
John Chrysostom's Discourses on his First Exile

Prolegomena to a Critical Edition of the *Sermo antequam iret in exsilium* and of the *Sermo cum iret in exsilium*

Submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Emilio Bonfiglio
Pembroke College, University of Oxford

Trinity Term 2011

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Abstract

The *Sermo antequam iret in exilium* and the *Sermo cum iret in exsilium* are two homilies allegedly pronounced by John Chrysostom in Constantinople at the end of summer 403, some time between the verdict of the Synod of the Oak and the day he left the city for his first exile. The aim of the thesis is to demonstrate that a new critical edition of these texts is needed before any study of their literary and historical value can be conducted.

Chapter one sketches the historical background to which the text of the homilies refers and a concise survey about previous scholarship on the homilies on the first exile, from the time of Montfaucon's edition until our days. The problem of the authenticity occupies the last part of the chapter.

Chapter two investigates the history of the texts and takes into account both the direct and indirect traditions. It discusses the existence of double recensions hitherto unknown and provides the prefatory material for the new critical edition of recensio α of *Sermo antequam iret in exilium* and of the *Sermo cum iret in exsilium*.

Chapter three comprises the Greek editions of the two homilies, as well as a provisional edition of the Latin version of the *Sermo antequam iret in exilium*.

Chapter four is divided into two parts, each presenting a philological commentary on the text of the new editions. Systematic analysis of all the most important variant readings is offered.

The final chapter summarizes the new findings and assesses the validity of previous criteria used for discerning the authenticity of the homilies on the exile.

COLLEGIO PEMBROCHIANO EX ACADEMIA VNIVERSI
TATIS OXONIENSIS GRATA BENEFICII MEMO
RIA ET MAGISTRIS NIGEL G. WILSON
THEOQUE M. VAN LINT MAGNA
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PATRES

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P R E F A C E

This thesis is concerned with a group of texts which, following the manuscripts' evidence, have been traditionally attributed to the pen of John Chrysostom, and which deal with the events surrounding his first exile. The historical account of what has so often been called 'the tragedy of John Chrysostom' – namely the combination of events, actors, and circumstances that, beginning with the synod of the Oak (in the year 403), led the bishop of Constantinople to be sent into exile twice, the first time in 403 only for a few days, and the second time, permanently, just a few months later – has been narrated, analysed, and discussed over and over again since the time of Chrysostom's death in 407. For it was immediately after the news of his death that the first narrative of the last years of Chrysostom's life in Constantinople was written down and commented on by an unidentified writer (conventionally named pseudo-Martyrios) in his *John Chrysostom's Epitaph*. This apologetic work is the first of a rich hagiographical tradition of *Lives*, histories, and investigations into the career of John Chrysostom, which never ceased to increase throughout the Middle Ages, Renaissance, and Modern Times, and which continues to flourish up to our own time, the last contribution being that of J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, *Ambrose and John Chrysostom*, a book published as recently as March 2011. While the interest of Medieval and later biographers lay in the transmission of the best and most flattering version of the events of Chrysostom's life (with the exception – as we shall see later – of some historians), modern and contemporary scholars have attempted to present the most impartial and fairest possible version of the facts, by investigating afresh

the ancient historical and hagiographical sources, and by applying new methodologies to the available data.

According to the *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* and Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*,¹ there are four sermons ascribed to John Chrysostom which deal with his first exile. These are the [1] *Sermo antequam iret in exsilium* [CPG 4396] and the [2] *Sermo cum iret in exsilium* [CPG 4397], which were supposedly pronounced before going into exile, and the [3&4] *Sermo post reditum a priore exsilio 1 & 2* [CPG 4398 and 4399], which were purportedly delivered upon Chrysostom's return to Constantinople. The Greek text of these sermons was published for the first time in Paris by the eminent Benedictine scholar Bernard de Montfaucon, in the year 1721. Ever since, Chrysostomian scholars have based their researches on Chrysostom's first exile on the early Byzantine historians' accounts as far as the secondary sources are concerned, and on the evidence of Montfaucon's text as primary sources. In the preface to his edition of the sermons, however, Montfaucon warned his readers of the possibility that some (or parts) of these texts may not be genuine. Ever since, the problem of the authenticity of the four discourses has become the main, if not the only topic discussed by modern and contemporary scholars, who, with varying arguments and evidence, have reached different, and at times opposite results. Driven by the sole purpose of using these texts for historical investigation, no scholar has seriously questioned the quality of the text provided by Montfaucon, nor addressed the textual tradition of the sermons, with the single, significant exception of J.N.D. Kelly, who in his book *Golden Mouth* stated about these homilies that 'the Greek seems oc-

1 See GEERARD 1974, 512-513, GEERARD-NORET 1998, 274, and *P.G.* 52:427*-448. Migne's text is a faithful reproduction of Montfaucon's edition, with the exception of the Greek text of *Sermo post reditum a priore exsilio 1*, which, as has often been pointed out (most recently also by S. Voicu; see VOICU 2006), is missing by mistake.

asionally hardly to make sense'.² In addition to the Greek tradition (direct and indirect), these sermons benefit from a complex indirect tradition in other ancient languages, some in Latin, some in Armenian, and one in Syriac.

The aim of this thesis is to offer an investigation of the textual transmission of two of the four aforementioned texts, specifically of the sermons pronounced before Chrysostom's exile. In addition to the study of the textual tradition, a provisional, yet updated and improved edition of the Greek texts will be offered, followed by a philological commentary. The main goal of the commentary is to justify the choices of the readings printed in the text of the new editions. Moreover, this research seeks to answer questions such as which text might have been preached where, for what purposes, and to which audience; how these texts might have been transmitted, and what their reception was in the ancient world. In order to achieve this, the Greek manuscript tradition will be investigated in the light of the relationships (and inter-relationship) of the ancient versions. Ultimately, the aspiration and ambition of this thesis is to rectify scholars' understanding of this group of texts by providing a solid ground for a future, definitive critical edition.

The limits of this investigation have been dictated by the intrinsic nature of this research, that is the necessity of using manuscript sources. First of all, concerning the Greek texts, not all manuscripts could be examined, due to unforeseen, material difficulty encountered in gaining access to the sources within the available time. As far as the oriental versions are concerned, even greater difficulties have arisen, not only from some unresponsive librarians, but also from unsatisfactory, at times misleading catalogues. Confronted with such impediments, it was decided to base the current investigation of the Armenian and Syriac material

2 See KELLY 1995, 230.

exclusively on the available, printed sources. Since only part of the tradition could be satisfactorily analyzed, and because it is my firm belief that the support of a sound, reliable text is the sole bedrock for any serious historical and linguistic investigation of a given text, any conclusion on such matters as the authenticity of the sermons examined must be considered provisional. Satisfactory treatment of the question will be possible only when reliable critical editions of the ancient translations will be available. Despite these limitations, this thesis presents a range of positive results – such as, for instance, the discovery of lost texts and of different recensions, as well as a fundamental methodological discussion of the study of the pseudo-Chrysostomica – which represents an advance in our knowledge of the sermons relating to Chrysostom's first exile, and, more generally, will prove useful in widening discussion of the Chrysostomian Corpus, by addressing the question of the transmission of this exceptional collection of texts from a new perspective.

STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

The thesis is arranged into five chapters. The length of the chapters varies considerably, according to the nature of the matter dealt with. The core of the dissertation is chapter three, in which a critical edition of two Greek texts is presented. The outline of the thesis is as follows.

Chapter One: The Historical Context and the Problem of Authenticity

This chapter offers a general introduction to the historical context in which the homilies on Chrysostom's first exile have to be placed. Following a short narrative of the events leading to Chrysostom's expulsion from Constantinople as reconstructed by Chrysostomian scholars,

the secondary literature and studies dealing with the homilies CPG 4396-9 are outlined and discussed in a concise survey. The problem of the authenticity is then briefly examined and an overview of the ancient historical sources together with a synopsis of the content of the homilies on the exile is presented.

Chapter Two: The History of the Texts

This chapter deals with the history of the text of the two Greek homilies before the exile. For each text, an updated list of the Greek witnesses and their description is provided. For the first time since Montfaucon's edition, attention is paid to the indirect tradition, which is preserved not only in Greek, but also in oriental languages – namely in Armenian and Syriac – and in Latin. A discussion of such matters as the discovery of different, hitherto unknown recensions is offered, and the relations among the manuscripts and the translations are outlined. In analyzing the relations between the sources attention will be paid to the question of the doxologies, and the way the translators dealt with the Biblical quotations.

Chapter Three: The Critical Edition of *Sermo antequam iret in exsilium* (recensio α) and of *Sermo cum iret in exsilium*

At the beginning of this chapter the principles of the editions and the limitations of the investigation of the manuscript tradition are outlined. This prefatory material is followed by the new critical editions of recensio α of *Sermo antequam iret in exsilium* and of *Sermo cum iret in exsilium*. A translation, and indexes (of the names and of the scriptural quotations) follow the editions. For the *Sermo antequam iret in exsilium* a provisional edition of the Latin version is also presented.

Chapter Four: The Philological Commentary

This chapter contains two commentaries, one on *Sermo antequam iret in exsilium* and the other one on *Sermo cum iret in exsilium*. The nature of these commentaries is almost exclusively philological, viz. they analyse all most important readings present in the *apparatus* and give justifications of the readings printed in the main text. Such matters as biblical quotations, literary themes, historical notes, and the analysis of translation technique are also discussed, but the extent of these notes is dictated by their relevance as an aid for the establishment of the text, or for the comprehensibility of a given passage.

Chapter Five: Conclusion

Chapter five presents a conclusion which summarizes and evaluates the results obtained through the textual evidence of the new Greek texts. On the basis of the new findings, the validity of the criteria used by other scholars to discern the genuineness of these sermons is discussed and assessed anew. Finally, a prospect for future paths of research is offered. The thesis is completed by a bibliography.

CHAPTER ONE: THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT AND THE PROBLEM OF AUTHENTICITY

1.1. Chrysostomian Scholarship and Ancient Sources

The ensemble of writings attributed to John Chrysostom (349-407) represents the largest surviving literary corpus written in Greek. The *corpus Chrysostomicum* consists of thousands of texts which have been preserved by approximately two thousand Greek manuscripts, spanning from the 6th to the 18th century. John's writings include homilies, treatises and letters, which nowadays are rightly regarded by Late Antique scholars as a goldmine of information for several phenomena concerning the 4th and early 5th century, such as the Antiochene and Constantinopolitan liturgical praxis, the literary development of the homiletic genre and Biblical exegesis, every-day life in urban and countryside contexts, as well as less visible, yet irreversible events that in the 4th century changed the Roman empire at a political and social level, such as for instance the competition of Christianity with the pagan religions and Judaism, the rise of monasticism and the cult of the martyrs, the permanent division of the Roman empire, the rise of the Constantinopolitan ecclesiastical see, etc.

After the pioneering first editions of the Chrysostomian corpus prepared by the Jesuit Fronton du Duc (Paris, 1609-1624), the Warden of Merton College and Provost of Eton Hen-

ry Savile (Eton, 1610-1613), and that by the Benedictine Bernard de Montfaucon (Paris, 1718-1738), which until our days remains the most well known and complete one, the last fifty years have seen a new interest in the publication of new critical editions of Chrysostomian works by scholars of different countries, whose works have been published almost exclusively in the French collection of the *Sources Chrétiennes*.¹ Although much progress has been made especially in the field of the Chrysostomian treatises, as far as the largest commentaries and other minor speeches, J.P. Migne's *Patrologia Graeca* still remains the only access to the largest part of the *corpus Chrysostomicum*.²

In the volume 52 of the *Patrologia Graeca*, at columns 427*-448, Migne reprinted four texts from Montfaucon's monumental edition of the *Opera Omnia* of John Chrysostom, which deal with the first exile and whose titles are *Sermo antequam iret in exsilium* [henceforth ANTEQUAM IRET], *Sermo cum iret in exsilium* [henceforth CUM IRET], *Sermo post reditum a priore exsilio* (1) [henceforth POST REDITUM 1], *Sermo post reditum a priore exsilio* (2) [henceforth POST REDITUM 2].³ The titles printed by Montfaucon probably reproduce what he found in the manuscripts, although we have no precise information on which ones were used for his editions. As it is self-evident from the Latin titles, the first two homilies are to be considered as delivered before John's departure from Constantinople, while the last two should have been preached at his return in the imperial capital.

1 One important exception is F. Barone's edition of John Chrysostom's *De Davide et Saule*, published in 2008 in the Series Graeca of the *Corpus Christianorum* (n. 70).

2 See MAYER 2005.

3 ANTEQUAM IRET occupies columns 427*-432, CUM IRET 435*-438, POST REDITUM 1 439-442, POST REDITUM 2 443-448. In the *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* [henceforth CPG] they are classified as n. 4396-9.

John's first exile occurred in the year 403, some time in between the months of September and October. The narrative of the historical events with this period of John's life has been narrated in great detail in many biographical works. While C. Baur's *Johannes Chrysostomus und seine Zeit* (München, 1929-1930)⁴ still remains the first modern biography of John Chrysostom conceived on a large scale and based on a fresh reading of the actual Chrysostomian works, in the last fifteen years important new books have corrected, updated, and sometimes substantially changed the general picture provided by Baur in his monumental work. These are: J.N.D. Kelly's *Golden Mouth. The Story of John Chrysostom* (London, 1995), R. Brändle's *Johannes Chrysostomus* (Stuttgart-Berlin-Köln, 1999), C. Tiersch's *Johannes Chrysostomus in Konstantinopel* (Tübingen, 2002), and J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz's *Ambrose and John Chrysostom* (Oxford, 2011).⁵ The historical narrative which follows in the next paragraph is drawn from these works, without always acknowledging the source. On the contrary, I shall refer to the above mentioned works in greater detail when particularly dealing with the different interpretations of the homilies on the exile.⁶

As far as the ancient sources are concerned, in addition to the works of John Chrysostom himself (that is his own treatises, homilies, and letters), which, however, present only relatively scanty biographical information, scholars have been able to reconstruct John's life through the testimony of some contemporaries of John and through the chronicles of some historians of the following generation. What follows is not an exhaustive list of all sources, but only a short outline of the major 5th century witnesses.

4 I read this work in English translation. See BAUR 1959-1960.

5 For the full titles of these works, see the bibliography.

6 In addition to these major monographs, there are a number of short journal articles which deal with specific aspects of John's life. Reference to these latter will be given in the appropriate place and in the bibliography.

The most ancient source is the *Epitaph of Saint John Chrysostom* (i.e. *Oratio funebris in laudem sancti Iohannis Chrysostomi*), which, according to M. Wallraff, was written immediately after the news of the death of John, that is in September 407. This work was composed by one of John's followers and supporters, whose identity still remains obscure and therefore usually referred to as pseudo-Martyrios.⁷ This eulogy is characterized by a highly rhetorical style of writing, and its full potential as historical evidence has just begun to be appreciated by scholars. Another eyewitness and member of John's closer entourage is Palladios from Helenopolis, who wrote in 408 a biographical work on his hero and friend, the *Dialogue on the Life of Chrysostom*.⁸ Both Palladios and pseudo-Martyrios write their story with a highly apologetic inclination, thus presenting their information from the point of view of John's closest allies. The next major sources are the ecclesiastical histories written by Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret of Cyrus, and Philostorgius, all written in the first half of the 5th century.⁹ While Theodoret's account is rather succinct, both Socrates and Sozomen offer a large section of their works entirely devoted to the life of John Chrysostom. Although fragmentary, the remnants of Philostorgius' work provide useful information on particular events and on John's network of friends and enemies. These stories complement each other and altogether often present unique particulars on various aspects of John's life. Although strictly speaking outside the boundaries of the 5th century, another historical narrative which deserves to be mentioned is Zosimos' secular history (better known as *The New History*), whose non reli-

7 See WALLRAFF 2005 and 2007, where it is proposed to identify the author of the *Epitaph* as Philip of Side.

8 See MALINGREY-LECLERCQ 1988.

9 See HANSEN 1995, BIDEZ-HANSEN 1960, and PARMANTIER-HANSEN 1998, BIDEZ 1913.

gious point of view often reports events from a perspective radically different from that of the church historians.¹⁰

1.2. Historical Context

In order to understand the combination of circumstances and actors which caused John Chrysostom to be sent into exile at the beginning of Autumn 403, it is necessary – even if only broadly – to follow the lines of a story which started five years earlier. For John arrived in Constantinople, which at that time was the capital of the Eastern part of the Roman Empire, to be consecrated bishop of Constantinople on the 26th of February 398. In fact, when in September 397 bishop Nectarius, that is John's predecessor on the Constantinopolitan see, unexpectedly died, the eunuch Eutropius, who at that time was the most influential officer of the Emperor Arcadius and the holder of the post of *praepositus sacri cubiculi* (that is the emperor's superintendent of the bedchamber), suggested to the Emperor that he should have John summoned from Antioch in order to fill the vacancy. At the time of his election to episcopal rank, John was 48 years old and had already spent twelve years as a priest in his hometown Antioch.¹¹ By that time John's reputation and popularity in preaching and helping the poor was already widely known and acknowledged in the East. After been unwillingly consecrated by Theophilus, Patriarch of Alexandria, who on the contrary had in mind a candidate of his own, John indeed enjoyed great popularity among the clerics, and the populace, as well as in the sphere of the imperial court, at least at the beginning of his stay in Constantinople.

¹⁰ See PASCHOUD 1971-1989.

¹¹ The year of birth of John Chrysostom is not undisputed. I prefer to follow what is stated by Kelly. See KELLY 1995, 296-8.

After an initial period of success, however, John began to experience tensions and difficulties both at an ecclesiastical and a secular level. As a result of a series of actions undertaken by John involving a number of reforms which were not welcomed by the local clerics and monks, and as a consequence of John's involvement in the policy of the Constantinopolitan court with the Gothic community, John's popularity slowly begun to decline.¹² Without entering into the details, it may be enough to say that after a few years of episcopate during which John enjoyed a steady and growing popularity among the populace of Constantinople, he had also already begun to acquire a substantial number of enemies. First of all, within the imperial palace, John's relationship with Empress Eudoxia was constantly unstable.¹³ At an ecclesiastical level, John was criticized for his strictness in the administration of the wealth of the Church, for his interference in the affairs of neighboring dioceses, for his general habit of behaving independently and with a firm hand. Outside Constantinople his most dangerous and active enemy proved to be Theophilus of Alexandria, whose main concern was the detriment caused to the patriarchate of Alexandria by the rise of prestige of the Constantinopolitan see.

Troubles in John's life started when Theophilus of Alexandria was summoned to the capital in order to answer the accusations of some Nitrian monks (the so called 'Tall Brothers') who complained about the bishop's abuse of authority in their own territory (401). The affair of the Nitrian monks, who had come to Constantinople to seek help from John Chrysostom

12 See KELLY 1995, 115-162 and BRÄNDLE 2004, 64-70, 78-81. A very good survey on the intricate and difficult relations between John Chrysostom and the Constantinopolitan community is in CORSARO 2005. Concerning the different point of views of the ancient historians in discussing the conflict between John Chrysostom and the Imperial court, see WALLRAFF 2001.

13 On this aspect particularly useful are OMMESLAEGHE 1979 and, more recently LIEBESCHUETZ 2011, 224-247, which present an updated survey of the interrelationship between John Chrysostom and the court.

and who were staying there under this latter's protection, was the fatal beginning of the ruin of Chrysostom.¹⁴ While he was dealing with delicate issue of the monks, John had in the meantime traveled to Ephesus, in order to clarify an internal crisis of that local church. It was during this trip that John entrusted Severian of Gabala with the task of preaching on his behalf during the whole duration of his absence. Within a few months, this bishop was destined to become one of the major opponents of John Chrysostom.

When John finally came back from his travels in Asia, he found that his position in the clerical *milieu* and at court had already noticeably deteriorated, especially thanks to the movements and intrigues brought about by Theophilus and Severianus. Events eventually came to a head and, to cut a long story short, at the end of September 403 John himself was called to answer to a series of (more or less) made-up accusations gathered against him at the instigation of Theophilus.¹⁵ According to the most recent researches, the turning point which brought Emperor Arcadius, who until then had constantly admired and supported the policy of John, to the point of having John face trial, was the fact that the latter had for a long time refused to try Theophilus, as had been requested by the Emperor himself.¹⁶

Seeing that John did not want to judge Theophilus for his behavior and interference in the affair of the Tall Brothers, another synod was organized by Theophilus himself, who on his way to Constantinople had taken his time in gathering as many clergymen as he could, from Egypt, from the Eastern part of the Roman Empire, and even in Constantinople itself, among those priests, bishops, and monks who criticized the politics John Chrysostom and were

14 See KELLY 1995, 191-202, BRÄNDLE 2004, 95-100, and especially LIEBESCHUETZ 2011, 238-240.

15 The acts of the synod are transmitted in Photius' *Bibliotheca*, cod. 59. See MALINGRAY 1988, II, 97-115.

16 See TIERSCH 2000, 345-6 and LIEBESCHUETZ 2011, 239-240.

seeking a suitable occasion to eliminate their bishop. The fate of John was thus decided at the famous ‘Synod of the Oak’, which was held not too far away from Chalcedon, in Bithynia, and gathered thirty-six bishops. The majority of the latter had purposely come from Egypt to support Theophilus’ plan. The precise period during which the Synod took place is unknown, although midtime September could be an acceptable date. As a matter of fact, Liebeschuetz points out that Theophilus must have arrived in Constantinople in late August, which was the time when the Egyptian grain fleet usually arrived in the capital.¹⁷

The number of accusations brought forward against John was originally twenty-nine. Although it is difficult to say whether these accusations actually corresponded to real crimes or not, especially considering that the ancient historians do not report them, pseudo-Martyrios and Palladios cannot be trusted entirely since they were among the supporters of John, and because the sole synodal document left is an incomplete list transmitted by Photius,¹⁸ it seems certain that the main point that the synod was able to exploit in order to depose John was the fact that he never presented himself to Chalcedon in order to clear himself. According to John, in fact, that Synod was invalid by law and only a larger, less partial council should have considered his case.

Once the synodal decision was taken, an official report was sent to the emperor, with a final accusation of high treason. This accusation derived from the fact that in one of his homilies, John supposedly offended the empress Eudoxia by comparing her to Jezebel.¹⁹ According to Liebeschuetz, the sentence was immediately confirmed by Arcadius, and although the

¹⁷ See LIEBESCHUETZ 2011, 237.

¹⁸ See MALINGRAY 1988, II, 97-115.

¹⁹ KELLY 1995, 228, thinks that Palladios’ account on this point is realistic. Also, see LIEBESCHUETZ 2011, 236.

official banishment was ordered, nothing happened for the following three days, the reason being the reaction of the populace of Constantinople.

After the imperial verdict became generally known in the city, crowds of friends and supporters of John took shelter in *Hagia Sophia*, the cathedral of the city, and there remained until their bishop, on the morning of the third day after the proclamation of his banishment, supposedly pronounced his last homilies.²⁰ These are the ANTEQUAM IRET and the CUM IRET. Whether John pronounced two homilies, or only one, or even none, will be discussed in the next paragraph as well as in the next chapter.

Following Socrates (VI, 15) and Sozomenos (VIII, 18), Kelly suggests that John left the church at noon on the third day, that is at the moment when the streets were deserted due to the heat,²¹ while departure from the harbour must have taken place some time during the evening of that day. The final destination of John's exile was probably not yet known nor decided. After leaving Constantinople, John was thus made to disembark in Bithynia, at Praenetos (which today corresponds to the Turkish Karamürsel), a location between the cities of Nicomedia (modern İzmit) and Helenopolis (modern Hersek). The Asian stopover of John must have been very brief, for many incidents occurred in the imperial capital. The populace, in fact, never stopped rioting and protesting against the removal of John, and other bloody events occurred inside the Great Church, which happened to be temporarily occupied by monks.²² In addition to these facts, an accident occurred in the imperial palace, which has been interpreted as a miscarriage of the Empress,²³ in conjunction with an earthquake,²⁴ and

20 According to Tiersch and Liebeschuetz ANTEQUAM IRET was probably pronounced on the second day after the verdict. See TIERSCH 2000, 351-2 and LIEBESCHUETZ 2011, 241.

21 See KELLY 1995, 231.

22 On these events the account of Kelly still remains the best and most detailed. See KELLY 1995, 233.

convinced the reluctant John to accept the imperial order to return to Constantinople. During his stay in Praenetos the Empress had in fact sent a message begging to be pardoned and declaring her innocence and ignorance in the machinations of the Synod of the Oak by means of her eunuch Briso.

After much pressure from the court and long vacillation from John's side, the bishop finally consented to return in the capital. John's triumphal return probably occurred in early October 403. It is at this point that John delivered the homily POST REDITUM 1 in the church of the Holy Apostles, while the sermon POST REDITUM 2 might have been preached on the following Sunday, in the church of *Haghia Sophia*.

This is the historical frame within which the homilies on the first exile must be placed. Whether these texts can be considered authentic and actually preached during the above mentioned events, will be investigated in the next paragraphs.

1.3. Content of the Homilies on the First Exile

This paragraph offers a succinct synopsis of the content of the homilies on John's first exile. For practical reasons, the division of the paragraphs of all homilies follows the same structure as is provided by Migne in the *Patrologia Graeca*, even if the new critical editions which are presented in chapter three of this thesis show an arrangement of the texts according to a new system. The subdivision of the homilies as provided by Migne has – for this chapter – to be maintained, because whenever scholars refer to and discuss these homilies, they consistently make reference to the paragraph system of the *Patrologia*.

23 To this episode Palladios and pseudo-Martyrios make a vague allusion.

24 The episode of the earthquake is narrated by Theodoret of Cyrus in his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, V, 34.

1.3.1. *Sermo antequam iret in exsilium*

The homily ANTEQUAM IRET is structured in five paragraphs.

§§ 1-3. In the first three paragraphs the homilist (allegedly John Chrysostom) addresses his community like an affectionate father who is speaking to his children. The purpose of his speech is to prepare the audience for the news of his departure. By means of different metaphors, John compares his present condition to that of a man who, although in the middle of a tempest, cannot have any fear, because he is sitting on a solid rock: the stone of faith. John declares himself to be on the side of Christ, meaning that he who stays inside the Church can consider himself safe from any assault. The material goods of this world count for nothing and the relationship between a bishop and his flock can not be separated, not even through death. John's community too has nothing to fear, for the relationship with a bishop can be compared to the marriage of man and woman: nobody can separate them, because 'what God has joined together, let no one separate'.²⁵ John asks his audience to maintain its calm and to pray for him. History shows that although in the past many people tried to defeat the Church, nobody actually ever succeeded, for the mere reason that the Church is invincible. John's only care and preoccupation is thus the moral progress of his flock. For the sake of it, in fact, he is ready to die thousands of times. His flock represents everything to him and, as Jesus said to the apostles, he can promise that they will stay all together until the end of the world.²⁶

§§ 4-5. In the second part of the discourse John's tone changes. The homilist is now wondering why he has been deposed and tries to answer this question. The explanation he

25 Mt 19:6.

26 Mt 28:20.

offers is that he has been condemned because he has always refused a life based on moral slackness and opulence. If in the first part of the discourse John was speaking in a quite emotional way, in these paragraphs he now becomes more aggressive and polemical. Without directly mentioning any name, the homilist makes many allusions to his enemies. Theophilus is thus introduced under the figure of Potiphar's wife. In the same way as this Egyptian woman had seduced Joseph,²⁷ it is now another Egyptian (i.e. Theophilus) who is trying to separate John from his community. Allusion to the Emperor Arcadius is made through the mask of King David, who is introduced in the discourse in order to present a character symbolizing the loyal and perfect king. In sharp contrast to her husband, Empress Eudoxia enters the scene in order to be demonized by comparison first to Jezebel,²⁸ the queen who turned her husband away from the God of the Israelites, and secondly to the figure of Herodias, the wicked woman who asked for the head of John the Baptist.²⁹

1.3.2. *Sermo cum iret in exsilium*

The sermon CUM IRET is structured in two paragraphs.

§1. The main theme dealt with in the first part of the homily is the preparation of the congregation – who are always addressed as ‘brothers’ (ἀδελφοί), except once as ‘children’ (τεκνία) – for the departure of its bishop. Despite the turmoil of the events (ἡ ζάλη τῶν ἀνέμων ... πολλὰ κύματα ... χαλεπὸν τὸ κλυδώνιον ... δόρατα παρεσκευασμένα), the preacher has no fear of what is to come, for his faith in the Scriptures (καθέζομαι ἐπὶ τὴν

27 Gn 39.

28 Kings 1 and 2, *passim*.

29 Mk 6:17-29.

Παλαιὰν καὶ Νέαν Διαθήκην) and obedience to God's commands (Δεσπότης κελεύει, καὶ δοῦλος στεφανοῦται) protect him from any assault. As a matter of fact, nothing that belongs to the earthly world can harm those who believe in Christ, neither death (ὁ θάνατος), nor exile (ἡ ἐξορία), nor the confiscation of property (ἡ τῶν χρημάτων δήμευσις). The central section of this paragraph polemically addresses reasons that are causing his deposition (μελλουσί με καθελεῖν). According to the homilist these are two: the first – probably addressed to the court – is his condemnation of a luxurious life-style (ἐπειδὴ τάπητας οὐχ ἥπλωσα, καὶ σηρικὰ ἱμάτια οὐκ ἐνεδυσάμην...); the second – which is, most probably, addressing a clerical milieu – is an alleged accusation of sacrilege in a liturgical context, i.e. the administration of baptism after having eaten and drunk (λέγουσι δέ μοι, ὅτι ἔφαγες καὶ ἔπιες, καὶ ἐβάπτισας). The final part of the paragraph consists of a both consolatory and paraenetic address to the congregation, which is exhorted to face any difficulty by relying on three virtues: faith (ἡ πίστις), endurance in temptation (ὁ πειρασμός), and continence (ἡ σωφροσύνη). To this latter, a digression on the example of Joseph, the son of Jacob, is appended.

§2. The second paragraph mostly consists of a tripartite tirade against the Empress Eudoxia (βουλόμεθα ἐφαπλῶσαι τὴν γλῶτταν πρὸς τὴν βασιλίδαν), who is never called by her name, but rather described as a lawless (ἡ παράνομος) woman enslaved to her body (ἡ σεσωματωμένη) – and therefore addicted to corporeal objects such as baths (τὰ λουτρά), unguents (τὰ μυρίσματα), and sexual intercourse (ἡ μετ' ἄνδρὸς περιπλεκομένη). Eudoxia is depicted as somebody trying to fight her who is freed from her body (ἡ ἀσώματος) so as

to bereave (χηρεύσαι) the pure and stainless Church (ἡ καθαρὰ καὶ ἄσπιλος Ἐκκλησία) of its guide (that is, of John Chrysostom). The folly of the empress (θορυβεῖσθαι, εὐφραίνεισθαι, ψεύδεσθαι) is highlighted by comparing her behaviour to that of several Biblical women, who exercised their influence to damage the lives of those who criticized them (Jezebel and Elijah,³⁰ Herodias and John the Baptist,³¹ Potiphar's wife and Joseph, the son of Jacob).³² In opposition to the Empress's representation, the preacher depicts himself as a virtuous man who is unjustly persecuted, but able to resist to any assaults (ἐὰν ἐξορίσωσί με [...] ἐὰν εἰς βόρβορον βάλωσι [...] ἐὰν εἰς θάλατταν [...] ἐὰν εἰς λάκκον [...] ἐὰν λιθάσωσί με [...] ἐὰν ἀποκεφαλίσωσι [...] ἐὰν ῥαβδίσωσι [...] ἐὰν πρίσωσι) thanks to a strength similar to that shown by many Biblical prophets and Christian martyrs (who, in order of reference in the text, are: Elijah, Jeremiah, Jonah, Daniel, Stephen, John the Baptist, Paul, and Isaiah). A long digression dealing with the example of Job's endurance and his wife's divergent advice to reject God follows. A final address to the congregation ends the homily with the image of the crown of justice (ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης στέφανος), which is prophetically foreseen to descend on the head of those who keep their faith (τὴν πίστιν τετήρηκα), in spite of the fact that they are continuously tested.

1.3.3. *Sermo post reditum a priore exilio 1*

The sermon POST REDITUM 1 is structured in two paragraphs.

§1. In the first paragraph the homilist shows surprise for his quick return from the exile,

30 Kings 1 and 2, *passim*.

31 Mk 6:17-29.

32 Gn 39:7-20.

by stating that he has nothing more to say than '*Blessed be God!*'. He pronounced these words while leaving Constantinople, he now does not stop repeating them while entering the city. God, in fact, has to be blessed in any circumstance of life, and be thanked for anything we receive in life. The homilist reminds the audience of the last words with which he addressed it before leaving, that is the example of Job, who thus becomes the centre of a new digression. What has happened to the Church of Constantinople has been decided by divine Providence, which governs everything. As a matter of fact, nothing was able to divide the bishop from his flock, and the envy of the enemies not only did not damage John, but even helped him in gaining new supporters, not only among the Christians, but even among the Jews. The news of John's return is so extraordinary that the entire populace seems to have come to greet him, even if on that day there is a horse-race in the hippodrome.

§2. John is preaching in the Church of the Apostles and states that he has summoned his audience to that church because he who was persecuted came to those (i.e. the Apostles) who were persecuted. There is no reason to fear persecution, for this is the only means to gain the eternal glory. The rest of the discourse is a sort of celebration of the unity of John's supporters, who remained steady during his absence and continue to flourish. If John's enemies fled, this is thanks to John's supporters, who fought for him while he was absent. The homily ends with a joyful blessing of the people, after stating that also the persons in charge (probably an allusion to the court) are on John's side.

1.3.4. *Sermo post reditum a priore exilio 2*

The sermon POST REDITUM 2 is structured in five paragraphs.

§1. The first paragraph begins with the Biblical episode of the Egyptian pharaoh, who tried to take Sara, the wife of Abraham. Without explicitly mentioning any name, the homilist

makes a precise parallel between the pharaoh and the other Egyptian who made an attempt to his life (that is Theophilus of Alexandria) and Sarah, whose character represents the virtuous Church of Constantinople. It goes without saying that John implicitly compares himself to Abraham. Both in the case of the Biblical story, and in the personal case of John, the evil attempts of wicked men had the sole result of shedding light on the virtues of those who suffered persecution. More specifically, the patience of the righteous one, the chastity of Sarah/Church, the incontinence of the enemy, the good will of God. Although the new Egyptian had gathered a number of friends to helping him chase John, divine Providence disposed otherwise.

§2. The main theme of the second paragraph is the celebration of the Constantinopolitan community, which is praised for its faithfulness to John and for its virtue. In this community the homilist includes not only the Christians, but also the Jews. As a matter of fact – says the homilist – the troubles which John and his community have experienced are only a means of God to test their faith and to strengthen them, exactly in the same way as Job was tested. At this point the homilist alludes to the violent riots which took place in the cathedral during his absence, and uses this topic to compare the weapons of the two parties: the canes on one side, the prayers on the other.

§3. This paragraph continues and develops the themes of the previous one, that is the praise of the people of Constantinople and of the entire city, as well as the fact that its inhabitants fought the enemy with the weapon of prayer. When John was coming back to the city, everybody came to the harbour to welcome him back. Among these people, the Empress is also present. Thanks to all of them, the exile lasted one day only.

§4. In this paragraph John tells his audience about the circumstances that made possible

his return to Constantinople. After he left alone the city, during the night a message was brought to him, written by the Empress. In this message she declared her innocence and ignorance of the decisions taken for his expulsion. She assures John that she remembers he had baptized her own children. She continues by saying that she does not know where John has been escorted to, and that because of that she has been sending messages everywhere, in order to save him from the evil hands of his enemies.

§5. The final section of the homily continues the former praise of the communities and comments on the hasty departure of the enemies of John. The sermon ends with an exhortation to pray and thank God.

1.4. Studies on the Homilies on the First Exile: the Problem of Authenticity

At the time of the great edition of the *corpus Chrysostomicum* prepared by Bernard de Montfaucon (1718-1738), the ensemble of writings which in the manuscripts were attributed to John was distinguished into three broad categories of works: genuine, spurious, and dubious. This neat and comfortable scheme has been challenged since 1902, when for the first time Sebastian Haidacher showed that the text of the spurious *Eclogae* was actually made up also of a large amount of authentic materials.³³ Important studies by Frans van de Paverd, Pauline Allen, and Wendy Mayer have demonstrated that even the so called authentic corpus is affected by unexpected problems, such as the fact that many of the homiletic series which form Chrysostom's Pauline commentaries actually present homilies preached at different times and places (386-397, Antioch; 398-403, Constantinople). In the last 15 years Sever Voicu has produced the most significant studies on the spuria. In one of his most recent

33 See HAIDACHER 1902.

articles, Voicu divided the Chrysostomian corpus into 14 groups, classifying the spuria into nine subgroups. Although in the field of *pseudo-Chrysostomica* much progress has been made and, in the last twenty years, various articles have appeared, no serious and comprehensive work on the problem of the validity of the criteria used for identification of the spuria has been produced.

As far as the *Homilies on the Exile* are concerned, scholars have often stressed the importance of these four sermons for two opposite reasons. For those who are convinced that these texts are authentic, these homilies can then be upheld as historical documents presenting evidence about a precise moment of John's life. For those other scholars who reckon these (or part of these) homilies to be, on the contrary, forgeries, these texts would represent the first records of the large file of Chrysostomian spurious texts, which are supposed to have been produced and circulated very early after John's death, starting to be disseminated side by side with the authentic Chrysostomian corpus at the same time when the tradition of the whole corpus began.

Concerning the authenticity of the ANTEQUAM IRET, at least paragraphs 4 and 5 have been suspected of manipulation from the time of Savile's edition³⁴ up to contemporary scholars. Montfaucon says that the first part of this *oratio* until the words ἀλλ' ὁρῶ τοῖς ἑμαυτοῦ δόγμασί τινας (that is, the beginning of the fourth paragraph) '*non indigna Chrysostomo videtur: et talis a viris doctis habetur, paucioribus aliis reclamantibus*'.³⁵ As for the second part, on the contrary, the Benedictine states '*salebris plenam, intricatam, quae saepe vix, ac*

34 I was unable to check the place where Savile examines the ANTEQUAM IRET, thus on this point I trust what is reported in KELLY 1995, 230 n. 11.

35 See P.G. 52, 427*-428*.

ne vix quidem intelligi potest,³⁶ [...] *Chrysostomo abiudicandam censemus*'.³⁷ The reason for rejecting the attribution to Chrysostom is, consequently, a matter of style, which in the two sections is clearly different and, as far as the second part of the homily is concerned, not entirely Chrysostomian. Montfaucon grounds his hypothesis of inauthenticity of the last two paragraphs also on the evidence that an ancient Latin translation of this sermon ends at paragraph three, thus omitting the suspected paragraphs.

The two most recent biographers of John Chrysostom, Kelly and Brändle, both agree that even if the authenticity of the last two paragraphs of the homily can be reasonably questioned, at least the first three paragraphs must be considered authentic.³⁸ Of the two, Kelly is by far the more precise in his thoughts. While Brändle in fact does not even mention the existence of the CUM IRET – although he quotes, paraphrasing, a passage from it –³⁹ Kelly speculates that paragraphs 4 and 5 of ANTEQUAM IRET represent only a different redaction of the CUM IRET.⁴⁰ According to Kelly, paragraphs 1-3 of the ANTEQUAM IRET are clearly an abbreviation of an original, which – I infer – he must have considered to be lost. In 2006 Inmaculada Delgado Jara, a Spanish sister, published a monograph on the *Homilies on the Exile* in which she offers an overview on the historical events of John's life and a translation in Spanish of all the four homilies. As far as the problem of the authenticity is concerned, she ignores the problems of paragraphs 4 and 5 of the ANTEQUAM IRET and affirms that the CUM

36 Of the same opinion is KELLY 1995, 230, who wrote '*the text of both [that is of the last two paragraphs of ANTEQUAM IRET and the homily CUM IRET] is confused, even chaotic, and the Greek seems occasionally hardly to make sense*'.

37 P.G. 52, 427*-428*.

38 Brändle does not actually say much about the problem of the authenticity, but simply states '*in a second part [of the homily], the authenticity of which is often questioned...*', see BRÄNDLE 2004, 114.

39 See BRÄNDLE 2004, 230.

40 See Kelly 1995, 230.

IRET actually represents the second part of ANTEQUAM IRET.⁴¹ The opinion of Liebeschuetz is that the ANTEQUAM IRET has come down to us in a very corrupted state.⁴² However, like Kelly, he believes that the authenticity of paragraphs 1-3 should be accepted, while the second part of the homily is nothing more than a different recension of the CUM IRET.

The CUM IRET has been considered spurious since the edition of Montfaucon, who states '*aliam edimus oratiunculam [...] in qua praeter initium [...] caetera perplexa, infimaeque notae videntur esse, quaedam etiam ex posteriore primae orationis parte* [that is §§ 4-5 of the ANTEQUAM IRET] *excerpta*'.⁴³ Montfaucon continues by saying that the only reason which could lead one to consider the homily as authentic is the fact that in the POST REDITUM 1 John says to his audience that he will start his discourse with the words of Job, in the same way as he ended his last discourse with Job before departing from Constantinople. In Kelly's view, as shown above, this homily is only a different recension of the last paragraphs of ANTEQUAM IRET, which according to him can be accepted as genuine as well. One of Kelly's arguments coincides with that of Montfaucon concerning the recurrence of the figure of Job, the other one is that in fact clear thematic links such as '*the resemblance between a bishop's relationship with his flock and that of husband and wife*' occur in all parts of the two homilies.⁴⁴ As for Liebeschuetz, although the CUM IRET as it can be read nowadays may be the result of a corrupted text, it '*is at least in part based upon what Chrysostom had said*'.⁴⁵

As far as the two homilies after the exile are concerned, that is POST REDITUM 1 and POST REDITUM 2, no scholars have doubted of their authenticity. One notable exception to the above

41 See DELGADO 2006, 213-216.

42 See LIEBESCHUETZ 2011, 241.

43 P.G. 52, 435*-436*.

44 See KELLY 1995, 231.

45 See LIEBESCHUETZ 2011, 242.

picture is the position of Sever Voicu, who in an article published in 2004, claimed that all the four *Homilies on the Exile* are in fact spurious.

Concerning the ANTEQUAM IRET, Voicu exploited and expanded Kelly's argument that paragraphs 4 and 5 represent a reworking of the CUM IRET.⁴⁶ First of all Voicu observes that ANTEQUAM IRET contains several passages in common not only with CUM IRET, but also with another text of the Chrysostomian corpus, the *In Pentecosten Sermo*, which is usually considered spurious.⁴⁷ According to Voicu these two texts are the sources from which ANTEQUAM IRET was created. Among other arguments which Voicu brings forward to uphold his idea of the inauthenticity of the *antequam iret*, he lists the presence of a doxology which is apparently characteristic only of spurious texts,⁴⁸ as well as the, according to him, bizarre use of some words, which either are used only once in Chrysostom (ἀπονοούμενος), or appear to be *hapax* (αἰμιάσσεις and ἁθανασίας ὑπόθεσις)⁴⁹. In addition, Voicu considers the mention of Herodias seeking the head of the Baptist as another indication that the homily is not authentic. This theme, in fact, is already present in the CUM IRET, and would apparently derive from yet another text considered spurious, the homily *In decollationem S. Iohannis*.⁵⁰

Voicu's final verdict is thus that the ANTEQUAM IRET and the CUM IRET are two spurious homilies, which are part of a much larger group of texts probably created in Constantinople immediately after the death of John Chrysostom (407).⁵¹ To explain this situation, Voicu claims that the famous contrast between John Chrysostom and Empress Eudoxia is in reality

46 It should be noted that Voicu never credits the paternity of this idea to Kelly.

47 For the list of the passages see VOICU 2005, 102-104.

48 On this point see later Chapter 2.

49 Respectively at lines 22, 95/96 and 115.

50 VOICU 2004, 706.

51 Voicu 2004, 707.

only a legend created *ad hoc* in order to find a defined enemy responsible for the expulsion of the bishop. In 403 a silver statue of the empress standing on a column of porphyry had been erected in Constantinople. According to Socrates and Sozomen, on that occasion John criticized the luxury of this statue comparing Eudoxia to Herodias in his famous homily *In decollationem S. Iohannis*. The problem arises from the fact that *In decollationem* is spurious and therefore this episode of Chrysostom's life may have actually never happened. Had this in fact really occurred, John would have seriously risked a capital sentence.⁵² The homily *In Pentecosten sermo* 1, on the contrary, shows that the relationship between John and Eudoxia was one of good terms.⁵³ In Voicu's view, the legend of the contrast between Chrysostom and the empress started because in the eyes of the community of John's supporters (the Ἰωαννῖται mentioned by Socrates in his *Historia Ecclesiastica*),⁵⁴ Eudoxia could easily become the scapegoat for justifying Chrysostom's exile (Eudoxia, in fact, had died few months after Chrysostom's definitive banishment in 404, and her death must have seemed like a divine punishment). For this reason, John's supporters later reused the material of this legend in the other two texts which deal with John's exile, the ANTEQUAM IRET and the CUM IRET.

Whatever different scholars' opinions may be, one significant problem remains. This issue is that, to date, the ANTEQUAM IRET and the CUM IRET are still lacking a new critical edition. In the next two chapters the history of the text and a provisional critical edition of paragraphs 1-3 of the ANTEQUAM IRET and the full text of the CUM IRET will be presented. The

⁵² VOICU 2004, *passim*.

⁵³ P.G. 52, 803-808.

⁵⁴ Concerning this community see VOICU 2004, 706-707.

question of the authenticity and the validity of the criteria hitherto used will then be discussed in the conclusion of the thesis, that is in Chapter 4.

CHAPTER TWO : THE HISTORY OF THE TEXT

The first part of this chapter deals with the history of the text of ANTEQUAM IRET, while the second part offers a shorter study on the transmission of the CUM IRET.

2.1. The History of the Text of the *Sermo antequam iret in exsilium*

2.1.1. Introduction

The *Sermo antequam iret in exsilium* is transmitted both by direct and indirect tradition. The direct tradition is represented by one mediaeval manuscript only, while a rich indirect tradition is witnessed by an old Latin translation dating back to the 5th century, and by a Byzantine biography of John Chrysostom written in the 7th century.

2.1.2. Description of the Manuscript

As far as it is currently known, the direct tradition of the *Sermo antequam iret in exsilium* is represented by a *codex unicus* preserved in Paris, at the Bibliothèque nationale de France. To date, no editor has ever made use of this manuscript. The printed edition commonly used for the homily,¹ in fact, relies on an indirect source, which will be analysed later.

The ANTEQUAM IRET is contained in folios 195^v-197^v of the manuscript *Bibliothèque*

1 That is *P.G.* 52:427*-432.

nationale de France, Graecus 700 (olim Colbertinus 365, Regius 1829, 3). According to Omont's catalogue,² the manuscript, which has 350 folios, was written in the 10th century on a parchment support. With the exception of a very succinct summary of the content, Omont does not give other data. Hence, the following information relies on an inspection of the manuscript conducted *in situ*.³

The manuscript measures mm. 357 x 243, has two columns, each one containing 38 lines. The ruling system is Leroy D 22D2a. In the first part of the manuscript the decoration is not very interesting, because it is limited to some drawings and initials traced with dark brown ink. The second part has more interesting initials (i.e. f. 87^r), painted in red, green and yellow. Generally speaking, however, the decoration of the manuscript is rather sober.

The manuscript is constituted by 41 quires (originally all quaternions), but some folios have been lost, namely in the quires 1 (5 ff), 2 (6 ff.), 7 (4 ff.), 19 (6 ff.), 29 (7 ff.), 33 (6 ff.), 45 (6 ff.), 46 (5 ff.); quires 8 and 12 are missing.

The content of the manuscript is (with the exception of the piece n.2) entirely occupied by Chrysostomian texts. The following table shows a list of the pieces.

1.	ff. 1-8 ^v , 17-24 ^v , 9-16 ^v , 25-43 ^v , <i>In Matthaëum homiliarum</i> 4-6, 65-88 <i>epitome</i> (CPG 4424)
2.	ff. 43 ^v -45 ^v , <i>Eusebii Caesariensis Epitome selecta ex libro ad Marinum quaestionum euangelicarum</i> (CPG 3470)
3.	ff. 87-163, <i>Commentarii in S. Euangelium secundum Iohannem</i> (ex Chrysostomi homiliis in Iohannem 4-22, 32-70, 72-88 confectus)
4.	ff. 163-166 ^v , <i>Homilia in illud, Apparuit gratia Dei omnibus hominibus</i> (CPG 4456)
5.	ff. 166 ^v -170 ^v , <i>Homilia 3. Ad neophytos</i> (CPG 4467)
6.	ff. 170 ^v -172 ^v , <i>In illud, Quid ex uobis uolens turrim aedificare</i> (ineditum)

2 OMONT 1888, 116. *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*. See OMONT 2000.

3 For certain details of the description, I am indebted to the kind advice of Mr Pierre Augustin (IRHT).

7.	ff. 172 ^v -174 ^v , <i>De paenitentia</i> (CPG 4631)
8.	ff. 174 ^v -179, <i>De remissione peccatorum</i> (CPG 4629)
9.	ff. 179-189 ^v , <i>In diuitem et Lazarum</i> (ineditum)
10.	(deperditus)
11.	ff. 190-195 ^v , <i>Ad illuminandos catechesis I</i> (CPG 4460)
12.	ff. 195^v-197^v, <i>Sermo antequam iret in exsilium</i> (CPG 4396)
13.-14.	ff. 198-201 ^v , <i>In Iohannem homiliae I-2</i> (CPG 4425)
15.	ff. 208-212, <i>In Genesim homilia I</i> (CPG 4409)
16.	ff. 212-216 ^v , <i>De paenitentia homilia 5</i> (CPG 4333)
17.	ff. 218-219, <i>De ieiunio et eleemosyna</i> (CPG 4502)
18.	ff. 219-227 ^v , <i>Peccata fratrum non euulganda</i> (CPG 4389)
19.-20.	ff. 227 ^v -239, <i>In illud, Vidi Dominum (Is. 6, 1) homiliae 5, 4</i> (CPG 4417)
21.	ff. 239-243 ^v , <i>Quomodo animam acceperit Adamus</i> (CPG 4195)
22.-23.	ff. 243 ^v -256 ^v , <i>De Anna sermones 2-3</i> (CPG 4411)
24.	ff. 256 ^v -264 ^v , <i>De Chananaea</i> (CPG 4529)
25.	ff. 264 ^v -274 ^v , <i>In illud, Si qua in Christo noua creatura (2 Cor. 5, 17)</i> (CPG 4701)
26.-27.	ff. 274 ^v -300 ^v , <i>In principium Actorum, homiliae 3-4, 2</i> (CPG 4371)
28.	f. 301, <i>De mutatione nominum, homilia I</i> (CPG 4372)
29.	301-305 ^v , <i>De ss. martyribus</i> (CPG 4365)
30.	ff. 305 ^v -309, <i>De Ioseph et de castitate</i> (CPG 4566)
31.	ff. 309-312 ^v , <i>De Susanna sermo</i> (CPG 4567)
32.	ff. 312 ^v -328, <i>De creatione mundi et quod Deus sit (i.e. Ad Stagirium a daemone uexatum</i> (CPG 4310)
33.	ff. 328-339, <i>In paralyticum demissum per tectum</i> (CPG 4370)
34.	ff. 339-341 ^v , [Anonymi Ariani] <i>Sermo in psalmum undecimum, cum lacuna</i> (CPG 2083)
35.	ff. 341 ^v -350 ^v , <i>In sanctum Pascha sermo 7, cum lacunis</i> (CPG 4612)
36.	f. 350 ^v , <i>De Spiritu Sancto</i> (CPG 4188)

2.1.3. The indirect tradition

2.1.3.1. George of Alexandria's *Life of John Chrysostom*

The ANTEQUAM IRET has been transmitted indirectly in a hagiographical work written by George of Alexandria, the so called *Life of John Chrysostom*. In his edition of the *corpus*

Chrysostomicum Montfaucon states that he saw the ANTEQUAM IRET ‘*in postrema Morelli Editione ad calcem Tomi quarti [...] ex Vita Chrysostomi per Georgium Alexandrinum excerpta*’.⁴ The Morellian edition to which Montfaucon refers was published by Fronton du Duc between the years 1609-1624.

Information concerning George of Alexandria’s life and works is rather scanty.⁵ All we know is that he lived in the first half of the 7th century in Alexandria, where he was bishop. His episcopate is placed between the years 619 and 630. It is possible that just before his death, which is assumed to have occurred in 630, George escaped to Constantinople in consequence of the Arab invasion.

George’s *Life of John Chrysostom* is based on the Chrysostomian biographies and histories written in the fifth century by Palladius and Socrates. Savile printed George’s work for the first time in 1612, in his edition of the *Opera Omnia* of John Chrysostom.⁶ His text was based on two manuscripts (*Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Palatinus graecus* 80 and *München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek* 155)⁷. After Savile, a new edition was prepared by Halkin in 1977.⁸ Halkin openly states that his work is not a remarkable new step in the knowledge of George’s text, because of twenty existing manuscripts known to him,⁹ he only used two more than Savile’s edition, the *Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, hist. gr.* 5 and *Hagion Oros, Monē Ibērōn* 263. What is relevant here is that in Halkin’s edition of George’s *Life* the homily ANTEQUAM IRET cannot be

4 P.G. 52:427*-428*.

5 See AUBERT 1984, 583-584; LOUTH 2000, 407.

6 SAVILE 1612-1613, VIII, 157-265.

7 See HALKIN 1977, 69-70.

8 See HALKIN 1977, 70-285.

9 For the list of the manuscript see MALINGRAY 1988, II, 15-16.

found anywhere. This is due to the fact that George's *Life of John Chrysostom* is actually transmitted in many different recensions.¹⁰

2.1.3.2. The Ancient Latin Translation

In addition to George of Alexandria's testimony, an old Latin translation has been transmitted by a large number of manuscripts. This Latin translation is printed in *P.G.* 52:431-434. The author of the translation is unknown, although some scholars have suggested the name of Anianus Celedensis, a supporter of Pelagius.¹¹

All that is known about Anianus' activity, life and works derives from the data given by Jerome and Orosius, as well as from some autobiographical information present in Anianus' own works.¹² His place of origin and the chronology of his life are unknown, but scholars agree in placing his activity between the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 5th century, in Palestine, at the time of the Pelagian controversy. Anianus might have helped Pelagius as interpreter during the councils of Jerusalem and Diospolis (415) thanks to his knowledge of both Greek and Latin.

Anianus' literary activity is concentrated in the two substantial translations of John Chrysostom's *In Matthaeum homiliae* and *De laudibus sancti Pauli apostoli homiliae*. Plausibly one may say that Anianus produced these translations in 419/420 (*In Matthaeum*) and in 421 (*De laudibus Pauli*).¹³

10 For a full list of the recensions see HALKIN 1984, 101-103.

11 This is, for example, the opinion of GEERARD. See *CPG* 1974, n. 4396, 512.

12 For an overview of Anianus' activity see BONFIGLIO 2009, 77-104; VOICU 1993, 397-415; PRIMMER 1972, 278-289; SKALITZKY 1971, 208-233; MUSURILLO 1970, 452-460; BOUHOT 1989, 31-39.

13 See especially PRIMMER, 1972.

Alongside the above-mentioned translations, Anianus is also supposed to have translated many other Chrysostomian (both authentic and spurious) works, among which there is also the ANTEQUAM IRET. Concerning Anianus' paternity of the translations, scholarly consensus is not unanimous. Other Chrysostomian translations attributed to Anianus are the following:

- *In Eutropium*¹⁴;
- *De regressu*¹⁵;
- *De recipiendo Severiano*¹⁶;
- *Sermo antequam iret in exsilium*¹⁷;
- *Sermo post reditum a priore exsilio I*¹⁸;
- *Quod nemo laeditur nisi a se ipso*¹⁹;
- *Sermo ad neophytos*²⁰;
- *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum*²¹.

Some of the above-listed works are found in a collection of homilies, which contains, in addition to other authors' homilies, several authentic and spurious Chrysostomian texts.²² This collection of texts is generally known under the name of *Collection of the 38 Latin homilies*.

It has been demonstrated that the collection exists in different forms.²³ What is

14 CPG 4392; P.G. 52:391-396.

15 CPG 4394; P.G. 52:421-242.

16 CPG 4395; P.G. 52:423-426.

17 CPG 4396; P.G. 52:431-436.

18 CPG 4398; P.G. 52:439-442.

19 CPG 4400.

20 CPG 4467. See WENGER, 1970.

21 See SCHLATTER, 1988, 364-375.

22 For an overview on this collection see VOICU 1993, 402-406; WILMART 1918, 305-327; WENK 1988.

23 See WILMART 1918 and BOUHOT 1971.

remarkable is that some of the texts contained in the collection are quoted for the first time in a passage of Augustine's *Contra Iulianum opus imperfectum*.²⁴ This indication is significant indeed, because since the *Contra Iulianum* is dated to the year 421, it makes it possible, as Voicu states,²⁵ to date the collection containing the ANTEQUAM IRET at the beginning of the 5th century; at latest, prior to 421 as *terminus ante quem*.

