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**JOHN CHRYSOSTOM:** *DACL* 7/2.2184–86; *DHGE* 26.1408–15; *DIP* 4.1253–55; *DMA* 7.122–23; *DS* 8.331–55; *DTC* 8/1.659–90; *EEC* 1.440–42; *LMA* 5/3.563–64; *LTK* 5.1018–21; *NCE* 7.945–49; *ODCC* pp 345–46; *Pat.* 3.424–82; *RAC* 18.426–503; *RE* 9/2.1811–28; *TRE* 17.118–27.

Born at Antioch in the Roman province of Syria about A.D. 348, John Chrysostom studied rhetoric as a youth under Libanios and theology under Diodore of Tarsus before leaving Antioch to take up residence in the nearby mountains, where he pursued a life of strict ascetic discipline under the guidance of an elderly Syrian hermit. For two years he lived in a cave alone, standing day and night while meditating on Scripture, until his compromised health forced him to return to Antioch, where he was ordained deacon in 381 and presbyter in 386. From 386 until 397 his primary duty as presbyter was to preach several times a week, most often at Antioch's cathedral, the Golden Church, and it was during this period that he first gained notoriety for his eloquent preaching, a skill that later earned him the cognomen *Chrysostomos* ('golden mouth'). In 397, when Bishop Nectarius of Constantinople died, John emerged as a candidate for succession, and he was consecrated bishop in 398. His tenure as bishop of Constantinople from 398 to 404 was plagued by political scandals and quarrels with the Empress Eudoxia that turned many at court and in the church against him, and he was deposed in 403 at the Synod of the Oak on twenty-nine falsified charges contrived by his enemies. The Emperor Arkadios banished John, then recalled him the very next day when he realized the extent of popular support for John. After another public skirmish with Eudoxia, however, John was banished a second time, and he died in 407 while in exile. Today he is remembered as one of the Fathers of the Eastern Church and one of the greatest preachers of all time. The best modern biography in English is by J. N. D. Kelly (1995).

Chrysostom was a legendarily prolific author whose surviving works include five biblical commentaries, sixteen treatises, 245 letters, and over 900 sermons, all written between 378 and 406. Many of the sermons were first drafted by stenographers who copied as he was preaching, then were later revised by Chrysostom for publication. Some consequently survive in two versions, one rough, the other polished. The corpus of his writings is inventoried in *CPG* 4305–4495. In addition, there are over a thousand other works that are either excerpts or redactions or translations from his authentic writings or texts falsely attributed to him (for the latter, see below under **PSEUDO-CHRYSOSTOM**).

Several of Chrysostom's works reached the medieval West in the form of Latin translations produced in the fifth and sixth centuries. Two sermon collections in particular are noteworthy for their role in transmitting these texts to early medieval England. The first is a collection of thirty-eight Latin sermons that were already circulating under Chrysostom's name by the early 420s, when **AUGUSTINE** quoted from three of them in his **CONTRA IULIANUM** I.vi.22, 26 and II.vi.17 (*PL* 44.655, 658, and 685), composed in 421. This collection of thirty-eight Latin sermons is best known today from a seminal study by André Wilmart (1918), who identified twenty-five manuscripts of the complete collection plus twenty-two manuscripts containing only parts; among the latter is Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France lat. 1771, fols 1–30, a ninth-century manuscript written in "écriture anglo-saxonne" that contains seven of these sermons (Wilmart 1918 p 306 note 2). Bouhot

(1989 p 33) suggests the collection was assembled in Africa between 410 and 421. The Wilmart collection has since been studied in greater detail by Wolfgang Wenk (1988), who critically edits five of the sermons and who distinguishes within the collection fourteen authentic Chrysostom sermons in Latin translation, four *spuria*, four *dubia*, six anonymous translations of Greek sermons having nothing to do with Chrysostom, and nine original Latin compositions, as well as four additional Latin translations of genuine Chrysostom works that sometimes appear as addenda to the collection. At least three genuine Chrysostom works in Latin translation that circulated as addenda to this collection (*De reparatione lapsi*, *De compunctione cordis 1 ad Demetrium*, and *De compunctione cordis 2 ad Stelechium*) and three Latin Pseudo-Chrysostom texts from this collection (*Sermo Wilmart 6*, *De ascensione Heliae*; *Sermo Wilmart 19*, *De muliere Chananaea*; and *Sermo Wilmart 33*, *De patre et duobus filiis*) were known to Anglo-Saxon readers.

The second sermon collection that played an important role in transmitting works by Chrysostom to medieval England is the eighth-century **HOMILIARIUM** of **PAUL THE DEACON**, which included sixteen Latin sermons by or attributed to Chrysostom (Wiegand 1897 p 81; Wilmart 1918 p 305).

The Latin versions of Chrysostom's writings that were known to the medieval West are most thoroughly and reliably surveyed by Altaner (1967), Bouhot (1989), and Voicu (1993). Siegmund (1949 pp 91–101) identifies about 170 medieval manuscripts containing Latin translations of Chrysostom's works.

**De reparatione lapsi** [CHRYST.LAT.Rep.lap.]: *KVS* CHRY lap and V,999; cf. *CPG* 4305.

ed.: *SChr* 117.257–322.

*MSS* 1. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 516 (*SC* 2570): HG 581.

2. Düsseldorf, Landes- und Stadtbibliothek K 1: B 215 + K 2: C 118 + K 15: 009 + K 19: Z 8/8 + M. Th.u.Sch.29a (Ink.) Bd. 4 (pastedowns): *CLA* 8.1187; HG 819.

*Lists – Refs* none.

