

Jerome's Use of Scripture Before and After his Dream¹

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Jerome's famous dream continues to stimulate discussion.² Some commentators have doubted whether the dream actually took place.³ However most now accept its historicity. Without exception these scholars concentrate their attention on Jerome's "vow," which is seen to be the real significance of this experience. In the course of his dream Jerome was haled before a judge and scourged; in order to escape from this extremity Jerome then swore that if he ever "read or possessed" classical texts, such action would constitute a denial of the judge.⁴ Jerome's quotations from the pagan classics after the time of his dream have accordingly been subjected to minute scrutiny in an attempt to determine the extent to which he kept this "vow." There is significantly no agreement on the question.⁵

It has recently been argued elsewhere that the real importance of Jerome's dream is not his supposed renunciation of the classics, but rather the assiduous study of the bible which he undertook from then on.⁶ As a result of the dream Jerome overcame his aversion to the uncouth language of the Old Testament.⁷ The "vow" to abandon the classics on the other hand

¹ Citation of works follows the method of *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae: Index Librorum Scriptorum Inscriptionum*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig 1990).

² Cf. most recently B. Feichtinger, "Der Traum des Hieronymus – Ein Psychogramm," *VChr* 45 (1991) 54–77 and the partial response by the present writer, "'Adultery of the Tongue': Jerome, Epist. 22, 29, 6 f.," *Hermes* 121 (1993) 100–108.

³ Cf. the conspectus in R. Eiswirth, *Hieronymus' Stellung zur Literatur und Kunst*, *Klassisch-Philologische Studien* 16 (Wiesbaden 1955) 11 f.; H. Hagendahl, *Latin Fathers and the Classics: A Study on the Apologists, Jerome and Other Christian Writers*, *Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis* 64 (Göteborg 1958) 318 f.

⁴ *Epist.* 22. 30. 5: *si umquam habuero codices saeculares, si legero, te negavi.*

⁵ Cf. the review of opinion in Eiswirth (above, note 3) 12–29; Hagendahl (above, note 3) 320–28. For the most recent pronouncement on the subject, cf. Feichtinger (above, note 2).

⁶ Cf. the present writer, "Some Notes on the Dream of Saint Jerome," *Philologus* 128 (1984), 120; idem, "Gregory of Nazianzus and Jerome: Some Remarks," in *Georgica: Greek Studies in Honour of George Cawkwell*, ed. by M. A. Flower and M. Toher (London 1991) 14 f.

⁷ The dream is introduced as an illustration of the precept not to be *diserta multum* (29. 6). Jerome then opens his account by describing how he himself was put off by the linguistic crudity of the Old Testament prophets: *si quando . . . prophetam legere coepissem, sermo horrebat incultus* (30. 2). It was of course this uncouthness which made him prefer the

is merely a detail of the vivid tableau of the dream narrative.⁸ Jerome was quite right to protest later that it was preposterous to take seriously a vow made in one's sleep (*Adv. Rufin.* 1. 30 f.). If then Jerome's "vow" is simply a *somnii sponsio* (*ibid.*), his initial distaste for the Old Testament and the exclusive preoccupation with it which subsequently ensued belong firmly to the realm of reality. It is here that the true significance of Jerome's dream lies: his problem was not with the classics, but with the bible.

It would seem therefore that in concentrating solely on Jerome's quotations from the classics scholarship has traditionally approached the problem from the wrong end. The question to ask is not whether Jerome may have quoted pagan authors less frequently after his dream, but rather to what extent his citations from the Old Testament increase. It is the purpose of the present article to undertake such an enquiry. Scholarship has so far ignored the question entirely.⁹ Since Jerome specifically states that it was above all the uncouthness of the prophets which put him off, his quotations from these books deserve particular attention.

The chronology of Jerome's life in the period at issue is somewhat obscure.¹⁰ It would seem however that Jerome's dream is to be located in 376 during his stay in the desert.¹¹ The first fourteen of Jerome's letters are accordingly earlier than his dream. Letter 1 is dated by Frede to 369–73, while letters 2–14 are assigned to 374.¹² It will therefore be appropriate to

classics. Finally the concluding words of the account state emphatically that the effect of the dream was an intensive study of scripture: *tanto dehinc studio divina legisse* (30. 6). It has also been suggested that Jerome's decision to learn Hebrew should be connected with the dream ("Gregory of Nazianzus and Jerome" [previous note] 16); acquaintance with the original language enabled him to come to grips with the stylistic idiosyncrasy of the Old Testament.