Wenk prepared the critical edition of some of the texts contained in the collection,²⁶ and in doing so he also provided a provisional list of the manuscripts containing at least one piece of the collection. The following list of witnesses is based on Wenk's own researches.²⁷

City	Library	Shelfmark	Cent.
Admont	<i>Stiftsbibliothek</i>	242	11 th
Angers	<i>Bibl. municipale</i>	147 (139)	9 th
Arras	<i>Bibl. municipale</i>	133 (128)	10 th
Berlin	<i>Staatsbibl. zu Berlin</i>	<i>Phillipps</i> 1673 (Rose 44)	9 th
Berlin	<i>Staatsbibl. zu Berlin</i>	<i>Theol. fol.</i> 122 (=Cod. elect. 297)	15 th
Berlin	<i>Staatsbibl. zu Berlin</i>	<i>Theol. fol.</i> 484 (=Cod. elect. 331)	14 th
Berlin	<i>Staatsbibl. zu Berlin</i>	<i>Theol. fol.</i> 592 (=Phillipps 22183)	12 th -13 th
Bologna	<i>Bibl. Universitaria</i>	476 (832 olim Aula II.A.39)	15 th
Bruxelles	<i>Bibl. royale Albert I^{er}</i>	1203 (II 989)	10 th
Bruxelles	<i>Bibl. royale Albert I^{er}</i>	1204	15 th
Bruxelles	<i>Bibl. royale Albert I^{er}</i>	1205	15 th
Douai	<i>Bibl. municipale</i>	212	12 th
El Escorial	<i>Bibl. del real monasterio de San Lorenzo</i>	b.III.2	11 th -12 th
El Escorial	<i>Bibl. del real monasterio de San Lorenzo</i>	L.II.8	15 th
Firenze	<i>Bib. Medicea Laurenziana</i>	Ashburnham 57	9 th
Karlsruhe	<i>Badische Landesbibliothek</i>	<i>Augiensis Perg.</i> 52	9 th
Klosterneuburg	<i>Stiftsbibliothek</i>	200	14 th
Laon	<i>Bibl. municipale</i>	302	12 th
Milano	<i>Bibl. Ambrosiana</i>	C.250. Inf	15 th

24 *P.L.* 44:685-686.

25 VOICU 2004, *passim*.

26 Wenk edited the n. 6, 8, 27, 32 and 33 of the collection. See WENK 1988.

27 WENK 1988, 33-92.

Montecassino	<i>Biblioteca della Badia</i>	12	11 th
Montecassino	<i>Biblioteca della Badia</i>	117	11 th -12 th
Montecassino	<i>Biblioteca della Badia</i>	288	11 th -12 th
München	<i>Bayerische Staatsbibl.</i>	<i>Lat.</i> 8109 (Mag. 9)	11 th
München	<i>Bayerische Staatsbibl.</i>	<i>Lat.</i> 14423	9 th
München	<i>Bayerische Staatsbibl.</i>	<i>Lat.</i> 3586 (Aug. civ. 86)	15 th
München	<i>Bayerische Staatsbibl.</i>	<i>Lat.</i> 10895 (Pal. 895)	1505
Oxford	<i>Bodleian Library</i>	<i>Laud. Misc.</i> 452	9 th
Paris	<i>Bibl. de l'Arsenal</i>	175	12 th
Paris	<i>Bibl. de l'Arsenal</i>	245	15 th
Paris	<i>Bibl. nationale de France</i>	<i>Lat.</i> 12140	10 th
Paris	<i>Bibl. nationale de France</i>	<i>Lat.</i> 1769	14 th
Paris	<i>Bibl. nationale de France</i>	<i>Lat.</i> 1771	8 th -9 th
Paris	<i>Bibl. nationale de France</i>	<i>Lat.</i> 1891	15 th
Paris	<i>Bibl. nationale de France</i>	<i>Lat.</i> 2651	11 th -12 th
Poitiers	<i>Bibl. municipale</i>	62 (252)	15 th
Rouen	<i>Bibl. municipale</i>	440 (A. 198)	12 th
Sankt Gallen	<i>Stiftsbibliothek</i>	103	9 th
Sankt Gallen	<i>Stiftsbibliothek</i>	434	9 th
Saint Omer	<i>Bibl. municipale</i>	97	9 th
Vaticano	<i>Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana</i>	<i>Reg. Lat.</i> 252	10 th -11 th
Vaticano	<i>Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana</i>	<i>lat.</i> 399	15 th
Wien	<i>Österreichische Nationalbibl.</i>	<i>Lat.</i> 4147 (Rec. 499)	15 th
Wien	<i>Österreichische Nationalbibl.</i>	<i>Lat.</i> 4433 (Univ. 166)	15 th

2.1.4. The Analysis of the Sources and the *Stemma Codicum*

2.1.4.1. Two Recensions

When one analyses the three sources available for the ANTEQUAM IRET – *i.e.* the Greek manuscript (= *P*), the Latin version (= *Lat*),²⁸ and the Greek printed text as found in the *Patrologia Graeca* (= *Montf*) – one key fact is immediately apparent. This fact is that of the

28 With *Lat* I refer to the Latin translation as a source in itself, without taking into consideration the technical details of its critical edition, manuscripts, editions, etc.

ANTEQUAM IRET there exist two recensions. I will call the first *recensio* α, the second *recensio* β.

At first sight the difference between the two recensions can be explained in that the *recensio* α coincides with the text of *recensio* β in the first three paragraphs.²⁹ The following chart gives details on the portion of text relevant to each of the two recensions.

<i>recensio</i> α = <i>P</i> + <i>Lat</i>		<i>recensio</i> β = <i>Montf</i>	
§1	<i>inc.</i> Πολλὰ τὰ κύματα <i>expl.</i> οὐ κατισχύουσιν αὐτῆς	§1	<i>inc.</i> Πολλὰ τὰ κύματα <i>expl.</i> οὐ κατισχύουσιν αὐτῆς
§2	<i>inc.</i> Εἰ ἀπιστεῖς τῷ λόγῳ <i>expl.</i> εὐχαριστῶ	§2	<i>inc.</i> Εἰ ἀπιστεῖς τῷ λόγῳ <i>expl.</i> εὐχαριστῶ
§3	<i>inc.</i> Μηδεὶς ὑμᾶς θορυβεῖτω <i>expl.</i> ταῦτα ἀθανασίας ὑπόθεσις + doxology	§3	<i>inc.</i> Μηδεὶς ὑμᾶς θορυβεῖτω <i>expl.</i> ταῦτα ἀθανασίας ὑπόθεσις
		§4	<i>inc.</i> Ἄλλ' ὁρῶ <i>expl.</i> τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου
		§5	<i>inc.</i> Ἀλλὰ τί εἶπω <i>expl.</i> ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης στέφανος + doxology

Recensio β is essentially the text of the discourse as it can be found in Montfaucon's edition reprinted by Migne in the *P.G.*

Recensio α can be read through the text of *recensio* β, with the sole exception of its doxology. In spite of this, *recensio* α should not be considered as a shortened version of *recensio* β, for it is an independent text which is complete in itself. As such, to my knowledge it is found only in the Parisian Greek manuscript (*P*). The Latin version represents a translation of the Greek text of *recensio* α, and not of that one of *recensio* β.

29 The content of these two paragraphs has been already discussed in chapter one.

On the ground that the Latin translation presents a ‘shorter’ text than the Greek of *recensio* β, and for other reasons which concern the style of the discourse, the authenticity of this sermon was first challenged by Henry Savile, already at the beginning of the 17th century. As a matter of fact, Chrysostomian paternity has always been questioned – as it has been discussed in Chapter one – sometimes with regard to the entire discourse, more often at least its last two paragraphs. These latter have been often believed to be part of a different text, or to have been written by a different writer. To many scholars, the fact that the Latin translation concludes at the end of paragraph three without any sense of an abrupt interruption represented enough evidence to confirm that originally the discourse could have ended at that point. What I want to stress here is that to date no scholar has been able to benefit from a critical edition of this *Sermo*. As a result, there was no evidence that the direct Greek tradition (*P*) actually bears witness to another *recensio*, which in fact represents the source on which the Latin translation was conducted.³⁰

2.1.4.2. The Doxology

The difference between *recensio* α and *recensio* β is not only in terms of amount of the text. As shown in the chart below, in fact, the two recensions show also two different doxologies.

<i>recensio</i> α = <i>P</i>	<i>recensio</i> β = <i>Migne/Montf</i>
Ὑπὲρ <δὲ> τούτων ἀπάντων εὐχαριστή- σωμεν τῷ Θεῷ, ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος καὶ ἡ τιμὴ καὶ ἡ μεγαλοπρέπεια εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.	οὗ στεφάνου καταξιώσει ὑμᾶς ὁ τῶν ὅλων Δεσπότης εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν. ³¹

³⁰ About the discussion concerning the authenticity see Chapter one.

³¹ *P.G.* 52:432*.

<i>Versio Latina</i>	
pro his gratias agamus Deo, cui gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen.	

The doxology reported by *recensio* β is very unusual. With the exception of this discourse, to my knowledge this doxology is non-existent in the entire Chrysostomian corpus. A variation of it can be found only in another homily, which has been labelled spurious by Aldama³² – CPG 4633 *De caritate*³³ – whose doxology is: εἰς οὓς καὶ ἡμᾶς ὁ πάντων Δεσπότης ἀξιώσει, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.³⁴

In 1970 A. Wenger pointed out that almost the entire corpus of the authentic Chrysostomian homilies has an ending and doxology, which are distinctive to their writer.³⁵ This is the following.

(βασιλεία, δόξα / ἀγαθά, σκηναί) ἧς/ῶν γένοιτο πάντας ἡμᾶς ἐπιτυχεῖν χάριτι καὶ φιλανθρωπία [οἰκτιρμοῖς] τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι' οὗ καὶ μεθ' οὗ τῷ Πατρὶ ἅμα τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, δόξα, κράτος, τιμή, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

According to Wenger, the presence of the above-mentioned Chrysostomian doxology functions as a law when one is seeking to make a distinction between authentic and spurious homilies.³⁶

The doxology transmitted by *recensio* α has been fairly recently questioned by S. Voicu.³⁷ The latter states that in Chrysostom's corpus the formula Ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων

32 ALDAMA 1965, 87, n. 241.

33 P.G. 60:773-776.

34 P.G. 60:776.

35 WENGER 1970, 57-59.

36 WENGER, 1970, 58: 'cette loi [...] est appelée à rendre de grands services dans le traitement des innombrables faux'.

37 VOICU 2004, *passim*.

ἀπάντων εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ Θεῷ appears almost exclusively in spurious or dubious texts. Whenever this formula is found in authentic texts, in fact, it always takes a more elegant form.³⁸

Voicu locates the inauthentic doxology in a large number of early spurious works,³⁹ among which he places also the ANTEQUAM IRET. Concerning this latter, since he did not read *P* he could only ground his hypothesis on the evidence of the Latin translation. As a matter of fact it is only the collation of *P* which can show that *recensio* α has indeed the postulated formula, and that the doxology of the Latin version has been shaped on it, although it appears in a more succinct form.

2.1.4.3. Contrasting Readings and Mistakes

The collation of the Greek manuscript (= *P*) with the text printed in the *Patrologia Graeca* (= *Montf*) and the analysis of the Latin translation (= *Lat*) reveal that in the majority of cases *recensio* α and *recensio* β present contrasting readings. This picture comes to confirm the presence of two separate branches in the tradition of our text.

The contrasting variants sometimes are in terms that only one of the two can be accepted on the strength of the grammar, sense or context. At times, on the contrary, the readings of the two recensions are both acceptable. In that case only a comparison with the *loci similes* of

38 For example, see VOICU 2005, 102, where he refers to the doxology of CPG 4417 *In illud: Vidi dominum*, hom. 5: Ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων ἀπάντων εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ Θεῷ, δοξάσωμεν τὴν ἄφατον αὐτοῦ φιλανθρωπίαν· ἧς γένοιτο καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀξίους φανῆσαι, χάριτι καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, μεθ' οὗ τῷ Πατρὶ δόξα, ἅμα τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν. The quoted text has been edited by DUMORTIER 1981, 200.

39 A list and analysis of them can be found in VOICU 2005.

the Chrysostomian corpus (both the authentic and the spurious) and research on the *usus scribendi* and the vocabulary turned out helpful in the choice of the text to edit.

In the following list I will display some of the most interesting readings which oppose *recensio* α to *recensio* β. The reason why *Lat* is not always included in the list is due to the fact that the Latin translation proves to be useful only when it translates the Greek *verbum de verbo*. Hence, I ignore the Latin witness whenever it does not add anything relevant to the context. In the list, the number standing on the left side of the page refers to the line of the Greek text presented in my edition.

List of the readings which contrast *recensio* α to *recensio* β.⁴⁰

3	διασαλεύσαι <i>P</i> commovere <i>Lat</i>	διαλῦσαι <i>Montf</i>
9	χρυσία <i>P</i>	χρηστά <i>Montf</i>
13	ἡμᾶς ὑμῶν <i>P</i> nos a vobis <i>Lat</i>	ἡμᾶς <i>Montf</i>
13	ὃν <i>P</i> quem <i>Lat</i>	ὁ <i>Montf</i>
13	Χριστός <i>P</i> Christus <i>Lat</i>	ὁ Θεός <i>Montf</i>
18	χωρίσαι οὐ δύναται <i>P</i>	μὴ χωριζέτω <i>Montf</i>
19-20	πολεμεῖς ἀλλ' οὐδέν με βλά- πτεις <i>P</i>	ἀλλὰ πολεμεῖς αὐτήν οὐ δυνάμενος βλάψαι <i>Montf</i>
21	σαντοῦ <i>P</i>	ἐαντοῦ <i>Montf</i>
21	εἰ ... μάχη <i>P</i>	τής ... μάχης <i>Montf</i>
24	διαλύεται <i>P</i>	διαλύονται <i>Montf</i>
29	τί ἐπιχειρεῖς <i>P</i> quod ... conaris <i>Lat</i>	τίς ἐπιχειρεῖ <i>Montf</i>
31	ἐδράζεται <i>P</i> solidatur <i>Lat</i>	ἠδράζετο <i>Montf</i>

40 The list is not complete, for it takes into account only the most interesting readings. The numbering on the left column refers to the lines of my edition (see Chapter three).

31	ἀνέστησε <i>P</i>	ἔστησε <i>Montf</i>
32	δυνήσεται <i>P</i> poterit <i>Lat</i>	δύναται <i>Montf</i>
41	ἕνδεκα <i>P</i> undecim <i>Lat</i>	ὀλίγοι <i>Montf</i>
42	ἐπλήσθη <i>P</i> repletus est <i>Lat</i>	ἐπληρώθη <i>Montf</i>
47	γινομένων <i>P</i>	γενομένων <i>Montf</i>
48	εἶδες <i>P</i>	εἶδετε <i>Montf</i>
50	ἄστατον <i>P</i>	ἄτακτον <i>Montf</i>
50	ῥύμην <i>P</i>	ὀρμήν <i>Montf</i>
56-57	ἐκκλησίας ... περιγενέσθαι <i>P</i>	ἐκκλησίαν ... σαλεῦσαι <i>Montf</i>
60	πράγματα <i>P</i>	τραύματα <i>Montf</i>
62	σιδήρου <i>P</i> ferro <i>Lat</i>	πέτρας <i>Montf</i>
64	ἀπευδόκησεν <i>P</i>	ἀπηγορεύθε <i>Montf</i>
64	ἐδαπάνα <i>P</i>	ἐδαπανάτο <i>Montf</i>
76	διεγερθῇ <i>P</i>	διεγείρηται <i>Montf</i>
81	τοῦτο <i>P</i>	οὗτος <i>Montf</i>
82	ἅ ... ταῦτα <i>P</i>	εἰ ... τοῦτο <i>Montf</i>
83	οὐ <i>P</i> non <i>Lat</i>	ὅπου <i>Montf</i>
86	εὕρομεν καὶ θερμότερους <i>P</i>	καὶ θερμότερους εὕρήκαμεν <i>Montf</i>
87	ἵνα <i>P</i> et ubi <i>Lat</i>	ἥ <i>Montf</i>
92	πατέρες <i>P</i>	πατρίς <i>Montf</i>
92	δυνήσομαι <i>P</i>	δύναμαι <i>Montf</i>
93	μήτηρ <i>P</i> mater <i>Lat</i>	πατέρες <i>Montf</i>
95	ἐτοίμως ἔχω <i>P</i>	ἔτοιμος <i>Montf</i>
99	ἡ ἐπιβουλὴ αὕτη <i>P</i>	αἱ ἐπιβουλαὶ αὗται <i>Montf</i>
117	ἀλείμματα <i>P</i> unguenta <i>Lat</i>	ἄλειμμα <i>Montf</i>

Readings of *P* contrasting with *recensio* β and *Lat*:

12	οὖν ὑμᾶς ἀγαπητοὶ θαρρεῖν <i>P</i>	τὴν ὑμετέραν θαρρεῖν ἀγάπην <i>Montf</i> caritatem vestram ut aequo animo sitis <i>Lat</i>
18	[–] <i>P</i>	οὐ <i>Montf</i> non <i>Lat</i>
49	ἐπὶ τῶν κυμάτων <i>P</i>	ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων <i>Montf</i> super aquas <i>Lat</i>
65	θυσία <i>P</i>	οὐσία <i>Montf</i> / substantia <i>Lat</i>
75/76	τίνα ἔχω φοβηθῆναι <i>P</i>	τίνα φοβηθήσομαι <i>Montf</i> quem timebo <i>Lat</i>

2.1.4.4. Omissions (and Minor Expansions)

In the study of the history of the text of the ANTEQUAM IRET the presence of omissions in the three sources has proved to be of crucial importance for the understanding of the relationship between *P*, *Lat* and *Montf*.

Before showing the results obtained through the analysis of the most important of them, I first need to make clear that three different kinds of omissions must be isolated. The omissions of the ANTEQUAM IRET, in fact, have originated in three different ways. Some omissions are accidental (*e.g.* due to *saut du même au même*), others are due to mistakes of a scribe's thought, some others are more complex to explain, since they concern the more delicate point of the biblical quotations.

2.1.4.4. A. First Category of Omissions/Expansions

In the first category I collect all those omissions that may have occurred because of scribe's distraction or thought. In the same group, though, I consider also another phenomenon, which takes place because of an opposite process. Sometimes, in fact, because of scribe's understanding of the text, instead of a lack of word(s), what can be found is a more or less

small addition of one or more words, *i.e.* an expansion of text. This kind of omissions and/or expansions often has the following results: either they produce a text less correct because one or more words are missing (or added) in a way that the *usus scribendi* or the grammar is negatively affected, or they try to make the text easier, trivialising it with the addition of more explicit grammatical elements or of treacherous glosses.

The following table shows some of the omissions/expansions that come under this category.

5	[–] <i>P</i>	τόν <i>Montf</i>
6	ἐξορίαν <i>P</i>	ἐξορίαν εἰπέ μοι <i>Montf</i>
13	ἡμᾶς ὑμῶν <i>P</i> nos a vobis <i>Lat</i>	ἡμᾶς <i>Montf</i>
19	ἐκκλησίαν <i>P</i> ecclesia <i>Lat</i>	ἐκκλησίαν θεοῦ <i>Montf</i>
23	πόδας αἱμάσσεις τοὺς σοὺς <i>P</i>	πόδας αἱμάσσεις <i>Montf</i>
24	ἀλλ' εἰς <i>P</i>	ἀλλ' αὐτὰ εἰς <i>Montf</i>
24	λῦσον <i>P</i>	ἄνθρωπε λῦσον <i>Montf</i>
39	οἱ πολεμήσαντες τὴν ἐκκλησίαν <i>P</i>	οἱ πολεμήσαντες <i>Montf</i>
48	Πέτρον <i>P</i>	τὸν Πέτρον <i>Montf</i>
51	ἦλθομεν <i>P</i>	ἦλθομεν ἵνα φοβηθῶμεν μὴ θεοῦ <i>Montf</i>
59	[–] <i>P</i>	ἀλλὰ πίστει ἐσφιγμένοι <i>Montf</i> sed fide vincti <i>Lat</i>
59	ἦθος <i>P</i> ecclesia <i>Lat</i>	πλήθος πυρὸς σφοδρότερον <i>Montf</i>
61	κόρη <i>P</i>	κόρη ἀπαλή <i>Montf</i> puella aetate tenera <i>Lat</i>
61	[–] <i>P</i> / [–] <i>Lat</i>	κηροῦ ἣν ἀπαλωτέρα <i>Montf</i>
62-63	ἔξεες καὶ τὸ αἷμα ἐξέχεας <i>P</i>	ἔξεες καὶ <i>Montf</i>
63	πίστιν <i>P</i>	πίστιν αὐτῆς <i>Montf</i> fidem [...] eius <i>Lat</i>
66	μιᾶς <i>P</i>	μιᾶς κόρης ἀπειρογάμου <i>Montf</i>
76/77	κὰν θόρυβοι <i>P</i>	[–] <i>Montf</i>

77	ἐμοὶ γάρ <i>P</i>	ἐμοί <i>Montf</i>
77/78	ἀράχνη καὶ ἀράχνης <i>P</i> araneae [...] et araneis <i>Lat</i>	ἀράχνης <i>Montf</i>
82	ταῦτα γινέσθω <i>P</i>	ταῦτα γενέσθαι γινέσθω <i>Montf</i>
86/87	[-] <i>P</i>	εἰς λιτανεῖον <i>Montf</i> ad orationes <i>Lat</i>
89	εἰ καὶ διειργόμεθα <i>P</i>	διειργόμεθα <i>Montf</i>
90	ἐμὲ ὑμῶν οὐδέ <i>P</i> ego a vobis <i>Lat</i>	οὐδέ <i>Montf</i>
94	[-] <i>P</i>	ζωή <i>Montf</i>
98	[-] <i>P</i>	οὔτος <i>Montf</i>
103	τί γὰρ οὐκ <i>P</i> quid enim non <i>Lat</i>	τί γάρ <i>Montf</i>
106	τοῦ φωτός <i>P</i>	φῶς μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ τοῦ φωτός <i>Montf</i> lux immo et ista luce <i>Lat</i>
111	ἐποίησεν <i>P</i>	ὑμᾶς ἐποίησεν <i>Montf</i>
114	βιωτικῶν <i>P</i>	βιωτικῶν πραγμάτων <i>Montf</i>
117/118	ἐμοὶ ζωή [...] ἐμοὶ ἀθανασίας <i>P</i>	ζωή [...] ἀθανασίας <i>Montf</i>

2.1.4.4. B. Second Category of Omissions

The second category concerns the omissions affecting biblical quotations. This kind of omission is very problematic to assess, both when one has to choose the right reading to edit and when one seeks hints to establish the relationship between the available sources. The reason is due to the fact that whenever a scribe encounters a biblical quotation, very often this latter could be recognised immediately. Since a biblical quotation sounds familiar, the text written down in the scribe's copy often tends to follow more the biblical knowledge of the scribe, rather than the original reading lying on the folium of his exemplar.

The same logic applies to the Latin translator, who has the choice to translate *verbum de verbo* the Greek quotation, to substitute this latter with the text of the Latin *Vulgata*, or to

combine the two procedures.

Concerning the printed edition of the *P.G.* the method must be not too much dissimilar: either the editor maintains the biblical quotation found in his sources, or he can update the quotation according to the most recent knowledge of the biblical text.

In any case, one fact must be borne in mind: whatever the direct and indirect tradition (or even the editors) might have changed or manipulated in the biblical text, it still remains hard to know whether John Chrysostom himself (or whoever is the author of the *ANTEQUAM IRET*, if the discourse is to be considered spurious) is quoting the Scriptures literally or with freedom. And if literally, what kind of biblical text is he reading?

The following list shows some of the omissions occurring among the biblical quotations.

16	μητέρα αὐτοῦ <i>P</i>	μητέρα <i>Montf</i> / matrem <i>Lat</i>
22	πρὸς κέντρα <i>P</i>	πρὸς κέντρα ὁξέα <i>Montf</i>
35	ταύτη τῇ πέτρῳ <i>P</i>	ταύτη μου τῇ πέτρῳ <i>Montf</i>
68	συνηγμένοι <i>P</i>	συνηγμένοι εἰς τὸ ὄνομά μου <i>Montf</i> in nomine meo <i>Lat</i>
74	ἰδοῦ ἐγὼ <i>P</i> / ecce [...] ego <i>Lat</i>	ἐγὼ <i>Montf</i>

2.1.4.4. C. Third Category of Omissions

The last category of omissions is the most interesting. It concerns omissions of greater extent, which reveal themselves to be particularly useful in order to assess and confirm the relationships between the sources, to build a *stemma codicum*, and to hypothesise the nature of some of the intermediate exemplars of the *stemma*.

The first couple of omissions that will be examined are those at lines 10-12 and 114-118 of the *ANTEQUAM IRET*. Both the omitted passages (which are underlined) are present in *Montf*,

but missing in *P* and *Lat*.

10-12
οὐ θάνατον φοβοῦμαι, οὐ ζῆσαι εὐχομαι, εἰ μὴ διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν προκοπὴν. <u>Διὸ καὶ τὰ νῦν ὑπομιμνήσκω</u> καὶ παρακαλῶ τὴν ὑμετέραν θαρρεῖν ἀγάπην.
114-118
Ἀπηλλάγητε τῶν συνδέσμων τοῦ σώματος, πρὸς τὴν μακαρίαν ἐκείνην ἀμιλλᾶσθε φιλοσοφίαν. Ταῦτα ἐμοὶ <u>στέφανοι, ταῦτα παράκλησις, ταῦτα</u> παραμυθία, ταῦτα ἐμοὶ ἀλείμματα, ταῦτα ἐμοὶ ζωή, ταῦτα ἐμοὶ ἀθανασίας ὑπόθεσις.

Starting with the omission at line 114-118 – στέφανοι ταῦτα παράκλησις ταῦτα –, I first wondered whether this portion of text could be considered not as an omission but rather as an addition made by a scribe, as a consequence of a process of *accumulatio*. However, a research on the *loci similes* and the vocabulary of the Chrysostomian corpus revealed that the words addressed to the audience in the above-mentioned passage are found quite often. In particular, the couple of words παράκλησις + παραμυθία occurs nine times in the authentic homilies, one of which even in conjunction with the word ζωή.⁴¹

Since the missing portion of text could have been in the original (preserved by *Montf*), it appears that the text witnessed by *P* and *Lat* should derive from a common exemplar, which already contained the omission. Given that the Latin version is dated at the beginning of the 5th century, this exemplar must have been written in uncial. The omission of στέφανοι ταῦτα παράκλησις ταῦτα certainly originated from a problem of *saut du même au même*, although when one converts the minuscule into an uncial script, an interesting picture appears. As it will be shown with the analysis of the next omission, it could be inferred that the portion of

41 For example *Ad populum Antiochenum*, P.G. 49:93, l. 51; *De sanctis martyribus* P.G. 50:650, l. 37

text containing στέφανοι ταῦτα παράκλησις ταῦτα was lost not only for reasons of *saut du même au même*, but also because it corresponded to a line of the exemplar.⁴²

ΑΠΗΛ
ΛΑΓΗΤΕ.ΤΩΝ.ΣΥΝΔΕΣΜΩΝ.ΤΟΥ.ΣΟΜΑ
ΤΟΣ.ΠΡΟΣ.ΤΗΝ.ΜΑΚΑΡΙΑΝ.ΕΚΕΙΝΗΝ.Α
ΜΙΛΛΑΣΘΕ.ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑΝ.ΤΑΥΤΑ.ΕΜΟΙ.
ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΙ.ΤΑΥΤΑ.ΠΑΡΑΚΛΗΣΙΣ.ΤΑΥΤΑ.
ΠΑΡΑΜΥΘΙΑ.ΤΑΥΤΑ.ΕΜΟΙ.ΑΛΕΙΜΜΑΤΑ.
ΤΑΥΤΑ.ΕΜΟΙ.ΖΩΗ.ΤΑΥΤΑ.ΕΜΟΙ.ΑΘΑΝΑ
ΣΙΑΣ.ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

As is self-evident, the text στέφανοι ταῦτα παράκλησις ταῦτα matches the length of a line of the manuscript and the loss of it could have happened without heavily affecting the sense of the entire sentence.

The same kind of phenomenon – I reckon – may have happened in the omission concerning lines 10-12. As a matter of fact, if one converts again the text from minuscule into an uncial script, the missing passage happens to have roughly an identical line-length of the text at lines 114-118. The following case cannot be considered as due to *saut du même au même*.

ΟΥ.ΘΑΝΑ
ΤΟΝ.ΦΟΒΟΥΜΑΙ.ΟΥ.ΖΗΣΑΙ.ΕΥΧΟΜΑΙ.
ΕΙ.ΜΗ.ΔΙΑ.ΤΗΝ.ΥΜΕΤΕΡΑΝ.ΠΡΟΚΟΠΗΝ.
ΔΙΟ.ΚΑΙ.ΤΑ.ΝΥΝ.ΥΠΟΜΙΜΝΗΣΚΩ.ΚΑΙ.
ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΩ.ΤΗΝ.ΥΜΕΤΕΡΑΝ.ΘΑΡΡΕΙΝ.
ΑΓΑΠΗΝ.

42 In my examples I use standard capital letters and I add dots between the words to make clear their limits.

If one accepts that the explanation formulated for the omission of lines 10-12 and 114-118 is correct, it follows that one has also to hypothesise that the branch of the tradition from which *Montf* depends may, at times, offer a more ‘complete’ text. An early subarchetype (I suppose of the early 5th century), therefore, must have been the origin of the Latin tradition branch and of the tradition branch leading to *P*.

Another significant omission affects *P* alone. In this case, in fact, *Montf* and *Lat* agree and maintain the text lost in the direct Greek tradition. This omission is quite problematic, because at least at first sight it seems to contradict the hypothesis just expounded.

At line 101-102 *P* misses the following underlined part of text.

101-102
Διὰ τὸν ἔρωτα τὸν περὶ ὑμᾶς· <u>ἐπειδὴ πάντα ποιῶ, ὥστε ὑμᾶς ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ μέναι</u>

By transposing the passage into capital script, it appears again that the length of the omission corresponds to one line of the above-mentioned exemplar.

.ΔΙΑ.ΤΟΝ.ΕΡΩΤΑ.ΤΟΝ.ΠΕΡΙ.ΥΜΑΣ.
ΕΠΕΙΔΗ.ΠΑΝΤΑ.ΠΟΙΩ.ΩΣΤΕ.ΥΜΑΣ.
ΕΝ.ΑΣΦΑΛΕΙΑ.ΜΕΙΝΑΙ

Because *Lat* and *Montf* maintain the omitted text, I feel in a position to hypothesise that the passage later omitted was initially present in the subarchetype from which *P* and *Lat* derive. Then the omission originated independently in the branch of the tradition concerning only *P*, but only at a later stage. Whether the omission originated before the first Byzantine transliterated manuscript, or in the passage from an uncial to a minuscule copy, I am not able to say. In fact, it would not be impossible even that the omission originated in a process of copying between two manuscripts both minuscule.

Two last omissions are also of interest. As with the latter just analysed, also in this case the following omissions concern only *P* and can be explained as originating independently in the tradition. Both cases are clear examples of *saut du même au même*. In these two passages, however, the portion of missing text does not seem to fit perfectly in the length of one (or more) line of the reconstructed subarchetype/exemplar. The passages to which I am referring are at the lines 57-58 and 70-72.

57-58
Μὴ γὰρ ἐν τοίχοις ἡ Ἐκκλησία; Ἐν τῷ πλήθει τῶν πιστῶν ἡ Ἐκκλησία.
70-72
γραμματεῖον αὐτοῦ κατέχω. Ἐκεῖνό μοι βακτηρία, ἐκεῖνό μοι ἀσφάλεια, ἐκεῖνό μοι λιμὴν ἀκύμαντος. Κὰν ἡ οἰκουμένη ταραττήται, τὸ γραμματεῖον κατέχω.

2.1.4.5. C. The *Stemma Codicum*

The data analysed in the previous paragraph enable us to establish the relationship between the sources with a certain degree of probability or plausibility. In constructing the *Stemma Codicum*, in fact, some points of it can be considered fixed, whilst others can be resolved by conjecture.

Beginning from the Greek text printed in the *P.G.* (= *Montf*), it has already been said that this one represents the *recensio* β of the ANTEQUAM IRET. Montfaucon says that Fronton du Duc found the text in the Chrysostomian biography of George of Alexandria.⁴³ The latter must have written Chrysostom's life in the first quarter of the 7th century, as already said above. As a matter of fact, either George or the exemplar from which he derived his text of

43 See *P.G.* 52:427*-428*.

the discourse should go back *recta via* to the original. This conclusion can be inferred from two facts. The first is that George's version of the discourse is the only one to maintain some passages⁴⁴ which on the contrary have been lost in the other branch of the tradition. The second is that I was unable to find common mistakes that could lead to postulate a subarchetype of *Montf*, *P* and *Lat*.

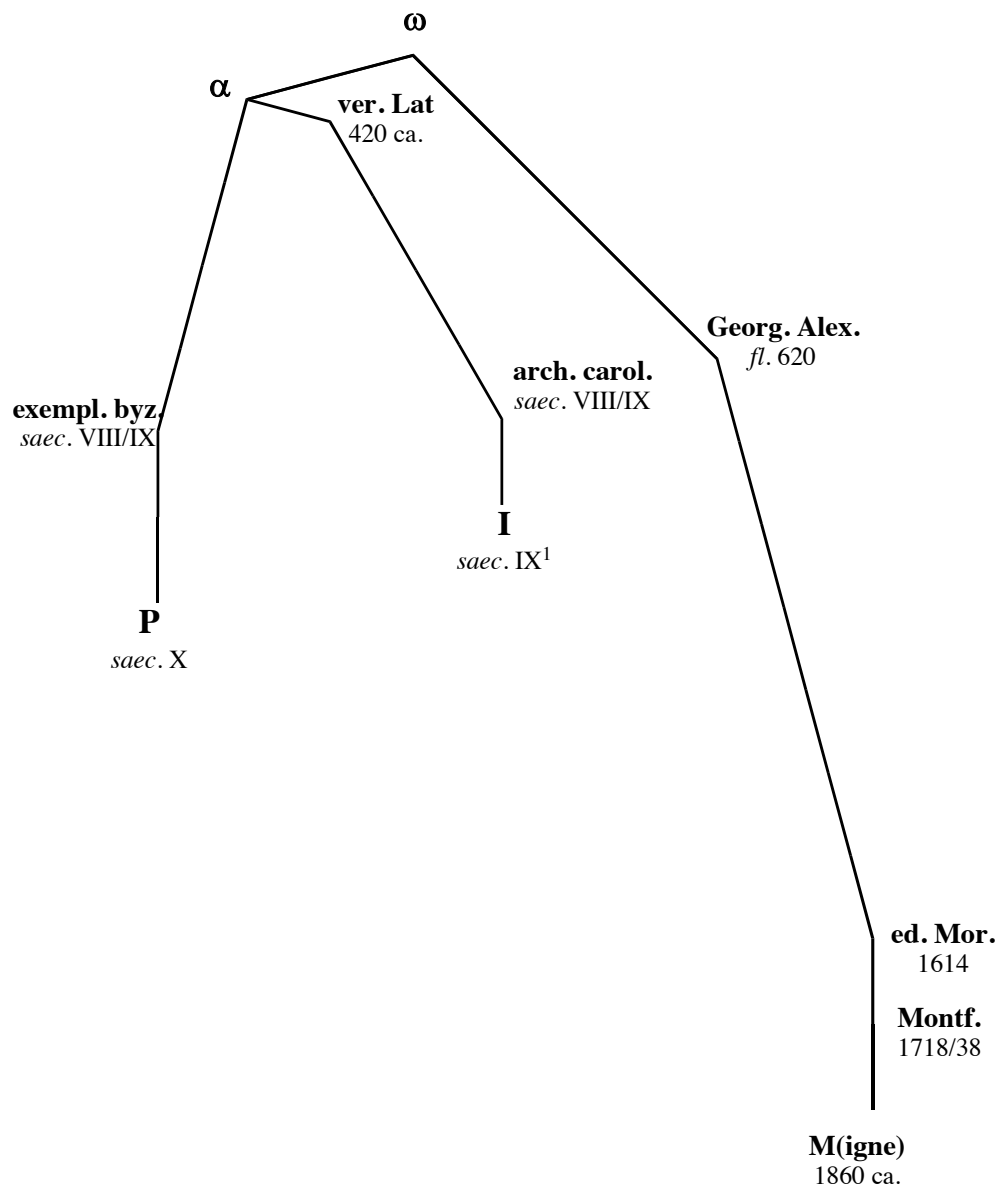
In the *Contra Iulianum* Augustine quotes some passages from a Latin collection of texts which the ANTEQUAM IRET is part of. Since the *Contra Iulianum* is generally dated 421, it follows that the Latin translation of the discourse (= *Lat*) must have been made some time before that date. Concerning the mediaeval history of the Latin translation I am not able to give details. Wenk conjectures that all the witnesses of this text derive from a Carolingian archetype dated to the 8th-9th century. To date, however, there is no critical edition, and the text can be read only by means of an old edition printed in the *P.G.* Having listed the earliest manuscripts of the Latin version I decided, for the moment, to inspect one of the earliest manuscripts, namely Oxford, *Bodleian Library*, *Laudianus Miscellaneus* 452, dating back to the 9th century (= *I*).

In the previous paragraphs I showed that *P* and *Lat* are closely correlated. They are both witnesses of the same recensio and they agree on a large number of readings and common omissions. As a consequence, a common subarchetype (= α) from which both *Lat* and *P* derived their texts has to be conjectured. In addition to that, the passages omitted by *P* at lines 57-58, 70-72 and 101-102, show that at least another link in the chain of the Greek direct tradition could be reconstructed. Since *P* dates back to the 10th century, it is not entirely

44 See above about the omissions at lines 10-12 and 114-118.

implausible to conjecture the existence of at least one intermediate manuscript written in minuscule, possibly at the time of the 8th-9th century Byzantine transliteration.

The picture which emerges through the information discussed up to now is the following.



2.2. The History of the Text of the *Sermo cum iret in exsilium*

2.2.1. Introduction

The *Sermo cum iret in exsilium* is transmitted in direct tradition only, although for the establishment of the text of the new edition I greatly benefited from the textual evidence of two ancient oriental texts. These latter, as I will show below, are two translations based on a lost Greek text from which the CUM IRET most probably derives.

Concerning the direct tradition, the discourse is preserved – to the best of my knowledge – only by three manuscripts, which all present the text of the homily in its entirety. Both the chronological distribution and the actual number of the witnesses are rather limited, in comparison with any average known manuscript tradition of a given work of the authentic Chrysostomian corpus.

The manuscripts transmitting the CUM IRET are the following:

11th century:

A Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Apost. Vat., Vat. gr. 450, ff. 332^r-334^r.

13th century:

B Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Apost. Vat., Vat. gr. 497, ff. 210^v-211^v.

17th century:

Roma, Bibl. Vallicelliana, 214 (Allacci CXXXIX), ff. 230^r-238^r.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ The manuscript has no siglum because, as I will explain later, it is of no value for the establishment of the text.

2.2.2. Description of the Manuscripts⁴⁶

A Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Apost. Vat., Vat. gr. 450

10th-11th century,⁴⁷ parchment, mm. 276 x 210, ff. I + 406, 28 lines. The codex is carefully written and consists of two codicological units put together to form one book (ff. 4-34 and ff. 35-406). The majority of the manuscript consists of 25 works attributed to John Chrysostom; the homily CUM IRET is inserted into a cluster of texts all dealing with John's exile (ff. 329^v-332^r *Quando erat in exilio, ex epistulis ad Olympiadem* [CPG 4405]; ff. 332^r-334^r CUM IRET; ff. 334^r-335^v *Sermo post reditum a priore exilio* 1 [CPG 4398]). The rest of the manuscript contains texts of Gregory of Nyssa (4), Isidore of Pelusium (1), Gregory Thaumaturgus (1), Severian of Gabala (1), and an anonymous writer (4).

Bibliography: VOICU 1999, 34-35; DEVREESSE 1937, 201-203; CANART-PERI 1970, 432; BUONOCORE 1986, 828; CERESA 1991, 343; DEVREESSE 1965, 211, 298, 433; DUMORTIER 1981, 24; MALINGRAY 1965, 430; NIKOLOPOULOS 1973, 52-53.

B Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Apost. Vat., Vat. gr. 497

13th century, paper, mm. 255 x 170, ff. I + 327 (+312a), 26-28 lines. The codex, which suffered from damp and insects, was written by several different hands and

46 The description of each manuscript, whenever possible, takes into account the following data: century, writing material, size of the folium (in mm), number of folia, number of columns per page (if any), number of lines; a few general considerations follow. The description of the two Vatican manuscripts relies on printed catalogues, for the renovation works that affected the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana for the last three years prevented me from inspecting the manuscripts myself.

47 The section containing the CUM IRET is considered by Voicu to have been written in the 11th century.

consists of three codicological units put together to form two volumes (ff. 1-153 and ff. 154-327). The homily CUM IRET is the only Chrysostomian text present in the manuscript, in which are also found works by John of Damascus (2), Theophylact of Bulgaria (1), Leo Achridensis (1), Ephraem Graecus (1), Cyril of Alexandria (1), Theophylact Simocatta (1), Basil of Caesarea (1), and Gregory of Nazianzus (1).

Bibliography: VOICU 1999, 41; DEVREESSE 1937, 323-330; CANART-PERI 1970, 439; BUONOCORE 1986, 831; CERESA 1991, 345; DEVREESSE 1965, 30, 69, 346, 455; RGK 3, A, 96, n. 248;⁴⁸ VOGEL-GARDTHAUSEN 1909, 159.⁴⁹

Roma, Bibl. Vallicelliana, 214 (Allacci CXXXIX), ff. 230^r-238^r.⁵⁰

17th century, paper. The codex presents several texts with different subjects, authors, hands. The size of the folia varies for each text and codicological unit. In the entire manuscript only the recto of each folium is used, while the verso is always left blank.

Bibliography: to my knowledge, there is no printed catalogue.

2.2.3. Classification of the Witnesses

The collation of the three manuscripts has enabled me to establish at least two firm points.⁵¹

48 Gamillscheg, E.,-Harlfinger, D.,-Eleuteri, P., *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800-1600. 3. Teil: Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Roms mit dem Vatikan. A. Verzeichnis der Kopisten; C. Tafeln* (Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik 3/3), Wien, 1997.

49 Vogel, M.-Gardthausen, V., *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Beihefte zum Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen 33), Leipzig, 1909.

50 The manuscript has no siglum because, as it will be clarified later, it is of no value for the establishment of the text.

51 At present, the collation of the two Vatican manuscripts has been conducted only on photocopy and cannot be considered entirely satisfactorily, because in a few points the

The first is that the manuscript preserved in the *Bibl. Vallicelliana* is of no value for the establishment of a new critical text. In fact, the *Vallicellianus* is a codex descriptus, whose exemplar is manuscript *A*. In no point do the readings of *Bibl. Vallicelliana* 214 differ from those of *A*. The copist of the *Vallicellianus* reproduced – as one expects from a codex descriptus – all the omissions present in its exemplar, but also all its mistakes, without any attempt to correct them by conjecture. For instance, at *P.G.* 52:436, lines 37, *A* and the *Vallicellianus* turn σκεῦος into the meaningless σκεῦγος.

The second point is that a thorough analysis of the readings of the two Vatican manuscripts clearly shows that Montfaucon printed his text of the CUM IRET by using *B* as its exemplar. As a matter of fact, Montfaucon himself states, without unfortunately mentioning the shelfmark, ‘*aliam edimus oratiunculam [...] quam ex Vaticano quodam Codice eruimus*’^{52, 53}.

The following selection of readings shows Montfaucon’s exclusive use of manuscript *B* in the preparation of his text.⁵⁴ Despite the fact that the text of the CUM IRET is transmitted in a fairly homogeneous way and the two manuscripts do not present serious divergences, with the exception of few cases (especially in case of omissions in the text of *A*), the text of *A* is, very often, superior to that of *B*.⁵⁵

text is unreadable and needs to be inspected *in situ*.

52 *P.G.* 52:435*-436*.

53 Devreesse also states that *B* is the exemplar of the text printed in *P.G.*, although he gives neither references nor evidence to support such statement. See Devreesse 1937, 325.

54 The numbers of the left column of the table refer to the line numbers of my edition. *NB*: inevitably, if one of the two reading is printed in the main text, the other one will be found in the *apparatus*. For reasons of space, I limited myself to report only some of the most interesting readings. For details, see the *apparatus* of the critical edition in Chapter 3.

55 The most significant readings will be the object of a thorough commentary in Chapter 4

	<i>P.G. = B</i>	<i>A</i>
Tit.	ὅτε ἀπῆρει ἐν τῇ ἐξορίᾳ	εἰς τὴν ἐξορίαν
2	ἐμπεπλησμένη	ἐμπεπλησμένη νηῶν
5	αὐτὸς ἐθεμελίωσεν αὐτὴν	αὐτὸς ἐθεμελίωσεν αὐτὴν ὁ ὕψιστος
7	παραπέμψουσι	om.
8	ἔσταί μοι	om.
10	ἀδελφοί	τεκνία
11/12	ἐνεδυσάμην	ἐνέδυσα
14/15	μετὰ τῶν ἐπισκόπων	εἰς ῥίζας ἐπισκόπων
24	δεσπότην τὴν ζάλην	πόθου τὸ ζαλῶδες
28	εἰ λέγετε	εἰ δὲ θέλετε
30	λέγετε	θέλετε
31	μιμῆσθε	μιμήσασθε
33	ὑπομένειν	ὑπομεῖναι
36	παρεκάθητο	παρεκαθέζετο
37	ἐβούλετο	εὐλαβεῖ τῷ λόγῳ τὸν δίκαιον ἐβούλετο
39	ἅγιον	Αἰγύπτιον
39	τοῦτον	τοῦτον ἐσυλαγώγησεν
41	ἔρχεται	εἰσέρχεται
43	πόρνος	πονηρός
45	βουλόμεθα	βούλομαι
49/50	προφήτην	τὸν σύνδουλόν μου καὶ προφήτην
57/58	Ἰούδα προσεῖπε	Ἰούδαν προέβαλεν
58/59	Χθὲς μετ' ἐλευθερίας συνεκάθητό μοι, καὶ σήμερον ὥς θηρίον μοι ἐπεπήδησε.	Χθὲς μοι ἔλεγεν πάτερ εὐνοούσατε, καὶ σήμερόν μου ἀγνωσίαν προεβάλετο. Χθὲς μετὰ τῆς ἐλευθέρας [sic] ἐκάθητο, καὶ σήμερον ὥς θηρίον ἐπεπήδησεν
64/65	Εἰπόν τι ῥῆμα πρὸς Κύριον καὶ τελεύτα	om.
65	Ἵνα τί ὥς μία τῶν ἀφρόνων γυναικῶν	Ὡς ἄφρων γυνή
69	θεραπείαν	στολὴν
70	ἔλεγες	ἐβόας
81	θεσπέσιος	προθέσιμος

of the thesis.

The text of both *A* and *B* descends from the same ancestor (but not the same exemplar), as can be inferred from a number of common mistakes (for instance, at line 15 both *A* and *B* have γένομαι instead of the correct aorist subjunctive γένωμαι). The archetype probably already presented a disturbed text, as it is evident from lines 101-104, where Montfaucon printed his text with *cruces*. *P.G.* 52:438, lines 22-25 (which correspond to lines 76-78 of my edition): Τί δὲ καὶ ἡ παράνομος καὶ στυγερὰ, αὕτη ἡ νέα, φημὶ, Ἰεζάβελ οὐ βοᾷ καὶ λέγει ἐκ... καὶ διαπερα.... ἀποδρ... ἀλλὰ ἀποστέλλει μοι ὑπάτους καὶ τριβούνους, καὶ μόνον ἀπειλεῖ. In all probability the correct reading is Ἐκβηθὶ καὶ διαπεράσας ἀπόδραθι, but both manuscripts present a partially corrupted text: *A* = ἐκβα καὶ περάσας ἀπόδραθι, *B* = ἐκβῆθι καὶ διαπερὰς ἀπόδραθι.

Despite the fact that the text of *A* presents a few minor omissions, as stated before its text seems to be superior to that of *B* and some of the readings find a clear correspondence in the Armenian version of a text from which the *CUM IRET* derives. For instance, at line 5 ὁ ὕψιστος is also found in the Armenian *բարձրեալն*; at line 28 *A* θέλετε is rendered with the equivalent Armenian *կամիցիք*, et cetera.

2.2.4. The Ancient Oriental Versions

In 2002 the Maronite Father Charbel Chahine published an article in which he presented the *editio princeps* and a French translation of a Syriac text hitherto unknown.⁵⁶ According to

⁵⁶ CHAHINE 2002, 85-102.

Chahine, this text is ‘*un arrangement en syriaque d’un original grec [...] l’équivalent grec n’est que le Sermo cum iret in Exsilium, qui correspond en grande partie au texte syriaque*’.

This text seems to have been transmitted by a *codex unicus* – Chahine explains – which is the *Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Apost. Vat., Vat. sir. 368, ff. 126^{v1}-129^{v1}*, dated to the 8th-9th century.⁵⁷

Next to this Syriac text, there is a neglected Armenian version of the same text that was published as early as in the 19th century, by the Mechitarist Fathers of San Lazzaro degli Armeni.⁵⁸ From Chahine’s study it is clear that the Maronite Father was unaware of the existence of the Armenian version, and because of that many of his assumptions need to undergo a careful revision.

First of all these two translations do not represent an enlargement of the Greek CUM IRET, but they actually witness a Greek text which has now been lost. The evidence of this argument can be inferred first of all by the fact that some of the Biblical quotations of the Armenian version do not follow the standard text of the Armenian Bible, but clearly follow the Greek.⁵⁹

Despite the existence of minor divergences, the two translations transmit an almost identical text concerning structure and length of the homily. By contrast, a comparison with the Greek text of the CUM IRET shows that the two oriental versions radically differ from this one. As Chahine has pointed out, the Syriac version (and, thus, the Armenian too) is based on a different exemplar than that from which the CUM IRET derives.

The first difference between the text of the translations and the Greek CUM IRET is that

57 A description of the manuscript is in SAUGET 1961, 387-424.

58 MECHITARISTAE 1861, 360-365.

59 See the synopsis of the Armenian and Syriac versions.

both translations present a text two thirds longer than the Greek version of the CUM IRET as it was printed by Montfaucon. The different length is not due to a particular translation technique. The translations, in fact, are not expansions of the Greek, but include a large amount of new content which is absent in the Greek.

The new material present in the translations is distributed in between fragments of the actual redaction of the CUM IRET. The result is that the text of the Armenian and Syriac versions actually presents a radically different arrangement of the paragraph order, in comparison to that of the Greek CUM IRET. The Armenian and the Syriac translations follow the same order of paragraphs, with the sole exception of § 8 of the Syriac, which in the Armenian text is placed between the §§ 11 and 12 (hence the paragraphs' sequence in the Armenian is: 1–7, 9–11, 8, 12–77). The following table shows the correspondences between the Syriac and the Greek versions of the CUM IRET.⁶⁰

60 The table is modelled on that created by Chahine. See CHAHINE 2002, 100.

Syriac	Greek
§§ 1-2	ll. 1-7a
§ 3	---
§§ 4-5	ll. 26b-33a
§§ 6-11	ll. 37b-55
§§ 12-13	ll. 56-60
§ 14	---
§§ 15-16	ll. 77-79
§ 17	---
§§ 18-24	ll. 61-63a; 65b-68; 70b-71
§§ 25-28	ll. 72-76
§§ 29-40	---
§§ 41-42	ll. 33b-37a
§§ 43-49	---
§ 50	ll. 103b-105a
§ 51	ll. 82b-84a
§ 52	ll. 63b-64a
§§ 53-64	---
§ 65	l. 88a
§ 66	ll. 84b-86a
§ 67	---
§ 68	ll. 91b-96a; 99b-101a
§§ 69-77	---

The most important material offered by the oriental versions deals with allusions to an anti-Chrysostomian conspiracy led by some bishops present at the Synod of the Oak, the defeat of Theophilus of Alexandria, and, especially, a long tirade against the empress Eudoxia. The text is filled with Biblical comparisons and allusions, and the general tone of the speech is highly explicit and aggressive (for instance, the empress's behavior is twice compared to that of a prostitute, by means of comparisons and allusions).⁶¹

A thorough synoptic reading of the two oriental versions and the Greek CUM IRET shows that not only – as noted by Chahine, although he was only referring to the Syriac – the

61 A French translation of the Syriac text can be found in CHAHINE 2002, 94-99.

Armenian and the Syriac texts are based on a lost Greek text, but most importantly that the Greek text of the CUM IRET actually derives from the text witnessed by the oriental versions. In other words, the text of the CUM IRET as it can be read in the *Patrologia Graeca* is a rearrangement of a text lost until now, but which can be read in Armenian and Syriac translation.

Even though technically speaking the Armenian and Syriac versions cannot be considered as *traditio indirecta* of the Greek CUM IRET, because they do not derive from this latter but actually are the ancestors of it, nevertheless the evidence of their text proved invaluable for the establishment of the Greek text, as the notes of the commentary to my edition of the CUM IRET will show.

Although this thesis is not concerned with the intrinsic nature of the oriental versions, because they represent a textual identity in themselves which is *de facto* independent from the ANTEQUAM IRET and the CUM IRET, there are at least two points which are worthy to be mentioned. The first is that a number of small omissions and expansions present in the two oriental texts show that neither of the two translations was based on the other, but that the translators independently rendered a Greek exemplar. The second point concerns the dating of these translations, which until now has never been addressed. Although a final verdict can be reached only when new reliable editions of these two texts are available,⁶² it is still

62 The contribution of Chahine unfortunately shows a number of shortcomings which affect not only the quality of the Syriac text, but also its French translation. Assumptions and misconceptions also abound in the general introduction to the text. The following examples may suffice: 1) Chahine states that the homily does not reflect a pure Syriac style because there would be many words from Greek origin (among which he, surprisingly, lists also such words as *ܠܐܚܝܬܐ*, *ܡܝܬܐ*, *ܡܝܬܐ* ...); 2) Chahine considers the text printed in the *P.G.* as edited by Migne, rather than by Montfaucon; 3) that the Chrysostomian homily *Sermo post reditum a priore exsilio 1* [CPG 4398] is preserved only in Latin translations, and not in Greek (but this is a well known mistake of Migne,

possible to suggest that both the Armenian and the Syriac translation may have been produced in the 5th century. Both translations, in fact, rendered the Greek text faithfully, but without showing any example of over-literality which usually appears in the translation technique of those translators who were active ca. from the end of the 5th till the 8th century. In particular, the Syriac text shows that its translator rendered the Biblical quotations not by translating the words he found in the Greek exemplar (that is by rendering *verbum de verbo* the Greek text), but by replacing them with the text of the Peshitta.

who only accidentally forgot to print the Greek text edited by Montfaucon).

CHAPTER THREE :

THE EDITIONS

Notes on the constitution of the text and the interpretation of the apparatus

For the constitution of the text of the the *Sermo antequam iret in exsilium* I used all the available sources:

- a) the manuscript *P*, *i.e.* the only witness of the direct tradition;
- b) the Latin translation (*Lat*), for which I provide a temporary ‘study’ edition based on the collation of the Latin text printed in the *P.G.* with the Oxonian manuscript *I*.
- c) the text indirectly transmitted by George of Alexandria’s *Life of John Chrysostom* as printed in the *P.G.* (*Montf*)

The Stemma Codicum proved very useful every time I had to choose between two equally acceptable readings. As a matter of fact, whenever one of the two readings appeared to be transmitted by both *Montf* and *Lat* in opposition to *P*, the evidence of the Stemma represented a guarantee that the reading may have been present also in the original (provided, however, that grammar, *usus scribendi* and sense are compatible).

P often presented a better text than *Montf*. The latter, however, was of great help whenever the direct tradition was damaged, especially whenever it presented large omissions.

The role played by *Lat* was in most cases decisive. Even if the Latin translation renders the Greek sometimes *verbum de verbo*, sometimes with extreme freedom, its testimony

always allows to formulate conjectures on the kind of text the translator was reading in his exemplar.

Concerning the graphic structure of the edition, I placed the main text at the top level of the page, the *apparatus* in the middle, and the scriptural *apparatus* at the bottom.

The same principles were adopted for the *Sermo cum iret in exsilium*. Although for the latter a stemma was not necessary, because there is no indirect tradition and only two manuscripts survive, the textual evidence of the Armenian and the Syriac translations of the text from which the CUM IRET derives proved crucial.

In both editions, the translations appear in the apparatus only when their testimony is of real help. The fact that, for instance, for a given reading of *A* the readings of the Armenian or the Syriac (or the Latin, in case of the ANTEQUAM IRET) are not quoted, does not imply agreement with manuscript *A* or *B*. For a comparative approach to the text, the reader is referred to the synoptic texts.

The numbering of the Psalms follows the LXX.

