Landes) (Ws 65,5). During the tetrarchy, sculptors also introduced Isaac carrying the bundle of sticks—without arriving, however, at the “compromise” solution, typical of frescoes, that combines the two moments in a single scene; the two moments are sometimes depicted separately but juxtaposed in a single context, as often happens with *Jonah. Following this schema are the sarcophagi of St. Marcellus at *Capua (Ws 9,2) and St. Maria dell'Anima at *Rome (Ws 183,1), and a fragmentary one of St. Callistus (Ws 183,5). From the era of *Constantine the schema, by now definitively fixed, is repeated in more than 90 instances, only rarely changing a detail: sometimes Isaac is on the altar—as, for example, on sarcophagi in the Vatican (ca. 340) (Ws 180,2) and in Madrid (380-390) (Ws 11,1)—other times Abraham's clothing varies: either a long tunic and a pallium or a scanty exomis, emphasizing respectively the sacred aspect—see among others the sarcophagus of St. *Ambrose at Milan (late 4th c.) (Ws 189)—and the realistic aspect, e.g., on a sarcophagus in the Vatican (middle 4th c.) (Rep. 42).

4. Besides the painting in the synagogue of Dura Europos, frescoes and *mosaics of the scene decorated church buildings, known to us for the most part from the descriptions of the ancient *auctores*. An Ambrosian *titulus*, prepared for the painting of a church, reads as follows: *Offert progeniem sanctis altariibus Habram / patris ei est pietas caro non parcere nato* (Abraham offers his son on the holy altars / the piety of a father did not spare the flesh of the one born to him); Augustine recalls having seen the sacrifice of Abraham *tot locis pictum* (*Contra Faust.* XXII, 73), and *Paulinus of Nola, in describing the cycle of frescoes he had commissioned for the local martyr Felix, recalls among the others the episode of Isaac carrying the bundle of wood: *Hostia viva deo, tamquam puer offerat Isaac: / et mea ligna gerens sequar almum sub cruce patrem* (May I be offered as a living sacrifice like the boy Isaac / and carrying my own wood follow my kindly Father beneath the cross) (*Carm.* XXVII, 616-617). The work attributed to *Elpidius Rusticus (1st half 6th c.) enumerates the stories of the OT and NT through *tituli*, mentioning this episode (PL 62, 543). The sacrifice also occurs in

three frescoes of the necropolis of El Bagawât, in Upper Egypt (4th c.), in one at Saqqarah, and in a mosaic of the synagogue of Beth Alpha in Palestine (6th c.) (Speyart Van Woerden, *The Iconography*, 227ff.). So as not to ignore the so-called minor arts, mention should be made of five pyxes, some decorated glass, gems (ibid., 228) and lamps (Ramieri, *Gruppo di lucerne*, 312), on which the scene is depicted according to the traditional schema.

K. Wessel, RBK 1, 11-22; E. Lucchesi, LCI I, 20-35; R. Garrucci, *Vetri ornati di figure in oro trovati nei cimiteri cristiani primitivi di Roma, raccolti e spiegati*, Rome 1859, 9; J. Wilpert, *Das Opfer Abrahams in der altchristlichen Kunst*: RQA 1 (1887) 216ff.; W. Van Hartel - F. Wickoff, *Die Wiener Genesis*, Vienna 1895; A.M. Smith, *The Iconography of the Sacrifice of Isaac in Early Christian Art*: American Journal of Archaeology 26 (1922) 159ff.; C. Cecchelli, *I mosaici della basilica di S. Maria Maggiore*, Rome 1956; E. Marec, *Deux interprétations du sacrifice d'Abraham*: Libyca 7 (1959) 159ff.; A. Ferrua, *Le pitture della nuova catacomba della via Latina*, Vatican City 1960; I. Speyart Van Woerden, *The Iconography of the Sacrifice of Abraham*: VChr 15 (1961) 274ff.; H.J. Geischer, *Heidnische Parallelen zum frühchristlichen Bild des Isaak Opfers*: JbAC 10 (1967) 127ff.; P. Testini, *Tardoantico e paleocristiano*, in *Atti del Conv. Tardoantico e Altomedioevo*, Rome 1968, 121ff.; L. Pani Ermini, *Frammenti di sarcofagi cristiani inediti*: RivAC 51 (1975) 130-132; R. Giordani, *Di un singolare rilievo funerario cristiano del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Cagliari*, RivAC 52 (1976) 161ff.; A.M. Ramieri, *Gruppo di lucerne tardoantiche da S. Prisca*, RivAC 54 (1978) 312ff.; B. Mazzei, TIP, 92-95.

