JOHN CHRYSOSTOM ON PAUL

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Praises and Problem Passages

Introduction, translation, and notes by

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For Rick

The frontispiece above is from Henry Savile, Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου τῶν εὑρισκομένων τόμοι ὀκτώ (Eton: Ioannes Norton, 1611–1612), 5:1.

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book has been with me a long time. I am most grateful for the intellectual, institutional, and personal assistance and encouragement that I have received from many sources along the way. First, I would like to thank the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation for the fellowship that allowed me a full year's leave in 2015–2016, that was timely in so many ways. And I thank the University of Chicago for a leave in 2020 to polish the apple and move this book into press, as well as to move ahead to other planned projects. Like all humanists, I am especially grateful to librarians for the indispensable resources they provide us. In this case, I thank librarians at the University of Chicago Libraries, Loyola University of Chicago, and the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, in particular, for timely responses to inquiries and for granting gracious and accommodating access to their rare book collections. I am also the beneficiary of the work that so many persons have tirelessly done to digitize manuscripts and make them accessible for research, both in online formats, such as https://gallica.bnf.fr and https://digitale-sammlungen.de, and via acts of personal kindness such as by Father Justin at Saint Catherine's Monastery, who provided me with excellent digital images of folios from Sinai. gr. 491, and the staff at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana who did the same for Vat. gr. 559.

Translation is both a technical craft and an art form, and it is truly one of the greatest joys of my work as a scholar of New Testament and Early Christian Literature. I find it fascinating to try to think my way inside an ancient text in its source language and deliberate hard about how the target language of English would correspond, both to the points the author seeks to make and to the diction and tone in which they are communicated. For me it has also meant enlisting as partners in this work, both in the classroom and in lectures and other presentations, those who would give me candid, keen and creative feedback on how my English for John's Greek worked or did not as I read my provisional translations aloud. I thank the

students in my research seminars on Early Christian Biblical Interpretation at the University of Chicago in 2019 (Emily Barnum, Michael Dinsmore, Bradley Hansen, Elizabeth Knapp, Matthew Neumann, Jonathan Wegner, and Stephen Wunrow) and 2017 (Nathan Hardy, Elon Harvey, Kelly Holob, and Megan Meagher) for wonderful conversations about all aspects of this endeavor: the words, ideas, concepts, and arguments, and all manner of syntactical, text-critical, exegetical, rhetorical, philosophical, theological, aesthetic, and ideological issues. Their suggestions have made me think hard about specific points on all of these issues. They will recognize some things that are here only because of our common work late into the night in our seminar, even as at other times I've gone with other options than they have suggested, and perhaps disappointed them (sorry!).

I am also grateful for invitations to speak and for lively and thoughtful audiences, including for this book in particular: The Haskell Lectures at Oberlin College, The Parchman Lectures at Truett Seminary (Baylor University), Nils Alstrup Dahl Lecture, University of Oslo, Harriet Drake Kirkham-Hay Memorial Lecture, Drake University, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Candler School of Theology, Emory University, Princeton Theological Seminary, Saint Vladimir's Orthodox Theological Seminary, and Smith College, as well as conference and seminar presentations at the North American Patristics Society, The Society of Biblical Literature, and Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas. And I have also had the opportunity to present several of these translations in the University of Chicago Early Christian Studies Workshop, where I have received customarily terrific feedback. I am the grateful beneficiary of so many excellent conversation partners who embraced the issue of "problems and solutions" in biblical interpretation, and joined me in thinking with this particular set of inventive, quirky, curious, audacious, strained and Scripture-saturated homilies by John Chrysostom on Paul and Pauline problem texts.

I have been especially fortunate in having Professor Judith Kovacs (now of blessed memory), of the University of Virginia as volume editor. Judith's very detailed notes on my draft translations were a treasure trove of insights on the Greek, on how my proposed English worked (or did not), on the proper placement of qualifiers and commas (such a huge issue!), on the level of detail in the footnotes, and especially on the basic issue of "what exactly is John seeking to say here?" I thank Judith profusely for the *ἀκρίβεια* and expertise that she lent to my project, which is I know all the better for having her eyes on it. I have also had the pleasure of serving with Judith and with Professor Wendy Mayer of Australian Lutheran

College for some years in founding the Chrysostom subseries of WGRW. I am honored to contribute to the series, and especially to have this volume appear alongside the first, excellent volumes by Professor Pauline Allen of Australian Catholic University on Chrysostom's homilies on Philippians and on Colossians. I am sure that the influence of the scholarship of all three of these remarkable scholars is evident throughout this volume.

I am immensely grateful to Professor John T. Fitzgerald of the University of Notre Dame for his leadership of the Writings from the Greco-Roman World series, for his collegial encouragement and patience with me in this process of finalizing the book, and for his specific and detailed comments on the manuscript. I would also like to take this chance to salute John for the fruits of his labors in what the series WGRW has become, thanks to his vision and his utterly tireless efforts on its behalf over the past decades. I am also tremendously grateful to the current series editor, Professor Clare K. Rothschild of Lewis University, for taking such an interest in this project and being willing to lend her expertise by offering suggestions on the manuscript in its final stages, as well as valiantly championing it through the production process.

In the process of putting this book to bed I have incurred further debts. I especially thank Dr. Justin Howell for doing such a careful editing of the penultimate version of this manuscript and Dr. Jeremy Thompson for expert work with the Greek texts and index. I also thank Mr. Paul Hosle for lending his careful eye to the final version. I am hugely grateful to Bob Buller, Director of SBL Press, and his staff, for handling a complex manuscript so competently and surely.

I would also like to express gratitude to Mohr Siebeck publishers for the generous permission to reprint my translation of the seven homilies *De laudibus sancti Pauli* in *The Heavenly Trumpet: John Chrysostom and the Art of Pauline Interpretation* (2000). I also thank Les Éditions du Cerf for the permission to print the Greek text of those homilies from the Sources chrétiennes volume by Auguste Piédagnel (1982).

Engaging the history of transmission, editing and publication of these homilies has been a compelling and illuminating part of this research for me, involving a set of encounters with monumental figures, most especially Henry Savile, the first to publish a Greek text of most of the homilies in this volume, and all his successors, such as Fronto Ducaeus, Bernard de Montfaucon and Jacques-Paul Migne, as I traced their efforts, decisions and interventions. There is nothing like this to impress upon one a proper perspective on the contingent nature of all of our scholarly efforts,

their value and limitations, as well as their fallibility. That is one reason it has been hard to let this book manuscript leave my hands, since one can always fine-tune, correct, learn more and reconsider decisions. But now it is time to let this book go, and it is my earnest hope that this volume of texts and translations of these twenty-five late antique works may (despite the shortcomings that I fear remain) make a contribution to research projects and teaching on any number of topics across the interacting set of disciplines we who study ancient Christianity share.

Many scholarly friends, too numerous to mention, have helped me along the way and make my life so wonderful, and this precious work so fulfilling. No one has been as influential a conversation partner, teacher and friend to me as Hans Dieter Betz, who has simply the most extraordinary mind and formidable spirit I've ever encountered. This book will be published in the year of his ninetieth birthday, and so I am especially honored to extend my profound gratitude to Dieter for all I continue to learn and enjoy in his company. Among other friends I would especially like to thank Professor Paula Fredriksen of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, for superb conversations in both the first and the fourth centuries, Professor David Moessner of Texas Christian University for such a great partnership in all aspects of New Testament studies and ancient hermeneutics, and Professor Paul Duff of George Washington University for highly prized conversations over decades now on all things Pauline.

I could never adequately express my gratitude for Rick, Nora, Katie, and all the Mitchells and Rosengartens, who are my joy and my strength. All my books are imbued with the spirit of my tremendous family and in so many ways are made possible by their love and companionship. But this one in particular is and always will be for Rick.

Margaret M. Mitchell
July 26, 2020
Chicago, Illinois

ABBREVIATIONS

Text Editions and Translations

AP	Piédagnel, Auguste, ed. and trans. *Jean Chrysostome, "Panégyriques de Saint Paul."* SC 300. Paris: Cerf, 1982.
AW	Wenger, Antoine, ed. and trans. "Une homélie inédite de Jean Chrysostome sur l'épiphanie." *Revue des études byzantines* 29 (1971): 117–35.
CPG	Geerard, Maurice, ed. *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*. 6 vols. plus supplementum. Turnhout: Brepols, 1974–1998.
DMD	Mazzoni Dami, Daniela, ed. *Giovanni Crisostomo, prima omelia sul matrimonio: "In illud, Propter fornicationes uxorem."* Studi e testi 14. Florence: Università degli Studi di Firenze Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità "Giorgio Pasquali," 1998.
FD	Ducaeus, Fronto, ed. and trans. *Sancti patris nostri Ioannis Chrysostomi archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani: De diversis novi Testamenti locis Sermones LXXI; Nunc primum Graece et Latine coniunctim editi*. Paris: A. Estienne, 1616.
HS	Savile, Henry, ed. Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου τῶν εὑρισκομένων τόμοι ὀκτώ. Eton: Ioannes Norton, 1611–1612.
HT	Mitchell, Margaret M. *The Heavenly Trumpet: John Chrysostom and the Art of Pauline Interpretation*. HUT 40. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002. Appendix 1, "English translation of *De laudibus sancti Pauli*." Pp. 442–87.