S E R M O A N T E Q U A M

I R E T

I N E X S I L I U M

CONSPECTUS SIGLORUM

<i>P</i>	parisinus graecus 700, saec. x-xi
<i>Montf</i>	B. de Montfaucon, <i>S. P. N. Ioannis Chrysostomi opera omnia quae exstant uel eius nomine circumferuntur</i> , Parisiis, 1718 – 1738, ut in textu Migneio citatus, <i>P.G.</i> 52:427*-432.
<i>Sav</i>	H. Savile, Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χριστοστόμου τῶν εὐρισκομένων τόμος (1-8), Etonae, 1612-1613, ut in apparatu textus Mignei passim citatus, <i>P.G.</i> 52:427*-432.
<i>Lat</i>	translatio latina (fort. saec. v)

*

*

*

add.	addidit / -diderunt
conj.	conieci / -it
corr.	correxī
om.	omisit / -serunt
praep.	praeposuit
suppl.	supplevit
transp.	transposui / -suerunt

[Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὅτε ἡ στάσις ἐγένετο
ἐπὶ Σευηριανοῦ τοῦ Γαβαλέως
ἐπισκόπου ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ]

1. Πολλὰ τὰ κύματα καὶ χαλεπὸν τὸ κλυδώνιον· ἀλλ' οὐ
δεδοίκαμεν μὴ καταποντισθῶμεν, ἐπὶ γὰρ τῆς πέτρας ἐστήκαμεν.
Μαινέσθω ἡ θάλασσα, πέτραν διασαλεῦσαι οὐ δύναται. Ἐγειρέσθω
τὰ κύματα, τοῦ Ἰησοῦ πλοῖον καταποντίσαι οὐκ ἰσχύει. Τί δεδοίκαμεν,
5 εἰπέ μοι; Τὸν θάνατον; Ἐμοὶ τὸ ζῆν Χριστὸς καὶ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν
κέρδος. Ἀλλ' ἐξορίαν; Τοῦ Κυρίου ἡ γῆ καὶ τὸ πλήρωμα αὐτῆς.
Ἀλλὰ χρημάτων δήμευσιν; Οὐδὲν εἰσηνέγκαμεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον,
δῆλον ὅτι οὐδὲ ἐξενεγκεῖν τι δυνάμεθα. Καὶ τὰ φοβερά τοῦ
κόσμου ἔμοι εὐκαταφρόνητα καὶ τὰ χρηστὰ καταγέλαστα. Οὐ πενίαν
10 δέδοικα, οὐ πλοῦτον ἐπιθυμῶ, οὐ θάνατον φοβοῦμαι, οὐ ζῆσαι
εὐχομαι, εἰ μὴ διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν προκοπὴν. Διὸ καὶ τὰ νῦν
ὑπομιμνήσκω καὶ παρακαλῶ τὴν ὑμετέραν θαρρεῖν ἀγάπην. 2. Οὐδεὶς
γὰρ ἡμᾶς ὑμῶν ἀποστῆσαι δυνήσεται· ὃν γὰρ Χριστὸς συνέζευξεν,
ἄνθρωπος χωρίσαι οὐ δύναται. Εἰ γὰρ περὶ γυναικὸς καὶ ἀνδρὸς
15 λέγει· Ἀντὶ τούτου καταλείπει ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ
καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ προσκολληθήσεται τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ
ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν· ὃ οὖν ὁ Θεὸς ἔζευξεν

17

Tit. 1-3 ὅτε... ..ἐκκλησίᾳ *P* : ὁμιλία πρὸ τῆς ἐξορίας *Montf* : eiusdem cum de expulsionem
eius ageretur *Lat*

2 τῆς πέτρας *Montf* : τῇ πέτρᾳ *P* || 3 διασαλεῦσαι *P* : διαλύσαι *Montf* : commovere
Lat || 5 Τὸν *Montf* : om. *P* || 6 ἐξορίαν *P* : εἰπέ μοι post ἐξορίαν add. *Montf* || 8
οὐδέ *P* : οὐδέν *Montf* || 8 τι *P* : om. *Montf* || 9 χρηστὰ *Montf* : χρυσία *P* || 11/12
Διὸ καὶ τὰ νῦν ὑπομιμνήσκω καὶ *Montf* : om. *P Lat* || 12 τὴν ὑμετέραν θαρρεῖν
ἀγάπην *Montf* : οὖν ὑμᾶς ἀγαπητοὶ θαρρεῖν *P* : caritatem vestram ut aequo animo sitis
Lat || 13 ἡμᾶς ὑμῶν correxi : ὑμᾶς ὑμῶν *P* : ὑμῶν om. *Montf* : nos a vobis *Lat* ||
ἀποστῆσαι *correx*i : ἀπηστῆσαι *P* : ἀποσπάσαι *Montf* || ὃν *P* : ὃ *Montf* : quem *Lat* ||
Χριστὸς *P* : ὁ Θεὸς *Montf* : Christus *Lat* || 16 μητέρα *Montf* : αὐτοῦ post μητέρα add. *P* ||
17 ὁ *Montf* : om. *P*

5/6 Phil. 1:21 || 6 Ps. 23:1 || 7/8 1 Tim. 6:7 || 15/17 Gen. 2:24 || 17/18 Matt. 19:6

ἄνθρωπος μὴ χωριζέτω, εἰ γάμον οὐ διασπάσαι δύνασαι, πολλῶ
 μᾶλλον ἐκκλησίαν καταλύσαι οὐκ ἰσχύεις. **3.** Ἀλλὰ πολεμεῖς αὐτὴν οὐ
 20 δυνάμενος βλάψαι τὸν πολεμούμενον. Ἄλλ' ἐμὲ μᾶλλον ἐργάζη
 λαμπρότερον, σαυτοῦ δὲ τὴν ἰσχὺν καταλύεις εἰ πρὸς ἐμὲ μάχη·
Σκληρόν σοι πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν. Οὐκ ἀμβλύνεις τὰ κέντρα
 ἀλλὰ τοὺς πόδας αἰμάσσεις. Ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ κύματα τὴν πέτραν οὐ διαλύει
 ἀλλ' εἰς ἀφρόν διαλύεται. Οὐδὲν ἐκκλησίας δυνατώτερον. Λῦσον τὸν
 25 πόλεμον, ἵνα μὴ σου καταλύσῃ τὴν δύναμιν. Μὴ εἴσαγε πόλεμον εἰς
 οὐρανόν. Ἄνθρωπον ἐὰν πολεμῇς, ἢ ἐνίκησας ἢ ἐνίκηθης. Ἐκκλησίαν
 δὲ ἐὰν πολεμῇς, νικῆσαι σε ἀμήχανον. Θεὸς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ πάντων
 ἰσχυρότερος. **Μὴ παραζηλοῦμεν τὸν Κύριον; μὴ ἰσχυρότεροι**
αὐτοῦ ἐσμεν; Θεὸς ἔπηξε, τί ἐπιχειρεῖς σαλεύειν; Οὐκ οἶσθα αὐτοῦ
 30 τὴν δύναμιν; **Ἐπιβλέπει ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ ποιεῖ αὐτὴν τρέμειν.**
 Κελεύει καὶ τὰ σειόμενα ἐδράζεται. Εἰ τὴν πόλιν σαλευομένην ἀνέστησε
 πολλῶ μᾶλλον τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν στήσαι δύνησεται. Ἡ ἐκκλησία οὐρανοῦ
 ἰσχυροτέρα· **Ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ παρελεύσονται, οἱ δὲ λόγοι**
μου οὐ μὴ παρέλθωσι. Ποῖοι λόγοι; **Σὺ εἶ Πέτρος, καὶ ἐπὶ**
 35 **ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ οἰκοδομήσω τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ πύλαι ᾗδου**

35

18 μὴ χωριζέτω *Montf* : χωρῖσαι οὐ δύναται *P* || οὐ *Montf* : om. *P* : non *Lat* ||
 διασπάσαι δύνασαι *P* : δυ. δι. transp. *Montf* || πολλῶ *P* : πόσῳ *Montf* : magis *Lat* ||
19 ἐκκλησίαν *P* : Θεοῦ post ἐκκλησίαν add. *Montf* || καταλύσαι οὐκ ἰσχύεις *P* : ο. ἰ.
 κ. transp. *Montf* || **19/20** Ἀλλὰ πολεμεῖς αὐτὴν οὐ δυνάμενος βλάψαι *Montf* :
 πολεμῆσαι ἀλλ' οὐδέν με βλάπτεις *P* || **20** μᾶλλον *P* : om. *Montf* || **21** σαυτοῦ *P* :
 ἐαυτοῦ *Montf* || εἰ *P* : τῆς *Montf* : τῇ *Sav* || μάχη *P* : μάχης *Montf* : μάχη *Sav* || **22**
 Σκληρόν *P* : γάρ post Σκληρόν add. *Montf* || κέντρα *P* : ὀξέα post κέντρα add. *Montf* ||
23 αἰμάσσεις *Montf* : τοὺς σοὺς post αἰμάσσεις add. *P* || **24** ἀλλ' *P* : αὐτὰ post ἀλλ'
 add. *Montf* || διαλύεται *P* : διαλύονται *Montf* || δυνατώτερον *P* : ἄνθρωπε post
 δυνατώτερον add. *Montf* || **25** σοῦ καταλύσῃ *Montf* : καταλύσει σου *P* || **27** Θεὸς
P : ὁ ante θεὸς add. *Montf* || **29** Θεὸς *P* : ὁ ante θεός add. *Montf* || τί *P* : τίς *Montf* ||
 ἐπιχειρεῖς *P* : ἐπιχειρεῖ *Montf* || **31** σειόμενα *Montf* : ἐσόμενα *P*, sed sup. lin. σειόμενα
 legitur fort. alia manu scriptum || ἐδράζεται *P* : ἡδράζετο *Montf* : solidatur *Lat* ||
 ἀνέστησε *P* : ἔστησε *Montf* || **32** δυνήσεται *P* : δύναται *Montf* : poterit *Lat* || Ἡ
Montf : om. *P* || **35** ταύτῃ *P* : μου post ταύτῃ add. *Montf*

22 Acts 26:14 || **28/29** 1 Cor.10:22 || **30** Ps. 103:32 || **33/34** Matt. 24:35 || **34/36**
 Matt. 16:18

οὐ κατισχύσουσιν αὐτῆς. 4. Εἰ ἀπιστεῖς τῷ λόγῳ, πίστευε τοῖς πράγμασι. Πόσοι τύραννοι ἠθέλησαν περιγενέσθαι τῆς ἐκκλησίας; Πόσα τήγανα, πόσοι κάμινοι, θηρίων ὀδόντες, ξίφη ἠκονημένα, καὶ οὐ περιεγένοντο; Ποῦ οἱ πολεμήσαντες τὴν ἐκκλησίαν; Σεσίγηνται καὶ
40 λήθη παραδέδονται. Ποῦ δὲ ἡ ἐκκλησία; Ὑπὲρ τὸν ἥλιον λάμπει. Τὰ ἐκείνων ἔορβεται, τὰ δὲ ταύτης ἀθάνατα. Εἰ ὅτε ἑνδεκα ἦσαν, οὐκ ἐνικήθησαν, ὅτε ἡ οἰκουμένη ἐπληρώθη εὐσεβείας, πῶς νικῆσαι δύνασαι; Ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ παρελεύσονται, οἱ δὲ λόγοι μου οὐ μὴ παρέλθωσι. 5. Καὶ μάλα εἰκότως. Ποθεινότερα γὰρ ἡ ἐκκλησία τῷ Θεῷ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. Οὐρανοῦ σῶμα οὐκ ἀνέλαβεν, ἐκκλησίας σάρκα ἀνέλαβε· διὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὁ οὐρανός, οὐ διὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἡ ἐκκλησία. 6. Μηδὲν ὑμᾶς θορυβεῖτω τῶν γινομένων. Τοῦτό μοι χαρίσασθε, πίστιν ἀπερίτρεπτον. Οὐκ εἶδες Πέτρον περιπατοῦντα ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων καὶ ὀλίγον διστάσαντα καὶ μέλλοντα
50 καταποντίζεσθαι, οὐ διὰ τὴν ἄτακτον τῶν ὑδάτων ῥύμην, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν τῆς πίστεως; Μὴ γὰρ ἀνθρωπίναις ψήφοις ἐνταῦθα ἦλθομεν; Μὴ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος ἦγαγεν, ἵνα ἄνθρωπος καταλύσῃ; Ταῦτα λέγω οὐκ ἀπονοούμενος, μὴ γένοιτο, οὐδὲ ἀλαζονευόμενος, ἀλλὰ τὸ ὑμῶν σεσαλευμένον στηρίξαι βουλόμενος. 7. Ἐπειδὴ ἔστι ἡ πόλις, τὴν
55 ἐκκλησίαν ἠθέλησεν ὁ διάβολος σαλεῦσαι. Μιαρὲ καὶ παμμίαρε διάβολε. Τοίχων οὐ περιεγένου καὶ ἐκκλησίας προσδοκᾷς περιγενέσθαι; Μὴ γὰρ ἐν τοίχοις ἡ ἐκκλησία; Ἐν τῷ πλήθει τῶν
57 τὴν ἐκκλησίαν *P* : om. *Montf* || 41 δὲ *Montf* : om. *P* || ἑνδεκα *P* : ὀλίγοι. *Montf* : undecim soli *Lat* || 42 ἐπληρώθη *P* : ἐπλήσθη *Montf* : repletus est *Lat* || 46 ἐκκλησίας *P* : δέ post ἐκκλησίας add. *Montf* || 47 γινομένων *P* : γενομένων *Montf* : eorum quae agi videtis *Lat* || 48 εἶδες *P* : εἶδετε *Montf* : ponamus ante oculos nostros *Lat* || Πέτρον *P* : τόν ante Πέτρον add. *Montf* || 49 ὑδάτων *P* : κυμάτων *Montf* : aquas *Lat* || 50 ἄτακτον *Montf* : ἄστατον *P* || ῥύμην *P* : ὁρμήν *Montf* || 51 ἀνθρωπίναις *Montf* : ἀνθρωπίνοις *P* || ἦλθομεν *Montf* : ἵνα φοβηθώμεν post ἦλθομεν add. *P* || 54 τὴν *P* : om. *Montf* || 55 ἠθέλησεν ὁ διάβολος *P* : ὁ δ. ἡ. transp. *Montf* || 56 ἐκκλησίας *P* : ἐκκλησίαν *Montf* || 57 περιγενέσθαι *P* : σαλεῦσαι *Montf* || 57/58 ἐν τῷ... ..ἡ ἐκκλησία *Montf* : om. *P* : in multitudine piorum *Lat*

πιστῶν ἢ ἐκκλησία. Ἴδου πόσοι στῦλοι ἐδραῖοι οὐ σιδήρῳ δεδεμένοι,
 ἀλλὰ πίστει ἐσφιγμένοι. Οὐ λέγω ὅτι τοσοῦτον πλῆθος, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ εἰ εἷς
 60 ἦν περιεγένου. **8.** Οὐκ οἶδας οἷά σοι τραύματα παρέσχον οἱ μάρτυρες;
 Εἰσῆλθε πολλάκις κόρη ἀπαλὴ ἀπειρόγαμος. Κηροῦ ἦν ἀπαλωτέρα
 καὶ πέτρας ἐγένετο στερρωτέρα. Τὰς πλευρὰς αὐτῆς ἔξεες καὶ τὸ αἷμα
 ἐξέχεας, καὶ τὴν πίστιν αὐτῆς οὐκ ἔλαβες. Ἠτόνησε τῆς σαρκὸς ἡ φύσις
 καὶ οὐκ ἀπηγορεύθη τῆς πίστεως ἡ δύναμις. Ἐδαπανᾶτο τὸ σῶμα καὶ
 65 ἐνεανιεύετο τὸ φρόνημα. Ἀνηλίσκετο ἡ οὐσία καὶ ἔμενεν ἡ εὐλάβεια. **9.**
 Γυναικὸς οὐ περιεγένου μιᾶς, καὶ τοσούτου περιγενέσθαι δήμου
 προσδοκᾷς; Οὐκ ἀκούεις τοῦ Κυρίου λέγοντος ὅτι **Ὅπου δύο ἢ**
τρεῖς εἰσι συνηγμένοι εἰς τὸ ὄνομά μου, ἐκεῖ εἰμι ἐν μέσῳ
αὐτῶν. Ὅπου τοσοῦτος δῆμος ἀγάπη ἐσφιγμένος, οὐ πάρεστιν; Ἐχω
 70 αὐτοῦ ἐνέχυρον. **10.** Μὴ γὰρ οἰκεία δυνάμει θαρρῶ, γραμματεῖον αὐτοῦ
 κατέχω. Ἐκεῖνό μοι βακτηρία, ἐκεῖνό μοι ἀσφάλεια, ἐκεῖνό μοι λιμὴν
 ἀκύμαντος. Κἂν ἡ οἰκουμένη ταραττήται, τὸ γραμματεῖον κατέχω· αὐτῷ
 ἀναγινώσκω. Τὰ γράμματα ἐκεῖνα ἐμοὶ τεῖχος καὶ ἀσφάλεια. Ποῖα
 ταῦτα; Ἴδου ἐγὼ μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰμι πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας ἕως τῆς
 75 **συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος.** **11.** Χριστὸς μετ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ τίνα
 φοβηθήσομαι; Κἂν κύματα κατ' ἐμοῦ διεγερθῇ, κἂν πέλαγη, κἂν

76

58 Ἴδου *Montf* : Ἴδὲ *P* : *Ecce Lat* || **59** ἀλλὰ πίστει ἐσφιγμένοι *Montf* : om. *P Lat* ||
 πλῆθος *P Lat* : πυρὸς σφοδρότερον post πλῆθος add. *Montf* || οὐδὲ *P* : οὔτε *Montf* ||
 εἰ εἷς *Montf* : εἷς εἰ *P* || **60** Οὐκ *P* : Καί *Montf* || τραύματα *Montf* : πράγματα *P* ||
61 ἀπαλὴ *Montf* : om. *P* : aetate tenera *Lat* || Κηροῦ ἦν ἀπαλωτέρα *Montf* : om. *P Lat* ||
62 πέτρας *Montf* : σιδήρου *P* : ferro *Lat* || στερρωτέρα *P* : στερεωτέρα *Montf* || **62/63**
 καὶ τὸ αἷμα ἐξέχεας *P* : om. *Montf Lat* || **63** αὐτῆς *P* : om. *Montf* : eius *Lat* || **64**
 ἀπηγορεύθη *Montf* : ἀπευδόκησεν *P* : defecit *Lat* || ἔδαπανᾶτο *Montf* : ἔδαπάνη *P* ||
65 Ἀνηλίσκετο *P* : δὲ post Ἀνηλίσκετο add. *Montf* || οὐσία *Montf* : θυσία *P* : substantia
Lat || **66** μιᾶς *Montf* : κόρης ἀπειρογάμου post μιᾶς add. *P* || **66/67** περιγενέσθαι
 δήμου προσδοκᾷς *P* : δ. πρ. πε. transp. *Montf* || **67** λέγοντος *Montf* : om. *P* || ὅτι *P* :
 om. *Montf* || **68** εἰς τὸ ὄνομά μου *Montf* : om. *P* || **71/72** ἐκεῖνό μοι... ..κατέχω
Montf : om. *P* : illa mihi cautio satis tuta est [...] etiamsi orbis terrae commoveatur ego
 cautionem domini mei teneo *Lat* || **73** ἐμοὶ τεῖχος *P* : τ. ἐ. transp. *Montf* || **74** Ἴδου *P* :
 om. *Montf* : *Ecce Lat* || **76** φοβηθήσομαι *Montf* : ἔχω φοβητῆναι *P* : quem timebo *Lat*
 || διεγερθῇ *P* : διεγείρηται *Montf* || **76/77** κἂν θόρυβοι *P* : om. *Montf*

θόρυβοι, κἄν ἀρχόντων θυμοί, ἐμοὶ γὰρ ταῦτα πάντα ἀράχνη, καὶ
 ἀράχνης εὐτελέστερα. Καὶ εἰ μὴ διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀγάπην, οὐδὲ
 σήμερον ἂν παρητησάμην ἀπελθεῖν. **12.** Ἀεὶ γὰρ λέγω· **Κύριε, τὸ σὸν**
 80 **θέλημα γενέσθω**, μὴ ὅ τι ὁ δεῖνα, καὶ ὁ δεῖνα, ἀλλὰ τι σύ βούλει.
 Τοῦτο ἐμοὶ πύργος, τοῦτο ἐμοὶ πέτρα ἀκίνητος, τοῦτο ἐμοὶ βακτηρία
 ἀπερίτρεπτος. Ἄ βούλεται ὁ Θεός, ταῦτα γινέσθω. Βούλεταί με
 ἐνταῦθα εἶναι; Χάριν ἔχω. Οὐ βούλεται; Εὐχαριστῶ. **13.** Μηδεὶς ὑμᾶς
 θορυβεῖτω· ταῖς εὐχαῖς προσέχετε. Ταῦτα ἐποίησεν ὁ διάβολος, ἵνα
 85 ἐκκόψῃ τὴν σπουδὴν τὴν περὶ τὰς λιτανείας. Ἄλλ' οὐ προχωρεῖ αὐτῷ·
 ἀλλὰ σπουδαιότερους ὑμᾶς εὔρομεν καὶ θερμότερους. **14.** Αὔριον εἰς
 λιτανεῖον ἐξελεύσομαι μεθ' ὑμῶν. Ἵνα ὅπου ἐγώ, ἐκεῖ καὶ ὑμεῖς· καὶ
 ὅπου ὑμεῖς, ἐκεῖ καὶ ἐγώ. Ἐν σῶμά ἐσμεν· οὐ σῶμα κεφαλῆς, οὐ κεφαλὴ
 σώματος χωρίζεται. Εἰ καὶ διειργόμεθα τῷ τόπῳ, ἀλλ' ἠνώμεθα τῇ
 90 ἀγάπῃ. Ἐμὲ ὑμῶν οὐδὲ θάνατος διακόψαι δυνήσεται. Κἄν γὰρ
 ἀποθάνῃ μου τὸ σῶμα, ζῇ ἡ ψυχὴ, καὶ μέμνηται τοῦ δήμου. **15.** Ὑμεῖς
 ἐμοὶ πατέρες, πῶς γὰρ ὑμῶν δυνήσομαι ἐπιλαθέσθαι; Ὑμεῖς ἐμοὶ
 μήτηρ, ὑμεῖς ἐμοὶ ζωὴ, ὑμεῖς ἐμοὶ εὐδοκίμησις. Ἐὰν ὑμεῖς προκόψητε,
 ἐγὼ εὐδοκιμῶ, ὥστε ὁ ἐμὸς πλοῦτος ἐν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ κείται θησαυρῷ.
 95 Ἐγὼ μυριάκις ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν σφαγῆναι ἐτοίμως ἔχω – καὶ οὐδεμίαν χάριν
 παρέχω, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὀφειλὴν ἀποδίδωμι· **Ὁ γὰρ ποιμὴν ὁ καλὸς τὴν**

96

77 γάρ P : om. Montf || 77/78 καὶ ἀράχνης P : om. Montf : et araneis Lat || 80 ὅ τι
 Montf : τό P || καί Montf : τό post καί add. P || ἀλλὰ P : εἴ post ἀλλὰ add. Montf ||
 σὺ βούλει Montf : σοὶ βουλευεῖ P : vis Lat || 81 Τοῦτο P : Οὗτος Montf || 82 Ἄ P : Εἰ
 Montf || ταῦτα P : οὗτος Montf || γινέσθω P : γενέσθαι ante γινέσθω add. Montf ||
 82/83 με ἐνταῦθα εἶναι P : εἶ. με ἐ. transp. Montf || 83 Οὐ P : Ὅπου Montf : Non Lat ||
 85 αὐτῷ Montf : αὐτοῦ P || 86 εὔρομεν καὶ θερμότερους P : καὶ θερμότερους
 εὐρήκαμεν Montf || 86/87 εἰς λιτανεῖον Montf : om. P : ad orationes Lat || 87 Ἵνα P :
 ἥ Montf : Et ubi Lat : Καὶ ὅπου conj. Montf || ἐκεῖ καὶ ὑμεῖς P : κ. ὑ. ἐ. transp. Montf :
 ibi et vos Lat || καί² P : om. Montf : et Lat || 89 Εἰ καί P : om. Montf : Etiam si Lat ||
 90 Ἐμὲ ὑμῶν P : om. Montf : Ego a vobis Lat || 92 πατέρες Montf : πατρίς P || γὰρ
 P : om. Montf || δυνήσομαι P : δύναμαι Montf || 93 μήτηρ P : πατέρες Montf :
 mater Lat || 94 ὁ ἐμός P : ἐμοὶ ζωὴ Montf || 95 ἐτοίμως ἔχω P : ἔτοιμος Montf

79/80 Matt. 6:10 || 96/97 John 10:11

ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ τίθησιν ὑπὲρ τῶν προβάτων – καὶ σφαγῆναι
 μυριάκις, καὶ μυρίας κεφαλὰς ἀποτμηθῆναι. **16.** Ἐμοὶ ὁ θάνατος οὗτος
 ἀθανασίας ὑπόθεσις, ἐμοὶ αἱ ἐπιβουλαὶ αὗται ἀσφαλείας ἀφορμή. Μὴ
 100 γὰρ διὰ χρήματα ἐπιβουλεύομαι, ἵνα λυπηθῶ; Μὴ γὰρ δι’ ἁμαρτήματα,
 ἵνα ἀλγήσω; Διὰ τὸν ἔρωτα τὸν περὶ ὑμᾶς. Ἐπειδὴ πάντα ποιῶ, ὥστε
 ὑμᾶς ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ μεῖναι, ὥστε μηδένα παρεισελθεῖν τῇ ποίμνῃ, ὥστε
 μεῖναι ἀκέραιον τὸ ποίμνιον. Ἡ ὑπόθεσις τῶν ἀγώνων ἀρκεῖ μοι εἰς
 στέφανον. **17.** Τί γὰρ οὐκ ἂν πάθοιμι ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν; Ὑμεῖς ἐμοὶ πολῖται,
 105 ὑμεῖς ἐμοὶ πατέρες, ὑμεῖς ἐμοὶ ἀδελφοὶ, ὑμεῖς ἐμοὶ τέκνα, ὑμεῖς ἐμοὶ μέλη,
 ὑμεῖς ἐμοὶ σῶμα, ὑμεῖς ἐμοὶ φῶς, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ τοῦ φωτὸς τούτου
 γλυκύτεροι. **18.** Τί γὰρ μοι παρέχει τοιοῦτον ἢ ἀκτὶς οἶον ἢ ὑμετέρα
 ἀγάπη; Ἡ ἀκτὶς ἐν τῷ παρόντι βίῳ ὠφελεῖ, ἡ δὲ ὑμετέρα ἀγάπη
 στέφανόν μοι πλέκει ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι. Ταῦτα δὲ λέγω εἰς ὧτα
 110 ἀκουόντων. Τί δὲ τῶν ὧτων ὑμῶν ἀκουστικώτερον; Τοσαύτας ἡμέρας
 ἡγρυπνήσατε, καὶ οὐδὲν ὑμᾶς ἔκαμψεν, οὐ χρόνου μῆκος μαλακώτερους
 ἐποίησεν, οὐ φόβοι, οὐκ ἀπειλαί. Πρὸς πάντα ἐγένεσθε γενναῖοι. Καὶ τί
 λέγω τοῦτο; Ἐγένεσθε ὅπερ ἐπεθύμουν ἀεὶ, κατεφρονήσατε τῶν
 βιωτικῶν, ἀπετάξασθε τῇ γῇ, εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν μετέστητε. Ἀπηλλάγητε
 115 τῶν συνδέσμων τοῦ σώματος, πρὸς τὴν μακαρίαν ἐκείνην ἀμιλλᾶσθε
 φιλοσοφίαν. Ταῦτα ἐμοὶ στέφανοι, ταῦτα παράκλησις, ταῦτα
 παραμυθία, ταῦτα ἐμοὶ ἀλείμματα, ταῦτα ἐμοὶ ζωή, ταῦτα ἐμοὶ

117

98 ὁ *Montf*: om. *P* || οὗτος *Montf*: om. *P* || **99** αἱ ἐπιβουλαὶ αὗται *Montf*: ἡ
 ἐπιβουλή αὕτη *P* || **101/102** ἐπειδὴ πάντα ποιῶ ὥστε ὑμᾶς *Montf*: om. *P*: quia omnia ago
 ut vos *Lat* || **102** ἀσφαλεία *Montf*: ἐπασφαλεία sic *P* || μεῖναι *Montf*: μείνατε *P* ||
103/104 ἀρκεῖ μοι εἰς στέφανον *Montf*: σάρκινοί εἰσιν στέφανοι *P*: haec sufficient mihi
 ad coronam *Lat* || **104** οὐκ *P*: om. *Montf*: non *Lat* || **106** φῶς μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ *Montf*:
 om. *P*: lux immo et *Lat* || **107** μοι παρέχει τοιοῦτον *P*: τ. π. μ. transp. *Montf* || ἀκτὶς
P: ἀκτῖνα *Montf* || **108** ἀκτὶς *P*: ἀκτῖνα *Montf* || παρόντι *P*: με post παρόντι add.
Montf || **109** δέ *Montf*: om. *P* || **111** μαλακώτερους *P*: ὑμᾶς post μαλακώτερους
 add. *Montf* || **113** τοῦτο; Ἐγένεσθε *P*: ε. τ. transp. *Montf* || **114** βιωτικῶν *P*:
 πραγμάτων post βιωτικῶν add. *Montf* || **115** ἀμιλλᾶσθε *Montf*: αἰναλάσθε sic *P* ||
116 στέφανοι ταῦτα παράκλησις ταῦτα *Montf*: om. *P* *Lat* || **117** ἀλείμματα *P*:
 ἄλειμμα *Montf*: unguenta *Lat* || ἐμοί² ... ἐμοί³ *P*: om. *Montf*

ἀθανασίας ὑπόθεσις. Ὑπὲρ <δὲ> τούτων ἀπάντων εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ
Θεῷ, ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος καὶ ἡ τιμὴ καὶ ἡ μεγαλοπρέπεια εἰς τοὺς
120 αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

120

118/120 Ὑπὲρ... ..Ἀμήν *P* : om. *Montf* : pro his gratias agamus deo cui gloria in saecula
saeculorum amen *Lat* || **118** δέ *supplevi* : om. *P*

[OF THE SAME, WHEN
THE CONFLICT OCCURRED IN
THE TIME OF SEVERIANUS
OF GABALA, BISHOP IN THE
GREAT CHURCH]¹

1. Many are the waves and difficult is the tempest. However, we do not fear being thrown into the sea, for we stand firm on the rock. Let the sea rage: it cannot dissolve the rock. Let the waves rise: they do not have the power to submerge the ship of Jesus. Tell me, what do I fear? Death? *‘To me, living is Christ and dying is gain.’*² Exile? *‘The earth is the Lord’s and all that is in it.’*³ Then the confiscation of property? *‘For we brought nothing into the world, so that we can take nothing out of it.’*⁴ To me what is frightening in the world is easy to despise, and its benefits are laughable. I do not fear poverty, I do not desire wealth, I am not scared by death, and I do not wish to live unless for your moral improvement. Therefore I recall the current events, and I invite your love to be confident.

2. Nobody in fact will be able to separate us from you, because man cannot separate

1 The translation of the *Sermo antequam iret in exsilium* is based on the Greek text of my edition. In general I have tried to keep my translation as close as possible to the Greek syntax, whenever it was possible. Few points have presented difficulties; of these the reader will find an explanation in the commentary of chapter four. The Scriptural text follows the English Bible text of the NRSV 2007, London.

2 Philippians 1:21.

3 Psalm 23:1.

4 1 Timothy 6:7.

whom God united. In fact, if concerning man and woman it is written:⁵ *‘therefore a man leaves his father and his mother and clings to his wife, and they become one flesh;’*⁶ *‘therefore what God has joined together, let no one separate;’*⁷ if you cannot separate a union, even more you have no power to destroy the Church.

3. However, you attack it because you are unable to harm the object of your attack. Actually you make me stronger, and if you fight against me you destroy your own power: *‘it hurts you to kick against the goads.’*⁸ You do not weaken your goads, but you shed blood on your feet, for the waves cannot destroy the rock, but they break into foam. Nothing is mightier than the Church! Cease your attack, so that it does not destroy your power. Do not make war against the heavens. If you fight a man, either you defeat or you are defeated. But if you fight the Church, it is impossible for you to be victorious. God, in fact, is the mightiest of all. *‘Or are we provoking the Lord to jealousy? Are we stronger than he?’*⁹ God established [all]: are you trying to unbalance [it]? Do you not know his power? *‘He looks on the earth and it trembles.’*¹⁰ He orders, and what is agitated becomes firmly established. If he made the city, which was agitated, stand firm, even more he will be able to make the Church stand firm. The Church is mightier than the heavens: *‘Heaven and earth will pass away, but my words will never pass away.’*¹¹ Which words? *‘You are Peter, and on this rock I will build my church, and the gates of Hades will not prevail against it.’*¹²

5 The Greek text literally says ‘[the Scriptures] say’.

6 Genesis 2:24.

7 Matthew 19:6.

8 Acts 26:14.

9 1 Corinthians 10:22.

10 Psalm 103:32

11 Matthew 24:35.

12 Matthew 16:18.

4. If you refuse to believe in the word, believe in the facts. How many tyrants wanted to prevail over the Church? How many tortures, torments,¹³ teeth of wild beasts, sharp swords? But they did not overcome. Where are those who attacked the Church? They are hidden and consigned to oblivion. And where is the Church? Shining above the sun! What concerns those [who attacked the Church] has perished, what concerns this one [the Church] is immortal. If when there were only eleven [Christians] they were not overcome,¹⁴ now that the world is full of religion, how could you ever win? *'Heaven and earth will pass away, but my words will not pass away.'*¹⁵

5. Certainly it is like it should have been expected. To God, in fact, the Church is dearer than the heavens. He did not take the body of the heavens, but he took the flesh of the Church; the heavens exist because of the Church, but the Church does not exist because of the heavens.

6. Do not be distressed by anything which is currently happening. Grant me this favour: your immutable faith. Do you not see how Peter, who walking on water, when he doubts little, is on the point of sinking, not because of the excessive violence of the waters, but for the lack of faith? Do we come here with men's opinions? Did a man bring [us] here so that a man could depose [us]? I do not say these things because I lost my mind – this could not happen – or because I am vain, but because I want to fix what is unstable among you.

7. The devil wanted to destabilize the Church because the city stood firm. Wicked, iniquitous devil! You could not prevail over the walls, and you expect to prevail over the

13 Literally 'pans and ovens', which refer to martyrs' old systems of persecution.

14 That is, the Apostles.

15 Matthew 24:35.

Church? Is the Church inside the walls? The Church is in the crowds of believers! Here there are such stable columns, not bound with iron, but firmly united together by faith. I do not [necessarily] mean such a crowd, but you would not have prevailed even if there were only one person.

8. Do you not see what damage the martyrs caused to you? Often a tender and inexperienced young girl came. She was tenderer than wax, but was more solid than rock. You skinned her flanks and spread the blood, but you did not take her faith. The nature of the flesh was weakened, but the power of the faith did not falter. The body was worn out, and the spirit reacted in a youthful way. The substance was consumed, and the devotion remained.

9. You did not prevail over a woman, and you expect to prevail over such a community? Do you not hear God saying that *‘where two or three are gathered in my name, I am there among them?’*¹⁶ [Do you think] it is impossible [for such a thing to happen] because this people is bound by love? I am the guarantee of this.

10. Do I have confidence in my own strength? I firmly rely on the Scripture. That is my staff, that is my safety, that is my quiet harbour. I would firmly rely on the Scripture even if the world were shaken. I identify with it. The Scriptures are my walls and my safety. Which ones? *‘I am with you always, to the end of the age.’*¹⁷

11. Christ is with me: whom shall I fear? Even if against me are roused the waves, the sea, riots, the hearts of the mighty, yet for me these things count as little as a spider, less valuable than a spider. And were it not for your love, not even today would I pray to leave.

12. In fact I always say: *‘your will be done;’*¹⁸ not what this one or that one wants, but

16 Matthew 18:20.

17 Matthew 28:20.

18 Matthew 6:10.

what You want. This is my tower, this is my immovable rock: this is my immutable staff. Let that which God wants happen. He wants me to stay here? I give thanks. He does not want? I give thanks.

13. Let nobody distress you: turn to your prayers. The devil made these things in order to cut off your zeal for supplications. However, he has no success: in fact we found you more zealous and serious.

14. Tomorrow I will go out together with you to pray.¹⁹ Wherever I will be, you will be there too, and wherever you will be, I will be there too. We are one body: the body is not separated from its head nor is the head from its body. Even if we were separated physically, we would be one through love. Even death will not be able to separate me from you. In fact, even if my body died, the soul would live, and it remembers its community.

15. You are my fathers, how could I ever forget you? You are my mother, my life, my reputation. If you progress, I am honoured, because my richness lies in your treasure. For you I am ready to be immolated thousands of times – and I am not giving any charity, but I am paying what is due: ‘*the good shepherd lays down his life for the sheep*’ –²⁰ to be immolated thousands of times and to have thousands of heads cut off.

16. For me this death is a source of immortality, for me these machinations are the origin of safety. Do I suffer because I am undermined for tangible assets? Do I sorrow because of mistakes? It is because of my love for you! Because everything I do is so that you remain safe, so that nobody furtively enters the flock, so that the flock stays unpolluted. For me these fights are worth the recompense.

¹⁹ This point is probably corrupted. See my commentary in Chapter four.

²⁰ John 10:11.

17. For which reason should I not suffer for you? You are my compatriots; you are my fathers; you are my brothers; you are my children; you are my limbs; you are my body; you are my light, even sweeter than this light.

18. The sunshine offers me the same thing that your love does. Why not? The sunshine is useful in present life, but your love plaits me a garland for future life. I say these things for the ears of those who are listening. And what is more eager to hear than your ears? You stayed awake during all these days, and nothing bent you; neither did the long time make you weaker, nor fears, nor threats. You have been courageous under any circumstance. Why do I say that? You have been what I have always wished, i.e. that you despised worldly things, that you bade farewell to the earth and moved to the heavens. You detached yourself from the confines of the body; you fought for the blessed philosophy.²¹ These are my recompenses; these are my consolation; these are my comfort; these are my balms; these are my life; these are my source of immortality. Because of these things, let us thank God, to whom is the glory, the kingdom, the honour, the grandeur, for ever and ever. Amen.

²¹ That is, the Christian life.

CONSPECTUS SIGLORUM

I Oxford, Bodleian Library, *Laud. misc.* 452, saec. IXⁱⁿ

Montf Bernard de Montfaucon, *S. P. N. Ioannis Chrysostomi opera omnia quae exstant uel eius nomine circumferuntur, Parisiis, 1718-1738*, ut in textu Migneio citatus, *P.G.* 52:431-436.

Γ Ioannis Chrysostomi, *Sermo antequam iret in exsilium graece*

*

* *

ac	ante correctionem
add.	addidit
leg.	legitur
om.	omisit
pc	post correctionem
praep.	praeposuit
ras.	rasura
transp.	transposuit

Eiusdem cum de expulsionem eius ageretur

1. Multi quidem fluctus et undae immanes, sed submergi non vereor quia supra petram sto. Insaniam licet mare, petram non potest commovere. Insurgant quantumlibet fluctus, navis Iesu obrui non potest. Sed quid putant ne mortem verear, cui vivere Christus est et mori lucrum? Ne exilium pertimescam, qui
5 noverim Domini esse terram et plenitudinem eius? Sed bonorum proscriptionem metuo, qui sciam quod nihil intulerim in hunc mundum sed neque auferre quid possim? Quidquid terroris habet mundus contemno, quidquid delectabile habet rideo. Divitias non cupio, paupertatem non horresco, mortem non timeo. Vita enim mihi ad vestrum profectum
10 tantummodo ducitur. Sed precor caritatem vestram ut aequo animo sitis.
2. Nemo enim nos a vobis poterit divellere. Quem enim Christus coniunxit, homo non separabit. Quod si de muliere et viro dicitur: **Propter hoc relinquet homo patrem suum et matrem, et adhaerebit uxori suae, et erunt duo in carne una**, et si huiusmodi nuptiarum coniunctio ab homine non
15 potest separari, multo magis ecclesia non potest a pastore divelli. 3. Sed impugnas me. Quid mihi nocebit impugnatio tua nisi quia me quidem clariorem impugnationibus tuis reddes? Tuas vero conteres vires: **Durum enim tibi erit adversum stimulum calcitrare**. Quia non stimulos retundes sed pedes calcitrans vulnerabis. Neque fluctus, qui saxo illiduntur, amplius
20 aliquid proficient quam ut in semetipsos fracti dissolvantur et in spumas extenuati depereant. Christi ecclesia nihil fortius. Si quis eam impugnare

21

Tit. eiusdem... ..ageretur *I*: cum de expulsionem *Montf*

2 supra *Montf*: super *I* || 6 qui sciam *Montf*: quis nam *I^{ac}*: quid nam *I^{pc}* || 7 terroris *Montf*: terrori *I* || 10 ducitur *Montf*: dicitur *I* || precor caritatem vestram *Montf*: c. v. p. *transp. I* || 11 Quem *I*: Quos *Montf*: ὅν *I* || 17 conteres *I*: conteras *Montf* || 18 stimulos *I*: stimulum *Montf*: τὰ κέντρα *I* || 20 in *I*: om. *Montf* || semetipsos *Montf*: semetipsis *I^{ac}* || fracti *Montf*: flucti *I^{ac}*: fluctiis *I^{pc}* || dissolvantur *I*: dissolvant *Montf*

12/14 Gen. 2:24 || 17/18 Acts 26:14

proponit, vires atterat necesse est. Tale est enim velut si caelo bellum meditetur inferre. Homini si bellum inferas, fortasse vices aut forte vinceris. Ecclesiam vincere nulla vis poterit. Dei est ecclesia, qui est omnium fortior.

25 **Aut aemulamur Dominum? Numquid fortiores illo sumus?** Deus fundavit hoc, quod labefactare conaris? Aut experiri vis potentiam Domini? Ipse est **Qui respicit super terram, et facit eam tremere.** Et iterum qui iubet et tremor eius solidatur. Aut non vidisti trementem civitatem tuam quotiens stare fecit? Multo magis ecclesiam suam trementem poterit confirmare, fortior enim

30 ecclesia multo quam terra, immo et fortior caelo. **Caelum et terra transibunt, verba autem mea non transibunt.** Quae verba? **Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam, et portae inferi non praevallebunt in eam.** 4 Quod si non credis verbo, rebus ipsis et operibus crede. Quanti tyranni aggressi sunt impugnare ecclesiam Dei? Quanta

35 tormenta, quantas cruces adhibuerunt, ignes, fornaces, feras, bestias, gladios intendentes, et nihil agere potuerunt? Ubi nunc sunt illi qui haec fecerunt? Et ubi illi qui haec fortiter pertulerunt? Nonne illi aeternis poenis premuntur, et isti aeternis gaudiis eriguntur? Fulget enim ecclesia super splendorem solis et persecutores eius perpetuis tenebris conteguntur. Non legis scriptum quia

40 undecim soli erant et vinci non potuerunt? Nunc, ubi orbis terrarum repletus est piorum multitudine, quomodo poterunt vinci? **Caelum et terra transibunt, verba autem mea non transibunt.** 5 Et merito! Carior enim ecclesia Deo quam caelum. Non enim ecclesia propter caelum, sed propter ecclesiam caelum. 6 Nihil enim, quaeso, perturbet vos eorum quae agi videtis.

45 Ponamus ante oculos nostros Petrum super aquas incedentem et parum quid haesitantem atque ob hoc paululum periclitantem, non propter potentiam fluctuum, sed propter infirmitatem fidei. Numquid humana voluntate huc venimus aut propter hominem huc producti sumus? Et haec non arroganter

48

22 est² *Montf*: *add. sup. lin. I^{pc}* || 24 Dei *Montf*: Deus *I* || omnium *Montf*: omnibus *I* ||
 25 quod *Montf*: tu *post* quod *add. I* || 33 eam *Montf*: ea *I* || credis *Montf*: credes *I* ||
 verbo *Montf*: verbis *I*: τῶ λόγῳ *I* || rebus *Montf*: non bene legitur ...ribus *I* || 37
 nonne *I*: nunc *Montf* || illi *I*: ii *Montf* || 41 poterunt *Montf*: potuerunt *I^{ac}* || 43 Deo *I*:
 Dei *Montf* || 44 agi *Montf*: agere *I* || 46 periclitantem *Montf*: periclitatum *I*

25 1 Cor. 10:22 || 27 Ps. 104:32 || 30/31 Matt. 24:35 || 31/33 Matt. 16:18 ||
 41/42 Matt. 24:35

loquor neque iactantiae vitio agitato, sed animos vestros, qui forte turbantur,
50 cupio confirmare. Intuemini ergo quomodo **Commota est et contremuit terra**, et tamen non corrui civitas. **7** Quomodo, impurissime diabole? Ecclesiam te putas posse deiicere, qui trementes parietes deiicere minime valuisti? Non est in parietibus ecclesia, sed in multitudine piorum. Ecce quam fortes, quam immobiles statis, non ferro sed fide vincti. Et quid de tanta
55 multitudine loquor? Unum fidelem vincere non potes. **8** O diabole, nescis quae tibi fecerint martyres? Quomodo frequenter ingressa est puella aetate tenera, annis immatura, et inventa est ferro fortior, cum latera eius scinderes, fidem tamen eius movere non potuisti? Defecit frequenter caro in tormentis et robur fidei non defecit. Consumptum est corpus et mens non potuit inclinari.
60 Interiit substantia et perstitit patientia. **9** Si ergo frequenter ab una puella victus es, quomodo speras tantae huius et tam fidelis multitudinis fidem te posse evincere? Non audis Domini vocem dicentis: **Quia, ubi duo aut tres sunt congregati in nomine meo, ibi sum et ego in medio eorum?** Quid ubi tanta fidelium multitudo est caritatis nexibus vincta? **10** Non ego propria
65 virtute confido, habeo scripturam Domini mei. Manum ipsius teneo, illa mihi cautio satis tuta est, illa me securum reddet et intrepidum. Etiam si orbis terrae commoveatur, ego cautionem Domini mei teneo. Lego manum eius, ipsa mihi murus est inexpugnabilis. Vultis vobis recitem Domini cautionem? **Ecce, inquit, ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem saeculi.** **11** Christus mecum est, quem timebo? Etiam si fluctus insurgat, etiam si totum pelagus adversum me conturbetur, etiam si principum furor, omnia mihi ista araneae erunt, et araneis fragiliora. Et nisi propter fragilitatem vestram, hodie iam non dubitarem ire quo vellent. **12** Semper enim dico: **Domine, tua voluntas fiat**, non quod ille vult vel ille, sed quod tu vis. Tua
75 voluntas mihi turris fortissima et petra stabilis et baculus fidus. Si tu vis

75

49 iactantiae vitio *I* : iactantia *Montf* || **55** potes *Montf* : potest *I* || **57** scinderes *Montf* : scinderis *I^{ac}* || **58** potuisti *conieci* : possis *I* : posses *Montf* || **60** perstitit *Montf* : praestitit *I^{ac}* : ἔμενεν *Γ* || **61** fidelis multitudinis *Montf* : fideles multitudines *I^{ac}* || **64** vincta *Montf* : iuncta *I* || ego *Montf* : ergo *I^{ac}* || **65** illa *Montf* : ille *I* || **67** manum *Montf* : manus *I^{ac}* || **68** recitem *Montf* : recito *I^{ac}* || **69** ego *I* : om. *Montf* || **72** ista *I* : illa *Montf* || **73** iam *I* : om. *Montf* || **74** tua voluntas *I* : v. t. *transp. Montf* : τὸ σὸν θέλημα *Γ*

50/51 Ps. 17:8 || **62/63** Matt. 18:20 || **68/70** Matt. 28:20 || **74** Matt. 6:10

permanere me hic, habeo gratiam. Si non vis, similem refero gratiam. **13.**
Nemo vos conturbet, fratres, orate tantum. Haec enim diabolus movet non
aliam ob causam quam ut religiosa studia vestra disrumpat et exercitia vestra,
quae in orationibus et vigiliis gerebatis, exstinguat. Sed non obtinebit, nec
80 eripiet a vobis studia religiosa, nisi quia sollicitiores vos inveniet et
fervidiores efficiet. **14.** Crastina vobiscum exibo ad orationes. Et ubi ego sum,
ibi et vos eritis, et ubi vos estis, ibi ero et ego. Unum corpus sumus, neque
caput a corpore, neque corpus a capite separabitur. Etiam si loco dividamur,
sed caritate coniungimur. Ego a vobis nec morte divellar. Nam etsi corpus
85 meum moriatur, anima mea vivit, et memoriam vestri tenebit. **15.** Vos enim
mihi estis patres, vos mihi mater, vos mihi vita, vos mihi gratia. Si vos
proficitis, ego placebo. Vos estis corona mea, et divitiae meae, vos estis
thesaurus meus. Ego milies pro vobis immolari paratus sum – et nec gratia
mihi in hoc est, sed debitum reddo: **Bonus enim pastor debet animam suam**
90 **pro ovibus ponere** –, huiusmodi enim mors immortalitatem parit. **16.** Non
enim propter divitias mundi insidias patior, quod si esset, utique contristari
deberem, nec propter aliquid peccatum, sed propter caritatem, quam habeo
erga vos. Quia omnia ago? Ut vos proficiatis, et ne subintroeat conturbare
gregem bene institutum, sed ut permaneat in simplicitate fidei. Haec est
95 causa periculorum meorum, et haec sufficiant mihi ad coronam. **17.** Quid
enim non patiar pro vobis? Vos mihi cives, vos mihi fratres, vos mihi filii, vos
mihi membra, vos mihi corpus, vos mihi lux, immo et ista luce dulciores.
18. Quid enim mihi tantum praestant radii solis, quantum caritatis vestrae
splendor acquirit? Ecce pro caritate vestra corona mihi paratur in futuro
100 saeculo, hoc mihi solis huius splendor praestare non poterit. Haec autem dico

100

76 me *I*: mecum *Montf* || 79 et *Montf*: in post et add. *I* || 80 inveniet *Montf*: inveniat *I* ||
81 exibo *Montf*: exeam *I*: ἐξελεύσομαι *Γ* || 82 ubi *Montf*: ibi et *I*: ὅπου *Γ* || ero *Montf*:
ergo *I*^{ac} || 84 a *Montf*: om. *I* || 85 enim *I*: om. *Montf* || 86 mihi estis pater *I*: estis
mihi patres *Montf* || 87 ego placebo *I*: mihi placebit *Montf*: ἐγὼ εὐδοκίμῶ *Γ* || 90
ovibus *I*: suis post ovibus add. *Montf* || 91 contristari *Montf*: contristare *I*^{ac} || 92
aliquid *I*: aliquid *Montf* || 92/93 habeo erga vos *I*: e. v. h. transp. *Montf* || vos² *Montf*:
om. *I* || 94 simplicitate *Montf*: simplicitatem *I*^{ac} || 95 sufficiant mihi *Montf*: mihi sufficiat
I || 96 patiar *I*: patior *Montf* || 100 poterit *Montf*: potuit *I*

89/90 John 10:11

in auribus audientium. Et quid ita ad audiendum sollicitum et paratum, quam aures vestrae? Ecce quot dies sunt quod vigilatis et nullum vestrum somnus inclinavit, nec temporis spatium frangit; nullum timor, nullum minae deterrent, sed terror eorum fortiores vos reddet. Video in vobis quod semper
105 optavi, ideo quod contempsistis mundi negotia, renuntiastis omnibus, nihil iam de terra, neque de terrenis actibus cogitatis. Ad caelestia vos migrasse iam cerno, absoluti estis vinculis corporis, ad beatam illam et caelestem contenditis philosophiam. Hoc mihi sufficit vidisse de vobis. Haec mea consolatio, ista me in agonibus meis velut unguenta quaedam corroborant et
110 fortiolem me agonibus reddunt et ad gaudia immortalia atque aeterna transmittunt. Pro his gratias agamus Deo, cui gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

112

101 audientium *Montf*: audiendum *F^{pc}* || **102** somnus *I*: somnium *Montf* || **119/111** et ad... ..transmittunt *I*: *om. Montf*

SYNOPSIS¹

Tit.

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὅτε ἡ στάσις ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Σευηριανοῦ τοῦ Γαβαλέως ἐπισκόπου ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ

§ 1

Πολλὰ τὰ κύματα καὶ χαλεπὸν τὸ κλυδώνιον· ἀλλ' οὐ δεδοίκαμεν μὴ καταποντισθῶμεν, ἐπὶ γὰρ τῆς πέτρας ἐστήκαμεν.

Μαινέσθω ἡ θάλασσα, πέτραν διασαλεῦσαι οὐ δύναται. Ἐγειρέσθω τὰ κύματα, τοῦ Ἰησοῦ πλοῖον καταποντίσαι οὐκ ἰσχύει.

Τί δεδοίκαμεν, εἶπέ μοι; Τὸν θάνατον; Ἐμοὶ τὸ ζῆν Χριστὸς καὶ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν κέρδος. Ἄλλ' ἐξορίαν; Τοῦ Κυρίου ἡ γῆ καὶ τὸ πλήρωμα αὐτῆς. Ἄλλὰ χρημάτων δήμευσιν; Οὐδὲν εἰσηνέγκαμεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον, δῆλον ὅτι οὐδὲ ἐξενεγκεῖν τι δυνάμεθα.

Καὶ τὰ φοβερὰ τοῦ κόσμου ἔμοι εὐκαταφρόνητα καὶ τὰ χρηστὰ καταγέλαστα. Οὐ πενίαν δέδοικα, οὐ πλοῦτον ἐπιθυμῶ, οὐ θάνατον φοβοῦμαι, οὐ ζῆσαι εὖχομαι, εἰ μὴ διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν προκοπὴν.

Διὸ καὶ τὰ νῦν ὑπομιμνήσκω καὶ παρακαλῶ τὴν ὑμετέραν θαρρεῖν ἀγάπην.

Tit.

Eiusdem cum de expulsionem eius ageretur

§ 1

Multi quidem fluctus et undae immanes, sed submergi non vereor quia supra petram sto.

Insaniam licet mare, petram non potest commovere. Insurgant quantumlibet fluctus, navis Iesu obrui non potest.

Sed quid putant ne mortem verear, cui vivere Christus est et mori lucrum? Ne exsilium pertimescam, qui noverim Domini esse terram et plenitudinem eius? Sed bonorum proscriptionem metuum, qui sciam quod nihil intulerim in hunc mundum sed neque auferre quid possim?

Quidquid terroris habet mundus contemno, quidquid delectabile habet rideo. Divitias non cupio, paupertatem non horresco, mortem non timeo. Vita enim mihi ad vestrum profectum tantummodo ducitur.

Sed precor caritatem vestram ut aequo animo sitis.

1 The text of the Greek and of the Latin versions of the homily is identical to that of the new edition presented in this thesis.

§ 2

Οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἡμᾶς ὑμῶν ἀποστῆσαι δυνήσεται· ὃν γὰρ Χριστὸς συνέζευξεν, ἄνθρωπος χωρίσαι οὐ δύναται.

Εἰ γὰρ περὶ γυναικὸς καὶ ἀνδρὸς λέγει· Ἀντὶ τούτου καταλείπει ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ προσκολληθήσεται τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν· ὃ οὖν ὁ Θεὸς ἔζευξεν ἄνθρωπος μὴ χωριζέτω, εἰ γάμον οὐ διασπάσαι δύνασαι, πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἐκκλησίαν καταλῦσαι οὐκ ἰσχύεις.

§ 3

Ἀλλὰ πολεμεῖς αὐτὴν οὐ δυνάμενος βλάψαι τὸν πολεμούμενον. Ἄλλ' ἐμὲ μᾶλλον ἐργάζῃ λαμπρότερον, σαυτοῦ δὲ τὴν ἰσχὺν καταλύεις εἰ πρὸς ἐμὲ μάχη· Σκληρόν σοι πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν. Οὐκ ἀμβλύνεις τὰ κέντρα ἀλλὰ τοὺς πόδας αἰμάσσεις.

Ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ κύματα τὴν πέτραν οὐ διαλύει ἀλλ' εἰς ἀφρὸν διαλύεται.

Οὐδὲν ἐκκλησίας δυνατώτερον.

Λῦσον τὸν πόλεμον, ἵνα μὴ σου καταλύσῃ τὴν δύναμιν. Μὴ εἴσαγε πόλεμον εἰς οὐρανόν.

Ἄνθρωπον ἐὰν πολεμῇς, ἢ ἐνίκησας ἢ ἐνίκηθης. Ἐκκλησίαν δὲ ἐὰν πολεμῇς, νικῆσαι σε ἀμήχανον.

Θεὸς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ πάντων ἰσχυρότερος.

Μὴ παραζηλοῦμεν τὸν Κύριον; Μὴ ἰσχυρότεροι αὐτοῦ ἐσμεν; Θεὸς ἔπηξε, τί ἐπιχειρεῖς σαλεύειν; Οὐκ οἶσθα αὐτοῦ τὴν δύναμιν; Ἐπιβλέπει ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ ποιεῖ αὐτὴν τρέμειν. Κελεύει, καὶ τὰ σειόμενα ἐδράζεται.

§ 2

Nemo enim nos a vobis poterit divellere. Quem enim Christus coniunxit, homo non separabit.

Quod si de muliere et viro dicitur: Propter hoc relinquet homo patrem suum et matrem, et adhaerebit uxori suae, et erunt duo in carne una, et si huiusmodi nuptiarum coniunctio ab homine non potest separari, multo magis ecclesia non potest a pastore divelli.

