

# BIBLIOGRAPHY OF LACTANTIUS

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## PART IV. SCHOLARLY LITERATURE

Items new to this revision of July 2014-Aug 2019 appear in blue type.

The following symbols are used in this part:

L = Lactantius; L' = Lactantius'

Σ marks summaries, found mostly in *L'Année Philologique* [A $\Phi$ ] but occasionally in other sources.

☞ marks annotations provided by the compiler, derived either from his own reading or from a reliable source; they are intended not to be critical, but only to clarify what the item is about.

® indicates scholarly reviews.

A work such as this cannot fail to exhibit errors and omissions. All who use these pages are earnestly entreated to send corrections to the compiler by e-mail to <jbryce@carleton.edu>.

SIGLA	WORKS FOUND IN EDITIONS OF LACTANTIUS
AP	<i>De Ave Phoenice</i>
AS	<i>Aenigmata Symposii</i>
CD	St. John Chrysostom, <i>De Cæna Domini</i> in a Latin version by Hieronymus Donatus
DI	<i>Divinae Institutiones</i>
EDI	<i>Epitome Divinarum Institutionum</i>
acEDI	the acephalous <i>EDI</i> , beginning with ch. 51 [56], <i>Nam si iustitia...</i>
ID	<i>De Ira Dei</i>
MA	fragment <i>de Motibus Animi</i>
MP	<i>De Mortibus Persecutorum</i>
OD	<i>De Opificio Dei</i>
PD	<i>De Passione Domini</i>
PT	<i>Adhortatio Philippi ad quendam Theodosium Iudæum</i>
RD	<i>De Resurrectionis Dominicæ Die (Salve, festa dies)</i> , ascribed to Venantius Fortunatus
acRD	an acephalous version of <i>RD</i> beginning at the verse <i>Tempora florifero rutilant ...</i>
TS	Tertullian, <i>Sermo de Vita Æterna</i>
TA	Tertullian, <i>Apologeticus</i>
VM	Lorenzo Valla, <i>De Mystero Eucharistiæ</i>

The following subtitles for the seven books of *DI* are often found:

- I. *DE FALSA RELIGIONE*
- II. *DE ORIGINE ERRORIS*
- III. *DE FALSA SAPIENTIA*

- IV. *DE VERA SAPIENTIA ET RELIGIONE*  
 V. *DE IUSTITIA*  
 VI. *DE VERO CULTU*  
 VII. *DE VITA BEATA*

## SCHOLARLY LITERATURE

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- ANON. *Disquisitiones dogmaticæ in Lactantium, sive de ejus circa religionem sentiendi et argumentandi rationes*, in *PL* 7, cols. 1011-186.
- ANON. ‘Observatores cum Editore Britanno communicatæ in dissertationem *De Mortibus Persecutorum*,’ *Observationes in auctores veteres et recentiores* 4.1 (1734) 31-6. ☞ Textual observations in light of the codex Colbertinus; see Index under Lactantius.
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- \_\_\_\_\_. & Peter M. BRENNAN. ‘The text of Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum* 44.2 and some epigraphic evidence for Italian recruits,’ *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 84 (1990) 183-6.  $\Sigma$  *Aph* 61 (1990) 159 #2257.
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- \_\_\_\_\_. ‘Un «paradis» encore bien classique: le prélude du poème *De aue Phœnice* (v. 1-29),’ pp. 177-192 in Jean GRANAROLO & Michèle BIRAUD, ed., *Hommage à René BRAUN II: Autour de Tertullien*. Nice & Paris, 1990 (Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Nice 56.2).  $\Leftrightarrow$  To correct the notion that the prelude to *AP* is largely biblically inspired, the author demonstrates connections with Vergil, Seneca, Ovid, the *Ciris*, Lucretius, and Catullus.
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FRANCESCHINI, Edoardo [Frater Eduardus à San Xaverio]. *Apparatus ad novam L. Cælii Firmiani Lactanti operum editionem*. Roma, 1751. ☞ A prospectus of his new edition, including the first two dissertations of the eventual publication as below:

\_\_\_\_\_. *In omnia L. Cælii Lactantii Firmiani opera dissertationum præviarum Decas prima*. Roma, 1754. ☞ Preface (pp. 1-24), annotated index (pp. 25f), Proem (27-31). *Dissertationes*: 1. 'De Lactantii Firmiani denominationibus' (32-49); 2. 'De Lucii Cælii Lactantii Firmiani Patria, parentibus, atque consanguineis' (49-145), with appendix (145-207); 3. 'De Sæculo quo Lactantius floruit' (207-215); 4. 'De Lactantii adolescentia, iuventute, senio, studiis, atque muneribus' (216-227); 5. 'De Scriptis, quæ sub Lactantii Firmiani nomine circumferuntur' (228-31); 6. 'De Lactantii Libello, qui *de Opificio Dei* inscribitur' (232-44); 7. 'De Septem *Divinarum Institutionum* libris a Lactantio conscriptis' (245-314); 8. 'An Lactantius Lib. IV cap. ult. inter Hæreticos sui temporis etiam Arianos recensuerit?' (314-20); 9. 'Quo sensu Ariani inter Hæreticos a Lactantio sint recensiti' (321-35); 10. 'Quid de Constantini Nomine in Lactantii *Institutionum* libris dicendum sit contra Isæum, et Gallæum' (336-56). This and the next volume are extraordinarily elaborate, with diagrams and facsimiles of coins, inscriptions, buildings, etc.

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FREDOUILLE, Jean-Claude. 'Lactance historien des religions,' pp. 237-252 in J. FONTAINE & M. PERRIN, eds., *Lactance et son Temps*. ☞ Vindicates L' clarity, balance, and methodology in religious historiography.

\_\_\_\_\_. 'Pascal lecteur de Lactance?' pp. 393-403 in Emmanuel BURY & Bernard MEUNIER, edd., *Les Pères de l'église au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Paris, 1993 (Actes du colloque de Lyon, 2-5 octobre

- 1991).  $\Sigma$  *APh* 64 (1993) 253 #3231. ☞ With ideas of Pascal, compares *DI* 2.3.12-25 on three classes of persons distinguished by degrees of knowledge and wisdom; also *DI* 3.4.12-14, 3.6.2, 3.15.14.
- FREND, William High Clifford. ‘Some North African turning points in Christian apologetics,’ *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 57.1 (2006) 1-15. ☞ Apologists from North Africa, including Tertullian, Minucius Felix, Arnobius, and L, and the part they played in the Church’s developing attempt to demonstrate the superiority of Christianity.
- FREPPEL, Msgr Charles Émile, bishop of Angers. *Commodien, Arnobe, Lactance, et autres fragments inédits*. Paris, 1893. ☞ Collection of interpretive essays; L on pp. 94-148.
- FREUND, Stefan. ‘Chrysipp und die ἀποκατάστασις: ‘Beobachtungen zu Text, Zusammenhang, Überlieferungsgeschichte und Rezeption von *SVF* II 623 (= *Lact. inst.* 7,23,3,’ *Rheinisches Museum* 149.1 (2006) 51-64. ☞ Textual criticism of these passages.
- \_\_\_\_\_. ‘Christian use and valuation of theological oracles: the case of Lactantius’ *Divine Institutes*,’ *Vigiliae Christianae* 60.3 (2006) 269-284 (summary in English). ☞ Discussion of the oracles at *ID* 23.12, and *DI* 1.7.1, 1.7.10, 4.13.11, & 7.13.5f; argument against the theory that L is responding to Pophyry of Tyre’s *De Philosophia ex oraculis exhaurienda*.
- \_\_\_\_\_. ‘Lactantiana quaedam recentiora: sieben neue Bücher über Laktanz aus den Jahren 1999 bis 2002’ *Plekos* 5 (2003) 49-73, available at <http://www.plekos.uni-muenchen.de/2003/rlaktanz.html> & [~.pdf](#). ☞ Reviews of WINGER *Personalität* (pp. 49-55), DIGESER *Making* (55-62), TJULENEV *Laktanzij* (62-6), HECK/SCHICKLER *Lactantius* (66f), FRIEDRICH *Symposium* (67-9), LASZLO *Dichtungen* (69), and LÖW *Hermes* (70-73), *q.v.* elsewhere in this Part IV; but for HECK/SCHICKLER, see in Part III.
- \_\_\_\_\_. ‘Laktanz und die epikureische Seelenlehre,’ pp. 379-384 in Frances YOUNG, Mark EDWARDS, and Paul PARVIS, edd., *Studia Patristica 42: Papers presented at the Fourteenth International Conferences on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 2003*. Leuven, 2006. ☞ L’ rebuttal at *DI* 7.12 of Epicurean arguments derived from Lucretius *De Rerum Natura* 3.
- \_\_\_\_\_. ‘Laktanz und die Johannesoffenbarung,’ pp. 45-52 in Jane AND , Averil CAMERON, Mark EDWARDS, edd, *Studia Patristica 46: Papers presented at the Fifteenth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 2007*. Leuven and Paris, 2010. ☞ The chiliastic eschatology used by L at the end of *DI* in relation to the Book of Revelations of St. John.
- \_\_\_\_\_. ‘Tertullian bei Laktanz,’ pp. 185-203 in Jérôme Lagouanère and Sabine Fialon, edd., *«Tertullianus Afer»: Tertullien et la littérature chrétienne d’Afrique* (Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia 70). Turnhout: Brepols 2015. ☞ Two mentions of Tertullian by L at *DI* 5.1.23 & 28.
- FRIEDRICH, Anne. *Das Symposium der XII sapientes: Kommentar und Verfasserfrage*. Berlin & New York, 2002 (Texte und Kommentare 22). ☞ Introduction, text history, text and commentary of this collection of 143 epigrams (*Anth. Lat.* 495-638 Riese<sup>2</sup>), discussion of genre and authorship, bibliography (pp. 511-517), indices of passages and topics. Pp. 481-508 on identifying this text with the *Symposium* of L mentioned by Jerome (*De Viris Illustribus* 80).
- ® FELGENTREU, *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 12 (200) [no page numbers]; FREUND, *Plekos* 5 (2003) 67-9, available at <http://www.plekos.uni-muenchen.de/2003/rlaktanz.html> & [~.pdf](#); SCHMITZ, *Gymnasium* 111.1 (2004) 67f.
- FRÖHNER, W. ‘Kritische Studien,’ *Rheinisches Museum* 47 (1892) 291-311. ☞ P. 303 on *AP* 99f; also treats authenticity of *AP* (cf. Brandt ‘Entstehungsverhältnisse’ 131f and ‘Zum Phönix’). P. 303 on *AP* 97-100.
- FROTSCHER, Paul Gotthold. *Des Apologeten Lactantius Verhältnis zur griechischen Philosophie*. Leipzig, 1895 (dissertation).

- FUCHS, Harald. *Der geistige Widerstand gegen Rom in der antiken Welt*. Berlin, 1938 and 1964. ☞ Pp. 30-35 and 37f on Lactantius.
- GAGÉ, Jean. ‘Comment Sapor a-t-il «trionphé» de Valérien?’ *Syria* 42 (1965) 343-388.  $\Sigma$  *Aph* 37 (1966) 594. ☞ *MP* 5 on the fate of Valerian: pp. 355-7, 367f, 385f.
- GAGER, John G. ‘Marcion and philosophy,’ *Vigiliae Christianae* 26 (1972) 53-9.  $\Sigma$  *Aph* 43 (1972) 198 #02476. ☞ *ID* 13.20f on p. 56, witnessing the Epicurean argument that the existence of evil in the world proves that God is weak or evil.
- GALDI, Marco. ‘Ad versum 163 «De ave Phœnice» carminis quod Lactantii fertur,’ *Bollettino di Filologia Classica* 33 (1916-27) 203-5.  $\Sigma$  *Aph* 3(1928) 45.
- GALLETIER, Édouard. ‘La mort de Maximien d’après le panégyrique de 310 et la vision de Constantin au temple d’Apollon,’ *Revue des Études Anciennes* 52 (1950) 288-99.  $\Sigma$  *Aph* 21 (1950) 302. *MP* 29f.
- GALYNINA, Irina. ‘*Accessus ad Lactantium?*: zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung der Werke des Lactanz und zur Exzerptmethode im Mittelalter.1,” *Revue d’Histoire des Textes* N.S. 12 (2017) 161-196, with resums in French and English. ☞ Analysis of 60 codices witnessing L, of which the two most ancient reveal that this tradition began in Benedictine monasteries in the diocese of Arras.
- GARAUD, C. ‘Remarques sur la thème des ruines dans la littérature chrétienne,’ *Phœnix* 20 (1966) 148-158.  $\Sigma$  *Aph* 37 (1966) 350. ☞ *DI* 4.18.32 on p. 150.
- GARCÍA GARCÍA, María Olalla. ‘¿Barbarie o propaganda oficial?: la captura de Valeriano,’ pp. 83-87 in José Francisco GONZÁLEZ CASTRO & José Luis VIDAL, edd., *Actas del X congreso español de estudios clásicos (21-25 de septiembre de 1999)*, vol. 3: *Historia antigua, humanismo, tradición clásica, didáctica, «instrumenta studiorum»*. Madrid, 2002.  $\Sigma$  *Aph* 74 (2003) 379 #03414. ☞ *DI* and *Historia Augusta* contrasted.
- GARDEI, Jean. *Collection des fleurs de Lactance Firmian, contenant sentences tres-belles*. 8° [Imprint?] ☞ According to *PL* 6, p. 109, it is virtually identical with Becon’s *Anthologia*.
- GAREAU, Étienne. ‘*Bene et vere loqui*: Lactance et la conception cicéronienne de l’orateur idéal,’ *Revue des Études Latines* 55 (1977) 192-202.  $\Sigma$  *Aph* 48 (1977) 192 #2447. ☞ Pp. 196-202 on Lactantius.
- GARFAGNINI, Gian Carlo. ‘Da Seneca a Giovanni di Salisbury. *Auctoritates morali e vitæ philosophorum* in un ms. trecentesco,’ *Rinascimento* 20 (1980) 201-47.  $\Sigma$  *Aph* 52 (1981) 189 #2732. ☞ Edition of the treatise *De divisione et laude philosophie que ad mores pertinet* (Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze, Conv. sopp. G.4.1111), which shows much dependence on Lactantius; see textual notes, pp. 239-43.
- GARNSEY, Peter. ‘Lactantius and Augustine,’ ch. 8, pp. 153-180 in Alan K. BOWMAN, Hannah M. COTTON *et al*, edd., *Representations of Empire: Rome and the Mediterranean World*. Oxford, 2002 (Proceedings of the British Academy 114). ☞ Compares the thought of L and Augustine on using pagan authorities in apologetics, the unity of true wisdom and true religion, the idea of the final good, the concept of virtue, and (rather more divergently) political thought.
- \_\_\_\_\_ ‘Lactantius and Augustine,’ pp. 153-179 of Alan K. BOWMAN *et al.*, ed. *Representations of Empire: Rome and the Mediterranean World* (Oxford, 2002; papers from a conference held at London and Oxford, July 7-8, 2000). ☞ Comparison of passages shows Augustine’s knowledge of *DI*, L as a theorist of ethics, and a comparison between them.
- \_\_\_\_\_ & Caroline HUMFRESS. *The Evolution of the Late Antique World*. Cambridge, 2001; xv + 252 pp, 12 illustrations, table of dates, maps, ten chapters with endnotes, bibliographies pp. 228-246, index of names and subjects. ☞ A thematic approach concentrating on the 3<sup>rd</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup>

centuries; major themes: evolution of monarchy and civil service, system of law, social hierarchy, the barbarian other, the food supply, Christianity, morality and society, the fall of Rome. L on pp. 7, 18, 170, 176f, 179f, 192, 203-8.