⁸ It occupies only 5 out of a total of 42 lines.

⁹ It is instructive in this connection to cite a recent comment on Jerome's use of scripture in J. Fontaine, "L'esthétique littéraire de la prose de Jérôme jusqu'à son second départ en Orient," in *Jérôme entre l'Occident et l'Orient: XVI^e centenaire du départ de s. Jérôme de Rome et de son installation à Bethléem*, ed. by Y.-M. Duval (Paris 1988) 335 n. 23: "L'écriture, dès ses premières lettres, est pour lui comme une langue qu'il possède assez à fond pour en combiner les éléments, afin d'en bâtir un discours cohérent et personnel." Fontaine fails to distinguish between the time before and after Jerome's dream; nor does he differentiate between the Old and New Testaments.

¹⁰ For the most recent discussion of the evidence, cf. J. H. D. Scourfield, "Jerome, Antioch, and the Desert: A Note on Chronology," *JThS* 37 (1986) 117–21.

¹¹ Cf. C. A. Rapisarda, "*Ciceronianus es, non Christianus*: Dove e quando avvenne il sogno di S. Girolamo?" *Miscellanea di studi di letteratura cristiana antica* 4 (1953) 1–18; J. J. Thierry, "The Date of the Dream of Jerome," *VChr* 17 (1963) 28–40; cf. also P. Antin, "Autour du songe de saint Jérôme," *REL* 41 (1963) 376 (= *idem, Recueil sur s. Jérôme*, Collection Latomus 95 [Brussels 1968] 97). The dream had been placed at Antioch in 374–75 by F. Cavallera, *Saint Jérôme: Sa vie et son oeuvre*, *Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense* 1–2 (Louvain and Paris 1922) I.1 29 and n. 3; I.2 153. In support of this hypothesis Cavallera had referred to Jerome's mention of his illness (30. 3); however Cavallera's case is rebutted by Rapisarda 6–8.

¹² H. J. Frede, *Kirchenschriftsteller: Verzeichnis und Sigel*, *Vetus Latina* 1/1 (Freiburg 1981) 357. In the same author's *Kirchenschriftsteller: Aktualisierungsheft 1988*, *Vetus Latina* 1/1B (Freiburg 1988) 64, one finds the following comment on these letters: "erst 387 nachträglich geschrieben?" Here the reference is to the theory of P. Nautin, "Hieronymus," in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* XV (1986) 304. Nautin maintains that these letters are a subsequent forgery by Jerome, who wished to convince his detractors that he had really lived among monks.

investigate Jerome's use of the Old Testament in these letters; the findings can then be compared with Jerome's practice after his dream.¹³ The preliminary point may be made that almost all the letters in question are addressed to monks and clerics; citation of Old Testament texts would accordingly be entirely in place. It is therefore all the more noteworthy that these letters show virtually no sign of a serious study of the Old Testament.

Jerome's first letter is a substantial piece; however Hilberg's *apparatus fontium* identifies in it only one reference to the Psalms and three allusions to the Book of Daniel.¹⁴ Two of the Danieline passages are apocryphal; all three are widely cited in the later fourth century.¹⁵ The verse from the Psalms is quoted in Hebrews 13. 6.¹⁶ No allusion to the Old Testament whatever occurs in Jerome's second letter. In the third of his letters the number of New Testament texts that are adduced is not inconsiderable; this frequency merely highlights the paucity of references to the Old Testament. Four stories are mentioned. All were very famous.¹⁷ Again there is not a single verbatim quotation.

The fourth of these letters concludes with a cluster of biblical texts; such picturesque agglomerations are a characteristic feature of Jerome's compositional technique. Among passages from the New Testament he has inserted two allusions to the Psalms and one quotation from Isaiah.¹⁸ The texts from the Psalms consist of three words each; both were popular.¹⁹ The half-verse from the final chapter of Isaiah (66. 2) occurs twice in Cyprian's collection of *Testimonia* (3. 5; 3. 20). Jerome's fifth letter contains only one

However the evidence to be adduced in the present article shows Nautin's thesis to be untenable.

