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The Reception of John Chrysostom in the Middle Byzantine Period  
(9<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries): A Study of the *Catechetical Homily on Pascha*  
(CPG 4605)

Mark Patrick Huggins

PhD in Classics  
The University of Edinburgh  
2020



# Abstract of Thesis

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Name of student:	Mark Patrick Huggins	UUN	S1641071
University email:	s1641071@sms.ed.ac.uk		
Degree sought:	PhD in Classics	No. of words in the main text of thesis:	97.124
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This thesis focuses on the reception of John Chrysostom during the middle Byzantine period, 9<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> centuries, through the lens of the so-called *Catechetical Homily on Pascha* (CPG 4605). The earliest surviving attribution of this text to John Chrysostom comes from the monastic leader, Theodore of Stoudios in the 9<sup>th</sup> century. Theodore began the tradition that has continued over a millennium up to the present of reading the *Catechetical Homily on Pascha* at the Easter vigil service. In this way, the text became one of the most frequently copied and well known ascribed to Chrysostom. The text has two indirect textual traditions, as well: one from Theodore of Stoudios and the other from Neophytos Enkleistos in the late 12<sup>th</sup>-early 13<sup>th</sup> centuries. Both abbots have left paschal homilies in which they incorporate the text of the *Catechetical Homily on Pascha*. Part 1 of this thesis gives the first critical edition of the *Catechetical Homily on Pascha*, as well as of Theodore of Stoudios' *Oratio IV*, incorporating the former. Neophytos' text already has a critical edition. Principal manuscript witnesses are presented and a stemma codicum is offered, while intertextual relationships are extensively discussed. Part 2 of the thesis focuses on the historical context of the *Catechetical Homily on Pascha* during the middle Byzantine centuries. A chain of receptions is traced that were inspired by, and responded to, Theodore of Stoudios' 9<sup>th</sup> century understanding and deployment of Chrysostom's heritage. In each century the image of Chrysostom played a slightly different role, building on what had preceded, while also innovating in response to changed circumstances and agendas of the political and religious actors of the time. Thus, each chapter of Part 2 focuses on one of the centuries from ca. 800-1204, complementing the critical edition of the text given in Part 1.

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Name of student:	Mark Patrick Huggins	UUN	S1641071
University email:	s1641071@sms.ed.ac.uk		
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John Chrysostom was the most prolific Byzantine Church father, reaching high levels of prominence in the Byzantine Church for both his rhetorical prowess and spiritual instruction. Nevertheless, the process itself of the development of his cult in Byzantium has never been systematically studied. Moreover, one of the single most popular texts attributed to him, the so-called *Catechetical Homily on Pascha*, has also never been systematically analysed, despite scholarly insistence for centuries that the attribution to Chrysostom must be mistaken. The present dissertation addresses these two gaps in research together. Part 1 offers the first ever critical edition of the *Catechetical Homily on Pascha*, as well as the first edition of a related Byzantine text by the boisterous Constantinopolitan abbot, Theodore of Stoudios. The primary manuscript witnesses to the *Catechetical Homily*, and all related texts, are presented in detail and the relationships between these texts are investigated in an effort to bring to light as much of the history behind the *Catechetical Homily* as possible from the point of view of the manuscripts preserving it. Part 2 builds on the research in Part 1 by examining the context of John Chrysostom's Byzantine reception and the people involved in the process. As noted above, Theodore of Stoudios plays a critical role in 9<sup>th</sup> century Byzantium. Part 2 begins by tracing the major lines of Chrysostom's reception from his death in the early 5<sup>th</sup> century until the time of Theodore of Stoudios' birth in the mid-8<sup>th</sup> century. From there, it investigates Theodore's understanding of Chrysostom, his use of the *Catechetical Homily* among other aspects of the heritage attributed to Chrysostom, and how Theodore's promotion of a particular interpretation of Chrysostom sparked a chain of receptions that stretched over the course of centuries. The chapters in Part 2 all address aspects of this chain of receptions, beginning with Theodore's use of the *Catechetical Homily* in the 9<sup>th</sup> century and stretching to the early 13<sup>th</sup> century, when Neophytos Enkleistos, a recluse living on Byzantine and then Lusignan Cyprus, imitates Theodore, although under different circumstances.

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I declare that this thesis has been composed solely by myself and that it has not been submitted, in whole or in part, in any previous application for a degree. Except where stated otherwise by reference or acknowledgement, the work presented is entirely my own.

Mark Patrick Huggins

30.11.2020

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## GENERAL PROLOGUE

This study will center upon the reception of John Chrysostom in Byzantium in the 9<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries, with its starting point being the so-called *Κατηχητικὸς λόγος εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πάσχα* (CPG 4605, *PG* 59:721–4), attributed to Chrysostom by the majority of extant manuscript witnesses, as well as by Theodore of Stoudios and Neophytos Enkleistos.<sup>1</sup> No author's reception in any period can be fully comprehended through an examination of the *Nachleben* of only one text, and this was never truer for anyone than for the outstandingly prolific John Chrysostom. That being said, SermCat, which can fit onto one side of one manuscript folio, has become simultaneously perhaps the most popular and least-often studied single text from the vast Chrysostomic corpus of genuine, dubious and spurious works.<sup>2</sup> Its popularity is directly related to its liturgical use in the Eastern Orthodox Church, being read aloud at the Easter vigil service even down to the present day. However, the very fact that this popularity is liturgical in nature has, in its turn, usually meant that scholars who specialize on various aspects of Chrysostom studies—rhetoric, theology, identity and many other fascinating aspects—remain unaware of the significance attached to SermCat and its connection to Chrysostom's rise in prominence during the 9<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries. Chrysostom's pre-eminence in the post-Iconoclastic middle Byzantine period is known to be associated with textual collections such as the *Pearls of John Chrysostom*,<sup>3</sup> the *Ekloge* of his homilies attributed to Theodore Daphnopates,<sup>4</sup> and by the liturgy attributed to him overtaking both that of Basil and James to become the standard Orthodox liturgy celebrated within and without the Byzantine empire. These latter developments all occur during the 9<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> centuries, to which period also dates the earliest direct evidence of the liturgical use of SermCat in one of the premier Byzantine scriptoria of the time: the monastery of Stoudios. Theodore's usage of SermCat is

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<sup>1</sup> From here on, SermCat—from its Latin title, *Sermo Catecheticus in sanctum Pascha*.

<sup>2</sup> This can be seen from a search through the *Online Bibliography of Scholarship on John Chrysostom and Attributed Writings*, compiled and updated by Wendy Mayer. Available here:

[https://www.academia.edu/6448870/Chrysostomica\\_An\\_Online\\_Bibliography\\_of\\_Scholarship\\_on\\_John\\_Chrysostom\\_and\\_Attributed\\_Writings](https://www.academia.edu/6448870/Chrysostomica_An_Online_Bibliography_of_Scholarship_on_John_Chrysostom_and_Attributed_Writings) (accessed on 28.5.20). In 240 pages of international bibliography, I was able to find only 1 direct reference, that is to say, an article that specifically focuses on SermCat. It is mentioned in passing in many studies of liturgical developments in the 9<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> c.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Soporan (2016), who focuses, however, on the post-Byzantine period. Nevertheless, the collection survives in an 11<sup>th</sup> c. Greek manuscript: Laurentianus Plutei 11.09 (1021), f. 282r: ΤΟ ΕΠΙΟΝΟΜΑΖΟΜΕΝΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΥ | ΜΑΡΤΑΡΙΤΑΙ ΒΙΒΑΙΟΝ ΤΗ ΤΟΥ ΚΥ(ΠΙΟΥ) ΙΗ(ΣΟΥ) | Χ(ΠΙΣΤΟΥ)Υ ΧΑΡΙΤΙ... Images available

here: <http://teca.bmlonline.it/ImageViewer/servlet/ImageViewer?idr=TECA0000613550&keywords=plut.11.09#page/579/mode/1up> (accessed 28.5.20). The first text in the collection in this manuscript is SermCat.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Mayer (2015) 3.

part and parcel of his broader program of promoting John Chrysostom.<sup>5</sup> Theodore of Stoudios' reception of Chrysostom as a prototype of righteous, holy rebellion against the imperial court sparked a response from the imperial court itself—which then strove to highlight Chrysostom as its own protector. This counter-reception, in turn, caused certain disturbances among first and second-tier elites in the late 11<sup>th</sup> century, leading to what is known as the Three Hierarchs Controversy.<sup>6</sup> From the beginning, Theodore of Stoudios' reception of SermCat, which he attributed to John Chrysostom, inaugurated a new era in Chrysostom's reception history—one which built on the work of the preceding centuries, while at the same time, raising Chrysostom to new and unprecedented heights.

In the early 9<sup>th</sup> century Theodore of Stoudios quoted SermCat in full in a paschal sermon of his own, his so-called *Oratio* 4 (*PG* 99:709–720),<sup>7</sup> attributing it to John Chrysostom. In one sense, Theodore did nothing innovative; Mary B. Cunningham has highlighted numerous cases of patristic homilies being employed as readings in churches, mainly monasteries, primarily on major feast days.<sup>8</sup> Albert Ehrhard's three-volume work on the tradition and duration of Greek hagiographical and homiletic literature examines much of the manuscript evidence concerning these practices.<sup>9</sup> Ehrhard believes that liturgical compilations of patristic homilies began to be widespread in the 8<sup>th</sup> century, thus in the decades just before Theodore's birth and as he was growing up.<sup>10</sup> The earliest extant witness to SermCat is preserved in a mid-9<sup>th</sup> century manuscript, Vaticanus graecus 2079 (before 868), from the Stoudios monastery in Constantinople.<sup>11</sup> Thus, the direct tradition of the text is intimately connected to Theodore's appreciation and use of Chrysostom and how he influenced the thought and liturgical practices of Theodore's own age and those following it. Indeed, the monks of Stoudios took great care to ensure that Theodore's *Catecheses* enjoyed wide distribution, already from the 9<sup>th</sup> century, in monasteries both within and beyond

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<sup>5</sup> See Part 2, ch. 1 for details.

<sup>6</sup> These details and effects of Theodore of Stoudios' reception of Chrysostom will be explored more fully in Part 2.

<sup>7</sup> From here on, Or.4. The text printed in *PG* is that of Mai from volume V of his *Patrum Nova Bibliotheca* of 1849. The title *Oratio* 4 is an adaptation from Mai's title, *Oratio* 3, based on the different order of texts classified as *Orationes* in *PG*. This title does not appear in any manuscript witness. Instead, in the manuscripts, this text never appears in any series of orations by Theodore, and I am unaware of any such series under Theodore's name, in general. The text often appears as part of both his so-called *Small* and *Great Catecheses*, but it is just as often preserved separately from these collections. See section B.

<sup>8</sup> Cunningham (2011). Moreover, Theodore incorporated other texts into his own works, encomia, catecheses etc., on other occasions as well. See Kaklamanos (2018) 540–553.

<sup>9</sup> Ehrhard (1936–39).

<sup>10</sup> Ehrhard (1936) 1:54.

<sup>11</sup> There will be a detailed presentation of the principal manuscripts below.

Constantinople.<sup>12</sup> In this connection, another development of the early 13<sup>th</sup> century becomes directly relevant and significant to this study.

The monastic typikon left by Neophytos Enkleistos (1134–ca. 1214) to his monastery is preserved in the early 13<sup>th</sup> century manuscript University of Edinburgh 224 (Laing 811), copied by the notary of the episcopal court Vasilios of Paphos in 1214, and corrected by Neophytos himself.<sup>13</sup> In his typikon we read that his catecheses were to be read out every Sunday.<sup>14</sup> The *Catecheses* themselves are also preserved in one sole manuscript witness, again bearing Neophytos’ autograph corrections, Parisinus supplementum graecum 1317 (1214), also copied by Vasilios. Neophytos’ twelfth *Catechesis* is entitled: *A short prologue to the divine and holy Chrysostom’s sermon on the resurrection*. In essence, Neophytos does exactly what Theodore had done approximately four centuries before him:<sup>15</sup> he introduces SermCat as the paschal homily *par excellence*, quotes the entire text and then concludes with a short epilogue.

There are many aspects of Neophytos’ *Catechesis* 12 that will be analyzed in fuller detail below. However, one structural element must be highlighted briefly here. After quoting the penultimate line of SermCat, Neophytos then moves seamlessly into his own epilogue, in no way indicating that he has finished quoting SermCat.<sup>16</sup> Indeed, his transition even reflects an attempt to try to continue SermCat. At the end of the *Catechesis*, Neophytos asks for his listeners’ understanding in adding his own few words to the end of SermCat—a request that makes most sense if his listeners in the early 13<sup>th</sup> century were already so familiar with the text that it was not necessary to indicate to them where SermCat ended and Neophytos began again.<sup>17</sup> If this interpretation is correct, then between the time of Theodore of Stoudios and

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<sup>12</sup> Kaklamanos (2018) 191–194; 205. Cf. the testimony of patriarch Anthony III of Constantinople (974–979) in his *Catechesis* 3.4–7: “Ἀδελφοὶ καὶ πατέρες, οὐ χρεια τῆς ταπεινῆς μου παραινέσεως διὰ τὸ θεοδίδακτον καὶ εὐπειθές ὑμῶν καὶ ὑπήκοον ἐν ἅπασιν, καὶ διὰ τὸ τὸν κοινὸν ἡμῶν πατέρα καὶ φωστῆρα ἅπαντα καὶ προαναγγέλλειν καὶ προφωτίζειν τὰς ὑμετέρας ψυχὰς διὰ τῆς κατηχητικῆς αὐτοῦ καθ’ ἐκάστην παραινέσεως.” Taken in conjunction with the evidence presented by Kaklamanos, the identification of the κοινὸν ἡμῶν πατέρα as Theodore of Stoudios is convincing. Roughly a century later, Niketas Stethatos also testifies to Theodore’s continuing significance for monks at Stoudios, as well as those formerly there, in his *Life of Saint Symeon the New Theologian*, chh. 61, 63 and 108.

<sup>13</sup> For other manuscripts copied by Vasilios, see *Repertorium der Griechischen Kopisten* III/1 A, 45. Agapitos (2020) cites Neophytos’ year of death as 1219.

<sup>14</sup> Stephanis (1998, vol. 2) *Τυπικὴ Διαθήκη* 13.2.

<sup>15</sup> And his textual allusions to Theodore’s Or.4 will be explored below in Section C.

<sup>16</sup> He has added a note in his own hand on f. 69v, where his epilogue begins, that reads: *προσθήκει ἐγκλείστον*, as we will see in further detail below. However, within the actual text that the audience would be hearing there is no indication of the transition.

<sup>17</sup> This would seem to be further supported by the large number of extant witnesses to the text between the 9<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> c. Cf. Cunningham (2011) 96 who notes the lively character of SermCat. She is referring to the current interactive delivery of the text, where certain phrases are repeated by the listeners after they have been read out, for example: ἐπικράνθη and ἀνέστη. These words are each repeated in phrases of parallel grammatical structure in the final sections of the text, and at each instance the listeners respond back together loudly: ἐπικράνθη!

Neophytos Enkleistos (9<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries) SermCat had come to definitively occupy the position of paschal homily *par excellence* within monastic communities, if not outside them as well. Therefore, what appears to have begun with Theodore in the 9<sup>th</sup> century—employing SermCat as an authoritative paschal homily—culminates in Neophytos’ indirect confirmation in the 13<sup>th</sup> century that SermCat had become a text widely known and associated with Pascha and, as always, with the name of John Chrysostom.

In the 9<sup>th</sup> century, Theodore of Stoudios looked primarily to Jerusalem and its surrounding desert monastic communities for support in combatting the Iconoclasm that had overtaken the imperial capital.<sup>18</sup> This is hardly surprising since Theodore himself had spent roughly the first two decades (780–799) of his monastic life at the Sakkoudion monastery in Bithynia in Asia Minor, an environment heavily influenced by monks from the monastery of St. Sabas in the Judaeian desert, some of whom had migrated to Bithynia following the Arab conquest of 638.<sup>19</sup> Their influence on Theodore’s thought can also be discerned in his adoption of their practice of writing nine-ode canons.<sup>20</sup> Within this context, Theodore viewed Chrysostom as his model in opposing what he considered the heresy of the capital and the impiety of the imperial court.<sup>21</sup> Chrysostom had battled the Anomoians during the Arian controversy; Theodore combatted the Iconoclasts. Chrysostom rebuked the empress for her opulence and greed; Theodore rebuked the emperor (Constantine VI) for his licentiousness and adultery, as well as impiety (Leo V). Both were exiled numerous times; both died in exile. It is not difficult to see why Theodore would have held up Chrysostom as his prototype, and indeed, he himself cultivated this image.<sup>22</sup> One other area in which he strove to imitate Chrysostom was liturgical practice.<sup>23</sup>

Theodore is well-known for his liturgical and monastic practices. He is often thought to have enacted liturgical reforms characterized by strong influence from Jerusalem, in particular the Monastery of St. Sabas.<sup>24</sup> Theodore strove to respond to the challenge of Iconoclasm by emphasizing Christ’s passion and resurrection—thus highlighting both his

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ἀνέστη! However, I have not located any evidence indicating that Byzantine audiences interacted in this or other ways with the clergyman as he read SermCat.

<sup>18</sup> Theodore of Stoudios, *Letters* 276–278.

<sup>19</sup> Pott (2010) 131–132.

<sup>20</sup> *ibid.* 129; *PG* 99:1758–1778.

<sup>21</sup> Theodore of Stoudios, *Letters* especially, 24, 28, 31.

<sup>22</sup> This will be presented in detail in Part 2, chapter 1.

<sup>23</sup> Without getting into the complex issue of the liturgy attributed to Chrysostom, Theodore accepted Chrysostom’s authorship as unquestioningly as any Byzantine.

<sup>24</sup> Pott (2010) 126. But cf. Galadza (2019) who challenges the concept of Theodore as a liturgical reformist.

divinity and humanity together.<sup>25</sup> In this effort Palestinian traditions were an obvious choice for Theodore, since they had already been doing the same for centuries in order to respond to the Anti-Chalcedonians, as evidenced not least in the catecheses of Dorotheos of Gaza, the collection of whose works was compiled at the Stoudios monastery.<sup>26</sup>

Part of Dorotheos' strategy of combatting the Anti-Chalcedonians included turning to homilies of 4<sup>th</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> century Church fathers. Petrides first noticed that Dorotheos provides a commentary for certain lines of sermons by Gregory Nazianzen being sung as hymns on Pascha.<sup>27</sup> Strunk followed upon and expanded this research,<sup>28</sup> while Detorakis notes that Dorotheos must be grouped among the commentators on the work of Gregory Nazianzen.<sup>29</sup> Towards the end of his collection of *Catecheses*, Dorotheos addresses two questions, both related to texts of Gregory being employed liturgically: on Pascha and on the feast of the Martyrs—taken from *Oration 1, On Pascha*, and *Oration 33, Against the Arians and to himself*, respectively.<sup>30</sup> Of interest here is primarily Gregory's *Oration 1* on Holy Pascha. Certain lines from sections 1 and 4 of *Oration 1* had been incorporated into the liturgical hymnography for the celebration of the resurrection. This is significant for two reasons. First, Dorotheos encourages the practice of incorporating lines from patristic texts into hymnography, as he says it helps the divinely-inspired thoughts of the fathers to take root in the souls of both those who sing and those who listen. Perhaps Dorotheos' action can be taken to imply that patristic texts had been employed for such liturgical purposes on other feast days, as well. Pott has argued that from the 7<sup>th</sup> century onwards Palestinian monks sought to imbue their liturgical hymnography with didactic material, as preaching had become more difficult under Islamic rule.<sup>31</sup> Dorotheos appears to foreshadow this development himself:

“For this reason, brothers, it is good to sing [hymns] from the sermons of the holy god-bearers, since they are always striving to teach us whatever will contribute to the illumination of our souls. And by doing this we are always able to learn from these very words the significance of the feast being celebrated, whether it is a feast

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<sup>25</sup> These themes will be examined in detail in the detailed analysis of Theodore's Or.4, which will follow the critical text below.

<sup>26</sup> Stouraitis (2017) 78–80; Kaklamanos (2018) 211.

<sup>27</sup> Petrides (1904).

<sup>28</sup> Strunk (1955).

<sup>29</sup> Detorakis (2003) 126–127.

<sup>30</sup> It is unclear which feast of 'The Martyrs' he has specifically in mind. However, it should likely be a feast day that occurs after Pascha in the liturgical calendar, since Dorotheos himself mentions his previous explanation of the hymn for Pascha in this *Catechesis*. See Regnault and Prévile (1963) 474.

<sup>31</sup> Pott (2010) 138.

of the Lord or of the holy martyrs, of the fathers or simply whatever holy and special day it may be.”<sup>32</sup>

Second, Gregory’s *Oration* 1 (inc. Αναστάσεως ἡμέρα καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ δεξιὰ, CPG 3010.01) and *Oration* 45 (inc. Ἐπὶ τῆς φυλακῆς μου στήσομαι, CPG 3010.45) were taken up again in the 7<sup>th</sup>–8<sup>th</sup> century hymnographical compositions attributed to John the Damascene for Pascha at the Lavra of St. Savas in the Judaeian desert.<sup>33</sup> More significantly, Gregory’s *Oration* 1 and *Oration* 45—both of which are paschal homilies—appear in Stoudite and Sabaite Typika as readings on Pascha Sunday, together with SermCat, and all three texts are preserved together in numerous manuscripts intended for liturgical use, such as: Baroccianus 199 (10<sup>th</sup> century), Hagiou Saba 1 (10<sup>th</sup> century), Pantokratoros 84 (14<sup>th</sup> century), Baroccianus 197 (1343) and Hagiou Saba 105 (15<sup>th</sup> century).

As noted above, in the Judean desert patristic homilies were being adapted into hymns in order to facilitate the promotion of theological messages under the changed circumstances of Islamic rule. In Constantinople, however, this difficulty did not exist, and so preaching continued largely as before. The above manuscripts listed that preserve both Gregory Nazianzen’s two paschal orations and SermCat perhaps represent an effort that appears to have begun in the 9<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> centuries—most likely post 843—to unite both Chalcedonian theological messages in one and the same book. In other words, evidence cited above reveals that Gregory Nazianzen’s two paschal orations had served the function of preaching the Chalcedonian interpretation of the resurrection by being adapted into hymns. In 9<sup>th</sup> century Constantinople Theodore of Studios turned to SermCat. Manuscripts such as Hagiou Saba 1—and even Vaticanus graecus 2079 (before 868), which preserves SermCat and Gregory Nazianzen’s *Oration* 45—combine these two Chalcedonian messages, one utilized in the Jerusalem patriarchate and the other in Constantinople. Both were employed in the struggle against Anti-Chalcedonians and Iconoclasts. It is into this context that Theodore of Studios’ use of SermCat must be situated.

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<sup>32</sup> Dorotheos of Gaza, *Catecheses* 474: “Διὰ τοῦτο καλόν ἐστιν, ἀδελφοί, τὸ ψάλλειν ἐκ τῶν λόγων τῶν ἁγίων θεοφόρων, ἐπειδὴ πανταχοῦ σπουδάζουσιν αἰεὶ διδάσκειν ἡμᾶς πάντα τὰ συντείνοντα πρὸς φωτισμὸν τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν· ἐν οἷς καὶ πρόκειται ἡμῖν ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν προσφόρων λόγων καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν δύναμιν τῆς ἐπιτελουμένης μνήμης αἰεὶ μαθάνειν, εἴτε Δεσποτικὴ ἐστὶν ἑορτὴ, εἴτε ἁγίων μαρτύρων, εἴτε πατέρων, εἴτε ἀπλῶς οἷα δῆποτε ἁγία καὶ περιφανὴς ἡμέρα.” All translations are my own, unless otherwise noted.

<sup>33</sup> The question of John the Damascene’s authorship of this and other compositions is, of course, under debate. See Louth (2005) for analysis and further bibliography, as well as, more recently, Krueger (2017), both of whom are in favor of the attribution to John the Damascene.

Consequently, with the above in mind, this study is divided into two parts. In the first part are presented all primary manuscript witnesses to the texts in question: SermCat, Or.4, Neophytos' *Catechesis* 12, and any other versions of these texts that have been identified.<sup>34</sup> A stemma will be provided, where necessary, together with detailed descriptions of the manuscripts themselves from paleographical, codicological and philological perspectives. Moreover, critical editions of both SermCat and Or.4—neither of which has ever been edited critically—will complete the first part of this study.

Part 2 presents Chrysostom's reception with a broader-angle view through the 9<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries. As noted above, the two major milestones in the history of SermCat have been set by Theodore of Stoudios and Neophytos Enkleistos. It is, of course, possible that SermCat was perhaps being used before Theodore delivered it in a 9<sup>th</sup> century catechesis, and manuscripts preserve it well after Neophytos' death, sometime after 1214. Nevertheless, the official, universal institution of the text as *the* paschal homily—overtaking *Oration* 1 of Gregory Nazianzen, which was also used in this capacity in monastic communities since at least the 6<sup>th</sup> century, as noted above—appears to have been begun and completed within the space of the 9<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries. For this reason, the second part of this study is devoted to an examination of Chrysostom's reception more broadly conceived during these five centuries. The tradition of SermCat—both its copying and its rise in prominence—did not develop in a vacuum. Byzantine history from Iconoclasm to the Fourth Crusade witnessed various high and low points spiritually, economically, politically and culturally, all of which contributed to the ideologically highly-charged environment that prevailed. It was within this environment that John Chrysostom acquired the official, institutional significance for the Church and the imperial court that he has retained in part to the present day. Therefore, the second part of this study follows the traces from the time of Theodore of Stoudios to that of Neophytos Enkleistos, unravelling the various stages in this process, as well as the role that SermCat played, and thus contributing to a deeper contextualization of the philological analysis presented in Part 1.

This will comprise an examination of how many and various authors approached and employed Chrysostom's oeuvre, certainly including Theodore and Neophytos, but also emperor Leo VI, Theodore Daphnopates, Niketas David Paphlagon, Photios, Arethas, Theophanes Continuatus, John Mauropous, Michael Psellos, the *Synaxarion* of the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis, and many others. This will be a contextualizing examination of the specific details, or steps, in the process of John Chrysostom's rise to prominence in the Middle

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<sup>34</sup> A discussion of editorial technique and methodology is included below.

Byzantine period—during which the liturgy attributed to Chrysostom overtook that of Basil and James in popularity both within and outside of the Byzantine empire. These sources will together present a unified and holistic picture of the development of John Chrysostom's Byzantine reception from Iconoclasm until the Fourth Crusade.

## **PART 1—TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS**

### **INTRODUCTION: EDITORIAL TECHNIQUE AND METHODOLOGY**

In choosing to examine SermCat, I must also address the issues of authorship and authenticity, which relate directly to the editorial technique and methodology adopted in the present study. These former will be presented from both a historical and theoretical point of view. First, I examine previous scholarly work on SermCat and its effects on the way the text has been viewed, an analysis that will then be supplemented by a discussion of current editorial theory and methodology. In his voluminous edition of Chrysostom's corpus of the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, Henry Savile (1549–1622) pronounced SermCat spurious. Unfortunately, he did not elaborate his reasons for doing so. One century later, Bernard de Montfaucon (1655–1741) produced his own multi-volume edition of Chrysostom's works, relying heavily on Savile. It is Montfaucon's edition that is reprinted in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century in *PG*. Montfaucon groups SermCat with seven other paschal sermons, stating that all of them are spurious. Savile also had these seven other texts in his possession, as he makes clear in the margins of his exemplar H (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Auct. E.3.8, f. 569, 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries), noting for all of them, "Ex Ms. Episcopi Philadelphiae." Pierre Nautin, in his critical edition of certain of these other seven homilies, makes clear that this is a reference to Gabriel Seviros (1541–1616), metropolitan of Philadelphia in name, but resident mostly of Venice.<sup>35</sup> Regarding SermCat, in particular, Montfaucon believed it to be of better quality than the seven texts that follow it but nevertheless fragmentary and 'unworthy' of Chrysostom.<sup>36</sup> It is unclear whether he believes its style, quality or length is unworthy of Chrysostom. Savile, again, does not explain his own views. He simply strikes through Chrysostom's name in the title of the text. It is possible that both scholars reached this conclusion based on the fact that they appear to have accessed it through manuscripts that transmitted it together with other texts whose style, vocabulary and thematic content is overtly not that of John Chrysostom.

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<sup>35</sup> Nautin (1950), 23–25, esp. 24, n. 3. Seviros' residence in Venice will become more significant below in Section D in the examination of alternate versions of SermCat.

<sup>36</sup> *PG* 59:721: "In sequentes de Paschate sermone. Qui primus occurrit sermo brevissimus, fragmentum est non Chrysostomo dignum; sed melioris tamen notae, quam sequentes, qui a scriptore non indocto quidem, sed admodum intricato profecti sunt. Septem postea sermone sequuntur ejusdem scriptoris, qui tanta obscuritate praeditus est, quanta gaudet perspicuitate Chrysostomus." However, cf. Baur (1908) 84–88, who argues that neither Savile nor Montfaucon knew Chrysostom's corpus, or his writing style, well enough to judge between authentic and spurious works.

Following upon Montfaucon, a period of scholarly silence has largely prevailed upon this topic. After Savile and Montfaucon, no more multi-volume editions of Chrysostom's oeuvre intending to be comprehensive were published. Thus, attention to a small, seemingly unimportant text such as SermCat has abated.<sup>37</sup> Nevertheless, there have been significant responses to Montfaucon's laconic assessment of the text, often hidden in footnotes to editions of other texts. Two of these are to be found in Angelo Mai's (1782–1854) edition of the works of patriarch Nikephoros I of Constantinople and of Theodore of Stoudios in volume 5 of his *Patrum Nova Bibliotheca* and in Pierre Nautin's critical edition of certain of the seven other paschal homilies with which Montfaucon had grouped SermCat in his edition. First, Mai in 1849 notes in his edition of Theodore of Stoudios' Or.4 the full-length quotation of SermCat and Theodore's attribution of it to Chrysostom. These facts lead him to criticize Montfaucon's haste in recklessly pronouncing spurious a work which he says must now be accepted as genuine, since Theodore of Stoudios judges it to be so.<sup>38</sup> However, both Chrysostom scholars and liturgiologists have largely remained either unaware of Mai's comment or simply ignored it, as SermCat is unfailingly pronounced spurious whenever and wherever it is mentioned.<sup>39</sup>

Second, Pierre Nautin, in tracing the history of the other seven spurious paschal sermons that Montfaucon had grouped with SermCat, notes that SermCat was also included in the manuscript that Gabriel Seviros sent to Savile, as noted above. However, despite Savile's assumption that this common manuscript source constituted proof that all eight homilies were spurious, Nautin notes that SermCat is not contained in any other manuscripts that transmit this particular collection of *pseudo-Chrysostomica*, known as the "Little Trumpets",<sup>40</sup> and that its own tradition is both very rich and completely different from that of the other seven homilies.<sup>41</sup> Again, Nautin's assessment appears not to have garnered much attention, perhaps not least since it constitutes a footnote in an edition to other texts and the study of SermCat itself has barely managed to attract scholarly attention for many centuries.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. for example the extensive chronological list of editions of Chrysostom's works in Baur (1908), in which SermCat does not figure, outside of Savile's and Montfaucon's multi-volume editions of Chrysostom's corpus.

<sup>38</sup> NPB 5.24: "Exstat sequens sermo [sc. SermCat] vel fragmentum in editione maurina [Montfaucon] T. VIII p. 250. Spurium incaute Montfauconius iudicavit; nunc, autem, Studita iudice, inter genuina divi patris poni debet." Mai's note is reprinted, along with his text, in PG 99:709–720.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Bertonière (1972) 94–95; Thomas and Hero (2000) 116 n.8.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. marginal note in top right of MS. Ottobonianus graecus 101 (17<sup>th</sup> century), f. 1r: καλλοῦνται | δὲ σαλί | γγία.

<sup>41</sup> Nautin (1950) 24, n. 3: "Avant les homélies l'édition de Savile et les deux autres portent un court texte intitulé: *Discours catéchétique sur la Pâque*. Ce discours figurait dans la copie envoyée par Sévère à Savile, puisque Savile met en marge la même indication que pour les homélies: *Ex Ms. Epis. Philadelphiae*. Mais il ne se trouve dans aucun des autres témoins de la collection pseudo-Chrysostomienne, à laquelle il n'appartient pas. Sa tradition manuscrite, très riche, est complètement différente de celle des homélies."

Consequently, for over four hundred years as many scholars as have been aware of SermCat have tended to believe and accept that it is indeed a text that wrongly bears the name of John Chrysostom. What is even more significant, though, is that neither those who rejected its authenticity nor those who upheld it have conducted any analysis or examination of the text or its manuscript tradition. Neither Savile nor Montfaucon gives an explanation of his views that can be considered sound and informed according to modern standards, and Mai's assumption that Theodore of Studios must be correct where Montfaucon was wrong is entirely possible, and even plausible, but proven by nothing. Nautin rightly notes the difference in transmission between SermCat and the other seven paschal homilies—which itself was an important step forward—but as SermCat is not his object of investigation, he leaves his inquiry there.<sup>42</sup> I am aware of no studies or analyses of this text attempting to present the available evidence and address the question thoroughly and systematically.

During the four centuries since Savile's edition of SermCat was published, editorial technique itself—and the concept of a critical edition—have also developed in significant ways, and continue to do so up to the present. An unfortunate, common characteristic of all the editions of texts discussed above is the lack of a presentation of editorial technique or methodology adopted. In what has been considered the defining polarizing debate of the field of textual criticism—namely, whether an editor adopts the Lachmannian method of discerning the 'original' text through tracing variants, or the selection of a so-called 'best' manuscript, whose text is then transcribed diplomatically and printed<sup>43</sup>—the editors of the above-mentioned texts all appear to have been generally following editorial technique now subsumed under Karl Lachmann's name, though none of them ever mentions him or their methodology. Even Pierre Nautin, publishing in the series *Sources Chrétiennes* in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, assumed that his methodology for conceiving of a critical edition and producing one from the available manuscript witnesses was essentially self-evident and thus did not warrant much discussion. In the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century this view still lingers to a certain degree.<sup>44</sup> In

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<sup>42</sup> Kaklamanos (2018) 595–597 also shows an awareness of the potentially problematic nature of Savile's and Montfaucon's judgments.

<sup>43</sup> The second of these two approaches is attributed to Bédier by Hult (1991) 117–118. See also Nichols (1990) 5–7. See also below for new approaches, especially in the work of Caroline Macé.

<sup>44</sup> For example, Nathalie Rambault (2013) discusses the manuscript witnesses to Chrysostom's texts on Pascha, the Ascension and Pentecost whose critical edition she publishes, and she engages in a presentation of the patchwork nature of certain of these texts, being essentially amalgams of genuine Chrysostomic material from various sources—thus, perhaps, constituting an entirely new category in the seemingly binary analysis of authenticity and spuriousness. However, despite much recent research on the subject, she appears to take for granted that her methodology for constructing a stemma, evaluating variants and the very nature of the critical edition are common to and agreed upon by all scholars.

its most succinct form, the Lachmannian methodology dictates the collation of all known manuscript witnesses in order to construct a genealogical stemma that should ideally then indicate the best readings in an objective manner, relative to their proximity to the ancient, ‘true’ original text. Bédier, on the other hand, strove to identify the ‘best’ manuscript out of those extant and print its text, with as little editorial intervention as possible.<sup>45</sup> Each of these two opposing poles of textual criticism has its advantages and disadvantages, but neither is able to give a complete answer to the many questions posed by editing hand-copied texts, in particular those that were in high demand and use—and therefore have survived in hundreds of known witnesses with even more variants.

Nevertheless, there have been important advances made in the theory of stemmatology and in the arrangement and purpose of critical editions.<sup>46</sup> First, scholars have consistently attempted to mine advances in digital technologies and even evolutionary biology for new techniques to improve textual criticism. For example, many critical editions are now constructed using computer-based collations and stemmata. Peter Robinson considers such an approach preferable inasmuch as it significantly reduces the editor’s opportunities for error in copying down readings and comparing them. Moreover, a computer-based collation appears to offer the added advantage of avoiding the difficulties of having to choose an appropriate base text by which to compare all manuscript witnesses before having constructed the stemma in the first place.<sup>47</sup> However, this method of reaching the ‘true’ text often proves insufficient for hand-copied texts, and certainly for popular ones, since it is consistently derailed by any more than a slight degree of contamination in the textual tradition. As the 10<sup>th</sup> century anonymous Byzantine schoolmaster makes clear, what we today consider contamination of the tradition was the means by which Byzantine scholars strove to correct the numerous errors in copying, whether intentional or otherwise, that had crept into editions of texts over the centuries.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Hult (1991) 117–118. See also Timpanaro (2005) and Bédier (1929). Nevertheless, Bédier’s approach has by now been relegated to the past.

<sup>46</sup> On all of which see the recently published handbook edited by Roelli (2020), which I was unable to take fully into consideration for the present study, as it was only published after the submission of my thesis. Nevertheless, it gives a fuller treatment of the issues presented here with some of the latest research.

<sup>47</sup> Robinson (1996). In this way one also avoids the logical difficulties of choosing a ‘best’ manuscript to print—whatever that may mean in a given, complex textual tradition.

<sup>48</sup> See Anonymous schoolmaster, *Letters* 88.31–35: “τοσαύτης δεῖσθαι ἀκριβοῦς ἐπιδιρθώσεως, ὡς οὐκ ἐξαρκεῖν παρεντιθέσθαι τούτω καὶ τὸ περιττεῦον ἢ ἄλλοις σημείοις ὀλίγοις ποιεῖν ἐμφανές, ἀλλὰ δι’ ἑτέρας μετεγγραφῆς καὶ ἑτέρας συνεπισκέψεως ἐπικρίνεσθαι· ἵνα τί γένηται; ἵν’ ἕτερος μὲν ὁ Χριστὸς γράψῃ, ἀπαλείψῃ δὲ τὴν προσθήκην ἄλλος τοῦ ἄρθρου, ὁ δὲ μεταβάλῃ τὸ Θεὸς ἀντ’ ἐκείνου;” Cf. Wilson (1996). Photios is accused of forging documents to gain emperor Basil I’s favor: Treadgold (1997) 457 and (2013) 167. In the 14<sup>th</sup> century Nicholas Kavasilas accuses Nikephoros Gregoras of forging passages from works of fathers of the Church in a debate with Gregory Palamas (Garzya (1954) 526.64–65).

Contamination must necessarily be expected in ancient textual traditions; a methodology that cannot function in, or make sense of, its presence will necessarily have limited success.

Within the field of evolutionary biology, philologists have viewed great potential for stemmatology in phylogenetics. Caroline Macé presents the ways in which biologists and philologists have been collaborating for many years in order to improve phylogenetic methods for understanding the evolution both of living beings and ancient texts. The use of phylogenetics, again, presupposes a computer-based approach in order to process the large amounts of necessary data. As Macé outlines, phylogenetics can be fruitfully applied to stemmatology since it shares its base principle with evolutionary biology, namely that all variations in the evolutionary tree can ultimately be traced back to one original source.<sup>49</sup> This is an advanced, more sophisticated application of Robinson's above computer-based collations. Again, here, contamination is problematic. Despite being considered progress in evolutionary biology, Macé notes that in textual criticism an increase in variety or complexity in the tree of origin is viewed negatively inasmuch as it indicates further distance from the 'true' original. However, even beyond contamination, there are two serious problems, which to one degree or another apply to both of these computer-based methods of analysis. The first, in fact, applies more generally to the so-called Lachmannian method of textual criticism. As Macé herself notes, philologists are dependent upon manuscripts as the only remaining evidence of their texts in history.<sup>50</sup> Since each of these texts was made by human hands, it follows that each is unique, even if copied by the same hands. Therefore, when an editor essentially creates a 'hybrid' text, taking what are considered to be the best readings from multiple branches of a tradition and combining them all into one critical text, then first the historical fact of the text's variety is erased from history, without proper consideration for the reasons why such variety exists. Second, the hybrid text, which substitutes for the manuscript's historical existence, generally has no more firm evidence to support it than the editor's own opinion. Finally, the critical text itself constitutes perhaps the most egregious instance of contamination in the textual tradition—a phenomenon that Lachmannian textual criticism considers only distances the reader from the 'true' original text. Such inconsistency between the parameters within which a methodology operates and the result it aims to produce is troubling. If we consider that, in certain ways, ancient texts offer us our most detailed and closest access to societies and cultures of the past, the implications of hybrid-reconstructions or contaminations of the past on

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<sup>49</sup> Macé (2006) 90.

<sup>50</sup> Macé (2006) 94.

such a scale are in fact alarming. Of course, any text must be interpreted, but this method of interpretation seeks to impose normality and uniformity onto a tradition that never possessed such qualities.

Finally, Macé observes that there is no overarching theory by which to explain the evolution of texts entirely.<sup>51</sup> As noted above, evolutionary biology rests on the fundamental principle that change is good and is geared towards helping living beings adapt to their particular circumstances; philologists, on the other hand, have readily disposed of this principle with regard to texts—almost as if ancient texts were not to be read, used or considered significant in ancient societies, as if they were simply for museum displays, to remain just as is, so that we today might enjoy them as well.<sup>52</sup> There is not much room in such methods for the reality of the usages of ancient texts, and as a corollary to this, there is no available explanation for the evolution of a text; philologists following Lachmann and Bédier have no better interpretation for change than variations on a mistake, but this presupposes that all human behavior in copying a text that falls outside of reproducing what the particular modern editor considers to be the ‘true’ original is driven by failure of intention, rather than success. David Hult summarizes this view eloquently, “...we are always safe in ascribing ignorance to the scribe.”<sup>53</sup> This is, admittedly, quite an assumption. Moreover, failure, by definition, cannot be formally theorized in the same way as successful intentions can since there is not the same kind of intentional program being purposely followed. Thus, phylogenetics—a method designed to explain logical, positive changes based on the program of species better adapting to circumstances—runs into a serious logical problem when it is applied to texts in order to interpret what is considered to be an opposite phenomenon, unintentional mistakes and intentional contaminations. Since a copyist’s behavior is not predictable—despite the common assumption that it is based almost exclusively on error—phylogenetics has, in fact, quite limited applications to the development of texts in the ideological battle grounds of Byzantium. In a society where forgeries and alterations of texts were not unusual, an editor today can never be sure how intentional or not a significant textual variant is. A method that cannot comprehend such positive, intentional changes will have great difficulties in offering the results needed.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Macé (2006) 95.

<sup>52</sup> For an interesting presentation of this obsession with monuments from the past and our often unintentional projection of this current obsession, and its demands, onto the past, see Riegl (2003). For an interesting application of these demands projected onto the past, see for example Wilson’s (1996) complaints of Byzantine scholarship on classical texts.

<sup>53</sup> Hult (1991) 117. This does not mean, of course, that scribal error is not a significant contributing factor to variations between manuscripts. Not all scribes were well enough educated to effectively act as editors of the texts they were copying, and thus, simple mistakes must be distinguished from purposeful interventions.

<sup>54</sup> See Grafton (1990).

Since the 1980s, a different current of thought in editing technique has come to respond to many of the above difficulties. New Philology has striven to address the basic contradiction inherent in the concept of the critical edition: to make use of manuscript witnesses, on the one hand, in order to reach back in time as close to the original text as possible, while on the other hand simultaneously taking the textual evidence preserved in each particular witness seriously—when none of these witnesses preserves what the editor considers the ‘true’ original text. In its most basic form New Philology’s objection to Lachmann and Bédier is based on the fact that the critical text published can only definitely be traced back to the mind of the editor, rather than the ancient author, whether as a hybrid construct or as a selection of one single witness, ignoring all others.<sup>55</sup> Moreover, the attempt to impose a rigidity onto the fluidity of the hand-copied text is far more reminiscent of our current age of printing presses, publishing houses and electronic pdf versions of books—absolutely identical in their infinite copies—than it is of a culture dependent upon the human hand to decide whether to copy a text or not, which text to copy and how.<sup>56</sup> This problematic is further enhanced by two additional concepts.

In his 1972 *Essai de poétique médiévale*, Paul Zumthor introduces the critical concept of *mouvance*: the process by which a popular medieval text (usually one written in a vernacular, Western European language in his study) undergoes large amounts of variation from one manuscript witness to the next—a process which Zumthor considers characteristic of, and essential to, a given textual tradition. Far from corruptions of the one ‘true’ original version of the author, these variations are viewed as the various natural and self-evident phases of the refashioning of a text in use.<sup>57</sup> Though this may sound like a threat to the concept of a stable text, which we may all study and make reference to, we must nevertheless keep in mind Andrew Taylor’s observation that medieval manuscripts—far more than current, printed books—are highly dialogic in nature.<sup>58</sup> Roger Chartier phrases it eloquently, “In contrast to the representation of the ideal, abstract text—which is stable because it is detached from all materiality, a representation elaborated by literature itself—it is essential to remember that no

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<sup>55</sup> See Lied and Lundhaug (2017), esp. Lied and Lundhaug “Studying Snapshots: On Manuscript Culture, Textual Fluidity and New Philology”. All of this, of course, is not to say that the editor’s opinion is without value, or should not be offered. After all, any modern editor surely has more evidence of the text available in its rich variety than any previous editor did. However, it is precisely because we have a much fuller picture of the textual variety available to us today that we should make full use of it, instead of only presenting what we deem valuable or significant from a given textual tradition.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Cerquiglini (1989).

<sup>57</sup> Zumthor (1972) 84–106. On this phenomenon in pre-modern texts, see also the recent discussion in Constantinou (2020), especially on page 6, where she argues that the rewriting of texts inherent in Zumthor’s concept of *mouvance*: “is not just the natural consequence of an oral and manuscript culture, but also an essential element of its ideology and aesthetics.”

<sup>58</sup> Taylor (2002) 12.

text exists outside of the support that enables it to be read.”<sup>59</sup> In other words, in the first instance, there can be no SermCat—as there is no *Republic* of Plato or *On the Crown* of Demosthenes—outside of the manuscripts that preserve it, in the first instance.<sup>60</sup> These serve as doors through which we attempt to enter further into the ancient lives of these texts, reaching even to their performance, if possible. After all, the performance of a text—its intentional mode of presentation to the world—is equally as significant as the text’s content.

All of these considerations are converging towards one and the same point of resistance to Lachmann’s and Bédier’s textual criticism: erasing, or undervaluing, all variants to a text that are considered to be useless or irrelevant to establishing the ‘true’ version of the text precludes all human interaction with the text throughout history. In other words, this process precludes intentionality and reception itself—two primary characteristics of human interaction. For example, in his monumental study of Chrysostom in the history of literature, Baur implies that Theodore of Stoudios’ Or.4 is directed against Iconoclasts—a possibility which, especially concerning Theodore, is not surprising. However, it is by no means explicitly stated in the text. Furthermore, he suggests that Theodore made use of Chrysostom’s literary heritage almost exclusively in polemical works against Iconoclasm.<sup>61</sup> The intentionality inherent in Theodore’s handling of SermCat and his particular method of receiving Chrysostom in general are, therefore, highly relevant to numerous of the manuscript witnesses examined below. First and foremost, SermCat is transmitted in collections of Theodore’s *Small Catecheses*. The *Small Catecheses* have been dated to the period 821–826, as opposed to the *Great Catecheses*, all of which precede the Iconoclastic Council of 815. SermCat often opens the collection of *Small Catecheses* as the reading for Pascha Sunday—the day on which the collection is designed to begin being read<sup>62</sup>—and as such, can convincingly be interpreted as Theodore’s response to Second Iconoclasm precisely by highlighting the Chalcedonian Christology inherent in the resurrection, and by implication the incarnation, of Christ, doctrines which formed the basis of Theodore’s three *Polemics against the Iconoclasts*.<sup>63</sup> Moreover, the oldest known extant witness to SermCat—Vaticanus graecus 2079 (before 868)—is believed to have been copied

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<sup>59</sup> Quoted in Taylor (2002) 1.

<sup>60</sup> From the perspective of the transmission history of the text. However, this does not in itself negate the concept of an author’s original and/or authoritative text. SermCat, for example, could potentially be the work of John Chrysostom, as are many other texts, and yet still would only reach us through the medium of the manuscript. From this perspective, the author’s (Chrysostom’s) original text would exist but readers would only approach it through the material that, more or less faithfully, preserves it.

<sup>61</sup> Baur (1908) 21.

<sup>62</sup> Kaklamanos (2018) 205 and Leroy (2008) 219.

<sup>63</sup> On Theodore’s use of Chalcedonian theology in his *Polemics*, see Parry (2018), who also suggests that Theodore wrote the *Polemics* near the same period that I suggest he delivered Or.4.

by Theodore's successor, Nicholas the Stoudite (793–868), at the Monastery of Stoudios.<sup>64</sup> As we will see below, this panegyrikon also openly manifests its Chalcedonian theological intentionality and reception of 4<sup>th</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> century Byzantine Church fathers, two facts which, if ignored, could skew the evaluation of the variants offered by this manuscript and others that follow it.

In this particular connection, Samuel Rubenson has recently argued that, especially in early monastic textual traditions, the usefulness of a text was considered a far more important criterion than its faithfulness to a supposed original; in this sense, each witness to the text— theoretically copied by a different scribe under different conditions—is a unique edition of the text.<sup>65</sup> In the case of Theodore and Or.4, such an argument could mean that if SermCat provided Theodore with the theological support he needed to fight Iconoclasm, then his primary concern would not have been to question whether John Chrysostom actually authored the text or not. Rather, finding SermCat to promote Chalcedonian Orthodoxy, it would have only seemed natural to Theodore that Chrysostom must indeed have been the author.

Rubenson, for his part, sees in this textual fluidity traces of the various uses to which a given text was put over the course of centuries, and this is certainly not evidence to be relegated to the category of 'useless and/or irrelevant for the reconstruction of the text'. After all, it is these very communities who used SermCat and many other texts for specific purposes that have preserved them for us today. We cannot excerpt the products of their literary traditions from all context. Such an approach to the NT was popular enough among Protestant theologians to induce the beginnings of what is now called textual criticism—the hope of reaching the 'true', original text by circumventing the tradition that produced and preserved it. Indeed, these convictions were so powerful that, when he discovered how unfounded they are in textual reality, Bart Ehrman coined the phrase 'the Orthodox corruption of Scripture.'<sup>66</sup> The

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<sup>64</sup> See below, Section A.

<sup>65</sup> Rubenson (2017) 179: "...usefulness was more important than faithfulness." For a view that had already taken this supposition to further logical ends, see Ehrman (1996).

<sup>66</sup> Ehrman (1996). To this one might juxtapose the fact that the Byzantines had no set text, or officially sanctioned and recognized edition of the NT. Cf. Rapp and Külzer (2019) 8: "The living liturgical tradition continues to shape the reception of the NT in the Orthodox Church to the present day. Viewed from this angle, what may come as a surprise to the scholar in search of the *Urtext* is perfectly understandable for the church-going believer: there exists to date no authoritative text of the NT in the Greek Orthodox Tradition....[Karl Klimmeck] points out that in the Orthodox tradition, the Bible acquires life, meaning and significance as it is embedded in the divine mystery which is the liturgy." and Krueger and Nelson (2016) 1: "This volume of essays about the NT in Byzantium works against the simple notion of the Bible as a single text, a bound book, a fixed document, and an artifact widely available to all—the consequence of printing and the Protestant reformation. Instead, it examines diverse aspects of the Greek NT in the Middle Ages, considers the variety of its written forms both as continuous text and as apportioned for liturgical use, and explores its oral and visual transmission and impact through sermons, hymns, icons, and mosaics. Byzantines seldom encountered the text of the Bible as a whole, but rather in manuscripts that divided scripture into smaller units, combined at times with other contents, so that the sum of the parts was greater

basic logical problem remains that, in order to achieve this end, we must presuppose the existence of a text for which we have no historical proof (the ‘true’ original, which in the overwhelming majority of cases is nowhere preserved—and where it is preserved, in autograph manuscripts, often the author has made alterations to the text that are transmitted into the subsequent manuscript tradition with varying degrees of success, thus begging the question: which of the author’s versions is the more ‘true’ or original; where does the preponderance of intentionality lie?). In this way, we end up working backwards to prove our own pre-conceived notions that are not supported by historical facts, namely the manuscripts themselves. Such a platonic preference for the immutable ‘idea’ of a given text, as opposed to its material existence in manuscripts, is untenable for objects made by human hands and minds. Human beings always have intentions and specific circumstances, neither of which can be ignored in evaluating their production. If human intention is not ignored in archaeology or the study of material culture, why should it be in studying manuscripts, which are nothing less than highly significant representatives of Byzantine material culture?

Therefore, in response to the above, for the present edition I have adopted the following approach. I have collated by hand the 153 manuscripts known to preserve SermCat in one version or another.<sup>67</sup> I do not mean to suggest that my hand-made collations surpass the sophistication or accuracy that a computer could have brought to bear on the effort. However, I do believe that I have developed a deeper acquaintance with the textual tradition and its many variations through the long hours of reading and re-reading, copying and re-copying that these collations required. I would certainly be less familiar today with SermCat’s various variations had I left the task of comparison to a computer. These collations were all made against a base text, which I took from *PG* 59:721–724, a reprint of Montfaucon’s edition. I chose *PG*’s text, not because it is the most ‘original’, but because it is the latest printed edition, to which all

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than the whole. The early modern print revolution transformed the Bible fundamentally, and in the opinion of most people positively, but it also froze the Bible in time, cut it off from lived tradition, and turned it into a dead artifact. Byzantium’s Bible was a Bible before print, a Bible so diverse, multifarious, multitudinous, that it cannot be easily imagined, explained, or encapsulated by one accounting.” These two more nuanced and sophisticated approaches to a text of such great importance to Byzantium’s spiritual and cultural life point the way to approaching SermCat successfully, as well. To this day the Bible and SermCat remain the only non-hymnographical texts included in the liturgical service books of the Orthodox Church, such was the popularity of both. Both the Bible and SermCat were produced by a society in flux—and in constant dialogue with itself and its past.

<sup>67</sup> This number only represents Greek manuscripts. It does not include various 12<sup>th</sup> century translations into Arabic, Slavic or Georgian that I have located. As the Greek manuscripts are already so numerous, I decided to focus exclusively on them for the present study. Nevertheless, I thank Jaakko Hameen-Anttila, Shota Matitashvili and Georgi Parpulov for guidance, suggestions and help comparing the texts of these translations to the printed Greek edition of *PG*. This number also does not include the twenty-seven Greek manuscripts that I was unable to consult, for which see Appendix.

scholarly references to SermCat have been made since its printing. In other words, to the degree to which scholars are aware of SermCat, they have likely studied it from Montfaucon's text in *PG*. It is also the text that has been included in the TLG. Moreover, as it happens, this is a text that can be traced back at least to the 12<sup>th</sup> century in a manuscript now held in Oxford's Bodleian Library, Roe 6, as we will see below, and it is well represented in the following centuries.

Regarding stemmatological methodology, SermCat is an easy case for many reasons. First, it is a short text. No matter how one divides its lines, it can easily fit onto one side of one page. Moreover, the text follows a tight, logically delineated structure, with many repetitive parallel phrases. These facts seem to have favored variations in the text that would traditionally be considered significant; in other words, most of the variations one finds involve omitting certain lines in a repetitive parallel syntax, adding in certain lines—even attaching entirely separate homilies, or material from separate homilies. Following the traces of such variation has made it easy to discern which manuscripts are closely related since these variations have the tendency to cluster. Thus, I argue that from the available manuscript evidence, five textual families in SermCat's direct tradition can be confidently distinguished, while for Or.4 I discern three families. The detailed arguments for these distinctions are presented in the descriptions of the primary manuscript witnesses.<sup>68</sup> The stemma I have constructed is included below. For each of the two texts, SermCat and Or.4, the stemma only includes the earliest manuscripts that introduce the variants that are then followed by the rest of the tradition.

The texts of each branch of each textual tradition are then presented all together in synoptic fashion, each with a critical apparatus that displays the variations within a given family of manuscripts. As Neophytos Enkleistos' *Catechesis* 12 already has a critical edition, I have used this for my work on his text. Finally, I have offered my own opinion in the form of a critical text for both SermCat and Or.4 after the synoptic presentations of their traditions. Of course, I do not believe that editors' opinions are without value. Rather I believe that they should be balanced by the opinions of the texts' other, ancient editors, the scribes who preserved the text. Each editor of an ancient text today enters into the tradition and labor of others; we ourselves did not sow the seeds—others have done that, but we reap the harvest. So, we have entered into their labor. For this reason, I think it fair that each editor's version be presented, and each reader can then form his or her own informed opinion. In this way, perhaps

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<sup>68</sup> Here is also an ideal place to note my indebtedness to Martin West's (1974) concise handbook of textual criticism, which has facilitated the construction of both stemmata.

we will regain some of the dialogic nature of the manuscripts, which Taylor highlights in great detail.<sup>69</sup> I must say that I am fortunate to have had the luxury of adopting such a method for SermCat. For longer texts, with more complex traditions, the above approach may well not be suitable. It was feasible here, and I am happy to be able to open the door to the textual tradition of roughly a millennium to each reader.

Finally, all of the above begs one last question: that of authenticity. Taking Lachmann, Bédier, phylogenetics, *mouvance*, and Orthodox textual ‘corruptions’ into account, where does authenticity fit in this picture? What role can it play? As we saw above, scholars of Chrysostom’s writings have historically adopted the common, essentially binary approach to authenticity that includes genuine and spurious writings. There is also the category of dubious writings, but in the attempt to discuss a person’s thought and contribution to controversy, a dubious work is hardly better than a spurious one, in the same way that dubious arguments are not likely to convince. At a certain level, this makes sense; either Chrysostom wrote the text or he did not. The basic and simple certainty implied here serves to reinforce the idea of the ‘true’ original text discussed above. Such binary opinions are frequently based on questions of the text’s style.<sup>70</sup> Once again, computers can offer significant assistance in this area. The TLG project gives an editor today enormous advantages in the effort to uncover indirect textual traditions, borrowings from other texts and stylistic similarities.<sup>71</sup>

Stylometry, and especially the study of N-grams, has also contributed a great deal to analysis of style, especially in evaluating a particular author’s style,<sup>72</sup> and the TLG now includes an N-gram analysis option. What emerges from an N-gram analysis of SermCat is that its author employed good Atticizing Greek vocabulary that consistently appears in classical authors, though in entirely different contexts. Out of all the results of comparison, only three texts consistently display connections in content: SermCat itself, Neophytos Enkleistos’ *Catechesis* 12 and Goar’s *Εὐχολόγιον* of 1730, which included the text of SermCat for the

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<sup>69</sup> Taylor (2002) 12.

<sup>70</sup> Montfaucon used such criteria, and they are still popular today. See Voicu (2008).

<sup>71</sup> As does the format that Theodora Antonopoulou has adopted in her (2008) critical edition of the homilies of Leo VI. Whatever Leo has drawn from other sources is distinguished from his own material, which is printed in bold in the text.

<sup>72</sup> For a brief introduction to N-grams and their use, see Cavnar and Trenkle (1994), available here: <http://odur.let.rug.nl/vannoord/TextCat/textcat.pdf> (accessed 27.12.18). For the application of N-gram study to the question of authenticity see Oakes (2014). In particular, Oakes refers to the intriguing example of email in determining authenticity (ix). Either a given message is written by the person it purports to have written it, or it is not. Such a challenge to New Philology’s insistence on textual fluidity cannot be lightly dismissed, but as we will see, there is yet more complexity to be uncovered in the transmission of ancient texts. If SermCat were transmitted by email, many currently open questions would undoubtedly be answered.

paschal service.<sup>73</sup> However, even though the content of SermCat is not mirrored in other works, it is important to note that its vocabulary generally is most commonly similar to other authors of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, John Chrysostom being first among them. Many combinations, such as εὐσεβῆς καὶ φιλόθεος, φιλότιμος ὁ δεσπότης, εἰσέλθῃτε πάντες εἰς τὴν χαρὰν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν, προλαβὼν ὁ Ἡσαΐας ἐβόησεν (as well as many others) appear almost exclusively in texts dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> century. The authors that consistently come up in comparison are John Chrysostom, Basil of Caesarea, Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory of Nyssa, Athanasios of Alexandria and Cyril of Alexandria—the first three being the most common, and Chrysostom himself the most frequent among them. This is significant for many reasons.

First, despite the doubts cast on the text, its vocabulary and style appear to betray its 4<sup>th</sup> century authorship in general, with a strong inclination towards the texts of John Chrysostom. This by itself does not prove authorship.<sup>74</sup> Nathalie Rambault has done much work to highlight the phenomenon of constructing texts from pieces of Chrysostom's genuine writings, thus producing an entirely new text that was never authored as is by Chrysostom himself but bears all the characteristics of one of his writings.<sup>75</sup> Nevertheless, a necessary feature of such compilations is that they contain passages taken almost verbatim from Chrysostom's other writings. This is not the case for SermCat; it does display similarity of vocabulary and style—and some of its expressions appear in many of Chrysostom's other texts—but it is certainly not a case of compilation from other, unrelated genuine works. This leaves us the possibilities that will be explored in the analysis below: SermCat may have been written by Chrysostom or it may not; it could have been written by someone else in order to sound like Chrysostom so that its message would attract more attention and have greater prestige, if it was truly intended to fight the Iconoclasts as Baur believed.<sup>76</sup> What is most likely for this, as for many other texts, is that conclusive 'concrete' evidence for or against Chrysostom's authorship will never be found, and each reader will be left to form his or her own educated opinion from the evidence

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<sup>73</sup> It seems that Theodore's Or.4 is not included in the TLG.

<sup>74</sup> It is difficult to imagine what would prove authorship. Stylistic similarities are often taken as proof of authorship, but in a society so concerned with imitating the style of accepted authorities, this criterion does not convince me. Nevertheless, we should keep in mind—as we will see in greater detail in the conclusions below—that there is no less evidence in favor of SermCat's genuine authorship by Chrysostom than there is for any of his other texts that have never been suspect, such as *Against the Opponents of the Monastic Life*, the series *On the Incomprehensibility of God* or even his *Commentary on Matthew* or other books of the NT. Naturally, Greek texts by well-known and educated authors were often eponymous, a condition which acted as a stabilizing factor in their textual traditions. Thus, the point here is not to cast doubt on the authorship of John Chrysostom's scriptural commentaries.

<sup>75</sup> See Rambault (2013), (2014).

<sup>76</sup> Baur (1908) 21.

available.<sup>77</sup> This is, indeed, the situation for the vast majority of Chrysostom's writings that are commonly accepted as genuine; there is not much external testimony verifying his authorship. Usually, there is not much more to vouch for their genuineness than similarity to other writings, such as his NT commentaries, that have always been accepted as his (as they should be).<sup>78</sup> The question of authenticity is a difficult and complex one that, the further we follow its line of thought, the more potential it has to leave us with fewer rather than more answers regarding what we have always considered that we knew for sure.

Nevertheless, the opinions of Savile and Montfaucon have been taken at face-value for so long by so many that it has simply become 'common knowledge' that SermCat is spurious, despite the fact that over a century has passed since Baur disparaged both of their judgments on authenticity of various works ascribed to Chrysostom.<sup>79</sup> It is for this reason that the questions of authorship and authenticity must also be addressed in the present study, for the first time presenting the available evidence systematically in order that what conclusions are possible may be reached. Neither the text's authorship nor its authenticity will play a significant role in the analysis of Chrysostom's Byzantine reception simply because I am aware of no evidence that any Byzantines ever questioned the text's authorship or authenticity.<sup>80</sup> Rather, the discussion of authenticity will address more modern philological concerns, in this way complementing the presentation of Chrysostom's reception in 9<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> century Byzantium. As Daniel Galadza has noted in the conclusion to his recent study on byzantinization of the liturgy in Jerusalem, new answers to old questions will come from studying "those texts known for centuries, but never closely examined."<sup>81</sup> SermCat definitely fits this description, and I believe the following analysis has much to contribute to numerous old questions relating to Byzantine liturgical practices, monastic literature from the 4<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries and, of course, John Chrysostom's reception in the Middle Byzantine period. Therefore, in this first part we will examine the major manuscript witnesses to SermCat, Or.4, Neophytos' *Catechesis* 12 and any

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<sup>77</sup> For an intriguing discussion of the possibilities of authorship and how non-authentic attributions develop, though focusing on devotional poetry, see Lauxtermann (2014).

<sup>78</sup> In this connection, see also the fascinating, short treatise attributed to Cyril bishop of Kyzikos in MS. Megistis Lavras K 41 (18<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 26v–27r. Edition and discussion in Lackner (1984).

<sup>79</sup> Baur (1908) 84–88.

<sup>80</sup> In fact, what little evidence does survive suggests quite the opposite. Gregory Akindynos makes reference to SermCat in *Oration* 2 (9.26) of his *Refutatio Magna* of Palamas' dialogue between an Orthodox Christian and a follower of Varlaam. Akindynos references Chrysostom's teaching that the kingdom of heaven is Christ's resurrection, and to prove this he cites from Chrysostom's *Homily 58 On Matthew* and SermCat. Thus, it seems clear that throughout the span of the Byzantine empire—and indeed up to the present day among Orthodox Christians—SermCat's authenticity was considered to be as definite as that of the *Commentary On Matthew*.

<sup>81</sup> Galadza (2017) 353.

differing versions of these that have been identified.<sup>82</sup> The timeframe that we must take into account in this examination is that of the manuscripts, which are extant from the 9<sup>th</sup> to the 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. The sigla below are listed in the order in which the witnesses are described.

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<sup>82</sup> Only those manuscripts whose readings contribute to the distinction in textual families, and thus construction of the stemma, will be presented. All of the rest are not presented, though a complete list of manuscripts collated is provided in Appendix 1.

## Sigla

*Sermo Catecheticus in sanctum Pascha*

- N Roe 6 (12<sup>th</sup> century)  
 V Vaticanus graecus 2079 (9<sup>th</sup> century)  
 P Laurentianus Plutei 9.22 (974)  
 G Vaticanus graecus 1633 (10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> centuries)  
 O Ottobonianus graecus 14 (10<sup>th</sup> century)  
 B Baroccianus 199 (10<sup>th</sup> century)  
 S Parisinus supplementum graecum 1386 (1075)  
 C Coislinianus 271 (11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> centuries)  
 M Marcianus graecus II 42 (13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries)  
 K Pantokratoros 26 (11<sup>th</sup> century)  
 A Vaticanus graecus 2013 (9<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> centuries)  
 T Trinity College 185 (c. 1020)  
 R Cromwell 23 (1064–5)

*Oratio 4 In sanctum Pascha*

- D Vaticanus graecus 1587 (1389)  
 E Baroccianus 197 (1343)  
 F Timiou Stavrou 92 (1581)  
 J Biblioteca Estense Universitaria A.s.5.7 (1540)  
 L Vaticanus graecus 1517 (1585)

*Catechesis 12*

- Q Parisinus supplementum graecum 1317 (c. 1214)

Alternate Versions of *Sermo Catecheticus*

- Y Vaticanus graecus 2194 (14<sup>th</sup> century)  
 Z Vaticanus graecus 1936 (16<sup>th</sup> century)

## SECTION A—(PS.)CHRYSOSTOM’S *SERMO CATECHETICUS IN SANCTUM PASCHA*

### I. PRIMARY MANUSCRIPT WITNESSES

#### FIRST MANUSCRIPT FAMILY: δ

##### **N Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Roe 6 (12<sup>th</sup> century)**

Catalogues and Reproductions: Hutter (1977); Carr (1982);

[https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/manuscript\\_8805](https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/manuscript_8805) (with digital photos of manuscript); Pinakes diktyon #48389

Parchment. 200x140 mm. 187 folia, one column of text with 30 lines per page. Script: slightly less florid Cypriote carrée. Ruling: 32C1.<sup>83</sup> This is a collection of homilies of Gregory Nazianzen, each accompanied by an illumination that depicts the theme of each particular text. However, preceding all of Gregory’s homilies is *SermCat*, with its own illumination, therefore being the first in the codex. Nevertheless, it is an integral part of the codex, not a later addition. Its accompanying image depicts a figure seated, slightly bent over and writing on a scroll. The face has been badly damaged, and there is no visible written indication of who the figure is. Carr has identified the figure as Gregory Nazianzen.<sup>84</sup> However, upon close inspection one can discern with difficulty that the text of the scroll being written reads: Εἴ τις εὐσεβῆς καὶ φιλόθεος, ἀπολαβέτω. This is from the first line of *SermCat*, and the text itself, which begins on the facing recto, is attributed to John Chrysostom. Nevertheless, Hutter has noted that the scroll’s text is a palimpsest, which originally contained the first lines of Gregory Nazianzen’s *Oration 1* on Pascha, thus reinforcing Carr’s identification.<sup>85</sup>

Underneath the image is a dedicatory inscription by the donor of the Roe manuscripts, Thomas Roe (1581–1644): “Thomas Roe Eques aurat(us), et Seren.(issi)mi magna Britan | nia & c<sup>k</sup>. regis, apud Turcarum Imperatorem Orator, in gratitudinis suae erga Matrem Academ(iam) perpetu | um testimonium, hunc librum, quem ex Oriente secum | aduexit, pub(licae) Bibliothecae. D.D. 1628. /” Roe was ambassador to the Ottoman Empire from 1621–1628, during which time he acquired this and many other Greek manuscripts. He is known to

<sup>83</sup> Leroy (1967) 12. For rulings, I have cited Leroy. For equivalents of his classifications with others, see: <http://www.palaeographia.org/muzerelle/grecs1.htm>.

<sup>84</sup> Carr (1982) 77.

<sup>85</sup> Hutter (1977) 53: “Diese Legende ist ein Palimpsest: Ursprünglich stand auf dem Blatt der Beginn der 1. Osterhomilie Gregors...”

have had friendly relations with the patriarch of Constantinople, Cyril III Loukaris (1620–1638), whom he helped restore to the patriarchal throne<sup>86</sup> and on whose behalf he also presented the Codex Alexandrinus to Charles I in 1627.<sup>87</sup>

The Bodleian Library’s catalogue entry for Roe 6 dates it to the 13<sup>th</sup> century, citing its possible provenance as Nikaia. However, in an extensive study of this and other similar manuscripts, Carr has argued that Roe 6 is related to the Chicago subgroup of manuscripts of the more general decorative style manuscripts. She dates this subgroup to the 12<sup>th</sup> century, and indicates that its provenance spread from Cyprus to Palestine and Syria, the manuscripts themselves thus being “Levantine in general, with a focal point in Palestine or Cyprus.”<sup>88</sup> This is significant since, as noted above, Theodore of Stoudios may have drawn on Palestinian liturgical practices in the 9<sup>th</sup> century, or he may have influenced them himself, and as will be presented below, Neophytos Enkleistos did the same in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Moreover, if this manuscript originated from Cyprus in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, then it is worth noting that its text differs markedly from that of Neophytos’ *Catechesis* 12 in the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

The text preserved in Roe 6 is striking for its similarity to the printed edition of *PG*. In only two places does it vary from Montfaucon’s text—and these two differentiations from Montfaucon are by far the most common in the entire tradition, represented almost unanimously by all 153 manuscripts collated. They are as follows:

*PG*:<sup>89</sup> Ὁ ἄδης, φησίν, ἐπικράνθη. Συναντήσας σοι κάτω ἐπικράνθη· καὶ γὰρ καθηρέθη] N (TC): ὁ ἄδης φησὶν ἐπικράνθη, συναντήσας σοι κάτω· ἐπικράνθη. καὶ γὰρ ἐνεκρώθη· ἐπικράνθη, καὶ γὰρ καθηρέθη.

*PG*: ἀνέστη Χριστός, καὶ χαίρουσιν ἄγγελοι· ἀνέστη Χριστός, καὶ νεκρὸς οὐδεὶς ἐπὶ μνήματος] N (TC): ἀνέστη Χριστός, καὶ χαίρουσιν ἄγγελοι· ἀνέστη Χριστός, καὶ ζῶν πολυτεύεται· ἀνέστη Χριστός, καὶ νεκρὸς οὐδεὶς ἐπὶ μνήματος.

<sup>86</sup> Karambelias (2018) 93–94 and n. 200.

<sup>87</sup> Karambelias (2018) 89; McKendrick and O’Sullivan (2003) 1. Cyril was considered a great ally by the English in the resistance to the influence of the Jesuits.

<sup>88</sup> Carr (1982) 65–66.

<sup>89</sup> Normally, the text of the manuscripts will be compared to the critical edition—indicated by the abbreviation TC for *textus criticus*—except in cases like this where the manuscript’s version is that adopted in the critical text. In these cases, the manuscript’s text is compared to that of *PG* to highlight the difference between the manuscript and Montfaucon’s printed edition. However, for variants among manuscripts within a given branch of the textual tradition, the readings of the derivative witnesses are compared to the witness from which I believe they derive. For example, variants in Laurentianus Plutei 9.22 (974) are compared to readings from Vaticanus graecus 2079 (before 868), as will be seen below.

This text is further represented in many other, later manuscripts, and in fact, by the 14<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> centuries, it begins to hold sway in the textual tradition generally. It is likely due to this that Montfaucon’s printed edition so closely resembles the text of Roe 6.

## SECOND MANUSCRIPT FAMILY: ω (V)

### **V Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS. Vaticanus graecus 2079 (before 868)**

Catalogues and Reproductions: CCG VI, 245;

<https://digi.vatlib.it/mss/detail/Vat.gr.2079> (with digital photos of manuscript); Pinakes diktyon #68709

Parchment. 205x140 mm. 156 folia, one column of text with 20 lines per page. Scribe: Nicholas Stoudite. Script: minuscola antica rotunda.<sup>90</sup> Ruling: 10A1n.<sup>91</sup> With the earliest extant codex, Vaticanus graecus 2079 (before 868), we begin the second branch of the textual tradition. The manuscript was copied by Nicholas the Stoudite, scribe of the Uspensky Gospels.<sup>92</sup> The codex contains: homilies attributed to Proklos of Constantinople (3),<sup>93</sup> Amphilochios of Iconium (1), Gregory Nazianzen (6), John Chrysostom (6), Basil of Seleucia (1), Leontios the presbyter of Constantinople (1), Theodore of Stoudios (1), Andrew of Crete (1), Menander Protector (1) and Gregory of Antioch (1), as well as one hagiographical text on the Annunciation.<sup>94</sup> Ehrhard identifies the manuscript as a panegyrikon for the entire Church year, Type C, comparing it to two manuscripts held today in Oxford, New College 82 (11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> centuries) and Bodleian Clarke 50 (12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries). On the basis of this comparison, he reaches the conclusion that the first text in the codex today, (CPG 2084) on the Annunciation, was originally the eighth text. He reconstitutes the original first seven texts, working backwards, as follows: texts 5–7 each covered one of the first three days of Holy Week; texts 3–4 addressed Palm Sunday; and texts 1–2 both concerned the Annunciation.<sup>95</sup> The homilies are mostly numbered, though the numbering is not consistently in order until after Gregory Nazianzen’s *Oration* 41 on Pentecost,

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<sup>90</sup> Follieri (1997) 211.

<sup>91</sup> Leroy (1967) 3.

<sup>92</sup> CCG VI, 245. Cf. Eleopoulos (1967) 39–41, who dates the manuscript to the 10<sup>th</sup> century. He does not address the similarities in hand between this and the Uspensky Gospels, particularly: φ, λ, τ, β, ει, αγγ, εγγε.

<sup>93</sup> The numbers in parentheses following authors’ names give the number of texts attributed to a given author in the codex.

<sup>94</sup> <http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/68709/> (accessed 10.10.18).

<sup>95</sup> Ehrhard (1936) I.227–230.

numbered 20<sup>th</sup> in the codex (ff. 77v–88v). Quires are marked by two small crosses in the upper left and right margins of each eighth recto, beginning with what is today f. 1r. However, the marking is not consistent throughout the codex. In some cases, this appears to indicate that folia have been added later; for example, beginning on f. 8r, we are presented with a text of John Chrysostom *In quatruiduanum Lazarum et contra Anomoeos* 9 (CPG 4322). The parchment is of a different type, as is the ink and the hand that copied it. Voicu dates ff. 8–9 to the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>96</sup> Moreover, many texts are not consistently copied from beginning to end. For example, the Chrysostom homily noted above beginning on f. 8r ends abruptly on f. 8v, while the (ps.)Chrysostomic *In Latronem* (CPG 4604, Aldama 561) continues mid-sentence from f. 9r–11v. The text beginning on f. 12r, is Leontios the presbyter of Constantinople’s *In uxorem Iob et in proditionem Iudae* (CPG 7895). It continues until f. 16v. On f. 17r picks up a homily by Gregory of Antioch *Homilia in mulieres unguentiferas* (CPG 7384) until f. 18v, at which point the text concludes.

The codex has been rebound since being copied—perhaps at the same time as certain folia were added and/or removed. There are marginal scholia on ff. 20v and 32r that have been cut off in the rebinding process. The codex generally avoids the use of decoration and color, except in two instances. On f. 47r, just before the beginning of SermCat, red ink is used in a marginal rubric to indicate when the text is to be read, i.e. on Pascha, and on f. 122r green ink has been used for a title and initial capital of the text. There is no colophon; the manuscript ends abruptly mid-sentence on f. 156v, 9 ff. into Gregory Nazianzen’s *Oration* 39 on Theophany. The text of SermCat (ff. 47v–48v) is immediately preceded by the two paschal homilies of Gregory Nazianzen: *inc.* Αναστάσεως ἡμέρα καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ δεξιά (*Or.* 1, ff. 18v–21v) and *inc.* Ἐπὶ τῆς φυλακῆς μου στήσομαι (*Or.* 45, ff. 21v–47r). SermCat is followed by another text of Gregory Nazianzen, *inc.* Ἐγκαίνια τιμᾶσθαι παλαιὸς νόμος (*Or.* 44, ff. 50r–58v).<sup>97</sup> Finally, as noted above, this codex bears visible traces of the theological intentions behind its composition. In the margins, one reads scholia on ff. 25v and 83v that refer the reader to the Fourth Ecumenical Council in Chalcedon (451) and the orthodox definition that resulted from it.<sup>98</sup>

<sup>96</sup> CCG VI, 245.

<sup>97</sup> In between the end of SermCat on f. 48v and the beginning of Gregory’s *Oration* 44 on f. 50r, there is one folio containing on both recto and verso a fragment of Gregory Nazianzen’s *Oration* 39 on the subject of Theophany (*inc.* Πάλιν Ἰησοῦς ὁ ἐμός).

<sup>98</sup> f. 25v (Gregory Nazianzen, *Or.* 45): ἴδου καὶ ἐνταυθ(α) | μιαν φύσιν κα | τηγορεῖ παντ(ων) | τῶν λογηκῶν. f. 83v (Gregory Nazianzen, *Or.* 41): [ἀ]ριανοὶ καὶ | εὐνομια | νοί.

The text of SermCat transmitted in this manuscript bears none of the characteristic interpolations that occur later in the tradition.<sup>99</sup> That being said, Vaticanus graecus 2079 does offer us clear indications of its errors in copying from its own prototype. For example, on f. 47v l. 15 the scribe has mistakenly copied ἐνδεκάτην instead of ἐννάτην. L. 17 is the proper place for ἐνδεκάτην. Moreover, on f. 48v, l. 13 we read ἔπαθεν instead of πέπτωκεν.<sup>100</sup> No other manuscript transmits these two particular errors of Vaticanus graecus 2079.

The text is attributed to John Chrysostom, as it will be in all but two manuscripts. Certain of Vaticanus graecus 2079's characteristic variants are:

TC: ἀπολαβέτω] V: ἀπολάβει

PG: εἴ τις μετὰ τὴν ἕκτην ἔφθασε] V (TC): εἴ τις περὶ τὴν ἕκτην ἐφάνη

TC: ἀμφιβαλέτω] V: ἀμφιβάλῃ

TC: προσελθέτω] V: προσέλθῃ

PG: Φιλότιμος γὰρ ὢν ὁ δεσπότης] V (TC): φιλότιμος ὁ φιλόανθρωπος

V: post χαρίζεται]καὶ τὰ ἔργα δέχεται καὶ τὴν γνώμην ἀσπάζεται add. cod.

V: post κάτω]ἐπικράνθη γὰρ καὶ ἐνεκρώθη add. cod.

TC: πέπτωκεν] V: ἔπαθεν

V (TC): post ἄγγελοι]ἀνέστη Χριστὸς καὶ ζωὴ πολιτεύεται add. cod.

**P Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurentiana, MS. Laurentianus Plutei 9.22 (974)**

Catalogues and Reproductions: <http://teca.bmlonline.it/TecaRicerca/index.jsp>

(digital photos available); Pinakes diktyon #16110

Parchment. 325x235 mm. 201 folia, two columns of text with 30 lines per column (ff. 196v–201v, containing some *Letters* of Chrysostom, appear to be a later addition to the codex, written in a different hand in two columns with 51 lines per column; 2 flyleaves before the table of contents also contain *Letters*, written in same hand as others, one column of text with 41 lines). Script: Minuscola libraria. Ruling: 00D2.<sup>101</sup> Laurentianus Plutei 9.22 (974) is a dated collection of works of John Chrysostom. It was copied by Basileios the calligrapher on 13 May

<sup>99</sup> These will be discussed in detail, as they appear, below in connection with the manuscripts that contain them.

<sup>100</sup> This variant could have been present in Vaticanus graecus 2079's prototype, and even earlier in the tradition, if one supposes that it may have acted as an influence on Romanos Melodos' *Hymn 42 On the Resurrection*.

<sup>101</sup> Leroy (1967) 1.

974.<sup>102</sup> Contents generally match the 13 works of Chrysostom listed in the table of contents on f. 2r, except for the *Letters* of Chrysostom added on flyleaves to the beginning and end of the codex, and for the homily of (ps.)Epiphanius of Cyprus *In Divini Corporis Sepulturam* (CPG 3768). Bernardinello argues that the manuscript was produced in the so-called Scriptorium of Ephraim in Constantinople.<sup>103</sup>

Decoration is minimal throughout the manuscript; it is limited to rare initial capitals and title bands. Colors employed most frequently are red and blue, with instances of green (ff. 52r, 119r). The first title has a colorful band and an initial capital in red and blue ink with a hand giving a blessing, reminiscent of decorations found in Greek manuscripts of Southern Italian provenance.<sup>104</sup> However, the remaining titles in the manuscript are mostly lacking in color, and most initial capitals are simply letters, as opposed to figures, hands or animals in the shape of letters. Quires are marked in the upper right margin of each eighth recto with a Greek numeral. Numbering of the quires is consistent throughout the manuscript. The codex appears to have been rebound. Marginal scholia on ff. 17r and 26v are slightly cut off, as well as some of the numerals numbering the quires.

SermCat is the final text of the codex, according to the table of contents. It is now followed by letters of Chrysostom added to the manuscript later in a different hand, and immediately preceded by (ps.)Epiphanius of Cyprus' *In Divini Corporis Sepulturam* (CPG 3768), which was an immensely popular reading during Holy Thursday, being preserved in over 300 known manuscript witnesses. Laurentianus Plutei 9.22 does not appear to have been destined for liturgical use. However, the presence of both of these texts together in the codex—both intimately linked to the liturgical traditions of Holy Week—suggests that certain liturgical considerations contributed both to the inclusion of (ps.)Epiphanius' homily and their placement together.

Furthermore, in the title of SermCat in the manuscript, we read: εἰς τὸν ἄσπασμόν. This is a reference to the Stoudite *Hypotyposis*, Version A, which regulates the service of the paschal vigil as follows:

“It should be known that after completing the matins of the Radiant Sunday, the embrace (ἄσπασμός) takes place as follows. Changing his sacerdotal robes, one of

<sup>102</sup> The colophon on f. 180v reads as follows: “Ἐγράφη ἡ παροῦσα βίβλος | τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν | ἰωάννου τοῦ χρυσοστόμου | διὰ χειρὸς Βασιλείου κλη | ρικοῦ ταπεινοῦ καὶ ἁμαρτωλοῦ...μ(η)νὶ μαΐω ΠΓ´ ἔτ(ε)ι ςυπβ | ἰν(δικτιῶνος) Β´.” Transcription is diplomatic.

<sup>103</sup> Bernardinello (1977) 29, n. 153.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. Leroy (2008) *passim*, esp. ch. 7.

the deacons takes the holy Gospel and stands before the entrance of the holy sanctuary. Coming forward, the superior kisses the holy Gospel and then the deacon; after doing this, the superior stands beside him. Next, with their candles in hand, every one of the priests and the brothers kiss one another in the same fashion according to the appropriate order. They say, ‘Christ is risen’ and those so greeted respond, ‘For He is risen indeed.’ All stand in a row while the choir monitors maintain this good order. When they reach the royal gates, they [all] return to the same royal gates and then they fill up the other section of the church in the same fashion as all sing in a loud voice the ‘Christ is risen.’ Thereupon, they take up the ‘Let the heavens rejoice and the earth exult’ (Ps. 95 [96]: 11). Thereafter, the precentor, or perhaps another of the brothers, goes up to the ambo and reads the sermon of our holy father John Chrysostom, the one which begins ‘Whoever is pious and loves God.’ When the reading is completed, all assemble in a group and give thanks to the Lord. After they have made three bows, a prayer is said by the superior and the service of matins is dismissed.”<sup>105</sup>

Thus, already from the 10<sup>th</sup> century—in a manuscript that may not have been primarily destined for liturgical use—we find evidence of contemporary liturgical practices related to Holy Week and Pascha. It is true that Version A of the *Hypotyposis* is taken from manuscript Vatopedi 322 (13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries), thus many centuries after Theodore. Julien Leroy believed that the more detailed *Hypotyposis* of Version A could not have been written earlier than the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>106</sup> However, as we have seen, the distance in time does not necessarily mean that the material transmitted is not received from earlier centuries. If this version of the *Hypotyposis* was already being referred to roughly one century and a half after Theodore of Stoudios’ death,

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<sup>105</sup>Thomas and Hero (2000) “4 Stoudios” 99–100 translated from Dimitrievski (1895, vol. 1) 227: “Δεῖ εἰδέναι, ὅτι μετὰ τὴν συμπλήρωσιν τοῦ ὄρθρου τῆς λαμπροφόρου κυριακῆς γίνεται ὁ ἀσπασμὸς οὕτως· εἶς τῶν λευιτῶν, τὴν ἱερατικὴν αὐτοῦ ὑπαλλάσσων στολὴν καὶ τὸ ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον λαμβάνων, ἵσταται εἰς τὰ πρόθυρα τοῦ ἁγίου θυσιαστηρίου. Εἰσερχόμενος οὖν ὁ καθηγούμενος, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον ἀσπαζόμενος εὐαγγέλιον, εἶτα καὶ τὸν διάκονον, ἵσταται πλησίον αὐτοῦ. Εἶθ’ οὕτως οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ πάντες κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἕκαστος τάξιν μετὰ λαμπάδων ἀλλήλους ἀσπάζονται καὶ τὸ Χριστὸς ἀνέστη προσφθεγγόμενοι ἀντιφθέγγονται πάλιν οἱ ἀσπαζόμενοι τό· Καὶ γὰρ ἀνέστη. Τῶν ταξιαρχῶν τὴν εὐταξίαν ταύτην ποιουμένων καὶ στοιχηδὸν πάντων ἵσταμένων. Ὅτε φθάσωσι μέχρι τῶν βασιλικῶν πυλῶν, ἀνατρέχουσιν ἕως τῶν αὐτῶν βασιλικῶν πυλῶν, καὶ οὕτως λοιπὸν καὶ τὸ τοῦ ναοῦ ἕτερον μέρος ἀναπληροῦσι, καὶ τό· Χριστὸς ἀνέστη μεγαλοφώνως πάντων λεγόντων, ἐπισυνάπτουσι καὶ τό· Εὐφραινέσθωσαν οἱ οὐρανοὶ καὶ ἀγαλλιέσθω ἡ γῆ. Εἶθ’ οὕτως ἀνέρχεται ὁ κανονάρχης, εἰ τύχη, ἢ ἕτερος τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐν τῷ ἄμβωνι καὶ ἀναγινώσκει τὸν τοῦ ἁγίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου λόγον, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή· Εἴ τις εὐσεβῆς καὶ φιλόθεος. Καὶ μετὰ τὴν συμπλήρωσιν τῆς ἀναγνώσεως ἀγγελιδὸν πάντων συναθροισθέντων καὶ τῷ Κυρίῳ εὐχαριστησάντων, καὶ τὰς τρεῖς προσκυνήσεις ποιησάντων, γίνεται εὐχή ὑπὸ τοῦ καθηγουμένου καὶ ἡ τοῦ ὄρθρου τελεία ἀπόλυσις.”