JPM	Jacques-Paul Migne. See PG below
KJV	King James Version
ME	*Sancti patris nostri Ioannis Chrysostomi archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani explanationes in Novum Testamentum in sex tomos distributa*. Frankfurt am Main: Balthasar Christopher Wustius, 1697. Reprint of *Sancti patris nostri Ioannis Chrysostomi archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani opera omnia in 12 tomos distributa*. Paris: Morel, 1633.
Mf	Montfaucon, Bernard de, ed. *Sancti patris nostri Joannis Chrysostomi archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani opera omnia quae exstant*. 13 vols. Paris: Sumtibus Ludovici Guerin, Caroli Robustel, Joannis and Josephi Barbou, Guillelmi Desprez, and Joannis Desessartz, 1718–1738.
NA[28]	Aland, Barbara, Kurt Aland, Johannes Karavidopoulos, Carlo M. Martini, and Bruce M. Metzger, eds. *Novum Testamentum Graece*. 28th ed. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2012.
NETS	Pietersma, Albert, and Benjamin G. Wright, eds. *A New English Translation of the Septuagint and Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under That Title*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.
NIV	New International Version
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
PE	Montfaucon, Bernard de, ed. *Sancti patris nostri Joannis Chrysostomi archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani opera omnia quae exstant*. Editio parisina altera, emendata et aucta. Paris: Gaume fratres, 1835–1839.
PG	Patrologia Graeca [= *Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Graeca*]. Edited by Jacques-Paul Migne. 161 vols. Paris: Migne, 1857–1886.
Rahlfs	Rahlfs, Alfred, ed. *Septuaginta*. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1935.
RP	Robinson, Maurice A., and William G. Pierpont, compilers and arrangers. *The New Testament in the Original Greek: Byzantine Textform 2018*. Nürnberg: VTR, 2018.

RSV	Revised Standard Version
SBLGNT	Holmes, Michael W. ed. *The Greek New Testament: SBL Edition*. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature; Bellingham, WA: Logos Bible Software, 2010.
TLG	Thesaurus Linguae Graecae. A Digital Library of Greek Literature. Project Director Maria Pantelia. University of California, Irvine, 2013. Continually updated at stephanus.tlg.uci.edu.

Manuscripts: General

Athous Lavra	Greece, Mount Athos, Great Lavra Monastery
Athous Pant.	Greece, Mount Athos, Panteleimon Monastery
Bodl. Auctarium	Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, Auctarium
Cantab. Trin. Coll.	Cambridge, Trinity College
Cod. Eton Coll.	Eton, Eton College Codex
Laurentianus	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana
Marc. gr.	Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Codices graeci
Mon. Leimonos	Greece, Lesbos, Leimonos Monastery
Monac. gr.	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Codices graeci Monacenses
Mone Iberon	Greece, Mount Athos, Monastery of Iberon (Iveron)
Oxon. Coll. Nov.	Oxford, New College
Paris. gr.	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Parisinus graecus
Patmiacus	Greece, Patmos, Monastery of St. John the Theologian
Sinait. gr.	Mount Sinai, Monastery of Saint Catherine
Sinod. gr.	Moscow, State Historical Museum, Synodal collection
Stavronikita	Greece, Mount Athos, Stavronikita Monastery
Vat. gr.	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticani graeci
Vat. Ottob. gr.	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottoboniani graeci

Manuscripts: The Eighteen "Occasional Homilies"

See the tables on pages 19–26, 34–36, and the initial footnote on each translation.

Manuscripts: *De laudibus sancti Pauli apostoli*

A	Paris. gr. 755
B	Vat. gr. 1628
C	Marc. gr. 113
D	Marc. gr. 567
E	Patmiacus 164
F	Laurentianus pluteus IX codex 4
G	Athous Lavra B 94
H	Paris. gr. 728
L	Athous Lavra B 112
M	Athous Pant. 58
P	Stavronikita 22

Manuscripts: Biblical

Sigla for LXX manuscripts and recensions follow Rahlfs; those for New Testament manuscripts follow NA[28].

General Abbreviations

app. crit.	*apparatus criticus* (critical apparatus)
des. mut.	*desinit mutile* (ending cut off)
inc. mut.	*incipit mutile* (beginning cut off)
MS(S)	manuscript(s)
v.l.	*varia lectio* (variant reading)

Primary Sources

Add Dan	Additions to Daniel
Adv. Jud	John Chrysostom, *Adversus Judaeos*
Ag.	Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*
A.J.	Josephus, *Antiquitates judaicae*
Anna	John Chrysostom, *De Anna*
Anom.	John Chrysostom, *Contra Anomoeos* (*De incomprehensibili dei natura*)
Ant. exsil.	John Chrysostom, *Sermo antequam iret in exsilium*
Apol.	Tertullian, *Apologeticus*
Bab.	John Chrysostom, *De sancto hieromartyre Babyla*

Bab. Jul.	John Chrysostom, *De Babyla contra Julianum et gentiles*
Bapt.	John Chrysostom, *De baptismo Christi*
Barl.	John Chrysostom, *In sanctum Barlaam martyrem*
Byz	Byzantine text
Catech. illum.	John Chrysostom, *Catecheses ad illuminandos*
Catech. ult.	John Chrysostom, *Catechesis ultima ad baptizandos*
Cod. Theod.	Codex Theodosianus
Comm. in Gal.	John Chrysostom, *Commentarium in epistulam ad Galatas*
Comm. Ps.	Diodore of Tarsus, *Commentarius in Psalmos*
Comm. Rom.	Origen, *Commentarii in Romanos*
Compunct. Dem.	John Chrysostom, *Ad Demetrium de compunctione*
Conj. Praec.	Plutarch, *Conjugalia Praecepta*
Corp. herm.	Corpus hermeticum
Dav.	John Chrysostom, *De Davide et Saule*
Delic.	John Chrysostom, *De futurae vitae deliciis*
Diab.	John Chrysostom, *De diabolo tentatore*
Diatr.	Epictetus, *Diatribai* (*Dissertationes* of Arrian)
El. vid.	John Chrysostom, *In Eliam et viduam*
Enn.	Plotinus, *Enneades*
Eth. Nic.	Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea*
Exp. Gal.	Augustine, *Expositio in epistulam ad Galatas*
Exp. Ps.	John Chrysostom, *Expositiones in Psalmos*
Ep.	*Epistulae*
Ep. Lugd.	*Epistula ecclesiarum apud Lugdunum et Viennam*
Ep. Olymp.	John Chrysostom, *Epistulae ad Olympiadem*
Epid.	Menander Rhetor, *Peri Epideiktikōn*
Exil.	Plutarch, *De exilio*
Hier.	Eusebius, *Contra Hieroclem*
Hist. eccl.	Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica*
Hom. Act.	John Chrysostom, *Homiliae in Acta apostolorum*
Hom. Act. 9:1	John Chrysostom, *De mutatione nominum*
Hom. Col.	John Chrysostom, *Homiliae in epistulam ad Colossenses*
Hom. 1 Cor.	John Chrysostom, *Homiliae in epistulam i ad Corinthios*
Hom. 1 Cor. 7:2–4	John Chrysostom, *In illud: Propter fornicationes autem unusquisque suam uxorem habeat*

Hom. 1 Cor. 7:39–40	John Chrysostom, *De libello repudii*
Hom. 1 Cor. 10:1–11	John Chrysostom, *In dictum Pauli: Nolo vos ignorare*
Hom. 1 Cor. 11:19	John Chrysostom, *In dictum Pauli: Oportet haereses esse*
Hom. 2 Cor.	John Chrysostom, *Homiliae in epistulam ii ad Corinthios*
Hom. 2 Cor. 4:13	John Chrysostom, *In illud: Habentes eundem spiritum*
Hom. 2 Cor. 11:1	John Chrysostom, *In illud: Utinam sustineretis modicum*
Hom. Eph.	John Chrysostom, *Homiliae in epistulam ad Ephesios*
Hom. Gal 2:11–14	John Chrysostom, *In illud: In faciem ei restiti*
Hom. Gen.	John Chrysostom, *Homiliae in Genesim*
Hom. Heb.	John Chrysostom, *Homiliae in epistulam ad Hebraeos*
Hom. Jo.	John Chrysostom, *Homiliae in Joannem*
Hom. Jo. 5:17	John Chrysostom, *In illud: Pater meus usque modo operatur*
Hom. Jo. 5:19	John Chrysostom, *In illud: Filius ex se nihil facit*
Hom. Matt.	John Chrysostom, *Homiliae in Matthaeum*
Hom. Matt. 18:23	John Chrysostom, *De decem millium talentorum debitore*
Hom. Phil.	John Chrysostom, *Homiliae in epistulam ad Philippenses*
Hom. princ. Act.	John Chrysostom, *In principium Actorum*
Hom. Ps.	Origen, *Homiliae in Psalmos*
Hom. Rom.	John Chrysostom, *Homiliae in epistulam ad Romanos*
Hom. Rom. 5:3	John Chrysostom, *De gloria in tribulationibus*
Hom. Rom. 8:28	John Chrysostom, *In illud: Diligentibus deum omnia cooperantur in bonum*
Hom. Rom. 12:20	John Chrysostom, *In illud: Si esurierit inimicus*
Hom. Rom. 16:3	John Chrysostom, *In illud: Salutate Priscillam et Aquilam*
Hom. 1 Tim.	John Chrysostom, *Homiliae in epistulam i ad Timotheum*
Hom. 1 Tim. 5:9–10	John Chrysostom, *In illud: Vidua eligatur*

