CHRONOLOGY



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treaty BYZANTINE STUDIES

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WITH THE HELP OF

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CHRONOLOGY

bу

V. GRUMEL

of the French Institute of Byzantine Studies

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TREATISE ON BYZANTINE STUDIES

The "Treaty" that we have the ambition to carry out is not intended for those who have acquired, in the matters that each volume will deal with, the competence of the specialist. Nor does it claim to be a definitive sum. He would simply like to bring to a vast and complex discipline the Byzantineism understood in the broadest sense — we would gladly say: the history of the Eastern Middle Ages, of which Byzantium was the pivot — a working instrument which he lacks.

Most of us, in fact, in the practice of teaching or in that of research, have made two observations.

The first is that those who approach Byzantine studies, head-on or from a bias, to devote themselves to them or for occasional research, have at their disposala few works, sometimes excellent, from which they can draw general information; they find little or no information which, introducing them to methods and techniques, enable them to do personal work without first losing a great deal of timeto painful and perilous trial and error.

The second is that Byzantineism is threatened with asphyxiation. The nourishing sap, which he should draw from an ever-expanding and renewed study of texts and documents, is drying up. Not for lack of texts or documents: they are, on the contrary, very numerous. But many remain unpublished; most of the others are poorly edited, poorly studied, inaccessible, difficult or dangerous to use. The most necessary task for the progress of Byzantine studies is topublish orrepublish the sources.

Techniques, methods, editing and criticism of sources: these are the concerns that have inspired the programme of this Treaty, which, more than the balance sheet of the past, would like to be an instrument for the future, and which has beengiven a character above all practicality.

* *

The first two volumes appeared: La chronologie, by V. Grumel, and Les papyrus, by A. Bataille. The following volumes have been on site for a long time, and will appear at a rate that we hope will be fairly rapid:

- III. Manuscripts, by A. Dain.
- IV. Archival documents, by P. Lemerle.
- V. Inscriptions, by P. Lemerle.
- VI. La sigillographie, by V. Laurent.
- VII. Numismatics, by V. Laurent.
- VIII. Les sources littéraires, by R. Guilland.
- IX. Language, by A. Mirambel.

<u>Viii</u> I. CHRONOLOGY

This series of nine volumes corresponds to the initial "minimum" programme, so to speak, the execution of which seems to be assured from now on. But there is a desire to recruit newprofessionals, especially among young people. It is also hoped that some of them will be filledby devoting a series of papers to particular categories of sources, each of which has its own unity and its own problems: for example, there. de Malafosse will deal with legal collections; A. Dain, works of military art; the R.P. Halkin,lives of saints; others, scientific writings, canonical collections, works of spirituality, etc.

Finally, we have the ambition to crown the treatise of Byzantine studies with a work which, going beyond the frameworks of the Greek empire of Oriant, but thereby placing it in its true context and giving it its true meaning, will deal with countries and peoples whose history was intimately mixed with that of Byzantium. For each of them — Persia, Armenia, Bulgaria, Russia, Serbia, Arab peoples, Turks, etc. — the chronological, geographical and historical data and references necessary for the Byzantineist will be collected in condensed formto broaden his own field to the dimensions of the problem which mustinformand guidehis research: Byzantium and the medieval world.

Paul LEMERLE.

foreword

The title of "Chronology" given to this first volume of the *Treatise on Byzantine Studies* may have led many to believe that it would consist in an orderly enumeration of the events that form the fabric of the long history of Byzantium and its Empire, with indication for each of them of the sources of all provenance and implementation of the latest results of criticism; in short, a recasting, responding to the progress made and the current requirements, of the famous Essay of Byzantine *chronology* of E. de Muralt, published in the last century. Such an undertaking is, of course, most desirable and worthy of trying a courageous team. Other is the purpose of this book. It has in view not the chronological course of events, but the modes or processes of dating used in the multiple and diverse sources of interest to Byzantinehistory, as well as the way in which they are interpreted and used correctly. Its own object, in a word, are the *means of chronology* in the B Yzantine studies. They are of various orders: years of the world, calendars specific to this or that country, cycles of years, civil and religious eras, limits of reigns or pontificates, indications of liturgical days or festivals, natural phenomena; Allof that is part of our agenda.

Among these means of dating, the most commonly used in the sources is the calculation of the years since the beginning of the world, or world era. This calculation has as an essential assumption, common to all chronographs, a literal interpretation of the first chapter of Genesis on the six days of creation and an astronomical system that corresponds to it. It is absolutely necessary to take the same perspective if we want to see how the cronographers were able to proceed. It should come as no surprise that we are entering their system to understand them.

The beginning of the world was variously evaluated by chronographs, and different eras of the world were used. It was necessary to indicate the basis for these assessments and the causes of this diversity. An examination of previous chronologie works, even the most developed, has caused us disappointment and sometimes surprise on this subject, since some explanations ultimately have no authority other than the illustrious name that houses them. It was therefore necessary to resume the study in depth. Themultiple researches, confrontations and verifications that had to be done and redone, the discussions through which we had to go, the results that we reached are the raison d'être and constitute the subject of the essay that opens the volume under the title: *The origin of the world eras*.

It may seem to some that various parts of our work, and even the general idea, are not entirely new. It is because we have indeed communicated here and there the results of our research:to the Association of Greek Studies, by dealing with the "era of the Romans" (summarized in REG, 66, 1953, p. xi'); to the International Congress of Byzantine Studies in Thessaloniki (1953), where listeners who had not attracted elsewhere from theaustere moins sessions were able to hear the final and summary chapter of The origin of the world *eras* (summarized in the notebook communicated to the congressmen; in *Byzantion*, t. 22, 1952 (published in 1953), p. 420; and in the Hz.7-cp xypIvo:of the Congress, t. II, 1956, p. 434). In addition, the *REB* welcomed two articles, one on the first world eras and their foundations (t. 10, 1952, pp. 93-108), the other, on the Byzantine indiction (t. 13, 1954, pp. 128143). They have been included in this volume, but revised and directed, and it is to this new text that criticism will henceforth have to refer.

Readers already informed by these partial papers will at least find in the present study, which now replaces them, in addition to clarifications on particular questions which relate to the whole, the detailed justification andto the sequence of our synthesis on the origin of the world eras.

If one should not look in this volume for a chronography like that of E. de Murait, one should not expect to find a work of chronology strictly technical. It will always be necessary to resort for this to the **fundamental** works of Pétau, Ideler, Ginzel, Schram, Neugebauer, to name only those that we have made special useof. We have used them according to the object and in the direction of our research, endeavouring to identify all that was necessary and useful for the fabric of our presentation and for the control of our deductions and conclusions.

Finally, let's say a word from the bibliography. It will soon be recognized that it is far from exhaustive; however, we believe that we have given everything that is sufficient. Those who desire more will find ample in Ginzel to fill them. It goes without saying that we have endeavoured to supplement it with regard to more recent work.

We have also focused on the other parts of this volume, especially on the historical lists, both civil and ecclesiastical, by having several of them assisted by highly qualified specialists.

As it stands, we deliver this book to the public in the hope that it will be useful to them. We know it imperfect, we could improve it over time; but neither the public warned by an announcement that promised him for 1950, nor the friendly instances, not to say pressures, of M. Lemerle, initiator and director of the *Treatise on Byzantine Studies*, allow a longer delay: *eichyx-'r*, (5T'iivoct. If we notice gaps, inaccuracies or errors, let us remember that the science of times is one of those where it is easiest to make mistakes: EùéiXtdov 7r;z 4 ckp.a.p-riocv Tri aypt, and remember that we are ready for all the corrections of which we will be shown the validity, in accordance with the word of the wise: 0-(,)-,:-/p i'ATi0E:ç.7.C.', /.2!

Paris, 21 November 1956.

PERIODICALS, COLLECTIONS AND BOOKS

MOST OFTEN CITED

I. - PERIODICALS AND COLLECTIONS

RNI	Byzantinisch-Neugriechische jahrbücher, Athens.
	Byzantion Byzantion, Brussels.
CIG	BECK, Corpus inscriptionum graecarunz.
	Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres,
	Paris.
DACL	Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie, Paris.
EO	Echos d'Orient, Kadikiiy-Bucharest-Paris.
	Zachariae VON LINGENTHAL, <i>Jus graeco-romanum</i> , I-VII, Leipzig, 1866-1884.
MANSI	MANSI, Conciliorum amplissima collectio.
	Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Berlin.
OCP	Orientalia christiana periodica, Rome.
<i>PG</i>	MIGNE, Patrologia Graeca, Paris.
<i>PL</i>	MIGNE, Patrologia Latina, Paris.
PO	GRAFFIN-NAU, Patrologia Orientalis, Paris.
<i>RB</i>	Revue biblique, Jérusalem-Paris.
<i>RE</i>	Real Enzyklop(idie de PAULY-WISSOWA-KROLL, Stuttgart.
	Revue des Etudes byzantines, Paris.
<i>REG</i>	Revue des Etudes grecques, Paris.
<i>ROC</i>	Revue de l'Orient chrétien, Paris.
V V	Vizantijskij Vremennik, St. Petersburg, Moscow.
	II. — BOOKS
CHAINE	M. CHAINE, La chronologie des temps chrétiens en Egypte et en Ethiopie,
DULAURIER	M. CHAINE, La chronologie des temps chrétiens en Egypte et en Ethiopie, Paris, 1925. E. DULAURIER, Recherches sur la chronologie arménien, t. I: Chrono-
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Part I THE ORIGIN OF THE WORLD ERAS

TREATY OFBYZANTINE STATES,

introduction

FOUNDATIONS OF THE WORLD ERAS

Three elements have intervened in the constitution of the world eras.

First a mystical idea: the duration of the world must correspond to the six days of Creation: "A thousand years are like a day in the eyes of the Lord." The world must therefore last six thousand years, after which the sabbatical rest of eternity will come. This idée is ancient among Christians: we see it in the epistle of Barnabas (1), in Saint Irenée (2), Clement of Alexandria (3), Hippolytus (4). Clement of Alexandria and Hippolytus indicate, they seem the first to do so, that it is in the sixth thousandthanniversary that the advent of Christ is placed. They were to be led there by the long history of mankind reported by the Bible, and presented by them as a preparation and an expectation of the promised Deliverer. They both specify, but different, as we shall see later, the date of the advent of Christ. Let us say straight away that this date, with few exceptions, was ideally crystallized in the middle of the sixth millennium, so that the year 5500 marks the separationbetween the time of promise and expectation and the time of completion, either that the latter begins in the year 5500 itself, or that it began after 5 500 years, in other words in 5501. This fact was considered essential bysomeographers, who maintained it at all costs; others, who were forced to deviate from it, did so as little as possible.

The second element that conditions the world eras is the chronology of the life of Christ and especially the date of his death, as at least the authors have variously released them from evangelical data. These are not strong enough to impose a common conclusion. Certainly, St. Luke provides us with a point of support by marking in the fifteenth year of Tiberius the preaching of St. John the Baptist, to which is attached the baptism of Jesus, then old, says the evanist, about thirty yearsold. This "environ" is imprecise. To this imprecision is added another concerning the duration of christ's ministry. The synoptic account does not suggest that this ministry included a second year, and more than one Passover, the second being that of the Passion. The account of St. John includes several Easter, at first sight three, before the last one whenhe himself wasimmolated on the Cross. Of these two conceptions, the second one ultimately prevailed. It is not difficult to see that the adoption of one or the other of these conceptions on the chronology of Christ, by modifying the relationships, conditions the ordinance of the cosmic chronology where it will have to fit.

The choice between these two conceptions also depends, conversely, on the date of Christ's death,

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(1) Barnabae elyist., XV, 4-3.
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⁽²⁾ Contra haereses, V, 28, 2-4.

⁽³⁾ Jean MALALAS, X, p. 228 (ed. Bonn).

⁽⁴⁾ In Danielem, IV, 24; ed. BONWETSCH-ACHELIS, 244-246.

crumb

and as this date is originally linked to imprescriptible data from evangelical narratives, and then to later traditions which, in turn, will appear intangible, there is a whole set that it will be necessary for chronographs to take into account in the elaboration or modification of the cosmic chronology, in other words of their world era.

The third element that intervenes in the creation of cosmic eras is the Pascal computus. The first concern of Christians in termsof the supputation of the times was the determination of the Easter festival. Various cannons or cycles were designed to establish in advance for a renewable period the dates of the Paschal term (= 14 Nisan) commanding the celebration of solemnity. Someof them never had more than this practical purpose; but others, beyond their original purpose, had an essential role in the constitution of the world eras. Those of the chronographs who were at the same time computists did not believe themselves permis or did not consider it possible to fix the age of the world without taking into account the cycle created or adopted by them. The first year of the world in fact had to meet certain conditions imposed by the movement of the stars and included in the cycle. It had to have characteristics related to the phases of the moon, the spring equinox, the solar course, the distribution of days in weeks, characteristics that were to reproduce the same after a certain number of cycles. It is easy to see that to this objective element the mystical idea will have to sacrifice somewhat.

THE WORLD ERA AND THE CHRISTIAN ERA

EARLY COMPUTISTS AND CHRONOGRAPHS

Apologists. - CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA. - HIPPOLYTE
THE COMPUTIST OF 243. - THE 84-YEAR-OLD ROMAN PASCAL CYCLE
AFRICANUS AND ANATOLE. - CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA AND EUSEBIUS

Apologists

It was first of all for an apologetic purpose that we applied ourselves to determine the antiquity of the world. This depth of history made it possible to mark the anteriority and, by this,the superiority of Moses and the prophets over the sages and poets of Greece. The firstauthor to see doing so is the Jewish historian jOSi'PHE. To those who allege the recent origin of the Jewish nation on the pretext that the Greeks did not speak of it, he recalls the history that he traced according to the Scriptures: it has,he says, more than 5,000 years (he begins it with the creation) (1).

Without naming this predecessor, and perhaps without knowing him, Christian apologists use the same argument. Thus, THe_OPHILE D'ANTIOCHE, who, in his third book to Autolycus, entirely **devoted to this** problem, develops a detailed chronology of biblical history and ends it with the sum of the years of the world from Adam to Aurelius Verus (= Marcus Aurelius): 5,695 years (2). Pushed, as we see, well beyond **the** beginning of **Christianity**(Marcus Aurelius died in 180), this count of years is established however outside any relation to the chronology of Christ, either birth, preaching, Passion or resurrection. It does not therefore seem to be linked to a mystique idea, but to proceed from an evaluation or a personal interpretation of the more or less precise chronological data provided by the Bible.

CLEMENTOFALEXANDRIA

In turn, CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA (t before 215) deals with ancient chronology in the same perspective (Strom. I, 21) and also marks the antiquity of the world, but we also find in him indications of the chronology of the Christ to which his attention has been was no doubt attracted by the Easter controversy. Clement is indeed the author of a IIz.p; 'iazoc, unfortunately lost, but cited by Eusebius, the Chronicon Paschale, the Sacra Parallela, Nikephoros of Constantinople (3).

- (i) Contra Apionem, I, r.
- (2) Ad Autolycum, III, 29.
- (3) These grouped quotations can be found in the edition of O. STÂHLIN, Clemens Alex., III, 216-218.

The quotation from the *Chronicon Paschale* tells us that Clement of Alexandria placed the Passion of Christ on the 14th day of the moon, without indicating a calendar of a solar month. In his *Stromates (I,* 21), Clement gives only one year to the public life of Christ, whom he makes die at the age of 30 years(1).

As for the time of the appearance of Christ, we take from Malalas, who unfortunately refrain from quoting, that Clement, as well as Theophilus and Timothy placed it 17? L-x-r-îi

·/),Xt. ·;. U.; (2). The expression is not clear, but it reflects the same mysticism of the duration of the world analogous to the week of creation. What Malalasintends to designate, in reporting this opinion, is, as we see from the context, the year 6000, where he himself places the Passion and the Resurrection of Christ. It is more than doubtful that we should see here the thought of Clement of Alexandria. It was probably in the De Paschate that he set out his views on this subject. In the absence of this work, we have in the Stromates data from which emerges the precise date that Clement assigned to the coming of Christ during the sixth millennium. Clement puts indeed 5,784 years 2 months and 12 days from Adam until the death of emperor Commodus (31 Dec. 192) and 194 years I month and 13 days from the death of Christ until the same event (3). This puts the Christian era of Clement (year of christ's birth from creation) in 5590 and his era of the world (years passed from creation to our era) in the year 5591 (— i of our era), the year 5592 corresponding to year i of our era. It is difficult to know what such a chronology is related to. This is why Hozakowski made the assumption of a copyist's mistake. By replacing 5784 by 5694 we arrive at the result 5694 — 194 = 5500, the middle of the sixth millennium (4). This is a possibility, but Hozakowski's arguments for turning it into probability are based on material errors that can onlybe explained by a distraction of which the most minds can fall victim. We will in turn formulate a hypothesis that will be found later by the that the same principle of solution also applies to the era of Eusebius of Caesarea.

Hippolyte

With HIPPOLYTE, we are on firmer ground. It is very clearly that he teaches us that Christ was born in the middle of the sixth millennium of the world. He finds a symbolic indication of this in the dimensions of the Ark of the Covenant: it had two and a half cubuckles in length, one and a half cubuckles in width and one and a half cubs in height. These five and a half cubits represent the 5,500 years of the world, "at which time the Savior produced His own body, a golden ark of pure gold inside**by the**Word, outside by the Holy Spirit... Since the birth of Christ, it still takes 500 years to complete the 6,000 years and it will then be the end" (5). This is taken from Daniel's commentary which is commonly believed to be composed vers 203-204.

The world era in the Easter Table

The same design emerges from Hippolyte's Paschal table engraved on his statue (6). This table exposes a cycle of 112 years in 7 hekkaidekaétérides, thehekkaidékaétéride or *sedecennitas* being a doubling of theokateétéride as to the monthly calendars, mais non as to the days of the week.

- (1) Ed. SritIILIN, II, 90 = PG, 8, 588.
- (2) Ed. Bonn, 228 = PG, 97, 353 = A. SCHENK Graf VON STAUFFENBERG, p. 12.
- (3) Ed. STÂHLIN, II, 89 =-- PG, 8, 81.
- (4) HoztacowsKI, De Chronographia Clementis Al., Monasterii, 1896, p. 20.
- (5) In Danielem, IV, 24; ed. BONWETSCH, 244-246.
- (6) PG, Io, 875-876; see ScHWARTZ, Ostertafeln; M. RICHARD, « Comput et chronographie chez saint Hippolyte », in Mélanges de science religieuse (Lille), 7, 1950, 237 following. We do not enter into controversy about the character of the statue, author of the Table. We retain its traditional nameuntil there is definite proof of a newattribution.

At the end of the cycle, the Easter date must return to the same monthly calendar and the same day of the week. This cycle is infallible for the return of the days of the week, but it is very defective for the monthly calendar of Easter: it very quickly leads to a significant deviation from the actual lunations. For example if the I4th day of the Easter moon in 222 falls on a Saturday, April 13, it will happen, II2 years later, that April 13 will surely be a Saturday but it will certainly not be the I4th day of the moon.

Hippolyte's Easter table presents the years in a purely conventional order. The first coincided with the first year of Emperor Alexander (= 222) and was perhaps chosen because of this. The actual beginning of the cycle is any year that bringsthe XIV lunae of the first lunar month (Nisan) to the same dates of week and month (Julian solar month) as at creation. What were these dates for Hippolytus? It is very difficult to know this in any way, because we are rivetedby his explanation of the Paschal Table. The system that is believed to be his is as follows (1):

The first day of creation is March 25 considered the equinox. The moon, created on the 4th day with the sun, did not receive its brightness until the 5th, Thursday, March 29, in its full, on its 14th day. The initial year of the cycle must therefore present its 14 Nisan on Thursday, March 29. It is therefore a question of identifying this concordance (Thursday and March 29) in the Pascal e Tableof Hippolyte. And this will make it possible to identify which are the world era and the Christian era that are at its base. This concordance is found there twice, in the 13rd year of the 3rd sedecennitas, and in the 5th of the 7th, respectively in 266 and 322. The world era sought will therefore be a number of years which, summed with one of these two dates — I, so 265 or 321 (to be chosen), provides a multiple of 112. Among the numbers that have this characteristic, the mystical perspective where Hippolytus moves allows us to retain only the one that comes closest to 5,500. However, with the year 265 the number to be added together to have the nearest multiple of 5,500 is 5,447, while with 321, such a number is 5,503. This figure therefore gives us the cosmic era of Hippolytus, that is to say that for him, 5,503 years have passed before the beginning of our era, so that the year 1 of our era corresponds to the year 5504 of his. There is therefore a difference of three years between the two, as far as the units are concerned.

The Christian era of Hippolyte, that is, the year he assigns to the birth of Christ since the beginning of the world, is in the same way. The birth of Christ, in the Paschal Table, is expressly indicated by the author himself in the second row of the first *sedecennitas*, on April 2, Wednesday; and this characteristic is that of the year 223. There must therefore be an interval of 112 years or a multiple of II2 years between this date and the date of the Savior's birth. This can only be 224 (112 X 2). But this difference results in placing the Savior's birth in the year—2 AD. This puts the event in 5502 of the era of Hippolytus stated above.

These are the world era and the Christian era of Hippolytus if we start from the assumption that the Paschal moon of Creation took place, according to him, on March 29, a Thursday. This is a hypothesis, not a certainty. Can we not, in fact, assume another system that takes into account the date of christ's birth in 5500 and whose special merit would be precisely to respect this date? Whoever the author of the Paschal Table is indeed, it is undeniable that the mysticism of the number 5,500 was imposed on him, and that he wanted to observe it, and this strictly if possible. It is possible, however, in the interpretationthat we dare to move forward. It consists in lowering the traditional date by two years by stopping at the 7th year of the 7th sedecennitas: the recursionence cyclic with the first year of the world is then in the year 324 of our era. This gives us a Hippolyte world era of 5,501 years,

(I) According to N. RICIIARD, art. cit.

where year I of the Dionysian era is 5502 of the era of Hippolytus. As a result, the Christian era of Hippolytus is also lowered by two years: it is the year 5500, which is precisely the year marked in the Commentary of Daniel.

The Easter date of the world's first year is April 5 on a Sunday. This day, Sunday, offers an interesting parallel with the day of christ's Resurrection and christian Passover. The relationship to the creation of the world of this Easter date of Sunday, April 5 can be conceived in two ways: either by placing the first day of creation on this same date, and the creation of the luminaires on the following Wednesday, April 8, the moon being then **on its** xvlle day, or by placing the first day of creation in the**previous sun**reed, **March** 29, and the creation of the luminaires on the Wednesday that follows it, the moon being then on its xth day.

In the first case, the moon would have been created in a state of decay. This is not a major drawback: it does not in fact frightenHippolyte's contemporaries, the

antecessores" that blames the computist of 343. Onthe otherhand, one thing is to be noticed, it is that this XIV lunae from April 5 to year I of creation is not a real XIV lunae, since the creation of the moon is on the following Wednesday. The first real XIV lunae is to the following year. It is then a March 25, mystical coincidence, March 25 being in the computus of Hippolytus on the day of the Passion of Christ.

In the second case: I^{er} day of creation 29 March and creation of the luminaires I^{er} April, the moon is created on its xth day. This gives us a very interesting parallel. The Io Nisan was the first day of the preparation of the Passover. It is on this date that the agneau intended for self-immolation was reserved. The genetic state of the moon thus responds perfectly to the legal dates concerning the Jewish Passover. In addition, we note that this same date of **April** 5 is also that of the first Passover to the Exodus and also the firstcelebrated after the entry into the Promised Land, both u according to Daniel" (see notes 4 and 9 of the Table). And it is precisely in his Commentary on Daniel that Hippolytus declares the birth of Christ in 5500. We have therefore **gathered here** on Sunday, April 5, the following parallels:

April 5: first XIV lunae (real) to the first year of the world;

first Passover of the Jews to the Exodus, and first Passover also after their entry into the Earth promised, image of the Kingdom of God, the Church, where one enters through the death of Christ,

the true Easter victim of Christians.

Sunday: first XIV lunae (real) to the first year of the world;

day of the Resurrection of Christ, and the celebration of the Passover among Christians.

In any way, therefore, that the XIV lunae 5 April relates to the creation of the world, either by putting the first day of creation on the same date, or by putting it on the previous Sunday, one obtains interesting parallels. Our preferences would rather go to the second case, where the parallels are more numerous and the first day of creation closer to the equinox, supputed atthe time of March 25. I am not hiding the fact that it is with regard to the equinox that we will find the main difficulty, and probably the only one, in the system we are putting forward. He will be reproached for not putting the day of creation there. It is important hereto confront the objection well, far from dodging it.

In the first place, this conception that places the first day of creation at the equinox, who can ensure that it is strictly that of Hippolytus? It was enough to place the creation at the environs of the equinox to satisfy what the genealogical narrative may suggest.

But above all, have we seen what the traditional explanation of the Table of Hippolyte leaves much to be desired? For finally, if we want to stick strictly to what the receit of Genesis suggests, it is that to the equinox is attached not only the first day of creation, but also, with the intermediate days, that especially that of the creation of the sun and the moon, the two stars having to share

also the vuz04.spov. It is even this day that must be recognized as an equinoxial term, since it is only then by the movement of the two stars that the ratio of duration of day and night (1) has been able to vary. What the account of Genesis still suggests that sun and moon are created in opposition, the moon then being in its full. However, this double suggestion is contradicted in an exeges where the first day of creation serves as an equinoxial term and where the moon is created in its cruxth day.

Ifin the traditional system strict conformity with what is called the genealogical narrative is not obtained, it cannot be required either from the system we propose: and one must therefore draw the conclusion that the consideration of the day of the equinoxe must not intervene in the problem of the era of the world to be extracted from the Table of Hippolytus, but possibly only the mystical parallels (2). In our system, parallels are independent of any relation to the equinox. In theinternal system, they assume the creation of the world at the strict date of the equinox, a coincidence which we have just shown to be unfounded, having regard to the Genealogical account. The only concordance with the equinox that can and must be recognized in**the Table of**Hippolytus is that of the Passion of Christ, which is marked there on March 25.

I think I have said enough to show that the hypothesis we are putting forward can balance the previous system without disadvantage, perhaps even with the age of the one whose price will be be be recognized, to reconcile the era of the Paschal Table with the era of the Commentary of Daniel.

It is not only on the world era and the year of Christ's birth that the Paschal Table provides uswith information, but also on the date of the Passion of Christ. It marks it expressly in the i6th year of the 2nd sedecennitas, and it is the year 253 that is the recurring year. By calculating in the same way as above, one is led to fix the great event to the year 29 of our era, and in the era of Hippolytus to the year 5532, if one sticks to the first hypothesis on the Paschal moon of creation, but to the year 5530, if one is willing to accept the second. It is worth noting here, to justify these dates, that, the birth of Christ being marked in the 2nd year of the First sedecennitas, and his death in the 16th year of the 2nd, Christ, in truth, had not completed his 3rd birthday when he died, since it was March 25 and he was born on April 2, but it was indeed the 31st year according to the Easter numeration. He therefore died in the year 5530 of the era of Hippolytus that we have assumed, the year 31 of his Christian era, and 29 of our era.

The World Era in the Chronicle

Having set out a new interpretation of the era of Hippolytus, I cannot dispense with confronting it with the Chronicle of which he is the author. The edition given by Bauer (3) tells us that we do not own it, at least for the most part, as it came out of the chronograph pen. This scholar distinguishes two essays, which he calls H¹ and W. The first has as guarantors the *codex Matritensis graecus 4 701* and a Latin translation named by Scaliger *Excerpta Barbari*, designation that has remained. The second is represented by an Armenian chronicle from 686-687 and a Latin chronicle called *Liber generationis*, which came in two derivations, *Lib. gin. I* and *Lib. gen. II*, the first of which is consistent with the Armenian text.

⁽r) This conception is that of PSELLOS, which puts precisely at the equinox the creation of the sun and the luue. See Gertrude REDL, Chronologie appliquée de Michel Psellos, in *Byz.*, 4, 1927-1928, 216-217. It is also that of BEDE, which places the equinox on the day of the creation of the two stars (De temporaire ratione, 6 = JoNES, 192-193).

⁽²⁾ Eventually, that is to say if we hold, known it is probable, that Hippolytus sought such rapprochements.

⁽³⁾ Hippolytus Werke. Vierter Band: Die Chronik hergestellt von A dolf Bauer, durchgesehen und herausgegeben... von Rudolf Heim, Leipzig, 1929; 2nd edition, 1955, without change for the substance, but with regrettable suppression of the A nhang: A renenische Chronik vont Jahre 686/687.

I. THE TIMELINE

In the Chronicle of Hippolytus, which includes various elements, we will examine here only those that go about us, namely: i) The description and calculation of the times for patriarchs, judges and kings: we will reserve for him below for convenience the name of *Synagogè*, although this is the very title of the whole chronicle; 2) The calculation of the times for Easter, which we will name *Apodeixis*, of

7rEp;. ro;5 Il c'haza. (in the *capitulatio* of *Matrit.*) or 'zp4v(ov -king-jH dccre (on the statue of Hippolyte).

Let's first look at the *Synagogè*. The beginning of it has been preserved in Greek in the *Matrit*. Unfortunately,this precious witness developed genealogies only until the dispersion of the peoples under Phaleg. The *Excerpta Barbari*, who continue them and frequently presentsums of years since Adam, have also drawn from sources other than Hippolytus, so that it is not possible to recognize with security thework of our author. This, apart from the Greek part, preserved by the *Matrit*,, is mainly reconstituted thanks to the *Liber generationis I*.

It is from him, corroborated by his Armenian parallel, that derives, in the final analysis, the chronological system attributed to Hippolytus. This system is based on the sums of years from Adam that he nous provides and that he leads up to the very time of the chronograph and, more precisely, until the date of composition of his work, stated as follows: 13rd year of emperor Alexander and 5,738 since Adam.

The previous sum of years since Adam is 4,842: Adam-Captivity. The distance between Captivity and Alexander's 13th year is distributed in three intervals: i) Captivity-Birth of Christ: 660 years; 2) Birth of Christ-Passion: 30 years; 3) Passion-13th year of Alexander: 206 years. These same intervals are also given by the Armenian chronicle, but without the final sum since Adam: 5,738. As for the Liber gen. Ii, he provides as the last sum of years since Adam that which stops at the Captivity: 4,841 (not 4,842) without subsequent sums or interests. But in theApodeixis, it marks 5,500 years from Adam to the birth of Christ. The Liber gen. H, very short, offers only two more sums of years since Adam: Adam-Flood: 2,242 years, and Adam-Phaleg: 2,773. It is therefore impossible to verify its calculation.

It is different with *liber gen. I.* Although the particular totals given do not agree with the actual totals, nor with the various sums of years since Adam, there is nevertheless a perfect agreement between the latter and the intervals marked to separate them. The only exception is for the adamphaleg interval, stated 2,771 instead of 2,767, indicated by the *Matrit.* and Armenian. But it is obvious that it must be attributed to an overly intelligent copyist who wanted to conform to the text of the Septuagint by attributing 434 years to Eber instead of 430, without realizing that he distorted the grand total. The number of 2,767 must therefore be restored. We can thus verify the accuracy of the intervals in relation to the sums of years since Adam.

Years since Adam		Intervals			
Adam-Flood		Adam-Flood	,		
Adam Abraham	3 383	Flood-Phaleg Phaleg-Abraham	525 6i6		
Adam-Joshua	3 ⁸⁸ 4 4 3 ⁶ 4	Abraham-Joshua	501 4 ⁸⁰		
Adam-Captivity	4 842	David Captivity	478		
Adam-Birth of Christ	5 502	Captivity-Christ	5,502		

This number 5,502 can mean either the sum of the years elapsed *before* the birth of Christ, or it can refer to the very year of *Christ's* birth. It is this last mode that corresponds to the traditional era of Hippolytus 5503 (5504 = I of our era; birth of Christ 5502 (= 2 BCE). But for this, it is necessary that the first term of the list: 2,242 is also understood as an ordinal number, designating the 2,242nd year since Adam, which makes 2241 *before* the flood.

This world era is not only established, given the previous observation, by the sums of years and intervals marked in the Chronicle, but is seen as a counter-test in the final date 5738, I3rd year of Alexander. This I3rd year being 234-235 AD, we obtain indeed by subtracting 235 from 5738, the same era 5503. As it is also drawn from the Paschal Table by the assumption that the first day of the creation of the world was for Hippolytus on March 25, julian equinox, the Chronicle and the Table lend each other mutual support to authenticate the world era of 5503 as being that of Hippolytus.

What can we say about this? Before answering, let's turn to 1"A-,76h-C.itc_i 7r.z.p. 'mû' Hour, to see**the list of**Easter with the time intervals that separate them. This list is kept by the *Liber generationis*. As the Paschal Table indicates the same Easter, we have here, thanks to the calculation of recurrences, a very precise means of controle for the chronology and the era of Hippolytus. We can leave aside the calculation of Easter according to Daniel, indicated in the Table, since, despite the difference in dates, the final result is identical (1).

The Easter intervals provided by *the Liber gen. Ii*, compared with those of the Table, give no results and thus manifest a corrupt text. The *Liber gen. I* offers perfectly concordant intervals, except for one, which differs by one unit, namely CVIII, instead of CVII required by the **Table and which must be** corrected. Such an accident is understandable in the transmission of texts.

The intervals of Easter, going back from the birth of Christ to the Exodus are as follows (2): 563, 107, 113, 864, 41

The total is dei 688. Itco-mprends the number of years from the Passover of the Exodus (this one counted) to the Passover of the birth of Christ (not counted).

To this sum, the Apodeixis adds adam's intervals to the Exodus: Adam-Flood, 2,242 years old; Déluge-Abraham, I 141 years old; Abraham-Exodus, 430 years old. The total is 3,813. Adding the two sums, from Adam to The Exodus and from Exodus to Christ, we have 5,501 (= i $688 \pm 3,813$), which we mean 5501 BC. This puts the birth of Christ in 5502, which leads to the world era of 5503. It is therefore still this same world era that we meet from whatever side we turn.

However, let's take a closer look. First of all, we will have noticed the difference of a unit that there is between the total of the years of Adam until Christ in the <code>Synagogè</code> (= 5,502) and the total for the same terms in <code>Apodeixis</code> 5 self). The same era 5503 can only be obtained through a difference in interpretation, the first total meaning the very year of <code>Christ's</code> birth, and the second, the number of years, elapsed before that <code>birth</code>. This is a crack in the traditional system. Certainly, preference must be given <code>toApodeixis</code>. In this document indeed, the distance <code>Exodus-Birth</code> of <code>1.-C</code>. is guaranteed by the mathematical certainty of the recurrences of the Table, and the <code>Adam-Exodus</code> distance is based on the most assured tradition of the stages which

⁽i) This is what Mr. RICHARD **explained very well** in his very useful article, "Computing and chronography at saint Hippolyte)), *Mélanges de science religieuse*, 7, 1950, see p. 252-2J3.

(2) For these intervals, see p. 13 below.

stake it out: *Adam₇Flood*, 2,242 **years** old; *Déluge-Abraham*, I 141 years old; *Abraham-Exode*, 430 years old. These numbers, moreover, are also those of the *Liber gen*. *I*. But it results at the same time as the editor of the *Liber gen*. *I*, to lead to a different result, a pu and had tomisunderstand, here or there, in the evaluation of intervals and sums of years.

Let's continue the examination of *theApodeixis*. The total of the intervals between Easter, 1688, having already been established, it is the other total, *Adam Exodus*: 3,813, which must beed. The control consists in finding out how the particular intervals, *Adam-Flood, Flood-Abraham, Abraham-Exodus* are to be understood, that is to say, to which intervals put into figures the stated terms are to be related. We do not want to make pure suppositions here, but to proceed only taking into account the text of Hippolytus the most assured and received authentic.

And first, the *Adam-Flood interval*: 2,242. Should we stop this number of years before the flood or include the very year of the cataclysm? Let's ask the *Matrit*. He tells us that the flood took place Y° years after Noah, aged 500, had begotten Shem, and when he was 600 years old; and a little further, that Shem, having Ioo years, begot Arphaxad the second year after the flood,

:. •-;u7é--p orZY-TY. Y.X¹Jap.. (°)V (1). This information is also found, with the same expressions, in the Liber gen. I itself (2). It can and must be regarded as an original fact. The precision it contains clearly indicates that the flood took place in the 100th year of Shem and the 600th of Noah. It is, moreover, as for the date of the flood, that of the Bible itself, which says that Noah entered the ark in the 600th year of his life (Gen. VII, 1) and that he came out of it the year 601e (Gen. VIII, 13-14), after remaining there for a year and ten days. It follows that the number 2,242 which corresponds to the 600 years of Noah must be understood as being the year 2,242nd since Adam: hence the number of years of the world before the flood is 2,241, not 2,242. This way of understanding the date in question is not isolated. It is that of George the Syncelle who, to date the flood, expressly uses the ordinal number: 2,242nd year of the world and 600th of Noah (3). The Chronicon paschale, with the difference for the year of the world, uses the same way of speaking: "The flood took place in the Iooth year of Shem, the 600th of Noah and the 2,262nd of the world (4). And here is a much older testimony, which can be related to the end of the Me or the beginning of the Ive century. It is found in the Prologue de la Supputatio romana: Ab origine mundi usque ad cathaclismum cum ipso tempore diluvii DCCXLII. This period therefore includes the flood. And the next period begins after the flood. This is also what the rest of the text specifies: A Noe, postquam de archa exivit, usque ad Abraham fiunt anni mille centum triginta. III. (sic) (5). We give these examples to show that this way of expressing intervals is not surprising. Supported by the combined testimony of the Matrit. and Lib. gen. I, we must therefore keep certainthat, according to Hippolytus, the flood took place on the year 2 242nd of the world, in other words, that it takes 2,241 years before the flood. This is a unit to be removed from the traditional era of our chronograph.

This being the case, they will have to be taken into account for the following intervals. The *Deluge-Abraham interval*: I 141 must be understood in the sense that the first year is the one that follows the flood, and the I 14th is the one that precedes the first year of Abraham: this is thus the 3,383rd since Adam (2,242 -I- I 141). The same is true of the *Abraham-Exodus interval*: 430. This number represents the 430th year since Abraham; it is the 3 813rd since Adam (2,242 + I 141 ±,430).

⁽I) Die Chronik, 50-51; 2nd ed., 9.

⁽²⁾ Ibid.; C. FRICS, Chronica minora, I, S; Excerpta Barbari, FRICK, OP. Cit., 188. This text says that Noah came out of the ark in the 6th year (of his life).

⁽³⁾ GEORGES LE SYNCELLE, éd. Bonn, 39, 42.

⁽⁴⁾ Chronicon Paschale, ed. Bonn, 36.

⁽⁵⁾ KRuscu, Studien, I, 228.

The next interval, Joshua's Exodus-Passover, poses a problem. It is 41 years old in the Apodeixis, but 40 years old in the Synagogè according to all the reviews and all the derivatives. Both numbers are absolutely guaranteed, one by the calculation of recurrences, the other by the unanimity of tradition. A conciliation must be sought. The only thing we can get is to understand that the year 430th, the last of the Flood-Abraham interval, is at the same time the first of the Exodus-Passover interval of Joshua. That the very year of the Exodus is to be taken for the first of the Exodus-Passover interval of Joshua, this results from the way in which thefollowing Easter intervals are counted: it appears in the ordinal number used to mark the interval between the Passover of Hezekiah and that of Josiah: Post Ezekiah Iosias anno centesimo quarto decimo pascha celebravit (1). The year lie is equivalent to 113 years elapsed, and this is precisely the number required by the calculation of the Paschal Table. But for the 113 years to have passed, the marked Passover must be counted at the beginning of the interval, or, in this case, the Passover of Ezekchias. This requires that the same be true for the intervals of the previous Easter: Passover of Joshua-Passover of Hezekiah and Passover of Exodus-Passover of Joshua. Thus the year of the Passover of exodus joins the last (430th) of the Abraham-Exodus interval and also turns into the first of the next interval, Exodus-Passover of Joshua. The same year is counted here twice, that is to say for two years, hence the real count for the Deluge-Abraham interval is 429 years instead of 430. A new unit is therefore to be re-enteredin the traditional chronology of Hippolytus. The total of the years before the Exodus is thus reduced from 3,813 to 3,811 (2,241 I 141 + 429). Adding them to the 1,688 from the Exodus to the birth of Christ, we have the total of 5,499 (3,811 + 688). This is the number of years before the birth of Christ; the birth itself is in 5,500.

Here is the detail (the numbers indicate the years elapsed *before the second term* of each interval) (2).

Adam-Flood (2,242nd)	2,241
D eluting -Abraham	
Abraham-Passover of exodus (430th)	429
Passover of the Exodus-Passover of Joshua	41
Passover of Joshua-Passover of Hezekiah	⁸⁶ 4
Passover of Hezekiah-Passover of Josiah	113
Passover of Josiah-Passover of Ezra	107
Passover of Ezra-Passover of the birth of Christ	563

5 499

The birth of Christ is in 5500 instead of 5502, and the world era, 5501 instead of 5503.

The objection that will certainly be made to this interpretation of *apodeixis* is that it breaks the uniformity in the way intervals are evaluated. The objection would be valid if there were another way of having the data in the presence granted. They are the ones who impose the solution.

The total of *the***years from the***Apodeixis* to Christ: 5,499 before Christ, contradicts the total of the *Synagogè* which is 5,502, if we count 2,242 before the flood, and 5,501, if we count the year of the flood as 2,242nd. This contradiction cannot belong to Hippolytus. He himself excluded it when, at the beginning of *theApodeixis*, he affirmed that it was another, better way of marking the

⁽I) Die Chronik, 199; 2nd ed., 117.

⁽²⁾ Our table gives the numbers 113 instead of 114 (Bauer) and 107 instead of 108 (Mr. Richard), as both guaranteed by the corresponding intervals of the Paschal Table. The interval 113 also corresponds to the ordinal number 114° that is in the text. Only 107 is a correction required by the Table.

continuation and number of years since Adam: *ut uero melius ostendamus* (1). Between the two accounts, the preference must undoubtedly go to that of *theApodei:cis*, which ensure the calculation of recurrences since the Exodus and the certain text of Hippolytus for the previous period.

For the clarity of our presentation, we have not descended further than the birth of Christ. The world era of Hippolytus depends on the year in which he places this event. But *theApodeixis* continues and contains, moreover like the *Synagogè*, data that it is also a question of interpreting.

The document presents two new intervals: 1) From the birth of Christ to the Passover of the Passion: 30 years; 2) From the Passion to the 13rd year of Emperor Alexander: 206 years.

The first interval must be understood like the previous ones, that is to say: the first year is that of the birth of Christ and the last that which precedes the Passion. As for the other interval, *Passion-13*⁰ year of Alexander, the first year is cit of the Passion, but to arrive at the number of 206 years, it is necessary to include in the count the second term of the interval, something that was not done for the previous intervals since the Exodus. This change in assessment is inscribed in the chronology of Alexander that results from the Easter Table. This one marks the Passion in the year 29; the first year of Alexander who begins the Table is the year 222. The 13rd year is therefore the year 234. However, between the year 29 (Passion of Christ) and the year 234, there are only 205 years, not 206. The number 206 therefore indicates the 206⁰ year counting that of the Passion as 1.

The Apodeixis ends by marking the sum of years since Adam: Fiunt igitur (omnes anni de Adam) usque in hu(nc diem anni DCCXXXVIII) (2). This number isrendered according to the Synagogè. So here we are brought back to this date of 5738, which serves as a guarantor for the era of 5503 taken from the Paschal Table of Hippolytus.

We have above clearly set out the argument that is drawn from it for the traditional era of Hippolytus. Now is the time to answer them. It will be easy. We will simply say, at the risk of being very surprising, that the guarantee is false, that the aforementioned agreement enteredthis date of 5738 and the era of the Paschal Table is non-existent. Because how do we establish it? Placed in front of equation 5,738 = 13th year of Alexander, it is emphasized that this 13rd year extends over 234 and 235. And, without explanation and, one can say, for no reason other than the need for the cause, one chooses 235. But the 13rd year of Alexander counts in the year 235 only two months and eleven days. Is that enough? Is it not obvious that, in any other case, this is not the way to proceed? But-there is amore decisive argument. It can be said that this account cannot be that of Hippolytus. For him, in fact, alexander's years are superimposed on the easter years, that is to say that each year of Alexander corresponds to a determined Passover. The firstyear of Alexander, which extends over 222 and 223, is, for Hippolytus, the year whose Passover is in 222, and thus of the following. The 13rd year of Alexander, 234-235, can only be the one whose Passover is in 234. The Passover of 235 belongs to the 14th year of Alexander, begun on I I March 235. And it is indeed of Passover that Hippolytus himself speaks, very expressly, in the Apodeixis, bringing the 13rd year of Alexander: (a passione) autem domini usque in te (rtium decimum) annum imperii A (lexandri Caesa)ris ann. CCVI ser (uatum est pas)cha quod in con (memora-tionem) domini nostri Iesu Christi s(eruatur a nobis) (3).

Having thus proved that the 13rd year of Alexander corresponds to the year 234, the era that results from the year 5738 (= 234) can only be 5504 (5738 — 234), thus in disagreement with that of the Paschal Table, 5503, which it was supposed to guarantee.

⁽¹⁾ Die Chronik, 198 (Lib. gent. II); 2nd ed., 116.

⁽²⁾ Ibid., 201; 2nd ed., 118.

⁽³⁾ Ibid., 200-201; 2nd ed., 118.

What then to think of this year 5738, which does not concordant neither with the 13rd of Alexander, nor with the total of the years of the Apodeixis, can not be of Hippolyte? How to explain it? The most natural solution is that the data belongs to the editor of liber gen. The latter will have wanted either to make an addition of the intervals which did not exist, or to check the one which already existed and which he had in front of him. But he will have, in his work, considered the materiality of the numbers expressing the intervals without taking care of the way in which they meant them, a way sometimes wrapped up, but which with more attention he could havedrawnup. Specifically, he did not consider whether the first term, or the second term, or both, should be included in the interval count, as the case may be. He treated the ordinal number, II4th year, as a cardinal number, 114 years. Bauer also made this mistake. And he committed the others as well. In short, the old calculator did not behave differently from the modern critic; or rather, the modern critic, believing he was doing well, walked in the footsteps of the old calculateyour. Bauer was the victim of a mirage. He believed that the date 5738, being a contemporary data, marked the very era of Hippolytus. And he went from there to reconstruct his "chronological system" (1). But the number 5,738 has no other meaninghere than to be the total of an addition. The point is to examine how it was made and from whom it comes, from the author himself, or from a later editor.

It was easy to show above how, sticking to the assured text of Hippolyte, it was necessary to understand the intervals of the Apodeixis. One cannot control so completely the intervals of the Synagogè (Liber gen. I). Some points are acquired: 1) In the first interval, Adam-Flood: 2242, it must be understood that the cataclysm took place in the year 2242° 2) In the last interval: Passion-13th year of Alexander: 206 years, these are the two terms that must beentered; the year 13 of Alexander is the 206th since the Passion, the latter beingcounted. For the rest, it must be assumed that at interval joins, the last year of the previous period was also counted as the first of the next. I would like to refer to two cases in which this may have happened. The first concerns the David-Captivity interval followed by the Captivity-Christ Birth interval. It is suggested to me by the different way in which the sums of years from Adam to captivityin the Liber genaremarked. II and the Liber gen. I. In this one, the sum is 4,842 and 9 months, but in this one it is 4,841. This difference may well come from the that David's first year will have been counted twice in the Liber gen. I, first comme last of the previous period, Joshua-David, then comm c. first of the next period, David-Captivity, which has the effect of adding one year to the total since Adam: 4,842 instead of 4,841.

The other case could be at the junction between theinterval Captivity-Birth of Christ and the interval Birth of Christ-Passion. Here, it is the year of the birth of Christ that could be counted twice. We see indeed that the Liber gen. I, which puts 4,842 years and 9 months from Adam to Captivity, gives 660 years of interval between Captivity and the birth of Christ. The Liber gen. Ii, for whom the first interval is 4,841, does not indicate the second; there is enough appearance that it must have been 660 for him as well. But then, like the Liber gen. II, in the Apodeixis, puts 5 500 years from Adam until the birth of Christ, it is necessary, for the account to be correct, that the C60 years begin with the first year of captivity and understand as last that of the birth of Christ. This is counted again as the first of the interval Birth of christ-Passion.

By these operations, which cannot be described as arbitrary, since they have a beginning in our texts, the sum of years of the *Synagogè* from Adam to the birth of Christ joins that of

PASCAL TABLES OF II2 YEARS: HIPPOLYTE AND PSEUDO-CYPRIAN

(according to Mr RICHARD, $M\acute{e}l.$ de science rel., 1950, p. $^24^{2-2}43$)

We restore the rank of the years of the second table

I. - PASCALE TABLE OF HIPPOLYTE

	Ι	Ii	Iii	Iv	V	Vi	V1I
I April 13 Emb. he April 2 lii 21 March bis. Iv April 9 Emb. V March 29 Vi March 18 Vii 5 April bis. Emb. Viii March 25 Ix April 13 Emb. X April 2 xi 21 March bis. Xiii April 9 Emb. Xiii March 29 X IV March 18 XV 5 April bis. Emb. Xvi March 18	Vii 222 Iv 223 ¹ 1 224 ² Vii 225 ³ Iv 226 I 227 Vii 228 Iv 229 Iii 230 Vii 231 Iv 232 Iii 233 VI I 234 Iv 235 Iii 236 ⁶ Vii 237	Vi 2386,. Iii 239 Vii 240 Vi 241 Iii 242 Vii 2436 Vi 244 Iii 245 Ii 246 Vi 247 Iii 248 Ii 249 Vi 250 Iii 251 Ii 252 Vi 2537	V 254 Ii 255 Vi 256 ⁸ V 257 Ii 258 Vi 259 V 260 Ii 261 I 262, V 263 Ii 264 I 265 V 266 Ii 267 I 268 V 269	Iv 270 1 271 V 272 Iv 273 I 274 V 275 Iv 276° 1 277 Vii 278 In 279 I 280 Vii 281 In 9,82 I 283 Vii 284 Iv 285	Iii 286 Vii 287 Iv 288 Iii 289 Vii 290 Iv 291 Iii 292 Vii 293 Vii 294 Iii 295 Vii 296 Vi 297 II I 298 Vii 299 Vi 300 Iii 301	Ii 302 Vi 303 Iii 304 Iii 305 Vi 306 Iii 307 Ii 308 Vi 309 V 310 Ii 311 Vi 312 V 313 II 314 Vi 315 V 316 Ii 317	I 318 V 319 I i 320 I 321 V 322 I i 324 325 Iv 326 I 32710 I 328 Iv 32911 I 3330 I 3330 I 3331 I 3331 I 3331
I 1. rENEEIS 8. EZEXIA 9. MEEIAS 10. EE0A0E KATA	II 5. EFAPAF KATA AANIHA KAI EN TH EPHMÇ 6. EZEXIAE KATA AANIHA KAI IS2EEIAE		9.	III IHEOTE I v IHEOTE KATA AAN		Vii 10. EE0A0E 11. ENEPHI 12. EEAPAI	VISI

7. II.A.00E XT

II. - PASCALE TABLE OF THE COMPUTIST OF THE YEAR 243

		I i	Iii	Iv	V	Vi	Vii
I 12 April Emb. April 1 III 21 March IV 8 April bis. Enib. V 28 March VI 17 March VII 5 April Emb. VIII 24 March bis. IX 12 April Emb. X April 1 XI 21 March XII 8 April bis. Emb. XIII 28 March XIV 17 March XV 5 April Emb. XVI 24 March XV 5 April Emb.	11 2.41 VI 242 111 243 11 244 VI 245 V 246 11 247 VI 248 V 249 11 250 VI 251 V 2:)2	V 258 II 259 I 260 V 261 IV 262 I 263 V 264 IV 265 I 266 V 267 IV 268	VI 273 IV 274 I275 VII276 IV277 I278 VII279 IV280 III281 VII282 Iv 283 III 284 VII 285 IV286 III287 VII288	VI 289 III 290 VII 291 VI 292 III 293 III 295 III 296 III 297 VI 298 III 299 III 300 VI 301 302 303 304	V 305 II 306 VI 307 V 308 II 309 I 310 V 311 II 312 I 313 V 314 II 315 I 316 V 317 318 319 320	Iii 321 I 322 V 323 Iv 324 I 325 Iv 327 I 328 VII 329 IV 330 I 331 VII 332 IV 333 I VII 335 IV 336	II337 VII338 IV339 III340 VII341 IV342 III343 VII344 VI345 III346 Vii347 VI348 III349 Vii350 VI351 III352

of *theApodeixis* and puts this event in the year S500; hence the world era of Hippolytus, the date of birth being for him two years before our era, is 5501.

This era is precisely in line with the one that, by a new hypothesis, we have identified from the Paschal Table and set out above. And as it agrees with the assertion of Hippolytus in his Commentary on Daniel, that Christ was born in 5500, we have here a *funiculus triplex* very difficult to break.

It remains to the old hypothesis its internal harmony by which March 25 is at the same time vernal equinox, first day of the world and date of the Passion: triple beginning and parallel bien mysticalworthy of Hippolytus (I). But she can no longer avail herself of the authority of the Chronicle. It is the new hypothesis which, with no less attractive parallels, now receives this support.

THE COMPUTIST OF 243

The Paschal Table of Hippolytus is a coherent construction, governed by inflexible rules. His calculation, absolutely regular for the return of the same day of the month to the same day of the week every 112 years (since it also takes place every 28 years: 28 X 4 = 112), is, as it stands, very defective for the prediction of easter lunations, which was the desired goal. Did Hippolytus believe thatokateterid was a perfect cycle bringing back the Easterian XIV lunae every eight years to the same monthly date? We dare not think so, and we imagine that his Explanation of the Table must indicate a regular means of readjustment. In any case, the rigorous application of the Table leads to a gap so marked that after six years the Easter date was alreadyone day ahead of the course of the moon. It was about three and a half days old, when, some twenty years later, another computist, referred to as PSEUDO-CYPRIEN, whose work was completed in 243, applied exactly the same system, bringing it into line with the contemporary course of the moon (2). This development led to the disruption of all the concordances established by Hippolytus. And first of all, it commanded a new starting point for the creation of the world. Against the "antecessores", for whom the moon had been created in decay, the computist, referring to the genealogical account of the creation of the sun and the moon on the 4th day, specified for the moon that it was created full, on its 15th day, March 28, rcredi me. We should therefore find in the table of the computist a XIV lunae on March 27. Now, there is none, and on March 28, which, at creation, sees the 15th day of the moon, receives in the table the 14th. This is an anomaly that absolutely prevents us from looking for that it could be the global era of our computist. Perhaps he did not have one. Nowhere, in any case, does he insiulate any indication of this, and his chronological calculations on the Old Testament have no continuity until Christ until the Exodus, the area between the two events covering I 548 years. It is enough for our author to be able to admire the mystical concordance between the creation of the sun, March 28 on Wednesday, and the birth of the Savior also on Wednesday, March 28. It is by cheating, moreover, or by inconsistency, that he obtains this last date, since he draws it from his place in the XIV lunae, while at the creation, he puts the 28 March in the XV lunae.

In the absence of a global era in our computist, we will be able to find at least the date of Christ's birth in relation to our era. It has indeed 215 years from the Passion of Christ to the consulate of Arrianus and Papus (= 243), which puts the event in 28 (243 - 215) of our

(1) See, however, above our reservations about the equinox of creation.
(2) PSEUDO-CYPRIEN, De Pascha computus, éd. Hartel, C. S.E. L., t. 40, Vienna, 1871, 248-271; see M. RICHARD, art. cit.; G. OGG, "The Tabella appended to the Pseudo-cyprianic De Paschate Computus in the Codex Remensis", in christianae, 1954, pp. 134-144; ID., Die Pseudo-Cyprianic De Pascha Computus, translated with brief annotations, London, 1955.

era. And because he gives 31 years to the Life of the Savior, it postpones his birth to the year —4 of our era, where indeed March 28 was a Wednesday.

This is the same result as the computist's table. According to him, the year of the consulate of Arrianus and Papus (243) is placed third in the first *sedecennitas*, which has its *XIV lunae* on March 21. And it is this data that allows us to include our author's cycle in a real chronology and to use the analogous information he gives us about the birth of Christ. However, we see that it places it in the 13rd place of the sixth *sedecennitas*. The alignment of dates from 243 leads us for this place to the year 333. Between this date and the birth of Christ, there must therefore be a number of years multiple of 112. It can only be 336 (333 \pm 3) (336 \pm II2 \pm X3). This is 336 years before 333. The birth of Christ is therefore to be placed in the year — 4 of our era, to March 28, as it was said above.

We have seen that our computist places the Passion of Christ in the year 28 of our era. How did he get there? In this problem, a preliminary data was required, dominating all symbolisms, namely, the Passion took place on a Friday. By giving Christ the same number of years as Hippolytus, that is to say by making him die in the 31st year according to the Easter numeration, our author was to be led to put the Passion in the year 27 of our era. The XIV lunae was then precisely a Friday. But the year 27 was the 13rd year of Tiberius, or the 14th counting the 2nd from the first January that followed the advent. It would therefore have gone too obviously against the evangelical data that puts the beginning of the public life of Christ in the year 15 of Tiberius. The next XIV lunae falling on a Friday presented itself in the year 30 of our era, but it would have been necessary to give three years to the public life of Christ. If the computist refused, it is because he had to be convinced of the contrary. In the interval between year 27 and year 30 he had no choice. In the year 29, the XIV lunae fell on a Monday; in 28, it fell on a Thursday; he wascornered there, and forced to use it. To get out of embarrassment, he fixed the Passion of Christ not on the very day of the Passover, XIV lunae, but in the next day XV lunae, and the Resurrection in the XV// lunae. This is the first time that such a position has been encountered. Thatyear, the XV lunae was april 9th.

Christ therefore suffered the Passion on April 9, 28 AD. It was, according to the Easter count, the 32nd year of his life, the 31st having been completed 12 days ago. It was the 14th year of Tiberius, the 15th counting the 2nd from ter January after theadvent. The computist says, however, that it is the 16th. I imagine that it must have counted after the legal Easter, the First Passover being that of the year in which Tiberius became emperor, although this event was later (August 19), and the 15th Passover being that of the year 28. But this Passover being on April 8, and the death of Christ being the 9th, he believed he could allow himself this difference to judge the end of the Easter year and place this death the 16th year of Tiberius, the one that was to know the 16th Passover. Tout this is a little torn and reflects the embarrassment where had necessarily to lead a system based on a cycle as imperfect as the oktaétéridiquecycle.

THE ROMAN CYCLE OF 84 YEARS

The need to readjust the Hekkaidékaétéridique cycle atintervals close enough to conform it to the true state of the moon condemned it to failure. Another table was established whose existence was made known to us by the Carthaginian computist of 455 and the author, Augustalis, under whose name it is designated (laterculus Augustalis) (I). It indicated the Easter for zoo years, from 213

(1) The treatise of the anonymous computist *De Ratione Paschae*, first known from a very bad edition of MURATORI, was edited with the greatest critical care by Br. KRUSCH, who also devoted valuable explanations to it. See the text in KRUSCH, *Studien I*, 279-297. The passage concerning Augustalis ist p. 289-290. On the table of Augustalis, see KRUSCH, *op. cit. Cit.*, 5-23; SCHWARTZ, *Ostertateln*, 63-66; c.w. JONES, *Bedae opera*, 15-16.

to 312, and was built on a cycle of 84 years, 16 years being added to complete the century.

The 84-year lunar cycle is based on the 28-year solar cycle, which regularly brings the same day of the month back to the same day of the week. Three cycles of 28 years (3 x 28 = 84) roughly equal I 039 synodic months, i.e. 84 solar years equal 84 lunar years increased by 924 days (84 x 1). The cycle therefore includes in addition to the 12 regular lunations of each year, 30 lunar months intercalary plus 24 days (924: 30 - 30, rest 24), in other words 31 months minus 6 days. To gain these 6 days that the moon has too much, it is necessary to distribute 6 jumps of the moon in the 84 years of the cycle. This was done differently, either by dividing 84 into 7 sections, with jumping from the moon at the end of each section (grade 12), except at the last, end of the cycle, or by dividing the 84-year-olds into 6 sections, with jumping from the moon at the end of each section (grade 14). Victorius points out these two modes. It seems that PAugustalis used the former; at least this is what the indications of the Carthaginian computist suggest (1).

The cycle of 84 years, Roman creation, is characterized by the indication, on January 1st, beginning of the calendar year ofRome, of the age of the moon and the day of the week. These elements order each year the date of the Easter festival. But which year to choose as the first of the cycle? Augustalis took the year 213 because in this year the XIV Easter lunae fell on March 25, the day that following Hippolytus he considered to be that of the Passion. As there is no cyclical correspondence between the year 213 and that of the Passion, which the computist places 186 years earlier, the year of the Passion cannot be a beginning of such a cycle. The indices for January 1 of the first year of the Augustalis cycle were luna XIX and Friday.

The date of composition of the *laterculus Augustalis*, or at least, its date of reception by the Roman Church must be placed in the last third of the IIIe century, when it was well established that the cycle of I 12 years was not viable. The laterculus ended in 312. It was continued in two forms: one, obsessing with the centenary number; and the other, modelled on the 84-year cycle. The first form is used by the Chronograph of 353 (2) and probably also by Agriustia (3). The Chronograph presents a table of one hundred years beginning the same year in which that of Augustalisends. Critics agree that theoriginal writing of this document ends at 354 and that the list of Easter (355-412) that immediately follows belongs to another author (4). Parallel to this sequence, there is another, different one, in the *Vat. Reginae* 2,077 (5), which contains the Easters from 354 to 437, a whole cycle of 84 years, of which the last Io years are a later addition. Despite the efforts of Krusch and Schwartz, the complete light is not yet shed on the relationship of these various pieces to each other, and also with the next one that we are going to talk about.

This is the other form of continuation of the *laterculus Augustalis*, the one where the Paschal Table is measured on the duration of the cycle. This Table, unlike that of Augustalis that dominates the memory of the Passion, takes its beginning in relation to elements of the computus. It was started either with the year in which the lst^{day} of January falls on the first day of the week, the moon being then on the xlle day, or with the year in which the ler January coincides with the new moon. These two modes are represented in the documents, the first by a cycle starting in 299 (6), the second by a cycle starting in

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(r) For Krusch, this is the second mode observed by Augustalis; it is fought by rSchwartz. W. Jones, without discussion, follows the Krusch system (see references to the previous note).
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⁽²⁾ Edition of MommsEx, Chronica minora, I GH, Anet. Antiq., IX), 13-148; the List of Easter, 62-64; study by KRUSCH, Studien I, 65-75.

⁽³⁾ I, the information on Agriustia is provided by the computist of 455: KRUSCH, Blotties¢ I, 290 sq. See KRUSCH, ibid., 23-30; SCHWARTZ, Ostertalebt..., 60-64.

⁽⁴⁾ KRUSCH, ibid.; SCHWARTZ, 0 sterta eln..., 4r; W.C. JONES, Bedae opera, 25-26.

⁽⁵⁾ See MommsEs, Chronica minora, I, 739; KRUSCH, Studien I, 75-80; ed. SCHWARTZ, Ostertafeln..., -42.

⁽⁶⁾ Cod table. Ambros. H r50 inf., edited by KRUSCH, Studien I, 236-239. See ibid., 37-39, 56-57; SCHWARTZ, Ostertafeln..., 43-

in 298 (1). It is this last cycle that was in use at the time of St. Leo I, as seen by a letter from Paschasinus to this pope, where he uses a *supputatio romana* whose beginning is in 382, thus succeeding anearlier cyc beginning in 298 (2).

The interesting problem for us is whether a global era started from the 84-year cycle, and on what scale that **cycle** was. Among the various anonymous or known authors, authors or theorists of a cycle of thiskind, I see only two that indicate an era of the world. One is the author

a preface to an 84-year cycle, preserved in the Cologne Ms. *Dombibliothek* (3). He began his cycle at the creation of the world, the moon having been produced on March 25, Wednesday, at its xive or xvth day. The first Hebrew Passover takes place after 45 full cycles and begins on the 46th. After 65 cycles, there are 5,460 years in the world. The year of the next cycle is that of the Passion of Christ. It took place in 5531, the i6th year of Tiberius, under the consulate of the two Gemini, on March 25, Friday, moon XV. The manuscript which has this preface does not have thecoresponding Easter table. Krusch identified this with that presented by theAmbrosianus H 150 inf. It should be noted, however, that the clues given in this table in the first year of the cycle (XIV lunae, April 2, Sunday) are quite other than those read intheaforesaid preface for the first day of creation. We will find these in the year Io of the Ambrosian Table. This year is therefore the starting point of the real cycles that serve the computist to measure the age of the world. It is to the year Io of this table that the first year of the world should correspond cyclically. However, in the scale used, the year Io falls in the year 308 AD. The year of the world will therefore be the one which, added together with 308 - will form the multiple of 84 closest to 5 500. This number is 5,489 (5,489 ±,307

 $5,796 = 69 \times 84$). The year 71 after the 65th cycle will therefore be the 71st starting from the year Io of the Ambrosian Table, i.e. the year 80 of this table. The XIV lunae is then march 29, which is far from account. A single year of the table offers the concordances announced for the

Passion, the year 56 (47th starting from the oe). It indicates: XIV lunae, March 24, Thursday; hence the Passion, Friday, is to March 25, XV lunae. This year, however, cannot be retained, itwould put the Passion in 5467 (47th year after the 65th cycle), contrary to the Preface which places it in 5531. This date requires that the year 71 be retained after the 25th cycle (80th in the table). His data for the Passion, we have seen, are not those of the Preface. This anomaly makes us assume that originally offered the same dates as the table: April 3, XV lunae, and that on April 30 we will have replaced in the following the common date of March 25. The XV lunae, unchanged, would be a vestige of theoldtext.

We will therefore remember that the world era assumed by the Ambrosian Table and its Preface is the year 5489 BC: the year that corresponds to it by recurrence is the 10th of the table: 308, 392, etc.

The Christian era that is part of it is deduced from the year of the Passion indicated in the Preface: 5531. This era is 5500 and is accompanied by the short chronology of the life of Christ C4).

The prologue of the Cologne manuscript, in its present state, dates from 395. It does not have to be the primitive state. The history part of the document does not contain any documents after the

⁽¹⁾ KRUSCH, Studien I, 248. See the table reconstructed from 298 to 382, ibid., 62-64, and continued until 417, in SCHWARTZ, with indication of the historical dates of the feast in Rome and the dates of the feast according to the Alexandrian computus.

⁽²⁾ KRUSCH, Studien I, 248. We mention only for the record the Zeitztable, where the Roman computus of S. ans receives modifications that bring it closer to the Alexandrian computus. According to the fragments that have remained, it contained at least 5 cycles of 84 years, the first of which began at the Passion (= year 29). Offered to Pope St. Leo, it does not seem to have been taken into consideration by the Roman Curia. On this cycle, see KRUSCH, Studien I, 226-229; SCHWARTZ. Ostertafeln. 70-72.

⁽³⁾ Edited by KRUSCH, Studien 1, 227-235. It is the preface of the cycle whose beginning is in 298 (Ambrosian table). See edition of the table itself p. 236.

⁽⁴⁾ KRUSCH, Studien f, 231.

persecution of Diocletian. However, events such as the conversion of Constantine and the Council of Nicaea must have appeared with the hindsight of time in 383 considerable enough that onewould expect to see them recorded then after theothers. This applies especially to the first for an author who focused mainly on noting the persecutions, of which there were six, suffered by Christians: such care must have called for mentionof the great event which put an end to it and ensured the peace of the Church. The silence on this subject is significant. According to us, the document was composed in the first third of the fourth century, shortly after the end of the *laterculus Augustalis*, at the same time as the table created to replace it; and it is entirely appropriate that this table must have had its explanation, just like cellé of Hippolytus which is lost, and like that of the Ps.-Cyprian which is preserved. The copy of 395 reproduces this primitive document and merely inserted the chronological elements referring to the end and resumption of the cycle in 382 and 383 and the date of its own transcription (395) with the corresponding year of the world. This one is 5182. This number is manifestly corrupt, not only because it does not correspond to the calculation of the previous periods of which it is the sum, but above all because it is in flagrant contradiction with the author's assertion that the Passion of Christ took place in 5531.

The second computist we haveannounced is the Carthaginian writer, author in 455 of this precious treatise, De ratione Paschae, from which all our information on Augustalis and Agriustia comes. This treatise is preserved in a single manuscript, Lucensis 490, and Krusch gave a critical edition of it (1). It reads that the Passion of Christ is in 5500 and that 420 years, or five whole cycles of 84 years have passed since then until the end of the tenth year of Genseric, identified with 449 (2). This puts the Passion in the year 29 AD, and the year 449 in the year of the world 5920. The world era is therefore here 5472 (= 5920 - [449 - IJ), if, as is to be believed, it is the short chronology of the life of Christ that is observed. Unfortunately, our author does not indicate whether and how these dates are related to the cycle he uses. From this cycle, it presents two *circuli* (3). One part of the Passion, year 29 of Christ, and completes five cycles before beginning a sixth in 449. The other part of the Hebrew Passoverin Egypt; it has 25 cycles, or 2,100 years, completed under the consulate of Theodosius II (16th) and Faustus (438 A.D. J.-C.), and began a new cycle in 439. Neither of these *circuli* is in cyclical correspondence with the year of the world. On theone hand, indeed, 5500 (year 29 AD) divided by 84 gives as rest 40: and on the other, 5909 (438 AD), divided by 84 gives as rest 29. There must, however, be a year in these circuli that responds to the first year of the world. Tryto get it out. The computist places the creation of the moon on March 28, Wednesday, on its fifteenth day. In the *circuli*, the year that presents these data is 473 (444th of the Passion, 2,134th of the Exodus). However, it does not fit cyclically with the era of the world 5,472,since 473 added with 5,472 gives 5,945, whose division by 84 leaves as remains 65. That being said, we come to wonder if 5471 is indeed the true era of our computist. As this era depends on the date of the Passion set in 5500, it is the problem of this date that is at stake, and more precisely, the problem of the purity of the text in this place. The findings we have just made are a serious reason to doubt this: they lead us to assume a gap in the elements of the date. Which one? That is to be determined. By removing ourselves from the current text, the way is clear for this. This amounts precisely to seeking the true global era of the computist. To achieve this, we only have to go back to the year 473, the year which, in the *circuli*, presents the clues required for the first year of the world: creation of the moon on its fifteenth day, Wednesday, March 28. Applying the usual operation for this purpose, the world era will be the number of years close to 5,500, which, summed with 473 — t, namely 472,

⁽I) KRUSCH, Studien I, 279-297; study, 138-188. (2) Ibid., 289.

is a multiple of 84. This number is 5,492 (472

 $5.492 = ---- 5.964 = 71 \times 84$). " The Era "

World of the Carthaginian computist is therefore stated 5492 BC, the year 5493 being the year I of the Dionysian era. His Christian era is quite close to it. We know, in fact, that he puts the Passion of Christ in the year 29 of our era. Adding 5,492 with 29 we have 5,521; therefore, because we assume that the author observed the short chronology of Christ's life, the birth must be placed in 5491 (5521 — 30). Now let's go back to the computist's text about the date of the Passion. We have just seen that its computus leads to put it in 5521, that is to say after 5520 elapsed. This supposes as a gap, after the words *Anni V millia quingenti*, the number *viginti* gap that makes quite easy under the pen of a copiste the similar ending of the two numbers.

One may be surprised by such a date which stands out from the strict mysticism of the number 5,500 for the birth of Christ. Our answer is that such a gap is not isolated. Panodorusin the East, already put the birth of Christ in 5494 (see below). And, in the West, we see the chronograph of 452 put the Passion in 5525 (1), and *theOrigo Generis humani* put it in 5510 (2). Such deviations can only be explained under the requirements of a cycle.

A curious coincidenceto note is that the era of 5492 to which the cycle of the Carthaginian computist leads is the same, and as for the year, and as for the day of creation, as that of Annianoscreated a few decades before

The result of this examination of the 84-year cycle and the eras derived from it is rather modest. The computists of this cycle, in general, do not always mark these expressly. Alone, the author of the preface of the Cologne manuscript counts in cycles from the creation to the Passion of Christ, and consequently marks a world era. For the Carthaginian computist, we have indications only from the Exodus, and, according to another beginning, from the Passion. The global era of 5492 is the era of the cycle. "The eras based on the cycle of 84 will not survive. However, they had to be mentioned because they are yet another example of the influence and important part of the lunar cycles in the constitution of the world eras.

"This influence and this "importance, which appeared in the West as early as Hippolytus, was also recognized early in the East, with Africanus and Anatole, and, even more anciently, with Clement of Alexandria, according to the hypothesis that we will form about him.

AFRICANUS AND ANATOLE

Sextus Julius AFRICANUS composed in the first third of the IIIe century a Chronography, or description of the times, which he led to the consulate of Gratus and Seleucus (221 Ap. J.-C.). Only fragments remain. We do not know whether it contained **year** Easter table similar to that of Hippolytus, which would have made it possible to establish with accuracy and without all dispute what his world era and his Christian era were (3).

Africanus began his Chronography with Adam and gave six millennia to the duration of the world, including 3,000 years until the death of Phaleg (4), and 5,531 until "the parousia and resurrection of Christ" (5). "He Put the Birth of Christ in the Middle of the Sixth "millennium, in 5500 (6). But here a clarification is necessary. Such a conception, in its greatest rigor, requires that the 5 500 years be over and that the coming of Christ take place not in 5500, but at the beginning of 5501. And

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(1) C. FRICK, Chronica miNora I I,ipsiae, 1893, 181.
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⁽²⁾ Ibid., 152

⁽³⁾ H. GELZER, Sextus Julius Africanus und Die Byzantine Chronography, Leipzig, 1880.

⁽⁴⁾ H. GELZER, I, 34, 67.

⁽⁵⁾ GEORGES LE SYNCELLE, ed. Bonn 614.

⁽⁶⁾ In., 616.

that is how africanus' position should be understood. Indeed, George the Syncelle, who tells us that Africanus places in 5500 the divine Incarnation, recognizes that it is in accordance with the apostolic tradition (i). He only blames him for making a mistake of two years by putting in 5531 the Passion of Christ.

The apostolic tradition is certainly the one that George the Syncelle intends to follow, so that to properly interpret the date of Africanus, it is necessary to know how this same date is explained by George the Syncelle. Now this one tells us expressly that "the year 5500 being completed on 28 Phamenoth, March 24, and the year 5501 beginning on 29 Phamenoth, March 25, the sixth month after the announcement to Zechariah and the conception of the Prodrome, the archangel Gabriel was sent to the holy and glorious Virgin to bring him the announcement of the salvation of the world and eternal life. This was the beginning of the 181st year of the 532-year period (2). It is therefore also at the very beginning of 5501 that it will be necessary to place the Incarnation of the Savior according to Africanus.

Consequently, one will have to treat in the same way the testimony of the Syncelle concerning the date of 5531 given by Africanus to the Passion and the Resurrection of Christ. It will be necessary to hear ite e of5531 years elapsed and to carry the august event to the beginning of 5532. This is the date attributed to Africanus for the Passion by the Barhebraeus chronographs (E. W. Budge, 1932, trans., p. 49) and Michel le Syrien (ed. Chabot, I, 142). There is therefore no need to puttheir testimony in opposition to that of the Byzantinechronograph, once well understood.

As for the world era of Africanus, it is obtained by the relationship he establishes between the era of the Olympiads and the imperial chronology for the year of the Passion. This event took place, according to him, the 16th year of Tiberius and the Olympiad 202, 2 (3). These concordant data carry the Passion in the year 31 AP. J.-C., as Gelzer indicates (4). It is worth noting here a point that this scholar has neglected: it is the concordance of this dating with the lunar day of the Passion of Christ indicated by Africanus. The latter puts this event on the eve of the Passover of the Jews, which they celebrate, he recalls, the XIV lunae (5). The day of the Passion was thus the XIII lunae. This does not leave only surprising, because the previous tradition put the Passion in the XIV lunae. This position can only be explained by the dependence of a lunar cycle. However, the year 31 corresponds to the second year of the cycle of Anatole whose Passover (XIV lunae) is on March 24. In this year 31, March 24 was a Saturday, hence the day before, Friday, jour de la Passion, was the XIII lunae. It is therefore likely that Africanus already knew the cycle described by Anatole. We will come back to that later. Let us remember, to deduce the world year, that the Passion of Christ took place, according to Africanus, in the year 31 of our era. Since, as we have seen, it is in 5532 begun that he places Parousia (Passion and Resurrection of Christ), we see that the year of the world, after S500, advances by a unity on the Dionysian era, hence the world era of Africanus is 5501 BC. J.-C.: his year probably starting at the equinox, namely the equinox of Ptolemy (March 22), which is that of the cycle of Anatole. The year 5501 of this era = i AV. J.-C.; 5502 = i AD, etc.

Julius Africanus should probably be joined by ANATOLE OF LAODICEA (6). Although there is no text where it appears that Africanus related his era to a cycle, and no text that shows Anatole drawing an era from his 19-year cycle, however the era of one and the cycof the other come together, the cycle of Anatole leading by retrograde revolutions to the world era of Africanus.

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(I) GEORGES LE SYNCELLE, ibid.
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⁽²⁾ Ibid., 596. (3) Ibid., 612.

⁽¹⁾ GELZER, *op. cit.* cit., I, 48-49-(2) GEORGES LE SYNCELLE, 610.

⁽⁰⁾ See next chapter.

It is therefore likely that the latter observed the same cycle as Anatole and perhaps he is the initiator of it. It should also be noted that among the historical dates that remain of Africanus there is that of 5472, number exactly divisible by 19, andthis date has for him, living in the orbit of Alexandria, a considerable importance: it marks the end of a world, since it is the end of the independence of Egypt by the Roman conquest (1). It can be assumed that because of this the chronograph aurnoted this coincidence with the end of a cycle.

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA AND EUSEB

It should be noted that in the eras examined above the mystical date of the birth of Christ, 5500 or 5501, does not occupy the beginning of a cycle, whether that of II2 years or that of 84, or that of 19, or even that of 16 or 8, if one solves that of 112 in its elements. But are there not other eras that would have assigned to the birth of Christ a beginning of the cycle that is at the same time a beginning of the century? We ask the question because the affirmative answer would make it possible to elucidate two eras that seem strange at first glance, that of CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, which we have already talked about, which places the birth of Christ in 5590 and that of EuseBIUS, giving for this event the date of 5199 (2). Their very strangeness makes us suspect that they actually represent another era of which they are the altered form.

We have as a starting point the information of an anonymous Armenian author, quoted by E. Dulaurier (3). This author blames a certain Irion or Iron of Constantinople, a computist of Justinian's time, for counting 5,500 years from the origin of the world until the birth of Jesus Christ, and for not conforming to the deep investigations of Eusebius and Andrew. These have a different system, but, for our anonymous, it is Andrew who is in the right by counting 5 600 years until the birth of Jesus Christ. Eusebius' calculation is unfortunately not indicated, but it is expected to be acenturies-old number like the other two.

The André in question is the author of the bicentenary cycle begun in 353. It is difficult to admit that this computist could have advocated this 5,600-year count, despite the authority of Hippolytus and Africanus and probably also that of Anatole and especially that of 19-year reformed cycle (see below) that he employed, if he had not had to rely on an earlier authority that surpassed them or at least counterbalanced them. And this is where we bring in Clement of Alexandria. We remember thatthe text of the Stromates marks 194 years from the birth of Christ to the death of Commodus, and 5,784 from the creation of the world to the same event. By correcting a letter, one would have 5,794, which would take 5,600 years (= 5,794 — 194) from the creation of the world until the birth of Christ. Why this number of 5,600 instead of 5,500? Probably because it meets the 8-year cycle, of which it is a multiple, and the centenary multiple number closest to the middle of the millennium. Thus the naissance of Christ would have its place in 5601, both at the beginning of a century and at the beginning of a cycle.

This would therefore be the era of Clement. We would not make this assumption without the testimony of the existence of such an era.

The case of Eusebius is perhapseven stranger. For what can such a small difference mean between 5199, the year marked by the birth of Christ, and 5201, the beginning of the following century? First of all, it should be noted that 5 200 is a multiple of 8, and the first in a century-old number which is

⁽X) PG, Io, 88 AB. Africanus was originally from Jerusalem, but probably lived in Alexandria, which provided him with the necessary documentation for his work.

⁽²⁾ EUSEBIUS, verse. de saint Jérôme, ed. HELM, 169, 173-174.

⁽³⁾ DULAURIER, 59, 61.

present in the sixth millennium. We then assume that there existed before Eusebius an era of 5,200 based on the lunar cycle of 8 years and matched with the short chronology of the life of Christ. In this era, the year 5201, that of the birth of the Christ, is both the beginning of the century and the beginning of the cycle. The short chronology was to carry the Passion of Christ to the year 5231. This is precisely the one that Eusebius presents equivalemly in his chronicle. But, as Eusebius inaugurated the long chronology and gavea little more than three and a half years to public life, he was in need of the need to postpone the date of his birth. It will have done so by moving as little away from the centenary number as possible. We see, in fact, that he only moves back two years the date of Christ's nance and that he compensates for the rest by diminishing the hidden life of Christ that he has completed in his 30th year. Thus can be explained that the Christian era of Eusebius is 5199 instead of 5201.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE LIFE AND PASSION OF **CHRIST**

IN THE FIRST THREE CENTURIES

Authors of the first three centuries who express a feeling about the duration of Christ's life, and especially, or implicitly, about that of his public life, generally speak out in favour of a brief chronology including a year of public life. saint Irénée is the only exception that we know: with him the long chronology with three years of public life is extended beyond the forties and one can believe that such an exaggeration has harmed his authority in this matter (1). Thus short chronology initially dominated both in the East and in the West, longer in the West than in the East, since it was still traditional enough in the eyes of Victorius of Aquitaine that he conformed his great Paschal cycle (2).

"The Present Question "is essentially related to the chronology of the Passion. This chronology has with a fixed element: Friday, two variable elements: the report of the event to the Xiv lunae and its report to the monthly calendar. They are inseparable, but someauthors have expressed one or the other without dealing with its correlative.

The relationship of the day of the Passion of Christ to the Xiv lunae is variable, but in very small limits: it must be in close liaison with the Xiv lunae" either that the Passion tookplace that veryday, or that it took place or the day before or the next day. I will be allowed to call this for convenience the triduum of the Xiv lunae.

The monthly calendar has a much wider field, but in fact the possible coincidences are the only ones that allow the imprescriptible data of Friday and the narrow field of movement of the triduum of the Xiv lunae

One can imagine how the Chronology of the Passion of Christ, and consequently that of his birth, or of his Incarnation, therefore the Christianera, will be diversified according to the positions taken on these problems.

Let us first see in these first three centuries, where the short chronology of the life of Christ dominates, what is the lunar calendar where the authors place the Passion.

Theearliest, and arguably the most widespread, design puts the Passion of the Savior in the XIV lunae. It is advocated by Clement of Alexandria (3), Apollinaire of Hierapolis (4), Hippolytus (5), to whom we must probably join Meliton of Sardis, author of a treatise on the Passover that has not reached us. All these authors agree to proclaim that, at the last Passover of his life,

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(1) contra lxer., II, 22: PG, 7, 784-785.
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⁽²⁾ KRUSCH, *Studien II*, p. 24. (3) *Chronicon Pasch.*, ed. Bonn, 14-15 = *PG*, 92, 8i CD. (4) *Ibid.*, ed. Bonn, 13-14 = *PG*, 92, 80-81.

⁽⁵⁾ Easter table.

in the XIV lunae, Christ did not sacrifice and did not eat the Passover, but that he was immolated that day, being him the true Passover. This date of the XIV lunae for the death of Christ alone explains the quartodeciman quarrel, and the fact that it is received in points as far away as Rome, Alexandria, Hierapolis, means that it is not the specialty of the quartodecimans, whose proper was only to want to attach to it the celebration of the Christian Passover instead of reserving it for Sunday.

The date of the XIII lunae is that of Africanus (r). It is necessary to associate anatole of Laodicea who does not expressly pronounce himself, but whose computing leads to this result. It is very likely that it was the computus also that imposed this date on Africanus, because judging by his dissertation on the 70 weeks of Daniel, where he gives details on the duration of the solar year and that of the lunar month, and on the relationship of the lunar year to the solar year, he should not be alien to the arcana of this science.

Quant at the date of **the** XV lunae for the Passion, the computist of 243 is the first to give it, and the only one at that time (2). He is also brought there by his computus.

These are the various opinions on the Passion of Christ in his report to the XIV lunae. Passons to the monthly calendar of the event. There is a whole range of differences here. Clement of Alexandria mentions the following dates: 25 Phamenoth (21 March), 25 Pharmouthi (20 April), 19 Pharmouthi (14 April); he himself does not advance any opinion (3). Of these dates, which we do not know if they are related to a computus, none is possible between the years 20 and 45 OF OUR era, large scale taken on purpose.

Another date, which has made a long fortune in the West, is that of March 25, advocated by Hippo-Lyte (4) and the *Acta Pilati* (5). It too is impossible between the years 20 and 45 AD. In the year 29, which is the year of the Passion at Hippolyte, the firstmoon was on March 18, deviation from the 25th really too sensitive to authorize this last date. Saint Epiphanes reports that the fourth anniversary of Cappadocia relied on the *Acta Pilati* to celebrate the Passion on 25 March on a fixed date; on which he sought a copy and saw that the Passion was dated 18 March (6).

One will wonder where the date of March 25 for the Passion of Christ comes from. Is it based on a mystical idea or on an ancient tradition, or is it simply aconsequence of computing, in this case, of the erroneous computus of Hippolytus? The mystical idea here consists in the relationship between the Passion, a redemptive event, and the Creation that was thought to have taken place at the equinox, that is to speak precisely on March 25 according to the Roman calendrier. We doubt that this mysticism is at the origin of the date. It is quite remarkable, in fact, that it does not appear in any way among the dates of the Passion attributed to various by Clement of Alexandria. We therefore see it ignored. For the same reason, it is doubtful that it comes from a so-called Roman tradition. It appears for the first time in a certain way in the Paschal Table of Hippolytus (7) and finds its sufficient origin in the

- (i) GEORGES LE SYNCELLE, ed. Bonn, 61o.
- (2) SCHWARTZ, op. cit. cit., 37, says that this computist does not draw the consequence that this justifies the Easter date of the X I tears of the Alexandrians, but this reflection is without significance, because they did not take this date until after their reform of the Cycle of Anatole.
 - (3) Ed. STÂILLIN, II, 90 = PG, 8, 888.
 - (4) Easter table.
 - (5) TISCHENDORF, Evangelia apocrypha, 2I I sq. (6) Adv. haeres. 50, 1: ed. K. HOLL, II, 245-246.
- (7) I cannot count for certain the testimony taken from TERTULLIEN, Adv. Judaeos, 8 (ed. Aem. KROYMANN, 19 O 285), where the date of the Passion is marked in these terms: consulibus Rubellio Gemino and Fufio Gen:in mense Martin tempo-ribus Paschae, die octaua Kalendarum Aprilium, dieprima azymorum, qua A gnum occiderunt ad uesperam. The words: die octaua Kalendarum Aprilium, separated from mense Martin that they determine, and inserted between temporibus Paschae and die prima azymorum, which they dissociate, all seem to be a subsequent precision passed awkwardly from the margin in the text.

unwinding of the computing. The mystical aspect could not fail to be presented to the mind afterwards, since it is considered that the Creation had to take place at the spring equinox. This design already appears in the computist of 243. But this one is driven by its calculation, as we have seen, on another date for the Passion, namely, April 9, and this also shows that the date of March 25 was not originally imposed either by mysticism or by tradition. It was later imposed, the mysticism creating tradition. It took root in the West, to the point that in the high Middle Ages, in some countries, we see March 25 erected as a fixed feast of the Passion of Christ. It is perhaps to get as close as possible to this date that Victor d'Aquitaine will have placed the Passion in the year 28 of our era, where the XIV lunae Friday was March 26.

The date of March 25 also found credit in the East, probably thanks to the *Acta Pilati* who were known there by various translations. The Paschal homily of 387 pronouncedin Asia is based on this document (1). Saint Epiphanes reports a group of quartodeciimans who celebrate the Passover every year, as a souvenir of the Passion of Christ, on the fixed date of March 25 (2). It was only later, under the need to grant the chronology of the Passion to a new Paschal cycle, that the date of Christ's death was moved from 25 March to 23 March and that 25 March was the date of the Resurrection. This mystery, of course, in turn endorsed all the symbolism suggested by the date of thevernal equinox.

The first author of this change, of this transfer to March 25 of the memory of theResurrection seems to be Africanus. This author marks the parousia of Christ (by which he means Passion and Resurrection) in the Olympiad 202, 2, and in the year 16 of Tiberius (3). The indicated Olympiad, starting in July, puts the event in 31. The year of Tiberius refers to the year 30. These two dates overlap with one another, but it is the second that must be reduced to the first. The reason for this is precisely the chronology of the Passion compared to the XIV lunae which is that of Africanus. It places it, in fact, as we have seen, in the XIII lunae, against the common opinion. As far as we can see, he is the first to do so. If he went to this particularity, it could not be without reason and what reason is conceivable, except that in the year in which he placed the Passion he could not find at the event of other day than the X/// lunae? Now, as this peculiarity, XIII lunae friday, is not found in the year 30, but in the year 31, it is this last year that Africanus was to assign to the "parousia" of Christ. In this year, as we have said, the XV Lunae, the day of the Savior's Resurrection, was March 25.

In Africanus you must reach Anatole. We have already said, warning our presentation on this subject, that from its cycle emerges exactly the same era as that of Africanus. And as Anatole had to observe the short chronology of the life of Christ, the only one known in his time, there is every reason to believe that he also placed the Passion of Christ in the year 31 AD. In this year, the cyclical recurrences of his computus lead this event to the XIII lunae, March 23 (the XIV lunae being Saturday 24) and the Resurrection to March 25 Sunday.

The era of Africanus will be replaced, the cycle of Anatole will be modified, but, as in the West, the date of March 25 for the Passion of Christ had to survive, thanks to its mystical overload, the cycle of Hippolytus, thus in the East, the date of March 25 for the Resurrection, thanks to this same mysticism simply transposed, or at the same time applied, will survive the chronological system where it originated. It is she that in the later computs and the various eras of the East we will want to preserve.

⁽i) PG, 59, 745-756. (2) Adv. haeres., 50, I: K. Hou, II, 245. (3) Quoted by EUSEBIUS, Demonstr. evangelica, VIII, 2: PG, 22, 609 D.

These insights into the chronology of Christ in the first three centuries are not useless; they shed light on the paths followed later by chronographs and computists.

And now, in the early years of the fourth century, an author intervenes whose authority or reasons, or both, have enough weight to modify, at least in the East, what is the common appreciation. I am talking about Eusebius of Caesarea. Both in his Chronicle and in his Evangelical Demonstratio(t), he advocates for the public life of Christ a duration of three and a half years (2). Although this opinion is not always followed in its integrity (3), it can be said that from then on, it is made in the East of the short chronology. It is the long chronology, more or less long, but including from the following century at least three years, which is now required, and which chronographs and computists must therefore take into account.

- (1) EUSÈBE, Chronique, trad. allem. by J. KARST, p. 212-213; Demonstratio evangelica, VIII, 2; PG, 22, 625 C. The Chronicle is less explicit than the Evangelical Demonstration: it simply marks the beginning of public life at the First Olympiad, and the Passion at the 4th. As the Olympiad begins in July, the indication of the Chronicle can easily include the three and a half years.
 - (2) Eusebius' estimate assumes that Christ, who died in early spring, was born around the beginning of autumn.
 - (3) Thus, Epiphanes gives the public life of Christ two years and a fraction of a year (Adv. haeres., 51, 25), K. HOLL, 295.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF ERAS AND LUNAR CYCLES FOR THE CHRONOLOGY OF CHRIST

i. = Incarnation; n. = Birth; p. = Passion; r. = Resurrection

Chrét er	era of Hippolyte	Era of Eusebius	Lunar and cy of Africanu Anato	s and	Er	exandrian Lu a and Cy	^{nar} 7cle	Lunai	r era and cycle	of Cons	stantinople
	(Recalculati				Panodore		Annianos	Protobyza			Byzantine era
	on)							0/1	Lı	ınar cyc	
10			5492	VIV				OéaLv 5500	TV	V	cpticrev 4
10 9			5492	XIX				5500 5501	IX X	IX	5500
8			5494	II				5502	XI	X	5501
7			5495	III				5503	XII	XI	5502
6			5496 5497	IV V				5504 5505	XIII XIV	XII XII I	5503 5504
4			5498	VI				5505 5506	XV	XIV	5505
3			5499	VII				i. 5507	XVI		XV i. 5506
2	n. 5500	n. 5199	5500	VIII	5492			5508	XVII	XVI	5507
1	5501	5200	i. 5501	• IX	5493	I	5492		5509 XVIII	XVII	5508
1	5502	5201	5502	X	i. 5494	II		5510	XIX	XVIII	5509
2	5503 5504	5202 5203	5503 5504	XI XII	5495 5496	III IV	5494 5495	551 5512	11 II	XIX	5510
3 4	5505	5203	5505	XIII	5497	V	5496		III	II	5511 5512
5	5506	5204	5506	XIV	5498	VI		5514	IV	III	5513
6	5507	5205	5507	XV	5499	VII	5498		V	IV	551-1
7	5508 5509	5206 5207	5508 5509	XVI XVII	5500 5501	VIII IX	5499 5500	5516 5517	VI VII	V VI	5515 5516
9	5510	5207		0 XVIII	5502	X	<i>i</i> . 5501	5517	VII	VII	5517
10	5511	5209	5511	XIX	5503	XI	5502		IX	VIII	5518
11	5512	5210	5512	**	5504	XII		5520X		IX	5519
12	5513	5211	5513	II	5505	XIII	5504		XI	N/I	X5520
13 14	5514 5515	5212 5213	5514 5515	III IV	5506 5507	XIV XV	5505 5506	5522 5523	XI I XIII	XI XII	5521 5522
15	5516	5214	5516	V	5508	XVI	5507	5524	XIV	XIII	5523
16	5517	5215	5517	VI	5509	XVII	5508	5525	XV	XIV	5524
17	5518	5216	5518	VII VIII	5510	XVIII XIX		5526	XVI XVII	XV XVI	5525
18 19	5519 5520	5217 5218	5519 5520	IX	5511 5512	AIA I	5510 5511	5527	5528 XVIII	XVII	5526 5527
20	5521	5219	5521	X	5513	п	5512	5529	XIX	XVIII	5528
21	5522	5220	5522	XI	5514	III	5513	553		XIX	5529
22	5523	5221 5222	5523	XII	5515	IV V	5514	5531	II III	I	5530
23 24	5524 5525	5223	5524 5525	XIII XIV	5516 5517	VI	5515 5516	5532 5533	IV	II III	5531 5532
25 26	5526	5224	5526	XV	5518	VII	5517	553	34	IV	5533
26	5527	5225	5527	XVI	5519	VIII	5518	5535	VI	V	5534
27 28	5528 5529	5226 5227	5528	XVII I IIVX	5520 5521	IX X	5519 5520	5536 5537	VI I VIII	VI VII	5535 5536
29	p. 5530	5228	5530	XIX	5522	XI	5521	5538	IX	VIII	5537
30	5531	5229	5531		5523	XII	5522	5539	X	IX	5538
31	5532	p.5230	p. 5532	ΙΙ	5524	XIII	5523	p. 5540	XI		X p.5539
P. 33	5533 5534	5231 5232	5533 5534	III IV	5525 p. 5526	XIV XV	5524 5525	5541 5542	XII XIII	XI XII	5540 5541
34	5535	5233	5535	V	p. 5520 r. 5527	XVI	5526	5543	XIIV	XIII	5542
35	5536	5234	5536	VI	5528	XVII	5527	5544	XV	XIV	5543
36	5537	5235	5537	VII	5529	XVIII	5528	5545	XVI	XV	5544
37 38	5538 5539	5236 5237	5538 5539	VI II IX	5530 5531	XIX	5529 5530	5546	XVII 5547 XVII I	XVI XVII	5545 5546
39	5540	5237	5540	X	5532	II	5531	5548	XIX	XVIII	5547
40	5541	5239	5541	XI	5533	III	5532	5549	I	XIX	5548
41	5542	5240	5542	XII	5534	IV	p. 5533	5550	II	I	5549
42 43	5543 5544	5241 5242	5543 5544	XIII XIV	5535 5536	V VI	r. 5534 5535	5551	III IV	II III	5550 5551
1110		3242 						5552		EDICAN	3331

HIPPOLYTE: Creation, March 29; Birth of the Chr., April 2, Wednesday 5500 (-2); Passion, 25 March 5530 (29). - AFRICANUS: Creation, March 22; Incarnation, 5501 (-1), March 22 (?) (25, according to the Syncelle); Resurrection, 25 March 5532 (31). — PANODORE: Création, 19 March; Creation of luminaires, March 22; Incarnation, probabl. 2:2, March 5494 (1 AD); Passion, 20 March 5526 (34); Resurrection, 22 March 5527 (34). - Ai. TNIANOS: Creation, March 25; incarnation. 25 March 5501(9); Passion, 23 March 5533 (42); Resurrection, March 25, 5534 (42). — PROTOBYZANTIN: Creation, March 21; Incarnation, probabl. March 21 (the Chronist, March 25), 5507 (—3); Passion and Resurrection, March 23 and 25, 5540 (31). BYZANTINE: Incarnation, March 25, 5506 (—3); Passion and Resurrection, 23 and 25 March 5539 (31).

THE 19-YEAR-OLD PASCAL LUNAR CYCLE

THE ANATOLE CYCLE OF LAODICEA. - THE REFORM OF ALEXANDRIA AND THE ERA OF DIOCLETIAN. - THE REFORM OF CONSTANTINOPLE THE STARTING POINT OF THE

ANATOLE CYCLE

In addition to the cycles mentioned above, other cycles were also formed; there were cycles of Io years, 14 years, 15 years, 17 years, 30 years, both of which are known only by mentions (1). We are only reporting them, in the impossibility where we are to recognize if they have given origin to eras.

The most famous of the lunar cycles, and which ended up supplanting them all, is the 19-year cycle. Attributed to Meton who employed it, and well known to ancient pagan astronomers (2), it was adapted to the Paschal computus by Anatole, an Alexandrian, bishop of Laodicea of Syria (3).

THE LAODICEA ANATOLE CYCLE

Anatole did not leave a tableau of his cycle, at least it did not reach us, but in the extract transmitted by Eusebius, he marked the starting point that commands the whole order. This starting point, opening of the first year of the cycle, is the neomenia of March 22, when the sun is moving in its fourth day since its entry into the first section " of the year (divided into 12 parts). (This section begins with the sun's entry into the constellation Aries.) There can be no doubt that this 22 March does not represent for Anatole the date of the equinox. It is the one that Ptolemy had fixed in the previous century (in 140), and Elijah of Nisibe says precisely that Anatole mentioned that in his time the equinox was on the 22nd Adar (March 22nd) (4th). This is howSchwartz understood it, and it is from this that he reconstituted the Table of Anatole (5). But D. Lebedev understood it differently, namely that, for Anatole, the entry of the sun into the constellation of Aries meant the equinox, and therefore thatit was on March19. This difference in interpretation

⁽r) The trochos IV of chronicon Paschale mentions the cycles of 8, 15, 17, 18 years (ed. Bonn, p. 5J5); the Armenian James of Crimea mentions the cycles of ro, 15, 16 years (DULAURIER, Recherches, p. 65, 66). That of 30 years is attested by ÉLIE DE NISIBE (ed. CHABOT, pars posterior, 120 (versio, 126); DELAPORTE, 320). That (12 14 years is attributed to the Jews by SAINT EPIPHANES (Haer., 56, 26; IIOLL, 11,297-298 = PG, 41, 933-936. Cf. PrrAv, Diss. de anno et die dominicae Passionis: PG, 42, 960-972). Several of these cycles could be sections of more extensive cycles, the 15-year section, 30 section (15 X 2), the 14-year-old section, the 84-year section (14 *X 6): SAINT EPIPHANY, 1.c., specifically attributed to the Jews an 84-year cycle, which they obtained by multiplying the 14-year cycle by 6.

⁽²⁾ See our Second Part

⁽³⁾ The lunar cycle of Anatole was transmitted to us by EUSEBIUS, VII, 32: ed. SCHWARTZ, 722-724.

(4)
LIJAH OF NISIBE, -HABOT, pars posterior,52 (versio, 73); DELAPORTE, 264. It is the same interpretation in
BÈDE, De temporum ratione, VI, ed. JONES, I92-I93.
(5) Ed. SCHWARTZ, °Sie/la/an, 15.

has effects in the reconstitution of the Easter Table: this one, according to Lebedev, admits dates between March 19 and March 22, namely March 21 in the fifth year, instead of April 20, and March 20 in the I6th year instead of April 18 (1). Lebedev's interpretation seems very difficult to admit, because, with it, it remains inexplicable how later astronomers and computists could, going against the already known phenomenon of the precession of the equinoxes, postpone the real equinoxfrom19 to 21 March, a date commonly received and virtually official in the Ive century and henceforth. We therefore remain with Schwartz's interpretation, but we wish to point out that Lebedev's divergent Easter dates have no bearingon our subsequentdevelopments. — See the Anatole cycle in the comparative table on pages 54 and 55, column I.

The date of the equinox at the head of the cycle does not necessarily mean that Anatole wanted to mark the importance of the law of the equinox and to show his respect for it, and that this would be the reason why he wanted this beginning of the cycle, for this result would have been better obtained if the date of 22 March had concerned, not the neomeny from which results a Passover of 4 April, but the Passover itself, a neomeny of 9 March. In our opinion, there is a purely objective reason for this place given to the neomeny of 22 March at the head of the cycle. Anatole intended to establish his cycle on a purely natural basis, and this is announcedby the astronomical precisions he brings. For him the opening of the cycle to the equinox of March 22 results from the course of the stars as it was established at the creation. That is what we will find later. But, regardless of this, that is to sayeven if Anatole had simply marked his respect for the law of the equinox, it remains that, the equinox being a fact of natural order, it would always be true to say, in any case, that the cycle of Anatole has a natural foundation, as taking its starting point of a natural phenomenon, the meeting of two facts provided by nature: neomeny and equinox. But this character is much more radical if the order of the cycle thus constituted originates at creation. This is the problem of theworld era of Anatole.

We have already said the importance of lunar cycles as part of the solution in the problem of the origin of these kinds oferas. The essential point in this is to know the date of inauguration of a envisaged cycle. The possibleand proposed dates for the Anatole cycle are 258 and 277 (2). If we consider only the problem predicted by its own world era, the two dates, since an entire cycle separates them, have the same result. But the same is not true of other eras whose origin, as we shall see below, can only be explained by their dependence on one of these two dates. And that is why it is important to determine in which of these two years, 258 or 277, the first cycle of Anatole began. This is the second that the authors commonly propose. Thus, among others, Van den Hagen (3), Ideler (4), Dulaurier (5), Hilgenfeld (6), Rühl (7). Ginzel also seems to agree with this sentiment (8). It is also for this date that the Russian scientist D. Lebedev pronounces himself, which he does categorically (9). Alone, to my knowledge at least, Schwartz proposed

- (3) VAN DEN HAGEN, De cyclis paschalibus, Amstelodami, 1736, 142 sq.
- (4) IDELER, II, 225
- (5) DULAURIER, Recherches..., 24-25.
- (6) A. HILGENFELD, Der Paschastreit der alten Kirche, Halle, 1860, 344-346.
- (7) FR. RtYar" Chronologie..., 115.
- (8) GINZEL, III, 233.
- (9) D. I,EBEDEV, cikl Anatolija Laodikijskago, V17, 18, 1911, 148-389, spec. 250-172; ID., Talc nazvvaemaja vizantijskaja era» ot sotvorenija mira, *Vizantijskoe Obozrénie*, 3, 1917, 1-52, spec. 18-24.

⁽i) D. LEBEDEV, IZ istorii drevnich rascharnich ciklov. x9-lanij cikl Anatolija Laodikijskago, V V,18, 1911, ¹4⁸-3⁸9, spec. 201-209.

⁽²⁾ In the tables of Oppolzer-Ginzel, which I quote after I, ebedev, art. cit., 169 (for the year 258) and 153 (for the year 277), the neomenia of March 258 takes place on March 22, afternoon, 4 h 27 mn, 3 s, and that of 277 takes place on March 22, in the night, at o h 43 mn.

the date 258 (1). But he then retracted (2) and agreed with his predecessors, so that it can be said that unanimity is made on the date of 277. We will discuss this problem more conveniently and with more fruit when we have exposé the anatole system. For the moment, what is important to know is which year was considered by ancient computists, very close to Anatole, as the year in which the lunar cycle was inaugurated. There can be no doubt that it was the year 258. This is for several reasons. The first is the fact that Victorius reports a Paschale Graecorum seu Machedonum, whose beginning he places in 353 after 95 years (3). We recognize here the famous cycle of 5 x 19 years, bringing the Easter dates, except forrare predictablecases, to the same days of the week. The cycle preceding this *Paschal* of 353 began in 258 (= 353 - 95). It is not possible to assign any other reason to the choice of this year, except that it was considered as the one where Anatole avput the first beginning of his cycle. It was on victorius' text that Schwartz voted in favour of 258. But there is other evidence that he did not know or at least not noted. Firstly, the fact that it was precisely in the year 353, after the end of the 95-year cycle, that the table of the computist André was inaugurated, which we will talk about later (4). Then the testimony of Elijah of Nisibe who situates Anatole under the reign of Gallus (5), which must obviously be identified with Gallink. If he names this emperor among all those under whom Anatole lived, it is undoubtedly because he links to his reign thework of the computist. Gallienus was associated with the Empire by Valerian in 253, and after the latter, reigned alone from 260 to 268. The testimony of Elijah of Nisibe therefore invites, too, to place not in 277, but in 258, the opening of the cycle of Anatole.

Having said that, let us now turn to the determination of the global era of Anatole, as it emerges from its cycle. It is essential to know it, because it isfrom it that derive the era that we will later call protobyzantine and, through it, the byzantine era commonly known. We have said previously that Anatole could not fail to know the era of Africanus (5501) and argued that the calculation based on his cycle succeeded there. That will come out of our presentation. We take as the basis of our calculation the year 258, but it is obvious that the same operation can be done, and the same result obtained, with the year 277, or any other firstyear of thecycle.

The inaugural year of the Anatole cycle being therefore set in 258, the world era based on this rvcle should lead for the same year to a multiple of 19 plus I (beginning of the cycle), taking into account the birth of Christ in the middle of the sixth millennium. It will be 5757 (19 x 303) plus I, so 5758. The world era of Anatole would thus be achieved if the first year of the cycle were also the very year of creation. That is what needs to be looked at.

We must assume here that Anatole, who established hiscycle not on a conventional basis, as the Alexandrians did after him, but starting from the natural phenomenon of the equinox, must have thought, for the thing most naturally presents itself to the mind, that the sun and the moon, created together around this time of the equinox, had their parallel and equal course until the end of the lunar year, II days before the end of the solar year, and that thus the second solar year of creation began with a difference of eleven days of lunar epact. The firstyear of creation was without epacts, and it is only in the second year, the moon having since I1 days started its own course, that one can count epacts. It is this first year of the epacts that will thus be the

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(t) Ed. SCHWARTZ, Ostertafeln, 16- r 8.
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⁽²⁾ Ed. SCHWARTZ, Eusebius Kirchengeschichte, III, Einleitung, p. ecXLVi-CCSLVII.

⁽³⁾ Cycle de Victorius, ed. KRUSCH, *Studien II*, 42. I, e **term** "Machedonum" is explained here by the use of Macedonian month names in the document known to Victorius. This was not the text of Anatole, where the date of March 22 is given by the names of Egyptian, Macedonian and Roman months, but the "paschal" of which Victorius **marks the beginning in** 333. We will indeed see that the ^. -pox6ç of the cycle built <on this date gives the monthly dates according to these different names.

⁽⁴⁾ See below, pp. 44-45.

⁽⁵⁾ ÉLIE DE NISIBE, ed. CHABOT, Pars posterior, 52 (versio, 73): DELAPORTE, 264.

first of the cycle. In other words, the very year of creation and, consequently, the world era, precedes the year of the cycle by one. The year 258 AD will be, according to the era of Anatole, not 5758, but 5759. The era will be formulated as follows: 5501 BC. J.-C., theyear 5502 of the era corresponding to the year i of the Dionysian era. This is precisely the era of Africanus.

In the system described here, it is clear that the distinction between the two cycles is made. the cycle would later be called 't.C;(7 ,;. r.p1')(3.r.v and cycle xv. U7',v. The cycle 'x.27/;. ?'Jr5r.v is the lunar cycle

itself, the cycle of epacts: the first year is the year in which the epacts begin, the 19th is the maximum of epacts, namely 29. The zw cycle,7). OC. CP,V is the 19-year cycle aligned with the first year of the world, which was without epacts, and consequently, has the characteristic of starting with a year without epacts. Anatole must have thought of only one cycle, the cycle y Dtz(•>.

Let us now see how all this is justified by the examination of the cycle. The problem comes down to this: it is, in the context of our explanation, to connect to the cycle the first year, precyclical, of the world, by obtaining for the genetic days concordances that are appropriate.

The first year of the world, preceding the first year of the first cycle, corresponds proleptically according to numerical order to the 19th year in the course of the enneadékaétérides, but with an essentialdifference. The 19th year of the enneadékaétérides includes the jump of the moon which brings to 12 the number of epacts of the following year, first of the cycle (1). This is reflected in the XIV lunae from 4 April to the first year of the cycle and from 16 April to the 19th preceding it. But the year of creation, preceding the opening of the first cycle, could not include aleap from the moon, since this only occurs at the end of a cycle. Consequently, the XIV lunae of this precyclical year can only be on 15 April, not on 16 April. With the XIV lunae of April 15, we have the XIV of the previous lunar month to March 17 of a 29-day week, starting on March 4 and ending on April 4: the first month of the moon, at creation, could indeed count only 29 days. By calculating recurrences by means of the perfect cycle of 532 years applied to the Anatole era (5758 = 257 AD), we obtain the coincidence of March17 with a Tuesday (2). The next day, 18, is a Wednesday, the genetic day of the creation of the stars, and the moon is on its fifteenth day, in its full. Such a concordance seems likely to justify the distinction that we draw in the Anatole system between the first year of the world and the first year of the cycle. However, it is not to her that we will stop, because it is difficult to admit that she could have satisfied the computist. Indeed the creation of the stars on March 18, Wednesday, brings the first day of creation, the previous Sunday, to March 15. However, nothing marks 15 March to be the beginning of a natural year. On the other hand, we observe that the following Sunday is 22 March, which is specified for Anatole the date of the equinox. For our computist, such a day was perfectly suited to be both the first day of the natural year and the starting point for calculating the times and ages of the world. As a result, the creation of the sun and the moon will take place on the following Wednesday, March 25, the moon being in its xxlle day.

Continue. March 22, the day of the equinox, is the day when the sun begins its annual cycle. In the first year of the world, it is, as we have seen, a Sunday — a Sunday, the first genetic day. The fourth genetic day on which the sun is created is the fourth day of its cycle; it's a Wednesday. The moon, created at the same time, is in its xxlle day, of a proleptic neomenia of March 4, also acredi sea. The first lunar month, part of which is proleptic, naturally has 29 days. The two stars, at their creation, find themselves walking together, but their revolution does not have the same duration: that of the moon, 354 days, ends II days more tôt than that of the sun,

⁽r) I,e number stated is II, because the epacts of the previous year are 29 (not 31), which is actually 12 days of difference.

(2) I,e calculation is established on the year 352 OF our era = 5853 of that of Anatole as no**us understand**it. This number divided by J32 gives t as rest.

365 days. To the following year, neomenia, II days earlier, is on February 21. The lunar month that then begins is, as a result of the alternation, also a month of 29 days; it therefore ends on 21 March. The next lunar month, which is pasca l,begins on March 22. It is precisely to this day that Anatole places the Paschal neomenia of the first year of its cycle. We touch here how this first year of the cycle, by the very play of the cycle, connects to an earlier year, first of the world created at the equinox, supposes it, and is itself the second year of the world. In addition, this March 22 is a Monday. At the same time as the moon, the sun thus begins its cycle of epacts with the epact

In this system of the distinction between the two cycles, everything is harmony and cohesion. This excellence is proof of this. This is not the case in the opposite system, where the first year of the world is identified with the first year of the cycle. In the first year of the cycle in fact, the *XIV lunae* is on 4th April. In the first year of the world thus determined, April 4, according to the calculation of recurrences, falls on a Sunday. The creation of the moon, consequently, is on the following Wednesday, April 7, on its seventeenth day. April 4 and 7 are far from the equinox, and there is nothing to designate April 4 for computists to make it the first day of creation. We are therefore led to give a proleptic beginning to this first year of the world, namely the date of the equinox, March 22. But this date, inco-nsequence of those of 4 and 7 April, which are Sunday and Wednesday, will be a Monday. Computists will certainly not allow the first year of the world to be counted from a Monday. These are, it will have to be recognized, serious disadvantages(t).

An objection that we will not fail to make to the system exposed by us, it is moreover the only one, it is the late age of the moon at creation, xxite day, instead of the)(I'm or the xve. There is also decrease, although the gap is less, dans the opposite system, where the moon is created on its xviith day. Certainly, the decrease of the xxlle day is much more noticeable, but this disadvantage is not extreme, because the xxlte day belongs to the third quarter, and the star, before its indentation, still has a beautiful brightness.

So far, we have deliberately left aside the mystical point of view. We are producing it now. For chronographs and computists of that time, the concordances between Genealogic events and Christian events were of considerable importance and virtually put the seal on the elaborate system. We see it by the Paschal Table of Hippolytus, we see it by the treatise of the pseudo-Cyprian. Now, in the Anatole system, as we expose it, where the year of the world precedes theyear of thecycle, we have one of those mysterious encounters: the day of the creation of the sun is March 25; and precisely, the cycle of Anatole leads the resurrection of Christ to March 25 (2). Nothing similar in the opposite system, where the creation of the sun is on April7. From this presence, there, and this absence, here, of such a mystical element results an argument that is far from negligible.

The concept set out above, which makes it possible to distinguish between the first year of the world and the first year of the first lunar cycle, we certainly do not find it described in the pen of the famous computist, but one cannot do other than attribute it tohim, because it emerges from the examination of the cycle, as we have just seen; and, moreover, it alone reflects the distinction of the

⁽i) The disadvantage of the deviation from the equinox also exists in the Hippolyte system as we havepro posited it (5 and 8 April, or 29 March and I^{er} April), but it is compensated by the mystical concordances. It should be noted that, despite their gap fear the date of the equinox, and despite the difference in cycles, the eras of the two great computists agree.

⁽²⁾ Indeed, the date of Christ's death was to be for Anatole, as for Africauus, dent World Father is the same, the Dionysian year 31. The year of recurrence in the cycle is 259 (2J9 - 31 = 228; 228 = r9 X 12, without remainder). The year 259 is the second dans cycle and this one has its XII: lunae to March 24. This puts, known for Africanus, who expressly says it, the Passion of Christ "in the XIII lunae"), On March 23, and the resurrection in the XIII lunae, on March 25.

cycles zx-:& yl:Avi et *va-r*& UcyLv; it alone explains the existence of two eras based on two cycles thus distinguished, which, precisely, as we shall see, come from the very reform of the Anatole cycle, carried out by observing itsnaturalfunction.

Finally, it should be noted that this precyclical year is known to the Byzantines themselves. To explain why the Paschal date of the first year of the cycle is April 2, Psellos goes back to the lunation of the vernal equinox of the previous year, which, for him, at creation, is to March 15, the moon being then created on its xvth day (1). This precyclicalyear, reduced to 5 and a half months because of the beginning of the Byzantine yearputon September 1st, is not counted in the numeration of the Byzantine years of the world.

THE ALEXANDRIAN REFORM AND THE DIOCLETIAN ERA

The Anatole cycle was undoubtedly welcomed with favour throughout the East, and first in Egypt, the author's country of origin. But about half a century later, it underwent an important transformation, as evidenced by the festive letters of Saint Athanasius. The latter, in fact, observes a new register of Easter seats, the extreme terms of which are 21 March and 18 April (2). This date of March 21 is noteworthy: given the rule of the equinox formulated by Dionysius of Alexandria, it means a rise of the equinoxial day. Athanasius is not the author of these changes: it uses a computus in force. It should be noted that in his Lettres festales the years he uses in announcing Easter are the years of Diocletian. We see by this that the reform of the computus took place in the time of this emperor. By all appearances, it is to Peter of Alexandria (300-310) that the initiative must be traced back. It is known that this archbishop wrote a treatise on the Passover of which the *Chronicon* Paschale transmitted a fragment to us (3). It is rightly dealt with the equinox, and the author reproaches the Jews for not observing it. For a better scope of the discussion, it was appropriate, it was almost necessary to determine in concrete terms this crucial element of computus, whose fixation on 22 March, beyond Anatole, dated back to Ptolemy. The scholars of Alexandria recognized that the date had to be raised by one day, and thus marked the equinox on March 21. We do not have direct information on this operation, but it must be assumed, and it is very likely that it was it that caused the cycleto berefosed. The rise of the equinox, in addition to carrying the Passover of 20 April to 21 March, was to lead, if one were faithful to the principle of Anatole, to the change in the order of the years of the cycle, of which 22 March ceased to be the point of depile. The order, indeed, was changed, but it was changed on a completely different basis. For the sake of uniformity and for the convenience of calculation, these scholars chose as their initial date the date that inaugurated the calendar year of their nation, the 1st thôth (August 29th). Thenew cycle was therefore built, taking as the first year the year in which a neomenia coincided with the Ter thôth. This took place in 303 (year 303-304) (4). It was the ninth year of Anatole. It became the first of the new cycle.

Another change, of equal importance, which was, moreover, a fairly natural consequence of the previousone, was that, in this new cycle, the first year was taken as a year without epacts (5), while for Anatole, the year without epacts was that of creation, corresponding to the nineteenth (6).

(1) Gertrude REDL, La chronologie appliquée de Michel Psellos, Byz., 4, 1927-1928, p. 217.

(0) SCHWARTZ, "Ste/laie/II, 24-25.

(2) Chronicon Paschale, ed. Bonn, I, 4-12.

(1) GINZEL, III, ¹35.

(3) Since the new cycle has only a conventional basis, independent of the original natural order, its first year cannot present itself as an absolute beginning, where the sun and the moon inaugurate together their course, so that it is only in the second year of the cycle that the moon counts its first number of epacts.

(4) The year without epacts is noted in the cycles by the maximum of epacts, i.e. 29 (only at the end of the cycle), or 30. Instead of the latter number, we also see o (thus in Dionysius the Little).

It was in the framework thus transformed that the seats of the X/V lunaewereestablished. The neomenia of the ^I thôt brought the Easter X/V lunae to April 5, from a moon whose first day was March 23 (I). It is this neomenia of March 23 that will serve as a starting point for the calculation of the epacts (2).

In the new system, the basis of which was conventional (beginning of calendar year), there was noreason why the distinction or duality of the cycles zocTà pliatv and XY.'ri/. 0éatv. — Thetable of the reformed cycle is included in the comparative table on pages 54 and 55, col. II.

All that remained was to designate concretely the real years in which to situate the cyclical years. The custom being then to mark the events and to date the public acts by the years of reign, it is naturally by the years of the reigning emperor, Diocletian, thatthe new Easter dates were indicated. The year 303-304, the first of the Reformed cycle, was diocletian's 20th year. It so happened that the first year of this emperor was also the first of the series of 19 years immediately precedinge. Thus the 19 years of the cycle were exactly superimposed on any 19-year series of diocletian's years. This made a perfect match between the years of the cycle and the years of this emperor. It was found convenient after the end of the reign to continuer to announceEaster after those same years. We saw that Saint Athanasius did it. The process made it possible, by the simple division of such a year of Diocletian by 19, to know, by means of the rest, to which year of the cycle it corresponded. The continued use of diocletian's years in computing was a new chronological means, which was also used to date events. This is the origin of the era of Diocletian which, later, in odium persecutoris, was called e era ofmartyrs". The era of Diocletian was already in full possession, or to put it better, in tradition, when, no doubt to supplant it, the era of the Romans was created around the year 364 (3).

Another consequence of this exact correspondence of the years of the centurywith the years of Diocletian was that the opening of the Reformed cycle was traced back to the first year of this emperor, so that the era and the cycle were supposed to have had the same beginning. This operation was perhaps unconscious, in the beliefthat the use of Diocletian's years for the Paschal computus made it seem quite naturally that it dated back to the advent of this emperor. But it is also possible that this was done from the very time of Peter of Alexandria, at the creation of the new cycle. For it would be surprising if it had not been noticed then that the first year of Diocletian corresponded to a first year of the cycle, and such an observation could lead to counting that year, by prolepse, as the year that inaugurated the new system.

Whatever the original mode, this conception on the inaugural year of the cycle exists when Theophilus of Alexandria establishes his paschal table of one hundred years (4). This one took its starting point exactly 95 years since the first year of Diocletian (284-285). And this means both that the Alexandrian cycle, we will now call the 19-year cycle reformed by Peter of Alexandria, was also developed, just like that of Anatole, in a period of 5 times 19 years (= 95) and that the first year of the first enneadékaétéride or year of opening of the new cycle was identified with the first year of Diocletian.

The Table of Theophilus was to include in its turn, in fact, a new cycle of 95 years, plus another five years, in order to achieve the end of the century. This is undoubtedly what gave rise to the indication of Gennade touching Theophilus: *Paschalem etiam recursum, quod magna apud Nicaeam*

⁽i) See the tables of GINZEL, II, 556, in the years 303 and 304.

⁽²⁾ Ed. SCHWARTZ, Ostertafeln, 14. Saint Maximus indicates as the starting point of this calculation the ler thôth, I'G, 19, 1272 C.

⁽³⁾ On the existence of this era and the date of its creation, see below, ch. XI.

(4) Letter from Theophilus of Alexandria to Theodosius I, ed. KRUSCH, Studien I, 220-221.

synodus post nonaginta et quinque annos agi in tempore et die et luna secundum suum statum invenerat, additis quibusdam ipsius festivitatis rationibus et expositionibus, Theodosio principi obtulit (i). This text wrongly attributes the invention of the 95-year cycleto the Council of Nicaea, but it asserts, probably going beyond the archbishop's thought, that it is a similar cycle that Theophilus dedicated to Theodosius.

The Table of Theophilus has not been preserved, but it is possible to imagine what it was supposed tobe. According to the indications of Theophilus himself in his dedication to the emperor, it presented the dates of the XIV Easter lunae and those of the Sunday Easter for a period of one hundred years. Most likely the latter were accompanied, very important element, by the age of the moon. Victorius says that Theophilus paid no attention to cycles (2), but this must be understood as cycles bringing back both the day of the week and that of the month, that is to say, those of which the Latin computist spokepreviously, namely of 112 years, of 84 years, of 95 years. But the 19-year-old was surely to be marked, either expressly or by some artifice of presentation, as a layout in parallel columns of 19 years, or empty space after each group of 19 years. As for the numeration of the years, one must believe, both because of the absolute silence concerning the years of Diocletian, and because of the insistence with which Theophilus emphasizes that this table will perpetuate the name of the pious sovereign (3), one must believe, I say, that the years of Diocletian were indeed suppressed, and that only the years of Theodosius were marked, the first being that of his first consulate. In Theophilus' thought, this numeration constituted a new " pasca era" replacing that of the pagan emperor. This era was likely to take hold. She agreed with the cycle on which the century-old table was built; it was named after the great Orthodox emperor, the final victor of the Arianheresy. Moreover, it was presented by the Church of Alexandria itself, the only one that would have had reason to stick to the years of Diocletian; and on the other hand, the Roman era was too recent to have been able to constitute a tradition (4). In fact, the fortune of this Theodosian era was ephemeral. The table was not composed, and consequently its use did not begin until after 385, the date of Theophilus' elevation to the siege of Alexandria C5).

Some twenty years later, it had already been replaced in thesame way that we learn from a document preserved in Armenian (6). This document is a letter from St. Cyril of Alexandria addressed to Theodosius II. It is not dated, but as the bishop praises the emperor for his triumph over heresy, there is no doubtthat it should be placedafter, and probably shortly after the Council of Ephesus (431) (7). This letter concerns the holy Passover and it ends with the announcement of a Paschal table to take its departure in the year of the first consulate of Theodosius II. Unfortunately, this table has not been preserved, and we only know what the letter says about it. There is all appearance, according to

- (1) De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis, XXXIII: PL, 58, 2079.
- (2) Prologus Victorii, ed. KRUSCH, Studien /, 221, 9-12.
- (3) "Principiuin autem centum aunorum primum nominis tui posui consolatum... ut legentes scilicet hoc opusculum abeant habeant) in memoriam tempus imperii vestri laudabili ore decantare "(KRuscH, Studien I, 222, 9-22). "Oportebat enim sub beatis temporibus vestris divine pasce divinae paschae), certissimus dies in Alexandrina Ecclesia diligeuti examines repperiri,... ut ex his que (= quae) leguntur et ad presens et ad futurum ex hoc opusculo nominis vestri memoria sempiterna permaneat" (ibid., I, 221, 13-18).
 - (4) See chap. XI.
- (5) THÉOPHILE marks in fact in the suscription his quality of bishop: Piissimo... Teodosio Teophilus episcopus ecclesie Alexandrine, *ibid.*, 220.
- (6) F.C. CONYBEARE, The Armenian Version of Revelation and Cyril of Alexandria scholia on the Incarnation and Epistle on Easters, London, 2907, 22O-221.
- (7) G. MERCATI, *Theologische Revue*, 6, 2907, 126-127, places the composition of Cyril's letter and Paschal table between 422 (ordination of the archbishop) and 427 (end of the lunar cycle where the reign began). But the allusion to the victory over heresy is then explained with awkwardness or watermuch less well, and moreover it is difficult to believe that Theodosius II, still so young he was born in 402 then had enough smugness to put himself above his illustrious ancestor.

this one, that Cyril did not act by own initiative, but only deferred to a desire of the sovereign. The latter, the day after the Council of Ephesus gathered by him, the first ecumenical after that of Nicaea (1), will have judged that his name, more rightly than that of his ancestor, was worthy to appear forever in the splendor of the great Christian solemnity. A one hundred-year table would initiate and ensure this perpetuity. This was the measure taken by Theophilus for Theodosius ¹. Theophilushad started his table with the year of the emperor's first consulate. It was also the year of the first consulate of Theodosius II that was chosen for the starting point of the new table. This year was diocletian's 119th (403 AD). It did not coincide with the beginning of a cycle: it took four years. Cyril pointed this out in his letter. And he declared that since the custom was always to transcribe the entire 19-year cycle, he had been forced to startthe tableearlier. For the same reason, of course, he was finishing the current cycle after the hundred years. In his table, the four years preceding the year of the aforesaid consulate (403) were simply written, but not counted. The numeration began with this year of the consulate and the number of years counted from then on was 1 Io. So there were a total of six 19-year cycles (4 --,- II 0 -- 114 -- 6 x 19), embracing the years 399-512. This table was to include the same elements as that of Théophile. The only difference was this. In addition to the imperial years (here those of Theodosius II from 403), it was undoubtedly necessary, in order to manifest the cycles of 19 years, to mark, certainly in lesser relief, the years of Diocletian from 399 to 512.

This is Cyril's table. It is not, as we can see, a revision of that of its predecessor, but a simple transposition into another century-old framework, to which, because it was outside the cyclical system, it was necessary to addinternal and posterior margins, so that the whole contained only complete cycles.

There is another Paschal table called Saint Cyril, 95 years old, known especially thanks to Dionysius the Little (2). At this table is an introduction whose title is *Prologus sancti Cyrilli* (3). Taken as a whole, it is certainly a fake, as Kruschhas wellestablished. It does, however, contain the essential elements of an older document, which C. W. Jones discovered in the manuscript of Chartres 70 and which he published(4). The title is *Praefatio sci Cvrilli epi*. The final paragraph bears a date, namely the consulate of Asterious and Protogenies (449 AD). This paragraph, which is defective in transmission, is not easy to interpret (5). The editor's exeges is isunfortunately based on corrections to the text which are farfrom justified. The meaning that seems to us to emerge most naturally is that in this year 449 which cyclically brings back the date of the Passover of Christ, fifty years have already passed for which it is not necessary to raise the computus; this will be done only for the forty-five years that remain. It is clear, from the total of 50 -1-45, that the translator counted of the 114 years of Cyril's table only 95 years establishingthe great cycleof enneadékaétérides. which? The answer is in the number 50. This one is not explained

(2) Vcir the libel of Dionysius the Little to Petronius, ed. KRUSCH, Studien. II, 63-68.

⁽¹⁾ That of 381 (in Constantinople) was not then considered ecumenical.

⁽³⁾ See the edition of KRUSCH, Studien 1, 337-343, and his dissertation concluding inauthenticity, ibid., 93-98. (4) C11. W. JONES, Bedae opera de temporibus, 40.43.

⁽⁵⁾ Here is the text, comme gives it the author (p. 43): "anno CCCC0 and X0 [XX] consolatus auferri (asterii)et protogenis circulis ipse ad caput redit, id est a pascha quod salvator noster cum discipulis suis celebravit, qm. [quem], ut arbitror, competens [ccmpletum]est. reddita iam ratio 1, xlv annorum paschae dies quibus kal., ds [nonis], vel idibus et cota luna occurrat [-avenu: ti, ex ordine cauculemus". And here is the advanced translation: "In the year 420, the consulate of Asterius and Protogenes, the cycle returned to its start, that is to the Pasch which our Lord observed with His disciples, wich, I believe, was complete. We shall calculate in order when the table has completed fifty years, for the Easters have occurred for forty-five years according to Kalends, Nones, and Ides, and according to the age of the moon. The manuscrit was destroyed with the entire depot in the last world war, which makes any control impossible.

although if we make it start in 399 to end at 449 (not included) (449 — 399 = 50) (1). Cyril's table started from 399; consequently the five enneadékaétérides counted by the translator are the first five of this table, including the years 399-493. And the date of 449 is the date of the translation. The translator announces that he will give the dates of Easter by their monthly calendar according to the Roman calendar(kalendes,nones, ides) and by their lunar calendar. This transposition of Egyptian days from Cyril's table into Roman days was a long and tedious task; it is conceivable that the operator, who apparently was only aiming for an immediately practical purpose, considered it useless to impose it on himself forthe fifty years of the cyc that had already passed and wanted to present only the Easter of the remaining forty-five years. As for the years of Diocletian and Theodosius II contained in Cyril's table, it is very likely that the translator abandoned them and that he tookall numbers only of the tableitself, starting it at the year 51, marked by the consulate of Asterius and Protogenies.

This is the first state of Cyril's table in Latin translation. It is not the one known to Denys the Little. The Cyrillian table which this author deals with must have been written very shortly after the one we have just talked about, no doubt at the timeof the Passover which was to take place in 455. We see that Pope Saint Leo is already concerned about it since the year 451 (2). The supporters of the Alexandrian computus, either Orientals anxious to make it appreciated and accepted in the West, or Westernersalready conquered by the perfection of the system, felt the need for a detailed table of 95 years in Latin writing. It began with theongoingenneadékaétéride, whose first year was 437. For this purpose, the unseated part of Cyril's table was used for the remaining portion, 437-512, comprising four enneadékaétérides. For the last (513-531), the second enneadékaétéride of Cyril (418-436) not yet represented was used. All of Cyril's information was reproduced there, including the years of Diocletian whose numbering was applied until the last enneadékaétéride. As for the years of Theodosius II, which did not coincide with that of the cycle, we had no need of it; they were abandoned asthey were probably already in the translation of 449. All considered, there was therefore reason or appearance of reason to consider this cycle of 95 years (437-531) as thework of St. Cyril himself and to leave it under his name (3).

It was thistable that Dionysius the Little used when he was commissioned in 526 to revise the computus of the Roman Church. As it ended in 531, Dionysius established a similar series of five enneadé-kaétérides from 532. He preceded them with the last **Cyrillian** enneadékaétéride corresponding to the years 229-247 of Diocletian (513-531). He modelled his five enneadékaétérides on those he had in front of him, with all his elements, with the exception of the years of Diocletian whom he replaced by the years of Christ (4).

And this is how the Anatolian cycle of 19 years, in its Alexandrian transposition and in the Cyrillian form, entered the West, where it finally, after more or less long resistance, was received universally.

⁽i) On the contrary, the publisher sells the 45 years and places in the future the other 50 years, the 45 years starting in 437, beginning of the 95-year cycle, and ending in 482, a year which includes a date discussed. I do not see how this interpretation can be accorded withthe text. On the one hand, indeed, in *iani reddita ratio 1*, the terms *reddita* and *iam* push the 50 years into the past, and on the other hand, it is impossible to attach the verb *cauculemus to* another complement than *dies paschae xlv annoruni*.

⁽²⁾ KRUSCH, Studiin I, 255-257

⁽⁰⁾ There is no evidence that Cyril himself thought of establishing a cycle of 95 years, as such, but it was with his enneadékaétérides that the one that received his name was built.

⁽³⁾ Ed. de KRUSCH, Studien II, 69-74.

THE CONSTANTINOPLE REFORMATION

The Alexandrian reform was not the only one received by the deceemnovennal cycle of Anatole. Half a century later, there was another, which does not give it to him in importance.

But first we have to present and examine a very valuabledocument, which shows us, as it were, the prelude. Preserved in a Manuscript of Verona(cod.60) among the pieces of the Council of Sardique,it was discovered by Schwartz and published by him in 1905 (1). We give the content in the attached table by accompagnant of the years of the Anatolian and Alexandrian cycles, as well as the Dionysian years that correspond to them.

THE 30-YEAR PASCAL CYCLE CREATED IN 343

	Jewish dates	Dates Christian	Anatole cycle	Alexandrian cycle
Indict. 1 I (328-358) II (329-359) III (330-360) IV (331-361) V (332-362) VI (333-363) VII (334-364) VIII (335-365) IX (336-366) X (337-367) XI (338-368) XII (339-369) XIII (340370) XIV (341-371) XV (342-372) Indict. 1 XVI (343-373)	March 11 March 30 19 March 8 March March 27 March 16 March 5 March 24 March 13 March 2 March 21 March 20 March 10 March 29 March 18 March 7 March 26	April 10 March 30 April 18 April 7 March 27 April 15 April 4 March 24 April 12 April 1 March 21 April 9 March 29 April 17 April 6 March 26	Xiv XV Xvii Xviii Xix I Ii Iii Iv V Vii Viii Viii Ix	Vi Viii Viii Ix X Xii Xiii Xiii Xiv XV Xvii Xviii Xviii Xix
XXI (348)		April 14 April 3 March 23 April 11 March 31 April 19 April 8 March 28 April 16 April 5 March 25 April 13 April 2 March 22	xi Xiii Xiv XV XVi Xviii Xviii Ii Ii	Iii Iv V Vi Vii Viii Ix X X Xii Xiii Xiv XV Xvi

It is known that the Council of Sardique dealt with the Paschal question and that it reached an agreement on the practical plan between Rome and Alexandria for a period of 50 years, The document we are talking about is a table of Paschal dates (XIV lunae) of 30 years accompanied by a table of Jewish Paschal dates of 16 years. It comes from the group of bishops who had seceded and had

⁽I) Ed. Schwartz OSteriatebt, I22-I23.

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gathered in Philippopoli. The intention was indeed to provide a definitive solution to the Easter question by means of a new round, but also, without a doubt, to put an end to the influence of Athanasius, who had proposed the agreement with Rome.

The number of lo years had been chosen to honor the 30 years of christ's life. The table began at the first indiction under Constantine (328) and thus included two 15-year-old index series. The Easter date of the first year was in Io April; that of the last, on 22 March; this one therefore called for the following year (31st) the date of Io April, which means that the same series of dates started again and that this list of 30 years was really a cycle. It offered the precious advantage of walking withindiction and made it extremely easy to make Easter tables.

But what particularly attracts us in the Verona document is the list of Jewish Easter that precedes the Christian Easter dates. These Easter are 16 in number, fromthe first indiction (328) until the renewal of the indiction in 343. It is worth noting that they do not take into account the spring equinox and are all enclosed in the month of March. This usage must have been old enough; it is hethat Anatole is aiming for when he blames those who celebrate the Passover in the twelfth month. The Christians who followed the Jews on this point were said to be proto-Paschites and it was against them that the Council of Nicaea pronounced itself. They were precisely inthe region where the Anatole cycle had naturally spread: Syria, Cilicia, Mesopotamia (1). The March dates that are after the equinox in the Jewish Easter list coincide with the Christian Easter dates. For Jewish Easter whose date is before the equinox, the correspondence in Christian dates is thirty days later in April. Taking this into account, we see that the Christian Easter observes in relation to the corresponding 16 years of the Jewish table exactly the same computus.

That said, it is interesting to compare the Jewish Paschal dates with the two cycles anatolian and Alexandrian. For ease of reference, we transpose, where appropriate, Jewish dates into the corresponding Christian dates. Of the 16dates, 6 conform to the Alexandrian cycle only (1 to 6); 8 conform to both the Anatolian and Alexandrian cycles (7 to 14); 2 conform to the Anatolian cycle only (15 and 16).

The first year of the Jewish list corresponds to the 14th year of Anatole; it has as its Paschal date 1 i March (Io April), while in Anatole the date is I I April. This advance of a unit continues until the end of the cycle of Anatole.: it ceases with the *saltus lunae* which starts this cycle again and the dates arethen the same until the end of the Jewishlist. The last two Easter on this list are March 7 (April 6) and March 26. They differ from those of the corresponding years (I and II) of the Alexandrian cycle, April 5 and March 25, because of the intervention of the Alexandrian *saltus lunae* which raises the Paschal date to April 5. As we can see, the list of Jewish Easter, from the I'e to the I6th included, shows no *saltus lunae*. It is necessary, however, that it has if it is to join the Alexandrian datefour years later. And it must join it, because the date of April II that we see in the 20th year of the Christian table is explained only by its place in the Christian cycle of 30 years where there is no *saltus lunae*.

It is clear from the succession of Easter dates which correspond to those of the Anatolian and Alexandrian cycle, either commonly or respectively, that the Jewish list was part of a cycle of 19 years, necessarily stopped on the very date of composition of the synodal document, which had to show and could only show for its purpose the Easter actually celebrated by the

(I) V. V. Botmov, in 2urnal kommissii Russkago Astronomiôeskago Obe.estva fo voprosu **o** reforma kalandarja v Rossii. Prilieenie V. " Doklad " V. V. Bolotova v zasèdanii Kommissii 31 maja 1899, p. 33. — D. 1,EnErw, Tak nazyvaemaja "vizantijskaja era", Viz. Obozr., 3, 1917, 17-18.

Jews, not futures. The years of the cycle shown correspond to a whole indiction (328-342) and the first year of the next indiction (343). The *saltus lunae* of this cycle was outside these 16 years, between the year X of Anatole, II alexandrine, not included, and XIV of Anatole, VI Alexandrine, included, i.e. four years. Among them is the XII of Anatole, the one where the course of its cycle leading the neomenia to March 21, new date of the equinox since the Alexandrian reform, coincidedwith the Easter date of April 3.

In the same year, the Alexandrian cycle had the date of April 2. There is every reason to believe that the Jewish cycle which has the Alexandrian date of April 10 must also have been two years higher the date of April 2. This date wasbrought to the Alexandrians by the neomenia of the te^r thôth which inaugurated their cycle. It marked an advance of the moon on the Anatolian computus. However, in this year, the 1 Tishri which begins the Jewish lunar year, 5 and a half months or 6 and a half months (depending on the year) before the Passover, fell on September 24, autumnal equinox, ideal date of the beginning of the year in the lunsolar calendar of the Syro-Macedonians. Itwas therefore doubtful that it was in that year that the Jewish cycle had its *saltus lunae*.

Thus, we see that the Jews already had in the second quarter of the ive century a 19-year-old Paschal computus derived from the Anatolian cycle whose dates were modified from those when Anatole had the neomenia of March 21, year that became their first with the date of March 20, place of the *saltus lunae*.

But there can be no doubt that the Christian computists of Syria, successors of Anatole, have also, for the sake of accuracy and the need for conformity in Easter matters, taken into account the progress made by the Alexandrian reform with regard to the rise of the equinox and the retreat of the moon. It is even quite likely that heirs of the great computist, they devancé the Jews in this and were the real initiators of this development. It is true that the 30-year-old table starts from the computus of the Jews at the first indiction under Constantine (328), and this may make believe that the table is built on the computus of the Jews and depends on it. This is an impression that can be easily dispelled if one examines the circumstances in which the table was composed. Let us first note that the conciliabule from which it emanated brought together bishops from various regions including Syria and Egypt. In order to win all the votes, the first Easter date of the cycle had to be a common date. If the Jews had been the only ones involved, nothing would have prevented the Alexandrians from making their cycle prevail. If they did not do so orwere unable to doso, it is certainly because the Syrians opposed them the Anatolian cycle, not the primitive Anatolian cycle, but modified, as we have said, starting from the year in which Anatole put neomenia on March 21. That is why, firstly, we composed a new 30-year cycle that avoided choosing between the two cycles in competition, and secondly we had to start it with a year that was not the first of either of the two. It was agreed to take the debut outside the lunar computus: the indiction became an easy and already entered into practice way for the numeration of the years. Here again, we were careful not to benefit either of the two computs. Indeed, it would have been quite normalto start the 30-year table in the same year as it was instituted (343), which was precisely a first indiction, but in this year, the Easter date was 26 March for the Syrians, 25 March for the Alexandrians. This discrepancy prevented the choice of this year 343. This is, apparently, the reason that made the beginning of the cycle go to the first year of the previous indiction, in 328, the year in which the Paschal date (Io April) was common to the renovated Alexandrian and Anatolian cycles. If the document highlights Jewish dates, it is for two reasons: firstly, because, addressing all christendom, the first Paschal date of the new cycle had to be designated by a reference foreign to the Christian cycles in competition, and it could not be the Jewish date of passover; the second, which is the main one, was to show by comparing Jewish Paschal dates and Christian Paschal dates how the new cycle observed perfectly

the ordinance of the Council of Nicaea not to celebrate before the equinox, as the Jews often did.

This examination of the 30-year cycle and the circumstances in which it was composed, not only manifests the existence among the Jews of the modified Anatolian cycle, but also assumes it among the Christian computists of Syria. They were probably the first to use it, no doubt both because they were the first to be warned of the Alexandrian operation concerning the equinox and because they werethe most directly interested in developing the precision instrument which the famous scientist had endowed themwith. It is doubtful, however, that they touched on the order of the years of the cycle and the world era based on it, whose tradition, for itwas the same era as that of Africanus, was already secular and strictly respected the mysticism of the number 5,500. Be that as it may from this point, the *circulus lunaris*, distinct from the Novemdecennal cycle of Alexandria, was therefore substantially founded. We think that the Jews, who did not have the same reasons for reservation, did not hesitate to count the years of this same cycle from the neomenia of the ler Tishri and that they were thus the first to give his number of years to the *circulus lunaris*.

The 3o-year-old table had the advantage of walking with indiction, but such a long period, without internal relay (as in the 84-year-old table, where several *saltus lunae* straightened the gaps) prevented the course of the star from being squeezed quite closely to the point; in addition, it caused a delay of about one day per each cycle. Such a system could hardly satisfy computists. The Alexandrians especially did not have to make themselves fail to criticize him. Moreover, the assembly from which it emanated, a dissident fraction of the Council of Sardies, lacked sufficient authority to make it accepted everywhere, even looking only at the East. The cycle in question was doomed to failure. Had it not been for its conservation in the precious manuscrit of Verona, it would have remained perfectly unknown, because it is doubtful that the cycle of 30 years mentioned, but not described, by Elijah of Nisibe, had anything in common, except the number of years, with that of the conciliabule of Sardique.

The unification of computing was going to take place, at least in the East, on another basis. It was not what the Alexandrians wanted. The opportunity was provided by the completion of the 95-year Anatolian cycle, which, starting in 258, ended in 352 and at the same time completed the eleventh cycle of 532 years since its creation.

The Byzantine authors do not give us any information on what happened then, and that is why we no doubt find in modern scholars so paid attention to such an event full ofconsequences, and without which, we can be convinced, it is impossible to understand anything at the origins of the Byzantine era.

It is the Armenian historians who make up for the silence of greek sources here. They tell us that a scholar named André, "brother of Bishop Magnus", composed, on the order of emperor Constance, a bicentenary Easter table, which it had begun with a Passover (XIV lunae) of April 4 and that it ended "in the year 553" (1).

(i) See the texts collected by DITLAURIER, *Recherches...*, 57-67, by various Armenian authors, Jean Diacre, un anonyme, Guiragos, Étienne Orbélian, Mékhitar d'Aïrivank and Jacques de Crimée. All speak of Andrew's bicentenary canon and its beginning with the Passover of April 4. Thework of the computer is specially highlighted by the anonymousand Guiragos. It is the latter that mentions the intervention of emperor Constantius. -- Dulaurier (p. 73) did not realize the reform of computing carried out then, probably because he ignored the resultrecorded in the provio of the *Chronicon Pas-chale*. He thought that theenneadékaétéride of the computist André began in 353 as a continuation of that of Anatole. Nor did he see that the Alexandrian cycle was a reform of that of Anato. Il presents the figures of epacts and the Easter of these three cycles as being identical, except in a single year, where the Passover is on April 6th in Andrew and april 5th in alexandrians. This exception is explained by the leap from the moon put by him to the previous year, the ninth year of André's cycle; and certainly it must be admitted. what is unacceptable and inexplicable or at least without explanation is to see a jump from the moon to the ninth year of an enneadékaétéride. This anomaly should have warned our author that it was wrong, that the jump from the moon that it was necessary to admit could not

The determination of the Easter festival was in the fourth century something important enough that one should not be surprised by the imperial intervention mentioned by the Armenian authors. Emperor Constance was Arian, therefore unwilling to favor the influence of the Church of Alexandria, the Church of Athanasius, influence of which the annual fixing of the Feast of Easter was one of the most conspicuous manifestations. As for André, brother of Bishop Magnus, he is not unknown, if he is of the Greek authors. Eli eof Nisibe, who also called him brother of Magnus (r), cites him as an authority next to Eusebius and Anatole. He situates the time of his activity in these terms: "From the time of the appearance of the Lord to the time when Andrew made his Chronicle, more than three hundred years ago." He specifies that the calculation of this Chronicle then placed the vernal equinox on March 21. He also points out another work by Andrew, *De azymis* (2), which, judging by the quotations he makes of it, was directed against the Jews and dealt with the celebration of the Passover after the equinox. This André is therefore a special feature in the science of computing and one cannot therefore be surprised to see him chosen to establish a Paschal table. As for the fact itself, the elaboration of the 200-year-old table, it is impossible to doubt it, because for armenian authors it is an event linked to the very origins of their national era.

Armenian authors, we have said, place the end of Andrew's bicentenary cycle "in 553". This year is expressed in the Armenian Christian era. According to the authors who use it, it is a year or two ahead of the Dionysian era. Inthis case, it is easy to know what the date is envisaged. It is enough to notice what was in our informants the XIV Easter lunae of the year in which the bicentenary canon of André began. This Passover is the Passover of 4 April. If we are told that the canon came to an end in 553 (Armenian date), we must understand 552 of the Dionysian era, since two centuries earlier, it is the year 353 that offers us the Paschal see of April 4. The year 353 is therefore the year in which the reform took place. Bythis time, the computists of Syria had already had their revision of the cycle. It is repeated here, with the effect surely, this time, of the change of order in the years of the cycle and the change of the era; it is from this perspective that we describe itagain, despite certain repetitions, to mark all its peculiarities.

Essential point! The revision had to respect anatole's principle, that the cycle had to have a natural foundation, and precisely that which he himself had laid down: savoir that the first year of the cycle was the one in which the neomenia fell at the vernal equinox. This equinox having been raised to March 21, it is from the year of Anatole where was March 21 that we began the cycle. We have said how, as a result of the Alexandrian reforme, instead of March 21, it was on March 20 that the initial neornny of the cycle was placed. It bore the Easter date of April 2 instead of April 3 which was at Anatole's. Starting from this Easter date of 2 April, in its first year, the new cycle ends, for the 19th year, on the Easter date of 14 April. This is the date of the first year of Anatole. As a result, those of Anatole's previous ten years are also preserved. The 12nd year of Anatole becomes the first of the new cycle. Ittherefore includes the saltus lunae which advances the Paschal dates by one day until the end of the Anatolian cycle, that is to say until the saltus lunae which restores the identity of the dates. Thus, the new cycle starting in the first year 2nd year of that of Anato,has a difference with it of either eight years or eleven years, that is to say eight years higher or eleven years lower. It is natural that we took the smallest difference, even if it was necessary not to stray too far.

be only in the last year of an enneadekaétéride, and therefore that there had been correction or reform of the Anatole cycle, with the beginning of the new cycle not point in 353, as a continuation of the primitive cycle, but in 345, eight years above. — The Armenian information on the work of the computist André was also known from J. 3IARX\d'ART and A. BADER, HiPPolytus Werke: Die Chronik, Anhang, 403-409, but they too did not appreciate all the importance.

⁽I) ÉLIE DE NISIBE, ed. CHABOT, pars post., 52 (versio, 73); DELAPORTE, 204. (2) ID., 109-110 (verSio, 119); DELAPORTE, 311-312.

of the mystical number of 5,500, the ideal date of the advent of Christ. The era with the cycle, was raised by eight years. The Anatole cycle was to begin again in 353. The beginning of the new cycle was in 345.

Now let's look at how the new cycle relates to creation. We have seen that the 19th year of this cycle has its Easter date of 14 April. To this year corresponds the precyclicalyear, the first year of creation, but this Easter date can not suit him. It is in fact the result of the unfoldingof the entire cycle, at the end of which it is unequal with the cyclic duration of the course of the moon, and this makes it necessary to carry out the operation of the saltus lunae which makes the readjustment to the following year, the first year of the cycle. But the precyclical year is not the end of a cycle: it cannot therefore call the saltus lunae; its date will therefore be 13 April, not 14 April. But, if this is the case, if the Easter XIV lunae in the first year of creation, precyclical year, is on 13 April, it will necessarily be eleven days earlier in the following year, the second year of creation and the first of the cycle, namely 2 April, of a neomenia of 20 March. And this is how, by the very process of reform, the neomenia that opens the cycle is not at the equinox itself, March 21, but on March 20, bringing the first Easter date of the cycle to April 2. We go further and see how it all connects to the Genesiac days. The XIV Easter lunae of creation in the new style is therefore april 13th. However, this led, for the previous lunation, the first of the creation, the XIV lunae to March 15. This year of precyclicalcreationcorresponds, byreference, to the year 344 AD. In this year, and consequently, in the year of creation, March 15 is a Thursday. Three days later, it is Sunday the 18th, and the following Wednesday, it is March 21st, the very day of the equinox. These coincidences arecharacteristic. It is obvious that for the authors of the reform of the Anatolian cycle, Wednesday, March 21 was the day of the creation of the luminaires, on the fourth genesiac day, March 18 being at the first and opening the solar annual cycle. The moon wascreated in its twentieth day, and by this was in its third quarter, and moreover, did not exceeded the limits allowed in the East for the celebration of the Christian Passover. As we can see, it is from the very date of the creation of the moon at the equinoxe, March 21, in its xxth day, that in the final analysis derives the neomenia of

20 March leading to the Passover on 2 April, the first of the new cycle (1). Let us add that this neomenia of March 20 really takes the place of the neomenia of the equinox, that of March 21 can not find place in the cycle. Indeed, the course of the lunations from March 20 with its Passover to April 2 in the first year, leads in the nineteenth and last year of the cycle to a Passover from April 14, from a neomenia to April 1. At the end of this nineteenth year takes place the leap of the moon, which precisely prevents the neomenia of March 21 and the Passover of April 3 and resumes at the beginning of the cycle the dates of March 20 for neomenia and April 2 for Passover.

It is worth noting that the correspondence marked for the year of creation between the solar and lunar days, namely that the moon on March 21 is in its xxth day of a neomenia of March 2, is specific to this precyclical year. In the cycles themselves, where this year corresponds to the 190, the moon on March 21 is on its xxle day, of a neomenia of 1Q1 March.

Now let's add the mystical point of view, always important. The moon being created on March 21, Wednesday, it follows that the creation of man, the following Friday, is to March 23. It is the daywhich, in the chronology of Christ of Anatole, chronology maintained, is that of the Passion. The man, created on Friday, March 23, is also redeemed on March 23, Friday. The 25th falls on a Sunday and recalls by this concordance the resurrection of Christ.

Next to this explanation that leads the creation of the moon to March 21, on its xxth day, I must

(1) It is by mistake that D. SERRUYS (Rev. de Phitol., 31, April-July 1907, p. 159) attributes to the Chronicon Paschalc the indication that the moon was created on March 21 at its XI V t'day. Nowhere does it read that. If he uses the /V lunae of March 21 for his calculation from there Passover, it is because it is the deadline, that of the equinox.

report that of Psellos which puts it on the xive day, on the Wednesday of the previous week, to be full the day following March 15 (1). Whatever the day on which the creation of the luminaires is placed, the Wednesday before the equinox, or the Wednesday following it, this difference in no way affects the essence of the reform.

Finally, it should be noted that the Reformed cycle of Constantinople, compared to the Reformed cycle of Alexandria, had a difference of three years: it began in the fourth year of this cycle. The jump from the moon being placed at the end of the nineteenth year, it resulted in a difference in Easter dates for three years. Instead of the Alexandrian dates: April 5, March 25 and April 13, we were to have in the Reformed cycle of Constantinople: April 6, March 26 and April 14. The latter was not then applied, for the reason which we shall give below, but was undoubtedly applied previously (2).

This is the reform of the Anatole cycle carried out in Constantinople. Let us return in more detail to the changes made in the order of the cyclical years. The first year of the new cycle (Passover 2 April) corresponds to the twelfth of the Anatole cycle, and the first of Anatole to the ninth of the new cycle. The reform of Constantinople, we have seen, tookplace after the first cycle of 95 years, in 353, where a similar second cycle was to begin with the first year of an Anatolian enneadékaétéride. The new cycle, which was then the ninth year, had therefore begun eight years earlier, in 345. It isfrom there, through this official reform, that the lunar cycle proper, the cycle <code>\text{"rcc.t.}\$, takes off. yti)atv</code>, well known throughout the Latin Middle Agesas *Cyclus* or *Circulus lunae* or *lunaris*, and which, we will see later, is the basis of the Byzantine era. It appears in theenneadékaétéride of Dionysius the Lesser, where it is paralleled with the Alexandrian cycle.

This establishment of the lunar cycle in 345 by the Byzantines, I do not see it signedby any scholar; it is nevertheless necessary, as a result, both and jointly of the testimonies which oblige to place the reform in 353 and of the nature of the operation which took place then and which we have analyzed. It is still necessary, because from this date of 345 depend two other eras studied below, which it is impossible to account for otherwise. We can therefore see that the reform of the Anatolian computing carried out in Constantinople in 353, is, no less than that carried out in Alexandria, an event of the utmost importance in the history of computing and chronology.

The presentation we have made so far of the 353 reform concerns what constitutes its essence. It translates what the new cycle is as it results from the strict application of the natural foundation of the equinox laid by Anatole. The date of the equinox being changed, it was to result in the transposition of the cycle that we have described. But there was not limited the work of the computists of Constantinople.

We have seen thatthe Anatole cycle, proper lunar cycle, xa r& çoùgtv,had its beginning in the second year ofcreation. The same was, of course, true for the revised cycle. As a result, the years of the cycle were one unit behind the years of the era ofcreation, given the change in that era as a result of the change in thecycle. This was an inconvenience, because dividing the year of the world by 19, it was always necessary to subtract a unit, either before or after the operation, to know thecurrent year of the lunar cycle. This disadvantage did not exist in the Alexandrian cycle. This one starting in the first year of Diocletian, it was enough to divide the year in which one was of this era to know immediately, by the rest of the division, the current year of the cycle. The computists of 353 wanted to have this advantage as well. To this end, they built their new cycle in such a way that the first real year, zoc:7 to cp15,1;,, became the second, as it was

⁾ Gertrude REDL, I,a chronologie appliquée de Michel Psellos, Byz., 4, 92 7-1 9 28, 216-2 I 8.

⁽²⁾ Namely, by Syrian Jews and Christians in the quarter of a century preceding the unification of 353.

in the order of creation, and the 19e, which was without epacts, similar in this to the year of creation, became the first. Thus, there was an exact correspondence between the years of the cycle and the years of the world, and the computists of Constantinople had nothing more to envy to their followers of Alexandria. This new arrangement naturally also affected the jump of the moon, whose normal place is after the completion of the cycle. Like this one, it was a year back. This rise in the cycle had the effect of reducing to two the yearsof the cycle where the seat of the Easter moon differed from that of Alexandria. That of the divergent third year was, by this operation, pushed to April 13, as with the Alexandrians.

The operation had another advantage. It was to place at the head of each cycle the concordance between the days of the moon and the days of March, the month of the equinox, the two months, lunar and

solar, starting in the first of March. In the cycle zy,-;.. & this concordance was in grade 19. The new provision thus brought a convenience of calculation at the same time as a happy harmony.

The result of all this elaboration appears clearly recorded in trochos IV of the *Chronicon paschale* (1). We have reported it in column IV of the comparative table onpages54-55.

The cycle did not fail to come into effect as early as 353, which was in the series the ninth year zoczA? ',:)(stv, thetenth X.7.7',k 0&:s.cv. The Passover was there on April 4. It was from this year 353 that Andrew, brother of Bishop Magnus, composed his bicentenary table, where the Easter dates were marked according to the new style.

Composed on the order of the Arian Constance who did not wantto have to depend on Alexandria, this table, without a doubt, was of official use in Constantinople and in its great European and Asian domain, as well as in Syria. The Easter dates were to differ only rarely, namely the years onlyin which the Easter seats diverged from the Constantinople cycle, later by one day, fell on Sunday.

André's table does not enjoy this advantage for long. It was supplanted by the centenary table of Theophilus of Alexandria, dedicated to Theodoose IeT: this one started from the year 380, just after the end of the first Alexandrian cycle of 95 years (2). Two causes contributed to this change. First the table of 353 was due to an Arian prince; but the advent of Theodosius had brought to the East the triomphe of orthodoxy. Was it not appropriate that the official Easter list bore the name of an Orthodox emperor, which would be assured if the order of the cyclical years were no longer the same, in other words, if the cycle of Alexandria replaced that ofConstantinople? Then, the starting point of the centenary table was named "first consulate of Theodosius the very religious emperor". It could only be very pleasant to the sovereign. Perhaps it was hoped and believed that the name of Theodosiuswould removein the numerals of cycles that of Diocletian. But Theodosius, who died in 395, did not see the end of the cycle begun in his name, and probably the previous use was too rooted to be modified. We know that St. Cyril restored him to the centenary table that Theodosius II asked him to do, in conjunction with the years of this emperor. The latter, too, were soon abandoned.

Before giving way to Theophilus' centenary table, Andrew's table had had time to acclimatizer in Armenia, where it continued its office until it expired in 552. It is through this that the memory was kept. And it was his fortune too brief in Byzantium that made him forget Byzantine authors.

⁽¹⁾ Chronicon Paschale, ed. Bonn, 534.

⁽²⁾ See above, pp. 37-38.