® JACOBS, *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 8 (2001).

GARSTAD, Benjamin. 'Belus in the «Sacred History» of Euhemerus,' *Classical Philology* 99.3 (2004) 246-257.  $\Sigma$  *Aph* 75 (2004) 205f #01808.  $\Rightarrow$  *DI* 1.22.21-3 & Diodorus 6.1.1.

GATZEMEIER, Susanne. 'Lukrezitat und -paraphrase bei Laktanz,' pp. 155-173 in Ute TISCHER & Alexandra BINTERNAGEL, ed., *Fremde Rede — eigene Rede: Zitieren und verwandte Strategien in antiker Prosa*. Bern & Frankfurt am Main, 2010, 243 pp. with index: Acts of a Conference held at Potsdam in November, 2009.  $\Rightarrow$  The 24 direct quotations and numerous indirect paraphrases and allusions found in L to Lucretius, showing that L considered Lucretius the principle source of Epicureanism, and profoundly understood the force of his poetic language.

GAUDEMET, Jean. 'Costantino e Lattanzio,' *Labeo* 26 (1980) 401-5.  $\Rightarrow$  Review article (in French) on AMARELLI 'Vetustas.'

\_\_\_\_\_. *Le droit Romain dans la littérature occidentale chrétienne du III au V siècle*. Milan, 1978 (Ius Romanum Medii Aevi I.3.b).  $\Rightarrow$  L in §§19-23, pp. 53-70.

\_\_\_\_\_. 'Lactance et le droit romain,' *Atti dell'Accademia romanistica costantiniana* 2. Perugia, 1976.  $\Rightarrow$  Rivière 'Constantin' quotes p. 89 on L.

GAWLICK, Gunter. 'Cicero in der Patristik,' pp. 57-62 in F. L. CROSS, ed., *Studia Patristica* 9, part 3 of the Reports to the International Conference on Patristic Studies, Oxford, 1963. Berlin, 1966 (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 94).  $\Rightarrow$  L on pp. 60f.

GEFFCKEN, Karl Heinrich Johannes. *Zwei griechische Apologeten*. Leipzig and Berlin, 1907 (Sammlung wissenschaftlicher Kommentare zur griechischen und römischen Schriftstellern).  $\Rightarrow$  Pp. 291-5 on L as apologist; p. 90 on *DI* 6.12.25 & 29 about the charity of burying the dead.

GELASIUS, Pope. *Decretum de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis*, ed. Ernst von DOBSCHÜTZ. Leipzig, 1912 (Texte und Untersuchungen 38.4.  $\Rightarrow$  L' *opuscula* condemned at 5.7.

GELZER, Matthias. 'Der Urheber der Christerverfolgung von 303,' pp. 378-86 in vol. 2 (1963) of his *Kleine Schriften*, 3 vols. Wiesbaden, 1962-4.  $\Rightarrow$  On *MP*.

GENNARO, Salvatore. 'Il classicismo di Lattanzio nel *De aue phœnice*,' *Miscellanea di Studi di Letteratura cristiana antica*, Catania 9 (1959) 1-18, = pp. 337-356 in *Convivium Dominicum: Studi sull' Eucarestia nei Padri della Chiesa antica e Miscellanea patristica*. Catania, 1959.  $\Sigma$  *Aph* 30 (1959) 97.

® Fontaine, *Latomus* 20 (1961) 592f.

GEORGES, Karl Ernst. 'Vermischte Bemerkungen,' *Philologus* 32 (1873) 91.  $\Rightarrow$  On *MP* 43.5.

GERET, Johann Georg. *Exercitatio historico-literaria qua variorum de Lactantio eiusque theologia iudicia exhibet M. Ioannes Georgius Geret*. Wittenberg, 1722.  $\Rightarrow$  Critique of L' theology.

GERHARDT, Christoph. 'Der Phönix auf dem dürren Baum (*Historia de Preliis*, cap. 106),' pp. 73-108 of Wolfgang HARMS & Heino REINITZER, ed., *Natura Loquax: Naturkunde und allegorische Naturdeutung vom Mittelalter bis zur frühen Neuzeit*. Frankfurt, Bern, & Cirencester, 1981 (Mikrokosmos 7).  $\Rightarrow$  On p. 78, *AP* 63-70 about the phoenix in Paradise.

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GIANCOTTI, Francesco. 'Il preludio di Lucrezio, il trasposizionismo e Lattanzio,' *Orpheus* N.S. 1.2 (1980) 221-250.  $\Sigma$  *Aph* 51 (1980) 172 #2533; cf. CANFORA 'Proemio' above.  $\Rightarrow$  *ID* 7.15-8.1 on pp. 224 & 238-50.

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- GIGON, Olof. 'Lactantius und die Philosophie,' pp. 196-213 in A. M. RITTER, ed., *Kerygma und Logos. Beiträge zu den geistgeschichtlichen Beziehungen zwischen Antike und Christentum. Festschrift für Carl ANDRESEN zum 70. Geburtstag.* Göttingen, 1979. ☞ Analysis of *DI* 3.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'Posidoniana–Ciceroniana–Lactantiana,' pp. 145-180 in W. DEN BOER *et al.*, eds., *Romanitas et Christianitas. Studia IANO HENRICO WASZINK. a.d. VI kal. Nov. a. MCMLXIII XIII Lustra complenti oblata.* Amsterdam, 1973. ☞ *DI* 3 on pp. 166-8, 171f, 175-7.
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- GISTELINCK, K. U. L. 'Lactance et sa théologie baptismale propre à son temps,' *Questions Liturgiques* (1974) 178-193. ☞ L expresses baptismal theology in pagan terms, especially Hermetic gnosis.
- GIUSTI, Antonio. 'La malattia dell' imperatore Galerio nel racconto di Lattanzio,' *Bilychnis* anno 17, fasc.8-9, vol. 32.2-3 (1928) pp. 85-98. ☞ Medical analysis of the ancient accounts of the final illness of the emperor Galerius, including *MP* 33.1-11 & 35.3.
- GLAESENER, Henri. 'Les changements de signification dans Lactance,' *Musée Belge* 5 (1901) 5-26.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'L'emploi des modes chez Lactance,' *Musée Belge* 4 (1900) 26-37.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'Les néologismes de Lactance,' *Musée Belge* 5 (1901) 293-316.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'La syntaxe des cas chez Lactance,' *Musée Belge* 4 (1900) 223-235.
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- ® on the series: BRANDT, *Archiv für Lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 12 (1902) 437; CAHEN, *Bulletin critique de Littérature, d'Histoire, etc.* Deuxième Série 8 (1902) 381-90.
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- GLONING, Frido. *De vera sapientia et religione: Kommentar und Untersuchungen zum vierten Buch der Divinae institutiones des Laktanz.* Salzburg, 1967 (unpublished dissertation; xviii + 359 pp.)
- GNASSO, Pasquale. 'La legenda del Seneca Christiano,' *Vichiana* 53.1-2 (2016) 139-146, with a summary in English. ☞ *DI* 6.24.13-14 reveals that the legend of the conversion to Christianity of Seneca originated in the Humanist era, based on a forged correspondence between Seneca and St. Paul.
- GNILKA, Christian. 'Falsae pietatis imago: Quellenstudien zu einer Szenenfolge der Psychomachie des Prudentius,' pp. 353-380 of *Philologische Streifzüge durch die römische Dichtung.* Basel, 2007. ☞ L offers a pattern for the assessment of frugality as a vice.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'Kreuzsignierung und Selbstbekreuzigung: (zu Prud. apoth. 485-502),' pp. 415-424 of *Philologische Streifzüge durch die römische Dichtung.* Basel, 2007. ☞ L *DI* 4.27.3-5 as a likely source for passages in Prudentius.

- \_\_\_\_\_. ‘Die vielen Wege und der Eine: zur Bodentum einer Bildrede aus dem Geisteskampf der Spätantike,’ *Literaturwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch der Görres Gesellschaft* n.F. 31 (1990) 9-51.  $\Sigma$  *APh* 61 (1990) 368 #5360.
- GORDON, Octavian Gheorghe. ‘Is *De mortibus persecutorum* an orphan indeed?’ pp. 27-31 in Jane BAUN, Averill CAMERON, and Mark EDWARDS, edd., *Studia Patristica 46, Papers presented at the Fifteenth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford, 2007*, Leuven and Paris: Peeters 2010. ☞ The writing suggests it is genuine L.
- GÖRRES, Franz. ‘Miscellen zur Kritik einiger Quellenschriftsteller der später römischen Kaiserzeit,’ *Philologus* 36 (1877) 597-626. ☞ Pp. 597-614, ‘Zur Kritik des Eusebius und des Lactantius,’ include: 1. ‘Über die abfassungszeit des Buches *de Mortibus Persecutorum*’ (pp. 597-602); 2. ‘Zur kritik der Berichte des Eusebius und Lactantius über Maximin’s II. Verhältnis zu den Christen in den Jahren 311 bis 313’ (pp. 602-9, on *MP* 35-8); 3. ‘Zur Kritik der von den beiden Christlichen Autoren enworfenen charakteristik des Kaisers Maximin II’ (610-3); 4. ‘Zu Lact. *m. p. c. 50*’ (613-40).
- GOSSEREZ, Laurence. ‘Le phénix de Lactance: naissance de l’élégie triomphale chrétienne,’ pp. 119-146 of Laurence Gosserez, ed., *Le phénix et son autre: poétique d’un mythe: (des origines au XVIe siècle)*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2013. ☞ In *AP* L uses the motif of the phoenix for a new epigrammatic genre, that of triumphal elegy, which combines neo-Alexandrian traits, ideas from Longinus on the sublime, and a depiction of the apocalypse.
- \_\_\_\_\_. ‘Un contrepoint païen, le phénix de Claudien,’ pp. 147-152 of Laurence Gosserez, ed., *Le phénix et son autre: poétique d’un mythe: (des origines au XVIe siècle)*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2013. ☞ In rewriting L’ *AP*, Claudian eliminated the Christian characteristics of L’ treatment to emphasize the solar and warrior aspects of the mythical bird.
- GÖTZ, Georg. ‘Ad *Anthologiam Latinam*,’ pp. 322-331 among the *Miscella Critica* of Friedrich RITSCHL, ed., *Acta Societatis Philologæ Lipsiensis* 5 (1875). ☞ On *AP* (*carmen* 731 of the *Anthology*), pp. 322-331; 322-4 on authenticity, 324-331 on the text.
- \_\_\_\_\_. ‘Lactantius und die Räthsel des Symphosius,’ *Rheinisches Museum* n.F. 41 (1886) 3184. ☞ The difficulties of the ms *inscriptiones* and the name Symphosius.
- GONELLA, Guido. ‘La critica dell’ autorità delle leggi secondo Tertulliano e Lattanzio,’ *Rivista Internazionale di Filosofia del Diritto* 17 (1937) 23-37.  $\Sigma$  *APh* 12 (1937) 118. ☞ On pp. 33-7 *DI* 6.9.3f & 6; 5.11.1 & 7; 5.6.3 (wrongly cited as 6.6); 5.12.1; 5.14.12; 5.14.19 (wrongly cited as 5.15); 5.8.9.
- GONZÁLEZ VEGA, Felipe. ‘Léxico e ideología en el *De Mortibus Persecutorum* de Lactancio: el caso de Valeria y Prisca,’ *Studia Historica: Historia Antigua* 2-3 (1984-5) 199-214.  $\Sigma$  *APh* 61 (1990) 160 #2259.
- GOULON, Alain. ‘Les citations des poètes latins dans l’œuvre de Lactance,’ pp. 107-156 in J. FONTAINE & M. PERRIN, eds., *Lactance et son Temps*. ☞ Lists of passages with commentary and analysis of function of citations.
- \_\_\_\_\_. ‘Un jeu de mots chez Lactance (*Divinae institutiones* III, 8, 10),’ *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 19 (1973) 39-55.  $\Sigma$  *APh* 44 (1973) 180.
- \_\_\_\_\_. ‘Une présentation personnelle de l’épicurisme par Lactance (*Inst.* 3, 17): objectivité, habileté, ou rouerie?’ pp. 17-25 in Jean-Yves GUILLAUMIN & Stéphane RATTI, edd., *Autour de Lactance: hommages à Pierre Monat*. Besançon, 2003. ☞ L’s understanding of and struggle with Epicurean ideas.
- \_\_\_\_\_. ‘Lactance et les philosophes: refutation ou dialogue?’ pp. 13-22 in Jean Michel Poinssotte, ed., *Les chrétiens face à leurs adversaires dans l’occident latin au IVe siècle: actes des journées d’études du GRAC, Rouen, 25 avril 1997 et 28 avril 2000*. Mont-Saint-Aignan,