§ 3

Sed impugnas me. Quid mihi nocebit impugnatio tua nisi quia me quidem clariorem impugnationibus tuis reddes? Tuas vero conteres vires: Durum enim tibi erit adversum stimulum calcitrare. Quia non stimulos retundes sed pedes calcitrans vulnerabis.

Neque fluctus, qui saxo illiduntur, amplius aliquid proficient quam ut in semetipsos fracti dissolvantur et in spumas extenuati depereant.

Christi ecclesia nihil fortius.

Si quis eam impugnare proponit, vires atterat necesse est. Tale est enim velut si caelo bellum meditetur inferre.

Homini si bellum inferas, fortasse vinctus aut forte vinceris. Ecclesiam vincere nulla vis poterit.

Dei est ecclesia, qui est omnium fortior.

Aut aemulamur Dominum? Numquid fortiores illo sumus? Deus fundavit hoc, quod labefactare conaris? Aut experiri vis potentiam Domini? Ipse est Qui respicit super terram, et facit eam tremere. Et iterum qui iubet et tremor eius solidatur.

Εἰ τὴν πόλιν σαλευομένην ἀνέστησε, πολ-λῶ μᾶλλον τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν στήσαι δύνησεται. Ἡ ἐκκλησία οὐρανοῦ ἰσχυρο-τέρα·

Ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ παρελεύσονται, οἱ δὲ λόγοι μου οὐ μὴ παρέλθωσι. Ποῖοι λόγοι; Σὺ εἶ Πέτρος, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ οἰκοδομήσω τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ πύλαι ᾗδου οὐ κατισχύσουσιν αὐτῆς.

§ 4

Εἰ ἀπιστεῖς τῷ λόγῳ, πίστευε τοῖς πράγμασι.

Πόσοι τύραννοι ἠθέλησαν περιγενέσθαι τῆς ἐκκλησίας; Πόσα τήγανα, πόσοι κά-μιννοι, θηρίων ὀδόντες, ξίφη ἠκονημένα, καὶ οὐ περιεγέγοντο;

Ποῦ οἱ πολεμήσαντες τὴν ἐκκλησίαν; Σε-σίγηνται καὶ λήθῃ παραδέδονται. Ποῦ δὲ ἡ ἐκκλησία; Ὑπὲρ τὸν ἥλιον λάμπει. Τὰ ἐκείνων ἔσβεσται, τὰ δὲ ταύτης ἀθάνατα.

Εἰ ὅτε ἑνδεκα ἦσαν, οὐκ ἐνίκηθησαν, ὅτε ἡ οἰκουμένη ἐπληρώθη εὐσεβείας, πῶς νικῆσαι δύνασαι;

Ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ παρελεύσονται, οἱ δὲ λόγοι μου οὐ μὴ παρέλθωσι.

§ 5

Καὶ μάλα εἰκότως.

Ποθεινότερα γὰρ ἡ ἐκκλησία τῷ Θεῷ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. Οὐρανοῦ σῶμα οὐκ ἀνέλαβεν, ἐκκλησίας σάρκα ἀνέλαβε· διὰ τὴν ἐκ-κλησίαν ὁ οὐρανός, οὐ διὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἡ ἐκκλησία.

Aut non vidisti trementem civitatem tuam quotiens stare fecit? Multo magis ecclesiam suam trementem poterit confir- mare, fortior enim ecclesia multo quam terra, immo et fortior caelo.

Caelum et terra transibunt, verba autem mea non transibunt. Quae verba? Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam, et portae inferi non praevallebunt in eam.

§ 4

Quod si non credis verbo, rebus ipsis et operibus crede.

Quanti tyranni aggressi sunt impugnare ecclesiam Dei? Quanta tormenta, quantas cruces adhibuerunt, ignes, fornaces, fe- ras, bestias, gladios intendentes, et nihil agere potuerunt?

Ubi nunc sunt illi qui haec fecerunt? Et ubi illi qui haec fortiter pertulerunt? Nonne illi aeternis poenis premuntur, et isti aeternis gaudiis eriguntur? Fulget e- nim ecclesia super splendorem solis et persecutores eius perpetuis tenebris conteguntur.

Non legis scriptum quia undecim soli er- ant et vinci non potuerunt? Nunc, ubi orbis terrarum repletus est piorum multi- tudine, quomodo poterunt vinci?

Caelum et terra transibunt, verba autem mea non transibunt.

§ 5

Et merito!

Carior enim ecclesia Deo quam caelum. Non enim ecclesia propter caelum, sed propter ecclesiam caelum.

§ 6

Μηδὲν ὑμᾶς θορυβεῖτω τῶν γινομένων.

Τοῦτό μοι χάρισασθε, πίστιν ἀπερίτρεπτον. Οὐκ εἶδες Πέτρον περιπατοῦντα ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων καὶ ὀλίγον διστάσαντα καὶ μέλλοντα καταποντίζεσθαι, οὐ διὰ τὴν ἄτακτον τῶν ὑδάτων ῥύμην, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν τῆς πίστεως;

Μὴ γὰρ ἀνθρωπίναις ψήφοις ἐνταῦθα ἦλθομεν; Μὴ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος ἦγαγεν, ἵνα ἄνθρωπος καταλύσῃ;

Ταῦτα λέγω οὐκ ἀπονοούμενος, μὴ γένοιτο, οὐδὲ ἀλαζονεύομενος, ἀλλὰ τὸ ὑμῶν σεσαλευμένον στηρίξαι βουλόμενος.

§ 7

Ἐπειδὴ ἔστι ἡ πόλις, τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἠθέλησεν ὁ διάβολος σαλεῦσαι.

Μιαρὲ καὶ παμμίαιρε διάβολε. Τοίχων οὐ περιεγένου καὶ ἐκκλησίας προσδοκᾷς περιγενέσθαι;

Μὴ γὰρ ἐν τοίχοις ἡ ἐκκλησία; Ἐν τῷ πλήθει τῶν πιστῶν ἡ ἐκκλησία.

Ἰδοὺ πόσοι στῦλοι ἐδραῖοι οὐ σιδήρῳ δεδεμένοι, ἀλλὰ πίστει ἐσφιγμένοι.

Οὐ λέγω ὅτι τοσοῦτον πλῆθος, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ εἰ εἷς ἦν περιεγένου.

§ 6

Nihil enim, quaeso, perturbet vos eorum quae agi videtis.

Ponamus ante oculos nostros Petrum super aquas incedentem et parum quid haesitantem atque ob hoc paululum periclitantem, non propter potentiam fluctuum, sed propter infirmitatem fidei.

Numquid humana voluntate huc venimus aut propter hominem huc producti sumus?

Et haec non arroganter loquor neque iactantiae vitio agitatus, sed animos vestros, qui forte turbantur, cupio confirmare. Intuemini ergo quomodo Commota est et contremuit terra, et tamen non corrui civitas.

§ 7

Quomodo, impurissime diabole?

Ecclesiam te putas posse deiicere, qui tremantes parietes deiicere minime valuisti?

Non est in parietibus ecclesia, sed in multitudine piorum.

Ecce quam fortes, quam immobiles statis, non ferro sed fide vincti.

Et quid de tanta multitudine loquor? Unum fidelem vincere non potes.

§ 8

Οὐκ οἶδας οἷά σοι τραύματα παρέσχον οἱ μάρτυρες;

Εἰσῆλθε πολλάκις κόρη ἀπαλὴ ἀπειρόγαμος. Κηροῦ ἦν ἀπαλωτέρα καὶ πέτρας ἐγένετο στερρωτέρα. Τὰς πλευρὰς αὐτῆς ἔξεες καὶ τὸ αἷμα ἐξέχεας, καὶ τὴν πίστιν αὐτῆς οὐκ ἔλαβες.

Ἦτόνησε τῆς σαρκὸς ἡ φύσις καὶ οὐκ ἀπηγορεύθη τῆς πίστεως ἡ δύναμις.

Ἐδαπανᾷτο τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἐνεανιεύετο τὸ φρόνημα. Ἀνηλίσκετο ἡ οὐσία καὶ ἔμενεν ἡ εὐλάβεια.

§ 9

Γυναικὸς οὐ περιεγένου μιᾶς, καὶ τοσούτου περιγενέσθαι δήμου προσδοκᾷς;

Οὐκ ἀκούεις τοῦ Κυρίου λέγοντος ὅτι Ὅπου δύο ἢ τρεῖς εἰσι συνηγμένοι εἰς τὸ ὄνομά μου, ἐκεῖ εἰμι ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν. Ὅπου τοσοῦτος δῆμος ἀγάπῃ ἐσφιγμένος, οὐ πάρεστιν; Ἐχῶ αὐτοῦ ἐνέχυρον.

§ 10

Μὴ γὰρ οἰκεία δυνάμει θαρρῶ, γραμματεῖον αὐτοῦ κατέχω. Ἐκεῖνό μοι βακτηρία, ἐκεῖνό μοι ἀσφάλεια, ἐκεῖνό μοι λιμὴν ἀκύμαντος.

Κὰν ἡ οἰκουμένη ταραττήται, τὸ γραμματεῖον κατέχω· αὐτῷ ἀναγιγνώσκω. Τὰ γράμματα ἐκεῖνα ἐμοὶ τείχος καὶ ἀσφάλεια.

Ποῖα ταῦτα; Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰμι πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος.

§ 8

O diable, nescis quae tibi fecerint martyres?

Quomodo frequenter ingressa est puella aetate tenera, annis immatura, et inventa est ferro fortior, cum latera eius scinderes, fidem tamen eius movere non potuisti?

Defecit frequenter caro in tormentis et robur fidei non defecit.

Consumptum est corpus et mens non potuit inclinari. Interiit substantia et perstitit patientia.

§ 9

Si ergo frequenter ab una puella victus es, quomodo speras tantae huius et tam fidelis multitudinis fidem te posse evincere?

Non audis Domini vocem dicentis: Quia, ubi duo aut tres sunt congregati in nomine meo, ibi sum et ego in medio eorum? Quid ubi tanta fidelium multitudo est caritatis nexibus vincata?

§ 10

Non ego propria virtute confido, habeo scripturam Domini mei. Manum ipsius teneo, illa mihi cautio satis tuta est, illa me securum reddet et intrepidum.

Etiamsi orbis terrae commoveatur, ego cautionem Domini mei teneo. Lego manum eius, ipsa mihi murus est inexpugnabilis.

Vultis vobis recitem Domini cautionem? Ecce, inquit, ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem saeculi.

§ 11

Χριστὸς μετ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ τίνα φοβηθήσομαι;

Κὰν κύματα κατ' ἐμοῦ διεγερθῇ, κὰν πέλαγη, κὰν θόρυβοι, κὰν ἀρχόντων θυμοί, ἐμοὶ γὰρ ταῦτα πάντα ἀράχνη, καὶ ἀράχνης εὐτελέστερα.

Καὶ εἰ μὴ διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀγάπην, οὐδὲ σήμερον ἂν παρητησάμην ἀπελθεῖν.

§ 12

Ἄεὶ γὰρ λέγω· Κύριε, τὸ σὸν θέλημα γενέσθω, μὴ ὅ τι ὁ δεῖνα, καὶ ὁ δεῖνα, ἀλλὰ τι σύ βούλει.

Τοῦτο ἐμοὶ πύργος, τοῦτο ἐμοὶ πέτρα ἀκίνητος, τοῦτο ἐμοὶ βακτηρία ἀπερίτρεπτος.

Ἄ βούλεται ὁ Θεὸς, ταῦτα γινέσθω. Βούλεταί με ἐνταῦτα εἶναι; Χάριν ἔχω. Οὐ βούλεται; Εὐχαριστῶ.

§ 13

Μηδεὶς ὑμᾶς θορυβεῖτω· ταῖς εὐχαῖς προσέχετε.

Ταῦτα ἐποίησεν ὁ διάβολος, ἵνα ἐκκόψῃ τὴν σπουδὴν τὴν περὶ τὰς λιτανείας.

Ἄλλ' οὐ προχωρεῖ αὐτῷ· ἀλλὰ σπουδαίοντέρους ὑμᾶς εὕρομεν καὶ θερμότερους.

§ 11

Christus mecum est, quem timebo?

Etiamsi fluctus insurgat, etiamsi totum pelagus adversum me conturbetur, etiamsi principum furor, omnia mihi ista araneae erunt, et araneis fragiliora.

Et nisi propter fragilitatem vestram, hodie iam non dubitarem ire quo vellent.

§ 12

Semper enim dico: Domine, tua voluntas fiat, non quod ille vult vel ille, sed quod tu vis.

Tua voluntas mihi turris fortissima et petra stabilis et baculus fidus.

Si tu vis permanere me hic, habeo gratiam. Si non vis, similem refero gratiam.

§ 13

Nemo vos conturbet, fratres, orate tantum.

Haec enim diabolus movet non aliam ob causam quam ut religiosa studia vestra dirumpat et exercitia vestra, quae in orationibus et vigiliis gerebatis, exstinguat.

Sed non obtinebit, nec eripiet a vobis studia religiosa, nisi quia sollicitiores vos inveniet et fervidiores efficiet.

§ 14

Αὔριον εἰς λιτανεῖον ἐξελεύσομαι μεθ' ὑμῶν.

Ἵνα ὅπου ἐγώ, ἐκεῖ καὶ ὑμεῖς· καὶ ὅπου ὑμεῖς, ἐκεῖ καὶ ἐγώ.

Ἐν σῶμά ἐσμεν· οὐ σῶμα κεφαλῆς, οὐ κεφαλὴ σώματος χωρίζεται.

Εἰ καὶ διειργόμεθα τῷ τόπῳ, ἀλλ' ἠνώμεθα τῇ ἀγάπῃ.

Ἐμὲ ὑμῶν οὐδὲ θάνατος διακόψαι δυνήσεται. Κὰν γὰρ ἀποθάνῃ μου τὸ σῶμα, ζῇ ἡ ψυχὴ, καὶ μέμνηται τοῦ δήμου.

§ 15

Ἵμεῖς ἐμοὶ πατέρες, πῶς γὰρ ὑμῶν δυνήσομαι ἐπιλαθέσθαι; Ἵμεῖς ἐμοὶ μήτηρ, ὑμεῖς ἐμοὶ ζῶν, ὑμεῖς ἐμοὶ εὐδοκίμησις.

Ἐὰν ὑμεῖς προκόψητε, ἐγὼ εὐδοκίμῶ, ὥστε ὁ ἐμὸς πλοῦτος ἐν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ κεῖται θησαυρῷ.

Ἐγὼ μυριάκις ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν σφαγῆναι ἐτοίμως ἔχω

– καὶ οὐδεμίαν χάριν παρέχω, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὀφειλὴν ἀποδίδωμι· Ὁ γὰρ ποιμὴν ὁ καλὸς τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ τίθησιν ὑπὲρ τῶν προβάτων –

καὶ σφαγῆναι μυριάκις, καὶ μυρίας κεφαλὰς ἀποτμηθῆναι.

§ 16

Ἐμοὶ ὁ θάνατος οὗτος ἀθανασίας ὑπόθεσις, ἐμοὶ αἱ ἐπιβουλαὶ αὗται ἀσφαλείας ἀφορμή. Μὴ γὰρ διὰ χρήματα ἐπιβουλεύομαι, ἵνα λυπηθῶ; Μὴ γὰρ δι' ἁμαρτήματα, ἵνα ἀλγήσω; Διὰ τὸν ἔρωτα τὸν περὶ ὑμᾶς.

Ἐπειδὴ πάντα ποιῶ, ὥστε ὑμᾶς ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ μεῖναι, ὥστε μηδένα παρεισελεθεῖν τῇ ποίμνῃ, ὥστε μεῖναι ἀκέραιον τὸ ποίμνιον.

Ἡ ὑπόθεσις τῶν ἀγώνων ἀρκεῖ μοι εἰς στέφανον.

§ 14

Crastina vobiscum exhibo ad orationes.

Et ubi ego sum, ibi et vos eritis, et ubi vos estis, ibi ero et ego.

Unum corpus sumus, neque caput a corpore, neque corpus a capite separabitur.

Etiamsi loco dividamur, sed caritate coniungimur.

Ego a vobis nec morte divellar. Nam etsi corpus meum moriatur, anima mea vivit, et memoriam vestri tenebit.

§ 15

Vos enim mihi estis patres, vos mihi mater, vos mihi vita, vos mihi gratia.

Si vos proficitis, ego placebo. Vos estis corona mea, et divitiae meae, vos estis thesaurus meus.

Ego milies pro vobis immolari paratus sum

– et nec gratia mihi in hoc est, sed debitum reddo: Bonus enim pastor debet animam suam pro ovibus ponere –,

huiusmodi enim mors immortalitatem parit.

§ 16

Non enim propter divitias mundi insidias patior, quod si esset, utique contristari deberem, nec propter aliquid peccatum, sed propter caritatem, quam habeo erga vos.

Quia omnia ago? Ut vos proficiatis, et ne subintroeat conturbare gregem bene institutum, sed ut permaneatis in simplicitate fidei.

Haec est causa periculorum meorum, et haec sufficiant mihi ad coronam.

§ 17

Τί γὰρ οὐκ ἂν πάθοιμι ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν;
Ὑμεῖς ἐμοὶ πολῖται, ὑμεῖς ἐμοὶ πατέρες,
ὑμεῖς ἐμοὶ ἀδελφοὶ, ὑμεῖς ἐμοὶ τέκνα,
ὑμεῖς ἐμοὶ μέλη, ὑμεῖς ἐμοὶ σῶμα, ὑμεῖς
ἐμοὶ φῶς, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ τοῦ φωτὸς
τούτου γλυκύτεροι.

§ 18

Τί γὰρ μοι παρέχει τοιοῦτον ἡ ἀκτὶς οἶον
ἢ ὑμετέρα ἀγάπη; Ἡ ἀκτὶς ἐν τῷ παρόντι
βίῳ ὠφελεῖ, ἡ δὲ ὑμετέρα ἀγάπη στέφα-
νόν μοι πλέκει ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι.

Ταῦτα δὲ λέγω εἰς ὧτα ἀκουόντων. Τί δὲ
τῶν ὧτων ὑμῶν ἀκουστικώτερον;

Τοσαύτας ἡμέρας ἡγρυπνήσατε, καὶ
οὐδὲν ὑμᾶς ἔκαμψεν, οὐ χρόνου μῆκος
μαλακωτέρους ἐποίησεν, οὐ φόβοι, οὐκ
ἀπειλαί. Πρὸς πάντα ἐγένεσθε γενναῖοι.

Καὶ τί λέγω τοῦτο; Ἐγένεσθε ὅπερ ἐπε-
θύμουν ἀεὶ, κατεφρονήσατε τῶν βιωτι-
κῶν, ἀπετάξασθε τῇ γῇ, εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν
μετέστητε.

Ἀπηλλάγητε τῶν συνδέσμων τοῦ σώμα-
τος, πρὸς τὴν μακαρίαν ἐκείνην ἀμιλλᾶ-
σθε φιλοσοφίαν.

Ταῦτα ἐμοὶ στέφανοι, ταῦτα παράκλη-
σις, ταῦτα παραμυθία, ταῦτα ἐμοὶ ἀλείμ-
ματα, ταῦτα ἐμοὶ ζωή, ταῦτα ἐμοὶ ἀθα-
νασίας ὑπόθεσις.

Ὑπὲρ <δὲ> τούτων ἀπάντων εὐχαριστή-
σωμεν τῷ Θεῷ, ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος
καὶ ἡ τιμὴ καὶ ἡ μεγαλοπρέπεια εἰς τοὺς
αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

§ 17

Quid enim non patiar pro vobis?
Vos mihi cives, vos mihi fratres, vos
mihi filii, vos mihi membra, vos mihi
corpus, vos mihi lux, immo et ista luce
dulciores.

§ 18

Quid enim mihi tantum praestant radii
solis, quantum caritatis vestrae splendor
acquirat? Ecce pro caritate vestra corona
mihi paratur in futuro saeculo, hoc mihi
solis huius splendor praestare non poterit.
Haec autem dico in auribus audientium.
Et quid ita ad audiendum sollicitum et
paratum, quam aures vestrae?

Ecce quot dies sunt quod vigilatis et nul-
lum vestrum somnus inclinavit, nec tem-
poris spatium frangit; nullum timor, nul-
lum minae deterrent, sed terror eorum
fortiores vos reddet.

Video in vobis quod semper optavi, ideo
quod contempsistis mundi negotia, re-
nuntiastis omnibus, nihil iam de terra,
neque de terrenis actibus cogitatis.

Ad caelestia vos migrasse iam cerno, ab-
soluti estis vinculis corporis, ad beatam
illam et caelestem contenditis philoso-
phiam.

Hoc mihi sufficit vidisse de vobis. Haec
mea consolatio, ista me in agonibus meis
velut unguenta quaedam corroborant et
fortiorem me agonibus reddunt et ad gau-
dia immortalia atque aeterna transmit-
tunt.

Pro his gratias agamus Deo, cui gloria in
saecula saeculorum. Amen.

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1 This index does not include the nouns which are present in the apparatus. Furthermore, the nouns Θεός and Κύριος have also been excluded, although in the text of the homily they appear capitalized.

2 This index does not include the nouns which are present in the apparatus, nor the nouns *Dominus* and *Deus*, although in the text of the homily they appear capitalized.

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3 This index covers the quotations present in the Greek original of ANTEQUAM IRET and in its Latin version. The *siglum* **Gr.** refers to the Greek text of the homily, while **Lat.** relates to the quotations occurring in the Latin text. Biblical allusions are omitted (for these, see *passim* the history of the text, the translation, and the commentary).

Ad Philippenses

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6:7 **Gr. 1: 7/8** -----

S E R M O C U M

I R E T

I N E X S I L I U M

CONSPECTUS SIGLORUM

<i>A</i>	uaticanus graecus 450, saec. x-xi
<i>B</i>	uaticanus graecus 497, saec. xiii
γ	consensus omnium codicum
<i>Montf</i>	B. de Montfaucon, <i>S. P. N. Ioannis Chrysostomi opera omnia quae exstant uel eius nomine circumferuntur</i> , Parisiis, 1718 – 1738, ut in textu Migneio citatus, <i>P.G.</i> 52, coll. 435-438.
<i>Rahlfs</i>	<i>Septuaginta</i> , Stuttgart, 1935.
<i>Arm</i>	translatio armeniaca homiliae graecae amissae (fort. saec. v)
<i>Syr</i>	translatio syriaca homiliae graecae amissae (fort. saec. v)
τ	consensus translationum antiquarum

*

* *

add.	addidit / -diderunt
conj.	conieci / -it
emend.	emendaui / -it
om.	omisit / -serunt
transp.	transposui / -suerunt

[Τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου
τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου ὁμιλία ὅτε
ἀπῆει ἐν τῇ ἑξορίᾳ]

1. Φαιδρὸς ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος, ἀδελφοί, καὶ λαμπρὰ ἡ πανήγυρις· καὶ
θάλαττα εὐρύχωρος ἐμπεπλησμένη νεφῶν, ἀλλ' οὐ ταραττομένη τῇ ζά-
λη τῶν ἀνέμων. Ἦλθε γὰρ ἡ μήτηρ τῆς εἰρήνης, ἡ κατασβεννύουσα τὴν
ζάλην τῶν ἀνέμων. **Μήτηρ Σιών, ἐρεῖ ἄνθρωπος, καὶ ἄνθρωπος**
5 **ἐγενήθη ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐθεμελίωσεν αὐτὴν ὁ ὕψιστος.**
Τεκνία μου, μέλλουσί με καθελεῖν; Καὶ τί δέδοικα, τὸν θάνατον; **Ἐμοὶ**
τὸ ζῆν Χριστὸς καὶ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν κέρδος. Ἄλλ' ἑξορία; Τοῦ
Κυρίου ἡ γῆ καὶ τὸ πλήρωμα αὐτῆς. Ἀλλὰ χρημάτων δήμευσις;
Οὐδὲν εἰσηνέγκαμεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον, δῆλον ὅτι οὐδὲ ἐξενεγ-
10 **κεῖν τι δυνάμεθα.** 2. Ἄλλ' οἴδατε, τεκνία, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν μέλλουσί με
καθελεῖν. Ἐπειδὴ τάπητας οὐχ ἥπλωσα καὶ σπηρικὰ ἱμάτια οὐκ ἐνέδυ-
σα· ὅτι τὴν γαστριμαργίαν αὐτῶν οὐ παρεμυθησάμην, χρυσὸν καὶ ἄρ-
γυρον οὐ προσήνεγκα. Λέγουσι δέ μοι· Ὅτι ἔφαγες καὶ ἔπιες καὶ
ἐβάπτισας. Εἰ ἐποίησα τοῦτο, ἀνάθεμά μοι ἔστω· μὴ ἀριθμηθεῖν εἰς ρί-
15 ζας ἐπισκόπων, μὴ γένωμαι μετὰ ἀγγέλων, μὴ ἀρέσω τῷ Θεῷ. Εἰ δὲ
καὶ ἔφαγον καὶ ἐβάπτισα, οὐδὲν ἄκαιρον ἐποίησα τῶν λεγομένων.

16

Tit. 1-3 τοῦ... ἑξορία *B* : τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν ἑξορίαν *A* : ὅτε ἀπῆει ἐν τῇ ἑξορίᾳ *Montf*

1 ἀδελφοί *A* : μου post ἀδελφοί add. *B* : om. *τ* || ἡ *A Arm* : om. *B* || 2 νεφῶν conj. :
νηῶν sic *A* : om. *B* || οὐ *A Montf* : οὐ *B* || 4 Σιών em. : Σιών *B* : Σιών *A* : Σιών
Rahlfs || 5 ἐγενήθη *γ* : ἐγεννήθη *Montf* || ὁ ὕψιστος *A Arm* : om. *B* || 7 Χριστὸς
A : ὁ ante Χριστὸς add. *B* || ἑξορία *A* : παραπέμπουσι post ἑξορία add. *B* : ἑξορία
conj. *Montf* || 8 χρημάτων *A Montf* : χριμάτων *B* || δήμευσις *A* : ἔσταί μοι post
δήμευσις add. *B* || 9 εἰσηνέγκαμεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον *A* : εἰς τ. κ. ε. transp. *B* || 10 τι *B* :
τί *A* || τεκνία *A* : ἀδελφοί *B* || μέλλουσί *B* : μέλλουσιν *A* || με *AMontf* : μοι *B*
11 σπηρικὰ *A Montf* : συρικὰ *B* || 11/12 ἐνέδυσσα *A* : ἐνεδυσάμην *B* || 12 οὐ *B* : οὐκ *A*
παρεμυθησάμην *B* : ἐπαρεμυθησάμην sic *A* || 14/15 εἰς ρίζας *A* : μετὰ *B* : μετὰ τῶν
Montf || 15 γένωμαι emend. : γένομαι sic *γ* : γίνωμαι *Montf* || 16 ἄκαιρον ἐποίησα
τῶν λεγομένων *A* : τ. λ. ἄ. ἐ. transp. *Montf*

4/5 Ps. 87:5 || 6/7 Phil. 1:21 || 7/8 Ps. 24:1 || 9/10 1 Tim. 6:7

- Καθελέτωσαν καὶ Παῦλον τὸν ἀπόστολον, ὅτι μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον τῷ δεσ-
μοφύλακι τὸ βάπτισμα ἐχαρίσατο. Καθελέτωσαν καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Κύ-
ριον, ὅτι μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον τὴν κοινωνίαν τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἐχαρίσατο.
- 20 **3.** Πολλὰ ὁρῶ τὰ κύματα καὶ χαλεπὸν τὸ κλυδώνιον, καὶ δόρατα παρ-
εσκευασμένα. Καγὼ ὡς κυβερνήτης ἐν μεγάλῳ κλύδωνι, καθεζομαι ἐπὶ
τὰς δύο πρύμνας τοῦ πλοίου, ἐπὶ τὴν παλαιὰν καὶ νέαν διαθήκην, καὶ
ταῖς κόπαις ἀπωθοῦμαι τὴν ζάλην. Οὐ ταῖς κόπαις ταῖς ξυλίταις,
ἀλλὰ τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ δεσπότης τὴν ζάλην εἰς εἰρήνην μεταστρέφω.
- 25 δεσπότης κελεύει, καὶ δοῦλος στεφανοῦται. Διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸν παραδί-
δωσιν τῷ διαβόλῳ. Ἐν δὲ οὐκ οἶδασιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι ὅτι διὰ τοῦ ἀκα-
θάρτου τὸ καθαρώτατον σκεῦος φανεροῦται; **4.** Ἀδελφοί, τρεῖς ὑμῖν
ὑποθέσεις τίθημι· πίστιν, πειρασμὸν, σωφροσύνην. Εἰ δὲ θέλετε πίστιν
ὑπομεῖναι, μιμήσασθε τὸν μακάριον Ἀβραάμ, τὸν παρηκμακότα τῇ ἡλι-
30 κίᾳ καὶ καρποὺς ὠρίμους δεξάμενον. Εἰ δὲ θέλετε πειρασμὸν ὑπομεῖ-
ναι, μιμήσασθε τὸν μακάριον Ἰώβ. Τὸν αὐτοῦ τρόπον οἶδατε καὶ τὴν
ὑπομονὴν ἠκούσατε, καὶ τὸ τέλος αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔλαθεν ὑμᾶς. Εἰ δὲ θέλετε
σωφροσύνην ὑπομεῖναι, μιμήσασθε τὸν μακάριον Ἰωσήφ, τὸν πρα-
θέντα εἰς Αἴγυπτον, καὶ λιμῷ τηκομένην Αἴγυπτον ἐλευθερώσαντα.
- 35 **5.** Προσετέθη γὰρ αὐτῷ πειρασμὸς ἐκ πόρνῃς Αἰγυπτίας τῷ ἔρωτι

35

19 καθελέτωσαν *A* : καὶ ante καθελέτωσαν add. *B* || καὶ *γ* : om. *Montf* || **20** τὰ *A* :
om. *B* || τὸ κλυδώνιον *B* : τὸν κλύδωνα *A* || **20/21** παρεσκευασμένα emend.
Montf : παρασκευασμένα *A* : παρασκευασμῆνα *B* || **22** ἐπὶ *A Arm* : ἡγουν ante ἐπὶ
add. *B Syr* || **23** τὴν ζάλην *B* : τὸ ζάλος sic *A* || **24** σταυρῷ *A τ* : τῷ τιμίῳ post
σταυρῷ add. *B* || δεσπότης τὴν ζάλην *B* : πόθου τὸ ζαλῶδες sic *A* || μεταστρέφω
conj. *Montf* : μεταφέρω *B* : βραβεύω *A* || **25** διὰ *B* : καὶ ante διὰ add. *A* || **25/26**
παραδίδωσιν *γ* : (οὐ) ante παραδίδωσιν conj. *Montf* || **26** τῷ *A* : αὐτὸς *B* || ἔν *A* :
ἐν *B* : ἐν (l. ἄν) *Montf* || **27** σκεῦος *B* : σκεῦχος sic *A* || **28** δὲ *A* : om. *B* || θέλετε
A Arm : λέγετε *B* || **29** ὑπομεῖναι *A* : ὑπομένειν *B* || παρηκμακότα *B* :
παρηκμικότα sic *A* || **30** θέλετε *A τ* : λέγετε *B* || **30/31** ὑπομεῖναι conj. : ὑπομένειν
B : om. *A* || **31** μιμήσασθε *A* : μιμεῖσθε *B* || αὐτοῦ *B* : αὐτὸν *A* || **32** ὑμᾶς *γ* :
ὑμῖν *Montf* || **33** ὑπομεῖναι *A* : ὑπομένειν *B* || **34** τηκομένην *A Montf* : τικομένην sic
B || **35** Προσετέθη *A* : Προσετίθ.(.) non bene legitur *B* : Προσετίθη *Montf* || τῷ *B* :
καὶ *A*

δεδουλωμένης, ἥτις αὐτῷ παρεκαθέζετο· **Κοιμήθητι**, λέγουσα, **μετ' ἐ-**
μοῦ. Βλαβερῷ τῷ λόγῳ τὸν δίκαιον ἐβούλετο τῆς σωφροσύνης διασυ-
 λῆσαι. Ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ἡ Αἰγυπτία, ἐνταῦθα δὲ ὁ Αἰγύπτιος. Ἄλλ' οὔτε
 ἐκείνη τὸν ἅγιον ἐσκέλισεν, οὔτε οὗτος τοῦτον ἐσυλαγώγησεν. Ἄλλ' ἐ-
 40 φάνη ἅμα τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἡ σωφροσύνη καὶ τῶν τέκνων ἡ εὐγένεια καὶ
 τοῦ βαρβάρου ἡ ἀκολασία. **6.** Ἀδελφοί, ὁ κλέπτης οὐκ εἰσέρχεται ὅπου
 καλάμη ἢ χόρτος ἢ ξύλα, ἀλλ' ὅπου κεῖται χρυσὸς ἢ ἄργυρος ἢ μαργα-
 ρίται. Οὕτω καὶ ὁ διάβολος οὐκ εἰσέρχεται ὅπου πόρνος ἢ βέβηλος ἢ
 ἄρπαξ ἢ πλεονέκτης, ἀλλ' ὅπου οἱ τὸν ἔρημον βίον καλῶς διάγοντες.
 45 **7.** Ἀδελφοί, βούλομαι ἐφαπλῶσαι τὴν γλῶττάν μου πρὸς τὴν βασιλίδά.
 Ἀλλὰ τί εἶπω; Ἰεζάβελ θορυβεῖται καὶ Ἡλίας φεύγει. Ἡρωδιάς εὐ-
 φραίνεται καὶ Ἰωάννης δεσμεύεται. Ἡ Αἰγυπτία ψεύδεται καὶ Ἰωσήφ
 φυλακίζεται. **8.** Ἐὰν οὖν ἐξορίσωσί με, τὸν Ἡλίαν μιμοῦμαι. Ἐὰν εἰς
 βόρβορον βάλωσι, τὸν Ἰερεμίαν. Ἐὰν εἰς θάλατταν, τὸν σύνδουλόν μου
 50 καὶ προφήτην Ἰωνᾶν. Ἐὰν εἰς λάκκον, τὸν Δανιήλ. Ἐὰν λιθάσωσι,
 Στέφανον. Ἐὰν ἀποκεφαλίσωσι, Ἰωάννην. Ἐὰν ῥαβδίσωσι, Παῦλον.

51

36 δεδουλωμένης *B* : δεδουλωμένη *A* || ἥτις *B* : om. *A* παρεκαθέζετο *A* : παρεκάθητο
B || λέγουσα *B* τ : om. *A* || **37** βλαβερῷ conj. : *qwrzlyh* *Arm* : « *msgpnyl'* » *Syr* :
 εὐλαβεῖ *A* : om. *B* || τῷ λόγῳ τὸν δίκαιον *A* τ : om. *B* || ἐβούλετο : γὰρ post
 ἐβούλετο add. *B* || **37/38** διασυλῆσαι *A* : αὐτὸν ἀπογυμνῶσαι *B* : *awwlywlyr* *Arm* :
 « *thls* » *Syr* || **39** ἅγιον *B* *Syr* : Αἰγύπτιον *A* : *qlyw* *Arm* || ἐσκέλισεν *B* :
 ἐσκέλησεν *A* || ἐσυλαγώγησεν *A* τ : om. *B* || **40** ἅμα conj. : μου *A* *B* *Arm* : ὁμοῦ
 conj. *Montf* || **41** τοῦ *A* : τῆς *B* || εἰσέρχεται *A* : ἔρχεται *B* τ || **42** ἡ... ἡ *A* : καὶ...
 ...καὶ *B* τ || ξύλα *A* *Syr* : ξύλον *Montf* *Arm* : ξύλ.(.) non bene legitur *B* || ἡ ἄργυρος
B τ : om. *A* || **42/43** μαργαρίται *A* : μαργαρίτης *Montf* *Arm* : μαργαρίτ.(.) non bene
 legitur *B* : om. *Syr* || **43** οὕτω καὶ γ : οὕτως *Montf* : *hkn' p* *Arm* : « *hkn' p* » *Syr* ||
 πόρνος *B* *Arm* : « *sty* » *Syr* : πονηρός *A* || **46** καλῶς γ : om. *Montf* || **45** βούλομαι γ
 τ : βουλόμεθα *Montf* || ἐφαπλῶσαι *B* : ἐπάπλωσαι sic *A* || γλῶττάν *B* : γλῶσσάν *A*
 μου *A* τ : om. *B* || **46** Ἀλλὰ τί εἶπω *B* : om. *A* τ || Ἰεζάβελ *B* : ἡ ἐζάβελ *A*
47 δεσμεύεται *A* *Montf* : δεσμεύται sic *B* || **49** θάλατταν *B* : θάλασσαν *A*
 σύνδουλόν μου καὶ *A* τ : om. *B* || **50** ἐὰν¹ *A* τ : καὶ post ἐὰν add. *B* || λιθάσωσι *A*
Arm : με post λιθάσωσι add. *B* *Syr* || **51** Ἰωάννην *A* : τὸν πρόδρομον post Ἰωάννην
 add. *B*

36/37 Gen. 39:7/12

Ἐὰν πρίσωσι, τὸν Ἡσαΐαν· εἴθε ξυλίνῳ πρίονι, ἵνα τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῦ
πόθου ἀπολαύσω. **9.** Ἡ σεσωματισμένη πολεμεῖ τὴν ἀσώματον. Ἡ
λουτροῖς καὶ μυρίσμασι καὶ μετ’ ἀνδρὸς περιπλεκομένη πολεμεῖ τὴν
55 καθαρὰν καὶ ἄσπιλον ἐκκλησίαν. Ἀλλά γε καὶ αὐτὴ καθίσει χήρα, ἔτι
ζῶντος τοῦ ἀνδρός· ὅτι γυνὴ εἶ, καὶ χηρεῦσαι θέλεις τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.
Ἐσπέρας ἐκάλει με τρισκαιδέκατον ἀπόστολον, καὶ σήμερον Ἰούδαν
προέβαλεν. Χθὲς μοι ἔλεγεν πάτερ εὐνούστατε, καὶ σήμερόν μου
ἀγνωσίαν προεβάλετο. Χθὲς μετ’ ἐλευθερίας συνεκάθητό μοι, καὶ
60 σήμερον ὡς θηρίον μοι ἐπεπήδησε. **10.** Ὦδεὶ τὸν ἥλιον παρ’ ἡμῖν σβεσ-
θῆναι καὶ τὴν σελήνην μὴ φῆναι, καὶ μόνον τοῦ ῥήματος Ἰὼβ μὴ ἐπιλα-
θέσθαι. Καὶ γὰρ Ἰὼβ, ὁ τηλικαύτην ὑπομείνας πληγὴν, ἄλλο οὐδὲν
ἐβόα ἢ ὅτι· **Εἶη τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου εὐλογημένον εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.**
Ὅτε γὰρ ἡ τούτου γυνὴ ἐβόα λέγουσα· **Εἰπόν τι ῥῆμα πρὸς**
65 **Κύριον καὶ τελεύτα,** ἐπετίμησεν αὐτῇ λέγων· **Ὡς ἄφρων γυνὴ**
ἐλάλησας; Ὡ χάρις γυναικός! Ὡ μάλαγμα ὀδυνῶν! Ἄρα, γύναι, σοῦ
ποτε ἀρρώστουσης, τοιαῦτά σοι ἐφθέγξατο Ἰὼβ; Καὶ οὐχὶ εὐχαῖς καὶ
εὐποιαῖς ἀπεσμήξατό σου τὴν νόσον; Ὅτε ἐν βασιλικαῖς αὐλαῖς
διῆγεν, ὅτε †... ...†, ὅτε τὰ χρήματα εἶχεν, ὅτε τὴν στολὴν τὴν βασιλικήν,

69

52 ξυλίνῳ πρίονι *B* : ξυλίνῃ πρίονῃ sic *A* || **52/53** τοῦ πόθου *B Arm.* : τὸν πόθον *A* :
« *bhš* » (i.e. *passionis*) *Syr.* || **53** σεσωματισμένη *A τ* : σεσωματωμένη *B* || τὴν *A* :
τὸν *B* || **54** περιπλεκομένη *A Montf* : περιπλεκωμένη *B* || **56** θέλεις *B* : θέλῃς *A*
57 Ἰούδαν *A* : Ἰούδα *B* || **58** προέβαλεν *A Arm* : προσεῖπε *B Syr* || **58/59** χθὲς
μοι... ...προεβάλετο *A τ* : om. *B* || **59** μετ’ *A Montf* : μετὰ *B* || **60** μοι *B τ* : om. *A*
61 φῆναι conj. : φᾶναι sic *A* : φάναι *B* : φανῆναι *Montf* || **62** τηλικαύτην *A Montf* : τὴν
ante τηλικαύτην add. *B* || **63** ἐβόα *A Montf* : ἐβόα. non bene legitur (an καὶ) *B* || **64**
ἐβόα *B* : πρὸς αὐτὸν ante ἐβόα add. *A* || **64/65** εἰπόν... ...τελεύτα *B τ* : om. *A* || **65**
αὐτῇ *B* : om. *A* || ὡς *γ* : ἵνα τί ante ὡς add. *B* || ἄφρων γυνὴ *A* : μία τῶν ἀφρόνων
γυναικῶν *B* || **66** χάρις emend. : ἀχαροῦς *γ* || ὀδυνῶν *B* : ὠδίναν sic *A* || ἄρα *B* :
ὄρα *A* || **66/67** γύναι σοῦ ποτε *B* : σ. π. γ. transp. *A* || **69** διῆγεν *B* : om. *A* || ὅτε
†... ...† *A* : om. *B* || εἶχεν *B* : om. *A* || στολὴν *A* : θεραπείαν *B*

63 Job 1:21 || **64/65** Job 2:9 || **66/67** Job 2:10

- 70 οὐδέν τι τούτων ἐβόας. Καὶ νῦν ὀρώσα ἐπὶ κοπρίας καθήμενον, καὶ
 ὑπὸ σκωλήκων συνειλισσόμενον, τότε λέγεις· **Εἶπόν τι ῥῆμα πρὸς**
Κύριον καὶ τελεύτα. Οὐκ ἤρκει γὰρ αὐτῷ ἡ πρόσκαιρος παιδεία;
 Ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τοῦ ῥήματος αἰωνίαν αὐτῷ τὴν κόλασιν προξενεῖς. Ἀλλὰ
 τί ὁ μακάριος Ἰώβ; **Ὡσπερ μία τῶν ἀφρόνων γυναικῶν**
 75 **ἐλάλησας. Εἰ τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐδεξάμεθα ἐκ χειρὸς Κυρίου, τὰ**
κακὰ οὐχ ὑποίσομεν; 11. Τί γὰρ καὶ ἡ παράνομος καὶ στυγερά, αὐ-
 τη ἡ νέα, φημί, Ἰεζάβελ; Οὐ βοᾷ καὶ λέγει· Ἐκβηθι καὶ διαπεράσας
 ἀπόδραθι. Ἀλλ' ἀποστέλλει μοι ὑπάτους καὶ τριβούνους, καὶ μόνον
 ἀπειλεῖ. Καὶ τί μοι ἀνῆκεν; Ἀράχνη ὑπὸ ἀράχνης ἀποστελλόμεναι.
 80 **12.** Ἀδελφοί, πάντως ὅτι καὶ ἐν πόνοις ἀπόκειται νίκη, καὶ ἐν τοῖς
 ἀγῶσιν ἀπόκειται στέφανος. Ὡς ὁ θεσπέσιος Παῦλος ἀρτίως ἔλεγε·
Τὸν καλὸν ἀγῶνα ἠγώνισμαι, τὸν δρόμον τετέλεκα, τὴν
πίστιν τετήρηκα, λοιπὸν ἀπόκειται μοι ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης
στέφανος, ὃν ἀποδώσει μοι Κύριος ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὁ
 85 **δίκαιος κριτής· ὅτι αὐτῷ [ἐστίν] ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς**
αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

86

70 τι τούτων (τι supra τ[ούτων] ead. m. add.) *A* : τοσοῦτον *B* || ἐβόας *A* : ἔλεγες *B*
 καὶ *B* : om. *A* || καθήμενον *B* : κείμενον *A* || **71** τότε *A* : non bene legitur (an τόδε) *B* :
 τοῦτο *Montf* || **72** γὰρ *γ* : om. *Montf* || **73** αὐτῷ *B* : αὐτοῦ *A* || **74** ὥσπερ *γ* : ἵνα
 τί ante ὥσπερ add. *B* || **76** ὑποίσομεν *A* : ὑποίσωμεν sic *B* || γὰρ *A* : δὲ *B*
 στυγερά *A Montf* : στυγυρά *B* || **77** φημί *B* : om. *A* || Ἰεζάβελ *B* : ἡ Ἐζάβελ *A*
 βοᾷ *B* : βοαῖ *A* || Ἐκβηθι *B* : ἐκβα sic *A* : ἐκ... *Montf* || διαπεράσας *B* : περάσας *A* :
 διαπερα.... *Montf* || **78** ἀπόδραθι *γ* : ἀποδρ... *Montf* || ἀλλ' *A* : ἀλλὰ *B* || **80**
 πάντως *γ* : πάντες *Montf* || ὅτι *B* : om. *A* || **81** θεσπέσιος *B* : προθέσμιος sic *A*
 ἔλεγε *Montf* : ἔλεγεν *γ* || **82** ἠγώνισμαι *B* : ἠγωνισάμην *A* || **83** λοιπὸν *A* : καὶ ante
 λοιπὸν add. *B* || μοι *γ* : om. *Montf* || **84/85** ὁ δίκαιος κριτής *B* : om. *A* || **85** αὐτῷ
B : αὐτοῦ *A* || ἐστίν *γ* : om. *Montf* || καὶ τὸ κράτος *B* : om. *A*

71/72 Job 2:9 || **74/76** Job 2:10 || **82/85** 2 Tim. 4:7-8

[OF JOHN CHRYSOSTOM,
FATHER AMONG THE SAINTS,
HOMILY WHEN HE WAS
GOING INTO EXILE]¹

1. Cheerful is our discourse – brothers – and magnificent the assembly; the wide sea is full of clouds, but not troubled by the storm of winds. For the windstorm-quenching mother of peace came: *‘And of Sion it shall be said, This and that man was born in her: and the highest himself shall establish her (Ps 87:5).’* Children, are they are about to condemn me? And what do I fear, death? *‘For to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain. (Phil 1:21).’* Exile? *‘The earth is the LORD’S, and the fullness thereof; the world, and they that dwell therein (Ps 24:1).’* Confiscation of property? *‘For we brought nothing into this world, and it is certain we can carry nothing out (1 Tim 6:7).’*

2. But you know – brothers – for which reason they are about to put me down. Because I did not unfold carpets, nor I put on silken clothes, because I did not encourage their gluttony, nor offered gold and silver. In fact they say to me: *‘you ate and drank, and performed baptisms.’* If I did this, curse on me: may I not be counted within the order of the bishops, not be in the company of the angels, not please God. But, of these things, if I [only] ate and performed baptisms, I did not do anything wrong. They should also condemn Paul the

1 The translation of the *Sermo cum iret in exilium* has been prepared according to the same principles adopted for the translation of the *Sermo antequam iret in exilium*.

apostle, for after the meal he granted baptism to the gaoler; and they should also condemn the Lord himself, for after the meal he granted Communion to the disciples.

3. I see many waves and difficult is the tempest, and the planks [of the ship are] prepared; but, like a pilot in a great tempest, I sit on the two sterns of the ship – the Old and New Testament –, and I push back the storm with the oars; not with wooden oars, but with the honorable cross of the Lord I turn the storm into peace. The Lord orders, and the servant is crowned. Because of that, [the Lord] hands him over to the devil. Do not men know one thing, that is that the purest vessel is made known by means of the impure?

4. Brothers, I lay down for you three ways of life: faith, temptation, chastity. If you want to patiently abide faith, imitate the blessed Abraham, who, although being past the prime regarding his age, received ripe fruits. If you want to patiently abide temptation, imitate the blessed Job. You know his way, and you have heard about his endurance, and his end was not hidden from you. If you want to patiently abide chastity, imitate the blessed Joseph, who was sold [to be brought captive] in Egypt, and released Egypt which was wasted by famine.

5. In fact, temptation was placed upon him by means of an Egyptian prostitute enslaved to passion,² who did sit beside him and said: *‘lie with me!’* (Gen 39:7-12) With a harmful discourse she wanted to strip the righteous one of [his] chastity. In Egypt it was an Egyptian woman,³ here it is an Egyptian man.⁴ Yet neither did that woman upset the saint, nor did this man despoil that one, but at the same moment became evident the discretion of the noble one, the nobility of the children’s birth, and the intemperance of the barbarous man.⁵

2 Delgado translates “*enamorada de él*”, DELGADO 2006, 257, while Joly renders the passage with “*éprise d’un condamnable amour*”, JOLY 1864, 381b.

3 That is Potiphar’s wife.

4 That is Theophilos, patriarch of Alexandria.

5 Delgado translates “*y el desenfreno de la extranjera*”, DELGADO 2006, 257.

6. Brothers, the thief does not enter where straw, or hay, or wood [are], but where gold, or silver, or pearls lie. Thus also the devil does not enter where the fornicator, or the unhallowed, or the rapacious, or the greedy [are], but where those who happily live an eremitic life [are].

7. Brothers, I want to unroll my tongue against the empress. But what should I say? Jezebel raises clamours against [the prophet] and Elijah flies; Herodias rejoices and John is put in chains; the Egyptian woman lies and Joseph is thrown into prison.

8. Therefore, if they will banish me, I shall imitate Elijah; if they will throw [me] into the mud, Jeremiah; if into the sea, my fellow servant and prophet Jonah; if into the [lions'] den, Daniel; if they will stone [me], Stephen; if they will behead [me], John; if they will beat [me] with rods, Paul; if they will saw [me], Isaiah – preferably with a wooden saw, so that I may enjoy [my] longing for the Cross.

9. She who is corporeal fights against her [who is] incorporeal; she who [uses] bathing-places and ointments and lies in embrace with a man, she fights the pure and stainless Church. But that one sits as a widow, while her husband is still alive; for you are a woman, and you want to widow the Church. Yesterday evening she was calling me the thirteenth apostle, and today she denounced me as a Judas. Yesterday [she] was saying to me '*most benign Father*', and today [she] denied me. Yesterday she was sitting with me freely, and today she assaulted me like a wild beast.

10. The sun should have been quenched before us and the moon should have not shone, it would have only been necessary not to forget the word of Job. And in fact Job, who patiently abode so great a blow, did not cry aloud anything other than '*Blessed be the name of the Lord forever* (Job 1, 21).' For when his wife cried aloud and said '*curse God and die* (Job 2, 9),' he

rebuked her and said *'you talked as a foolish women (Job 2, 10).'* Oh grace of a wife! Oh emollient of pains! Woman, when you were unwell, did Job ever utter to you such things? And did not he wipe away your plague with prayers and acts of kindness? When he was living in royal courts, when [...], when he had goods, when [he had] the royal robe, you did not cry aloud anything of these things, and now that you see him sitting in the rubbish-heaps and enveloped in worms, then you say *'curse God and die.'* For was not temporary chastisement enough for him? But, through this word, you procure an eternal punishment for him. But what [did] the blessed Job [say]? *'You spoke like one of the foolish women. If we accepted the good from the hand of the Lord, will not we endure the bad? (Job 2, 10)'*

11. And, in fact, what [does] that lawless and abominable woman, that new – I say – Jezebel, [do]? She does not cry aloud and say *'go out and run away by passing through [the crowd]!'*, but sends me consuls and tribunes, and only threatens. And what should it have to do with me? [These are] spiders sent by a spider.

12. Brothers, indeed as victory is laid up in sufferings, likewise the crown [of glory] is laid up in the struggles [of martyrdom], as the *'divinely-sounding'* Paul fittingly said: *'I have fought the good fight, I have finished the race, I have kept the faith. From now on there is reserved for me the crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge, will give to me on that day (2 Tim 4:7-8)'*, because to him is the glory and the power for ever and ever. Amen.

SYNOPSIS

TRANSLATIONUM ANTIQUARUM¹

Tit.	Tit.
ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ. § 1 ܡܚܬܝܡ ܡܚܬܝܡ ܡܚܬܝܡ ܡܚܬܝܡ. § 2 ܡܚܬܝܡ ܡܚܬܝܡ ܡܚܬܝܡ. ܡܚܬܝܡ ܡܚܬܝܡ ܡܚܬܝܡ ܡܚܬܝܡ. ܡܚܬܝܡ ܡܚܬܝܡ ܡܚܬܝܡ ܡܚܬܝܡ. ܡܚܬܝܡ ܡܚܬܝܡ ܡܚܬܝܡ ܡܚܬܝܡ.	Խոսք յորժամ հանդերձեալ էր անկանել § 1 Մարդասէր մեզ ժողովս, և պայծառ մեզ տաւնս է այսաւր. § 2 Ժով ալէկոծութեամբ լցեալ, այլ ոչ ամբոխեալ ՚ի խռովութենէն: Քանզի եկեալ այսր մայրն խաղաղու- թեան շիջուցանէ զամբոխս, զի լցցի ասացեալն յերանելոյն Դաւթայ. “Մայր զՍիովն² ասէ մարդ, և մարդ ծնաւ ՚ի նմա, և ինքն հիմնեցոյց զնա բարձ- րեալն,;”

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- 1 The Armenian text of the synopsis reproduces the text printed by the Mekitarist Fathers. The only change is the substitution of the letter ܐ with its classical spelling ܡܠ. The numbering of the paragraphs is absent in the Armenian edition, and here it has been added by following the division of paragraphs provided by Chahine in his edition of the Syriac text.
 - 2 In Armenian the common spelling of the word Sion is not Սիովն (as it appears in the homily), but Սիոն.

§ 3

سواء في يوم أو ليل
ولا حول ولا قوة الا بالله

§ 4

بما جرت عليه عادة الناس
في كل وقت ومكان
من أجل أن لا يفتقد
إلى شيء من هذه الأشياء
في كل وقت ومكان.

§ 5

إن في كل شيء
دلالة على قدرة الله
وأنه لا شيء
من خلقه إلا وله حكم
وأنه لا شيء من خلقه
إلا وله حكم.

§ 6

كل
شيء من خلقه
له حكم.

§ 7

إن في كل شيء
دلالة على قدرة الله
وأنه لا شيء من خلقه
إلا وله حكم.

§ 3

Բայց հայեցարուք յիս հաւաստեալ,
զի պղերգագոյն իմն է բանս.

§ 4

բաղայք զիս պաշարեն, որդեակք.
ահա անկանիմ, և զի՞նչ արարից:
նաւք և նաւուղիդք տէգք
պատրաստեալք,

§ 5

և ես անցեալ նստիմ ՚ի վերայ երկոցունց
խելաց նաւին,
ի հին և ՚ի նոր կտակարանաց,
և ղեկաւքն մերձենամք յամբոխսն,
ոչ ղեկաւքս այսոքիւք երևելեալք,
այլ խաչին բեռուաւք փայտին
մարտնչելով զխաղաղութիւն ընձեռեմ:

§ 6

Որդեակք իմ,
զի՞նչ արարից.
երիս աւանդութիւնս ձեզ տամ,
հաւատ, ողջախոհութիւն, փորձութիւն:

§ 7

Եթէ կամիցիք հաւատովն համբերել,
նմանողք լերուք Աբրահամու,
որ տկարացեալն էր հասակաւ, և
պտղովքն առոյգ:

§ 8

٥١ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢
 ٥١ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢
 ٥١ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢
 ٥١ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢
 ٥١ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢

§ 9

٥١ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢
 ٥١ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢
 ٥١ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢
 ٥١ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢

§ 10

٥١ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢
 ٥١ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢
 ٥١ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢

§ 11

٥١ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢
 ٥١ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢
 ٥١ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢
 ٥١ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢
 ٥١ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢

§ 12

٥١ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢
 ٥١ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢
 ٥١ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢
 ٥١ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢ ٢٢

§ 8³

Եւ եթէ կամիք փորձանաց համբերել,
 նմանեցարուք Յոբայ
 որ պատերազմեալն լինէր և ծաղկեալ.
 պատերազմեալն զուարճանայր,
 և պատերազմողն խաբեալ լինէր:

§ 9

Եթէ ախորժիցէք պարկեշտանալ,
 լերուք նմանողք Յովսէփու
 վաճառեցելումն յեգիպտոս,
 և ՚ի սովու հարչեալ զեգիպտացիսն ազա-
 տեաց:

§ 10

Յարեաւ ՚ի վերայ անդ եգիպտացի բողն
 ասելով “Քունեա ընդ իս”,
 զարչելի բանիւ զարդարն ապականէր:

§ 11

Բայց անդ յայնժամ եգիպտացի կին,
 իսկ այժմ աստ եգիպտացի այր:
 Այլ ոչ նա ընկճեաց զնա, և ոչ սա կողոպտէ
 այժմ զեկեղեցիս.
 Քանզի երևեցաւ և ազատին իմոյ ողջախո-
 հուծիւն, և բարբարոսին անարգելութիւն:

§ 12

Որդեակք իմ,
 աւագակ ոչ երթայ ուր աւագ և քար և
 եղէզն կայցեն,
 այլ ուր ոսկի և արծաթ և մարգարիտ.

3 In the Mechitarists' edition the text of § 8 is actually found after that of § 11. Here it has been ‘misplaced’ to facilitate a comparative reading of the two ancient versions.