THE STARTING POINT OF THE ANATOLE CYCLE

We can now, after this presentation of the Anatole cycle and its reforms, turn to the discussion on its first starting point, 258 or 277. The problem depends on two kinds of data: one of astronomical order (movement of the moon), and other of a historical nature (facts and testimonies). We have already implemented these with regard to the date of 258. Let's finish by indicating what is in favor of 277. There is only one text, but it is very important. It is that of Eusebius (trans. Saint Jerome), well known to chronologists, where, in the year 2 of the emperor Probus, are accumulated various eras forming synchronism, all from various cities of Syria: Antioch, Edessa (here the era of the Seleucids), Tyre, Laodicea, Ascalon. The year indicated is precisely 277 AD. What the chronicle inscribed under this date is the birth of Manichaeism, but also, just before, a short notice on Anatole of Laodicea: Philosophorum disciplinis eruditus plurimo sermone celebratur (i). It is truethat this accumulation of local eras is not the work of Eusebius himself; it is not believed, moreover, that they originally related to such an event. Eusebius borrowed them from some learned chronograph. This one, because of the vilenamed, all from this country, can only be sought in Syria. And there is every reason to identify it with Anatole of Laodicea himself — Laodicea is precisely one of these cities — famous scholar, author of writings that Eusebius knows and admires, and en particular of these xOEv4v.s:c.; r p -roû H 6c3.zot, of which he has preserved to us the precious fragment which describes the Paschal cycle of 19 years which is at the origin of all the others and which is occupying us at the moment. And the fact that Eusebius places under this same date the activity and celebrity of Anatole ensures this identification. In addition, a manuscript of the Ps. Anatolius reports to the year 249 after the Passion and first of Probus the beginning of the cycle of Anatole (2). With it our problem becomes clearer. Anatole has been bishopof Laodicea since 269. The year 277 is a first year of its cycle. The synchronisms accumulated on it can only mean one thing, it is that it is the very first, the one where it was inaugurated: it was indeed necessary that we knewout in Syria, so as not to be able to bemistaken, in which precise year the cycle was to begin, and it is to this concern that the indication of the main eras that were used there, from Laodicea to Edessa and Ascalon, responds.

It was this reason from Eusebius' text that impressed Schwartz and caused him to abandon his first opinion. What is surprising is that he did so, at least in the place where he retracts (I do not know if he did it elsewhere), without trying an explanation of victorius' text on which he based it. This text remains: it resists. D. Lebedev tried to weaken it by saying that the year of the creation of the cycle being without comparison more important than its renewal, Victorius should, if it were her, have marked it in the year 258, which he did not do (3). Probably, he did not. But in what way does what he does not say diminish the strength and scope of what he says: in 353 "beginning of the "paschal" of the Greeks after 95 years"? This cannot be avoided. And this imposes a beginning of the cycle of 95 years before 353, so in 258. Lebedev interprets and assumes that it is a 95-year cycle ending in 447. It is too convenient. Mommsen, embarrassed, had already proposed to replace post XCV annos by per XCV annos, or to replace the text by adding finientis to paschalis (4). The meaning then becomes in both cases that the year 353 is the beginning of a cycle that must end after 95 years. That is all very well! But correct, add are processes dont it is necessary to use only in desperatecases, to avoid a nonsense, a contradiction, to join a certain thought

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(i) Eusebii Chronicon, ed. SCHOENE, II, 185.

(2) KRUSCH, Stildien /, 211.

(3) D. LEBEDEV, 19-lètnyj cikl Anatolija I,aodikijskago,V1<sup>7</sup>,18, 1911, 165.

(4) KRuscri, Studien, II, 42, which reports in the critical pageantry the conjectures of Mommsen.

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of the author. Is that the case here? It is not easy. And if there is a way to understand the text without undermining it, will it not be the right one?

The whole thing here is to realize what the "Paschale" of our text means. It doesnot suppose, at least his corrections suggest, that Mommsen recognized its true meaning. This term is used twice in victorius' table, once in our case, in the year 353, a second time, about Theophilus, in the year 380: Hinc Theophilus episcopuspaschali suo sumpsit exordium (i). It is obvious that here Victorius intends to designate the Paschal table of zoo years offered by this bishop to Theodosius IeT. It is therefore the same meaning that the word must have in the year 353. It also designates not a cycle, but an Easter table. However, precisely, at the official reform of computing carried out in 353, was drawn up, as we have seen, a 200-year Easter table with a starting point for that same year. It is undoubtedly this "paschale" of 200 years that Victorius heard to designate. And it is understandable that if it indicates it, it can only be because of its official nature. With this, Mommsen's corrections no longer have a place. We remain in the presence of a "paschal" preceded by a period of 95 years. And here we are back to the year 258. If Victorius mentions this past period, it is because he must have found the mention in his source, namely, the preface of the Paschal table of 353. He does not do the same for Theophilus' table, also separated by a distance of 95 years from the beginning given to the Alexandrian cycle (285), but we know that this computist bishop had taken care not to mark a connection to auca cycle, probably so as not to arouse opposition to his table which replaced the old one.

Now that we know the true meaning of Victorius' text, we should no longer be surprised, along with Lebedev, to see an "initium" marked in theyear 353, and not in the year 258; this one is far from having for him the same importance and silence about it cannot be an objection. It will be agreed that the great Latin computist, who set up a table for official use for the Roman Church, did not have to deal with the various tables or cycles of private origin or restricted use which might have existed in the East, and no doubt he did not know them; but he could not ignore the official tables, which were endowed withauthority or imperial recognition. It was they, without a doubt, who provided him with the divergent Easter dates of the Greeks: he had these tables in front of him and it is only natural that he recorded their respective "initium". The Anatole cycle didnot belong to this category: it was not initially official throughout the East, it was never official in its primitive form. Others competed with him or competed with him until the first official table, that of 353, adopted him by transforminghim. And it was by declaring and explaining this transformation that the document creating this table had to indicate the 95-year duration during which the first form of the cycle was observed.

From all this it seems that if we stick to the historical data, the date of 258, based on a direct testimony, is not easily deleted. What about the point of view of astronomical observation? That is to say, in the first place, to which of the two years, 258 or 277, is suitable the neomenie marked on March 22 by Anatole in his cycle? Then, did not some other element, also of an astronomical nature, intervene for the determination of the first starting point of the cycle?

Here are first the data for neomenia for the average time of Alexandria; I indicate the extreme notations, the second according to the most commonly invoked authority:

March 258, 22: new moon in the afternoon, at 4 h 27 mn 3 s, according to Oppolzer-Ginzel: at 3 h 56 mn, according to Ptolemy (2).

⁽I) KRUSCH, *ibid.*, 44. (2) D. I, EBEDEV, *art. cit.*, 169.

March 277, 22: new moon, in the night, at o h 43 mn, according to Oppolzer-Ginzel; at o h 35 min 9 s, according to Ptolemy. It is likely that Anatole here, as for the equinox, followed Ptolemy (1).

The comparison, obviously, is in favour of 277. Lebedev sees this as a categorical argument against the date of 258. March 22, 258, he says, could only be the 29th adar, not the 1st nisan. Certainly, and there is no denying it. But our problem is not absolutely solved for this, because one wonders whether, despitethis gap, which he may have neglected or which he had to iron out, there was not an important reason for Anatole — it was necessary such — to mark the first opening of the cycle in 258. To do this, let us turn our attention to the solar cycle. I have to say that Lebedev has already done so, and even found one more argument in favour of 277 on this side. He noticed that this year is the first of a solar cycle according to the Alexandrian era. Such a coincidence can hardly be the effect of chance: it must have been wanted, that is to say that Anatole insisted that the first year of its lunar cycle was also the first of a solar cycle (2).

To realize what this reason is worth (3), we must look at what is the basisof the Alexandrian solar cycle. This foundation consists in the meeting, in the first year of the cycle, declared such because of this, of March 25 and Sunday. For Lebedev, the date of 25 March was taken as "initium", because it is that of the Romanuinoxe eq (4). But, we will ask, is it appropriate that, just as he declares that the equinox is on March 22 (March 19 according to Lebedev), Anatole uses a solar cycle that begins on March 25? Another, even more important, remark. In order to be able to speak of the same beginning for both cycles, there must be the same way of counting the epacts, that isto say that if the first year of a cycle is without epacts, the other year must also be without epacts. However, this does not take place in the meeting of the first year of the Lunar Cycle of Anatole with the first year of the Alexandrian solar cycle. The lunar cycle of Anatole begins with epacts: the Alexandrian solar cycle begins without epacts. So that, although the years of the two cycles together bear the same serial number, there is nevertheless a difference between them; for it is only thenext year that the solar cycle will have its firstepact, As we see, the concordance is purely in the numeral, not in reality. It is not possible that Anatole was content with this, much less that he sought it. Now, these conditions which are lacking in the year 277 to be the same beginning of the lunar and solar cycles, namely the identity of the day as a starting point, the community on this same day of the beginning of the epacts, the fixation of this day to the equinox, we find themrealized precisely in the year 258. In this year, on the day of the equinox, March 22, the neomenia takes place and the moon has its first epacts with the number I1 (5). This day is a Monday, that is to say that the sun also begins its course of epactes with the number 1. The two cycles, at the equinox, thus have the same epactal starting point. Such a meeting is otherwise significant than that, noted by Lebedev for 277, which

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(I) D. LEBEDEV, art. cit., 153.
(2) Ibid., 169.
(3) Such encounter3 between lunar and solar cycles not granted necessarily intervene by the unfolding Years. One cannot draw any argument. Here are several at the time that interest us:

In 440: First year of the Dionysian solar cycle andt of the Byzantine lunar cycle;

In 496: First year of the Dionysian solar cycle and the protobyzantine lunar cycle;

In 608: Fe Year of the Dionysian solar cycle and the Alexandrian lunar cycle;

In 725: First year of the Alexandrian solar cycle and the Byzantine lunar cycle;

In 781: First year of the Alexandrian solar cycle and the protobyzantine lunar cycle.

(4) D. LEBEDEV, Tak nazyvaemaja "vizantijskaja" era, Vizantijskoe obozrénie, 3, 1917, 19.
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(5) D. LEBEDEV, r9-1ètnyj cikl Anatolija I4aodikijskago, VV, 18, 1911, 212-214, epact mark 1 in the first year of the Lunar Cycle of Anatole. He seems to deduce this, because no other reason appears, from the corresponding year of the Alexandrian cycle (12th) which has this same figure of epact. But the Alexandrian cycle is later than that **Of** Anatole; it is based on the neomenia of the I Thôth, a conventional date, and it is from this starting point that epact 1 to the 12th year results.

joined together the first year of a lunar cycle with the first year of a solar cycle counted according to another measure. If this is the case, if the year 258 meets exactly all the conditions required to be both the first year of the Lun area cycle and thefirst year of the solar cycle, what more does it take for it to be considered as the year that Anatole took as the starting point of his Pascal computus?

Thus the astronomical data also testify in favor of 258.

What should we then do with the synchronisms brought by Eusebius to the year 277, and especially with the neomenia so exact of March 22 of that same year? Does all this not also require an explanation? certainly. That is what we are going to do now. We have so far seemed to reject the date of 277, but it was in the same way that it was opposed to the date of 258 in order to delete it. We are in fact convinced that it must be given a role in the creation of the round, and that thus the real and complete solution to the problem of taking account of all the data and harmonizing them. Here's how we design it.

Anatole, in 258, has not yet composed his cycle. He composed it while he was bishop of Laodicea, after 269. There is every reason to fix for this work the year 277. It is on the year 277 that the calculations and observation of the scientist relate. They show him a new moon just on March 22, equinox, shortly after midnight. This day is therefore counted as ter of the moon. This neomeny of March 22, equinox, recorded by Anatole, was considered by him as having to reproduce exactly at each renewal of its lunar cycle, every 19 years. And if it mattered for the future, it must have mattered for the past. In the eyes of our computing astronomer, the year 277 wasa perfectstart of thelunar cycle; it could not be the first beginning. For it was not an absolute beginning, that is to say, in conformity with the order of nature; that year, in fact, March 22 fell on a Thursday: which made 4 epacts for the sun. There was also discordance between the two courses, lunar and solar. Anatole, who built his cycle on a natural foundation, on the natural course of things, could not be satisfied with this. Now, the necessary conditions for an absolute beginning, he found them in 258. In this year, certainly, the new moon did not take place until the afternoon, around 4 o'clock, but for Anatole, who could not observe a phenomenon that had occurred twenty years earlier, it was the sameneomonia as that of 277, taken as the one that the cycle brought back regularly. It is this year 258 consequently that he took proleptically as the first lunar cycle and as the absolute starting point of his Pascal computus, both the first year oflunar cy cle and the first of the solarcycle, on the same day, at the equinox.

As for the year 277, that of the operations that fixed the neomeny on March 22, and the year that opened the first cycle really observed, it is understandable that Anatole, precisely because it was the starting point of the practical application, wanted to mark it with various synchronisms, to designate it more surely to the peopleusing othereras who lived in Syria.

Let's go back to the year 258. Starting from the common beginning of the solar cycle and the lunar cycle, a simple operation produced a large cycle of 532 years cyclically bringing back in the same year the same easterly dat es to the same day of the week. We have no testimony that Anatole thought of it. I would, however, gladly believe it, at least to link the cycle to creation, given in this the mystique of the number 5,500. And precisely in 5500 BCour era is a March 22, offering cyclically, according to the cycle of 19 years, the same characteristics as the year 258, namely the meeting to date of neomenia and Monday, the year of precy-clique creation being 5501 BCE. This is where, as we have said, the era of Africanus where the Incarnation of Christ is at the beginning of 5501. It is therefore from the year 5500 BCE: that Anatole will have made the cycle of 532 years. As for building an S32-year-old table for the future, this was along and tedious operation, and perhaps also considered useless, if, as the idea was then quite widespread among

chronographs, the world was to last only six millennia: the table would have exceeded the sixth millennium by nearly three centuries (5,759 + 532 — 6,291) and would not have been used for a second period, thus missing its raison d'être. But could we not find a shorter period that would provide, on a smaller scale, the same services? We found the 95-year-old (5 times the 19-year cycle). It was certainly necessary, to invent it, more calculation and observation, I would say more ingenuity, than for the S32-year cycle whose terms 28 and 19 presented themselves. Also, since there existed a table of 95 years ranging from 258 to 352, it is quite likely, although the name of Anatole is not attached to it, that it should be attributed to it. There is no doubt that this cyclical period does not have the mathematical fixity of that of 532 years, but it nevertheless proceeds according to a regular rhythm that must be careful to observe. Anatole, if he is indeed the inventor, must have noted the correct way of usingit. Not everyone, in truth, was capable of this, and that is why purely hardware applications were inevitable. The *Chronicon Paschale* tells us that there were people quite simple to write, imagining that all the datesalways came back thesame, Easter tables of 95 years and display them in the churches, to the point of causing the laughing stock of the pagans, the Jews and the heretics (1).

To conclude this discussion briefly, we will say that the Anatole cycle wasbuilt in 277 and then had its first practical application, but that its absolute beginning was placed preleptically in 258, to leave at the same time as the solar cycle. From this year 258 began a cycle of 95 years, probably created by Anatole himself,or at least by a computist who attributed to him this same beginning of the cycle.

This is the only solution that takes account of and makes good all the texts and harmonises all the data. It is important to us because itenshrines the date of 258 as the absolute commence of the Anatolian lunar cycle.

(i) Chronicon Paschale, ed. Bonn, 19-20; PG, 92, 85 CD.

VARIOUS FORMS OF THE CV

SCHWARTZ, Osterialeln, 17.— The dates of years Y and XYI are, according to LE- BEDEV, 21 March and 20 March, VV, The dates of Wards, VV, Starting point of the starting point of the cycle The Paschal dates of the cyc				I .				1	
Tpox6c IV KCCTG Gicst V. Cp6atv 7,									
except for one, on April 14.	I 11 4 A II 22 24M III 3 12 A IV 14 1 A V 25 20 A* VI 6 9 A VII 17 29 M VIII 28 17 A IX 9 6 A X 20 26 M XI 1 14 A XII 12 3 A XIII 23 23 M XIV 4 11 A XV 15 31 M XV 15 31 M XV 16 19 A* X VII 7 8 A X VIII 18 28 M XIX 29 16A R econstitution. The Easter dates are given closely- SCHWARTZ Osterialeln, 17. —The dates of years V and XVI are, according to LE- BEDEV, 21 March	XII 1 4 A XIII 12 24M XIV 23 12 A XV 4 1 A XVII 521 M XVII 26 9 A XVIII 7 29 M XIX 18 17 A I 0 5 A II 11 25 M III 22 13 A IV 3 2 A V 14 22 M VI 25 10 A VII 6 30 M VIII 17 18 A IX 28 7 A X 9 27 Cyrilic form transmitted by Denys the Little Konecini Studien	W III 11 3 A IV 22 23 M V 3 11 A VI 14 31 M VII 25 20 M VIII 6 8 A IX 17 28M X 28 16A XI 9 5 A XII 20 25 M XIII 1 13 A XIV 12 2A XV 23 22 M XVI 4 10 A XVII 16 29 M II 30 14 A SCHWARTZ, Osterta-teim, 74; KRUSCH, Stratin I 27 The	Tpox6ç IV KCCTêt Oicstv K. cp6atv 7, x 9 4AIX 9 xi 20 24M* X 20 Xii 1 12 AXI 1 Xiii 12 1 A XII 12 Xii 23 21 M* XIII 23 XV 4 9 AXIV 4 Xvi 15 29 M XV 15 Xvii 26 17 A XVI 26 Xviii 7 6 AXVII 7 Xix 18 26 M XVIII 18 1 30 13 A XIX 29 Ii 11 2AI 11 Iii 22 22 M II 22 Iv 3 10 AIII 3 V 14 30 M* IV 14 Vi 25 18 A V 25 Vii 6 7 AVI 6 Viii 17 27 M VII 17 Ix 28 15 A VIII 28 In year XI, the Chronicon P puts the Paschal date to March 23 for the year of the Passion. —In years XIV and V, the text mistakenly gives the dates 20 Apr. and April 10. — The dates of this cycle are also attributed to the Jews by St. Maximus. — The Paschal dates of the cycle >MT& 91.iatv were the same, The Paschal dates of the cycle >MT& 91.iatv were the same,	XI 4A XII 24M XIII 12 A XIV 1 A XV 21 M XVI 9 A XVII 29 M XVIII 17 A I 25 M II 13A III 2 A IV 22 M V 10A VI 30 M VII 18 A VIII 7 A IX 27 M X 15A Reconstitu-R ment. This cy that of 16 Apt was never applied pp. 98–102).	XI 4A XII 24M XIII 12 A XIV 1 A XV 21 M XVII 9 A XVII 9 M XVII 16 A XIX 5A I 25 M II 13 A III 2 A IV 22 M V 10 A VI 30 M VII 18 A VIII 7 A IX 27 M X 15A Leconstitu (See cle The date is it Syrians nes- Torians (see	a. Z ² , V XI 4 A XII 24 M XIII 12 A XIV 1 A XV 21 M XVII 9 A XVIII 17 A XIX 5A I 25 M II 13 A III 2 A IV 22 M V 10 A VI S 0 VII 18 A VIII 7 A IX U X 15 A p. 101).	IX 9 4 A	IX 10 4A X 21 24M XII 212A XII 14 1 A XIII 25 21 M AND 29 II III XVI 28 17 A XVIII 9 6A L XVIII 20 26M* XIX 113 A I 12 2 A II 23 22 M III 1 I() A IV 13 30 M V 2G 18A VI 7 7 A VII 18 27 JI VIII 29 13 A reconstitution. the date of March 26 is given by saint You Maxime comm.' being a Jewish da that does not modify, not the calculation of the nEwroc7c),Or)vreq*

LUNAR KEY OF 19 YEARS

L							
	777	****	XVII				
Chronicon xi Pasch. Tpozôç Psellos		Xii John Damascene	Xiii Blastarès	Xiv Isaac Argyros	XV	XVI Armenian	Georgian
IX 10 4 A	© W Z 20 A A X 21 24 M Xi 2 12 A A Xiii 13 1A Xiii 24 21 M Xiv 5 9A XV 16 29 M Xvi 27 1/2 16 A Xviii 9 5A Xviii 20 25 M Xix 1 13A 12 2A 123 22 M 111 4 10 A 1V 15 30 M V 26 18A VI 7 7A VI 18 27 M VI 18 27 M VI 18 27 M VI 19 15A G. REDL, Byz. 5,224, 269-280 7,349-351. The date of 16 Aprilis theoretical.— This cycle is also that of the anonymous ruchegger, BNJ, 11, 1934 30.	P0, 95, 239-240. The canon of St. John Damascene	xi 4 M Xii 15 12 A Xiii 26 1 A XI 7 21 V 18 M xv 29 9 A . Xvi 11 29 Xvii 22 M Xviii 3 17 A XVIII 1 4 2 A IV 25 22 M VII 7 30 M VII 2 8 18 A VIII 2 0 27 M 1 15 A	11 1 1 2A 11 2 2 4 22 10 3 2 M 11 4 5 10 A 11 4 5 10 A 11 4 5 10 A 11 6 1 M	E? Gamma Gamma	V 22 22 Vi M 3 Vii 10 A 14 Viii 30 M Ix 25 18A 6 7A 17 It is that of Constantinople (353), minus the date of year XIX, por25	sE> o X9 4 A xi2 24 M Xii 0 12 A Xiii 1 1 A Xiv 1 21 XV 2 M Xvii 2 9 A Xvii 3 29 M Xvii 4 17 A Xix 1 5 A Ii 2 A Iii 6 22 M Iv 3 10 A V14 30 M V12 5 18 A Vii G 7 A Viii 17 27 M I x 28 15 A Order of the years of the Cple cycle (353) with the dates not Alexandrian holds (see p. 152).

THEORIES ON THE ORIGIN OF THE WORLD ERAS

PETAU. - SCHWARTZ. - R CHL

PÉTAU'S EXPLANATION

The theory in force on the world eras in use among the Byzantines is the responsibility of Pétau. This prince of chronology considered that the Greek computists, once in possession of the 19-year cycle, were therefore only able to live with an era based on this cycle, where the division by 19 of the current world year indicates what is the year of the cycle. This was not the case, according to him, in the era of Africanus, and this is the reason why it gave way to that of Panodorus and Annianos.

This view, in its substance, is right, but on condition that it is restricted to the cycle that rests on a supposedly natural foundation, which is not the case of the Alexandrian cycle, but rather of the Constantinople cycle. Most likely the era of Africanus, as we have seen, was based on such a cycle (that of Anatole), and in any case was consistent with it. Pétau did not notice that before the correction of the era, there had been the corrections of the cycle, taking him with them. He further believed that the first correction of the Africanus era was that of Panodorus, having had no knowledge of the one made in 353. Naturally, since it concerns only the Constantinople cycle, Pétau did not take into account the distinction of cycles in cycle y.7.-:& yli)o-tv and cycle "Y.V7: OCGLV, this one, and not this one, being in alignment with the world era. As for the Alexandrian cycle with a conventional basis, it was by imitation that it was used in its turn to create a world era.

After these reservations, let us attend the initial operation that Pétau imagines (1). He assumes that the computist took as his starting point the first year of Theophilus' centenary table, the first year of an enneadékaétéride. This year, the first consulate of Theodosius, is for us the year 380. In the era of Africanus, it is 5882 (according to Pétau). As it is not suitable for the cycle, Panodorus by subtracting Io years, obtains 5,872, number whose division by 19 gives as rest 1, beginning of cycle. This result should bring the year of the birth of the Christ to5491 (5501 — Io). However, Panodorus put it two years later, in 5493. In Pétau's eyes, this means that Panodorus placed the first consulate of Theodosius, the first year of Theophilus' table, expressly in 380 A.D. J.-C., and this appears to our scholar a testimony of the antiquity of our era. That concludes a little quickly. Assuming that 5493 is indeed the year that Panodorus assigns to the birth of Christ, this explanation of his Christian era is not one; it is a petition of principle:it is to take as a starting point what may be only a result, only a consequence of other considerations. The resulting identity with our era is a pure coincidence, because Panodorus did not make school, did not create a tradition; he was soon replaced by Annianos, a contemporary. And we will see from the rest that this Christian era of 5493 is nothing less than assured.

⁽¹⁾ De doctrina temporum, t. III: Dissertationum liber octavus, c. 3, ed. of Venice, 1757, 156-157.

There is also one thing that Pétau does not explain: why did Panodorus, correcting the era of Africanus, subtract Io years instead of adding 9, which gave the same result of aligning the era with the cycle? The truth is that the scale of the worldly agewas then determined by the axis of 5,500; hence Panodorus had to proceed in such a way as to place the birth of Christ in the cycle which included the mystical number, namely the cycle 5492-5510. Hence the correction of the Africanus era had**to be made**by subtraction rather than by adding the differential years, because in the latter case, unless history was ignored (this is not the fact of Panodorus), the birth would have been in the next cycle, 5511-5529, corresponding to the years 5501-5519 of Africanus.

Finally, it is quite arbitrary to imagine that Panodorus thought especially of Theophilus' table and took his starting point there, by doing his operation on the year of the corresponding worldat Africanus. It is possible, but he could just as well start from the next cycle (399-417), or from the era of Diocletian, using the 95-year table of the Alexandrian cycle that precedes the table of Theophilus.

As for the Byzantine era, Pvice explains its origin in the following way.

The Alexandrian era had the advantage of providing by means of the division by 19, 28, 532, of any year of this era, the current year of the cycles of the moon, and the sun, and the great Paschal cycle. There was only the indiction which escaped the food, but of only one unit, which it was enough to subtract from the rest of the division by 15 to obtain the current year of this cycle. It was still an imperfection. This was remedied by the creation of the Byzantine era. This was obtained by an addition of 16 years in the Alexandrian era. This very simple solution made the year of the world run with all the cycles that entered the religious and civil chronology of the Byzantines.

Little has been added to Pétau's exposition on the ge nèse of thegreat world eras of the Byzantines. There has even been somewhat backwards. Is it not surprising, in fact, to read under the pen of D. Serruys a sentence like this, about Saint Cyril: "Why did he make the year i of Diocletian a firstyear of the lunar cycle, if not because, according to the Alexandrian era, the year 5777 (= Dionysian year 285, I^{re} year of Diocletian), divided by 19, gave a remainder i (1)? Hence his distinction between decenovennal cycle and lunar cycle": whereas inthe co ntraire, as Pétau saw clearly, it is from the deceemnovennal cycle that the Alexandrian era proceeds and that there is no way to assign it another origin.

Later, the same author asserts that u the *Chronicon paschale* — in accordance with the penetrating thesis of eSchwartz — already knew the Byzantine era, since he borrowed from the 77E:V-70C77.),07)V-,7F,C; its justification for the date of 23 March" (2). Assuming, which is not, that it is the same method of calculation on both sides, why should it not be the opposite relationship?

DISCUSSION OF THE SCHWARTZ SYSTEM

I just talked about the *Chronicon Paschale*. Pétau took care of it only to point out his irreguities of calculation in the chronology of the life of Christ (3). Besides, he only knew the edition of Rader where missing the T poy s which we will talk about later. It was Van den Hagen (4) who first sought to shed light on the computing and the era used in this messy composition. In seeking the author's aim, he endeavoured, in particular, to unravel the reports of his era.

- (I) I). SERRITYS, De quelques ères usitées chez les chroniqueurs byzantins, Revue de Philologie, 31, avril-juillet 1907, 151.189, citation p. 182.
 - (2) Ibid.
 - (3) De doctrina temporum, t. II. See the references at the end of the volume, to the word Chronicon A lexandr.
- (0) VAN DEN HAGEN, Observationes in Heraclii ineperatoris methodunz paschalem, ut et in Maximi monachi computum paschalem neenon in Anonyini chronicon paschale ejusque chronotaxim et inethodum paschalem, Amsterdam, 1736.

with the Alexandrian era and the Byzantine era. It is, in short, his conclusions that Ed. Schwartz in his article "Chronicon Paschale" of the RE-Pauly-Wissowa (1). Here is the summary.

The Byzantine era was constituted by an addition of 16 years to the Alexandrian era to obtain alignment with the indiction. It predates the composition of the *Chronicon Paschale* since Dionysius the Lesser in 525 marks the lunar cycle of this era. The author of the *Chronicon* aimed to bring the chronology of Christ as close as possible to 5501 by remaining in contact with the secular chronology, which the Alexandrian system ignored. The problem was to find a year where the Easter headquarters allowed to have a Friday for the day of the Passion. It was not found thati was aFriday *XV lunae*, which was the date of the Passion in the Alexandrian era. But the year 5539 of the Byzantine era (= 31 dionys.) offered a Friday *X/// lunae* to March 23. All the effort of the computist therefore tended to prove onthe one hand thatthe crucification of the Savior took place on the XIV *lunae*, and on the other hand that the *X/// lunae* of the year in question was in reality a *XIV lunae*. For this purpose, he resorted to a special calculation method, that of r. E

0 ;:jV; Zr:/), & .* '4/.7,7),0'7PrZT...,C, which we know from Saint Maximus.

And to move on to the transformation of the Byzantine era. This, as far as biblical events are concerned, begins on the day of creation in the year 5508 BCE. It cannot be the 25 mars (as in the Alexandrian era), because it is not a Sunday, but only on March 24 or 17. It is the latter that is appropriate, because the first year of the lunar cycle of this era is march 20, on which day the recurrence of the Paschal cycle of 532 years place a Wednesday (Wednesday is the day of the genesiac week where the sun and the moon were created together).

The *Chronicon Paschale*, on the other hand, puts the creation of the world a year earlier, on March 18, 5509 BCE, which was a Sunday, which brings the creation of the sun and the moon to **March** 21 on Wednesday. It was neither a neomenia nor a full moon. In this year which was the thirdof the Alexandrian cycle, the neomenia was on March 31, from where it follows that the neomenia of the previous lunar month, the one that has in its course march 21, is on the first of March. There is therefore a difference of 20 days between this March 21 and the said neomenia. It is the ter March that serves the *Chronicon Paschale* as the basis for the calculation of epacts. This new cycle of the moon thus constituted, the Chronist finds a name for it: he calls it enneadékaétéride xa r3.0éG.tv, while the Byzantine lunar cycle is called enneadékaé-téride "/.(7.17Th? I)OELV. Year 2 of the Z'X'7 cycle; /. Oro.v is the year i of the cycle "X.0CTj cpli)acv. These names are intended to compensate for the imperfection of this new date of the beginning of theworld. From then on, it remains for the Chronist only to ascend by a unity the Byzantine era with all the elements attached to it, solar cycle, lunar cycle, Easter period.

Schwartz believed that he recognized traces of the Byzantine era previously used in the *Chronicon Paschale* and saw this as proof that the *Chronicon Paschale* era was indeed a transformation of the Byzantine era. But this transformation could not be done without reason. It must respond to an idea, to a preoccupation. Which one? Here's what Schwartz offers us.

The Chronicon Paschale wanted to transport into the Byzantine era the correspondence established by Annianos between the days of the Genesiac week and the great evangelical events celebrated by the Church. Therein lies the fundamental reason for this shift in the era, which has led its author to the worst inconveniences. Thus, for the date of christ's baptism. It is about getting for this event on a Thursday, as in the Alexandrian era. The only suitable year wastheyear 29 AD (= 5537 Byzantine era = 5537 Chronicon Paschale era until March 20). But the year of the Passion was the year 31 AD, which made it impossible to maintain the three and a quarter years of public life. The Chronist counted the Passover of the year 5537, beginning on March 21, as if the baptism had

took place in 5536, so that the year of baptism was counted twice, one for 5537, in order to have the concordance of Thursday, the other for 5536, so that the first Passover after baptism took place in 5537 and thus ensured three years to the public lifeof Christ until his Passion.

Similarly, it was necessary for the Conception of St. John the Baptist a September 24 which was a XXIV lunae. No other free year than 5505 Constantinople = 5505 Chronicon Paschale

5 ECB. However, the Chronist, by a calculation based on the transposition of Jewish months into Julian months, manages to lower the date by one year and counts 5506 = 4 BCE. And this allows him to place the event on a Monday, as in the alexandrin system.

And here is the synthesis of the system:

A glance at the various calculations of Annianos, the Chronist and his reconstructed model is enough to recognize that the Chronist strove to obtain the same day of the week as the Alexandrians forthe birth of Christ and the related feasts, and if he reproaches his **predecessor** (sic Schwartz) for having made an attempt on catholic holidays, he basically thinks only of the weekdays of this Alexandrian pseudo-chronology, because, as for the dangerous idea of attacking the dates of the month, no one at that time could think of it. The developmenthus occurred: the Paschal work of Annianos was reworked in an intelligent way in the Constantinople era, maintaining the common chronology of Christ's public life counting three and a quarter years from Baptism to passion. Such a calculation changed the days of the week. Then came the Chronist. He in turn corrected the work so as to restore the symbolic weekdays of the Alexandrians. He achieved this by the great means, the displacement of the era, which he raised by a year. The essential goal was achieved; but it was by missing the exact calculation of John the Baptist's Conception and the required difference between Baptism and the death of Christ, and it was necessary, to make the connection, to resort to chronological cheating.

Howshould this construction of Van den Hagen and Schwartz be judged?

For an important part, we must recognize the correctness. These scholars were able to identify the Chronist's plan to bring the chronology of Christ back into line with the professionalchronology, taking as a support point the year 31 AD, considered the year of Christ's death. They saw the difficulty that this year presented by the fact that Friday, March 23 fell to the XIII lunae, while in the year of the Passion of the Alexandrian Christian era, the event was placed on March 23, a XV lunae. And they showed how the Chronist came out of embarrassment by taking for the day of the Passion a Xiv lunae and by transforming the Xiii lunae of March 23 into X/V by means of a particular calculation of the epacts which would be that of the 1-zsvz.y.7?,or.jv-:::g.

All this is fair, except for this calculation. One might only wish to know how the Chronist felt obliged to transform the XIII lunae into X/V lunae, "while the form computists Africanus and Anatole had been satisfied with it and the Byzantines themselves sided with it in the sequel. It is undoubtedly that he did not believe it possible to successfully oppose an X/// lunae to the XV lunae of the Alexandrians. Be that as it may, it is the fact that matters here, and the intention that it indicates. Our scholars have done a useful job in highlighting them. Unfortunately, that is the only point on which we can agree with them. Everything else is questionable. Everything else, that is to say everything that concerns the very substance of the problem that is the origin of the era of chronicon Paschale. Ed. Schwartz believes and thinks he can prove that it can only be explained by seeing it as a clumsy correction and a distortion of the Byzantine era. It is therefore also theage, and thus indirectly, the origin of the Byzantine era that is in question.

I will say it straight away and quite clearly, such a thesis is the most gratuitous and implausible. Please follow our will.

Schwartz's system assumes the already constituted Byzantine era with a regular chronology of Christ, including the 3o years before Baptism, and from Baptism to Passion, three and a quarter years

and four Easter, according to Eusebian tradition, and just as in the Alexandrian era. Only the days of the week of the great evangelical events, apart from the Friday of the Passion and consequently the Sunday of the Resurrection, were not those of this era. Here is the state, as Schwartz exudes it from the correction he considers to have been made by the Chronist. We attach to them the weekdays of these festivals in the Alexandrian chronology, according to Schwartz also, and othem of the *Chronicon Paschale*. We retain in the years of the Alexandrian and Byzantine eras, for the convenience of discussion, the indictional style employed by our critic.

	Alexandrian era	Byzantine era	Era of the Chron. Pasch.		
Design of JB. September 24 Conception of Christ March 25 Birth of JB. June 24 Birth of Christ December 25 Baptism of Christ January 6	5501 [8 A.D. Monday 5501 (rç) ap. JCh.] Monday 5501 [9 A.DCh.] Monday 5502 [9 A.D. Wednesday 5532 [40 A.D. January 7, Thursday (the 7th instead of the 6th, because of the 6th epago-mène of the	551)5 [5 BC" XX/ V lunae Sunday 5505 [4 BC] Sunday 5505 [4 BC] Sunday 5506 [4 BC] Tuesday 5536 [28 A.DCh.] Tuesday	5506 [4 BC-Ch.' "(X/ V lunae Monday 5507 [3 BC]		

This table calls for important remarks that we distribute according to the eras.

Alexandrian era. — The years of this era are arbitrarily interpreted according to the indictional year, despite the clear opposition of Georges le Syncelle to which the author nevertheless refers. This distorts the connection with the years of the Christian era for all the dates sokilledbetween September I and March 24 inclusive. Three dates of the painting out of five are in this case: that of the conception of St. John the Baptist which, instead of 5501, must be marked 5500; that of the birth of Christ which, instead of 5502, must be marked 5501, the indications according to the Dionysian era being, here and there, accurate; as for the third, that of the baptism of Christ, it is complicated by a serious misunderstanding (1). It is that in fact, by placing this event in the year 5532, that is to say, afterhis system of reduction, in the year 40 A.D., Schwartz gives only two years to the preaching of Christ, while George the Syncelle expressly declares that it lasted three years (2), which is since the fifth century the norm commonly followed and from which one never departs only by excess. Now, it is by such a misunderstanding that Schwartz obtains Thursday as the weekday of Christ's baptism; it is such a misunderstanding which, together with another which we shall indicate in its place (3), is at the basis of his accusationagainst the Chronist for having wanted to keep at all costs this weekday for this event, even by cheating. In reality, the date of Christ's baptism, according to George the Syncelle, is January 6, 5530, which, the year beginning on March 25, translates to: January 6, 39 AD, and puts the event at a Tuesday. In addition, the date given by George the Syncelle is, certainly, common in the Alexandrian era, but it is not the only one. Saint Maximus, indeed, gives to Christ

⁽I) I omit to make a mistakehere, since our scholar is mistaken about the year, the fact that the Byzantines, by adopting the Alexandrian era, did not adopt the Egyptian calendar in any way, and therefore could never place the Baptism of Christ on January 7.

⁽²⁾ GEORGES LE SYNCELLE, 615.

⁽³⁾ See below, pp. 62-63.

four years of ministry and expressly puts baptism in the I0th indiction aligned with the age of the world (Alexandrian) and the I1th Byzantine indiction, that is to say in the year 38 (1). In this year, January 6 fell on a Monday. Saint Maximus is little later than the Chronist, and as he appeals against the 7.C:V 70(.77. ?,0; `.) Vt. Z4 to the ecclesiastical tradition, it can well be assumed that on this date of the baptism of Christ he was not band apart, and that at least the opinions were free, so that the Chronist had no reason, assuming that he insisted on preserving the symbolism of the Alexandrian dates, to choose one rather than the other.

Byzantine era. — In the table of dates drawn up by Schwartz, we do not really see, by comparing it with the system of Alexandrian dates, that it had enough to cause a change in the era. Given that the Alexandrian date of baptism is not Thursday, Schwartz states, but on Tuesday, just as for the Byzantines, there remain, in fact, divergent Byzantine dates, those of the conception of the Baptist (2), of the conception of Christ, of the birth of the Baptist, all three falling on a Sunday, and that of the birth of Christ which is a Tuesday, while among the Alexandrians the concordances go respectively to Monday for the first events and to Wednesday for the last. Certainly, for the birth of Christ, the Alexandrian concordance of the mercredi, the day of the creation of the sun, is preferable to Tuesday, but on the other hand, for the conception of Christ, or incarnation of the Word, Sunday is much preferable to Monday. And George the Syncelle, who admires the meeting on the date of March 25 of the creation, the Incarnation of the Word and the Resurrection, would have been delighted if, like the creation and the Resurrection, the Incarnation had also been a Sunday. It was among the Byzantines. For these, the two great events that enclose the existence of Christ's lands, the Incarnation and the Resurrection, fell on March 25 and a Sunday. The advantages were thus balanced on both sides, and it is not possible to imagine that one of the two systems exerted such an attraction that it could initiate the withdrawalof the other and a change in the era in which it is expressed. As a result, the supposed correction of the Byzantine era lacks foundation.

What we have just said, we have said it in accordance with the table of dates drawn up by Schwartz. But this painting is far from representing a common system among the Byzantines. It takes great confidence to mark "the" Christian chronology of the Byzantine era prior to the Chronicon Paschale, even if one recoils until then the existence of this era, while, apart from the day of the Passion and the ancillary days, there is diversity for the rest among authors as late as Psellos (xle century) (3), Cedrenus (xie century) (a), Nikephoros Calliste (xlve century) (5), notto mention others who, indicating only the birth of Christ, strictly adhere to the mysticism of the number of 5,500 years, such as Suidas (xth century) (6), Theodore Scutariotès (xiiith century) (7), Joel (xllle century) (8).

- (1) SAINT MAXIME, *PG*, 19, 1252. This passage was not understood by Schwartz. He says that Maximus, similar in this to the Chror, iste, compts twice the year of baptism, when these are simply two ways of counting the indiction. See, in this regard, ICT Party, p. 205.
 - (2) It is September 24, date according to SCHwARTZ.
 - (3) Gertrude REDL, La chronologie appliquée de Michel Psellos, Byz., 5, 1929, p. 246-247.
 - (4) CÉDRÉNITS, ed. Bonn, I, 304-305.
 - (5) NICÉPHORE CALLISTE, PG, 145, 660 C.
 - (6) Suidae lexikon, ed. Ada ADLER, I, 45.
 - (7) THÉODORE SCUTARIOTÉS, zpovtz"f: SATHAS, MICS/tww.z-r VII, 25.
 - (8) Joel, PG, 139, 245 AB. Here is the chronology presented by the authors we have just named:

Psellos: Annunciation (conception of Christ), 25 March 5504 = 5 BC. J.-Ch., Saturday; birth of Christ, 25 December 5505 = 5 BC. J.-Ch., Monday baptism of Christ, 6Jnuary JJ35 = 27 AD J.-Ch., Monday.

Cedrenus: Annunciation 5506 = 3 BC. J.-Ch., Monday; birth of Christ, 5506 3 BC, Wednesday; baptism of Christ: logically, because of the three years marked at the preaching: 5535 = 28 AD, Tuesday, but by mistake: 5536 = 29 AD, Thursday. (We count here the years of Cedrénus from March 21. Although indeed

And as this chronology is postulated as substrate to what are presented as corrections of the Chronist and that we give as a motive to these corrections an intention that can only be proved by these corrections themselves, namely the intention to place in the Byzantine era the mystical concordances of the Alexandrians, we are locked in a circle of mutually conditioned suppositions and, consequently, without a way out towards a real conclusion. There is no need to press any more.

Era of chronicon Paschale. — Two dates are to be examined here: that of the conception of St. John the Baptist and that of the baptism of Christ. Let's first look at the first, the conception of St. John the Baptist. Schwartz assures us that the Chronist had thepreoccupation of finding a XXIV lunae and a Monday for September 24, the date of the event. I do not know how he read the Chronicon Paschale, but it is written in full, and not in numbers, that "on the 23rd (it is September), Sunday, xxive jour of themoon, Zechariah returned to his house". The 23rd, not the 24th (i). In fact, and the remark also applies to the Alexandrians, it is september 23rd that interests the Chronist, not the 24th, because it is september 23rd that the Byzantine liturgy and also the Coptic liturgy assign to the conception of the Prodrome. The Chronist therefore did not have to look for either a Monday or a XXIV lunae. If he deals here with the lunar month, it is to justify the date of the conception of the Baptist to September 23, because it depends on the feast of the Atonement that the Jews celebrated the seventh month of their lunar calendar. And we can see from the two ratings 23 September and XXIV lunae that he had no concern whatse about making the calendars coincide. As for Monday, it can no longer be discussed: the event being on September 23, it is Sunday that replaces it. It may be said that the Byzantine date being therefore postponed to Saturday, the Chronist wanted to correct it to conform to the Sunday of the Alexandrins. Obviously, we can say that we can reduce everything to a preconceived system. The wrong is precisely that it is a preconceived system; it is that the Byzantine dates that are corrected by the Chronist are part of a purely artificial construction, because there was never in the Byzantine era, at least until the)(I.e. century, a common chronology for the birth of Christ and related events.

Let us now turn to the date of Christ's baptism. It is quite true that the Chronist, of one part, counts three years of the life of Christ from baptism to the Passion and, in accordance with this, expressly puts baptism in the year 5536 and, on the other hand, places this event at a Thursday, an incidence which is not that of this year, but of the following year 5537. Should we conclude from this that he wanted at all costs to obtain a Thursday to apply to the event the Alexandrian concordance? But, as we have seen, the real Alexandrian date is not a Thursday, it is a Tuesday. The Chronist therefore had no reason to imitate the Alexandrians and did not imitate them by putting baptism on Thursday. So where does the choice of this day come from? oh! it is not a choice. Quite simply, man, because it is human, was wrong. He has forgotten in his calculation the prealab operation of removing a unit from the years of the world; that is why he meets at the end of the day on Thursday (2). As he is attentive to mystical parallels, an idea crosses his mind. Thursday? but "it is the day when, at the beginning of the world, the Christ, lord and creator of all things, made the waters produce reptiles animated by living souls, and it is this same day when, at the end of the centuries, he himself was baptized in the water and sanctified the water and made it salutary and invigorating for us". This find belongs to the Chronist: he did not borrow it.

in his Chronicle he equals by system the years of the world with the indiction, however, for the events of the life of Christ, he simply transposes the dates of the *Chronicon Paschale* by observing the same beginning of the year.)

Nikephoros Calliste: Conception and birth of Christ, as Psellos; baptism, date not indicated, but logically 5536, Tuesday. Suidas, Theodore Scutariotés, Jota: birth of Christ, December 25, 5501 = 9 BC. J.-Ch. in the indictional style, Wednesday; 8 BC J.-Ch. in the style of March, Thursday.

⁽r) Chronicon Paschale, 375.

⁽²⁾ Ibid., 394-395.

It was the Tuesday that the Alexandrian system offered him and it is pungent that it is precisely the Tuesday that the year 5536 assigned by the Chronist to baptism requires, so that, if one wanted to use the process of Schwartz, one would conclude that the Chronist committed a cheating to avoid meeting on the same day as the Alexandrians.

Let us now return to the date of christ's birth, the only divergence that remains to be considered on the real plane, since we could not count as special divergences the other dates that are related to him and are in determined connection with it (conception and birth of the Prodrome and conception of Christ). This date is marked in the table: December 25, 5506 = 4 BC, mardi. On this date 5506, I see no other source than Cedrénus or the one followed by Cédrénus. But it is not a Tuesday that this one designates: it is a Wednesday. It must be concluded from this that it counted this year from March, while tuesdays followthe year measured on the indiction. The concordance of Wednesday, in any case, and therefore also that of the anteriority of the Byzantine era in the Chronicon Paschale, is undoubtedly the one that must have been the first to come to mind. It was traditionaland was recommended by the symbolism that we know. Unless we can't, it's the one we had to wait for. Now, of impediment here, period. Quite the contrary. The Byzantine year 5506 with beginning in March, or 5507 with beginning in September, offered a December 25thon Wednesday, which, compared to the Passion of the year 31 AD, common in the East before Panodorus and Annianos, was at exactly the same distance as among the Alexandrians (Alexandrians: birth of Christ, S501 (9 AD); Passion, 5534 (42 AD), distance: 33 years; Byzantines: birth of Christ, 5506, begun March 21 (3 BC); Passion: 5539 started on March 21 (31 AD), distance: 33 years). What could be better and what other solution could come tohope? This date of 5506 started in March corresponds to that of the *Chronicon Paschale*: 5507. Will it be said, because it is also chronicon, that it is a correction of the original date of Tuesday? We would then be in the middle of arbitrariness, because this Tuesday remainsunexplained. The most normal step, and one that seems almost obvious to me, is that the Chronist will have, the first, in the Byzantine era of the time, marked, just like the Alexandrians, and without having to correct anything earlier, the birth of Christ on December 25, Wednesday, 5507 (his era), the Passion being in 5540; then, that Cedrenus, using it, reproduced this same chronology by shifting the figures of a unit to express it in the Byzantine era proper: birth of Christ 5506 and Passion 5539, but keeping for these years the beginning to March 21; and that it is only then that these years were interpreted as indictional years, which resulted in the date of birth and the day of the week of a day being postponed by one year, but that it was only then that these years were interpreted as indictional years, which resulted in a year's date of birth and the day of the week of a day. : hence the incidence of Tuesday, which we meet later for the birth of Christ (i), without, it is worth remembering, it being uniform.

After that, what remains of the corrections reproached to the Chronist by which he would have corrupted the Byzantine era? nothing! There could not be matter, since, on the one hand about baptism, in the system of the three years of preaching of Christ, January 6 of the year 28 AD (Byzantine year 5535 started in March or 5536 started in September) is a Tuesday as is a Tuesday also January 6 of the year 39 AD (Alexandrian year 5530 started on March 25), and on the other hand about the birth of Christ by observing the same length of life, one ends up in both eras to put the event on Wednesday (Alexandrian year 5501 and Byzantine year 5506, beginning in March). Other dates which depend on the date of birth do not require examination.

At the end of this discussion, and in the presence of such a negative result, we can only deplore so much ingenuity spent in pure waste. A few very simple thoughts would have been dispensed with.

⁽i) This is the one given by wirth's Ekloge, A us orientalischen Chroniken, Frankfurt-a.-M., iS91, p. p. 14.

Even assuming that corrections would have been necessary to obtain the Alexandrian concordances, it is not comprehensible how the change of era could serve this purpose. The mere change of era in no way alters the actual relationships and, consequently, does not disjoin the concordances. The day marked for the birth of St. John the Baptist is both a Monday in the Byzantine era in 5506 and in the chronicon *paschal era* in 5507. What changes the ratios and concordances is the change of year in the same era or relative to the same era.

In addition, it is not understandable that the perfect system of the Byzantine era achieving the agreement with all cycles, indiction, bissexte, lunar cycle (zourà r.pl'icrtv), solar cycle (xxT& cpôcnv), and collecting them all in the great cycle of 532 years which brings back all the recurrences at once, could be substituted that of the era of chronicon *Paschale*, disagreeing avec 1'indiction and the bissexte, in agreement only with the lunar and solar cycles ./.7.7& 0CC!. V created for this era. The work of the Chronist is unimaginable if we take it as a correction of the Byzantine era; it can only be conceived beforeit; and this can only be its perfecting.

Schwartz believed, however, that he recognized traces of the Byzantine era in the *Chronicon*. This is the place to look at what the state of the matter is.

Here is a first case. The Chronist places the firstPassover ju ive the year 81 of Moses — 114 of the Paschal Period = 3838 = 1672 BC and calculates it on Sunday, April 13 XIV lunae. However, this is only true if the calculation is done in the Byzantine era, because then it means that the year 114 of the Byzantine Paschal period = 1671 BC, is the same as the year 115 of the Easter period of Chronicon Paschale = 1672 BC. Why then did the Chronist not calculate precisely the Passover of 3838 (14 Nisan = Monday, March 25)? It was because he did not want to destroy this wonderful coincidence, that the first Jewish Passover fell on a Christian Sunday. It follows from there that, if the year 3838 Constantinopolitan was counted, the Chronist reworked an I czo--z ntov based on the era of Constantinople and marking the mainhistoricalEaster s of the period of 532 years following in this the example of Hippolytus and Annianos. One can go further and assume that this Ily.G. 7:.,),tov used by the Chronist had been established for the express purpose of reworking that of Annianos after the Byzantine era (1).

Regardless of the gratuity with which the Chronist is attributed an Easter period based on its own era — we will return to this later (2) — more than one error is to be noted in this account.

Schwartz had to go through the texts in a hurry. While it is true that the Chronist equals Moses' 81 to 3838, it is not true that on page 139, where Schwartz refers, he calculates that year's Passover. The calculation obviously concerns the Pâque of 3839. It is clear that Schwartz has let deceive by the first words of the calculation on page 139: Té0rµrv TA,yo.)) \-/', xAl TrApix. Te)v t0'. But if he had continued his reading on page 140, lines 5-9, he would have seen that the author expressly saidthat it was indeed the year 3839 begun on 21 March that he intended to calculate, and that that is why he increased the division by 19 to 3838. He even says that if it were the year 3838, he would have, by decreasing by one unit, divided 3837. Schwartz does not seem to have noticed that the Chronist when he wants to give the Passover of a year and his weekday or the weekday of an event,most frequently recives to the method based on the xcer&cAo-tv cycle, which requires the prior operation of subtracting a unit from the year of the world. This is the one he obviously uses here for the year 3839.

⁽¹⁾ RE, t.c. 2470. (4) See p. 66.

He tacitly subtracted it from page 139, but we see that he did so by his express statement on page 140.

Schwartz was still deceived by the fact that year 2 of the Exodus (= Is not marked in the embossed text like any other. he believed that year i (=81 of Moses—=3838) commanded all subsequent pages up to page 141; but he should have noticed that on this same page, the sequence of years is 3, 4, 5, 6(= 3840, 3841, 3842, 3843). Certainly, at least the pages immediately preceding this indication must belong to the year 2 (= 3839), and they are the ones that contain the institution of the Passover. The Chronist, moreover, distinguishes very well the deux years, 3838, the one when Moses and his brother presented themselves to Pharaoh, and 3839, the one where the Passover took place (p. 140, 1. 6-7). In addition, this year 2 of the Exodus, not to be marked in relief in the text, is nevertheless very clearly indicated by **the** Chronist who writes in full, page 133,

line 13: To1¹.) -7cp ,yco7\-r_i' (sic) ye:va.scoç x6Œti,ou *Ccpx-'r_iv* aqX,p6'rt *c'ez6* zof.' !_Locp-riou ;i:/v6c; èW·or zr.r.e.) 6 xiiipcoç 7p6ç Mcoijdii... There is no doubt here that

the year 2 of the Exodus is not the one that the Chronist has in sight. This year equals 3839. So we can take for certain that the date "-(0,-,1'), which we have followed with a sic, is a fault for ,y6)1,0', since 3838 belongs to the first year of the Exodus. As it is discussed from page 119, and that the formula Tol:r:cp ($^{-9}$ g e: C. is presented at page 133, it should have warned that the author, whoseusual transitional formula this is, was moving on to a new year. It's there, before

that the indication of year 2 should be highlighted.

It is therefore beyond doubt, and this by the most express statements of the Chronist, that he never had in sight for the institution of the Passover than the year 3839, and that this alone is the subject of his calculations, and that one cannot on this subject allowit neither confusion nor cheating. Trace of a Byzantine era in all this, period, if not in the abused spirit of Schwartz.

Another trace of the Byzantine era lies, according to Schwartz, in the calculations of the Chronist concerning the end of the Paschal cycle referred to the Passion (1). Here's how he discovers it.

The Chronist states that in the year 35 of Justinian = 6071 = 562 A.D., ends the last year of the period of S32 years begun in the year of the Passion. That is correct; for the Byzantine era as for that of the *Chronicon Paschale*, the year 31 A.D. J.-C. = 5540 *Chronicon Paschale*—

5539 Byzantine, is the only possible date of the Passion. Then, however, a singularly shaky calculation is established. The stages of the numeration are: 1) The 5th year of Emperor Philip = 5758 Chronicon Paschale = 5757 Byzantine = 249 AD = 219 since the Passion; 2) 8th year of Constantine = 5822 Chronicon Paschale = 5821 Byzantine = 313 AD = 219 + 64 = 283 since the Passion.

Now, the 5th year of Philip is equalled to the consulate of Decius and Gratianus; but this consulate, which is actually placed in 250, is in the splendor of the Chronicon in the 4th year of Philip, 248. As for the 8th year of Constantine, it is equalled to the consulate of Volusianus and Annianus which is in 314, and to the inaugural year of constantinian indictions which is 313. How can we explain this disorder? Here it is: the year 31 — 5539 Byzantine is the 219th year of the Easter period based on the Byzantine era; also the year 249 after Christ is the 219th year after the Passion. And 313 is taken as the first year of constantine's first indiction. These are the original dates. They were lowered by one year because, in the Easter period of the Chronicon Paschal era, the year 31 AD is the year 220 (from 5,540 divided by 532, remains 220). The date of the first indiction 313, which has remained, testifies to this operation. Obviously, the calculation has been blurred again because an attempt has been made to reintroduce the year 219 instead of 220; from there comes the false consulate of 248 and the

(I) Chronicon Paschale, 686-687.

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difference of 65 years between the latter and the said I indiction. This corruption fell to a scribe, but the first to the Chronist himself. This shows how an ancient *Chronicon Paschale*, clear and fair, was spoiled (1).

This explanation by Schwartz, which cannot, of course, be denied the merit of ingenuity, is based, it must be said, on completely gratuitous and even implausible suppositions, as well as on serious misunderstandings affecting the texts examined.

It is, in the first place, very surprising that to explain the alleged lowering from 219 to 220, we bring in the equation: 31st Dionysian year of the Passion = 220 of the Easter period of the *Chronicon Paschal era* (5,540 divided by 532, remains 220), because these two numbers do not relate to the same chronological area: one, 220, marks the distance between 5320 and 5540, and the second, 219, between 5540 and the 51th year of Philip, 5758 (= 249 Dionysian era).

Moreover, even counting 31 as 220 of the Easter period of the *Chronicon Paschale era*, one does not change the distance between one's own dates. Indeed, between 554⁰ (= 220 Easter period = 3 Dionysian) and 5758 (= I i next Easter period = 249 Dionysian), there are not 220 years nor 219 but 218. But from this, further.

Let's go deeper. We see Schwartz attribute to the Chronist equation 31 AP. J.-C. = 220 of the Easter period of the Chronicon *Paschale era*. But did the Chronist use such a period? If it is non, schwartz's hypothesis is basically overwhelmed. Well, it is not. Indeed, not only does our author never use it, but he expressly excludes it with several others that he lists, and opposes them his own (from the year of the Passion) (2).

Schwartz finally supposes a subsequent operation of a scribe to reintroduce the number of 219 instead of 220, operation consisting in reversing in 248 the consulate of Decius and Gratianus and changing the chronological distance from 64 to 65. This is a very unnecessary assumption, because nothing prevents this supposedly new data from belonging to the Chronist itself.

Indeed, if it is true that the splendour of *the Chronicon* mark the consulate of Decius and Gratianus in the fourth year of Philip, this makes no difference with the text supputing the distances where it is marked in the fifth year of Philip, because in the splendor the fourth year means in reality and for the author of the splendors himself a fifth year, because the process of splendour does not count the first year because, begun under the previous emperor, it remains inscribed in his name. We are thus exempted, to make reason for the divergence in question, from resorting to the intervention of a scribe.

We have discussedso far based on the figures provided by Schwartz, but it turns out that this basis itself is false. One thing, in fact, is particularly surprising in the processes of our scholar, it is that having to appreciate the calculations of distance of the Chronist, he starts from figures that are not his own. He attributes to him, in the supputation of the time elapsed since the Passion until the fifth year of Philip, the total of 219 years while the text bears expres-

218) (3). This number of 218 provides us with further evidence of the impossibility and the absolutely arbitrary nature

Schwartz's hypothesis, for which the total, original in his eyes, of 219, would have been replaced under the pen of the Chronist by 220 and then restored thanks to the intervention

⁽I) SCHWARTZ, art. cit., 21.70-2471.

⁽²⁾ Schwartz also made this mistake with regard to the Exodus. We have seen, in fact, that among the equations of the year 5338, he places the year 114 of the Easter period, while no more there than here there is any question of it and could not be questioned in the Chronist. His own Easter table, starting from the Passion, could very well serve him for the Old Testament. It was enough for him to calculate the interval between 5540 (date of the Passion) and, for example, this is our case, 383S or 3839, to know, bymeans of the cycle of J32 years, the weekday and the solar monthly calendar of the XIV *Jun2e* of Nisan of both of these years.

⁽³⁾ Chronicon Paschale, 687, 1.3.

of a scribe. So it was as if Schwartz, excuse that word, had had the berlue and thought he saw, instead of the number 218, the number 219, which suggested his fragile combination. And since it is also from this misunderstanding that the supposedly primitive number of 64 comes, we see what to think about it.

It is another surprise to see Schwartz match Philip's fifth year to the year 249. Philippe began to reign in 244 (a law of 13 March 244 is in his name, and the world and Paschal year begins on 21 March); the year 249 is therefore the sixth of the reign. The fifth year is 248. And this corresponds precisely to the indiction II marked in the splendors to the fifth real year (fourth according to the numeration for the reason we have said). There can be no doubt that it was this year 248 that the Chronist had in sight, despite the names of the consuls who actually belong to the year 250. The mathematical succession of indictional years, even projected in the past, does not allow any error on this point. The situation is different for consulates, and all that can be asked of the Chronist about them is not to contradict oneself.

The terrain being now cleared, it is easy to see the accuracy of the assumptions of the Chronist for the various slices established by him in the Easter period of 532 years. Indeed,

" of the fifth year of Philippe, comprised, ecne,

"XY"). CATO3 e. Xiit.7.01.) T03 i.01)Vi,OpOÇ...,

going back to the year 19 of Tiberius, where the Passion took place (i.e. the year 31), there are, says the text, 218 years; and the fifth year of Philip (obviously not counted), going down to the eighth year of Constantine (counted), where was put the first indiction (i.e. the year 313)..., 65 years ago" (1). That this eighth year of Constantine must becounted, the proof is that the calculation is thus continued: "From the ninth year of Constantine... until this tenth indiction, Justinian's 35th year... (i.e. the year 562) (also counted, in accordance with the previous mode, and also as the last of the 532-year cycle, the author of which marks the completion), 249 years ago. Nothing could be clearer and fairer than these various calculations, and it would be to distort them to assume other numbers originally, such as 64 instead of 65.

Thus, nothing remains of Schwartz's ingenious combination to find a trace of the Byzantine era in the Chronist's speculations about the Easter period ending in Justinian's year 35. The only difficulty that remains concerns the consulate of Volusianus and Annianus that the Chronist, page 687, 3-5, puts in the eighth year of Constantine and the first indiction, so in 313, while in the pomp, page 522,1. 19, as in reality, this consulate is in 314. It will be invited that this data, cut off from everything else, cannot carry much weight in the balance. It can either be attributed to a distraction from the Chronist, or, which is preferable, adopt

the following explanation by E. H. Kase (2). The text being:

Kwvo-ravi-.:vob

T03 tisyia-roo rxo-t)1(.,)g, x.,7.0' 6

136Xoul-ty.voi3 xcx. 'Avccx.ve.) (3),

there is nothing to prevent us from understanding that it was under the consulate of Volusianus and Annianus, 314, that the Constantinian indiction was instituted, and that its beginning was fixed at the previous year, 312/313, the 8th year of Constantine. And why then, it will be said, and *not in 314, the year of the institution? Because 312/313 was the first year of the current 5-year indiction, previously in use.

In order not to leaveanything unanswered, we must examine a final clue which, according to Schwartz, shows that **the** *Chronicon Paschale* assumes the Byzantine era and intends to correct it.

Speaking of the different cycles of 532 years invented to indicate the return of the Passover to the

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(r) Chronicon Paschale, 686, 1. 20-687, 1. 5.
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(2) E. H. KASE, The Dating of the first fifteen year Indictian Cycle, *Trans. and Proc. Bitter.* p. LXI.

Assoc., 61, 1931,

(3) Ibid., 687, 1. 3-5.

the same monthly and weekly date, the Chronist mentions one, pages II-12, which gives exactly the Paschal dates, but falsely counts the years of the world and the Incarnation, and, consequently, declares erroneous the days of ecclesiastical feast, such as the Incarnation and the feasts related to it. This criticism, according to Schwartz, can only concern the weekdays on which these events occurred, because at that time there could be no question of tackling the monthly dates. The cycle and era thus referred to can only be the Byzantine cycle and era. Thus, the Chronicon Paschale assumes the Byzantine era and the intention to reform it (1).

The argument would have to be considered if such an exegesis did not go diametrically against the very text of the Chronicon. Because it is on the monthly dates that the Chronist expressly insists. Let us judge: "For the other festivals (other than the Passover), they (those who use this cycle and this era) are quite wrong: such, the Nativity, that the Church of the Christ, absolutely without error, &71: 2\2')&i." /.2V, feast day of December 25; and the Annunciation, which it celebrates in an unassailable way,

on March 25; and the Birth of Jean Prodrome and Baptiste, which she celebrates, i)p0i;...,on June 24; and the Rencontre which she celebrates without being mistaken, february 2 (2). This concern to affirm for each of the festivals that it is well celebrated on its true monthly date, shows obviously that it is on this that the criticism formulated by the predecessors of the Chronistwas directed, and therefore, that the cycle and the era referred to here by him are surely not the Byzantine era and cycle, where these festivals fell on the monthly days indicated above, but belong to another system which it is difficult to identify (3).

There would still be to examine the question of the -rpozoi which are in the Chronicon, and whose solar and lunar cycles, according to Schwartz, are those of the Byzantine era. This complex problem will have its place in the next chapter.

But we cannot end our criticism of the Schwartz system without saying a word about what is itspremise, namely, the anteriority of the Byzantine era in the Chronicon Paschale. For him, it is certain, and the certain proof of this is the presence of the lunar cycle of the Byzantine era in the Paschal tables of Dionysius the Lesser. This proof is null and void. No, because something else is the cycle, something else is the era. None, because it does not take into account the distinction of XCU7r cycles; (UCTLV and xoc-ret (A', which Schwartz takes for an invention and finasserie of the Chronist, but which, on the contrary, responds to the spontaneous representation of the mind touching the astral course of the two luminaires in the first year of their creation. According to this view, the cycle 7.y.zet. ?1'.) o-tv starts in the second year of creation and era. We marked this distinction in the reform of 353. The wx-rec piiiacv cycle then obtained is precisely the lunar cycle indicated by Dionysius the Little. It is true that it works with the Byzantine era, but this can be explained, and we will explain it thus, as being the effet of a subsequent systematization, and does not imply in any way that this era existed in the thought of the Chronist and before him.

Thus falls the last rampart that could protect the synthesis of Schwartz. From this synthesis nothing remains of what constituted its substance, but only what is separable and can be integrated into another.

It will therefore be necessary to look for another origin of the era of chronicon Paschale. But already there is a strong presumption that it predates the Byzantine era, because if this one, which solves with ease the same problems and moreover offers the alignment of the years of the world with all cycles, including

⁽I) SCHWARTZ, art. cit., 2468⁻2469, 2472⁻²473. (2) Chronicon Paschale, 21-22.

Would it be the Armenians, who had the same cycle as the Chronist, but did not celebrate the aforementioned festivals like the Byzantines, or, as we will say in chapter VI, supporters of the era of Panodorus, who would have had for the chronology of evangelical events of days other than liturgical dates?

the indiction,had already existed, how to believe that this one could then have even been imagined? For us, there is no doubt that the era of chronicon *Paschale*, as we will show below, is the first world era of the Byzantines, which could be calledthe protobyzantine era.

Rühl's ASSUMPTIONS

Other modern authors have also dealt with the problem, with less audacity than Schwartz. They sensed that the Chronicon Paschal era preceded the Byzantine era, but did not explain its origin. Fr. Rühl, whose work predates Schwartz's work that we have analyzed, suggests that the Byzantine era may not have arisen all of a sudden, but may have been thework of several chronographs working one after the other. Such a conception is countary to the essence of a world era, which can only appear with all its characteristics at once. From this progressive elaboration Fr. Rühl presents clues or traces (Spuren) in the Chronicon Paschale. A first case concerns the vicennalia of Constantine (1). The Chronicon says that 5833 years have passed until these vicennalia. However, they took place, according to the Chronicon itself, under the consulate of Paulinus and Julianus, that is to say in325 (the date is right), the very year of the Council of Nicaee. We therefore count the difference of 5,508 years with our era, a difference that is that of the Byzantine era (2). This argument is worthless, because if 5,833 years passed until the vicennalia, it follows that it was in 5834 that they were celebrated. This year began on March 21, and the 20th anniversary of the advent of Constantine was in May. The year 325 thus includes part of the year of the world 5833 (from January 1 to March 20) and part of 5834 (from March 21 to December 31). The vicennalia having taken place in 5834 = 325 of our ère, are therefore well dated according to the era of the Chronicon, not according to the Byzantine era.

A second clue is in the fact that the world year 1 of the *Chronicon Paschale* which is also the year 1 of a lunar cycle and a solar cycle begins on March 21, while the Byzantine year begins on September 1. The alignment of the year of the world with the Byzantine year was actuallyundertaken later(3). Rühl sugmaintains that this would be the origin of the Byzantine era. We recognize, and this is undeniable, that a systematization of this kind has taken place, but it is not the era of *chronicon Paschale* that has been the object, it is, as we shall see later, the Byzantine eraitself, which has already beenconstituted. The eras,in fact, are linked to the cycles, and the cyclical years are linked to Easter. Systematization, as far as the *Chronicon Paschale*era isconcerned, would have brought the beginning of the world year to the beginning of the current irrational year, i.e. to the preceding September, and thus retained the same cyclical year and the same Passover, and not to the following First September, the beginning of a new year of taxation covering a new cyclical year and presenting a newyear dating from Easter. The alignment of which Rühl speaks therefore does not show the true relationship between the *Chronicon Paschale* era and the Byzantine era and does not explain the origins of either. And it is probably this that did not satisfy Schwartz, who thought he could explain at least the origin of the *chronicon paschale* era.

Rühl was probably not satisfied with his results and continued to reflect on the problem. Barely a year after the publication of his book, he gave a new explication. Intrigued by the presence of the *circulus lunaris* in the Cyrillian Paschal table, he thinks that the origin of the Byzantine erawould be easilyclarified, if we started from this *circulus lunaris*. This one, he notes, begins 16 years before the world era of Panodore. By taking it as the beginning of the world, one

⁽r) Fr. "RüHL, Chronologie, 194-195.

⁽²⁾ Chronicon Pascluzle, 524-525, 527.

⁽³⁾ Fr. RtHL, Chronology, 295.

obtained, just by this, what one wanted, and one had only to move the solar cycle so as not to be embarrassed by any difficulty.

"Now," continues our author, "the *circulus decemnovennalis* of the Alexandrine and Occi dental Paschal tables coincided with the first year of Diocletian, and this provision seems intentional as well as natural, if we consider when the Paschal Table of the Alexandrians was born established to serve as a rule in the future. If the Alexandrians also marked a different *circulus lunaris*, there can be no other reason for this, except that such a lunar cycle differently "epochized" already existed before (1). »

The "epochization" here refers to the connection of the cycle with a system of chronological numeralsco ntinue or era, and the era here in sight is the Byzantine era, whose antiquity would thus be demonstrated by the knowledge that the Alexandrians had of it when composing their Paschal tables.

If now we want to know where the *circulus lunaris* that was rvito form the Byzantine eracomesfrom, we are told that it is consistent with the lunar cycle of the Jews, but on the origin of this one, no clarification is made.

What about this new attempt to explain the Byzantine era?

The central idea, namely, that the era was obtained by aligning the beginning of the world with the lunar cycle, is certainly correct (it was moreover that of Pétau for the Alexandrian era), and the present treatise responds to it, but that things in Rühl's exposition remain unexplained or require redress. We mark them in order.

- 1. First of all, we repeat, there is no explanation of the origin of the lunar cycle, presented comme foundation of the Byzantine era. However, an explanation of the origin of an era by a cycle is incomplete if one does not also explain the origin of this cycle.
- 2. There is also no attempt to explain the time of this creation of the Byzantine eraby means of the lunar cycle, nor of the circumstances that led to it. We only see that it predates the Cyrillic Table.
- 3. This antiquity, which is thus agreed in the Byzantine era, makes inexplicable, as we have already indicated, the origin of the chronicon *paschal era*.
- 4. There is no solution or attempt at a solution, no look even, to the fundamental problem, absolutely inescapable, that constitue, for the establishment of an era by the cycle, the insertion in this era of the traditional date or of a suitable date (solar monthly day, lunar day, connection with the civil chronology) for the Passion of Christ.
- 5. As for declaring that the presence of the *circulus lunaris* in the Alexandrian Paschal tables next to the Alexandrian decemenovenal cycle can only be explained by the connection of the *circulus lunaris* with an existing chronological system different from that of the Alexandrians, this reasonis based ona presupposition that is, to say the least, questionable. From Easter tables to Alexandrian cycle, we know of no others, and still, it is indirectly, that of Theophilus of Alexandria and that of his successor Saint Cyril. They aretherefore only to be considered. One can be sure that the Table of Theophilus, where only the essential elements for the determination of the dates of Easter entered (see above, p. 38), did not contain the indication, quite incidental, and really useless for this but, of the years of another cycle. That of Cyril, which was only a replica in honor of Theodosius II of that established by Theophilus in honor of Theodosius II must have resembled him, and the *circulus lunaris* had no more reason to appear r. It is known only through that of Dionysius the Little, who, itself, proceeds only from a derivative. But Denys the Little expressly says that he added the three

⁽¹⁾ Fr. Rijur, Der tirsprung des jiidischen Weltiira, Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenscizaft, N. F. 2, 18971898, Freiburg-i.-Br., 1898, 185-186.

the following indications to his model: the year of Christ, the indiction and the *circulus lunaris* (i). Thus, according to all we can know, the presence of the *circulus lunaris* in the Alexandrian Paschal tables is reduced to being a presence in the Paschal TabofDionysius the Little. It would be foolhardy, and no one will think of it, to report to Dionysius the Little the intention attributed by Rühl to the Alexandrians, to have wanted, by inserting the lunar cycle in his Table, to mark the difference of his cycle, the Alexandrian, with a cycle differently "epochized". The difference of "epochization" is for him only between the years of Diocletian and the years of Christ, the latter to replace these. In such a state of affairs, Rühl'sargument, lacking its essential presupposition, falls to nothing.

What remains of Rühl's presentation? A core of theoretical explanation, but nothing valid as a historical explanation.

After Rühl, it is worth mentioning A. Mentz, who, in his *Inaugural-Dissertation*, was led to judge the Schwartz system (2). It is fair to say that before us he declared it unconseated, although not all of his remarks are relevant. He noted Schwartz's error concerning the Hebrew Passoverof 3839. He rejected his calculation of the "stages": 5th year of Philip, 8th year of Constantine. In his eyes, the argument is ineffective because, for this time, the list of consuls of the Chronist is not assured. This answer, however, is not sufficient, because it is precisely a question here of comparing the data of the Chronist itself.

In addition, A. Mentz refuses to acknowledge an admission in the Chronist of the imperfection of his

system in the fact that it establishes the **first year of its era as***uatv* year and the next as year i x.curA pl'xrcv. He sees this simply as proof that the Chronist knew the starting point of the *circulus lunaris*. And since St. Cyril also knows him in his Paschal table, one should logically, adds Mentz,consider it as a reworking of a Paschal table in accordance with the Byzantine_{era}; something of the greatest implausibility. Regarding this observation, we recall first of all **that the original Table of** Cyril, according to all that is known, must not have contained the *circulus lunaris* (3); we then say that there is no parity in both cases. In the Cyrillian table of Dionysius the Little, the only one to have them, the two cycles are very distinct and simply juxtaposed for comparison and, moreover, they are unrelated to any era, instead of in the Chronist the two cycles are organically linked together and related to the world era. Admittedly, Mentz is right to find schwartz's deduction affecting the two xac-cck **cycles**(Macv and xoc-rck pl'icycv) inconsistent, but he himself presents no explanation of this duality and does not even seem to have become aware of the true nature of the problem.

Finally, Mentz has left out of his consideration the argument drawn from the Alexandrian concordances attached to the events of Christ's life other than the Passion, on which we have dwelled at some length.

The problem of the *Chronicon Paschale*, as well as that of the Byzantine era, was also examined by D. Serruys, in his study De quelques *ères usitées chez les chroniqueurs byzantines* (4). Here are his conclusions in brief: the *Chronicon Paschale* system comes from, as far as the distinction of cyclesistaken =Ta[·]. Uctv and xOE, TA yl'iert.v, the felt need to promote the fusion of contradictory sources: the way was to move from one cycle to the other according to necessity; and as far as the era itself was concerned, a maladroite simplification which involved the addition of a unit to the Byzantine era

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(1) KRuscu, Studien II, 67.
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^{. (2)} A. MENTz, Beitriige, 1900, 10-15.

⁽³⁾ See previous chapter, pp. 38-39.

GO Dans la Revue de Philologie, t. 31, 1907, p. 151-189.

already invented, according to him, by the Ti.Z.vc coco;3vrzç, and thus constituted the era of the *Chronicon Paschale*. In different ways, Serruys thus joined Schwartz's conclusion that the Chronicon *Paschal era* came from a change in the Byzantine era.

This system is based on very fragile foundations; the presentation also contains a number of errors and confusions alongside useful information. To refute them one by one would be long and sumptuousgods. All those that interest our subject will be almost naturally straightened out by the positive part of our study.

THE PROTOBYZANTINE ERA

THE TPDXOI OF CHRONICON PASCHALE

The era of 5509, that of the *Chronicon Paschale*, has so far had a very bad reputation. Schwartz blamed the Chronist for the era employed by him, and believed that it was only a clumsy correction, a distortion of the authentic Byzantine era (1), resulting from the intention of bringing the Alexandrian symbolism of the days of the week back into evangelical events. We have seen what to think of all this critical effort. Schwartz's authority imposed them. Without sharing all his judgments, and whileeven repeating part of his argument, A. Mentz does not leave only to place the era of the *Chronicon Paschale* among the eras he calls pseudo-Byzantine (2). As for us, moving forward, we do not hesitate to see it as an authentically Byzantineine era, the primitive world era of the Byzantines, and we hope that we will not refuse, after our presentation, to give it its real name: protobyzantine era.

The world eras had to be based — the assertion is not absolute — on lunar cycles. Wehave direct proof of this for Hippolytus, for the author of the preface of the Ms. of Cologne to the cycle of 84 years, probabilities for Clement of Alexandria and Eusebius, a presumption for Africanus, a learned chronograph whose era coincides with the cycle of Anatole.

As for the latter, we do not have direct evidence that he related an era to his cycle, but this is very likely because of the coincidence we have just said with the era of Africanus. What is certain anyway isthat its 19-year cycle and the corresponding world era are the basis of all the world eras employed by the Byzantines, because the change in the beginning or first year of the cycle led at the same time to the change of world Father, and the divisionoferas basically comes from the diversity of these changes.

Now, as we have seen, two major reforms changed the first year of the cycle: one, that of Alexandria, placing the beginning of the cycle in the first year of Diocletian (284-285: incipit I Thôth 284), the other, placing the beginning in the year 345, and postponed for the reason and in the manner indicated above to the year 344.

Before the computists of Alexandria had established their era around the year 400, those of Constantinople, half a century earlier, had already created theirs, at the same time as they reformed the Anatolian cycle in 353. We have seen that thisreform, carried out according to the rule of Anatole, went back eight years in the Anatolian cycle, placing its beginning in 345. This was the cycle X.Y.'7a: cp⁻15-5tv. But as

⁽I) SCHWARTZ, art. Chronicon Paschale, in RE, III, 147o.

⁽²⁾ A. MENTz, Beitrâge..., 3 and 8.

such a cycle, in the previous system, began only the 2nd year of the world era, it was raised another year to make the era and the cycle go together. We thus had the cycle xcerA 0&3. t.v, whose first year was placed as a result in 344, nine years earlier than the beginning of the Anatolian cycle which was to beginin353. The transformation of the world era took place as a result. The last year of the Anatolian cycle was in the world year 5853 (352); the first of the next cycle was to be 5854 (353). It was a nine-year decline until 5845 (344) which now stood at 5853, the first world year of the reformed cycle, the previous year being subsequently the year 5852, and the entire previous chronology being retrospectively modified by the same. Here is the outline of the reform.

	Reformed Anatole		systemof 353			
Dionys era .	Years of the World		Lunar cycle Lunar cycle X Y.Ti Ci*AG	ZY.7& Oe'f:01')	Loved by the world	
331	5835 5836 5837 5838 5839 5840 5841 5842 5843 5844 5845 5846 5847 5848 5849 5850 5851 5852 5853	2 3 4 5 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15	(19) 1 2 3 4	(19) 1 3 4 5 7 8 9	(5852) 5853 5854 5855 5857 16,5858 5859 5860 5861 5862	

The new era thus obtained is S509 BCE ($5^853 == 344$). It is the very one of the *Chronicon Paschale*.

The operation we have just mentioned is not a result of our imagination. It is inscribed in full in the -.-poz-4 of page 534 (ed. Bonn) of the *Chronicon Paschale*. This document is of the utmost importance, and it is trulysurprising that specialists in the history of computing have paid no attention to it. Is it embarrassed? distraction? Or prejudice against the processes of the Chronist? What Schwartz says about it is disappointing: "These Tpozoi,"he says (for there are others),do not give the solar andlunar cycles that the Chronicler follows, but those that are usual in the Byzantine era. Here, obviously, a copyist strong in chronology crossed out the calculations that seemed irregular to him and for this inserted these -rpozoi, (1). Taken in its generality, Schwartz's judgment is certainly false, and, on analysis, the false outweighs the true.

The 7pozoi, inserted in the *Chronicon Paschale*, are four (2): two present respectively the lunar and solar cycles; they are made in the text of the *Chronicon* (ed. Bonn,

⁽I) SCHWARTZ, 1. C., 2469.

⁽²⁾ We distinguish them by Roman numerals according to the order they occupy in the editions: I, II, III, IV. Please note: that, for the author of the *Chronicon*, the order of the first two is reversed.

pp. 25 and 27); the third presents a lunar cycle specially designed to explain the chronological implications of the birth of St. John the Baptist; it also contains elements relating to**the solar**cycle; a fourth, in which only thelunar cycle with the Easter dates **is located**.

The first -:poy(')~ which presents itself is that of the solar cycle. The characteristics are as follows: I° II includes an epact to the first year, which is indicated in the letter B (Monday); 2° March ^I is a Friday.

From the figure of the epact it appears that the cycle of this zpoz6ç is a cycle of Anatolian fashion, that is to say comprising at the creation of the world a precyclic year, without epact, namely a cycle y.y.-.7A? · ./xstv. This is also due to the agreement between Friday and March, the month in which this first year of the cycle opens. She drove from 21 March to Thursday. But the 21 march, the day of the equinox and the day of the creation of the luminaires, could only be in the first year of the world on a Wednesday; the concordance of Thursday which is in the first year of the cycle, therefore belongs to the second year of the world, the first a being precyclical. The Monday indicated by the letter B is to March 18, which the previous year, precyclical, of creation, was a Sunday. The cycle of the -:pox(iic,:therefore also represents, therefore, fundamentally, the solar cycle za-,-. to 91:)crtv resulting from the Constantinopolitan reform of the Anatole cycle. I say basically, because the ratio of the cycle to the year of the world can be evaluated from a starting point in the different year, as long as it is correlative. Many Byzantine computists, and it can be said that the custom became general from the half century, began the solar cycle on october 1st. The coincidence of I March with a Friday leads to that of I th October and Monday: it is the previous I er October, adjoining the same indictionalyear. This concordance is the one that is marked, among others, in the anonymous Vienna (t) and in Isaac Argyre (2). It was when the year of the world had been aligned with the indictional year that the cycle was postponed to I October to bring it closer to the beginning of the indiction. We choose the Ier October, I imagine, because it is a Monday, the first day of the liturgical week in the Byzantine Church at this time of year, the First September being a Saturday. Psellos (3) and, after him, Blastarès (4) give the reason that the first of October fell on the first day of the week, which made a triple beginning: beginning of cycle, beginning of month, beginning of week (5). Modern Greek computists, having fallen to use the year of the world and indiction, have returned to the old way of starting the cycle in March (6). As faras our twelfth, I.E4is concerned, as the indication given for Ie March is only given in view of the date of Pâques to be determined, and not to mark the starting point of the cycle in the year, it is in no way possible to know whether its author placed it on 18 March or on 1er October. The -:. pozi.ç is also suitable for these two processes, or styles, which make, for the cycle, no difference in background, the second deriving from the first.

This is therefore the cycle of -:p oz6c, I. Let us compare it to the one used by the Chronist, and for this we refer to the years 5538 and 5539 of the *Chronicon* (7). We see that these years are for him the years 22 and 23 of the cycle, and that he gives them as epacts respectively 5 and 6, while

⁽I) F. BUCHEGGER, Wiener griechische Chronologie von 1273, in BNJ, II, 1934, 32.

⁽²⁾ Kaveov 7rccazetoç 'Icroc&x. [.. i.ovocxoù To5 'Apyi)pou, 1612, p. 7-8; PG, 19, 1285 C.

⁽³⁾ Gertrude REDL, La chronologie appliquée de Michel Psellos, Byz., 5, 1929, p. 236-238.

⁽⁴⁾ PG, 245, 77-80

⁽⁵⁾ Indeed, I cannot believe that these authors, by "first day of the week", meant Sunday; they had contradicted themselves with the computus in use, where the first october of the first indictional year of the cycle was indeed a lundi.

⁽⁶⁾ Let's mention for example the Eop roX6rov of Sébastls KYMINIITES, I 70 $\,$ I , $\,$ 273.

⁽⁷⁾ Chronicon Paschale, 404-407.

the Tpoy6ç, in the years 22 and 23, has as epacts 6 and 7 (1). In the T. poz('4, the closest years that have epacts 5 and 6 are the years 21 and 22. There is therefore a difference of one unit between the numeration of the zpoz6ç and that of the years of the Chronist. The cycle used par this one is a cycle zar,:c.i. 0É6w, one year ahead of the cycle zu-:& cpli)atv. Its years 22 and 23 correspond to the years 21 and 22 of 7poz6. ;.

Schwartz is therefore quite right to see in the cycle of the -.:poy!) '-, I a Byzantine solar cycle, but he is wrong to say it inserted by a later corrector who would have noticed the false calculations of the Chronist. Certainly, the latter uses the cycle z/-:? /. 0•,':. 0-tv, but it also indicates the ZOE cycle. Td(cpi!) cLv, and the fact that in his calculations to find the day of the week he operates the subtraction of a unit from the years of the world

indicates that he made them according to the cycle yi)cf.v, and this explains why iwill have kept itin his *Chronicon*.

As for the T. poyr II (2), devoted to the lunar cycle, it offers us only in part the lunar cycle ZC7.17(pl'iot.v established at the time of the reform. It is indeed a zy cycle. z.â r.p.!) Gtv, because its first year has a figure of epacts. But ithas undergone several transformations. In terminology first, where we see appear the expressions Ospk'Ar.ov and e4-yyriç B0,z... i.or which designates the first of January; perhaps also in the starting point of the epacts which one can believe to have been primitivement on 20 March, the first neomeny of the cycle; surely in the way of counting them which was not certainly not by means of theeX!which gives the epacts plus one (which is in fact the age of the moon), a which is not yet seen in of computistes of the time of Heraclius; and finally, much more importantly, in the adoption of two new Easter sees, on 5 April and 25 March, received from the Alexandrian cycle and officially passed into ecclesiastical practice. This last circumstance especially explains that unlike the zpoyfig of the solar cycle s/-7;r&? I'.) 6tV of the reform of 353, which does not indicate Easter, the 7pozlic of the corresponding lunar cycle was not preserved, but replaced by another in accordance with later ecclesiastical usage.

The cycle of this -:-po71⁻⁴ II could however fundamentally belong to the Chronist, because on the onehand, the Paschal dates of April 5 and March 25 were of his time official, and he could not do otherwise than to mark them, and on the other hand the epacts, despite the advance of these Easter dates, have however remained the same, manifest vestiges, left by oblivion, of the primitive state of the lunar cycle X.00T: piiiatv of the reform. In addition, although the Chronist, for the convenience of calculating Easter, had taken as a basis a neomenia beginning on the lst March, he could nevertheless, the moon of March being identical to that of January, take l January, the more significant date, as the beginning of its lunar cycle. This is the common date among Byzantine computists who had toreceive it from their predecessors.

For these various reasons, it cannot be ensured with Schwartz that the -,:pozr,c IT is thework of a

⁽r) Epacts 5 and 6 are marked 7 and Z, and epacts 6 and 7 are marked Z and A. It must be taken into account here that the **Solar year does not correspond to an exact number of** weeks, but to one more day, two in leap years. Since the solar cycle begins on a Sunday, these extra days add up to the year, the first day of which is again a dimanche. The number of these days can never exceed 7, the seventh being the Sunday returned. It is these extra days that are called solar epacts. They are expressed by means of the letter-numbers used to designate the days of the week. The letter expresses directly only the weekday on which the year begins. It is the letter immediately preceding which is the figure of epacts: it indicates the number of days, including Sunday, which precedes the expressed weekday. The year that has the lettre A has no epacts (or has 7 as epacts, which is identical), because it is on Sunday that the solar cycle begins. The letter B, which means Monday, mark epact; the letter r, which means Tuesday, marks 2 epacts, etc. In the lunar cycle, the letters A, B, T..., themselves mean the epacts. DaUs the solar cycle, the figure of epacts is always the letter which precedes that which is expressed in the ^:pozoi Of the solar cycle. Therefore, when the figure of epacts is declared, it must be increased by one unit to know the day of the week. See in our Second Part **Chronological frameworks**, p. 184.

⁽²⁾ Chronicon Paschale, p. 27.

later computist who wanted, by inserting a cycle of Byzantine character, to remedy the defects of the *Chronicon:* **such** a corrector would probably not have failed to reconcile the epacts with the rise of the Paschal dates

And as elsewhere the Chronist, although using the lunar cycle zwrix Uatv, had to be able to refer for the course of the moon as for that of the sun, to a cycle xy...-:& cpl'icivi to confront or facilitate his calculations, it is not out of place to suppose that he had for this purpose a 7, poyli:presenting a lunar cycle zoc7.&c; 91') Gtv, of which the one that is ourswould be are production, with the sole exception of the way of counting the epacts by the OCLOV, a way which, as we have said, does not yet appear among the computists of the time of Heraclius.

For the other two -,:pozc,i,III and IV, it is recognized that they are indeed those followed by the author. Both, moreover, coincide for the part that is common to them, the lunar cycle, and, as for this part, the proof of the use of one by the Chronist also concludes to the use of the other.

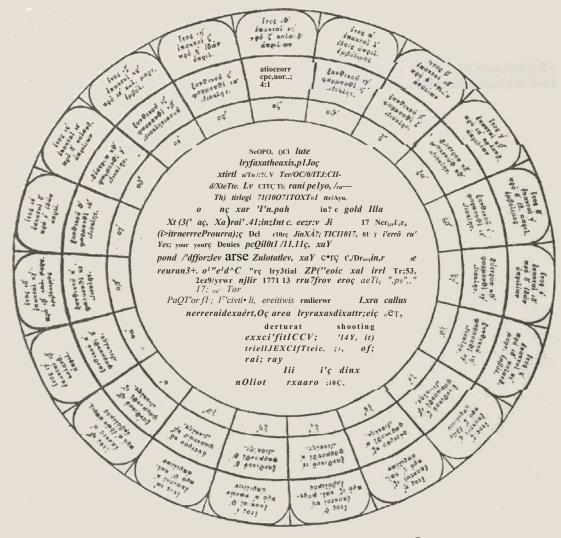
Seefirst the -po/ô4 III (1), which the author applies to the Conception of St. John the Baptist. We do not have to ask ourselves here if the indications given for the age of the moon at ter September of each year of the lunar cycle enclosed between the years 5492 and 5510 correspond exactly to reality, but only if the cycle is indeed that of the author. There can be no doubt about that. It is enough to compare the text with the -poy(to see that it is the same number of epacts that is assigned to the same year of the cycle, provided that the distinction of the cycles zocTerc Oéatv and zy is taken into account. T.. -.). (priGtv, and this is probably whatSchwartz forgot to do. This -:pozg like the -rpoz6ç IV, which we will examine below, presents a cycle xy.-::and Uacv, as it appears by the number of epacts of the first year which is 30. But the calculation concerning the year 5506 (2) is made according to the cycle Troc/r&c.. Acyni this is seen by the prior operation of the subtraction of a unit. The division of 5,506 minus I, so 5,505 by 19 gives as rest 14: it is the I4th year xcx-r.dc cpl'iatv,so

the I5e0&3v. ·; it is, consequently, in the I5th year of -.7pozr_'4 that it will be necessary to dearits epacts: the figure

4 as in the text. It thus appears obviously that the lunar cycle of Tpoz6ç is indeed the one used by the author. For the solar cycle, we will proceed differently, because the Chronist,in his text, follows adifferent process than that of theepacts. We will resort to the comparison of the year 5538, where the process of solar epacts is used to determine the weekday of his XIV Easter lunae (3). This year is said to be the 22nd of the solar cycle and the figure of epacts is 5. Now, our -in/G; contains the year 5510, which being 28 years earlier, must therefore, if the cycle is the one used by the Chronist, also be a 22nd year with the same figure of epacts. And this is precisely what is true, because the year S510 in the -:poxi,c.:is affected by the same figure of solar epacts: 5. So the -7.pozr')c, which we examine is indeed that of the Chronist, it is not that of the Byzantine era, as Schwartz wants.

The -:-poz/iç IV (4) presents alunar cycle containing the epacts, with the dates of the *Easter XIV lunae*. These dates are given according to the Roman calendar with the correspondences in the Syrian and Alexandrian calendars. The current text of T.poz6ç contains several errorsthatdisfigure it and can mislead a reader in a hurry. Thus, in the second year, the figure of epacts 14 after the first year which has 30, is an impossible figure and comes from a copyist who read I: instead of AI. Thus similarly, in the thirdyear, the date of the 24th dystros (March) and the 29th phamenoth, while the Roman date is11 kal.A.D. = March 22, which is the true day. Thus again, the constant mistake of substituting March for May in the Roman calendar is due to a copyist who misinterpreted the abbreviations.

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(1) Chronicon Paschale, J72.
(2) Ibid., 368.
(3) Ibid., 405, 1. 9-15.
(4) Ibid., 534.
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In the pageantry above, V = cod. Vaticanus; $P \cdot \text{cd}$. Parisiensis; R = cd. Raderi. Further corrections are required, which we indicate in the order of the years of the cycle:

1. In the lower box, ve' cod.: oe' ed. For the real number, see note below. — 2. èrcœwroci. corr. — 3. hcrrpo) x6' con. It cpap.cv(10 K' con. — 5. n'A y' Xe. deltp:MGOV corn. It 815(rrpo'.) corr. Il cpIpp.ouet y' end cpaptlouel 8' con. I 6. ji. atc.in con. — 9. l. tatcov con. — I I. criali.evc. 1)0 wri' con. — 14. 7rp6 t6' xct' A. cbrpc. X. con. I I ii.cepri, ou xec'con. Il cpap.svedie xe' con. — 17. p. octcov con.

In the legend, 1. 13 &vdc4ocp.s cod. — In the margin of Trov6o (with reference to 1. 12 of

In the legend, 1. 13 &vdc4ocp.s cod. — In the margin of Tpox6ç (with reference to 1. 13 of ms == 1. 14 of the ed., after y.ce) cbc dp trrat cod.

IMPORTANT NOTE. — Diocletian's years (in the lower circle) must be reassembled respectively

in the previous box, so that year 1 of the cycle (marked 59) = 60; year 2 (marked 60) 61, until year 19th, **Which** (marked 77) = 78. See our explanations pp. 81-8z.

A reconstruction of the protobyzantine Paschal table of 353, taking into account all the corrections indicated above

and in the text below, is presented below, p. 232.

Cleansed of these adventitious mistakes that must not come into play, is the cycle of our 7poz4ç well, as Schwartz says, foreign to the Chronist and usual in the Byzantine era? On this last point, the answer is definitely no. In none of the cycles used in the Byzantine era does the first year appear with 30 epacts or without epacts; in addition, all present the Paschal dates of April 5 and March 25, instead of April 6 and April 26 which are in Tp0Zi4. For the first, let'sxaminons the behavior of the Chronist for the calculation of the Easter of the years 5537, 5538, 5539, 5540, 5541. This calculation, for all but one of these years, is in accordance with the indications of -, po z(4. The exception is the Passover of 5540. It is precisely the Passover that interests the Chronist, that of the Passion of Christ. He wants for her a Friday XIV lunae. However, in this year 5540, which is the 1St of the lunar cycle xot-rec 0éatv and the 10th of the cycle xxr& cp1 1)atv, where the XIV Easter lunae is in the -:p oz6ç to March 24, it turns out that March 24 is a Saturday, and consequently the previous Friday is the X/// lunae. By a special calculation, the Chronist thus goes back the date of the XIV lunae to the 23rd of Marchto make it coincide with Friday(1).

What is this calculation? Schwartz states that it is that of the m. -lerX.T.CX0;3·17.E:C, %Gd 0t. Troi3v, 7E, ,, but it does not show it (2). Serruys, without controlling it, accepts this statement (3).

So let's look at this calculation. Operation made to know what is in 5540 the year of the lunar cycle, operation that gives year Io of the cycle xm-L73t, yatv and year i i of the cycle Zr:XT.a'.0é(TCV, the Chronist continues: (c This year has 21 (SiC) epacts. Let's add the 13 days -"tipi) yearrl)pwv and the 7 npociXr,vot, plus 3 from March 21; then to the 22 lepta let's add another 45, because this year (5540) is the third after the bissexte, and of these 67 lepta we take a day and the tout makes44. Remove 30 from 44, you have 14. Thus, the XIV lunae is March 23. The lepta are the fractions of the day divided into 6th parts. A certain number of lepta are added each year to compensate for the day that is removed every 19 years. The 22 lepta represent here the total of the lepta to the II the year X.0(.1. 7.k

Othev, so the Chronist adds only 2 lepta 6—o each year. The 45 lepta —45 /6 oreprefeel the advance of 3/4 of a day, each solar year having 365 days + 1/4, which makes every four years a full day.

This is therefore the calculation of the Chronist. It is easy to realize that it has nothing in common with that of the 7tEY":0C7701;jVT.Z4. This appears first in the figure of the epacts. The current text gives the year 5540 the number of epacts 21 (like that of tcsvtE7r.X0i3VTF4), instead of 20 which is in the 7poz6c, but it is undoubtedly a material fault: the real lecone is 20 as in the -rpoz6c,.. The proof is in the result of the calculation which gives the sum of the days from which the XIV lunae will be extracted. This sum is 44. It would be 45, if the figure of epacts was 21 (21 -1 13 + 7 + 3 + I

45). This is then seen in the divergent Easter seats of 6 April and 26 March. This is also reflected in the way the Chronist calculates the number of sixtieths of a day per year of the cycle.

The nzv-,-ctr. XoTE.c-, have five: —50' • it has two: —60' which gives it —60 in years. It's 6 well, that is an essential difference. This finally appears in the use of lepta provided by the quarter of a day exceeding each solar year, operation non-existent in the ne.v-rctr. no;s3v7.sc. The calculation of the Chronist is therefore completely different from that of these computists. Only the result coincides, namely the one-day decline of the XIV Lunae of the Easter month. But it should be added that it is only for their 10th year that the 77Z. VTE7.70; 3V=.:. achieved such a result, but for 13 years of the cycle, and

⁽i) *ibid.*, 414⁻415 (2) Ed. SCHWARTZ, *art. cil.*, 2468.

⁽³⁾ SERRITYS, De quelques ères usitées chez les chroniqueurs byzantins, Revue de Philologie, 31, avril-juillet 1907, p. 182.

even, for one year, the 16th of the cycle, they retreated the *XIV lunae* by two days. The cyclical years 7, 8, 9, i 1, are among the 13 where the 7ZZ. V=17.X0VrEÇ set back the Passover by one day: to them correspond the years 5537, 5538, 5539, 5541 of the Chronist. However, he does not go back easter to these years. The processes of the 7.:w^217. A0;3V7SC.; are unknown to him.

It emerges from this discussion on the '7.pozoi. of the *Chronicon Paschale* that only one of them, the second, contains the Byzantine lunar cycle proper, which, because of the new Paschal dates, took the place of the lunar cycle xa f ?i'_)O-!,v primitive, and that the others correspond indirectly, as the first (solar cycle yi'o-tv), or directly, like the last two, to the system employed by the Chronist.

THE SAMPLE DOCUMENT

The ground thus cleared, let's go back to the reform of 353. To determine its scope, we appealed to the -.-poyf4 IV of the *Chronicon Paschale*, describing it as a document of prime importance. It is time to explain ourselves.

We said that this -,-po& (the last of the four we have just dealt with) contained, with the epacts of the lunar cycle, the seats of the XIV Easter lunae formulated in dates of the Roman calendar with their concordance in the Syrian and Alexandrian calendars. Let's finish our description.

The years of said -rpozr',c; are affected by a chronological element that the other •7pozo do not offer. They are dated by the years of Diocletian: the first year of the cycle is the year 59 of Diocletian, the others follow in order until the year 77, the last. These kinds of indications are always a godsend for the chronologist. Here the windfall is a fortune, since the dates indicated take us back to the very time of the reform of 353. But more than fortune, it is treasure that will have to be named the explanatory note that reads inside the -,:poy/4. Nothing is more informative, nothing is more explicit. Here is the translation.

"Chronographies (= indications of dates) of the XIV lunge of theenneadékaétéride to which the law (= the mosaic law) ordered to celebrate the Passover. The cycle contains them according to the Romans and the Syrians, or Macedonians, and according to the Egyptians: the present enneadékaétéride took its commencement of the 59th year of Diocletian, namely from the 21st, this one being included, of the month of March, the day on which the equinox is recognized, in the consulate of Leontus and Sallustius, under which consuls the year 5852 of the creation of the world ended. Completed theennetékaétéride (begun) in the times said and under the said consuls, goes back (d., vp/p.r cod.) again in its first year on March 21 of the second indiction, realizing in a precise andthe that neither theoktapentekideide-téride, northeheptakaidékaétéride, nithehekkaidékaétéride can have accuracy, but theenneakaidékaétéride, and youalso (gysc cod. for • zsv,) in the cycle the epacts that must be put each year, and the embolismic months. »

This text may not contain more remarkable or more concordating chronological details. The most valuable is that provided by the consulate of Leontus and Sallustius. It corresponds to the year 344 AD. It is in this year on March 21 that the beginning of the cycle is placed.

With the consulat agrees the indiction: marked for the first year of the cycle: the second indiction is precisely that of the year 343/344. If this indiction does not work with the year of the world 5853 (first year of the cycle), but it is lower by one unit, it shows precisely that the year of the world is not according to the Byzantine era, but according to the era of the *Chronicon Paschale*.

Remains the year 59 of Diocletian. This year corresponds to the year 342-343 and the first indiction. It therefore bears a divergence. Moreover, this account is reproduced in the frames of the years of 0⁷/!,,;, where we see the first year of the cycle marked in theyear59 of Diocletian (1) and the years 2, 3,

(1) I,e manuscript has indeed vO'; the figure of T = 79 of the edition is a fault of inattention.

4, etc., in the years 60, 61, 62, etc., of the same era. If we were to stop there, we would have to start the lunar cycle in 343 instead of 344. This discrepancy is an anomaly, which is, admittedly, verystriking: it cannot, however, in any way call into question the date of 344, which is ensured by the agreement of the other two data, of the very first order, the consulate and the indiction. However, we must try to remove this difficulty. The means is provided by the very text of the explanatory note of -7pow'ic. It is a question of fully understanding how it expresses the date according to

the era of Diocletian, and more precisely to determine what is the scope of the wordin &71-.?) v0' This preposition, here temporal, has, of itself, un indeterminatemeaning: it can either include or exclude the term it governs. The true meaning usually emerges from the text where it fits in, but it may not be obvious. The formula c:crze) v0' g-zouç AtOX?:ye-rIVOI 5 fits in this case. It can mean either: from the 59th year of Diocletian, this being included, or: from his 59th year, this one not included. The fairly usual use of the Chronist, when it uses Cc-rre) in the inclusive sense, is to mark it par theformula oc'yro; 5 or GCÛ'ri¡Ç added to its complement. Let us cite two cases, one for the year, the other for the day. For the year, the text, already known (see p. 67) concerning the 5th year of Philip: &77Ô g'7.01);,' ZOd. OIC:r70G 4)0,(.77COU(1). For the day, the text indicating the duration of the nuptial feasts of the marriage of Theodosius, son of emperor Maurice, from February 9 to the 15: vc. cps6pouocpi.y... &no 0' xod oc1)73°C (2). Since, in our text, Diocletian's year 59 is not affected by this inclusion formula, it at least and surely follows the possibility of its exclusion, that is to say that it may not itself be counted as belonging to the cycle, and in this case the cycle would begin in the 6th year. Since this meaning is possible, it cannot be done other than to consider it necessary — necessary precisely because of the year of the consulate and the indiction to which the data is attached. One can go further and show that this exclusive meaning of dc-rrô with regard to v0' Toue; is suggested by the very text of the Tpoyéç notice. Indeed, in wanting to specify the inaugural date of the cycle, the author expresses himself as follows: from 21 March, this one being included, etc.: x(x' xod OC. Û-7-f; Ç TO;) (lapæriou. This inclusive sense of dorô that was not indicated for diocletian's year 59 is here. Why this care, if not to avoid that the second Scir6 is understood as the first? And does that meananything else, except that the first one had an exclusive meaning for the author. As we can see, it is the very text of the notice that invites us to exclude the 59th year of Diocletian from the cycle. We must therefore understand as follows: the enneadekaetridic period took its commencement from the 59th year of Diocletian, not included, so to the year that follows, the 60e, the one which, precisely, corresponds to the year of the consulate and the indiction then marked (= 344). Thus is removed the difficulty offered by the indication, in the notice of the Tpozrk, of the 59th year of Diocletian, in conflict, according to the first appearance, with the other two chronological data.

As for the presence of the 59th year of Diocletian at the head of the years of the cycle in the boxes of the zpozrk, one must (there is no possibility to do otherwise), explain it by the intervention of a moderately intelligent and well-intentioned copyist who wanted to harmonize the diocle-your years of -rpoy_liç with the text of the explanatory note. It must have seemed inconceivable to him that diocletian's year 59, which he saw expressly marked in the notice as the first year of the cycle (thus he understood), was not foundeven as the first year in the circular series of -rpoz6:,. He therefore took care to include it and to order accordingly the following years of the cycle. Foreign to the employment of the Diocletian era, it was difficult for him, and the idea did not have to come to him, to realize whether diocletian's year 59 coincided well, not to mention the consulate, with the indiction and the year of the world indicated. He was, at least, sure not to be mistaken, he thought, in

⁽r) Other examples: Chronicon Paschale, 526 and 527.

⁽²⁾ Ibid., 693. Other examples include 414, 423, 701, 704, 705, 710-712, 725, 726, 727.

conforming to the Diocletian chronology of the years of the cycle in **the boxes** of express of the explanatory note.

the

Having given these clarifications, the way is clear for assessing the scope of our document. The essential point, for this, is to determine the time when it was composed, and more precisely, since it bears a date, to see if this date is indeed guaranteed. The affirmative answer is not in doubt.

First, all the chronological forms of the document proclaim its high antiquity. It is absolutely pointless to think that a later computist, wanting to instruct his contemporaries, could have thought of taking son account so high. And what could he do with diocletian's years and dates in the Egyptian calendar and even in the Roman calendar? Speaking of the latter, we can be sure that it is the fundamental timetable, the others being only intheconcordances. We see indeed that the notice puts in mind the Romans xa.,-ri'Pmi,ocioug. Moreover, in the Tpoz6r, itself, the Roman calendar is alone placed in the same circle as the indication of the year and epacts, another circle containingtogether the Syrian and Egyptian dates. Let us add the fact already reported of the discrepancy, in the third year of theenneadékaétéride, between the Roman calendar, where is the true date of the XIV Easter lunae and the other two calendars, which present a false correspondence, this one can only come from a lack of application. Another reason of high antiquity lies in the preoccupation with a perfectly accurate cycle of 19 years against other imperfect cycles of 8, 15, 16 or 17 years. It can be said that from the fifth century, and even from Theodosius I, who officially adopted the centenary table of Theophilus of Alexandria, these cycles were out of play, and that of 19 years, the only employee in the East. The recall of the cycleswould have made no senselater. So everything goes back to the time described in the table.

Let us now note that the writing of the Tpo-eg was done not before or after, but during the course of theenneadékaétéride began under the consuls Leontius and Sallustius. The text bears in fact: "The present enneadékaétéride took beginning from..." of 21 March, equinox, of the consulship of Leontion and Sallustius"; he warned to go back, when it is finished, to the second indiction to notethe perfection of thecycle. This second indiction corresponds to the years 5852 ending and 5853 beginning, the equinox of March 21 marking the beginning of the year. The year 5852 ended, says the text, under the consulate of Leontus and Sallustius. Let us dyed on this date of 5852. This is a very important fact. It is explained only by the reform of the Anatolian cycle carried out in 353 and enlightens it in turn. The concordances given to him: 59th year of Diocletian, 2nd indiction and consuls aforesaid, fix it in 343/44. Begun with the equinox of 343, it ends just before the equinox of 344, where, subsequently, begins the year 5853.

This result is perfectly in line with the reform of 353, carried out on the very principle of Anatole. To stick to this principle, the lunar cycle, cycle xy.-rà cpli)o-tv, had to be traced back eight years above, that is to say from 353 (5854 of Anatole) to 345 (5846 of Anatole). This last world year was therefore to be stated from now on 5854 (345). This is what the Anatolian principle strictly led to. But, thanks to the -po/%4, we know the complementary operation of the reform: the establishment of the newcyclenot Y.0'.' √ yl'io-tv but XOCT." >. Uacv, that is to say, not by making it start from the numeration of the epacts, but by making it start, concurrently with the course of the sun at creation, of a year without epacts. We see indeed the first year of theenneadékaétéride of the 7th -ti4 marked with 30 epacts, which means zero epacts, while the cycle of Anatole began with II epactes. The reformed cycle has thus been raised by nine years instead of eight, the era of the world having risen by eight years (see table above, p. 74). And there is obviously no other reason for this than to make the years of the cycle go together with those of the world, as in the Alexandrians the years of the cycle worked with the years of Diocletian.

It is a happy fortune that the -rpoy6¢ has been preserved. The Chronist does not rely on it, it does not refer to it; it is certain that it follows it, as we have shown. If there is one exception, that of the Easter date of 5540 (I I th year of the cycle), the explanations that accompany it simply prove that he wanted to justify this difference. The exception also proves that the Chronist is not the author of 7p0714, because he would have put the Paschal date that interested him; this one was much earlier. It is worth noting here that the Tpoy/4 is placed in the Chronicon Paschale in front of the consuls Leontus and Sallustius, undoubtedly as a monument recalling their consulate, and, in the case, as a document taking date from their consulate (344). Thus, everything in this -,:poz6¢ bears the mark of the time when the inner notice fixes it, which is the very time of the reform. Everything is appropriate and everything is explained in this context: the dates in the Roman calendar, which were necessary because the reform was an official affair, ordered by the emperor, the years of Diocletian because of the existence of a decem-novennal cycle, which bore this continuous numbering and with which it was importantto mark the correlations so that there was no disagreement on the Paschal dates; the transcription into Syrian and Alexandrian months for the populations to whom the more complicated Roman calendar was not familiar; finally the concern to affirm the excellence of the 19-year cycle on the others whostillhad, towards the middle of the ive century, to claim to compete with it.

I come to the conclusion. We knew from armenian texts the existence of a reform of computus at the end of the Anatolian cycle of 95 years which ended in 352 and the creation at that time of a bicentenary table due to Andrew of Byzantium. But it is the T.poz(Sç du *V aticanus gr. 19-11* that gives us the result and allows us to identify its nature. We read the operation of the new cycle and the point of depart that is fixed to it. We read, required by the cycle, the transformation of the previous world era (that of Africanus) and the starting point or the first year of the new era. Are we not right to call this -:pozi).; a document of theutmost importance? It seems to us as the official state of the reform of computing, the birth certificate of a new Easter cycle and a new era. And this new era, used in the present state of the *Chronicon Paschale*, but which was firstobviously used in the primitive state, will one hesitate to see in it the primitive, very authentic era of the Byzantines and to give it its real name? This name, which suits him and distinguishes him, can only be the one that we have inscribed at the head of this chapter: THEPROTOBYZANTINE ERA.

Finally, it is appropriate to say a few words here about an issue that has greatly divided scholars. This is the discussed existence of a manuscript of the *Chronicon Paschale* stopping at the year 354, that is to say at a date quite interesting for us, since it is the year following the reform of computing. We would thus have proceeded, without delay, to a revision, applying the new era of the world, of the chronology of the previous chronographs. The basis for affirming the existence of this first reaction of the *Chronicon Paschale* was the following indication of Du Cange in his edition of the *Chronicon Paschale* in the year 354 (consulate of Constantius Augustus VIII and Constant Caesar III):

"Aûyoi'xyTou. In hac noce, uti in Praefatione diximus, Holstenius codex desinit.' In the previous part of his edition, the French scholar noted variants from the famous librarian of the Vatican. This mention of a Holstenius codex ending in 354 naturally ledto the assumption that there must have been ra primitive Chronicon Paschale that stopped at that date. Illustrious scholars, led by Mommsen, were not afraid to accuse Holste of having, in bad faith, produced notes from a non-existent manuscript. Conybeare,in producing Du Cange's correspondence with Bigot, showed the inanity of this accusation; he concluded that the manuscript had been lost (1). It was Cardinal G. Mercati who found

(i) F.C. CONYBEARE, On the date of composition of the Paschal Chronicle, **The Journal** of theol. Studies, 2, 1901, 288-298; ID., The Relation of the Paschal Chronicle to Malalas, BZ, ri, 1902, 395-405, spec.401-402; ID., The Codex of the Paschal Chronicle used by Holstein, **The Journal** of theol. Stud., 7, 1906, 392-397.

the real solution: the Holstenius **codex** is simply a copy of raderus' edition, on which Holste found variants. This work stops at 354. The origin of the variants is none other than the *Vaticanus graecus* 1941, whichicontains the *Chronicon Paschale*, and which, naturally, the learned libraryhad thecuriosity to compare with the edition made on the Munich manuscript (1). It remains to discover this annotated copy.

(r) G. MERCATI, A Study of the Paschal Chronicle, *The .journal of the theol. Stud.*, 7, 1906, 397-402; reproduced in G. MERCATI, *Opere minori*, Ii $_{1937}$, 462-467.

THE ALEXANDRIAN ERA

The protobyzantine era, although strictly in accordance, according to the Anatolian conception, with the supposedly natural law of the lunar cycle, nevertheless left very few traces. The reason for this is that the world eras were originally used only by chronographs that applied them mainly to biblical and evangelical events, while the acts of public and private life proceeded by consulates and years of the emperors When this kind of dating was introduced intothe iastic ecclesiasticalliterature, especially in hagiography, the Alexandrian era created afterwards had already, for the reasons that we will see later, conquered its preponderance.

It might be surprising at first glance that the Alexandrian deceemnovennal cycle, created in 304, waited about a century before giving birth to a world era. That is the way it is, however, and it is understandable. This cycle, not based on a principle linked tonatural facts, but simply aligned with the beginning of a calendar year, had only a conventional basis. Its creators could not fail to be aware of this. No beginning, moreover, was initially offered to the Alexandrians to claim, or even to think, to draw an era from their cycle. They had to continue, when they wanted to designate this or that year after the creation, to use the era of Africanus, and perhaps, but this is unlikely, they employed, from 353, theera that succeeded him, so to speak, by natural consequence. In any case, they had no need of it to situate their cycle and measure their development, because they had for this, from the beginning, the continuous numeration of the years of Diocletian which was sufficient for them and dispensed them with any other.

What could give rise to the idea of associating an era with the Alexandrian cycle was the favour that this cycle received from Theodosius Ier (380 -395), who, as we have seen, officially recognizedit by accepting thecentenary table of Theophilus of Alexandria. Since the official canon of Constant ii was linked to a world era, the idea had to come, and it came, that it could also suit the new official canon that supplanted it. The only informationwe have on this company comes from Georges le Syncelle (early ninth century). They implicate two chronographs: one, Panodorus, who lived, it is said, under the emperor Arcadius (-- 408) and archbishop Theophilus of Alexandria (412), the other, Annianos, his contemporary, both monks (1). The priority must belong to Panodorus, because his system has not survived, and this can only be explained by admitting that he has been supplanted by another, that of Annianos, who seemed more satisfactory.

One has long been inclined to judge the first organization of the Alexandrian era by the state in which it appears definitively constituted; also, seeing the name of Panodore attached to the first

use of this era, it is to him that naturally this state has been attributed, and of his name that has been called the era thus constituted. It was believed, by the same perspective, that the Alexandrian era was established from the beginning with the same beginning as the Egyptian year (I thôt = August 29), and various data of George the Syncelle have been interpreted in this sense.

THE ERA OF PANODORE

The era of Panodorus, according to traditional opinion, is the I Thôth (August 29) 5493 BC. This did not seem obvious to Ch. Unger, who tried to prove that it had to be traced back a year and put it in the I Thôth 5494 BC. (1). Mentz (2) and Serruys (3) reacted in favour of the old position. However, as we can see, all admit as out of discussion that the beginning of the era is in the first thôth. It appeared to me that the information from Syncelle had not been taken full advantage of and, jointly, that no account had been taken of its way of accounting, using certain dates of Panodore reported by him. Let us note here beforehand to avoid any confusion that an era of creation must necessarily have its beginning at the time of the year in which creation is placed. However, for all chronographs, the creation took place at the spring equinox or in the vicinity. This is part of the constitution of the era. It is only in the future, out of accommodation, or by forgetting the origins, that it receives a beginning aligned with the calendar year. One could, according to this, distinguish in the use of an era, the technical style and the vulgar style. This is, of course, about the technical style, the style that constitutes the era and justifies it.

The new era instituted by the Alexandrians, like that of Anatole, like that of Constantinople, had to be established by going back by cyclic revolutions of 19 years from a first year of their cycle, that is to say 285 or 304, or any other year observing this interval, to the first year of the cycle attached to creation

We have seen above that the Reformed cycle of Alexandria had its beginning in the ninth year of the cycle of Anatole, and therefore that there was a difference of eight years between the two. We have seen, on the other hand, that the Era of Anatole included a precyclical year that put the years of that era one unit ahead of the years of the cycle. Would it be the same for the era based on the Alexandrian lunar cycle? Willit thus be a pure imitation or transposition of the era of Anatole? If so, the difference between the two eras would also be only eight years. Otherwise, the difference, due to the absence of a pre-cyclical year, would be nine years.

There are therefore two waysof instituting the era: either to make it begin and walk with the cycle, or to make it precede the cycle by the establishment, at the creation, of a precyclical year. In either case, the institution of the era must have three fundamental coordinates: the first consists in the convenience of the beginning of the first year of the era with the days of the genesiac week, Sunday, first day, and Wednesday, fourth day, when the stars were created; the second consists in the determination of the year of the Passion, offering the necessary synchronism for the day of this event, taking into account the long chronology of the life of Christ; the third is in the conjunction of the two previous ones, that is to say, the date of the Passion or resurrection must bring back the date of creation, or one of the other two important dates of the genesiaque week, creation of the sun, or creation of man.

Having said that, let us now examine what is, with regard to the Genesiac days, the result of the pure and simple transposition of the era of Anatole, that is to say, with only a difference of eight years.

⁽¹⁾ Chr. UNGER, Chronologie des Manetho, Berlin, 1867, 37 sq.

⁽²⁾ A. MENTZ, Beitriige zur Osterberechnung bei der Byzantinern (Dissert. Kônigsberg 1906), 7, n. 3.

⁽³⁾ D. SERRUYS, Les transformations de l'Aera Alexandrina Minor, Rev. de Philologie, nouy. série, 31, 1907, p. 252-268.

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To achieve this, let us help ourselves with the perfect cycle of 532 years, the only one that makes it possible to rigorously calculate the joint recurrences of the day of the week and the monthly calendar. We will take as a point of support the date of 5853, beginning of a cycle of thiskind (532 x 11 = 5,852). In the era of Africanus, which advances one year on its cycle, 5853 is the end of one cycle, and it is 5854 that is the beginning of the next cycle. The year 5854 here equals 353 of the Dionysian era. The eight-year lag that

produces the new era brings the equation to 361 (5,854 = (353 8) = 361). The year 361 is the year corresponding by recurrence at the opening of the lunar cycle to the second year of creation. The precyclical year, the first year of creation, corresponds to the year 360. Nous can therefore, by means of this last year, know the dates of the Genealogic days. Let us proceed accordingly. The year 360 is a nineteenth year in the lunar cycle of the Reformation of Alexandria, year whose Paschal headquarters, *XIV lunae*, is at i7 April, date related to the jump of the moon in this year. As the first year of creation cannot include a leap from the moon, its XIV *lunae*, instead of April 17, will be April 16, a day lower than in the era of Anatole, where the XIV lunae was the 15th. We can dispense here with redoing the calculations established above about this era (I). It will be enough to transpose the result by the addition of a day. In the era of Anatole we obtained the *XIV lunae* of creation on March 17, so we will have here march 18. In 360, March 18th is a Saturday; so is the same for the year of creation. The first genealogic day, Sunday, will be, consequently, March 19, and the fourth genesiac day, Wednesday, creation of the stars, will be March 22, the moon being in its xcityday.

This is the result of the transposition of the Anatole era, with the inclusion of the precyclical year, into the Alexandrian era. The era of the world was in Anatole on March 22, 5501 BC; it becomes March 19, 5493 BC.

Is this the era of Panodorus?

For the answer to be in the affirmative, it will be necessary that this concordance is verified between the date of the creation and that of the Passion (or resurrection) of which we spoke above and in which the oldchronographs found the most impressive of the demonstrations. So let's see the dates of Panodorus touching these events of the life of Christ. They are provided to us, as to the year and as to the day, by Georges le Syncelle, in his 'Ex.Xoy⁻ zpovoypccpia.ç (2).

First of all, and to avoid any confusion, let us note that this author, in noting and appreciating the dates of his predecessors, only looks at the numbers themselves without taking care of their true historical correspondence and, apparently, without knowing it. Thus, for example, he praises Africanus for putting the Incarnation of Christ in S500, as he does himself, but, while his own date of 5500 corresponds to the year 8 AD, that of Africanus corresponds to the year — 2.

This remarkis made, let us see what are, according to George the Syncelle, the dates of Panodorus touching the Passion and the Resurrection of Christ. After saying that Panodorus was seven years wrong for the date of the Incarnation, the Syncelle adds that because of this, il was also wrong for the day of the Passover, -*7-re.,:p L 7-7.a.. ax.)\tov -;,p.. 4ccv, putting it in 5525 on March 20, or the 24 Phamenoth (the text, by obvious error of copyist, carries il)oc.p.cvw0 f'). Leaving for the moment the question of the true figure for the year of the world, which Goar corrected in 5526, we can say as sure that the year designated parPanodore is the year 34 of our era. The mention of Phamenoth forbids indeed to think of the neighboring years 32, 33, 35, 36, where the respective Easter seats of April 12, April, April 9 and March 29 require the transcription into days of Pharmouthi. Fixed panodore

the XIV lunae $(-1.-+_{dV})$; tipi 7.xaz4:Xtov i_iplpocv) of this year 34 to 20 March. However, the real date, marked in the cycle, is **March** 21. Panodore cannot ignore it, that is obvious. Such a change

⁽I) See above, pp. 34-35.

⁽²⁾ GEORGES LE SYNCELLE, ed. 13oun, 63.

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can only be intentional. And the intention appears in the result obtained, and that is it. Mar year 34 falls on a Saturday. By putting the XIV lunae, we have the previous day, Friday, M the Passion of Christ. It is at the X/// lunae, just like at Anatole and Africanus in the year have Passion Day on March 19th. This is precisely, as we have seen, the first day of cre transposition of the Era of Anatole by including the precyclical year. By keeping the date of for the XIV lunae, the chronograph missed this result, because on March 21, 34 falling of it put between this date and Friday, March 19, a hiatus that prevented to place the Passion the Passion would have been at a XII lunae, incidence which, having no appearance or pattachment with the evangelical narrative, can not come to the mind of any chronologist.

How could Panodorus change the Easter seat from March 21 to March 20? We do not we can be sure that he has worked to justify his date. He will probably have used for this a similar and perhaps identical to that by which the author of the *Chronicon Paschale* trank XIV *lunae* of the year 31, for the need of his thesis, from March 24 to March 23 (i).

The presentation we have just made shows, on the one hand, the date on which, for of creation, the transposition of the Era of Anatole into the Alexandrian cycle culminates be the precyclical year: it is 19 March; andon the other hand, the date put by Panodorus to the Christ: it is also March 19. Here we see achieved the concordance of dates required for the of a world era between creation and Redemption. Such a coincidence is this rtainement at that the era thus constituted is indeed that of Panodorus. And the fact that this coincidence be achieved by a move of the Easter date of the year 34 on the part of Panodorus must conclusion unmistakable.

In thep resente transposition of the Anatole era, we have not noted the concord equinox with the creation of the sun. It is carried out if we take the date of the equinox af But in the time of Panodorus, the date received was March 21. We would be very surp chronograph, which moved an Easter date, did not seek to include in its concordances the March 21. He could do this by combining the calculation of days according to Ptoler account of Genesis. Ptolemy, in his astronomical calculations, counts the days from no And Genesis characterizes the days of creation as follows: "And there was an evening and it was the first day"; and similarly for the following days. Panodorus could therefore coexplain, that the first day of the creation, March 19, actually corresponded to March 18/19 to noon, of the Romans; and March 22, to March 21/22, from noon to noon. In this way, of the sun would have taken place in the daytime part of March 21 after noon, so at the edas in the year 34, Panodorus has the day of resurrection on March 21, there was there a chronological correspondence of more, namely, the creation of the sun at the equinox or and on that same date, the resurrection of Christ resplendent with light.

However interesting and suggestive this last concordance may be, it is only mo conclusion remains firm without it. We formulate it: the era of Panodorus is the era of transposition on the Alexandria cycle of the era of Anatole by including its precyclica realized gap is eight years lower, minus three days. The era of Anatole is March 22, 55 of Panodorus is March 19, 5493 BC. The year i de the Dionysian era corresponds, from to March 18, to the year 5493 of the era of Panodorus, and from March 19 to December year 5494 of the same era.

Every world era must be accompanied by a Christian era and therefore accomp

⁽r) See above, p. 79. It is noted that indeed, the process of the chronist, applied to the Paschal date of the year 34, has preciraising it by one day.

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chronology of the pre-existing Christ or create a new one. What is the Christian era of Panodore? We have just seen that this chronograph, by building its world era on the Alexandrian lunar cycle, faithfully transposed that of Anatole by plaissant, as well as him, a precyclical year as the first year of the world. And we also saw that he put the Passion of Christ in the year 34, separating here from Anatole and Africanus for whom it was in 31. If Panodorus did not maintain this traditional date, it is obviously because the thing seemed impossible to him. The problem, in fact, arose for him in a different way than for his predecessors. They observed the short chronology of Christ's life, and he, with all hisorained contemplatives, the long chronology instituted by Eusebius. He had to give two more years to the life of Christ. This could be done in two ways or lengthen it from above, if we wanted to maintain the year 31 as the date of the Passion; or the allon gerfrom below, and in this case, find a suitable date for this event. Panodorus, abandoning the first plea, abandoned the date of the year 31, obviously for the reason — one cannot conceive of any other — that this year did not offer for the day of the Assion any point of mystical correspondence with the dates of the Genesiac days of his era. While lengthening the life of Christ from below, he met the year 34 which offered him almost this sought-after correspondence. It was a day away. At the cost of aslight deviation from the regular date of the XIV lunae, he could put the Passion on the same date as the creation, march 19. The result was so seyant, and, by this, so tempting, that Panodorus did not hesitate and, as we have seen, resolutely placed the Passion in this year 34 of our era. This made a difference of three years with the date of Africanus and Anatole (year 31). However, it was only two years that needed to be added. Panodorus reduced the difference in surplus by lowering the date of the Incarnate by one year. This was in 5501 of the era of Africanus (— year — I of the Dionysian era

5493 of the era of Panodorus). Panodorus put it in 5494 (= 5502 of Africanus = year I of the Dionysian era). On what day of the year does he place it? In the absence of other indications, we must judge by the use of Annianos, his contemporary and Africanus, his predecessor. According to the testimony of George the Syncelle, explicit for the first, implicit for the second, these two authors give a sum of whole years to the life of the Savior by putting the Incarnation of Christ on the same date as his resurrection, namely march 25. As it is on 21 March that Panodorus places the resurrection, it is also on this date that he will have placed hisincarnation. Let us not forget that the Christmas celebration on 25 December, which leads to the Celebration of the Annunciation on 25 March, was recent in the East and that we have no information on the date of its introduction into Egypt. It was still possible for Panodorus to oppose him with another date. The date of the Incarnation set to March 21 necessarily entailed the modification of all the dates of the related events: birth of Christ, meeting of the oldard Symeon, birth of St. John the Baptist. Perhaps we would find in the system indicated here the explanation of a passage of the Chronicon Paschale which has already caught our attention. The author of this work mentions a category of people who, while following 532-year Easter cycle, where the dates conform to the ecclesiastical canon, are nevertheless mistaken about the other festivals, and criticize the dates on which they are celebrated in the Churches of God. And to list precisely the feasts of the cycle of Noel that we have named (1).

Would this not be precisely the system of Panodorus, whose 19-year lunar cycle had the same Paschal dates as those in force at the time of the Chronist, and which, according to the probability that we have said, and thatthe present rapprochement still increased, placed the Incarnation of Christ, as his resurrection, on March 21, and thereby entailed the change of all related events?

The year of the Incarnation of Christ, we have seen, is for Panodorus, the year 5494 of his era.

⁽¹⁾ Ed. Bonn, 21-22, see above.

Thus, Panodorus did not give in to the glamour of the mystical number of 5,500. It was open to Africanus and Anatole, who were themselves building their era without dependence on an earlier era, to bring about the birth of Christ in 5501 and his Passion in 5531, while observing historical accuracy for these events. But Panodorus, who built his own by a transposition of theirs, had, by a natural logic, also transpose the dates of these events (given the modifications requiredby the long chronology of the life of Christ). One could, however, conceive of another logic, taking as the primordial element the number of 5,500 and conforming to it the chronology itself, I will not say in defiance of historical truth, but with persuasion that it should result from it. These two processes are indicated by Georges le Syncelle when he opposes

77.y.pc; Ao tç to ti.cx07-.,!... uTtz- $'r_i$: •Aoacç (1). It is to this that Panodore has attached himself, and it is among the lia.0 r_jp .aztzoi that the author of the ExXor'r_i zpovoypy.yiOE,.i; by accusing him of being seven years wrong for the date of birth. It is indeed the gap that there is between 5494, date of Panodore, and 5504 date that georges le Syncelle advocates. It is true that by marking the date of Panodorus, the Syncelle writes 5493 instead of 5494. But there can be no doubt, if we take into account his way of speaking, that it is in fact the year5494 that is meant. When the Syncelle compares 5493 to 5500, which is the gap of seven years blamed on Panodorus, it is 5500 finishing or completing and 5501 starting. He explains it himself very clearly in the passage where he does**not**know

the date of the Incarnation of Christ: &J.SL 7), rdpoupkicp zu.1 ec,pzoplvq) 'r,scpa' ZOLTI. (Pci)p.exi.ouç M pTkp zs' (2). So also for the year 5493: it means 5493 finishing and 5494 starting. And similarly, when the Syncelle exposes that Africanus is two years wrong because he puts the Resurrection of Christ in 5531 instead of 5533, it is for the first date e5531 ending and 5532 beginning, and for the second of 5533 ending and 5534 beginning. This is indeed how the Syncelle presents its own date of the Resurrection: year of the world 5534, March 25, first day of the year, a Sunday (3). For Anatole and Africanus, the first day of the world was certainly March 22, but without a doubt, the Syncelle did not know it and considered the 5500 era of Africanus as identical to its own. Let us also note the passage where the Syncelle praises Africanus to

conformer to the apostolic tradition which places lake,o-/-6.) or v; in the year 5500, rzt (4). The apostolic tradition, for the Syncelle, can only be that which he follows himself; the date indicated can therefore only mean his own date, 5500 ending and 5501 beginning, as it has been shown more

high. In this last example, let's note the ordinal form - CTEI. And it's also the ordinal form that George the Syncelle uses towards the beginning of his work: inohi.>bcc g-rst ,sp' 'roi3 xl.rrp.ou'ri,Vwaapxov ot',)-ro;')" ye.yz.v'i;a0cci. or:zovop.ty.v (5). All these various texts compared make knownclearly what is the way of talking aboutsyncelle. When he puts the incarnation of Christ in 5500, it is undoubtedly 5500 finishing and 5501 beginning. It must be the same for the year 5493 to which it opposes its date of 5500. This year 5493, evenexpressed in ordinal form:

(Panodore) o-co-rl)pcov acipx.cocp.v ,zulf(ire TCCI'yz-r_ivaUXoy⁻r_io-4.zvoç (6), can only mean 5493 ending and 5494 starting: this is only how the seven-year gap that syncelle reproaches its distant predecessor is verified. It seems that it is for not having noticed this way of dating that the chronologists, and Serruys withthem (7), were led to distinguish in the alexandrine eratwo forms, one, specific to Panodore, with beginning on the 1st thôth (August 29th), the other,

- (I) GEORGES LE SYNCELLE, 618-619.
- (2) ID., 590
- (3) ID., 619.
- (4) ID., 616.
- (5) ID., 4.
- (6) ID., 618.
- (0) art. cited above, p. 86.

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that of Annianus, with beginning on the preceding March 25, the first, called *aera alexandrina minor*, because lower by a few months, and the other, *aera alexandrina major*. They did not believe that they could explain otherwise the gap of seven years instead of eight that the era of Annianos would require. *The aera alexandrina minor* indicated here is not based on anyotherclue, it will have to be abandoned resolutely.

A distinction, certainly, is to be made, and the same expressions can be used to designate it, but it will be by establishing an inverse relationship and by extending the gap: *the aera alexandrina minor* will be that of Annianos having beginning on March 25, 5492 BC; and *the aera alexandrina major* will be that of Panodorus higher by one year and three days, with beginning on March 19, 5493 BC

In summary, Panodorus' changes to the chronology of Africanus and Anatole are as follows: world era lowered by eight years (Anatole: March 22, 5501 BCE; Panodorus: March 19, 5493 BCE);

- Christian era lowered by seven years (Africanus: 25 March 5501; Panodorus: 21 (probable) March 5494), with real difference of one year (Africanus: I BCE; Panodorus: 1 AD);
- dates of the Passion and Resurrection lowered by five years (Africanus: March 23, 5531 and March 25, 5532; Panodorus: 19 March 5526 and 21 March 5527); with real difference of three years (Africanus: 31 AD; Panodorus: 34 AD). The year ofthe Passion is therefore 5526, and the text of the Syncelle which bears 5525 must be corrected (1).

It is worth repeating: everything we know about the era of Panodorus comes from George the Syncelle and lies in what we have exposed. There can be no doubt, accordingto the texts of this author, that Panodorus transposed the era of Anatole to the Alexandrian cycle by maintaining the precyclical year, and that he modified his calculation of the Christian era by adapting it to the long chronology of the life of Christ. The world eraof Panodorus thus precedes by one year the Alexandrian era which the Byzantine chroniclers used in the following, if we take it with its natural beginning in March, but only a few months if we take it with its beginning postponed to the beginning of the calendar year,

thoth (August 29) or I ^{el.} September, according to subsequent usage. We must, in any case, avoid presenting this Alexandrian era that has become common as that of the Panodore.

Panodorus' chronological system for the life of Christ and christian son era had two flaws that might seem considerable. The first was that the birth of Christ preceded in a far too conspicuous way the traditional date of 5500. In the reform of 353, it was later, in an equally conspicuous way, but at least the dimensions of the mysterious arch were not begun. It is true that Panodorus was not the first to do so. *The Origo humani generis* puts the Passion of Christ in 5510 (2), which postpones its nease around5480. Such a chronology could be justified by relating the mystical number to the manifestation of Christ (preaching or Passion) rather than to his incarnation or birth. No matter. It was difficult to go against the application of the traditional application. The other, more serious defect was in the date assigned to the Passion of the Savior: it contained more than one irregularity: the *XIV lunae* was set at a date, 20 March, other than that marked by the cycle, 21 March; and it preceded the equinox, hence, consequently,

⁽¹⁾ Our conclusions concerning the era of Panodorus were stopped when we met in V. V. Bounov, *Lekcii po istorii drevnej ccrkvi*, Petrograd, 1907, I, 96, a chronological table from the year 44 BC to the year 42 AD, where the era of Panodorus is also placed a year higher than that of Annianos. Thus, the year i of our era === - = 5609 Byzantine = 5494 of Panodorus = 5493 of Annianos. We have searched in vain in the work cited either for an explaining of the difference between these two eras or for a reference to a study in which to find it. In addition, Bolotov does not indicate on what day Panodorus began the years of his era. Perhaps Bolotov's position is none other than that of Unger, whom he would have made his own (beginning of the era of Panodorus: ter thôth 5494 BC).

(2) C. FRICK, *Chronica minora, I, I,ipsiae,* 1893, p. 152.

the Passion of Christ itself, on March 19, XIII lunae preceded this limit. These imperfections of the Christian era of Panodorus prevented him from establishing himself. Its global era, established in connection with it, was irreparably compromised. Thus this first attempt to found a world era on the Alexandrian lunar cycle seemed doomed to failure.

THE ERA OF ANNIANOS

So would the Constantinople era triumph? Fortunately for the prestige of the scholars of Alexandria, he met a bold and skilful spirit, who, abandoning the p o(O-reotv.z.-il gAoo-t.ç for PCZY, Xy7GY.0-1-. LX; "i1:7-prlhag, could offer forthe Incarnation and passion of Christ dates in accordance with the traditional mysticism of numbers at the same time as with the ecclesiastical rules concerning the Passover. It was Annianos, whom we have already named. The problem for him was to place the Incarnation of Christ at the beginning of the year 5501 of the world era based on the lunar cycle of Alexandria and to find, by observing the long chronology of Christ's life, a year in which the essential concordances of the Passion were observed, namely that the XIV lunae was linked to a Friday. Until then the Passion of Christ had never in the East, and rarely in the West (1), received its day after the XIV lunae, but always either in the XIV Lunae itself (Hippolytus, Apollinaire of Laodicea, Clement of Alexandria, etc.), or on the eve (Africanus, Anatole, Panodorus). It was not possible for Annianos to find a year that contînt one or the other of these solutions. A year, however, was offered, when, at the same time, the XIV lunae immediately touched a Friday, but fell the day before, and where the long chronology of the life of Christ from 5501 could be accorded. Since the shift of the day of the Passion was practiced in favor of the XIII lunae, it must have seemed just as legitimate to practice it in favor of the XV lunae, the main thing being the contiguity with friday. And the XV lunae had the advantage of being the full moon. The year in question was the year 42 AD, 5535 ADas we defined it. The XIV lunae was on March 22, a Thursday. The 23rd, Friday, was taken for the day of the Passion, and the 25th Sunday, was the day of the resurrection. The latter date, March 25, was a happy fortune. This was the traditional date, before Panodorus. In the year 31, indeed, year of the Passion in Africanus and Eusebius, the XIV lunae being march 25, a Saturday, the Passion was on the 23rd, and the resurrection on the 25th. The world era established in Constantinople in 353 had preserved thisdate. Nothing was therefore changed to the old habits. In addition, March 25 was also the day of the Incarnation since the Christmas feast of December 25 had been received in the East (2). The approachwas impressive.

One crucial point remained to be examined and settled. It was a question of seeing how this chronology could be connected to the Genesiac days. Sticking to the era of Panodorus, one day before the cycle, the thing was impossible: March 23 was a Saturday, and the 25th a Monday. It was examined what the first year of creation would give by making it begin with the cycle, that is, by lowering the era of Panodorus by one year. In this case, the year of creation corresponds to the year 361. It turns out that in this year, the 25 mars is precisely a Sunday. It was made on the first day of creation: thus the concordance required for the establishment of the era was obtained. In truth, the following March 28, Wednesday, the day of the creation of the stars, the moon was only on its sixth day, the neomenia being on March 23 (and the XIV lunae on April 5). But since the Bible does not say at what age the moon was created, the disadvantage could not be an obstacle, especially in view of the advantages obtained. We were simply careful not to attract attention tothispoint. Annianos could be satisfied with his work. First,

⁽¹⁾ Savoir chez le computiste de 243 (see p. 18) and the preface to the Ambrosian table (see p. 20).

⁽²⁾ Even if the festival was not yet celebrated in Egypt, or was not there however sans know that it was celebrated in Constantinople and Antioch.

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he obtained a world era built on the Alexandrian cycle, satisfying the indispensable concordances and walking with this cycle: it followed that the year 42 of our era, which was the year 5535 in Panodorus, became the year 5534 and that we had ainsi, placing in 5501 the Incarnation of Christ, the right measure of the years necessary for the long chronology of his life. Then the dates of the Passion and resurrection marked by Africanus and preserved by the Reform of Constantinople, namely, March 23 and 25, were maintained. Finally, the latter date, on March 25, brought together a whole bundle of remarkable concordances: creation of the world, incarnation of the Word, resurrection of Christ (1). Moreover, the course of the calendar brought the naissance of Christ for the year 5501 (9 AD) to a Wednesday, and Wednesday was the day of the creation of the sun, symbol of Christ, sun of justice. It was more than necessary to enchant the mystical soul of the monks and clerics, and itwasfelt that such an era must have finally prevailed over that of Panodorus, whose defects we have said, and over that of Constantinople too, with less rich concordances (2), and to which it failed to answer exactly the call of the number 5,500. Theera of Annianos was so popular with such a complete and seductive mysticism, and was favoured by the clérical.et monastic world, to the point of becoming, according to the testimony of Saint Maximus, the proper ecclesiastical chronology (3). To this preponderance may have contributed the official use since Theodosius I of the cycle on which this era was based.

Here is the picture of the formation of the Alexandrian era by Panodorus and Annianos, as it results from our study. It includes the whole framework of years that the operation must have been of interest. We continue until 412, the death of Theophilus, under whom lies the activity of these two computists.

Dionysian era	Lunar and World Years of			cycle Lunar cycle Anatole j and Alexandrian World Years		
390	(XIX) I Ii Iii Iv V Vi Vi	5891 5892 5893 5894 5895 5896 5897 5898	Era I of Panodore		era of Annianos	
:398 :399 -100 401 	Viii Ix X Xi Xii Xiii Xiv XV XVi XVii XViii Xiii X	5899 5900 5901 5902 5903 5904 5905 5906 5907 5908 5909 5910 5911 5912 5913	5891 5892 5893 5894 5895 5891; 5897 5898 5899 5900 5901 5902 5903 5904 5905	(XIX) I Ii Iii Iv V V Vii Viii Ix X Xii Xiii Xiv	5891 5892 5893 5894 5895 5896 5897 5898 5899 5900 5901 5902 5903 5904	

⁽¹⁾ Georges le Syncelle also puts on March 25, Sunday, the end of the flood. I dare not believe that Annianos thought about it.

⁽²⁾ In this era, it lacked the concordance of March 25 with the first day of creation, which was the i8. There remained the concordance of man's creation with his redemption, the Passion of Christ, on March 23.

⁽³⁾ KcurcZ Tir) b.,X),.. 11.51.0CCSTLY3r (1./I)epov xai Trapo'c8oar.v : MAXIM'. CONF., Camputus ecclesiasticus, I,

The Christian chronology of the era of Annianos had a weak point that could give rise to criticism. It was the fixation of the Passion of Christ to the XV lunae. There must have been opponents. To close their mouths, they took shelter behind a great authority. We see, in fact, a text attributed to Eusebius, but which is obviously not of him, where it is said that "Christ, having eaten the umbratic Passover and instituted the true Passover on the fifth day of the week (Thursday), which was the XIV lunge, March 22, indiction 15, was delivered the same night that led to the 23rd of the same month, and having been crucified that same day, resurrected on the 25th, a Sunday". But that is not suffit. Faced with new attacks, they felt obliged to sacrifice the XV lunae for the Passion that was transported to the XIV, date that was justified by the same process. A text, in fact, attributed here to Eusebius (4), there to Severus (Er6i,pou èv. -:"(;),) zpovt.y.i'ov) (2) places the death of Christ in the XIV lunae, March 23. George the Syncelle himself accepted this new date (3). Undoubtedly, such a change was the result of lively discussions that it will not be difficult to place at the time when a current of opinion wanted to bring the chronology of Christ back to its true historical scale, namely the time when the author of the Chronicon Paschale appealed to the oldest authorities to establish that Christ suffered the Passion on the very day of the Jewish Passover in the XIV Lunae. Impressed, the Alexandrians, at least some, did not hesitate to throw some let to save the whole system. They therefore carried the XIV lunae from Thursday 22 March to Friday 23. But how did they arrange with their Easter table? mystery! Perhaps they put the calculation to the account of the Jews contemporaneous with Christ. Or simply gave no explanation.

We saw that the beginning of the year in the Alexandrian era was March 25. This is an essential element of thesystem. But it is only essential in the eyes of computists and chronographs. It is quite natural that those who were not, chroniclers, hagiographers and others who wanted to use this cosmic chronology were inclined to place the beginning of it at the beginning of their usualyear. Out of ignorance, or simplification, they thus went back the beginning of the world era to the opening of the current calendar year, namely August 29 among the Copts, September 29 among the Byzantines. For example, the debut of the year 61° which, in the era of Annianos, is on March 25, 608 AD, becomes in these authors on August 29 or September 697. It is according to this usage that one must explain the chronology of Cyril of Skythopolis (4).

As for the era of Panodore as we have fixed it, we laugh.2 do not know to what extent it survived or when it disappeared permanently. It is probably she, as we have said, that the *Chronicon Paschale* is aimed at by talking about those whose dates conform to ecclesiastical rule, but whose calculation of times from the origin of the world and since Christ is at odds with it, which gives an opportunity to some who follow them to criticize the days when the Church celebrates Christmas and related holidays. This may mean that the era of Panodorus still had supporters around the middle of the century, when the original editor of the Chronicon must be *placed*. Without going as far as these drafts of which the Chronist speaks, still others could prefer panodore's system for its greater historical accuracy.

This system, it can be estimated that it disappeared for many years when wrote Saint Maximus, who seems to have known no other ional traditional erathan that of Annianos. It is she alone who survives and constitutes the Alexandrian era now employed, and it is she who is designated when, without further specification, we speak of the Alexandrian era.

⁽¹⁾ Chronicon Paschale, t. II. Selecta ad illustrationein Chronici Paschalis, n. V, p. 112. I;indiction 15 indicates that the year in sight was 5534 of the Alexandrian era, 42 of our era.

⁽²⁾ Ibid., in note, and p. r16. Here the year 5534 is expressly indicated.

⁽³⁾ GEORGES LE SYNCELLE, 616.

⁽⁴⁾ Ed. SCHWARTZ, Kyrillos von Skythopolis, 346.

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THE ALEXANDRIAN ERA AMONG CHRONICLERS

It is important to note that the normal use of the Alexandrian era, related to its origin, basically includes the count of the years from March 25. This can be seen in the old chronographs that follow this era (I). George the Syncelle made the most categorical statements tothis. "Necessarily before all things," he says, "must be shown as the beginning of time, when heaven and earth were made, that same holy first day of creation: taking that day as an indestructible foundationand as an unshakeable base, I pray... Christ to help me to clearly demonstrate that his incarnation took place in the year 5550 and to expose what happened remarkable... before and since..., that is to say since the first day of creation until the" year of the world "6339 (2). And in an even more energetic way: "In this chronicle, let any reader assume as the beginning of each year the first day of the first month, Nisan among the Hebrews, and not the I er Thôth according to the Egyptians or the I er " January according to the "Romans or another of some nation having another beginning (3). »

Such clear statements and such absolute exclusion do not allow for the slightest doubt. If one cannot follow in the ouvrage of George the Syncelle, with the exception of the evangelical facts, the application of the principle proclaimed here, this is not a reason to believe that he could renounce it in practice. First of all, there is absolutely nothing that can be produced that would give rise to suspicion of the opposite. Secondly, the succinct nature of the work and especially the fact that he was only able to take it to Diocletian, prevented him from using sources where the indiction was indicated and explain that there was no element of control (4), goal above all, what I do not understand about those who refuse this account to George the Syncelle or hesitate to recognize it, is the little regard they make of its application to evangelical facts. "Purely mystical explanations", it is said, that is to say, apparently accidental and foreign to the era, and not to be taken into account (5). On the contrary, it seems to see the insistence of our author that this mystical aspect is the most important thing for him, and even the only importance, and it is strangely wrong to abandon itin order to judge its chronology. It should not be forgotten that any chronology that takes its starting point at the creation of the world, and that of Annianos more than any other, because it could not have been able to supplant its predecessors, is fundamentally based on mystical elements. That authors who have forgotten this origin treat the years of the world as calendar years, it is conceivable, but it cannot be the fact of a chronograph that expressly recalls it and makes it the pivot of its entire system.

The most famous chronicler who has employed this same era is the continuator of George the Syncelle, the monk Theophanes of Sigriana. It is generally thought that it makes the years of the world beginwith indiction. But the matter is more than doubtful. We can only say that he uses indiction to group events, but that is not enough. We see indeed the author of the *Chronicon Paschale* develop his Chronic by the Olympiads and yet group the events by consulates without one having the right to say that he began the years of the Olympiads in the first of January, especially since we see each tetraeterid distributed also in indictions. From the Same

SALNT MAXDIE *COlitPlitUS*, I, 32: pg 19, 1249 C, seems to start the year with indiction. (2) GEORGES LE SYNCELLE, 4. 1,th first day of Nisan, for this author, who says it explicitly, is March 25, *ibid.*,

⁽³⁾ ID., IO-II.

⁽⁴⁾ Let us note at least the case of the contemporary hagiographer of Georges le Syncelle, whoa. writes *The passion of the twenty sabetes martyrs*. To clarify the date of the event, he accumulates a whole series of concordances from which it undoubtedly follows that he**WaS**entering the Alexandrian era with the beginning in March, obviously on the 25th. See PAPADOPOULOS-KERMEUS, Eu)¹/₄).oyil 1.10,Caert,V⁻7)g Y.Cd, EupLocx⁻71ç etytoXoyiuç, I, St.-Petersburg, 1907, p. 2.

(5) G. OSTROGORSKY, *Bz* 46, ^{1,953},173-

Way, Theophanes will have been able to unfold his Chronology by real or supposed years of the world (let us mean here years starting on March 25) and yet group the events by calendar years. The reason given, and this is the only one, istherefore ineffective. It cannot therefore prevail against the strong presumption to the contrary derived from the fact that Theophanes continues the work of George the Syncelle, not by own initiative or higher order, but because it was urgently expressed by him. And that's why he distributes his Chronography basically by years of the world, why also he follows the same era as him. That is also why we must believe that he will have remained faithful to the principle so strongly affirmed by his reveredfriend, that the beginning of each year must be taken by 25 March. The case of Theophanes continued, which we wanted to compare to him (1), is not at all comparable to him. His work has nothing in common with that of the Chronograph, and he writes more than a century after him: the Alexandrian era had ceased to be common, even in the ecclesiastical world, and there is no reason to expect it to be used in any chronography. To return to Theophanes, we find a clear indication of his way of commence the world year in precise synchronisms where the relationship of the year of the world with the indiction is explained only by the beginning of the year in March. Moreover, all the disagreements that are reported in Theophanes between the indiction and the year of the worldarenot, if we observe that the year of the world can relate either to the indiction that begins in the first September preceding, or to that which begins on the first september following. Certainly, this varies the synchronism of his paintings, but the variations are in series and a new series never begins unless under the influence of a specific date when the indiction is in a new relationship with the year of the world (2). These changes mark a certain inconsistency in our author, but ausif a consequence in the sense that from one point of variation to another, he follows the same report. And all this is much more understandable, and certainly much less serious, than seeing our author, in possession with the same beginning of the year of aconstant relationship between the world year and theindiction, constantly violating it over large spaces. That is what is really unfounded. One can be mistaken about the date of an event, but not about a constant relationship between two dating terms.

Theuse of the Alexandrian era became increasingly rare among the Byzantines as the Byzantine era took hold. It is rather curious to note its survival in the tenth century in Constantinople itself, in the Typicon of the monastery of Évergétis (3).

The Alexandrian era was preserved in Egypt at the same time as the era of martyrs which had the same origin, both coming from the Alexandrian cycle. It is seen in the concordances of Eutychius of Alexandria. It is also seen in those of El-Makin (Elmacinus) contrary to what Mas-Latrie asserts who sees in it the era of Africanus (4). Mas-Latrie makes the same mistake about the letter of Patriarch John XI of Alexandria to Pope Eugene IV, dated September 6940 according to the Greeks, 1157 of the era of martyrsand 1440 of the Incarnation of Christ. For Mas-Latrie, 6940 is counted in the era of Africanus (5). The data that should serve here as a centre of concordance is undoubtedly

⁽i) F. DüLGER, BZ, 35, 1935, 154; cf. G. OSTROGORSKY, Histoire de l'État byzantin, Paris, 1956, p. 118, n.

⁽²⁾ V. GRUMEL, L'année du monde dans la Chronographie de Théophane, EO, 33, ¹934, 396-408. In this article I have drawn up a table of the synchronisms of Theophanes between the indictions and the alexandrines years. On page 406, the MA synchronism must be traced back to and including the year 6186.

⁽³⁾ xctriXce6s Te ecypietov xcerec 'rbv Toùvcov trijvcc hu ripç tv8tx'ni;ivoç 'roc icxxtaxtXr.ocrroili [7rEVT0C-xoccocuoi3] nevnlxocrroi) bCTOU gT01.4, WHERE 8'4 xcer6nLy xx. ii)arcep ccirriF) én6(l.evoç i)X0ov xâyW 'roc Ecn*rEp.6piou èvcaTa(1£Vou Tîiç -rp(1½ iv&Y.. 'ctir)vog Toi) éctxtext. Xcoa*rot3 newroczoolocrroiT3 newripi.ocroû i686t.tou g*rouq. The relationship of the indiction to the year of the world in two very close and related cases leaves no doubt about the era here designated (A. DMITRIEVSKIJ, Tortxec, I, 615-616). As we can see, the year of the world has here the same beginning as the indictional year.

⁽⁴⁾ MAS-I,ATRIE, 32.

⁽⁵⁾ id.

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the era of martyrs, the usual era of the Copts. However, September 1157 OF this era corresponds to September 1440 of ours. The era of Africanus being one year ahead of ours, two according to Mas-Latrie, its year 6940 equals 1439 or 1438, according to Mas-Latrie, of ours; it therefore lacks the necessary concordance. It can also be taken for certain that the era of Africanus ceased to be in use in the Empire, at least as early as the fifth century, after the creation of the Alexandrian era. So what does this date of 6940 represent for the Greeks? It is very likely that the patriarch wants to indicate the Alexandrian era, which is known to the Copts, but which is much less familiar to him than that of the martyrs. The Alexandrian era has the particularity that the years of the century arethe same as for the era of theIncarnation. Now, the year of the era of the Incarnation, which the Coptic Patriarch reconciles with his year of martyrs is precisely that of the Latins, 1440. He will therefore have adjusted the years of the Alexandrian era to the Latin Chréti eraadopted byhim. I see no other possible explanation for this date of 6940.

Formulas

10 To translate a year of the *Alexandrian era according to Panodorus* into a Dionysian year, it is necessary, from 19 March or more probably from 21 March, because of the equinox (1), until 31 December, retran5493, and from 1 January to 18 or 20 March, to subtract 5492.

2º To translate into dionysian year a year of the era *alexandrine* according to *Annianos*, that is to say, of the era commonly referred to as this name, it is necessary, from March 25 to December 31, to subtract 5492, and from ter January to March 24, to subtract 5491.

For authors who begin the year on ter thoth (29 August, 30 August after the international years) or on 1 September, 5493 should be subtracted from 1St thoth or I th September until 31 December, and from ter January to Ter thoth or Ter September, 5492.

(I) As in the proto-Byzantine era, ilo the day of creation being March 18, the year of the world is however counted from March 21.



PASCAL COMPUTING REFORMS UNDER JUSTINIAN

AEAS AND IRON CONSEQUENCES OF THE REFORMS

The two reforms of computing that we have explained above, that of 304 (start of cycle: 284) and that of 359 (start of cycle: 344, zy.-:-A Uo-tv; 345, zoc'reje. (Actv) are the main ones and it is according to them that the world erasemployed by the Byzantines are established. We have seen how the protobyzantine and Alexandrian eras were formed. We will now witness the formation of the Byzantine era itself. But first, in order to explainits origin, we must talk about the other revisions or reforms to which computing was subjected.

We mention only for the record the revision indicated by an anonymous Armenian author quoted by Dulaurier: "During the reign of Gratian, an eminent man, who was martyred bythe Arians because of his faith in Jesus Christ, undertook to examine the work of Andrew, and recognized that it was correct, except in a few points of the deceemnovennal cycle, which did not bring back the true march of time (1). These lines are too imprecise to be inferred. It is likely that the criticism made was of purely theoretical interest; in any case, it had no discernible impact on the history of computing. The same isnot enough of reform or rather reforms, because there were two of them — the second closely following the first — which we are going to talk about.

THE AEAS CONFERENCE

While the 114-year-old Cyrillic table ended in 512 without giving rise to any revision, but only, as must be assumed, to an application of the system to new 19-year-old series, the completion of André's canon was to bringcomp lications and finally provoke an attempt to unify the Pascal computus.

Andrew's bicentenary table had ceased to be in use in the Byzantine Empire since Theodosius ¹ had officially adopted the centenary table of Theophilus of Alexandria, based**on the**Alexandrian cycle, but it had remained in force outside the Empire in the Christendoms that lived under Persian rule. We know this for the Armenians, because of their testimonies; one has the right to suppose it, in the absence of testimonies, for the Nestorians of Persia, whose situation was the same and who had given themselves very early an independent ecclesiastical organization.

Based on the reformed cycle of 353, this table featured two different Easter seats from the Alexandrin cycle, namely April 6 and March 26, as opposed to April 5 and March 25. The divergence for the Easter holiday only occurred when these last two dates fell on a Saturday. So, indeed, the

(I) DULAURIER, 58-59.

feast was celebrated the next day, 6 April and 26 March respectively, and by others on the following Sunday, 13 April and 2 **April** respectively. The case arose only twice from the beginning of Theophilus' table to the end of Andrew'stable, namely from 380 to 552, once in 475 for the date of 5/6 April, another, in 495 for that of 25,'26 March. Undoubtedly, the Armenians had to follow their bicentenary table.

This table, we said, ended in 552. The Armenians did not know how to connect the subsequent Easter to the cycle on which the table was established. This was followed by a certain confusion, a certain disorder in their fixation. After about ten years, to get out of embarrassment, we turned to Alexandria and there, it was deemed necessary to convene a conference of the most renowned computists of the time, to which would be entrusted the task of establishing a computus that would make law for all.

We are informed about this only by Armenian authors, but there are traces elsewhere of the assembly's decisions, which give their indisputable testimony in substance. Unfortunately, the information they provide us is neither entirely consistent nor very clear. We will try to get the esse esseesse edial out of it.

The oldest author who tells us about the event is Ananias of Iraq, also said of Ani. He wrote less than a century after the facts he reported, hence the particular importance of his testimony (1). Here is what results from the whole of hisecit.

The Armenians, to get out of the disorder following the completion of Andrew's bicentenary table, turned to Alexandria, the metropolis of science. The most regarded of his scholars, Aeas, called to him, in addition to those of his nation, the most renowned computists of the most diverse countries, namely, Addea of Cappadocia, Phineas of Judea, John of Arabia, Sergius of Macedon, Gabriel of Syria, Abdiah of Ethiopia, Eulogus of the Greeks, Gigas of the Romans, others; there were in all 36 people.

Such a meeting could obviously only be planned and carried out if Aeas had received a mandate from the emperor, either because he had requested it himself, or if the Armenians had provoked him by an earlier step. The imperial action, which Ananias does not indicate about Aeas, is insinuated by another Armenian author, who reports that the result of the work was presented to the emperor (2); it alone explains Iron's subsequent intervention to obtain an edict modifying this result.

Since the purpose of the meeting was unity and regularity in the celebration of the Feast of Easter, it was necessary that agreement be made for the unification of computus. What was the outcome of the conference? All Ananias tells us is thatthe 532-year cycle was included, but that the cannon previously fixed and "reproduced," he says, below" was not touched (3).

This double assertion cannot be accepted to the letter. On the one hand, indeed, the 532-year cycle had already been used more than a century earlier by Annianos the Alexandrian. In this case, therefore, it can only be an application of thisgreat period to the dates of the lunar cycle instituted in the conference convened by Aeas. On the other hand, the previous cycle of the Armenians, that of Andrew, included a date, 26 March, which was eliminated by the conference, as we shall say, and replacedby 25 March. The latter is the one that Ananias knows and follows. But it is comprehensiblethat he considered the Easter dates in force in his nation since the Aeas reform to be traditional and pre-conference. The controversy beforethe Byzantines explains this perspective.