F. BISCONTI

ABRAHAM bar Dashandad (3rd c.). Nicknamed "the paralytic," monastic author of the second half of the 8th c., born in the region of Beth Sayyade. Abraham taught *exegesis, *liturgy and *Aristotelian *philosophy at the school of Bashosh in Adiabene, founded by *Babai of Gbilta. Among his disciples were the future patriarchs *Timothy I (to whom he taught Greek and Arabic, among other things) and Isho' bar Nun. He retired to the monastery of Mar Gabriel at Mossul, where he died. A letter of his is preserved, addressed to his younger brother John and followed by a brief collection of spiritual counsels, which show the influence of Simeon d-Taybutteh. A commentary on the works of Mark the Hermit, only partially preserved, is attributed to him; it could also be the work of *Babai the Great. Bar Bahlul (10th c.) mentions Abraham in the preface of his great Syriac lexicon, citing him six times; this would seem to indicate that he had done philological studies.

Baumstark, 214; BBKL 18,2-4; BO III/1, 194; DHGE 1, 164; Duval, 380; Patrologia V, 483; E.A.W. Budge, *Thomas of Margra, Book of Governors*, III, London 1893, 4; A. Mingana, *Early Christian Mystics* (Woodbrooke Studies VII), Cambridge 1934,

248-255 (tr. 186-197); H. Ludin Jansen, *The Mysticism of Abraham bar Dashandad*: Numen 4 (1957) 114-126; Krüger, *Überlieferung und Verfasser der beiden Memre über das "geistige Gesetz" des Mönches Markus*: OS 6 (1957) 297-299; Krüger, *Zum theologischen Menschenbild Babais d. Gr. nach seinem noch unveröffentlichten Kommentar zu den beiden Sermones des Mönches Markus über das "geistige Gesetz"*: OC 44 (1960) 46-74.

K. DEN BIESEN

ABRAHAM bar Lipeh (7th c.). Liturgical author, originally from Qatar, he wrote a brief commentary on the canonical office, which seems to be a summary of the commentary on the liturgy of Gabriele Qatraya. Abraham was an exegete at the School of *Seleucia-Ctesiphon, where *Timothy the Great (780-823) was one of his disciples.

Baumstark, 201; BO III/1, 196-197; P. Bedjan, *Liber Superiorum seu historia monastica auctore Thoma, episcopo Margensi*, Paris-Leipzig 1901, 148; R.H. Connolly, *Anonymi auctoris Expositio officiorum, Georgio Arbelensi vulgo adscripta, II. Accedit Abrahæ bar Lipeh Interpretatio officiorum* (CSCO 29 and 32), Paris 1915, 219-254; J. Mateos, *Lelya-Sapra. Essai d'interprétation des matines chaldéennes* (OCA 156), Rome 1959 (see index).

K. DEN BIESEN

ABRAHAM of Albatanzi. *Armenian *catholicos from 607 to 610/615 (?). During his primacy the *schism between the Armenian and *Georgian churches took place; the latter, headed by catholicos Kyrion, was reconciled with the see of *Constantinople, accepting the *christological formula of the Council of *Chalcedon. The entire event is related by the Armenian historian Ukhtanes (10th c.) in his *Tripartite History*.

DHGE 1, 163; EC 1, 123; M. Brosset, *Deux historiens arméniens, Kirakos de Gantzac, XIIF c., Histoire d'Arménie; Oukhtanès d'Ourha, X^e c., Histoire en trois parties. II*, St. Petersburg 1871; Z. Arzoumanian, *Bishop Ukhtanes of Sebastia, History of Armenia, II: History of the Severance of the Georgians from the Armenians*, Ft. Lauderdale 1988.