- 2001 (Publications de l'Université de Rouen 297). *Aph* 73 (2002) #03482. ☞ An overview of L's confrontation with philosophy.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'L'oiseau Phénix de Lactance et ses attaches à l'œuvre apologétique,' pp. 85-103 of Silvia FABRIZIO-COSTA, ed., *Phénix: mythe(s) et signe(s): actes du colloque international de Caen (12-14 octobre 2000)*. Bern, Berlin et al., 2001.  $\Sigma$  *Aph* 72 (2001) 344 #03104. ☞ Survey of the myth in literature; L use of poetry and myth in *DI*; similar mythological procedure in *AP*.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'Quelle connaissance Lactance avait-il du *De rerum natura*? Réalité et signification des réminiscences lucrétiennes dans l'œuvre de Lactance,' pp. 217-257 in Rémy POIGNAULT, ed., *Présence de Lucrèce: Actes du colloque tenu à Tours, 1998*. Tours, 1999 (Collection Cæsarodunum XXXII bis). ☞ L' intimate familiarity with Lucretius leads to a variety of intertextualities, from allusion to exact quotation (a chart appears on p. 240), on a number of themes here explored.
- GRAMUSSET, François. 'D'Hérodote à Borges: Phénix de la lettre, Phénix de la parole, cendres de l'itérature,' pp. 159-174 in Silvia FABRIZIO-COSTA, ed., *Phénix: mythe(s) et signe(s): actes du colloque international de Caen (12-14 octobre 2000)*. Bern, Berlin et al., 2001. ☞ Symbolism and intertextuality; *AP* at 160-162.
- GRANT, Robert McQueen. 'Patristica,' *Vigiliæ Christianæ* 3 (1949) 225-9.  $\Sigma$  *Aph* 20 (1949) 81. ☞ #4 (pp. 227f) on the doxography at *DI* 3.3.4 & 3.8.29.
- GRASZYNSKI, Bonaventura. 'Quæstiones in aliquot locos commentarii *De mortibus persecutorum Lactantii, cuius creditur*,' *Eos* 24 (1919-20) 24-25. ☞ The fates of the Augustas Prisca and Valeria; textual matters at *MP* 50.3f & 40.2
- GREER, Rowan A. 'Cicero's sketch and Lactantius' plan,' pp. 155-174 in Abraham J. MALHERBE, Frederick W. NORRIS, and James THOMPSON, ed., *The Early Church in its Context*. Leiden, Boston, Köln, 1998 (Supplements to *Novum Testamentum* 90). ☞ L develops Cicero's sketches for a just society (*cf. Off.* 3.17.69) into a fully developed plan for a just society based on Christian principles, but then undermines his project by identifying this society with Constantine's regime.
- GRÉGOIRE, Henri. 'About Licinius' fiscal and religious policy,' *Byzantion* 13 (1938) 551-60.  $\Sigma$  *Aph* 13 (1938) 354. ☞ On *MP* 37, with chronological inferences from *MP* 35.1-36.1, 40.8-9, & 48.1.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'La "Conversion" de Constantin,' *Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles* 36 (1930-31) 231-72. ☞ On *MP*, pp. 236-9, 245-9, 253-6, 259f, 262-4; bibliography on the Constantinian question, pp. 270-2.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'Les pierres qui crient,' *Byzantion* 14 (1939) 317-21.  $\Sigma$  *Aph* 14 (1939) 280. ☞ Section 2, 'Les chrétiens et l'oracle de Didymes,' involves *MP* 10-11 in attacking Norman F. BAYNES' chapters 19-20 of the *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. 12 (1965).
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'La vision de Constantin «liquidée»,' *Byzantion* 14 (1939) 341-51.  $\Sigma$  *Aph* 14 (1939) 374. ☞ *MP*, the *Vita Constantini*, and the historiography of Constantine; response to ZEILLER 'Quelques Remarques.'
- GRIFFIN, Miriam. 'The Elder Seneca and Spain,' *Journal of Roman Studies* 62 (1972) 1-19. ☞ P. 10 on the fragment at *DI* 7.15.14; see also p. 19, n. 13.
- GRILLI, Alberto. 'Lattanzio e Ortensio,' *La Parola del Passato* 56.319 (2001) 257-271.  $\Sigma$  *Aph* 73 (2002) #03483. ☞ L' debts to Cicero's *Hortensius* in *DI* 3.1-9.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *M. Tulli Ciceronis Hortensius*. Milano & Varese, 1962. ☞ The appendix indicates the fragments in Lactantius and the apposite pages of the commentary.

- GRILLMEIER, Alois. *Jesus der Christus im Glauben der Kirche*, Erster Band, *Von der Apostolischen Zeit bis zum Konzil von Chalcedon (451)*. Freiburg-Basel-Wien, 1979; 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, 1990. ☞ pp. 326-345 (Teil 2, Abschnitt 1, Kapitel 1, § II) on L' christology.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Christ in Christian Tradition*, vol. 1: *From the Apostolic Age to Chalcedon (451)*, tr. of the foregoing by J. S. BOWDEN. London and Oxford, 1965; 2nd ed'n revised, London, 1975. ☞ Pp. 190-206 (Part II, Section 1, chapter 1, subsection 2) on L' Christology.
- GRONAU, Karl. *Poseidonios und die jüdisch-christliche Genesisexegese*. Leipzig & Berlin, 1914. ☞ Cites Lactantian passages *passim*; see Stellenregister, p. 312.
- GRONDIN, Jean. *Die Philosophie der Religion: eine Skizze*. Tübingen, 2012. . ☞ Translation by Verena Heisen of the item just below.
- ® SPLETT, *Theologie und Philosophie* 87.3 (2012) 437-8.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *La philosophie de la Religion*. Presses Universitaires de France, 2009, 127 pp. ☞ Covers both Greece and Rome, including Lactantius. Also in German; see the item just above.
- GROSCURTH, A. D. *De auctore libri qui est L. Cæcilii ad Donatum confessorem de mort persec.* Berlin, 1892.
- GROSSE, Sven. 'Der Zorn Gottes: Überlegungen zu einem Thema der Theologie bei Tertullian, Laktanz und Origenes,' *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 112.2 (2001) 147-167. Σ *Aph* 72 (2001) 1454f #14265. ☞ L *ID* on pp. 156-8.
- GROSSMANN, Christiane. 'Die neutestamentlichen Grundlagen der Gerechtigkeitsdefinition im 5. Buch der *Institutionen* des Laktanz,' *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 37.2 (2002) 395-403. Σ *Aph* 74 (2003) 379 #03415. ☞ *DI* 5.8.5-9 and Galatians 5:17-24; *DI* 5.22.7-10 and I Corinthians 13:4-7.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'Pietas est dei notio: eine Untersuchung zu Lact. *inst.* v 14, 11f,' *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 39.2 (2004) 171-181. ☞ On the NT influences behind L's definition of *pietas* in *DI* 5.14.11f, from Paul, John, and Peter, as opposed to dependence on Gnostic sources.
- GRUBBS, Judith Evans. *Law and Family in Late Antiquity: the Emperor Constantine's Marriage Legislation*. Oxford, 1995. ☞ Bibliography, pp. 353-371; index of names and topice, pp. 372-8; index of laws discussed, pp. 389f. For L see index, p. 380.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "'Pagan" and "Christian" Marriage: the State of the Question,' *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 2.4 (1994) 361-412. Σ *Aph* 65 (1994) 1134 #15650. ☞ Slight revision of ch. 2 of the foregoing; L on pp. 394-9.
- GRUMEL, Venance. 'Du nombre des persécutions païennes dans les anciennes chroniques,' *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 2 (1956) 59-66. Σ *Aph* 27 (1956) 42f. ☞ On pp. 59 & 66 argues that *MP* was written before L had formulated the principal idea of *ID*.
- GUALANDRI, Isabella. 'Un papiro milanese, Lattanzio, Claudiano e il mito della Fenice,' *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, anno CCCLXXI, 1974: Serie ottava, *Rendiconti della Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* 29 (1974) 293-311. Σ *Aph* 47 (1976) 94 #1179. ☞ Comparison of the parallel passages.
- GUARDUCCI, Margherita. 'La chiocciola cristiana,' *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica* 99 (1991) 447-456. Σ *Aph* 63 (1992) 806 #11282: Snails as symbols on Christian monuments point the way to interpreting *AS* 18 Coclea as an allegory of the human soul.
- GUERRINI, R. 'Le *Divinae Institutiones* di Lattanzio nelle epigrafi del Rinascimento: il Collegio del Cambio di Perugia ed il pavimento del Duomo di Siena (Ermete Trismegisto e Sibille),' *Annuario dell' Istituto Storico Diocesano di Siena* 1 (1992-1993) 5-38. ☞ Depictions of the Sibyls in *quattrocento* art.

- GUILLAUMIN, Jean-Yves. ‘Arts libéraux et philosophie chez Lactance (*Institutions divines* 3, 25)’ pp. 27-42 in *Autour de Lactance* described just below. ☞ A detailed commentary on *DI* 3.25 with reference to many authors of the classical and later periods.
- GUILLAUMIN, Jean-Yves & Stéphane RATTI, edd. *Autour de Lactance: hommages à Pierre Monat*. Besançon, 2003; 344 pp.  $\Sigma$  *Aph* 74 (2003) #17874. ☞ Forward by Jacques Fontaine on pp. 7-8; bibliography of Monat’s scholarship on pp. 9-14; five articles about Lactantius, pp. 17-76; nine articles about Christian literature, pp. 79-203; twelve articles on a variety of subjects, pp. 207-341; table of contents, pp. 343-344. For the articles about Lactantius, please see elsewhere in these pages under GOULON ‘Présentation,’ Jean-Yves GUILLAUMIN ‘Arts,’ INGREMEAU ‘Lactance et la justice: du livre V,’ JACOB ‘Voltaire,’ and SCHNEIDER ‘Lactance.’
- Ⓜ J. J. AUBERT, *Museum Helveticum* 63.4 (2006) 267; B. COLOT, *Revue des Études Augustiniennes et Patristiques* 51.1 (2005) 198-199; O. NICHOLSON, *Journal of Roman Studies* 96 (2006) 307-9; B. ROCHETTE, *Latomus* 64.2 (2005) 517-518; H. SAVON, *L’Antiquité Classique* 74 (2005) 380-381; S. VAN DER MEEREN *Revue des Études Latines* 83 (2005) 417-419.
- GUILLAUMIN, Marie-Louise. ‘L’exploitation des Oracles sibyllins par Lactance et par le *Discours à l’assemblée des saints*,’ pp. 185-202 in J. FONTAINE & M. PERRIN, eds., *Lactance et son Temps*. ☞ Argues that Lactantius himself became a textual source of oracles for Augustine.
- GUINAGH, Kevin. ‘The Vicennalia in Lactantius,’ *Classical Journal* 28 (1932-3) 449f.  $\Sigma$  *Aph* 8 (1933) 322. ☞ Evidence for the celebration of *vicennalia* in *MP* 17.1-3, 30.6, & 31.
- HAACK, Marie Laurence. ‘Haruspices et haruspicine dans l’*Histoire Auguste*,’ pp. 72-6 of *La divination dans le monde italique*, vol. 9, *Les écrivains du IVe siècle: L’Etrusca Disciplina dans un monde en mutation*. Tours, 2005 (Actes de la table ronde tenue à Clermont-Ferrand 17-18 Sept 1999). ☞ In connection with *Historia Augusta Vita Taciti*, one notes an influence from *DI* 8 & 9; but as there are only 7 books of *DI* there is an error here.
- HADZSITS, George Depue. *Lucretius and his Influence*. London and New York, 1935. ☞ L on pp. 216-28.
- HAGENDAHL, Karl Oskar Harald. *Augustine and the Latin Classics*. 2 vols. Göteborg, 1967 (Studia græca et latina gothoburgensia 20). ☞ In vol. 2, L & Virgil, 387; L’ attitude towards Seneca, 676; L & Hermes Trismegistus, 687.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Latin Fathers and the Classics*. Göteborg & Stockholm, 1958 (Studia græca et latina gothoburgensia 6 = Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, v. 64, part 2). ☞ L & Lucretius, 48-76; attitude of L to Lucretius and other philosophers, 81-88; L and the four passions of the stoics and peripatetics, 338-41; much else *passim*.
- \_\_\_\_\_. ‘Methods of Citation in post-classical Latin prose,’ *Eranos* 45 (1947) 114-128.  $\Sigma$  *Aph* 18 (1947) 110. ☞ Attitudes and procedures of Christian authors. On pp. 116-8, the doxography at *DI* 1.5; pp. 120f on L’ literal quotations; pp. 121f on L’ prose paraphrases of verse; pp. 126f on L’ use of classical poets.
- \_\_\_\_\_. ‘Piscatorie et non Aristotelice,’ pp. 184-93 in *Septentrionalia et Orientalia. Studia Bernhardo KARLGREN a.d.-III-Non-Oct-anno MCMLIX dedicata*. Stockholm, 1959. ☞ *DI* 5.2.17 on p.186.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Von Tertullian zu Cassiodor. Die profane literarische Tradition in dem lateinischen christlichen Schrifttum*. Göteborg, 1983 (Studia Græca et Latina Gothoburgensia 44). ☞ Pp. 38-48 on L, with notes on pp. 121-9.
- HAHN, István. ‘Prooemium und Disposition der *Epitome* des Florus,’ *Eirene* 4 (1965) 21-38. ☞ The topos comparing Roman history to the ages of man at *DI* 7.15.14-19, with its connections to the elder Seneca and/or Florus.