¹³ The reasons for concentrating attention on the letters are conveniently set out by A. S. Pease, "The Attitude of Jerome towards Pagan Literature," *TAPA* 50 (1919) 157 f. n. 57. The letters would seem in any case to be the only works which Jerome produced before his dream; the date of the *Vita Pauli*, which is sometimes assigned to this period, is open to debate.

¹⁴ I. Hilberg, *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Epistulae* I, CSEL 54 (Vienna and Leipzig 1910). Hilberg detects a further reference to a Psalm (7. 10) at *Epist.* 1. 3. 3; however the allusion is rather to Apoc. 2. 23.

¹⁵ For the Song of the Three Children, cf. J. Allenbach et al., *Biblia Patristica: Index des citations et allusions bibliques dans la littérature patristique V: Basile de Césarée, Grégoire de Nazianze, Grégoire de Nysse, Amphiloque d'Iconium* (Paris 1991) 246 f.; for the story of Susanna, cf. *ibid.* 247; for Daniel in the lions' den, cf. *ibid.* 247. Jerome does not quote literally from any of the three passages.

¹⁶ The verse in question (Ps. 117. 6) was in any case a very popular text; cf. Cyprian, *Fort.* 10; *Testim.* 3. 10.

¹⁷ On the apocryphal story of Habakkuk's visit to Daniel in the lions' den, cf. Allenbach (above, note 15) 247 f.; on Jacob's ladder, cf. *ibid.* 149 f.; on Moses' brazen serpent, cf. *ibid.* 168; on Jonah in the whale's belly, cf. *ibid.* 198 f.

¹⁸ Hilberg also finds an echo of Job 30. 19. Jerome's wording is close to the Vulgate, but not to the Septuagint; an allusion is therefore rightly discounted by J. Labourt, *Saint Jérôme. Lettres I* (Paris 1949) 17.

¹⁹ For Ps. 50. 9, cf. *TLL* V.1, col. 81.16–21 (s.v. "dealbo"; Jerome's wording differs somewhat from the scriptural text); for Ps. 145. 7, cf. *ibid.* III, col. 2027.1–4 (s.v. "compedio").

reference to the Old Testament; it is a paraphrase of the second verse of the first Psalm. This verse also figures in Cyprian's *Testimonia* (3. 120).²⁰

The same letter includes a request for the works of several Church Fathers (5. 2. 2 f.). The selection is highly significant, since it reflects a taste for stylistic refinement rather than for serious study of the bible: such a sensibility would naturally be repelled by the crude language of the prophets. Jerome asks first for Reticus of Autun's commentary on Song of Songs. Here it is the author's rhetorical finesse that is commended (*sublimiore disseruit*). Ten years later Jerome denounces the same work for its *ineptiae sensuum* (*Epist.* 37. 1. 1). Jerome's second request is for treatises of Tertullian which he does not already possess. No reason is given for this choice; it is however clear from his very extensive borrowings of Tertullian's phraseology that literary considerations were paramount.²¹ Finally Jerome asks for Hilary's commentary on the Psalms; this work is also extolled for its stylistic elegance.²² On the other hand there is significantly no mention of the commentaries on Pentateuch and Prophets by Victorinus of Pettau. These were distinguished works of exegesis, but stylistically uncouth.²³

Like Jerome's second letter his sixth contains no reference to the Old Testament whatsoever. The seventh includes another cluster of scriptural texts, in which passages from New and Old Testaments alternate (7. 3. 1 f.). Here Jerome opens with an allusion to the curse pronounced on the serpent in the account of the Fall at the beginning of Genesis; references to this passage are exceedingly common.²⁴ There follow brief quotations from three verses of the Psalms together with an echo of a fourth.²⁵ The third of these verses (Ps. 145. 7) had already been cited in the similar cluster in letter four. It may be recalled further that the Psalms will have been familiar to Jerome from liturgical usage.²⁶ The same section of this letter also includes references to Job, Jeremiah and Kings. None of them is a

²⁰ It forms the final words of the treatise. The verse was exceedingly popular; cf. Allenbach (above, note 15) 202.