S.J. VOICU

ABRAHAM of Beth Rabban (6th c.). Third director of the *school of *Nisibis, Abraham directed various courses (which seem to have had nearly a thousand students) from ca. 520-540, when the school was closed because of external accusations. The Syro-*Nestorian *Chronicle of Arbela*, 78 and 80 K., remembers him as the master of the school of Nisibis, "a diligent man, zealous worker, learned in the knowledge of the fear of God and researcher of the divine

writings, friend of mar Narsai” i.e., *Narsai the Great, master at *Edessa and later at Nisibis. Abraham was Narsai’s nephew and succeeded him in the direction of the school of Nisibis: for this reason he was called “of Beth Rabban” (“of the house of our Master”) and was influenced by Narsai’s doctrines. Abraham “directed the school with great diligence,” and under his direction “the lecturers and masters of the school met, and in this meeting special canons were established for the prefect,” the canons of the school of Nisibis. Abraham sent *Paul as a lecturer to Hnana, bishop of Arbela (510–544), to found a school for youths in *Adiabene to protect them from heretics and Eucharites (*Messalians). The Nestorian *Barhadbshabba also speaks favorably of Abraham in the *Cause of the Founding of the Schools*. Abraham should not be confused with the bishop of Beth Rabban, nor is he connected with the homonymous monastery founded by Mshiha-zeka, author of an *Ecclesiastical History* from which the cited *Chronicle* is drawn. His works, mostly of OT exegesis, of which some are identified in his commentary by the single word “Rabban,” have been lost. Seeking to preserve contacts with the West, Abraham sent Paul, later bishop of Nisibis, to *Constantinople for the talks of 533. These contacts, however, led to the closure of the school of Nisibis, due to the anti-Greek positions of the *Sassanid king *Chosroes. This closure closely followed that of the school of *Athens, decreed by *Justinian in 529; from that school some philosophers, among them *Damascius and Simplicius, left for Persia, invited by Chosroes. They soon returned (Agazia, *Historiarum libri V*, B 30–31), establishing themselves at Harran and founding the pagan “school of the Greeks” next to the Nisibis Nestorian Christian “school of the Persians.” The activity of the school of Nisibis continued in part at *Seleucia-Ctesiphon, thanks to the most famous professor of the school, mar *Aba. One can get an idea of Abraham’s teaching from *Junilius’s work *De partibus divinae legis libri duo* (PL 68, 15–42), which translates a more extensive work of Paul, a student of the school of Nisibis, whose teaching appears to be dominated by Aristotle’s categories, as Teixidor also showed. At the court of Chosroes, Paul wrote a treatise in Syriac on *Aristotelian logic, part of which he translated literally (British Museum, MS 14, 660, ed. Land: “The Text That Paul the Persian Composed on the Logical Treatise of the Philosopher Aristotle, for the King Chosroes”). Through Junilius, the school influenced *Cassiodorus and other late Western works.

J.P.N. Land, *Anecdota Syriaca*, IV, Paris 1875, 1–32, with Lat. tr.; Barhadbshabba, *Patrologia Orientalis*, IV, 1908, ed. A. Scher, 319–97; A. Vööbus, *History of the School of Nisibis*, Louvain 1965; CSCO 266, Subs, 26, 134–210; S.P. Brock, *A Syriac Collection of*

Prophecies of the Pagan Philosophers, OCP 14 (1983) 203–246; Agathias, *Historiarum libri V*, ed. R. Keydel, Berlin 1967, 79–82; P. Kawerau, *Die Chronik von Arbela*, Lovanii 1985; CSCO Syri 468 t. 200, 2: 99 n. 8; 105 n. 2; M. Tardieu, *Sabiens coraniques et Sabiens de Harran*, JAS 274 (1986) 1–44: 27; Id., *Les Paysages religieux*, Louvain-Paris 1990, 131; J. Frishman, *The Ways and Means of the Divine Economy: An Edition, Translation and Study of Six Biblical Homilies by Narsai*, Leiden 1992; J. Teixidor, *Bardesane d’Édesse: la première philosophie syriacque*, Paris 1992, 126–131; T.J. Thumpeparampil, *Mar Narsai and His Liturgical Homilies*, ChrOr 13 (1992) 123–34; S.P. Brock, *The Syriac Commentary Tradition, in Glosses and Commentaries on Aristotelian Logical Texts*, ed. C. Burnett, Warburg 1993, 3–18; H.J.W. Drijvers, *Nisibis*, in TRE, XXIV, Berlin 1994, 573–576; M. Tamcke, *Paulos von Nisibis, Bischof der Apostolischen Kirche des Osten*, BBKL VII, 37–38; G. Reinink, *Edessa Grew Dim and Nisibis Shone Forth: The School of Nisibis at the Transition of the Sixth-Seventh Century*, in *Centres of Learning*, eds. H.J.W. Drijvers - A.A. Macdonald, Leiden 1995, 77–89; I. Arickappalil, *The Pneumatological Vision of Mar Narsai*, Harp 8–9 (1995–96) 195–208; T. Hägg - Ph. Rousseau, eds., *Greek Biography and Panegyric in Late Antiquity*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 2000, ch. 11 (G. Bowersock, on Rabbula); J. Frishman, *Narsai’s Christology*, 208–303; I. Ramelli, *Il Chronicon di Arbela*, Madrid 2002, ‘Ilu Anejos VIII, 70–72.