<sup>106</sup>Leroy (2007) 51, n. 15: “Une redaction [sc. Version A] certainement postérieure—je ne la crois pas antérieure au milieu du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle...”

then this is likely an indication that either he or his immediate successors sought to establish this paschal reading of SermCat firmly in place.<sup>107</sup>

These indications are further reinforced and developed in other manuscripts preserving SermCat. Of those that prescribe the reading εἰς τὸν ἄσπασμόν, there are: Laurentianus Plutei 9.22 (974), Ottobonianus graecus 14 (10<sup>th</sup> century), Trinity College 185 (c. 1020), Sinaiticus graecus 401 (11<sup>th</sup> century), Laurentianus Plutei 11.09 (11<sup>th</sup> century), Vaticanus graecus 477 (11<sup>th</sup> century), Cambridge Nn.I.23 (12<sup>th</sup> century), Parisinus graecus 540 (12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries), Belgique IV.459 (14<sup>th</sup> century), Vaticanus graecus 571 (14<sup>th</sup> century) and Marcianus graecus 947 (14<sup>th</sup> century). Others prescribe the reading μετὰ τὸν ἄσπασμόν. They are: Vindobonensis supplementum graecum 177 (10<sup>th</sup> century), Parisinus graecus 639 (11<sup>th</sup> century), Vaticanus graecus 782 (12<sup>th</sup> century), Coislinianus 271 (12<sup>th</sup> century), Marcianus graecus 1123 (13<sup>th</sup> century), Marcianus graecus 1104 (13<sup>th</sup> century), Dionysiou 50 (14<sup>th</sup> century), Cromwell 22 (14<sup>th</sup> century), Vindobonensis historicus graecus 63 (14<sup>th</sup> century), Russian National Library Q.No. 906 (gr.) 675 (15<sup>th</sup> century), Hagiou Saba 105 (15<sup>th</sup> century), Parisinus supplementum graecum 1001 (16<sup>th</sup> century), Sinaiticus graecus 1697 (17<sup>th</sup> century) and Hagiou Saba 54 (17<sup>th</sup> century). With 11 codices placing the reading *at* the kiss of peace and 14 *after* the kiss of peace, it appears that there was either a confusion of the regulations expressed in various Typika or a certain flexibility, especially in expressions such as εἰς and μετὰ. The latter possibility seems much more likely. In any case, it is clear that from at least the 10<sup>th</sup> century, if not the 9<sup>th</sup>, SermCat had a stable position in the structure of the Pascha vigil—in certain places, to be sure. The earliest 10<sup>th</sup> century witnesses of the text appear to be making direct reference to the Stoudite *Hypotyposis*.

After collation, it appears that the text of SermCat preserved in Laurentianus Plutei 9.22 is descended from that of Vaticanus graecus 2079. After correcting one obvious error from Vaticanus graecus 2079 (the confusion between ἐννάτην and ἐνδεκάτην), Laurentianus Plutei 9.22 departs from its prototype in only two places. Towards the end of the text, Vaticanus graecus 2079 had added the phrase, ἐπικράνθη γὰρ καὶ ἐνεκρώθη. Whereas many other manuscripts preserve the γὰρ καὶ, Laurentianus Plutei 9.22 corrects this locution to καὶ γὰρ. This is an intriguing case, since its interpretation is based on the actual performance of the reading. One could read either: 1) ἐπικράνθη γὰρ, καὶ ἐνεκρώθη—as Vaticanus graecus 2079

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<sup>107</sup> Therefore, I agree with Thomas and Hero (2000) “4 Stoudios” 93: “Topographical information provided in conjunction with the description [A2] of the monks’ procession during Easter week serves to identify [A] as the one closest to the original setting of the document at the Stoudios monastery.” We should also note that the *Hypotyposis* recommends the reading of SermCat alone, not incorporated into Theodore’s Or.4.

does—or 2) ἐπικράνθη, γὰρ καὶ ἐνεκρώθη—as Laurentianus Plutei 9.22 apparently did. In this latter interpretation, a knowledgeable scribe would correct the awkward placement of γὰρ in 1<sup>st</sup> position, as is done here. Beyond this, our codex’s only other variant reading in relation to Vaticanus graecus 2079 is the following:

V (TC): πρόθεσιν] P: προαίρεσιν

Therefore, Laurentianus Plutei 9.22 contains all the characteristic readings of Vaticanus graecus 2079; it corrects two perceived errors from its prototype, one of which other manuscripts did not (either perceive or correct), and it manifests one variant of its own. For these reasons, I argue that the text of Plutei 9.22 is descended from that of Vaticanus graecus 2079.

**G Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS. Vaticanus graecus 1633 (10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> century)**

Catalogues and Reproductions: CCG VI, 171;

<https://digi.vatlib.it/mss/detail/Vat.gr.1633> (with digital photos available);

Pinakes diktyon #68264

Parchment, except for paper used for ff. 3–4 for the table of contents, added later. 280x210 mm. 364 folia, 2 columns of text with 46–49 lines per column. Script: minuscola libraria.<sup>108</sup> Ruling: 20D2.<sup>109</sup> With Vaticanus graecus 1633 we finish the presentation of the major representatives of the second branch of SermCat’s textual tradition. Ehrhard has described the manuscript as one of the most detailed representatives of the Italo-Greek year-long panegyrikon.<sup>110</sup> Contents: homilies beginning at Pentecost and ending there—with some for the Dormition, as well. Attributions are: Proklos of Constantinople (12), Ephraim the Syrian (6), Gregory of Antioch (2), John Chrysostom (47), Anatolios of Thessaloniki (1), Andrew of Crete (6), Pantoleon the hieromonk (1), Menander Protector (1), Severian of Gabala (1), Athanasios of Alexandria (2), Gregory Nazianzen (5), Basil of Caesarea (5), Asterios of Amaseia (2), Gregory of Nyssa (1), Lucian of Caphar Gamala (1), Basil of Seleucia (3), John of Euboea (1), Amphilochios of Iconium (3), Cyril of Alexandria (2), Methodios of Olympos (1), Anastasios of Sinai (1), Nestorios of Constantinople (1), Gregory Thaumaturgus (2),

<sup>108</sup> Folleri (1997) 217.

<sup>109</sup> Leroy (1967) 6.

<sup>110</sup> Ehrhard (1938) II.134

Hesychios of Jerusalem (1), Epiphanius of Cyprus (3), (ps.)Eusebios of Alexandria (20), Timotheos of Jerusalem (1) and John the notary (1), as well as several hagiographic and apocryphal texts. There is a note in the table of contents stating: τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον ἦν τῆς μονῆς τῆς κρυπτοφέρρης. A provenance from the Grottaferrata monastery concurs with Voicu's identification of Italo-Greek elements in the codex. Indeed, the wide use of color, yellowing titles and decorative initial capitals all strongly resemble those that we will see below in Ottobonianus graecus 14—another Italian manuscript—as does the hand and the ink. This is significant, given that the other two extant members of this family were produced in Constantinople. Nevertheless, Vaticanus graecus 1633's text of SermCat has much more in common with these two Constantinopolitan witnesses than with the 6 other witnesses in the next family—most of which can be traced back to the Italian peninsula.

The text has many, but not all, of the characteristic readings of Vaticanus graecus 2079. In fact, Vaticanus graecus 1633 has a large number of its own variants from its prototype. Many of these are simply omissions that occur in other families, as well. In fact, the same omissions can easily occur in different manuscript families of the textual tradition of SermCat due to the text's high level of repetitions. The conditions are ideal for a *saut du même au même*.<sup>111</sup> The characteristic variants of Vaticanus graecus 1633 are as follows:

V (TC): Εἶ τις περὶ τὴν ἕκτην ἐφάνη] G: Εἶ τις περὶ τὴν ἕκτην ἔφθασε

V (TC): Φιλότημος ὁ φιλόανθρωπος] G: ὁ γὰρ φιλόανθρωπος

V: Καὶ τὰ ἔργα δέχεται καὶ τὴν γνώμην ἀσπάζεται] G: καὶ γνώμην ἀσπάζεται

V (TC): πάντες ἀπολαύσατε τοῦ πλοῦτου τῆς χριστότητος] G: πάντες μεταλάβετε τοῦ πλοῦτου τῆς χρηστότητος

G: post μνήματος] ἀνέστη Χριστὸς καὶ κόσμος ἐφωτίσθη, ἀνέστη Χριστὸς καὶ ἄνθρωποι εὐφραίνονται, καὶ ἡ γῆ ἀγάλλεται, ἀνέστη Χριστὸς καὶ πάντες σωζόμεθα add. cod.

Of these first three, two are variant readings, while the third appears to simply be a mistake in copying. The fourth variant is interesting in that it offers two corrections that accord perfectly with Theodore of Stoudios' interpretation of SermCat. The text of Theodore's Or.4 printed by Angelo Mai is problematic because it preserves a recension that is much longer than any of Theodore's surviving catecheses.<sup>112</sup> Of the other manuscripts, the ones that preserve

<sup>111</sup> West (1973) 24.

<sup>112</sup> In fact, it seems likely that Mai named this text *Oration 4*, as opposed to grouping it with Theodore's catecheses, precisely because the recension he had before him was so much longer than any of Theodore's extant

Theodore's epilogue to SermCat offer a much shorter text where Theodore encourages his monks to receive communion, which will strengthen and heal their souls and bodies. This, he states, is John Chrysostom's point in SermCat. Characteristically, he proclaims: "ὁμῶν δὲ γένοιτο, ἀδελφοί, ἢ τῶν θείων μυστηρίων μετάληψις..."<sup>113</sup> The scribe of Vaticanus graecus 1633 has employed the verb μεταλαμβάνω as a substitute for ἀπολαύω found in Vaticanus graecus 2079. He has also corrected his prototype's mistaken χριστότητος to the proper χρηστότητος. This word also, when properly corrected, is likely intended to refer the listener (or reader) to the act of receiving communion. Thomas Schattauer has discussed how one of the earliest communion hymns used in the Church was Psalm 33:9: "Γεύσασθε καὶ ἴδετε ὅτι χρηστός ὁ κύριος."<sup>114</sup> He explains how it is ideal because of its word and sound play with the proper title Χριστός—Christ. Indeed, this is a hymn that would very likely have been in use during John Chrysostom's lifetime—yet another indication that SermCat is a text well-situated in the 4<sup>th</sup> century. Thus, when Vaticanus graecus 1633 varies from Vaticanus graecus 2079 in this way, it aligns itself with the majority witnesses to Theodore of Stoudios' text and its interpretation of SermCat. It aligns itself with SermCat's position in Theodore of Stoudios' catechetical corpus, known from Theodore's Or.4. This is significant since Vaticanus graecus 1633 was held and used at the Grottaferrata Monastery, founded in the early 11<sup>th</sup> century just outside Rome and famous for following the Byzantine rite.<sup>115</sup> Thus, since Vaticanus graecus 1633 adjusts its text of SermCat to follow Theodore's Or.4, we can perhaps surmise that Theodore's original epilogue to SermCat indeed goes back either to his own hand, or one very close in time to his.<sup>116</sup> Finally, the fifth variant consists of rhetorical elaborations of the closing repetitions of SermCat. Similar elaborations are to be found in other manuscripts of Italian provenance that transmit versions of SermCat of varying length and attribution. Whereas these other versions are preserved in manuscripts from the 14<sup>th</sup> century, we can see here that elaborations of SermCat were being inserted from at least the 10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> centuries, as well. These will be discussed below in Section D.

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catecheses. This problem, however, is resolved when one consults the full manuscript tradition. We will see this in further detail below, in section B. In other words, it seems that Mai's sole criterion for considering Or.4 an 'oration' instead of one of Theodore's *Catecheses* was the length of the recension he had before him.

<sup>113</sup> Baroccianus 197, f. 553v. See below, section B, where Theodore's manuscripts are discussed.

<sup>114</sup> Schattauer (1983) 96–97.

<sup>115</sup> For the influence of Stoudite monasticism on the Italian peninsula, see Morini (2001).

<sup>116</sup> Indeed, as will be seen below in Section B, the earliest surviving manuscript transmitting Or.4 that I was able to locate is Moni Leimonos 65 (10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> century).

### **THIRD MANUSCRIPT FAMILY: α**

#### **O Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS. Ottobonianus graecus 14 (10<sup>th</sup> century)**

Catalogues and Reproductions: Follieri (1997) 205–248;

<https://digi.vatlib.it/mss/detail/Ott.gr.14.pt.2> (digital photos available); Pinakes diktyon #65255

Parchment. 382x242 mm. 272 folia, with two columns of text of 38 lines each. Script: minuscola libraria.<sup>117</sup> Ruling: 20C2.<sup>118</sup> With Ottobonianus graecus 14 we enter the second major manuscript family in the textual tradition of SermCat. Contents: homilies attributed to John Chrysostom (31), Theophilos of Alexandria (1), Philagathos Kerameus (1), Severian of Gabala (4), Basil of Seleucia (5), Hesychios of Jerusalem (2), Andrew of Crete (2), Leontios Arabissos (1), Athanasios of Alexandria (4), Joseph archbishop of Thessaloniki (1), Titus bishop of Bostra (1), Leontios the presbyter of Constantinople (5), George of Nikomedeia (1), Amphilochios of Iconium (1), Gregory of Antioch (1), Epiphanius of Cyprus (1) and certain anonymous writings of Arians. Enrica Follieri has dated the codex to the 10<sup>th</sup> century on the basis of paleographical and codicological evidence.<sup>119</sup> Ehrhard's assessment of the codex as one of the oldest and most-detailed examples of the panegyrikon for the whole Church year, Type B, supports Follieri's conclusions.<sup>120</sup> Also, the decorative features of the manuscript—which primarily consist of initial capitals formed of many various figures, both animal and human, employing green, blue, red and yellow colors—are characteristic of Italo-Greek codices of the 9<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> centuries. For example, on f. 247v, the initial capital *epsilon* of SermCat is formed of a hawk bending over a rabbit that is seated upon a vine. The colors employed are blue, green, red and yellow. The decorative headpiece also displays the same colors. This high level of creative design is a hallmark of 9<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> century Italo-Greek codices. Follieri, on the other hand, identifies the manuscript's hand as a typical example of the “minuscola libraria” of the 9<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> centuries in her analysis of many other Vatican manuscripts of the same style of handwriting. Interestingly, she argues that the hand of Nicholas the Stoudite, scribe of

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<sup>117</sup> Follieri (1997) 217.

<sup>118</sup> Leroy (1967) 6.

<sup>119</sup> *op. cit.*

<sup>120</sup> Ehrhard (1936) I.213. He does note, however, that the codex has lost at least 59 of the original texts that it contained.

Vaticanus graecus 2079, constitutes an early phase of this style, which she calls “minuscola antica rotonda”.<sup>121</sup>

Ottobonianus graecus 14 is currently bound in two separate volumes. SermCat is preserved on ff. 247v–248r of the second volume. Neither volume of the manuscript contains a table of contents since the original beginning of the first volume is no longer present in the codex. The first folio preserves the last few words of one text and then begins a homily on Psalm 150 attributed to John Chrysostom. Quires are numbered in the upper right margin of each eighth recto with capital numerals surrounded by an intricate design, beginning on f. 169r. The numbering starts at Δ, instead of at A. f. 169r is the 44<sup>th</sup> folio in volume two, meaning that 5 full quires and half of one precede the first marking of quires in volume 2. However, the right margin of many folia is missing, so it is possible that some of the original numbering has disappeared. Nevertheless, at the bottom of f. 148v—the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> quire—there is a note: λείπει τετράδια δύο. f. 149r continues with an entirely different text. There are at least 4 ff. missing after f. 142, and the numbering is then corrected to 152, 153, etc. In any case, the numbering of quires does not appear to reflect these discrepancies. We find clear evidence on f. 138v that the manuscript has been rebound. The numerals indicating the number of the text have been partially cut off. Other such indications can be found on f. 217v. There is no colophon at the end of the manuscript. The last text, on the Ascension, is preserved whole, but afterwards the codex ends.

The text of SermCat that Ottobonianus graecus 14 preserves requires special attention, as it gives us our first indications of the complex interactions that took place over the centuries between SermCat itself and the liturgical and literary traditions of prominent monastic centers as they developed. Ottobonianus graecus 14 transmits many of the characteristic readings of Vaticanus graecus 2079, primarily at the beginning and end of the text. However, at one point it disagrees with Vaticanus graecus 2079 in favor of Laurentianus Plutei 9.22. Instead of πρόθεσιν, Ottobonianus graecus 14 transmits the reading προαίρεσιν. This is a curious phenomenon that will appear in many texts descended from Ottobonianus graecus 14. The manuscript also transmits the reading ἐπικράνθη γὰρ καὶ ἐνεκρώθη, found in Vaticanus graecus 2079. Laurentianus Plutei 9.22 had corrected this to: ἐπικράνθη καὶ γὰρ ἐνεκρώθη. This alone is perhaps not enough to declare in favor of descent of Ottobonianus graecus 14 from one of these other two manuscripts. Many of its other readings differentiate it significantly from both of these.

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<sup>121</sup> Follieri (1997) 211.

Some of the characteristic variants of Ottobonianus graecus 14 are the following:

O: post *χαρίζεται*] *καὶ τὰ ἔργα δέχεται καὶ τὴν τιμὴν ἀσπάζεται* add. cod.

O: *ἐγκρατεῖς καὶ ῥάθυμοι τὴν ἡμέραν τιμήσατε* om. cod.

O: post *σήμερον*] *λέγοντες καὶ σκιρτῶντες μετὰ τοῦ Δαυὶδ αὕτη ἡ ἡμέρα ἦν ἐποίησεν ὁ κύριος, ἀγαλλιασώμεθα καὶ εὐφρανθῶμεν ἐν αὐτῇ* add. cod.

*PG*: πάντες ἀπολαύσατε τοῦ συμποσίου τῆς πίστεως] O: πάντες ἀπολαύσατε τοῦ πλούτου τῆς πίστεως

TC: Ἐκόλασε τὸν ἄδην κατελθὼν εἰς τὸν ἄδην. Ἐπίκρανεν αὐτὸν γευσάμενον τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ] O: ἐκόλασεν αὐτὸν γευσάμενος τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ

These five readings characterize this whole third family of manuscripts. The omission of the phrase *ἐγκρατεῖς καὶ ῥάθυμοι τὴν ἡμέραν τιμήσατε* appears to be a case of *saut du même au même*, a common phenomenon in the numerous repetitions of *SermCat*. The phrase before this one is: *πλούσιοι καὶ πένητες μετ' ἀλλήλων χορεύσατε*. The *-ατε* ending of both imperatives provides the proper conditions under which the scribe could easily jump from the end of the first to the end of the second phrase without noticing the text lost in between, especially since the phrases are of similar length and thus the *-ατε* ending frequently appears at the same point in each respective line of text in a given manuscript.

The last three variants of Ottobonianus graecus 14 are of more interest. The interpolation of a verse from Psalm 117—“*αὕτη ἡ ἡμέρα ἦν ἐποίησεν ὁ κύριος, ἀγαλλιασώμεθα καὶ εὐφρανθῶμεν ἐν αὐτῇ*”—is intriguing when placed in the liturgical context in which *SermCat* was employed. First, we must note that this particular verse, Ps. 117:24, appears in many paschal sermons.<sup>122</sup> Stoudite practice dictated that it was to be read at the end of Orthros of the Resurrection, just before the kiss of peace, during the paschal vigil—in other words, only a few minutes after midnight. The liturgical tradition of the Lavra of St. Sabas in Palestine gives the same prescription.<sup>123</sup> The monks of Palestine, especially of the Lavra of St. Sabas, introduced the vigil as an ascetic practice. Cyril of Scythopolis attributes the introduction of vigils to Sabas himself.<sup>124</sup>

<sup>122</sup> For example, Leontios the presbyter of Constantinople builds almost an entire paschal homily exclusively around this verse. See Datema and Allen (1987). For Leontios, see ODB “Leontios”<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>123</sup> Bertonière (1972) 218–219. Cf. Thomas and Hero (2000) “4 Stoudios” 99.

<sup>124</sup> Price (1991).

The next variant, in which συμποσίου is replaced with πλούτου, is one of two in SermCat’s manuscript tradition that could be interpreted as the substitution of a term more common in the literary and social environment of the 4<sup>th</sup> century with another that resonates better in the 9<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> centuries and beyond.<sup>125</sup> The phrase συμποσίου τῆς πίστεως does not appear in any other text in the TLG database. However, the variant phrase πλούτου τῆς πίστεως does occur at least twice in what is considered today to be the genuine corpus of John Chrysostom, and rarely anywhere else. These are in his *In sanctum Julianum martyrum* (CPG 4360) and the first of his *In Anna Sermones* (CPG 4411).<sup>126</sup> There is a third occurrence in his *Contra theatra* (CPG 4563; Aldama 432), considered spurious by both Savile and Montfaucon, who employed stylistic criteria.<sup>127</sup> However, Theodore of Studios quotes this last instance word for word in his *Epitaphius in matrem suam*,<sup>128</sup> so he may have considered it genuine.<sup>129</sup>

The final significant variant contained in Ottobonianus graecus 14 is a truncation of a much longer verse, in which the grammatical construction itself changes. The longer phrasing transmitted by most witnesses to SermCat: “ἐκόλασε [sc. Χριστὸς] τὸν ἄδην κατελθὼν εἰς τὸν ἄδην· ἐπίκρανεν αὐτὸν γευσάμενον τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ” becomes “ἐκόλασεν αὐτὸν γευσάμενος τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ.” This seems to be a case of simplification—both of the longer verse and of its more complex grammatical structure. In the first version, it is Hades who tastes of Christ’s flesh—he receives him as he did all the dead—and in doing so is embittered by that very flesh, since it is Christ’s and thus sinless. The phrase alludes to Isaiah<sup>130</sup>—whom SermCat explicitly quotes only a few lines later. Hades is described as literally devouring the dead, and Christ’s arrival causes him a type of stomach pain, as the dead begin to rejoice inside him.<sup>131</sup> Finally, the phrase—together with the passage from Isaiah—reinforces the doctrine of the Fourth Ecumenical Council in Chalcedon (451), which emphasized the equal and complete status of both Christ’s human and divine natures. As noted above in connection with Vaticanus graecus 2079, concerns for promoting the doctrine of Chalcedon are intimately linked to the textual tradition of SermCat. Through this variant reading of Ottobonianus graecus 14, the connection

<sup>125</sup> Assuming that SermCat is indeed a 4<sup>th</sup> century text. Such variants among the manuscripts could be interpreted as evidence in favor of this hypothesis.

<sup>126</sup> *PG* 50:670.35 and *PG* 54:638.53, respectively.

<sup>127</sup> *PG* 56:545.77.

<sup>128</sup> *PG* 99:884–901

<sup>129</sup> It is difficult to say whether Theodore considered this a text of Chrysostom or not. He quotes from the text, but does not expressly attribute it to anyone. As for Savile and Montfaucon, we have already seen Baur’s disparaging assessment of their judgments on the authenticity of texts bearing Chrysostom’s name.

<sup>130</sup> Isa. 14:9: “ὁ Ἄδης κάτωθεν ἐπικράνηθι συναντήσας σοι...”

<sup>131</sup> Tischendorf (1853) 305: “πάντας γὰρ οὓς ἀπ’ αἰῶνος κατέπιον, ἰδοὺ ταρασσομένους κατανοῶ, καὶ ἀλγῶ τὴν κοιλίαν μου...”

with Chalcedonian Christology is obscured, if not lost. In this variant it is Christ who tastes of Hades' flesh, in this way torturing him. This is intriguing because it realigns the text of SermCat with every other paschal homily I was able to locate.<sup>132</sup> SermCat is almost alone in placing Hades in the position of tasting Christ's flesh, instead of Christ tasting death and then defeating Hades. Ottobonianus graecus 14's simplification from γευσάμενον to γευσάμενος—followed by many manuscripts and adopted by the longer versions of SermCat, as we will see in greater detail below—seems to be an attempt to realign the text with the more common theme of Christ tasting death. However, Hades does not have flesh, and Christ does not devour Hades. Nor does it make any sense for Christ to embitter Hades by tasting of his flesh. Thus, I believe the *lectio difficilior* to be the older reading and closer to the original. This simplification, nevertheless, becomes a popular reading.

**B Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Barrochianus 199 (10<sup>th</sup> century)**

Catalogues and Reproductions: CCG I, 189;

[https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/manuscript\\_1032](https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/manuscript_1032) (digital photos available); Pinakes diktyon #47487

Parchment. 340x230 mm. 9 flyleaves + 357 folia, with two columns of text, 36 lines each. Script: minuscola libraria. Ruling: 20E2.<sup>133</sup> Contents: homilies attributed to Ephraim the Syrian (2), John Chrysostom (27), Andrew of Crete (8), Gregory Thaumaturgus (2), Sophronios of Jerusalem (1), Leontios presbyter of Constantinople (5), John Damascene (5), Amphilochios of Iconium (1), Severian of Gabala (2), Basil of Seleucia (2), Proklos of Constantinople (3), George of Nikomedeia (1), Gregory of Antioch (1), Epiphanius of Cyprus (1), Gregory Nazianzen (3), (ps.)Eusebios of Alexandria (2), Gregory of Nyssa (2), Chrysippos of Jerusalem (1), Antipater of Bostra (1), Theodore Synkellos (1), Anastasios of Sinai (1) and Germanos I of Constantinople (3). Ehrhard has classified the manuscript as a half-year panegyrikon, type A, one of the best preserved examples of its kind.<sup>134</sup> The flyleaves of the codex, containing the table of contents, are paper, written in a different hand from the rest of the codex—which overall displays the same 9<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> century minuscola libraria observed above in Ottobonianus graecus 14.

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<sup>132</sup> A TLG search displays that almost every text that discusses Christ's descent into Hades focuses on Christ tasting death. One is extraordinarily hard-pressed to locate a text that mentions Hades tasting of anything at all.

<sup>133</sup> Leroy (1967) 6.

<sup>134</sup> Ehrhard (1938) II.98.

Aubineau has dated the table of contents to the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>135</sup> On the last page of the table of contents, a note on the bottom right margin of f. vii r notes: “βιβλίον τῆς σεβασμίας μονῆς τῆς παναγίας θεοτόκου τῆς ἐπονομαζομένοις ἀγκαράθου.” The monastery of Panagia Agkarathos is believed to be one of the oldest on Crete. However, in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century it is said to have been found in a state of disrepair upon the arrival of Nikephoros Notaras. Under his direction, the monastery experienced a revival and became a significant center of cenobitic monastic life.<sup>136</sup> Any substantial library that the monastery would have had most likely would not have preceded this period.<sup>137</sup> It is, therefore, possible that the table of contents was added when the codex came to the Monastery of Agkarathos. The style of handwriting in the table of contents appears to consist of mostly archaizing imitations of older styles such as the so-called *Fettaugenschrift* or that of the Monastery of Hodegon.<sup>138</sup>

Decoration in the folia consists primarily of thin headbands, without color, and ornate capitals in red ink. Titles themselves are in the majuscule script employed in Ottobonianus graecus 14. Quires are marked in the upper right margin of each recto with the Greek numeral designating the number of the quire. In other words, the folia of the first quire are marked α´.<sup>139</sup> There is evidence that the manuscript has been rebound; scholia, on ff. 41r and 308r, have been cut off in the process. There is a monokondylion on f. 194r; it appears to be later than the original text of the codex. On f. 356r a certain Kallinikos has left his signature in the bottom margin. There is no colophon.

SermCat is transmitted on ff. 139r–140r. It is one of very few texts in the codex whose initial capital has not been decorated in red ink, despite clearly being part of the original manuscript. I argue that the text preserved in Baroccianus 199 is descended from that of Ottobonianus graecus 14.<sup>140</sup> It does not depart from its prototype except for in one instance. As we saw above, Ottobonianus graecus 14 omits the phrase: ἐγκρατεῖς καὶ ῥάθυμοι τὴν ἡμέραν τιμήσατε. Baroccianus 199 omits not just this phrase, but also the one preceding it: πλούσιοι

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<sup>135</sup> CCG I, 189.

<sup>136</sup> Janin (1953; 1975), unfortunately, does not include this monastery among those he presents. The above information was taken from here: <http://www.monastiria.gr/kriti/nomos-irakleiou/iera-moni-agkarathou-kriti/> (accessed 26.9.18).

<sup>137</sup> However, this could be the time at which the monastery acquired the manuscript. It does not necessarily mean that the flyleaves were written there.

<sup>138</sup> Cf. Vaticanus graecus 191 and Vaticanus Chig. R.V. 29, respectively. See also Kotzabassi (2017).

<sup>139</sup> An admittedly unusual practice. In fact, some folia of the first quire are not marked with the α´; however, from the second quire onwards the marking of each folio in the quire with the appropriate Greek numeral becomes more consistent.

<sup>140</sup> Though examining the contents of each manuscript, it is not immediately clear that the codex Baroccianus 199, as a whole or in large part, has been directly copied from the whole or significant parts of the codex Ottobonianus graecus 14.

καὶ πένητες μετ' ἀλλήλων χορεύσατε. This may be explained by the phenomenon of *saut du même au même*, since the last phrase right before Baroccianus 199 jumps is: καὶ πρῶτοι καὶ δεύτεροι τὸν μισθὸν ἀπολάβετε.<sup>141</sup> The -ατε/-ετε ending provided the ideal conditions under which such a jump could occur; the only difference here is that the scribe of Baroccianus 199 jumped two lines, instead of just one. A quick glance back at f. 247v of Ottobonianus graecus 14 confirms just how easy it was for the scribe of Baroccianus 199 to make this jump. Since its prototype had already left out one line, the Baroccianus scribe only had to leave out one line himself—and now the text is missing two lines. In each line the -ατε/-ετε ending is in exactly the same position. This error of Baroccianus 199 is transmitted to other manuscripts that were copied from it. Aside from this, Baroccianus 199 transmits all of the characteristic variants of Ottobonianus graecus 14, for which reasons I argue that the former is derived from the latter.<sup>142</sup>

**S Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS. Parisinus supplementum graecum 1386 (Ex-Kosinitza 27) (1075)**

Catalogues and Reproductions: Astruc (1984); Pinakes diktyon #54043

Parchment. 340x245 mm. 351 folia, with 2 columns of text, 22 lines each. Script: Perlschrift. Ruling: 34C2df.<sup>143</sup> Contents: Theodore of Stoudios' *Catecheses* (both Small and Great), his *Testament*, Naukratios' *Encyclical on the Death of Theodore of Stoudios*, certain of Theodore's elegiac couplets and SermCat. We learn from the colophon that the manuscript was copied at the behest of a certain Kosmas, synkellos and abbot of the Monastery of Stoudios by the calligrapher Germanos on 21 June 1075.<sup>144</sup> Astruc traces the ownership of the manuscript from Stoudios in the 11<sup>th</sup> century to the Monastery of Εικοσιφοινίσσης, more commonly known as Kosinitza, close to the Pangaion Hills in the region of Serres in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century. From there it slowly made its way to an auction in 20<sup>th</sup> century London where the Bibliothèque nationale de France acquired it.<sup>145</sup> Astruc notes that the parchment is of good quality, and that

<sup>141</sup> Nevertheless, one cannot rule out the possibility that the scribe omitted the line in question on purpose, perhaps in an attempt to smooth over the interruption caused by the absence of ἐγκρατεῖς καὶ ῥάθυμοι τὴν ἡμέραν τιμήσατε. I thank Dr. Aaron Pelttari for his insights here and elsewhere in this study.

<sup>142</sup> Baroccianus 199 itself has numerous descendants, among them notably Sinaiticus graecus 374 (early 11<sup>th</sup> century), currently held in the Russian State Historical Museum; it is a collection of the *Small Catecheses* of Theodore of Stoudios, headed up by SermCat.

<sup>143</sup> Astruc (1984) 277–278.

<sup>144</sup> The colophon reads as follows: “ἐγράφη ἡ τοῦ ὁσ(ίου) | π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμῶ(ν) Θεοδώ(ρου) βίβλο(ς) | τῶν κατηχήσεων | κοσμᾶ τῷ τιμωτ(άτω) | π(ατ)ρί· συγκέ(λλω)· καὶ τῆς τῶν | Στουδ(ίου) μονῆς εἰρηνικῶ | τάτω καθηγητῆ· μη(ν) | ἰουνίῳ κα· ἰν(δικτιῶνος) τγ· | ἔτους ςφπγ· διὰ | Γερμανοῦ τοῦ εὐ | τε(λοῦς) ἀμαρτωλοῦ μοναχοῦ | (καὶ) καλλιγρά(φου) τῆς αὐτ(ῆς) μον(ῆς).”

<sup>145</sup> Astruc (1984) 284–286.

the decoration of the manuscript is minimal.<sup>146</sup> Leroy responds to Ševčenko’s supposition<sup>147</sup> that the text transmitted here is close to that of the archetype of Theodore of Stoudios’ *Small Catecheses* by demonstrating that the readings preserved in this manuscript are not only not those of the archetype, but that they rather represent deliberate—and often arbitrary—corrections of perceived mistakes in the archetype.<sup>148</sup> Leroy’s conclusion is further borne out from an analysis of the text of SermCat that the manuscript transmits.

The characteristic variants of Parisinus supplementum graecum 1386 fall into two categories: on the one hand, variations from the family of Roe 6 and variations from the family of Vaticanus graecus 2079, on the other. Its variations from Roe 6 are all to be found already in its own prototype, Baroccianus 199. They are all readings characteristic of Ottobonianus graecus 14, with the addition of Baroccianus 199’s deviations from that, as we saw above. Parisinus supplementum graecum 1386’s only particular variants are actually attempts at correcting perceived grammatical errors traceable back to Vaticanus graecus 2079. In fact, the ‘errors’ corrected are not errors at all. They simply represent either an alternative way of expressing a prohibition in Greek or the choice between using the exhortatory subjunctive or the imperative in the apodosis of a simple past condition.<sup>149</sup> They are as follows:

V: ἐορτάση] S (TC): ἐορταζέτω

V: ἀπολάβη] S (TC): ἀπολαβέτω

V: ἀμφιβάλη] S: ἀμφιβαλλέτω

V: προσέλθη] S (TC): προσελθέτω

V: ἐξέλθη] S: ἐξελθέτω

It will be helpful to examine the entire phrases in question in order to better appreciate the situation.

1. Εἴ τις μετὰ τὴν τρίτην ἦλθεν εὐχαριστῶν ἐορτάση/ἐορταζέτω
2. Εἴ τις ἔκαμε νηστεύων ἀπολάβη/ἀπολαβέτω νῦν τὸ δηνάριον
3. Εἴ τις περὶ τὴν ἕκτην ἐφάνη μηδὲν ἀμφιβάλη/ἀμφιβαλλέτω
4. Εἴ τις ὑστέρησεν εἰς τὴν ἐνάτην προσέλθη/προσελθέτω

<sup>146</sup> *ibid. passim.*

<sup>147</sup> Ševčenko (1977) 434.

<sup>148</sup> Leroy (1979) 277.

<sup>149</sup> Cf. Smyth (1920) 1800 ff., 2300 ff. respectively.

## 5. Μηδεὶς ἐξέλθῃ/ἐξελθέτω πεινῶν

In each of these five instances, Vaticanus graecus 2079 transmits the reading that employs either a hortatory subjunctive (1–4) or a prohibitive subjunctive (5) as opposed to opting for the third person singular imperative. Parisinus supplementum graecum 1386 prefers the imperative; both options are well attested in Attic Greek texts.<sup>150</sup> What is interesting to note in particular in connection to SermCat is that in the first four instances—all of which occur together in the first section of the text—even Vaticanus graecus 2079 does not employ the hortatory subjunctive for each of the eight conditional sentences present. Rather, it mixes the subjunctive with the imperative, almost alternating back and forth between the two, in this manner:

“Εἴ τις εὐσεβῆς καὶ φιλόθεος, **ἀπολαύετω** ταύτης τῆς καλῆς πανυγῆρεως· εἴ τις δοῦλος εὐγνώμων· **εἰσελθέτω** χαίρων εἰς τὴν χαρὰν τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ· εἴ τις ἔκαμε νηστεύων· **ἀπολάβῃ** νῦν τὸ δηνάριον· εἴ τις ἀπὸ πρώτης εἰργάσατο· **δεχέσθω** σήμερον τὸ δίκαιον ὄφλημα· εἴ τις μετὰ τὴν τρίτην ἦλθεν, εὐχαριστῶν **ἐορτάσῃ**· εἴ τις περὶ τὴν ἕκτην ἐφάνη· μηδὲν **ἀμφιβάλλῃ**, καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲν ζημιούται· εἴ τις ὑστέρησεν εἰς τὴν ἐνάτην (cod. ἐνδεκάτην), **προσέλθῃ** μηδὲν ἐνδοιάζων· εἴ τις μόνην ἔφθασεν τὴν ἐνδεκάτην· μὴ **φοβηθῇ** τὴν βραδυτῆτα...”

With the exception of the last phrase, Parisinus supplementum graecum 1386 is consistent in preferring the third person singular imperative throughout. In other words, Vaticanus graecus 2079 displays a mix of third person imperatives and hortatory subjunctives. Parisinus supplementum graecum 1386 opts for consistency and changes all of the hortatory subjunctives—except for the last one—into third person singular imperatives. I cannot comment generally on the text of Theodore’s *Small Catecheses* that the manuscript preserves, but I can confirm that, in SermCat at least, Leroy’s conclusion concerning deliberate correction of perceived errors appears to hold true. The text has likely been purposely altered from its prototype in an attempt to restore a parallel structure of third person imperatives throughout.

<sup>150</sup> See Smyth (1920) *op. cit.* for examples.

**C Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS. Coislinianus 271 (11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> century)**

Catalogues and Reproductions: Devreesse (1945) 250–252; Pinakes diktyon #49412

Parchment. 285x210 mm. 274 folia, with one column of text, 23–24 lines each. Script: *Perlschrift*. Ruling: 20D1.<sup>151</sup> Contents: Theodore of Stoudios' *Great Catecheses*, SermCat, Theodore's *Small Catecheses*, his *Testament* and Naukratios' *Encyclical on the Death of Theodore of Stoudios*. Devreesse notes that the manuscript is divided into two parts: the first, ff. 3r–34v, dating to the 12<sup>th</sup> century and the second, ff. 35r–272v, dating to the 11<sup>th</sup> century. He notes that titles and initial capitals in the manuscript are decorated in red ink. However, on f. 35r the initial word (Εἶ) of SermCat appears to be more elaborately decorated than that. It is formed of a vine in a semi-circle shape with a hand extending from the middle holding a cross. The reproductions I have studied are black and white, so I cannot comment on the colors used. Nevertheless, the style of the decoration is reminiscent of other initial capitals from Ottobonianus graecus 14. A note on f. 274v states that the manuscript belonged to the monastery of St. Panteleimon on Mt. Athos. Given that the monastery was founded in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, it is possible that this manuscript was either copied at St. Panteleimon or for its library, or perhaps brought there with others for the purpose of starting the library. In any case, Mt. Athos could be its original place of provenance.

Finally, we must note that, although three 11<sup>th</sup> century manuscripts of Theodore of Stoudios' *Catecheses* extant today preserve SermCat<sup>152</sup>—Parisinus supplementum graecum 1386, Coislinianus 271 and Sinaiticus 401—only Coislinianus 271 places SermCat before the first *Small Catechesis* (inc. Ἀδελφοὶ καὶ πατέρες, ἐπειδὴ χάριτι Χριστοῦ ἠξιώθημεν τὸ ἅγιον πάσχα ἀποπληρῶσαι).<sup>153</sup> The other two collections have SermCat as the final text in the manuscript. There is a marginal note on f. 36r next to the title of the first *Small Catechesis*, after SermCat, which reads: τῆς Διακαινισίμου—to be read beginning in the week following Pascha.

<sup>151</sup> Leroy (1967) 6. Unfortunately, I was unable to examine the manuscript in person, and it is not among the many that the Bibliothèque Nationale de France has digitized. The ruling was not easily visible in the reproductions, and Devreesse does not make mention of it in his description. I have given my best estimate.

<sup>152</sup> As far as I am currently aware. However, the heuristics for SermCat are problematic. The vast majority of manuscript catalogues do not specify which *Catecheses* of Theodore of Stoudios are transmitted in a given manuscript; thus, SermCat is often grouped together with Theodore's *Catecheses* in the mind of the catalogue's author, and therefore not specified. Until a critical edition of Theodore's *Catecheses* appears, the heuristics for SermCat must necessarily remain a work in progress.

<sup>153</sup> Theodore of Stoudios, *Small Catecheses* 1. It should be noted that certain manuscripts of Theodore's *Catecheses* transmit Theodore's Or.4, while others transmit SermCat.

This is a clear indication that on Pascha SermCat was read, and beginning on the next Sunday reading of Theodore's *Small Catecheses* began, in accordance with Stoudite practice.<sup>154</sup>

Indeed, concerning the placement of SermCat in relation to Theodore's *Catecheses*, Mario Re has convincingly argued that the archimandrite Luca, author of the 11<sup>th</sup> century Typikon for the San Salvatore monastery of Messina, must be specifically referring to Sinaiticus 401 in his instructions for the reading of SermCat on Pascha when he writes: “Ἐἴτα προτίθεται ἀνάγνωσις τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου εἰς τὸ Πάσχα καὶ εἰς τὸν ἀσπασμόν, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή· *Εἴ τις εὐλαβῆς καὶ φιλόθεος*. Ζήτει αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ τέλος τοῦ μεγάλου βιβλίου τοῦ Στουδίτου.”<sup>155</sup> Re persuasively maintains that, among collections of Theodore's *Catecheses* containing the text of SermCat, only Sinaiticus 401 fulfills all the conditions mentioned in Luca's prescription: being a big book; dividing the *Catecheses* into two sections as was done at San Salvatore; giving the variant incipit (*Εἴ τις εὐλαβῆς*, as opposed to *εὐσεβῆς* of most manuscripts); and placing SermCat at the end of the collection of *Catecheses*.<sup>156</sup> If Re's identification is correct, then in comparing Sinaiticus 401 to Coislinianus 271 and Parisinus supplementum graecum 1386 we are simultaneously able to note great similarities in liturgical practices between mainland Greece, Mt. Athos, Sicily and Southern Italy as well as the faint traces of textual divergences between them in the 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> centuries.

The text preserved in Coislinianus 271 is derived from that of Parisinus supplementum graecum 1386. The former contains every particular variant of the latter with one variant reading of its own, one correction of a mistake in its prototype and one selection of apparently multiple variants. The particular variant is the following:

S: λέγοντες καὶ σκιρτῶντες μετὰ τοῦ Δαυΐδ] C: σκιρτῶντες καὶ λέγοντες μετὰ τοῦ Δαυΐδ

The correction of the prototype is:

S: ἐκόλασεν αὐτὸν γευσάμενος τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ] C (TC): ἐκόλασεν αὐτὸν γευσάμενον τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ.

<sup>154</sup> *ibid.*: “...ἐπειδὴ ἠξιώθημεν χάριτι Χριστοῦ τὸ ἅγιον πάσχα ἀποπληρῶσαι...” This was read after the end of the week of Pascha.

<sup>155</sup> Re (2000) 263–264.

<sup>156</sup> As both Re (2000) 264 and Leroy (2008) 208 observe, SermCat has been added to this manuscript by a later hand.

Despite not having the original, complete phrase before him, the scribe of Coislinianus 271 was nevertheless able to perceive the original grammatical structure of this sentence and restore it, thus changing the participle from nominative (as if referring to Christ) to accusative (so as to refer to Hades, as we saw above with Ottobonianus graecus 14). At one other point in the text, the scribe of Coislinianus 271 encountered what he perhaps considered to be duplicated variants of one and the same passage: πάντες ἀπολούσατε τοῦ πλούτου τῆς χρηστότητος· πάντες ἀπολούσατε τοῦ πλούτου τῆς πίστεως. As we saw above, the shift from συμποσίου τῆς πίστεως to πλούτου τῆς πίστεως goes back to Ottobonianus graecus 14. The phrase preceding it—πλούτου τῆς χρηστότητος—is a reference to Paul’s *Letter to the Romans* 2:4.<sup>157</sup> Here, the scribe of Coislinianus 271 chose to copy the latter phrase of SermCat and not the former. The scribe of Marcianus graecus 1123 (13<sup>th</sup> century), whose text is also derived from Parisinus supplementum graecum 1386, appears to have believed the same thing concerning this passage. He opted to include the former phrase and not the latter. In all other aspects, Coislinianus 271 reproduces all the particular variants of its prototype, Parisinus supplementum graecum 1386.

**M Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS. Marcianus graecus II 42  
(1123) (13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> century)**

Catalogues and Reproductions: Mioni (1967) 141–144; Pinakes diktyon #70204

Parchment (paper for ff. 66–70, 73–78, 81–86, 89–98, 142–147, 150–155, 256–261, 264–265). 220x186 mm. 3 flyleaves + 292 folia, with one column of text, 27–28 lines each. Script: Rectangular Salentian style. Ruling: V 00A1.<sup>158</sup> Ehrhard classifies the codex as a 13<sup>th</sup> century non-menological collection of homilies (with some additions from the 14<sup>th</sup> century) mostly dedicated to the movable Church year, followed by certain apocryphal texts.<sup>159</sup> Attributions: Gregory Nazianzen (2), John Chrysostom (12), Amphilochios of Iconium (1), Cyril of Jerusalem (1), Ephraim the Syrian (3), Athanasios of Alexandria (2), Germanos I of Constantinople (2), Andrew of Crete (1), ps.Eusebios of Alexandria (2), Epiphanius of Cyprus (2), Gregory of Antioch (1), Pantoleon the deacon of Constantinople (1), Gregory Thaumaturgus (1), Aetios presbyter of Constantinople (1) and Proklos of Constantinople (1). Mioni agrees with Ehrhard’s assessment, identifying it as a codex of Italo-Greek provenance, composed of folia copied in both the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries. Two different scribes in the 13<sup>th</sup>

<sup>157</sup> “ἢ τοῦ πλούτου τῆς χρηστότητος αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀνοχῆς καὶ τῆς μακροθυμίας καταφρονεῖς, ἀγνοῶν ὅτι τὸ χρηστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς μετάνοιάν σε ἄγει;”

<sup>158</sup> Leroy (1967) 46.

<sup>159</sup> Ehrhard (1952) III.813.

century—poorly educated in Mioni’s estimation—and a third from the 14<sup>th</sup> century have contributed to the manuscript. The parchment is of poor quality (though numerous folia are actually paper), with slight damage throughout. The watermark of the paper is the boat, which Briquet locates in Genoa in the year 1315.<sup>160</sup> On f. 291r, a certain Peter (“πετρο πολητ”) testifies that in 1579 he has left the codex (“ἀφήνω τὸ βιβλίω τοῦτο”) at the monastery of St. John the Theologian at μεσαμπελήτη. Perhaps we can identify Peter’s μεσαμπελήτη as the modern day Mesabelies neighborhood of Heraklion, (present-day) capital of Crete. This possibility is further reinforced by Peter’s method of dating. He writes αφοθ’ (1579), as opposed to ζπζ’ (7087). Peter’s use of what is practically modern, demotic Greek is also worth noting. Perhaps the most characteristic element is his use of the more simplified, modern form ἀφήνω, instead of ἀφήμι or ἀφήκα.

The text presented by Marcianus graecus 1123 can be described as a rather careless copy of Parisinus supplementum graecum 1386. Many of its deviations from this manuscript’s text are easily explained as either omissions (*saut du même au même*) or simple misreadings of the prototype. Its noteworthy characteristic readings are as follows:

S: καὶ τὰ ἔργα δέχεται καὶ τὴν τιμὴν ἀσπάζεται] M: καὶ τὸ ἔργον δέχεται καὶ τὴν πίστην ἀσπάζεται

S (TC): καὶ πρῶτοι καὶ δεῦτεροι τὸν μισθὸν ἀπολάβετε] M: καὶ πρῶτος καὶ δεῦτερος ἀπολαβέτω

S: λέγοντες καὶ σκιρτῶντες μετὰ τοῦ Δαυΐδ] M: καὶ σκιρτήσατε μετὰ τοῦ Δαυΐδ λέγοντες

The first variant can be attributed to Parisinus supplementum graecum 1386’s use of Perlschrift.<sup>161</sup> In the word τιμὴν the τ and ι are written so closely together so as to touch each other. A careless eye could easily read π instead of τι. From there, it is left to the scribe to make sense of π(μ)ην. From this nonsensical combination, πίστην is not a difficult choice to make given the context. The other two variants will have likely been caused by similar careless copying.

<sup>160</sup> Briquet (1907, vol. 3) 600.

<sup>161</sup> Astruc (1984) 279.

**K Mt. Athos, Monastery of Pantokratoros, MS. Pantokratoros 26 (Lambros 1060) (11<sup>th</sup> century)**

Catalogues and Reproductions: Aubineau (1977); Lambros (1900) 95 (available online here: <https://anemi.lib.uoc.gr/metadata/f/7/e/metadata-01-0001135.tkl>, accessed 2.1.19); Pinakes diktyon #29045

Parchment. Dimensions: 240x310 mm. 276 folia, with two columns of text, each with 29 lines. Ff. 1r–v contain a list of the 17 homilies that once preceded.<sup>162</sup> Ruling: 20D2.<sup>163</sup> Script: Perlschrift. Contents: the manuscript is a panegyrikon with homilies beginning in the Triodion period of Lent (Sunday of the Prodigal Son) and ending just after Pentecost with a homily for All Saints. Attributions: John Chrysostom (10), Germanos II of Constantinople (1), John Damascene (1), Hippolytus of Rome (1), Andrew of Crete (3), Gregory of Nyssa (1), Nektarios of Constantinople (1), Joseph archbishop of Thessaloniki (1), Theodore of Stoudios (1), Theodore Synkellos (1), George of Nikomedia (1), Epiphanius of Cyprus (1) and Gregory of Caesaria (1). With Pantokratoros 26 we come to the last major representative of the third manuscript family of SermCat's textual tradition. I was not able to study this manuscript *in situ*, but only from a microfilm reproduction at the Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies in Thessaloniki. The manuscript has been described by Spyridon Lambros in his *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*.<sup>164</sup> Lambros has dated the manuscript to the 11<sup>th</sup> century. There is a note on f. 212v indicating possession by the Monastery of Pantokratoros. However, it is unsure whether the manuscript was copied on Mt. Athos or not. I cannot comment on the colors employed because of the black and white image of the microfilm, but the appearance of the text is very different from the majority of the other manuscripts in this family. It is closest to Baroccianus 199, Parisinus supplementum graecum 1386 and Coislinianus 271. In other words, to all appearances, Pantokratoros 26 is lacking in decorations that are considered characteristic of Italo-Greek productions.

The text of SermCat preserved here is also noteworthy, as it presents all of the characteristic readings of Ottobonianus graecus 14 but none of the variants transmitted from Baroccianus 199. Its only differences from Ottobonianus graecus 14 are in three places. In the same way as the scribes of both Coislinianus 271 and Marcianus graecus 1123 believed that in their prototype, Parisinus supplementum graecum 1386, the phrase: πάντες ἀπολαύσατε τοῦ

<sup>162</sup> Aubineau (1977) 26, n.10 notes that this should not lead us to conclude that the remaining homilies were added to the codex after it was split in two.

<sup>163</sup> Leroy (1967) 6.

<sup>164</sup> Lambros (1900) 95.

πλούτου τῆς πίστεως, πάντες ἀπολαύσατε τοῦ πλούτου τῆς χρηστότητος, preserved two rival variants of the same passage, and thus each scribe opted to copy one or the other phrase, so too in Pantokratoros 26 we read simply: πάντες ἀπολαύσατε τοῦ πλούτου τῆς χρηστότητος.<sup>165</sup> The second variation does not actually consist of a different reading, but different placement of a particular passage: ἐπικράνθη καὶ γὰρ ἐνεκρώθη. It is true that the scribe of Pantokratoros 26 has changed the variant of Ottobonianus graecus 14 γὰρ καὶ to καὶ γὰρ—something which no other manuscript in this family that includes this particular passage does. However, the main difference is that Ottobonianus graecus 14—and all other manuscripts in this family that include this passage—places this particular line after the quote from Isaiah: ὁ Ἄδης, φησὶν, ἐπικράνθη συναντήσας σοι κάτω. Pantokratoros 26, instead, places the phrase after the second repetition: ἐπικράνθη καὶ γὰρ ἐνεπαίχθη. Finally, the scribe omits the small phrase: καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲν ζημιοῦται. Other than these minor variations, the text of Pantokratoros 26 is in full agreement with that of Ottobonianus graecus 14, for which reason I argue that the former is descended from the latter. This ends the presentation of the third manuscript family of SermCat’s textual tradition.

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<sup>165</sup> This is what happens in the printed edition of *PG* 59:721–724, as well.

### FOURTH MANUSCRIPT FAMILY: $\gamma$

#### **A Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS. Vaticanus graecus 2013 (9<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> century)**

Catalogues and Reproductions: CCG VI, 230–232; Pinakes diktyon #68642

Parchment. Dimensions: 245x190 mm. 214 folia, with 2 columns of text, each of 35–40 lines. Ruling: 00C2.<sup>166</sup> Script: compact, slightly angled and irregular Rossano style. This fits with Voicu's identification of the manuscript's Italo-Greek provenance.<sup>167</sup> Contents: the manuscript is a panegyrikon for just over half of the year, beginning roughly with Lent and ending with the Dormition. Ehrhard classified the codex as an Italo-Greek panegyrikon, identifying that part of its texts are to be found in the manuscript Vaticanus graecus 2119 (10<sup>th</sup> century).<sup>168</sup> Attributions: John Chrysostom (28), John Damascene (1), Epiphanius of Cyprus (3), Amphilochios of Iconium (2), Gregory Nazianzen (4), Athanasios of Alexandria (1), Basil of Caesaria (2), Ephraim the Syrian (5), Gregory of Antioch (1), Titus bishop of Bostra (1), Anastasios of Sinai (1), Severian of Gabala (1), Dorotheos of Gaza (1), Leontios presbyter of Jerusalem (2), Proklos of Constantinople (2), Basil of Seleucia (1), Leontios presbyter of Constantinople (1) and John metropolitan of Thessaloniki (1). In the examination of the manuscripts preserving SermCat, Vaticanus graecus 2013 represents a strong textual divergence from all other early, significant witnesses examined.

There is no table of contents. The folia are generally very faded, with minimal decorations. Many folia display humidity damage and/or holes. Others have simply been cut out of the codex. Two folia appear to have been cut out between ff. 46v–47r. Nevertheless, the quires generally still number eight folia in all. Further evidence of re-binding is to be found on ff. 198r and 204v where marginal notes have been cut off. Color does not appear anywhere in decorations throughout the manuscript; however, titles are ornamented with simple, Italo-Greek style decorations, such as those in Ottobonianus graecus 14. The ink and hand also resemble the minuscola libraria employed in Ottobonianus graecus 14, Baroccianus 199 and others. The codex ends abruptly with no colophon.

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<sup>166</sup> Leroy (1967) 1.

<sup>167</sup> CCG VI, 230.

<sup>168</sup> Ehrhard (1938) II.143.

The text preserved in Vaticanus graecus 2013 transmits variants that do not appear anywhere else in the known manuscript tradition of SermCat.<sup>169</sup> However, it is interesting to note that some of Vaticanus graecus 2013's variants do appear in other texts that incorporate large swathes of SermCat, such as in CPG 5005, transmitted in MS. Dionysiou 71 (11<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 186–188, which also incorporates passages from Theodore of Stoudios' catecheses, making a much longer text that is heavily dependent upon SermCat.<sup>170</sup> The most significant variations are as follows:

TC: εἴ τις περὶ τὴν ἕκτην ἐφάνη, μηδὲν ἀμφιβαλέτω] A: εἴ τις ἕκτην ἐφάνει μηδὲν ἀσφαλίζων

TC: μηδὲν ἐνδοιάζων] A: μηδὲν διλιῶν

TC: καὶ τὴν προῤῥῆξιν τιμᾶ καὶ τὴν πρόθεσιν ἐπαινεῖ] A: om. cod.

A: post δευτέροι] καὶ οἱ περὶ τὴν ἐνδεκάτην add. cod.

A: post γέμει] ἀγαθῶν add. cod.

TC: πάντες ἀπολαύσατε τοῦ πλοῦτου τῆς χρηστότητος] A: ἀπολαύσατε τοῦ συμποσίου τῆς πίστεως, πάντες ἀπολαύσατε τοῦ πλοῦτου τῆς χρηστότητος

TC: ὁ τοῦ Σωτῆρος θάνατος] A: τοῦ θανάτου ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ θάνατος

PG: Συναντήσας σοι κάτω ἐπικράνθη, καὶ γὰρ καθηρέθη, ἐπικράνθη] A: om. cod.

TC: καταβέβλησαι] A: πέπτωκας

TC: Ἀνέστη Χριστὸς καὶ πεπτώκασι δαίμονες] A: om. cod.

TC: post ἄγγελοι] A: καὶ σκιρτῶσιν ἀρχάγγελοι add. cod.

TC: Ἀνέστη Χριστὸς καὶ νεκρὸς οὐδεὶς ἐπὶ μνήματος] A: om. cod.

A: post ἀρχάγγελοι] Ἀνέστη Χριστὸς καὶ ζωὴ πολιτεύεται, ἀνέστη Χριστὸς καὶ τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸν ἐλπίζουσιν τὴν ζωὴν καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐδωρήσατο add. cod.

A: post ἐγένετο] Ἀνέστη Χριστὸς καὶ εἰρήνην τῷ κόσμῳ ἐδωρήσατο add. cod.

For many of these variants, there is no explanation that offers itself—for example: ἀσφαλίζων instead of ἀμφιβαλλέτω or διλιῶν instead of ἐνδοιάζων. Vaticanus graecus 2013's reading is nonsensical as preserved in these instances, but I have not found the evidence necessary to explain these nonsequitur readings. Other variants, such as the small addition of

<sup>169</sup> Except, of course, in other manuscripts that appear to have been copied from this one. However, since its copies do not offer any significant textual variants, their evidence is not taken into account here.

<sup>170</sup> I am grateful to Guillaume Bady for sharing his research on this, and many other points, with me. His discoveries and insights into this and many other paschal homilies have greatly improved the quality of the present research. See Bady (2008; 2012; 2017; 2018) and cf. Mayer (2015).

the word ἀγαθῶν as the genitive object of the verb γέμει in a phrase discussing a banquet table makes sense; it appears in a slightly altered form in Vaticanus graecus 1633. However, it is striking that at least two of these variants are transmitted in another, much longer text that has drawn significantly from SermCat, preserved in Dionysiou 71 (11<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 186–188. These are: post ἄγγελοι] καὶ σκιρτῶσιν ἀρχάγγελοι add. cod. and post ἀρχάγγελοι] Ἀνέστη Χριστὸς καὶ ζωὴ πολιτεύεται, ἀνέστη Χριστὸς καὶ τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸν ἐλπίζουσιν τὴν ζωὴν καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐδώρησατο add. cod. In essence, these two readings serve to make one line of the text much longer. The text preserved in Dionysiou 71 is, in many other respects, vastly different from that of Vaticanus graecus 2013. There is no hint that the two are closely related. This renders these readings common to both manuscripts even more fascinating, if we consider that only two centuries after the death of Theodore of Stoudios his own work—as we have an approximation of it in Vaticanus graecus 2079 and in the manuscripts preserving his own Or.4 that we will examine below—was so drastically altered and supplemented to the point of being almost unrecognizable. Whatever the particular reasons for these creative interferences and interpolations into the text, Theodore inspired great enthusiasm in his successors for the reception of John Chrysostom’s paschal homily *par excellence*—an inspiration that led them to receive and to mold their own reception of Chrysostom and the text attributed to him.<sup>171</sup>

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<sup>171</sup> Cf. Part 2, chapter 1.

## FIFTH MANUSCRIPT FAMILY: β

### **T Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS. 185 (11<sup>th</sup> century)**

Catalogues and Reproductions: Crostini:

([http://digitalcollections.tcd.ie/home/#folder\\_id=131&pidtopage=MS185\\_005&entry\\_point=223](http://digitalcollections.tcd.ie/home/#folder_id=131&pidtopage=MS185_005&entry_point=223));<sup>172</sup> Digital images are available here:

[http://digitalcollections.tcd.ie/home/#folder\\_id=131&pidtopage=MS185\\_005&entry\\_point=5](http://digitalcollections.tcd.ie/home/#folder_id=131&pidtopage=MS185_005&entry_point=5) (accessed 3.1.19); CCG I, 1–2; Pinakes diktyon #13591

Parchment. Dimensions: 337x235 mm. 261 folia, with two columns of text, each of 28–29 lines. Ruling: 20E2.<sup>173</sup> Script: Perlschrift. Contents: Crostini has identified the manuscript as a liturgical homiliary for the entire year beginning in September and ending in August, according to Ehrhard's classification a pre-Metaphrastic Type A. Attributions: Chrysippos of Jerusalem (1), Hesychios of Jerusalem (2), Cyril of Jerusalem (1), Germanos I of Constantinople (3), Gregory Nazianzen (2), Basil of Caesarea (1), Epiphanius of Cyprus (1), Antonios the hagiographer (1), Archippos the hermit (1), John Damascene (1), Pantoleon the presbyter and monk (1), Kosmas Vestitor (1), Ephraim the Syrian (1), John Chrysostom (12), Christopher of Alexandria (1), Sophronios of Jerusalem (1), (ps.)Eusebios of Alexandria (1) and Proklos of Constantinople (2). Crostini dates the manuscript to the year 1020. Ehrhard also proposed an 11<sup>th</sup> century date, noting the presence of gaps in the liturgical periods of the year represented by the texts collected in the codex, as well as items missing at both its beginning and end.<sup>174</sup> Though a Southern Italian provenance has often been suggested, Crostini rejects this in favor of a Constantinopolitan provenance—while at the same time casting doubt on the possibility that it was copied in an imperial scriptorium for Basil II. She notes one scribal hand throughout the manuscript. Certain titles are highlighted in red, yellow or green ink, while initial capitals also display creative decoration, as well. Many of these decorations recall features characteristic of Southern Italian techniques. Not only has the manuscript been rebound, but in fact at least 52 folios are missing, according to Crostini's count.

The text of SermCat transmitted in the manuscript differs markedly from that of the four families we have thus far examined. With Trinity College 185 we move on to the fifth, and

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<sup>172</sup> Dr. Crostini has written an extensive 22–page description of the manuscript for Trinity College Dublin's Digital Collections, available here:

[http://digitalcollections.tcd.ie/home/#folder\\_id=131&pidtopage=MS185\\_005&entry\\_point=223](http://digitalcollections.tcd.ie/home/#folder_id=131&pidtopage=MS185_005&entry_point=223).

However,

having downloaded the article many months ago, I now discover that the link no longer works.

<sup>173</sup> Leroy (1967) 6.

<sup>174</sup> Ehrhard (1936) I.163–164.

final, manuscript family in the tradition of SermCat. The characteristic readings of Trinity College 185 are as follows:

TC: Εἴ τις εὐσεβῆς καὶ φιλόθεος, ἀπολαυέτω τῆς καλῆς ταύτης πανηγύρεως] T: Εἴ τις εὐλαβεῖς καὶ φιλόχριστος, ἀπολαβέτω ταύτης τῆς καλῆς πανηγύρεως τὰ χαρίσματα

TC: ἐφάνη] T: om. cod.

TC: καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲν ζημιούται] T: om. cod.

TC: Εἴ τις ὑστέρησεν εἰς τὴν ἐνάτην, προσελθέτω μηδὲν ἐνδοιάζων] T: εἴ τις ὑστέρισεν εἰς τὴν ἐνάτην ἐλθεῖν, μηδὲν ἄθυμῆσει

TC: Φιλότιμος ὁ φιλόανθρωπος] T: Φιλότιμος γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ φιλόανθρωπος

TC: καὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν τιμᾶ καὶ τὴν πρόθεσιν ἐπαινεῖ] T: καὶ τὴν γνώμην ἀσπάζεται, καὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν τιμᾶ, καὶ τὸ ἔργον προσίεται, καὶ τὴν πρόθεσιν ἐπαινεῖ

TC: τρυφήσατε πάντες] T: τρυφήσαντες ἄσατε

TC: πολὺς] T: ἠτοίμασται

TC: πάντες ἀπολαύσατε τοῦ πλούτου τῆς χρηστότητος] T: πάντες ἀπολαύσατε τοῦ συμποσίου τὸ χάρισμα, καὶ πάντες ἀντλήσατε τοῦ μύρου τῆς χάριτος

TC: ἐφάνη γὰρ ἡ κοινὴ βασιλεία. Μηδεὶς ὀδυρέσθω τὰ πταίσματα] T: om. cod.

TC: συγγνώμη γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ τάφου ἀνέτειλε] T: ἄφεςις γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ τάφου ἀνέτειλεν

TC: Ἐσβεσεν αὐτὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατεχόμενος. Ἐκόλασεν τὸν ἄδην κατελθὼν εἰς τὸν ἄδην. Ἐπικράνεν αὐτὸν γευσάμενον τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ] T: ἔσωσεν ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἄδου ἐρρύσατο, ἐπικράνθη ὁ ἄδης γευσάμενος τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ

TC: Ἐπικράνθη καὶ γὰρ καθηρέθη] T: om. cod.

TC: Ἐλαβε γῆν καὶ συνήνητησεν οὐρανῶ] T: om. cod.

TC: Ἀνέστη Χριστὸς καὶ πεπτώκασιν δαίμονες] T: om. cod.

TC: οὐδεὶς ἐπὶ μνήματος] T: οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν μνήματι

One immediately senses that this is a far different text than those we have thus far examined—while still not qualifying as a different version of SermCat altogether. Some variants can be attributed to simplifications of, and/or additions to, the text, such as adding *χαρίσματα* as an accusative object of the verb *ἀπολαύειν*, instead of keeping the genitive object *πανηγύρεως*. Other simplifications include: *Φιλότιμος γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ φιλόανθρωπος*, *πάντες ἀπολαύσατε τοῦ συμποσίου τὸ χάρισμα* and *ἐπικράνθη ὁ ἄδης γευσάμενος τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ*. This last one is intriguing, since it actually makes its way into some of the different versions of SermCat that we will examine below. Many manuscripts transmit *γευσάμενος*, but are perfectly

happy to keep Hades in the accusative (ἄδην), as the object of the active verb ἐπίκρανεν. Thus, γευσάμενος refers back to Christ. We saw this above in the family of Ottobonianus graecus 14. However, Trinity College 185 has taken this variant to its logical end, restructuring the phrase entirely. Now, Hades is the subject of a passive verb, and thus the original variant γευσάμενος can once again modify Hades. The resulting phrase is far more linear than the original: ἐπίκρανεν αὐτὸν γευσάμενον τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ. For other variant readings here, there is no obvious explanation. For example, one is at a loss to explain μηδὲν ἀθυμήσει in place of μηδὲν ἐνδοιάζων, or τρυφήσαντες ἄσατε instead of τρυφήσατε πάντες. Perhaps the former could be attributed to mis-hearing.<sup>175</sup>

### **R Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Cromwell 23 (1064–5)**

Catalogues and Reproductions: CCG I, 217–218; Coxe (available online here: [https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/manuscript\\_4038](https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/manuscript_4038)); Darrouzès (1954); Pinakes diktyon #47813

Parchment. Dimensions: 310x250 mm. 334 folia, with two columns of text, each of 30 lines. Ruling: 00D2.<sup>176</sup> Script: angled, slightly less ‘energetic’ stylized cursive, with elements of liturgical minuscule and Perlschrift. Contents: Ehrhard classifies the codex as an example of an entire-year panegyrikon, completely preserved—despite the relatively small number of homilies contained in the codex.<sup>177</sup> Attributions: Basil of Caesarea (4), Andrew of Crete (5), George of Nikomedia (1), John Chrysostom (8), Gregory Nazianzen (5), Amphilochios of Iconium (1), John Damascene (1), Ephraim the Syrian (1) and Germanos II of Constantinople (1). The manuscript is dated to 1064–5 on f. 1r. Coxe notes in his description that it once belonged to the Monastery of St. Anastasia Pharmakolytria in Halkidiki, Greece. However, Darrouzès, in an article that examines manuscripts from the monastery, was unable to find any connection between this codex and the particular monastery.<sup>178</sup> However, after an *in situ* examination of the manuscript, I can confirm Coxe’s note. On the inside of the back cover of the manuscript, in the top right corner, is written in a nearly illegible cursive script the following note: “Αὕτη ἡ βίβλος | ἀπαρχὴ τῆς ἀγί(ας) | μον(ῆς) ἀναστασίας καὶ ἥ τις τὼ ἐξηλώ

<sup>175</sup> ἀθυμήσει could potentially be explained as a synonym for ἐνδοιάζων, combined with a change of syntax from present active participle to aorist active subjunctive. It’s possible that ἄσατε may also be a corruption of ἅπαντες. I thank Niels Gaul for his suggestions on these, as well as many other, points.

<sup>176</sup> Leroy (1967) 1.

<sup>177</sup> Ehrhard (1938) II.21–22.

<sup>178</sup> Darrouzès (1954) 56.

| σι ἐκ τῆς μο(ν)ῆς ταύτης νὰ ἔχη | τὰς ἀρὰς τῶν ἁγίων τη' φεοφό | ρων π(ατέ)ρων ἀμήν.”<sup>179</sup>  
 φεοφόρων must be a mistake for θεοφόρων. The 318 fathers are undoubtedly those of the First Ecumenical Council held in Nikaia in 325.<sup>180</sup>

The binding is beginning to come undone at the bottom edges. The parchment is stiff and rough. There is also some evidence of water damage throughout the manuscript. Decoration is minimal. The only color employed is red, for titles and initial capitals. Above the table of contents is written βιβλίον πανηγυρικόν. The texts transmitted here cover almost the entire year, from the birth of the Theotokos on 8 September to the Transfiguration on 6 August.

The text of SermCat transmitted in Cromwell 23 can be described as an attempt to correct perceived errors of its prototype, Trinity College 185. Cromwell 23 generally preserves all the characteristic variants of its prototype. The changes it makes are the following:

T: Εἷ τις εὐλαβεῖς καὶ φιλόχριστος, ἀπολαβέτω ταύτης τῆς καλῆς πανηγύρεως τὰ χαρίσματα] R: Εἷ τις εὐλαβῆς καὶ φιλόχριστος, ἀπολαβέτω τῶν χαρισμάτων ταύτης τῆς καλῆς πανηγύρεως

T: ἐορτάσει] R (TC): ἐορταζέτω

T: ἔφθασε om. cod.] R: ἀφίκετο add. cod.

T: πάντες ἀπολαύσατε τοῦ συμποσίου τὸ χάρισμα] R: πάντες ἀπολαύσατε τοῦ συμποσίου

T: ἀνέστη Χριστὸς καὶ πεπτώκασι δαίμονες om. cod.] R (TC): habet cod.

Cromwell 23's variations from Trinity College 185 demonstrate improvements in spelling (εὐλαβῆς) and grammar (τῶν χαρισμάτων, ἐορταζέτω), but are not limited to these areas. Cromwell 23 supplies a verb, ἀφίκετο, to fill in the gap where Trinity College 185 had omitted one altogether (most likely either ἐφάνη or ἔφθασε, depending on its prototype). Moreover, Cromwell 23 manages to re-insert a line that Trinity College 185 had omitted: ἀνέστη Χριστὸς καὶ πεπτώκασι δαίμονες. It is difficult to pinpoint the reasons for such phenomena with the current state of evidence; however, it seems likely that Cromwell 23 was able to consult another manuscript of SermCat together with Trinity College 185, especially in

<sup>179</sup> It seems that D. Grosdidier de Matons in a dissertation at the Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes has discussed this same note of possession. Unfortunately, I was unable to consult this dissertation.

<sup>180</sup> Cf. this similar curse found in the DBBE, occurrence #18564, in MS. Russia GIM Sinodicus graecus 456 (1297): <https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/occurrences/18564> (accessed 14.10.20). I thank Niels Gaul for his help in reading and interpreting this note.

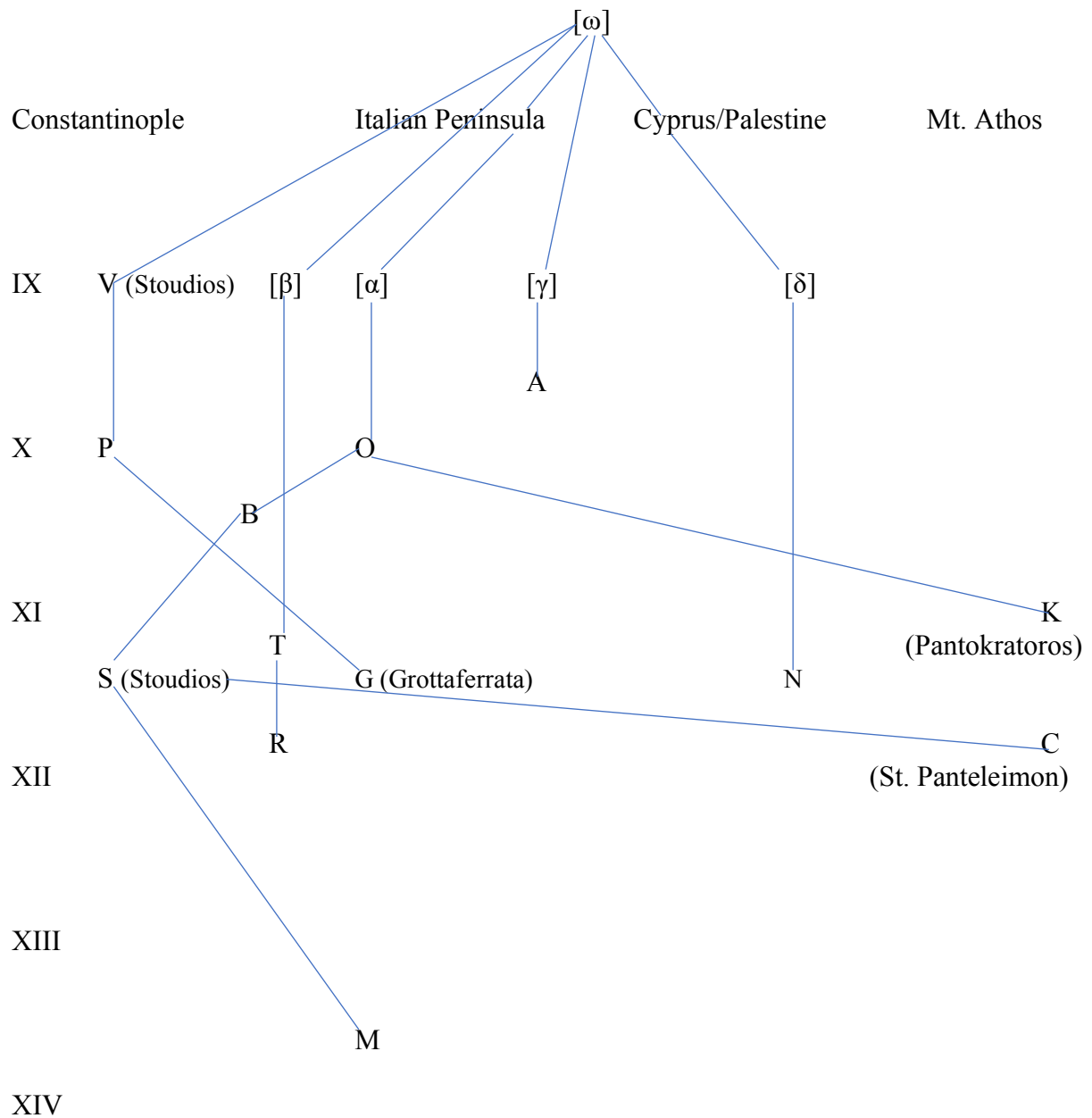
order to restore the line at the end of the text.<sup>181</sup> Nevertheless, even if Trinity College 185 was copied around the year 1020 and Cromwell 23 in 1064–5, there is no way to know how many other manuscripts could have intervened between these two in the transmission process. Moreover, Trinity College 185 was likely copied in Constantinople. We know that Cromwell 23 belonged at one time to the Monastery of St. Anastasia in Halkidiki, but the monastery was founded in 1520. It is, therefore, unclear where this codex was held for approximately the first five centuries of its existence. It is possible that it was also copied in Constantinople, but at present this is uncertain.

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<sup>181</sup> It is also possible that the scribe simply knew the line by heart from having heard SermCat read aloud at paschal services, and was able to insert it from memory.

## II. CRITICAL EDITION OF *SERMO CATECHETICUS*

Stemma of (ps.)Chrysostom's *Sermo Catecheticus in sanctum Pascha* (CPG 4605)



Critical Text of (ps.)Chrysostom's *Sermo Catecheticus in sanctum Pascha*  
(CPG 4605)

ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΣ  
ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΝ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΗΜΩΝ ΙΗΣΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ

Εἷ τις εὐσεβῆς καὶ φιλόθεος, ἀπολαυέτω τῆς καλῆς ταύτης πανηγύρεως.  
Εἷ τις δοῦλος εὐγνώμων, εἰσελθέτω χαίρων εἰς τὴν χαρὰν τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ.  
Εἷ τις ἔκαμε νηστεύων, ἀπολαβέτω νῦν τὸ δηνάριον. 5

Εἷ τις ἀπὸ πρώτης ὥρας εἰργάσατο, δεχέσθω σήμερον τὸ δίκαιον ὄφλημα.  
Εἷ τις μετὰ τὴν τρίτην ἦλθεν, εὐχαριστῶν ἑορταζέτω.  
Εἷ τις περὶ τὴν ἕκτην ἐφάνη, μηδὲν ἀμφιβαλέτω· καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲν ζημιούται.  
Εἷ τις ὑστέρησεν εἰς τὴν ἐνάτην, προσελθέτω μηδὲν ἐνδοιάζων.  
Εἷ τις μόνην ἔφθασε τὴν ἐνδεκάτην, μὴ φοβηθῆ τὴν βραδυτῆτα. 10

Φιλότιμος ὁ φιλότιμος.  
Δέχεται τὸν ἔσχατον καθάπερ καὶ τὸν πρῶτον.  
Ἀναπαύει τὸν τῆς ἐνδεκάτης ὡς τὸν ἐργασάμενον ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης.

Καὶ τὸν ὕστερον ἐλεεῖ καὶ τὸν πρῶτον θεραπεύει.  
Κάκεινφ δίδωσι καὶ τούτῳ χαρίζεται. 15  
Καὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν τιμᾶ καὶ τὴν πρόθεσιν ἐπαινεῖ.

1–2 ΤΟΥ ΕΝ...ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ V] Τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπισκόπου κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ χρυσοστόμου· λόγος εἰς τὴν λαμπρὰν κυριακὴν τῆς ἀγίας χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἀναστάσεως, καὶ εἰς τὴν βραδυτῆτα N; ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΤΟΥ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΥ, ΛΟΓΟΣ ΤΗ ΑΓΙΑ ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΣΧΑ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΑΣΠΑΣΜΟΝ O; ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΩΣ· ΛΟΓΟΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΤΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΝ ΜΙΚΡΟΣ, ΑΛΛΑ ΠΑΝΥ ΚΑΛΟΣ A; ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΥ· ΟΜΙΛΙΑ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΑΓΙΟΝ ΠΑΣΧΑ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΑΣΠΑΣΜΟΝ T 3 Εἷ τις εὐσεβῆς...πανηγύρεως NVO] Ἡ τις εὐσεβῆς καὶ φιλόθεος ἀπολαυέτω ταύτης τῆς καλῆς πανηγύρεως A; Εἷ τις εὐλαβῆς καὶ φιλόχριστος, ἀπολαβέτω ταύτης τῆς καλῆς πανηγύρεως τὰ χαρίσματα T 4 Εἷ τις δοῦλος...αὐτοῦ NOT] εἰσελθάτω VA 5 Εἷ τις ἔκαμε...δηνάριον NT] ἀπολάβη VO; ἀπολάβει et om. νῦν cod. A 6 Εἷ τις ἀπὸ πρώτης...ὄφλημα N] ὥρας om. codd. VOT; σήμερον om. et νῦν add. cod. A 7 Εἷ τις μετὰ...ἑορταζέτω] ἑορτάση N; ἑορτάσει VOA; εὐχαρίστως ἑορτάσει T 8 Εἷ τις περὶ...ζημιούται] μετὰ et ἔφθασε habet cod. N; ἀμφιβάλλει VO; ἡ τις ἕκτην ἐφάνη μηδὲν ἀσφαλίζων· οὐδὲν ζημιούται A; εἷ τις μετὰ τὴν ἕκτην, μηδὲν ἀμφιβάλλει T 9 Εἷ τις ὑστέρησεν...ἐνδοιάζων N] ἐνδεκάτην et προσέληθαι habet cod. V; προσέληθαι O; ἡ τις ὑστέρησεν ἐνάτην· προσέληθαι μηδὲν διλιῶν A; Εἷ τις ὑστέρησεν εἰς τὴν ἐνάτην ἐλθεῖν· μηδὲν ἀθυμήσει T 10 Εἷ τις μόνην...βραδυτῆτα VOT] εἰς add. codd. NA 11 Φιλότιμος ὁ φιλότιμος VOA] φιλότιμος γὰρ ὢν ὁ δεσπότης N; φιλότιμος γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ φιλότιμος T 12 Δέχεται...πρῶτον N] καθάπερ τὸν πρότερον V; καθάπερ τὸν πρώτιστον O; ὡς καὶ τὸν πρῶτον A; καθὼς καὶ τὸν πρῶτον T 13 Αναπαύει...πρώτης N] τῆς om. codd. VOA; καθάπερ τῷ ἐργασάμενῳ ἀπὸ πρώτης T 14 Καὶ τὸν ὕστερον...θεραπεύει NVO] πρότερον κάμνοντα A 15 Κάκεινφ...χαρίζεται NVO] καὶ τούτῳ δίδωσιν κάκεινφ χαρίζεται A 16 Καὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν...ἐπαινεῖ N] καὶ τὰ ἔργα δέχεται καὶ τὴν γνώμην ἀσπάζεται· καὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν τιμᾶ· καὶ τὴν πρόθεσιν ἐπαινεῖ V; καὶ τὰ ἔργα δέχεται·καὶ τὴν τιμὴν ἀσπάζεται· καὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν τιμᾶ, καὶ τὴν προαίρεσιν ἐπαινεῖ O; om. cod. A; καὶ τὴν γνώμην ἀσπάζεται· καὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν τιμᾶ· καὶ τὸ ἔργον προσίεται· καὶ τὴν πρόθεσιν ἐπαινεῖ T

- Οὐκοῦν εἰσέλθῃτε πάντες εἰς τὴν χαρὰν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν.  
 Καὶ πρῶτοι καὶ δεῦτεροι τὸν μισθὸν ἀπολάβετε.  
 Πλούσιοι καὶ πένητες μετ' ἀλλήλων χορεύσατε.  
 Ἐγκρατεῖς καὶ ῥάθυμοι τὴν ἡμέραν τιμήσατε. 20  
 Νηστεύσαντες καὶ μὴ νηστεύσαντες εὐφράνθητε σήμερον.
- Ἡ τράπεζα γέμει· τρυφήσατε πάντες.  
 Ὁ μόσχος πολὺς· μηδεὶς ἐξέλθοι πεινῶν.  
 Πάντες ἀπολαύσατε τοῦ πλοῦτου τῆς χρηστότητος.
- Μηδεὶς θρηνείτω πενίαν· ἐφάνη γὰρ ἡ κοινὴ βασιλεία. 25  
 Μηδεὶς ὀδυρέσθω τὰ πταίσματα· συγγνώμη γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ τάφου ἀνέτειλε.  
 Μηδεὶς φοβείσθω τὸν θάνατον· ἠλευθέρωσε γὰρ ἡμᾶς ὁ τοῦ σωτῆρος θάνατος.
- Ἐσβεσεν αὐτὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατεχόμενος.  
 Ἐκόλασε τὸν ἄδην κατελθὼν εἰς τὸν ἄδην.  
 Ἐπίκραναν αὐτὸν γευσάμενον τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ. 30

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17 Οὐκοῦν...ἡμῶν N] εἰσέλθαται VA; εἰσέλθετε OT 18 Καὶ πρῶτοι...ἀπολάβετε NVOT] καὶ οἱ περὶ τὴν ἑνδεκάτην add. cod. A 20 Ἐγκρατεῖς...τιμήσατε NVAT] om. cod. O 21 Νηστεύσαντες...σήμερον NV] post σήμερον add. λέγοντες καὶ σκιρτῶντες μετὰ τοῦ Δαυΐδ αὕτη ἡ ἡμέρα ἦν ἐποίησεν ὁ κύριος· ἀγαλλιασώμεθα καὶ εὐφρανθῶμεν ἐν αὐτῇ cod. O; ante μὴ add. οἱ cod. A; ante νηστεύσαντες add. οἱ cod. T 22 Ἡ τράπεζα...πάντες NVO] ἡ τράπεζα γέμει ἀγαθῶν· τρυφήσαντες πάντες ἀπολαύσατε τοῦ συμποσίου τῆς πίστεως A; ἡ τράπεζα γέμει· τρυφήσαντες ἄσατε T 23 Ὁ μόσχος...πεινῶν N] ἐξέλθη VO; om. cod. A; om. πολὺς et habet ἠτοίμασται cod. T 24 Πάντες...χρηστότητος N] ante Πάντες add. Πάντες ἀπολαύσατε τοῦ συμποσίου τῆς πίστεως cod. V; ante Πάντες add. Πάντες ἀπολαύσατε τοῦ πλοῦτου τῆς πίστεως cod. O; πάντες ἀπολαύσατε τοῦ συμποσίου τὸ χάρισμα· καὶ πάντες ἀντλήσατε τοῦ μύρου τῆς χάριτος T 25 Μηδεὶς...βασιλεία NVA] om. κοινὴ et habet Χριστοῦ cod. O; om. ἐφάνη γὰρ ἡ κοινὴ βασιλεία cod. T 26 Μηδεὶς...ἀνέτειλε N] ἀπὸ προ ἐκ VOA; om. Μηδεὶς ὀδυρέσθω τὰ πταίσματα et habet ἄφεις γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ τάφου ἀνέτειλεν cod. T 27 Μηδεὶς...θάνατος N] τοῦ σωτῆρος ὁ θάνατος V; ἠλευθέρωσε γὰρ ἡμᾶς τοῦ σωτῆρος ὁ θάνατος O; τοῦ θανάτου ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ θάνατος A; ἠλευθέρωσεν ἡμᾶς τοῦ σωτῆρος ὁ θάνατος T 28 Ἐσβεσεν...κατεχόμενος NVOA] om. cod. T 29 Ἐκόλασε...ἄδην N] ὁ κατελθὼν VA; ἐκόλασεν αὐτὸν γευσάμενος τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ O; ἔσωσεν ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἄδου ἐρρύσατο T 30 Ἐπίκραναν...αὐτοῦ NVA] om. cod. O; ἐπικράνη ὁ ἄδης· γευσάμενος τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ T

Καὶ τοῦτο προλαβὼν Ἡσαΐας ἐβόησεν· ὁ ἄδης, φησὶν, ἐπικράνθη συναντήσας σοι κάτω.

Ἐπικράνθη, καὶ γὰρ ἐνεκρώθη.

Ἐπικράνθη, καὶ γὰρ καθηρέθη.

Ἐπικράνθη, καὶ γὰρ ἐνεπαίχθη.

35

Ἔλαβε σῶμα καὶ θεῶ περιέτυχεν.

Ἔλαβε γῆν καὶ συνήνητησεν οὐρανῶ.

Ἔλαβεν ὅπερ ἔβλεπε καὶ πέπτωκεν ὅθεν οὐκ ἔβλεπε.

Ποῦ σου θάνατε τὸ κέντρον; Ποῦ σου ἄδη τὸ νῆκος;

Ἀνέστη Χριστὸς καὶ σὺ καταβέβλησαι.

40

Ἀνέστη Χριστὸς καὶ πεπτώκασι δαίμονες.

Ἀνέστη Χριστὸς καὶ χαίρουσιν ἄγγελοι.

Ἀνέστη Χριστὸς καὶ ζωὴ πολιτεύεται.

Ἀνέστη Χριστὸς καὶ νεκρὸς οὐδεὶς ἐπὶ μνήματος.