- HALM, Karl. 'Zu Lactantius *de mortibus persecutorum*,' *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philologisch-Historische Klasse* 50 (Wien, 1865) 161-7. ☞ Textual matters.
- HANMER, Jonathan. *Archaioskopia, or A View of Antiquity. Presented in a short but sufficient account of some of the fathers...* London, 1677. ☞ Life of L on pp. 314-38. Attributed also to John HOWE.
- HANO, Michel. 'Le témoignage des textes législatifs du IIIème siècle sur les haruspices,' pp. 5-16 of Dominique BRIQUEL & Charles GUITTARD, ed., *La Divination dans le monde italique. 8, Des Sévères à Constantin: les écrivains du IIIème siècle et l'«Etrusca disciplina»*. Actes de la table ronde tenue a l'ENS les 24 et 25 octobre 1997. Tours, 1999.  $\Sigma$  *Aph* 72 (2001) 1596 #15739. ☞ *Historia Augusta*, Tertullian, and L in distinguishing official auspices from the forbidden private ones.
- HANSON, Richard Patrick Crosland. 'The circumstances attending the death of the emperor Flavius Valerius Severus in 306 or 307,' *Hermathena* 118 (1974) 59-68.  $\Sigma$  *Aph* 46 (1975) 663. ☞ *MP* 26.9f.
- HARLOFF, Wilhelm. *Untersuchungen zu Lactantius*. Borna & Leipzig, 1911 (dissertation Rostock). ☞ Source criticism analysis of *DI* 3: L vs philosophy in general, 8-51; polemic against the schools, 51-80; peroration (cc. 25-9), 80-85.  
 ® BRANDT, *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* 32 (1912) cols. 1416-20; WEYMAN, *Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie* 29 (1912) 837-40.
- HARNACK, Adolf von. *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius*. Leipzig, 1893, 2 Hälften. ☞ On L, Vol. 1, pp. 736-44 (ch. VII, §56).  
 \_\_\_\_\_ . *Die Chronologie der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius*. 2 vols., Leipzig, 1897 & 1904. ☞ Teil 2, Band 2 (1904), pp. 184-9 (Buch III, Kapitel IV, §6) on L & the Sibylline Oracles; on L in general, pp. 415-26 (Buch IV, Kapitel 2, §6).  
 \_\_\_\_\_ . 'Neue Studien zur jüngst entdeckten lateinischen Übersetzung des 1. Clemens-brief,' *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (1894) 601-21. ☞ On pp. 608f, argues for dependence of *AP* 102, 117f, & 121f upon the Latin version of I Clem. 25.
- HARRIS, William V. 'Constantine's Dream,' *Klio* 87.2 (2005) 488-494. ☞ Constantine's dream (L *MP* 44.3-5, Eusebius *Vita Constantini* 1.27-8) analyzed as an attempt to encourage soldiers in a traditional fashion.
- HARTKE, Werner. *Römische Kinderkaiser: eine Strukturanalyse römischen Denkens und Daseins*. Berlin, 1951. ☞ L in ch. 8, 'Die Kampf zwischen christlicher Eschatologie und römischen Imperialismus,' pp. 352-402; pp. 393-9 on the topos comparing Roman history to the ages of man at *DI* 7.15.14-19, with its connections to the elder Seneca and/or Florus.
- HARTWELL, Kathleen Ellen. *Lactantius and Milton*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1929. ☞ L' knowledge and use of Milton.  
 ® LILJEGREN, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung für Kritik der internationalen Wissenschaft* 51 (1930) 1232; STEVENS, *Classical Philology* 24 (1929) 414f.
- HÄUSSLER, Reinhard. 'Neues zum spätrömischen Lebensaltervergleich,' vol. 2, pp. 183-191 in JÁNOS HARMATTA, ed., *Proceedings of the VII<sup>th</sup> Congress of the International Federation of Societies of Classical Studies, 1979*. Budapest, 1984 (2 vols).  $\Sigma$  *Aph* 55 (1984) 533 #5290. ☞ Pp. 183-7 on the attribution of the Seneca fragment at *DI* 7.15.14; bibliography on the question, p. 191.

HAUSSLEITER, Johannes. 'Drei neue Schriften Novatians,' *Theologisches Literaturblatt* 15 (1894) 481-7. ☞ How *Quod Idola Dei non sint* in the Cyprianic corpus depends on Minucius Felix and Tertullian.

HAVERKAMP, Anselm. '*Religio*: zur doppelzüngigen Wurzel institutioneller Bindung,' *Rhetorik* 34 (2015) 45-51. ☞ L and Ambrose on *religio*, God, and the Mosaic law, with reference to Cicero.

HECK, Eberhard. 'Bermerkungen zum Text von Laktanz, *De opificio Dei*,' *Vigiliæ Christianæ* 23 (1969) 273-292. Σ *APh* 40 (1969) 153. ☞ Discussion of some thirty passages.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Die Bezeugung von Cicero's Schrift De re publica*. Hildesheim, 1966 (Spudasmata 4). Pp. 71-105 on L; see also next item.

\_\_\_\_\_. 'Ein Cicerozitat über den Nutzen der Philosophie bei Laktanz, *Divinæ Institutiones* 3, 16, 5,' *Eos* 75.2 (1987) 335-51. Σ *APh* 60 (1989) 97 #1452. ☞ Further refinement of some conclusions in the foregoing.

\_\_\_\_\_. 'Constantin und Laktanz in Trier: Chronologisches,' *Historia* 58.1 (2009) 118-130. ☞ On L' producing *MP* and presenting the first edition of *DI* to Constantine in Trier, in *AD* 313-14.

\_\_\_\_\_. '*Defendere—Instituere*. Zum Selbstverständnis des Apologeten Laktanz,' ch. 6, pp. 205-248 of Antonie Wlosok *et al.*, ed., *L'apologétique chrétienne gréco-latine à l'époque prénicénienne*, Vandoeuvres-Génève, 13-17 septembre 2004. Genève-Vandoeuvres, 2005 (Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique 51). ☞ A general introduction to L and his program, both apologetic and didactic; followed by participants' discussion on pp. 241-8.

\_\_\_\_\_. '«Du sollst nicht zietern aus zweiter Hand». Entdeckung und frühe Benutzung des Turiner Codex der Laktanzischen *Epitome divinarum institutionum*,' *Philologus* 137 (1993) 110-121. Σ *APh* 64 (1993) 253f #3236. ☞ Textual history of *EDI*, with a comedy of errors stemming from the disobedience of an important commandment for classicists. This article appears also in English translation: HECK 'Thou Shalt Not,' *q.v. infra*.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Die dualistischen Zusätze und die Kaiseranreden bei Lactantius*. *Untersuchungen zur Textgeschichte der Divinæ Institutiones und der Schrift De opificio Dei*. Heidelberg, 1972 (Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften 1972, 2). ☞ 235 pages with bibliography, index of passages, and index of names and subjects.

® BIRDALL, *Classical Review* 26 (1976) 127; BRISSON, *L'Antiquité Classique* 43 (1974) 507; DOIGNON, *Revue des Études Anciennes* 76 (1974) 189; GRYSO, *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 68 (1973) 930; PERRIN, *Revue des Études Latines* 51 (1973) 486-9; SWIFT, *The Classical World* 68 (1975) 405-7; VARCL, *Listy Filologické* 96 (1973) 156.

\_\_\_\_\_. 'Die dualistischen Zusätze und die Kaiseranreden bei Laktanz,' pp. 185-188 in E. A. LIVINGSTONE, ed., *Studia Patristica* 13, part 2 of the Proceedings of the International Conference on Patristic Studies, Oxford, 1971. Berlin, 1975 (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 116). Σ Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 291, n. 96. ☞ Summarizes the foregoing.

\_\_\_\_\_. '*Iustitia civilis—iustitia naturalis*: à propos du jugement de Lactance concernant les discours sur la justice dans le *De re publica* de Cicéron,' pp. 171-184 in J. FONTAINE & M. PERRIN, eds., *Lactance et son Temps*.

\_\_\_\_\_. 'Lactantius,' article in vol. 6, cols 1043-44, of Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider, ed., *Der Neue Pauly: Encyclopädie der Antike*. Stuttgart, 1999.

\_\_\_\_\_. 'Lactantius, *De falsa religione*. Textkritisches zum 1. Buch der *Divinae institutiones*,' pp. 55-67 of Yves LEHMANN, Gérard FREYBURGER, & James HIRSTEIN, ed., *Antiquité tardive et humanisme: de Tertullien à Beatus Rhenanus. Mélanges offerts à François HEIM à l'occasion de son 70e anniversaire*. Turnhout, 2005 (Studia Humanitatis Rhenana 2). xiv + 550 pp. ☞ Explains

textual choices in his and Antonie WLOSOK's new edition of *DI*, for which see part III of this bibliography.

\_\_\_\_\_. 'Lactanz und die Klassiker. Zu Theorie und Praxis der Verwendung heidnischer Literatur in christlicher Apologetik bei Lactanz,' *Philologus* 132 (1988) 160-79.  $\Sigma$  *Aph* 59 (1988) 214 #3071.  $\Rightarrow$  Thorough general introduction to this topic.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Mḗ θεομαχεῖν, oder die Bestrafung des Gottesverächters: Untersuchungen zu Bekämpfung und Aneignung römischer religio bei Tertullian, Cyprian und Lactanz.* Frankfurt, 1987 (Studien zur Klassische Philologie 24).  $\Rightarrow$  Ch. IV, 'Die Rache Gottes an den Christen verfolgen bei Laktanz,' pp. 186-207: §1 on *DI* 5, pp. 186-207; §2 on *MP*, pp. 208-28.

\_\_\_\_\_. 'Nachträgliches zu den kleinen Schriften des Lactanz,' *Antike und Abendland* 59 (2013) 126-144.  $\Rightarrow$  On ancient additions to the text of *OD* 11.3.

\_\_\_\_\_. 'Nochmals: Lactantius und Lucretius. Antilucrezisches im Epilog des lactanzischen Phoenix-Gedichts?' *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 9.4 (2002-3) 509-523.  $\Sigma$  *ibid.* 509 in English; *Aph* 75 (2004) 330 #02915.  $\Rightarrow$  L & Lucretius, pp. 509-511; on *AP*, 511-517; 517-523 on *AP* 161-170 as an inversion of Lucretius' concept of Venus, *De Rerum Natura* 1.1-3.

\_\_\_\_\_. 'Pseudo-Cyprian, *Quod idola dii non sint* und Laktanz, *Epitome diuinarum institutionum*,' pp. 148-155 of Manfred Wacht, ed., *Panchaia: Festschrift für Klaus Thraede.* Münster, 1922 (*Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum Ergänzungsband* 22).  $\Sigma$   $\Rightarrow$  Dependence of *Quod Idola* upon *DI*, *EDI*, and Minucius Felix.

\_\_\_\_\_. 'Das Romuluselogium des Ennius bei Laktanz: ein Testimonium zu Ciceros schrift *de Gloria*?' pp. 305-315 in Franz PASCHKE, ed., *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen.* Berlin, 1981 (Texte und Untersuchungen zur altchristlichen Literatur 125).  $\Rightarrow$  Sources of *DI* 1.15.31-3.

\_\_\_\_\_. 'Thou Shalt Not Quote at Second Hand: discovery and early use of the Torino ms. Of Lactantius' *Epitome diuinarum institutionum*, in Kevin LEE, Chris MACKIE, & Harold TARRANT, ed., *A 'Chose' for R. Godfrey Tanner.* Auckland, 1993.  $\Rightarrow$  English translation of HECK 'Du sollst nicht,' *q.v. supra*.

\_\_\_\_\_. 'Vestrum est—poeta noster: von der Gerinschätzung Vergils zu seiner Aneignung in der frühchristlichen lateinischen Apologetik,' *Museum Helveticum* 47 (1990) 102-20.  $\Sigma$  *Aph* 61 (1990) 328 #4758.  $\Rightarrow$  Pp. 117-20 on L.

\_\_\_\_\_. 'Wer baute die Mauer für Laomedon?: Autorversehen in den *Diuinae Institutiones* des Lactanz,' vol. 2, pp. 397-415 of Roger GRAYSON, ed., *Philologia Sacra: biblische und patristische Studien für Hermann J. FREDE und Walter THIELE zu ihrem siebzigsten Geburtstag.* 2 vols, Freiburg, 1993 (Vetus Latina 24).  $\Sigma$  *Aph* 64 (1993) 254 #3237.  $\Rightarrow$  Apollo, Neptune, and a confusing pronoun antecedent in the text history of *DI* 1.10.3.

\_\_\_\_\_. 'Wer war Apollos Ehefrau? Wo war Pontius Pilatus Legat?: Unklares in der *Epitome diuinarum institutionum* des Lactanz,' *Hyperboreus* 8.2 (2002) 326-336.  $\Sigma$  *Aph* 74 (2003) 379f #03416.  $\Rightarrow$  L' corrections of *DI* in *EDI*, with certain further errors.

\_\_\_\_\_. 'Zu den lateinischen Übersetzungen griechischer Zitate bei Lactanz,' *Hyperboreus* 16-17 (2010-11) 137-148 with summary in Russian.  $\Rightarrow$  On the source of Latin translations of Greek terms found in *DI*.

\_\_\_\_\_. & Antonie WLOSOK. 'Zum Text der *Epitome diuinarum institutionum* des Laktanz,' *Wiener Studien* 109 (1996) 145-170.  $\Sigma$  *Aph* 67 (1996) 214 #02500.  $\Rightarrow$  Explains some 90 passages where their edition differs from those of BRANDT and PERRIN, *q.v. supra* in part III.

- HEFFERNAN, Carol Falvo. *The Phoenix at the Fountain: Images of Woman and Eternity in Lactantius's Carmen de Ave Phœnice and the Old English Phœnix*. Newark, Delaware; London & Toronto, 1988. ☞ Speculative allegorical interpretations.  
 ® DAMICO, *Speculum* 65 (1990) 994-7.
- HEIKEL, Ivar August. *Eusebius Werke* 1 (1902). ☞ Pp. xcivf on connections between the *Oratio ad Sanctos* and Lactantian texts; index of passages on p. 264.
- HEIM, François. 'L'influence exercée par Constantin sur Lactance: sa théologie de la victoire,' pp. 55-74 in J. FONTAINE & M. PERRIN, eds., *Lactance et son Temps*.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ . 'Virtus chez Lactance: du vir bonus au martyr,' *Augustinianum* 36.2 (1996) 361-375. Σ *Aph* 71 (2000) 302 #02929. ☞ Drawing especially upon Cicero and Seneca, L' critique of the ancient concept of the virtuous hero and adaptation of it to the Christian martyr.
- HEINIG, Max Eugen. *Die Ethik des Lactantius*. Grimma, 1887.
- HEISTERHAGEN, Reinhard. 'Der *Tubero de origine humana* und *Lactantius de opificio dei*,' pp. 150-9 of Hellfried DAHLMANN & Reinhard HEISTERHAGEN, *Varronisches Studien I: zu den Logistorici*, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz, *Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse*, Jahrgang 1957, #4 (Mainz, 1957), 123-74. ☞ On reconstructing Varro's lost *Tubero* from *OD*.
- HERESCU, Nicolae I. Review of Moreau's edition of *MP*, *Orpheus* 2 (1955) 99-103. ☞ Textual emendations for *MP* on pp. 101-2.
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- HEUMANN, Christoph August. Review of LENOURRY's *MP* (Paris, 1710) in *Acta Eruditorum* (Leipzig, 1711) 470-4. ☞ Later expanded into his 'Dissertatiuncula.'  
 \_\_\_\_\_ . 'Dissertatiuncula contra Nic. NOURRIUM,' Appendix I (pp. 211-26) of his *Lactantii Symposium* (Hanover, 1722). ☞ Vindicates L' authorship of *MP* against LE NOURRY in his edition of *MP* (Paris, 1719).  
 \_\_\_\_\_ . 'Symbola critica in Lactantium,' Appendix II, pp. 227-52 of his *Lactantii Symposium* (Hanover, 1722). ☞ Textual notes on *DI*, *ID*, *OD*, *MP*, *EDI* with an index to the passages on pp. 251f.
- HEUSINGER, Johann Michael. *Emendationum Libri II*. Gotha, 1751. ☞ Book I, pp. 1-160 has textual notes on *DI*, *ID*, *OD*.
- HIGHET, Gilbert. *The Classical Tradition*. Oxford, 1949 (<sup>9</sup>1981). ☞ Pp. 52-35 on the old English *Phœnix*.
- HILPERT, Konrad. *Christliche Ethik im Porträt: Leben und Werk bedeutender Moralthologen*. Freiburg im Breisgau, Basel: Verlag Herder, 2012 (901 pp, 3 illustrations, and index). ☞ Among the ancients, Paulus, Origen, L, Ambrose, Augustine, and Gregory the Great.
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- HOOKE, Mischa Andre. *The use of Sibyls and Sibylline oracles in early Christian writers*. Ph.D. Thesis, University of Cincinnati, Ohio, 2007; Σ *DAI-A* 2007-8 2008-9 69 (8). ☞ Includes discussion of L and Augustine.