I. RAMELLI

ABRAHAM of Beyt Qiduna (or Qidunaya) (4th c.?). Some old *Syriac manuscripts, going back to the 5th–6th c., have transmitted the *Acta* of Abraham. A critical revision in Greek has been known for some time, inserted in the hagiographical work of Simeon Metaphrastes and attributed to *Ephrem the Syrian (whose authorship is no longer sustained, though he probably wrote some hymns in honor of Abraham). The location of the events narrated in the *Acta* has led to a wide range of interpretations. If Abraham is an actual historical figure and lived in the 4th c., the pages perpetuating his memory seem strongly influenced by a variety of *topoi* abundant in the literary genre of popular hagiography. Born of well-to-do parents, Abraham was promised in marriage as a child and forced to marry the woman chosen. Seven days after the wedding Abraham secretly left his wife, like *Alexius, and took refuge in an isolated cabin at a distance from the city, living there for over ten years in great austerity. At that time the local bishop, who despite everything knew Abraham, at least by reputation, after vain efforts to evangelize the suburb of Beyt Qiduna (near *Edessa; another link with one version of the story of Alexius), sent Abraham there and ordained him priest. The zealous apostle at first employed radical measures (the destruction of the idols of the *pagan *temple), then through patience and perseverance succeeded in gaining the trust of the people, who ultimately embraced the Christian faith. Having completed the

religious education of the neophytes, Abraham returned to the hermit's life, only to leave it once again to rescue his niece Maria, who had wandered into a dissolute life (another frequent theme in stories about holy hermits). In a *Catena Patrum* (8th c.) Abraham's death is listed as 14 December; for this reason Rabban Sliba also commemorates Abraham on this date in his calendar. Abraham is commemorated on different dates in the calendars of the *Jacobite church. The Synaxarion of *Constantinople includes it on 29 October, the Roman Martyrology on 16 March.

DHGE 1, 175-177; BS 1, 113-115. On the hymns of Ephrem: J.P. Botha, *Textual Strategy in a Fourth-Century Syriac Hymn on the Life of the Ascetic Abraham of Kidun*: Acta Patristica et Byzantina 8 (1997) 42-52.

J.-M. SAUGET

ABRAHAM of Clermont (d. ca. 477). Born beside the Euphrates during the persecution of Christians by the Persian kings, Abraham left his homeland for Egypt, where he was captured by bandits. Escaping to the West, he became a hermit in Alvernia. Put in charge of the monastery of Saint-Cirgues, near Clermont, he built the church there, which he dedicated to St. Cyrus, patron of Aboukir. He had the gift of miracles. *Sidonius Apollinaris wrote his epitaph; *Gregory of Tours, his biography. His feast is celebrated at Clermont on 15 June.

Sidonius Apoll., *Ep.* 7,17; Gregory of Tours, *Vitae PP.* 3; DHGE I, 161; BS I, 119-120.

V. SAXER

ABRAHAM of Ephesus (Abrahamios) (6th c.). *Archbishop of *Ephesus ca. second half of the 6th c. Probably identical with the *abbot of the same name mentioned by *John Moschus (PG 87, 2956), founder of two *monasteries, one at *Constantinople and another at *Jerusalem. Two of his homilies survive: *In annuntiationem* and *In festivitatem occursus*. The first contains a polemical allusion against *Origen (which dates it at 530-553) that is particularly important for the history of *liturgy, in that it constitutes the earliest evidence of moving the celebration of the Annunciation from before Christmas to March 25.

CPG II, § 7380-81; M. Jugie, *Homélies Mariales Byzantines*: PO 16, 3 (1921) 429-454 [5-30]; on the convent of the Abrahamites at Constantinople: DHGE 1, 189-190.