Chrysostom wrote two works in defense of the ascetic life that traveled as a pair in early manuscripts and that were long thought to be closely related, perhaps even parts of a single work, although recent scholarship reveals them to be two quite separate texts written for different recipients at least fifteen years apart. Both are listed in *CPG* 4305 under a single title, *Ad Theodorum lapsum*, since the first is a letter addressed to Chrysostom's friend Theodore, a fellow ascetic who later became bishop of Mopsuestia; the second is so similar in subject matter that it was long assumed to be directed to Theodore as well, even though Theodore's name appears nowhere in it. Current thinking now distinguishes the shorter and earlier epistle, *Ad Theodorum lapsum 2*, from the longer and later treatise known (unfortunately) as *Ad Theodorum lapsum 1*. The former was written as early as 367, when Chrysostom was in his early twenties (*SChr* 117.10 note 2), and was prompted by Theodore's decision to abandon his ascetic vocation, get married, and take charge of family affairs. Chrysostom uses this occasion to produce an eloquent and impassioned exhortation to embrace the ascetic ideal which evidently had its effect since Theodore took his friend's advice and renewed his commitment to the religious life. The latter work is a much longer

treatise addressed to an unnamed lapsed Christian, urging him to flee despair, repent, and return to his former life of virtue. It is thought by Carter (1962 p 99) to have been written shortly after 387.

Both texts were translated into Latin at an early date, presumably by Anianus of Celeda in the first quarter of the fifth century (Dumortier 1966a p 178, 1966b p 31). Both were known in this form to **ISIDORE OF SEVILLE**, who refers to them by name in his **DE VIRIS ILLUSTRIBUS XIX** (PL 83.1093–94), written between 615 and 618. They circulated together with three other Latin Chrysostom texts concerned with aspects of ascetic discipline — *Quod nemo laeditur* (CPG 4400), *De compunctione cordis 1 ad Demetrium*, and *De compunctione cordis 2 ad Stelechium* (see the next two entries below) — which traveled as a set of appendices to the collection of thirty-eight Latin sermons by and attributed to Chrysostom first analyzed in detail by Wilmart (see Altaner 1967 pp 430–31; Voicu 1993 pp 411–12). For details on the manuscript transmission, see Wilmart (1918), Siegmund (1949 pp 93–96, 98–100), and Dumortier (1966a, 1966b pp 30–34, 40–42).

The Düsseldorf fragments are the earliest witness to the knowledge of either text in Anglo-Saxon England. They preserve enough of the text of the *De reparatione lapsi* to show that a complete copy was available in Northumbria in the mid-eighth century (CLA 8.1187; Zechiel-Eckes 2002 pp 197–98). Since the letter and treatise often traveled together, it is possible but by no means certain that the once-complete manuscript from which the Düsseldorf fragments derive originally contained both texts. The Oxford manuscript originated in Italy or France in the ninth century and passed through Brittany or Wales before arriving in Salisbury by the eleventh century (see Webber 1992 p 79); it contains an excerpt that corresponds roughly to sections 5.5–6, 19–21, 27–30, 34–39; 6.8–18, 28–47; and 7.30–46 in Dumortier’s edition (SChr 117.266–72), but with substantial omissions and additions.

The Greek original of the shorter and earlier letter *Ad Theodorum lapsum 2* is edited with a French translation by Dumortier (SChr 117.46–79) and is separately printed in PG 47.309–16. An English translation by W. R. W. Stephens appears in Schaff (1886–90 9.111–16). The Latin translation believed to be by Anianus (KVS CHRY V,999; inc. “Si fletus posset”) is edited from four manuscripts by Dumortier under the title *Epistola ad Theodorum monachum* (SChr 117.241–56). This Latin epistle is also known as *Sermo Wilmart 30, ad Theodorum monachum*, since it circulated as part of the corpus of thirty-eight Latin sermons by and attributed to Chrysostom (see Wilmart 1918 p 321 and Wenk 1988 p 12). There is at present, however, no evidence that either Greek or Latin version of this work was known in Anglo-Saxon England.

The Greek original of the longer and later treatise *Ad Theodorum lapsum 1* is edited and translated by Dumortier (SChr 117.80–219) and is printed in PG 47.277–308. An English translation by Stephens appears in Schaff (1886–90 9.91–111). The Latin translation (inc. “Quis dabit capiti meo”) is edited from nine manuscripts by Dumortier as *De reparatione lapsi* (SChr 117.257–322). This Latin translation is also known as *Sermo Wilmart 42, De reparatione lapsi*, since it circulated as an addendum to the corpus of thirty-eight Latin sermons by and attributed to Chrysostom analyzed by Wilmart (1918 pp 326–27). This treatise, by the way, contains a remarkable example of the *ubi sunt* rhetorical topos paired with a sobering injunction to visit the grave of wealthy men and behold their ashes (at SChr 117.278–79 lines 17–43) which closely resembles a passage in *Blickling Homily 8* (*HomU* 19, B3.4.19; ed. Morris, *EETS OS* 58, 63, 73.99–101), which depends, however, not on Chrysostom but on a version of **PSEUDO-AUGUSTINE, SERMO 58 AD FRATRES IN EREMO**. The *ubi sunt* passage in Chrysostom’s *De reparatione lapsi*, which may be regarded

as something of a textual cousin to the passage in *Sermo 58 ad fratres in eremo*, is briefly noted by Liborio (1960 pp 152–53) in her study of the early history of the *ubi sunt* topos, but its precise relationship to other instances of the topos in medieval Latin literature has not yet been carefully explored (my thanks to Claudia Di Sciacca for referring me to Liborio’s essay and for enlightening me on the complex genealogy of the *ubi sunt* topos).

**De compunctione cordis 1 ad Demetrium** [CHRYSOST.LAT.Comp.cord.]: CPG 4308; KVS CHRY cor.  
ed.: Schmitz 1883 pp 1–20.

MSS Düsseldorf, Landes- und Stadtbibliothek K 1: B 215 + K 2: C 118 + K 15: 009 + K 19: Z 8/8 + M. Th.u.Sch.29a (Ink.) Bd. 4 (pastedowns): CLA 8.1187; HG 819.  
Lists – Refs none.

Two friends of Chrysostom, Demetrius and Stelechius, asked for instruction on the practice of compunction, and the result was a treatise *De compunctione cordis* in two books, the first addressed to Demetrius, the second to Stelechius. The work is a primer on ascetic contemplation, advising its readers on how to purge vice, retreat from the material world, find absolute tranquility, and journey beyond the third heaven to arrive at a first-hand encounter with Christ. It is dated by Schmitz (1883 p v) to around 375 or 376, when Chrysostom was in his early ascetic phase. Auf der Maur (1959 p 55) places it in 377. Kelly (1995 p 28 note 17) suggests it was written in 381 or 382, shortly after Chrysostom returned to Antioch and initiated his diaconate. A Latin translation of the entire two-part treatise, possibly by Anianus of Celeda (Baur 1907b p 64), traveled as an addendum to the collection of thirty-eight Latin Chrysostom sermons described by Wilmart (1918 p 325; see the previous entry). Siegmund (1949 pp 93–96, 98–99) notes twenty-two manuscripts; Baur (1907b p 65) claims to have come across forty but does not identify them.