Hom. 2 Tim.	John Chrysostom, *Homiliae in epistulam ii ad Timotheum*
Hom. 2 Tim. 3:1	John Chrysostom, *In illud: Hoc scitote quod in novissimis diebus*
Hom. Tit.	John Chrysostom, *Homiliae in epistulam ad Titum*
Hom. Tit. 2:11–12	John Chrysostom, *In illud: Apparuit gratia dei omnibus hominibus*
Ign.	John Chrysostom, *In sanctum Ignatium martyrem*
Laed.	John Chrysostom, *Quod nemo laeditur nisi a se ipso*
Laud. Const.	Eusebius, *De laudibus Constantini*
Laud. Max.	John Chrysostom, *Quales ducendae sint uxores* (=*De laude Maximi*)
Laud. Paul.	John Chrysostom, *De laudibus sancti Pauli apostoli*
Laz.	John Chrysostom, *De Lazaro*
LXX	Septuagint
𝔐	Majority Text
Marc.	Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem*
Mart.	John Chrysostom, *De sanctis martyribus*
MT	Masoretic Text
Math.	Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus mathematicos*
Mor.	Plutarch, *Moralia*
Mut.	Philo, *De mutatione nominum*
Nem.	Pindar, *Nemeonikai*
Non desp.	John Chrysostom, *Non esse desperandum*
Od.	Homer, *Odyssea*
OG	Old Greek
Paenit.	John Chrysostom, *De paenitentia*
Pecc.	John Chrysostom, *Peccata fratrum non evulganda*
Phaedr.	Plato, *Phaedrus*
Pomp.	Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Epistula ad Pompeium Geminum*
Princ.	Origen, *De principiis* (*Peri archōn*)
Prog.	Aphthonius, *Progymnasmata*
Proph. obscurit.	John Chrysostom, *De prophetarum obscuritate*
Quaest.	Theodoret, *Quaestiones in Libros Regnorum et Paralipomenon*
Rer. nat.	Lucretius, *De rerum natura*
Res. Chr.	John Chrysostom, *Adversus ebriosos et de resurrectione domini nostri Jesu Christi*

Res. ges.	Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res gestae*
Resp.	Plato, *Respublica*
Rhet.	Aristotle, *Rhetorica*
Sac.	John Chrysostom, *De sacerdotio*
Sanct. Anast.	John Chrysostom, *Homilia dicta in templo sanctae Anastasiae*
Scand.	John Chrysostom, *Ad eos qui scandalizati sunt*
Stag.	John Chrysostom, *Ad Stagirium a daemone vexatum*
Stas.	Hermogenes of Tarsus, *Peri staseōn*
Stat.	John Chrysostom, *Ad populum Antiochenum de statuis*
Stud. praes.	John Chrysostom, *De studio praesentium*
Terr. mot.	John Chrysostom, *De terrae motu*
Theod. laps.	John Chrysostom, *Ad Theodorum lapsum*
Trin.	Didymus the Blind, *De Trinitate*
Tu. san.	Plutarch, *De tuenda sanitate praecepta*
Virginit.	John Chrysostom, *De virginitate*
Virt.	Philo, *De virtutibus*
Vit. Apoll.	Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii*
Vit. Const.	Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*
Vit. Greg.	Pseudo-Gregentius, *Vita sancti Gregentii*
Vit. phil.	Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae philosophorum*

Secondary Sources

AB	Anchor Bible
AnBoll	Analecta Bollandiana
Aug	*Augustinianum*
BA	*Biblical Archaeologist*
BDAG	Danker, Frederick W., Walter Bauer, William F. Arndt, and F. Wilbur Gingrich. *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. 3rd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.
BDF	Blass, Friedrich, Albert Debrunner, and Robert W. Funk. *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961.

BGBE	Beiträge zur Geschichte der biblischen Exegese
BibInt	Biblical Interpretation Series
BNP	Cancik, Hubert, ed. Brill's *New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World*. 22 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2002–2011.
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
CCG 1	Aubineau, Michel. *Codices Chrysostomici Graeci I: Codices Britanniae et Hiberniae*. Documents, études et répertoires publiés par l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes 13. Paris: CNRS, 1968.
CCG 2	Carter, Robert E. *Codices Chrysostomici Graeci II: Codices Germaniae*. Documents, études et répertoires publiés par l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes XIV. Paris: CNRS, 1968.
CCG 5	Carter, Robert E. *Codices Chrysostomici Graeci V: Codicum Italiae partem priorem*. Paris: CNRS, 1983.
CCG 6	Voicu, Sever J. *Codices Chrysostomici Graeci VI: Codicum Civitatis Vaticanae, partem priorem*. Paris: CNRS, 1999.
CCG 7	Augustin, Pierre, with Jacques-Hubert Sautel. *Codices Chrysostomici Graeci VII: Codicum Parisinorum partem priorem*. Paris: CNRS, 2011.
CCSG	Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca
CH	*Church History*
CSEL	Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum
ECF	Early Church Fathers
EECh	Berardino, Angelo di, ed. *Encyclopedia of the Early Church*. Translated by Adrian Walford. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte
HT	Mitchell, Margaret M. *The Heavenly Trumpet: John Chrysostom and the Art of Pauline Interpretation*. HUT 40. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002.
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HUT	Hermeneutische Untersuchungen zur Theologie
ICC	International Critical Commentary
ITQ	*Irish Theological Quarterly*

JECS	*Journal of Early Christian Studies*
JJMJS	*Journal of the Jesus Movement in its Jewish Setting*
JR	*Journal of Religion*
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Period*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LSJ	Liddell, Henry George, Robert Scott, Henry Stuart Jones. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. 9th ed. with revised supplement. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996.
NovT	*Novum Testamentum*
NovTSup	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
NPNF1	*Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Series 1
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
OCT	Oxford Classical Texts/Scriptorum classicorum bibliotheca oxoniensis
OrChrAn	Orientalia Christiana Analecta
PCBCH	Mitchell, Margaret M. *Paul, the Corinthians and the Birth of Christian Hermeneutics.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
PGL	*Patristic Greek Lexicon*. Edited by Geoffrey W. H. Lampe. Oxford: Clarendon, 1961.
Pinakes	Pinakes, Base de données de l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, Paris (irht.cnrs.fr).
PW	Wissowa, Georg, and Wilhelm Kroll, eds. *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. 50 vols. in 84 parts. Stuttgart: Metzler and Druckenmüller, 1894–1980.
RB	*Revue Biblique*
SC	Sources chrétiennes
SK	*Skrif en Kerk*
Smyth	Smyth, Herbert Weir. *Greek Grammar*. Revised by Gordon M. Messing. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980.
ST	*Studia Theologica*
StPatr	Studia Patristica
TK	Texte und Kommentare
VC	*Vigiliae Christianae*

VTSup	Vetus Testamentum Supplements
WGRW	Writings from the Greco-Roman World
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

INTRODUCTION

Pauline Problems, Pauline Praises

> The letters of Paul are mines and fountains of the Spirit. They are mines, in that they provide us with a wealth that is more precious than any gold; fountains, in that they never run dry. No, as much as you empty out of them, all the more flows out again.[1]

Such moments of exultation about the power, wisdom, sagacity, and beauty of the Pauline letters are, as is well known, neither rare in the oeuvre of John Chrysostom nor confined to his seven remarkable homilies *De laudibus sancti Pauli* ("In Praise of Saint Paul").[2] And yet, despite being regarded as such an unending treasury of gold and of life-giving water, in truth Paul's letters also provided Chrysostom and his congregants at Antioch and Constantinople with a steady stream of statements that were the cause of vexation, consternation, embarrassment, and puzzlement—less gold, apparently, than gall. As a late fourth-century Christian preacher and ecclesiastical leader, Chrysostom wished to make the case continually to his congregants that the entirety of the Scriptures should be the basis of their individual and communal Christian lives and of their civic polity and culture, and that these texts were completely authoritative, reliable, and trustworthy guides for those ends. And at the same time, the Scriptures also presented him and his audiences with considerable problems and quandaries of various kinds: literary, philological, theological, historical, ethical, logical, social, legal, practical, and aesthetic. Of course, for the Christian intellectuals and

1. John Chrysostom, *Hom. 2 Cor. 4:13* Γ §1 (PG 51:291).

2. For a full argument and collection of the evidence, see Margaret M. Mitchell, *The Heavenly Trumpet: John Chrysostom and the Art of Pauline Interpretation*, HUT 40 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002).

orator-bishops and priests of the post-Constantinian period, all of Scripture, in part and as a whole, raised such issues in various ways, such as the lustiness of the Song of Songs, the apparent contradictions among the gospels,[3] or the lack of complete concordance between the Old and the New Testaments—even, or perhaps especially, where continuity is claimed but hard to maintain.