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 ☞ Fontaine, *Revue des Études Latines* 39 (1961) 324-7.
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- HOSE, Martin. 'Konstantin und die Literatur oder Gibt es sine Konstantinische Literatur?' *Gymnasium* 114,6 (2007) 535-558. ☞ The beginnings of a Constantinian literary era with L's *ID* and *AP*, and Constantine's own *Oratio ad Sanctum Coetum*.
- HOWE, John. *Archaioskopia, or View of Antiquity, etc.* London, 1677. See above at HANMER.
- HUBAUX, Jean. 'Pline et les Esséniens,' *Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres et des sciences morales et politiques de l'Académie Royale de Belgique*, 5<sup>e</sup> série, 44 (1958) 475-495. Σ *Aph* 31 (1960) 170. ☞ *AP* on pp. 482-7 & 492f.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ & Maxime Leroy. *Le mythe du Phénix dans les littératures grecque et latine*. Liège & Paris, 1939. ☞ Text and translation of *AP*, pp. xi-xx; commentary *passim*; indices rerum, nominum, auctorum pp. 253-66.
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- \_\_\_\_\_. 'Les institutions divines de Lactance: une composition architecturale,' *Vita Latina* 132 (1993) 33-40.
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- \_\_\_\_\_. 'Lactance et la justice dans le livre V des *Institutions divines*,' pp. 153-162 in Madeleine Piot, ed., *Regards sur le monde antique: hommages à Guy Sabbah*. Lyon, 2002.  $\Sigma$  *APh* 73 (2002) #03484. ☞ L' use of the term *iustitia* in *DI* 5, referring to Cicero *De Re Publica*.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'Lactance et la justice: du livre V au livre VI des *Institutions Divines*,' pp. 43-52 in Jean-Yves GUILLAUMIN & Stéphane RATTI, ed., *Autour de Lactance: hommages à Pierre Monat*. Besançon, 2003. ☞ Terminology and concepts of *iustitia*, *lex*, *pietas*, and *aequitas*.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'Lactance et la philosophie des passions,' pp. 283-296 in Bernard POUDERON and Joseph DORÉ, ed., *Les apologistes chrétiens et la culture grecque*. Paris, 1998 (Théologie Historique 105).  $\Sigma$  *APh* 72 (2001) 344 #72-03106. ☞ Detailed exposition of the doctrines of *DI* 6.14-19, considered as a unit, and as a treatise Περὶ παθῶν.
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- \_\_\_\_\_. 'Nitor et fulgor dans l'esthétique et dans l'éthique chræetiennes de Lactance,' pp. 571-82 of *De Tertullien auz Mozarabes: Mélanges offerts à Jacques FONTAINE I: Antiquité tardive et christianisme ancien (III<sup>e</sup>-VI<sup>e</sup> siècles)*. Paris, 1992 (Collection des Études Augustinines, Série Antiquité 132). ☞ Thorough word study departing from *EDI* 61.10.
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- \_\_\_\_\_. 'When a Roman Citizen from Africa Wrote: Our Hebrew Ancestors,' ch. 8, pp. 113-125, in Roger-Paul [sic] DROIT, ed., *Greeks and Romans in the Modern World*. Boulder (Colorado and New York, 1998. ☞ English version of the foregoing. Intro. to L' life and works; interpretation of *DI* 10.5.5-13.
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- JACOB, François. 'Voltaire et Lactance,' pp. 53-61 in Jean-Yves GUILLAUMIN & Stéphane RATTI, ed., *Autour de Lactance: hommages à Pierre Monat*. Besançon, 2003. ☞ L, available to Voltaire and Rousseau in the 1752 translation by René Famé, became an important source for their deconstruction of Christianity due to his writing before the 4<sup>th</sup>-century crystallization of Christian dogma, and his promotion of tolerance.
- JAGELITZ, Karl. *Über den Verfasser der Schrift De mortibus persecutorum*. Berlin, 1910 (Programm). ☞ Argues against Brandt 'Zum Phönix' for authenticity of *MP*.

- ® DELEHAYE, *Analecta Bollandiana* 30 (1911) 116; JÜLICHER, *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 36 (1911) 142f; RÉVAY, *Egyetemes Philológai Közlöny* vol? (1910) 750.
- JAGIELSKI, Hubert. *De Firmiani Lactantii fontibus quaestiones selectae*. Königsberg, 1912 (dissertation). ☞ On Varro, pp. 1-54; Seneca phil., 54-84; Quintilian, 84-93; Gellius, 93-6.
- JAMES, Montague Rhodes. ‘The *Apocalypse of Baruch*,’ pp. lxiv-lxvi of ‘Apographa Anecdota II,’ pp. li - lxxi of *Texts and Studies* 5.1 (1897). ☞ Ch. XV of the *Apocalypse*, on the phoenix, with its connections to Baruch 4 and the Slavic Enoch; no *AP*.
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- JOUCLA, M. [Note about] ‘un sarcophage historié du cimetière paléo-chrétien de Saint-Paul,’ *Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique de Narbonne* 22 (1947-8) lviii-lix. ☞ Reports Henri Grégoire’s observation of a similarity between an inscription on the sarcophagus and an unspecified text of L.
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- \_\_\_\_\_. ‘*Ritus ad solos digitos pertinens* (Lact. inst. 5.19,29): a caricature of Roman civic religion in Lactantius’ *Institutiones diuinae*, pp. 283-302 in Anders-Christian Jacobsen, Jörg Ulrich, and David Brakke, edd., *Critique and Apologetics: Jews, Christians, and Pagans in Antiquity*. Frankfurt am Main and Bern, 2009 (Early Christianity in the Context of Antiquity 4, a colloquium organized by the Faculty of Theology in the University of Aarhus, January 2007).
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- KANY-TURPIN, José. ‘Lactance, un critique mésestimé de l’épicurisme,’ pp. 218-230 in Michael ERLER and Robert BEES, edd., *Epikureismus in der späten Republik und der Kaiserzeit*. Stuttgart, 2000 (Akten der 2. Tagung der Karl-und-Gertrud-Abel-Stiftung, October 1998 in Würzburg). Σ ☞ L’ argument with Lucretius in *OD*, *DI*, and *ID* on the topics of teleology, atomic theory, the fear of death, and the nature of the soul.
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- KEHREIN, Valentin. *Quis scripserit libellum qui est Lucii Cæcili de mortibus persecutorum*. Stuttgart, 1877 (Münster dissertation).
- KENDEFFY, Gábor. ‘The Christian who could not bring himself to decide whether to love this world or hate it.’ *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 40 (2000) 217-225. Σ *Ibid.* 217; *Aph* 72 (2001) 344 #03107. ☞ Dualism and inconsistencies in L’ concepts of the nature of the world and of humankind.

- \_\_\_\_\_. ‘Lactantius as Christian Cicero, Cicero as shadow-like instructor,’ pp. 56-92 of William H. F. Altman, ed., *Brill’s Companion to the reception of Cicero* (Brill’s Companions to Classical Reception 2), Leiden: Brill, 2015. ☞ On the reception of Cicero in L.
- \_\_\_\_\_. ‘Lactantius on the Function of the Two Ways,’ pp. 39-44 in Jane BAUN, Averil CAMERON, and Mark EDWARDS, ed., *Studia Patristica 46: Papers presented at the Fifteenth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford, 2007*, Leuven and Paris: Peeters 2010. ☞ The doctrine of the Two Ways plays a key role in L’ theology, and reveals the background of his self understanding as an apologist.
- \_\_\_\_\_. ‘Lactantius on the Passions,’ *Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debrecenensis* 36 (2000) 113-129. Σ *Aph* 71 (2000) 302 #02931. ☞ Survey of L’ ideas in *DI* and *ID*, and the implications for L’ theology and critique of the Stoic and Epicurean positions.
- \_\_\_\_\_. ‘Metaphorical Approach in Lactantius’ Theology and Cosmology,’ pp. 391-397 in Frances YOUNG, Mark EDWARDS, and Paul PARVIS, ed., *Studia Patristica 42: Papers presented at the Fourteenth International Conferences on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 2003*. Leuven, 2006. ☞ An interpretation of L’ idea of God’s fiery substance (*DI* 2.9.16); his metaphorical language concerning cosmology (*DI* 2.9, 4.17, 4.26); connections to Apuleius’ *De Mundo*.
- KERESZTES, Paul. ‘From the great persecution to the peace of Galerius,’ *Vigiliae Christianae* 37 (1983) 379-99. Σ *Aph* 54 (1983) 655 #11305. ☞ *Passim* on *MP*.
- KETTERN, Bernd. Article ‘Lactantius,’ in Verlag TRAUGOTT BAUTZ, *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. 4 (Herzberg, 1992), cols. 952-965 = <http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/l/Lactantius.shtml>.
- KIRCHMAIER, Georg Caspar. ☞ Served as *praeses* for SENFTT and ZIMMERMANN.
- KIRSCH, Wolfgang. ‘Textimmanenz und Texttranszendenz bei Interpretation literarischer Kunstwerke, am Beispiel des Phoenix-Gedichts von Laktanz,’ *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Wilhelm-Pieck-Universität, Rostock, gesellschaftswissenschaftliche Reihe* 34 (1985), Heft 1, pp. 26-28. Σ *Aph* 56 (1985) 167 #2626. ☞ General treatment with remarks on modern literary theory.
- \_\_\_\_\_. ‘Triebkräfte der historischen Entwicklung bei Laktanz,’ *Klio* 66 (1984) 624-630. Σ *Aph* 56 (1985) 167 #2625. ☞ Motivations for events in L’ historical interpretation in *MP*.
- KISSEL, Walter. ‘Eine falsch verstandene Laktanz-Stelle (*De officio Dei* 19.10),’ *Vigiliae Christianae* 27 (1973) 123-128. Σ *Aph* 44 (1973) 180. ☞ *Quam* read as a relative pronoun rather than a comparative conjunction.
- KLEIN, Joseph. ‘Zu Symphosius und Aldhelmus,’ *Rheinisches Museum* 23 (1868) 525-31, under Miscellen–Handschriftliches. ☞ Ms *inscriptiones* and the name Symphosius; collations from various mss of *AS*.
- KLOTZ, Alfred. ‘Das Geschichtswerk des älteren Seneca,’ *Rheinisches Museum* 56 (1901) 429-42. ☞ Connections with L on pp. 431-7 (including the comparison of Roman history to the ages of man at *DI* 7.15.14-19) and 440f.
- KNAPPITSCH, Anton. ‘De Cæcili Firmiani Lactantii *Ave Phænice*.’ Graz, 1896 (Programm). Intro., pp. 13-17; text with notes, 18-39. ☞ Upholds authorship of L, writing as a Christian.  
 ® BRANDT *Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie* 48 (1896) 1312f.
- KOCH, Hugo. ‘La sopravvivenza di Cipriano nell’ antica letteratura cristiana,’ *Ricerche Religiose* 6 (1930) 304-16 & 492-501, and 7 (1931) 122-32 & 313-35. Σ *Aph* 6 (1931) 44. ☞ Those portions found in vol. 7 deal with Cyprian and L.