⁽r) On Ananias de Sirak, see in Manuk ABEGJAN, *Istorija drevnearmjanskoj literalwy*, Erivan, 1948, 314-326 and 519-520 (bibliography). Unfortunately, I could not reach the book published by AS. ABRAHAIVIIAN under the title ANANIA kRAKACI, *Diezeragrouthioun ev domar (Cosmography and Calendar)*, Erivan, 1040, nor the complete works of Ananias published by the same scholar, Erivan, 1944. I,e treatise on the Passover has been accessible to us through the English translation of E.C. CONYBEARE in *BZ*, 6, 1897, 574-5⁸4.

⁽²⁾ DULAURIER, 63.

⁽³⁾ At the end of Conybeare's translation, there is the announcement of the 532-year period, but it is not reproduced.

Among the Byzantines, Ananias particularly attacked a character he named Iron, who was also the target of later Armenian computists. By the role attributed to it in the present history, one can get an idea of the agreement reached in the assembly of scholars. We immediately indicate its content to observe the order of the facts and better guide attention.

The problem was to resolve the discrepancies of the dates of the Easter XIV Lunae: April 6 and March 26 according to the computus of Constantinople, followed by the Armenians; April 5 and March 25 according to the computus of Alexandria followed in the Empire. These divergences resulted from the saltus lunae placed at the beginning of the respective cycle. The discussion should focus on the comparative value of cycles. There can be no doubt here that the Byzantines, seeing their cycle held in honor outside the borders, did not seek, leaning on foreign scholars, to put it back into force in their own Church, arguingits conformity with the order of creation, known by Scripture. The Alexandrians could reply that Scripture did not offer enough precision on this subject and that the symbolisms linking the Genesiac days to the great events of the Redemption had to be respected. Thus, for scientific reasons in some, mystical in others, and also prestige for all, it was difficult, it seemed impossible for one of the two parties to bow purely to its rival. We had to look for a compromis. Since there was only two years of distance between the two cycles, it was sufficient for each of the two parties to take a step towards the other by moving its cycle by one year to achieve the agreement. This was done, for one, by lowering the saltus lunae, for the other, by raising it, namely, here and there, by a unit. We thus had the common saltus lunae giving the Paschal date of March 25, one of the dates specific to the Alexandrian cycle. This resulted, as a quid pro quo; by the regular development of the epactes, the displacement of the XIV Lunae from April 5 to April 6, date specific to the Cycle of Constantinople. Thus, each party sacrificed its own date to adopt the other's. This is the fundamental, absolutely certain, result of the meeting.

On it was built a new official cycle, one year above the Constantinopolitan cycle, one year below the Alexandrian cycle. It opened with the Easter date of 25 March and ended with the date of 6 April. The date of 25 March at the head of the cycle could only win a common vote. This day was particularly in honor among the Alexandrians, who saw it as the first day of creation, that of the Incarnation and that of the Resurrection of Christ. It was also to the Byzantines who linked theselast events to it, and it reminded the Armenians at least of that of the Resurrection. This new cycle survived in its pure state, that is to say, and as for the order of the years, and as for the dates of the XIV Easter *lunae*, among the Nestorians of Persia. It was preserved to us by Elijah of Nisibe (1) and by Simeon Sanglâwàjà (2). Both, in fact, put in the first year of the cycle the XIV lunae of 25 March and, in the last, that of 6 April. These same dates are also found among the Armenians, but these, after iron's intervention, returned, like the rest of their side the Alexandrians, then the Byzantines, to their own cycle. The maintenance by the Nestorians of the cycle established by the Aeas conference must be explained simply by the fact that the Eastern delegates will have returned home before Iron's actions and will have ignored the consequences. Would they have known them in the sequel that they could, being outside the Byzantine Empire, with impunity ignore them. To the Nestorians, we must join the Jacobites of the borders of Mesopotamia, who, according to George, bishop of the Arabs (city century), had the same peculiarities of computing (3). These testimonies, it will be admitted, are of the first order to establish that there was a change in the

⁽¹⁾ Eliae Nisibeni opus chronologicum, ed. I.B. CHABOT, Latin version (r9ro), 122 and 139. L. J. DELAPORTE, La chronologie d'Élie BarSinaya, Paris, 1910, p. 314-315, p. 337.

(2) Fr. Die Chronologie des Simeon .. gangldayijà, Leipzig, 1889, 18-19.

^{&#}x27;3) V. RvssEr., Georgs des Araberbishots Gedichte und Bride, Leipzig, 1891, 114-Ir5.

cycle with Aeas. But there is another, just as important, more can be said, since it emanates from the emperor Heraclius himself. This is the computing booklet written by the Alexandrian Stephanos on behalf of and in the name of basileus (i). Lookingat the examples given, we see that the XIV Lunae of 21 March belongs to the 15th year of the cycle, and that of 5 April to the 19th year, that is to say that these Easter dates are raised by one year compared to the Alexandrian cycle in which they occupy the years 16th and i^rerespectively, and lowered by one year compared to the cy cle of Constantinople, where they are part of the 14th and the 18th year. The difference with Nestorians and Jacobites is that here, April 5 took the place of April 6, a change that is due to iron's intervention. The fact remains that the imperial pamphlet clearly testifies, in turn, to the order of the years of the cycle as established by the Aeas Conference. There can be no doubt about that. — The Aeas cycle, which became that of the Nestorians and the Eastern Jacobites, is reconstituted in the tableofpages 54 and 55, column V. The cycle of Heraclius is in column VII.

Finally, to crown the reform and ensure its stability, it was decided to apply the S32-year period to the dates of the adopted cycle, and it is likely that a picture of the first series was drawnup. For Armenian historians, this five-centenary cycle, as they call it, was connected to the cycle of Andrew (2), that is to say, at the same Passover of April 4, namely, in fact, in 562, but this is, no doubt, an arrangement earlierin Iron: the period of 532 years of Aeas must obviously have had the same starting point as its first cycle of 19 years, concretely in 552.

The lunar cycles of Constantinople and Alexandria served as a support for their respective world eras. Did the Aeas reform have a backlash in this area, and did the common cycle lead to a common chronology? We do not have any information on that, but it is difficult for us to assume that this result. It must even be regarded as psychologicallyimpossible. Indeed, if there were only two years of difference between the two cycles, which made agreement easy by abandoning one unit on both sides, there were 17 years of distance between the two chronologies, and it was necessary of all necessity, for them to meet by the common cycle and merge into the same, that one of the two was moved by i8 years, the other being from one. Who, then, alexandrians or Constantinopolitans, would have agreed to be the sacrified party? The latter, in particular, firmly convinced of the natural nature of their cycle and, consequently, of the absolute value of their chronology, were in no way prepared to deviate from it and could only regard the new cycle as a practical unification moyen. As for the Alexandrians, who seemed to have benefited from the new cycle, since the starting point was one of their own dates, it is necessary to examine whether they did not seek to accord with this cycle theirworldhistory. There were two ways to do this.

The first was to reduce their era by one year and, in this case, on March 25, XIV lunae, the beginning of the cycle, fell on a Monday, and the creation of the moon the following Wednesday would have been put on its sixteenth day. This was a significant improvement over the current system that brought the creation of the moon to its daily life, but it had the correlative effect of putting the first day of creation on Sunday, March 24. This destroyed the beautiful harmony established by Annianos, where Sunday, March 25, was both the first day of creation, the day of incarnation and the day of resurrection. Such a consequence could only make the Alexandrians hesitate to move their era in this way.

The other way for the Alexandrians to grant their era to the new cycle, was, by keeping it,

⁽¹⁾ H. USENER, *De Stephano Alexandrine Commentatio*, Bonnae, 1880, 52. This study has been reproduced in his *Kleine Schriften*, III. I,e traité d'ÉTIENNE had been published by Du CANGE among the pieces annexed to his edition of the *Chronicon Paschale*: see reproduction in *PG*, 92, 1124-1132 (especially 11 29 AC) and ed. de Bonn, t. II, 210-218 (especially 216, 218).

⁽²⁾ See chap. X.

10.2 I. THE CHRONOLOGY

to place at creation a precyclical year, in the manner of Africanus and Anatole, a yearcorresponding to the 19th. It is not possible for us to know whether they have drawn up such a report. But, whether they thought about it or not, the real result remained the same: the Aeas cycle left the era unchanged. It is only much later and in another milieu that we see an era based on the Aeas cycle. This environment can only be the one where the cycle was preserved, namely the Nestorian Church. Nestorian authors of the xIlle and xive century, .anqlà.vviijâ (1) and Mar Abdik), Metropolitan of Nisibe (2), actually present an era that corresponds the year 5181 of the world with the year I of the Greeks. The era of the Greeks being 311 before ours, it follows that the world era of these authors is 5491 ECB. On the other hand, the Aeas cycle having its first year in 552, the addition 5,491 H [552-1] — 6,042,318 x 19, shows that this world era is well built on the Aeas cycle.

In this era the previous yearis not counted: it is the same, as we indicate on the other hand, in the Byzantine system according to Psellos. We do not believe that the era thus calculated was traditional among the Nestorians. It does not appear in Elijah Bar Sinaja, older than the two authors we have just named. This chronograph is content to indicate the various systems it knows of world chronography without showing any preference (3). We do not see that of Sanglàwàjâ and Abdio, which marks 5 180 years from Adam until the era of the Greeks, but we see that of Annianos which gives for this same object the number very close to 5,181: he declares it inaccurate because in this total the interval "exit from Egyptconstruction of the Temple" is declared of 640 years, which "has neither the testimony of the Bible nor that of nature" (4). Moreover, the Syrians had already for many centuries their way of counting the years: it was the era of the Seleucids, and no doubt they used it from the beginning tocalculate and locate their Easter. But since this era did not proceed from a cycle, it had to be connected to the cycle in use by adding or subtracting a certain number of years. For the cycle of Aeas, according to Sanqlawaja. and Elijah Bar Sinaja, it is the number 12 that must be added to the years of the era (5). This number is the remainder of the division by 19 of the number 5 180, which is the total of the years from Adam to the thof the Greeks. By adding 12 to the years of the Greeks and then dividing by 19, we obtain in the rest the beloved during the cycle. Élie Bar Sinaja specifies that for the cycle of Annianos it is 13 that must be added (6). This cycle, in fact, as the era qui is attached toit, is of a higher unit than the cycle of Aeas. The Byzantines who did not have this advantage of a traditional era resorted either to that of Diocletian or to the world era that they had to create on their own cycle. The latter eventually prevailed. And it is probably in imitation of the Byzantines that the Nestorian chronographs also built their era.

This look at the cycle and era of the Nestorians is not useless. It allows us to conclude with greater force that both the Alexandrians and the Constantinopolitans and those who used their cycle held the cycle of Aeas for a purely practical arrangement without affecting the calculation of times and that, here as there, the existing world era remained aligned with the respective anterior cyKey.

The date of the Aeas Reform is known by Armenian computists. They place it in the tenth year after the end of Andrew's table (552), so in 562. It is also from 562 that they start the great cycle of 532 years that they attribute to him and which istheirs.

(I) Fr. MüLLER, Op. Cit. 24.

(3) ÉLIE BAR SINAJA, ed. CHABOT, versio latina, pars prior, 1-II; trad. franç. de I₄. J. DELAPORTE, 3-15.

(4) SCULPIN, *ibid.*, 8; DELAPORTE, I2.

⁽²⁾ MAR ABDI§O, Ordo judiciorum ecclesiasticorum, 1. I, tr. I, C. ro: Latin version of I.M. VOSTÉ, in Codificazione canonica orient., Fonti, series II, 15. Caldei-Diritto antico II, Typis polyglottis Vaticanis, 1940, p. 60-61.

⁽⁵⁾ A.NQLÁWÁJÁ, in Fr. MI:ILLER, OP. Cit., 24; ÉLIE BAR SINAJA, dans CHABOT, VerSiO, pars poSterior, 139 and 147: in DELAPORTE, 338 and 346.

⁽⁶⁾ In CHABOT, 1. C., 142 and 143; in DELAPORTE, 341. Here the division of the year of the world 5,181 by 19, remains 13, is expressly indicated.

IRON'S INTERVENTION

The agreement on easter dates was barely realized that the problem was called into question. Let's go back to The Story of Ananias.

Iron, a doctor belonging to the sovereign's court in Constantinople, then intervened. He was a stranger; many said Alexandrin. Offended that he had not been summoned to the meeting of the scholars, he resolved to destroy their work. And since he had constructed a false chronology opposed to Scripture and other chronologists, so he made the calendar. And he changed the 19-year-old cycleto April 6, and he replaced that date with April 5, and he made it the starting point of the period (1). The "false chronology" that Ananias complains of to Iron is that which consists in giving the world the duration of 5 500 years until the birth of Christ: he based it, according to Ananias, on the dimensions of the Ark of the Covenant (2).

What justification did Iron provide for his system? One of the most serious objections to Alexandrian cosmogony was that by putting the first day of creation on March 25, it placed the creation of the moon at its day life, the neomenia of the first year of the cycle being on March 23. Iron, while adopting the Alexandrian chronology as to the first year of the world, resolutely abandoned it, despite its mystical character, as to its first day. He considered it more importantthat there should be concordance between the creation of the moon and the Easter date. However, in the Alexandrian chronology, which Iron observed, the XIV lunae of the first year of creation fell on a Thursday. Iron put the creation of the moon on Wednesday at its xme jour so that it would have its brightness, at the xive, on the night of Thursday. He thus expressly gives 13 days of age to the moon when it was created. He breaks them down into 8 days of epacts plus another 5 days (3). These 8 days of epacts are certainly counted by taking as the starting point of the lunar year the first January or the first March (it is the same account). The Paschal neomenia of the first year of the cycle being on March 23, there is from March 23 to 3, end of the lunar duration started on March I, 8 days of epacts, auxquels are added the 5 days that run from March 31 to April 4 inclusive, which is Wednesday, half day of the moon at its creation.

Having thus established the creation of the moon on its crumb day, Iron connects this day with the first day of the sun, created in the sametime, and starts from there the course of the two stars, so that the first year of the cycle begins without epacts. The second has II epacts, and as much each of the following until the 20th, first of the second cycle, where the epact, of 12 days instead of II, completes the development of the epacts: hence that year is without epacts, and the cycle starts again with the same sequence of epacts and the same Paschal dates (4).

This is the essence of Iron's system according to Ananias' paper. Other particularities, whichI call for discussion, will be set out below. Against this system, Ananias makes the following criticisms:

- 1) On the world chronology: there is no connection between the Ark of the Covenant and the number of years up to Jesus Christ (5).
- 2) On the creation of the moon at its half-day: the works of the Creator having been produced complete and perfect, theone could not be created imperfect and half-full, but perfectly round and in its full (6).
 - 3) On the date of April 5: it attracts anathema against those who celebrate the Passover with
- (r) Trans. CONYBEARE, BZ, 6, 1897, J79. See also DITLAURIER, 92-94; ID., Chronique de Mathieu d'Edesse, Paris, 1858,
 - (2) Ibid., 582. This is the mystical reason put forward by Hippolytus.
 - (3) Ibid., 580.
 - (4) Ibid., 580.

 - (5) Ibid., 582. (6) Ibid., 582.

the Jews. Indeed, when April 5 falls on a Saturday

according to Iron's calculation, passover is celebrated on Sunday, April 6, which is the day on which it falls among the Jews. Ananias tells us here how Iron's supporters think they escape the objection. "They count," he says, "in this case Saturday as the day of the full moon (i.e. the XV lunae) and April 6 as the XIV nisan." Such a position could, of course, only have theoretical value. But Ananias pursues them and affirms, I do not know, that Jews and Samaritans still celebrate the solemnity of the Passover on the XVI nisan (r).

We have described Iron's work as the present Ananias. But this presentation, as we shall see, is subject to reservations and requires retouches.

Iron succeeded in bowing to his views the emperor Justinian and the latter carried an edict that modified the table of Aeas by imposing instead of April 6 on April 5 (2). Did the edict contain any other elements? We do not think so. There could be no question, in fact, of going back on the previous edict, whose ink was still fresh, to take exactly the opposite side of it. These are things that imperial prestige does not allow. The only conceivable way is that the measure proposed by Iron was to be framedr in the previous edict as an improvement. That is why we believe that iron's system, as explained by Ananias, does not entirely correspond to reality, but reflects a later stage of controversy. Thus, despite the armenian author's expres se assertion, I do not take it for sure and I even hold it implausible that the computist changed the Aeas cycle at the same time as he changed its date of April 5th. But we have much better on it than this presumption, to savoir the use of this cycle by Heraclius: he would not explain himself if Justinian had removed it and replaced it with another. Undoubtedly, Iron respected it.

It is by fidelity to the mystical era of 5500 BC, that of the i.-.xx), (46LY_T:t4 that Iron wanted to put back into use the Paschal date of April 5, which was related to it. By moving the date of creation from March 25 to April 1, with the creation of the luminaries to April 4, he was delivering the Alexandrian era from its only, but important, intruinseque difficulty (creation of the moon to its day life).

In addition to this chronological consideration, there were others of a psychological nature. Was it appropriate to change the tradition of the Orthodox Church to conform to that of the heretics? Was it appropriate, eventhough Rome had finally adopted the Paschal computus in use in the Empire, to compromise this understanding and to bring trouble with novelties?

Technical arrangement, moral reasons, all this helps us to understand why and how Iron couldprop dare and have approved, instead of April 6, that of April 5 more satisfactory in view of the traditional chronology, the prestige of orthodoxy and the maintenance of religious peace.

It was to this element, the return to the date of 5 April, that the imperial edict obtained by Iron was to be limited. The accusation against him of having changed the traditional cycle by putting this date in mind must have occurred when, the cycle of Aeas being abandoned, the Alexandrian cycle was put back into force. This cycle, which was on April 5 in its first year, was then naturally attributed to Iron, either by Ananias himself, or by later computists who amplified his narrative.

That the cycle of Aeas, with the exception of the case of the Nestorians, could not survive, it is understandable. Iron's retouching was fatal to him. It certainly aroused criticism, if only from so many scholars who had come from so far away for a result thathad so little regard. The opposition did not remain only theoretical. The Armenians, for whom the conference had been held, could not suffer this attack on the common agreement. Because of this agreement, they retained the date of 25 March; mais they energetically postponed the date of Iron, April 5, whose concordance with the

⁽i) Ibid., 581.

⁽²⁾ The edict is not formally indicated by the Armenian authors, but results from the imperial intervention and the very application of the new date; Guiragos, moreover, states that "the Armenians did not receive this fake computus. nor the Council of Chalcedon, for they were under the domination of the Persians" (DULAURIER, 63-64).

Saturday was already near in 570. (See their cycle in the table of pp. . 54 and 5,5, col. XVI). Their dissent was all the easier because they were outside the borders of the Empire. In addition, they found in this new state of affairs an opportunity and a reason to resume their previous cycle, which they had replaced only for the greater reasonof ensuring theuniformity of the Pascal computus. The Aeas cycle, barely adopted, was therefore abandoned by them almost immediately.

Armenian computists have retained the name of Aeas and the memory of his conference, but they have forgotten the precise work that was accomplished there. Of course, they conceived it as a confirmation of their previous computus and they camped, one opposite the other, Aeas, the maintainer of tradition, and Iron, the innovator.

For their part, the Alexandrians, satisfied to find, thanks to Iron, the Paschal date they had sacrificed, had no reason to retain a cycle where this date, not emerging as a natural consequence, had a fictitious character. So they resumed their own cycle.

As for those of Constantinople, the conference of Aeas had been an opportunity for them to redevelop their own cycle, with a natural foundation, in front of the official cycle, that of Alexandria, and on this they had to be supported by the oriental scholars from beyondtheirborders, and even by the Jewish scholar who had also been summoned. All of them, in fact, were dependent on the reform of 353. They had both agreed on a new round only with a view to uniformity. Since it was not held at allthe dates set to ensureit, this cycle no longer had any purpose. Only those, namely the Nestorians of Persia, who did not know the intervention of Iron and the subsequent imperial edict kept it. The still kept it, but with the modified date, the empereur Heraclius, by a kind of legal continuity.

As far as the Constantinopolitans were concerned, it cannot be said that the date of 5 April found them hostile: as well as that of 25 March, they were accustomed to it, namely since Theodosius I had officially adopted the table of Theophilus of Alexandria. These dates even took on the character of a church tradition, when the Armenians, by postponing the date introduced by Iron, mixed this question with their other grounds for religious dissension. This is what explains this paradox that, in the very time when the Constantinopolitans are taking on the task of making their own cycle prevail and, by this, their own chronology, they inscribe in it, instead of the dates of its own and natural of March 26 and April 6, those of March 25 and April 5 which are foreign and adventitious to it. Conversely, it can be said that, depending for inescapable ecclesiastical reasons on the Alexandrian computus as to the Easter dates, they focus their effortof autonomy and prestige on the maintenance andre-establishment of their own cycle as to the order of the years and as to the chronology of the years of the world which has its foundation there. This was their attitude towards the Alexandrians.

In front of the Armenians, their position was much more delicate. They had to defend, another paradox, the date of April 5 against April 6 which stemmed from their own cycle, observed by their opponents. The attack concerned two leaders: one, of religious and canonical order, the other belonging to the natural order.

We already know the first: it is the celebration of the Passover with the Jews, on April 6, whenever April 5 falls on a Saturday, a fault that attracts the anathema of the Council of Nicaea. And we also know how, according to Ananias, Ir's supporters responded to it. They counted, in this case, April 5 as the fifteenth day of the moon, and April 6, Sunday, as the sixteenth. Unfortunately, the Armenian author does not tell us by what process they arrived at this result. It is not even certain, from the selfns in the translation of Conybeare, if it is to the aforementioned incidence only, or to each enneadékaétéride that this operation was made. In any case, the favourable result must appear to be the regular consequence of a system and not to be an arbitrary exception, which it would be difficult to justify and which would therefore turn against the said procedure. However, this result

is precisely the one that the 712,v-routoi3voite goes.% é,ccITXoîjv-,-.E.. c., which we will talk about later, get to the 160 year of their cycle. Could this be the process, which Ananias is thinking of? A. Mentz, without knowing the text of Ananias, believed that he could and had to identify the calculation of these computists with that of Iron, who thus becomes in his eyes the inventor of their system (i). Certainly, if he had known him, which was possible to him, he would not have failed to see in it the most brilliant confirmation of this origin.

We would gladly agree withMentz's conclusion, if she could explain everything, but it does not; it even encounters insurmountable difficulties. Mentz was based on the testimony of various Armenian authors, moreover rather late, quoted by E. Dulaurier. So letus question them.

"He (Iron) changed the 17th into 16th and the 6th into 5ths (these are the april calendars), a calculation by which one obtains an erroneous Passover and in advance of a week. This error is not found in all parts (understand: series) of the deceemnovennal cycle, but sometimes occurs during the five-centenary period (that of 53 2 years). Iron was based on the sum of the fractions of the five, which he calls weedy day and which he adds to the epact. This is how the Passover falls falsely and within the equinox (2). »

"Iron, not having been summoned to the meeting, regarded this oversight as an outrage, and when the scholar Eulogius came to bring the new calendar to the emperor, Iron undertook the examination of the numbers (read: fractions) 5 and 6, something that had never been done, for the 5th and 6th are fractions, one of the sun and the other of the moon. But he adopted an entirely opposite system, changing on April 17 in 16, and on 6 in 5. This number 16 does not cause, it is true, any error; but the 6th, in 95 years, brings us on Sunday, while the 5th produces for them on Saturday, in accordance with Iron's calculations, and they celebrate the Passover at the same time as the Jews, thus falling under the anathemas of the Council of Nicaea (3). »

It is thesetexts, and in these texts the mention of the calculation of 5 and 6 that led Mentz to see in iron's process that of the very 7rEvTarr.Xoi:PiTsg. Such an identification, to be fair, should be able to make the date of 16 April right. Mentz does not explain anything about this. However, he could have seen that this date has nothing to do with the calculation of the 7rE. y^=X0i :rr ZC. This calculation, in fact, is exercised only on the Easter dates received, namely, those of the Alexandrians, and which, being official, are also theirs. Its purpose is to determine what real day of the moon they are on. But in the Alexandrian calendar does not exist the date of April 16 and no other official calendar, at least in the East, receives it: it is everywhere the 17. The date of the 16th is therefore out of perspective, and therefore out of the examination of the 7⁻r.svz⁻curcXoi3v7E4. It is dethrably the aim of these computists, but it can be said that they were in no way intended to justify divergent dates or to modify the existantes (4). The translation of their theory into practice would have led to the change not only of the date of 17 April, but also of 13 others, in all 14 out of 19. And as for the date of April 17 itself, which is year 16 of the cycle of 7 r.e.vTv.7uXoi3vT.e.c, the mechanism of their system dated back toxiv *lunae*, not to 16, but to April 15.

I have just recalled the cycle of TCE:\erocn?,o;:iv:: F4*. We know from St. Maximus that the first year of this cycle corresponded to the fourth year of that of the Alexandrians and, therefore, that

(4) See next chapter.

⁽i) A. MENTZ, Zur byzantinische Chronologie. Eine Osterreform zur Zeit Justinians, BZ, 17, 1908, 471-474.
(2) DULAURIER, 58, 60. "Inside the equinox we do not see how.
(3) Ibid., 62-63. We do not understand how this author can say that the date of 16 April does not produce the

same result as that of 5 April. It is under the same conditions. The coincidence with Saturday comes every 95 years four times in a row, then after 247 years apart (r 3 periods of 19 years) again four times in a row every 95 years. And the alternation is repeated. Thefirst series of coincidences: April 16 saturday is about the beloved 455, 550, 645, 740. If such coincidences have never beenmet with friction, it is because the date of April 6 for the Easter X/ V lunae was never practiced among the Byzantines.

it was the same one from Constantinople zotTec pl'icnv, having its first Easter date on April 2. However, this is certainly not the Iron cycle, which Ananias says it began with the Easter date of 5 April, but which we have serious reasons to believe, set out above, that it began with the Easter date of 25 March. We have here a new difficulty, let's say more, an impossibility to identify the calculation of Iron with that of trEv-roorXoUv-ra.. ç.

Thus the process used by those who ananfights to count their Easter date of April 5 as XV lunae has nothing to do with that of the 77.sv roc7noi:ivT.sc. But in addition, we consider that it cannot consist either in the calculation concerning the numbers 5 and 6 of the fractions of day, attributed to Iron by computists that we have cited. Indeed, neither Ananias, who reports the aforementioned account, relates it to this calculation, nor the authors who speak of this calculation, give it such a result; but the effect they attribute to it is only to advance the Easter dates from 17 and 6 April to 16 and 5 April, which is quite different.

From the identification between iron's process and that of the 7,-,ev-rocrcXoïjyrzc.:,, A. Mentz drew a primary consequences(1). Seeing that Saint Maximus reproaches these computists for their 16-year deviation from the ecclesiastical chronology, that isto say Alexandrian, a gap that characterizes precisely the Byzantine era, and believing because of this that there is a link between this era and their calculation, he comes to conclude that Iron, as author of this calculation, is the creator of the Byzantine era. In this way, a major problem would finally be solved.

That this is not the case, it seems from the difficulties we have raised against theabovementioned identification. But would this be proven that it would still have to be established that the Byzantine era derived from the system of na:v7.ccn-XoUvl-sç. Nothing is less obvious. In addition, as far as Iron is directly responsible, two peremptory reasons make the authorship of this era a thing of the same place. The first is that, since every world era is based on a specific cycle, the Byzantine era does not correspond to the Iron cycle. The other is that we know for a fact what the era of this computist was; both Ananias de Sirak and the anonymous Armenian of Dulaurier reproach him for counting 5 500 years from the creation of the world to Jesus Christ, a calculation which, at that time, is the peculiarity of the Alexandrian era. We have indicated above how it was after this era that he justified the Easter date of 5 April. Iron is certainly not the inventor of the Byzantine era.

We have seen how its supporters responded to the religious and ecclesiastical reproachof celebrating the Passover with the Jews and attempted to explaintheir process.

The other difficulty, of a rational nature, raised by the Armenians, is not explicitly formulated by the texts we have quoted, but it emerges from the accusation that they make against the Byzantines to celebrate the Passover a week in advance (savoir, in this case of April 5 with Saturday). This reproach can only be conceived if the *saltus lunae*, from which the Easter date of 5 April results, is not observed in its traditional and normal place, that is to say at the head of the cycle. Moreover, it has significance only in the consideration of a common round between the two opposing parties. It is to reject this accusation, that is to say to rationally justify this date of April 5 that tends the calculation of the numbers 5 and 6 concerning the fractions of a day. The Armenian authorsput in fact a link between this calculation and this result: "He (Iron) changed on April 17 in 16 and the 6 in 5... Iron was based on the sum of the fractions of the five... (anonymous); "he undertook the examination of the fractions of 5 and 6... changing the 17 into 16 and the 6 into 5" (Guiragos) (2).

We will have noticed this date of April 16 reproached to Iron by the Armenians. It is not easy to explain. What can be said is that, unlike 5 April, she was not wanted.

⁽I) A. MENTZ, *op. cit.*, 473-47-1. (2) Dur, Aurlier, 60 and 63.

for itself, since the common agreement existed for 17 April; it was simply to be a consequence of the system set up to justify the date of 5 April. What can still be assured is that this date of the 16th was not included in justinian's editionprovoked by Iron, and that it never appeared in a Paschal table in use. And if it was indeed Iron who put it forward, it can only be because of the controversy following the edict imposing 5 April and as part of the system builtto justify thisdate. Finally, what must be said is that the calculation has meaning and scope, like the attack, only in the context of a common cycle, where the displacement of the saltus lunae must find a rational justification. This common cyclecannot be that of the Alexandrians, which the Armenians never followed; in this one, moreover, there is no need to resort to a special calculation, because the saltus lunae linked to the date of 5 April is at the head of the cycle, and the problem that may arise is only why it is this date that opens the cycle. Of common cycle between the Armenians and their opponents defenders of April 5, there can only be that of Aeas, ephemeral, or that of Constantinople XOETat OG tv, which was that of the Arméniens before the reform of Aeas and which is almost immediately become so again. The Constantinople cycle Y.7.73'. cpi) G.tv was never followed by the Armenians. If the common cycle were that of Aeas, iron would belong to the calculation which is attributed to himby the Armenians. Otherwise, it should be related to authors after Iron and prior to the triumph of the Byzantine cycle ZOE.7aC rQ1'.) cnv and the Byzantine era proper; it was then attributed to Iron as responsible forthe date of April5.

As for the calculation itself, it will probably always remain hidden from us. Only the general picture can be drawn.

The fractions of which the Armenian texts speak are the divisions of the day obtained by the division of the hours (12 in number) into 5 fractions each, the total of which (12 x 5) reaches 60 fractions, called *Xsn-c-c',c* by the Byzantines. This sum distributed over the years of the cycle was to compensate for the day in addition to the total of the lunations on the total of the solar years in the enneadékaétéride. Iron's calculation or attributed to Iron was to result in the moon jumping in such a way as to obtain the desired Easter date, April 5. One must therefore assume a distribution order suitable for providing this result. The order that was instituted also led to the date of 16 April. Whatever it comes to me combinations in mind, I prefer here not to risk aucune.

RESULTS OF THE REFORMS AND ATTITUDE OF COMPUTER SPECIALISTS

The result of the reforms of Aeas and Iron was to definitively consecrate among the Byzantines the Paschal dates of March 25 and April 5. From now on, all the forms of the Byzantine cycle, where these dates are abnormal, will take this into account, either because they present, like Iron, a justification, or because they refrain from doing so. In the treatise of the computist George, composed in 640 or 641 to advocate the use of the Byzantine era with the corresponding cycles, we see the author, when he exposes the continuation of the lunar epacts, warn that the sum of the nineteenths of day that make a

day — 19 (from which the saltus lunae results), is carried on the 17e_ year, without giving any tradition: "We received it, 7.2pE. 'X6olisv", and that consequently the Easter date of this year is 5 April and that of the following year is 25 March (1). Georges abandons for his calculations the division of the day - into sixtieths, probably not liking the subtleties to which it gave rise. — The George cycle is reproduced in column VIII of the comparative table, pp. 54 and 55.

We know that it was used by the author of the *Chronicon Paschale* to obtain the Passover and

the Passion of Christ on March 23, 5540, according to a particular system of distribution of the sixtieths per year (6²-0) combined with the annual progression of the quarters of theleap day (i). One might wonder what his attitude was to the problem weare dealing with and which must also have arisen forhim, since, apart from Aeas's ephemeral decision, the dates of 5 April and 25 March were traditional in the Empire, and wonder in particular whether he was using this system to justify these dates. Noclue can answer on this, except perhaps the 'rpox6c, II (lunar). We see inscribed the Easter dates of April 5 and March 25 without the saltus lunae that commands them. If this state, as it is possible, goes back to the Chronist, he will have to singthat it is out of pure conformity, without any conviction, that he will have inserted these dates, because they are official, not deeming for this to have to modify the march of the epacts.

The division of the day into 60 lepta is also seen in other computists, but their distribution in the years of the cycle is not the Sami. "In the ITE:VTY-77X0ç3V7,ZC, it is 5 lepta per year, and it is in the twelfth year (12 x 5 = 60) that they get the whole day and place the jump of the moon. Their system is particularly specialand is not intended to justify the dates of 5 April and 25 March, which are accepted as a fact. They are also accepted as a fact by the anonymous Florentine (1092) edited by Karnthaler (2). This computist does not see the way to justify themr starting from the first year of the cycle. That is why he warns to count as the first year the 17th the one precisely where the saltus lunae takes place and where the Easter date of April 5 is placed; and it is from there that he leaves to distribute the 60 lepta through the years of the cycle, in a very regular proportion. At each year are awarded 3 lepta but after 6 years is added, a lepton which gives for 6 years 19 lepta. With the 18th year, we complete three series of these 19 lepta (18

, for a total of 57 (19 X 3). It Remains 3

lepta 6 the normal number of each year, for the 19th, and thus is reached the total of the 60 lepta that make the whole day. " The saltus lunae is then done, very regularly, the first year, which is the ^{17th} of the cycle.

The treaty we have just been talking about is dated 6600. It is also to the same year that the chronology treatise of Psellos, edited by Gertrude Redl(3), also belongs. We see a completely different system being used here. We cannot give it in detail, but here are the main features of it as far as the present problem is concerned.

The division of the day is 24 hours. Each hour is divided into 5 lepta each lepton into 4 points (a7iyt.tou), each point into 12 golden moments Moments (Formed) (4). The saltus lunae is made in two leaps: half a day at the ide year, the other half day at the 17th; but from the ide year, the Easter date is brought forward and put to April 16 instead of the 17th, as at Iron C5). This date of 16 April is justified by a special calculation, the bases of which are as follows. The 19 years of the cycle make, at the rate of 365 1/4 days per year, a duration of 6,939 3/4 (3/4 = 18 h). They have 235 lunations. But each lunation having 29 Days 1/2 -f-3 lepta 1,'2, their total gives 6,939 days 8 1/2 hours, a difference in less than 9 hours 2. This will have to be absorbed by being distributed throughoutthe 19 years of the cycle, easy distribution, because 9 hours 1 f2 equivalent to 190 stigmai, we will add Io stigmai to each year of the cycle. Taking into account this addition, the 12 years of the cycle which

⁽r) See above, chapter 5.

⁽²⁾ F. P. KARNTHALER, Die Chronologischeu Abhandluugen des Laur. Gr. Plut. 57, Cod. 42, 154-162, BNJ, 20,1933. 2-64 (see pp. ro-ii).

⁽³⁾ Gertrude REDL, 1,a Chronologie appliquée de Michel Psellos, Byz., 4, 1927-2928, 197-231 et 5, 2929, 229-286: In., Studieu zur technisehen Chronologie des Michael Psellos, *BA1*, 7, 1929, 305-351.

⁽⁴⁾ Byz 5, 2929. p. 257. (5) Byz. 4, 229-230.

have 12 lunations have the duration of 354 days 1/4 -1-2 hours + 4 *lepta 1 12*; the other 7, which are emboseismics (13 lunations) have the duration of 383 days 1/2 '4-I-3 hours and 3 *lepta* (i.e. 383 days, 21 hours and 3 *lepta*). Each cyclical year begins at the &7VizUGV, (beginning of decay) of the Easter moon of the previous year. The first year begins on April 13 of the 19th year, at the very moment of the &74-ivou,., at 6 p.m. and an I 2 *lepton*, and ends after the 12 lunations traveled, the following April 2 at 9 p.m. The calculation is thus made for each year, taking into account the embolismic years (13 lunations); it brings the date of the IDE year to April 16 (1).

This date of 16 April is also that of the anonymous Vienna (of 1273) published by Buchegger. One does not see the meticulous calculations of Psellos, but like him, he operates in two leaps the *saltus lunae*, in the 16th and 17th years (2). — See the cycle of *Psellos in the comparative table of pp. 54 and 55, col. XI*.

The date of 16 April has undoubtedly remained theoretical and it is not credible that Psellos and those who followed his method claimed to change traditional practice. It is this one that, apart from the exceptions that we have just said, commonly appears in the Easter tables, either that, in relation to the ascent of the Easter seat in the ^{17th} year of the cycle, they then increase by one unit the number of epacts, or that, illogically in relation to the Easter date, but logical in relation to the cycle, they place the jump of the moon and the epactal increase in the first year of the following cycle. In the latter case, it is clear that noattempt was made to explain or understand(3).

(r) Byz., 5, 269-280. The calculation also leads for the 18th, year to the date of March 26 instead of the 25th; in passages previous, it marked 25 March with this precision: impTiou &RA $z\varsigma'$, or £v '7"? You) 1TÇⁱ, that is, 25 finishing and 26 starting. Compare Byz. 4, 215 and 5, 266 with 5, ${}^{2}7^{8-2}79$.

(2) F. BUCLIEGGER, Wiener Chronologie von 1273, BNJ, 10, 1934, 1-54, spec. 3o. See above p. 55, col. XI.

⁽³⁾ A list of Byzantine computing treatises can be found in O. ScHIssEL/MARIA ELLEND, Bereehnung des Sonnen-, Mond- und Schaltjahrszirkels in der griechisch-christlichen Chronologie, BZ, 42, I, 1942, 150-157, see pp. 150-152.

THE FORMATION OF THE BYZANTINE ERA

The Cycles of Constantinople Y.. Y.'7 in Oro .v and Alexandria which served as the basis of the protobyzantine and Alexandrian eras were officially introduced by imperial interventions whose date is known and that is why it has been possible to mark with enough precision the time when these eras appear. The Byzantine cycle murez 91'xicv did not enjoy such an advantage: so the Byzantine era based on it has its origins shrouded in a certain darkness. This era is undoubtedly due to the private initiative of computists who resolutely abandoned the Constantinople cycle xa-rec Ucct.v for the XCX,Z,C> cycle. cpli)o-cv; we see it already appearing at the end of the reign of Heraclius, under whom the cycle of Aeas is still used. It was only gradually that the Byzantine era managed to impose itself and oust its competitors, and it is impossible to specify from what date it became a common or official use and whether an imperial act was taken for this purpose.

We will see in this chapter how the Byzantine era was born and how it was formed.

A whole chain of historical circumstances: official action of Theodosius I, long practice that followed, conference of Aeas, imperial decreeprovoked by Iron, a virtually confessional aspect of the Paschal computus after the resistance of the Armenians to this edict, explains why and how was done the insertion in the lunar cycle of Constantinople of the Paschal dates specific to the cycle of Alexandria, to the point of making impossible and even unthinkable any retrograde step.

But the Alexandrian system also had two other elements that formed or appeared to form cohesion with the cycle itself. It was, one, the Christian erasuspended from the year 5500; the other, serving as a support for this era, the parallelism of the days of the week between the genealogical events and the great evangelical facts. They certainly had no impact in practical life, but their connection tointangible Easter dates, their symbolism and the adhesion of the ecclesiastical and monastic world gave them a kind of consecration. This mystical chronology, however, had a very serious flaw: it offered too wide a gap with therealhronology of Christ. One day or another we would notice this and a reaction would be attempted. The Aeas conference, in bringing attention back to the Byzantine cycle, could not fail to draw him also to the world chronology that had been built onhim. That these questions preoccupy the computists of the time, we see it by what Ananias says about Iron's intervention. Among the reproaches he addresses to him, there is indeed that of counting 5 500 years of the world before the coming of Christ. Certainly, aswe have indicated, Iron's action tended to preserve the Long Prepondency of alexandrian chronology. Somewhat shaken by the Aeas conference, it would soon be directly threatened. It was very likely around thistime, shortly after the success of Iron, that the main editor of the Chronicon Paschale had to place itself. We have already talked at length about this book. We return to it here because the reaction he translates enters into the preparation of the Byzantine era.

There can be no doubt that its author, at the same time as he sought to revive the world era based on the lunar cycle of Constantinople, did not have in view jointly a readjustment of the chronology of Christ. A coherent construction was to be set up to replace that of the Alexandrians. The problem was twofold. He had, on the one hand, to mark for the new dates that he would give to the evangelical events mystical parallels linking them to the days of the Genesiac week, if these parallels were those of the Alexandrians, or that it was necessary, the incidence of the day of the week not being the same, to create new ones. And, on the other hand, it was necessary, as an essential requirement, to meet for the Passion of Christ a date thatswells at the usual necessary conditions, while ensuring, moreover, to the public life of Christ the length indicated by Eusebius. The Passion of Christ was marked in the year 31 Dionysian (5540 OF his era), on March 23, which was a XIII lunae, andthat a special system transformed into XIV lunae (1). In the chronology of Christ that this date of the Passion entailed, the Chronist saw that certain events had the same day of the week as in the Alexandrian system, and then their symboliswas naturally preserved to me. For the others where they saw a difference, he drew one from his own fund. Let us recall here that he was mistaken for the baptism of Christ, put by him on a Thursday instead of a Tuesday (2).

Perhaps, no doubt, the calculation process used to transform the XIII lunae 23 March into XIV lunae was criticized: it had to be reproached for compromising the regularity of the computing. Nevertheless, the Chronicon Paschale was a considerable effortto revive the world era<, natural", that of Constantinople, which had been ousted by the Alexandrian era. He was paving the way for the Byzantine era.

This appears as early as the second third of the vile century. It is recognized in the allusion of Saint Maxime who reproaches the ITE.:V1:1-7t?,oi3vTE-4 for adding 16 years to the age of the world (3). But above all it is exposed ex *professo* in a treatise on computing by Georges, monk and priest, which shows its advantages (4). This author marks the date of composition of his pamphlet where he indicates when begins the -rpoz6q, synchronic, unfortunately not preserved, that he built. This date is 12nd year of the moon, 17th of the sun, 14th indiction, year of the world 6149 (5). We see here that the year of the world and the indiction go together, and we know that this agreement is characteristic of the Byzantine era compared to the Alexandrian and Protobyzantine eras. But that is not enough. It is still necessary, in order to respond to the Byzantine era that we know, that the world era indicated here is located on the historical scale at the appropriate place. However, this is assured to us by another place in the Treaty, where, indicating when the lunar cycle began in neck, it marks various synchronisms. I am content to note here the one concerning the era of Diocletian. Namely: the Byzantine year 6138 = year of Diocletian 346 (6). This corresponds to the Dionysian Christian year 630. The difference with the world year, 6138 = 630, remains 5508, is precisely the Byzantine era that will later be of common use in the Byzantine Empire.

POSITION OF THE PROBLEM

Having thus marked the date of appearance of the Byzantine era, it is a question of showing how it was formée. It is customary to explain the origin of this era by reference to the Alexandrian era. And here's how. The goal sought by its founders, and we refer here to the 77.Z. NrrOC 7.0;3vr.sç (thus Pétau,

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(5) See above.
(2) Chronicon Paschale, 394-395.
(3) PG, 19, 5229 B.
(4) Fr. DEEKAMP, Der Mônch und Presbyter Georgios, BZ, 9, 5900, 14-51; text of the treatise on computing, 24-33. 1s) Ibid., 33.
(6) Ibid., 27.
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Serruys (1)), was to obtain an era of the world that walked with all cycles at once, lunar and solar cycles, bissexte, indiction. All that was needed in the Alexandrian era to meet this ideal was to be in agreement with the indiction, which was a year ahead of it. This defect was corrected by adding 16 years to the era, which brought it into line with the indiction. The lunar and solar cycles necessarily aligned, and the number of 16, multiple of 4, ensured the agreement with the bissexte: the Byzantine era was born. This explanation is based on the testimony of Saint Maximus recalled above, reproaching the 77E:vranoi5vr.c... q, to add 16 years to theworld. But St. Maximus declares here a fact without indicating its origin. The discrepancy he denounces is a grievance that he adds to others, but does not enter into the mechanism of the system and cannot be deduced from it. It is associated with it, but rather as a daring presupposition. The testimony of St. Maximus therefore leaves the whole question.

Certainly the explanation by the addition of i6 years seems, at first glance, very satisfactory, very ingenious and even seductive, and I understand very well that we stopped there. On examination, however, it is clear that it does not go to the heart of the problem, that it ignores the essential data and that it is, moreover, only a rather simplistic and consequently very inaccurate view of things.

And indeed, an era of the world, at least from the Ive century, if not before, is essentiallylinked to a lunar cycle and is measured by it, it depends on him, and not on him on her. It cannot be moved without first moving the cycle that sustains it. So if we want to have a new era, we have to make a new cycle. But the creation of a unary cyclecannot be an arbitrary thing. The cycle must have a foundation, either taken from or leaning on nature, or taken from a public institution whose fixity is imposed on computists. This last case is that of the decemnovennal cycle alexandrin which, based on the coincidence of a neomenia with the 1st thôth, the first day of the Egyptian calendar year, gave birth to the Alexandrian era.

Thus the problem of the formation or change of an era is above all a problem of lunar cycle and more precisely of a foundation for such a cycle. The addition or subtraction of years, while it may be a first intention, cannot be a first operation. It can only be conceived as a result.

We have talked aboutan era chain. In reality, it is inappropriate language. Each era being an absolute in relation to another, as soon as it is based on a cycle of its own, with its own foundation, it is a question of substitution and it is substitution that strictly must be said.

Coming to the Byzantine era, it is not possible, if we compare it to the Alexandrian era, to conceive of it otherwise. It must necessarily have its own cycle, which is its measure, and can only have the explanation of its origin in connection withthis cycle. It is therefore necessary either for this cycle to be created at the same time as it is, and for that it must find a foundation, or that it exists previously. However, at the time when the Byzantine era appeared, that is to say under the reign of Heraclius, the lunar cycle that we see as that of the Byzantine era did not need to be created: it existed for a long time. It was that of the reform of 353. It was recognized as a true natural cycle and, as such, had been reproduced by Denys the Petit. He had even given birth to an era of the world, beginning in the precyclical year, and which is the one we have called protobyzantine. This era did not work with the lunar cycle in question, only because a course specific to the moon was not conceived until the second year of creation. To make up for this defect, to have a lunar cycle walking with the year of the world, we had established a cycle of the moon. Draw Ucyiv, which was also accompanied by a cycle of the sun xy. T.A Uar.v, so that the division of the year of the world by 19 and by 28 gave in the rest the current year of these two cycles. But

this protobyzantine era did not work with the bissexte, nor with the indiction, both of a conventional institution. On the other hand, sticking to the xoc-rA cpli)crtv, all the cycles agreed with each other, differing by one year with the protobyzantine era. It was enough to lower it by one unit to have an era of the world that was perfectly granted to them.

Before the supporters of the Alexandrian era, who extolled the advantages of this era, where the year of the world walked with all cycles except with the indiction whose gap was minimal, since it exceeded it by only one unit, the temptation was great, especially after the embarrassed attempt of the *Chronicon Paschale*, to entrench in the protobyzantine era, put back into operation by him, this year of surplus thatit had on allcycles.

Two methods could be devised to effect this entrenchment. The first consists, while keeping as the true beginning of the world that of the protobyzantine era, to make the numeration of the years leave, for the reason of convenience that we have said, only from the following September, the beginning of the indictional year: it would be an era that could be said xoc-,-in Uatv, by position or convention, convention acceptable because the indictional year covers more than half of the year of the world beginning on March 21. The second consists of a real and complete shift of the first year which, being aligned with the XOTTC cycles>. cAo-tv lunar and solar, thus transforming the ZOCT era. GC cAcrtv protobyzantine in one autre era, *X.C.*/: 21. (po-tv also, which is the Byzantine era. This one thus begins and is counted as the one it supplants, at the spring equinox, on March 21st. Which one came of these two processes?

It seems at first glance that this must have been thefirst, so simple and all obviated. And all the more so because it corresponds precisely to the way in which Psellos represents the Byzantine era in relation to the creation of the world (1). Admittedly, this author is far from considering our problem. The question is for him to explain why the lunar cycle has its first *EASTER XIV lunae* on April 2. For reasons of convenience and tradition, he feels obliged to maintain the creation of the stars at the equinox and the appearance of the moon on its fifteenth day. This can onlybe achieved byestablishing a pre-cyclical year. In this year, the *EASTER XIV lunae* was on April 13, the previous XIV *lunae*, the closest to the equinox, is on March 14, Wednesday. It is the day of the creation of the stars to light the next day, the sun in its equinox (which Psellos puts on March 15), and the moon in its full (XV *lunae*).

Whatever the dates themselves, we are faced with a conception that professes that the true beginning of the world is at the equinox of March and yet makes the era begin at the following September I. It is certainly tempting to believe that this is the conception that proceeds from the passage from the protobyzantine era beginning on March 21 to the Byzantine era beginning on the following September. We must be careful here not to be too quick to apply it. Psellos lived in the xie century, when the Byzantine era was inage-old. He certainly did not think of showing the origin of it. The whole question for him was to explain why the Easter date of April 2 was the head of the cycle. The solution it provides was imposed by the problem and the circumstances oftheproblem, by which I mean the traditional lessons oncreation. To infer that the same conception presided over the birth of the Byzantine era would clearly go beyond the premises. It seems difficult to us that in the vile century, when the Byzantine era appeared, such a conception could have already been formed. An era of the world then seemed essentially linked for its beginning with the time of the year in which the world was created. This element was part of the very constitution of the era. This is what is foundwherever it is possible to carry out a check, that is to say in Africanus, Annianos (these two thanks to George the Syncelle), in the Chronicon Paschale, in George the Syncelle. Of the latter, it is appropriate to recall his statements expresses at the beginning of his Chronography: "In this Chronicle, which every reader assumes as

⁽i) Gertrude REDL, La chronologie appliquée de Michel Psellos, Byz., 4 (1927-1928), 216-218.

beginning of the year on the first day of the first month, Nisan among the Hebrews, and not the ler thôth according to the Egyptians, or the ler January according to the Romans, or another of some nation having another beginning (1). In these lines, where the Syncelle indicates various beginnings of the year that could come to the reader's thought, it is remarkable: that does not appear the First Septembre, beginning of the indiction: it does not come into play, unless perhaps the Syncelle has wrapped it in the general formula: "or another of some nation having another beginning". And even in this case, it would be only one ofthe possible dates which heassumes among readers, from which it can be inferred that the use of the indictional year was neither common nor common in chronography. This was the case at the beginning of the ninth century, when George the Syncelle was writing. A fortilight in the vile, whereù appears the Byzantine era whose birth it is a question of explaining. And that is why, since the indictional year is out of the question, there can be no question of calling, for such an explanation, on the simple conventional accommodation that we havebeen talkingabout, which consists of postponing the beginning of the world year from March to the following September.

ACTUAL ONE-YEAR LAG

What had to be envisaged, and what was imposed on the mind, was a real transformation in the lag of a full year involving the maintenance of the beginning of the year at the vernal equinox. The protobyzantine era started from the precyclical year ofcreation, the first of the lunar cycle x.ourdc cAcrtv being the second of creation. What was needed to achieve the alignment of the era with the cycle was to remove this precyclic year and the zoc-rix cycle 0écnv invented for it; it was, from the first year of the cycle xoc-7 to pl')at.v, second of the world, make the first year of the world. It was still necessary that the operation was possible. For it to be so, two conditions were required. One concerned the cycle: it was necessary notto disturb the order of itsepacts and therefore to give reason for its figure of II to the first year of the cycle which became the first in the world. The other concerned the new era to be created: it had to include the concordances suitable for the creation of the moon: age of the moon and genesiac day, that is to say: full moon on Wednesday. However, these conditions are jointlyrealized in the Byzantineera, as it stands, by attributing it to others, the priest and monk George, in his treatise on computing. The onlydirect aim of thisis to overcome the annual I 1 epacts; for this reason, it goes back to creation. Here is his text:

"It is good to indicate the cause why, according to some, the moon has an advance of eleven epacts. When, on the fourth day, they are, of the birth of the world, were created with the other stars and the sun and the moon, and the stars began their course on the divine order in the firmament of the sky, then the sun, taking the beginning of its own course, traveledfor its first day, which was, as has been said, the fourth (of creation); the moon, which, at the time it was created, should not appear incomplete, not leave, illuminating for the first time, part of the night in the obscuity, immediately received the place proper to the day of the full moon and took from there the beginning of its course — it must be known that it is in its fifteenth day when it occupies this place; it was therefore indeed the fourth day of the week (genealogy), mais for her, she walked her fifteenth day. Hence, therefore, each year, it advances on the sun by eleven days, plus a small part, that is to say the nineteenth of a day (2). »

In other words, when both the sun and the moon were created on the fourth genesiac day (Wednesday), the sun was on the fourth day of its course, because the course of the sun is measured on the

⁽I) GEORGES LE SYNCELLE, ed. 130, Io.

⁽²⁾ *13Z*, 9, 1900, 28.

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week from Sunday, and the moon being full, was on the fifteenth day of his; it was therefore eleven days ahead or epact on the course of the sun (15 - 4 = ii).

The explanation of the number i i of the epacts therefore essentially includes that theone is created on Wednesday, on its xvth day. But it can obviously only have value if, in effect, these two concordances for the creation of the moon are realized in George's own era, the Byzantine era. They are. In the first year of this era, in fact, the *EASTER XIV lunae*, which is **April** 2, falls on a Tuesday, and the full moon, *XV lunae*, is on Wednesday, the day of the creation of the star. This concordance, which is not indicated, but obviously obtained by our author, we verify it by means of the cycle of S32 years, which brings back the recurrence of concordances from the first year of the Byzantine era 5508 BC to the year 345 of the Dionysian era. Thus, the conditions necessary for the deci acomplete year of the protobyzantine era: maintenance of the order of the epacts and concordance with the genesiac dates, are realized here. It follows that in the new era, the Byzantine era, the first day of creation is Sunday, March 31,5,508 BC, instead of March 19, 5509 in the Protobyzantine era.

We can see how important the text we have quoted is, through everything it expresses and all that it implies. As the pamphlet of George, from which it is taken, is the oldestwritten, with that of Saint Maximus, which attests to the existence of the Byzantine era and that this author is a computist who treats *it ex professo*, endeavouring to show the advantages, his testimony must be considered capital. Thanks to him, we make ourselves awareof how the Byzantine era was able to be formed bydisengagement from the protobyzantine era, and how the transition from one to the other took place. It is, in summary, by transforming the first year of the zatTA cAcrt cycle,v, the second year of the world, into the first year of the world, supplanting and suppressing the first year of the protobyzantine era. Thus, and not otherwise, the formation and appearance of this era can be explained. The resulting difference of i6 years with the Alexandrian era is only a consequence. The lead was 17 years in the protobyzantine era; she is now i6 years old.

ADAPTATION FROM A CHRISTIAN ERA TO THE WORLD ERA

We have just witnessed the birth of the Byzantine world era, based on the Byzantine lunar cycle resulting from the reform of 353. On this world era it is now a question of establishing a Christian era, something important since the way of dating eventsafter Christ depends on it. Here appear two major currents, one of which has various ramifications.

The first adopted the Byzantine era, but nevertheless remained faithful to the entire chronological and symbolic system of the Alexandrians. It is found in the computist George, monk and priest, where it indicates the beginning of the current lunar cycle by means of various synchronisms. I remember the one that interests us here: year of incarnation 622 and year of the world 6138. These dates are located in the year 346 of Diocletian, 3rd indiction, that is to say 629, 630 AD. We are here, with the year 622, in the presence of a year of the Christian Alexandrian era of Annianos, corresponding both to the year of the world era of Annianos 6122 and, with a gap of 16 years, to the year 6138 of the Byzantine world era (1). This brings the birth of Christ to the year S517 of this era. We therefore see here the Byzantine era adopted without it being touched to the actual chronology of the Alexandrian era, which is implemented; it is a Byzantine era whose Christian era is 5517 (5501 of the Alexandrian era, 9 Dionysian).

From this transposition of the Christian Alexandrian era into the Byzantine world era resulted, through a false application of the system, a world era of 5,516 years, which we see employed by

(ly 1,Z, 27.

some columnists. These (or at least their unknown leader), who must not have been strong computists, probably knew that the difference of 16 years that there was between the two Alexandrian and by zantine erascame from the difference of the lunar cycles, but they believed, by a rather simplistic view, that the Alexandrian cycle on which the Alexandrian era was based, started from the year 5501 of this era, date of the birth of Christ, while its starting point is the year 5492. So they added 16 years to 5500. Hence the era of 5516. It was 8 years ahead of the Byzantine era (5508) and 24 years ahead of the Alexandrian era (5516 — 5492 = 24).

There are several chronological notations according to thissy stème in Epitome B. They led to the end of Theophilus' reign. D. Serruys, who made them known to us, deduces from the difference between the dates of the reigns according to our era and the dates of Epitome B that it is an era of 5515 (1). In fact, the difference is, out of 17 cases, 9 times 5 515 years old, and 6 times 5 516 years old; for one date, the last figures are missing, but certainly one can infer, because of the group in which it is located, that, for her, the difference is 5 516. Including the latter case, the group where the difference is 5.516 includes the last six kingdoms plus two which are within the previous group where the difference is 5,515. It is reasonable to judge the system by the reigns whose date is the godknown to theeditor, namely the last ones. We must therefore say that the era that the latter had in sight did indeed include the difference of 5,516 with ours. The calculation of 5,515 may come from either a chronological inaccuracy in the writer or from the imprecision of our knowledge for the limits of certain kingdoms. Serruys goes to great great trouble to identify what he believes to be traditions. There is nothing at the origin of the system other than the false starting point that we have talked about: only he can make reason for it. Such an era cannot be matched by any cycle. The agreement with the Byzantine cycle, the only one that could be expected, would imply a constant chronological error. If we can admit it for events of ancient times, elle is impossible about the last suputed reigns.

The second current, in the use of the Byzantine era, is to abandon the Chronology and Alexandrian symbolism in order to conform to the requirements of historical truth. It appears from abord, it seems, in those whom Saint Maximus calls the 7CEVTOCTCXeiVI:F4 ZY.f. ?.. g(X7C?,0'3'17:24. This designation is taken in their way of counting, for each year of the cycle, the epacts and the XIV lunae pascal. It is known that the usual method is to multiply the current year of the cycle by II, number of annual epacts, and to divide the quotient by 30: the rest is the figure of the epacts, by which one arrives at the XIV lunae after the vernal equinox. However, care must be taken to observe the jump of the moon at the end of the 19th year (normal place) and consequently to increase the epacts ofthe following year, the first year, by one unit. We have already seen the moon jump moved from grades 19 to 16, and this move is justified. It is precisely the same question that is at stake here and it is not possible to find another reason for computing our quintuplants. The substance of the system consists in using, by a calculation different from that of the Chronist and that which the Armenians were later to attribute to Iron, the division of the day into sixtieths (2).

First of all, ally lunar months are equalized to 30 days by adding to each day one (sixtieth of a day --- ringillon that makes it possible to realize every two months the day that low month.

⁽x) D. SERRUYS, Recherches sur l'ÉpitOute, BZ, 16, 1907, 1-51 : voir pp. 43-46.

⁽²⁾ The system is exposed by SAINT Brevis etarratio christiani Paschatis, I, Ii-x 2, 16; II (integer): P G, 19, 1228-1229, 1233, 1252-1264. We use the presentation of E. SCHWARTZ, Ostertaletn, 81-85. See also A. MENTZ, Beitreige, 58-59. — In the following, when we talk about the Iron system, we must always hear: as presented by the Armenian authors.

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Then, in order to obtain the day equivalent to that which is removed in the jump of the moon every 19 years, each year of the cycle is allocated 60 of day.

The problem to be solved for quintuplants by means of these processes is to determine what is the true age of the moon on the dates received from the *Easter XIV lunae*. These dates, as we have seen, are the Alexandrian dates that have become official andtraditional.

Here's how they operate. Instead of multiplying the figure of the current year of the cycle (remember that this is the Byzantine cycle of 353 za.-;-.& y1¹)(3.tv) by i i, they multiply it separately by 5 and by 6. The multiplication by 5 therefore gives the same product, namely the total of days and the total of sixtieths of days accumulated from the beginning of the cycle to this year (i). To this total ofantiemes must be added another total of sixtieths, that which is obtained by adding 6-0 of day to each day from the Ter January, starting point of the epacts, until the date received from the XIV *lunae* of this year. This double total of sixtieths addedand divided by 60 provides in the quotient a surplus of days. We then multiply the current year by 6, to provide a last number of days.

Together we bring together these various sums of days to know (x year refers here to thecurrent year):

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I<sup>1st:</sup> days from Ter January to the date received from XIV Lunae;
: x years Y 5;
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The sum of these four operations is divided by 30; the rest means the actual age of the XIV lunae pascal received (the Alexandrian).

Example: either the year 14 of the cycle (Byzantine zy.T.Cf. pltio-cv) where the Paschal date of the XIV lunae is

to April 9:

255: 30 — remainder 15. April 9 is at the XV lunae.

By such an operation, it happens, as Saint Maximus points out, that the *RECEIVED PASCHAL XIV lunae* is, for these computists, most of the time brought to the XV *lunae*, as in the example given, sometimes to the X V/, and this without counting the difference of one more day that the bissexte brings in the leap years.'

In the above calculation, leaving aside the intervention of the bissexte, the years of the cycle in which the Paschal seat remains the *XIV lunae* are years I, 2, 3, 4 and 18. Those where the Paschal seat goes to *the XV lunae* are the years 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, Io, T T, 13, 14, 15, 17 and 19. The Paschal seat is worn in the XVI *lunae*

⁽I) It is probably because of this that they duplicate the number ri, because we do not see any otherava ntage.

in the year 16. As for year 12, the calculation itself does not change anything at the Easter headquarters, but here comes the effect of the allocation of the 6--0 each year. At the end of the first year, the accumulation

gives II x 60 60. These sixtieths are blocked with the last 5 at the beginning of year 12, at

the neomenia of December 19 (XIV lunae to January I), so that this day is both the last of year I I and the first of year 12. Thus is carried out the jump of the moon, bringing the addition of an epact, which makes back the Easter seat of the year 12 to the XV lunae.

We see that of the 19 years of the cycle, only 5 keep the Paschal seat in the XIV lunae, 12 have it in the XV, and one, in the year 16, has it in the XVI. By these calculations, the quintuplants did not intend to change the traditional dates of the celebration of Easter: they remained on the theoretical level. But Saint Maximus notes that by their very appreciation, they quite often put themselves in oppositionwith theecclesiastical rules. When the Easter seat falls on a Monday or later day of the week, its assignment to the XV lunae leaves Easter Sunday within the required limits. But when it falls on a Sunday, its assignment to the XV lunae met, in the logic of the system (the XIV lunae being then the day before, Saturday), the Easter celebration to that same Sunday, which is the day of the Jewish Passover, something absolutely forbidden. No doubt, they refrain from it and celebrate like all Christians on the following Sunday, but this one is then, still in their system, the XXII lunae, which exceeds the permitted limit (XXI lunae).

These disadvantages are, a forti all the more reason, those of the year 16 of the cycle, when the *Alexandrian XIV lunae* falls on a Sunday or a Monday. If it is a Sunday, the change from *XIV lunae* to *XVI* puts the celebration of the following Sunday to a *XXIII lunae*. If it is a Monday, the change from *XIV lunae* to *XVI* has the unheard-of result of carrying Easter Sunday logically even before the Jewish Pâque and the actual celebration toa *XXII lunae*. — See the cycle of the 7ZE. V7C1.717X0i5VTEÇ in column IX of the comparative table, pp. 54 and 55.

Saint Maximus noted in a 'rpoy6ç the cases where the celebration of the Passover, in the system of quintuplants, takes place beyond the permitted limit, that is to say beyond the XXI *lunae*. When the celebration is done in XXII *lunae* by the only play of the bissexte to the leap years, t marks it with a point; when

t is by the accumulation of -to-6 after a certain number of years, it marks it by two points;

when the celebration takes place at XXIII lunae, he scores it by three points (the case arises only once in the cycle of 532 years). We can, we nust ask ourselves, what our computists wanted to go with such a system. "Games of elegant mathematicians", says Serruys (1). This is not an unswer, because these games, if there are games, only make sense if they have a rule, and only have a rule if they have a purpose. And this goal s not to get the Byzantine era, because it does not stand out and cannot come out of their calculations. We have seen, in George's treatise, how t was born.

For Schwartz, the intention of the quintuplants was to agree with western computists for whom the limits of the celebration of the Passover were from the XVI to the XXII lunae (2). Perhaps one could admit it if the goal were achieved in a general way, but all the cases where the XIV lunae remaining the XIV falls on a Saturday, unless changing the actual celebration, escape this result, and the case of the XIV lunae transformed nto XVI and falling on a Sunday exceeds it by bringing the celebration to a XXIII lunae, which is unheard of, even in the West. Moreover, he intervention of the bissexte multiplied the cases where the Easter celebration takes place on XXIII lunae, and it even pushes it, once dyears hecycle

(2) E. SCHWARTZ, OSECriateilt, 88.

⁽¹⁾ D. SERRUYS, De quelques ères, Rev. de philol., 31, avril-juin 1907, p. 182.

from 532 years of age, until XXIV (1). Moreover, at the time of the quintuplants, this accommodation to the Western system no longer had any reason to be, because Rome had already accepted, under the influence of Dionysius the Lesser, the Alexandrian limits of the Easter festival, and it is also biin doubt that thequintuplants had had concern or even knowledge of the computus observed outside the Empire, beyond the Alps.

It does not seem, therefore, that this explanation by Schwartz is sufficient to detect the intention of the 7ZEV77.-77. no;5v-re4. The answer to the problem is, in our view, to be found in their use of the sixtieths. Wherever, in the Pascal computus, fractions of a day are used, it is in connection with the jump of the moon, in order to mark its place or to justify it. Thus among Westerners, where, in the cycle of

84 years, we use the $-_{12}$ of the day, because the jump of the moon takes place there every twelve years. Thus at

Iron, among byzantine computists, such as karnthaler's anonymous B VIII, and also in the *Chronicon* (for a particular Easter date), all of whom use the sixtieths of a day. But, if in westerners the jumps of the moon within the cycle are essential to him and command the Easter date (2), it is not the same in Iron and the other Byzantine computists aforesaid. The moon jump at the end of the I6th year, instead of the last (19th), is not natural in their cycle, but intruder. As we have seen, it is a consequence of the Paschal dates received from another cycle, the Alexandrian cycle, and which we have sought to justify. It is for this purpose that the distribution of *lepta* is organized through the years of the cycle: it must bring the *saltus lunae* to the year of the cycle that we desire. It could not be otherwise with quintuplants. In them, too, the distribution of the sixtieths appears to be dictated by the result to be obtained. We know that the Easter dates that Iron wanted were April 16 and 5, with March 25 already acquired. What date(s) were quintuplants interested in?

This can only be done by conjecture. Let us first note that the Passover of the 12nd year where the rise of the XIV lunae is made offers no special interest. Transporting it from I April to March 31 does not respond to anything in symbolism or tradition. Opation here is only the logical application of the distributive system. Nor can there be any question of a computing date to be established in view of a divergence to be filled between the Alexandrian and Byzantine cycles: there was no longer any difference since the reforms of Aeas and Iron which had resulted in the Alexandrian Easter dates being brought into the Byzantine cycle. It can therefore only be a historic date. However, there is only one that can be at stake: it is the one for which the Chronicon Paschale has already intervened. We remember that the Chronist, led by his chronological system to place the Passion of Christ in the year 554° of his era (= 31 Dionysian), I I th year = TA Urnv of his lunar cycle, and hindered by the incidence in this year of the XIV lunae to Saturday, transformed, by a special calculation, this XIV into XV, and Friday XIII lunae into XIV, in order to place the Passion there on the very day of the Jewish Passover. His calculation had in mind only this historical case; it is not applied to the Passover of the year 5537, where it would have had the effect of transporting it from the 27th to the 26th; the Chronist had no need of it: it is on the 27th that he maintains it (3).

For the quintuplants it is in the year Io of their cycle that is the *XIV Easter lunae* of March 24. Suppose that these computists had the same intention as the author of the *Chronicon Paschale*, and see if and how it is realized in their system. So let's apply here the various operations of their calculation.

⁽¹⁾ E. SCHWARTZ set the table for all the years in which the Passover according to the system of quintuplants is celebrated after the XXI lunae, i.e. xxii, xxiii and xxiv, in the cycle of 532 years (Alexandrian), ibid., 85-87.

⁽²⁾ E. SCHWARTZ, Ostertateln, 4⁶-49. (3) Chronicon Paschale, 395.

THE FORMATION OF THE BYZANTINE						
1) N	Jumber o	of days from Ter January to 24 Marchper year: Io x 5	83 50			
1)	_	by the sixtieths $\frac{83 4-}{60} \frac{133}{60} \dots$	2			
2)		hy year · Io v 6	60			

TOTAL

195

Age of the moon: 195 divided by 30, remains 15.

So on March 24, in the year Io of the cycle, is the XV lunae. And this is how Saint Maximus marks him in his painting. But that is not enough. It is still necessary that the year of the Passion of Christ envisaged here is not a leap year, which would put march 24th in the XVI lunae and Friday in the XV lunae, and would thus make miss the goal. However, precisely this year 5539 of the Byzantine era (5540 pro-Tobyzantine = 31 Dionysian) is not a leap year. It therefore follows that in the system of quintuplants the Passion of Christ of the aforementioned year takes place on XIV lunae Friday, March 23. And this, just like with the Chronist, according to the very game of the elaborate system. But while the Chronist applies its system only on the date which interests it, the quintuplant applies its own to all, so that the interesting date is clear from the application of the common rules (1).

Based on all this, we believe it is likely that the intention we assumed in these computists was indeed theirs. They wanted to continue the attempt of the *Chronicon*, namely, to restore the true chronology of Christ sacrificed by the Alexandrians, and to do so in the newly obtained Byzantine era, which they could advocate for theverittable, since based on the natural cycle of the moon, that of Alexandria having only an artificial character. But, in order to succeed, they absolutely had to break the obstacles of Alexandrian symbolism, even if it meant replacing it with another one according to the rencontre. The most delicate point was the date of the Passion of Christ, a positive element that must be taken into account. The author of the Chronicon Paschale had honored the ancient tradition, which placed the death of Christ in the XIV lunae. It must besaid that on this point his action was effective and that his thesis was finally imposed. Indeed, one cannot explain otherwise this fact already mentioned above that George the Syncelle who, however, follows the Alexandrian era where the Passion of Christ is in 553 4(42 Dionysian), deemed it necessary to comply with it (2). He achieves this by a shift in the opposite direction to that of the Chronist, namely by transforming the XV lunae which fell on Friday, March 23 into XIV lunae. How did he deal with his cycle which puts the XIV lunae on March 22nd? He does not say so, and it does not matter. Georges le Syncelle is not alone in doing this operation. We also note it, let us remember, in a text attributed here to Eusebius, there to Severus, where the era employed being alexandrine, the Passion is put in the XIV lunae.

These examples speak for themselves. If this was the revival of favor of the ancient tradition on the lunar date of the death of Christ, due to the author of the Chronicon Paschale, the supporters of the Byzantine era

⁽r) A. MENTZ, op. cit., 60-63, thinks that the process of quintuplants which makes it possible to transform into XV lunae the XIV lititac of March 24 (year of the death of Christ, in the year 31 Dionysian) led the Byzantine computists to move the voti.txôv 7rdcaza from the XIV to the XV lunae. He gives several valid examples of this new way of dating the legal Passover, the Anonymous of the codex Parisinus 8J4 and the Pseudo-Argyre, but that of Cedrenus must be rejected: not only does he not say this, but he says that when the Lord suffered, he did not eat the Passover, but he himself suffered for us, and he adds: "The fact that he doesnotelevate the Passover to the ciana day, but that before this day which was that of the azymes and the preparation of the feast, he celebrated the mystical Passover is a proof that he gave to his disciples, not the victim and the azymes, but the bread and the cup", CEDRÉNUS, ed. Bonn, 307-308. This means that for Cedrénus the legal Passover is indeed the XIV lunae, not the XV. As for the transfer of vop.w.. ôv 7r&cry. / from the XIV to the XV lunae, I very much doubt that the quintuplants have anything to do with it. I would rather see it as an effect of the controversy over azymes.

⁽²⁾ GEORGES IDE SYNCELLE, ed. Bonn, 616.

who wanted, on the same historical basis as him, to straighten out the Christian chronology distorted in the Alexandrian system, had to take this into account and seek like him the way to transform the XIV lunae Paschal of the year 31 Dionysian, 10th of the cycle, 24 March, in XV lunae, so that the XIV lunae was to Friday, March 23. The process used by the Chronist could have served them well. Transposed into the Byzantine era, it ended with two lepta less, 65 instead of 67, to the same add resulter one more day to form the total necessary for the operation. But without a doubt this process had been

criticized and had to be discredited. In particular, the use of leap day shifts ('60'

combined with the distribution of the 2 lepta par year of the cycle was nothappy. This element of leap was not to be taken into account, since it is already included in the comparative calculation of the prices of the sun and the moon in the enneadékaétéride, and the distribution of the 2 lepta per year(2.< 19 — 38) is manifestly insufficient to constitute the full day of the 60 lepta which must compensate for the day in addition to the course of the moon on the sun at the end of the cycle. It was therefore necessary to find something else, and as we see that the system of quintuplants, which used the Byzantine era, resulted in the same shift from the XIV *Lunae to* the aforementioned year, we believe that we can place these computists in the first rank of the supporters of this era who, abandoning the Christian chronology of the Alexandrians, orwanted to grant it a Christianchronology in accordance with historical accuracy (1).

If that was their business, what was the success?

Is it the calculation system? It contained too serious defects, which Saint Maximus denounced, to be able to impose himself. He had to succumb to the blows of his formidable opponent. However, half a resurrection can be found in L'Anonyme of 1079 published by A. Mentz (2). This computist has indeed a calculation closely related to that of quintuplants. However, he is careful not to place the *saltus lunae* in the 12nd year of the cycle and keeps it in the 17th (3).

Is it the Chrétient chronology? She must have felt that failure. It is a fact that, while the Alexandrian Christian chronology continues to assert itself with George the Syncelle and Nikephoros, and that its influence is exerted as much by the era of 5516, continued untilthe middle of the lx (' century that by the strict application of the mysticism of 5500, in the tenth century, by the Ps. Symeon Magister and George the Monk continued who, as we will say later, make go together the years of the world with the Christian years, we do not yet see the use, in the Byzantine era, of a Christian chronology that is appropriate to it. We have to wait until the xlth century to come across information on this subject. We then find that it is not the same for tousauthors. Psellos (4) tells us that according to some Christ had come in the year 5500, according to others in 5504. It is this last date that he makes his own, declaring that the difference of a few units does not deflect from the p.ucr-7;1pcov that rencloses the number of X500. He endeavours to prove that those who adhere strictly to 5,500 cannot find a Passover where to link the death of Christ (5). For him, Christ was conceived on March 25, 5504, was born on December 25, 5505 (year indictionnelle), is

⁽r) 11 is true that Saint Maximus makes no reproach to the quintuplants touching the chronology of Christ, and SERRUYS, *De quelques ères*, 180, believed because of this that they had simply transposed into the Byzantine era, by a gap of i6 ans, the Alexandrian chronology. I do not think that conclusion can be drawn. (,'indication of St. Maximus is very terse, and it may well be that he included in his reproach all that the quintuplants intended to relate to their way of e counting the years of the world.

⁽²⁾ A. MENTZ, Beitrâge, 80, 82.

⁽³⁾ Ibid., 86.

⁽⁴⁾ BYz., 5, 1929, 241-243.

⁽⁵⁾ His argument is against those who practice the Byzantine era, not against those who practice the Alexandrian era, who, in their world year 5534, have a legal Passover on March 22 (the 23rd, according to George the Syncelle) and put the Passion on March 23.

d. 23 March 5539, with 4 years and 3 months of public life and 35 years completed from conception to resurrection. Nikephoros Calliste similarly gave birth in 5505 and death in 5539, but gave 3 years and 3 months to public life (I). For both, we do not know of any example where they use this Christian era as a chronological means. To these opinions must be added that of Cédrénus. This historian marque the birth of Christ in 5506, baptism in 5536 and death in 5539 (2). These are the dates of the *Chronicon Paschale* transposed into the Byzantine era. Cedrenus also uses the Christian era in accordance with the world era, but he always does so by marking a difference of six units: v. g. 5,888 = 394; 5 950 = 456; 6,021 = 527 (3). One would certainly expect five units of difference, since Christ was born in 5506. It can only be explained by taking as the starting point of this Christian era the Incarnation itself: March 25, 5505; it is also the term Ciéxpxo) G14 that Cedrénus uses regularly, while treating in his accounts the years of the world and the Christian years as indictional years.

As for the Christian era of 5500, the way in which Psellos speaks of it shows that the mystical idea still retained its prestige, whichattracted supporters even in the Byzantine era (4). One should expect to find these in the monastic world. Among the contemporaries of Psellos we see precisely the monk Philip the Lonely employing this era: he gives indeed in his *Dioptrhas* the following concordance: 6 605 = 105 (5). Whether it is indeed this double Byzantine, world and Christian era, this is ensured by the other synchronisms that accompany it. How did Philip and his likes reconcile this Christian era withtheChronology of the Passion? We do not know. The Dionysian years 25 and 26 may be appropriate, one by providing a XIV Easter *lunae* on Fridays, and the other on Thursdays as among the Alexandrians; but in both cases it was necessaryto saygoodbye to the coincidence of Christ's Resurrection with March 25. Perhaps they did not ask themselves the problem.

But for sure, Psellos and the other computists and chroniclers, who abandoned the strict Christian era of 5501, had to deal withit, since they could not establish another without having solved it. Naturally, they first thought of the year corresponding to the Dionysian 31, which was that of the *Chronicon* and which had been that of Africanus, Anatole and Eusebius. In this year, theXIV *lunae* was a Saturday, and Friday, the day required for the Passion, was a XIII *lunae*. We have seen the efforts of the Chronist to transform this *XIII lunae* into *XIV* and to convince that it was indeed the *XIV*, the day of the Jewish Passover, that Christ died. He had, on this last point, succeeded so well that George the Syncelle himself had thought he had to respect this coincidence, despite the contrary indication of his cycle, the Alexandrian cycle. How, faced with thisproblem, were the new Byzantine computists going to behave? Simply by removing it. They returned, knowingly or not, in the manner of Africanus, Anatole and Eusebius, leaving the Friday of the Passion to the XIII *lunae*. Cédrénus himselfwho, for the rest, follows the *Chronicon Paschale*, abandons it here (6). We can

⁽I) CALLIST NIKEPHOROS, P. G. 145, 660, 712.

⁽²⁾ CEDRÉN'vs (Bonn, 304, 305, 307). I,a birth of Christ is set to a Wednesday. For this to be fair, the year 5506 must begin in March. Besides, the author gives here the date according to the year of the xouri world \$\frac{4}{8}\$\$ etxpt6r.cy-ra'.-POECYPecP&S.

⁽³⁾ Ibid., 574, 607, 642.

⁽⁴⁾ It is undoubtedly to respect it that Psellos gave to the life of Christ 35 years. Such a long duration allowed him to place the Incarnation and the birth as close as possible to 5500, in the first half of the decade that follows this number, that is respectively 25 March 5504 and 25 December 5505.

^{(0) &#}x27;H Aiorr-rp, Athens, 2920: periodical 'O "A.0wç, fasc. 1. See V. GRUMEI" Remarks on the Philip the Lonely, BZ, 44, 1951, 198-211. I,e text is cited on p. 200.

(5) CEDRENUS, 331.

to believe that this date of *the XIV lunae* for the Passion of Christ was all the more willingly abandoned, and the Jewish Passover replaced on Saturday, that it emerged a powerful proof to be used in the quarrel of the Azymes with the Latins. If, indeed, the Jewish Passover was a Saturday, the Azymewere prescribed only from Friday evening, and Christ therefore celebrated the Last Supper with ordinary bread: fermented bread. And this is how the Byzantine polemicists argue. Such as Cedrenus himself (1), such as Michel Glycas (2), such Nicéphore Calliste (3), to mention only the chroniclers.

THE BEGINNING OF THE YEAR IN THE BYZANTINE ERA

One last point remains to be addressed: the beginning of the year in the Byzantine era. It is known that, in the byzantine chronological system definitively constituted, it coincides with the beginning of the indictional year, on September 1st. It is likely that this has not always been the case. We have seen above how the oldest witness, and at the same time theorist of the Byzantine era, the computist George, conceived and justified it. And how also the same author modeled his Christian chronology onthat of the Alexandrians whose world years began in March. This double indication suggests that George and those who followed him must also have counted the world years from March onwards. They had to count them, not from thefirst day of creation, which was, according to George, 31 March, because this date marks nothing in the year, neither in the natural relationship, nor in the mystical relationship, but, either, like the Chronist, from 21 March, the day of the same month, out of reverence for the mysteries of the Incarnation and the Resurrection which, accomplished on that day, make it the first of the new creation, of the mystery of salvation.

It should be noted here that Psellos, for whom the years of the Byzantine era begin in September and who seems not to have known any other fashion or practiced another world era, links the era to creation other than the computist George, namely, as we have seen, by means of a precyclical year, well reduced, since it goes from March to the end of August, and not entering into the numeration of the years of the era (4). This difference in design is a mark that there is also a difference in the way inwhich the world year isdelimited, and therefore that the computist Georges gave it a different waythanPsellos, a beginning that can only be in March.

From this mode of dealing with the years of the Byzantine era that we consider to be the primitive, there are various clues or traces not negligible. Here are the ones we can present. First, Theophanes' equations between the dates of the Byzantine era and those of the Alexandrian era, which are only correct if on both sides the year begins in March (5). Ensuite a continuation of the painting of the epochs of the world stopping at the death of Michael III and which gives for this event the date of 6375 instead of 6376, note which has the value of contemporary testimony (6). This same date is found in the *Ekloge* of Wirth, applied to the accession of Basil 1^{cr} (7). Then the date of the Eclogue of Leo III, 9th indiction in March, year 6248, which can not be explained by any other means (8). I do not, however, want to give this last example for the insured, except as long as it is the use of all

- (I) CEDRENUS, 308.
- (2) MICHEL GLYCAS, ed. Bonn, 403-408; PG, 158, 413-416.
- (3) CALLIST NIKEPHOROS, PG, 14S, 716.
- (4) See above.
- (5) V. GRUMEL, L'année du monde dans l'ère byzantine, EO, 34, 1935, 319-326; see 322.
- (6) Georgii monachi Chronicon, ed.C. DE BOOR, II, 804.
- (7) A. WIRTH, Aus orientalischen Chroniken, Frankfurt, 1894, p. 21.
- (8) V. GRUMEL, La date de la promulgation de l' « Eclogue » de Léon III, EO, 34, 1935, 327-331.

at least one copyist who felt the need to add the world year to a document that was dated only by the month and the indiction (1).

The most characteristic example is that of the Synod of Tsar Boril: it is dated 6718 of the era of the world, indiction 14, 11 February, Friday of tyrophagy, year I of the moon, 15 of the sun. Leaving aside the years of the sun and moon that do not intervene in the problem, we see that all the other coordinates find their exact agreemente, which excludes any possibility of error, not in I 21 o, but in 1211. But they can only be suitable for the year 6718, to which they are related if this year, begun in March 1210, ends in March I 211 (2).

We can corroborate what we say here about the beginning of the Byzantine era in March by the use of the Russian chroniclers, who, having received the world era of the Byzantines, do not, however, begin their year in September, but in February or March depending on the date of Lent, which suggests that the beginning of the world year which they saw among the Byzantines was 21 March, but that they themselves advanced it to put it in relation to the lunar calendar to which they were accustomed; they probably fixed itto the full moonpreceding the equinox or in incidence with it (3).

As it is natural that originally computists and chronographs designed the Byzantine World Year in the same way as the earlier eras, with beginning in March, it is also natural that used by others, in hagiography or on epitaphs, andtends to identify with the indictional year. And it is by extending this practically vulgar use, rather than by an express calculation, that it seems necessary to explain that chronographs, in turn, and the drafters of public acts, have made the same identification, starting the year on the previous ¹ September.

The oldest epigraphic text in which, according to the statement, the Byzantine era must be recognized is an inscription of the Parthenon, CIG No. 9352, which bears: April 4, Friday, indiction 2, year 6212 (— 704). The n° 9350 with the date: October 19, Sunday, indiction 7, year 6202 (4), also has the Byzantine era, and thus it is earlier (= 693), but we are only assured because it neighbors with it in the same environment and the same group of texts.

As for the manuscripts, it is only from the ninth century that we see them dated by the year of the world. The first surely discernible world era is the Byzantine era with the Leningrad Bibl. publ. 219, dated May 7, indiction 13, year 63.13 (= 835) (5). It is also by far the most common. Besides it, there are still examples of the protobyzantine era: Paris. 1085: indiction 13, year 6509 (= i000) (6); Paris. 223: July, ind. 12, year 6553 (= 1044) (7); Vatic. 414: 6529, indiction 3 (— 1020) (8). The following examples are also given for the Alexandrian era: the Psalter Uspenskij = Leningrad Bibl. Publ. 216: year 6370, indiction 11 = (878) (9) and the Laud. 75: year 6485,

ind.6,993) (Io), but could one not think of a Byzantine era beginning in March? The case

⁽s) The date 6247, a competing date, could mean that the copyist will have applied the Alexandrian era here, two units behind the indiction from Septemberuntil 25 March, without noticing the anachronism produced by this operation: it places the document under Constantine V.

⁽²⁾ M. G. PoPiwilr.Nico, Sinodik carja Borila, Sofia, 1928, p. 82. It is quite curious to see that the year of the solar cycle, instead of 26, which the Byzantine cycle requires, is marked 15, which is the figure of the Dionysian cycle.

⁽³⁾ This is the conclusion that emerges from the study of N. V. STEPANOV, Edinici Ude vremeni (do XIII l'Hm) po Lavrentievskoj j 1-j. Novgorodskoj létopisjam, Moskva, 1909. See also the important study of VI. Moi7Ars, Martovsko datirovanie (The use of the Style of March, with summary in French) in Istoricki Glasnik, Beograd, 1951, 19-57.

⁽⁴⁾ BOECK, Corpus inscriptionum graecarum, IV, 482. See also Archim. ANTONIN, O drevnich christianskich nadpisijach y Athinach, St-Pét. 1874, pp. 66 (No. 84) and 63 (No. 73).

⁽⁵⁾ R. DEVREESSE, Introduction à l'étude des manuscrits grecs, Paris, 1954, p. 288.

⁽⁶⁾ *Ibid.*, 294.

⁽⁷⁾ Ibid., 297.

⁽⁸⁾ Codices Vaticani graeci, t. II, rec. R. I) EVR E ESSE, I 2 2 - I 23.

⁽⁹⁾ R. DEVREESSE, Introduction, 288.

⁽Io) Ibid., 293.

of Vindob. Phil. 314: July 28, Thursday, indiction 13, year 6432, leads to an era of 5507 years, because it is the year 925 and not 924 that brings together the concordances (1). The same applies to Vat. stake. 44 28 August, Monday, indiction..., year 6405, where the year 898 is the year which brings together the concordances; it is therefore necessary to supplement: indiction i (2).

If we move on to the chroniclers, we note, on examination, that in their country the Byzantine era was imposed only rather late. In the ninth century, Theophanes the Chronograph, although a Byzantine, used the Alexandrian era. In the tenth century, Genenesius was the only one who regularly used the Byzantine era with beginning in September. The Pseudo-Symeon Magister and George Continued (Part I) each have an era which is certainly not the Byzantine era, but is rather a shift of somes years from theAlexandrian era, made to the judged, without taking absolutely any account of the requirements of the lunar cycle; both annex a Christian era in the Alexandrian way, that is to say where the units walk with the world year (3). Georges le Moine Continued (2nd part) (4) contains only three dates: I) "janvier, indiction 8, 6428; (2) 6453, ind. 3; 3) December 20, indiction 3, 6454. The first might be suitable for the protobyzantine era. The second and third neighbor at 15 lines of intervalthe, having even indiction (5). It is not possible to reconcile them, and consequently to determine which era is designated here.

As for the Continuator of Tneophanes, he could not think of using the Alexandrian era, which was no longer favored by the public. In charge of continuing chronography, he felt unable to draw up synchronic tables in the manner of his learned predecessor. This is not what was desired of him, but an account of events that was advantageous to both official orthodoxy and the Macedonian dynasty. In this long work, there are only 7 dates according to the year of the world, of which only 4 are related to the indiction and the month: i) September 6376, ind. 1 (Bonn, 210);

2) 6 January 6428, ind. 8 (Bonn, 398); 3) 20 December 6454, ind. 3 (Bonn, 436); 4) November 6469, ind. 6 (Bonn, 468/9) (6). As we can see, the relationship of the year of the world with the indiction is not uniform: the last two dates do not allow themselves to be resolved and we can assume for them errors of transmission; the months of the first two are mois where the indiction is common to the Proto-Byzantine era and the Byzantine era with beginning in September. Under these conditions, it is impossible to determine the era of this chronicler.

The case of Leo Deacon is particularly curious. Of the four dates he fournit where the indiction and the year of the world are joined, only one relates to the Byzantine era: *December 11, indiction 13 year 6478* (7). The other three: 1) *October, indiction 3, year 6467*; 2) *August, indiction 6, year 6470*;

3) January, indiction 1, year 6485 (8) have the indiction which precedes by one unit the year of the world extending from September to the end of August. This represents an era of 5507, for which I confess not to find an explanation, except perhaps that the author being neither a computist nor a chronograph, will have

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(t) R. DEVREESSE, ibid., 289.
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(2) Ibid., 288 (where the date is: 897).

(3) These two authors are in the Bonn edition, following Theophanes Continuatus; Ps.-Syrneon, 603-760, and Georges, 763-874. The first part of Georges Cont. stops at the reign of Leo VI, from whom cease the aforementioned dating.

(4) This second part is found *ibid.*, at the following, pp. 874-924. The dates indicated are omitted; we take them in the edition of V.M. ISTRIN, *Chro;tika Georgija Aniartola*, Petrograd, 1922, t. II, 48 and 64.

(5) Only one of the two dates is specified by the month, December 20, indiction 3, 6454.

(6) Nos. 2 and 3 are also found in GEORGES CONTINUÉ (Part II), ed. ISTRIN, loc. cit.

(7) LÉON DIACRE, ed. Bonn, 93. Theoretically, this could be the protobyzanera. This is less likely because of the late date.

(8) Ibid.: 5-6; (2) 48; 3) 178. Nos.³ i and 3 are reduced to No. 2, which surely indicates the indictional year. In No. 3, I corrected indiction 4, which is impossible, by indiction I, confusion being quite frequent between the two 'digits A and A.

decided to copy the Alexandrian era, diminishing it by an entire 15-year indictional series, without suspecting that any world era must be based on a lunar cycle.

Imperial documents are hardly more informative than chronographs. Most do not bear a date, and those that are dated by the year of the world and the indiction do not allow us to know in an assured way, by the statement alone, which era is used, because it is or can be a time of the year commun to the Byzantine era and the protobyzantine year. The notations of these documents are as follows: (i) March, indiction 5, year 6155 (1); (2) March, indiction year 6470 (2); 3) indiction 7, year 6472 (3). The first imperial document which, by virtue of the statement alone, surely designates the Byzantine era is the novella of Basil II, of 4 April, indiction 1, year 6496 (

Ecclesiastical documents dated by the era of the world are, until the xie century, quite rare. The oldest of these is canon 3 of the council in Trullo, where the following notations are read: January 15, indiction 4, year 6199 (5). We have seen in this date the first application of the Byzantine era(6). This is not certain, because who can prove to us that we are not facing the protobyzantine era? The years of this era are indeed ahead of the indiction of March 21 to August 31, and they arch me with the indiction of September 1 to March 20. The date indicated is therefore common to both eras. It took almost a century to meet anothersiastic ecclesiastical document accompanied by a worldyear. This is the speech of Taraise at his election tothepatriarchy: it is preceded by a lemma indicating the circumstance and the date: *indiction 8, year 6293.* The month is not indicated, but it is known that the event took place in December. Here again, therefore, we are faced with a date that may be suitable for xtwoeras (7). It is half a century later that we find for the first time a patriarchal document — it is not from Constantinople — where the Byzantine era is undoubtedly used with the beginning in September. This is the letter of the three iarch patrof Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem to the emperor Theophilus in the images. It is dated *April*, indiction 14, 6344 (8). Half a century later, we find a dating in the Byzantine era, unfortunately without the indication of the month, in the prefaceto the Nomocanon of Photius: 6391. It is then necessary to go down to the 2nd half of the tenth century to meet patriarchal documents bearing the year of the world. These are two acts, one of which is of Polyeucte, dated 6472, with the indiction 9 incohérente(9), and the other of Nicholas II Chrysoberges, dated correctly according to the Byzantine era: April 27, indiction 15, year 6495 (Io).

To conclude this examination of the use of world eras in the various historical sources, it can be said that the definitive predominance and generalization of the Byzantine era is towards the end of the tenth century (ii). Until then, we must be careful not to betoo assertive in favor of this era when we are in the presence of a year of the world that is not accompanied by an indiction, because it contains a possibility also for the Alexandrian era and for the protobyzantine era, and even for the rare era of 5507. I dare notspeak of the era of 5516 which seems to have been the fact only of chronographs. There are cases where

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(1) JGR, III, 253. I do not take into account the novella of 935, the manuscript tradition being uncertain.
(2) Ibid., 285.
(3) Ibid., 292.
(4) Ibid., 303-304.
(5) V. N. BENE: SEVI, Syntagme XIV titulorum, I, Petropoli, 2906, 145.
(6) Fr. RtYKL, Chronology, 296.
(7) MANSI, XII, 986.
(8) Edited by J. SAKKELION, in Mayr.-Xcxôç I("cplg, 8, 2864, 97.
(q) GRTJMEL, 11° 79!
- (10) Mr President, ID., No. 802.
(22) Let us recall, however, the case of the typikon of Evergétis, from the middle of the "lue siècle", where the alexan-
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drine. See above, p. 96, note 3.

the indiction itself is not enough to distinguish, namely when a part is common to two eras, the Protobyzantine era and the Byzantine era beginning in September. In these cases, as in those where the indiction is lacking, the era used can only be decided by means of other related data. It goes without saying that, when any precision is lacking, the lower the date, the more probability the probability is in favor of the Byzantine era.

It is interesting to note that a Western computist, in 771, already knows the Byzantine era (Ps.-Beda, *PL*, 90, 598).

REDUCTION RULES

Initially: from 1 January to 20 March, subtract 5,507; from 21 March to 31 December, subtract 5,508.

Subsequently: from 1 January to 31 August, subtract 5 508; from September to 31 December, subtract 5 509.

THE 28-YEAR SOLAR CYCLE THE 532-YEAR EASTER CYCLE

The lunar cycle of 19 years is enough to ensure the forecast of *the XIV lunae* in the monthly calendar, but does not make known the day of the week when it falls. Since the Christian Passover is celebrated on the Sunday following the XIV *Lunae*, it seemed useful to establish another cycle which makes it possible to predict on which day of the week the *EASTER XIV Lunae* meets and, consequently, the date of Easter Sunday. This is what the 28-year solar cycle responds to, the product of the multiplication of 7, corresponding to the numbers of the days of the week, by 4, corresponding to the Julienne tetraeterid. At the end of this period returns on the same day of the week to the same monthly calendar.

We didn't stop there. The 19-year lunar cycle bringing the *Easter XIV* to the samefortieth monthly, and the 28-year solar cycle bringing back to it on the same day of the week, the complexion of the two cycles provides a cycle of 532 years (28 x 19), at the end of which begins an identical series of Sunday Easter. In this way they can be fixed inadvance on the samedates. This perfect cycle caused the 95-year cycle, previously created to render the same service, to be abandoned.

The author of the 28-year cycle is unknown. As for the 532-year-old, three names appear about him: Annianos, Victorius of Aquitaine and Metrodorus. The first is attested by Georges le Syncelle. He tells us that Annianos lived under thep atriarch Theophilus; he does not say that this computist invented the 532-year cycle, but that he composed a Paschal cycle of 532 that started from the year 5534 of his era (1). This may simply mean that he has made a particular application of such a cycle, and leaves intact the question of the first inventor.

We are informed about Victorius by himself. It is also a proper application of the cycle that we find in him, without him learning anything about his origin (2).

As for Metrodorus, we know him only from Photius, who attributes to him an even different application of the cycle. Photius declares that he does not know anything about his person and tells us nothing about his time. He reproaches him for giving false Easter dates (3). I imagine that hewanted to keep the two dates of 6 April and 26 March which were those of the canon of Anatole, maintained in the reform of 353, which shows him already old, and I would not be surprised if his table was the first of its kind. This does not mean thathe himself came up with the idea of thisperiod; it may be a simple application to Easter dates. It is not impossible, and I think it is even probable, that Anatole must have known it, if not even he is the inventor, and used it inhis calculations for the age of theworld.

⁽I) GEORGES LE SYNCELLE, ed. Bonn, 63.

⁽²⁾ KRUSCH, Studien II, 25.

⁽³⁾ Photii bibliotheca Cod. 215: PG, 103, 392 AB.

We can see that there are several forms or frameworks of the 532-year cycle. We will specify them later and, as they are not the only ones, we will establish the entire register. There are also several forms of the 28-year cycle. The order asks that wetake it first.

We know three kinds of this cycle of 28 years (I am not talking about those who are involved in a cycle of 532 years without existence of its own): 1) The one in use in the West and which appears in the paintings of *The Art of Checking dates*: we hadto callit Dionysian because it was preserved in the Dionysian era; 2) The one which is used by the Alexandrians and which is related to the Alexandrian era; 3) The one employed by the Byzantines. The latter, like the lunar cycle, was distinguished in xcer& Oéatv, protobyzantin, and xa-rà cp15:7cv, Byzantine.

Here we give a concordance table of these cycles, taking as a starting point the year 532, where begins a first year of the Dionysian cycle.

SOLAR CYCLES

Dionysian Era	Dionysian	Protobyzantine	Byzantine	Alexandrian
532	1	21 (6041)	20 (6040)	4 . (6024)
533	2	22 (6042)	21 (6041)	5 (6025)
534	3	23 (6043)	22 (6042)	6 (6026)
535	4	24 (6044)	23 (6043)	7 (6027)
536	5	25 (6045)	24 (6044)	8 (6028)
537	6	26 (6046)	25 (6045)	9 (6029)
538	7	27 (6047)	26 (6046)	10 (6030)
539	8	28 (6048)	27 (6047)	11 (6031)
540	9	1 (6049)	28 (6048)	12 (6032)
541	10	2 (6050)	1 (6049)	13 (6033)
542	11	3 (6051)	2 (6050)	14 (6034)
543	12	4 (6052)	3 (6051)	15 (6035)
544	13	5 (6053)	4 (6052)	16 (6036)
545	14	6 (6054)	5 (6053)	17 (6037)
546	15	7 (6055)	6 (6054)	18 (6038)
547	16	8 (6056)	7 (6055)	19 (6039)
548	17	9 (6057)	8 (6056)	20 (6040)
549	18	10 (6058)	9 (6057)	21 (6041)
550	19	11 (6059)	10 (6058)	22 (6042)
551	20	12 (6060)	11 (6059)	23 (6043)
552	21	13 (6061)	12 (6060)	24 (6044)
553	22	14 (6062)	13 (6061)	25 (6045)
554	23	15 (6063)	14 (6062)	26 (6046)
555	24	16 (6064)	15 (6063)	27 (6047)
556	25	17 (6065)	16 (6064)	28 (6048)
557	26	18 (6066)	17 (6065)	1 (6049)
558	27	19 (6067)	18 (6066)	2 (6050)
559	28	20 (6068)	19 (6067)	3 (6051)

The first of these cycles is not related to any era and must predate the other two, because it could not have been established in competition with them. There can, however, be no question of giving it an antiquity out of proportion to its purpose. This iswhat has generally been done by setting as a starting point the year — 9 of the Dionysian era (where 1 of this era = 10 of the first solar cycle). This can only be the result of a retrograde calculation projecting the cycle into the past, a calculation undoubtedly due to unknown computists, who went back to that date and stopped there, because they wanted to cover the entire Christian era, which interested them.

The probable origin of this cycle would be placed, according to Ginzel, in 328, year which, in the paintings of L'Art de vérifier les dates, begins a solar cycle. The probability, according to this author, comes from the that this year is the first of such a cycle after the Council of Nicaea, which dealt with the Paschal question (i). We do not dare to comment on such a hypothesis. The case of this cycle shows us at least that we could easily accommodate a solar cycle and a lunar cycle not tuned together. And this is understandable, if it is only a question of fixing easter dates. Any year indeed can serve as a starting point to find the weekday of these dates. It is different if we hear to express the natural order of thingss, the one that proceeds from creation. The two cycles must then begin in the same year. Strictly, even, they must start on the same day of the week and month. This concordance is realized, as we have seen above, in the era of Anatole.

ORIGIN OF THE ALEXANDRIAN SOLAR CYCLE

Touching on the 28-year solar cycle, Schwartz develops a theory that we need to examine. For him, it is the Alexandrian solar cycle, its origin and its role in the creation of the era of the Alexandrine world. Here it is summarized.

The Alexandrian lunar cycle being constituted, a lunar cycle of 28 years is also established. He was given the year 304/305 as his first year; it happened that after two cycles, in the year 360/361, there was a coincidence for the restart of thelunar cycle and the solar cycle. By multiplying the years of these two cycles, 19 and 28, we obtained the great cycle of 532 years. By multiples of it, taking into account that it was necessary to respect the mysticism of the number 5500 for the coming of the Christ, we obtained the Alexandrian era of the ter thôth 5493 BEFORE our era (2).

Schwartz does not give an explanation of this date of 304/305 for the creation of the solar cycle. This year is not the first of a lunar cycle or an indiction (3). It is the first s implement of a Julian tetraeterid. Why prefer it among so many others? Why especially have we abandoned the year 285, the first of a tetraeterid and the first year of the first Alexandrian lunar cycle? This year should first have cometo mind by the advantage it presented of giving the same beginning to the two cycles which interested the Pascalcomputus, by inserting them also in the years of Diocletian. Such an arrangement is so natural that we actually find a form of 532-year cycle that begins in that same year 285. Other years could be advantageouslychosen: those in which the Ie^r thôth fell on a Sunday: such as 286-287, 297-298, 308-309, 313-314, or the years 286, 297, 303, 308, 313, where March 21 was also a Sunday.

Schwartz's designation of the year 304'305 as the beginning of the first Alexandrian solar cycle is all the more surprising since it makes the year of the Alexandrian world era begin in the Ie^r thôth, and the ter thôth in the year 304-305 falls on a Tuesday. If at least he had thought of March 25 which, in the year 305, is a Sunday, concordance that exists precisely in the first year of the Alexandrian world era, and if he had added that the year 305 was the first where this concordance took place, after the creation of the Alexandrian lunar cycle, his system would at least have had an appearance of truth. One apparen ce, we say, because can we not conceive of the cycle previously established so that the year 304/305 is only a renewal of it: this is the position of D. Lebedev (4). And if we think of the era that is said to result from it, is there not the possibility of a reversereport? It is not because the year 304/305 is the first of an Alexandrian cycle that it should be put at the origin of this form

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(I) GINZEL, III, 132.
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⁽²⁾ Ed. SCHWARTZ, art. Chronicon Paschale, RE, III, 2466.

⁽³⁾ I_i'indiction was then 5 years, see Part III, p. 192.

⁽⁴⁾ D. 1, EBEDEV, Tak nazyvaemaja "vizantijskaja" era, Viz. Obozr., 3, 1917, 19-20.

cycle; just because it fits in with the era does not mean that it should be seen as an explanation for the era. Wouldn't it be the era that would be the explanation for the cycle? Before deciding definitively, let's look at the explanations proposed by Lebedev.

The system of cand scholar, in substance, that is to say as to the problem of the era, does not differ from that of Schwartz. It is simply the date put forward by him that does not satisfy him. For him, it is higher in the past, among the cyclically corresponding dates (i.e. distant by a multiple of 28) to 361, the year of common beginning of the lunar and solar cycles, that he will look for the origin of our cycle. First presents itself to him the year 277 (361 - 277 = 84 = 28 x 3). This is the one he holds for the beginning of the first lunar cycle of Anatole; it therefore seems quite natural that Anatole had to establish it or at least accept it, if it already existed, as the starting point of the solar cycle: the two cycles will thus have been set in motion together. A very attractive explanation for whom the origin of the Lunar Cycle of Anatole is placed in 277. Lebedev, however, is not satisfied with it (1). This date is not old enough. Another is advanced: 249 (361 — 249 — II2 = 28 x 4). This year is the first of a reign, celui of Decia. It is also the first of rome's second millennium. For this double reason, Dionysius of Alexandria took it for the beginning of his lunar cycle of 8 years. What particularly strikes Lebedev is that this year 249 formed the starting point of aso-called Roman era and after 532 years (28 x 19) gave birth to the kronikoni of the Georgians, another period of 532 years. This period thus has its explanation by this foundation on the solar cycle (2). But Lebedev wants to go back even higher, namely, to the time of the Easter quarrel under Pope Victor. The first year of the cycle that then occurs is $193 (361 - 193 = 168 = 28 \times 6)$. At that time the Church of Alexandria was led by Saint Demetrius (189-231). However, the Ethiopian liturgical books honour this bishop for having established the calculation of the epacts to fix the dates of Easter and the preparatory fast. It is entirely appropriate to link this computus to the aforesaid date, which is also the first year of a reign (Septimius Severus). Lebedev thinks that Demetrius used an 8-year lunar cycle and that his initiative consisted in joining the solar epacts, thus marking their periodic return to the same Easter dates. He therefore had to compose a table spread over a multiple of 28 years, 56 years at least. When the 8-year lunar cycle was replaced by another (the 19-year cycle), nothing was changed in the 28year solar cycle that continued to take place according to the course begun. The year 193 is the earliest precise date to which Lebedev relates the Alexandrian cycle of 28 years (3). But it is even higher that he places the creation. He honoured it, not to christian computists, but to alexandrian astronomers. This origin seems to him to be assured by a text

de Paul l'Alexandrin, fl :013 yviiwou, 77-iiarLL0sit)v, written in the year 94 of Diocletian (377-378), where the term of 0E.:0 i to designate the days of the week manifests an ancient and pre-Christian tradition. Certainly, the antiquity of Paul's terminology cannot be a proof for that of his calculations, because it is also seen in computer specialists, such as George the first theorist of the Byzantine era. Moreover, Paul makes no mention of the 28-year cycle: it is rather involved than explained in his calculations; by applying them to the year 94 of Diocletian, he does not give ita rank that would allow to identify a certain form of cycle. But it is from the calculations themselves that Lebedev deduces Paul's employment from the 28-year-old Alexandrian cycle. Paul warns that it is necessary to add two days called za_0oXtxa.i. (4.44 to the addition of the urs contained in the years of Diocletian before operating their division by 7, from which will result the day of the week. Lebedev believes it necessary to explain these two days to be added by the discrepancy that exists between the era of Diocletian and the Alexandrian era which are not matched. The solar cycle used is the

Alexandrian solar cycle. But its application to the years of

⁽I) D. LEBEDEV, ibid., 22-24.

⁽²⁾ Ibid., 24-26.

⁽³⁾ Ibid., 26-29.

Diocletian requires the addition of the two xl0oXtzod, (1). This explanation would be convincing if it were the only one conceivable. In fact, there is a much simpler one. These two days represent the difference of the epacts in the first year of Dioclétiin, between the Ier thôth, which falls on a Friday, and the following Sunday. This incidence of the I er thôth is something which must have been noted as soon as this era was constituted or shortly afterwards, and which it was easy in any case to determine by retrograde calculation whatone wanted to fix the process inquestion. Even if it had been necessary to resort to a world era already constituted, that of Constantinople, formed in 353, would have done the trick very well. Let us not forget that the computus which was then established hadnotyet, at the time Paul was writing, been supplanted by that of Theophilus of Alexandria. Let us also not forget that there is no attestation of the Alexandrian era before the episcopate of this same Theophilus. We will therefore conclude from all this that nothing is less certain than the origin and seniority that Lebedev assigns to the 28-year-old Alexandrian solar cycle based on the data of our astronomer.

But let's also see what to think of the other dates put forward by Lebedev, 193, 249, 277. Wouldn't one or the other be at the origin of the cycle? Let's start with the oldest, 193. This is far from being the case. It is not indicated anywhere. It is because it is in line with the envisaged cycle that Lebedev appoints it. In addition, and above all, the activity of Demetrius in fact of computing is not assured historically. Eusebius does not mention it, but simply indicates this bishop as a contemporary of PApe Victor, whose intervention he recounts about the celebration of the Passover. This is probably what gave rise to the subject of attributing to Demetrius an honourable role in the quarrel. Moreover, the affabulation presented by the Copto-Ethiopian liturgy does notspecify in any way whether they are solar or lunar epacts, but it is very likely that it is aimed, at least mainly, at the lunar epacts and consequently the Alexandrian lunar cycle, on which the date of Easter depends more directly. It will have been traced back to the first quarrels concerning this feast and, consequently, attributed to the bishop of Alexandria sitting at the time.

If it is the year 249, to place there the common beginning of the Alexandrian solar cycle and the oktaétéride of Bishop Dionysius, welack here too a sufficient point of support. The year 249 cannot be taken as a first year of reign, for Decus did not begin to reign until September-October 249, the Egyptian year 248-249 being completed at the I^{er} thôth (August 29). Lebedev assumes that the year 250 being that of the second consulate of Deceus, the previous year will have been taken as the first year of the reign. It is not possible to attribute such a design to Denys. It should also be noted that the Paschal letter in which Dionysius formulates his oktaétéride and his rule of the equinox was written during the persecution, so not before 250; it is to be believed that the bishop, concretely, meant the future Easter, not the past Easter, including that of 249. As for the "Era of the Romans", beginning with the second millennium of Rome, precisely in 249, and the cycle of S32 years, begun on the same date and continuing with the kronikoni of the Georgians, there is another way to explain it than to make it depend on the Alexandrian solar cycle of 28 years. This means, simpler, more natural, is the attachment to the protobyzantine lunar cycle of 19 years. This is what we will see in the next chapter.

We do not have to go into the year 277. We have seen above that there is no real coincidence at this date between the Anatole cycle and the Alexandrian solar cycle, since the latter is not counted in the same way. This is the year 258, where there is a common epactal beginning of the sun and moon that Anatole was able and had to place the beginning of a cycle of 28 years. It is such a coincidence that Anatole had to find at creation, but he had to take into account the mysticism of the number 5 500 relating to the coming of Christ. It is the year 5500 BCE that the

provides it. This was the second year of creation, the first, 5501, being the precyclical year.

Thus, for none of the years indicated, 193, 249, 277, 305, there is no sufficient basis to see the date of creation of the Alexandrian solar cycle. There is also no evidence, testimony or clue, that it existed before. But it must also besaid that they must all be set aside. We will do this by considering what is the basis of the Alexandrian solar cycle. This basis, as Lebedev points out, consists in the concordance of 25 March with Sunday. The year in which thisconcordance is the first of thecycle. Why was this concordance chosen to make it the basis of the cycle? This is, says Lebedev, because March 25 was the Roman equinox (1). That such a reason could have, in Egypt, where the year began the let thôth, determine the foundation of the solar cycle, this is what seems quite implausible, either that we place ourselves before the Easter quarrels of the end of the II th century (they are the ones who made the attention turn on the vernal equinox), or that we place ourselves in their time, because then the equinox was already fixed by Ptolemy on March 22. And even assuming that in 193, that in 249, we still observed the Roman equinox for the solar cycle, it is sure at least that Anatole placed it on March 22, and we saw that on this monthly date, when he put the beginning of the lunar cycle, he also placed the beginning of the solar cycle, that in 258. The basis of 25 March, if it existed then, was thereby removed. Let's move on.

When the Alexandrian reform of computustook place, the concordance on the same day of the epactal trade of the sun and the moon wasbroken: that is why it was not sought, the foundation of the lunar cycle being moreover only conventional, that the firstyear of the solar cycle was a year in which eitherthe 1st day or the 2nd of March fell on a Sunday. It was found much more convenient to start this cycle, like the lunar cycle, with the years of Diocletian, that is to say at the ler thôth of the year 284/285 (August 29, 284): it was a Friday. There is evidence of the use of such a form of solar cycle in the method of Paul the Alexandrian to find the days of the week. It is indeed by the years of Diocletian that he proceeds. The 28-year cycle that is framed there is more involved than explained, but any other form of this cycle is excluded. This era began on a Friday, it was enough to add two days to the total of the days calculated in the years of Diocletian. To involve, like Lebedev, the era of the Alexandrian world, to explain this addition, is not only superfluous, but without reason to exist, because if this era already existed and was known, one would simply have divided the years of the world by 28, without having to add anything to the total. We see here that the date of March 25 is completely foreign to Paul's calculations and consequently that the solar cycle that is based on it is ignored as is ignored the era that it accompanies. Abolished, if it existed, by Anatole who placed the equinox on March 22, it could not be restored by the Alexandrian reform of the computus, which dated the equinox to March 21, so that it is absolutely excluded that in 305 and thereafter it was possible to use a solar cycle based on the Roman equinox. If, therefore, the date of 25 March canbe the beginning of the Alexandrian solar cycle, it can only be, for another reason, and this could not be established until later. Note that Paul, who wrote in 378, still ignores this cycle and the era associated with it. But at this date, we are very close to the time when the Alexandrian era was created. There is therefore every reason to believe that both were built at the same time. That is what will become clearer.

THE SOLAR CYCLE AND THE GLOBAL ERA

To constitute the Alexandrian era, it was first necessary, this is the primordial element, to make it begin with an early Alexandrian lunar cycle, calculated, by means of multiples, on the recurrence as close as possible to the number S500, a number which, formystical seasons, means the years elapsed before the advent of Christ. In addition, and this required the previous condition, that the

(i) I). I,EBEnEv,

first year of the world, for a mystical reason too, began on March 25 on a Sunday. The mystical reason is that March 25 is the day of the Incarnation of the Word. The first day of creation could only be put on Sunday. The year which meets these combined and mutuallyconditioned requirements: the first year of a lunar cycle built according to the Alexandrian computus, concordance in this year of 25 March and Sunday, distance from the recurrence of the lunar cycle closest to 5500, is the year 5492 BCE. Indeed, 5492 + 285 (starting point of the Alexandrian cycle) = 5777 = 304 > < 19 + I (I^{re} recurring year in 285).

In this creation of the Alexandrian era, we see obviously that it was necessary to start from a preexisting lunar cycle and calculate the necessary multiples taking into account the other requirements; As for assuming a pre-established solar cycle, it does not appear atall. The only thing that is required is that in the first year of the lunar cycle at creation, we have a March 25 which is a Sunday. But this coincidence may well have been conceived and sought precisely in view of the era to be constituted, therefore it is at the same time as this that the solar cycle could be built. We can also imagine that the solar cycle was previously established on the basis of said concordance, independently of the lunar cycle and without the idea of the era, and that then from the meeting to the same year of the beginning of both, one has by means of the cycle of 532 years built the era of the Alexandrian world. Such a process is theoretically possible; it is not historically. For it to be historically, it would be necessary that themystical idea that made choose March 25 existed before the creation of the Alexandrian era: however, this date of March 25 could not be taken as that of the Incarnation of the Word until the end of the IH century, after the adoption in the East of the Christmas festival on December 2. It was precisely at this time under Bishop Theophilus of Alexandria (385-413) and Emperor Arcadius (395-408), that the Alexandrian era was created. It is therefore obvious, historically, that it was at the same time that the Alexandrian era was created and in the act of its creation that 25 March was intended to be the first day of the world (1). As a result and by the same time, the Alexandrian solar cycle was created.

To obtain the year 5492 BCE as the first in the world, it was possible either to calculate the decamenting of years from the Anatole era, resulting from the shift in the cycle, taking into account the precyclical year of that era, or to look at which beginning of the lunar cycle 25 March fell on a Sunday—it was necessarily in 361—and then to movefromthere, by a multiple of 532 and reach 5492 BCE as the first year of the world. Or, much more simply, we will have eliminated a year, the precyclical year, in the era of Panodorus and taken as the first year of the world the first year of the Alexandrian solar cycle, where precisely the desired concordance was located. Panodorus is, in short, as for the year, the creator of the Alexandrian solar cycle; it is also he who, in creating his era, provides the elements from which would emerge the era of Annianos, said by Alexandrian antonomase. As we have seen above, Panodorus simply transposed, including the precyclical year, the Era of Anatole according to the lag resulting from the reform of its cycle.

(r) It would indeed have been possibleto place the creation of the world a higher lunar cycle, namely, at 5511 BCE, and then the ter day of creation would have been March 22, and the 4th day, when the sun was created, March 25, and this would have been well suited, Christ being the sun of justice, and March 25 being the day, recently admitted, of his Incarnation, and especially the traditional day of his Resurrection. The year commonly received for this last event was the year 31 AD = 5542 of the one we assume here. To save it, one could choose in the first decade after 5500 the year in which to place the birth of Christ; there was one that suited admirably: the year 5508 = minus 4 BC. At the same time as it ensured the normal duration of Christ's life, it brought one more mystical concordance: this year, in fact, March 25 was a Wednesday. In this construction, the solar cycle would have begun in the year of creation, either on March 25, the genetic day of the sun, or rather on the 22nd. for convenience of calculation. Such a system, respecting history, corrected two serious drawbacks of that of Panodorus: birth of Christ before 5500, and break with tradition on the date (days and year) of the Passion and resurrection, put by him onux 19 and 21 March 4. But it did not offer as much or as harmonious mystical parallels as the one that was adopted.

The shift in the cycle resulted, for the first year of the cycle, in the incidence of March 21, equinox, Wednesday and, consequently, Sunday, March 8 or March 25, as the first day and foundation of the solar cycle. For the precyclic year, Panodorus gets March19, Sunday, as the first day. We have said how the need for him to give three years to the public life of Christ prevented him from keeping the same date as Africanus, 31 AD, to the Passion and Resurrection of Christ, March 2, 3and 25, and to carry these events to 34 AD, to March 19 and 21, and how in this operation he had changed the date marked in the cycle for this year (5th of the cycle), March 21, march 20, with effect of having the Resurrection of Christ to March 21, equinox.

This essay by Panodorus clearly shows that the date of March 25, as the date of the Incarnation of the Word had not yet been imposed, and that in any case it had not yet been used to make it the first day of the world.

As the first year of the solar cycle of Panodorus was on Sunday, March 18 or 25, it was very easy for Annianos, without calculation, simply by removing the precyclical year, to obtain its world era march 25, 5492 BC. To put it better, it was this coincidence of 25 March and Sunday, the 25th being already taken as the date of the Incarnation, that suggested making it the first day of creation.

This is the origin of the Alexandrian solar cycle. It derives by shift, like the Alexandrian lunar cycle, from the Anatole computus. But unlike the lunar cycle, it was only when the era based on it was created, and in this very creation, that the Alexandrian solar cycle was also created, that is to say towards the end of the I/M. Previously, we used a solar cycle, or a calculation involving it, which started, with the lunar cycle, from the first year of Diocletian.

For the solar cycle of the World Era of Constantinople, the process was much simpler. It was constituted at the reform of computing a natolien and by this very reform. Everything was done in the same operation. The shift of the lunar cycle led to that of the solar cycle, and similarly that of the world era. Both cycles began in the same year as with Anatole, but the concordance of the starting point on the same day was necessarily destroyed by the uninterrupted development of the epacts of the two stars. Let us also remember that in the proto-Byzantine era, alignment with the results, for the solar cycle as for the lunar cycle, to distinguish the

Oécnv cycle and the

Y.Y.-rdc cycle_(i.0.05LV.) The Byzantine era obviously had only the za cycle. Tà cAcnv.

In conclusion, neither of the two alexandrian and constantinopolitan world eras(protobyzantine and Byzantine) proceeds or depends on a pre-established solar cycle independently of the lunar cycle, from which one would have traced, by a multiple of 532 (28 x 19) to the first year of creation.

But the Alexandrian era was built directly on a pre-established lunar cycle, to which was attached, when the era was created, a cycle accompanied by 28 years. The Constantinopolitan era, with its lunar cycle and its solar cycle, results from the shift of all theseelements at once operated on the anatole computus.

THE PASCAL CYCLE OF S32 YEARS

Only the Era of Anatole was built on a pre-established lunar cycle and solar cycle, but fixed in dependence on one another by their beginning on the same day of the month and the week. It is very difficult to conceive that Anatole built his era, that is to say, calculated the return of this concordance at the origin of the world without resorting to the cycle of 532 years. However, it is not a multiple of 532 that separatesthe beginning of the first cycle starting in 258, but a multiple of 532 minus the duration of a 95-year cycle. The reason for this is that this distance: 5757 (= [II x 532] — 95) offered him at the origin of the world the same perfect concordance for the

beginning of both lunar and solar cycles and allowed him at the same time to respect the mysticism of the number 5500 for the birth or incarnation of Christ. The cyclic distance of 95 years, except when plays the bissexte, reproduces indeed and ensures here, theyear 258 not being reached by this exception, the same perfect agreement. In other words, the year 5500 BCE offering the same concordance for both cycles as the year 258 CE, it is the distance between these terms, i.e. 5757, which was **chosen for the first departure of the cycles at** creation, in preference to the distance 5852, multiple of 532 (532 x ii), which would have put this departure in the year 5595 BC and thus undermined the mysticism of numbers concerning the advent of Christ.

The cycle of S32 years which was in progress in 258 (it was the second from 5500 BC) was to end, taking into account the precyclical year of creation, in the year of the world 5853. It was therefore in 5854 that a new cycle had to start again. This year corresponds to 353 AD, just 95 years after 258. It is quite likely that Anatole must have marked this distance before the end of the cycle, and that this is what Victorius' indication responds to: *Initium paschalis graecorum seu Machedonurn post annos XCV*. The year 353 is the year in which the reformof thelunar cycle of Anatole took place. It seems that it was on the occasion of the completion of these 95 years and thus of the great cycle of 532 years that this reform was made. Such a deadline, especially after the example of the Alexandrians, called for a clarification, a reveredcomputing.

The reform, by the shift of the lunar cycle, raised the era of the world by eight years. But the cycle itself was aligned with this era. In this way, the year 5853 instead of being the end of the cycle, as in Anatole, became the beginning of the cycle. Chez Anatole, it corresponded to 352 AD; now it meant the year 344.

This year 5853, we remember seeing it inscribed in the 1.-poz6,- iv of the *Chronicon Paschale*. It does not indicate that it is the beginning of a great cycle of S32 years. But placed there and so to speak displayed in this document which is like the program or the schema of the new computus, such a date can not be the result of chance. The computists certainly intended to start a new 532-year cycle by shifting from a previous cycle, that of Anatole. It is this great computist that can be considered the inventor or at least the oldest known user of this great cycle.

The 532-year cycle was therefore first used to constitute the era of the world. But it is obvious that it could also be used for the fixing of Easter dates. The length of the period, the distant deadline for the return of the same Easter made a shorter period, which was that of 95 years, desired. Since it wastoo careful for its correct application and thus exposed to errors, it was not long before the 532-year period was also used, and the two periods were used concurrently.

The oldest historically located authors who report the 532-year cycle as the Easter period are Annianos, around the year 400 (i) and Victorius (2) around the middle of the fifth century. With them, it is also necessary to name Metrodorus (3), whose time is unfortunately not known.

The applications of the 532-year cycle are quite numerous. Here is the list (we indicate only those that have mentions):

First there are the cycles that take their starting point in the year of the Passion or Resurrection of Christ, three in number:

1) That of Annianos, corresponding in 5534 of his era (beginning of the year 25 March, day of resurrection) corresponding to the year 42 of the Dionysian era. It is attested by George the Syncelle (4).

(I) GEORGES LE SYNCELLE, 63. (2) KRUSCH, Studien II, 25. (3) Photii bibliotheca, loc. cit. GO GEORGES LE SYNCELLE, toc. Eyelash.

The table is not preserved. The end of the first cycle is marked by patriarch Nikephoros in 6065 (-- 573 dionys.) (1).

- 2) That of Victorius, starting at the consulate of the two Gemini, 28 AD, the year in which he placed the Passion of Christ. Thist able is preserved (2);
- 3) That of *the Chronicon Paschale*, beginning in the year 5540 of its era (protobyzantine era), corresponding to the Dionysian year 31. The cycle begins with the year on **March** 21. The end of the first cycle is marked in the *Chronicon* in the ^{35th} year of Justinian, namely 562 (3).

Then come two cycles starting from the creation of the world:

- 4) In the Alexandrian era, first year of the ^{1st} cycle = 5492 BC, first year of the ^{12nd} cycle: 5853 = 361 Dionysian. Among copts and Ethiopians, the years of this cycle are called years of Grace or Mercy (4). The cycles themselves do not have a numeration.
- 5) In the Byzantine era: first year of the te^r cycle = 5508 (-5,509protobyzantine), first year of the 12nd cycle: 5853 = 345 Dionysian (= 344, if the era is protobyzantine).

Forming other eras or proceeding from other eras, we have:

- 6) A cycle used by ethiopians, starting with the era of Diocletian, corresponding to the year 5777 of their world era and 285 Dionysian (5). The years of this cycle are also named grace or mercy. It is such an era that followed Metrodore who is probably the author (6).
- 7) An era of the Alexandrians of which we see an example in Ananias of Iraq, which puts the commencement of its Paschal table of 532 years in the year of the Alexandrians 828 (7). This date can only be explained if the point of deprart of the calculation is fixed at the beginning of the Paschal cycle which, focused on the Alexandrian world era, begins in the year 172 BC. We obviously chose this cycle for the development of an era because it includes in its course the coming of Christ.
- 8) The Armenian Paschal cycle, created in the conditions that we will say later, and whose beginning is in the year 562 Dionysian.
 - 9) The era of the Romans that we also have to explain and that begins in the year 249.
- Io) The 532-year Georgian cycle accOding the Georgian world era and both deriving from the Roman era. This cycle began in 781 and began again in 1213. We will also have to deal with that.
- ii) Finally, there is, being attached to any era or event, the cycle of 532 years which is in the paintings of *L'Art de vérifier les dates* and which has been attributed to Denys the Little, attribution now disputed. We will call it the so-called Dionysian cycle.
- 12) There is also a cycle that begins at the Incarnation of the Savior. It is reported by the *Chronicon Paschale*, which does not indicate those who used it (8), so that it is impossible to know in which era it fit and consequently what was its chronological starting point.
- 13) The same source also reports a cycle that began at the Resurrection of Christ without marking in which year those who employed him placed this event (9).
 - (1) Nicephori..., opuscula historica, ed. DE BOOR, 98.
 - (2) Edition in KRUSCH, Studien II, 27-54.
 - (3) Chronicon Paschale, 685-687.
 - (4) M. CHAINE, La chronologie des temps chrétiens de l'Égypte et de l'Ethiopie, Paris, 1925, p. 111-119.
 - (5) *Ibid.*
 - (6) Photii bibliotheca, loc. cit.
 - (0) Fr. CONYBEARE, Attardas of Sbire: (A. D.C. 600-650), BZ, 6, 1897, 584.
 - (7) Chronicon Paschale, 21.
 - (8) Ibid., 21.

We give below a synoptic table of the various cycles dated 532 years, following the chronological order, not of the creation of the cycle, because this order is often not known, but of the year in which its starting point was marked.

EASTER CYCLES OF S32 YEARS ACCORDING TO THE CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF THEIR STARTING POINT (The dates in parentheses are those of the Dionysian era)

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1. In the Byzantine era: 1C^1 = 5508 BC, 12nd (345)
 2. In the Alexandrian era: I = 5492 BC; I2e (361);
 3. Era according to the Alexandrians: 172 BC. J.-C.;
 4. From the Nativity of Christ: ler (?) (without a landmark);
 5. Of the Passion (Victorius): ler (2 8); 2nd(560);
 6. Of the Passion (Chronicon Paschale): ler = 5540 (31); 2nd 6072 (563);
 7. Of the Passion (Annianos): 1st = 5534 (4^2); 2nd 6066 (574)
 8. In the Roman era: 1 ----- 5758 (protobyzantine era) (249); 2nd, 6290 (781);
 9. In the era of the Martyrs: ler I Diocl. = 5777 (Alexandrian era) (284'5)
                          2nd 533 Diocl. = 6309 (Alexandrian era) (816'7);
Io. So-called Dionysian cycle: I (532), 2nd (1064);
II. Armenians: A) Aeas Cycle: Armenian Era: 10 (562); (B) Ananias cycle: I er (657);
         C) Cycle of John the Deacon: Armenian era: 533 (1084);
12. Kronikoni of the Georgians: I (thirteenth counting since creation) = 6385 (world era
                                 Georgian) (781);
                             2nd (counting since inception) — 6917 (world era
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Georgian) (1313).

THE NATIONAL ERA AND THE EASTER CYCLE OF ARMENIANS

It was through Armenian historians that we experienced the reform of the Anatolian cycle in 353, from which the protobyzantine era, then the Byzantine era, emerged. They talk about it because it is intimately linked to theheart and they had to talk about it as soon as they wanted to explain the origin of this era. It is this filiation that we are going to expose now.

We have seen above that at the end of the 95-year Anatolian cycle, which ended in 352, Andrew, one of the mainauthors of the reform that took place then, composed a table of the *Easter XIV Lunae* that began in 353 and ended in 552. It was the following year that served as the starting point for the Armenian national era. Historians of this No.Us nationmake known the circumstancesthat gave rise to the creation of this Era. We will use their testimony, but we will be careful to unravel the original elements of those that are due to a transformative perspective.

Here is what John the Fathersaid: "The year in which the calculations of the bicentenary canon (of Andrew) were exhausted, began the Armenian era. It was 304 years since the Roman era, which makes 16 cycles of 19 years. Then the Armenian era opened; the Easter full moon returnson April 13. After 9 years was invented the perfect cycle of Alexandria by Aeas and his collaborators, which is composed of 532 years. The Easter full moon was set for April 4, which we call the 10th gun, counting from April 13. It was made the initial point of this cycle. In the first year of the Armenian era, the spring equinox was at the 13th ahégan; when the fiftieth cycle was founded after 9 years, the equinox fell on the 15th; it was the second year of the tetraeterid Olympiad called leap (t). »

The invention attributed here to Aeas of the 532-year cycle must be understood only as an application of this cycle specific to the Armenian nation, since it existed before Aeas. We will return later to the era of the Romans.

What there is to note is that the first year of the era that has its full Easter moon on April 4 is called roe canon, counting from April 13. This means, of course, that the Easter full moon of April 13 is that of the first year of the lunar cycle, and that of April 4 is that of the 10th year. This is precisely what we find in the cycle described in -.. -pozr'ic; "IV of the " *Chronicon Paschale* which presents the cycle Y-C/.17. Oéaty of the reform of 353. There is therefore no doubt thatthis reform was carried out and received in Armenia, and precisely according to this cycle.

The text of John the Deacon also tells us that nine years passed after the end of the bicentenary cycle, before the 532-year cycle was created; that is, it was the first year of the era

in 562, the 2nd year of tetraeterid, as he specifies. But it does not give us the reason for this nine-year interval. The explanation is provided by several other authors.

Here's what an anonymous author says:

"During the reign of Justinian, came the term of the 200-year period of which Andrew was the author, and disorder began to creep into the return of the Easter full moons, as well as into the calendar. So a scientist... named Aeas, summoned to him men versed in these matters... They created a period whose revolution is 532 years... They also found that it ended on 25 March, starting on 13 April. As nine years had passed since the decemnovennal cycle (this is the proto-Byzantine cycle), they took4 April (i.e. the year in which the full moon is 4 April) and said Io for the Armenian era, a term they adopted taking into account the progression of this era, and deciding that they would then advance nine years, and subsequently 19 in 19, and that the five-centenary period would open on 4 April (1). »

In clearer terms, this means that the year in which the era was founded, i.e. 562, when the full moon was April 4, would be called the Io° of the era, because the starting point of the era was placed nine years earlier, when Andrew's bicentenary cycle was completed in 552.

Another author, Guiragos, says: "As, when the 200th year of this cycle (of Andrew) expired, the full moon arrived on March 25, while in the beginning it was on April4, one could not go back to the origin, because after March 25 came April 13, and nine Easter full moons were in the meantime. Then the disturbance was introduced into the order of the feastsand into all the methods of the calendar; Patriarch Moses gathered the scholars of his time, among whom were Athanasius..., and they founded an era for the Armenians, in order to regulate by this means the time of the Passover and the other feasts. Mais having been unable to stand in the true point and protect himself from error during the course of nine years, a very skilful scholar of Alexandria, named Aeas, seeing the confusion reigning in all the Churches, gathers with him the computists of all the countries... Atthen, having continued the canon of André by a cycle of 532 years connected with this canon, they created the period called cinqcentenaire... and gave it as its starting point on 4 April (2). »

Let us quote another testimony, that of Orbélian:

"The year 4 of the patriarcat of Moses, catholicos of Armenia, and the 1 oth of the government of Mezizius Knouni, marzban of Armenia, in 553 of the era of the Savior (in reality 552 AD), ends the bicentenary cycle of Andrew. That same year, the Passover fell on March 25, while the cycle (of Andrew) started on April 4; and we could not resume at the beginning, because after March 25 was on April 4 and 9 full Easter moons were missing in the meantime. This caused the order of all annual feaststo be disturbed, and it became necessary to establish an era for the Armenians in order to remedy this disorder. Indeed, this reform was accomplished in the io° year of the Armenian era by Aeas who settled the infallible method of the fivecentenary cycle. When we establish our era in a great council held in the city of Tevin, the province of Siounik' had as bishop Verthanès... (3)"

Based on these and similar testimonies that needless to be reported, this is what happened.

According to the reform of 353, the ter cycle of the new style began proleptically in 344 and ended in 362 but it was as early as 353 that, by necessity, had to begin its application. It was therefore this year that André had to set his table. He thus began it in the middle of the first cycle, at

⁽I) DULAURIER, 59-60.

⁽²⁾ DULAURIER, 62-63. When the Armenian author says that the 532-year cycle is connected to Andrew's canon, it must be understood that it begins at the same Passover as him, April 4, but not that it begins where the said canon ends.

⁽³⁾ DULAURIER, 64-65.

year 10e and continued it until the year 552, year 19 of the cycle. We thus have to count the 200 years Io complete cycles whose completion is in 552, preceded by Io years appearing in in the first cycle (353-362). The last year of André's table was the last of the II cycle. That was in 552. The year 553 was to be the first of the I2nd cycle. The Armenians did not comunderstand André's table; they imagined that it was a cycle bringing back the same Easter moons after 200 years. They were disoriented. A confusion ensued that ended only after nine years, and it was only in the first year that they again met the Easter moon of April 4 that began Andrew's table and created the cycle of 532 years, in the first year of their era.

This era, the thing is to be noted, begins precisely with the beginning of the proto-byza ntin lunar cycleand proceeds from it. It is in the first year of this cycle that the creation of the era is thus suspended.

Care must be taken, however, not to confuse the Armenian era with the 532-year Armenian cycle. All the testimonies agree on this. The era was created as soon as the bicentenary cycle ended in 553 (1), without any consideration of cycle. It is likely that Andrew's table had in agreement a regular numeration where to place the Paschal moons, either by indictions, or by the era of the protobyzantine world, or by years of Diocletian as in tpoz/4. The Armenians wanted tohave a number of their own, which they started where Andrew's table ended. It was their era that was instituted at the Council of Tevin held under the Catholicos Moses (552/553). It was only after nine years, during which they tried in vain to repeata regularcycle, that they inaugurated their 532-year cycle, the beginning of which they set in 561/562.

Before going any further, a point must be clarified in the Armenian presentations concerning the origin of their era. They say that the Easter full moon that ended Andrew's cycle was on March 25. This was certainly not so on the table of André, whose 19-year lunar cycle was that of the reform of 353. This cycle began on April 13 and led with the game of epacts on March 26 for the 19th year: this one appears in the -rpoz6c, IV of the *Chronicon Paschale*. It was at the end of this year that the leap of the moon took place, which advanced the epact of one more unit, the following year, the first of a cycle. But the Armenians having adopted 25 March following the Aeas conference (2), this date was necessarily to replace that of 26 March in the accounts of historians concerning the foundation of the era. It was only on that of April 6 that they quarreled with the Byzantines whohad fully complied with the Alexandrian dates.

To fully understand and use the Armenian era, one must know how they measure the years.

The Armenian year consists of 365 days divided into 12 months, plus 5 epogone days at the end of the year. We see that it is the same system as with the Egyptians. But, unlike these, the Armenians remained for a long time without receiving the leap reform, and their great era did not know the sixthepogone every 4 years. Their year is thus a vague year, whose beginning in relation to the seasons and in relation to the Julian calendar advances every four years by one day. The beginning of this Armenian year is the IC¹ navasart. When the Armenian era was created after the final Passover of andrew's canon (552), the I navasart, by the play of the vague years, fell on the II of July. It was this date, I I July 552, that opened the Armenian era. The 4th year of the era began in 556, the July Io; in 560, on July 9, and so on, every 4 years.

It emerges from this that the Armenian era cannot, because of these vague years, serve

⁽¹⁾ Guiragos is explicit about this. Other authors are less so. It would seem, according to Dulaurier's anonymous, that theera was created at the same time as the 532-year cycle, but that it was made to begin 9 years earlier. It is more likely that if the two had been created together, they would have been given the same beginning.

⁽²⁾ See above, section VII.

of paschal cycle and that the Paschal cycle of 532 years is established on the Julian calendar, specific to computists and liturgists, who translated for each year the Paschal date into Armenian date.

This obligation, imposed by the use of the vague year, to resort to the concordance of the Roman calendar for their Easter and menologe, was an embarrassment for the Armenians. About a century after the foundation of the era, the Catholicos Anastasius wanted to suppress it by establishing a fixed calendar. For this he resorted to an Armenian scientist versed in computing, Ananias of Iraq, which we have already talked about at length above. The latter set to work and was able to complete his work. Anew cycle of 532 years could be set for a fixed timetable. This attempt at correction took place, according to Samuel d'Ani, in the Eusebian Olympiad 361, I, the Se year of the government of Hamazasb, patrice and curopalate of Armenia, the 2nd year of the pontificate of Anastasius, 117th of the Armenian era (= 12 June 66810 June 669) (1). The Paschal table of Ananias went from the year 828 according to the Alexandrians not included until the year 1360 (2). What can this enigmatic dating be according to the Alexandrians? One can only find an explanation by presenting an era based on the Paschal cycle of 532 of the Alexandrians aligned with their world era. Thefirst year of the 532-year period in which Christian times begin, namely the year 172 BC, will have been taken as the starting point of the era. According to this starting point, the year 828 agrees with the year 656 AD. The Ananias cycle began in 829-657,95 years after the beginning of the so-called Aeas cycle (incipit 562). It had no application because of the death of the catholicos Athanasius who was its promoter.

It was only four and a half centuries later, under the Catholicos Gregory III Pahlavouni-(1'13'166), that the Armenians had their fixed calendar; the author was John the Deacon (3). This is what his reform consisted of.

John the Deacon intercalated every 4 years a suppletive epagomene corresponding to the bissexte, and placed it at the end of the 4th year of the tetraeterid, six months and nine days after the Roman bissexte, unlike the Alexandrians who placed it at the end of the 3rd year, six months before the Roman bissexte.

He made the year and therefore the era begin in the ii of August by placing the I navasart there as it was at the creation of the great era. The new era originates from a cycle of S32 years, not the one that was created in 562 in the 10th year of the great era, but from another that John the Deacon calculated from the foundation of it (552/553) and made run with it. In this way the era of John the Deacon is brought into harmony, unlike the Paschal cycle of Ananias, with the Byzantine lunar computnce resulting from the reform of 353. In 553, in fact, begins the 12nd protobyzantine lunar cycle: $553 - 344 = 209 (19 \times 1)$ (the first had begun in 344). The era of John the Deacon, 532 years later, similarly began with the beginning oflunar cycling, 1085 (in the first year of the era that opened in August 1084).

This small era of John the Deacon took place mainly in northern Armenia. It is rarely found in use among chroniclers, but it appears inecclesiastical books and notations of works or manuscripts (see examples in Dulaurier).

We mention, for the record only, because it goes beyond our framework, the small era of Azaria Djoughaietsi (of Djoulfa). It is also a cycle of 532 years, which follows that of John the Deacon, completed in 1615. Azaria changed the names of the months he replaced with others borrowed from various sides, put the intercalary day of the leap year at the end of the last month as the 31st day,

⁽I) DULAURIER, 1I2.

⁽²⁾ ANANIAS, Traité sur la Pâque, english translation of F.C. CONYBEARE, BZ, 6, 1897, 584.

⁽³⁾ DULAURIER, 79-81, 112-115.

¹44 I. CHRONOLOGY

just before the ephemerals, and especially moved the beginning of the year that he fixed at the equinox, on March 21. His era thus began on 21 March 1617 (1). This era, created in Djoulfa, never had anything but a local job.

I did not think it necessary to mention in this chapterthe so-called technical era of which E. Dulaurier speaks and which he fixes the beginning of on II July 553, one year after the so-called vulgar era which opens on II July 552. In examining Dulaurier's work, I have tried in vain to acknowledge its existence. Thetechnical era would be, according to him, that of chronographs and computists, and the other, that of chroniclers and that of common use. However, the computists themselves do not make a distinction, assign to the first year of the era characters which resemblethose of the year552-553. Thus, when they say that the last year of Andrew's cycle has its Easter full moon on March 25, it is only appropriate for the year 552 (551-552). When they say that the first year of the 532-year cycle has its Passover to April 4 and connects to Andrew's canon, and that it was then the 10th year of the era, it means that the first year of the era was 552-553. When they say that the 532-year cycle was founded nine years after the beginning of the era, and that it was then the 2nd year of theLeap Olympiad, that is, of the tetraeterid, this 10th year can only be 561-562, and consequently, that the first was 552-553. They are computerists who speak like this and nowhere do they mention another technical era of theirown.

What may have given rise to this distinction is undoubtedly the relationship that they themselves establish between their national era and their Christian era, which is not the same for all. Samuel d'Ani, for example, is two years ahead of our era; othersare one year old (2); others have a Christian era corresponding to ours (3).

There are thus various ways or, if we want to call them that, various styles among Armenians in their account of the years of Christ compared to the years of their era, but not various styles of their era. It is in this sense that one must interpret the text of James of Crimea invoked by Dulaurier. According to this author, "James of Crimea perfectly distinguishes these two kinds of style from the Armenian era. *The beginning of our era*, he says, *is in 5.53 de y.-c. systematically, but differently depending on the calculation.* The author means that the supputation of computists, or technique, makes the Armenian era of 553 start from J.-C. and the historical or usuel calculation from 552" (4). Rather, the opposite was expected, the calculation being the work of the computists rather than the vulgar. And that turns the testimony against the theory. We will therefore explain the text of James of Crimea in a different way. "Systematically" means by conforming the beginning of the year 553 of Christ to the system of the Armenian year beginning in the first navasart = II August, beginning of the era and beginning of the year fixed since John the Deacon. "Differently according to the calculation" means: strictly by taking comme beginning of the year on the day of the birth of Christ, January 6 according to the Armenians.

Moreover, the explanation that the eminent armeist proposes of the origin of this double cycle stems from a data of a calendar attributed to John Gozer'n (xie century) (5), according to which the era was created by the Armenian council in the month of arats, the 6th month of the Armenian year, which gave the opportunity to some to begin the era at II July 552 and others at II July 553. But it is quite implausible that the council left undetermined the time when the era was to begin. The official creation of an era and the determination of the year and the day of its opening are essentially linked.

⁽I) DULAVRIER, 81, I15-117. The year 1617 is the real date, against '616 (Dulaurier): conclusion confirmed by the I:. P. Mécérian, consulted on this point.

⁽²⁾ See various memorials in DULAURIER, 289, 298.

⁽³⁾ Ibid., 43.

⁽⁴⁾ Ibid., 155, note 161.

⁽⁵⁾ ibid., 54. 174-175.

Formulas

I° To find the year of the Christian era in which a year of the great Armenian era began, add to it 551 up to and including the year 769, and add 550 from 770. The year 769 begins on I January 1320; the year 770 begins on 31 December1320. Examples:

43o arm. 981

830 arm. = 1380

To find the initial weekday of the Armenian year, divide the year by 7 and name the leftovers Thursday (1), Friday (2), Saturday (3), Sunday (4), Monday (5), Tuesday (6), Wednesday (7). E.g.: 650 arm.: 7 rest 6 = Tuesday, 1er navasart.

 2^0 To find the year of the Christian era in which a year of the early era of John the Deacon begins, add to it 1083. E.g.: 30 arm. John the Deacon = 1113.

THE ROMAN ERA THE KRONIKONI and. THE GLOBAL ERA OF GEORGIANS

THE ROMAN ERA

The era of the Romans, of which there is no mention among Byzantine authors, with the exception of a very tenuous allusion, which would remain in isolation an enigma, is attested to us by Armenian authors. They talk about it as a known thing. We have already met her at John the Deacon's house. Here, by the same author, is a more explicit text.

"The first year of the reign of Philip, Emperor of the Romans, is completed the thousandth year of the foundation of Rome, and from the second year of the reign of thisprince, the initial point of an era that we call the era of the Romans was again fixed. From that time until the establishmentofAndré's bicentenary cycle and the 95-year cycle, because these two cycles were founded in the same year, although they didnot have the sameauthor, 104 years ago (1). »

John the Deacon is confusing here. It is certainly in the logic of things that the reform of 353, accomplished at the end of the Anatolian cycle of 95 years, had to be completed by the inauguration of a new cycle of 95 years, and this is what Jean the Deacon tellsus. This cycle obviously had to begin with the 1 th r cycle of 19 years new style, in 344, but John the Deacon, by symmetry, makes it begin with the bicentenary cycle of Andrew.

James of Crimea joins John the Deacon, and probably depends on it, also placing the millennium of Rome in the first year of Philip; he adds that the era that starts from there began in 249 AD (2).

Both authors are computists, to whom this era could be attributed as a theoretical calculation. But we also see it in chroniclers and in memorials.

Asolik of Taron also uses it to fix the time of the foundation of the Armenian era in the midst of other concordances: 14th year of Justinian, 24th of Chosrov, 304 of the Greeks, from the 7th year of emperor Philip, after 553 years since the birth of Jesus Christ (3).

The same author ends his work by dating it: "We have found that from Adam to us, 6,282 years have passed (a figure considered to be at fault), and since the Crucifixion and the Invigorating Passion, 972; following the era of the Greeks, there are since emperor Philip 757 years; and following our Armenian era, 454; which corresponds to the 30th year of Vasil emperor of the Greeks; to the 15th of Gakig, king of Greater Armenia (4). »

⁽I) DULAURIER, 48-49.

⁽²⁾ Ibid., 49.

⁽³⁾ ASOLIK DE TAROT, trad. E. DULAURIER, 1883, p. 115.

⁽⁴⁾ ASOLIK DE TARO', t. II, trans. MACLER, p. 171; DULAURIER, 281.

We see that for Asolik the era of the Romans was called the era of the Greeks, that is to say the Byzantines.

Another example is that of Jean Catholicos, who uses it without any concordance. Recalling-the martyrdom of Stephen nicknamed Gon (or Kouèn), he said: "Afterhaving endured long turnsin-confessing the name of Christ, he was crowned by the Father of Enlightenment and inscribed his name in the Book of Life. He died in the year 608 of the Roman era (i). »

It should be noted that in these examples from Asolik and John Catholicos the era takes place according to a continuous numeration, not in a Paschal cycle. If there is a cycle, it is a millennial cycle, outside the computing. But another text shows us that it was also practiced by the revolution of the 532-year cycle. In a copy of the Compendium of Laws of *Armenia* compiled in the year 1184, the following chronological notations are read:

"Our work was undertaken in the year of the great Armenian era 633, of the era that is called small cycle Ioi, of the era of the Romans 405, at a time when our national royalty no longer existed (2)."

The first notation, calculated rigorously, corresponds to: February 4, 1184-February 2, 1185, but it is probable, because of the accompaniment of the era of John the Deacon, that it was calulée like her, according to a cycle of fixed years and, consequently, designates the same course of time in the year.

The second notation, which counts according to the era of John the Deacon, designates the year from i i August 1184 to Io August 1185 (3).

The third can only jointhe previous ones on the condition that the era of the Romans indicated here is an era renewed after a first cycle of 532 years. The year 1184/1185 must correspond to 937 of the Romans (532 + 405).

The preliminary question is to determine what is the firstyear of this era of the Romans attached to the millennium of Rome.

This millennium has given rise to magnificent festivals mentioned by various historians, the memory of which has been perpetuated by many coins. Certainly, it is neither in the 2nd year of Philip, as John the Deacon and James of Crimea want, nor, as Asolik says, in the 7th, which was not reached, that these solemnities must be placed. The irrefragable testimony of numismatics places them under the consulate of the two Philips, emperors, Ille of the father and 11° of the son, that is to say in the year 248 of notre era, 5th of the reign of Philip father (4).

Not everything is solved by this. It is still necessary to know whether the secular games were celebrated during the millennium year or after its completion, and, moreover, how were counted the years of Rome, selon Varron or according to the Capitoline tables. On this last point, there remains a doubt, because both modes are represented until the Ive century. On the first, the authors diverge or at least seem to diverge. I am talking about authors other than Capitoline and Eutrope, who simply say that the millennium of Rome was celebrated by Philip in his consulate and that of his son.

Eusebius says that under Philip the thousandth year of Rome was accomplished and gave rise to great festivities: he distributed them in deux Olympiads; they were therefore celebrated twice, probably at the beginning and at the end of the year, either millennia or post-millennial (5). The panegyric of Maximinus and Constantine, pronounced in 307, speaks of the state of affairs that had been established *millesimo anno post Urbem conditam* (6). For Orose, which places the accession of Philip in 997 *ab Urbe condita*, the thousandth year of the foundation of Rome ended after the third year of this prince and he emphasizes that this *natalis*

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(s) History of Armenia by Patriarch John VI called Catholicos, chap. ZIV; if. J. SAINT-MARTIN, p. 117.
(2) DULAURIER, 192.
(3) ID., 113.
(4) COFIEN<sup>2</sup>, t. V, 103 Sq., 512 Sq., 138, 146, 549, 163, 169.
(5) EUSÈBE, trans. Saint JEROME, year 2262.
(6) Panegyrici, VI (7), ed. GALLETIER, t. II, Paris, 1952, 18.
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was celebrated by a Christian emperor (1). According to this, the feasts were celebrated when the thousandth year of Rome was over, and as numismatics places them in 248, in the second joint consulate of the two Philips, the era employed by Orose is celle de Varron; but it should be noted that Philip's three years must have been counted from 1 January 998, when Philip Sr. took over the consulate of his accession. It is the same era that also observes the pagan author Aurelius Victor, who complains that the 100th year after the millennium, completed under the consulate of Philip, did not give rise to celebrates(2). The consulship of Flavius Philip was established in 348. So the millennium ended in 248. In 249, therefore, the second millennium began, according to this era. But Varron's era was not official: it was an era of scholar. The Capitoline era, which had been official to some extent, continued to be used. It can be seen in inscriptions of the second and Ille centuries and even in authors as late as Solin and Macrobius (end of the IH century). The year 248 was necessary for the celebration, car the following year, the end of the millennium in the Capitoline era, would have been meaningless in view of the Varron era. Moreover, 248 could be suitable in the Capitoline era, as being the very year of the millennium. The year of celebration 248 could therefore be considered either as the year of the first of the second millennium or as that of the last of the first millennium, the second millennium then beginning in 249. This is the way of Cassiodorus. It cannot be explained otherwise that ildeclares the thousandth year of Rome completed under the consuls Aemilianus and Aquilinus and links to this consulate, in terms of the rest borrowed from Eusebius, the feasts given on this occasion (3). Cassiodorus could not unfoundedly link such an important event to names obscure to him. Comparing his testimony with that of Orose and Aurelius Victor, it follows that festivals were held, the main ones, under the second common consulate of the two Philips,

en 248, the first millennium being completed and a second beginning according to the Varronian era, and then en 249, end of the first millennium and beginning of the second according to the Capitoline era.

Let us remember from all this that the year 248 could be considered as the end of the firstmillennium and 249 as beginning thesecond.

If we now turn to the concordances between the Armenian era and the era of the Romans in the Armenian texts cited above, we must recognize that nothing decisive can be drawn from them for the problem at stake, for the following two reasons: firstly because they do not indicate the monthly calendar, secondly because the Armenian year which serves here as a measure overlaps, roughly by half, over two Roman years. It is therefore not possible, according to these texts alone, to recognize the beginning of the Roman era.

As for the indications on the origin of this era by James of Crimea and John the Deacon, the precision that the former brings by placing in 249 AD the beginning of the era can only be appreciated by taking into account the way in which this auteur calculates the Christian era, which the state of my documentation does not allow me to establish. That of John the Deacon is more precise: because he puts a space of 104 years from the beginning of the Era of the Romans until the establishment of the canon of Andrew, he manifests that this era, for him, begins in 249 according to our era (353 - 249 = 104).

None of the authors, pagans and Christians, who relate the celebration of the millennium of Rome, mentions the establishment of an era of which it would be the starting point, and moreover there is no employment outside the Armenians. No one will therefore think of linking the creation of this era to the very time of the millennium. It was certainly imagined later. But when?

The reply must take account of the following conditions:

It must first be admitted that this era of the Romans was used in the first place by the

⁽I) °ROSE, VII, 20: ed. ZANGEMEISTER, 478.

⁽²⁾ AURELIUS VICTOR, De Caesaribus, 28 : ed. PANCKOUKE, 250.

⁽³⁾ Chronicou, PL, 69, 1237 AB.

Byzantines, since the Armenians could only know it from them. But as there is no trace of this job, it assumes that it lasted too little time to leave testimonies: it is from these data that we will have to determine the time of thecreation of the era. But it must also be explained why the era was preserved among the Armenians, while it disappeared among those from whom they had received it. That is what we are going to try to clarify.

First of all, the time of the use of the Roman era by the Byzantines must have preceded the reign of Theodosius I^r. We remember that then the lunar cycle of 19 years, resulting from the reform of 353 and which was official, was supplanted by that of Alexandria which inaugurated a period of 95 years, just with the first consulate of Theodosius (380). We believe that the era of the Romans, of recent creation, had to be abandoned on this same occasion, especially if, as is very likely, what we have already said, this consulate of Theodosius were to inaugurate a number of years like that of the years of Diocletian. It is not by mere coincidence or analogy that we then place this abandonment, which would already be something, but it is by consideringthe intimate relationship of this era of the Romans with the lunar cycle itself that was downgraded. Indeed, it is exactly the space of 95 years, cycle then used before that of 532 years, which distances the two years 249 and 344, the starting point of the cycle reformed in 353. The year 249 is rigorously the year I of the second millennium of Rome following the capitoline mode; it is in any case the first after the holidays; and in the event that it is the Varronian mode that has prevailed, the proximity and tosay the contiguity of the celebration will have seemed a sufficient foundation to link to the great memory the first year of the cycle of 95 years preceding the reform, year which was then counted as the first of the new era, the era of the Romans.

Aswe can see, the intimate connection between the cycle and the era was to mean that the abandonment of one would lead to the abandonment of the other.

I said above that no author, apart from the Armenians, mentioned this era of the Romans. Expressly and in the form of employment, thatis for sure. However, who knows her cannot help but see a very clear allusion to this chronological means in the following text of the *Chronicon Paschale*, where the author calculates by reference points the time elapsed from the Passion to the 35th year of Justinian, during which he puts the completion of the cycle of 532 years of which he fixes the beginning at the last Passover of Christ. One of these rep era isour era of theRomans. It is even the main one, the only one from which the numeration of the years goes up and down.

Aoyta.06.) *ercpx* - Ccnoxx-roccv-rexusc,4, Ir,'c)vv nsptMoucpX6' z-'.. vtccu-7&)v dc-,z6 s' g-t-muç xcd ce?yroi.") (DtXUTC7:01) T013 i.ovviopoç xo (1):?.. I.. Turou vi.oîj oc?yro;3,Aciziou zo:(. Fpc(7.t.o:vo.), xccc cc g',-.. (c)14 6\<' 'OXI.y.Trtc3or' oi.'nrcp Tcc *Chvcii)v*-;-(') cO' Tc6spiou KOE.i.o-ccpoç, Iryouv g•roç 66' *'0Xup.. -rccrAo:-" Ev* c7;;) y&yova.. v -'76 ni-10oc. TOU xup.oU *'r,g)v* Xpt.G.T.oU, 10.E.t. zp6vov gTOJV xoct,GY) bu?.. Te) e7(c).; Kopcy-rotv-rivou zor.j P•ccicscXic,4, xce ii 7C p and YrY o sj.-.1-Ï:)-i) BoXouutcevoi3 xOE1 'Avcotvoi2i, (I).

Referring to the consular splendor of the Chronicon Paschale, we see that it is the 4th year of Philip, not the 5th as here, which is equalled to the consulate of Decius and Gratianus (2), but this is due solely to the fact that the first year of the reignwas notcounted, but left to the previous emperor under whom it began; there is therefore no contradiction between the two passages.

The consulate indicated belongs to the year 250, but as it is marked with the 5th year of Philip (4th in thenumber), to the I I e indiction, which is in 248, and that this year is actually

⁽¹⁾ Chronicon Paschale, 686-687.

⁽²⁾ Ibid., 502.

the 5th year of Philippe, there can be no doubt that it is indeed the year 248 that the Chronist intended to designate, and that he took it for the first of his milestones in the supputation of the years of the great Paschal cycle.

Schwartz (1) is surprised, and Mentz (2) withhim, that this 5th year of Philippe serves as a stage of calculation. It is an enigma for them. This is not one for us, to whom this date represents the famous millennium and the 95-year Easter cycle that was attached to it to make it the starting point of an era.

In the text we quoted, the 5th year of Philip, 248 AD, is the last of a first total, of 218 years, established going back from this year to the year of the Passion. The second total, of 65 years, obtained by descending from the 5th year of Philip to the 8th year of Constantin, is the first of the second millennium of Rome, or 249. As we have said, this year is at the same time the first of the 95-year cycle, developed, going back in time, from the cycle of reform of 353 (344 — 95 = 249), which is precisely that heof the Chronist.

It should be noted that in this period of 532 years that goes from the year of the Passion to the year 35 of Justinian, this 5th year of Philip constitutes the great break, the great division. It is like a dividing line: from there the calculation goes up and down: it goes up to the year of the Passion, and then goes down to the 8th year of Constantine, where was fixed the first indiction, a kind of relay or milestone, from where we continue until the 35th year of Justinian, last of the cycle. The importancethus given to the 5th year of Philip, the millennial year of Rome, and the fact that this date is connected to a cycle of 95 years which is precisely established on the lunar cycle used by the Chronist, make it impossible not to see in the text of the *Chronicon* that we have quoted an allusion to the era suspended from this millennium and that the Armenians call the era of the Romans or the Greeks.

This is the testimony of a Byzantine author. To summarize the results of this survey, we will saythat, in view of the essential role played by the lunar cycles in the constitution of the eras, there can be no doubt that the year 249 was chosen for the establishment of this era, both and insepably because it is the beginning of a cycle of 95 years calculated according to the reform of 353, and because it was related to the famous millennium occasion of the city of Rome.

It remains to be seen when and how this era could be established.