Within this larger phenomenon of the need to defend the entirety of the Christian Scriptures as sacred text, the Pauline Epistles posed some particular problems: (1) their genre as letters directed to specific addressees handling their time-sensitive and local issues; (2) their treatment of shocking and unseemly subject matter, like "a man having his father's wife" (1 Cor 5) or πορνεία, "sexual misconduct" (1 Cor 5–7); (3) their diverse treatments of major issues (e.g., the status of the scriptures of Israel or the mechanics of sin, belief, and salvation), which raised questions of whether Paul, in his own letters and in relation to the Acts of the Apostles, is or was consistent or self-contradictory;[4] (4) the boasting and bombastic tone and tenor of some of Paul's statements that seemed to contradict a saintly bearing and stature; (5) the attitude exhibited in them toward whether "heresies" are to be expected or are surprising aberrations; (6) the urgency of their eschatological visions and expectations still unmet now centuries later; (7) their ambiguous positions vis-à-vis Jews, "Judaism," the law, and the Jewish tradition both in Paul's time and later; (8) their ambiguous or conflicting ethical norms about women, slaves, social class, and other issues; (9) their testimony to internal conflicts in the apostolic age, including evidence of outright contestation and distrust of Paul's own authority as an apostle (e.g., Gal 2; 2 Cor 10–13); (10) their hermeneutical malleability and hence ability to be drawn upon as warrant for views that some interpreters regard as

3. E.g., in the genealogies of Jesus, the birth narratives, the lists of the apostles, the wording of sayings, the date and circumstances of his death, and the tomb and resurrection narratives. All of these problems were well recognized already by ancient interpreters, who devised various strategies in turn (historical, text-critical, theological, philosophical, hermeneutical, etc.) to deal with them. For an entrée into these discussions, see Claudio Zamagni, *Eusèbe de Césarée, Questions évangéliques*, SC 523 (Paris: Cerf, 2008), 33–40, on the form of problems and solutions, and further bibliography in p. 7 n. 15 below.

4. A "problem" made all the more urgent because it was pointed out by non-Christian intellectuals such as Porphyry and Julian.

errant or scandalous. What is a preacher to do when faced with such challenges?

The Contents and Rationale for This Volume

Part 1 of the present volume contains the Greek texts and my English translations of eighteen homilies preached by John Chrysostom on individual passages in the *corpus Paulinum*.[5] These eighteen homilies stand outside of Chrysostom's famous homily sets on the fourteen letters (including the Letter to the Hebrews, treated by John as Pauline) that have been widely available in English translation for more than a century and a half and that are very well known and well read, both among scholars of ancient Christianity and New Testament exegetes.[6] In contrast, most of the eighteen "occasional homilies"[7] in this volume have not been translated into English (either in part or in whole)[8] and are much less well known and cited. Complementing these exegetical homilies, in part 2 of the volume are the SC text by Auguste Piédagnel (1982) of Chrysostom's seven homilies *De laudibus sancti Pauli* and my English translations of them. The primary goal of this volume is to make these twenty-five important oratorical and exegetical sources from the late fourth century better known and more readily accessible in a bilingual edition to scholars and students with interests in the New Testament, in early Christian studies generally, in patristic exegesis specifically, and in hermeneutics and literary criticism,

5. The Greek texts are in most cases from PG 51, but see below on the complicated history behind this Greek text and its associated notes, and their limitations.

6. These homilies are available in the English translation from the Oxford team, with a revised American edition of that translation (in some cases drawing upon the superior critical text of Frederick Field) in Phillip Schaff, ed., *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Series 1, vols. 11–14 (1886–1889; repr., Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1994). On this project, see Elizabeth A. Clark, *Founding the Fathers: Early Church History and Protestant Professors in Nineteenth-Century America,* Divinations: Rereading Late Ancient Religion (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 47–49.

7. The term "occasional" is sometimes used to distinguish these from the "serial" homilies on the Pauline letters, and I use it here for convenience. But note that all the Chrysostomic homilies are in some sense occasional (i.e., prepared for and most likely delivered at a particular liturgical synaxis or other meeting), including those in the serial homily sets on each of the Pauline letters. But these works have come down in the transmission history independent of the series on the Pauline letters.

8. See below (pp. 66–69) on modern-language translations of these homilies.

ancient and modern, with an English translation that reflects their style of live oratory, vivid imagery, rhetorical invention, detailed and complex argumentation, and thoroughly dialogical character. At a time when the study of ancient Christian biblical interpretation is in a heyday, it is hoped that these sources can be all the more a part of that scholarly conversation.

Although the eighteen homilies on individual passages in the Pauline epistolary that are collected here did not in Chrysostom's life,[9] nor in the manuscript traditions stretching back to late antiquity that have preserved his voluminous writings, represent a whole, unified or continuous collection, the present volume is not based on a random selection, nor does it merely follow what has over time become a traditional clustering of these sources, as reflected in Migne's Patrologia Graeca volume 51.[10] This collection is also based, as the opening to this introduction has indicated, upon the analytical conclusion to which I came as I worked with these texts over the years, that it is useful to study these eighteen homilies together because, in addition to their focus on isolated Pauline lemmata apart from the serial homilies on each letter, they all deal in some ways with "problem passages," or, if not self-evidently problematic at first glance, texts that John will make into problems in order—inventively—to solve them. While these homilies are by no means unique in this regard within Chrysostom's oeuvre, and while they are not the only homilies within Chrysostom's oeuvre apart from the homily sets on the fourteen letters that can be seen to have a chief focus on a Pauline text,[11] part of what further justifies this collection

9. With a few exceptions, most of the eighteen homilies in part 1 are very difficult to date, except in relation to some other homilies (see p. 48 n. 164 below, under "Authenticity"). The magisterial work on the dating of Chrysostom's homilies by Wendy Mayer, *The Homilies of St John Chrysostom—Provenance, Reshaping the Foundations,* OrChrAn 272 (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2005), has been essential to my study of these. In each translation the chief arguments for the place of the homily (in Antioch, 386–398, or Constantinople, 398–403) are provided in brief in the initial note. This is another area requiring further research.

10. See below on the publication history of these Greek texts.

11. One should note as well that Wendy Mayer and Pauline Allen, in a series of articles, have demonstrated that the original sequence of what were published as homily sets is not necessarily secure, as the sets in some cases may include sermons from both Antioch and Constantinople, and there are some overlaps in treatments of passages. See Pauline Allen and Wendy Mayer, "Chrysostom and the Preaching of Homilies in Series: A New Approach to the Twelve Homilies *In epistulam ad Colossenses* [CPG 4433]," *OrChrAn* 60 (1994): 21–39; "The Thirty-Four Homilies on Hebrews: the Last

in the present volume is that these homilies provide a vibrant laboratory for investigating how a Christian orator-bishop in the late fourth century dealt with the ways his Bible was unmistakably a problem. And the seven homilies *De laudibus sancti Pauli* are included as well,[12] since they are an essential part of the overall project of resolving Pauline problems and problematics in that John praises Paul at times by celebrating precisely what his opponents and interlocutors, both Christian and non-Christian, find blameworthy: his apparent inconsistency, his boasting, or his bellicosity. In turn, the praiseworthy nature of Paul the author is the foundational assumption behind the homiletic engagement with the "problem passages," because in the end John cannot and will not accept that his beloved and saintly apostle erred, left behind deficient texts, or did not foresee the later uses to which they would be put. For Chrysostom it is in the crucible of the character of his saintly author, Paul, and the always fully deliberate wording of the letters, that he gets down to the work of interpreting Paul.[13] Hence the second goal of the present volume is to provide resources for further research into the problematics of Pauline interpretation as Chryso-

Series Delivered by Chrysostom in Constantinople?" *Byzantion* 65 (1995): 309–48; "Chrysostom and the Preaching of Homilies in Series: A Re-examination of the Fifteen Homilies *In epistulam ad Philippenses* [CPG 4432]," *VC* 49 (1995): 270–89). For a recent evaluation of their arguments, see James Daniel Cook, *Preaching and Popular Christianity*, Oxford Theology and Religion Monographs (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 201–10: "Appendix: "The Use of *Lectio Continua*." To the degree that there is some doubt about the coherence of any given series (though in some cases, it is clear that John is preaching through a biblical book and one sermon follows after another), the claim for these more isolated homilies is not meant to imply that they stand in complete distinction from the others in this regard. And yet, none of the eighteen homilies on Pauline lemmata presented here indicates that it follows a previous homily on that Pauline letter, with the exception of the homilies that are themselves clearly following in sequence from one another and comprise a miniseries; these are *Hom. 1 Cor. 7:2–4* and *Hom. 1 Cor. 7:39–40*; the two *Hom. Rom. 16:3*, and the three *Hom. 2 Cor. 4:13*. Beyond that, each of these homilies has its own argumentative structure and purpose and is often not working through large portions of the text seriatim in precisely the way the homilies within the sets often do.

12. For the first time since the Morel Edition of the seventeenth century, as noted below, p. 32.

13. A fuller argument for this thesis, which also contextualizes John's interpretive work within late fourth-century literary, rhetorical, artistic, theological and philosophical culture, may be found in Mitchell, *Heavenly Trumpet*.

stom, the self-proclaimed most devoted expositor of Paul, practiced it in these lesser known and understudied homilies.