§ 13

وَصَلَاةُ الْوَالِدِ لَا تُجْزِئُ
إِلَّا فِي الْوَالِدِ الْمَيِّتِ
وَالْوَالِدِ الْمَيِّتِ لَا يُجْزِئُ

§ 14

وَصَلَاةُ الْوَالِدِ لَا تُجْزِئُ
إِلَّا فِي الْوَالِدِ الْمَيِّتِ
وَالْوَالِدِ الْمَيِّتِ لَا يُجْزِئُ

§ 15

وَصَلَاةُ الْوَالِدِ لَا تُجْزِئُ
إِلَّا فِي الْوَالِدِ الْمَيِّتِ
وَالْوَالِدِ الْمَيِّتِ لَا يُجْزِئُ

§ 16

وَصَلَاةُ الْوَالِدِ لَا تُجْزِئُ
إِلَّا فِي الْوَالِدِ الْمَيِّتِ
وَالْوَالِدِ الْمَيِّتِ لَا يُجْزِئُ

§ 17

وَصَلَاةُ الْوَالِدِ لَا تُجْزِئُ
إِلَّا فِي الْوَالِدِ الْمَيِّتِ
وَالْوَالِدِ الْمَيِّتِ لَا يُجْزِئُ

§ 18

وَصَلَاةُ الْوَالِدِ لَا تُجْزِئُ
إِلَّا فِي الْوَالِدِ الْمَيِّتِ
وَالْوَالِدِ الْمَيِّتِ لَا يُجْزِئُ

§ 19

وَصَلَاةُ الْوَالِدِ لَا تُجْزِئُ
إِلَّا فِي الْوَالِدِ الْمَيِّتِ
وَالْوَالِدِ الْمَيِّتِ لَا يُجْزِئُ

§ 13

նոյնպէս և բանսարկուն ոչ երթայ
ուր պոռնիկ և բող,
այլ ուր բարի անօթ:

§ 14

եւ արդ զի՞նչ.
երէկ ինձ ասէիր հայր բարեմիտ,
և այսաւր չարաբարութիւն 'ի վերայ
արկանես.

§ 15

երէկ զիս երեքտասաներորդ առաքեալ,
և այսաւր ցուգաս յառաջ ընթացաւ.

§ 16

երէկ ընդ ազատիս իմում նստէր,
և այսաւր իբրև զգազան 'ի բաց վազեաց:

§ 17

Այլ թող նոցա զի ոչ գիտեն զինչ առնեն:

§ 18

Կամիմ, որդեակք,
սփռել զլեզուս իմ առ թագուհին .

§ 19

Յեզաբէլ ամբօխէ,
և Հեղիաս⁴ փախչի:
Եթէ արտաքս քան զսահմանս զիս
մերժեն,
եղիայի նմանեմ.

4 It is peculiar that in Armenian the name of the prophet Elijah appears with two different spellings, i.e. եղիա (which is the common form) and Հեղիա.

§ 20

وَلَا يَحِلُّ لَكُمْ أَنْ تَكُونُوا
مَعَهُمْ فِي مَقْعَدِ الْعَرْشِ

§ 21

وَلَا يَحِلُّ لَكُمْ أَنْ تَكُونُوا
مَعَهُمْ فِي مَقْعَدِ الْعَرْشِ

§ 22

وَلَا يَحِلُّ لَكُمْ أَنْ تَكُونُوا
مَعَهُمْ فِي مَقْعَدِ الْعَرْشِ

§ 23

وَلَا يَحِلُّ لَكُمْ أَنْ تَكُونُوا
مَعَهُمْ فِي مَقْعَدِ الْعَرْشِ

§ 20

եթէ ՚ի ծով զիս ընկենուն,
ծառայակցին և մարգարէին օրհնանուն.

§ 21

եթէ ՚ի տիրմ, երեմիայի.

§ 22

եթէ ՚ի գուբ, Դանիէլի.

§ 23

եթէ քարկոծեն, Մովսէսի.

§ 24

وَلَا يَحِلُّ لَكُمْ أَنْ تَكُونُوا
مَعَهُمْ فِي مَقْعَدِ الْعَرْشِ
وَلَا يَحِلُّ لَكُمْ أَنْ تَكُونُوا
مَعَهُمْ فِي مَقْعَدِ الْعَرْشِ

§ 25

وَلَا يَحِلُّ لَكُمْ أَنْ تَكُونُوا
مَعَهُمْ فِي مَقْعَدِ الْعَرْشِ

§ 26

وَلَا يَحِلُّ لَكُمْ أَنْ تَكُونُوا
مَعَهُمْ فِي مَقْعَدِ الْعَرْشِ
وَلَا يَحِلُّ لَكُمْ أَنْ تَكُونُوا
مَعَهُمْ فِي مَقْعَدِ الْعَرْشِ

§ 27

وَلَا يَحِلُّ لَكُمْ أَنْ تَكُونُوا
مَعَهُمْ فِي مَقْعَدِ الْعَرْشِ
وَلَا يَحِلُّ لَكُمْ أَنْ تَكُونُوا
مَعَهُمْ فِي مَقْعَدِ الْعَرْشِ

§ 28

وَلَا يَحِلُّ لَكُمْ أَنْ تَكُونُوا
مَعَهُمْ فِي مَقْعَدِ الْعَرْشِ
وَلَا يَحِلُّ لَكُمْ أَنْ تَكُونُوا
مَعَهُمْ فِي مَقْعَدِ الْعَرْشِ

§ 29

وَلَا يَحِلُّ لَكُمْ أَنْ تَكُونُوا
مَعَهُمْ فِي مَقْعَدِ الْعَرْشِ
وَلَا يَحِلُّ لَكُمْ أَنْ تَكُونُوا
مَعَهُمْ فِي مَقْعَدِ الْعَرْشِ

§ 24

եթէ սղոցեն, Եսայեայ.
և երանի թէ փայտեղէն սղոցաւ միայն,
զի ՚ի խաչին ցանկութեան վայելէի:

§ 25

երկիր մարմնացեալ պատերազմի ընդ
անմարմնականին.

§ 26

և որ հանապազ ընդ առն բնակեալ է,
մարտնչի ընդ Քրիստոսի կնոջ.

§ 27

և որ հանապազ ՚ի բաղանիս և ՚ի լուալիս,
պատերազմի ընդ մաքրոյն և ընդ լուա-
ցելումն:

§ 28

Բայց սակայն և ինքն առանց առն նստցի,
զի զկենդանւոյն առն կին այրի արար:

§ 29

Լուր իսկ Եսայեայ մարգարէին որ ասէ,
և եղիպի՝
որ բարի և անաչառ քան զամենայն
սուրբս,

§ 30

أَمَحِلْ لِي الْفَقِيرَ وَالْمَلَأَ مَلَا سَحْلًا:
وَيَعْمُ حَاحِلًا فِيهِمْ وَيَحْمَلُ.

§ 31

أَمَحِلْ لِي أَجَلًا وَيَجْعَلْهُ مَجْدًا حَمَلًا
مَحْلًا وَمَحْمُودًا:
أَمَحِلْ لِي حَالًا أَفْقَدَ فِيهِمْ أَمَحِلْ:
وَيَعْمُ حَمَلًا مَجْدًا.

§ 32

وَحَمَلُ أَمَحِلْ مَجْدًا أَفْقَدَ حَمَلًا
مَحْلًا:
أَمَحِلْ حَمَلًا مَحْمُودًا:
وَيَعْمُ حَمَلًا.

§ 33

وَيَعْمُ حَمَلًا مَحْمُودًا:
وَيَعْمُ حَمَلًا مَحْمُودًا:
وَيَعْمُ حَمَلًا مَحْمُودًا:

§ 34

وَيَعْمُ حَمَلًا مَحْمُودًا:
وَيَعْمُ حَمَلًا مَحْمُودًا:
وَيَعْمُ حَمَلًا مَحْمُودًا:
وَيَعْمُ حَمَلًا مَحْمُودًا:

§ 35

وَيَعْمُ حَمَلًا:
وَيَعْمُ حَمَلًا:
وَيَعْمُ حَمَلًا:

§ 30

նաւ կուսութեանն,
նուագարանն աշխարհի, ուրախութիւն
խաղաղութեանն զինչ ասէր նուագերգե-
լով.

§ 31

“Ի տարւոյն յորում մեռաւ Ողիա⁵ արքայ,
’ի ճակատն նորա ել բորոսութիւն,,
զազրութիւն գունոյ անպատուութեանն
լցաւ:

§ 32

եւ ո՞ր զքեզ յորդորեաց զԹագաւորն
Թշնամանել,
ո՞ր սովորութիւն
և կամ ո՞ր փառք քեզ:

§ 33

Երանելին Դաւիթ մարգարէ երգելովն
“Առաջի Թագաւորաց խաւսէի և ոչ
ամաչէի,,.

§ 34

Պաւղոս քարոզն խաղաղութեան,
խորանակարն և քան զԹագաւորս
ճոխագոյն,
“Եթէ մարդկան հաճոյ լինէի,
ասէ, Քրիստոսի ծառայ ոչ ևս արդեաւք
էի,,:

§ 35

եւ արդ զի՞նչ արասցուք.
ասացից և յասելոյ ոչ դադարեցից.
ինձ ոչ է դանդաղելի, և ձեզ զգուշալի:

5 The common spelling of the name of prophe Hosea is Ողիսէ.

§ 36

وَحَقُّهُ بِحَقِّهِ مَحْبُورٌ
 وَهُوَ فِي حَقِّهِ الْكَرْبُ: أَلَا وَحَسْبُكُمْ
 مَعْنُورٌ.
 وَهُوَ فِي حَقِّهِ مَحْبُورٌ وَحَقُّهُ بِحَقِّهِ.

§ 37

وَهُوَ فِي حَقِّهِ مَحْبُورٌ. أَفَلَا حَسْبُكُمْ.
 لَا لِحَقِّهِ حَقُّهُ. وَهُوَ فِي حَقِّهِ حَب.
 حَقُّهُ وَهُوَ حَقُّهُ.

§ 38

وَهُوَ فِي حَقِّهِ حَقُّهُ. حَقُّهُ حَقُّهُ.
 حَقُّهُ حَقُّهُ. حَقُّهُ حَقُّهُ.
 حَقُّهُ حَقُّهُ. حَقُّهُ حَقُّهُ.
 حَقُّهُ حَقُّهُ. حَقُّهُ حَقُّهُ.

§ 39

وَهُوَ فِي حَقِّهِ حَقُّهُ. حَقُّهُ حَقُّهُ.
 حَقُّهُ حَقُّهُ. حَقُّهُ حَقُّهُ.
 حَقُّهُ حَقُّهُ. حَقُّهُ حَقُّهُ.
 حَقُّهُ حَقُّهُ. حَقُّهُ حَقُّهُ.

§ 40

وَهُوَ فِي حَقِّهِ حَقُّهُ. حَقُّهُ حَقُّهُ.
 حَقُّهُ حَقُّهُ. حَقُّهُ حَقُّهُ.
 حَقُّهُ حَقُّهُ. حَقُّهُ حَقُّهُ.
 حَقُّهُ حَقُّهُ. حَقُّهُ حَقُّهُ.

§ 41

وَهُوَ فِي حَقِّهِ حَقُّهُ. حَقُّهُ حَقُّهُ.

§ 36

Շարժեսցին մեր մարմինք
 և կացցեն հաստատուն մեր խորհուրդք:

Այս բանք ինձ ուղղութեանց են.

§ 37

բազում ինչ ձեզ թողացուցի,
 բայց զփորձութիւնն որ այսաւր զիս
 պաշարէ ոչ մոռացայց:
 Կամի՞ք ուսանել զփորձութեանս
 արինակ:

§ 38

Յորժամ մերձեցաւ բանսարկուն ընդ
 հրեշտակս յերկրպագութիւն տեառն Աս-
 տուծոյ,
 ՚ի նմին ժամու հարցանէր ցնա Աստուած.
 “Ուստի՞ եկիր, բանսարկու,”:
 Աստանաւր ինձ զհերձուածողսն զա-
 նյոյսս, թէպէտ և անկանիմ, որք զվերինսն
 խուզեն:

§ 39

Իսկ արդ անգիտանա՞յր արդեաւք
 Աստուած յայսմ վայրի. “Ուստի՞ եկիր,”:
 Ոչ անգիտանայր,
 այլ զնորա բարսն սանձահարէր.

§ 40

վասն զի ասէր Աստուած.
 “Հայեցա՞ր մտաւք քովք ընդ ծառայ իմ
 Յոբ, այր արդար և անարատ, ճշմարիտ
 աստուածապաշտ, հեռացեալ յամենայն
 չար իրաց. ոչ ոք է իբրև զնա ՚ի վերայ
 երկրի,”:

§ 41

Տէրն զովէր, և ծառայն պսակեալ լինէր:

§ 42

وَحَلَّ مَعَهُ مَعْجَمٌ حَيْثُ طَرَبَ حَبْلًا.
مَحَلًّا وَلَا يَخْتَعِ ٥٥٥١ حَقْدَ أَيْعَلِ أَيْعَلِ
أَلْحَلَّ أَيْعَلِ ح:
مَعْجَمٌ أَيْعَلِ [ح:] حَلْمَلًا ٥٥٥٥.
وَحَلَّ أَيْعَلِ مَعَهُ مَعْلَمٌ وَحَلَّ ٥٥٥٥ وَحَلَّ أَيْعَلِ ح:
ح.

§ 43

فَمَعَهُ ٥٥٥٥ وَحَلَّ مَعَهُ ٥٥٥٥ وَحَلَّ مَعَهُ ٥٥٥٥.
وَحَلَّ مَعَهُ ٥٥٥٥ وَحَلَّ مَعَهُ ٥٥٥٥ وَحَلَّ مَعَهُ ٥٥٥٥.
ح:
٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥:
أَلَّا طَقَبَ ٥٥٥٥.

§ 44

أَوْ حَبْلًا ٥٥٥٥:
وَحَلَّ: أَوْ ٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥:
٥٥٥٥:

§ 45

ح: ٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥:
٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥.

§ 42

Եւ ընդէ՞ր արդեաւք զնա մատնես սատա-
նայի:
Վասն զի ոչ գիտեն մարդիկ որպիսի նա-
հատակ ունիմ.
մատնեմ զնա անմաքրոյն,
զի՛ի ձեռն պղծոյն գեղեցիկ անաւթն
երևացի:

§ 43

Եւ զի՞նչ սատանայ պիղծն և զստութիւն
ծնող բերանն.
“Յառեաց զձեռն քո և մերձեցիր ՚ի նա,
թէ ոչ ՚ի դէմս իսկ աւրհնեսցէ գլքեզ,“:

§ 44

Ով բանսարկու, միթէ և ա՞նդ դրախտ:
Մինչդեռ նա խաւսէր,
այլ հրեշտակ գայր բերելով զեզանցն
կորստեան գոյժ.

§ 45

Մինչդեռ նա խաւսէր,
այլ հրեշտակ գայր բերելով զեզանցն
կորստեան գոյժ.

§ 46

خَمْ خَلَّ سَبْ وَبَعْلًا أَلَا أَسْبَلْ هَاجِن
 حَم.
 حَلَمْ بَعْلًا.
 هَجْ هَاجِن لَّا فَحَم. أَلَا أَسْبَلْ هَاجِن حَم.
 هَجْتَن لَّا وَحْتَه.
 هَجْ هَاجِن مَعْلًا: أَلَا أَسْبَلْ هَاجِن حَم.
 هَجْ هَاجِن حَلَّ حَلَّ هَجْتَن هَاجِن هَاجِن
 هَجْ هَاجِن مَعْلًا: أَلَا أَسْبَلْ هَاجِن حَم.
 هَجْتَن لَّا فَحَم حَلَّ حَلَّ هَجْتَن: هَجْتَن
 حَلَّ حَلَّ هَجْتَن هَجْتَن
 هَجْ هَاجِن مَعْلًا: أَلَا أَسْبَلْ هَاجِن حَم.
 هَجْتَن لَّا فَحَم.
 هَجْ هَاجِن مَعْلًا: أَلَا أَسْبَلْ هَاجِن حَم.
 هَجْتَن مَعْلًا.

§ 47

هَجْتَن هَجْتَن هَجْتَن هَجْتَن
 هَجْتَن هَجْتَن هَجْتَن هَجْتَن
 هَجْتَن هَجْتَن هَجْتَن هَجْتَن

§ 48

هَجْتَن هَجْتَن هَجْتَن هَجْتَن
 هَجْتَن هَجْتَن هَجْتَن هَجْتَن
 هَجْتَن هَجْتَن هَجْتَن هَجْتَن
 هَجْتَن هَجْتَن هَجْتَن هَجْتَن

§ 49

هَجْتَن هَجْتَن هَجْتَن
 هَجْتَن هَجْتَن هَجْتَن هَجْتَن
 هَجْتَن هَجْتَن هَجْتَن هَجْتَن
 هَجْتَن هَجْتَن هَجْتَن هَجْتَن
 هَجْتَن هَجْتَن هَجْتَن هَجْتَن

§ 46

և ՚ի նորա խաւսելն՝ միւս ևս ոմն գալով,
 զամենայնի զկորստեանն.

և դարձեալ ալ ոմն ասէր՝
 հուր էջ յերկնից յանկարծակի.
 և միւս ևս ոմն՝
 եթէ տունն կործանեցաւ և եսպան
 զմանկունսն.
 և ալ հրեշտակ դարձեալ ՚ի նորա
 խաւսելն հասանէր ասելովն՝
 ել և փախիր ճեպով:

§ 47

Բանսարկուն կործանել կամէր
 զնաւահանգիստն,
 բայց նորա խաղաղութիւնն յաղթէր
 խաւարին:

§ 48

Եւ զի ուսանիցիք եթէ ոչ ալ ոք և ալ էր,
 ալ ինքն սատանայ ինքեամբ,

§ 49

զի՞նչ ասէր.
 եթէ ասացից նմա՝ ել, զարհուրի:
 Ալ մինչդեռ մին խաւսէր,
 և միւսն ՚ի վերայ զիրսն բերէր,
 զի գոնէ վիրաւորեսցէ զնա:

§ 54

وَمِنْ حَالَةِ الْغَيْبِ عَنْهُ:
 وَتَحْتَ حَمْدِهِ: هَهُنَا حَقَّقْنَا:
 وَمِنْهُ لَا يُؤْخَذُ وَمَا حَقَّقْنَا:
 مَحْصِلُ الْغَيْبِ وَتَحْتَ حَمْدِهِ: وَمِنْهُ مَحْصِلُ
 حَمْدِهِ.

§ 55

وَمِنْ حَمْدِ الْعَالَمِ: وَمِنْهُ وَهُوَ: وَمِنْ:
 وَتَحْتَ حَمْدِهِ: وَمِنْهُ: وَمِنْهُ: وَمِنْهُ: وَمِنْهُ:
 وَمِنْهُ: وَمِنْهُ: وَمِنْهُ: وَمِنْهُ: وَمِنْهُ:
 وَمِنْهُ: وَمِنْهُ: وَمِنْهُ: وَمِنْهُ: وَمِنْهُ:

§ 56

وَمِنْ حَمْدِ حَقِّ الْغَيْبِ:
 وَتَحْتَ: وَمِنْهُ: وَمِنْهُ:

§ 57

وَمِنْ حَمْدِ الْغَيْبِ: وَمِنْهُ: وَمِنْهُ: وَمِنْهُ:
 وَمِنْ حَمْدِ حَقِّ الْغَيْبِ: وَمِنْهُ: وَمِنْهُ:
 وَمِنْ حَمْدِ حَقِّ الْغَيْبِ: وَمِنْهُ: وَمِنْهُ:

§ 58

وَمِنْ حَمْدِ حَقِّ الْغَيْبِ: وَمِنْهُ: وَمِنْهُ:

§ 59

وَمِنْ حَمْدِ حَقِّ الْغَيْبِ: وَمِنْهُ: وَمِنْهُ:
 وَمِنْ حَمْدِ حَقِّ الْغَيْبِ: وَمِنْهُ: وَمِنْهُ:

§ 60

وَمِنْ حَمْدِ حَقِّ الْغَيْبِ: وَمِنْهُ: وَمِنْهُ:
 وَمِنْ حَمْدِ حَقِّ الْغَيْبِ: وَمِنْهُ: وَمِنْهُ:
 وَمِنْ حَمْدِ حَقِّ الْغَيْبِ: وَمِنْهُ: وَمِنْهُ:
 وَمِنْ حَمْدِ حَقِّ الْغَيْبِ: وَمِنْهُ: وَمِنْهُ:

§ 54

Սկսաւ Յիսուս նշանագործել.
 բորոտք սրբեալ լինէին, կոյրք տեսանէին,
 տեռատեսք բժշկեալ լինէին,
 և յաղբերէն ծածկեալ լինէին աղբերք
 ախտիցն:

§ 55

Սկըսաւ Հերովդէս խռովել՝ վաչ եղունկ,
 Յովհաննէս յարեալ: Ով լիրբ և անամօթ,
 կենդանի զնա թշնամանէիր,
 և ՚ի մեռելո՞յն երկնչիս և զարհուրիս:

§ 56

Եւ զի՞նչ որդեակք.
 սատանայ ապականեցաւ կորեալ:

§ 57

Ո՞ւր ընթացայց, յաղթէ ինձ արդարն.
 եթէ առ բարեկամսն նորա առաջինս,
 որք այժմ՝ չարաչարն եկին ՚ի ժողովս.

§ 58

Եկն արտաքս ճանապարհ գործել:

§ 59

Եւ զի՞նչ ևս, որդեակք.
 “Եղիցի անուն տեառն աւրհնեալ,”:

§ 60

Հաւագոյն էր արեգական շիջանել,
 և ոչ բանիցս այսոցիկ սպառումն լինել:
 Երկին և երկիր անցանէ,
 այլ բան տեառն մնայ յաւիտեան:

§ 67

أه فعملا مع هجاء:
 ج حب ميم لا طاء:
 لالحل والحب زخا.

§ 68

محب متع مع ميم مع حب و مالت
 عتلا قتلح:
 هلقلا فتع: محقا هامة لا هلقلا
 هلقلا: حلا هلقا: م فتلا هلقا هلقا
 معتلح ملبح مع حب:
 لا افنا هلقا. و زلا لالحا هلقا:
 هلقا هلقا مالحا:
 هلقا لا مالحا:

§ 69

حالحا مالا اتع حبالا.
 لا ولاقا قن هلا ولاقا هلا ولاقا هلا
 وتمع {هلا ولاقا} هلا ولاقا.
 ورح هلا ورح هلقا.
 املا ورحا حبالا حبالا نلا.

§ 70

الا حتب مالحا و انا ح:
 هلقا حبالا مالح لا مالحا هلقا.

§ 71

اف حبالا مالحا مع مالحا: مالحا
 حبالا مع مالحا مالحا: مالحا مالحا.

§ 67

Ով լիրբ դու,
 ոչ ինչ չարչարիս,
 և զնաւդ խորտակել պատրաստես.

§ 68

յորժամ առ քեզ կացին մ'նացին
 կերպասք հանդերձք,
 ամդանք տարածեալք, ծառայք և
 աղախնայք, ուղտք և էշք, ոչխարք և
 արջառք, թակոյկն և տաշտք, սկտեղք
 զանազանք, հանդերձք ազգի ազգիք,
 յայնժամ ոչ ասէիր՝
 ասա բան ինչ և վախճանեցիր:
 Եւ արդ “Եթէ զբարիսն ՚ի ձեռանէ տեառն
 ընկալաք, չարեացն ո՞չ համբերեսցուք,:

§ 69

Եւ զի՞նչ չարիք իսկ, ով լիրբ.
 ոչ երկու ամք, ոչ երեք, ոչ չորք, ոչ հինգ,
 ոչ տասն.
 սուղ է ժամանակ փորձութեանս,
 և որ համբերէն ՚ի սպառ՝ կեցցէ:

§ 70

Զի՞նչ լինիցի, որդեակք. ահա մերժիմ,
 և զձայն իմ ոչ եւս լուիցէք:

§ 71

“Այլ եթէ հրեշտակ յերկնից ձեզ ավետա-
 րանեսցէ քան զոր ընկալայքն, նզովեալ
 լիցի,:

§ 72

Աստուծոյ խնայման խնայման խնայման:

Աստուծոյ խնայման խնայման խնայման:
 Եւ զի՞նչ թողմբ.⁶ Նստէր ՚ի վերայ աղբեւաց.
 ոչ առնոյր երկաթ և քերէր զթարախն,
 ալ խնայման քերէր:
 Եւ ընդէ՞ր խնայման.
 Կաւով զկավն շիջուցանէր:

§ 73

Ոհարա՛ն ի նախ խնայման.
 Եւ զի՞նչ խնայման խնայման խնայման:
 Եւ զի՞նչ խնայման խնայման խնայման:
 Եւ զի՞նչ խնայման խնայման խնայման:
 Եւ զի՞նչ խնայման խնայման խնայման:

§ 72

Թողից ինչ ձեզ, որդեակք, փոքր իմաստութիւն:

Փորձութիւն ձեզ յորժամ եկեսցէ՝

“Եղիցի անուն տեառն արհնեալ,:

Եւ զի՞նչ թողմբ.⁶ Նստէր ՚ի վերայ աղբեւաց.

ոչ առնոյր երկաթ և քերէր զթարախն,

ալ խնայման քերէր:

Եւ ընդէ՞ր խնայման.

Կաւով զկավն շիջուցանէր:

§ 73

Նեղութիւնք յորժամ գայցեն ձեզ,

“Եղիցի անուն տեառն արհնեալ,:

Չարիք ՚ի դժնդակ թագաւորութենէն,⁷

Բաղայք պատրաստեալք յանաւրէն

մարդկանէ յորժամ հասանիցեն առ ձեզ,

“Եղիցի անուն տեառն արհնեալ,:

6 The common Armenian spelling of the name of Job is *Թոբ*, and not *Թովբ* as it is in this passage.

7 It is worth noting that whereas the Syriac text says "if a reproach from the evil Empress will occur", the Armenian version presents a different sentence, i.e. "when calamity from the uneasy reign and subterfuge from wicked men arrive to you, [say] 'blessed be the name of God'"

الحمد لله رب العالمين. ان شاء الله تعالى:

وہو! مہدیؑ و مہدیؑ

امی امی. وچہ حلیہ! ۱۰۱/۱۰۱

حجۃ الاسلام محمد صالح المنجد

للحسين عليه السلام من آل أبي حمزة:

ولا يجوز له ان يحل في نفسه.

إلا حذرني يوم حرامني.

وہو! ہمدرد و مدد مددگار۔

§ 75

ۛحہ اے، جتنا جتنا دلاؤ، دلاؤ:

وَمَقْتَصِلٌ لِلْحَمَلِ.

§ 76

وَجِبِلْ مَحَلَّات فَمَعَكُمْ اَنَا.

§ 77

معصلا و به حال حاضر از حکم اوست.

Explicit

الحمد لله الذي هدانا لهذا
 ما كنا لنهتدي لولا أن هدانا الله

[illegible]

§ 74

ՆՈՅՆԱԿԷՍ ԵՎ ՂԻԽՈՒՍ ԵՎ ՂԱԿԱՏԻԼ ԵՐԹԱՄ՝
տաքէ ԱՍՏՈՒԱԾ, ԿՍԱՆՑԻՔ

“Եղիցի անուն տեառն աւրհնեալ,,

զի առեալ զգուշագոյնք լինիջիք:

Քանզիի և Յովբ մինչ փարթամն էր
փառաբանէր,

Լ յորժամ՝ աղքատացաւն գոհանայր.

ոչ ճոխութիւնն յամբարտաւանութիւն

և ոչ աղքատութիւն 'ի պղերգութիւն
էարկ.

այլ յամենայն ժամ ասէր,

“Եղիցի անուռն տեառն աւրհնեալ,:

Այս է իմ թագ, այս պսակ, այս ինձ ուրախութիւն, այս իմ խաղ, այս գոփութիւն, և յամենայն ժամ եղիցի ինձ զայս ասել “եղիցի անուն տեառն աւրհնեալ,”

§ 75

Լ զՈՏ անարիւն

պատարագել Տեառն Աստուծոյ:

§ 76

Աստանալի դադարեցուցանեմ զբանս

§ 77

՚ի Գրիստոս Յիսուս ՚ի տէր մեր, որում փառք յաւիտեանս. ամէն:

Explicit

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1 This index does not include the nouns which are present in the apparatus. Furthermore, the nouns Θεός and Κύριος have also been excluded, although in the text of the homily they appear capitalized.

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LOCORUM SACRAE SCRIPTURAE³

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39:7-12	Gr. 5: 36/37	Arm. 10	Syr. 10
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Iob

1:7	-----	Arm. 38	Syr. 38
1:8	-----	Arm. 40	Syr. 40
1:11	-----	Arm. 43	Syr. 43
1:21	Gr. 10: 63	Arm. 51; 59; 72; 73 bis; 74 ter	Syr. 51; 59; 72; 73 ter; 74 bis
2:9	Gr. 10: 64/65, 71/72	Arm. 66; 68	Syr. 66; 68
2:10	Gr. 10: 66/67, 74/76	Arm. 68	Syr. 68

Psalmi

23:1	Gr. 1: 7/8		
87:5	Gr. 1: 4/5	Arm. 2	Syr. 2
118:46	-----	Arm. 33	Syr. 33

Matthaeus

24:13	-----	Arm. 69	Syr. 69
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3 This index covers the quotations present in all three versions of the CUM IRET. The *siglum* **Gr.** refers to the Greek text of the homily, while **Arm.** relates to the quotations occurring in the Armenian text, and **Syr.** to the Syriac one. Concerning the Greek, text numbers of both paragraph and line of the homily are provided; for the Armenian and Syriac versions, the numeric reference is to the paragraph of the relative texts only. Biblical allusions are omitted (for these, see *passim* the history of the text, the translation, and the commentary).

Lucas

21:33	-----	Arm. 60	Syr. 60
23:34	-----	Arm. 17	Syr. 17

Ad Galatas

1:8	-----	Arm. 71	Syr. 71
1:10	-----	Arm. 34	Syr. 34

Ad Philippenses

1:21	Gr. 1: 6/7	-----	-----
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Ad Timotheum I

6:7	Gr. 1: 9/10	-----	-----
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Ad Timotheum II

4:7-8	Gr. 12: 82/85	-----	-----
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CHAPTER FOUR: PHILOLOGICAL COMMENTARY

4.0. The principles of the Commentary

The purpose of the two commentaries offered in this chapter – the first one on the *Sermo antequam iret in exsilium*, the second on the *Sermo cum iret in exsilium* – is almost exclusively philological, i.e. its main goal is to give justifications of the readings printed in the main text and to explain how the readings present in the *apparatus* may have originated. Such matters as biblical quotations, literary themes, historical notes, and the analysis of translation technique are discussed almost exclusively when these are relevant for the establishment of the text, or for the understanding of a given passage. As far as the commentary on the CUM IRET is concerned, at the beginning of each paragraph a synopsis of the Greek, Armenian, and Syriac versions of the same text is offered. Whenever the synopsis is not offered, it has to be inferred that in the oriental versions that particular passage of the homily does not correspond.

4.1. *Sermo antequam iret in exsilium*

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὅτε ἡ στάσις ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Σευηριανοῦ τοῦ Γαβαλέως

ἐπισκόπου ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ

Outline

- 1-12a 1. *Exordium*
- In spite of current events, for John there is nothing to fear, neither death, nor exile, nor the confiscation of property, because he sits on the rock of faith.
- 12b-19a 2. *The everlasting union between the bishop and his Church.*
- The bond between the bishop and his community cannot be destroyed by anybody, because it was made by God himself.
- 19b-36a 3. *The reasons why John is attacked: the power of the Church.*
- John has been attacked because his enemy was unable to destroy the Church
- 36b-44a 4. *Historical explanation of the power of the Church*
- The power of the Church is everlasting. Its strength was never diminished, neither during the time of persecutions, nor even when it consisted only of the eleven Apostles.
- 44b-47a 5. *The love of God*
- To God the Church is dearer even than Heaven.
- 47b-54a 6. *First address to the audience: the immutable faith*
- The only way to resist to the attacks of the enemies is to continue to

have faith.

54b-60a

7. The plans of the Devil

The devil planned to destabilize the city, but since this was found steady, the devil passed to attack the Church.

60b-65

8. The example of the martyrs

The example of the martyrs shows that it is impossible to harm those to have faith.

65b-70a

9. The attacks of the devil are pointless

70b-75a

10. The power of the Scriptures

John is prepared for anything which may happen, because he relies on in his faith, that is on the Scriptures.

75b-79a

11. The company of Christ

John is not alone, but benefits from the company of Christ.

79b-83a

12. The will of God

John is prepared to do anything which God orders him to do.

83b-86a

13. Second address to the audience: the importance of prayers

86b-91a

14. The audience is prepared for the departure of John

Nothing can separate John from his community, because they are like one body. By means of love, their union will last forever.

91b-98a 15. *The flock of John*

For the sake of his Church John is ready to suffer martyrdom thousands of times.

98b-104a 16. *Martyrdom as source of immortality*

John dedicated his life for the improvement of his flock. For him death can only be a source of immortality.

104b-107a 17. *Final address to the audience*

107b-120 18. *Conclusion*

The homilist thanks his community for its love and prayers, for all the support received. The love of the Church is the recompense of his fight.

- Title -

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὅτε ἡ στάσις ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Σευηριανοῦ τοῦ Γαβαλέως ἐπισκόπου ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ. The title transmitted by the direct tradition is substantially different from that printed by Montfaucon – i.e. ὁμιλία πρὸ τῆς ἐξορίας – and from the title of the Latin version – i.e. *eiusdem cum de expulsionem eius ageretur*. Severianus, bishop of Gabala, was one of the main opponents of John Chrysostom. Although information about his life is scanty, we know that he sojourned in Constantinople between the years 398-404.¹ Severianus was a successful preacher whom John entrusted to preach during his absence from

1 See VOICU 1990, 752-763.

Constantinople, when he visited the Church of Ephesos. Severianus played an important role at the ‘Synod of the Oak’, where he is said to have asked for the head of John. In the preface of his edition, Montfaucon states that he found our homily attributed to Severianus of Gabala in a Latin manuscript of Monte Cassino.² In spite of the mistake of attribution, the presence of the name of Severianus in a Latin manuscript shows that the Greek version of the title transmitted by *P* is remarkably old.

- 1 -

1-12a. Exordium. The sermon begins with the homilist openly telling his audience that for him there is nothing to fear, neither death, nor exile, nor the confiscation of property. Although John is in the middle of a tempest and the waves of the sea (i.e. his enemies) are trying to submerge him, he declares himself steady on his rock and is preoccupied only for the moral improvement of his church.

1.2. τῆς πέτρας. The readings of both *Montf* and *P* – i.e. τῆς πέτρας and τῇ πέτρῳ – are both acceptable in terms of grammar. However, in similar contexts in which the noun πέτρα is used, the *usus scribendi* of John Chrysostom shows that the construction of ἐπί + genitive occurs much more frequently than that of ἐπί + dative. For instance, see *Adversus oppugnatores vitae monasticae*, *P.G.* 47, col, 333, line 48.

1.3. διασαλεύσαι. From the point of view of the meaning, the two verbs διασαλεύω – i.e. the reading of *P* – and διαλύω – i.e. *Montf* – are perfectly acceptable. When it comes to making a choice of which reading to print in the text, a research of *loci similes* resulted of no

2 See *P.G.* 52:427*-428*.

great help, because both verbs occur with equal frequency in the whole Chrysostomian corpus. However, the old Latin translation – i.e. *commovere* – appears to be closer to the meaning of διασαλεύσαι, rather than that of διαλύσαι.

1.5. τὸν. The omission of the article in *P* does not represent a problem in itself, although the *usus scribendi* of the works of Chrysostom shows that in other instances the word θάνατος is always preceded by article whenever this is placed at the beginning of a sentence.

1.6. Ἄλλ' ἐξορίαν; The addition of the text used by *Montf*, that is the clause εἰπέ μοι after ἐξορίαν, seems to be a trivialization of the text caused by a scribe. The clause appears only one line before and is therefore a redundant reduplication. In addition, in a similar passage in the CUM IRET (1.7.) the words εἰπέ μοι are also absent.

1.8. οὐδέ... ... τι. The text offered by manuscript *P* is perfectly acceptable and has the advantage of corresponding to the same text printed in the edition of Nestle-Aland's *Novum Testamentum* (see 1 Tim. 6:7.). However, as far as the text of *Montf* is concerned, it could also be said that the reading of *P* in fact represents a normalization of the Biblical quotation made by a scribe who recognized the passage and changed the text in order to make it closer to that of the *Vulgate*.

1.9. τὰ χρυστὰ. The reading offered by *P* – i.e. τὰ χρυσία – means 'gold, pieces of gold', while that of *Montf* – i.e. τὰ χρηστὰ – means 'benefits'. Although *P* is grammatically acceptable, its reading probably originated from a scribe's mistake of spelling, in other words from the combination of a problem of iotacism and the confusion of the ligature στ with σι. The reading printed by Montfaucon, however, remains *lectio difficilior*.

1.11-12. διὸ τὰ νῦν ὑπομινῆσκω καί. The omission of this clause in the text of *P* and *Lat* has been treated in chapter two, where it was explained as originating from the loss of a line in the subarchetype from which both *P* and *Lat* derive. Because of this reason the text offered by *Montf* should be maintained.

1.12. τὴν ὑμετέραν θαρρεῖν ἀγάπην. The reconstruction of the text of this passage presented some difficulties. The reading printed by Montfaucon seems to be the best when one considers that the text of the Latin translation – that is *caritatem vestram ut aequo animo sitis* – is relatively much closer to *Montf* than to the text of *P* – i.e. οὗν ὑμᾶς ἀγαπητοὶ θαρρεῖν. The evidence of the *Stemma Codicum* also shows that the clause τὴν ὑμετέραν θαρρεῖν ἀγάπην must have been the original one, because it is present in both branches of the tradition. In addition, although the vocative ἀγαπητοὶ is rather present in the rest of the Chrysostomian corpus, the construction παρακαλεῖν ἀγάπην can be found almost everywhere in John's homilies, and its usage is extremely common.

- 2 -

12b-19a. The everlasting union between the bishop and his Church. By means of a Biblical quotation (Matthew 19:6), the homilist states that as nobody is able to separate a man and a woman who have been united by God, likewise nobody can separate him from his community.

2.13. ἡμᾶς ὑμῶν. In this passage of the homily, neither the text of *Montf* – that is ὑμῶν – nor that of *P* – i.e. ὑμᾶς ὑμῶν – seems to be fully satisfactory. On the contrary, thanks to the help of the Latin translator, who rendered this passage with *nos a vobis*, it was

possible to emend the reading of *P* into ἡμᾶς ὑμῶν, which makes perfect sense. This passage was probably corrupted as a result of iotacism confusion.

δν. The reading offered by *P* and *Lat* offers a text which is less predictable than that of *Montf* – i.e. ὅ – and certainly represents the *lectio difficilior*. The text printed by Montfaucon is on the contrary a trivialization. See also the following point.

Χριστὸς. The reading of *P* is mirrored in the Latin translation – i.e. *Christus*. The reading printed by Montfaucon probably originated from the fact that the biblical quotation to which this passage refers (and which appears shortly after, at line 17) mentions the name of God, instead of Christ. This explanation brings further evidence to the point discussed above.

2.16. τὴν μητέρα. The text offered by *P* presents the addition of the pronoun αὐτοῦ after the word μητέρα. Although αὐτοῦ has not been retained because both *Montf* and *Lat* omit it, it should be borne in mind that the reading transmitted by *P* could represent an old form of the Scriptural text actually corresponding to that known by the homilist. As a matter of fact, the reading of *P* is mentioned in the *apparatus* of the text of the *Septuagint* which contains this passage. For reasons of *Stemma Codicum*, however, it seemed preferable to maintain the text of Montfaucon.

2.18. μὴ χωρίζετω. The reading offered by *P* could be the result of a trivialization of the Scriptural text, in an attempt to make the text more understandable. However, it could also be claimed that here the homilist was not quoting *verbatim*, and that therefore the text printed by Montfaucon represents a normalization of the biblical text, while that of *P* might offer the original diction of the homilist.

οὐ. The omission of *P* cannot be accepted because without the negation the text would

make no sense. In addition, the negation is also found in the Latin translation – i.e. *non*. The scribe might have omitted οὐ by accident.

2.19. ἐκκλησίαν. The genitive Θεοῦ, which in the text of Montfaucon appears after the word ἐκκλησίαν, seems to be the result of a trivializing addition made by a later scribe.

- 3 -

19b-36a. The reasons why John is attacked: the power of the Church. In this paragraph the homilist explains that he is the object of a violent attack only because his enemy was unable to destroy the Church (of Constantinople). The result of this attack, however, is vain, because the Church is mightier even than Heavens; it is as solid as a rock and has been firmly established by the will of God, who rules over everything.

3.19-20. Ἀλλὰ πολεμεῖς αὐτήν οὐ δυνάμενος βλάψαι. The text offered by *P* – i.e. πολεμῆσαι ἀλλ’ οὐδέν με βλάπτεις – is not convincing. It probably originates from a mistake of transposition at the moment of transcribing this passage. The text of *Montf*, on the contrary, offers a good way of switching the discourse from the church to the case of John Chrysostom.

3.21. εἰ πρὸς ἐμὲ μάχη. The text of *P* is to be preferred, for it clarifies the sense of the passage and represents a *lectio difficilior* than that of *Montf*, i.e. τῆς πρὸς ἐμὲ μάχης.

3.23. τοὺς πόδας αἱμάσσεις. The addition of the words τοὺς σοὺς after the verb αἱμάσσεις in manuscript *P* gives the impression of being the trivializing result of a scribe who wanted to make the text more intelligible. Although it is grammatically acceptable, it seems unnecessary.

3.24. ἀλλ’. The addition of αὐτὰ after the conjunction ἀλλ’ in the text printed by *Montf* is redundant, and thus superfluous.

διαλύεται. Although both the reading of *P* – that is διαλύεται – and that of *Montf* – i.e. διαλύονται – are technically acceptable, on the evidence of the Latin translation διαλύεται seems preferable, because in the context of the sentence the waves appear to be the active subject.

3.21. Οὐδὲν ἐκκλησίας δυνατώτερον. The vocative ἄνθρωπε added after the word δυνατώτερον in the text of Montfaucon is unnecessary and not entirely clear in meaning. If retained, it could better be added to the following sentence.

3.25. ἵνα μή σου καταλύσῃ τὴν δύναμιν. This passage being a final clause, the subjunctive offered by *Montf* is indispensable, and the reading of *P* – i.e. καταλύσει σου –, which is the result of an iotacism problem, must be rejected. In addition, the word order of *Montf* is more refined.

3.29. τί ἐπιχειρεῖς. Throughout the sermon, the homilist very often addresses his audience with a second singular person. As a consequence, the reading of *P* – i.e. τί ἐπιχειρεῖς – is preferred to that of *Montf* – i.e. τίς ἐπιχειρεῖ.

3.31. σειόμενα. The correct reading is clearly that printed by Montfaucon, that is σειόμενα, while the future participle of the verb ‘to be’ offered by *P* – i.e. ἐσόμενα – makes no sense. The manuscript shows that a second hand corrected the passage and restored it to its original meaning.

ἐδράζεται. The reading of *P* can be accepted on the evidence that the old Latin

translation also offers a present tense, i.e. *solidatur*. In addition, the present of *P* is anticipated by the previous *κελεύει*, while *Montf* ἡδράζετο appears less convincing.

ἀνέστησε. Considering the context of this passage of the homily, the verb of *P* seems more appropriate than that of *Montf* (that is ἀνέστησε vs ἔστησε). On closer inspection, it looks as if the preposition of ἀνέστησε dropped out as a consequence of a phonetic confusion with the previous word, which ends in –μένη.

3.32. δυνήσεται. The readings offered by *P* and *Montf* – that is δυνήσεται and δύνονται – are both acceptable. That of *P*, however, offers the advantage of being mirrored in the Latin translation, where it is rendered with the verbal form *poterit*.

- 4 -

36b-44a. Historical explanation of the power of the Church. In this section the homilist explains that the power of the Church is eternal and that nowhere in history was it possible to diminish it, neither during the time of persecutions (i.e. before the edict of tolerance of Constantine), nor even before that, when the Church of Christ was actually made up only by eleven persons, that is by the Apostles. The Church never perished and is destined to last forever according to what Jesus has established.

4.39. τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. At this point of the homily *P* is in opposition to *Montf* and the Latin version is of no help, because the translator freely adapted the Greek. The reading offered by *P*, and which *Montf* omitted, seems preferable, because the expression ‘those who make war against the Church’ is a concept very well attested throughout the entire Chrysostomian corpus. However it cannot be entirely excluded that we should consider τὴν

ἐκκλησίαν as an addition made by a scribe who, willing to help future readers, trivialized the text.

4.41. δέ. The omission of *Montf* is unjustified, while the connective particle transmitted by *P* is very welcome and thus accepted for reasons of grammar.

Εἰ ὅτε ἕνδεκα ἦσαν. The text of *Montf* – that is the word ὀλίγοι in place of the original numeral ἕνδεκα, which is, on the contrary, preserved in *P* and in the Latin translation (*undecim soli*) – is a clear trivialization of a very beautiful passage of this speech. The homilist, in fact, here is referring to the members of those who constituted the first Christian Church after the death of Jesus, that is the eleven apostles (Judas Iscariot is excluded for obvious reasons). A possible explanation of the corruption present in *Montf* is that the numeral eleven must have been corrupted at some point of the tradition, probably by being copied inaccurately, and thus become unintelligible. A scribe, thus, might have felt the need to emend the passage with the word ὀλίγοι, in order to give sense to this point of the homily.

4.42. ἐπληρώθη. The readings of *P* and *Montf* – i.e. ἐπληρώθη and ἐπλήσθη – are not too different. However, the text of *P* is to be preferred for the following three reasons. First of all, from a semantic point of view ἐπληρώθη seems closer to the Latin *repletus est*. Grammatically, the genitive εὐσεβείας is better constructed with ἐπληρώθη. In addition, in the Chrysostomian corpus the passive form of πληρόω occurs much more frequently than the passive of πίμπλημι.

44b-47a. The Love of God for his Church: the Church as the body of God. This paragraph continues the eulogy of the Church and of its power which started in § 3 and continued to be developed in § 4. The homilist explains that to God the Church is dearer even than Heaven, and that God himself took the flesh of the Church (at the time of his incarnation).

5.46. ἐκκλησίας. The addition of the particle δέ after the noun ἐκκλησίας, which appears in the text of Montfaucon, is not entirely necessary. As a matter of fact, it seems that whenever in this homily oppositions between two words or two sentences occur, they tend to be constructed without using any adversative adverb or particle.

47b-54a. First address to the audience: the immutable faith. In this paragraph for the first time the homilist addresses directly his audience and gives instructions. The only way to fight the current condition of distress is to continue to have faith. He who has faith can do anything, even walking on water like Peter, but those who doubt will start sinking in the waters.

6.47. γινομένων. The difference between *P* and *Montf* is the tense of the participle – i.e. γινομένων vs γενομένων. The reading transmitted by *P* is preferred because the Latin translator constructed a periphrasis in which he also employed a present tense (see synopsis).

6.48. εἶδες. The readings of both *P* and *Montf* – that is εἶδες and εἶδετε – are grammatically acceptable. As far as the Latin translation of this passage is concerned – which

is *ponamus ante oculos nostros* –, this seems to go towards the direction of the text printed by Montfaucon. Throughout this homily, however, whenever the homilist is addressing his ‘virtual’ adversary, he tends to speak to a second singular person.

Πέτρον. The addition of the article τόν in front of the noun Πέτρον, which is found in *Montf*, is not necessary and can be rejected for two reasons. The first is that with proper names the article is usually omitted, unless the person is already well known and has already been introduced in the context. The second is that in this passage the homilist is alluding to *Matthew* 14:29, where the name of Peter also appears without article.

6.49. ὕδάτων. As mentioned in the previous note, in this passage the homilist is alluding to *Matthew* 14:29, where Peter is said to be walking on water. The Latin text – i.e. *aquas* – agrees with that of *P*, whose reading is thus accepted because of its clear reference to the ὕδατα of the Gospel. However, it could also be argued that here the homilist actually used the word κυμάτων – that is the reading of *Montf* – in order to create an evident link with other passages of the same speech in which the word κύματα is used. Were this the case, then *aquas* and ὕδάτων should be understood as trivializations of scribes who were in great familiarity with the biblical passage and thus innovated the text.

6.50. ἄτακτον. At first sight the readings of both *Montf* and *P* – i.e. ἄτακτον and ἄστατον – seem to be acceptable, but an investigation of the Chrysostomian corpus shows that ἄστατον never occurs. ἄτακτος, on the contrary, can be found very frequently in similar contexts, when Chrysostom speaks of waves and the violence of waves. The reading of *Montf* must therefore be accepted. ἄστατον probably derives from a simple palaeographical problem. The scribe, in fact, must have confused the ligatures at the

beginning of the word ἄτακτον. In addition, the entire expression ἡ ἄτακτος τῶν ὑδάτων ῥύμη is very common in the works of John Chrysostom (see for instance *De Lazaro*, P.G. 48:1040, l. 36; *Expositiones in Psalmos*, P.G. 55:51, l. 26).

ῥύμην. As in the previous note, the difference of readings between *P* and *Montf* – i.e. ῥύμην and ὀρμήν – probably originated from a scribe's mistake in reading. Both readings, however, are technically possible. In context of waves, ὀρμή occurs very often, and its use in similar contexts is attested as early as in the *Odyssey*. However, in the Chrysostomian corpus the word ῥύμη is far more frequent and thus to be preferred to ὀρμή for reasons of *usus scribendi*.

6.51. ἀνθρωπίναις. The text of *Montf* is clearly correct, while the reading of *P* – i.e. ἀνθρωπίνοις – is the result of a grammatical mistake made by a scribe who reckoned the following ψήφοις to be a masculine noun.

6.51. ἤλθωμεν. The words ἵνα φοβηθῶμεν which are found in the manuscript *P* added after the verb ἤλθωμεν seem to be an addition made by a scribe who was aiming at making the text easier for future readers. As a matter of fact, in order to understand the meaning of the passage, the words of *P* are not necessary.

- 7 -

54b-60a. The plans of the devil. The theme of this paragraph is directly connected to what has been said at § 3. The enemy of John is the devil, whose aim was to destabilize the city. Because he found the city steady, he tried to weaken it by attacking the Church (and thus

its bishop). However, these attacks are vain, because – the homilist explains – the community which forms the Church is united by the bond of faith.

7.55. ἠθέλησεν ὁ διάβολος. The *ordo verborum* of both *P* and *Montf* – i.e. ἠθέλησεν ὁ διάβολος vs ὁ διάβολος ἠθέλησεν – is grammatically acceptable, although that of *P* is certainly more refined.

7.56-57. ἐκκλησίας προσδοκᾷς περιγενέσθαι; The text of both *P* and *Montf* – i.e. ἐκκλησίας προσδοκᾷς περιγενέσθαι; vs ἐκκλησίαν προσδοκᾷς σαλεῦσαι; – is clearly in opposition and the decision to print that of *P* is reinforced by the fact that the text of the Latin translation offers the same repetition of the verbs περιεγένου... ... περιγενέσθαι which are found in *P* (that is, *Lat*: *deicere*... ...*deicere*).

7.57-58. Ἐν τῷ πλήθει τῶν πιστῶν ἡ ἐκκλησία. As has already been shown in chapter two, the omission of this passage in the text of *P* is due to *saut du même au même*. The same word ἐκκλησία, in fact, appears just in the previous sentence: ἐν τοίχοις ἡ ἐκκλησία. The Latin, on the contrary, correctly follows the text printed by Montfaucon: *in multitudine piorum*.

7.58. Ἴδοὺ. The Latin version clearly follows the text printed by Montfaucon, that is Ἴδοὺ and *Ecce*. The scribe of *P* misspelled the word creating an imperative – i.e. ἰδέ –, which in this context is questionable. In any case, the agreement of *Montf* and *Lat* is enough for us to accept their readings.

7.59. ἀλλὰ πίστει ἐσφιγμένοι. The omission of this sentence in *P* is due to *homoeoteleuton*. The scribe, in fact, caused this omission because he was confused by the

word δεδεμένοι which occurs in the previous sentence. The Latin translation correctly follows what has been transmitted by *Montf*, i.e. *sed fide vincti*.

οὐδέ. The reading transmitted by *Montf* – i.e. οὔτε – is the result of a scribal corruption and creates problems in terms of sense (see the Latin translation in the synopsis).

εἰ εἶς. The text transmitted by *Montf* has to be preferred because the *ordo verborum* of *P* – i.e. εἶς εἰ – is not satisfactory. This is a very common case of transposition of words due to the mistake in a scribe's thought.

- 8 -

60b-65. The example of the martyrs. To destroy the faith of a believer is impossible, as the example of the martyrs clearly demonstrates. The homilist carefully chooses the best possible example to show the uselessness of the attacks to the Church, that of the most harmless martyr: a young and female subject.

8.60. Οὐκ. The context of this passage requires the negation transmitted by *P*, and the proof of this is that the Latin translation is constructed on the basis of a negative verb: *nescis quae tibi fecerint martyres*.

τραύματα. The reading offered by *P* – i.e. πράγματα – is *lectio facilior*. This erroneous reading can be easily explained as a mistake of spelling made by the scribe of *P*.

8.61. ἀπαλή. The omission of *P* cannot be accepted, because the reading of *Montf* has a precise correspondance in the text of the Latin translation – i.e. *aetate tenera*. The scribe of *P* must have omitted the word accidentally.

Κηροῦ ἢ ἀπαλωτέρα. The omission of this passage in the text of *P* and *Lat* probably

originated from a reading mistake of *homoeoteleuton* between ἀπαλωτέρα and the following στερρωτέρα. The passage needs to be retained for reason of *concinntas*.

8.62. πέτρας. The readings of *Montf* and *P* – that is πέτρας and σιδήρου – are in principle both acceptable. However, in similar contexts, analysis of the Chrysostomian corpus shows that the word πέτρα occurs much more frequently than σίδηρος. The corruption of this noun in the subarchetype from which *P* and *Lat* – which translates *ferro* – derive can be explained as a consequence of the previous omission.

στερρωτέρα. In the Chrysostomian corpus the spelling of the reading of *P* – i.e. στερρωτέρα – is by far more common than that transmitted by *Montf* – i.e. στερεωτέρα.

8.62-63. καὶ τὸ αἷμα ἐξέχεας. The expression καὶ τὸ αἷμα ἐξέχεας occurs very frequently throughout the entire Chrysostomian corpus, especially in contexts of martyrs. It is peculiar that both *Montf* and *Lat*, which belong to two different branches of the tradition, omitted this passage. It could be that at this point the transmission process was influenced by the assonance with the preceding ἔξεες.

8.63. αὐτῆς. The omission of *Montf* seems unjustified and agreement between the Greek αὐτῆς and the Latin *eius* seems to be a strong guarantee of the antiquity of this reading.

8.64. ἀπηγορεύθη. An investigation of the vocabulary of the Chrysostomian corpus shows that, although both verbs transmitted by *Montf* and *P* are grammatically acceptable and correct, the reading transmitted by *P* – i.e. ἀπευδόκησεν – occurs only once, in a pseudo-Chrysostomian homily: *In publicanum et phariseum*, P.G. 62:726, l. 72. In addition, the reading of *Montf* – i.e. ἀπηγορεύθη – seems semantically closer to the meaning of the Latin:

et robur fidei non defecit.

Ἐδαπανᾶτο. The readings of both *Montf* and *P* are grammatically acceptable, the problem being only a difference between active or passive form. The text offered by *Montf* has been preferred, because it is possible to explain the origin of the form of *P* – i.e. ἔδαπάνᾱ – as the result of an accidental loss of the ending -το, due to the presence of the following article τό, which must have confused the scribe.

8.65. ἀνηλίσκετο. Although the insertion of δὲ after ἀνηλίσκετο – as transmitted by *Montf* – is grammatically acceptable, yet this is not necessary, as it is inferable from the rest of the homily, where in a similar context of oppositions the homilist did not feel the need of adding such particles as δέ.

οὐσία. The text transmitted by *Montf* is mirrored by the Latin *substantia* and is, therefore, to be considered correct. The reading of *P* – i.e. θυσία – probably originated by confusion of θ with ο.

- 9 -

65a-70a. The attacks of the devil are pointless. This paragraph enlarges what has been just said in the previous paragraph. As it is impossible to prevail over a young woman, it is likewise absurd to think of prevailing over such a community as the Church of Constantinople.

9.66. μιᾶς. The addition in *P* of the words κόρης ἀπειρογάμου after μιᾶς does not find any correspondance in the Latin translation. They probably represent a gloss introduced by a scribe who was influenced by the passage κόρη ἀπαλὴ ἀπειρόγαμος that is at line 61.

9.66-67. περιγενέσθαι δήμου προσδοκᾷς; The *ordo verborum* of both *P* and *Montf* – i.e. περιγενέσθαι δήμου προσδοκᾷς vs δήμου προσδοκᾷς περιγενέσθαι – are theoretically both acceptable, although that of *P* seems to be more refined.

9.67. τοῦ Κυρίου λέγοντος ὅτι. The omission of λέγοντος which is found in *P* cannot be retained, because the same word is found in the Latin translator – that is *dicentis*. This omission might have occurred by accident, while copying a long unit of words from the exemplar. In addition to that, the following ὅτι finds its correspondance in the Latin *quia*, and its presence is better explainable if preceded by a *verbum dicendi*.