Χριστὸς γὰρ ἐγερθεὶς ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων ἐγένετο·

45

αὐτῶ ἢ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

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**31–32 Καὶ τοῦτο...κάτω NV]** ὁ Ἡσαΐας ἐβόησεν **O**; φησὶν et συναντήσας σοι κάτω om. cod. **A**; om. σοι et habet σε cod. **T** **33 Ἐπικράνθη...ἐνεκρώθη N]** γὰρ καὶ **VO**; om. codd. **AT** **34 Ἐπικράνθη...καθηρέθη NVO]** om. codd. **AT** **37 Ἔλαβε...οὐρανῶ N]** ἔλαβεν τὴν γῆν καὶ συνήνητησεν τῷ θεῷ **V**; ἔλαβε τὴν γῆν, καὶ συνήνητησεν οὐρανῶ **OA**; om. cod. **T** **38 Ἔλαβεν...ἔβλεπε NOA]** om. πέπτωκεν et habet ἔπαθεν cod. **V**; om. ὅπερ et habet ὅ cod. **T** **40 Ἀνέστη...καταβέβλησαι NVOT]** πέπτωκας **A** **41 Ἀνέστη...δαίμονες NVO]** om. codd. **AT** **42 Ἀνέστη...ἄγγελοι NVOT]** post ἄγγελοι add. καὶ σκιρτῶσιν ἀρχάγγελοι cod. **A** **44 Ἀνέστη...μνήματος NVO]** ἀνέστη χριστός· καὶ τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸν ἐλπίζουσιν τὴν ζωὴν καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐδωρήσατο **A**; ἀνέστη χριστός· καὶ νεκρὸς οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν μνήματι **T** **45–46 Χριστὸς...Ἀμήν N]** καὶ τὸ κράτος om. codd. **VO**; χριστὸς γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐγερθεὶς ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων ἐγένετο· ἀνέστη χριστός· καὶ εἰρήνην τῷ κόσμῳ ἐδωρήσατο· αὐτῶ ἢ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος σὺν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ἀμήν **A**; χριστὸς γὰρ ἐγερθεὶς· ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων ἐγένετο· αὐτῶ ἢ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος ἅμα τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι· εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· ἀμήν. **T**

## I. ANALYSIS OF *SERMO CATECHETICUS IN SANCTUM PASCHA* (CPG 4605)

### Structure

Before the description of manuscript witnesses, it will be helpful to briefly note the major points of structure, style, vocabulary and content in the texts under discussion. As noted above, Montfaucon believed that SermCat was fragmentary; indeed, it is considerably shorter than almost any other homily preserved under Chrysostom's name considered genuine. For this critical edition, I have decided to group the text into its thematic units so that its structure may become apparent. Far from fragmentary, SermCat in fact displays a tight, highly developed structure that appears to reflect authorial intention and rhetorical skill. First, the text is divided numerically into units that correspond to the following pattern of line groupings: 3–5–3, 3–5–3, 3–3, quotation from prophet, 3–3, quotation from prophet, 5, closing. These groupings are reflected in the division into paragraphs above. Each group of paragraphs is equally balanced; there are two cycles of 3–5–3, followed by the first, shorter cycle of 3–3. This is then broken by the quote from Isaiah. The next short 3–3 cycle follows, which is succeeded by the quote from Hosea. Finally, the triumphal 5 line cycle announces the resurrection, and the text closes with a typical doxology. Such an evenly balanced structure provides a strong case against the argument that SermCat is a fragment. Rather, this appears to be a text that was intentionally constructed so as to maximize the potential to convey a complex theological message as quickly and concisely as possible, without sacrificing clarity. Whatever the origins of SermCat are, the text should not be considered fragmentary. The longer versions we will see below exhibit interpolations alien to this tight structure evident in SermCat.

### Style

The style of the text is also not haphazard or random. The opening paragraphs, where the initial invitation to participate in the celebration is expressed and qualified in terms of faith, repentance and asceticism, manifest the longest lines of the entire text. From there, the author picks up speed and employs primarily short, powerful phrases, full of imperatives. The style reflects an author concerned with addressing a large audience, of all levels of education and understanding. As will become clear in the analysis of vocabulary and content, SermCat can be interpreted on many levels. There exists a simple, obvious level, comprehensible to all, but below this, through sophisticated allusions to the Bible and other texts, the author accomplishes

a powerful theological synthesis that would be perceptible to the more literate in the audience. At all events, the text appears to have been designed to be heard rather than read, as evidenced by the short length of the overall composition and the short, dynamic phrasing employed. Rhetorical features of note include: 1) extensive use of anaphora (εἴ τις ll. 1–10, καί ll. 14–16, μηδεὶς ll. 25–27, ἐπικράνθη ll. 33–35, ἔλαβε ll. 36–38, ἀνέστη χριστός ll. 40–44); 2) pervasive metaphors to describe participation in the liturgy and receiving communion (πανήγυρις, χαρὰ τοῦ κυρίου, δηνάριον ll. 3–5; δίκαιον ὄφλημα l. 6; μισθός l. 18; τράπεζα, μόσχος, πλοῦτος τῆς χρηστότητος, κοινὴ βασιλεία ll. 22–25); 3) oxymoron to portray Hades’ defeat by Christ’s two natures (σῶμα/θεῶ, γῆν/οὐρανῶ, ὅπερ ἔβλεπε/οὐκ ἔβλεπε ll. 36–38); 4) aporia in the passage quoted from Hosea, which prophesies Hades’ defeat (l. 39)

### Vocabulary and Content

These two aspects will be presented together, since there is much overlap between them. We have already seen above in the presentation of stylometry and N-grams that the vocabulary employed here is highly characteristic of the writings of John Chrysostom. The next closest literary monument which SermCat’s vocabulary resembles is the NT. Terms such as: δοῦλος, δηνάριον, μισθός, μόσχος, πλοῦτος τῆς χρηστότητος and ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων all testify to the author’s heavy dependence on the concepts, and the text itself, of the NT. SermCat opens, as noted above, with an invitation to all Christians to participate in the feast of Pascha; Christians are characterized by their faith (εὐσεβῆς καὶ φιλόθεος), their devotion to Christ and repentance (δοῦλος εὐγνώμων)<sup>182</sup> and their asceticism (ἔκαμε νηστεύων). These ideal qualifications are then balanced out by a parabolic picture of how Christian life is actually lived by the faithful, through an extended reference to the Parable of the Workers in the Vineyard (Matt. 20:1–16). Those who came—in this context, perhaps, converted or began fasting—at the first hour receive the promised payment: receiving the mystery of communion. However, others who have only come at the eleventh hour should not feel inferior or afraid, since they will also receive the just reward for their later conversion or lesser asceticism, which is equal participation in the mysteries of the Church. This thematic section closes by emphasizing God’s love for humanity, by which he desires to reward all people equally: Φιλότιμος ὁ φιλάνθρωπος.<sup>183</sup> We must, finally, take note here of the fact that

<sup>182</sup> This line in its entirety—εἴ τις δοῦλος εὐγνώμων, εἰσελθέτω χαίρων εἰς τὴν χαρὰν τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ—is, more precisely, an allusion to the Parable of the Talents: “...εὖ, δοῦλε ἀγαθὲ καὶ πιστέ, ἐπὶ ὀλίγα ἦς πιστός, ἐπὶ πολλῶν σε καταστήσω· εἴσελθε εἰς τὴν χαρὰν τοῦ κυρίου σου” (Matt. 25:21).

<sup>183</sup> Cf. *In Genesim Homiliae* 32.9: Φιλότιμος γὰρ ὢν ὁ Δεσπότης ὁ ἡμέτερος... (PG 53:304.38) and 40.3: ...φιλότιμος ὢν καὶ μεγαλόδορος ὁ Δεσπότης ὁ ἡμέτερος... (PG 53:371.57). Chrysostom employs the adjective

the Parable of the Workers in the Vineyard is actually an unusual choice for a paschal homily by patristic standards. A search of the TLG reveals that no major 4<sup>th</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> century father of the church chose to use this parable in connection to the resurrection—except for Chrysostom, if this is truly his work. That being so, it would admittedly be a strange choice for an author who wanted to pass off his own work as Chrysostom’s without anyone noticing. If anything, choosing a parable that was never used by anyone else as the basis of the first half of the text would have precisely drawn more attention to the text.

Whatever the case may be, the use of this parable in a text, which links the resurrection to the receiving of communion, is significant. The Parable of the Workers in the Vineyard serves to reinforce this connection. Those who worked longer are unable to understand why their reward is not greater than that of those who worked less, but they fail to understand what the reward actually is. When the ‘denarion’ that they receive is interpreted as participation in the mystery of communion, then it becomes clear why everyone receives the same reward. The liturgy attributed to Chrysostom expresses the concept characteristically at the point during which the celebrant breaks up the sanctified bread into pieces in order to place it into the chalice: “The Lamb of God is broken and distributed; broken but not divided. He is forever eaten, yet never consumed, but He sanctifies those who partake of Him.”<sup>184</sup> The liturgy attributed to Basil of Caesarea expresses the same concept slightly differently in the celebrant’s prayer during the cherubic hymn: “For you, Christ our God, are the Offerer and the Offered, the One who receives and is distributed...”<sup>185</sup> Further connections between the eschatological repayment of wages (μισθός) presented in the Parables of the Talents and the Workers in the Vineyard and SermCat are to be found in other prayers of Basil’s liturgy, such as that following the great entrance:

“As you accepted this true worship from your holy apostles, accept also in your goodness (χρηστότητι), O Lord, these gifts from the hands of us sinners, that being deemed worthy to serve at Your holy altar without blame, we may obtain the

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φιλότιμος to describe God numerous times in the *In Genesim Homiliae*. It appears a total of 12 times in his corpus. He describes God as φιλόανθρωπος 132 times (including some instances in works considered to be spurious).

<sup>184</sup> *Ἱερατικόν Α΄* (2010) 132: Μερίζεται καὶ διαμερίζεται ὁ ἄμνος τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ μερίζομενος καὶ μὴ διαφρούμενος, ὁ πάντοτε ἐσθιόμενος καὶ μηδέποτε δαπανώμενος, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μετέχοντας ἀγιάζων. English translation taken from *The Divine Liturgy* (1985) 31.

<sup>185</sup> *Ἱερατικόν Β΄* (2008) 105: Σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ προσφέρων καὶ προσφερόμενος, καὶ προσδεχόμενος, καὶ διαδιδόμενος, Χριστὲ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν... English translation from *The Divine Liturgy of our father among the saints Basil the Great* (1988) 14.

reward of the faithful stewards (μισθὸν τῶν πιστῶν) on the fearful day of Your just judgment.”<sup>186</sup>

Moreover, in the prayer before the consecration of the gifts, the celebrant describes Christ’s saving actions: “So He became the first-fruits of those who have fallen asleep, the first-born of the dead that He might be Himself the first in all things.”<sup>187</sup> The connection between Christ’s death, descent to Hades and resurrection and receiving communion—all in an eschatological context—is even further reinforced in the celebrant’s next prayer:

“Do this in remembrance of me. For as often as you eat this Bread and drink this Cup, you proclaim my death, and you confess my resurrection. Therefore, Master, we also, remembering His saving passion and life-giving cross, His three-day burial and resurrection from the dead, His ascension into heaven, and enthronement at Your right hand, God and Father, and His glorious and awesome second coming...”<sup>188</sup>

Thus, despite the fact that the eschatological repayment of wages in Parables of the Talents and the Workers in the Vineyard does not appear to have been frequently employed in paschal homilies, both are present in what came to be recognized as *the paschal homily par excellence*—a text, moreover, that works equally well as a commentary on the liturgy itself. By highlighting the eschatological nature of receiving the reward of Christian life, which is to receive communion and participate in Christ’s life, SermCat underlines the interpretation of the celebration of the liturgy as a foretaste of the *eschata*.<sup>189</sup> Therefore, the recognition of SermCat as the quintessential paschal text is likely due in part to the fact that the NT passages it uses to describe the nature of receiving communion are fully in line with the very texts of the divine

<sup>186</sup> *Ἱερατικόν Β΄* (2008) 111: Ὡς προσεδέξω ἐκ τῶν ἀγίων σου ἀποστόλων τὴν ἀληθινὴν ταύτην λατρείαν, οὕτω καὶ ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἡμῶν τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν πρόσδεξαι τὰ δῶρα ταῦτα, ἐν τῇ χρηστότητί σου, Κύριε, ἵνα καταξιοθέντες λειτουργεῖν ἀμέμπτως τῷ ἀγίῳ σου θυσιαστηρίῳ, εὐρωμεν τὸν μισθὸν τῶν πιστῶν καὶ φρονίμων οἰκονόμων, ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ φοβερᾷ τῆς ἀνταποδόσεώς σου τῆς δικαίας. English translation from *The Divine Liturgy of our father among the saints Basil the Great* (1988) 20–21.

<sup>187</sup> *Ἱερατικόν Β΄* (2008) 118: ...ἐγένετο ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων, πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, ἵνα ἢ αὐτὸς τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσι πρωτεύων. English translation from *The Divine Liturgy of our father among the saints Basil the Great* (1988) 27–28.

<sup>188</sup> *Ἱερατικόν Β΄* (2008) 120: Τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν. Ὅσακις γὰρ ἂν ἐσθίητε τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο πίνητε, τὸν ἐμὸν θάνατον καταγγέλλετε καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάστασιν ὁμολογεῖτε. Μνησθέντες οὖν, δέσποτα, καὶ ἡμεῖς τῶν σωτηρίων αὐτοῦ παθημάτων, τοῦ ζωοποιοῦ σταυροῦ, τῆς τριήμερου ταφῆς, τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως, τῆς εἰς οὐρανὸς ἀνάδοσης, τῆς ἐκ δεξιῶν σου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς καθέδρας, καὶ τῆς ἐνδόξου καὶ φοβερᾶς δευτέρας αὐτοῦ παρουσίας... English translation from *The Divine Liturgy of our father among the saints Basil the Great* (1988) 29. Cf. also Kartsonis (1986) Plate 72b.

<sup>189</sup> See Rausch (2012) available here: <https://litpress.org/Products/GetSample/5735/9780814657355> (accessed 2.4.19).

liturgy itself. This probably played a role in Theodore of Stoudios' decision to select SermCat as the ideal catechesis concerning: Pascha, Chalcedonian Christology, liturgy and communion, as all of these major themes are presented and analyzed in the text in a concise, yet powerful, way that conveys the message simply and effectively.

The next thematic section (l. 17) opens by transitioning from the Parable of the Workers in the Vineyard to yet another eschatological parable from the *Gospel according to Matthew*, that of the Last Judgment: “εἰσέλθητε εἰς τὴν χαρὰν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν” (Matt. 25:21, 25:23). Richard Brändle has noted that Chrysostom describes this passage as the sweetest from the entire Gospel, and the references to it in his corpus are numerous.<sup>190</sup> SermCat then progresses on to a series of comparisons: rich and poor, self-controlled and lazy. The most troubling of these is the final: those who have fasted and those who have not. These Christians are also called to equally participate in the paschal feast, i.e. the mystery of communion: “Νηστεύσαντες καὶ μὴ νηστεύσαντες εὐφράνθητε σήμερον | Ἡ τράπεζα γέμει· τρυφήσατε πάντες.” Evidence for potential opposition to, or misunderstanding of, this sentiment ranges from Paul's *First Letter to the Corinthians* 11:27–34<sup>191</sup> to MS. Vatopedi 92 (1876), which on ff. 248–255 preserves a short treatise entitled: Ἀντίρρησις πρὸς τοὺς φιλονεικοῦντας νεοσοφιστὰς ἡς τὴν ῥῆ | σιν τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐν τῇ Κυριακῇ τοῦ Πάσχα ἀναγιγνωσκομένης | Κατηχήσεως· ἦτοι τὸ, Νηστεύσαντες καὶ μὴ νηστεύσαντες, εὐφ | ράνθητε σήμερον· ἀνατρέποντες τὸν τοῦ ἱεροῦ Χρυσοστόμου | νοῦν, πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτῶν παράνομον κατάλυσιν τῆς ἀμώμου νη | στείας, ὄντες αὐτοκατάκριτοι, καὶ διὰ τῆς λύσεως τῆς ἀποστολικῶς πα | ραδεδομένης νηστείας, μετὰ τῶν θεοκτόνων Ἰουδαίων παρὰ τῶν | ἱερῶν ἀποστόλων καταταπτόμενοι· καὶ σὺν ἐκείνοις κατακρινόμενοι. This anonymous treatise interprets the controversial passage as an invitation to those who have not fasted to rejoice in the fact of the resurrection, but not to receive communion, but SermCat itself does not appear to offer any support to such an interpretation. Rather, the invitation even to those who have not fasted to rejoice in the fully laden table seems a clear indication that all are called to participate, at least on this feast, regardless of preparation.

The text then alludes to the Parable of the Prodigal Son: “Ὁ μὸςχος πολὺς, μηδεὶς ἐξέλθοι πεινῶν.” When the prodigal son returns home, his father commands the servants: “...καὶ φέρετε τὸν μὸςχον τὸν σιτευτόν, θύσατε, καὶ φαγόντες εὐφρανθῶμεν, ὅτι οὗτος ὁ υἱός

<sup>190</sup> *In Matthaëum Homiliae* 79.1: “Τῆς περικοπῆς ταύτης τῆς ἡδίστης, ἦν συνεχῶς στρέφοντες οὐ διαλιμπάνομεν...” Cf. Brändle (1979; 2008).

<sup>191</sup> Though 1 Cor. 11:27–34 does not explicitly reference fasting, it does warn against receiving communion unworthily. The line from SermCat here appears to recognize fasting as an expected element of preparation for the feast, if only to then relativize its significance in relation to the larger picture.

μου νεκρὸς ἦν καὶ ἀνέζησεν...” (Lk. 15:23–24).<sup>192</sup> The resurrection imagery is apparent in the father’s words. Moreover, the entire scene is reminiscent of Abraham’s near sacrifice of Isaac, who is replaced by a ram at the last moment (Gen. 22). The fatted calf in the Parable of the Prodigal Son is easily interpreted as Christ himself—a sacrificial victim offered by the benevolent father who rejoices at the return of his estranged prodigal son. Paul seems to give the same interpretation in his *First Letter to the Corinthians*: “...καὶ γὰρ τὸ πάσχα ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐτύθη Χριστός” (1 Cor. 5:7). This is, therefore, a fitting complement to the previous parable, a concise way to interpret both as representations of paradise after Christ’s resurrection. Finally, this thematic section closes with a reference to Paul’s *Letter to the Romans*: “ἢ τοῦ πλούτου τῆς χρηστότητος αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀνοχῆς καὶ τῆς μακροθυμίας καταφρονεῖς, ἀγνοῶν ὅτι τὸ χρηστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς μετάνοιάν σε ἄγει;” (Rom. 2:4). This final allusion fits well with both the Parable of the Workers in the Vineyard and that of the Prodigal Son. Paul opens the second chapter of *Romans* by emphasizing that no one has a right to pronounce judgment on anyone else—especially if that person is also guilty of wrongdoing. This is the same message conveyed by the two parables, in each of which the apparently righteous, who did not forsake God’s law, end up receiving a reward no different than those who either did abandon God’s commandments and then returned, or instead began to practice his righteousness much later. All of these passages from the NT emphasize one and the same point: that all people who make any effort, however great or small, to return to God, will be rewarded by participation in the kingdom of heaven. This is the message of SermCat, in general. It is worth noting that this message of encouragement for sinners late in coming to repentance bears great resemblance to the monk Isaac’s sixth charge against Chrysostom at the Council of the Oak, as Photios has preserved it for us in his *Bibliothèque*: “that he provided *carte blanche* for sinners by teaching that: ‘If you sin again, repent again, and every time that you sin, come to me and I will cure you.’”<sup>193</sup> In the aftermath of Second Iconoclasm and the Council of 815, such a message may well have seemed appropriate to Theodore of Stoudios, as well, as a means of encouraging Iconoclasts to repent of their heretical ways and return to the heavenly banquet.<sup>194</sup>

The next thematic section (ll. 25–30) opens the second portion of SermCat, dominated by the shorter cycles of 3–3, broken by quotations from Old Testament prophets, which are then followed by the triumphal 5–line cycle and doxology. The first short 3–3 cycle acts a

<sup>192</sup> Of the 6 appearances in the NT of the word μόνος, 3 are in this parable.

<sup>193</sup> Barnes and Bevan (2013) 157. Italics as in translation.

<sup>194</sup> See also below, Analysis of Or.4 and Part 2, ch. 1 for more on the context of Theodore’s delivery of Or.4.

transition from the above parables into the narration of Christ's descent by exhorting the audience not to fear or be distressed by major afflictions of human life: poverty, sin and death. The reason in each case is that Christ has risen from the dead and given the solution to these and all problems. The next short 3–3 cycle begins the narration of Christ's descent into Hades and foreshadows the quote from Isaiah. As we will see below, the last line—"Ἐπίκρανεν αὐτὸν γευσάμενον τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ"—undergoes various transformations in the manuscript tradition. Nevertheless, it exhibits a unique mode of expressing Christ's victory over Hades. Only here, in SermCat, is Hades described as tasting Christ's flesh and being embittered. In other paschal homilies and hymns it is Christ who tastes death, and then conquers it.

The quote from Isaiah connects the previous 3–3 cycle to the following one; the common motif is the embitterment of Hades. We now learn how and why Hades was embittered: it has been put to death (i.e. it suffers itself the punishment it dealt out to humanity), it has been deposed—its kingdom is ruined and Christ's is established—and all of this has taken place because Hades was deceived by Christ. This deception forms the subject of the following 3–3 thematic cycle (ll. 33–38). It is precisely at this point in the narration of Christ's descent that Nicene and Chalcedonian Christology is promoted most overtly and effectively. Christ's two natures are described in vivid terms. Through this deception, Christ has triumphed, and his victory is reflected in the quote from Hosea. It seems likely, however, that the author of SermCat did not take this line from Hosea,<sup>195</sup> but rather from Paul's *First Letter to the Corinthians*.<sup>196</sup> The influence of Paul's letter is felt again at the conclusion of SermCat, just after the 5–line cycle in the words: "Χριστὸς γὰρ ἐγερθεὶς ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων ἐγένετο." The author is alluding to Paul's words earlier in his *First Letter to the Corinthians*: "Νυνὶ δὲ Χριστὸς ἐγήγερται ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων" (1 Cor. 15:20). Thus, the triumphal 5–line cycle that celebrates the resurrection is framed by the context of Paul's letter. The scene described in these 5 lines is recreated in the 4<sup>th</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> century apocryphal *Gospel of Nikodemos*. Hades is cast down; the demons are defeated. The angels, upon seeing the defeat of the evil ones and the rescue of humanity, rejoice; life reigns supreme over death with the establishment of Christ's kingdom, and none of the dead are left in Hades.<sup>197</sup>

<sup>195</sup> Hos. 13:14: "ἐκ χειρὸς ἄδου ῥύσομαι αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐκ θανάτου λυτρώσομαι αὐτούς· ποῦ ἡ δίκη σου, θάνατε; ποῦ τὸ κέντρον σου, ἄδι;"

<sup>196</sup> 1 Cor. 15:55: "ὅταν δὲ τὸ φθαρτὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσῃται ἀφθαρσίαν καὶ τὸ θνητὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσῃται ἀθανασίαν, τότε γενήσεται ὁ λόγος ὁ γεγραμμένος· κατεπόθη ὁ θάνατος εἰς νίκος. ποῦ σου, θάνατε, τὸ νίκος; ποῦ σου, θάνατε, τὸ κέντρον;" Despite the fact that Paul appears to have only addressed death, not death and Hades, the fathers of the church consistently cite this passage as we find it here in SermCat.

<sup>197</sup> Tischendorf (1853) 306–309.

From the above analysis, we see that SermCat constitutes a highly sophisticated theological text, employing central motifs from the NT to promote specific theological messages, namely Nicene and Chalcedonian Christology. Its vocabulary and structure are purposely and specifically adapted to this purpose. There is no evidence to prove that it is not fragmentary, but there is, more importantly, none to suggest that it is. Finally, many of its textual elements are strongly reminiscent of Chrysostom's writings.

<p>Roe 6, (12<sup>th</sup> c.), ff. 1r-v</p> <p>(1r) Τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπισκόπου κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ χρυσοστόμου· λόγος εἰς τὴν λαμπρὰν κυριακὴν τῆς ἀγίας χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν τῆς ἀναστάσεως· καὶ εἰς τὴν βραδυτῆτα</p>	<p>Vaticanus graecus 2079, (before 868), ff. 47v-48v</p> <p>(47v) ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΣ· ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΝ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΗΜΩΝ ΙΗΣΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ</p>	<p>Ottobonianus graecus 14 (10th c.), ff. 247v-248r</p> <p>(247v) ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΤΟΥ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΥ· ΛΟΓΟΣ ΤΗ ΑΓΙΑ ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΣΧΑ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΑΣΠΑΣΜΟΝ</p>	<p>Vaticanus graecus 2013 (9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> c.), ff. 117r-v</p> <p>(117r) ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΩΣ· ΛΟΓΟΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΤΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΝ ΜΙΚΡΟΣ, ΑΛΛΑ ΠΑΝΥ ΚΑΛΟΣ</p>	<p>Trinity College 185 (11<sup>th</sup> c.), ff. 214v-215v</p> <p>(214v) ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΥ· ΟΜΙΛΙΑ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΑΓΙΟΝ ΠΑΣΧΑ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΑΣΠΑΣΜΟΝ</p>
<p>Εἴ τις εὐσεβῆς καὶ φιλόθεος, ἀπολαύετω τῆς καλῆς ταύτης πανηγύρεως· εἴ τις δοῦλος εὐγνώμων, εἰσελθέτω χαίρων εἰς τὴν χαρὰν τοῦ Κυρίου αὐτοῦ· εἴ τις ἔκαμε νηστεύων, ἀπολαβέτω (l. 5 TC) νῦν τὸ δηνάριον·</p>	<p>Εἴ τις εὐσεβῆς καὶ φιλόθεος, ἀπολαύετω τῆς καλῆς ταύτης πανηγύρεως· εἴ τις δοῦλος εὐγνώμων· εἰσελθάτω χαίρων εἰς τὴν χαρὰν τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ· εἴ τις ἔκαμε νηστεύων· ἀπολαύει νῦν τὸ δηνάριον (l. 5 TC)·</p>	<p>Εἴ τις εὐσεβῆς καὶ φιλόθεος· ἀπολαύετω τῆς καλῆς ταύτης πανηγύρεως· εἴ τις δοῦλος εὐγνώμων· εἰσελθέτω χαίρων εἰς τὴν χαρὰν τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ· εἴ τις ἔκαμε νηστεύων· ἀπολάβει νῦν τὸ δηνάριον (l. 5 TC)·</p>	<p>Ἦ τις εὐσεβῆς καὶ φιλόθεος ἀπολαύετω ταύτης τῆς καλῆς πανηγύρεως· ἢ τις δοῦλος εὐγνώμων, εἰσελθάτω χαίρων εἰς τὴν χαρὰν τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ· ἢ τις ἔκαμε νηστεύων, ἀπολάβει τὸ δηνάριον (l. 5 TC)·</p>	<p>Εἴ τις εὐλαβῆς καὶ φιλόχριστος, ἀπολαβέτω ταύτης τῆς καλῆς πανηγύρεως τὰ χαρίσματα· εἴ τις δοῦλος εὐγνώμων, εἰσελθέτω χαίρων εἰς τὴν χαρὰν τοῦ (215r) τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ· εἴ τις ἔκαμε νηστεύων, ἀπολαβέτω νῦν τὸ δηνάριον (l. 5 TC)·</p>
<p>εἴ τις ἀπὸ πρώτης ὥρας εἰργάσατο, δεχέσθω σήμερον τὸ δίκαιον ὄφλημα· εἴ τις μετὰ τὴν τρίτην ἦλθεν, εὐχαριστῶν ἑορτάσει· εἴ τις μετὰ τὴν ἕκτην ἔφθασε, μηδὲν ἀμφιβάλλετω· καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲν ζημιούται· εἴ τις ὑστέρησεν εἰς τὴν ἐνάτην, προσελθέτω μηδὲν ἐνδοιάζων· εἴ τις εἰς μόνην ἔφθασε τὴν ἐνδεκάτην, μὴ φοβηθῆ τὴν (l. 10 TC) βραδυτῆτα.</p>	<p>εἴ τις ἀπὸ πρώτης εἰργάσατο· δεχέσθω σήμερον τὸ δίκαιον ὄφλημα· εἴ τις μετὰ τὴν τρίτην ἦλθεν, εὐχαριστῶν ἑορτάσει· εἴ τις περὶ τὴν ἕκτην ἐφάνη· μηδὲν ἀμφιβάλῃ, καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲν ζημιούται· εἴ τις ὑστέρησεν εἰς τὴν ἐνδεκάτην, προσέλθῃ μηδὲν ἐνδοιάζων· εἴ τις μόνην ἔφθασεν τὴν ἐνδεκάτην· μὴ φοβηθῆ τὴν (l. 10 TC) βραδυτῆτα·</p>	<p>εἴ τις ἀπὸ πρώτης εἰργάσατο· δεχέσθω σήμερον τὸ δίκαιον ὄφλημα· εἴ τις μετὰ τὴν τρίτην ἦλθεν, εὐχαριστῶν ἑορτάσει· εἴ τις περὶ τὴν ἕκτην ἐφάνη· μηδὲν ἀμφιβάλῃ· καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲν ζημιούται· εἴ τις ὑστέρησεν εἰς τὴν ἐνάτην· προσέλθῃ μηδὲν ἐνδοιάζων· εἴ τις μόνην ἔφθασεν τὴν ἐνδεκάτην· μὴ φοβηθῆ τὴν (l. 10 TC) βραδυτῆτα·</p>	<p>ἢ τις ἀπὸ πρώτης ὥρας ἠργάσατο δεχέσθω νῦν τὸ δίκαιον ὄφλημα· ἢ τις μετὰ τὴν τρίτην ἦλθεν εὐχαριστῶν ἑορτάσει· ἢ τις ἕκτην ἐφάνη μηδὲν ἀσφαλιζών· οὐδὲν ζημιούται· ἢ τις ὑστέρησεν ἐνάτην· προσέλθῃ μηδὲν διλιών· ἢ τις εἰς μόνην ἔφθασεν ἐνδεκάτην μὴ φοβηθῆ τὴν (l. 10 TC) βραδυτῆτα·</p>	<p>εἴ τις ἀπὸ πρώτης ἠργάσατο, δεχέσθω σήμερον τὸ δίκαιον ὄφλημα· εἴ τις μετὰ τὴν τρίτην ἦλθε, εὐχαριστῶν ἑορτάσει· εἴ τις μετὰ τὴν ἕκτην, μηδὲν ἀμφιβάλλει· εἴ τις ὑστέρησεν εἰς τὴν ἐνάτην ἔλθειν· μηδὲν ἀθυμήσει· εἴ τις μόνην ἔφθασε τὴν ἐνδεκάτην, μὴ φοβηθῆ τὴν (l. 10 TC) βραδυτῆτα·</p>

47v  
**ΤΟΥ-ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ V**] ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΤΟΥ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΣ, ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΑΣΠΑΣΜΟΝ P; ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΑΓΙΟΝ ΠΑΣΧΑ G **εἰργάσατο VP**] ἔκαμεν G **εὐχαριστῶν V**] εὐχαριστῶν P; εὐχαριστῶς G **ἐφάνη V**] ἐφάνη P; ἐφθασεν G **Φιλότιμος ὁ φιλόανθρωπος VP**] ὁ γὰρ φιλόανθρωπος G  
48r  
ὡς τὸν ἐργασάμενον ἀπὸ πρώτης VP] ὡς τὸν τῆς πρώτης G καὶ τὰ ἔργα-ἀσπάζεται VP] καὶ γνῶμην ἀσπάζεται G **ἐνδεκάτην V**] ἐνάτην PG

247v  
**ΤΟΥ-ΑΣΠΑΣΜΟΝ O**] ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΤΟΥ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΑΓΙΟΝ ΠΑΣΧΑ BSC; Τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν ἰωάννου τοῦ χρυσοστόμου κατήχησις εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ πάσχα εὐλόγησον πάτερ ἱσταμένου τοῦ ἱερέως ἐμπρὸς τὸν ἅγιον θυρῶν μετὰ τὸ πληρωθῆναι ὁ ἄσπασμόν λέγει τὴν κατήχησιν ταύτην μεγαλοφώνως εἰς ἐπίσκοπον πάντων M; ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΤΟΥ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΑΓΙΑΝ ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΝ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΗΜΩΝ ΙΗΣΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ K **ἀπολάβει OB**] ἀπολαβέτω SCM; ἀπολάβῃ K; post δηνάριον habet νῦν cod. M **εὐχαριστῶν OBSC**] εὐχαριστῶς M; **ἑορτάσει OBK**] ἑορτάζετω SC; ἑορτασάτω M **ἀμφιβάλῃ OBK**] ἀμφιβάλλετω SC; ἀμφιβαλέτω M **καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲν ζημιούται OBSC**] om. cod. K **προσέλθῃ OB**] προσελθέτω SCM; προσέλθει K **μὴ φοβηθῆ τὴν βραδυτῆτα OBSCM**] τὴν βραδυτῆτα μὴ φοβηθῆ

214v  
**ΤΟΥ-ΑΣΠΑΣΜΟΝ T**] ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΟΜΙΛΙΑ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΑΓΙΟΝ ΠΑΣΧΑ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΑΣΠΑΣΜΟΝ R **ἀπολαβέτω-χαρίσματα T**] ἀπολαβέτω τὸν χαρισμάτων ταύτης τῆς καλῆς πανηγύρεως R  
215r  
**ἑορτάσει T**] ἑορτάζετω post ἕκτην] ἀφίκετο add. cod. R **τὸ ἐργασάμενον T**] τὸν ἐργασάμενον R

φιλότιμος γὰρ ὢν ὁ Δεσπότης  
δέχεται τὸν ἔσχατον, καθάπερ και  
τὸν πρῶτον·  
ἀναπαύει τὸν τῆς ἐνδεκάτης, ὡς τὸν  
ἐργασάμενον ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης·

καὶ τὸν ὕστερον ἐλεεῖ, καὶ τὸν  
πρῶτον θεραπεύει·  
κάκεινῳ δίδωσι, καὶ τούτῳ  
(I. 15 TC) χαρίζεται.  
καὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν τιμᾷ, καὶ τὴν  
πρόθεσιν ἐπαινεῖ.

οὐκοῦν εισέλθῃτε πάντες εἰς τὴν  
χαρὰν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν,  
καὶ πρῶτοι καὶ δεῦτεροι τὸν μισθὸν  
ἀπολάβετε,  
πλοῦσιοι καὶ πένητες μετὰ ἀλλήλων  
χορευσατε,  
ἐγκρατεῖς καὶ ῥάθυμοι τὴν ἡμέραν  
(I. 20 TC) τιμήσατε,  
νηστεύσαντες καὶ μὴ νηστεύσαντες  
εὐφράνθητε σήμερον.

ἢ τράπεζα γέμει, τρυφήσατε πάντες·  
ὁ μόσχος πολὺς, μηδεὶς ἐξέλθῃ  
πεινῶν·  
πάντες ἀπολαύσατε τοῦ πλοῦτου τῆς  
χρηστότητος. (1v)

μηδεὶς θρηνεῖτω πενίαν· ἐφάνη γὰρ ἡ  
(I. 25 TC) κοινὴ βασιλεία·

φιλότιμος ὁ φιλότιμος·  
δέχεται τὸν ἔσχατον, καθάπερ τὸν  
πρῶτον·  
ἀναπαύει τὸν τῆς ἐνδεκάτης (48r) ὡς  
τὸν ἐργασάμενον ἀπὸ πρώτης·  
καὶ τὸν ὕστερον ἐλεεῖ· καὶ τὸν  
πρῶτον θεραπεύει·  
κάκεινῳ δίδωσι καὶ τούτῳ  
χαρίζεται· (I. 15 TC)  
καὶ τὰ ἔργα δέχεται καὶ τὴν γνώμην  
ἀσπάζεται·  
καὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν τιμᾷ· καὶ τὴν  
πρόθεσιν ἐπαινεῖ·

οὐκοῦν εισέλθῃτε πάντες εἰς τὴν  
χαρὰν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν·  
καὶ πρῶτοι καὶ δεῦτεροι τὸν μισθὸν  
ἀπολαύετε·  
πλοῦσιοι καὶ πένητες μετὰ ἀλλήλων  
χορευσατε·  
ἐγκρατεῖς καὶ ῥάθυμοι τὴν ἡμέραν  
τιμήσατε· (I. 20 TC)  
νηστεύσαντες καὶ μὴ νηστεύσαντες  
εὐφράνθητε σήμερον·

ἢ τράπεζα γέμει τρυφήσατε πάντες·  
ὁ μόσχος πολὺς, μηδεὶς ἐξέλθῃ  
πεινῶν·  
πάντες ἀπολαύσατε τοῦ συμποσίου  
τῆς πίστεως·  
πάντες ἀπολαύσατε τοῦ πλοῦτου τῆς  
χρηστότητος·

μηδεὶς θρηνεῖτω πενίαν· ἐφάνη γὰρ ἡ  
κοινὴ βασιλεία· (I. 25 TC)

πρόθεσιν VG] προαίρεσιν P ἔγκρατης-τιμήσατε V]  
ἐγκρατεῖς καὶ ῥάθυμοι τὴν ἡμέραν τιμήσατε P; om. cod.  
G ἢ τράπεζα-πάντες V] ἢ τράπεζα γέμει τρυφήσατε  
πάντες P; ἢ τράπεζα γέμει τρυφήσατε πάντων τῶν  
ἀγαθῶν G

φιλότιμος ὁ φιλότιμος·  
δέχεται τὸν ἔσχατον καθάπερ τὸν  
πρῶτον·  
ἀναπαύει τὸν τῆς ἐνδεκάτης· ὡς τὸν  
ἐργασάμενον ἀπὸ πρώτης·

καὶ τὸν ὕστερον ἐλεεῖ, καὶ τὸν  
πρῶτον θεραπεύει·  
κάκεινῳ δίδωσι, καὶ τούτῳ (I. 15 TC)  
χαρίζεται·  
καὶ τὰ ἔργα δέχεται· καὶ τὴν τιμὴν  
ἀσπάζεται·  
καὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν τιμᾷ, καὶ τὴν  
προαίρεσιν ἐπαινεῖ·

οὐκοῦν εισέλθῃτε πάντες εἰς τὴν  
χαρὰν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν·  
καὶ πρῶτοι καὶ δεῦτεροι τὸν μισθὸν  
ἀπολαύετε·  
πλοῦσιοι καὶ πένητες μεταλλήλων  
χορευσατε· (I. 20 TC)  
νηστεύσαντες καὶ μὴ νηστεύσαντες·  
εὐφράνθητε σήμερον λέγοντες καὶ  
σκιρτῶντες μετὰ τοῦ Δαυὶδ αὐτῆ ἡ  
ἡμέρα ἦν ἐποίησεν ὁ κύριος·  
ἀγαλλιασάμεθα καὶ εὐφρανθῶμεν  
ἐν αὐτῇ·

ἢ τράπεζα γέμει τρυφήσατε πάντες·  
ὁ μόσχος πολὺς, μηδεὶς ἐξέλθῃ  
πεινῶν·  
πάντες ἀπολαύσατε τοῦ πλοῦτου τῆς  
πίστεως·  
πάντες ἀπολαύσατε τοῦ (248r)  
πλοῦτου τῆς χρηστότητος·

μηδεὶς θρηνεῖτω πενίαν· ἐφάνη γὰρ ἡ  
χριστοῦ βασιλεία· (I. 25 TC)

καθάπερ OBSCK] ὡσαύτῃ M ἐλεεῖ OBSCK] ἐλαίων M  
θεραπεύει OBSCK] θεραπεύον M τὰ ἔργα OBSCK]  
τὸ ἔργον M τιμὴν OBSCK] πίστην πρῶτοι καὶ δεῦτεροι  
OBSCK] πρῶτος καὶ δεῦτερος M τὸν μισθὸν ἀπολαύετε  
OBSCK] ἀπολαβέτω M πλοῦσιοι καὶ πένητες  
μεταλλήλων χορευσατε OK] om. codd. BSCM  
λέγοντες καὶ σκιρτῶντες OSK] λέγοντες καὶ σκιρτῶντες B;  
σκιρτῶντες καὶ λέγοντες C; καὶ σκιρτήσατε μετὰ τοῦ Δαυὶδ  
λέγοντες M ἐξέλθῃ OBMK] ἐξελθέτω SC πάντες  
ἀπολαύσατε τοῦ πλοῦτου τῆς πίστεως OBSCK]  
om. codd. MK

φιλότιμος ὁ φιλότιμος·  
δέχεται τὸν ἔσχατον ὡς καὶ τὸν  
πρῶτον·  
ἀναπαύει τὸν τῆς ἐνδεκάτης, ὡς τὸν  
ἐργασάμενον ἀπὸ πρώτης·

καὶ τὸν ὕστερον ἐλεεῖ· καὶ τὸν  
πρῶτον κάμνοντα θεραπεύει·  
καὶ τούτῳ δίδωσι καὶ τούτῳ  
χαρίζεται· (I. 15 TC)

οὐκοῦν εισέλθῃτε πάντες· εἰς τὴν  
χαρὰν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν·  
καὶ πρῶτοι καὶ δεῦτεροι καὶ οἱ περὶ  
τὴν ἐνδεκάτην, τὸν μισθὸν  
ἀπολάβετε·  
πλοῦσιοι καὶ πένητες· μεταλλήλων  
χορευσατε·  
ἐγκρατεῖς καὶ ῥάθυμοι· τὴν ἡμέραν  
τιμήσατε· (I. 20 TC)  
οἱ νηστεύσαντες καὶ οἱ μὴ  
νηστεύσαντες εὐφράνθητε  
σήμερον·

ἢ τράπεζα γέμει ἀγαθῶν·  
τρυφήσαντες πάντες ἀπολαύσατε  
τοῦ συμποσίου τῆς πίστεως·  
πάντες ἀπολαύσατε τοῦ πλοῦτου τῆς  
χρηστότητος·

μηδεὶς θρηνεῖτω πενίαν· ἐφάνη γὰρ ἡ  
κοινὴ βασιλεία· (I. 25 TC)

φιλότιμος γὰρ ἔστιν ὁ φιλότιμος·  
δέχεται τὸν ἔσχατον καθὼς καὶ τὸν  
πρῶτον·  
ἀναπαύει τὸν τῆς ἐνδεκάτης·  
καθάπερ τὸ ἐργασάμενον ἀπὸ  
πρώτης·  
καὶ τὸν ὕστερον ἐλεεῖ· καὶ τὸν  
πρῶτον θεραπεύει·  
κάκεινῳ δίδωσι, καὶ τούτῳ (I. 15 TC)  
χαρίζεται·  
καὶ τὴν γνώμην ἀσπάζεται· καὶ τὴν  
πρᾶξιν τιμᾷ· καὶ τὸ ἔργον  
προσῖεται· καὶ τὴν πρόθεσιν  
ἐπαινεῖ·

οὐκοῦν εισέλθῃτε πάντες· εἰς τὴν  
χαρὰν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν·  
καὶ πρῶτοι καὶ δεῦτεροι· τὸν μισθὸν  
ἀπολάβετε·  
πλοῦσιοι καὶ πένητες· μεταλλήλων  
χορευσατε·  
ἐγκρατεῖς καὶ ῥάθυμοι τὴν ἡμέραν  
τιμήσατε· (I. 20 TC)  
οἱ νηστεύσαντες καὶ μὴ  
νηστεύσαντες· εὐφράνθητε  
σήμερον·

ἢ τράπεζα γέμει τρυφήσαντες ἅσατε·  
ὁ μόσχος ἠτοιμάσθαι· μηδεὶς ἐξέλθῃ  
πεινῶν·  
πάντες ἀπολαύσατε τοῦ συμποσίου  
τὸ χάρισμα·  
καὶ πάντες ἀντήσατε τοῦ μύρου τῆς  
χάριτος· (I. 25 TC)

μηδεις ὀδυρέσθω τὰ πταίσματα·  
συγγνώμη γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ τάφου  
ἀνέτειλε·  
μηδεις φοβείσθω τὸν θάνατον·  
ἠλευθέρωσε γὰρ ἡμᾶς ὁ τοῦ σωτῆρος  
θάνατος·  
ἔσβησεν αὐτὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ  
κατεχόμενος·  
ἐκόλασε τὸν ἄδην κατελθὼν εἰς τὸν  
ἄδην·  
ἐπικράνεν αὐτὸν γευσάμενον τῆς  
(I. 30 TC) σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ.

Καὶ τοῦτο προλαβὼν ἡσαΐας  
ἐβόησεν· *Ὁ ἄδης*, φησίν,  
*ἐπικράνθη*. συναντήσας σοι κάτω,

ἐπικράνθη καὶ γὰρ ἐνεκρώθη,  
ἐπικράνθη· καὶ γὰρ καθηρέθη·  
(I. 35 TC) ἐπικράνθη· καὶ γὰρ  
ἐνεπαίχθη.

Ἔλαβε σῶμα, καὶ Θεῶ περιέτυχεν·  
ἔλαβε γῆν, καὶ συνήντησεν οὐρανῶ·  
ἔλαβεν ὅπερ ἔβλεπε, καὶ πέπτωκεν  
ὄθεν οὐκ ἔβλεπε·

ποῦ σου, θάνατε, τὸ κέντρον; ποῦ  
σου, ἄδη, τὸ νίκος;

ἀνέστη Χριστός, καὶ σὺ  
(I. 40 TC) καταβέβλησαι·  
ἀνέστη Χριστός, καὶ πεπτώκασιν  
δαίμονες·  
ἀνέστη Χριστός, καὶ χαίρουσιν  
ἄγγελοι·  
ἀνέστη Χριστός, καὶ ζωὴ  
πολιτεύεται·  
ἀνέστη Χριστός, καὶ νεκρὸς οὐδεὶς  
ἐπὶ μνήματος.

μηδεις οδυρέσθω τα πταίσματα·  
συγγνώμη γὰρ ἀπὸ τάφου  
ἀνέτειλεν· (48v)  
μηδεις φοβείσθω τὸν θάνατον·  
ἠλευθέρωσεν γὰρ ἡμᾶς τοῦ  
σωτῆρος ὁ θάνατος·

ἔσβησεν αὐτὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ  
κατεχόμενος·  
ἐκόλασεν τὸν ἄδην· ὁ κατελθὼν εἰς  
τὸν ἄδην·  
ἐπικράνεν αὐτὸν γευσάμενον τῆς  
σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ· (I. 30 TC)

καὶ τοῦτο προλαβὼν ἡσαΐας  
ἐβόησεν· ὁ ἄδης φησὶν ἐπικράνθη  
συναντήσας σοι κάτω·

ἐπικράνθη γὰρ καὶ ἐνεκρώθη·  
ἐπικράνθη καὶ γὰρ καθηρέθη·  
ἐπικράνθη καὶ (I. 35 TC) γὰρ  
ἐνεπαίχθη·

ἔλαβεν σῶμα καὶ θεῶ περιέτυχεν·  
ἔλαβεν τὴν γῆν καὶ συνήντησεν τῷ  
θεῶ,  
ἔλαβεν ὅπερ ἔβλεπεν· καὶ ἔπαθεν  
ὄθεν οὐκ ἔβλεπεν·

ποῦ σου θάνατε τὸ κέντρον· ποῦ σου  
ἄδη το νίκος·

ἀνέστη χριστός, καὶ σὺ  
καταβέβλησαι· (I. 40 TC)  
ἀνέστη χριστός, καὶ πεπτώκασιν  
δαίμονες·  
ἀνέστη χριστός, καὶ χαίρουσιν  
ἄγγελοι·  
ἀνέστη χριστός, καὶ ζωὴ πολιτεύεται·  
ἀνέστη χριστός, καὶ νεκρὸς οὐδεὶς  
ἐπὶ μνήματος·

μηδεις ὀδυρέσθω τὰ πταίσματα·  
συγγνώμη γὰρ ἀπὸ τάφου ἀνέτειλε·  
μηδεις φοβείσθω τὸν θάνατον·  
ἠλευθέρωσε γὰρ ἡμᾶς τοῦ σωτῆρος  
ὁ θάνατος·

ἔσβησεν αὐτὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ  
κατεχόμενος·  
ἐκόλασεν αὐτὸν γευσάμενος τῆς  
σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ· (I. 30 TC)

καὶ τοῦτο προλαβὼν ὁ ἡσαΐας ἐβόα·  
ὁ ἄδης φησὶν ἐπικράνθη  
συναντήσας σοι κάτω·

ἐπικράνθη γὰρ καὶ ἐνεκρώθη·  
ἐπικράνθη, καὶ γὰρ καθηρέθη·  
ἐπικράνθη καὶ (I. 35 TC) γὰρ  
ἐνεπαίχθη·

ἔλαβε σῶμα, καὶ θεῶ περιέτυχεν·  
ἔλαβε τὴν γῆν, καὶ συνήντησεν  
οὐρανῶ·  
ἔλαβεν ὅπερ ἔβλεπεν καὶ πέπτωκεν  
ὄθεν οὐκ ἔβλεπεν·

ποῦ σου θάνατε τὸ κέντρον· ποῦ σου  
ἄδη τὸ νίκος·

ἀνέστη χριστός, καὶ σὺ  
καταβέβλησαι· (I. 40 TC)  
ἀνέστη χριστός, καὶ πεπτώκασιν  
δαίμονες·  
ἀνέστη χριστός, καὶ χαίρουσιν  
ἄγγελοι·  
ἀνέστη χριστός, καὶ ζωὴ πολιτεύεται·  
ἀνέστη χριστός, καὶ νεκρὸς οὐδεὶς  
ἐπὶ μνήματος·

μηδεις ὀδυρέσθω τὰ πταίσματα·  
συγγνώμη γὰρ ἀπὸ τάφου  
ἀνέτειλεν·  
μηδεις φοβείσθω τὸν θάνατον·  
ἠλευθέρωσεν γὰρ ἡμᾶς τοῦ  
θανάτου ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ θάνατος·

ἔσβησεν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ  
κατεχόμενος·  
ἐκόλασεν τὸν ἄδην· ὁ κατελθὼν εἰς  
τὸν ἄδην·  
ἐπικράνεν αὐτὸν γευσάμενον τῆς  
σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ· (I. 30 TC)

καὶ τοῦτο προλαβὼν ἡσαΐας  
ἐβόησεν· ὁ ἄδης ἐπικράνθη·

καὶ γὰρ (I. 35 TC) ἐνεπαίχθη· (117v)  
ἔλαβε σῶμα· καὶ θεῶ περιέτυχεν·  
ἔλαβεν τὴν γῆν καὶ συνήντησεν  
οὐρανῶ·  
ἔλαβεν ὅπερ ἔβλεπεν  
καὶ πέπτωκεν ὄθεν οὐκ ἔβλεπεν·

ποῦ σου θάνατε τὸ κέντρον· ποῦ σου  
ἄδη τὸ νίκος·

(I. 40 TC) ἀνέστη χριστός, καὶ σὺ  
πέπτωκας·  
ἀνέστη χριστός, καὶ χαίρουσιν  
ἄγγελοι καὶ σκιρτῶσιν ἀρχάγγελοι·  
ἀνέστη χριστός, καὶ ζωὴ πολιτεύεται·  
ἀνέστη χριστός, καὶ τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸν  
ἐλπίζουσιν τὴν ζωὴν καὶ τὴν  
ἀνάστασιν ἐδωρήσατο·

μηδεις θρηνηίτω πενίαν· ἄφεςις γὰρ  
ἀπὸ τοῦ τάφου ἀνέτειλεν·  
ἠλευθέρωσεν ἡμᾶς τοῦ σωτῆρος ὁ  
θάνατος· 20

ἔσωσεν ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἄδου  
ἐρρύσατο·  
ἐπικράνθη ὁ ἄδης, γευσάμενος τῆς  
σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ· (I. 30 TC)

καὶ τοῦτο προλαβὼν ἡσαΐας  
ἐβόησεν· ὁ ἄδης φησὶν (215v)  
ἐπικράνθη συναντήσας σε κάτω·

ἐπικράνθη καὶ (I. 35 TC) γὰρ  
ἐνεπαίχθη·

ἔλαβε σῶμα, καὶ θεῶ περιέτυχεν·  
ἔλαβεν ὁ ἔβλεπεν· καὶ πέπτωκεν ὄθεν  
οὐκ ἔβλεπεν·

ποῦ σου θάνατε τὸ κέντρον· ποῦ σου  
ἄδη τὸ νίκος·

ἀνέστη χριστός, καὶ σὺ  
καταβέβλησαι· (I. 40 TC)  
ἀνέστη χριστός, καὶ χαίρουσιν  
ἄγγελοι·  
ἀνέστη χριστός, καὶ ζωὴ πολιτεύεται·  
ἀνέστη χριστός, καὶ νεκρὸς οὐκ  
ἔστιν ἐν μνήματι·

χριστὸς γὰρ ἐγερθεὶς ἐκ νεκρῶν, (I. 45 TC) ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων ἐγένετο· αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

χριστὸς γὰρ ἐγερθεὶς ἐκ νεκρῶν· ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων (I. 45 TC) ἐγένετο· αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ἀμήν.

χριστὸς γὰρ ἐγερθεὶς ἐκ νεκρῶν· ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων (I. 45 TC) ἐγένετο· αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ἀμήν.

248r  
πάντες ἀπολαύσατε τοῦ πλοῦτου τῆς χρηστότητος  
OBSMK] om. cod. C· χριστοῦ O] κοινη BSCMK  
ἐλευθέρωσα O] ἠλευθέρωσεν BSCMK ἡμᾶς τοῦ  
σωτήρος ὁ θάνατος OBSCK] τοῦ σωτήρος ὁ θάνατος  
ἡμᾶς M γευσάμενος OBSMK] γευσάμενον C  
ἐβόα OBSCK] ἔφη M φησὶν OBSCK] om. cod. M  
ἐπικράνθη-ἐνεπαίχθη OBSCK] καὶ γὰρ καθηρέθη, καὶ  
γὰρ ἐνεπέχθη M; ἐπικράνθη καὶ γὰρ καθηρέθη, καὶ  
ἐπικράνθη καὶ γὰρ ἐνεπαίχθη, ἐπικράνθη καὶ γὰρ  
ἐνεκράθη K ἔλαβε OBSCK] ἔλιψε M οὐρανῷ  
OBSCK] οὐρανόν M ἀνέστη-δαίμονες OBSCK] om.  
cod. M; ἀνέστη-καταβέβησαι OBSCK] om cod. K  
γὰρ OBSCK] om. codd. SM ἀπαρχὴ OBSCK] ἀρχὴ  
M αὐτῷ-ἀμήν OBM] αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα ἅμα τῷ πατρὶ καὶ  
τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ πνεύματι νῦν καὶ  
ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ἀμήν K τῶν  
αἰώνων OBSM] om. cod. C; ἀμήν OBCM] om. cod. S

χριστὸς γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐγερθεὶς ἐκ  
νεκρῶν ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων  
ἐγένετο· (I. 45 TC)  
ἀνέστη χριστὸς· καὶ εἰρήνην τῷ  
κόσμῳ ἔδωρήσατο·

αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος σὺν τῷ  
πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι νῦν καὶ  
ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων  
ἀμήν.

χριστὸς γὰρ ἐγερθεὶς· ἀπαρχὴ τῶν  
κεκοιμημένων (I. 45 TC) ἐγένετο·  
αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος ἅμα τῷ  
πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι· εἰς τοὺς  
αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

τὸ χάρισμα] om. cod. R θρηνητῶ T] θρηνητῶ R ἀπὸ τοῦ T] ἐκ  
R post ἀδης] γὰρ add. cod. R  
215v  
σε T] σοι R post ἄγγελοι] ἀνέστη χριστὸς καὶ  
πεπτόκασι δαίμονες add. cod. R post πνεύματι] νῦν  
καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ add. cod. R

## SECTION B—THEODORE OF STODIOS’ *ORATIO 4 IN SANCTUM PASCHA*

### I. PRIMARY MANUSCRIPT WITNESSES

We now progress on to the examination of the primary manuscripts of the second major textual tradition of SermCat: its whole incorporation into a paschal homily of Theodore of Stoudios. The latest printed edition of this so-called *Oratio 4* is that of *PG* 99:709–720. This is a reprint from volume 5 of Angelo Mai’s *Patrum Nova Bibliotheca* (24–33).<sup>198</sup> In Mai’s edition the text is numbered third among various orations of Theodore. This categorization as ‘oration’, as opposed to catechesis (as the text is called in the manuscript Mai had in front of him), has been retained in *PG*, even though the ordering of the orations has changed. This fact has affected the way that scholars have approached—when they have approached—this text. Namely, since it is often not considered to belong to Theodore’s catecheses, it has received even less attention than they usually do. As we saw above, SermCat itself often figured in collections of Theodore’s catecheses. This association must be borne in mind, as it holds important clues for discovering how both Or.4 and, primarily, SermCat achieved such popularity.

Mai notes that he has copied the text from the manuscript Vaticanus graecus 1587. Thus, instead of providing the text of either Mai or *PG* as a baseline for the examination of Theodore’s textual tradition, I give here a description of Mai’s prototype, and the baseline text will be that which I have copied directly from the manuscript itself. This method is preferable primarily to avoid unnecessary discussions of Mai’s errors in copying his prototype. However, before moving onto the baseline of Theodore’s textual tradition, we must note that Vaticanus graecus 1587 preserves one of two recensions of Or.4 that have come down to us today. In the guise of, perhaps, a longer recension of Theodore’s epilogue Vaticanus graecus 1587 transmits in fact yet another full quotation of a paschal homily, which itself is also attributed to John Chrysostom: *In Triduanam Resurrectionem Domini* (*PG* 50:821–824, CPG 4526, Aldama 546).<sup>199</sup> In other words, just before the point where we would expect the doxology with which

<sup>198</sup> Available online here: <https://books.google.gr/books?id=Elb57rej-kgC&printsec=frontcover&dq=mai+nova+patrum+bibliotheca+tomus+quintus&hl=el&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiD5duTwtHfAhXOC-wKHW1QDXIQ6AEIKjAA#v=onepage&q=mai%20nova%20patrum%20bibliotheca%20tomus%20quintus&f=false> (accessed 3.1.19).

<sup>199</sup> From here on InTrid. Naturally, the authorship of the text has been called into question. Antonopoulou (1997) 114–115 and n. 115 compares Theodore of Stoudios’ Or.4 to Theodore Daphnopates’ *Ekloge*, containing pieces of Chrysostom’s sermons compiled into new homilies. Kaklamanos (2018) 595–597, on the other hand, discusses Or.4, its manuscript tradition and the two recensions—one containing Theodore’s epilogue and the other InTrid. He does not recognize the two versions as two different recensions, despite the fact that InTrid and Theodore’s

SermCat would normally end, this second paschal homily begins.<sup>200</sup> The first few lines of it have been cut out, but other than this, the entire homily is copied, as it is to be found in numerous other witnesses. There is no indication in the manuscript concerning this transition to a different homily. There is no break in the line, no title, no name or any other sign or indication that we are now reading InTrid. As we will see below in the description of Vaticanus graecus 1587, there is only a small cross symbol in the margin and a semi-colon between the last line of SermCat and the first line of InTrid, which in other witnesses to Or.4 serves to indicate the transition from Chrysostom back to Theodore. This is all that one could expect two such symbols to indicate—certainly not a transition from one text to an entirely different one. Indeed, not only is there no indication of the transition from SermCat to InTrid, but one gets the strong impression that there is no awareness of this fact on the part of the scribe.<sup>201</sup> Therefore, Vaticanus graecus 1587's text will be presented below as a category all its own. Since all other known manuscripts follow the tradition of the oldest witness, Baroccianus 197, this will be the next manuscript discussed, and will act as a baseline for the others.<sup>202</sup>

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epilogue are never transmitted together in any of the witnesses. Nevertheless, he insightfully notes, as Angelo Mai had done, that since Theodore of Studios believes SermCat to be genuine then it is time that current textual scholarship lay aside the obsolete and incomplete assessments of Savile and Montfaucon—who in any case do not present any evidence in support of their claims that SermCat is spurious—and re-evaluate the case afresh, with the more sophisticated techniques and more extensive evidence available today.

<sup>200</sup> With the present state of evidence, it is impossible to know why this happens—whether on purpose or because at some point the end of the former text and beginning of the latter were lost and both texts merged into one. In any case, the scribe of Vaticanus graecus 1587, Michael the nomophylax, shows no awareness in the manuscript that he is copying two different texts here.

<sup>201</sup> Which is no discredit to the scribe, Michael the nomophylax. Surely, Mai and Migne had more resources at their disposal than Michael the nomophylax in the late 14<sup>th</sup> century, and neither of them noticed what had happened. Today this kind of detecting is done for us by tools such as the TLG, of which neither Mai, Migne nor Michael the nomophylax could ever have conceived.

<sup>202</sup> Indeed, significantly MS. Moni Leimonos 65 (10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> century), the earliest extant witness to the text that I was able to locate, also appears to follow this rule. Unfortunately, I have been unable to examine this witness' text thus far due to renovations being carried out at the monastery's library.

## FIRST MANUSCRIPT FAMILY: D

### **D Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS. Vaticanus graecus 1587 (1389)**

Catalogues and Reproductions: Turyn (1964) 176–177 (with plates); Images available here: [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Vat.gr.1587.pt.2](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1587.pt.2); Pinakes diktyon #68218

Paper. Dimensions: 207x147 mm. 373 folia, with 1 column of text, with 23 lines. Ruling: 00D1.<sup>203</sup> Scribe: Michael the priest and nomophylax. Script: combination of elements from Cypriote bouclée and Baroque Salentian style, angled slightly to the right.<sup>204</sup> Contents: Ehrhard classifies the codex as a regular, 43–text Homiliary, completely preserved, transmitting texts for both Lent and Pascha.<sup>205</sup> Attributions: John Mauropous (1), Basil of Caesaria (3), John Kladas (1), Maximos Planoudes (1), George of Nikomedia (3), Nicholas Pepagomenos (1), Sophronios of Jerusalem (1), Andrew of Crete (3), John Chrysostom (23), Ephraim the Syrian (2), Anastasios of Sinai (2), Nektarios of Constantinople (1), Athanasios of Alexandria (1), Synesios (1), Joseph archbishop of Thessaloniki (1), Hesychios of Jerusalem (1), Leontios the presbyter of Constantinople (2), Epiphanius of Cyprus (1), Theodore of Stoudios (1), Proklos of Constantinople (1), Gregory of Antioch (1) and Basil of Seleucia (4). The manuscript is an elegant volume with paper folia; however, the binding is extremely delicate. I was unable to locate a watermark on the paper. One hand can be observed throughout the codex, that of Michael the priest and nomophylax. He signs on the final folio of the codex, informing us that he began copying the manuscript in November of 1389 and finished on Wednesday 15 December of the same year.<sup>206</sup>

Decoration throughout the manuscript is very minimal. Titles and initial capitals have been written in a red ink with a certain level of elegance and decoration. However, the color has faded to such a degree that neither the titles nor the initial capitals are now visible in the images online. They are only visible to the naked eye, upon inspection. Thus, the title of

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<sup>203</sup> Leroy (1967) 1.

<sup>204</sup> This style is classified by Mioni as pre-humanistic minuscule. See Mioni (2009) 168.

<sup>205</sup> Ehrhard (1938) II.258.

<sup>206</sup> This, at least, was the only way I could make sense of his statement. His colophon reads as follows: “+ Ἱερεὺς Μιχα(ῆ)λ ὁ νομοφύλαξ τὴν βίβλον τήνδε γράψας ἐν τῷ | μηνὶ Νοεμβρίῳ· τῷ ἔτ(ει) ζῳῳῃ.” At this point, he seems to say that this was the 13<sup>th</sup> indiction, but it is unclear—and this interpretation is weakened by the fact that the year was the 7<sup>th</sup> indiction. In any case, he concludes: “ἡμέρα τετράδι τοῦ ἀ(γί)ου ἱερομάρτυρος ἐλευθερ(ίου) ὥρα γ’.” The feast of St. Eleftherios is celebrated on 15 December, and indeed, in 1389 15 December fell on a Wednesday. Therefore, I interpret Michael to mean that he began in November 1389 and finished on Wednesday 15 December 1389. Turyn (1964) 176 assumes that Michael has written November by mistake, intending in fact to write December from the beginning. This interpretation at least clarifies the confusion between the feast of St. Eleftherios and finishing the book in November.

Theodore's Or.4 reads as follows: "Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Θεοδώρου τοῦ Στουδίτου· λόγος κατηχητικὸς τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ μεγάλῃ κυριακῇ τοῦ πάσχα." The beginning of SermCat within Or.4 is marked by a (faded) initial capital in red, accompanied by a marginal note: "ἀρχὴ τοῦ χρυσοστόμου." It is this note that has been reprinted in both Mai's and Migne's editions of the text. Moreover, despite Mai's complaint that he was unable to discern sufficient indication of where SermCat ended and Or.4 resumed,<sup>207</sup> what should have been the transition is marked by a small cross in the margin—though the actual text itself makes no effort to clarify this transition. As we saw above, there is much more here than meets the eye at first glance. It is at this point that we, in fact, transition to the text of InTrid. Mai, on the other hand, seems to have believed that there was no transition from SermCat back to Or.4, and that he had in his hands simply a much longer version of SermCat than Montfaucon had previously published.

As far as the provenance of the manuscript, there does not appear to be concrete evidence. Paper without a watermark may perhaps be an indication of western-style paper from the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, though this is not certain or likely—not least because Michael dates his manuscript to 1389. Michael's title 'nomophylax' may suggest Constantinople, though this, too, cannot be considered definite. Constantine Harmenopoulos, also active in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, held the title nomophylax, while residing in Thessaloniki.<sup>208</sup> Therefore, it is very difficult to assign a provenance to this manuscript. As we will see soon below, Baroccianus 197 transmits a very different text than Vaticanus graecus 1587. Baroccianus 197 does not copy InTrid; after the end of SermCat, it gives us Theodore's epilogue. Michael the nomophylax likely did not attach InTrid to Theodore's text of his own volition or accord. The textual evidence suggests that Michael had a prototype other than Baroccianus 197 for Theodore's prologue to SermCat;<sup>209</sup> thus, it follows that this prototype also attached InTrid to the end of SermCat. If it were otherwise—if he were aware of the true situation—surely Michael would have indicated in some way the addition of an entirely different text.

By chance, Angelo Mai happened upon this particular witness to Or.4, which combines the text with InTrid, printed it and has thus solidified this version as the definitive one in the

<sup>207</sup> Cf. Mai's note (1849) 26 n.1: "Hactenus (sc. ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων ἐγένετο) Chrysostomus in editione maurina. Verumtamen apud nostrum Studitam videtur paulo longius progredi. Ceterum ubinam, cessante Chrysostomo, resumate orationem Studita, non satis video."

<sup>208</sup> ODB s.v. *Harmenopoulos, Constantine*.

<sup>209</sup> In order to understand the differences in the prologue in detail, I have provided Baroccianus 197's variants in a critical apparatus to the text of Vaticanus graecus 1587. The symbol for Baroccianus 197 in the apparatus is E. I do this only for the prologue since the epilogue is entirely different. The aim is solely to demonstrate that the two manuscripts preserve texts that are not closely related. Thus, Vaticanus graecus 1587 had another, as yet unknown, prototype, and so the addition of InTrid to SermCat must go back further in time than the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

minds of scholars who have read the text. If Mai had found another of the surviving witnesses to Or.4 that preserves Theodore's epilogue to SermCat then he might have classified Or.4 as one of Theodore's *Catecheses*—as it indeed appears to be.

## SECOND MANUSCRIPT FAMILY: $\alpha\beta$

### **E Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Baroccianus 197 (1343)**

Catalogues and Reproductions: Turyn (1980) 108–112; Images available here:

<https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/inquire/Discover/Search/#/?p=c+0,t+,rsrs+0,rsps+10,fa+,so+ox%3Asort%5Easc,scids+,pid+eba7435d-673e-449b-8a8f-bd644ee88ea4,vi+ae64724a-feae-4944-9a3e-424658c2c894>; Pinakes diktyon #47484

Paper. Dimensions: 315x205 mm. 673 folia, with one column of text of 32 lines. Ruling: 11C1 am.<sup>210</sup> Scribe: Galaktion Madarakis.<sup>211</sup> Script: Late, mimetic Perlschrift. Contents: compilation of various sermons, theological treatises, canon law texts and hagiographies. Between ff. 443v–579r the order of the sermons appears to follow the liturgical calendar from Theophany to the Annunciation (covering just over a year), but Or.4 is included between the hagiography of St. Demetrios of Thessaloniki (Oct. 26) and Christmas. Attributions: Symeon the monk (1), Neilos of Ankyra (1), Gregory Nazianzen (7), Theodore Prodromos (1), Philip Monotropos (1), Athanasios of Alexandria (1), Cyril of Alexandria (1), Epiphanius of Cyprus (4), Sophronios of Jerusalem (2), John Damascene (2), Anastasios of Sinai (3), Peter Damascene (1), John Chrysostom (12), Andrew of Crete (5), George of Nikomedia (2), John Mauropous (1), Gregory II of Constantinople (1), Proklos of Constantinople (1), Anatolios of Thessaloniki (1), Manuel Philes (1), Theodore of Stoudios (1), Basil of Caesaria (2), Isidore of Pelusium (1), Michael Psellos (1), Sosiades Kyzikenos (1), Theophylaktos of Ochrid (1) and Manuel Doukas (1). We now enter into the second main family of manuscripts of Or.4. They are distinguished by a mostly uniform prologue (and epilogue in those witnesses that preserve it) of Theodore of Stoudios and a text of SermCat that is surprisingly close to that of the printed edition (*PG* 59:721–724). In other words, it appears to be ultimately derived from the text of the Roe 6 family, as we saw above, which eventually served as prototype of the printed edition.

Coxe dated Baroccianus 197—the majority of it, if not the whole—to 1344, and has determined Constantinople as its provenance. He notes that it formerly belonged to the hieromonk Galaktion Madarakis.<sup>212</sup> Turyn agrees on the provenance, but dates the manuscript to 1343 based on Madarakis' notes throughout describing events that took place in Constantinople. The online database, *Pinakes*, cites Madarakis as the scribe. Coxe does not say

<sup>210</sup> Leroy (1967) 4.

<sup>211</sup> RGK III, 48.

<sup>212</sup> [https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/manuscript\\_1030](https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/manuscript_1030) (accessed 4.1.19).

this.<sup>213</sup> Instead, it is Turyn who examined Madarakis' claims as scribe extensively, concluding that he is in fact the scribe of Baroccianus 197.<sup>214</sup>

The paper is in good condition. It shows signs of wear and various places of water damage. Decoration is minimal; it is limited to red ink that is used for titles and initial capitals. The contents of the manuscript are perhaps its most striking aspect. Unlike every other manuscript witness we have examined up to this point, Baroccianus 197 is not primarily a collection of homilies. Its contents range from certain liturgical prayers, Theodore Prodromos' hymn to St. Barbara, a scribal commentary on the great earthquake that struck Constantinople in 1343, a synopsis of the seven ecumenical councils, and of course, various homilies. The text of SermCat, as noted above and as detailed in the critical apparatus to the text of Vaticanus graecus 1587, is derived from a source quite different from Mai's prototype. First, already in its title, Baroccianus 197 acknowledges that this homily does not exclusively consist of Theodore of Stoudios' writing. Moreover, we must note here that, as it calls SermCat ῥηθέντα κατηχητικὸν λόγον, there appears to be a degree of awareness that SermCat was perhaps not intended by its original author (Chrysostom or whomever else) as a catechesis, but that this title has been attached to it through SermCat's association with Theodore's *Catecheses*. Other Or.4 witnesses will show the same awareness below. Second, after the end of SermCat, there is a line break, and another initial capital in red ink clearly marks the resumption of Theodore's Or.4. These external differences between Vaticanus graecus 1587 and the Baroccianus 197 family foreshadow the internal, textual differences that we will see in more detail below.

#### **F Jerusalem, Patriarchal Library, MS. Timiou Stavrou 92 (1581)**

Catalogues and Reproductions: Pinakes diktyon #35988; Images of the manuscript are available here: <https://www.loc.gov/item/00279396418-jo>

Paper. Dimensions: Unknown.<sup>215</sup> 155 folia, with one column of text of 20–21 lines. Ruling: 00D1.<sup>216</sup> Script: Hodegon style. Contents: 52 of Theodore of Stoudios' *Small Catecheses*, his *In Annuntiationem Deiparae* (BHG 1116p), followed by 63 more of his *Small Catecheses*.

<sup>213</sup> <http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/47484/> (accessed 23.8.18).

<sup>214</sup> Turyn (1980) 108–112.

<sup>215</sup> Unfortunately, I was unable to study this manuscript *in situ*. I studied it from photographs provided me by Agamemnon Tselikas. As I am unaware of any catalogue that contains an entry on this manuscript, I do not know its dimensions.

<sup>216</sup> Leroy (1967) 1.

The manuscript was copied in 1581. The first element that demands our attention here is the note at the end of Or.4: Χριστοῦ τῷ δῶρον καὶ πόνος κ ρ λ ι ρ μ ν'. Aside from the cryptography at the end, this closely resembles a formulary signature popularized in the later 14<sup>th</sup> century by the Hodegon Monastery of Constantinople, which fits well with the script employed in the manuscript. Sofía Kotzabassi gives an example in her recent contribution to the *Companion to Byzantine Illustrated Manuscripts*: “Θεοῦ τὸ δῶρον καὶ Χαρίτωνος πόνος.”<sup>217</sup> Kotzabassi continues by describing how the Hodegon style—which was also commonly used on Mt. Athos—was often employed for liturgical manuscripts, many of which were also illuminated.<sup>218</sup> Timiou Stavrou 92 has no illuminations; the decorations, however, are quite brilliant and intricate, especially in comparison with the other witnesses to Or.4 thus far examined. For example, the initial capital of SermCat is an elaborate design, including blue and red ink and many floral shapes. The same is true of the initial capital of Or.4, though the colors there are slightly more faded. There are signs of water damage on the parchment, with small holes close to the binding. The text of Or.4 transmitted here displays some minor variants from its prototype, Baroccianus 197, such as the following:

E (TC):κατάληψιν] F: κατάπληξιν

F: post χαρὰν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν] Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ add. cod.

E (TC): χαίρουσι ] F: χορεύουσι

Beyond this, it also omits passages characteristic to Baroccianus 197, such as:

E (TC): τίς ἐγκωμιάσει πρεπόντος τοῦ χριστοῦ τὴν ἀνάστασιν, τίς καταφαιδρύνει ὡς θέμης τῇ λαμπροφωρίᾳ, τὸν λαὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας, τίς ἐπαινέσει τοὺς νύφοντας καὶ γρηγοροῦντας, τίς παραμηθίσει τοὺς ἀμελεῖς καὶ ραθύμους] F: om. cod.

As we will see, this particular passage is transmitted only in Baroccianus 197. Timiou Stavrou 92 also adds the title of SermCat into the text at the proper point, whereas Baroccianus 197 had signified the transition by a line break and a decorated initial capital alone. Finally, Timiou Stavrou 92 ends its text at the end of SermCat, with the doxology found in the witnesses to SermCat, thus omitting Theodore’s epilogue. There are many similarities between Timiou

<sup>217</sup> Kotzabassi (2017) 46–47.

<sup>218</sup> In fact, the Hodegon monastery was renowned for its liturgical productions. See Pérez Martín (2008) 8–14.

Stavrou 92 and Baroccianus 197; it seems clear that they are both members of the same family of manuscripts, though it is entirely possible that they are nevertheless separated by more (missing or yet undiscovered) steps in the transmission. It appears most likely that both are ultimately descended from the same archetype. However, Timiou Stavrou 92 does not appear to be a direct copy of Baroccianus 197. Instead, I believe it was copied from the same prototype as Baroccianus 197, and thus preserves variants from this lost witness as well.

### THIRD MANUSCRIPT FAMILY: γ

#### **J     Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, MS. A.s.5.7 (Puntoni 124) (16<sup>th</sup> century)**

Catalogues and Reproductions: Puntoni (1896) 463–465; Pinakes diktyon #43397

Paper. Dimensions: 245x170 mm. 175 folia, with one column of text of 24–25 lines. Scribe: Andreas Darmarios, called ὁ Ἐπιδάριος.<sup>219</sup> Script: less elegant typographic minuscule, slightly inclined to the right. Ruling: None. Contents: miscellaneous collection of lexicographical works, canon-law texts, various sermons, letters, catecheses and liturgical hymns. Attributions: Theodosios Grammatikos of Syracuse (1), Photios of Constantinople (1), pope Eugenius IV (1), emperor Leo VI (1), Kosmas Vestitor (1), Theodore of Stoudios (2), Athanasios Rhodios (1) and John Chrysostom (2). With A.s.5.7 we progress on to the third manuscript family of Or.4. This family is distinguished by a prologue of Theodore that takes characteristic elements from both of the previous families, while the text of SermCat adds many interpolations that we will only see again below in the various different recensions of SermCat.

Decoration is basically non-existent. The only color ink used is a faded brown for both titles and texts. Initial capitals are just barely larger than the body of the text. The paper shows multiple signs of wear and damage, and some folia are severely torn. Once again, the contents of the manuscript cause it to stand out in relation to every other witness. This is not a homiliary. The codex contains Photios' synopsis of the seven ecumenical councils, some of Leo VI's liturgical hymns and two of Kosmas Vestitor's encomia on Chrysostom, in addition to Theodore's Or.4 and many other various texts. Indeed, on the final folio of the codex—of which only half remains—there are written a few sentences from chapter 68 of the 6<sup>th</sup>–7<sup>th</sup> century *Life of Martha, Mother of the Younger Symeon the Stylite*. The text abruptly cuts off, and is followed by a list of the ten commandments, which then concludes by noting that the Saracens accepted the faith of Mohammed in the year 637. The miscellaneous character of the manuscript itself is reflected in the text of Or.4 that is transmitted here. A.s.5.7 combines certain readings from both Vaticanus graecus 1587 and Baroccianus 197; however, these readings that it shares in common with Baroccianus 197 are so common in the traditions of both SermCat and Or.4 that one cannot rule out either that the immediate prototype of A.s.5.7 contained these readings added from comparison with other witnesses or that the scribe himself of A.s.5.7 simply knew the readings by heart:

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<sup>219</sup> RGK I, 13; RGK II, 21; RGK III, 22. The present manuscript, however, is not mentioned.

DJ: ἀνυμνεῖτω] E (TC): μεγαλυνέτω

DJ: διὰ βραχέων καὶ συντετμημένων λόγων ἐξαγγελέτω] E (TC): δι' ὀλίγων λόγων καὶ συντετμημένων ῥημάτων διεξίετω

E (TC): post ἔτοιμός ἐστιν] εἰς τὸ λέγειν add. cod.] J: πρὸς τὸ λέγειν add. cod.

D: οἷα ἡμῖν ἐπαγγέλλεται] E (TC): οἷα ἡμῖν σήμερον ὁ τῆς μετανοίας ἐπαγγέλλεται] J: ἂ καὶ νῦν ἡμῖν ἐπαγγέλλεται

D: προσέλθοι καὶ αὐτὸς μηδὲν ἐνδύαζων] EJ (TC): μὴ φοβηθῆ τὴν βραδυτῆτα

D: καὶ τὰ ἔργα δέχεται habet cod.] EJ (TC): om. codd.

Furthermore, A.s.5.7 transmits certain interpolations which we will only see again when examining the different, longer versions of SermCat below. These include phrases such as: 1) “Ἐπεὶ χαρᾶς ὄντως ἡ ἡμέρα ἐστὶν αὕτη καὶ εὐφροσύνης, ἀγαπητοί, ἡμέρα ἀγαλλιάσεως καὶ σωτηρίας”; 2) “Γεύσασθε καὶ ἴδετε ὅτι Χριστὸς ὁ Κύριος”; 3) “Θεὸς Κύριος καὶ ἐπέφανεν ἡμῖν.”

#### **L Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticanus graecus 1517 (1585)**

Catalogues and Reproductions: CVG (1973) 61–63; Franco (1910) 368–373; Pinakes diktyon #68148

Paper. Dimensions: 270x203 mm. 248 folia, one column of text of 24–26 lines, with a maximum of 30 on ff. 227–245. Script: typographic minuscule. Ruling: None. Contents: typikon of services of the Eastern Orthodox Church. However, the manuscript does not merely transmit instructions, but actually gives the texts of the services, their readings and hymns. This manuscript has been described and discussed, in particular relation to Vaticanus graecus 1587, by Nicola Franco in his article *Il “Λόγος Κατηχητικός” della Domenica di Pasqua*.<sup>220</sup> The manuscript itself offers us a great deal of information. There is a note on f. 2r that reads:

“Francesco Acchida, son of Emmanuel chorepiscopus of Rhodes, *protonotarius* and catholic *protopapas* of Messina on Sicily—having composed this book with much effort and expense from the eastern [sc. rites] because of his great zeal for the apostolic see—offered it to his eminence Pope Sextus V, great archpriest, in

<sup>220</sup> Franco (1910) 368–373.

the Vatican Library, to be kept there by this very library's protector, the most illustrious and venerable Antonio Carafa, in the year of Christ 1585."<sup>221</sup>

Thus, we learn that the manuscript was a gift given to Pope Sixtus V (1585–1590) to be stored in the Vatican Library during the tenure of its 6<sup>th</sup> Bibliothecarius, Antonio Carafa (1585–1591).<sup>222</sup> The date given at the end of the note yields the year 1585. The person giving the gift is a certain Francesco Acchida, son of a chorepiscopus of Rhodes, Emmanuel.<sup>223</sup> Both men are actually also mentioned in a 19<sup>th</sup> century edition of the *Anthology* of Stobaios by Thomas Gaisford, where we learn slightly more about them. Included in the introductory material to the volume is a letter of Nicolaus Schowius to C.G. Heynius, written in Rome in 1790. Schowius describes contents of certain manuscripts, and at one point, we read the following:

“At Bologna, in the library of [the] San Salvatore [monastery] there is a surviving manuscript numbered 172, of paper, from the 16<sup>th</sup> century, which contains a collection of aphorisms [made] by Acchida, *protopapas* of Messina. This same collection is described thus: A book, in which various selections of multiple and different *gnomes* of theologians and philosophers, brought to renowned Italy from the East by Francesco Acchida, *protopapas* of Messina, son of Emmanuel chorepiscopus of Sicily and pious among hierarchs, one of the nobility of the island of the Colossus [i.e. Rhodes], which he [i.e. Acchida] offers subserviently to your Illustriousness.”<sup>224</sup>

<sup>221</sup> Vaticanus graecus 1517, f. 2r: “ὁ κύριος φραγκίσκος ἀκήδα τοῦ ἡμανουὴλ χωροεπισκόπου ροδίου υἱὸς προτονοτάριος καὶ προτοπαπᾶς καθολικὸς μεσήνης τῆς σικελίας ἐκ πολλῆς εἰς τὴν ἀποστολικὴν καθέδραν προθυμίας τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον πολλῶ πόνῳ καὶ δαπάνῃ συνάξας-ἐκ τῶν ἀνατολικῶν προσέφερε τῷ μακαριωτάτῳ πάπα σίξτῳ πέμπτῳ ἀρχιερεὶ μεγίστῳ ἐν τῇ βατικανῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ-φυλαχθησόμενον ἐπὶ μεγαλοφύλακος τῆς αὐτῆς βιβλιοθήκης τοῦ ἐκλαμπροτάτου καὶ αἰδεσιμοτάτου κυρίου ἀντονίου καρδινάλι κάραφρα ἔτει ἀφε χριστοῦ.”

<sup>222</sup> Cf. Riley-Smith (2016) 319 for the fate of his brother, Carlo Carafa.

<sup>223</sup> Cf. Karambelias (2018) 68 for the fate of another Francesco from Rhodes, who was apparently burned alive in Rome in the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>224</sup> Gaisford (1822) 63: “Bononiae in bibliotheca S. Salvatoris exstat codex MS. num. CLXXII, chart. 8<sup>vo</sup>. saec. XVI. qui syllogem sententiarum ab Accida protopapa Messanensi collectarum continent. Ipsa sylloge ita inscribitur: Βιβλίον, ἐν ᾧ περιέχονται ποικίλαι ἐκλογαὶ ἐκ διαφόρων γνωμῶν οὐκ ὀλίγων θεολόγων καὶ φιλοσόφων, κομισθὲν ἐν τῇ περιωνύμῳ Ἰταλία ἐξ ἐφᾶς παρὰ τοῦ κύρου Φραγκίσκου Ἀκκίδα προτοπαπᾶ Μεσήνης, υἱοῦ τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς ἐν ἱερῶσι Ἐμμανουὴλ χωροεπισκόπου νήσου Σικελίας, ἐνὸς τῶν εὐγενῶν τῆς Κολασσαέων νήσου καὶ πόλεως, ὅπερ τῇ σῇ ἐκλαμπρότητι δουλικῶς προσάγει.” The text is available on Google Books, here: [https://books.google.gr/books?id=KnHRAAAAMAAJ&pg=PR63&lpg=PR63&dq=φραγκίσκος+του+εμμανουηλ+προτοπαπας&source=bl&ots=cHQsBGkT5V&sig=1yGZdzEPa\\_QIIDWTLw8J95Lndfs&hl=el&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjI6uf6uf7cAhVLJB0KHTTcCJ8Q6AEwA3oECAcQAQ#v=onepage&q=φραγκίσκος%20του%20εμμανουηλ%20προτοπαπας&f=false](https://books.google.gr/books?id=KnHRAAAAMAAJ&pg=PR63&lpg=PR63&dq=φραγκίσκος+του+εμμανουηλ+προτοπαπας&source=bl&ots=cHQsBGkT5V&sig=1yGZdzEPa_QIIDWTLw8J95Lndfs&hl=el&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjI6uf6uf7cAhVLJB0KHTTcCJ8Q6AEwA3oECAcQAQ#v=onepage&q=φραγκίσκος%20του%20εμμανουηλ%20προτοπαπας&f=false) (accessed 21.8.18).

Acchida's role as protopapas is significant, since it implies that he was spiritual head of the Eastern Orthodox Christians in the area—and would thus have been familiar with their rites.<sup>225</sup> This affiliation appears to be further strengthened by use of the phrase “ἐκ τῶν ἀνατολικῶν”, and by the quotation in Schowii's letter “κομισθὲν ἐν τῇ περιωνύμῳ Ἰταλία ἐξ ἐώας παρὰ τοῦ κύρου Φραγκίσκου Ἀκκίδα.” It is unclear whether ‘the East’ refers to Rhodes or further afield, but in any case, it does seem to imply close connections between Acchida on Sicily and Eastern Orthodox communities further East. Acchida's precise reason for giving the codex to the pope is also unclear. However, it has been proposed that Francesco Acchida was the brother of Ioannis Acchida, an Orthodox priest on Rhodes in the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century. Both men appear to have been involved in attempts to start uprisings against the Ottoman empire with Western European support.<sup>226</sup> Perhaps this codex is just one piece of evidence demonstrating the amiable relations between the Acchida family and the papal see.

Before Or.4, we are given instructions on how to read the text, which—as seen above in connection to Laurentianus Plutei 9.22—resemble statements from the famous Stoudite *Hypotyposis*:

“After the completion of the kiss of peace (ἀσπασμός) the present homily [written] by our venerable father and confessor Theodore the Stoudite is read by the Abbot. [This homily is a] prologue encouraging us to listen with great care to the so-called catechetical Homily [written] by our father among the saints John Chrysostom, patriarch of Constantinople, on the great and brilliant Sunday of Pascha, of the glorious and holy Resurrection of our Lord, God and Savior, Jesus Christ.”<sup>227</sup>

This is the only instance thus far where we have seen Chrysostom referred to as patriarch of Constantinople. Every other witness up to this point that has mentioned his rank identified him as archbishop of Constantinople—and indeed, Chrysostom is still referred to this way in the Eastern Orthodox Church to this day. This is perhaps an indication of divergence between

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<sup>225</sup> It is perhaps also possible that Acchida was the head of a Uniate community that employed rites also in use among Eastern Orthodox communities. For more on this possibility, see Cassar (2002). I thank Paschalis Gkortsilas for his insight on this point.

<sup>226</sup> Chasiotis (2012) 88–89, n. 51. Available online here: <https://www.scribd.com/document/84656911/KYTIPOΣ-copy#scribd> (accessed 22.8.18).

<sup>227</sup> Vaticanus graecus 1517, f. 100r: “Μετὰ δὲ τοῦ πληρωθῆναι τὸν ἀσπασμὸν ἀναγινώσκειται παρὰ τοῦ Καθηγουμένου ὁ παρὼν λόγος τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ ὁμολογητοῦ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Στουδίτου· προίμιον προτρέπομεν μετὰ πάσης προσοχῆς ἀκροασθῆναι ἡμᾶς τὸν παρὰ τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου ῥηθέντα κατηχητικὸν Λόγον, ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ καὶ λαμπρᾷ κυριακῇ τοῦ Πάσχα τῆς ἐνδόξου τοῦ Κυρίου Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἁγίας Ἀναστάσεως.”

the Orthodox community in Messina and the rest of the Church. Decoration in the manuscript is limited to red initial capitals that designate the beginning of a new section. The codex ends abruptly midway through a canon to St. George. There is no colophon.