S.J. VOICU

ABRAHAM of Harran (Mesopotamia), bishop (4th-5th c.). Abraham is known mainly through the chapter on him by *Theodoret of Cyrrhus in his *Historia Religiosa* (History of Syrian monks). Abraham was born in the diocese of Cyrrhus ca. middle 4th c. Whether he was born into a Christian family or converted to Christianity on his own is unknown. He spent a significant portion of his life as a hermit in the Chalcedian *desert; at one point his austerities so reduced his health that his recovery was considered a miracle.

Afterward he went with some companions to the region of *Emesa (modern Homs) to preach the gospel. The pagans there, resistant at first, were ultimately won over by his charity and the austerity of his life. Since they wanted no one else besides him as priest, he was ordained. After three years Abraham tried to return to the desert but was quickly recalled, this time for good, and placed at the head of the diocese of Harran. His reputation for holiness was such that the emperor *Theodosius II called him to *Constantinople to meet him personally. Abraham died there ca. 422. His body was removed from Constantinople to Harran. The Synaxarion of Constantinople commemorates Abraham on 14 February; he is not mentioned in the Syrian calendars.

Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Historia religiosa* 17, SC 257, 32-51; DHGE 1, 166-167; BS 1, 115.

J.-M. SAUGET

ABRAHAM of Kashkar (al-Wasit), *hegumen (d. 586). After a period of studies at the *Nisibis *school and a trip in *Egypt in the desert of *Scete and on Mt. *Sinai, Abraham at first lived as an *anchorite, then founded, ca. 570, a famous *monastery on *Mt. Izla, near Nisibis, also known as "the Great Convent."

He was significant not only for the reform of Syro-Eastern monasticism but also for its spread: he was responsible for dozens of new foundations, founded by his disciples. In fact, after the activity of *Barsauma of Nisibis and the reforms of the *catholicos Aqaq, Persian *monasticism had regressed significantly both quantitatively and qualitatively, leaving an opening for *Messalian propaganda. Abraham brought a more structured monasticism, anti-Messalian and strongly anchored to both the institutions and theology of the Persian church. The rules he composed have survived, though they were later modified with a stronger doctrinal accent by his first successor, Dadisho'. The reform of the monastic *eskima* may be attributable to him, consisting in the introduction of the monastic crown (*subbara*) in-

stead of the baldness typical of monophysite monks.

General presentations: Chabot 52–53; Duval 168, 169, 212; Baumstark 130; Ortiz de Urbina 135; J. Labourt, *Christianisme perse*, 315–318; J. Habbi, *Abramo di Kaškar, riformatore e fondatore*, in *Enciclopedia dei Santi. Le Chiese orientali*, Rome 1998, I, 26–28.

Editions and translations of the rule: J.B. Chabot, *Regulae monasticae ab Abrahamo et Dadjesus conditae*, Rome 1898; *Abramo di Kaškar, Giovanni il solitario. Nell'umiltà e nella mitezza. Regole monastiche*, St. Chialà (ed.), *Lettera a Esichio*, M. Nin (ed.) (Testi dei Padri della Chiesa, 45), Magnano 2000.

A. CAMPLANI

ABRAHAM of Nathpar (d. 570/575). Probably born early 6th c., of Christian parents, in the village of Beth-Nathpar, *Adiabene. His ancestors were martyrs under Shapor II (309–379) by the work of the latter's brother, Ardashir II (379–383). While still young Abraham dedicated himself to the ascetical life, living in a cave not far from his village. According to the biographical tradition, three years later he went on pilgrimage to *Jerusalem and visited the *Egyptian monks. After this (presumed) journey, he returned to his cave, where he remained for about thirty years, during which time he formed some disciples in the *monastic life: Isaiah, Elisha and Job the Persian. A vision led him to leave both solitude and disciples, moving into the northern mountains, in the region of Beth-Dasen, for a mission of evangelization. His preaching encountered difficulties, but some miracles by him converted the local population, who accepted his God and were baptized. It is said his missionary zeal compelled him toward Azerbaijan, where he died, very probably between 570 and 575; his tomb became a place of healing. His body, being contested, was stolen by his countrymen during the night and solemnly carried into his village church, where it was buried. After some years Job the Persian, having turned the master's cave into a *monastery, moved the body there. The Assyrian Church of the East commemorates him on the fifth Friday after the feast of the Dedication as the founder of the *monasteries in the region of Adiabene. A breviary of the Syro-Western church celebrates him on 13 March.