It is obvious that the very use of the Reformed cycle provides an a quo or post quem terminus (353) of the creation of the era in question, whose ephemeral existence is thus between 353 and 380. And I will not dare to place the institution at the very timeof thereform. Let us remember that the -7.pozi4 IV of the Chronicon Paschale places the years of its cycle in the years of Diocletian. I would gladly put, for my part, the appearance of the new era in the aftermath of Julian's death, dans the framework of the Christian reaction against the paganism of this emperor. We have just recalled that the protobyzantin -:p oyliç IV marked the years of the cycle by the years of Diocletian, which served as the fundamental concordance of the lunar cycle alexandrin. This concordance suited Egypt, since it was at the origin of its cycle, it meant nothing to Constantinople, and it is natural that the Byzantines wanted to get rid of it and give themselves another harmonized with their own cycle. And it is also natural that this desire was felt more keenly after a reign that had renewed the effort attempted by Diocletian to annihilate the Christian religion, and revived as a result among Christians the aversion to the greatest ofpersecutes. The same feeling that later led to the era of Martyrs in Egypt as the era of Diocletian, which could not be eliminated since it marked the origin of the cycle, meant that in Constantinople, where it was not linked to the cycle itself, there was a desire to replace it.

⁽i) Art. Chronicon Paschale, RE, III, 2470'2471.

⁽²⁾ A. Ir.:NTz, licitriige, 12.

another that was matched to him (i). But which date to choose? Normally, it should have been the year 344, the beginning of the First Lunar Cycle of Constantinople, as 285 was the First Lunar Cycle of Alexandria. But such a date was colorless; the year 344 did not recall any event, did not mark any beginning of reign. We searched in the past, and we found out that counting a complete cycle of 95 years, then the great Paschal cycle, wheren touched on the millennium of Rome. However, this millennium, it was noticed that it had been celebrated by a prince who was said to have been the first Christian emperor. The Chronicle of Eusebius already describes Philip as follows: primusque omnium ex Romanis imperatoribus christianus fuit (2). This note undoubtedly belongs to Saint Jerome, but it only draws the conclusion of several words of Eusebius which suppose the conversion of this emperor and thus reflects an already old tradition. This celebration of the millennium of Rome by a Christian emperor before the conversion of the empire must have seemed a specially intended fact of God: no date could be better suited to proleptically inaugurate the lunar cycle intended to regulate the celebration of the greatest of festivals, the central festival of Christian worship, and to serve at the same time as a starting point for the continuous chronological numeration where the Easter dates would be located in the future. Because of the millennium from which it was suspended and the use made of it by the Byzantines, these Eastern Romans, the Armenians called it the era of the Romans, but sometimes also of the Greeks.

The creation of this era therefore seems to have taken place in 363364. Less than 20 years later, the official adoption by the Eastern court of the Alexandrian cycle overshadowed the lunar cycle of Constantinople and thus dealt a fatal blow to the young Roman era, based on it. She did not have time to acclimatize, she disappeared among the Byzantines without leaving any traces other than the distant and veiled mention that we read in the *Chronicon Paschale*, but she had had time to pass among the Armenians, perhaps through the intermediary of Saint Basil of Caesarea, with whom they had quite close relations. And as the Armenians, who remained faithful to the canon of Andrew of Byzantium, did not receive the Alexandrian cycle, the era of the Romans survived at home with the cycle of Constantinople; they kept it even in the national era that they gave themselves in the following, and this explainsthat the examples of use that we find in their chroniclers and in their memorials.

This is the era of the Romans. Begun in 249, the date assured by the concordant testimonies of *chronicon Paschale* and Armenian authors, it was to be used for the continuous numeration of the years in which the Easter moons were located, without limitation or renewal, because, at that time, the 532-year cycle had not yet been applied to this use. And it is under this continuous forme that the era is practiced by Asolik and Jean Catholicos. Employment in the form of the 532-year cycle is later, and undoubtedly was suggested by the existence of the Armenian Easter table of S32 years created in 562.

THE KRONIKONI OF GEORGIANS

And indeed, although created for a continuous and indefinite numeration, it is quite natural that the Roman era, because it was based on the lunar cycle, was considered, when the 532-year cycle was known, as a development of this cycle, and natural therefore, that the arrival at the end of S32 years gave occasion to a new chronological starting point. This is what has been done for the chronology of Georgians that we are now going to deal with.

This chronology, in fact, derives directly from the Era of the Romans. There is no doubt that this era was introduced in Georgia at the same time as in Armenia, as both countries were the main countries of the

(i) It is known that it was a similar feeling which inspired Dionysius the Little when he replaced in the Paschal tables the years of Diocletian with the years of Christ.

(2) EUSEBIUS, trans. Saint JÉRomE, year 2262. Cf. E. STEIN, art. Julius Philippus in RE, X, 768-769, where are collected the texts relating to this subject, either of Eusebius himself, or of authors dependent on him, from which results how much such information met with favor.

under the influence of the capital of the empire in terms of culture and the general problems of religious and cultual life, among which that of the celebration of the Passover, determined by the cycles, occupied a prominent place.

It is quite likely that the Georgians adopted Andrew's bicentenary cycle. It is not clear how they behaved at the end of this cycle. Presumably they shared the uncertainties of their neighbors. If they embraced their era, they had to shake it when they rallied to Byzantine orthodoxy. But they had no reason to abandon the lunar cycle that was common to them and that existed before that era, nor did they abandon the Era of the Romans based on that cycle. Quanof this era begun in 249 came at the end of a period of 532 years, they wanted, like their Armenian neighbors, to have their era too, which they inaugurated then. They made it consist of successive series of Easter periods of 5to 32 years. The period is called kronikoni (from zpovr,x6v). The first kronikoni began in the year 781, according to all synchronisms. And this is a counter-test to establish that the earlier period began well in 249, date that we gave as the beginning of the era of the Romans (i). The second kronikoni began in 1313. Generally, dates marked in years of the kronikoni do not indicate what is the current kronikoni (2).

Another clear proof that this era of the Georgians is related to the cycle of 532 years begun before 249, in connection with the era of the Romans, is that the Georgian cycle of 19 years that begins with the Georgian era is precisely the same as theproto-Byzantine cycle described in the Tpoy6ç IV, unlike the Paschal moons of April 6 and March 26, abandoned in the meantime by the Byzantines for the Alexandrian dates of April 5 and March 25. Like the protobyzantine lunar cycle, the Georgian lunar cycle begins with the epact number 30 and the Paschal moon of April 13. This state can be seen in the calendar of a treatise on the Georgian computing written before the year 950, and perhaps the calendar itself is older, because it is composed of 19-year cycles, the second of which ends in 818 (3). Later, the Georgians conformed to the Byzantine lunar cycle, having in the first year the figure of epacts I I and the Paschal moon on April 2, as appears in a treaty composed in 1233 (4). This Byzantine lunar cycle is one year behind the Kronikoni and the Georgian world era. — See the Georgian lunar cycle in the comparative table of pp. 54 and 55, col. XVII.

Thus, it is absolutely proven that the period of the Georgians, the kronikoni, derives from the era of the Romans stopped after S32 years, which, in turn, is built on the protobyzantine lunar cycle, the beginning of which was carried proleptically to the year following the celebration of the millennium of Rome (249).

TheGeorgias did not stop there. Following the example of the Byzantines and Alexandrians, they built their own world era. They took as a basis for their calculation the actual cycle of 532 years and counted, before the beginning of their era, 12 cycles of 532 years elapsedsince thecreation, namely 6384 (= 532 12). This gave a world era of 5,604 years. This era is 112 years ahead of the Alexandrian era, and 96 years ahead of the Byzantine era. It is already attested in the treatise of the Georgian computus of the tenth century that we have used above, and especially in the calendar that is attached to it and that stops at the year 6422 = 818 OF OUR era (5). We also count the sequence of cycles since the creation, so that the one that was the first in use was called mie (6).

- (I) M. BROSSET, Études de chronologie technique, Saint-Petersburg, i868, 10; 16-17; 40-41.
 - (2) Thus in the Georgian Chronicle published by M. BROSSET JEUNE, Paris, 1830.
 - (3) M. BROSSET, Études...,
- (4) ID., ibid., 23, 54. In the WAcKouciu Calendar Treatise of 1755, the Georgian epact Ir is maintained in front of the Greek epact 14: ibid., 87.
 - (5) ID., *ibid.*, 19-20. (6) ID., *ibid.*, 40-41.

In addition to these eras, the Georgians also used the Byzantine era or the Alexandrian era, depending on the influences received.

There is even a world era called Jerusalem, which is known to us only by the Georgian computing treaty of the tenth century (1). The concordance between the years of this era and the years of the Georgian world era marks a 420-year lead over the latter. It is therefore 6024 BCE. If we compare it with the Alexandrine era, we see that it precedes it by a whole cycle of 532 years. The first year of the kronikoni (= 781 AD) therefore equals 6385 CE, 6289 CE, 6273 OGD and 6805 CE hierosolyitaine.

I did not find any information about the Christian era of the Georgians. The computing treatise of the tenth century dates the coming of Christ according to the year of the world 5501 of the Alexandrian era (2), which is equivalent to 5613 of the Georgians.

It is difficult to mark the beginning of the year in the establishment of the Georgian era. The tenth century computing treatise indicates the month of January (3), but perhaps it is simply limited to the calculation of computing. That of the half century gives this distinction: "Although the

september is regarded as the beginning of the year, however, as far as the calculations are concerned... it is January which forms the initial of the year (4). At that time, at least, it is the indictional Byzantine year that is the usual year. But, by ailleurs, the Georgian Chronicle edited by Brosset the Younger extends the year from January to the end of December, but it is recent (last quarter of the seventeenth century). It remains to be studied in the chronicles, the inscriptions, the notations of copyists, what was in this regard the use of the Georgians, both before and immediately after the creation of their era: field of research that remains open.

Formulas

To find the Christian year corresponding to a Georgian year, one must, if the latter is expressed in world years, subtract 6384; if it is expressed in kronikoni years, one must add 780, or 1312, depending on whether the date is in the first kronikoni or in the second.

⁽I) M. BROSSET, ÉtItitesS..., 17, 19-20.

⁽z) ID., ibid., 18.

⁽³⁾ ID., *ibid*., II.

⁽⁴⁾ ID., *ibid.*, 45.

conclusion

We have now come to the end of our investigation of the world eras, at least those that have gained wider notoriety and determined a stable mode of chronological notation. We witnessed their training and saw their relationship with each other. Here we will summarize the results achieved.

Given the mystical idea that marks the Savior's coming to earth in the sixth millennium, and especially to his milieu, and also given the chronology of the Passion that imposed its imprescriptible requirements (Friday and the time of the Jewish Passover), it is according to the lunar cycles that the world eras were constituted. It was necessary, by retrograde cyclical revolutions, to place at the creation of the world a first year of the cycle practiced, or to say better, the first year of the first**cycle** of thecomputing employed.

The world era of Hippolytus (5501 or 5503 BCE) is measured by the 112-year cycle. Most likely also, and this in the sense of our remarks, those of Clement of Alexandria and Eusebius of Caesarea are by the cycle of 8 years, but according to a different starting point. The era of Eusebius, in its current state, that is to say after the shift that we suppose, has been preserved in the West, without any connection with computing, thanks to the double authority of this historian and his translator Saint Jerome. The one we think of Clement of Alexandria, 5600, found a maintainer in Andrew of Byzantium (iv century) and an approver in an anonymous Armenian: these are the only traces that we find. That of Hippolytus seems not to have survived, but only the mystical principle of his Christian era. This principle is also that of Africanus. It will be religiously preserved, but applied on different scales according to the eras, or even shifted by a few years sous the thrust of the cycles.

Intended to supplant all other cycles is the 19-year lunar cycle transmitted by Eusebius as the Anatole of Laodicea. Its importance is crucial for the history of the eras employed by the Byzantines, because it is this number of 19 that conditioned their formation: it was necessary, from the first year of this cycle to such a concrete date, to go back, by a multiple of 19 years which observed the mysticism represented by the number 5500, to the corresponding first year of the cycle of creationand, by this, to obtain the age of the world.

Based on the Easter month that begins at the equinox, that is to say having as its first year that where the neomenia coincides with the equinox, then on March 22, and thus having a natural basis, the Cycle of Anatole leads to a world era that translates into the year 258, the inaugural year of the cycle, by 5758 --I- I = 5759. This superadded unit represents the year without epacts when the moon, created with the sun, continued its course with it before starting its own, so that the first year of the world precedes by one unit the first year of the cycle. The era of the world thus obtained is: 5501 BCE. This is the one that Africanus was already observing.

This 19-year cycle was developed into a 95-year cycle (19 x 5), which reduced the Easter seats to the same monthly and weekly calendars. Starting in 258, the first of these cycles was to be completed in 352.

The 19-year-old Anatole cycle had to be updated to conform to the rise of the equinox on 21 March. This gave rise to two reforms: one in Alexandria around 303-304, and the other in Constantinople in 352/353. The first placed the beginning of the cycle in the neomenia of zer thôth (August 29), the beginning of the calendar year, and the opening of the first cycle to ter thôth of 284;285, the first year of Diocletian, whose era, later called era of martyrs, was thus inaugurated; the second, operated by observing the principle of Anatole, carried the first year of the cycle 8 years back, from 353 to 345, which led to the rise of the corresponding year of the world. Hence the result that the year 345, which was in the Anatolian era of 5846, was nowannounced as 5854. The lunar cycle obtained here is the xoc7A cycle starting with the first epacts, therefore one unit behind, as in Anatole, on the year of the world. To have a cycle working with the world era, we went up another unit, taking as the first year of the cycle the year without epacts: it was the X.GCT cycle. Oéatv. The world era of this reform is 8 years stronger thanthat of Africanus and Anatole, i.e.: 5509 BCE, with beginning on 21 March. This is the first era of the Byzantines, the protobyzantine era. A 200-year-old Paschal table was drawn up according to the new cycle by Andrew of Byzantium. His practical goalmade him begin in 353, which was the year in which the 95-year Anatolian cycle was to resume. But Andrew, according to the Armenians, did not admit, as we have said, this world era.

This reform was made under the authority of the Arian Emperor Constantius. The resulting cyclewas deposed from its official character by the centenary Paschal table of Theophilus of Alexandria, which this archbishop had approved by the Orthodox emperor Theodosius I^{r.} a table built after the Alexandrian cycle. This change led to the unfaavour of the era, which was based on the ousted cycle.

Soon, moreover, the Alexandrian cycle in turn gave birth to a world era whose beginning, by inclusion of the precyclical year, was: 5493 BCE. Panodorus, its author (around the year 400), annexed a Christian era: 5494. The defects that were noticed there, namely its anteriority to the mystical number of 5500 and the last Passover of Christ (XIV lunae) put on March 20 before the equinox, prevented this double era from being accredited. The system of Panodorus was replaced by that of his contemporary Annianos, who, by suppressing the precyclical year, obtained the world era = 5492 BC, the era commonly called Alexandrian era, and established the Christian era in the year 5501, in strict conformity with the mysticism of the number 5500, but in defiance of the true chronology of Christ, whose Passion was put in 5534, corresponding to the year 42 ad. The august event, whose essential synchronism had to necessarily be respected: Friday linked to a Jewish Passover, was in the earlier chronographs of the Orient, Anatole, Africanus, probably Eusebius (since it is the same year 3i), fixed on March 23. The first dof them put it at a XIII lunae. The day of the Resurrection was March 25. In the Christian era of Annianos, these monthly dates were maintained, but March 23 was a XV lunae. The system of Annianos, fortified by the mystiques parallels established between the days of creation and those of the great evangelical events, became the "ecclesiastical chronology".

But under Justinian, as a result of the confusion that occurred among the Armenians when the bicentenary table of Andrew of Byzan endedin 552, the lunar cycle of Constantinople was taken in general measures of reform, the final result of which was, of course, to definitively consecrate the Alexandrian dates of 5 April and 25 March, but also to remove the Alexandrian cycle from itsofficialcharacter. This brought attention back to its competitor, and thereby to the related world era, which had been supplanted by that of Alexandria. The cycle and era in question were the cycle $y_cx.--A$ Occv and the protoby-zantin era. But a problemarose. It was that of installing in this era a chronology of Christ. The opportunity presented itself to bring it back to the true historical scale, which the Alexandrians had not cared about. The author of the *Chronicon Paschale* set to work. It began with thedate of the Passion which condis-

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all the others. He put it back in the year 31 Dionysian (5540 protobyzantin). It was an X/// lunae; he transformed it by a special calculation into XIV lunae, and opposed this date by relying on ancient authorities to the XV lunae of the Alexandrians. For other evangelical events, he felt obliged to respect the mystical parallels established with the days of the Genesiac week. The chronicon essay must probably lie between iron's reform under Justinian and the advent of Mauritius. His system of calculation applied to the Passover of the year 5540 (= 31) had to be criticized. Moreover, his years of the world had the disadvantage of not walking with the bissexte or with the indiction.

At least the Constantinople era was back in circulation. However, it was difficult for him to impose himself against that of Alexandria, which enjoyed a more than secular position and offered valuable advantages. There was in particular this practical advantage that it was in agreement with all cycles except the indiction, superior by only one unit, instead of that of Constantinople was in deviation of one unit with all cycles. But on the other hand, in this one, all the cycles, hearing the lunar and lunar cycles ./.0(.7.A (Acnv, were in agreement with each other, so that it was enough to lower by one unity the era of the world to obtain a perfect system, where the era was aligned with all the cycles. And that's what we did. The Byzantine era was born. It is not known who is the author, but the oldestknown témoin, and at the same time theorist, is a certain George, monk and priest, in a writing of 640/641.

As for the chronology of the life of Christ, on which the Chronist had stumbled, the solutions taken were diverse.

Some, such as the George we have just talked about, perhaps made cautious by the recklessness of their predecessor, maintained the system of Annianos by simply transposing the Alexandrian dates into the Byzantine years. This gave rise, by a misinterpretation of the Alexandrian cycle, to an era of 5516, 8 years higher than the Byzantine era, and 24 years higher than the Alexandrian era. These conformists or conservatives gradually disappeared, as a chronology of Christ adapted to the Byzantine era was established.

The others resumed the test of the *Chronicon Paschale*. Among them, and chronologically the first, it seems that it is necessary to count those whom Saint Maximus calls the "quintuplants and sextuplants", because of a special process used by them todetermine what was the true age of the moon of the Easter seats in use, a process that resulted in transforming the XIV *lunae* of various seats into XV *lunae*, sometimes into X V/, and even, in a particular case, where the bissexte intervened, into XVII *lunae*. Ithappened so that in some years when the Easter seat was a Saturday, this Saturday XIV *lunae* became a XV *lunae*, and Friday XIII *lunae* became a XIV *lunae*. This was precisely the case of the Dionysian year 31, a year precisely outside the bissexte, which would have put Friday at the XV *lunae*. This result suggests that the quintuplants, like the Chronist, put the Passion of Christ in that same year, also bringing back, but by another process, the event to the XIV *lunae*.

The computus of the quintuplants succumbed to the blows of Saint Maximus. But the chronology of Christ was independent of it; and it was not on him that the Byzantine chronographs werebased. There is no information as to when a Byzantine Christian era began. Presumably it was in the city century. We see in the Pseudo-Symeon Magister and George the Monk Continued (Part I), attached to an era of the world, a Christian era focused on 5500, but of a chronology so disordered that it is impossible to pass judgment on it. We do not have precise and intelligible information about a Byzantine Christian era until the tenth century onwards. Apart from the tenants of the mysticism of the "5500" which seem not to have posed the problem, there is agreement on the fundamental date of the Passion: in 5539 of the Byzantine era (31 Dionysian) but divergence on the date of birth, according to the length given to the public lifeof the Savior, and consequently on the numeration of the years of which this birth is the starting point.

The 19-year cycle was enough to create the previous world eras. For the formation of the new eras comes the solar cycle of 28 years, which, combined with the lunar cycle, produces a great Paschal cycle of 532 years, after which the Easter series return to the same monthly and weekly calendars.

We listed 13 applications of this cycle, or 13 cycles of 532 years. Several, established solely for recurrences, have abandoned the starting point of the lunar cycles to be attached to a capital event, either the Nativity of Christ or, preferably, his Passion (or Resurrection). Others, on the contrary, have remained accorded to it: they are those that interest us here, and, among them, especially those who have given rise to eras of which jobs have remained.

The Alexandrian era provided cycles of 532 years, the first of which begins with it and of which each new cycle takes up the numeration of the years. The years of the cycles are called the "years of Grace (or Mercy)." This mode of chronology wasused among copts and Ethiopians.

The Byzantine lunar cycle gave starting points for 532-year cycles to Armenians and Georgians.

We have seen that at the reform of 353, Andrew of Byzantium composed in the new cycle (zy.T.';. OéGtv) a 200-year-old Easter table. It ended in 552. After a decade of confusion, the Armenians established in 562 a cycle of 532 years of which the 1st year was 561/562, but already they had inaugurated their national era on July 11, 552. Thus, this first year of the Armenian era 552/553 was the 1st year of a Constantinopolitan lunar cycle Y.27,& UGLV. The era proceeded in vague years. After 532 years, John the Deacon built it in fixed years by starting the cycle again. The era begun in 552 also continued its numeration by taking the name of "great era", that of John the Deacon being the "small era".

As for the Georgians, here is the origin of their own chronology. Shortly after the reform of 353, following the death of Julian the Apostate, the era of the Romans (also known as the Greeks) was established in Constantinople, starting from 249, the year taken as the first of the second millennium of Rome. This year coincided, counting in the style of the 353 reform, with the beginning of the 95-year cycle immediately prior to the first year of the ZIX cycle.'7& Oéatv of this reform (= 344). This era did not have time to acclimatize to Constantinople, because of the official adoption of the Alexandrian cycle by Theodosius ¹ in 380, but it continued to be used among the Armenians who still used Andrew's bicentenary table, and no doubt also among their Georgian neighbors. In the process of development, there was a tendency to consider it as a 532-year cycle. When this number of years was over, the Georgians stopped the Roman era and, starting the numeration of the years again, made the great Paschal cycle their usual means of chronology and for this it called kronikoni (from zpovtz6v); the numberingof the years was taken over in the next cycle. At the kronikoni, they annexed a world era measured on him: it was 96 years ahead of the Byzantine era, and 112 years ahead of the Alexandrian era. The 1 kronikoni begins in 781 AD, 6385AD. The Georgian era is coming: 5604 BCE.

With the kronikoni and the Georgian era ends the development of eras derived from the Paschal cycle of 19 years.

PART TWO

TIME FRAMES

introduction

TIME MEASUREMENTS

The measurement of time is taken from three natural phenomena: the alternation of day and night, the return of the seasons, the cycle of the phases of the moon. They gave rise, following observations and calculations, to three fundamental units of time: the average or civil solar day, the vuz0-iespov; the solar or tropical year, the return of the seasons being linked with the return of the sun to the same point of its course through the constellations of the zodiac; the lunation or lunar month.

The average duration of the lunation is 29.530588 days (29 days 12 h 44 min 2.8 s); the average duration of the solar year is 365.2422 days (365 d 5 h 49 min approximately). Practically, the lunation is counted as having 29 1/2 days, and the solar year as having 3651/4 jo urs. This may be sufficient and is even necessary for the near calculation. But the small fractions more or less being accumulated, end up after many years constituting a significant gap which requires an adjustment either empirical or systematic.

In order to organize human activity, either economically or religiously, it was necessary to distinguish the days within the year, and to distinguish them, to operate in the year divisions or sections where the days fit into their rank. Manysystems have been created for this purpose, which have been given the name calendars. The lunar month is a natural division, and there is no doubt that *it* was first used; but since its duration is not exactly related to that of the solar year, which has 12 lunar months plus I i days, 12 solar months have also been instituted, between whichthe number of days of the solar year has been distributed in a different way depending on the country.

The lack of an exact relationship between day and solar year, between day and lunar month, between lunar month and solar month, combined with the fact that the beginning of the year and also of the month, if it is a solar month, can be taken indifferently, explains the variety and the large number of calendars.

Calendars are clustered into three categories.

1) *The lunar calendars* that count the days according to the course of the moon without regard to the course of the solethere. They have alternative buts of 30 and 29 days; and 12 months make a lunar year of 354 days. Such calendars seem to have been used primitively in all nations, judging by the very name of the month (= moon) inIndo-European languages.

The lunar year is not a natural unit of time: no phenomenon marks its limits. Its duration simply represents the whole number of months closest to the duration of the season cycle. Also the lunar calendar in its purest form, that is to saye with an interrupted sequence of 12 lunar months, is not compatible with economic life, especially agricultural. The intercalation of an additional month approximately every three years is necessary. It is the authority of the sovereign who

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originally regulated this operation, as seen in the tablets of Hammorabi (1). The purely lunar calendar is only possible on the strictly religious level, and only if no religious festival is related to the solar cycle: this is the Muslim calendar.

- 2) The lunisolar calendars, which have a periodique fitting of the lunar calendar during the sun. This connection shall take place by means of an interlayer month. The years that thus have a thirteenth month are called embolismic. The lunisolar calendar is therefore based on the lunar months of 30 and 29 days; it includes commonlunar years of 12 months, and emboli 13 months, the number of which has been fixed differently according to the cycles (see lunar cycles). The Jewish calendar is a lunisolar calendar and also the Chréti ens Paschalcalendars, although the lunations are indicated by the dates of the solar calendar.
- 3) The solar calendars, which take into account only the course of the sun and divide the year into 12 months, more probably by analogy with the 12 lunar months which it contains and exceeds, than because of the 12 constellations through which the star operates its course in the year; for it is a fact that the measurement of the solar months is alien to these phases of solar movement, alien to any natural norm, and that is why we see so much variety, both for the starting point of the months and for their duration.

Solar calendars, which are an organization of the solar year by means of calculation, could only have originated in countries of advanced civilization. We see them gradually replacing the lunisolar calendars whose unequal years (some of 12, others of 13 months) make the use very inconvenient.

Another unit of time, of pure institution, has been added to the aforementioned units: day, month, year. This is the week, a series of 7 days renewed in an uninterrupted way. It comes to us from the Hebrews, from whom Christians and Muslims have received it.

(i) GINZEL, I, 131.

TIME IN THE YEAR

i. THE DAY

Beginning of the day. — In the evaluation of the day, the vv-z0i;pzpov, nature does not impose any starting point, but it offers the choice to four possibilities or amenities, namely, the sunrise and its opposite, the coucher of thesun; the middle of the day, when the shadow is the smallest, and its opposite, the middle of the night. These four limitations were used. The Hebrews, the ancient Greeks (historical period) began from day to night; likewise Muslims, thati still do. The Chaldeans, Egyptians, Syrians and Romans began it in the morning; the latter, however, began at midnight when it came to sacral functions and legal affairs. The starting point in the middle of the daywas, in the testimony of Censorin (i), employed in Umbria. It is also the starting point chosen by Ptolemy for his calculations, followed in this by most astronomers.

Among the Byzantine Greeks, as in general among the peoples where the Julian calen drier wasintroduced, the day began in the morning.

Division of the day. — It was first of all the natural or luminous day, the day which regulates human activity, which was thought of dividing. It was divided into 12 equal parts, and this division was also applied at night. We thus had 12 hours during the day and 12 hours at night. But since day and night varied in length depending on the season, the hours followed these variations: daytime hours were longer in summer, shorter in winter, and night hours longer in winter and shorter in summer. These negal hours were called xactptxoci, *temporal*, *inaequales*. Equal hours were achieved only at the equinoxes. This is why, in the following, the name of equinox hours Ccrv.spcvoci, *aequinoxiales*) was used to characterize the division of vuz042.pov into equal hours.

The solar day of unequal 12 hours, among the Romans, was, according to Censorin (2), divided into four main sections: *mane, ad meridiem, de meridie, suprema;* and at night in four vigils *(vigiliae)*. This division was also that of the Jews in the time of Christ, judging by the clues provided by the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles (Mt, 14:25; 5,3-6; Act. Ap., 2, 15; 3, 1; 10, 3, 30). The diurnal division was also observed by Christians who applied it to the distribution of public prayers. These were given the name of the time marked to them. There was thus third, sexte,

⁽I) CENSORIN, De Die Natali, 23.

⁽²⁾ CENSORIN, De Die Natali, 24.

none, vespers. But, from the fifth century, it was added premium, at the beginning, and complies, at the end of the day. The correspondence with the solar day was as follows:

Hora prima, 4')pct 7rpc:.) -7.-(;, at sunrise,

Hora tertia, towards the middle of themast,

Hora sexta, middle of the day, Hora nona, 4')pcf. èvec-r7), mid-afternoon,

Vespera, .-.cr-rcz⁻,ptvri)⁻),1 hour before sunset,

Completorium, e1.7CUCt7tV0V, after sunset.

The following designations are found in the West for the four parts of the night: 1. Caput vigiliarum or conticinium; 2. Vigilia media or timeless; 3. Gallicinium or gallicantus; 4. Matutinum (1). Similar designations are lacking in the East, except for matutinum which has as its corresponding 6p0pog.

The subdivisions of unequal hours in common usage were usually half an hour and a quarter of an hour. But computists, chronologists, writing ecclesiastical vain present a greater hierarchy of measures. The most common division among them is the following (1):

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hora = 4 puncta — 40 momenta = 480 unciae - 21,600 atomi
I punctum — Io momenta — 120 unciae = 5,400
atomi
I momentum -- 12 unciae = 540 atomi
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I uncia = 45 atomi

Similar information is not found among the Byzantines for unequal hours, but also for equal hours.

As for the division of the vuz0iespov into equinoxial or equal hours, it stems from the need which astronomers had, in establishingtheir calculations, for a common measure for all days of the year. The Chaldeans seem to have been the first to divide the vuz0i_ip.spov into parts

Equal. These parts were 12 in number and called *kas-pu* or *kas-bu*double hour), apparently because the number of 24 was not a sub-multiple of 60, the center of their system of

calculation, says for this sexagesimal. Each kas-pu was divided into 3 oworth four of our minutes. The day was therefore 360 u, as much as de degrees incircumference. That was the usual division. But the Babylonian astronomers, for the convenience of calculation, divided the vuz04.spov into six parts, each of 60 degrees, one degree worth 60 minutes, one minute worth 60 seconds. We also see in them the division of the day directly into 60 degrees or sections, with the subsequent divisions of 60 minutes, then of 60 seconds (2). This division of the day into 6th parts is found among byzantine computists. They use it, as we shall see, in the computus of the lunar cycle. They distribute these 6 parts; the whole day which is missing from the cycle to be equivalent to the total duration of thelunations which fill it and so that the saltus lunae can be carried out which allows the cycle to start again on the same date of the solar year.

The division of the vuz04.E.. -pov in 12 equal parts, in use among Babylonian astronomers, is also practiced by Christian computists, such as Saint Epiphanius (3) and Dionysius the Little (4). These parts, which they also call hours, are equivalent to two of our hours. Other computer specialists are taking on the

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(1) GLNZEL, III, 97.
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⁽²⁾ GINZEL, I, 122.

⁽³⁾ S. EPIPHANE, Adi. hacroses, 70, 13.

⁽⁴⁾ KRI:SCH, Shi die/t II,

TIME IN THE YEAR 165

division into 24 equal hours. Thus Bede (1) in the West, and in the East, Psellos and the anonymous A of Karnthaler. But the latter two differ in the subdivisions of the hour.

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Psellos (2)

Anonymous A of Karnthaler (3)

hour — 5 Xsn e

I hour — 5 c-rtyp.Œ.0

I cr7typ.-; = 2 X7·c•·côc,

— 12 Po7ai

I yv1rc6v= 15 li.oi.pac

I [J.6i:p oc = 8

I Pa-ci, = 12 bUT.;,sg

'c'vU! Zi.. c, = 60 eTotlot
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As we can see, every computist could have a system of division of the day, which it is good to be warned about. (See other divergences in P. Tannery, Sur les subdivisions de l'heure dans l'antiquité, *RA*, 3rd series, t. 26, 1895, 359-364.)

2. THE WEEK

The week is an institution that comes to us from the Hebrews. It consisted of a series of seven days, the seventh of which, the Sabbath, was a day of rest. The Church, born within the Synagogue, received this inheritance, but it soon changed the day of rest which, instead of the seventh day, was the first, marked by the resurrection of Christ. We already have testimonies of this at the beginning of the second century.

The designation of the days was first made in the Judaic way by the ordinal names: 1st of the week (prima sabbati), 2nd of the week..., until the 5th; the 6th was the "preparation", notpaaxzwij, and the 7th, the Sabbath. But the first day of the week took the name of xup caxii, day of the Lord, Sunday (Apoc., I, Io; Didache, 14). It is common in the II century.

Another name of the days was in use in Egypt, taking the 7 planets: Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sun (taken for a planet), Venus, Mercury, Moon. This order, which was estimated the order decreasesant of their distances to the earth, was not that of the days. The names of the planets were given to the days in the following way. Each of the 24 hours of the day was placed under the name of a planet, following the order indicated above. The day took its name from the planet that dominated its first hour. The first hour of the first day was governed by Saturn, who thus gave his name to the first day; the last hour of the first day arrived under the sign of Venus, which brought the firsthour of the second day under the sign of theSun, which thus gave its name to the second day, etc., so that the order of the days of the week became the following: day of Saturn, day of the Sun, day of the Moon, day of Mars, day of Mercury, day ofJupiter, day of Venus. These names of days were known in Rome as early as Jesus Christ. They were also used by Christians, and their use became so widespread that it passed through the nations under the influence of Rome and still survives, except forSaturdays and Sundays, in almost all Romance languages. In The Norse languages, Sunday itself has retained the name of the so-called planet (Sonntag, Zondag, Sundan, Sôndaq). But the Germans changed the name of Mercury to *Mittag* (mid-week day). The English and Dutch kept the day of

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(I) BEDA, De temporunt ratione, 39: Ch. W. JONES, 252-253.
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(2) G. REDL, La chronologie appliquée de Michel Psellos, *Byz.*, *5*, 1929, p. 257.

⁽³⁾ A. KARNTHALER, Die chronologischen Abhandlungen des Laurent. Gr. Plut. 57: Cod 42, 1J4-162", BNJ, Io, 1,933.5.

Saturn (Saturday, Zaturdag — Saturday). The names of the planets were names of deities. They were referred to as oroi, a designation that has changed to the days of the week. And the use of the word in this sense remained among Byzantine computists.

In the Greek Christian East, the days of the week were referred to, for Sunday and Saturday, most often by the words zupvy.x.i, and ar;. 66ce:ov, but also by their rank of order Trpc'iyry and and every other day by their rank of order.

The Slavs, who also use the numeral order, have a special system. Sunday is the day "without work", rest, *nedéla*. Monday is the day after the day without work: *ponedèlnik*. Tuesday is the 2nd day (i.e. after the day without travail: *vtornik*; Wednesday is called the "middle" (of the week): *sreda*; Thursday is the 4th day after the day of rest: *iertverg*; Friday is the 5th day: *pjatok*; Saturday retained the Hebrew name: *subbota*.

Muslims have kept the same order of days of the week as Jews and Christians, and they refer to them, except for the last two, by their rank of order: the first day, the second day, etc. Friday, the first day of the Hegira, is the day of meeting at the mosque; because of this, it is called the day of the meeting: *jaum el douma*. Saturday has retained the Hebrew name: *jaum el Sabt*.

3. THE MONTHS. THE VARIOUS CALENDARS

It is about the months that the greatest diversity among peoples appears. It affects either the place of the first month in the year, which is the number of days in each month.

THE EGYPTIAN CALENDAR

Originally was used a lunar calendar of 12 mes alternately of 29 and 30 days. It was replaced at a very high antiquity (fifth millennium BC) by a solar calendar which, perhaps, because of the convenience of the sexagesimal system, had at first only 360 days shared in 12 months of 30 jours each, but soon received the addition of five days, called by the Greeks "ephemeral" (added).

With the formation of Egyptian mythology, the months until then designated probably by an ordinal number, received the names of the gods to whom they were consecrated. These names were preserved by Christians.

The order of the months, with their names, designatedhere in the Greek form, was and remained as follows: I. OWO or 0(7)0. 2. dhccopi. or (Da.c7xpt. 3. 'A.04 4. Xoi.a.x. or Xoicicx. 5. Tubi or. Ti56c. 6. Mczip or

Mszsip. 7. cIpoc! Isvca. 8. creapp.ouOi or (Dy.pli.oMt. 9. FI otyAv. Io. 11cdivi or IYO. {Jvc. 'Entyi. or 'Ercip or 'Enzip or T-iciat or 'ErcsiTc. 12. Mayswpi or Me... esopi or ME... awp-. — 'Enc.cy6[J.E... va.t.

In Egypt, where all subsistence depends on the alluvium of the Nile, the agricultural year consists of three seasons: flooding, seeding and growth, harvesting. In the fifth millennium BC. J.-C., the flood began with the heliacal rising of Sirius (inGyptian EiAtç) towards the summer solstice. It is to this day that was fixed the I thôth, beginning of the year. But the Egyptians soon realized that the coincidence between the I Thôth and the rising of Sirius was not constant. After 4 years, the phenomenon took place on the 2nd, after 8 years on the 3rd, and so on. Every four years, it receded by one day, or to put it better, the ¹ Thôth advanced by one day. The Egyptians thus had a moving or vague year, and a fixed, sothiac year, the first being that of the calendar, the other having no other articulation than that of the seasons.

The gradual advance of the I Thôth brought back its coincidence with the Heliacal rising of Sirius after I 461 vague years, equalling 1460 Sothiac years. It was probably then that the Egyptians were able to

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evaluate the solar year at 365 days 1, 14 and perhaps get the idea of the cycle or sothiac period of I 460 years. In any case, the observation they made did not lead them in any way to change their timetable. They kept their vague year, no doubt by the force of tradition, but probably also driven by a certain religious consideration which made them see every day of their calendar visited each in turn by the first appearance of Sirius and sanctified by the feasts in the honorof six which accompanied them.

Egyptologists do not agree on the time when the Egyptians conceived the Sothiac period. What can be said is that it is very likely that they had theoretical knowledge of it, that is to say by calculation(365 x 4 = 1460), when Ptolemy Évergetes (247-222 BC) undertook to agree the calendar with the astral phenomenon. His decree, called canopus (in Canopus was the temple where the decree was engraved), carried in 238 BC. J.-C., prescribed to adda 6th ephemeral every 4 years and fixed the beginning of the year at the heliacal rising of Sirius, which was then at the ler Payni (July 19 Julian) (1). The reform was not well received and the vague years were returned to the beginning of the next reign. It was retakenunder Augustus, and the beginning was fixed in the year 30 BC. The ter thôth, the I of the traditional year, was then on August 31 julian. In fact, the I thôth was set on August 3, preceding it, by immediate application of the reform, with a 6th epagomene. And so it was every four years, the other three years, so-called common years, starting on August 29. The first year of the reform was also the first year of the era of Augustus. The intercalation of a 6th epogone is done immediatelybefore the Egyptian year which contains in its course the Romanbissexte.

The new system, applied immediately in official acts, gradually penetrated into practice and eventually became widespread. The old usage persisted simultaneously until the fourth century AD. For the transposition into the Christian era of the dates on which the vague year is used, one can consult, among others, the *Hilfstafeln* of Kubitschek (*Grundriss der antiken Zeitrechnung*, 224-226) which leads to the year 395 AD.

Since the Reformation of Augustus, the beginning of the Egyptian year, 1st thôth, has remained invariably fixed on August 29 (August 3rd in the years following the intercalary day). The Egyptian names of the months have been preserved, as we have said, by the Christians. They are slightly distorted in the Coptic language, and quite disfigured in the Arabic language. The Ethiopians, receiving from Alexandria the Christian religion, also received its ecclesiastical calendar, but kept the names of the lastmonth, adding the Pagomaen (epagomenes). Julian dates in parentheses are for the years following the intercalary day.

	Egyptian names	Coptic names	Arabic	names Ethiopian names
	1. Thôth.	Thot.	Tût.	Maschierem.
28 (29) Sept	1. Phaôphi.	Paopi.	Babeh.	Techemti.
28 (29) Oct	1. Athyr.	Athor.	Hatûr.	Hedàr.
27 (28) Nov	1. Choiak.	Koiak.	Kijhak.	Tahasas.
27 (28) Dec	1. Tybi.	Tobi.	Tûbeh.	Teri.
26 (27) Jan	1. Mechir.	Mechir.	Amshir.	Jecatit.
25 (26) Feb		Phamenot.	Barmâhat.	Megabit.
March 27	1. Pharmouthi.	Pharmuti.	Barmûdeh.	Miazà.
	1. Pashôn.	Pachons.	Bashnas.	Ghembot.
May 26	1. Payni.	Paoni.	Baûneh.	Senè.
June 25	1. Epiphi.	Epip.	Abib.	Hamlè.
July 25	1. Mesorè.	Mesori.	Mesri.	Nehasie.
24-28 (29) August	Epagoinenai.	Piabotenkagi.	Abūgomen.	Pagomaen.

⁽I) PIERRET, Le décret bilingue de Canope, Paris, 1SSI.

At the time of the Empire, the Egyptian months had received the following honorary names, which are known by the ostraka:

I. Thôth	Sebastos.	0. Pachôn Germanikeios (also found
Phaôphi		Theogenaios).
3. Athyr	Neos Sebastos (Tiberius).	Io. Payni Soterios (also found Dru-
4. Choyak	Hadrianos.	sieus).
5. Tybi		Epiphi = Domitianos.
6. Mechir		12. Mesorè = Kaisarios (we also find Sebas-
7. Phamenôth	Neroneios.	tos Eusebios).
8 Pharmouthi	Naronaios Sahastos	

On these names, see KUBITSCHEK, Grundriss, 152, where references can be found.

THE ATTIC CALENDAR

The ancient Greeks used a lunisolar calendar. For the intercalation of the additionalmonths, they established cycles, that of 8 years, then that of 19 years (see lunar cycles). The names of the months varied greatly from region to region. It is onlyuseful for us to indicate the Attic names. The correspondence shown here with the Julian months is an approximation. The actual correspondence with the Julian calendar is diverse according to the cycles. (See various applications and interpretations in Ginzel, II, 426-453.)

I. 'Ex27.op.6chci,r)	August. September.	7. Pcy,-,',),";)')	February
4. October.	*	Io. lloymixtcùv	April.
9. iNIcei).y.y.7.7- ⁻ ,ptcov	November.	i 10Ď:pyr,),ceov	May.
10.Iloast8seuv	December.	12. Extpoyoptc'ov	June.

In the embolismic years, the additional month was after Poseideon and was called Poseideon II (8z.. 1¹yrspo.r; or 11')a'rz.poc;). It took the name '2Uptchvic'ûv in honor of emperor Hadrian. This is a testimony that the lunsolar calendar was still in use in the second century AD. As for saying that it persisted towards the end of the fifth century, at the death of the philosopher Proclus (485), a hypothesis of Paul Tannery, I do not think it is plausible, except only in the small group of pagans still subsisting, who, for civil life, followed the common calendar, and for worship, their own calendar.

The Greeks divided their months into three decades: icrrecti.F.. voç, urw lacro,'; or pOcvcr)v. For the numbering of days in the decades, which varied, (see GINZEL 319-330).

On the lunsiolar calendar developed by Plethon for the philosophico-religious cult of which he dreamed, see the very erudite memoir of Milton V. Anastos, Pletho's calendar and liturgy, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, No. 4, 1948, 185-269.

THE MACEDONIAN CALENDAR

The Macedonians used a lunsiolar calendar of 12 months, which were alternately 30 and 29 days, with intercalation of about one additional month every three years. Their

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year began in autumn. The names of the months were as follows (the correspondence to the Julian month is approximate):

I.	z\toç	October.	7. ',A prEiliaLOg	April.
2.	'Ar.EX?,ccioç	November.	8. Axatog	May.
3.	A1)&)vDtitoç	December.	9. Unv,sp.oç or Ii v r,p.og	June.
4.	IfspiTcoç	January.	Io. Aiioç	July.
5.	3!) a-rpoç	February.	1 i the op7txtog	August.
6.	Exv0t.z6r, or Emek, j)ç	March.	12. '1*rEpgET.E.'7U;.:0	September.

There is no information on where the additional month was inserted in the embolic years, nor on how these were determined.

When Macedonia, conquered by Rome, finally, after a slow adaptation, byseeing the Roman (and Julian) calendar, and thus, the use of the solar year, the Macedonian year thus transformed nevertheless retained its beginning of the year in autumn, but it now had a fixed place, which helped to determine the use of a propre era(see below). This beginning corresponds to October 15 julian.

After alexander's conquest of Egypt and the founding of the Lagid dynasty, the lunsolar calendar was introduced to that country. He could not impose himself there. The official documentsbear the two dates, the Macedonian date and the Egyptian date. The two years could not be reconciled; at least efforts were made to establish a concordance between the months. Despite the relatively large number of dual-date documents that have reached us, it is not yet possible to get a precise idea of the rules or practice according to which it was carried out (1).

Similarly, after Alexander's conquest, the calendar and names of the Macedonian months spread to Asia Minor and Srie. Malalas indicates that Seleucus Nikator made a decree to impose in Syria the names of Macedonian months (2) (probably in official acts). An inscription from the year 66 BC (Phrygia) which mentions the intercalary month proves that at this epoque the lunsolar calendar was still used. But, after the expansion of the Roman calendar, especially Julian,the solar year was-gradually introduced. We have few testimonies: that of Galenos of Pergamon (Ir century AD) shows us the transformationaccomplished. It marks the beginning of four months, two at the equinoxes: Dios (September 24) and Artemisios (March 25) and two at the solstices: Peritios (December 25) and Lôos (June 24). This shows that the year began on September 24, or better on September 2,3 (3).

There was no consistency across all regions affecting the beginning of the year or the length of months. A precious document — preserved in three manuscripts, in Florence, Leiden and the Vatican, the third recently known thanks to Kubitschek (4) — designated sous the name of Hemerologion Florentinum, presents, together with the Roman calendar, a list of 16 calendars of provinces or cities of Asia Minor and Syria, indicating with the names of the months the number of days of each month. The cities and countries are the following:Rome, Alexandria, Antioch of Syria, Tyre, Province of Arabia, Sidon, Heliopolis, Lycia, Asia and Pamphylia, Crete, Cyprus, Bithynia, Cappadocia, Gaza, Ascalon, Seleucia (5).

- (I) GINZEL, III, 8-17.
- (2). MALALAS, VIII, ed. Bonn, 202.

(3) In accordance with the decree of Augustus, see below, p. 170.

⁽⁴⁾ Mediceus XXVIII 28; Leidens. Gr. 78; Vaticanus Gr. 1291. — KUBITSCHEK, Die Kalenderbilcher von Florent' Rom und I,eyden (Denkschriften der Kais. Akad. der Wiss. In! Vien, Philos. Hist. Klasse, 57 B, 3 Abhandl., 1915); GINZEL, III, 18-35.

⁽⁵⁾ In the presentation of these calendars, we basically use GINZEL, III, 17-35, adopting a more systematic order and using data that have since appeared.

THE CALENDARS OF ASIA MINOR AND THE ISLANDS

1. Calendars of Asia and Pamphylia

These calendars, apart from the names, only have a difference for the last two months.

Asia (ms. Flor.) (ancient Ionian names from 3 to 12) Asia, Pamphylia (ms. Vat.); Ephesus (ms. Flor.)

	1. Kaisarios	24 Sep. 30 days Oct. 31 — 24 Nov 31 24 Dec. 30 — 25 Jan. 29 — 24 Feb. 30 — 22 March 31 — 24 April 30 — 24 May 31 — 24 Inno 31	Dios (vat. mark as Gzi3at(G1-i;) Sep. 23 and 24.) Apellaios Audynaios Peritios Dystros Xanthikos Artemisios Desios (Daisios) Panemos Lõos
9. Stratonikos			,
	9. Stratonikos	24 June 31 —	
16. Alexacombalos	Ii. Anteos		Gorpiaios: July 25, 30 days Hyperberetaios: 24 August 31 days

We already see in these calendars the mark of the imperial cult. This character was going to be strengthened. The Asian calendar received in fact at the time of Augustus, around the year 9 BC. J.-C., a reform that is known to us in detail by a titulus of Priene (1). The first day of the year was postponed to the *dies natalis* of Augustus, the ninth day before the calends of October (= September 23) and all the beginnings of the month began on the ninth day before the Roman calends. In addition, the name of the first month Dios, was replaced by Ky.î:G.cx.p. The result of the reform was that the Asian months had the same duration as the Roman months, except in leap years when, the bissext falling in the month of Xanthikos, it had 32 days instead of 31.

1. Kaisar (- Dios)	23	seven. 31 Days	7. Artemisios	24	March 3o days
2. Apellaios	24	Oct. 30 —	8. Daisios	23	April 31 —
3. Audynaios .	23	Nov. 31 —	9. Panemos	24	May 3o
4. Peritios	24	Dec. 31 —	Io. Lôos	23	June 31
5. Dystros	24	Jan. 28 —	i I. Gorpiaios	24	July. 31
6. Xanthikos	2I	Feb. 31 (32)	12. Hyperberetaios	24	August 3o

In the following, a nomenclature was adopted by order numbers: Tr.p(1-coc" &:... &1-,zpoç, etc. The oldest examples date back to the time of Commode and are found in inscriptions indicated by V. Chapot (2).

2. The calendars of Bithynia, Crete and Paphos

These calendars are quite similar to the reformed Asian calendar and begin like him with the *dies natalis* of Augustus. The first two differ only in the last two months, and the last onediffers for the same months and in addition by two othermonths, the sixth and the seventh.

⁽I) WILAMOWITZ41OLLENDORF, Die Einführung des Asianischen Kalenders, *Mitteilungen d. trais. deutsch. Archiiol. Institutes, Athens. A bt.*, t. 24, ¹⁸99, P. 275-293; V. CHAPOT, *La province romaine proconsulaire d'Asie*, Paris, 1904, p. 390-391; GRUEL, III, 20, n. I.

(2) See CIIAPOT, *op. cit.*, 392, n. 7. This author indicates the methodwhich led to this change of designation:

⁽²⁾ See CHAPOT, op. cit., 392, n. 7. This author indicates the methodWn1Ch led to this change oldesignation: "In a region subject to the same central administration, such as the great province of Asia, an early attempt had been made to establish a nomenclature which was both convenient and did not offend any local sensitivity, and by using figures, this dual aim was easily achieved" (*Ibid.*, in text).

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In the Hemerologion of Florence, the calendar of Paphos is called "cyprium"; but the same name being given to that of Salamis by Saint Epiphanes, we see that the two calendars shared the big island.

			Bithynia Ci	rete Paphos (I)
I. Heraios	Mar 30 23 April 31 24 May 30 June 23 3! July 24 30	ays	Thesmophorios Hermaios Imanios Metarchios Agyeios Dioskorios Theodosios Pontios Hyakinthios I- Irperberetaios Nekysios	Aphrodisios Apogonikos or Apollo(ios) (cod. Vat.) Ainikos (Aineios) Iulos (Ioulios) (2) Kaisarios Sebastos: Feb. 21, 3rd day Autokratorikos: March 23, 31 days Demarchexousios Plethypatos or Pleisthypatos Archiereus Hestios or Hestiaios
12. Demetrios	23 August		Basilios	Rhomaios or Lôos

The above calendar of Paphos was established between the years 9 and 6 BC (3).

3. Lycia's calendar

The calendar of Lycia has the following form in the Hemerologion of Florence:

1.	Dios I Jan. 31 days	7. Artemisios2 July 3o days
2.	Lenaios I Feb. 29 —	8. Daisios Aug 31 —
3.	Audynaios 2 March 3o —	9. Panemos 1 Sept. 3o —
4.	Peritios 1 April 31	Io. Lôos oct. 31 —
5.	Dystros 2 May 30 —	II. GorpiaiosNov. 3o —
6.	Xanthikos June 31 —	12. Hyperberetaios1 Dec. 31 —

4. The Cappadocia calendar

The Cappadocia calendar, known by the Hemerologion of Florence, is a solar calendar in the manner of the Egyptians: 12 months of 30 days with epagomenes. It came through the Persians who had adopted it at the time of their rule in Egypt; scholars have noted the kinship of the names of the months with the names of the Persian months. We put in brackets the readings of Kubitschek, according to the Vat.

1.	Lytanos (Artana)	I 2	Dec. 3o	days	2. Myar (Mithri) Io June 30 days
	Artèys (Arteyst)			•	3. Apomylè (Apom.) Io Juill. 30
	Adraostata (Aroatata)				4. Athra (Athra)
4.	Teirei (Tirei)	I 2	March		Io. Dathou (Dathousa) 8 Sept. 30
5.	Amarpata (Ármotata)	ΙI	30		Osman (Osmana) Oct. 8, 30
6.	Xanthios (Xantheris)	ΙI	April		12. Sonda (Sondara) Nov. 7, 30
	` ´		36 May		Epagomenes
			2		_ _ _

Saint Gregory of Nazianze (letter 90) names the month Acy.Ocik-a., but without providing any term of rapprochement (PG, 37, 217 A).

(1) Prior to this calendar, Paphos observed the following, which was made known by A. V. DOMASZEWSKI, .4 Mandlungen zur rômische Religion, Leipzig, 1909, 235 sq. and KENNETH Scorr, Greek and Roman honorific months. Yale Classical Studies, II, New Haven, 1931, 207 sq.

months. Tute Classical Statics, 11, 11ew Haven, 1751, 207 sq.										
i. Sebastos	2 Octo	ber 5.	Yulaios	2	February	9. Agkisaios	2	June		
2. Agrippaios	2 Nov	ember 6.	Nérônaios	2	March	Ro. Romaios	2	July		
			Drousaios							
4 Octavios	2 Janu	ary 8.	Aphrodisios	2	May	I2. Kapetôlios	2	September		
		-	1		-	1		1		

Kenneth Scott dates this calendar to the year 15 BC.

(2) The forms "Aineios" and "Ioulios" are restored by KENNETH Scorr, art. cit., 214.

(3) E. KORNEMANN, Nachtri.igliches zum "Doppelprinzipat" in Eiç t.i.Viilr *rizupi.k)voq* Aciti.r.pou, Athens, ²935, 224.

SYRIA'S CALENDARS

We can classify the calendars of Syria into two main categories: those where the Alexandrian influence appears, and those that are related to the Julian calendar.

A) Calendars of Alexandrian character

They are those of countries close to Alexandria or having commercial relations with it.

(a) Gaza and Ascalon have the same calendar and month names, but these are distributed differently.

Gaza	Ascalon	Start	
	_	_	
i. Dios.	Hyperberetaios.	Oct. 28	30 days
2. Apellaios.	Dios.	Nov. 27	3o —
3. Audynaios.	Apellaios.	Dec. 27	3o —
4. Peritios.	Audynaios.	Jan. 26	30
5. Dystros.	Peritios.	Feb. 25	30
6. Xanthikos.	Dystros.	27 March	30
7. Artemisios.	Xanthikos.	26 April	30
8. Daisios	Artemisios.	26 May	3^{0}
9. Panemos	Daisios.	25 June	3o —
Ro. Lôos.	Panemos.	July 25	30 5
5 Epagome	nai	24 August	5
ii. Gorpiaios.	Lôos.	29 August	3o —
12. Hyperberetaios.	Gorpiaios.	28 Sep.	3o —

The months with their duration and their beginning are identical to those of the Alexandrians. The onlydifference is in the beginning of the year, two months later. The Gaza calendar is used in The Life of *Porphyry* by Deacon Mark and in many inscriptions up to the century view.

(b) Salamis of Cyprus. — This calendar has the same month names as that of Alexandria, but with interversions. In addition, the beginning of the first month, whose name is not identified, is marked on September 4, probably because this beginning of the month and year was traditional before the introduction of the Egyptian calendar. The order of the months is not known, except for the place of Choiak, Mesori and the ephemerals. For the others, thereare two series. We indicate them according to G. de Jerphanion (1), who considers the first to be more probable.

3.6 .1	I (D1 A 1'0		A.1 0)	Starts at
Month			Athyr?)	30 days 4 September
_	II (Athyr?		Tybi?)	3o — 4 October
	III `	Choiak		3o 3 November
	IV (Tybi?		Mechir?)	3o — 3 December
—	V (Mechir?		Phamenôth?) 3	Bo — 2 January
_	VI (Phamenôth?		Pharmouthi'	?) 3o i February
—	VII (Pharmouthi?		Pachôn?)	3o — 3 March
—	VIII (Pashôn?		Payni?)	3o 2 April
	IX (Payni?		Epiphi?)	3o — 2 May
	X	Mesaoria	,	3oI June
	XI (Epiphi?		Thôth?)	3o — I July
	XI (Epiphi? XII (Thôth?		Phaophi?)	3o — 31 July
		Epagomenes	- ,	5 — 30 August

- G. de Jerphanion points out, moreover, that several of these month names have been replaced by entirely different names.
- (r) G. DE JERPHANION, Observations sur le calendrier de Salamine de Chypre à l'époque chrétienne, L'antiquité classique, 1, 1932, 9-24.

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This calendar, absent from the Hemerologion of Florence, is quoted by Saint Epiphanius (Haer., LI, 24) and by Alexander of Cyprus (vile century) (AASS, Jan. II, 446) with concordances of dates that have made it possible to reconstitute it. It is used in inscriptions until life! century; but most often the months are denoted by an ordinal number. G. de Jerphanion explained in a very plesible waythe date of September 4 as the beginning of this calendar.

(c) Arabs (Bostra, Damascus, Nabatene). — The Arabs switched to the Solar calendar of Alexandrian character after the creation of the Roman province of Arabia by Trajan in 105. The month names in the Hemerologion of Florence are Macedonian names, but the Nabataean inscriptions prove that Semitic names were also used. The beginning of the year is at the main equinox(22 March); the ephemes are logically placed after the 12 months.

Macedonian nar	Macedonian names				
1. Xanthikos 2. Artemisios 3. Daisios 4. Panemos 5. Lôos 6. Gorpiaios 7. Hyperberetaios 8. Dios 9. Apellaios 10. Audynaios 11. Peritios 12. Dystros Epagomenai	22 March 21 April 21 May 20 June 20 July. 19 August 18 seven. 18 Oct. 17 Nov. 17 Dec. 16 Jan. 15 Feb. 17 March	30 days 30 30 30 30 30 30 30 30 30 30 30 30 30	nisan Ijar Siwan ab Elul Tishri Kislev Tebet Shebat Adar		

Clermont-Ganneau recognized this calendar in an inscription of Khalasa (ancient Elect) dated 494 (where he sees the era of Gaza) and bearing indication of epagomenes (Rec. d'arch. orient., VII, 122-127)..

Saint Epiphanes (Adv. Haer., LI, 24) gives two month names xourA ". Apo'.6Dtç that are not found anywhere else: 'AXEc'op. and 'AyocX0oc6asi0; by the equivalences with the Julian months, they correspondto Audynaios and Dios above.

- N.B. It may have been thought in the past that Palmyra used this samecalendar, but an inscription bearing the mention Avorpou st,t6oXtp.ou proves that the Palmyreans had preserved the ancient lunsolar calendar of the Seleucids (Fr. Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos* (1922-1923), Paris, 1926, 347-35⁰,386).
- (d) *Tyre.* For the Tyre calendar, the Hemerologion of Florence gives the following indications:

1. Hyperberetaios 19 Oct. 2. Dios i8 Nov. 3. Apellaios 18 Dec.	30 —	7. Xanthikos	19 May 31 —
4. Audynaios Ï7 Jan.	30	I o Panemos	20 Jlliii. 31 -
s. Peritios Feb. 16	30	1 1 Lôos	20 August 30 —
6. Dystros March		12. Gorpiaios	

It is seen that the ephemes were distributed in the five months preceding the month of Lôos, whose beginning is closest to that of thôth. It is likely that the 6th epolag-lead was to be placed at the end of Peritios as the 31st day, so asto be close to the Roman bissexte and at the same time not to interrupt the series of months having the same number of days. It results from

according to a mosaic of the church of St. Christopher in Kabr Hiram, not far from Tyre (576 AD) that the beginning of the year had previously been brought to the ie^r Dios (Nov. 18) (1).

This calendar is found in the inscriptions until the century life. It is also found in conciliar documents of the fifth and life centuries (Mansi, VII, 197; VIII, 1083).

B) Julian-character calendars

The distribution of days and months is the same one of the Julian calendar. Only the names and the rank of the months differ.

(a) Antioch. — The calendar of Antioch is called hellenicum in the Hemerologion of Florence. Saint Epiphany also calls it zoczi "Ear_iva.r, and again xvrec El'Jpouç di.OUV "EXX•r_ivocç (Adv. Haer., LI, 24).

Here we attach to the Macedonian names the corresponding Syriac names, used by Syrian writers.

i. Hyperberetaios	— October	Tishri I.	7. Xanthikos	= April	= Nisan.
2. Dios	= November -	— Tishri II.	8. Artemisios	— May	Ijar.
3. Apellaios .	= December	- Kanun I.	9. Daisios	"June"	Haziran.
4. Audynaios	= January	-= Kanun II.	Io. Panemos	July	= Tammuz.
5. Peritios	— February	Shebat.	i 1. Lôos	— August	- Ab.
6. Dystros	— March	Adar.	12. Gorpiaios	= September	- Elul.

This calendar is the only one that has survived of all the particular calendars. It is he who is seen in use by Eusebius (PG, 20, 1449 A, 1457-1520). From the Ive century, it is the official calendar of the Patriarchate of Antioch avec use of the names of months, either Greek or Syriac, depending on the language of the documents. Arab writers used Arabic names, very similar to Syriac names.

b) Seleucia of Piraeus and Sidon. — The calendars of Seleucia and Sidon transmitted by the Hemerologion of Florence-Leiden-Vatican (the first is not in the Florence manuscript) have their months modelled on the Julian calendar, but the month that begins the year is uncertain. It is likelythat for Seleucia, close to Antioch, it was Koronios, by conjecture Gorpiaios, corresponding to October, while for Sidon it was Dios, corresponding to January, Dios being the first month in various calendars. The names of the months are Macedonianfor Sidon; and for Seleucia, two names are surely Macedonian, four others perhaps also under distorted graphs. We give the list of Kubitschek from the Rome manuscript by putting in brackets the conjectural restitutionss made previously. Kubitschek starts his list in January.

SELEUCIA

Aphy (Audynaios)		NenealiosAdonis	July. August.
Itonios (Dionysios)	March.	Apellaios	September.
Anthisterios	April.	Koronios (Gorpiaios)	October.
Artemisios	May.	Pantheios (Panemos)	November.
Herakleios	June.	Sandis (in Xanthikos)	December.

The old conjectures for Audynaios and Gorpiaios seem to have to be retained (2).

- (1) GINZEL, III, 30, which reports kubitschek's conclusions.
- (2) G. DE JERPHANION, art. cil., 13.

Sidon

1.	Dios Jan	uary. 7. Artemisios	July.
2.	Apellaios Febr	uary. 8. Daisios	August.
3.	Audynaios= = M	ars. 9. Panemos	September.
4.	Perificos = Apri	ıl. Io. Lôos	October.
5.	Dystros = Ma	ay. i. Gorpiaios	November.
6.	XanthikosJune	e. 12. Hyperbereta	iosDecember.

(c) *Heliopolis*. — The calendar of Heliopolis (Balbeck), according to the Hemerologion of Florence, had the following form, without it being possible to say which month the year began. It seems, however, that Ab, starting on 23 September, should be retained for the first month. Several month names are corrupted.

Ag	Nov22 31 days	Neisan	24 May 31 days
Thisrin	23 Dec. 30 $\stackrel{\circ}{-}$	lar	24 June 30 —
Gelôn	22 Jan 3o	Ezer	24 July 30
Chanoun		Thamiza	23 August 31
Sobath	24 March 3o	ab	23 Sept. 3o —
Adar	23 April 31	I loul	23 Oct. 3o

N.B. -

From about the fifth century, the Byzantine calendar gradually supplanted the local calendars in Syria: some, however, remained until Arab domination. From the middle of the vile century, there were only three calendriers in Syria: the Islamic calendar, the Byzantine calendar and the Antioch calendar.

ROMAN, JULIAN, BYZANTINE CALENDARS

A) The Pre-Jewish Roman calendar

The primitive calendar of Rome, said of Romulus, had only Io months of 31 and 30 days, in total 304 days. Under Numa, two more months were added at the end of the year, January and February. The months formed this sequence: March, April, May, June, quintilis, sextilis, September, October, November, December, January, February. Four were 31 days old: March, May, quintilis, October; seven were 29 days old: April, June, sextilis, September, November, December, January; the last one, February, was 28 days old. In total 355 days. Year too short compared to the course of the sun. It was therefore decided to add every two years towards the end of the year (after 23 February) a short month of 22 or 23 days alternately(the so-called *mercedonius month*). That was not enough. There was still a delay of three days every four years and after 30 years, of 22 days 1,12, one month *mercedonius*. The pontiffs finally had the task of settling the intercalation of the additional month. The arbitrariness with which theyarebeing subjectedonly increased confusion and made reformnecessary. It was undertaken by Caesar who called on the Alexandrian astronomer Sosigenes.

B) The Julian calendar

The reform retained the 12 months with the same names, but in the following, quintilis and sextilis were replaced by julius and augustus respectively. The length of the months was changed and became the one we still have today. In addition, a day was to be added every fourthyear in February. Finally, the beginning of the calendar year was extended to 1 January.

The Julian calendar came into use in the year 45 BC. J.-C., which was leap. (The previous year, 46, was a year of 15 months or 445 days: the year of confusion.) Althoughthe reform was badly applied; the intercalations which were to be made in years I, 5, 9... were made in years I, 4, 7..., until

the year 37, when Augustus, to correct the error, decided to delete the bissextes of 41, 45, 49. The intercalation was resumed in the year S3, which is the year 8 AD, and was continued since, regularly, until the Gregorian reform (1582 AD).

In the designation of days, Caesar retained the old usage. On the first day of the month are the *kalendae*. In the middle of the month are the *idus*, *namely* the 15 in the four old months of 31 days, the 13 in the others. The 9th day before the ides is called *nonae*, *namely* the 7 in the four old months of 31 days, the 5 in the others. The days are counted according to the term to come, and this term enters the account: III *idus martias* is march 13 (ides the 15th). The intercalation of the additional dayevery four years is done by doubling the *dies VI Kal. martias* (24 February), hence the names "bissexte" and "leap year". We will find the table of the Roman months with their division by calends, nones, ides, in our IIIe Partie.

The J ulian calendarimmediately spread to the West without hindrance. In the East, where cities and nations had their own calendars, he could only impose himself in public acts, but several local calendars came close to it. This Julian calendar, in itsentirety, with its ides, nones and calends, was used in the Eastern Roman Empire until the time of Justinian. In the literature of the first centuries (i-iv) A.D., julian dates are quite often indicated in agreement withthose of other calendars.

C) The Byzantine calendar

This calendar differs from the Roman calendar, whose names it takes the names of months, only by the beginning of the year, placed on September 1st, and the designation of the days in the month, made by means of the ordinal number. Such a designation already appears in the patristic period (Saint Epiphanes, *Adv. Haer.*, LI, 27; Saint Basil of Caesarea, Letter Ioo, *PG*, 32, 505; Julian the Apostate, lettre 50 = io8, *Bidez*, p. 108). The Byzantine calendar coexisted in Syria and Egypt with local calendars, preserved in private use. After the loss of these regions in the vile century, the Byzantine calendar was the only one used throughout the Empire.

This calendrier passed to the Slavic nations Christianized by Byzantium.

BYZANTINE CALENDARS AND RENAISSANCE CALENDARS WITH ATTIC MONTH NAMES (I)

By archaic mania, Pachymer took pleasure in replacing the Roman names of the months with the ancien Attic names. He seized the list of Tzetzes in his commentary on Hesiod, and like him, replaced two month names, Thargelion and Metageitnion, withnames borrowed from other Greek calendars, Lenaion and Kronion. The order of the months is quite different from that of the Attic calendar. As for the correspondence with the Roman months, Pachymer simply equalled the first month of hisliste Hekatombaion, with the month of January, and so on. There is no need to say that this is the beginning of a theoretical year, and that the indictional year — it could not have been otherwise — alway remained, for our author, the unit of measurement of its chronology. The example of Pachymère doe not seem to have had much influence. More of it was the treatise of Theodore Gazes or Gaza on the Attic months. He advocated an order of months, which is very different from that of Pachymère butalthough it represents exactly the old order. Like Pachy-mère, he made the Attic months coincide rigorously with the Roman months. But at least he know

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⁽i) Paul TANNERY, I,es noms de mois attiques chez les Byzantines, *Revue archéologique*, 3e série, 9, 1887, 23-36; 2nded., *Mémoires scientifiques*, t. 4, ²²3-²39.

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that the first, Hekatombaion, began in the summer season, and that is why he identifies it with the month of June, and leaves from there to identify the others. The pamphlet of Theodore of Gaza, composed *ex projesso* by a renowned scholar, quickly became authoritative. Writtenin 1470, he knew the presses in 1495 and, until 1550, he had no less than six other editions (1). What interests us here is that many scholars began to date their correspondence by the Attic months indicated by this author. "This " began before the first edition (2) and continued throughout the following century (3). We even see taken up by these humanists the way of the ancient Greeks to mark the monthly calendars by means of the division of the month into decades; however, this aussi is indicated by Gazès, and one is not likely to be mistaken in saying that it was from him that they learned it. And it is very likely that the copyists, who in subscriptions of manuscripts of the fifteenth century, use the names of Attic months, are in thesame dependence.

There may, however, be exceptions to this point, and the reason for this. there is a list of menologs published by H. Estienne in his *Thesaurus linguae graecae* after an old manuscript of his own (in Lexico quondam meo veteri), different from that of Gazès. It reproduces the names and true order of the Attic months by indicating the respective synonymies of Kronios and Lenaion for Hekatombaion and Poseideon. The correspondence with the Roman months is made from the idea ofHekatombaion, first Attic month, with September, first Byzantine month. It is possible that such a list was used by copyists and that is why it had to be mentioned.

We are therefore in the presence of three different systems of use of the Attic months by Greek authors or copyists of the low period. We give here a synoptic view, according to Paul Tannery (art. cit.).

	1		
Roman months		Pachymeric	Theodore Gazès
1. January 2. February 3. March 4. April 5. May 6. June 7. July 8. August 9. September 0. October II. November	5. Memakterion. 6. Poseideon. 7. Gamelion. 8. Anthesterion. 9. Elaphebolion Io. Mounychion. I. Thargelion. 12. Skirophorion. i. Hekatombaion. 2. Metageitnion. 3. Boedromion.	 Hekatombaion Lenaion. Kronion. Boedromion. Pyanepsion. Maimakterion. Anthesterion. Poseideon. Gamelion. Elaphebolion. Skirophorion. 	 8. Gamelion. 9. Elaphebolion. 10. Mounychion. 1. Thargelion. 12. Skirophorion. I. Hekatombaion. 2. Metageitnion. 3. Boedromion. 4. Maimakterion. 5. Pyanepsion. 6. Anthesterion. 7. Poseideon.

To be complete on this subject, let us point out a Byzantine list of Attic months, where the order of the months is even different than in these three systems. It can be found, edited and commented by Voltz, in *BZ*, 4, 1895, 547-560.

THE JEWISH CALENDAR

The jui f calendaris a lunsolar calendar of 12 months alternately of 30 and 29 days, with one month intercalary approximately every three years. The designation of months varied. It was made initially by names, then by their serial number, and finally new names were

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⁽I) FABRICR7S, Bibi. graeca, 9, 194; ed. Harles, ro, 392.

⁽²⁾ See letters of Adramyttenus, Janus Lascaris, Sergius Stissus, in I,. LEGRAND, Cent dix lettres de François ;nielle:, Paris, 1892.

⁽³⁾ Large number of examples in LAmI, *Deliciae eruditorunt*, t. 7, 9, 15. See also E. LEGRAND, *Lettres de Mélétius Pigas*, Yaris, 1902. The year accompanying these notations in Attic months is most often that of the Dionysian era.

employees, who date from the captivity of Babylon. These are the ones that the Jews still use today.

Scholars do not agree on the beginning of the year among the ancient Jews, some holding for spring, others forautumn. The evidence given by both sides indicates that there must have been variation in this respect (1). The current usage that places the beginning of the year in the month of Tiri, towards the autumn equinox, probably dates back to the second century BC, under the domination of the Seleucids, whose lunosolar (Macedonian) calendar had its first month at this time of the year.

The intercalation of the additional month was originally performed empirically according to the state of the crops. At the time of Jésus-Christ, the Jews did not yet have a cycle that regulated this operation. In the first quarter of the third century, Africanus attributed to them the use of the 8-year cycle (2). In the second half of the same century or at the beginning of the Ive, they adopted the 19-year cycle, already in use among Eastern Christians.

Here are the names of the months of the Jewish calendar with the names of the Macedonian months that the historian Josephus gives them as correspondents (3):

	- Hyperberetaios - = Dios	7. Nisan 8. Jiar	Xanthikos Artemisios
3. Kislev 4. Tebet	Apellaios	8. Ijar 9. Siwan <mark>Daisios</mark> 10. Tammuz	
5. Shebat	- Peritios	I1. ab	Lôos
6. Adar	Dystros	12. Elul	== Gorpiaios

THE PERSIAN CALENDAR

In the life century BC. J.-C., the Persians used a solar calendar in the manner of the Egyptians that is to say that their year was divided into 12 months of 30 days each, to which were added 5 epogone days. It was a vague year. However, in the testimony of various Arab authors, they resorted, in order to remedy the gap that this system entailed in the long run and to maintain the agreement with the seasons, to the intercalation of an 13rd month every 120 years. These authorities are late and it is more likely that the operation, if it were to take place, would be carried out in a completely empirical and therefore irregular manner. In any case, the intercalary month does not exist in the era of Iezdegerd (632 AD), and no document shows it for theearlier eras of the Arsacids and Sassanids.

Concerning the epagomenes of the Iezdegerd calendar, it is necessary to take into account the use of the authors. The oldest keep its natural and primitive place after the last month, but very early, in the first centuries of Islam, we see the ephemerals stored after the eighth month, and it is so now.

In the following table, which makes the sum of the days, are marked both ways.

3o days	8. Agan	240 days 240
60	Epagomenes	245
90 —	9. Ader	275
120 -	Io. Dei	305
	30 days 60 90 — 120 -	60 Epagomenes

5. Mordâd	150		Bahmen 335	330
6. Scharîr	18o	_	I2. Asfendârmed	365 —
7. Mihr	210	-	Endergâhâ	(Epagomenes)

- (1) See testimonies on this subject in Grxzl:L, II, 68-6⁻).
 (2) PG, Io, 84 AB.
 (3) GINZEL, I. C., 68.

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The days of the months are indicated not by numbers, but by names, the same, repeated for each month; the epagomenes have other names (see the list of all these names in Ginzel, I, 281, 287, or in Neugebauer, p. 35, table 24 A).

Under the Seljuk sult An Djellâleddin Melik Sha, there was a reform of the calendar that established the fixed year in 441 AH, 448 of Iezdegerd (= 1079 AD) with beginning at the equinox, on March 15. This year it was the 19st Ferverdîn; it was made the i er.

THE ARMENIAN CALENDAR

The Armenians probably received around the fifth century BC. J.-C. of their masters the Persians, their solar calendar of 12 months of 30 days with 5 days epagomenes. It was a vague year. They kept their months, which were themost important:

I. Navasart.	4. Trè.	7. Mahegan.	Io. Mareri.
2. Hori.	Kalots.	8. Areg.	Margats.
3. Sahmi.	6. Arats. 9. Ah	egan.	12. Hrotits.
	Aveli	ats: 5 days	

The Armenians also used the Julian calendar with its month names. The Armenian formof these names seems to indicate that they received them directly from Rome without the intermediary of Byzantium, and consequently that the use goes back quite high, probably soon after they came into close contact with the Roman power. Later, after their conversion to Christianity, they needed this calendar for the ecclesiastical year. But they always kept their own calendar for common use.

Here are the names of the Julian calendar in their Armenian form:

Hunvar	Januarius	MajisMaius	Sebdemper	September
		HounisJunius	Hogdemper.	Öctober
Mard	— Martius	HoulisJulius	Nojemper	November
April	— Aprilis	OkosdosAugustus	Tegdemper	December

When the Armenian era was created, the beginning was fixed at the I Navasart which followed the end of Andrew's bicentenary cycle, namely in 552 AD; it coincided with the 1 I July of the Julian calendar.

Around 1116, John the Deacon established a new calendar based on the fixed year, the starting point of a new era. The I navasart was raised to the ii of August; the intercalary day every four years was placed at the very end of the year as the 6th epogone. The beginning of the era was set for i August 1084. According to this reform, the timetable is as follows:

```
      Ier Navasart =
      II(12) August
      I Mahegan
      7 (8) February

      I Hori
      - Io (II) SeptemberI
      Areg
      9 March

      I Sahmi
      - Io (II) October
      1 st Ahegan April
      8

      I Trè
      = 9 (ro) November
      I Mareri
      8 May

      I Kalots
      9 (Io) December
      I Margats
      7 June

      Ier Arats
      8 (9) JanuaryI
      Hrotits
      7 July

      1-5 (6) Aveliats
      6-Io (II) August
```

The 6th epogone of the intercalary year occurs in August preceding the Julian leap year. The 1st navasart that follows the 6th epagomene is on August 12, and every day of the year is thus advanced by one day until the end of February leap, wherethe connection is restored.

Another reform was carried out in 1617 by Azarias of Djoulfa for the Armenians living in the

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Persian. The beginning of the year was placed on March 21 and the first intercalary day every four years after the last month before the ephemerals, so three weeks after the Julian bissexte.

The names of the months are new, and probably come from Persia or Hin-doustan.

r. Shams	2I March 20 April -20 May 19 June 19 July 18 August	7. Thira		17 17 i6 16 15	seven. Oct. Nov. Dec. Jan. Feb.
			Aveliats	i6-20	March

THE MUSLIM CALENDAR

The Muslim calendar is a purely lunar calendar, established for religious use. It has 12 months alternately of 30 and 29 days; total: 354 days. Approximately every three years, the last month has 30 days instead of 29. This intercalateion is regulated by a cycle of 30 years, which obtains an almost perfect concordance with the average course of the moon. This cycle consists of 19 common years and 1 r intercalary years: 2, 5, 7, IO, 13, 16, 18, 21, 24, 26, 29. Here are the names of the months with the duration:

I. Moharrem		7. Redjeb 8. Shaban	
3. Rebi'ul awal (Rebi I)	30	9. Ramadhan	3o —
4. Rebi'ul akher (Rebi II)	29	Io. Shawwal	
5. Djumada el ùlâ (Djumada I)	30	II. Dju-l-kade	3o —
6. Djumada el akhira (Djumada II)	29	12. Ďju-l-hidje	² 9 (3o)

Turkish names have too few differences for it to be necessary to record them.

THE AFTERMATH OF YEARS (A) CYCLES OR PERIODS

The sequences of years are of two kinds.

I° Closed or defined sequences, consisting of a determined number of years, at the end of which the numbering of years begins again. These are the cycles or periods. Although these two words can be used for one another, it is nevertheless the name of periodthat would be most appropriate for denote a given number of cycles, or a number of years obtained by multiplying various cycles. We will, however, comply with the usages.

2° Open or indefinite suites. Started at a givenpoint, they constantly continue their numeration. These are the eras. A nascent era looks at infinity: it claims eternity.

N.B. — An era can be constituted by cycles, if these, from a given point, themselves receive an indefinite continuous numeration. This is the era of the Olympiads.

We will therefore deal first with cycles or periods; secondly, è res.

Among the cycles of years, some are natural in nature, that is to say, they depend on natural phenomena, namely the walking of the sun or the moon, others are of pure institution or convention.

I. CYCLES WITH A NATURAL BASIS

A) CYCLES OF SOLEII.

There are two cycles of the sun: one which is 4 years old and which could be called minor solar cycle: it is the Julian tetraeterid; the other, which is 28 years old and which we could say major solar cycle: it is the one that we designate when we talk about the solar cycle.

I. Julienne tetraeterid

Since the annual course of the sun is 365 days and 1/4 of a day (minus a small fraction), it follows that every four years, one day must be added so that the rest of the years correspond to the march of the soleil. This is a 4-year period, consisting of 3 years of 365 days and a year of 366 days. This period of 4 years was instituted by Julius Caesar, and that is why it is called Julian tetraeterid. The day added every four years is the dayfollowingthe 6th of the calends of

March (= February 24) and it is also called 6th of the calends of March. Because of this doubling (bis sextus kal. Martias), this intercalary day was given the name of bissexte, and the year in which it is, that of leap year.

The slight difference in less on the quarter of the day constitutes in the long run a significant difference that reaches one day, then a number of days that increases. It wentup to 1 days when, under Gregory XIII, in 1582, an adjustment of the calendar was made and a clarification of the application of bissexte; this consisted in the suppression of this day in all the centenary years not divisible by400, for example: 1700, 1800, 1900, 2100, etc.

The intercalary day of tetraeterid has a different place in other calendars: among copts and Ethiopians, at the end of the calendar year as the 6th epogone, namely on August 29. It is the same in the small Armenian era, where the 6th ephemais in the Haugust. Intercalation in both occurs at the end of the third year of the tetraeterid; it has the effect of delaying the dates of the fourth year until the meeting with the Roman bissexte six months later.

Among the Copts and Ethiopians, the years of the tetraeterid are designated by the names of the evangelists: the first is the year of Matthew; the second, the year of Mark; the third, the year of Luke; the fourth, the year of John. These samedei gnations are used in dating concordances to indicate the current year of tetraeterid.

2. The 28-year solar cycle Sunday letters. Competitors or solar epacts

The common solar year of 365 days consists of 52 weeks and one day. As a result, the last day of the year brings back the same day of the week as the first. Started on a Monday, the year ends on a Monday and the following year begins on a Tuesday and endsu n Tuesday, and so on, so that, if all the years were 365 days old, the first day of the year, having after seven years traveled every day of the week, would return to the same day of the week that it had first of all. We would have a solar cycle of 7 years. Such a cycle can only exist in calendars with vague years, such as that of the ancient Egyptians. It is different in the Julian calendar. The leap year, by adding one day more than the common years, ends withthe weekday following the weekday on which it began, and thus the first day of the following year, instead of starting a weekday later, begins two days later. A leap year, which began on a Monday, endedon a Tuesday, and the following year began on a Wednesday. The first of the year has moved from Monday to Wednesday, with Tuesday being overtaken. A day of the week is thus skipped every four years. It will take 7 leap years for each day of the weektopass to omission, and it is only then, after 28 years (7',•(4) that the year will start again on the day of

initial week. This period of 28 years has been given the name of solar cycle (circulus solis, i_iXtou); but the term is inappropriate, because it has no**relation to the course of the**sun. It would be more accurately called Sunday or weekly, because it is a cycle of weeks. It may be appropriate, however, because it is the walking of the sun that controls this cycle.

The Sunday letters are a series of 7 letters, from A to G, which are intended to indicate, in the years to which they are applied, which day falls on the first Sunday of the year, and consequently, on which day of the week the year begins. The letters A to G designate this order to the first 7 days of the year, i.e. the days from I to 7 January, then the A-G series starts again on 8 January and so on until 31 December. The year is designated by the letter corresponding to its first Sunday, namely A, if the dimanche is to the first of January; B, if it is on 2 January; C, if it

is january 3rd. Hence, the name of Sunday letter, because it is used to indicate the date of the 1st Sunday of the year.

We have already observed that the common year of 365 days begins and ends with the same day of the week, and that, consequently, the yearbegins with the day of the following week. The result is a corresponding march for Sunday letters, but in the opposite direction. Take a year, for example year VI of the Dionysian solar cycle, a common year. His Sunday letter is G. Thismeans that the first Sunday is January 7 and the year began with a Monday. The following year, year VII, also common, will begin with a Tuesday, and Sunday will be January 6: hence the Sunday letter F. In year VIII, also common, the Sunday letter will be E. We see that the Sunday letters go backwards. In leap years (e.g. year IX of the cycle), the Sunday letter changes to the bissexte day, so that these years have two Sunday letters, one from January24 to 24 February, the other from 25 February to 31 December.

The Dionysian solar cycle begins with a year whose Sunday letter is GF. The beginning of the first solar cycle was postponed by computists to the year — 9 BC. J.-C., so that to knowin which year of the solar cycle is any year of the Dionysian year, it is enough to add 9 to the latter and divide the total by 28. The rest of the division provides the

 $\frac{x-9}{28}$ answer: $\frac{9}{28}$ the year of the solar cycle.

Correlatives to sunday letters are the *competitors*, also in the number of 7. The competitors of a year are figures that indicate the number of days elapsed since the 52nd Sunday of the previous year. A year is said tobe around1 competitor when the previous year ends with a Monday, 2 competitors when it is with a Tuesday. It begins as a result itself in the first case with a Tuesday, in the second with a Wednesday, and so on. The leap year increases son or its competitors by one unit from the bissexte day, 25 February. This year therefore has two figures of competitors, but it is customary to indicate only the second.

As will be seen in the table below, competitors progress in the opposite order to that of Sunday letters.

With the competitors, it is easy to see which day of the week falls first of the year. When the year has 1 competitor, it is because the previous year ends on a Monday; so it itself begins a mardi. When the year has 2 competitors, it is because the previous year ends on a Tuesday; it therefore begins on a Wednesday, and so on, taking into account that for leap years, it is the first figure of the competitors (not expressed, but easyto supplement) that must be considered.

Competitors follow the course of the solar cycle, hence their name, and therefore start in the same order for 28-year-olds. They are still called *epactae solis* (i.e. days *added* to the solar course, distributed by weeks, and *epactae majores*, because they extend over a larger cycle of years (the solar cycle) than the lunar epacts, which extend over the lunar cycle (we have in view that of 19 years).

Competitors appearquite often in the charters of the Middle Ages as a chronological element. However, we did not think we had to overload our concordance tables, because we should also have marked, with their competitors, the other solar cycles that we will soon be discussing. To this absence will replace the following table where is indicated the correspondence of the years of the Dionysian solar cycle with their Sunday letters and their competitors. In order to know which competitors in a particular yearit will be possible to know in which year of the cycle it will be appeared as a distable by the second appear to produce the provided provided the cycle is a particular to the cycle it will be appeared as a distable by the second appear to produce the cycle is a cycle in the cycle is the provided provided the cycle is a cycle in the cycle in the cycle in the cycle is a cycle in the cycle

corresponds, and it will be known, either by the aforementioned operation \underline{x} . or more simply the special table

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that we devote to the solar and lunar cycles.

DIONYSIAN SOLAR CYCLE

SUNDAY LETTERS AND COMPETITORS

(The asterisk marks leap years)

Yea of to	he	Domic- nical letters	- Compet itors	Years of the cycle	Domic- nical letters	- Compet itors	Years of the cycle	Domic- nical letters	- Compet itors	Letter Years of the dosing nical cycle	Commotit
*1 2 3 4 6 7	*5	GF E D C BA g f	1 2 3 4 6 7 1	8 *9 10 11 12 *13 14	E Dc B A G fe D	2 4 5 6 7 2 3	15 16 *17 18 19 20 *21	B Ag F E D	1 5 7 1 2 3 5	22 . a 23 . g 24 • F *25 • ED 26 , C 27! B 28. • i, a	6 7 1 3 4 5 6

In addition to this Dionysian solar cycle, the only one presented by the art of checking dates, as well as the chronology treasure of Mas-Latrie, it is necessary to know also the solar cycles employed in the East by the Byzantines and the Alexandrians. These cycles are tuned with their respective eras; they are also tuned with tetraeterid (1) and their respective lunar cycle, all advantages that are lacking in the Dionysian cycle. They differ naturellement from the latter and between them in their place on the time scale, and in their starting point in the calendar, and these differences lead to those of the epacts. Another difference is in the way or better the ways of calculating celles-these. Saint Maxime counts them by going back from the day of the week (excluded) when the ter of the year falls to the previous Sunday (included). If the ter of the year is a Saturday, the epacts will be Friday, Thursday, Wednesday Tuesday, Monday, Sunday, so there are 6. If it is a Friday, there will be 5; if one Sunday there will be 7, that is to say none (2). As we can see, the number of epacts is always one unit less than the figure of the fairy. The Chronicon paschale presents us in a trochos anequivalent system(3). The epacts are indicated by the fairytale itself with which the years of the cycle begin. Thus the second year of the cycle is marked by B; this letter or number does not mean that there are two epacts, but that the year asnce by the second fairy (= Monday), which can not give more than one epact, the epacts being measured by their distance from Sunday (4). Among Ethiopians, however, it is Wednesday, the genetic day of the creation of the sun, which takes the place of Sunday for the calculation of the epacts, and these are also marked by the day of the week in this order: t means Wednesday; 2, Thursday; 3, Friday, etc. (5).

⁽¹⁾ It is the Julian tetraeterid, even for the Alexandrian cycle, because if it is true that it is at the end of the 3rd year of this cycle that the intercalation of the additional day (6th epagomene) takes place, it is the 4th, the one that contains the Roman bissexte, which is affected, so that, on the Paschal level, which is that of the cycles, it must be said that the Alexandrian cycle agrees with the Julian tetraeterid.

⁽²⁾ Saint MAXIME, PG, 19, col. 124r BC.

⁽³⁾ Ed. Bonn, 25.

⁽⁴⁾ This beginning (Monday) corresponds to that of the protobyzantin cycle xocv& (Amy, which was on March 18; it was then brought back to the previous October to bring it closer to september I, after the year of the Byzantine era had been aligned with the indictional year.

⁽⁵⁾ M. CRADTE, 107; 1'. MAURO DA LEONESSA, Cronologia e calendario etiopico, Tivoli, 1934, p. 64.

We will find in a special table the concordances of the solar and lunar cycles with the eras. We give here: iO The beginning of each cycle in the calendar with the beginning of the week where it is; 2^0 The table of solar epacts of the Byzantium cyclein.

1) BEGINNING OF SOLAR CYCLES IN THE CALENDAR

Dionysian cycle: Ie¹ January, Saturday.

Protobyzantine cycle: xa r& pûatv, March 18, Monday. xourà 0&nv, March 18, Sunday.

Byzantine cycle: October 1st, Monday. Alexandrian cycle: March 25, Sunday.

Ethiopian cycle: with the Alexandrian era: August 29, Tuesday.

with the era of Diocletian or the Martyrs: August 29, Friday.

Cycle of Saint Maximus (with the Alexandrian era): I April, Sunday.

2) TABLE OF SOLAR EPACTS OF THE BYZANTINE CYCLE (1)

(Asterisk denotes leap years)

years Epactes	years	Epactes	years	Epactes	years	ep Acts
1 2 3 4-5 6 0 - 1	*89 1011 *121314	4 5 6 0-1 2	15 *16 17 18 19 *90	4 5-6 0 1 2 3-4 5	22 23 *24 25 26 27 *28]6 -2 3

This is also the progression of the solar epacts of the cycle of the computist Georges (life century) (2), but he does not say on what date of the calendar he begins them.

(B) LUNAR CYCLES

1. Pre-Christian lunar cycles

The duration of the lunar year was calculated practically as having 354 days, and that of the solar year as having 365 days, a difference of II days. At the end of the solar year, the 12-month lunar year has been over since I1 days, and a new lunar year has been underway ever since. These II days in advance are called lunar epacts, that is to say days of the lunar year added to finish the solar year, epactae lunares, epactae minores (in comparison with solar epacts, called majores), adjectiones lunae. The following solar year is said to have II of these days. Let us note immediately, for the clarity of the presentation, the way that has been established at least since the IIIe century of our era to count the epacts.

When a solar year began with I1 lunar epacts, the following year has II epacts in addition, which are added to the previous ones, and therefore has 22 epacts. The third year has 33,

- (r) According to GINZEL, III, 300.
- (2) PZ, 9, 1900, 26,1. 1-14.

but from this number is deduced 30 days to form the embolismic month, so that it has 3 epacts; and so on from I I to II, always subtracting the number 30, when it is exceeded. The connection between the solar year and the lunar year isthe essential purpose of the lunisolar calendars. It is carried out by means of the intercalation of a thirteenth lunar month approximately every three years. The inter-

the state of the crops required it. Mays to

as the duration of the course of the sun and that of the course of the moon were more accurately evaluated, the intercalations were adjusted and periods of years or cycles were established, at the end of which

the two courses return to the same starting point, and atwhich point the intercalations are reproduce in the same order. Difficult task! Since the solar year and the lunar month have no common measure and equivalence has only been obtained approximately, the small differences

in fractions of jour accumulate from year to year to constitute at the end of the cycle the value of one day, and in some cycles, of several days. To restore the agreement, sometimes we add half a day to the moon, which is done by giving the intercalary month the duration of 30 days, and sometimes we take away a whole day; and then the age of the moon is advanced by one day. This omission of a day is called the *saltus lunae*, the jump of the moon. It has the effect, or rather, the correlative effect of increasing the number of epacts that yearby one unit. The *saltus lunae* takes place at the beginning of a neomenia by advancing it by one day.

It was from the ancient Greeks that Christians borrowed the use of lunar cycles. Cleostrates is credited with around the year 50 BC. J.-C., the invention of the 8-year cycle, or okateterid, comprising three intercalations, namely in the years 3rd, Se, 8th, and comprising 99 lunar months. The calculation was made on the basis of 365 days 1 d4 for the solar year and 29 1/2 days for the lunar month, except for the intercalary months which were given a duration of 30 days. The total was the same on both sides, 2,922 days. But the measurements were poorly taken, especially for the moon, whose duration was underestimated, while that of the day was slightly overestimated. The result was a deviation of I day and 1/2 at the end of oktaétéride, of 3 days after 16 years. When we noticed this, we made up for the error by giving the moon three daysofepacts every 16 years. We thus had a cycle of 16 years or hekkaidekaétéride. After io of these cycles, the total of the epacts was 30 days, and then one leap month was deleted. The full cycle therefore consisted of a duration of 10 hekkaidekaétérides or 160 years. Such a system, which required such frequent corrections, could not satisfy astronomers.

In the fifth century BC was known in Greece another cycle, which must have had a great fortune, that of 19 years. It is honoured to Méton; it is very likely, however, that he did not invent it, but borrowed it directly or indirectly from the Babylonians, among whom existed as early as the century BC and probably even since Nabonassar, whose era begins on February 26, 747 BC. J.-C., a lunar cycle of this duration (i). Here is the description of the cycle as it is in Meton (2). At the period of 8 years, which he maintained with his 3 embolismic years, Meton (432 BC) joined another of II years, of which 4 embolismic: the whole constituted a cycle of 19 years, of which 7 embolismic. The authors do not agree on the place of these years. In all 235 lunar months, including 110 cellars and 125 full. They formed a total of 6 940 days. This total, divided by 19, gave a meansof

365 days — per year. This exceeded by 7-6 the estimated length of the year at 365 1/4 days and 1-day gap after 76 years. Callippus (330 BC) thus improved the System of Meton by removing one day after 4 ennekaétérides (4 19 = 76). Thus was formed the cycle of 76 years — éxx.cazeop:r_ixovvzsz-ipiç — called callippe period. It is formed of 4 cycles of Meton,

⁽¹⁾ See M. D. SIDERSICY, Étude sur la chronologie assyro-babylonienne, in *Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, t. XIII,* le partie, 1923, p. 106-199.

(2) GINZEL, II, 389-405.

minus 1 day, has 940 months including 28 intercalaries and 27,759 days (instead of 27,760). Ptolemy used the periods of Callippus in his astronomical observations (1).

Hipparchus discovered, the first, it seems, that the year has a little less than 365 1/4 days. He calculated that after 4 periods of Callippe, a day should be deleted. Its period is 304 years. The average duration of the resulting year is 365 d 5 h 55 min 12 s. This is the most accurate measure known in antiquity. The Hipparchus period was not used in practice.

The 19-year cycle, created for a lunsiolar calendar, was no longer useful and ceased to be in use in Greece after the introduction of the solar calendar according to the Roman reform.

Censorin (2), who knows these cycles of 8 and 19 years, reports others: that of Philolaus, 59 years old, that of Democritus, 82 years old. We do not have any details about them; they did not have to leave the treaties of the astronomers.

For the West, we know of our own lunar cycle (that of 112 being a development of that of 8 years) only that of 84 years, but we can not say with certainty whether it is of astrological or Christian origin. In any case, it surely did not enter into civilian usage.

2. Lunar cycles and pascal computus

The Christians, for their Easter festival, first observed the Jewish dates, either by placing solemnity on the same day as them, which was the custom of the Churches of Asia, or by bringing it to Sunday, which was the more general usage. The conflict that resulted from these differences at the end of the second century gradually subsided and died out before the Council of Nicaea. Some groups focused on the fixed date of 25 March.

From the IIIe century, we note the use of cycles for the establishment of Easter dates. In the West, appears the cycle of 112 years, based on the double okateterid ([8 x 2] x 7), cycle attributed to Hippolytus and used by the Pseudo-Cyprian. Then come the centenary tables of *the Augustalis*, the Supputatio romana, the calendar of 354, the Carthaginian computist of 455, variously established on the cycle of 84 years (3).

In the East, liturgical texts honour Demetrius of Alexandria (189-231) of

"invention of epacts" (4). Most likely, this must be the use, by means of the epacts, of the 8-year cycle for the calculation of the Passover. It is indeed this cycle that we see used by Dionysius of Alexandria, the second successor of Demetrius. Various other cycles were tried or proposed, but all had to fade before the 19-year cycle, adapted to the Pascal computus by Anatole of Laodicea. Anatole does not himself tell us what measures he has served. Later computists do the same in the following way. The Julian year being counted 365 1/4 days, the 19 years make 6,939 3/4 days. Theyinclude 235 synodic lunations. These make: 228 months of 29 1/2 days and 7 30 days embolismic months; we add 4 3/4 days corresponding to the days

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leaps 4 — ,- 4 3/4. Total: 6,940 3/4 days. As this exceeds by one day the total of the 19 years juliennes, we make the equality by deleting i day to the moon in each cycle. This is the leap from the moon that we talked about. It is normally placed at the end of thec ycle. Neither Anatole nor the computists his successors used the observations of Callippus and Hipparchus.

⁽¹⁾ See the table of Meton cycles (beginning at 432 BC) and that of the Callippe periods (beginning at 330 BC), in MAHLER, *Clironologische Tabelles*, *I*, 59-66, and in GLNIZEL, II, 406-407 (Meton cycles), 415-416 (the first Callippe se lement periodonly) according to the various systems concerning the place of the embolismic years.

⁽²⁾ CENSORIN, De die natali, 18.

⁽³⁾ On these cycles of 112 years and 84 years, see above, pp.6-22.

⁽⁴⁾ M. CHAINE, 70; P. MAURO DA LEONESSA, op. cit., 47.

The Cycle of Anatole gave birth, through reforms that changed its starting point, to the Alexandrian cycle and the Byzantine cycle (1). In the terminology of Western computists, the "19-year cycle" refers to the Alexandrian cycle. "What They Call " the lunar cycle" is actually the Byzantine cycle. The golden number applies to the years of the "19-year cycle", i.e. the Alexandrian cycle adopted in the West. It is thus said that the golden number of the year 900 is 8 to signify that it is the 8th year of this cycle.

3. The limits of the Easter festival

The difference in the cycles used partly explains the differences on Easter dates that occurred between Rome and Alexandria in the fourth and fifth centuries. Other causes were added, even more important. These are the various limits assigned here and there to solemnity both in relation to the age of the moon and in relation to the dates of the civil calendar.

In Alexandria, we note by the festive letters of Saint Athanasius that the limits of the Feast of Easter were, from the first third of the fourth century, on the one hand the XV-XXI lunae (one did not hesitate to celebrate the Passion of Christ before the Xiv Lunae), and on the other hand, since Athanasius used the Alexandrian cycle, from March 22 to April 25. In fact, the case did not arise in his time for April 25, but there was the case of April 23, where he marked the Passover. Were these standards already applied in the IIIe "century and in the Ive before the Council of Nicaea? One can only presume this, standing on the reserve, especially as far as the Cycle of Anatolyis celebrated.

In Rome, from the tentury, as seen by the Table of Hippolytus, the memory of the Passion could not be celebrated before the Xiv lunae nor consequently, the Resurrection of Christ before the Xvi. The limits of the Easter festival were therefore the XVI-XXII lunae. The limits in the Julian calendar were March 25, the Julian date of the equinox, and April 21, the feast of Natalis Romae "The Supputatio romana maintained these standards (2). It is easy to conceive of the conflicts that such differences with the Alexandrian canon were to engender. They could only completely disappear by erasing one system in front of the other.

The 19-year system undoubtedly prevailed over the 84-year cycle. In the fifth century, it imposed itself on the attention of the Romans. Victorius of Aquitaine adopted it, but he retained the traditional rules concerning the limits of the Easter festival (3). Dionysius the Little, resolutely abandoning them, took the 19-year cycle in its Alexandrian form, official in the East since Theodosius ^{Tand} including its limits of the Easter festival. Rome's accession to this life-cycle of the century marks the end of conflicts in this area.

4. Remarks on various elements of the 19-year-old Paschal lunar cycle

Embolismic years. — The emboliismic years of the Byzantine and Alexandrian Easter cycles

Byzantine cycle (xourà cpt')atv)	17	18 19	I 1 2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
Protobyzantine cycle (xct^:& 0:}r)-(tv)	18	19 1 1	2 3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	191	1
Alexandrian cycle	1	2 3	4 5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12 13	14	15	16	17	18	19 1	1	2	3
Bede's Alexandrian cycle	1	2 3	4 5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12 13	14	15	16	17	18	19 1	1	2	

We see that the embolismic years correspond in the various cycles. Several years of Bede are exceptions. But this makes no real difference for computing, because the intercalation being

⁽I) See part I, chapter III.

⁽²⁾ Augustalis admitted easter to X/ V *lunae*. This can be seen as an indication that this computist did not belong to the Church of Rome.

⁽³⁾ KRusen, Studien. II, 12-15.

in these staggered years from August to December (1) has its effect on the Easter date of the following year, and thus joins the embolismic year of the Alexandrians and Byzantines.

The leap from the moon. — The leap from the moon, by which the day too many of the total lunations in relation to the solar years in the 19-year cycle is removed, is normally placed at the end of the cycle, or more precisely between the end of the cycle and the beginning of the next cycle. If sometimes this rule is not observed, it is either because the beginning of the cycle was taken outside a computing reason, or because of the conformity of the cycle with another cycle, or for particular reasons, for example to justify a chronology.

Victorius of Aquitaine places the moon jump of his cycle at the end of the sixteenth year (2), but he chose his starting point without taking care of the course of the moon, namely, he placed it in the year of the Passion of Christ. If he places the leap of the moon at the end of the sixteenth year, it is because he probably considers year XVII to be the startof the realcycle, in accordance with the first cycle of creation. — See the Victorius cycle in column III of the comparative table, pp. :54 and 55.

In the Byzantine cycle, either xcf.. -: & (pir)o-tv, either xy.-r& 0éGtv, the jump from the moon was first to the

end of the last year, and he stayed there in the xoct. Uacv. In the strictly Byzantine xct-c.& cycle, the moon jump, from the century life, is carried to the end of the sixteenth year. The reason for this is the unification of the Easter dates of this cycle with those of the Alexandrian cycle. The Easter date being dependent on the jump of the moon, it is necessary to effand change it if we change thatone. The moon's jump in the Alexandrian cycle has its normal place at the end of its nineteenth year; to this year corresponds the xvith in the Byzantine cycle zo(-,7c>. cAatv. We can therefore see why it is at the end of the sixteenth centurythat theleap from the moon is placed.

Saint Maximus tells us who he calls 71:SVT. C(.17Xoi5vTE. 'c, zoci, éi,cer:Xoûvzz...-ç, who put the jump of the moon at the beginning of the half year of their cycle, which was the Byzantine cycle xv,7. ?ûo-tv (3). They had a particular purpose, which was quite difficult to disentangle, but which was probably of a chronological nature.

Epacts and Osta.é)m.ov. — The epacts are not counted in the same way in all cycles. The Cycle of Anatole, in its first year, counts II epacts; that of Alexandria begins at 30 epactes, that is to say without epacts; that of Constantinople zot-râ. cp1')atv, in Ir epactes;

0&atv to 30 epactes. In addition, the epacts start from a different initial year depending on the difference in the cycles. Finally, the leap from the moon, which increases the annual batch of epacts by one unit, necessarily influences the number of epacts of the following years. From all this, it follows that for the same year, different cycles cannot have the same number of epacts.

The starting point in the year of the calculation of the epacts is normally at the date of the Paschal neomenia which is at the origin of the development of the cycle, i.e. at the Paschal neomenia of the first year of the cycle. In the Anatole cycle, it is March 22. In the Alexandrian cycle, it is neomenia

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(1) See the table of neomenias in our Ille Partie, p. 303.
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⁽²⁾ KRUSCH, Studien II, 26.

⁽³⁾ Saint MAXIME, P G, 19, col. I22S-1229.

⁽⁴⁾ Ibid..

of the Ie^r thôth (August 29; 30 after the 6th epogone), first of this cycle. Saint Maximus testifies in fact that the Alexandrians measured their epacts until August 28 (1): which means that they began to count them from the 29th (Ie^r thôth). Later, the neomenia of the Ie^r thôth was replaced by that of 23 March; it is the one indicated by Bede as the starting point for the calculation of the Alexandrian epacts.

Saint Maximus points out yet another mode: it is to measure them from the first of April (2). It is undoubtedly this mode that is his. He wanted to give the same starting point to the epacts of the moon as to those of the sun that he counts precisely from the First April.

For the Byzantine cycle, the natural starting point is March 20, where is the Paschal neomenia of the first year. It was postponed to Ie^r January, where the moon is the same age as in I^{er} March, namely the half day. This postponement had to be carried out very early, at a time when the Roman calendar was still the official calendar, perhaps even from the creation of the cycle. Saint Maxime tells us that the "iTE... VT(I.7CX0i5V7E-Ç settled the Passover on the moon of January Ie (3). These computists followed the Byzantine cycle.

With the epacts, we must mention the OzpIXtov. This term is a foundation; it refers strictly to the age of the moon at the beginning of each cyclical year, the age on which the calculation of Easter is based. Among the Byzantines, as we have just said, the cyclical year begins for the lunar epacts in I^{er} January. This meaning of 0zp.é1,cov is well marked by Psellos. The epacts of the first year, he explains, are i to 1 January. It is joined on the first of January itself, which makes 12; it is the 0sp.estov, the age of the moon (4). For theother years, the other years are thencounted as

subtracting 30 when this number is exceeded. We thus have both for each year the march of the epacts and the age of the moon, which is a great simplification. This meaning of 0E:p,entov also applies

in the sun, including 0rf1. D,6ov, placed at the te^r October, is 2Monday) in the first year of the cycle, the epact being I.

The word Osp.Duov is sometimes taken as simply to mean the number of epacts.

The epacts, from the xiith century, not before it seems, because Psellos ignores this change, instead of being counted i i in the first year, are counted 14, and this initial increase naturally hasits effect on the following years. Various seasons are given of this later use. Note that in this account, it is the term of 0F.. p.ésmov that is applied.

The variety of the various elements of computing that we have just noted in the 19-year cycle is made noticeable in the picture we have painted of the various forms of this cycle. Several of these forms already have their explanation in the preceding remarks. Others are given in our dissertation on the origin of the world eras.

C) THE 95-YEAR CYCLE

The 95-year cycle is a period comprising 5 19-year cycles (5 19 = 95). It contains the list of *the Easter XIV lunae* with the indication of the days of the week when they fall, which makes it easy to know the date of Easter which is on Sunday suivant. We also know by this list the day of the week of the XIV *lunae* of the next period of 95 years. Not in the sense that the same days of the week all come back in the same order. It is not believable that the creator of the cycle could have claimed this. A lag occurs in all leap years. The rule

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(I) Saint MAximE, PG, col. 1272 Be.
(2) Ibid., col. 1269 D and 1272 Be.
(3) Ibid., col. 1233.
(4) Gertrude REDL, La chronologie appliquée de Michel Psellos, Byz., 5, 1929, p. 235.
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of the cycle was to be this: the Easter dates (XIV lunae) of the common years return after 95 years on the same day of the week; those of leap years return after 95 years not on the same day of the week, but on the previous day (1). Ainsi, in 258, the first year of the Anatole cycle and common year, the XIV Easter lunae, marked on 4 April, fell on a Sunday; after 95 years, in 353, it returned to Sunday. Similarly, the Easter XIV lunae of the following year, 259, also a common year,marked on 24 March, fell on a Thursday; it returned to Thursday in 354. But the XIV Easter lunae, April 12, which in 260 is leap, was also a Thursday, was not a Thursday in 355, but a Wednesday. Through the game of bissexte, the cycle gradually slipped, going up, through the days of the week. It was, so to speak, a sliding cycle, of perfect regularity. Observing this difference between common and leap years, the Easter of the next 95-year period was known in advance.

D) THE 532-YEAR EASTER CYCLE

This cycle results from the multiplication of the years of the solar cycle by the number of years of the lunar cycle ($28 \times 19 = 532$). It brings the Easter dates back to the same day of the month and the week after 532 years.

It should be noted that the 532-year Paschal cycle has been applied differently, namely: either from the joint beginning of the lunar and solar cycles; this is the most logical mode: it is applied in the Alexandrian and Byzantine eras; or by taking as a starting point one of these two cycles, in this case the lunar cycle, because of its importance for the Easter festival: this is the case of the so-called Dionysian cycle, which begins year 1 of its lunar cycle and year 8 of its solar cycle; or finally from a religious event, such as that of Victorius, which begins with the Passion of Christ. In this case, the solar cycle aligns with the lunar cycle. (On the origin of the 532-year cycle and its various applications, see our Part I.)

This isopsephie cycle was given the name alpha (1Xcpoc).

2. INSTITUTIONAL OR CONVENTION CYCLES

A) OLYMPIADS

The Olympiads are four-year periods that derive their origin and name from the games that were celebrated in Olympia at the beginning of the summer every four years. The Greeks called these games 7TE: yxo É (quinquennial among the Romans), because they considered the first year of a new period to be the fifth of the previous period.

The Olympic Games date back to the city century BC. J.-C.; they were abolished by Theodosius I in 394.

The term Olympiad is sometimes used in the charters of the Middle Ages in the sense of four-year period without any connection with the ancient Olympiads. Thus, in the donation of the Count of Autun to the Abbey of Cluny in 956: *anno imperii Lotharii regisfilii Lotharii regis II, prima olympiadis:* the term designates the first period of four years of the reign of Lothari (GIRY, p. 96).

It still survives as a literary ex pressure to mean a period of four years. It is in Olympiads, for example, that Ausone indicates the age of her father: *Undecies binas vixit olympiades (Parentalia,* I, verse 4).

⁽i) This feature is noted in the Prologue ofpseudo-Cy rille. PErAu, *De doctrines temporunt*, ed. Venise, t. II, 502: n Unum tantuin assem in quibusdam annis propter rationes bissexti, qui occurrere non potuit usque ad ultimum summum circuli annum, qui redit ad caput, adjiciendum, vel potius dimittendum monui.

We also meet the term Olympiad among Armenians to designate the Julian tetraeterid (DULAURIER, 167-168).

The continuation of the Olympiads since the origin of the games has been used as a means of continuous dating (see eras, pp. 211-212).

(B) INDICTIONS

Indictions are periods of 15 years, used to date acts or events. In this means ofdating, the only years of each period are expressed, and not the number of periods elapsed since the beginning. There is no era of indictions as there is an era of Olympiads (I).

The word indiction (.'r, F;ntva?.. wr_io-tr,) is taken doubly: 1° For the 15-year period itself; 2° For each year of a period and is then accompanied by a serial number; this is the usual meaning in chronological notations.

• The indiction in the Roman Empire was thefixing of the amount of the annual property tax. The word then took on the meaning of a fiscal year, then a period of fiscal years after it had been settled that the tax base would be established for several years and would be renewed periodically.

It is to Diocletian that this institution is attributed, and it is in Egypt first that we see it in force. The oldest testimonies make it possible to place the beginning in 297-298. There is currently agreement that Diocletian's indiction wasonly a period of 5 years, and it is to Constantine that, in accordance with the indication of the *Chronicon paschale* (2), the series of indictions is traced back to 15 years. The first of these periods has its starting point in September 312 (3).

Until the middle of the Ive century, there was a certain flutter in the way of marking the years of indiction. Sometimes we lock ourselves into the period of 15 years and then we count the years of another series starting again at 1; sometimes we exceed it, that is to say that we continue the numeration of the years beyond 15, generally marking the rank they have in the new period. Example: Giza-Papyrus, no. 10476: -rô èvzo-rck x07 zocpni;)v si'i-ruxoûç v,4:.ccç -1)soc

period. Example: Giza-Papyrus, no. 104/6: -ro evzo-rck x07 zocpni;)v si¹i-ruxouç v,²i.ccç -1)soc z6 Mt.x(nilwoç). Other examples in Gardthausen, II, 462, note 3. Saint Athanasius, in his festive letters, knows only closed series of 15 years (4).

The first example of the use of the indiction to date an imperial act appears in the Decree of Constance of the year 356/357 (Cod. Theod., XII, 12, 2).

The dating of public acts by means of indiction was made mandatory by Justinian Cree 537 (Novella 47).

Although the 15-year periods are chronologically the same everywhere, there is a difference betweenthe beginning and consequently the end of the indictional year, and as a result, there are several kinds of indictions.

^{(1) 11} there are, however, some exceptions in the Middle Ages, both in the East and in the West. For the West, see GIRv, 97; the starting point is taken in the year minus 3 B.C. For the Orient, DULAURIER; p. 253-254, reports the case of the historian Thomas Ard2romii, which among other concordances for the advent of caliph Mutawakkil (846) marks: after the XIX', indiction; the starting point of these 19 indictions is taken at the beginning of the Armenian era (552-553).

⁽²⁾ Chronicon Pctschale, ed: Bonn, 522, 687.

⁽³⁾ ENSSLIN, Valerius (Diocletianus), *RE*, VII A, 2464-2465; E. KASE, The Dating of the first fifteen year Indiction Cycle, *Trans. and Proc. Asnerican Philol. Assoc.*, 6, (1f31), XI,I; the same, *A Papyrus Roll in the Princeton Collection*, Nev York, 1933. (4) Ed. SCHWARTZ, *OS/Male/il*, 24-25.

I. Egyptian Indiction

The Egyptian indiction, the beginning of which, after probably having been originally fixed at the ler thôt, was soon modified and revised each year according to the state of progress of the crops. It is seen oscillating from May to July. It was a meditatedindiction. This system continued beyond the Arab conquest. The epigraphy shows us the indiction used in Egypt until the ninth century (Lefèvre, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes d'Égypte*, n° 643). Most likely, the mention of Indiction 3 which is found, and is found alone, in the protocols of the Acts of the Brigandage of Ephesus for dates of August of 449 (August 8: Ed. Schwartz, II, I, p. I, 77, and Mansi, VI, 605; Syriac Acts, Perry, translation, p. 401; August 22: SyriacActs, *ibid.*, 13) and which all publishers consider a fault for indiction 2, is not one, but simply expresses the Egyptian indiction, already begun. The protocols also mention the name of the Egyptian month: *mesori*.

2. Byzantine indiction

The Byzantine or Constantinopolitan or Constantinian indiction. — It has its beginning on the I'' September which precedes by four months the first January of our computing. This is the one attributed to Constantine. The first period of 15 Augustbegins on September 312. This indiction is a chronological means of great frequency among the Byzantines. Worthless, when it is expressed alone, it is extremely valuable when it accompanies another date (e.g. the reignof a prince, a world era), which it then serves to determine.

It is not certain that the Byzantine indiction always had its beginning on September 1st. The problem arises mainly because of the inscription of the martyrion of Saint Christopher in the territory of Chalcedon, now lost, which marks the dedication of the building in 452 (safe date) and which bears, among others, the following chronological elements: si.v&x(rcii_wi) s' ItXiWOU[L(ÉV'n) as7.--rs;_L-;?,p(ic;)) x6' (I).

I do not stop at the hypothesis of H. Grégoire according to which one would have first engraved ifAtzerr.&)vr.) n'icr,pougévr,) with the thought that everything would be ready for the dedication and that it would be done before September, and leaving a void to specify the day (2). The learned teacher himself finds it unsatisfactory. It is all the less so, let us add, as the same thought that made engrave sv&x(-rti⁻t>vc) 7C)Cp0Up. (éln) would not have failed to engrave also Ea rwi ocûyolixr-r:(;) if these deu/formulae overlaped, and would have left blank only the calendar of the month.

Another attempt at explanation, which H. Grégoire did not know, is that of André Leval. This one

reports 7rk)wov p.() to p.(-/v1) GC77." 1:S!.),6p(icp) reading: Tc),-/pouti. (QM)). And it refers to the manner of the ancient

Greeks who divided the month into three parts or decades: ics-re(p.svoç, la.&aaoç, pOevo)v (3).

But, in this system, each decade had its own number, and there was no continuous numeral for the whole month, as is the case here. We will therefore hesitate, for this, to admit that in the September 22, the month is in its end. It is as if we were saying, because it is the same proportion, that the indiction is in its end in the first days of June, exactly on June 2. Be that as it may from this point, a radical reason ruins Leval's explanation, is that it goes back the dedication of the oratory en 451, while it took place very surely in 452, date marked by the consulate.

⁽I) L. DurIrrsigE, Christian Inscription of Bithynia, ECU, 2, 1878, 289-299.

⁽²⁾ In Byz., 4, 1927-1928, 461-463.

^{(3) &#}x27;Exx}:ncrt.Œcrrt.x';) 'AM)Ostoc, 9, 1889, 392, n. 5. A. I.,eval gives this explanation only as a secondary one. The one he presents in the body of the article consists, by correcting c' by te', to see in Etv8tx(Ttiùvt) te' rekqpou[1(E.'n) the end of the indictional cycle. It is also to be rejected because indiction 15 corresponds to the year 461-462, while the consular date designates the year 452.

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What makes it difficult to accept the testimony of the inscription is that it is iso ated offend a dogma. But we do not think that this dogma, from the establishment of the intuntil 452, date of the dedication of the martyrion of Saint Christopher, that is to say for a half, is without testimony, at least no one presents any and I have not met any.

As for isolation, it is not absolute. And I am thinking here of the date of this function that desolders Antioch under Leo I, and which so many historians, and recently G. D. Honigmann, have dealt with. Of the chroniclers who have related it, the most precise in Évagre (1). Here are the chronological notations he applies to it:

- 1. 2nd year of Emperor Leo;
- 0. Year 606 of the city (Caesarean era of Antioch);
- 1. September 14;
- 2. Sunday started (the term &-razy.-:c.(Xy.6cri g, to the aorist, can have no other meani
- 3. II e indiction (= 457-458).

Nos I, 2, 3 and 4 are concordant for the date of 14 September 458. That leaves the clear that if this date is certain, itleads to indiction beyond **the** first **of** September. But is it saft disputed this (2). Misunderstanding the meaning of brczotTaXoc6o1¹.) a-ric" he thoug wanted to designate Saturday, September 14; but this coincidence took place, not in 458 but way, the agreement with the indiction is obtained, certainly counted from **the** first of September 14; but this coincidence took place, not in 458 but way, the agreement with the indiction is obtained, certainly counted from **the** first of September 14; but this coincidence took place, not in 458 but way, the agreement with the indiction agrees with the year 606 of Antioch. However, as 457,

he indiction, the year 606, according to the calendar still in force in 449, has not yet begin on October 1st. To unify the two dates, Gl. Downesees no other way than to change of calendar occurred previously in Antioch and consisting in moving the beginning from I October to Ie⁵ September to bring it into agreement with the Byzant ne know that this has been done, and an inscription of 483 is now considered tobe theolethat attests to this. Downey believes that Evagre's text postpones the operation until 157

This demonstration is based only on the misinterpretation of erct.xwroc?aôdiia therefore be taken into account. It leaves intact the date of the Earthquake of Antioch | 10 4 E. Honigmann subsequently established this date in an irrebuttable manner, by cal documents (3). But with italways d emeure the problem of indiction I1. If we count it f September, it is in contradiction with the 14 September of 458, day which already be indiction 12. I cannot understand why Honigmann did not consider this difficulty, while the beginning of the indiction at the first of September: he even assumes that the charge which Downey speaks must have been made shortly after the disaster and on its occasion clear. We see dans the text of Evagre, a testimony that on the date indicated, 458, the inc begin on the first of September, and had not yet begun on the 14th of this month, and reason that made place in the indiction I i on September 14, 458. Thus perfect the conc chronological notations attached by this author to the event. Certainly, Évagre has only source. Undoubtedly, there is another very simple solution: it is to declare the text at faul by indiction 12. But do we have the right to do so, when there is, very close in time, by earlier, a document that nothing can shake or evade, namely the inscription of Challedo style of indiction has the same peculiarity?

⁽r) Hist. eccl., II, 12; ed. BEDEZ-PARMENTIER, p. 63.

⁽²⁾ Glanville DowNEv, The Calendar Reforme at Antioche in the fifth Century, Byz., 15, 1940-19

⁽³⁾ E. HONIGMANN, The Calendar Change at Antioch and the Earthquake of 458 A. D., Byz., 17,

This inscription is a document that alone carries certainty. Évagre's text, which is not contemporary, has less force, but as it presents itself in excellent conditions, in a series of concordances, it turns out that at the same time as it receives fromchalcedon's in scription an additional authority, it brings him in turn a testimony that brings her out of her isolation.

In favour of this late indiction beginning after the first of September, we believe it useful to add another epigraphic text which, if it is not absolutely convincing, is such that it can have no better explanation than in the same perspective. This is an inscription published some 70 year ago, but it has gone unnoticed as far as our problem is concerned. It is

Panion, in Thrace, so in full Byzantine atmosphere. I transcribe it with its iotacismes:

y.curaxt-re ec Tcç p.axotptaç [i.vcp.cç Asoyna Ovyamw Euyz vcov noppuporcoeov

ox ro6pcou cf.pm tv(tx rccovoç) O ± (1). Isolated as it is, this indiction is insufficient to let us know the date of the inscription, but the square sigmas are clues of an ancient era, Ive or fifth century. What is remarkable and that we will surely have noticed is the formule of dating: "Month of October, beginning of the indiction." This formula is unusual, because generally, the ercpxil I.v&x-rté;:woç does not come out of September. Should we think of an indiction that would begin in October? It is not exigible, and the formula ceases to amaze if the indiction it designates begins in September, but after the 22nd. Between 22 September and the beginning of October, there are only eight days. Thus the inscription -de Panion, without constituting once again an absolute proofe, confirms in a striking way that of Chalcedon.

But if the indiction, at that time, does not begin in the first of September, what is its starting point? That is not easy to determine. Here are a few observations.

By taking strictement to the letter the data of the inscription of Chalcedon, it is on September 22 that the indiction ends. It is therefore on 23 September that its starting point is. However, we find in various liturgical documents the mention of a veroc fixed precisely on 23 September. Thus, in the Synaxaire of the Church of Constantinople, ed. of the Bollandists, *AASS, Propylaeum Novembris*, col. 71-74, according to several manuscripts that range from the me to the tenth centuries. Thus in the Typikon of the Church of Constantinople (Ixe-xe siècles, ed. of Dmitrievskij (other examples later) (2). All these manuscripts present the formula: Tô viov gToÇ XOCi. 01¹)),?4cç

Ccytaç 'EXtcyc6E...': (this is the miraculous conception of St. John the Baptist). This notice passed among the Slavs and is found in their oldest manuscripts, in the same order (the formula "conception of Saint Elizabeth" has simply been replaced by the equivalent formula: conception of Saint John the Baptist). Such are the Glagolitic Synaxis of Assémani (tenth century), the Evangeliary of Ostromir written in 1056-1057 and the Slavic Menologus called Sabas (xith century), reported, the first two by Martinov (3) and all three by Archbishop Sergij (4). The latter did not hesitate to recognize in the *Leto novoe* of 23 September the beginning of the Constantinian indiction. He was, however, unaware, at least he does not refer to it, of Chalcedon's in scription. Between this and the indication of the liturgical manuscripts, the coincidence is striking. Is it decisive? One will no doubt find a reason to doubt this in the fact that we see here the veov gTOÇ coupled with the feast of the Conception of St. John.

baptist. Is it not because of her that 23 September would be the ? And, indeed, this festival, as opening the cycle of evangelical mysteries celebrated annually by the Church, may well be

⁽I) A. PAPADOPOULOS-KÉRAMEIJS, 'Apxoct.61 ryrzç xcet. ÉlLtypapci, T*ilÇ 0 pC'(XY'Ç in '0 èv Kcova rwrrt.votr6M c eXXAvtxbq cpt. XoXoytx? Jç EaXoyoç. 'ApxcaoXoycx-4 èrctrporri]. Ilocpp rril.. toc 'roi) IZ' T6[.tou, Constantinople, 1886, p. 94. The editor does not make any reflection on the indicated indiction.

⁽²⁾ A. DMITRIEVSKIJ, Typika, I, 8.

⁽³⁾ J. MARTINOV, Annus ecclesiasticus graeco-slavicus, 229-230.

⁽⁴⁾ SERGIJ, Polnyj mésjaceslov, II, 296. Add also the Old Serbian Evangeliary of Miroslav (xire century), phototypic edition of King Alexander I of Serbia.

considered a beginning of the liturgical year. To this idea probably corresponds the mention of a kanonarion of the Church of Constantinople (xie-xiie century) which bears: 'H ai')X-À-r_icPtç rç (1)k:g 'EXLC76.6F.T... v&JV

C.C",70 $\c C$ ". It should be noted, however, that this explanation is an isolated fact, and that the heading: Tè véov(3-11))* $\c r_i$ (Inc,... awakens the idea of a simple juxtaposition. This is confirmed by the fact that it is exactly the same formula that is used for the indiction of September ment.

meeting with the feast of Saint Symeon the Stylite: riveted IVKY;70ll xai Tov 66G011 7.-Y.T.p6c

Eup.cii)v (Vatopédi 322/956 = 1202 Eustratiades of the xve s., Dmitrievskij, II, 146; Synaxaire de l'Évergétis (xIIe siècle), Dmitrievskij, I, 256; Panteleimon 68 (half century), *ibid.*, 152; Vati-canus 1877, written in 1292, *ibid.*, 837 (1). But here in other documents this juxtaposition itself is not observed and the vé.ov g-ro,-, instead of being linked or mated with the Conception of St. John the Baptist, is with the equinox or *Ca-ip.spict*, according to the expression of the Greeks. Thus, in the synaxaria of the ninth and tenth centuries, published by M. A. Scholz, we read: Leov ytvé,)(3.x.scv &Tc IpzE-ry.t 6 Aoux&ç

clvo:r.vc;x7x·.,.-GOcc, etn6 - $c1_4$ ç zupcotxniç [1.F..' 7& '771y ,'3·4)o)atv• $ta^2r_ip.specEce.$ zocXsi.Tott veov

"à'.-roç (2). Similarly, in the so-called Typicon of Saint-Sabas, the same heading almost in the same terms with the same explanation (3). Both are also in the synaxis of the convent of the Évergétis of Constantinople. It specifies that the Saturday and Sunday following the Feast of the Cross (14 September) do not belong to the new year, but that the following Saturday and Sunday are the first of the new year (4).

The liturgical documents we makeshow us the new year identified on the one hand with the equinox, on the other hand with September 23. And the 23rd is also, in the inscription of Chalcedon, interpreted strictly, the beginning of the indiction. Is there a link between these meetings? Dothey mean that the choice of the beginning of the indictional year fell on the equinox and that it was then observed and fixed on 23 September? I would not dare to say it without positive testimony and I do not think it is likely that for such an objective and we have carried out a revision of these asons. If we had thought of the equinox, it is naturally its traditional date that we would have had in sight. The veov Toç of 23 September — while waiting to say indiction — must have another origin, which we shall try to determine.

We have seen above that the Macedonian lunosolar calendar in use in the kingdom of the Seleucids, did not take long to give way, after the Julian reform, the country being already conquered, to the solar calendar of this reforme. This, however, was not accepted in all its peculiarities. Cities and regions went more or less far in their imitation. We are informed on this subject by the Hemerologion of Florence (Mss. of Florence, Leiden and the Vatican) (5). He gives us the state of various oriental calendars that must go back to the times of Augustus (6). The Lycia calendar is the closest to the Roman calendar. The beginning of the year is the same, and most months also begin at the sametime. But all the others have retained their traditional beginning of the year in autumn. In Antioch and Seleucia, the months were modelled on the Roman months, with the same number of days and even the beginning of the months respectively, but the beginning of the year, which remained autumnal, was fixed on October 1st. Elsewhere, the year began at the Roman equinox,

⁽i) Note that in Ostromir's evangeliary, of which we have the facsimile edition before the eyes (St.-Pét., 1883), a dot followed by a capital letter separates the indications of the New Year and the Conception of St. John the Baptist: *Novoe leto. I zaeatie loannu Krestitelju*.

⁽²⁾ M. A. SCHOLZ, Novuln Testamentum graece, I, 464.

⁽³⁾ Editions of Venice, 1685, p. 22; 1691, p. 26.

⁽⁴⁾ A. DMITRIEVSKIJ, TyPika, I, 282.

⁽⁵⁾ Mediceus XXVIII 28; Leideus. gr. 78; Vatic. gr. 1291.— GESZEL, III, 18-34; W. KUBITSCHEK, Die Kalenderinicher von Florenz, Rom und Leyden, 1915, where the Vatican copy is used for the first time.

⁽⁶⁾ See above, pp. 172-173, the table of these calendars.

and the months were formed from the equinox on the Roman mode. These are the calendars of Asia and Ephesus, the first of which of the year is on September 24. We can certainly add to this the calendars of Bithynia, Crete and Paphos, which 1'Hemerologion willbegin on 23 September. They had previously started on 24 September. This passage from 24 to 23 September is not a mere supposition. It can be taken for sure. We are instructed by the case of the Asian calendar. Our Hemerologion gives itas astart, as we have just seen, on 24 September. However, a whole series of inscriptions from Asia: Apamea, Euménie, Dorylaeus, Pergamon, Priene, convince us that there was at the time of Augustus a reform of the calendar of this province, by which the firstday of theyear, in honor of this emperor, is brought to 23 September which is his dies natalis (1). The inscription of Priene gives the details of this new calendar, namely the names of the months, their respective duration and their beginning. The names are the Macedonian names, except the first which, in honor of Caesar Augustus, is called Kcii:Gocp instead of Dios, and the first day of this month, by the fact the first of the year, corresponds to the ninth day before the calends of October (September 23), dies natalis of Augustus; and all the other months also begin with the ne jour before the calends (2).

What happened there for the Asian calendar undoubtedly contains the explanation of the date of September 23 as the beginning of the year in the calendars of Bithynia, Crete and Paphos. This date certainly does not designate the equinox, which could only be on September 24, but surely the *dies natalis* of Augustus, which, as in Asia, will have taken the place of the equinoxial day as the first of the year.

To these regions, Asia, Bithynia, Crete, Cyprus (Paphos), epigraphy makes it possible to add Pamphylia (3). In addition, the calendar of Heliopolis (Syria), in theHemerologion of Florence, whose first month, according to Ginzel (4), is not known, was, in all probability, the month of Ab, whose first daycorresponded precisely to September 23. Ideler understood this as well (5). In addition to these countries or cities, it can well be assumed that there were still others to take a similar measure. I am thinking in particular, because of the Testament of Augustus, of Ancyra and Galatia, whose calendar is not known to us, and, neighbouring Galatia, of Cappadocia, which, incorporated into the Empire under Tiberius, was able on this occasion to modify its calendar.

Whatever the consequences of this last point, it remains that almost all of Asia Minor, plus important islands, more, most likely, Syrian Phéliopolis make September 23, dies natalis of Augustus, the beginning of their calendar year. But this date is no less known to other Eastern countries, in the first place, to those whose calendar received deeper the Roman imprint, such as Lycia, Antioch and Syria: this day, in fact, was an official festival of the first order. Such a situation has onlyspread and strengthened during the threecenturies that separate Augustus from Constantine, so that, when one wanted, at the beginning of the Ive century, to regularize the collection of the property tax by fixing a cycle of years on which it was to extend, and que moreover the beginning of the years could hardly be that in theautumn, the day after the harvests (in other words, when the institution was instituted, which was made of 15 years), September 23, beginning of a month and beginning of year for an importante part of the population and festival ofempire, was naturally offered to open the year and the cycle. It was already a veov Toç before the indiction. He became the veov -•,-oç of the indiction.

W. Kubitschek presents another explanation: "Da das Indiktionsjahr in regionaler Verschie-

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(I) GINZEL, III, 20.
(2) Mitteilungen d. Kais. deutsch. Archaol. Teacher. Athenische A bteilung, 24 Band, 1899, p. 275-293; GENZEL, III, 20, n.
(3) GINZEL, III, 24.
(4) GINZEL, III, 33.
(5) IDELER, 1, 440.
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denheit auch ab 1/9 zu verlaufen scheint (griechische oder konstantinopolitanische Indiktion) oder vom 23/9 (doch wohl nicht vom 22, 9 (typographical error for 24,19), wie Beda zu meinen scheint ; also vom Geburtstag des Kaisers Augustus und somit vom Neujahr im prokonsularischen Asien ; als Caesarea indictio bezeichnet), so mag wohl die Indiktion grundsâtzlich mit dem bürgenlichen Neujahr, je nach seiner lokalen Gestaltung, zusammengehangen haben (1).»

This note assumes that the two indictions of ler and 23 **September have** coexisted, but this is not based on any testimony and the inscription of Chalcedon, the only document that leads us to the threshold of 23 September, is **absolutely opposed to** this. Chalcedon, in fact, neighbor of Constantinople, is, in 452, date of inscription, under the **direct influence and** dependence of Constantinople, this for more than a century. It is therefore the indiction of Ler Septembre, if it existed then, which should have been included. Let us add that no calendar of the Orient, neither in the Hemerologion of Florence, nor elsewhere, as far as can be judged by authors as knowledgeable as Ginzel and Kubitschek himself, presents a year or even un month that begins with a September ler. We do not see how we would have thought of this date.

It is obviously this idea of the coincidence of these two ways of beginning the indiction, I september and september 23rd, that led Kubitschek to formulate the hypothesis, ingenious certainly, that the beginning of the indiction, in each region, was fundamentally linked to the beginning of his calendar year. This hypothesis cannot survive in the face of the glaring case presented by Antioch, the great eastern metropolis. In Antioch, in fact, the beginning of the calendar year, which had been on October since the constitution of the era of this city, never attracted to oneself the beginning of the indiction; there was never any indiction other than that of September, and when the conformity of the indiction andthe calendar year was achieved in the second half of the fifth century, it was the calendar year which aligned itself with the indiction, and not this one with that one (2). Hence he follows that on September 23, the beginning of the indiction, was for the whole of the East, with the exception of Egypt, whose climate called for a special regime.

This conclusion suggests another. It is not in the West, it is in the East that September 23 is the 1et of the year, the Ve.0V g'70:; The West invariably keeps the first of January. It is therefore in the East that it is necessary to look for the origin of thei nndiction. And in the East, it is not in Antioch, where the calendar year begins at the 'et October, it is in Asia Minor, and in Asia Minor, it is Bithynia that must attract special attention. In Bithynia, in fact, was, since Diocletian, the capitale of the Roman East. This is where Licinius, Constantine's colleague, resided. Licinius, it is he whom we must designate as the true creator of the so-called Constantinian indiction and whose beginning was primitively on September 23. It will have taken naturally as the beginning of the indictionalyear, since it needed a date of autumn, the veov &C4 of September 23 in use in Bithynia and in almost all Asia Minor, and which wasat the same time an official festival of first order of years theempire, the dies natalis of Augustus, and therefore by this, a date easy to remember by all, a little like July 14 in republican France.

That the name of Licinius did not remain attached to this institution is not surprising. The laws of the co-sovereigns of the Tetrarchy and their mutually recognized successors, even if carried by one, were in the name of all, and in the leadalways had the name of the first of

(I) W. KUSITSCIIEK, Grundriss der antiken Zeitrechnung, ro8. I refrain from discussing the connection established here between the dies natalis of Caesar Augustus and the so-called caesarea indiction. The origin of this designation could be quitedifferent. The authors of the Art of Verifying Dates believe that theindiction of September 24 is said to be Caesarean because of its use by the emperors of Germany. It would therefore be necessary first to establish when the name dates back.

(2) WADDINGTON, Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Syria, Nos. ³ 2667, 2689; JALABERT and MOUTERDE, Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Syria, No. 524; C. BRADFORD WELLES, in Gerasa, ed. by C.M. KRAELING, New Haven, 1938, pp. 467,468

them. Thus, in the law that instituted the 15-yearindiction, the name of Constantine preceded that of Licinius, although it was of the latter. When Licinius was eliminated, all his laws were abolished, that is to say, first of all, all those obviously that bore only his name since his break with Constantine. As for the others, Constantine could make a choice and keep those that seemed to him tobe of general interest to theempire, but the name of Licinius was deleted, only to remain that of Constantine. Thus it is explained that the historiographers were able, in all good faith, to attribute to Constantine himself theindiction of 15 years created by Licinius. The first indiction of Constantine alone is the one that begins in 328.

The law instituting the 15-year indiction was passed in 314 according to the *Chronicon paschale*, which naturally attributes it to Constantine. The first year of the cycle being 312-313, no year could be better suited to the winner of Maxentius. As for the date of September 23 as the beginning of the indictionalyear; Constantine, who, after his triumph inhis heartLicinius, had transported his capital to the East, had no reason to replace it. The beginning of the indiction therefore continued to be on 23 September. And it was still in 452, date of the inscription of Chalcedon. It was, with the exception of Egypt, the veov g-roç for the whole east in administrative and fiscal terms, the official veov groç, although various cities, such as Antioch, Gaza, Bostra, have retained their beginning ofcalendar year. It was, moreover, on the civil level itself, for Constantinople and for what revolved around it, namely Thrace and the whole of Asia Minor.

But Constantinople, the new Rome, was constituted in the image of the old and took its uses. The Roman calendar in particular was adopted. They took theduration and the beginning of the months, and also their names, but, except in the official acts, the overly complicated numeration of the days was abandoned by nones, ides and calends. From the capital, this calendar, which can be called Byzantine, spread and becamewidespread. And as that of Antioch, while keeping its Macedonian names, had the same character, it happened that in front of this double influence the local calendars retreated and eventually disappeared, so much so that there came a time when the date of 23 Decemberno longer answered anything, no longer meant anything. It was neither a beginning of the year nor a beginning of a month, nor a day of imperial feast, since the cult of Augustus had disappeared. It was replaced by a more convenient, more telling date: it was september that was chosen and which was now the first day of the indictional year. We stayed thus in the month that was traditionally that of indiction. This change, after the inscription of Chalcedon (452), had to be made in the second half of the fifth century.

When the indiction was instituted, the liturgical calendar, apart from the broad outlines of the Paschal cycle, was far from perfectly organized. In particular, the Christmas party and the parties that depend on it were not yet inexistence. When they were introduced to the East, the veov gToç of theindiction of the

September 23 had been in possession for two-thirds of a century. It is known that the Christmas festival, first instituted in Rome, was fixed at the winter solstice of December 25, tosupplant the pagan feast of *sol invictus*. The other festivals of the natal cycle were fixed in dependence on this date. The conception of Christ or Annunciation, in accordance with natural deadlines, was placed nine months earlier and set for March 25, the springequine. Following the indication of the evangelist St. Luke, the conception and birth of St. John the Baptist preceded the conception and birth of Jesus by about six months. This made it possible to place the birth of the Prodrome at the summer solstice, June 24. Parallel and symmetry required that the conception of St. John the Baptist be fixed to the autumnal equinox,

24 September. This beautiful harmony is achieved in the Roman calendar and this is all the better because all these dates are translated inthesame way, the h uitth day before the calends. Among the Byzantines, all these Roman dates are observed, sau f one, that of the conception of St. John the

Baptist. Instead of 24 September, it is the 23rd which is the day of this festival, 23 September, the véo v 'TC)C

of indiction. Undoubtedly, this shift is intentional. The conception of the Prodrome is chronologically the first of the evangelical mysteries: it is, so to speak, the entrance, the portico of the history of redemption. No date could **be more** suitable for its celebration, in the eyes of the Byzantines, than on the very day on which the calendar year begins. The religious year, the liturgical year was thus superimposed on the calendar year, and the two were one. Another consequence: since the liturgical annébegins on September 23 with the conception of the Prodrome, it was took into account in the organization and distribution of the evangelical readings that occupy the days of the week throughout the year. It was the evangelist St. Luke, of whom are the accounts of the conception and birth of St. John the Baptist and Jesus, who was placed in the head and attached to the year

The beginning of readings in evangelicals is placed on the Monday following the first Sunday after the Exaltation of the Holy Croix. The readings are indeed distributed by weeks and the week begins liturgically on Monday. It is therefore the second Sunday after this festival which is the first Sunday of veov r 07. The first week begins on the Monday before that Sunday. It is, in fact, the closest Monday before 23 September.

The importance that was given to this vb)v -roc is apparent from the that in the oldest Slavic evangelicals, obviously dependent on Greek models, the name de *novoe lao* also affects the following Saturdays and Sundays of Luke. In the evangeliary of Assemani indicated above (tenth century) and in that of Ostromir (xith century), it extends until the seventeenth Saturday and Sunday of Luke (1). In that of Miroslav less old(xile century), it stops at the fifths Saturday and Sunday.

It is remarkable, and it may seem surprising, that the veov g-C(4 of 23 September has long survived in the liturgical books after the indiction had been transferred to i er September. The most natural explanation is that the date of September 23 had taken on a religious character and thus consecrated, thanks to the feast of the Conception of the Prodrome which had been fixed there as the opening of the liturgical cycle. It is thus probable that when the indiction passed to the first of September, this day was considered only as the beginning of the calendar year, while 23 September, traditionally charged with religious-significance, remained the beginning of the liturgical and ecclesiastical year. But it came quite naturally also to sanctify the beginning of the calendar year, which thus took, aussi, a religious character which only increased with time, tending in the long run to counterbalance, then to push back into the background and finally to eliminate the v&ov g'70¢ of September 23. This date, moreover, lost importance asnew festivals were introduced, estimated to have more: I am thinking here of the group of Marian feasts, created by imitation of the feasts of Christ, namely Dormition, Presentation to the Temple, Nativity (2). The latter, moreover, despite its pre-revangiccharacter, could appear, too, and even more rightly so, because of the chronological anteriority of the celebrated event, as an opening of the liturgical cycle of redemption, which diminished the impression of the same order produced by the feirof the Conception of the Prodrome.

The veov g-rock; of the ler septembre could only take advantage of this kind of duality. Its primacy was affirmed when the indiction saw its religious character enshrined by its own liturgical office. It is not known when it was instituted. To our knowledge, the first testimony of its existence appears in the menologe of the gospels of the year, of the city century, published by Morcelli (3). It emerges from the choice of evangelical reading for this day. This one reports the episode where Jesus, returned to Nazareth after

- (1) The evangelist of Ostromir even extends the appellation until the XVIIIC saturday (without sunday).
- (2) This feast also included the Conception. This mystery later had its own liturgical feast, which appears in the vine century, but is not generalized until the IX °.
- (3) M'eroX6ytov si)wyysXix,N éop-roca'rty.6v sive Kalendarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae... cura Steph. Antonii Morcelli, Romae,1788. The evangeliary of Sinai known as Theodosius includes among the feast days **september** xer: beginning of the indiction and memory of Saint Symeon the Stylite (SERGIJ, op. cit., I, 91); I could not meet any information on the reading(s) marked for that day. The manuscript is 7ro (or perhaps 755).

his baptism, entering the synagogue, opens the book of Isaiah to this passage: The Spirit of the Lord is upon me; that is why he anointed me to evangelize the poor, and he sent me to heal those who are heartbroken..., to publish the favorable year of the Seigneur (1) and applies to himself the prophecy. This solemn declaration of his messianic role through Christ was like the announcement, the "indiction" of salvation and the beginning of its realization. No reading was more appropriate. The feast of indiction thus had its own religious object, which was the beginning of the preaching of Christ, the inauguration of his messianic and redemptive work. It took on the full meaning, the character of the beginning of the liturgical cycle, of the ecclesiastical year(2).

The old veov g-c.oç was doomed to disappear. It is already absent from morcelli's aforesaid menolog. It still remains at the same time as the veov. -z-oç of the indiction in a number of liturgical manuscripts (several of those mentionedabove), either on the very date of September 23, if they are monthly calendars, or on the Monday preceding this date, if it is the evangelical readings distributed throughout the weeks of the year. The veov g'-roç attached to September 23 even fut eliminated the first. The veov g-roç of Luke's first Monday remained for a long time, thanks to the interpretation that has been made of it of the equinox. It has been seen above marked in the editions of the Typicon of Saint-Sabas of the xvir century (3). We even sous the eyes, published in Venice in 1818, a liturgical evangelist who, at the beginning of the readings of St. Luke, bears in large title letters on three lines this indication: Tîj huT4cr. 'r-7;ç rcpeirr-t2c Mic)(.), c'thc,-coi3 véou g-rouç. I believe that this is the last evangelical to mention such a reference. It must have been realized that this wording was not understood. What could this Monday of the New Year be like? So it was replaced and we see from now on in the later evangelists onlythe followingformula: T hiyréR. ;.. us-7c,k

1)(PC'iffEci4 T01: 5 a-rocupdû xuptcx.4v, that is to say the Monday following the first Sunday after the Exaltation of the Cross (4). Some evangelicals, even, pass without transition and withoutspecial access from the Sundays of Matthew to the Sundays of Luke and count all these Sundays as Sundays after Pentecost, as do the Latins (5).

It is time to conclude. From all the data gathered here, some already known, others presented for the first time, and all linked together, it follows, in the first place, that the beginning of the Byzantine indiction began, originally, after the day of September, and moreover, that everything contributes to fixing the date at the 23rd of this month. This first usage was embedded in the liturgical calendar at the time when it was organized, and that is why it has long kept the memory. When the meaning of this veov gToÇ of September 23 was lost, the veov ^C r oç attached to this date was explained by the feast of the Conception of the Baptist, and the veov g7,0C, evangelical readings beginning around this date by the equinox, explanations which, at first glance, couldseem bothsatisfactory,but have no connection with the originalinstitution. As for the I of September, which succeeded september 23 as the beginning of the indiction and the beginning of the calendar year, it also became the beginning of the ecclesiastical year, when it was made a religious holiday by attaching to it the memory of the first preaching of the Savior.

⁽¹⁾I,ue, IV, 16-22

⁽²⁾ The same feast of the "beginning of the preaching of the Lord" is also attested in the West, among others by a review of the Martyrologe hieronymian (mss. des vine et nce siècles) (AA SS Novembris, t. II, pars posterior, p. 222-223. It is marked on May.

⁽³⁾See above, p. 196, n. 3.

⁽⁴⁾ Thus in the editions that are within my reach: Venice 1873, marked 4th ed.; Athens, 1854; Athens, 1895; Athens, 1907. I see the same formula in the Slavic evangelical of Moscow, 1904.

^{(5)&#}x27;Iepôv èxX6yLov, Varna, 1895 (the Sundays of Lue are howevernumbered in the margin); Néa 71-4p r_iç csi votInç tepdt, Heraclea of Crete, 1914 (where the numbering of Sundays of Lue is omitted); similarly in the Slavic Evangeliary of Moscow, 1920.

If we now ask to mark precisely when the transfer of the indiction took place on September 1st, we can indicate a terminus ante quem, thanks to the Syriac Life of Saint Symeon the Stylite. This Life places the death of the saint on September 2,459, at the end of the twelfth and at the beginning of the thirteenth indiction, which means an indiction starting from September 1. It is not, however, in the year 459 that we will fix the terminus ante quem of this method of calculation, because the author was able to conform to the established usage of his time and probably had to do so, because to act otherwise would have baffled the readers for whom the feast of the saint was celebrated annually at the beginning of the indictional year. But nous appeal to the note that ends the Life in the very old Syriac manuscript of the Vatican: "This book of the triumph of the holy lord Symeon was completed on the 17th nisan, Wednesday, of the year 521 according to the calculation of the Antiochians." According to synchronism, this year corresponds to the year 474 AD (i). At that time, the hagiographer was already using the new style of indiction. We therefore have here an indisputable ante quem terminus for the transfer on 1 September. One can press more by application to this operation the remarkthat Gl. Downey made for the change of the beginning of the year in Antioch, namely that the new way of dating the indiction had to begin at the opening of an indictional period (2). Between 458 and 474, it is the year 462-463 that opens the period. September 1, 462 is thus presented as the one who inaugurated the new style (3). And it is perhaps also in this year that Antioch will have aligned its calendar year with the indiction now set for September 1st. The two measures were expected and called each other; they had to be taken together, for it is not to be believed that Antioch had abandoned its traditional *caput anni* for a date as inconvenient as 23 September. I imagine, moreover, that this alignment was not the only one, but had to be part of an overall reform which also reached other local calendars much less important than that of Antioch.

Reduction rules. — To know the indiction of a year of the Byzantine erastarting on September 1, divide this year by 15. The rest marks the indiction. If there is year is in the 15th indiction. Examples: 68 °₁ = ind. 5; 685 °₁ — ind. p. 15.

To know the indiction of a year of the protobyzantine era (beginning March 21), do the same operation, but the result is valid only for the time from September to March 20. For the other part of the year, from 21 March to September, subtract from the resultat oneunit. Example: 6800 nd.5 (September to March 21); 5 - I = 4 (March 21 to September).

To know the indiction of a year of the Alexandrian era, do the same operation, but modify the result according to the case. For authors who begin the year of the Alexandrian world at the beginning (August 29), it is necessary to add to the result a unity, taking into account obviously the difference of 3 days that there is between the Byzantine year and the Egyptian year. For authors who begin the year of the Alexandrian era on March 25, we must add a unit from March 25 to September 1, and

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2 units from September to March 25. Examples: \frac{[6800]}{18} . \frac{1}{1} -t-- 1 = 6 (from March 25 to September);
6800
         — ind. 5 --I- 2 = 7 (from September to 24 March).
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To know the indiction of a year of the Dionysian era, it is enough to add to the number of this year the number 3, and then divide by 15. The rest gives the indiction. If there is no rest,

⁽s) H. LIETzmANN, Das Leben des heiligen Symeon Stylites, p. 228-229 (Text und Untersuch., 32, -1).

⁽²⁾ Gl. DOWNEY, art. cit., Byz., 15, 1940-1941, p. 42, n. 6 continued.
(3) the synchronisms established by the Chronicon Paschale for the great fire of Constantinople in 464 give us the first example of the newcalculation: September 2, indiction 3, Wednesday = September 2, 46 F.

the indiction is the i5th. This result applies only for most of the year, i.e. from I January to September. For the time from September to I January, a unit must be added, because a new indiction has begun. Example: 954: $\frac{954}{15}$ $\frac{5}{3}$ $\frac{3}{12}$ $\frac{\pm}{12}$ (from I January to September); $\frac{954}{15}$ $\frac{\pm}{15}$ $\frac{3}{12}$ $\frac{1}{12}$ $\frac{1}{12$

The Byzantine indiction was in use in the papal chancellery from the fifth century until 1187. It was also in southern Italy in the states or principalities under Byzantine domination or influence. Thus, at the court of Charles of Anjou (1) and at Amalfi (2).

3. Bede's Indiction

Theindiction of Bede, also known as *caesarean section*, imperial or western, begins on 24 September, which precedes by three months and seven days the first Of January of our computus. This author speaks of it as a known thing and without mentioningin any way that of the first September in use in Rome of his time. However, it is not seen applied before him. The authors seek to explain its origins. Fr. Rühl (3) thinks of some predecessor of Bede who wanted to replace the pagan date of September by a Christian date, and to whom 24 September, the feast of the Conception of St. John the Baptist, the first of the evangelical mysteries, seemed the most suitable for this. According to Giry (4), the Anglo-Saxon computists wanted to approximate the indiction of the September equinox, which they fixed, by false calculations, to the 24th. These authors assume that indictions were in common use in England. However, the cases that we encounter are very rare and do not predate Gregory the Grand. The latter, certainly, used the Byzantine indiction of the first of September, but in none of his letters which Bede may have known and which he quotes, it is possible to identify this beginning. The use makes indiction in the charters pointed out by Ch. W. Jones does not allow it either. This author therefore thinks that it is to Bede himself that the date of 24 September should be attributed, not in the sense that he would have invented it, but in the sense that he will have found the indication of it in a text by Saint Ambrose. This is the passage of the treaty De Noe et arca where are put in parallel the month of March which is among the Romans the first month, because it contains the equinox of spring, beginning of the year, and the month of September where the year also begins, according to the current usage of the indiction. The parallel with the beginning of the year at the March equinox will have brought tothe conclusion that theindiction at the September equinox has been concluded(5).

One can also make a supposition which, moreover, does not contradict the previous one and can agree with it. We know of manuscripts that have preserved the state of very old calendars. Bede may have known the same. He would therefore have hadso us eyes a Roman calendar in which were also inscribed oriental dates, as can be seen in the Manuscript of Florence (*Plut.*, xvi, 39) (6), and which marked, in front of September 23, the beginning of the indiction. Either by getting the wrong line, or rather by estimating a scholar to whom this date said nothing, while the date

⁽I) Carlo DE I., ELLIS, Regesta chartarum Italiae, Gli atti perduti della cancelleria angioina, Parte I, vol. II, see p. 169. an example of the indiction starting on September.

⁽²⁾ Examples can be found in Fr. PANSA, Isioria dell'antica repubblica d'Amalfi, Napoli, 1734.

^{(3) 121}SL, 172.

⁽⁴⁾ GIRY, 98.

⁽⁵⁾ Ch. \V. joyES, 382-384. The text of Saint Ambrose: septimus auteur mensis secundune is qui september dicitur computatur, quia etsi a septembri mense annus videatur incipere, sicut indictionum praesentium usus ostendit..., vere lamen, exquo plenior gratia Se incipit demonstrare, ex eo anni origo subducitur, is decisive neither in favor of September 1st, nor in favor of the 24th, autumn equinox.

⁽⁶⁾ art. Florence, t. V, col. 1791-1794, Dict. d'arch. chrét. and liturgy.

neighbor, September 24, represented the equinox, beginning of season, he will have reported on this date the indiction put on the 23rd. And from there would come the indiction that he indicates in his treatise.

Whatever its origin, it was to Bede that theindiction of 24 September owed its fortune. Accredited by the authority of this scholar, it soon settled in the calendars, that of Florence above named, around 817, that of Reichenau, in 850 (i). It was then found natural to use it as adating element in thechancelleries. This was done in England, the homeland of Bede, at the Carolingian court (after Louis the Pious), at that of the emperors of Germany from the tenth to the tenth century (912-1378) and the German bishoprics from the me to the thirteenth century, in France, from xi" to the xiiith century, at the papal court under Urban II (1088-1099), and again from 1147, in competition with other indictions (2).

Reduction rules. - Like the Byzantine indiction, Bede's indiction anticipates the year of our computing and is therefore calculated in the same way, taking into account naturally the date of September 24 which is its beginning, that is to say by increasing the indiction of an elementto

1150 + 3

leave from that date until 31 December. Examples:

- 13e indiction (from ier January to

not

4. Genoese Indiction

This is theindiction of Bede, but delayed by a year, that is to say that it begins on September 24th which follows by 9 months 23 days the 1st January of our computus. It is therefore necessary, to calculate it, to reduce by one unit the result of the operation made on the indiction of Bede. Or, by operating directly, remove a unit from the rest of the division by 15 from January 1 to September 23, and

 $_{15}$ $\frac{115_0}{}$ $_{+}^{4}$ $\frac{4}{}$ $\frac{3}{}$ $\frac{1}{}$ $\frac{1}{}}$ $\frac{1}{}$ $\frac{1}{}$ $\frac{1}{}}$ $\frac{1}{}$ $\frac{1}{}$ $\frac{1}{}}$ $\frac{1}{}$ $\frac{1}{}}$ $\frac{1}{}$ $\frac{1}{}}$ $\frac{1}{}$ $\frac{1}{}}$ $\frac{1}{}$ $\frac{1}{}}$ $\frac{1}{}}$ $\frac{1}{}$ $\frac{1}{}}$ $\frac{1}{}$ $\frac{1}{}}$ $\frac{1}{}}$ $\frac{1}{}}$ $\frac{1}{}}$ $\frac{1}{}}$ September 23); subtract anything

on 23 September); (without

from September 24 to December 31. Examples: -i = ind. 7 (instead of 8) (from I January 31 December). subtraction) = ind.8 (instead of 9) (from September 24 to 1250 H- 3 1250 + 3

This system was monitored in Genoa in the half century (3).

5. Roman or papal indiction (4)

It begins on December 25th which precedes by 8 days the January of our computus, or on January 1 itself, depending on whether the beginning of the year is on one or the other of these two dates. It should be noted immediately that the style of ler janvier only entered the papal chancellery with Gregory XIII, so that for the Byzantine period, intervenes for this indiction the style of December 25.

Employed in Rome in the life and vile centuries, then ousted by the Byzantine indiction, it was taken up again in the tenth century and useduntil the pontificate of Urban II (1088-1099), except for the pontificate of Nicholas II, which introduced the style of Florence (March 25), a city of which he was previously archbishop. After Urbair II, who used bede's indiction, there was a period of uncertainty and flutter between various styles of indiction, for which we can only refer to the special treaties of pontifical diplomacy.

The Roman indiction was used in Germany concurrently with theindiction of Bede.

- (I) GINZEL, III, 151-152.
- (2) GIRY, 99; GINZEL, III, Ij2.
- (3) GINZEL, III, 154; GIRY, 99.
- (4) GINZEL, III, 152-153, A. DE BOC7ARD, Manuel de diplomatique française et pontificale, I, 310, 308.

6. Local indictions

Various cities begin their indiction in a manner analogous to the Roman indiction, with their respective calendar years. We have already indicated theindiction of the Florentine style, introduced to the chancellery by Nicholas II (beginning on 25 March) (1). There is also that of the style of Siena (beginning on September 8), in use in the xllle century (2), that of Cologne (beginning on October, mye century) (3). For the various styles, see Dionysian era.

7. Indictions mentioned by former authors

A) The indiction of Antioch. — This indiction is mentioned by the Chronicon paschale (4), which makes it begin on **September** 49BC, in the first year of the era of this city. Between this date and September 312 (it is in September that the Constantinian indictions begin),

there is exactly one integer number of indictional cycles: $(312 \pm 8) - 3^{60}$ 24 cycles. That is to-

to say that the two cycles coincide. Ed. Schwartz finds it difficult to take this meeting for chance just at the beginning of the era, and he does not hesitate to see in it the very origin of the indiction said later

Constantinian (5). As it is of indictions as a means of dating that the *Chronicon* speaks *Paschale, zocl cd, '," 'Atx-c.ot.* it is surprising to find no mention of it for the preconstantinian period either in the writings of this period or in the inscriptions. It is, moreover, strange to see the beginning of this Antiochian indiction assigned to September, when the beginning of the era itself was fixed at I October, a date which was not replaced by September until the second half of the fifth century. These reasons must make us consider this Antiochian indiction as a projection into the past of the Constanstantian indiction, a projection made when it was noticed that the first year of the Antiochian era was consistent with the first year of this cycle.

B) The indiction taken from the Alexandrian world era. — Saint Maximus points out two ways of counting the indictions, one by the years of Adam, the other from the year of their institution (6). The years of Adam refer to the world era, here the alexandrine era. Saint Maximus takes as an example the year 5460. By dividing 5460 by 15, as there is no remainder, one obtains the indiction 15. This is the indiction counted by the years of Adam. But the indiction taken from the origin of the institution is one year in afifth. That same year 5460 which is indiction 15, according to the Alexandrian era, is indiction i according to the origin. And this one connects to the Constantinian indiction. Between S460 indeed, and 5805, Alexandrian year corresponding to 313, first year of constantinian indiction, there is just a whole number of indictional cycles (5805 — 5460 — 345: 15 = 23 cycles). Saint Maximus adds that to know the indiction according to the origin with the help of the Alexandrian era, it is necessary to add a unity to the years of this era and divide by 15 (7). Let us therefore remember, for the cases that might arise, that there was a calculation of the indiction that makes it work with the years of the Alexandrian era, so that the rest of the division by 15 gives directly the yearborn of the indiction, of an indiction that is lagging by one unit on the Byzantine indiction.