Vaticanus graecus 1517 is a copy of A.s.5.7, and, since Theodore's prologue is preserved whole in Vaticanus graecus 1517, we can get a glimpse of what it must have been like in its prototype. The part of the prologue missing in A.s.5.7, here preserved in Vaticanus graecus 1517, follows Baroccianus 197.

D (TC): φωταγωγία και θυμηδία] EL: θυμηδία και ἀγαλλίασις

D: τί τὸ παρασκευάσαν τὸσαύτην γενέσθαι ἡδονὴν καὶ φαιδρότητα] EL: τί τὸ καταγλαΐσαν οὕτω τὸ ἡμέτερον σύστημα

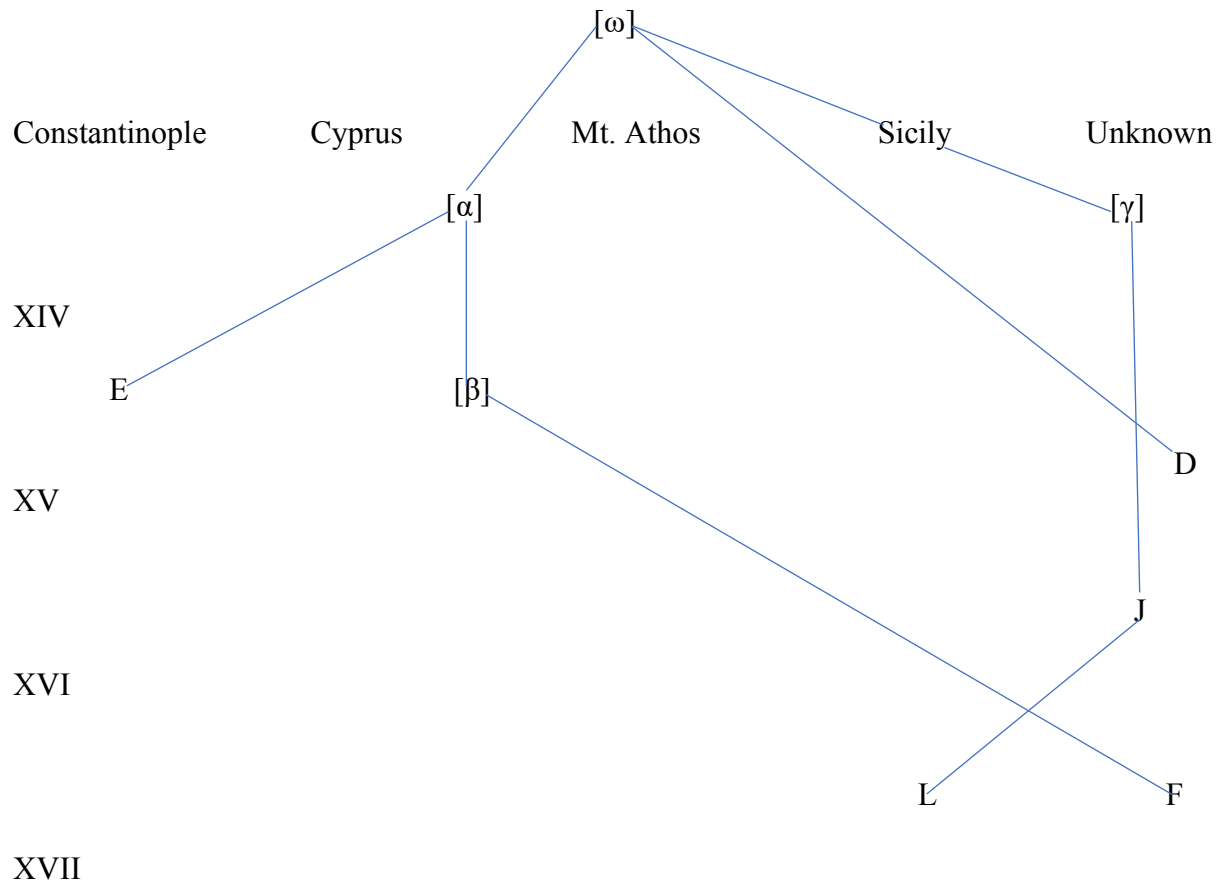
EL (TC): post ἔτοιμός ἐστιν] εἰς τὸ λέγειν add. codd.

D: οἷα ἡμῖν ἐπαγγέλλεται] EL (TC): οἷα ἡμῖν σήμερον ὁ τῆς μετανοίας ἐπαγγέλλεται

Vaticanus graecus 1517 does not display strong variation from its prototype; however, since it preserves its text whole—as opposed to A.s.5.7—it, and not its prototype, serves as the main source of the text of this manuscript family. In cases where the two witnesses disagree, they are both cited.

## II. CRITICAL EDITION OF *ORATIO 4*

Stemma of Theodore of Studios' *Oratio 4 In sanctum Pascha*



Critical Text of Theodore of Stoudios' *Oratio 4 In sanctum Pascha*

Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Θεοδώρου τοῦ Στουδίτου προοίμιον εἰς τὸν ῥηθέντα κατηχητικὸν λόγον τῇ ἁγία καὶ μεγάλη κυριακῇ τοῦ πάσχα

- Τί τοῦτο, πατέρες καὶ ἀδελφοί, φιλέορτοι καὶ φιλόχριστοι;  
 Τίς ἢ τοσαύτη λαμπροφορία;  
 Τίς ἢ τοσαύτη φωταγωγία καὶ θυμηδία; 5  
 Τί τὸ φαιδρύναν οὕτω τὴν ἐκκλησίαν;  
 Τί τὸ λαμπρῦναν οὕτω τὴν οἰκουμένην;  
 Τί τὸ καταγαῖσαν οὕτω τὸ ἡμέτερον σύστημα;
- Χθὲς ἐν ἀθυμῖα καὶ σήμερον ἐν εὐθυμῖα.  
 Χθὲς ἐν κατηφεία καὶ σήμερον ἐν φαιδρότητι. 10  
 Χθὲς ἐν ὀλολυγμοῖς καὶ σήμερον ἐν ἀλαλαγμοῖς.
- Ἐρωτᾶς τί τούτων τὸ αἴτιον;  
 Τί τὸ παρασκευάσαν τοσαύτην ἀγλαΐαν γενέσθαι καὶ χαρὰν καὶ λαμπρότητα;  
 Χριστὸς ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν·  
 καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις τὴν πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἀνάβασιν ἐδωρήσατο· 15  
 ἀνέωξε τὸν παράδεισον καὶ πᾶσιν εἰσιτητὸν τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸν πιστεύουσιν ἀπειργάσατο.
- Ἦ βάθους μὴ μετρομένου·  
 ὦ ὕψους μὴ νοουμένου·  
 ὦ μυστηρίου καινοῦ νοὸς κατάληψιν ὑπερβαίνοντος.

**1–2 Τοῦ...πάσχα]** Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Θεοδώρου τοῦ Στουδίτου· λόγος κατηχητικὸς τῇ ἁγία καὶ μεγάλη κυριακῇ τοῦ πάσχα **D**; Θεοδώρου τοῦ Στουδίτου, προοίμιον εἰς τὸν ῥηθέντα κατηχητικὸν λόγον παρὰ τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν, ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπισκόπου κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ χρυσοστόμου, ἐν τῇ ἁγία καὶ μεγάλη καὶ λαμπρᾷ κυριακῇ τοῦ πάσχα· ἀναγινώσκεται εἰς τὸ τέλος τοῦ ὄρθρου, μετὰ τὸ πληρωθῆναι τὸν ἀσπασμὸν **E**; Τοῦ ὁσίου καὶ θεοφόρου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Θεοδώρου τοῦ Στουδίτου· προοίμιον εἰς τὸν ῥηθέντα κατηχητικὸν λόγον τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπισκόπου κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ χρυσοστόμου. τῆς ἁγίας καὶ μεγάλης λαμπρᾶς κυριακῆς, περὶ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ἐνδόξου χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἀναστάσεως **F**; Μετὰ δὲ τὸ πληρωθῆναι τὸν ἀσπασμὸν ἀναγινώσκεται παρὰ τοῦ καθηγουμένου ὁ παρὼν λόγος τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ ὁμολογητοῦ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Στουδίτου· προοίμιον προτρεπόμενον μετὰ πάσης προσοχῆς ἀκροασθῆναι ἡμᾶς τὸν παρὰ τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν ἰωάννου πατριάρχου κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ χρυσοστόμου ῥηθέντα κατηχητικὸν λόγον, ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ καὶ λαμπρᾷ κυριακῇ τοῦ πάσχα τῆς ἐνδόξου τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ ἁγίας ἀναστάσεως **L 1–31]** om. cod. **J 3 πατέρες καὶ ἀδελφοί E]** ἀδελφοὶ ἀγαπητοὶ καὶ **D**; πατέρες **FL 5 τίς-θυμηδία D]** τίς ἢ τοσαύτη θυμηδία καὶ ἀγαλλίασις **EL**; om. cod. **F 6 τί-ἐκκλησίαν EL]** τί τὸ καταστράψαν οὕτω τὴν ἐκκλησίαν **D**; τί τὸ φαιδρύναν οὕτω τὴν οἰκουμένην **F 7 τί-οἰκουμένην EL**; τί τὸ παρασκευάσαν οὕτω τὴν οἰκουμένην **D**; τί τὸ λαμπρῦναν οὕτω τὴν ἐκκλησίαν **F 8 τί-σύστημα EFL]** τί τὸ παρασκευάσαν τοσαύτην γενέσθαι ἡδονὴν καὶ φαιδρότητα **D 9 χθὲς-εὐθυμῖα D]** χθὲς ἐν κατηφεία καὶ σήμερον ἐν φαιδρότητι **FL**; χθὲς ἐν κατηφεία καὶ σήμερον ἐν φαιδρότητα **E 10 χθὲς-φαιδρότητι D]** χθὲς ἐν ἀθυμῖα καὶ σήμερον ἐν εὐθυμῖα **EFL 13 τί-λαμπρότητα EF]** καὶ τί τὸ παρασκευάσαν γενέσθαι τοσαύτην χαρὰν καὶ λαμπρότητα **D**; τί τὸ κατασκευάσαν τοσαύτην ἀγλαΐαν γενέσθαι καὶ χαρὰν καὶ λαμπρότητα **L 14 Χριστὸς ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν EFL]** post καὶ ἅπας ὁ κόσμος ἠγαλλιάσατο add. cod. **D 15 καὶ πᾶσιν-ἐδωρήσατο EFL]** κατήργησε τῷ ζωοποιῷ αὐτοῦ θανάτῳ τὸν θάνατον· καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐν τῷ αἵθι τῶν δεσμῶν ἀπελύθησαν **D 16 ἀνέωξε-ἀπειργάσατο EFL]** ἠνέωξε τὸν παράδεισον, καὶ πᾶσιν αὐτὸν εἰσιτητὸν ἀπειργάσατο **D 17 ὦ βάθους μὴ μετρομένου EFL]** ὦ βάθος μὴ νοούμενον **D 18 ὦ ὕψους μὴ νοουμένου EFL]** ὦ ὕψος μὴ μετρούμενον **D 19 ὦ μυστηρίου-ὑπερβαίνοντος EL]** ὦ μυστηρίου φρικτοῦ, νοὸς δύνάμιν ὑπερβαίνοντος **D**; ὦ μυστηρίου καινοῦ, νοὸς κατάπληξιν ὑπερβαίνοντος **F**

- Ἕμνοῦσιν ἄγγελοι τῆ σωτηρία ἡμῶν ἐπευφραϊνόμενοι· 20  
 προφῆται χαίρουσι τὰς ἰδίας προρρήσεις πληρουμένας θεώμενοι·  
 ἢ κτίσις πᾶσα χορεύει·  
 ἠῦγασε γὰρ αὐτῇ σωτήριος ἡμέρα·  
 ἔλαμψεν αὐτῇ δικαιοσύνης ἥλιος.
- Τίς τοίνυν ἀξίως ὑμνήσει τῆς ἡμέρας τὴν χάριν; 25  
 Τίς ἐγκωμιάσει πρεπόντως τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴν ἀνάστασιν;  
 Τίς καταφαιδρύνει ὡς θέμις τῇ λαμπροφωρίᾳ τὸν λαὸν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας;  
 Τίς ἐπαινέσει τοὺς νήφοντας καὶ γρηγοροῦντας;  
 Τίς παραμυθήσει τοὺς ἀμελεῖς καὶ ῥαθύμους;  
 Τίς ἕτερος ἢ ὁ χρυσοῦς ἡμῶν πατήρ· 30
- Ὁ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ συμπαθείας μεγαλοφωνότατος κῆρυξ·  
 ὁ ὑπὲρ τὸν νεῖλον ποταμὸν ῥέων τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος νάματα·  
 ὁ χρυσόνους καὶ χρυσόγλωσσος καὶ χρυσόστομος·  
 οὗτος ἐκθειαζέτω καὶ μεγαλυνέτω καὶ κροτεῖτω τὴν τοῦ κυρίου ἀνάστασιν  
 καὶ τὴν ταύτης δύναμιν καὶ ἐνέργειαν  
 δι' ὀλίγων λόγων καὶ συντετμημένων ῥημάτων διεξιέτω. 35
- Ἄλλ' ὁ μὲν ἔτοιμός ἐστιν εἰς τὸ λέγειν,  
 ὡς τοῦ λόγου ῥήτωρ ποικίλος  
 καὶ σάλπιγξ μεγαλοφωνοτάτη τοῦ πνεύματος·  
 ἡμεῖς δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἀκούειν τούτου ἐτοιμώτεροι γενώμεθα καὶ προσεκτικώτεροι,  
 ἵνα εἰδῶμεν οἷα ἡμῖν σήμερον ὁ τῆς μετανοίας ἐπαγγέλλεται κῆρυξ ὁ δεύτερος. 40

**21 ἰδίας EFL]** οικείας **D** **22 ἢ κτίσις πᾶσα χορεύει EFL]** πᾶσα ἢ κτίσις συνεορτάζει **D** **23 σωτήριος ἡμέρα L]** ἡμέρα σωτήριος **DEF** **24 ἔλαμψεν αὐτῇ δικαιοσύνης ἥλιος EFL]** ἔλαμψε πᾶσιν ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἥλιος **D** **25 τίς-χάριν EF]** τίς τοίνυν ἀξίως τῆς λαμπρᾶς ταύτης ἡμέρας τὴν χάριν ἐξυμνήσει **D**; τίς τοίνυν ἀξίως ἐξυμνήσει τῆς ἡμέρας τὴν χάριν **L** **26 τίς-ἀνάστασιν E]** τίς μεγαλοπρεπῶς τοῦ τοσοῦτου μυστηρίου ἐκθειάσει τὴν δύναμιν **D**; om. codd. **FL** **τίς καταφαιδρύνει-ῥαθύμους E]** om. codd. **DFL** **30 post πατήρ]** add. Ἰωάννης cod. **D** **31 ὁ τῆς-κῆρυξ EFL]** ὁ διαπρύσιος καὶ μεγαλοφωνότατος κῆρυξ **D** **post κῆρυξ]** add. ὁ τῆς οἰκουμένης διαφανέστατος καὶ λαμπρότατος φωστήρ καὶ ἀληθινὸς ποιμὴν καὶ διδάσκαλος· ὁ τῶ ψυχῶν εὐφρέστατος καὶ δοκιμώτατος ἰατρός· ὁ τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν ἐγγυητὴς ἀξιόχρεος cod. **D** **32 ὁ ὑπὲρ-νάματα E]** ὁ ὑπὲρ τὸν νεῖλον ποταμὸν ῥέων τὰ χρυσόρρειθρα νάματα **D**; ὁ ὑπὲρ τὸν νεῖλον ῥέων ποταμὸν τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος **E**; om. cod. **L** **33 ὁ χρυσόνους-χρυσόστομος DF]** ὁ χρυσόνους καὶ χρυσόγλωσσος καὶ χρυσορρήμων ἅμα καὶ χρυσόστομος **E**; ὁ χρυσόρρους καὶ χρυσόγλωσσος καὶ χρυσόστομος **L** **34 οὗτος-ἐνέργειαν E]** οὗτος ἐκθειαζέτω καὶ ἀνυμνεῖτω καὶ κροτεῖτω τοῦ μυστηρίου τὴν δύναμιν· καὶ τούτου χάριν ὡς οἶόν τε **D**; οὗτος θειαζέτω καὶ μεγαλυνέτω καὶ κροτεῖτω τὴν τοῦ κυρίου ἀνάστασιν· καὶ τὴν ταύτης δύναμιν καὶ ἐνέργειαν **F**; οὗτος ἐκθειαζέτω καὶ μεγαλυνέτω καὶ κροτεῖτω τὴν τοῦ κυρίου ἁγίαν ἀνάστασιν καὶ τὴν ταύτης δύναμιν καὶ ἐνέργειαν **L** **35 δι' ὀλίγων-διεξιέτω EL]** διὰ βραχέων καὶ συντετμημένων λόγων ἐξαγγελέτω **D**; δι' ὀλίγων καὶ συντετμημένων ῥημάτων διεξιέτω **F** **36 post ἐστιν]** εἰς τὸ λέγειν om. cod. **D** **40 ἵνα-ὁ δεύτερος L]** ἵνα εἰδῶμεν, οἷα ἡμῖν ἐπαγγέλλεται ὁ τῆς μετανοίας κῆρυξ ὁ δεύτερος· διὸ ἀκούσατε **D**; ἵνα εἰδῶμεν, οἷα ἡμῖν σήμερον, ὁ τῆς μετανοίας ἐπαγγέλλεται κῆρυξ ὁ δεύτερος· σὺν παρρησίᾳ πᾶσιν ἀναβοᾶν τρανῶς καὶ κηρύττων καὶ λέγων **E**; ἵνα εἰδῶμεν, οἷα ἡμῖν σήμερον, ὁ τῆς μετανοίας ἐπαγγέλλεται κῆρυξ ὁ δεύτερος **F** **post δεύτερος]** add. titulum Sermonis Catechetici Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπισκόπου κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ χρυσοστόμου· λόγος κατηχητικὸς εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ λαμπροφόρον ἡμέραν τῆς ἀναστάσεως χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν cod. **F**

Εἴ τις εὐσεβῆς καὶ φιλόθεος ἀπολαυέτω ταύτης τῆς καλῆς πανηγύρεως.  
 Εἴ τις δοῦλος εὐγνώμων εἰσελθέτω χαίρων εἰς τὴν χαρὰν τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ.  
 Εἴ τις ἔκαμε νηστεύων ἀπολαβέτω νῦν τὸ δηνάριον. (SermCat 5)

Εἴ τις ἀπὸ πρώτης ὥρας εἰργάσατο δεχέσθω σήμερον τὸ δίκαιον ὄφλημα.  
 Εἴ τις μετὰ τὴν τρίτην ἦλθεν εὐχαριστῶν ἑορτάση. 45  
 Εἴ τις μετὰ τὴν ἕκτην ἔφθασε μηδὲν ἀμφιβαλέτω· καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲν ζημιοῦται.  
 Εἴ τις ὑστέρησεν εἰς τὴν ἑνάτην προσελθέτω μηδὲν ἐνδοιάζων.  
 Εἴ τις μόνην ἔφθασε τὴν ἑνδεκάτην μὴ φοβηθῆ τὴν βραδυτῆτα. (SermCat 10)

Φιλότιμος γὰρ ὢν ὁ δεσπότης, δέχεται τὸν ἔσχατον καθάπερ τὸν πρῶτον.  
 Ἀναπαύει τὸν τῆς ἑνδεκάτης ὡς τὸν ἐργασάμενον ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης. 50

Καὶ τὸν ὕστερον ἐλεεῖ καὶ τὸν πρῶτον θεραπεύει·  
 κάκεινῳ δίδωσι καὶ τούτῳ χαρίζεται· (SermCat 15)  
 καὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν τιμᾶ καὶ τὴν πρόθεσιν ἐπαινεῖ.

Οὐκοῦν εἰσέλθετε πάντες εἰς τὴν χαρὰν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν.  
 καὶ πρῶτοι καὶ δεῦτεροι τὸν μισθὸν ἀπολάβετε· 55  
 πλούσιοι καὶ πένητες μετ' ἀλλήλων χορεύσατε·  
 ἐγκρατεῖς καὶ ῥάθυμοι τὴν ἡμέραν τιμήσατε· (SermCat 20)  
 νηστεύσαντες καὶ μὴ νηστεύσαντες εὐφράνθητε σήμερον.

Ἡ τράπεζα γέμει, τρυφήσατε πάντες.

**41 Εἴ τις-πανηγύρεως DEF]** εἴ τις εὐσεβῆς καὶ φιλόθεος, ἀγαπητοί, ἀπολαυέτω τῶν ἀγαθῶν χαρισμάτων τῆς καλῆς ταύτης πανηγύρεως **L 43 ἀπολαβέτω D]** ἀπολαυέτω **EFL 44 σήμερον EFL]** νῦν **D 45 εἴ τις-εορτάσει DEF]** εἴ τις μετὰ τὴν τρίτην ἦλθεν εὐχαριστῶν καὶ ἀγαλλόμενος ἑορταζέτω σήμερον **L 46 εἴ τις μετὰ τὴν ἕκτην-ζημιοῦται EF]** εἴ τις περὶ τὴν ἕκτην ἦλθεν, μηδὲν ἀμφιβαλέτω προσέλθει καὶ αὐτὸς μηδὲν ἐνδύαζων **D;** εἴ τις περὶ τὴν ἕκτην ἀφίκετο, μηδὲν ἀμφιβάλη, καὶ γὰρ οὐ ζημιοῦται **L 47–48 εἴ τις ὑστέρησεν-βραδυτῆτα]** om. cod. **D 48 εἴ τις μόνην-βραδυτῆτα EF]** εἴ τις εἰς μόνην ἔφθασε τὴν ἑνδεκάτην, μὴ φοβηθῆ τὴν βραδυτῆτα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο στενάζων **L 49 φιλότιμος-πρῶτον DEF]** φιλότιμος γὰρ ὢν ὁ ἡμέτερος δεσπότης, ἀγαθός τε καὶ ἐλεήμων καὶ συμπαθὴς δέχεται τὸν ἔσχατον καθὼς καὶ τὸν πρῶτον **L 50 ἑνδεκάτης ὡς τὸν DEF]** ἑνδεκάτης ὥρας καθάπερ τὸν **L 53 καὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν-ἐπαινεῖ EF]** καὶ τὰ ἔργα δέχεται καὶ τὴν γνώμην ἀσπάζεται· καὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν τιμᾶ, καὶ τὴν πρόθεσιν ἐπαινεῖ **D;** καὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν τιμᾶ καὶ τὴν γνώμην ἀσπάζεται· τὸν πόθον τε προσδέχεται, καὶ τὸ ἔργον προσίεται, καὶ τὴν προαίρεσιν ἐπαινεῖ· καὶ τὴν πρόθεσιν βλέπει, καὶ τὴν διάθεσιν ἀγαπᾷ **L 54 post ἡμῶν]** ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ add. cod. **F 55 καὶ πρῶτοι-ἀπολάβετε D]** ἀπολαύετε **EF;** προσέλθετε πάντες πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ φωτίσθητε, καὶ πρῶτοι καὶ δεῦτεροι καὶ μέσοι καὶ ὕστεροι τὸν μισθὸν ἀπολαύετε **L 56 πλούσιοι-χορεύσατε DEF]** πλούσιοι καὶ πένητες, δοῦλοι καὶ ἐλεύθεροι, μετ' ἀλλήλων χορεύσατε **L 57 ἐγκρατεῖς-τιμήσατε DEF]** ἐγκρατεῖς καὶ ῥάθυμοι δοξάσατε καὶ μεγαλύνατε τὸν θεὸν ἡμῶν· καὶ τὴν λαμπρὰν ταύτην ἡμέραν καὶ φαιδρὰν ἑορτὴν ὑμνήσατε καὶ θαυμάσατε καὶ τιμήσατε **L 58 νηστεύσαντες-σήμερον EF]** οἱ νηστεύσαντες **D;** νηστεύσαντες καὶ μὴ νηστεύσαντες εὐφράνθητε σήμερον μετὰ τοῦ δαυὶδ σκιρτῶντες καὶ λέγοντες· αὕτη ἡ ἡμέρα, ἣν ἐποίησεν ὁ κύριος, ἀγαλλιασώμεθα καὶ εὐφρανθῶμεν ἐν αὐτῇ **L 59 ante ἡ τράπεζα]** inseruit 'Ἐπεὶ χαρὰς ὄντως ἡ ἡμέρα ἐστὶν αὕτη καὶ εὐφροσύνης, ἀγαπητοί, ἡμέρα ἀγαλλιᾶσεως καὶ σωτηρίας, ἡμέρα φωτισμοῦ καὶ ἀγιασμοῦ, ἡμέρα εἰρήνης καὶ καταλλαγῆς, ἡμέρα ἀναπάσεως καὶ ἀνακαινισμοῦ τῶν ἡμετέρων ψυχῶν. αὕτη ἐστὶν ὄντως μεγάλη καὶ θαυμαστὴ καὶ ἐπιφανής· αὕτη ἐστὶν ἑορτῶν ἑορτή, καὶ πανήγυρις πανηγύρεων. αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ σεβασμία καὶ ἀγία καὶ λαμπροφόρος ἡμέρα τῆς ἀναστάσεως. ἐν ταύτῃ συνήγειρεν ἡμᾶς ὁ Χριστὸς ἐρριμένους τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ. ἐν ταύτῃ συνεζωοποίησεν ἡμᾶς νεκρωμένους τοῖς παραπτώμασιν. ἐν ταύτῃ τὸν παράδεισον ἠνέφξε, καὶ ἀπολαβεῖν ἡμᾶς τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς κατηξίωσεν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν τὸ τίμιον καὶ ἅγιον καὶ ζωοποιὸν αὐτοῦ σῶμα καὶ αἷμα· δι' οὗ καθαιρόμεθα καὶ ἀγιαζόμεθα καὶ φωτιζόμεθα καὶ ἐγκαινιζόμεθα. τοῖνυν καὶ εὐφρανθῶμεν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ἀγαλλιασώμεθα cod. **L 59 ἡ τράπεζα-πάντες DEF]** ἡ τράπεζα γέμει, τρυφήσαντες ἄσατε **L**

Ὁ μόσχος πολὺς, μηδεὶς ἐξέλθοι πεινῶν. 60  
Πάντες ἀπολαύσατε τοῦ πλοῦτου τῆς χρηστότητος.

Μηδεὶς θρηνεῖτω πενίαν, ἐφάνη γὰρ ἡ κοινὴ βασιλεία. (SermCat 25)  
μηδεὶς ὀδυρέσθω πταίσματα, συγγνώμη γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ τάφου ἀνέτειλε·  
μηδεὶς φοβείσθω θάνατον, ἠλευθέρωσε γὰρ ἡμᾶς ὁ τοῦ σωτῆρος θάνατος.

Ἔσβεσεν αὐτὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατεχόμενος· 65  
ἐκόλασε τὸν ἄδην ὁ κατελθὼν εἰς τὸν ἄδην·  
ἐπίκρανε αὐτὸν γευσάμενον τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ. (SermCat 30)

Καὶ τοῦτο προλαβὼν Ἡσαΐας ἐβόησεν· ὁ ἄδης, φησὶν, ἐπικράνθη συναντήσας  
σοι κάτω.

Ἐπικράνθη, καὶ γὰρ καθηρέθη· 70  
ἐπικράνθη, καὶ γὰρ ἐνεκρώθη·  
ἐπικράνθη, καὶ γὰρ ἐνεπαίχθη. (SermCat 35)

Ἔλαβε σῶμα καὶ θεῶ περιέτυχεν·  
ἔλαβε γῆν καὶ συνήνητησεν οὐρανῶ·  
ἔλαβεν ὄπερ ἔβλεπε καὶ πέπτωκεν ὅθεν οὐκ ἔβλεπε. 75

Ποῦ σου θάνατε τὸ κέντρον; Ποῦ σου ἄδη τὸ νῆκος;

Ἀνέστη Χριστὸς καὶ σὺ καταβέβλησαι. (SermCat 40)  
ἀνέστη Χριστὸς καὶ πεπτώκασι δαίμονες·  
ἀνέστη Χριστὸς καὶ χαίρουσιν ἄγγελοι·  
(SermCat 40) ἀνέστη Χριστὸς καὶ ζωὴ πολιτεύεται· 80  
ἀνέστη Χριστὸς καὶ νεκρὸς οὐδεὶς ἐπὶ μνήματος.

**60 ὁ μόσχος-πεινῶν DEF]** ὁ μόσχος ἠτοιμάσται, μηδεὶς ἐξέλθῃ πεινῶν καὶ στερούμενος **L** **61 πάντες-χρηστότητος DEF]** πάντες ἀπολαύσατε τοῦ πλοῦτου τῆς πίστεως· πάντες ἀπολαύσατε τοῦ πλοῦτου τῆς χρηστότητος· πάντες ἀπαντήσατε τοῦ μύρου τῆς χάριτος, ὅτι τὸ πάσχα ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐτίθη χριστός· πάντες ἀντήσατε ἐκ τῆς ἀκενότητος πηγῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος θεοῦ καὶ εὐφράνθητε· γεύσασθε καὶ ἴδετε ὅτι χριστὸς ὁ κύριος, θεὸς κύριος καὶ ἐπέφανεν ἡμῖν **L** **62 βασιλεία DEF]** σωτηρία **L** **63 μηδεὶς ὀδυρέσθω-ἀνέτειλε EF]** ἀπὸ τοῦ τάφου **D**; μηδεὶς ὀδυρέσθω πταίσματα, συγγνώμη γὰρ καὶ ἄφεσις ἀπὸ τοῦ τάφου ἀνέτειλε **L** **64 μηδεὶς φοβείσθω-θάνατος DF]** μηδεὶς φοβείσθω τὸν θάνατον· ἠλευθέρωσε γὰρ ἡμᾶς τοῦ σωτῆρος ὁ θάνατος **E**; τὸν θάνατον **L** **65 ἔσβεσεν-κατεχόμενος EF]** om. cod. **D**; ἔσβεσεν αὐτὸν ὁ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατεχόμενος· ἔσωσεν ἡμᾶς χριστὸς ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἄδου ἐρρύσατο· ἐξήρασεν ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς καταδυναστείας τοῦ διαβόλου, καὶ τῆς δουλείας αὐτοῦ ἠλευθέρωσεν **L** **66 ἐκόλασε-ἄδην EF]** ἐκόλυσε τὸν ἄδην, ὁ κατελθὼν εἰς τὸν ἄδην **D**; ἐκόλασεν τὸν ἄδην κατελθὼν ἐν τῷ ἄδῃ **L** **67 ἐπίκρανε-αὐτοῦ F]** ἐπίκρανε αὐτὸν γευσάμενος τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ **D**; ἐπίκρανε γὰρ αὐτὸν γευσάμενος τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ **E**; ἐπικράνθη ὁ ἄδης γευσάμενος τῆς τιμίας καὶ ἁγίας σαρκὸς τοῦ δεσπότη **L** **70 ἐπικράνθη-καθηρέθη EF]** om. cod. **D**; ἐπικράνθη καὶ γὰρ καθηρέθη **L** **71–72 ἐπικράνθη-ἐνεπαίχθη DEF]** ἐπικράνθη καὶ γὰρ ἐνεπαίχθη· ἐπικράνθη καὶ γὰρ ἐνεκρώθη· ἐπικράνθη καὶ γὰρ καθηρέθη· ἐπικράνθη καὶ γὰρ ἐδεσμεύθη **L** **74 ἔλαβε γῆν καὶ συνήνητησεν οὐρανῶ L]** om. cod. **D**; **ἔλαβε γῆν καὶ συνήνητησεν οὐρανῶ EF** **76 ante ποῦ σου, θάνατε, τὸ κέντρον]** add. ὁ εὐκαιρον οὖν εἰπεῖν cod. **L** **77 ἀνέστη Χριστὸς καὶ σὺ καταβέβλησαι EFL]** om. cod. **D** **81 ἀνέστη Χριστὸς καὶ νεκρὸς οὐδεὶς ἐπὶ μνήματος DE]** νεκρὸς om. cod. **F**; ἀνέστη Χριστὸς καὶ νεκροὶ συνηγέρθησαν ἅπαντες μηκέτι ὄντες ἐν μνήματι· ἀνέστη Χριστὸς, καὶ φθορᾶς ἐλυτρώθημεν· ἀνέστη Χριστὸς, καὶ κατάρας ἐρρύσθημεν· ἀνέστη Χριστὸς καὶ ἡμεῖς συνανέστημεν· ἀνέστη Χριστὸς, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐζώθημεν **L**

Χριστὸς γὰρ ἐγερθεὶς ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀπαρχὴ τῶν  
κεκοιμημένων ἐγένετο. (SermCat 45)

- Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἡ μεγαλοφωνοτάτη λύρα τοῦ πνεύματος,  
ὁ τῆς μετανοίας ὑφηγητής,  
ὁ οὐράνιος ἄνθρωπος, 85  
ὁ ἐπίγειος ἄγγελος,  
ὁ χρυσοφειγγοφόγγος τῆς οἰκουμένης λαμπτήρ,  
ὁ χρυσοειδὴς καὶ χρυσαυγῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀστήρ,  
ἡ φωτοφόρος καὶ θεαυγῆς καὶ παμφαεὶς σελήνη,  
ὁ φωτοειδὴς καὶ ἀνέσπερος τῶν ἐξοφομένων καὶ ἐσκοτισμένων ψυχῶν ἥλιος, 90  
τὸ ἄδυτον καὶ ὑπέρλαμπρον τοῖς ἐν σκότει φῶς,  
ὁ φαιδρύνας καὶ καταλαμπρύνας ἅπασαν τὴν οἰκουμένην τοῖς θείοις λόγοις καὶ διδάγμασιν.
- ἡμῖν δὲ γένοιτο, ἀδελφοί, ἡ τῶν θείων μυστηρίων μετάληψις εἰς ἀμαρτημάτων ἐξάλειψιν,  
εἰς πλημμελημάτων συγχώρησιν,  
εἰς ἀρρωστημάτων ἴασιν, 95  
εἰς εὐεξίαν ψυχῆς,  
εἰς εὐρωστίαν σώματος,  
εἰς νέκρωσιν τῶν θανατούντων παθῶν,  
εἰς ζώωσιν τῶν ζωογονούντων χρηστῶν,  
εἰς ὑπερασπισμὸν εὐπειθείας, 100  
εἰς ἀφανισμὸν ἀπειθείας,  
εἰς θλίψιν τῶν θλιβόντων ἡμᾶς δαιμόνων,  
εἰς χαρὰν τῶν χαιρόντων ἐπὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ ἡμῶν ἀγγέλων,  
εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον
- ἧς πάντες τύχοιμεν χάριτι καὶ φιλανθρωπία τοῦ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάντος Χριστοῦ τοῦ 105  
ἀληθινοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν ᾧ πρέπει πᾶσα δόξα τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις σὺν τῷ ἀνάρχῳ αὐτοῦ  
πατρὶ καὶ τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ καὶ ὁμοουσίῳ πνεύματι νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ καὶ  
εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

**82 post ἐγένετο]** epilogum Theodori om. et inseruit *In triduanam resurrectionem Domini* (PG 50:821–824, CPG 4526, Aldama 546) cod. **D**; add. αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν et desinit textus **F 83 λύρα E]** μύρα **L 84–92 ὁ τῆς μετανοίας-διδάγμασιν E]** Ἰωάννης ὁ πάνυ, ὁ τὴν γλῶτταν χρυσοῦς **L 93 ἡμῖν L]** ὑμῖν **E 103 post ἡμῶν]** ἀγίων add. cod. **L 106–107 παναγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ καὶ D]** om. cod. **L**

## I. ANALYSIS OF ORATIO 4 IN SANCTUM PASCHA

### Structure

The structure of Theodore of Stoudios' Or.4 appears to consciously imitate that of his prototype, SermCat. As we have it today, Or.4's pattern mirrors the rhythm of SermCat's thematic units. Its prologue consists of four cycles: 6–3, 5–3, 5–6, 5–5. The fact that Or.4 fails to reproduce as coherent and cohesive a structure as SermCat displays is yet another argument in favor of dating the latter to a period earlier than the 9<sup>th</sup> century. In comparison to Or.4, SermCat shows that its author, while Christian, had access to excellent rhetorical training that may be more reminiscent of the 4<sup>th</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> centuries than the 9<sup>th</sup>. Or.4's quotation of SermCat preserves the structure of that text almost exactly as we find it in its own direct manuscript tradition. The only alteration of the structure comes in the last thematic unit of the first 3–5–3 cycle. In Or.4, the last unit is composed of 2, not 3, lines due to a textual variation. SermCat's tradition transmits φιλότιμος ὁ φιλόανθρωπος | δέχεται τὸν ἔσχατον καθάπερ τὸν πρῶτον as two separate lines. Or.4 has changed this to: φιλότιμος γὰρ ὢν ὁ δεσπότης, δέχεται τὸν ἔσχατον καθάπερ τὸν πρῶτον. By expressing the first line as a direct cause of the second, Or.4 unites the two and alters the structure of the text. From this point, SermCat continues maintaining the same structure we saw above. Theodore's epilogue then consists of two large, final paragraphs of 10 and 12 lines respectively: the first praising Chrysostom and the second exhorting the listeners to receive communion, outlining its various beneficial effects.

### Style

Again, in the area of style, Theodore has overtly imitated the style of SermCat. As noted above, SermCat's style of expression is characterized by short, forceful phrases, often in multiple repetitions of parallel structure. This is precisely what we find in Or.4, as well. Moreover, it is likely that Or.4 was designed to be performed orally, rather than read. The text alludes to this with its numerous rhetorical questions, as well as its opening address, characteristic of Theodore's catecheses: ἀδελφοὶ καὶ πατέρες. As we will see in greater detail below, SermCat was often included in collections of Theodore's catecheses; the reason for this is surely that, far from being an 'oration', Theodore originally delivered Or.4 as a paschal catechesis.<sup>228</sup> Finally, Theodore makes extensive use of rhetorical devices in the text, such as: 1) alliteration (τίς, τί τὸ ll. 3–8); 2) anaphora (τίς ll. 3–11, χθές ll. 25–30, εἰς ll. 94–104); 3)

<sup>228</sup> The significance of this possibility will be explored further in Part 2, chapter 1.III.

antonomasia (τίς ἕτερος/ὁ χρυσόνους ll. 30–33, σάλπιγξ...τοῦ πνεύματος l. 38, λύρα τοῦ πνεύματος etc. ll. 83–92);<sup>229</sup> 3) aporia (τίς ll. 4–8, ἐρωτᾶς ll. 12–13, τίς ll. 25–29); 4) hypophora (τίς/τίς ἕτερος ll. 29–30); 5) homoioteleuton (λαμπροφορία/θυμηδία/ἐκκλησίαν ll. 4–6, μετρομένου/νοουμένου ll. 17–18, ἐξάλειψιν/συγχώρησιν/ἴασιν/etc. ll. 93–104).

### Vocabulary and Content

There are numerous intriguing and noteworthy elements in Or.4's vocabulary and content. First, in his prologue, Theodore creates a vivid contrast between darkness and light through a series of rhetorical questions and stark images. He highlights the brilliance of the feast of the resurrection in contrast to the gloom that followed upon Christ's death. This antithesis can also be read at another level. As noted above, SermCat displays certain elements in common with the apocryphal *Gospel of Nikodemos*, suggesting that the latter has drawn from the former. Here in Or.4 we find indications that Theodore is not just drawing on SermCat, but also on the apocryphal *Gospel*—which, by Theodore's time, had influenced much of the liturgical hymnography for the services of Christ's crucifixion and resurrection, at least within a monastic context.<sup>230</sup> The connection between Or.4 and the *Gospel of Nikodemos* is reinforced as one continues reading Theodore's prologue. Christ's resurrection has caused light to shine in darkness, and as a result, the angels rejoice at the salvation of humanity; the prophets are also elated when they see their prophecies being fulfilled. These are all elements present in the resurrection scene of the apocryphal *Gospel*.<sup>231</sup>

Or.4 then progresses on to Chrysostom himself. Theodore wonders aloud who could properly praise Pascha, and reaches the conclusion that Chrysostom is the most obvious choice. Of course, this is a rhetorical device; even so, that Chrysostom is self-evidently the one who should weave the appropriate encomium (“τίς ἕτερος ἢ ὁ χρυσοῦς ἡμῶν πατήρ”) indicates his status already before Or.4 in liturgical panegyrika. This status will be highlighted further below in the descriptions of the manuscript witnesses—many of which are panegyrika, in all of which Chrysostom features prominently. Theodore then begins to reiterate the appropriateness of his choice: Chrysostom is the great preacher of God's compassion; the force of his words is greater than that of the Nile, and both his mind and tongue, not just his mouth, are also golden. Thus,

<sup>229</sup> At l. 30 the majority of witnesses omit the name Ἰωάννης, though very few, such as Vaticanus graecus 1587, insert it (Codex D, as can be seen above in the apparatus criticus). I believe Theodore's intention here was to employ antonomasia, making an unmistakable reference to John Chrysostom that was only further enhanced precisely by not mentioning his actual name.

<sup>230</sup> See Louth (2005) 252–282, who discusses the apocryphal Gospel in hymns attributed to John Damascene.

<sup>231</sup> Tischendorf (1853) 306–309.

he will instruct us in the significance of Pascha in a few short words. In Theodore’s appraisal of SermCat, we observe that he has perceived the same elements of structure, style and content as noted above. SermCat is designed to communicate that Christ’s resurrection offers mercy and redemption to all, and is written in a concise but forceful style. It appears that SermCat’s short length has made an impression on Theodore himself (“δι’ ὀλίγων λόγων καὶ συντετμημένων ῥημάτων”). Finally, Theodore compares Chrysostom to John the Baptist, calling him ‘the second preacher of repentance’ (“ὁ τῆς μετανοίας κῆρυξ ὁ δεύτερος”). As we will see in Part 2, ‘preacher of repentance’ is a common epithet applied to Chrysostom, and Theodore has a habit of grouping Chrysostom and John the Baptist together as his two models for opposing the imperial Court. This thus further reinforces Baur’s suggestion that Theodore intended Or.4 as a response to Leo V’s Iconoclasm. Naturally, Theodore, being abbot of the Stoudios monastery, connects the characterization of Chrysostom to John the Baptist.<sup>232</sup> This may be a further indication that Or.4 was originally delivered at Stoudios, thus either in the year 815 itself, just at the beginning of Second Iconoclasm, or at some point between 821–826.<sup>233</sup>

Theodore’s epilogue is then divided into two parts. The first resumes and concludes the praise of Chrysostom as the most suitable encomiast of Christ’s resurrection. Theodore displays his penchant for *hapax legomena* with the word χρυσοφεγγόφθογος.<sup>234</sup> The second part then exhorts Theodore’s listeners to receive communion because of all the spiritual benefits that it offers them. Here again we see Theodore’s love of parallel wordplay: 1) ἀμαρτημάτων ἐξάλειψιν/πλημμελημάτων συγχώρησιν/ἀρρωστημάτων ἴασιν, 2) νέκρωσιν τῶν θανατούντων παθῶν/ζώωσιν τῶν ζωογονούντων χρηστῶν, 3) ὑπερασπισμὸν εὐπειθείας/ἀφανισμὸν ἀπειθείας. Moreover, this second 12 line paragraph increases the possibility that Or.4 was delivered at Stoudios, instead of through one of Theodore’s epistles

<sup>232</sup> This was a connection that Theodore routinely made. See Part 2, Chapter 1.

<sup>233</sup> The possibility that Theodore delivered Or.4 on Pascha of 815 (1 April), in between Nikephoros I’s resignation (13 March) and Leo V’s Iconoclast Council (after Pascha)—indeed on the very day that Theodotos Melissenos, Leo’s new iconoclast patriarch, was enthroned—is highly intriguing. Theodore was invited to this second iconoclastic Council, which upheld the decisions of Hiereia (754), but he did not attend; the reason could have been that he already gave his response on the day of Pascha itself with Or.4. Shortly after the council, Theodore went into exile for six years (815–821), though even then he did not cease sending out writings against Iconoclasm, as *Vita B* makes clear (PG 99:288.11–19): “Ὁ δὲ γε Πατὴρ ἡμῶν Θεόδωρος οὐ διέλιπεν ἔκτοτε, ἀλλ’ ἐπαλλήλους χαραττων ἐπιστολάς, καὶ διεγείρων πρὸς ἀνδρείαν τοὺς ἐγγύς καὶ τοὺς πόρρωθεν, ἐμφανῆ ἑαυτὸν τῷ λυσσάντι τὴν αἴρεσιν ἐντεῦθεν μᾶλλον καταστῆσαι βουλόμενος· καὶ ὡς οὐ ποιεῖται λόγον τῶν αὐτοῦ ἀπειλῶν, οὕτε μὴν δέδειεν τὸν ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας θάνατον· εἰς ὃ, καὶ μανεῖς περισσοτέρως ὁ κακογώμων Λέων, ἐξορίαν καὶ αὐτὸν καταδικάζει...” While not impossible—and perhaps plausible, if one accepts Or.4 as an intentional response to Iconoclasts—the hypothesis that Or.4 was delivered in 815 is nevertheless not confirmed by any other source. See Cholij (2010) 56 and Kaklamanos (2018) 125–127.

<sup>234</sup> The lemma χρυσοφεγγής appears in Aeschylus’ *Agamemnon*, as well as in the *De Cerimoniis* in chapter 10 on the Monday after Pascha.

from exile. The scene appears to be one in which everyone—Theodore and his monks—are all present together at Stoudios celebrating Pascha.<sup>235</sup>

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<sup>235</sup> Moreover, just before leaving for his third exile, we are informed that Theodore commanded his monks to leave Stoudios if they desired to live a peaceful, orthodox life. See *Vita B* (PG 99:288.19–28): “...δεξάμενος τοίνυν ὁ ἱερός Πατήρ ἡμῶν καὶ τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας ἀνεπαίσχυντος εἰσηγητῆς τὴν περιπόθητον αὐτῶ καὶ ἐκ πολλοῦ ἐφετὴν ἀπόφασιν, προσκαλεσάμενος τὸ πλῆθος τῶν μαθητῶν, καθίστησιν ἐν αὐτοῖς δύο καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα ἀρχηγούς, ὑφ’ οὓς καταμερισθῆναι τὴν ἀδελφότητα αὐθαιρέτῳ γνώμῃ προτρεψάμενος, δεδωκώς τε αὐτοῖς ἐντολήν ὥστε μετὰ τὴν ἔξοδον αὐτοῦ μὴ ἐναπομεῖναι αὐτόθι τινὰ τῶν θελόντων τὴν ἀληθῆ ζωὴν, καὶ ἀγαπώντων τὰς ἀγαθὰς ἡμέρας ἰδεῖν, καθὼς ψάλλει ὁ ἅγιος Δαυΐδ...”

Vaticanus graecus 1587  
(1389), ff. 308v-313v

(308v) Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς  
ἡμῶν Θεοδώρου τοῦ  
Στουδίτου·  
λόγος κατηχητικὸς τῇ ἁγία  
καὶ μεγάλη κυριακῇ τοῦ  
πάσχα

Τί τοῦτο ἀδελφοὶ ἀγαπητοὶ  
καὶ φιλέορτοι καὶ  
φιλόχριστοι·  
τίς ἢ τοσαύτη λαμπροφορία·  
τίς ἢ τοσαύτη φωταγωγία καὶ  
θυμηδία· (l. 5 TC)

Baroccianus 197 (1343), ff.  
551v-553r

(551v) Θεοδώρου τοῦ  
Στουδίτου, προοίμιον εἰς τὸν  
ῤηθέντα κατηχητικὸν λόγον  
παρὰ τοῦ ἐν  
ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν, ἰωάννου  
ἀρχιεπισκόπου  
κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ  
χρυσοστόμου, ἐν τῇ ἁγία καὶ  
μεγάλη καὶ λαμπρᾷ κυριακῇ  
τοῦ πάσχα· ἀναγινώσκεται  
εἰς τὸ τέλος τοῦ ὄρθρου, μετὰ  
τὸ πληρωθῆναι τὸν  
ἄσπασμόν· +

Τί τοῦτο πατέρες καὶ ἀδελφοὶ  
φιλέορτοι καὶ φιλόχριστοι·  
τίς ἢ τοσαύτη λαμπροφορία·  
τίς ἢ τοσαύτη θυμηδία καὶ  
ἀγαλλίασις· (l. 5 TC)

551v

**Θεοδώρου-ἄσπασμόν E]** τοῦ ὀσίου  
θεοφύρου πατρὸς ἡμῶν, θεοδώρου  
ἡγουμένου τῶν Στουδίου, προοίμιον εἰς τὸν  
ῤηθέντα κατηχητικὸν λόγον, τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις  
πατρὸς ἡμῶν ἰωάννου, ἀρχιεπισκόπου  
κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ χρυσοστόμου, τῇ  
ἁγία καὶ μεγάλη κυριακῇ τοῦ πάσχα **H**

Timiou Stavrou 92 (1581), ff.  
141r-144r

(141r) Τοῦ ὀσίου καὶ  
θεοφύρου πατρὸς ἡμῶν  
Θεοδώρου τοῦ στουδίτου·  
προοίμιον εἰς τὸν ῤηθέντα  
κατηχητικὸν λόγον τοῦ ἐν  
ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν ἰωάννου  
ἀρχιεπισκόπου  
κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ  
χρυσοστόμου. τῆς ἁγίας καὶ  
μεγάλης λαμπρᾶς κυριακῆς,  
περὶ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ἐνδόξου  
χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν  
ἀναστάσεως·

Τί τοῦτο πατέρες φιλέορτοι  
καὶ φιλόχριστοι;  
τίς ἢ τοσαύτη λαμπροφορία;  
(l. 5 TC) τί τὸ φαιδρύναν  
οὕτω τὴν οἴκου (141v)  
μένην;

141r

**τοῦ-ἀναστάσεως F]** τοῦ ὀσίου καὶ θεοφύρου  
πατρὸς ἡμῶν θεοδώρου τοῦ στουδίτου  
προοίμιον εἰς τὸν κατηχητικὸν λόγον τοῦ ἐν  
ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπισκόπου  
κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ χρυσοστόμου, τῇ  
ἁγία καὶ μεγάλη λαμπρᾷ κυριακῇ τῆς ἁγίας  
καὶ ἐνδόξου χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀναστάσεως **I**

Vaticanus graecus 1517  
(1585), ff. 100-110r

Μετὰ δὲ τὸ πληρωθῆναι τὸν  
ἄσπασμόν ἀναγινώσκεται  
παρὰ τοῦ καθηγουμένου ὁ  
παρὼν λόγος τοῦ ὀσίου  
πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ ὁμολογητοῦ  
Θεοδώρου τοῦ Στουδίτου·  
προοίμιον προτρεπόμενον  
μετὰ πάσης προσοχῆς  
ἀκροασθῆναι ἡμᾶς τὸν παρὰ  
τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν  
ἰωάννου πατριάρχου  
κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ  
χρυσοστόμου ῤηθέντα  
κατηχητικὸν λόγον, ἐν τῇ  
μεγάλη καὶ λαμπρᾷ κυριακῇ  
τοῦ πάσχα τῆς ἐνδόξου τοῦ  
κυρίου θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος  
ἡμῶν ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ ἁγίας  
ἀναστάσεως.

Τί τοῦτο πατέρες φιλέορτοι  
καὶ φιλόχριστοι;  
τίς ἢ τοσαύτη λαμπροφορία;  
τίς ἢ τοσαύτη θυμηδία καὶ  
ἀγαλλίασις; (l. 5 TC)

τί τὸ καταστράψαν οὕτω τὴν ἐκκλησίαν·  
τί τὸ καταγλαΐσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην·  
τί τὸ παρασκευάσαν οὕτω τὴν οἰκουμένην·  
τί τὸ παρασκευάσαν τοσαύτην γενέσθαι ἡδονὴν καὶ φαιδρότητα·

χθὲς ἐν ἀθυμία, καὶ σήμερον ἐν εὐθυμία·  
χθὲς ἐν κατηφεία, καὶ σήμερον ἐν φαιδρότητι·  
χθὲς ἐν ὀλολυγμοῖς, καὶ σήμερον ἐν (I. 10 TC) ἀλαλαγμοῖς·

ἔρωτᾶς τί τούτων τὸ αἶτιον, καὶ τί τὸ παρασκευάσαν γενέσθαι τοσαύτην χαρὰν καὶ λαμπρότητα;  
Χριστὸς ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν, καὶ ἅπας ὁ κόσμος ἠγαλλιάσατο·  
κατήγησε τῷ ζωοποιῷ αὐτοῦ θανάτῳ τὸν θάνατον·  
καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐν τῷ ἄδη τῶν δεσμῶν ἀπελύθησαν· (I. 15 TC)

τί τὸ φαιδρύναν οὕτω τὴν ἐκκλησίαν·  
τί τὸ λαμπρύναν οὕτω τὴν οἰκουμένην·  
τί τὸ καταγλαΐσαν οὕτω τὸ ἡμέτερον σύστημα·

χθὲς ἐν κατηφεία, καὶ σήμερον ἐν φαιδρότητα;  
χθὲς ἐν ἀθυμία, καὶ σήμερον ἐν εὐθυμία;  
χθὲς ἐν ὀλολυγμοῖς, καὶ σήμερον (I. 10 TC) ἐν ἀλαλαγμοῖς;

ἔρωτᾶς τί τούτων τὸ αἶτιον;  
τί τὸ παρασκευάσαν τοσαύτην ἀγλαΐαν γενέσθαι, καὶ χαρὰν καὶ λαμπρότητα;  
Χριστὸς ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν· καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, τὴν πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἀνάβασιν ἐδωρήσατο· (I. 15 TC)

τί τὸ λαμπρύναν οὕτω τὴν ἐκκλησίαν;

χθὲς ἐν κατηφεία, καὶ σήμερον ἐν φαιδρότητι;  
χθὲς ἐν ἀθυμία, καὶ σήμερον εὐθυμία;  
χθὲς ἐν ὀλολυγμοῖς, καὶ σήμερον ἐν (I. 10 TC) ἀλαλαγμοῖς·

ἔρωτᾶς τί τούτων τὸ αἶτιον;  
τί τὸ παρασκευάσαν τοσαύτην ἀγλαΐαν γενέσθαι, καὶ χαρὰν καὶ λαμπρότητα;  
Χριστὸς ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν, καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, τὴν πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἀνάβασιν ἐδωρήσατο· (I. 15 TC)

τί τὸ φαιδρύναν οὕτω τὴν ἐκκλησίαν;  
τί τὸ λαμπρύναν οὕτω τὴν οἰκουμένην;  
τί τὸ καταγλαΐσαν οὕτω, τὸ ἡμέτερον σύστημα;

χθὲς ἐν κατηφεία καὶ σήμερον ἐν φαιδρότητι·  
χθὲς ἐν ἀθυμία καὶ σήμερον ἐν εὐθυμία·  
χθὲς ἐν ὀλολυγμοῖς καὶ σήμερον ἐν (I. 10 TC) ἀλαλαγμοῖς·

ἔρωτᾶς τί τούτων τὸ αἶτιον;  
τί τὸ κατασκευάσαν τοσαύτην ἀγλαΐαν γενέσθαι καὶ χαρὰν καὶ λαμπρότητα;  
Χριστὸς ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις τὴν πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἀνάβασιν ἐδωρήσατο· (I. 15 TC)

ἠνέωξε τὸν παράδεισον, καὶ  
πᾶσιν αὐτὸν εἰσηκτὸν  
ἀπειργάσατο·

ἠνέωξε τὸν παράδεισον, καὶ  
πᾶσιν εἰσηκτὸν τοῖς εἰς  
αὐτὸν πιστεύουσιν  
ἀπειργάσατο·

ἠνέωξε τὸν παράδεισον, καὶ  
πᾶσιν εἰσηκτὸν τοῖς εἰς  
αὐτὸν πιστεύουσιν  
ἀπειργάσατο·

ἠνέωξε τὸν παράδεισον καὶ  
πᾶσιν εἰσηκτὸν τοῖς εἰς  
αὐτὸν πιστεύουσιν  
ἀπειργάσατο·

ὦ βάθος μὴ νοοῦμενον·  
ὦ ὕψος μὴ μετροῦμενον·  
ὦ μυστηρίου φρικτοῦ, νοδὸς  
δύναμιν ὑπερβαίνοντος·

ὦ βάθους μὴ μετρομένου·  
ὦ ὕψους μὴ (552r)  
νοομένου·  
ὦ μυστηρίου καινοῦ, νοδὸς  
κατάληψιν ὑπερβαίνοντος·

ὦ βάθους μὴ μετρομένου·  
ὦ ὕψους μὴ νοομένου·  
ὦ μυστηρίου καινοῦ, νοδὸς  
κατάπληξιν ὑπερβαίνοντος·

ὦ βάθους μὴ μετρομένου·  
ὦ ὕψους μὴ νοομένου·  
ὦ μυστηρίου καινοῦ νοδὸς  
κατάληψιν ὑπερβαίνοντος·

ὕμνοῦσιν ἄγγελοι τῆ σωτηρία  
ἡμῶν ἐπευφραϊνόμενοι· (l. 20  
TC)  
προφητῆται χαίρουσι τὰς οἰκείας  
προρρήσεις πληρουμένας  
θεώμενοι·  
πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις συνεορτάζει·  
ἠὔγασε γὰρ αὐτῆ ἡμέρα  
σωτήριος·  
ἔλαμψε πᾶσιν ὁ τῆς  
δικαιοσύνης ἥλιος·

ὕμνοῦσιν ἄγγελοι τῆ σωτηρία  
ἡμῶν ἐπευφραϊνόμενοι· (l. 20  
TC)  
προφητῆται χαίρουσι, τὰς ἰδίας  
προρρήσεις πληρουμένας  
θεώμενοι·  
ἡ κτίσις πᾶσα χορεύει·  
ἠὔγασε γὰρ αὐτῆ, ἡμέρα  
σωτήριος·  
ἔλαμψεν αὐτῆ δικαιοσύνης  
ἥλιος·

ὕμνοῦσιν ἄγγελοι, τῆ σωτηρία  
ἡμῶν ἐπευφραϊνόμενοι· (l. 20  
TC)  
προφητῆται χορεύουσιν, τὰς  
ἰδίας (142r) προρρήσεις  
πληρουμένας θεώμενοι·  
ἡ κτίσις πᾶσα χορεύει·  
ἠὔγασε γὰρ αὐτῆ ἡμέρα  
σωτήριος·  
ἔλαμψεν αὐτῆ δικαιοσύνης  
ἥλιος·

ὕμνοῦσιν ἄγγελοι τῆ σωτηρία  
ἡμῶν ἐπευφραϊνόμενοι· (l. 20  
TC)  
προφητῆται χαίρουσι τὰς ἰδίας  
προρρήσεις πληρουμένας  
θεώμενοι·  
ἡ κτίσις πᾶσα χορεύει·  
ἠὔγασε γὰρ αὐτῆ σωτήριος  
ἡμέρα·  
ἔλαμψεν αὐτῆ δικαιοσύνης  
ἥλιος·

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141v

κατάπληξιν F] κατάληψιν I

142r

χορεύει F] σκιρτᾷ καὶ χορεύει I γὰρ F] om.  
cod. I

τίς τοίνυν ἀξίως τῆς λαμπρᾶς  
ταύτης ἡμέρας τὴν χάριν  
ἐξυμνήσει· (I. 25 TC)  
τίς μεγαλοπρεπῶς τοῦ το  
(309r) σοῦτου μυστηρίου  
ἐκθειάση τὴν δύναμιν·  
τίς ἕτερος, ἢ ὁ χρυσοῦς ἡμῶν  
πατήρ Ἰωάννης· (I. 30 TC)  
ὁ διαπρύσιος καὶ  
μεγαλοφωνότατος κῆρυξ·  
ὁ τῆς οἰκουμένης  
διαφανέστατος καὶ  
λαμπρότατος φωστήρ καὶ  
ἀληθινὸς ποιμὴν καὶ  
διδάσκαλος·  
ὁ τῶν ψυχῶν εὐφύεστατος καὶ  
δοκιμώτατος ἰατρός·  
ὁ τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν ἐγγυητῆς  
ἀξιόχρεος·  
ὁ ὑπὲρ τὸν νεῖλον ποταμὸν  
ρέων τὰ χρυσόρρειθρα  
νάματα·  
ὁ χρυσοῦς καὶ χρυσόγλωσσος  
καὶ χρυσόστομος.

τίς τοίνυν ἀξίως ὑμνήσει τῆς  
ἡμέρας τὴν χάριν· (I. 25 TC)  
τίς ἐγκωμιάσει πρεπόντος τοῦ  
χριστοῦ τὴν ἀνάστασιν·  
τίς καταφαιδρύνει ὡς θέμης  
τῆ λαμπροφορία, τὸν λαὸν  
τῆς ἐκκλησίας·  
τίς ἐπαινέσει τοὺς νύφοντας  
καὶ γρηγοροῦντας·  
τίς παραμηθίσει τοὺς ἀμελεῖς  
καὶ ραθύμους·  
τίς ἕτερος, ἢ ὁ χρυσοῦς ἡμῶν  
πατήρ· (I. 30 TC)  
ὁ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ συμπαθείας,  
μεγαλοφωνότατος κῆρυξ·  
ὁ ὑπὲρ τὸν νεῖλον ποταμὸν  
ρέων τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος  
νάματα·  
ὁ χρυσόνους καὶ  
χρυσόγλωσσος καὶ  
χρυσορρήμον ἅμα καὶ  
χρυσόστομος·

552r

τίς ἐγκωμιάσει-ραθύμους E] om. cod. H  
ὁ ὑπὲρ-νάματα E] ὁ ὑπὲρ τὸν νεῖλον ρέων  
ποταμὸν τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ρεύματα H ὁ  
χρυσόνους-χρυσόστομος E] ὁ χρυσόνους,  
καὶ χρυσόγλωσσος, καὶ χρυσόστομος H

τίς τοίνυν ἀξίως ὑμνήσει τῆς  
ἡμέρας τὴν χάριν; (I. 25 TC)  
τίς ἕτερος, ἢ ὁ χρυσοῦς ἡμῶν  
πατήρ· (I. 30 TC)  
ὁ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ συμπαθείας  
μεγαλοφωνότατος κῆρυξ·  
ὁ ὑπὲρ τὸν νεῖλον ρέων  
ποταμὸν τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος·  
ὁ χρυσόνους, καὶ  
χρυσόγλωσσος, καὶ  
χρυσόστομος·

142r

ὁ ὑπὲρ-πνεύματος F] ὁ ὑπὲρ τὸν νεῖλον ρέων  
ποταμὸς τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος I

τίς τοίνυν ἀξίως ἐξυμνήσει  
τῆς ἡμέρας τὴν χάριν; (I. 25  
TC)  
τίς ἕτερος ἢ ὁ χρυσοῦς ἡμῶν  
πατήρ; (I. 30 TC)  
ὁ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ συμπαθείας  
μεγαλοφωνότατος κῆρυξ·  
ὁ χρυσόρρους καὶ  
χρυσόγλωσσος καὶ  
χρυσόστομος·

Χρυσόστομος] qua incipit abruptus textus J

οὗτος ἐκθιαζέτω καὶ  
ἀνυμνεῖτω καὶ κροτεῖτω τοῦ  
μυστηρίου τὴν δύναμιν·  
καὶ τούτου χάριν, ὡς οἶόν τε,  
διὰ βραχέων καὶ  
συντετμημένων λόγων,  
ἐξαγγελέτω· (I. 35 TC)  
ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἔτοιμός ἐστιν·  
ὡς τοῦ λόγου ῥήτωρ ποικίλος·  
καὶ σάλπιγξ μεγαλοφωνοτάτη  
τοῦ πνεύματος·

ἡμεῖς δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἀκούειν  
τούτου, ἐτοιμώτεροι  
γενώμεθα καὶ  
προσεκτικώτεροι·  
ἵνα εἰδῶμεν, οἷα ἡμῖν  
ἐπαγγέλλεται ὁ τῆς  
μετανοίας κῆρυξ ὁ δεύτερος·  
διὸ ἀκούσατε: - (I. 40 TC)

οὗτος ἐκθιαζέτω καὶ  
μεγαλυνέτω, καὶ κροτεῖτω  
τὴν τοῦ κυρίου ἀνάστασιν,  
καὶ τὴν ταύτης δύναμιν καὶ  
ἐνέργειαν·  
δι' ὀλίγων λόγων καὶ  
συντετμημένων ῥημάτων  
διεξιέτω· (I. 35 TC)  
ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν, ἔτοιμός ἐστιν εἰς  
τὸ λέγειν,  
ὡς τοῦ λόγου ῥήτωρ ποικίλος,  
καὶ σάλπιγξ μεγαλοφωνοτάτη  
τοῦ πνεύματος·

ἡμεῖς δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἀκούειν  
τούτου, ἐτοιμώτεροι  
γενώμεθα καὶ  
προσεκτικώτεροι,  
ἵνα εἰδῶμεν, οἷα ἡμῖν  
σήμερον, ὁ τῆς μετανοίας  
ἐπαγγέλλεται κῆρυξ ὁ  
δεύτερος· (I. 40 TC)  
σὺν παρρησίᾳ πᾶσιν ἀναβοῶν  
τρανώς καὶ κηρύττων καὶ  
λέγων·

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σὺν-λέγων E] τοῦ χρυσοστόμου H

οὗτος θιαζέτω καὶ  
μεγαλυνέτω καὶ κροτεῖτω  
τὴν τοῦ κυρίου ἀνάστασιν·  
καὶ τὴν ταύτης δύναμιν καὶ  
ἐνέργειαν, δι' ὀλίγων καὶ  
συντετμημένων ῥημάτων  
διεξιέτω· (I. 35 TC)  
ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἔτοιμος εἰς τὸ  
λέγειν,  
ὡς ἡ τοῦ λόγου ῥήτωρ  
ποικίλος  
καὶ σάλπιγξ μεγαλοφωνοτάτη  
τοῦ πνεύματος·

ἡμεῖς δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἀκούειν  
τούτου, ἐτοιμώτεροι  
γενώμεθα καὶ  
προσεκτικώτεροι·  
ἵν' εἰ (142v) δῶμεν, οἷα ἡμῖν  
σήμερον, ὁ τῆς μετανοίας  
ἐπαγγέλλεται κῆρυξ ὁ  
δεύτερος: (I. 40 TC)

---

ῥημάτων F] om. cod. I ἐτοιμώτεροι F]  
ἔτοιμοι I

οὗτος ἐκθιαζέτω καὶ  
μεγαλυνέτω καὶ κροτεῖτω  
τὴν τοῦ κυρίου ἁγίαν  
ἀνάστασιν καὶ τὴν ταύτης  
δύναμιν καὶ ἐνέργειαν·  
δι' ὀλίγων λόγων καὶ  
συντετμημένων ῥημάτων  
διεξιέτω· (I. 35 TC)  
ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἔτοιμός ἐστιν εἰς  
τὸ λέγειν,  
ὡς τοῦ λόγου ῥήτωρ ποικίλος  
καὶ σάλπιγξ μεγαλοφωνοτάτη  
τοῦ πνεύματος·

ἡμεῖς δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἀκούειν  
τούτου ἐτοιμώτεροι  
γενώμεθα καὶ  
προσεκτικώτεροι,  
ἵνα εἰδῶμεν οἷα ἡμῖν σήμερον  
ὁ τῆς μετανοίας  
ἐπαγγέλλεται κῆρυξ ὁ  
δεύτερος. (I. 40 TC)

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οὗτος-διεξιέτω L] οὗτος ἐκθιαζέτω καὶ  
κροτεῖτω καὶ ἀνυμνεῖτω τοῦ μυστηρίου τὴν  
δύναμιν καὶ τὴν τούτου χάριν, ὡς οἶόν τε διὰ  
βραχέων καὶ συντετμημένων λόγων  
ἐξαγγεῖλετω J εἰς τὸ λέγειν L] πρὸς τὸ  
λέγειν J ἵνα-δεύτερος L] ἵν' εἰδῶμεν ἃ καὶ  
νῦν ἡμῖν ἐπαγγέλλεται ὁ τῆς μετανοίας κῆρυξ  
ὁ δεύτερος J post δεύτερος] τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις  
πατρὸς ἡμῶν ἰωάννου, ἀρχιεπισκόπου  
κωνσταντινουπόλεως, τοῦ χρυσοστόμου,  
λόγος εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πάσχα add. cod. J

Τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν  
ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπισκόπου  
κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ  
χρυσοστόμου· λόγος  
κατηχητικὸς εἰς τὴν ἀγίαν καὶ  
λαμπροφόρον ἡμέραν τῆς  
ἀναστάσεως χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ  
ἡμῶν.

Εἷ τις εὐσεβῆς καὶ φιλόθεος,  
ἀπολαβέτω ταύτης τῆς  
καλῆς πανηγύρεως·  
εἷ τις δοῦλος εὐγνώμων,  
εἰσελθέτω χαίρων εἰς τὴν  
χαρὰν τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ·  
εἷ τις ἔκαμε νηστεύων,  
ἀπολαβέτω νῦν τὸ δηνάριον·

εἷ τις ἀπὸ πρώτης ὥρας  
εἰργάσατο, δεχέσθω νῦν τὸ  
δίκαιον ὄφλημα·  
εἷ τις μετὰ τὴν τρίτην ἦλθεν,  
εὐχαριστῶν ἑορτάσει· (l. 45  
TC)  
εἷ τις περὶ τὴν ἕκτην ἦλθεν,  
μηδὲν ἀμφιβαλέτω,

Εἷ τις εὐσεβῆς καὶ φιλόθεος,  
ἀπολαβέ (552v) τω ταύτης  
τῆς καλῆς πανηγύρεως·  
εἷ τις δοῦλος εὐγνώμων,  
εἰσελθέτω χαίρων εἰς τὴν  
χαρὰν τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ·  
εἷ τις ἔκαμε νηστεύων,  
ἀπολαυέτω νῦν τὸ δηνάριον·

εἷ τις ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ὥρας  
εἰργάσατο, δεχέσθω  
σήμερον τὸ δίκαιον ὄφλημα·  
εἷ τις μετὰ τὴν τρίτην ἦλθεν,  
εὐχαριστῶν ἑορτάσει· (l. 45  
TC)  
εἷ τις μετὰ τὴν ἕκτην ἔφθασε,  
μηδὲν ἀμφιβαλέτω· καὶ γὰρ  
οὐδὲν ζημιοῦται·

Εἷ τις εὐσεβῆς καὶ φιλόθεος,  
ἀπολαβέτω ταύτης τῆς  
καλῆς πανηγύρεως·  
εἷ τις δοῦλος εὐγνώμων,  
εἰσελθέτω χαίρων εἰς τὴν  
χαρὰν τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ·  
εἷ τις ἔκαμε νηστεύων,  
ἀπολαυέτω νῦν τὸ δηνάριον·

εἷ τις ἀπὸ πρώτης ὥρας  
εἰργάσατο, δεχέσθω  
σήμερον τὸ δίκαιον ὄφλημα·  
εἷ τις μετὰ τὴν τρίτην ἦλθεν,  
εὐχαριστῶν ἑορτάσει· (l. 45  
TC)  
εἷ τις μετὰ τὴν ἕκτην ἔφθασε,  
μηδὲν ἀμφιβαλλέτω, καὶ γὰρ  
οὐδὲν ζημιοῦται·

142v

Τοῦ-ἡμῶν F] τοῦ χρυσοστόμου I post  
καλῆς F] καὶ λαμπρᾶς add. cod. I ἑορτάσει  
F] ἑορταζέτω I

Εἷ τις εὐσεβῆς καὶ φιλόθεος,  
ἀγαπητοί, ἀπολαυέτω τῶν  
ἀγαθῶν χαρισμάτων τῆς  
καλῆς ταύτης πανηγύρεως·  
εἷ τις δοῦλος εὐγνώμων  
εἰσελθέτω χαίρων εἰς τὴν  
χαρὰν τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ·  
εἷ τις ἔκαμε νηστεύων  
ἀπολαυέτω νῦν τὸ δηνάριον·

εἷ τις ἀπὸ πρώτης ὥρας  
εἰργάσατο δεχέσθω σήμερον  
τὸ δίκαιον ὄφλημα·  
εἷ τις μετὰ τὴν τρίτην ἦλθεν  
εὐχαριστῶν καὶ  
ἀγαλλόμενος ἑορταζέτω  
σήμερον· (l. 45 TC)  
εἷ τις περὶ τὴν ἕκτην ἀφίκετο,  
μηδὲν ἀμφιβάλη, καὶ γὰρ οὐ  
ζημιοῦται·

ταύτης L] om. cod. J

προσέλθει καὶ αὐτὸς μηδὲν  
ἐνδυάζων·

φιλότιμος γὰρ ὢν (309ν) ὁ  
δεσπότης,  
δέχεται τὸν ἔσχατον καθάπερ  
τὸν πρῶτον·  
ἀναπαύει τὸν τῆς ἐνδεκάτης  
ὡς τὸν ἐργασάμενον ἀπὸ τῆς  
πρώτης· (l. 50 TC)

καὶ τὸν ὕστερον ἐλεεῖ, καὶ τὸν  
πρῶτον θεραπεύει·  
κάκείνω δίδωσι, καὶ τούτῳ  
χαρίζεται·  
καὶ τὰ ἔργα δέχεται καὶ τὴν  
γνώμην ἀσπάζεται·  
καὶ τὴν πράξιν τιμᾶ, καὶ τὴν  
πρόθεσιν ἐπαινεῖ·

εἴ τις ὑστέρησεν εἰς τὴν  
ἐννάτην, προσελθέτω μηδὲν  
ἐνδιαζών·  
εἴ τις μόνην ἔφθασε τὴν  
ἐνδεκάτην, μὴ φοβηθῆ τὴν  
βραδυτῆτα·

φιλότιμος γὰρ ὢν ὁ δεσπότης,  
δέχεται τὸν ἔσχατον  
καθάπερ τὸν πρῶτον·  
ἀναπαύει τὸν τῆς ἐνδεκάτης,  
ὡς τὸν ἐργασάμενον ἀπὸ τῆς  
πρώτης· (l. 50 TC)

καὶ τὸν ὕστερον ἐλεεῖ, καὶ τὸν  
πρῶτον θεραπεύει·  
κάκείνω δίδωσι καὶ τούτῳ  
χαρίζεται·  
καὶ τὴν πράξιν τιμᾶ, καὶ τὴν  
πρόθεσιν ἐπαινεῖ·

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552ν  
post καθάπερ E] καὶ add. cod. H

εἴ τις ὑστέρησεν εἰς τὴν  
ἐννάτην, προσελθέτω μηδὲν  
ἐνδοιάζων·  
εἴ τις μόνην ἔφθασε τὴν ἐνδε  
(143r) κάτην, μὴ φοβηθῆ  
τὴν βραδυτῆτα·

Φιλότιμος γὰρ ὢν ὁ δεσπότης·  
δέχεται τὸν ἔσχατον καθάπερ  
καὶ τὸν πρῶτον·  
ἀναπαύει τὸν τῆς ἐνδεκάτης,  
ὡς τὸν ἐργασάμενον ἀπὸ τῆς  
πρώτης· (l. 50 TC)

καὶ τὸν ὕστερον ἐλεεῖ, καὶ τὸν  
πρῶτον θεραπεύει·  
κάκείνω δίδωσι, καὶ τούτῳ  
χαρίζεται·  
καὶ τὴν πράξιν τιμᾶ, καὶ τὴν  
πρόθεσιν ἐπαινεῖ·

---

143r  
εἴ τις-φοβηθῆ F] εἴ τις εἰς  
μόνην τὴν ἐνδεκάτην ἔφθασε μὴ φοβηθῆτω I

εἴ τις ὑστέρησεν εἰς τὴν  
ἐννάτην, προσελθέτω μηδὲν  
ἐνδοιάζων·  
Εἴ τις εἰς μόνην ἔφθασε τὴν  
ἐνδεκάτην, μὴ φοβηθῆ τὴν  
βραδυτῆτα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο  
στενάζων·

φιλότιμος γὰρ ὢν ὁ ἡμέτερος  
δεσπότης, ἀγαθὸς τε καὶ  
ἐλεήμων καὶ συμπαθὴς  
δέχεται τὸν ἔσχατον καθὼς  
καὶ τὸν πρῶτον·  
ἀναπαύει τὸν τῆς ἐνδεκάτης  
ῥας, καθάπερ τὸν  
ἐργασάμενον ἀπὸ τῆς  
πρώτης· (l. 50 TC)

καὶ τὸν ὕστερον ἐλεεῖ, καὶ τὸν  
πρῶτον θεραπεύει·  
κάκείνω δίδωσι καὶ τούτῳ  
χαρίζεται·  
καὶ τὴν πράξιν τιμᾶ καὶ τὴν  
γνώμην ἀσπάζεται·  
τὸν πόθον τε προσδέχεται, καὶ  
τὸ ἔργον προσίεται, καὶ τὴν  
προαίρεσιν ἐπαινεῖ·  
καὶ τὴν πρόθεσιν βλέπει, καὶ  
τὴν διάθεσιν ἀγαπᾶ·

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καὶ τὴν πράξιν-ἀσπάζεται L] καὶ τὴν  
γνώμην ἀσπάζεται καὶ τὴν πράξιν τιμᾶ J

οὐκοῦν, εἰσέλθετε πάντες εἰς  
τὴν χαρὰν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν·  
καὶ πρῶτοι καὶ δεῦτεροι τὸν  
μισθὸν ἀπολάβετε· (1. 55  
TC)  
πλούσιοι καὶ πένητες, μετ'  
ἀλλήλων χορεύσατε·  
ἐγκρατεῖς καὶ ῥάθυμοι, τὴν  
ἡμέραν τιμήσατε·  
οἱ νηστεύσαντες καὶ μὴ  
νηστεύσαντες, εὐφράνθητε  
σήμερον·

οὐκοῦν εἰσέλθετε πάντες εἰς  
τὴν χαρὰν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν·  
καὶ πρῶτοι καὶ δεῦτεροι, τὸν  
μισθὸν ἀπολαύετε· (1. 55  
TC)  
πλούσιοι καὶ πένητες, μετ'  
ἀλλήλων χορεύσατε·  
ἐγκρατεῖς καὶ ῥάθυμοι, τὴν  
ἡμέραν τιμήσατε·  
νηστεύσαντες καὶ μὴ  
νηστεύσαντες, εὐφράνθητε  
σήμερον·

οὐκοῦν, εἰσέλθετε πάντες εἰς  
τὴν χαρὰν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν,  
ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ·  
καὶ πρῶτοι καὶ δεῦτεροι, τὸν  
μισθὸν ἀπολαύετε· (1. 55  
TC)  
πλούσιοι καὶ πένητες, μετ'  
ἀλλήλων χορεύσατε·  
ἐγκρατεῖς καὶ ῥάθυμοι, τὴν  
ἡμέραν τιμήσατε·  
νηστεύσαντες καὶ μὴ  
νηστεύσαντες εὐφράνθητε  
σήμερον·

οὐκοῦν εἰσέλθετε πάντες εἰς  
τὴν χαρὰν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν·  
προσέλθετε πάντες πρὸς  
αὐτὸν καὶ φωτίσθητε,  
καὶ πρῶτοι καὶ δεῦτεροι καὶ  
μέσοι καὶ ὕστεροι τὸν  
μισθὸν ἀπολαύετε· (1. 55  
TC)  
πλούσιοι καὶ πένητες, δοῦλοι  
καὶ ἐλεύθεροι, μετ' ἀλλήλων  
χορεύσατε·  
ἐγκρατεῖς καὶ ῥάθυμοι  
δοξάσατε καὶ μεγαλύνετε  
τὸν θεὸν ἡμῶν· καὶ τὴν  
λαμπρὰν ταύτην ἡμέραν καὶ  
φαιδρὰν ἑορτὴν ὑμνήσατε  
καὶ θαυμάσατε καὶ τιμήσατε·  
νηστεύσαντες καὶ μὴ  
νηστεύσαντες εὐφράνθητε  
σήμερον μετὰ τοῦ δαυΐδ  
σκιρτῶντες καὶ λέγοντες·  
αὕτη ἡ ἡμέρα, ἣν ἐποίησεν ὁ  
κύριος, ἀγαλλιασώμεθα καὶ  
εὐφρανθῶμεν ἐν αὐτῇ.  
Ἐπεὶ χαρᾶς ὄντως ἡ ἡμέρα  
ἐστὶν αὕτη καὶ εὐφροσύνης,  
ἀγαπητοί, ἡμέρα ἀγαλλιάσεως  
καὶ σωτηρίας, ἡμέρα

φωτισμοῦ καὶ ἁγιασμοῦ,  
ἡμέρα εἰρήνης καὶ  
καταλλαγῆς, ἡμέρα  
ἀναπλάσεως καὶ  
ἀνακαινισμοῦ τῶν ἡμετέρων  
ψυχῶν. αὕτη ἐστὶν ὄντως  
μεγάλῃ καὶ θαυμαστῇ καὶ  
ἐπιφανῆς· αὕτη ἐστὶν ἑορτῶν  
ἑορτή, καὶ πανήγυρις  
πανηγύρεων. αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ  
σεβασμία καὶ ἁγία καὶ  
λαμπροφόρος ἡμέρα τῆς  
ἀναστάσεως. ἐν ταύτῃ  
συνήγειρεν ἡμᾶς ὁ Χριστὸς  
ἐρρῶμένους τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ. ἐν  
ταύτῃ συνεζωοποίησεν ἡμᾶς  
νεκρωμένους τοῖς  
παραπτώμασιν.  
ἐν ταύτῃ τὸν παράδεισον  
ἠνέφξε, καὶ ἀπολαύειν ἡμᾶς  
τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς  
κατηξίωσεν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν τὸ  
τίμιον καὶ ἅγιον καὶ ζωοποιὸν  
αὐτοῦ σῶμα καὶ αἷμα· δι' οὗ  
καθαίρομεθα καὶ ἁγιαζόμεθα  
καὶ φωτιζόμεθα καὶ  
ἐγκαινιζόμεθα. τοίνυν καὶ  
εὐφρανθῶμεν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ  
ἀγαλλιασώμεθα.