The texts containing the more or less legendary information on Abraham's life associate the master with his disciple Job. The first biography known to us, now lost, was written ca. 660 by Sabrisho' (called Rostam) of Hrem, a village near Abraham's native village of Beth-Nethpra. The other significant sources on his relationship with *Nestorian monasticism merit close study: some of the information of Išo'dnah (*Liber de castitate*) on Abraham has been

poorly interpreted by some scholars, making him a disciple of *Abraham of Kashkar (501–586); but the same early sources, such as the *Liber Turris* and the *Storia Nestoriana*, involve Abraham, in a forced way, in the monastic reform effected by Abraham of Kashkar.

Abraham's literary activity spread very rapidly through the monastic world: at the end of the 6th c. his disciple Job translated his discourses (*mēmre*), together with the rules of Abraham of Kashkar, into *Pahlavi; that combination, as already noted at the biographical level, is an indication of the esteem given the two Abrahams on the part of nascent Nestorian monasticism. It acknowledged Abraham of Kashkar as the reformer of monastic discipline, and Abraham of Nethpra as the creator of a spirituality destined to be extraordinarily enriched a few decades after his death through its encounter with the Evagrian texts. In the decades following the mid-7th c., another of his countrymen, Henanisho, introduced at the end of the *Book of Paradise*—a highly successful work throughout the monasteries of the East—"questions," "examples" and "discourses" chosen from the writings of Abraham. The manuscript tradition of Abraham's work is somewhat problematic, containing spurious or doubtful texts; those that can be called authentic are often anonymous or attributed to some other author. In fact, while the Syro-Eastern manuscript tradition has no significant errors, the Syro-Western adopted the writings of Abraham, slightly changing the surname (Neptrāyā); by the end of the 8th c., a part was circulated under the name of *Evagrius.

The monastic writings of Abraham appear to be rather archaic, containing the most typical characteristics of the oldest Syrian ascetic literature, particularly *Aphraates and *Liber Graduum*. Marked by a certain moderation and reliance on the Bible, his texts are full of both explicit biblical citations and allusions.

R.-M. Tonneau, *Abraham de Natpar: L'Orient Syrien* 2 (1957) 337–350; *Patrologia* V, 482; A. Penna, *Abramo di Nathpar: Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 32 (1957) 415–431; F. del Rio Sanchez, *Abraham de Natpar: StudMon* 42 (2000) 53–63; C.C. Chahine, *Le témoignage de Thomas de Margā sur les extraits d'Abraham Nethprāiā dans le livre du Paradis de 'Nānišo': Augustinianum* 40 (2000) 439–460; C. Chahine, *Abraham de Bēth-Nethprā*, Tesi Augustinianum, Rome 2004.

C.C. CHAHINE

ABRAHAM of Pbou (d. ca. 580). Superior general of the *Pachomian *monasteries under *Justinian (in particular, resident in the principal convent of

Pbou, now Faw al-Qibli, in the Thebaid). Abraham would not adhere to the confession of *Chalcedon. Summoned to *Constantinople ca. 560, he refused to submit to the emperor's will and was therefore forced to leave his *monastery. He went to the monastery of *Shenoute (region of Athrib) to copy the Shenoutian Rule, founding a new monastic community at Tberkjet (Ar. Farshut), not far from Pbou, according to that rule.

P. Van Cauwenbergh, *Étude sur les moines d'Égypte*, Paris 1914; A. Campagnano, *Monaci egiziani fra V e VI secolo*: VetChr 15 (1978) 223-246; Coptic Encyclopedia 1,11-12.

T. ORLANDI

ABRAHAM the Confessor (d. after 463). *Armenian priest, participated in the Synod of Artashat (450–451), which rejected the order of the Persian king Yazdegerd II to the Armenians to embrace Zoroastrianism. He was imprisoned in *Persia and tortured, then exiled in *Mesopotamia with his companion, the priest Coren, who died there (461). Freed in 463, Abraham returned to Armenia. According to the continuator of *Elisaeus, he died in a hermitage; according to *Lazarus of Pharp he was consecrated bishop of Bznunik (northwest of the lake of Van). The date of his death is unknown. The Armenian church commemorates him with Coren on 20 December.