The first eighteen homilies by John Chrysostom translated here in part 1 include treatment of such vexing questions as these:

- How is it that Christian Scripture contains things that appear to be trivial and insignificant, such as the epistolary greeting to Priscilla and Aquila in Rom 16:3?
- If Christ commanded his disciples not to own sandals or a cloak (Matt 10:9–10), then why did his two chiefs, Peter and Paul, have sandals (cf. Acts 12:8) and cloaks (cf. 2 Tim 4:13), respectively?
- Did Paul really command one to feed or clothe one's enemies by appealing to the vengeful and mean-spirited expectation of "heaping burning coals on their heads" (Rom 12:20)?
- Is it possible to reconcile the apparent legal discrepancies in the legislation about divorce and marriage offered by Paul (1 Cor 7) with the laws given by Christ in the gospels (e.g., Matt 5:27–32; 19:3–9 and *parr*.) or Moses in the Pentateuch (e.g., Deut 24:1–4)?
- Did Paul endorse and even sanction the need for there to be "heresies" in the church (1 Cor 11:19) or a variety of gospel messages with divergent and even conflicting motives (Phil 1:18)?
- Do the Old Testament and the New really share "the same spirit of faith" (2 Cor 4:13) or even the same god?
- Do passages like Gal 4:22–24 on the two covenants give support to the Manichaean position that the god of the Old Testament is a different lawgiver from the god of the New Testament?
- How could Paul seem to allow for equality in marriage between husband and wife in 1 Cor 7:2–4, when Paul himself in 1 Tim 2:11–15 clearly emphasizes the husband's superiority and dominance?[14]
- Was Paul utterly inconsistent in saying or doing one thing in one context and another in a different one (cf. his bold claim to be "all things to all people" in 1 Cor 9:22b)?
- Does Gal 2:11–14 demonstrate that both of the founders of the Christian movement (Peter and Paul) were "hypocrites" who were unalterably opposed to one another and were exposed publicly at

14. Throughout this volume we are addressing Chrysostom's "Paul"; he regarded all fourteen of the letters in the canon (including Hebrews) to be equally and genuinely Pauline.

Antioch—Peter as cowering in fear before "the men from James" and under Pauline censure, and Paul as breaking the commandment of Matt 18:15 to rebuke a brother only in private?

- How can Paul describe the saving grace of God as παιδεύουσα ἡμᾶς (Titus 2:12), since that casts χάρις in a punitive role vis-à-vis humanity rather than a salvific one (ἡ σωτήριος)?

Throughout these eighteen homilies, one finds Chrysostom employing the language, logic, and rhetoric of the ancient pedagogical form known as ζητήματα καὶ λύσεις, or "problems and solutions."[15] Adoption of the *zetetic*[16]

15. Among important scholarly treatments see especially Claudio Zamagni, "Une introduction méthodologique à la littérature patristiques des questions et réponses: Le cas d'Eusèbe de Césarée," in *Erotapokriseis: Early Christian Question-and-Answer Literature in Context,* ed. Annelie Volgers and Claudio Zamagni, CBET 37 (Leuven: Peeters, 2004), 7–24, esp. 10, in which he distinguishes between "le genre littéraire" and "le procédé littéraire." See also Marie-Pierre Bussières, ed., *La littérature des questions et réponses dans l'antiquité profane et chrétienne: De l'enseignement à l'exegèse*, Instrumenta patristica et mediaevalia 64 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), and in particular the essay in that volume by Claudio Zamagni, "Is the Question-and-Answer Literary Genre in Early Christian Literature a Homogenous Group?" (241–68), which repeats and slightly refines the earlier proposal to distinguish between "a *literary genre* and a *literary pattern* (or *literary format, procedure*)" (242, emphasis original); Yannis Papadoyannakis, "Instruction by Question and Answer: The Case of Late Antique and Byzantine Erotapokriseis," in *Greek Literature in Late Antiquity: Dynamism, Didacticism, Classicism*, ed. Scott Fitzgerald Johnson (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006), 91–106; and, most recently, Lorenzo Perrone, "Questions and Responses," in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Biblical Interpretation*, ed. Paul M. Blowers and Peter W. Martens (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 198–209. Still valuable is the earlier treatment of Gustave Bardy, "La littérature patristique des '*quaestiones et responsiones*' sur l'écriture sainte," *RB* 41 (1932): 210–36.

16. The lexicon for referring to the "problems" in ancient texts includes those that are properly "zetetic" (ζήτημα, ζήτησις, ζητεῖν) along with προβλήματα ("problems"), ἀπορίαι ("quandaries" or "perplexing issues"), and other words. For the translation of the zetetic terms as "problems" when dealing with exegetical discussions such as we find in these homilies of Chrysostom, see ζητέω, *PGL* 591: "2: inquire, seek … hence pass. ptcpl neut., *problem* of exegesis or theology." See also ζήτησις, *PGL* 591: "1. *question*, *inquiry*, in gen. … esp. ref. exegetical problems" (emphasis original for the glosses). Chrysostom uses the participle and both the cognate nouns at key moments in many of these homilies to articulate his argument, as the notes within the translations will show. He does not use the term πρόβλημα, though he knows well of its connection in the Psalms with murky and enigmatic sayings that require interpretation. See, e.g., *Exp. Ps.* Ψ 49 §3 (PG 55:226) where, confronted by Ps 49:5 (κλινῶ εἰς

form of problems and solutions (often referred to in scholarship by the Byzantine neologism, *erōtapokriseis*), which was already traditional among Christian exegetes since at least Origen[17] (and going back to Philo of Alexandria among Jewish readers of the Greek Bible), is one of the ways the Christian Scriptures were placed among the preeminent textual authorities of the culture, subject to scrutiny by believers and nonbelievers alike. This was both a strong bid for authority for these Scriptures (i.e., that they deserve such close and detailed study) and in turn a demand placed on them by the claims being made for their authoritative status as sources of philosophical and theological wisdom. But how exactly is the rather odd collection of literary sources contained within the biblical anthology, including the pedestrian form of the personal letter that predominates in the New Testament,[18] suitably a sacred text, one that can claim not only to stand alongside but also to supersede the Homeric epics, for instance? And can these Christian Scriptures hold up under the very questions to which ancient philosophers and literary critics had subjected those and other works: are the things they say true? Are the things said and done in them evidence of virtue, or vice? Are there self-contradictions? Are things said that are impossible, or contrary to reason?[19]

παραβολὴν τὸ οὖς μου, ἀνοίξω ἐν ψαλτηρίῳ τὸ πρόβλημά μου [*sic*]), he says, πρόβλημα δέ ἐστι λόγος συνεσκιασμένος καὶ αἰνιγματώδης; "a 'problem' is a statement that is shadowy and enigmatic in meaning." John can also use the term ἀπορία, as in *Hom. Rom. 12:20* §5 (PG 51:180), where the verse is said to contain "an apparent problem" (τὸ δοκοῦν ζήτημα), but not in the first half; rather, it is "the part that follows that contains a great quandary" (τὸ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν λοιπὸν πολλὴν ἔχει τὴν ἀπορίαν). He goes on to ask, "What then is the solution?" (Τίς οὖν ἐστιν ἡ λύσις; PG 51:181). Among many other examples, see *Hom. Rom. 16:3 B* §2: "let's proceed at last to the solution to these problems. What will the solution be?" (ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἴωμεν λοιπὸν τῶν ζητουμένων τὴν λύσιν. Τίς οὖν ἡ λύσις ἔσται; PG 51:197).

17. Origen was certainly not the first. Bardy, "La littérature patristique," discusses such second-century figures as Marcion, Apelles, and Tatian as exemplars of this form of question-and-answer literature. On Tatian, see more recently Matthew R. Crawford, "The *Problemata* of Tatian: Recovering the Fragments of a Second-Century Christian Intellectual," *JTS* 67 (2016): 542–75.

18. Of the twenty-seven documents in the New Testament, arguably twenty-one are or were received as letters, and two other works (Acts and Revelation) contain letters within them.

19. Here I am paraphrasing the well-known ch. 25 of Aristotle's *Poetica* (1460b), which begins, Περὶ δὲ προβλημάτων καὶ λύσεων, "Now concerning problems and solutions" (ed. Kassel, my translation). As Perrone, "Questions and Responses," 201, notes,

By drawing upon the form of problems and solutions in these homilies on Pauline problem texts, Chrysostom situates his oratory at the nexus of schoolroom techniques for literary analysis and philosophical investigation, on the one hand, and of public rhetorical performance carefully poised between apologetics and entertainment, on the other.[20] Chrysostom seeks to make public study and talk about the Scriptures a competitor, not just to the study of Greek philosophy and its mythic, poetic, and epic sources of inspiration, but also to the conventional popular-entertainment vehicles of the late antique polis: the theater, the racetrack, athletic games, and oratorical competitions.[21] Chrysostom himself foregrounds the comparison in one of our homilies:

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we find the same "topics of *problemata*" in the discussion on scriptural interpretation in Origen, *Princ.* 4.1 (SC 268:256–92, ed. Crouzel and Simonetti), and throughout his oeuvre. By Chrysostom's time, the form and procedure of προβλήματα καὶ λύσεις were firmly established among Christian intellectuals charged with expounding and defending their Bible.