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(I) A. DE BOC-ARD, I, 30S, 303.
(2) G1NZEL, III, 154.
(3) Ibid.
(4) Ed. Bonn, I, 355.
(5) art. Chronicon Paschale, RE, III, 2467.
(6) PG, 19, 1249 D.
(7) ibid., 1252 AB.
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C) Theindiction of Augustus. — Saint Maximus attributes the origin of the indiction to Caesar Augustus and assigns to him as a starting point the year of the world 5460, which, according to the Alexandrian era, is 15th indiction According to him, Augustus instituted it in the second year of his reign, which corresponds to thatsame year5460, counting it as the first indictional year (1). If St. Maximus' calculation is accurate for the years, his chronology of events is in default. The year 5460, where he places the second year of the reign of Augustus, corresponds to the year 33a.C., when in reality it corresponds to the year 29 BC. There is no doubt that Maximus had in mind the accession of Augustus after the Battle of Actium, but he made a mistake of several years. The indiction of Augustus, affirmed by him, is therefore amanifest error. This error is not his own, because he refers, unfortunately without giving names, to the "historiographers" X.7.-C:(-king4 taTopcoypocyoû'wrog. We know of at least one. It is Hesychius of Miletus who postpones to the victory of Actium the starting point and even the name of the indiction: Kocxe,?,-rott 6th iv&x_TLe,w,-:01)-riCrrtV I,VV.X7t.(;)V,"Ax'nov viy.-/ (2). He explains the choice of 15 years

by the fact that Augustus reigned with Antony until the 15th year. It starts a new period of 15 years. The same origin of the indiction and the same explanation of the name are given by Cedrénus, but this one attributes the institution itself to Theodose. According to him, this emperor replaced, for the numbering of the years, the Olympiads with the indictions and ordered to take the starting point of these from the 15th year of Augustus (3).

(C) JULIAN PERIOD

The Julian period is an imag periodinstructed by Joseph Scaliger to facilitate the reduction of the years of one era to the years of another era. It serves as a common rule to which all refer and in which they compare themselves. This period results from the product of the cycles of the sun and moon and the indiction, namely 28 x 19 x 15 = 7980. The Julian period is 7,980 years. Going back in time, the meeting of the first lunar year, the first year of the solar cycle and the first year of the indiction, the lunar and solar cycles being those of the Dionysian era, takes place in the year 4713 BC. This year is the first of the Julian period. It is only after 7,980 years that this meeting will happen again. Each year of the period will have its own agreementwith the cycles(4).

The period is called Julian, because it is Julian years that compose it, with their beginning in the first of January. The first year of our era corresponds to the year 4714 of the Julian period.

This period, very useful for the times before Jesus Christ, is much less useful for the times that follow, where it is the Dionysian era that serves as a common term of comparison.

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(I) PG, 1249 D.
(2) Quoted by CONSTANTIN PORPHYROGÉNÈTE, De thematibus, II, 8 (ed. Pertusi, p. 92, 1. I2-13).
(0)CÉDRÉNUS, ed. Bonn, I. 573.
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⁽³⁾ PETAU, De doctrina temporum, l. VII, c. 7, 8, 9: ed. Venice, t. I, 355-360.

THE AFTERMATH OF YEARS

B) THE ERAS

We divide the eras into three broad categories.

- A) The eras of astronomical computing, which have no employment in public or private life:
- B) The political or civil eras, which are linked to a fact of political importance (decisive battle for the fate of one or more kingdoms, annexation of a country, erection into a province, birth of a city or beginning of its autonomy, etc.).)Most of them are known only by currencies or inscriptions;
- C) Religious eras. They are those whose origin is essentially linked to a religious conception, or which relate to an important event relating to the foundation of a religion, or which are based on a cycle of years regulating the celebration of a religious festival.

A) ERAS OF ASTRONOMICAL

COMPUTING NABONASSAR ERA

Nabonassar IC', the unscruly prince of a declining empire, could hardly have founded an era. This is also suggested, as much as the likelihood, by the absence of documents. The most normal thing to think is that the Babylonian astronomers, who found the lunsolar calendar very inconvenient for their calculations, will have, in the time of this king or after him, taken a date of his reign (perhaps at his advent), chosen probably for some astronomical coincidence, to make it the beginning of a computation in **solar** years. Whatever its origin, this era is known to us today only in its transposition into dates of the Egyptian calendar.

Ptolemy, in whom it is first seen, used it extensively to record his astronomiobservations. The starting point of the era is February 26, 747 BC (I Thôth),a Wednesday at noon. This era proceeds in vague years of 365 days and therefore delays by one day every four years, by 5 days every twenty years, by 25 days every hundred years. Its use is not frequent enough in The Christian era for us to have to draw a picture of it. It will be found, until the year 1461 (= 713 p.C.), in Neugebauer's *Hilfstafeln*, n° 22, pages 25-28, which give the correspondence in Dates foreach beginning of theyear, and in more detail, but only until the year 1199 (= 451-542 p.C.) in the *Chronologische Vergleichungs-Tabellen*

de Mahler, pages 15-38, which further give it for the first day of each month. Using these tables, we indicate the following benchmarks (from 20 years in 20 years to 1451).

Nabe ra.	era	Nab	era	Nab	era	Nab	era
	Dionysian	era .	Dionysian	era .	Dionysian	era .	Dionysian
747 1032 1048-51 1068-71 1088-91 1108-11 1128-31	23Aug 1 13 June 284 9 - 300-03 4 - 3'20-23 30 May 340-43 25 - 360:63 20 - 380-83	1148-51 1168-71 1188-91 1208-11 1228-31 1248-51 1268-71	15 May 400-03 10 — 420-23 5 - 440-43 30 April 460-63 25 - 480-83 20 - 500-03 15 - 520-23	1288-91 1308-11 1328-31 1348-51 1368-71 1388-91 1408-11	10 April 540-43 5 - 560-63 31 March 580-83 26 - 600-03 21 - 620-'23 16 - 640-43 il - 660-63	1152 1453-56 1457-60 1461	6 March 680-83 1 - 700-03 29 Feb 704 28 - 705-08 27 - 709-12 26 - 713 26 - 71.1

With the year 1461 ends the Sothiac period of I 460 Julian years, so that, calculating the era of Nabonassar in Julian years, it is the year 1461 instead of 1462 which corresponds to the year of Christ 714.

We will find in Elijah of Nisibe a tablefrom the years of the eraof Nabonassar (said by confusion Nebukadnaser)until the year2837 (== 2089 AD. J.-C.). It begins at the ler adar (March) of the Julian year which it marks as the 4th day of the first year of the era; it similarly indicates each year of the era which is its calendar which corresponds to the ler adar. The author subsequently gives as they appear the concordance with the years of Alexander (= Selucides), the Arabs (Hegira) and the Persians (- Iezdegerd)(I).

ERA OF PHILIP ARRHIDEA

This era is directly grafted on the previous one, that is to say that, proceeding like it in vague years of 365 days, it also begins them on the same day so that the years of the two eras overlap exactly. The Philip whose era bears the name is Philip Arrhideus, the successor of Alexander. And the era is also called "era since alexander's death". The starting point of this era is ic 1 thôth of the year 425 of Nabonassar, 12 November Julian 324 BC. The era of Philip thus equals the era of Nabonassar minus 424. To obtain the correspondence of Philip's years with nabonassar's years one can therefore use the table drawn up by Neugebauer (pp. 23-38) for Nabonassar's years by subtracting from them the number 424. But Mahler's table, which indicates Philip's years next to nabonassar's, will dispense with this operation.

The era of Philip was also counted by fixed years. Petau gives an example taken from Al-Battani (Albategnius) (2). We see another in the concordances that Theophanes presents under the year of the world 6232 (= 640 ap. J.-C.). To this year, he matches the year 1063 of Philip. Concordance exists only if we count the era of Philip in the Julian years. Counting by wave years we would have 1064 (= nabonassar era 1488).

JULIAN ERA OR JULIUS CAESAR

It is necessary to link to the eras of computing the so-called Julian era or Julius Caesar. Instituted by this prince, it has as its starting point the reform of the calendar that is due to him. This took place in the year 45 BC. It is therefore necessary to subtract 45 years to avo ir the Christian date

⁽¹⁾ Eliae metropolitae nisibeni opus chronologicum, éd. CHABOT, versio, pars posterior, p. 23-66; I., J. DELAPORTE, The chronography of Eliae Bar-Sinaya... translated for the first time..., p. 167-256. The latter usefully joined the correspondance with the years before and after J.-Ch.

⁽²⁾ PETAU. De doctrina temporum, éd. de Venise, t. II, 122.

Julian year, and on the contrary add 45 years to have the Julian date corresponding to a Christian year. Only one example of the use of this era is known so far, namely in Censorin, which refers to it as anni Juliani (De die natali, c. 21).

(B) POLITICAL AND CIVIL ERAS

We distinguish them into: t) Eras of Empires; and 2) Eras of cities and provinces.

1. ERAS OF EMPIRE

Alexander the Great did not found an era of empire. There are, however, eras that date back to his reign. By coins of Tyre and Achen (= Ptolemaïs), we know an era of Alexander in Phoenicia, which starts from the autumn of 333 BC and is linked to the victory of Issos (November 12, 333) (t). By bricks with inscriptions, we know another era of Alexander in Babylon, which starts from the I er nisan 330 BC and is related to the capture of Persepolis (January 330) (2). This era is also seen in a group of coins of the Parthian king Mithridates I found at Susa. They carry the

date191-139 BC) and were issued after Mithridates conquered Babylonia (3).

SELEUCIDERA

This era is the first of the eras of empire. It takes its name from Seleucus 1 Nikator, founder of the Seleucid dynasty. A document dated the year 8 of this era suggests that it was Seleucus himself who created it to commemorate his triumphal return to Babylon after the victory of Gaza and mark the beginning of his sovereign power (312 BC). The starting point was placed at the beginning of the Macedonian year in autumn, 1er Dios 312 BC (October). However, for Babylon and Chaldea, whose year began in the spring, the starting point was postponed to Ter Nisan 311.

This era is still referred to by other names:

Age of contracts, among the Jews, because of its legal character;

Era of the Greeks or era of Alexander, among Syrian Christians and among Arabs. The era took the name of Alexander because of his immense prestige and because he was the founder of the Empire of the Greeks (4):

Era of the man with two horns, designation very common among the Arabs. The man with two horns, the bicornu, is a nickname of Alexander which "comes to him from the ram horns of Zeus Ammon which appears on the effigy of the conqueror engraved ons coins struck by Ptolemy Soter and Lysimachus" (5).

Other less common names:

Years according to the Chaldeans (Ptolemy, Almagest, IX, 7 and XI, 7);

Years of Greek rule (I Macch., I, Io);

Years of the reign of the Assyrians (Josephus, Ant. Iud., XIII, 6, 6);

Years of the Syromacedonians (Chron. pasch.).

- (I) J. ROUVIER, L'ère d'Alexandre le Grand en Phénicie, REG, 12, 1899, 362-381.
- (2) J. OPPERT, Alexander the Great in Babylon, *CRA I, XLII,* 1898, 413-446.
 (3) ALLOTTE DE LA FUYE, in Mémoires de la Mission archéologique de Perse, t. XX, 1928, *Numismatique,* p. 28-29.
- (4) F.M. ABEL, art. cit. in the following note, p. ²⁰4.
- (5) F.M. ABEL, L'ère des Séleucides, RB, 47C année, 1938, n° 2, 198-213; 204, note I.

The era of the Seleucids was official throughout their empire. It was then preserved wherever a local era did not prevail. It was used in the Middle Ages by Syrian and Arab writers. It still remains today as an ecclesiastical era forthe Nestorians and Jacobites. It diversifies according to the schedules in which it is seen to develop:

1) Seleucid era with the lunsolar calendar. — It is the one that was instituted for the whole kingdom and that began either on 1 st dios (October) 312 BC for Syria and Asia Minor, or on 1 nisan (April) 311 for Babylon and Chaldea. The latter mode was followed by the Jews during their captivity and brought by them to their homeland; it is the one noted in *I Macch.*, I, Io. Neugebauer (p. 45) gives the table of the era according to this calendar from the year 396 (= 85 of Christ) until the year 1969 of Christ.

The lunsolar calendar, in the countries conquered by Rome, gave way to the solar calendar with fixed years of the Julian reform. It is not possible to say when he ceased to be in use in the land of Babylon, his last refuge.

- 2) Era of the Seleucids with the solar calendarwith wave years. The Persians under the Seleucids kept their computus in wave years of 365 days, and counted the new era in this computing The starting point was placed at home also at the beginning of the year, namely the 1st Ferverdin, which was then on February 7, 311 BC. It is according to the era thus calculated by vague years that the sources used by James of Nisibe counted the reigns of the Sassanid kings (1). The beginning of each year will be obtained by using in Neugebauer (table 24, p. 32-35) the table of the era of Iezdegerd, from the year 518, which, for the calendar, reproduces year I of the era of the Seleucids. At this era of the Seleucids was superimposed with the same calendar the era of the Arsacids, then celle of the Sassanids, that that of Iezdegerd only continued (see these eras below).
- 3) Seleucid era with the fixed-year solar calendar. It is used in the inscribersand among writers of the Christianera. The beginning of the fixed Macedonian year being in the first of October, it was in the first of October 312 BC that the beginning of the era was postponed. In the second half of the fifth century, the Greeks replaced the first of October with the first September in order to coincide the beginning of the year with the beginning of the Byzantine indiction and thereby modified the starting point of the era. Syrian and Arab writers kept the first of October.

Rules for reducing the secular yearsafter Christ:

For dates from October I (or **September** I) to December 31, subtract the number 312. Example: November 640 Sel.= 640 — 312 = November 328.

For dates from I January to I October (or I September), subtract 311. Exemple : March 640 Sél. = 640 — 311 = March 329.

ARSACIDERA, SASSANIDERA, IEZDEGERDERA

The era of the Arsacids. — This era began when Arsaces, having escaped around 250 BC from the power of the Seleucids, founded the kingdom of the Parthians. A large number of BabyLonian tablets bear a doubledate: that of the Seleucids and that of the years of Arsaces, with a constant difference of 64 years. It is quite likely that the Babylonians continued to use the lunsolar calendar, while the Persians used the solar calendar with vague years. According to the latter, the starting point of the Arsacid era is the I Ferverdin corresponding to January 22, 248 BC (= 64 of the Seleucids).

The era of the Sassanids. — A rebellious prince, Ardair, seized power and founded the Sassanid dynasty. From there begins the era of the Sassanids (with vagues years). The starting point is the

(I) NÔLDEKE, Geschichte der Sassaniden, 406-407, 415.

1st Ferverdin corresponding to 26 September 226 AP. J.-C. I do not know how Neugebauer (1) could say that the era of the Sassanids never existed, while Ideler (2) cites an example from the Acts of the Martyrs published by Assemani, where it is used in this form: "year of the reign of the Persians 117". The synchronisms that accompany it clearly indicate the era of the Sassanids.

The beginning of each year of the Sassanid era is obtained by consulting the Nôldeketable, page 436, which indicates son change every fouryears, or by consulting the Iezdegerdtable, in Neugebauer, table 24, beginning in the year 1056, which corresponds to year I of the Sassanids.

The era of lezdegerd. — This era continues the previous one, also with vague years. That the name of this unfortunate prince, the last of his dynasty, is attached to an era is explained neither by an act of his authority, nor by his personality, but by the fact that the official actsare always dated to the years of thereigning sovereign, and lezdegerd having had no successor, it is his name that continued to be used after his fall, no doubt out of loyalty to the dynasty and as an expression of national sentiment. The starting pointis not taken from the very day of the advent of lezdegerd, but according to the traditional custom of counting the years of reign from the beginning of theyear, I Ferverdin. The era of lezdegerd thus begins at ter Ferverdin corresponding to 16 June 632 ap. J.-C. The beginning of each year of the era can be found in Neugebauer (Table 24, pp. 32-36). The same author also gives the years of this era in the lunsolar calendar, although he considers such a use unlikely (Table 24 A, p. 35).

On the ère of Tezdegerd, see the Byzantine texts published by Louis H. Gray, in BZ, T I, 1902, 468-472.

DJELÂLEDDIN ERA

The reform of the calendar and the era instituted by the Seljuk Djelâleddin Melik Sâh (1073-1092) during the 7th year of his reign were intended to end the calendar and the vague years of the era oflezdegerd, by fixed years conforming to the course of the sun. This is not by a simple application of the Julian system, where the intercalary year takes place rigidly every four years, but by a special system where it is sometimes postponed to the 5th year. The law of these intercalations has not yet been identified. Schram did, however, set a table for the years of this era, where, according to a succession that seems probable to him, he indicates which are the spacers by marking them with an asterisk. Neugebauer reproduced this table (Table No. 17, p. 16).

The era of Djelâleddin begins in the year 448 of Iezdegerd, at the spring equinox. It was the 19 ferverdin. It was made the ter. The corresponding date in the Julian calendar is March 15, 1079 (ler Ferverdin).

2. ERAS OF CITIES AND PROVINCES ERA OF THE

OLYMPIADS

The era of the Olympiads can be linked to the eras of cities and provinces because of the city where the quadrennial games were celebrated and from which they took their name.

The Cycle of the Olympiads took place for several centuries without creating an era. It was no more thought than it was later thought of creating an era of **Julian** tetraeterides. It is at

- (I) NEU GEBAT TER, 37.
- (2) IDELER, II, 554.

chronographs that the first idea came from. They saw in the regular conduct of the quadrennial games a firm and convenient way to situate the historical events they were recounting. The first who surely used this computation is Timaeus (c. 300 BC). He was followed by Eratosthenes, his younger contemporary, whose influence was decisive.

Although Theodosius had suppressed the Games of Olympia in 394, the era nevertheless continued to be used by varioussubsequent chronographs, such as Hydatius, the author of the *Chronicon paschale*, James of Edessa, Elijah of Nisibe, Michael the Syrian (in his tables), Samuel d'Ani, who led the Olympiads until 489.2 = 626 of the Armenian era (1177 of the Dionysian era).

The beginning of the Olympic year was at the time of the Games, at the full moon following the summer solstice (the games and solemnities went from xe to xvle day of the moon), that is to say under the terms of our calendar towards the I^{cZ} July. The starting point forthe Olympiad era, i.e. the first year of the first tetraeterid, was at the beginning of July 776. This first year is 776/775. Not all chronographs follow this real calculation. There may be a gap of two oreven three years betweenthem. And that is why this era, found in isolation, is of little use. It is only fully so in the work followed by an author whose system has been identified. It provides at least an approximation when no other dating element accompanies it.

In our concordance tables, the Olympic year begins at the beginning of July of the corresponding Dionysian year. It covers the second half of this year and the first half of the following year.

Reduction rule

N meaning the number of Olympiads and A meaning the number of the years of the period, we will have the formula: $[(N - I \times 4) - I - A] - 776 - year$ after Jesus Christ.

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Example: Olympiad 293.3 — [(293 - 1 \times 4)] — 776 = 395 A.D. J.-C.
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Armenian historians find a computation of the Olympiads from their era. Example in Dulaurier, pages 253, 255. These Olympiads must be counted in Julian years. They also coincide with the **Julian** tetraeterides.

ERA OFTHE FOUNDATION OF ROME

The Roman era or era of the foundation of Rome (Urbis conditae, ab Urbe condita,post Urbem conditam, abbreviated. U.C.) commonly used is the one that Varron had accredited by his writing De gente populi romani (in 43 BC). It was con 753 BC. It is the only one known to columnists. The city was founded according to tradition on April 21. In practice, historians neglect this precision and proceed by counting the years of the era from January. The year 754 of Rome thus is equivalent to year I of the Dionysian era.

There is another Roman era, called Capitolian. It is based on the tables of the consuls and triumphs engraved at the Capitol around the year 30 BC. It is one year behind the Varron era. It is found in a few inscriptions and rare authors.

Reduction rule

When the year exceeds 753, this number must be subtracted to have the date after Jesus Christ. When the year is less than 754, it must be _{subtracted} from this number to have the date before Jesus-Christ.

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Examples: 880 U.C. = 880 - 753 = 127 A.D. J.-C. 740 \ U.C. = 754 - 740 = 14 BC
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The authors who have made constant use of this era are Orose and the compiler of *the Historia Miscella* (until Anastasius I).

UPPER MENIA AND DACIA ERAS

These two regions each have an era that dates from their constitution as Roman provinces (1). The era of Upper Mesia is January 239 A.D. 1.-C.

The era of Dacia is 246 AD. J.-C., after the middle of summer, without more precision.

MACEDONIAN ERA

There are two eras of the province of Macedonia.

One, starting from the Roman conquest, begins in the autumn of 148 BC. J.-C. When the solar calendar was adopted, the start was set for October 15. The lowest known date of this era is on an inscription by Olynthes: 18 Dios 470 (= Nov. 322 A.D. J.-C.).

The other, relating to the Battle of Actium (2 Sept. 31 BC), takes as its starting point the beginning of the year in which this event took place, namely 2 September 31 BC, postponed to 15 October 32 BC. after the adoption of the solar calendar according to the Julian reform. This era is named in the inscriptions, era of Augustus, appellation after the grant of the title to Octavian by the Senate, in 27 BC (2). It is quite possible, probable even according to M. N. Tod, that it was then that the era was created. This same author shows by several very clear examples that in the inscriptions one must understand g-C (4 asôctaT6v and not g-roç Esôcw-roU (3).

About a local era for Philips from 30 BC, which Carcopino deduced from the inscription of Selian-Mesorema, see last state of the question and bibliography in P. Lemerle, Philippes et la Macédoine 1945, p. 95, note 3. Personally, we would have some difficulty in admitting the establishment of a new era so soon after that of 32 BC and, if there is a colonial era, we would more willingly postpone it to the first colony founded by Antony around the year 42 BC. This is indeed the true beginning of the Roman establishment.

ERAS OF ASIA MINOR

1. Eras common to one or more provinces, or to several cities

Bithynia and Pontus. — These provinces are experiencing an era that begins in the year 297 BC. The origin is probably the declaration of independence of Bithynia. As the months in the inscriptions have Macedonian names, one is justified in believing that the beginning of the year isin theautumn. The era thus had its starting point in the autumn of 297 BC. This era was also used in southern Russia. It is seen in a Christian inscription found in Kerè, with the date Dystros 733 (= March 437 A.D. J.-C.) (4).

Themon naies also make known another era, namely 233 BC. J.-C. common to the following cities: Apamea, Myrlea, Bithynium, Nicaea, Nicomedia, Bush. It ended when Bithynia became a Roman province.

Proconsular province of Asia: Sulla era. — Thisera dates back to the conquest of this part of Asia Minor by Sulla. Its starting point is in the fall of 35 BC. J.-C., at the beginning of the year, fixed at the equinox (Sept. 24) after the adoption of the solar calendar, and later transferred to September 23 in honor of the dies natalis of Augustus. We believe that the date of 24 September must have been

- (I) KUBITSCHEK, GrundriSs..., 8i-82.
- (2)On this era, see KunnsenErc, Grundriss..., 74.75.
 (3)Marcus N. ToD, The Macedonian Era reconsidered, Studies presented to David Moore Robinson, vol. II, St. Louis Miss., 1953, p. 382-397.
 - (4) V. V. LATYUW, Shornik greieskich nadpisej christianskich vrenten iz jubtof Rossii, riv)86, p. 88.

precede that of September 23 (see above for the indiction). We find the era of Sulla in inscriptions of Phrygia, Mysia, Lydia, Pisidia, Lycia. His employment lasts until the life century A.D. J.-C. N.B.— The era of Sulla replaced in Asia Minor the era of the Cistophores which dated back to the year 134 BC.

Galatia. — In this region is an era of 25 BC 1.-C. It is found in Ancyra, Pessinonte, Tavium (see H. Gregory, Byz., 4, 453-461).

Pont Polémoniaque. — Several important cities, Trebizonde, Kérasonte, Néocésarée, Zela have an era of Oct. 61 A.D. J.-C.

Commagene. — This region, with its capital Samosate, presents an era that starts according to some of 71 A.D. J.-C., according to others of the summer of 72, opinion more likely according to Ginzel.

2. Localeras

Adana: Antiochia ad Sarum: a little after 19 BC.

Aigeai: c. 47 BC

Amasia: October 3 BC, annexation to the Roman Empire.

Amisos: October 32 BC, liberation.

Anazarbos: 19 BC Augusta: 20 BC

Eirenopolis: around 52 A.D. J.-C.

Epiphaneia: 37 A.D. J.-C. Flaviopolis: 73 or 74 A.D. J.-C.

Gangra: 5 BC

Komana: 34 or 35 ap. J.-C.

Kibyra: 25 A.D. J.-C. Mopsouestia: 68 BC

Phazimon — Neapolis = Neoklaudiopolis Andrapa: Oct. 6 BC

Pompeiopolis: 7 BC

Sebastopolis = Herakléopolis: Oct. 3 BC Sinope: two eras: 70 BC. J.-C. and 45 BC. J.-C.

ERAS OF SYRIA, PALESTINE, ARABIA

1. Common to these regions:

That of the Seleucids (see above).

2. Eras common to several cities:

Actiac era or victory (of Actium, 2 Sept. 31 BC). — It is seen on coins of Tripoli and Seleucia of Piraeus, as well as on weights of Laodicea; it starts, taking into account the calendar of these cities, from the i el October 31 BC Germer-Durand (RB, 8, 1899, p. 5 and 15) sees it in two inscriptions of Gerasa, but the first is reported by other critics to the era 63 BC, thus a Pompeian era (see below).

Era of Alexander the Great in Phoenicia (autumn 333 BC). — It is known from coins of Tyre and Achen(= Ptolemaïs). It relates to the Battle of Issos (12 Nov. 333) (see above, p. 209).

Arabian Province Era or Bostra Era. — The Arabian Province was erected in 105 AD. J.-C. by emperor Trajan. The era is reminiscent of this event. We hesitate on the starting point between 105 and 106. In a serious probability, this was, in accordance with the province's own timetable, the

22 March 106. The era was used until the Muslim conquest. It is very likely that the calendar did not remain immobile and that it had to postpone the beginning of the year to make it coincide with the indiction to the i er September (towards the end of the fifth century or to life), which would put from this time the calculation of the era to I September 105.

3. Local eras

Several of these eras are related to the autonomy granted to various cities, respectively by Pompey and Caesar. Since it was not the same year that all of them received it, one cannot speak of a Pompeian era or caesarean section in the singular, as a common name.

Pompeian eras. — It is especially in the Decapolis that the vyleswho received theirautonomy from Pompey are found: Abila, Antiochia ad Hippum (= Hippos), Kanatha, Dium, Gerasa, Gadara, Philadelphia, Pella, but it is not easy for all to know the beginning of the era. For Gadara, it is surely the year 64 BC; poyour Philadelphia and Gerasa, it is the year 63 BC. J.-C. For the others, it is undecided, between 64-61.

Outside the Decapolis, pompey received their autonomy and from there created an era the following cities: Antioch: 66 BC, an era that ended when the Caesarean era of this city began (Apamea used the Pompeian era of Antioch); — Arethusa: 64 or 63 BC; — Demetrias of Phoenicia and Dora: c. 63 BC; — Epiphaneia of Cilicia: imprecise date; — Gaza: 6/BC y.-c., 28 October after the introduction of the fixed year; there are examples of this era up to the sight of the century; — Tripolis: about 64/63 BC. (I).

Caesarean sections:

Caesarean section of Laodicea: Ter Oct. 48 BC

Caesarean section of Ptolemaïs: 47 BC J.-C.

Caesarean section of Gabala: first Oct. 47 or 46 BC. J.-C.

Caesarean section of Antioch. — The origin of this era is indicated by Malalas and the Chronicon paschale. Malalas specifies that the starting point is may 20 of the first year of Julius Caesar. In fact, in the inscriptions and among the authors, the années are taken from autumn (Ier oct. or I sept.). As for the year, the inscriptions and all the narrative sources designate the year 49/48 BC. The starting point of the era is thus from ter October (or September 4th) 49 BC. Exceptions are some Syriac authors who count from October 48 BC (see examples of this double way in Lietzmann, Das Leben des hl. Symeon Stylites, in T. und U., 32, 4, Chronology, 228).

In Greek sources, on notes two different dates for the beginning of the year, 1 October and I September. The Ier October is the oldest source. It was replaced, in the second half of the fifth century, by the first September, in order to coincide the beginning of the calendar year with the beginning of the Byzantine indiction. The latter mode is that of Malalas and Evagrius, reserving the cases where they would have, for older events, simply reproduced their source.

The oldest document in whichthis change in calendar is reported is Waddington Inscription No. 2689, *Inscriptions of Lydia*, dated 27 Gorpiaios 532, indiction 7 (= 27 Sept. 483 AD). Downey's argument (see above, p. 194), to go back to before 457 ne can be accepted. The oldest witness for the date of let sept. is the Syriac ms. of 474 (see p. 202).

In our concordance tables, it is the era of ter October and I September 49 BC. J.-C. that we observe.

(I) H. SEYRIC, Antiquités syriens, 42 : Sur les ères de quelques villes de Syrie, Syrid, 27, 195(,), 5-50.

Reduction rule

For dates whose monthly calendar is **between** September or October and December 31, the number 49 must be subtracted. For dates whose monthly calendar is between 31 January and 31 August or 3 September, the number 48 must be subtracted.

Era of Cleopatra: 37 or 36 BC — Related to the deation of territories in Syria then made to this queen on the part of Antony. This dating can be seen in coins or papyri of Tripoli, Chalcis, Beryte. The name era is used here in a broader sense (Seyrig, art. cited, 43-46).

4. Otherlocal eras

Arados: 259 BC J.-C.

Askalon: two eras: 104 BC. J.-C. and 57 BC (Ginzel, III, 48-49).

Balanea (= Claudia Leucas): three eras, the first **of which is doubtful:** r Around 124 BC. (Ginzel, III, 17, which accompanies him with an *oldicht*); 2º 37 BC (privileges granted by Antony); 3º Between 47/48 and 53/54 (according to currencies which do not allow other precision) when the em-Pereur Claude founded the city again under the name of Claudia Leucas (H. Seyrig, *art. cited*, 22-24).

Beryte: 81 BC J.-C. (under Tigrane).

Diospolis: c. 200 AD

Eleutheropolis: 200 BC (March 22 after the adoption of the fixed year).

Gaza: 61 BC J.-C. (October 28 after the adoption of the fixed year). There are examples of this era until the vile century.

Jerusalem: 449 AD Arrival of Eudocia in Jerusalem (see inscription in RB, I, 581 and VV, I, $_{133-135}$, where the explanation is found).

Kaisareia Panias: 3 or 2 BC

Kition (Cyprus): 311 BC Destruction by Ptolemy Soter of the Phoenician kingdom of Kition. Laodicea: in addition to the era of Actium (31-30 BC), this city has known three eras of its own:

- 1) Era of freedom under Tigranes: 81-80 BC;
- 2) Caesarean section: 48-47 (indicated above);
- 3) Era of its erection in metropolis: 207 or 208 AD (H. Syrig, art. cited, 26-32).

Lapethos of Cyprus: 269 BC J.-C.

Pella: between 61-57 BC. J.-C.

Philippopolis: c. 247 AD Erection into a colony by Philip the Arab. Just one example: ex-voto dated -rouç npé,r:ou T'i_iç zaro.4 (Ginzel, III, 52).

Ptolemaic = Akko or Akkho = Akê. Knew in antiquity two common eras and two clean eras:

- 1) Alexander era: 333-332 BC It dates back to the victory of Issos (333)
- 2) Clean era: 174 BC Origin: establishment of the Antiochian colony at Ptolemaïs;
- 3) Era of the Seleucids, introduced to the conquest of Phoenicia by Antiochus III;
- 4) Own era: 47 BC J.-C. (caesarean section era) (1).

Rhosos: from 42 to 40 BC Era of freedom due to Antony (H. Seyrig, art. cited, 32-34).

Seleukeia of Piraeus: 109 BC J.-C.

Sidon: iii or II() AV. J.-c. (I January after the reform of the calendar on the Roman mode) (2).

(r) On these eras see J. ROUVIER, Ptolemy-Ace. His names and eras..., *RB*, 8, 1899, 393⁻40⁸.

(2) A. ALT, Zur Zeitrechnung der Tempelinschriften des Hermonsgebiets, *Zeitschr. des deutschen Paleistina-Vereins*, (2. 1939, 209-220.

Tiberias: 17 A.D. J.-C.

Tripolis: in addition to its Pompeian era of about 64 BC. J.-C. and the era (Syrian reigning years)

of Cleopatra, this city experienced an era of freedom granted by Antiochus IV: between 105/104

and 95 BC (H. Seyrig, art. cited, 38-43).

Tyros: knew in antiquity two common eras and two proper eras:

- 1) Era of Alexander: 333-332. Goes back to the victory of Issos (333) (1)
- 2) Clean era: 274 BC Origin unknown. The era is attested by a double-dated inscription (2);
- 3) Era of the Seleucids, introduced to the conquest of Phoenicia by Antiochus III;
- 4) Clean era: 126 BC The origin in eis the autonomy of the city. The beginning of the year, after the adoption of the fixed year, is 19 October. This era is found in the inscriptions until the end of the century life (3).

ERASOFEGYPT

Alexandria. — This city began a new era, known as the Augustan era, with the adoption of the fixed year. It begins at the 1 Thôth = 30 August of the year 30 BC. In reality, the first thôth of the vague year arrived on August 31. It was put at the 30 and made the 6th epogonee(the intercalary day every four years). In common years, the 1st thôth is August 29th. The name "years of Augustus or augustus (anni Augustorum, Censorin De die nat. 21, 8) could not come until after Octavian had received from the Senate the title of Auguste (January 16, 27 BC). Censorin places the era of the Augustus two years after the Alexandrians.

Oxyrrhynchos. — This city employed several eras. "There were two main ones, starting from: « 324 (designation of Constantius II as Caesar), and of:

- « 355 (designation of Julian as Caesar).
 - « But other eras have been found in papyri, beginning in:
- 306 (early reigning years of Constantine I);
- « 316 (designation of Crispus, Constantine II and Licinius as Caesars);
- 333 (designation of Constans as Caesar);
 - 351 (designation of Constans Gallus as Caesar).
- « Two others, starting from 340 and 343, do not allow the reasons for their adoption to be defined as well (see P. Oxy. XIV, p. 30).
- « The eras from 324 and 355 were used until the Arab invasion (which is quite curious for that of the Apostate in the middle of the Christian period). The others were only a few years, that of 306 no longer appears in the documents after 360. As these dates are practically parallel to the reigning years, they start from the first thôth (29 August).
- « *bibliography*. U. Wilken, *Grundziige der Papyruskunde*, p. LXI, and especially P. Oxy. XIV, p. 27 sq. (see again *PSI*, 707 intr.; 781, 820 intr.).
- « To my knowledge, the texts have not given any similar mention in other cities than that of Oxyrrhynchbone. »

[Communication from G. Bataille, February 24, 1954.]

- (I) J. RouwER, The era of Alexandria the Great in Phoenicia, REG, 12, 1899, 362-381.
- (2) Ch. CLERMONT-GANNEAU, Recueil d'archéologie orientale; I, Paris, 1888, SI-84.
- (3) J. ROUVIER, art. cit.

ERASOFAFRICA

Era of the province of Mauretania (Caesariensis, Sitifensis; there is no evidence for the Tingitane). — Goes back to the annexation to the Roman Empire. It starts from I January 40. Eras of Carthage. — Two eras:

1) 439 A.D. J.-C., capture of Carthage by the Vandals (1); several examples in Courtois, *Les Vandales et l'Afrique*, Appendix II, p. 367 following; this author points out that this era, in the documents, does not go beyond the reign of Genseric (2);

er septembre 533, to mark the reconquest by the Byzantines; example: CIL, 5262 = IL. Al., 83.

ERAOFSPAIN

It is calculated from I January 38 BC. It is seen in the inscriptions, and it is in common use among the chroniclers of the peninsula. Its use extends until the tenth century and even in Portugal until the fifteenth when it was abandoned in 1422 by King Joao I. In our concordance tables, we stop it towards the end of the century city.

The origin of this era is unknown. Inscriptions from the Cantabrian region bear these dates: *er* [ae] CI or CL" and e anno CCLI" (CIL, II, 5729 and 2833). Kubitschek (3) categorically links them to the era of 38 BC. Others, including Ginzel, rattache them, as well as all those that predate the middle of the fifth century, to an unknown era and explain the era of 38 BC as a construction after the middle of the fifth century, established on the basis of a Paschal cycle. This hypothesis seemsfragile and benefits only from the ignorance where one is of the occasion that is at the origin of this era.

C) RELIGIOUS ERAS

Among the religious eras, some have received their starting point from a crucial event concerning the foundation of a religion, or its introduction in a country, if it is an era specific to that country. Others were formed from cycles with a natural basis adopted and adapted in order to regulate the dates of religious solemnities depending on the lunar movement; this is Easter and its procession of feasts. The former can be said to be purely religious, the others, directly cyclical. Others finally participate in this double character: they are almost all the world eras. Onthe one hand, theymaintain the affirmation of a religious idea, the creation of the universe and are also measured on a mystical analogy established between the genesiacal week and the duration of the world of which a thousand years represent a day; and on the other hand, they are calculated on cycles intended for the fixing of Paschal dates, a relationship being recognized as necessary between the creation of the world and the beginning of the first cycle. This role of cycles in the constitution of the world eras, we show it in our First Partye for the most important and widespreaderas. For the others who are known to us only by mere passing assertion, the evidence, for lack of sufficient data, is not within our reach, but it is to be presumed that they proceed from similarelaboration.

Historically, the first religious eras that were laid are world eras; then appeared eras with a purely cyclic base; and finally the eras based solely on religion. That is the order we will followhere.

(1) Mémoires de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France, 78, 1934, p. 69-73.

(2) Chr. COURTOIS, I,es monnaies de Gildo, Revue de Numismatique, 5' série, 16, 1954, p. 71-78, see pp. 73-74.

(3) Grundriss. • • p. 77.

I. WORLD ERAS

Referring to our Part I for proofs of origin and the development of world eras, we merely reproduce here the conclusions, adding indications that it did not contain.

World eras are eras established either by Jews or by Christians. Those of Christians are generally taken in relation to the birth of Christ. Almost all place this birth after the year 5000 of creation, most often in the middle of the sixth millennium, namely the year 5500 or S501, or close to this date depending on whether the cycle adopted and the requirements of the date of the Passion allow. We also find, but quite rarely, the duration of the world until Christ carried up to 6000 years. It is perhaps worth noting, in order to avoid any confusion, that the numbers of years indicating the duration of the world before Christ in the different chrono graphsdo not represent for all the same real value, because the calculation does not correspond to the same scale of time, some placing it higher and others lower. For example, the year 5500 for the Byzantines means the year 9/8 BC. J.-C., while among the Alexandrians, it means the year 8/9 A.D. J.-C., having between them a difference of about 16 years. This difference is made noticeable in our table, page 30.

We give below the list of the various world eras, following them, when it is known, by the Christian era that accompanies it.

Note. — By world era we mean the relationship of antiquity of the world in relation to the year of the Dionysian era, and by Christian era accompanying a world era we mean the date of the birth of Christ expressed according to that era.

Clement of Alexandria: 5591 BCE (5592 = I dionys.). Birth of Christ, 5590 (see hypotheses of correction, pp. 6 and 24).

Africanus: March 5501 BCE (5502 = i dionys.). Christ's Birth: 5501. An era consistent with the Anatole cycle of 258, which he probablyknew before Anatole himself.

Hippolyte. By deduction of his chronicle and his Easter table (cycle of 112 years). Old calculation: 5503 BCE (5504 - I dionys.). Christ's Birth: 5502. Recalculation: 5501 BCE (5502 = 1 dionys.). Birth of Christ: 5500, according to the affirmation of the Commentary of Daniel.

Eusebius: 5200 BCE (5201 - 1 dionys.). Christ's Birth: 5199. It was this era that dominated in the West, thanks to the translation of the *Chronicle* by Saint Jerome, and also among the Armenians. See (Part I, c. I) my hypothesis on the cyclical origin of this era.

Alexandrian era (major) of Panodorus: March 5493 AD (5594 = 1 dionys.). Christ was born: 5494. Era formed on the cycle alexandrin of 284/5 with addition of a precyclic year.

Alexandrian era (minor) of Annianos: March 25, 5492 BCE (5493 == I dionys.). Christ was born: March 25, 5501. Era formed on the same cycle, but without precyclic year. It is this era that is commonly called Alexandrian.

Reduction rules

- 1) For the era of Panodorus: from I January to March 20, subtract 5492; from March 21 to December 31: delete 5493.
- 2) For the era of Annianos: from January 1 to March 24, subtract 5491; from March 25 to December 31, delete 5492. Later: from 1 Januaryto I Thôth (29 or 30 August) or to I Sept., subtract 5492; from I Thôth or from 1 Sept. to 31 Dec., subtract 5493.

Protobyzantine *era* (*Chronicon paschale*): March 21, 5509 BCE (55io — = I dionys.). Christ's Birth: 5507. Era built on the Constantinople cycle of 344.

Byzantine era: *a)* Originally: March 21 S508 BCE (5509—I dionys.). Birth of the Christ: first, date borrowed from the Alexandrians, then probably 5506. Era built on the Constantinople cycle of 345; *b)* In the following: I September 5509 BCE (5509/5508 --- I dionys.). Birth of Christ: various dates: 55⁰⁰, 5504, 5505, 5506, 5517. It is this era that is commonly called Byzantine.

Reduction rules

- 1) For the protobyzantine era: from January I to March 20, subtract 5508; from March 21 to December 31, subtract 5509.
- 2) For the Byzantine era: *a)* Primitively: from I January to 20 March, subtract 5507 from 21 March to 31 December, subtract 5508; *(b)* Subsequently: from I January to 31 August, delete 5508; from September 31 to December 31, subtract 5509.
- Era of Theophilus of Antioch (Ad Autolycum, III, 24 sq.): 5695 at the death of Marcus Aurelius (i8o). So era of 5515.
- Georgian era: 5604 BCE (5605 = I dionys.). Era built on the Constantinople cycle of 344.
- Chronograph era of 334 (Frick, *Chronica minora, I,* iii): 5583 BCE (5584 = i dionys.). Era consistent with the 84-year cycle of 298.
- Era of the Origo generis humani (Frick, op. cit. cit., I, 152): ? Birth of Christ: 5580. Passion: 5510. Era of Hilarianus (wrote in 397) (Frick, 170-171): 5501 BCE (5502 = 1 dionys.). Passion:
 - 5530 (probably born in 5500). 112-year era in accordance with Hippolytus (new calculation). Cf. Gelzer, II, 121-129.
- Chronograph era of 452 (Frick, 181): 5498 BCE (5499 = i dionys.). Christ's Birth: 5494; Passion: 5525. Era consistent with the 84-year cycle of 299.
- Era of *Consularia Ravennatensia* (Frick, 417, 401): 5505 BCE (5506 --- 1 dionys.). Birth of Christ: 55⁰⁰. Era consistent with victorius' 19-year cycle by taking it to saltus *lunae*. Era
- of the Carthaginian computist of 449 (see Fe Part, pp. 21-22); 5492 BCE (5493
 - = 1 dionys.). Era based on its own cycle of 84 years.
- Era of Malalas (ed. Bonn, 428; ed. Schenk Graf y. Stauffenberg, Stuttgart, 1931, Ii) and a certainHesychius *(Chronicon paschale, ed. Bonn, II, 116):(5969)-5968.* Christ was born: 5967; Passion: 6000. Malalas attributes this era to the "Clely, Theophilus and Timothy chronographs".
- Era of Mar Abdio: 5491 (Ordo officiorum ecclesiasticorum, vers. lat. de I.M. Vosté: Codzficazione canonica orient. Fonti, II, 15, 1911, p. 61). Christ's Birth: 5490. Era based on the Aeas cycle.

Some eras of creation are mentioned by various authors, but do not include the birth of Christ. Those that follow, up to and including that of Aphrahat, indicate the years up to Seleucus, that is to say, up to the era of the Seleucids. Several of them can be identified. Our witnesses are Michael the YrianS, Elijah of Nisibe and Barhebraeus (1).

Era of Eusebius: 4888 (Elijah of Nisibe); 4889 (Michael the Syrian and Barhebraeus): this second figure corresponds to the era of Eusebius 5200 BC. J.-C.

(I) MICHEL LE SYRIEN, Cd. CHABOT, I, 116; ÉLIE DE NISIBE, trad. de L. J. DELAPORTE, p.9-15; I $^{\circ}$, trad. de E. A. W. BUDGE, London, 1932, p. 40.

Era of Andronicos (under Justinian): 5072 (Michael the Syrian); 5083 (Barhebraeus); 5172 (Elijah of Nisibe).

Era of Annianos (called Anius by Elijah of Nisibe): 5181 (Michael the Syrian and Elijah of Nisibe); 5180 and Io month (Barhebraeus). This is the Alexandrian era.

Era of Africanus: 5083 (Michael the Syrian, Barhebraeus). This assumption is at odds with the true era of Africanus, according to which the era of Seleucus begins in 5190 (5501 — 311). Era of George (epoch?): —5085 (Michael the Syrian); 4929 (Barhebraeus).

Era of Theophilus of Edessa: 5197 (Barhebraeus). Michael the Syrian attributes this era to a few among the Greeks." This is the Byzantine era 5508 BC. Cumont attributed its origin to this chronograph (The Byzantine era and Theophilus of Edessa, *Rev. de Philologie*, 39, 1915, 260-263). Era of James of Edessa: 5149 (Michael the Syrian, Barhebraeus).

"Ere qu'ont coutume d'admit les Syriens" (Michel the Syrian): 5180. This is the Mar Abdià era). Era of Aphrahat: 3468 (Elijah of Nisibe). This figure does not correspond to aphrahat totals (Patr. Syriaca, II, 67-91) and these totals themselves are not all in agreementwith the lowergroups, so one cannot really know the era of this author. It can be said, however, that it does not obey the mysticism of the number 5500 or even 5000 and seems to proceed only from a calculation made according to the Holy Books sans concern in agreement with acycle. Elijah of Nisibe says that this era of Aphrahat (3468 until Seleucus) is that of the Jews. But the addition 311 or 312 gives 3779 or 3780 BC. J.-C., while the era of the Jews is 3761/3760, as we indicate at theses.

Era of the Jews: I Tishri 3761 BCE. Era in agreement and perhaps in connection with the Cycle of Constantinople of 345.

For the reduction of the dates of the Jewish era to the Dionysian years, from I Tishri to 31 December, delete 3761; from I December to I Tishri, subtract 3760. The Jewish year being a lunsolar year, the 1st Tishri does not correspond to a fixed date. It is most often found in September, sometimes towards the end of August.

For the reduction of the calendars of the month, we cannot give rules here; the best is to consult one of the correspondences that exist, for example that of Mahler, *Chronologische Vergleichungs-Tabellen*, pages 70-129, which goes from Tishri 4001 (= 200 AD) to 6000 (= 2239 AD). The concordance relates to the first of each Hebrew month: it adds the day of the week.

2. CYCLIC-ONLY-BASED ERA

Diocletian era (August 29, 284). — It took the name diocletian, because the first year of the reign of this emperor (284-285) coincided with the first of the cycle of Alexandria, resulting from the reform of the cycle of Anatolius. This era was also called martyrs from the last century. The oldest document, to my knowledge, that uses this name is the inscription of

Friihner, ed. L. Robert, No. 81. The date is marked: &nô pr. p v where we agree to replace the letter T ---- 360) to obtain concordance with the other data: the resulting date is Monday, December 15 (19 choiak) 643.

Reduction rules

From 29 or 30 August (I thôth) **to** 31 December (4 or 5th tybi), add 283; from Ie^{january} (5 or 7 tybi) to 28 or 29 August (5th or 6th epogomene), add 284.

Era of 172 BC. J.-C., based on the Paschal cycle of 532 years of Alexandria (361) by prolepse (see I Partie, P

Era of the Romans, also known as the Greeks, based on the Cycle of Constantinople of 344, applied by retrogression (see Part I,pp. 146-151).

Armenian era (great): 552 AD First year of the era: 552 (July 11)-553. The cycle is that of Constantinople of 344. But the Armenian year being a vague year, the era developed by moving away from the cycle. That is why it was conceived quite early, but rather late the adjustment of the era on the cycle, by the adoption of the fixed year. This was the object of the reform of John the Deacon.

Armenian era (small) (of John the Deacon): 1084 AD. First year of the era: 1084 Augt)-1085. The cycle is that of Constantinople of 344.

Reduction rules

For the Armenian era (vague years). — To find the Christian year in which an Armenian year begins, add to it 551 up to and including the year 769, and add S50 from 770. If it is a question of translating a specific date, it is better, in preference to long and complicated calculations, to contact concordance tables. To make them complete would take up too much space. In ours, we will find the precise date in the Julian calendar of ter navasart, beginning of the Armenian year. We will then use our special painting, No. VII (p. 306) to translate the Armenian calendars into Julian calendars of our era.

For the Armenian era (fixed years). — From 11 August to 31 December, add 1083; from ¹ January to August, add 1084.

3. PURELY RELIGIOUS ERAS

With the exception of the Hegira, purely religious eras were created very long after the event they recall; their origin is in the calculation of chronographs, and it is only gradually that some of them have entered thecommon use.

1. The Age of Abraham

It is the oldest of the purely religious eras. It is observed in the *Chronicle* of Eusebius and it is probably he who is the author. This work is known to us in a double translation, Latin, of St. Jerome, and arménienne, of Samuel d'Ani, where we see her arrested in the year 2319, Olympus 270, 4 and I6th year of Diocletian 301 AD).

This era of Abraham begins in the year 2016 BCE. The birth of Christ is there marked in the year 2015, that is to say two years before the Dionysian Christian era.

2. The Eras of Christ

The eras of Christ are taken either from the Incarnation or the Nativity, or from the Passion, Resurrection or Ascension, or from the Preaching of Christ. We neglect the latter, which is used rarely and only as a sum of years. There is no conformity between these eras as to the actual chronology.

Eras of incarnation or nativity. — Several Byzantine chronographs, and not the least, indicate an era of Christ next to the world era. It is the term -,-'7;ç Oztog cracpzeùczwç that is commonly used. It strictly designates the Incarnation itself. Thus, at Théophane and Georges le Syncelle, who mark the event on the date of March 25. It must be the same with Georges Cédrénus, who, between his years of the world and his years of the cs.py.corp.c" puts a gap of

6 years, which can only be explained by taking the term in its strict sense. The inconsistency of their chronology prevents the cases of the Ps.-SymeonMagister and the Ps.-Georges le Moine from being decided.

The oldest eras of the Word o-cpx.ci.) cp4, among the Byzantiumsare those who, in the world eras, take their starting point in 5501. Each of them is separated from its corresponding world era by a whole number of centuries (exactly five centuries), so that both have the same numeration the years contained in a century, for example the year of the world 5790 has as correlative the Christian year 290. It is so with Cyril of Skythopolis (death of Euthyms: 5965 of the mande and 465 of the Incarnation), with George the Syncelle, his continuator Theophanes, Ps.-Symeon Magister, Ps.-George the Monk. The *chronicon paschale*, who evades the mysticism of 5500 in that it has strict, refrains from marking an era of the Nativity or the Incarnation. Georges Cédrénus is the first chroniqueur, to our knowledge, which combines the two eras, the world and that of the adepxcoatc" with a gap in the march of the years.

Here are the various eras of the Incarnation or the Nativity among the Byzantines. We mark them in the age of therespective world, then in the relationship to the Dionysian era.

- 1. In the Alexandrian era: 5501 (March 25, Incarnation) = 9 of the Dionysian era.
- 2. In the Protobyzantine era: 5507 = 3 BCE.
- 3. In the Byzantine era, it is the birth of Christ, or December 25, the date closest to the beginning of the indiction that is the envisaged event, and the year is counted from the indic-tion (I September). In this era, the birth of Christ is **not** evenly dated. I note at least five systems.

5506 (Cedrenus) = 4/3 BEFORE the Dionysian era; birth of Christ on December 25 = 3 BCE. The era of the crdcpx. (Liatr next to the world era does not appear in this chronicler before the reign of Constantine. The relationship between the two eras and both with the actual chronology poses a particular problem.

5505 (Psellos, Callist Nikephoros) = 5/4 BEFORE the Dionysian era; Christ's birth on December 25 = 5 before ourèr e.

5501 (Dioptra of Philip the Solitary and various others) = 9/8 before the Dionysian era.

5517 (alignment with the Alexandrian system) = 9 Dionysian era.

5508-09 (alignment with the Dionysian era in the late era) = 1 with the Dionysian era.

4. In theera of Malalas and Hesychius: 5968 = 48 of the era of Antioch (Malalas) — 2/1 BC. (It seemed necessary to correct the number 42 to 48.)

Apart from the behavior of chronographs or chroniclers, was there any use among the Byzantines of a Christian era? If we put aside the countries or communities under Latin domination and if we exclude the last times of the Byzantine Empire, it does not seem so, or at least we do not find a certain example (1). I do not know if one has examined the date which is at the end of the preface to the Answers to Mark of Alexandria: 1203, ind. 13. The data do not agree: we should indiction 3. I suppose 1203 is a Christian Byzantine translation of the year of the world 5703, the date of Christ's birth having been placed in 5501 to observe the mysticism of the number 5500. The date according to the Dionysian era is then 1195 (it is the one that figure in the *Regestes des patr. of Constantinople, No.* 1184).

Like the Byzantines, the Armenians subsidiary practiced an era of the birth of Christ. They based it on the chronology of Eusebius. Their Christian era precedes ours by two years. It is stated: 2 BC. We sometimes see this marquée eral year before ours.

Let us mention here a religious era peculiar to the Armenians, namely their conversion to Christianity.

(I) GARDTHAUSEN, II, 450-455.

They state it in years since the birth of Christ, which must be understood two years before the date we give him. This era is not in common use: it is a speculation of scholars, and this explains why it has differences. Thus, Samuel d'Ani has 312 years from the birth of Christ to Gregory the Illuminator, and John the Deacon has 304 years

Common Christian Era gold Dionysian Era. — Its author is the monk Dionysius the Little who used it in his 95-year-old Easter table. It is the one we are currently using and which has become a common usage among nations. To realize how the famous computic established it, it must be seen that March 25, the Roman equinox, was a consecrated date for the Paschal chronology of Christ, but in a diverse way among the Latins and among the Orientals, the first attaching to it the Passion of Christ (XIV lunae) and the others, the Resurrection (XV lunae); By adopting in full the Paschal computus of the Alexandrians, it was not possible for Dionysius to maintain, according to Latin tradition, the Passion of Christ on March 25. He could only honor this date, charged withmystical meaning, by applying it to the Resurrection, according to the Eastern tradition. But according to this same tradition, based moreover on computing, it is in the year that Dionysius will count as the year 31 of Christ that Passion and Resurrection were fulfilled. What reason must Denys have had to count her in this way? No other can be conceived except that he stuck to the short chronology of Christ, comprising a single year of public life. The year of the Passion and Resurrection was the year 31, because that was then the age of Christ. It may seem surprising that Dionysius did not observe the long chronology of christ's life, which he must surely have known from Eusebius' translator, Saint Jerome, Orose, Prosper of Aquitaine, of others. I guess if he has discarded it, it must have been for a practical computing reason. " He wanted to make the first "year of Christ coincide with the first year of a Juliantetraeterid, and thus make the years of the era go together with the years of the cycle. This one is, in fact, the best known and the one that intervenes most often in the supputation of the days, which it advances by one unit every four years. Failure to observe this agreement would have caused a very serious inconveniencein thecalculations. According to all true whitesem,-Dionysius, just like Victorius, and according to the custom of Rome, began his years at Ter January.

Opinions differ on the question whether Dionysius placed the birth of Christ on December 25 preceding his era, or on December 25 of the year 1 of the era. The first mode responds better to expressions: post Christum natum, a Christo nato by which the years of the era are most often referred to. Be that as it may, it remains a theoretical question that does not change the way in which the era is used.

The Dionysian era, admitted in Italy for the Pascal computus (2), was brought to England with theDionysian comput pa scal by the missionary monk Augustine. This is where we see it used for the first time in deeds. The first examples are some are from the end of the vile century (private act) and the beginning of the city (royal diploma). "Then She Moved " to France and Italy. Its use appears in the papal chancellery since John XIII (965-972), but it is not regular there until the advent of Eugene IV (1431).

The chroniclers, since Bede, use it commonly. With the exception of the Iberian peninsular sule, which kept its own era for a long time, it was during the Middle Ages the only era in use throughout the West. However, there are differences in how it is used. These various modes are called chronological styles. A distinction is made between:

1. " The *style of the Nativity* according to which the year began at the Christmas party on December 25, 7 days before our computus. It is also called Roman style, because it was mainly in

(I) DULATJRIER, pp. 39-186.

(2) CASSIODORE (T570) uses it in his pamphlet Computus I'aschalis, pl 6,,1249-50.

- 2. The *style of the Annunciation*, which made the year begin on March 25. This style is twofold. Or it is the March 25th after the first January of our computus, and this is the most frequent mode; it is also called Florentine style, because of its use in Florence and Tuscany. Or, it is the March 25th that precedes the first January of our computus, and this mode was in use in Pisa, which earned it the name of Pisan style.
- 3. The *Style of Easter*, according to which the year began on Easter Day, moving date, afterthe 1 January of our computus. Because of its wide distribution in France, it was called the French style, *mos Gallicanus*. He entered Naples under Charles of Anjou.
- 4. The *style of* Pr *Mars*, which makes the year start two months after the first **January** of our computing. This is the style officially employed in Venice, from where it received the name venetian style.
- 5. The *style of* the Ler *janvier* or **style of** the Circumcision celebrated on this day, still preserved in the *Iberian* Peninsula, in use in France under the Merovingians, was never completely abandoned. It was not until the fifteenth century, after it was officially adopted by France (1563), that it became common.

Eras of passion or Crucifixion, of resurrection, of Ascension. — We can unite together these three eras, which recall events that take place in the same year. The most common of the three is that of Ascension. It is seen used by Malalas and the *Chronicon paschale*. This one makes applications until the year 422. This era takes its starting point in the Dionysian year 31, which is the date of the Passion most commonly adopted among Greek authors. The use of the Ascension era is not seen in theMelkite or Jacobite Syrians, but in the Nestorian Syrians. However, it is not uniform. For Mar Abdio, it has its starting point in 31, as in Malalas and the *Chronicon paschale*. He dates the Passion, Crucifixion and Ascension of Christ in the year 342 of Alexander (= Seleucids) (= 342 — 311) (I). But Sanqlâwàjà, who dates his work by the years since Ascension (1276 or 1221 according to the manuscripts) (2), calculates otherwise. It expressly puts the end of the earthly lifeof Christ in the year 337 of the Greeks, the Incarnation being put in 303 (3). This brings the first year of his Ascension era to the Dionysian year 26 (= 337 — 311). In addition, this same author says that others put the Incarnation in the year 316 of the Greeks (4), fromwhere, the same distance being observed, the starting point of the ascension era would be the year 39 dionyhis (= 350 — 31 i). An anonymous Syriac chronicle gives different dates: 5520 of the world until ascension, the Passion being placed in 340 of Alexandrie (= 29 AD) (5).

The era of Ascension according to the computus of Mar Abdio was noted by I.M. Vosté in various Nestorian manuscripts from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century (6).

3. Muhammad era or Hegira

The Mohammedans have the starting point of their era: I Moharrem (first month of the year) year 1, on July 16, 622, which is the day received, but not historical (the fact took place 68 days later, on the 8th Rebi I) of the flight of Muhammad leaving Mecca for Medina. The name of the era is taken from thisevent: *hegira*, *hijara* = flight. It was not Muhammad himself who instituted the era, but the

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(I) ABDISb, Ordo judiciorum, l. 1, tr. I, c. ro, Latin version of I.M. VosTÉ, Codificazione canonica orientale, Ponti, série II, fasc. XV, Chaldei. — Diritto antico, II: 'rypis polyglottis Vaticanis, 1940, p. 62.
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⁽²⁾ Fr. MüLLER, Die Chronologie des Siineon .angleizeJeja., Leipzig, 1889, p. 27.

⁽³⁾ Ibid., 25.

⁽⁴⁾ Ibid., 25-27

⁽⁵⁾ CSCO, Scriptores syri, series 3, t. IV: Chronica minora, II, 1904, p. 88.

⁽⁶⁾ I.M. VosTÉ, L'ère de l'Ascension de Notre-Seigneur dans les manuscrits nestoriens, OCP, 7, 1941, 232-243.

Caliph Omar. It should be noted that Muslim astronomers put the beginning of the AH on July 15 and that some historians follow this usage.

The years of this era are composed of lunar months of 30 and 29 days alternately, without there ever being an intercalary month. Eleven years out of thirty have one more day. Minus a difference of 5 or 6 days, 34 years of AH is equivalent to 33 Julian years. This must be taken into account in order to establish the concordance of the years of the hegira with the years of the Christian era.

Rule for reducing one year from AH to Dionysian year

Divide the number of AH years by 33, subtract the dividend quotient and add

to the rest 622. By meaning by H the years of the hegira, we have the formula: $(H - \frac{1}{33}) \pm 622$. Example:

615 AH. This number divided by 33 produces 18. I subtract this product from 615; remains 597. I add 597 and 622: total 1219. The year 615 AH corresponds to the year 1219 of the Dionysian era. But it should be noted that this does not applyto part of the year1219, because of the different beginning of the year in both eras; There are formulas for obtaining more precise concordances, but they are complicated, and their use is time-consuming. This is whywe preferred, like Mas-Latrie, to reproduce the Wüstenfeld table which gives the correspondence for each beginning of the Muslim month. We can also use our subsidiary table No. VIII. It will be even easier and more secure if the on can resort to a work that gives the correspondence day for day between the twoeras, such as E. JosuÉ, *Tablos de reduccion del computo musulman al cristiano y viceversa*, Madrid, 1903.

In addition, it should not be forgotten, using Muslim sources, that the day is counted starting at sunset. The AH era was in common use among Christians living under Muslim rule(Syria and Egypt).

Note. - In addition to this common era of the Mohammedans, there is a particular era: the era of *Hamza*, **founder of** druse theology. Itdates from "the manifestation of the divine incarnation in the person of the Fatimid Khalife Al-Hakem" 408 AH (ioi 7 AD). It is from this era that the epistle to Constantine VIII is dated: J. KHALIL and L. RONZEVALLE, The Epistle to Constantine, *Melanesof univ. Saint-Joseph de Beyrouth*, 3, 1909, 493-534.

conclusion

Dating

Chronology, a science that allows us to situate in the sequence of times the events of the past that have come to our knowledge and to realize to ourselves the distance that separates us from them, the fact by means of frameworks or units either provided by nature or based on it, or established by social institution or by private convention, but commonly accepted.

The fundamental chronological unit is the year, more precisely the solar year, because it is it that regulates human activity. It is therefore aquestion, for the chronologist, of knowing how many years separate us from a given event. Such an assessment can only be made by means of a common point of comparison, namely, a starting point where the years begin their numeration, and by means of a serial number at which the year of the planned event is given a serial number. This serial number is the dating. The starting point or initial year is fixed at an event chosen or acceptedlocally. In our current chronology system, the event on which our numeration of years is suspended is the birth of Jesus Christ, placed at a certain point in history, according to a late estimate due to Dionysius the Lesser (life century AD). This estimate is acknowledged to be inaccurate, but it is appropriatelymaintained, both because of a long habit and to avoid the serious inconveniences which would result from a change. It is also in relation to the birth of Christ that the events of antiquity that predate him are dated. Our dating system is therefore done in years before Christ and years after Jesus Christ. And it is in this chronological formulation that, out of necessity of unification, all the other modes of dating encountered in the sources will have to be transposed.

The Christian chronology established by Dionysius the Little, also called Dionysian because of him, began to become widespread in the West in the city century. Before it, various systems existed or still existed, of a less convenient use.

The first chronographies we know did not include this formal numeration of the years from an event. Those of Babylon and Egypt were constituted by dynastic lists that were transmitted to us respectively by Berose and Manethon: the epigraphic discoveries made it possible to complete and correct them. Closer to our era, Eratosthenes had similar lists to trace the development of the Greek past: kings of Sparta, winners of the Olympian games, eponymous Athenian archons. Ptolemy, in the Dregs century AD transmitted to us a **Canon of** *Kings* with indication of the duration of their reign, ranging from Nabonassar, king of Babylon, 747 BC, to emperor Hadrian, 137 AD. In Rome, thechronology was based on the list of eponymous consuls as in Athens on the list of archones.

It is obvious that these means of chronology, consisting of lists of names, had to be very inconvenient. The historian who wanted to assess the distance betweentwo events could only do so by counting all the intermediaries. Thus the creation of the era of the Olympiads, listed by numbers instead of being enumerated by names, was a considerable advance, which explains its success. There is, in fact, only one convenient means of dating, which is that of the eras. "The Era of "

Olympiads is the first imperfect attempt at this. The event to which this era is attached is the institution of the quadrennial Games of Olympia.

The old chronographs were concerned to mark the times as they could and according to the means theywere using, and it is on them that we still depend for the broad outlines of history. Those who, after them, have used eras proper, offer us greater precision. But history is also made, it is made above all by means of documents or monuments, witnesses or direct effects of the activity of men and which translate the facts at the time when they occurred: texts of laws, contracts, correspondence, monumental inscriptions, epitaphs, etc. And we appreciate historians or annalists all the more that they transmit to us more of these living testimonies, fruit of their observations or their readings. It happens quite often that these documents bear a date, it is formulated differently according to the countries and according to the times.

Originally, most universally, the event is dated to the name of the king or supreme magistrate. In Rome, it is the indication of the names of the consuls that designates the year. In monarchical states, the event is dated by the name of the reigningsouverain with or without indication of the year of reign. This process also exists at the time of the Roman Empire and even more, especially since Justinian, among the Byzantines.

More convenient, as we have said, is that the mention of reigns or consulates is the use of an era, whatever its basis. This way of dating is common in the inscriptions or on the coins of Asia Minor and Syria, countries where the local eras flourish particularly. The important thing here is to determine for each case which era it is and what is its starting point.

These local eras are gradually disappearing and there is little question of them after the Muslim invasion. In the Byzantine Empire there is, from the ninth century, no era other than the era of thecreation of the world, on which sometimes is grafted the year of the Incarnation. In the ancient parts of the Byzantine Empire conquered by Islam, the era of the Seleucids (Syria) and the era of Diocletian (Egypt) established from this empereur remain. Added to this is the hegira era.

Living documents also sometimes use the numeration of the years of a cycle or a period: indiction, lunar cycle and solar cycle, Paschal cycle: indeterminate dating that can only be pushed to the preciseby means of some synchronism or some circumstance extrinsic to the wording itself (epigraphic character, place of inscription, style of ornamentation, etc.).

All these various means of dating, we must translate them into our current chronological language. In this operation, we must take into account the fact that the beginning of the year, in these various eras or cycles, does not coincide with ours, and that for each of them we must first recognize what is the first day of the year. A particular difficulty arises for the years of reign. The question is whether they are counted strictly, i.e. from the date of the event, or whether they are superimposed on the calendar year, starting with the current year or the following year. As for the acts emanating from the imperial chancellery, there can be no doubt that the years are numbered from the day and anniversaries of the advent. As for private chronological notations, inscriptions, memorials, biographical indications or the use of chrono graphs, the solution is not obvious: it is certainly not impossible that, by simplification, the imperial year wassuperimposed on the calendar year. Anastasjevié thought that at least for chronographs it was so among the Byzantines: they made the years of the reign begin with the calendar year, I January until the view century, ter September later at least already in the tenth century. This position was opposed by Fr. Dôlger who gives many examples of a strict account of the imperial year. For my part, I would not dare to take sides, nor, above all, speak of an absolute rule. It is each case that will have to be eliminated in particular or at least, if it is an author, it will be necessary to have established, by certain examples, what its own use is.

It is not only the year of an event that the historian or chronograph seeks to

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reaching, it is also the day in the year. It is the lower chronological frameworks — the divisions of the year — that serve this purpose, especially the month, because it is usually by the monthly calendar that the day of the year is expressed, and in any case, it is the monthly calendar that it must be brought back when it is expressed differently. And just as we must observe in the eras what the beginning of the year is, we must also, for the months, take into account that they have not even startedor even-lastedin the various calendars and that we must therefore be careful to transpose them exactly into our current framework of months.

The week and the day of the week are sometimes also used to specify the dating of an event during a year: this usually takes place within a liturgical cycle.

One of the most important elements in synchronisms is the day of the week. The same day of the week does not return to the same monthly calendar as every 28 year old. If we know that such an event took place during such a reign, Mauritius for example (20 years) or Leo VI (26 years) and that the sources indicate as chronological elements only the day of the month and the day of the week, we will surely know by means of this coincidence in which the year it took place. The perpetuating schedule will make this verification easy. And similarly, if we know that the event took place in such a century, the same table will allow us to see in which years of the century the coincidence returns. The perpetual calendar, by indicating for each day of any year whatever its weekday, is a way to control very surely all the dates transmitted by the chroniclers where the day of the month and the day of the week are indicated, and to detect the needs of the copyists in terms of chronology.

Certain synchronisms given by epigraphic texts or memorials are of great help to know the year when it is not expressly designated. Thus, when the year of the unary cycle and the year of the solar cycle are indicated, we first look for in which year of the 532-year Easter cycle the coincidence occurs (it occurs only once). We will consult for this the table of cycles that we have drawn up, taking care to observer in which style the coincidence isprovided, Dionysian, Byzantine or Alexandrian. For example, the coincidence: year 9 of the lunar cycle and year 6 of the solar cycle is in the year 446 of the Dionysian Paschal cycle, in the year 370 of the Byzantine Paschal cycle, and 354 of the Alexandrian Paschal cycle. In the Dionysian Paschal cycle the year 446 corresponds to

the year 445 of the Dionysian era, as well as in the year 977 (445,532) and the year 1509 (977 -¹- 532). In the Byzantine Paschal cycle, the year 370 corresponds to the year 6222 of the Byzantine era (714 AD) as well as the years 6754 (1246) and 7286 (1778). In the Alexandrian Paschal cycle, the year 370 corresponds to 6222 of the Alexandrian era (730 AD) as well as the years 6754 (1262) and 7286 (1794).

Other coincidences include day of the month, day of the week and day of the moon. Thus in Lefèvre, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes d'Égypte, n*° 663: II phamenoth, mardi, 26e jour de lalune. What is the year?

The incidence of the 26th day of the moon at I 1 phamenoth (March 7) leads the *EASTER XIV Lunae* (next lunation) to March 25. The lunation that precedes the Easter lunation is indeed 30 days (see the table of neomenias). This Easter date of March 25 is that of the 2nd year of the Alexandrian lunar cycle, 18th of the Byzantine lunar cycle. Moreover, Tuesday, March 7 leads on March 25 to a Saturday. This double incidence of the *Easter XIV lunae* on March 25 and Saturday occurs four times in the 532-year cycle, namely, in the years of the solar cycle that meet with the aforementioned year **of the** lunar cycle. In the Perpetual Calendar of Byzantine Easter (see p. 311), these are the 5 years,

I, 16, 22, each placed in a different series of the 28-year solar cycle. Going through the table of the Byzantine cycle of 532 years (see pp. 266 et seq.), their encounter with the 18th year of the Byzantine lunar cycle takes place in this order: I, 22, 5, 16, to the years 151, 246, 341, 436 of this table. These years correspond to the years of the Dionysian Christian era 495, 590, 685, 780. Concordance returns again 532 years after each of these dates.

Other synchronism: day of the month, day of the moon, indiction. Example: Jalabert and Mouterde, *Christian Greek Inscriptions of Syria, No.* 727: 24 Peritios, indiction 4, 2nd day of the moon. What is the year? Looking at the neomeny table, the 2nd day of the moon and February 24 coincide with the 9th **year of** the lunar cycle. Since the indiction comesevery 15 years, the coincidence will return every 285 years. To find the year, we will consult our table of cycles where we have reserved a column for the indictions. We will see the coincidence of indiction 4 and year 5 of the **Byzantine lunar cycle in**391, 676 and so on every 285 years. If it is February 29, the coincidence with the indiction and the day of the moon returns only every 140 years (285 > (4).

A more complicated problem is the synchronism of the day of the month, the day of the week and the indiction. The coincidence of the day of the week and the day of the month comes back every 28 years: it is the solar cycle. By combining it with indiction we obtain the period of 420 years, at the end of which always comes the same synchronism. In this period of 420 years the same coincidence of the day and the week returns every 45 years 4 times in a row, the first time starting in asextile leap year(from I^{er} March), after which it is necessary to wait for the restart of the period of 420 years to have the same synchronism. Thus the I September will be a Monday in 312, 357, 402, 447, then 732, 777, 822, 867, etc. If it is 29 February, the return to the same day of the week only takes place every 420 years.

One will also find in the liturgical indications the means to mark either the year of an event or the day in the year. Thus, for the theological discussion of Basil of Achrida and Anselm of Havelberg, the mention in the mouth of the Greek of the gospel of the day: second Saturday of Luke, leads to specify, Anselm being in Italy in May 1155, that the dialogue took place on **October** 2, 1154, and not on April 9, 1155, commesays, commenting on the passage, the publisher Schmidt, who did not take care of the Greek cycle of evangelical readings.

We quite often meet datings taken thus from the liturgy. Our liturgical lists will make iteasy to explain them.

Some natural phenomena also offer ways to specify dates. In the first place come eclipses of the sun or moon, frequently mentioned by chroniclers. Since these are regular phenomenawhose recurrence is calculated independently of any chronological system, their mention about an insufficiently dated event can provide the desired accuracy. That is why we have given the list with regard to the time and space of the Byzantine emworst.

Some chroniclers sometimes date the event by the position of the sun in relation to the zodiac. Below is the table of the entrances of the sun in each of the twelve constellations, according to the centuries.

We also give a list of comets from 285 to 1462, reproducing, without astronomical indications, that of M. F. Baldet, published in 1950; we have inserted some additions.

Finally, mention should be made of the unforeseeable natural phenomena of terre tremors, sometimes given by authors as a synchronic element of an event. We have drawn up, on the control and personal research, a new list of these events, which, although not complete, will be useful until an exhaustive study appears. It will be particularly beneficial to the archaeologist in view of the history of the monuments.

These lists of natural phenomena, such as the tables of cycles and liturgical festivals, are thus subsidiary means that very usefully complement the chronological frameworks and make it possible to locate exactly in time events whose date would otherwise remain unknown or imprecise.

Finally, our special tables will provide the means, either to quickly resolve certain concordances, or to easily reduce to the years of our era and the days of our calendar the dates formulated in another style.

Finally, we thought it useful to recall the pages in which the notable chronological peculiarities of certain texts or authors were dealt with:

Basil II, first imperial document surely bearing the Byzantine era, p. 127.

Boril (Synode du tsar), commencement de l'année, p. 125.

Cédrénus, beginning of the year, p. 61, n. 8; concordance of eras, p. 123-124, 223.

Council in Trullo, first ecclesiastical document dating from the world era, p. 127.

Cyril of Skythopolis, Alexandrian World Era and Incarnation Era, p. 223.

Eklogè de Léon III et Eklogè, de Wirth, début de l'année, p. 124-125.

El-Makin, alexandrine era, p. 96.

Epitomè B, era of 5.516, p. 117.

Eutychius of Alexandria, Alexandrian era, p. 96-97.

Evagre, beginning of the indiction, p. 194.

Génésius, beginning of the year, p. 126.

George II Xiphilin (Answers to Mark), era employed, p. 223.

George the Monk continued, influence of the Alexandrian era, p. 122; special era, pp. 126, 157; era of

l'Incarnation, p. 222-223.

Georges le Syncelle, ère alexandrine, p. 95-96, 114-115, 122-123, 222-223.

Inscriptions, oldest attestations of the Byzantine era, p. 125; beginning of the indiction, p. 193-195.

John XI, Patriarch of Alexandria, his letter to Pope Eugene and the Alexandrian era, p. 96-97. Leo the Deacon, Special Era, p. 126.

Passion of the Sabaïte Martyrs, beginning of the year, p. 95, n. 4.

Philip the Lonely, era of 5,500, p. 123.

Symeon Magister (pseudo), influence of the Alexandrian era, p. 122; special era, pp. 126, 157; era of

l'Incarnation, p. 223.

Theophanes the Confessor, Alexandrian era, pp. 95-96, 124, 126; incarnation era, p. 222-223. Theophanes Continued, era, pp. 96, 126.

Typikon de l'Evergétis, ère alexandrine, p. 96, 127, n. I I, 196.

Vita Symeonis Stylitae, beginning of the indiction, p. 202.

Reconstruction of the protobyzantine Paschal table of 353

(Trochos IV of Chronicon Paschale)

This table reproduces, with the exception of the central explanatory note, the various elements of the protobyzantine Paschal table preserved in Tpozç IV of the *Chronicon Paschale* (see above p. 78). We have shown (p. 77 sqq.) that this rpoz6ç, in its current state, presents several faults either of inattention (Paschal and epact dates), or of interpretation (dating according to the years of Diocletian). All of them are correcteds that the reader will have the original content of this important document directly in front of him. — We have added to the margin of the table the years of Christ corresponding to the years of Diocletian.

Armies of" The Lunar Cyc "	Г.	Dates o	Years	Years			
	Epacts	Roman calendar (r)		callus. Macedonian	callus. Egyptian	Diocletian	Christ
I.	30	Idibus Aprilibus em	nbol.	13 Xanthikos 2	18 Pharmouthi 7	60	34 I
II.	11	IV Nonas Apriles		Xanthikos 22	Pharmouthi 26	61	345
Ⅲ.	22	XI Kal. Apriles		Dystros 10	Phamenôth 15	62	346
IV.	3	IV Idus Apriles em	nbol.	Xanthikos 30	Pharmouthi 4	63	347
V.	14	III Kal. Apriles		Dystros 18	Pharmouthi 23	64	348
VI.	25	XIV Kal. Maias em	nbol.	Xanthikos 7	Pharmouthi 12	65	349
VII.	6	VII Idus Apriles		Xanthikos 27	Pharmouthi 1	66	350
VIII.	17	VI Kal. Apriles		Dystros 15	Pharmouthi 20	67	351
Ix.	28	XVII Kal. Maias em	nbol.	Xanthikos 4	Pharmouthi 9	68	352
X.	9	Pridie Nonas Apriles		Xanthikos 24	Pharmouthi 28	69	353
XI.	20	IX Kal. Apriles		Dystros 12	Phamenôth 14	70	354
XII.	1	Pridie Idus Apriles em	ibol.	Xanthikos 1	Pharmouthi 6	71	355
XIII.	12	Kalendis Aprilibus		Xanthikos 21	Pharmouthi 25	72	356
XIV.	23	XII Kal. Apriles em	nbol.	Dystros 9	Phamenôth 14	73	357
XV.	4	V Idus Apriles		Xanthikos 29	Pharmouthi 3	74	358
XVI.	15	IV Kal. Apriles		Dystros 17	Pharmouthi 22	75	359
XVII.	26	XV Kal. Maias em	nbol.	Xanthikos 6	Pharmouthi 11	76	360
XVIII.	7	VIII Idus Apriles		Xanthikos 26	Pharmouthi 30	77	361
XIX.	18	VII Kal. Apriles		Dystros	Phamenôth	78	362

⁽r) The dates according to the continuous numeration are to be taken in the Macedonian calendar where Dystros = March, and Xanthikos = April.

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(see Appendix II: inscriptions).

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PART THREE CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES

GENERAL CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

containing

The years of Jesus Christ (Dionysian era); the Olympiads until the 347th; the era of the foundation of Rome until its 1333rd year (= 580); the Caesarean era of Antioch; the Era of Spain until its 818th year (= 780); the World Era of Alexandria; the protobyzantine world era; the Byzantine world era; the indictions; the era of the Seleucids or the Greeks; the era of Diocletian or the Martyrs; the Armenian era, big and small; the era of the Hegira; the world era and the Paschal cycle of the Georgians; the term Paschal and Easter; the Sunday letters.

Note. - The double Sunday letter is sufficient to mark the leap years of the Roman calendar. — The overabundant year in the column of the Era of the Martyrs (Alexandrian calendar) is indicated by an asterisk. — The asterisk is also used to mark, in the Easter colony, the years in which there is disagreement on the date of this feast. The divergent dates are indicated at the bottom of the pages. On this point, we have used Mas Latrie and Cappelli, while neglecting, however, what only concerns Brittany. On the other hand, we have pointed out the years when Armenians and Syrians have a different date.

For the solar, lunar and Paschal (532 years) cycles, as they differ in the Christian-Dionysian, Byzantine and Alexandrian eras (except for the lunar cycle which is common in the Dionysian and Alexandrian eras), we had to draw up a special table indicating for each era its respective cycles.

wrath	E c	Ere de la fondation de Rome	o		0 ₀	o	•1	u- S.	It O W r 4-1 O	Ère de Dioclétien ou des martyrs	Terme pascal XIV lunae M = mars A = avril	re gf 3	
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291 292 293 294 295	268, 1 2 3	1 0 4 4 1 0 4 5 1 0 4 6 1 0 4 7 1048	339 340 341 342 343	329 330 331 332 333	5783 5784 5785 5786 5787	5800 5801 5802 5803 5804	5799 5800 5801 5802 5803		602 603 604 605 606	* ₇ 8 9 10 *11	3 0 M 1 8 A 7 A 2 7 M 1 5 A	5 A 24 A 9 A 1 A 21 A	C ^D B a g f
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316 317 318 i 319 320	274, 1 2 3 4	1 0 6 9 1 0 7 0 1 0 7 1 1 0 7 2 1073	364 365 366 367 368	354 355 356 357 358	5808 5809 5810 5811 5812	5825 5826 5827 5828 5829	5824 5825 5826 5827 5828	4 5 6 7 8	627 628 629 630 631	32 33 34 *35 36	2 4 M 1 2 A 1 A 2 1 M 9 A	2 5 M 1 4 A 6 A * 2 2 M 1 0 A	B I+' E C B
322 323 324 325	321,275, 3 4 276, 1	1074 1075 1076 1077 1078	369 370 371 372 373	359 360 361 362 363	5813 5814 5815 5816 5817	5830 5831 5832 5833 5834	5829 5830 5831 5832 5833	9 10 11 12 13	632 633 634 635 636	37 38 *39 40 41	2 9 M 1 7 A 5 A 2 5 M 1 3 A	2 A * 2 2 A 7 A 2 9 M 1 8 A	A G ED ^F B
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In 300 and 306, Easter is April 21 in some Western churches. In 311, Easter is March 25 in some Western churches. In 319, Easter is March 29 in some Western Churches.

In 322, Easter is March 25 in some Churches of the West. In 326, Easter is April 10 in some Western churches.

In 333, Easter is the i5 April in some Western Churches. In 343, Easter is April 3 in some Churches of the West. In 346, Easter is March 30 in some Western Churches. En 349, Easter is March 26 in some Churches of the West. En 350, Easter is April 15 in some Western Fglises. In 353, Easter is April 4 in some Western Churches. In 357, Easter is March 30 in some Western Churches. In 359, Easter is March 28 in some Western Churches.

TREATISE ON BYZANTINE STUDIES, I

In 360, Easter is March 26 or April 16 in some Churches of OcCident.

In 363, Easter is April 13 in some Churches of the West. In 368, Easter is March 23 in some Western churches. In 373, Easter ismarch 24 in some Churches of the West. In 377, Easter is April 9 in some Churches of the West. In 380, Easter is April 5 in some Western churches.

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336 337 338 :339 340	279, 2 3 4	1089 1090 1091 1092 1093	384 385 386 387 388	374 375 376 377 378	5828 5829 5830 5831 5832	5845 5846 5847 5848 5849	5844 5845 5846 5847 5848	9 10 11 12 13	647 648 649 650	52 53 54 *55 56	12 A 1 A 21 M 9 A 29 M	18 A 3 AB 26 M 15 AG 30 M	DC A FE
341 342 343 344 345	280,1 2 3 4 281,1	1094 1095 1096 1097 1098	389 390 391 392 393	379 380 381 382 383	5833 5834 5835 5836 5837	5850 5851 5852 5853 5854	5849 5850 5851 5852 5853	14 15 1 2 3	652 653 654 655 656	57 58 *59 60	17 A 5 A 25 M 13 A 2A	19 A 11 A *27 M 15 A 7 A	D c B A G
346 347 348 349 350	2 3 4 282, 2	1099 1100 1101 1102 1103	394 395 396 397 398	384 385 386 387 388	5838 5839 5840 5841 5842	5855 5856 5857 5858 5859	5854 5855 5856 5857 5858	4 5 6 7 8	657 658 659 660 661	62 *63 64 65 66	22 M 10 A 30 M 18 A 7 A	*23 M 12 A 3A *23 A *8 A	E D CB a
351 :352 353 354 355	283, 2 3	1104 1105 1106 1107 1108	399 400 401 402 403	389 390 391 392 393	5843 5844 5845 5846 5847	5860 5861 5862 5863 5864	5859 5860 5861 5862 5863	9 10 11 12 13	662 663 664 665 666	*67 68 69 70 *71	27 M 15 A 4 A 24 M 12 A	31 M 19 A *11 A 27 M 16 A	f ED c B
356 357 358 359 360	284, 2 3 4	1109 1110 1111 1112 1113	41:4 405 406 407 408	394 395 396 397 398	5848 5849 5850' 5851 5852	5865 5866 5867 5868 5869	5864 5865 5866. 5867 5868	14 15 1 2 3	667 668 669 670 671	72 73 74 *75 76	1 A 21 M 9 A 29 M 17 A	7 A *23 M 12 AD *4 A *23 A	G F E c B A
361 362 363 :361 :365	285, 2 3 4 286, 1	1114 1115 1116 1117 1118	409 410 411 412 413	399 400 401 402 403	5853 5854 5855 5856 5857	5870 5871 5872 5873 5874	5869 5870 5871 5872 5873	4 5 6 7 8	672 673 674 675 676	77 78 *79 80 81	25 M 13 A 2A 22 M	8 AG 31 M *20 A 4 A 27 M	f E D C B
366 :367 36ri 369 370	2 3 4 287, 2	1119 1120 1121 1122 1123	414 415 416 417 418	404 405 406 407 408	5858 5859 5860 5861 5862	5875 5876 5877 5878 5879	5874 5875 5876 5877 5878	9 10 11 12 13	677 678 679 680 681	82 *83 84 85 86	10 A 30 M 18 A 7 A 27 M	16 A 1 A *20 A 12 A 28 M	a g F E D c
371 3 7 2 373 374 :375	288, <i>I</i> 288, <i>I</i> 23	1121 1125 1126 1127 1128	419 420 421 422 423	409 410 411 412 413	5863 5864 5865 5866 5867	5880 5881 5882 5883 5884	5879 5880 5881 5882 5883	14 15 1 2 3	682 683 684 685 686	*87 88 89 90 *91	15 A 4A 24 M 12 A 1 A	17 AB 8 A *31 M 13 A 5 AD	A G f E
376 377 :378 :379 :titi	289,1 2 3	1129 1130 1131 1132 1133	424 425 426 427 428	414 415 416 417 418	5868 5869 5870 5871 5872	5885 5886 5887 5888 5889	5884 5885 5886 5887 5888	4 5 6 7 8	687 688 689 690	92 93 94 *95	21 M 9 A 29 M 17 A 5 A	27 M *16 A 1 A 21 A *12 A	C B A g f E D

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382 383 384 385	290, 1 2 3 4 291, 1	1134 1135 1136 1137 1138	429 430 431 432 433	419 420 421 422 423	5873 5874 5875 5876 5877	5890 5891 5892 5893 5894	5889 5890 5891 5892 5893	9 10 11 12 13	692 693 694 695 696	97 98 1 3 A *99 100 2 2 N 101 1 0 A	1 7 A 9 A	I. G 1'
386 387 388 389 390	2 3 4 292, 1 2	1139 1140 1141 1142 1143	434 435 436 437 438	424 425 426 427 428	5878 5879 5880 5881 5882	5895 5896 5897 5898 5899	5894 5895 5896 5897 5898	14 15 1 2 3	697 698 699 700 701	102 3 0 M *10:3 18 A 10.1 7 A 27 105 M 106 1 5 A	5 A * 2 5 A 9 A 1 A 2 1 A	D B A G f
391 392 393 394 395 '	293, 1 2 3	1144 1145 1146 1147 1148	439 440 441 442 443	429 430 431 432 433	5883 5884 5885 5886 5887	5900 5901 5902 5903 5904	5899 5900 5901 5902 5903	4 5 6 7 8	702 703 704 705 706	*107 4 A 108 2 4 M 109 1 2 A 110 1 A *111 2 1 M	6 A 2 8 M 1 7 A 2 A 2 5 M	E D C B
396 397 398 399 400	294, 1 2 3 4	1149 1150 1151 1152 1153	444 445 446 447 448	434 435 436 437 438	5888 5889 5890 5891 5892	5905 5906 5907 5908 5909	5904 5905 5906 5907 5908	9 10 11 12 13	707 708 709 710 711	112 9 A 113 2 9 M 114 1 7 A *115 5 A 116 2 5 M	1 3 A * 5 A 1 8 A 1 0 A 1 A	f e D ≜G¹³
401 402 403 404 405	295, 1 2 3 4 296, 1	1154 1155 1156 1157 1158	449 450 451 452 453	439 440 441 442 443	5893 5894 5895 5896 5897	5910 5911 5912 5913 5914	5909 5910 5911 5912 5913	14 15 1 2 3	712 713 714 715 716	117 1 3 A 118 2 A *119 2 2 M 120 1 0 A 121 3 0 M	* 1 4 A * 6 A 2 9 M * 1 7 A 2 A	f C 13
406 407 408 409 410	2 3 4 297, 1 2	1159 1160 1161 1162 1163	454 455 456 457 458	444 445 446 447 448	5898 5899 5900 5901 5902	5915 5916 5917 5918 5919	5914 5915 5916 5917 5918	4 5 6 7 8	717 718 719 720 721	122 1 8 A *123 7 A 124 2 7 M 125 1 5 A 126 4 A	* 2 2 A 1 4 A 2 9 M 1 8 A 1 0 A	1 I
411 412 413 414 415	3 4 298, 1 2 3	1164 1165 1166 1167 1168	459 460 461 462 463	449 450 451 452 453	5903 5904 5905 5906 5907	5920 5921 5922 5923 5924	5919 5920 5921 5922 5923	9 10 11 12 13	722 723 721 725 726		2 6 M 1 4 6 A * 2 2 A 11M	E D c
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426 127 128 1. 29 430	2 3 4 302, 1 2	1179 1180 1181 1182 1183	474 475 476 477 478	464 465 466 467 468	5918 5919 5920 5921 5922	5935 5936 5937 5938 5939	5934 5935 5936 5937 5938	9 10 11 12 13	737 738 739 740 741	142 7 A *1432 7 M 1441 3 A 1454 A 146	1 1 A 3 A 2 2 A 7 A M 3 0 M	A g

In 387, Easter is March 28 or April 18 in various Churches of the West.
In 397, Easter is March 29 in some Western Churches. En 401, Easter is April 21 in some Western Churches. En 402, Easter is March 30 in some Churches of the West. In 404, Easter wason April 10 in some Churches of the West. 408, Easter is March 25 in some Western churches.

In 414, Easter is March 29 in Egypt. In 417, Easter is March 25 in some Western Churches. In 421, Easter is April 10 in all churches except in Egypt. In 424, Easter is March 23 in the Churches of Africa. In 425, Easter is 2°. March in some Churches of the West. In

nne	GENERAL CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE												242	
Ère chrétienne dionysienne	GENE	RAL CHI	CONOL	Gre m d'Alex	Ere m brotoby AL IABLI	Indic Ere de ou des S	Ere de D ou des Terme	XIV M = A =	Les P					243
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437 438 439 440 441 442 443 444 445	304, 1 2 3 4 431 432 433 434	1191 486 1192 487 1193 488 3 0 2 , 3 1195 4 3 0 3 , 491 1198 2	475 476 477 478 1184 1185 1186 1187 1188	5929 5930 5931 5932 479 5480 5481 5482	5946 .41 5947 .5948 5948 .5947 5949 .5948 50 469 51 470 52 471 53 472 473	7 750 8 751 5 9 2 3 5 9 2 4 5 9 2 5 5 9 2 6 5 9 2 7	5940 5941 5942 5943', 5944	5939 5940 5941 5942 5943	14 15 1 2	742 743 744 745 746	*147 12 148 1 149 21 150 *151 29	A 19 A M 20 9'A 13 M 3	3 A 6 M 5 A	D C 13 a g ED ^F
446 447 448 449 450 451 452 453 454	435 436 437 438 439 440	304, 497	1 1 8 9 1 1 9 0 1 1 9 1 1 1 9 2 1193	483 5484 5485 486 5487 5488	57474 58475 59476 60477 61477 62478 5962 5962	5928 5929 5930 5931 5932	5945 5946 5947 5948 5949	5944 5945 5946 5947 5948	4 5 6 7 8	747 748 749 750 751	152 17 153 5 154 25 *155 13 156 2	A 19 A 1 M 2' A 10 A	9 A 1 A 7 M	13 GF
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477 478 479 480 En 441, En 444.	Paques est	309, 16 1233 2 1233 2 3 de 30 mars 4 re le 26 mars en cer	1 2 1 1 1 2 1 2 1213 taines Eglises	5505 5506 507 508 d'Occiden	187495 188496 497 498 18. En 4	5 9 4 8 5 9 4 9 5 9 5 0 5 9 5 1 5952	5966 5967 5968 5969	5965 5966 5967 5968	10 11 12 13	768 769 770 771	173 25 174 13 *175 2 176 22	M 3 A 20 A M 2'	1 M 0 A 5 A 7 M	t CB
En 455,	462 463 464 465	2 3 4 311, 1	1 2 1 4 1 2 1 5 1 2 1 6 1 2 1 7 1218	509 510 511 512 513	499 500 501 502 503	5 9 5 3 5 9 5 4 5 9 5 5 5 9 5 6 5 9 5 7	5971 5972 5973 5974	5969 5970 5971 5972 .5973		772 773 774 775 776	177 10 178 30 *179 18 180 7 181 27	A 12 M	21 A 2 A 28 M	a g ED ^F
	466 467 468 469 470	2 3 4 312, 1 2	1 2 1 9 1 2 2 0 1 2 2 1 1 2 2 2 1223	514 515 516 517 518	504 505 506 507 508	5 9 5 8 5 9 5 9 5 9 6 0 5 9 6 1 5 9 6 2	5975 5976 5977 5978 5979			777 778 779 780 781	182 15 *183 4 184 24 185 12 186 1	A 17 A M 3 A 17 A	9 A 1 M 3 A 5 A	G F D
	474 475	4	1 2 2 4 1 2 2 5 1 2 2 6 1 2 2 7 1228	519 520 521 522 523	512 513	5 9 6 3 5 9 6 4 5 9 6 5 5 9 6 6 5 9 6 7	5980 5981 5982 5983 5984	5980 5981 5982 5983	10 11 12 13	782 783 784 785 786	*187 21 188 9 189 29 190 17 *191 5	A 2 A *(A 1 A 6 A	c BA f
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In 441, Easter is March 30 in some Western churches. In 444, Easter is March 26 in some Western churches. In 455, Easter is April 17 in some Western Churches.

In 463, Easter is March 24 in some Western Churches. In 475, Easter is April 13 in the Churches of Gaul.

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				%°		'Irs E. 1 5-	Byzanine World era	2	Era of the Greeks or Seleuides	Era of Diocletian or martyrs	Pascal term X/17 moon	M = March A = April	Easter	letters Sunday
·183 3	, 315, 1 3 4 316, 1,1	1234 1235 1236 1237 238	529 530 531 532 533	519 520 521 522 523	59 73 59 74 59 75 59 76 59 77	5990 5991 5992 5993 5994	5989 5990 5991 5992 5993	OD	792 793 794 795 796	197 198 *199 200 201	18 7 27	M A A M A	5 A *25 A 10 A 1 A 21 A	D c B Ag f
486 187 -188	1.9,317.	1239 1240 1241 1 1243	534 535 536 537 538	524 525 526 527 528	59 78 59 79 59 30 59 31 59 32	5995 5996 5997 5998 5999	5994 5995 5996 5997 5998	ı	797 798 799 800 801	202 *203 204 205 206		4A M A 1A M	6 A 29 M 17 A 2 A 25 M	E D CB a g
491 192 0.);), 191 193	;n8. 1 2 3	1244 1245 1246 1247 1248	539 540 541 5.12 513	529 530 531 532 533	59 33 59 34 59 35 59 36 59 37	6000 6001 6002 6003 6004	5999 6000 6001 6002 6003		802 .803 804 805 806	*207 208 209 210 *211	29 17 5	A M A A M	14 A 5A 18 A 10 A *26 M	ED c B a
496 1(J9)(i	197:119.	1 2.1251 1252 1253	31.1 545 546 547 548	534 535 536 537 538	59 38 59 39 59)0 59)1 59)2	6005 6006 6007 6008 6009	6004 6005 6006 6007 6008	a	807 808 809 810 811	212 213 214 *215 216	22 10 30	A 2A M A M	*14 A 6 A 29 M *11 A 2 A	G F E D c B A
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508 .	3 .1 322. 1	1259 1260 1261 1262 1263	554 555 556 557 558	544 545 546 547 548	59)8 59)9 60)0 60)1 60)2	6015 6016 6017 6018 6019	6014 6015 6016 6017 6018	ı	817 818 819 820 821	*223 224 225	24 12 1 21 9	M A A M A	15 A A 6 A 22 M 11 A	a g F E D c
511 31 2 1 511	3 1 323, 1	1264 1265 1266 2,1267 1268	559 560 561 562 563	549 550 551 552 553	60)3 60)4 60)5 60)6 60)7	6020 6021 6022 6023 6024	6019 6020 6021 6022 6023	-	822 823 824 825 826	228 229 230		M A 5A M A	3 A 22 A 7 A 30 M 19 A	A G f E D
	1 324, 1 2	1269 1270 1271 1272 1273	564 565 566 567 568	554 555 556 557 558	60)8 60 60 10 60 60	6025)9,6026 6027 11,6028 .2,6029	6024 6025 6026 6027 6028		827 828 829 830 831		30	A M A M A	*3 A 26 M 15 A 31 M *19 A	CB a g f ED
521 -)23)2:)	325, 2 3 4 326, 1	1274 1275 1276 1277 1278	569 570 571 572 573	559 560 561 562 563	60 [3 60 60 60 60 7	6030 1,6031 5,6032 6,6033 6034	6029 6030 6031 6032 6033	ďð.	832 833 834 835 836	237 238 *239 240 241	15	A M A 4A M	11 A 3 A 16 A 7 A 30 M	c B a G F E
526 :")2 32N 329	2 3 4 327, 1 2	1279 1280 1281 1282 1283	574 575 576 577 578	564 565 566 567 568	60 8 60 9 60 ! 0 60 ! I 60 '2	6035 6036 6037 6038 6039	6034 6035 6036 6037 6038	C	837 838 839 840 841	242 *243 244 245 246	1 21 9	A A M A M	19 A 4 A 26 M 15 A 31 M	D c BA g f

In 482, Easter is April 18 in most churches in the West, March 21 in others.
En 495, Easter is April 2 in the Churches of Gaul.
En 496, Easter is April 21 in the Churches of Gaul.

In 499, Easter is April 18 in the Churches of Gaul.
In 501, Easter is March 25 in some Churches of the West.
In 516, Easter is April 10 in the Churches of Gaul.
In 520, Easter is March 22 in some Churches of the West.

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541 542 :)-14	330, 2 3 4 331, <i>I</i>	1294 1295 1296 1297 1298	589 590 591 592 593	579 580 581 582 583	6033 6034 6035 6036 6037	6050 6051 6052 6053 6054	6049 6050 6051 6052 6053	6 7 8	852 853 854 855 856	257 258 *259 260 261		27 \ 2 I\I 12	.\	31 20 27 16	M a a M a	D C13 a
546 5.17 548 549 550	3 3 4 332, 1 2	1299 1300 1301 1302 1303	594 595 596 597 598	584 585 586 587 588	6038 6039 6040 6041 6042	6055 6056 6057 6058 6059	6054 6055 6056 6057 6058	12	857 858 -859 860 861	262 *263 264 265 266		21 9 29 17	a M a M a	8 24 12 4 *24	a M a a a	Ed c 13
551 552 553 554 555	3 4 333, 1 2 3	1304 1305 1306 1307 1308	599 600 601 602 603 "	589 590 591 592 593	6043 6044 6045 6046 6047	6060 6061 6062 6063 6064	6059 6060 6061 6062 6063	14 15 1 2 3	862 863 864 865 866	*267 268 269 270 *271	1: 11D 2 3 4	5 25 13 2 22	a M a a M	9 31 20 5 28	a M a a M	a g D
556 557 558 559 560	334, ⁴ 2 3	1309 1310 131.1 1312 1313	604 605 606 607 608	594 595 596 597 598	6048 6049 6050 6051 6052	6065 6066 6067 6068 6069	6064 6065 6066 6067 6068	7	867 868 869 870 871	272 273 274 *275 276	5: 10D 6 7 8 9: 9J	10 30 18 7 27	a M a a M	16 1 *21 13 28	a a a a M	B A. g
561 562 563 564 565	335, 1 2 3 4 336,	1314 1315 1316 1317 1318	609 610 611 612 613	599 600 601 602 603	6053 6054 6055 6056 6057	6070 6071 6072 6073 6074	6069 6070 6071 6072 6073.	9 10 11 12 13	872 873 874 875 876	277 278 *279 280 281	10 11 12 13: 8J 14	15 4 24 12 1	a a M a a	17 9 25 13 5	a a X14 a a	B FE D
566 567 568 569 570	2 3 4 337, 1 2	1319 1320 1321 1322 1323	614 615 616 617 618	604 605 606 607 608	6058 6059 6060 6061 6062	6075 6076 6077 6078 6079	6074 6075 6076 6077 6078	2	877 878 879 880 881	282 *283 284 285 286	15 16 17: 7J 18 19	21 9 29 17 5	M a M a a	28 10 1 21 *6	M a a a	AG ^B
571 572 573 574 575	3 338, 2 3	1324 1325 1326 1327 1328	619 620 621 622 623	609 610 611 612 613	6063 6064 6065 6066 6067	6080 6081 6082 6083 6084	6079 6080 6081 6082 6083	6 7	882 883 884 885 886	*287 288 289 290 *291	20 21: 6D 22 23 24	25 13 2 22 10	M a a M a	29 17 9 25 14	M a a M a	C B a g
576 577 578 579 580	339, ⁴ 2 3 4	1329 1330 1331 1332 1333	624 625 626 627 628	614 615 616 617 618	6068 6069 6070 6071 6072	6085 6086 6087 6088 6089	6084 6085 6086 6087 6088	12	887 888 889 890 891	292 293 294 *295 291	25: .1 2ti 27 28 29: -1 D	30 7• \ 27\I 15		5 *25 10 2 21	a a a a	Ed 13 a gr

In 536, Easter is March 30 in the Churches of Gaul. In 550, Easter is April 17 in Gaul and Brittany. In 558, Easter is March 24 in some Western Churches.

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In 570, Easter is April 13 for the Latins, Armenians, Nestorians and Jacobites.
In 577, Easter was April 18 in most of Gaul and March 21 in Spain.

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Dionysian Christian era	:g E: ••=•-•	Caesarean section of Antioch	this r•c at	WorldEra	<u>ŧ</u>			Fb ^D	/to>		to) t.>.4 intelli gence quotie	u zu	
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586 587 588 589 590	2 3 4 342, 1 2	634 635 636 637 638	624 625 626 627 628	6078 6079 6080 6081 6082	6C95 6C96 6C97 6C98 6C99	6094 6095 6096 6097 6098	4 5 6 7 8	897 898 899 900 901	*302 *303 304 305 306	37: July 2 38	9 29 17 5 25 \(\)	1 4 A 3 0 M 1 8 A 1 0 A * 2 6 , M	DC ^F E B
591 592 593 594 595	3 4 343, 1 2 3	639 640 641' 642 643	629 630 631 632 633	6083 6084 6085 6086 6087	61 00 61 01 61 02 .61 03 61 04	6099 6100 6101 6102 6103	10 11 12	902 903 904 905 906	*307 308 309 310 *311	41: July 1 42 43	22	1 5 A 6 A 2 9 M * 1 1 A 3 A	G F E D A G ^C
596 597 598 599 600	344, 1 2 3 4	644 645 646 647 648	634 635 636 637 638	6088 6089 6090 6091 6092	6105 6106 6107 6108 6109	6104 6105 6106 6107 6108	14 15 1 2 3	907 908 909 910 911	312 313 314 *315 316	45:June 30 46 47 48 49:June 29	30 = 18	2 2 A 1 4 A 3 0 M 1 9 A 1 0 A	EB f CB
601 602 603 604 605	345, 1 • 2 3 4 3.16, 1	649 650 651 652 653	639 640 641 642 643	6093 6094 6095 6096 6097	61 10 61 11 61 12 61 13 61 14	6109 6110 6111 6112 6113	4 5 6 7 8	912 913 914 915 916	3 I 7 318 *319 320 321	53: June 28	24 \\ 12 \\ \\ 21 \\ 9 \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \	2 6 M 1 5 A 7 A 2 2 M 1 1 A	a f BD
606 607 608 609 610	347, 1 2.	654 655 656 657 658	644 645 646 647 648	6098 6099 6100 6101 6102	61 15 61 16 61 17 61 18 61 19	6114 6115 6116 6117 6118	9 10 11 12 13	917 918 919 920 921	*322 *323 324 325 326	57: June 27 58	29	3 A 2 3 A 7 A 3 0 M 1 9 A	G F E
611 612 613	3 4	659 660 661	649 650 651	6103 6104 6105	6120 6121 22 6123 24	6119 6120 6121 6122 6123	14 15 1 2 3	922 923 924 925 926	*327 328 329 330 *331	60 61: 26 juin_ 62 63 64	22	4 A 2 6 M 1 5 A 3 1 M 2 0 . A	BA ^C
614 615 616 617 618	E .:Ef a t,	662 663 664 665 666	652 653 654 655 656	6106 6107 6108 6109 6110	6125 6126 6128 6128 6129	6124 6125 6126 6127 6128	4 5 6 7 8	927 928 929 930 931	332 333 334 *335 336	65: June 25 66 67 68 69: June 24	7 27 15 4 24 24 & &	1 1 A 3 A 1 6 A 8 A 3 0 M	B G F E
619 620 621 622 623	1: July 16 2: 5 —	667 668 669	657 658 659 660 661	.6111 6112 6113 6114 6115	6130 6131 61_{33}^{32}	6129 6130 6131 6132 6133	9 10 11 12 13	932 933 934 935 936		70 71 72 73: June 23	12 B 21 9 A 29 A	1 9 A 4 A 2 7 M 1 5 A 3 1 M	D A G ^C B f
624 625 626 627 628	3:24 June 4:13 — 5: 2 6:May 23 7:11 -	672 673 674 675 676	662 663 664 665 666	6116 6117 6118 6119 6120	6135 6136 6138 6138 6139	6134 6135 6136 6137 6138	14 15 2 3	937 938 939 940 941	*342 *343 344 345 346	77: June 22 78	17 : : : : : : : : : : : : : : : : : : :	2 0 A 1 2 A 2 7 M 1 6 A 8 A	E C B A g
629	8: 1 Easter is April 2	677	667	6121	61			In 594,	Easter cst	on April 18 in G	aul.		

In 594, Easter cst on April 18 in Gaul.

In 645, I Gaul, a	Easter is A	n Armen	many j ia and a	plac	es in the W	i). est. In 665, orians and	Easter Jacobi	is April 13, es. :to) %	Era of Diocletian of	1- to 672, Easter is Ar 1 8 g 93 .5	1 oril 18 for rFiost Western tri = do: ci_r ≥ cs) (j	ers, gr	id 1 nd for som	ie on!	March 2, 1	letters Sunday
		ÈW		,	Protobyza	a-,P	,. •	to ³	Eraol	e gi''' - a 11 8	e. 0 e-to ,r.4.	Ē)	a.		Easter	Sunc
-	631,679 632,680 33,681	669 670 671	61 61 61	3 4 5	6140 6141 6142	6139 6140 6141	4 5 6	942 943 944	*347 348 349	80 81: June 21 82	10:April 9 11: March 29 12:18	22 10 30	A M	12	24 M A 4 A	E D c
63:-;	631,682 683	672 673	61 61	0 7	6143 6144	6142 6143	8	945 946	350 *351	83 84	13:7 14:25 Feb.	18 7.	A A		24 AB 9 A	a
	636,684 637,685 638,686 639,687	674 675 676 677	61 61 61 61	8 9 0 1	6145 6146 6147 6148	6144 6145 6146 6147	9 10 11 12	947 948 949 950	352 353 354 *355	85: June 20 86 87 88	15:14 16: 2 17:Jan. 23 18:12	27 15 24	M A 4A M	31	M 20 A 5 AD 28 M	G F E
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	646,694 647,695 696 697 698	684 685 686 687 688	613 613 614 614 614	8 9 0 1 2	6155 6156 6157 6158 6159	6154 6155 6156 6157 6158	1 5 6 7 8	957 958 959 960 961	362 *363 364 365 366	95 96 97: June 17 98 99	26: 17 27: 7 28: Sept. 25 29: 14	25 13	5A M A 2A M	9 1	A A 20 A 5 AD 28 M	a g F E c
651 652 653 654 655	699 700 701 702 703	689 690 691 692 693	61 61 61 61	3 4 5 6 7	6160 6161 6162 6163 -6164	6159 6160 6161 6162 6163	9 10 II 1· 13	962 963 964 2,965 966	*367 368 369 370 *371	100 101: June 16 102 103 104	31:August 24 32 : 12 33:2 34:July 22 35: 11	10 30 18 7 27		17 1 21 13	A A A A 29 M	B Ag f E D
656 657 658 659 660	704 705 706 707 .708	694 695 696 697 698	61 61 61 61	8 9 0 1 2	6165 6166 6167 6168 6169	6164 6165 6166 6167 6168	I 1 15,9	967 968 1,969 2,970 3,971	372 373 374 *375 376	105: June 15 106 107 108 109: June 14	36:June 30 37:19 38: 9 39: May 29 40:17	15 24 12	A 4A M A	17 25 14	A 9 A M A 5 A	CB a g f ED
6	661,709 662,710 63,711 664,712 665,713	699 700 701 702 703	615 615 615 615 615	3 4 5 6 7	6170 6171 6172 6173 6174	6169 6170 6171 6172 6173	4 5 6 7 8	972 973 974 975 976	377 378 *379 380 381	110 111 112 113: June 13 114	41:7 42: Apr. 26 43: 15 44:4 45: March 24	21 9 29 17 5	M A M A	10 21 *6	28 M A 2 A A A	c B a G F E
	666,714 667,715 668,716 717 718	704 705 706 707 708	61 61 61 61	8 9 0 1 2	6175 6176 6177 6178 6179	6174 6175 6176 6177 6178	9 10 11 12, 13,		382 *383 384 385 386	115 116 117: June 12 118 119	46: 13 47: 3 48: Feb. 20 49: 9 50:Jan. 29	25 13 22 10	M A 2A M A	18 14	29 M A 9 A 25 M A	D c B A g f
671	719	709	61	3	6180	6179	14	982	*387	120	51:18	30	M	*25	6 A	Е
	720 721 674,722 675,723	710 711 712 713	61 61 61	4 5 6 7	6181 6182 6183 6184	6180 6181 6182 6183:1,		983 984 985	388 389 390 *391	121: June 122 123 124	M 2,7 ³ id ^a elle ^v • 54:16 55: 6 56: Nov. 25	18 7 27 15	A A M A	*25 10	A A 2 A 22 A	D C B a g
6> C	676,724)77,725 726 679,727 680,728	714 715 716 717 718	61 61 61 61	8 9 '0 '1 '2	6185 6186 6187 6188 6189	6184 6185 6. 186 6187 6188	1;	1,987 5,988 989 7,990 991	392 393 394 *395 396	125: June 10 126 127 128 129: June 9	57: 14 58: 3 59: Oct. 23 60: 13 61: 1	24 12 21	4A M A 1A M	18	6 A 29 M A 3 AB 25 M	FE D c

_	e 4:4	Rd	E17,	´		Tin E cl' 2)	Ère de Dioclétien ou des martyrs	Ere arménieme (avec le commencement de l'année)	Ere de l'Hégi (avec le commencemen de l'année)	czta X-<	A)	
681 682 683 684 685	7 2 9 7 3 0 731 7 3 2 7 3 3	7 1 9 720 721 7 2 2 7 2 3	6173 6174 6175 6176 6177	6190 6189 6191 6190 6192 6191 6193 6192 6194 6193	9 10 11 12 13	992 993 994 995 996	3 9 7 3 9 8 *399 4 0 0 401	130: June 9 131 132 133: June 8 134	62: Sept. 20 63 : 10 64:August 30 65 : 18 66 : 8	9 A 29 M 17 A 5 A 25 M	14 3 0 19 10 *26	f E D c
686 687 688 689 690	734 735 736 737 738	7 2 4 72,5 7 2 6 727 7 2 8	6178 6179 6180 6181 6182	6195 6194 6196 6195 6197 6196 6198 6197 6199 6198	14 15 1 2 3	997 998 999 1000 1001	402 *403 404 405 406	135 136 137: June 7 138 139	67: July 28 68: 18 69: 6 70: June 25 71: 15	13 2 A 2 2 M 1 0 A 3 0 M	15 7 29 *11 3	g f E D B
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696 697 698 699 700	744 745 746 747 748	7 3 4 7 3 5 736 7 3 7 7 3 8	6188 6189 6190 6191 6192	6205 6204 6206 6205 6207 6206 6208 6207 6209 6208	10 11 12 13	1007 1008 1009 1010 1011	4 1 2 4 1 3 4 1 4 *415 4 1 6	145: June 5 146 147 148 149: June 4	77:10 78: March 30 79:20 80:9 81: Feb. 26	2 4 M 1 2 A 1 A 2 1 M 9 A	2 6 15 7 2 3 11	c B A g DC ^F
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711 712 713 714 715	7 5 9 7 6 0 761 7 6 2 763	749 7 5 0 751 7 5 2 753	6203 6204 6205 6206 6207	6220 6219 6221 6220 6222 6221 6223 6222 6224 6223	10 11 12	1 0 2 2 1 0 2 3 1 0 2 4 1 0 2 5 1026	*427 428 429 430 *431	160 161: June 1 162 163 164	93:19 94:7 95: Sept. 26 96:16 97:5	7 A 2 7 M 1 5 A 4 A 2 4 M	1 2 A 3 A 1 6 A 8 A 3 1 M	C B a
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In 685, Easter is April 2 in Gaul.

In 689, Easter is April 18 in Gaul.

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Bre chretiume dionysieme Bre ctesar d'Antione Ere d'Esi de la Greta de la Gret		Dire des des on des segues des des des des des des des des des d	Ère de l'ecommencement de l'année)	Terme paseal XIV lunae M = mars A = avril Les Pâques	Lettres dominicales			2 4 9
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767 815 768 816 769 817	805 6259 62 806 6260 62	276 6275 5 10 277 6276 6 10 278 6277 7 10	078 *483 079 484 080 485 081 4862	216 217: May 18 218	150: 6 151: Jan. 26 152: 14 "153: 4th" r 154: 24 Dec.	18 a 7 a 27 M 15 a	*19 a 10 a 2 a 22 a	CB a g
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In 740, Easter is April 17 in Gaul. In 74:3, Easter is April 21 in Gaul. In 748, Easter is March 24 in some Western churches. In 760, Easter is April 13 in Gaul as well as in Armenia.

In 763, Easter is April 10 in Gaul. In 767, Easter is March 22 in Gaul. In 780, Easter is April 2 in Gaul.

Dionysian Christian era	fie.?*. • • •	Alexandria World	Byzantine World era	4.	Era of the Greeks or Seleucids	Era of Diocletian or martyrs	'ggga â> ' - a	5=g·°)).1 — at É),-4.	, O. àleâg a . , a u	emin2 AIX mond euum,	Easter -
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786 787 788 789 790	834 835 836 837 838	6278 6279 6280 6281 6282	6294 6295 6296 6297 6298	9 10 11 12 13	1097 1098 1099 1100 1101	502 *503 504 505 506	238	170: 3rd 171: June 22 172: 11 173: May 31 174:20	6391 6392	7 7 8 27 N 9 15	a *23 a a a 8 a a 1 30 M a 19 a a 11 a
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796 797 798 799 800	844 845 846 847 848	6288 6289 6290 6291 6292	6304 6305 6306 6307 6308	4 5 6 7 8	1107 1108 1109 1110 1111	512 513 514 *515 516	247 248	180: 16 181: 5th 182:Feb 22 183: 12 184: 1st	6400 16 6401 17 6402 18 6403 19 6404 26	7 17 8 5 9 25 N	a 23 a a 8 a
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811 812 813 814 815	859 860 861 862 863	6303 6304 6305 6306 6307	6319 6320 6321 6322 6323	4 5 6 7 8	1122 1123 1124 1125 1126	*527 528 529 530 *531	261: May 7 262	196: 23Sept. 197:12 198: 1st 199:August 22 200: 11	6415 3 6416 3: 6417 3: 6418 3: 6419 3:	1 1 3 3 21 N 4 9 0	a 16 a
816 817 818 819 820	864 865 866 867 868	6308 6309 6310 6311 6312	6324 6325 6326 6327 6328	9 10 11 12 13	1127 1128 1129 1130 1131	532 533 534 *535 536	267 268	202 :20 203: 9 204:June 28	6420 36 6421 3 6422 36 6423 39 6424 46	5 3 25 N	a 20 a a 12 a 1 28 M a 17 a
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826 827 828 829 830	874 875 876 877 878	6319 6320 6321	6334 6335 6336 6337 6338	4 5 6 7 8	1138 1139 1140	542 *543 544 545 546	276 277: May 3 278	211 : 13 212: 2nd 213: March 22 214 : 11 215:Feb 28	6430 44 6431 4' 6432 43 6433 49 6434 50	7 15 6 8 4 5 9 24 N	21 a a 5 a

En 783, Easter is March 30 in Gaul. En 784, Easter is April 18 in Gaul.

In 786, Easter is March 26 in Gaul.

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836 837 838 839 840	8 8 4 8 8 5 886 887 8 8 8	6328 6329 6330 6331 6332	6344 6345 6346 6347 6348	14 15 1 2 3	1 1 4 7 1 1 4 8 1 1 4 9 1 1 5 0 1151	5 5 2 553 554 *555 556	285: Mav 1 286 287 288 289: 30 April	222 : 14 223 : 3 224 : Nov. 23 225 : 12 226 : Oct. 31	6440 6441 6442 6443 6444	56 57 58 59 60	25 13 2 22	9 \\ \\ 14 \\ \\ 6 \\ \\ 28 \\ \\ \\ 17 \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\	B A G D C F E
841 842 843 844 845	8 8 9 8 9 0 8 9 1 8 9 2 8 9 3	6333 6334 6335 6336 6337	6349 6350 6351 6352 6353	4 5 6 8	1 1 5 2 1 1 5 3 1 1 5 4 1 1 5 5 1156	557 5 5 8 *559 5 6 0 561	290 291 292 293: April 29 294	227: 21 228: 10 229: 30 Sep. 230: 18 231: 7	6445 6446 6447 6448 6449	61 62 63 64 65	18 7 27	22 = 22	A G F E
846 847 848 849 850	8 9 4 8 9 5 8 9 6 8 9 7 8 9 8	6338 6339 6340 6341 6342	6354 6355 6356 6357 6358	9 10 11 12 13	1 1 5 7 1 1 5 8 1 1 5 9 1 1 6 0 1161	5 6 2 *563 5 6 4 5 6 5 566	295 296 297: April 28 298 299	232 : August 233 : 17 234 : 5 235 : July 26 236 : 15	6450 6451 6452 6453 6454 6455	66 67 68 69 70	4 24 12 1	10 25 14 6	AG ^c
851 8 5 2 853 854 855	8 9 9 900 901 9 0 2 903	6343 6344 6345 6346 6347	6359 6360 6361 6362 6363	14 15 1 2 3	1 1 6 2 1 1 6 3 1 1 6 4 1 1 6 5 1 1 6 6 1 1 6 7	*567 568 569 570 *571	300 301: April 27 302 303 304	237: 5 238: June 23 239: 12 240: 2 241: May 22 242: 10	6453 6456 6457 6458 6459 6460	71 72 73 74 75 76		22 10 2 2 7 \(\hat{\hat{\hat{\hat{\hat{\hat{\hat{	CB A G F E
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861 862 863 864 865	909 910 911 912 913	6353 6354 6355 6356 6357 6358	6369 6370 6371 6372 6373	9 10 11 12 13	1 1 7 3 1 1 7 4 1 1 7 5 1176 1177	577 578 *579 580 581	310 311 312 313: April 24 314	248: 7 249: Feb. 24 250: 13. 251: 2	6466 6467 6468 6469	82 83 84 85	18 7 27 15	11 = 1 2	D B A G
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966		аь			e e	Ère	ee0. ôb	L					
968	979	6423	6439	4 5	1242	*647	380: April 8	319: Jan. 24	6535	151 152	5 a 25 M	10	A CB
970	980 981	6424 6425	6440 6441	5 6	1243 1244	648 649	381: April 7	320 : 13 382,321:	6536 6537	152	25 M 13 a	1 14	AG ^B
971 972	982	6426	6442	7	1244	650	383	323:11	6538	154	2 a	6	f
973 974	983	6427	6443	8	1246		384	324: Nov. 30	6539	155	22 M	29	
975 976	984 985	6428 6429	6444 6445	9 10	1247 1248 1249	6 5 2 653	385: April 6 386	325 : 19 326: 8th	6540 6541	156 157 158	10 a 30 M	17 2	C b
977	986 987	6430 6431	6446 6447	11 12	1249 1250		387	327: Oct. 29 328: 18	6542 6543	158 159	18 a 7 a	22 14	G
979 980	988	6432	6448	13	1251	656	389: April 5	329: 6	6544	160	27 M	29	ED ^F B
956	989 990	6433 6434	6449 6450	14 15	1252 1253	657 658	390 391	330: Sept. 26 331 : 15	6545 6546	161 162	15 a 4 a	18 10	С
957 958	991 992	6435 6436	6451 6452	1 2 3	1254 1255	*659 660	392 393: April 4	332: 4 333: August 24	6547 6548	163 164	24 M 12 a	26 14	GF
959 960	993	6437	6453	3	1256	661	394	334:13	6549	165	1 a	6	
961 962	994 995	6438 6439	6454 6455	4	1257 1258	6 6 2 *663	395 396	335: 2 336: July 23	6550 6551	166 167	21 M 9 a	22 11	Е
963	996 997	6440 6441	6456 6457	5 6 7	1259 1260	664	397: April 3 398	337 : 11 338: 1	6552 6553	168 169	29 M 17 a	22	D
965	998	6442	6458	8	1261	666	399	339: June 20	6554	170	5 a	7	ВА
946 947	999 1000	6443 6444	6459 6460	9 10	1262 1263	*667 668	400 401: April 2	340: 9th 341: May 29	6555 6556	171 172	25 M 13 a	30 18	G DCF
948 949	1001 1002	6445 6446	6461 6462	11 12	1264 1265	669 670	402 403	342 : 18 343: 7	6557 6558	173 174	2 a 22 M	3 26 15	E_{C_k}
950 951	1002	6447	6463	13	1266	*671	404	344: April 27	6559	175	10 a	12 \	В
9 5 2 953	1004 1005	6448 6449	6464 6465	14 15	1267 1268	672 673	405: April 1 406	345 : 15 346: 4	6560 6561	176 177	30 M 18 a	6∧ 19∧	G
954	1006 1007	6450 6451	6466 6467	1 2	1269 1270	6 7 4 *675	407 408	347: March 25 348: 14	6562 6563	177 178 179	7 a 27 M	11 \\ 3 \\	FE
955 941	1007	6452	6468	3	1271	676	409: March 31	349: 3	6564	180	15 a	22 /	AG ^D
942 943	1009 1010	6453 6454	6469 6470	4	1272 1273	677 678	410 411	350: 20 351: 9	6565 6566	181 182	4 a 24 M	7 30	В
944 945	1011	6455 6456	6471 6472	5 6	1274 1275	*679 680	412 413: March 30	352: Jan. 30	6567 6568	183 184	12 a 1 a	19	
936 937	1012	6457	6473	8	1275	681	113. Waren 30	414,354:	6569	185	21 M	26	Е
938	1014	6458	6474	9	1277	682	415	356:17	6570	186	9 a	15 A	СВ
939 940	1015 1016	6459 6460	6475 6476	10 11	1278 1279	*683 684	416 417: March 29	357: 7 358: Nov. 25	6571 6572	187 188	29 M 17 a	31M 19A	a
931 932	1017	6461	6477	12	1280	685 686	418 419	359:14	6573	189	5 a	11 A	g F
933	1018 1019	6462 6463	6478 6479	13 14	1281 1282	*687	420	360: 4 361: Oct. 24	6574 6575	190 191	25 M 13 a	27M 16 A	E D
934 935	1020 1021	6464 6465	6480 6481	15	1283 1284	688 689	421: March 28,		6576 6577	192 193	2 a 22 M	7A 23M	В
	1022	6466	6482	2	1285	690 *691	424	23,364: Sept. 21	6578	194	10 a	12A	С
	1023 1024	6467 6468	6483 6484	3 4	1286 1287	692	424 425: March 27	365 : 10 366: August 30	6579 6580	195 196	30 M 18 a	4A 23 _A	
	1025	6469	6485	5	1288	693 694	126 127	367:19 368: 9	6581 6582	197 198	7 a	8 4	G F E
	1026 1027	6470 6471	6486 6487	5 6 7	1289 1290	*695 696	128	369: July 29	6583	199	15 a	31M 20A	C
	1028	6472	6488	8	1291	090	429: March 26	370:17	6584	200	4 a	1 1 A	В

²54 *I. CHRONOLOGY*

Dionysian Christian era	Caesarean section of Antioch	World Era	Byzantine WOrld era	suOrio! PuI	Era of the Greeks or Seleucids	Era of Diocletian ' or martyrs	I> :	C _a '1 ² -	3 to er.1	'a' p%	e cu II f		
981 982 983 984 985	1029 1030 1031 1032 1033	6473 6474 6475 6476 6477	6489 6490 6491 6492 6493	9 10 11 12 13	1292 1293 1294 1295 1296	697 698 *699 700 701	430:5 March 431 432 433: March 434	3/2: June 26	6585 6586 6587 6588 6589	201 202 203 204 205	24 M 12 a 1 a 21 M 9 a	27 16 A 8 A 23 M 12 a	I. A G F E
986 .987 988 989 990	1034 1035 1036 1037 1038	6478 6479 6480 6481 6482	6494 6495 6496 6497 6498	14 15 1 2 3	1297 1298 1299 1300 1301	702 *703 704 705 706	435 436 437:5 March 438 439	376:13 377: 3	6590 6591 6592 6593 '6594	206 207 208 209 210	29 M 17 a 5 a 25 M 13 a	4 a 24 a 8 a 31 M 20 a	AG B
991 992 993 994 995	1039 1040 1041 1042 1043	6483 6484 6485 6486 6487	6499 6500 6501 6502 6503	4 5 6 7 8	1302 1303 1304 1305 1306	*707 708 709 710 *711	440 441:: March 442 443 444	383: Feb. 26 384 : 15 385: 5	6595 6596 6597 6598 6599	211 212 213 214 215	2 a 22 neith 10 a 30 M 18 a	5 a 27 M 16 a 1 a 21 a	C B a g
996 997 998 999 1000	1044 1045 1046 1047 1048	6488 6489 6490 6491 6492	6504 6505 6506 6507 6508	9 10 11 12 13	1307 1308 1309 1310 1311	712 713 714 *715 716	445:5 March 446 447 448 449:5 March	387 : 14 388: 3,6602 389: Dec. 23 390 : 13	6600 6601 6603 6604	216 217 218 219 220	7 a 27 M 15 a 4 a 24 M	12 a 28 M 17 a 9 a 31 M	ED ^F B GF
1001 1002 1003 1004 1005	1049 1050 1051 1052 1053	6493 6494 6495 6496 6497	6509 6510 6511 6512 6513	14 15 1 2 3	1312 1313 1314 1315 1316	717 718 *719 720 721	450 451 452 453:5 March 454	392: Nov. 20 393 : 10 394: Oct. 30	6605 6606 6607 6608 6609	221 222 223 224 225	12 a 1 a 21 M 9 a 29 M	13 a 5 a 28 M 16 a 1 a	E c B A
1006 1007 1008 1009 1010	1054 1055 1056 1057 1058	6498 6499 6500 6501 6502	6514 6515 6516 6517 6518	4 5 6 7 8	1317 1318 1319 1320 1321	722 *723 724 725 726	455 456 457:1 March 458 459	397: Sept. 27 398: 17 9 399: 5 400: August 25 401: 15	6610 6611 6612 6613 6614	226 227 228 229 230	17 a 5 a 25 M 13 a 2 a	21 A• *6 a 28 M 17 a 9 a	g f DC B
1011 1012 1013 1014 1015	1059 1060 1061 1062 1063	6503 6504 6505 6506 6507	6519 6520 6521 6522 6523	9 10 11 12 13	1322 1323 1324 1325 1326	*727 728 729 730 *731	460 461 :1 March 462 463 464	404 : 13 405: 2 406: June 21	6615 6616 6617 6618 6619	231 232 233 234 235	22 M 10 a 30 M 18 a 7 a	25 M 13 a 5 a 25 a 10 a	fe D
1016 1017 1018 1019 1020	1064 1065 1066 1067 1068	6508 6509 6510 6511 6512	6524 6525 6526 6527 6528	14 15 1 2 3	1327 1328 1329 1330 1331	732 733 734 *735 736	465:1 March 466 467 468 469:1 March	408: May 30 409 : 20 410: 9 411: April 27	6620 6621 6622 6623 6624	236 237 238 239 240	27 M 15 a 4 a 24 M 12 a	1 a 21 a 6 a 29 M 17 a	AG ^B E C B
1021 1022 1023 1024 1025	1069 1070 1071 1072 1073	6513 6514 6515 6516 6517	6529 6530 6531 6532 6533	4 5 6 7 8	1332 1333 1334 1335 1336	737 738 *739 740 741	470 471 472 473:1 March 474	.112: 17 113: 6 III: March 26 115: 15 416: 4	6625 6626 6627 6628 6629	241 242 243 244 245	1 a 21 M 9 a 29 M 17 a	2 a 25 M 14 a 5 a 18 a	a g ED ^r
1026 1027 1028 1029 1030	1074 1075 1076 1077 1078	6518 6519 6520 6521 6522	6534 6535 6536 6537 6538	9 10 1. 1 12 13	1337 1338 1339 1340 1341	742 *743 744 745 746	475 476 477:1 March 478 - 479 421:	417: Feb. 22 418: 11 419: Jan. 31 420: 20 9,6634 422: Dec. 29	6630 6631 6632 6633	246 247 248 249 250	5 a 25 M 13 a 2 a 22 M	10 a 26 M 14 a 6 a 29 neit her	

In 1007, Easter is April 13 for Armenians, Nestorians and. the Jacobites.

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Christian era Dionysian	Caesarean	World Era	Byzantine WOTId era		Era of the Greeks or Seleucids	e'c Maggigian or	41	g.	Ç	Ere mondiale géorgienne et Kronikoni (Cycle pascal géorgien)	Terme pascal XIV lunae M = mars A = avril	,	7 *I
1032 1033 1034 1035	1080 1081 1082 1083	6523 6524 6525 6526 6527	6539 6540 6541 6542 6543	14 15 1 2 3	1342 1343 1344 1345 1346	749	481: 482 483	: March 14 March 13	423: Dec. 19 424: 7 425: Nov. 26 426: 16 427: 5	6635 251 6636 252 6637 253 6638 254 6639 255	1 0 A 3 0 M 1 8 A 7 A 2 7 M	11 A 2 A 22 A 14 A 30 M	с В А F
1036 1037 1038 1039 1040	1084 1085 1086 1087 1088	6529 6530 6531	6544 6545 6546 6547 6548	4 5 6 7 8	1347 1348 1349 1350 1351	753 754 *755	486 487 488		428: Oct. 25 429: 14 430: 3 431: Sept. 23 432: 11	6640 256 6641 257 6642 258 6643 259 6644 260	15 A 4 A 24 M 12 A 1 A	18 A 10 A 26 M 15 A 6 A	DC ^E B FE ^G
1041 1042 1043 1044 1045	1089 1090 1091 1092 1093	6534 6535 6536 6537	6549 6550 6551 6552 6553	9 10 11 12 ,13	1352 1353 1354 1355 1356	758 *759 760 761	493: 494	March 10	433: August 31 434 : 21 435 : 10 436: July 29 437 : 19	6645 261 6646 262 6647 263 6648 264 6649 265	21 M 9 A 29 M 17 A 5 A	22 M 11 A 3 A 22 A 7 A	D AG ^B E F
1046 1047 1048 1049 1050	1094 1095 1096 1097 1098	6539 6540 6541 6542	6554 6555 6556 6557 6558	14 15 1 2 3	1357 1358 1359 1360 1361	*763 764 765 766	495 496 497: 498 499	March 9	438: 8 439: June 28 440: 16 441: 5 442: May 26	6650 266 6651 267 6652 268 6653 269 6654 270	25 M 13 A 2 A 22 M 10 A	30 M 19 A 3 A 26 M 15 A	CB a G ED ^F
1051 1052 1053 1054 1055	1103	6544 6545 6546	6559 6560 6561 6562 6563	4 5 6 7 8	1362 1363 1364 1365 1366	768 769 770 *771	500 501: 502 503 504		443 : 15 444: 3 445: April 23 446 : 12 447: 2	6655 271 6656 272 6657 273 6658 274 6659 275	3 0 M 1 8 A 7 A 2 7 M 1 5 A	31 M 19 A 11 A 3 A 16 A	1 3 G F
1056 1057 1058 1059 1060	1104 1105 1106 1107 1108	6549 6550 6551	6564 6565 6566 6567 6568	9 10 11 12 13	1367 1368 1369 1370 1371	773 774 *775	505: 506 507 508 509:		448: March 21 449: 10 450: Feb. 28 451: 17 452: 6th	6660 276 6661 277 6662 278 6663 279 6664 280	4 A 24 M 12 A 1 A 21 M	7 A 30 M 19 A 4 A 26 M	D B A DC ^F
1061 1062 1063 1064 1065	1109 1110 1111 1112 1113	6554 6555 6556	6569 6570 6571 6572 6573	14 15 1 2 3	1372 1373 1374 1375 1376	778 *779 780	510 511 513: 514		453: Jan. 26 454: 15 512,455: 4 457: 13 458: 3	6665 281 6666 282 6667 283 6668 284 6669 285	9 A 29 M 17 A 5 A 25 M	15 A 31 M 20 A 11 A 27 M	E B
1066 1067 1068 1069 1070	1113 1114 1115 1116 1117 1118	6558 6559 6560 6561	6574 6575 6576 6577 6578	4 5 6 7 8	1377 1378 1379 1380 1381	782 *783 784 784	515 516 517: 518 519	March 4	459: W Nov. 460:11 461: Oct. 31 462: 20 463: 9	6670 286 6671 287 6672 288 6673 289 6674 290	13 A 2 A 22 M 10 A 30 M	16 A 8 A 23 M 12 A 4 A	
1071 1072 1073 1074 1075	1119 1120 1121 1122 1123	6563 6564 6565	6579 6580 6581 6582 6583	9 10 11 12 13	1382 1383 1384 1385 1386	788 789 790 *791			464: Sept. 29 465: 17 466: 6 467: August 27 468:16	6675 291 6676 292 6677 293 6678 294 6679 295	1 8 A 7 A 2 7 M 1 5 A 4 A	24 A 8 A 31 M 20 A 5 A	A G B F D
1076 1077 1078 1079 1080	1127	6569 '6570 6571	6584 6585 6586 6587 6588	14 15 1 2 3	1387 1388 1389 1390 1391	793 794 *795	525: 526 527 528 529:		469: 5 470: July 25 471: 14 472: 4 473: June 22	6680 296 6681 297 6682 298 6683 299 6684 300	2 4 M 1 2 A 1 A 2 1 M 9 A	27 M 16 A 8 A 24 M 12 A	C B A G ED ^F

era	ction			2		or s	Armenian e	ra	. c.> Ē	ale e i oal	re se I		
Christian era	Caesarean section sra of Antioch		lobal era Byzantine	49.68	f the s or cids	of cletian c martyrs	-,-	1	.''' a:	Ere mondiale géorgienne et Kronikoni Cycle pascal géorgien)	V lunae - mars	n	U Oc
Ch	Caesar era of A	41,	Global Byzar	E	Era of the Greeks or Seleucids	Era of Diocletian of dos martyrs	¹.à [,]	• .1	—: e `` 5, g	Ere 1 geon (Cyel	Terme XIV M = 1	'e.	Ė
1082 1083 1084 1085	1130 1131 1132 1133	6573 6574 6575 6576 6577	6589 6590 6591 6592 6593	4 5 6 7 8	1392 1393 1394 1395 1396	*799 800	530: March 1 531 532 533: Feb. 29 534: 28	1	474: 11 JuIn 475: 1 476: 21 m Ha 477: 10 478: 29 ai Lir	6688 304	2 9 M 1 7 A 2 5 A 2 2 5 M 2 1 3 A 2) 31	C B a G F
1086 1087 1088 1089 1090	1134 1135 1136 1137 1138	6578 6579 6580 6581 6582	6594 6595 6596 6597 6598	9 10 11 12 13	1397 1398 1399 1400 1401	*803 804 805	535 - 536 537 538: Feb. 27 539	2 3 4 5 6	479: 18 480: 8th 481:27 nor Ars 482: 16 483: 6th	6690 306 6691 307 6692 308 6693 309 6694 310	2 A 22 M 1 10 A 30 M 18 A	6 1	E B A G
1091 1092 1093 1094 1095	1139 1140 1141 1142 1143	6583 6584 6585 6586	6599 6600 6601 6602 6603	14 15 1 2 3	1402 1403 1404 1405 1406	809	541 542: Feb. 26 543	7 8 9 10	484: 23 Feb Vr. 485 : 12 486: 1 487: 21,j, Nv 488 : 11 489: 31 d, c.	6696 312 6697 313	7 A 27 M 2 15 A 4 A 24 M 2	13 28 17 9	E D C B
1096 1097 1098 1099 1100	1144 1145 1146 1147 1148	6588 6589 6590 6591 6592	6604 6605 6606 6607 6608	4 5 6 7 8	1407 1408 1409 1410 1411	813 814 *815 816	549	13 14 15	492:28 n V. 493:17 494:	6700 316 6701 317 6702 318 6703 319 6704 320	1 2 A 1 A 2 1 M 9 A 2 9 M		D c B A G
1101 1102 1103 1104 1105	1149 1150 1151 1152 1153	6593 6594 6595 6596 6597	6609 6610 6611 6612 6613	9 10 11 12 13	1412 1413 1414 1415 1416	818 *819 820 821	553 554: Feb. 23	19 20 21	499:13	6705 321 6706 322 6707 323 6708 324 6709 325	1 7 A 5 A 2 5 M 1 3 A 2 A	9 A	f D c
1106 1107 1108 1109 1110	1154 1155 1156 1157 1158	6598 6599 6600 6601 6602	6614 6615 6616 6617 6618	14 15 1 2 3	1417 1418 1419 1420 1421	*823 824 825	555 556 557 558: Feb. 22 559	22 23 24 25 26	501:22a ût 502:11 503:31 jt Iii.	6710 326 6711 327 6712 328 6713 329 671 1 330	2 2 M 1 0 A 3 0 M 1 8 A 7 A	25 M 14 A 5 A 25 A 10 A	g f E D B
1111 1112 1113 1114 1115	1159 1160 1161 1162 1163	6603 6604 6605 6606 6607	6619 6620 6621 6622 6623	4 5 6 7 8	1422 1423 1424 1425 1426	829 830 *831	561 562: 21 february 563 564		507:18 508: 7th 509:27 n Ha	6715 331 671(i 332 6717 333 6718 334 0719 335	2 7 M 1 5 A 4 A 2 4 M 1 2 A	2 A 2 1 A 6 A 2 9 M 1 8 A	G F E
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1121 1122 1123 1124 1125	1169 1170 1171 1172 1173	6613 6614 6615 6616	6629 6630 6631 6632 6633	14 15 1 2 3	1432 1433 1434 1435 1436	838 *839 840 841	573 574:Feb 18	39 40 41	515: 22 n Ars 516: 12 517: 1 518: 19 fg Vr. 519: 7th	6726 342 6727 343 6728 344 6729 345	25 M 13 A 2 A 22 M	26 M 15 A 6 A 29 M	B G F E D
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In 1102, Piques was april 13 for the Armenians, Nestorians and Jacobites.
The year of the *Armenian early era* **begins on the** preceding August 11: thus year 1, corresponding to 1085, begins on August 11, 1084.

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El'	r,1:3 e â.i.,	t, t°, 143'11 '43'11 'X' 'X'	. <u></u>	g 7	Era of the Greeks or Seleucids	(4) -e	Armànian er	£>.	12; Ė	rc z-> e ¹ , â' thise. Ez!	i	E ^{Ci g} e'?-	m	A = April	Doctor	4
1131 1132 1,133 1,134 1,135	1179 1180 1181 1182 1183	6623 6624 6625 6626 6627	6639 6640 6641 6642 6643	9 10 11 12 13	1442 1443 1444 1445	*847 848 849 850 *851	580: Feb. 1 581 582:Feb. 1 583	17	47 48 49 50 51	526: Nov. 23 527: 12 528: 1 529: Oct. 22 530: 11	6735 6736 6737 6738 6739	351 353 354 355	\wedge		Q	ļ
1,136 1,137 1,138 1,139 1,140	1184 1185 1186 1187 1188	6628 6629 6630 6631 6632	6644 6645 6646 6647 6648	14 15 1 2 3	1447 1448 1449 1450 1451	852 853 854 *855 856	585 586: Feb. 1 587 588 589		52 53 54 55 56	531: Sept. 29 532 : 19 533: 8th 534: August 535 : 17	6740 6741 6742 6743 6744	356 357 358 359 360	è.		O O	Ą
1,141 1,142 1,143 1144 1,145	1189 1190 1191 1192 1193	6633 6634 6635 6636 6637	6649 6650 6651 6652 6653	4 5 6 7 8	1453 1454 1455 1456	858 *859 860 861	593 594:Feb 13		57 58 59 60 61	536: 6th 537: July 27 538: 16 539: 4th 540: June 24	6745 6746 6747 6748 6749	361 362 363 364 365	Pasca (5) >e"e			¥
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1,151 1,152 1,153 1,154 1,155	1199 1200 1201 1202 1203	6643 6644 6645 6646 6647	6659 6660 6661 6662 6663	14 15 1 2 3	1463 1464 1465	869	601 602: Feb. 1 603	11	67 68 69 70 71	5,46 : 20 547: 8th 548: March 29 549 : 18 550: 7th	6755 6756 6757 6758 6759	371 372 373 374 375	/\		e	a grri
1,156 1157 1158 1159 1,160	1204 1205 1206 1207 1208	6648 6649 6650 6651 6652	6664 6665 6666 6667	4 5 6 7 8	1470	873 874 *875	605 606: Feb. 1 607 608 609	10	72 73 74 75	551: Feb. 25 552: 13 553: 2 554: Jan. 23 555: 1. 556: Dec. 31	6760 6761 6762 6763 2,6764	377 378 379 380	(X_{α})		е (
1161 1,162 1163 1164 1165	1209 1210 1211 1212 1213	6653 6654 6655 6656 6657	6669 6670 6671 6672 6673	9 10 11 12 13	1473 1474 1475	878 *879 880	611 612 613	eb. 9	77 78 79 80 81	557:21 558:10 559: Nov. 30 560:18 561: 7	6765 6766 6767 6768 6769	381 382 383 384 385	Ce ce		∞€nO e	
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1,171 1,172 1,173 1,174 1,175	1219 1220 1221 1222 1223	6663 6664 6665 6666 6667	6679 6680 6681 6682 6683	4 5 6 7 8	1483 1484 1485 1486	889 890 *891	621 622: Fe 623 624	eb. 6	87 88 89 90 91	567: 4th 568: August 569: 12 570: 2 571: July 22	6775 6776 6777 6778 6779	391 392 393 394 395	a		· ·	
1,176 1,177 1,178 1,179 1,180	1224 1225 1226 1227 1228	6668 6669 6670 6671 6672	6684 6685 6686 6687 6688	12	1488 1489 1490	893 894 *895	62.7	eb. 5	92 93 94 95 96	572 : 10 573: June 30 574 : 19 575: 8th 576: May 28	6780 6781 6782 6783 6784	396 397 398 399 400	a.Cl	March	e e	4

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Dionysian Christian era	Caesarean section of Antioch	World Era	Byzantine World e	he - - - - - -	Era of the Greeks or Seleucids	Era of Diocletian or	E. the w)—=t-o	€v e •	i)to Sbc.)7 'ell' e y3 -J% j'sl ca e -Ci	and _e, 30 gtee) a	¥ Z 0 €	Easter
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In 1197, Easter was April 13 for Armenians, Nestorians and Jacobites.

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In 1292, Easter is April 13 for Armenians, Jacobites and Nestorians. •

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TABLE OF PASCAL, SOLAR AND LUNAR CYCLES IN THE CHRISTIAN-DIONYSIAN ERAS BYZANTINE AND ALEXANDRIAN

PASCHAL CYCLE, SOLAR CYCLE AND LUNAR CYCLE IN THE BYZANTINE AND ALEXANDRIAN

Note. - The Byzantine lunar cycle shown here is that of the computist George. For other forms, see the special table, pp. 54-55.

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357 358 359	355,356 356,357 358 359 360	28 1 2 3 4	14 15 16 17 18	23 4 15 26	5863 5864 5865 5866 5867	14	11 12 13 14 15	11 12 13 14 15	1 12 23 4 15	5 8 4 7 5 8 4 8 5 8 4 9 5 8 5 0 5851	527 528 529 530 531	23 24 25 26 27	14 15 16 17 18	23 4 15 26 7	16 A 18 7 A 2 0 23 M 16 12 A 17 4 A 2 0	14 15
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370 371 372 373 374	371 372 373 374 375	15 16 17 18 19	10 11 12 13 14	9 20 1 12 23	5878 5879 5880 5881 5882	26 27 28 29 30	26 27 28 1 2	1	17 28 99 020	5 8 6 2 5 8 6 3 5 8 6 4 5 8 6 5 5866	10 11 12 13 14	10 11 12 13 14	10 11 12 13 14	9 20 1 12 23	28 M 15 17 A 16 8 A 18 31" M 21 13 A 15	15

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	380,381 381,382 382,383 383,384 384,385	26 27 28	25 2 3 4 5	11 22 3 14	5888 5889 5890 5891 5892	36 37 38 39 40	8 9 10 11 12	17 18 19 1	8 19 30 11 22	5872 5873 5874 5875 5876	20 21 22 23 24	20 21 22 23 24	1 2 3 4 5	30 11 22 3 14	12 A 21 28 M 17 17 A 18 9 A 21 24 M 16	8 9 10 11 12
388 389	385,386 386,387 387,388 389 390		6 7 8 9 10	25 6 17 28 9	5893 5894 5895 5896 5897	41 42 43 44 45	13 14 15 16	4 5	3 14 25 6 17	5877 5878 5879 5880 5881	25 26 27 28 29	25 26 27 28	6 7 8 9 10	25 6 17 28 9	13 A 17 5 A 2 0 25 A 2 1 9 A 1 6 1 A 1 9	13 1.1 15 1 2
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399	395,396 396,397 397,398 398,399 -100	12 13 14 15 16	16 17 18 19	15 26 7 18	5903 5904 5905 5906 5907	51 52 53 54 55	24 25 26	13 14 15 16 17	23 4 15 26 8	5887 5888 5889 5890 5891	35 36 37 38 39	7 8 9 10 11	16 17 18 19	15 26 7 18 30	25 M 18 13 A 18 5 A 2 I 18 A 15 10 A 19	8 9 10 11 12
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	30,431 31,432 433 434 435	19 20 21 22 23	13 14 15 16 17	12 23 4 15 26	5938 5939 5940 5941 5942	86 87 88 89 90	2 3 4 5 6	10 11 12 13 14	20 12 23 4	5922 5923 5924 5925 5926	70 71 72 73 74	14 13 15 14 16 15 17 16 18 17	1 2 2 3 4 1 5 2 6	30 M 20 19 A 21 3 A 16 26 M 19 15 A 20	13 14 15 1
435 436 437 438	436 437 438 439 39,140	24 25 26 27 28	18 19 1 2 3	7 18 9 11 22	5943 5944 5945 5946 5947	91 92 93 94 95	7 8 9 10 11	15 16 17 18 19	15 26 8 19 30	5927 5928 5929 5930 5931	75 76 77 78 79	19 18 20 19 21 1 22 2 23 3	7 18 3 0 11 2 2	31 M 16 19 A 16 11 A 20 27 M 16 16 A 17	3 4 5 6 7
44	40,141 41,142 42,143 •144 .145	2 3 4 5	4 5 6 7 8	3 14 25 6 17	5948 5949 5950 5951 5952	96 97 98 99 100	12 13 14 15 16	1 2 3 4 5	11 22 3 14 25	5932 5933 5934 5935 5936	80 81 82 83 84	24 4 25 5 26 6 27 7 28 8	3 14 2 5 6 17	7 A 19 2 3 M 15 1 2 A 16 4 A 19 2 3 A 19	8 9 10 11 12
446 447 448 449	15,146 447 448 449 450	6 7 8 9 10	9 10 11 12 13	28 9 20 1 12	5953 5954 5955 5956 5957	101 102 103 104 105	17 18 19 20 21	6 7 8 9 10	17628 9 20	5937 5938 5939 5940 5941	85 86 87 88 89	2 10		8 A 15 31 M 18 20 A 19 11 A 21 27 M 17	13 14 15 1
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460 461 462 463 464	461 462 463 464 465	21 22 23 24 25	5 6 7 8 9	14 25 6 17 28	5968 5969 5970 5971 5972	116 117 118 119 120	4 5 6 7 8	2 3 4 5 6	22 3 14 25 6	5952 5953 5954 5955 5956	100 101 102 103 104	16 5 17 6 18 7 19 8 20 9	14 2 5 6 17 2 8	27 M 19 16 A 20 1 A 16 21 A 17 12 A 19	13 14 15 1 2
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48 48	.181 81-182 82,483 83-184 84,485	13 14 15 16 17	6 7 8 9 10	25 6 17 28 9	5 9 8 8 5989 5990 5991 5 9 9 2	137 138 139		3 4 5 6 7	3 14 25 6 17	5972 5973 5971 5975 5976	20 1 22 23 1	8 III II 12	8	25 6 17 28 9	13 A 5 A 25 A 10 A 1 A		3 4 5 6 7
48 48 48	85,486 86,187 87,188 88-189 89,190	18 19 20 21 22	12	23	5993 5994 5995 5996 5997	143	1 2 3 4 5	10 11	28 9 9 020 1 1 2 12	5977 5978 5979 5980 5981	25 26 28	13 14 15 16 17	11 12 13 14 15	20 1 12 23 4	29 M 17 A	16	8 10 11 12
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890 891 892	359 360 361	3 4 5	17 18 19	26 7 18	6398 6399 6400	14 15 16	15	14 15 16	15	6382 6383 6384	530 531 532	26 27 28	18	26 7 18	12 A 17 4 A 2 0 9 2 A 2 0 1 0	2 3

For the following years, we will find, in each era, the year of the respective Easter cycle, with the other corresponding indications, by subtracting the number 532 from the year expressed and referring in our columns to the year obtained by thisoperation. If it is not there, because it is too low, we will proceed again on it in the same way.

Let, in the Dionysian era, the year 1330: the corresponding year of the Paschal cycle will be the same as for the year 798 (= 1330 minus 532), namely(cf. our columns above): 267.

Or again, in the Byzantine era, the year 6980 (low date taken on purpose): the year of the Paschal cycle will be the same as for the year 6448 (= 6980 minus 532), absent from our columns, and that the year 5916 (= 6448 minus 532), namely (cf. our columns): 64.

agreement BETWEEN THE YEARS OF THE HEGIRA AND THE YEARS OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA

		Mk											
f)	:a .2		2 Safar	Robi I	4 Rebi II	5 Djumada I	6 Djumada II	7 Redjeb	8 Shaban	9 Ramadhan	10 Shawwal	11. Dju-l-kade	12
		Moharrem										, and the second	
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55	674	6 D	675 5		3 5	3	3	1	l.	VII 30	VIII 29	IX 28	X 27

Roman numerals refer to the Julian months in their order: I = January; II = February; etc. The letters indicate the days of the week: A = Sunday; B = Monday; etc. Asterisks refer to intercalary years, that is, those in which the last month has 30 days, instead of 29.

Ī		F. g Moharrem	2 Safar	3 Rebi I	4 Rebi II	5 Djumada I Dju	6 ımada II	Redjob	8 i Malan	9 Ramadhan	10 Shawwal	11 Dju-1-kade	12 Dju-1-hidje
	57 58* 59	675 XI 25 A 676 14 F 677 3C 678 X 23 G 679 13 E	XI 22	676 I 23 677 12 678 1 XII 21 679 11,680		12 1 11 182	IV 21 11 11I 31 0'	V 20 10 IV 29 18 7	9	VII 18 8 VI 27 16 5		5 VIII 25	5 IX 24
	62* 63	680 1 13 681 IX 20F 682 10 D E83 VIII 30 A 684 18 E		X 28	8 XI 27	681 I 27 682 161 E83 6 XII 26 684 14,685	5 1 25 13	III 27 16 6 11 23 11	5	V 25 14 4 IV 22 11	VI 24 13 3 V 22 11	VII 23 12 VI 20 9	VIII 22 11 1 VII 20 9
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	77 78* 79	695 IV 21 D 696 10B 697 III 30 F 698 20 D 699 9A	V 21 10 IV 29 19 8	V 28 18	19 8 VI 27 17 6	6 VII 26 16	16 5 VIII 25 15 4	15 4 IX 23 13 2	X 23 13			I 30 698 I 19 699 9	1 II 18 8
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113 114*		IV 5 C III 26 A 15 E 3 B II 21 G	V 5 IV 25 14 2 III 23		VII 3 VI 23 12 V 31 21	VII 22 11	VIII 31 21 10 VII 29 19	IX' 19 8 Viii 17	X 29 19 8 IX 26 16	XI 27 17 6 X 25 15		731 15 732 4 XII 23	II 24 14 3 733 I 22 734 12
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146 * 147 148*	763 764 765 766	III 21 B 10 G II 27 D 16 A 6E	IV 20 9 III 29 18 8	19 8 IV 27	18 7 V 27 16 6	17 6 VI 25 14	16 5 VII 25 14 4	14 3 23 Viii 12 2	3 IV 22	12 X 21 10 IX 30	XI 20 9		
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181 182* 183 184 185*	797 798 799 800 801	5 A II 22 E 12 C 1 G I 20 D	1	2 III 31	2 V 2 1 2 I V 3 0	1 0 V 0 2 9	VII 31 20 10 VI 28 17	VIII 29 18 8 VII 27 16	17 7 VIII 26	X 27 16 6 IX 24 13	XI 26 15 5 X 24 13	14 4 XI 22	799 13 800 3 XII 22
186 187* 188 189 190*	802 802 803 804 805	F 20 D	XII 27	27 17 5 806 I 25	9 III 2 9 1 8 7 II 2	IV 27	5	6 VI 25 14 3 V 23	VII 25 14 3	3 VIII 23 12 1 VII 21	3 IX 22 11 VIII 31 20	10 IX 29	X29
191 192 193* 194 195	806 807 808 809 810	17 C 6G 25 X D 15 E 4 F	17	7808 4 5 XII 23 133 4 25	1 4 3 1	ΙΙ	14 2 III 22 12	13 IV 20 10 III 30	V 31 20 10	11 VI 29 18 8 V 28	10 VII 29 18 8 VI 27	VIII 27	15
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216 217* 218 219 220*	831 832 833 834 835	18G 7D I 27 B 16 F 5 C	I I 2 6	III 2'	6 IV 20	6 16 4 5 V	16 4 VI 24 13 2	VII 23	VIII 22	20 9	X 30 20 9	18 7	XII 28 18

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711* 712 713	1311 20 E 1312 9 C 1313 IV 28 G	V 2 8	8 7 8 VI 26	8 7 17 6 6	7 15 6 VIII 24 6 13	5 4 15 4 4	5 13 4 2 3 X22	XI 21 10	20	1313 I 30 01314 19 01315 8 0 XII 29	II 28 17 6	III 30 19

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HEGIRA AND CHRISTIAN ERA

c.	this;	Moharrem	2 Safar	3 Rebi I	4 Rebi II	5 Djumada I	6 Djumada II	7 • Redjeb	8 Shaban	9 Ramadhan	10 Shawwal	11 Dju-l-kade	12 Dju-l-hidje
828* 829	1.122 11· 23 1121 1425 1426	XII 15 C 5 A XI 23 E 13 C 2 G	1424 4 XII 23	2	III 14 3 II 20 10 1427 I 30	IV 12 1 III 21 11 II 28	V 12 1 IV 20 10 III 30	VI 10 V 30 19 9 IV 28	VI 29 18 8	VII 28	IX 7 VIII 27 16 6 VII 26	X 6 IX 25 14 4 VIII 24	X 25
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852 1119 851	1447 1.148 I I:,(1 11: ⁻ .1	19 A 7 E 11 24 B 14 G 3 D	18 6 III 26 16 5	17 5 IV 24 14 3	16 4 V 24 14 3	15 3 VI 22 12 1	14 2 VII 22 12 1	VIII 31 20 10 VII 30	IX 30 19 9		10 XI 28 17 7 X 27	16	1449 126 1450 15 1451 5 XII 25
858*	1:52 1153 1 the i-r,1	I 23 A 12E 1 1 C XII 22 A 11 E	131 1455 I 21	III 22 12 1 II 19 8	IV 21 11 III 31 21 9	V 20 10 IV 29 19 7	VI 19 9 V 29 19	18 8 VI 27 17 5	VII 27	15 5 VIII 25 15 3	15 5 IX 24 14 2	13 3 X 23 13 1	13 3 X1 22 12 X 31
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871 872*11 67.873 871.87: ,*	1-168	13 D 2 A VII 22 F 11 C VI 30 G	VIII 21 10	IX 30 19 8	X 30 19 8	NI 28	17 6	1468 I 26 1469 15 1470 4	II 25 14 3	15 4	14 3	V 23 13 2	12
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years ofthe Hegia	'a W ;,1	Moharrem g	2 Safar	3 Rabi I	4 Rebi II	Djumada I Shaw ^{wal} f•-'	6 Djumada II	7 Redjeb	8 Shaban	9 Ramadhan	10	11≀ Dju∺l-kade	122 Djú+l-hidje
881 882 883* 884 885	1476 1477 1478 1479 1480	IV 26 F 15 C 4 G III 25 E 13 B	V 26 15 4 IV 24 12	VI 24 13 2 V 23 11	VII 24 13 2 VI 22 10	VIII 22 11 VII 31 21	IX 21 10 VIII 30 20 8	X 20 9 IX 28 18 7	XI 19 8 X 28 18 6	XII 18 7 NI 26 16 5	16	111 15 4 1479 12424 1480 144 1481 2	1111177 16 11122t3 11t3
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896* 897 898 899* 900	1490 1491 1492 1493 1494	14 A 4 F X 23 C 12 G 2 E		1491 12 1492 2 XII 21 10 XI 30	11 1493 I 20 1494 9 XII 30	12 1 II 18 7 1495 I 28	9	10 IV 29 18 7 III 28	9 V 29 18 7 IV 27	8 VI 27 16 5 V 26	7 VII 27 16 5 VI 25	5 WH PT 2 5 114 3 V I I VII224	IX 211
901 902* 903 904 905*	1495 1496 1497 V 1498 1499	IX 21 13 9 F VIII 30 D 19 A 8 E	X 21 9 IX 29 18 7	19 7 X28 17 6			4	16 5 II 23 12 1	15 4 III 25 14 2	14 3 IV 23 12 III 31	13 2 V 23 12 IV 30	122 VY 1241 1100 V \(\sigma 99	1 VII 3 1 2 21 1 0 VOI VI 28
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DAYS OF THE WEEK IN THE MUSLIM CALENDAR FOR THE BEGINNING OF EACH MONTH

Moharrem	Safar	Rebi I	Rebi II	Dji	mada I	Djumada II	Redjeb	Shaban	Ramadhan	Shawwal	Dju-l-kade	Dju-l-hidje
V s D the my me I	D the my me I V	the my 'Me I V S D	me I V s D the my		J V s D my me	S D the my Me . J V	D L my me I s	Ma Me I S D the	me I D L my	V s my me	the. my me . I	I , Ma me . I V

The weekday of the law day of Moharrem is found in each year in the previous concordance table between the years of the Hegira and the years of the Christian a.

