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978-1-107-43792-0 - Palladii Dialogvs De Vita S. Joannis Chrysostomi

Edited with Revised Text Introduction . Notes . Indices and Appendices

by P. R. Coleman-Norton

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EDITED  
WITH REVISED TEXT  
INTRODUCTION · NOTES · INDICES  
AND APPENDICES

By

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University of Oxford.*

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## PREFACE

For assistance in the preparation of this edition I wish to express my gratitude to Professor C. H. Turner, of Magdalen College, for his constant help and guidance: to Dom Chrysostom Baur, O.S.B., of the Benedictine Abbey at Weingarten, for providing me with notices of certain MSS. of the *Dialogus*: to the Right Reverend E. C. Butler, O.S.B., late Abbot of Downside, for sending me his *brochure* on the authorship of the *Dialogus* and his articles on Palladius in the *Journal of Theological Studies*: to the Reverend Herbert Moore, of Nantwich, for the use of a proof-copy of his Translation of the *Dialogus*: to Dr H. T. Weiskotten, late Fellow in Classics in Princeton University, for several suggestions.

I have also to thank Mr W. D. F. Hughes, of Princeton University and Hertford College, for revising my manuscript.

P · R · N ·

*Christ Church, Oxford*  
*Candlemas, 1923*

This work was originally written as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of Oxford.

The delay in presenting it in printed form is partially explained by the time required for the consideration of some alterations kindly suggested by my examiners.

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## INTRODUCTION

## SOURCES FOR THE LIFE OF S. CHRYSOSTOM

I. Our best authority for the Life of S. John Chrysostom (c. 347–407), especially for the period during which he was Archbishop of Constantinople (398–404), is the *Dialogus de Vita S. Joannis Chrysostomi* written c. 408 by his friend Palladius, Bishop of Helenopolis.<sup>1</sup>

Less important and slightly earlier in date than the *Dialogus* is the *Laudatio in S. Joannem Chrysostomum* ascribed to S. Martyrius, Bishop of Antioch.<sup>2</sup> This panegyric is a passionate appeal to S. Chrysostom's adherents, urging them to remain faithful to their exiled bishop by not communicating with his successor in the see of Constantinople.<sup>3</sup>

A third source of great value for the closing years of S. Chrysostom's episcopate is the *Vita S. Porphyrii Episcopi Gazensis* composed by Mark, Deacon of Gaza,<sup>4</sup> who accompanied S. Porphyry on a mission to Constantinople. The details of their sojourn in the capital and their intercourse with S. Chrysostom serve to illuminate the most critical period of S. Chrysostom's life.<sup>5</sup>

The importance and influence of S. Chrysostom did not escape the attention of the ecclesiastical historians of the

<sup>1</sup> So Venables, in *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, s.v. "Palladius (7)," IV. 175 (London, 1887); Preuschen, in Herzog's *Realencyklopaedie fuer protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, s.v. "Chrysostomus," IV. 102 (3rd ed. Leipzig, 1898); C. Baur, *S. Jean Chrysostome et ses œuvres dans l'histoire littéraire*, p. 38 (Louvain and Paris, 1907); F. Aengenvoort, *Der Dialog des Palladius ueber das Leben des hl. Johannes Chrysostomus*, p. 3 (Gaesdonck, 1913); Von Christ, *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*, II. ii. 1217, n. 12 (5th ed., Munich, 1913); E. C. Butler, in *Journal of Theological Studies*, Vol. XXII. No. 86, pp. 138, 139 (Oxford, Jan. 1921); H. Moore, *The Dialogue of Palladius concerning the Life of Chrysostom*, p. vii (Translations of Christian Literature: Greek Texts; S.P.C.K., London, 1921). The *Dialogus* was first edited by Emericus Bigotius (Bigot) at Paris in 1680. It was last reprinted by Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, XLVII. 5–82 (Paris, 1863).

<sup>2</sup> S. Martyrius Antiochenus, *op. cit.* ed. by Migne, P.G. XLVII. xli–lii.

<sup>3</sup> Baur, *op. cit.* pp. 39, 40.

<sup>4</sup> Marcus Diaconus, *op. cit.* ed. by Migne, P.G. LXV. 1211–1254 (Paris, 1864).

<sup>5</sup> Baur, *op. cit.* p. 40.

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fifth century. Both Socrates<sup>1</sup> and Sozomen<sup>2</sup> devoted a book of their *Histories* to S. Chrysostom, while Theodoret<sup>3</sup> followed their example on a smaller scale.<sup>4</sup>

Until the time of Photius (c. 820–891), the few extant authentic *data* concerning S. Chrysostom are derived from Zosimus,<sup>5</sup> a pagan historian of the second half of the fifth century, whose contribution is as malign as it is brief,<sup>6</sup> from an anonymous historical fragment of the same period,<sup>7</sup> and from incidental notices scattered among the writings of Church Fathers more or less contemporary with S. Chrysostom.<sup>8</sup>

Photius has preserved the *Acts* of the notorious *Synodus ad Quercum*,<sup>9</sup> before which S. Chrysostom was summoned in 403 to answer to charges preferred against him by his enemies.<sup>10</sup> The authenticity of these *Acts* rests solely upon the authority of Photius.<sup>11</sup>

Outside these main sources many references to his life occur in S. Chrysostom's writings,<sup>12</sup> chiefly in the *Epistles*.<sup>13</sup>

II. From the *Dialogus* of Palladius has been derived a substantial part of the *Vitae* of S. Chrysostom composed by later biographers and hagiographers. The earliest of these *Scriptores Rerum Chrysostomi* (to use Savile's phrase<sup>14</sup>) is George,

<sup>1</sup> Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, VI. 2–23, VII. 25, 45.

<sup>2</sup> Sozomenus, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, VIII. 2–28.

<sup>3</sup> Theodoretus, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, V. 27–37, 40.

<sup>4</sup> Baur (*op. cit.* pp. 40–43) discusses their value as sources.

<sup>5</sup> Zosimus, *Historia Nova*, V. 18, 23, 24.

<sup>6</sup> Baur, *op. cit.* p. 43.

<sup>7</sup> *Fragmentum historicum Anonymi*, ed. by Migne, *P.G.* LXXXV. 1812–1816 (Paris, 1864). *V.* Baur, *op. cit.* pp. 43, 44.

<sup>8</sup> SS. Augustine, John Cassian, Pope Celestine I, Cyril of Alexandria, Pope Innocent I, Isidore of Pelusium, Jerome, Pope Leo I, Nilus, Prosper; Synesius of Cyrene, and others. For the scurrilous invective of Theophilus of Alexandria against S. Chrysostom, *v. infra*, p. xx, n. 3.

<sup>9</sup> Photius, *Bibliotheca*, *Cod.* LIX.

<sup>10</sup> 47. 16–48. 2, 49. 3–28. References of this character, where no other indication is given, are to the present edition.

<sup>11</sup> Baur, *op. cit.* p. 43.

<sup>12</sup> S. Joannes Chrysostomus, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Migne, *P.G.* XLVII–LXIV (Paris, 1859–1863).

<sup>13</sup> Migne, in *P.G.* LII. 529–748 (Paris, 1862), has collected 240 genuine letters, nearly all of which date from S. Chrysostom's second exile (404–407).

<sup>14</sup> *Admonitio de Scriptoribus Rerum Chrysostomi, et praesertim Georgio caeterisque Byzantinis recentioribus caute legendis*. From the *Catalogus* of Vol. VIII of his

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## LIFE OF S. CHRYSOSTOM

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Archbishop of Alexandria (c. 620–c. 630), who copied from the *Dialogus* in a wholesale fashion.<sup>1</sup> His *Vita* of S. Chrysostom is a confused collection of legends, anecdotes, and miracles, which tend to obscure the historical Chrysostom, whose true story can be discerned in the underlying authentic accounts incorporated from his own writings<sup>2</sup> and from those of Palladius,<sup>3</sup> Socrates,<sup>4</sup> Sozomen,<sup>4</sup> and Theodoret.<sup>4</sup> Photius wrote a *résumé* of George's *Vita*<sup>5</sup> and anticipated modern critics by noting that it is necessary for the reader to distinguish between history and legend in the *Vita*.<sup>6</sup>

Theodore, Bishop of Trimitus (*flor.* c. 680), produced a *Vita* of S. Chrysostom<sup>7</sup> founded upon Palladius<sup>8</sup> and George.<sup>9</sup> His work abounds in contradictions and errors, in addition to gratuitous assertions and statements (which Theodore appears to have made *de suo*<sup>10</sup>)—with the result that little of value is added to our received knowledge of S. Chrysostom.