20. Attending to Chrysostom's use of ζητήματα καὶ λύσεις confounds attempts to impose dichotomies on his homiletics, such as that they are "essentially a scholastic activity" rather than "works of oratory"—so Cook, *Preaching and Popular Christianity*, 55–56, passim—or they are "a form of mass communication" and not "a form of dialogue"—so Isabella Sandwell, "Preaching and Christianisation: Communication, Cognition, and Audience Reception," in *Revisioning John Chrysostom: New Approaches, New Perspectives*, ed. Chris L. de Wet and Wendy Mayer, Critical Approaches to Early Christianity 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 137–74, esp. 157. The works translated in the present collection repeatedly demonstrate that Chrysostom's homiletical practice involves *all* these things—pedagogy (including both instruction and correction), oratory (both conventional and innovative), dialogue (of various types and demeanors and with different partners), *and* mass communication (or, better, attempts at such). Rather than bifurcate, we do best to analyze how they come together in this particular, deliberately designed alchemy.

21. For the particular social spaces occupied by late fourth-century orator-bishops in relation to philosophical preaching and widespread forms of urban entertainment, see Jaclyn L. Maxwell, *Christianization and Communication in Late Antiquity: John Chrysostom and His Congregation in Antioch* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 11–64. On the physical spaces and attempts (material, political and rhetorical) to claim authority over them, see Christine Shepardson, *Controlling Contested Places: Late Antique Antioch and the Spatial Politics of Religious Controversy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014). On Chrysostom's famous competitiveness with the theater, see Blake Leyerle, *Theatrical Shows and Ascetic Lives: John Chrysostom's Attack on Spiritual Marriage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

> Those who are all aflutter over the spectacle of horse-racing can tell you the names, herd, ancestry, hometown, and upbringing of the horses with complete accuracy and detail,[22] as well as how old they are, their performance on the track, and which horse, matched up in a heat with what other horse, will snatch up the win. And they can tell you what breed of horse, launched from a certain kind of starting gate and with what rider, will prevail in the race and run right past its rival. Likewise, those who devote their time to dance performances aren't inferior to the horse-racing enthusiasts, but they display even more madness about those who behave indecorously in the theater—the mimes and the dancing girls, I mean—and can recount in detail their ancestry, hometown, upbringing, and everything else. But when we're asked, "How many and what are the names of the letters of Paul?" we can't even tell their number! And even if there might be a few people who know their number, they're still at a loss when asked to provide an answer to the question of what cities received the letters. Yet a man who was a eunuch and a barbarian (cf. Acts 8:26–40), whose mind was pulled in many directions by countless business matters, was so devoted to the sacred books that he didn't even rest on the occasion of a journey but, when sitting in his chariot, was absorbed in the task of reading the divine Scriptures with complete attention. But in our case, although we don't have even a fraction of his occupational burden, we're like foreigners when it comes to the names of the letters. And that's the case even though we are assembled here every Lord's day and have the benefit of hearing the divine Scripture. [23]

Using these analogies to other forms of cultural knowledge, to horse racing and the theater, John insists that valuation is demonstrated in quality of attention. A properly "Christian" public and private culture, in Chrysostom's eyes, is one that spends its time and places its intense focus on deep knowledge and scrutiny of the Scriptures. This is for him a catechetical and pedagogical commitment, as well as an apologetic one, that creates its own tensions, for John will use the "problems" in Scripture to capture his audience's attention, and yet he always wishes to leave them, not with unanswered questions, doubts, or concerns about Scripture, but with the full assurance provided by his solution to the problem he has brought

22. The term *ἀκρίβεια*, enormously important for John, is used in this homily (as throughout his oeuvre) with all its senses: "attention," "detail," "care," "accuracy," and "rigor" (compare the entries in LSJ and *PGL*). I occasionally double-gloss it so the reader can see the full resonances within the argument.

23. *Hom. Rom. 16:3 A* §1 (PG 51:188).

to light. He wishes to teach them in a manner that piques their interest, but he does not wish to sully the scriptural record too much by allowing that it just *may* have "problems." And Chrysostom eagerly (if unrealistically) wishes diligent study of the sacred Scriptures and keen knowledge of them to replace his congregants' appetite for and interest in other forms of entertainment and enjoyment in the life of the late antique polis, including oratorical performances other than his own stylized and dramatic ones.

In another homily, John draws the contrast between these forms of public pursuits and entertainment with a striking gustatory image:

> Again today I wish to lead you to fountains of honey, a honey of which one can never get enough. For such is the nature of Paul's words, and all those who fill their hearts from these fountains speak forth in the Holy Spirit. And indeed, the pleasure of the divine utterances makes one lose sight of even the good taste of honey. The prophet shows this when he says: "*How sweet in my throat are your utterances, more than honey and honeycomb in my mouth*" (Ps 118:103).… For indeed, honey is destroyed in the digestive process, but the divine utterances when digested become sweeter and more useful, both to those who possess them and to many others. Now someone who has plentiful enjoyment from a physical meal and then belches from it is most unpleasant to their companion. But one who has belched forth utterances from the spiritual teaching shares the rich fragrance with their neighbor. Indeed, David, when he had continually enjoyed this kind of feasting, said, "*My heart belched out a good word*" (Ps 44:2). Yet it's possible to belch forth a wicked word, too. In the case of a physical meal, the quality of the belching corresponds to the nature of the foods eaten. The same is true also with the power of words: many people belch forth things akin to what they eat. For example, if you go up to the theater and you listen to whorish hymns, then those are the kind of things you will surely belch forth in the presence of your neighbor. But if by coming to church you share in the hearing of spiritual things, then those are the kind of belches you'll have, as well. That's why the prophet said, "*My heart belched out a good word*" (Ps 44:2), showing us the nature of the meal he shared.[24]

Biblical study, including careful consideration of things that "appear to be problems" should, on John's gustatory metaphor, produce beneficent biblical belchings. The Golden Mouth's sweet oratory is meant to handle the difficulties and stop bellies from roiling, resulting in the fresh breath of scriptural security.

24. *Hom. 1 Cor. 7:2–4* §1 (PG 51:208–9).

And, as Chrysostom often states, he wishes by his clever apologetic arguments of refutation (ἀπολογία, ἔλεγχος) of the apparent problems in the Pauline letters as Scripture, not just to entertain, but to arm his congregants with ammunition against the opponents of Paul and the church that await them "outside."[25]

Chrysostom employs some consistent techniques across these homilies, techniques that are found also elsewhere in his extensive corpus of homilies and other writings. As we have noted, the "problem" (τὸ ζήτημα, τὸ ζητούμενον) for which one seeks a solution is often introduced as an "apparent" (δοκοῦν) one, a formulation that simultaneously grants the problem and raises doubt about its reality. Often after bringing forward the "apparent problem," Chrysostom will first use the rhetorical form of αὔξησις, "amplification,"[26] to make the problem even more dire before he eventually—after deliberately building dramatic tension and suspense—reveals the solution (λύσις). He appears to do this for several reasons. First, John wants to get his audience interested in the problem and all the more eager for the satisfactory solution to it that his homily will provide. Second, in the way he defines and aggrandizes the problem, Chrysostom often seeds key elements of the solution he will later offer via his argumentation. Third, amplifying or exaggerating the problem is a kind of high-wire act by which the preacher deliberately increases the degree of difficulty of the task so that when he does produce the solution, his achievement is all the more impressive.[27] In some cases, John is addressing famous "problem texts"

25. See *Hom. Rom. 16:3 B* §1 (PG 51:197); *Hom. 1 Cor. 11:19* §5 (PG 51:260); *Hom. 2 Cor. 4:13 B* §4 (PG 51:284); *Laud. Paul.* 6.5 (AP 272), all using ἐπιστομίζειν ("muzzle them"); *or Hom. 2 Cor. 4:13 B* §4 (PG 51:284), ἀπορράπτειν ("zip their lips").

26. For references to this term and the forms of instruction in rhetorical school, see R. Dean Anderson Jr., *Glossary of Greek Rhetorical Terms*, CBET 24 (Leuven: Peeters, 2000), 26–29. John would have learned this in his rhetorical education, whether under the famous rhetor, Libanius (so Socrates, *HE* 6.3, followed by many scholars even today), or another, if not Libanius. See the critical case against made by Pierre-Louis Malosse, "Jean Chrysostome a-t-il été l'élève de Libanios?" *Phoenix* 62 (2008): 273–80, who agrees nonetheless that "il est évident que Jean Chrysostome a reçu une solide formation rhétorique" (275).