The Düsseldorf fragments as reconstructed by Zechiel-Eches (2002) preserve enough of the text to show that the manuscript probably originally contained the entire two-part treatise, in which case the work as a whole was known in Northumbria by the mid-eighth century.

The Greek original of this first part of the treatise is printed in PG 47.393–410. The Latin translation has the incipit “Cum te intueor, beate Demetri.” At least a portion of this work seems to have been known to **CAESARIUS OF ARLES**: compare *De compunctione cordis 1* (ed. Schmitz 1883 p 5 lines 21–22, “At nos pugnas . . . accedimus ad altare”) with Caesarius, *Sermo 219* (CCSL 104.869 lines 26–28).

**De compunctione cordis 2 ad Stelechium** [CHRYSOST.LAT.Comp.cord.]: CPG 4309; KVS CHRY cor.  
ed.: Schmitz 1883 pp 21–31.

MSS Düsseldorf, Landes- und Stadtbibliothek K 1: B 215 + K 2: C 118 + K 15: 009 + K 19: Z 8/8 + M. Th.u.Sch.29a (Ink.) Bd. 4 (pastedowns): CLA 8.1187; HG 819.  
Lists – Refs none.

Like the first book of Chrysostom's treatise on compunction (see the previous entry), the second book addressed to Stelechius was at some point translated into Latin (inc. "Et quomodo potest fieri") and circulated as an addendum to the collection of thirty-eight Latin sermons by and attributed to Chrysostom studied by Wilmart (1918 pp 325–26). The Düsseldorf fragments preserve enough of the text to indicate that the entire second book was known in eighth-century Northumbria. The Greek original of this second part of the treatise is printed in *PG* 47.411–22.

**De sacerdotio** [CHRYSOST.LAT.Sacerdot.]: *CPG* 4316; *KVS* CHRY sac.  
ed.: Zell 1472.

*MSS* none.

*Lists* ML 13.18 (Peterborough).

*A-S Vers – Refs* none.

Early in his career Chrysostom wrote a lengthy dialogue on the priesthood addressed to a friend named Basil defending his decision *not* to assume the priesthood. The work twists and turns about several topics, discoursing on the manifold weighty responsibilities of priests, warning of the political pressures that bear on priestly elections, insisting that priests must be able to speak well in public, and comparing the life of a priest to that of a monk. It soon came to be regarded throughout the Byzantine world as "the classic treatise on the responsibility, dignity, function, and obligation of priesthood, both in its lower degree and in its higher, the episcopate" (Moreschini and Norelli 2005 p 147). A Latin translation (inc. "Michi quidem multi fuerunt amici") circulated in the Middle Ages, possibly by Anianus of Celeda or Mutianus Scholasticus (*SChr* 272.40 note 1), although the manuscript tradition goes back no earlier than the ninth century, and the earliest explicit references to it (in letters by Hilduin and **PASCHASIUS RADBERTUS**) are of the ninth century as well (Malingrey 1984 p 27). This Latin translation was printed in 1472 by Ulrich Zell but has never been critically edited. Copies in thirty-five continental manuscripts of the ninth century and following are identified by Malingrey (1984). The reference to a "Dialogus Basilii et Iohannis" in the Peterborough booklist (see Lapidge 2006 pp 144–45, 317) precisely parallels the title given to this work in several of the manuscripts signaled by Siegmund (1949 p 97).

The original Greek text is edited with a French translation by Malingrey (*SChr* 272) and is translated into English by Neville (1996). Its date of composition and manuscript transmission are discussed by Malingrey (*SChr* 272.10–13 and 26–40), who thinks it likely that Chrysostom composed this work around 388 or 389 while presbyter at Antioch. An earlier date between 378 and 381 before Chrysostom entered the presbyteriate is proposed by Lochbrunner (1993 pp 110–17). There is no study of the Latin translation.

**De laudibus s. Pauli sermo 3** [CHRYSOST.LAT.Laud.Paul.serm.3]: *CPG* 4344.  
ed.: *PG* 50.483–88.

*MSS* Salisbury, Cathedral Library 179: HG 753.  
*Lists – Refs* none.

Sometime between 387 and 397, Chrysostom preached seven panegyrics at Antioch in honor of the apostle Paul (*BHG* 1460k–s; *CPG* 4344). These seven Greek panegyrics were translated as a group into Latin by Anianus of Celeda between 415 and 419 (Baur 1907a pp 253–54, 1907b p 61; Schanz 4/2.511; *Pat.* 3.456) or perhaps a little later (Altaner 1967 pp 419–21; Primmer 1972 p 285; Bouhot 1989 p 32; Voicu 1993 p 399). All seven Greek originals are edited with a French translation and commentary by Auguste Piédagnel in *SChr* 300. Anianus’s Latin translations are printed in *PG* 50.473–514. On the early printings of the Latin translations of Chrysostom’s panegyrics on St Paul, see Piédagnel (*SChr* 300.86–91).

The third of these Latin panegyrics (inc. “Beatus Paulus, qui tantam uim”) is a study of Paul’s ceaseless charity towards his friends and enemies alike that was incorporated into **PAUL THE DEACON’S HOMILIARIUM** and circulated as a reading for the feast of the nativity of St Paul (PD II.53: Wiegand 1897 p 48; Grégoire 1966 p 100, 1980 p 462). The copy in Salisbury 179, fols 81r–82r, is rubricated “Sermo beati Iohannis episcopi.”

**In epistulam ad Hebraeos argumentum et homiliae 1–34** [CHRYSOST.LAT.Epist.Hebr.]: *CPG* 4440.

ed.: *PG* 63.237–456.

*MSS – Lists* none.

*A-S Vers* Epist.Hebr. XXIX: *HomU* 11 (ScraggVerc 7, B3.4.11).