*editio princeps* of *Chrysostomi Opera Omnia* (Eton, 1612), it is evident that Savile intended to print the *Admonitio* in the *Appendix* to that volume; but it was first published by Cave in *Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Historia Literaria*, I. 273–278, 449 (London, 1688). The *Admonitio* is also accessible in Migne, *P.G.* XLVII. xxv–xl, in an abridged form.

Georgius Alexandrinus, *Vita S. Chrysostomi*, ed. by Savile, *op. cit.* VIII. 157–265. Page after page of the *Vita* is lifted bodily from the *Dialogus*, which circumstance renders the *Vita* very valuable for the textual criticism of the *Dialogus*. The character of George's *Vita* is considered at length *infra* in APPENDIX II.

<sup>2</sup> Baur, *op. cit.* pp. 45, 46.

<sup>3</sup> Georgius Alexandrinus, *op. cit.* VIII. 158. 25–32.

<sup>4</sup> Savile, *op. cit.* VIII. *App.* 941, 942. Of these Baur mentions only Theodoret (*op. cit.* p. 45).

<sup>5</sup> *Bibl. Cod.* xcvi.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> Theodoros Trimituntinus, *Vita et Exsiliium S. Joannis Chrysostomi*, ed. by Migne, *P.G.* XLVII. li–lxxxviii.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* col. lv.

<sup>9</sup> Baur (*op. cit.* pp. 45, 46) gives Theodore as one of George's sources, declaring that George's *Vita* must not be attributed to that George who was Archbishop of Alexandria from c. 620 to c. 630. He is alone in this view. After a careful examination of the passage which he submits as evidence of George's use of Theodore, I have been led to conclude that the relation between the two biographers is exactly the reverse: that Theodore knew and used George's work. *Cf.* Theodore, *op. cit.* col. lx, c. 10 with George, *op. cit.* p. 210. 37–211. 23; lxiii, c. 12 *ad init.* with 211. 15–17; lxxvi, c. 24 *ad fin.* with 219. 39–41; lxxix, lxxx, cc. 26, 27 with 248. 25–249. 31; lxxxiii, lxxxiv, c. 30 with 250. 7–30; lxxxiv, lxxxvii, lxxxviii, c. 32 *ad init. et ad med.* with 251. 8, 9, 22–26.

<sup>10</sup> Baur, *op. cit.* pp. 44, 45.

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The later *Vitae* of S. Chrysostom are modelled upon George's *Vita*, and are of no importance as sources for S. Chrysostom's life. Among these later biographies are reckoned the *Laudatio S. Joannis Chrysostomi* written by Leo VI (886–911),<sup>1</sup> an anonymous *Vita*<sup>2</sup> composed in the latter half of the tenth century,<sup>3</sup> and the *Vita S. Joannis Chrysostomi* by Symeon Metaphrastes (c. 950–c. 1000).<sup>4</sup> In these *Vitae* the tendencies marked in George are carefully cherished and developed to the point of extravagance.<sup>5</sup>

III. Besides the above-mentioned sources there exists a mass of material more or less closely related to the question of the Sources for S. Chrysostom's Life. Dom Baur, in his sympathetic study of S. Chrysostom, has collected the references to this miscellaneous *corpus* consisting chiefly of Chronicle-Notices, Panegyrics,<sup>6</sup> Sermons, and Poems concerning S. Chrysostom.<sup>7</sup>

The most useful modern biography of S. Chrysostom is Stephens' *Saint John Chrysostom, his Life and Times* (3rd ed., London, 1883). Farrar's *Gathering Clouds* (London, 1896) presents an excellent picture of S. Chrysostom at Antioch and Constantinople. The accounts of S. Chrysostom's Life in the various Encyclopaedias must be read with caution. Of these the article by Venables in *D.C.B.* I. 518–535 (London, 1900) is the most instructive and helpful.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Leo Emperor, *op. cit.* ed. by Migne, *P.G.* CVII. 228–292 (Paris, 1863).

<sup>2</sup> Auctor Incertus, *Vita S. Joannis Chrysostomi*, ed. by Savile, *op. cit.* VIII. 293–371.

<sup>3</sup> So Savile, *op. cit.* VIII. *App.* 963, 964.

<sup>4</sup> Symeon Metaphrastes, *op. cit.* ed. by Migne, *P.G.* CXIV. 1045–1209 (Paris, 1864).

<sup>5</sup> Savile was the first to note the dependence of these biographers upon George (*op. cit.* VIII. *App.* 943, 944). *V.* also Baur, *op. cit.* pp. 46–48.

<sup>6</sup> Savile (*op. cit.* VIII. *App.* 943, 944) declined to print the Panegyrics composed by S. John Damascene (*ob. c.* 754), Michael II (820–829), Philotheus (*ob.* 1376), and Matthew the Camariot (*ob.* 1453).

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 48–55.

<sup>8</sup> For a bibliography (complete to 1907) of the biographical works on S. Chrysostom, *v.* Baur, *op. cit.* pp. 223–257.

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## LIFE OF PALLADIUS

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## LIFE OF PALLADIUS

I. With the exception of a few biographical details contained in references to Palladius by his contemporaries, our knowledge of the Life of Palladius is derived from two of his own writings, the *Dialogus* and the *Historia Lausiaca*,<sup>1</sup> of which the latter is the more prolific source.<sup>2</sup>

Palladius was born in Galatia<sup>3</sup> in 363 or 364.<sup>4</sup> Of his family we know only that about 394 Palladius heard that his father was still alive and that his brother and sister were living under monastic vows.<sup>5</sup> From the *Dialogus* we learn that his brother, whose name was Brisso, received the episcopal dignity, and that he turned to agricultural pursuits after S. Chrysostom was sent into exile.<sup>6</sup>

In his twenty-third year Palladius dedicated himself to the monastic life,<sup>7</sup> and took up his abode on the Mt of Olives, where for three years he lived in the company of Innocent, an ascetic.<sup>8</sup> To this period of the life of Palladius may be assigned his sojourn with a certain Elpidius who dwelt in a cave near Jericho and about whom was gathered a community of zealous disciples.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> E. C. Butler, *The Lausiaca History of Palladius: I. Prolegomena* (Cambridge, 1898), II. *Introduction, Text, and Notes* (Cambridge, 1904).

<sup>2</sup> An examination of the evidence for the chronology and the events of the life of Palladius which Dom Butler has painstakingly collected in his edition of the *Historia Lausiaca* demands an acceptance of his conclusions (which has been done by the great majority of critics) exhibited on pp. 237-247 of the Second Part of his work. A consideration of the life of Palladius will also be found on pp. 2, 3, 173-178, 179-183, 293-297 of the First Part of Dom Butler's edition; but some of his views expressed therein are later corrected in II. 237-247, which section presents his final judgment.

Even if the Palladian authorship of the *Epistola de Indicis Gentibus et de Bragmanibus* (v. *infra*, OTHER WRITINGS OF PALLADIUS II) be accepted, the only information about Palladius' life it contains is that Palladius made a journey to India at a date which cannot be definitely ascertained.

<sup>3</sup> *Historia Lausiaca*, II. 102. 7-11; 245. All references to the *Historia Lausiaca* are to Dom Butler's edition.

<sup>4</sup> *H.L.* II. 9. 12-10. 2; 244, 245. <sup>5</sup> *H.L.* II. 103. 17-104. 2; I. 182.