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αὕτη ἐστὶν-ἐπιφανῆς L] αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ὄντως  
μεγάλῃ καὶ ἐπιφανῆς J

ἢ τράπεζα γέμει, τρυφήσατε πάντες·  
ὁ μόσχος πολὺς, μηδεὶς ἐξέλθοι πεινῶν· (I. 60 TC)  
πάντες ἀπολαύσατε τοῦ πλούτου τῆς χρηστότητος·

μηδεὶς θρηνεῖτω πενίαν·  
ἐφάνη γὰρ ἡ κοινὴ βασιλεία·  
μηδεὶς ὀδυρέσθω πταίσματα·  
συγγνώμη γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ τάφου ἀνέτειλεν·  
μηδεὶς φοβείσθω θάνατον·  
ἠλευθέρωσε γὰρ ἡμᾶς ὁ τοῦ σωτῆρος θάνατος·

ἢ τράπεζα γέμει, τρυφήσατε πάντες·  
ὁ μόσχος πολὺς, μηδεὶς ἐξέλθη πεινῶν· (I. 60 TC)  
πάντες ἀπολαύσατε τοῦ πλούτου τῆς χρηστότητος·

μηδεὶς θρηνεῖτω πενίαν·  
ἐφάνη γὰρ ἡ κοινὴ βασιλεία·  
μηδεὶς ὀδυρέσθω πταίσματα·  
συγγνώμη γὰρ ἐκ (553r) τοῦ τάφου ἀνέτειλε·  
μηδεὶς φοβείσθω τὸν θάνατον·  
ἠλευθέρωσε γὰρ ἡμᾶς τοῦ σωτῆρος ὁ θάνατος·

ἢ τράπεζα γέμει, τρυφήσατε πάντες·  
ὁ μό (143v) σχος πολὺς, μηδεὶς ἐξέλθη πεινῶν· (I. 60 TC)  
πάντες ἀπολαύσατε τοῦ πλούτου τῆς χρηστότητος·

μηδεὶς θρηνεῖτω πενίαν,  
ἐφάνη γὰρ ἡ κοινὴ βασιλεία·  
μηδεὶς ὀδυρέσθω πταίσματα,  
συγγνώμη γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ τάφου ἀνέτειλε·  
μηδεὶς φοβείσθω θάνατον,  
ἠλευθέρωσε γὰρ ἡμᾶς, ὁ τοῦ σωτῆρος θάνατος·

ἢ τράπεζα γέμει, τρυφήσαντες ἄσατε·  
ὁ μόσχος ἠτοιμάσται, μηδεὶς ἐξέλθη πεινῶν καὶ στερούμενος· (I. 60 TC)  
πάντες ἀπολαύσατε τοῦ πλούτου τῆς πίστεως·  
πάντες ἀπολαύσατε τοῦ πλούτου τῆς χρηστότητος·  
πάντες ἀπαντήσατε τοῦ μύρου τῆς χάριτος, ὅτι τὸ πάσχα ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐτύθη Χριστός·  
πάντες ἀντήσατε ἐκ τῆς ἀκενώτου πηγῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος θεοῦ, καὶ εὐφράνθητε·  
γεύσασθε καὶ ἴδετε ὅτι χρηστὸς ὁ κύριος·  
θεὸς κύριος καὶ ἐπέφανεν ἡμῖν·

μηδεὶς θρηνεῖτω πενίαν·  
ἐφάνη γὰρ ἡ κοινὴ σωτηρία·  
μηδεὶς ὀδυρέσθω πταίσματα,  
συγγνώμη γὰρ καὶ ἄφεςις ἀπὸ τοῦ τάφου ἀνέτειλε·

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ἠνέφξε L] ἀνέφξε J τρυφήσαντες L]  
τρυφήσατε J πάντες-πίστεως L] πάντες  
ἀπολαύσατε τοῦ συμποσίου J

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χρηστότητος E] χρηστότητος H

ἐκώλυσε τὸν ἄδην, ὁ  
κατελθὼν εἰς τὸν ἄδην· (I. 65  
TC)  
ἐπικράνανεν αὐτὸν γευσάμενος  
τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ·

καὶ τοῦτο προλαβὼν ἡσαΐας,  
ἐβόησεν· ὁ ἄδης, φησὶν  
ἐπικράνθη, συναντήσας σοὶ  
κάτω·  
(I. 70 TC)  
ἐπικράνθη, καὶ γὰρ ἐνεκρώθη·  
ἐπικράνθη, καὶ γὰρ ἐνεπαίχθη·

ἔσβεσεν αὐτὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ  
κατεχόμενος· (I. 65 TC)  
ἐκόλασε τὸν ἄδην, ὁ  
κατελθὼν εἰς τὸν ἄδην·  
ἐπικράνανεν γὰρ αὐτὸν,  
γευσάμενος τῆς σαρκὸς  
αὐτοῦ·

καὶ τοῦτο προλαβὼν ὁ ἡσαΐας  
ἐβόησεν· ὁ ἄδης φησὶν  
ἐπικράνθη συναντήσας σοὶ  
κάτω·

ἐπικράνθη, καὶ γὰρ καθηρέθη·  
(I. 70 TC)  
ἐπικράνθη, καὶ γὰρ ἐνεκρώθη·  
ἐπικράνθη, καὶ γὰρ ἐνεπαίχθη·

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553r  
καθηρέθη E] ἐνεκρώθη H ἐνεκρώθη E]  
καθηρέθη H

ἔσβεσεν αὐτὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ  
κατεχόμενος· (I. 65 TC)  
ἐκόλασε τὸν ἄδην, ὁ  
κατελθὼν εἰς τὸν ἄδην·  
ἐπικράνανεν αὐτόν, γευσάμενον  
τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ·

καὶ τοῦτο προλαβὼν ἡσαΐας  
ἐβόησεν· ὁ ἄδης, φησὶν,  
ἐπικράνθη συναντήσας σοὶ  
κάτω·

ἐπικράνθη, καὶ γὰρ καθηρέθη·  
(I. 70 TC)  
ἐπικράνθη, καὶ γὰρ ἐνεκρώθη·  
ἐπικράνθη, καὶ γὰρ ἐνεπαίχθη·

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143v  
καὶ-ἐβόησεν F] om. cod. I

μηδεὶς φοβείσθω τὸν θάνατον·  
ἠλευθέρωσε γὰρ ἡμᾶς ὁ τοῦ  
σωτήρος θάνατος·

ἔσβεσεν αὐτὸν ὁ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ  
κατεχόμενος· (I. 65 TC)  
ἔσωσεν ἡμᾶς χριστὸς ὁ θεὸς  
καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἄδου ἐρρύσατο·  
ἐξήρπασεν ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς  
καταδυναστείας τοῦ  
διαβόλου, καὶ τῆς δουλείας  
αὐτοῦ ἠλευθέρωσεν.  
ἐκόλασεν τὸν ἄδην κατελθὼν  
ἐν τῷ ἄδῃ.  
ἐπικράνθη ὁ ἄδης γευσάμενος  
τῆς τιμίας καὶ ἀγίας σαρκὸς  
τοῦ δεσπότου·

καὶ τοῦτο προλαβὼν ἡσαΐας  
ἐβόησεν· ὁ ἄδης, φησὶν,  
ἐπικράνθη συναντήσας σοὶ  
κάτω·

ἐπικράνθη καὶ γὰρ  
κατηγγήθη· (I. 70 TC)  
ἐπικράνθη καὶ γὰρ ἐνεπαίχθη·

---

ὁ τοῦ σωτήρος θάνατος L] τοῦ σωτήρος ὁ  
θάνατος J ὁ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατεχόμενος L] ὑπ'  
αὐτοῦ κατεχόμενος J συναντήσας σοὶ  
κάτω· ἐπικράνθη L] om. cod. J ἐπικράνθη  
καὶ γὰρ ἐνεπαίχθη-ἀνέστη χριστὸς καὶ ζωή  
L] non legitur in cod. J

ἐπικράνθη καὶ γὰρ ἐνεκρώθη·  
ἐπικράνθη καὶ γὰρ καθηρέθη·  
ἐπικράνθη καὶ γὰρ ἐδεσμεύθη·

ἔλαβε σῶμα, καὶ θεῶ  
περιέτυχεν·  
ἔλαβε γῆν καὶ συνήνητησεν  
οὐρανῶ·  
ἔλαβεν ὅπερ ἔβλεπε, καὶ  
πέπτωκεν ὅθεν οὐκ ἔβλεπε·  
(I. 75 TC)  
ὁ εὐκαιρον οὖν εἶπεῖν· ποῦ  
σου, θάνατε, τὸ κέντρον;  
ποῦ σου ἄδη τὸ νῆκος;

ἀνέστη χριστός, καὶ σὺ  
καταβέβλησαι·  
ἀνέστη χριστός, καὶ  
πεπτώκασι δαίμονες·  
ἀνέστη χριστός, καὶ χαίρουσιν  
ἄγγελοι·  
ἀνέστη χριστός, καὶ ζωὴ  
πολιτεύεται· (I. 80 TC)

---

πολιτεύεται L] non legitur in cod. J

ἔλαβε σῶμα, καὶ θεῶ  
περιέτυχεν·  
ἔλαβεν ὅπερ ἔβλεπεν, καὶ  
πέπτωκεν ὅθεν οὐκ ἔβλεπεν·  
(I. 75 TC)

ποῦ σου θάνατε τὸ κέντρον·  
ποῦ σου ἄδη τὸ νῆκος·

ἀνέστη χριστός· καὶ  
πεπτώκασι δαίμονες·  
ἀνέστη χριστός, καὶ χαίρουσιν  
ἄγγελοι·  
ἀνέστη χριστός, καὶ ζωὴ  
πολιτεύεται· (I. 80 TC)  
ἀνέστη χριστός, καὶ νεκρὸς  
οὐδεις ἐπὶ μνήματος· (310r)

ἔλαβε σῶμα, καὶ θεῶ  
περιέτυχεν·  
ἔλαβε γῆν, καὶ συνήνητησεν  
οὐρανόν·  
ἔλαβεν ὅπερ ἔβλεπε, καὶ  
πέπτωκεν ὅθεν οὐκ ἔβλεπε·  
(I. 75 TC)

ποῦ σου θάνατε τὸ κέντρον·  
ποῦ σου ἄδη τὸ νῆκος·

ἀνέστη χριστός, καὶ σὺ  
καταβέβλησαι·  
ἀνέστη χριστός, καὶ  
πεπτώκασι δαίμονες·  
ἀνέστη χριστός, καὶ χαίρουσιν  
ἄγγελοι·  
ἀνέστη χριστός, καὶ ζωὴ  
πολιτεύεται· (I. 80 TC)  
ἀνέστη χριστός, καὶ νεκρὸς  
οὐδεις ἐπὶ μνήματος·

ἔλαβε σῶμα, καὶ θεῶ  
περιέτυχεν·  
ἔλαβε γῆν καὶ συνήνητησεν  
οὐρανόν·  
ἔλαβεν ὅπερ ἔβλεπε, καὶ  
πέπτωκεν ὅθεν οὐκ ἔβλεπε·  
(I. 75 TC)

ποῦ σου θάνατε τὸ κέντρον;  
ποῦ σου ἄδη τὸ νῆκος;

ἀνέστη χριστός, καὶ σὺ  
καταβέβλησαι·  
ἀνέστη χριστός, καὶ  
πεπτώκασι δαίμονες·  
ἀνέστη χριστός, καὶ χαίρουσιν  
ἄγγελοι·  
ἀνέστη χριστός, καὶ ζωὴ  
πολιτεύεται· (I. 80 TC)  
ἀνέστη χριστός, καὶ οὐδεις ἐπὶ  
μνήματος·

---

post καταβέβλησαι] qua desinit textus I

χριστὸς γὰρ ἐγερθεὶς ἐκ  
νεκρῶν, ἀπαρχὴ τῶν  
κεκοιμημένων ἐγένετο:

Qua incipit InTrid (*PG*  
99:712–720)

χριστὸς γὰρ ἐγερθεὶς ἐκ  
νεκρῶν, ἀπαρχὴ τῶν  
κεκοιμημένων ἐγένετο·

Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἢ  
μεγαλοφωνοτάτη λύρα τοῦ  
πνεύματος·  
ὁ τῆς μετανοίας ὑφηγητής·  
ὁ οὐράνιος ἄνθρωπος· (l. 85  
TC)  
ὁ ἐπίγειος ἄγγελος·  
ὁ χρυσοφειγγοφόγγος τῆς  
οἰκουμένης λαμπτήρ·

---

post ἐγένετο E] τοῦ ὁσίου θεοδώρου H  
553v  
ὁ τῆς μετανοίας-διδάγμασι E] om. cod. H

ἀνέστη χριστός, καὶ νεκροὶ  
συνηγέρθησαν, ἅπαντες  
μηκέτι ὄντες ἐν μνήματι·  
ἀνέστη χριστός, καὶ φθορᾶς  
ἐλυτρώθημεν·  
ἀνέστη χριστός, καὶ κατάρας  
ἐρρύσθημεν·  
ἀνέστη χριστός, καὶ ἡμεῖς  
συνανέστημεν·  
ἀνέστη χριστός, καὶ ἡμεῖς  
ἐζώθημεν·

Χριστὸς γὰρ ἐγερθεὶς ἐκ  
νεκρῶν ἀπαρχὴ τῶν  
κεκοιμημένων ἐγένετο.

ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἢ  
μεγαλοφωνοτάτη μύρα τοῦ  
πνεύματος, Ἰωάννης ὁ πάνυ,  
ὁ τὴν γλῶτταν χρυσοῦς.  
(l. 85 TC)

---

ἀνέστη χριστός καὶ νεκροὶ L] non legitur in  
cod. J ἔν μνήματι L] non legitur in cod. J  
ἀνέστη χριστός, καὶ ἡμεῖς συνανέστημεν L]  
om. cod. J μύρα L] λύρα J

ὁ χρυσοειδὴς καὶ χρησαυγῆς  
τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀστήρ·  
ἢ φωτοφόρος καὶ θεαυγῆς καὶ  
παμφαεὶς σελήνη·  
ὁ φωτοειδῆς καὶ ἀνέσπερος  
τῶν ἐξοφομένων καὶ  
ἐσκοτισμένων ψυχῶν ἥλιος·

(I. 90 TC)

τὸ ἄδυτον καὶ ὑπέρλαμπρον  
τοῖς ἐν σκότει φῶς·  
ὁ φαι (553v) δρύνας καὶ  
καταλαμπρύνας ἅπασαν τὴν  
οἰκουμένην, τοῖς θείοις λόγοις  
καὶ διδάγμασι·

ὕμῖν δὲ γένοιτο, ἀδελφοί, ἢ  
τῶν θείων μυστηρίων  
μετάληψις·  
εἰς ἀμαρτημάτων ἐξάλειψιν·  
εἰς πλημμελημάτων  
συγχώρησιν·  
εἰς ἀρρώστημάτων ἴασιν·  
(I. 95 TC)  
εἰς εὐεξίαν ψυχῆς·  
εἰς εὐρωστίαν σώματος·  
εἰς νέκρωσιν τῶν  
θανατούντων παθῶν·

---

553v  
εἰς-σώματος E] εἰς εὐρωστίαν σώματος,  
εἰς εὐεξίαν ψυχῆς H

(I. 90 TC)

ἡμῖν δὲ γένοιτο, ἀδελφοί, ἢ  
τῶν θείων μυστηρίων  
μετάληψις  
εἰς ἀμαρτημάτων ἐξάλειψιν,  
εἰς πλημμελημάτων  
συγχώρησιν,  
εἰς ἀρρώστημάτων ἴασιν,  
(I. 95 TC)  
εἰς εὐεξίαν ψυχῆς,  
εἰς εὐρωστίαν σώματος,  
εἰς νέκρωσιν τῶν  
θανατούντων παθῶν,

---

ἡμῖν L] ὕμῖν J εὐεξίαν L] εὐεξίας J

εἰς ζώωσιν τῶν ζωογονούντων  
χρηστῶν·  
εἰς ὑπερασπισμὸν εὐπειθείας·  
(I. 100 TC)  
εἰς ἀφανισμὸν ἀπειθείας·  
εἰς θλίψιν τῶν θλιβόντων  
ἡμᾶς δαιμόνων·  
εἰς χαρὰν τῶν χαιρόντων ἐπὶ  
τῇ σωτηρίᾳ ἡμῶν ἀγγέλων·  
εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον·

ἧς πάντες τύχοιμεν, χάριτι καὶ  
φιλόανθρωπία, τοῦ ἐκ νεκρῶν  
ἀναστάντος χριστοῦ τοῦ  
ἀληθινοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν· (I. 105  
TC)  
ὃ πρέπει πᾶσα δόξα, τιμὴ καὶ  
προσκύνησις· σὺν τῷ ἀνάρχῳ  
αὐτοῦ πατρὶ, καὶ παναγίῳ καὶ  
ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ καὶ  
ὁμοουσίῳ πνεύματι· νῦν καὶ  
ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν  
αἰώνων, ἀμήν. : +

---

παναγίω-καὶ E] om. cod. H

εἰς ζώωσιν τῶν ζωογονούντων  
χρηστῶν,  
εἰς ὑπερασπισμὸν εὐπειθείας,  
(I. 100 TC)  
εἰς ἀφανισμὸν ἀπειθείας·  
εἰς θλίψιν τῶν θλιβόντων  
ἡμᾶς δαιμόνων·  
εἰς χαρὰν τῶν χαιρόντων ἐπὶ  
τῇ σωτηρίᾳ ἡμῶν ἀγίων  
ἀγγέλων,  
καὶ εἰς ζωὴν τὴν αἰώνιον·

ἧς πάντες τύχοιμεν χάριτι καὶ  
φιλοανθρωπία τοῦ ἐκ νεκρῶν  
ἀναστάντος Χριστοῦ τοῦ  
ἀληθινοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν, (I. 105  
TC)  
ὃ πρέπει πᾶσα δόξα, τιμὴ καὶ  
προσκύνησις σὺν τῷ ἀνάρχῳ  
αὐτοῦ πατρὶ, καὶ τῷ ὁμοουσίῳ  
πνεύματι· νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς  
τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων,  
ἀμήν.

---

ἧς πάντες τύχοιμεν χάριτι καὶ] qua desinit  
abruptus textus J

## SECTION C—NEOPHYTOS ENKLEISTOS' CATECHESIS 12

Neophytos Enkleistos (1134–after 1214) provides us with our second indirect textual tradition of SermCat in his *Book of Catecheses*, preserved in the autograph witness, Parisinus supplementum graecum 1317. As there is a recent critical edition of the text published in volume 2 of the series, *Αγίου Νεοφύτου Έγκλείστου Συγγράμματα*, I will give a brief description of the manuscript itself, preceded by the text from the critical edition of Vassilis Katsaros.<sup>236</sup> The analysis of Neophytos' text will be incorporated into the description of the sole manuscript witness.

### Critical Text of Neophytos Enkleistos' *Catechesis* 12

ΚΑΤΗΧΗΣΙΣ ΙΒ΄  
ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΕΩΣ ΛΟΓΟΝ ΤΟΥ  
ΘΕΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΙΕΡΟΥ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΥ  
ΒΡΑΧΥΤΑΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΛΟΓΟΣ  
Εὐλόγησον, <πάτερ>.

Ἀδελφοὶ καὶ πατέρες, δίκαιον ἡγοῦμαι γλῶσσαν πηλίνην  
καὶ λόγον ἰσχνὸν καὶ νοῦν χθαμαλὸν σήμερον ἡσυχάσαι, ἵνα  
γλῶσσα χρυσέα καὶ | λόγος φαιδρὸς καὶ νοῦς θεῖος καὶ ὑψηλὸς  
τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ φαιδρὰν καὶ σωτήριον καὶ λαμπρὰν τοῦ Σωτῆρος  
ὑμνήσῃ λαμπρῶς ἐξανάστασιν· ὅς καὶ βεβαιώσῃ μᾶλλον 5  
καὶ τὰ ἰσχνῶς παρὰ τῆς ἡμῶν ἀμαθίας ἐφ' ἐκάστης Κυριακῆς  
περὶ τε ἐργασίας καὶ ἐργατῶν καὶ δηναρίου λεγόμενα· καὶ τάχα  
οὐδ' αὐτὸς κατὰ μέρος περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα διηγήσεται· τῆς θείας γὰρ  
ἀναστάσεως ἡ παγκόσμιος χαρμονή, ἔμπλεων χαρᾶς αὐτοῦ τὴν 10  
ψυχὴν καὶ τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν ἐργασαμένη οὐ συνεχώρη-  
σεν εἰπεῖν κατὰ μέρος ἐν τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ τίς μὲν ὁ οἰκοδεσπό-  
της, τίς δὲ ὁ ἀμπελὼν καὶ τίνες οἱ ἐργάται καὶ τίς ἡ πρώτη καὶ ἡ  
ἕκτη καὶ ἡ ἑνάτη καὶ ἡ ἑνδεκάτη καθέστηκεν ὥρα καὶ τίς ἡ  
ἑσπέρα καὶ τί τὸ δηνάριον, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα πάντα ὡς πρόδηλα τοῖς |  
προσέχουσι καταλείψας ἐκόν, γαννύμενος ἤρξατο διαπρυσίως 15  
οὕτως ἰλέγων.

«Εἴ τις εὐσεβῆς καὶ φιλόθεος, ἀπολαυέτω τῆς καλῆς ταύτης  
πανηγύρεως. Εἴ τις δοῦλος εὐγνώμων, εἰσελθέτω χαίρων εἰς  
τὴν χαρὰν τοῦ Κυρίου αὐτοῦ. Εἴ τις ἔκαμε νηστεύων, ἀπολαυέ-

<sup>236</sup> *Αγίου Νεοφύτου Έγκλείστου Συγγράμματα*, 2 (1998) 255–258. See especially 123–150 for a detailed description of manuscript Parisinus supplementum graecum 1317.

- τω νῦν τὸ δηνάριον. Εἴ τις ἀπὸ πρώτης εἰργάσατο, δεχέσθω σήμερον τὸ δίκαιον ὄφλημα. Εἴ τις μετὰ τὴν τρίτην ἦλθεν, εὐχαριστῶν ἑορταζέτω. Εἴ τις περὶ τὴν ἕκτην ἐφάνη, μηδὲν ἀμφιβαλέτω· καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲν ζημιούται. Εἴ τις ὑστέρησε τὴν ἑνάτην, προσελθέτω, μηδὲν ἐνδοιάζων. Εἴ τις μόνην ἔφθασε τὴν ἑνδεκάτην, μὴ φοβηθῆ τὴν βραδυτῆτα· φιλότιμος ὁ φιλόνητος, δέχεται τὸν ἔσχατον καθάπερ τὸν πρῶτον· ἀναπάει τὸν τῆς ἑνδεκάτης ὡς τὸν ἐργασάμενον ἀπὸ πρώτης· | καὶ τὸν ὕστερον ἔλεει καὶ τὸν πρῶτον θεραπεύει· κἀκείνῳ δίδωσι καὶ τούτῳ χαρίζεται· καὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν τιμᾶ, καὶ τὴν προαίρεσιν ἐπαιεῖ.
- Οὐκοῦν εἰσέλθετε πάντες εἰς τὴν χαρὰν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν· καὶ πρῶτοι καὶ δεύτεροι, τὸν μισθὸν ἀπολάβετε. Νηστεύσαντες καὶ μὴ νηστεύσαντες, εὐφράνθητε σήμερον λέγοντες καὶ σκιρτῶντες μετὰ τοῦ Δαβὶδ· “Αὕτη ἡμέρα, ἣν ἐποίησεν ὁ Κύριος· ἀγαλλιασώμεθα καὶ εὐφρανθῶμεν ἐν αὐτῇ”.
- Ἡ τράπεζα γέμει, τρυφήσατε πάντες. Ὁ μόσχος πολὺς, μηδεὶς ἐξελεθῆτω πεινῶν· πάντες ἀπολαύσατε τοῦ πλοῦτου τῆς χρηστότητος. Μηδεὶς θρηνεῖτω πενίαν· ἐφάνη γὰρ ἡ κοινὴ βασιλεία. Μηδεὶς ὀδυρέσθω τὰ πταίσματα· συγγνώμη γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ τάφου ἀνέτειλε. Μηδεὶς φοβείσθω τὸν θάνατον· ἠλευθέρωσε γὰρ ἡμᾶς | τοῦ Σωτῆρος ὁ θάνατος. “Ἐσβεσεν αὐτὸν, ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ κατεχόμενος. Ἐκόλασεν αὐτὸν, γευσάμενος τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ· καὶ τοῦτο προλαβὼν ὁ Ἡσαΐας ἐβόα· “Ὁ ἄδης”, φησὶν, “ἐπικράνη συναντήσας σοι” κάτω. Ἐπικράνη, καὶ γὰρ ἐνεκρώθη. Ἐπικράνη, καὶ γὰρ ἐνεπαίχθη. Ἐλαβε σῶμα καὶ Θεῶ περιέτυχεν. Ἐλαβε γῆν καὶ συνήνησεν οὐρανῶ. Ἐλαβεν ὅπερ ἔβλεπε καὶ πέπτωκεν, ὅθεν οὐκ ἔβλεπε.
- Ποῦ σου, θάνατε, τὸ κέντρον; Ποῦ σου, ἄδη, τὸ νίκος; Ἀνέστη Χριστὸς καὶ σὺ καταβέβλησαι. Ἀνέστη Χριστὸς καὶ πεπτώκασιν δαίμονες. Ἀνέστη Χριστὸς καὶ χαίρουσιν ἄγγελοι. Ἀνέστη Χριστὸς καὶ ζῶν πολιτεύεται. Ἀνέστη Χριστὸς καὶ νεκρὸς οὐδεὶς ἐπὶ μνήματος. Χριστὸς γὰρ ἐγεθεις ἐκ νεκρῶν, “ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων” ἐγένετο» καὶ ἀπαρχὴ τῆς ἡμῶν σωτηρίας καὶ τῆς ἄνω πορείας καθέστηκε, τῆς δὲ κάτω πορείας τοὺς πιστοὺς ἐλυτρώσατο | καὶ τῆς ἄνω πλατείας τοὺς ὀδοστάτας ἀπήλασε, τῆς δὲ κάτω πλατείας τοὺς δικαίους ἀπείργησε καὶ τὰς κάτω πύλας συντρίψας τὰς ἄνω πύλας ἀνέφξε. Καὶ οἱ μὲν κάτω δραπεταὶ θρηνοῦσι καὶ λέγουσι· Τίς ἐστὶν οὗτος ὁ ἀήττητος ἄνθρωπος, ὁ ὑπὲρ πάντας ἀνθρώπους κατισχύσας ἡμῶν καὶ ὄπλῳ ξυλίνῳ τραυματίσας καὶ σκυλεύσας ἡμᾶς; Οἱ δὲ ἄνω πολῖται ἀνυμνοῦσι καὶ λέγουσιν· «Ἄρατε πύλας, οἱ ἄρχοντες ἡμῶν, καὶ εἰσελεύσεται ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης», ὁ «κραταῖος» καὶ ἰσχυρός, ὁ «δυνατὸς ἐν πολέμῳ» καὶ μόνος δυνάστης. Καὶ ὁ μὲν

κάτω τύραννος καυχώ[μεν]ος ἔλεγεν· Ἴδοῦ βασιλεύω τοῦ βα-  
 σιλείου πλάσματος· ὁ δὲ ἄνω βασιλεὺς διὰ Σοφονίου πάλιν  
 ἀντέλεγεν· «Ἵπόμεινόν με εἰς ἡμέραν ἀναστάσεώς μου εἰς μαρ-  
 τύριον.» Καὶ ὁ μὲν κάτω ἀποστάτης γυμνωθεὶς ἀποδύρεται, | ἡ  
 δὲ ἄνω νύμφη τοῦ Χριστοῦ, Ἐκκλησία, νυμφικῶς ἐπαγάλλεται  
 λέγουσα· «Ἀγαλλιάσθω ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἐπὶ τῷ Κυρίῳ· ἐνέδυσσε  
 γάρ με ἱμάτιον σωτηρίου καὶ χιτῶνα εὐφροσύνης» περιέβαλέ  
 με, «ὡς νυμφίῳ περιέθηκέ μοι μίτραν καὶ ὡς νύμφην κατεκό-  
 σμησέ με κόσμῳ». Διαποροῦσι πνεύματα προφητῶν τὴν ταφήν  
 τὴν θεόσωμον τοῦ καλοῦ ἐκείνου καὶ μεγάλου ποιμένος καὶ λέ-  
 γουσι· Ποῦ ἐστὶν ὁ ἀναγαγὼν ἐκ «γῆς τὸν ποιμένα τῶν προβά-  
 των» αὐτοῦ, ἀντὶ τοῦ «ὁ μέλλων ἀναγαγεῖν»; Ὅς τὸ ἄπορον  
 λύων τούτοις, φησί· «Διὰ Σιών οὐ σιωπήσομαι καὶ διὰ Ἱερου-  
 σαλήμ οὐκ ἀνήσω, ἕως ἂν ἐξέλθῃ ὡς φῶς ἡ δικαιοσύνη μου»,  
 καὶ «τὸ σωτήριόν μου ὡσεὶ λαμπὰς καυθήσεται».

Ταύτην οὖν, ἀγαπητοὶ ἀδελφοί, τὴν μικρὰν προσθήκην  
 προσέθηκα, οὐχ ἵνα ἀπλῶς καὶ ὡς ἔτυχεν ἐπιτείνω τὸν κόπον  
 ὑμῶν, οὐδ' ὅτι ἵνα ὑπερφορῶ | νήσω τῆς χρυσορρήμονος γλώττης,  
 ἀλλ' ἵνα αἶνω αἶνον προσθήσω καὶ γὰρ μικρὸν τῇ Χριστοῦ ἀνα-  
 στάσει «καὶ προσθήσω», φησίν, «ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν αἴνεσίν σου», ὅτι  
 τὸ «πάσχα ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐτύθη Χριστός», ἀλλ' ἐξηγέρθη ὡς  
 Θεὸς καὶ βασιλεὺς τοῦ παντός, «δυνατὸς ἐν ἰσχύϊ»· αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα  
 εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ἀμήν.

**Q Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS. Parisinus supplementum graecum 1317 (c. 1214?)<sup>237</sup>**

Catalogues and Reproductions: Katsaros in *Άγιον Νεοφύτου Έγκλείστου Συγγράμματα*, 2 (1998) 123–150; Pinakes diktyon #53978;

<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52510063g/fl.item.zoom> for images of ms;

Astruc and Concasty (1960); Browning and Constantinides (1993) 96–99.

Parchment. Dimensions: 182x147 mm. 220 folia with one column of text of 23–25 lines. Scribe: Vasileios of Paphos.<sup>238</sup> Script: Vasileios' hand shows marked influences from both Perlschrift and Bouletée style.<sup>239</sup> It is an upright and fluid minuscule with certain majuscules, such as δ, χ, κ, λ, γ, ν and others. Ruling: 32C1.<sup>240</sup> Contents: primarily Neophytos' catecheses, together with some encomia and other homilies on feast days of Christ or the Theotokos. Ehrhard did not study this manuscript. However, in Section D below, where the different versions of SermCat will be presented, a homiliary of Philagathos Kerameus, Vaticanus graecus 2194 (14<sup>th</sup> century) follows the same structure as our present manuscript, only in reverse. In its first section it contains the homilies for the Sundays of the year, followed by homilies for major feast days of Christ and the Theotokos. Neophytos has reversed this structure here. Ehrhard has identified Vaticanus graecus 2194 (14<sup>th</sup> century) as a typical example of the late Italo-Greek homiliary. This is highly significant considering that Vaticanus graecus 2194 (14<sup>th</sup> century) contains a note detailing how it was, in fact, copied on Cyprus from a prototype that had been brought from Sicily. The prototype was not arranged in the correct order, according to the note. When the copying was finished, Vaticanus graecus 2194 was placed in the collection of the church of the Theotokos Hodegetria in Lefkosia. Since Neophytos' text transmits variants characteristic of Ottobonianus graecus 14 (10<sup>th</sup> century), another Italo-Greek homiliary, the similar structure of his manuscript to Vaticanus graecus 2194 acquires further importance.

<sup>237</sup> Katsaros (1998) 124 dates the manuscript to the first quarter of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, but he does not specify a year. Rather, he offers a range (81–83) from 1198–1214. He also does not securely identify the scribe as Vasileios of Paphos, scribe of University of Edinburgh, MS. 224—Neophytos' Typikon, which is dated to 1214. However, Katsaros does not reject the possibility that Vasileios is the scribe (1998, 135–137). Galatariotou (1999) 275–277 dates the manuscript to approximately 1214, though she does not state her reasoning.

<sup>238</sup> As stated in the previous note, Katsaros leaves open the identification of the scribe. He notes (1998) 137 that Astruc and Turyn both proposed this identification; Gamillscheg and Harlfinger, however, rejected it. Having personally examined University of Edinburgh Library, MS. 224 extensively—which is signed by Vasileios—I agree with Turyn and Astruc's identification of Vasileios as scribe, as do Browning and Constantinides (1993) 97. Indeed, the similarities between Parisinus supplementum graecum 1317 and Edinburgh 224 are innumerable and striking from the first glance. I have no doubt that the scribe of both is the same person.

<sup>239</sup> Browning and Constantinides (1993) 98 identify his script here as Cypriot carrée.

<sup>240</sup> Katsaros (1998) 134; Leroy (1967) 12.

Perhaps Neophytos' ordering of homilies was the poor arrangement that the scribe of Vaticanus graecus 2194 has in mind.

Decoration is limited to titles and initial capitals in red, bearing strong resemblance to University of Edinburgh Library 224 (1214), also copied by Vasileios of Paphos. Neophytos addresses his *Catecheses* to a certain brother, most likely his own brother, John, abbot of the Monastery of St. John Chrysostom at Koutsovendis.<sup>241</sup> On f. 1v we read a note written in thick, deep black ink: “(ἐ)κοιμήθη ὁ ἐν βασιλεῦσιν ἀΐδη | (μ)ος και τριμακάρυστος και ἅγιο(ς) | κύρης, ἰω(άννης) ο δούκας μηνὶ νοεμβριω | ης τὰς τρῆς ἡμερα τρητη (ι)νδ(ικτιῶνος) ιγ | ετους ςψξγ (AM 6763 = AD 1254).” The note refers to the death of emperor John III Doukas Vatatzes on 3 November 1254. Vatatzes was revered as a saint within a few decades of his death. This note does not mean that the present manuscript should be necessarily dated after 1254. Most likely, the note was added after copying, since the rest of the folio is written in a different hand, smaller size and different, faded ink. Nevertheless, this may be evidence that the manuscript left Cyprus and made its way to the Empire of Nikaia at some point before 1261.<sup>242</sup>

The text of SermCat that Parisinus supplementum graecum 1317 transmits has many interesting features, which acquire even further significance when examined in conjunction with Neophytos' own prologue and epilogue. First, Neophytos clearly indicates where his prologue ends and SermCat begins; he does the same for his epilogue. On f. 69v, where SermCat ends, Neophytos himself has written a note on the bottom margin: “+προσθήκει ἐγκλείστου+.” Beginning with the collation of the text itself, we find that it transmits all the particular variants characteristic of Parisinus supplementum graecum 1386 (1075), a Stoudite manuscript, as we saw above. This is noteworthy for many reasons. First, Katsaros states in his critical edition of the text that he is surprised to find Neophytos unacquainted with the catecheses of Theodore of Stoudios—since Neophytos makes many direct references to the work of the other major iconophile saint, John Damascene. He conjectures that Neophytos was never able to gain access to a manuscript of Theodore's catecheses within the limited confines of his Enkleistra.<sup>243</sup> In

<sup>241</sup> Katsaros (1998) 81–87.

<sup>242</sup> Browning and Constantinides (1993) 98, n.7 interpret this note as evidence that the Cypriots continued to consider themselves subjects of the Byzantine empire long after their island had been taken by Latin crusaders and remained administratively out of reach of the Byzantine court. This is surely also true, but considering that the manuscript eventually made its way to Constantinople to be catalogued as MS 370 in the library of the Metochion of the Holy Sepulchre there, it would not be impossible that its first step on that journey was from Cyprus to Nikaia—and from there to Constantinople.

<sup>243</sup> Katsaros (1998) 118: “Μὰς παραξενεύει ὡστόσο τὸ γεγονός ὅτι ὁ Νεόφυτος δὲν γνωρίζει τὰ κείμενα τῶν Κατηχήσεων ἐνὸς ἄλλου μεγάλου μοναστικοῦ ἡγέτη τῆς εἰκονομαχικῆς περιόδου, τοῦ Θεόδωρου Στουδίτη, οἱ Μικρὲς Κατηχήσεις τοῦ ὁποίου βρίσκονται πολὺ κοντὰ ἀπὸ ἄποψη δομῆς καὶ νοητικῆς σκοπιμότητας γιὰ τοὺς μοναχοὺς, ἀφοῦ ἐξυπηρετοῦσαν παρόμοιους σκοποὺς γιὰ τὴν πνευματικὴ θωράκιση τῆς μεγάλης μοναχικῆς κοινότητας. Ἴσως δὲν ἔφτασε ποτὲ στὰ χέρια του ἓνα χειρόγραφο μὲ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ Θεόδωρου Στουδίτη, στὸν

fact, as we saw above, Parisinus supplementum graecum 1386 is a collection of Theodore's *Small Catecheses*, preceded by SermCat. It is difficult to say whether Neophytos was ever able to consult this codex specifically or not. However, considering the fact that his text of SermCat appears to be descended from that of a collection of Theodore's *Small Catecheses* that was copied at the Stoudios Monastery just over a century before Neophytos himself had his own catecheses copied out, it is not unlikely that he did manage to gain access to a manuscript of Theodore's catecheses. In any case, the view that Neophytos did not know Theodore's work seems untenable in light of this evidence.<sup>244</sup>

As we saw above, Parisinus supplementum graecum 1386 (1075) is a manuscript in the family of Ottobonianus graecus 14 (10<sup>th</sup> century). One of the primary characteristic variants of this family is the interpolation of the Psalm verse 117:24: “αὕτη ἡ ἡμέρα ἦν ἐποίησεν ὁ κύριος, ἀγαλλιασώμεθα καὶ εὐφρανθῶμεν ἐν αὐτῇ.” This interpolation is present in Parisinus supplementum graecum 1386, as it is in Neophytos' text of SermCat. As discussed above in the examination of Ottobonianus graecus 14, Stoudite practice had adopted the usage of this Psalm verse during paschal Orthros from the Sabbaitic liturgical tradition. The Sabbaitic usage also included other Psalm verses, such as 23:7–9: “ἄρατε πύλας, οἱ ἄρχοντες ὑμῶν, καὶ ἐπάρθητε πύλαι αἰώνιοι, καὶ εἰσελεύσεται ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης. τίς ἐστιν οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης; κύριος κραταῖος καὶ δυνατός, κύριος δυνατός ἐν πολέμῳ.” These liturgical usages popular in the Judaeian desert are reflected in the apocryphal *Gospel of Nikodemos*, and they find their way into Neophytos' epilogue to SermCat here in Parisinus supplementum graecum 1317, as well (ll. 56–72).

Neophytos takes up many of the themes from the apocryphal Gospel, which itself contains numerous elements that were absorbed into the Sabbaitic liturgical tradition: 1) the demons who are at a loss as to how this human being is also God, and thus able to defeat them; 2) the angels (ἄνω πολῖται) who command that the gates be opened so that Christ may enter; 3) the devil himself who was so prideful as to think that he could contain all of humanity in Hades and keep them there forever; 4) Christ who responds back in words taken from the prophets of the Old Testament; 5) the devil's lament after Christ raises humanity from Hades. In fact, these are also all elements present in the text of SermCat itself, as well: 1) “ἔλαβε σῶμα καὶ θεῶ περιέτυχεν”; 2) “ποῦ σου θάνατε τὸ κέντρον, ποῦ σου ἄδη τὸ νῆκος”; 3) “ἐπικράνθη καὶ γὰρ

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περιορισμένο κόσμο τῶν βιβλίων πού κατεῖχε ὁ μοναχὸς τῆς Ἐγκλείστρας ἀπὸ τὴν παλιότερη πατερικὴ παράδοση.”

<sup>244</sup> Nevertheless, cf. Galatariotou (1991) 26—28 for the difficulties involved in precisely determining Neophytos' sources.

καθηρέθη.” Neophytos gathers all of these intertextual elements together in his epilogue to SermCat, thus demonstrating and reinforcing the common literary heritage of both the homily and the apocryphal Gospel. Finally, Neophytos references a homily equally as popular as SermCat, which was also included in the liturgical readings for Holy Week in the Sabbaitic rite: (ps.)Epiphanius of Cyprus’s *In Divini Corporis Sepulturam* (CPG 3768) when he writes τὴν ταφὴν τῆν θεόσωμον (ll. 71–72). Epiphanius’ text in Greek is entitled: Εἰς τὴν θεόσωμον ταφὴν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν. It is preserved in over 300 known manuscripts, and also reflects many elements from apocryphal texts. All of these features together allow us to reasonably conclude that Neophytos was aware of the significance that SermCat had acquired in both the Sabbaitic<sup>245</sup> and Stoudite liturgical traditions, and that his choice to essentially copy Theodore of Stoudios’ practice, by reading SermCat on Pascha instead of a sermon of his own, is a strong indication of this.

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<sup>245</sup> See Part 2, chapter 3, section VI for details.

## SECTION D—ALTERNATE VERSIONS OF SERMCAT

There are two final manuscript witnesses to SermCat that must be discussed: Vaticanus graecus 2194 (14<sup>th</sup> century) and Vaticanus graecus 1936 (16<sup>th</sup> century). Both of these manuscripts transmit a text that contains SermCat—although it is highly supplemented and often re-arranged. Neither text shows close affinity to any of the manuscript witnesses we have thus far examined. While the core of SermCat remains in the text, the interpolations here are so numerous and external to the rest of the textual tradition that these two texts must be considered different versions altogether of SermCat. As neither of the two manuscripts is a copy of, or prototype to, the other, their texts will be presented as transmitted.

### **Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticanus graecus 2194 (14<sup>th</sup> century)**

Catalogues and Reproductions: Darrouzès (1957) 157; Lilla (1968) 282–286; Pinakes diktyon #68825; (CPG 5098)

Paper. Dimensions: 260x175 mm. 415 folia, with one column of text of 13–15 lines. Script: typographic minuscule (hand A—first few folia) and Hodegon style (hand B—dominant throughout codex). Ruling: None. Contents: homiliary of Philagathos Kerameus divided into two sections: the first gives homilies of Philagathos for every Sunday of the year by week, following the fixed calendar of liturgical feasts. The second section gives homilies for the moveable calendar of feast days, beginning with Lent and going through the feast of All Saints, just after Pentecost. Ehrhard identifies it as a representative of the late Italo-Greek Homiliary, in the sub-category of those that mention only the epithet of their author, Κεραμεύς, and not his first name.<sup>246</sup> The quires of the codex are not marked. The note after the colophon reads: “ἢ [= εἶ] τινος τὸ ἔργον, θεός οἶδεν, ὁ ἐραυνῶν καρδίας.”<sup>247</sup> Indeed, the notes throughout the manuscript provide us with invaluable, and fascinating, information. At the switch between sections, from fixed feasts to moveable feasts, there is a note (f. 196v): “παρατηρητέον ὅτι οὐκ ἦν εὐρύθμως συντεταγμένον τὸ ἀπὸ σικελίας ἀνακομισθὲν παλαιὸν ἀντίγραφον.” This must be read in conjunction with the colophon (f. 410v): “...ἐγράφη...δι’ ἐξόδου καὶ συνδρομῆς τῶν συναδελφῶν τῆς ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας, τῆς ὑπεραγίας θεοτόκου τῆς ὁδηγήτριας, καὶ ἐτέθη παρ’ αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ προρρηθέντι πανσέπτῳ ναῶ· εἰς πόλιν λευκωσίαν, καὶ οἱ ἀναγινώσκοντες εὐχέσθε

<sup>246</sup> Ehrhard (1939) III.636.

<sup>247</sup> As noted above, it was common in Hodegon manuscripts for the scribe to sign in a characteristic manner, such as: Θεοῦ τὸ δῶρον καὶ Ἰωάννου πόνος. Nevertheless, these signatures are always written in Byzantine dodecasyllables, a meter which in this case has not been maintained.

αὐτοῦς.”<sup>248</sup> Thus, we learn that this manuscript was copied in Cyprus, perhaps in Lefkosia, from an older prototype brought from Sicily. It is an intriguing possibility that Christian communities on 13<sup>th</sup> century Cyprus may have turned to Byzantine authors in 12<sup>th</sup> century Norman Sicily for inspiration and texts that reflected a situation similar to their own—identifying as Byzantine in spirit, and yet governed by Western European powers.<sup>249</sup> In any case, the significance of now being able to pinpoint the origin of this variant version of SermCat is paramount.

The text of SermCat in Vaticanus graecus 2194 is without attribution. It is the last text in the codex; there is no title or name, only a simple, decorative band above the text. Moreover, there is no red ink here, except at the end of the text, whereas red ink has been used for titles and initial capitals in the rest of the codex. Nevertheless, the hand and the ink of the text are the same here as for the rest of the codex.

The text that Vaticanus graecus 2194 transmits—as that of Vaticanus graecus 1936—is essentially a compilation of many, various sources. These sources, except for quotations from the Bible, have been indicated in the critical apparatus to these texts. The single largest source is, of course, the Bible itself—the *Psalms* and *Letters* of Paul dominating. Next come Theodore of Stoudios’ *Small Catecheses*, Gregory Nazianzen’s *Orations* 1 and 45 on Pascha, and then various patristic texts. We can, therefore, conclude that the very sources from which these compilations were constructed bear witness to the history of SermCat itself. It was transmitted in manuscripts containing Theodore’s *Small Catecheses*, and in liturgical manuscripts it was grouped together with Gregory Nazianzen’s two paschal orations as readings during the paschal vigil. The text of Vaticanus graecus 2194 included in this study is taken from the critical edition, produced from this manuscript, published by Salvatore Lilla.<sup>250</sup>

<sup>248</sup> The scribe also signs his name: “ἐγράφη δὲ διὰ τῆς χειρὸς παχωμίου ἀμονάχου ἀμαρτωλοῦ τὸ παράπαν.” (f. 410v). Lilla (1968) 282, n. 1 cites a colophon that reads: ἀμαρτολῶν πάντων ἀμαρτολῶτερος Παχώμιος ἀπὸ ῥόδου. I was unable to locate this colophon in the codex.

<sup>249</sup> For Philagathos Kerameus and the essentially Byzantine spirit that permeates his homilies, see Antonopoulou 2015.

<sup>250</sup> Lilla (1968) 282–284. Lilla has corrected errors of both accentuation and spelling from the manuscript.

**Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticanus graecus 1936 (16<sup>th</sup> century—1575?)**

Catalogues and Reproductions: Pinakes diktyon #68565;

<https://digi.vatlib.it/mss/detail/Vat.gr.1936> (with images available); Lilla (1970) 67–74; (CPG 3251)

Paper. The watermark is the Anchor and the Star, from the Veneto region. It was in use during the period 1456–1589, according to Mošin.<sup>251</sup> Dimensions: 313x205 mm. 235 folia, with one column of text of 30–32 lines for ff. 1–65 and 229–233. Two columns of text, each of 33 lines for ff. 66–228. Script: two hands are discernible throughout the manuscript, corresponding to the different layouts of the text. The hand that writes in one column without ruling uses a late, mimetic Perlschrift with elements of the Typographic minuscule. The hand writing in two columns uses an energetic stylized cursive. Ruling: for folia with one column there is no ruling visible. For those with two columns of text the ruling is 20A2.<sup>252</sup> Contents: Lilla describes the manuscript as the patriarchal homiliary of John IX Agapitos of Constantinople.<sup>253</sup> In essence, this is a Kyriakodromion, with homilies for Sundays throughout the year, beginning with the 11 Eothina Gospel readings for Orthros and then proceeding in a non-specified order. Attributions:<sup>254</sup> Theophylaktos of Ochrid (1), John IX Agapitos of Constantinople (31), Philotheos Kokkinos (4), Germanos II of Constantinople (3), Amphilochios of Iconium (1), John Chrysostom (3), John Xiphilinos (1) and Manuel Xanthinos the chartophylax (1). However, this variety of authors is not indicated in the manuscript itself, where names are not mentioned in the titles and the impression is given by a note on the verso of the second flyleaf that all the texts are authored by Amphilochios of Iconium.<sup>255</sup> Many initial capitals—most likely intended to be decorated with red ink—were never added, on ff. 21r and 46r. However, beginning on f. 66r, title bands and red initial capitals are present. There are numerous blank folia, such as 14v, 19v–20v and 65v. At the end of the manuscript on f. 235v there is a note that reads: “1575 μηνί Γοῦ Στοῦ: Ν ς | + ἤλθα ὕστ(ην) νακονα πανηκίτας ταμηγός πατηνη ὅ της ἄπο τὴν βενετην ἄν | δῆ ἀφήμερος τῆς ἁγίας ἀννης | καὶ ἔταξά τοῦς να τοῦς δουλέψο νοι μῆνες τὴν ἁγίαν ἀννα:-.” This note is perhaps not a colophon, nor is it entirely clear what its author is

<sup>251</sup> Mošin (1973) 24, type It.II.2A.d.

<sup>252</sup> Leroy (1967) 5.

<sup>253</sup> Lilla (1970) 67, with reference to Ehrhard (1943) III.636.

<sup>254</sup> These attributions are not present in the manuscript itself; rather, they are modern attributions.

<sup>255</sup> The fact alone that, other than Amphilochios and Chrysostom, no authors before the 11<sup>th</sup> century are present in the codex is enough to create suspicions regarding attribution of authorship. That the texts are all then attributed to Amphilochios simply confirms that this attribution cannot be considered accurate.

saying. He appears to be indicating that on 6 March 1575, in the 6<sup>th</sup> indiction,<sup>256</sup> he came to the town of Nacona in Sicily from somewhere further north in the Veneto region in order to serve as acting priest (ἐφημέριος) of a church dedicated to St. Anna, where he made known his intention to serve for a certain number of months. The town Nacona is attested by an ancient coin, which James Millingen presents in his *Ancient coins of Greek cities and kings*.<sup>257</sup> The name of the town is confirmed by Stephanos of Byzantium in his *Ethnica*.<sup>258</sup> The dating of this note in Vaticanus graecus 1936 is confusing. Despite using our current dating system, he indicates an indiction that in any case must be mistaken. The year 1575 would correspond to 7083 on the Byzantine calendar, the 2<sup>nd</sup> indiction.

In a follow-up to the article in which he discusses the version of SermCat preserved in Vaticanus graecus 2194, Salvatore Lilla makes a comparison between that version and the one preserved here in Vaticanus graecus 1936.<sup>259</sup> Unlike in the previous article, here he does not give a critical edition of the text; therefore, the text given here is my own transcription from the manuscript itself. As noted above for Vaticanus graecus 2194, the text of Vaticanus graecus 1936 also contains interpolations from many other texts, including various *Catecheses* of Theodore of Stoudios, *Orations* 1 and 45 on Pascha of Gregory Nazianzen and others. This text is also preserved in other late manuscripts, for example British Library, MS. Burney 45 (16<sup>th</sup> century, diktyon #39315). It is difficult to say which manuscripts were copied from which both because of uncertainties in dating and the overall uniformity of the texts preserved.<sup>260</sup> In any case, the version of SermCat transmitted by Vaticanus graecus 1936 appears to be a late, post-Byzantine compilation from various authors that was then attributed to middle or late Byzantine figures, whether John IX Agapitos of Constantinople or Philotheos Kokkinos. Considering that the text of SermCat printed in *PG* is preserved in numerous manuscripts from the 12<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> centuries, it is highly unlikely that either of these two patriarchs of Constantinople actually considered this version to be genuine.<sup>261</sup> It is important to keep in mind that at least two of these

<sup>256</sup> Though there is always the possibility that perhaps this does not denote an indiction.

<sup>257</sup> Millingen (1831) 33–35. Available online here: <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015082353650;view=1up;seq=49> (accessed 14.1.19).

Unfortunately, Millingen does not date the coin, but he makes it clear that it is from before the birth of Christ.

<sup>258</sup> Stephanos of Byzantium, *Ethnica* 13.7.1: “Νακόνη ὡς +ἀλκόνη+, πόλις Σικελίας. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Νακοναῖος. Φίλιστος ζ΄ Σικελικῶν.”

<sup>259</sup> Lilla (1970) 67–74.

<sup>260</sup> No variants of significance were detected between the texts preserved in Vaticanus graecus 1936 and British Library Burney 45.

<sup>261</sup> Rather, this is likely a continuation and logical extension of the phenomenon described by Antonopoulou (1997) 114–115 and Kaklamanos (2018) 540–554 and 595–597. Cf. Zografou (2007) who examines the similar phenomenon of Gabriel I archbishop of Thessaloniki (1393–1410) compiling his own homiliary that incorporates excerpts from the fathers of the 4<sup>th</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> c. This practice is analyzed with particular reference to Chrysostom’s role in the homiliary of Neilos patriarch of Constantinople (1379–1388) in Hennepf (1963).

compilations can be traced back to provenances on or related to the Italian peninsula, the Veneto region for Vaticanus graecus 1936, Venice and Crete for Burney 45. Therefore, if we may take the sources for these compilations as indicative of their transmission history, then it is highly significant that the manuscripts preserving them are almost all traced back to locations on the Italian peninsula or under control of its inhabitants. This is a strong indication of the continued influence of Byzantine liturgical practices on a geographical region and political sphere that had long since left the orbit of Byzantine imperial influence.

(413r) Λαμπρά και μεγάλη και θαυμαστή ή παρούσα ημέρα, και χαρᾶς ὄντως και εὐφροσύνης ημέρα και αἰνέσεως και θυμηδίας πνευματικῆς και ἀγαλλιᾶσεως, ημέρα ἐλευθερίας και φωτισμοῦ και ἁγιασμοῦ, ημέρα καταλλαγῆς και εἰρήνης και σωτηρίας και βοηθείας τῶν ἡμετέρων ψυχῶν. ἐν ταύτῃ συνείγερειν ἡμᾶς ὁ Χριστὸς ἐβρίμμένους τῇ ἁμαρτία, ἐν ταύτῃ συνεζωοποίησε νενεκρωμένους τοῖς παραπτώμασιν, ἐν ταύτῃ τὸν παράδεισον ἀνέωξεν ἡμῖν ὃν ἐκλείσειεν ἡ τῶν προπατόρων ἡμῶν παρακοή και παράβασις, ἐν ταύτῃ τοῦ τιμίου και ζωοποιοῦ αὐτοῦ σώματός τε και αἵματος ἀπολαύειν <ἡμᾶς> ἠξίωσε, δι' ὃν καθαιρόμεθα και φωτιζόμεθα και ἁγιαζόμεθα· λύτρον γὰρ ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν ὁ Χριστὸς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, και προήγαγεν <ἡμᾶς> ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου εἰς τὴν ζωὴν, ἀπὸ σκότους εἰς φῶς, ἀπὸ τῆς δουλείας εἰς ἐλευθερίαν, ἀπὸ τῆς ἔχθρας εἰς γνησιεύουσαν φιλίαν·

(413v) ἐξηγόρασεν ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς κατάρας και τῆς ἁμαρτίας γενόμενος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατὰ ἵνα τὴν υἰοθεσίαν ἀπολάβωμεν, ἵνα μηκέτι ὦμεν δοῦλοι ἀλλ' ἐλεύθεροι, μηκέτι ἐμπαθεῖς ἀλλ' ἀπαθεῖς, μηκέτι φιλόκοσμοι ἀλλὰ φιλόθεοι, μηκέτι κατὰ σάρκα περιπατοῦντες ἀλλὰ κατὰ πνεῦμα· ἠγίασεν <καὶ> ἐδόξασεν ἡμᾶς ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ ἵνα ἐν καινότητι ζωῆς περιπατήσωμεν. τί ἀνταποδώσομεν τῷ κυρίῳ περὶ πάντων ὧν ἡμῖν ἀνταπέδωκε, τί ἀνταποδώσομεν τῇ ὑπερβαλλούσῃ τοῦ θεοῦ δωρεᾷ τε και χάριτι; εὐχαριστήσωμεν και προσκυνήσωμεν και προσενέγκωμεν αὐτῷ τὰ μύρα και τοὺς ὕμνους ὡς δῶρα μετὰ φόβου και εὐλαβείας και ταπεινώσεως· φιλόανθρωπος γὰρ ἐστὶ και συμπαθῆς ὁ δεσπότης, και πάντα προσδέχεται εἰ και μικρὰ εἰσι και

(414r) εὐτελεῖ τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν αὐτῷ προσαγόμενα. ἀγαπήσωμεν, ἀδελφοί μου, τὸν ἀγαπήσαντα κύριον κατὰ χάριν ἡμᾶς, ἀποθάνωμεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀποθανόντος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν δωρεᾶν, πορευθῶμεν ὀπίσω τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ ἐντολῶν, καθαρῶσιν ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ παντὸς μολυσμοῦ σαρκὸς και πνεύματος, προσάξωμεν τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν πράξεις ἀγαθὰς, πίστιν, ἀγάπην, ἐλπίδα, ὑπομονήν, συντριμμόν καρδίας, κατανύξεως δάκρυα, συνειδήσεως κάθαρσιν, νέκρωσιν πάσης ἁμαρτίας και ἐπιθυμίας κακῆς· δουλεύσωμεν τῷ κυρίῳ μετὰ συνέσεως και καρτερίας και ἐπιμονῆς, ἐνστερνισώμεθα τὸ φίλτρον τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ θεοῦ και σωτήρος ἡμῶν, ἴσωμεν αὐτῷ ἴσμα καινόν, πάντες ἴσωμεν, κροτήσωμεν ψαλμικῶς τὰς χεῖρας και ἀλαλάξωμεν τῷ θεῷ ἐν φωνῇ ἀγαλλιᾶσεως ὅτι κύριος ὕψιστος και φοβερὸς βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν. μέγας κύριος και τῆς μεγαλοσύνης αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐστὶ πέρας, μέγας κύριος και μεγάλη ἡ

(414v) ἰσχὺς αὐτοῦ· κατήγησε γὰρ και ἐπάταξε τὸν ἐχθρὸν και διάβολον, και τὸν θάνατον κατεπάτησε, και πάντας ἀνέστησε ζωὴν αἰώνιον δωρησάμενος, εἰσέλθωμεν χαίροντες εἰς τὴν χαρὰν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν, ὡς δοῦλοι ἐγνώμονες ἀπολαύσωμεν πάντες τῶν ἀγαθῶν χαρισμάτων ταύτης τῆς καλῆς πανηγύρεως, ἄρχοντες και ἀρχόμενοι, δοῦλοι και ἐλεύθεροι, ἄνδρες και γυναῖκες, πρεσβύτεροι και νεώτεροι, δοξάσατε κύριον τὸν θεὸν ἡμῶν, και τὴν λαμπρὰν ταύτην ἡμέραν ὑμνήσατε και μεγαλύνατε και θαυμάσατε, νηστεύοντες και μὴ νηστεύοντες εὐφράνθητε σήμερον, ἐγκρατεῖς και ράθυμοι τὴν ἡμέραν τιμήσατε, πλούσιοι και πένητες μετ' ἀλλήλων χορευσατε. ἡ τράπεζα γέμει, τρυφήσατε πάντες· ἡ τράπεζα γέμει, μηδεὶς ἐξέλη πεινῶν και στερούμενος· πάντες ἀπολαύσατε τοῦ πλούτου τῆς χρηστότητος ὅτι <<τὸ πάσχα ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐτύθη Χριστός>>, πάντες ἀντήλησατε ἐκ τῆς ἀκewanότου

(66r) Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀμφιλοχίου, ἐπισκόπου Ἰκονίου, λόγος εἰς τὴν ἀνάστασιν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὴν λαμπρὰν ἡμέραν

Χαρᾶς ημέρα και εὐφροσύνης, ἀγαπητοί, ημέρα ἀγαλλιᾶσεως και σωτηρίας. Ἡμέρα φωτισμοῦ και ἁγιασμοῦ, ημέρα εἰρήνης και καταλλαγῆς, ημέρα ἀναπλάσεως και ἀνακαινισμοῦ τῶν ἡμετέρων ψυχῶν. Ἡμέρα ὄντως μεγάλη και θαυμαστή και ἐπιφανής. Αὕτη ἐορτῶν ἐστὶν ἐορτὴ και πανήγυρις πανηγύρεων. Αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ σεβασμία και ἁγία και λαμπροφόρος ημέρα τῆς ἀναστάσεως. Ἐν ταύτῃ συνίγειν ἡμᾶς ὁ Χριστὸς ἐβρίμμένους τῇ ἁμαρτία. Ἐν ταύτῃ συνεζωοποίησεν ἡμᾶς ὁ Χριστὸς νενεκρωμένους τοῖς παραπτώμασιν. Ἐν ταύτῃ τὸν παράδεισον ἀνέωξεν, ἀπολαύειν ἡμᾶς τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς, ὅπερ ἐστὶν τὸ τίμιον και ζωοποιὸν αὐτοῦ σῶμα και αἷμα, δι' οὗ καθαιρόμεθα και ἁγιαζόμεθα και φωτιζόμεθα και ἐγκαινιζόμεθα. Διὰ τοῦτο, παρακαλῶ, δοκιμαζέτω ἕκαστος, ἀδελφοί μου, και οὕτως ἐκ τοῦ ἄρτου ἐσθιέτω, και ἐκ τοῦ ποτηρίου πινέτω. Ὁ γὰρ ἀνάξιος, ἐσθίων και πίνων,

κρίμα ἑαυτῷ ἐσθίει και πίνει, μὴ διακρίνων τὸ σῶμα και αἷμα τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Ἐγὼ (?) τίς λαλήσει τὰς δυναστείας τοῦ Κυρίου, ἀκουστὰς ποιήσει πάσας τὰς αἰνέσεις αὐτοῦ; Τίς δὲ ἰκανὸς διηγῆσασθαι και δεῖξαι και γνωρίσαι ἀξίως τῆς ἡμέρας τὴν χάριν, και ὑμνήσαι και θαυμάσαι τὴν ταύτης δύναμιν και μεγαλειότητα; Ὡς ἀνεξερεύνητα τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ κρίματα, και ἀνεξιχνίαστοι αἱ ὁδοὶ αὐτοῦ. Χθὲς ἡμῖν ἐν κατηφείᾳ και σήμερον ἐν φαιδρότητι, χθὲς ἐν στεναγμοῖς και σήμερον ἐν ἀλαλαγμοῖς. Χθὲς ἐν ἀθυμίᾳ και σήμερον ἐν εὐθυμίᾳ. Ἀνεκλάλητος ὄντως ἐστὶν, ἀδελφοί μου, τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης ἡ χάρις. Ἀνεκδιήγητος ὑπάρχει τοῦ μυστηρίου ἡ δωρεά. Ἀνεξερεύνητος εὐρίσκεται ἀληθῶς ἡ ὑπερβολὴ τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς εἰς ἡμῖν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀγαπήσεως, και τῆς εὐσπλαγχνίας αὐτοῦ και συγκαταβάσεως. Λύτρον γὰρ ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν ὁ Χριστὸς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν πάντων, και προήγαγεν ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου εἰς τὴν ζωὴν, ἀπὸ τοῦ σκότους εἰς φῶς, ἀπὸ τῆς δουλείας εἰς ἐλευθερίαν, ἀπὸ τῆς ἔχθρας εἰς γνησιεύουσαν φιλίαν. Ἐξηγόρασεν ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς κατάρας και τῆς ἁμαρτίας, γενόμενος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατὰ ἵνα τὴν υἰοθεσίαν ἀπολάβωμεν, ἵνα μηκέτι ὦμεν δοῦλοι ἀλλ' ἐλεύθεροι, μηκέτι ἐμπαθεῖς ἀλλ' ἀπαθεῖς, μηκέτι φιλόκοσμοι ἀλλὰ φιλόθεοι, μηκέτι κατὰ σάρκα περιπατοῦντες ἀλλὰ κατὰ

(66v) πνεῦμα. Οἱ γὰρ κατὰ σάρκα περιπατοῦντες τὰ τῆς σαρκὸς φρονοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ κατὰ πνεῦμα τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος. Ἐδωκεν ἡμῖν πνευματικῶς ἐορτάζειν και πνευματικῶν ἀνατρέφεσθαι. Ἐδωκεν ἡμῖν ἐν ὁσιότητι και δικαιοσύνῃ πολιτεῦσθαι, ἐν ἀγάπῃ και ὁμοιοίᾳ, ἐν πραότητι και εἰρήνῃ. Ἐν μακροθυμίᾳ και χρηστότητι ἠγίασεν. Ἐδόξασεν ἡμᾶς ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ, ἵνα ἐν καινότητι ζωῆς περιπατήσωμεν. Ἡμεῖς δὲ, τί ἀνταποδώσομεν τῷ Κυρίῳ περὶ πάντων τούτων, ὧν ἡμῖν ἀνταπέδωκεν; Τί ἀνταποδώσομεν ἄξιον τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ μεγαλοπρεπείας και δόξης και βασιλείας. Τί ἀνταποδώσομεν ἴσον τῇ ὑπερβαλλούσῃ αὐτοῦ δωρεᾷ τε και χάριτι; Εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ Κυρίῳ, ἀγαπητοί, εὐχαριστήσωμεν και δοξάσωμεν τὸ εἰς ἡμᾶς αὐτοῦ μέγα ἔλεος. Εὐχαριστήσωμεν και προσπέσωμεν τῷ Κυρίῳ και προσκυνήσωμεν αὐτῷ, και προσφέρωμεν τὰ μύρα και τοὺς ὕμνους ὡς δῶρα μετὰ φόβου και εὐχαριστίας. Φιλόανθρωπος γὰρ ἐστὶ και φιλάγαθος

66r  
Αὕτη ἐστὶν ἐορτῶν ἐορτὴ και πανήγυρις πανηγύρεων] Gregory Nazianzen, *Oration 45 On Pascha* PG 36.624.28-29 Ἐν ταύτῃ συνίγειν-σῶμα και αἷμα] Theodore the Stoudite, *Small Catechesis* 12.3-7 Ἐγὼ τίς λαλήσει-γνησιεύουσαν φιλίαν] Theodore the Stoudite, *Small Catechesis* 12.15-23 66r-66v  
Ἐξηγόρασεν ἡμᾶς-ἐν καινότητι ζωῆς περιπατήσωμεν] Theodore the Stoudite, *Small Catechesis* 64.7-12 προσκυνήσωμεν-ὕμνους ὡς δῶρα] Romanos Melodos, *Hymn 40 On the Resurrection* 1.9-10

413r  
ἐν ταύτῃ συνίγειν ἡμᾶς-γνησιεύουσαν φιλίαν] Theodore the Stoudite, *Small Catechesis* 12.3-18

413v  
ἐξηγόρασεν ἡμᾶς-ἐν καινότητι ζωῆς περιπατήσωμεν] Theodore the Stoudite, *Small Catechesis* 64.7-12 προσκυνήσωμεν-ὕμνους ὡς δῶρα] Romanos Melodos, *Hymn 40 On the Resurrection* 1.9-10

414r  
ἀγαπήσωμεν ἀδελφοί-δωρεᾶν] Theodore the Stoudite, *Small Catechesis* 12.25-27 δουλεύσωμεν τῷ κυρίῳ μετὰ συνέσεως] Theodore the Stoudite, *Small Catechesis* 12.32-33 ἐνστερνισώμεθα τὸ φίλτρον τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ θεοῦ και σωτήρος ἡμῶν] Theodore the Stoudite, *Small Catechesis* 12.51

(415r) πηγῆς τοῦ σωτήρος θεοῦ καὶ εὐφράνθητε· γεύσασθε καὶ ἴδετε ὅτι χρηστὸς ὁ κύριος θεὸς <Ἰησοῦς> Χριστὸς <ὸς> καὶ ἐπέφανεν ἡμῖν. Μηδεὶς θρηνεῖτω τὰ πταίσματα, συγγνώμη γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ τάφου ἀνέτειλε· μηδεὶς φοβείσθω τὸν θάνατον, ἠλευθέρωσε γὰρ ἡμᾶς ὁ τοῦ σωτήρος θάνατος· ἔσωσεν ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Ἰαίδου ἐρρύσατο· ἐξήρπασεν ἐκ τῆς καταδυναστείας τοῦ διαβόλου καὶ τῆς δουλείας αὐτοῦ ἠλευθέρωσεν. ἐπικράνθη ὁ Ἰαίδης γευσάμενος τῆς τιμίας καὶ ἀγίας σαρκὸς τοῦ δεσπότη, καθὼς Ἡσαΐας προανεφώνησεν ὁ Ἰαίδης λέγων ἐπικράνθη συναντήσας σοι κάτω. ἐπικράνθη ἐπειδὴ κατηργήθη· ἐπικράνθη ἐπειδὴ ἐνεπαίχθη· ἐπικράνθη· καὶ γὰρ ἐδεσμεύθη· ἔλαβε σῶμα καὶ θεῶ περιέτυχεν, ἔλαβεν ὅπερ ἔβλεπε καὶ πέπτωκεν ὅθεν οὐκ ἔβλεπε. κατέπιεν ὁ θάνατος ἀγνοῶν, καταπιὼν δὲ ἔγνω ὃν κατέπιε· κατέπιε ζωὴν, κατεπόθη δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ζωῆς· κατέπιε τὸν ἕνα μετὰ τῶν

(415v) πάντων, ἀπώλεσε δὲ διὰ τὸν ἕνα τοὺς πάντας· ἤρπασεν ὡς λέων, συνεθλάσθη δὲ τοὺς ὀδόντας, διὰ τῆς ἁμαρτίας ὁ θάνατος ἴσχυεν, ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ δὲ ἁμαρτίαν μὴ εὐρὼν ἀνεέργητος ἔμεινε. ποῦ σου, θάνατε, τὸ κέντρον; ποῦ σου Ἰαίδη τὸ νίκος; ἀνέστη Χριστὸς καὶ σὺ καταβέβλησαι· ἀνέστη Χριστὸς καὶ χαίρουσιν ἄγγελοι καὶ πεπτώκασι δαίμονες· ἀνέστη Χριστὸς καὶ φθορᾶς ἐλυτρώθημεν καὶ κατάρως ἐρρύσθημεν· ἀνέστη Χριστὸς καὶ ἡμεῖς συνανέστημεν καὶ ζωῆς ἠξιώθημεν. Χριστὸς ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστὰς ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων ἐγένετο αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας <τῶν αἰῶνων>. ἀμήν.

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415r-415v

κατέπιεν ὁ θάνατος-συνεθλάσθη δὲ τοὺς ὀδόντας] Basil of Caesarea, *Against those who slander us that we preach three gods* PG 31.1496.10-14

ὁ Δεσπότης, καὶ πάντα προσδέχεται, εἰ καὶ μικρὰ καὶ εὐτελῆ τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν αὐτῷ προσαγόμενα. Ἀγαπήσωμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἀδελφοί μου, τὸν ἀγαπήσαντα κατὰ χάριν ἡμᾶς. Ἀποθάνωμεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀποθανόντος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν δωρεάν. Πορευθῶμεν ὀπίσω τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ ἐντολῶν, καθαρῶσιν ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ παντὸς μολυμοῦ σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος. Προσάξωμεν τῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν πράξεις ἀγαθὰς, πίστιν, ἀγάπην, ἐλπίδα καὶ ὑπομονήν, συντριμμὸν καρδίας, κατανύξεως δωρεά, συνειδήσεως κάθαρσιν, νέκρωσιν τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς μελειῶν, πορνείας, ἀκαθαρσίας, πάθους, ἐπιθυμίας κακῆς καὶ τῆς πλεονεξίας. Δουλεύσωμεν τῷ Κυρίῳ μετὰ συνέσεως καὶ εὐσταθείας καὶ καρτερίας καὶ ὑπομονῆς. Ἐνστερνισώμεθα τὸ φίλτρον τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ θεοῦ καὶ σωτήρος ἡμῶν. Ἄσωμεν αὐτῷ ἄσμα καινόν. Πάντες ἄσωμεν. Κροτήσωμεν τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ ἀλαλάξωμεν τῷ Θεῷ ἐν φωνῇ ἀγαλλιάσεως. Ὅτι Κύριος ὕψιστος, φοβερὸς βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν. Μέγας Κύριος καὶ αἰνετὸς σφόδρα. Μέγας Κύριος καὶ τῆς μεγαλοσύνης αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔστι πέρας. Μέγας Κύριος καὶ μεγάλη ἡ ἰσχὺς αὐτοῦ. Κατήργησεν γὰρ καὶ ἐπάταξεν τὸν

(67r) ἀλαζόνα καὶ ὑπερήφανον ἐχθρὸν ἡμῶν καὶ διάβολον, καὶ τὸν θάνατον κατεπάτησε, καὶ πάντας ἀνέστησε, ζωὴν ἡμῖν αἰώνιον δωρησάμενος. Χθὲς γὰρ συνεθαπτόμην τῷ Χριστῷ, ἀλλὰ συνεγειρόμεθα σήμερον. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀπολαύσωμεν πάντες, ἀγαπητοί, τῶν ἀγαθῶν χαρισμάτων ταύτης τῆς καλῆς πανηγύρεως. Εἰσέλθωμεν χαίροντες εἰς τὴν χαρὰν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν, ὡς δοῦλοι εὐνώμονες, βασιλεῖς καὶ ἀρχιερεῖς, ἄρχοντες καὶ ἀρχόμενοι, ἱερεῖς καὶ διάκονοι, μονασταὶ καὶ μιγῆδες, στρατιῶται καὶ ἰδιῶται, πρεσβύτεροι μετὰ νεωτέρων, ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες, πλούσιοι καὶ πένητες, δοῦλοι καὶ ἐλεύθεροι δοξάσατε καὶ μεγαλύνετε Κύριον τὸν Θεὸν ἡμῶν, καὶ τὴν λαμπρὰν ταύτην ἡμέραν καὶ φαιδρὰν ἑορτὴν. Ὑμνήσατε καὶ θαυμάσατε καὶ τιμῆσατε νηστεύσαντες καὶ κοιτάσαντες. Δεῦτε χαίροντες, ἀπολάβετε τὸ δηνάριον οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ὥρας ἐργασάμενοι, δέξασθε σήμερον τὸ δίκαιον ὄφλημα. Οἱ μετὰ τὴν τρίτην ἐλθόντες εὐχαριστοῦν καὶ ἀγαλλόμενοι ἑορτάσατε σήμερον. Οἱ μετὰ τὴν ἕκτην φθάσαντες μηδὲν ἀμφιβάλλετε. Οἱ ὑστερήσαντες εἰς τὴν ἐνάτην, προσέλθετε μηδὲν ἐνδοιάζοντες. Οἱ τὴν ἐνδεκάτην μόνην φθάσαντες, μὴ φοβήθητε τὴν

βραδύτητα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο στυγνάζετε. Φιλότιμος ἐστὶν ὁ Δεσπότης. Ἀγαθὸς ἐστὶν καὶ ἐλεήμων καὶ συμπαθὴς. Δέχεται τὸν ἔσχατον ὡσπερ καὶ τὸν πρῶτον. Αναπάνει τὸν τῆς ἐνδεκάτης ὥρας, ὡς τὸν ἐργασάμενον ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης. Καὶ τὸν ὑστερον ἐλεεῖ καὶ τὸν πρῶτον θεραπεύει, καὶ τούτῳ διδῶσι κακεῖνῳ χαρίζεται. Καὶ τὴν γνώμην ἀσπάζεται καὶ τὴν πράξιν τιμᾷ, καὶ τὸν πόθον προσδέχεται καὶ τὴν προαίρεσιν ἐπαινεῖ. Καὶ τὴν πρόθεσιν βλέπει καὶ τὴν διάθεσιν ἀγαπᾷ. Διὰ τοῦτο προσέλθετε πάντες πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ φωτίσθητε, καὶ πρῶτοι καὶ δεῦτεροι καὶ μέσοι καὶ ὑστεροὶ τὸν μισθὸν ἀπολάβετε. Πλούσιοι καὶ πένητες μετ' ἀλλήλων χορεύσατε, ἐγκρατεῖς καὶ ῥάθυμοι τὴν ἡμέραν τιμῆσατε. Νηστεύσαντες καὶ μὴ νηστεύσαντες εὐφράνθητε σήμερον. Ἡ τράπεζα γέμει, μηδεὶς ἐξέλθοι πεινῶν καὶ στεροῦμενος. Πάντες ἀπολαύσατε τοῦ πλοῦτου τῆς χρηστότητος. Ὅτι το πάσχα ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐτίθη Χριστός. Πάντες ἀντλήσατε ἐκ τῆς ἀκενῶτου πηγῆς τοῦ σωτήρος Θεοῦ καὶ εὐφράνθητε. Γεύσασθε καὶ ἴδετε ὅτι Χριστὸς ὁ Κύριος. Θεὸς κύριος καὶ ἐπέφανεν ἡμῖν, μηδεὶς θρηνεῖτω πενίαν, ἐφάνη γὰρ ἡ κοινὴ βασιλεία. Μηδεὶς ὀδυρέσθω πταίσματα, συγγνώμη γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ τάφου

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66v

ἀγαπήσωμεν ἀδελφοί-δωρεάν] Theodore the Stoudite, *Small Catechesis* 12.25-27 δουλεύσωμεν τῷ κυρίῳ μετὰ συνέσεως] Theodore the Stoudite, *Small Catechesis* 12.32-33 ἐνστερνισώμεθα τὸ φίλτρον τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ θεοῦ καὶ σωτήρος ἡμῶν] Theodore the Stoudite, *Small Catechesis* 12.51

67r

χθὲς γὰρ συνεθαπτόμην τῷ Χριστῷ ἀλλὰ συνεγειρόμεθα σήμερον] Gregory Nazianzen, *Oration 1 On Pascha* PG 35.397.19 βασιλεῖς καὶ ἀρχιερεῖς-δοῦλοι καὶ ἐλεύθεροι] Leo VI, *Homily* 41.308-311

(67v) ἀνέτειλεν. Μηδεὶς φοβείσθω τὸν θάνατον, ἡλευθέρωσε γὰρ ἡμᾶς ὁ τοῦ σωτῆρος θάνατος. Καταλύσωμεν τὰς μετ' ἀλλήλων ἔχθρας καὶ μνησικακίας, ἀγαπητοί. Συγχωρήσωμεν πάντας τῆ ἀναστάσει, καὶ εἶπωμεν τοῖς μισοῦσιν ἡμᾶς ὅτι ἀδελφοὶ ἡμῶν εἰσὶν, καὶ τούτους περιπτυξόμεθα. Χριστὸς γὰρ ἡ εἰρήνη ἡμῶν, ὁ τὰ ἐπίγεια καὶ τὰ οὐράνια εἰρηνέυσας καὶ ποιήσας τὰ ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἕν, καὶ τὸ μεσότοιχον τοῦ φραγαμοῦ λύσας τὴν ἔχθραν ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ. Εἰρήνην ἔδωκεν τοῖς αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς καὶ ἀποστόλοις, εἰρήνην ἀφήκεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ δι' ἐκείνων, ἡμᾶς εἰρήνην καὶ ἀγάπης υἱοὺς ἀπειργάσατο, θαρσεῖτε λέγων ἐγὼ νενίκηκα τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὸν κοσμοκράτορα, βαστάσας τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου. Ἔσωσε γὰρ ἡμᾶς Χριστὸς ὁ Θεός. Καὶ τοῦ Ἄδου ἐρρύσατο, ἐξήρπασεν ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς καταδυναστείας τοῦ διαβόλου καὶ τῆς δουλείας αὐτοῦ ἡλευθέρωσεν. Ἐπικράνθη ὁ ἄδης γευσάμενος τῆς τιμίας καὶ ἀγίας σαρκὸς τοῦ Δεσπότη, καθὼς Ἡσαΐας προεῖπεν, ἐπικράνθη ὁ Ἄδης, συναντήσας σοὶ κάτω. Ἐπικράνθη καὶ γὰρ κατηγορήθη. Ἐπικράνθη καὶ γὰρ ἐνεπαίχθη. Ἐπικράνθη καὶ γὰρ ἐδεσμεύθη. Ἔλαβε σῶμα καὶ Θεῶ περιέτυχεν, ἔλαβεν ὅπερ ἐβλεπε καὶ πέπτωκεν ὅθεν οὐκ ἐβλεπε. Κατήπιεν ὁ θάνατος ἀγνοῶν, καὶ καταπιὼν ἔγνω ὅν κατήπιεν. Κατέπιεν ζωὴν, κατεπόθη ὑπὸ τῆς ζωῆς. Κατέπιεν τὸν ἕνα μετὰ πάντων, ἀπόλεσε τὸν ἕνα διὰ τοὺς πάντας. Ἦρπασεν ὡς λέων, συνεθλάσθη δὲ τοὺς ὀδόντας.

Διὰ τῆς ἁμαρτίας ὁ θάνατος ἴσχυεν. Ἐν Χριστῷ δὲ ἁμαρτίαν μὴ εὐρῶν ἀνενέργητος ἔμεινεν. Κέντρον γὰρ τοῦ θανάτου ἡ ἁμαρτία. Ἁμαρτίαν δὲ ὁ Κύριος οὐκ ἐποίησεν, οὐδὲ εὐρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ. Εὐκαιρον οὖν εἰπεῖν, ποῦ σοῦ θάνατε τὸ κέντρον; Ποῦ σοῦ Ἄδη τὸ νίκος; Ἀνέστη Χριστὸς καὶ σὺ καταβέβλησαι. Ἀνέστη Χριστὸς καὶ χαίρουσιν ἄγγελοι. Ἀνέστη Χριστὸς καὶ πεπτώκασι δαίμονες. Ἀνέστη Χριστὸς καὶ ζωὴ πολιτεύεται. Ἀνέστη Χριστὸς καὶ νεκροὶ συνηγέρθησαν. Ἀνέστη Χριστὸς καὶ φθορᾶς ἐλυτρώθημεν. Ἀνέστη Χριστὸς καὶ κατάρας ἐρρύσθημεν. Ἀνέστη Χριστὸς καὶ ἡμεῖς συνανέστημεν. Ἀνέστη Χριστὸς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐζωώθημεν. Χριστὸς ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστὰς ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων ἐγένετο. Αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος καὶ ἡ προσκύνησις καὶ ἡ μεγαλοσύνη νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

67v

συχωρήσωμεν πάντας-περιπτυξόμεθα] Gregory Nazianzen, *Oration 1 On Pascha* PG 35.396.12-15 ἡμᾶς εἰρήνην καὶ ἀγάπης υἱοὺς ἀπειργάσατο] Theodore the Stoudite, *Small Catechesis 11.28-29* κατέπιεν ὁ θάνατος-συνεθλάσθη δὲ τοῖς ὀδόντας] Basil of Caesarea, *Against those who slander us that we preach three gods* PG 31.1496.10-14

## CONCLUSIONS—PART 1

In Part 1 we have traced SermCat from the earliest indications of its influence in the 4<sup>th</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> centuries through the 6<sup>th</sup>–8<sup>th</sup> centuries all the way to Theodore of Stoudios' Or.4 in the early 9<sup>th</sup> century and beyond. SermCat's theological message, short length and forceful composition all made it an ideal choice for hymnographers and catechists alike. The text does not appear to have exercised widespread influence on the general Christian faithful before Theodore of Stoudios decisively initiated the process of incorporating it into liturgical Typika. Instead, before SermCat's inclusion in Typika it appears to have been known mostly to those few who were composing liturgical texts or reforming liturgical practices, Theodore of Stoudios among them. Nevertheless, one can never exclude the possibility that evidence of further influence or awareness of SermCat has simply been lost to us, or remains yet undiscovered.

Examining both the critical text of SermCat and Or.4, as well as the texts preserved in each major manuscript family and the alternate versions of SermCat, one is able to gain a much wider appreciation of the textual tradition. First, it becomes clear that, since all manuscript families of SermCat preserve the first 3–5–3 cycle of its structure intact, the claims originating with Montfaucon that SermCat is fragmentary should probably now be rejected. In fact, the text displays a highly intentional and tight structure, as noted above, which effectively conveys many theological messages on multiple levels concisely and clearly. Nevertheless, through many centuries of copying—and in varying environments—SermCat acquired interpolations that demonstrate the text's vitality and use. It is precisely the high level of variations in the text, even from the 9<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> centuries, that prove how important it had become.

As far as the questions of authorship and authenticity are concerned, we have seen much circumstantial evidence above; I am aware of no concrete evidence that could decide definitively for or against John Chrysostom's authorship of the text. Nevertheless, considering that 1) the vocabulary, style and content all appear to be closer to that of Chrysostom than to anyone else; 2) the text makes highly sophisticated allusions<sup>262</sup> to liturgical practices of the 4<sup>th</sup> century; 3) over 150 extant manuscript witnesses attribute the text to Chrysostom, while the only witnesses that do not are clearly late Byzantine compilations for patriarchal homiliaries that have no pretensions to originality or authenticity in this sense; 4) no Byzantines, including Theodore of Stoudios—who would perhaps have been in a more advantageous position than we are today to evaluate Chrysostom's work based on early manuscripts—ever suspected SermCat

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<sup>262</sup> See above, description of Vaticanus graecus 1633, pp. 44–46.

to be anything other than the genuine work of John Chrysostom;<sup>263</sup> 5) Savile and Montfaucon who originally questioned the text's authenticity not only did not present any credible evidence or argument for their assertions, but moreover have since been judged highly incompetent in general as relates to the judgment of authenticity in Chrysostom's corpus<sup>264</sup>—I believe that the only reasonable conclusion that the current state of evidence allows one to reach is that there is a formidably large and convincing amount of evidence in favor of Chrysostom's authorship of SermCat. I am aware of no evidence that indicates anything to the contrary. I do not believe that we will ever be able to say with certainty that John Chrysostom did or did not author this text. However, we should not forget that there is much more evidence in favor of the text's genuineness—preserved in hundreds of witnesses—than for quite a few others that we attribute to Chrysostom today.<sup>265</sup> There is not less evidence demonstrating Chrysostom's authorship of SermCat than there is for his authorship of the *Homilies on Matthew* or *John*, for example.<sup>266</sup> SermCat has an essentially unanimous manuscript tradition—both direct and indirect—attributing the text to him. The text was most appreciated and employed in monastic environments, and two major Byzantine monastic authors—one of whom oversaw one of the most impressive scriptoria of his day—explicitly attribute the text to John Chrysostom.<sup>267</sup> One

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<sup>263</sup> Naturally, the Byzantines rarely exercised the same critical analysis of authorship that is common today. Nevertheless, in the generations after Theodore of Stoudios, Photios was quite capable of maintaining a critical disposition. In Codex 96 of his *Bibliothèque*, he summarizes George of Alexandria's *Vita* of Chrysostom. He first expresses doubt about who George of Alexandria is. Finally, at the end of the Codex, he again indirectly expresses his doubt by avoiding using George's name, while at the same time accusing him of telling many false or mistaken tales about Chrysostom (Photios, *Bibliothèque*, Codex 96.83b.19–21): “Ο δὲ συγγραφεὺς οὗτος οὐκ ὀλίγα φαίνεται παριστορᾶν· ἀλλ’ οὐδὲν κωλύει τοὺς ἀναγινώσκοντας ἐκλεγόμενους τὰ χρήσιμα τὰ λοιπὰ παρορᾶν.” Cf. Trapp s.v. *παριστορέω*: “falsch erzählen.”

<sup>264</sup> See above, p. 21.

<sup>265</sup> Of course, regarding Chrysostom in particular, the differentiation between genuine and spurious is quite sui generis. Following upon his death, a schism erupted in the Church and many pseudepigrapha were penned or produced at that time. Therefore, one must always keep in mind that dating alone is not a sufficient criterion for discerning Chrysostom's genuine works. See Mayer, W. (forthcoming) *A Life of their Own: Preaching, Radicalisation, and the early ps-Chrysostomica in Greek and Latin*, in *Apocryphal and Patristic Literature between Orient and Occident*. Barone, F., Macé, C. and P. Ubierna (eds) Turnhout. Nevertheless, these findings have limited relevance to SermCat, which is not a polemic and is unrelated to the Johannite Schism.

<sup>266</sup> In fact, as concerns these pillars of what we consider Chrysostom's genuine corpus, there is little evidence that the text we possess today is in fact that which John Chrysostom conceived of, delivered or even wrote down—if he wrote them down himself. Cf. Voicu (2008). The situation is further complicated by the fact that the most recent critical text of the *Homilies on Matthew* is that of Field from 1839, for which we may only guess how many of the extant 651 manuscript witnesses he consulted. For the *Homilies on John* the state of affairs is worse. There is no critical edition; Migne's 1862 edition, vol. 59 of *PG* is the latest printed edition available. There are 347 known extant manuscript witnesses to the *Homilies on John*. One begins to see that Voicu's insight is well-taken, and what we consider to be the self-evidently genuine corpus of Chrysostom may or may not be all that it at first appears.

<sup>267</sup> Nevertheless, for a balanced approach, one must also take into account Theodore's idea of how authority, and thus authenticity, are conferred, as noted by Papaioannou (2014) 33–34: “A rare but illuminating discussion of authority and hagiographical anonymity is offered by Theodore the Stoudite... In a letter-response to a series of queries by his spiritual ‘child’ Thalelaios, the learned abbot concludes with the following... ‘About the story of Saint Pankratios: how is it that it does not indicate by whom it was composed? Almost all texts of *Martyria* are

cannot ask for more evidence than this, and if SermCat's genuineness were to force us today to re-evaluate our understanding of Chrysostom's homiletic production, I believe that this can only be for our benefit and further progress in understanding his work.

Beyond modern concerns of authenticity, since the Byzantines believed that SermCat was a genuine text of Chrysostom, the text offers us an ideal window through which to glimpse the inauguration of a new era in Chrysostom's reception in middle Byzantium from the 9<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries. Part 1 of this study has laid the groundwork for this investigation by presenting the indirect testimonies to SermCat before Theodore of Studios' direct, 9<sup>th</sup> century testimony/text itself—both the critical edition and the text preserved by each major manuscript family—as well as descriptions of all major witnesses and discussions of their provenance and significance for the textual tradition as a whole. Part 2 will present the afterlife of Theodore of Studios' 9<sup>th</sup> century reception of Chrysostom in general and SermCat in particular. Having observed the cause in Part 1, we will now observe its effects in Part 2—the various receptions of Chrysostom that arose as a direct result of Theodore of Studios' liturgical practices, which centered primarily on the person of John Chrysostom and sparked a refashioning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century father into his various Byzantine forms.

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anonymous [*scil.* without an ἐπιγραφή]. Still, they are secure/authoritative [βέβαια] and it is from these that preachers proceed to compose their encomia on the martyrs. In Sicily, saint Pankratios is honored with a great church, in which they say miracles have taken place. So, clearly, the one who does not accept the story, has also rejected the martyr.' Theodore makes clear that it is the martyr himself who guarantees the value of a discourse about him."

## **PART 2—CHRYSOSTOM’S RECEPTION**

Part 1 examined the manuscripts preserving SermCat, Or.4, Neophytos Enkleistos’ *Catechesis* 12 and other related texts. Part 2 will address the contexts in which all of these texts were employed, the agents behind their production and distribution and the effects that arose therefrom. As such, Part 2 is primarily focused on the centuries from Theodore of Stoudios (759–826) to Neophytos Enkleistos (1134–ca. 1214). Nevertheless, this introductory chapter will give a brief overview of Chrysostom’s reception up to the 8<sup>th</sup> century, when Theodore of Stoudios was born, in order to keep in mind the already vibrant Byzantine traditions surrounding Chrysostom before Theodore made his decisive contributions.<sup>268</sup>

### **INTRODUCTION: RESEARCH QUESTIONS & HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL CONTEXT**

John Chrysostom has recently been called, “the most important Father of the Orthodox Church.”<sup>269</sup> This statement is based on the widely-known fact that the Greek manuscripts preserving his writings far and away outnumber those of any other author from any period. This fact alone is, indeed, significant and indicative but, in the end, gives less information than is often assumed and could even be misleading. Chrysostom’s importance has likely never been doubted, and yet, is it simply a matter of numbers (of manuscripts)? *Why* was he more popular than others? What are the specific details—the successive steps—that led from his tenure as archbishop of Constantinople to being the most popular Greek author in Byzantium?<sup>270</sup> These

<sup>268</sup> Naturally, there are numerous texts on Chrysostom, hagiographical and encomiastic, which are not dealt with in this study, a primary example of which being the *Orations* of Kosmas Vestitor (cf. nn. 580 and 590). For an extensive treatment of Byzantine rhetoric on John Chrysostom, see Stergioulis (2009).

<sup>269</sup> Tsamakda (2017) 366. She notes that from the 6<sup>th</sup> century John was known as “Chrysostom”, the Golden Mouth. This is a definite improvement from Maas and Trypanis’ (1970) 190–191 assumption that the epithet was only applied generally in Byzantium from the 8<sup>th</sup> century. The 6<sup>th</sup> century dating of the use of the “Chrysostom” epithet usually refers to Pope Vigilius’ *First Constitutum* (Price (2009) 2:190). This assumption prevails in even the most recent monographs on Chrysostom. Cf. Cook (2019) 3, n.4. Nevertheless, the earliest reference to the epithet that I have been able to locate is from a mid–late 5<sup>th</sup> century *Vita* of Epiphanius of Cyprus (*PG* 41:101), which appears to indicate that “Chrysostom” was in common use even from then: “Οὗτοι οὖν ἀναγκασθέντες ἀνῆλθον ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλίδα πόλιν, καὶ προσέπεσαν Ἰωάννη τῷ ἐπίκλῃν Χρυσοστόμῳ.” Rapp (2005) 18 dates the *Vita* to between 430–475. One cannot exclude the possibility, however, that “Chrysostom” is a later addition to the *Vita*’s text, for which see generally Rapp (1991).

<sup>270</sup> Chrysostom’s obvious significance is often taken for granted in secondary scholarship, and explaining how or why this happened is frequently considered either unnecessary or simply a *fait accompli*. For an indicative example, cf. Liebeschuetz (2011) 116: “By far the fullest account of Chrysostom’s life is the *Dialogue...of Palladius...*” The 7<sup>th</sup> century *Vita* attributed to George of Alexandria (BHG 873), easily twice or three times as

are the basic questions that the following chapters will engage, beginning from Theodore of Stoudios' reception of SermCat and continuing from there, offering certain, specific snapshots of the development of Chrysostom's Byzantine *Nachleben*. Chrysostom's story was always one of conflict between himself and various groups and institutions. The foundations of the middle Byzantine version(s) of his story—in which SermCat plays a central role—were solidified in the 9<sup>th</sup> century, but in order to understand how and why Chrysostom's 4<sup>th</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> century conflicts were considered applicable to Byzantium's 8<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> centuries struggles, one must conduct a brief review of developments in the intervening four centuries. This review will be limited to the intertextual relations<sup>271</sup> between specific hagiographic and historical sources on themes that came to characterize Chrysostom's conflicts as a bishop: spiritual authority, ascetic authority and pragmatic authority.<sup>272</sup> Claudia Rapp has identified these three themes—distinct, though by no means fully separate or mutually exclusive—as the most central to episcopal authority in Late Antiquity, and though she strives to analyze figures less prominent than Chrysostom, this model can be fruitfully applied to him as well.