- \_\_\_\_\_. 'Der «Tempel Gottes» bei Laktanz,' *Philologus* 76 (1920) 235-8. Σ *Dix Années* 1.216.  
☞ Interpretation of *DI* 5.2.2.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'Zu Arnobius und Lactantius,' *Philologus* 80 (1925) 467-72. ☞ Their relationship examined in the light of the texts.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'Zwei übersehene Stellen bei Laktanz,' *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristentums* 18 (1917-18) 196-201. Σ *Dix Années* 1.216.  
☞ Vindicates authenticity of *MP* by comparisons with *DI*.
- KÖNIG, Ingemar. 'Laktanz und das «System» der Tetrarchie,' *Labeo* 32 (1986) 180-93. Σ *Aph* 59 (1988) 214 #3072. ☞ The term "tetrarchy" is a fiction based solely upon *MP* 18.5, where what scholars have turned into Diocletian's "system" is but hinted at in a fictional conversation.
- KÖTTING, Bernhard. 'Endzeitprognosen zwischen Lactantius und Augustinus,' *Historisches Jahrbuch* 77 (1958) 125-39. Σ *Aph* 29 (1958) 522. ☞ On pp. 125f, the comparison at *DI* 7.15.14-19 of Roman history to the ages of man; and on pp. 134f, a discussion of *DI* 7.15 & 18.
- KOLB, Frank. *Diocletian und die erste Tetrarchie*. Berlin & New York, 1987. ☞ Pp. 131-9 on *MP*.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'L'ideologia tetrarchica e la politica religiosa di Diocleziano' pp. 17-44 of Giorgio BONAMENTE & Aldo NESTORI, ed., *I Cristiani e l'Impero nel IV secolo: Colloquio sul Cristianesimo nel mondo antico*. Macerata, 1988. ☞ *MP* *passim*.
- KOPP, Joseph. *Über den Verfasser des Buches de Mortibus persecutorum*. Saint-Ingbert, 1902 (Dissertation, Munich, 45 pp.).
- KORTHOLT, Matthias Nicolaus. ☞ Claimed at *PL* vol. 6, p. 110 to be the author of *BUFF Dissertatio*.
- KOTZÉ. *Specimen historico-theologicum de Lactantio*. Utrecht, 1861.
- KRAFT, Heinrich. *Die Kirchenväter bis zum Konzil von Nicäa*. Bremen, 1966. ☞ Pp. 437-72 on L; prose translation of *AP* on pp. 462-7.
- KRAFT, Heinz. 'In welchem Zeichen siegte Konstantin?' *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 77 (1952) 118-20. Σ *Aph* 23 (1952) 448. ☞ *MP* 44.4f and Constantine's vision.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Kaiser Konstantins religiöse Entwicklung*. Tübingen, 1955. ☞ Some notes on L on pp. 207, 212f.
- KRAHNER, Leopold Heinrich (1810-84). *Grundlinien zur Geschichte des Verfalls der römischen Staatsreligion bis auf die Zeit des August. Eine Literarhistorische Abhandlung*. Halle, 1837 (Programm der Lateinischen Hauptschule zu Halle. ☞ P. 39, note 2 on Οὐράνου διφρός = *Caeli sella* at *DI* 1.11.63.
- KRARUP, Per. 'Zur Rekonstruktion des letzten Teiles von Ciceros *De re publica* II,' *Classica et Mediaevalia* 21 (1960) 20-28. Σ *Aph* 31 (1960) 55. ☞ Pp. 24f on *DI* 5.14.3-5 & *EDI* 15.5.
- KRAUSE, Wilhelm. *Die Stellung der frühchristlichen Autoren zur heidnischen Literatur*. Wien, 1958. ☞ Summaries of L' works on pp. 30-33; his attitude to the classics on pp. 119-23; pp. 179-254 on direct quotations.
- KREBS, Johann August. ☞ Served as *Præses* for PETERMANN *Dissertatio*.
- KRENKEL, Werner. 'Vermutungen zu lateinischen Texten,' *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Wilhelm-Pieck-Universität, Rostock, Gesellschafts und sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe* 11 (1962) 319-320. Σ *Aph* 34 (1963) 305. ☞ §2 on *DI* 6.18.6.
- KRETZENBACHER, Leopold. *Die Seelenwaage. Zur religiösen Idee vom Jenseitsgericht auf der Schicksalswaage in Hochreligion, Bildkunst und Volksglaube*. Klagenfurt, 1958. ☞ *DI* 7.20.6 on pp. 59f.

- KREYSSIG, Johann Gottlieb. *Commentatio de locis Gellii Noct. Att. Lib. VI, cap. 1 et Lactantii Epit. Inst. Div. cap. 29*. Meissen, 1827. ☞ Restoring the text of Gellius through Lactantius.
- KRUG, Heinrich. ‘Zum Text von Ennius’ *Euhemerus*,’ *Forschungen und Fortschritte* 24 (1948) 57-59. Σ *Aph* 19 (1948) 50. ☞ Surveys scholarly literature on the Euhemerus fragments, and offers a criterion to determine direct or indirect quotations by L; see also FRAENKEL, ‘Additional Note,’ n. 1 on p. 56.
- KUHOFF, Wolfgang. ‘Die dioletianische Tetrarchie als Epoche einer historischen Wende in antiker und moderner Sicht,’ *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 9.2 (2002-3) 177-194. Σ *ibid.* p. 177 in English; *Aph* 75 (2004) 1132f #10278. ☞ The tetrarchy is not in fact so much a turning point in history as Lactantius’ attitude to Diocletian has suggested (*MP* 7.1-4, 8.1, 12.1).
- KUNICK, H. J. *Der Lateinische Begriff patientia bei Laktanz*. Freiburg im Breisgau, 1955 (dissertation). Σ *WLOSOK Gnosis*, preface, p. vii. ☞ Pp. 4-120 on *patientia* in pagan Roman literature; pp. 121-176, *patientia* in Christian Latin literature before L; pp. 177-210, *patientia* in L; pp. 211-214, conclusion; *index locorum*, bibliography.
- KURFESS, Alfons. ‘Alte lateinische Sibyllenverse,’ *Theologische Quartalschrift* 133 (1953) 80-96. Σ *Aph* 24 (1953) 124. ☞ L’ Sybilline oracles.
- \_\_\_\_\_. ‘Augustin und die tiburtinische Sibylle,’ *Ibid.*, 131 (1951) 458-463. Σ *Aph* 23 (1952) 29. ☞ Sybilline oracles at *DI* 4.17-49 and Augustine *De Civitate Dei* 18.23; Latin translations of the oracles.
- \_\_\_\_\_. ‘Kaiser Konstantin und die erythräische Sibylle,’ *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 4 (1952) 42-57. Σ *Aph* 24 (1953) 54. ☞ Sybilline oracles in the *Oratio ad Sanctos* and L.
- \_\_\_\_\_. ‘Kaiser Konstantin und die Sibylle,’ *Theologische Quartalschrift* 117 (1936) 11-26. ☞ L’ Sybilline oracles.
- \_\_\_\_\_. ‘Lactantius und Plato,’ *Philologus* 78 (1923) 381-93. Σ *Dix Années* 1.216.
- \_\_\_\_\_. ‘Zu dem Apokryphen Briefwechsel zwischen dem Philosophen Seneca und Paulus dem Apostel,’ *Aevum* 26 (1952) 42-8. Σ *Aph* 23 (1952) 44. ☞ *DI* 6.24.12-14 on p. 43.
- KUTSCH, Rev. Gulielmus, S.J. *In Lactanti De Ira dei librum quæstiones philologæ*. Leipzig, 1933 (Klassisch-Philologische Studien 6, 83 pp.). ☞ Genre and sources.
- ® BORLEFFS, *Museum. Maandblad voor Philologie en Geschiedenis* 42 (1934) 64; PETERSON, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 57 (1938) 252; SCALAIS, *Les Études Classiques* 3 (1934) 274; THEILER, *Gnomon* 10 (1934) 106f.
- LABARRE, Sylvie. ‘Prudence, les Étrusques et l’*étrusca disciplina*,’ pp. 123-130 of *La divination dans le monde italique*, vol. 9, *Les écrivains du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle: L’ Etrusca Disciplina dans un monde en mutation*. Tours, 2005 (Actes de la table ronde tenue à Clermont-Ferrand 17-18 Sept 1999). ☞ Prudentius’ picture of the Etruscans in *Contra Symmachus*, with a poetic transposition of the account by L (*DI* 4.27-32 and *MP* 10.1-4) of a divination interrupted by someone making the sign of the cross.
- LABRIOLLE, Pierre Champagne de. ‘*Apatheia*,’ pp. 215-223 in Pierre CHANTRAINE *et al.*, edd., *Mélanges de philologie, de littérature et d’histoire anciennes offerts à Alfred ERNOUT*. Paris, 1940. ☞ *DI* 6.15f on pp. 219f.
- \_\_\_\_\_. & Gustave BARDY. *Histoire de la Littérature Latine Chrétienne*.<sup>3</sup> Paris, 1947. ☞ Book II, ch. IV, §§ VII-XIII on L (pp. 282-318); Book III, ch. IV, §3 on *AP* (pp. 477-9).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *History and Literature of Christianity from Tertullian to Boethius*, tr. of the foregoing by Herbert WILSON. London & New York, 1924. ☞ Book II, ch. IV, §§ VII-XIII on L (pp. 199-219); Book III, ch. IV, §3 on *AP* (pp. 320f).

- LACANDIA, Rosaria. ‘Forme sentenziose in Lattanzio,’ *Vetera Christianorum* 4 (1967) 73-83.  $\Sigma$  *APh* 38 (1967) 144. ☞ Style, diction, and *clausulæ* in a range of passages.
- LADNER, Gerhart Burian. *The Idea of Reform: its impact on Christian thought and action in the age of the Fathers*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1959. ☞ L on pp. 139-41.
- LAMIRANDE, Émilien. Article ‘Lactance,’ cols. 48-59 of M. VILLER *et al.*, *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité: ascétique et mystique, doctrine et histoire*, vol. 9. Paris, 1976. ☞ L’ theology and spirituality.
- LANDI, Carlo. ‘Il carme de ave phœnice e il suo autore,’ *Atti e Memorie della reale Accademia di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti in Padova* N.S. 31, anno 374 (1914-15) 33-72. ☞ Interprets *AP* as the expression of a mystical synthesis of neo-Platonism and Mithraism, and concludes that its author is Lactantius Placidus.  
 Ⓜ *Bollettino di Filologia Classica* 21 (1915) 190.
- LANE FOX, Robin. *Pagans and Christians*. New York, 1987. ☞ L’ life and writings, pp. 604-7; Constantine’s vision and *MP* 44.5, pp. 613-17; *AP*, 639-41; L and Constantine, 659-61; L’ use of oracles, 679-80 (see also p. 171 on *DI* 1.7).  
 Ⓜ BEARD, *Times Literary Supplement* 86 (1987) 179; FOWDEN, *Journal of Roman Studies* 78 (1988) 173-82; FREND, *Downside Review* 105 (1987) 224-31; GRANT, *Church History* 56 (1987) 379-81; POHLSANDER, *Classical Journal* 83 (1988) 347f; POTTER, *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 1 (1988) 207-14; TODD, *Antiquity* 61 (1987) 500f.
- LAPENNA, Antonio. ‘Un dubbio su Properzio 4,4,3,’ *Maia* 47.1 (1995) 35f.  $\Sigma$  *APh* 66 (1995) 302 #03715. ☞ *Conditus* vs. *consitus* at *AP* 9 and Propertius 4.4.3.
- LAQUALE, Marilena. ‘Lattanzio (*div. inst.* I 21, 25-27) interprete di Ovidio (*fast.* VI 319-348),’ *Vetera Christianorum* 35.1 (1998) 79-96 with illustration.  $\Sigma$  *APh* 73 (2002) #03485. ☞ L transforms Ovid’s explanation of ritual origins into an indignant attack upon their immorality.
- LASZLO, Renate. *Die poetischen Dichtungen des Lactantius*. Marburg, 2002. ☞ Identifies the *Symposium* listed under L’ works by Jerome (*De Viris Illustribus* 80) as *AS*, and the Ὀδοπορικόν as the *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*.  
 Ⓜ FREUND, *Plekos* 5 (2003) 69, available at <http://www.plekos.uni-muenchen.de/2003/rlaktanz.html> & [~.pdf](#).
- LAUGHTON, Eric. ‘The Prose of Ennius,’ *Eranos* 49 (1951) 35-49.  $\Sigma$  *APh* 22 (1951) 46. ☞ On the fragments of Ennius’ translation of Euhemerus’ Ἱερὰ Ἀναγραφή at *DI* 1.13.14-14.2; supplemented by FRÆNKEL ‘Additional Note.’
- Laurin, Joseph-Rhéal, O.M.I. *Orientations maîtresses des apologistes chrétiens de 270 à 361*. Rome, 1954 (Analecta Gregoriana 61). ☞ Life and chronology of L on pp. 186-93; *OD*, 193-206; *DI*, 206-87; *ID*, 287-304; *MP*, 326-38; *EDI*, 339-43.
- LAUSBERG, Marion. ‘Christliche Nächstenliebe und heidnische Ethik bei Laktanz,’ pp. 29-34 in Elizabeth A. LIVINGSTONE, ed., *Studia Patristica* 13, part 2 of the Proceedings of the 6<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Patristic Studies, Oxford, 1971. Berlin, 1975 (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 116). ☞ Ethical concepts from Cicero and Seneca used to describe the hereafter at *DI* 6;10-12.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ . *Untersuchungen zu Senecas Fragmenten*. Berlin, 1970 (Untersuchungen zur Antiken Literatur und Geschichte 7; from a 1969 Münster dissertation). ☞ Pp. 1-50 on L and Seneca; pp. 53-227 on the fragments, with L *passim*; see Register, pp. 248f & 255f.
- LAWLOR, Hugh Jackson. ‘Notes on Lactantius,’ *Hermathena* 12 (1902-03) 447-469. ☞ Various matters, including L’ apologetical technique, the dualistic passages and dedications to Constantine, and L’ use of the book of Enoch.