<sup>6</sup> 127. 8-10. S. Chrysostom addressed *Epp.* CXC and CCXXXIV to Brisso.

<sup>7</sup> *H.L.* II. 9. 12-10. 2; 220, 244.

<sup>8</sup> *H.L.* II. 131. 1-3, 11-13; 219, 220, 245, 246.

<sup>9</sup> *H.L.* II. 142. 20-24, 143. 10; 244, 245.

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Soon after his renunciation of the world, Palladius resolved to visit the Egyptian monks,<sup>1</sup> who were regarded with great reverence by the Christians of his generation.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, when his three years with Innocent were completed, Palladius set out for Egypt, probably joining himself to a party of pilgrims going down from Jerusalem,<sup>3</sup> and arrived at Alexandria in 388,<sup>4</sup> in the vicinity of which he spent from two to three years.<sup>5</sup> After observing the life in the monasteries around Alexandria, Palladius passed on to Nitria in 390,<sup>6</sup> where he resided for a year,<sup>7</sup> and then withdrew into a desert region known as Cellia from the multitude of its monastic cells.<sup>8</sup> Here he remained for nine years,<sup>9</sup> first with Macarius<sup>10</sup> and then with Evagrius.<sup>11</sup> Towards the close of this period Palladius returned to Alexandria for medical treatment; the physicians there advised him to seek a change of climate in Palestine, whither he went in 399.<sup>12</sup> During this second sojourn in the Holy Land, Palladius lived for a year at Bethlehem with a Theban ascetic named Posidonius.<sup>13</sup> Early in 400 Palladius betook himself to Bithynia, where he “was counted worthy of the laying-on of hands...having become embroiled in the disturbance connected with the blessed John,”<sup>14</sup> who probably was his consecrator.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *H.L.* II. 3. 1-8, 4. 20-27, 11. 10-19.

<sup>2</sup> W. K. L. Clarke, *The Lausiaca History of Palladius*, pp. 15, 16 (Translations of Christian Literature: Greek Texts; S.P.C.K., London, 1918).

<sup>3</sup> *H.L.* II. 148. 14-18; 229, 230, 246, 247, 262; I. 296. *V.* Professor Turner in *J.T.S.* Vol. VI. No. 23, p. 354 (Oxford, Apr. 1905) and Dom Butler in *J.T.S.* Vol. XXII. No. 87, p. 228, n. 1 (Oxford, Apr. 1921).

<sup>4</sup> *H.L.* II. 15. 5-6; 245; I. 180.

<sup>5</sup> *H.L.* II. 16. 19-26, 24. 21-24; 245; I. 180.

<sup>6</sup> *H.L.* II. 24. 21-24; 245; I. 180.

<sup>7</sup> *H.L.* II. 25. 10-14; 245; I. 180.

<sup>8</sup> *H.L.* II. 25. 10-14, 47. 23-24, 51. 10-12; 245; I. 180.

<sup>9</sup> *H.L.* II. 47. 23-24; 245; I. 180.

<sup>10</sup> *H.L.* II. 47. 22-58. 13; 194.

<sup>11</sup> *H.L.* II. 102. 7-9, 116. 6-123. 3; I. 180, 181; *sed v.* II. 244, n. 3.

<sup>12</sup> *H.L.* II. 105. 3-8; 245; I. 180.

<sup>13</sup> *H.L.* II. 106. 14-107. 3; 244, 245.

<sup>14</sup> *H.L.* II. 105. 8-12 (Clarke's translation); 243, 245; I. 180. The “blessed John” is S. John Chrysostom.

<sup>15</sup> Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles*, XI. 514 (2nd ed., Paris, 1706). So also Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, I. 479 (Paris, 1740).

But Preuschen, *Palladius und Rufinus*, p. 241 (Giessen, 1897), observes: *Die Vermutung, dass Palladius seine Ordination zum Bischofe dem Chrysostomus zu verdanken habe, liegt nahe, ist aber durch nichts zu begründen. In der oben*



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## LIFE OF PALLADIUS

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Hardly was Palladius enthroned Bishop of Helenopolis<sup>1</sup> when he was called to assist S. Chrysostom in a Synod held at Constantinople to investigate charges preferred by Eusebius, Bishop of Valentinopolis, against Antoninus, Bishop of Ephesus.<sup>2</sup> This action of Eusebius in the spring or summer of 400<sup>3</sup> resulted in the appointment of Palladius to an episcopal commission, which made investigations in Asia during the summer and autumn.<sup>4</sup> After returning to Constantinople to report the findings of the commission,<sup>5</sup> Palladius probably spent the winter at Helenopolis, for early in 401 we find him waiting at Apameia to meet S. Chrysostom, who had decided to conduct in person the inquiry into the state of the Church at Ephesus.<sup>6</sup> On foot they proceeded to Ephesus, where S. Chrysostom, in a Synod of seventy bishops, delivered judgment.<sup>7</sup> S. Chrysostom then returned to Constantinople,<sup>8</sup> but it seems that Palladius remained at Ephesus until the final disposition of the whole affair was completed in the summer of 402.<sup>9</sup>

In the spring of the following year Palladius was again in Constantinople as a member of S. Chrysostom's Synod at the time when S. Chrysostom was summoned to appear before the Synod of the Oak.<sup>10</sup> One of the charges against S. Chrysostom involved the alleged Origenism of Palladius,<sup>11</sup> who was examined

*besprochenen Stelle aus c. 43 [c. 43 in Preuschen, op. cit. pp. 103, 115-104. 3, but c. 35 in Butler, H.L. II. 105, 8-12] sagt Palladius nur, dass er als Bischof an den Angelegenheiten des Chrysostomus beteiligt gewesen sei. Es ist demnach anzunehmen, dass er bereits Bischof war, als die Verwickelungen in Konstantinopel begannen.*

<sup>1</sup> Nicephorus Callistus, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, VII. 49, tells us that the ancient Drepanum in Bithynia on the Propontis was renamed Helenopolis in honour of S. Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great. Cf. Procopius, *De Aedificiis*, v. 2.

<sup>2</sup> 83. 9-87. 6.

<sup>3</sup> So Tillemont, *op. cit.* XI. 581, 582.

<sup>4</sup> 87. 6-88. 13. *H.L.* II. 243, 245.

<sup>5</sup> 88. 4-10.

<sup>6</sup> 88. 13-89. 6. *H.L.* II. 245.

<sup>7</sup> 89. 7-90. 22. *H.L.* II. 245.

<sup>8</sup> Tillemont, *op. cit.* XI. 584-586.

<sup>9</sup> 91. 1-7. *H.L.* II. 245. Bright, *Age of the Fathers*, II. 46 (London, 1903), suggested that "Palladius exaggerates the time spent in the inquiry." But I take it that, as Palladius was a member of the original commission, he stayed at Ephesus till the case was closed, which could not have been before the middle of 402, according to his own statement (91. 2-3).

<sup>10</sup> 45. 25-51. I. *H.L.* II. 245. In commenting upon this passage in the *Dialogus*, Mr Moore (*op. cit.* p. 66, n. 1) says: "It is impossible to doubt that we have here the account of an eye-witness."

<sup>11</sup> Photius, *Bibl. Cod.* LIX. The alleged Origenism of Palladius will be discussed in the second part of this chapter.