*Quots/Cits* 1. Epist.Hebr.: ALCVIN.Comm.Hebr.

2. Epist.Hebr. II.3: ALCVIN.Contr.her.Fel. XLIX.

*Refs* none.

Among Chrysostom’s exegetical homilies are the thirty-four homilies on the Epistle to the Hebrews which were long assumed to have been preached in Constantinople toward the very end of his career, just prior to his final exile. A careful reassessment of the dating question by Allen and Mayer (1995), however, leads to the conclusion that at least one of these homilies was preached at Antioch, not Constantinople, that they were not delivered as a single continuous series one right after the other, and that we don’t really know when or where most of these homilies were preached after all. The conventional date of 402 × 404, accepted by Quasten (*Pat.* 3.450), von Bonsdorff (1992 p 116), and Kelly (1995 p 134) among others, must now be viewed with caution. The argument by Opelt (1970) for a date of composition between 396 and 398, exclusively in Antioch, has not been widely accepted and will now have to be re-evaluated in the wake of Allen and Mayer’s findings. The rubrics in some early manuscripts state that these homilies were published after Chrysostom’s death from the stenographic notes taken by an Antiochene priest named Constantinus or Constantius, a claim accepted by most scholars (e.g. *Pat.* 3.450; Auf der Maur 1959 p 48; Olivar 1991 p 120; Kelly 1995 p 133; Moreschini and Norelli 2005 p 157), although Baur (1959–60 2.94) upholds these homilies as fully complete, original, unedited compositions by Chrysostom.

**CASSIODORUS** informs us in his **INSTITUTIONES** I.viii.3 (ed. Mynors 1937 p 29) that he asked his friend Mutianus to translate Chrysostom’s homilies on Hebrews into Latin, and it

is evidently Mutianus's translation that was known to the Middle Ages. **ALCUIN** made substantial use of this version in composing his own commentary on Hebrews (Bullough 1998 p 19; *CSLMA* 2.375); Riggenbach (1907 p 24) estimates that fully two-thirds of Alcuin's commentary is lifted word for word from the Mutianus translation. Elsewhere, in Chapter XLIX of his **CONTRA HERESIM FELICIS** (ed. Blumenshine 1980 p 83), Alcuin appeals to the "testimonium Iohannis Crisostomi" as expressed in his second homily on Hebrews in the Mutianus version (at *PG* 63.247–48) to defend the idea of the generation of the Son from the Father in accord with orthodox teaching.

As demonstrated by Zacher (forthcoming), *Vercelli Homily 7* (*HomU* 11, B3.4.11; ed. Scragg, EETS OS 300) is a close rendering of about half of Mutianus's version of the twenty-ninth homily on Hebrews (at *PG* 63.419–26), on the virtue of hard work, the indolence of women, and the evils of gluttony.

Chrysostom's Greek originals are printed in *PG* 63.9–236. An English translation by T. Keble, revised by Frederic Gardiner, appears in Schaff (1886–90 14.335–524). Twenty-one manuscripts of Mutianus's Latin translation are identified by Siegmund (1949 pp 94, 95, 96, 98), and another by Lowe (1972); Baur (1907b p 65) claims to know of twenty-two but does not identify them; see also the list of manuscripts and citations in medieval booklists assembled by Riggenbach (1907 p 11 note 1). Evans (1968 p 98) observes that the Latin versions of these homilies were read in the refectory at Cluny in the tenth century, and Lowe (1972 p 233) notes copies in the libraries at Bobbio, Durham, Limoges, Lorsch, St. Gall, St. Vaast, and elsewhere. The language of Mutianus's translation is studied by Wilhelmsson (1944).

**PSEUDO-CHRYSOSTOM:** *DS* 8.355–69; *EEC* 1.442; *RAC* 18.503–15.

The large number of texts that in the Middle Ages were mistakenly thought to have been written by Chrysostom are most fully accounted for in *CPG* 4500–5197, which catalogues 697 Chrysostom *dubia* and *spuria*, along with Latin translations, derivative versions, and unedited works thought to be by Chrysostom. A thorough guide to the majority of these is provided by José Antonio de Aldama in his *Repertorium Pseudochrysostomicum* (1965), which inventories 581 Greek texts falsely attributed to Chrysostom. A separate list of the Greek Pseudo-Chrysostom texts printed in the volumes of *PG* 47–64 has been compiled by Hermann Josef Sieben in *DS* 8.355–69. The relatively small number of patristic and medieval Latin texts (nearly all sermons) that are either translations of authentic Greek texts by Chrysostom or original Latin works that passed falsely under his name are listed (and in many cases reprinted) in *PLS* 4.649–850. There is also a valuable bibliographical introduction to the field of Pseudo-Chrysostomica by Sever J. Voicu in *RAC* 18.503–15, which is up to date through 1997.

**Sermo Wilmart 6, De ascensione Heliae** [ANON.Serm.Wilm.6/PS.CHRYSOST.]: *CPL* 917; *KVS* CHRY I,653.

ed.: Wenk 1988 pp 100–08.

*MSS* – *Quots/Cits* none.  
*Refs* BEDA.Quaest.Reg. XXVIII

This sermon (inc. “Apud quosdam [ueteres] reges”) is the sixth item in the corpus of thirty-eight Latin sermons by and attributed to Chrysostom analyzed by Wilmart (1918). It is newly edited from twenty manuscripts by Wenk (1988), who cautiously argues for a date of composition around the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century, certainly before 415 (pp 113–14).