Rapp outlines her model along the following lines. Spiritual authority is the recognition of its bearer as a recipient of the Holy Spirit, best illustrated by the NT account of the apostles receiving the Holy Spirit on Pentecost. An example of spiritual authority could be Peter who, no longer the impulsive coward of the Gospels, demonstrates his spiritual credentials to the gathered crowds, many of whom join the church as a result. Significantly, spiritual authority can only be given by God. Ascetic authority, on the contrary, Rapp notes, is a path open to all—though, again, most successfully traveled by those whom God has chosen for specific, sacred tasks. It is the authority resulting from arduous, voluntary bodily asceticism in the effort to purify and devote oneself entirely to God. We can locate this concept of ascetic authority in the figure of John the Baptist, who wore a hair shirt and ate locusts and wild honey.<sup>273</sup> When Jesus asks the crowds why they have come out to the wilderness to see John, he reminds them that those who wear comfortable clothes live in the royal palace.<sup>274</sup> Finally, Rapp highlights

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long as Palladios' text, is almost never mentioned in scholarship on Chrysostom. George attempts a synthesis of 5<sup>th</sup> century accounts of Chrysostom, including passages from genuine Chrysostomic works. The same holds for almost all other Byzantine accounts of Chrysostom. Their evidence has been too long ignored. For a notable exception, see now Antonopoulou (2016). I am grateful to John Haldon's challenging and helpful comments on this issue. Cf. Mayer (2007) 39, n. 2; Van Nuffelen (2013) and Barry (2016). For an examination of certain characteristic Chrysostomic ideas and concepts in later Byzantine literature, see Bozinis (2019).

<sup>271</sup> Part 2 will draw on many types of sources other than texts, but for the specific examination of 5<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> centuries, in particular, texts will be the main source type, since the survival of other types, relevant to Chrysostom, is extremely rare. To the degree that they survive, iconographic representations will be included.

<sup>272</sup> Rapp (2005) 16–18. Cf. Brown (1971); Rapp (1999), (2010); and Sterk (2004).

<sup>273</sup> Matt. 3:1–4.

<sup>274</sup> Matt. 11:7–15.

pragmatic authority, which derives from the possessor's public actions (and in many cases benefactions). Interestingly, pragmatic authority is the one amongst this triad that has no real parallel in the NT. The closest example would be Jesus', or his disciples', numerous miracles in the form of healings, resurrections of dead, etc. However, these would be benefactions more proper to spiritual than pragmatic authority, as the work of the Holy Spirit's grace in and through a chosen person. Pragmatic authority, on the other hand, as Rapp presents it, is a result of the holder's position in the strictly human social world: access to wealth and political capital. Though Rapp insightfully notes that the late-antique bishop's role did not change overnight with the rise of Constantine I (306–337) to power, nevertheless it should be noted that the bishop's access to pragmatic authority—and thus, to the possibility of earthly, social benefactions—did in fact drastically change as a result of factors that clustered around, and were to a certain degree due to, Constantine's reign.<sup>275</sup> These shifts prepared the ground for Chrysostom's late-4<sup>th</sup> century episcopate, during which he took full advantage of all three types of authority Rapp has identified.

A bishop's pragmatic authority is expressed by caring for the poor and vulnerable; in the late-antique Roman empire, Christian bishops focused their efforts on two such groups: the indigent and widows. In this way, the bishop expanded his power base, significantly to areas where elites had little to no presence or influence. Eusebios of Caesaria reports that Constantine allotted to the bishops all necessary resources to feed the poor so that they would be able to attract more people to join the church—a quintessential type of benefaction that expresses pragmatic authority: providing necessities of life by means of power in human social networks.<sup>276</sup> Athanasios of Alexandria indirectly confirms Eusebios' report in his defence against the charge that he sold off the wheat Constantine gave him for his own personal gain.<sup>277</sup> Moreover, Canon 16 of (ps.)Athanasios explicitly connects the bishop's role to feeding the poor, particularly on major feasts of the liturgical calendar.<sup>278</sup> This role is reflected, moreover, in Chrysostom's own homily *De Eleemosyna*, where he cites Paul's instructions to early Christians that they should give to the poor, especially on Sundays because it is the day of the resurrection. In other words, Chrysostom here joins almsgiving with the resurrection—just as

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<sup>275</sup> Rapp (2005) 13 for the over-emphasis on Constantine I's role in church–state relations and 32–38 for the growing tensions between monks (as representatives of spiritual and ascetic authority) and bishops (as administrators, i.e. pragmatic authority) from the time of Clement of Alexandria, to Origen and down to Jerome.

<sup>276</sup> Eusebios, *Vita Constantini*, 3.58.4. This can be contrasted to Jesus' feeding the crowd of five thousand (Matt. 14:13–21). As a miracle, this latter is not strictly an expression of pragmatic authority, since it circumvents all human forms of power, being a direct, miraculous gift from on high.

<sup>277</sup> Athanasios, *Apologia Contra Arianos*, 18.1–2.

<sup>278</sup> Riedel and Crum (1904) 27. Cf. the entry for the text in CE 458b–459a, where dating is placed before the mid-5<sup>th</sup> century.

the text of SermCat does.<sup>279</sup> Moreover, the gathering and redistribution of resources may have been based upon spiritual motives, or at least presented in such terms, but their effects were wide-ranging. Gilbert Dagron described Chrysostom at the head of an effective restructuring of the flow of disposable capital in Constantinople and the provinces. Peter Brown, touching on many of the same themes, has highlighted the readiness of the late-antique bishop to incorporate the poor into his sphere of protection and influence, in this way vying for position before the emperor against the *curiales*.<sup>280</sup> Dagron, however, places more emphasis on Chrysostom's turn towards widows. Palladios' characteristic phrase echoes their significance in Chrysostom's general program: “τὸ τῶν χηρῶν τάγμα”—the widows' battalion.<sup>281</sup>

As early as Paul, widows had been enjoined to embrace a life of celibate asceticism.<sup>282</sup> In the context of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, this injunction took on new dimensions. As more and more high-ranking officials and elites were converting to Christianity, more and more wealthy Christian widows were to be found—and the acquisition of their resources was relatively uncharted territory. Gregory Nazianzen and John Chrysostom each held correspondence with young elite women, both of whom shared the same name, Olympias.<sup>283</sup> Gregory of Nyssa also wrote a treatise, in which he upheld the ideal of virginity.<sup>284</sup> However, the sources that have survived give the impression that Chrysostom, more than his rough contemporaries, made concerted efforts to turn the Church's attention towards tapping the unclaimed resources of the “widows' battalion”, writing two treatises to a young widow and an even longer, more general treatise advocating virginity, both for widows and for those not yet married; in addition to these, he also wrote an extensive three books, which subtly reroute the late-antique career path of children of the aristocracy away from service in the imperial bureaucracy to service in the monastery, an institution which significantly came under the official control of the late-antique bishop at Chalcedon (451).<sup>285</sup> Episcopal regulatory concern for monastics only increased over

<sup>279</sup> For *De Eleemosyna* see PG 51:261–272; for SermCat see Part 1. Cf. Brown (1992) 90–95. Though this does not appear to be a connection made by Chrysostom alone, as demonstrated not least by (ps.)Athanasios above. The 11<sup>th</sup> century *Vita* of Symeon the New Theologian by Niketas Stethatos also mentions the poor being fed during the *panegyris* on Symeon's feast day. See Niketas Stethatos, *Life of Saint Symeon the New Theologian* 151.

<sup>280</sup> Brown (1992) 71–117.

<sup>281</sup> Palladios, *Dialogus*, 32.19. Cf. Dagron (1974) 488–517.

<sup>282</sup> 1. Cor. 7:8: “Λέγω δὲ τοῖς ἀγάμοις καὶ ταῖς χήραις, καλὸν αὐτοῖς εἶναι μείνωσιν ὡς καγώ.” Cf. 1 Tim. 5:3–16, in particular v. 6: “ἡ δὲ σπαταλῶσα [sc. χήρα] ζῶσα τέθνηκεν,” to which Chrysostom makes reference no less than 23 times throughout his corpus. For the significance of Paul's *First Letter to Timothy* as a “mirror for bishops” and forerunner to Chrysostom's own *On the Priesthood*, see Rapp (2005) 32–48.

<sup>283</sup> For Gregory, see McLynn (2009) and generally Simelidis (2019).

<sup>284</sup> *De Virginitate* PG 46:318–414. On Gregory of Nyssa generally see Ludlow (2007), for *De Virginitate* specifically, Ludlow (2014).

<sup>285</sup> Though Chrysostom had already begun before the Council of Chalcedon to recognize monastics as powerful players. *Ad Viduam Junioem* PG 48:600–609, *Eiusdem ad eandem de non iterando conjugio* PG 48:609–621,

time, one of its most evident manifestations being the canons of the Council in Trullo (691–692), which form the bedrock of Byzantine canon law.<sup>286</sup> In this way, Chrysostom provides a prime example of a late-antique bishop systematically increasing his pragmatic authority by focusing on the more vulnerable in society: the poor and widows. The insistent promotion of celibacy for these, and other, groups was initially presented in spiritual terms, as in Paul's *Letter to the Corinthians*. However, the significance of a bishop having a broad support base of groups otherwise uncared for in society—who, by reason of their celibacy, had minimal ties to institutions other than the Church—began to acquire much greater value in terms of pragmatic authority from the late-4<sup>th</sup> to early 5<sup>th</sup> centuries.

In addition to these efforts, Dagron notes how Chrysostom strengthened the financial connections between the see of Constantinople and monastic institutions both within the city and its hinterland, reaching in fact deep into the Anatolian peninsula. It could hardly have been a coincidence, then, when in 451 the Council of Chalcedon extended the see of Constantinople's jurisdiction into precisely these same areas, reaching down to the natural border of the Taurus mountain range.<sup>287</sup> A combination of these and other factors is likely behind Anthony Kaldellis' assertion that: "Ioannes Chrysostomos wished to transform the world into a vast monastery under episcopal authority."<sup>288</sup> Chrysostom did not simply wage a cultural or religious war against Hellenism. He made himself the linchpin in the (re)construction of the East Roman empire, a project that would find the Church, and eventually prominent monastic houses, intimately involved with the empire's finances, policies, taxation, wars and almost every other prerogative of the sovereign. Whereas in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, openly pagan literati such as Themistios or Libanios could exult in their *parrhesia* to counsel the emperor on official policy, by the early 5<sup>th</sup> century hierarchs such as Chrysostom and others had decisively turned the imperial court's ear(s) towards themselves.<sup>289</sup> The result was a new framework of social power that John Haldon has termed the "imperial Church", an institution

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*De Virginitate* PG 48:533–596, *Adversus Oppugnatores Vitae Monasticae* PG 47:319–386. Price and Gaddis (2005) 1:15 interpret the decision at Chalcedon as a move designed to rein in the monks of Constantinople in particular—hardly surprising considering the role that the capital's monks played in the depositions of both John Chrysostom and Nestorios. Cf. Caner (2002); Hatlie (2007) 39–40 and 67–68.

<sup>286</sup> Humphreys (2015) 44–45 and 55–57. Cf. also Herrin (1992) for Trullo's effect on the everyday lives of women in the empire.

<sup>287</sup> Dagron (1974) 500–517.

<sup>288</sup> Kaldellis (2007) 136. Completely aside from whether Chrysostom himself actually desired this or not, by the early 9<sup>th</sup> century it is quite probable that a view similar to this one was being attributed to Chrysostom by the embattled—and soon to be victorious—iconophiles, as we shall see below. Cf. Lenski (2004) 114 who discerns in Chrysostom's efforts to exert more episcopal authority over monks a certain uneasiness about their growing influence.

<sup>289</sup> Cf. Brown's (1992) 114–117 interpretation of Cyril of Alexandria orchestrating the demise of the philosopher Hypatia.

whose foundation he dates to the Council of Chalcedon (451).<sup>290</sup> Thus, the roughly half century from Chrysostom's enthronement as patriarch of Constantinople in 398 to Chalcedon (451) was of crucial significance for relations between: the see of Constantinople and the imperial court, the patriarch of Constantinople and the heads of other sees and the imperial capital and its provinces. At the center of these shifts in power was the dynamic—and sometimes problematic—patriarchate of John Chrysostom. With the above in mind, we will now take a more detailed look at how the stories of Chrysostom were fashioned to eventually incorporate, by the early 9<sup>th</sup> century, all three types of saintly episcopal authority outlined above: spiritual, ascetic and pragmatic. In hagiographies, one often observes that saintly bishops are presented as acquiring first ascetic authority, then receiving spiritual authority in recognition of the former; finally, once God has shown his approval, then the saint receives the pragmatic authority of the episcopacy.<sup>291</sup> As we will now see, in real life, this order is often reversed and the spiritual and ascetic aspects are more highly emphasized by later sources that seek to justify a particular political/ecclesiastical agenda.

Chrysostom served as archbishop of Constantinople from 398–404, with a brief interruption during his first exile. His tenure ended abruptly in 404 due to his second and final exile. During this second exile, he died in 407 at Comana Pontica.<sup>292</sup> However, his Byzantine reception, unusually, begins in 403, four years before his death, during the lead up to his final exile when the so-called Johannite Schism began, which would last until the translation of his relics back to Constantinople in 438 to be buried at the church of the Holy Apostles under the direction of his successor to the see of Constantinople, Proklos (437–447).<sup>293</sup> Wendy Mayer has recently shown that the category of texts known as pseudo-Chrysostomica, homilies falsely attributed to Chrysostom, began to be written from 403 and continued until 438. These texts were designed to justify Chrysostom in the face of his humiliating exile and death, during the ongoing Johannite Schism.<sup>294</sup> Indeed, when one examines the early-mid 5<sup>th</sup> century sources on Chrysostom, there is a definite trajectory that can be traced from the Johannite Schism to the birth of Chrysostom as “*the Byzantine patriarch*” *par excellence*.

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<sup>290</sup> Haldon (2016) 59: “Of all the factors that contributed to Byzantine survival, we may wonder whether the Church and its activities were not one of the single most neglected and underestimated elements in our discussions.”

<sup>291</sup> As, for example, in Palladios' account of Chrysostom, as well as George of Alexandria's, upon which almost all later Byzantine authors draw.

<sup>292</sup> For modern critical biographies, see Liebeschuetz (1985), the full-length monographs by Kelly (1998) and Brändle (1999). See also introductory comments in Allen and Mayer (2002) 3–52.

<sup>293</sup> There is some debate over the exact dates of his tenure; cf. ODB s.v. *Proklos (434)*. For the legend of Proklos' relationship with Chrysostom, see Constan (1994) 18–21. See also, generally, Leroy (1967).

<sup>294</sup> Mayer (forthcoming). Cf. also Voicu (2007).

First, however, in order to trace this trajectory, one must have an idea of the accessibility of Chrysostom's writings—and/or his pseudepigrapha—during the early decades of the 5<sup>th</sup> century. Neilos of Ankyra, an ascetic theologian who died at Sinai ca. 430, writes in his *Letter 214* to Valerios the *koubikoularios* that of all the divine teachers of late, John, the golden flowing river, surpasses them all—truly God's gift to the world, inasmuch as he censures even the faults of hierarchs.<sup>295</sup> Thus, many wise tongues are praising his name.<sup>296</sup> Isidore of Pelousion (370–after 433), writing from the Nile, conveys in *Letter 224* to a certain Heraklios that he is amazed that Heraklios is unfamiliar with Chrysostom's work. For Isidore, the only logical conclusion is that Heraklios is so insufferably lazy as to have ignored a man, the fame and reputation (κλέος) of whose writings have already reached the ends of the earth and the sea.<sup>297</sup> Indeed, Isidore himself played a role in disseminating Chrysostom's works, as he writes in *Letter 156* to Eustathios that he has sent him the requested copy of Chrysostom's *On the Priesthood*.<sup>298</sup> Neilos and Isidore give us an idea in these letters of the rapidity with which stories about Chrysostom and his writings had begun circulating in the early 5<sup>th</sup> century empire.<sup>299</sup>

## I. CHURCH HISTORIANS—SOKRATES<sup>300</sup>

In addition, in three church historians—Sokrates, Sozomenos and Theodoret of Cyrrhus—we find fuller accounts of Chrysostom's tenure as archbishop of Constantinople that nevertheless vary in significant ways from each other.<sup>301</sup> Testimony from Isidore's *Letters*,

<sup>295</sup> This comment coming from a monastic figure highlights the tensions between church hierarchy and ascetics in the early 5<sup>th</sup> century. To a certain degree, Chrysostom was being claimed as each side's hero. The result was a compromise, but one whose balance by the 9<sup>th</sup> century was more heavily tipped in favor of monasticism.

<sup>296</sup> *PG 79:296* (Book 2, *Letter 214*): “Εἰσὶ τινες καὶ ἄρτίως ποταμοὶ ἀένναα ῥέοντες θειοτέρων πεπληρωμένοι ῥεῖθρων, τοῖς οικείοις ὀρμήμασι τὴν πόλιν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν φημί, κατευφραίνοντες τῇ ἀνεκλείπτῳ ἀρδείᾳ...Μεῖζων δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων θαυμαστῶν ἀνδρῶν, παρὰ Θεοῦ τῷ κόσμῳ ποταμὸς χρυσορροῖας δεδώρηται, Ἰωάννης ὁ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπίσκοπος, οὗτινος τοὺς ἐπαίνους πολλοὶ τῶν σοφῶν μερίζονται γλῶσσαί. Ἄνθραξ γὰρ οὗτος ἀληθέστατα...εἰς ὕψος ἄρας τὴν φλόγα τῆς πάντων βροτῶν εὐεργετικῆς διδαχῆς, διακεχωρισμένος ἐκείνων, καὶ διακεχρημένος τοῖς εὐφρονούντων, τῶν πρώην μὲν εὐφημουμένων δι' ἀρετὴν, νυνὶ δὲ ψεγομένων διὰ τὴν ῥαθυμίαν, κἄν ποιμένες τυγχάνωσιν...”

<sup>297</sup> *PG 78:1317* (Book 4, *Letter 224*): “Λίαν θαυμάζω, πῶς τὸ μὲν κλέος τῶν συγγραμμάτων, ὃν ἀπολέλοιπεν ὁ πάνσοφος Ἰωάννης, πανταχόσε φοιτησάντων, ἄχρι τῆς γῆς καὶ θαλάττης τερμάτων ἔφθασεν, τῆς δὲ σῆς οὐ κατήγατο ἀμαθίας. Θαυμάζων δὲ οὐκ ἐκείνων αἰτιῶμαι, ἀλλὰ τὴν σὴν μέφομαι ἀνυπέρβλητον ῥαθυμίαν...”

<sup>298</sup> *PG 78:288* (Book 1, *Letter 156*).

<sup>299</sup> Isidore further discusses Chrysostom in *PG 78:284–285* (Book 1, *Letter 152*) and *PG 78:484* (Book 2, *Letter 42*).

<sup>300</sup> This is not to imply that analysis of sources must be divided into genres. The following three historians simply offer some of the fullest, most detailed early accounts of Chrysostom, from the mid-5<sup>th</sup> century. On “genre” as a category in Byzantine literary criticism, see Mullett (1992); Agapitos (2014), esp. 3, n. 15, with further references.

<sup>301</sup> Each author mentions that Theodosios II (402–450) is currently reigning, and Sokrates and Theodoret record the translation of Chrysostom's relics in 438. Sozomenos omits the translation of his relics, but recalls episodes of

such as calling Chrysostom “the eye of the church in Byzantium and everywhere,”<sup>302</sup> can easily give precisely the impression that Chrysostom’s supporters actively cultivated, namely that the whole *oikoumene* was united in support of him. However, a comparison among the following three accounts from church historians of the mid 5<sup>th</sup> century allows us to steal a glimpse into the gradual process of marginalizing all versions of Chrysostom’s story that were not entirely laudatory. Each historian offers a character description of Chrysostom. Sokrates depicts him as follows:

“He was, as they say, rather a strict man because of his zeal for temperance, and moreover, as one of his closest acquaintances from youth said, more prone to anger than a proper sense of shame/respect. Because of his uprightness, he was not safe from [the tribulations] that would come, while on account of his sincerity, he was indifferent to suffering. He spoke freely and without restraint to his interlocutors. When he taught, he was able to greatly benefit his listeners’ mores, while in more personal conversations those who didn’t know him believed him to be arrogant.”<sup>303</sup>

Sokrates’ account, overall, is openly in favor of Chrysostom—as are almost all surviving sources—and yet, one can readily recognize the outlines of a real human being in Sokrates’ mix of positive and negative character traits. Sokrates desires to present Chrysostom even-handedly.<sup>304</sup>

In fact, his account is mixed for other reasons, as well. Concerning Chrysostom’s characteristic intervention in the affairs of the Ephesian church, two versions of Sokrates’

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Proklos’ tenure as archbishop. Therefore, each text was likely initially composed during 438–450. Cf. Urbainczyk (1997a) 1. For reasons that will be presented below, Theodoret likely revised certain elements of his narrative in the years following the Council of Chalcedon in 451. I do not wish to posit a linear or chronological progression from one author to the next. Although, both Trompf (1994) and Urbainczyk (1997a) argue that Sokrates wrote first, followed by Sozomenos and then Theodoret. Be that as it may, I will focus on presenting a thematic development, which takes place within this span of roughly 15 years, based of course on the events of the Johannite Schism and its resolution. Strangely, Evagrius Scholasticus makes no mention of Chrysostom—even concerning the translation of his relics in 438 (he dispatches Proklos’ tenure as archbishop of Constantinople in one line, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 16.31) or his recognition at the Council of Chalcedon in 451.

<sup>302</sup> PG 78:288 (Book 1, Letter 156): “ὁ γὰρ τῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀπορρήτων σοφῶς ὑποφήτης Ἰωάννης, ὁ τῆς ἐν Βυζαντίῳ Ἐκκλησίας καὶ πάσης ὀφθαλμός.” Cf. Leontios of Byzantium’s (died ca. 543) similar expression, reversing the hierarchy and placing Chrysostom before the Cappadocians and Athanasios (Daley (2017) 416).

<sup>303</sup> Sokrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 6.3.13–14: “Ἦν δὲ ἄνθρωπος, ὡς φασι, διὰ ζῆλον σωφροσύνης πικρότερος καὶ πλεον, ὡς ἔφη τις τῶν οικειοτάτων αὐτῷ ἐκ νέας ἡλικίας, θυμῷ μᾶλλον ἢ αἰδοῖ ἐχαρίζετο, καὶ διὰ μὲν ὀρθότητα βίου οὐκ ἀσφαλῆς πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα, δι’ ἀπλότητα δὲ εὐχερῆς· ἐλευθεροστομία τε πρὸς τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας ἀμέτρως ἐκέχρητο, καὶ ἐν τῷ μὲν διδάσκειν πολλὸς ἦν ὠφελῆσαι τὰ τῶν ἀκούοντων ἦθη, ἐν δὲ ταῖς συντυχίαις ἀλαζονικὸς τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσιν αὐτὸν ἐνομίζετο.”

<sup>304</sup> Perhaps due in no small part to his more immediate aim of defending Origen from, primarily, Theophilus’ and Epiphanius of Salamis’ attacks in relation to Chrysostom’s deposition from the see of Constantinople. Cf. Van Nuffelen (2005) in conjunction with Elm’s (1998) intriguing reading of events.

*History* survive.<sup>305</sup> One of these two explains that there was unrest in Ephesos, since multiple factions wanted to promote their candidates for the vacant episcopacy; Chrysostom came from Constantinople and, realizing that he would be unable to resolve the situation by his eloquent tongue alone (a subtle admission of the lack of the proper spiritual authority, with which Peter had been able to dispel opposition in *Acts*, as noted above), he restored peace by ordaining one of his own deacons, Herakleides. All sides accepted this and were reconciled. Thus, the machinations that Chrysostom's enemy, Severian of Gabala, took part in during the former's absence from his Constantinopolitan see were a simple result of Chrysostom being forced to spend time in Ephesos maintaining order and peace.<sup>306</sup> Sokrates' other version of these same events unfolds rather differently. Here, the crucial point of contrast is that Chrysostom arrives in Ephesos, where the see is vacant, and though multiple parties have their own favorite candidates, yet there is no unrest or conflict. Instead, the unrest is a direct result of Chrysostom ordaining his own deacon, Herakleides, of whom all parties disapproved, since they considered him unworthy to become bishop—though we are not informed why. This, then, becomes the reason that Chrysostom must stay in Ephesos for a long time—so that he may “restore the peace” that he himself disturbed—allowing Severian of Gabala to steal some of his limelight in Constantinople.<sup>307</sup> These telling shifts in Sokrates' narrative—on the very issues brought against Chrysostom at the infamous, demonized Synod of the Oak (403) that deposed him<sup>308</sup>—are characteristic of the transition period in the early 5<sup>th</sup> century, during which the numerous potentially negative assessments of Chrysostom's episcopacy are either marginalized or rewritten. Sokrates attempts to admit, as if *ex silentio*, that Chrysostom strove to increase his pragmatic authority by virtue of his position as patriarch of the capital, but he did not necessarily possess enough of either ascetic or spiritual authority to quiet opposition. In fact, Chrysostom was attempting to extend his pragmatic authority—i.e., jurisdiction—at a time when this still remained a grey area.<sup>309</sup> Sokrates' awkward attempts to both show this and remain in full support of Chrysostom are evident in the shifts between the two surviving

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<sup>305</sup> Though, regardless of the differences in this particular section of the text, Sokrates nevertheless presents Chrysostom's ordination of a bishop outside his jurisdiction itself as an *ἀνάγκη* (*Historia Ecclesiastica*, 6.11.8).

<sup>306</sup> Sokrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 6.11.9–15 (Version B).

<sup>307</sup> Sokrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 6.11.9–16 (Version A).

<sup>308</sup> A demonization due in no small part to Palladios of Helenopolis' masterful defense of his friend, Chrysostom. For the text, see Malingrey and Leclercq (1988) and Malingrey (1988). For analysis, see Elm (1998), Katos (2011). Cf. also the slightly earlier, but not nearly as widely read, account by (ps.)Martyrios (now believed to be written by a certain Kosmas) in Barnes and Bevan (2013), for which cf. Barry (2016). It is interesting to note that later accounts justifying a saint accuse his/her accusers precisely of failing to recognize the saint's spiritual or ascetic authority. In this way, the hagiographer indirectly, and perhaps unwillingly, hints that while alive the saint may not have possessed all three types of authority to the degree necessary for his/her society to recognize them.

<sup>309</sup> See below, Section III, for discussion.

versions of his text. Sozomenos' and Theodoret's accounts do a better job of dressing Chrysostom's pursuit of further pragmatic authority with the proper saintly credentials of both ascetic and spiritual authority. Chrysostom's 7<sup>th</sup> century hagiographers will solve this problem for Byzantium once and for all.

## II. SOZOMENOS

In his *History* Sozomenos touches upon the same theme of Chrysostom's extra-judicial episcopal management, just as Sokrates did and Theodoret does, as we will see below. However, he also discusses the theme of Chrysostom's stance towards Greek *paideia* and Hellenism more generally, which will be of utmost significance in the 9<sup>th</sup> century iconophile vanguard against Iconoclasm, characterized by Theodore of Stoudios and the *Vita Stephani Iunioris*; both saw the iconoclast movement as an unwelcome intrusion of Hellenism into the Church.<sup>310</sup>

Sozomenos' account runs as follows:

“There was a certain priest in Antioch on the Orontes named John, of noble birth and virtuous way of life, formidable in both speaking and persuasion, surpassing the other orators of his day, as even the Syrian sophist Libanios testified. For it is said that when he was about to die, and his students asked him who was to take his place, he answered: [It should've been] John, if the Christians hadn't stolen him away. In church [John] benefited a great many of his listeners in virtue and made them of like-mind with him concerning the divine. Because, since he lived a divine way of life, he inspired the zeal of his own virtue in his listeners. And he was easily believed that he was not trying to coerce them into believing like him through some art or the power of speech, but that he was explaining the divine books with sincerity, exactly as they truly are. For speech that is adorned by works reasonably appears trustworthy, whereas, without them, [the speech] makes the speaker appear to be a liar even if he puts great effort into his teaching. But in [John] success in

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<sup>310</sup> Cf. Theodore of Stoudios, *Letters*, 195.15–17, 314.12–16, 362.7–9; *Vita Stephani Iunioris*, §10, 27, 29, 63, 75. For Sozomenos generally, see Trompf (1994); Urbainczyk (1997); Van Nuffelen (2010), (2018). The critical scholarship on Chrysostom and Hellenism is unending. See, characteristically, Festugière (1959), Agapitos (1998), Stenger (2016), Gkortsilas (2017).

both [areas] was present, for he both led a temperate and exacting way of life, and he employed clear expressions with brilliance...<sup>311</sup>

First, as noted above, we see Sozomenos contributing to 5<sup>th</sup> century traditions of Libanios overtly recognizing Chrysostom as his greatest student. Nevertheless, Sozomenos simultaneously emphasizes that Chrysostom avoided using sophisticated rhetorical techniques in order to be convincing. For Sozomenos, Chrysostom convinced people because of his sincere exposition of scriptural truths, combined with his virtuous way of life.<sup>312</sup> This was not simply an occasion to employ a practiced *topos* of simplicity. It represents Sozomenos' attempt to address a problem that plagued Byzantine clergy and literati well into the 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> centuries and beyond. The necessity that many Byzantine authors seem to have felt to demonstrate Chrysostom's mastery of Greek *paideia*, on the one hand, while at the same time producing successful oratory—allegedly devoid of Greek sophistry, convincing exclusively because of Chrysostom's moral (Christian) erudition—on the other, was present from the early 5<sup>th</sup> century and continues throughout the entire period under analysis here, and well beyond.

In fact, Isidore of Pelousion attempts his own solution to this same problem, as well, though notably different from Sozomenos'. Among the pseudepigraphic *Letters* attributed to Libanios, only one of the nine has a named addressee. *Letter 9* to John purports to be Libanios' report to Chrysostom of how he [Libanios] read out an imperial panegyric that Chrysostom had composed for emperors Arkadios and Honorius<sup>313</sup> to certain literati, none of whom could be restrained from jumping up, crying out and reacting with amazement at the text's eloquence.

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<sup>311</sup> Sozomenos, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 8.2.2–4: “ἦν δὲ τις ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῇ παρ’ Ὀρόντῃ πρεσβύτερος ὄνομα Ἰωάννης, γένος τῶν εὐπατριδῶν, ἀγαθὸς τὸν βίον, λέγειν τε καὶ πείθειν δεινὸς καὶ τοὺς κατ’ αὐτὸν ὑπερβάλλων ῥήτορας, ὡς καὶ Λιβάνιος ὁ Σύρος σοφιστῆς ἐμαρτύρησεν· ἠνίκα γὰρ ἔμελλε τελευτᾶν, πυνθανομένων τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, τίς ἀντ’ αὐτοῦ ἔσται, λέγεται εἰπεῖν Ἰωάννην, εἰ μὴ Χριστιανοὶ τοῦτον ἐσύλησαν. πλείστους δὲ τῶν αὐτοῦ ἀκουόντων ἐπ’ ἐκκλησίας εἰς ἀρετὴν ὠφέλησε καὶ ὁμόφρονας αὐτῷ περὶ τὸ θεῖον ἐποίησε. θεῖος γὰρ πολιτευόμενος τὸν ἐκ τῆς οἰκειᾶς ἀρετῆς ἐνετίθει ζῆλον τοῖς ἀκροαταῖς· καὶ ἐπιστοῦτο ῥαδίως, ὡς οὐ τέχνην τι καὶ δυνάμει λόγου βιάζεται παραπλήσια δοξάζειν αὐτῷ, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἔχει ἀληθείας εἰλικρινῶς τὰς ἱεράς ἐξηγεῖτο βίβλους. λόγος γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἔργων κοσμούμενος πίστεως ἄξιός εἰκότως φαίνεται, ἄνευ δὲ τούτων εἴρωνα καὶ τῶν οἰκειῶν λόγων ἀποφαίνει τὸν λέγοντα, κἄν σπουδάζῃ διδάσκων. τῷ δὲ κατ’ ἀμφοτέρα εὐδοκιμεῖν προσῆν· ἀγωγῆ μὲν γὰρ βίου σὺφρονι καὶ πολιτείᾳ ἀκριβεῖ ἐχρήτο, φράσει δὲ λόγου σαφεῖ μετὰ λαμπρότητος...”

<sup>312</sup> Sozomenos' efforts to dispel what must have been rumours circulating at the time concerning Chrysostom's tendency towards coercion—witnessed not least by Sozomenos' own use of the verb βιάζεται, if only to negate it—are less than convincing. See critical accounts in Maxwell (2006), Sandwell (2007) and Liebeschuetz (2011), who despite focusing almost exclusively on Chrysostom's activity in Antioch, nevertheless offer insights undoubtedly applicable to his tenure in Constantinople, as well. Mayer (2019) takes an interesting approach, applying methods of cognitive science to an analysis of Chrysostom's efforts to convert Jews and keep all others from being drawn to Jewish religion.

<sup>313</sup> This alone would have been an incredible feat, considering that Libanios died ca. 393, whereas Arkadios did not succeed his father, Theodosios I, until 395. Honorius was crowned emperor of the West in 393, but Chrysostom would hardly have had occasion to compose a panegyric in his honor. This context for Libanios' *Letter* is given by Isidore of Pelousion in his own *Letter 42*, noted below.

Libanios is even made to subtly express his joy that Chrysostom has moved from forensic oratory to preaching in the church—which has given him the opportunity to employ his epideictic technique.<sup>314</sup> The letter is patently a later forgery, but intriguingly, it is included entire in Isidore of Pelousion’s own *Letter 42* to Ophelios Grammatikos. Isidore, apparently either accepting the letter as genuine or perhaps even having composed it himself, is actively engaged in trying to convince Ophelios—himself a teacher of rhetoric as we learn from his title—that Chrysostom surpasses all others in successful Atticizing diction. After all, even Libanios ceded primacy in oratory to Chrysostom.<sup>315</sup> In the context of a letter to a teacher of rhetoric, Isidore could be citing (ps.)Libanios’ text as proof of Christian superiority in the literary sphere; perhaps he is even suggesting the inclusion of Chrysostomic homilies in Ophelios’ teaching materials.<sup>316</sup> Whatever the case may be, Libanios, Demosthenes and even Athens itself—the symbolic heart of Greek *paideia*—will all find their way into Chrysostom’s hagiographic afterlife by the 7<sup>th</sup> century with George of Alexandria’s help, as we will see below, thus setting the stage for Theodore of Stoudios’ appreciation of Chrysostom as a seasoned champion against the damaging effects of Hellenism.

Coming to the issue of Chrysostom’s episcopacy, Sozomenos’ account gives good reason to pause in comparison with both Sokrates’ opinion(s), on the one hand, and Neilos’ and Isidore’s views, on the other. First, one observes that Sozomenos has nothing overtly negative to say about Chrysostom, in stark contrast to Sokrates. Elsewhere in his work, Sozomenos presents what Sokrates had called Chrysostom’s “excessively free speech” in a markedly different light, highlighting how Chrysostom took the injustices of the rich against the poor personally and rebuked them openly in church—sufficient cause for “the many” to rejoice and “the rich and powerful” to lament.<sup>317</sup> Sozomenos often praises Chrysostom for championing the causes of the poor and helpless by using precisely the means that the more elite-minded Sokrates, a lawyer, found inappropriate and extreme. In other words, Sozomenos begins the process of reading greater spiritual authority into Chrysostom’s patriarchate, thus complementing his overt uses of pragmatic authority. However, just like Sokrates’, Sozomenos’ account is not entirely uniform.

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<sup>314</sup> Libanios, *Letters*, 11:571: “Δεξάμενός σου τὸν λόγον τὸν πολὺν καὶ καλὸν, ἀνέγων ἀνδράσι λόγων καὶ αὐτοῖς δημιουργοῖς, ὧν οὐδεὶς ἦν, ὃς οὐκ ἐπήδα τε καὶ ἐβόα, καὶ πάντα ἔδρα τῶν ἐκπεπληγμένων. Ἦσθην οὖν, ὅτι τῷ δεικνῦναι τὴν τέχνην ἐν δικαστηρίοις προστίθης τὰς ἐπιδείξεις...”

<sup>315</sup> *PG* 78:484 (Book 2, *Letter 42*).

<sup>316</sup> Though, in the absence of further contextual evidence, this must remain speculation. The issue of Chrysostom’s relations to Greek *paideia* will resurface in George of Alexandria’s 7<sup>th</sup> century *Vita* (BHG 873), as well as in chapter 3.

<sup>317</sup> Sozomenos, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 8.2.11. This will become one of the most characteristic motifs of Chrysostom’s Byzantine reception, as we shall see in greater detail below.

Sozomenos relates how Chrysostom's first priority as patriarch of Constantinople was to reform the clergy:

“But when John had come to the episcopacy he first strove to reform the lives of the clergy under him; after eagerly investigating their appearances in public, their living quarters and the rest of their conduct, he both checked and corrected them, while some others he expelled from the church. For since he was censorious by nature—and in trials he used to get angry with the unjust—during his episcopacy he gave in even more to these passions. For [his] nature, having taken hold of authority easily drove [his] tongue to rebuke and incited his anger more readily against sinners.”<sup>318</sup>

This is about as close as Sozomenos comes to recognizing a lack of spiritual authority on Chrysostom's part (i.e. presenting his *parrhesia* in a negative light) in a narrative that is otherwise seemingly uniformly eulogistic. Nevertheless, certain cracks in the edifice can still be discerned. The above passage ends with the following comment in passing: “But he didn't just [take care of] his own church, but rather, being noble and generous, he even strove to rectify [problems] everywhere.”<sup>319</sup> Then follows a description of his interventions in the sees of Rome, Alexandria and Antioch. This favorable presentation of Chrysostom's disregard for the *Synodikon of the Second Council* (381) is echoed in the Council of Chalcedon (451).<sup>320</sup> Ironically, as Price and Gaddis note, the text from 381 is read out and thus preserved in the very section of Chalcedon's proceedings (Canon 28) which annul it, namely where Constantinople's jurisdiction is extended to cover Thrace, Asia and Pontica—as well as any other location where the patriarch of Constantinople is invited to get involved. Sozomenos here gives the reason for this as Chrysostom's goodness (*ἀγαθὸς ὢν*); Theodore will adopt a similar strategy, as we will see below. The Council of Chalcedon, however, attributed the increase in the see of Constantinople's prestige and jurisdiction exclusively to its status as an imperial city, therefore on a par with Rome. There are no mythologies of apostolic primacies here, whether

<sup>318</sup> Sozomenos, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 8.3.1–2: “Ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης ἐπὶ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς γενόμενος πρότερον διορθοῦσθαι τοὺς βίους τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν κληρικῶν ἐσπούδαζεν, προόδους τε αὐτῶν καὶ δίκαιαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀγωγὴν πολυπραγμονῶν ἤλεγχε τε καὶ ἐπέστρεψε, τοὺς δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐξώθει· ἐλεγκτικὸς γὰρ ὢν φύσει καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἀδικούντων ἐν δίκῃ ἀγανακτῶν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐν τῇ ἐπισκοπῇ ἐπέδωκε τούτοις τοῖς παθήμασιν. ἢ γὰρ φύσις ἐξουσίας ἐπιλαβομένη ῥαδίως πρὸς ἔλεγχον ἐξῆγε τὴν γλῶσσαν καὶ τὴν ὀργὴν ἐτοιμότερον κατὰ τῶν ἀμαρτανόντων ἐκίνει.”

<sup>319</sup> Sozomenos, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 8.3.2: “οὐ μόνην δὲ τὴν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐκκλησίαν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀγαθὸς καὶ μεγαλόφρων καὶ τὰ πανταχῆ ἐπανορθοῦν ἐσπούδαζεν.”

<sup>320</sup> Price and Gaddis (2005) 3:85–91.

they be of Peter, Paul, Andrew or anyone else.<sup>321</sup> In other words, Chalcedon's decision is based exclusively on pragmatic authority; only later do the Byzantine invocations of spiritual authority make their appearance.<sup>322</sup> The intimate connection between Chalcedon's verdict and Chrysostom's reception is made by Theodoret, who supplements the narrative of pragmatic authority with the necessary spiritual elements in order to make Chrysostom's status as a saintly bishop more evident.

### III. THEODORET

Our third church historian, Theodoret, sets a distinctively different tone from both Sokrates and Sozomenos even from his first mention of Chrysostom: "John the great luminary of the *oikoumene*."<sup>323</sup> From the outset Theodoret signals Chrysostom's spiritual authority; his text is also the first to show signs of the lasting effects of the reconciliation that followed the end of the Johannite schism. Both Sokrates and Sozomenos had named Chrysostom's enemies among church hierarchy. Theodoret, on the other hand, explicitly states that he will not do so, taking into consideration the other virtuous acts of those hierarchs and not wanting to tarnish their reputations.<sup>324</sup> Indeed, he calls Akakios of Berroia "divine" and Leontios of Ankyra "a man radiating with many types of virtues."<sup>325</sup> However, by far the most significant passage of Theodoret's *History* is that where he fashions Chrysostom into a post-451 (soon-to-be ecumenical) patriarch of Constantinople.

He writes suggestively:

"The great John, having received the oars of the church, chastised the injustices done by some with boldness (*παρρησία*); he gave appropriate counsels to the

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<sup>321</sup> See Price and Gaddis (2005) 3:90. Paul becomes an important figure in Constantinople's effort to enlarge its jurisdiction to the detriment of Rome at the Second Council in Nikaia (787), as we will see below in Section F in more detail. For the legend of Andrew's founding of the see of Constantinople, as well as a brief overview of its history, see ODB s.v. *Constantinople, Patriarchate of*, with further bibliography.

<sup>322</sup> See discussion below in Section F.

<sup>323</sup> Theodoret, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 328: "Ἰωάννην τὸν μέγαν τῆς οἰκουμένης φωστῆρα." For Theodoret's contributions to Byzantine hagiography, see especially Krueger (1997). For more general surveys, see Urbainczyk (2002), Papadoyannakis (2004), (2012); Siniossoglou (2008), Vranic (2015). Theodoret's differing approach may be related to his stated desire to pass over controversy in silence; see below.

<sup>324</sup> Or to stir up more trouble in a conflict that is supposed to have been resolved in 438—possible signs of continued tensions surrounding Chrysostom's image? See Theodoret, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 334.

<sup>325</sup> Cf. Sokrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 6.18.20–22 and Sozomenos, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 8.20.3.4, where both Leontios and Akakios are named among Chrysostom's unjust accusers. Nevertheless, though this is all Sokrates has to say about them, Sozomenos also makes favorable mention of Leontios (6.34.9) and Akakios (7.28.1–3, where Sozomenos, on the one hand, lists Akakios' virtues, while on the other hand wondering to himself whether he was really so virtuous or simply made a constant display of virtue so as to be considered such).

emperor and empress; he requested of the clergy to live according to [canon, *lit.* existing (*κειμένωνς*)] law and he prevented any who dared to transgress [these laws] from entering the altar, since—as he said—it was not right for them to enjoy the honor of clergy while not striving to imitate the true clergy’s way of life. Nor did he take this consideration for that city [i.e. Constantinople] alone, but for all of Thrace, divided into six dioceses, and all of Asia, governed by eleven magistrates (*ἀρχόντων*). And, indeed, he even adorned Pontica with these laws; [Pontica] has the same number of dioceses as Asia.”<sup>326</sup>

We observe in Theodoret’s description further developed traces of the hagiographic “reversal” mentioned above. Theodoret first emphasizes Chrysostom’s spiritual authority—noting positive uses of *parrhesia* and spiritual counsels to the emperors (not the excessive chastisement that Sokrates and Sozomenos could not but admit). Only then does Chrysostom’s pragmatic authority enter into play. Theodoret’s account marks a milestone in Chrysostom’s trajectory from controversial patriarch to model saintly bishop. Unlike Sokrates’ and Sozomenos’, Theodoret’s account is uniformly located on the borderline between Chrysostomic panegyric and hagiography.<sup>327</sup>

In presenting his pragmatic authority, Theodoret says that Chrysostom received the oars of simply “the Church”, not the church of/in Constantinople. This is no coincidence, considering the jurisdiction which he ascribes to Chrysostom—reaching from approximately the modern-day Greek-Turkish border in Thrace to cover almost the entire Anatolian peninsula. As we have just seen above with Sozomenos, there are specific reasons that Theodoret attributes these particular regions to Chrysostom’s oversight. Sokrates reports that Chrysostom’s predecessor, Nektarios (381–397), was the first “patriarch” of Constantinople, with a jurisdiction that included the imperial city itself and Thrace. Pontica belonged to Helladios, successor of Basil to the see of Caesaria, while’s Asia’s jurisdiction went to Amphilochios of Iconium and Optimos of Pisidian Antioch.<sup>328</sup> Official reassignment of these

<sup>326</sup> Theodoret, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 329: “Ο δὲ μέγας Ἰωάννης τοὺς τῆς ἐκκλησίας δεξάμενος οἴακας τὰς τε παρά τινων γιγνομένας ἀδικίας σὺν παρρησίᾳ διήλεγχε, καὶ βασιλεῖ καὶ βασιλίδι παρήνει τὰ πρόσφορα, καὶ τοὺς ἱερέας ἡξίου κατὰ τοὺς κειμένους πολιτεύεσθαι νόμους, τοὺς δὲ τούτους παραβαίνειν τολμῶντας ἐπιβαίνειν τῶν ἀνακτόρων ἐκώλυνεν, οὐ χρῆναι λέγων τῆς μὲν τῶν ἱερέων ἀπολαύειν τιμῆς, τὴν δὲ τῶν ἀληθινῶν ἱερέων μὴ ζηλοῦν βιοτήν. καὶ ταύτην ἐποίητο τὴν προμήθειαν οὐ μόνον ἐκείνης τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς Θράκης ἀπάσης (εἰς ἕξ δὲ αὐτῆ ἡγεμονίας διήρηται) καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ὅλης (ὕπὸ ἕνδεκα δὲ καὶ αὐτῆ ἀρχόντων ἰθύνεται). καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὴν Ποντικὴν τούτοις κατεκόσμη τοῖς νόμοις· ἰσαριθμούς δὲ καὶ αὐτῆ τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἔχει τοὺς ἡγουμένους.”

<sup>327</sup> For relations between bishop and emperor, see Brown (1992) and especially Dagron (2003) and Rapp (2005), also Karlin-Hayter (1995) and, most recently, Walker (2019). For monastics, see Brown (1971); Hatlie (2003), (2007); Sterk (2004); after Chalcedon (451), see Wipszycka (2018).

<sup>328</sup> Sokrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 5.8.12–16.

jurisdictions only occurred at the Council of Chalcedon. However, Price and Gaddis note that, “Bishops from John Chrysostom (398–404) onwards attempted to enforce a Constantinopolitan hegemony over Asia Minor, claiming the right to ordain metropolitans [which Chrysostom did, despite common opposition to his candidate at Ephesos, as noted above]<sup>329</sup> and intervene in local affairs...”<sup>330</sup> Consequently, during Chrysostom’s time as archbishop of Constantinople (398–404) his official jurisdiction would likely not have far exceeded the bounds of the city of Constantinople itself—as evidenced by Theodoret’s own comment, echoing Sozomenos’: “Nor did he take consideration for that city alone.”<sup>331</sup> However, Sozomenos’ and Theodoret’s comments ascribe to Chrysostom precisely the increase in jurisdiction that was later established by the Council of Chalcedon’s (451) controversial 28<sup>th</sup> canon: “...we resolve that...the most sacred archbishop of imperial Constantinople New Rome is to enjoy the same privileges of honour [i.e. as Old/Senior Rome], and that he is to have power, on the basis of his authority, to consecrate the metropolitans in the dioceses of Asiana, Pontica and Thrace...”<sup>332</sup> Theodoret died within a few years after the Council of Chalcedon; therefore, it seems likely that he revised the text of his *History* to reflect the evolution of the see of Constantinople—and of Chrysostom himself, who was officially recognized at Chalcedon as a theological authority<sup>333</sup>—thus anachronistically re-fashioning him into a figure that would eventually become Ecumenical patriarch of Constantinople.<sup>334</sup> Even more crucially, fast-forwarding to the 8<sup>th</sup> century, the empire over which emperor Leo III (717–741) reigned is almost exactly coterminous with this new Constantinopolitan jurisdiction established at Chalcedon.<sup>335</sup> In effect, the Council of Chalcedon set developments into motion that—due to a confluence of factors—would eventually render the patriarch of Constantinople effectively the patriarch of the Byzantine

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<sup>329</sup> Cf. Sokrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 6.11.28 (Version A).

<sup>330</sup> Price and Gaddis (2005), 1:14.

<sup>331</sup> Pinpointing Constantinople’s precise jurisdiction before the Council of Chalcedon is anything but straightforward. Canons 4 and 5 of the Council of Nikaia (325), as well as the *Synodikon of the Second Council* (381) both sought to clarify, and limit, episcopal jurisdictions, though Constantinople had not yet begun to play the central role that it would come to assume—indicatively—following the milestone that was Chrysostom’s tenure. Cf. ODLA s.v. *Constantinople, See of*; ODB s.v. *Ecumenical Patriarch*; Dagron (1974) 454–487. My thanks to Richard Flower for his helpful advice and suggestions on this.

<sup>332</sup> Price and Gaddis (2005) 3:90.

<sup>333</sup> Price and Gaddis (2005) 3:28, 118, 162.

<sup>334</sup> Cf. ODB s.v. *Ecumenical Patriarch*, with references. This title is being used as early as the 6<sup>th</sup> century by patriarch Menas. Nevertheless, even over two hundred years later, patriarch Tarasios (784–806) encounters opposition from Pope Hadrian I (772–795) over the title and jurisdiction of the see of Constantinople. Cf. Ludwig and Pratsch (1999) 57–108, on Tarasios generally, specifically 88, 96–97 here; Haldon and Brubaker (2011) 273, nn. 105–106

<sup>335</sup> Not included are Rome, the Exarchate of Ravenna and Sardinia, Sicily, and parts of modern-day Greece. Cf. Haldon (2010) 70.

empire itself. Theodoret in the mid-5<sup>th</sup> century strives to retroactively center this development squarely on the shoulders of Chrysostom's spiritual initiatives.

#### **IV. 7<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY HAGIOGRAPHIES—THEODORE OF TRIMYTHOUS & GEORGE OF ALEXANDRIA**

In the 7<sup>th</sup> century, purely hagiographic accounts begin to overtake the more “historical” ones—i.e. those that focus more on human rather than supernatural factors.<sup>336</sup> The pair of Theodore of Trimythous and George of Alexandria is indicative in this sense. Theodore composed a *Vita* of Chrysostom (BHG 872 and its shorter recensions, 872d–e) that in many ways is transitional from the church histories examined above to George of Alexandria's extensive text, which is focused intently on the supernatural.<sup>337</sup> Theodore's *Vita*—in both its longer and shorter recensions—is based exclusively on the political aspects of the Johannite schism, leaving miracles out entirely.<sup>338</sup> Indeed, 87.5% of the text is focused on Chrysostom's conflict with Theophilus of Alexandria, whereas monasticism plays only the smallest of roles—comparable to what it played in Palladios' *Dialogue*, whom Theodore explicitly names as his model. He then abridges Palladios' already concise exposition of Chrysostom's monastic years—i.e. his ascetic credentials.<sup>339</sup> To put this into context, one must compare Theodore's re-writing of Palladios with George of Alexandria's. In George's extensive *Vita*, Chrysostom's six monastic years, based loosely on Palladios, occupy roughly 16% of the entire text. Theodore devoted 1.1% of his text to Chrysostom's monasticism and Palladios 0.3% of his.

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<sup>336</sup> Cf. Baur (1907) 45: “Georges d'Alexandrie inaugure une nouvelle phase dans les biographies de Chrysostome...George n'est plus son historiographe, mais son hagiographe.”

<sup>337</sup> For the text of both George and Theodore's respective compositions, see Halkin (1977). Cf. John Klimax's assertion that fighting demons and working miracles is the express prerogative of monks (*Scala paradisi*, PG 88:657b): “τίς γάρ παρ' ἐκείνοις [sc. τοῖς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ] θαύματα πεποίηκε πόποτε; τίς νεκρούς ἤγειρε; τίς δαίμονας ἀπήλασεν; Οὐδεὶς. Ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα μοναχῶν τὰ ἔπαθλα, ἃ ὁ κόσμος χωρῆσαι οὐ δύναται. Εἰ γὰρ ἠδύνατο, περὶ τί ἢ ἄσκησις, ἤγουν ἢ ἀναχώρησις;” See also Hatlie (2007) 250. Notably, Chrysostom does not begin to work miracles until George of Alexandria greatly expands the narrative of his monastic years to include them.

<sup>338</sup> In other words, there are no miracles attributed to Chrysostom himself. He does report a story common to 7<sup>th</sup> century sources, the vision of Adelphios, which will be examined in greater detail below. However, this story, which is only included in the longer recension of the text, takes place after Chrysostom's death; it is not a miracle worked by him.

<sup>339</sup> Theodore of Trimythous, *Vita*, 9. Intriguingly, Theodore makes sure to cite Palladios' own ascetic credentials in naming him as a source of information: “Οὗτος [sc. Palladios] πρῶτον μὲν τὴν ἔρημον οἰκήσας ἐπὶ ἱκανὰ ἔτη κατηξιώθη καὶ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἐν Βιθυνίᾳ...ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς κοινωνικὸς ὢν Ἰωάννου κατάκλειστος γέγονεν ἐνδεκαμηνιαῖον χρόνον ἐν οἰκίσκῳ φοβερῷ.” Cf. Palladios, *Dialogus*, 28–29. Palladios' account of Chrysostom's monasticism takes up a total of 14 lines of text, and even undermines the very ascetical nature of Chrysostom's struggle, highlighting that he was victorious over his passions, as Palladios puts it, “οὐ πόνῳ τοσοῦτον, ὅσον λόγῳ.” For critical accounts, see Illert (2000); Katos (2011).

The exponential surge in the significance of Chrysostom's monastic years—during which his impeccable and unimpeachable ascetic and spiritual authority will be laid out in great detail—is likely not all due to George's own invention. Nevertheless, despite the fact that his sources for the vast majority of episodes remain unknown, the content of the episodes makes their aim evident. We find reworkings of Christ's parables from Gospel accounts—where Chrysostom plays the protagonist—as well as Chrysostom working miraculous healings based on those of Christ in the Gospels, thus guaranteeing Chrysostom's spiritual authority. The issue of Chrysostom's ascetic authority, made more problematic since one of his accusers at the Synod of the Oak was a well-known monastic leader in Constantinople, is addressed by elaborating on his years as a monastic. Finally, perhaps the most important category of episode is that of the divine visitations that Chrysostom receives from various saints, marking out crucial junctures in his episcopal development. These divine visitations serve to provide a spiritual veneer behind which one may observe historical traces of Chrysostom's developing pragmatic authority as a bishop. Indicative examples from each type of episode will be examined to demonstrate their significance both within their immediate 7<sup>th</sup> century context and for the later centuries of the middle Byzantine period, as well.

### **1. CHRYSOSTOM AS CHRIST IN GOSPEL PARABLES/HEALING**

It is a common motif in hagiography for the protagonist to be re-fashioned as a Christ-like figure, according to Gospel accounts; Chrysostom's *Vita* by George of Alexandria is no exception.<sup>340</sup> The Gospels' role in the *Vita* is multifaceted, ranging from well-placed quotations to adaptations of entire episodes. For example, since Chrysostom was of noble birth, his parents insisted that he not walk to his rhetorical lessons, but ride on horseback followed by an appropriate number of attendants. Chrysostom refuses out of humility, and having convinced his parents that he is correct, they are amazed by his wisdom; everyone then learns of the episode and their response mirrors that of the villagers who witnessed the miraculous naming of John the Baptist: “So what then will come from him?”<sup>341</sup> Chrysostom's humility is further

<sup>340</sup> On George's Chrysostomic *Vita*, see Baur (1907) 45–46, (1927); on issues of authorship and borrowing, see still the detailed, concise exposition in Norton (1925); Hansack (1984); Leclercq (1982); Holloway (2007) and for an example of Byzantine borrowings from this *Vita* in action, see Antonopoulou (2016). For a brief outline of the *Vita* see Photios, *Bibliothēke*, Codex 96; cf. Antonopoulou (2016) 4–7.

<sup>341</sup> George of Alexandria, *Vita*, 76: “Τί ἄρα μέλλει ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἔσεσθαι.” Cf. Lk. 1:66: “τί ἄρα τὸ παιδίον τοῦτο ἔσται; καὶ γὰρ χεὶρ κυρίου ἦν μετ' αὐτοῦ.” This motif recurs later when Chrysostom returns to Antioch to be ordained. Cf. George of Alexandria, *Vita*, 113. Despite George of Alexandria's insistence that he is adding nothing of his own to the *Vita* and that he will begin from Chrysostom's youth as his sources did (George of Alexandria, *Vita*, 72–73), there is no known source on Chrysostom predating George's *Vita* that deals in any detail with

stressed—as noted above, there was a 5<sup>th</sup> century tradition of ascribing arrogance and excessive free speech to Chrysostom, so his later hagiographers had their work cut out for them—in his re-enactment of Christ’s command concerning seating arrangements:

“When you are invited by someone to attend a wedding, do not recline at the first couch, lest someone more noble than you has [also] been invited, and when the one who invited both you and him comes, he will say to you, ‘give him this place,’ and you will then take the last place in shame. But when you are invited, go and recline in the last place, so that when he who invited you comes, he will say to you, ‘friend move closer up.’ Then you will gain renown before all of your fellow guests. For each one who exalts himself will be humbled, and he who humbles himself will be exalted.”<sup>342</sup>

During Chrysostom’s entirely fictitious stay in Athens to complete his rhetorical education, he is invited by the governor to an assembly. He refuses the carriage the governor sends to bring him, preferring to come on foot, and when he arrives, the governor is amazed at Chrysostom’s humility and invites him to take a seat next to him. Chrysostom refuses, choosing to sit in the lowest seat, furthest away. The people plead with him, though, and after much effort manage to convince him to sit in the middle of the assembly.<sup>343</sup> Later, the power of Chrysostom’s virtue, his spiritual authority, is revealed in a series of miracles. He heals a high-ranking officer of Antioch, Archelaos, of leprosy. In asking to be healed, Archelaos says that he knows God will not ignore Chrysostom asking something of him<sup>344</sup>—a statement that both testifies to the bishop’s proper role as intercessor with the representative(s) of power, as well

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Chrysostom’s youth. Palladios and Sokrates, whom George names as sources, offer only a few lines of scant information. For the role of NT quotes in hagiographies, see Krueger (2016).

<sup>342</sup> Lk. 14:8–11: “ὅταν κληθῆς ὑπό τινος εἰς γάμους, μὴ κατακλιθῆς εἰς τὴν πρωτοκλισίαν, μήποτε ἐντιμότερός σου ἢ κεκλημένος ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔλθῶν ὁ σὲ καὶ αὐτὸν καλέσας ἐρεῖ σοι· δὸς τούτῳ τόπον, καὶ τότε ἄρξῃ μετὰ αἰσχύνῃς τὸν ἔσχατον τόπον κατέχειν. ἀλλ’ ὅταν κληθῆς, πορευθεὶς ἀνάπεσε εἰς τὸν ἔσχατον τόπον, ἵνα ὅταν ἔλθῃ ὁ κεκληκός σε ἐρεῖ σοι· φίλε, προσανάβηθι ἀνώτερον· τότε ἔσται σοι δόξα ἐνώπιον πάντων τῶν συνανακειμένων σοι. ὅτι πᾶς ὁ ὑψῶν ἑαυτὸν ταπεινωθήσεται, καὶ ὁ ταπεινῶν ἑαυτὸν ὑψωθήσεται.”

<sup>343</sup> George of Alexandria, *Vita*, 79–80: “Ἐν μιᾷ οὖν συνηθροισμένων πάντων καὶ τοῦ ἐπάρχου τῆς πόλεως ἐν τινι προφανεστάτῳ τόπῳ τῆς πόλεως [George’s vague topographical references to “Athens”, among other things, reveal the lack of this episode’s historicity] ἐν ἐπισήμῳ ἡμέρᾳ, ἀποστέλλει ὁ ἑπαρχος πρὸς τὸν μακάριον Ἰωάννην ὄχημα, ὅπως ἐπιβὰς αὐτῷ παραγένηται πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ· ἤκουεν γὰρ περὶ τῆς ἐνούσης αὐτῷ σοφίας καὶ ἐπεθύμει αὐτόπτης αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι [cf. Lk. 23:8]. Ὁ δὲ μακάριος Ἰωάννης τοῦτο μὲν παρητήσατο ποιῆσαι. Ὁ δὲ μακάριος Ἰωάννης οὐκ ἀνέμεινε, ἀλλὰ παραυτὰ παραγέγονεν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ. Προτραπείς οὖν παρὰ τοῦ ἐπάρχου συγκαθῆσαι αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ, ἀπελθὼν εἰς τὸν κατώτερον πάντων τόπον ἐκάθισεν· οἱ δὲ παρεβιάζοντο ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν καθῆσαι· καὶ μόλις ποτὲ μετὰ πολλῶν παρακλήσεων ἠδυνήθησαν πείσαι αὐτὸν καταδέξασθαι τοῦτο ποιῆσαι.”

<sup>344</sup> George of Alexandria, *Vita*, 99: “Ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἀρχέλαος εἶπεν· Τίμιε, φησὶν, πάτερ, παρακάλεσον τὸν θεὸν ἀφελεῖν τὴν νόσον ταύτην ἐξ ἐμοῦ. Οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι οὐ παρακούει σου ὁ θεὸς εἰς ὃ ἂν αἰτήσῃ αὐτῷ.”

as a paraphrase of Martha's response to Jesus just before he raises Lazarus from the dead: "But even now I know that as many things as you ask of God he will give you."<sup>345</sup> Chrysostom also heals a woman with an issue of blood, where the connection with Christ is made as explicit as possible. The woman is made to tell her husband to take her to Chrysostom for healing, since:

"Even if I am unworthy to gaze upon his angelic face, yet I know that he will not turn away from or spurn me, a sinner, as he imitates the common master and lord of all [one of Chrysostom's own beloved phrases], who did not reject the woman who suffered like me from an issue of blood, but healed her by the touch of the hem of his garment."<sup>346</sup>

After Chrysostom heals and converts her, the crowds return to their homes, rejoicing and proclaiming God's benefactions and wonders that he wrought through his servant John—significantly, all of these benefactions (εὐεργεσία), a primary function of both late-antique *curiales* and Christian metropolitans, take place before Chrysostom's episcopacy.<sup>347</sup> His spiritual authority, therefore, becomes a central factor in his ordination as patriarch of Constantinople; this allows for his enemies in the capital to be freely demonized, since they dared to oppose God's chosen vessel, a point expressed succinctly as Chrysostom is made to contemplate a telling verse from the Psalms: "I searched out your commandments and I spoke concerning your testimonies before kings and was not ashamed. And I studied your commandments, which I dearly loved."<sup>348</sup> Chrysostom is being prepared for his controversial episcopacy, and George's readers, or listeners, are being prepared to receive their saint.

Three final episodes round off the presentation of Chrysostom's spiritual authority as a Christ-like figure. First, during his monastic years, a certain Syrian monk, Hesychios, whom Chrysostom takes as a model of asceticism, witnesses one night a vision granted to

<sup>345</sup> Jn. 11:22: "ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν οἶδα ὅτι ὅσα ἂν αἰτήσῃ τὸν θεὸν δώσει σοι ὁ θεός."

<sup>346</sup> George of Alexandria, *Vita*, 103: "Εἰ καὶ ἀναξία εἰμὶ θεάσασθαι τὸν ἀγγελικὸν αὐτοῦ χαρακτήρα, ἀλλ' οἶδα ὅτι οὐ μὴ με ἀπόσηται οὐδὲ βδελύξεται τὴν ἀμαρτωλὴν, μιμούμενος τὸν κοινὸν πάντων δεσπότην καὶ κύριον μὴ ἀπορρίψαντα τὴν ὁμοιοπαθῆ μου αἰμόρροον γυναῖκα, ἀλλὰ ταύτην ἰασάμενον τῇ ἀφῆ τῶ κρασπέδου αὐτοῦ." The reference is to Matt. 9:20–22: "Καὶ γυνὴ αἰμορροοῦσα δώδεκα ἔτη προσελθοῦσα ὀπισθεν ἤψατο τοῦ κρασπέδου τοῦ ἱματίου αὐτοῦ· ἔλεγεν γὰρ ἐν ἑαυτῇ· ἐὰν μόνον ἄψωμαι τοῦ ἱματίου αὐτοῦ σωθήσομαι. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς στραφεὶς καὶ ἰδὼν αὐτὴν εἶπεν· θάρσει, θύγατερ· ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε. καὶ ἐσώθη ἡ γυνὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας ἐκείνης."

<sup>347</sup> George of Alexandria, *Vita*, 104: "Καὶ εὐχαρίστησαν ἅπαντες τῷ κυρίῳ οἱ συμπαρόντες αὐτῇ καὶ ὑπέστρεψαν ἐν χαρᾷ μεγάλῃ εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτῶν κηρύττοντες τὰς εὐεργεσίας καὶ τὰ θαυμάσια τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ γενόμενα εἰς αὐτοὺς διὰ τοῦ ὀσίου αὐτοῦ δούλου Ἰωάννου."

<sup>348</sup> Ps. 118:45–47: "Τὰς ἐντολάς σου ἐξεζήτησα καὶ ἐλάλουν ἐν τοῖς μαρτυρίοις σου ἐναντίον βασιλέων καὶ οὐκ ἠσχυνόμην· καὶ ἐμελέτων ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς σου αἷς ἠγάπησα σφόδρα." Cf. George of Alexandria, *Vita*, 97.

Chrysostom.<sup>349</sup> The apostles Peter and John visit him, the former bringing his keys and the latter a book.<sup>350</sup> Each addresses Chrysostom as a new Daniel—in other words, God’s messenger in a foreign, pagan land. Constantinople is surely implied here.<sup>351</sup> Each then gives his gift to Chrysostom, who protests in vain that he is unworthy to receive such honors. John explains that God is granting to Chrysostom the grace to know the truth, to preach it brilliantly and to silence the mouths of heretics: Jews, Greeks and all others. Peter then gives his keys to Chrysostom, revealing that through them Chrysostom now receives the powers to bind and loose—i.e. one of the symbols of the bishop’s pragmatic authority *par excellence*.<sup>352</sup> In this way, he is “ordained” from on high and then by the church on earth. In the next telling episode, before Chrysostom’s earthly ordination to the priesthood by Flavian takes place, an angel comes to announce it to him; the angel compares Chrysostom to Moses, reminding him of the passage from *Exodus*, where God tells Moses: “Behold, I have given you as a god to Pharaoh...”<sup>353</sup> The parallels between Moses’ constant *parrhesia* before Pharaoh—and God hardening Pharaoh’s heart so that his glory might be made manifest through his defeat of Pharaoh—could not have been but immediately understood in close connection to Chrysostom’s life by many Byzantines.<sup>354</sup> During his actual ordination, a golden dove comes to rest on his head, just as the Holy Spirit, in the form of a white dove, appeared above Christ’s head as John the Baptist baptized him; Flavian and all present are amazed at the miracle.<sup>355</sup> Finally, Chrysostom’s spiritual authority is confirmed also after his ordination to the see of Constantinople. A certain member of the imperial bureaucracy is slandered to the emperor and loses his position. He turns to Chrysostom for help to regain it; Chrysostom’s assistant, Proklos, tries to announce the man’s presence, but when he looks into the patriarch’s study, he realizes that Chrysostom is already speaking with someone.<sup>356</sup> No one ever leaves the room, so Proklos never announces the man, and he goes away in sorrow.<sup>357</sup> This same pattern continues numerous days, until finally Chrysostom asks Proklos why the man who needed help never

<sup>349</sup> For the episode see George of Alexandria, *Vita*, 93–97. Cf. Mitchell (2000) 34–36; Holloway (2007).

<sup>350</sup> Literally paper (χάρτης). Cf. PGL s.v. χάρτης, where John of Damascus uses the word figuratively to refer to a confession of faith.

<sup>351</sup> Though not in contradistinction to Antioch, but to the monastery itself. For the significance of spatiality in Chrysostom’s thought cf. Hartney (2004); Shephardson (2014); Stenger (2015), (2016).

<sup>352</sup> Leo VI will make certain changes to Peter’s words appropriate to his own context, further developing the seeds of rivalry with Rome already present in this passage. Cf. Leo VI, *Homilia* 38, ll. 305–309 and ch. 2 for analysis.

<sup>353</sup> Ex. 7:1: “Καὶ εἶπε Κύριος πρὸς Μωϋσῆν, λέγων, ἰδοὺ δέδωκά σε θεὸν Φαραώ...”

<sup>354</sup> Ex. 14:4.

<sup>355</sup> Lk. 3:22.

<sup>356</sup> Halkin (1977) 143 wonders whether this Proklos is the same as the patriarch of Constantinople responsible for bringing Chrysostom’s relics back to the capital from Comana Pontica. He cites Bessarion’s authority. Cf. Constatas (1994).

<sup>357</sup> George of Alexandria, *Vita*, 142–148.

came. Proklos, eventually realizing what had happened, points to an icon of Paul above Chrysostom's desk and explains the whole event.<sup>358</sup> Notably, God had allowed this miracle to take place in response to Chrysostom's own request that God demonstrate whether he approved of Chrysostom's exegesis of the Bible or not.<sup>359</sup> Thus, Proklos' vision of Paul whispering the interpretation into Chrysostom's ear is the seal of his spiritual authority, the depiction of which becomes a prominent motif in middle Byzantine Chrysostomic manuscripts.<sup>360</sup>

## 2. CHRYSOSTOM THE ASCETIC

The earliest extant account of Chrysostom's life following upon his death in 407 is the so-called *Funerary Speech* attributed to (ps.)Martyrios. One of the text's striking features is its utter silence concerning asceticism in Chrysostom's life. Palladios, writing soon after (ps.)Martyrios, initially devotes a few lines to the topic of his stay among the monks. On the other hand, he makes an overtly forced effort to defend Chrysostom's habit of eating alone during his tenure as patriarch, an otherwise unacceptably anti-social behavior. In the *Dialogue*, however, it is not the bishop (meant to represent Palladios) who describes the behavior as ascetic; rather, the bishop's interlocutor, a young Roman deacon, does this. The bishop makes every effort to direct attention away from the topic altogether, citing various NT passages that devalue the significance of eating habits in relation to sanctity.<sup>361</sup> Sokrates highlights that Chrysostom's supporters were describing his potentially offensive behaviors as ascetic practices in order to refute criticism arising from the Johannite schism.<sup>362</sup> Sozomenos, on the other hand, despite recognizing a certain connection between moderation in eating and sanctity generally,<sup>363</sup> makes no mention at all of Chrysostom's habit of eating alone, nor of his years among the monks. His only mention of Chrysostom's ascetic credentials refers to his involvement with the *asketerion* run by Meletios of Antioch's right-hand man, Diodoros, and an otherwise unknown Karterios.<sup>364</sup> Surprisingly, Theodoret makes no mention of Chrysostom's ascetic practices whatsoever. Theodore of Trimythous, who had focused almost

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<sup>358</sup> Cf. Brubaker and Haldon (2011) 62 for icons being described, in the period before the Council of Constantinople III (680–681) as aids in identifying saintly figures from visions.

<sup>359</sup> George of Alexandria, *Vita*, 143.

<sup>360</sup> Krause (2004) 185–193, (2008). Cf. Mitchell (2000) 488–500. Niketas Stethatos turns to this image and adapts it to demonstrate Symeon the New Theologian's spiritual authority in his *Vita* of Symeon. See Niketas Stethatos, *Life of Saint Symeon the New Theologian* 150.

<sup>361</sup> Palladios, *Dialogus*, 28–29, 69–71.

<sup>362</sup> Sokrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 6.4.

<sup>363</sup> Sozomenos, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 6.33.1–3.

<sup>364</sup> Sozomenos, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 8.2.1–12. Cf. Kelly (1995) 18 and generally 14–35.

exclusively on Chrysostom's conflicts with Theophilus and Eudoxia and used Palladios as his main source, gives but a couple of lines to the topic of asceticism. This spotty record means that in the 5<sup>th</sup> century ascetic authority was not being ascribed to Chrysostom. Even further, if Theodore of Trimythous is still not highlighting it in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, then one concludes that the attribution of ascetic authority was still considered an optional element of Chrysostom's Byzantine *Nachleben*.<sup>365</sup> Aside from the obvious problem this creates, further complications are entailed in the fact that one of Chrysostom's most prominent accusers at the Synod of the Oak (403) was a monk, hailed as the father of Constantinopolitan monasticism, Isaakios the Syrian.<sup>366</sup>

Sources on Isaakios are sparse, and yet Palladios' expression summarizes succinctly the heart of the problem: "...Isaakios, the little Syrian, a street urchin, leader of pseudo-monks, who always occupied himself with slandering bishops..."<sup>367</sup> Photios corroborates Palladios' assertion that Isaakios was among Chrysostom's accusers in his summary of the *Acts of the Synod of the Oak*, which deposed Chrysostom.<sup>368</sup> Nevertheless, Isaakios had been instrumental in the founding of one of Constantinople's most successful and longevous monasteries, the Dalmatou monastery, which was in operation from the 4<sup>th</sup> century to at least the 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>369</sup> It became a cornerstone of Byzantine orthodoxy in the 5<sup>th</sup> century—being given a supervisory role over the capital's other monasteries—and was zealously iconophile in the

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<sup>365</sup> Dating Theodore's and George of Alexandria's texts is a nearly impossible task—one that will likely never receive a satisfactory solution, especially given the total lack of concrete, contemporary historical references in the texts themselves. Norton (1925) argued against Baur (1907) 44–45 that Theodore composed first and that George used him as a source; he asserts that it is the other way around. Halkin (1977) 7 states that Theodore seems to have lived in the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century—regardless of the fact that the text he prints from ms. Mosq. gr. 161 (11<sup>th</sup> century) is later than the 7<sup>th</sup> century, but he does not specify when precisely. The abbreviated recension of Theodore's *Vita* is taken from ms. Vat. gr. 1669 (ca. 1000), copied at the Stoudios monastery (*ibid.*, 45). For George of Alexandria, Halkin notes that he has taken the text from mss. Vindob. hist. gr. 5 (10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> centuries) and Iviron 263 (15<sup>th</sup> century), though the text itself, he argues, seems to go back to the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. Unfortunately, he does not explain how he reached this conclusion, nor does he refer to previous scholarship on the issue (*ibid.*, 69–70). In any case Norton (1925) 69 claimed that Baur was alone in viewing Theodore's as the older *Vita*; given that Halkin agrees with Norton, this is likely to remain the "consensus" to the present day.

<sup>366</sup> ODLA s.v. *Isaac the monk*, though his opposition to Chrysostom is not mentioned here. Cf. Hatlie (2003) 275, (2007) 67–69.

<sup>367</sup> Palladios, *Dialogus*, 34: "...Ἰσαακίῳ Συρίσκῳ, περιτρίμματι, ἀφηγητῇ ψευδομοναζόντων, ἐν κακολογίαις κατατριβέντι πάντοτε κατὰ ἐπισκόπων..."

<sup>368</sup> Photios, *Bibliothēke*, Codex 59.18b.33–39. Photios mistakenly identifies Isaakios as a bishop. Cf. Barnes and Bevan (2013) 157 n. 24. Incidentally, Mayer (2015) believes that Palladios' *Dialogue* was nearly forgotten within a few centuries of its composition, "perhaps because of the change in Byzantine literary tastes that occurred in the eighth century." It is unclear what change she could be referring to and what possible connection it could have to Palladios' *Dialogue*. It is also unclear whether she is aware of the *Dialogue*'s popularity in the 9<sup>th</sup> century. Photios, George the Monk and Theophanes Confessor all appear to have read Palladios' account. Moreover, despite her belief that the *Dialogue* is preserved in "very few manuscripts", the text is known to be preserved in 15 manuscripts, many of them from the 9<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> centuries, certainly not a number that qualifies as "very few" when one looks at how many manuscripts tend to preserve the texts that we study today.

<sup>369</sup> Hatlie (2003) 275.

9<sup>th</sup>.<sup>370</sup> Theoretically, Chrysostom's lack of credible ascetic credentials, combined with his condemnation by the capital's 'father of monasticism', could have eventually spelled the doom of his orthodox afterlife, as it did for Nestorios when he came up against Isaakios' successor, Dalmatos.<sup>371</sup>

The first mitigating factor in all this was Chrysostom's own oeuvre. He had repeatedly held up monks as an example, even explicitly recommending the faithful to study Athanasios' *Vita* of Antony.<sup>372</sup> Moreover, he composed numerous treatises promoting monasticism and ascetic ideals, as noted above;<sup>373</sup> consequently, there was little difficulty for his later hagiographers to develop his ascetic authority. In the immediate context of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, once again the Council of Chalcedon (451) proves a defining moment. With its Canon 4 it officially brought monks under the pragmatic authority of the local bishop. Daniel Caner has argued that this was not only a move directed unambiguously at the monastic population of Constantinople, but indeed, it even struck a fault line between the 'orthodox' monks already informally obedient to the patriarch's will and the other more rebellious and riotous monastics. That the Council was called to condemn a heresy preached by Eutyches, Constantinople's leading monastic at the time, is indicative of the patriarchate's concern over its two primates recently deposed at monastic instigation: Chrysostom and Nestorios.<sup>374</sup>

To this combination of developments, George of Alexandria contributed an impeccably rigorous ascetic regime to Chrysostom's hagiography. First, once his mother dies, Chrysostom distributes his inheritance to the churches and monasteries of the area and adopts a quasi-monastic lifestyle while remaining in the city. However, his conscience would not let him remain satisfied with this. Consequently, he leaves the city behind—despite the fact that his mind was impregnable to its wiles—and enrolls himself as a citizen of the Heavenly Jerusalem,<sup>375</sup> namely the monasteries of the surrounding area.<sup>376</sup> With this introduction, George subtly reworks Palladios' original text, depicting Chrysostom as a monastic, not in order *to learn* asceticism, but rather *to teach* it to the anchorites themselves.<sup>377</sup> Chrysostom's

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<sup>370</sup> ODB s.v. *Dalmatou Monastery*.

<sup>371</sup> Hatlie (2007) 69.

<sup>372</sup> Chrysostom, *In Matthaëum Homilia* 8, 128b–c.

<sup>373</sup> See above, p. 111.

<sup>374</sup> Caner (2002) 206–213, especially 210 for Nestorios' attribution of "quasi-episcopal power" to Eutyches; in other words, Eutyches was on track to add a bishop's pragmatic authority to the recognized ascetic authority he already possessed as a monk, a potentially threatening combination viewed from a bishop's perspective.

<sup>375</sup> Cf. Gal. 4:26: "ἡ δὲ ἄνω Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐλευθέρα ἐστίν, ἣτις ἐστὶν μήτηρ ἡμῶν." For the significance of the concept of 'Heavenly Jerusalem' for Constantinople's ideology as an imperial capital, see ch. 1.

<sup>376</sup> Halkin (1977) 91–92.

<sup>377</sup> Palladios, *Dialogus*, 28. Cf. Theodore of Trimythous' version in his *Vita*, 9. Of course, Chrysostom himself had laid some, though not all, of the groundwork for this narrative in his *On the Priesthood* 1.2.

acknowledgement of monastic superiority to city-based asceticism is recognized and rewarded by his fellow monks, who almost immediately demand that he become their abbot. Naturally, his humility will not allow him to accept, but they insist. Both parties reach a compromise in which Chrysostom essentially ends up giving catecheses to the gathered monks on the model of Dorotheos of Gaza—a model, significantly, which Theodore of Stoudios openly draws from and promotes in his own reforms of Constantinopolitan monasticism in the late 8<sup>th</sup>–early 9<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>378</sup> Thus, the connection between the spiritual authority George attributes to Chrysostom and his newly-found ascetic authority is established in his quasi-catecheses: “For he [Chrysostom] had dwelling in him the Holy Spirit, welling up divine words in his mouth.”<sup>379</sup> In this way, George adroitly solves the issue presented by almost every previous source’s dearth of an undeniably respectable ascetic pedigree for Chrysostom. By shifting the locus of his reception of the spiritual authority to interpret the Bible and deliver spiritually beneficial *logoi* from Antioch during his diaconate (*pace* Palladios, Sokrates, Sozomenos and Theodoret) to the monastery, George makes Chrysostom into an abbot first and only secondarily a deacon soon-to-be-bishop. This takes pressure off of Chrysostom’s later conflicts with Isaakios; they cannot be power struggles between a hierarch and a leading monastic in an age of ambiguous jurisdiction between the two. After all, if Chrysostom himself was an abbot, in all but name, at the demands of his monastery—long before being ordained even to the diaconate—then there could have been no reason for any power struggle between him and the capital’s monastics. Isaakios’ 9<sup>th</sup> century hagiographical encomium, written by Michael the Monk (BHG 956d), testifies that by at least that time the Dalmatou monastery had no interest in remembering Isaakios’ role in Chrysostom’s deposition. Not only is it omitted—whereas Dalmatos’ battle with Nestorios is mentioned—but Chrysostom is named only in passing, among the orthodox patriarchs from Nektarios (381–398) to Sisinnios (426–427), in other words the blameless predecessors of the heretical Nestorios. The *encomium* subtly reveals the results of Chrysostom’s acquisition of ascetic authority gained during the 5<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>380</sup>

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<sup>378</sup> George of Alexandria, *Vita*, 93: “Ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τούτων παραπλήσια διδάσκων [Chrysostom] ἀεννάως...γενόμενος στήλη διδασκαλίας πᾶσι τοῖς Ἀντιοχέων χώρας...μετὰ δέους καὶ πολλῆς αἰδοῦς ἤρχοντο πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐ μόνον ἀσκηταί, ἀλλὰ καὶ λαϊκοὶ καὶ κληρικοὶ καὶ ἀξιωματικοί, ἀκοῦσαι τῆς σοφίας καὶ τῆς νοουθεσίας αὐτοῦ.” For Theodore’s program, see ch. 1.

<sup>379</sup> George of Alexandria, *Vita*, 93: “Ἐἶχεν γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ οἰκοῦν πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον βρῦον ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ τὰ θεῖα λόγια.”

<sup>380</sup> Hatlie (2003) 278 §4 and 285 §19.

### 3. CHRYSOSTOM: BYZANTINE PATRIARCH PAR EXCELLENCE

Thus far, the most substantial extant sources on Chrysostom have all emphasized his pragmatic authority, whether positively or negatively, with reference primarily to the type of behavior characterized by the affair of episcopal simony in Ephesos. George includes this episode as well, presenting a contradictory collage of quotations and adaptations from Theodoret, Palladios and Sokrates.<sup>381</sup> Each, as we have seen, had a different aim: Theodoret to praise, Palladios to defend and exonerate, Sokrates (in his less-favorable Version A text which George quotes) to critique. George tells us nothing new here. Rather, his contribution to Chrysostom's pragmatic authority is of a far more significant nature and reflects the changing landscape of the empire itself during the 7<sup>th</sup> century. Rather than bother with the details of 5<sup>th</sup> century sources seeking to comment on Chrysostom's intrusion into another ecclesiastical see's jurisdiction—in many ways an issue far less relevant in the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century empire than in its mid-5<sup>th</sup> century counterpart<sup>382</sup>—George turns his attention to Chrysostom's (God-given) protection of, and authority over, the emperor himself. A few episodes—mostly absent from older extant sources—demonstrate this shift.

There is a strong anti-imperial current running through George's narrative that can be detected even from the narration of the emperor Arkadios' summoning Chrysostom to the capital to assume the see that Nektarios left empty.<sup>383</sup> Palladios had originally narrated that the emperor wrote to the comes of Antioch that Chrysostom should be lured outside the city walls and rushed into a waiting carriage bound for the capital so that there would be no resistance.<sup>384</sup> George's narrative adds a substantial backstory to this scene. As he tells it, the emperor first writes directly to Flavian, patriarch of Antioch at the time; since George also includes Palladios' narrative, the emperor's letter to the Comes only appears later. This shift in priority of access to the emperor is indicative of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, by which time patriarchs had become one of the most important appointees of the court. When the people of Antioch learn that Chrysostom is being summoned to the imperial see, they begin to riot in protest; Flavian gives in and sends messengers to the people to inform them that he will refuse the emperor's order. However, the messengers are unsuccessful; the crowd does not finally calm down until Flavian himself comes out and takes an oath that he will never allow Chrysostom to leave Antioch. The

<sup>381</sup> George of Alexandria, *Vita*, 135, 158–166. Cf. Theodoret, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 329; Palladios, *Dialogus*, 83–93; Sokrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 6.9–11 (Version A).

<sup>382</sup> Because of Lombard, Slav and Arab invasions. Cf. Haldon (1997), (2016).

<sup>383</sup> George of Alexandria, *Vita*, 125–127.

<sup>384</sup> Palladios, *Dialogus*, 29–30; cf. ODB s.v. *Comes*.

telling phrase used to describe Flavian’s messengers’ failure is: “When they then saw these things [i.e. the riots] and that they were accomplishing nothing, but rather that the citizens [of Antioch] and those of the surrounding area were rioting more in the church, the bishop [i.e. Flavian] gave them an oath...”<sup>385</sup> George’s expression can be fruitfully compared to Matthew’s:

“But when Pilate saw that he was accomplishing nothing, but rather that a riot was starting, taking water he washed his hands before the crowd saying, ‘I am innocent of this righteous man’s blood; you will see to it yourselves.’ And all the people answered saying, ‘His blood [is] on us and on our children.’ Then, [Pilate] released for them Barabbas, and having scourged Jesus, delivered him over to them to be crucified.”<sup>386</sup>

The comparison and contrast between Christ being taken outside the Jerusalem city walls, as a lamb to the slaughter, for crucifixion by the pagan Romans and Chrysostom being eventually lured outside Antioch’s walls to be taken to Constantinople, for eventual martyrdom under a Christian emperor, underscores the serious problem that Chrysostom became for the imperial court.<sup>387</sup> The *Vita* undoubtedly wishes to emphasize the difference between the Jews of Jerusalem who handed over their savior and messiah to their enemy, the Romans, and the Christians of Antioch who did everything in their power to keep their cherished saint from the hands of the Roman emperor, who eventually caused Chrysostom to meet his death for reasons not unlike the charges against Christ: *parrhesia*.<sup>388</sup> And just as the Roman emperors eventually submitted to Christ, so George of Alexandria will have them submit to Chrysostom, as well.

<sup>385</sup> George of Alexandria, *Vita*, 126: “Ότε οὖν ἐθεώρησαν ταῦτα καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲν ὠφελοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλείων θόρυβος γίνεται ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐκ τε τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τῶν τῆς περιχώρου, δέδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὄρκον ὁ ἐπίσκοπος...”

<sup>386</sup> Matt. 27:24: “Ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Πιλάτος ὅτι οὐδὲν ὠφελεῖ ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον θόρυβος γίνεται, λαβὼν ὕδωρ ἀπενίψατο τὰς χεῖρας ἀπέναντι τοῦ ὄχλου λέγων· Ἀθῶός εἰμι ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ δικαίου τούτου· ὑμεῖς ὄψεσθε. καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς πᾶς ὁ λαὸς εἶπεν· τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τέκνα ἡμῶν. τότε ἀπέλυσεν αὐτοῖς τὸν Βαραββᾶν, τὸν δὲ Ἰησοῦν φραγελλώσας παρέδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἵνα σταυρωθῇ.”

<sup>387</sup> That being said, the precedent that Chrysostom’s treatment could have set was potentially threatening to the Church as well. Cf. (ps.)Martyrios’ anxiety in his *Oratio funebris*, 138.1–6: “Ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν δοκοῦσιν οἱ διὰ τὴν κοίμησιν τοῦ μακαρίου [sc. Ἰωάννου] τῇ κοινωνίᾳ προσιόντες τῇ τούτων πάλαι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν φόνον ὠθεῖν, διδάσκειν τε τοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα ἅπαντας—εἰκὸς δὲ πολλοὺς ὡς ἐν τοιοῦτῳ βίῳ δειχθήσεσθαι τοιούτους—ἴν’, ὅταν θέλωσιν ἀπελάσαι δίκαιον καὶ λυπῆσαν τὸ πρᾶγμα διασπεύρη τὰ πρόβατα, ταχέως αὐτὸν ἀνέλωσιν, ὥστε τῇ ἀναίρεσει συναχθῆναι τὰ ποίμνια.”