²¹ Cf. the present writer, "Tertullian's 'De ieiunio' and Jerome's 'Libellus de virginitate servanda' (*Epist.* 22)," *WS* 104 (1991) 149–60; idem, "Tertullian in Jerome (*Epist.* 22,37,1 f.)," *SO* 68 (1993) 129–43; idem, "Tertullian's 'De idololatria' and Jerome," *Augustinianum* 33 (1993) 11–30.

²² Cf. *Epist.* 58. 10. 2: *sanctus Hilarius Gallicano coturno adtollitur et, cum Graeciae floribus adornetur, longis interdum periodis involvitur et a lectione simpliciorum fratrum procul est.*

²³ Cf. *Vir. ill.* 74: *opera eius grandia sensibus viliora videntur compositione verborum.*

²⁴ Cf. Allenbach (above, note 15) 143.

²⁵ Hilberg detects two further echoes of verses 14 and 22 of Psalm 106. Here however Jerome's language would seem to be too general to permit identification as an allusion to a specific passage; Labourt (above, note 18) 23 is accordingly right to rule out a biblical reference.

²⁶ Cf. H. Leclercq, "Psautier," in *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* XIV.2 (1948) coll. 1950 f.

verbatim quotation.²⁷ The letter ends with an allusion to *Samuhel nutritus in templo* (7. 6. 2).

There is not the slightest trace of the Old Testament in letters eight and nine. The tenth letter begins with a brief summary of human history from the Fall to the flood; it also contains two quotations from the Psalms.²⁸ Jerome's eleventh letter is full of scriptural citation; however virtually all of it comes from the New Testament. Hilberg notes only two echoes of the Old Testament. For the first he compares Ezekiel 18. 23 and 33. 11; the two verses are practically identical. It is however significant that here Jerome does not cite the biblical text; instead he employs a paraphrase (*mavult paenitentiam peccatoris quam mortem*) which had already occurred in several passages of Tertullian²⁹ and in Cyprian's collection of *Testimonia* (3. 114). The scriptural text itself is quite different.³⁰ The second reference to the Old Testament which Hilberg professes to detect is rightly dismissed by Labourt:³¹ Jerome's wording is quite different.

The twelfth and thirteenth letters are similarly packed with scriptural allusion; however both of them together significantly contain only a single reference to the Old Testament.³² The passage in question is Isaiah's description (40. 15) of the gentiles as a *stilla situlae* (*Epist.* 12. 2). The text had already been quoted with great frequency by Tertullian.³³ Jerome's fourteenth letter is the last to have been written before his dream. It is the very long exhortation to Heliodorus to embrace the eremitic life. References to the Old Testament are again noticeably scarce. In the first

²⁷ The passage of IV Kings 25 which concerns the fall of Jerusalem is frequently quoted; cf. J. Allenbach et al., *Biblia Patristica: Index des citations et allusions bibliques dans la littérature patristique IV: Eusèbe de Césarée, Cyrille de Jérusalem, Epiphane de Salamine* (Paris 1987) 90 f.; idem (above, note 15) 180. The Job passage (40. 11 = 40. 16 LXX) had already been cited in Athanasius' famous *Life of Antony* (ch. 5) and in Basil of Ancyra's *De virginitate* (ch. 7). It had also been frequently adduced by Origen; cf. J. Allenbach et al., *Biblia Patristica: Index des citations et allusions bibliques dans la littérature patristique III: Origène* (Paris 1980) 200. In Jerome's own oeuvre the text occurs a dozen times; its sexual reference (*in lumbo*) naturally attracted him.

²⁸ The second (Ps. 11. 7) is quoted with some frequency; cf. Allenbach (above, note 15) 205; idem (previous note) IV 142. Some scholars would assign a later date to this letter; cf. C. C. Mierow and T. C. Lawler, *The Letters of St. Jerome I*, Ancient Christian Writers 33 (Westminster, MD and London 1963) 201 f.

²⁹ *Adv. Marc.* 2. 8 p. 345.3 f.; *ibid.* 2. 13 p. 353.22 f.; *ibid.* 4. 32 p. 529.21; *ibid.* 5. 11 p. 610.18 f.; *Pudic.* 18 p. 261.20; *Scorp.* 1 p. 145.27 f. Jerome's preoccupation with Tertullian at this period was noted above.