A number of scholars from Wilmart (1918 p 311) onward have observed that **BEDE** seems to be referring to this sermon in his **IN REGUM LIBRUM XXX QUAESTIONES**, where in commenting on the “horses which the kings of Juda had given to the sun” and the “chariots of the sun” that are burnt with fire in 4 Kings 23.11, Bede recalls the story of Elias’s ascension to heaven in 4 Kings 2.11, which he says was accomplished by means of a fiery chariot, “quia curru igneo et equis igneis est raptus ad caelum Iohannes Constantinopolitanus episcopus aestimat. Quia enim Graece helios dicitur sol” (“because Bishop John of Constantinople reckons he was whisked to heaven in a fiery chariot and by fiery horses, for *helios* in Greek means ‘sun’”) (CCSL 119.319). The allusion is apparently to the Pseudo-Chrysostom *De ascensione Heliae*, which comments at length on Elias’s ascension “igneo curru atque equis flammantibus” (“in a fiery chariot and with flaming horses”) and which explicates this miraculous event by linking Elias’s name with the Greek word for sun, *helios*: “Sol enim Graeco sermone Helios appellatur. unde Helias quasi Helios vere curru atque equis igne fulgentibus . . . ascendit” (“For in the Greek language the sun is called ‘Helios,’ so that Elias really did ascend as if he were the sun, in a chariot and with horses radiant with fire” (Wenk 1988 pp 101–02 lines 23–27). The allusion led Wilmart to identify Bede as one of the earliest witnesses to the collection of thirty-eight Latin Chrysostom sermons. For Bede’s familiarity with another text in this collection, see the entry below for *Sermo Wilmart 33, De patre et duobus filiis*.

This sermon is also printed in *PLS* 4.835–38. It is identified as Pseudo-Chrysostom, *Sermo ii* in *CPL* 917 to reflect its numbering within the collection of Pseudo-Chrysostom sermons printed by Erasmus and Gelenius (1547 1.649–52).

**Sermo Wilmart 19, De muliere Chananaea** [ANON.Serm.Wilm.19/PS.CHRYSOST.]: *CPG* 4529; *KVS* CHRY I,1182 + 1192; cf. Aldama 1965 no. 434.  
 ed.: McKevitt 1975 pp 78–114.

*MSS* Worcester, Cathedral Library F.92: HG 763.  
*Lists – Refs* none.

A Greek sermon entitled *De muliere Chananaea* (*CPG* 4529; ed. *PG* 52.449–60), on Christ’s encounter with the Canaanite woman in Matthew 15, was known to the Middle Ages through two separate Latin translations. The first (inc. “Multae tempestates”) figures within the collection of thirty-eight Latin sermons by or attributed to Chrysostom analyzed by Wilmart (1918) and retains its designation as *Sermo Wilmart 19*. The Greek text which this sermon translates is attributed to Chrysostom in many manuscripts, but its authenticity is doubted by some leading Chrysostom scholars (see Aldama 1965 no. 434; Altaner 1967 p

425), and it is consequently classed among the Chrysostom *dubia* by Geerard (*CPG* 4529), Sieben (*DS* 8.356–57), and Wenk (1988 pp 18–21). McKevitt (1975 pp 6–19) and Dekkers (*CPL* 645) remain uncommitted. Voicu (1993 pp 403, 405) accepts the sermon as authentic and says it was preached by Chrysostom in Constantinople in 403 but offers no evidence to support this claim. Haidacher (1906) believed the Greek sermon was translated into Latin by Anianus of Celeda in the early fifth century, but Morin (1937 p 309) opposes this view and suggests the translation should be regarded as anonymous.

A copy of this first Latin translation appears in Worcester F.92, fols 206r–213r, where it is introduced as “Omelia Iohannis Chrisostomi de muliere Chananea sub figura persecutionis,” the title it bears in the oldest known manuscripts. Twenty-eight manuscripts from the ninth to the fifteenth century are identified by McKevitt (1975 pp 25–32, 37–72, 77). A copy in the Carolingian lectionary of Corbie is signaled by Etaix (1994 p 225). This sermon is also edited in the *Bibliotheca Casinensis* 1873–94 3.17–23. For a second Latin translation of the Greek sermon *De muliere Chananaea*, see the following entry.

I have not been able to substantiate the claim of Lapidge (2006 p 316) that an excerpt from the *Sermo de muliere Chananaea* appears in Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 516 (HG 581); the text in question is rubricated “In libro Crisostomi cap. .xxx.” (fol 79v), but I have failed to identify it.

**Sermo de muliere Chananaea b** [ANON.Serm.mul.Chan.b/PS.CHRYSOST.]: *CPG* 4529b; *KVS* CHRY I,1182 + 1192; cf. *CPL* 645 and Aldama 1965 no. 434.  
ed: *PL* 66.116–24.

*MSS* London, BL Royal 5.B.XV: HG 457.

*Lists – Refs* none.

As noted in the previous entry, two separate Latin translations of a Greek sermon *De muliere Chananaea* (*CPG* 4529; ed. *PG* 52.449–60) circulated under Chrysostom’s name in the Middle Ages. The second translation (inc. “Multi quidem confligunt”) appears in BL Royal 5.B.XV, fols 57r–62r, where it is rubricated “Sermo Iohannis Crisostomi de muliere Chananea.” Haidacher (1906) took this sermon to be a Latin translation by Anianus of Celeda of a genuine Chrysostom sermon, but Chrysostom’s authorship of the Greek original, as noted in the previous entry, is not universally accepted. Morin (1937) argues with some care that this Latin translation was produced not by Anianus, and not by someone named **LAURENCE OF NOVARA**, who in fact never existed even though the sermon is printed under this name in *PL* 66.116–24, but instead by a little-known early-fifth-century bishop of Novae (a city on the Danube in lower Moesia, today Svistov, Bulgaria) by the name of Laurentius Novarum or Laurence of Novae. Morin further argues that this Laurence of Novae also translated the two Pseudo-Chrysostom sermons entitled *Homilia de paenitentia* (*CPL* 644) and *Homilia de eleemosyna* (*CPL* 645), which accompany this second Latin translation of the *Sermo de muliere Chananaea* in early manuscripts and are printed alongside it in *PL* 66.89–105 and 105–16.

For details on the manuscript transmission and printing history of this sermon, see Wenk (1988 pp 18–21). A twelfth-century copy appears in the “Rochester Homiliary,” Rome, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. Lat. 4951 (s. xii<sup>1</sup>, Rochester), fols 66r–69v.

**Sermo Wilmart 33, De patre et duobus filiis** [ANON.Serm.Wilm.33/PS.CHRYSOSt.]:  
*BHM* 35; *CPL* 766; *CPPM* 2.780; *KVS* CHRY II,1313; *RBMA* 6370,6.  
 ed.: Wenk 1988 pp 170–88.

*MSS – A-S Vers* none.

*Quots/Cits* BEDA.Comm.Luc. XV.22, 23

*Refs* none.