<sup>388</sup> Cf. John 7:2–8: “Ἦν δὲ ἐγγὺς ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἡ σκηνοπηγία. εἶπον οὖν πρὸς αὐτὸν [sc. τὸν Ἰησοῦν] οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ· μετάβηθι ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ὑπάγε εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, ἵνα καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ σου θεωρήσουσιν σοῦ τὰ ἔργα ἃ ποιεῖς· οὐδεὶς γάρ τι ἐν κρυπτῷ ποιεῖ καὶ ζητεῖ αὐτὸς ἐν παρρησίᾳ εἶναι. εἰ ταῦτα ποιεῖς, φανέρωσον σεαυτὸν τῷ κόσμῳ. οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπίστευον εἰς αὐτόν. λέγει οὖν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς· ὁ καιρὸς ὁ ἐμὸς οὐπω πάρεστιν, ὁ δὲ καιρὸς ὁ ὑμέτερος πάντοτε ἐστὶν ἔτοιμος. οὐ δύναται ὁ κόσμος μισεῖν ὑμᾶς, ἐμὲ δὲ μισεῖ, ὅτι ἐγὼ

As soon as Chrysostom arrives in the capital the emperor and the senate come to the church to receive his blessing.<sup>389</sup> Chrysostom again protests that the honor is too burdensome for his lowliness, but the emperor insists, asserting that just as Christ selected his apostles and sent them out to illumine the world, he has now selected Chrysostom—one who imitates the good, true shepherd by laying down his life for his sheep. The echoes of John 10:11—“I am the good shepherd; the good shepherd lays down his life for the sheep”<sup>390</sup>—are not simply a pious cliché. According to the *Typikon of the Great Church*, the Gospel reading for 13 November, Chrysostom’s primary feastday, is John 10:7–16, the full description of the good shepherd. The hymn sung during communion is taken from Psalm 112:6, “the righteous will be remembered forever.”<sup>391</sup> George enhances the motif of the righteous good shepherd/lamb for slaughter even further when he presents Chrysostom giving the emperor and senate fair warning that he will not shirk from chastising whomever is in need of instruction. He recommends to them to keep the example of the prophet Nathan rebuking king David in mind.<sup>392</sup> Significantly, when Nathan censured David for sending Uriah to his death and then taking his wife, he used a parable of an avaricious rich man stealing the only lamb of a poor man; in other words, Chrysostom foreshadows that his role as holy man, who must rebuke the God-appointed ruler with *parrhesia*, will be due to the ruler’s avarice.<sup>393</sup> A close parallel with Nathan’s parable to David can be observed in the legend of Eudoxia’s usurpation of a poor widow’s vineyard.

This episode<sup>394</sup> is included in both Theodore’s and George’s *Vitae*, though George’s version is by far the more detailed.<sup>395</sup> The episode is a subtle tool by which to shift blame for Chrysostom’s deposition, exile and death off of the bishops and monks<sup>396</sup> and onto the empress, Eudoxia. In this way, the Church was seen as relatively blameless;<sup>397</sup> even the emperor, Arkadios, is excused in George’s account of events. Instead, it becomes preferable to blame

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μαρτυρῶ περὶ αὐτοῦ ὅτι τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ πονηρὰ ἐστίν. ὑμεῖς ἀνάβητε εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν [sc. εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα]· ἐγὼ οὐκ ἀναβαίνω εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν ταύτην, ὅτι ὁ ἐμὸς καιρὸς οὐπω πεπλήρωται.”

<sup>389</sup> George of Alexandria, *Vita*, 129–132.

<sup>390</sup> John 10:11: “Ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλός. ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλὸς τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ τίθησιν ὑπὲρ τῶν προβάτων.”

<sup>391</sup> Mateos (1962) 98–100. For dating, see *ibid.*, iii–xx. Cf. Ps. 112:6: “εἰς μνημόσυνον αἰώνιον ἔσται δίκαιος.”

<sup>392</sup> Cf. 2 Kings (2 Samuel) 12:1–25.

<sup>393</sup> Cf. Brown (1971); Dagron (2003) 49–50, 111–113.

<sup>394</sup> For a detailed analysis of the sources of this episode and their development over time, see Nikolopoulos (1973), especially 283–308.

<sup>395</sup> Halkin (1977) 20–21 (Theodore’s *Vita*), 191–198 (George’s *Vita*).

<sup>396</sup> And significantly off of Chrysostom himself entirely, whom Palladios and Sokrates had primarily blamed.

<sup>397</sup> As will be presented below, hagiographies of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, such as the *Vita Epiphani Salamis* (BHG 598) and the *Vita Porphyrii Gazensis* (BHG 1570), also followed this same tactic in describing Chrysostom’s relations with the empress. Though both texts mention the episode of the widow’s vineyard, none of the non-hagiographical sources do.

the avaricious, and (it is implied) promiscuous Eudoxia, close enough to the emperor to necessitate his repentance too but distant enough to avoid criticizing him directly.<sup>398</sup> However, this episode began its life much earlier than George of Alexandria and Theodore of Trimythous.

The earliest extant source on Chrysostom's life, (ps.)Martyrios' *Funerary Speech*, expresses anxiety that Chrysostom has become essentially the first Christian bishop "martyred" at the orders of a Christian Roman emperor:

"Those who enter into communion with them [i.e. the rest of the church] because the blessed [John] has died seem to me to have spurred them [i.e. the imperial couple] on long ago to murder, and to teach all later generations—and it's likely that in this life there will be many such people—that when they want to drive away a righteous man, and when this distressing event scatters the sheep [i.e. causes the Johannite schism], to kill [the righteous man] so that, by his death, the sheep will be gathered together again. What are you saying? You were not in communion because of the injustice [of Chrysostom's deposition and exile] and now after the murder you are in communion—just as if the murder had wiped away [the injustice]? Or did you hate Jezebel up until the point of [her] seizing Naboth's vineyard, but after she killed him did you resolve your anger for her with his life? "But what can we do," [one] says, "now that the man [i.e. Chrysostom] is dead?" [You can] wait for the just judgment from Christ; and it will come, and let no one be in doubt. For the master is not in the habit of including the solution of affairs within the [temporal boundaries] of peoples' lives. But rather, from the total despair of these things [i.e. retribution], he likes to make a beginning..."<sup>399</sup>

<sup>398</sup> Cf. Ekonomou (2007) 300: "The emperor was God's elected representative on earth. He held the empire in the name of Christ whose instrument he was and from whom he derived his power and authority. To criticize the emperor was a sacrilege; to fail to obey and pray for him, whether he was good or bad, unthinkable impiety." Cf. Riedel (2018); Walker (2019); Tougher (2019). Cf. also Eudoxia's objection to Chrysostom's directness in rebuking her in the *Vita Epiphani Salamis* (BHG 598) PG 41.101D: "Μὴ ἐλέγγειν θέλε κατὰ πρόσωπον βασιλεῖς"—and his exchange with her in George's *Vita*, where she expresses a similar sentiment and Chrysostom himself recognizes the awesome authority of an emperor as *empsychos nomos* (George of Alexandria, *Vita*, 195): "Ἡ δὲ βασίλισσα λέγει αὐτῷ· Μὴ οὕτως ἀντίλεγε βασιλεῦσιν· οὐ γὰρ ὠφελήσει σε τοῦτο. Ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ πάλιν λέγει αὐτῇ... Πάντες... οἱ βασιλεῖς νόμοι εἰσίν." For the concept of the emperor as *empsychos nomos*, as well as the power struggle that this concept created between the emperor and patriarch in middle Byzantium, see Dagron (2003) 230–231. It was expected that criticism would always take place from a distance, and, preferably, be directed at the emperor's advisors rather than himself.

<sup>399</sup> (ps.)Martyrios, *Oratio funebris*, 138.1–16: "Ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν δοκοῦσιν οἱ διὰ τὴν κοίμησιν τοῦ μακαρίου [sc. Ἰωάννου] τῆ κοινωνία προσιόντες τῆ τούτων πάλαι αὐτοῦς ἐπὶ τὸν φόνον ὠθεῖν, διδάσκειν τε τοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα ἅπαντας—εἰκόδς δὲ πολλοὺς ὡς ἐν τοιούτῳ βίῳ δειχθήσεσθαι τοιούτους—ἴν', ὅταν θέλωσιν ἀπελάσαι δίκαιον καὶ λυπήσαν τὸ πρᾶγμα διασπείρη τὰ πρόβατα, ταχέως αὐτὸν ἀνέλωσιν, ὥστε τῆ ἀναιρέσει συναχθῆναι τὰ ποιμνία. τί λέγεις ἄνθρωπε; οὐκ ἐκοινωνεὶς διὰ τὴν ἀδικίαν καὶ κοινωνεῖς μετὰ τὸν φόνον, ὥσπερ τοῦ φόνου ἀποσμήξαντος ἐκείνην; ἢ καὶ τὴν Ἰεζάβελ μέχρι μὲν τῆς τοῦ Ναβουθὲ ἀμπελῶνος ἀρπαγῆς διὰ τοῦτο ἐμίσεις, ἐπειδὴ δὲ αὐτὸν ἀνεῖλε, τῆ ζωῆ ἐκείνου τὸ πρὸς ταύτην συγκατέλυσας μῖσος; τί οὖν ἔχομέν, φησι, ποιῆσαι, τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀποθανόντος; τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δικαίαν κρίσιν περιμεῖναι· πάντως δὲ ἔσται καὶ μηδεὶς ἀμφιβαλλέτω. οὐ γὰρ

As Nikolopoulos insightfully notes, (ps.)Martyrios makes no mention of the widow or her vineyard that Eudoxia usurped; he simply compares Chrysostom’s treatment by the court and his enemies in the church to that of Naboth at the hands of Jezebel.<sup>400</sup> Jezebel had arranged for Naboth to be killed so that king Ahab could take his vineyard. Nevertheless, Elijah comes and rebukes him for it. He repents, and God has mercy on him. Jezebel, on the other hand, will not escape punishment in the end.<sup>401</sup> The analogy must have seemed so appropriate at the time, that before the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century at least two other hagiographies, the *Vita Epiphani Salamis* (BHG 598) and the *Vita Porphyrii Gazensis* (BHG 1570), depict Chrysostom having tense relations with Eudoxia over her usurpation of a widow’s vineyard.<sup>402</sup> Moving into the 7<sup>th</sup> century, Theodore of Trimythus reports, in the longer recension of his *Vita* (BHG 872), that while Theophilus and Chrysostom’s other enemies among the hierarchy had already turned Eudoxia against him, it happened that Eudoxia wandered into the widow’s vineyard, perhaps by accident. This was allegedly problematic because of a law that Eudoxia cites, whereby whenever an emperor sets foot in, and/or eats the fruit of, a vineyard, it must necessarily become royal land. The previous owner may choose another vineyard or receive payment. Halkin calls this law “imaginary”,<sup>403</sup> but it is not exactly pure fiction. In fact, it is an adaptation of Ahab’s original request to Naboth for the vineyard:

“Now Naboth the Jezreelite had a vineyard in Jezreel, beside the palace of Ahab king of Samaria. And after this Ahab said to Naboth, ‘Give me your vineyard...because it is near my house; and I will give you a better vineyard for it; or, if it seems good to you, I will give you its value in money.’”<sup>404</sup>

Eudoxia also offers to the widow, according to Theodore, a larger and better vineyard, but the widow does not accept; neither did Naboth. He was loath to part with the inheritance of his

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ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ζωῇ καὶ τὸ τῶν πραγμάτων τέλος περικλείειν εἴωθεν ὁ δεσπότης. τοῦναντίον δὲ μᾶλλον ἀπὸ τῆς τελείας αὐτῶν ἀπογνώσεως φιλεῖ τῶν τοιούτων τὰ προίμια ποιεῖσθαι...”

<sup>400</sup> Nikolopoulos (1973) 284.

<sup>401</sup> 1 Kings 21. The similarities between Naboth’s case and Chrysostom’s, and thus the applicability of (ps.)Martyrios’ analogy, are numerous—especially taking into account how later hagiography developed this episode. See presentation below.

<sup>402</sup> For Epiphanius’ *Vita* see *PG* 41:101–104, where Chrysostom warns Eudoxia that she will be compared to Jezebel. For Porphyrios’ *Vita* see Grégoire and Kugener (1930) §37. Jezebel is not mentioned by name in Porphyrios’ *Vita*.

<sup>403</sup> i.e. he did not consider that it was an actual Roman law in the 5<sup>th</sup> century. See George of Alexandria, *Vita*, 193 n. 89.

<sup>404</sup> 1 Kings 21:1–2 (RSV).

ancestors, just as George of Alexandria's version of the widow will be. Thus, Chrysostom must demand the very same vineyard from Eudoxia, one which in this fanciful Byzantine "treatise" on the proper power relations between church and state, she is tragically unable to return.

George of Alexandria's version of the story intensifies the widow's *pathos*, and consequently Eudoxia's malice, even further. First, he prefaces the episode of the vineyard with two others that demonstrate Eudoxia's inhuman avarice. In both cases, she tries to cheat her citizens out of money.<sup>405</sup> In one instance, Chrysostom first convinces Eudoxia, who is trying to get Theodorichos the patrician to lend the state some money, to leave him alone and stop being so greedy. Chrysostom then turns to Theodorichos himself and convinces him to donate all the money that Eudoxia tried to get from him as a loan to the church's xenodocheion, which Theodorichos gladly does. Naturally, when Eudoxia learns that she has been piously duped, she becomes enraged—but George of Alexandria only allows her anger to derive from greed.<sup>406</sup> In the second instance, Chrysostom again opposes Eudoxia's rapacity, directly defying her orders to not demand from a certain eparch that he repay all the money he took from the widow Kallitrope. Chrysostom ignores Eudoxia—and is protected by an angel; the eparch pays all the money back. Eudoxia assesses the situation as follows: "As I see, this man [i.e. Chrysostom] has come from Antioch to make the emperors' orders impotent."<sup>407</sup> In fact, he does not desire the court to be impotent. Instead, step by step he is teaching Eudoxia that only when the church needs funds for its own pious purposes is intervention and/or request appropriate. He is made to demonstrate that the balance of power must necessarily always be tipped in favor of the church.

Finally, regarding the widow's vineyard, George reports that a certain senator, Theognostos (a telling name for the Chrysostomian equivalent of Uriah,<sup>408</sup> inserted into this re-fashioning of Naboth's vineyard story), pious and beloved of the emperor, is slandered. Arkadios confiscates all his property and sends him into exile in Thessaloniki. On the road, though, Theognostos gets sick and dies. His widow begs Chrysostom for help. First, he comforts her, assuring her that her husband has found rest in paradise because of the injustice, while his accusers will necessarily go to Hell. He then allows her to receive funds from the church's xenodocheion for herself and her children, while considering how he can get her

<sup>405</sup> George of Alexandria, *Vita*, 148–151, 167–172.

<sup>406</sup> George of Alexandria, *Vita*, 150–151.

<sup>407</sup> George of Alexandria, *Vita*, 170: "Ὡς θεωρῶ, ἦλθεν οὗτος ἀπὸ Ἀντιοχείας ἀπράκτους ποιῆσαι τὰς κελεύσεις τῶν βασιλέων."

<sup>408</sup> Cf. above, p. 27.

husband's property restored to her.<sup>409</sup> Chrysostom's next step is to initiate a series of communications with Eudoxia in which he pressures her with moral, spiritual counsels to follow, not the fictitious "Roman law" adapted from the OT precedent of a ruler gone astray from God's law, but the spiritual precepts of the NT Paul who, "...fought the good fight...finished the race...kept the faith."<sup>410</sup> If she refuses, her negative example is also ready at hand: "Yes, I ask you to resolve your vindictiveness against her [i.e. Theognostos' widow], remembering the savior in the gospels...addressing that rich man and saying, 'Fool, this night they demand your soul from you; and the things you have prepared, whose will they be?'"<sup>411</sup> George of Alexandria is quoting from Luke's gospel, and critical for the interpretation of this scene in Byzantium is the next line—whose significance has been implied throughout the presentation of Eudoxia's greed: "Thus [i.e. like the rich fool] [is] every one who stores up treasure for himself and [is] not rich towards God."<sup>412</sup> Chrysostom has already conveyed this sentiment when he redirected the loan from Theodorichos—which Eudoxia begged for by reason of the imperial treasury's financial straits—straight into the coffers of the church's xenodocheion, which is the institute through which the bishop funds his public benefactions (εὐεργεσίαι). These scenes in the *Vita* are dressed up in moral, pious overtones, but they represent nothing less than the Church's attempt to project what it considered to be the proper relationship between the so-called two powers, an arrangement in which the state is useful only insofar as it is subservient to the Church.<sup>413</sup> Chrysostom's life, deposition, exile and death dealt a strong blow to this effort. In his Byzantine afterlife, though, his hagiographers would seek their pious revenge. In fact, Chrysostom's fictive correspondence with Eudoxia over the widow's vineyard gained such significance in Byzantium as to be excerpted from George's *Vita* altogether, developed and re-inserted into Chrysostom's letter collections as allegedly genuine correspondence.<sup>414</sup>

<sup>409</sup> Cf. ODB s.v. *Xenodocheion*. As we have just seen, the xenodocheion is where Chrysostom stores the money that he snatches out of the emperors' hands for pious uses.

<sup>410</sup> 2 Tim. 4:7: "τὸν καλὸν ἀγῶνα ἠγωνίσμαι, τὸν δρόμον τετέλεκα, τὴν πίστιν τετήρηκα." Cf. George of Alexandria, *Vita*, 194: "Μιμησάτω οὖν καὶ ἡ ὑμετέρα φιλόχριστος θεοσέβεια τοὺς τὴν πίστιν τηρήσαντας ἀλωβήτως καὶ τὸν καλὸν δρόμον ἐληλακότας ἐν τῷδε τῷ βίῳ διὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν πράξεων."

<sup>411</sup> George of Alexandria, *Vita*, 194: "Ναὶ παρακαλῶ σε λῦσαι τὴν πρὸς αὐτὴν μνησικακίαν σου, μεμνημένη τοῦ σωτήρος ἐν εὐαγγελίῳ...πρὸς τὸν πλούσιον ἐκεῖνον ἀποτεينوμένου καὶ λέγοντος· Ἄφρον, τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ τὴν ψυχὴν σου ἀπαιτοῦσιν ἀπὸ σοῦ· ἃ δὲ ἠτοίμασας τίτι ἔσται;" Cf. Lk. 12:20.

<sup>412</sup> Lk. 12:21: "οὕτως ὁ θησαυρίζων ἑαυτῷ καὶ μὴ εἰς θεὸν πλουτῶν."

<sup>413</sup> Cf. Dagron (2003) 17 who noted that Byzantine "political science" was expressed through moralizing advice to emperors, not in order to limit their powers as much as to tame them—from which emerged the genre of the mirrors for princes.

<sup>414</sup> Nikolopoulos (1973) 284–308, 502–507.

## V. THE TWO POWERS IN THE 7<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY: GEOGRAPHY, POLITICS AND LAW

By the time George would have been writing his *Vita*, Justinian I (527–565) had long since formulated his vision of relations between the two powers.<sup>415</sup> Following this, under the reigns of Heraklios (610–641), Constans II (641–668), Constantine IV (668–685), and Justinian II (685–695, 705–711) the original Justinianic theory was tested and modified. Dagron perceptively noted that, “To speculate about an equilibrium between the spiritual and temporal is to adopt a shortsighted or self-deluding approach...”<sup>416</sup> His conclusion is borne out in the sources examined above. There has been no essential question of balancing or of collaboration, as much as of rivalry for prominence. In the early 5<sup>th</sup> century (ps.)Martyrios and Palladios could express concern over the imperial court’s handling of Chrysostom’s various provocations, but by the 7<sup>th</sup> century Theodore of Trimythous and George of Alexandria were already engineering Chrysostom’s posthumous revenge. The reasons for this are multifaceted; this short overview will focus on three areas: geography, politics and law.

The empire suffered severe territorial losses, first in its western provinces towards the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century. Justinian I made a show of regaining them, but his mid-6<sup>th</sup> century gains were already unraveling in his own lifetime, and his successors did not share his zeal to maintain them. The empire’s attention was simply not focused on Old Rome anymore. When Constans II turned his attention back to the Italian peninsula in the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century, establishing his new capital in Syracuse, it ended in disaster and resulted in his assassination.<sup>417</sup> By the mid-8<sup>th</sup> century Leo III was taking provinces from the pope’s jurisdiction and re-assigning them to the patriarch of Constantinople, and by the late 8<sup>th</sup> century Eirene and Tarasios were justifying this with reference to Paul’s missionary activities there.<sup>418</sup> In all of these developments, a key factor was the shifting geography of the empire itself.<sup>419</sup> Byzantine geography in the early 9<sup>th</sup> century was dramatically different from what Arkadios had inherited from Theodosios I in 395 and Chrysostom had engaged with from 398–404.<sup>420</sup> The burden, or disadvantage, was no longer on the Church’s shoulders—to ensure its continued imperial favor by monopolizing its hold on religion in the empire, thus converting as many subjects as possible to Christianity.

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<sup>415</sup> See Chrysos (2018) 317–319 and *passim*.

<sup>416</sup> Dagron (2003) 2.

<sup>417</sup> On this episode, see Jankowiak (2013), especially 305–309.

<sup>418</sup> Ludwig and Pratsch (1999) 76–77; Haldon and Brubaker (2011) 267.

<sup>419</sup> Cf. Wickham (1989), (2006).

<sup>420</sup> Cf. Haldon (2010).

Rather, by the 9<sup>th</sup> century Hellenism was no longer a seriously viable religious alternative or competitor with Christianity; the burden was the state's to bear. From then on, the church's jurisdiction was larger than the empire's and was to remain so,<sup>421</sup> allowing the church varying degrees of freedom to develop independently of the empire.<sup>422</sup> The Byzantine court continuously strove to regain control of the situation, but once rival courts entered into relationships with the papal see, notably the Franks, it was only a matter of time before the East Roman imperial church would attempt to play one state against the other.<sup>423</sup>

Indicative examples of this power struggle both within and without the empire can be observed in the cases of Heraklios; Maximos the Confessor and Pope Martin I; and Justinian II. In the late 4<sup>th</sup> century Chrysostom had envisioned Constantine I as a high-ranking official who provided appropriate security for the Church and its divinely selected heroes.<sup>424</sup> However, on 24 April 629, Heraklios officially used the title *πιστὸς ἐν Χριστῷ βασιλεύς* for the first time, altering the schema laid out by Chrysostom.<sup>425</sup> The year itself is significant; Heraklios was then at the height of his powers, having defeated the Persians.<sup>426</sup> The Byzantine emperors would no longer treat their office as that of the highest-ranking civil official—and thus civil servant of the Church. Rather, Heraklios saw the office as a divine grace bestowed by God, on the model of the prophet David's kingship.<sup>427</sup> It is precisely to this model that George of Alexandria had Chrysostom respond above, when he warned Arkadios that, just like Nathan with David, so Chrysostom would rebuke Arkadios and anyone else if need be. Moreover, according to patriarch Nikephoros I, Heraklios expressed his views on kingship even more explicitly when dealing with his untrustworthy general, Krispos:

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<sup>421</sup> Despite the fact that “the Church” is not a monolithic institution that always works in full harmony. Claims to authority usually surpass actual results on the ground in grandeur. Cf. Kaldellis (2019).

<sup>422</sup> Cf. Stouraitis (2018) 132. Christian identity was able to overcome geographical boundaries and concepts of ethnos, just as Roman identity had been able to. Newly subject peoples and dependent kingdoms were educated just as much in theology as in politics. See the indicative example of Theodore Daphnopates' 10<sup>th</sup> century *Letter 10* to the Bishop of Soune in Armenia, who teaches one nature in Christ after the union, at the order of the emperor.

<sup>423</sup> Ekonomou (2007); Herrin and Angelov (2012); McKitterick (2016).

<sup>424</sup> Specifically, the apostles. Considering that Chrysostom would have preached in this church—and the connections between him and Peter, John and Paul that later hagiography drew—his identification of the emperor as servant of the apostles could be interpreted as also extending to their successors: himself and all other bishops. Cf. *Adversus Judaeos et Gentiles, quod Christus sit deus PG 48:825; In secundam ad Corinthios epistulam Homilia XXVII PG 61:582*.

<sup>425</sup> Humphreys (2015) 31. He also notes (32) that, “The new titulature [i.e. βασιλεύς]...represented the emergence of Christianity as the hegemonic ideological force in imperial ideology.” Cf. Shahid (1972) and the opposing view of Chrysos (1978).

<sup>426</sup> Kaegi (2003) 192–228.

<sup>427</sup> Dagron (2003) 29. Not to suggest that this only began in the 7<sup>th</sup> century. Rather, it is the confluence of particular Byzantine geopolitical difficulties and the vision of a Davidic kingship that combine, perhaps for the first time in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, that is notable. Cf. Humphrey (2015) 33–40.

“After assembling all the members of the senate and the remaining people of the city together with their primate Sergios, Heraklios is reported to have asked them: ‘When a man insults an emperor, whom does he offend?’ They answered: ‘He offends God who has appointed the emperor.’ And he urged Krispos also to express his honest opinion. The latter, not understanding the play that was being acted, said that a man convicted of such a daring deed should not even have the benefit of a lenient sentence. Then the emperor reminded him of his feigned illness...how he thought of degrading imperial dignity...And picking up a book he [Heraklios] struck him [Krispos] on the head...And straightaway he [Heraklios] directed that his [Krispos’] head should be shorn in the manner of a clergyman and that the bishop should recite the customary <prayers> over the act of tonsure. He then went out to meet the soldiers of Krispos and said to them these exact words: ‘The Reverend Krispos had you as his assistants until now, but today we <make you> the emperor’s own servants.’...After this, he confined Krispos in the monastery of the Chora...”<sup>428</sup>

Heraklios not only arranges for patriarch Sergios and “all the members of the senate and remaining people” to publicly proclaim him a divinely christened emperor, but he even punishes Krispos for disrespecting his honor by demoting him to be a cleric and jailing him in a monastery. This episode shows Heraklios making use of the Church like any other ministry subject to him in order to avert the degradation (κατευτελιζειν) of the emperor.<sup>429</sup> In connection with this, his reign saw an intensification of the process of liturgification of imperial ceremony,

<sup>428</sup> Nikephoros, *Historia syntomos* 38–41: “Ἡράκλειον δὴ ἀθροίσαντα τοὺς ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς ἅπαντας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην πληθὺν τοῦ ἄστεως ἅμα τῷ προέδρῳ Σεργίῳ εἶπεν λέγεται πρὸς αὐτοῦς· ὁ βασιλέα ὑβρίζων τίνοι προσκρούει; τοὺς δὲ φάναι· τῷ θεῷ τῷ ποιήσαντι αὐτὸν βασιλέα. καὶ Κρίσπον προτρέπειν, καὶ αὐτὸν ἀποφαίνεσθαι τὸ δοκοῦν ὀθρῶς· τὸν δὲ οὐκ εἰδότα τὸ δραματούργημα λέξει μηδὲ φιλανθρώπου τυχεῖν δίκης τὸν ἐπὶ τοιοῦτῳ ἄλόντα τολμήματι. καὶ τὸν βασιλέα ἀναμνήσκων αὐτὸν οἷα ἐν Κασαρεία ἐπὶ τῇ νόσῳ κατεσχηματίσατο, καὶ ὡς τὸ τῆς βασιλείας κατευτελιζεῖν ἀξίωμα ᾤετο...καὶ ἅμα λαβόντα τόμον κἀτα κόρρης τοῦτον παίειν...εὐθὺς δὲ ἐπιτρέψαι εἰς κληρικὸν σχῆμα τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποκείρασθαι, καὶ τὸν ἱεράρχην τὰ νενομισμένα ἐπὶ τῇ ἀποκάρσει ἐπιφθέγξασθαι. ἐξελθόντα δὲ αὐτὸν τοῖς μετὰ Κρίσπου στρατιώταις ἐπὶ λέξεως ὧδε εἶπεν· ὁ παπᾶς Κρίσπος ὑπουργοὺς ὑμᾶς ἕως τοῦ νῦν εἶχεν, ἡμεῖς δὲ σήμερον οἰκειακοὺς τῆς βασιλείας ὑπηρέτας...μετὰ δὴ ταῦτα Κρίσπον εἰς τὸ λεγόμενον τῆς Χώρας περιεῖρχθαι σεμνεῖον...”

<sup>429</sup> Kaldellis (2019) 111, and 126, where he calls the Church an “instrument of the state” that was intimately involved in promoting Roman identity in the aim of extending the emperor’s unofficial, and eventually official, jurisdiction. Dagron (2003) 181 offers a more nuanced account by which the emperor strove to identify his imperial priesthood with that of Melchizedek, priest and king, thereby extending his jurisdiction over the church, as well. However, ironically the emperor could only hope to maintain such an image by remaining righteous, like Melchizedek. This in turn entailed submitting to, and defending, orthodoxy. Nearly every time that the emperor attempted to usurp the Church’s prerogative to define orthodoxy, his initiative was labelled heresy.

with coronations taking place in Agia Sophia by 641—the cornerstone in the gradual liturgification of public space itself—centered on the person of the emperor.<sup>430</sup>

Nevertheless, the case of Maximos the Confessor and Pope Martin I demonstrate that Heraklios' model of church subordination to the court had not settled the issue. The orthodox battle against Monothelitism provides the opportunity to glimpse certain cracks in this edifice. In the mid-late 7<sup>th</sup> century the empire's influence was most strongly contested in areas such as Palestine, Africa and Italy. Justinian I and Constans II had made greater or lesser attempts to reign Italy back into a closer orbit around Constantinople, and Heraklios, himself a native of Carthage, had definitively saved the Holy Land from the Persian empire, only to lose it to the Rashidun Caliphate within roughly a decade. Islamic expansion would soon mean that his homeland would also be lost to the Byzantine empire. Within this context, the monothelite controversy established a paradigm that iconophiles would later follow; precisely in the areas where Constantinople's former hegemony was being either erased or seriously undermined, religious resistance to Byzantine imperial attempts to impose distasteful theological compromises grew strongest.<sup>431</sup> It was Justinian I, Heraklios and Constans II who attempted to impose an orthodoxy on these outlying provinces<sup>432</sup>—all of which had originally been provoked by Constantinople's seizure of real primacy beginning at Chalcedon (451), which had been based at the time on the see of Constantinople's proximity to the emperor and later given a spiritual justification through the anachronistic re-fashionings of Chrysostom examined above.

Maximos the Confessor provides the ideal test case for the observation of this phenomenon; joined in Palestine by Sophronios of Jerusalem, in Africa by the exarch Gregory and in Rome by Pope Martin I, Maximos led the opposition to both Heraklios' *Ekthesis* and Constans II's *Typos* in the three geographical regions surrounding the new Byzantine heartlands, where imperial influence was waning. Both the Lateran Synod (649), during which Pope Martin I pronounced patriarch Paul II of Constantinople a heretic, and Maximos' own trial for treason show how their opposition to imperial doctrine was interpreted by the court: as a political statement of insurrection.<sup>433</sup> Constans II's *Typos* of 648, which moderated but did not deny monothelitism and forbade any further discussion of Christ's wills or energies, contributed significantly to framing the doctrinal controversy in terms of loyalty or not to the

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<sup>430</sup> Brubaker and Haldon (2011) 64–65, who note that the liturgification of ceremony had begun already under Phokas (602–610).

<sup>431</sup> Dagron (2003) 167.

<sup>432</sup> Allen and Neil (2002) 1 describe Constantinopolitan monoenergism and monothelitism as a “way of shoring up ecclesiastical unity in a time of political turmoil.”

<sup>433</sup> Dagron (2003) 167–172; Brubaker and Haldon (2011) 17–20.

court itself.<sup>434</sup> Maximos' and Pope Martin I's challenge proved so insidious in the eyes of the court precisely because it came during a period of real existential threat for the empire.<sup>435</sup> Constantinople's strategy was one of reliance upon time-honored traditions, notably that of the canon of 4<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> centuries fathers of the Church—all of whom had come to the capital from the specific areas that Arab and Frankish expansion were now threatening: Antioch, Cappadocia, Palestine, Alexandria, Rome, etc.<sup>436</sup> Whether intended this way or not, Maximos and Martin both seemed to be engaged in sedition when they rejected the obtuse imperial interventions into the theological fray by turning an important source of the empire's ideological support system, the canon of Church fathers, against them.<sup>437</sup> The intersection of geography and politics in framing this conflict is crucial; monks within Constantinople were not nearly as politically active during the 7<sup>th</sup> century as their 4<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> century counterparts, Isaakios and Dalmatos, had been.<sup>438</sup> Their later dormant state paved the way for figures like Theodore of Stoudios to re-fashion their public persona once more in the early 9<sup>th</sup> century. In any case, monks outside Constantinople, like Maximos—and pope Theodore (642–9) also a Palestinian-born monk and his successor Martin I—were highly engaged in reclaiming the Church's rights of theological, and thus political to a certain extent, autonomy in relation to the earthly power of the state.<sup>439</sup> This was a struggle to revive Chrysostom's vision, noted above, one in which emperors' involvement in church affairs was at best limited to custodial duties.

Justinian II's Council in Trullo (691–692) marks a milestone in the 7<sup>th</sup> century power struggles between church and state, which set the tone moving forward until 843.<sup>440</sup> Trullo's 102 canons were so influential in later generations that they remain to the present the foundation

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<sup>434</sup> For the repercussions of these Christological conflicts on images of Christ and his passion in the works of Anastasios of Sinai, see Kartsonis (1986).

<sup>435</sup> Haldon (2016).

<sup>436</sup> Whittow (1996) 102–103.

<sup>437</sup> Brubaker and Haldon (2011) 19–20. Haldon (2016) 203 believes that Maximos was probably intentionally involved in treasonous activities.

<sup>438</sup> Hatlie (2007) 248: "As local [i.e. Constantinopolitan] monks closed themselves off from influences coming from the outside world, they simultaneously expanded their links to the official organs of church and state, becoming more beholden to local authorities than ever before. This development did not make a dramatic change from the century before, but it did constitute continuing evidence of the monks' tendencies toward compromise and accommodation in their relations with authorities in the city."

<sup>439</sup> Haldon (2016) 200–205.

<sup>440</sup> For which reason two recent studies on significant developments during the period of Iconoclasm focus on Trullo's role in laying the foundation for the later conflict, Brubaker and Haldon (2011) and Humphreys (2015). Humphreys (2015) 40 in particular highlights how Maximos' posthumous rehabilitation at the Council of Constantinople III (680–681), under Constantine IV, followed a pattern of church–state relations that would be followed during Iconoclasm, as well. However, whereas in the 7<sup>th</sup> century Maximos was a geographical outsider to the empire, during Second Iconoclasm especially, the monks of Constantinople acted as ideological, and at times geographical, outsiders voicing dissent.

of canon law in the Eastern Orthodox church.<sup>441</sup> Moreover, Trullo also provided Leo III with a model for his own legal program, the *Ekloge* in the mid-8<sup>th</sup> century, as well.<sup>442</sup> Characteristically, Trullo's *Acts* employ scriptural quotations notably more frequently than previous canonical literature, reflecting the rise of the Bible as the central text of Byzantine culture and the psalter, in particular, as the primary Byzantine educational text.<sup>443</sup> However, most significantly, Trullo was not convened to discuss dogmatic issues; its scope was entirely ethical in nature. This did not translate into reduced impact, but rather much the opposite.<sup>444</sup> The rise of scriptural prominence and the promulgation of purely ethical canons—which included canons for the laity for the first time—indicate the goal that the council strove to achieve. The empire at the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century was in a precarious state, balanced between being the Heavenly Jerusalem of God's New Israel and almost vanquished by the rise of Islam (a heathen religion in Byzantine eyes). Trullo's canons, therefore, hearkened back to OT models of Jewish kingship proclaiming repentance to the people gone astray so that God's favor would return and help the Chosen People conquer their enemies on the battlefield. The council marked the end of ancient Christianity and the beginning of Byzantine Christianity, with its strong moralizing overtones and pro-monastic stance, which matched perfectly with the Chrysostom encountered in George of Alexandria's *Vita*.<sup>445</sup> Characteristically, at the last major council before Iconoclasm, Justinian II signed the *Acts* of Trullo—only the second time that an emperor signed a council's acts. Constantine IV had signed those of the Council in Constantinople III (680–681), affixing his signature last. Justinian II, on the other hand, signed first, even before the blank space left for the pope's own approval.<sup>446</sup> He was to be seen as the council's true president.

Thus, on the eve of Iconoclasm, the emperor had convened a council for his own purposes—since the Church had no doctrinal issues to discuss—conveying this openly through placing his name first on the council's *Acts*. The various episodes of George of Alexandria's *Vita* in which Chrysostom is shown warning the emperors not to overstep the proper boundaries of their position in the church found real-life applications during the 7<sup>th</sup> century. From the time of Chrysostom's death in the early 5<sup>th</sup> century until the 8<sup>th</sup> century, when Theodore of Stoudios

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<sup>441</sup> Humphreys (2015) 44–45.

<sup>442</sup> For an English translation of the *Ekloge* with notes and analysis, see Humphreys (2017).

<sup>443</sup> Humphreys (2015) 52–53; cf. Mango (1975a). The psalter's significance as the foremost Byzantine primer has further ramifications in the period following 843, where programs of manuscript illustration were implemented to cement the victors' messages.

<sup>444</sup> Indeed, Theodore of Stoudios references Trullo's Canon 42 against monks with long hair in his *Letter 27* to Niketas the Patrician; characteristically, he refers to Trullo as the 6<sup>th</sup> Ecumenical Council.

<sup>445</sup> Humphreys (2015) 55–77.

<sup>446</sup> Humphreys (2015) 77.

was born, raised and educated, Chrysostom had become, like Christ, a sign of controversy and the cause for both the rise and fall of many:<sup>447</sup> for the imperial court, a Christian Fury avenging injustice, while for church hierarchy and monks, a prime example of “humbling oneself even to death” in an officially, and even aggressively, Christian empire.<sup>448</sup>

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<sup>447</sup> Cf. Lk. 2:34.

<sup>448</sup> Cf. Philipp. 2:8.

## CHAPTER 1—THEODORE OF STODIOS AND THE REBELLIOUS CHRYSOSTOM

### I. SETTING THE STAGE

This first chapter centers primarily on Theodore of Stoudios (759–826) and the critical role he played in initiating the process of what came to be John Chrysostom’s middle Byzantine reception(s). Though never reaching Chrysostom’s level of popularity himself, Theodore was instrumental in promoting certain aspects of Chrysostom’s literary heritage as part of his larger program of monastic, liturgical and political reform in the late 8<sup>th</sup>-early 9<sup>th</sup> centuries, to which other figures of his own and later ages responded. Thus far, this study has primarily emphasized Theodore’s use of SermCat. Theodore’s aim in employing this text—as well as how other figures reacted to Theodore’s usage—remains the primary object of investigation throughout the present study. Nevertheless, his reception of SermCat is the tip of the iceberg: both the most prominent aspect of Theodore’s reception of Chrysostom and simultaneously an integral part of a much larger entity. In this chapter, SermCat will be presented as one of the most public, and lasting, expressions of Theodore’s overarching program of resistance and protest against what he perceived to be the various sins and blasphemies of the imperial court and church hierarchy. In this effort, Chrysostom served Theodore’s purposes just as well as did the ascetic models, Sabas and Dorotheos of Gaza, both famous for supporting Chalcedonian Christology against anti-Chalcedonians of the Eastern provinces;<sup>449</sup> all three, each in his own way, became for Theodore during 9<sup>th</sup> century Iconoclasm a subversive, almost anti—Constantinopolitan ideal that he strove to promote in his own 9<sup>th</sup> century context.

In the preceding introductory section, the process by which Chrysostom was eventually refashioned into the model “Byzantine patriarch” *par excellence* was outlined in detail. This process involved the gradual marginalization of other sees’ jurisdictions, and thus authority, first at a conciliar level, at both Constantinople I (381) and Chalcedon (451); when the empire’s geographical boundaries then shifted following invasions of both the Italian peninsula and its Eastern provinces, this marginalization in favor of Constantinople was even further established, thus building on the processes of refashioning Chrysostom examined in the previous, introductory chapter. Ironically, however, Theodore of Stoudios deploys the example of

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<sup>449</sup> For Theodore’s models in the role of politician-monk, see Karlin Hayter (1994), esp. 217 n.2.

Chrysostom for precisely the opposite reason. In order to appreciate the significance of Theodore's reception of Chrysostom, both in relation to what preceded him from the 5<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> centuries and to what succeeded him in the late 9<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries, it is crucial to understand from the outset that Theodore turns to the figure of Chrysostom in order to radically reinterpret his significance, developing themes present in George of Alexandria's *Vita* and yet taking them much further. While not reinventing the wheel entirely, Theodore nevertheless seeks to employ Chrysostom, not to amplify the primacy of Constantinople's position, as Theodoret had done and as both Photios and Leo VI would also—even George of Alexandria had Chrysostom confess the spiritual and political primacy of Constantinople.<sup>450</sup> On the contrary, Theodore uses Chrysostom to undermine this Constantinopolitan superiority.<sup>451</sup>

## II. CHRYSOSTOM: PROTOTYPE OF SUBVERSION

Theodore of Stoudios' use of *parrhesia* and his rigorist stance (ἀκρίβεια) towards both court and patriarchate are well known.<sup>452</sup> What is less well understood is how Theodore justifies these actions by making direct reference to the precedent of John Chrysostom. Chrysostom is one of the most frequently-cited Church fathers in Theodore's *Letters*,<sup>453</sup> where, in particular, he demonstrates his use of Chrysostom as a model and justification for undermining Constantinople's primacy perhaps more clearly than in any other part of his corpus.<sup>454</sup> A careful

<sup>450</sup> Cf. George of Alexandria, *Vita*, 125, where Chrysostom responds to Arkadios' letter ordering him to come take up the vacant see of Constantinople: "Τίς εἰμι ἐγὼ ὁ τάλας, ἵνα τολμήσω τοιοῦτου κεφαλαίου ἐπιλαβέσθαι καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τηλικαύτῃ πόλει καὶ πολυάνδρῳ;"

<sup>451</sup> For a different interpretation, see Dagron (2003) 225–226 who argued that Theodore envisioned the patriarch of Constantinople as ecumenical in every sense, basically ignoring the pentarchy of other sees; he claimed that Theodore was only concerned with the other sees when there was a problem at Constantinople, with reference to his *Letter* 16 to emperor Nikephoros. Nevertheless, in this letter Theodore writes to emperor Nikephoros I, who had asked Theodore for potential candidates to fill the see left vacant by Tarasios' death, with great concern that the new patriarch should have passed through the ranks of the clergy. Nikephoros then proceeded to do precisely the opposite, installing an imperial secretary as patriarch, ignoring Theodore and thus gaining Theodore's opposition to both himself and the patriarch Nikephoros I. Consequently, I find Dagron's interpretation of Theodore's view of Constantinople and its role in the church unconvincing on this particular point. For a more nuanced view, see Karlin-Hayter (1994).

<sup>452</sup> Note, however, the difference when he is addressing his own community internally, during peace-time, in *Great Catechesis* 112.15–16: "μέγα κακὸν ἢ παρρησία καὶ ὀλέθριον· φύγωμεν οἱ πάντες." Hatlie (1996) does not discuss this particular passage. Haldon (2016) 158 notes that from the 7<sup>th</sup> century onwards monks, such as John Damascene, often complained that the church hierarchy simply followed the theological line espoused by the court. This, in turn, left the role of *parrhesia* wide open for monks, like Theodore of Stoudios, entering the 9<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>453</sup> Choliij (2010) 23. For list of citations, see Theodore of Stoudios, *Letters* 2:870.

<sup>454</sup> Pratsch (1998) focused almost exclusively on Theodore's *Letters* for his biography and Choliij (2010) xi also recognizes them as his "most important writings". It is in his *Letters*, where Theodore airs his complaints and justifies his actions to outsiders that we are given some of the clearest glimpses of his intentions. For an insightful analysis of subversion in Byzantine texts generally, see Angelov (2013) with further bibliography.

analysis of Theodore's *Letters* that mention Chrysostom shows that Theodore uses him almost exclusively to fight his battles. Out of 25 mentions of Chrysostom in the *Letters*, twenty (80%) invoke Chrysostom's authority either in relation to the Joseph Affair or Iconoclasm.<sup>455</sup> A further four instances (16%) cite Chrysostom as an authority in various side-battles Theodore waged.<sup>456</sup> In only one case is Chrysostom named outside of a contentious context.<sup>457</sup> The addressees of these conflict-oriented letters include: Basil abbot of the St. Sabas Lavra in Palestine, Pope Leo III, various monastic brotherhoods persecuted and dispersed by iconoclasts, John the Grammarian and emperors Michael II and Theophilos. The theme uniting all of these letters is a healthy dose of "speaking truth to power," and it was through this practice that Theodore of Stoudios strove to implement his agenda of strengthening the monastic Stoudite federation as a rival power structure to both court and patriarchate. John Chrysostom was at the center of this process for Theodore. Examining particular instances in these letters reveals even further nuance.

In *Letter 555* to the reverend abbot Basil and all the fathers of the venerable monastery of St. Sabas,<sup>458</sup> Theodore emphasizes the community's descent from the 5<sup>th</sup> century establishment of Sabas, known to posterity for his monastic reforms<sup>459</sup> and his defence of Chalcedonian Christology.<sup>460</sup> Theodore complains to Basil that a local council in Constantinople convoked by emperor Nikephoros I (809) has reinstated Joseph of the Kathara monastery, who had performed Constantine VI's second (adulterous, in Theodore's eyes) marriage.<sup>461</sup> Of especial interest is Theodore's claim that his opponents deny the validity of his own imitation of both John the Baptist's and Chrysostom's *parrhesia* in protesting the emperor's transgression of canon law. Apparently, they objected that the Baptist's rebuke of Herod was unnecessary and Chrysostom's chastisement of Eudoxia over the widow's vineyard was mistaken.<sup>462</sup> We have already seen in the introductory section how the story of Chrysostom

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<sup>455</sup> The Joseph Affair arose when emperor Nikephoros I reinstated Joseph of the Kathara monastery, who had performed Constantine VI's marriage to Theodore's own niece, Theodote—a union which Theodore viewed as adulterous, thus opposing it. Cf. Hatlie (1996) 263 n.3 and Cholij (2010) 50–51.

<sup>456</sup> For example, against men having long hair or against killing heretics. Cf. Theodore, *Letters* 27 and 455, respectively.

<sup>457</sup> In *Letter 7* to empress Eirene Theodore confirms that Chrysostom approves of Eirene's relaxation of taxes and the benefits this brings to the poor: Theodore, *Letter* 7.46–52.

<sup>458</sup> Theodore of Stoudios, *Letters* 849–852. He dates the letter to 809–811 on the basis of content, as all of the others that will be presented here, as well; Theodore is complaining about the Joseph Affair.

<sup>459</sup> Among a voluminous bibliography, see Bertonière (1972), Taft (1980), Patrich (2001), Pott (2010) and Galadza (2018), (2019). Greek text of the so-called Sabaite Typikon in Dmitrievskij (1895) 222–224; English translation in Thomas and Hero (2000).

<sup>460</sup> ODB s.v. *Sabas* (439). Cf. Theodore's comments in *Letter 555*.96–99. See also Flusin (2011); Galadza (2019) 134.

<sup>461</sup> Theodore, *Letter 555*.45–48.

<sup>462</sup> Theodore, *Letter 555*.64–72

and the widow's vineyard developed out of comments by (ps.)Martyrios in his *Funerary Speech*. Nevertheless, the episode had become historical fact by Theodore's time. Chrysostom's famed *parrhesia* becomes a leitmotif for Theodore throughout the corpus of letters. He refers to it in *Letter 28* as well, also addressed to Basil. In addition, in *Letter 33*, addressed to Pope Leo III (795–816), Theodore again cites his desire to imitate John the Baptist and Chrysostom, but that his opponents continue to criticize him for this. Indicatively, these letters are addressed to spiritual leaders living beyond the reach of the Byzantine court in the early 9<sup>th</sup> century. In this way, Theodore resorts to spiritual models of resistance against earthly power, the Baptist and Chrysostom, precisely in the context of opposing the earthly power in his own life, the imperial court, by seeking support from spiritual centers beyond its reach: the Judaeen desert and Rome.<sup>463</sup> Theodore's turn to the sees of the lost Eastern provinces and the Pope of Rome, from the 9<sup>th</sup> century on allied with Western courts, reflects his understanding of Chrysostom's usefulness: to subvert the primacy of Constantinople spiritually and, thus as a result, politically. In this connection, his *Letter 276* to the patriarch of Jerusalem is highly indicative. After listing all the places in the Holy Lands that he visits in his imagination, Theodore reassures patriarch Thomas I of Jerusalem (807–820) that he, in fact, has primacy over the other Christian sees, inasmuch as he oversees the places where Christ lived on earth. There is, perhaps, more than a routine *captatio benevolentiae* to be discerned in Theodore's address to an eastern see, asking for aid in combatting Constantinopolitan Iconoclasm:

“How I am amazed over what great and awesome places of worship your blessedness is head. You are first among the patriarchs, even if you are fifth in rank; for, where the bishop/overseer (ἐπίσκοπος) of our souls and the archpriest of all things was born, enacted all his divine works, suffered, was buried, arose again,

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<sup>463</sup> Theodore was, of course, not the only one to follow this strategy. The anti-Stoudite *Vita Stephani Iunioris* also emphasizes that Constantinople alone, of the sees of the Pentarchy, embraced Iconoclasm. See *Vita Stephani Iunioris* § 28. Cf. the comment on patriarch Germanos' successor Anastasios at §10): “ὅστις τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πάντα τοῖς βασιλείοις προέδωκεν” (cf. also §63). The *Life* envisions Iconoclasm as a kind of reverse pagan persecution, where Christians are now accused of idolatry by heretics, who follow the Greeks. At §2, the *Life* quotes from Andrew of Crete's *Homily on Patapios* (CPG 8188, BHG 1425, PG 97:1205–1221, here 1209D–1211A): “Σὺ δέ μοι, ὦ ἱερά τῶν ὀρθοδόξων πανήγυρις, ὅσοι τε τῆς κατὰ Χριστὸν ἄκρω δακτύλῳ φιλοσοφίας ἐγεύσασθε, σπουδάσατε θερμῶς ἐν ἀληθινῇ πίστει τὰ ὅσα τῆς διανοίας θέσθαι· ἐν τοῖς παροῦσι γὰρ, πνευματικῆς εὐεξίας καὶ οὐ σαρκικῆς εὐκλείας ἢ προκοπῆς, ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἔλλησιν, ἢ διήγησις.” For Theodore, as well, Iconoclasm was a “Hellenic” persecution; cf. *Letter 362* to abbot Makarios: “Τί δέ σοι, πατέρων ἄριστε, δοκεῖ τὰ παρόντα, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ προεισόδια τῆς τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου ἐλεύσεως; ἤρθη Χριστὸς ἐκ μέσου γραφόμενος σὺν μητρὶ καὶ θεράπουσιν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἰουδαϊσμοῦ ἤτοι ἐλληνισμοῦ.” *ibid.* *Letter 221* to all of the brotherhoods scattered everywhere for Christ, with those held in prisons and exiles in the Lord.

lived and was taken up—it is clearly there that the rank surpassing all others resides.”<sup>464</sup>

The concept of Constantinople as the heavenly Jerusalem—and imperial efforts over the course of centuries to increase the capital’s spiritual credentials in order to attain and maintain this status—was central to New Rome’s identity.<sup>465</sup> That Theodore would, even metaphorically, deprive the see of Constantinople of its honorary primacy with Rome—in an attempt to undermine its effective primacy of jurisdiction within the empire—and thus ignore the capital’s self-identification as the new, heavenly Jerusalem is characteristic of his subversive strategy. He systematically ignores political precedents and realities in an attempt to impose a spiritual *kratos* onto the political one. Moreover, he also addresses similar letters to the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, in this way trying to unite all of the patriarchal sees in opposition to Constantinople.<sup>466</sup>

The see of Constantinople had been granted honorary primacy equal to that of Old Rome at the Council of Chalcedon (451), not for any spiritual reason, but because it was recognized as a permanent imperial capital.<sup>467</sup> Theodore ignores this in the same way that George of Alexandria depicted Chrysostom ignoring proper etiquette towards the emperor. In his first meeting with Arkadios, Chrysostom had warned him that he would be subject to rebuke just like everyone else—though in actual practice this was unacceptable. George of Alexandria’s Chrysostom, however, superimposes the authority of divine law onto human laws and customs. Theodore does the same. In his letters to Pope Leo III and abbot Basil he repeatedly insists on the legal and canonical prohibitions of Constantine VI’s second marriage; for him, it is transgression of divine law, and, in this connection, he remarks that his opponents claim emperors are not subject to divine laws.<sup>468</sup> In striving to uphold the primacy of divine law over the court, Theodore repeatedly turns to George of Alexandria’s vision of Chrysostom by no coincidence.<sup>469</sup> Constantine VI’s second marriage and Leo V’s reintroduction of

<sup>464</sup> Theodore, *Letter* 276.26–32: “ὁ, πηλίκων καὶ φρικτῶν σεβασμάτων ἢ τῆς σῆς μακαριότητος ὑπάρχει κορυφή. σὺ πρῶτος πατριαρχῶν, κὰν πεντάζοις τῷ ἀριθμῷ· οὗ γὰρ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ τῶν ὄλων ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ ἐγεννήθη καὶ ἔδρασε τὰ θεουργὰ πάντα καὶ ἔπαθεν καὶ τέθαιπται καὶ ἀνέστη καὶ ἔζησε καὶ ἀνελήφθη, ἐκεῖ δὴλον ὅτι τὸ ὑπεραῖρον ἀπάντων ἀξίωμα.” Cf. Tsigkos (1998) 221–226.

<sup>465</sup> Dvornik (1958); Dagron (1974) 409; Carile (2007) especially 359–386 and Kraft (2012). For a slightly different view, see Lidov (1998).

<sup>466</sup> Though his *Letter* 286 to Nikephoros, most holy patriarch of 815–818 makes clear that he is no longer opposed to the Constantinopolitan patriarch, but to the court itself, with which Nikephoros has also broken off relations by this point.

<sup>467</sup> Price and Gaddis (2005) 3:90.

<sup>468</sup> Theodore, *Letters* 28.24–46; 33.30–36; 34.76–84; 555.

<sup>469</sup> This is not to say that Theodore did not have his own political agenda, simply that he framed it in different terms. Cf. Karlin-Hayter (1994).

Iconoclasm—at heart both political decisions on the emperors’ parts<sup>470</sup>—contravened divine law for Theodore, to which the emperor himself is subject just as much as everyone else. Theodore here is striking the heart of a fault line in Byzantine imperial ideology: the antithesis between an officially Christian empire, where God’s law (is supposed to be, according to Theodore’s interpretation, what) reigns,<sup>471</sup> and the surviving concept of the emperor as *nomos empsychos*.<sup>472</sup> After the Council in Trullo (691–692), where Justinian II had attempted to mix the two sources of law together, an initiative furthered by the Isaurian lawgivers as well,<sup>473</sup> the time must have seemed more than ripe to Theodore of Stoudios to re-delineate the proper hierarchy, and Chrysostom was his ideal model.<sup>474</sup> Chrysostom himself had already usurped the privilege of *nomos empsychos* from the emperor and applied it to the apostles.<sup>475</sup> For both Chrysostom and Theodore, divine law—and significantly, those who could interpret it—held true primacy over all others.

### III. CONTEXT AND PERFORMANCE OF SERMCAT

Nevertheless, in Chrysostom’s 4<sup>th</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> century context there was a divide separating him, as a bishop, from monastic leaders.<sup>476</sup> Had Theodore of Stoudios lived then, his reception of

<sup>470</sup> Henry (1969) 495–496 calls Theodote a “paramour” of Constantine VI; having finally come out from under his mother Eirene’s control, he desired to make a marriage alliance of his own choosing, leaving that orchestrated by her to the side. Cf. Herbst (1998) 245–247. For Leo V’s reintroduction of Iconoclasm as a primarily political consideration, see Brubaker and Haldon (2011) 366–371.

<sup>471</sup> Cf. Theodore, *Letter* 532 to emperors Michael and Theophilos: “Ἐγνωσμένον ἐστὶ τοῖς λόγου μετέχουσιν [possibly an indirect slight to Michael II as uneducated, cf. Theophanes Continuatus 7.3–4] ὅτι ὁ παμβασιλεὺς τῶν ἀπάντων θεὸς τὸ τῆς ἐπιγείου βασιλείας χρῆμά τε καὶ ὄνομα τούτου χάριν ἐδωρήσατο τῇ ἀνθρωπείᾳ φύσει, ἵνα, μιμήσει τῶν οὐρανίων καὶ τὰ ἐπίγεια τὸ εἰρηναῖον καὶ ἀστασίαστον κεκτημένα, σύμφωνον ἄγοιεν τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν δοξολογίαν τε καὶ προσκύνησιν.” What Theodore’s round-about explanation of kingship implicitly states is that the court will have a war on its hands if Michael II does not officially repeal Iconoclasm. Cf. also *Letters* 418 to emperor Michael II and 419 to Stephanos Adsekretis. patriarch Nikephoros I had already found himself unwillingly engaged in a war with Theodore over the Joseph Affair. Cf. *Letter* 25 to patriarch Nikephoros and Karlin-Hayter (1994) 224.

<sup>472</sup> Cf. Dagron (2003) 223–247; Ramelli (2006); Amato and Ramelli (2006).

<sup>473</sup> See introduction, section F and cf. Humphreys (2015), (2017).

<sup>474</sup> Unsurprisingly, this often left Theodore implicitly acting as the head of this new hierarchy. Cf. *Letter* 490 to Theoktistos, where he demands an orthodox confession of faith from the monk Theoktistos in the same way that Nikephoros I had attempted to get one from Leo V upon his accession.

<sup>475</sup> See his *Homily 1 On Matthew PG* 57:15: “Οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ὄρους κατήεσαν στήλας φέροντες λιθίνας ἐπὶ τῶν χειρῶν οἱ ἀπόστολοι, καθάπερ Μωϋσῆς· ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ περιφέροντες... βιβλία καὶ νόμοι γινόμενοι διὰ τῆς χάριτος ἔμψυχοι. Οὕτω τοὺς τρισχιλίους, οὕτω τοὺς πεντακισχιλίους, οὕτω τοὺς τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐπεσπᾶσαντο δῆμους, τοῦ Θεοῦ διὰ τῆς ἐκείνων γλώττης τοῖς προσιούσιν ἅπασι διαλεγομένου.” For the *nomos empsychos* in Byzantine imperial ideology see Hunger (1982) 199; McGuckin (2003) 260–262.

<sup>476</sup> As noted in the introduction, the Council of Chalcedon (451) provided canons that officially subjected monks to episcopal authority; these very canons make an appearance later in Methodios’ mid-9<sup>th</sup> century struggle to rein in the Stoudites, Athanasios and Naukratios, who had supported an alternate candidate to replace John the Grammarian. See below, section V.

Chrysostom as a model for an abbot opposing the court and patriarchate would likely have been drastically different. However, George of Alexandria made decisive contributions towards bridging the gap between Chrysostom's episcopal duties, known from historians, and his monastic credentials as quasi-abbot, which George details in his *Vita*. He presents the cenobitic community that Chrysostom joins urging him to give them what amount to catecheses—instructions for the spiritual life.<sup>477</sup> Thus, by the time Theodore settles his community at Stoudios, it would not have appeared strange to cite the example of Chrysostom in describing to the Stoudite monks his apprehension at presuming to be their shepherd, a term traditionally reserved for bishops.<sup>478</sup>

“My fathers, brothers and children, I have already begun giving my catechesis, I have already opened my humble mouth towards you, and I do not say this from humility—for there is none in me—but from a sense of my unspeakable sins and of the instruction required for shepherds [to give]. How much and how great a thing must it end up being for me to act and speak for the benefit of your venerable souls, as it were, every hour and every day! For if God's great archpriest, the preacher of repentance, he who struggled on behalf of the truth—I say Chrysostom...he feared the task of leadership and he trembles and cries out somewhere in his homilies that, ‘it is difficult for me, the overseer, being as I am, to be saved,’ what can I say, the wretch and impure, refuse and worm, the mindless and foolish, the dumb and irrational one? And I do not even know what I can say of my unworthiness. How did I come [to hold] this office? How, being unclean, have I been promoted to enlighten others? How, being far from God, have I been commanded to return those who have gone astray? I should be a sheep, and yet, I have been made a shepherd. I should be a subject, and have come [to be] a ruler. I should make my ear [ready] to listen to instruction, and yet I open my unclean lips for the instruction of others.”<sup>479</sup>

<sup>477</sup> As noted in Part 2, Introduction.

<sup>478</sup> And emperors. See Hunger (1982) 199. Theodore's monasticism was encroaching on both the church's and state's power.

<sup>479</sup> Theodore, *Great Catecheses*, 48.1: “Πατέρες μου και αδελφοί και τέκνα, ως ἤδη ἀρχόμενός εἰμι τὴν κατήχησιν ποιῆσθαι, ως ἤδη ἀνέφρα τὸ στόμα μου τὸ ταπεινὸν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, και τοῦτο οὐκ ἐκ ταπεινοφροσύνης λέγω (οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἐν ἐμοί), ἀλλ' ἐκ συναισθήσεως τῶν τε ἀμυθῆτων μου ἀμαρτιῶν και τῆς ἐκζητουμένης διδασκαλίας ἐν τοῖς ποιμέσι. πόσον γὰρ και ἡλίκον και πράσσειν και λέγειν ὀφείλεται μοι ἐπὶ λυσιτελείᾳ τῶν τιμίων ὑμῶν ψυχῶν, κατὰ πᾶσαν ως εἰπεῖν ἡμέραν και ὥραν! εἰ γὰρ ὁ μέγας ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ κῆρυξ τῆς μετανοίας, ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας ὑπεραθλήσας, τὸν Χρυσόστομον λέγω, μετὰ τὴν ἀπειρώς εἰπεῖν και ἀπερίληπτον τῶν ἐκ θείας χάριτος διὰ τῶν χειλέων αὐτοῦ δίκην ποταμῶν ῥυέντων διδασκαλιῶν ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην, ὡσπερ και ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἔχει θεῶν πατέρων, δέδοικε τὸ ἔργον τῆς προστασίας και τρέμει και βοᾷ που ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ λόγοις, ὅτι “τὸ κατ' ἐμέ, ως ἔχω και διάκειμαι, δύσκολόν ἐστι σωθῆναι τὸν ἐπιτροπεύοντα,” τί ἵνα ἐγὼ φθέγγωμαι ὁ τάλας και ἀκάθαρτος, ἡ κοπρία και ὁ σκόληξ, ὁ ἄνους και ἄφρων, ὁ ἄφρονος και ἄλογος; και οὐκ οἶδα, τί εἶπω ἄξιον τῆς ἑαυτοῦ

Far from disqualifying him from giving instruction, Theodore's public acknowledgement of his unworthiness serves to subtly highlight his position and set him in the good company of a 4<sup>th</sup> century theological and spiritual authority, John Chrysostom. Following the model set out in George of Alexandria's *Vita*, Theodore's expression of humility confirms that he is a shepherd (ποιμήν), a term traditionally reserved for hierarchs, and ruler (ἄρχων), by virtue of his abbacy.<sup>480</sup> Thus, his *Catecheses*, and especially the one that presents SermCat, reinforce his reception of Chrysostom as a project to boldly "speak truth to power" and to subvert the authority of the court. It is in this connection precisely that his performance of SermCat acquires great relevance.

As noted in Part 1, the text of Theodore's *Catechesis* incorporating SermCat indicates that he possibly delivered the text as a paschal homily at the Stoudios monastery—as opposed to the Sakkoudion monastery or from exile.<sup>481</sup> In other words, he likely performed the text in Constantinople, where Chrysostom himself had "spoken truth to power" four centuries earlier. Moreover, in the cases when the text is transmitted in a manuscript of Theodore's *Catecheses*, it is always included in the collection of so-called *Small Catecheses*. This is significant for many reasons. First, Julien Leroy has argued that the division of *Catecheses* into "small" and "great" was done by Stoudite monks after Theodore's death. Theodore himself did not intend them to be circulated widely; the *Small*, though, were perhaps intended for wider circulation. The whole group of *Catecheses* taken together was arranged after Theodore's death into a Stoudite, Theodore-centric Panegyrikon, with readings of particular texts appropriate to major feast days, and in this context SermCat attributed to Chrysostom was transmitted with collections of Theodore's *Catecheses*. Finally, Leroy argues that Theodore delivered the *Small Catecheses* between the years 821–826 at the monastery of St. Tryphon.<sup>482</sup>

The significance of this context for the performance of SermCat is that the *Great Catecheses* were delivered during peaceful times; only the *Small Catecheses* pertain to

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ἀναξιότητος. ὦ, πῶς εἰς τοῦτο ἐπῆλθον τὸ ἀξίωμα; ὦ, πῶς ῥυπαρὸς ὢν εἰς τὸ φωτίζειν ἄλλους προῆγμαι; ὦ, πῶς πόρρω ὢν θεοῦ εἰς τὸ προσάγειν τοὺς ἀφεστηκότας ἐπιτέταγμα; δέον μὲ ἐστὶν πρόβατον εἶναι καὶ εἰς ποιμένα κατέστην· δέον με εἶναι ἀρχόμενον καὶ εἰς ἄρχοντα ἦλθον· δέον ὑποτιθεῖν τὸ οὖς εἰς ἀκρόασιν διδαγμάτων καὶ τὰ ῥυπαρὰ χεῖλη ἀνοίγειν εἰς διδασκαλίαν ἐτέρων." I have been unable to locate the source of the passage Theodore cites from Chrysostom.

<sup>480</sup> And he demonstrates as much in his *Letter 25* to Nikephoros the patriarch of 808, where he demands the removal of the steward Joseph, who had performed Constantine VI's second marriage. Nikephoros' handling of the Council of 809, where Joseph was re-instated, proved his unwillingness to be ruled by Theodore. They remained at odds until Leo V united them against himself.

<sup>481</sup> See Part 1, Analysis of Or.4.

<sup>482</sup> Leroy (2008) 39–40, 43, 62, 93. Cf. Janin (1975) 55–56; Cholij (2010) 62–63.

conflicts, which is in accord with Theodore's use of Chrysostom to fight his battles.<sup>483</sup> Thus, even if Leroy generally dates the collection to 821–826, including Theodore's stay at the monastery of St. Tryphon, nevertheless SermCat is not an absolutely integral piece of this collection; it is transmitted in only 9 out of 87 extant witnesses. Consequently, it would have been considered important and relevant enough to be included, but only sometimes.<sup>484</sup> This fact affords, perhaps, a certain flexibility in dating the text's performance context, as well. If one maintains the general rule that Theodore would have delivered this text during a time of conflict, then feasibly other periods, such as 809–811 and 815–820, present themselves as options also, both periods during which Theodore spent at least some time at Stoudios.<sup>485</sup>

Chrysostomus Baur asserted that almost every time Theodore cites Chrysostom it is in defence of icons, a position supported by Theodore's *Letters*, as observed above, as well as his *Catecheses*.<sup>486</sup> By referring to Theodore's performance of SermCat Baur seems to imply that he held the same opinion concerning this text, as well.<sup>487</sup> SermCat certainly espouses the Chalcedonian Christology by which Theodore aimed to battle Iconoclasm.<sup>488</sup> Moreover, Theodore explicitly interprets SermCat as a preparation for receiving communion in his epilogue to the text,<sup>489</sup> which may well reveal its capacity as a response to Constantine V's argument in his *Peuseis* that the eucharist was the only acceptable image of Christ.<sup>490</sup> If Leo V's Iconoclasm was Theodore's target here, as Theodore's general method of employing Chrysostom suggests, then one intriguing possibility for the text's performance presents itself.

Given that SermCat could only be performed at Pascha, there was only one Pascha available to Theodore to deliver this catechesis before his monks—as opposed to through a letter from exile, which the content of the text seems to exclude as a possibility: 1 April 815. It was only in the final months of 814 that Leo V began to gradually reveal his intention to reintroduce Iconoclasm. In December 814 Leo presented his desire to patriarch Nikephoros I

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<sup>483</sup> Leroy (2008) 62.

<sup>484</sup> A phenomenon not uncommon in the manuscript tradition of Theodore's *Catecheses*. See Leroy (2008).

<sup>485</sup> His third and final exile began in April 815 at the order of Leo V; see Cholij (2010) 58.

<sup>486</sup> *Small Catechesis* 42, with mention of Chrysostom at §11.

<sup>487</sup> Baur (1907) 21 n.9, though he doesn't develop it in any detail.

<sup>488</sup> See Part 1, Analysis of Or.4.

<sup>489</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>490</sup> Cf. Gero (1975); Brubaker and Haldon (2011) 192; Theodore's *Letter* 417 to Naukratios Theodore of Stoudios, *Letters* 2.582–584, written in January of 821 to celebrate the assassination of Leo V the previous December, whom Theodore calls “τὸ σκεῦος τῆς ὀργῆς, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Ταβεήλ, ἵνα μὴ λέγω Καβαλλίνου, τὸν ἀπόγονον τοῦ Ἀχαάβ, τὸ ἐξεμπλάριον Ἰουλιανοῦ, τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ πονηροῦ” etc. Parry (1989) 171 argues that it had actually been left to Theodore and patriarch Nikephoros I to respond to both the Councils of 754 and 815, since John Damascene had died in 749 without knowing Constantine V's *Peuseis*. Cf. also Parry (2018) on Theodore's originality as a theologian. Ironically, in the conflict among iconophiles that followed the restoration of 843, Peter, author of the *Vita* of Ioannikios, has his protagonist call the Stoudites themselves σκεῦη ὀργῆς for opposing their candidate for patriarch, John Katasambas, to Methodios. See Talbot (1998) 340.

and certain other iconophiles, among them Theodore; both Theodore and Nikephoros vehemently opposed him.<sup>491</sup> During Lent of 815 Nikephoros and Theodore both protested, each in his own way. Nikephoros resigned, and was soon sent into exile; Theodore, on Palm Sunday, organized a procession with icons around the Stoudios monastery. Leo V replaced Nikephoros on Pascha, 1 April 815, with Theodotos Melissenos, a lay imperial official. At the iconoclastic synod that Melissenos then convened, Theodore refused to be present. Nevertheless, he addressed his disapproval to the synod in his *Letter 71* to the iconoclastic synod on behalf of all abbots.<sup>492</sup> He was soon ordered into his third and final exile. Theodore's last act of subversive resistance to Leo V's renewed Iconoclasm within Constantinople can be taken to be his performance of SermCat, attributed to Chrysostom, where the Chalcedonian Christology that Theodore used to combat Iconoclasm is on full display. On the very day that Leo installed his puppet-patriarch in order to push through his impious (in Theodore's mind) reforms, Theodore counters; his choice of text even refers his listeners back to Constantine V's attempt in his *Peuseis* to claim the eucharist as the "iconoclast" icon.<sup>493</sup>

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<sup>491</sup> A scene famously depicted in MS. BL Add. 19352 (1066), the Theodore Psalter, named for its scribe, Θεόδωρος ἐκ Καισαρείας (RGK I.131). On f. 27v in the upper left margin Theodore and Nikephoros are depicted holding an icon of Christ. In the lower left margin, they again surround Leo V, enthroned, as iconoclast bishops to their left proceed to whitewash an icon of Christ. Notably, Theodore himself is unnamed; he is simply identified as: ὁ ὀ(σιο)ς π(ατ)ήρ. MS. available online here: [http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add\\_MS\\_19352](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_19352) (accessed 21.1.20). Cf. Krausmüller (2006) 256, 259–270; Parpulov (2014) 245 and *passim*. For summaries of events see Pratsch (1998) 203–261; Chohij (2010) 54–60; Brubaker and Haldon (2011) 366–385. Intriguingly, in Byzantine historiographical accounts, Theophanes Continuatus, Scriptor Incertus, Genesisios and Skylitzes, Theodore and his monastery have been completely removed from the story, which in turn is depicted entirely as a struggle between the court and the patriarch. In a similar way, having contributed to Chrysostom's rise in prominence during the middle Byzantine period with SermCat among other means, Theodore himself is then soon eclipsed by Chrysostom—his own catechesis falling into disuse and marginalized outside of monastic circles. It is not until the end of Second Iconoclasm that the monastery of Stoudios and its abbots begin to make an appearance again in surviving historiographical accounts. Cf. Delouis (2005) 285–304, 374–466. The most prominent exception to this rule is the *Synodikon of Orthodoxy*, which was read out every year (cf. Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, Constantine VII.7; (ps.)Kodinos, *De officiis*, 246.7–12). For Theodore in the text of the *Synodikon*, see Gouillard (1967) 53.127, 297.116.

<sup>492</sup> Again here one discerns Theodore's willingness to assume responsibility for "all abbots" of the city, not all of whom, of course, agreed with him on the issue of icon veneration. Cf. Hatlie (2007) 398. Furthermore, his insistence to speak on behalf of the abbots may imply his disapproval of the anchorites across the Bosphoros, which comes out explicitly in his *Small Catechesis* 38. See also below, V.

<sup>493</sup> On "the inseparable nature of liturgy and theology", see Galadza (2018) 8, with further references. Cf. Theodore's *Vita B* (by Michael the Monk) PG 99:285A–288A. The major drawback to this hypothesis concerning the performance context is that Theodore's *Vita* refrains from mentioning it, even though it does refer to his *Letter 71* to the Council of 815, citing the first lines of it. As far as I am aware, no surviving source, other than Version A of the Stoudite *Hypotyposis*, directly refers to Theodore's reading of SermCat; in this way, the hypothesis is neither confirmed nor denied. However, even Neophytos Enkleistos (1134–1214 ca.) does not mention the source from which he learned of the reading of SermCat, despite it being almost certainly a collection of Theodore's own *Catecheses* (cf. Part I and below, ch. 4). Consequently, in the absence of any further evidence in support of, or contrary to, the present hypothesis, it appears to fit the context of Theodore's opposition to Leo V's iconoclast policies, manifested both by his procession with icons and his letter to the Council of 815. Therefore, I adopt it as a plausible explanation until and unless a better one presents itself.

#### IV. AFTERMATH: “CHRYSOSTOM MUST INCREASE, THEODORE MUST DECREASE”<sup>494</sup>

In the final, official iconophile restoration of 843 the Stoudites’ role was not the central or glorious one, of which Theodore had surely dreamt.<sup>495</sup> Instead, the Stoudites were marginalized both in practice and in the commemoration of the event.<sup>496</sup> On the other hand, Chrysostom began to grow in significance and centrality for Byzantine spirituality, in part due to Theodore’s contributions. Thus, the aftermath of Iconoclasm witnessed the Stoudites’ struggle to avoid their own reduction to a less prominent role, even as Theodore’s saintly hero and champion against Iconoclasm, Chrysostom, gained in conspicuousness.

Chrysostom’s presence in the life of everyday Byzantines would likely have been felt most in the services of the church. *SermCat* demonstrates this, but other 9<sup>th</sup> century evidence fills out the picture, as well. First, the *Life of Stephen the Younger* (BHG 1666) testifies to the reading of Chrysostom’s corpus in church services throughout the year<sup>497</sup>—and to the special preference Stephen had for hearing Chrysostom’s homilies being read out in church over saints’ lives or other church fathers’ homilies.<sup>498</sup> In addition to this, the increased practice of

<sup>494</sup> John 3:30: “ἐκεῖνον δεῖ αὐξάνειν, ἐμὲ δὲ ἐλαττοῦσθαι.”

<sup>495</sup> For overviews of events, see Darrouzès (1987); Karlin-Hayter (2006); Delouis (2005) 285–304, (forthcoming presentation at Vienna conference on Theodore of Stoudios in 2016). I thank Dr. Delouis for making his paper available to me ahead of publication.

<sup>496</sup> As noted above, even the pro-Stoudite historians, Theophanes Continuatus and Genesios, do not mention Theodore’s role in opposing Leo V’s Iconoclasm—though they do give the tradition that empress Theodora was spurred onto restore the icons by Stoudite insistence (Talbot (1998) 211 n. 338; Karlin-Hayter (2006) esp. 61–63). Delouis (forthcoming) 2 even argues that the inclusion of Theodore of Stoudios’ name among the acclamations of the *Synodikon of Orthodoxy*—just as much as the translation of his relics back to Constantinople in 844—was in fact part of patriarch Methodios’ general strategy to neutralize the impact of Theodore’s legacy, and thus hamstringing his successors in the mid-9<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>497</sup> *Vita Stephani Iunioris*, §97. Just as Theodore subtly employed language that depicted him in an episcopal role of authority, as noted above, so the *Life* here does the same for Stephen, *ibid.* 21–28: “Καὶ οὕτως ὁ κατὰ ἀλήθειαν ἐκ βρέφους ἱερός καὶ τοῦ πανευφήμου Τιμοθέου σύσκηνος, τῷ κοινῷ διδασκάλῳ Παύλῳ ἐξακολουθῶν καὶ νήφων ἐν πᾶσι, τῶν τε ὀπισθεν ἐπιλανθανόμενος καὶ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ὁσημέραι ἐπεκτεινόμενος, οὐ διέλειπεν, δαυϊτικῶς εἰπεῖν, μελετῶν νύκτωρ τε καὶ ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ νόμῳ κυρίου, ὡσεὶ ξύλον πεφυτευμένον παρὰ τὰς διεξόδους τῶν ὑδάτων· ἦδει γὰρ ὅτι μετ’ οὐ πολὺ ἐν καιρῷ ἰδίῳ δώσει τοὺς καρποὺς τῶν πόνων αὐτοῦ εἰς ἑκατόν.” We have already seen in the introduction how George of Alexandria applied these same themes to Chrysostom’s episcopal years: study day and night and having Paul as a teacher. Moreover, naming Stephen a classmate of Timothy further points to what kind of instruction he was receiving from Paul: lessons in how to be a bishop. Cf. 1 Tim. 3:1–2: “εἴ τις ἐπισκοπῆς ὀρέγεται, καλοῦ ἔργου ἐπιθυμεῖ. δεῖ οὖν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἀνεπίλημπτον εἶναι...” For the significance of 1 Timothy in training clergy in Byzantium, see Rapp (2005) 32–41. Thus, the *Vita*, being anti-Stoudite, shows traces of rival claims to Theodore’s conception of authority. See below, V.

<sup>498</sup> *Vita Stephani Iunioris*, §17–21: “πρὸς τῆς ἱεράς κηκλίδος ἱστάμενος [i.e. Stephen] καὶ τῷ ἀναγνώστῃ προσέχων, ἐκ μόνης ἀκρόασεως μαθάνειν αὐτὸν τὸ ἀναγινωσκόμενον καὶ ἐπὶ στόματος φέρειν, εἴτε μαρτύριον, εἴτε βίον, εἴτε καὶ πατρός τινος διδασκαλίαν, μάλιστα δὲ τοῦ μελισταγοῦς Χρυσοστόμου πατρός· αὐτοῦ γὰρ ἔλεγεν πλείω ἐπιποθεῖν τὰς θείας διδασκαλίας.” The scene described here may reflect the effect of Canon 19 of the Council in Trullo (691–692), which ordained that clergy should preach only what is in accord with the canon of the fathers of the Church and, indeed, should avoid writing their own homilies altogether (ACO II:19): “...εἰ

frequent—even everyday—communion also led to prevalence of the liturgy attributed to Chrysostom.<sup>499</sup> Already in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, George of Alexandria’s Chrysostom recommends to a man he has healed to receive communion daily.<sup>500</sup> This may be an indication that the practice we know from the 9<sup>th</sup> century reached back even to the 7<sup>th</sup>: Chrysostom’s liturgy was celebrated on weekdays, while that attributed to Basil was celebrated on Sundays. In any case, Theodore instituted the daily celebration of Chrysostom’s liturgy at Stoudios so that the community could receive communion as frequently as possible.<sup>501</sup> How exactly this transitioned into Chrysostom’s liturgy overtaking that of Basil’s to the point of becoming the “official” liturgy celebrated on Sundays and almost every other occasion is not described step-by-step in surviving sources. However, what is of interest is a legendary account of patriarchs Tarasios and Nikephoros discussing precisely this issue.

The anonymous source relates how Nikephoros and Tarasios were deciding amongst themselves the proper manner for the liturgy to be celebrated. They eventually both agree that the arrangement current in the early 9<sup>th</sup> century needed to change. Since Basil’s liturgy was too compunctual for the celebration of the resurrection, it should not be celebrated every Sunday, but rather on more compunctual days, such as the Sundays of Lent. On the other hand, Chrysostom’s liturgy was more proper for a joyous celebration of the resurrection, and so it should be appointed as the main liturgy for every Sunday.<sup>502</sup> Despite the blatantly fictitious nature of the account—impossible if for no other reason than, despite referring to each other as patriarchs, Nikephoros only succeeded Tarasios because of the latter’s death—nevertheless, the anecdote serves to summarize the general tenor of the Stoudites’ position following both the death of Theodore and the restoration of 843: their own marginalization. Theodore is completely absent from the account, even though his direct association between frequent communion and Chrysostom’s liturgy likely played a critical role in the shift in the Church’s liturgical preferences as a whole, especially since what developed into the Stoudite Typikon—

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γραφικὸς ἀνακινήθει λόγος [i.e. interpretation of Scripture], μὴ ἄλλως τοῦτον ἐρμηνεύεωσαν ἢ ὡς ἂν οἱ τῆς ἐκκλησίας φωστῆρες καὶ διδάσκαλοι διὰ τῶν οικείων συγγραμμάτων παρέθεντο· καὶ μᾶλλον ἐν τούτοις εὐδοκιμεῖωσαν ἢ λόγους οικείους συντάττοντες, ἔστιν ὅτε πρὸς τοῦτο ἀπόρως ἔχοντες ἀποπίπτειεν τοῦ προσήκοντος.” Intriguingly, in Trullo’s first 36 canons, 3–39, which are devoted to the clergy (cf. Humphreys (2015) 62–63), Chrysostom is cited as an authority twice, in Canons 16 and 32, whereas almost no other Church father is even mentioned.

<sup>499</sup> For a historical overview of this practice, see Parenti (2010); Galadza (forthcoming presentation at Vienna conference on Theodore of Stoudios 2016), with further references. I thank Dr. Galadza for sharing his paper with me ahead of publication.

<sup>500</sup> George of Alexandria, *Vita*, 132: “Κοινωνήσον δὲ ἡμερουσίως τῶν ἁγίων μυστηρίων σχολάζων διαπαντὸς τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ.”

<sup>501</sup> For a recent general overview of the subject, see Galadza (2018), here 130–131; Parenti (2010) 42–44.

<sup>502</sup> For text, English translation and analysis, see Alexopoulos (2006) 132–135. Cf. Taft (1992) 55.

based on his own initiatives—came to prevalence in the Byzantine church by the 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries. In this connection, SermCat itself provides another telling indication.

In Part 1, it was noted that the title often given to the text in question in the manuscript tradition is *Catechetical Homily on Pascha* (CPG 4605). Nevertheless, the earliest extant witness to the text, Vaticanus graecus 2079 (before 868), simply calls it: *Homily of our father among the saints John Chrysostom on the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ*.<sup>503</sup> In fact, in the majority of 9<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> century witnesses generally, the text has a similar title, with reference often being made to the kiss of peace (ἀσπασμός) during the paschal liturgy,<sup>504</sup> an example being one of the earliest witnesses, Laurentianus Plutei 9.22 (974), whose text is descended from that of Vat. gr. 2079.<sup>505</sup> Nevertheless, by the 12<sup>th</sup> century, the text begins to be viewed as “catechetical”, as in Sinaiticus graecus 1095 (12<sup>th</sup> century), where the title is: *Catechesis of our father among the saints John Chrysostom, archbishop of Constantinople, on the brilliant [Sunday] of the holy, glorious resurrection of Christ our God*.<sup>506</sup> The scribe even includes in red ink, used for the rest of the title also, Theodore’s characteristic opening address for his *Catecheses*: “Brothers and fathers”. It was in the 12<sup>th</sup> century that the Stoudite Typikon began to exercise its greatest influence on the Church as a whole.<sup>507</sup> Consequently, in the immediate aftermath of the restoration of 843, the text itself initially gained immediate popularity in monastic centers with close links to the monastery of Stoudios, but nevertheless retained its character as a text of Chrysostom more than as a catechesis of Theodore. This is further reinforced by its somewhat rare inclusion in collections of Theodore’s *Small Catecheses*. It

<sup>503</sup> Vat. gr. 2079 (before 868) f. 47v: ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ Π(ΑΤ)Ρ(Ο)Σ ΗΜΩΝ ΙΩΑΝ| ΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΣ·| ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΝ ΤΟΥ Κ(ΥΡΙΟΥ) ΗΜΩΝ Ι(ΗΣΟΥ) Χ(ΡΙΣΤΟΥ) (available here: [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Vat.gr.2079](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.2079) accessed 21.1.20).

<sup>504</sup> A practice we know to be current at Stoudios before Theodore’s 3<sup>rd</sup> exile, at least, from Theodore’s own description in his *First Polemic against Iconoclasts* 78: “καὶ νῦν μὲν κλάδους αἴρομεν εἰς τύπον τῆς ἐπὶ πῶλου καθέδρας· νῦν δὲ ἀσπασόμεθα ἀλλήλους εἰς σημεῖον τῆς ἀναστάσεως.” Judging from Theodore’s expression, the kiss of peace must have been known to his opponents, and so likely an element of the Cathedral rite, as well. Cf. Bertonière (1972) 143–145, who nevertheless makes reference to later sources. However, Version A of the Stoudite *Hypotyposis* also describes the kiss of peace, together with the reading of SermCat. See Thomas and Hero (2000) 4.99–100.

<sup>505</sup> Laur. 9.22 (974) f. 195v: “+ τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμῶν ἰω(άννου) ἀρχιεπισκ(ὸ)π(ου) κωνσταντινου| πόλεως τοῦ χρυσοστόμου·| λόγος, εἰς τὸν ἀσπασμόν·| κύ(ριε) εὐλό(γησον).” The manuscript has been digitized and is available here: <http://teca.bmlonline.it/ImageViewer/servlet/ImageViewer?idr=TECA0000612266&keywords=plut.09.22#page/396/mode/1up> (accessed 23.1.20).

<sup>506</sup> Sinaiticus graecus 1095 (12<sup>th</sup> century) f. 146v: “Τοῦ ἐν ἀγ(ίοις) π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμ(ῶν) ἰω(άννου) ἀρχ(ι)επισκόπου| κωνσταντινουπ(ὸ)λ(εως) τοῦ χρ(υσοστόμου)· κατήχησις| εἰς τ(ὴν) λαμπρὰν τῆς ἀγ(ίας) ἐνδόξου χ(ριστο)ῦ τοῦ| θ(εο)ῦ ἡμῶν ἀναστάσεως : ἀδελ| φοὶ καὶ πατέρες :” I thank Fr. Justin Sinaites for providing me with high-quality digital photos of this and other manuscripts from the Library of St. Catherine’s monastery, Sinai.

<sup>507</sup> Cf. Taft (1992) 52–61, esp. 59 ff.; Galadza (2019) 136–138, but with reservations.

was only later, with the rise of the Stoudite Typikon in the 12<sup>th</sup> century that almost immediately SermCat begins to reflect its Stoudite associations once more.<sup>508</sup>

This is curious when one considers that one of the primary ways that the Stoudites fought to occupy the center of the restoration of 843, aside from once again vying for the see of Constantinople,<sup>509</sup> was precisely through the editing and distribution of Theodore's so-called *Small Catecheses*. Delouis has argued that, when taking account of their situation, Theodore's successors made a conscious choice to avoid a comprehensive edition of his corpus. Instead, they focused on the final grouping of his *Catecheses* as the hallmark of his spiritual legacy, those delivered between 821–826, i.e. during his 3<sup>rd</sup> exile in the period of Second Iconoclasm. The edition produced was well planned, focusing on promoting those of Theodore's texts that could be easily employed for major feasts of the liturgical calendar, beginning with Pascha. SermCat, of characteristically short length and addressing Pascha itself, could not fail but to adorn this collection in at least certain of its surviving witnesses. Indeed, this strategy even extended to the almost complete exclusion of the so-called *Great Catecheses*, which had largely been delivered during peace time.<sup>510</sup>

Finally, a glimpse at the 10<sup>th</sup> century manuscripts of SermCat reflect the effects of this 9<sup>th</sup> century situation. Each of the 9 manuscripts bears witness to one or another aspect of the Stoudite predicament in the period of restoration. Theodore is conspicuously absent from the vast majority of these witnesses, though it is always necessary to be careful not to confuse what is in many cases the accident of survival until the present day with an accurate reflection of the reality of the situation at that time.<sup>511</sup> Complementing his invisibility is Chrysostom's pronounced presence. In seven out of nine manuscripts, all of which are various types of Panegyrika, John Chrysostom is the most frequent appearing author—though numerous of these attributions have been called into question.<sup>512</sup> Regardless of their authenticity, the

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<sup>508</sup> This is perhaps further reinforced by the case of ms. Parisinus graecus 1018 (10<sup>th</sup> century). The manuscript is a collection of Theodore of Stoudios' corpus, beginning with the *Small Catecheses*. The collection of catecheses seems to have originally begun on f. 9r with what Theodore of Stoudios, *Small Catecheses* 1–3 recognizes as *Catechesis* 1 on the need to conduct our entire lives in readiness. F. 8r gives the end of the table of contents. Nevertheless, on ff. 8r–v we today find SermCat following the table of contents, copied in a hand different from the main hand of the witness, and likely dating to the 12–13<sup>th</sup> centuries

<sup>509</sup> Karlin-Hayter (2006) 66–74; Delouis (forthcoming) 2; cf. Darrouzès (1987). For a slightly different view, see Hatlie (2007) 391–392.