9.68. εἰς τὸ ὄνομά μου. The omission of this passage in *P* can be explained as a simple mistake of a scribe, who accidentally omitted a few words. As a matter of fact, the same text of *Montf* is found identical in that of the Latin translation: *in nomine meo*.

- 10 -

70b-75a. The power of the Scriptures. After finishing the eulogy of his community, the homilist starts talking about himself, and implicitly saying that he is prepared for the worst, because he relies on his faith, that is on the Scriptures.

10.71-72. Ἐκεῖνό μοι βακτηρία, ἐκεῖνό μοι ἀσφάλεια, ἐκεῖνό μοι λιμὴν ἀκύμαντος. Κἂν ἡ οἰκουμένη ταραττήται, τὸ γραμματεῖον κατέχω. The origin of the omission of this long passage in *P* has been already explained in chapter two. As it is evident from the agreement of the text of *Montf* with that of the Latin version – i.e. *Manum ipsius teneo, illa mihi cautio satis tuta est, illa me securum reddet et intrepidum. Etiamsi orbis terrae commoveatur, ego cautionem Domini mei teneo* – the omission must have originated from a

scribal mistake of reading due to *saut du même au même*.

10.73. ἐμοὶ τεῖχος. The *ordo verborum* of both *P* and *Montf* – i.e. ἐμοὶ τεῖχος vs τεῖχος ἐμοὶ – are acceptable, although preference is given to that of *P* because in many other places of this homily ἐμοί precedes the noun.

10.74. Ἴδού. The reading of *P* has a perfect correspondance in the text of the Latin version – that is *Ecce* –, as well as in the corresponding Biblical passage which the homilist is quoting (see Nestle-Aland's edition of the *Novum Testamentum*, *Matthew* 28:20).

- 11 -

75b-79a. The company of Christ. John is not alone, but benefits from the company of Christ. The metaphor of the sea and of the waves which was introduced in the exordium is mentioned again.

11.76. φοβηθήσομαι. The reading offered by *P* – i.e. ἔχω φοβηθῆναι – is rejected on the evidence of the agreement between the text of *Montf* and that of the Latin translation, that is φοβηθήσομαι and *quem timebo*.

διεγερθῇ. The difference between the reading of *P* – that is διεγερθῇ – and that of *Montf* – i.e. διεγείρηται – is that of a passive aorist *versus* a present middle-passive subjunctive. In terms of grammar, both readings are acceptable, since the context is that of a hypothetical clause of the second type. However, the reading offered by *P* represents the *lectio difficilior*.

11.76-77. καὶ ἄν θόρυβοι. The omission of this passage in the text printed by Montfaucon is a common case of reading mistake due to *saut du même au même*. As a matter of fact,

although the Latin translator rendered this passage rather freely, it is still possible to recognize its origin in the text of *P*: *etiamsi totum pelagus adversum me conturbetur*.

11.77. γάρ. The absence of γάρ in the text of *Montf* is unjustified and its omission seems due to a mechanical scribal mistake.

11.77-78. καὶ ἀράχνης. The text of *P* is clearly followed by the Latin translator, which rendered it with the words *et araneis*. Although at first sight the readings of *P* and *Lat* may appear redundant, on closer inspection this passage actually suits very well the rhetorical character of the rest of the homily, where the homilist seems to indulge in repetition of concepts and of words similar to this one.

- 12 -

79b-83a. The will of God. John tells his audience that he is prepared to do anything which God orders him to do. Many scholars have interpreted this paragraph as a sign that John Chrysostom was still hoping not to leave the city.

12.80. ἀλλὰ τι σύ βούλει. The Latin translation of this passage of the homily – that is *sed quod tu vis* – proved very useful in reconstructing the original text at this point, which must have been ἀλλὰ τι σύ βούλει. The addition of εἴ after the conjunction ἀλλὰ printed by Montfaucon was thus rejected, and the reading of *P* σοὶ (sic) βουλεύει emended.

12.81. Τοῦτο. In terms of grammar the readings of both *P* and *Montf* are acceptable – that is Τοῦτο vs Οὗτος. However, preference is given to the text found in *P* because of its symmetry with the following τοῦτο ἐμοὶ πέτρα ἀκίνητος, τοῦτο ἐμοὶ βακτηρία ἀπερίτρεπτος.

12.82. Ἄ βούλεται ὁ Θεὸς, ταῦτα γινέσθω. The text transmitted by *P* offers a classical example of prolepsis of the relative pronoun. The grammar of *P* is perfect and therefore its readings are preferred to that of *Montf* – which reads Εἰ βούλεται ὁ Θεὸς, οὗτος γινέσθαι. In addition, the presence of γινέσθαι in *Montf* seems unnecessary and redundant.

12.82-83. με ἐνταῦθα εἶναι. The difference in the *ordo verborum* of this passage – that is με ἐνταῦθα εἶναι of *P* vs εἶναί με ἐνταῦθα of *Montf* – is directly connected to the text discussed in the previous note. Since both readings are grammatically acceptable and make sense, the decision to print the text of *P* follows the same principles which have been adopted in dealing with the passage above.

12.83. Οὐ. In this passage the reading of *Montf* – i.e. Ὅπου – has been rejected because of the clear correspondence between the text of *P* – i.e. Οὐ – and that of the Latin translator – i.e. *non* –, which represents a guarantee of its antiquity. The style of the entire final section of this paragraph seems to reflect that of an orally delivered text, rather than that of a discourse which was written down in advance.

- 13 -

83b-86a. Second address to the audience: the importance of prayers. For the second time the homilist speaks to his audience and exhorts it to continue to pray.

13.85. αὐτῷ. The reading offered by *P* – i.e. αὐτοῦ – cannot be accepted for reasons of grammar, for the verb προχωρέω needs a dative.

13.86. εὗρομεν καὶ θερμότερους. The difference between the text transmitted by *P* – i.e.

εὐρομεν καὶ θερμότερους – and that printed by Montfaucon – that is καὶ θερμότερους εὐρήκαμεν – concerns both the *ordo verborum* of the sentence and the tense of its verb. Although both readings are technically acceptable and the evidence of the Latin version is, in this case, of no help – i.e. *nisi quia sollicitiores vos inveniet et fervidiores efficiet* –, preference has been given to the text of *P* because its *ordo verborum* represents the *lectio difficilior*.

- 14 -

86b-91a. The audience is prepared for the departure of John. The homilist explains to his community that nothing can separate them, because they are like one body from whom the head cannot be separated. Neither death nor physical distance can separate John from his Church, because they will always be reunited through love and prayers.

14.86-87. εἰς λιτανεῖον. The Latin translator clearly follows the same text which has been printed by Montfaucon, that is *ad orationes*. The omission of the words εἰς λιτανεῖον in the text of *P* might have originated by a mistake of reading due to *homoeoteleuton* between the ending of the word λιτανεῖον and that of the preceding αὐρίον. Although agreement between *Montf* and *Lat* guarantees that the word must have been present in the original, it is also worth noting that the term λιτανεῖον is a *hapax legomenon*. A closer inspection of this passage suggests that it was corrupted at some point of the transmission process, for good grammar requires the verb ἐξελεύσομαι to be constructed with a genitive, rather than with εἰς + accusative.

14.87. ἐκεῖ καὶ ὑμεῖς. The text of *P* is preferred over that of *Montf* – i.e. ἐκεῖ καὶ ὑμεῖς

vs καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐκεῖ – on the evidence of the Latin translation, which represents a case of translation *verbum de verbo* : *ibi et vos*.

14.89. Εἰ καί. The omission of Εἰ καί in the text of Montfaucon is rejected and the reading transmitted by *P* preferred for reasons of sense, and also because it is clearly followed by the Latin translator: *etiamsi*. This sentence is a hypothetical clause of the first type, with both *protasis* and *apodosis* in the indicative: Εἰ καὶ διειργόμεθα τῷ τόπῳ, ἀλλ' ἠνώμεθα τῇ ἀγάπῃ.

14.90. Ἐμὲ ὑμῶν. The omission of the words ἐμὲ ὑμῶν in the text of *Montf* could be taken as *lectio difficilior*, although without these words the text actually becomes ambiguous. The presence of the same words in the Latin translation (i.e. *ego a vobis*) is a strong guarantee of its antiquity.

- 15 -

91b-98a. The flock of John. This paragraph seems to open the last section of the homily, because from now on the tone of the speech becomes extremely emotional, at least from a rhetorical point of view. For the homilist addresses the audience with a series of epithets which deal with the language of family bonds, and even declares himself to be ready to suffer martyrdom thousands of times.

15.92. πατέρες. The reading printed by Montfaucon is accepted because of its mirroring counterpart in the Latin translation – that is: *patres*. The reading transmitted by *P* – i.e. πατρίς – might have originated from a scribal mistake of connection of thought, that is by influence of the preceding τοῦ δήμου.

γάρ. The omission of the conjunction γάρ in the text printed by Montfcaucon is not retainable, because the syntactical position and the explicative use of γάρ are grammatically correct and perfectly fit in the context.

δυνήσομαι. The future tense verb transmitted by *P* – i.e. δυνήσομαι – fits very well to the semantic context of this passage of the homily, where the homilist is making promises to his audience. The reading of *Montf* – i.e. δύνωμαι – is, on the contrary, weaker.

15.93. μήτηρ. The reading transmitted by *Montf* in this point – i.e. πατέρες – seems to be corrupted, for agreement between *P* and *Lat* – i.e. μήτηρ and *mater* – cannot have originated by mere chance.

15.94. ὁ ἐμός. The reading of *Montf* – i.e. ἐμοὶ ζωή – seems to originate from a process of *accumulatio*. This word will reappear later, towards the end of the homily (line 117). The word ‘life’ is also absent in the Latin translation.

15.95. ἐτοίμως ἔχω. From the point of view of the grammar, the reading of *P* – i.e. ἐτοίμως ἔχω – and that of *Montf* – i.e. ἔτοιμος – are both acceptable. However, close inspection of the *loci similes* and the *usus scribendi* of the rest of the Chrysostomian corpus shows that the sentence ‘I am ready to die/sacrifice’ always occurs following the syntactical construction ἐτοίμως ἔχω (see for instance *In Acta apostolorum*, *P.G.* 60:315, l. 41; *In epistulam ad Ephesios*, *P.G.* 62:65, l. 20). In addition, whenever Chrysostom uses the adjective ἔτοιμος as attribute of the subject of a sentence, the verb is usually specified, even when the verb ‘to be’ is employed (see for instance *Ad populum Antiochenum*, *P.G.* 49:41, l. 45; *De sanctis martyribus*, *P.G.* 50:651, l. 34).

98b-104a. Martyrdom as a source of immortality. In this paragraph, which continues in the same tone as the previous one, the homilist declares his love for his community, that everything he has done was for the improvement of his flock, and that his eventual death is only a source of immortality.

16.98. Ἑμοὶ ὁ θάνατος οὗτος. The omission of the article and of the demonstrative adjective of *P* are not justifiable, because the following αἱ ἐπιβουλαὶ αὗται offers a symmetrical parallel. At first sight the reading of *P* could appear as *difficilior*, but the sentence ὁ θάνατος οὗτος as referred to the death of a precise category of people (like, for instance, the martyrs), can be found very often in the rest of the Chrysostomian corpus (see for instance *Expositiones in Psalmos*, P.G. 55:230, l. 36; *In epistulam ii ad Timotheum*, P.G. 62:652, l. 52).

16.99. αἱ ἐπιβουλαὶ αὗται. This passage is a case of adia phorous variants, for the difference between the plural of *Montf* – i.e. αἱ ἐπιβουλαὶ αὗται – and the singular of *P* – i.e. ἡ ἐπιβουλή αὕτη – has little effect on the meaning of the sentence. The Latin translation is of no help, because it omits this words.

16.101-102. Ἐπειδὴ πάντα ποιῶ, ὥστε ὑμᾶς. The omission of this passage in the text of *P* is due to a mechanical mistake of *saut du même au même*, as it is clearly shown by the presence of this passage, which has been transmitted by *Montf*, in the Latin translation: *quia omnia ago ut vos*.

16.102. ἀσφαλεία. The reading transmitted by *P* – that is ἐπασφάλεια – does not exist.

It could be possible that this reading (which may hide the former presence of the preposition ἐπί) originated in order to remedy the loss preceding ἐπειδὴ πάντα ποιῶ ὥστε ὑμᾶς.

μείναι. The alternative reading offered by *P* – i.e. μείνατε – can be explained by following the same arguments which have been given in the note above, that is it might have originated from the intervention of a scribe who tried to give sense to a corrupted passage.

16.103-4. ἄρκει μοι εἰς στέφανον. The Latin translator clearly followed the same text which is transmitted by *Montf*, that is ἄρκει μοι εἰς στέφανον and *haec sufficient mihi ad coronam*. The reading offered by *P* – that is σάρκινοί εἰσιν στέφανοι – is, on the contrary, problematic, because its meaning appears in contradiction with the context. The origin of such reading may be due to a mistake of copy from an exemplar in uncial.

- 17 -

104b-107a. Final address to the audience. This paragraph is directly connected to § 15, for it presents the same series of epithets with which John has been addressing the audience.

17.104. Τί γὰρ οὐκ ἂν πάθοιμι ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν; The omission of the negation οὐκ in the text printed by Montfaucon is not entirely justifiable. In addition, agreement between *P* and *Lat* – in which one finds the word *non* – shows the antiquity of this reading.

17.106-7. ὑμεῖς ἐμοὶ φῶς, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ τοῦ φωτὸς τούτου γλυκύτεροι. The text offered by *Montf* finds a clear correspondence in that of the Latin translator – i.e. *vos mihi lux, immo et ista luce dulciores* – and the omission of the words φῶς μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ in the text of *P* might have originated from a scribal mistake of thought due to reduplication of the word φῶς a short distance away.

107b-120. Conclusion: final thanks to the community. At the end of the homily John thanks his community for its love and prayers. He praises his people for all the support he received and courage they have shown during the last days. The love of his Church is the last recompense John will bring with himself into exile.

18.107. μοι παρέχει τοιοῦτον. This is yet another case of adia phorous variants, for between the *ordo verborum* of *P* and that of *Montf* – i.e. μοι παρέχει τοιοῦτον vs τοιοῦτον παρέχει μοι – there is not a real difference. However, the word order of *P* seems to be much more recurrent in the Chrysostomian corpus and is, therefore, retained.

18.107&108. ἀκτίς. The spelling of *Montf* ἀκτῖνα is technically correct and therefore acceptable. However, a thorough investigation of the Chrysostomian vocabulary shows that the form ἀκτῖνα is never used with the exception of this homily (according to the edition of Montfaucon), while in the rest of his corpus, Chrysostom always uses the form ἀκτίς (see for instance *Expositiones in Psalmos*, P.G. 55:351, l. 29; *In epistulam i ad Corinthios*, P.G. 61:303, l. 59).

18.108. ἐν τῷ παρόντι βίῳ. From the point of view of the grammar the verb ὠφειλέω can be found alone (that is used absolutely) or with the accusative of the person who benefits from something. Consequently, the presence (as in *P*) or absence (as in *Montf*) of με does not make the sentence more (or less) grammatically correct. However, such construction of the verb ὠφειλέω, where an accusative (με) is inserted between the two elements both in the dative case – like in this case, ἐν τῷ παρόντι βίῳ, is almost non-existent in the

Chrysostomian corpus. Unfortunately on this point the Latin version is of no help, because the translator changed the whole passage semantically. In addition, it could also be argued that με might have been added by a scribe in order to make the text more understandable.

18.109. δέ. The omission of the connective particle in the text of *P* is unjustified from the point of view of the sense. In addition, the evidence of the Latin translation, which translated the Greek δέ with *autem*, is a guarantee of its antiquity.

18.111. μαλακωτέρους. The addition of ὑμᾶς after μαλακωτέρους in the text of Montfaucon seems to be a scribal trivialization. As a matter of fact, the presence of the pronoun ‘you’ occurs just one line above, and its presence in this passage sounds redundant. The Latin version here is of no help, because the translator freely expounds the passage. In any case, the text of *P* remains the *lectio difficilior*.

18.113. τοῦτο; Ἐγένεσθε. The *ordo verborum* of the two readings – i.e. *P* τοῦτο; Ἐγένεσθε vs *Montf* Ἐγένεσθε τοῦτο – definitely changes the meaning of the sentence. The evidence of the Latin translation suggests to maintain the text of *P* (although at this point the Latin translator rendered the Greek passage freely, *video in vobis quod semper optavi*).

18.113-114. κατεφρονήσατε τῶν βιωτικῶν. The addition of the word πραγμάτων after βιωτικῶν in the text printed by Montfaucon is certainly *lectio facilior*. An investigation of the occurrences of βιωτικά in the Chrysostomian corpus confirms that the reading of *P* is very common and needs no alteration.

18.115. ἀμιλλᾷσθε. The reading transmitted by *P* – that is ἀίναλάσθε – seems to be the result of a pure palaeographical scribal mistake of transcription.

18.116. στέφανοι, ταῦτα παράκλησις, ταῦτα. As it has been shown in chapter two, this passage was already lost in the subarchetype from which both *P* and the Latin translation derive. As a consequence, the text offered by *Montf* must be retained.

18.117. ἀλείμματα. The difference between the reading of *P* and that of *Montf* – that is ἀλείμματα vs ἄλειμμα – is another case of adiaaphorous variants. Both readings can be accepted, although the Latin rendering *unguenta* is of help in choosing the plural transmitted by *P*.

ἐμοὶ²... ..ἐμοὶ³. There is no reason to follow the omission of ἐμοὶ²... ..ἐμοὶ³ presented by *Montf*, because such rhetorical way of repeating ἐμοὶ seems to be systematic throughout the whole homily.

18.118-120. Ὑπὲρ <δὲ> τούτων ἀπάντων εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ Θεῷ, ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος καὶ ἡ τιμὴ καὶ ἡ μεγαλοπρέπεια εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν. The problem concerning the doxology has already been discussed in chapter two when dealing with the two recensions and with the problem of authenticity. In this passage there was no need to make choice of reading, because the text transmitted by *P* and *Lat* – i.e. *pro his gratias agamus deo cui gloria in saecula saeculorum amen* – simply belongs to a different recension than the text printed by Montfaucon.

4.2. *Sermo cum iret in exsilium*

Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου

ὁμιλία ὅτε ἀπῆει εἰς τὴν ἐξορίαν

Outline

- | | |
|--------|---|
| 1-10a | <p>1. <i>Exordium</i></p> <p>In spite of the turmoil of events, not everything is lost, especially because John's congregation came to support him. Whoever believes in Christ fears neither death, nor exile, nor the confiscation of property.</p> |
| 10b-19 | <p>2. <i>John's explanation of his condemnation</i></p> <p>John was disliked for not having supported his enemies' luxury and gluttony, and accused of impiety for supposed irregularity in performing baptisms.</p> |
| 20-27a | <p>3. <i>Theological justification of John's exile: first allusion to Job</i></p> <p>Every tempest in life has its solution in the Scriptures. The exile is nothing else than God's testing his servant's obedience. John is handed over to the devil for his own sake.</p> |
| 27b-34 | <p>4. <i>Instructions to the congregation</i></p> <p>Abraham, Job, and Joseph are presented as models of faith, resistance to temptation, and chastity.</p> |

- 35-41a *5. Digression on Joseph*
- Like Joseph was tempted by the Egyptian prostitute, John has just been tested by another Egyptian (Theophilus of Alexandria). Both attempts proved vain and revealed the nobility of the two men.
- 41b-44 *6. Comparison of the thief and the devil*
- John is the fair object of the devil's attack because as the thief goes where valuables are, the devil assaults noble men, not dishonourable ones.
- 45-48a *7. First invective against the Empress*
- Eudoxia's behavior is compared to the madness of Jezebel, Herodias, and the Egyptian prostitute.
- 48b-53a *8. Prophets' and saints' examples of endurance*
- John is ready to follow the example of endurance shown by Elijah, Jeremiah, Jonah, Daniel, Isaiah, and by that of John the Baptist, Paul, and Stephen.
- 53b-60a *9. Second invective against the Empress*
- Eudoxia's attempt to fight the Church is vain, because the corporeal cannot prevail over what is incorporeal.
- 60b-76a *10. Digression on Job*
- Just as Job praised God both in prosperous and hard times, and rebuked the foolishness of his wife who invited him to curse God, John

is ready to accept both the good and the bad things sent by God, and to glorify him at any time.

76b-79

11. *Third invective against the Empress*

Eudoxia behaves like Jezebel and instead of helping John, she sends guards against him. Every attempts to damage John is, however, pointless.

80-86

12. *Conclusion*

John is ready for exile and sure to have his crown of glory now secured. As victory is laid up in sufferings, by means of his exile, John has fought his good fight and finished his race.

Φαιδρὸς ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος, ἀδελφοί, καὶ λαμπρὰ ἡ πανήγυρις·	مجلسنا ضائع مجلسنا مجلل.	Մարդասէր մեզ ժողովս, և պայծառ մեզ սօնս է այսօր.
Cheerful is our discourse – brothers – and magnificent the assembly;	Illustrious is our assembly and splendid our discourse.	Gracious is this (present) assembly for us, and splendid is this celebration of today for us.
καὶ θάλαττα εὐρύχωρος ἐμπεπλησμένη νεφῶν, ἀλλ' οὐ ταραττομένη τῇ ζάλῃ τῶν ἀνέμων.	مجلسنا مملوء بالغيوم ولا يزعجها زوال الرياح.	ծով արեւործութեամբ լցեալ, այլ ոչ ամբոխեալ 'ի խռովու- թենէն:
Ἦλθε γὰρ ἡ μήτηρ τῆς εἰ- ρήνης, ἡ κατασβεννύουσα τὴν ζάλην τῶν ἀνέμων·	وحيثما مستقره... وحيثما مستقره... وحيثما مستقره...	Քանզի եկեալ այսր մայրն խաղաղութեան շիջուցանէ զամբոխս, զի լցցի ասացեալն յերանե- ւոյն Դաւթայ.
Μήτηρ Σιών, ἐρεῖ ἄνθρω- πος, καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἐγενή- θη ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐθε- μελίωσεν αὐτήν ὁ ὕψιστος.	وحيثما مستقره... وحيثما مستقره... وحيثما مستقره...	“Մայր զՄիովն ասէ մարդ, և մարդ ծնաւ 'ի նմա, և ինքն հիմնեցոյց զնա բարձրեալն,;”
and the wide sea is full of clouds, but not troubled by the storm of winds.	And the troubled sea was pacified,	The sea [is] full with the storm, but not excited by the tumult.
For the windstorm-quenching mo- ther of peace came:	for his mother – the church – extinguished his tempests. so that the word said by the blessed David may fulfil [its prediction]: ³	For the mother of peace who is here cools down the tumults, in order that what has been said by the blessed David will be fulfilled:
<i>‘And of Sion it shall be said, This and that man was born in her: and the highest himself shall establish her.’</i>	<i>‘it was said of Sion.’⁴ the strong man was born in her and he has founded her’.</i>	<i>‘A man shall call Sion mother, and a man was born in her, and the Highest himself has founded her.’</i>

1-10a. Exordium. At the beginning of his sermon the homilist starts by comforting his audience that although John is in the middle of troubles there is nothing to fear. With the help

3 This sentence can also be translated ‘so that it might fulfil the word spoken by the blessed David’.

4 I.e. ‘for [with regard] to Sion it was said’.

of the Church and trust in God, neither death, nor exile, nor the confiscation of property can harm him in any way.

1.1. ἄδελφοί. The homilist addresses his audience with the vocative ‘brothers’ four more times in this homily (i.e. in §§ 2,4,6,7) and at those points the word ἄδελφοί is never followed by the possessive μου. In the Armenian and Syriac translations⁵ the audience is always addressed with the words ‘my children’, as it is the case in §2 of the Greek – i.e. τέκνιά μου. The syntagm ἄδελφοί μου as appellation of the audience is found only twice in the genuine Chrysostomian corpus,⁶ while it is more frequent among the spurious works.⁷ It is remarkable that both ancient translations omit the syntagm. This fact means that either the syntagm was present in the original of the lost Greek text but was missing in the exemplar from which Armenian and Syriac derive, or that syntagm was added at a later stage and *B* and *A* consequently descend from a same late (i.e. already transliterated) archetype.

ἡ πανήγυρις. The article is to be restored, for it is rhetorically symmetrical to the previous ὁ λόγος. The presence of an original article is also revealed in the Armenian translation, where in both instances the demonstrative suffix –u is added: *ժողովս* and *սոδυ*. The translator, thus, shows himself to be able to make full use of the possibilities of the

5 Whenever in this chapter I make reference to the Armenian and Syriac translations, the reader must imply that with that label I am not referring to the translations of the CUM IRET, but to the Armenian and Syriac translations of the lost Greek text from which the CUM IRET derives.

6 See John Chrysostom, *In epistulam ad Romanos*, P.G. 60:497, ll. 8-9, and *In epistulam ad Galatas commentarius*, P.G. 61:660, l. 28.

7 See John Chrysostom, *De pseudoprophetis*, P.G. 59:565, l. 11; *De paenitentia* (sermo 2), P.G. 60:701, l. 10; *De caritate*, P.G. 62:771, ll. 29-30; *Eclogae i-xlvi ex diversis homiliis*, P.G. 63:849, l. 7; *In euangelii dictum et de uirginitate*, P.G. 64:41, l. 14 and 64:43, l. 2.

Armenian language, in which a clear difference among ‘*this* near to me’ (–*u*), ‘*that* near to you’ (–*t*), and ‘*that* near to a third person’ (–*u*), can be clearly stated. In this case –*u* is logically employed in accordance with the Greek ἡμῖν (i.e. Arm. Դեզ). In Syriac the pronominal suffix ‘our’ (i.e. ܐܢܝܢ) is added to the two relevant words: ܐܢܝܢܐ and ܐܢܝܢܐ. The Greek ἡμῖν is, however, lost, for Syriac syntax does not allow the dative of possession in the same form as it is possible in Greek and Armenian.

1.2. νεφῶν. The reading of *A* – i.e. νηῶν, to be emended to νεῶν (‘boats’) – is very interesting, as it brings syntactical meaning to the passive perfect participle ἐμπεπλησμένη, i.e. ‘full (of)’. However, *A*’s reading asks for a further emendation or conjecture – i.e. νεφῶν (‘clouds’) –, for the Armenian translates this passage with ծովը արհեստագործական լցեալ, i.e. ‘the sea is full of storm’, and ‘storm’ is one of the meanings of the word νέφος in Patristic times.⁸

οὐ. The reading of *B* – i.e. οὐ – is a simple scribal mistake, because a genitive of the relative pronoun would be meaningless here.

1.4. Σιών. When it is printed with an accent, the word ‘Sion’ appears as in *B*, i.e. Σιών. Because this passage of the homily is an actual quotation from the Bible, some editors would perhaps prefer to maintain the accentuation of Rahlfs’ *Septuaginta*, i.e. Σιών. The punctuation too differs from the text of Montfaucon.

1.5. ἐγενήθη. Montfaucon’s emendation of the verb γίγνομαι/γίνωμαι into its (in this

8 See LAMPE, 907/b.

instance) synonym γεννάω is unjustified. The *Septuagint* has ἐγενήθη too.⁹

1.5/6. ὁ ὕψιστος. The *Psalms* was usually the most read book of the Old Testament, and one very often learned by heart in childhood. It seems therefore unlikely that the homilist left his Biblical quotation incomplete, renouncing the emphasis provided by the most important word of the sentence, i.e. ‘the Highest’. ὁ ὕψιστος is mirrored in the Armenian բարձրեալն, and the omission of *B* can be considered as due to an accident of copying. The Syriac does not translate ὁ ὕψιστος, although this is not too surprising when considering that in the Syriac version of the *Psalter* the words ‘the Highest’ are not present either.

1.7. Χριστὸς. *B*’s article can be rejected, for the parallel word, κέρδος, has no article either. In addition to it, in a locus similis of *Sermo antequam iret in exsilium* Χριστὸς is also written without an article.¹⁰

1.8. ἐξορία. The insertions of *B* after ἐξορία and χρημάτων δήμευσις – i.e. παραπέμψουσι and ἔσται μοι – seem to be trivializations of a later scribe who aimed to make the text easier to understand, but are unnecessary. Two Chrysostomian *loci similes* present the same tripartite series of terms – i.e. ‘death, exile, and confiscation of property’ – and they are never followed by the verbs offered by the text of *B*.¹¹

1.9. χρημάτων. The reading of *B* – i.e. χριμάτων – is a mere error of iotacism, as here the homilist is talking of ‘confiscation of property’, and not of ‘unguents’.

δήμευσις. See note 1.8.

⁹ See SEPTUAGINTA, II, 94.

¹⁰ See *Sermo antequam iret in exsilium*, P.G. 52:427*, l. 16.

¹¹ See John Chrysostom’s *Sermo antequam iret in exsilium*, P.G. 52:427*, ll. 16-19, and *Epistulae ad Olympiadem* 9:4, l. 57.

εἰσηνέγκαμεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον. The transposition of *B* is a simplification of the syntax. The ordo verborum of *A*, in fact, is identical in a locus similis of *Sermo antequam iret in exsilium* and, more significantly, in *1 Tim 6:7*, of which this sentence is actually a textual citation.¹²

1.10. τι. *A*'s interrogative pronoun is syntactically untenable in a declarative clause. In addition, see *1 Tim 6:7*.

- 2 -

10b-19. The homilist's political explanation of John's condemnation. In this section of the sermon the homilist gives his own explanations of the expulsion of John. The bishop, in fact, seems to have been disliked for not having supported the lifestyle of his enemies, that is for criticizing their luxury and gluttony. Because of this reason, he was then accused of impiety for having performed baptism in a supposedly irregular way. This paragraph is not present in either the Armenian or in the Syriac version, and one wonders whether it was present at all in their exemplar(s) or it was actually added on purpose in the CUM IRET. Most of the text of this passage is almost identical to a passage of the Chrysostomian *Sermo antequam iret in exsilium* (see notes below).

2.10. τεκνία. It is extremely common for a bishop to present himself as a paternal figure who takes care of his children, rather than as a brother. Throughout the sermon, the homilist speaks in the first person singular and gives instructions to his audience with authority. Although the term 'brothers' appears four times in the Greek version of the homily, it is

12 See *Sermo antequam iret in exsilium*, P.G. 52:427*, ll. 19-20.

remarkable that the oriental translations always speak of ‘children’, never of ‘brothers’.

2.10/11. μέλλουσί με καθαιρέιν. The verb καθαιρέω has the general meaning of ‘to take down, to put down’, also ‘to destroy’, and, in legal contexts, ‘to condemn’. When used in an ecclesiastical context, καθαιρέω is mainly employed with the sense of ‘degrading’ somebody. The degradation can take different forms, which may involve temporary or irreversible suspension from functions, excommunication, deposition or dethronation, as Lampe explains.¹³ *B*’s dative – i.e. μοι – is a scribal error, because the direct object of καθαιρέω must be an accusative.

2.11/12. σιρική ἱμάτια οὐκ ἐνέδυσσα. *B*’s reading is a minor scribal mistake due to iotacism confusion between η and ι. From the point of view of grammar σιρική is entirely acceptable, bearing the meaning of ‘from Syria, Syrian’. LAMPE wonders whether the adjective σιρικός, -ή, -όν may actually be considered as a variant of σιρικός, -ή, -όν.¹⁴ The syntagm σιρική ἱμάτια, however, occurs thirty-three times throughout the Chrysostomian corpus (both genuine and spurious) and seems to be terminology typical of Chrysostom’s style most probably derived from Biblical vocabulary, while in his corpus there is no attestation of the word ἱμάτιον in conjunction with σιρικός.

2.11/12. ἐνέδυσσα. Both *A* and *B*’s readings are technically acceptable, because there is almost no difference between the active and middle-passive use of the verb ἐνδύω. However, the fact that the following sentence has a verb ending in -σάμην – i.e. ὅτι τὴν

13 See LAMPE 681/a, 682/b and LIDDELL-SCOTT, 489/a.

14 See LAMPE 1232/a.

γαστριμαργίαν αὐτῶν οὐ παρεμυθησάμην – suggests that the scribe of *B* might have been induced to change an original ἐνέδυσσα into ἐνεδυσάμην while copying down a larger portion of text, whose last word was in fact παρεμυθησάμην.

2.12. οὐ παρεμυθησάμην. *A*'s spelling of the middle aorist of the verb παραμυθέω – i.e. ἐπαρεμυ.ησάμην *sic* – is wrong and, thus, untenable, because the augmentation of the aorist should be placed between the preposition and the verb. However, the initial vowel of ἐπαρεμυ.ησάμην helps to explain why in the same manuscript the preceding negation comes to take the οὐκ form.

2.14/15. μὴ ἀριθμηθεῖν εἰς ῥίζας ἐπισκόπων. The reading of *B* – i.e. μετὰ [τῶν] – is logical and perfectly understandable. However, if it were the original text, one could not explain very easily how εἰς ῥίζας originated in the mind of a scribe. As a matter of fact, the phrase ἀριθμεῖσθαι εἰς ῥίζαν/ς ἐπισκόπων is extremely rare in Greek and it is found only in one other place, namely in a parallel passage of Chrysostom's *Sermo antequam iret in exilium* (§4), which says: μὴ ἀριθμηθεῖν εἰς ἐπισκόπων ῥίζαν.¹⁵ On the evidence of this latter passage, Lampe suggests translating the word ῥίζα as 'order'.¹⁶ On palaeographical grounds, it could be possible to safely emend *A*'s plural ῥίζας with a singular accusative. The rarity of the expression may explain the generation of μετὰ by a scribe who tried to make comprehensible a text which he himself did not understand.

2.15. μὴ γένωμαι. The reading offered by the manuscripts – i.e. γένομαι – is an

¹⁵ See *P.G.* 52:431, l. 15.

¹⁶ See *LAMPE* 1217/a.

incorrectly spelled aorist subjunctive, which is grammatically required by μή. Both γένωμαι and Montfaucon's γίνωμαι can be employed, but a locus similis of *Sermo antequam iret in exsilium* (§4) suggests retaining the reading of the manuscripts: μή γένωμαι μετ' ἀγγέλων.¹⁷

2.16. οὐδὲν ἄκαιρον ἐποίησα τῶν λεγομένων. This passage is a case of adiaaphorous variants, because the difference of the *ordo verborum* of the two manuscripts does not affect at all the meaning of the sentence. The clausula of *A* seems preferable to *B*, although it should be borne in mind that a *locus similis* in *Sermo antequam iret in exsilium* (§4) presents the verb at the end of the sentence: οὐδὲν ἄκαιρον τῶν πραγμάτων ἐποίησα – which does give a more natural syntax.¹⁸

2.18/19. καθελέτωσαν καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Κύριον. Montfaucon's omission of καὶ is not satisfying, although it was probably influenced by the reading of *B*, where the first καὶ must have appeared as an erroneous scribal repetition of the second one, due to connection of thought. However, when one considers that the same pattern occurs just a few lines before, when the homilist says καθελέτωσαν καὶ Παῦλον τὸν ἀπόστολον, it is plausible that *A*'s reading is the best text.

17 See *P.G.* 52:431, l. 15.

18 See *P.G.* 52:431, l. 17.

The Lord orders, and the servant is crowned;	And while the master praises, the servant is crowned.	The Lord was praising/praised, and the servant was crowned.
Διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸν παραδί- δωσιν τῷ διαβόλῳ. “Εν δὲ οὐκ οἶδασιν οἱ ἄν- θρωποι ὅτι διὰ τοῦ ἀκαθάρτου τὸ κα- θαρώτατον σκεῦος φανε- ροῦται.	حالا ملا معجبملا ح طرب حبعلا. ملا ولا بهج ٥٥٥ا ح بعلا انا انا انا انا ح معكم انا [ح] حبعلا ٥٥٥ط. طرب انا ملا ح حالا انا ح.	Եւ ընդէ՞ր արդեօք զնա մատ- նես սատանայի: Վասն զի ոչ գիտեն մարդիկ որպիսի նահատակ ունիմ. մատնեմ զնա անմաքրոյն, զի ՚ի ձեռն պղծոյն գեղեցիկ անօթն երևցի:
Because of that, [the Lord] hands him over to the devil. Do not men know one thing, that is that the purest vessel is made known by means of the impure?	On what account will you deliver him into the hands of the evil one? Because the men do not know which athlete I have; I will deliver him to the impure and the unclean, so that by means of it the pure and chosen vessel which I have will be known.	And for what reason you even de- liver him to Satan? Because people do not know what a champion I have. I deliver him to the impure, so that the vessel may appear prop- er by means of the impure.

20-27a. Theological justification of John’s exile: first allusion to Job. Every tempest in life finds its solution in the Scriptures. The exile of John is nothing else than God’s way of testing his servant’s obedience. John is handed over to the devil for his own sake.

3.20. τὰ. The article offered by manuscript *A* can be safely accepted, especially when one considers that the following group of words has an article too (i.e. χαλεπὸν τὸ κλυδώνιον) and that the incipit of *Sermo antequam iret in exsilium*, which this discourse is echoing, presents an article too: Πολλὰ τὰ κύματα καὶ χαλεπὸν τὸ κλυδώνιον.¹⁹

τὸ κλυδώνιον. In the Chrysostomian corpus both words κλυδώνιον and κλύδων are well attested, although the first occurs five times more frequently than the latter one. The two words are synonyms and interchangeable, although the syntagm χαλεπὸν + κλυδώνιον

¹⁹ See *P.G.* 52:427*, l. 11.

occurs at least six more times throughout the Chrysostomian corpus, making the reading of *B* preferable.²⁰

3.21/22. παρεσκευασμένα. The readings offered by the Greek manuscripts – i.e. *A*'s παρασκευασμένα and *B*'s παρασκευασμήνα – are both corrupted spellings of the perfect participle printed by Montfaucon, who thus emended the text of *B*.

3.22. ἐπὶ τὴν παλαιὰν καὶ νέαν διαθήκην. *B*'s ἥγουν is a conjunction that is usually employed to introduce a gloss or an explanation. Although the largest part of the Chrysostomian corpus consists of exegetical works, it is remarkable that among the genuine works the conjunction ἥγουν occurs only six times, meaning that Chrysostom did not really employ this word.²¹ This suggests that ἥγουν was probably absent in the original text, as the Armenian translation shows as well, but that it was added by a later scribe. The fact that the Syriac version has a corresponding word for it does not really come as a surprise, because the Syriac translator always tended to expand and explain the Greek original whenever possible. Because this syntagm is placed in the middle of other sophisticated metaphors, it would not be implausible to consider the entire sentence to be a mere gloss of ἐπὶ τὰς δύο πρύμνας τοῦ πλοίου.

3.23. τὴν ζάλην. *A*'s τὸ ζάλος cannot be retained for at least three reasons. The first is

20 See *Ad Stagirum a daemone vexatum* (lib. 1-3), *P.G.* 47:456, l. 17; *De diabolo tentatore* (hom. 1-3), *P.G.* 49:274, l. 5; *Sermo antequam iret in exsilium*, *P.G.* 52:427*, l. 11; *In Genesim* (hom. 1-67), *P.G.* 53:223, ll. 15-16; *ibidem*, *P.G.* 53:243, ll. 15-16; *Expositiones in Psalmos*, *P.G.* 55:77, l. 58.

21 See *De proditiōe Judae* (hom. 1-2), *P.G.* 49:390, l. 60; *In principium Actorum* (hom. 1-4), *P.G.* 51:105, l. 36; *Epistulae* 18-242, *P.G.* 52:627, l. 17; *Expositiones in Psalmos*, *P.G.* 55:240, l. 42; *In Joannem* (hom. 1-88), *P.G.* 59:480, l. 42; *In epistulam ii ad Corinthios* (hom. 1-30), *P.G.* 61:527, l. 4.

syntactical, i.e. in order to be accepted, the word ὁ ζάλος ('mud')²² should be in accusative, that is: τὸν ζάλον. The second reason is that nowhere else in the Chrysostomian corpus is the word ζάλος employed. The third, and probably the most important, is that in this passage the homilist is referring to the ζάλη τῶν ἀνέμων already referred to in §1. The clause 'the storm of winds', in fact, is well known to Chrysostom and rather old, for it can be traced back at least till Plutarch (*Romulus*, 27:7). In this homily the same word is employed again just a few words later.

3.24. τῷ σταυρῷ. The clause 'the honourable cross' – i.e. τῷ σταυρῷ τῷ τιμίῳ – is not found in the ancient translations and appears very rarely in the genuine Chrysostomian corpus. On the contrary 'the honourable cross' occurs fairly frequently among the *pseudo-chrysostomica* and could be explained as a scribal, trivializing addition. Even in case it were demonstrated that this homily is not genuine, it remains a fact that whoever the author is, he must have tried to imitate Chrysostomian diction, which most of the time avoids the adjective τίμιος, -α, -ον in conjunction with the word 'cross'.

τοῦ Δεσπότης τὴν ζάλην. A's reading πόθου τὸ ζαλῶδες is a scribal aberration originating at a stage of the transmission which cannot be determined.

τὴν ζάλην εἰς εἰρήνην μεταστρέφω. B's reading – i.e. μεταφέρω ('to change, to alter') – can be taken into consideration for reasons of sense, although Montfaucon's conjecture – i.e. μεταστρέφω ('to turn round') – remains the best solution for this passage, and the palaeographical corruption of μεταστρέφω into μεταφέρω is straightforward,

22 See LIDDELL&SCOTT, p. 752/b.

assuming the transformation of a minuscule cluster of letters -στυ- into a simpler -φ-. The origin of *A*'s βραβεύω – i.e. ‘to act as a judge, to umpire; to arbitrate, to decide on’ – seems inexplicable both from a palaeographical point of view and in terms of sense.

3.25. διὰ τοῦτο. *A*'s καὶ in front of διὰ is not unacceptable, but it rather looks like a scribal simplification due to connection of thoughts.

3.25/26. παραδίδωσιν τῷ διαβόλῳ. There is no reason for supporting Montfaucon's οὐ in front of παραδίδωσιν. The meaning of this passage, in fact, is that the faithful servant is handed over to the devil (in the same way as Job was, for instance), in order to test his faith. The text of the manuscripts, thus, makes perfect sense. *B*'s αὐτὸς would refer to the Lord, meaning ‘[the Lord] himself hands him over...’. However, comparison with the ancient translations suggests one should retain *A*'s text.

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Ἀδελφοὶ,	قَد	Որդեակք իմ,
τρεῖς ὑμῖν ὑποθέσεις τίθη- μι·	مَصْلَحَاتٍ ثَلَاثٍ خَضَعْتُ لَكُمْ.	զի՞նչ արարից.
πίστιν, πειρασμὸν, σω- φροσύνην.	لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ الْحَيُّ الْقَيُّومُ	երիս աւանդութիւնս ձեզ տամ,
Brothers,	لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ الْحَيُّ الْقَيُّومُ	Հաւատ, ողջախոհութիւն, փորձութիւն:
I lay down for you three ways of life:	My children, what henceforth shall we do? I put three things before you:	My children, what shall I do? I give you three consignments for the soul:
faith, temptation, chastity.	faith, chastity, and temptation.	faith, chastity, temptation.

Εἰ δὲ θέλετε πίστιν
ὑπομεῖναι,
μιμήσασθε τὸν μακάριον
Ἀβραάμ,
τὸν παρηκμακότα τῇ ἡλι-
κία καὶ καρποὺς ὠρίμους
δεξάμενον.

If you want to patiently abide faith,

imitate the blessed Abraham,
who, although being past the prime
regarding his age, received ripe
fruits.

Εἰ δὲ θέλετε πειρασμὸν
ὑπομεῖναι,
μιμήσασθε τὸν μακάριον
Ἰώβ.

Τὸν αὐτοῦ τρόπον οἶδατε
καὶ τὴν ὑπομονὴν ἠκού-
σατε,

καὶ τὸ τέλος αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔ-
λαθεν ὑμᾶς.

If you want to patiently abide
temptation,
imitate the blessed Job.
You know his way,
and you have heard about his
endurance,
and his end was not hidden from
you.

Εἰ δὲ θέλετε σωφροσύνην
ὑπομεῖναι,
μιμήσασθε τὸν μακάριον
Ἰωσήφ,
τὸν πραθέντα εἰς Αἴγυπτον,
καὶ λιμῷ τηκομένην Αἴγυ-
πτον ἐλευθερώσαντα.

Ἰ᾿ἰḥḥḥḥ ḥḥḥḥ ḥḥḥḥ

ḥḥḥḥ ḥḥḥḥ ḥḥḥḥ ḥḥḥḥ

ḥḥḥḥ ḥḥḥḥ ḥḥḥḥ ḥḥḥḥ

If you show persevere in faith,

you should imitate Abraham,
to whom a son was granted in his
old age.

ḥḥḥḥ ḥḥḥḥ ḥḥḥḥ ḥḥḥḥ

ḥḥḥḥ ḥḥḥḥ ḥḥḥḥ ḥḥḥḥ

ḥḥḥḥ ḥḥḥḥ ḥḥḥḥ ḥḥḥḥ

ḥḥḥḥ ḥḥḥḥ ḥḥḥḥ ḥḥḥḥ

ḥḥḥḥ ḥḥḥḥ ḥḥḥḥ ḥḥḥḥ

And if you [m.s.] want to endure
temptations,
imitate [m.s.] Job
who rejoiced greatly
when battle rose against him;
for his enemy/adversary was being
put to shame
whilst he was arising in victory.

ḥḥḥḥ ḥḥḥḥ ḥḥḥḥ ḥḥḥḥ

ḥḥḥḥ ḥḥḥḥ ḥḥḥḥ ḥḥḥḥ

ḥḥḥḥ ḥḥḥḥ ḥḥḥḥ ḥḥḥḥ

ḥḥḥḥ ḥḥḥḥ ḥḥḥḥ ḥḥḥḥ

ἔθῃς ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν
ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν

ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν

ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν

If you want to persevere in [your]
faith,
you must resemble Abraham,
who had become weak in the age,
but young in fruits.

ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν

ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν

ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν

ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν

ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν

And if you want to bear temptation,

resemble Job,
who was fighting and flourishing.
And while fighting he was
rejoicing,
and the warrior was deceived

ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν

ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν

ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν

ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν

ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν

If you want to patiently abide chastity, imitate the blessed Joseph, who was sold [to be brought captive] in Egypt, and released Egypt which was wasted by famine.	And if you want to persevere in chastity, be like [m.pl.] Joseph who was sold in Egypt, and from famine, its tormentor, he set it free.	If you desire to lead a chaste life, you must resemble Joseph, who was sold into Egypt, and freed the Egyptians exhausted by famine.
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27b-34. Instructions to the congregation. After having explained for which reasons John has been condemned to exile (§2-3), in this section the homilist addresses his audience directly by giving instructions on how to behave in times of troubles. In order to make his sermon more incisive, three Biblical characters are taken as examples and models of endurance. The first is Abraham, who was promised by God to receive innumerable descendants, and was rewarded for his faith by being granted a son, Isaac, although in advanced age. The second is Job, whose patience and acceptance of both good and evil gifts from God will be the object of a long digression in §10 of this sermon. The last one is Joseph, who was sold by his brothers and tempted by the wife of Potiphar. Joseph's example of chastity will be developed in the following section of the sermon (§5).

From the point of view of the reconstruction of the critical text, this section presents problems which, at present, cannot be considered as solved satisfactorily. Although details of the choice of the variant readings are given in the notes, the following diagram has been added to help the reader with a synopsis of the variations between *A*, *B*, *Arm*, and *Syr* in the use of the verbs.

	<i>B</i> (= Montfaucon)		<i>A</i>		<i>Arm</i>		<i>Syr</i>
1	Εἰ λέγετε [...] ὑπομένειν, → μιμήσασθε [...]	1	Εἰ δὲ θέλετε [...] ὑπομεῖναι, → μιμήσασθε [...]	1	բ[թ]է կամհցիք [...] համբերել, → նմանողք լերուք [...] If you want to persevere in [your] faith, → you must resemble [...]	1	If you persevere in [your] faith, → you are like [...]
2	Εἰ δὲ λέγετε [...] ὑπομένειν, → μιμῆσθε [...]	2	Εἰ δὲ θέλετε [...] - - -, → μιμήσασθε [...]	2	եւ բ[թ]է կամիք [...] համբերել, → լերուք նմանողք [...] If you desire to lead a chaste life, → you must resemble [...]	2	If you want to endure [...], → be like [m.s.] [...]
3	Εἰ δὲ θέλετε [...] ὑπομένειν, → μιμήσασθε [...]	3	Εἰ δὲ θέλετε [...] ὑπομεῖναι, → μιμήσασθε [...]	3	բ[թ]է ախորժիցէք պարկեշտանալ, → նմանեցարուք [...] If you want to bear temptation, → resemble [...]	3	If you want to remain in [...], → be like [m.pl.] [...]

4.28. εἰ δὲ θέλετε. Each of the three hypothetical clauses is opened by the conditional particle εἰ and followed by a verb in its second plural present indicative form, which is either λέγετε (following *B*) or θέλετε (according to *A*). Both Armenian and Syriac translations suggest that the old reading was ‘you want’ in all three instances, although Armenian varies the Greek θέλετε with կամհցիք (i.e. present subjunctive second plural of the verb կամիմ – ‘I want’), կամիք (i.e. present indicative second plural of կամիմ), and ախորժիցէք i.e. present subjunctive second plural of the verb ախորժեմ – ‘to like, to love; to desire, to take aim at’). The Syriac translator rendered the first Greek ‘if you want to abide’ with one unique verb, i.e. ܐܡܠܐ (‘[if] you persevere’), the second with ܕܥܠܝܬܐ ܕܥܡܕܐ (‘[if] you want to endure’), and the third with ܕܥܠܝܬܐ ܕܥܡܕܐ (‘[if] you want to remain’). The person addressed in

Syriac is second masculine person, either a singular or a plural. The reading of *B*, i.e. λέγετε, could be explained as confusion of a capital Δ with a Λ in copying from an uncial exemplar, i.e. an original ΕΙΔΕΘΕΛΕΤΕ read as ΕΙΛΕΓΕΤΕ.

4.29. ὑπομεῖναι. There is not much difference between the aorist infinitive of *A* – i.e. ὑπομεῖναι – and the present infinitive of *B*, – i.e. ὑπομένειν. The Armenian translator rendered it twice with a present infinitive (համբերել) and the only reason to prefer the reading of *A* is that the imperatives which follow are also in aorist tense, i.e. μιμήσασθε. It should be borne in mind, however, that a margin of uncertainty remains and that the reading of *B* cannot be at all disqualified.

παρηκμακότα. *A*'s παρηκμικοτα cannot be taken into consideration, because the correct form of the perfect participle of the verb παρακμάζω ('to be past the prime') is that of *B*.

4.30. θέλετε. See above, note 4.30.

4.30/31. ὑπομεῖναι. Comparison with the Armenian and Syriac translations and *B* shows that the translators read an infinitive in their exemplar(s). ὑπομεῖναι, therefore, was omitted by the scribe *A* only accidentally, but needs to be restored. Concerning the choice of the aorist over the indicative infinitive, see above.

4.31. μιμήσασθε. The Armenian translator rendered the Greek imperative as a plural medio-passive aorist imperative – i.e. հմհնեցարուք. This evidence suggests that the original Greek might have had an aorist imperative too.

αὐτοῦ. The reading of *A* – i.e. αὐτὸν – is a scribal mistake probably originated by

confusion with the endings of the preceding and following words, which both end in -ὸν.

4.32. τὸ τέλος αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔλαθεν ὑμᾶς. There is no reason to emend the manuscripts' accusative – i.e. ὑμᾶς –, for the verb λανθάνω is generally constructed with the accusative of the person to whom something is hidden.²³

4.33. ὑπομεῖναι. See note above.

- 5 -

Προσετέθη γὰρ αὐτῷ πει- ρασμὸς ἐκ πόρνῃς Αἰγυ- πτίας τῷ ἔρωτι δεδουλωμέ- νης, ἣτις αὐτῷ παρεκαθέ- ζετο·	𐤀𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤕 𐤂𐤁𐤃 𐤀𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤕 𐤓𐤁𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕 𐤀𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕 𐤀𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕 𐤀𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕 𐤀𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕	𐤁𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕 𐤀𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕 𐤀𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕 𐤀𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕 𐤀𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕
κοιμήθητι, λέγουσα, μετ' ἐ- μοῦ.	𐤀𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕 𐤀𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕 𐤀𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕 𐤀𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕 𐤀𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕	𐤀𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕 𐤀𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕 𐤀𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕 𐤀𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕 𐤀𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕
Βλαβερῷ τῷ λόγῳ τὸν δί- καιον ἐβούλετο τῆς σω- φροσύνης διασυλῆσαι.	𐤀𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕 𐤀𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕 𐤀𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕 𐤀𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕 𐤀𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕	𐤀𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕 𐤀𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕 𐤀𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕 𐤀𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕 𐤀𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕
In fact, temptation was placed upon him by means of an Egyptian pros- titute enslaved to passion, who did sit beside him and said: <i>'lie with me!'</i> With a harmful discourse she wan- ted to strip the righteous one of [his] chastity.	For an Egyptian prostitute came to him, and says to him: <i>'lie with me!'</i> , so that, with a harmful discourse, she may despoil the righteous one.	There the Egyptian prostitute rose against [him] and said: <i>'lie with me!'</i> . With an abominable discourse, she tried to corrupt the righ-teous one.

²³ See LIDDELL&SCOTT 1028-1029.

5.35. Προσετίθη. The text printed by Montfaucon – i.e. Προσετίθη – is an aberration and probably the result of a misprint, for the only correct grammatical form which is possible here is προσετέθη. This is a 3rd singular passive aorist of the verb προστίθῃμι, and as such was understood also by Montfaucon, who in his Latin translation correctly rendered this reading as *[tentatio] oblata est*.²⁵

τῷ. A's reading – i.e. καὶ – is rather awkward and probably originated by copying an exemplar written in minuscule, where an original τῷ could be read as a καὶ without too much difficulty.

5.36. δεδουλωμένης, ἥτις. The text offered by A – i.e. δεδουλωμένη – is syntactically unacceptable. The omission of ἥτις and the confusion of the ending of δεδουλωμένης probably stems from a iotacist reading of the syntagm.

παρεκαθέζετο. The verbs παρακαθίζω and παρακάθηναι are both very well attested throughout the Chrysostomian corpus. They have a very similar meaning – ‘to be seated beside or near [somebody]’ – and are both acceptable, thus making this passage a case of adiabhorous variants. However, although παρακάθηναι generally occurs more frequently than παρακαθίζω, here the latter better fits the context of the sermon and the homilist's psychology and agenda, for παρακαθίζω implies an action (and, thus, a will behind it: ‘to seat oneself beside [somebody]’),²⁶ rather than the mere state of ‘to be seated’ (or, in other

25 See *P.G.* 52: 437*.

26 This explanation implies that παρεκαθέζετο is here interpreted as the aorist II medio-passive of παρακαθίζω, although it should be borne in mind that technically παρεκαθέζετο could also be understood as the imperfect of παρακαθέζομαι. The aorist here fits the narrative style of this section of the sermon and follows the steps and modes of the Biblical story narrated in Exodus. The Armenian and Syriac versions have,

words, ‘to happen to be seated’). All women referred to in this sermon are representations of the Empress Eudoxia, and the latter is never depicted as a victim subjected to the course of events, but as a character who has her own will and who plays an active role in John’s story. Both Armenian and Syriac render this passage with the verb ‘to rise against’, i.e. the estaphl‘al of ܡܠܚ, ²⁷ and ܡܠܚܢܬܐ ܕܗܠܝܬܐ.

λέγουσα. A’s omission is probably due to the distraction of a scribe who, after having read the whole sentence in his exemplar, must have recognized the Biblical quotation and, while writing it down, forgot to insert λέγουσα in it. Armenian and Syriac judiciously rendered the Greek participle with two corresponding participles, i.e. ատելով and ܡܠܚܢܬܐ.

5.37. βλαβερῷ τῷ λόγῳ τὸν δίκαιον ἐβούλετο τῆς σωφροσύνης διασυλῆσαι. The syntagm βλαβερῷ τῷ λόγῳ has matching parallels in both the Armenian and Syriac translations, which are therefore a strong guarantee of its antiquity. A’s reading εὐλαβεῖ – i.e. ‘cautious’ – is perfectly acceptable from the point of view of meaning and syntax, although there are two reasons for allowing an emendation of this passage and pushing for the conjecture of the reading βλαβερῷ. The first is that the closeness of Armenian and Syriac – i.e. respectively ‘abominable’ (i.e. Գարշտի) and ‘noxious’ (i.e. ܡܠܚܢܬܐ) – can hardly be explained without imagining that both translators read the word βλαβερῷ in their Greek exemplar(s). This hypothesis gains credit when considering that the Syriac root ܡܠܚ

respectively, an aorist and a perfect.