Wenk (1988 pp 93–94) draws attention to the fact that **BEDE** paraphrases two short passages from this sermon (inc. “Omnium quidem de scripturis”) in his **COMMENTARIUS IN LUCAM**. Compare Bede, *In Lucam* XV.22 (*CCSL* 120.291 lines 2436–37), on the significance of the ring and shoes of Luke 15.22, with *Sermo Wilmart* 33 lines 206–7 (ed. Wenk p 184); and compare Bede, *In Lucam* XV.23 (*CCSL* 120.291 lines 2448–50), on the smoke arising from the sacrificed fatted calf in Luke 15.23, with *Sermo Wilmart* 33 lines 221–23 (ed. Wenk p 185). The correspondences are brief but undeniable: six words in parallel in the first instance and seventeen in the second. The parallels are not noted in Hurst’s edition of Bede’s Commentary on Luke in *CCSL* 120.

This sermon is also printed as Pseudo-Jerome, *Epist.* 35 (*PL* 30.256–62).

**Opus imperfectum in Mattheum** [ANON.Opus.imperf.Matth./PS.CHRYSOSt.]: *CPG* 4569; *CPL* 707; *DS* 8.362–69; *Pat.* 3.471; *RBMA* 4350; Schanz 4/1.315.  
 ed.: *PG* 56.611–946.

The *Opus imperfectum in Matthaem* is a set of fifty-four Latin homilies on the first gospel which throughout the Middle Ages were believed to be translations of Greek homilies by John Chrysostom. In reality, they are probably the work of an unidentified Arian bishop or priest writing in Latin in the fifth or sixth century. The great range of dates, authors, and places of origin that have been proposed for these homilies (up through the 1960s) is usefully summarized by Gauthier (1972 pp 50–54). Dekkers (*CPL* 707) captures a dominant trend in the scholarship in advocating a date of composition in the mid-sixth century; however, Joop van Banning, the senior editor of a new edition in progress, believes the *Opus* was composed in the second or third quarter of the fifth century (*CCSL* 87B.v). Schlatter’s (1988) suggestion that the author was Anianus of Celeda is deemed “attractive” yet “problematic” by Cooper (1993), who cautions against accepting this hypothesis without further evidence. Multiple references within the homilies to organizational features of the Roman Empire indicate that whoever the author was, he must have lived within the empire’s borders, but his familiarity with the Greek New Testament and his knowledge of Greek culture suggest that he lived in a part of the empire where there was heavy Greek influence, most likely a southern province verging on Greek-speaking territory such as Dacia, Illyricum, or Moesia, where Latin and Greek intermingled but Latin was still the primary language through the seventh century (*CCSL* 87B.v).

The *Opus* is called *imperfectum* because it is incomplete, lacking commentary on

Matthew 8.10–10.15 and 13.14 through the end of chapter 18. The title also distinguishes it from Chrysostom’s authentic set of ninety homilies on Matthew, which form the oldest complete patristic commentary on the first gospel (see *Pat.* 3.437–38).

The earliest English manuscript containing a substantial part of the *Opus imperfectum* is Cambridge, Pembroke College 18 (s. xii, Bury St Edmunds), which breaks off in the middle of *Homilia* 46 (at fol 56v) and is probably based on a German exemplar (*CCSL* 87B.xviii, xxix). The only parts of the *Opus imperfectum* that were known in England before the twelfth century are three homilies (nos. 37, 42, and 46), two of which were excerpted from the collection by **PAUL THE DEACON** and included within his Homiliary as readings for the second Sunday of Advent and the nineteenth Sunday after Pentecost respectively.

A new critical edition that is expected to replace the one in *PG* 56.611–946 is presently underway by a group of scholars headed by Joop van Banning; the first volume (*CCSL* 87B), consisting of a Preface and study of the 196 extant manuscripts, appeared in 1988.

### **Opus imperfectum in Mattheum, Homilia 37**

[ANON.Opus.imperf.Matth.Hom.37/PS.CHRYSOST.].

ed.: *PG* 56.834–38.

*MSS* – *A-S Vers* none.

*Quots/Cits* *ÆCHom* I, 14 (B1.1.15) 77–85, 111–21 (see below).

*Refs* none.

In a famous passage in his first series homily for Palm Sunday (*ÆCHom* I, 14; B1.1.15; ed. Clemons, *EETS* SS 17), **ÆLFRIC** asserts that the people are freely able to decide who will be king, but that once the king is consecrated, they are bound to obey his will, a set of claims that was once thought to reflect on Anglo-Saxon notions of kingship. Godden (1987), however, showed that Ælfric is here merely translating from *Homilia* 37 of the *Opus imperfectum in Mattheum*, and is thus “not recording tenth-century views about the religious and moral sanctions surrounding kingship” (pp 913–14) after all. The full influence of this text on Ælfric is detailed by Godden (*EETS* SS 18.113–16).

This homily (inc. “Puto res ipsa”) was included as a reading for the second Sunday of Advent in **PAUL THE DEACON**’s **HOMILIARIUM** (PD I.2: Wiegand 1897 pp 17–18; Grégoire 1966 p 77, 1980 p 430; *CCSL* 87B.xxiii) and presumably was to be found in the version of this homiliary consulted by Ælfric, but copies appear in none of the surviving Anglo-Saxon or early Anglo-Norman manuscripts of this collection.

### **Opus imperfectum in Mattheum, Homilia 42**

[ANON.Opus.imperf.Matth.Hom.42/PS.CHRYSOST.]

ed.: *PG* 56.866–75.

*MSS* 1. Cambridge, Pembroke College 23: HG 129.

2. Durham, Cathedral Library A.III.29: HG 222.

3. Worcester, Cathedral Library F.93: HG 763.1.

*Lists – Refs* none.

In compiling his eighth-century **HOMILIARIUM**, **PAUL THE DEACON** included a selection from the second half of this homily (corresponding to *PG* 56.872–75, beginning “Et interrogauit eum” and ending “cognoscens eum per ipsum”) as a reading for the nineteenth Sunday after Pentecost (*PD* II.90: Wiegand 1897 pp 55–56; Grégoire 1966 p 106, 1980 p 470; *CCSL* 87B.xxiii–xxiv). This is the form of the homily that appears in one version of Paul’s homiliary imported into England in the late-eleventh century, *Pembroke* 23, fols 266r–270v, which, however, skips the opening sentence and begins with a different incipit (“Conuenerunt ut multitudine uincerent”). The *Pembroke* 23 text is designated for the eighteenth rather than the nineteenth Sunday after Pentecost and is rubricated “Omelia beati Iohannis episcopi.”