Iv

SPECIAL TABLES

- I. Julian calendar.
- II. Order, names and duration of months in various calendars.
- III. Table of neomenias in January at the beginning of each Byzantine cycle of 95 years.
- IV. Table of Julian neomenies.
- V. Correspondence of the Alexandrian months and calendars with the Julian months and calendars.
- VI. Correspondence of the months and calendars of the fixed Armenian calendar with those of the Julian calendar.
- VII. Correspondence of the months and calendars of the vague Armenian calendar with those of the Julian calendar.
- VIII.— Correspondence of the months and calendars of the Muslim calendar with those of the Julian calendar.
- IX. Correspondence of the years of the Mongolian chronological cyclebefore the years of the Christian era to the thirteenth-tenth centuries.
- X. Correspondence between the years of the era of lezdegerd and those of the Christian era.
- XI. Years having the same date as Easter.
- XII. Perpetual calendar of Byzantine Easter.
- XIII.— Dates of mobile holidays depending on Easter and corresponding weekdays of various fixed holidays.
- XIV.—Correspondence of indictions with the years of the Christian-Dionysian era.
- XV. Course of the Sun in the signs of the Zodiac.
- XVI. Perpeual calendar.

I. - CALENDI

	Ianuarius	Februarius	Martius	Aprilis	Maius	Ittnius
1	Kalendae Ianuariae	Kalendae Februariae	Kalendae Martiae	Kalendae Apriles	Kalendae Maiae	Kalendas Iuniae
2	IV Nonas lanuar.	IV Nouas Februarias	VI Nonas Martias	IV Nouas Apriles	VI Nouas Maias	IV Nouas Iunias
3	III Nouas	III Nouas	V Nouas —	III Nouas	V Nouas —	III Nouas
4	Pridie Nouas	Pridie Nouas	IV Nonas	Pridie Nouas —	IV Nouas —	Pridie Nouas
5	Nonae Ianuariae	Nonae Februariae	III Nouas	Nonae Apriles	III Nouas —	Nonae Iuniae
6	VIII Idus Ianuar.	VIII Idus Februar.	Pridie Nouas	VIII Idus Apriles	Pridie Nouas	VIII Idus Iunias
	VII Idus	VII Idus —	Nonae . Martiae	VII	Nonae Maiae	VII Idus
s	VI Idus	VI Idus	VIII Idus lartias	VI Idus —	VIII Idus Maias	VI Idus
9	V Idus	V Idus	VII Idus	V Idus —	VII Idus —	V Idus
10	IV Idus	IV Idus	VI Idus	IV Idus	VI Idus	IV Idus
11	III Idus	III Idus	V Idus	III Idus —	V Idus	III Idus
12	Pridie Idus	Pridie Idus	IV Idus	Pridie	IV Idus —	Pridie Idus
13	Idus Ianuariae	Idus Februariae	III Idus	Idus Apriles	III Idus —	Idus Iuniae
14	XIX Kalendas Febr.	XVI Kal. Martias	Pridie Idus	XVIII Kal. Maias	Pridie Idus	XVIII Kal. Iulias
15	Xviii	XV	Idus Martiae	Xvii	Idus Maiae	Xvii
16	XVI I	Xiv	XVII Kal. Apriles	Xvi	XVII Kal. Iunias	Xvi
17	Xvi	Xiii	Xvi	XV	Xvi	XV
18	XV	Xii	XV	Xiv	XV	Xiv
19	Xiv	xi	Xiv	Xiii	Xiv	Xiii
20	Xiii	X	Xiii	Xii	Xiii	Xii
21	Xii	Ix	Xii	xi	Xii	xi
22	xi	Viii	xi	X	xi	X
23	X	Vii	X	Ix	X	Ix
24	Ix	VI <u>—</u> (a.b.	Ix	Viii	Ix	Viii
25	Viii	V (VI) Kal. Martias	Viii	Vii	Viii	Vii
26	Vii	IV (V)	Vii	Vi	Vii	Vi
27	Vi	III (IV)	Vi	V	Vi	V
28	V	Pridie (III)	V	Iv	V	Iv
29	Iv	(Pridie Ka1.1Viart.)	Iv	Iii	Iv	Iii
30	Iii		Iii	Pridie Kal. Maias	Iii	Pridie Kal. Iulias
31	Pridie Kal. Febr.		Pridie Kal. Apriles		Pridie Kal. Iunias	

SPECIAL TABLES 299

ÎER JULIEN

<u>Inlins</u>	Augustus	. Septembris	Octobris	Novembris	Decembris	_
(Quintilis)	Sextilis	· Septement	34.001.0	rvovemons	Becemons	
Kalendae Iuliae	Kalendae Augustae	Kalendae Septembers	Kalendae Octobers	Kalendae Novembers	Kalendae Decembres	
V I Nouas Iulias	V Nouas Augustas	IV Nonas Septembers	VI Nonas Octobers	IV Nouas Novembres	IV Nouas Decembres	2
V Nouas —	III Nouas	III Nouas	V Nonas	III Nouas	III Nonas	3
IV Nouas	Pridie Nouas	Pridie Nouas —	IV Nouas	Pridie Nonas	Pridie Nonas	4
III Nouas —	Nonae Augustae	Nonae Septembers	III Nouas	Nonae Novembers	Nonae Decembres	5
Pridie Nonaà —	VIII Idus Augustas	VIII Idus Septembers	Pridie Nonas	VIII Idus Novembres	VIII Idus Decembres	6
Nonae Iuliae	VII Idus	VII Idus	Nonae Octobers	VII Idus	VII Idus —	7
VIII Idus Iulias	VI Idus	VI Idus	VIII Idus Octobres	VI Idus	VI Idus	8
VII Idus	V Idus	V Idus	VII Idus —	V Idus	V Idus	9
VI Idus	IV Idus	IV Idus	VI Idus	IV Idus	IV Idus	10
• V Idus	III Idus	III Idus	V Idus	III Idus	III Idus	11
JV Idus	Pridie Idus	Pridie Idus	IV Idus	Pridie Idus	Pridic Mus	12
III Idus	Idus Augustae	Idus Septembers	III Idus	Idus Novembers	Idus Decembres	13
Pridic Idus	XIX Kal. Septembers	XVIII Kal. Octobers	Pridie Idus	XVIII Kal. Decembr.	XIX Kal. Ianuarias	14
Idus Iuliae	Xviii	Xvii	Idus Octobers	Xvii	Xviii	15
XVII Kal. Augustas	Xvii	Xvi	XVII Kal. Novembers	Xvi	Xvii	16
Xvi	Xvi	XV	Xvi	XV	Xvi	17
XV	XV	Xiv	XV	Xiv	XV	18
Xiv	Xiv	Xiii	Xiv	Xiii	Xiv	19
Xiii	Xiii	Xii	Xiii	Xii	Xiii	20
Xii	Xii	xi	Xii	xi	Xii	21
xi	xi	X	xi	X	xi	22-
X	X	Ix	X	Ix	X	23
Ix	Ix	Viii	Ix	Viii	Ix	24
Viii	Viii	Vii	Viii	Vii	Viii	25
Vii	Vii	Vi	Vii	Vi	Vii	26
Vi	Vi	V	Vi	V	Vi	27
V	V	Iv	V	Iv	V	\$z
Iv	Iv	Iii	Iv	Iii	Iv	29
Iii	Iii	Pridie Kal. Octobers	Iii	Pridie Kal. Decembers	Iii	30
Pridie Kal. Augustas	Pridie Kal. Septembers		Pridie Kal. Novembers		Pridie Kal. Ianuarias	31

DURATION

- ORDER, NAMES AND

	Calchdarlrier	I ***	пі	Iii .	ΙV	V	VI
	Juliáen	Januarjer 31 daysurs	February 2828((29)) daysrs	March 31 days	April 30 days	May 31 days	June 30 days
Michismonthisens	Byzantines: Romannamesains Macednameséd. Pachymenèra. Theodore Gázaza	Sepsepulmber Gorgorpiaios Gargainetion Matainacterion	Odtober Hyperberetaioss Felapheboliom Phymepsiom	November Dios Mounychion Anthesterion	December Apellaios Skirophorion Poseideon	January Audynaios Hecatombaion Gamelion	February Peritios Lenaion Elaphebolion
*	Syrtanu : Maced names : Arabic names : arabes	Hyperbeletaios aios Tiskirinti I (= October):)	Dioss TEScinio III I (= November)e)	Apellaios Kanûn I (= December)	Audynaios Kanfin. Ii (= January)	Peritios Shebat (= February)	Dystros Adar (= March)
les)	Alexandrian (1):1): Coptite	Thôth (Thốt) ot) Tất	PlPhagphi (Plopipi) Babeh	Athyr (Athor) (Hator) Hatûr	Choyak (Koiak) Kijhak	Tybi (tobi) Tûbeh	Mechir Amshir
andrins épagomènes)	Ethiopianien	Maschierem (Mascharem) August 29 (30)	Techemti (Tekemt)) 228 (29) Sepp.t.	Hedàr 28 (29) October	Tahasas (Tahsas) 27 (28) Nov.	Ter! (Ter) 27 (28) Dec.	Jecatit (jacatit) 26 (27) January
Mois alexandrins de 30 jours (+ épagom	Fixed Arimenians (2)(2)	Navasardrd 11 Augūst	Horyi 1 (September 10re	Sahmi October 10	Tre November 9	Kalots December 9	Arats January 8
Moi 30 jou	de BBstrá (3).(3)	Xanthicosos March 22	Artemisiosos 211 April il	Daisios May 21	Panemos June 20	Lôos July 20	Gorpiaios 19 August
de	Gaza (4) a(4)	Diòis	Apellaioss	Audynaios	Peritios	Dystros .	Xanthicos
	d'Ascaldo (4)(4)	Hyperberetaids 28s October obre	Dios 2 November 27re	Apellaios 27 December	Audynaios 26 January	Peritios 25 February	Dystros March 27
7.0	of Tyle (5)5)	Hyperberetaioss 119 October 330 dayss	Dios 1 November 18re 330 jayss	Apellaios 18 December 30 days	Audynaios 17 January 30 days	Peritios 16 February 30 days	Dystros March 18 31 days
	Muslimman	Mohanemenn 30 daysers	Safar 29 dayurs	Rebi I 30 days	Rebi II 29 days	Djumada I 30 days •	Djumada II 29 days

^{*} Digits I to XII indicate the rank of the month in the year for each calendar (I = 1.r month of the year; II = 2nd month; etc.).

(1) The dates in parentheses are valid for the year following the 6th epogone every 4 years. This 6th epagomene is placed at the end of the 3rd year of tetraeterid, six months before the Julian bissexte.

(2) The 60th epagomene of the fixed Armenian calendar -is placed at the very end of the tetraeterid, six months after the Julian bissexte. Dates in parentheses from March the same applies toleap years.

MONTHS IN VARIOUS CALENDARS

Vii	Viii	I_NT	X		:	xi	Xii	Epagoiii≥nes
July 31 days	August 31 days	September 30 days	Octob 31 day		30	November Days	December • 31 days	
March Dystros Kronios Mounychion	April Xanthicos Boedromion Thargelion	May Artemisios Pyanepsion Skirophorion	June Daisio Maimact Hecatom	os erion			August – Lôos Poseideon Boedromion	
• Xanthicos Nien (= April)	Artemisios Ijar (Ajar) (= May)	Daisios Haziran (= June)	Panemos Tammiz (= July)		(=	Lôos ab August)July	Gorpiaios Elul (= September)	
Phamenôth Barmâhat	Pharmouthi (Pharmuthi) Barmûdeh	Pachôn (Pachons) Bashnas (Beshnes)	Payni (in l	eh	Abi	hi (Epip) b (Ebib)	Mesore (mesori) Mesri (Mesra)	Epagomenai Abūgomen (Ejamenesi)
Megabit 25 (26) February	Miazà 27 March	Ghembot (Ginbot) April 26	Sen o		-	Iamlè Iune 25	Nehasiè (Nahase) July 25	Pagomaen 24-28 (29) August
'. Ieheki (Mehégan) February 7	Areg 9 (8) March	Aheki (Ahegan) April 8 (7)	Mare 8 (7) Ma			argats (6) June	Hrotits 7 (6) July	Aveliats 6 (5)-10 August)
Hyperberetaios 18 September	. Dios 18 October	Apellaios 17 November	Audyna 17 Decei		_	eritios January	Dystros February	Epagomenai 17 March
Artemisios Xanthicos April 26	Daisios Artemisios 26 May	Panemos Daisios June 25	Lôos Panemos 25 July	Epagor 24-28	menai August	Gorpiaios Lôos 29	Hyperberetaios Gorpiaios September 28	
Xanthicos April 18 31 days	Artemisios 19 niai 31 days	Daisios 19 June 31 days	Panem 20 Jul 31 day	ly	20	Lôos August 0 days	Gorpiaios 19 September 30 days	2000
Redjeb 30 days	Shaban 29 days	Ramadhan 30 days	Shawv 29 day			ı-l-kade 0 days	Dju-l-hidje 29 (30) days	

⁽³⁾ In Bostra's calendar, the intercalary day of the tetraeterid was placed without any doubt at the end of the epagomenes as 6° epagomene, so shortly after the "Julian issexte.

(4) The place of the epagomenes left at the end of August in the calendars of Gaza and Ascalon suggests that these calendars followed the Alexandrian calendar and 'ant to the 6th epagomene and as for the year of the tetraeterid where it was intercalated. Refer accordinglyto this timetable.

(5) It is likely that the interlayeric day of the tetraeterid was placed at the end of Lôos as the 31st day of this month, six months before the Julian bissexte

III. - TABLE OF NEOMENIES IN JANUARY AT THE BEGINNING OF EACH 95-YEAR BYZANTINE CYCLE

(Dates are given according to the Greenwich meridian) Calcul d'après le tableau de NEUGEBAUER, *Tafeln für Sonne, Planeten und Mond*, Leipzig, 1914.

years	Ja	nuary	March (leap years)
345 440 535	$19.43 = J$ $19.88 - 2r \triangleright$ $19.32 = 19$	anuary 19 10 p.m. 9 19	19 March, at about 9 a.m.
630 725 820 915	18.75=19 $18.22 = 18$ $18.67 = 19$ $17.81 = 18$	6 17 4 14	March 18, at about 4 a.m.
1010 1105 1200	17,56 - 18 $17.01 = 17$ $17.45 = 17$	1 12 22	16 March, at about 10 p.m.
1295	16.89 = 17 $16.23 = 16$ $15.78 = 16$ $16,22 - 16$	9 17 6 17	15 March, at about 5 p.m.

The table of neomenias of the 19-year cycle does not correspond to the exact measurements of the duration of the average solar day: it follows a shift which results in an advance of the moon on the calendars of the months or, in other words, a delay of the J ulian dateson the neomenias and the age of the moon, of the average value of about one third of a day per century. This table shows this offset. We have taken as milestones the first year of the Byzantine cycles of 95 years, to put it in relation to the table of neomenies of the Byzantine cycle of 19 years, whose usefulness it completes.

example. — To what monthly calendar falls the 1st day of the moon in April 1399?

Rep. — I take the nearest milestone: 1390. The year 1399 is the first of the Byzantine cycle of 19 years. Neomenia is there on April 9. The I0th day is thereafter April 18. But the year 1390 (in the table above) having its neomenia of January on the 16th instead of the 20th, it is a shift of 4 days that will also have to be observed in the year 1399. The I0th jour of the moon will therefore be there on April 14 instead of the 18th.

Note. — I. In leap years, the Julian date of the moon must be delayed by one day to from March 1.

2. The application of the above table leaves a possibility of error from I to 2 days.

IV TA	BLE OF	JULIAN	NEOMENIES
-------	--------	--------	-----------

cycle western (Alexandrian)	January	February		March				July	(z	cu Ei (cl)	¥ ,,		December	Cz
In Iti Ity V Vi Vii Ity Viii Ity X X X X X X X X X X X X X X X X X X X	1, 31 20 9 28 17 6 25 14 3 222 11 30 19 8 27	28 () 28 ()	10 18 7 227) 15 4 23 12 2 20 9 (29) 17 6 (26) 14 3	9 28 17 6 25 14 3	5 23 12 2 20 9 28	18 7 26 15 4 23 12 1, 31 20 9	27 166 5 244 13 3 21 100 29 188 7 266 15 4 23 12	19 8 27 16 5 24 13 2 21 10 29 18 7 26 15 4 23 12 1, 30 <i>I</i> , 31	25 14 3 22 11 1, 30 19 8 27 16 5 24 13 2 21 10 28	21 10 29 18 7 26 15 4 23 12	15 4 23 12 2, 31 20 9 28 17 25 14 3 22 11 1, 30 19	1;3 li 2'; D 6 2 the : 2 li 2', 1 8	1 3 2 2 1 1 0 2 9 18 26 15 4 23 12 1, 31 20 9 28 17 6 24 24	Xvii Xviii Xviii Xix I Ii Iii Iv V Vi Viii Viii Ix X X ii Xiii Xiv X V X V

Note. - I. The dates in italics indicate the 30-day lunations.

2. The dates in bold indicate the embolismic months of westerners (DENYS LE PETIT, BEDE). Among the Alexandrians and Byzantines, the embolismic months are those which immediately precedethePaschal lunation in the years III (XIX), VI (III), VIII (V), XI (VIII), XIV (XI) XVII (XIV), XIX (XVI).

3. In year XIX of the Western cycle, the dates of the lower line are those of the Alexandrians, whose lunar cycle is based on the neomenia of the I Thôth (August 29), beginning of the Alexandrian year. It is probably out of inattention that in *Ginzel, III*, 136-137, these Alexandrian dates are attributed to westerners, and western dates to alexandrians.

V. - CORRESPONDENCE OF THE ALEXANDRIAN MONTHS AND CALENDARS WITH THE JULIAN MONTHS AND CALENDARS

Coptic

Ethiopian

Thôth	Tût . Maschierem August-September		2 3		'5 2	-	7 8 9 4 5 6									22 23 10 20			29 30 20
Phaôphi	Babeh Techemti September-October	1 28 2	2 2930		5 2	-	7 8 9 4 5 6		11 8							22 23 19 20			
Athyr	Hatûr Hedàr October-November		2 3 29 30		5 1	-	7 8 9 3 4 5		11 7	12 8			 	 	20 21 16 17	22 23 18 19			29 30 25 26
Choyak	Kijhak Tahasas November-December	1 27 2	2 3 28 29		5 1	-	7 8 9 3 4 5		11 7	12 8						22 23 18 19			
Tybi	Tûbeh Teri December-January	1 27 2	2 3 28 29		_	6	2 3 4	5	6	7	8		 	 	16171 15 16	819202 17 18		 	
Mechir	Amshir Jecatit J anvier-February	1 26 2	2 3 27 28		5 30 3	_	7 8 9 1 2 3		11 5	12 6	13 7		16 17 10 11			22 23 16 17	 	 	29 30 23 24
Phamenô	ôth Barmâhat Megabit February-March	1 25 2	2 3 26 2	3 4 7 281	5 1	6 2	3 4 5	78910 6	011	8			 51617 12 13			212223 18 19			
Pharmou	ıthi Barmûdeh Miazà March-April	1 27	2 3 28 29		5 311	-	7 8 9 2 3 4		11 6	12 7	13 8		 16 17 11 12	 	20 21 15 16		 	 	29 30 24 25
Pashôn	Bashnas Ghembot April-May	_	2 3 27 28		5 301	_	7 8 9 2 3 4	- 0	11 6	12 7			16 17 11 12			22 23 17 18			29 30 24 25
Payni	Baûneh Senè May-June	1 26 2	2 3 27 28		5 30	-	7 8 9 1 2 3		11 5	12 6	13 7				20 21 14 15	22 23 16 17			
Epiphi	Abib Hamlè June-July	1 25 2	2 3 26 2		5 29 3		7 8 9 1 2 3		11 5	12 6	13 7	14 8			20 21 14 15				29 30 23 24
Mesorè	Mesri Nehasiè July-August	1 25 2	2 3 26 2	3 4 7 28	5 29 ₃₀		7 8 9		11 4	12 5	13 6		16 17 9 10			22 23 15 16			29 30 22 23
Epagome	enai Abûgomen Pagomaen August	1 24 2	2 3 25 20		5 28 (2												 		

remark — After the 6th epogone, an intercalary day which comes every four years, the first thôth corresponds to 3o August, and all Julian dates must be advanced by one day up to and including the following 28 February; 29 February restores the correspondence of the table.

VI. - CORRESPONDENCE OF THE MONTHS AND CALENDARS OF THE FIXED ARMENIAN CALENDAR WITH THOSE OF THE JULIAN CALENDAR

 $\bar{\mathbf{X}}$

Navasart August-	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 1 1 2 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 1 1 2
. Hori September-October	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 301 1 2 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 30 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Sahmi October-November	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 1 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 311 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
Trè November-December	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 1 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 11 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
K alots December-January	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 1 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Arats J anvier-	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14151617 18192021222324252627282930 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 1 1 2 3 4 5
Meheki February-	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 1 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
Areg March-	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14151617 18192021222324252627282930 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Aheki April-	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 301 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Mareri May-	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 1 1 2 3 4 5 6
Margats June-July	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 301 1 2 3 4 5 6
Hrotits July-August	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 1 2 3 4 5
Aveliats Augus	1 2 3 4 5 (6) 6 7 8 9 10 (10)

remark. — The 60th epogone, intercalary day that comes every 4 years, is placed in august following the Julian bissexte. It is therefore necessary to advance by one day the Julian dates of the painting from the 23rd meheki which, instead of i er March, is then the 29th of February until the incidence of the 6th epogone, which restores the correspondence.

VII. - CORRESPONDENCE OF THE MONTHS AND CALENDARS OF THE VAGUE ARMENIAN CALENDAR WITH THOSE OF THE JULIAN CALENDAR

Julian ca	ılendar		Vague Armenian calendar						
2 ₄ 4 i-4 · · ·)	(1) ,C) 'cr) o P.4	;••4 C) ,40 D	Rtt $\begin{bmatrix} \mathbf{n} & \mathbf{n} & \mathbf{n} \\ \mathbf{n} & \mathbf{d} & \mathbf{n} \\ \mathbf{n} & \mathbf{d} & \mathbf{d} \end{bmatrix}$ that $\begin{bmatrix} \mathbf{c} & \mathbf{i} \\ \mathbf{t} & \mathbf{h} & \mathbf{i} \\ \mathbf{c} & \mathbf{d} \end{bmatrix}$ that $\begin{bmatrix} \mathbf{c} & \mathbf{i} \\ \mathbf{t} & \mathbf{h} & \mathbf{i} \\ \mathbf{c} & \mathbf{d} \end{bmatrix}$						
1 32 60 9/1 121 152 2 33 61 92 122 153 3 34 62 93 123 154 4 35 63 94 124 155 5 36 64 95 125 156 6 37 65 96 126 157 7 38 66 97 127 158 8 39 67 98 128 159 9 40 68 99 129 160 10 41 69 100 130 161 11 42 70 101 131 162 12 43 71 102 132 163 13 44 72 103 133 164 14 45 73 104 134 165 15 46 74 105 135 166 16 47 75 106 136 167 17 48 76 107 137 168 18 49 77 108 138 169 19 50 78 109 139 170 20 51 79 110 140 171 21 52, 80 111 141 172 22 53 81 112 142 173 23 54 82 113 143 174 24 55 83 114 144 175 25 56 84 115 145 176 26 57 85 116 146 177 27 58 86 117 147 178 28 59 87 118 148 179 39 (60) 88 119 149 180 89 120 150 181	182 213 244 274 183 214 245 275 184 215 246 276 185 216 247 277 186 217 248 278 187 218 249 279 188 219 250 280 189 220 251 281 190 221 252 282 191 222 253 283 192 223 254 284 193 224 255 285 194 225 256 286 195 226 257 287 196 227 258 288 197 228 259 288 198 229 260 290 199 230 261 291 200 231 262 292 201 232 263 293	305 335 306 336 307 337 308 338 310 340 311 341 312 342 313 343 314 344 315 345 316 346 317 347 318 348 319 349 320 350 321 351 322 352 323 353 324 354 325 355 326 356 327 357 328 358 329 359 330 360 331 361 332 362 333 363 334 364 365	2 32 62 92 122 152 182 212 242 272 302 332362 3 33 63 93 123 153 183 213 243 273 303 3333363 4 34 64 94 124 154 184 214 224 274 304 334364 5 35 65 95 125 155 185 215 245 275 305 335 365 6 36 66 96 126 156 186 216 246 276 306 336 7 37 67 97 127 157 187 217 247 277 307 337 8 38 68 98 128 158 188 218 248 278 308 338 fie 9 39 69 99 129 159						

Mode of use. — To which year of the Christian era does the 6 HROTITS 128 of the Armenian era correspond (vague years)?
This year 128 (see the general chronological table) begins on Io June 679. Ro June is the 161st day of the Julian year, and the 6 hrotits the 336th day of the Armenian year. I add: 161-f- 335 (not 336, not to count twice on the same day) 496. This number exceeds the year. I subtract this which is eir too much: 495 — 365. That leaves 131, which are counted on the following year. The 6 hrotits 128 correspond so to the 1w' day of the Julian year 680. This

year being leap, the 131" day, instead of being the II May, will be the Io May.

conclusion. — 6 HROTITS 128 = 10 MAY 680.

We will operate in the same way for the years of the era of lezdegerd. The beginning of the aimées will have to be sought in table p. 309.

VIII. - CORRESPONDENCE OF THE MONTHS AND CALENDARS OF THE MUSLIM CALENDAR WITH THOSE OF THE JULIAN CALENDAR

Julian calendar	Muslim calendar
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	Polymada II
1 32 60 91 121 152 182 213 244 274 305 335 2 33 61 92 122 153 183 214 245 275 306 336 3 34 62 93 123 154 184 215 246 276 307 337 4 35 63 94 124 155 185 216 247 277 308 338 5 36 64 95 125 156 186 217 248 278 309 339 6 37 65 96 126 157 187 218 249 279 310 340 7 38 66 97 127 158 188 219 250 280 311 341 8 39 67 98 128 159 189 220 251 281 312 343 10 41 69 100 130 <td>1 31 60 90 119 149 178 208 237 23 261 91 120 150 179 209 238 268 297 327 3 33 62 92 121 151 180 210 239 269 298 328 4 34 63 93 122 152 181 211 240 270 299 329 5 35 64 94 123 153 182 212 241 271 300 330 6 36 65 95 124 154 183 213 242 272 301 331 7 37 66 96 125 155 184 214 243 273 302 332 8 38 67 97 126 156 185 215 244 274 303 333 10 40 69 99 128 158 187 217 246 275<</td>	1 31 60 90 119 149 178 208 237 23 261 91 120 150 179 209 238 268 297 327 3 33 62 92 121 151 180 210 239 269 298 328 4 34 63 93 122 152 181 211 240 270 299 329 5 35 64 94 123 153 182 212 241 271 300 330 6 36 65 95 124 154 183 213 242 272 301 331 7 37 66 96 125 155 184 214 243 273 302 332 8 38 67 97 126 156 185 215 244 274 303 333 10 40 69 99 128 158 187 217 246 275<

Mode of use. — What date of the Christian era does 6 RED JEB 204 correspond to? This year 204 begins on June 28, 819. LeJune 28 is the 179th day of the Julian year. The 6th Redjeb is the 183rd day of the Muslim year. I add 179 and 182 (= 183 - 1); 179 + 182 = 359. The 6th Redjeb 204 is the 359th day of the Julian year 819. That day is December 25. 6 Redjeb 204 is therefore on 25 December 819. — When the addition exceeds the number of days in the year, it must be subtracted from the total (i.e. 365 in ordinary years, 366 in leap years). For example, the operation, made on the 26 Redjeb 204, results in a total of 379. We then subtract 365 from 379. That leaves 14, which is carried over to the following year. The 26th Redjeb 204 is on January 14, 820.

IX. - CORRESPONDENCE YEARS OF THE MONGOLIAN CHRONOLOGICAL CYCLE WITH THE YEARS OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA IN THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES

(after Br. von erdmann Temudschin der unerschitterliche Leipzig, 1862)

:	Designation of years						The ye	ears be	gin in	Marc	h, at tl	ne new	moon					
1.	Chuluguna	119. 2	2 1204	4 1216	1228	1240	1252	1264	1276	5 1288	3 1300	1312	1324	1336	1348	1360	1372	1384
2.	(Rat) Ukar	1396	1193	1205	1217	1229	1241	1253	1265	1277	1289	1301	1313	1325	1337	1349	1361	1373
3.	(Taurus) Bars	1385	1397	1194	1206	1218	1230	1242	1254	1266	1278	1290	1302	1314	1326	1338	1350	1362
4.	(Tiger) Taolai	1374	1386	1398	1195	1207	1219	1231	1243	1255	1267	1279	1291	1303	1315	1327	1339	1351
5.	(Hare) Read	1363	1375	1387	1399	1196	1208	1220	1232	1244	1256	1268	1280	1292	1304	1316	1328	1340
6.	(Dragon) Mogai	1352	1364	1376	1388	1400	1197	1209	1221	1233	1245	1257	1269	1281	1293	1305	1317	1329
7.	Snake Morin	1341	1353	1365	1377	1389	1401	1198	1210	1222	1234	1 · 216	1258	1270	1282	1294	1306	1318
8.	(Horse) Chonin	1330	1342	1354	1366	1378	1390	1402	1199	1211	1223	1235	1247	1259	1271	1283	1295	1307
9.	(Sheep) Batschin.	1319	1331	1343	1355	1367	1379	1391	1403	1200	1212	1224	1236	1248	1260	1272	1284	1296
10.	(Monkey) taka	1308	1320	133'2	1344	1356	5 1368	1380	1392	2 1404	1201	1213	1225	1237	1249	1261	1273	1285
11.	(Hen) Mochaï	1297	1309	1321	1333	1345	1357	1369	1381	1393	1405	1202	1214	1126	1238	1250	1262	1274
12.	Dog Gachai	1286	1298	13101	322	1334	1346	1358	1370	1382	1394	1406	1203	1215	1127	1239	1251	1263
	(Pork)	1275	1287	1299	1311	1323	1335	1347	1359	1371	1383	1395 1	407					

SPECIAL TABLES 309

X. - CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE YEARS OF THE ERA OF IEZDEGERD AND THOSE OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA

The correspondence is given from 4 years in 4 years to each change that the leap year brings

Note. --From 5 Oct. X582, the monthly calendars, given here in Julian style, are to be advanced by three days in the Gregorian style.

XI. - YEARS HAVING THE SAME DATE OF EASTER

22 MARCH. - 319, 414, 509, 604, 851, 946, 1041, 1136, 1383, 1478

MARCH 23 - 346, 357, 441, 452, 536, 699, 783, 794, 878, 889, 973, 984, 1068, 1231, 1315, 1326, 1410, 1421. MARCH 24 - 289, 300, 384, 547, 631, 642, 726, 737, 821, 832, 916, 1079, 1163, 1174, 1258, 1269, 1353,

MARCH 25 - 316, 395, 479, 490, 563, 574, 585, 658, 669, 680, 753, 764, 848, 927; 1011, 1022, 1095, 1106, 1117, 1190, 1201, 1212, 1285, 1296, 1380, 1459.

26 March. - 327, 338, 411, 422, 433. 495, 506. 517, 528, 590, 601, 612, 685, 696, 775, 780, 859, 870, 943, 954, 965, 1027. 1038, 1049, 1060, 1122, 1133, 1144, 1217, 1228, 1307, 1312, 1391, 1402, 1475.

27 March. - 343, 354, 365, 376, 438, 449, 460, 533, 544, 623, 628, 707, 718, 791, 802, 813, 875, 886, 897, 908, 970, 981, 992, 1065, 1076, 1155, 1160, 1239, 1250, 1323, 1334, 1345, 1407, 1418, 1429, 1440.

28 MARCH. - 286, 297, 308, 370, 381, 392, 465, 471, 476, 555, 560, 566, 639, 650, 661, 723, 734, 745, 756, 807, 818, 829. 840, 902, 903, 924, 997, 1003, 1008, 1087, 1092, 1098, 1171, 1182, 1193, 1255, 1266, 1277, 1288, 1339, 1350, 1361, 1372, 1434, 1445, 1456.

29 MARCH. - 313, 324, 403, 408, 487, 498, 571, 582, 593, 655, 666, 677, 688, 750, 761, 772, 845, 856, 935, 940, 1019, 1030, 1103, 1114, 1125, 1187, 1198, 1209, 1220, 1282, 1293, 1304, 1377, 1388, 1467, 1472.

30 mARs. — 335, 340, 419, 430, 503, 514, 525, 587, 598, 609, 620, 682, 693, 704, 777, 788, 867, 872, 951, 962,

1035, 1046, 1057, 1119, 1130, 1141, 1152, 1214, 1225, 1236, 1309, 1320, 1399, 1404, 1483, 1494.

31 MARCH. - 351, 362, 373, 435, 446, 457, 468, 519, 530, 541, 552, 614, 625, 636, 709, 715, 720, 799, 804, 810 883, 894, 905, 967, 978, 989. 1000, 1051, 1062, 1073, 1084, 1146, 1157, 1168, 1241, 1247, 1252, 1331, 1336, 1342, 1415, 1426, 1437, 1499.

1 APRIL - 294, 305, 367, 378, 389, 400, 462, 473, 484, 557, 568, 647, 652, 731, 742, 815, 826, 837, 899, 910, 921, 932, 994, 1005, 1016, 1089, 1100, 1179, 1184, 1263, 1274, 1347, 1358, 1369, 1431, 1442, 1453, 1464.

2 APRIL - 299, 310, 321, 332, 394, 405, 416, 489, 500, 579, 584, 663, 674, 747, 758, 769, 831, 842, 853, 864, 926, 937, 948, 1021, 1032, 1111, 1116, 1195, 1206, 1279, 1290, 1301, 1363, 1374, 1385, 1396, 1458, 1469, 1480.

3 APRIL - 326, 337, 348, 421, 427, 432, 511, 516, 522, 595, 606, 617, 679, 690, 701, 712, 763, 774, 785, 796, 858, 869, 880, 953, 959, 964, 1043, 1048, 1054, 1127, 1138, 1149, 1211, 1222, 1233, 1244, 1295, 1306, 1317, 1328, 1390, 1401, 1412, 1485, 1491, 1496.

4 APRIL - 359, 364, 443, 454, 527, 538, 549, 611, 622, 633, 644, 706, 717, 728, 801, 812, 891, 896, 975, 986, 1059, 1070, 1081, 1143, 1154, 1165, 1176, 1238, 1249, 1260, 1333, 1344, 1423, 1428, 1507.

5 APRIL - 291, 296, 302, 375, 386, 397, 459, 470, 481, 492, 543, 554; 565, 576, 638, 649, 660, 733, 739, 711. 823, 828, 834, 907, 918, 929, 991, 1002, 1013, 1024, 1075, 1086, 1097, 1108, 1170, 1181, 1192, 1265, 1271, 1276, 13:"):). 1360, 1366, 1439, 1450, 1461, 1523.

6 APRIL - 307, 318, 329, 391, 402, 413, 424, 475, 486, 497, 508, 570, 581, 592, 665, 671, 676, 755, 760, 766, 839, 850, 861, 923, 934, 945, 956, 1007, 1018, 1029, 1040, 1102, 1113, 1124, 1197, 1203, 1208, 1287, 1292, 1298, 1371, 1382, 1393, 1455, 1466, 1477, 1488, 1539.

7 APRIL - 323, 334, 345, 356, 418, 129, 440, 513, 524, 603, 608, 687, 698, 771, 782, 793, 855, 866, 87, 888, 950, 961, 972, 1045, 1056, 1135, 1140, 1219, 1230, 1303, 1314, 1325, 1387, 1398, 1409, 1420, 1482, 1493, 1504.

8 APRIL - 288, 350, 361, 372, 4-15. 151, 456, 535, 540, 546, 619, 630, 641, 703, 714, 725, 736, 787, 798, 809, 820, 882, 893, 904, 977, 983, 988, 1067, 1072, 1078, 1151, 1162, 1173, 1235, 1246, 1257, 1268, 1319, 1330,1341, 1352, 1414, 1425, 1436, 1509.

9 APRIL - 293, 304, 383, 388, 467, 478, 551, 562, 573, 635, 646, 657, 668, 730, 711, 752, 825, 836, 915, 920, 999, 1010, 1083, 1094, 1105, 1167, 1178, 1189, 1200, 1262, 1273, 1284, 1357, 1368, 1117. 1452, 1531.

10 APRIL - 315, 320, 399, 410, 483, 494, 505, 567, 578, 589, 600, 662, 673, 681, 757, 768, 847, 852, 931, 942, 1015, 1026, 1037, 1099, 1110, 1121, 1132, 1194, 1205, 1216, 1289, 1300, 1379, 1384, 1463, 1474, 1547.

11 APRIL - 331, 342, 353, 415, 426, 437, 448, 499, 510, 521, 532, 594, 605, 616, 689, 695, 700, 779, 784, 790, 863, 874, 885, 947, 958, 969, 980, 1031, 1042, 1053, 1064, 1126, 1137, 1148, 1221, 1227, 1232, 1311, 1316, 1322, 1316, 1417, 1479, 1409, 1501 1395, 1406, 1417, 1479, 1490, 1501.

1395, 1406, 1417, 1479, 1490, 1501.

12 APRIL - 285, 347, 358, 369, 380, 442, 453, 464, 537, 548, 627, 632, 711, 722, 795, 806, 817, 879, 890, 901, 912, 974, 985, 996, 1069, 1080, 1159, 1164, i243, 1254, 1327, 1338, 1349, 1411, 1422, 1433, 1444, 1506.

13 APRIL - 290, 301, 312, 374, 385, 396, 469, 480, 559, 564, 643, 654, 727, 738, 749, 811, 822, 833, 844, 906, 917, 928, 1001, 1012, 1091, 1096, 1175, 1186, 1259, 1270, 1281, 1343, 1354, 1365, 1376, 1438, 1449, 1460, 1533.

14 APRIL - 306, 317, 328, 401, 407, 412, 491, 496, 502, 575, 586, 597, 659, 670, 681, 692, 743, 754, 765, 776, 838, 849, 860, 933, 939, 944, 1023, 1028, 1034, 1107, 1118, 1129, 1191, 1202, 1213, 1224, 1275, 1286, 1297, 1308, 1370, 1381, 1392, 1465, 1471, 1476, 1555.

15 APRIL - 339, 344, 423, 434, 507, 518, 529, 591, 602, 613, 624, 686, 697, 708, 781, 792, 871, 876, 955, 966, 1039, 1050, 1061, 1123, 1134, 1145, 1156, 1218, 1229, 1240, 1313, 1324, 1403, 1408, 1487, 1498, 1571.

16 APRIL - 355, 366, 377, 439, 450, 461, 472, 523, 534, 545, 556, 618, 629, 640, 713, 719, 724, 803, 808, 814, 887, 898, 909, 971, 982, 993, 1004, 1055, 1066, 1077, 1088, 1150, 1161, 1172, 1245, 1251, 1256, 1335, 1340, 1346, 1419, 1430, 1441, 1503.

17 APRIL - 287, 298, 309, 371, 382, 393, 404, 466, 477, 488, 561, 572, 651, 656, 735, 746, 819, 830, 841, 914, 925, 936, 998, 1009, 1020, 1093, 1104, 1183, 1188, 1267, 1278, 1351, 1362, 1373, 1435, 1446, 1457, 1468,

SPECIAL TABLES 3"

18 APRIL. - 303, 314, 325, 336, 398, 409, 420, 493, 504, 583, 588, 667, 678, 751, 762, 773, 835, 846, 857, 868, 930, 941, 952, 1025, 1036, 1115, 1120, 1199, 1210, 1283, 1294, 1305, 1367, 1378, 1389, 1400, 1462, 1473, 148,1, 1557.

19 **APRIL.** - 330, 341, 352, 425, 431, 436, 515, 520, 526, 599, 610, 621, 683, 694, 705, 716, 767, 778, 789, 800, 862, 873, 884, 957, 963, 968, 1047, 1052, 1058, 1131, 1142, 1153, 1215, 1226, 1237, 1248, 1299, 1310, 1321, 1332, 1394, 1405, 1416, 1489, 1495, 1500.

20 APRIL. - 284, 363, 368, 447, 458, 531, 542, 553, 615, 626, 637, 648, 710, 721, 732, 805, 816, 895, 900,

979, 990, 1063, 1071, 1085, 1147, 1158, 1169, 1080, 1242, 1253, 1264, 1337, 1348, 1427, 1432, 1511.

21 APRIL. - 295, 379, 390, 463, 474, 485, 558, 569, 580, 653, 664, 748, 827, 911, 922, 995, 1006, 1017, 1090, 1101, 1112, 1185, 1196, 1280, 1359, 1443, 1454, 1527.

APRIL. - 311, 322, 333, 406, 417, 428, 501, 512, 596, 675, 759, 770, 843, 854, 865, 938, 949, 960, 1033. 1044, 1128, 1207, 1291, 1302, 1375, 1386, 1397, 1470, 1481, 1492, 1565.

APRIL 23 - 349, 360, 444, 607, 691, 702, 786, 797, 881, 892, 976, 1139, 1223, 1234, 1318, 1329, 1413, 1424, 1508.

24 APRIL. - 292, 455, 539, 550, 634, 645, 729, 740, 824, 987, 1071, 1082, 1166,1177, 1261, 1272, 1356, 1519.

25 APRIL. - 387, 482, 577, 672, 919, 1014, 1109, 1204, 1451, 1546.

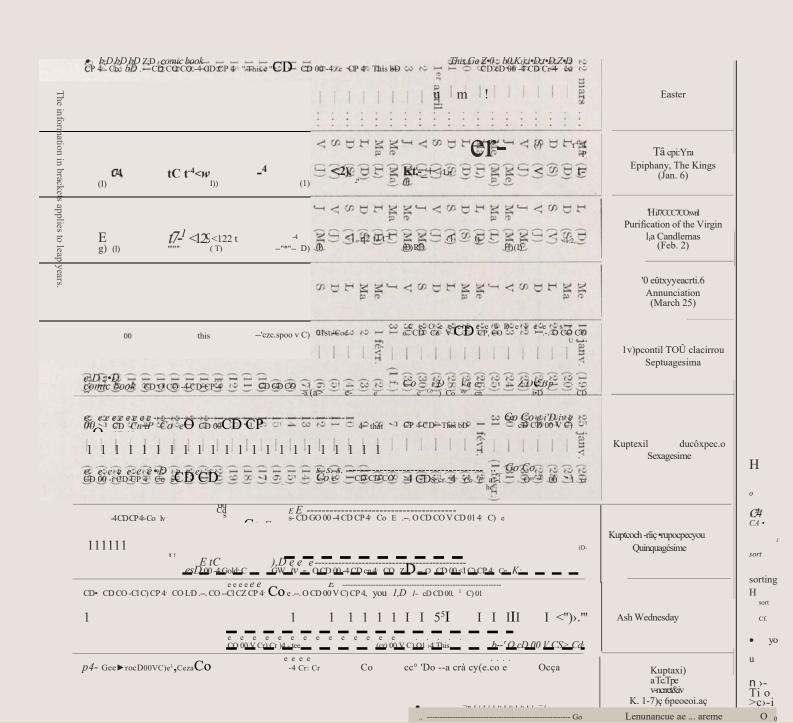
	VII	DEDDE	THALCA	LENDAL	OF BV7	ANTINE	EACTED	
Years				Loved	by the sola	r cycle		
of the	Pascal term	1 7 18 12	2 13 19 24	3 14 8 2 5	9 15 20 26	10 4 21 27	5 11 22 16	6 17 23 28
2 · · •	1 • • • 22 Marc	2 April (Ma) ch (V) 24 I	⁷ A (Me) 6 A M (S) 23 M	(J) 5 A M (D) 29 M	(V) 4 A (L) 28 M	(S) 3 A (Ma) 27 M	(D) 9 A II (Me) 26	(G) L 8 A) ²⁵ M (Ma) 15
3	••• 10 Ap	ril (Me) 14 A	(J) 13 A	(V) 12 A	(S) 11 A	(D) 17 A	(L) 16 A	A (V) 1
5.•	• 18 April	30 March (S) . (J) 21 A	31 M (D) 6 A (V) 20 A	(S) 19 A 13 A (Ma) 12 .	L) 5 A (Ma) 4 (D) 25 A	(L) 24	(J) 2 A A (Ma) 23 A	(Me) 22 A
7.	G • • • 7 A	pril (D) 14 A	(L) 1	13 A (Ma) 12 .	A (Me) 11 A	(J) 10 A	(V) 9 A	"(S) 8 A
8.• 9•••4	• 15 April April(J)	(L) 2 7A	21 A (Ma) 20 . (V) 6A	M (V) 29 M A (Me) 19 A (S) 5A	(J) 18 A (D) 11 A	(V) 17 A (L) 1	(S) 16 A 0 A (Ma) 9A	(Ma) 1 A (D) 22 A (Me) 8 A
10 • • M	. 24 Ma	rch (D) 31	M (L) 30 1	M (Ma) 29	M(Me) 28	M (J) 27 N	M (V) 26	(S) 25
11 • • 12 • 13 . •	• • 1 April		(L) 7A (Ma)	(D) 19 A 6A (Me) 5A M (S) 22 N	(J) 4A	(V) 3A	(S) 2A	(D) 8A (Me) 25
15 16	• • • 29 Ma . • • 17 Ap	rch (V) 31 M	(S) 3 (J) 20 A	(J) 12 A 0 M (D) 5 A (V) 19 A (D) 12 A	(S) 18 A	L) 4 A (Ma) 3	3 A (Me) 2 A (L) 23 A	1 A

aies letters in brackets indicate the weekday on which the term Paschal falls, and the following date indicates Easter Sunday.)

This table makes it possible to find the Date of Easter of any Byzantine year. It is enough to know to which year of the lunar cycle and to which beloved of the solar cycle it corresponds. I,a date sought is at the meeting point between the year of the solar cycle (vertical column) and the year of the lunar cycle (horizontal league). For example, the Byzantine year 6304, which corresponds to year 15 of the lunar cycle and year 4 of the solar cycle, has its date from Easter to April 3.

N.B. — To know which year of the lunar cycle and which year of the solar cycle corresponds to a year of the Byzantine world, this lle-d is divided by 19 (lunar cycle) and by 28 (solar cycle), and the rest of the division indicates the year of the cycle. If there is no rest, the year is the 19th (lunar cycle), the 28th (solar cycle). For example, the year 6300, divided by 19, has as its remnant II: it is the 11th year of the lunar cycle; divided by 28, it has no rest: it is the 28th loved by the solar cycle.

If we start from the Dionysian Christian year, we will get the Byzantine year by adding 5508.



Ce) V 07 z. S.** ç (V Gł. UV V .z you • 4.7 c (-, here. · gold, l CD G), d THAT, f CD ES 00 III I 111111 IIII IIIII IIIIIIIIIII	к _{UpteXi)} Te") f3octwv Palm Sunday
this br.) t•D z•D t\D b., t•D z•D t\D bD ts. D	
cc Go -4 c•D cry e- this z.:.),0 co co -4 (7) el e- ce el—e0ec op 41 cn cri P cq z.,D 1-77 0 cq 00 -4 cs) Cree	Meaorcsvm)xocrrii
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This b.0 1 0 cry 00 -I ai Cil ai This e, 1- 4 0 cry 00 -4 CI) Cr > •1 This eI 0 Cri 00 'I here U1 dir. This b Initialization in the control of the control	Kuptcoeh ç Ilsvnixoerîiç Pentecost
Ed	KyLocx•rj • reliv écrwv It&VTCOV Trinity
$ \begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	Apostles Peter Saints re and Paul (29 June)
$<$ rntzit- 4 ex $<$ rnbt $^-$.xx- 4 $<$ cntit.xx— $<$ a $)$ trit $^-$ ixe— $<$ cntr * ee $^-$ e (r) $^-$ P	MsTav.6pcpcocrtq transfiguration (August 6)
	KoEp-tystç Oco'rôxou Assumption (August 15)
	"TcPcocrtç Tor) Draupor) exaltation of the Holy Cross (Sept. 14)
t-,ex'- <wtt'excrect'xx,<ratzit.xe(-4<a)tit-xt-<upt< td=""><td>All Hallows (Nov.</td></wtt'excrect'xx,<ratzit.xe(-4<a)tit-xt-<upt<>	All Hallows (Nov.
	Tee c2a6&cc presentation of the Most Holy Virgin (Nov. 21)
	'H yivv7)atç 1-or) Xptcrsoi3 Noel (Dec. 25)

3¹4 I. CHRONOLOGY

XIV. - CORRESPONDENCE OF INDICTIONS WITH THE YEARS OF THE CHRISTIAN-DIONYSIAN ERA

Box A contains the centenary figures of the dates; Box B contains the lower digits; frame C contains the indictions. What is the indiction in the year 1389? It is the one that is marked at the meeting of the vertical extension of 1300 and the horizontal extension of 89, namely: <i>indiction 12</i> . Note The indiction corresponds to most of the Christian year which is equalled here; it begins on 1 Septemberof the previousyear.						A 300 600 900 1200 1500	400 700 1000 1300 1600	500 800 1100 1400 1700	
bi 0	15	30	45	60	75	90	3	13	8
1	16	31	46	61	76	91		14	9
2	17	3'2	47	62	77	92	5	15	10
3	18	33	48	63	87	93		1	11
4	19	34	49	64	79	94	7	2	12
5	20	35	50	65	80	95	8	3	13
6	21	36	51	66	81.	96	9		14
7	.).)	37	52	67	82	97	10		15
8	23	38	53	68	83	98	11	gg	1
9	24	39	54	69	1	o.i	12	7	2
10	25	40	55	70			13	8	3
11	26	41	56	71	86		14	9	4
12	27	42	57	72	87		15	10	5
13	28	43	58	73	88		1	11	6
14	29	44	59	74	89			12	

XV. - COURSE OF THE SUN IN THE SIGNS OF THE ZODIAC

Calculation based on the tables of R. SCHRAM (The time marked is that of the Greenwich meridian)

	duration		Julia	n dates of the sun's er	ntry into the constel	lations of the zodia	c		
	to the course	300	500	650	800	950	1100	1250	1400
ez Aquarius	29 j. 2 p.m.	Jan. 20, 1 (a.m.	Jan. 18, 2 p.m.	Jan. 17, 12:37 a.m.	Jan. 16, 10 (a.m.	Jan. 14, 8 p.m.	Jan. 14, 6 (a.m.	Jan. 12, 1 p.m.	Jan. 12, 2 (a.m.
M Pisces	29 j. 11 p.m.	Feb. 18, 11 p.m.	Feb. 17, 11 (a.m.	Feb. 15, 8 p.m.	Feb. 15, 5 (a.m.	Feb. 13, 1.1 (a.m.	Feb. 12, 11 p.m.	Feb. 11, 9	Feb. 10, 6 p.m.
0º Aries	30 j. 11 (a.m.	March 20, 10	March 18, 8 p.m.	March 18, 5 (a.m.	March 16, 12	March 15, 8 p.m.	March 14, 4 (a.m.	March 13, 3 p.m.	March 11, 9 p.m.
(equinox) Taurus	31 j	April 20 9 (a.m.	April 18, 6 p.m.	April 18, 1 (a.m.	April 16 8 (a.m.	April 15, 3 p.m.	April 13, 10 p.m.	April 13, 5	April 11, 1 p.m.
☆ Gemini	31 j. 8 a.m.	May 21, 6 pp.m.	May 20, 2 (a.m.	May 19, 10 (a.m.	May 17, 2 pp.m.	May 16, 9 pp.m.	May 15, 3 (a.m.	May 14, 9	May 12, 4 (p.m.
	31 j. 11 (a.m.	June 22, 4 (a.m.	June 20 2 pp.m.	June 19 8 pp.m.	June 18, 1 (a.m.	June 17 8 (a.m.	June 15 2 pp.m.	June 14, 8 p.m.	June 13 2 (a.m.
(solstice) The Lion	31 j. 7 a.m.	July 23 2 pp.m.	July 21 11 p.m.	July 21 5 (a.m.	July 19 1 (p.m.	July 18 6 pp.m.	July 17 12:26 a.m.	July 16 6	July 14 12:00
don't The Virgin	30 j. 9 p.m.	August 23, 12	August 21, 8	August 21, 6 (a.m.	August 19, 2 p.m.	August 18, 8	August 17 3 (a.m.	August 16 at	August 14,5 p.m.
	30 j. 9 (a.m.	Sept. 22 10 p.m.	Sep. 21. 10 (a.m.	Sept. 20, 6 p.m.	Sep. 19. 2 (a.m.	Sep. 18. 11 (a.m.	Sept. 16, 7 p.m.	Sep. 16, 3	Sep. 14. 11 (a.m.
(equinox) nt Scorpio	29 j. 10 p.m.	Oct. 22, 7 pp.m.	Oct. 21, 8 (a.m.	Oct. 20, 6 pp.m.	Oct. 19, 3 (a.m.	Oct. 18, 1 (p.m.	Oct. 16, 10 p.m.	Oct. 16, 7	Oct. 14, 4 (p.m.
Sagittarius	29 j. 2 p.m.	Nov. 21, 8 (a.m.	Nov. 19, 10 p.m.	Nov. 19, 8 (a.m.	Nov. 17, 6 pp.m.	Nov. 17, 4 (a.m.	Nov. 15, 2 pp.m.	Nov 14, 12 (a.m.	Nov. 13, 10
Capricom (solstice)	29 j. 4 a.m.	Dec. 20, 6 pp.m.	Dec. 19, 7 (a.m.	Dec. 18, 6 pp.m.	Dec. 17, 4 (a.m.	Dec. 16, 2 pp.m.	Dec. 15, 12:56 a.m.	Dec. 13, 11 (a.m.	Dec. 12,9 pp.m.

note. — I. The Sun takes 365.2422 days to travel the 360 degrees of the zodiac. But its speed is not uniform in the various signs. It oscillates between 29 days 4 hours (sign of Capricom) and 31 days II hours (sign of Cancer). The number of degreestravelled in a sign does not therefore always correspond to an equal number of days. The difference, however, can only have an effect on dating with the last degrees. The duration of the journey (first column) is given, by rounding up to the nearest hour, according to the dates of the entry of the Sun into the zodiac signs indicated for the year 1955 by the Yearbook of the Bureau des Longitudes (Yearbook for the year 1950, p. 587).

2. We have indicated here the hours without the lower fractions which, necessary in astronomy, have no bearing in history.

XVI. - PERPETUAL CALENDAR

explanation	Calend	dars of months
This calendar makes it possible to find or check by the simplest and fastest method, without any calculation, what is the day of the week of a given date.	January October	1 2 34 5 6 7 8 9 1011 12 13 14 15 16 1718 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31
It comprises, as we can see, four tables: 1) The calendars of the months, including themonths of January and February leaps; 2) Sunday letters with the days of the week that must be reached by their means: these days are designated by their initials;	February March November	1 2 3 4 5 6 78 9 10 11 12 13 1415 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 2829 30 31
3) The centuries, that is to say the numbers which, in the dates, serve to mark theth century;4) The years, that is to say the numbers which, in the dates, express the year of the century.	April July Leap January	2 3 45 6 7 8 9 10 1112 13 14 15 16 17 1819 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31
INSTRUCTIONS FOR USE After having identified in Table 1 the monthly calendar, and in Table 4, the year of the century of a proposed date, one descends the vertical column of the calendar and follows the horizontal line of the year until their meeting in Table 2. The resulting letter is then searched in the same table on the line where the century expressed in the date is	May	1 23 4 5 6 7 8 910 11 12 13 14 15 1617 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31
located (Table 3). The day of the week above that is the day of the proposed date. example: 1) 15 January 1275. January 15 meets with the year 75 on the letter E. I look for E	June	1 2 3 4 5 67 8 9 10 11 12 1314 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30
on the line where the century 12 is (table 3). It is located under Ma . I,e 15 January 1275 falls on a Tuesday. — For greater use, we have also indicated the style Gregorian.	August Leap February	12 3 4 5 6 7 • 89 10 11 12 13 14 1516 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31
	September December	3 4 56 7 8 9 10 11 1213 14 15 16 17 18 1920 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31
Centuries	Centuries Style Style Grégo-	V s D I, Ma Me I
00 06	0 7 14 17 1 8 15 2 9 16 18 3 10 17 4 11 18 15 19 5 12 19 16 20 6 13 20	bb/Oo-Heitrin (r) rd >** iffiii d einbd, O'litli B G D B B G D B L B G Q B B C D B L C D G B G C C C C C C C C C C C C C C C C C

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Can we also expect this table to make us find the year if we know the calendar of the month and the day of the week? If we have only these two data, it would be futile to try it, because, during the first fifteen centuries of the Christian era, such a meeting is possible 212 times, to which must be added 53 if the monthly date is in January or February (before the 29th). But if, in addition to the day of the week and the monthly date, we also know the century, the choice remainsat 14 or 15 dates, depending on the given century. It is necessary to add 3 or 4, depending on the century, if it is a date of January or February (before the 29th). The search for these possible dates may be of interest. Here's how.

Let's take May 18,Thursday. What are the years when this is encountered, for example, in the xi° century, namely, here, from 1000 (included) to 1100 (not included).

- a) Knowing the century, I look on its horizontal line, in table n° 2, the letter which is under J.C is E.
- b) I then look for this letter E in the same table in the vertical extension of May 18. It is in the sixth horizontal line. All the numbers in table 4 placed on this same horizontal linee designate the years of the century in question having May 18 on a Thursday: 1004, 'or°, 1021, etc.

Note. - If it is February 29 (leap year), the choice is limited to numbers divisible by 4.

LITURGICAL CALENDARS

- I. Byzantine liturgical calendar:
 - a) Liturgical cycle of the Byzantine Church;
 - b) List of saints in the Byzantine calendar;
 - c) Other liturgical indications.
- II. Liturgical cycle and feasts of the Armenians.
- III. Coptic liturgical calendar:
 - a) Sunday cycle;
 - b) Holidays.
- IV. Liturgical calendar of the Syrian Jacobites:
 - a) Sunday cycle;
 - b) Holidays.
- V. Liturgical calendar of the Syrian Nestorians:
 - a) Sunday cycle;
 - b) Holidays.
- VI. Main Muslim holidays.

BYZANTINE LITURGICAL CALENDAR

references. — Liturgical books: Triodion, Pentekostarion, Evangelist, Menes. A. DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Typika* I, Kiev, 1895. H. DELEHAYE, Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae, *AASS*, Propylaeum Novembris, Brussels, 1902. N. NILLES, *Kalendarium manuale uTriusch Ecclesiae II*, Innsbruck, 1897, p. 1-414. A. COUTURIER, *Courses of Greek-Melkite liturgy*, I, Paris, 1912, p. 115-170.

(A) LITURGICAL CYCLE OF THE BYZANTINE CHURCH

Table of mobile festivals						
I)imanches	Byzantine calendar	Latin calendar				
хе	Triodion Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee (I6th Sun. of Luke).					
Viii	Invited week (7,pr.csytevi _j cstpoç) or the Artzibourion. Sunday of the Prodigal (Pr sun. of Luke). Monday of the Apokréo. Saturday of souls or Psychosabbaton. Sunday of the Apokréo or the Second Avèment. Tyrophagy Monday. Tuesday of Tyrophagy: Day of Instruction (17:1-,ç x.curr;zi,aeccç). Tyrophagy Week: Memory of	D. de la Septuagésime : Circumdederunt (1).D. de la Sexagésime : Exsurge.				
VII'	holy ascetics. Sunday of Tyrophagy. First week of fasts (&-Uov.,kç zockpec). Monday: beginning of The Great Lent.	D. de la Quinquagésime : <i>Esto mihi</i> . Ash Wednesday.				
VI'	Saturday: Memory of the miracle of the colybes performed by Saint Theodore Tiron. ' First Sunday of fasts: Sunday of The Goldenthodoxy (previously: -7.(7)v 7por.7:4pwv). Second week offasting.					
ive	Second Sunday of fasts. Third week of fasts. Third Sunday of fasts: Sunday of the worship of the Cross (7'ic, rs':wiporpoazu-vipexoç). Fourth week of fasts Wednesday: Middle of fasts. Fourth Sunday of fasts: memory of St. John Climaque. Fifth week of fasts.	Third Sunday of Lent: Oculi. Thursday: Mid-Lent. Fourth Sunday of Lent: Laetare.				
ΙΙ°	St. Mary the Égyptian. Palm Week (-:(;),):37.tori).	Passion Sunday: Judica.				
Ier	Saturday of Lazarus. Palm Sunday. The holy and great week.	Palm Sunday: Domine, does not run along. Holy Week (Hebdomada major).				

Beginning of the Introït, serving 1 designate sunday. Of ineme, for the following Sundays.

Sundays after Easter	Byzantine calendar	Latin calendar
	Pentekostarion	Paschal time
I	Easter Sunday. Renovation Week (é6?3ovf.y.q, 8:Y.Z/L-vicscp.oc). Each of the six days is called &ocym.vipcv.oc or Tnc &xxxtvr,csi.t.Lou.	Easter Sunday (Dominica Resurrectionis). Octava Paschae.
Не	Sunday -king 5 '. Avv; ":cry _{s.} c(or Sunday of Thomas, also known as v,•cc zuptOE-4. Second week after Easter.	Sunday <i>in Albis</i> or Sunday of <i>Quasimodo</i> .
Ніе	Third Sunday since Easter: Sun. some Myrophores. Third week since Easter.	Second Sunday after Easter: Misericordia.
ΙV	Fourth Sunday since Easter: Paralytic Sunday. Fourth week since Easter. Wednesday: r _i :\lccsonZAPrr _i lt0CSTI' or rer.aRri T-7ç Mscrcnrsv-rrixon ⁻ 7;ç.	Third Sunday after Easter: Jubilate.
Vo	Fifth Sunday since Easter: Sunday of the Samaritan. Fifth week since Easter.	Fourth Sunday after Easter: Cantata.
VIe	Sixth Sunday since Easter: Sunday of the blind. Sixth week since Easter: Ascension Week (Mhp2(g civaisickp.oc). Wednesday: Easter Apodosis. Thursday: Ascension (â'). A7jcPtc) by N. S.	Fifth Sunday after Easter: Vocero jucunditatis. Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Rogations (litaniae minores).
7th	Seventh Sunday since Easter: feast of Fathers of the Council of Nicaea. Seventh week since Easter. Friday: Apodosis of ascension day. Saturday of the deceased faithful or 4)uxocs6fix-rov.	Thursday: Ascent of N. S. Sunday in the octave of the Ascen- Sion: Exaudi. Thursday: Octave of Ascension.
8th	Pentecost Sunday. Week after Pentecost: I ^{re} week of Mathieu. Saturday: Apodosis of the feast of Pentecost.	Pentecost Sunday. Wednesday, Friday and Saturday of the Four Times.
9th	Sunday of All Saints: First Sunday by Mathieu. End of pentekostarion.	Sunday of the Most Holy Trinity.
	octocchos Monday: beginning of the Lent of apôtres which ends on June 28th.	
xe	Mathieu's second Sunday.	Thursday: Fête-Dieu (Corpus Donzini). Second Sunday after the Slope-coast.
D. C	Sundays of Matthew, 3rd, 4th, etc., until the Sunday before the Exaltation of the Holy Cross exclusively. Maximum number, 17 (onlywhen Easter is 22 March).	Sundays after Pentecost, 3rd, 4th, etc., until Advent.
Before exaltation II Ter	Mathieu's last Sunday. Sunday before the Exaltation. September 14: Exaltation of the Holy Cross.!	September 14: Exaltation of the Holy One. cross.

Sundays after exaltation	Byzantine calendar	Latin calendar
I El.	Sunday after the Exaltation. Luke's first week.	Third Sunday in September. Wednesday, Friday, Saturday of the Four Times.
II Hie	Luke's first Sunday. Luke's second Sunday. Sundays of Luke 3rd, 4th, etc.	
worth Yod Iv ^e Third Ii ^e	Sunday of the ancestors of Christ. Sunday before Christmas: Sunday of the elders just (*7c7r) ayicov 7. D:746(v). December 25 Christmas Island. Birth of JC. From Christmas to Epiphany: Dodekaèmeron or Dodekameron. January: Circumcision Saint Basil	the Advent Sunday. 2nd Sunday of Advent. 3rd Sunday of Advent Gaudete. Wednesday, Friday, Saturday of Four-Stroke. 4th Sunday of Advent. December 25: Christmas. Birth of JC.

(B) LIST OF SAINTS IN THE BYZANTINE CALENDAR

	Different dates among the Latins		Differen t dates among the Latins
Prophet Obadia Aberkios of Hierapolis Abraham the Just Abramios, év. Abramios, év. Abramios, monk Adrien and Nathalie Agapios, m. Agathange, m. Agathonikos Haggai, proph. Agnes, y. m. Agrippina, v.m. Akakios of Melitene Akepsimas and others Akindynos and others Akindynos and others Alexander, m. Alexander of Constantinople Alexis, m. Alexios the man of God Alypios, m. Alypius the Stylite Ambrose of Milan Amos, proph. Amphilochios, m. Amphilochios of Iconium.	19 Nov. 22 Oct. 9 Oct. 14 Feb. 29 Oct. 26Augus 8 Sep. 20seven. 23 Jan. 5 Feb. 22Augus 16 Dec. 21 Jan. 23 June 8 May Marc 3' h Nov 2 Nov. 22 Oct. 30Augus 16 June 17March 27 May 26 Nov 7 Dec. 15 June 27March 23 Nov.	Anastasia the Roman, v.m. Anastasia Pharmacolytria Dec. 22 Anatole, m. 23 Apr Anatole of Constantinople July 3 Andrew, Apostle July 4 Andrew of Crete July 4 André in Grisi Oct. 17 André Salos May 28 Andrew the Stratelate August Andronikos, ascetic Oct. 9 Andronikos and Probus, mm. Andronikos and Probus, mm. Andronikos and Junia, apostles 17 Anne, mother of the T. S. V. 9 Sep. — design (active) Dec. 9 — dormition July Anne the prophet 25 Anthime of Nicomedia 3 Sep. Anthusa August Antipas, m. II Antony the Great Jan. 17 Antoine Cauléas de Constantinople Feb. 12 Anysia, m. Dec. 3 Aphraat Jan. 29 Apollonios, m. Dec. 14 Apollos, apostle Dec. 8 Apostles, the Twelve 3 Univ 22 Aprollogica Processor	26 July.
Ananias, apostle Anastasius the Persian, m	1 Oct. 22 Jan.	Apostles, the Seventy. Jan. 4 Aquilas, apostle July 14	

					1
		Different			Different
		dates			dates
		at			among
		The Latins			the Latins
A11 (41 1 D-111-)	Eab		Clament of Anaryma	Jan. 23	
Aquilas (the same and Priscille)	Feb. 13		Clement of Ancyra		22 Nov
Aquilina, m			Clement of Rome	Nov. 24	23 Nov.
Archippos Apostle	June 13 Feb.		Clement of Bulgaria	July 27	
Arethas and others	19		l Pleopas, apostle		
Arsene the Great	Oct. 24		Codrat, Apostle		
Arsene of Corfu Arteme, m	3 A O		Codrat, m.	7 m	25 227724
		. Marr	Como and Damien	Oct. 17	27 seven
Athanasius the Great	Jan. 18	2 May	Conon, m	March 5)
— translation	May 2		Constantine and Hélène, emp.	May 21	
Athos athanasius	July 5		Cornelius the Centurion	13 Sep.	
Athenogen (st), m	July 16		Cornoutos, év. M	12 Sep.	
Attalus, m	July 25		Crescent, Apostle	July 3	
Autonomos, m	12 Sep.		Crescent, m.	15 Apr	
Auxence of Bithynia	Feb. 14		Cross, exaltation	14 .	
Babylas, m	4 Sep.		— appearance	7 Maisept	
Bacchos and Serge, mm	Oct. 7		— procession	1	26 227
Beard, y.m	Dec. 4		Cyprien and Justine, mm.	Oct. 2	26 seven
Barlaam	Oct. 19		Cyr and Jean, mm.	Jan. 31	
Barnabas, apostle	ii June	24 4 22 222 2	Cyriacè, y. m.	July 7	
Bartholomew, apostle	II June	24 Augus	Cyriakos, anach	29 Sep.	l
— translation	¹⁹ , ² 4		Cyril of Alexandria	June 9 18 Jan.'	9 Feb.
Drambat Damiah	August 28 Sep.			1. 8 Marc	
Prophet Baruch		1.4 Juna	Cyril the Philants		n
Basil the Great	Jan. 1 Feb. 28	14 June	Cyril the Phileote	Dec. 2	2
Basil, ascetic Basil of Amasée			Dalmatian, monk	August 1	3
	26 Apr		Daniel, prophet.	Dec. 17	
Basil, priest of Ancyra Basil of Parion	March		'Daniel the Stylite David of Thessaloniki	II Dec. June 26	
	12 Apr Jan. 20		Demetrios of Thessaloniki	Oct. 26	
Basilides (st), m	May 22			Oct. 20	3, Oct. 9
Positiskos (missallanagus)	Io Jan.		Dionysius of Alexandria	Oct. 3	3, Oct. 9
Basiliskos (miscellaneous).	July 29		Dionysius of Alexandria		
Bassa and her sons, mm			Diodorus, m Diomedes, m	5 Apr August 1	6
Bassien	August Îo oct.		Dometianos of Melitene	Io Jan.	o l
Bassos	Jan. 20		Dometios, m		7
Benedict, Abbot	March 14	or March	Domnikè or Domnina	August Jan. 8	′
Blaise de Sébaste	II Feb.	Feb. 3	Dorothea of Tyre, m	June 5	
Boniface	1.9 Dec.	_	Eleuthera, m	Dec. 15	
Boukolos of Smyrna	Feb. 6	May 14	proph	20	
Callinicos, m	Dec. 14		Elisabeth the Thaumaturge	24 Apr	
Callistrates	27 Sep.		Elisha, prophet.	June 14	
Carpos, apostle	May 26		Emilian, m.	July	18
Carpos and Papylos, mm.	Oct. 13		Emilian of Cyzic	August	
	Feb. 29		Epaphrodite, apostle	Dec. 8	~
Catherine, v.m			Ephrem, m.	March 7	7
Cécile, Tiburce, Valérien,			Ephrem the Syrian	28 Jan	18 June
mm	Nov. 22		Epicharis (ste), m.	27 Sep.	10 bane
Charalampos	Iy Feb.		Epimachos, m	Oct. 31	
Charitinè, m	Oct. 5		Epiphany of Cyprus	May 12	
Chariton Hegum	28 Sep.		Etienne, protomartyr	27 Dec	26 Dec.
Christine, v m	July 24		Etienne le Jeune, m.	Nov. 28	
Christodoulos of Patmos	March 16		ŕ	i iu iii.	
Christophore, m	May 9	25 July.	Etienne the Saba ïte	elai	
Chrysanthos and Daria, mm.		25 Oct.		Oct. 28	
Claude or Claudian and Dio-			Eudocie, y. m	1 March	
dore, and others	5 Apr		Eudocimos	July	
-,	Jipi			,	

	t da a the	Differen ates among e ttins			Different dates among he Latins
Eugenie, v.m	the	e.	Hierotheus of Athens Hilarion, Abbot Hilarion the Younger, hegum. Hilarion, hegum. of Pé- lecete	2461 Oct. 2 I Oct. 3 March 28 July 3 March 31 20 Dec. 29 Jan. 23 Oct. Dec. 29, I May 5 23 Augus June 30 May 9 May 17 June May 14 4 Feb. 9 Oct. 30 Apr 2 23 Oct. March 21 Nov. 27 21 Apr 29 Apr May 8 and 26 Sep' Nov. 12 Jan. 15 Nov. 13	i Feb. Dec. 28 st 28 5 July I May 19 Sep 27 Dec.
Gerontios, m. Glyceria, m. Golindouch (ste), m. Gordios, m. Gourias, Samonas, Abibos, mm. Gregory of Agrigento Gregory the Decapolite Gregory the Illuminator Gregory of Nazianze Gregory of Nysse Gregory the Thaumaturge Habakkuk (Avvakum), proph. Helladios, m. Hermeios, m. Hermogenes, m. Hermolaos, m. Hermylos and Stratonikos, mm.	4 Mar 12 May I Apr. 15 Nov. 23 Nov. 20 Nov. 30 Sept. 2 5 Jan. M 10 Jan 17 Nov. 2 Nov. 27 Dec. 18 May 3 1 May 10 May 26 Dec. 13 Jum. 2 j 2 anv. 30 May	ay 9	Jean Climaque John Damascene John the Decapolilite John the Forerunner - conception - birth - take-off - invention of the chef Jeremiah, prophet Joachim and Anne Joannikios, abbot Joasaph and Barlaam Job the Just Joel, proph Jonah, prophet Joseph of Thessalonica Jude, Apostle Julien, m. - another	27 Jan. 30 Mar' 4 Dec. M 27 18 Apr Jan. 7 23 Sep. 24 June 29 August Feb. 24 May 25 I May 9 Sep. Nov. 4 August 26 May 6 Oct. 19 21 Sep. 3 Apr July 14 19 June 2	Joachim 16 Aug

Differen t dates among the Latins		Differen t dates among the Latins
Julienne, v.m	Matron (from Thessaloniki) Maura and Timothy, m Maximus the Confessor, m — translation Melanie the Roman Meletios of Antioch Memnon Mena the Athenian Mena the Egyptian, m Menodore, Nymphodorus and Metrodorus, vv. mm. Mercury, m Constantinople method Patara's Method Metrophane of Constantinople	27 March, 3 May 21 Jan. 13 Aug. 31 Dec. Feb. 12 28 Apr Io Dec. II Nov. Io Sept. 25 Nov. June 14 June 20
Lucie, y. m. 15 June Lucian of Antioch 3 Aug Lucillien, m. 23 ust Luppos, m. 19 Jan. Macarius the Egyptian 1 Aug Stiffs 19 ust Macrine, sister of S. Basile 3 July Malachi, proph 2 Jan. Marnas, m. 16 Sept Mandilion of Christ June 17	nople Micah, proph. Michel and Gabriel Chones Michel de Synades Modestos of Jerusalem Moses, prophet Moses the Ethiopian August Mokios, m. Myron, m.	23 May Dec. 16 4 Sep 28i May
Mark the Evangelist	Nahum, proph. Neophyte, d. Nestor, d. Nikephoros, m. Nikephoros of Constantino- Ple. — translation Niketas, m. Niketas of Medikion Nicolas de Myres	Dec 21 Jan Oct. 27 Feb. 9 2 June 13 March 15 Sep 3 Apr.
 design	Nicon and disciples, mm Nicon "Metanoïte" Olympiad(ste) Onésime Onesiphore and Porphyry mm. Onuphre Oréozèlè, m.	26 Nov. 25 July Feb. 15 and Nov. 22 y, Nov. 9 12 June July 26
Martin of Rome 13 Apr. 12 Nov. Martinianos Feb. 13 Martyrs, Forty 9 March ro March Martyrs, Forty-two of A- morium 6 March Martyrs, Ten thousand of Nico- meditate 28 Dec. Mathias, apostle 9 August 24 or Feb. 25	Orestes, m	ro nov. Oct. 17 15 May Feb. 16 25 May

		Differe nt dates among the Latins		I >ates different amon the Latins
Paramonos		29 Nov.	Silas, Silvanus, Crescent,	
Paramonos	Paraskevè	the Latins	Silas, Silvanus, Crescent, Epainetos, Andronikos, apô-Very	30 Jan. 2 31 Dec 28 Oct July 6 17 Sep. 3 Dec. II 7 Sep. 12 Dec. II Oct. Nov. 26 Dec. 15 Feb. 3 27 Apr March 17 21 July ISept. May 24 Jan. 5
	Romain, m	i8 Nov. I Oct. 24 Apr	Theodosia, v.m. Theodotè Theodotos of Ancyra	May 29 July 29 June 7
	Sabas the Sanctified	5 Dec. i6 March 27 June 20 August 18 Dec. 20 Jan.	Theodule, m. Theopemptos and Theonas, mm. Theophanes Graptos Theophanes of Sigriane .	4 Apr Jan. 5 II Oct. 12 March
	Seven-Dormants of Ephesus .	4 August 22 Oct.	Theophanô, Empress Theophylact of Nicomedia	Dec. 16 March
	Sévérien, m	9 seven	Theraponte, m.	May 26

		Different dates among the Latins	-		Different dates among the Latins
Timothy, apostle Timothy and Maura, mm. Titus, apostle Titus the thaumaturge Trophime, m Tryphon, m. Tychon of Amathonte Varos Victor, m	Jan. 22 May 3 August 2 Apr 19 Sep. Feb. June 16 Oct. 19		Vincent, deacon, m. Xeno Xenophon, m. Zechariah, father of the Zechariah, prophet Zenai ,m. Zeno, monk Zoe and Hesperos, m. Zosimus, m.	Jan. 22 Jan. 24 Jan. 26 5 Sep. Feb. 8 June 6 Iy Feb. May 2 June 20	

(C) OTHER LITURGICAL INDICATIONS

Acathist: feast of the Acathist, 3rd Saturday before Easter. Anargyres: SS. Como and Damien; SS. Cyr and Jean.

Easter Apodosis: Wednesday before Ascension.

Epiphany, 9th day, January 14.

the Dormition of the Theotocos, 9th day, August 23.

The Hypapantè, 8th day, February 9.

The Transfiguration, 8th day, August 13.

The Exaltation of the Holy Cross, Day 8, September 21.

Christmas, Day 7, December 31.
Pentecost, 7th day, Saturday after the feast.
the entrance of the Virgin to the temple, 5th day, November 25.
Asomates (intangible): SS. Michael and Gabriel and all the angels.

Axion estin", celebrates the II of June.

Councils (feasts of the years):

Nicaea (I), Constantinople (I), Ephesus, Chalcedon: July 16;

2° First Council of Nicaea: Sunday after Ascension (other dates: 7, 26, 26, 29 May);

3° Constantinople (I): May 22 (other dates: May 3, 4);

4° Ephesus: September 9.

5th Council of Chalcedon: II July (miracle of Saint Euphemia for the definition). In addition, it is mainly considered in the feast of July 16;

6' Fifth Council: July 25. Originally the feast concerned only the Council of S36; it was then extended to that of 553

7' Second Council of Constantinople: September 18 (other dates: Sept. 14, Sept. 15);

8" Second Council of Nicaea: I I October (var. 9 Oct.) or Sunday after I I October;

9th Council of the Union (from 920): Sunday between 6 and 12 July.

Diakainèsimos: Easteremaine.

Dodekahemon: the days from Christmas to the Epiphany. Indiction (beginning of the year): feast day: I er September.

Fasts in addition to the great Lent:

Fasting of the SS. Apostles: Ier day: Monday that silits All Saints' Day (Sunday after Pentecost).

— of the Dormition: Ier day: Ier August.

— of Christmas or Philip: Ier day: November 14 (feast of St. Philip the Apostle).

Notaries (Saints): Marcian and Martyrius. Orthodoxy (feast of 1'): first Sunday of Lent.

Ιi

LITURGICAL CYCLE AND FESTIVALS OF ARMENIANS

references. - Mainly. N. NILLES, *Kalendarium manuale utriusque Ecclesiae,II*, Innsbruck, 1897, 556-630. See also Ambr. STAVRINOS, p-zext6Tcc-.-Dv. xxi.ai crùupovot ?,scToupyi.m,, II, Constantinople, 1922, 74-92; N. ADONTZ, The Feasts and Saints of the Armenian Church, in *ROC*, *XXVI*, 1927-1928, 74-104, 225-278 (unfinished work); C. TONDINI DI QUARENGHI, Etude sur le calendrier liturgique de la nation arménien, Rome, 1906 (extrait du *Bessarione*, année X, série II, vol. X, 1906); V. BOLOTOV, Ob armjanskom cerkovnom godé, *Christianskij Vostok*, I, 1912, 267-276.

FIXED

January 6, Theophany (Jan. 5, vigil; 7-13, octave). February 14, Purification of the T. S. Virgo. April 7, Annunciation.
September 8, Nativity of the T. S. Virgo.
November 21, Entry of the T. S. Virgin into the temple. December 9, Design of the T. S. Virgo.

Around a fixed day:

Sunday falling on August 15 or the closest to this date (August 12-18): Assumption of the T. S. Virgin.

Sunday falling on September 14 or the closest to this date (II-17 Sept.): Exaltation of the Holy Cross.

ALL OTHER FESTIVALS ARE MOBILE, dependent either on the feast of Easter or on the feasts of Theophany, the Assumption and the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. Because of these various festivals, the liturgical year is divided into eight sections.

Note. - Feasts of saints are excluded on Wednesdays, Fridays and Sundays.

First section: Theophany

January 6: Theophany.

January 13: Octavian of Theophany.

First free day after the Octave. Birth of S. Jean-Baptiste. Then, in the order of free days, the following saints: Peter of Alexandria; Antony hermit; Emperor Theodosius and the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus; Cyriaque and Julitte; Vahan of Golthan; Alexander, Athanasius and Cyril, Patriarchs of Alexandria; Gregory the Theologian; Tryphon; Blaise and Onésime the disciple of Saint Paul; Silvestre pape and memory of Constantine; Gordian, Polyeucte and Gregory; Eugenie virgin, her father Philippe, her mother Claudine and her brothers Serge and Abdon; Cornelius the Centurion, Symeon's parent of Christ, Polycarp of Smyrna and the Eastern martyrs; Maruthas bishop; Eugene, Macarius, Valerius, Candide and Aquila.

Sundays after Theophany: number varies according to the incidence of the Easter festival.

Antepenultimate: Sunday of the Aratchavor. Corresponds to the last Sunday after the Epiphany of the Latins.

Week of the Aratchavor, prior fasting, kind of preparation for the great Lent.
Week also known as St. Sergius.
Friday, memory of Jonah's preaching.
Saturday, S. Serge.

Penultimate (Septuagesime of the Latins).

Monday, Feast of the ss. Atomians (s. Atom Grouni and his companions), martyrs. Tuesday, Feast of the ss. Souchiasites (s. Soukias and his companions), martyrs. Thursday, Feast of the ss. Oskians (s. Oski and his companions), martyrs. Saturday, s. Isaac the Great, catholicos of the Armenians.

Last (Sexagesime of the Latins).

Monday, S. Pionius; Mark of Arethusa; Cyril the deacon; Abdas bishop, Hormisdas, Saën, Benjamin, martyrs in Persia.

Tuesday, ss. Leontians (s. Leontus and his companions), mm.

Thursday, ss. Vardanians (s. Vardan and companions), martyrs in the number of t o36. Saturday, the 15th Fathers of the Council of Constantinople.

Second section: Lent

Sunday:

ler Pun-Parengetan (Creation of Man). Corresponds to the Quinquagésime. Monday, Beginning of fasting. Same day as the Greeks.

Saturday, s. Théodore Tiron.

Ii Fall of Man.

Saturday, s. Cyril of Jerusalem.

Ille The prodigal son.

Saturday, s. John of Jerusalem.

IV° The infidel bursar.

Saturday, the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste.

Ve The judge.

Saturday, Descent of s. Gregory the Illuminator in the pit. Sixth The advent for judgment.

Friday, the last day of Lent.

Saturday, Resurrection of Lazarus.

Palm Sunday, said from a Greek word Eulogoumene. Popular name: Fête des flowers

Monday, Memory of the Creation of the World.

Tuesday, the Ten Virgins.

Holy Thursday, Friday, Saturday.

Third section: Easter fifties (Hinounk)

Sunday:

I Sunday of the Resurrection: Easter (Zadig).

Monday, day of the deceased. Saturday, Decollation of His. John the Baptist.

II Sunday again. The call of nations to faith.

Ille Green Sunday. Last Supper of the First Church. Feast of the Universal Church.

Iv Red Sunday.

Fifth Appearance of the Cross in Jerusalem under Patriarch Cyril.

Thursday. Ascension of N. S. Jesus Christ. Sixth

Seventh Other Palm Sunday (Entry of the Lord into heaven according to the vision of His. Gregory the Illuminator).

Saturday, End of Easter time.

Section Four: Pentecost: Advent of the Holy Spirit

Sunday. Variable number.

IC1 Sunday of Pentecost. Descent of the Holy Spirit on the Apostles.

II Sunday of Pentecost.

Monday: Feast of the holy Rhipsimites (ste Rhipsimè and companions), martyrs. Tuesday: Feast of the Holy Gaianites (St. Gaïanè and companions), martyrs.

Thursday: s. John the Baptist and S. Athenogene.

Saturday: Exit from the pit of S. Gregory the Illuminator.

Ille Feast of the Church of Etchmiadzin.

Monday: ss. Innocents and s. Acace.

Tuesday: Stes Nunie **and** Mania. Thursday: ss. Serge and Bacchus; Isaac and Joseph, Armenian martyrs.

Saturday: s. Mocius and s. Codrat.

Iv Sunday of Pentecost.

Monday: s. Epiphany of Cyprus.

Tuesday: ss. Constantine and Helena, emperors.
Thursday: ss. Theodotus the Galatians, Thalelea and Seven Virgin Martyrs of Ancyra.

Saturday: Invention of the relics of S. Gregory the Illuminator.

Fifth Sunday of Pentecost.

Monday: ss. Narses, patriarch, and Khad, bishop. Tuesday: Daniel and the three children in the furnace.

Thursday: ss. Interpreters Isaac and Mesrob.

Saturday: the prophet Zechariah and His. Onuphre.

Sixth Sunday of Pentecost.

Monday: ss. Tiridat, king, Ashenia son wifeand Chosroidoucht his sister.
Tuesday: The sons and nephews of s. Gregory the Illuminator, Aristarchus, Verthan,
Hesychius, Gregory and Daniel.
Thursday: The Prophet Eishes and their Private Prophet Inc.

Saturday: The Twelve Apostles and their Princes Peter and Paul.

Seventh Sunday of Pentecost.

Saturday: Feast of the Ark of God (Ark of the Covenant).

Section Five: Transfiguration

Sunday. Variable number: up to seven (1). (EIGHTH) Ter Transfiguration of N. S. J.-Ch. — Memory of the appearance of the rainbow.

Monday and Tuesday: Festival of roses.

Thursday: the prophet Isaiah. Saturday: s. Thaddée apostle and st. Sandushe virgin.

(IX') II Sunday of the Transfiguration.

Monday: St. Suzanne, daughter of the great Vardan.

Tuesday: ss. Cyprien and Justine.
Thursday: Forty-five martyrs and the virgin stes Euphemia and Christina.

Saturday: holy patriarchs Adam, Abel, Seth, Enos, Henoch, Noah, etc.

(Xe) III' Sunday of the Transfiguration.

Monday: ss. Isaac and Joseph, martyrs. Tuesday: The Twelve Prophets (Minors).

Thursday: s. Athenogene, his ten disciples and five others, martyrs.

Saturday: ss. Antonin and Théophile, Anicet and Photin.

(XIe) Fourth Sunday of the Transfiguration.

Monday: ss. Macchabées, Eleazar, the seven brothers and their mother Samona. Tuesday: Stes Sophie, Pistis, Elpis, Agape.

Thursday: S. Christophe.

Saturday: the Two Hundred Fathers of the Council of Ephesus.

(x) Last Sunday of the Transfiguration.

Saturday: Dedication of the Church of Etchmiadzin.

Sixth section: Assumption of the T. S. V.

I Sunday. Feast of the Assumption of the T. S. V. (varies 12-18 August).

Tuesday: ss. Joachim and Anne. Thursday: S. Babylas and his three disciples.

Saturday: the prophet Jeremiah.

II Sunday:

Monday: ss. Priscus, Etienne d'Uln and Abdelmessih.

Tuesday: s. André le Stratélate, s. Callinique and s. Diomedes.

Thursday: ss. Adrien and Natalie, s. Theodore the Stratelate and S. Thyrse.

Saturday: S. Thomas apostle.

(i) When this period has more than four weeks, the feasts of the saints are taken, observing their order, in the period of the Epiphany of the same year. I, the festivals thus transferred are those that could not be celebrated because of the date too close to the Easter festival.

III° Sunday:

Monday: the ss. interpreters Mesrob, Elisha, Moses, David, Gregory of Narek,

Narses of Romcla, Narses of Lampron.
Tuesday: the prophets Ezekiel, Ezra and Zechariah father of His John the Baptist.

Thursday: s. John the Baptist and memory of Job the Just. Saturday: the 318 Fathers of the Council of Nicaea.

IV° Sunday:

Saturday: Dedication of the Anastasis of Jerusalem.

Section Seven: Exaltation of the Cross

Ier Sunday: Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (varies: II-17 Sept.).

II Sunday:

Monday: ss. Marnas and Philectimon and s. Symeon Stylite.

Tuesday: Stes Febronia and Marina. Thursday: ss. Anthime and Irénée bishops.

Saturday: S. George martyr.

III° Sunday: Appearance of the Holy Cross at Mount Varag.

Monday: s. David de Dvin et sen. Eulampius and Eulampia.

Tuesday: ss. Eustace and Theopist and their two sons; stes Hermione and Catherine.

Thursday: Feast of the Armenian princes Isaac and Hamazasp.

IV° Sunday:

Monday: ss. Phocas and Irenée successors of the apostles.

Tuesday: Stes Thècle and Barbe.

Thursday: s. Pantaleon, Hermolaus and Euphrasia.

Saturday: s. Callistrates and his 49 fellow martyrs and S. Lucien.

Ve Sunday:

Monday: Invention of the relics of s. Gregory patriarch of the Aghovans and various

other saints.

Tuesday: ss. Ananias, Mathias, Barnabas, Philip, John, Silas and Silvanus. Thursday: ss. Dionysius the Areopagite, Timothy and Titus.

Saturday: ss. Evangelists Mathieu, Marc, Luc and Jean.

VI° Sunday:

Monday: s. Longin the Centurion; s. Joseph, husband of the Virgin; Joseph of Arimathea

Lazarus and his sisters Marie and Marthe.

Tuesday: s. Théodoret,m.; ss. Zeno and Macarius; Eudoxius and Romulus.

Thursday: ss. Arethites (Arethas and comp.), mm.; s. Arteme.

Hismedi: s. Thessaloniki demeter; s. Basilisk,priest m.

VII" Sunday: Invention of the Holy Cross.

Monday: ss. Anastasius and Varus; Ste Theodota and his sons.

Tuesday: ss. Hypericites (Hiperic and comp.), mm. Thursday: s. Severian of Sebaste; s. Babylas and his 84 disciples. Saturday: S. Barlaam of Antioch and the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus.

VIII° Sunday:

Monday: s. Etienne év. of Rome and his companions, mm.

Tuesday: ss. Acepsimas, Joseph, Aithalas, Plato, mm. Thursday: ss. Metrophanes, Alexander, Paul, év.; the ss. notaries Marcian and Martyrius.

Saturday: ss. Michael and Gabriel, and the whole heavenly army.

IX' Sunday:

Monday: ss. Melèce of Antioch, Menas the Egyptian and others. Tuesday: S. Jean Chrysostome.

Thursday: ss. Gourias, Samonas, Abibos.

Saturday: S. Philip, Apostle.

X° Sunday. This Sunday may be missed.

Monday: Feast of Angels and Archangels.
Tuesday: Feast of All Prophets.

Wednesday: Feast of All apostles. Saturday: Feast of all old and new saints, known and unknown.

Eighth Section: Advent

I Sunday (Nov. 15-21). Entrance to Advent or Entrance to the Fifties. Saturday: s.

Gregory the Thaumaturge; s. Myron, év.

II Sunday:

Monday: Stes Julienne and Basilissa. Tuesday: ss. James and Simon, apostles. Thursday: ss. Clement of Ancyra and Pancrace of Tauromenium.

Saturday: S. Andrew, Apostle.

III Sunday:

Monday: s. January; s. Mercury. Tuesday: ss. James and Themistocles.

Thursday: the ss. Egyptian fathers Paul, Paul (another), Macarius, Evagre, etc. Saturday: s. Nicolas de Myres.

Iv Sunday:

Monday: ss. Menas, Hermogenes, Eugraphos; the poor volunteers Jean and

Alexis.
Tuesday: ss. Bartholomew and Jude, apostles.

Thursday: ss. Eustrates, Auxence, Eugene, Orestes, Mardarios. Saturday: ss. Jacques de Nisibe; Marug, ascetic; Melèce év.

Ve Sunday:

Monday: s. Ignatius the Theophorus. Tuesday: ss. Theopemptus and Theonas; Bassus, Eusebius, Eutychius,

Basilides. Thursday: S. Addée,apostle.

Saturday: ss. Indes and Domna, Glycerus and 20,000 martyrs in Nicomedia.

Sixth Sunday:

Monday: ss. Abraham and Choren; Como and Damien.

Tuesday: s. Iasbust (i. e. Déodat) m.

The last four days before the abstinence of Theophany (which is observed the seven days before the feast) are occupied by the following feasts, in order: 1) The prophet David and s. James, brother of the Lord; 2) s. Etienne, protomartyr; 3) The apostles Peter and Paul; 4) The apostles ss. Jacques and Jean, son of thunder.

Seventh Sunday.

VIII Sunday (sometimes lacks).

The Saturday that is in the days of abstinence is celebrated the feast of s. Basil, from s. Gregory of Nysse, his brother, of S. Sylvestre, Pope of Rome, and of His Excellency Ephrem the Syrian.

The liturgical ordinance described here was already in use in the half century, from après ADONTZ, op. cit., p. 102. There are witnesses of another distribution of feasts where the saints ADON1Z, op. cit., p. 102. There are witnesses of another distribution of feasts where the saints were celebrated on specific days, here according to the Julian months, there according to the Armenian months; cf. F.C. CONYBEARE, Rituale Armenorum, Oxford, 1905, app. II, 507-532, and the article cited byAdontz. As for the Synaxaire (so called) of Ter Israel (xme century) (PO, tt. 5, 6, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21), it represents a writing in accordance with the Roman calendar, composed that it was at a time of religious union of Cilician Armenia with the Roman Church (first third of the xive s.); cf. P. PEETERS, Pour l'histoire du synaxaire arménien, AB, 30, 1911, 5-26; N. ADONTZ, Note sur les synaxaires arméniens, ROC, 24, 1924, 211-218; see Sirarpie DER NERSESSIAN, Le synaxaire arménien de Grégoire VII d'Anazarbe, Mélanges Peeters, II, 261-285, composite synaxaira where are marked, with the Armenian saints, the Greek saints and the Latin saints. Latin saints.

Iii

COPTIC LITURGICAL CALENDAR

references. - VILLECOURT, Le Muséon, 1923, 1924, 1925; N. NILLES, Kalendarium manuale utriusque Ecclesiae, II, Innsbruck, 1897, 692-724; PO, X; MAY, SVNC, IV, 14-34; A. BASSET, Le synaxaire arabe jacobite, in PO, tt. I, III, XI, XVI, XVII, XX; E. TISSERANT, Le calendrier d'Abou'l-Barakât, in PO, t. X.

A) SUNDAY CYCLE

The Coptic liturgy knows no other Sunday cycle than the one that rolls around Easter; it begins with Lent and ends at Pentecost. The other Sundays of the year are related to the months: Ie^r, 2nd, 3rd, 4th **Sunday** of thot; I, 2nd, 3rd,4th Sunday of paopi,etc.

In the following description of the Paschal Sunday cycle, we include the fasting days of the Ninivites and the week of Heraclius, the date of which depends on the approach of Lent.

Sundays before Easter

Xe Sunday before Easter (= Sunday before the Septuagesime).

Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday: fasting of the Ninivites.

Thursday: Passover of the Ninivites.

Ninth Sunday before Easter (= Septuagesime).

VIII Sunday before Easter (= Sexagesime). Sunday of the Apocréo.

Week offasting of Heraclius. This week is sometimes also considered the first week of Lent. Le Muséon 39, 1925, 262; MAY, SVNC, IV, 24-25.

IeT Sunday of Lent (= Quinquagésime).

Monday: beginning of the great fast.

II e-Ve Sundays of Lent.

Sixth Sunday: Sunday of baptism. Saturday of Lazarus.

Seventh Sunday. Palm Festival; feast of the Olive Tree.

Passion Week.

Great Thursday: the new alliance. Great Friday.

Saturday of joy.

Easter Sunday. Feast of the Resurrection.

Sundays after Easter

Ier Sunday. Octave of Easter. Thomas Sunday. First Sunday of the fifties. Sunday of Sundays.

Second-Fifth Sundays after Easter, said Sundays before Pentecost. Ascension Thursday.

Sixth Sunday after Easter, before Pentecost.

Sunday of Pentecost.

Monday: beginning of the fast of the Apostles which must end at their feast on

Some start this fast on the Monday of the following week.

Fasting of Our Lady, from I InesOri (July 25) to 22 IllésOni (August 15).

B) FESTIVALS

Fixed Feasts of the Lord

Annunciation: 29 phamenot (March 25).
Nativity of Our Lord 29 koiak (December 25).
Circumcision of Our Lord: 6 tobi (ier January).
Epiphany of N. S. - Baptism of N. S.: II tobi (January 6).
Entry of N. S. to the Temple: 8 méchir (February 2).
Transfiguration of N. S.: 13 mesoli (August 6).
Feasts of the Cross: 17 thot (September 14) and Io phamenot (March 6).
Entry of N. S. in Egypt: 24 pachons (May 19).

Feasts of the Blessed Virgin

Saints

Abraham the Patriarch	osoli (August 21)
Haggai, prophet	viak (Dec. 2)
Andrew Anostle A ko	iak (Nov. 3)
Andrew, Apostle 4 ko Anne, mother of the S. V. I me	peori (July 25)
Antic, mother of the S. V.	b: (Ion 16)
Antony the Great	oh (Jan. 10)
Bacchus and Serge	
Beard (ste)	lak (Dec. 4)
Barnabas, ap	olak (Dec. 17)
Barsauma the Syrian	echir (Feb. 3)
Barthélemy, ap. 1 tho	ot (August 29)
Basil of Caesarea	bi (ter Janv.)
BasilidesII Th	
Cleophas 1 at	
Como and Damien	nor (Nov. 18)
Cornelius the Centurion	hor (Nov. 19)
Cyril of Jerusalem	
Cyril of Alexandria	(June 27)
Daniel prophet	namenot (March 19)
Prophet David	130 kojak (Dec. 26) a o p i
Alexandrian demetrius	2 phameno ⁹)t(8)March)
Demetrius of Thessaloniki	
Dionysius of Alexandria	t (August 31)
Dionysius the Areopagite	ioni (Oct. 20)
Alexandria dioscore	(Sept. 4)
Elijah prophet	oi (Î" Jan.)
Elisha prophet	oni (June 14)
Ephrem the Syrian	
Epiphany of Cyprus	chons (12 May)
Etienne, protomartyr	oi (Dec. 27)
— invention	

Euphemia Ezekiel, prophet.	19th (Sept. 16) 5 pharmuti (March 31)
Gabriel, archangel	22 koiak (Dec. 18)
Georges	23 pharmuti (18 April)
Gregory of Nysse	17 paopi (Oct. 14)
Gregory the Thaumaturge	21 athor (Nov. 17)
Gregory the Theologian	24th (Sept. 21)
Habakkuk, prophet	24 pachons (May 19)
Enoch (assumption of)	24 epip (July 18)
Hilarion	24 paopi (Oct. 21) or 11 pachons
Apa Hor	(May 6) 3 pachons (April 28)
Ignatius of Antioch	24 koiak (Dec. 2)
Isaiah, prophet	6th th (Sept. 3)
Jacques, son of Zebedee, ap.	5 pachons (April 3)
James, brother of the Lord	26 paopi (Oct. 23)
James, Patriarch of Antioch	Io paopi (Oct. 7)
James theIntercis	27 athor (Nov. 23)
John, ap. and evo.	4 tobi (Dec. 3)
	16 pachons (May 11)
John the Chaplain	14 paopi (Oct. 11)
nativity	26 th (Sept. 23) 30 paoni (June 24)
take-off	2 thot (August 29)
invention of the chef	30 méchir (Feb. 24)
invention of the body	2 paoni (May 27)
John Chrysostom	12 pachons (May 7)
	17 Athor (Nov. 13)
John of Jerusalem	3 pharmuti (March 29)
Jeremiah, prophet	5 pachons (April 30)
Job the Just	2 pachons (April 27)
Prophet Joel	21 paopi (Oct. 18)
Jonah, prophet	25 th (Sept. 22) 4th th (I" Sept.) and 26th
Joshua	peacock (2nd June)
Jude, Apostle	25 paoni (June 19)
Julian, martyr	23 pachons (May 18)
Lazarus the Resurrected	27 pachons (May 22)
Longin	23 epip (July 17)
Luke, evangelist	22 paopi (Oct. 19)
Macarius the Great	27 phamenot (March 23)
Mark, evangelist	30 pharmuti (April 25)
Mathias, apostle	28 epip (July 22) 8 phamenot (March 4)
Matthew, apostle and evangelist	12 paopi (Oct. 9)
Mena	15 athor (Nov. 11)
mercury	25 athor (Nov. 21)
Michael, archangel	12 athor (Nov. 8)
Moses, prophet	8th th (Sept. 5)
Nahum, prophet	5 koiak (t dec.)
Nicholas	Io koiak (Dec. 6)
1	16 paoni (Io June) 27 koiak (Dec. 23) and 26
Hosea, prophet	méchir
Pashome the Great	(Feb. 2)
Paul the Anchor	14 pachons (May 9)
Paul of Constantinople	2 méchir (Jan. 27)
Fathers (318) (of Nicaea)	5 paopi (Oct. 2)
Philip, Apostle	9 athor (Nov. 5)
Philip the Deacon Peter of Alexandria	18 athor (Nov. 14)
Peter the Iberian	14 paopi (1 i Oct.) 29 athor (Nov. 25)
Pionius	koiak (Nov. 27)
	2 phamenot (Feb. 26)

Poemen Polycarp Polycarp Procopius 14 Rhipsimè and his companions Schenoudiarchimandrite Serge and Bacchus Severus of Antioch Symeon Stylite Symeon the Old Man Sisinnius, martyr Thaddeus apostle Thecle koiak (Nov. 27); zte amaze. mechir (Feb. 23) mesoliri (August 7) thot (Sept. 26) thot (Sept. 26) nand 23 epip (July)¹ and 17) paopi (Oct. 7) paopi (Oct. 7) pachons (May 24) Méchir (Feb. 8) pachons (May 24) pharmuti (April 21) epip (June 26) koiak (Dec. 4) and 25
Comparison of the Great, martyr 16 Méchir (Feb. Io)
"The Three Children in the Io

For more information, see synaxes, menologes, Consult tables, PO, calendar, published in Po. X, 230-242, 279-286, and XX, 750-789.

Note. - In the years following an intercalary year, the transcription of Roman dates must be carried to the next day, from August 29 to February 29. E.g.: the 19th th of the year 696 of the year of the martyrs is 17 September 981 instead of the 16th, and **the** 14th méchir is 9th February 982 instead of the 8th (the year of the era of martyrs begins on 29th August, common year; 30 August, year following the intercalary year).

Ιv

LITURGICAL CALENDAR OF THE JACOBITE SYRIANS

references. - Synaxes in PO, X; Evangelists: MAI, SVNC, IV, Part 2, 61-71; N. NILLES, Kalendarium manuale utriusque Ecclesiae, II, Innsbruck, 1897, 642-644; A. BAUMSTARK, Festbrevier und Kirchenjahr der syrischen Jakobiten, passim.

A) SUNDAY CYCLE

I. Sunday cycle dependent on Christmas

Eight Sundays before Christmas, the first of which, to ensure this number, must undoubtedly, as in the Nestorians, be the Sunday occurring from *October 30 to* **November** 5, and not, as Nilles says, the Sunday closest to November.

Originally, selon all probability, these eight Sundays were distributed in:

I—IV Sundays of the Dedication, and

I—IV Sundays of the Annunciation.

In the following, there were three Sundays of the Dedication and five of the Annunciation:

I—III Sundays of the Dedication;

I of the Annunciation. Announcement to Zechariah; II⁰ Sunday: Announcement to Mary; Ille dimanche: Visitation of Mary to Elisabeth; Ive Sunday: Birth of s. John the Baptist;

Fifth Sunday: Revelation to His. Joseph.

This is the state given by most manuscripts.

Later, the Sundays of the Dedication were reduced to two, and the Sundays of the Annunciation were raised to six. The sixth Sunday was devoted to the Expectation of the birth of the T. S. Virgin. This is the state indicated by Nilles and PO, \vec{X} , 98, 102.

December25th: Christmas.

December 26: The Mother of God.
December 27: s. Etienne.
December 28: the ss. Apostles.
December 29: The Holy Innocent Children. December 31: The Holy Himyarite Martyrs

Ler Jan.: the Holy Fathers Ignatius, Basil, Gregory.

Jan. 6: Epiphany of N.-S.

The three days after the Epiphany: fasting of the Virgins.

Jan. 7: s. John the Baptist.

Sundays after the Epiphany. At least three, eight at most.
Wednesday before antepenultimate Sunday, the three holy ecumenical councils
(PO, X, 38).

Antepenultimate Sunday after the Epiphany.

Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday: fasting and rogation of the Ninivites or fasting of indiction.

Friday: memory of the deceased priests.

Penultimate Sunday after the Epiphany (= Septuagesimus).

Friday: memory of all the faithful deceased.

Last Sunday after the Epiphany.
Friday: memory of the faithful who died abroad.
Variant in PO, X,' 125, for these last three Sundays:

Memory of the Mother of God, the saints and the deceased;

Memory of the holy priests;
 Memory of all the faithful deceased from Adam to today.

2. Sunday cycle dependent on Easter

Ter Sunday of Lent (= Quinquagésime): Wedding of Cana.

Monday: fasting begins.

Saturday: s. Ephrem; s. Théodore Tiron. Second Sunday of Lent: healing of the leper.

Third Sunday of Lent: healing of the paralytic.

Fourth Sunday of Lent: healing of the paralytic.

Fourth Sunday of Lent: healing of the paralytic.

Variants: the Chananean (PO, X, 126, and Baumstark, 222); healing of the deaf-mute

(Baumstark, 222).
Wednesday: mid-Lent: Exaltation of the Sainte-Croix.

Fifth Sunday of Lent: resurrection of the son of Naïm's widow. Variant: the man who descended

from Jerusalem to Jericho. Saturday: the Forty Martyrs (in some places).

VI th Sunday of Lent: the blind-born.

Friday of the Forty Martyrs (in some places). Friday of the end of the fast. temptation of N. S.

Palm Sunday. It is also called the Passover. Week of the Passion of the Lord.

Thursday: Passover of the Holy Mysteries.

Great Friday of the crucifixion. Saturday of the Annunciation.

Resurrection Sunday.

White week. Egg Week.
Friday: feast of the confessors.
Sunday again. Sunday of white clothes. First Sunday after the Resurrection.
Thursday: S. Jacquest He Interpreter.

Second, III th, Iv Sundays after the Resurrection.

Wednesday: Mesopotecôte.

Fifth Sunday after the Resurrection.

Thursday: Ascension of Our Lord.

VIS Sunday after the Resurrection. Memory of all Orthodox Fathers.

Thursday: memory of Mar Barsôma. Saturday: the deceased faithful.

Pentecost Sunday. Beginning of the week (weeks) of the Apostles. Monday: beginning of the fasting of the Apostles; S. Mar Aaron.

Gold Friday.

Sunday of all saints. First Sunday after Pentecost.

III-Fifth Sundays afterPentecost.

Friday of the seventh week after Pentecost: Feast of the Holy Apostles, end of their fasting

I—Sixth Sundays after the Week of the Apostles.

I Sunday of the fast of Ananias (Bet-Anania, enigmatic designation).

Monday: beginning of the fast of Ananias.

II('-SEVENTH Sundays of the fast of Ananias. The Sundays of the fast of Ananias take the name

Sundays after the Cross, starting with the Feast of the Cross, September 14. The latter are at number of 6 or 7

I—Sixth (SEVENTH) Sundays after the Cross.

Note. — In some manuscripts, the fasting of the Apostles ends with the feast of the Apostles on June 29; we also meet the fasting of the Assumption from ter to August 15.

B) FESTIVALS

Fixed Feasts of the Lord

1 West I easts of the Bort	
Annunciation to Mary	March 25
Christmas	
Epiphany	Jan. 6
Epiphany	2 Feb.
Transfiguration	August 6
Cross (Apparition of the)	6 May
(Discovery of the) (Exaltation of the)	May 22, Sept. 13.
— (Exaltation of the)	14 Sep.

Fetes of the Blessed Virgin

Entrance to the temple	21 Nov.
Annunciation	25 March
Nativity	8 Sept.
Death of the Blessed Virgin	15 August
Memory of the Holy Mother of God	26 Dec. 15 Jan.
Welliony of the flory Wiother of God	May 15, Sept. 15
	,, sop. 10

Abgar	Saints
Beard (ste)	Abraham(Patriarch) Addai, Apostle of Edessa May 14 Aggai, apostle of Edessa Alexander of Alexandria Andrew, Apostle Anthime of Constantinople Antony, abbot Athanasius of Alexandria Athanasius of Alexandria Ter May 1 1 Sept
Beard (ste)	Bacchus and Serge
Como and Damien April 6, June 16 14 August, Oct. 12 Cyriaque and Julitte 15 July. Cyril and Timothy, patr. of Alexandria 30 July. Damien, see Como Daniel and the Three Children June 3, August 22 Demetrioanos Io nov. Dionysius the Areopagite Oct. 3, Dec. 3 Alexandria Dioscore 30 July 5, Sept. 4 Dometios July 5, Sept. 7 Elijah, prophet April 3, July 20. Elisha, prophet 14 and 27 June Ephrem, Syrian doctor 1 Feb. Epiphany of Cyprus 12 May Etienne 27 or 28 Dec. Euphemia (ste) 16 Sept. Eusebius of Samosate 22 June Flavian of Antioch 14 Nov. Gratian, Emperor Nov. 14 Gregory the Thaumaturge 30 June, 27 Sept. Gregory the Thaumaturge 30 June, 27 Sept. Gregory the Thologian 25 Jan. Helena, Empress 0n August Honorius, Emperor Io nov. Ignatius of Antioch 10 Ir on August Honorius, Emperor Io nov. Ignatius of Antioch 11 In nov. Ignatius of Antioch 12 June 20, Dec. 28 James and John, Brothers, Apostles 31 July.	Beard (ste)
Como and Damien Cyriaque and Julitte July. Cyril and Timothy, patr. of Alexandria	
Cyril and Timothy, patr. of Alexandria Damien, see Como Daniel and the Three Children Demetrioanos Dionysius the Areopagite Demetrioanos Dionysius the Areopagite Oct. 3, Dec. 3 Alexandria Dioscore July 5, Sept. 7 Elijah, prophet April 3, July 20. Elisha, prophet Deptrem, Syrian doctor Dionysius the Areopagite Dometios Lisha, prophet L	Como and Damien
Jacques d'Edesse, the Interpreter 31 May James l'Intercis 27 Nov. Jacques de Nisibe May 13, August 14 Jacques de Saroug 29 Nov. John and James, brothers, apostles May 7	Damien, see Como Daniel and the Three Children Daniel and the Three Children Demetrioanos Dionysius the Areopagite Oct. 3, Dec. 3 Alexandria Dioscore July 5, Sept. 7 Elijah, prophet April 3, July 20. Elisha, prophet Ephrem, Syrian doctor i Feb. Epiphany of Cyprus Lienne Daniel and the Three Children Lienne Diony Lie

John the Baptist	Tune 24
(decollation) — (invention of the chief) John Chrysostom Jean de Qenneshré	Oct. 26 Jan. 27, Sept. 13.
Jean de Tella	6 Feb.
Job the Patriarch Julian, martyr	9 August
Julian, Patriarch Justine (ste)	8 July.
Leontius	18 June
Lucien, martyr Macchabées	ter August
Mark, Evangelist Marouta of Tagrit	April 25
Martyrs (Forty)	on Saturday March 7-14
Himyarite MartyrsMelèce of Antioch	31 Dec.
Mena	22 Oct.
Patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, Jacob Paul, apostle Pelagia (ste)	August 21 or 22
Pelaga (ste)	8 Oct.
Fathers (the 318) and Constantine	3 Nov.
Felagia (ste) Fathers (the 15o) and Theodosius, emperor Fathers (the 318) and Constantine Philip and Bartholomew, Apostles Philoxene of Mabboug Peter and Paul	April 2 16 August _
peter of Alexandria May	29, Nov. 25
peter "The Iberian "	27 Nov
	3 Dec.
Porphyry of Antioch	one ^r Dec.
peter of Alexandria May Stone of Callinicé patr. of Antioch peter " The Iberian " Polycarp Porphyry of Antioch Proclus of Constantinople	1 100001145 0 3414
Rabboula of Edessa	8 August
Rabboula of Edessa Romanus Samona, Gouria and Abib	8 August Nov. 18
Rabboula of Edessa Romanus Samona, Gouria and Abib Serge and Bacchus	
Rabboula of Edessa Romanus Samona, Gouria and Abib Serge and Bacchus Severus of Antioch Shabi	
Rabboula of Edessa Romanus Samona, Gouria and Abib Serge and Bacchus Severus of Antioch Shabi Simon, Apostle	
Rabboula of Edessa Romanus Samona, Gouria and Abib Serge and Bacchus Severus of Antioch Shabi Simon, Apostle Symeon, Stylite Theele(ste)	
Rabboula of Edessa Romanus Samona, Gouria and Abib Serge and Bacchus Severus of Antioch Shabi Simon, Apostle Symeon, Stylite Thecle(ste) Theodore of Samosate Theodosius of Alexandria	May 3, 1er sept. ———————————————————————————————————
Rabboula of Edessa Romanus Samona, Gouria and Abib Serge and Bacchus Severus of Antioch Shabi Simon, Apostle Symeon, Stylite Thecle(ste) Theodore of Samosate Theodosius of Alexandria Theodosius the Great	
Rabboula of Edessa Romanus Samona, Gouria and Abib Serge and Bacchus Severus of Antioch Shabi Simon, Apostle Symeon, Stylite Thecle(ste) Theodore of Samosate Theodosius of Alexandria Theodosius the Great	
Rabboula of Edessa Romanus Samona, Gouria and Abib Serge and Bacchus Severus of Antioch Shabi Simon, Apostle Symeon, Stylite Thecle(ste) Theodore of Samosate Theodosius of Alexandria	

For more information on the saints of the Jacobite Syrian Church, see the Synaxarias published in PO, X, by consulting the alphabetical table, ibid., 135-151.

LITURGICAL CALENDARS 34^{1}

V

LITURGICAL CALENDAR OF THE NESTORIAN SYRIANS

references. - ELIE de Nisibe, Opus chronologicum, ed. Chabot, pars posterior (versio), 151-152 and painting; N. NILLES, Kalendarium manuale utriusque Ecclesiae, II, Innsbruck, 684-688. N. PIGOULEWSKI, Leningrad Biblical Syriac Manuscripts, Rev. biblical, 46 (1937) and 47 (1938) see mss. XVIII, XIX, XXI, XXII, where are indicated in detail the scriptural readings of the iturgical cycle.

A) SUNDAY CYCLE

The liturgical cycle includes a double Sunday cycle: one dependent on Christmas, the other dependent on Easter. The latter continues by overlapping on most of the previous one.

t. Sunday cycle dependent on Christmas

Ier-IVe Sundays of the Entrance or Dedication. The first Sunday is the one that falls from October 3 to

5 November.

Ier_IVe Sundays of the Annunciation. Following the previous ones.

Christmas: December 25. Epiphany: January 6.

Sundays after the Epiphany: 3 at least, 8 at most. Antepenultimate Sunday after the Epiphany, called *Sunday before the fasting of the Ninivites* Sunday

before the Septuagésime).
Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday: fasting of the Ninivites.

Thursday: Thanksgiving.

Sunday penultimate after the Epiphany (= Septuagesime). Last Sunday after the Epiphany (= Quinquagésime).

2. Sunday cycle dependent on Easter

This cycle is characterized by a distribution of seven sets of seven weeks! each: Lent, Easter time, fasting of the Apostles, summer, fasting of Elijah, autumn, fasting of Moses. As we see, fasting and non-fasting times are alternative.

 I^{er} dimanche du jeûne or Dimanche de l'entréeç du jeûne (= Quinquagésime).

Monday: fasting begins.

Second-Sixth Sundays of fasting.

Hosanna Sunday.

Easter Thursday. Friday of the Passion and mystery of Easter.

Great Saturday.

Easter Sunday. Resurrection Sunday.

Second-Seventh Sundays of the Resurrection.

ascension. Sunday after Ascension.

I. CHRONOLOGY 34^{2}

IIe-Viie Sundays of the Apostles.

Seventh Week of the Apostles.

Friday of the end of the Week of the Apostles. Memory of the 72 disciples.

Sunday of the completion of the Week of the Apostles. Feast of the 12 Apostles.

This Sunday is called Nosardil (= new year). First Sunday of the summer.

Friday of the beginning of the summer week. s. Jacques de Nisibe.

Iie-Ve Summer Šundays

Fifth Friday of summer: S. Samonas and his sons martyrs.

Sixth Sunday of summer. Sixth Friday of summer: S. Raban Moses of Beth-Sajara; S. Simeon Barsabae and

Fathers crowned with him.

Seventh Sunday of summer.

Seventh Friday of summer: S. Kardagh, martyr.

I's Sunday of Elijah. Sunday of the entrance to Elijah's fast (7 weeks).

Friday: s. Bab, catholicos.
Second-VIIth Sundays of Elijah. After the feast of the Invention of the Cross, Sundays are also called

Sundays of invention or Sundays after the Cross and are counted I, II...

I er-VII. Autumn Sundays (I call them so for lack of having met another name).

I-VII Sundays of Moses, which, depending on the occurrence, take mainly the name of Sundays of the Dedication, of the Annunciation, of Sundays after Christmas, Sundays after the Epiphany. Fasting of Moses (in principle 7 weeks, but that of Advent in tient place). The extreme dates of the last Sunday of Moses are ro January and Ir February.

The weeks, in varying numbers, that are between the last Sunday of Moses and the Sunday of the entrance to the fast are called Banana (name of uncertain meaning).

Note. — In the description of Nilles, the septerary of The Sundays of Moses is carried over to the previous septerary; this certainly represents a later stage.

B) FESTIVALS

Fixed Feasts of the Lord

25 kânûn I (December 25): Nativity of Our Lord.

26 kânûn II (January 6): Epiphany. 2 Shebàt (February 2): N. S. enters the temple. 6 ab (August 6): Transfiguration of N. S. on Mount Thabor.

13th Ilûl (September 13): Feast of the Cross.

Fixed Feasts of Saints

teshrin I (te^r October): s. Serge. 4 kânûn II (December 4): St. Barbara. 4 kanun il (December 4): St. Barbara.
7 adâr (March 7): the Forty-Martyrs.
24 nisan (April 24): s. Georges.
15 iyar (May 15): N.D. Marie who protects the ears.
3 tammfiz (July 3): S. Thomas, apostle.
15 tammûz (July 15): s. Cyriaque. 15 ah (August 15): Notre-Dame Marie.

^{2nd} Sunday of teshrin I: s. Photi or Phétion (in Nilles, Oct. 25). 3⁰ Sunday of ticino I: s. Simeon. Friday after the Nativity of N. S.: Our Lady Mary. er Friday after the Epiphany: S. Jean-Baptiste.

ter Monday after the Epiphany: Rogation of the Virgins (or fasting of the Virgins).

Fridays after the Epiphany are reserved for the commemoration of the main saints. *The ordo* varies according to the greater or lesser number of Fridays preceding Lent.

If there are four, we celebrate in the first: S. John the Baptist, S. Etienne and Mar Abba; in the second, S. Peter and S. Paul and the Evangelists; in the third, the Greek and Syrian doctors; in the fourth, the sons of Adam (that is to say, the memorial of all the deceased faithful).

f there are five, we celebrate in the first: S. John the Baptist; in the second, S. Peter and S. Paul and the Evangelists; in the third, S. Etienne and Mar Abba; in the fourth, the Greek and Syrian doctors; in the fifth, the sons of Adam.

If there are six, we celebrate in the first s. John the Baptist; in the second, s. Peter and S. Paul and the Evangelists; in the third, s. Etienne; in the fourth, the Greek and Syrian doctors; in the fifth, Mar Abba; in the sixth, the sons of Adam.

If there are seven, the first, S. John the Baptist, is celebrated; in the second, S. Peter and S. Paul; in the third, the Evarigelists; in the fourth, S. Etienne; in the fifth, the Greek and Syrian doctors; in the sixth, Mar Abba; in the seventh, the sons of Adam.

If there are eight, we celebrate in the first, S. John the Baptist; in the second, S. Peter and S. Paul; in the third, the Evangelists; in the fourth, s. Etienne; in the fifth, the Greek doctors; in the sixth, the Syrian doctors; in the seventh, Mar Abba; in the eighth, the sons of Adam.

If there are *nine*, it's the same series for the first seven Fridays. In the eighth, the Forty Martyrs are celebrated, and in the ninth, the sons of Adam.

Vi

MAIN MUSLIM HOLIDAYS

i MoharremNew Year
Io — Murder of Hussein
II Rebi I HolyNight
11 Red 1 Holy
12 - Birth of the Prophet
23 — Death of the Prophet
8 Djumada I Birth ofAli
15 — Ali's death
20
20
Death of Abu Rekr
O Distant of Abas Data
9 — Birin of Abu Bekr
20 - Birth of Fatima
t Redjeb Construction of the Ark
5 — Night of the Prophet's Conception
27 — Night of his ascent to heaven
3 Shaban Birth of Hussein
15 — Night of the test
Ramadhan Fasting Month
19 — Conquest of Mecca
27 —Night of Power
1-3 Shawwal Sheker Bairam, end of fasting
4 Dju-l-kade The Seven Sleepers
10-13 Dju-l-hidje Kourban Bairam
10 10 Dju i maje minimi i kontoni Dalimi

Vi

HISTORICAL LISTS

(A) BYZANTIUM

- I. The Consuls.
- II. Roman emperors.
- III. Greek emperors.
- III bis. Byzantine dynasties.
 - IV. Prefects of the Praetorian Court.
 - V. Greek Emperors of Trebizond.
 - VI. Greek emperors and despots of Thessaloniki.
 - VII.— Greek despots of Epirus.
 - VIII.— Dukes of Neopatras of the angel family.
 - IX. Greek despots of Morea (Mistra).

LES CONSULS

Since Gaius Calligula (year 37), emperors, even when they have already assumed it once or several times, take the consulate at their advent, either in the same year in which they come to power, or most often in the following year, rarely in the second year following the advent.

Since Maximinus (in 236), it can be seen that the emperors regularly take the consulate on january I after the accession (except Julian, who was already consul the same year he became emperor).

Since Diocletian, consuls have had only honours, the main one being to give their name to the year for which they were elected. That is why we soon see the consulate conferred on imperial children. This took place for the first time for Jovian's son, then in infancy.

In the list below, we note, from 532, a double way of dating the post-consulats: the old style (modus marcellinianus), where the first year p.c. is the one following the year of the consulate; the new style (modus victorianus), where the first year p.c. is the same year of the consulate.

We stop the lists when Justinien dies.

For the following years until the disappearance of the consulate, one will consult the study of E. Stein, *Post-consulate* and *1,'Jzrix.px* opE.:iv., Mélanges Bidez, 1933-1934, 869-912, and the list of post-consulates drawn up by Degrassi up to 613.

Under Emperor Justin II (November 15, 565-Oct. 5, 578), dating by post-consulates was practiced in various ways. Justin II took consulat in 566, and a second time in 568. According to the sources, post-consulates are counted sometimes from the first consulate for the whole reign, sometimes starting again from the second consulate. And, in both cases, they are counted, either in theold style, or in the new style. Yet another dating can be seen during Justin's reign. Because of the proximity of its advent to the I of January, some dataires have united and confused the year of the reign with that of the consulate, consideringit as an imperial dignity renewing itself every year, like the *tribuniciana potestas* of the High Empire: hence the formula:(30cm. Xsta.ç za). 1:).; -cy.7E.-iy.t: or *imp. and cons*.

Under Tiberius Constantine (6 October 578-14 August 582), this last formula appears in isolation: in 580 (r4G.."). zci.:, xx; ::177.0Czziog). In the other testimonies, it is the post-consulate that is counted and the computation knows both styles, old and new.

Under Mauritius (14 August 582-23 Nov. 602), the duality of style remains. It seems, however, that this emperor sought to make it disappear. He did not assume his consulate of accession on IJanuary⁵⁸³, but only at the end of that year on December 25. In this way, this end of the year was to be valid for his year of consulate, and the following year 584 from se^L January became the first *post consulateum*. Unification was not done completely, because, instead of counting 584 for the first year of consulate, we see dissents of two kinds, one where the year 584 is the second year *after consulate*, others where it is taken for the very year of the consulate. Mauritius

took the consulate a second time on 6 July 602, prescribing for the end of the year the dating: et consulatu eiusdem piissimi domini nostri secundo. On November 22 of the same year 602, he fled before the insurrection of Phocas.

Phocas (23 Nov. 602-5 Oct. 610) followed Mauritius' example by celebrating its consulate, not on January 603, but in December 603. The known consular datings of this reign, namely, from the years 604, 605, 608, uniformly apply the style of Mauritius, based on the ancient style. They are respectively designated I, 2nd and 5th years of the consulate or post-consulate of Phocas.

Heraclius (5 Oct. 610-11 Feb. 641) had at heart, in his turn, to ensure this uniformity. He ordered the year 61i to be counted as the year of his consulate, and after having his son Heraclius-le-Nouveau-Constantin crowned as co-emperor, he ordered on 22 January 613 to mention in the dating, next to himself, his young colleague, renewing the years of the latter on that day, each year, starting with the year 616 which he designated in the edict as the third of his reign, the second after his consulate and the first (of the reign) of Heraclius-le-Nouveau-Constantine.

On January I, 632, Heraclius the New Constantine assumed the consulate and proclaimed Caesar his half-brother Heraclonas. The consulate here takes on the meaning of an entry into the fullness of imperial power: what Pope Honorius seems to hear when he counts the year 634 as the 23rd postconsulum year of Heraclius, according to the old style, and as the third consulateus of Heraclius-the-New Constantine, according to the new style.

The last emperor to assume the consulate at his accession was Constantius II (Sept. 641-Sept. 668). In the typus autocephaliae of the church of Ravenna, promulgated on March I 666, this year is counted as the 24th year post consulate of Constantius II.

From Constantine IV (Sept. 668-Sept. 685), the so-called post-consular years of the emperors are nothing more than the years of their effective government, as it appears in the Acts of the Sixth Ecumenical Council (Nov. 7, 680-16 Sept. 681) where the imperial years of Constantine IV only, and not those of his brothers crowned in 659, are said to be post-consular.

This usage, with the meaning thus given to effective seizure of power, persisted until the beginning of the ninth century. It then disappears, this lastmeaning being carried over to theoc?yroxpoc-r.opiy,. The change was made at the advent of Staurakios (end of July 8ii). The latter had already been emperor since 25 December 803, but he had to be solemnlyproclaimed in order to acquire real power. :v')-.-oz,-2/.7wp. It was probably his father Nikephoros who introduced this distinction between (3cho-cXsi-y.ir.-ozpd'.-.76.) p and ,ri'xrs!,Xsli),; nominal.

The title of consul, which the emperors no longer held, was granted tohigh-ranking officials or highranking officials, until it was finally abrogated by a novella of Leo VI. See Chr. COURTOIS, Ex-consul. Observations sur l'histoire du consulat à l'époque byzantine, Byzantion, 19, 1949, 37-58. This category of consuls is nolonger interested inchronology.

LIST OF CONSULS

FROM THE ADVENT OF DIOCLETIAN TO THE DEATH OF JUSTINIAN (after W. LIEBENAM (1) and A. DEGRASSI (2))

- 285 Imp. Diocletianus II. M. Aurelius Aristobulus.
- 286 M. Iunius Maximus II. Vettius Aquilinus.
- 287 Imp. Diocletianus III. Imp. Maximianus 288 Imp. Maximianus II. Pomponius Ianuarianus.
- 289 Mr Magrius Bassus. —L. Ragonius Quintianus
 - (r) Fasti consulares imperii romani von 30 r. Chr. bis 565 n. Chr. mit Kaiserliste und Anhan g, Bonn, roo9.
 - (2) I iasti consolari dell'impero romano dal 30 avanti Cristo al 613 dopo Cristo, Roma, 1952

290 Imp. Diocletianus IV. - Imp. Maximianus III. 291 C. Iunius Tiberianus II. — Cassius Dio. 292 Afranius Hannibalianus.- Iulius Asclepiodotus. 293 Imp. Diocletianus V. - Imp. Maximianus IV.
294 C. Flavius Valerius Constantius Caesar. — Galerius Valerianus Maximianus Caesar.
295 Nummius Tuscus. —C. Annius Anullinus
296 Imp. Diocletianus VI. — C. Flavius Valerius Constantius Caesar II.
297 Imp. Maximianus V. — Galerius Valerius Maximianus II.
298 M. Iunius Caesonius Nicomanchus Anicius Faustus Paulinus II. - Virius Gallus. 298 M. Iunius Caesonius Nicomachus Anicius Fausius Fausius Fausius II. - Vitius Galius.
299 Imp. Diocletianus VII. - Imp. Maximianus VI.
300 C. Flavius Valerius Constantius Caesar III. — Galerius Valerius Maximianus Caesar III.
301 T. Flavius Postumius Titianus II. — Popilius Virius Nepotianus.
302 C. Flavius Valerius Constantius Caesar IV. — Galerius Valerius Maximianus Caesar IV.
303 Imp. Diocletianus VIII. - Imp. Maximianus VIII.
304 Imp. Diocletianus IX. - Imp. Maximianus VIII.
305 C. Flavius Valerius Constantius Caesar V. — C. Galerius Valerius Maximia 305 C. Flavius Valerius Constantius Caesar V. — C. Galerius Valerius Maximianus Caesar V. Both Augustes since May. 306 Imp. Constantius VI. - Imp. Maximianus Galerius VI.
307 Occ.: Imp. Maximianus IX. — Flavius Valerius Constantinus Caesar.
Rome according to the chron. of 354: Maximianus IX. — Maximinus. From April, post sextum consulateum (Constantii and Maximiani). East: Imp. Severus. — Maximinus Caesar.

308 Imp. Diocletianus X. - Imp. Maximianus Galerius VII.
Rome (since 20 April): Imp. Maxentius. — Mr Valerius Romulus.

309 Occ.: p.c. Diocletiani Aug. X and Maximiani VII.
Rome: Imp. Maxentius II. — M. Valerius Romulus II. East: Imp. Licinius. — Flavius Valerius Constantinus Caesar. 310 Occ.: anno II p.c. Diocletiani Aug. X and Maximiani VII. Rome: Imp. Maxentius III. East: Tatius Andronicus. — Pompeius Probus (1).
311 Imp. Galerius Maximianus VIII. - Imp. Maximinus II.
Rome: Eusebius. — C. Caeionius Rufius Volusianus (sept.). 312 Imp. Constantinus II. - Imp. Licinius II. Rome: Imp. Maxentius IV (until 28 Oct.). 313 Imp. Constantinus III. - Imp. Licinius III. Rome: Imp. Constantinus III. - Imp. Maximinus III (until May?). 314 C. Caeionius Rufius Volusianus II. — Petronius Annianus. 315 Imp. Constantinus IV. - Imp. Licinius IV. 316 Antonius Caecina? Sabinus. — Vettius Rufinus. 317 Ovinius Gallicanus.- Iunius Bassus.
318 Imp. Licinius V. — Flavius Crispus Caesar.
319 Imp. Constantinus V. — Valerius Licinianus Licinius Caesar.
320 Imp. Constantinus VI. — Flavius Claudius Constantinus Caesar.
321 Occ.: Flavius Crispus Caesar II. — Flavius Claudius Constantinus Caesar II. East: Licinius VI. — Licinius Caesar II (2). 322 Occ.: Petronius Probianus. — Amnius Anicius Iulianus. 323 Acilius Severus. — C. Vettius Rufinus 324 Flavius Crispus Caesar III. — Flavius Claudius Constantinus Caesar III. 325 Sex. Anicius (Faustus) Paulinus II. — P. Caeionius Iulianus 326 Imp. Constantinus VII. — Flavius Constantius Caesar. 327 Flavius Constantius. — Valerius Maximus. 328 Flavius Ianuarinus. — Vettius Iustus. 329 Imp. Constantinus VIII. — Flavius Claudius Constantinus Caesar IV. 330 Flavius Gallicanus. — Valerius Tullianus Symmachus. 331 Annius Bassus. —Flavius Ablabius. 332 Fabius Pacatianus.— Maecilius Hilarianus. 333 Flavius Iulius Dalmatius. — Zenofilus. 334 Flavius Optatus (3). — Anicius Paulinus iunior.

(X) Sicorius Probus (Liebenam).

(2) This double consulate (Imp. Licinius VI and Licinius Caesar II) was placed in 322 by Liebenam and Seeck.

(3) Proculus Optatus (Liebenam).

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335 Flavius Iulius Constantius. — Caeionius Rufius Albinus.
336 Flavius VirriJus Nepotianus Constantinus. — Tettius Facundus.
337 Flavius Felicianus. — Fabius Titianus j j p.c. Nepotiani and Facundi.
338 Flavius Ursus. — Flavius Polemius.
339 Imp. Constantius II. - Imp. Constans.
340 Septimius Acindynus. — L. Aradius Valerius?) Proculus Populonius
341 Antonius Marcellinus. — Petronius Probinus.
342 Imp. Constantius III. — Constans II.
343 M. Maecius Memmius Furius Baburius Caecilianus Placidus. — Flavius Pisidius Romulus.
344 Flavius Domitius Leontius. —Flavius Sallustius Bonosus.
345 Flavius (t) Amantius. - Rufius Albinus.
346 Imp. Constantius IV. - Imp. Constans III.
Rome: p.c. Amanti and Albini.
 Rome: p.c. Amanti and Albini.

347 Vulcacius Rufinus. —Flavius Eusebius.

348 Flavius Philippus. — Flavius Salia (or Sallia).

349 (Ulpius) Limenius. —Fabius Aco Catullinus Philomathius.

350 Flavius Anicius Sergius. — Flavius Nigrinianus. j j p.c. Limenii and Catullini.

351 Occ.: Imp. Magnentius. — Gaiso.
East: p.c. Sergii and Nigriniani.

352 East: Imp. Constantius V. — Flavius Claudius Constantius Gallus Caesar.

Occ.: Imp. Flavius Magnus Decentius Caesar — Paulus
  Occ.: Imp. Constantius V. — Flavius Claudius Constantius Gallus Caesar.
Occ.: Imp. Flavius Magnus Decentius Caesar. — Paulus.

353 East: Imp. Constantius VI. — Flavius Claudius Constantius Gallus Caesar II.
Occ.: Imp. Magnentius II. — Flavius Magnus Decentius Caesar II.

354 Imp. Constantius VII. — Claudius Constantius Gallus Caesar III.
355 Flavius Arbitio. — Q. Flavius Maesius Egnatius Lollianus Mavortius.
356 Imp. Constantius VIII. — Flavius Claudius Iulianus Caesar.
357 Imp. Constantius IX. — Flavius Claudius Iulianus Caesar II.
     358 Datianus. — Naeratius Cerealis.
  358 Datianus. — Naeratius Cerealis.
359 Flavius Eusebius. — Flavius Hypatius.
360 Imp. Constantius X. — Flavius Claudius Iulianus Caesar III j j p.c. Eusebii and Hypatii.
361 Flavius Palladius Rutilius Taurus Aemilianus. —Flavius Florentius.
362 Claudius Mamertinus. — Flavius Nevitta (Nebitta, Nebidda, Nebietta).
363 Imp. Iulianus IV. — Flavius Sallustius.
354 Imp. Iovianus — Flavius Varronianus.
365 Imp. Valentinianus. - Imp. Valens.
366 Flavius Gratianus. — Dagalaifus j j p.c. Valentiniani and Valentis.
367 Flavius Lupicinus. — Flavius Iovinus j j p.c. Gratiani and Dagalaifi.
368 Imp. Valentinianus II. - Imp. Valens II j j j p.c. Lupicini and Iovini.
369 Flavius Valentinianus. — Flavius Victor.
370 Imp. Valentinianus III. - Imp. Valens III.
371 Imp. Gratianus II. - Sex. (Anicius) Flavius Petronius Probus.
 370 Imp. Valentinianus III. - Imp. Valens III.
371 Imp. Gratianus II. - Sex. (Anicius) Flavius Petronius Probus.
372 Flavius Domitius Modestus. — Flavius Arintheus (or Arinthaeus) j j p.c. Gratiani II and Probi.
373 Imp. Valentinianus IV. - Imp. Valens IV.
374 Imp. Gratianus III. — Flavius Equitius.
375 p.c. Gratiani III and Equitii.
376 Imp. Valens V. - Imp. Valentinianus iunior.
377 Imp. Gratianus IV. — Flavius Merobaudes j j p.c. Valentis V and Valentiniani.
378 Imp. Valens VI. - Imp. Valentinianus iunior II j j j p.c. Gratiani and Merobaudis.
379 Decimus Magnus Ausonius. —Q. Clodius Hermogenianus Olybrius.
380 Imp. Gratianus V. - Imp. Theodosius j j p.c. Ausonii and Olybrii.
381 Flavius Syagrius. — Flavius Eucherius.
382 Flavius Claudius Antonius. — Flavius Saturninus j j p.v. Antonii and Saturnini Syagrii.
384 Flavius Ricomer. — Flavius Clearchus ! j p.c. Merobaudis and Saturnini.
In Gaul: Flavius Magnus Maximus Aug.
  In Gaul: Flavius Magnus Maximus Aug.

385 Imp. Arcadius. — Flavius Bauto j j p.c. Ricomeris and Clearchi.
Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, consul-designate, died before taking office in autumn 384.

386 Flavius Honorius. — Flavius Evodius j j p.c. Arcadii and Bautonis.

387 Imp. Valentinianus iunior III. — Eutropius I j p.c. Honorii and Evodii.

388 East: Imp. Theodosius II. — Maternus Cynegius j j p.c. Valentiniani III.
Rome: Imp. Magnus Maximus II. — Flavius Merobaudes III.
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389 Flavius Timasius. — Flavius Promotus.
390 Imp. Valentinianus IV. — Flavius Neoterius I I p.c. Timasii and Promoti.
391 Flavius Tatianus. — Q. Flavius Aurelius Symmachus.
392 Imp. Arcadius II. — Flavius Rufinus I I p.c. Tatiani and Symmachi.
393 East: Imp. Theodosius III. — Flavius Abundantius.
Occ.: Imp. Theodosius III. - Imp. Eugenius (this one alone already from October 25, inscr. Capua CIL X L492. (p.c. Arcadi and Rufini. 394 East: Imp. Arcadius III. Occ.: Imp. Honorius II. - Virius Nicomachus Flavianus appointed by the usurper Eugene. 395 Anicius Hermogenianus Olybrius. — Flavius Anicius Probinus I I p.c. Arcadi III and Honorii II. 396 East: Imp. Arcadius IV Occ.: Imp. Honorius III.
397 Flavius Caesarius. — Flavius Nonius Atticus Maximus.
398 Imp. Honorius IV. — Flavius Eutychianus. 399 East: Eutropius. Occ.: Flavius Mallius Theodorus p.c. Honorii and Eutychiani. 400 Occ.: Flavius Stilicho. gold.: Aurelianus I I p.c. Theodori. 401 Occ.: Flavius Vincentius. East: Flavius Fravitus I p.c. Stilichonis and Aureliani.
402 East: Imp. Arcadius V.
Occ.: Imp. Honorius V I Ip.c. Vincentii and Fraviti. 403 East: Imp. Theodosius iunior. Occ. - Flavius Rumoridus. 404 Occ. Imp. Honorius VI. East: Aristaenetus 405 Occ.: Flavius Stilicho II. East: Flavius Anthemius I p.c. Honorii VI. 406 Orient Imp. Arcadius VI. Occ.: Anicius Flavius Petronius Probus I I p.c. Stilichonis II. 407 Occ. Imp. Honorius VII. - Imp. Theodosius iunior II. 408 Occ. Flavius Anicius Auchenius Bassus. East: Flavius Philippus I p.c. Honorii VII and Theodosii II.
409 Occ.: Imp. Honorius VIII. — Gaul, Spain, Brittany: Imp. Flavius Claudius Constantinus. East: Imp.
Theodosius iunior III I I p.c. Bassi. 410 Orient: Varanes (Barnes). Rome: Tertullus I I p.c. Honorii VIII and Theodosii III. 411 East: Imp. Theodosius iunior IV.
Occ.: p.c. Varanis iterum p.c. Honorii VIII and Theodosii III.
412 Occ.: Imp. Honorius IX.
East: Imp. Theodosius iunior V. 413 Occ.: Heraclianus, then :p.c. Honorii IX and Theodosii V. East: Lucius. 414 Occ.: Flavius Constantius. East: Constans I p.c. Lucii. 415 Occ.: Imp. Honorius X.
East: Imp. Theodosius iunior VI.
416 East: Imp. Theodosius junior VII.
Occ. - Flavius Iunius Quartus Palladius. 417 Occ.: Imp. Honorius XI. — Flavius Constantius II I p.c. Theodosii VII and Iuni Quarti Palladi. 418 Occ.: Imp. Honorius XII. East: Imp. Theodosius iunior VIII I j p.c. Honorii XI and Constanti II. 419 Occ.: Flavius Monaxius. East: Plinta. 420 Orient: Imp. Theodosius iunior IX.
Occ.: Imp. Flavius Constantius III I p.c. Monaxi and Plintae. 421 Occ.: Agricola. East: Flavius Eustathius 422 Occ. Imp. Honorius XIII. East: Imp. Theodosius iunior X. 423 Occ.: Flavius Avitus Marinianus. East: Asclepiodotus I I p.c. Honorii XIII and Theodosii X.

424 Occ.: Flavius Castinus. East: Victor I I p.c. Asclepiodoti. 425 East: Imp. Theodosius iunior XI. — Flavius Placidus Valentinianus Caesar. Occ.: Imp. Ioannes j p.c. Castini. 426 East: Imp. Theodosius iunior XII. Occ.: Imp. Valentinianus II. 427 East: Flavius Hierius. — Flavius Ardabur (published together throughout the Empire). 428 Occ.: Flavius Constantius Felix. East: Flavius Taurus 429 East: Florentius. - Dionysius (published together and unknown in the West until May) p.c. Felicis and Tauri.
430 East: Imp. Theodosius iunior XIII. Occ.: Imp. Valentinianus III. 431 Occ.: Flavius Anicius Bassus. East: Flavius Antiochus. (p.c. Theodosii XIII; (p.c. Theodosii XIII and Valentiniani III. 432 Occ.: Flavius Aetius Gaudentii f. East: Valerius Leontii f. H p.c. Bassi and Antiochi. 433 East: Imp. Theodosius iunion XIV. Occ. - Flavius Petronius Maximus. 434 Occ.: Flavius Ardabur Aspar Ardaburis f. East: Flavius Areobindus j j [0] [0[,]Mo]csiou...-:. y.D!;. (IG XIV 455). 435 East: Imp. Theodosius iunior XV.
Occ.: Imp. Valentinianus IV j j j p.c. Asparis and Areobindi.
436 Orient: Flavius Anthemius Isidorus Theophilus.—Flavius Senator (published together and late in Occ.) j I p.c. Theodosii XV and Placidi Valentiniani IV.
437 Occ.: Flavius Aetius Gaudentii f. II. — Flavius Sigisvultus (published together for the whole Empire I p.c. Isidori and Senatoris. 438 East: Imp. Theodosius iunior XVI.
Occ.: Anicius Acilius Glabrio Faustus.
439 East: Imp. Theodosius iunior XVII.
Occ.: Rufius Postumius Festus j I p.c. Theodosii XVI and Fausti.
440 Occ.: Imp. Placidus Valentinianus V. East: Anatolius. 441 East: Constantius Cyrus.
Occ.: p.c. Valentiniani V and Anatolii. 442 Occ.: Flavius Dioscorus. East: Flavius Eudoxius. 443 Occ.: Flavius Petronius Maximus II. — Flavius Paterius (reconnus also in the East). 444 East: Imp. Theodosius iunior XVIII. Occ.: Flavius Albinus j j p.c. Petroni Maximi. 445 Occ.: Imp. Valentinianus VI. East: Nomus. 446 Occ.: Flavius Aetius Gaudentii f. III — Aurelius Symmachus (recognized in the East). 447 Occ.: Calepius (Callepius, Calypius, Kalipius; Alypius pap.)
East: Ardabur Asparis f. I I p.c. Aeti III and Symmachi. 448 Occ.: Flavius Rufius Praetextatus Postumianus. East: Flavius Zeno. 449 Occ.: Flavius Asturius (Astyrius).
East: Protogenes j j p.c. Zenonis post cons. Zenonis and Postumiani (Councils of Tyre and Beirut 449, Mansi, VII, 197 and 212). 450 Occ.: Imp. Placidus Valentinianus VII. — Gennadius Avienus (recognized in the East) j j p.c. Astyri and Protogenis. 451 East: Imp. Flavius Marcianus. Occ.: Flavius Adelfius 452 Occ.: Flavius Bassus Herculanus. East: Sporacius. 453 Occ.: Flavius Venantius Rufius Opilio.
East: Flavius Ioannes Vincomalus I j p.c. Herculani.
454 Orient: Flavius Aetius Gaudentii f. IV. - Studius (published in Rome in the middle of May) j I p.c.
Opilionis (p.c. Vincomalli. 455 Occ.: Imp. Flavius Placidus Valentinianus VIII. East: Procopius Anthemius Procopii f. j j p.c. Aeti and Studi; p.c. Aeti Iohannes.

456 East: Iohannes. — Varanes. — Occ.: Imp.M. Maecilius Flavius Eparchus Avitus (until early Nov.). 457 Orient: Flavius Constantinus. — Rufus (published in Rome between 2 and 8 April) I I p.c. Iohannis and Varanis. 458 Occ.: Imp. Maiorianus East: Imp. Flavius Novus Leo. 459 Occ. Flavius Ricimer Orient: Flavius Patricius Asparis f. ! p.c. Leonis. 460 Occ.: Magnus. East: Apollonius (published in the West in Sept. or Oct.). I j p.c. Ricimeris and Patrici. 461 Occ.: Flavius Severinus. East: Flavius Dagalaifus I I p.c. Magni. 462 Occ.: Imp. Libius Severus j I p.c. Severini; p.c. Dagalaifi. East: Imp. Leo II. 463 Occ. : Flavius Caecina Decius Maximus Basilius. East: Flavius Vibianus. 464 East: Flavius Rusticius (Rusticus). — Anicius Olybrius (published in the West in March). Occ.: p.c. Basilii. 465 Occ.: Hermenericus (Herminericus, Ermenericus). East: Flavius Basiliscus. 466 East: Imp. Leo III. Occ.: Tatianus (not known in the East) I p.c. Hermenerici and Basilisci.! 467 Orient: Flavius Illustrius Puseus (Poseus).- Iohannes (published throughoutItaly from the beginning of theyear) I I p.c. III Leonis.
468 Occ.: Imp. Procopius Anthemius II.
469 Occ.: Flavius Marcianus. East: Flavius Zeno. 470 Occ.: Flavius Messius Phoebus Severus. East: Iordanes. 471 Orient: Imp. Leo IV (published in Occident after September). Ccc. - Caecilius Aeonius Probianus (Probinianus). 472 Occ. : Flavius Festus. East: Marcianus j I p.c. Leonis IV. 473 East: Imp. Leo V (alone for the entire Empire). Occ.: beginning of the year: p.c. Festi. 474 East: Imp. Flavius Leo iunior. 475 East: Imp. Zeno II (not published in the West). Occ.: p.c. Leonis iunioris
476 Orient: Imp. Basiliscus II. — Armatus (published together).
477 East: p.c. Armati.
Occ.: p.c. Basilisci II and Armati.
478 Orient: Illus (Ellus) (published in Rome in March). Occ.: p.c. iterum Armati 479 East: Imp. Zeno III I p.c. Illi. 480 Occ.: Flavius Caecina Decius Maximus Basilius iunior. East: p.c. Zenonis 481 Occ.: Flavius Rufius Placidus. 482 Occ.: Severinus iunior (unknown in the East).
Orient: Flavius Trocondus (published in Rome at the end of the year). 483 Occ.: (Anicius Acilius) Aginatius (Aginantius) Faustus iunior. East: p.c. Trocondi.

484 Occ.: Venantius j , p.c. Fausti.
East: Theodoricus (Theodericus).

485 Occ.: Q. Aurelius Memmius Symmachus iunior. East: p.c. Venanti; (p.c. Theodorici. 486 Occ.: Caecina Mavortius Basilius Decius iunior j j p.c. Symmachi. East: Flavius Longinus. 487 Occ.: Flavius Boethius I I p.c. Deci; iterum p.c. Symmachi. East: p.c. Longini 488 Occ.: Claudius Iulius Eclesius Dynamius. -Rufus Acilius (Achilius) Sividius I I p.c. Boethi. East: p.c. II Longini. 489 Occ.: Petronius Probinus. East: Eusebius.

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490 Occ.: Flavius Probus Faustus iunior (not published in the East).
       East: Flavius Longinus II.
491 East: Flavius Anicius Olybrius junior.
Occ.: p.c. Longini II and Fausti; p.c. Fausti.
492 East: Imp. Flavius Anastasius. — Flavius Rufus.
493 Occ.: Faustus Albinus junior (unpublished in Orient) I I p.c. Anastasi and Rufi.
East: Eusebius II.
494 Occ.: Flavius Turcius Rufius Apronianus Asterius. —Flavius Praesidius.
495 Occ.: Flavius Viator I p.c. Asteri and Praesidi.
496 East: Flavius Paulus (not published in the West).
Occ.: p.c. Viatoris.
497 East: Imp. Anastasius II (not published in the West).
Occ.: iterum p.c. Viatoris.
498 Occ.: Flavius Paulinus.
       East: Iohannes Scytha (not published in the West) I I p.c. Anastasi Aug.
499 East: Iohannes Gibbus (not published in the West). — Asclepius (?).
Occ.: p.c. Paulini.
so Orient: Patricius. — Hypa
Occ.: iterum p.c. Paulini.
                                   Hypatius.
501 Occ.: Rufius Magnus Faustus Avienus.
       East: Pompeius.
502 Occ.: Flavius Avienus junior.
       East: Probus.
503 Occ.: Volusianus I p.c. Avieni iunioris.
East: Dexicrates (not published in the West).
504 Occ.: Flavius Rufius Petronius Nicomachus Cethegus (Cytheus).
505 Occ.: Flavius Theodorus II p.c. Cethegi.
       East: Flavius Sabinianus.
506 Occ.: Flavius Ennodius Messala I j p.c. Sabiniani and Theodori.
East: Flavius Areobindus Dagalaifus Areobindus Dagalaifi f. 507 East: Imp. Anastasius III.
Occ.: Venantius Liberii f.
508 Occ.: Decius Marius Basilius Venantius iunior j I p.c. Anastasi and Venanti; p.c. Venanti; (p.c.
                   iterum Messalae; p.c. Anastasi.
       East: Celer.
509 Occ.: Flavius Inportunus (Oportunus) ji p.c. Venanti.
510 Occ.: Anicius Mansius Severinus Boethius iunior I I p.c. Inportuni.
511 Occ.: Flavius Felix.
       East: Flavius Secundinus (Secundianus) (not published in the West).
512 East: Flavius Paulus. — Muschianus (Moschianus)(not published in the West).
Occ.: p.c. Felicis
513 Occ.: Flavius Probus.
East: Flavius Taurus Clementinus Armonius (Clementinus) I p.c. Pauli and Muschiani.
514 Occ.: Flavius Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator I I p.c. Probi.
515 Occ.: Florentius.
       East: Anthemius.
516 Occ.: Flavius Petrus I I p.c. Florenti and Anthemi.
517 Occ.: Flavius Agapitus (unpublished in The East) I I p.c. Petri.
       East: Flavius Anastasius Paulus Probus Sahinianus Pompeius Anastasius (unpublished in
               West).
518 Occ.: p.c. Agapiti (p.c. Agapiti and Anastasii.
East: Flavius Anastasius Paulus Probus Moschianus Probus Magnus.
519 Occ.: Flavius Eutharicus (Eutericus) Cillica (Cilliga)I I p.c. iterum Agapiti.
       East: Imp. Flavius Iustinus.
520 Occ.: Flavius Rusticius (Rusticianus).
East: Flavius Vitalianus.
521 East: Flavianus Iustinianus.
Occ.: Flavius Valerius (not published in the East).
 522 Occ.: Flavius Symmachus. —Flavius Boethius.
523 Occ.: Flavius Anicius Maximus I I p.c. Symmachi and Boethi. 524 Occ.: Flavius Rufius Opilio (Opilianus) iterum p.c. Symmachi.
       East: Imp. Iustinus II.
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    525 Occ.: Flavius Probus iunior (unpublished in Orient) I p.c. Iustini and Opilionis; (p.c. Opilionis. East: Flavius Theodorus Filoxenus Sotericus Filoxenus (not published in the West).
    526 Occ.: Flavius Anicius Olybrius iunior.

                East: p.c. Filoxeni.
Flavius Vettius Agorius Basilius Mayortius (Maburtius) Ip.c. Olybrii
527 Occ.:
             528 East: Imp. Iustinianus II (not published in the West).
             Occ.: p.c. Mavorti.
529 Occ.: Flavius Decius. (Decitius) iunior I I iterum p.c. Mavorti.
530 Occ.: Flavius Lampadius. —Flavius Rufius Gennadius Probus Orestes I! p.c. Deci
             iunioris.
             531 Occ.: p.c. Lampadi and Orestis.
532 Occ.: iterum p.c. Lampadi and Orestis; p.c. Lampadi and Orestis a. II (I).
533 East: Imp. Iustinianus III.
                    Occ.: and iterum p.c. Lampadi and Orestis.
            534 East: Imp. Iustinianus IV.
Occ.: Flavius Decius Paulinus iunior (the last consul of the West).
             535 East: Flavius Belisarius (Vilisarius).
                    Occ.: p.c. Paulini iunioris.
             536 Orient: p.c. Belisari.
Occ.: p.c. Paulini iunioris a. II; iterum p.c. Paulini iunioris.
             537 Orient: iterum p.c. Belisari.
Occ.: p.c. Paulini iunioris a. III; p.c. Belisari a. II.
             538 East: Flavius Iohannes Orientalis.
Occ.: p.c. Paulini iunioris a. IV I I iterum p.c. Belisari.
539 East: Fl. Strategius Appion.
Gaul: p.c. Iohannis.
             Occ.: p.c. Paulini iunioris a. V.
540 Orient: Flavius Mar. Petrus Theodorus Valent. Rust. Boraid. Germanus Iustinus iunior
                     Occ.: p.c. Paulini iunioris a. VI; iterum p.c. Iohannis.
             541 East : Flavius Anicius Faustus Albinus Basilius iunior I I p.c. Paulini iunioris a. VII; p.c.
                            a. III.
            544 P. c. Basili a. III; and iterum p.c. Basili; (p.c. Basilii a. IV; p.c. Paulini iunioris a. X; p.c. Iustini a. IV; sexies (septies) p.c. Iohannis.
                         c. Basili a. IVp.c.
            545 P-
                                                                                                        p. c. Paulini iunioris a. XI; p.c. Iustini
            546
                                    a. V
                         c. Basili a. Vp.c.
            pp.
                                                                        Basili
                                                                                                         p.c. Paulini iunioris a. XII; p.c. Iustini
                                    a. VII; novies p.c. Iohannis.
            547 P.
            548 P.C. Basili a. VIII
549 C. Basili a. VIII
550 P.C. Basili a. IX
                                                       p.c. Basili a. VIII
P.c. Basili, a. IX
                                                                                              P.c. Iustini a
                                                                                              P.c. Iustini VIII.
P.c. Iustini a. IX
                                                       P.c. Basili a. X
P.c. Basili a. XI
            551
                                                                                              P.c. Iustini a. X.
                            Basili a. X
Basili a. XI
                                                       P.c. Basili a. XII
            552 Pc.
                                                                                              P.c. Iustini a. XI.
P.c. Iustini a. XII.
                            Basili a. XII
                                                       P.c. Basili a. XIII
            553
                            Basili a. XIII
Basili a. XIV
Basili a. XV
Basili a. XVI
                                                      P.c. Basili a. XIV
P.c. Basili a. XV
P.c. Basili a. XVI
                                                                                              P.c. Iustini a. XIII.
P.c. Iustini a. XIV.
            5 5 4 P c.
555 c.
                                                                                              P.c. Iustini a. XV.
P.c. Iustini a. XVI.
            556 pc.
                                                       P.c. Basili a. XVII
            557
            558 P c.
                            Basili a. XVII
                                                       P.c. Basili a. XVIII
                                                                                              P.c. Iustini a. XVII.
                                                      P.c. Basili a. XVIII
P.c. Basili a. XIX
P.c. Basili a. XXI
P.c. Basili a. XXI
P.c. Basili a. XXII
P.c. Basili a. XXIII
P.c. Basili a. XXIV
                            Basili a. XVIII
Basili a. XIX
Basili a. XX
            559 . c.
560 p c.
                                                                                              P.c. Iustini a.
                                                                                              P.c. Iustini XVIII.
                                                                                              P.c. Iustini a. XIX.
P.c. Iustini a. XX.
            561
                      c.
                            Basili a. XXI
Basili a. XXII
Basili a. XXIII
            562 P c.
                                                                                              P.c. Iustini a. XXI.
            563
                      c.
                                                                                              P.c. Iustini
            564 pc.
                                                                                                                  a. XXII.
                                                       P.c. Basili a. XXV (2)
                                                                                              P.c. Iustini a.
            565
                   . c. Basili a. XXIV
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⁽s) auno tertio (Iiebenam).

⁽²⁾ The number of postconsulates in this column is that of modus victorianus. Indicated by Liebenatn, it is abandoned by Degrassi.

Ιi

ROMAN EMPERORS

Diocletianus, 17 or 20 Nov. (or 17 Sept.) (1) 284-I^{and} May 305 (abdic.), died 316. Maximianus (West) (Caesar perhaps on March 286), late 286-I May 305, returns Feb. 307-April 308, killed 310. Constantius (Chlorus) (I) (West) (Caesar Ie March 293), may 305-25 July. p. 306. Galerius (Caesar 1 March 293) (East), 1 May 305-5 May 311:
*Carausius (in Brittany) 286-293
*Allectus (in Brittany), 293-296. Flavius Severus (West) (Caesar may 305), 25 July 306, dethroned April 307. Maximinus Daia (East) (Caesar Cr May 305), 309 or 310-summer 313.