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by the Synod, as he was actively engaged in the controversies which centred around S. Chrysostom.<sup>1</sup> Palladius stayed continuously in Constantinople during this last year (403–404) of S. Chrysostom's episcopate and even for some time after S. Chrysostom's expulsion,<sup>2</sup> until at last, forced to flee from the fury of the civil authorities, he made his way to Rome early in 405,<sup>3</sup> there to plead S. Chrysostom's cause before the Roman Church.<sup>4</sup>

Before the end of the year Palladius with three other Eastern bishops sailed to Constantinople in the company of a number of Italian bishops who carried letters from Emperor Honorius, Pope S. Innocent, and several Western bishops.<sup>5</sup> Upon the arrival of the mission, its members were arrested and imprisoned in a fortress at Athyras in Thrace.<sup>6</sup> After languishing for eleven months in a gloomy cell,<sup>7</sup> Palladius was sent into exile at Syene in Egypt.<sup>8</sup> His long journey overland to Syene was attended by countless discomforts and hardships, which were due partly to the cruelty of his guards and partly to the hostility of bishops who occupied sees along the route through Asia Minor and Palestine.<sup>9</sup>

The first two years of his exile Palladius spent at Syene (406–408).<sup>10</sup> He then moved on to Antinoë in the Thebaïd, where he lived for four years.<sup>11</sup> After the death of Theophilus, Archbishop of Alexandria (S. Chrysostom's arch-enemy), in 412, Palladius was permitted to return to his native Galatia,<sup>12</sup> where he resided for "a long time" with Philoromus, a priest.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *H.L.* II. 105. 10–12.<sup>2</sup> 51. 13–65. 20. *H.L.* II. 245.<sup>3</sup> 19. 3–8. *H.L.* II. 245.<sup>4</sup> *H.L.* II. 157. 10–15; 245, 246. S. Chrysostom, *Ep.* CXLVIII. Pope S. Innocent I, *Ep.* VII (translated into Greek by Sozomen in *H.E.* VIII. 26).<sup>5</sup> 22. 11–17.<sup>6</sup> 22. 22–23. 8.<sup>7</sup> *H.L.* II. 105. 12–14. S. Chrysostom, *Ep.* CXIII. But perhaps Palladius refers to the time which he spent in Constantinople from S. Chrysostom's expulsion until he (Palladius) fled to Rome.<sup>8</sup> 126. 18–20. *H.L.* II. 10. 4–5; 244, 246.<sup>9</sup> 129. 15–131. 10.<sup>10</sup> 126. 18–20. The *Dialogus*, written c. 408, represents Palladius as being in duress at Syene. *V.* also Butler in *J.T.S.* Vol. XXII. No. 86, p. 146.<sup>11</sup> *H.L.* II. 151. 8–9, 154. 21; 244, 246.<sup>12</sup> Tillemont, *op. cit.* XI. 517. *H.L.* II. 245, 246.<sup>13</sup> *H.L.* II. 132. 15–17; 244, 246.

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He was never restored to his bishopric, but was translated in 417 to the see of Aspona in Galatia.<sup>1</sup> The *Historia Lausiaca* was written in 419 and 420.<sup>2</sup> This is the last ascertainable date in the life of Palladius, who probably died during the next decade,<sup>3</sup> for the Bishop of Aspona at the Council of Ephesus in 431 was one Eusebius.<sup>4</sup>

II. From the preceding outline of the career of Palladius it will be seen that "Palladius' active life fell between the overthrow of the Arian and the outbreak of the Nestorian heresy,"<sup>5</sup> a period (so far as the history of the Eastern Church is concerned) of comparative unimportance in doctrinal crises, but a time "far from free of personal jealousies and party passions which cloaked themselves under the mask of zeal for orthodoxy."<sup>6</sup> It was one of these "party passions" fired by "personal jealousies"—the factional controversy over the orthodoxy of Origen—that resulted in the permanent loss of their sees by S. Chrysostom and Palladius together with the temporary defamation of their good names.

<sup>1</sup> Socrates, *H.E.* vii. 36. *H.L.* ii. 245, 246. *V. infra*, p. xxxii, n. 5. Ceillier, *Histoire générale des Auteurs sacrés et ecclésiastiques*, x. 70 (Paris, 1742), argued for 419 or 420 as the date of the translation of Palladius. But in view of the evidence concerning the title of the *Historia* assembled by Butler in *H.L.* ii. 6, 8, 182, 183, his argument is unsound.

<sup>2</sup> *H.L.* ii. 9. 12-10. 2; 243, 244, 246.

<sup>3</sup> *H.L.* ii. 246.

<sup>4</sup> Labbe and Cossart, *Concilia Sacrosancta*, iii. 450 (Paris, 1671).

<sup>5</sup> Professor Turner in *J.T.S. loc. cit.* p. 345.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* Professor Turner continues: "The quarrel of Theophilus and the Egyptian monks over the name of Origen, the mutual invectives of John of Jerusalem and Epiphanius, Jerome and Rufinus, the persecutions directed against St' Chrysostom, were symptoms of divisions among churchmen almost as bitter and as thoroughgoing as any between catholic and heretic. In all these developments Palladius, the disciple of Evagrius and the biographer of Chrysostom, played his part; and his sympathies left their mark upon the text of the *Lausiac History*. The verdict of posterity supported him in the cause of Chrysostom: but this was the one element in the troubles of the time which the subject-matter of the *Historia* necessarily excluded, and on which also in the *Dialogus de vita Chrysostomi* he elsewhere had his say. On the other hand, Evagrius, Didymus, Origen, the great masters of Alexandrian and ascetic theology to whom Palladius and his friends looked up as their guides and leaders, became the sport of heresy-hunters from the fifth century onwards: Palladius himself did not escape censure, nor did his book [*sc. Historia Lausiaca*] mutilation, at their hands."

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S. Chrysostom's character (he was never deprived of communion with the Western Church, which sympathized with him in the unjust treatment that he received and which in vain supported his petition for a fair trial) was quickly vindicated by the publication of the *Dialogus* of Palladius, who, "having become embroiled in the disturbance connected with the blessed John,"<sup>1</sup> was in a position to narrate the true facts of the case<sup>2</sup> and to refute the scurrilous slanders disseminated by the enemies of S. Chrysostom.<sup>3</sup>

With regard to himself, Palladius was not so fortunate. His recall from exile and his later translation to the see of Aspona may be regarded, perhaps, as a justification of his orthodoxy;<sup>4</sup> but these events did not prevent the inclusion of his name in

<sup>1</sup> *H.L.* II. 105. 11–12 (Clarke's translation).

<sup>2</sup> The history of "the quarrel of Theophilus and the Egyptian monks over the name of Origen" and of S. Chrysostom's connection with its later developments is told by Palladius in the *Dialogus* (34. 17–44. 14. *V.* also 103. 1–104. 1, 105. 6–107. 1). During his long sojourn in Egypt, Palladius met some of the leading monks and priests (Ammonius, Dioscorus, Hierax, Isidorus, and Paphnutius) who were later to incur the wrath of Theophilus, and from whom at Constantinople he learned the story of their trials and persecutions. Accounts of the monks are also found in Socrates, *H.E.* VI. 7, 9, and Sozomen, *H.E.* VIII. 11–15, 17.

<sup>3</sup> 82. 22–83. 5, 99. 15–23. S. Jerome translated into Latin a calumnious invective by Theophilus against S. Chrysostom (S. Hieronymus, *Ep.* CXIV (ed. by Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, XXII. 933–935 [Paris, 1864]). In the *Dialogus* (82. 22–83. 5) the Deacon refers to this libel of Theophilus in the words *ἐν ὀκείῳ συγγράμματι* (82. 22). Baur has conjectured, with much probability, that a fragmentary letter of Theophilus to S. Jerome, which is included in S. Jerome's *Epistles* as *Ep.* CXIII (Migne, *loc. cit.* 931–933), is part of S. Jerome's translation of the accompanying preface to the tract of Theophilus (Baur, *S. Jérôme et S. Chrysostome*, in *Revue Benedictine*, Vol. XXIII. No. 3, pp. 430–436 [Paris, Jul. 1906]). Aengenvoort, however, contests this solution and holds that S. Jerome was not the translator, but the author of the fragment (*op. cit.* p. 14). Quotations from this *συγγραμματα* of Theophilus are preserved by Facundus Hermianensis (*Flor. c.* 550) in *Pro Defensione Trium Capitulum Concilii Chalcedonensis*, VI. 5 (ed. by Migne, *P.L.* LXVII. 676–679 [Paris, 1865]). *V.* also Tillemont, *op. cit.* XI. 348–350, 491–493. Reference to the indictment is made in 92. 25–93. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Dom Butler remarks *ad rem*: "He [*sc.* Palladius] was moreover the trusted friend of St John Chrysostom, suffering deprivation of his see, and an exile of several years' duration for his fidelity to the Saint, and travelling to Rome as his envoy to secure the favourable hearing of his case before the Pope. This intimate connection with St John Chrysostom must raise a strong presumption in favour of Palladius' orthodoxy."—*H.L.* I. 173.