³⁰ Apud (e.g.) pseudo-Cyprian, *Ad Novat.* 10. 4: *vivo ego, dicit dominus, quia non desidero mortem peccatoris, sicut desidero ut avertatur peccator a via sua pessima et vivat.*

³¹ Labourt (above, note 18) 30; here Hilberg compared Prov. 14. 12 and Ezek. 18. 25.

³² Hilberg identifies a further reference in *Epist.* 12. 2 (Is. 14. 12–15). Jerome's language is however far too vague to constitute an echo; cf. Labourt (above, note 18) 31. At *Epist.* 13. 1 Hilberg refers to Ps. 4. 5; however the same text is found in Eph. 4. 26.

³³ *Viz. Fug.* 2. 7; *Adv. Iud.* 1. 3; *Adv. Marc.* 4. 25 p. 506.10; *Paenit.* 4. 3; *Praescr.* 8, lines 20 f.

eight chapters Hilberg detects only a quotation from a Psalm, a maxim from the opening chapter of Wisdom and an allusion to Deuteronomy.³⁴

Chapter nine of the letter then introduces another cluster of biblical texts which again comprises material from both Old and New Testaments. The first reference to the Old Testament is a laconic allusion to the apocryphal story of Susanna; the same episode is already found in Jerome's very first letter (1. 9. 2). Jerome then refers to the prophetic call which Amos received while dressing sycamore trees; the incident is mentioned frequently.³⁵ It is followed by David's appointment to the kingship as he kept the sheep; this event too enjoys considerable popularity with contemporary writers.³⁶ Finally Jerome adds two literal citations. Both are short. The first is Isaiah 66. 2; Jerome had already adduced this text in the comparable cluster at the end of his fourth letter. The second quotation is another striking phrase from Wisdom (6. 7); it belongs to Cyprian's collection of *Testimonia* (3. 112). The remaining chapters of the letter to Heliodorus show no further trace of the Old Testament.

The results of the foregoing enquiry may be briefly summarized. Jerome produced fourteen letters before his dream; some of them are very long. References to the Old Testament are however distinctly sparse. It is also noteworthy that hardly any of them are literal quotations. Only the Psalms form an exception here; the point was made earlier that their use in the liturgy ensured a certain degree of familiarity. The present article began from Jerome's avowal that before his dream it was the prophets in particular who repelled him. It is no surprise therefore to find that these fourteen letters contain only two verbatim quotations from the entire prophetic literature of the Old Testament. Both are short. Moreover each text comes from Isaiah and is cited with great frequency elsewhere; one of them is repeated by Jerome himself.³⁷ All these findings present a very significant contrast with Jerome's later practice.

Jerome's fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth letters belong to the end of his stay in the desert.³⁸ No conclusions can be drawn from them as to Jerome's use of the Old Testament, since they were written too soon after his dream and are in any case too insubstantial. They each contain a number of Old Testament references; most are quoted frequently elsewhere. Between the end of Jerome's sojourn in the desert and his move to Rome

³⁴ Deut. 17. 12 had been quoted repeatedly in Cyprian's letters; cf. 3. 1; 4. 4; 43. 7; 59. 4; 66. 3. These letters have clearly influenced Jerome's own letter to Heliodorus; cf. Hilberg's *apparatus fontium* to ch. 10. At 3. 4 of the letter Hilberg also identifies a reference to Exod. 20. 12; however Jerome's wording here is closer to Eph. 6. 1 and Col. 3. 20.

³⁵ Cf. Allenbach (above, note 15) 198.

³⁶ Cf. Allenbach (above, note 15) 175.

³⁷ The texts in question are Is. 40. 15 and 66. 2; Jerome cites the first in *Epist.* 12. 2 and the second at both *Epist.* 4. 2. 2 and 14. 9. 2.

³⁸ Frede, *Verzeichnis* (above, note 12) 357 assigns a date of 376/7 to the first two; he places the third in 379. There would seem however to be no reason for detaching the last letter from the other two; cf. Cavallera (above, note 11) II 16.

there is a gap in the correspondence. Only one letter survives from the intervening period which he spent in Constantinople (*Epist.* 18). Here the content is exegetical. While this novel subject-matter certainly reflects Jerome's new interest in the Old Testament, it also disqualifies the letter from comparison with the kind of scriptural citation that was employed in the letters examined above. The first letters to be written in Rome are similarly inadmissible as evidence; they too are concerned with exegesis.³⁹