27 Chahine translates ܡܠܚܢܬܐ as ‘[la dédaigneuse égyptienne l’] avait croisée’. Although this meaning is technically not impossible, being one of the two carried by the eshtaphl‘al of ܡܠܚ, the comparison with the Armenian leaves no doubt as to how to interpret it in this passage. See CHAHINE 2002, 95.

roughly renders the same umbrella of meanings covered by the Greek verb βλάπτω, i.e. that the Syriac translation of this passage is probably corresponding to the Greek words βλαβερῷ λόγῳ. If this is correct, it is not too implausible to infer that an original βλαβερῷ was later corrupted into εὐλαβεῖ by a scribe who was copying from an exemplar in minuscule. As a matter of fact, palaeographically, βλαβερῷ and εὐλαβεῖ τῷ are very similarly written, the only extant difficulty being that of explaining how the initial epsilon may have originated. The second strong point in favor of βλαβερῷ is that the same words are found in a *locus similis* of the *corpus Chrysostomicum*: βλαβερῷ τῷ λόγῳ τὸν δίκαιον [ἐπειρᾶτο συλᾶν λέγουσα].²⁸

5.37/38. ἐβούλετο τῆς σωφροσύνης διασυλῆσαι. In Greek, good syntax generally requires the conjunction γὰρ to take the second position of a sentence, making thus *B*'s reading ἐβούλετο γὰρ acceptable and reasonable only with the omission of the syntagm βλαβερῷ τῷ λόγῳ τὸν δίκαιον. The text offered by *B* in this passage of the sermon is not only lacunous, but also trivializes *A*'s harmonious syntax of the whole sentence, by turning a syntactically and semantically more refined τὸν δίκαιον ἐβούλετο τῆς σωφροσύνης διασυλῆσαι into an ordinary and immediately understandable αὐτὸν ἀπογυμνῶσαι. Moreover, τὸν δίκαιον is found also in the Armenian and Syriac translations (i.e. *ἡωρηωρη*, and *ܠܐܝܬܐ*), both condensing the unit ἐβούλετο τῆς σωφροσύνης διασυλῆσαι into one verb, *ܘܗܠܝܬܐ* (i.e. '[she] tried to corrupt') and *ܠܐܝܬܐ* (i.e. '[so that she] may despoil'). Of

²⁸ See *De patientia* (sermo 2), *P.G.* 60:734, 1-2.

the two ancient interpretations, the Syriac is the closest to the original meaning of διασυλλάω/-έω, which, apart from this passage, is hardly ever found anywhere else in compound form.²⁹ A *locus similis* of a text which is generally considered as belonging to the *pseudo-Chrysostomica* – i.e. *De patientia* (sermo 2) –, presents almost the same wording as this passage: τὸν δίκαιον ἐπειρᾶτο συλᾶν.³⁰

5.39. τὸν ἅγιον. *A*'s reading – i.e. αἰγύπτιον – is a scribal error of copying and not defensible, for the characters in question here are Potiphar's wife and Joseph the son of Jacob, who was not Egyptian. The Syriac version translates τὸν ἅγιον with ܡܠܝܬܐ – i.e. 'the righteous one' – which technically corresponds to the Greek δίκαιος,³¹ while the Armenian does not specify the direct object, but leaves it as a singular third person of the common personal pronoun – i.e. Դիւ –.

τοῦτον ἐσυλαγωγῆσεν. The verb συλαγωγέω (i.e. 'to carry off captive' or 'to rob, to despoil')³², is attested for the first time in *Col* 2:8. Apart from Biblical quotations, this verb is found very rarely in Greek literature. Chrysostom's genuine works ignore it and among his spuria it occurs five times only. The scarce frequency of this verb makes little probable the hypothesis that *A*'s reading may be the result of a scribe's interpolation. In addition to this

29 διασυλλάω/-έω seems to occur only three more times in Greek literature, first in one of the fragments of Malchus of Philadelphia's *Byzantine History* (fr. 2a) and in a quotation of the same passage in the *Suda* (Λ 267), then in the *Acta synodi Constantinopolitanae et Hierosolymitanae anno 563* (tome 3, pp. 14, 231), and finally in the late Byzantine historian Nicephoros Callistos Xanthopoulos's *Ecclesiastical History* (9, 14).

30 *P.G.* 60:734, 1.

31 The Greek ἅγιος is generally rendered as ܡܠܝܬܐ in Syriac, but other ways of translating the same concept are ܢܦܠܐ (corresponding to the Greek εὐλαβῆς) and ܡܥܡܠܐ (i.e. Greek ὁσιος).

32 See LAMPE 1279 and LIDDELL-SCOTT, 1671.

argument, the reading ἐσυλαγώγησεν appears also in the Armenian and Syriac translations (i.e. *կողոսկի*, and ܥܬܬܝܠܗܝܬܐ). The Armenian translator interpreted the Greek direct object τοῦτον as referring to the ecclesiastical community and thus rendered it as *գեղեղեցիս* – i.e. ‘our Church’. The Greek ‘that one’ logically refers to John himself, but it is remarkable that, in addition to the Armenian, also the Abbot Joly understood this pronoun as referring to the Church and thus translated the passage as ‘aujourd’hui c’est un homme venu de l’Egypte qui attaque mon église’.³³ The Greek text on the basis of which Joly prepared his French translation is Montfaucon’s edition, as it is clearly stated in the preface to his translation of John Chrysostom’s opera omnia: ‘J’ai travaillé pendant dix ans sur le texte si parfaitement épuré par les Bénédictins’.

5.41. τοῦ. Although at first sight *B* may look *lectio difficilior*, here *A* is preferable for reasons of sense. The homilist is finishing his analogy between Potiphar’s wife’s attempt to endanger Joseph and Theophilus’ actions against John. This passage suggests that Theophilus’ efforts to damage Chrysostom’s community in Constantinople had the result of making clear to everybody the virtues of John’s community, i.e. its σωφροσύνη and the εὐγένεια of its adherents, as well as the vice of the character who tried to damage it, i.e. the ἀκολασία of Theophilus.

³³ See JOLY 1864, 381b.

Ἀδελφοί, ὁ κλέπτης οὐκ εἰσέρχεται ὅπου καλάμη ἢ χόρτος ἢ ξύλα, ἀλλ' ὅπου κεῖται χρυσὸς ἢ ἄργυρος ἢ μαργαρίται. Brothers, the thief does not enter where straw, or hay, or wood [are], but where gold, or silver, or pearls lie.	بفتح الله من حيث هو لا يدخل الا حيث هو مقتا. لا يدخل الا حيث هو مقتا. For you know – my children – that robbers do not go where there is sand, or rocks, and straws, but where there is silver and gold.	Որդեակք իմ, աւազակ ոչ երթայ ուր աւազ և քար և եղէգն կայցեն, այլ ուր ոսկի և արծաթ և մարգարիտ. My children, the thief does not go where sand and stone and straw are, but where gold and silver and pearl [are].
Οὕτω καὶ ὁ διάβολος οὐκ εἰσέρχεται ὅπου πόρνος ἢ βέβηλος ἢ ἄρπαξ ἢ πλεονέκτης, ἀλλ' ὅπου οἱ τὸν ἔρημον βίον καλῶς διάγοντες. Thus also the devil does not enter where the fornicator, or the unhallowed, or the rapacious, or the greedy [are], but where those who happily live an eremitic life [are].	هو لا يدخل الا حيث هو مقتا. ايضا هو لا يدخل الا حيث هو مقتا. So also the evil one does not go where the fornicators and the prostitutes [are]. He goes towards the chosen vessels.	հոյնպէս և բանսարկուն ոչ երթայ ուր պռոշիկ և բող, այլ ուր բարի անօթ: In the same way also the devil does not go where the fornicator (m.) and the prostitute (f.) [are], but where the good vessel [is].

41b-44. Comparison of the thief and the devil. In this paragraph the homilist uses a comparison between the thief and the devil's behavior in order to implicitly justify why John, in spite of his righteous conduct, is the object of a fierce attack. John, thus, is the fair object of the devil's attention because just as the thief goes where valuable objects are, likewise the devil assaults noble men, and not the dishonorable.

6.41. εἰσέρχεται. Both *A* and *B*'s readings are grammatically acceptable, the latter having a more general meaning – 'to go' –, the first one a more specific and technical one – 'to enter, to break in'. In the *New Testament* ἐρχομαι is often found associated with thieves'

actions,³⁴ while εἰσέρχομαι occurs all over the Bible either absolutely,³⁵ or with the specification of the obstacle through which the thief breaks in – often διὰ τῆς θύρας or διὰ θυρίδων.³⁶ In his analogy of the thief and the devil's behavior, the homilist probably used the same verb in both instances – i.e. εἰσέρχομαι – because in both Armenian and Syriac the two Greek verbs are rendered with the same verb – *երթամ* in Armenian, ܐܪܬܡ in Syriac. If the original Greek text had really presented an alternation ἔρχομαι/εἰσέρχομαι, this would have been found at least in the Armenian version, because the translator could have easily rendered the Greek alternance by means of the two verbs *երթամ* vs *մտահեմ*. In addition to that, from the point of view of the sense in this context εἰσέρχομαι is preferable to ἔρχομαι, because the thief is represented as somebody who 'enters' in a precise closed space for a given purpose, rather than simply 'going' somewhere.³⁷

6.42. ἡ . . . ἡ. Corruption of an original ἡ into καὶ might have originated in copying from a manuscript already written in minuscule, because an abbreviated καὶ could have appeared identical to a minuscule ἡ without difficulty, and therefore misread by a careless scribe. As in the previous case, the preference of ἡ over καὶ is dictated by the fact that the seven ἡ of this paragraph are rendered into Armenian and Syriac always with the same word, i.e. *և* and *ܐ*, both meaning 'and'. It seems that the ancient translators have deliberately changed the Greek

34 See *Mt* 24:43, *Lk* 12:39, *Jn* 10:10, *1 Thess* 1 5:2, *Rev* 15:15.

35 See *Job* 5:1, *Hos* 7:1.

36 See, for instance, *Joel* 2:9, and *Jn* 10:1.

37 This reasoning implies that the rule of agreement between two difference branches of the tradition – i.e. the agreement of *τ* with *B* – cannot apply in this passage.

‘or’ into ‘and’, because the conjunction ἥ can be rendered respectively with *hwaṣ* and *oḥ*, if necessary.

6.42/43. καλάμη [...] χόρτος [...] ξύλα [...] χρυσός [...] ἄργυρος [...] μαργαρίται. The vocabulary here employed is taken from *I Cor* 3:12, where Paul, after having compared himself to a skilled master builder (ὡς σοφὸς ἀρχιτέκτων), explains that, if he has laid down the foundations, it is nevertheless everybody’s own responsibility to build on them with the material of his/her choice, i.e. εἴ τις ἐποικοδομεῖ ἐπὶ τὸν θεμέλιον χρυσὸν, ἄργυρον, λίθους τιμίους, ξύλα, χόρτον, καλάμην... The homilist cut the six noun Scriptural sequence (which follows the logic of an anticlimax of the materials’ value) into two parts of three nouns each, inverted the position of the first series with that of the last one, and applied a chiasmus to the second one. The substitution of the Scriptural λίθοι τίμιοι with μαργαρίται is not surprising when one recalls the description of the fabric of the New Jerusalem in *Rev* 21:15-21, the golden city (ἡ πόλις χρυσίον καθαρὸν) whose foundations of the wall are depicted as adorned with every kind of precious stone (παντὶ λίθῳ τιμίῳ), and whose gates consist of twelve pearls (δώδεκα μαργαρίται). The vocabulary of the Armenian and Syriac versions follow the Scriptural text only in the first series of nouns (gold, silver, pearl – i.e. ‘precious stones’),³⁸ while the terminology of the second series seems to have been rendered as if the translators did not recognize the Scriptural echo: *Arm.* *NT* *վալս, խոտ, եղէգն* (i.e. *lignum, foenum, herba amara*) vs *CUM IRET* *աւաղ եւ քար եւ եղէգն*

38 The Syriac does not translate the word ‘pearls’, while the Armenian renders it with a singular (*մարգարիտ*), which may have the value of a plural, or collective.

(i.e. *arena et lapis et herba amara*); Syr. NT ܐܪܥܐ [...] ܠܬܗܒ [...] ܡܬܥܠ (i.e. *ligna [...]*
foenum [...] *sarmentum*) vs CUM IRET ܡܥܠܐ ܡܥܠܐ [...] ܠܬܗܒ (i.e. *pulvis, et lapides et calami*).

6.42. Ξύλα. As it has been shown above, the plural must be preferred because here the vocabulary is entirely drawn from *I Cor* 3:12, where the word ξύλον occurs in plural.

ἡ ἄργυρος. *A* clearly omits because of *saut du même au même*, for the word ‘silver’ is found also in the ancient translations (see above).

6.42/43. μαργαρίται. The plural of *A*’s reading is preferable for the same arguments which have been given above concerning the vocabulary of this passage.

6.43. οὕτω καί. Montfaucon’s reading originates from a misinterpretation of an abbreviated καί, which in *B* closely resembles a final -ς (even though the scribal accent placed above it leaves no doubt about its meaning). The Armenian reads նոյնպէս և (i.e. ὁσαύτως καί/*eodem modo atque* or ὁμοίως καί/*similiter atque*), making more explicit the correlative sense of the adverb.³⁹ The Syriac ܡܢ ܕܝܢ (i.e. οὕτω/*sic, ita, hoc modo*, but also ὁμοίως/*similiter*) agrees with the Greek, although the conjunction καί – and its intensive force here – is not rendered.

πόρνος. The agreement of *B* with Arm պոռնիկ (i.e. ‘(male) fornicator’), which represent

39 In classical Armenian οὕτω(/-ς) is more generally rendered with այսպէս (i.e. Lat. *sic*), but occasionally also with նոյնպէս. For instance, in the *Gospel of Matthew* the adverb οὕτω(/-ς) is translated 26 times with այսպէս, but six times with նոյնպէս. When նոյնպէս is employed, it always occurs in correlative context, both when this is explicit, as in *Mt* 12:40 and 24:37 where որպէս ... նոյնպէս mirrors ὥσπερ ... οὕτως, and when its sense is inferable from the context, as in *Mt* 17:12, 18:35, 23:28, and 24:33, where οὕτω/նոյնպէս is not anticipated. In all cases, Syriac always renders οὕτω(/-ς) with ܡܢ ܕܝܢ.

Ἀλλὰ τί εἶπω; Ἰεζάβελ θορυβεῖται, καὶ Ἠλίας φεύγει. But what should I say? Jezebel raises clamours against [the prophet] and Elijah flies;	ܡܥ ܕܡܥܠܐ ܕܡܥܠܐ ܕܡܥܠܐ ܕܡܥܠܐ ܕܡܥܠܐ ܕܡܥܠܐ. For, after Jezebel fought, Elija flies.	Յեզաբել ամբոխէ, և Հեղիաս փախչի: Jezebel raises clamours against [the prophet] and Elijah flies.
Ἡρωδιὰς εὐφραίνεται καὶ Ἰωάννης δεσμεύεται. Herodias rejoices and John is put in chains;	ܡܥܠܐ ܕܡܥܠܐ ܕܡܥܠܐ. ܡܥܠܐ ܕܡܥܠܐ ܕܡܥܠܐ. ܡܥܠܐ ܕܡܥܠܐ ܕܡܥܠܐ. Herodias dances, and seeks the head of John; and his blood was carried on a dish.	Հերովդիան Լաքաւէ և գլխովհաննու գլուխն խնդրէ և բառնայ զգլուխն ՚ի վերայ սկտեղածն պնակի, Herodias dances and asks the head of John and lifts up the head on a disk- shaped platter.

45-48a. First invective against the Empress. In this section the homilist compares the behavior of Empress Eudoxia to the murderous actions of Jezebel, Herodias and the Egyptian prostitute – i.e. Potiphar’s wife. This is the first part of an attack on the Empress which occupies the second part of the homily. The Biblical characters chosen by the homilist as representations of Eudoxia exemplify the foolishness of three women who made attempts on the virtue and the life of three different holy men: Elijah, John the Baptist, and Joseph the son of Jacob. The comparison with the character of Jezebel will be repeated later in §11.

7.45. Ἀδελφοὶ. Both Armenian and Syriac translate the Greek ‘brothers’ as if their exemplar presented the words ‘beloved/little children’, i.e. *τεκνία μου*. In Armenian this is rendered using the diminutive *որդեակք* in place of the less marked *որդիք*, while in Syriac the same result is obtained by adding the possessive suffix ‘my’ to the word ‘children/sons’, i.e. *ܕܡܝܢ*. See also note 1.1.

βούλομαι ἐφαπλώσαι τὴν γλῶττάν μου. The Syriac translator enlarged the phrase by

adding to it the sentence ‘and I will unroll it without fear’. The locution ‘to unroll the tongue’ is found only twice in Greek literature, first in this passage and again, referring to a bull, in the pseudo-Chrysostomicum *In illud: Exiit qui seminat*, P.G. 61.772–76, under the basic verbal form ἀπλώω.⁴¹ Montfaucon’s plural βουλόμεθα seems unjustified, especially when one considers that both the Greek manuscripts and the ancient translations all have the singular ‘I want’, and that the word ‘tongue’ is accompanied by the possessive ‘my’. The omission of μου in *B* might have led its collator to misinterpret the abbreviation used for the verbal ending -αι as a final -εθα. As in the case of §6.4, it is also possible (although rather unlikely) that Montfaucon used a manuscript now lost or that he emended the verb by himself. The preference of the form γλῶττα to that of γλῶσσα is that of an adiphorous variant case, for in both authentic and spurious Chrysostomian corpora there seems to be no consistency concerning the prevalence of forms in -σσ- over those in -ττ-, and vice versa. The genuine works show an inclination for γλῶττα (i.e. the Attic form), but among the spuria γλῶσσα is attested more often. The same, however, is not always true for other, similarly formed words. For instance, concerning the word ‘sea’, θάλασσα is regularly better attested both among the genuine and the spurious works. In similar cases, the criterion of internal coherence of the occurrences should be followed for every single text. Despite the fact that in the text under examination *A* has often been shown to offer better readings, in this passage *B* is preferable, for whoever the author of the homily might be, the aim was to obtain a trustworthy Chrysostomian locution.

41 P.G. 61:772, ll. 75-77: μόνος δὲ ὁ βοῦς ἐλευθέραν τὴν γλῶσσαν ἀπλώσας, τῶν οἰκείων πόνων τοὺς καρποὺς θαρσαλέως ἀρύεται.

πρὸς τὴν βασιλίδα. Montfaucon printed a question mark after βασιλίδα, although this is neither supported by the manuscript evidence, nor required by the context. If this sentence were interrogative as the following one clearly is, we would not find in the beginning of the latter such a strong disjunction like ἀλλὰ, and any sort of interrogative particle would have been desirable in the first one.

7.47. ἀλλὰ τί εἶπω;. The clause ‘But what should I say?’ can be found in both the genuine and spurious Chrysostomian corpora in five further instances, two of which in conjunction with the locution ἢ τί λαλήσω.⁴² Τί εἶπω alone is extremely common in the Fathers’ writings (especially in the homilies) and can be traced back to the New Testament. It impeccably fits in the context and it is more plausible to imagine that it was accidentally omitted by a scribe very early in the transmission of the text, than to consider it as added at some point in *B* alone.

Ἰεζάβελ θορυβεῖται, καὶ Ἡλίας φεύγει. This passage alludes to *1 Kings* 19. The homilist compares himself to Elijah speaking against Jezebel.

Ἰεζάβελ. The spelling Ἰεζάβελ is not attested in Greek. The reading of *A* is thus the result of a minor mistake of iotacism. The same mistake, however, occurs again at §11 and it is difficult to clarify whether confusion between ι and η originated in an early manuscript (i.e. IEZABEΛ → HEZABEΛ) or in one already written in minuscule script.

7.46/47. Ἡρωδιὰς εὐφραίνεται, καὶ Ἰωάννης δεσμεύεται. The story of John the

42 See *Sermo antequam iret in exsilium*, P.G. 52:432, l. 9, *In Genesim* hom. xvi, P.G. 53:241, l. 22., and *In epistulam i ad Timotheum*, P.G. 62:586, l. 30. + ἢ τί λαλήσω see *In natalem Christi diem* (Dub.), P.G. 56:389, l. 1 and 14.

Baptist and of Herodias is narrated in *Mt* 14:3-12 and *Lk* 3:18-20.

7.47/48. ἡ Αἰγυπτία ψεύδεται, καὶ Ἰωσήφ φυλακίζεται. The reference is to the Biblical story the homilist has already alluded to in §5. Here he concentrates on *Gen* 39:14-20, where Potiphar's wife causes Joseph to be put in prison, after pretending to have been approached by him. Both the Syriac and Armenian translations omit this passage.

- 8 -

Ἐὰν οὖν ἐξορίσωσί με, τὸν Ἡλίαν μιμοῦμαι.	ܐܝܢܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ	Եթէ արտաքս քան զսահմանս զիս մերժեն, Եղիայի նմանեմ.
Therefore, if they will banish me, I shall imitate Elijah;	Therefore, if they will banish me, I shall become like Elijah.	If they expel me beyond the borders, I resemble Elijah.
Ἐὰν εἰς βόρβορον βάλῃσι, τὸν Ἰερεμίαν.	ܐܝܢܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ	Եթէ 'ի տիղմ, Երեմիայի.
if they will throw [me] into the mud, Jeremiah;	and if they will plunge me into the mud: Jeremiah.	if into the mud, Jeremiah;
Ἐὰν εἰς θάλατταν, τὸν σύνδουλόν μου καὶ προφήτην Ἰωνᾶν.	ܐܝܢܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ	Եթէ 'ի ծով զիս ընկենուն, Ժողապետին և մարգարէին Յովնանու.
if into the sea, my fellow servant and prophet Jonah;	And if they will throw me into the sea, I shall imitate our companion the prophet Jonah.	If they throw me into the sea, the fellow servant and prophet Jonah;
Ἐὰν εἰς λάκκον, τὸν Δανιήλ.	ܐܝܢܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ	Եթէ 'ի գուբ, Դանիէլի.
if into the [lions'] den, Daniel;	and if into the [lions'] den, Daniel;	if into the [lions'] den, Daniel;
Ἐὰν λιθάσωσι, Στέφανον.	ܐܝܢܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ	Եթէ քարկոծեն, Մովսէսի.
if they will stone [me], Stephen;	and if they will stone me, Stephen.	if they stone [me], Moses;
Ἐὰν ἀποκεφαλίσωσι, Ἰωάννην.	---	---
Ἐὰν ῥαβδίσωσι, Παῦλον.	---	---
if they will behead [me], John; if they will beat [me] with rods, Paul;	---	---

Ἐὰν πρίσωσι, τὸν Ἡσαΐ-	وإن ساءوا،	եթէ սղոցեն, եսայեայ.
αν· εἴθε ξυλίνῳ πρίονι,	وإن ساءوا،	և երանի թէ փայտեղէն սղոցաւ
ἵνα τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῦ	وإن ساءوا،	միայն,
πόθου ἀπολαύσω.	وإن ساءوا،	զի'ի խաչին ցանկութեան
if they will saw [me], Isaiah	and if they will saw me, Isaiah	if they saw me, Isaiah
– preferably with a wood saw,	– and preferably with a wood saw,	– and preferably with a wood saw
so that I may enjoy [my] longing	so that I may have part in the suf-	solely,
for the Cross.	fering of the Cross of Christ.	so that I may enjoy the desirable
		Cross.

48b-53a. Prophets and saints' examples of endurance. In this section the homilist offers a list of Biblical characters whom he takes as models and examples of endurance in times of difficulty. The homilist declares himself ready to imitate the behaviour of his heroes in a sequence of imagined circumstances, each of which is tailored around a character taken either from the Old or the New Testament. These are: Elijah, driven into exile by a famine (*1 Kings* 17); Jeremiah, captured by officials and thrown into a cistern full of mud for lowering people's morale (*Jer* 38:4-12); Jonah, thrown into the sea by sailors in order to have a tempest subside (*Jon* 1:12-15); Daniel, thrown into the lions' den by order of Darius, king of the Persians, who had previously been deceived by the jealousy of some officials (*Dan* 6:16-24); Stephen, accused of blasphemy and thus punished by stoning (*Acts* 6:8-7:60); John the Baptist, beheaded after Herodias's request (*Mk* 6:14-29); Paul, accused of creating disorder in the city of Philippi and thus arrested, stripped naked, and beaten with rods (*Acts* 16:16-24); and Isaiah, who, according to both Jewish and Christian tradition, died by being sawn in two. Some of these characters mainly represent the figure of a victim of injustice or jealousy, who is later rescued by either a righteous king or by God himself (i.e. the first four and Paul). The other characters (Stephen, John, and Isaiah), on the contrary, are clear representatives of death by martyrdom.

8.49. θάλατταν. In the Chrysostomian corpus forms in -ττ- and in -σσ- are equally well attested, with a preference for the latter type among the spuria. The variant of *B* is more desirable for reasons of internal coherence, for the word θάλαττα appears spelled as such in both manuscripts already at §1 of the homily. See also note 7.47.

σύνδουλόν μου καὶ. The presence of the word ‘fellow servant’ in both Armenian – *ծառաշակիցի* (i.e. ‘the fellow servant’) – and Syriac – *ܚܒܝܬܐ* (i.e. ‘our companion’) – is a guarantee of the antiquity of the reading transmitted by *A*.

8.50. ἐὰν. *B*’s reading ἐὰν καὶ is syntactically acceptable, but not needed. Both ancient translations ignore it and none of the remaining seven ἐὰν of the paragraph is ever followed by καὶ.

λιθάσωσι. Despite *B*’s με being also found in Syriac – *ܐܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ* (i.e. ‘[if] they will stone me’) –, here the presence of the direct object is redundant. In fact, neither after the preceding verb βάλωσι nor after the three following ἀποκεφαλίσωσι, ῥαβδίσωσι, and πρίσωσι, did the homilist feel the need to express it again. The Armenian translation coincides with *A*’s text.

8.51. Ἰωάννην. The adjective ‘Forerunner’ (i.e. πρόδρομος) attached to the character of John the Baptist is found for the first time in Clement of Alexandria’s *Protrepticus* (ca. end of 2nd-c.).⁴³ After Clement and until the 5th-c. other writers use πρόδρομος in conjunction with John, although this appellation is always used in an exegetical context, never as a label or title.⁴⁴ The same is true for the genuine corpus of John Chrysostom, where John is said to

43 Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus*, I:9, 2 (l. 1).

be πρόδρομος [...] τοῦ Χριστοῦ,⁴⁵ or, typologically, πρόδρομος τῆς προτέρας παρουσίας.⁴⁶ Although for this point of the homily the ancient versions are of no use, since this passage seems not to have been translated, it is not implausible to consider *B*'s τὸν πρόδρομον as an insertion of a later scribe, who aimed to make clear an obvious fact, namely that here the homilist is referring to John the Baptist, and not to the Evangelist.

8.52. Ξυλίνῳ πρίονι. The reading offered by *A* is an aberration, for the word πρίων, -ονος (i.e. 'saw') is inflected according to the nouns of the third declension. A confusion of iotacism between ι and η resulted in the creation of the dative πρίονη from an otherwise unattested *πρίονη, -ης, to which the scribe then accorded the accompanying adjective ξύλινος, -η, -ον, adjusting it in gender, number, and case: ξυλίνῃ.

8.52/53. τοῦ πόθου. The verb ἀπολαύω ('to have enjoyment of a thing', 'to have the benefit of it') is generally constructed with a genitive, more rarely with an accusative.⁴⁷ *A*'s reading is, therefore, acceptable and theoretically *lectio difficilior*, although the construction of the Armenian rendering – զի ՚ի խաչին ցանկութեան վայելէի (i.e. 'ut Crucis desiderio fruar'⁴⁸) – leads one to believe that the original text may have had a genitive too.

44 See for instance: Origen, *Commentarii in evangelium Joannis*, II, 37:224 (l. 6); VI, 39:197 (l. 8) and 42:221 (l. 3); *Homiliae in Lucam*, hom. 4:27 (l. 20); hom. 21:129 (l. 23). Eusebius, *Demonstratio evangelica*, X, 8:60 (l. 10). Gregory of Nazianzus, or. 43:75, 1 (l. 4); or. 28:20 (l. 15); or. 19, 1056, (l. 6).

45 John Chrysostom, *In epistulam ad Hebraeos (homiliae 1–34)*, hom. 11, §2 (P.G. 63:92, l. 22).

46 John Chrysostom, *In epistulam ii ad Thessalonicenses (homiliae 1–5)*, hom. 4:2 (P.G. 62:488, l. 7); id., *In Matthaëum (homiliae 1–90)*, hom. 57:1 (P.G. 58:558, l. 54 and 58:560, l. 2).

47 See LIDDELL-SCOTT, 205-206.

48 Unfortunately the ablative syntactical construction necessary with the Latin verb *fruar* cannot render the double genitival construction allowed in Greek and in Armenian.

Palaeographically, the corruption of the Greek genitive ending into the accusative may have occurred in the transcription of an exemplar in minuscule (where the main difference between a υ and a ν lies in the left vertical lower stroke of the latter), rather than of an exemplar written in capital or uncial script (i.e. OY $\rightarrow$ ON). However, it is more plausible to assume that the variant of *A* originated in a scribe's ignorance of syntax and surprise in front of the succession of Gen + Gen + Vb, which was thus restored into a more predictable Gen + Acc + Vb. The Syriac translation of this passage – ܡܫܠܝܢ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܡܡܐܢܐ (i.e. 'ut particeps factus sim passionis crucis Christi') – is remarkable, for instead of τοῦ πόθου it clearly translates the Greek τοῦ πάθους (i.e. 'suffering'). At first sight this reading – 'so that I may have part in the suffering of the Cross of Christ' – seems rather attractive in terms of meaning, but two arguments, both rooted in the criterion of the *lectio difficilior*, stand against it. The first is that semantically the concept of 'suffering' is already covered under the umbrella of meanings of the word 'Cross' (which implicitly refers to the passion of Christ, and not merely to the wooden item), thus making the word πάθος redundant. The second is that because of the strict association between 'suffering' and 'passion of Christ', it is more likely that a less predictable πόθου was understood as (and therefore changed into) πάθους, rather than a somewhat expected πάθους turned into πόθου. This argument leads to believe that the reading of the Syriac version may have been created by mistake of scribal interpretation rather than by a mechanical error.

Ἡ σεσωματισμένη πολεμεῖ τὴν ἀσώματος.	ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܬܚܪܳܫ	երկիր մարմնացեալ պատե- րագմի ընդ անմարմնակա- նին.
She who is corporeal fights against her [who is] incorporeal;	.ܡܠܟܐ .ܗܘܶܐ	She who is corporeal as earth fights against her [who is] incorporeal,
Ἦ λουτροῖς καὶ μυρίσμασι καὶ μετ’ ἄνδρὸς περιπλεκο- μένη πολεμεῖ τὴν καθαρὰν καὶ ᾅσπιλον Ἑκκλησίαν.	ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܬܚܪܳܫ .ܡܠܟܐ :ܡܠܟܐ	և որ հանապազ ընդ առն բնա- կեալ է, մարտնչի ընդ Բրիստոսի կնոջ.
she who [uses] bathing-places and ointments and lies in embrace with a man, she fights the pure and stainless Church.	And she who daily embraces a man,	and she who is always dwelling with a man,
ή λουτροῖς καὶ μυρίσμασι καὶ μετ’ ἄνδρὸς περιπλεκο- μένη, πολεμεῖ τὴν καθαρὰν καὶ ᾅσπιλον Ἑκκλησίαν.	she fights against [the church] of Christ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܬܚܪܳܫ .ܡܠܟܐ :	she fights against the wife of Christ. և որ հանապազ ’ի բղանիս և ,’ի լուալիս,
she who [uses] bathing-places and ointments and lies in embrace with a man, she fights the pure and stainless Church.	ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܬܚܪܳܫ .ܡܠܟܐ :	պատեբրագմի ընդ մաքրոյն և ընդ լուացելումն :
And she who in the splashings of baths of water, she fights against her who washed herself [i.e. was purified by bap- tism] and was purified.	ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܬܚܪܳܫ .ܡܠܟܐ :	and she who [is] always in the ther- mae and in the washing-places, she fights against the pure and washed one.
‘Αλλά γε καὶ αὐτὴ καθίσει χήρα, ἔτι ζώντος τοῦ ἀνδρός· ὅτι γυνὴ εἰ, καὶ χηρεῦσαι θέλεις τὴν Ἑκκλησίαν.	ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܬܚܪܳܫ .ܡܠܟܐ :	Բայց սակայն և ինքն առանց առն նստցի, զի զվենդանություն առն կին այլի արար:
But that one will sit as a widow, while her husband is still alive; for you are a woman, and you want to widow the Church.	Behold! For she will also sit with- out a man, for, in the life of her husband, she widowed him.	But however she herself (=the Church) will sit without a man, because she (=Eudoxia) has made widow the wife (=the Church) of the living man (=Christ).

σωματόω, which is generally employed with the meaning of ‘to embody, to make corporeal’ in theological contexts dealing with the incarnation of the *Logos*.⁵⁰ *B*’s reading here is less acceptable, because the homilist is referring to the one and only possible condition of Empress Eudoxia, the human one, trying to make a sharp difference between what is corporeal and what is not, rather than to discuss one of two virtual *natures* of Eudoxia. *σεσωματωμένη* is not an old reading and most probably originated by confusing *ισ* with *ω* in an exemplar already written in minuscule, in addition to an obvious process of trivialization caused by a scribe probably used to hearing about Christ’s *σωμάτωσις* – i.e. ‘embodying’ – several times per day. The Armenian translation leaves no doubt about the interpretation of this passage, because confusion between the theological (viz. technical) and the ordinary use of the verb *մարմնանալ* (which corresponds to the Greek verbs *σαρκόομαι*, *σωματόομαι*)⁵¹ is avoided by adding the word *երկիր* (i.e. ‘earth’) next to it. The word-play of the Greek *σεσωματισμένη/ἄσώματος* is mirrored in the Armenian rendering *մարմնացեալ/անմարմնականին*, but is lost in the Syriac translation ܐܢܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܡ ܕܥܪܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܡ, where the last word technically translates the Greek *πνευματικός* (i.e. ‘spiritual’).⁵²

τὴν. Here the homilist is comparing two different sorts of women, the Emperor’s wife and Christ’s wife, i.e. the Church. The masculine article offered by *B* seems a banal scribal mistake due to influence of the ending in -ov of the following adjective *ἄσώματος*. The feminine article, however, is required by sense and context, and it is confirmed by the

50 See LIDDELL-SCOTT, p. 1750, and LAMPE, p.1368.

51 See NBHL, p. 228.

52 See PAYNE-SMITH, coll. 3853-3854.

feminine of the Syriac translation, ܡܢܬܐ.⁵³

9.56. θέλεις. *A*'s reading – i.e. θέλῃς – is probably an error of spelling due to iotacism confusion. As a matter of fact a subjunctive – i.e. θέλῃς – would be out of place.

9.57. Ἰούδαν. Although an undeclined form Ἰούδα is not impossible from the point of view of the grammar, the reading of *A* is excellent, for the declined accusative form is widely attested in the Chrysostomian corpus and matches the previous accusative τρισκαιδέκατον ἀπόστολον.

9.58. προέβαλεν. The choice of the correct reading of this point is rather problematic and complicated. *B*'s προσεῖπε makes perfect sense in itself and it is mirrored by the Syriac ܡܢܬܐ (except for the fact that the subject of the Syriac verb is a masculine singular!). The Armenian translator rendered the Greek verb with յառաջ ընթացաւ, composed by the adverb յառաջ – i.e. ‘before’ (= πρό), *in front; previously*’, added in front of the verb ընթանալ, which means ‘to run’ (= τρέχω), *to apply, to go, to depart, to pass*’. If the reading of *B* were the original, it would be difficult to understand how προέβαλεν could originate from προσεῖπε, both in terms of meaning and palaeographically.⁵⁴ The solution could reside in the following lacuna of *B*. In fact when one reads the text continually as it is in *A*, the following saut du même au même appears even more clearly: προέβαλεν· χθές μοι ἔλεγεν πάτερ εὐνοούσταν, καὶ σήμερόν μου ἀγνωσίαν προεβάλετο· χθές

53 On this point the Armenian version is of no use, because the Armenian language has no grammatical differentiation of genders.

54 Palaeographically this may have happened by erroneous anticipation of the word in the next clause.

9.58/59. χθές μοι ἔλεγεν πάτερ εὐνούστατε, καὶ σήμερόν μου ἀγνώσίαν προεβάλετο. This passage is missing in *B* (and therefore it is absent in Montfaucon's edition) due to a problem of *saut du même au même*. Both the Armenian and Syriac rendered it and the rhetorical importance of this sentence appears very clearly when one considers it as inserted in a tripartite sequence constructed all around the figure of Judas. In addition, see the previous note.

9.60. μοι. The pronoun is needed and must be maintained, especially since also the ancient translations rendered it.

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60b-76a. **Digression on Job.** This section of the homily offers a significant digression on the figure of Job, who in spite of the fact that ruin befell him, did not stop blessing God and rebuking his wife for doing otherwise. The purpose is that of showing the possible model of women's behavior, that of the foolish wife of Job – i.e. the Empress – and its antitype. Just as Job praised God both in prosperous and hard times, John is said to be ready to accept both the good and the bad things which God sends to him.

10.61. φῆναι. The readings offered by the manuscripts probably derive from the corruption of an original φῆναι into *A*'s φᾶναι – in itself meaningless, but whose circumflex accent is rather interesting⁵⁵ – and *B*'s φάναι, the acute accent of which technically makes it the present active infinitive of φημί ('to say'), which makes no sense in this place. The reading printed by Montfaucon, on the contrary, is rather attractive, being the passive aorist II

55 Theoretically φᾶναι could also be the *Doric* active aorist infinitive of φαίνω.

infinitive of the verb φαίνω ('to bring to light, to cause to appear, etc', hence 'appeared'), and very likely the result of an emendation made by the editor himself in order to match the preceding σβεσθῆναι. However, the active aorist infinitive printed in the text seems to fit very well in the context,⁵⁶ and the corruption of a minuscule -η- into -α- is economically easier to explain than the loss of a middle -νη- in the word.

10.62. τηλικαύτην. The creation of *B*'s article τὴν in front of τηλικαύτην may have originated by the reduplication of the initial syllable τη- at the moment of writing down the syntagm. If the article were original, another article should be also found in front of πληγὴν.

10.64. ἐβόα. The text of *A* – i.e. πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐβόα – is a mere trivialization of a Byzantine scribe, for not only does the context leave no doubt that the two characters here are Job and his wife, but the Biblical narrative of Job was too well-known by the audience to need any further clarification.

10.64/65. εἰπόν τι ῥῆμα πρὸς Κύριον, καὶ τελεύτα. The omission of *A* is untenable and might have occurred for trivial reasons, like, for instance, a space left blank by a previous scribe who intended to rubricate the Biblical quotation later, or a scribe's religious concern which led him to refuse to copy the sentence because it was blasphemy.⁵⁷

10.65. αὐτῇ. The pronoun here is necessary, because it makes clear the change of subject of the sentence, i.e. now it is Job rebuking his wife.

10.65/66. ὥς ἄφρων γυνὴ ἐλάλησας. Here the homilist is adapting a passage taken

56 See LIDDELL-SCOTT, 1912-1913, 'II. abs., give light, shine, [...] of the sun, moon, etc.'.

57 This is the case of the scribe of ms Wien, Mechitarists' Library 232, containing the Armenian translation of CPG 4397, in which the Biblical words 'Curse God and die' are never written down.

from *Job* 2:10, which in Rahlfs reads almost identically to the text of *B*, i.e. ὥσπερ μία τῶν ἀφρόνων γυναικῶν ἐλάλησας.⁵⁸ Following the norm of the *lectio difficilior*, the reading of *A* must be preferred, for it is more plausible that an original allusion to a Biblical passage was made explicit by a later scribe who, at some stage of the tradition, identified the passage and ‘restored’ it according to the *Vulgata*, than to imagine that a clear and very well known quotation was changed into the text of *A* without any good reason.

10.66. ὦ χάρις γυναικός! ὦ μάλαγμα ὀδυνῶν! The text printed by Montfaucon – i.e. ὦ ἀχαροῦς γυναικός – does not seem to make much sense, even though both manuscripts have the same reading. The word ἀχαροῦς is not attested anywhere else and Montfaucon’s translation and interpretation of it – i.e. ‘O ingratam mulierem’ –⁵⁹ does not fit with the following ὦ μάλαγμα ὀδυνῶν, i.e. ‘oh emollient of pains’. μάλαγμα is a technical term used in medical treatises by a plethora of writers, and in this context is employed by the homilist with ironical purpose. After having shown the behavior of a foolish woman, i.e. Job’s wife, the text presents a comparison with an opposite kind of woman, namely that described in *Sir* 26:13-16, where we find an explanation of this passage and a confirmation of the proposed emendation: **13.** Χάρις γυναικὸς τέρπει τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς, καὶ τὰ ὀσᾶ αὐτοῦ πιανεῖ ἡ ἐπιστήμη αὐτῆς. **14.** δόσις κυρίου γυνὴ σιγηρά, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀντάλλαγμα πεπαιδευμένης ψυχῆς. **15.** χάρις ἐπὶ χάριτι γυνὴ αἰσχυνηρά, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν σταθμὸς πᾶς ἄξιος ἐγκρατοῦς ψυχῆς. **16.** ἥλιος ἀνατέλλων ἐν ὑψίστοις κυρίου καὶ κάλλος ἀγαθῆς γυναικὸς ἐν κόσμῳ οἰκίας αὐτῆς.⁶⁰ In addition, two loci similes

⁵⁸ See SEPTUAGINTA, *Iob* 2:10.

⁵⁹ See *P.G.* 52:458*.

present exactly the same text as that of the homily. The first is Ephraem Syrus' *Aduersus improbas mulieres* – ἀλλ' εἰπόν τι ῥῆμα πρὸς Κύριον, καὶ τελεύτα. Ὡ χάρις γυναικός! Ὡ μάλαγμα ὀδυνῶν δραστήριον!; the second John Chrysostom's *In decollationem sancti Joannis* – Ὡ χάρις γυναικός! ὦ μάλαγμα ὀδύνων προμαλακτῆριον! [...] Ἄρα σοῦ ποτε ἀρρώστουσης τοιοῦτον ἐφθέγξατο ῥῆμα, καὶ οὐχὶ εὐχαῖς καὶ εὐποιαῖς τὴν νόσον σου ἀπέσμηξεν;⁶¹

ὀδυνῶν. A's ὠδίναν is a simple scribal spelling corruption due to iotacism confusion of υ with ι, and of ω with α, which in minuscule are written very similarly.

ἄρα. A's ὄρα is technically the imperative present of ὁράω, which here is meaningless. In addition, see the preceding note.

10.66/67. γύναι, σοῦ ποτε. A's *ordo verborum* is not impossible in itself, but B's text has the advantage of keeping the genitive absolute all together in one syntagm.

10.68/69. ὅτε ἐν βασιλικαῖς [...] τὴν βασιλικὴν. A gives a portion of text which B clearly omitted because of homoioarchton – from the second ὅτε to the third one. Unfortunately the photocopy of the manuscript is unreadable at this point and, although inspection *in situ* will shed light on the lacuna, for the time being the text is printed with *obeloi*.

60 '13. The grace of a wife delighteth her husband, and her discretion will fatten his bones. 14. A silent and loving woman is a gift of the Lord; and there is nothing so much worth as a mind well instructed. 15. A shamefaced and faithful woman is a double grace, and her continent mind cannot be valued. 16. As the sun when it ariseth in the high heaven; so is the beauty of a good wife in the ordering of her house.'

61 See *P.G.* 59:487.

10.69. στολήν. The term *θεράπεια* (*B*) never occurs in the book of Job, while in the Chrysostomian corpus ἡ στολή ἡ βασιλική is a common concept.

10.70. τι τούτων. Both manuscripts' readings are acceptable, but because what precedes is a series of four temporal clauses, the genitive τούτων seems rather attractive, and *difficilior* than *B*'s τοσοῦτον.

ἐβόας. *B*'s ἔλεγες seems a trivialization of the technical verb so often employed when Job and his wife are talking to each other, which is βόάω.

καθήμενον. In the book of Job and in the whole Chrysostomian corpus, Job is always associated with the verb 'to sit', and not 'to lie' – i.e. *A*'s κείμενον – any time the words ἐπὶ κοπρίας are employed. It is remarkable, however, that *A*'s reading is found again in a Chrysostomian spurious – *In decollationem sancti Joannis* – which often shares *loci similes* with this homily.⁶²

10.71. τότε. *A*'s reading is undoubtedly the best, especially because τότε is commonly used in opposition to νῦν and corresponds to the relative adverb ὅτε,⁶³ which both appear just a few words before. It is surprising that Montfaucon did not deem it necessary to emend this point.

10.72. γάρ. There is no reason to reject the manuscripts' reading, because in this context γάρ makes perfect sense and the second position in the sentence is syntactically accurate.⁶⁴

10.73. αὐτῷ. *A*'s genitive cannot be retained because good grammar requires the verb

62 See John Chrysostom's *In decollationem sancti Joannis*, P.G. 59:487, 52.

63 See LIDDELL-SCOTT, 1808/a.

64 The words οὐκ ἦρκει are a siggle concept.

προξενέω to be followed by an indirect object in the dative case.⁶⁵

10.74. ὥσπερ. *B*'s ἵνα τί – i.e. ‘to what end?’⁶⁶ – is generally used alone as a question in itself. Probably it was added by a scribe before the Biblical quotations for emphatic reasons, but it seems unnecessary. In the Biblical narrative, in fact, Job does not ask his wife why she acted like a fool – this is taken for granted – but only why she does not want to accept anything coming from God. In addition to that, ἵνα τί seems out of place in this passage of the homily, because, if accepted, it would be preceded and followed by two strong interrogatives, with the result of weakening them.

10.76. ὑποίσομεν. Rahlfs' edition of *Septuaginta* prints the same reading as *A*, which is therefore preferred. The reading of *B*, – i.e. ὑποίσωμεν – is an aberration. The text of the Armenian Job, on the contrary, has a present subjunctive – համբերիցեմք –,⁶⁷ while the translator of the homily gives an aorist subjunctive – i.e. համբերեսցուք.

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Τί γὰρ καὶ ἡ παράνομος καὶ στυγερὰ, αὕτη ἡ νέα, φημὶ, Ἰεζάβελ;	Ահա յիս ցի կտա	Ձի՞նչ և այս անօրէն թագուհի.
And, in fact, what [does] that law- less and abominable woman, that new – I say – Jezebel, [do]?	And thus this lawless [woman],	And what [does] that lawless Em- press [do]?
Οὐ βοᾷ καὶ λέγει ἔκβηθι καὶ διαπεράσας ἀπόδραθι.	Եթէ աս անգամ ասէ ինձ	որ մի անգամ ելեթ ասէ ինձ “ԵԼ,,
She does not cry aloud and say ‘go out and run away by passing through [the crowd]!’,	she did not say to me once ‘go out!’,	She does not say to me once only ‘go out!’,

⁶⁵ See LIDDELL-SCOTT, 1491/β.

⁶⁶ See *B* in apparatus to §10, line 5.

⁶⁷ See COX 2006, p. 60.

and almost unreadable in Montfaucon's edition. It has been possible to reconstruct it in its entirety (concerning both readings and punctuation) with the help of both Greek manuscripts, but also thanks to the ancient translations, which very often illuminate points of the text which may be otherwise rather obscure.

11.76. γὰρ. The choice between γὰρ and δὲ is not a straightforward one, especially when considering that both constructions – τί γὰρ καὶ and τί δὲ καὶ – are very well attested in both the genuine and spurious works of John Chrysostom. Here, however, γὰρ seems preferable for reasons of sense. In the previous paragraph, in fact, the homilist had just developed his tirade against the empress by depicting the example of Job and his wife. When Job's wife saw that her husband was the object of God's continuous punishment, she invited him to curse God. In the same way as Job's wife misbehaved, the Empress is repeating the mistakes of her Biblical counterpart. In this context, γὰρ gives a confirmatory statement on the predictable behavior of the 'new Jezebel' and firmly connects the content of this paragraph with that of the previous one, whereas here δὲ would be weaker.

11.77. φημί. At this point of the text the ancient translations are of no help. In fact, both the Armenian and Syriac versions match only the first part of the sentence – .)ἡ ἄνθρωπος (i.e. 'And thus this lawless [woman]') and ܐܝܢܐ ܠܐ ܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ (i.e. 'And what [does] that lawless Empress [do]?') – leaving the impression that the remaining Greek text might be the result of an expansion process, viz. that the Greek text preserved in the manuscripts might be the result of a revision or second recension. For this reason, it is preferable to retain φημί, for a revision of the text in which καὶ στυγερά, αὕτη ἡ νέα, φημί,

Ἰεζάβελ was appended to the original sentence is more likely, than to think of a φημί added in a yet another stage of revision.

Ἰεζάβελ. The spelling Ἰεζάβελ is not attested in Greek. The reading of *A* is thus the result of a minor mistake of iotacism. The same mistake, however, occurred in §7 and it is difficult to clarify whether confusion between ι and η originated in an early manuscript (i.e. IEZABEA → HEZABEA) or in one already written in minuscule script.

βοᾷ. The correct reading here is undoubtedly a present indicative third singular verbal form, in accordance with the following λέγει, ἀποστέλλει, and ἀπειλεῖ, which all have ἡ νέα Ἰεζάβελ as their subject. The reading of *A* – βοᾷ – is, therefore, either an error of spelling inherited from an early manuscript, in which βοᾷ must have appeared written as BOAI, or the result of a misplaced accent, perhaps due to a scribe's eccentricity.

11.77/78. ἔκβηθι καὶ διαπεράσας ἀπόδραθι. Since Montfaucon's edition,⁷¹ this passage of the sermon seems to be hopelessly corrupted, to such a point that even the great French Benedictine did not attempt any emendation, but instead preferred to print his text with *crucēs*, i.e. ἐκ... καὶ διαπερα.... ἀποδρ...⁷² Ever since, no scholar endeavored to restore the passage or even tried to reconstruct at least its sense. Abbé Joly, in his 1864 French translation of Chrysostom's homilies on his first exile, left the passage untranslated, very much like Delgado Jara in her recent Spanish translation,⁷³ and so did Chahine, who was

71 MONTFAUCON, *Opera Omnia*, III, Paris 1721 (i.e. *P.G.* 52:438, ll. 23-24).

72 See *P.G.* 52:438, ll. 23-24.

73 L'Abbé Joly translated 'Mais que veut cette femme méchante, haïssable, cette nouvelle Jézabel? Elle m'envoie des consuls, des tribuns? Elle fait de grandes menaces. Que m'importe? une [sic] araignée envoie des araignées.' See ABBÉ JOLY 1864, p. 382. The Spanish Delgado Jara, after translating the passage in this way – 'Pero ¿qué esta injusta y

820-86. Conclusion. John is ready for exile and certain to have his crown of glory now secured, because like victory is laid up in sufferings, he has fought his good fight and finished his race.

12.80. πάντως ὅτι. Montfaucon's πάντες is rather odd, especially when one considers that the syntagm ἀδελφοὶ πάντες cannot be traced anywhere else in the whole Chrysostomian corpus, both genuine and spurious. On the contrary, the reading of the manuscripts makes perfect sense, having the meaning of 'in all ways, at all events, at any rate, absolutely'. Montfaucon's textual choice, therefore, can be explained as based upon an error of reading made by the person in charge of the collation of *B*. This point of the text is in fact the last evidence that Montfaucon did not inspect the manuscript himself. In conjunction with *B*'s ὅτι (which Montfaucon retained), the clause πάντως ὅτι takes the meaning of 'evidently because, it follows that', which is indeed appropriate for the introduction of the last quotation of the homily, and in order to prepare the audience for a conclusive statement.⁷⁷

12.81. ὥς ὁ θεσπέσιος Παῦλος ἀρτίως ἔλεγε. The adjective θεσπέσιος – i.e. 'divinely-sounding' – is found associated with Paul in hundreds of occurrences throughout the Patristic literature, used as a sort of nickname. According to Lampe,⁷⁸ προθεσμία is the 'appointed time' of eschatological expectation of the prophet. The reading offered by *A* – i.e. προθέσμιος – seems to be an adjective derived from προθεσμία, although such a formation cannot be traced anywhere else and, thus, for the time being its presence here remains

⁷⁷ See LIDDELL-SCOTT, 1301.

⁷⁸ See LAMPE 1149/b.

inexplicable.

12.82. τὸν καλὸν ἀγῶνα ἡγώνισμαι. The reading transmitted by *A* – i.e. ἡγωνισάμην – is the aorist form of the verb ἀγωνίζομαι which in the Biblical text is used in its perfect form, i.e. ἡγώνισμαι. There are two reasons for maintaining the reading of *B*. The first is that whenever Chrysostom quotes this Biblical passage, he always reproduces the same text of the New Testament.⁷⁹ The second is that, although theoretically one could speculate that *A*'s text is in fact *difficilior*, it would remain inexplicable why the following verbs are also in their perfect tense, i.e. τετέλεκα [...] τετήρηκα. Furthermore, in no other writer the passage τὸν καλὸν ἀγῶνα ἡγώνισμαι is ever found with an aorist.

12.83. λοιπὸν ἀπόκειται μοι. *B*'s καὶ can be easily justified as the result of a connection of thought of a scribe who involuntarily joined two parts of the same Biblical quotation while copying it down on his page. There is no reason not to maintain *A*. Montfaucon's omission of μοι, on the contrary, seems entirely unjustified, for the dative pronoun makes perfect sense in the context and is an integral part of the Biblical quotation.

12.84/85. ὁ δίκαιος κριτής. The words 'the righteous judge' might have been omitted by the copist of *A* because of the length of the Biblical quotation. As a matter of fact, from the point of view of the grammar and of the sense, the sentence could stand also without the inclusion of its final words. However, from the point of view of the athlete's metaphor (and of the allusion of the verdict of the Synod of the Oak), the mention of a δίκαιος κριτής fits

⁷⁹ However, should be aware that in the Chrysostomian corpus this passage is quoted only three more times, i.e. *In epistulam ii ad Timotheum* (homiliae 1–10), *P.G.* 62:652, ll. 20–21; *De circo* [Sp.], *P.G.* 59:570, l. 71; *In sanctum Paulum apostolum* (excerptum), p. 429, ll. 36–37.

impeccably in the context.

12.85/86. ὅτι αὐτῷ ἐστὶν ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος. *A*'s genitive – i.e. αὐτοῦ – is found only once in the Chrysostomian corpus,⁸⁰ while the dative appears to be the rule. The manuscripts' ἐστὶν is in itself superfluous, although there is no strong reason to reject it as Montfaucon does.

⁸⁰ See *De paenitentia* (homiliae 1–9), *P.G.* 49:334, l. 34.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

The purpose of this thesis was to show that a careful investigation of the textual transmission of both the *Sermo antequam iret in exsilium* and the *Sermo cum iret in exsilium* is indispensable in order to address such questions as the Chrysostomian paternity of the texts under examination. Although for at least three centuries the debate on the issue of authenticity of the homilies on the exile has been the central – sometimes the only – interest of scholars, before reviewing the validity of the opinions put forward by some of them, as well as before offering my own views and speculations on the nature of these texts, first of all it is important to summarize those new findings which stem from an objective observation of the texts through the evidence of the new editions.

Whilst concerning the ANTEQUAM IRET Liebeschuetz declares that ‘*unfortunately the sermon has come down to us in a badly damaged state*’,¹ echoing with these words what had been previously written by Kelly, a thorough internal analysis of both the ANTEQUAM IRET and the CUM IRET reveals that the text of the two homilies is in reality very coherent, both from the point of view of the themes which are dealt with in each of them, and in terms of the quality of the Greek. With the help of the text transmitted by manuscript *P* for the ANTEQUAM IRET and of manuscript *A* for the CUM IRET, as well as thanks to the textual assistance provided by the

1 See LIEBESCHUETZ 2011, 241.

ancient Latin and oriental translations, it was possible to clarify a large number of points in the homilies which in the text printed by Montfaucon either created serious difficulties or very often left the reader puzzled in face of the obscurity of certain sentences. The *apparatus* of each of the two editions essentially bears evidence of the readings printed by Montfaucon and rejected by me. Furthermore, a thorough explanation of the problems arising from the transmission of the texts has been presented in the two commentaries, a few selected examples were enough to show how differently some passages of the two homilies can now be interpreted, when one is comparing the new text to that of the *Patrologia*.