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the *Index*,<sup>1</sup> for he has descended in history as one “gravely suspected of Pelagianism and Origenism, if not altogether compromised.”<sup>2</sup> Tillemont made the first attempt to remove

<sup>1</sup> Joannes Maria Brasichellensis (Guanzellis), *sacri Palatii Apostolici Magister*, compiled an *Index Librorum Expurgandorum* (Rome, 1607), in which he marked for deletion certain sentences in the *Historia Lausiaca*, prefacing his selection with this admonition: *Vt probe noscas, lector, quisnam Palladius fuerit, accipe iudicia Patrum de ipso: S. Hieronymus, cuius in hac re iudicium probat S. Gelasius I. [v. infra, n. 2] Praefatione in libro aduersus Pelagianos, ait, Palladius seruilis nequitiae eandem haeresim Pelagianam [v. infra, n. 2] instaurare conatus est. S. Epiphanius Epist. ad Ioannem Ierosolymitan. sic inquit: Palladium vero Galatam, qui quondam nobis charus fuit, et nunc misericordia Dei indiget, caue, quia Origenis haeresim praedicat et docet: ne forte aliquos de populo tibi credito ad peruersitatem sui inducat erroris. Haec S. Epiphanius. At res Palladii gestas, vafricem, et odium in S. Hieronymum pluribus exponunt, Annal. Ecclesiastici Tomo 5 [v. infra, n. 2]. Ex quibus omnibus discas quae fides adhibenda sit haeretico homini Origenistae, et Pelagiano in his praesertim, quae de quibusdam sui similibus Monachis eadem Fuligine tinctis in hoc Opere prodit; ac maxime verendum ne aliquos pro Sanctis venditet qui fuerunt Origenistae, vel Pelagiani Sagaci coniectura suis locis in Opere quosdam istius furfuris indicabimus.—I. 248, 249.*

This *Index* was reprinted at Bergamo in the following year, the *Admonitio* appearing in I. 217, 218. In 1745 a second edition was published at Stadtamhof, in which the pagination of the edition of 1607 was preserved.

The compiler of an *Index Librorum Prohibitorum et Expurgatorum* (Geneva, 1619) branded the passages of the *Historia* which were cited by Guanzellis, but condensed his predecessor's preface into the simple notice: *Fuit Palladius Origenista et Pelagianus, ideo caute legendus.*—p. 109. Reprints of this *Index* were made at Madrid in 1667 and in 1707, the *dictum* occurring on p. 151 and p. 148 respectively.

<sup>2</sup> *H.L.* I. 173. I can find no reference in ancient sources which may be construed to indicate that Palladius was tainted with Pelagianism. This imputation cannot be traced beyond Baronius, whose judgment Butler shows to be incorrect (*v. infra*, p. xxiii, n. 3). Baronius gave expression to his very unfavourable estimate of Palladius in his *Annales Ecclesiastici* (2nd ed., Antwerp, 1601–1623): *ad annum 388* in IV. 583–586 (1601), *ad annum 415* in V. 378, 379 (1602), *ad annum 417* in V. 401, *ad annum 429* in V. 531.

It is important to note that although Baronius, in imputing Pelagianism to Palladius, was misled by S. Jerome's reference to Palladius (cited *infra* in p. xxv, n. 2) occurring in his *Prologus ad Dialogum aduersus Pelagianos*, he nevertheless preserved the *vera lectio*, viz., *eandem haeresim* (*op. cit.* IV. 584), as against *eandem haeresim Pelagianam* read by Guanzellis (*v. supra*, n. 1). Possevinus, in *Apparatus Sacer*, III. 3 (Venice, 1606), also read with Baronius.

Now it is perfectly clear from the context that S. Jerome accuses Palladius of *Origenism*, for in the attack on his *detractores* mentioned in the *Prologus*, S. Jerome charges Rufinus with propagating the doctrines of Origen and then passes directly to Palladius, alleging that *Palladius...eandem haeresim instaurare conatus est.*

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the stigma attached to Palladius;<sup>1</sup> but, as the opinion of the

This was also noted by Fabricius who read *eandem* (Origenis) *haeresim* [*sic*], in his *Bibliotheca Graeca*, IX. 3, n. f (Hamburg, 1719).

As has been seen (*supra*, p. xxi, n. 1), Guanzellis not only gave wider publicity to the verdict of Baronius, but even credited S. Jerome with having written *eandem haeresim Pelagianam*, asserting, moreover, that Pope S. Gelasius I (492–496) approved this accusation made by S. Jerome. With regard to this papal sanction, it appears that in a Council called by Pope S. Gelasius in 494 the following resolution was carried: *Item Rufinus vir religiosus plurimos ecclesiasticae operis edidit libros, nonnullas etiam Scripturas interpretatus est. Sed quoniam beatus Hieronymus eum in aliquibus de arbitrii libertate notavit, illa sentimus quae praedictum Hieronymum sentire cognoscimus; et non solum de Rufino, sed etiam de universis, quos vir saepius memoratus zelo Dei et fidei religione reprehendit.—Concilia Quaedam Gelasio Celebrata*, ed. by Migne, *P.L.* LIX. 161 (Paris, 1847).

Since there is extant no work of S. Jerome in which Palladius is accused of Pelagianism and since S. Jerome's only notice of Palladius refers to his *Origenism*, this decree can mean to us only that the Council approved S. Jerome's opinion that Palladius was an Origenist.

Such is the true explanation of the charge of Pelagianism, which was founded on a misinterpretation of S. Jerome and a *varia lectio* of his, which, if it ever existed, has not survived. But the explanation (now advanced for the first time) has come too late, for the quotation from Guanzellis' *Index* (cited *supra* in p. xxi, n. 1) was incorporated by De la Bigne into the 3rd ed. of his *Bibliotheca Patrum*, VII. 589, 600 [*leg.* 589, 590], published at Paris in 1610. Roswey placed it in his monumental *Vitae Patrum*, p. 703 of the 1st ed. (Antwerp, 1615), p. 534 of the reprint (Lyons, 1617), and p. 730 [*leg.* 703] of the 2nd ed. (Antwerp, 1628). Fronton Ducaeus (Du Duc) prefaced it to his edition of the *Historia Lausiaca in Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*, II. 893, 894 (Paris, 1624). From Roswey it has passed into Migne, *P.L.* LXXXIII. 1084–1086 (Paris, 1860), and so it will continue.

The verdict of Baronius, strengthened by the *varia lectio* employed by Guanzellis, remained unchallenged by later authorities (Tillemont protesting only against the accusation of Origenism [*v. infra*, n. 2]), among whom are found:

- Garnefelt, *Elucidationes Sacrae*, pp. 588, 589 (Cologne, 1621);
  - Ussher, *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*, pp. 804, 805 (Dublin, 1639);
  - Miraeus (Le Mire), *Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica*, I. 38, 185 (Antwerp, 1639);
  - Leo Allatius (Allacci), *De Libris Ecclesiasticis Graecorum Dissertationes Duae*, II. 131–135 (Paris, 1645);
  - Labbe, *Dissertatio Philologica de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, II. 152 (Paris, 1660);
  - Du Pin, *Nouvelle Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclésiastiques*, III. i. 295 (Paris, 1689).
- For the continuation of the charge of Pelagianism in historians after Tillemont, *v. infra*, p. xxiii, n. 2.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* XI. 530. *V.* also p. 533; and *cf. infra*, p. xxvii, n. 2.