27. In one of our homilies, *Hom. Gal. 2:11–14* §2 (PG 51:374), John quite explicitly names what he is doing: Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ παρακαλῶ προσέχειν. Καὶ γὰρ αὔξω τὴν κατηγορίαν, καὶ μείζονα ποιῶ, ἵνα ἐπιτείνω ὑμῶν τὴν σπουδήν ("that's why I'm urging you to pay close attention, for I'm going to amplify the accusation and make it worse, so I might heighten your attention"). That John is aware of this dynamic is shown also in the way he regards *Paul himself* as having used this very procedure, as, e.g., in his skilled argumentative move from Rom 9:14–15: Καὶ πάλιν αὔξει τὴν ἀντίθεσιν διὰ

that have become traditional by his time and require attention (such as the Antioch incident in Gal 2:11–14); in others, he takes a text that might appear to be innocuous or unproblematic (such as the epistolary greeting to Priscilla and Aquila in Rom 16:3), and he will find a way to turn it into a "problem" only in order—voilà!—to "solve" it.[28]

And yet in turn, often the solution to one "problem" engenders further problems, in a kind of whack-a-mole dynamic that starts the whole process over again. For example, when treating Rom 16:3, John asks why it is that in his greeting Paul names the wife, Priscilla, before her husband, Aquila. Refusing the explanation that Paul did this casually or without purpose (ἁπλῶς), John concludes, "it seems to me (ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ) this was in recognition of the fact that her piety (εὐλάβεια) was superior to her husband's."[29] John then defends this solution as more than a mere conjecture (στοχασμός) of his own, by appealing to Acts 18:24–26, where Priscilla provides remedial catechesis to Apollos from Alexandria. But this solution then leads to another set of problems: (1) does this mean that women of Chrysostom's day also can teach and hold positions superior to their husbands? (2) And didn't Paul himself in 1 Tim 2:12 forbid a woman to teach? Not surprisingly, John will find a solution to these problems, too. In both of these cases, he will constrain, rather than universalize, the authority and example of the past, setting a time limit or other restriction on the apostle's words. To question (1) comes solution (1): no, it was just back in the time of the apostles that women displayed such fervor for the gospel and were allowed to play more "manly roles," and, to question (2), solution (2): women's instruction, even back in the day, was only of a very particular kind—leading others to faith by good example. Even in Paul's praise of Priscilla in Rom 16:3, as set alongside the apparently contradictory injunctions of 1 Tim 2:9–15, one should be able to see that what the apostle was strictly forbidding was for women to teach from the pulpit, engaging in

μέσου διακόπτων αὐτὴν, καὶ λύων, καὶ ἑτέραν πάλιν ἀπορίαν ποιῶν ("and again Paul amplifies the contradiction, cutting it off in midstream and solving it, and in turn fashioning yet another quandary"). See *Hom. Rom.* 16.7 (PG 60:558).

28. That is, as pronounced by himself. We cannot assume the audiences, in whole or in part, were actually convinced. And indeed, in various homilies in miniseries we have evidence that in fact they were not, or at least some members of the congregation challenged his answers with what he considers to be new "problems." See, e.g., *Hom. Rom. 16:3 B* §§1–2 (PG 51:195–200).

29. *Hom. Rom. 16:3 A* §3 (PG 51:191).

"public speaking, and the oratory that is proper to the priesthood."[30] That the apostle didn't speak about pulpits at all does not bother John! The problems, both of his text and of his own context, are pronounced solved. And yet we certainly cannot assume that his audiences always were persuaded, even as the very form of ζητήματα καὶ λύσεις presumes an acknowledged degree of disagreement or anxiety about the text and its possible meanings that the preacher seeks to confront.

It is especially fascinating to watch in these homilies how John can deal with material that is deadly serious, such as engaging some "problems" that have been hurled by outsiders against the Christ-believers, or readings promulgated by those John designates "heretics" (such as Marcionites and Manichaeans), and yet accept that challenge in a way that is part apologist, part bravado, part purposeful catechist, part public theologian, and part performance artist. These homilies provide an excellent opportunity to study the relationship in late antique oratory between problem and opportunity; between deadly serious and entertaining; between problems imposed and problems fashioned for the sake of argument. And looking at ancient Christian biblical interpretation according to this approach of "problems and solutions" allows us to see many things that do not fit any traditional divide between a "literal" or an "allegorical" interpretation of the biblical text and that certainly contest simple declarations that the Antiochenes uniformly practiced the former.[31] Watching a skilled public orator like Chrysostom engage with his biblical text's "apparent problems" enables us to see that textual meaning is not simply a given, by either "literal" or "allegorical" reading—or the great volume of biblical interpretation that operates in the middle—but is fashioned in each moment of interpretive contestation.[32]

30. *Hom. Rom. 16:3 A* §3 (PG 51:192).

31. As just one example of this, see John's clever treatment of "surface" and "deep" meanings of the text of Gal 2:11–14 in *Hom. Gal. 2:11–14* (passim). On the issue, see Perrone, "Questions and Responses," 200, who recognizes that, although the procedure can be thought to be a way of avoiding allegory, "yet, the method is not tied to literalism." And, indeed, the form can equally be a vehicle of "allegorical interpretation," as can be seen, e.g., in Donald A. Russell and David Konstan, eds. and trans., *Heraclitus, Homeric Problems*, Writings from the Greco-Roman World 14 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005). On how Chrysostom confounds the claim about Antiochene literalism, see Mitchell, *Heavenly Trumpet*, esp. 389–94.

32. In this regard Chrysostom is but one example of what I have termed "the agonistic paradigm" that pervades ancient Christian biblical interpretation (see below, 84 n. 267).

The History of Publication of the "Occasional Homilies" on Pauline Passages

The present volume stands within, and is fully indebted to, the long and involved process by which Chrysostom's homilies have been transcribed, edited,[33] collected, and then separated and recombined, from his own lifetime forward to the present. Having been preserved in manuscripts from late antiquity forward, the earliest print publication of these eighteen homilies was embroiled in the complex and conflicted history of the publication of Chrysostom's works in the early modern (Reformation and post-Reformation) period.[34] A signally important moment toward the modern publication of this collection of varied homilies by Chrysostom on individual Pauline passages was an intervention by a young Jesuit in the 1580s who remained "anonymous" yet was to become known to history as the famous Fronto Ducaeus.[35] He designed for the *Opera omnia* in Latin translation what would become the usual mode of presentation of Chrysostom's homilies on biblical texts: five volumes, with the first four containing the large homily sets on biblical books in the Old Testament

33. On the combination of stenographic notes and later editing that can be detected in some of the homilies, see the important study of Blake Goodall, *The Homilies of St. John Chrysostom on the Letters of St. Paul to Titus and Philemon* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979). This issue deserves continual attention as we work with texts of what were once oral performances, and yet have likely been subjected to various forms of editing toward publication in written form. See also p. 72 n. 243 below.

34. A concise general introduction to major editions of all of Chrysostom's works (in Greek and in Latin) up until the end of the nineteenth century may be found in W. R. W. Stephens, *Saint John Chrysostom: His Life and Time: A Sketch of the Church and the Empire in the Fourth Century* (London: Murray, 1883), viii–xii; a fuller treatment with bibliographic catalogue may be found in Chrysostomos Baur, *Jean Chrysostome et ses oeuvres dans l'histoire littéraire*, Université de Louvain Recueil de Travaux 18 (Louvain: Bureaux du Recueil; Paris: Fontemoing, 1907).

35. So Jean-Louis Quantin, "Du Chrysostome latin au Chrysostome grec: Une histoire européenne (1588–1613)," in *Chrysostomosbilder in 1600 Jahren: Facetten der Wirkungsgeschichte eines Kirchenvaters*, ed. Martin Wallraff and Rudolf Brändle, Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte 105 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008), 267–346, esp. 269: "Le responsable de cette révision était délibérément resté anonyme, mais il s'agissait d'un jeune jésuite, alors étudiant « en Theologie dans le Collège de sa Companie à Paris » (le Collège de Clermont), le P. Fronton du Duc. Il inaugurait ainsi son œuvre d'éditeur des Pères grecs : le fait, capital pour comprendre la suite de son travail chrysostomien, ne semble pas avoir été relevé jusqu'ici."

(Genesis and Psalms) and the New Testament (Matthew, John, and the Pauline Letters),[36] arranged according to canonical order, and the fifth volume consisting of a *fourre-tout* ("grab bag") "pour les sermons isolés, les traités et les lettres."[37] This reflects also the circumstances of continual discovery of manuscripts and of print publication of further works, as the "*Opera omnia*" of Chrysostom were expanded, often without a clear arrangement, into the fifth (and subsequent) volumes, including exegetical homilies among them, but not exclusively or as separated out. In the multiple editions to follow in the early seventeenth century, homilies on individual Pauline passages become included in this category of "les sermons isolés," in the rush by both Protestant and Catholic scholars to locate, edit, translate, publish, and disseminate the works of Chrysostom. The story of collaboration and competition across national and confessional lines in the quest to discover manuscripts, transcribe previously unpublished works, share findings, and publish Chrysostom's writings is a fascinating one.[38] The idea of a Chrysostomic "miscellany" was, however, not new, since many medieval manuscripts of Chrysostom's works contain assortments of various homilies, often without any clear overriding scheme or thematic arrangement, even if sometimes there appear to be clusters or groupings of like sermons in parts. Even the Byzantine *Catalogus Augustanus* (preserved

36. Earlier, the *editio princeps* of the Greek text of Chrysostom's homily sets, the 1529 edition published at Verona, had four volumes just for the serial homilies on the Pauline Letters. See Bernardino Donato, ed., *Divi Ioannis Chrysostomi in omnes Pauli apostoli epistolas accuratissima, vereque aurea, et divina interpretatio* (Verona: Stephanus et fratres, 1529).

37. Quotation from Quantin, "Du Chrysostome latin au Chrysostome grec," 269. Quantin contrasts the 1530 edition of Erasmus, which was "marquée par le plus grand désordre … les homélies sur Paul étant même dispersées entre le t. I (imprimé après les autres) et le t. IV, à cause de l'arrivée tardive de textes nouveaux qu'il avait fallu traduire" ("Du Chrysostome latin au Chrysostome grec," 269 n. 5).