Elisaeus, *La guerra armena e di Vardan*, crit. ed. of E. Ter Minassian, Erevan 1957, 125-153, Fr. tr. by V. Langlois, in *Coll. des hist. anc. et mod. de l'Arménie*, II, Paris 1869, 225-247, Ital. tr. by G. Cappelletti, *Eliseo, storico armeno del quinto secolo*, Venice 1840; L. Parpeci, *Storia dell'Armenia*, Venice 1933, 45-56, Fr. tr. Langlois, *ibid.*, 311-318; DHGE I, 167-168; BS I, 124. On the historical value of the account of Elisaeus, see DHGE XV, 232-235. On Abraham as a hagiographer, see L.A. Ter-Petrosian, "Les martyrs orientaux" d'Abraham le confesseur. *Tradition textuelle* (in Armenian), Erevan 1976; M. van Esbroeck, *Abraham le Confesseur* (Ve s.), *traducteur des Passions des martyrs perses*: AB (1977) 169-179.

D. STIERNON

ABRASAX (Ἀβραάξ, transcribed by the Latin authors as *Abraxas*). Name of the "head of the heavens" or supreme deity in the *gnosticism of *Basilides. *Irenaeus (*Adv. haer.* I, 24,3-7) shows that this name was considered to be equivalent, by the numerical value of its letters, to the combination of the 365 heavens that in Basilides's doctrine constitute the divine world formed by a process of emanation from the ungenerated Father. The name Abrasax appears in the formularies of the Greek Magic Papyri (GMP) and on many late gems and intaglios, often together

with the name IAO, to characterize various types of figures, usually human with animal heads (rooster, lion, etc.). By extension, the name "Abraxas gems" is given to so-called gnostic gems bearing various symbols and inscriptions, to which magical purposes and meaning are attributed.

A. Dieterich, *Abraxas. Studien zur Religionsgeschichte des spätern Altertums*, Leipzig 1891; H. Leclercq, s.v. *Abraxas*: DACL I, 127-155. A useful bibliographical list of studies on magic, an object of renewed scientific attention in recent decades, P. Brillet - A. Moreau (eds.), *La magie. Bibliographie générale*, Montpellier 2000. The work is a complement, as Volume IV, of the publication of the Acts of an international Colloquium on the theme: A. Moreau - J.-C. Turpin (eds.), *La magie. Actes du Colloque International de Montpellier 25-27 mars 1999*: I, *Du monde babylonien au monde hellénistique*; II, *La magie dans l'antiquité grecque tardive. Les mythes*; III, *Du monde latin au monde contemporain*, Montpellier 2000. In particular, for the significance of magic gems, see A. Mastrotinque (ed.), *Atti dell'Incontro di Studio Gemme gnostiche e cultura ellenistica*, Verona, 22-23 October 1999, Bologna 2002.

G. SFAMENI GASPARRO

ABUNDIUS (or Abundantius) of Como (d. 489). Bishop of Como, elected certainly prior to 450. His biographer is not pre-Carolingian, but makes use of older sources (BHL 15), which believed him to be from *Thessalonica, though no contemporary document confirms this assertion; nor is it certain that he was well-versed in both Latin and Greek (see Mouterde 46), though Pope *Leo the Great did send him to *Constantinople as an ambassador to *Theodosius II and *Marcian to deliver the **Tomus ad Flavianum* (Leo the Great, *Ep.* 69-71); he returned in 451. That same year he added his signature to his metropolitan's synodal letter to the pope. Abundius received another letter from *Theodoret of Cyrhus (PG 83, 1492). His feast is 2 April; 489 is traditionally considered the year of his death, though there is no certain proof. He is buried in St. Abundius at Como, if the epitaph there is his (CIL 5, 5402). Another Abundius, a martyr under *Diocletian, was venerated at Rome (W. De Grüneisen, *Sainte Marie Antique*, Rome 1911, 503-504; A. Amore, *I martiri di Roma*, Rome 1975, 16-17).

Verzeichniss 49; PCBE 2, 1, 5-7; BS 1, 23-32; F. Lanzoni, *Le diocesi d'Italia*, Faenza 1927, 978-979; P. Mouterde, *Fragments d'actes d'un synode tenu à Constantinople en 450*: Mélanges de l'Université St. Joseph Beyrouth 15 (1930) 35-50; J.-C. Picard, *Le souvenir des évêques*, Rome 1988, 280-283, 597-598.

V. SAXER - S. HEID

ACACIANS (οἱ περὶ Ἀκάκιον). Name given to those Eastern bishops who, in the events of 358–360, took a