It is surprising to find that the editors of the several works of Palladius made no effort to establish the good name of their author. The *Historia* was edited in Latin and reprinted from time to time for over 140 years before any mention was made of the Origenism and Pelagianism of Palladius either *pro* or *con*, until Roswey prefaced his edition of the *Historia* with extracts from Baronius and with the

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“prince of historical critics”<sup>1</sup> has not been satisfactory to some of the later ecclesiastical historians,<sup>2</sup> it has remained for Dom Butler to clear finally the name of Palladius of all insinuations and aspersions.<sup>3</sup>

quotation from Guanzellis. Rosweyd printed the whole passage of Baronius quoted in *H.L.* II. 235, 236 “under the heading in large capitals: Palladius Galata ab Hieronymo impudicitiae notatus—thus surpassing even Baronius.”—*H.L.* II. 236. This appears in the ed. of 1615 on pp. 692, 693, in the reprint of 1617 on pp. 526, 527, in the ed. of 1628 on pp. 692, 693, and in Migne, *P.L.* LXXIII. 1070–1072. But Rosweyd did not stop there, for he was the only editor to give Guanzellis the credit for the quotation printed, De la Bigne and Du Duc lessening its *auctoritas* by taking it *ex silentio* from the *Index* (*v. supra*, p. xxi, nn. 1 and 2). Finally, to remove any lingering doubts from the reader’s mind as to the orthodoxy of Palladius, Rosweyd placed in the margin by the *Prooemium* of the *Historia* this legend: *Fuit Palladius Origenista, et Pelagianus: ideo caute legendus* (1st ed. p. 704, reprint p. 535, 2nd ed. p. 704).

Meursius (Van Meurs) was the first to edit the *Historia* in Greek (Leyden, 1616), but he made no attempt either to perpetuate or to refute the current verdicts on Palladius. The attitude of Du Duc, the second editor of the *Historia* in Greek, has been described on p. xxi, n. 2.

Joachimus Camerarius (Kammermeister) first published the *Epistola Palladii de Indicis Gentibus et de Bragmanibus* (Leipzig, 1569), but did not provide his edition with any material illustrative of the author. Edoardus Bissaeus (Bysshe), the second editor of the *Epistola* (London, 1665), prefaced his text with notices about Palladius from Baronius, Voss, and Labbe, whose unfavourable *dicta* he used as an *Introduction*.

The received views about the religious status of *Palladius noster* did not trouble Bigot, who published the *editio princeps* of the *Dialogus* in Greek (Paris, 1680), for the question was never raised in his *Praefatio*. The later editors of the *Dialogus* have followed his example.

<sup>1</sup> *H.L.* I. 184.

<sup>2</sup> *E.g.*: Oudin, *Commentarius de Scriptoribus Ecclesiae Antiquis*, I. 908 (Frankfurt am Main, 1722);

Justus Fontaninus (Fontanini), *Historia Literaria Aquilejensis*, pp. 188, 189 (Rome, 1743);

Caillier (*op. cit.* x. 81) declared that he would not discuss the charges of Origenism and Pelagianism made against Palladius.

Among other historians, both before and after Tillemont, who maintained silence on Palladius’ Pelagianism are these:

Voss, *De Historicis Graecis*, pp. 255, 256 (2nd ed. Leyden, 1650);

Cotelier, *Ecclesiae Graecae Monumenta* III. 563–576 (Paris, 1686);

Cave, *op. cit.* I. 286–288 (London, 1688), II. 135 (London, 1698);

Fabricius, *op. cit.* IX. 1–14;

Struve, *Bibliotheca Historica*, II. ii. 25, 26 (2nd ed. Leipzig, 1785).

<sup>3</sup> *H.L.* I. 173–178, II. 235, 236. The first reference contains “a few notes on the broad facts of the case”; the second exposes “the hollowness of Baronius’ case against Palladius.”

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Palladius was accused of Origenism by S. Epiphanius, Bishop of Constantia (Salamis) in Cyprus,<sup>1</sup> who has been called, without exaggeration, a “sleuth-hound of heresy.”<sup>2</sup> Photius is a witness of the attitude of S. Epiphanius toward Palladius, for in the *Acts* of the Synod of the Oak, which he preserves,<sup>3</sup> it is stated as a charge against S. Chrysostom that S. Epiphanius was unwilling to communicate with S. Chrysostom “because of the Origenists Ammonius, Euthymius, Eusebius,<sup>4</sup> Heracleides,<sup>5</sup> and Palladius.”<sup>6</sup> Theophilus probably had this charge in mind when he wrote to S. Jerome and accused S. Chrysostom of harbouring Origenists.<sup>7</sup> Palladius and Heracleides were interrogated by the Synod, but the reason for their examination does not appear.<sup>8</sup>

Whether S. Epiphanius was justified in his accusation or not,<sup>9</sup> Palladius, so far as we know, made no attempt to enter

From Tillemont to Butler I can find only one attempt to vindicate the character of Palladius: in 1754 at Altdorf, J. C. Martini published a *Dissertatio de Vita Fatisque Palladii Helenopolitani Origenismi et Pelagianismi iniuste accusati*, in which Sections XXXII–XLI are devoted to a proof of the orthodoxy of Palladius, which Martini established more philosophically than scientifically. This *Dissertatio* was printed in a thick tome of *Altdorfiana*, where it has lain almost unknown, having little, if any, influence.

<sup>1</sup> S. Epiphanius, *Ep. ad Joannem Episcopum Jerosolymorum: Palladium vere Galatam, qui quondam nobis carus fuit, et nunc misericordia Dei indiget, cave, quia Origenis haeresim praedicat et docet, ne forte aliquos de populo tibi credito ad peruersitatem sui inducat erroris*. As this letter exists only in S. Jerome’s translation, it is placed among S. Jerome’s *Epistles*, where it is *Ep. LI* (Migne, *P.L.* XXII. 517–527).

<sup>2</sup> H. B. Swete, *Patristic Study*, p. 86 (London, 1909).

<sup>3</sup> *V. supra*, SOURCES FOR THE LIFE OF S. CHRYSOSTOM I.

<sup>4</sup> Ammonius, Euthymius, and Eusebius were three of the famous four “Tall Brothers,” the Egyptian monks charged by Theophilus with Origenism (*v. supra*, p. xx, n. 2). Cf. *H.L.* II. 29. 15–17.

<sup>5</sup> In 401 S. Chrysostom consecrated Heracleides Bishop of Ephesus *vice* Antoninus, who died while charges against him were being investigated (*v. supra*, p. xvii, n. 2). After the deposition of S. Chrysostom in 404, Heracleides was deprived of his bishopric and imprisoned in Nicomedia (92. 5–10, 127. 15–16).

<sup>6</sup> Photius, *Bibl. Cod.* LIX.

<sup>7</sup> *Ep. CXIII inter Epp. S. Hieronymi. V. supra*, p. xx, n. 3.

<sup>8</sup> *V. supra*, n. 6. *V.* also *H.L.* I. 174 for Butler’s excellent treatment of Palladius’ “Origenism.”

<sup>9</sup> Swete, in discussing S. Epiphanius, warns us (*op. cit.* pp. 86, 87) that “his account of contemporary heresies...must be received with caution,” adding “Honest and erudite, Epiphanius is yet narrow-minded and untrustworthy.”



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into controversy with the aged theologian. On the contrary, in the *Dialogus* he called S. Epiphanius τὸν μακάριον (99. 18). Perhaps Palladius successfully defended himself before the Synod, and therefore considered the incident closed, especially as S. Epiphanius had died before the Synod convened. Something of the kind probably happened, for the accusation was not pressed: and we may be certain that Theophilus would have put Palladius out of the way on that charge, if he could; as it transpired, Palladius was not exiled until three years later, and then only because he remained loyal to S. Chrysostom.<sup>1</sup>

We find S. Jerome, another contemporary of Palladius, also accusing him of Origenism;<sup>2</sup> but it must be remembered that S. Jerome's adverse opinions regarding his contemporaries were due largely to personal bias.<sup>3</sup> Dom Butler, with great insight, asks "whether S. Jerome's verdict on the doctrine and character of Theophilus' opponents must needs be accepted. And even if he may often have judged rightly as to the real tendency of their writings, may it not be that his estimate of their persons was biased by the party spirit that ran so high at the time?"<sup>4</sup>

If Palladius passed lightly over the charge of Origenism levelled at him by S. Epiphanius, he was not so kindly disposed toward S. Jerome, whose similar accusation Palladius countered by two bitter attacks in his *Historia Lausiaca*, which was composed during S. Jerome's last days. In his travels Palladius

<sup>1</sup> 64. 13-65. 12, 23. 16-24. 2.