38. See the analysis of Quantin, "Du Chrysostome latin au Chrysosome grec," 325: "Même si cette collaboration interconfessionnelle n'était pas tout à fait sans précédents … elle était unique par son ampleur et sa durée." Quantin's article (especially pp. 311–25) documents this history beautifully, including in the correspondence of the key figures on the continent and beyond who assisted Henry Savile and his assistants in their pursuit of manuscripts and corrected readings. At the same time, this was no easy ecumenism: "Rien, pourtant, n'en transparaît dans le Chrysostome, où les notes sont purement philologiques, sans aucune incursion dans la théologie" (326). Fuller documentation may be found there as well as in his earlier study; see Jean-Louis Quantin, "Les jésuites et l'érudition anglicane," *Dix-septième siècle* 237 (2007): 691–711.

in Monac. gr. 478 [XII]), which listed individual homilies by Chrysostom thought to be authentic, although including ten of our homilies, did not place them together or in any ordered pattern.[39] One of the reasons for this is that the line between exegetical and ethical or theological or ascetic writings by Chrysostom is not so firm, and hence different classifications of the same homilies were—and remain—possible.

Henry Savile and the "Eton Chrysostom"

It was the Oxonian Henry Savile who, in his splendid eight-volume edition of the works of Chrysostom in Greek (published in full at Eton in 1611–1612),[40] was largely responsible for shaping a modern collection of "isolated homilies" on Pauline passages.[41] While for the homily sets on all fourteen Pauline letters Savile depended upon the 1529 Verona edition as the basis for his Greek text,[42] he relied on fresh research in manuscripts from all over Europe, by himself and his team, as well as other collaborators, for his fifth volume (published in 1611), which, likely inspired by Ducaeus's precedent, was devoted to Χρυσοστόμου εἰς διαφοροὺς τῶν ἁγίων γραφῶν περικοπὰς γνήσιοι λόγοι ("genuine homilies of Chrysostom on various passages of the Holy Scriptures").[43] Within this volume, Savile

39. **3** *Hom. 2 Cor 11:1*; **14** *Hom. Rom. 5:3*; **16, 17** *Hom. Rom. 16:3 A*, *B*; **18, 19, 20** *Hom. 2 Cor. 4:13 A*, *B*, *Γ*; **27** *Hom. 1 Tim. 5:9–10*; **35** *Hom. Gal. 2:11–14*; **93** *Hom. 1 Cor. 10:1–11*. See discussion of this catalogue below, under *Authenticity*.

40. See Henry Savile, ed., Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου τῶν εὑρισκομένων τόμοι ὀκτώ (Eton: Ioannes Norton, 1611–1612); volume 5 bears the date 1611 and volume 8, 1612. Baur, *Jean Chrysostome et ses oeuvres dans l'histoire littéraire*, 106, explains that after the publication of the whole, in 1613 Savile added "en tête une magnifique gravure, portant la date de 1613" (so in some scholarly references the date is given as 1611–1613).

41. Savile's dependence upon his precursors is well documented by Quantin, "Du Chrysostome latin au Chrysostom grec," passim.

42. One can see this in Savile's own printer's copy for these volumes, which consisted of the Verona edition plus his corrections. See Oxford, Bodl. Auctarium E.3.5 [olim Miscell. 51[5]] and E.3.6 [olim Miscell. 51[6]], in *CCG* 1.**140** and **141**, pp. 118–20, with helpful description by S. L. Greenslade, "A Printer's Copy for the Eton Chrysostom," StPatr 7 (1966): 60–64. On the textual basis of the Verona edition in a single manuscript, see Goodall, *The Homilies of St. John Chrysostom on the Letters of St. Paul to Titus and Philemon*, 2–3.

43. Savile's decision to publish only the Greek text and not a Latin translation with it can be seen as both a practical matter (in terms of the size and time to production

collected eighteen homilies on Pauline passages, arranged in canonical order by book.[44] These followed miscellaneous homilies on Old Testament passages first, then New Testament passages from the gospels and Acts. The homilies on Pauline lemmata appear in the canonical order of the letters, but they are not set apart or separately numbered from among these other biblical homilies. As the notes to the fifth volume indicate, in only one case was Savile able to rely on a previously published edition for the Greek text of these homilies, that of *Hom. Rom. 5:3* published by Fronto Ducaeus (Fronton du Duc) in 1604.[45] In all of the other cases, Savile edited the Greek text from transcriptions of one or more manuscripts. The page proofs (*exemplaria Savilii*) that Savile sent to the printer, held now at the Bodleian, consist of transcriptions made by himself or various assistants or colleagues that he used as his base text, together with his own editorial interventions.[46] These include adding new, standardized titles at the beginning (such as εἰς τό, plus abbreviated lemma[47]), making his own enumeration of the homilies for his edition, capitalizing of proper names, marking paragraph breaks, making textual emendations,[48] adding notations of variant or conjectural readings to be printed in the margins, and

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of his edition) and a theological one vis-à-vis Protestant-Catholic polemics and contestations: "Mais s'en tenir à l'original permettait aussi d'échapper aux soupçons et aux polémiques qu'auraient fatalement suscités des traductions" (Quantin, "Du Chrysostome latin au Chrysostome grec," 327). See Quantin's astute discussion of the issue, and the degree to which for the Catholic editions it was the Latin translation that stood as the crucial authority for theological debate: "C'est dans celles-ci [sc. les traductions Latins], on l'a vu, beaucoup plus que dans les éditions grecques, que théologiens et érudits de la Contre-Réforme avaient coutume de repérer et de dénoncer des alterations."

44. See HS 5:292–437. In HS 8:30–59, Savile included the seven homilies *De laudibus sancti Pauli apostoli*, from transcriptions made by his assistant, Samuel Slade, in Constantinople and Mount Athos.

45. See HS 5:729–33. Savile drew upon Fronto Ducaeus, ed., *Sancti patris nostri Ioannis Chrysostomi tractatuum decas de diversis Novi Testamenti locis, nunc primum graece et latine in lucem edita, opera* (Bordeaux: apud Franciscum Buderium, 1604), 434, as confirmed in Savile's printer's copy: Oxford, Bodl. Auctarium E.4.4 (olim Miscell. 51^{20}). See *CCG* 1.**155**, p. 155.

46. See *CCG* 1:xv–xvii, 116–58. Savile donated them to the Bodleian in 1620.

47. E.g., at R.58, p. 610, he crosses out τοῦ αὐτοῦ ⁜^{οῦ} ὁμιλία ("a sermon by the same author, Chrysostom").

48. For one such example, in *Hom. 1 Cor. 7:39–40* Savile adopted the conjectural reading of κοιμηθῇ in the lemma within the title to the homily, but his marginal note says that his manuscript (Monac. gr. 352, fol. 63) reads ἀποθάνῃ (HS 5:337, line 14).

supplying marginal biblical references (in Greek abbreviations) to passages Chrysostom has quoted.

In creating his edition of the Greek text of the homilies on individual Pauline passages, Savile did not follow any single Greek manuscript, for no manuscript now in existence, let alone the limited number available to Savile, contains all the eighteen homilies he printed, and never in a complete canonical sequence. For Savile's miscellaneous Pauline homilies, as we know from his printer's pages and notebooks and the "*Notae*" in volume 8, he relied upon transcriptions of manuscripts at Augsburg,[49] Munich, Oxford, Paris, Venice, and Constantinople, as shown in the following list. Each entry provides the following information: (1) the homily title and *CPG* number; (2) the manuscript(s) drawn upon by Savile;[50] (3) the pages of Savile's printer's copy;[51] and (4) the pages in Savile's published edition.

Hom. Rom. 5:3 (*CPG* 4373)
Manuscript: Monac. gr. 6, fols. 278–86,[52] from Ducaeus (print edition, 1604)[53]

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49. Savile thanks David Hoeschel, the Lutheran rector of Saint Anna's gymnasium and the librarian of the manuscript collection at Augsburg, among others, in 8:1. Hoeschel is the only scholar he commends in HS 8:707–8 specifically for his assistance with the miscellaneous sermons in HS 5. See also Greenslade, "Printer's Copy for the Eton Chrysostom," 61. For Savile's connections with the vibrant scholarly and ecumenical patristics scholarship led by Hoeschel at Augsburg, see Quantin, "Du Chrysostome latin au Chrysostome grec," 289–300, under the subtitle, "La paix patristique d'Augsbourg? David Hoeschel et ses correspondants" (the latter including Greek Orthodox as well as Roman Catholics).

50. This represents my inferences based on the information Savile gives in his "*Notae in Tomum Quintum*" (HS 8:729–33, including notes from one of his assistants, John Bois), as cross-referenced with the information provided in *CCG*, the Pinakes website, and older collection catalogues, as necessary.

51. From *CCG* 1:125–56 (Oxford, Bodleian, Auctarium), with our homilies represented in codices K, L, O, P, Q, R, and X (*CCG* 1.**144**, **145**, **148**, **149**, **150**, **151**, **155**).

52. The Munich codices are in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (BSB) and are now accessible at Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, "Münchener DigitalisierungsZentrum: Digitale Bibliothek," https://digitale-sammlungen.de.

53. As noted above, Savile used the print edition of this homily from Fronto Ducaeus, *Sancti patris nostri Ioannis Chrysostomi* (1604), 259–60, as found in Auctarium E.4.4 in the Bodleian collection, *exemplaria Sauilii,* codex X. In his proofs to the printer, Savile included the pages of Ducaeus's printed edition where Ducaeus says the Greek text of this homily came from a manuscript in the Augustana bibliotheca, as transcribed for him by the humanist and man of letters Marcus Velserus. See Fronto