Constantinus (I) (West), 25 July 306-18 Sept. 324.

Maxentius (West) (Caesar 28 Oct. 306), 28 Oct. 307-28 Oct. 312.

*Alexander (in Africa), June 308-311.

Licinius (Orient), II Nov. 308-18 Sept. 324, died 325.

Constantinus (I) (only emperor), 18 Sept. 324-22 May 337.

Constantinus (II) (West), 9 Sept. 337-March-April 340.

Constantius (II) (East), 9 Sept. 337-3 Nov. 361. From 18 Jan. 350, only emperor.

Constants (I) (Illyricum and from March April 340, all the West), 9 Sept. 337-18 Constants (I) (Illyricum and, from March-April 340, all the West), 9 Sept. 337-18 Jan. 350:
*Magnentius, 18 Jan. 350-10 August 353. Julianus (usurper in Gaul, Feb. 360), 3 Nov. 361-26 June 363.

Iovianus, 27 June 363-16 Feb. 364.



Valentinianus (I), 26 Feb.-28 March 364, only emperor. (West), 28 March 364-17 Nov. 375. Valens (Orient), 28 March 364-9 August 378.

Gratianus (Augustus, 24 August 367) (West), 17 Nov. 375-25 August 383. He governed until his death on pars of Valentinian II as a child.

Valentinianus (II) (West, part or all, depending on the events), 22 Nov. 375-15 May 392. Emperor

effective around August-Sept. (before 16) 384.

Theodosius (I) (East), 19 Jan. 379; only emperor, 6 Sept. 394-17 Jan. 395.

*Maximus (Brittany, autumn 382) (Gauls), 25 August 383-28 August 388. Recognized by Theodosius and Valentinian II in 384.

*Flavius Victor (son of Maximus), Augustus, 384-autumn 388.

*Eugenius (West), 22 August 392-6 Sept. 394.

r) Problem discusses, see W. ENssr.J.N, Zum dies imperii des Kaisers 1)iokletians, A egyphr, t. z.. 1-148. 17 * 1.0. This author concludes on November 20, date of Lactanco.

Emperors of the West

Honorius (Augustus, 23 Jan. 393), 17 Jan. 39515 Aug. 423: *Constantinus (III), 407-18 Sept. 411; *Attalus 409-415.

Constantius (III), co-emperor, 8 Feb. 42121 Sep. 421.

Iohannes, Dec. 423-May 425, not recognized in the East.

Valentinianus (III), Oct. 23, 425-March 16, 455 *Petronius Maximus, March 17, 455-May 31,

Avitus, July 9 455-17 Oct. 456. Maiorianus (Caesar, 1 April 457), 28 Dec.

457-2 August 461.

Livius Severus, 19 Nov. 461-14 Nov. 465. Anthemius (Caesar, 25 March 467), 12 April

Ii July :
*Olybrius, April 472-2 Nov. 472.
Glycerius, 3 March 473-19 or 24 June 474.
Iulius Nepos, 19 or 24 June 474-28 August 475. Romulus Augustus Augustulus), 31 Oct.

Emperors of the East

Arçadius (Augustus, 19 Jan. 383), 17 Jan. 395 I^{C1} May 408. Theodosius (II) (Augustus, Io Jan. 40)²),I er May 408-28 July 45o.

Marcianus, 25 August 450-26 Jan. 457.

Leon (I), 7 Feb. 457-18 Jan. 474. Leo (II), 18 Jan. 474-end Nov. 474.

Zeno, co-emperor, 9 Feb. 474-late Nov. 474 Only Emperor, late Nov. 474-9 Jan. 475
Basiliscus, Jan. 9, 475-late August
476, Zeno (2nd time) late August 476-

GREEK EMPERORS

Anastasios (I), II April 491-10 July. p. 518.

Ioustinos (I), Io July 518-1 August 527. August 527-Nov. 15, 565.

Ioustinianos (I), (Augustus, April 527), Ioustinos (II), Nov. 15, 565-Oct. 5, 578; Co-reigners: Sophia since Nov. 573

Co-reigners: Sophia since Nov. 573

TiberiosCaesar, Dec. 7, 574; Basileus, 26 Sept. 578.

TiberiosOct. 6 S78-Aug. 14, 582;
Co-reigning: Maurikios (Caesar, 6 August 582), Basileus, 13 August 582.

Maurikios14 Aug. 582-Nov. 23, 602;
Co-reigning: his son Theodosius, crowned on March 26, 590.

Phokas, Nov. 23, 602-Oct. 5, 610.

HerakleiosOct. 5, 610-Feb. 11, 641;
Co-reigners: Herakleios Novus Constantinus, since22 Jan. 613

Herakleios Novus Constantinus (III), II Feb. 641-24 May 641.

Herakleios Heraklonas, 25 May 641-end Sept. 641.

Co-reignors: Martine since May 25;
Konstas since Sept. 641;
David, about the same date. David, about the same date.

Konstas (II) (Pogonatos) lateSept. 641-Sept. 668;
Co-reigning: Konstantinos (IV), crowned between 5 and 26 April 654, probably
Herakleios and Tiberios since 659, between 26 Apr. and 9 August.
Konstantinos (IV), Sept. 668-early Sept. 685;
Co-reigners: Herakleios and Tiberios until 681 (between 16 Sept. and 23 Dec.)
since 681 (between Sept. 16 and Dec. 23); crowned; Ioustinianos (II), Sept. 685-late 695.
Leontios, late 695-late 698.
Tiberius (III) Apsimaros, late698-middle 705.
Ioustinianos (II), c. 705-c. II Dec. 711;
Co-reigning: Tiberios since the end of 705.

Philippikos Bardanes, c. II Dec. 711-3 June 713.
Anastasios (II) (Artemios), June4, 713-late August 715.
Theodosios (III), late 715-18 April 716.
Leo (III) (Isauros), 18 April 716 (proclamation) (coronation, 25 March 717)-18 June 740;

Leo (III) (Isauros), 18 April 716 (proclamation) (coronation, 25 March 717)-18 June 740; Co-reigning: Konstantinos (V), since 31 March 720.

Konstantinos (V), 19 June 740-23 Sept. 775;
Co-reigning: Leon (IV), since 17 May 750;
*Artabasdos, July 741-Nov. 2, 742.

Leo (IV), 24 Sept. 775-8 Sept. 780.

Konstantinos (VI), 9 Sept. 780-print. 790;
Co-reignant: Eirènè, the same time.

Eirènè (alone), from spring to Dec. 790.

Konstantinos (VI), Dec. 790-15 Aug. 797;
Co-reignant: Eirènè, the same time.

Eirènè (alone), 15 August 797-31 Oct. 802.

Niképhoros (I), 1 Nov. 802-25 July 81I. Staurakios, 26 July 811-2 Oct. 811. Michael (I), 2 Oct. 811-10 July 813. Leo (V), Io July 813-24 Dec. 820.

Michael (II), 25 Dec. 82-Oct. 829;
Co-reigning: Theophilos, since May 12, 821.
Theophilos, Oct. 829-20 Jan. 842.
Theodora, 21 Jan. 842-15 March 856.
Michael (III), Jan. 21, 842-Sept. 23, 867;
Co-reignors: Bardas, 862-May 866;
Basileios, since May 26, 866.

Basileios (I), 23 Sept. 867-29 Aug. 886;
Co-reignors: Konstantinos, 869-3 Sept. 879 (1);
Leo, since 870;
Alexandros, shortly after 871.
Leo (VI), 30 August 886-I1 May 912;
Co-reigning: Alexandros all this time;
Konstantinos (VII), since 9 June 911.
Alexandros, II May 912-6 June 913.
Konstantinos (VII), 7 June 913-17 Dec. 920.

(r) Cf. Fr. } IALKIN in I3yz., 24, 1954 (published in 19J5), 14-17.

35⁸ I. CHRONOLOGY

Romanos (I), Dec. 17, 920-Dec. 16, 944; Co-reignors: Konstantinos (VII), same time; Christophoros, 20 May 92I-Aug 931; Stephanos, since 25 Dec. 924; Konstantinos, since the same date. Konstantinos (VII), 16 Dec. 944-9 Nov. 959; Co-reignors: Stephanos and Konstantinos, 16 Dec. 944-27 Jan. 945
Romanos (II), since spring 948 at the latest.

Romanos (II), Nov. 10, 959-Mar. 15, 963;
Co-reigning: Basileios (II) since 22 Apr. 960 and Konstantinos (VIII), since 961.

Basileios (II), 16 March 963-16 August 963; Co-reigning: Konstantinos (VIII).
Nikephoros (II), Phokas (proclaimed 3 July), 16 August 963-10 Dec. 969;
Co-reignors: Basileios (II) and Konstantinos (VIII), same time.
Iohannes (I) Tzimiskes, II Dec. 969-10 Jan. 976;
Co-reignors: Basileios (II) and Konstantinos (VIII), same time; *Bardas Phokas, 971. Basileios (II), II Jan. 976-15 Dec. 1025;
Co-reigning: Konstantinos (VIII), same time;
*Bardas Phokas, 15 August 987-989.
Konstantinos (VIII), 16 Dec. 1025-11 Nov. 1028.
Romanos (III) Argyros, 12 Nov. 1028-11 April 1034.
Michael (IV) Paphlagon, 12 April 1034-10 Dec. 1041.
Michael (V) Kalaphates, 10 Dec. 1041-21 Apr. 1042.
Zor. 21 Apr. 1042-12 June 1042. Zoe, 21 Apr. 1042-12 June 1042; Co-reigning: Theodora, same time. Konstantinos (IX), Monomachos, 12 June 1042-II Jan. 1055 *Maniakès, oct. 1045. Theodora, II Jan. 1055-21 August 1056. Michael (VI) Stratiotikos, 21 August 1056-31 August 1057. Isaakios (I) Komnènos (proclaimed 8 June), ^{ter} Sept. 1057-25 Dec. 1059. Konstantinos (X) Doukas, 25 Dec. 1059-21 May 1067. Co-reigning: Michael (VII) Doukas, since about io6o. Eudokia Doukaina, 21 May 1067-31 Dec. 1067; Co-reignors: his sons Michael (VII), Andronikos, Konstantinos, same time. Romanos (IV), ¹ Jan. 1068-19 August 1071. Eudokia, 19 August 1071-24 Oct. 1071. Michael (VII), Doukas Parapinakes, 24 Oct. 1071-7 Jan. 1078. *Iohannes Doukas, 1072 *Niképhoros Bryennios,3 Oct. 1077-April 1078; *Niképhoros Botoneiatès, since IoOct. 1077. Niképhoros (III) Botoneiatès, 7 Jan. 1078-Ier April io8i. Alexios (I) Komnènos, 1 April 1081-15 August '1'8; Co-reignors: Konstantinos Doukas, io8i-c. 1090; Iohannes Komnènos, since 1092 (sept. ?).

Iohannes (II) Komnènos, 16 August 1113-8 April 1143.

Manouel (I) Komnènos, 8 Apr. 1143-24 Sept. 1180;

Co-reigning: Alexios (II), since 1172.

Alexios (II) Komnenos, 24 Sept. 1180-Sept. 1183;

Co-reigning: Andronikos (I) Komnènos, since 16 May 1182.

Andronikos (I) Komnènos Sept. 1183-12 Sept. 1185. Andronikos (I) Komnenos, Sept. 1183-12 Sept. '185; Co-reigning: Alexios (II) until about Oct. 1183.

Isaakios (II) Angelos, 12 Sept. 1185-8 Apr. 1195. Alexios (III) Angelos, 8 Apr. 1195-18 August 1203. Isaakios (II) Agaros, 18 Aug. 1203-28 Jan. 1204; Co-reigning: Alexios (IV), his son, at the same time; *Nikolaos Kanabos, 25 Jan. 1204-28 Jan. 1204.

*Alexios (V) Mourtzouphlos,28 Jan. (crowned 5 Feb. 1204-13 April 1204). Konstantinos (XI) Laskaris, crowned on the night of 12 to 13 April 1204.

GREEK EMPERORS DENIED

Konstantinos (XI), 1204.

Theodore (I) Laskaris, spring 1204, crowned at Nicaea between 30 March and 5 Apr. 1208, t early 1222. Iohannes (III) Doukas Batatzes, early 1222-30 Oct. 1254

Co-reigning: Theodore (II) Laskaris, since 1241 (?).
Theodore (II) Laskaris, 30 Oct. 1254-August 1258.
Iohannes (IV) Doukas, August 1258-1 dec. 1258.

Mishael (VIII) Policial and the Policial Section 25 Dec. 1259.

Michael (VIII) Palaiologos, ter Dec. 1258 (1st coronation 25 Dec. 1258) -July 25 1261.

GREEK EMPERORS IN CONSTANTINOPLE

Michael (VIII) Palaiologos, 25 July 1261 (2nd coronation 15 August 1261)-IIDec. 1282.

Co-reignors: Andronikos (II), since 8 Nov. 1272;

Michael (IX), since shortly after June 1281.

Andronikos (II), II Dec. 1282-abd. 24 May 1328.

Co-reignors: Michael (IX), 1294 (crowned 21 May 1295)-12Oct. 1320;

Andronikos (III), June 1321 (crowned 2 Feb. 1325).

Andronikos (III), 24 May 1328-15 June 1341.

Iohannes (V), 15 June 1341 (crowned 19 Nov.)-1354

Co-reigning: Iohannes (VI) Kantakouzenos (first usurper, 26 Oct. 1341), 8 February 1347 (crowned 13 May).

Iohannes (VI) Kantakouzenos, 1354 (after March)-abd. Jan. 1355

Co-reigning: Matthaios Kantakouzenos, 1354 (after March)-I357.

Iohannes (V) Jan. 1355-12 August 1376.

Co-reignings. Mathiatos Kalitakouzelios, 1354 (after Match)-1357.

Iohannes (V) Jan. 1355-12 August 1376.

Andronikos (IV), 12 August 1376 (crowned I Oct.)-I er Jul. 1379

Iohannes (V), 'el' July 1379-16 Feb. 1391.

*John (VII), usurper from 14 April to 17 September 1390.

Manouèl (II), shortly after 16 Feb. 1391-21 July 1425;

Co-reignors: Iohannes (VIII), Dec. 1399 (before the 10th)-13Sept. 1402;

Iohannes (VIII), 21 July 1425 31 Oct. 1448.

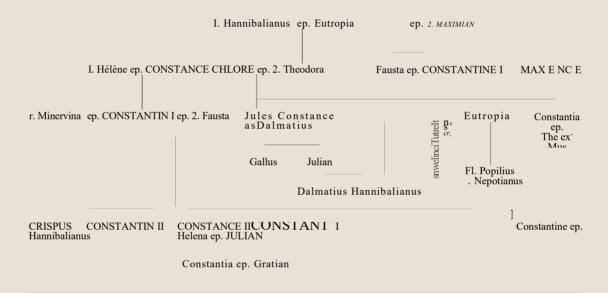
Iohannes (VIII), 22 July 1425 31 Oct. 1448.

Iohannes (VIII), 21 July 1425-31 Oct. 1448.

Konstantinos (XII) Dragasses (crowned at Mistra), 6 Jan. 1449-29 May 1453, date of the capture of Constantinople by the Turks and the end of the Byzantine Empire.

Iii encore BYZANTINE DYNASTIES

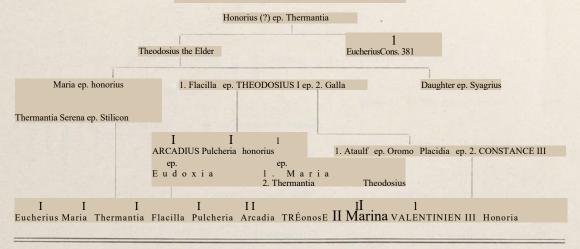
I. - CONSTANTINE DYNASTY



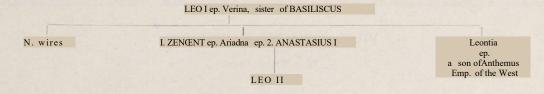
II. - VALENTINIAN DYNASTY



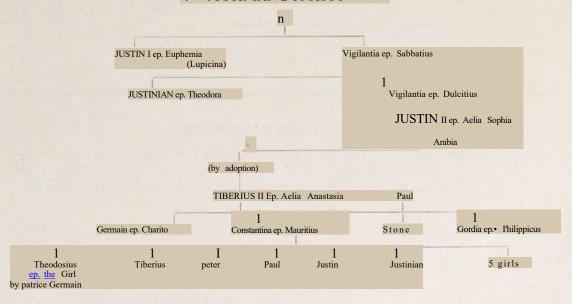
III. - THEODOSIAN DYNASTY



IV. - LEONIAN DYNASTY

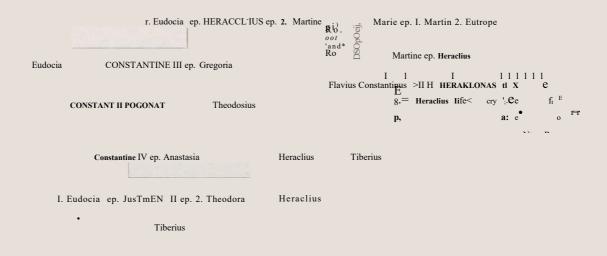


. - JUSTINIAN DYNASTY



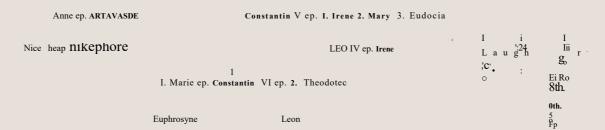
VI. - DYNASTY OF HERACLIUS

. Heraclius the patrice ep. Epiphauia

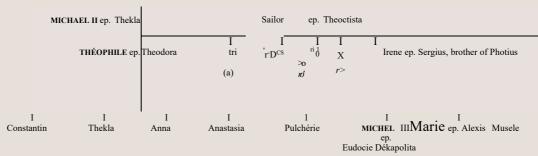


VII. - ISAURIAN DYNASTY

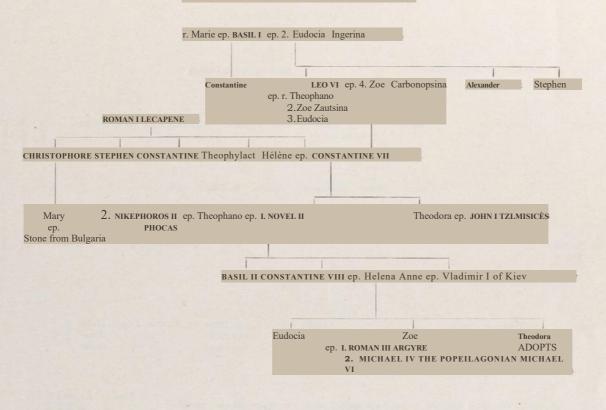
I.Ecnv III ep. Mary



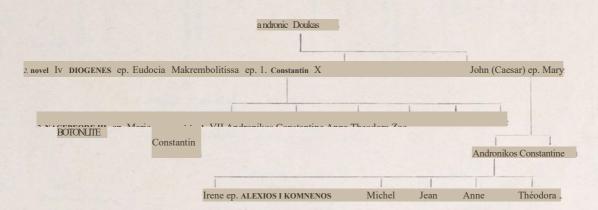
VIII. - AMORIAN DYNASTY



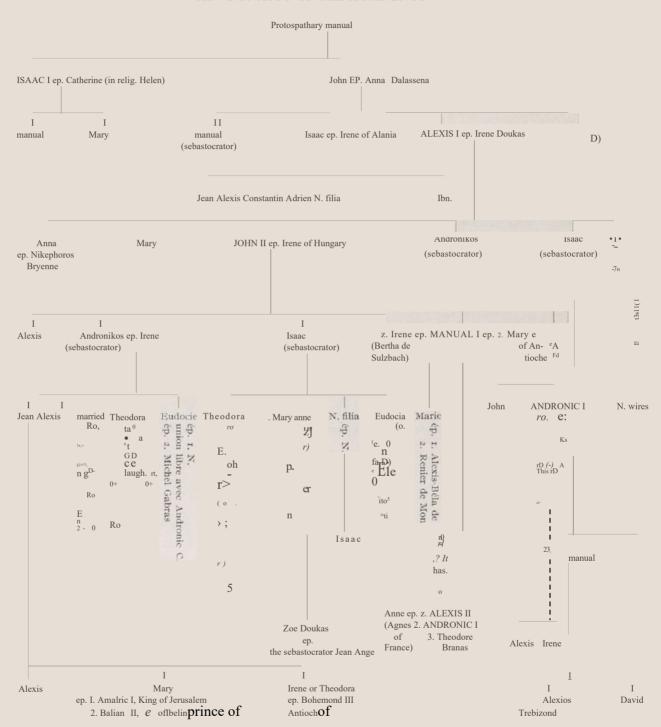
IX. - MACEDONIAN DYNASTY



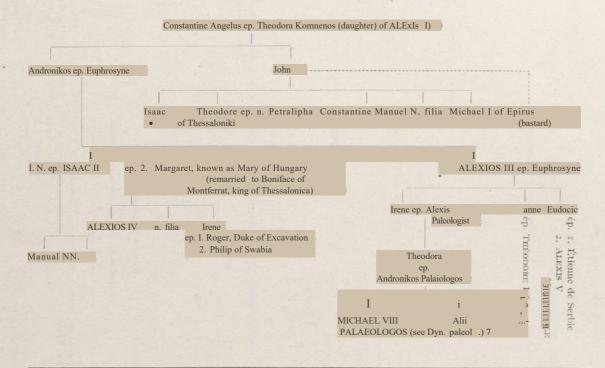
X. - DOUKA DYNASTY



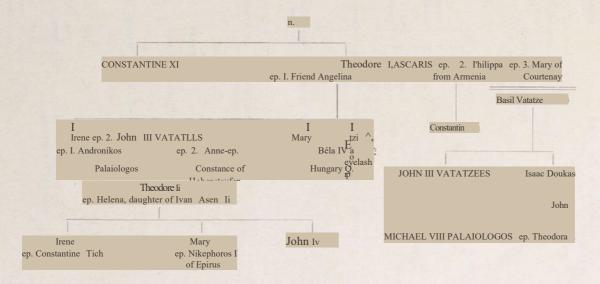
XI. - DYNASTY OF THE KOMNENOS

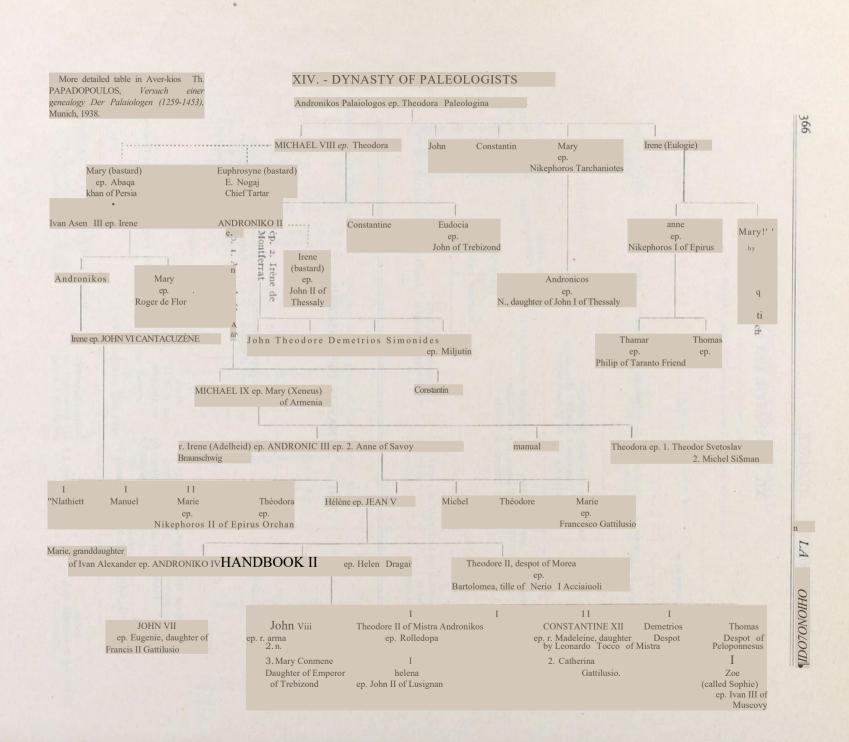


XII. - DYNASTY OF ANGELS



XIII. - LASCARIS DYNASTY





Ιv

PRAETORIAN PREFECTS

(A) PREFECTS OF THE PRAETORIAN COURT OF THE EAST (W. ENSSLIN, Praefectus praetorio Orientis, RE, XXII, 2, CO]. 2499-2501)

	1/D 224 244 225
Constantius	
Euagrius	3 Feb 326 - 22 August 336
Flavius Ablabius	
Domitius Leontius	
Septimius Acyndinus	
Domitius Leontius alone Flavius Philippus	11 May 342 - 6 July 344
Flavius Philippus	28 June 346 - 20 Sept. 349
Thalassius	
Domitianus	
Strategius Niusoninus	25 July 354 - 7 June 357
Hermogenes	August 358 - 28 May 359
Helpidius	
Hermogenes Helpidius Secundus Salutius	I March 362 - 30 July 365
Nebridius	August - Sept. 365
Nebridius	8 1
Secundus Salutius (2nd faiths)	2 Nov. 365 -summer 367
Auxonius	I Sept. 367 - 29 Dec. 369
Modestus	37o (Jan. 16, 371)-Nov. 2, 377
Modestus	379
Neoterius	
Eutropius	6 Jan. 38o - 28 Sept. 381
Florus	30 July 381 - 5 March 383
Postumianus	
Cynegius	18 Ian 384 - 14 March 388
Tatianus	16 June 388-before to Sept 392
Rufinus	
Caesarius	30 Nov. 395 - 26 June 398
Eutychianus	24 Feb 396 - 28 Dec 399
Aurelianus	17 August 307 summer 400
Caesarius (2nd time)	2 Dec 400 2 Feb 401
Aurelianus (2nd time)	6 Oct 400 - 3 Feb. 401
Entrobionus (2nd time)	2 Feb. 404 H June 405
Eutychianus (2nd time)	Io juil 105 19 Apr 414
Anthemius	30 Dec 414 To May 416
Monoving	26 August 416 27 May 420
Monaxius	19 Sout 420 10 June 422
Eustathius	16 Sept. 420 - 19 June 422
Asclepiodotus	14 Feb. 425 - 1 Feb. 425
Aetius	5 May 425
Hierius	22 Sept. 425 - 20 Feb. 428
FlorentiuS	
Antiochus	31 Dec. 430 - 23 March 431
Hierius	
Taurus	22 Apr 433 - 15 Dec 434
Isidorus	29 Jan. 435 – 4 August 436
Darius	
Florentinus	31 Jan 438 - 26 Nov 439

368 I. THE chronology

Dec. 6 439 - 18 August 441			
Apollonius	cyrus		
Zoilus			
Hermocrats			
Taurus			
"445	_		
Eurychianus			
Constantinus 16 Feb 448 9 9 1 449			
Flavius Romanus Protegenes Apr. 449 a Apr. 449 day			
Hormisdas	** ' 1		
Eugarus (Antiochus?)			
Defore Oct. 451 Defore Oct. 451			
Parmasius			
Palladius			
Constantinus (2nd time)		- 1 4 # · · · · ·	
Vibianus			
Pusaeus		9	
Tritrea			
Nicostratus			
Armasius (3rd time)		8 Feb. 468 - I Sept. 468	
Constantinus (3rd time)	Armasius		
Fritrea (2nd time)			
Pusaeus (2nd time) 473 Sebastianus 476 1 May 480 Dionysius 480 Aclianus 27 Dec. 490 Sebastianus (2nd time) 13 Apr 484 Arcadius 31 May 486 Basilius 1 July. 486 Dioscorus 1 July. 486 Matronianus 1 July. 491 - July 3,491 Arcadius under Anastasius (491-518) 1 Apr. 496 21 August 496 Leontius under Anastasius 1 Apr. 496 - 21 August 496 21 August 496 Armenius under Anastasius 1 Apr. 498 15 Feb 491 1 Apr. 498 Aspar Alypius Constantinus 1 Apr. 498 15 Feb 502 - 1 jllili. 502 15 Feb 502 - 1 jllili. 502 Leontius 1 Apr. 498 15 Feb 502 - 1 jllili. 502 16 between 502,504 and 510 Alypius Constantinus (2nd time) 1 Apr. 498 15 Feb 502 - 1 jllili. 502 16 between 502,504 and 510 Alypius Constantinus (2nd time) 1 Jan. 505 19 Apr 505 - 20 Nov. 506 506 Marius 1 Apr. 517 - 1 Dec. 517 10 Dec. 518 10 Dec. 518 Marius 1 Apr. 517 - 1 Dec. 525 (527 ?) 10 Dec. 518 10 Dec. 518 10 Dec. 518 <	Eritrea (2nd time)	I Jan. 472 - July 472	
17 Dec. 476 - 1 May 480	Dioscorus		
Age	Pusaeus (2nd time)	,_ ,_ ,_ ,_ ,_ ,_ ,_ ,_ ,_ ,_ ,_ ,_ ,	
Aelianus	T		
Sebastianus (2nd time)			
Arcadius Sasilius			
Basilius			
Diosecrus			
Matronianus		.0-	
Arcadius under Anastasius Leontius under Anastasius Hierius			
Leontius under Anastasius		1 July. 49 July 3,771	
Hierius			
Euphemius		13 Feb 496	
Armenius under Anastasius Theodorus (?)		I Apr. 496 - 21 August 496	
Theodorus (?)			
Polycarpus 1 Apr. 498 15 Feb 502 - 1 jllili. 502 between 502,504 and 510		15 Feb 491	
Leontius between 502,504 and 510 (Apion pr. pr. extraord. 503) (Calliopius pr. pr. extraord. 504) Alypius Constantinus (2nd time) 1 Jan. 505 Eustathius 512 Marinus 512 Sergius 1 Apr. 517 - 1 Dec. 517 Apion Demosthenes 1 Demosthenes 1 June 521 Archelaus 8 Basilides 1 Nov. 19, 524 - 1 Dec. 525 (527?) Basilides 1 Agricus 1 Agricu			
(Apion pr. pr. extraord. 503) (Calliopius pr. pr. extraord. 504) Alypius Constantinus (2nd time) 1 Jan. 505 Eustathius 19 Apr 505 - 20 Nov. 506 Zoticus 511/12 Marinus 512 Sergius 1 Apr. 517 - 1 Dec. 517 Apion Dec. 518 Marius before 9 Nov 519 I June 521 Nov. 19, 524 - 1 Dec. 525 (527?) Basilides March 528, Menas 528 - 7 Apr 529 Demosthenes 17 Sep 529 - Oct. 30 529 Iulianus 18 March 530 - Feb. 20 S31 Iohannes Cappadox 31 Apr 531 - May 7 541 (interruption from 25 Jan. to mid- 532) Oct 1 June 541 - Dec. 18 542 July 16 543 - 1 May 546	Aspar Alypius Constantinus		
Calliopius pr. pr. extraord. 504) Alypius Constantinus (2nd time)		between 502,504 and 510	
Alypius Constantinus (2nd time)			
Tustathius		1.1 505	
Zoticus	Alypius Constantinus (2nd time)		
Marinus. 512 Sergius I Apr. 517 - 1 Dec. 517 Apion Dec. 518 Marius before 9 Nov 519 Demosthenes I June 521 Archelaus Nov. 19, 524 - 1 Dec. 525 (527?) Basilides March 528, Atarbius March 528, Menas 528 - 7 Apr 529 Demosthenes 17 Sep 529 - Oct. 30 529 Iulianus 18 March 530 - Feb. 20 S31 Iohannes Cappadox 31 Apr 531 - May 7 541 Oct I June 541 - Dec. 18 542 July 16 543 - 1 May 546			
Table Sergius Sergius Sergius Dec. 517 Dec. 518 Sergius Dec. 518 Sergius Dec. 518 Sergius Dec. 518 Sefore 9 Nov 519 Sergius Se			
Apion Dec. 518 Marius Before 9 Nov 519 I June 521 Nov. 19, 524 - 1 Dec. 525 (527?) Basilides Before 9 Nov 519 I June 521 Nov. 19, 524 - 1 Dec. 525 (527?) Before 9 Nov 519 I June 521 Nov. 19, 524 - 1 Dec. 525 (527?) Before 9 Nov 519 I June 521 Nov. 19, 524 - 1 Dec. 525 (527?) Before 9 Nov 519 I June 521 Nov. 19, 524 - 1 Dec. 525 (527?) Before 9 Nov 519 I June 521 Nov. 19, 524 - 1 Dec. 525 (527?) Before 9 Nov 519 I June 521 Nov. 19, 524 - 1 Dec. 525 (527?) Before 9 Nov 519 I June 521 Nov. 19, 524 - 1 Dec. 525 (527?) Before 9 Nov 519 I June 521 Nov. 19, 524 - 1 Dec. 525 (527?) Before 9 Nov 519 I June 521 Nov. 19, 524 - 1 Dec. 525 (527?) Before 9 Nov 519 I June 521 I June 521 I June 541 - Dec. 18 542 July 16 543 - 1 May 546	~ :		
Marius before 9 Nov 519 Demosthenes 1 June 521 Archelaus Nov. 19, 524 - 1 Dec. 525 (527?) Basilides March 528, Menas March 528 - 7 Apr 529 Demosthenes 17 Sep 529 - Oct. 30 529 Iulianus 18 March 530 - Feb. 20 S31 Iohannes Cappadox 31 Apr 531 - May 7 541 Oct 1 June 541 - Dec. 18 542 July 16 543 - 1 May 546			
Demosthenes			
Archelaus	_		
Basilides before Atarbius March 528, Menas 528 - 7 Apr 529 Demosthenes 17 Sep 529 - Oct. 30 529 Iulianus 18 March 530 - Feb. 20 S31 Iohannes Cappadox 31 Apr 531 - May 7 541 Oct I June 541 - Dec. 18 542 July 16 543 - 1 May 546			?)
Atarbius March 528, Menas 528 - 7 Apr 529 Demosthenes 17 Sep 529 - Oct. 30 529 Iulianus 18 March 530 - Feb. 20 S31 Iohannes Cappadox 31 Apr 531 - May 7 541 Oct I June 541 - Dec. 18 542 Theodotus July 16 543 - I May 546		before	,
Menas 528 - 7 Apr 529 Demosthenes 17 Sep 529 - Oct. 30 529 Iulianus 18 March 530 - Feb. 20 S31 Iohannes Cappadox 31 Apr 531 - May 7 541 Oct I June 541 - Dec. 18 542 July 16 543 - I May 546			
Demosthenes		528 - 7 Apr 529	
Iulianus 18 March 530 - Feb. 20 S31 Iohannes Cappadox 31 Apr 531 - May 7 541 Oct I June 541 - Dec. 18 542 July 16 543 - I May 546			
Solution Cappadox			
Oct Theodotus			
Oct 1 June 541 - Dec. 18 542 Theodotus			
1 heodotus			
Petrus Barsyms 1Apr. 54/	Theodotus		
THE 1 / 10 1 / 1		I Apr. 547	

Bassus	Spring - mid-Sept. 548 15 or 17 Sep. 548-late	
Eugenius	15 or 17 Sep. 548-late	
Addaeus	550	
Henhaetus	June 15 - fall 551	
Areobindus	before fall S52 before the	
	8 Feb 553 - 15 Apr 554	
Petrus Barsyms (2nd time)	I June 555 - 27 Dec. 559	
1 00 00 2 00 (200 0000)	and May 562	
Diomedes	18 May 572	
Gregorius	577'7 ⁸	
Georgius	593	
Theodorus	605	
Olympius	• 615	
Alexander	626	

(B) PREFECTS OF THE COURT OF ITALY, ILLYRICUM AND AFRICA (W. ENSSLIN, Pr. pr. Italiae, Illyrici and Africae, *re* XXII, 2, col. 2498-2499)

Euagrius	August 339 - 22 Sep. 340
Antonius Marcellinus	29 Apr. 340 - before June 24, 341
Aconius Catullinus	24 June 341 - before 6 July 342
Placidius	28 May 344
Vulcacius Rufinus	8 March 346 - 28 Dec 349
Ullaing Limoning	12 June 347 - 8 Apr. 349
Ulpius Limenius	19 May 349 - 26 Feb. 350
Hermogenes	19 May 349 - 20 Feb. 330
(Anicetus Under Magnentius: 350-352. Vulcacius	
Rufinus, perhaps only pr. pr. of Illyria under	
Vetranio.)	26 F 1 252 12 M 252
Vulcacius Rufinus	26 Feb 352 - 12 May 352
Flavius Philippus	9 June 353 - 3 Nov 353
Maecilius Hilarianus	before January 354
Volusianus Lampadius	Jan. 355 - July 29,355
Taurus (from Italy and Africa)	6 Apr 355 - 2 Sep 356
Lollianus Mavortius	July 25 356 - winter 356
Mamertinus	22 Feb 362 - 26 Apr 365
Vulcacius Rufinus (2nd time)	before 21 June 365-19 May 376
s. Petronius Probus	18 June 367 - after 17 Nov 375
Antonius	6 June 377 - 12 Jan 378
Hesperius	21 Jan. 378 - (then pr. pr. of Gauls
•	and Italy)
Syagrius	Summer 382
Severus	25 March 382 - after 3o August 382
Hypatius	9 Dec. 382 - 28 May 383
s. Petronius Probus (2nd time)	19 Jan 383 - 26 Oct. 384
Atticus	13 March 384
Praetextatus	21 May 384 - 9 Sep 384
Neoterius	Feb. 385 - July 26,385
Principius	13 Feb 385 - 3 Nov 386
Eusignius	23 Jan 386 - 19 May 387
s. Petronius Probus (3rd time)	summer 387
Trifolius	14 June 388 - 19 Jan 389
Polemius	16 Jan 390 - 22 June 390
Nicomachus Flavianus	18 August 390 - 9 June 391
Apodemius	15 Feb 392 - 9 June 393
Apodemius(Nicomachus Flavianus Under Eugenius)	
	393 - 5 Sep 394
Dexter	
	393 - 5 Sep 394 18 March 395 - I Nov. 395 19 Dec 395 - 23 Dec 396
Dexter	18 March 395 - I Nov. 395 19 Dec 395 - 23 Dec 396 19 March 396 - 28 Dec 396
Dexter Eusebius Hilarius	18 March 395 - I Nov. 395 19 Dec 395 - 23 Dec 396
DexterEusebius	18 March 395 - I Nov. 395 19 Dec 395 - 23 Dec 396 19 March 396 - 28 Dec 396
Dexter Eusebius Hilarius Mallius Theodorus	18 March 395 - I Nov. 395 19 Dec 395 - 23 Dec 396 19 March 396 - 28 Dec 396 31 Jan 397 - 20 Jan 399

Rufius Synesius Hadrianus	27 Feb 401 - 5 Oct. 405
Longinianus	Jan 406 - 13 August
Curtius	408
Theodorus	7 Apr. 407 - 3 Feb. 408
Caecilianus	13 Sep. 408 - 15 Jan 409
Iovius	21 Jan 409 - i Feb. 409 I
	Apr. 409 - 26 June 409 26
Liberius	Nov 409
Lampadius	End 409,410
Faustinus	
Melitius	6 Jan 410 - 15 August
Johannes	410
Synesius Hadrianus	16 Nov 410 - 19 March
Seleucus It	412
Iunius Quartus Palladius	8 May 412 - 12 June
Johannes	413 3 August 413 - 3
Marinianus	March 414 3 Apr. 414
Venantius	- Ii Dec. 415
Proculus	7 Jan. 416 - 28 July 421
Bassus	I I Kim. 422
Protogenesis	3 Nov 422
Volusianus	9 March 423
Theodosius	18 May 423
Decius Acinacius Albinus	6 March 426 - 7 Apr
Flavianus	426
Petronius Maximus	after 426
Flavius Bassus	26 Feb 428 - I I June 429
Faustus	15 Feb. 430 - 18 Dec.
	430 18 Dec. 430
Petronius Maximus (2nd time)	29 Apr 431 - 24 March
Faustus	432.
Paterius	between 433 and 437
Quadratianus	
Albinus	3 August 435
Trygetius	July 8,438
Firminus	28 Apr. 439 - 20 Feb. 441 13
Boethius	August 442
Storacius	27 Sep 442
Basilius	25 May 443
Aconius Probianus Under Libius Severus	17 August 443 - Apr. 449
Basilius	before 452
Lupercianus	17 June 449 - 29 June 452
Felix Himilco	until 21 Sep 454
	^^ · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·

(C) PREFECTS OF THE COURTROOM OF AFRICA

(W. ENSSLIN, Pr. pr. Africae, RE, XXII, 2, col. 2496)

Menander	22 June 32o - 6 July 322
the. Aradius Valerius Proculus	to 33o ?
Felix	18 April 333 - 9 March 336
Gregorius	21 July 336 - 4 Feb 337 between 22 May 337 and
Nestorius Timonianus	9 Sep 337

The territory of Africa was after the death of Constantine in the administration of the attached to the praetorian court of Italy prefects

2. FROM THE RECONQUEST UNDER JUSTINIAN

Archelaus	534
Solomon	534 - 53 ⁶
Symmachus	536
Solomon	539 _ 543

Sergius after 543 Athanasius 546 Paulus 552 Boethius between 555 and 560 Iohannes 558 Thomas between 565 and 570 Theodorus 569/70 Thomas between S78 and 582 Thodorus 582 Iohannes between 590 and 600 Pantaleon 594 Innocentius 600 Gregorius 627 Georgius 641	
(D) PREFECTS OF THE COURT OF ITALY	
from Justinian I	
(W. ENSSLIN, Pr. pr. Italiae, RE, XXII, 2, col. 2498.)	
Athanasius	
Theodorus	
Antiochuscirca 55 ² - 554 Pamphronius <i>(Nov. Iust., Appendix</i>	
VIII, E. STEIN, Studien, 106)	
Longinus	
Georgius 591	
Gregorius	
Iohannescirca 598 Iohannes	
Theodorus Calliopascirca 642	
Flavius Parsinus before 68i	
(E) PREFECTO OF THE COURT OF	
(E) PREFECTS OF THE COURT OF	
ILLYRICUM (W. ENSSLIN, Pr. pr. Illyrici, RE,	
XXII, 2, col. 2497)	
Anatolius	
Florentius	
Iulius Ausonius	
Olybrius37 ⁸ / ₇ 9	
Licinius	
Clearchus before the end of 396 Anatolius 7 June 397 - 12 Nov. 399	
Herculius	
Leontius	
Strategius	
Nestorius	
I sidorus	
Antiochus	
Simplicius Reginus	
Thalassius	
Theodorus	
Salomo	
Valentinianus	
Eusebius	
Callicrates	

	Protadius Paulus Thomas Iohannes under Zeno Iohannes under Anastasius Spartiatius under Anastasius (491-518)		480
	Archelaus before Stephanus circa Basilides Dominiçus Elias	524 529 529 529 15 Apr. 535 - 1 June 54 ¹ - 12/	7 Apr. 540 /13 Dec 541
n Iobinus		556 (Nov. 591-	v. Just., CXXIV)

V

GREEK EMPERORS OF TREBIZOND

(GREAT KOMNENOS)

Alexios (I), April 1204-20 Feb. 1222.
Andronikos (I) Gido, Feb. 1222-1235.
Iohannes (I) Axush, 1235-1238.
Manouèl (I), 1238-March 1263.
Andronikos (II), March 1263-4 March 1267.
Georgios, March 1267-June 1280.
Iohannes (II), June 1280-16 August 1297.
Alexios (II), 16 August 1297-3 May 1330.
Andronikos (III), 8 Jan. 1332-Sept. 1332.
Manouèl (II), 8 Jan. 1332-Sept. 1332.
Basileios, 22 Sept. 1332-6 April 1340.
Eirènè Palaiologina, 6 April 1340-17 July. 1341.
Anna Anachoutlou, 17 July 1341-30 July. 1341.
Michaèl, 30 July 1341-7 August 1341.
Anna Anachoutlou, 7 August 1341-4 Sept. 1342.
Iohannes (III), Sept. 4 (crowned Sept. 9) 1342-May 3, 1344.
Michael (again), May 3 (crowned May 21) 1344-13 Dec. 1349.
Iohannes Alexios III, 13 Dec. 1349 (crowned 21 May 1350)-20 March 1390.
Manouèl (III), 20 March 1390-5 March 1412. Manouèl (III), 20 March 1390-5 March 1412.
Alexios (IV), 5 March 1412-Sept./Oct. (before 28) 1429.
Iohannes (IV) Kaloiohannès (Kakoiohannes),1429-1458.
David, 1458-1461 (about mid-August,capture of Trebizond by the Turks, cf. Fr. BABINGER, *REB*, VII. 1949, 205-207

Vi

GREEK EMPERORS AND DESPOTS OF THESSALONIKI

Theodore Angel Komnenos Doukas, despot of Epirus Emperor in Thessaloniki	1215 ? - 1224
Emperor in Thessaloniki	1224 - 1230
Manuel, brother of the above, despot of Epirus and Thessalonica	1230 - 1237-1238 (1)
John, son of Theodore, despot circa	1238-1244
Demetrius, brother of the above, despot	1244 - 1246
In 1246, the Despotate of Thessalonica was reunited with the Empire of Nicaea.	

(I) Cf. Tommaso BERTELÈ, Monete di Giovanni Comneno Duca imperatore di Salonico (1237-1244), Estratto della Rivista Numismatica, N. 1-6. Gennaio-Dicembre 1950, p. 8.

Vii

GREEK DESPOTS OF EPIRUS

Michel I Angelo Komnenos Doukas	1205 ? - 1215 ?
Theodore, brother of the above, despot	1215 ? - 1224
Emperor in Thessaloniki	1224 - 1230
Manuel, brother of the preceding, despot	1230 - 1236?
Michael II, son of Michael I, despot	1236 ? - 1271 ?
Nikephoros I, son of Michael II(1266)	1271 ? - 1296 ?
Thomas, son of the above	1296 ? - 1318

Viii

DUKES OF NEOPATRAS OF THE FAMILY OF ANGELS

(W. MILLER-LAMPROS, 'IaTopi.or. (Dpcxyzoxpy.-:Cog èv 'Enc3t (1204-1566) Athens, 1909-1910, II, p. 44(2)

John I Angelus, Duke of Neoppatras Constantine Angelus John II Angelo	1271 - 1295 1295 - 1303 1303 - 1318	
Then the duchy passed to that of Athens.	1000 1010	

Ιx

GREEK DESPOTS OF MOREA (MISTRA)

(D. A. ZAKYTHINOS, Le despotat grec de Morée, 2 vol., Paris,	1932-1953)
I UNDER THE CANTACUZÈNES	
Manuel Cantacuzène, son of John VI Mathieu Cantacuzène, brother of the above Demetrius Cantacuzene, son of Mathieu	1348 - 1380 1380 - 1383 1383
UNDER PALEOLOGISTS	
Theodore I, younger son of Emperor John V and Helena Canta- cuzène	1383 - 1407 1407 - 1443
reigned alone	1407 - 1428 1428 - 1443 1443 - 1449
Thomas and Demetrius, his brother	1,44 - 1460
1460 capture of Mistra by the Turks.	

VI

HISTORICAL LISTS

(continued)

(B) PERSIA, CAUCASUS AND ISLAM

- I. Sassanid kings of Persia.
 - II. Princes and Kings of Abkhazia and Georgia.
- III. Kings of Armenia:
 - A) The Arsacids;
 - B) The Bagratids;
 - C) The Rubenians.
- IV. Muslim sovereigns:
 - 1. The Caliphs;
 - 2. Particular preseldju-kid dynasties:
 - A) Egypt and the Eastern Maghreb;
 - B) Spain;
 - C) Western Iran and Iraq;

-) Azerbaijan and the-Armenian borders;
- A) Upper Mesopotamia;
- B) Upper Syria;
- 3. Seljuks (Iran, Mesopotamia, Syria);
- 4. Posteljuk dynasties:
 - A) Zenghides
 - B) Ayyûbides;
 - C) Dynasties of Asia Minor(xie-xieiiie centuries);
 - D) Dynasties of Asia Minor(xive-xve centuries);
- 5. Early Ottomans.

SASSANID KINGS OF PERSIA

(After Th. NÙLDEKE, Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sassaniden, Leiden, 1879; completed and corrected by V. F. BC-CHNER, Encyclopedia of Islam, art. Sassanides, p. 185, Leiden-Paris, 1,934.)

Ardashîr I	226 - 241
Shapûr I	241 - 272
Hurmizd I	272 - 273 I year and Io days
Bahrâm I	273 - 276
Bahrâm II	276 - 293
Bahrâm III	293 4 months
Narsai	$\frac{293}{293} - 3^{\circ}3$
Hurmizd II	303 - 310
Adharnarsai	310
Shapûr II	310 - 379 at the end of summer
Arashîr II	379 - 383
Shapûr III	383 - 388 (or 387; cf. RE ² , Ii 1, col. 2355)
Bahrâm IV	388 - 399
Yazdigird I	399 - 420
Bahrâm V	$4^{20} - 438$
Yazdigird II	438 - 457
Hurmizd III	457 - 459
Firûz	459 - 484 start
Balâsh	484 - 488
Kawâdh I	488 - 531 13 Sep.
Khusraw I	13 Sep 531 - 579 February
Hurmizd IV	Feb 579 - 590 summer
Khusraw II	Summer 590 - 628 25 or 29 February
Kawâdh II	Feb. 628 - September
Arashîr III	Sept. 628 - 63o 27 April
Several ephemeral regents (cf.	<u>F</u> ••
JUSTÍ, Geschichte des`	
alten Per-siens, Berlin,	
1879)	632 - 651
Yazdigird III	
<u> </u>	

Ιi

PRINCES AND KINGS OF ABKHAZIA AND GEORGIA

(After C. TOUMANOFF, *Chronology of the Kings of Abasgia, Le Muséon*, 69, 1956, 77-82; A. MANVELICHVILI, *Histoire de Géorgie*, Paris, 1951, 145-147 et tableau de la p. 453; W. E. D. ALLEN, *A history of the Georgian people*, London, 1932.)

Kings of AbkhaziaTao-Klarjetia (C. Tumanoff) (I)

Princes and kings of Iberia region (A. Manvelishvili)

Leo I Leo II, takes the title of king Theodosius II Demetrius II George I John Adarnassé Bagrat I Constantine III George II Leo III Demetrius III Theodosius III Bagrat III (II of Abkhazia), heir of David the Great, also reaps the Success- zion of Theodosius III, blinded and also without children Regency of Gourguen, his Father	c. 736 - 76 ⁶ / ₇ 766/7 - 810/1 810/1 - 83 ⁶ / ₇ 836/7 - 871/2 871/2 - 877/8 877/8 - c. 879 to 879 - 887 c. 887 - 899 899 - 915/6 915/6 - 959/6 ⁰ 959/ ⁶⁰ - 968/9 968/9 - 975/6 975/ ⁶ 7 97 ⁸

Ashot I Curopalate Adarnassé	786 - 830 (2)
Bagrat I Curopalate	876
David I Curopalate	876 - 881
Gourguen Curopalate	881 - 891
Adarnassé, King of Iberia	888 - 923
David, King of Iberia	$9^23 - 937$
Ashot II Curopalate	m. in 954
Soumbath Curopalate	954 - 95 ⁸
Adarnassé Curopalate	958 - 961
" David the Great	961 - m. in 1001
Bagrat (grandson of Ba-	
Grat II of	
Khartlie)proclaimedheir	
to the throne by David	
the Great, childless,	
reigns under Ap-	
peeling of Bagrat Iii	I00I - I014

KINGS OF ABKHAZIANS AND GEORGIANS

(After W. E. D. ALLEN, a history of the Georgian People London, 1932)

The kingdom was constituted at the end of the tenth century by a member of the ruling family of Bagratides Bagrat III, died 1014.

1014 - 1027	
1027 - 1072	
1072 - 1089	
1089 - 1125	
1125 - 1154	1156
1155 - 1184	
1184-1212	
1212 - 1223	
1223 -1,247	
1:14:7 1:17.13	
1247 - 1269	
1269 - 1289	
1289 - 1291	
1291 - 1299	
1299 - 1346	
1310 - 1318	
1318 - 1360	
1360 - 1395	
1395 - 1407	
1407 - 1413	
1413 -1,443	
1443	
	1027 - 1072 1072 - 1089 1089 - 1125 1125 - 1154 1155 - 1184 1155 - 1184 1184-1212 1212 - 1223 1223 - 1,247 1247 - 1269 1269 - 1289 1289 - 1291 1291 - 1299 1299 - 1346 1310 - 1318 1318 - 1360 1360 - 1395 1395 - 1407 1407 - 1413 1413 - 1,443

⁽I) Correct according to this new list and the observations of Toumanoffp. So-Si, nos. 599 and 609 of the Regestes of

patr. of Constantinople.

(2) For the date of 830 instead of 8z6, date of J. Marquart, Osteuropiiische und ostasiatische Streilziigen, 1903, 408, maintained by Manvelishvili, see Tumanoff, The Museum, 66, 1957, 83-S5.

 37^{8} I. CHRONOLOGY

Iii

KINGS OF ARMENIA

(K. J. Basmadjian, Timeline of the history of Armenia, ROC, XIX (1914), p. 292 sq.; René GROUSSET History of Armenia, Paris, 1947; N. AKINIAN, Die Reihenfolge some Bischôfe Armeniens of the 3. und 4. Jahrhunderts (219-439), ab LXVII (1949), p. 80; G. G. MIKAELIAN, Istorzjakilikijskogo armjanskogo gosudarstva, Yerevan, 1952.)

(a) ARSACIDS

Khosrov I	m. 216,217
Tiridates Ii	- 253,253 -
interim (Artavazdes)	
Khosrov Ii	272 282
Tiran I	294 272 281
interim	295 - 297
Archak Ii	298 - 338
Tiran II	339 - 349 ³
Archak Iii	3334768 0499
Pan	0 0
Pap Varazdat	380333
interim	⁷⁶ 8 4 48
Archak Iv	33845:
Khosrov Iii	338 76387 -
interim	400 401
Vram-Chapouh	410 410 -
interim	
Artashes	420 421 -
Persian hegemony of the Sassanids (1).	428 652 ⁴ -
Arab hegemony (2)	885- ⁶⁵² 5

(b) BAGRATIDS

Ashot I	883 - 890
Sembat I	890 - 914
Ashot Ii	914- 928 or 929
Abas	929 - 952 953
Ashot Iii	gold 752
Sembat II	953 - 977
Gagik I	080/000 - 1020
Ashot IV anti-king	1020 - 1040
Ashot IV anti-king	1042 ? - 19745 (capture of Ani by
Gugin II	the

Armenia was then divided into five kingdoms detached from the central government:

- I) "The Kingdom of " Kars 962-1064 (cadet branch of the Bagratids);
 2) "The Kingdom of " lory or Albania, 980-1256?;
 3) "The Kingdom of " Kakhêth 1039-1102;
 4) "The Kingdom of " Vaspourakan 908-1021;
 5) "The Kingdom of the Siunids circa 920-1166.

⁽¹⁾ See List of Governors in BASMADJIAN, art. cited, 293–294.
(2) See List of governors in J. LAURENT, *Armenia between Byzantium and Islam,* Paris, 1919, 336-347; from 750, R. VASMER, *Chronology der arabischen Statthalter :inter den A bbasiden...,* 750-887, Wien, 1931.

(c) RUBENIANS . (PRINCES AND KINGS OF LESSER ARMENIA)

First local lords in the central Taurus; expansion into Cilicia began around 1121.

```
Ruben I
                                 I080 - 1095
                                 1095 – 1099
II00 - I129
Constantine I .....
Thoros I.....
1129-1137, died in Constantinople, 1141
                                 1 1 3 7 - 1 1 4 5 1 1 4 5 - 1 1 6 9
1 1 7 0 - 1 1 7 5 1 1 7 5 - 1 1 8 7
1 1 8 7 - 1 2 1 9 (king of
1 1 9 8 / 9 9 - 1 2 1 9), first
Thoros II
Reuben II .....
                                 k i n g
1219 - 1252
Leo II (I) .....
1222 - I225
                                 I226 - I270
Hetum I, second husband of Isabella
                                 1270 - I289
Leo III (II)
                                  1289 - 1293
                                 1296 - 1298, usurper
Hetum II
                                  1298 - 1299
Sembat .....
                                  1299 - 1301
Constantine II (I).....
                                 1301-1307 (according to Mikaelian: 1305-1307)
1307-1320
1320-1342
Hetum II .....Leo IV (III)
Ochin.....Leo V (IV) .....
                                 1342 - (Jean de Lusignan, cousin of Léon V)
1342-1344 (Guy de Lusignan, brother of the above)
Constantine III (II)
                                 1345–1363, usurper
1365–1375: several kings
1365–1369, King of Cyprus
Constantine IV (III) .....
1365 - 1373
Constantine V (IV) .....
                                 1365–1375, son of Constantine III, died in Paris in 1393
Leo VI (V)
```

Destruction of the kingdom by the Saracens in 1375.

The title of King of Armenia, after 1393, was borne by the kings of Cyprus.

Ιv

MUSLIM RULERS

The lists concerning the Muslim East were drawn up by M. Cl. CAHEN according to: L'encyclopédie de l'Islam, Leiden-Paris, 1913-1938; E. DE ZAMBAUR, Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam, Hanover, 1927; a number of special works, indicated in their place. The data were possibly supplemented or corrected by Mr Cl. Cahen from his personal research.

For the convenience of the reader, who, for furtherinformation, will refer above all to the *Encyclopedia of Islam*, the various transcriptions that share the Arabizers have been chosen; however, to avoid typographical complications, the following has been replaced:

par ç u must give its opinion or 1'parq

The adopted transcription has the disadvantage of noting sh, which for the transcription of other languages is noted; but, if one had adopted s, logic would have to adopt also g for dj, g for

gh, n for kh, etc. The dots of the pointed letters	were removed, thus confusing two different Arabic
letters, but without great danger to the pronuncia	tion or greek transcriptions.

1. CALIPHS

(YEAR OF THE HEGIRA AND YEAR OF CHRIST) a)

"Orthodox"

Abu Bakr 11/632, in M	Лedina	`Uthmân (Othman)	23/644, in Medina
'Umar (Omar) 13/634,	_	'Ali	· ·
35/656,	_		

(b) Umayyads (Omayyads), in Damascus

Muawiyah I	41/661	'Umar II	25
Yazid Yer	00/080	1 azıq 11	
Muawiyah II	64/683	Hishâm	
Marwan I	64/684	Walîd II	
Abdalmalik	65/685	Yazîd III	
Walîd I Sulaïmân	86/705 96/715	Ibrâbîm Marwan II	127/744

c) 'Abbâsides, in Baghdad from Mançûr, Samarra from Mu'tacim, Baghdad then

Saffâh Mançûr Mahdi Hâdî Rashîd(Hârûn ar-) Amin Mamûn Mu etacim Wâthiq Mutawakkil Muntacir Musta ' in Mu'tazz Muhtadî Mu 'Tarnid Mu'tadid Muktafî Muqtadir Qâhir	132/750 13 ⁶ / ₇ 54 158/775 169/785 170/786 193/809 198/813 218/833 227/842 232/847 247/861 248/862 252/866 255/869 256/870 279/892 289/902 295/908 320/932	Râdî Muttaqî Mustakfî Mufî ' Tâï Qâdir Qâïm Muqtadî Musta?hir Mustarshid Rashid Muktafî Mustandjid Mustadi Nâcir ?,bitter Mustancir Musta'cim	322/934 329/940 333/944 334/94 ⁶ 363 '974 381 991 422:1031 467/1075 4*7/1094 512/1118 529/1135 530:1136 555'1160 566/1170 575 ¹ 1180 622/1225 623/1226 640/1242
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In 1258, the Caliphate of Baghdad was destroyed by the Mongols; a theoretical Caliphate was reconstituted in Cairo, which lasted until the Ottoman conquest.

2. PARTICULAR PRE-ESELJUK DYNASTIES

A) EGYPT AND THE EASTERN MAGHREB (TUNISIA)

a) Pre-fascist Egypt: Tulunides (2541868-2921905)

Ahmad b. Tûlûn, governor of E-		Djaïsh abû'l- ' Asâkir	282/ 895
gyptthen autonomous.	² 54/ 868	HârûnShayban	283/ 896 292/ 905
Khumarawah	270/883	Shayban	2,2,,,00

(Same year, direct reannexion by the Caliphate)

Ikhshidides (327/939-3581969):			
Muhammad b. Tughdj, ruler-		Alî	349/ 960
Neur then autonomous with the title	321/933	Regency of the Eunuch Kâfûr 355/966).	
ofIkhshîdAnûdjûr	3 ² 7/ 939 335/ 946	Ahmad	357/ 968
(In	n 969 Egypt wa	s taken by the Fatimids)	
(b) Pre-atit	imide Eastern	Maghreb (andSicily). Aghlabides	
Ibrâhîm I Abdallah Here	1877.800	Ziyâdatallah Ii	
Abdallali Hele	197/812	Muhammad Ii	. 250/ 860
Ziyadatallah I	202/ 817	Ibrahim Ii	. 261/ 8/5
Abû 'I gal	223/ 838	'Abdallah IiZiyâdatallah III (expelled in 296/909)	. 289/ 902
Ahmad	242/ 856	by the Fatimid army)	290/903
/ Illinat	242/ 030	by the ratiffind army)	. 2701 703
(c) The Fatimids, Schismatic Caliphs	(in the Magi	hreb, until 258/969, in Cairo since that d	'ate)
Mahdî Uba ïdallah	297/		487/1094
Qâïm	934,910	_i M _{'m} u _i s _r your ' lî	
Mançûr	334/945	I:lâfiz	1140
Mu •izz	341/952	7âfir	113
•A zîz	3 ⁶ 5/ 975 386/ 996	Faiz' Adid (dethroned in 567/1171 by	11154901
Zāĥir	200, 220	'Saladin)	555/1160
Mustancir	427/1035411/1020	,	
Um anna da Jamin	`	3) SPAIN	
		autonomous caliphs since that date)	
•	138/ 756 172/ 788	(= Nâcir since 317/929). Hakam II	240/261
Hishâm I	18o/ 796	Hishâm Ii	349/ 261 365/ 976
•A	207/ 822	(Rege edces) of Ibn damaged 'Amir	3031 710
Muhammad I	238/852	Mançûr, 370/981; from Muzaf-	
Mundhir	273/ 886	Far392/1002; d"Abdarrahman	
•A	275/ 888	Sanchuelo, 398/1008)	200/1000
Abdarrahman Iii	299/ 912	Muhammad b. Hishâm	399/1009
	Then anarchy	and fragmentation	
	(C) WESTER	N IRAN AND IRAQ	
Bûyides (gold) Buwaïhides)(main branch only) in Baghdad	
mu "izz ad-daula	334/945	Çamçam ad-daula	37 ² / 9 ⁸ 3
•Iz		Bahâ ad-daula	38o/ 990
"Adud ad-daula	367/977		
The decadent dynasty lasted i	ıntil 447/1,0	55, when Baghdad was occupied by the	Seljuks
(D) (AZERBAIJAN A	ND ARMENIAN BORDERS	
(D) I		Sâdjides	
(Abû Sâdj Dîwdâd, died In	266/880)	Yûsuf	288/901
Afshîn	276/889	Abû '1-Musâfîr Fath	315/927
(Dîwdâd Ii	288/901)	The I made in the second of th	0101721
,		obasid reconquest	

Muslim lords of the Armenian borders (Qaïsites of Mantzikert, Shaïbanides of southern Armenia, etc.), cf. J. LAURENT, L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam, p. 320-331 et 336-347 M. CANARD, Les Hamdânides, I, 47¹⁻⁴⁷⁴,481-485, 630-632; where one finds has the necessary references for the complicated establishment of their lists.

Musâfirides (Azerbaijan branch 4jan) Marubân.......3

His sons Djustân, Ibrahim, Nâcir, and their uncle Wahsudân d 3 e $^{0/9}$ Tâ 4 r I m in competition. Abû'l-Haïdjâ son of Ibrahim defeated by the Rawwâdites.

Rawweed

(Mostly) Wahsudân b. Mamlân, before 420-after 446

Shaddâdides of Arrân

	Snaaaaaaae	s of Arran	
Muhammad b. Shaddâd, mi Fadl(un) Lakkî	1-tenth century 375/985 Min 24/03/	in Dwin,sınceFadl(ûn) II	f Fadl(ûn), 44121/*11004292
Anushirân	441/1049	Fadl(ûn)III	4時期初
descendants remain	In 467/1075, annexatilûn, Minutshihr,received Georgian from 556/lies in caucasian hist	ved <i>Äni</i> , where his	until the conquest
	(E) UPPER MES	SOPOTAMIA	
	Hamdanides (in Mosul	l and Diyâr Bakr)	
Abû'l-Haïdjâ b. Hamdan, governor a Nâcir ad-daula 482/1089		Abû Taghlib	356/967 367/978

Seljuk conquest (for the Hamdanids of Aleppo, cf. (infra)

Marwanides (in Diyâr Bakr)

M	asan b. Marwan	380/ 990	Naçr	453/1061
Sa	ı *ki		Mancûr	472/1080
Α	nmad	401/1011	Seljuk conquest	478/1085

Numaïrites (in Diyâr Modar) (from the end of the xe s. to 479/1086) (Seljuk conquest)

392/1002

F) UPPER SYRIA

Hamdanides of

Aleppo

Saif ad-daula (brother of Nâcir ad- laula of Mosul)		333/944	Regency of the eunuch Lulu	399/1008 40 ⁶ / ₁ 016
		Mirdâsides	of Aleppo	
	Çâlih.b. Mirdâs Naçr and Thamâl in conflict Fatimid occupation Mahmûd, Thamâl and 'Atiya in conflict Mahmûd alone	420/1029 444/ ¹⁰ 53 Conqu 452/1060	Naçr Sâbiq est of ' Uqaïlide Muslim b. Quraïsh Seljuk conquest	46 ⁸ / ₁ 076 472/1080

Banû'Ammâr of Tripoli

(mid-eleventh S. at 502/1109) (Frankish conquest)

For the Framdanids, cf.M. CANARD, History of the H'amdanid dynasty of Jazîra and Syria, I, Algiers, 1951 (Publ. de la Fac. des Lettres d'Alger, II Series, XXI).

3. SELJUKS (IRAN, MESOPOTAMIA, SYRIA)

Tughril-Beg, in Khoran, sultan,	Memûd
in Baghdad	Barkyâruq
Alp-Arslan	Muhammad
Mâlikshâh	Etc.

The dynasty lasted in Iran until 590/1194; for the Seljuks of Anatolia, cf. infra.

Syrian branch

Tutush,brother appanage of Malikshâh,independent in 485/1092; killed in 488/1095. Damascus passed to his son Duqâq,who died in 496/1106, leaving power to his atabeg Tughtegin,whose son, Bûrî,opened the Bûride dynasty (until 548/1154). Aleppo passedto Duqâq'sbrother, Riçiwân,whose dynasty disappeared in 511/1117. Antioch was autonomous under governor Yâghî-Siyân,from whom the Crusaders removed it in 1098. Aleppo fell to the Artuqids in 511/1117 (cf. infra), to the lords of Mosul in 518/1124,andto Zenghî (infra) in 522/1128.

4. POST-SELJUK DYNASTIES

A) Zenghides (in Aleppo)

Zenghi	
Nûr ad-dîn 541/1146 (Annex Damascus in 549/11:	54)
Câlili Ismâ'îl	
(Izz ad-dîn Mas "ûd (de Mos-	
soul)	
Conquest of Aleppo by Saladin 579/1183	

(Other branches of the Zenghids ruled mosul, Sinjar and Djafirat-ibn-" Omar

until 631/1233, 617/1220 and 648/1250; in Mosul and Djazîra, they continue by the old minister Lulu, 631/1233 to 657/1259, until the Mongol conquest.)

For the Artuqides (or Ortogides), cf. Cl. CAHEN, Le Diyâr Bakr at the time of the first Urtuqides, Asian Journal, 1935; ID., La Syrie du Nord au temps des Croisades, p. 277-

passim; Encyclopédie de l'Islam, 2nd ed., art. Artugides.

(B) AYYÛBIDES: IN EGYPT SINCE I169

(official suppression of the Fatimid Caliphate, 566'1171)

Damascus, 570/1174, Aleppo, 579/1183, Jerusalem (taken from the Franks), .5s.3,11. m; later annexations in Upper Mesopotamia (especially Diyâr Bakr)

> Shîrkûh (conquers Egypt as lieutenant of Nûr ad-dîn Çalah ad dîn) (Saladin), same year. AdCioinflits complicated up to: Çâlih Ayyûb.....

established,

see below)

The main branch, the only one indicated above, of the Ayyûbides, resides in Egypt; multiple vassal branches reigned in Aleppo, 1. Iamâh, ijomç, Damascus, Karak, Mayâfâriqîn, Akhlât, Ijiçn-Kaïfâ, etc.; they ended during the Mongol conquest, about ten years after the overlord branch of Egypt.

C) DYNASTIES OF ASIA MINOR (XI-XIII S.)

Seljuks "of Rûm"

	ijuns oj Rum
imma adiata assasaan	Minor around 1074, was killed in 1086, without an
Oilidi-Arslan Ier	485/1092
Shahânshâh	501/1107
Mas •ûd Ier	
	550/1155
his other son Kai-Khusrau; the latter disp and to another brother. Rukn ad-din, who	1189 his son Qutb ad-din, then, against him, in 1191 (?), uted the succession to Qutb ad-din, who died in 1195 (?), expelled him in 1197 and reconstituted the Seljukunit, ukn ad-din'sson, Qilidj-ArslanIII, in 1205.
Kai-Kâûs	608/1211
	616/1219
Kai-Khusrau II	
6 defeated by the Mongols in	1244.
Ka ï-Kâûs II ("Ízz ad-dîn)	flict with his brother Rukn ad-din
since 646/1249 in con	flict with his brother Rukn ad-din
Qilidj-Arslan, wh	o won definitively in 659/1261.
The dynasty lasted, vassal of the Mong	ols and without any real power, until the beginning of the (Ive century).
Dânich manditae (Cappadocia and surroundings)
Danishmend	Before 1095
Gümüshtegin Ghâzî	
Munammad	
Vaghi Dagan	1140
fighting against Dhûl-Nûn	who succeeded him in1164
fighting against Dhûl-Nûn (1174-1177, annexation of the Dânishmendite	who succeeded him in1164 s domains by Qilidj-Arslan II)
fighting against Dhûl-Nûn	who succeeded him in1164 s domains by Qilidj-Arslan II)
fighting against Dhûl-Nûn v (1174-1177, annexation of the Dânishmendite (Other vassal branches, for example in M	who succeeded him in1164 s domains by Qilidj-Arslan II) alatya-Melitene.)
fighting against Dhûl-Nûn void (1174-1177, annexation of the Dânishmendite (Other vassal branches, for example in Manguet Manguet)	who succeeded him in1164 s domains by Qilidj-Arslan II) alatya-Melitene.) djaqides ofErzinzhan
fighting against Dhûl-Nûn voor (1174-1177, annexation of the Dânishmendite (Other vassal branches, for example in Mangudjag	who succeeded him in
fighting against Dhûl-Nûn voor (1174-1177, annexation of the Dânishmendite (Other vassal branches, for example in Mangudjaq	who succeeded him in
fighting against Dhûl-Nûn (1174-1177, annexation of the Dânishmendite (Other vassal branches, for example in Mangue Mangudjaq	who succeeded him in
fighting against Dhûl-Nûn (1174-1177, annexation of the Dânishmendite (Other vassal branches, for example in Mangudian Mangudian Ishâq Dâûd Bahramshâh	who succeeded him in
fighting against Dhûl-Nûn (1174-1177, annexation of the Dânishmendite (Other vassal branches, for example in Mangudian Mangudi	who succeeded him in
fighting against Dhûl-Nûn (1174-1177, annexation of the Dânishmendite (Other vassal branches, for example in Mangudjaq	who succeeded him in
fighting against Dhûl-Nûn ver (1174-1177, annexation of the Dânishmendite (Other vassal branches, for example in Mangudjaq	who succeeded him in
fighting against Dhûl-Nûn (1174-1177, annexation of the Dânishmendite (Other vassal branches, for example in Mangudjaq	who succeeded him in
fighting against Dhûl-Nûn (1174-1177, annexation of the Dânishmendite (Other vassal branches, for example in Mangudjaq	who succeeded him in
fighting against Dhûl-Nûn (1174-1177, annexation of the Dânishmendite (Other vassal branches, for example in Mangudian Mangudjaq Mangudj	who succeeded him in
fighting against Dhûl-Nûn (1174-1177, annexation of the Dânishmendite (Other vassal branches, for example in Mangudian Mangudian Bahramshâh Dâûdshâh (Other branches at Divrighi and Kughun around 1227.) Saltuq Saltuq Mu?affar ad-dîn Malik-	who succeeded him in
fighting against Dhûl-Nûn (1174-1177, annexation of the Dânishmendite (Other vassal branches, for example in Mangudian Mangudjaq Mangudjaq Mangudjaq Mangudjad Mangudjad Mangudjad Mangudjad Mahamshâh Mangudjad Mangudj	who succeeded him in
fighting against Dhûl-Nûn (1174-1177, annexation of the Dânishmendite (Other vassal branches, for example in Mangudian Mangudian Dâûd Bahramshâh Dâûdshâh (Other branches at Divrighi and Kughun around 1227.) Saltuq Muhammad Mu?affar ad-dîn Malikshah (?) Alâ ad-dîn abû Mançûr	who succeeded him in
fighting against Dhûl-Nûn (1174-1177, annexation of the Dânishmendite (Other vassal branches, for example in Mangudian Mangudjaq Mangudian Bahramshâh Dâûdshâh (Other branches at Divrighi and Kughun around 1227.) Saltuq Muhammad Saltuq Muhammad Mu?affar ad-dîn Malikshah (?) Alâ ad-dîn abû Mançûr E (On this date, the dynasty w	who succeeded him in
fighting against Dhûl-Nûn (1174-1177, annexation of the Dânishmendite (Other vassal branches, for example in Mangudian Mangudjaq Mangudjaq Dâûd Bahramshâh Dâûdshâh (Other branches at Divrighi and Kughun around 1227.) Saltuq Muhammad Saltuq Muhammad Mu?affar ad-dîn Malikshah (?) Alâ ad-dîn abû Mançûr E (On this date, the dynasty w	who succeeded him in
fighting against Dhûl-Nûn (1174-1177, annexation of the Dânishmendite (Other vassal branches, for example in Mangudian Mangudjaq Mangudjaq Mangudian Bahramshâh Dâûdshâh (Other branches at Divrighi and Kughun around 1227.) Saltuq Muhammad Mu?affar ad-dîn Malikshah (?) Alâ ad-dîn abû Mançûr E (On this date, the dynasty was bushah Mughîth ad-dîn Tughrilshâh Mangundian Djahânshâh Mangundian Mangundian Mughîth ad-dîn Tughrilshâh Mangundian Mangundian Mangundian Mughîth ad-dîn Tughrilshâh	who succeeded him in
fighting against Dhûl-Nûn (1174-1177, annexation of the Dânishmendite (Other vassal branches, for example in Mangudian Mangudjaq Mangudjaq Mangudiah Bahramshâh Dâûdshâh Maramshâh Maramshah Maramshah Maramshah Maramshah Mu?affar ad-dîn Malikshah (?) Alâ ad-dîn abû Mançûr E (On this date, the dynasty was Mughîth ad-dîn Tughrilshâh Majahânshâh Maramshah Mughîth ad-dîn Tughrilshâh Mangungjahânshâh Mangungjahânshâh Mangungjahânshâh	who succeeded him in

D) DYNASTIES OF ASIA MINOR (XIV-XV

S.) Mentesheh (Carie)

Mentesheh	Around 1280	
Karman		
Mas 'ûd	Before 1320	
Urhan		1344/5
before	201010 1020	.344/3
TI AIA	D C 12440	

In sharing or competing with the three sons of Ibrâhîm Mûsâ, around 1366, Ahmed Ghâzî m. 1391, and Muhammad (Mehmed) m. after 1402.

Ilyâs son of Muhammad	1402	
His sons Ahmed and Laith	1421	- 24

(1424, Ottoman annexation)

Aidin (in Smyrna)

Ghâzî Mehmed Bey son of Aidin	1308	
Ghâzî 'Umur Bey, avèn	1334	
Hizir (Khidr)Bey	1348	
Isâ Bey	1360	?

1390, Ottoman conquest; 1402, restitution by Timur-Lenk

Mûsâ son of 'Isâ	. 1402
'Umur II	.1402
Djüneid son ofIbrâhîm Bahâdur son of	
Mehmed	1403

At his death, in 1425, definitive Ottoman annexation

Germyan (Kutâyeh,etc.)

The family of the sons of "Alîshîr is first known in Eastern Asia Minor around 1240, and emigrated to Western Anatolia in 1277, where Shihâb ad-dîn Ghâzî b. 'Arishir **was** captured. A reliable indication can then only be given with:

Ya 'qûb I	Avant 699/1299
Ya 'qûb I	Around 730/1329
Mûsâ	
Ottoman conquest	1390
Ya 'qûb II	1420-1429
Final Ottoman conquest	1429

White Sheep Turkomans (Akkoyunlu) (Armenia, etc.)

Attested since the middle of the tenth century; we have precisedetails onlyfor:

Qara-Yülük	End of the tenth century to 1425
'Àlî-Beg in conflict with Hamza	838/1435 m. 1438
Hamza	1435, then only 1438
Djahângîr	
Uzûn Hasan	857/1453 - 882/1477

The dynasty lasted until 1508 (Persian conquest)

Sinope: fief of Pervâneh

Mu'in ad-dîn Sulaiman, m. in 676/1277, then of his children, etc., until Ghâzî Tchelebi (beginning of the tenth century, a little before 1340). Then passes to the Isfendiyâr-Oghlu of Qastamuni,known sincethe thirteenth century. First powerful prince Sulaiman-Pasha,around 1300 to 1340.

The dynasty interrupted from 1395 to 1402 by an Ottoman conquest disappeared definitively in 1445 (cf. *El*, art. Sinub, Isfendiyar, etc.).

5. EARLY OTTOMANS

(A. D. ALDERSON	The Structure o	f the Ottoman	Dvnastv.	Oxford, 1956)
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Othmân	
Orkhân Murâd I	1360; m. 1389.
Bayezid I(Invasion of Timur	6-1389; dept. 28-7-1402; m. 10-3-1403.
	(Bush), Mehmed (Muhammad) (Amasya), Sulaïmân Europe).
Mehmed I Murad II Melimed Ii Fâtilj The Conqueror Yayezid Ii	5-7-14 ¹ 3; m. 26-5-1421. 26-5-1421; Abd. 1-12-1444; 2nd time 9-1446; m. 8-2-1451. 1-12-1444; Dep. 9-1446; 2nd time 3-2-1451; m. 3-5-1481. 3-5-1481; Dep. 24-4-1512; m. 26-5-1512.

V

MONGOL DYNASTIES

(B. SPULER, Die Mongolen in Iran, Leipzig, 1939 Iranische Forschungen I B. SPULER, Die Goldene Horde, Die Mongolen In Russland, Leipzig, 1943, p. 453)

Tshinghiz - Khan (Gengiskan)	Güyük 1246–124	8
died1227	Môngkâ 1251-125	9
Ogodâï	1	

The direct overlord dynasty continued in China; from them stand out, among others, the following Iranian and European branches:

T11 1			CT
liki	ans	01	f Iran

Hülâgü died In	1265	Baidû
Abaga, avèn.	1265	1295
Ahmad Tâkûdâr	1282	Gazan
Argûn		1295
Ga ïkhâtû		Üldiaiti)
Gu ikilatu	1271	0.15

The Golden Horde (southern and central Russia)

Batu towards	1240-1256	Tudan M.rikâ 1280-1287	
Sartag	1256-1257	Telebogha	
Ulaghéi (Ulaghchi)	1257	Tokhtu 1291-1313	
Berke	1257-1267	Üzbeg 1313-1341	
Miinkâ-Temiir		I267 - I280	

The dynasty lasted, in decline, until the beginning of the fifteenth century)

Mamluks (Egypt and Syria)

mu izz ad-din Aibek	648 / 125o	Sulâmish 677 / 1278
Mancûr Nûr ad-diner'All	657 / 1259	Ashraf Khalîl 678 / 1279 Mançur Qalaun 689 / 1290
Outuz	655 / 125 /	Mançur Qalaun
Žâhir Rukn ad 'dinner Baibars		Nâcir Muhammad693./-1293
Bun-	658 / 126o	Died in 741/1340.
duqdârs	676 / 1277	

(Interlude) Kitbogha 1294–96 and Lâdjîn 1296-98; new interlude Baibars 708/1308)
Tshashnègîr "The Regime" lasted until the Ottoman conquest In 922/1517

Vi

HISTORICAL LISTS

(continued)

C) THE SLAVS

- I. Princes and Tsars of Bulgaria.

- II. Rulers and dynasts of Serbia and Bosnia.
 I. Until the tenth century.
 II. From the xlle to the xvth century.
- III. Princes of Novgorod, Kiev, Suzdal', Vladimir and Moscow.
 - A) Princes of Novgorod and Grand Princes of Kiev;
 B) Grand Princes of Vladimir and Suzdal';
 C) Grand Princes of Moscow and Vladimir.

PRINCES AND TSARS OF BULGARIA

(see N. ZLATARSKI, *Istorija na bàlgarskata dârtava*, 3 vol., Sofia, 1927-1940; p. MUTAFaEV, *Istorija na legarskija narod*, Sofia, ed. 2, 1943; *Istorija na Bâlgarija*, I, Sofia, 1954. List corrected and supplemented by I. DueEv.)

Isperich (Asparush)	681 - 702	Sabin	765 - 767 767 (40 days 767 - 772 772 77 ² /73 - 777 777/7 ⁸ - ⁸⁰ 3
	, , _ , , , ,	Dynasty	
Krum Omurtag Malamir Presijan (Persian) Boris I Michail	803 - 814 814 - 831 831 - 836 836 - 852	Vladimir	893-927 927 - 969 969–972
	Comit	opoules	
" The brothers ComitopoulesDavid Moisej, Aaron and Samuel son of Ni-	97² - 979	Samuel alone Gabriel Radomir Ivan-Vladisvlav, son ofAa- Ron	I014 - I015
	1018-118J, B	yzantine domination	
Revolts of Pierre Deljan (Deleanos), Ticho-mir and Alousian (bone).	I040 - I041	Revolts of Constantine Bo- Din	1072 - 1081 ?
	" Th	e Asterinids	
Asterian I	1186 - 1196 1196 - 1197 1197 - 1207 1207 - 1218 1218 - 1241 1241 - 1246 1246 - 1257	Constantin Tich Astern," my "laugh to a- granddaughter of Ivan Astern Ii Ivajlo, married the widow of Previous ivan Aster III nephew of	1257 - 1277 I277 - I279 1279 - 1280
	" The	e Terterids	
George I Terter Smilec Tchaka, son of Nogaj (Tatardo mination)	I280 - I292 1292 - 1298 1299	Theodore Svetoslav George II Terter	1300 - 1322 1322 - 1323
	" The	Si, manides	
Michael III If:';man	1323 - 1330 1330-1331 1331 - 1371 circa 1350	ivan Siman In Tirnovo ivan Sracimir (Stracimir) to Vidin	

Ιi

RULERS AND DYNASTS OF SERBIA AND BOSNIA

(Lists prepared by Dj. Sp. RADojia(":)

I. - UNTIL THE TWELFTH CENTURY

I. SERBIA

A) Vieslav dynasty or Vojislav

from the second half of the vine century until the middle of the tenth century; according to Constantine Porphyrogenetes (948/49), derives its origin from a Serbian tribal leader who settled in the Balkan peninsula at the beginning of the vile century.

Princes (cipzov7zrj

Vieslav or Vojislav (liotaia0Xx(30. ';), second half of the city century.

Radoslav.

Prosigoj. Vlastimir, between 820 and 822 made himself independent of Byzantium, from 839 to 942

fight against the Bulgarians.

Mutimir, Strojimir and Gojnik,reigned for a short time together; between 854 and 860 fight against the Bulgarians.

From 923 to 927, Bulgarian rule.

(aslav Klonimirovié,927-after 949; the dynasty died with him.

The western part of the Serbian state, Bosnia, separates from the eastern part, Serbia. The name Raska to designate it has only come into use since the tenth century.

B) Dynasty of Tihomilj

joupans and great joupans

Tihomilj, great joupan, founder of the dynasty according to a legend of the Chronicle of Duklja, second half

Ofthe tenth century.

Ljutomir, joupan long before 971 or 972 if we are to believe the account of Trebinje on Bela and the account on Pavlimir, the alleged founder of Dubrovnik.

Ljutomir, great joupan, under the supremacy of the Slavs of Macedonia, 998-1018, and

perhaps even a little earlier.

Petrislav, member of the Dukljadynasty, governs under the direct authority of Duklja,1060 ?1070? Vukan and Marko, joupans, probably members of the old dynasty, took power around 1083, ruled together or in two separate joupanies.

Vukan, great joupan, reigned alone before 1091-around 1113.

C) Dynasty of Vukan

Grands Joupans

Uro I	Around 1113 - c. 1131, interruption c. 1126
Uro" II Around	
Desa	Shortly before 1155 - 1155
Uro II (2 ⁰⁾	1155 - c. 1160

*39*⁰ I. CHRONOLOGY

Primislav or Prvoslav (flp:.J.i.(70 ⁻ /.7.,(0:-,), on identifies him with Uro II Around	
Desa (2°)	
and a little later Tihomir Shortly after 1165-1168	
2. BOSNIA	
Stefan, prince, between 1081 and 1085 and perhaps even later.	

Borié, ban, before 1154-1163.

3. TREBINJE (TRAVUNJIA)

Bela, joupan, early ninth century.

Princes (Ipzov-re. -.ç)

Krajina, around 84o. Hvalimir, second half of the DU century.
Tudjemir or Cucimir (licsou'r(7-rip., p'r,,;), first half of the xc century.
Dragomir, before 998, and from 999-1018 under the Slavs of Macedonia. Desa, 1148 or 1149-after 1151, also ruled Hum and Zeta.

4. ZAHUMLJE (HUM)

Princes (Ipzr, v7.sç, duces, principles)

Vievié(lioliaz.-',f,o'yrar,), descendant of a pagan tribe once established on the banks of the Visla, reigned at the beginning of the xc century.

Mihailo, before 913-after 949.

Dragomir, before 998 on Trebinje and hum, from 999-1018 on Trebinje only.

Ljutovid, c. 1042, known only by an epic song entered in the Chronicle of Dukliocea.

Desa, before 1148 or 1149-after1151, also ruled after 1148 or 1149 over Zeta and Trebinje.

5. DUKLJA (ZETA)

Princes (Ipzov-rzç)

Predimir
Petar or Petri: -v After
Jovan Vladimir
Mihailo, prince
— king 1077 - ro8i, at the end of his reign with Bodin.
Kings
8
Konstantin Body 108i - c. 1101 Dobroslav To IIcd
Koêopar
Vladimir II
Djordje
Grubea II18 - 1I25
Djordje (2")I125 - 1131
Gradihna
nuinaag
princes
Radoslav
Desa
Mihailo

Mihailo Andjelovié,

II. - FROM THE TWELFTH CENTURY TO THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

I. SERBIA

Nemanjie dynasty (116,s'-1371)

Stefan Nemanja, grand joupan, 1168-25 March 1195, monk in Hilandar under the name of Simeon, dies on 13 February 1200.

Stefan, grand joupan, 1195-1202, 1202-1217.

— king "the First Crowned", 1217-24 September 1227.

Vuk or Vukan, grand joupan, 1202-1203.

Kings

Stefan Radoslav, 1227-1234, monk under the name of Jovan, died after 1235.

Stefan Vladislav, 1234-spring 1243, died after 1263/64, on II November.
Stefan Uros I, spring 1243-autumn 1276, died monk under the name of Simon, on May 1280.
Stefan Dragutin, autumn 1276-beginning of 1282, as vassal of the king of Hungary, reigned

Belgrade and the surrounding country, and on North-East Bosnia from the second half of 1284 until his death on 12 March 1316, he had recently become a monk and took the name Teoktist.

Stefan Uro, II Milutin, early 1282-29 October 1321. Stefan Konstantin, pretender, to Zeta, 1321. Vladislav II, pretender, in the northern countries, 1321-1324.

Stefan Urds III Deansky, 1321-August 1331, died II November 1331. Stefan IV Du?-; an, king, August 1331-late November or December 1345, emperor until his

on 20 December 1355.

Stefan Uroz,, emperor, 1355-4 December 1371.

2. NORTHERN SERBIA

Lazar, prince, 1371-15 June 1389. Stefan Lazarevié, prince, 1389-1402

despot, 1402-19 July 1427.

Despots of the Brankovié dynasty (1127-1/; 9)

Djuradj, le t messire », 1427-1429

1429-24 December 1456. despot,

Lazar, associated with his father Djuradj with the title of despot, 18 Dec. 1446.

the "great despot", 1456-20 January 1458.

Regency: Hélène Palaiologos, Stefan Brankovié, the grand duke and gubernator

3 February 1458-31 March 1458. Then, without Mihailo, Stefan, despot, 31 March 1458-21 March 1459.

Stefan Tomeevie, 21 March 1459-20 June 1459.

3. THE KOSOVO REGION

Vuk Brankovié, 1371-late 1395 or early 1396 and perhaps even late 1396, died October 6, 1398.

The sons of Vuk, from 1396:
Grgur, died 13 March 1408.
Djuradj, later despot of Northern Serbia.
Lazar, died on II July 1410.

4. THE REGION OF DRINA

Nikola Altomanovié, joupan, late 1366-late 1373 or early 1374, died after 1395.

5. WESTERN MACEDONIA

Kings
 ,,,,,,,,

6. EASTERN MACEDONIA

Jovan Draga, despot, possibly 1365-c. 1378. Konstantin Draga, the "messire died on May 17, 1395.

7. SERRÈS REGION

8. THESSALY

Emperors

c. 1422/23

9. ZETA

Bal. W dynasty (1360–1371)

Baba I, founder.
The Balié brothers from 1360:
Stracimir, died monk under the name of Sava, 1371/72.
Djuradj I, died in January 1378.
Baba II, died on September 18, 1385.
Djuradj II Stracimirovié, 1385-April 1403. Baba III, 1403-28 April 1421.

Crnojeviédynasty. Dukes

Io. BOSNIA

Bans

Kulin, before 1180-around 1204. Stevan, before 1233. Matej Ninoslav, c. 1233-c. 1250.

Kotromane dynasty (c. 12.; 0-1.463)

Prijezda I, around 1250-1287, supported by the Hungarians, he was in competition with Ninoslav; mentioned

with the title of ban, in 1240.

Tvrtko I

King1377-1391 c. 17 March

Kings

Stefan Dabia	
Jelena	
Stefan Ostoja	
Tvrtko II Ťvrtkovié	
Stefan Ostoja (2°)	
Stefan Ostoja (2°) 1409 - autumn 1418 Stepan Ostojić 1418–1421	
Tvrtko II (2 ⁸)	
Stefan Tomás	
Stepan Tomeevie	
Matija, 'I'abanêjé, towards the end of 1465, the Turks made him king, 1476.	
Nikola Iloêki, obtained from the king of Hungary the title of king of Bosnia, 1 47i-147	77.

HUM

Dukes

Miroslav, shortly after 1165-1198.
Rastko, later the first Serbian archbishop under the name of Sava, ruled for two years,
certainly after June 17, 1190, either part of Hum or all of it.
Petar
Toljen
Andrija before 1235 - c. 1250

Joupans

Bogdan, died after 1252. Radoslav, last mentioned in 1254. Stefan, 1264. Vojislav Vojinović, prince, in the eastern part of Hum, before 1358-September 1363. Sandalj Hranić, duke, 1392-15 March 1435.

I2. HERZEGOVINA

Stepan Vukèié Kosaêa,duke, 1435-1448.

Duke of Saint-Sava", October 1448-22 May 1466.

Vlatko, duke, 1466-late January 1482, died before August 1489.

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PRINCES OF NOVGOROD, KIEV, SUZDAL', VLADIMIR AND MOSCOW

(E. E. GOLUBINSKIJ, *Istoria russkoj Cerkvi*, MOSCOW, 1900-1901; *N.* DE BAUMGARTEN, Genealogies... of the Rurikids from the tenth to the tenth century, *East. Christiana*, IX (1927), n. 35, p. 5-94; ID., Du XIIIf' au xvie, *ibid.*, XXXV (1934), n. 94, p. 5-150; Michel DE TAUBE, *Rome et la Russie avant l'invasion des Tatars*, Paris, 1947; G. VERNADSKY, *A History of Russia; I. Ancient Russia*, New Haven, 1944; II. *Kievan Russian*, New Haven, 1948; OÉERKI ISTORII S. S. S. R., I, *Drevnjaja Rus'*, Moscow, 1953. *The Russian Primary Chronicle : Laurentian Text*, translated and edited by Samuel Hazzard CROSS and Olgerd P. SHERBOWITZ-WETZER, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1953. List reviewed by Roger PORTAL.)

(A) PRINCES OF NOVGOROD AND GRAND PRINCES OF KIEV

` '	
Jaropolk I Svjatoslaviè, Grand Prince of Kiev S. Vladimir I Svjatoslaviê, Prince of Novgorod. GrandPrince of Kiev. 9 Svjatopolk I Vladimirovié, Prince of Turov, GrandPrince of Kiev	(862-879)? 855-882?882 ?- ? 907-912? v 941, 944-945 (913-945 (?) : Cross) 945-957 (945-964 : Cross), m. 11/7/969945-950 957-973 ? (964) -972 : Cross) 973-978 (co-prince 970; 972-978 : Cross), 11/6/978 973 980-1015 (978-1015 : Cross), m. 15/7/1015
Prince of Kiev	ince
of View	IO17: 1010 1054 M 20/2/1054
of KievIzjaslav I Jaroslaviè, Princeof Volynsk,Grand-	1017, 1019-1034, M. 20/2/1034
Prince of Kiev	1054–1068; 1069–1073; 1076-1078 (1077-1078: Cross), m. 3/9/1078
Vseslav Brjaêislavié, Prince of Polock, Grand-	,
Prince of Kiev	1068-1069, m. 14/4/1Ioi
Svjatoslav II Jaroslavié, Prince of L :ernigov,	
Grand-	1073-1075 (1073-1076: Cross), m. 27/12/1076 1075-
Prince of Kiev	1076 (1076-1077: Cross); 1078-1093, m. 13/4/1093
Vsevolod I Jaroslavié, Grand Prince of Kiev	1093-1113, m. 16/4/1113
v se v o loca i valo slavie, slana i i inice oli ilie v	1075-1115, III. 10/4/1115
Svjatopolk II Izjaslaviè, Grand Prince of Kiev Vladimir II Vsevolodović, Monomachus, grand-	II13-I125, m. 19/5/1125
Prince of Kiev	1125-1132, m. 15/4/1132
Prince of Kiev	I132-I138, m. 18/2/1139
GrandPrince of Kiev	1132-1130, III. 10/2/1137
GrandPrince of Kiev	1138
Vjaeslav Vladimirovié, Prince of Turov, Grand-	1130
Prince of Kiev a few weeks in	1138-1146, ITI. 1/8/1146
Vsevolod II Ol'govié, prince of(:ernigov,grand-	
n · 6 /1	

Igor' II O1'govié, Prince of C:ernigov, Grand Prince of Kiev Izjaslav Ii Mstislavièprinceof Volynskoye, father- j aslav! bigPrince of Kiev Jurij I Vladimiroviê, Dolgorukijprinceof Suzdal' bigPrince of Kiev Rostislav I MstislavièGrand Prince of Kiev and Smolensk Izjaslav Iii Davydoviè, Prince of Cernigov bigPrince of Kiev Mstislav Ii IzjaslavyPrince of Volynskoye. bigPrince of Kiev Gleb Jur'eviè, Prince of Perejaslav! bigPrince of Kiev novel Rostislaviè, Prince of Smolensk BigPrince of Kiev Rjurik Ii Rostislav'y, Prince of Cernigov bigPrince of Kiev Rjurik Ii Rostislav'y, Prince of Cernigov bigPrince of Kiev	1146-1147, M. 19/9/1147 1146-1149 1150-1154, m. 13/11/1154 1149-1150 I¹54·1157, m. 15/5/1157 1154·1158, m. 6/4/1161 1157-1158, m. 6/4/1161 1158 gold 11S9 1169-1171, M. 13/8/1172 1168 or 1169 1169-1171, m. 20/1/1172 1171 1175-1177, m. 14/6/1180 1174, 1180, 1195-1202 1203-1210, m. in 1215
Svjatoslav Iii Vsevolodoviè, Prince of Novgorod Cernigov, Grand Prince of Kiev	1177-1194, m. end 7/1194 1206, 1207, 1210-1214, m. 1215 1214-1223, m. June 1223 1223-1235, m. 3/3/1239 1235, m. 1239? 1239 shortly
(B) GRAND PRINCES OF VL	ADIMIR AND SUZDAL'
Jurij I Vladimiroviè, Prince of Suzdal', Grand prince of Kiev	1149-1150; 1154, M. 15/5/1157
Andrej I Jur'eviè, Grand Prince of Vladimirand Suzdal'	1157, 6/29/1174
Vsevolod Iii Jur'eviè, Grand Prince of Vladimirand	?, m. 14/4/1212 1212-1217; 1237-1238, m. 4/3/1238
of Suzdal'	1217-I218, M. 2/2/1218
Konstantin Vsevolodoviè, Grand Prince of Nov-	1238-1246, m. 30/9/1246
gorod, Rostov and Vladimir	1246-1247, m. 3/2/1252
aroslav Ii Vsevolodoviè, Prince of Pereslavl', big-Prince of Vladimir	1248-1249, m. 15/1/1249
Svjatoslav Vsevolodoviè, Prince of Juriev, Grand- prince of Vladimir michael	1249-1252, m. in 1264
Jaroslav'ye, Prince of Moscow, Grand- prince of Vladimir	1252-1263, m. 14/II/1263
Andrej Ii JarOslaviè, Grand Prince of	1263-1271, m. 16/9/1271
Vladimirand of Suzdal'	1272-1276, m. in 1276

Vladimir

1276-1282; 1284-1293, M. in 1294

Aleksandr I Jaroslaviê Neskij, **Grand Prince**of Vladimir and Novgorod

aroslav Iii Jaroslav'ye, Prince of
Perejaslavl',
bigPrince of Tver and Vladimir

Andrej III Aleksandrovié, Prince of Gorodec GrandPrince of Vladimir	1282-1284; 1293-1304, m. 27/8/1304 1304-1319, m. 22/II/1319 1319-1322, m. 21/II/1325 1322-1325, m. 15/9/1325
(C) GRAND PRINCES OF M	IOSCOW AND VLADIMIR
Ivan I Danilovié Kalita, Grand Prince of Moscow and Vladimir Simeon Ivanovié Gordyj, Grand Prince of Moscow and Vladimir Ivan II Ivanovié Gordyj, Grand Prince of Moscow and Vladimir Dmitrij I Konstantinovié, Prince of Suzdal' GrandPrince of Vladimir and Nizhny-Novgorod. Dmitrij II Ivanovié Donskoj, Grand Princeof Moscow-Vladimir Vasilij I Dmitrievié, Grand Prince of Moscow-Vladimir Vasilij II Vasil'evié Tomnyj, Grand Princeof Moscow-Uladimir Usilij III Vasil'evié Tomnyj, Grand Princeof Moscow-Uladimir Usilij III Vasil'evié Tomnyj, Grand Princeof Moscow-Dmitrij Dmitrievié, Prince of Gale and Zvenigorod, GrandPrince of Moscow 1433-1434, Vasilij III Jur'evié Kosoj, princeof Zvenigorod. Dmitrij III Jur'evié emjaka, prince of Galié, GrandPrince of Moscow 1446-1447, Ivan III Vasil'evié, Grand Prince of Moscow and Russia, married secondly on 12 Novembre 1473, Sophie Paléologue, niece de l'empereur Constantine XII	1328-1340, M. 31/3/1341 1340-1353, m. 27/4/1353 1353-1359, m. 13/II/1359 , 1359-1361, m. 5/7/1383 1362-1389, m. 19/5/1389 1389-1425, m. 27/2/1425 1425-1433; 1434-46; 1447-1462, ITI. 27/3/1462 m. 5/6/1434 1434, m. 11/I I/1448 m. 18/7/1453

Vi

HISTORICAL LISTS

(continued)

D) THE LATIN EAST

- I. Latin kings of Jerusalem.
- II. Latin princes of Antioch.
- III. Counts of Tripoli.
- IV. Counts of Edessa.
- V. Kings of Cyprus.
- VI. Grandmasters of the Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem.
- VII. Latin emperors of Constantinople.
- VIII. Venetian podestà of Constantinople.
- IX. Venetian bailes of Constantinople.
 - Genoese podestà of Pera-Galata.
- X. Latin kings of Thessaloniki.
- XI. Latin princes of Achaeus (Morea).
- XII. Lords and Dukes of Athens.
- XIII. Heads of the Catalan Company.
- XIV. Dukes of the Archipelago or of Naxos.
- I. Lords of Thebes.
- XV. Counts Palatine of Kefalonia, Dukes of Lefkada and Zante.
- II. Barons of Corinth.
- III. Marquis of Bodonitza or Thermopylae.
- XVI. Lords of Lesvos.
- XVII. Despots of Epirus and Janina.
- XVIII. Counts and princes of Albania.

LATIN KINGS OF JERUSALEM

(Jean RICHARD, Le royaume latin de Jérusalem, Paris, 1953; LA MONTE, Chronologie de l'Orient latin, Bulletin of the International Comnittee of historical Sciences, XII, 2nd part., Paris, 1943, p. 141-202)

Godfrey of Bouillon, " confessed " of the HolySepulchre Baldwin I of Boulogne, first Latin king of Jerusalem	
Daldwin II of Dougle, first Latin King of Jerusalem	16/4/1100 - 2/4/1116
Baldwin II of Bourcq, cousin of the previous	11/4/1118 - 1131
Baldwin III, son of Fulk and Mélissende	1131-1143
reigned with his mother	1142 1152
reigned with his mother	1143–1152
only	
Amalric, brother of Baldwin III	1163–1174
Baldwin IV, son of Amaury and Agnès de Courtenay	1174–1185
Baldwin V, nephew of the above, co-reigning	nov. 1183-1185
only	1185-1186
Capture of Jerusalem by Saladin	1187
Sybelle, sister of Baldwin IV, queen	1186-1190
Guy de Lusignan, second husband of Sybelle	1186-1192
Capture of Saint-Jean-d'Acre by the Crusaders 11	1191
Isabella, daughter of Amaury and Marie Comnène, queen	1192 - 1205/6
Conrad of Montferrat, second husband of	Isabella 1192
Henry of Champagne, third husband of Isabella	1192-1197
Aymeri of Lusignan, King of Cyprus, fourth husband of Isabella	1197–1205
Aymeri of Lusignan, King of Cyprus, fourth husband of Isabella	1205/6 - 1212
Jean d'Ibelin, regent	1205 -1210
Jean de Brienne, husband of Marie de Montferrat	1210-1225
Isabelle de Brienne, daughter of the preceding	1212-1228
Frederick II Emperor, husband of Isabella of Brienne	1225–1228
Conrad. son of Isabella and Frederick II	1228–1254
Frederick II, considered only as regent by the barons, but was crowned king in 1229	
crowned king in 1229	1228-1243
Alice of Champagne, regent	1243–1246
Henry Lof Cyprus, son of Alice, Lord of the Kingdom	1246–1253
Hugh II of Lusignan, King of Cyprus, Lord of the Kingdom	1253 - 5/12/1267
Piacenza of Antioch, regent	1253 - 27/9/1261
Isabella of Antioch, regent	1261–1263
Conradin, son of Conrad	
Hugh III of Antioch-Lusignan, king of Cyprus, regent, 1263, then	
Lord of Jerusalem	1267–1269
King of Jerusalem and Cyprus	24 9 1269 - 1284
King of Jerusalem and Cyprus recognized at Acre and Tyre	1269-1277
recognized in Tyre only	1277-1284
Charles I of Anjou, recognized at Acre	
John son of Hugh of Antioch-Lusignan recognized in Tyre	1284-1285
John, son of Hugh of Antioch-Lusignan, recognized in Tyre Charles II of Anjou, recognized at Acre Henry II of Cyprus, brother of John, King of Jerusalem and Cyprus:	1285-1286
Henry II of Cyprus, brother of John, King of Jerusalem and Cyprus.	
crowned in Tyre	15/8/1285 - 1291
recognized at Acre	1286 - 1291
recognized at Acte	1200 - 1291

1291, prise of Acre and end of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem Holders

The Lusignans of Cyprus

LATIN PRINCES OF ANTIOCH

(LA MONTE, Chronology of the Latin East, Bulletin of the International Committee of historical sciences XII, 2nd part., Paris, 1943, 141-202; Claude CAHEN Northern Syria at the time of the Crusades and the Frankish principality of Antioch, Paris, 1940 (t. Ier de la Bibliothèque orientale de l'Institut français de Damas), p. 546. List reviewed by J. Richard)

Bohemond I, son of Robert Guiscard	098 - 1104 m 1 i 1 1
Tancred, nephew of the above, Regent	4 _ 1111
nrince	tiii - 1112 M 12 Dec
prince Roger, Nephew of Tancred	1112-1119
Baldwin II, King of Jerusalem Regent	1119–1126
Bohemond II son of Bohemond I	1126–1130
Bohemond II, son of Bohemond I Constance, daughter of Bohemond Ii	1130–1163
Baldwin II. King of Jerusalem Regent	1130–1131
Fulk of Anjou. King of Jerusalem Regent	1131-1136
Raymond de Poitiers, husband of constancy	1136-1149
Baldwin III, King of Jerusalem, Regent	1149–1153
Reginald of Chatillon, second husband of constancy	1153-1160
Baldwin III, King of Jerusalem, Regent Reginald of Chatillon, second husband of constancy Bohemond III, son of Constance and Raymond of Poitiers	1163–1201
Rohemond IV son of Rohemond III in competition with the Next	1201-1233
Raymond Roupen, grandson of Bohemond III by his eldest son Raymond	1216-1219
Bohemond V, son of Bohemond Iv Bohemond VI, son of the preceding	1233–1251
Bohemond VI, son of the preceding	1251-1268
1268, capture of Antioch by Baibars	
1200, supreme of findicent of Europe	
Holders	
Pohamand VI. Count of Tringli	1269 1275
Donelliona VI, Count of Tripoli	1200–1273 1275–1297
Bohemond VI, Count of Tripoli Bohemond VII, son of the above, Count of Tripoli Lucy, daughter of Bohemond VI, Countess of Tripoli	1277-1207
	1207–1200
1289, capture of Tripoli by the Egyptians	
Philippe de Toucy, son of Lucy and Narjot from Toucy	1288 The title was claimed by
Margaret, daughter of Henry of Antioch and Isa-	
Good looking of Lusignan	m. 1308
Title raised by the Lusignan of Cyprus.	
Title Tailed of the Basignan of Office.	
Iii	
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COUNTS OF TRIPOLI

(John rich person The County of Tripoli under the Toulouse dynasty (1102-1187), Paris, 1945)

Raymond de Saint-Gilles, " head of the Christian army in Syria "	1099 - 1105
William Jourdain, Count of Cerdanya, cousin of the	preceding 1105–1109
Bertrand, son of Raymond, first Count of Tripoli	1109–1112
Pons, son of the preceding	1112-1137
Raymond II, son of Pons	1137–1152
Raymond III. son of Raymond Ii	1152–1187
Bohemond IV of Antioch, substituted for his brother Raymond, godson of RAymond III	
who had left him the county	1187 - 1233

For the succession of the counts of Tripoli, see the princes of Antioch. Title raised in the tenth **century by** the Lusignan.

Ιv

COUNTS OF EDESSA

(LA MONTE, Chronology of the Latin East,

Bulletin of the International Committee of historical Sciences, XII, 2nd part., Paris, 1943, p. 141-202

List reviewed by J. Richard)

Baldwin I, later King of Jerusalem	1098-1100
Baldwin II. later King of Jerusalem	1100-1118
Jocelin I of Courtenay, cousin of Baldwin II	1119-1131
Jocelin II de Courtenay, son of the preceding	1131-1150, m. 1153

In 1144, loss of Edessa, reoccupied for an instant in 1146; Turbescel, capital of the county; Jocelin II was captured by the Turks in 1150.

Beatrix, wife of Jocelin II, ceded the last places to the Byzantines who immediately lost them. Title borne by Jocelin III of Courtenay, refugee in the Kingdom of Jerusalem; raised in 1365 for John, lord of the Morf in Cyprus.

V

KINGS OF CYPRUS

(G. HILL, A History of Cyprus, vol. II and III, Cambridge, 1948)

1191, conquest of the island by Richard I, Lionheart, King of England, who sold it to the Knights Templar; but the latter finding the administration and control of the island tooexpensive, returned it to Richard, from whom Guy de Lusignan received it.

Guy of Lusignan (King of Jerusalem, 1186–1192), Lord of Cyprus	1192 - 1194	
Aimery de Lusignan, Lord of Cyprus	1194 - 1197	
first king of Cyprus	1197 - before	1206
Hugh I, son of the above	1205 - 1218	
Henry I, son of the above	1218 - 1253	
Philip of Ibelin, regent	1218 - 1227	
Jean d'Ibelin, regent	1227 - 1228	
Frederick II, regent, then the five regents appointed by Frederick	1228 - 1229	
Jean d'Ibelin, regent	1229 - 1232	
Hugh II, son of Henry I, Lord of Jerusalem	1253 - 1267	
Hugh III, son of Bohemond IV of Antioch and cousin of Hugh II		
Lord of Jerusalem	1267 - 1269	

TnArri: D. BYZANTINE ETCDES, I

KINGS OF JERUSALEM AND CYPRUS

Hugh III of Antioch-Lusignan, king of Jerusalem	1269	- 1284
John I, son of the above	1284	- 1285
Brother of the Above Henry II	1285	- 1324
1306–1310, usurpation of Amalric of Lusignan, Prince of Tyre, gou		
verneur of the kingdom.		
Hugh IV, son of Guy de Lusignan	1324	- 1359
Peter I, son of the above	1359	- 1369
Peter II, son of the above	1369	- 1382
John, uncle of Peter II, Prince of Antioch, regent	1369	- 1372
James I, uncle of Peter II	1382	- 1398

KINGS OF JERUSALEM, CYPRUS AND ARMENIA

James I	1398 1432	- 1398 - 1432 - 1458 - 1485
James II the Bastard (postulated archbishop > of Nicosia, 1456–1460), his illegitimate of John II		-1,473
James III, son of the preceding, under the regency of his mother	,	-1,474 - 1489

In 1489, Catherine Cornaro abdicated and donated the Kingdom of Cyprus to the Republic of Venice.

Vi

GRAND MASTERS OF THE HOSPITALLERS OF ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM

(MAS-LATRIE, Treasure of Chronology, Paris, 1889, col. 2208; J. DELAVILLE LE ROULX The Hospitallers in the Holy Land and Cyprus (1100-1310), Paris, 1904; id. The Hospitallers in Rhodes until the death of Philibert Naillac (1310-1421), Paris, 1913. List reviewed by J.

IN THE HOLY LAND AND CYPRUS

Dates of this first series, except those, otherwise known, which are in brackets, are the extreme dates on which the holder appears in the documents

Gerard	Around 1120 m. 3/9/1120
Raymond du Puy	Late 1120 gold Early -25/I0/I158
Auger of Balben.	11/29/1160 - 11/3/1162
Gilbert of Assailly	January 1163 (after June) 1170 Around 1170 m. before 20/6/1172
Rostang, anti-grandmaster	To rr70 – 1172
Jobert	1173 Jan. 1177
Roger des Moulins	October – m. 1/5/1187
Arrnengaud of Asp	1177 - Oct. 1188 115/I187 - (before Sept.) 1190
Garnier of Nablus	October – m. 31/8/1192 ?

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Geoffrey of Dungeon Alfonso of Portugal Jeoffroy Le Rat Garin de Montaigu Bertrand de Thessy Guérin Bertrand de Comps Pierre de Vieille-Bride Guillaume de Chateauneuf Hugh Revel Nicolas Lorgne Jean de Villiers Eudes des Pins	January 1193 - after 20/5/1202 1203 1206 1206 22/5/1207 1/10/1207 - (between 11/II/1227 and 1/3/1228) (1228) - 13/5/1230 (summer 1230) - May 1236 20/9/1236 - April 1239 1240 - 18/11/1241 31/5/1243 - 20/2/1258 9/I0/I258 - 1/4/1277 3/8/1277 - 27/9/1283 September 1285 - 20/10/1293 30/9/1294 - m. 17/3/1296
Guillaume de Villaret	elected 26/3/1296 - 23/11/13o4 3/11/1305 - 1310

IN RHODES

Fulk of Villaret, seized Rhodes on 15 August 1308; registered 1319, m. 1/9/1327

shortly before 8/7/1317, abdicated

Mauritius Dagnas	Election July 1317, cancelled by the
Mauritius Pagnac	
	shortly before
Hélion de Villeneuve	Pope in 1319 m. 7 or 27 May 1346
Dieudonné de Gozon	18/6/1319 18- m. 7/12/1353
Pierre de Corneillan	28/ ⁶ / ₁ 346 End - September 1355
Roger des Pins	Dec. 1353 - 28/5/1365
Raymond Bérenger	Sept. 1355 End 16/2/1374
Raymond Bérenger	Of May 1365 29/7/1377
Heredia	Beginning Of m. March 1396
Richard Caracciolo (Roman obedience)	March 1 3 7 4 3 o m. 27/5/1395
Philibert of Naillac	July 1377 - m. end of May 1421
Antoine Fluvian or de La Rivière, Catalan	Apr. 1383 - m. 26/10/1437
John of Lastic	Summer 1396 - m. 19/5/1454
Jacques de Milly	1421 - m. 17/8/1461
Pierre-Raymond Zacosta	'437 1er m. 21/2/1467
Jean-Baptiste Orsini	June 1454 m. 8/6/1476
Pierre d'Aubusson	1461 1467 m. 3/7/1503
Emeri d'Amboise	1476 - m. 13/11/1512
Gui de Blanchefort	10/7/1503 - m. 24/II/1513
Fabrice Carretto	2.2./ I I / 1.5.1.2 m. I 0/I / 1521
Philippe Villiers de l'Isle Adam	14/12/1513 fall of Rhodes 20/12/1522
i imppe vimers de risie ridam	22/1/1521 - m. 21/3/1534
	22/1/1321 - 111, 21/3/1334

Vii

LATIN EMPERORS OF CONSTANTINOPLE

(Jean LONGNON, L'Empire latin de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée, Paris, '949 Liste revue par Jean Richard)

Baldwin I of Hainaut, Count of Flanders Henri de Hainaut, his brother Pierre de Courtenay Yolande, widow of the above, empress Conon de Béthune, regent Jean Colonna, Cardinal of Sainte-Praxède, Regent Robert de Courtenay Marie, sister of Robert, widow of Théodore Lascaris, regent. Narjot de Toucy, caesar and lease John of Brienne, King of Jerusalem, Emperor Anseau de Cayeux, regent Narjot de Toucy, regent for the second time.	1204 - 1205 1206 - 1216 1217 1217 - 1219 1219 - 1220 1220 1221 - 1228 1228 - 1231 1231 - 1237 1237 - 1238
Narjot de Toucy, regent for the second time	1238 - 1240
Baldwin II of Courtenay	1240 - 1261
July 25, 1261, recapture of Constantinople by the Titular Greeks	
Paldwin II of Courtonov	1261 - 1273
Baldwin II of Courtenay	
Philip I of Courtenay	1273 - 1283
Catherine I of Courtenay	1283 - 1307
Catherine II of Valois	1308 - 1346
Philip II, I of Anjou-Taranto, by his marriage to Catherine of Valois	1313 - 1331
D.1. at 11 of A. d. at The Three to	
Robert IÍ of Anjou-Taranto	1346 - 1364
Philip III of Anjou-Taranto	1364 - 1373
Jacques des Baux	1373 - 1383
Louis Lof Aniou	1383 - 1384
Louis I of Anjou Louis II of Anjou	1384 - 1387

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VENETIAN PODESTÀ OF CONSTANTINOPLE

(R. L. WOLFF, The Oath of the Venetian Podesta, *Mel. H. Grégoire*, IV, 559-564 (AIPHOS, 12, List corrected and completed by F. Thiriet)

Marino Zeno	June 1205- April	1207
Ottaviano Quirino	March 1209	
Marino Dandolo	Probably	
Jacopo Tiepolo	Áugust 1219 -	Jan. 1221?
Marino Michiel	March 1221	
Marino Storlato	27 August 1222 - I	S avr.
1223	_	
Jacopo Tiepolo (2°) Teofilo Zeno	22 Feb. 1224	
Teofilo Zeno	Before seven. 1228	
Giovanni Quirino	Sept. 1228	
Rom eo Quirino	Mai 1229	
Teofilo Zeno (2°) Albertino Morosini	1235- 1238	
Albertino Morosini	Avant 4/9/1238	
Giovanni Michiel		
Egidio Quirino	4 Apr. 1247	
Jacopo Dolfin		
Marco Gradenigo		

Ιx

VENETIAN BAILES OF CONSTANTINOPLE

(G. MAJER, Sigilli di Baili veneziani in Oriente, *Arch. Veneto*, 5th series, 1941, pp. 103-124 List corrected and completed by F. Thiriet)

Giovanni Gradenigo (2°) 1342 - Marco Foscarini 1344 - Niccolù Querini 1348 - Jacopo Bragadin 1350 - Giovanni Dolfin 1352 - Maffeo Venier 1353 - D omenigo Michiel 1359 - Francesco Bembo 1363 - Andrea Querini 1363 - Pietro Corner 1364 - Pas qualigo Orio 1365 -	- 1356 Cristoforo Marcello 1436 - 1361 Giorgio Giorgio 1438 Marco Quirini 1440 Marino Soranzo 1442 - 1365 Andrea Foscolo (2°) 1444 Dardi Moro 1446 - 1367 Arsenio Duedo 1448
Andrea Querini (2°) 1367 Andrea Gradenigo 1374	Gerolamo Minoto

X

GENOESE PODESTÀS OF PERA-GALATA

(Ettore Rossi, Le lapidi genovesi delle mura di Galata,

Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria,56, 1928 The dates are those of the documents and epigraphs that mention the characters with their quality of podestà)

Ohauta Caudana	1272	Benedetto d'Arco	1240
Oberto Sardena	12/3		
Ingueto Spinola	1276	Lanzaroto de Castro	1356
Nicola Doria	1279	Bartolomeo Rubeo	1357
Guideto de Nigro Quondam	1285 (i)	Jacobo Grillo, olim	? (i)
Bernabô Spinola		Tomaso di Iglione	1367
Gavino Tartaro	1300 - 02	Bartolomeo Pindeben	1376
Rosso Doria	1304	Luciano de Nigro	1379
Montano de Marinis	1315 - 16	Lorenzo Gentile	1382
Andalo de Maris	1335	Eliano de Camilla	1386
Costantino Doria	1338	Raffaele Doria	1386 - 87

⁽r) I,e document mentions the character not as being in office, but as having exercised the function.

Giovanni da Mezzano Antonio Leardo Domenico Doria Nicolò of Zoagli Dorino Usodimare Luchino de Bonavey Gentile Grimaldi Lodovico Bavoso Baftolomeo Rubeo Giannotto Lomellino, in/ Giovanni Sauli Giovanni Botto Napoleone Salvago Giannotto Lomellino Giovanni Sauli Tomaso de Campofregoso Quilico of Taddei Corrado Cigala Thedisio Doria Zaccaria Spinola	1387 1390 1390 1391 - 92 1392 1396 - 97 1397 1402 1402 1403 (1) 1404 1405 1405 1405 1410 1411 1413 1418	Imperiale Lomellino Taddeo de Zoagli Giannotto Spinola Filippo de Franchi Ilario Imperiali Agostino Montaldo Ansaldo Doria Stefano de Marinis Giovanni di Levanto Simone Macie Nicolo Antonio Spinola Grimaldi's Boruel Baldassarre Maruffo Luchino de Facio Pietro di Marco, " future podestà Benedetto by Vivaldi Francesco Cavallo Angelo Giov. Lomellino, « future podestat", 1451; podestà Francesco Giustiniani	1425 - 26 1426 1427 - 28 1430 - 31 '43² - 33 1,434 1,435 1435 1438 1,439 1440 - 42 1,443 - 44 1445 - 46 1446 - 47 1,447 1448 - 49 1,449
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LATIN KINGS OF THESSALONIKI

(LA MONTE, Chronology of the Latin East,

Bull. of Inter. Committee of hist. Sciences, XII, 2nd part., 1943, pp. 176-177)

Boniface I (or II) of Montferrat, son of William III (or V) of M., king of Salonika Demetrius of Montferrat, son of the preceding Regency of Berthold of Katzenellenbogen Regency of Guy Pelavicino Dethroned by Theodore, despot of Arta	1204 - 1207 1207 - 1224/27 1207 - 1217 1217 - 1224 1224
Holders	
Boniface II (or III), Marquis of Montferrat, 1225–1254, Titular King of Thessalonic Helena, Queen of Thessaloniki, wife of William dalle Carceri, tercier of Negrepont	1230 - a. 1254 12L3 - 1262 I262 - I284 1266 - 1272 1272 - 1305 1305 - 1313 1313 - 1316 1316 - ?

⁽¹⁾ The document mentions the person not as being in office, but as having performed the function.

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LATIN PRINCES OF ACHAIE (MOREA)

(Jean LONGNON, L'Empire latin de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée, Paris, '949 Liste revue par Jean Richard)

Guillaume I de Champlitte, called the Champenois	1205-1209
Geoffrey I of Villehardouin, title of prince from 1210	1209 -1229
Geoffroy II de Villehardouin	1229–1246
Guillaume II de Villehardouin	
Charles I of Anjou, King of Sicily	1278–1285
Charles II of Anjou, King of Sicily	1285 - 1289
Philippe de Hainaut, husband of Isabeau, daughter of Guillaume II de Villehardouin, and widow	
of Philip of Anjou since 1277	1289 - 1297
Isabeau de Villehardouin	
Philip of Savoy, third husband of Isabeau	1301-1307
Philip I of Taranto	1307–1313
Louis of Burgundy	
Mahaut of Hainaut, widow of the preceding	
Jean de Gravina	1322–1333
Robert of Taranto	
Philip II of Taranto and Marie of Bourbon, in competition	
Philip II of Taranto	
Joanna of Naples	
Jacques de Baux	
Various competitions	1383 - 1390
Marie of Brittany who sells her rights to the Order of the Hospital.	
Louis II of Clermont.	
Urban VI.	
Amadeus of Savoy.	
Mahiot de Coquerel, vicar general of the principality.	
Pierre deSaint-Supéran, vicar general	
Prince	
Marie Zaccharia, widow of the previous	
Centurione Zaccharia	1404 -1429

In 1421, Charles de Tocco, despot of Romania, made himself master of the Elide.

In 1427, he ceded the Elide as a dowry to his niece Madeleine (later called Theodora), who married

Constantine Palaiologos, brother of the despot of Mistra, Theodore II Palaiologos.

In 1429, Centurione gave what remained of the despotate as a dowry to his daughter Catherine, who hadtouse Thomas Palaiologos, brother of Constantine.

Xiii

LORDS AND DUKES OF ATHENS

(Jean LONGNON, L'Empire latin de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée, Paris, 1949 K.M. SETTON, Catalan Domination of Athens (1311-138s), Cambridge, Mass., 1948 Liste revue par Jean

Richard)

I. - MAISON DE LA ROCHE

Otto of La Roche	1205- 1225
Guy I de La Roche	1225–1263
Jean I de La Roche	
Guillaume I de La Roche, first duke	1,280– 1287
Guy II de La Roche, effective since 1294	1287 - 1308
Hélène Ange-Comnène, his mother, regent	
Gauthier de Brienne, first cousin of Guy II	

March 15, 1311, Battle of Lake Copaïs, occupation of the duchy by the Catalan Company

II HOUSE OF ARAGON-SICILY	
Mainfroy of Aragon William of Aragon John of Aragon, Marquis of Randazzo. Frederick of Aragon, Marquis of Randazzo Frederick III of Aragon, King of Sicily Marie of Aragon, daughter of the above Peter IV of Aragon, King of Aragon John I, King of Aragon	1312 - 1317 1317 - 1338 1338 - 1348 1348 - 1355 1355 - 1377 1377 - 1379 1379 - 1387 1387 - 1388
III HOUSE OF ACCIAIUOLI Nerio (Rainerio, Renier) I, Lord of Corinth, then Duke of Athens,	
blocks the Catalans in the Acropolis that he took 2 May 1388 Venetian rule Antoine I Acciaiuoli, natural son of Nerio I, lord of Thebes, takes Athens Nerio II Acciaiuoli, distant nephew of Antony Antony II Acciaiuoli, brother of Nerio II. Nerio II, for the second time Francis, son of Nerio II, regency of his mother, Claire Giorgio Franco, son of Antony II, installed by Muhammad II, assassinated	1388 - 1394 1395 - 1402 1403 - 1435 1435 - 1439 ? 1439 ? - 1441 1441 - 1,451 1451 - 1454 1455 - 1456
Turkish conquest in 1456	
XIV	
LEADERS OF THE CATALAN COMPANY, THEN VICA IN THE DUCHIES OF ATHENS AND NEOPATRAS ((K.M. SETTON, Catalan Domination of Athens (1311–1388), 1948 List reviewed by Jean Richard)	(1311-1387)
Roger Deslaur, marshal and rector of the Company Berenguer Estafiol d'Ampurias, vicar general William Thomas, Marshal andVice-Regent 1316–1317 Alfonso Aragon-Sicily, Vicar General of Athens then, after 1319, vicar general of Neopatras Eudes de Novelles, vicar general Nicolo-Lancia; vicar general Ramon Bernard, vicar general Jaime Fadrique of Aragon, vicar general Gonsalvo Ximenes d'Arenos, vicar general Matteo de Moncada, vicar general	1317 - 1330 1330–1331 1331-1338 . 1356 1356–1359 1359
Pedro de Bon, Vice-Regent	1362
Revolt of Jaime Fadrique and Roger de Lluria, who is said to ha	veproclaimed himself vicar general
Matteo of Moncada, restored Roger de Lluria Matteo of Peralta Luis Fadrique of Aragon, Vicar General Felipe Dalman, Viscount of Rocaberti (already appointed vicar general in 1379, but dismissed immediately) Ramon de Vilanova, vice-regent Bernat de Cornellà, vicar general (Pedro de Pau, Governor of Athens) Felipe Dalman de Rocaberti, restored	1363 - 1367 1367 - 1371 1371 - 1,374 1375 - 1381 1381 - 1382 1382 - 1386 1386 - 1387 1386 - 1388) 1387

XV

DUKES OF THE ARCHIPELAGO (OR DUKES OF NAXOS)

(LA MONTE, Chronology of the Latin East,

Bulletin of the International Committee of historical Sciences, XII, 2nd part., Paris, 1943, p. 185-199 List reviewed by Jean Richard)

I	- SANUDI HOUSE
Mark I Sanudo	1207 - 1227
Angelo Sanudo, son of the above	1227 - 1262
Mark II, son of the above	1262 - 1303
William I, son of the above	1303 - 1323
Nicholas I, son of the above	1323 - 1341
John I, brother of the above	1341 - 1361
Florence, daughter of John I	
Nicolas II dalle Carceri, son of Florence and Jean dalle	
Carceri	1371 - 1383
HOUSE OF CRI	SPI
Francis I Crispo	1383 - 1397
Jacques I Crispo, son of the preceding	1397 - 1418
John II, brother of the above	1418 - 1437
James II, son of the above	1437 - 1447
Jean-Jacques, son of the above	1.447 -1.453
Nicolas Crispo, uncle of the preceding, regent	$1,447 - 145^{\circ}$
William II, uncle of the above, regent	
William II, Duke	1453 - 1463
Francis II, nephew of William II	1463
James III, son of the above	
John III, son of the above	
Francis III, natural son of the preceding	1494 - 1518

The House of Crispi guarded the duchy until 1566, the date of the conquest by the Turks.

Xvi

LORDS OF THEBES

GOOD, Medieval Fortresses of Central Greece, Bull. de Corresp. hellén., LXI, 1937, p. 188; LA MONTE, Chronologie de l'Orient latin, Bull. of International Committee of hist. Sciences, XII, 2nd part., Paris, 1943, pp. 193-194; K. SETTON, Catalan Domination of Athens (1311-13s), Cambridge Mass., 1948, pp. 105-106. List reviewed by Jean Richard)

The lordship of Estives normally belonged to the dukes of Athens; however, half of it was subservient by Guy I de La Roche to his sister Bonne at the latter's marriage. It was Bonne's son, Nicolas II de Saint-Omer, who built the château de Saint-Orner on the Cadmée. Around 1240, Bonne de La Roche married Bela de Saint-Orner, son of Nicholas I of Saint-Omer and Margaret of Hungary.

Nicholas II of St. Omer (I of Thebes), their son	1258 - ¹² 94	
Othe de Saint-Orner, brother of the above	1294 - 1299	
Nicholas III of St. Omer (II of Thebes), their nephew	1299 - 1311	
1311, capture of Thebes by the Catalan		
Company. The castle of Saint-Omer is given to:		
Georges Ghisi, son of Barthélemy II, tiercier of		
Nègrepont (husband of Simone of Aragon, son of	1327 - 1341	
A 1E L I L D L J L L L L L		

or

	1331, destruction of the castle of Saint-Omer. 1379, capture of Thebes by the Navarrese Company, which placed this city under the authority of the Bailes of Achaeus (and temporarily the Hospitallers, when they bought the Morea in 1387). It seems to have been subservient, at the same time as Athens,	
from	1388, to:	
	Nerio I Acciaiuoli	1388 - 1394
	Antony I, his natural son, who took Athens in 1403 and	
	reunites the seigneury with the duchy	1394 - 1402
	Franco Acciainoli former Duke of Athens	

Xvii

COUNTS PALATINE OF KEFALONIA, DUKES OF LEFKADA AND ZAKYNTH

(LA MONTE, Chronology of the Latin East,

Bull. of Inter. Committee of hist. Sciences, XII, 2nd part., Paris, 1943, 194-196)

Matteo Orsini, son of Richard Orsini and N. di Margaritone, Count Palatine of Kefalonia, lord of Lefkada and Zante	- 1194 4 - 1238 8 - 1278 4 - 1291 6 - 1289 7-1300, m. 1304 8 - ? 4 - m. 1317 7 - 1323 8 - 1335 6 - 1339 6 - 1358 7; 59 - 1381 1, d. 1381 1 - 1430 4, m. 1430 9 - 1448
Ketalonia, Ithaca and Zakynth, citizen of Venice. Lionardo III de Tocco, same titles	⁸ -1,479/99 - 1483
Holders Carlo III of Tocco, Duke of Arta and Count of Kefalonia 1,499 Lionardo IV de Tocco, same title 1518	

Xviii

BARONS OF CORINTH

(LA MONTE, Chronology of the Latin East,

Bull. of the Inter. Committee of hist. Sciences, XII, 2nd part., Paris, 1943, pp. 184–185 LOENERTZ, Pour l'histoire du Péloponnèse au)(Ive siècle (1382–1404), REB, I, 1943, pp. 152–196)

Niccolo Acciaiuoli, Baron of Corinth	1358 - 1365
Palatine of Corinth, a title he bequeathed in 1391 to his younger son James. But Angelo remaining in the West, it is his nephew Nerio who actually exercises power in Corinth, with the title of "lord of the Corinth" given to him in 1375 by Pope Gregory XI.	1365 - 1391
Nério Acciaiuoli seized Megara in 1375, in 1385-1388 Athens	1251 1204
of which he was made duke by Ladislaus of Hungary in 1394	1371 - 1394
Hospitallers of Rhodes	1394 - 1397
Hospitallers of Rhodes	1397 - 1402/1404
HospitaÎlers of Rhodes	June 14 1404 - m. 1407 1407 - 142I 142I ? - 1424 ?

Xix

MARQUIS OF BODONITZA (THERMOPYLAE)

(A. BON, Medieval Fortresses of Central Greece, *BCH*, LXI (1937), 150-151 LA MONTE, Chronology of the Latin East,

Bull. of Inter. Committee of hist. Sciences, XII, 2nd part. (1943), 192-193 List reviewed by J. Richard)

Guido Pallavicini	1204- 1237
Uberto Pallavicini, his son	1237-c. 1278
Isabella Pallavicini, sister of the above	1278 - I286
Antonio di Flamenco, probably husband of Isabelle	1286
Tommaso Pallavicini, son or nephew of Guido	1286
Alberto Pallavicini, son of the above, killed at Lake Copaïs	131I
1311-1322, division of the lordship between albert's widow, Maria dalle Carceri, lady	
of the half of Bodonitza and the sixth of Nègrepont, remarried to Andrea	
Cornaro, lord of Scarpanto, and Alberto's daughter, Guglielma Pallavicina.	
Guglielma Pallavicina, Marchioness of Bodonitza, first marriedBartolomeo	1227 12242
Zaccaria, Lord of Damala	1327 - 1334 ?
Then Niccolo Zorzi (1335) from whom she soon separated	1335 - 1357
Francesco Zorzi, son of Niccolo	1358 - 1388 ?
Giacomo Zorzi, son of the above	1388 ? - 1410
1410, capture of Bodonitza by the Turks	
Niccolo Zorzi II, lord of Carystos, brother of the preceding, reoccupies Bodonitza.	141 ı - 1414
1414, second capture of Bodonitza by the Turks	

HOLDERS (LORDS OF CARYSTOS)

Niccolo II Zorzi	1414 - 1436
Giacomo II Zorzi, son of the above	1436 - 1447
Antonio Zorzi, son of the above	1447 - 1498

1470, capture of Carystos by the Turks

X x

LORDS OF LESVOS

(W. HEYD, Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen Age, Leipzig, 1923, 2 vol.)

Francesco Gattilusio, lord of Lesvos	1355 - m. 1401
Niccolo I Gattilusio, brother of the above	1401 - m. 1409, governor
Jacopo, son of Francesco, lord of Lesvos	1401 - m. 1427
Dorino I, son of the above	1427 - 1449 - m. 1455
Domenico (Ciriaco)	1455 - m. 1458
Niccolo II, dispossessed and strangled by the Turks	1458 - m. 1462

The last of the Gattilusi, Niccolo II had come to power in 1458 by a fratricide; besieged in his capital by Muhammad II and reduced to capitulate on September 19, 1462, he had to renounce in the hands of the victor the possession of the island, was sent to Constantinople and suffered the torment of strangulation.

Ххі

DESPOTS OF EPIRUS AND JANINA

(S. Cirac ESTOPASAN, *Il legado* de *la basilissa* Maria y de *los despotas* Thomas y *Escui de Joannina*, Barcelona, 1943; MAS-LATRIE, 1768–1770)

I. - DESPOTS OF EPIRUS

I. THE ORSINI

Nicolas Orsini, known as Doucas-Angel-Komnenos, son of John I Orsini of	
cephalonia	1318 - 1323
John II Orsini, known as Doucas-Angel-Komnenos	1323 - 1335
Nikephoros II Doucas-Angel-Komnenos (Anna Palaiologina regent)	1335 - 1336
Reunion to the Byzantine Empire	1336 - 1349
Struggle for the return of power. Nikephoros	1338 - 1339
Anna Palaiologina	1341
Simeon Uro; Palaiologist,son of Tsar Etienne Uros III and Maria Palaiologina,married Thomaïs,daughter of John II Orsini in 1349/1350.	101011050 1050
Palaiologina,married Thomaïs,daughter of John II Orsini in 1349/1350.	1349/1350 - 1356
Nikephoros II Doucas	1356 - 1359
2. ALBANIANS	
Pierre Ljoscha Mazarachi, nameddespot of Arta and Acheloos by the	
Tsar Simeon Uros	1359 - 1374
Ghin Mazarachi, son of the above	1,374 - 1375

Ghin Mpoua Spataoverthrows Ghin Mazarachi and 1s proclaimed Despot of Arta and Lentuagunt	1375 - 1400
Mauritius Mpoua Spata Sgouros, brother of thepreceding, first overthrown, then restored in 1401, proclaimed after March 1408 despot of Arta and	1400 - 1418
of Janina	
II DESPOTS OF JANINA (despotate formed by dismemberment of that of	f
Frience) Fhomas II ()PreljubKomnenos Palaiologos Esau of Buondelmonti Acciaiuoli Mauritius Mpoua Spata Gouros Charles I of Tocco Buondelmonti Acciaiuoli Charles II of Tocco Leonardo of Tocco	136 ⁶ / ₁ 367 - 1384 1385 - after March 1408 after March 1408 - 1413 ? 1413 ? - 1429 1429 - 1448 1428 - 1460 or 1479
Ххіі	
Xxii COUNTS AND PRINCES OF ALBAN	NIA
	NIA
COUNTS AND PRINCES OF ALBAN	
COUNTS AND PRINCES OF ALBAN (MAS-LATRIE, 1771-1772;	
COUNTS AND PRINCES OF ALBAN (MAS-LATRIE, 1771-1772; THALLOCZY Acta and diplomata res Albania illustratia, Counts Casnesio, son of Blado Blevisti, knight, count of Albania	2 vol., Vienna, 1913–191 1304 - 1318 1318 - m. 1328
COUNTS AND PRINCES OF ALBAN (MAS-LATRIE, 1771-1772; THALLOCZY Acta and diplomata res Albania illustratia, Counts Casnesio, son of Blado Blevisti, knight, count of Albania	2 vol., Vienna, 1913–191 1304 - 1318 1318 - m. 1328 bunt
COUNTS AND PRINCES OF ALBAN (MAS-LATRIE, 1771-1772; THALLOCZY Acta and diplomata res Albania illustratia, Counts Casnesio, son of Blado Blevisti, knight, count of Albania	2 vol., Vienna, 1913–191 1304 - 1318 1318 - m. 1328 bunt
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COUNTS AND PRINCES OF ALBAN (MAS-LATRIE, 1771-1772; THALLOCZY Acta and diplomata res Albania illustratia, Counts Casnesio, son of Blado Blevisti, knight, count of Albania	2 vol., Vienna, 1913–191
Counts Casnesio, son of Blado Blevisti, knight, count of Albania illustratia, William, son of the above, Marshal of Albania in 1304, Count Tanussio Thopia, son of Sevasto ThopiaOnof Blado Blevisti, co of Albania princes Charles Thopia, took the title of Prince of Albania in After his victory over Nikephoros II Orsini, despot of Epirus. He ha his usual residence in Croia. In 1366, he obtained the Venetia On August 18, 1386, in a treaty with Venice, he was called Prince of Albania and Durazzo. Georges Thopiason of the preceding, lord of Durazzoceded the city to the Venetians in March-April 1392, died in October Helen Thopia, sister of Georges, wife of Constantine Castriot,lord from Signa and de Croya, beheaded in Durazzo in 1402. Andre Thopia, grand nephew of Charles Thopia	2 vol., Vienna, 1913–191
Counts Counts Counts Casnesio, son of Blado Blevisti, knight, count of Albania illustratia, William, son of the above, Marshal of Albania in 1304, Count Tanussio Thopia, son of Sevasto ThopiaOnof Blado Blevisti,co of Albania princes Charles Thopia, took the title of Prince of Albania in After his victory over Nikephoros II Orsini, despot of Epirus. He ha his usual residence in Croia. In 1366, he obtained the Venetia On August 18, 1386, in a treaty with Venice, he was called Prince of Albania and Durazzo. Georges Thopiason of the preceding, lord of Durazzoceded the city to the Venetians in March-April 1392, died in October Helen Thopia, sister of Georges, wife of Constantine Castriot,lord from Signa and de Croya, beheaded in Durazzo in 1402. Andre Thopia, grand nephew of Charles Thopia	2 vol., Vienna, 1913–191
Counts Casnesio, son of Blado Blevisti, knight, count of Albania illustratia, William, son of the above, Marshal of Albania in 1304, Count Tanussio Thopia, son of Sevasto ThopiaOnof Blado Blevisti, co of Albania princes Charles Thopia, took the title of Prince of Albania in After his victory over Nikephoros II Orsini, despot of Epirus. He ha his usual residence in Croia. In 1366, he obtained the Venetia On August 18, 1386, in a treaty with Venice, he was called Prince of Albania and Durazzo. Georges Thopiason of the preceding, lord of Durazzoceded the city to the Venetians in March-April 1392, died in October Helen Thopia, sister of Georges, wife of Constantine Castriot,lord from Signa and de Croya, beheaded in Durazzo in 1402. Andre Thopia, grand nephew of Charles Thopia	2 vol., Vienna, 1913–191

Vi

HISTORICAL LISTS

(continued)

E) THE WEST

- I. Emperors of the West.
- II. Ostrogothic kings of Italy.
- III. Lombard kings of Italy.
- IV. Vandal kings of Africa.
- V. Exarchs of Africa.
- VI. Exarchs of Ravenna.
- VII.— Kings of Italy after Charlemagne.
- VIII. Lombard princes of Benevento and Capua.
- IX. Lombard princes of Salerno.
- X. Prefects and Dukes of Amalfi.
- XI. Dukes of Naples.
- XII.— Normans of Italy and Sicily.

 XIII. Successors of the Norman kings of Sicily: Hohenstaufen, Aragon.
 - Kings of Sicily and Naples.
- XIV. Doges of Venice.

EMPERORS OF THE WEST (ixe-xiiie CENTURY)

(Stammtafeln zur Geschichte der europiiischen Staaten, Bde. I u. II, 2nd ed., Marburg, 1953 H. GROTEFEND, Taschenbuch der Zeitrechnung des deutschen Mittelalters und der Neuzeit, 7th ed. reviewed

by O. GROTEFEND, Leipzig, 1935, pp. I I I -I I 5)

CAROLINGIANS

(Pepin the Short	25 Dec. 80o - m. 28 Jan. 814
Lothair I, eldest son of the preceding, associated with the empire in	82o 823
succeeds Louis II, eldest son of the above, king of Italy in succeeds the empire consecrated in	844 855
Charles II, called the Bald, last son of Louis the Debonnaire, King of France in crowned emperor in Rome	840
Empire vacancy: 877-881	
Charles III, called the Fat, son of Louis the German, king of Italy in	12 Feb 881
Empire vacancy: 887-891	
Guy, son of Guy, Duke of Spoleto, King of Italy in crowned Emperor in Rome on Lambert, son of the preceding, associated with the empire and crowned succeeded in supplanted by Arnulf in regained possession early Arnulf, natural son of Carloman, king of Germania crowned emperor in Rome on Louis III, son of Boson, king of Arles, grandson by his mother Irmengard of Emperor Louis II, consecrated in Rome on supplanted in Beranger I, son of Eberhard, Duke of Friuli, crowned King of Italy in crowned emperor in Rome in	21 Feb. 891 - m. Dec. 894 on 30 Apr. 892
Interruption: 924-962	
HOUSE OF SAXONY	
Otto I the Great, King of Germania King of Italy crowned emperor in Rome	8 August 936 Sept. 951 2 Feb. 962 - m. 7 May 973

Otto II, son of the above, king of Germany	25 Dec. 967 7 May 973 - m. 7 Dec. 983 25 Dec. 983 21 May 996 - m. 23 Jan. 1002- 7 June 1002
Conrad II, of Franconia, King of Germania King of Italy March crowned Emperor in Rome Henry III, son of the above, succeeded him crowned emperor in Rome Henry IV, son of the above, succeeded him crowned Emperor in Rome Henry V, son of the preceding, partner crowned king crowned again crowned emperor Lothair II, Duke of Supplinburg 1106 elected King of Germania crowned crowned emperor in Rome	102626 March 1027 - m. 4 June 1039 on 4 June 103925 Dec. 1046 - m. 5 Oct. 1056 on 5 Oct. 105631 March 1084 .dec. 31, 1105 - d. Aug. 7, 1106
crowned emperor in Rome	4 June 1133 - III. 4 Dec. 1137
Conrad III, of Hohenstaufen, crowned Frederick I, Barbarossa, nephew of Conrad III, elected king of Germania crowned crowned emperor Henry VI, son of the above, elected King of Germany succeeds crowned emperor Philip of Swabia, brother of Henry VI, elected crowned Otto IV, of Brunswick, elected in opposition to Philip of Swabia recognized by the Popeon Ju crowned emperor 1,218Frederick II, son of Henry VI, crowned king of the Romans in opposition to Otto. IV crowned emperor opposition: 1) Henry Raspe, elected King of the Romans 2) William of Holland, elected Conrad IV, son of Frederick II, King of the Romans succeeds	4 March 11529 March 115218 June 1155 - m. Io June 1190 15 August 1169 Io June 1190 15 Apr. 1191 - m. 28 Sept. 1197 8 March 1198 5 Sept. 1198 - m. 21 June 1208 9 July 1198 Ily 8. 1201 4 Oct. 1209 - m. 19 May 9 Dec. 1212 .22 Nov. 1220 - III. 30 Dec. 1250 In .22 May 1246 - m. 16 Feb. 1247 3 Oct. 1247 - m. 28 Jan. 1256 Feb. 1237
diverse	
William of Holland, recognized Richard of Cornwall, elected King of the Romans crowned Alfonso, King of Castile, elected by Pisa discarded	13 Jan. 1257 .17 May 1257 - m. 2 Apr. 1272 .18 March 1256

HOUSE OF HABSBURG

Rudolf I, elected King of Germany	29 Sep. 1273
King of the Romans	Oct. 23, 1273 - m. 15 MIL 1291 (1)
Adolf of Nassau, elected king of the Romans	5 May 1292
registered	23 June 1292 - m. 21 July 1298
Albert I of Austria, son of Rudolf I, elected	July 27 1298
crowned	23 August 1298 - m. I May 1308

Ιi

OSTROGOTHIC KINGS OF ITALY

(Ernest STEIN, History of the Lower Empire, t. II, Paris-Brussels-Amsterdam, 1949)

Odovacar (Odoacer) 23 August 476 - 15 March 493 Theodoric March 493 - 30 August 526 Athalaricsound of Amalasonthes 31 August 526 - 2 Oct. 534	
Amalasonthesdaughter of Theodoric, regent of	
his sound Athalaric	
with Her Husband Theodat	
	536
Vitigèslate Nov. 536 -May 540	
Ildibad 540 - 541	
Ildibad 540 - 54¹ Eraric 54¹	
Totila, also known as Baduila autumn 541 - end of June 552	
Teia	

Iii

LOMBARD KINGS OF ITALY

(G. ROMANO, the dominazioni barbariche, n. Ed. a cura di A. Solmi, Milano, 1940)

Alboin, 569-28 June 572.
Cleph, 572, after August 574.
Interregnum, 574⁻5⁸4.
Aufharic, 584-5 Sept. 590.
Interregnum, 9 months.
Agilulf, June 591-616.
Adaloald, 616-end 626.
Arioald gold Ariovald, end 626-636.
Rothari, 636-652.
Rodoald, 652, 6 months.
Aripert I, 653-661.
Perctarit in Milan, and Godepert in Pavia, 661-662.
Grimoald, 662-671.
Perctarit restored, 671 or 672-688. Partner:

Cunibert, 688-700.
Liutpert gold Liutbert, 700, 8 months, Under the guardianship of Ansprand.
Raginpert, 701.
Aripert II, 701-712.
Ansprand, 712-13 June 712.
Liutprand, June or July 712-spring 744.
ié Hildebrand_{74-m5}his nephew, 735.
Hildebrand^{Assoc:} 4
Ratchis or Rachis, Sept. 745-749.
Aistulf gold Astolf, July749-Dec. 756.
Didier, 757-early June 774. Partner: sound sound Adelchi, 759.

(1) This is the date commonly given for the death of this emperor; note, however, the very precise information of Mathias of . Neuenburg, which mentions the death of Rudolf at Germensheim near Speyer and adds: Deceased epitaphium In silica superposito sculpTum Tale is: Auno Domini MCCLXX X xi pridie Kalendas Octobris obiit Rudolphus Romanorum res, edict. from Ludwig welland Gôttingen, 1892, p. 37. According to

Ιv

VANDAL KINGS OF AFRICA

(Christian COURTOIS, Les Vandales et l'Afrique, Paris, 1955)

Geiseric (Gaiseric, Genseric)	428 - m.	Jan. 24	477
Huniric, son of the preceding	24/ 1/477 - m.	Dec. 22	484
Gunthamund, son of Gento	22/12/484 - m.	Oct. 3	496
Thrasamund, son of Gento	3/10/496 - m.	June 7	5^23
Hildiric, son ofHuniric	$7/$ $^{6}/_{5}^{2}3$ - m.	June 15	53^{0}
Geilimer, son of Geilarith	15/ 6/53o - m.	15 Sep.	533

V

EXARCHS OF AFRICA (I)

(Ch. DIEHL, L'Afrique byzantine, Paris, 1896, p. 597-599)

Gennade, between 6 May 585 (2) and 591-598-?
Heraclius, ?-602-610-? (died in 611 in Carthage).
Caesarius, around 615?
(hypothetical identification). Niketas, between 619 and 629.
Peter, 633.
Gregory, July 645.

Vi

EXARCHS OF RAVENNA

(H. COHN, Die Stellung des byz. Staathalter in Ober-und Mittelitalien (1; 40-7.51)

Berlin, 1889, p. 107, with comments and references, p. 108)

Narses Baduarius Smaragdus (1º) Julianus Romanus Callinicius Smaragdus (21 Johannes I Eleuthera Gregorius I Isaac Theodore I Calliopa (i0) Plato	552 - 568 575 - 577 585 - 589 589 - 596 596 - 603 603 - after - 616 616 - 619 619 - 625 625 - 643 643 - c. 645 Around 645	608	Olympius	649 - 653 653 - ? ? - March 1, 666? 678 - 687 687 - ? 701 - 705 (sic) (sic) - 710 710 - 713 7?3 - ? 723 - 726 727 - 751
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Stephen and Anastasius known only by their seal

The Lombards occupy Ravenna: 752-756 Pepin takes Ravenna and donates it to the Holy See: 756

(r) We refer to this name, according to the USA_ge , the governors general of Byzantine Africa of them the emperor Maurice although, only the first of them, Gennade, bears this title in the sources. There is no doubt that his successors had the same powers and responsibilities.

(2) In an inscription of Sula of May 6, 585, **on**thequelle Mr. Chr. Courtois kindly caught my attention, Gennade is still que magister mililuin.

TREATY OF 11VZANTINES, I •-)7

Vii

KINGS OF ITALY AFTER CHARLEMAGNE

(MAS-LATRIE, *Trésor de Chronologie*, Paris, 1889, col. 1702) Gina FASOLI, *I re d'Italia (888–962)*, Florence, 1949 (Biblioteca storica Sansoni, Nuova Serie, vol. XV)

Pepin, son of Charlemagne Bernard, son of Pépin Lothair I, son of Louis the Debonair	
Bernard, son of Pépin	
Lothair I, son of Lôuis the Debonair	82o - 844
Louis II, son of Lothair I	
Charles II the Bald	Jan. 876 - m. 6 Oct. 877
Carloman	877 - ⁸ 79
	m. 29 Sept. 880
Charles III, the Fat, son of Louis the German, crowned Emperor	6 Jan. 880
Emperor	881 - d. 13 Jan. 888
Berengar I	6 Jan. 888 - Feb. 889
Guy of Spoleto	
Lambert, son of the preceding, partner	3o August 892
succeeds and is supplanted by Arnulf in 896, takes over	_
possession in	
Arnulf	897 - m. ⁸ 99
Berengar I	898 - Oct. 900
Berengar I Louis of Provence, elected	5 Oct. 900
crowned	22 Feb. 901
Berengar I	summer 902 -summer 902
Emperor	
defeated by his competitor Rudolf II of BOurgogne	on 17 July 923
Rudolf II, of Burgundy	923 - 926
Hugh of Árles	June 926 - m. Io apr. 947
Lothair II, son of Hugh	947 - m. 22 Nov. 950
Berengar II, crowned	15 Dec. 950 - Sept. 951
Otto I	
emperor	

After Otto I, the Kingdom of Italy remained with the emperors, but rarely took the crown. However, at the accession of Henry II, presents itself: Arduin of Ivrea, crowned on February 5, 1002, renounces in Sept. 1014-m. 14 Dec. 1014.