An entirely different excerpt from the same homily, this time starting at the beginning (inc. “Omnis malitia confunditur”) and extending through *PG* 56.868 line 4 (expl. “sunt utilia sicut Deus”), appears in *Worcester F.93*, fols 205v–207r.

In addition, a composite homily on Matthew 22.34–46 (inc. “Conuenerunt ut multitudine uincerent”) based primarily on *Opus imperfectum, Homilia* 42 (*PG* 56.872 line 35–875 line 34) but with interpolations from **AUGUSTINE**, **BEDE**, and **SMARAGDUS** appears in two English versions of Paul the Deacon’s Homiliary from the early post-Conquest period: *Durham A.III.29*, fols 136v–139v (“Sermo beati Iohannis Crisostomi”) and *Worcester F.93*, fols 191v–194r (“Omelia beati Iohannis episcopi”).

### **Opus imperfectum in Mattheum, Homilia 46**

[ANON.Opus.imperf.Matth.Hom.46/PS.CHRYSOST.].

ed.: *PG* 56.890–98.

*MSS* Worcester, Cathedral Library F.92: HG 763.

*Lists – Refs* none.

An abbreviated copy of this homily on Matthew 23.34 (inc. “Prophetas et sapientes”) appears in *Worcester F.92*, fols 7r–9r, ending at a point in the text corresponding to *PG* 56.894 line 15. It is rubricated “Omelia Iohannis Chrisostomi.”

### **Sermo in decollationem s. Iohannis Baptistae**

[ANON.Serm.decollat.Iohan.Bapt./PS.CHRYSOST.]: *CPL* 931; *KVS* CHRY II,1184; cf. Aldama 1965 no. 381; *BHG* 859a; *CPG* 4570.

ed.: *PL* 95.1508–14.

*MSS* 1. Cambridge, Pembroke College 24: HG 130.

2. Durham, Cathedral Library A.III.29: HG 222.

3. Worcester, Cathedral Library F.94: HG 763.2.

*Lists – A-S Vers* none.

*Quots/Cits* *ÆCHom* I, 32 (B1.1.34) 172–88.

*Refs* none.

This is an anonymous Latin translation of a fifth- or sixth-century Greek sermon (ed. *PG* 59.485–90) which focuses on Herodias, the villainess of the John the Baptist story, to make the point that there is nothing worse than an evil woman. The Greek original was long attached to Chrysostom’s name but is now regarded as spurious (Aldama 1965 no. 381; *CPG* 4570; *DS* 8.358). A selection from the beginning of the Latin translation (inc. “Heu me, quid agam,” extending only through “in pretium saltationis accepit” at *PL* 95.1509C) was included as a reading for the feast of the Decollation of John the Baptist in **PAUL THE DEACON’S HOMILIARIUM** (PD II.72: Wiegand 1897 p 52; Grégoire 1966 p 103, 1980 p 466). Copies appear in Pembroke 24, fol 126r–v; Durham A.III.29, fols 257v–258r; and Worcester F.94, fol 75r–v.

As noted by Smetana (1959 p 193), **ÆLFRIC** translates a brief passage from this sermon in his first-series homily for the Decollation (*ÆCHom* I, 32; B1.1.34; ed. Clemoes, *EETS* SS 17), where he declares that there is no wild animal, not even a lion or snake, as dangerous as a wicked woman. For details see Godden (*EETS* SS 18.273).

**Collectio Armamentarii, Sermo 1** [ANON.Coll.Arm.Serm.1/PS.CHRYSOST.]: *CPL* 937; *CPPM* 1.1357, 5555.

ed.: *PLS* 4.656–59.

*MSS* Worcester, Cathedral Library F.92: HG 763.

*Lists – Refs* none.

The *Collectio Armamentarii* is a set of fifteen Latin sermons believed to have been written by one or more African authors in the first half of the fifth century (*PLS* 4.651; Wenk 1988 p 8). The collection takes its name from one of the three manuscripts in which all fifteen sermons survive: Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal [Armamentarius], 175 (s. xii), fols 95v–108r; for a description of the contents of this manuscript, see Wenk (1988 pp 50–51). *Sermones* 1, 5, 6, 12, and 14 are reprinted in *PLS* 4.651–68.

The first sermon in the collection (inc. “In hodiernum conuiuuium”) is a sermon for Maundy Thursday on the Last Supper, Judas’s betrayal, and Peter’s denial that was included in the eighth-century Homiliary of Agimond (III.12: Grégoire 1980 p 346). The copy in Worcester F.92, fols 252r–253v, has a variant concluding sentence.

**Collectio Armamentarii, Sermo 13** [ANON.Coll.Arm.Serm.13/PS.CHRYSOST.]: *CPPM* 1.2321, 5502, 5485.

ed. Froben 1538 3.861.

*MSS* 1. London, BL Harley 652: HG 424.

2. Worcester, Cathedral Library F.93: HG 763.1.

3. Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale 1382 (U.109): HG 925.

*Lists – Refs* none.

This sermon (inc. “Licet omnes solemnitates”) was included in the eighth-century Roman Homiliary of Agimond, where it is assigned to Augustine; see Grégoire (1980 pp 353–54). Copies appear in Harley 652, fols 35v–36r; Worcester F.93, fols 7v–8r; and Rouen 1382, fols 30v–31r. The copy in Worcester F.93 is rubricated “ad instruendos nouiter baptizatos.” The one in Rouen 1382 has a different ending.

This sermon is also printed as Pseudo-Leo, *Sermo 4* (PL 56.1136–38) and as Pseudo-Leo, *Sermo 8* (PL 54.495–97). Froben (1538 3.861) edits the text as Chrysostom Latinus, *Collectio Armamentarii, Sermo 13*.

**Collectio Armamentarii, Sermo 14** [ANON.Coll.Arm.Serm.14/PS.CHRYSOST.]: *CPL* 941; *CPPM* 1.1646, 5575.

ed.: *PLS* 4.667–68.