<sup>2</sup> S. Jerome, *Prologus ad Dial. adv. Pelagianos: Palladius servilis nequitiae, eandem haeresim instaurare conatus est, et novam translationis Hebraicae mihi calumniam struere. Num et illius ingenio nobilitatique invidemus?* (Migne, *P.L.* XXIII. 497 [Paris, 1845]).

On *eandem haeresim*, *v. supra*, p. xxi, nn. 1 and 2. *V.* also *H.L.* II. 236. S. Jerome wrote the *Dialogus c.* 415.

<sup>3</sup> Dom Butler aptly instances S. Jerome's translation of Theophilus' libel against S. Chrysostom (*v. supra*, p. xx, n. 3); his opinions concerning Rufinus, which were not shared by S. Augustine or S. Paulinus of Nola; concerning the elder Melania, whom the same two Saints warmly commended; and concerning John of Jerusalem, whom S. Augustine, S. Chrysostom, Theodoret, and Pope S. Anastasius held in high regard. And he adds: "It is thus clearly seen that St Jerome's unfavourable estimate of several of the more prominent so-called Origenists was not at all the view of other contemporaries, whose words and opinions must carry as great, if not greater weight."—*H.L.* I. 175.

<sup>4</sup> *H.L.* I. 175. *V. supra*, p. xx, n. 3.

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met the widow Paula, “a woman of great distinction in the spiritual life,”<sup>1</sup> whom S. Jerome persuaded to leave Rome for the purpose of organizing a nunnery at Bethlehem.<sup>2</sup> According to Palladius, “she was hindered by a certain Jerome from Dalmatia. For though she was able to surpass all, having great abilities, he hindered her by his jealousy, having induced her to serve his own plan.”<sup>3</sup>

Again: earlier in the *Historia* Palladius relates a prophecy told him by Posidonius, with whom he lived for a year at Bethlehem on his first return out of Egypt. “A certain Jerome, a priest, distinguished Latin writer and cultivated scholar as he was, showed qualities of temper so disastrous that they threw into the shade his splendid achievements. Well, Posidonius, who had lived with him many days, said in my ear: ‘The noble Paula, who looks after him, will die first and be freed from his bad temper, so I think. And because of this man no holy man will dwell in these parts, but his envy will include even his own brother.’ The thing happened as he said. For, in fact, he drove out the blessed Oxyperentius the Italian, and another man Peter, an Egyptian, and Simeon, admirable men, whom I noticed with approval at the time.”<sup>4</sup>

And so in the case of Palladius, “if we make allowance, however, for the party feeling natural under the circumstances,” comments Dom Butler, “we shall see that this is only what might be expected from a prominent adherent of St John Chrysostom against a prominent adherent of Theophilus.”<sup>5</sup>

There is nothing improbable in the assumption that S. Jerome knew or heard of the *Dialogus*, which was a passionate reply to the libel of Theophilus translated by S. Jerome, and that S. Jerome thereupon took umbrage at this vitriolic denunciation of the violent diatribe of Theophilus (82.22–83.5), for it would be only natural that (of all persons) S. Jerome, the translator,

<sup>1</sup> *H.L.* II. 128. 6–7 (Clarke’s translation).

<sup>2</sup> E. Leigh-Bennett, *Handbook of the Early Christian Fathers*, pp. 276–279 (London, 1920).

<sup>3</sup> *H.L.* II. 128. 7–10 (Clarke’s translation).

<sup>4</sup> *H.L.* II. 108. 6–18 (Clarke’s translation).

<sup>5</sup> *H.L.* I. 176.

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should assume some proprietorship in and feel some responsibility for it. In extenuation of S. Jerome's position, however, it may be allowed that his accusation seems to have been based upon hear-say and not upon first-hand, personal information. Nevertheless, the pity of it is that the accusation was made, which, coupled with the earlier assertion of S. Epiphanius, has resulted in the damnation of the ecclesiastical reputation of Palladius.

But perhaps it was perceived that these adverse judgments of S. Epiphanius and S. Jerome proceeded from partisan politics, for, during the life-time of the latter, Palladius was set at liberty and translated to another see,<sup>1</sup>—a sufficient evidence of his orthodoxy in an age when heresy-hunting was a favourite occupation of Eastern ecclesiastics.<sup>2</sup>

Mr Clarke well concludes the case for Palladius in the *Introduction* to his Translation of the *Lausiaca History*: "We need not attach much importance to the accusation of Origenism which has been the slur on his [*sc.* Palladius'] reputation. If he admired Origen, that great and original thinker, it will hardly redound to his discredit to-day. And he was in good company in his own day. Saints such as Basil, the two Gregories and Chrysostom shared his tendencies; if Chrysostom the master is forgiven his Origenism, Palladius the disciple may be forgiven also."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *V. supra*, pp. xx (n. 4) and xxii (n. 1).

<sup>2</sup> Fontanini, who borrowed from Tillemont, made this remarkable statement about Palladius: *Titulo Confessoris ob defensum invicto animo Chrysostomum merito habetur illustris, cui scriptores aequales spiritum propheticum tribuunt, et Romae, tanquam Praesul maxime catholicus, qualis habitus est in toto Oriente, ab Innocentio I. summo Pontifice exceptus fuit, contenta accusatione Origenismi, quamquam Romae, trientio citius, in Origenistas clamatum fuisset.*—*Op. cit.* p. 189 (*cf. supra*, p. xxii, n. 1).

This is very gratifying; but I can find no ancient writer testifying to the *titulo Confessoris* or to the *spiritum propheticum*. The *spiritum propheticum* probably comes from 130. 2–8, which was written by Palladius and not by his *scriptores aequales*, though Tillemont and Fontanini were correct in their statements, since they did not attribute the *Dialogus* to Palladius of Helenopolis.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 17.

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## INTRODUCTION

## OTHER WRITINGS OF PALLADIUS

To Palladius, Bishop of Helenopolis, are ascribed three works: the *Historia Lausiaca*, the *Dialogus de Vita S. Joannis Chrysostomi*, and the *Epistola de Indicis Gentibus et de Bragmanibus*. The Palladian authorship of each of these has been contested: that of the *Historia* has been completely vindicated by Dom Butler,<sup>1</sup> whose proof of the authenticity also of the *Dialogus* has won almost universal acceptance,<sup>2</sup> while the case for the *Epistola* has been almost wholly neglected in modern times.<sup>3</sup>

I. The *Historia Lausiaca* of Palladius, first published in Greek by Van Meurs at Leyden in 1616 and since edited at various times,<sup>4</sup> has been made accessible to modern scholars in a most satisfactory form by the patient and thorough labours of Dom Butler, whose monumental work supersedes all previous editions.<sup>5</sup>

The *Historia Lausiaca*, "a principal authority, perhaps on the whole the principal authority, for the history of Egyptian

<sup>1</sup> *V. H.L.* I. 1-6, 138, 178-196; II. ix-xiv, 182-184. *V.* also Butler in *J.T.S.* Vol. xxii. No. 86, pp. 138, 144-146, 148, 149. But in discussing the *Historia*, Bardenhewer, without stating his reasons, held that *Palladius ist wohl mit dem fruher erwachten gleichnamigen Biographen des hl. Chrysostomus zu identifizieren, aber von dem gleichzeitigen Bischofe Palladius von Helenopolis (in Bithynien) zu unterscheiden.*—*Patrologie*, p. 335 (2nd ed., Freiburg im Breisgau, 1901). This was written by Bardenhewer three years before the publication of Part II of Butler's edition of the *Historia*, where (p. xiv) Bardenhewer's opinion is not mentioned.