Viii

LOMBARD PRINCES OF BENEVENTO AND CAPUA

(J. GAY, L'Italie méridionale et l'empire byzantin, Paris, 1904; R. POUPARDIN, Etude sur les institutions politiques des principautés lombardes de l'Italie méridionale, Paris, 1907; ID., Etude sur la diplomatique des princes lombards de Bénévent, Capoue et Salerne, Mél. Rome, 21, 1901, 117-180; K. VOIGT, Beitrage zur Diplomatik der langobardischen Fiirsten, Gôttingen,1902; O. BERTOLINI, Annales Beneventani (study and edition), Bullettino dell' Istituto storico italiano, 42, 1923; G. POCHETTINO, I Longobardi nell'Italia meridionale 570-1080, Napoli, 1930; C. G. MOR, L'età feudale, Milano, 1952)

A) BENEVENTO

DUKES

Zotton	 57o - ?
Arichis I	S91 - 641 BC
Aion	641 - 642

```
Rodoald.
                                             647 - 662
   (date on which he became king of the
                                             662 - 687
 Romoald I
          .....(partn
Grimoald II
                                             687 - 689
Gisulf I
                                             689 - 706
                                             706 - 731
Romoald II
Gisulf II (son of Romuald II).....
                                             731
                                             731
732 - before March 738
Andelais or Audelachis • .....
Gregory .....
                                             73<sup>8</sup> - 74<sup>2</sup>
74<sup>2</sup> - 75<sup>1</sup>
Godescalc.....
Gisulf III
751 - 758
Arichis II .....(took the title of prince in 774).
                                             759 - 774
                                    princes
Arichis I (II) (I) .....
                                              774 - 26 August 787, regency of Adelberga
                                      May 788 - Nov./Dec. 806
Nov./Dec. 806 - July 817
Grimoald I (III)
Grimoald II (IV)
                                             817 - Sept. 832
832 - July/August 839
839 - May/June 851
Sicon .....
                                      Oct.
Sicard .....
                                      Oct.
Radelchis I
                                      August
                                      May/Jun 851 - 853
Radelgaire .....
                                      Nov/Dec 853 - end of May 878
878 - Jan. 881
Adelchis .....
Gaideris.....
                                             881 - Oct. 884
884 - Oct. 890
Radelchis II (1<sup>0</sup>) .....
Aion .....
                   Interregnum and occupation by the Byzantines
895 - 897
                                      August
                                                  897
                                                  897
Peter, Bishop of Benevento .....
Radelchis II (2<sup>0</sup>)....
                                      i April
                                             897 - Nov.
                                                        899
         From 899 to 981, cf. Princes of Capua-Benevento
After the death in 981 of Paldolf I "Ironhead", Prince of Capua-Benevento the
Beneventans drove out his son Landolf IV and replaced him with his cousin Paldolf
                      thus freeing himself from the tutelage of Capua
Paldolf II (with an interruption, 1003-1005, being
                                driven out by the Beneventans. Partner: Landolf V, his son, in 897, then Paldolf III, son
  of Landolf V, king r).
.....late 1033 - August 1051
                                            Rosi - 12 March 1054
                                            1055 - 1059
Paldolf III Jan.
  (now dependent on the Holy See). (Associates: Landolf VI and in August 1056 Pan-dolf IV,
  son of Landolf VI.)
                       (partner: Paldolf IV (t 1074).
             In 1077, Benevento came under the direct rule of the Holy See.
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⁽r) Some authors give an additional calendar counting the dukes of the name mine, others count from the princes.

(B) COUNTS OF CAPUA

Capua, attached to Salerno by the treaty of 849 between Salerno and Benevento managed to free itself from it around 861

Landolf	817 - 843
Landon I	
Pandon	861 - 862
Landon II	862
Pandonolf (1°)	862
Bishop Landolf	
Pandonolf (2°)	879 - 882
Landon III	
Agenolf I, Count of Capua	887–899
(Prince of Capua and Benevento in 899)	

(C) PRINCES OF CAPUA-BENEVENTO

Atenolf I, 899-April 910. Partner: his son Landolf I, Jan. 901 (Bertolini);900 (Mor).

Landolf I, 910-4 Oct. 943. Associates: his brother Atenolf II, 910 (dec. 940); his sons Atenolf III, 12 Jan. 936 and Landolf II, Jan. 943.

Atenolf III, 943, driven out by his brother.

Landolf II, 943-t 26 May 961. Partner: his son Paldolf I Iron Head, 943 (late 944: Pochettino).

Paldolf I Iron Head, 961-981 (before 16 May). Partners: his brother Landolf III, 96r (t after 7 Oct. 969: K. Voigt); his son Landolf IV (III) (r), before 18 Dec. 969.

Landolf IV (III), 981.

Benevento frees itself from the tutelage of Capua 981

(D) PRINCES OF CAPUA

Landolf IV (III), 981-983.

Landenoif, another son of Paldolf I, 983-993.

Laidolf, brother of the preceding, 993-999. Ademar, imposed by Otto III, 999-1000 (4 months).

Landolf V (IV), brother of Paldolf II, Prince of Benevento, r000-July. 1007. Paldolf II, son of Landolf V (IV), July 1007 (Mor: 1008)-1022.

Paldolf III (II of Benevento), jointly. Uncle and tutor of Paldolf II, he exercised effective power, I007 OR I008-1014.

Paldolf IV (III) (r°), son of the preceding. Co-regent of Paldolf II, he exercised effective power, I016-1022. Partner: Paldolf V (IV), his son, 1020. Paldolf VI (V) of Teano, imposed by HenryII, 1022-1026. Paldolf IV (III) (2°), 1026-1038. Associates: Paldolf V (IV), then in 1038, Landolf VI (V), son of

Paldolf V (IV), Prince of Salerno, established by Conrad III, 1038-1047.
Paldolf IV (III) (30), restored by HenryIII, 1047-March 1050. Partners: Paldolf V (IV) and Landolf VI (V).
Paldolf V (IV), 1050-1057. Partner: Landolf VI.

Landolf VI (V), 1057-June 1058.

Capua is taken by the Normans. See more princes, p. 4^24

(i) Called Landolf III by some who do not count in the series the brother of Paldolf I. Landolf III, who was never more than an associate.

Ιx

LOMBARD PRINCES OF SALERNO

(M. SCHIPA, Storia del principato di Salerno, Archivio storico per le provincie napoletane, 12, 1887; K. VOIGT, Beitréige zur Diplomatik der langobardischen Fürsten, Göttingen,1902; J. GAY, L'Italie méridionale et l'Empire byzantin, Paris, 1904; R. POUPARDIN, Étude sur les institutions politiques des principautés lombardes de l'Italie méridionale, Paris, 1907; A. HOFMEISTER, Zur Geschichte Amalfis in der byzantinischen Zeit, BNJ, I, 1920 (pour the reign of Manso); C. G. MOR, L'età

feudale, Milano, 1952)

In December 839, Salerno separated from Benevento

Sikeno or Siconolf, brother of Sicard (Prince of Benevento).	839 - Dec.	849		
(took the title of prince in 847).				
Sicon, with Peter his godfather as regent	849 - dec.	853		
Sicon, with Peter his godfather as regent Peter and Adémar his son	853 - 856	000		
Adémar alone		861		
Guaifer	0	880		
Partner: Guaimar son		000		
Guaimar I		arch 001		
Partner: Guaimar II, his son	803	aicii 901		
Guaimar II	901 - June	946		
Associates: his sons: Guaimar III, in 916, died?	701 - Julic	740		
and Gisulf I	033			
	946 - Summer 9'	72		
Gisulf I (I")		13		
Landolf I and Landolf II, Counts of Conza, usurperssummer	973 - May/June			
Gisulf I (2°), restored by Paldolf I Ironhead, Count of	074 N M/D	077		
Capua	e 9/4 - Nov.M./Dec	. 9//		
Associates: Paldolf I and, around 8//, Paldolf II, his son	077 1	0.01		
Paldolf		981		
Paldolf II				
Manso I, Duke of Amalfi	981 - nov.	983		
The title of Prince of Salerno does not yet appear in a diploma of I December 981				
but for the first time in a diploma of March 982				
Partner: John I, his son				
John II Lambertnov.				
	983 - Sep.	999		
As'sociés: his sons Guy, in 983 (died April 988) and	•			
Guaimar IV (III) (1), in 988.				
Guaimar IV (III)	999 - March	1027		
Partners: his sons John III, Oct. 1015 and Guaimar V (IV),				
Sept. I018.				
Guaimar V (IV)	1027 - 2:3 June	e 1052		
	(murdered)			
Associates: Gaiteldrime, 1027, and his sons John IV, Sept. 1037	,			
(t 1042) and Gisulf II, March 1042.				
Paldolf III, father-in-law of Guaimar V	Io June	1052		
Gisulf II				
Clowit II I WII	- 1032 C. 3 June	1011		

From 1077, see Normans of Italy and Sicily

⁽i) Called Guaimar III by some who do not count in the list the son of Guaimar II, of the same name.

X

PREFECTS AND DUKES OF AMALFI

(R. FILANGIERI DI CANDIDA, Codice diplomatico Amalfitano, t. I, Napoli 1917; t. II, Trani, 1951. A. HOFMEISTER, Zur Geschichte Amalfis in der Byzantinischen Zeit, BNJ, I, 1920, p. 94-127)

Amalfi, a dependency of the Duchy of Naples, was conquered by the Prince of Benevento in 836. It was liberated in 839 and constituted itself as an autonomous state with its prefects, first annual, then for life, before moving to the hereditary monarchical regime. It returned to the domination of Byzantium towards the end of the ninth century.

PREFECTS (PREFECTURII)

ANNUAL PREFECTS: little known and uncertain

DDEFECTO FOR LIFE

PREFECTS FOR LIFE	
sailorPartner: Pulchari,his son.	859
Pulchari	874
Sergius of Turcio	884 890 890
PREFECTS AND HEREDITARY J	
Manso Fusilis, prefect and spatharocandidat . with his son Mastalus Mastalus, judge and imperial patrice	₃₉ 90 ₁₄ 0
with his son Léon, protospathary alone	? - 922 - ? ? - 93¹ - 939

Mostalus judga and imporial natrica	8	
Mastalus, judge and imperial patrice	<i></i>	
with his son Léon, protospathary	•	922 - ?
alone	? -	$93^1 - 93^1$
with his son John, judge and imperial patrice	939 -	947
alone	947 -	
with his grandson Mastalus II	95°-	
Mastalus II	95 ² -	95^{8}
Took in 957 the title of Duke (Hofmeister)		

Dukes

(a) AMALELDVNASTV

(a) AMALFI DYNASIY	
Sergius I (grandson of Count Sergius Muscus), imperial patrice and duke, with his son Manso I Manso I (r), imperial patrice, 976	958 - 966 966 - 976 976 - 984 981 - 983 (Nov.) 984 - 986 (between and July)
Manso I (2O), with his son John I	986 - 1002 ?- 988 -?
Sergius III	1002 - 1004 1004 - 1007

Seroins III with his son John II	1007 - 1014 1014 - 1028
John II (I), imperial patrice	1028 - 1030 1030 - 1034
with his son Sergius IV	1030 - 1034
regent	1034 - end of 1037
Sergius IV	1037 - 1039

(b) LOMBARDS OF SALERNO

(c) AMALFI DYNASTY AGAIN

(under the suzerainty of Salerno until the death of Guaimar V (IV), 1052)

Manso II (2O), with his mother Marie	1043 - 1047
with his son Guaimar	1047 - 1052
John II (2O), with his son Sergius IV	1052 - 1069
Sergius IV, with his son John III	1069 - 1073

d) AMALFI PASSES TO THE NORMANS OF PUGLIA

In 1096, insurrection against the Normans; Duke Marin Redfish1096 - 1100

Again the Normans

хi

DUKES OF NAPLES

(B. CAPASSO, Monumenta ad Neapolitani ducatus historiam pertinentia..., II, 2 : Società Napoletana di

Storia patria, Monumenti Storici, Ser. IIa, Documenti, t. II, parte IIa, Napoli, 1892, 257-258.

Mr. S CHIPA, Il ducato di Napoli, *Arch. storico delle Provincie Napoletane*, 17 (1892), 18 (1893), 19 (1894).

F. NICOLINI, art. Napoli, *Enciclopedia italiana*, t. 24 (1934), 233-242)

Basile Theophylact I Cosmas Andrew I Caesarius I	Indict. 4 (661/662) 6 (666/667) 2i (670/671) 4 (67273/6) 5 (677/678)		
Etienne I	12 (684/685)	3	
Bonellus	I (687/688)	9	
Theodosius	9 (695/696)	Io	
Caesarius II	49 (705/706) 2 (718/719) 13 (729/730)	86 Ii Io	
Gregory I	5 (739/740)	15 years	15 days
Etienne II	8 (754/755) 5 (766/767) 2 (793/794)	27 years 6 month	6 months
Theophylact II	3 (794/795)	6 years	6 months

⁽z) Has no order rank among authors.

Antimus, consul and duke	9 (800/801) 17 years and 3	
months Non dukes (after a sedition): Theoctist,		
magister militum; Theodore, protospathary	I I (817/818) 3 years and 1 month	
Etienne III	14 (820/821) Io years and Io months, killed	
	16 May 832	
Bonus, consul and duke	Io (831/832) 2 years old. Ends Sept. 834	
	(Schipa)	
Leo	12 (833/834) 7 years	
Andrew II Contardus	13 (834/835) 5 years and 5 months	
Contardus	3 (839/840) 15 days	
Sergius I	3 (839/840) 25 years and 3 months	
Gregory III, colleague of Sergius 850	12 (863/864) 5 years and 7 months	
Sergius III, colleague of Gregory III	3 (869/87o) 7 years and 6	
months Athanasius, bishop and duke (Athanasius II, bishop of		
Naples)		
	died between March	
	and April 898	
Gregory IV	I (897/898) 16 years, Io month, io days	
John II Marin I	3 (914/915) 4 years, 7 months, 12 days	
Marin I	7 (918/919) 8 years, 9 months, 15 days	
John III, imperial anthypatos and patrice I	(927/928) about 42 years	
Marin II Indi		
Sergius III		
John IV	999 - 1003 or 1004	
Sergius IV (10)	1003 or 1004 - I027	
Paldolf IV (III), Prince of Salerno	1027 - late 1029 or early 1030	
Sergius IV (2°)	late 1029 or early 1030 - late 1033 or	
	early 1034 (retired to S. Salvatore	
	Convent)	
John V		
	April 1053	
Sergius V	before April 1053 - 1090. Partner: sound	
	nephew Sergius VI, between 1067 and 10	
Sergius VI, imperial protosebaste between 1090		
and 1093		
	John VI	
John VI	before II07 - II20 - ?	
Sergius VII	? - 1123 - 1137 (late October)	
Nanles passes to the Normans		

Naples passes to the Normans

Xii

NORMANS OF ITALY AND SICILY

(F. CHALANDON, Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile,

Paris, 1907) I. COMTES D'AVERSA ET PRINCES DE CAPOUE

Asclettin, nephew of the previous	,
Raoul (not Norman), imposed by Guaimar of Salerno,	
hunted 1046	ó
Rainolf II, Trincanocte, cousin of Asclettin	7
Hermann, son of the preceding	
Guillaume de Bellebouche, regent.	
Richard I, brother of Asclettin, first regent, then count	
of Aversaaround 1049	
first prince of CapuaJune 1058	
Duke of Gaeta	3

Jordan I, son of Richard I, Prince of Capua, associated with his father In	1090 Sep. 1 Nov. Apr. 27 M 1120 Ju	1078 - m. 2 1080 1090 - m. II07 - m. May 1120 une II20 -	Jan. II06 Jan. II06 June II20 m. 5 June m. 19 Dec.
Guillaume I, Bras de Fer, son of Tancrède de Hauteville "Count" of Apulia Dreux (Drogon), another son of Tancred, count, then duke of Puglia Onfroi, another son of Tancrède Robert Guiscard, another son of Tancred, Duke of Apulia and of Calabria The duchy passes to the king	Augus 1057 July 10 Feb	46 - m. Io A t 1051 - m. 7 m. June 1 85 - m. 22 5. II I I - r	late 1045 arly 1046 August 1051 1057 7, 1085 17 Feb. mid n. 20 June.
Roger I, brother of Robert Guiscard, began the conquest of Sicily in 1061; after the capture of Palermo, 1072, ho takes the title of Count Roger II, Count of Sicily Regency of his mother Adelaide Duke of Apulia and Calabria first King of Sicily William I, son of Roger II, partner and consecrated on Succeeds William II, son of William I Regency of Margaret of Navarre Tancred, natural son of Roger, Duke of Apulia Earl of Lecce King of Sicily Join forces with his son Roger William III, another son of Tancred Regency of Queen Sibille	25 Feb. 8 Apr. 26 Feb 7 May Jan. July Feb. 20	- d. 1101 - II27 - II13 1127 1130 - m. 26 I151 1154 - 111.7 1166 - m. 16 I166 -	7 May '166 5 Nov. 1189 1171 9 Feb. 1194

Xiii

SUCCESSORS OF THE NORMAN KINGS OF SICILY

(E. JORDAN, Germany and Italy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Paris ¹939 E. G. LÉONARD, the Angevins of Naples, Paris ¹954)

THE HOHENSTAUFEN

Henry I of H. (Henry VI of Germany, Emperor, 14 Apri crowned King of Sicily in Palermo Frederick I	il 1191)
(Frederick II of Germany, Emperor 22 Novem- Bre 1220), crowned in Palermo on	17 May 1198 - m. 13 Dec. 1250
Bit 1220), crowned in Fulcinio on	

Conrad I (Conrad IV, son of the above, emperor), king of Sicily
The title of King of Sicily passed to the House of Anjou, a branch of Naples, in the person of Charles I, 6 January 1266, but in 1282, on 4 September, Peter III of Aragon was proclaimed King of Sicily in Palermo.
ARAGONESE KINGS OF THE ISLAND
Peter I (Peter III of Aragon), King of Sicily
Louis, son of the above
Martin the Younger, husband of Mary, crowned in
Martin I May 1410 - m. 3o June 1412 Ferdinand I, son of John of Castile, elected takes Power 30 June 1412 July 28 1412 - m. 2 Apr. 1416
Alfonso I the Magnificent 2 Apr 1416 - d. 27 July 1458

Xiv

Sicily was then ruled by viceroys.

KINGS OF SICILY AND NAPLES

(E. G. LÉONARD, The Angevins of Naples, Paris,

FIRST HOUSE OF ANJOU

NAPLESBRANCH

	6 Jan. 1266 - m. 29 May 1289 - 111. 6 May 1309	7 Jan. 1285 5 May 1309 20 Jan. 1343
Dislocation of the House of Naples	8	
Jeanne I, granddaughter of Robert, wife of Andrew of Hungary (murdered on the night) of 18–19 September 1345); she dies also murdered on 27 July 1382	1343 - m.	27 July 1382
Louis, son of Carobert of Anjou-Hongrie, King of Hungary King of Poland usurp of the Kingdom of Naples Joanna's return to Naples with Louis of Taranto, second Jeanne's Husband	1342 1370 Jan. 1348 -	June 1348

TARANTO BRANCH

Joan I, King of Sicily, crowned on Personal government of Joan I James III of Majorca, third husband of Joan I Otto of Brunswick, fourth husband of Joan I	27 May 1352 - m. 24 May 1362 1362 - 1374 14 Dec. 1362 - m. Feb. 1375 25 March 1376 - m. after April 1392
DURASBRANCH	
Charles III of Duras, great-grandson of Charles II, King of Sicily crowned one took possession of Naples on	2 June 1381 July 16 1381 - m. 24 Feb. 1386

SECOND HOUSE OF ANJOU OR VALOIS-PROVENCE

Louis I, Duke of Anjou, then King of Sicily, competitor	of
Charles III of Duras, took the title of King of Sicily	3o August 1383 - m. 20 Sep. 1384 1384 - m. 29 Apr. 1417
Louis II, son of the above, King of Sicily	1384 - m. 29 Apr. 1417
DURASBRANCH	

Ladislaus, son of Charles III of Duras, in competition with		
Louis II of Valois-Provence, made his entrance to Naples on	Io juill. 1399 - m.	6 August 1414
Joan II sister of the above, Queen of Sicily	August 1414	\mathcal{E}
crowned one	28 Oct. 1419 - d.	2 Feb. 1435

LES VALOIS-PROVENCE

Louis III, son of Louis II, King of Sicily, in competition with	
Jeanne II on the death of her father, raises her rights	Apr. 1417 - m. 15 Nov. 1434
René d'Anjou, brother of the above, nominal king	Nov. 1434 - m. Io Jill. 1480

XV

THE DOGES OF VENICE

(H. KRETSCHMAYR, Geschishe Von Venedig, 3 vol., Gotha, 1905-1920-1934 List corrected and completed by F. Thiriet)

Paoliccio? Marcello? Orso	697 - 7 ¹ 7 - 726 -	7 ¹ 7 726 737
Militia masters appointed by the Emper Dominicus Leo Felix Cornicula Deusdedit Jubianus Ypatus Johannes Fabricius Diodato Ipato Oromo Gaulo Domenico Monegario Maurizio and Giovanni Galbaio Obelerio and Beato Angelo Partecipazio Gustiniano Partecipazio Giovanni Partecipazio (I) Pietro Tradonico	737 738 739 740 741 742 - 755 - 756 - 764 - 804 - 811 827 - 829 - 836 - 15 March	755 756 764 804 811 827 829 836 864
TICHO TIAUOHICO	650 - 15 Maich	804

Orso Participazio (I)	12 Augus 976 - I seven. 978
Pietro Centranico	1032
Domenico Orseolo	1042
Domenico Flabianico Domenico Contarini	
Domenico Silvo	
	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
Vital Michiele (I)	1096 - 11111420928
Ordelaffo Falier	1118
hillos polame no no no monte de la companya del companya del companya de la companya del company	
Cristoforo Moro Nicolô Tron Nicolô Marcello Pietro Mocenigo Andrea Vendramin Giovanni Mocenigo Marco Barbarigo Agostino Barbarigo leonardo Loredan	

Vi

HISTORICAL LISTS

(continued)

(F) ECCLESIASTICAL LISTS

- I. The Popes.
 II. Patriarchs of Constantinople.
 III. Latin Patriarchs of Constantinople.
 IV. Patriarchs of Alexandria.
 V. Patriarchs of Antioch.
 VI. Patriarchs of Jerusalem.

- VII.— Latin Patriarchs of Jerusalem.
- . VIII. Main councils of interest to Byzantine history.

THE POPES

(List of the Annuario Pontificia 1954, Città del Vaticano, by A. MERCATI; L. DUCHESNE, Le Liber Pontificalis, Paris, 1886, 1892: pour les huit premiers siècles)

N.B.: When the advent is marked by two dates, the first designates the election, the second the consecration.

S. Marcellin	
S. Eusebius	18 April 309 or 310-17 August 309 or 310
S. Silvestre I	31 January 314-31 December 335
S Mark	18 January 336-7 October 336
S. Jules Release (Felix II) Damasus I.	6 February 337-12 April 352
Release	
(Felix II)	• 355-22 November 365) (1)
Ursin	366-367)
s . Sirice	366-367) or 22 or 29 December 384-26 November 399
Anastasius I	27 November 399-19 December 401
S. Innocent I	
S Zosimils	18 March 417-26 December 418
S. Boniface I	28 or 29 December 418-4 September 422
S. (Eulalius	
S . Čelestine I	
S. Leo I the Great	
S. Hilaire	
S. Simplice	
S. Felix III (II)	
S. Gelasius I	March 492-21 November 496
S . Anastasius II	
S. S. Symmachus	
S Hormisdas	22 November 498-19 July 514 ————————————————————————————————————
S. John I	13 August 523-18 May 526
S. Felix IV (III)	
Boniface II	
(Dioscore	
John II	2 January 533-8 May 535
S. Agapet I	13 May 535-22 April S36 ier or 8 June 536-11 November 537
Vigil	
Pelagius I	
John III	

⁽¹⁾ This character is a Roman martyr who was later mistaken for a pope and who entered the series by mistake. For the following popes named Felix, their true historical rank has been put in brackets.

Benedict I	2 June 575 20 July 570
Benedict I	
Pelagius II	
S. Gregory I, the Great	
Sabinian	
Boniface III	
S. Boniface IV	25 August 608-8 May 615
S. Deusdedit or Adéodat I	19 October 615-8 November 6i8
Boniface V	22 December 610, 25 October 625
TT T	27 O - t - 1 (25 12 O - t - 1 (29
Honorius I	
Séverin	
John IV	
Theodore I	
S. Martin I	July 649-16 September 655
S. Eugene I	Lo August 654 2 June 657
S. Eugene I	10 August 034-2 June 037
S. Vitalien	30 July 65/-2/ January 6/2
Adéodat II	1 1 April 6/2-1/ June 6/6
Donus	
S. Agathon	
S. Leo II	17 August 682-3 July 683
S. Benedict II	26 June 684-8 May 685
John V	22 July 605 2 August 606
JOHII V	
Conon .	
(Theodore	687)
Pascal	687)
S. Sergius I	
John VI	30 October 701-II January 705
John VII	I March 705-18 October 707
Sisinnius	15 Ionuary 708 4 Fabruary 708
O - u - t - u t u -	
Constantine	
S. Gregory II	
S. Gregory III	i8 March 731 November 741
S	Zechariah Io December 741-22 March 752
(Et. H	
(Effenne II	
(Etienne II (II)	
Étienne III (II)	
Étienne III (II) S. Paul I	
Etienne III (II)	
Etienne III (II) S. Paul I (Constantine (Philippe Etienne IV Adrian I S. Leo III	
Etienne III (II) S. Paul I (Constantine (Philippe Etienne IV Adrian I S. Leo III Ftienne V	
Etienne III (II) S. Paul I (Constantine (Philippe Etienne IV Adrian I S. Leo III Ftienne V	
Etienne III (II) S. Paul I (Constantine (Philippe Etienne IV Adrian I S. Leo III Ftienne V	
Etienne III (II) S. Paul I (Constantine (Philippe Etienne IV Adrian I S. Leo III Etienne V S. Pascal I Eugene II	
Etienne III (II) S. Paul I (Constantine (Philippe Etienne IV Adrian I S. Leo III. Etienne V S. Pascal I Eugene II Valentin	
Etienne III (II) S. Paul I (Constantine (Philippe Etienne IV Adrian I. S. Leo III. Etienne V S. Pascal I Eugene II Valentin Gregory IV	
Etienne III (II) S. Paul I (Constantine (Philippe Etienne IV Adrian I S. Leo III Etienne V S. Pascal I Eugene II Valentin Gregory IV (John	
Etienne III (II) S. Paul I (Constantine (Philippe Etienne IV Adrian I S. Leo III Etienne V S. Pascal I Eugene II Valentin Gregory IV (John Sergius II	
Etienne III (II) S. Paul I (Constantine (Philippe Etienne IV Adrian I S. Leo III Etienne V S. Pascal I Eugene II Valentin Gregory IV (John	
Etienne III (II) S. Paul I (Constantine (Philippe Etienne IV Adrian I S. Leo III Etienne V S. Pascal I Eugene II Valentin Gregory IV (John Sergius II S. Leo IV	
Etienne III (II) S. Paul I (Constantine (Philippe Etienne IV Adrian I S. Leo III Etienne V S. Pascal I Eugene II Valentin Gregory IV (John Sergius II S. Leo IV Benedict III	
Etienne III (II) S. Paul I (Constantine (Philippe Etienne IV Adrian I S. Leo III Etienne V S. Pascal I Eugene II Valentin Gregory IV (John Sergius II S. Leo IV Benedict III (Anastasius	
Etienne III (II) S. Paul I (Constantine (Philippe Etienne IV Adrian I S. Leo III Etienne V S. Pascal I Eugene II Valentin Gregory IV (John Sergius II S. Leo IV Benedict III (Anastasius S. Nicholas I	26 March 752-26 April 757 April-29 May 757-28 June 767 28 June, 5 July 767-769) 31 July 768) I ^{er} , 7 August 768-24 January 772 I ^{er} , 9 February 772-25 December 795 26, 27 December 795-12 June 816 22 June 816-24 January 817 25 January 817-II February 824 February-May 824 August 827 August 827 September 827 827 January 844 January 844-27 January 844 January 844-27 January 847 January, Io April 847-17 July 855 July, 29 September 855-17 April 858 August 855 September 855, 1- C. 880) 24 April 858-13 November 867
Etienne III (II) S. Paul I (Constantine (Philippe Etienne IV Adrian I S. Leo III Etienne V S. Pascal I Eugene II Valentin Gregory IV (John Sergius II S. Leo IV Benedict III (Anastasius S. Nicholas I Adrian II	
Etienne III (II) S. Paul I (Constantine (Philippe Etienne IV Adrian I S. Leo III Etienne V S. Pascal I Eugene II Valentin Gregory IV (John Sergius II S. Leo IV Benedict III (Anastasius S. Nicholas I Adrian II John VIII	
Etienne III (II) S. Paul I (Constantine (Philippe Etienne IV Adrian I. S. Leo III. Etienne V S. Pascal I Eugene II Valentin Gregory IV (John Sergius II S. Leo IV Benedict III (Anastasius S. Nicholas I Adrian II John VIII	26 March 752-26 April 757 April-29 May 757-28 June 767 28 June, 5 July 767-769) 31 July 768) I ^{er} , 7 August 768-24 January 772 I ^{er} , 9 February 772-25 December 795 26, 27 December 795-12 June 816 22 June 816-24 January 817 25 January 817-II February 824 February-May 824 August 827 August 827 September 827 827 January 844 January 844-27 January 844 January 844-27 January 847 January, Io April 847-17 July 855 July, 29 September 855-17 April 858 August 855 September 855, 1° C. 880) 24 April 858-13 November 867 14 December 867-14 December 872 14 December 872-16 December 882
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Etienne III (II) S. Paul I (Constantine (Philippe Etienne IV Adrian I S. Leo III Etienne V S. Pascal I Eugene II Valentin Gregory IV (John Sergius II S. Leo IV Benedict III (Anastasius S. Nicholas I Adrian II John VIII Marin I His Etienne VI	
Etienne III (II) S. Paul I (Constantine (Philippe Etienne IV Adrian I S. Leo III. Etienne V S. Pascal I Eugene II Valentin Gregory IV (John Sergius II S. Leo IV Benedict III (Anastasius S. Nicholas I Adrian II John VIII Marin I His Etienne VI Formosa	26 March 752-26 April 757 April-29 May 757-28 June 767 28 June, 5 July 767-769) 31 July 768) Ier, 7 August 768-24 January 772 Ier, 9 February 772-25 December 795 26, 27 December 795-12 June 816 22 June 816-24 January 817 25 January 817-II February 824 February-May 824 August 827 August 827 September 827 August 827 January 844 January 844-27 January 844 January 844-7 January 844 January 844-7 January 847 January 847-17 July 855 July, 29 September 855-17 April 858 August 855 September 855-17 April 858 August 855 September 855-17 April 858 August 855 September 855-15 May 884 14 December 872-16 December 882 16 December 882-15 May 884 17 May 884 September 885 September 885-14 September 881 6 October 891-4 April 896
Etienne III (II) S. Paul I (Constantine (Philippe Etienne IV Adrian I S. Leo III Etienne V S. Pascal I Eugene II Valentin Gregory IV (John Sergius II S. Leo IV Benedict III (Anastasius S. Nicholas I Adrian II John VIII Marin I His Etienne VI Formosa Boniface VI	
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Etienne III (II) S. Paul I (Constantine (Philippe Etienne IV Adrian I S. Leo III Etienne V S. Pascal I Eugene II Valentin Gregory IV (John Sergius II S. Leo IV Benedict III (Anastasius S. Nicholas I Adrian II John VIII Marin I His Etienne VI Formosa Boniface VI Etienne VII Roman	26 March 752-26 April 757 April-29 May 757-28 June 767 28 June, 5 July 767-769) 31 July 768) Ier, 7 August 768-24 January 772 Ier, 9 February 772-25 December 795 26, 27 December 795-12 June 816 22 June 816-24 January 817 25 January 817-II February 824 February-May 824 August 827 August 827 September 827 827 January 844 January 844-27 January 847 January 844-27 January 847 January, Io April 847-17 July 855 July, 29 September 855-17 April 858 August 855 September 855, 1 C. 880) 24 April 858-13 November 872 14 December 867-14 December 872 14 December 872-16 December 882 16 December 882-15 May 884 17 May 884 September 885 September 885-14 September 891 6 October 891-4 April 896 April 896 April 896 may 896 August 897 August 897 November 897
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Etienne III (II) S. Paul I (Constantine (Philippe Etienne IV Adrian I S. Leo III. Etienne V S. Pascal I Eugene II Valentin Gregory IV (John Sergius II S. Leo IV Benedict III (Anastasius S. Nicholas I Adrian II John VIII Marin I His Etienne VI Formosa Boniface VI Etienne VII Roman Theodore II John IX	26 March 752-26 April 757 April-29 May 757-28 June 767 28 June, 5 July 767-769) 31 July 768) Ier, 7 August 768-24 January 772 Ier, 9 February 772-25 December 795 26, 27 December 795-12 June 816 22 June 816-24 January 817 25 January 817-II February 824 February-May 824 August 827 August 827 September 827 827 January 844 January 844-27 January 844 January 844-7 January 847 January, Io April 847-17 July 855 July, 29 September 855-17 April 858 August 855 September 855-17 April 858 August 855 September 855-17 April 858 August 855 September 855-17 May 14 December 872 14 December 867-14 December 872 14 December 872-16 December 882 16 December 882-15 May 884 17 May 884 September 891 6 October 891-4 April 896 April 896 April 896 may 896 August 897 August 897 November 897 December 897 December 897 January 898 January 900
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43² I. CHRONOLOGY

Y Y7	11 002 11 002
Leo V	Santanahan July 903 July 903
(ChristopherJuly o	903 January 904) 29 January 904-14 April 911
Sergius III	29 January 904-14 April 911
	may 928 December 928
	December 928 February 931
	Feb:a - March 931 December 935
	3 January 936-13 July 939
Marin II	
Agapetus II	
Leo VIII	
Benedict V	
John XIII	
Benedict VI	
(Boniface VII	
	August 984 July 985)
Renedict VII	August 984 July 985) October 974-10 July 983
John XIV	December 983-20 August 984
John XV	
(John XVI	
	June 1003 December 1003
	January 1004 July 1009
Denodiat VIII	
Gregory VI	5 May 1045-20 December 1046
	for the third time), 8 November 1047-17 July 1048
	5 April 1058-24 January 1059, t ?)
	I October 1061-21 April 1073
(Honorius II	
S. Gregory VII	
	25 June 1080, 24 March 1084-8 September 1 ioo)
Paschal II	
	1102)
	i8 November I105 I111)
Gelasius II	24 January, Io March 1118-28 January I119
(Gregory VIII	
Calixtus II	
(Celestine II	December 1124)
	14, 23 February 1130-25 January 1138)
	March 1138-29 May 1138, t ?)
	26 September, 3 October 1143-8 March 1144
	1

Lucius II	
D. C. Carra III	
B. Eugene III. 15, 18 February 1145-8 July 1153 Anastasius IV. 12 July 1153-3 December 1154	
Anastasius IV	
Adrian IV 4, 5 December IIS4—ISeptember 1159 Alexander III 7, 20 September 1159-30 August 1181	
Alexander III 7 20 September 1159-30 August 1181	
(Victor IV	
(Victor IV / September, 4 October 1139 – 20 April 1104)	
(Paschal III	
(Calixtus III	
(Calixtus III. September 1168-29 August 1178) (Innocent III. 29 September 1179 1180)	
Lucius III	
Lucius III I, 6 September 1181-25 September 1185 Urban III 25 November, 1st December 1185-20 October 1187	
Urban III	
Gregory VIII 21 25 October 1187-17 December 1187	
Clement III 19, 20 December 1187 Marchi 191 Celestine III March 30, April 14, 1191-January 81198	
Coloring III March 30 April 14 1101-January 81 100	
Celestine III	
Celestine III March 30, April 14, 1191-January 81198 Innocent III. 8 January, 22 February 1198-16 July1216 Honorius III. 18, 24 July 1216-18 March 1227 Gregory IX. 19, 21 March 1227-221241 Celestine IV 25, 28 October 1241, 10 November 1241	
Honorius III 18, 24 July 1216-18 March 1227	
Gregory IV 19, 21 March 1227-221241	
Galactina IV	
25, 28 October 1241-10 November 1 2 5 4	
25, 26 October 1241-10 November 1 2 3 4	
Innocent IV	
Alexander IV	
Urban IV 29 August 4 September 1261-2 October 1268	
Clement IV	
Clement IV	
B. Grégoire X	
B. Innocent V	
Adrian V II July 1276-18 August 1277	
I July 1270-10 August 2 7	
30 September 12/0-20 Way 1 2 8 0	
Adrian V II July 1276-18 August 1 2 77 John XXI 8, 20 September 1276-20 May 1 2 8 0 Nicholas III 25 November, 26 December 1277-22 August 1 2 8 5	
Martin IV 22 February 23 March 12XL-2X March 12X7	
Honorius IV 2 April 20 May 1285-3 April 29 2	
Nieholog IV	
Nicholas IV	
$0.071 \cdot $	
S. Célestin V. 5 July, 29 August 1294-13 December 1294, t 19 1303	
Honorius IV	
May 1304	
May 1304	
May 1304	
May 1 3 0 4 Boniface VIII	
May 1 3 04 Boniface VIII 24 December 1294, 23 January 1295-II October 1 3 1 4 Benedict XI 22, 27 October 1303-7 July1 3 3 4 Clement V 5 June, 14 November 1305-20 April John XXII 7 August, 5 September 13 16-4 December	
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May	4)

Ιi

PATRIARCHS OF CONSTANTINOPLE

LE QUIEN, Oriens Christianus t. I, Paris, 1740; M. GÉDÉON, II v.

Constantinople, 1890; I. ANDREEV, KonstantinopoP skie patriarchi, fasc. I, Sergiev Posad, 1895 (up to John IV) (1); S. VAILHÉ, art. Constantinople, DT C, III, 1308-1313. This last work, althoughthe author could not reach Andreev's work, marked a very significant progress on previous works. Since then, various works have appeared over limited periods. We used the notes of E. STEIN, History of the Lower Empire, t. II, Paris (passim) (until the death of Justinian). Of particular note: from 996 to 1111, V. LAURENT, EO, 35, 1936, 67-81; from 1294 to 1350, the same, REB, 7, 1949, 147-155; in addition, note of the same, on patriarch Nile, EO, 36, 1937, 171-174; from 815 to 843, V. GRUMEL, EO, 34, 1935, 162-166, 506; from mid to 1206, the same, REB, I, 1943, 250-270. The Regestes of the Acts of the Patriarchs (381-1206) took account ofthiswork. We record here the results by providing here and there some details. For the period from 1206 to 1453, the chronology of S. Vailhé has been improved on particular points thanks to books or notes published since then. In addition to the art icle already mentioned by V. Laurent for the patriarchs from 1294 to 1350 and his note on Nile, the collection of notes 'EV01416ECJV IrCrit Zp0Vt>t<7 was used.)/ ri-V.Z.1.6)V.4t7.WV (3/J?,X0¹/₁) -rcpc:yrr₀ Neos Hellènomnêmôn,7, 1910, 113-313; A. HEISENBERG, Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Kaisertums, II and III, 1923; I. SYKOUTRÈS, 'Enz-.

Drank. E1TOUU)V, 9, 1932, 178-189 (on the election of Germain III); G. MERCATI, *Notizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cidone ed altri appunti*, Città del Vaticano,1931; and finally the Bpcc-zx ypovtxc. of

Sp. LAMPROS in . N1v-resioc 7:7;ç gathered the notes concerning the patriarchs in

;. (37opicxq, Athens, 1932-1933 (K. I. DYOBOUNIOTÈS a 'E-:octp. Drank. Enoei;iv, II, 1935, 4-6).

For the period following the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, we have kept to the remarkable study of GERMAIN of Sardis, Evu.6oX rcs Toûc 7T,Ctipt.CCpZUXOÛC

markable study of GERMAIN of Sardis, Evu.6oX rçs Toûç 7T,Ctipt.CCpZUXOUÇ Kwvo-T.Y.v-:tvoiyirr')Xso)r,Ti; Ct2,c',xszci)(. y.oci V4=? dg, publishedin 'Op0rA·7«iy., t. 8-13, from 1933 to

(with the exception of the patriarchate of Marc Xylocaravi and his successor, the author having not known the

Bishops

F	Philadelphus	between 2I1 and 217
F	Eugene İ	240–265
F	Rufin	
N	Metrophane Alexander	$ 30^{6}/_{3}07-4$ June 314
F	Alexander	314-Aug 337
ŀ	2aul I (13)	337-339
ŀ	Eusebius	

(r)_{the}2nd fasc. did not appear, but only a study on the two patriarchs Germain and Taraise: *German i Tarasij*, *patriarchi Konstantinopor skie*, Sergier Posad, 1₉07 (taken apart from articles of the *Bogoslovskij V estnik*, 18₉7 and 1899).

Paul I (2°)	late 34i-early 342
Macedonía i (r) Paul I (3°)	early 342-early 346
Paul I (3°)	early 346-late 351
Macedonian I (2°)	late 351-27 January 360
Eudoxus of Antioch	
Demionhile	early 370-26 November 380
Evagre	370
Gregory of Nazianze	379-June 381
Maxim	380

Patriarchs

Nectaire	
John I Chrysostom	
Arsaces	June 381-27 September 397 26 February 398-20 June 404 (exiled) 27 June 404-11 November 405
Atticus	early March 406-10 October 425
Sisinnius I	
Nastarius	Io April 428 July 11 421
Maximian	
Dua alva	12 a. 12 A. mil 424 12 Tyly 446
Procius	
Flavian	July 446-August 11, 449 November 449-3 July 458
Anatole	
Gennade I	August or September 458-20 November 471
Acace	February 472-26 November 489 ———————————————————————————————————
Fravitas	December 489-March 490
Euphemius	spring 490-spring 496 (exiled)
Macedonius II	July 496-11 August 5 ri (exiled)
Timothy I	October 511-5 April 518 17 April 518-February 520 25 February 520-5 June 535 June 535-March (before 13) 536 (deposited)
John II Connadalzas	17 April 519 February 520
Eninhony	25 Fabruary 520 5 June 525
Anthima I	June 525 March (hefore 12) 526 (denocited)
Anumine I	Julie 353-March (before 13) 350 (deposited)
March	13, 536-Aug 24 S52
Eutychius (1°)	late August 552-31 January 565 (deposited)
John III Scholasticos	
Eutychius (2°)	
John IV the Faster	
Cyriace	
Thomas I	
Sergius I	18 April 610-8 or 9 December 638
Pyrrhus (1°)	December 638-September 641
Daul II	October 641-December 653 8 or 9 January 654-1" June 654 June 654-otober666
Drymbyg (2°)	9 on 0 Ionnamy 654 1" Iuna 654
Datas (2)	8 01 9 January 034-1 June 034
reter	
I nomas II	
John V	November 669-August 675
Constantine I	
Theodore I (r)	August/September 677-November/December 679
George I	November/December 679-January/February 686
Theodore I (2°)	November 675-9 August 673 August/September 677-November/December 679 November/December 679-January/February 686 January/February 686-28 December 687 January 688-20 August 694
Paul III	January 688-20 August 694
Cyrus	early 7,2-July or early August 715 II August 715-17 January 730
John VI	early 7.2-July or early August 715
Germain I	II August 715-17 January 730
Amastasiya	22 January 720 January 754
Canatantina II	22 January 754 2 a Assayat 766
Nilvata I	22 January 730-January 754 8 August 754-30 August 766 16 November 766-6 February 780
Niketas I	
Paul IV	
Taraise	
Nikephoros I	
Theodotus Melissène Cassiteras	12 April 806-13 March 815 (exiled) from April 815 to January 821
Antony I Cassimatas	c. 821-January 837 (before the 21st)

43⁶ I. CHRONOLOGY

John VII Morocharzianos 21 January 837-4 March 843 Method I elected on March 4, 843, ordained on March 843-June 14, 847 Ignatius (i°) 3 July 847-23 October 858 (dispossessed) Photius (i°) appointed November/December, ordained December 25, 858-September 23, 867 Ignatius (2°) 23 November 867-23 October 877 Photius (2°) 26 October 877-29 or 30 September 886 Etienne I 18 December 886-17 or 18 May 893 Antony II Cauleas August 893-12 February 901 Nicholas I Mysticos (1") 1 March 901-February 907 (exiled) Euthym I February 907-15 May 912 Nicholas I Mysticos (2°) 15 May 912-15 May 925 Etienne II 29 June 925-18 July 927 Tryphon 14 December 927-Aug 931 Theophylact 2 Feb933-27 February 956 Polyeucte 3 April
Nicholas II Chrysoberges
Vacancy: 4 years and half (I).
Sisinnios II 12 April 996-24 August 998 Sergius II June/July iooi-July 1019 Eustathe July '0'9-November/December (before 15) 1025 Alexios Studite 15 December 1025-20 February 1043 Michael I Cerular 25 March 1043-2 November 1058 (exiled), died
Constantine III Lichoudès 2 February 1059-9/10 August 1063 John VIII Xiphilin 1064-2 August 1075 Cosmas I 1064-2 August 1075 Cosmas I 1075-8 May 1081 (abdication) Eustrates Garidas May 1 oh-July 1084 (abdication) Nicholas III Kyrdiniates Grammaticos August 1084-before May 24 a John IX Agapetos 24 May iiii-end of April 1134 Leo Stypès or Stypiotes May 1134-January 1143 Michael II Courcouas theOxite July 1143-March 1146 Cosmas II Atticus late April 1146-26 February 1147 (deposed) Nicholas IV Muzalon December I I 47-March/April 1151 (abdication) Theodotus II between March/April 1151 and April 1152-between October 1153
and October 1154 (two years and 6 months) Neophyte I between October 1153 and the end of November 1154 (less
of one month), elected, not ordered Constantine IV Chliarénos
Michael III of Anchialos January (before the 3rd) 1170-March 1178 Chariton Eugeniotes between March and August 1178-between February and
Theodosius the Boradiote between February and 3o July 1179 (II months) Basil II Kamatoos August 1183-February 1186 Niketas II Mountanes February 1186-February 1189 Dosithée of Jerusalem (i()) February 1189 (9 days) Leontce the Theotokite February March u 89-September or early of October 1189
Distsithée of Jerusalem (2°)late September or early October 1189-
George II Xiphilin Io September 1191 John X Kamateros 5 August u98-April/May I206 Michael IV Autorianos 20 March 1208-26 August 1214

⁽i) Note however the article by H. GRÉGOIRE and P. ORGELS, I, a chronology of the Patriarchs of Constantinople and the Roman question at the end of the tenth century, *Byz.*, 24, 1954, Brussels, 1953, 257-278, **which** tends to place this vacancy before the patriarchy of Nicolas II Chrvsobergès.

Thoodoro II Eironikos	
	28 September 1214-31 January
Maximus II	3 June-December 1216
Manual I Carantanas	January 1217 May/June 1222
Manual I Sarantenos Germain II	
Method	
Handbook II	1244-shortly before 3 November 1254
Arsene Autorianos (I")	1255–1259
Nikephoros II before I Janua	ary 1260-end 1260 (less than a year)
Arsene Autoreianos (2 ")	August 1261 - 1265
Handbook II	25 May 1265-14 1266
Jeneral I (10)	September 28 1275
Joseph I (1°)	September 26 12/5
Joseph I (1) John XI Bekkos Joseph I (2°) Gregory III Kyprios Athanasius I (r)	December 1200-May 1282
Joseph I (2°)	26 May 12/5-26 December
Gregory III Kyprios	31 December 12821-289
Athanasius I (r)	14 October 1289-16 October 1293
John XII Kosmas	I January 1204 21 June 1303
Athanaging I (20)	22 June 1202 September 1200
Athanasius I (2°)	
Niphon I 9 May 1310-11	April 1314. ci. <i>REB</i> , 13, 1955, 138-139
John XIII Glykys	12 May 1315-11 May 1319
Gerasime I	
Isaiah	II November 1323-13 May 1332
John XIV Kalekas	February 1334-February 2 1347
Isidore I	17 May 1347-February/March 1350
Callista I (1°)	To June 1350 November 1353
Isidore I	Maxambar 1252 22 Naxambar 1254
rimotheus Kokkinos (1	November 1555-22 November 1554,
Calliste I (2°)	deposited January 1355
Calliste I (2°)	January 1355-August 1363
Philotheus Kokkinos (2°)	8 October 1364-1376
Macallus II J	
Nile	late 1370-1 February 1388
Antony IV (1°)	12 January 1389-August 1390
Managina (29)	Amount 1200 1201
Macarius (2°)	August 1390–1391
Antony IV (2°)	March 1391-May 139/
Calliste II Xanthopoulos	
Matthew I	
Euthymus Ii	25/26 October 1/10 20 March 1/16
	23/20 October 1410-29 March 1410
Joseph II	23/20 October 1410-29 Watch 1410
Joseph II	
Joseph II	
Metrophanes Ii Gregory III Mammè 1443-t 144	
Metrophanes Ii Gregory III Mammè 1443-t 144	
Metrophanes Ii Gregory III Mammè 1443-t 144	
Metrophanes Ii Gregory III Mammè 1443-t 144	
Metrophanes Ii Gregory III Mammè	
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Metrophanes Ii Gregory III Mammè	
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Metrophanes Ii Gregory III Mammè	
Metrophanes Ii Gregory III Mammè	
Metrophanes Ii Gregory III Mammè	
Metrophanes Ii Gregory III Mammè	
Metrophanes Ii Gregory III Mammè	21 May 1416-10 June 1439 25 (left Constantinople in 1450) 26 January 1454-6 January 1456 27 (1456 (before May)-spring 1462 28 probably summer 1462-summer 1463 29 August 1463-early August 1464 29 August 1464 30 August 1463-early August 1464 30 August 1464-august 1464 31 August 1464 32 August 1464 33 August 1464 34 August 1464 35 August 1464 36 August 1464 36 August 1464 37 August 1464 38 August 1475-early 1476 38 August 1475-early 1476 39 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 32 August 1475-early 1476 33 August 1475-early 1476 34 August 1475-early 1476 36 August 1475-early 1476 36 August 1475-early 1476 36 August 1475-early 1476 37 August 1475-early 1476 38 August 1475-early 1476 38 August 1475-early 1476 38 August 1475-early 1476 38 August 1475-early 1476 38 August 1475-early 1476 39 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 32 August 1475-early 1476 33 August 1475-early 1476 34 August 1475-early 1476 35 August 1475-early 1476 36 August 1475-early 1476 37 August 1475-early 1476 38 August 1475-early 1476 38 August 1475-early 1476 38 August 1475-early 1476 39 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 32 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 Aug
Metrophanes Ii Gregory III Mammè	21 May 1416-10 June 1439 25 (left Constantinople in 1450) 26 January 1454-6 January 1456 27 (1456 (before May)-spring 1462 28 probably summer 1462-summer 1463 29 August 1463-early August 1464 29 August 1464 30 August 1463-early August 1464 30 August 1464-august 1464 31 August 1464 32 August 1464 33 August 1464 34 August 1464 35 August 1464 36 August 1464 36 August 1464 37 August 1464 38 August 1475-early 1476 38 August 1475-early 1476 39 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 32 August 1475-early 1476 33 August 1475-early 1476 34 August 1475-early 1476 36 August 1475-early 1476 36 August 1475-early 1476 36 August 1475-early 1476 37 August 1475-early 1476 38 August 1475-early 1476 38 August 1475-early 1476 38 August 1475-early 1476 38 August 1475-early 1476 38 August 1475-early 1476 39 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 32 August 1475-early 1476 33 August 1475-early 1476 34 August 1475-early 1476 35 August 1475-early 1476 36 August 1475-early 1476 37 August 1475-early 1476 38 August 1475-early 1476 38 August 1475-early 1476 38 August 1475-early 1476 39 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 32 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 Aug
Metrophanes Ii Gregory III Mammè	21 May 1416-10 June 1439 25 (left Constantinople in 1450) 26 January 1454-6 January 1456 27 (1456 (before May)-spring 1462 28 probably summer 1462-summer 1463 29 August 1463-early August 1464 29 August 1464 30 August 1463-early August 1464 30 August 1464-august 1464 31 August 1464 32 August 1464 33 August 1464 34 August 1464 35 August 1464 36 August 1464 36 August 1464 37 August 1464 38 August 1475-early 1476 38 August 1475-early 1476 39 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 32 August 1475-early 1476 33 August 1475-early 1476 34 August 1475-early 1476 36 August 1475-early 1476 36 August 1475-early 1476 36 August 1475-early 1476 37 August 1475-early 1476 38 August 1475-early 1476 38 August 1475-early 1476 38 August 1475-early 1476 38 August 1475-early 1476 38 August 1475-early 1476 39 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 32 August 1475-early 1476 33 August 1475-early 1476 34 August 1475-early 1476 35 August 1475-early 1476 36 August 1475-early 1476 37 August 1475-early 1476 38 August 1475-early 1476 38 August 1475-early 1476 38 August 1475-early 1476 39 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 32 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 Aug
Metrophanes Ii Gregory III Mammè	21 May 1416-10 June 1439 25 (left Constantinople in 1450) 26 January 1454-6 January 1456 27 (1456 (before May)-spring 1462 28 probably summer 1462-summer 1463 29 August 1463-early August 1464 29 August 1464 30 August 1463-early August 1464 30 August 1464-august 1464 31 August 1464 32 August 1464 33 August 1464 34 August 1464 35 August 1464 36 August 1464 36 August 1464 37 August 1464 38 August 1475-early 1476 38 August 1475-early 1476 39 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 32 August 1475-early 1476 33 August 1475-early 1476 34 August 1475-early 1476 36 August 1475-early 1476 36 August 1475-early 1476 36 August 1475-early 1476 37 August 1475-early 1476 38 August 1475-early 1476 38 August 1475-early 1476 38 August 1475-early 1476 38 August 1475-early 1476 38 August 1475-early 1476 39 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 32 August 1475-early 1476 33 August 1475-early 1476 34 August 1475-early 1476 35 August 1475-early 1476 36 August 1475-early 1476 37 August 1475-early 1476 38 August 1475-early 1476 38 August 1475-early 1476 38 August 1475-early 1476 39 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 32 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 Aug
Metrophanes Ii Gregory III Mammè	21 May 1416-10 June 1439 25 (left Constantinople in 1450) 26 January 1454-6 January 1456 27 (1456 (before May)-spring 1462 28 probably summer 1462-summer 1463 29 August 1463-early August 1464 29 August 1464 30 August 1463-early August 1464 30 August 1464-august 1464 31 August 1464 32 August 1464 33 August 1464 34 August 1464 35 August 1464 36 August 1464 36 August 1464 37 August 1464 38 August 1475-early 1476 38 August 1475-early 1476 39 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 32 August 1475-early 1476 33 August 1475-early 1476 34 August 1475-early 1476 36 August 1475-early 1476 36 August 1475-early 1476 36 August 1475-early 1476 37 August 1475-early 1476 38 August 1475-early 1476 38 August 1475-early 1476 38 August 1475-early 1476 38 August 1475-early 1476 38 August 1475-early 1476 39 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 32 August 1475-early 1476 33 August 1475-early 1476 34 August 1475-early 1476 35 August 1475-early 1476 36 August 1475-early 1476 37 August 1475-early 1476 38 August 1475-early 1476 38 August 1475-early 1476 38 August 1475-early 1476 39 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 32 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 Aug
Metrophanes Ii Gregory III Mammè	21 May 1416-10 June 1439 25 (left Constantinople in 1450) 26 January 1454-6 January 1456 27 (1456 (before May)-spring 1462 28 probably summer 1462-summer 1463 29 August 1463-early August 1464 29 August 1464 30 August 1463-early August 1464 30 August 1464-august 1464 31 August 1464 32 August 1464 33 August 1464 34 August 1464 35 August 1464 36 August 1464 36 August 1464 37 August 1464 38 August 1475-early 1476 38 August 1475-early 1476 39 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 32 August 1475-early 1476 33 August 1475-early 1476 34 August 1475-early 1476 36 August 1475-early 1476 36 August 1475-early 1476 36 August 1475-early 1476 37 August 1475-early 1476 38 August 1475-early 1476 38 August 1475-early 1476 38 August 1475-early 1476 38 August 1475-early 1476 38 August 1475-early 1476 39 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 32 August 1475-early 1476 33 August 1475-early 1476 34 August 1475-early 1476 35 August 1475-early 1476 36 August 1475-early 1476 37 August 1475-early 1476 38 August 1475-early 1476 38 August 1475-early 1476 38 August 1475-early 1476 39 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 30 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 32 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 August 1475-early 1476 31 Aug

Theoleptus I
Jeremiah II (2°)
Pashomial II
after April 'May 1586 Jeremiah II (3 ⁰⁾
direction of the Church of Constantinople Matthew II (20) April 1598-December 1601 or January/February 1602 Neophyte II (Io) early February 1602-c. mid-January 1603 Mathieu II (3°) January/February 1603 (a few days) Raphael II February 1603-1/15 October 1607 Neophyte II (2°) 15 October 1607-October 1612 Cyrille I (i°) around October 1612 (about a month). Patriarch of Alexandria called to the provisional direction of the Church of Constantinople. This is what his first patriarchate in Constantinople consists of
Timothy II late October/early November 1612-3 September 1620 Cyril I (2°) 4 November 1620-12 April 1623 Gregory IV

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Parthenios IV (3°) Denys IV (i°)	early March 1671-7 September 1671 8 November 1671-in fact 25 July 1673; in law until August 14
Gerasime II	
Athanasius IV	1n 1aw until 2 August 1679 30 July-10 August 1679 (12 days)
Parthenius IV (5°) James (2°) Denys IV (4°)	
James (3)	
Denys IV (5°)	
Neophyte VCyprian I (r ⁰) probably	around October 20, 1707, did not take possession around 25 October 1707-c end of May 1709 probably towards the end of May 1709-beginning
	December 1711
Cyprian I (2°)	early December 1711-early November 1713 early November 1713-28 February 1714 28 February 1714-23 March 1716
Jeremiah III (Io)	28 February 1714-23 March 1716
Séraphim I	20 November 1726-mid-September 1732 20 November 1726-mid-September 1732 15 September 1732-after mid-March 1733 after mid-March 1733-end of September 1734 27 September 1734-August 1740
Pa isios II (2°) Neophyte VI (2°) Païsios II (3°)	August '740-after mid-May 1743 ———————————————————————————————————
	September 1/32
Cyril V (2°) Callinique III Séraphim II	early September 1752-16 January 1757 16 January 1757-22 or 24 July 1757 22 July 1757-26 March 1761
Samuel I (1°)	
Theodosius	II April 1769-probably November 16, 1773 17 November 1773-24 December 1774 24 December 1774-8 October 1780
Gabriel IV	8 October 1780-29 June 1785 29/30 June or I ^{er} July 1785-30 April 1789 Ie ^r May 1789-I March 1794
Gerasime III	3 March 1/04-10 April 1/0/
Callinique IV (2^{-})	19 April 1797-18 December 1798 19 December 1798-17 June 1801 17 June 1801-22 September 1806 23 September 1806-10 September 1808 Io septembre 1808-23 April 1809
Jeremiah IV Cyril VI	
Eugene II	Io April 1821-27 July 1822 28 July 1822-9 July 1824 9 July 1824-26 September 1826

44⁰ I. CHRONOLOGY

Agathange I	
Constantine I	6 July 1830-18 August 1834
Constantine II	
Gregory VI (r)	
Anthime IV (r)	
Anthime V	6 May 1841-12 June 1842

Iii

LATIN PATRIARCHS OF CONSTANTINOPLE (1204–1261)

(Leo SANTIFALLER, Beitriige zur Geschichte des lateinischen Patriarchates von Konstantinopel, 1201-1'2G I Weimar, 1938)

Thomas Morosini elected in the second half of 1204 recommended on 21 January 1205 consecrated 27 March I205-June/July 12II
Vacant: I21I-1215.
Gervais November (between II and 3o) 1215-8 November 1219
Vacant: November 1219-January 1221.
Matthew January 1221-November/December 1226 John Halgrin appointed 23 December 1226, but declined the charge. Simon second semester 1227-first semester 1233
Vacant: 1233-1234.
Nicolas de Castro Arquato in the middle of 1234-around the mid-summer 1251
Vacant: 1251-1253.
Pantaleon Giustiniani 15 February 1253-1261 (died 1286)

TITULAR PATRIARCHS (1261–1503)

(L. DE MAS-LATRIE, Latin Patriarchs of Constantinople, *ROL*, III, 433-456 C. EUBEL, *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi*, t. I, Monasterii, 1898, 213-215; II, *ibid.*, 1901, 150) **Annuaire** *pontifical catholique*, 20e **année** — 1917, Paris, 1917 [collaboration pour l'Orient de L. Petit], p. 175-177

Pantaleon Giustiniani	1261–1286
Pierre Correr	3 August 1286-1302
Leonardo Faliero	oruary 1302-1305 (?)
Nicholas, Archbishop of Thebes	1 July 1308-1331 (?)
Cardinalis	13 Åpril 1332-1335
Gozio Battaglia	. 14 June 1335-1339
Roland de Ast 6 October 1339-died im	mediately afterwards
Henri de Ast, bishop of Nègrepont 24 November 13 Etienne de Pinu	339-27 January 1345
Etienne de Pinu	6 March 1346-?
William 1 1 E	December 1346-1361
administrator	23 August 1361-1364
His Highcent Peter Thomas, Archbishop of Crete 5 July Paul, Archbishop of Thebes	1364-6 January 1366
Hugolin Malabranca Io Feb	

William, Bishop of Urbino Paul (Archbishop of Corinth?) Angelo Correr, Bishop of Castello Louis, Archbishop of Mitylene Antonio Correr, cardinal, administrator Alfonso, Archbishop of Seville Francis Lando, Patriarch of Grado. Jean Contarini Jean de La Rochetaillée Jean Contarini Gregory Mamme	
Isidore of Kiev, Cardinal,	
Pierre Riario, cardinal	
	e 9 March 1474-4 27 December 1496 (Pontifical Ann.: October 16, 1493)
	23 January 1497-t Io or II April 1503
John Borgia, Cardinal	
François de Loris of Lorris, cardinal	

(I) MAS-LATRIE, p. 444, inserted after Contarini's death two incumbents, François de Conzié and François Condoliner, who had to be deleted from the list, because Pius II placed the appointment of Grégoire Maimne during the vacancy produced by

Contarini, *Annales Raynaldi*, ann. 1459, I,es two named characters could only be, if they had a role, administrators, and of both, it is probably necessary to eliminate the first nominee.

(2) EUBEL, II, 150, place c. 1455 the appointment of Isidore. It surely took place on April 20, 1459, the date of the papal letter of institution, *Ann. Raynaldi*, *I.c.*

Ιv

PATRIARCHS OF ALEXANDRIA

Fundamental work replacing previous works: A. VON GUTSCHMID, Verzeichnis der Patriarchen von Alexandrien, in Kleine Schrzften, II, 1890, 395-525. Texts published since: A) For the Melchites, continuation of Eutychius, patr. of Alexandria, by Yahya ibn Said (t 1066), Arabic text CSOC, ser. III, VII (1909); Arabic text and French translation by I. KRATCHKOVSKY and A. VASILIEV, in *PO, XVIII* (1924) (unfinished). For the rest, only sporadic data are available; B) For the Copts, PETRUS IBN RAHIB, Eastern Chronicon, ed. Cheiko (CSCO, ser. III, t. versio, 1903, pp. 109-152: De patriarchis alexandrinis; History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria, Arabic text edited, translated and annotated by B. EVETTS, in PO, I, 99-214, 381-518, V, I-215, X, 357-551; continuation par History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church, known as the History of the Holy Church, by A. SAWÎRUS IBN AL-MUKAFFA, vol. II, part. I, translated and annotated by YASSA ABDAL-MASSili and O. H. E. BURMESTER, Cairo, 1943; part. II... by Aziz SURYAL ATIYA, YASSA ABD AL-MASSîH, O. H. E. BURMESTER, 1948. The chronology of these sources stops at 1°88. For the rest, we have various catalogues: Le catalogue patriarcal d'ABou'L BARAKET IBN KOUBR, french translation by E. TISSERANT and G. WIET, in the Histoire des patriarches d'Alexandrie de Jean MASPÉRO, Paris, 1923, 361-379; the list of patriarchs of Alexandria in Qalqachandi, by E. TISSERANT and G. WIET, in ROC, 23, 1922-1923, 123-143.

Works: Jean MASPÉRO, Histoire..., cited above, posthumous publication. In this work, the author had initiated a Critical Chronology of the Patriarchs of Alexandria of the envisaged period: 518-616. The drafting was completed only for the first two patriarchs. For the rest, only fragments and notes remain. This test, which could not be developed, is outclassed by the next study which covers the same period and exceeds it; A. JC"LICHER, Die Liste der alexandrinischen Patriarchen im 6. und 7. Jahrhundert, in Festgabe Karl Müller, 1922, 7-23, the best list for this time. For the rest, we used M. CHAÎNE, Chronology of Christian times of Egypt and Ethiopia, correcting here and there errors of inattention and controlling it according to the History of Patriarchs and the History of Yahya cited above. The latest published list of the Patriarchs of Alexandria,

that of Chrysostom Papadopoulos, 'IGropi.cc'Exz'A-r;r5icxe; 'A-AsZocv4siog, is not the result of critical

work. We have used it, however, for lack of any other more assured, for the patriarchs of the coldest and fifteenth centuries, marking our reserve with question marks.

Theonas	
Peter I, martyr	end 300-26 November 311 (1)
Achilas	t 13 June 312 (2)
Alexander	t 17 April 328
Athanasius	8 June 328-2 May 373

- No 310. See v. v. Bolotov, in *Christianskoe ütente, 1900,* I, 445-447.
- (1) (2) The date 312 instead of 311 results from the previous one.

Arian intruders:

Pistos 336 or 338 Gregory 22 March 339 or 341-26 June 344 gold 348 George 24 February 357-24 December 361 Lucius, Ire Time December 365 Peter II 28 April 373-15 February 380 lucius^{2nd} Time 375-30 May 378 Timothy I 380-20 July 384 Theorybitus 384-15 October 412 Timothy I. 380-20 July 384 Theophilus 384-15 October 412 Cyril 17 October 412-27 June 444 Dioscore 444-13 October 451 (t 4 September 454) Protérius November 451-March 28, 457 Timothy II Elurea (monophysite), I'e Times March 457-January 460 Timothy II Salofaciole (Chalcedonian), I'e time. June 460-December 475 Timothy II Elurea'nd Time 475-31 July 477 Pierre III Monge (monophysite), I'e time. 31 July 477-4 September 477 Timothy II Salofaciole, 2nd time September 477-June 482 John I Talaia (Chalcedonian) June 482-December 482 Pierre III Monge'nd Time December 482-29 October 489 Athanasius II Keleres (monophysite) 489-17 October 496 John I (monophysite) 496-29 April 5 0 5 John II (monophysite) 505-22 May 516 Dioscore II. 516-14 October 517 Timothy III (monophysite) 517-7 February 535 MELKITE PATRIARCHS OF ALEXANDRIA Apollinaire 551–570 John II 570–580 Euloge 58i-February 608 Theodore Scribon 608–609 John III the Chaplain 610-11 November 619 Toperetes: physites...... c. 711 (*OP*, V, 66) Politien Christophore 817–848 Sophrone I 848-860 Michael II 870-21 August 503 Christodula 17 June 907-21 November 932 Eutychius 7 February 933-11 May 940 Sophronius Ii? Isaac August-September 941-954 Job 954-7 September 960 Efie 963-12 May 1000 Arsene 17 June 1000-7 July 1010 Theophilus II 1010-1020 George II 2 April 1021-1052 (?)

Leontce	1052	(?) -1059 (?)
Alexander II	1059	(?) -1062 (?)
John IV	1062	(?) -uoo (?)
Eulogus II	1002	c. III°
G 'ETT		9
		•
Sabas, Council in Constantinople		1117
Theodosius		?
Sophronius III, present in Constantinople		1166
Eleuthera or Elijah		c. ii8o
Mark III, Council in Constantinople		1195
Nicholas I.	before Febru	ary 1210-1243
Gregory I	0010101010	1243-1263
Nicholas II		1263-1276
Athanasius II		1276-1316
~ ***	1316	12/0 1010
Gregory II		(?) -1354 (?)
Gregory III	1354	(?) -1366 (?)
Niphon	1366	(?) -1385 (?)
Mark IV	1385	(?) -1389 (?)
Nicholas III	1389	(?) -1398 (?)
Gregory IV	1398	(?) -1412 (?)
Nicholas IV	1412	(?) -1417 (?)
Athanasius III	1417	(?) -1425 (?)
M 1 37	1425	(?) -1435 (?)
Philothée, received the invitation to the Council of	1,435	(?) -1,459 (?)
	1,433	
Mark VI		1459-1484 (?)
Gregory		1484-1486 (?)
Joachim, O I I:; vy 1487-1565 (was 92 ye		
of him is of ler decemb	er 1565), t	shortly after
		•

COPTIC PATRIARCHS OF ALEXANDRIA

Cheodosius	
Julianists	
Gaïanos	
Elpidius	
Doronica	
Cheodore	
Peter IV	
Damien578-12 June 607 Anastasius ô '. A.7:< ,yydcpLog (letter from Sophronius of Jerusalem to Sergius of Con	atom
tinople)	stan-
Andronicus	
oungest child	
Julianiste:	
Mena	
Agathon	
ohn III	
saac	
Simon I	
Julianiste:	
Theodorearound 695	
Vacancy: 3 years.	
racancy. 5 years.	
Alexander II	
Cosmas March 729-24 June 730	
Cheodore II	
Vacancy: i year.	

Michael I	
Michael (Khael) III	
Gabriel I	
Ephrem Philotheus Zechariah Sanythios II	
Christodula Cyril II Michael IV Macarius II Vacancy: 2 years, 2 months.	
Gabriel II	
Cyril III	
Athanasius III John VII, Ire fois Gabriel III John VII, ze fois Theodosius II John VIII John VIII John IX Benjamin II Peter V Mark IV John X Gabriel IV Matthew I Gabriel V Michael IV (known only by Makrizi) John XI	21 October 1268-1 January 1271 1er January 1271-21 April 1293 4 July 1294-1 January 1300 9 February 1300-29 May 1320 28 September 1320-18 March 1327 ro May 1327-6 January 1339 2 January 1340-8 July 1348 5 August 1348-31 January 1363 30 April or 7 May 1363-13 July 1369 6 January 1370-27 April 1378 25 July 1378-31 December 1408 21 April 1409-4 January 1428 (Makrizi: 4 July 1408-31 January 1427) 12 March 1427-May 1427

V

PATRIARCHS OF ANTIOCH

(General lists: BoscHius, AASS, jul. IV (at the head of the vol.); LEQUIEN, Oriens christianus, II; C. KOROLEVSKIJ, art. Antioch, DHGE, III, 697-700; M. CHAINE, La chronologie de l'Égypte et de l'Ethiopie, 254-256. — Travaux spéciales: R. DEVREESSE, Le patriarcat d'Antioche (jusqu'à la conquête arabe); CAVALLERA, Le schisme d'Antioche, p. 325 (ive s.); E. STEIN, Histoire du Bas-Empire, t. II; E. HONIGMANN, Bishoprics and Bishops monophysites in the sixth century, 1951. For the Melchite patriarchs from 969 to 1134, V. GRUMEL, EO, 33, 1934, 146-147 and also 53-54). For the Jacobite patriarchs of Antioch, the main sources of information are: the Chronicle of Michael the Syrian (ed. CHABOT) and the Chronicon ecclesiasticum of Barhebraeus (and its continuator) (ed. ABBELOOS and LAMY).

C '11	270/200 202 (1 1)
Cyrii I	
Vital	circa 314-320
Philogonos	
Eustathe	
Paulinus II transferred from	
	331–332
Euphronios	
Leontes	344-358
Eudoxus	
	of Constantinople in 360
Annanios	
	360-376
Dorothea, Arian	
Flavian, Catholic	. late 38 1 -September 404, succeeds Melethus
Evagre, Catholic	
Porphyry	
Alexander	$4^{1}4-\dot{4}^{2}\dot{4}$
Theodotus	
John I	428-441/442
Domnus	$44^{1}/44^{2}-45^{0}$
	451-455
	457-458
Λ cace	458-459
Mortaring	before September 459-470
	471 (?) 475
John II Codonat	late 476-early 477

⁽i) R. Devreesse believes that there were four episcopates of Peter the Fuller, the first cutting in two the episcopate of Martyrius.

Etienne II	spring 477-479
The existence of another Etienne, success	sor of the previous one, is discussed.
Calendion	479 -4 84
Pierre le Foulon (3 ⁰) Palladius	
Palladius	
Flavian II	
Severe	eptember 518, t 8 February 538

MELCHITE PATRIARCHS OFANTIOCH

Paul II summer 519-spring 521 Euphrasios spring 521-26 May 526 Ephrem April/May 527-545 Domnin 545-559 Anastasius I (in) 559-570 Gregory 570-593 Anastasius I (20) 25 March 593-598 Anastasius II late 598 or early 599-609 Vacancy: 30 years. Vacancy: 30 years.
Macedonianius 639-after 649 George) Macarius I)-7 March 681 Theophanes between 8 March and 5 April 681-? Thomas ')-685 (?) George II 685 (?) 702 - (?) Etienne III 74²/743-744/745 Theophylact Bar-Qânbara 744-750 Theodore I 750/75¹-773/774 Theodoret before 787-? Job 8¹3/\$¹4-844/845 Nicholas I 845-867
Competitor: Eustathe 845-between 861 and 869 Etienne IV 870 Theodosius I 870–890 Simeon I 892-907 Elijah I 907-24 July 934 Theodosius II August 936-943 Theocharistos 944'948 Christophore 960-969 Eustrates November or December 969 (after the Io) Theodore II 23 January 970-29 May 976 Agapius I 20 January 978-September 996 John III 4 October 996-July 1021 Nicholas II 17 January 1025-8 October 1030 Elijah II ter April 1032-8 September 1033 Theodore III 3 March 1034-24 September 1042 Basil II D D D Deter III spring 1052-after August 1056
Basil II Peter III spring 1052-after August io56 Dionysius after August 1056-before August 15, 1057 (is called John (IV) in a Georgian source) (2). Theodosius III before 30 August 1057-after 4 April 1059 Emilian Nikephoros the Black

For this day, cf. H. ENGBERDING, Oriens Christianus, 37, 1953, ¹3²⁻¹34 V. GRUMEL, Jean or Denys? Note on a Patriarch of Antioch, REB. 9, r95r, 161-163.

John IV or V (perhaps 1088/1089: year 1400 of the Seleucids),
John IV or V (perhaps 1088/1089: year 1400 of the Seleucids), February 1091-October 'Dn John V or VI 1106-1134-? Luke 1137/1138-1156, before the end (i) Soterichos Panteugenos late 1156, patriarch-elect, but then repulsed on 1 May 1157 Athanasius III 1157-22 June 1171 Cyril II)-1173-1179 or later (2) Theodore IV Balsamon before 1189-1195 or after Simeon II before 1206-after 1235
John V or VI
Luke 1137/1138-1156, before the end (i)
Soterichos Panteugenos late 1156 natriarch-elect but
then repulsed on 1 May 1157
Athonosius III
Automatistis III 1177-22 June 1171
Cyrii II
Ineodore IV Baisamon before 1189-1195 or after
511114 611 11 11 11 11 11 11 11 11 11 11 11 11
David).
Euthym I. before 1258-c. 1274 Theodosius V of Villehardouin June 1275-1283/1284
Theodosius V of Villehardouin June 1275-1283/1284
Arsene transferred from Tripoli, 1283/1284-c. 1286
Cyril III• transferred from Tyre, 1308, enthroned in Tyre
29 June 1287-c. 1308 (3)
Dionysius I (or II) transferred from Pompeiopolis,
compatitor alacted in
competitor elected in Enthroned Cilicia 2nd semestre 1287, not
Enthroned Clinica 2nd semestre 1287, not
recognized by Constantinople; remained
sole titular 1309-1316 (4)
Cymil IV
Cyrii i v
Sole titular 1309-1316 (4) Cyril IV
Sonhrone 9/2
Sophrone 5/2 Sophr
Sophrone Sophrone before November 1344-before 1359 Pashomial I (i°) before 1359-1368
Sophrone Sophrone before November 1344-before 1359 Pashomial I (i°) before 1359-1368
Sophrone Sophrone Work Sophrone So
Sophrone Sophrone
Sophrone % Ignatius II before November 1344-before 1359 Pashomial I (i°) before 1359-1368 Michael I 1368-17 August 1375 Pashome I (2°) August 1375-middle 1377 Mark I middle 1377-10 April 1378
Sophrone % Ignatius II before November 1344-before 1359 Pashomial I (i°) before 1359-1368 Michael I 1368-17 August 1375 Pashome I (2°) August 1375-middle 1377 Mark I middle 1377-10 April 1378
Sophrone 1344-before 1359 1359 1368 1368 1368 1368 1375 1375 1375 1375 1375 1375 1375 1375 1376 1377 1378 1377 1378
Sophrone 1344-before 1359 1359 1368 1368 1368 1368 1375 1375 1375 1375 1375 1375 1375 1375 1376 1377 1378 1377 1378
Sophrone 1344-before 1359 1359 1368 1368-17 1368-17 1368 1368-17 1368-17 1368 1375 1368 1375 1375 1375 1376 1377 1378
Sophrone 1344-before 1359 1359 1368 1368-17 1368-17 1368-17 1368-17 1368-17 1368-17 1368-17 1368-17 1375 1368 1375 1368-17 1375 1375 1375 1375 1375 1375 1375 1375 1375 1376 1377 1378 1378 1378-19
Sophrone 1344-before 1359 1359 1359 1368 1375 1368 1375 1368 1375 1368 1375 1368 1375
Sophrone 1344-before 1359 1359 1368 1368-17 August 1375 1375
Sophrone 1344-before 1359
Sophrone
Sophrone 1344-before 1359

JACOBITE PATRIARCHS OF ANTIOCH

Sergius of Tella		557/558-c. 561
Paul the Black	564-577	retired to Constantinople) t in 584
Peter of Callinice		retired to Constantinople) t in 584
		591-594
John I		
Theodore		
Severe		668-680 or 684
Athanasius II		

⁽I) Cf. V. GRUMEL, EO 33, 1934, 54-55. (2) Cf. V. GRUMEL, ibid., 53-54 (3) Cf. V. Laurent Mixtures Peeters, II, 310-317. (4) cf. v. Laurent ibid.

⁽⁵⁾ NIL (Greek source) and NicoN (Arabic source) are perhaps one and the same character. Cf. V. Laurent Lo 36, 1937, p. 173, n. 1.

Julian II November 687-708 Elijah 709-3 October 722 Athanasius III April 724-740 John II 740-October 754 Isaac 755, intruder Athanasius Sandalaya 755/756-758 or 759, intruder George December 758-790 (9 years in prison, 768-777) Jean de Callinice 758/9-763/764, intruder Joseph 763/764-before 7/7, intrud Cyria that August 793-16 August 817	le
Abraham 808–837, intruder Dionysius I. June 818-22 August 845 Simeon. 837-?, intruders John III. 21 November 846-3 December 873 Ignatius. 5 June 878-26 March 883 Theodosius. 5 February 887-I ^{June} 896 Dionysius II. April 897-18 April 909 John IV. 21 April 910-30 November 922 Basil I. 15 August 923-25 March 935 John V. 28 August 936-3 July 953 John VI. 18 July 954-31 January 957 Dionysius III. 28 November 957-2 June 961 Abraham. 25 May 962-4 March 963 John VII. 9 July 965-985 Athanasius V, also known as Lazarus 21 October 986-1003 John VIII bar Abdoun 6 July 1004-2 February 1033 (exiled in	
Dionysius IV Mount Ganos ₍₁ en ₄ 1 ₁ 0 ₂ 9 ₄) Lohn IV August 1049–1058	
John IX	
Athanasius VI. 1058–1063 John X. 1064–1073 Basil II. 6 January 1074-July 1075 John XI Abdoun 1075-c. 1095	
Athanasius VI. 1058–1063 John X 1064–1073 Basil II 6 January 1074-July 1075 John XI Abdoun 1075-c. 1095	
Athanasius VI. 1058–1063 John X. 1064–1073 Basil II 6 January 1074-July 1075	
Athanasius VI. 1058–1063 John X 1064–1073 Basil II 6 January 1074-July 1075 John XI Abdoun 1075-c. 1095 Competitors: Dionysius V 7 April 1077-December 1077 John XII 1080–1082 or 1084–1086 Dionysius VI. 1088–1090 Athanasius VII 1 December 1090-8 June I129 John XIII 17 February 1130-1137 Athanasius VIII 4 December 1138-14 July 1166 Michael I 18 October 1166-7 November 1199 Michael II Intruder 1200-1215 Athanasius IX 19 December 1199–1207 John XIV 1208-1220 Ignatius II 22 May 1222-14 June 1252 Dionysius VII 14 September 1252-18 February 1261 competitor:	
Athanasius VI 1058–1063 John X 1064–1073 Basil II 6 January 1074-July 1075 John XI Abdoun 1075-c. 1095 Competitors: Dionysius V 7 April 1077-December 1077 John XII 1080–1082 or 1084–1086 Dionysius VI 1088–1090 Athanasius VII 1 December 1090-8 June 1129 John XIII 17 February 1130-1137 Athanasius VIII 4 December 1138-14 July 1166 Michael I 18 October 1166-7 November 1199 Michael II Intruder 1200-1215 Athanasius IX 19 December 1199–1207 John XIV 1208-1220 Ignatius II 22 May 1222-14 June 1252 Dionysius VII 14 September 1252-18 February 1261	

Split of patriarchy

WESTERN JACOBITES (Armenia, Syria)

Michel Josué Barsusan	1312-1349
Basil Gabriel	1349-1387
Philoxene the Scribe, evo. of Damascus	1387-1421
Basil Simeon Manaamita 1421-1445. Last patriarch in this s	

EASTERN JACOBITES (Mesopotamia)

A Mardin	In Tour-Abdin
Ignatius V-I, Bar-Vahib	Ignatius I, Saba of Salacha Ignatius II, Joshua Bar-Muta Ignatius III, Masud
September 1493 competitor: Ignatius Isa	1493 Concurrent: Schaba

Vi

PATRIARCHS OF JERUSALEM

(LEQUIEN, Oriens christianus, III, 1740; A. FORTESCUE, art. Jerusalem, in The Catholic Encyclopedia, t. VIII (1910), 355-364; CHRYSOSTOM PAPADOPOULOS, I 'IspoG' o?. 1):1. (')') (1910); Archideacon DOWLEY, The episcopal succession in Jerusalem, in Palestine Exploration Fund, Quaterly Statement, 44th year, 1913, 164-177. De 458 à 575, Fr. DIEKAMP, Die origenistischen Strei-tigkeiten im sechsten Jahrhundert, 1899, p. 139. For the time of the Komnenos, V. GRUMEL, The chronologyof the Patriarchs of Jerusalem under the Komnenos, in Mélanges Nikov, Bulletin de la Société historique bulgare, t. XVI-XVIII, 109-114. — The dates differing from the above lists come from personal research and control. — The names in brackets are those of the Diptychs of the Church of Jerusalem published by A. Papadopoulos-Kérameus in 'Av4·.), ExTq.; z.poo-Uuv.vnxi,ç

Hymenaios	t. I, 1891, pp. 124–143.)
119 11101101000	
7.1.1	260-298
Zabdas	268-298
Hermon (Hermas)	
	314
Macarius I.	3 ¹ 4 ³ 333
Maximus II	
Heraclius	350 or 351: established by Maximus
	before his death, but not accepted 350 or 351-386; episcopate several
Cyril I	350 or 351-386; episcopate several
	times interrupted by intruders: Eutychius; Irenée; Hilarius
	Eutychius; Irenée; Hilarius
John II	
Praylius	417–422 422-458, first patriarch after 45i-towards the end of February
Juvenal	
Theodosius, bishop monophysite	after 451-towards the end of February
A	or early March 457 (1)
Anastasius I	in early July 458-early January 478
Martyrius	
Saluste	
Liljaii I	
Datas	524 comby October 552
Macarine II (1^0)	October 552 December 552
Fustochius (Futychius)	December 552-563/564
Macarius II (20)	563/564-c. 575
John IV	October 552-December 552 December 552-563/564 563/564-c. 575 574-594
Amos	594-601
Isaac or Hesychius	
Zechariah	609–631
Modest 632-la	te 633 or early 634
Sophrone late 633 or early	634-11 March 638 existence is disputed, see
vacancy: more than	fifty years LEQUIEN, III, 28I
	705-725
Theodore I	
	,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,
(A ·	II) (02 705 P.C. C 1
(Anastasius	^{II)} 692-705 BC. Sound
John V	

⁽¹⁾ CSCO, Scr. Syri, series III, t. XXV, 15-16.

⁽⁰⁾ CYRILLE DE SCYTHOPOLIS, Vita Sabae, 20, ed. E. Schwartz, 161.

Elijah II before 787-797-?; episcopate interrupted by an intrusion	
Enjan in	n
Theodore, intruders	?
George ">-807 or befor	e
Thomas 807–82	1
Basil	9
John VI	
JOHN VI	0
Sergius I 843-85 Solomon c. 860-86	9
Solomon c. 860-86	2
Theodosius before 867-c. 87	8
Elijah III c. 878-90 Sergius II 907 (after 5 April)-911 (after September Leontes I	7
Sergius II	(1)
Leontes I 912–92	9
Athanasius I	7
Christodule before 2 April 937-95	1
Christodule Before 2 April 93/-93	1
Agathon 951–96	4
John VII	6
Christodula II	9
Thomas II	C
JosephI	<u></u>
092/094-09	5
Agapios 983/984-98 Orestes between January 15 and February 3, 986-100	5
Orestes between January 13 and February 3, 980-100	0
Theophilus I 1012-Jan 102	0
Nikephoros I	8
Joannice)	
Sophronius II before '059-after 106	4
Euthym I D-after 108	3
Euthym I D-after 108 Simeon II before 1092-between June or July 1099 (left Jerusaler	n
Silicon if before 10/2-between Julie of July 10/7 (left Jefusania)	007)
end of 1	097)
John VIII around 1098-1106/1107-	
Sabas D-1117/1118-? (1	
N' 1 1 DE 1 1100 07 T 1157)
Nicholas D-February 1122-26 January 1156-	?
Nicholas <u>D</u> -February 1122-26 January 1156- John IX D- 12 May 1157-	?
John IX D- 12 May 1157-	?
John IX D- 12 May 1157-	?
John IX D- 12 May 1157-	?
John IX D- 12 May 1157-	?
John IX D- 12 May 1157-	?
John IX D- 12 May 1157-	?
John IX D- 12 May 1157-	?
John IX D- 12 May 1157- Nikephoros II D-2 March 1166-2 July 1171- Leontius II c. 1174 OR 1175-14 May 1184 or 118 Dosithée I before 1187-September/October 118 Mark II late 1189 or early 1190-24 February 1195- Euthym)>. died at sinai monastery around 122 Athanasius II ?-I235 Sophrone III)	? ? .? .5 9 ? 2
John IX D- 12 May 1157- Nikephoros II D-2 March 1166-2 July 1171- Leontius II c. 1174 OR 1175-14 May 1184 or 118 Dosithée I before 1187-September/October 118 Mark II late 1189 or early 1190-24 February 1195- Euthym)>. died at sinai monastery around 122 Athanasius II ?-I235 Sophrone III)	? ? .? .5 9 ? 2
John IX D- 12 May 1157- Nikephoros II D-2 March T166-2 July 1171- Leontius II c. 1174 OR 1175-14 May 1184 or 118 Dosithée I before 1187-September/October 118 Mark II late 1189 or early 1190-24 February 1195- Euthym)>, died at sinai monastery around 122 Athanasius II ?-I235 Sophrone III) Gregory I D-I273-summer 1285-	? ? ? 5 9 ? 2 ?
John IX D- 12 May 1157- Nikephoros II D-2 March ∏166-2 July 1171- Leontius II c. 1174 OR 1175-14 May 1184 or 118 Dosithée I before 1187-September/October 118 Mark II late 1189 or early 1190-24 February 1195- Euthym)>, died at sinai monastery around 122 Athanasius II ?-I235 Sophrone III) Gregory I D-I273-summer 1285- Thaddée D-I296-	? ? ? 5 9 ? 2 ?
John IX D- 12 May 1157- Nikephoros II D-2 March ∏ 166-2 July 1171- Leontius II c. 1174 OR 1175-14 May 1184 or 118 Dosithée I before 1187-September/October 118 Mark II late 1189 or early 1190-24 February 1195- Euthym)>, died at sinai monastery around 122 Athanasius II ?-I235 Sophrone III) Gregory I D-I273-summer 1285- Thaddée D-I296- Athanasius III (1°) D-1303-before 130	? ?? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ?
John IX D- 12 May 1157- Nikephoros II D-2 March T166-2 July 1171- Leontius II c. 1174 OR 1175-14 May 1184 or 118 Dosithée I before 1187-September/October 118 Mark II late 1189 or early 1190-24 February 1195- Euthym)>, died at sinai monastery around 122 Athanasius II ?-I235 Sophrone III) Gregory I D-I273-summer 1285- Thaddée D-I296- Athanasius III (1°) D-1303-before 130 Gabriel Vroulas ?-before 130	? ?? 55 9 ? ? ? ? ? 89
John IX D- 12 May 1157- Nikephoros II D-2 March T166-2 July 1171- Leontius II c. 1174 OR 1175-14 May 1184 or 118 Dosithée I before 1187-September/October 118 Mark II late 1189 or early 1190-24 February 1195- Euthym)>, died at sinai monastery around 122 Athanasius II ?-I235 Sophrone III) Gregory I D-I273-summer 1285- Thaddée D-I296- Athanasius III (1°) D-1303-before 130 Gabriel Vroulas ?-before 130	? ?? 55 9 ? ? ? ? ? 89
John IX D- 12 May 1157- Nikephoros II D-2 March T166-2 July 1171- Leontius II c. 1174 OR 1175-14 May 1184 or 118 Dosithée I before 1187-September/October 118 Mark II late 1189 or early 1190-24 February 1195- Euthym)>, died at sinai monastery around 122 Athanasius II ?-I235 Sophrone III) Gregory I D-1273-summer 1285- Thaddée D-1296- Athanasius III (1°) D-1303-before 130 Gabriel Vroulas ?-before 130 Athanasius III (2°) 1309- Gregory II ?-1322-	? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ?
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John IX D- 12 May 1157- Nikephoros II D-2 March T166-2 July 1171- Leontius II c. 1174 OR 1175-14 May 1184 or 118 Dosithée I before 1187-September/October 118 Mark II late 1189 or early 1190-24 February 1195- Euthym)>, died at sinai monastery around 122 Athanasius II ?-1235 Sophrone III) Gregory I D-1273-summer 1285- Thaddée D-1303-before 130 Athanasius III (1°) D-1303-before 130 Gabriel Vroulas ?-before 130 Athanasius III (2°) 1309- Gregory II ?-1322- Lazarus (i°) D- p (deposited Gerasime ?-before 1341 (hunted Lazarus (2°) before 1341-1367- Dorothea I D-1377/1378-1402 (perhaps also 1412)- Theophilus between 1419 and 1424- Theophanes II D-1430-	???559?2? ??89??!)))?????
John IX	???559?2????89??!)))????????????????????????????
John IX	????59?2????89???II)??????8

NOTE: Dosithée, notpx?,zuzlip.r.vx (PAP.-KÉRAMEUS, 'AveAsz-:x 6t.6Xto0i,x't)q, I, 245) makes known a patriarch ARSÈNE, who can only have place after 1341, but "to whom the lack of chronological precision prevents to fix a rank. Cf. V. GRUMEL, *Mémorial Louis Petit*, 173-174.

⁽i) Cf. Regestes des patr. de Constantinople, n.

Vii

LATIN PATRIARCHS OF JERUSALEM (1099-1291)

(L. DE MAS-LATRIE, Les patriarches latins de Jérusalem, *ROC*, I, 1893, 16-27 **Alexandr** POPOV, *Latinskaja ierusalimskaja patriarchija epochi krestonoscev*, S.-Peterburg, 1903 **Wilhelm** HOTZELT, *Kirchengeschichte Paliistinas im Zeitalter der Kreuzziige*, Koln, 1940)

15 July 1099: Capture of Jerusalem by the Crusaders

		orne (1°)
	Daimbert Ebremar or Evremer Daimbert, restoredto Pope Paschal II in the	26/31 December 1099-September 1102 (deposited)
	Ghibelline	
Foucher Amaury	William I of Mechelen	February 1119-t end 1128
Heraclius		16 October 1180-t shortly after II July 1191
	vacancy. Miscellaneous elections with	thout result
	Soffred. The B. Albert Avogadro Raoul de Mérencourt. Thomas of Capua Gérold or Giraud de Lausanne. Robert of Nantes Opizo, Patriarch of Antioch. Jacques Pantaléon. 9 William II, of Agen Thomas Agni of Cosenza Jean Ayglier or Jean de Verceil. Elijah	

May 18, 1291: fall of Saint-Jean-d'Acre

Viii

MAIN COUNCILS INTERESTING BYZANTINE HISTORY

(The main references are the collection of the Councils of Mansi (see in particular, in t. 36 A, the Chronological Conspectus and the Alphabetical Index), the edition of the Ecumenical Councils of Ed. SCHWARTZ, the edition of the Acta Patriarchatus of Br. MIKLOSICH and J. MaLER, the History of the Councils of HÉFÉLÉ-LECLERCQ, the Regestes of the Patriarchs of V. GRUMEL (until 1206), the article

Constantinople by S. VAILHÉ in DTC)

- 325 Nicaea (I): ./er ecumenical council. Definitions of faith, disciplinary canons. 341 Antioch: against Saint Athanasius. Disciplinary cannons. 343 Sardique, pronicean. Disciplinary cannons. 357 Rimini: develops a dogmatic formula.
 358 Sirmium: develops a dogmatic formula.
 381 Constantinople (I): 2" ecumenical council. Against the Arians and Macedonians. Disciplinary cannons. 382 Constantinople: profession of faith sent to Rome. 401 Ephesus. Deposition by St. John Chrysostom of six Simoniac bishops. 404 Rufinianes (Bithynia). Council "of the Oak": condemnation of St. John Chrysostom. 415 Diospolis (Palestine): against Pelagius. 431 Ephesus: 3" ecumenical council. Condemnation of Nestorius. 449 Brigandage of Ephesus. 450 Constantinople: against the previous one.
 451 Chalcedon: 4th Ecumenical Council. Definition of faith. Conviction of Eutychès and Dioscore. Guns. Foundation of the Patriarchates of Constantinople and Jerusalem. 518 Constantinople: against the monophysites.
- 536 Constantinople: against Anthime, Severus and Zoaras, monophysites.
 553 Constantinople (II): •;" ecumenical council. Condemnation of the Three Chapters. Cannons Dogmatic.
- 590 Constantinople: judgment of Gregory of Antioch by John the Faster.
- 638 Constantinople: monothelite.
- 639 Rome Lateran: antimonotherlite (convened by Pope Saint Martin I). 680/681 Constantinople (III): fie ecumenical council. Condemnation of monotheism. Definition of faith.
- 692 Constantinople: Council quinisexte or in Trullo. Disciplinary cannons. 732 Roman Synod against Iconoclasm.
- 754 Council of Hieria (last session in Constantinople). Against the cult of images.
- 787 Nicaea (II): 7" ecumenical council. Condemnation of iconoclasts.
 809 Constantinople: Moeshian council against Joseph of Thessalonica and Theodore Studite.
- 815 Constantinople-Blachernes, iconoclast.
- 843 Constantinople: restoration of images.
- 859 Constantinople-Holy Apostles: condemnation of Ignatius.
- 861 Constantinople-Holy Apostles: condemnation of Ignatius. Disciplinary cannons.
 - These two councils are united under the sole name of "first-second council of the Holy Apostles".
- 867 Constantinople: deposition of Pope Nicholas I. 869 Constantinople: N" Ecumenical Council for the Latins, 4th of Constantinople.
- 879-880 Constantinople-Hagia Sophia: recovery of Photius. Disciplinary cannons.
- 899 Constantinople: end of the Ignatian schism.
 920 Constantinople: council of the union to end the quarrel of tetragamy.
- Around 991 (or 996) Constantinople: meeting of the last opponents in the case of tetragamy.

1030 Constantinople: against the Jacobites.

1054 Constantinople: against the Roman legates who excommunicated Michael Cerular.

1076-1077 Constantinople: condemnation of the proposals taught by Italos.

1082 Constantinople: synodal examination of the orthodoxy of Italos and his disciples.

1086 Constantinople: condemnation of Leo of Chalcedon.

1089 Constantinople: council concerning the meeting with the Roman Church.

Around 1092 Constantinople (in the Thomaïte): reconciliation of Leo of Chalcedon and declaration on the cult of images.

Around "1110 Constantinople: condemnation of the Bogomiles.

1117 Constantinople: on the errors of Eustrates of Nicaea.

1140 Constantinople: condemnation of the errors of Constantine Chrysomallos.

1143 Constantinople: condemnation of bishops Clement and Leontius pour bogomilism.

1144 Constantinople: condemnation of the monk Niphon as bogomile.

1147 Constantinople: deposition of Patriarch Cosmas II of Attica.

1156 and 1157 Constantinople: synods about the sacrifice of Christ in his passion and in the liturgy. Conviction of Soterichos Panteugénès.

1166 Constantinople: synod about the word of Christ: My father is greater than me.

1170 Constantinople: on the same subject and condemnation of Constantine of Corfu and Irénicos.
1179 Rome-Latran (III) (12th ecumenical for the Latins): reported because of the presence and attitude of Georges de Corfou.

1195 Constantinople: canonical-liturgical responses to Mark of Alexandria.

1199-1200 Constantinople: concerning the quarrel over the incorruptibility of the Corps and the Blood of Christ in the Eucharist.

1215 Rome-Lateran (IV) (1,th ecumenical for the Latins): deals, among others, with the Greeks and the Crusade.

1222 Nicaea: on the conduct to be held by the Cypriots subjected to Latin domination.

1234 Nymphaeum: on the union with the Roman Church.

1235 Nicaea: recognition of the Bulgarian Patriarchate of Tirnovo.

1245 Lyon (I) (13th ecumenical for the Latins): deals, among other things, with the Latin empire of Constantinople, of the Tartars, of the crusade.

1251 Nicosia (Cyprus): on the relations of the Greeks vis-à-vis the Latin hierarchy.

1264 Constantinople: deposition of Arsene (beginning of the Arsenite schism).
1274 Lyon (II) (11th ecumenical for the Latins): meeting of the Greek Church with the Latin Church.

1276 Constantinople: confirmation of the union concluded in Lyon.

1285 Constantinople-Blachernes: condemnation of John Beccos and his followers.

1310 Constantinople: end of the Arsenite schism.

1341 Constantinople: First Palamite Council.

1345 Constantinople: antimalarial council.

1347 Constantinople: Second Palamite Council.

1351 Constantinople: Third Palamite Council.

1431-1442 Basel: the question of the union of the churches is initiated there.

1438-1439 Ferrara-Florence (17th Ecumenical Council for the Latins, City for the Greek Catholics: decree of union 4 July 1439.

1484 Constantinople: condemnation of the Council of Florence.

Vii

NATURAL PHENOMENA

- I. Table of solar and lunar eclipses from 285 to 150o.
 II. List of comets from 30o to 1462.
 III. Earthquakes.

SOLAR AND LUNAR ECLIPSE TABLE

(285-150o)

This table concerns total and partial eclipses, visible at least in some place in the Byzantine Empire or its European, Asian (Caucasus and Persian) or African (North Africa and Ethiopia) borders. It is based on OPPOLZER's Canon der Finsternisse, published in Denkschriften der Wiener Akad. d. Wiss., Mathem. Classe, LII, 1887, as well as on those of F. K. GINZEL, Spezieller Kanon der Sonnen- und Mondfinsternisse, Berlin, 1889, and of J. Fr. SCHROETER, Sonnenfinsternisse von 600 bis 800 n. Chr., Kristiana, 1923. Ginzel gives the solar and moon eclipses, total and partial, and their degree of visibility in relation to the four main centers of antiquity, Rome, Athens, Memphis, Babylon, from the year 900 BC. J.-C. until the year 600 A.D. The book contains an important section concerning historical testimonies on eclipses up to the year 600 AD. We also have a list of these testimonies in the article of Bou, Finsterniss, RE, 6, 23522364. Continuing Ginzel, Schroeter gives, for the period from 600 to 800, solar and lunar eclipses and their degree of visibility in the area: -30° to -I- 75 long, and +30 to + 70° lat., but deals only with total eclipses. For partial eclipses from the year 600, special studies are missing. However, as far as the lunars are concerned, as it is only a question of indicating their presence, oppolzer's indications: central time and duration of the eclipse, longitude and latitude for the moon at its zenith, are sufficient, given the sunrise and sunset according to the seasons and latitudes, to make the discernment. As for the partial solar eclipses, for which oppolzer lacks the coordinates of longitude and latitude, we had to be satisfied with the indications of Pingré (in The art of checking dates), whenever his dates coincided with those of Oppolzer; but it should be noted that Pingré only envisaged Europe. With regard to Russia, mention should be made of Daniil SVJATSKIJ's study on the astronomical phenomena mentioned in the Russian chronicles, Astronomiéeskija javlemja v russkich létopisach s nauénokritiéeskoj toi•ki zrrnija.

We did not think it necessary, for our purpose, to indicate the hourly times of eclipses. They can be found in the literature.

Our table continuously gives within each year the solar eclipses with the lunars by observing their chronological order. Solar eclipses are distinguished by bold. Partial eclipses, either solar or lunar, are designated by parentheses.

Total solar eclipses: bold digits; partial: bold numbers in parentheses

Total lunar eclipses: meager digits; partial digits: meager numbers in parentheses

285,	III 8.	338,	III 4, (IX
	II 26.		(VIII 3).
	131.		I 27, VII 23.
0,	XII 25.		
			(I 2).
1,	VI 20, (XI 30).		(I 4), VI 16.
	XI 19, (XII 3).		(V 21), VI 6, XI 15.
289,	V 15.	329,	(X 20), XI 4.
2,	(IV 19), V 4, X 13.	344,	(IV 29), X 9.
290,	(IX 17), X 2.		IV 4.
291,	III 14, (III 28), IX 7.	331,	III IO, IX 2.
	(II 17), III 3.	345.	II 27, (VIII 8).
	II 6, II 20, VII 31.		II 2, (VIII 12).
	(I 25).		(VII 3), XII 26.
-	XI 24.		
/	(V 5).	347,	(I 11), XII p. 16.
			V 28, (XII 6).
	IV 25, (XI 3).		V 16.
	III 19, IX 12, IX 27.	348,	(IV 20), (X 14), X 29.
-	(II 22), III 8, VIII 31.		(III 26), IV Io, X 3.
304,	II 10.		III 15, (III 31), (IX 23)
305,	VII 27.	360,	VIII 28.
306,	I 5, (VII 16), XII 25.	361,	II 6, VIII 3.
	(VI 20), (XII ¹ 4).	-	I 26.
	X 25.		(I 16).
	IV 19, X ¹ 4.		(VI I), VI 16, XI 26.
	(IV 8), IX 17.		XI 15.
	(II 27), IX 7.		(V ii), X 20, (XI 4).
	II 17, VIII 12.		IV 15, X 10.
	(II 6), VIII I.		
	VII 6, XII 31.		III 21, (IX 13).
310,	VII 0, All 31.		III IO, IX 2.
	XII 5, (XII 20).		II 2, VII 28.
	V 31, XI 24.		I 7, XII 26.
-	V 6, (V 20).		VI 7.
	X 18.	351,	XI 20.
321,	III 30, (IX 23).	352,	(V 2), (X 26).
322,	(III 4), III 19, IX 12.	353,	IV 20, X ¹ 4.
323,	VIII 18.	354.	(X 3).
307,	II 11, (VII 22), VIII 6.		III 15, IX 8.
	116, (VII 26).	-	II 17, VIII 28.
	I 5, (VII.') (XII 11), XII 2S'.	-	(I 24), II 7, VIII 2.
	(V IO).	381	I 12, (I 26).
	IV 29, X ² 4.		VI I, XI 11, XI 26.
	1V 29, A 4. (III Io).		
			(XI 14).
	(III 13).	-	IV 15.
	II 16, VIII 12.		(VIII 30), IX ¹ 4.
	VII 17.	-	VIII 18, (IX 2).
	111, (VI 22), XII 16.		I 17, VII 13.
	VI IO, XII 5.	391,	I 7, VI 18, VII 2, (XII
	(V 31), (XI 24).	27).	
	V 6.	392,	VI 7.
328,	X 19.	386,	XI 20.
337,	III 3o.		V 2.
		,	

4⁶⁰ L CHRONOLOGY

207 (11.20) 11111 74	(1
397, (II 28), VIII ² 4-	462, III 2, III 17, (VIII 25).
398, (II 3), II 17, VIII ¹ 4- 399, (II 7), VII 19.	463, II 19, VIII 15.
399, (II 7), VII 19.	464, (II 9), VII 20.
400, (VI 22), VII 8, XII 17.	465, (VI 24), VII 9, (XII 18).
401, VI 12, XII 6.	466, XII 7.
402, (VI I), XI 11, (XI 25).	467, V 19, (VI 3).
403, V 7.	
404, (IV ii) (X 4).	469, (X 7)-
	470, ÌV 1. 472, VIII 20.
405, III 31, (IX 9).	4/2, VIII 20.
406, III 6, (III zo), VIII 29, (IX 14).	473, I 3o.
408, I 29, (II 13), VII 24.	474, I 19, VII 15.
409, I 17, VI 29, VII 13.	475, (I 8), VI 19, (VII 4).
410, (I 7), VI 18.	476, (V ² 4), VI ⁷ , (XI 17).
41 I., (V ² 3), (XI 16).	477, V 13, (V 28), XI 6.
2 XI 4.	$478, (V^2), (X^{27}).$
IV 16, (V 2), (X 25).	479, IV 8.X 1.
4 (III II), (IX 5).	480, III 27, (IX 5).
il 28.	481, III 2.
4[9, VII 19, XII 29.	
- ' XII 10	482, (II 19), VII 31, (VIII ¹ 4)-
2 (VI 12), (XII 6).	483, I 24, (VII 6), (XII 30).
4 (V112), (A110).	484, I 14, VI 24, XII 18.
a XII 18. 2 (VI 12), (XII 6). 2 V 17, XI 11.	485, V 29, (VI 14), (XII 7). 486, V 19.
IV 22, A 10.	486, V 19.
4 IV 12, (IV 26), X 5.	487, (1 V 23), X1 1.
3 (III 31).	488, IV 22, X 6.
(III 31). III 6, VIII 29.	489, III 18, (IV 1), (IX 25).
¾ (II 23).	491, (VIII 5).
Ì 29.	492, (I 15), Í 3o.
§ (I 18), (VII 12), XII 22.	493, Ì 4, (Ï 18), (VII 15).
	494, (VI 5), (XI 28).
V 23, XI 16.	495, V 25, (VI 8), XI 18.
3 (XI 5)-	406 (V 12) V 22 (VI 6)
(A13) (A13)	496, (V 13), X 22, (XI 6).
(V13), (X127). V23, XI 16. (XI 5)- IV 16, X 10. (III 21), IX 29.	497, ÎV 18.
	498, (III 23).
(II 25), III xi, IX 4-	499, (III 27), (VIII 22), IX 5.
\$\frac{1}{4}37, \text{VII } \frac{1}{3}, \text{(VII } \frac{1}{2}\text{8}), \text{(XIII } \frac{1}{2}\text{4}), \text{XIII } \frac{2}{3}, \text{XII } \frac{2}{3}.	500, (III 1), (VIII 25).
	502, VII 6, XII 29.
438, (X I I 1 7) .	503, (XII 19).
440, (V 3), V 17, (X 26).	505, (V 4), (X 28).
441, (V 6), X 16.	506, (IV 9), X 18.
442, IX 20, (X 5).	507, III 29, (IV 13), (X 7).
443, III 17. "	508, III 17.
444, II 19, (VIII 14).	509, (II 20), (VIII 16), VIII 31.
445, (VII 20), VIII 3.	51o, ÌÌ 9, VIIÌ 5.
446, (I 28), (VII 24).	511, I 15, (I 29).
447, XII 23.	512, VI 29, (XII 9).
448, VI 3, XI 26.	513, (XI 13), XI 28.
	514, XI 2, (XI 18).
449, V 8, (V ² 3), (XI 16). 451, (IV 2), (IX 26).	
452, IX 15.	516, (IV 3), (IX 26).
	517, III 23, IX 15.
453, II 24, (III II), VIII 20, (IX 4).	518, (III 13), VIII 22.
455, I 19, VII 15.	519, II 15, VIII 11.
456, I 9, VII 3, XII 13, (XII 27).	520, (I 20).
458, V 28, (XI 6).	521, I 8, (VI 20), VII 5.
459, V 3, (X 12), X 27.	523, (XI 9).
460, (IV 21), DC 30, (X 16).	524, (IV 19), V 3, X 28.

FOC IV 22	640, (VI 26).
526, IX 22.	
527, (III 4), IX 11.	641, (XI, 9).
528, (II 6), II 21, VIII 16.	530, V 6, (V 20), X 29.
529, (II 9), (VIII 5).	590, X 4, (X i8).
53o, I 15, VII 10.	591, III 30, IX 23.
531, VI 15, XII Io.	592, (III 4), III 19, (VIII 28).
532, VI 3, (XI 28).	593, Ii 21, (VIII 2), VIII 17.
534, IV 29, (X 8).	594 (II Io), VII 23, (VIII 6).
535, IV 4, (IV 18), (IX 13), IX 27.	595, I 16, (XII 22).
536, (III 23), IX 1, (IX 15).	596, I 5, VI 15, XII Io.
537, II 25.	597, VI 5, (XI 29).
538, (I 31), II 15, (VII 27).	599, (X 9).
539, I 20, (VII 1), VII 17.	600, (III 20).
540, (I 9), VI 20.	601, III 10, (IX 17).
541, (XI 19), XII 3.	603, (II 1), (VII 28), VIII 12.
542, V 15, XI 8.	604, I 22, VII 16, (VIII 1), XII 26.
543, IV 20, (V 4), (X 28).	605, (I 1).
545, (IX 6).	606, (V 27), VI 11.
546, III 3.	607, (V 31), (X 26), XI 9.
547, II 6, (II 20), (VIII ¹ 7).	608, (V 5), (X 29).
548, (XII 3o).	610, Iii 30 , (IX 8).
549, VI 25, VII 10.	611, III 4, VIII 29.
	612, (II 22), VIII 2.
550, VI 15, XI 24, (XII 9).	
551, V 21.	613, VII 23.
552, (IV 24), V 9.	598, (I 1), XII 21/22.
553, (IX 23), X 7.	599, (I 5), (VI 2), VI 16/17, (XII ii).
554, (IV 3), (IX ² 7).	600, V 21, (VI 5).
556, (VIII 6).	601, (IV 26), (X 20), XI 4.
0, 130.	618, IV 15, X 9, (X 24).
557, (I 20), VII 1.	619, III 21, (IV 4).
	620, IX 2.
558, VI 21, (XI 30).	
560, XI 19, (XII 3).	621, (II 12), (VIII 8).
561, IV 30, V 15, (XI 8).	622, (I 17), II 1, VII 28, (VIII 12).
562, IV 19.	623, VII 3, XII 27.
563, (III 25), (IX 18), X 3.	624, (VI 6), VI 21, (XI 30).
564, III 13, IX 6, IX 21.	625, V 27, (VI 10), XI 19/20.
565, II 16, (III 2).	626, (V 17).
602, VIII 1.	627, IV 21.
603, (I 1), (VII 7), (XII 16), 31.	628, (III 25), (IX 19), X 3.
569, (VI 14), XI	629, III 14/15, (III 30), (VIII 24).
24. 570, (V 6), (X	63o, (III 4).
29). 571, IV 25, X	631, VIII 3.
572, (IV 14).	632, (I 13), I 27.
573, III 19, IX 12.	633, 11.
574, (II 21).	634, VI 1, (VI 16).
575, II II, (II 26), (VII 23), VIII 7.	635, (V 7), XI 15.
5/5, II II, (II 20), (VII 25), VIII /.	
576, (I 31), (VII 26).	636, (IV 11), IV 25/26, X 20, (XI 3).
577, XII II, XII 25.	637, (IV 15), X 9.
578, VI 5.	638, III 21, IX 13.
580, IV 29,	639, IX 3.
X 24.	64o, II 13.
581, (IV 5), X 13.	641, (II I), (VII 27).
582, (III 10), III 25, IX 18.	642, (XII 12).
583, (III 14), (IX 7).	643, VI 7/8, XII 1.
584, II 17, VIII 11.	644, XI 5, (XI 19).
585, (I 21), VIII 1.	645, V 1, X 25.

646, (IV 5), IV 21, (IX 3c).	706, (II 2), VII 14, (VII 30).
647, III 26, IX 19.	707, VII 4, (XII 13).
648, (III 14), VIII 24, (IX 7).	708, (VI 8), XII 2.
649, II 17.	709, (V 14), V 28, (XI 22).
650, I 23, II 6, (VII 18), VIII 3.	710, V 3.
651, I 12, (VI 23).	711, (IV 7), X 16.
652, (I I).	712, III 27, IX 19.
653, VI 1, (XI Io) .	713, III 1, (IX 9).
655, IV 12, (X 21).	715, (VII 21), VIII 4.
657, (III 5), (VIII 29), IX 13.	716, I 13, (VII 23).
658, II 23, VIII 18, (IX 3).	717, (I 2).
659, I 28, (II 13), (VIII 8).	718, VI 3, (XI 12).
660, VII 13.	719, XI 2.
661, VII 2, XII II.	720, X 6, (X 21).
662, VI 7, (XII I).	721, IV 1, IX 26.
664, V 1, (X Io).	722, (III 7), (VIII 31).
665, IV 5, IX 30.	723, II 24/25, (III 11), VIII 20.
666, (III 26), IX 4, (IX 19).	724, (II 14).
667, II 28, VIII 25.	725, I 19, VII 14, (XII 24).
668, (II 3), (VII 29).	726, I 8, XII 13/14, (XII 28).
669, I 22/23, (II 6), VII 18. 670, (I 12), VI 23, XII 18.	720, 1 8, All 13/14, (All 28). 727, (V 25). 728, (V 27), XI 6.
671, VI 12, (XI 22), XII 7.	73o, IV 7/8, X I, (X 16).
672, XI Io, (XI 25).	731, IX 20.
673, IV 22, V 6.	732, III 1, VIII 25.
674, X 5.	733, (II 3), VIII 14.
675, (III 17), (IX 9).	734, I 24, VII zo.
676, (II 19), III 5/6, VIII 29, (IX 13).	735, (I 13), (VII 9).
677, VIII 18. 678, I 28, VII 24. 679, (I 2), VII 13, XII 22/23.	736, (XI 23). 737, V 18, (X 28).
680, VI 17/18, (XII II). 681, V 23.	739, X ⁷ . 740, (III 18), IV 1. 741, III 7, VIII 31.
682, (X 22). 683, IV 16/17, (V 2), IX 26.	742, (II 24), (VIII 20).
684, (IV 5).	743, (I 4), (VI 29), XII 24.
685, IX 4.	744, (I 7), VI 18, (XII ¹3).
686, (II 14), II 28.	745, V 25, (VI 8).
687, (VII 15), VII 30.	746, V 14, XI 7.
688, VII 3, (VII 18), XII 28.	747, IV 18.
689, XII 2.	748, III 23, IX 3o.
690, V 28, XI 22, (XII 6).	750, IX 5.
691, V 17/18, (XI II). 692, IV 22, X 15.	750, IX 3. 751, (II 15), III 2, (VIII I I), VIII 25. 752, VII 30/31.
693, (III 27), (IX 20), X 5.	753, I ₉ , (I 24), VII 5, XII 29.
694, III 17.	754, VI 25, (XII 4).
695, II 19, (III 6), (VIII 29). 697, (I 13), (VII 9), (XII 19). 698, VI 29, (VII 13), XII 8, (XII 22).	755, (V 30), XI 23. 756, V 18, X 28, (XI II).
699, VI 3, XI 27. 700, V 23, (XI ii).	758, IV 12, (IX 21). 759, III 18. 760, (III 6), VIII 15, (VIII 31).
701, IV 27, X 21.	761, VIII 5.
702, IV 16/17, (X IO).	762, (I 15), (VII Io).
703, III 22.	763, Î 4, VI 29/30, (XII 25).
704, (II 25), III 10, (VIII 19), IX 4.	764, VI 4.
705, II 13 (VII 25), VIII 9.	765, V 9, V 24.

766, X 22, (XI 7). 767, IV 18/19, X 12. 768, III 23. 769, (VIII 22). 770, II 14, (VIII 25). 772, VII 5, (XII 15). 773, XII 4. 774, V 30, (XI 23). 775, V 4, (V 19), X 29. 776, (IV 8), (X 2). 777, III 28, (IV 12), IX 21. 778, (III 17). 779, VIII 16. 78o, II 10, (VII 21). 781, I 14/15, (I 29), (VI 26). 782, VI 15 (VI 29), XIÍ 9. 784, V 9, XI 2, (XI 17). 785, X 22. 786, IV 3, IX 27. 787, (III 8), IX 16. 788, II 26, VIII 21. 789, (II 14), (VIII Io). 790, (XII 26). 791, (VI 20), VII 6. 792, (VI 24). 793, (V 3o), XI 8. 794, V 4, (X ¹3). 795, IV 9, X 3. 796, III 28, (IX 6), IX 21. 797, III ³ 798, (II 5), II 20, VIII 16. 799, I 26, (II 9), (VII 7), VII 2I. 800, (I 15), (VII ic). 801, XII 9. 802, V 21. 803, V IO, XI 2/3. 805, IV 3, (IX 22), IX 26. 806, IX 1/2. 807, II 11, II 26, (VIII 21). 808, I 31. 809, (I 5), (VII I), VII 16, XII 25. 8,o, VI 20, (VII 5), XI 30, XII 14. 812, V 14, (X 23). 813, V 4, X 13. 814, (IX 17), X 3. 816, (II 17) 817, II 5, VII 3I /VIII 1. 818, (I 26), VII 7. 819, VI 26. 820, VI 14, XI 23, (XII 9). 821, (V 5), V 20, XI 13. 822, ÌV 25, (XI 2). 823, (IX 24). 824, İII 18, İX 12, (IX 26). 825, IX 1. 826, VIII 7.

827, (I 17), VII 27. 828, Î 6, VII 1, (VII 15), XII 25. 829, (VI 20), XI 30. 83o, (XI 4). .831, (IV 3o), X 24'25. 832, IV 18, X 13. 833, (IV 8), IX 17. 834, III 14. 835, II 17, (III 3), VIII 12 836, VII 17, VII 31. 837, I 10, VII 6, XII 31. 838, (VI II), XII 5. 839, VI 1, (V 16), XI 24. 840, V 5, (V 20). 841, X 18. 842, III 30, IX 23. 843, III 19. 845, II 10. 847, I 5, (VII 2), XII 11. 848, (XI 14). 849, (V II), V 25, XI 4. 850, IV 30, (V 15), X 851, IV 5. 852, (III 9), III 24, IX 17. 853, (III 13). 854, (II 16), VIII 11/12. 856, I 11, (VI 22), XII 15. 857, XII 5. 858, (XI 24). 859, V 6, X 29. 86o, X 3. 861, (III 15), III 30, IX 22. 862, III 4. 863, (II 7), (VIII 3), VIII 18. 864, Ì 27, VÌI 22, (VIII 6). 865, I 1, I 15. 866, VI 16, (XI 26). 867, VI 6, XI 15. 868, (X 19), XI 4. 869, (IV 29), X 9. 870, (III 21). 871, III IO, IX 2. 872, (II 28). 873, II 1, VII 28. 874, VII 17, XII 26. 875, (I 11), (VI 7), VI 22. 876, V 27, (XII 5). 878, IV 20, X 15, X 29. 879, (III ^{26),} X 4. 88o, (III 3o), IX 8. 881, (II 18), VIII 28. 882, II 7, VIII 3, (VIII 17) 883, I 27, (VII 23). 884, I 2, XII 21. 885, VI 16, XI 25/26. 886, V 2I, XI 15.

887, (V II), X 20.	944, (IV 25), (IX 20), X 4.
888, X 9.	945, IX 9.
889, III 21, IX 13.	946, III 6, VIII 29.
890, (VIII 19), IX 2.	947, II 8, VIII 4.
891, II 12, VIII 8.	948, I 28, VII 23.
892, II 2, (VII 13).	949, (I 17), XII 22.
893, I 6, (VI 17), VII 2/3, XII 26.	95o, (VI 3), VI 18, (XI 27).
894, VI 7, (VI 22).	951, (V 8), V 23, XI 16.
895, XI 20.	952, (XI 4).
896, (V I), X 25.	953, IV 16.
897, IV 20.	955, (II 25), IX 4/5.
	956, II 14, (II 28).
898, (X 3).	
899, III 15.	957, (I 18), VII 29.
900, II 18.	958, I 8, VII 3, (VII 19), (XII 13), XII28 ² 9.
901, I 23,11 6, VIII 2/3.	96o, V 28, XI 21.
902, I 12, (XII 17).	961, V 17, (X 26).
903, (VI 12), VI 27, XII 7.	962, IV 22, (V 6), (X 1), X 16.
904, V 3I VI I, (VI 16), XI 25.	963, (IV ii), IX 20, X 5.
905, V 7.	964, III 16.
906, IV 26, X 20.	965, II 18, VIII 15.
908, III 20, (VIII 29), IX 12/13.	966, II 8, VII 20, VIII 4.
909, VIII 18, IX 2.	967, I 13, (I 28), VII 10.
	968, (XII 7), XII 22.
910, II 12, (VII ² 4).	
9", I 17, VII 14.	969, VI 23, XI 26.
912, I 7, VI 17, (XII 26).	970, V 8, (V 23), (XI 16).
913, VI 7.	971, IV 27.
914, XI 5, XI 20.	972, (IV 1), IX 25.
915, V 2, X 25.	973, (III 7), III 21, IX 15.
916, IV 5, (IV 20), (X 13).	974, (III ii), VIII 20.
917, IX 19.	976, I 19, VII 14, (VII 29).
918, II 28, VIII 24, (IX 8).	977, I 8, VII 3, XII 13.
919, II 17.	978, VI 8.
920, VII 18, (XII 28).	979, (V 14), V 28, (XI 6).
921, (VI 23), XII 17.	98o, V 2/3.
922, (VI 27), (XI 21), XII 7.	981, IV 7, (IV 22), (X 16).
923, V 18, (VI I), XI 11.	983, III 1/2, (III 17).
924, V 6.	984, II 19.
925, IV I I, (X 4)•	985, (II 8), VII 20.
926, IV I.	986, (VI 24), (XII ¹ 9).
927, III 6, (IX ¹ 4)	987, XII 8.
928, VIII 18.	988, V 18, (VI 3).
929, I 27/28, (II 12), (VII 9).	989, XI 1.
93o, I 17, VI 29.	99o, (IV 12), (X 7), X 21.
931, (I 7), VI 18.	991, IV 1/2, IX 26.
932, (V 22), (XI i6), XI 30.	992, III 7, (IX 14).
933, (IV 27), XI 5.	993, II 24, VIII 20.
934, IV 16, (V 2), X ¹¹ ,(X 25).	994, ¹ 3o.
935, IX 30.	995, I 19, VII 14/15.
936, III 10 [,] 14 IX 3/4.	996, XII 13.
937, II 27/28, VIII 24.	997, (V 24), (XI 17).
938, II 3, VII 29.	998, (V 28), XI 6.
939, I 23, VII 19, XII 29.	999, X 12.
940, XII 17.	1000, IV 7, IX
941, (VI 12), XI 21.	100,, III 12, (IX 5).
942, XI 11.	1002, III 1/2, (VIII 11), VIII 25.
943, (IV 23), VII 5, (X 16).	1003, (II 19), (VIII ¹ 4).

1062, (V 26), (XI 19). 1004, I 24, (VII 4). 1063, (V 1), V 15, XI 8/9. 1005, VI 24 1064, IV 19, (V 3), (X 28). 1006, V 29, (XII 7). 1007, V 19. 1065, IV 8. 1008, (IV 23). 1066, (III ¹4), (IX 6), IX 22. 1009, (III 29), IV 12, X 6/7. 1067, III 3/4, VIII 27. 1010, **III 18, (IV 1),** (IX 26). 1068, II 6, (II 21), (VIII 15). Iou, III 7, VIII 31. 1069, (XII 30). 1012, **II Io, VIII** 4. 1070, XII 20. 1013, (I 14), I 29'30. 1071, XI 24, (XII 9). 1014, **(VII** ¹4). 1072, **V 20.** 1015, **VI 19, (XI** 28). 1073, (IV ²4), (X 18). 1016, (XI 2), XI 17. 1074, (IX 23), X 7. I017, (V 13), X 22, (XI 6). 1075, (IV 3), (IX 27). 1018, IV 18. 1076, **IX 1.** I019, (III 23), IV 8, (IX 16). 1077, (II Io), II 25, VIII 6/7. 1020, III 12, (VIII 21), IX 4/5-1078, I 30. 1021, II 14, (III 1), VIII 11, (VIII 1079, (I 20), VII 1. 25). 1022, VII 31. 1080, VI 20, (XI 29). 1023, (I 9), I **24, VII** 5/6, XII 29. 108i, (V 11), XI 19. 1024, VI 9, (VI 24), (XII 18). 1082, IV 30, (V ¹4). 1025, V 29. 1084, (III ²4), (IX 16), **X 2.** 1026, V 19, (X 28). 1085, III 14, IX 6. I27, X 18. I28, (IV i2). 1086, **II 16, (VIII** 27). 1087, VIII **1.** 1030, II 20/21, (VIII 16), VIII 31. 1088, (I ii), VII 6, VII 20, XII 3o. 1031, II IO. 1089, VI 25, (XII 2o). 1032, I 15, VII 10. 1090, XI 24. 1033, VI 29, (XII 8). 1091, (V 5), V 21, (X 3o). 1034, VI 4, XI 28. 1092, IV 24, (V 9), X 18. ¹⁰35, (V ²4), (XI 18). 1037, (IV 2), **IV 18**, (IX 27). 1093, IX 23. 1094, **III 19.** 1038, III 23, IX 16. 1095, (II 22), (VIII 18). 1039, **VIII 22.** 1096, II i i, (II 26), (VII 22), VIII 6. 1040, **II 15.** 1098, I 5, VII 1, (XII ii), XII 25. 1041, (I 20). 1099, VI 5, XI 3o. 1042, I 9, VII 5. 1100, V 11, (V 25), (XI 18). 1043, **XII 4.** 1101, X 24. 1044, (V ¹4), (XI 8), XI 22. 1045, V 3, X 28, (XI 11). 1102, IV 5. II03, III 25, IX 17. 1046, **IV 9**, (**X** ¹7) 1104, (III 13), (IX 6). 1047, III 29, IX 22. 1105, II 16, VIII 11. 1048, III 3. 1106, VII 17, VIII 1. 1049, II 20, VIII 15. **I107,** I VII 6/7, XII 16, (XII 31). 1050, (VIII 5). 1108, VI 11, XII 4. I051, I 15, (VI 26), (XII 20). 1109, **V 31**, (XI 9). III0, V 5/6, **(V 20), (X 15), X** 29 1052, VI 15, (VI 29), XII 8/9. I III, (IV 25), (X 18). 1053, (VI 4), **XI 13**, (XI 28). 1054, **V** 10, **XI** 2. I II2, III 29. 1055, (X 8). 1113, III 19. 1056, IV 2/3, (IX 12), IX 26. 1114, (VIII 2), VIII 18. 1057, (III 23), (IX 15). 1115, (II Io), VII 23. 1058, II 25. 1116, (XII 21). 1059, II 15, VII 27. II17, VI 15/16, XII io6o, I 20, (VI 30), VII 16. 1118, (XI 3o). 1061, (I 8), VI 20. 1119, **V 11.**

TREATS OF BYZANTINE TAUGHT, I

1120, IV 29, (X 8), X 24.	1179, (II 8), VIII 19, (IX 3).
I121, (III 20), IV 4, IX 28, (X 13).	i8o, I 28, (II 13), VII 24.
1122, III 10, (III ² 4), (IX ¹ 7).	1181, VII 13, (XII 22).
1124, (II 1), (VII 28), VIII 11.	1182, VI 18, XII II.
1125, (I 6), I 21, VII 17, XII 26.	1183, VI 7, (XII 1).
1126, (I ii), VI 22.	1184, XI 5.
1127, (XI 20).	1185, (IV 6), V 1, (X Io), X 25.
1128, XI 8.	1186, IV 5, (IV 21).
1129, (V 5), (X 29).	1187, (III 26), IX 4, (IX 19).
1130, X 4.	1188, VIII 24.
1131, (III 15), III 30, (IX 8).	1189, (II 3), (VII 29).
1132, III 3, (III 19).	1190, I 23, (II 6), (VII 4), VII 18.
1133, (II 21), VIII 2, (VIII 17).	1191, VI 23.
1134, VII 23.	1192, (V 28), XI 21, XII 6.
	1193, V 17/18, XI Io.
1135, (I I), XII 22.	1194, IV 22, (V 7).
1136, VI 15.	
1137, V 21.	1195, X 5.
1138, (IV 26), (X 20), XI 4.	1196, (III 16).
1139, IV 16, X 9.	1197, III 5, (IX 13).
1140, III 20, (IV 4), (IX 28).	1199, I 28.
1141, IX 2.	1200, (I 3), XII 22.
1142, (II 12).	1201, VI 18, XI 27.
1143, II 1, (VIII 12).	1202, XI 16.
1144, (VII 16), XII 26.	1203, (IV 27), (X 22).
1145, (VI 6), (XII 1).	1204, IV 15/16, (V 1), X Io.
1146, XI 20.	1205, (IX 29).
1147, (V 17), X 26.	1206, III 11, IX 4.
1148, X 14.	1207, II 28.
1149, (III 26), (IX 19).	1208, II 3, (VII 14), VII 29.
1150, III 15, (III 30), IX 8.	1209, (I 22), VII 3, (VII 18), XII 28.
1151, (VIII 28).	1211, XI 21/22.
1152, II 7, VIII 2.	I2I2, (XI IO).
1153, (I 12), I 26, (VII 7).	1213, IV 22, X 15.
	1214, (IX 20), X 5.
1154, I 1, VI 27, (XII 21).	1214, (IX 20), X 3. 1215, III 17, IX 9.
1155, (VI 16), XI 26.	1215, III 17, 1X 5. 1216, II 19, (III 5), (VIII 28).
1156, (V 7), (X 30).	1217, VIII 4.
IIS7, X19/20.	
1158, (X 9).	1218, (I 13), (VII 9), VII 24, (XII 19)
1159, III 21, IX 13.	1219, I 2, (VII 13), (XII 22).
60, (VIII 18), IX 2.	1220, VI 2.
1161, II 12, VIII 7.	1221, V 23, (XI I).
1162, I 17, (II 1), (VII 27).	1222, (X 6), X 21/22.
1163, I 6, (VI 18), VII 3, (XII 12).	1223, (IV 16), (X I I).
1164, VI 6, (VI 21), (XI 16), XI 3o.	1224, III 21.
1165, (XI 19).	1225, (II ^{24),(VIII 1} 9).
1166, V 1.	1226, II 14.
1167, IV 21, (IX 3o).	1227, (II 3), (VII 3o).
1168, (IX 3), IX 19.	1228, VII 3, (XII 12), XII 28.
1169, (III 14), VIII 24, (IX 8).	1229, XII 2, (XII 17).
1171, (I 23), (VII i8).	1230, V 14, (XI 22).
1172, I 12/13.	1232, (IV 6), (IX 3o), X 15.
1173, (I 1), VI 12, (VI 27).	1233, (III 12), IX 19/20.
1174, VI 1, (XI ro), XI 26.	1234, III 1, (III 17), (IX 9).
1175, (IV 22), V 7, X 31, (XI 15).	1235, VIII 15.
1176, IV 11, (IV 25), (X 19).	1236, (I ₂₄₎ , (VII 20), VIII 3.
1178, (III 5), (VIII 30), IX 13.	1237, I 12/13, VII 9.

1238, (I 2), (VI 29), XII 8. 1239, VI 3, (XI 12). 1240, V 7, XI I. 1241, IV 27, X 6, (X 21). 1242, IX 26. 1243, (III 8), (VIII 31). 1244; (III 10), (VIII 5), VIII 19. 1245, VII 25. 1246, **I 19**, **VII 14**, (**XII** ²4)-1247, (VI 19), **XII** 13. 1248, **VI 7.** 1249, XI 6. 1250, (IV 18), V 3. 1251, IV 7, X I. 1253, III 1. 1254, (II 4), VIII 14. 1255, I 24, VII 20/21, XII 30. 1256, (I 13), XII 18. I258, V 18/19, XI I2. 1259, (XI 1). 1260, IV 12, X 6. 1261, IV 1. 1262, III 7, (III 21), (VIII 16), VIII 30/3i. 1263, (II 24), VIII 5, (VIII 20). 1264, I 30. 1265, (I 3), (VI 30), VII 14, XII ²4. 1266, (VI 4), VI 19, (XII 13). 1267, V 25, XI 27. 1268, (X 22), XI 6. 1269, IV 18, X II. 1270, III 23, (IV 7), (IX 30). 1272, (VIII 'Io). 1273, (I 20), II 3. 1274, (I 23), VII 5. 1275, (XII 4). 1276, VI 13, XI 23. 1277, V 18, (XI 12). 1278, IV 23. 1279, (III 29), IV 12, (IX 21), X 7. **1280, III** 17/18. 1281, (III 7), (VIII 31). 1282, VIII 5. 1283, (I 14), I 30. 1284, I 4, (I ¹9), (XII ²4)-1285, VI 4. 1286, (V 9), (XI 2), **XI 17.** I287, X 22/23 1288, (IV 18), X 1289, IX 16. 1290, (II 25), (VIII 22), IX 5. 1291, II 14/15, VIII in 1292, I 21, (II 4), (VII 30). 1293, I 9, VII 5, (XII 15). 1294, VI 25, XII 4. 1295, V 30, XI 8, (XI 23). 1296, (V 18), X 28.

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Ιi

LIST OF COMETS (30o-1462)

A "General list of comets from the origin to 1948" due to Mr. F. BALDET appeared in *the Yearbook for the year 19.50 published by the Bureau des Longitudes*. It is based, for the time and the regions that interest us, fundamentally on that of Mr. Pingré (work cited below), which dates back more than a century and a half. That is not enough of the basis. The historical sources which this scholar could have hadat their disposal so as to review with the new resources of criticism, and many others published since then are to be consulted. A recasting is therefore necessary. It is not our job to do it. We will thereforeuse the list of comets of M. Baldet (1). We are, however, ingest those whose theatre of appearance is too far removed from the regions of the Byzantine Empire. We add indications found in Byzantine or Eastern chroniclers, either complementary to this or that comet, or signalant comets that do not appear in the list. These various additions are printed in italics. An asterisk accompanies the comets thus attested.

The abstract references reproduced by us refer to the following works:

p.PINGRÉ, Cométographe ou Traité historique et théorique des Comètes, Paris, t. I, 1783.

B.E. BIOT, Catalogue of comets...; Catalogue of extraordinary stars...; Recherches faites dans les grandes collections des historiens de la Chine..., trois mémoires parus dans Connaissance des *temps*, Paris, 1846, pp. 44–84. Pagination is that of the separate draw.

Chambers, Ch. Georges F., The Story of the Cornets, Oxford, 1909.

305 or 306 Rome P. 300
319 (date between 307 and 323) Rome P. 300
uncertain).

*334 General W. ²7; P. S96
336 16 February Antioch W. 28; PP. 302, 597

⁽¹⁾ The one that appears in P. V. NEUGEBAUER, *Astronoinisclze Chronology*. I Baud. Text (Leipzig and Berlin, 1929), 175-185, is based on the lists of Pingre and Biot, without indication of other comets.

365 gold 37o	Europe	P. 302
375	Rome	P. 302
3 ⁸ 9 August	Rome	P. 303
39 ⁰ 22 August	General	W. 29; B. 39; P. 305, 598
400 19 March	Rome	W. 30; B. 39; PP. 307, 598
4 ⁰²	Rome	P. 307
408		
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412 Summer	Europe	P. 309
4^{13}	G 1	P. 309
418 15 Sep. for i months	General	W. 31; P. 309; 599
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42I OR 420	General	P. 311
4 ²² 21 March	General	W. 32; P. 311
423 13 February	Numidia	W. 32; PP. 312, 600
430 gold 434	e	P. 312
442 November I	General	W. 32; B. 21; PP. 312, 600
*December 442 (several	General	Idatius, P. L., 51, 881 C
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448	Rome	W. 33; B. 39; P. 312
45 ¹ 17 May (Halley)	Rome	P. 313
45 ¹ 17 May (Halley) 45 ² (possibly the same)	Rome	P. 313
453 (possibly the same)	Rome	P. 313
	France	P. 313
455,459,467,480	Europe	P. 314
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(covered)	Illyria	P. 314
(several)	Eďessa	P. 314
488 (several) 499	and Mesopotamia	(Pseudo-) Joshua the Stylite trans.
mb 7 -7		Martin, § 38, p. xxxIIi
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524 (possibly a star)	Rome	P. 315
*530 Sentember (i)	Constantinople	P. 315
*530 September (i) 538	Europe	P. 319
*538 Dec Nu 539 January	Syria	James of Edessa s. 215
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539	Europe	P. 319
520 17 Navianahan		
119 I / November		W 39 · B 38 · PP 319 600
539 17 November 541 Easter	General	W. 39; B. 38; PP. 319, 600
541 Easter	General France	W. 39; B. 38; PP. 319, 600 P. 321
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541 Easter *542/43 (854 Séleuc.) 547 (possibly a star)	Genéral France Byzantine East France	W. 39; B. 38; PP. 319, 600 P. 321 John of Ephesus 227 P. 321
541 Easter *542/43 (854 Séleuc.) 547 (possibly a star)	General France Byzantine East France Rome	W. 39; B. 38; PP. 319, 600 P. 321 John of Ephesus 227 P. 321 P. 321
541 Easter *542/43 (854 Séleuc.) 547 (possibly a star) 550 or in 54 ⁶ / ₄ 7 55 ²	General France Byzantine East France Rome Europe	W. 39; B. 38; PP. 319, 600 P. 321 John of Ephesus 227 P. 321 P. 321 P. 321
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541 Easter *542/43 (854 Séleuc.) 547 (possibly a star) 550 or in 54 ⁶ / ₄ 7 55 ² November 556	General France Byzantine East France Rome Europe Europe, Byzantine East	W. 39; B. 38; PP. 319, 600 P. 321 John of Ephesus 227 P. 321 P. 321 P. 321; Malalas (489) P. 322 Elijah of Nisibe 59
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541 Easter *542/43 (854 Séleuc.) 547 (possibly a star) 550 or in 54 ⁶ / ₄ 7 55 ² November 556 563 *565 October-December 566	General France Byzantine East France Rome Europe Europe, Byzantine East France Middle East Europe	W. 39; B. 38; PP. 319, 600 P. 321 John of Ephesus 227 P. 321 P. 321 P. 321; Malalas (489) P. 322 Elijah of Nisibe 59 Michael the Syrian II, 271 P. 322
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541 Easter *542/43 (854 Séleuc.) 547 (possibly a star) 550 or in 54 ⁶ / ₄ 7 55 ² November 556 563 *565 October-December 566 57 ⁰ 577 (meteor?) 580 Easter? January 582 (uncertain) 5 ⁸ / ₅ 4	General France Byzantine East France Rome Europe Europe, Byzantine East France Middle East Europe France France France France France France France France France	W. 39; B. 38; PP. 319, 600 P. 321 John of Ephesus 227 P. 321 P. 321 P. 321; Malalas (489) P. 322 Elijah of Nisibe 59 Michael the Syrian II, 271 P. 322 P. 323 P. 323 P. 323 P. 324 Ji-
541 Easter *542/43 (854 Séleuc.) 547 (possibly a star) 550 or in 54 ⁶ / ₄ 7 55 ² November 556 563 *565 October-December 566 570 577 (meteor?) 580 Easter? January 582 (uncertain) 5 ⁸ / ₄ 586 (doubtful)	General France Byzantine East France Rome Europe Europe, Byzantine East France Middle East Europe France France France France France France France Constantinople	W. 39; B. 38; PP. 319, 600 P. 321 John of Ephesus 227 P. 321 P. 321 P. 321 P. 321; Malalas (489) P. 322 Elijah of Nisibe 59 Michael the Syrian II, 271 P. 322 P. 323 P. 323 P. 323 P. 324 324 Ji.), 324 P. 3 ² 4
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541 Easter *542/43 (854 Séleuc.) 547 (possibly a star) 550 or in 54 ⁶ / ₄ 7 55 ² November 556 563 *565 October-December 566 57 ⁰ 577 (meteor?) 580 Easter? January 582 (uncertain) 5 ⁸ / ₄ 586 (doubtful) 589 or 594 591 595 9 January	General France Byzantine East France Rome Europe Europe, Byzantine East France Middle East Europe Europe France France France France France France France France Italy General	W. 39; B. 38; PP. 319, 600 P. 321 John of Ephesus 227 P. 321 P. 321 P. 321; Malalas (489) P. 322 Elijah of Nisibe 59 Michael the Syrian II, 271 P. 322 P. 323 P. 323 P. 323 p. 324 324 Ji- 324 P. 325 P. 325 P. 325 P. 325
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541 Easter *542/43 (854 Séleuc.) 547 (possibly a star) 550 or in 54 ⁶ / ₄ 7 55 ² November 556 563 *565 October-December 566 57 ⁰ 577 (meteor?) 580 Easter? January 582 (uncertain) 5 ⁸ / ₄ 586 (doubtful) 589 or 594 591 595 9 January	General France Byzantine East France Rome Europe Europe, Byzantine East France Middle East Europe Europe France France France France France France France France Italy General	W. 39; B. 38; PP. 319, 600 P. 321 John of Ephesus 227 P. 321 P. 321 P. 321; Malalas (489) P. 322 Elijah of Nisibe 59 Michael the Syrian II, 271 P. 322 P. 323 P. 323 P. 323 p. 324 324 Ji- 324 P. 325 P. 325 P. 325 P. 325

⁽¹⁾ Instead of 531 marked by the Yearbook.

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April 605 November 605 614 (between 614 and 617) 622 626 26 March 632 (30 days) 633 640_ (questionable object) 660 664 or 673 674 675 676 7 July *677 28 August-26 October	Europe Constantinop le Judea General Europe Middle East Europe Europe France France Europe Europe Europe Europe Syria	P. 326 P. 326 P. 327 P. 328 W. go; B. 38; P. 328, 608 P. 329; Theophanes 6124 P. 329 P. 330 P. 330 P. 331 P. 331 P. 331 W. 41; PP. 331, 609 Elie de Nisibe 70
711 712 August 716 719 Jan. 729 (possibly two comets) *734 (possibly the following) 735 (questionable object) 742 June (questionable object) 743 (questionable object) 744 (1) *745 (night of 1" to 2 Jan.) 745 760 15 May 762 *765 May 791 800 809 (questionable object) *812 4 November 813 4 August 817 17 February 818 824 830 837 March 22 (Halley) *838 November, 15 days 841 22 December 843 (several?) 844 (doubtful) 855 (questionable object) 858 864 1 May, 20 days 864 21 June 866 or 867 (several comets?) 868 29 January September 869 873 875 6 June	General Arabia Middle East Europe Europe Byzantine East Europe Constantinopl e Constantinopl e Syria Syria General Europe Constantinopl e Europe Constantinopl e Syria Europe Europe Europe Europe Constantinopl e General Europe Europe Constantinopl e General Europe Europe Europe General Europe Europe General Europe General Europe Syria General Europe Arabia France Rome General Constantinopl e General France France France	Michael the Syrian II, 456 P. 334 P. 334 P. 334 P. 335 Theophanes 6226 P. 335 P. 336 P. 336 P. 336 P. 336 Elijah of Nisibe 81 P. 336 W. 44; B. 38; P. 336, 6w P. 337 Michael the Syrian II, 524 P. 337 P. 337 Theophanes 6305 P. 337 W. 45; pp. 339, 612 P. 339 P. 339 P. 339 P. 339 W. 47; B. 36; PP. 340, 613 Michael the Syrian III, 97 W. 50; B. 36; PP. 346, 615 P. 347 P. 347 P. 347 Annales Floriacenses P. L., 139, 581 W. 50; PP. 348, 616 P. 347 W. 51; PP. 348, 616 P. 347 W. 51; PP. 348, 616 P. 347 P. 347 P. 347 P. 347 Annales Floriacenses P. L., 139, 581 W. 50; PP. 348, 616 P. 347 W. 51; PP. 348, 616 P. 347 F. 347 F. 347 F. 347 F. 347 F. 347 Annales Floriacenses P. L., 139, 581 F. 347 F. 347 F. 347 F. 347 Annales Floriacenses P. L., 139, 581 F. 348, 616 F. 347 F. 348, 616
875 6 June 876 (possibly the same as the previous) 877 March 882 18 January 891 21 March ?	General France General France	P. 348 P. 349 P• 349 W. 51; PP. 349, 616 P. 35 ⁰

⁾ Probably the following.

892 spring 898 or 899 February 900 (a Nova?) 904 winter? 905 22 May (I) 906 912 13 May (Halley) 913 *925 15 October 93° July 939 941 9 August 942 18 October 943 5 November	General France General Constantinople General Europe General Europe Muslim East Europe Italy General France General	W. 51; P. 350, 616 P. 352 B. 23; P. 352 P. 352 W. 52; PP. 352, 617 P. 353 W. 53; B. 36 P. 353, 618 PEZ-35 4 Makin, 247 P. 354 P. 354 W. 54; 64; P. 354, 619 P. 355 W. 54; P. 355
944 very Prob. the comet of 939 delayed by five years 945 *947 March 14 (10 days) May 959 959 17 October 964 968 971 (questionable object) 975 3 August 979 981 Fall 983 3 April 984 (questionable object) 985 989 13 August *989 8 September (the same?) 990 992	Italy France Syria Arabia Constantinopl e Europe Europe Europe General Europe Europe Rome General Europe General Europe Rome General Europe Rome General	P. 355 P. 356 Elie of Nisibe, 102 P. 356 P. 356 P. 357 P. 357 P. 357 W. 55; P• 357, 620 P. 358 P. 358
995 Io August 996 (doubtful) 997 or in I005/o6 1000 14 Dec. (date uncertain) iooi) 1003 February 1003 23 December 1004 Jan. (the same as the first	France Europe France General	P. 359 P. 360 P. 360 P. 362 W. 56; B. 35; P. 621, P. 362
one?) 1005 4 October 10°6 3 April 1007 1008 Easter (meteor?) 1009 (doubtful) 1010 ("comets") 1012 (a star?) 1015 February 1018 Io June 1019 30 July 1023 Autumn 1025 1028 1029 31 October (meteor?) 1031 1032 15 July *1033 28 February-15 March 1033 5 March	Europe General Europe Europe Europe Europe Europe General Europe General Europe France Europe Russia General Europe General	B. 23; 35; P. 362 B. 24, 35; P. 363 P. 365 P. 365 P. 365 P. 365 P. 365 W. 56; B. 24; P. 366, 621 P. 367, 622 P. 368 P. 369 P. 630 P. 369 P. 369 B. 24; P. 368 Cedrenus, II, 500 P. 369, 622 P. 370

⁽i) Probably the same as Anne Komnenos marks the same year on May 16 with a duration of 40 days.

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1038 1041 1042 6 October 1043 (doubtful) 1046 1053 1060 September? 1061 (the same as the first one?) *1061 May, 40 days 1062 1064 and 1065 (prob. Halley anti-	"73 (meteor?) I179 I" August (meteor?) I r8r 6 August	Europe Europe Constantinople Europe France Europe France Europe Constantinople Europe
dated) 1066 2 April (Halley) 1067 May 1068 1071 1077 9 April (Venus?) 1084 June (possibly in imo-IIII) 1096 7 October 1097 30 September *1097 (546 arm. month of Mareri: NovDec)		General Europe Constantinople Constantinople Europe Europe Europe General Europe Byzantine East A sia Minor, Syria
1098 3 June 1099 1100 Feb 24 (questionable) 1103 ? (questionable object) 1104 (several?) 1105 Feb. (the same as the following?) 1106 7 February *1106 Feb 13 (50 days), probably the same as the previous one.		Europe Europe Europe Europe Europe General Europe Syria Europe Syria General Europe Italy
1107 and '108 (the same as the above?) *1108 June, 15 days 1109 December mo May 29 (a Nova?) */110 6 June III0 24 December III2 May 1113 (the next one?) 1114 May 1115 August		Europe Europe General Europe Europe Europe Europe Europe Europe Syria Bohemia General
1117 1119 (probably the previous one) *1122-23 (1434 Séleuc.), 2 months		General Europe France Europe Rome general
1126 20 May 1127 (the previous one?) 1132 14 August 1137 (the previous one?) I141		General Syria Europe Europe Europe
1145 15 April (Halley) *1145 May, 15 days "47 12 February 1155 May 1165 August (two) Il 67 (questionable object, date uncertain)		General Europe

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1222 15 September
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 1240 31 January
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1250-December
1253 18 September (meteors?)
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July 1263 (the next one?) 1264 17 July (1)
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                                                         Europe Italy
 1265 autumn
                                                         Europe
 1266 August
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                                                         France
 1274 28 February
                                                         Europe
1282
1283 (erroneous date: prob. 1298)
                                                         General
                                                         Europe
1285 5 April
1294 (we would have seen 3 comets?)
                                                         Europe
                                                         Lemnos
                                                         General
1296
1298
                                                         Europe
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1299 24 January
1300 Sept. (the next?)
1301 I<sup>er</sup> September
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1314 may or october
1315 28 November
May 1316?
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*1324 (meteors?)
June 1333 (meteor?)
1337 26 June
1337 August ?
1338 15 April
1340 24 March
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1347 August
1351 24 November
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 1352 15 October (questionable
                                                                                                  P. 438
object)
1353
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⁽¹⁾ According to an anonymous in *Muratori, I, 2,* 235, **this** comet appeared on 25 May and lasted two months; according to Otto de Frising continued, MGH, 55, 20, 336, it disappeared on 2 October, the day of the death of Pope Urban IV, three months after his first appearance.

1360 12 March		W. 71; P. 438
1362 5 March	general general	W. 72; B. 5; P. 438
1368 7 February	General	W. 74; B. 7; P. 44 ¹ , 630
1371 15 January	Europe	P. 44 ²
1375 (doubtful)	Europe	P. 44 ²
1381 November	Europe	P. 443
1382 30 March	General	P. 443
1382 19 August	Europe	P. 443
13\$2, December	Europe	P. 444
1386 27 September	Europe	P. 445
1390	Europe	P. 445
1391 23 May	General	W. 74; B. 7; P. 445
1394	Europe	W. 74, B. 7, F. 443 P• 445
1399 November	France	
1400 and 1401 Feb., <u>Prob. the</u>	Tance	P. 445
following.	Europe	P. 44 ⁶
anticipated by 2 and I year	General	P. 447
1402 8 February	Europe	P. 449
1402 June	Europe	P. 45 ¹
1403 Io Jan. (questionable	Germany	P. 45 ²
object)	Europe	P. 45 ²
1406 I Th semester	Europe	P. 45 ²
1407 start (the previous one?)	Europe	P. 45 ²
1408	Europe	P. 45 ²
1410 Io March	General	W. 76; B. 8; P. 453
1414	Europe	P. 454
1433 15 September	Europe	Ch. 243 [in]
1434 start	General	W. 76; B. 8; P. 454
1438	General	W. 76; B. 8; P. 454
1439 25 March	Europe	P. 45 ⁶
1,444 6 August	General	W. 77; B. 8; P. 459
1454 summer	General	W. 78; B. 9; P. 464
1456 27 May (Halley)	General	W. 78; B. 9; P. 464
1457 14 January (Crommelin)	General	W. 78; P. 465
1457 15 June	General	P. 466
1457 26 October	General	W. 89; B. 15
June 1458	General	W. 90; B. 15; P. 466

47⁶ I. CHRONOLOGY

Iii

EARTHQUAKES

Lists of earthquakes without references to sources cannot meet the requirements of workers. This is schmidt's, published in *Archiv für byz. und mittelgr. Sprache, i,* 1880. When we wanted to control it, we were surprised to see that several earthquakes reported by Theophanes were dated there according to the Christian era of this chroniqueur, which is 8 years behind ours. The work of A. PERREY, Mémoire sur les tremblements de terre ressentis dans la péninsule turcohellénique et en Syrie (Mémoires couronnés et mémoires des savants étrangers publiés par l'Académie royale de Bruxelles, t. XXII, 1850), is accompanied by references, sometimes to second-hand works. This work of ensemble is remarkable for the time. However, we have not reproduced it. We ourselves have done a research on the sources, benefiting from publications that have since appeared. The list we are presenting corrects a good number of dates from his, adds new ones, but also drops some of them, which seemed to us either to be duplicating, or not to be seriously founded, or are based on data that we could not control.

This is a list of theterritory of the Byzantine Empire, to which we add Armenia. Even in this limited area, it cannot be presented as complete. It will be useful until a comprehensive study emerges. For the rest of Europe, Frédéric MONTAND ON's book, *Les tremblements de terre destructives en Europe. Catalogue par territoires sismiques, de l'an 1000 à 1940* (publié en polycopie), Genève, 1953, will serve only as a first orientation, since it does not refer directly to the sources, but to works whose authority is unequal. The author has the merit of having spobbled many publications whose list is given.

References to THEOPHANE are made to the year of the world marked in the edition of DE BOOR; those in the *Annals* of BARONIUS and RAYNALD are made in the year of Christ, followed by the paragraph number (t); those in Ammianal Marcellin, IN THEODORET and ÉVAGRE are done in the internal joints. A *CSCO*, Script. Syri, series III, tomus IV (versio), refer to the following references: *Chronicon Edessenum*, James of EDEssE, anonymous Syrian of 746, anonymous Syrian of 813. References to John of Ephesus refer to W. J. VAN DOUWEN and J. P. N. LAND, bannis Ephesini episcopi Commentarii de beatis orientalibus et Historiae ecclesiasticae fragmenta, Amstelodami, 1889. — Élie DE NISIBE, Opus chronologicum, *CSCO*, Script. Syri, versio, series III, t. VII. — Thomas AZDZROUNI, *Histoire des Azdzrouni*, trad. BROSSET, *Coll. d'historiens arméniens*, t. I, Saint-Pétersbourg, 1874. — Arakel DE TAURIS, *L'ivre d'histoires, ibid.* — SEMPAD, in LANGLOIS, *Extraits de la chronique de Sempad suivi de celle de son continuateur*, Saint-Pétersbourg, 1862. — *Anthologie chronologique*, dans DULAURIER, *Recherches*. — BE,oczécc zpfivtzec de Sp. LAMBROS dans.\I vr,!,tc^i:oc.

;(-5-.:.opiy.ç., Athens, 1932-1933. - 'Ev0up.lyystc; 'Ev0u!i.-;)(-5E-cov i tr zpovty.é;") ·)

⁽¹⁾ Reference is made to these two annalists because their references to the sources are, in the cases cited, difficult to identify.

npd)7. ⁻r Neos Hellènomnèmôn, 7, 1910, 113-133 (we refer to the numbers). Unless otherwise indicated, the pagination of the Greek chroniclers is that of the Corpus of Bonn.

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Our manuscript was already handed over to the printer when Glanville DOWNEY's article, Earthquakes at Constantinople and Vicinity, *Speculum* 30, 1955, 596-600 appeared. We took this into account in the proofreading, although we could not accept all its dates.

Dates	Places	Sources	
under Constantine 320 332 34 ¹ 342	Campania Alexandria Cyprus Antioch " East ", " East " same)	Georges le M., éd. De Boor, 502 Theophanes (5812) Theophanes (5824) Theophanes (5833) s. Jerome, Olympus 281, 5th year- born Constance II Theophanes, 5834	
342 343 344 345 345 348	Cyprus Neocesarée Rhodes Dyrrachium Rome Beirut Macedonia, Asia, Pontus,	Theophanes, 5834 Theophanes, 5835 Theophanes, 5836 Theophanes, 5837 Theophanes, 5837 Theophanes, 5840	
358 ² Λ Διιστις	Nico-	Ammien Marc., XVII, 7, 1-18; Idatius	
359 Oct.	Nicomedia	Consules, P.L., 51,909 Chr. Paschale, 543; Theoph.,	
under Julian 365 21 July	Jerusalem general and tidal wave at Alexandria	5 ⁸ 5 ⁰ Theodoret, III, 22	
368 il Oct. (Malalas: Sept.)	Nicaea and Bithynia	Ammien Marc., XXVI, Io, 1\$-19; Theophanes, 5859 Socrates, P. G., 67, 481;	
368 or 369 375 or 376 under Gratian 394	Sprouted Peloponnese, Crete Alexandria, Epirus and Sicily	Malalas. 34 ² Socrates P. G., 67, 481	
Sept. to Nov.	Europe General	Zosimus (192) Cedrenus, I, 55 ⁰ -55 ¹	
June 402 403 (doubtful) 407 1 ^{April}	Constantinople Constantinople Constantinople	Marcell., P. L., 51, 920 Prosper, P. L., 51, 588 Marcell., P. L., 51, 9 ² 4	
408 4 ¹ 7 20 April 419 422	Rome Europe Palestine without indication	Théodoret, V, 34 Chr. Paschale, 570 Théophane, S900	
423 6 April 437 25 Sep.	without indication Without indication Constantinople (litur memory- to date)	Chr. Paschale, 574 Marcell., P. L., 51,	
44 ² 17 April 44 ²	General Rome	Chr. Paschale 580 Chr. Paschale, 580	
447 Nov 6	Constantinople and elsewhere moire liturg. (met to date)	Theophanes (593) ⁰ Theophanes (5934) Hist. miscella Ed. Eyssenhardt 327; Theophanes 5934	
under Theodosius II 450 26 Jan.	Crete Constantinople (liturgical	(without indication of location)	
under Marcian 458 14 Sept.	to date) Phoenicia, spec.memory. Tripoli Antioch	Chr. Paschale, 586 Marcell. P. L., 51, 927 Malalas, 359	

	Sources	
Cyzic, Thrace, Hellespont and Cyclades without indication eruption of Vesuvius and rain of ashes in Constantinople (liturgical memory to date)	Marcell., 930; Evagre, II, 14 Idatius, Consul., P.L., 51, 886 Theophanes, 5966; Marcell.	
Gabala of Syria Constantinople Constantinople Constantinople Laodicea, Hierapolis, Tripoli from Syria Edessa, Nicopolis (from	Malalas (378) Theophanes, 5970; Cedrenus, I, 618 Marcell., 932 Chr. Paschale, 605 Marcell.; 934 (Pseudo-) Joshua the Stylite,	
Syria) Neocaean, Ptolemaïs, Tyre and Sidon Rhodes Dardania, spec. Uskub Dyrrachium and Corinth Anazarbe Antioch, Seleucia of Syria, Constantinople Antioch Antioch	ed. P. Martin, n. 35 (p. xxx) Ibid., n. 48 (p. xLII); Theo-Phane (5995) Cedrenus I, 628 Evagre, III, 43; Malalas (406) Marcell., 939·94 Theophanes, 6014 Theophanes, 6017 Cedrenus I, 640 Theophanes, 6018; Malalas, 419 Theophanes, 6021; Chr. Edess., IO	
Clustered Myres Constantinople Pompeiopolis of Mysia Pompeiopolis of Cilicia Antioch laodicea Constantinople general, spec. Cyzic Corinth	Malalas 448 Malalas 448 Chr. Paschale, 629 Theophanes, 6028 John of Ephesus, 225 John of Ephesus, 226 John of Ephesus, 227 Theophanes, 6034 John of Ephesus, 227; Malalas 482 Theophanes, 6036	
Constantinople without indication Palestine, Syria, Arabia Constantinople, Nicomedia, Alexandria without indication without indication Constantinople, Antioch Constantinople cos Beirut, Galilee, Arabia, lestine without indication	Elie de Nisibe, 58 Theophanes, 6038 Theophanes, 6040 Theophanes, 6043 Theophanes, 6046; Jean d'E-Phèse, 241 Theophanes, 6047 Theophanes, 6049 Theophanes, 6050 Theophanes, 6050; Malalas (488) Agathias 281 Agathias, 98 John of Ephesus, 241 Theophanes, 6053	
	Cyclades without indication eruption of Vesuvius and rain of ashes in Constantinople (liturgical memory to date) Gabala of Syria Constantinople Constantinople Constantinople Laodicea, Hierapolis, Tripoli from Syria Edessa, Nicopolis (from Syria) Neocaean, Ptolemaïs, Tyre and Sidon Rhodes Dardania, spec. Uskub Dyrrachium and Corinth Anazarbe Antioch, Seleucia of Syria, Constantinople Antioch Antioch Clustered Myres Constantinople Pompeiopolis of Mysia Pompeiopolis of Cilicia Antioch laodicea Constantinople general, spec. Cyzic Corinth Constantinople without indication Palestine, Syria, Arabia Constantinople, Nicomedia, Alexandria without indication without indication constantinople, Antioch Constantinople cos Beirut, Galilee, Arabia, lestine	

⁽i) John of Ephesus gives 7 August 551, but the concordance marked by Theophanes is not observed.

Dates

567 Oct 5 568 14 Jan. 580/581 (3rd year. of Tiberius) 583 Io May 584/585

Oct. 588 601 2 April 6ii 20 April 618 August

632 June 659 679 3 April

713 28 February

717 24 December 718 21 or 24 Jan., shaking for six months

74o 26 October

 74^{2}

743 or 744 746 18 January 74⁸/₉ (131H) 749/5⁰ (3rd indict.)

756 9 March 768/9 (io8o Séleuc.) 790 9 February April 796 (sells) 796 4 May 801 30 April 824 5 May (Ascens.) 862 (Ascension) Around 862 864

869 Jan 9 40 days

885/886 (272H) 889/990 (276H) 892

893 23 December 926 or early 927

948 957/958 (346H) 967 2 September

Places

Syria Constantinople Antioch, Daphne Constantinople Arabissus

Antioch Mesopotamia Constantinople Rome

Palestine Palestine and Syria Mesopotamia, spec. Edessa

Syria

without indication

Syria

Constantinople, Nicomedia,-Nicaea (liturgical memory)

various places, special. Yemen

Caspian gates Palestine and Syria Syria: Thabor, Mabbug Syria Without indication of location

Palestine and Syria
without indication
Constantinople
Crete
Constantinople
Spoleto and Italy
Panion, Heraclea of Thrace
Constantinople
Dvin (Armenia)
Constantinople

Constantinople (liturgical memory to date)

Egypt tell des Beni Saeiûq Dvin (Armenia)

Dabel Thrakesians

Constantinople
Baghdad and Rai
Honoriade and Paphlagonia,
spec.
Claudiopolis

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986 October 989 25 October 990 25 October	Constantinople Constantinople Capua and Benevento	186, 936 A Cedrenus II, 438 Leo Deacon (175) Chron. Cassinense, II, I I; P. L.,
1004 1010 Jan-Mar 1032 13 August (Sunday) 1033 March 6 1034 17 February 1034 between April and Seven. 1035 1036 18 December	Naples Constantinople and prov. probably in Constantinople probably in Constantinople Syria Jerusalem Camels Prob. Constantinople Thrace, Macedonia and	Ann. Cassin: Muratori, t. V, 55 Cedrenus II, 456 Cedrenus II, 500 Cedrenus II, 500 Cedrenus II, 503 Cedrenus II, Self; Michel Gly boxes, 587 Cedrenus II, 513-514 Cedrenus II, 515
1037 Nov 2, tremors until the end of January 1038/39 (indict. 7) 1040 2 February 1041 Io June 1043/44 (495 armen.)	Thessaly Prob. Constantinople Smyrna and various places Constantinople Ezencan (Arzindjan), Haute- Armenia	Cedrenus II, 518 Cedrenus II, 521-522 Cedrenus II, 522 Cedrenus II, 532
1063 23 September 1064/65 2 earthquakes 1090 6 December 1091 September 1114 Nov 29, Sunday	It is the order of the world's republic of Thrace, Cyzic and Nicaea. various rentals Constantinople Antioch, Nisibe Syria	Arakel, 564 Skylitzes, 657 Attaleiotes, 90 Michel Glycas, 620 Sempad 7 Chronological anthology 308-
1117	Italy, spec. Verona	3 ⁰ 9 Chron. Cassinense IV, 62; P.
I 124	Cilicia, spec. Mopsueste	L. 173, 884 CDs Chron. Cassinense, IV, 65;
1124 Nov 13, the same 1125	Antioch Benevento	P. L., 173, 887 Danduli Chronicon, ed.
II27 13	without indic. of place	Pasto- rello, 230
Jan. 1135	Liguria	Ibid Ann. Benev., apud
1137/1138 (532H) 1138 20 October I140	Syria, Iraq Syria, Mesopotamia Kingdom of Naples	Baronium, 1125, II Danduli Chronicon, ed. Pasto-
1156 26 October 1157 August-September 1166/67 (615 armen.) 1168/69 (617 Armenian) 1170 29 June	Aleppo and the borders of Arabia Syria, many cities Ezencan Ezencan	rello, 231 Annales Cassin.: Muratori, vol. V, 62 H. Crois., Or., I, 25; II, 502 H. Crois., Or., I, 433
1172 26 September I200/1 (597h) 1202 1 March I202 20 May	Syria Sicily Syria Constantinople	Muratori, vol. V, 64 H. Crois., Arm., I, 179 H. Crois., Or., I, 503 Arakel, 566
1203/04 (600h heg)	Syria, Mesopotamia, Asia Mid- neure	H. Crois., <i>Or.</i> , I, 83
I216 1222 25 Dec,Sunday	Italy Italy, especially Brescia	Anonym. Muratori, I, 2, p. 235 Ibid.

Dates

1222 1231 1236/37 (armén. 685) 1254/55 (armén. 703) 1261/62 (1573 Séleuc.) 1266' I^{er} June 1269

1273 1275/76 (armén. 724) 1279 24 April

1281/82 (armén. 730) 1287/88 (armén. 736) 1296 I^{er} juin-17 juillet 1298 30 novembre 1302/03 (702h) 1303 7 August 1323 or early 1324 1332 II February 1341 1343 II October 12 days

1354 2 March 1355, early spring 1355/56 (armén. 805) 1374 8 December 1389 20 March January 1400 1421 14 January 1422 13 April 1430 March 13 or 20, Sun. 1438 February 1454 summer (18 days) 1,457

Places

Cyprus Rome Ezencan Ezencan Syria without indication Armenia

Dyrrachium Cilician Armenia Venice and Italy

Ezencan
Ezencan
Constantinople, Asia Minor
Rieti (Central Italy)
Syria, Egypt
Crete, Rhodes, Cyprus
Constantinople
Constantinople
Chora in Thrace
Constantinople

Constantinople
Coastline of Thrace
Ezencan
Ezencan
Chio
without indication
Argos
Morea
Thessaloniki
without indication
Byzantine territory
Ezencan

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