The first letter which allows a valid comparison is accordingly the twenty-second; this is the long letter to Eustochium on the preservation of virginity. Fontaine concludes his recent study of Jerome's literary style up to his departure from Rome by suggesting that a careful comparison be undertaken of letters fourteen and twenty-two.⁴⁰ They are closely related in theme. When such an investigation is conducted into Jerome's use of the Old Testament in these two letters, the results are highly revealing. Whereas Jerome's fourteenth letter contains no more than eight Old Testament references, there are altogether some two hundred in the twenty-second. Moreover approximately a quarter of these passages come from the prophets;⁴¹ many of them are seldom or never quoted elsewhere.⁴² Significantly it is also in this letter that Jerome recounts his dream. The evidence just adduced provides overwhelming corroboration of Jerome's statement in this account that as the result of his dream he conquered his distaste for the language of the Old Testament prophets and began to study them intensively.

A number of observations may be made in conclusion. The change that has been documented above in Jerome's quotations from the Old Testament is a further argument against the minority of scholars who have been inclined to doubt the reality of Jerome's dream.⁴³ It also confirms the interpretation of the dream offered at the start of the present article. Contrary to the *communis opinio* the significance of this experience lies—as Jerome himself says—in his conversion to scripture, not in any putative repudiation of the classics.⁴⁴ Finally the foregoing examination would also

³⁹ Viz. letters 20 and 21; letter 19 is from Pope Damasus.

⁴⁰ Fontaine (above, note 9) 342.

⁴¹ To the passages identified by Hilberg can be added the following (page and line numbers are from his edition): Ezek. 28. 13 (p. 148.17); Jer. 13. 26 (p. 151.9 f.); Jer. 2. 16 (p. 151.11 f.); Jer. 2. 32 (p. 151.16); Jer. 27. 16 (p. 152.7 f.); Jer. 15. 17 (p. 152.17 f.); Obad. 3 f. (p. 160.4 ff.); Is. 3. 16 (pp. 160.9 and 161.7); Ezek. 1. 15 ff. (p. 168.20 f.); Is. 28. 24 (p. 170.9); Jer. 17. 14 (p. 182.14).

⁴² Cf. (e.g.) Is. 34. 5 (p. 146.14 f.); Hab. 1. 16 (p. 148.13); Am. 5. 2 (p. 150.3 f.); Am. 8. 13 (p. 150.7 f.); Is. 47. 1 ff. (p. 150.17 ff.); Ezek. 16. 25 (p. 151.10 f.); Is. 1. 21 (p. 151.14); Jer. 3. 3 (p. 161.9 f.); Hos. 7. 4 (p. 165.18 f.); Zech. 9. 16 (p. 168.19); Is. 28. 24 (p. 170.9); Jer. 4. 7 (p. 172.15); Lam. 4. 4 (p. 172.17).

⁴³ Cf. note 3 above.

⁴⁴ Hagendahl (above, note 3) 320 notes that during Jerome's stay in Rome his reminiscences of the classics "are neither particularly frequent nor conspicuous"; he of course assumes that in this period Jerome is keeping his "vow." Two other reasons may be suggested which would seem to be more plausible. In the first place Jerome's new preoccupation with the Old

seem to refute Nautin's recent assertion that Jerome's first seventeen letters were not written until 387.⁴⁵ If this had been the case, they would certainly have reflected his new preoccupation with the Old Testament.⁴⁶

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Testament and the concurrent study of Hebrew will have kept him too busy to read the classics (cf. "Gregory of Nazianzus and Jerome" [above, note 6] 16). Secondly citation of the classics in contexts heavily coloured by Old Testament quotation would have generated an intolerable clash of styles.

⁴⁵ Cf. Nautin (above, note 12).

⁴⁶ On the other hand the present analysis confirms Nautin's view that the juvenile commentary on Obadiah to which Jerome refers later at *In Abd. prol.* is in fact a fabrication for apologetic purposes; cf. P. Nautin, "La liste des oeuvres de Jérôme dans le *De viris illustribus*," *Orpheus* 5 (1984) 326. Jerome alleges that this commentary was written *quando ego et Heliodorus carissimus pariter habitare solitudinem Syriae Chalcidis volebam* (*In Abd. prol.*, lines 45 ff.). Evidently it never existed.