The examples illustrated in the commentary show that the text on which scholars have been basing their hypothesis up to now, that is the text prepared by Montfaucon, was in fact not entirely satisfactory. Although my editions also are to be considered provisional, for – at least as far as the ANTEQUAM IRET is concerned – the indirect tradition has not been fully investigated yet, they nevertheless represent a significant step forward for understanding and interpreting the texts in a new light. This result should not be underestimated and actually comes rather as a surprise, when one considers that scholars' ideas on the transmission of the Chrysostomian corpus have been a little simplistic. As a matter of fact, up to the present scholars have quite unanimously agreed in reckoning the available editions of Chrysostomian texts to be fairly reliable in transmitting what their author (or authors, in the case of *pseudo-Chrysostomica*) actually wrote. As a consequence of the high number of manuscripts bearing testimony to the rich Mediaeval transmission from which an editor of Chrysostomian texts can generally benefit, after the last large-scale edition of the *corpus Chrysostomicum* prepared by Montfaucon in the 18th century, no scholar has embarked on seriously questioning whether the old editions are actually still adequate. The modern reader of John Chrysostom

can benefit from an ever growing number of new critical editions prepared under the aegis of the *Sources Chrétiennes*. Since the publication of the first new critical edition of a Chrysostomian text in 1947 – that is the edition of the *Letters to Olympia* –, the scholars of the *Sources Chrétiennes* have produced many editions of other works of John Chrysostom, especially of his treatises. The first remark to be made is that although some of the texts published are transmitted by dozens (sometimes even hundreds) of manuscripts, none of the editions of the *Sources Chrétiennes* is based on more than a handful of witnesses, often chosen without a scientific justification, but only on the ground of their antiquity. The second remark is that although these editions certainly represent an improvement of our knowledge of certain texts of John Chrysostom, nonetheless the bulk of the opus Chrysostomicum remains that made up by the hundreds and hundreds of exegetical homilies presenting the commentaries on the Old and the New Testaments. For these homilies, the modern scholar can still rely on what has been reprinted by Migne in the *Patrologia Graeca*. F. Barone's edition of the *De Davide et Saule*, published in 2008 in the collection of the *Corpus Christianorum*, was the first edition for which, for the first time, an editor investigated the entire tradition of the Chrysostomian text. The conclusion that Barone reached after investigating all the 47 surviving manuscripts, the fragments of an ancient Coptic translation, and the Greek indirect tradition, seemed to confirm what scholars often assumed, that is that the text printed by Montfaucon is in fact a very good text, and that taking the trouble to investigate anew the tradition of a Chrysostomian work may not be rewarding. It is very often believed that concerning the Chrysostomian corpus a form of *Vulgata* must have taken shape very soon, and that, therefore, the text of John Chrysostom has been transmitted through the Middle Ages with little alterations, except for trivialization. My study of the text of the ANTEQUAM IRET and the CUM IRET , however,

demonstrates that the such a simplistic image cannot be applied to the entire Chrysostomian corpus (in which I include the *pseudo-Chrysostomica*). As a matter of fact, the theory that the manuscripts of a given Chrysostomian work represent fairly accurately the original text must be tested by means of new editions, which need to take into consideration all available sources. Until then, the notion of an existing early *Vulgata* of the Chrysostomian works must be considered an assumption, or be applied to the text of the treatises alone. This conclusion is particularly true for all those texts which were not copied on a large scale – like, for instance, the exegetical commentaries and the ascetical treatises –, but which remained hidden in marginal shelves of a few libraries, as might have been the case of the homilies on the exile.

In preparing the editions of the ANTEQUAM IRET and the CUM IRET the textual aid offered by the ancient translations proved to be fundamental. Concerning the ANTEQUAM IRET, the Latin translation served as a guarantee of the antiquity of a given reading. Although the edition of the Latin translation is – at the moment – only provisional, and even though the way the translator rendered the Greek does not follow the rules of a translation *verbum de verbo*, the Latin text helped the interpretation of many passages of the Greek that at first sight could have seemed obscure. Regarding the CUM IRET, once clarified that the text provided by the Armenian and Syriac versions is technically not the translation of the CUM IRET, but the translation of a lost text from which the CUM IRET probably derives, it has been possible to prove that the aid of these oriental versions has been crucial not only to understand difficult passages, but even to emend portions of the Greek which are clearly corrupted in both manuscripts of the direct tradition (that is in manuscripts *A* and *B*). Some emendations, in fact, would have never been possible without taking into consideration the Armenian text, like, for instance,

the opening sentence of the CUM IRET, where in the passage Φαίδροϛ ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος, ἀδελφοί, καὶ λαμπρὰ ἡ πανήγυρις· καὶ θάλαττα εὐρύχωρος ἐμπεπλησμένη νεφῶν, ἀλλ' οὐ παραττομένη τῇ ζάλῃ τῶν ἀνέμων the word νεφῶν – absent in *B* and corrupted into νηῶν in *A* – could be recovered only through the testimony of the Armenian: *ալէկոծութեամբ*. Without the evidence of the Armenian text, an editor would have been induced to emend the reading transmitted by *A* into the word ‘boats’, but not into the correct ‘tempest’. Another important consideration to be made is that the assistance of the Armenian and Syriac texts has been extremely profitable even when the two translations were in contrast with each other, and even when the ancient translators were clearly rendering freely the text of their exemplar, or when the *ordo verborum* and certain clauses of the Greek could not be entirely maintained because of the grammatical characteristics of the language in which the text was translated – this is especially true concerning the Syriac. This argument confirms an obvious fact, that is that the translations can never be ignored when preparing a new edition, even when they are clearly not literal. Although this principle is in general accepted by all editors, only a few Chrysostomian editors have shown that they embraced it. By ignoring the evidence of the translations, one exposed oneself to the possibility of missing portions of genuine tradition which cannot be recovered by means of the Greek direct tradition alone.

One of the major findings of this thesis – probably the most important one – was the discovery and confirmation of the existence of two recensions of the ANTEQUAM IRET, as well as the clarification that the text transmitted by the Armenian and the Syriac versions is not the translation of the CUM IRET, but that of a lost text from which the CUM IRET derives. As far as the ANTEQUAM IRET is concerned, the investigation of the manuscript tradition demonstrated

that the only manuscript preserving this homily in direct tradition transmits a text whose length corresponds exactly to what can be found in the Latin translation, that is to paragraphs 1-3 of the edition of Montfaucon. Although the suspicion that §§ 1-3 were actually part of a homily complete in itself was formulated since the time of Savile's edition, nobody has actually ever been able to prove it until now. The text of the homily as it is printed in the edition of Montfaucon, in fact, exists only within the *Life of John Chrysostom*, which is usually attributed to George of Alexandria. Until one can not find at least one manuscript transmitting the homily as it is printed in the *Patrologia Graeca* – that is, containing paragraphs §§ 1-5 –, the suspicion that paragraphs 4-5 may result from George's reworking of the CUM IRET or of the text transmitted by the Armenian and Syriac translations cannot be discarded. The outcome of this finding is that, from now on, §§ 1-3 of the ANTEQUAM IRET (that is, §§ 1-18 of my edition, which I call recensio α) have to be considered as a textual entity complete in itself, and as a consequence one cannot continue to assess the literary and historical value of this text by taking into consideration also §§ 4-5 of Montfaucon's edition. The reason lying behind this argument is that, to date, there is no material evidence to infer or to postulate that paragraphs §§ 4-5 existed before the 7th century.

As far as the Armenian and Syriac texts are concerned, in chapter 2 and in the commentary to the CUM IRET I was able to confirm that Chahine was right in reckoning the Syriac text to be based on a text which has been, until now, ignored.² Chahine, however, was unfortunately unaware of the existence of an Armenian version, even though this latter had been published

2 See CHAHINE 2002, 86: '... *ce qui fait penser que la traduction syriaque était basée non pas sur la forme éditée par Migne* [here Chahine means Montfaucon, for Migne did not edit, but only reprinted the text], *mais sur un autre modèle jusqu'à présent ignoré*'.

by the Mechitarists Father of San Lazzaro degli Armeni as early as the 1861. Access to the Armenian version would have saved Chahine from certain mistakes of interpretation of the Syriac, some of which have been pointed out in the commentary. Although in this thesis there was no intention to present a comparative study of the texts of the Armenian and Syriac versions, a succinct analysis of those passages of these texts which offer a correpondance in the Greek text of the CUM IRET proved sufficient to show that the Armenian and Syriac translations are independent from each other, and thus that the two translators worked independently on a Greek text now lost. By looking at the synopsis of the Armenian and Syriac versions it is now possible to eliminate Chahine's suspicions that the text of the Syriac version might have been affected by certain revisions or changes, that is that we cannot be sure whether what we can read in the Syriac was actually already existing in the Greek exemplar, or if the Syriac translation actually presents passages or chapters which have been entirely created by the translator. Except for a few details and for all those inevitable changes which affect the transmission of a text, comparison of the Armenian and the Syriac texts shows that the two translation roughly offer the same text, without additions or omissions of real importance. In fact, those passages which here and there show divergences between the Armenian and the Syriac versions may be explained more as due to an individual translation technique and peculiar choice of the translator, than as due to the existence of two different Greek exemplars. In other words, the oriental versions offer an accurate translation of a lost Greek homily without any substantial addition or reworking. As far as the translation technique is concerned, both Armenian and Syriac versions are exempt from the characteristics of the Hellenizing School (for the Armenian) and the methods of the 'mirroring' translations for the Syriac, which begun to be followed roughly from the end of the 5th century or the beginning of the 6th. Both

translators rendered the Greek text faithfully, but without being enslaved to it, that is without rendering the text word by word as it would become fashionable in the following centuries (i.e. from the 6th till ca. the 8th century). The Armenian and Syriac translators certainly enlarged those passages of the Greek text that they reckoned needed to be explained, but rendered the text according to grammatical and semantic characteristics of their languages. As a consequence, I suggest that both translation could be considered as carried out sometimes during the 5th century, probably by the end of the century. In particular, the fact that the Syriac translator rendered the Biblical quotations according to the text of the Peshitta suggests a date earlier than the 6th century, when a translator would have rendered the citations literally, as they appeared in the Greek.

The issue of authenticity of the ANTEQUAM IRET and the CUM IRET has been discussed in chapter 1 of the thesis. In short, scholars' opinion can be summarized and divided into two positions. Some scholars (like, for instance, Kelly, Liebeschuetz, etc., but also Montfaucon and Savile) are convinced that at least the first part of ANTEQUAM IRET (that is §§ 1-3 of Montfaucon, §§ 1-18 of my edition) is authentic, while the second part of this homily and the entire CUM IRET are to be rejected as spurious, and the position of Voicu, who dismisses both homilies as the result of fabrications. The arguments offered by Voicu in support of his verdict are the fact that in these homilies '*lo stile [...] non presenta affinità chiare con quello di Crisostomo*', the typical Chrysostomian doxology is absent, and, above all, the fact that large portions of these texts are copied and pasted in blocks from one homily to another.³ Although

3 For details, see VOICU 2006, 102-105.

Voicu's arguments are worth taking into consideration, they are not entirely convincing for both the ANTEQUAM IRET and the CUM IRET when one considers the following facts.

First of all, the argument that the style of the homilies on the exile presents 'no clear relationships' with that of Chrysostom could be justified by taking into consideration the fact that, had these homilies actually been delivered, John probably did not have time (or interest) in revising them for publication, as, on the contrary, he did with his exegetical commentaries and ascetical treatises. In other words, one cannot expect from these texts the same characteristics which are found in other works of Chrysostom. Only Seek and Lietzmann, whose opinions are reported and shared by Kelly,⁴ suggest that the ANTEQUAM IRET and the CUM IRET may represent pieces of actual addresses of John, later transmitted in the form which has come down to us as remembered by members of the audience.

The same argument can be used to deal with the problem of the doxology. The fact that a number of texts attributed to John Chrysostom present a doxology rather different from that one which is usually found in the vast majority of the authentic Chrysostomian works is a very interesting point. However, its validity as a criterion to discern genuine from spurious homilies is less reliable when one considers – as just said above – that not all homilies delivered by John benefited from a final revision of their author. In other words, some homilies of the same category as the homilies on the exile, might have actually been delivered by John, recorded by shorthand writers, but never properly edited.

With the exception of Kelly, no scholar has remarked that both the ANTEQUAM IRET and the CUM IRET have numerous themes in common, namely the special bond between the bishop and

4 See KELLY 1995, 231.

his flock and the discussion of the power of the Church. Voicu's opinion that these homilies were created by members of the Johannine community in order to make John Chrysostom say what they hoped or wanted him to say in the circumstances of the first exile, may fit very well with the Greek text of the *CUM IRET*. Concerning this latter, in fact, not only was I able to confirm Voicu's verdict of inauthenticity on the ground that it technically derives from a lost text, but its high rhetorical style is congruent with Voicu's explanation of its original *milieu*. The same, however, cannot be said concerning the *ANTEQUAM IRET*, for the many repetitions of concepts present in the text of recensio α suggest that this homily was delivered orally, and thus pronounced in the form we can read today.

Voicu's other main point, that is that the homilies on the exile are to be considered spurious because some parts of them recur in (or are taken from) other homilies,⁵ is very interesting, although without any serious investigation it may prove sterile. In fact it is very well known that the presence of passages which are identically repeated in different homilies of the Chrysostomian corpus occurs not only within the *pseudo-Chrysostomica*, but also in writings whose authenticity has never been questioned. For instance, this is the case of the *Commentary on Genesis* and the *Homilies on Genesis*, which both share numerous identical passages, and whose relationship has never been fully clarified.

My investigation of the tradition of the *ANTEQUAM IRET* and the *CUM IRET* demonstrates that the homilies attributed to John Chrysostom and which deal with the events of the first exile are in fact four. The first is the text of recensio α of the *ANTEQUAM IRET*. Concerning this homily I believe that there are no serious reasons for rejecting its authenticity. This homily

5 For details see chapter 1 and VOICU 2006.

was probably pronounced before going into exile. Because it contained no exegetical content it never became part of those Chrysostomian works which are transmitted in hundreds of manuscripts, showing that they were widely read in most of the Byzantine monasteries thanks to their exegetical and paraenetic nature (this is particularly true for the commentaries on the holy Scriptures). A copy of recensio α of the ANTEQUAM IRET was probably kept in an archive or in the library of the cathedral of Constantinople, and there it was found by the Latin translator in the early 400s, together with the first homily after the exile (i.e. the *Sermo post reditum a priore exsilio* 1), whose authenticity has never been questioned, except by Voicu. Recensio β of the ANTEQUAM IRET (that is the form of the homily as can be read in Migne) was probably made up by George of Alexandria in the early 7th century, by adding to recensio α the reworking of either the CUM IRET or of the lost homily from which the Armenian and Syriac translation were made. The CUM IRET can be dismissed as spurious, for the reasons I gave above. The interpretation of the homily from which the Armenian and Syriac translations depend is the most difficult to assess. In this text the homilist speaks very often of the figure of Job, and in the beginning of the POST REDITUM 1 – which I reckon to be authentic – John reminds the audience that he left Constantinople to go into exile while praising the figure of Job and repeating his words, that is ‘*the name of the Lord shall be blessed*’. Because of the nature of this lost homily, whose main purpose is a violent attack against Empress Eudoxia, Voicu is convinced of the inauthenticity of this homily. If John had in fact offended the Empress in such a way, he would have certainly risked capital punishment. While this is certainly a fascinating explanation, it still remains unexplained why this homily disappeared in Greek. If Voicu is right in considering this homily to have been produced by the Johannine community after the death of Eudoxia, one cannot explain why it should have not been re-

tained in the archives of the patriarchate by the same people who prepared also the first editions of other Chrysostomian works, like, for instance, his *Letters*. Although it is risky to speculate on the nature of a text whose original is lost and whose translations have not yet been the object of a serious study, I believe that the words of Kelly, who, at the time he wrote his book on Chrysostom, had no knowledge of the existence of the Armenian and Syriac versions, on the CUM IRET still maintain their validity, that it is difficult to imagine that ‘*such politically sensitive material*’ could have actually been written down by stenographers, or even preserved. My final opinion on the nature of the text from which the CUM IRET derives is that until all homilies on the first exile are edited, any judgment on its authenticity must be postponed. As the study of the transmission of the ANTEQUAM IRET and the CUM IRET has demonstrated, the analysis of the indirect tradition proved as important as that of the direct tradition. The fact that POST REDITUM 1 is transmitted in Greek, Latin, and Armenian, and that the POST REDITUM 2 exists in Armenian, and in Greek (but, in this case, only transmitted in *traditio indirecta*, within the text of the *Life of John Chrysostom* of George of Alexandria), suggests that further studies are necessary before a final verdict can actually be reached.

To conclude, I hope that the study on the traditions of the ANTEQUAM IRET and the CUM IRET and the production of their respective new critical editions presented in this thesis may have not only advanced our present knowledge of the nature of these texts, but, above all, that it may serve as a point of departure for future research on the relationship between the authentic works and the *pseudo-Chrysostomica*. As a matter of fact, although in the last twenty years much progress has been made in this field, no serious and comprehensive work on the problem of the validity of the criteria employed for the identification of the *spuria* has ever been produced. This thesis shows that an investigation of the transmission of the Chrysostomian

corpus which takes into consideration not only the direct, but also (or even especially) the indirect tradition of the translations has been until now neglected. I am convinced that after systematic analysis and thorough assessment of the criteria hitherto used by scholars for distributing the spurious Chrysostomian homilies will be conducted, new editions based on all available sources will be available, some of the foundations upon which scholars have relied in dealing with the *pseudo-Chrysostomica* will prove to be assumptions, as the case of the ANTEQUAM IRET and the CUM IRET has demonstrated.

A P P E N D I X A:
S E R M O
A N T E Q U A M I R E T I N E X S I L I U M¹

ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΟΜΙΛΙΑ ΠΡΟ ΤΗΣ ΕΞΟΡΙΑΣ

- 1 α'. Πολλὰ τὰ κύματα καὶ χαλεπὸν τὸ κλυδώνιον·
ἀλλ' οὐ δεδοίκαμεν, μὴ καταποντισθῶμεν· ἐπὶ γὰρ τῆς
πέτρας ἐστήκαμεν. Μαινέσθω ἡ θάλασσα, πέτραν
διαλῦσαι οὐ δύναται· ἐγειρέσθω τὰ κύματα, τοῦ Ἰη-
5 σοῦ τὸ πλοῖον καταποντίσαι οὐκ ἰσχύει. Τί δεδοίκα-
μεν, εἶπέ μοι; Τὸν θάνατον; Ἐμοὶ τὸ ζῆν Χριστὸς,
καὶ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν κέρδος. Ἄλλ' ἐξορίαν, εἶπέ μοι;
Τοῦ Κυρίου ἡ γῆ, καὶ τὸ πλήρωμα αὐτῆς. Ἄλλὰ
χρημάτων δήμευσιν; Οὐδὲν εἰσηνέγκαμεν εἰς τὸν
10 κόσμον, δῆλον ὅτι οὐδὲν ἐξενεγκεῖν δυνάμεθα·
καὶ τὰ φοβερὰ τοῦ κόσμου ἔμοι εὐκαταφρόνητα, καὶ
τὰ χρηστὰ καταγέλαστα. Οὐ πενίαν δέδοικα, οὐ πλοῦ-
τον ἐπιθυμῶ· οὐ θάνατον φοβοῦμαι, οὐ ζῆσαι εὐχο-
μαι, εἰ μὴ διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν προκοπὴν. Διὸ καὶ τὰ
15 νῦν ὑπομινῆσκω, καὶ παρακαλῶ τὴν ὑμετέραν θάρ-
ρεῖν ἀγάπην. Οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἀποσπᾶσαι δυνήσεται·

1 The text of this appendix reproduces the Greek text of the *Sermo antequam iret in exsilium* as it was edited by Montfaucon and reprinted by Migne in the *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 52:427*-432. The continuous numbering which appears on the left side of the text has been added by me.

ὁ γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς συνέξευξεν, ἄνθρωπος χωρίσαι οὐ δύνα-
 ται. Εἰ γὰρ περὶ γυναικὸς καὶ ἀνδρὸς λέγει· Ἀντὶ
 τούτου καταλείπει ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ
 20 τὴν μητέρα, καὶ προσκολληθήσεται τῇ γυναικὶ
 αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν· ὁ οὖν ὁ
 Θεὸς ἔξευξεν, ἄνθρωπος μὴ χωριζέτω. Εἰ γάμον οὐ
 δύνασαι διασπάσαι, πόσω μᾶλλον Ἐκκλησίαν Θεοῦ οὐκ
 ἰσχύεις καταλῦσαι; ἀλλὰ πολεμεῖς αὐτήν, οὐ δυνάμε-
 25 νος βλάψαι τὸν πολεμούμενον. Ἄλλ' ἐμὲ μὲν ἐργάζη
 λαμπρότερον, ἑαυτοῦ δὲ τὴν ἰσχὺν καταλύεις τῆς
 πρὸς ἐμὲ μάχης· Σκληρὸν γάρ σοι πρὸς κέντρα
 ὀξέα λακτίζειν. Οὐκ ἀμβλύνεις τὰ κέντρα, ἀλλὰ τοὺς
 πόδας αἰμάσσεις· ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ κύματα τὴν πέτραν
 30 οὐ διαλύει, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ εἰς ἀφρὸν διαλύονται. Οὐδὲν
 Ἐκκλησίας δυνατώτερον, ἄνθρωπε. Λῦσον τὸν πόλε-
 μον, ἵνα μὴ καταλύσῃ σου τὴν δύναμιν· μὴ εἵσαγε
 πόλεμον εἰς οὐρανόν. Ἄνθρωπον ἐὰν πολεμῇς, ἢ ἐνί-
 κησας, ἢ ἐνίκηθης. Ἐκκλησίαν δὲ ἐὰν πολεμῇς, νι-
 35 κῇσαί σε ἀμήχανον· ὁ Θεὸς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ πάντων ἰσχυ-
 ρότερος. Μὴ παραζηλοῦμεν τὸν Κύριον; μὴ ἰσχυ-
 ρότεροι αὐτοῦ ἐσμεν; Ὁ Θεὸς ἔπηξε, τίς ἐπιχειρεῖ
 σαλεύειν; Οὐκ οἶσθα αὐτοῦ τὴν δύναμιν. Ἐπιβλέπει
 ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ ποιεῖ αὐτὴν τρέμειν· κελεύει, καὶ
 40 τὰ σειόμενα ἡδράζετο. Εἰ τὴν πόλιν σαλευομένην
 ἔστησε, πολλῶ μᾶλλον τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν στήσαι δύ-
 νатаι. Ἡ Ἐκκλησία οὐρανοῦ ἰσχυροτέρα· Ὁ οὐρανὸς
 καὶ ἡ γῆ παρελεύσονται, οἱ δὲ λόγοι μου οὐ μὴ

παρέλθωσι. Ποῖοι λόγοι; Σὺ εἶ Πέτρος, καὶ ἐπὶ
45 ταύτῃ μου τῇ πέτρᾳ οἰκοδομήσω μου τὴν Ἐκ-
κλησίαν, καὶ πύλαι ᾗδου οὐ κατισχύσουσιν αὐτῆς.

β'. Εἰ ἀπιστεῖς τῷ λόγῳ, πίστευε τοῖς πράγμασι. Πό-
σοι τύραννοι ἠθέλησαν περιγενέσθαι τῆς Ἐκκλησίας;
πόσα τήγανα; πόσοι κάμινοι, θηρίων ὀδόντες, ξίφη
50 ἠκονημένα; καὶ οὐ περιεγένοντο. Ποῦ οἱ πολεμήσαν-
τες; Σεσίγηνται καὶ λήθῃ παραδέδονται. Ποῦ δὲ ἡ
Ἐκκλησία; Ὑπὲρ τὸν ἥλιον λάμπει. Τὰ ἐκείνων
ἔσβησται, τὰ ταύτης ἀθάνατα. Εἰ ὅτε ὀλίγοι ἦσαν,
οὐκ ἐνίκηθησαν, ὅτε ἡ οἰκουμένη ἐπλήσθη εὐσεβείας,
55 πῶς νικῆσαι δύνασαι; Ο οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ
παρελεύσονται, οἱ δὲ λόγοι μου οὐ μὴ παρέλθωσι.
Καὶ μάλα εἰκότως· ποθεινότερα γὰρ ἡ Ἐκκλησία τῷ
Θεῷ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. Οὐρανοῦ σῶμα οὐκ ἀνέλαβεν,
Ἐκκλησίας δὲ σάρκα ἀνέλαβε· διὰ τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν ὁ
60 οὐρανὸς, οὐ διὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἡ Ἐκκλησία. Μηδὲν ὑμᾶς
θορυβεῖτω τῶν γενομένων. Τοῦτό μοι χαρίσασθε,
πίστιν ἀπερίτρεπτον. Οὐκ εἶδετε τὸν Πέτρον περιπα-
τοῦντα ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων, καὶ ὀλίγον διστάσαντα, καὶ
μέλλοντα καταποντίζεσθαι, οὐ διὰ τὴν ἄτακτον τῶν
65 ὑδάτων ὁρμὴν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν τῆς πίστεως;
Μὴ γὰρ ἀνθρωπίναις ψήφοις ἐνταῦθα ἦλθομεν; μὴ
γὰρ ἄνθρωπος ἦγαγεν, ἵνα ἄνθρωπος καταλύσῃ;
Ταῦτα λέγω οὐκ ἀπονοούμενος, μὴ γένοιτο, οὐδὲ ἀλα-
ζονευόμενος, ἀλλὰ τὸ ὑμῶν σεσαλευμένον στηρίξαι
70 βουλόμενος. Ἐπειδὴ ἔστι ἡ πόλις, Ἐκκλησίαν ὁ διά-

βολος ἠθέλησε σαλεῦσαι. Μιαρὲ καὶ παμμίαρε διά-
 βολε, τοίχων οὐ περιεγένου, καὶ Ἐκκλησίαν προσδο-
 κᾶς σαλεῦσαι; Μὴ γὰρ ἐν τοίχοις ἡ Ἐκκλησία; Ἐν
 τῷ πλήθει τῶν πιστῶν ἡ Ἐκκλησία. Ἴδου πόσοι
 75 στῦλοι ἐδραῖοι, οὐ σιδήρῳ δεδεμένοι, ἀλλὰ πίστει
 ἐσφιγμένοι. Οὐ λέγω ὅτι τοσοῦτον πλήθος πυρὸς
 σφοδρότερον· ἀλλ' οὔτε, εἰ εἷς ἦν, περιεγένου. Καὶ
 οἶδας, οἶά σοι τραύματα παρέσχον οἱ μάρτυρες.
 Εἰσῆλθε πολλάκις κόρη ἀπαλὴ ἀπειρόγαμος· κηροῦ
 80 ἦν ἀπαλωτέρα, καὶ πέτρας ἐγένετο στερεωτέρα. Τὰς
 πλευρὰς αὐτῆς ἔξεες, καὶ τὴν πίστιν αὐτῆς οὐκ ἔλα-
 βες. Ἡτόνησε τῆς σαρκὸς ἡ φύσις, καὶ οὐκ ἀπηγο-
 ρεύθη τῆς πίστεως ἡ δύναμις· ἔδαπανᾷτο τὸ σῶμα,
 ἐνεανιεύετο τὸ φρόνημα· ἀνηλίσκετο δὲ ἡ οὐσία, καὶ
 85 ἔμενεν ἡ εὐλάβεια. Γυναικὸς οὐ περιεγένου μιᾶς, καὶ
 τοσοῦτου περιγενέσθαι δήμου προσδοκᾶς; Οὐκ ἀκούεις
 τοῦ Κυρίου λέγοντος, Ὅπου δύο ἢ τρεῖς εἰσι συν-
 ηγμένοι εἰς τὸ ὄνομά μου, ἐκεῖ εἰμι ἐν μέσῳ
 αὐτῶν; Ὅπου τοσοῦτος δῆμος ἀγάπῃ ἐσφιγμένος,
 90 οὐ πάρεστιν; Ἐχῶ αὐτοῦ ἐνέχυρον· μὴ γὰρ οἰκεία
 δυνάμει θαρρῶν; Γραμματεῖον αὐτοῦ κατέχω. Ἐκεῖνό
 μοι βακτηρία, ἐκεῖνό μοι ἀσφάλεια, ἐκεῖνό μοι λιμὴν
 ἀκύμαντος. Κἂν ἡ οἰκουμένη ταραττήται, τὸ γραμ-
 ματεῖον κατέχω· αὐτῷ (f. αὐτὸ) ἀναγινώσκω· τὰ
 95 γράμματα ἐκεῖνα τείχος ἐμοὶ καὶ ἀσφάλεια. Ποῖα
 ταῦτα; Ἐγὼ μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰμι πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας
 ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος. Χριστὸς μετ' ἐμοῦ,

καὶ τίνα φοβηθήσομαι; Κἂν κύματα κατ' ἐμοῦ διε-
γείρηται, κἂν πελάγη, κἂν ἀρχόντων θυμοί· ἐμοὶ
100 ταῦτα πάντα ἀράχνης εὐτελέστερα. Καὶ εἰ μὴ διὰ
τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀγάπην, οὐδὲ σήμερον ἂν παρητησάμην
ἀπελθεῖν. Ἄεὶ γὰρ λέγω, Κύριε, τὸ σὸν θέλημα
γενέσθω· μὴ ὅ τι ὁ δεῖνα, καὶ ὁ δεῖνα, ἀλλ' εἴ τι σὺ
βούλει. Οὗτος ἐμοὶ πύργος, τοῦτο ἐμοὶ πέτρα ἀκίνη-
105 τος· τοῦτο ἐμοὶ βακτηρία ἀπερίτρεπτος. Εἰ βούλεται
ὁ Θεὸς τοῦτο γενέσθαι, γινέσθω. Εἰ βούλεται ἐνταῦθα
εἶναί με, χάριν ἔχω. Ὅπου βούλεται, εὐχαριστῶ.

γ'. Μηδεὶς ὑμᾶς θορυβεῖτω· ταῖς εὐχαῖς προσέχετε.
Ταῦτα ἐποίησεν ὁ διάβολος, ἵνα ἐκκόψῃ τὴν σπουδὴν
110 τὴν περὶ τὰς λιτανείας. Ἄλλ' οὐ προχωρεῖ αὐτῷ· ἀλλὰ
σπουδαιότερους ὑμᾶς καὶ θερμότερους εὐρήκαμεν. Αὐ-
ριον εἰς λιτανεῖον ἐξελεύσομαι μεθ' ὑμῶν. Ἡ
ὅπου ἐγὼ, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐκεῖ· ὅπου ὑμεῖς, ἐκεῖ καὶ ἐγώ·
ἐν σῶμά ἐσμεν· οὐ σῶμα κεφαλῆς, οὐ κεφαλὴ σώ-
115 ματος χωρίζεται. Διειργόμεθα τῷ τόπῳ, ἀλλ' ἡνώ-
μεθα τῇ ἀγάπῃ· οὐδὲ θάνατος διακόψαι δυνήσεται.
Κἂν γὰρ ἀποθάνῃ μου τὸ σῶμα, ζῇ ἡ ψυχὴ, καὶ
μέννηται τοῦ δήμου· ὑμεῖς ἐμοὶ πατέρες· πῶς ὑμῶν
δύναμαι ἐπιλαθέσθαι; ὑμεῖς ἐμοὶ πατέρες, ὑμεῖς
120 ἐμοὶ ζῶν, ὑμεῖς ἐμοὶ εὐδοκίμησις. Ἐὰν ὑμεῖς προ-
κόψητε, ἐγὼ εὐδοκιμῶ· ὥστε ἐμοὶ ζῶν πλοῦτος ἐν
τῷ ὑμετέρῳ κεῖται θησαυρῷ. Ἐγὼ μυριάκις ὑπὲρ
ὑμῶν σφαγῆναι ἔτοιμος (καὶ οὐδεμίαν χάριν παρέχω,
ἀλλὰ καὶ ὀφειλὴν ἀποδίδωμι· Ὁ γὰρ ποιμὴν ὁ κα-

- 125 λὸς τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ τίθησιν ὑπὲρ τῶν προβά-
των), καὶ σφαγῆναι μυριάκις, καὶ μυρίας κεφαλὰς
ἀποτμηθῆναι. Ἐμοὶ ὁ θάνατος οὗτος ἀθανασίας ὑπό-
θεσις, ἐμοὶ αἱ ἐπιβουλαὶ αὗται ἀσφαλείας ἀφορμή.
Μὴ γὰρ διὰ χρήματα ἐπιβουλεύομαι, ἵνα λυπηθῶ;
130 μὴ γὰρ δι' ἁμαρτήματα, ἵνα ἀλγήσω; Διὰ τὸν ἔρωτα
τὸν περὶ ὑμᾶς· ἐπειδὴ πάντα ποιῶ, ὥστε ὑμᾶς ἐν
ἀσφαλείᾳ μεῖναι, ὥστε μηδένα παρεισελθεῖν τῇ ποί-
μνῃ, ὥστε μεῖναι ἀκέραιον τὸ ποίμνιον. Ἡ ὑπόθεσις
τῶν ἀγώνων ἀρκεῖ μοι εἰς στέφανον. Τί γὰρ ἂν πά-
135 θοιμι ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν; Ὑμεῖς ἐμοὶ πολῖται, ὑμεῖς ἐμοὶ
πατέρες, ὑμεῖς ἐμοὶ ἀδελφοὶ, ὑμεῖς ἐμοὶ τέκνα, ὑμεῖς
ἐμοὶ μέλη, ὑμεῖς ἐμοὶ σῶμα, ὑμεῖς ἐμοὶ φῶς, μᾶλλον
δὲ καὶ τοῦ φωτὸς τούτου γλυκύτεροι. Τί γὰρ τοιοῦτον
παρέχει μοι ἢ ἀκτῖνα οἶον ἢ ὑμετέρα ἀγάπη; Ἡ
140 ἀκτῖνα ἐν τῷ παρόντι με βίῳ ὠφελεῖ, ἢ δὲ ὑμετέρα
ἀγάπη στέφανόν μοι πλέκει ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι. Ταῦτα
δὲ λέγω εἰς ὧτα ἀκουόντων· τί δὲ τῶν ὧτων ὑμῶν
ἀκουστικώτερον; Τοσαύτας ἡμέρας ἡγρυπνήσατε,
καὶ οὐδὲν ὑμᾶς ἔκαμψεν, οὐ χρόνου μῆκος μαλα-
145 κωτέρους ὑμᾶς ἐποίησεν, οὐ φόβοι, οὐκ ἀπειλαί·
πρὸς πάντα ἐγένεσθε γενναῖοι. Καὶ τί λέγω, ἐγένε-
σθε; Τοῦτο ὅπερ ἐπεθύμουν αἰεὶ, κατεφρονήσατε τῶν
βιωτικῶν πραγμάτων, ἀπετάξασθε τῇ γῇ, εἰς τὸν
οὐρανὸν μετέστητε· ἀπηλλάγητε τῶν συνδέσμων τοῦ
150 σώματος, πρὸς τὴν μακαρίαν ἐκείνην ἀμιλλᾶσθε
φιλοσοφίαν. Ταῦτα ἐμοὶ στέφανοι, ταῦτα παράκλη-

σις, ταῦτα παραμυθία, ταῦτα ἐμοὶ ἄλειμμα, ταῦτα
ζωή, ταῦτα ἀθανασίας ὑπόθεσις.

- 155 δ'. Ἄλλ' ὁρῶ τοῖς ἐμαυτοῦ δόγμασί τινας ἐγκαρτε-
ρεῖν με πειθόντων. Φέρει γὰρ πολλὰ τῶν εὐτυχημά-
των εἰς τοῦναντίον· ὅτι οἷς ἐδόκουν ζηλωτὴς εἶναι,
περιπέπτωκα τῇ μοχθηρίᾳ· οἱ μὲν κατὰ τὸν τρόπον
καθαιροῦντες νικῶσι τὸν ἀγῶνα τῇ διαφορᾷ τῶν πρα-
γμάτων· οὐκ ἠπείλουν, ἀλλὰ παρίσταντο. Ἔστι γὰρ
160 καιρὸς νῦν εἰπεῖν τὰ περὶ τῆς ἐμῆς θλίψεως. Νόμος
ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ὁ νομοθέτης νικᾶται. Τέκνα, μὰ τὴν ὑμε-
τέραν ἀγάπην, βλέπω συσκευὴν πολεμοῦσαν, καὶ
τὸν Θεὸν ὑβριζόμενον· βλέπω τὸν ἀγῶνα πί-
πτοντα, καὶ τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην λυπούμενον· βλέπω τὸ
165 πιθανὸν τῆς ἀληθείας μαραινόμενον, καὶ τὴν συ-
σκευὴν ἀνθοῦσαν. Λέγουσί μοι, ὅτι Ἔφαγες καὶ ἐβά-
πτισας. Εἰ ἐποίησα τοῦτο, ἀνάθεμα ἔσομαι· μὴ ἀριθ-
μηθεῖν εἰς ἐπισκόπων ρίζαν· μὴ γένωμαι μετ'
ἀγγέλων· μὴ ἀρέσω Θεῷ· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἔφαγον καὶ
170 ἐβάπτισα, οὐδὲν ἄκαιρον τῶν πραγμάτων ἐποίησα.
Πρόσχες μοι μετὰ ἀκριβείας ὃ λέγω, καὶ λέγων οὐ
παύσομαι. Ἐμοὶ μὲν τὸ λέγειν οὐκ ὀκνηρὸν, ὑμῖν δὲ
ἀσφαλές. Ἄλλ' ἐπανέλθωμεν ἐπὶ τὸ προκείμενον.
Λέγουσιν ὅτι ἔφαγον καὶ ἐβάπτισα. Καθελέτωσαν οὖν
175 Παῦλον, ὅτι μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι ἐχαρίσατο τῷ δεσμο-
φύλακι τὸ βάπτισμα. Τολμῶ λέγειν, καθελέτωσαν
καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Χριστὸν, ὅτι μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον τοῖς μα-
θηταῖς τὴν κοινωνίαν ἐχαρίσατο. Ἄλλ' εἰκότα καὶ με-

γάλα ἡμῖν ταῦτα· ταῦτα φαιδρὰ τῆς εἰρήνης· ταῦτα
 180 τοῦ λαοῦ τὰ ἐγκώμια. Ἐμοῦ ὁ στέφανος, ὑμῶν ὁ
 καρπός. Ἄλλ' οἶδατε, ἀγαπητοὶ, διὰ τί με θέλουσι
 καθελεῖν. Ὅτι τάπητας οὐχ ἥπλωσα, οὔτε σηρικὰ
 ἱμάτια οὐκ ἐνεδυσάμην, καὶ ὅτι τὴν γαστριμαργίαν
 αὐτῶν οὐ παρεμυθισάμην. Ἦνθησαν γὰρ τὰ ἔγγωνα
 185 τῆς ἀσπίδος, ἔτι περιλέλειπται τῆς Ἰεζάβελ ὁ σπό-
 ρος· ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἡ χάρις τῷ Ἡλίᾳ συναγωνίζεται.
 Φέρε δέ μοι εἰς μέσον τὸν θαυμαστὸν καὶ πλούσιον
 τῆς ζωῆς κήρυκα, Ἰωάννην λέγω, τὸν πένητα, καὶ
 ἕως λύχνου μὴ κτησάμενον· εἶχε γὰρ τὴν λαμπάδα
 190 τοῦ Χριστοῦ· οὗ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπεθύμησεν ἡ τῆς Εὐας
 συλλειτουργός, ἡ τῶν ἀγίων ἐμπόδιον γενομένη, ἡ
 τοὺς προφῆτας διώξασα, ἡ τὴν ἐν δόλῳ νηστείαν κη-
 ρύξασα, ἡ ὁμότιμον τοῦ ὀνόματος τῆς ἐχίδνης ἐπι-
 σταμένη τὴν ὄρχησιν, ἐν τῷ ἀρίστῳ τῷ ἀτελεῖ ὀρ-
 195 χησαμένη. Οὐκ ἐπεθύμησε ζωὴν, οὐκ ἐπεθύμησε
 χρημάτων ὄγκον, οὐ βασιλείας ἀξίωμα, οὐκ ἄλλης
 τινὸς περιουσίας. Ἄλλ' εἶπέ μοι, ἄνθρωπε, τί ἐπε-
 θύμησε; Κεφαλὴν ἀνθρώπου. Τί δὲ λέγω; Οὐ μόνον
 ἀνθρώπου, ἀλλ' εὐαγγελιστοῦ. Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἐνίκησε
 100 λαβοῦσα τὴν κεφαλὴν. Ἔτεμε γὰρ τὴν κεφαλὴν
 αἰτησαμένη, τὴν ἄνομον ἐπιθυμίαν σπουδαίως διὰ
 πίνακος δεξαμένη. Βλέπε, καὶ θαύμασον τοῦ Θεοῦ
 τὴν δύναμιν. Διήλεγχεν ὁ ἀναίτιος, ἀπετμήθη· ἀλλ'
 ὁ ἀποτμηθεὶς ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἡ δὲ ἀπαραίτη-
 105 τον κόλασιν ἐκδέχεται. Πάλιν ἐκείνης τὸ σπέρμα, ὁ

σπόρος ὁ ἀκανθώδης ἐπιζητεῖ καὶ σπεύδει. Ἄλλ’
Ἑρωδιᾶς Ἰωάννου τὴν κεφαλὴν ζητοῦσα πάλιν ὄρ-
χισιν, οὐχ ἦν τοῖς ποσὶ παίζομεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῆς Μα-
ρίας ἐπερειδομένην. Πάλιν βοᾷ καὶ λέγει Ἰωάννης·
110 Οὐκ ἔξεστί σοι τὴν γυναῖκα ἔχειν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ
σου.

εἴ. Ἀλλὰ τί εἶπω; Δακρύων ὁ παρὼν καιρός· πάντα
γὰρ εἰς ἀδοξίαν ἐκτρέχει, καὶ πάντα χρόνος κρίνει.
Χρυσὸς τὸ ὅλον δοξάζει. Ἀλλὰ φέρε μοι τὸν ἅγιον
115 Δαυὶδ τὸν λέγοντα καὶ βοῶντα· Χρυσὸς ἐὰν ῥέῃ,
μὴ προστίθεσθε καρδίαν. Ἄλλ’ εἰπέ μοι, τίς ἦν
οὗτος ὁ ταύτην τὴν φωνὴν ἐπαφείς; Οὐχὶ τὸ τῆς βα-
σιλείας ἐπὶ τῆς κορυφῆς συγκείμενον εἶχεν; οὐκ ἐν
τῇ βασιλικῇ ἐξουσίᾳ διέταπτεν; Ἄλλ’ οὐ πρὸς ἀρ-
120 παγὴν ἔβλεπεν, οὐκ εἰς καθαίρεσιν εὐσεβείας ἦν
αὐτῷ τὸ φρόνημα, οὐδὲ μέριμνα θησαυρῶν, ἀλλὰ τῆς
στρατοπέδων συλλογῆς· οὐ γυναικὸς συγκατάθεσιν.
Φεύγετε οὖν, γυναῖκες, τὰς ἀλλοτρίας συλλογὰς· μὴ
συμβουλευέτε τοῖς ἀνδράσι συμβουλίαν κακὴν· ἀλλ’
125 ἀσφαλίσθητε τοῖς λεχθεῖσιν. Ἄρα ἐσβέσαμεν ὑμῶν
τὴν φλόγα; Ἄρα ἐμαλάχθη ὑμῖν ἡ καρδία; Ἄλλ’
οἶδα ὅτι ὠφεληθήσεσθε μὲν αἱ τῆς Μαρίας θυγατέ-
ρες· ἄλλαι δὲ ἄνευ οἴνου κεκορεσμέναι καὶ μεθύου-
σαι τῇ φιλαργυρίᾳ, ὥς ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος βοᾷ καὶ
130 κηρύττει λέγων· Ῥίζα πάντων τῶν κακῶν ἡ φιλ-
αργυρία. Οὕτω καὶ αἱ ἀσύνετοι γυναῖκες ἀποφράτ-
τουσιν ἑαυτῶν τὰ ὦτα, καὶ ἀντὶ σπόρου ἀγαθοῦ

ἀκάνθας τίκτουσιν. Ἀλλὰ, παρακαλῶ, μὴ ἡμῶν τὸν
σπόρον ὡς ἐπὶ πέτραν καταβάλλωμεν. Χριστοῦ ἔσμεν
135 γεώργιον, παρ' οὗ ἀκούσωμεν· Εὖ, δοῦλε ἀγαθὲ, εἵς-
ελθε εἰς τὸν οἶκόν μου· μὴ ἀντὶ τῆς φωνῆς ταύτης
λεχθῇ, Εὖ, δοῦλε κακὲ. Ἀλλὰ, παρακαλῶ, λαμψάτω
ὑμῶν ἡ πολιτεία ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, μὴ μω-
ράνωμεν ἡμῶν τὸ ἄλλας, ἀλλὰ δοξάσωμεν, εὐχαρι-
140 στήσωμεν, οἱ πλούσιοι τῷ πλουσίῳ, οἱ πένητες τῷ
φιλανθρώπῳ, καὶ φιλοπτώχῳ Χριστῷ, οἱ δυνατοὶ τῇ
κραταιᾷ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ ὑμῶν.
Ἴσως δὲ συγχωρεῖ ὁ Θεὸς ταῦτά με πάσχειν ἅπερ
βουλεύονται κατ' ἐμοῦ, ἵνα ἐν συμφοραῖς δοκιμάσῃ
145 τὰ κατ' ἐμέ· ὅτι ἐν τοῖς πόνοις ἐναπόκειται νίκη
πάντως, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἡτοίμασται στέφανος. Καὶ
γὰρ ὁ θεσπέσιος Παῦλος ἔλεγε· Τὸν δρόμον τετέ-
λεκα, τὴν πίστιν τετήρηκα· λοιπὸν ἀπόκειται
μοι ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης στέφανος· οὗ στεφάνου
150 καταξιώσει ὑμᾶς ὁ τῶν ὅλων Δεσπότης εἰς τοὺς
αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.

APPENDIX B:

SERMO

CUM IRET IN EXSILIUM¹

ΟΤΕ ΑΠΗΕΙ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΕΞΟΡΙΑ

- 1 α'. Φαιδρὸς ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος, ἀδελφοί μου, καὶ λαμπρὰ
πανήγυρις, καὶ θάλαττα εὐρύχωρος ἐμπεπλησμένη,
ἀλλ' οὐ ταραττομένη τῇ ζάλῃ τῶν ἀνέμων. Ἦλθε
γὰρ ἡ μήτηρ τῆς εἰρήνης, ἡ κατασβεννύουσα τὴν
5 ζάλην τῶν ἀνέμων· Μήτηρ Σιών ἐρεῖ, ἄνθρωπος
καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἐγεννήθη ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐθε-
μελίωσεν αὐτήν. Τεκνία μου, μέλλουσί με καθ-
ελεῖν; καὶ τί δέδοικα τὸν θάνατον; Ἐμοὶ τὸ ζῆν ὁ
Χριστὸς, καὶ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν κέρδος. Ἀλλ' ἔξορίᾳ
10 παραπέμψουσι; Τοῦ Κυρίου ἡ γῆ, καὶ τὸ πλήρωμα
αὐτῆς. Ἀλλὰ χρημάτων δήμευσις ἔσται μοι; Οὐδὲν
εἰς τὸν κόσμον εἰσηνέγκαμεν, δῆλον ὅτι οὐδὲ
ἐξενεγκεῖν τι δυνάμεθα. Ἀλλ' οἴδατε, ἀδελφοί, δι'
ἣν αἰτίαν μέλλουσί με καθελεῖν. Ἐπειδὴ τάπητας
15 οὐχ ἥπλωσα, καὶ σθηρικὰ ἱμάτια οὐκ ἐνεδυσάμην, ὅτι
τὴν γαστριμαργίαν αὐτῶν οὐ παρεμυθησάμην, χρυ-

1 The text of this appendix reproduces the Greek text of the *Sermo cum iret in exsilium* as it was edited by Montfaucon and reprinted by Migne in the *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 52:435*-438. The continuous numbering which appears on the left side of the text has been added by me.

σὸν καὶ ἄργυρον οὐ προσήνεγκα. Λέγουσι δέ μοι, ὅτι
 Ἐφαγες καὶ ἔπιες, καὶ ἐβάπτισας. Εἰ ἐποίησα τοῦτο,
 ἀνάθεμά μοι ἔστω· μὴ ἀριθμηθεῖν μετὰ τῶν ἐπι-
 20 σκόπων, μὴ γίνωμαι μετὰ ἀγγέλων, μὴ ἀρέσω τῷ
 Θεῷ. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἔφαγον καὶ ἐβάπτισα, οὐδὲν τῶν λε-
 γομένων ἄκαιρον ἐποίησα. Καθελέτωσαν καὶ Παῦ-
 λον τὸν ἀπόστολον, ὅτι μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον τῷ δεσμο-
 φύλακι τὸ βάπτισμα ἐχαρίσατο· καὶ καθελέτωσαν
 25 αὐτὸν τὸν Κύριον, ὅτι μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον τὴν κοινω-
 νίαν τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἐχαρίσατο. Πολλὰ ὁρῶ κύματα
 καὶ χαλεπὸν τὸ κλυδώνιον, καὶ δόρατα παρεσκευα-
 σμένα· καγὼ ὡς κυβερνήτης ἐν μεγάλῳ κλύδωνι,
 καθέζομαι ἐπὶ τὰς δύο πρύμνας τοῦ πλοίου, ἡγουν
 30 ἐπὶ τὴν Παλαιὰν καὶ Νέαν Διαθήκην, καὶ ταῖς κώ-
 παις ἀπωθοῦμαι τὴν ζάλην· οὐ ταῖς κώπαις ταῖς ξυ-
 λίναις, ἀλλὰ τῷ σταυρῷ τῷ τιμίῳ τοῦ Δεσπότη
 τὴν ζάλην εἰς εἰρήνην μεταστρέφω. Δεσπότης
 κελεύει, καὶ δοῦλος στεφανοῦται· διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸν
 35 (οὐ) παραδίδωσιν αὐτὸς διαβόλῳ. Ἐν (ἰ. ἂν) δὲ οὐκ
 οἶδασιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι ὅτι διὰ τοῦ ἀκαθάρτου τὸ κα-
 θαρώτατον σκεῦος φανεροῦται; Ἀδελφοί, τρεῖς ὑμῖν
 ὑποθέσεις τίθημι, πίστιν, πειρασμὸν, σωφροσύνην.
 Εἰ λέγετε πίστιν ὑπομένειν, μιμήσασθε τὸν μακά-
 40 ριον Ἀβραάμ, τὸν παρηκμακότα τῇ ἡλικίᾳ καὶ καρ-
 ποὺς ὠρίμους δεξάμενον. Εἰ δὲ λέγετε πειρασμὸν
 ὑπομένειν, μιμεῖσθε τὸν μακάριον Ἰώβ. Τὸν αὐτοῦ
 τρόπον οἶδατε, καὶ τὴν ὑπομονὴν ἠκούσατε, καὶ τὸ

τέλος αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔλαθεν ὑμῖν. Εἰ δὲ θέλετε σωφροσύν-
45 νην ὑπομένειν, μιμήσασθε τὸν μακάριον Ἰωσήφ, τὸν
πραθέντα εἰς Αἴγυπτον, καὶ λιμῷ τηκομένην Αἴγυ-
πτον ἐλευθерώσαντα. Προσετίθη γὰρ αὐτῷ πειρασμὸς
ἐκ πόρνῃς Αἰγυπτίας τῷ ἔρωτι δεδουλωμένης, ἥτις
αὐτῷ παρεκάθητο, Κοιμήθητι, λέγουσα, μετ' ἐμοῦ.
50 Ἐβούλετο γὰρ τῆς σωφροσύνης αὐτὸν ἀπογυμνῶσαι
ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ἢ Αἰγυπτία· ἐνταῦθα δὲ ὁ Αἰγύπτιος.
Ἄλλ' οὔτε ἐκείνη τὸν ἅγιον ἐσκέλισεν, οὔτε οὗτος
τοῦτον· ἀλλ' ἐφάνη ὁμοῦ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἢ σωφρο-
σύνης, καὶ τῶν τέκνων ἢ εὐγένεια, καὶ τῆς βαρβάρου
55 ἢ ἀκολασία.

β'. Ἀδελφοί, ὁ κλέπτης οὐκ ἔρχεται ὅπου καλάμη,
καὶ χόρτος, καὶ ξύλον· ἀλλ' ὅπου κεῖται χρυσὸς, ἢ
ἄργυρος, ἢ μαργαρίτης· οὕτως ὁ διάβολος οὐκ εἰσ-
έρχεται ὅπου πόρνος, ἢ βέβηλος, ἢ ἄρπαξ, ἢ πλεο-
60 νέκτης· ἀλλ' ὅπου οἱ τὸν ἔρημον βίον διάγοντες.
Ἀδελφοί, βουλόμεθα ἐφαπλῶσαι τὴν γλῶτταν πρὸς
τὴν βασιλίδαν; Ἀλλὰ τί εἶπω; Ἰεζάβελ θορυβεῖται,
καὶ Ἡλίας φεύγει· Ἡρωδιὰς εὐφραίνεται, καὶ Ἰωάν-
νης δεσμεύεται· ἢ Αἰγυπτία ψεύδεται, καὶ Ἰωσήφ
65 φυλακίζεται. Ἐὰν οὖν ἐξορίσωσί με, τὸν Ἡλίαν μι-
μοῦμαι· ἐὰν εἰς βόρβορον βάλωσι, τὸν Ἰερεμίαν·
ἐὰν εἰς θάλατταν, τὸν προφήτην Ἰωνᾶν· ἐὰν καὶ εἰς
λάκκον, τὸν Δανιήλ· ἐὰν λιθάσωσί με, Στέφανον·
ἐὰν ἀποκεφαλίσωσι, Ἰωάννην τὸν πρόδρομον· ἐὰν
70 ῥαβδίσωσι, Παῦλον· ἐὰν πρίσωσι, τὸν Ἡσαΐαν. Εἴθε

ξυλίνῳ πρίονι, ἵνα τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῦ πόθου ἀπολαύσω.
 Ἡ σεσωματωμένη πολεμεῖ τὸν ἀσώματον· ἡ λου-
 τροῖς καὶ μυρίσμασι καὶ μετ' ἀνδρὸς περιπλεκομένη,
 πολεμεῖ τὴν καθαρὰν καὶ ἄσπιλον Ἐκκλησίαν. Ἀλλά
 75 γε καὶ αὐτὴ καθίσει χήρα, ἔτι ζῶντος τοῦ ἀνδρός·
 ὅτι γυνὴ εἶ, καὶ χηρεῦσαι θέλεις τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν.
 Ἐσπέρας ἐκάλει με τρισκαιδέκατον ἀπόστολον, καὶ
 σήμερον Ἰούδα προσεῖπε. Χθὲς μετ' ἐλευθερίας συν-
 ἐκάθητό μοι, καὶ σήμερον ὡς θηρίον μοι ἐπεπήδησε.
 80 Ὦ δει τὸν ἥλιον παρ' ἡμῖν σβεσθῆναι, καὶ τὴν σελή-
 νην μὴ φανῆναι, καὶ μόνον τοῦ ῥήματος Ἰῶβ μὴ
 ἐπιλαθέσθαι. Καὶ γὰρ Ἰῶβ, ὁ τηλικαύτην ὑπομείνας
 πληγὴν, ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἐβόα ἢ ὅτι, Εἴη τὸ ὄνομα Κυ-
 ρίου εὐλογημένον εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ὅτε γὰρ ἡ
 85 τούτου γυνὴ ἐβόα λέγουσα· Εἰπόν τι ῥῆμα πρὸς
 Κύριον, καὶ τελεύτα, ἐπετίμησεν αὐτῇ λέγων· Ὡς
 τί ὡς μία τῶν ἀφρόνων γυναικῶν ἐλάλησας;
 ὦ ἀχαροῦς γυναικός! ὦ μάλαγμα ὀδυνῶν! Ἄρα,
 γύναι, σοῦ ποτε ἀρρώστουσης τοιαῦτά σοι ἐφθέγξατο
 90 Ἰῶβ; καὶ οὐχὶ εὐχαῖς καὶ εὐποιαῖς ἀπεσμήξατό σου
 τὴν νόσον; Ὅτε ἐν βασιλικαῖς αὐλαῖς διῆγεν,
 ὅτε τὰ χρήματα εἶχεν, ὅτε τὴν θεραπείαν τὴν βασι-
 λικὴν, οὐδὲν τοσοῦτον ἔλεγες, καὶ νῦν ὀρῶσα ἐπὶ
 κοπρίας καθήμενον, καὶ ὑπὸ σκωλήκων συνειλισσό-
 95 μενον, τοῦτο λέγεις, Εἰπόν τι ῥῆμα πρὸς Κύριον,
 καὶ τελεύτα. Οὐκ ἤρκει αὐτῷ ἡ πρόσκαιρος παιδεία,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τοῦ ῥήματος αἰωνίαν αὐτῷ τὴν κόλασιν

προξενεῖς; Ἀλλὰ τί ὁ μακάριος Ἰώβ; Ἵνα τί ὥσπερ
 μία τῶν ἀφρόνων γυναικῶν ἐλάλησας; Εἰ τὰ
 100 ἀγαθὰ ἐδεξάμεθα ἐκ χειρὸς Κυρίου, τὰ κακὰ οὐχ
 ὑποίσσωμεν; Τί δὲ καὶ ἡ παράνομος καὶ στυγερά,
 αὕτη ἡ νέα, φημί, Ἰεζάβελ οὐ βοᾷ καὶ λέγει ἐκ...
 καὶ διαπερα.... ἀποδρ... ἀλλὰ ἀποστέλλει μοι ὑπάτους
 καὶ τριβούνους, καὶ μόνον ἀπειλεῖ. Καὶ τί μοι ἀνῆ-
 105 κεν; Ἀράχνη ὑπὸ ἀράχνης ἀποστελλόμενα. Ἀδελ-
 φοὶ πάντες, ὅτι καὶ ἐν πόνοις ἀπόκειται νίκη, καὶ
 ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἀπόκειται στέφανος, ὡς ὁ θεσπέσιος
 Παῦλος ἀρτίως ἔλεγε, Τὸν καλὸν ἀγῶνα ἡγώνι-
 σμαι, τὸν δρόμον τετέλεκα, τὴν πίστιν τετήρηκα,
 110 καὶ λοιπὸν ἀπόκειται ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης στέφα-
 νος, ὃν ἀποδώσει μοι Κύριος ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ
 ὁ δίκαιος κριτής· ὅτι αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς
 τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

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