- LEADBETTER, William L. 'Lactantius and Paideia in the latin West,' pp. 245-252 in T. W. Hillard, R. A. Kearsley, C.E.V. Nixon, and A.M. Nobbs, edd., *Ancient History in a Modern University (Conference proceedings at Macquarie University, 8-13 July 1993)*, Vol. II, *Early Christianity, Late Antiquity, and Beyond*. ☞ L deploys classical educational tradition in his apologetic aiming to bridge the gap between tradition and Christianity.
- LE BONNIEC, Henri. *Arnobe: Contre les Gentils*. Paris, 1982. ☞ L and Arnobius on pp. 15f, where he follows MICKA and MCCRACKEN.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'Une interprétation chrétienne de la mythologie gréco-latine: l'exploitation d'Ovide par Lactance,' pp. 75-87 of P. M. MARTIN & Ch. M. TERNES, edd., *La Mythologie: clef de lecture du monde classique: hommage à Raymond CHEVALIER*, vol. 1. Tours, 1986 (Cæsarodunum N° 21 bis). Σ *Aph* 65 (1994) 276 #3598.
- LECLERCQ, Dom Henri, O.S.B. Article 'Lactance' in columns 1018-41 of Dom Fernand CABROL, O.S.B, & Dom Henri LECLERCQ, O.S.B., eds., *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, vol. 8. Paris, 1927.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Article 'Phénix' in vol. 4, cols. 682-91, *ibid*. Paris, 1939. ☞ Cols. 683-5 on *AP*.
- LECOCQ, Françoise. 'L'Empereur romain et le Phénix,' pp. 27-56 in Silvia FABRIZIO-COSTA, ed., *Phénix: mythe(s) et signe(s): actes du colloque international de Caen (12-14 octobre 2000)*. Bern, Berlin *et al.*, 2001. ☞ On *AP* and the 1000 year phoenix cycle, p. 41; on *AP* and imperial coinage, 49 & 51-54.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'Le sexe incertain du phénix: de la zoologie à la théologie,' pp.187-210 of Laurence Gaussez, ed., *Le phénix et son autre: poétique d'un mythe (des origines au XVIe siècle)*. Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2013. ☞ The sex of the phoenix, though indeterminate in ancient texts, notably in Ovid and L, became important in a Christian context, where the phoenix symbolized the resurrection of the body.
- LÉCUYER, Joseph, C.S.S.P. 'Jésus, fils de Josédéc, et le sacerdoce du Christ,' *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 43 (1955) 82-103. Σ *Aph* 26 (1955) 181. ☞ Pp. 91f on *DI* 4.14.
- LENAZ, Luciano. 'Tre note sulla vecchiaia,' *BSTudLat* 38.1 (2008) 57-61. ☞ *Vergil Aen.* 8.485-8, *Hor. Epist.* 1.1.28-31, and *EDI* 1.21.
- LE NOURRY, Rev. Dom Denis Nicolas. *Dissertatio de Lactantii libro de ira dei*. *PL* 7, cols. 147-56. ☞ Analysis of the text, L' reasons for writing, its Ciceronian style, dedicatee, mss., and editions.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Dissertatio de septem divinarum institutionum libris*. *PL* 6, cols. 823-84. ☞ Analysis of the text, life of L, his reasons for writing, interpolations, and L' errors.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Dissertatio, in qua de huius libri [MP] auctore disputatur, et omnia loca dubia, difficilia, obscura, variæque auctoris opiniones examinantur, explicantur, illustrantur*. ☞ From his edition (Paris, 1710), pp. 103-403, with detailed index; denies Lactantian authorship. Ch. 1: analysis of *MP* and its codex; 2: on the author, on Donatus, and the three persecuting judges; 3: on the editions; 4: New notes for this edition; 5: doctrinal content; 6-8: the persecutions; 9-15: the Emperors and their families from Diocletian's wife Prisca and daughter Valeria through Constantine. Reprinted in *PL* 7, cols. 839-1012.
- LEPELLEY, Claude. 'Quelques parvenus de la culture de l'Afrique romaine tardive,' pp. 583-94 of *De Tertullien auz Mozarabes: Mélanges offerts à Jacques FONTAINE I: Antiquité tardive et christianisme ancien (III<sup>e</sup>-VI<sup>e</sup> siècles)*. Paris, 1992 (Collection des Études Augustinines, Série Antiquité 132). ☞ On pp. 587f, critique of St. Jerome's report of L' inactivity at Nicomedia.
- LEROY, Maxime. 'Le Chant du Phénix. L'ordre des vers dans le Carmen de ave Phœnice,' *L'Antiquité Classique* 1 (1932) 213-231. Σ *Aph* 7 (1932) 32. ☞ Suggests a major reordering of verses, the better to match Gregory of Tours, *De Cursu Stellarum* 12.

® COLOMBO, *Il Mondo Classico* 4 (1934) 322-4.

LEUILLIER, Ch. *Études sur Lactance, apologiste de la religion chrétienne*. Caen, 1846 (thesis).

LIETZMANN, Hans. *Geschichte der alten Kirche*, 4 vols. Leipzig, 1932-44. ☞ On Lactantius: Vol. III, *Die Reichskirche bis zum Tode Julians*, pp. 166-72 on L in general; 44-67 on Diocletian's accession, with frequent references to *MP*; 149 on Constantine's policies and *DI*.

\_\_\_\_\_. *A History of the Early Church*, translation of the foregoing by Bertram Lee WOOLF. New York, 1949-52. ☞ On L, vol. III, *From Constantine to Julian* (New York & London, 1950; London, 1963), pp. 174-9 on L in general; 59-81 on Diocletian's persecution and Constantine's accession, with frequent references to *MP*; 158 on Constantine's policies and *DI*.

\_\_\_\_\_. 'Laktantius,' article in columns 351-356 of Wilhlem KROLL, ed., *Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. 12 (Stuttgart, 1924).

LIMBERG, Heinrich. *Quo iure Lactantius appelletur Cicero christianus. Commentatio philologica*. Monasterii Guestfalorum, 1896. ☞ Use of cases in L: accus., 7-19; dat., 20-32; gen., 32-5; abl., 35-40.

® BRANDT, *Archiv für Lateinische Lexikologie und Grammatik* 10 (1898) 302-5; LÜDEMANN, *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* 11 (1898) 547.

LO CICERO, Carla. 'Il certamen col nemico: sopravvivenza e rielaborazione di topoi classici in un passo di Lattanzio (*div. inst.* 6, 4, 15-24),' *Pan: studi dell' Istituto di Filologia latina dell' Università di Palermo* 14 (1995) 159-168. Σ *Aph* 70 (1999) 282 #02829. ☞ Military metaphors describing spiritual struggle from classical Latin literature.

\_\_\_\_\_. 'Echi senecani e tecnica della contaminazione in un passo di Lattanzio,' *Pan: studi dell' Istituto di Filologia latina dell' Università di Palermo* 9 (1989) 65-9. Σ *Aph* 61 (1990) 160 #2261. ☞ *DI* 5.7.

\_\_\_\_\_. 'Omnium Stoicorum acutissimus: Seneca filosofo in Lattanzio: intertestualità e rescrittura,' pp. 1237-61 of *Studi di filologia classica in onore di Giusto MONACO*, vol. III: *Letteratura latina dall' età di Tiberio all' età del basso impero*. Palermo, 1991.

\_\_\_\_\_. 'Una 'citazione' di Seneca in Lattanzio e l'epilogo del V libro delle *Divinae Institutiones*,' *Orpheus* n.s. 12.2 (1991) 378-410. Σ *AP* 62 (1991) 205, #2925. ☞ *DI* 5.22.11-17.

LÖBE, Rudolf. 'In scriptorem carminis de Phœnice quod L. Cælii Firmiani Lactantii esse creditur observationes,' *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie* 18 (1892) 34-65. ☞ Defends authenticity on grounds of thought and style; cf. Brandt 'Zum Phönix' 640.

LÖFSTEDT, Bengt. 'Drei Neue Patristica,' in *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 42 (2002) 217-222, with summary in English. ☞ Observations on the Latin of L and two other Fathers.

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LÖW, Andreas. *Hermes Trismegistos als Zeuge der Wahrheit: die christliche Hermetikrezeption von Athenagoras bis Laktanz*. Berlin & Vienna, 2002 (Theophaneia 36). Σ *Aph* 74 (2003) 284 #02556. ☞ L on pp. 88-260; bibliography, 261-284; indices of passages, names, and subjects.

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- \_\_\_\_\_. ‘La funzione sociale della iustitia nella polemica anti-pagana di Lattanzio,’ pp. 843-852 in *Letterature comparate: problemi e metodo. Studi in onore di Ettore PARATORE*. Bologna, 1981.  $\Rightarrow$  Principally *DI* 5 & 6 and *EDI*.
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- \_\_\_\_\_. ‘Per la storia del vocabolo “sacramentum”: “sacramentum” in Lattanzio,’ *Vigiliae Christianae* 18 (1964) 85-107.  $\Sigma$  *APh* 35 (1964) 121.  $\Rightarrow$  Various *sacramenta* in L: *verae religionis, Dei, mundi, hominis, divinum, scripturae, Iudaicae religionis, virtutis, cubili*.
- \_\_\_\_\_. ‘Problema del male e dualismo negli scritti di Lattanzio,’ *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell’ Università di Cagliari* 29 (1961-1965) 37-96.  $\Sigma$  *APh* 39 (1968) 154.
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- \_\_\_\_\_. ‘Il termine *mysterium* nella letteratura latina cristiana prenicena,’ *Vigiliae Christianae* 19 (1965) 210-232 & 20 (1966) 25-44.  $\Rightarrow$  L on pp. 227-32 & 25f.
- \_\_\_\_\_. ‘I valori etici e politici della romanità negli scritti di Lattanzio: opposti atteggiamenti di polemica e di adesione,’ *Salesianum* 27 (1965) 65-133.  $\Rightarrow$  Development of L’ attitude to Rome.
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- \_\_\_\_\_. 'Zur Darstellungen und Bewertung von Massenreaktionen in der lateinischen Literatur,' *Hermes* 107 (1979) 92-114. Σ *Aph* 50 (1979) 343 #4997. ☞ *DI* 6.20.32f on p. 111.
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- MACKAY, Charles S. 'Lactantius and the Succession to Diocletian,' *Classical Philology* 94 (1999) 198-209. Σ *Aph* 70 (1999) 282 #02831. ☞ How *MP* 18 misrepresents the succession to Diocletian, particularly in the case of Maximinus, in order to bolster the claims of Constantine; demonstration that Maximinus' native name is Daza, not Daia.
- MADDALENA, Antonio. 'Per la definizione storica del *De mortibus persecutorum*,' *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti* 94.2 (1934-5) 557-88. Σ *Aph* 12 (1937) 70. ☞ Concludes for authenticity; see also Baynes' review in *Gnomon* 13 (1937) 507f.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'Sulle fonti per la storia di Diocleziano e Costantino,' *ibid.* 95.2 (1936) 247-75. ☞ *MP*, Zosimus, Eutropius, Zonaras, the *Epitome de Caesaribus*, the *Anonymus Valesianus*.
- MAGAZZÙ, Cesare. 'L'influsso del *De opificio Dei* di Lattanzio sul libro XI della *Etymologiae* di Isidoro,' *Bollettino di Studi latini* 12 (1982) 247-50. Σ *Aph* 54 (1983) 178 #2837. ☞ Discussion of several parallel passages.
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- MAGGIULLI, Gigliola. 'Nonio e Lattanzio,' pp. 119-122 in *Studi Noniani* III. Genoa, 1975 (Pubblicazioni dell' Istituto di Filologia classica e medievale 41). Σ *Aph* 47 (1976) 200 #2431. ☞ *OD* 11.12 & *DI* 1.22.13.
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- MARTIN, Joseph. ‘Christliche lateinische Dichter (1900-1927),’ *Jahresbericht für Altertumswissenschaft* 221 (1929) 65-140. ☞ *PD* on p. 86, surveying literature to date and arguing against Brandt’s ascription to an anonymous renaissance humanist.
- \_\_\_\_\_. ‘Ein frühchristliches Kreuzigungsbild?’ pp. 151-168 of Reinhard HERBIG, ed., *Würzburger Festgabe H. BULLE dargebracht zum 70. Geburtstag*. Stuttgart, 1938 (*Würzburger Studien zur Altertumswissenschaft* 13). ☞ Thorough discussion of *PD*’s mss. and Latinity; locates it in southern Gaul in the 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> century.

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- \_\_\_\_\_. Article ‘Lactantius,’ pp. 392-410 in Johannes Quasten, *Patrology*, vol. 2. Westminster, Maryland, 1953.

- MCGUCKIN, John A. (for a time, Paul by name in religion). 'The Christology of Lactantius,' pp. 813-20 in ELIZABETH A. LIVINGSTONE, ed., *Studia Patristica* 17, part 2 of the Proceedings of the Eighth International Conference on Patristic Studies, Oxford, 1979. Oxford, 1982. ☞ Vindicates L as an important thinker and theologian in the pre-Nicene context; argues against the depiction of L as a subordinationist by Loi *Lattanzio*, Grillmeier, and Studer.
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- \_\_\_\_\_. 'Lactantius as theologian. An angelic christology on the eve of Nicæa,' *Rivista di Storia e Letterature religiosa* 22 (1986) 492-7.  $\Sigma$  *Aph* 58 (1987) 179 #2537. ☞ The natures of Christ and the angels in L' thought.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'The non-Cyprianic scripture texts in Lactantius' *Divine Institutions*,' *Vigilie Christianæ* 36 (1982) 145-163.  $\Sigma$  *Aph* 53 (1982) 177 #2629. ☞ Rebutts Wlosok (especially in 'Bedeutung') on L' Gnosticism; thoroughly revises Brandt's index of L' use of the Bible, de-emphasizing the importance of Cyprian (see the Table on pp. 161-3); vindicates L' independent use of biblical passages, even those he quotes from other apologists.
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- MEINKING, Kristina Ann. 'Anger and adjudication: the political relevance of «*De ira dei*», *Journal of Late Antiquity* 6.1 (2013) 84-107. ☞ In *ID* L uses Roman religious thought instead of Christian theology in discussing divine anger, and his arguments affected Constantine's handling of the Donatist controversy.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Anger Matters: Politics and Theology in the Fourth Century C.E.* Ph.D. thesis at the University of Southern California, Los Angeles; summary available in ProQuest Dissertations Database, ID 847222028. ☞ On *ID* in the perspectives of classical philosophy, rhetorical theory, and 4<sup>th</sup> cent. socio-historic debates.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'Eusebius and Lactantius: rhetoric, philosophy, and Christian theology,' pp. 325-350 in Aaron P. Johnson and Jeremy M. Schott, edd., *Eusebius of Caesarea: tradition and innovations (Hellenic Studies 60)*. Washington, D.C.: Center for Hellenic Studies 2013. ☞ L argues in *ID* that God has emotions, and anger is critical to his nature. Latin rhetorical discourse is significant in L' treatment of philosophers.
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- \_\_\_\_\_. 'Lactance comme témoin du texte de Vergile. Note sur Verg. *Georg.* 2,341,' *L'Antiquité Classique* 43 (1974) 346-354. Σ *Aph* 45(1974) 333. ☞ The readings *ferrea* and *terrea* at *DI* 2.10.16.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'Lactance contre Junon: de la polémique au dialogue avec les païens,' pp. 259-264 in *Hommages à Jean Cousin: Rencontres avec l'antiquité classique*. Paris, 1983 (Annales littéraires de l'Université de Basançon 273).
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'Lactance et Cicéron: à propos d'un fragment de l'*Hortensius*,' *Revue des Études Latines* 53 (1975) 248-167. Σ *Aph* 46(1975) 185f. ☞ L exploits Cicero for his own purposes at *DI* 6.2.13-15.

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- \_\_\_\_\_. 'Notes sur le Texte de Lactance, *Institutions Divines* 4,21,1 et *Épitomé* 42(47),3,' pp. 417-425 in Jürgen von DUMMER, ed., *Texte und Textkritik. Eine Aufsatzsammlung*. Berlin, 1987 (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 133). ☞ *DI* 4.21.1, *EDI* 42.3, & *MP* 2.2f on the Ascension compared to Tertullian *Apologeticum* 21.23.
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- \_\_\_\_\_. *Histoire Littéraire de l'Afrique Chrétienne*. 10 vols. Paris, 1901-1923. Vol. 3, ch. 2 (pp.287-359) on L.
- MONTELEONE, C. 'Sul testo dell' *Ecloga quarta* di Virgilio,' *Quaderni dell' Associazione italiana di cultura classica, Delegazione di Foggia* 2-3 (1982-83) 33-74. Σ *APh* 54 (1983) 342f #5532.
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but part of the title of an anonymous work, possibly by the author of the *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*.