<sup>2</sup> In a brochure entitled *Authorship of the Dialogus de Vita Chrysostomi* (Rome, 1908), and in *J.T.S.* Vol. xxii. No. 86, pp. 138-155.

<sup>3</sup> *V. infra*, p. xxix, n. 8.

<sup>4</sup> For a critique of the six printed editions of the Greek text of the *Historia*, *v. H.L.* II. xxiv-xxvi.

For a discussion of the Latin editions of the *Historia*, *v. H.L.* I. 6-10, 58-76.

For a description of the MSS. and the Textual Sources of the *Historia*, *v. H.L.* II. xiv-xxiii, lvi-lxxxii.

For an account of the Latin, Syriac, Armenian, Coptic, Ethiopic, and Arabic versions of the *Historia*, *v. H.L.* I. 58-171; II. xxvi-xliv.

For the history of the Text of the *Historia*, *v. H.L.* II. xxvi-xlvi.

*V.* also Butler's articles in *J.T.S.* Vol. xxii. No. 85, pp. 21-35 (Oxford, Oct. 1920) and No. 87, pp. 222-238.

<sup>5</sup> *V. supra*, p. xv, n. 1.

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monachism in the fourth century,"<sup>1</sup> is dedicated to one Lausus,<sup>2</sup> a chamberlain at the court of Theodosius II, from which circumstance the work receives its title.<sup>3</sup> According to its own statement, the *Historia* was composed in 419–420<sup>4</sup> and written "with a view of stirring to rivalry and imitation those who wish to realize the heavenly mode of life and desire to tread the road which leads to the kingdom of heaven."<sup>5</sup>

The *Historia* is a series of biographical notices and characteristic anecdotes of some seventy ascetics (together with descriptions of monastic communities), with whom Palladius was acquainted personally or concerning whom he received information from those who had known them. Though its value may be considered somewhat diminished by the records of miracles and other marvels which the author's credulity (the characteristic, however, of his age and class rather than of the individual<sup>6</sup>) led him to admit, the *Historia* is curious and interesting for its exhibition of the prevailing religious tendencies of the time, and highly valuable for its preservation of various facts about eminent men and women.<sup>7</sup>

II. The *Epistola de Indicis Gentibus et de Bragmanibus*, originally discussed in this chapter, has since been by me examined *in extenso* elsewhere;<sup>8</sup> but here it may be stated that the *Epistola*, first edited by Kammermeister at Leipzig in 1569, is a brief letter (addressed to an anonymous recipient) containing a commentary on Arrian's *Anabasis*.

<sup>1</sup> So Butler in *J.T.S.* Vol. xxii. No. 86, p. 138.

<sup>2</sup> *V. H.L.* II. 3–7, 9–15. 4; Tillemont, *op. cit.* XI. 526–528.

<sup>3</sup> *V. H.L.* II. 8.

<sup>4</sup> *V. supra*, p. xix, n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> *H.L.* II. 3, 3–4 (Clarke's translation). Cf. 125. 14–22.

<sup>6</sup> Mr Clarke's remarks are very *à propos*: "There is one reason why Palladius' evidence has been distrusted which is not very creditable to nineteenth-century scholars, namely, his conviction that he had witnessed miraculous and supernatural events. It is coming to be recognised that a fifth-century Christian writer who did not believe in the miraculous would be a portent which required explanation. There would be little left of the history of the time if all the writers who believed in contemporary miracles were ruled out as unworthy of credence."—*Op. cit.* pp. 25, 26.

<sup>7</sup> Butler has carefully discussed the subject of miracles recorded in the *Historia*: *H.L.* I. 3–5, 178–196; II. 187 n. 13, 198 n. 34, 231 n. 104, 263.

<sup>8</sup> *Classical Philology*, Vol. XXI. No. 2, pp. 154–160 (Chicago, Apr. 1926). *V. supra*, p. xv, n. 2 *ad fin.*

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## INTRODUCTION

THE *DIALOGVS DE VITA S. CHRYSOSTOMI*

I. The *Dialogus de Vita S. Joannis Chrysostomi*, written by Palladius<sup>1</sup> c. 408,<sup>2</sup> is not only the most important, but also the most authentic source of information for the life of S. Chrysostom.<sup>3</sup> As the title of the work implies,<sup>4</sup> the life and conversation of S. Chrysostom are presented in the form of a dialogue,<sup>5</sup> —an unusual vehicle of expression in the history of ancient biography.<sup>6</sup>

The chief interlocutors of the *Dialogus* are a Bishop, whose name<sup>7</sup> and see are not given, and a Deacon of the Church of Rome named Theodorus.<sup>8</sup> The scene of the dialogue, which lasts for several days<sup>9</sup> and takes place in the presence of other

<sup>1</sup> It has been convenient thus far to accept the Palladian authorship of the *Dialogus* as proved, a full discussion of which follows in the later sections of this chapter. In this connexion it should be observed that the facts of Palladius' life as given above in LIFE OF PALLADIUS hold good, whether Palladius who composed the *Historia* be identified or not with the author of the *Dialogus*. And further, even if the Palladian authorship of the *Dialogus* be rejected, the value of the *Dialogus* is not thereby impaired, for the writer—whoever he may have been—is *facile princeps* among the *Scriptores Rerum Chrysostomi* (v. *infra*, pp. xxxix [n. 8] and lxiv [n. 7]).

<sup>2</sup> The problem of the date is considered *infra* in DATE OF COMPOSITION.

<sup>3</sup> *V. supra*, p. xi, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> The Greek title of the *Dialogus* is treated in the next section of this chapter.

<sup>5</sup> For an analysis of the *Dialogus*, v. *infra*, LITERARY ANALYSIS.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Leo, *Die griechisch-romische Biographie nach ihrer literarischen Form* (Leipzig, 1901). *V. infra*, p. lxxviii, n. 1 and Moore, *op. cit.* p. xvi. *V.* also my recent article in *J.T.S.* Vol. xxvii. No. 108, pp. 388-395 (Oxford, Jul. 1926).

<sup>7</sup> The MS. prefaces his words with the notice *ὁ ἐπισκοπος*, which has been retained by the editors. The Bishop is addressed as *πάτερ* (3. 18, 25. 18, 30. 14, 31. 8, 34. 17, 63. 15, 75. 31, 84. 8, 93. 5, 97. 20, 98. 19, 117. 3, 120. 3, 132. 9, 137. 1), as *θαυμάσιε πάτερ* (7. 1), as *ἀγαθώτατε πάτερ* (18. 15), as *λεπώτατε πάτερ* (26. 31-32, 81. 5), as *μακαριώτατε πάτερ* (58. 24), as *ἀριστε πάτερ* (71. 5), as *τίμιε πάτερ* (111. 18).

<sup>8</sup> The MS. prefaces his words with the notice *ὁ διάκονος*, which has been retained by the editors. Not only does the Bishop address the Deacon by name (3. 11, 6. 13, 25. 29, 53. 20, 69. 11, 70. 28, 71. 13, 72. 26, 80. 23, 81. 10, 82. 8, 91. 13, 97. 27, 99. 7, 102. 8, 111. 27, 116. 32, 137. 8, 144. 12), but the name *Θεόδωρος* also occurs in the few transitional sentences between the speeches (58. 23, 59. 5, 69. 4, 74. 30, 97. 19, 101. 28, 120. 6, 125. 7, 132. 8, 140. 12). That Theodorus is supposed to be a Deacon of the Church of Rome is apparent from his own words (*v.* especially 6. 15-20 with 7. 13 *et seq.*).

<sup>9</sup> A second day in the discussion is mentioned in 93. 27-29 and a third in 106. 28-107. 1. *Cf.* also 120. 3-5, 125. 4-6.