*MSS* 1. London, BL Harley 652: HG 424.  
2. Worcester, Cathedral Library F.93: HG 763.1.  
3. Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale 1382 (U.109): HG 925.

*Lists – Refs* none.

Copies of this sermon for the octave of Easter (inc. “Paschalis solemnitas”) appear in Harley 652, fols 40v–41r; Worcester F.93, fol 85r–v; and Rouen 1382, fols 71r–73v. It is also printed by Mai (1852 pp 83–85) as **PSEUDO-AUGUSTINE, SERMO MAI 41**.

**Collectio Escorialensis, Homilia 9** [ANON.Coll.Escur.Hom.9/PS.CHRYSOST.]: *CPL* 929.

ed.: *PLS* 4.687–90.

*MSS* 1. Cambridge, Pembroke College 23: HG 129.  
2. Salisbury, Cathedral Library 179: HG 753.

*Lists – Refs* none.

This sermon on David and Goliath (inc. “Dominus Deus cum Dauid”) circulated in **PAUL THE DEACON’S HOMILIARIUM** as a reading for the first Sunday after the nativity of the apostles (PD II.56: Wiegand 1897 p 48; Grégoire 1966 pp 100–01, 1980 p 463). The copies in Pembroke 23, fols 304r–307r, and Salisbury 179, fols 68v–69r, are both rubricated “Sermo beati Iohannis episcopi de Dauid, ubi Goliath inmanem hostem deuicit.”

**Collectio Escorialensis, Homilia 10** [ANON.Coll.Escur.Hom.10/PS.CHRYSOST.]: *CPPM* 1.5506.

ed.: *PLS* 4.690–93.

*MSS* Salisbury, Cathedral Library, 179: HG 753.

*Lists – Refs* none.

This sermon on the tragic end of King David's son Absalom (inc. "Perdidit Absalom") circulated in **PAUL THE DEACON**'s **HOMILIARIUM** as a reading for the second Sunday after the nativity of the apostles (PD II.59: Wiegand 1897 p 49; Grégoire 1966 p 101, 1980 pp 463–64). The copy in Salisbury 179, fols 69r–70r, is rubricated "Omelia de Absalom ubi Daud patrem persequitur."

This sermon circulated together with a group of sermons by Pope **LEO THE GREAT** in manuscripts from Padua and Florence (*CCSL* 138.XCI) and is printed as Pseudo-Leo, *Sermo* 8 (*PL* 56.1151–54).

**Collectio Escorialensis, Homilia 28** [ANON.Coll.Escur.Hom.28/PS.CHRYSOST.]: *CPL* 934, 935.

ed.: *PLS* 4.738–40.

*MSS* Salisbury, Cathedral Library, 179: HG 753.

*Lists – Refs* none.

This sermon on imitating the virtues of the saints (inc. "Qui sanctorum merita") circulated in **PAUL THE DEACON**'s **HOMILIARIUM** as a reading for the feast of a martyr (PD II.120: Wiegand 1897 p 62; Grégoire 1966 p 112, 1980 p 476). A copy appears without attribution in Salisbury 179, fols 32v–33r.

**Sermo in natali Innocentium** [ANON.Serm.nat.Inn./PS.CHRYSOST.]: *CPL* 920; *CPPM* 1.1487 (version 1), 1733.

ed.: *PL* 95.1176–77.

*MSS* 1. Cambridge, University Library Ii.2.19, fols 1–216: HG 16.

2. London, BL Harley 652: HG 424.

*Lists – Refs* none.

This sermon (inc. "Dedicatur nouus ab infantibus") circulated in **PAUL THE DEACON**'s **HOMILIARIUM** as a reading for the feast of the Holy Innocents (PD I.35: Wiegand 1897 p 26; Grégoire 1966 p 82, 1980 pp 436–37). Copies appear in CUL Ii.2.19, fols 167v–168r, and in Harley 652, fols 176v–177r ("Sermo beati Iohannis episcopi").

Various permutations of this sermon have been printed as Pseudo-Chromatius, *Homilia* 4 by Combéfis (1662 1.443–44), as Pseudo-Augustine, *Sermo* App. 79 by Caillau (1842 24B.418–24), as Pseudo-Augustine, *Sermo* 124 by Mai (1852 pp 286–87), as Pseudo-Chrysostom, *Sermo* 5 in the *Bibliotheca Casinensis* (1873–94 2.169–71), and as *Homilia* 39 in the late-medieval version of Paul the Deacon's Homiliary printed by Migne (*PL* 95.1176–77). For further details on its transmission and printing history, see Grégoire (1966 p 82, 1980 pp 436–37).

**Sermo de misericordia et duabus mulieribus viduis** [ANON.Serm.mis./PS.CHRYSOST.]:  
*CPL* 933; *CPG* 5130.  
 ed.: *PLS* 4.840–43.

*MSS* Salisbury, Cathedral Library 179: HG 753.  
*Lists – Refs* none.

This sermon (inc. “Tria sunt que in misericordia”) circulated in **PAUL THE DEACON**’s **HOMILIARIUM** as a reading for the third Sunday after the feast of Holy Angels (PD II.91: Wiegand 1897 p 56; Grégoire 1966 p 106, 1980 p 470). The copy in Salisbury 179, fol 74r–v, is rubricated “Sermo beati Iohannis episcopi de misericordia.”

**Sermo in letania** [ANON.Serm.letan./PS.CHRYSOST.]: *CPL* 935; *CPG* 5130.  
 ed.: *PLS* 4.846–50.

*MSS* Salisbury, Cathedral Library 179: HG 753.  
*Lists – Refs* none.

This sermon (inc. “Clementissimus omnipotens Deus”) was included in **PAUL THE DEACON**’s **HOMILIARIUM** as a reading for the Greater Litanies (PD II.130: Wiegand 1897 p 64; Grégoire 1966 p 113, 1980 p 478). The copy in Salisbury 179, fols 24r–25r, is rubricated “Sermo beati Iohannis episcopi” and is designated for “Feria .iiii. in Letania maior.” Two different versions of this sermon are edited by Grégoire (1966 pp 188–96).

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