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- MUSE, Kevin. ‘Lactantius *Divinae institutiones* 3.26.7 and the text of Sallust *Catilina* 14.2,’ *Mnemosyne* 4.69.3 (2016) 503-510. ☞ The Sallust passage must be retained in view of its imitation at *DI* 3.26.3-9.
- MUZELIUS, Carolus Ludovicus, Jacobus Theodorus VIEL, Johann Gottlob Gulielmus DUNKEL, Samuel MURSINA, & Georgius Jacobus PAULI. *Dissertatio critica; qua Lactantio locus vexatissimus Lib. II Inst. Cap. viii vindicatur*. Berlin, 1744. ☞ Five candidates for holy orders list learned objections to the authenticity of *DI* 2.8 and then argue for it.
- NAUSEA, Friedrich, bishop of Vienna. *Disticha in elegantissima L. Caelii Lactantii Firmiani Christianorum disertissimi opera*. Pavia, 1519 & Milan, 1521. ☞ Versified general preface, plus couplets as epigraphs for each chapter of each book of L’ works (including *De Passione Domini* and *De Resurrectione*), concluding with an *envoi*.
- NAUTIN, Pierre. ‘Les additions du manuscrit de Bologne au *De opificio Dei* de Lactance,’ *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 21 (1975) 273-288.  $\Sigma$  *APh* 46(1975) 186. ☞ Argues against Perrin *L’ouvrage* on the authenticity of these passages.
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- \_\_\_\_\_. ‘Histoire des dogmes et des sacrements chrétiens,’ *École Pratique des Hautes Études, Section (cinquième) des Sciences Religieuses, Annuaire* 75 (1967-8) 162-7. ☞ On Aristo of Pella’s *Controversia Iasonis et Papisci* as a source of the millenarism of L and others.
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- NAZZARO, Antonio V. ‘Quatenus P. Vergilius Maro Christianus necnon quidam Christi propheta habitus atque renuntiatus sit,’ *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* 24 (2013) 13-40, with a resumé in English. ☞ On Christian interpretation of Virgil’s 4<sup>th</sup> *Eclogue* by L, Constantine, and others.
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- \_\_\_\_\_. ‘Broadening the Roman Mind: Foreign Prophets in the Apologetic of Lactantius,’ pp. 364-374 in M. F. WILES and E. J. YARNOLD, edd., *Studia Patristica 36: Papers presented at the Thirteenth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 1999*. Leuven, 2001. ☞ L’ rhetorical strategy in the use of Hermes Trismegistos, the Sybilline Oracles, and Hydaspes.

- \_\_\_\_\_. 'Caelum potius intuemini: Lactantius and a Statue of Constantine,' pp. 177-196 in M. F. WILES and E. J. YARNOLD, edd., *Studia Patristica 34: Papers presented at the Thirteenth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 1999*. Leuven, 2001. ☞ The conversion of the Roman empire to Christianity viewed in terms of the colossus of Constantine and L' concept of the human body.
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- \_\_\_\_\_. 'Flight from persecution as imitation of Christ. Lactantius' *Divine Institutes* IV.18,1-2,' *Journal of Theological Studies* 40 (1989) 48-85. Σ *APh* 60 (1989) 201 #2957. ☞ Historical examples of such flight, especially St. Cyprian of Carthage.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'Hercules at the Milvian Bridge. Lactantius, *Divine Institutes* I, 21, 6-9,' *Latomus* 43 (1984) 133-142. Σ *APh* 55 (1984) 167f #2601. ☞ L' attitude towards the Tetrarchy.
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- POTTER, D. S. *Prophecy and History in the Crisis of the Roman Empire: a Historical Commentary on the Thirteenth Sybilline Oracle*. Oxford, 1990. ☞ Appendix I, pp. 351-5, on the oracle at Oenoanda and *DI* 1.7.1-3.
- POUCET, Jacques. 'Varron, Denys d'Halicarnasse, Macrobe et Lactance: l'oracle rendu à Dodone aux Pélasges,' *Pallas* 39 (1993) 41-69. Σ *Ibid.* pp. 68f in French and English; *Aph* 69 (1998) 139 #01495. ☞ *DI* 1.21.6-8, *Macr. Sat.* 1.7.28-33, & *Dion.* 1.19.2-3.
- PRETE, Serafino. 'Der geschichtliche Hintergrund zu den Werken des Laktanz,' *Gymnasium* 63 (1956) 365-82 & 486-509. Translation by H. HAAS. Σ *Aph* 27 (1956) 93. ☞ Five chapters on religious and historical background and a sixth on *MP*.

- \_\_\_\_\_. ‘Note storiche a Sulpicio Severo (*Chronica* II 31-32, 4),’ *Paideia* 8 (1953) 345-9.  $\Sigma$  *Aph* 25 (1954) 166f.  $\text{\textcircled{R}}$  P. 397 on *MP* 2; p. 352 on *DI* 5.9.3, 11, & 21f; lists of persecutors in *MP* and elsewhere on pp. 356-8.
- PRÉVOT, Françoise. ‘Origène, Lactance, Jérôme et les autres: la culture chrétienne de Sodoine Apollinaire,’ *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France* (1995) 215-228.  $\Sigma$  *Aph* 68 (1997) 390 #04345.  $\text{\textcircled{R}}$  Pp. 220f on Sidonius and *OD*; pp. 224-7 on Sidonius *Carm.* 16.40-42 & 47-63, influenced by L’ christology at *DI* 4.6-12 and elsewhere.
- PRICOCO, Salvatore. ‘Un oracolo di Apollo su Dio,’ *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura religiosa* 23 (1987) 3-36.  $\Sigma$  *Aph* 58 (1987) 205 #2888.  $\text{\textcircled{R}}$  On the oracle at *DI* 1.7.1 and its other witnesses, viz. *Theosophia* 13 and an inscription from Oenoanda in Lycia.
- \_\_\_\_\_. ‘Per una storia dell’oracolo nella tarda antichità. Apollo Clario e Didimeo in Lattanzio,’ *Augustinianum* 29 (1989) 351-74.  $\Sigma$  *Aph* 60 (1989) 201 #2958.  $\text{\textcircled{R}}$  *DI* 1.7.1 & 9f; 4.13.11; 7.13.6; *ID* 23.12.
- \_\_\_\_\_. ‘Tre frammenti oracolari di Apollo (Lact. *Inst.* 1.7.9-10),’ pp. 337-53 of *Polyanthema: Studi di letteratura antica cristiana offerti à Salvatore COSTANZA*, vol. II. Messina, 1991 (Studi tardoantichi 8).
- QUACQUARELLI, Antonio. *Le Fonti della Paideia Antenicensa (Renovatio Mundi)*. Brescia, 1967.  $\text{\textcircled{R}}$  L’ concept of intellectual freedom, xxxiv f; interpretation of Jesus’ acts, lxxxiii; secular learning and the Christian spirit, cxiv; rhetoric and truth, cxix f; see further in index, p. 403.
- \_\_\_\_\_. ‘La parentesi negli apologeti retori latini da Tertulliano a Firmico Materno,’ *Orpheus* 4 (1957) 63-75.  $\Sigma$  *Aph* 28 (1957) 240.  $\text{\textcircled{R}}$  Lactantian examples on pp. 72-4.
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- QUINN, Dennis P. ‘Roman household deities in the Latin Christian writers Tertullian, Arnobius, and Lactantius,’ pp. 71-75 in Jane BAUN, Averill CAMERON, and Mark EDWARDS, edd., *Studia Patristica 44, Papers presented at the 15<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Patristic Studies held at Oxford in 2007*, Leuven & Paris, 2010.  $\text{\textcircled{R}}$  Three approaches to condemning domestic pagan cults; L is concerned about the introduction of demons into a household.
- RABOW, Paul. *Antike Schriften über Seelenheilung und Seelenleitung auf ihre Quellen versucht*. Vol. I: *Die Therapie des Zorns*. Leipzig and Berlin, 1914.  $\text{\textcircled{R}}$  *ID* 17.13 in Anhang I, ‘Posidonius’ Definition des Zorns bei Seneca–Laktanz,’ pp. 171-5.
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- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Founders of the Middle Ages*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1928.  $\text{\textcircled{R}}$  L *passim*, but especially on pp. 49-64.
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- ® AVALLONE, *Antiquitas* 1 (1946) 128-136; CAMELLA, *Nuovo Didaskaleion* 1 (1947) 97; HERRMANN, *Latomus* 1 (1948) 98; WASZINK, *Vigiliae Christianae* 2 (1948) 124f.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'L'Epicureismo nei primi scrittori latini cristiani,' *Antiquitas* 1 (1946) 49-54. Σ *APh* 19 (1948) 50. ☞ L on pp. 51-54.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'La Polemica di Lattanzio contro l'epicureismo,' *ibid.* 2-5 (1947-1950) 45-52 = *Miscellanea di Studi di Letteratura cristiana antica* 1 (1947) 5-20. Σ *APh* 19 (1948) 50. ☞ Continuation of the previous item.
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ROCHETTE, Bruno. 'Nudus... infans...: à propos de Lucrèce, v, 222-227,' *Les études classiques* 60 (1992) 63-73. ∑ *APh* 63 (1992) 241, #3130. ☞ Pp. 68-70 on *OD* 3.1.

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® BAYNES, *Journal of Roman Studies* 18 (1928) 226-8 = pp. 321-5 of his *Byzantine Studies and Other Essays*. London, 1955.

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ROMANO, Domenico. 'Vessili e <<clipei>> tra i due regni: echi della teologia della vittoria nel *Carmen de passion Domini*,' pp. 429-435 of Rossanna BARCELONA & Teresa SARDELLA, edd., *Munera Amicitiae, studi di storia e cultura sulla tarda antituità offerti à Salvatore Pricocco*. Rubettino, 2003. ☞ Dating of the poem is to the era of Constantine, but the attribution to L unlikely.

ROMBACH, Ursula, and Peter SEILER. 'Eleos – misericordia – compassio: Transformation des Mitleids in Text und Bild,' pp. 256-276 (with illustrations) in Martin HARBSMEIER and Sebastian MÖCKEL, edd., *Pathos, Affekt, Emotion: Transformationen der Antike*. Frankfurt am Main, 2009. ☞ L and Augustine reveal that pagan concepts, flowing from Aristotle, become the vehicles of new meaning in early Christianity.

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- RORDORF, Willy. 'Un chapitre d'Éthique Judéo-Chrétienne: les deux Voies,' *Revue des Sciences Religieuses* 60 (1972) 109-28.  $\Sigma$  *Aph* 43 (1972) 804.  $\Rightarrow$  *EDI* 53-62 and *Didache* 1-5.
- ROSSETTI, LUIGI. 'Il «De Opificio Dei» di Lattanzio e le sue fonti,' *Didaskaleion* 6 (1928) fasc. 3, pp. 115-200.
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- \_\_\_\_\_. 'L'abdication de Dioclétien et la proclamation des Césars: degré de fiabilité du récit de Lactance,' pp. 77-89 of Michel CHRISTOL, Ségolène DEMOUGIN *et al.*, edd., *Institutions, société et vie politique dans l'empire romain au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle ap. J.-C.* Rome, 1992 (Actes de la table ronde autour de l'oeuvre d'André Chastagnol; Collection de l'École Française de Rome N° 159).  $\Sigma$  *Aph* 64 (1993) 254 #3240.  $\Rightarrow$  Analysis of *MP* 18f.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'Le *De mortibus Persecutorum*, 5<sup>e</sup> livre des Macchabées,' pp. 135-143 in Elizabeth A. LIVINGSTONE, ed., *Studia Patristica* 12, part 1 of the Proceedings of the International Conference on Patristics Studies, Oxford, 1971. Berlin, 1975 (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 115).  $\Rightarrow$  Topos of the punishment of θεόμαχοι and the connection of *MP* with II Maccabees.
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- \_\_\_\_\_. 'Remarques sur le premier folio du manuscrit du *De mortibus persecutorum*,' *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 30 (1984) 30-35.  $\Sigma$  *Aph* 65 (1994) 277 #3602.  $\Rightarrow$  Some readings restored with the aid of a quartz lamp.

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- RUSSO, Alessandro. 'Hiera anagraphé, «Sacra historia», «sacra scriptio», un frammento dell' «Euhemerus» di Ennio (54 Winiarczyk = Var. 65-82 V.<sup>2</sup>) e un passo di Lattanzio (*Epit.* 13, 3),' *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica* 145.2 (2017) 346-380, with resumé in English. ☞ The true title of Euhemerus' work and its relationship with its Greek model.
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- SCHETTER, W. ‘Nemesians *Bucolica* und die Anfänge der spätlateinischen Dichtung,’ pp. 1-43 of Christian GNILKA & W. SCHETTER, *Studien zur Literatur der Spätantike*. Bonn, 1975. ☞ Pp. 15f on L’ classicism both in prose and in the *AP*.
- SCHIEBE, Marianne Wifstrand. ‘Laktanz und Varro: Beobachtungen zu *Inst.* 1,13,8 an Hand einiger Stellen der *Civitas Dei* Augustins,’ *Rheinisches Museum* 137.2 (1994) 162-186. Σ *Aph* 70 (1999) 282 #02831 ☞ In the light of *CD* 7.19 argues that L errs in stating that Varro believed Saturn to have been a human being.
- \_\_\_\_\_. ‘Laktanz, Varro, und die Tradition des Argeer-Ritus,’ *Rheinisches Museum* 142 (1999) 189-209. ☞ *DI* 1.21.3-9, *EDI* 18.2, Macrobius *Sat.* 1.7.28-32, Ovid *Fasti* 5.621f & 629-632: L’ erroneous citation of Varro derives from a commentary on the *Fasti*.
- SCHMID, Wolfgang. Article ‘Bukolik,’ cols. 786-800 of Theodor KLAUSER *et al.*, ed., *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, vol. II. Stuttgart, 1954. ☞ Cols. 791f on on Virgil’s 4th *Eclogue* and the image of the good shepherd in *DI* 7.24.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Article ‘Epikur,’ cols. 681-819 of Theodor KLAUSER *et al.*, ed., *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, vol. V. Stuttgart, 1962. ☞ On L, cols. 784-786, 794-796, & 810-814.
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