<sup>510</sup> Delouis (forthcoming) 3.

<sup>511</sup> For a different perspective on Theodore's continued veneration in later Byzantine generations, see also Kaklamanos (2015a).

<sup>512</sup> The manuscripts in question are: Jerusalem Hagiou Saba 1, Oxford Bodleian Baroccianus 199, Ottob. gr. 14, Vat. gr. 1633, Vat. gr. 2013, Vindobonensis supplementum graecum 177, Leukosia archiepiscopal library 19, Laur. 9.22 and Parisinus graecus 1018. As noted in Part 1, Chrysostom is almost always the most popular author in the various Panegyrika examined.

attributions themselves demonstrate Chrysostom's prevalence in collections of readings for the liturgical year. The two exceptions to this rule are: 1) *Vindobonensis supplementum graecum* 177, a collection of Gregory Nazianzen's orations, preceded by *SermCat* and 2) *Parisinus graecus* 1018, a copy of the Stoudite edition of Theodore of Stoudios' corpus.

## V. THEODORE IN HIS CONTEXT

The reason behind Theodore's almost invisibility outside of explicitly Stoudite sources closely corresponds to his method of employing Chrysostom as a prototype of pious subversion. Theodore was always seeking opportunities to involve his monastic community in the politics of the capital city. From their establishment at the Stoudios in 780—just after the death of Constantine V's successor, Leo IV, while Eirene was busily keeping the five other descendents as far away as possible—to their protests over Constantine VI's second marriage in 797 and the Joseph Affair later in 809, Theodore of Stoudios and his community's every public move was designed to make a statement of "truth to power". This not only gained him the ire of the court on frequent occasions, but also served to isolate him from the patriarchate, as well. Theodore, for his part, had a vision of the unification of monastics—demonstrated not least by his presumption to write to Leo V's Council of 815 as if on behalf of all abbots in his *Letter* 71. Just like Chrysostom arbitrarily extending his jurisdiction into Ephesos in order to deal with simoniacs and then installing his own candidate for hierarch to the annoyance of the clergy there, Theodore strove to increase his jurisdiction, albeit in a different way, inasmuch as canonically an abbot had no jurisdiction outside his monastery walls. Theodore's solution to this was to create the so-called Stoudite federation: networks of communication, interdependence and influence. In this way, Theodore adapted Chrysostom's expansionist vision of jurisdictional authority, always in the name of defending orthodox belief and practice against a corrupted clergy and/or empire. For Chrysostom, as noted in the introductory section, this worked better than for Theodore from the start. Each in his own way provided Constantinople with a potential asset that was missing before: Chrysostom, the saintly archbishop who solidified Constantinople's growing claim to primacy; Theodore, the resolute monastic defender of the purity of orthodoxy, who could potentially bridge the gap between monasticism and church hierarchy and politics, if only his cult could grow to the necessary levels of popularity to be cemented in Byzantine spiritual consciousness. This was the task that the Stoudites set themselves after Theodore's death, and yet, many of the figures who criticized

and undermined this effort were neither church hierarchs bitter about Theodore (with the exception of Methodios, who was himself a monk) or imperial officials. Instead, open criticism of, and opposition to, him is to be found mostly in sources written either by and/or for prominent monastics of his day. It was this infighting among monastics—cenobitics and anchorites—that eventually hindered the necessary expansion of Theodore’s posthumous cult beyond monastic circles closely associated with Stoudios, and thus, Theodore’s attempted imitation of Chrysostom in this final sense remained ineffective, a phenomenon which will now be examined in greater detail.<sup>513</sup>

First among Theodore’s critics is Theophanes the Confessor (ca. 760–817), founder of the community of Megas Agros in Bithynia, on the southern shore of the Sea of Marmara.<sup>514</sup> Theophanes, despite being a resolute iconophile, even a “Confessor” like Theodore,<sup>515</sup> nevertheless was also a staunch supporter of church hierarchy. He had no desire to create his own hierarchy, by forging a vast network of confederate monasteries, as Theodore of Stoudios desired and sought to implement. Rather, Theophanes and many other monastics of the day submitted more willingly to existing hierarchies, discerning in Theodore’s enthusiastic promotion of cenobitic monasticism an excuse to set up a rival hierarchy, and thus jurisdiction, of authority with Stoudios at its head, that could effectively challenge both court and patriarchate whenever Theodore desired.<sup>516</sup> Consequently, Theophanes disagreed with Theodore over the issue of patriarch Tarasios’ handling of Constantine VI’s second marriage

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<sup>513</sup> Though even centuries after his death, Theodore continued to be revered in Stoudite circles, as demonstrated by Niketas Stethatos in his *Vita* of Symeon the New Theologian. See *Niketas Stethatos, Life of Saint Symeon the New Theologian* 61, 63, 93 and 108.

<sup>514</sup> Brubaker and Haldon (2011) 298–300.

<sup>515</sup> The *Synodikon of Orthodoxy* (Gouillard (1967) 297.116), as well as numerous later authors (especially Stoudites, such as Niketas Stethatos (cf. Darrouzès (1961) *Oratio* 10.11.2–3), recognized Theodore as a Confessor. However, cf. the *Life and conduct of and narrative about our thrice-blessed and inspired fathers David, Symeon, and George, those lights shining in ancient and terrible times* (Talbot (1998) 182–183 (BHG 494)), where Theodore is omitted from a list of iconophile confessors under Leo V that includes patriarch Nikephoros I, Euthymios of Sardis, Theophanes the Confessor and George of Mytilene. See also Talbot (1998) 185–186 n. 220 for further traces of this particular hagiographer’s desire to suppress the role of the Stoudites in opposing Second Iconoclasm.

<sup>516</sup> Cf. Theophanes’ caustic comments concerning Theodore’s opposition to patriarch Nikephoros I’s election at Theophanes Confessor 481: “...ἐχειροτονήθη Νικηφόρος, ὁ ἀγιώτατος πατριάρχης, ἀπὸ ἀσηκρητῶν ψήφω παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ τῶν ἱερέων, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῶν βασιλέων [Despite Kazhdan’s comment (ODB s.v. *Theophanes the Confessor*) that Theophanes opposed almost every emperor he wrote about, here Theophanes describes the process of Nikephoros’ selection of patriarch as much more democratic than the likely autocratic process that it was. Cf. also Theodore’s *Letter* 16 to emperor Nikephoros, which presents the picture of an emperor deciding which patriarch he will choose]. Πλάτων δὲ καὶ Θεόδωρος, ἡγούμενοι τῆς μονῆς τῶν Στουδίου, οὐ συνευδόκησαν τῇ χειροτονίᾳ Νικηφόρου, ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν ἀντετάχθησαν σχίσμα μελετήσαντες, αἰτίαν δῆθεν εὐλογον ἔχοντες τὸ μὴ δεῖν ἀπὸ λαϊκῶν ἀθρώων εἰς ἐπισκοπὴν ἀνατρέχειν...καὶ οὐκ ἦν τὸ πρᾶγμα ξένον τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ προσφάτως ἐπινοηθέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλοὶ ἄλλοι ἀπὸ λαϊκῶν ἐπεσκόπησαν ἀξίως τῆς ἀξίας τῷ θεῷ ἱερατεύσαντες.”

and over emperor Nikephoros I's selection of the secretary Nikephoros to succeed Tarasios.<sup>517</sup> While Theodore broke communion, Theophanes had a more flexible understanding of the key concept of *oikonomia* invoked by Tarasios and a high estimation of Nikephoros as choice for patriarch. It was only Leo V's reintroduction of Iconoclasm that gave Theophanes and Theodore a common enemy, thus reuniting them. After Theophanes' death in 817, Theodore composed an encomium in his honor.<sup>518</sup>

The next major iconophile source to undermine Theodore and his motives is the *Life of Stephen the Younger* (BHG 1666). The *Vita* does not openly criticize Theodore; rather, Marie-France Auzépy has discerned in the context of the *Vita*'s composition an opposition to the Stoudite tendency toward schism.<sup>519</sup> She dates the *Vita* to ca. 809, the time when Theodore had just broken communion with patriarch Nikephoros I over the Joseph Affair. Facing much opposition and a formidable threat from what amounted to essentially a Stoudite "excommunication", Nikephoros needed a spiritual authority to support him. In this context, a deacon of Hagia Sophia, Stephen, wrote the *Life of Stephen the Younger*, an alleged martyr of Constantine V's Iconoclasm. Indicatively, Stephen the younger is meant to have been an anchorite of Bithynia, the same area where Theodore's family institution, Sakkoudion, was located, and indeed, where Theophanes the Confessor's monastery of Megas Agros was located. A pattern is emerging, which will continue with the *Life of Ioannikios* as well, whereby anchorites of Bithynia are opposed to Theodore and his vastly extending cenobitism, based in the capital, as noted above.

The *Life of Ioannikios* is one of the most openly critical of both Theodore and the Stoudites in general. It is with Ioannikios that Theodore himself first informs us of his own distaste for the anchoritism being practiced in Bithynia, in specific relation to Second Iconoclasm; he accuses them of sitting out the fight while still claiming to be confessors.<sup>520</sup>

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<sup>517</sup> Ignatios, however, in his *Life of Nikephoros the patriarch* responds to Theodore's objections in various ways. First, he imbues (Talbot (1998) 57) Nikephoros' past with the beginnings of pragmatic authority, by highlighting how he was put in charge of Constantinople's largest poorhouse, which prepared him to later become patriarch (Cf. Constantelos (1968) 257–269; Hunger (1963)). Ignatios, then, responds (Talbot (1998) 58–59) to the Stoudite understanding that emperor Nikephoros I had simply ignored Theodore's specifications for patriarchal candidate by relating how God had already chosen the secretary Nikephoros as his patriarch; God's choice is then revealed to emperor Nikephoros, who did not hear anyone else recommending God's candidate but nevertheless remained faithful to this divine revelation—perhaps a veiled criticism of Theodore. Finally, the secretary Nikephoros' (Talbot (1998) 60) ascetic credentials are then revealed to emperor Nikephoros, thus again answering Theodore's objection that a layman is untrained in the spiritual life.

<sup>518</sup> Cf. *Letters* 214 and 291. For the encomium, see Efthymiadis (1993).

<sup>519</sup> Cf. Auzépy (2007), especially page 128, n. 29 where she highlights certain basic differences in conception of the ideal monk by Theodore and the *Vita* of Stephen the Younger.

<sup>520</sup> Talbot (1998) 245 and n.10 for reference. The version of Ioannikios' *Vita* that Talbot includes is that by Peter, a monk of the Agauroi monastery on Mt. Olympos in Bithynia (cf. Talbot (1998) 245; Hatlie (2007) 478); the

The *Vita* has Ioannikios respond to this attack in various ways. First, a group of prominent clergy visit Ioannikios, among them Theodore and Joseph the steward, who had performed Constantine VI's second marriage. Ioannikios' *Vita* depicts the Stoudites overtly as Pharisees, in whose minds questions and doubts arise as to why this holy man, Ioannikios, would receive Joseph the steward into his abode.<sup>521</sup> The second episode addresses the period of Methodios' patriarchate.<sup>522</sup> Ioannikios explains first to his close friend, Eustratios, abbot of the Agaurio monastery,<sup>523</sup> that the Stoudites' opposition to Methodios is due to the devil, who has entered their minds and made them do and say outrageous things, since he could not bear to see the Church in peace. For Ioannikios, they are vessels of destruction,<sup>524</sup> babblers and schismatics on a par with the Arians. Later, Ioannikios writes to Methodios asking the latter to visit him before he dies. Methodios arrives with a sizeable entourage, who receive Ioannikios' warning about those who are "not afraid to rend the tunic<sup>525</sup> of the word of God, and have even torn it into many pieces." He means, of course, the schismatic Stoudites that follow in Theodore's footsteps. Ioannikios then culminates his rebuke by asserting that:

"Those who did not shudder to do these things to the fathers and the holy patriarchs who have gone before [i.e. Tarasios, Nikephoros and, perhaps, even Joseph the steward], have themselves become therefore by their own action a scandal to the church of God, and sons of the wicked one and tares.<sup>526</sup> If anyone, therefore, does not accept the great Methodios as patriarch, like the great Basil, and the theologian Gregory and the divine Chrysostom, let him be anathema."<sup>527</sup>

Ioannikios' *Vita* reframes Theodore of Stoudios' attempts to follow in Chrysostom's footsteps by casting Theodore himself in the role of the schismatic Arians. Basil had fought

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other *Vita*, by Sabas, a monk of the St. Zacharias monastery at the base of the same Mt. Olympos, is not hostile to the Stoudites. See *ibid.* 248.

<sup>521</sup> Talbot (1998) 293 where Ioannikios commends Joseph the steward for his repentance and encourages him to continue since his [Joseph's] death is near: "The Stoudites were scandalized at this, for they are always accustomed to concoct scandal and to consider themselves superior to anyone else. Thus in no small measure they found fault with the blessed man [Ioannikios] in their thoughts, adding even this in their mind, 'Who knows the day of each man's death but God alone?'" The scene is highly reminiscent of Christ, as the holy man *par excellence*, healing the paralytic by forgiving his sins—with the Pharisees then questioning in their hearts his authority to do so, since only God can remit sins. Even Jesus' rebuke of the Pharisees is echoed in Ioannikios' to the Stoudites. Cf. Mk. 2:1–12 and Lk. 5:17–26

<sup>522</sup> Talbot (1998) 338–344.

<sup>523</sup> And thus, the hagiographer Peter's own abbot. Peter claims that Eustratios is his main source of information on Ioannikios. Cf. Talbot (1998) 245.

<sup>524</sup> Cf. Rom. 9:22: σκεύη ὀργῆς.

<sup>525</sup> Cf. Jn. 19:23–24.

<sup>526</sup> Cf. Matt. 13:38.

<sup>527</sup> Talbot (1998) 343–344.

them first with Athanasios; Gregory then presided over the Council of Constantinople (381), which condemned them again. And yet, the Arians insisted, even in Chrysostom's day, on keeping their own churches and processing through the capital singing Arian hymns. Chrysostom dealt with them by enforcing the anathemas against them and compelling the emperor to either induce them to accept Nicaean orthodoxy or be expelled from the capital.<sup>528</sup>

## VI. CONCLUSIONS

This chapter began by outlining Theodore of Stoudios' reasons for turning to Chrysostom as a model in his own life and the methods by which he strove to promote his association with Chrysostom to others, as an indication of his stance as martyr for, and champion of, orthodoxy. In this effort, he focused on subverting and openly opposing the imperial court and the church hierarchy, if he considered that the latter were being excessively subservient to the former. He received a backlash from both of these quarters. Nevertheless, in the aftermath of the restoration of 843, monastics gained a significantly greater presence in church and state politics. One would expect, from reading Stoudite sources like Theodore's *Letters* and *Catecheses*, that the vanguard would again be led by a faithful successor of Theodore. However, it was precisely Theodore's understanding and use of Chrysostom that laid the seeds for factions to open up within monastic circles. Theodore's strict adherence to what Sokrates had discerned in Chrysostom<sup>529</sup>—excessive free speech (*parrhesia*)—as the most salient feature of Chrysostom's reception had made him enemies in precisely the monastic camps whose recommendation for patriarch in 843 was followed. Even so, the opposition to a "Theodorian" reception of Chrysostom would not end with Ioannikios and Methodios. As Peter of the Agauroi monastery noted in his *Vita* of Ioannikios, peace in the Church never lasted long, and 843 was no exception. With the patriarchates of Photios, the reign of Leo VI and the opposition raised against him by patriarch Nicholas I Mystikos, Arethas and Niketas David Paphlagon, Chrysostom's reception would again come to the fore, and further responses would be given to the "Theodorian" understanding of Chrysostom's significance for Byzantine spirituality.

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<sup>528</sup> See Sokrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica*.6.8; cf. George of Alexandria, *Vita*, 153–156.

<sup>529</sup> Sokrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 6.3.13–14.

## **CHAPTER 2—A TALE OF TWO EMPERORS**

### **I. SERMCAT IN THE 10<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY**

The 10<sup>th</sup> century marks a watershed moment in the history of SermCat. There are extant witnesses representing three of the five main branches of the manuscript tradition in the 10<sup>th</sup> century—Laur. 9.22, Ottobonianus graecus 14 and Vaticanus graecus 2013—each of which diverges significantly from the others. Laur. 9.22 is the oldest dated collection of Chrysostomic texts, most likely originating from a scriptorium in Constantinople, copied by Basil the calligrapher in 974.<sup>530</sup> On the other hand, Ottob. gr. 14 and Vat. gr. 2013 are both Greek manuscripts of Italian provenance, while Vaticanus graecus 1633—a descendent of Laur. 9.22 and dated to the 10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> centuries—belonged to the Grottaferrata monastery, which was founded in 1004 by Neilos of Rossano. The monastery, though under the pope’s jurisdiction, followed the Byzantine rite—including the reading of SermCat at Pascha—and its monks, like its founder, were mostly from Calabria.<sup>531</sup> This manuscript may have been copied precisely for the newly-founded monastery. Many of these Italo-Greek monasteries adopted numerous elements of liturgical practice and daily life from the Stoudios monastery.<sup>532</sup> Consequently, despite the Stoudites’ marginalization in the aftermath of 843 specifically within Constantinople, the reception of Theodore of Stoudios appears to have been quite warm, especially in the monastic heartlands on the Italian peninsula, on Sinai and in the Judaeen desert.<sup>533</sup> Indeed, the presence of these diverging textual families, which are all attested in the

<sup>530</sup> Signature visible on f. 180v (<http://mss.bmlonline.it/s.aspx?Id=AWODIIV5I1A4r7GxL-IR&c=1.%20Reliqua%20ex%20Epistolis%20S.%20P.%20N.%20Ioannis%20Chrysostomi%20in%20finis%20huius%20libri%20descriptis#/oro/366>, accessed 24.2.20). See Part 1, 50; cf. RGK IIIB.70. Another witness in the same branch as Laur. 9.22, Sinaiticus graecus 234 (late 10<sup>th</sup> century), currently held in the Russian State Historical Museum, notes in the upper margin just above the title of SermCat: “+ ἤκουσα ὅτι ἀναγινώσκειται εἰς τὴν ἀπόλυσιν τ(οῦ) ὀρθρ(ου) τ(ῆ)ς μ(ε)γ(άλ)ης κυ(ριακῆ)ς.”

<sup>531</sup> ODB s.v. *Grottaferrata*.

<sup>532</sup> Leroy (2008).

<sup>533</sup> Nevertheless, he also enjoyed a certain esteem within 10<sup>th</sup> century Constantinople, as well. Theodore Daphnopates is credited with *Vita A* of Theodore of Stoudios (BHG 1755, *PG* 99.113–232). Theodore’s successor to the abbacy of Stoudios and later patriarch, Antony III (973–978), testifies that Theodore’s *Catecheses* continued to be read daily in the Stoudios monastery, and Symeon the New Theologian (949–1022), though abbot at St. Mamas monastery, was originally a monk under the direction of Symeon the Pious at Stoudios. During his later abbacy, he delivered his own considerable corpus of catecheses, which he modeled on those of Theodore. See Antonopoulou (2011) 22, 24, 30.

10<sup>th</sup> century, testifies to the popularity that SermCat began to enjoy. Furthermore, we know from the *Book of Ceremonies* that on the Monday after Pascha, when the patriarch begins the liturgy, the emperor enters the altar of the church of the Holy Apostles and together they pray at the tombs of both Chrysostom and Gregory Nazianzen—both of whose paschal homilies formed readings together in various Typika, and are transmitted together in numerous manuscripts.<sup>534</sup> Constantine VII had Gregory’s relics brought to Constantinople soon after regaining his throne in 945 and interred close to Chrysostom’s.<sup>535</sup> In the 9<sup>th</sup> century Theodore of Stoudios had promoted a highly subversive image of Chrysostom, but in the late 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries emperors Leo VI and Constantine VII began to evolve this subversive image in a drastically different direction. Theodore’s image of the subversive Chrysostom, opposed to imperial impiety, began to be slowly but surely replaced by the court itself, in particular the Macedonian emperors. They promoted a more court-friendly image of Chrysostom as guardian of the emperor and his rule.

## II. LEO VI: ANOTHER MARRIAGE SCANDAL, ANOTHER CHRYSOSTOM

As noted in chapter 1, Theodore of Stoudios’ (759–826) first opportunity to publicly assume the role of a 9<sup>th</sup> century “Chrysostom”—whom Theodore routinely linked with Chrysostom’s own namesake, John the Baptist and his rebuke of Herod—was Constantine VI’s (780–797) second, adulterous (in Theodore’s eyes) marriage of 795. It was likely as part of this program of resistance that Theodore turned later to SermCat during Second Iconoclasm. In the later 9<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> centuries the Macedonian dynasty found itself in its own marital difficulties, when emperor Leo VI (886–912), desperate to fully legitimize the male heir he had finally obtained in his son Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (913–959), entered into his fourth marriage with Zoe Karbonopsina in 907.<sup>536</sup> Leo’s so-called Tetragamy Affair led to a prolonged rift between court and patriarchate, which was not finally healed until 920 with the *Tome of Union*.<sup>537</sup> It was after this point that Niketas David Paphlagon began his public reception of Chrysostom

<sup>534</sup> Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos, *De Cerimoniis*, 1:69.22–26: “Ἐὐξάμενοι δὲ εἰς τὸν τάφον τοῦ τε πατρὸς ἡμῶν Χρυσοστόμου καὶ τοῦ θεολόγου τοῦ Ἁγίου Γρηγορίου, καὶ ἄψαντες κηρούς, ἐξέρχονται ἀμφοτέρω ὁ τε βασιλεὺς καὶ ὁ πατριάρχης διὰ τῆς ἀριστερᾶς πλαγίας τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου...”

<sup>535</sup> Dagron (2003) 218; cf. Elm (2012) 243–245.

<sup>536</sup> For overviews of events, see Vogt (1935); De Matons (1978); Tougher (1997); Antonopoulou (1997); Riedel (2018). Cf. also Markopoulos (2018). From the perspective of literature, see Flusin (1985), (2001); Antonopoulou (2017).

<sup>537</sup> And indeed was not solved by Leo or his dynasty, either, but rather by the usurper, Romanos I Lekapenos (920–944). Cf. Marić (2018) 103.

with an encomium, in which he picked up on Theodore of Stoudios' primary theme: the link between Chrysostom and John the Baptist's *parrhesia*, closing with a prayer that the Church's current peace after the storm might last.<sup>538</sup>

However, long before Leo VI could scandalize the church with his Tetragamy Affair, he composed an encomium on Chrysostom at the request of his father, Basil I (867–886). Theodora Antonopoulou dates the delivery of Leo's *Homily 38* to November 882 at the latest, thus his earliest surviving homily—making it a significant early statement of Leo's understanding of the imperial office which he was by then destined to inherit from his father.<sup>539</sup> As Antonopoulou has carefully noted in the *apparatus fontium* to her edition of the text, Leo drew in the main from George of Alexandria's 7<sup>th</sup> century Chrysostomic *Vita*, repeating most of George's episodes, if often only in summary.<sup>540</sup> That being said, not only was Leo not excessively dependent on his key source, but rather, in important ways he departed from George of Alexandria's vision of Chrysostom altogether. Leo gave first expression to the logical conclusion of the image of Chrysostom as bishop of the oikoumene, found already in Theodoret of Cyrrhus' *Ecclesiastical History*.<sup>541</sup> Theodoret had subtly emphasized Chrysostom's spiritual jurisdiction over the entire (Roman) oikoumene. Leo VI does much the same, while simultaneously re-casting Chrysostom for the first time as patron of the imperial court and model *par excellence* for the emperor himself.<sup>542</sup> A few indicative examples from the text will illustrate Leo's innovative reception at work.

### **1. COMPARISON BETWEEN A MONK AND AN EMPEROR**

First, the most striking difference between Leo's text and George of Alexandria's is the presence, greater or lesser, of monasticism. As noted in the introduction, Chrysostom's years among the Syrian monks occupied approximately 16% of the entire *Vita* by George of Alexandria. In Leo's *encomium*, Chrysostom's monasticism is presented in 158 lines out of 1686 in total—just over 9%. Whereas George had devoted a little more than one-sixth of his

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<sup>538</sup> The events will be presented in more detail below. For the text, see Dyobouniotes (1934). Antonopoulou (2016) 46–49 argues that the text postdates the *Tome of Union*, coming likely before Constantine VII's regaining of sole rule in 945.

<sup>539</sup> Antonopoulou (1997) 67–68, 123–126. For the text of *Homily 38*, see Leo VI, *Homiliae* 480–557.

<sup>540</sup> Antonopoulou's innovative format, placing the elements Leo drew from previous authors in plain characters, with his own contributions in boldface, facilitates analysis of the homily immensely.

<sup>541</sup> See Part 2, Introduction, Section III. Cf. Leo VI, *Homiliae* 521.904–910, where Leo seems to imply that he has consulted Theodoret as a source, as well, and recommends him as further reading.

<sup>542</sup> For the potential of homiletic literature to convey political messages, see Antonopoulou (forthcoming), esp. 7–9.

text to Chrysostom's monastic credentials, Leo gave less than one-tenth of his to the same subject. In other words, Leo reduces the role of monasticism in Chrysostom's life by almost half from his source. This shift in emphasis already heralds the changed tenor of Leo's reception of Chrysostom in relation to Theodore of Stoudios, as well. Chapter 1 noted how Theodore explicitly invoked Chrysostom as a model for giving monastic catecheses.<sup>543</sup> George of Alexandria had done the same.<sup>544</sup> Leo does address Chrysostom's pre-eminence among the monks, but makes no mention of catecheses *per se*. Chrysostom is said to have composed ascetical instructions, but no mention of oral delivery is intimated.<sup>545</sup> By all appearances, Leo does not have in mind any Chrysostomic works that could be construed as catecheses. In subtle, but significant, ways Leo is gradually re-orienting Chrysostom away from the model of abbot-made-Byzantine-patriarch popularized by George of Alexandria and utilized by Theodore of Stoudios to promote his personal agenda of either gaining the patriarchal throne for himself or for one of his successors, both attempts that ended in failure. Leo was not prepared to see that trend change.<sup>546</sup> As co-emperor already with his father Basil I by 882, Leo VI first clears the Chrysostomic canvas of monastic overtones, and then proceeds to paint a Chrysostom that is a reflection of the βασιλική εικόν.<sup>547</sup>

The first intimations of Chrysostom's preparation for quasi-imperial status—no doubt a foil for the young Leo, who found himself in that very position while composing the *encomium*—is the exercise of that “most imperial summit of virtues”, φιλανθρωπία.<sup>548</sup> The general centrality of this virtue for the emperor's, as well as for the Christian bishop's, relations

<sup>543</sup> Chapter 1, Section III. Indeed, in that instance, Theodore had quoted an otherwise unknown passage from Chrysostom's corpus, where the latter described his apprehension in presuming to instruct others as follows: “τὸ κατ' ἐμέ, ὡς ἔχω καὶ διάκειμαι, δύσκολόν ἐστι σωθῆναι τὸν ἐπιτροπεύοντα.” Intriguingly, Leo describes himself in quite similar terms in *Homily 7* (Leo VI, *Homiliae* 101.504–510): “ὦ Νοῦ καὶ Σοφία καὶ Πνεῦμα πανάγιον...δίδου...ἵνα δεξιῶς ἴψ' ἡμῶν ὁ σὸς περιούσιος λαὸς ἐπιτροπευόμενος, καὶ τῶν ἐνταῦθα συμπιπτόντων σκαιῶν μὴ πειρῶτο πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς ἐκεῖθεν μετὰσχοι τῶν δεξιῶν ἀπολαύσεως...” Cf. Riedel (2018) 5 and n.15.

<sup>544</sup> Part 2, Introduction, Section IV.2.

<sup>545</sup> Leo VI, *Homiliae* 492.260–271. Leo's own collection of homilies has come down to us, organized into a Panegyrikon under his own direction (Antonopoulou (1997) 50–51; *ibid.* (2008) XX–CIX)—an intriguing parallel to Theodore of Stoudios (who, curiously, did not even edit his own corpus of *Catecheses*; rather, Stoudite monks did it for him posthumously, cf. Leroy (2008) 39–40, 65, 215–216). For Leo, Chrysostom may not have given catecheses, but Leo himself did instruct his people *viva voce* through homilies.

<sup>546</sup> Which is, no doubt, why at his accession he installed his younger brother Stephen as patriarch and then proceeded to continue the work of giving homilies himself. Cf. Flusin (2001) 31; Antonopoulou (forthcoming) 8.

<sup>547</sup> Cf. Niketas David Paphlagon's explicit reference to Chrysostom's *Vita* as an exercise in painting a βασιλική εικόν in the Chrysostomic *Vita* he composed at the request of Constantine VII (Niketas David Paphlagon, *Vita* 13.16–20): “...οὕτω κάμοι σήμερον οἶον εἶ τινα βασιλικωτάτην εἰκόνα γράψαι καὶ ὡς χρώμασι τοῖς λόγοις ἐντέχνως συγκεραννύμενος σαφῶς διαζωγραφῆσαι καὶ ταῖς ἀπόντων ὄψεσιν ὡς οἶόν τέ ἐστι παραστήσαι τὸν Ἰωάννου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ χρυσορήμονος ἢ θεορήμονος βίου προτραπέντι καὶ ὀρμηθέντι...”

<sup>548</sup> Cf. Antonopoulou (forthcoming) 8: “Justice and philanthropy are...imperial attributes [i.e. that Leo emphasizes in his homilies].”

to his people has been noted in the Introduction.<sup>549</sup> Leo's Chrysostom reaches this summit precisely through ascetic effort, which echoes a *topos* of the benevolent emperor who strives day and night for the benefaction of his people<sup>550</sup>—a *topos* Leo himself underlines in the introductory section of his *Taktika*, a manual of military strategy composed in Leo's court and bearing the emperor's own name as author:<sup>551</sup>

“...nothing so grieves and pains our heart as the misfortunes of our subjects and any decrease or failure <in their attaining> the good things due them, because of <someone's> negligence. Now, if an improvement in the condition of just one person who has been entrusted to our care causes us ineffable happiness and the worsening of his condition brings us unsurpassed grief of soul, what would we not suffer with so many tens of thousands depending, after God, on our providence (προνοία)? Mindful of our obligation to take thought and to be concerned about them, we stay up at night, and during the day we deliberate on how to preserve them free of all unpleasantness and harm and on how they may enjoy all the happiness and prosperity that are rightfully theirs.”<sup>552</sup>

Leo's *Taktika* is designed to teach the technique of war to preserve the empire unharmed; Chrysostom's ascetic writings teach the technique of asceticism so that warring passions may not overwhelm the struggling Christian's soul, as Leo depicts vividly in the *encomium*, further continuing these imperial-monastic parallels:

“Now, John at this time [i.e. after the vision of the apostles Peter and John]<sup>553</sup> authored his ascetical works. Thence, as he was ascending to the very summit of that most imperial of virtues and subjugating the insolence of the passions [of the soul], authority over them [i.e. the passions] was given to him from God, as [his]

<sup>549</sup> Part 2, Introduction. Cf. Hunger (1963).

<sup>550</sup> Cf. its appearance in the *Vita Basilii* as well, § 41.1–10.

<sup>551</sup> For text, with translation and notes, see Dennis (2010); for critical commentary, see Haldon (2014).

<sup>552</sup> Dennis (2010) 3, with Greek text on 2. Riedel (2018) 171 has also intriguingly discerned Chrysostom's influence upon Leo in the latter's infamous *Novella* 55, wherein he follows his father Basil I's policy of forced baptism of Jews, at the penalty of suffering the fate of an apostate otherwise—Leo VI, *Novellae* § 55.29–31): “πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἰουδαίων ἐπαναστρεφόμενος ἔθη καὶ δόγματα, τοῦτον κατὰ τοὺς περὶ ἀποστατῶν ἐγκειμένους νόμους εἰσπράττεσθαι τὴν τιμωρίαν.” Riedel makes a comparison with Chrysostom's concept of the transformation that takes place during baptism in his *Homily* 2 on Romans (*PG* 60:401–410).

<sup>553</sup> Which will be discussed below in Section B.

imperial mind [αὐτοκράτορος νοῦ] levied tribute [from the passions] with the aid from on high and brought their barbarity under yoke.”<sup>554</sup>

Leo’s language leaves little to the imagination. Chrysostom’s authority over the passions is given to him by God, just as the emperor’s reign is ordained by God. In this connection, Leo’s Chrysostom does not have the ἡγεμόνα νοῦν of Plato<sup>555</sup> or Solon,<sup>556</sup> but the αὐτοκράτορα νοῦν of 4 Macchabees,<sup>557</sup> Clement of Alexandria<sup>558</sup> and Arethas.<sup>559</sup> He, thus, exercises the care and beneficence of an emperor in maintaining the proper order in his community:

“[One] could not observe then [i.e. during Chrysostom’s monastic years] drunkenness, disorderly laughter, quarrels, envy or any of the other clouds that impede the rays of the noetic sun from being seen. And the reason for all of this was John’s singular, philanthropic concern and provision.”<sup>560</sup>

<sup>554</sup> Leo VI, *Homiliae* 495.323–328: “Ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης τηνικαῦτα τοὺς ἀσκητικοὺς συνεγράψατο λόγους. Ἐντεῦθεν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόρειαν τῆς βασιλικωτάτης τῶν ἀρετῶν ἀνιόντι περιωπῆς καὶ τὰ θράση τῶν παθῶν ὑποτάσσοντι, θεόθεν ἢ κατ’ αὐτῶν ἐξουσία παραδίδοται, τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος νοῦ τῆ ἄνωθεν συνεπικουρία φορολογοῦντος καὶ τὸ ἐκείνων ἀγριαῖνον καθυποτάσσοντος.” Cf. the *Vita Basilii*’s depiction of converting the Bulgars and Rus as both a powerful spiritual and political tool § 96–97. Dennis (2010) ix: “Successor to Caesar Augustus, Trajan, Constantine, and Justinian, he [i.e. Leo] was expected to be victorious in war and to subject barbarian peoples to the authority of Rome. He soon realized that he could not do this without a solid knowledge of military equipment and practice.”

<sup>555</sup> Plato, *Leges*, 963a8–9.

<sup>556</sup> Diogenes Laertios, *Vitae philosophorum*, 1.60.7.

<sup>557</sup> 4 Macchabees 1:7: “Πολλαχόθεν μὲν οὖν καὶ ἀλλαχόθεν ἔχοιμι ἂν ὑμῖν ἐπιδείξει, ὅτι αὐτοκράτωρ ἐστὶν τῶν παθῶν ὁ εὐσεβῆς λογισμός.” As Antonopoulou (2008) 495 notes in her *apparatus fontium*, this is likely to be Leo’s principal source.

<sup>558</sup> Clement of Alexandria, *Fragmenta*, 40.5–7: “θέλῃσις ἐστὶ φυσικὴ αὐτοκράτορος νοῦ ἀτεξουσιος κίνησις ἢ νοῦς περὶ τι αὐθαρέτως κινούμενος. ἀτεξουσιότης ἐστὶ νοῦς κατὰ φύσιν κινούμενος ἢ νοερά τῆς ψυχῆς κίνησις αὐτοκρατής.”

<sup>559</sup> Arethas, *Encomium in sanctos confessores Gouriam, Samonam et Abibum*, 8–10: “ἄρα γε καὶ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ὑμῖν νοῦς τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ὑποκλάσας διὰ τῶν αισθητηρίων ἐκχεῖται καὶ τοῖς ὀρωμένοις σκεδάννυται;” In any case, the distinction between νοῦς as ἡγεμών and αὐτοκράτωρ is not absolute. Plato in his *Cratylus* employs the latter phrase (413c5–7), whereas Philo deprecates it on more than one occasion (*De confusione linguarum*, 125 ; *Legum allegoriarum libri*, 3.198). Nevertheless, the frequency of Greek texts composed after 146 BC that prefer the characterization of νοῦς as αὐτοκράτωρ, instead of simply ἡγεμών, would seem to suggest that changed political circumstances had an effect that remained visible even up to the time of Leo VI and Arethas.

<sup>560</sup> Leo VI, *Homiliae* 496.363–366: “Ὅτι ἦν ἰδεῖν τότε πόσεων οἰνοφλυγίαν, οὐ γέλωτος ἀταξίαν, οὐκ ἔριδας, οὐ ζῆλον, οὐκ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἀντιτειχιζόντων νεφῶν ὀρᾶσθαι τὰς τοῦ νοητοῦ ἡλίου μαρμαρυγὰς· ὧν ἀπάντων κεφάλαιον ἔν, τῆς Ἰωάννου κηδεμονίας ἢ φιλάνθρωπος ἐπιμέλεια.” Leo’s sentiment is reminiscent of Chrysostom’s own in his advocacy of monastic life, *Adversus oppugnatores vitae monasticae* (PG 47:366.24–28): “Ἐκεῖ [i.e. among the monks] γὰρ μόνον τοῦτο καθαρῶς συμβαῖνον ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν, ἄλλοθι δὲ οὐδαμοῦ, οὐ μόνον τῶν παρόντων ὑπερορᾶν, καὶ πᾶσαν ἐκκεκόφθαι στάσεως καὶ μάχης ὑπόθεσιν, καὶ λαμπρὰς αὐτοῖς εἶναι περὶ τῶν μελλόντων τὰς ἐλπίδας...” Riedel (2018) 5 and n. 14 notes that the cleansing of society from moral turpitude was a key concern for Leo (5): “Leo...wrote 113 new laws, the content of which reveal his earnest desire to ‘cleanse’ government and society of the corrupt and obsolete.” And n.14, “The title of Leo’s book containing the 113 novels reveals his purpose: Λέοντος ἐν Χριστῷ ἀθανάτῳ πάντων βασιλεῖ εὐσεβοῦς βασιλέως Ρωμαίων [sic] αἱ τῶν νόμων ἐπανορθωτικαὶ ἀνακαθάρσεις.” Leo’s concern may also have been designed to act as a counterpoint

Indeed, a few more indicative turns of phrase illuminate Leo's intentions even further. First, to introduce the account of Chrysostom's election to the capital see, he states: "Since the great guardian and judge [i.e. Chrysostom] was now about to take up the protection of the *oikoumene*..."<sup>561</sup> Further down, Leo echoes Psalm 2:2 by calling Chrysostom "the Lord's anointed one"<sup>562</sup>—a double-reference both to God's anointed one, the King of Israel, i.e. Christ (Χριστός),<sup>563</sup> as well as to every king of Israel's monarchy.<sup>564</sup> Thus far, Leo has been gradually blurring the lines between the roles of emperor and patriarch, applying overtly imperial language to Chrysostom—especially that of Israel's Davidic kingship, dear to the Macedonian dynasty.<sup>565</sup> Finally, Leo has Chrysostom recognize, in stark contrast to Theodore of Studios' understanding,<sup>566</sup> the emperor's authority as *nomos empsychos*.<sup>567</sup> When Chrysostom attempts to convince Eudoxia to return the widow's vineyard to her, she initially responds that she cannot because of imperial law. Leo's Chrysostom then replies:

"This has been legislated by emperors, but indeed by those who were strangers to the [Christian] faith. But you are simultaneously [living] law and have inherited [the authority] to reign, and [your] conscience [is] urging [you], having recognized the situation and making an allowance. And do not give [the opportunity] to the crowds, who feel the burden of necessity, to call you a new Jezabel and all the other elements narrated in Nabouthai's ancient curse."<sup>568</sup>

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to the extreme moral decadence attributed to Michael III, given as Basil I's reason for murdering him and founding the Macedonian dynasty. Cf. *Vita Basilii* § 19–20.

<sup>561</sup> Leo VI, *Homiliae* 501.456–457: "Ἐπειδὴ τῆς οἰκουμένης ὁ μέγας ἔμελλεν ἤδη τὴν προστασίαν προστάτης καὶ κριτῆς ἀναδέχεσθαι..." Cf. Theodoret's similar expression as noted in Part 2, Introduction, Section III.

<sup>562</sup> Leo VI, *Homiliae* 524.975–525.978: "Ὅποιαί δὴ καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεομισοῦς [i.e. Theophilus] σοφιστικαὶ τῆς κακίας τεθρεῖται κατὰ τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ κατὰ τοῦ χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ—περιττὸν γὰρ λέγειν..."

<sup>563</sup> Ps. 2:2: "παρέστησαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες συνήχθησαν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ κατὰ τοῦ χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ."

<sup>564</sup> Cf. 1 Sam. 24:6, where David spares Saul's life because he is the Lord's anointed, namely Israel's king: "καὶ εἶπεν Δαυὶδ πρὸς τοὺς ἄνδρας αὐτοῦ· μηδαμῶς μοι παρὰ κυρίου, εἰ ποιήσω τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο τῷ χριστῷ κυρίου, ἐπενέγκαι χεῖρά μου ἐπ' αὐτόν· ὅτι χριστὸς κυρίου ἐστὶν οὗτος."

<sup>565</sup> Indeed, Kartsonis (1986) 91, 140, 189, 195 notes that David and Solomon begin to become standard elements of the Anastasis image during the Macedonian dynasty. Cf. Antonopoulou (1997) 78–79; Dagron (2003) 192–219.

<sup>566</sup> Cf. Chapter 1, Section II.

<sup>567</sup> This is not Leo's own innovation. He appears to have drawn it from George of Alexandria's *Vita* (Halkin (1977) 195). In any case, Theodore of Studios not only did not explicitly recognize this aspect of the emperor's kingship, but even highlights on numerous occasions the distance, and difference, between the emperor and the law. Cf. Theodore of Studios, *Letters* 1.92.30–36, 1.104.110–111, 1.135.189–193, 2.851.64–72.

<sup>568</sup> Leo VI, *Homiliae* 528.1047–1053: "Τοῦτο νομοθετῆται μὲν παρὰ βασιλέων, τάχα δὲ τῶν ξένων τῆς πίστεως. Σὺ δὲ καὶ νόμος εἶ καὶ βασιλεύειν κεκλήρωσαι καὶ ἡ συνειδησις ἀναγκάζουσα, συνειδυῖα τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ συγγινώσκουσα. Καὶ μὴ δῶς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀναγκασθέντας, νέαν Ἰεζάβελ εἰπεῖν σε, καὶ ὅσα διὰ τῆς πάλαι ἀρᾶς τῷ Ναβουθαὶ διῆστορηται."

Leo's Chrysostom both recognizes imperial prerogatives and provides an ideal model of how to exercise them. He is, in turn, recognized by the emperor Theodosios II in this capacity in Leo's *Homily* 41 on the translation of Chrysostom's relics. When Theodosios II receives him in Constantinople, he honors Chrysostom by giving him "all the imperial authority, making an offering of the very symbols of the empire."<sup>569</sup> Leo composed these texts on Chrysostom as a 'mirror for princes', as noted above, in the years just before succeeding his father Basil I to the throne. Leo's reign was characterized by seeking to rule in the realms of both state and church. His Chrysostom has been symbolically given the reins of the state; we will now see that those of the church will become his, as well—a model Chrysostom for Leo himself to follow in support of his own program.

## **2. PRIMACY AND ἘΞΟΥΣΙΑ**

George of Alexandria is the earliest known extant source to include the episode of the elder Syrian monk, Hesychios, witnessing Chrysostom's visionary visit by Peter and John, who confirm him in his mission to serve the Church. John attests to Chrysostom's exegetical pre-eminence, while Peter gives him the keys that Christ had originally bestowed upon Peter, symbols of the power to bind and loose, which is one of the bishop's main functions.<sup>570</sup> However, Leo's account of the episode differs from George of Alexandria's in a slight, yet consequential, way. In the *encomium*, Peter tells Chrysostom that God is giving him Peter's own authority (ἐξουσία): "I am Peter, the one who confessed Christ to be the Son of the living God. And God gives you my authority."<sup>571</sup> While it could be read as a generic statement of any bishop's authority to bind or loose—transmitted through apostolic succession—ἐξουσία tends to have further connotations. In fact, Leo's use of the term ἐξουσία finds telling parallels in Canon 28 of the Council of Chalcedon (451) and the *Letter* of Pope John VIII to emperor Basil the Macedonian at the Council of Constantinople (879–880), at which Photios was officially reinstated to the Constantinopolitan patriarchal throne.

First, Chalcedon uses the term ἐξουσία to apply both to church and state officials. Within the Church, however, ἐξουσία does not refer primarily to the bishop's authority over

<sup>569</sup> Leo VI, *Homiliae* 581.205–208: "Ὁ βασιλεὺς... πᾶσαν τὴν βασιλείον αὐτῷ ἐξουσίαν αὐτοῖς συμβόλοις τῆς βασιλείας ποιησάμενος..." Cf. Halkin (1977) 494.6–9.

<sup>570</sup> Cf. Matt. 16:19, 18:18.

<sup>571</sup> Leo VI, *Homiliae* 494.307–309: "Ἐγὼ δὲ εἰμὶ Πέτρος ὁ τὸν Χριστὸν Υἱὸν Θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος ὁμολογήσας. Θεὸς δὲ καὶ σοὶ τὴν ἐμὴν δίδωσιν ἐξουσίαν."

binding or loosing sins of individual Christians, as much as his authority of jurisdiction, and thus administration, over other bishops and sees: “Let the ancient customs in Egypt prevail, namely that the bishop of Alexandria has authority [ἐξουσίαν] over everything, since this is customary for the bishop of Rome also.”<sup>572</sup> In its infamous Canon 28, Chalcedon (451) greatly expanded the see of Constantinople’s jurisdiction, as noted in the Introduction.<sup>573</sup> The particular provision states:

“...we resolve that, above all, primacy and exceptional honour should be preserved for...Senior Rome according to the canons, but that the most sacred archbishop of imperial Constantinople New Rome is to enjoy the same privileges of honour [πρεσβείων τῆς τιμῆς], and that he is to have power [ἐξουσίαν], on the basis of his authority [ἐξ ἀθθεντίας], to consecrate the metropolitans in the dioceses of Asiana, Pontica and Thrace...”<sup>574</sup>

Richard Price and Michael Gaddis note in their commentary on Canon 28 that it was Constantinople’s now secure status as an imperial capital that was behind its see’s elevation;<sup>575</sup> nevertheless, this still left Rome’s Petrine primacy intact. Thus, the ἐξουσία of Canon 28 refers to the hierarch’s jurisdiction, while ἐξ ἀθθεντίας is a periphrasis for “by reason of proximity to the emperor.” In other words, ἀθθεντία belongs to the emperor. Constantinople was only to equal to Rome inasmuch as it was an imperial city, but as far as jurisdiction, and authority, were concerned Rome still had primacy. Constantinople had jurisdiction only over its own subordinate metropolitans.<sup>576</sup> The above context gives the general background, which must be taken into account in interpreting Leo’s episode of Peter granting his authority (ἐξουσία) to the archbishop of Constantinople *par excellence*, Chrysostom. Even just in relation to Chalcedon’s (451) Canon 28, Leo’s statement could have been read as a challenge to Rome’s authoritative

<sup>572</sup> Price and Gaddis (2005) 3:86. Greek text at ACO II.1.3.95.30–32: “Τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατεῖτω τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ὥστε τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπίσκοπον πάντων ἔχειν ἐξουσίαν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῷ ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐπισκόπῳ τοῦτο σύνηθές ἐστιν.”

<sup>573</sup> Part 2, Introduction, Section III.

<sup>574</sup> Price and Gaddis (2005) 3:90. Greek text at ACO.II.1.3.98.33–37: “...συνορῶμεν πρὸ πάντων μὲν τὰ πρωτεῖα καὶ τὴν ἐξάριτον τιμὴν κατὰ τοὺς κανόνας τῷ τῆς πρεσβυτέρου Ῥώμης...φυλάττεσθαι, χρῆναι δὲ τὸν ὀσιώτατον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον τῆς βασιλίδος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως νέας Ῥώμης τῶν αὐτῶν πρεσβείων τῆς τιμῆς ἀπολαύειν καὶ αὐτὸν ἐξ ἀθθεντίας ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν τοῦ χειροτονεῖν τοὺς μητροπολίτας ἐν τε τῇ Ἀσιανῇ καὶ Ποντικῇ καὶ Θρακικῇ ταῖς διοικήσεσι...”

<sup>575</sup> For Pope Leo I’s opposition to and fear of the resulting marginalization of Old Rome inherent in this logic, cf. Dvornik (1966) 51–52. Leo, as many of his fellow popes, preferred to stress the theological/apostolic arguments for papal supremacy, inasmuch as they surely saw the writing on the wall. ἀθθεντία imparted by proximity to the emperor would from then on belong exclusively to the see of Constantinople. Cf. also the telling characterization of Rome in the *Vita Basilii* § 53.45: “...τῆς ποτὲ μεγαλοδόξου Ῥώμης...”

<sup>576</sup> Price and Gaddis (2005) 3.70–71.

primacy. However, when one examines the proceedings of the Council of Constantinople (879–880), which was either contemporary with Leo’s composition of the *encomium*, or preceded it by only a couple of years,<sup>577</sup> the gravity of the visionary Peter’s statement increases even further.

John VIII addressed a letter to Basil I between 880 and 882,<sup>578</sup> whose most essential point was to accept the re-instatement of Photios to the patriarchal throne of Constantinople.<sup>579</sup> In so doing, John stresses that his own *αὐθεντία* gives him the *ἐξουσία* to either accept or reject Photios, but taking care that the church not suffer schism, he accepts Basil’s request for Photios to return.<sup>580</sup> Indeed, significantly, John highlights how the see of Rome has traditionally acted as the safe haven to which orthodox bishops have turned for help during times of unjust persecution, just as, John notes, Photios is doing now: Athanasios of Alexandria (328–373), Cyril (348/50–386/7) and Polychronios of Jerusalem, Chrysostom (398–404) and Flavian (446–449) of Constantinople.<sup>581</sup> It is unclear who Polychronios of Jerusalem is meant to be.<sup>582</sup> However, Athanasios, Chrysostom and Flavian were all renowned for fighting the various heresies of Arianism, Pneumatomachians, Sabellianism and Monophysitism. Pope John is claiming that the popes of Rome are no less than the guarantors and defenders of the empire’s orthodoxy by restoring to their thrones hierarchs who were deposed by the emperor at Constantinople—undoubtedly a veiled rebuke of Basil’s own removal of Photios at the Council

<sup>577</sup> Antonopoulou (1997) 68.

<sup>578</sup> i.e. between the end of the Council and the death of John VIII in 882.

<sup>579</sup> For the text, see Pope John VIII, *Letter*. For a recent overview of the significance of Photios’ patriarchate(s), with particular reference to relations between the Byzantine emperor and the pope of Rome, see Chrysos (2018).

<sup>580</sup> Noting, at the same time, that Basil did not wait for his approval to do so. Pope John VIII, *Letter* 2.12.10: “ἡμεῖς δὲ τῆς ὑμετέρας γαληνότητος τὴν ἰκεσίαν προσδεξάμενοι...ἀπεστείλαμεν ἀποκριταρίους ἡμῶν ἐκπληροῦντας τὸ θέλημα ὑμῶν, εἰ καὶ ἡ ὑμετέρα εὐσέβεια τὸν ἄνδρα [sc. Photios] ἐκβιασαμένη ἐφθασεν ἀποκαταστήσαι καὶ πρὸς ἡμῶν...ὁμως ἡμεῖς τοῦτο θεραπεύομεν, οὐκ ἐκ τῆς ὑμετέρας αὐθεντίας, καίπερ ἔχοντες ἐξουσίαν τοῦτο ποιεῖν...” At this point, John VIII is primarily dependent on Basil for military support in the campaign against Arab conquest of the Italian peninsula, and so he protests papal power but in the end acquiesces to Basil. Cf. ODB s.v. *John VIII*. An interesting usage of *αὐθεντία*, parallel to the sense in which John VIII intends it, is to be found in Chrysostom’s own first letter to Pope Innocent (CPG 4405) PG 52:531.22–27: “Ὁ δὲ [sc. Theophilus] ὡσπερ τοῖς προτέροις ἐπαγωνιζόμενος, τὸν ἀρχιδιάκονον καλέσας τὸν ἐμὸν, ἐξ αὐθεντίας πολλῆς, ὡσπερ ἤδη χηρευούσης τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, καὶ οὐκ ἐχούσης ἐπίσκοπον, δι’ ἐκείνου τὸν κληρὸν ἅπαντα πρὸς ἑαυτὸν μετέστησε.” Perhaps by no coincidence, the patriarch of Alexandria to this day claims the title of pope as well as patriarch of Africa (<https://www.patriarchateofalexandria.com/index.php?lang=en> accessed 21.2.20). Cf. also Kosmas Vestitor’s account of Theodosios II’s recognition of Chrysostom’s own *αὐθεντία*, when requesting the latter’s permission to bring his relics back to Constantinople, in the fourth *Oration on the translation of the relics of John Chrysostom* (CPG 8145, BHG 878) 74.2–4: “ὕπολαμβάνω [i.e. Theodosios II] μὴ κατὰ παραίτησιν ἀνανεῦσαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐλθεῖν τὸν Χρυσόστομον, ἀλλὰ κατ’ αὐθεντίαν, ὅτι δυναστεία τοῦτον μετενέγκαι κατηθαδιάσαμεν.”

<sup>581</sup> Pope John VIII, *Letter* 2.15.

<sup>582</sup> There is no entry for any Polychronios in the ODB, nor is there any hierarch of Jerusalem attested with that name. Moreover, the name does not come up in this connection in a search of the TLG either.

of 869–870. Indeed, in an extended passage, John explicitly outlines his understanding of the authority invested in him by virtue of Peter’s keys:

“For this apostolic throne having once received the keys of the kingdom of heaven from the first and great archpriest, Jesus Christ, through the chief of the apostles, Peter, when [the latter] said to him, ‘I will give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whomever you bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whomever you loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven’<sup>583</sup>—[for this reason, the see of Rome] has universal power [ἐξουσίαν καθόλου] to bind and loose, and according to the prophet Jeremiah, to uproot and plant. For this reason, using the authority [αὐθεντία] of the chief of the apostles, Peter, together with our entire local church we command you, and through you our most holy brothers and con-celebrant patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem...to be in harmony and of one mind with us, or rather with God, concerning all of your requests [i.e. that Photios be re-instated].”<sup>584</sup>

It is within the context of Pope John’s letter that Leo VI’s *encomium* of Chrysostom must be read. Leo’s Peter, as noted above, gives to Chrysostom the keys of the kingdom of heaven and assures him that Christ grants together with them Peter’s own authority (τὴν ἐμὴν ἐξουσίαν)—precisely the same authority that John VIII at the same time was emphasizing as universal in character (ἐξουσίαν καθόλου). Moreover, Pope John mentioned in his letter that with papal assistance Chrysostom had been restored to his throne. This is less accurate than it at first appears. Palladios incorporates what he calls Chrysostom’s letter to Innocent asking for help after his final deposition,<sup>585</sup> and Sozomenos reports Pope Innocent’s displeasure at

<sup>583</sup> Interestingly, John says “whomever you bind” and “whomever you loose”, employing the masculine accusative relative pronoun ὄν. The Gospel text, at both Matt. 16:19 and Matt. 18:18, employs the neuter, either singular (ὅ) or plural (ὅσα): whatever. John’s switch to whomever is perhaps a further indication that he understands this particular authority to be jurisdiction over other bishops, as in the present case he sees himself exercising over Photios.

<sup>584</sup> Pope John VIII, *Letter* 2.17–18: “καθάπαξ γὰρ ὁ ἀποστολικὸς οὗτος θρόνος λαβὼν τὰς κλεῖς τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν παρὰ τοῦ πρώτου καὶ μεγάλου ἀρχιερέως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, διὰ τοῦ κορυφαίου τῶν ἀποστόλων Πέτρου, εἰπόντος πρὸς αὐτὸν· Σοὶ δώσω τὰς κλεῖς τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ ὅν ἂν δήσης ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἔσται δεδεμένος ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, καὶ ὃν ἂν λύσης ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἔσται λελυμένος ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ἔχει ἐξουσίαν καθόλου δεσμεῖν τε καὶ λύειν καὶ κατὰ τὸν προφήτην Ἰερεμίαν ἐκριζοῦν καὶ καταφυτεύειν. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡμεῖς τῇ αὐθεντίᾳ τοῦ κορυφαίου τῶν ἀποστόλων Πέτρου χρώμενοι, μετὰ πάσης τῆς καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἀγνωστῆς ἐκκλησίας, παρεγγυώμεθα ὑμῖν, καὶ δι’ ὑμῶν τοῖς τε ἀγνωστότετοις ἀδελφοῖς καὶ συλλειτουργοῖς ἡμῶν πατριάρχαις, Ἀλεξανδρείας, Ἀντιοχείας, Ἱεροσολύμων...ὁμοιοῦσαι καὶ ὁμοφρονῆσαι ἡμῖν, μᾶλλον δὲ τῷ Θεῷ, ἐν πᾶσιν οἷς ὑμεῖς ἐξητήσασθε.”

<sup>585</sup> Palladios, *Dialogus*, 11.8–10: “ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ, καθάπερ ἔφθην εἰπὼν [sc. Chrysostom to Innocent], οὐ θρηνεῖν δεῖ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ διορθοῦν, τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀγάπην παρακαλῶ διαναστῆναι καὶ συναλγῆσαι καὶ πάντα ποιῆσαι, ὥστε στῆναι ταυτὶ τὰ κακά.”

Chrysostom's final deposition, asking for his re-instatement.<sup>586</sup> Nevertheless, both Chrysostom and Innocent died before anything could materialize. Leo's account of events acts as a corrective to Pope John VIII's statement. At Chrysostom's first deposition, Leo has Pope Innocent recognize Theophilos of Alexandria's machinations—following Palladios' tradition through George of Alexandria—and turn to God asking for a resolution to the situation. In other words, the Pope learned of what happened but offered no more help than personal prayers.<sup>587</sup> In the recounting of Chrysostom's final deposition, again the pope's effective hand is nowhere to be found. George of Alexandria had given a prominent role to Innocent in the effort to restore Chrysostom after his final deposition; the papal letter that condemned Arkadios for Chrysostom's blood fits well with the spirit of John VIII's assertion to Basil I.<sup>588</sup> Leo silently suppresses this tradition of fervent papal support—and blame of the emperor—preferring instead to depict Innocent as a subordinate to Honorius, emperor of the West, and reticent pursuer of Chrysostom's vengeance; Arkadios, for Leo, is the innocent victim of Eudoxia's deception, in conjunction with Theophilos' brash insolence. When Innocent does learn of Chrysostom's final deposition in Leo's *encomium*, the pope keeps quiet at first. Only when some of "the virtuous" from Constantinople come complaining to Rome does Innocent report to Honorius what he had learned; the emperor takes over from there—it is implied, to right the wrong—but no council to re-instate Chrysostom is mentioned. By no coincidence, the 9<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> century author, (ps.)Photios, also emphasizes Innocent's impotence in precisely this way in his *Adversus primatum Romae*.<sup>589</sup> Therefore, in his *encomium* on Chrysostom, Leo VI

<sup>586</sup> Sozomenos, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 8.26–28.

<sup>587</sup> Leo VI, *Homiliae* 540.1315–1320: "Ἀλλὰ Θεόφιλος γράφει [sc. to Innocent to inform him of Chrysostom's deposition] μὲν, καταγινώσκειται δέ, διαγνότος τοῦ πάπα σαφῶς τὰ κατὰ τὸν ἄγιον· ὃν τὸ πολυειδὲς τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων καταπλαγεῖς ὁ Ῥώμης, ἐπὶ τὸν Θεὸν καταφεύγει κάκειθεν ἐξαιτεῖ λυθῆναι τῶν σκανδάλων τὰ μηχανήματα. Καὶ μέντοι καὶ λαμβάνει τὴν λύσιν, καὶ τὸ τάχος ἠλίκον." The contrast between Innocent's refuge in prayer and John VIII's authoritative wielding of Peter's binding and loosing powers is striking. Further down in the *encomium*, at 1332–1335, Honorius writes to his brother and fellow emperor, Arkadios, chastising him for allowing Chrysostom to be deposed, and without consulting Rome at that. Nevertheless, this highlights Arkadios' own innocence as an unwitting accomplice to the deed more than Leo's recognition of papal jurisdiction over the see of Constantinople. This can be seen also in Leo's *Homily* 41 On the translation of the venerable relics of our father among the saints John Chrysostom archbishop of Constantinople (Leo VI, *Homiliae* 575.68–576.73). Eudoxia, as per usual, dies being consumed by worms, while in Arkadios' case, "...ὁ φυσικὸς ὄρος τῆς ζωῆς πεπλήρωτο καὶ Θεοδόσιος ὁ ἐκείνου παῖς τὰ πατρῶα σκήπτρα κεκλήρωτο..." Leo's primary goal is to free the emperor from all blame. Halkin (1977) 487–497 originally published this text, without attribution, from ms. Sabaiticus graecus 242 (10<sup>th</sup> century). Devos (1989) then recognized Leo VI as its author. Paschalides (1999) 171–177 disagreed, discerning the authorship of Niketas David Paphlagon, instead. However, Antonopoulou (2008) CCXII–CCXVI has convincingly argued for Leo's authorship of the text.

<sup>588</sup> Cf. George of Alexandria, *Vita*, 265: "Φωνὴ αἵματος τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μου Ἰωάννου βοᾷ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν κατὰ σοῦ, βασιλεῦ, ὡς ποτε Ἄβελ τοῦ δικαίου κατὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοκτόνου Κάιν· καὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ ἐκδικηθήσεται."

<sup>589</sup> Leo VI, *Homiliae* 551.1566–552.1581. (ps.)Photios, *Adversus primatum Romae*: "Ὅτι καθαιρεθέντα παραλογώτατα τὸν τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀληθῶς στόμα καὶ νοῦν οὐράνιον Χρυσόστομον Ἰωάννην ὁ μὲν Ῥωμαίων πρόεδρος Ἰννοκέντιος πολλὰ σπουδάσας εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἐπαναγαγεῖν τιμὴν οὐδὲν ἴσχυσεν· ὁ δὲ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Ἀττικός, πολλὰ τοῦ Ἀλεξανδρείας δυσανασχετοῦντος, εἰς τὴν τῶν ἀρχιερέων τιμὴν

subtly alludes to themes of immediate political and ecclesiastical relevance in the final decades of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, employing Chrysostom, on the one hand, as a Constantinopolitan answer to Roman claims to overarching superiority, while on the other, reshaping his image precisely to undermine the distinctly rebellious, anti-court tenor of Chrysostom's reception that Theodore of Stoudios had so studiously promoted.<sup>590</sup>

### **3. PATRIARCHAL PROBLEMS**

Nevertheless, Leo faced his own challenges at home, as well. His desire to control both church and state has often been noted, and this has been linked to his homiletic activity,<sup>591</sup> as well as to his immediate deposition of Photios, upon accession in 886, and installation of his own younger brother, Stephen, as patriarch—despite the latter not yet having reached the required age.<sup>592</sup> Photios, of course, was not only involved in Leo's incarceration on suspicion of plotting against his father Basil I in 883—albeit acting as a relatively mitigating factor. Far more importantly, Photios shaped Basil's idea of himself as emperor.<sup>593</sup> Leo, on the contrary, desired to shape his own self-image, as noted above.<sup>594</sup> Leo deposed Photios in 886, and so his reign began with the necessity to address the quintessential 'patriarchal problem', namely patriarchal authority asserting its dominance over the court.<sup>595</sup> This problem remained prevalent during Leo's reign. The Tetragamy Affair, which began with the birth of Leo's son Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos in 905, highlights the issue. As Shaun Tougher notes, “the Tetragamy crisis is the most obvious facet of [Leo's] reign, though not the sole one, that demonstrates his attitude towards ecclesiastical authorities and his perception of his own authority.”<sup>596</sup>

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ἐπανάγαγε, τοῖς ἱεροῖς διπτύχοις ἐντάξας αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα. ἕκαστος γὰρ τῷ οἰκείῳ θρόνῳ τῶν ἄλλων ἐστὶν ἐπικρατέστερος.” On this work, cf. what is surprisingly one of the few works of scholarship to mention this text to date, Codoñer (2017) 64, n. 10: “[these works (i.e. including the *Adversus*)] non son atribuibles a Focio.”

<sup>590</sup> Kosmas Vestitor promotes the same idea—as, naturally, do many in reference to Chrysostom—in his fourth *Oration on the translation of the relics of John Chrysostom* (CPG 8145, BHG 878) 73.17–20: “Ἀραντες αὐτὸν [i.e. Chrysostom] φέρετε πρὸς με [i.e. Theodosios II] καὶ ἐάν τις ὑμῖν εἴπη τι, ἐρεῖτε πρὸς αὐτὸν· ἢ θυγάτηρ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν βασιλευόντων καὶ μήτηρ πασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐκκλησία [i.e. Constantinople] ὥσπερ κροσσῶ τὸν χρυσοῦν τῆς ἰδίας ὠραιότητος ζητεῖ τοῦτον περιβαλέσθαι.” The difficulties in precisely dating Kosmas' life, whether to the 8<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> century, makes precise contextualizing of his views problematic.

<sup>591</sup> Antonopoulou (1997) 44, though cf. Flusin (2001) 33 for a different view.

<sup>592</sup> Tougher (1997) 36, 68

<sup>593</sup> Tougher (1997) 79–80, 87–88.

<sup>594</sup> Markopoulos (1998) 476.

<sup>595</sup> Tougher (1997) 71.

<sup>596</sup> Tougher (1997) 133.

Leo was unfortunate in being unable to produce a male heir to succeed him until his fourth (soon-to-be) wife, Zoe Karbonopsina. Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos<sup>597</sup> was born in 905 and baptized, but Leo apparently felt this was not enough to secure his heir's legitimacy, for which reason he attempted a fourth marriage, strictly forbidden by Byzantine canon law.<sup>598</sup> In the course of forcing his will, Leo involuntarily re-enacts scenes from both Chrysostom's *Vitae* and Theodore of Stoudios' struggles against the court. First, he is turned away from entering Hagia Sophia at Christmas of 906 by patriarch Nicholas I Mystikos (901–907 & 912–925), reminiscent of Chrysostom's barring of Eudoxia from entering the church due to her seizure of the widow's vineyard.<sup>599</sup> Nevertheless, Leo behaves in a manner more royal than Eudoxia (in George of Alexandria's account): "Then Leo, the emperor, did something fitting of an emperor in an imperial manner, throwing himself on the ground and having shed many tears, arose and said to the patriarch, 'Enter, Master, being in no way hindered by me. For I suffer a deserved and just penalty on account of my innumerable sins.'"<sup>600</sup> Leo's repentance, however, is also what allows him later to use *parrhesia* and apply pressure to Nicholas I, who had promised him numerous times that he could enter and always found another reason to deny it at the last minute.<sup>601</sup>

Leo had the further misfortune of encountering an unbending opponent in Niketas David Paphlagon<sup>602</sup>—just as Nikephoros I and Leo V had in Theodore of Stoudios. Nicholas I, in the above-cited *Vita* of Euthymios the patriarch (Nicholas' interim successor), mentions Arethas' disapproval of Leo's fourth marriage, noting that he cannot allow Leo to enter Hagia Sophia until Arethas relents.<sup>603</sup> Arethas eventually does so and is reconciled with the court.<sup>604</sup> His student, however, Niketas David Paphlagon, becomes an unrelenting opponent of Leo's *oikonomia*. In an oft-cited fragment from the *Vita* of patriarch Euthymios (907–912), Leo's replacement for Nicholas I, Niketas David's struggle against Leo's adulterous tyranny is depicted in terms that Theodore of Stoudios would have readily supported:

<sup>597</sup> On the significance of the title that Constantine assumed, *Porphyrogennetos*, and the chronology of its usage, see Marić (2018) 120–122.

<sup>598</sup> Tougher (1997) 156–160. The *Vita Euthymii* reports that Zoe's relatives requested her recognition as Augusta—and thus, her officially sanctioned marriage to Leo. Cf. *Vita Euthymii*, 109.24–32.

<sup>599</sup> Cf. George of Alexandria, *Vita*, 196–198.

<sup>600</sup> *Vita Euthymii*, 77.25–29: "τότε Λέων ὁ βασιλεὺς βασιλικόν τι βασιλικῶς ἐποίησεν, ἐαυτὸν ἐπ' ἐδάφους ρίψας· καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ δακρύσας ἀναστὰς τῷ πατριάρχει ἔφη· εἰσελθε, δέσποτα, μὴ παρ' ἐμοῦ τὸ παράπαν ἐμποδιζόμενος. διὰ γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐμῶν ἀμετρήτων σφαλμάτων ἀξίως καὶ δικαίως πάσχω."

<sup>601</sup> *Vita Euthymii*, 79.7–83.4.

<sup>602</sup> Cf. Grierson and Jenkins (1962) 136.

<sup>603</sup> *Vita Euthymii*, 77.15–19.

<sup>604</sup> *Vita Euthymii*, 126–127. Cf. Karlin-Hayter (1961), (1962); Tougher (1997) 13; Antonopoulou (2017) 191.

“He [i.e. Leo] said angrily, ‘But do you think you will achieve your salvation without my imperial reign, my prayer and my intercession?’ And he [i.e. Niketas] responded, ‘But no, you will not guide us towards Christ, nor do you precede us into his heavenly kingdom, but you—having been allotted for a time by the Most High to reign over [other] people [as a mere] person [yourself], bend [sc. your bow], prosper and reign with righteousness and truth<sup>605</sup> so that you may not be put to shame by the king of kings on the day of God’s visitation. But we, following Michael, the arch-general of God’s armies, will be allied through him to Christ.’”<sup>606</sup>

Niketas is then brutally beaten and sent to be confined in the Dalmatou monastery, where he will further be pressed to submit to the emperor’s impious (in his eyes) will.<sup>607</sup> Niketas’ challenge attacked the heart of the Macedonians’ devotion to the cult of Michael the archangel, while simultaneously foregrounding the tensions between Court and Church that Chrysostom had represented for Theodore of Stoudios in the 9<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>608</sup> Niketas overtly attacked Leo’s entire self-image of emperor/shepherd who guides both church and state towards heaven. Moreover, even with Niketas confined, Leo continues to have patriarchal difficulties. Nicholas I is exiled in 907 and replaced with Euthymios, Leo’s spiritual father, but even he was not shy to contradict Leo’s will.<sup>609</sup> Despite Leo’s, perhaps, idealized vision of Chrysostom as a model patriarch who supports, submits to and guards the emperor, his actual experience from 905 onwards proved to be quite different, all in an effort to secure his son Constantine’s succession. In 945, Leo got his wish, posthumously, and Constantine, just like his father, turned to Chrysostom at the beginning of his reign as αὐτοκράτωρ.<sup>610</sup>

### III. CONSTANTINE VII: CHRYSOSTOM, THE EMPEROR’S PROTECTOR

<sup>605</sup> Ps. 44:4.

<sup>606</sup> *Vitae Euthymii fragmentum* 125–127: “Ἀλλὰ βούλει,” ἔφη θυμούμενος ἐκεῖνος, “ἄνευ τῆς ἐμῆς βασιλείας καὶ τῆς εὐχῆς καὶ μεσιτείας σωτηρίας τυχεῖν;” Αὐτὸς δὲ εἶπεν· “Οὐ μὲν οὖν· οὐ σὺ ἡμῖν καθηγήση πρὸς τὸν Χριστόν, οὐδὲ πρὸς τὴν οὐράνιον αὐτοῦ προηγῆση βασιλείαν. Ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν ἄνθρωπος ἀνθρώπων πρὸς καιρὸν ὃν ὁ ὕψιστος ὤρισεν βασιλεύειν λαχόν, ἔντεινε καὶ κατευοδοῦ καὶ βασίλευε μετὰ δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἀληθείας, ἵνα μὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν βασιλέων καταισχυθηῖς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ θεοῦ ἐπισκοπῆς. Ἡμεῖς δὲ Μιχαὴλ τῷ ἀρχιστρατήγῳ τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν δυνάμεων ἐπόμενοι συνθησόμεθα δι’ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Χριστόν.” Cf. the diametrically opposite account—favorable to Leo—preserved in the *Vita Euthymii* published from ms. Berolinensis graecus 55 (12<sup>th</sup> century) by Karlin-Hayter (1970) 105.14–109.23. For the ms., see *ibid.* 5–6.

<sup>607</sup> In numerous of his works, Niketas makes reference to his displeasure at Leo’s Tetragamy Affair. See Paschalidis (1999) 100–103, and 123–288 for Niketas’ oeuvre.

<sup>608</sup> Cf. *Vita Basilii* § 41, 76, 83, 93, 94.

<sup>609</sup> Tougher (1997) 103–104; Riedel (2018) 135–136.

<sup>610</sup> For the distinction between βασιλεία and αὐτοκρατορία with especial reference to Constantine VII and sources on him, see Marić (2018) 119–120.

If Leo VI laid the foundations for the ‘imperial’ reception of Chrysostom, Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos completed the construction—and with good reason. Constantine was crowned co-emperor with his father Leo in either late 907 or early 908.<sup>611</sup> By the time Leo died in 912, Constantine was only 7 years old. Thus, his uncle, Alexander (912–913), first ruled until dying after only just over a year. Consequently, Constantine’s mother, Zoe Karbonopsina, together with a council of senators comprised a regency for him until the successful rise in 919 of Romanos I Lekapenos (920–944) to the role first of *basileopator*, then *caesar* and eventually co-emperor by December of 920. Romanos then found a way to demote Constantine VII, making him second-emperor.<sup>612</sup> Later on he also had his two eldest sons, Stephen and Constantine, crowned and his youngest son, Theophylaktos (933–956), was eventually ordained patriarch of Constantinople.<sup>613</sup> It would seem that Romanos admired Leo VI’s strategy of associating close family members with power, and Constantine VII’s reign was noticeably threatened.<sup>614</sup> Nevertheless, Constantine VII proved fortunate; Romanos’ two sons, Stephen and Constantine, exiled their father to the island of Prote in 944. As a result, in his will Romanos named Constantine VII first emperor, with a provision that his own sons, Stephen and Constantine, should be deposed altogether should they ever offend him in any way.<sup>615</sup> Soon after—on 27 January 945, feast of the translation of Chrysostom’s relics to Constantinople—on suspicion of conspiracy against him Constantine VII had Romanos’ two sons exiled to nearby islands and ordained clergy.<sup>616</sup> Thus, his tenure as sole emperor, ἀντοκράτωρ, began.<sup>617</sup> By having the members of the usurping dynasty arrested on the feast of Chrysostom, Constantine VII possibly intended to begin his reign as his father, Leo VI, had begun his, with a focus on Chrysostom. Having been released from jail and reconciled to Basil I, Leo VI had honored Chrysostom by composing a homilial *Vita*. Constantine VII in this way could potentially have underlined his reign as a continuation of his family’s dynasty by linking it to a feast of John Chrysostom, the patriarchal patron and model for his father.

<sup>611</sup> Cf. Grierson and Jenkins (1962) 137–138.

<sup>612</sup> Theophanes Continuatus, 400.9–23, esp. 20–21: “τὸν βασιλέα Κωνσταντῖνον ὑποβιβάζει καὶ δεῦτερον καθίστησιν, ἑαυτὸν δὲ προάγει εἰς τοῦμπροσθεν.”

<sup>613</sup> Christophilopoulou (1970) 59–61. Leo VI had created the office of *basileopator*, according to Philotheos’ *Kletorologion*, for his most-trusted counselor, Stylianos Zaoutzes. Cf. Karlin-Hayter (1968); Leroy-Molinghen and Karlin-Hayter (1968). See also the recent discussion in Gkoutzioukostas (2014).

<sup>614</sup> Cf. Whittow (1996) 290; Marić (2018).

<sup>615</sup> Theophanes Continuatus, 434–435.

<sup>616</sup> The report of the conspiracy against Constantine VII by Stephen and Constantine is in Liutprand of Cremona’s *Antapodosis*. Cf. Flusin (1999) 11 and n. 32.

<sup>617</sup> Theophanes Continuatus, 437–438.

In conjunction with his well-known historical interests,<sup>618</sup> Constantine VII also had special religious interests, particularly concerning relics.<sup>619</sup> He viewed Chrysostom as protector/guarantor of his reign because on the feast day of Chrysostom's relics he regained his throne.<sup>620</sup> Moreover, due to his personal devotion to Gregory Nazianzen, Constantine orchestrated the return of his relics to occur on 19 January and be buried next to Chrysostom's in the church of the Holy Apostles, thus creating an octave (19–27 January), during which both Constantinopolitan hierarchs' relics were celebrated with processions, culminating on the day that Constantine became αὐτοκράτωρ.<sup>621</sup> In fact, it has been demonstrated that the letter, which Constantine VII had Theodore Daphnopates write on his behalf to Gregory requesting permission to bring his relics back to Constantinople, is based in both concept and content on the letter attributed to Theodosios II, transmitted in Kosmas Vestitor's fourth *Oration on the translation of the relics of John Chrysostom* (CPG 8145, BHG 878), wherein Theodosios II requests the same permission from Chrysostom.<sup>622</sup> Darrouzès and Westerink date the letter to the early years of Constantine's sole reign. The emperor also added to his hymnographic production by composing two canons in honor of Chrysostom.<sup>623</sup> Finally, Constantine further ensured that his patriarchal patron saints would continue to be honored every year with even further reverence by including the ritual of the emperor and patriarch praying at Chrysostom's and Gregory's tombs on the Monday after Pascha, as related in the *Book of Ceremonies*.<sup>624</sup> Nevertheless, indications of Constantine's overt reverence for Chrysostom, in particular, do not stop here.

As noted above, Romanos I had his youngest son, Theophylaktos, ordained patriarch of Constantinople (933–956). The history known as Theophanes Continuatus, one of Constantine VII's projects, has insightfully been described as the emperor's effort to turn

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<sup>618</sup> For which see the recent comprehensive study by Németh (2018); Markopoulos (2018) esp. 24 and ff for the necessary sense of caution in recognizing that direct indications of Constantine VII's hand at work in the historiographical corpus composed under his reign are not simple to trace. Nevertheless, cf. Antonopoulou (2018) and (2019) for the canons in honor of Chrysostom, which she convincingly argues are the genuine work of Constantine VII himself. Constantine is also traditionally credited with composing the *eothina exaposteilaria* still current in liturgical books.

<sup>619</sup> Kalavrezou (1997) 67–77; Flusin (1999) esp. 10–11; Klein (2006) 91–92

<sup>620</sup> Antonopoulou (2011) 19.

<sup>621</sup> Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos, *Encomium* 81: “Πείθομαι...μη̄ μόνον αὐτὸν [i.e. Gregory] τὰς οὐρανίους καταλιπόντα διατριβὰς μεθ' ἡμῶν πανηγυρίζειν καὶ συναγάλλεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν τῶν ἀποστόλων χορὸν...τοὺς ἐμοὺς θερμοὺς προστάτας καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀσφαλεστάτους φρουροὺς, πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοις καὶ τὸ τερπνὸν καὶ πάγχρυσον στόμα, τὸν ἐμὸν Χρυσορρόαν καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας διειδέστατον καὶ μελίρρυτον ποταμὸν, τὸν τῆς μετανοίας ἐγγυητὴν εὐκατάνυκτον καὶ τῆς διδασκαλίας εὐηχέστατον ὄργανον...” The feast of the apostle Timothy (22 January) and of Gregory's dormition (25 January) also fell in this same octave.

<sup>622</sup> Darrouzès and Westerink (1978) 18. Cf. Dyobouniotes (1925) 74.7–20.

<sup>623</sup> See Antonopoulou (2018) and (2019).

<sup>624</sup> Vogt (1967) 1.69.22–26.

history into storytelling, highlighting the good and bad characters of the past in a more dramatic than strictly fact-oriented account of history.<sup>625</sup> In this way, Constantine appropriated the past and exercised an authoritative control over knowledge of it for posterity—thus making it a vehicle of promoting his own propaganda.<sup>626</sup> The case of Chrysostom provides an illustrative example of the phenomenon. Theophanes Continuatus relates the death of patriarch Theophylaktos as a deliverance from the former’s idiotic wantonness by Constantine VII’s meritorious choice, Polyeyktos (956–970):

“But when the patriarch Theophylaktos got sick and neared death, regaining a little strength, he never ceased from his evil baseness, from ordaining hierarchs with bribes and maintaining horses and [i.e. other] nonsense. And then, overcome by illness, he died, having been patriarch for twenty-four years. Polyeyktos was ordained in his stead, a monk who shone in the ascetic life, having been tonsured from a tender age and being eminent in all virtue and sound doctrine. And he was considered—and said to be—by many another John Chrysostom. Nor was he just said to be, but it was evident [i.e. that he was]. Seeing him [i.e. Polyeyktos being such a patriarch] Constantine [i.e. VII], a lover of all good things, was delighted and rejoiced in his fortune [to live] during the same time as such a man.”<sup>627</sup>

Of first importance is the message the text is trying to communicate. In saying that Polyeyktos was thought and said to be another Chrysostom, Theophanes Continuatus is promoting Constantine VII’s virtuous choice of patriarch. Nevertheless, in the early 5<sup>th</sup> century, being seen to be another Chrysostom would not have been an unambiguous compliment. For Sokrates it would have meant virtue covered by external brazenness that most would have interpreted as arrogance. Even Sozomenos’ more laudatory account acknowledged that Chrysostom’s harsh tongue often went too far.<sup>628</sup> On the other hand, for Theodore of Studios in the early 9<sup>th</sup> century—whose harsh tongue was also reputed to have regularly gone too far—

<sup>625</sup> Cf. Featherstone (2012).

<sup>626</sup> Cf. Németh (2018) 31 (and n. 49 with further bibliography) and 145–156. For approaches of modern historiography to the Byzantine past, see the insightful—and dryly humorous—short introduction by Haldon (1984).

<sup>627</sup> Theophanes Continuatus, 444.14–445.5: “Ο δὲ πατριάρχης Θεοφύλακτος ἀρρωστήσας καὶ πρὸς τὸ θανεῖν ἐγγίσας καὶ μικρὸν ῥωσθεὶς οὐκ ἐνέδωκεν ἑαυτὸν τῆς πονηρᾶς μοχθηρίας καὶ τοῦ μετὰ δῶρων χειροτονεῖν τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν ἵππων καὶ βλακειῶν. καὶ αὐθις ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου κυριευθεὶς τέλει τοῦ βίου χράται, πατριαρχεύσας χρόνους εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρσι. χειροτονεῖται δὲ ἀντ’ αὐτοῦ Πολύευκτος μοναχὸς ἀσκητικὸν βίον διαλάμπων, καὶ μονάσας ἐξ ἀπαλῶν ὀνύχων καὶ διαπρέψας ἐν πάσῃ ἀρετῇ καὶ ὀρθῷ δόγματι· καὶ ὡς ἄλλος Ἰωάννης ὁ Χρυσόστομος παρὰ πολλῶν ἐγνωρίζετο καὶ ἐλέγετο, καὶ οὐκ ἐλέγετο μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐφαίνετο. τοῦτον ὀρῶν ὁ φιλόκαλος Κωνσταντῖνος ἔχαιρε καὶ ἠγαλλιᾶτο ὡς τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα ἐπιτυχῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμερῶν αὐτοῦ.”

<sup>628</sup> See Part 2, Introduction, Section II.

being another Chrysostom meant keeping a tight leash on the imperial court, ever prone to impiety of various kinds.<sup>629</sup> However, by the mid-10<sup>th</sup> century Chrysostom had again been refashioned, along lines laid down by Leo VI, into an emperor-friendly patriarch, one that a rich, powerful and strong-willed emperor need not fear. Indeed, further on in his account Theophanes Continuatus informs us of Constantine VII's especial love for Chrysostom, in which he surpassed all before him, honoring the saint with the most glorious commemoration.<sup>630</sup> András Németh notes that John Skylitzes draws heavily from both of Constantine VII's major historiographical projects, Theophanes Continuatus and Genesisios' account. However, Skylitzes is highly critical of his sources' overt propaganda;<sup>631</sup> he makes concerted efforts to leave Macedonian ideological concerns out of his history.<sup>632</sup> Therefore, a look at Skylitzes' account of Theophylaktos' death and Polyeuktos' election is instructive.

First, Skylitzes also gives a negative account of Theophylaktos' behavior.<sup>633</sup> However, when he comes to Polyeuktos, the comparison with Chrysostom is nowhere to be found, despite Skylitzes' dependence on Theophanes Continuatus being evident even from lexical similarities.<sup>634</sup> Polyeuktos is ordained; Constantine's choice is praised, but the ordination is performed contrary to custom, by the metropolitan of Caesareia rather than that of Herakleia. Constantine and Polyeuktos are both censured because of this. Polyeuktos then goes on to speak boldly against the avarice of Romanos I's relatives. Romanos, naturally, was not pleased<sup>635</sup> and the resulting trouble makes Constantine regret ever having chosen Polyeuktos in the first place.<sup>636</sup> Certain key differences between Skylitzes and Theophanes Continuatus

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<sup>629</sup> See Chapter 1. Indeed, Theophanes Continuatus does not hesitate to call Chrysostom the preacher of repentance, which Theodore himself had emphasized in his *Oration* 4 and elsewhere (see Part 1, Critical Text of Or.4). However, after Leo VI's conciliatory adoption of the role of repentant emperor during the Tetragamy Affair, coupled with his other efforts to re-write Chrysostom's reception, this Chrysostomic epithet lost some of its bite in relation to the imperial office. Theophanes Continuatus advertizes it (see text in following note) without fear of it reflecting back negatively on Constantine VII.

<sup>630</sup> Theophanes Continuatus, 457.18–22: “Οὕτως ἠγάπησεν ὡς ἄλλος οὐδεὶς τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ πιστῶν, καὶ μνήμη λαμπροτάτη τετίμηκεν καὶ τὸ εὐφυές τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου, ἐπαινῶν τὴν συνθήκην τῶν λόγων καὶ περιβολῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν κύκλων σχοινοτενῆ καὶ ἐνθυμημάτων, ἐν οἷς τὸν τῆς μετανοίας κήρυκα λαμπρῶς καὶ ἀγλαῶς ἐμεγάλυνεν.”

<sup>631</sup> Skylitzes, 3–4.

<sup>632</sup> Németh (2018) 146.

<sup>633</sup> Skylitzes, 242–244.

<sup>634</sup> Skylitzes, 244.11: “Καὶ χειροτονεῖται...ἀντ’ αὐτοῦ πατριάρχης Πολύευκτος μοναχός...ἐπὶ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον τῇ μοναδικῇ πολιτείᾳ ἐνδιαπρέψας.”

<sup>635</sup> Which is odd considering that he must surely have been dead by that time.

<sup>636</sup> Thus, Skylitzes' account roughly matches what one finds in the ODB s.v. *Polyeuktos*, as opposed to Theophanes Continuatus'. Nevertheless, while Skylitzes omits the comparison with Chrysostom, his description of Polyeuktos' behavior calls to mind numerous elements of Sokrates' and Sozomenos' descriptions of Chrysostom, whereas Theophanes Continuatus made the comparison but left out the explanation, giving only a general indication of Polyeuktos' virtue and orthodoxy. This divergence is perhaps to be taken as an indication of Skylitzes' simultaneous dependence on a common source between him and Theophanes Continuatus, which the latter polished for a pro-Macedonian readership. Featherstone (2012) 126 notes the likelihood of a common source for Theophanes Continuatus and Genesisios, but does not mention Skylitzes in this particular connection.

reveal the former in the process of re-working Macedonian propaganda. First, the comparison between Polyeuktos and Constantine VII's patriarchal patron, Chrysostom, disappears. Second, in Skylitzes we find only negative relations between Polyeuktos and Romanos I, whereas in Theophanes Continuatus it was Polyeuktos who had comforted Romanos during his exile on the island of Prote long before being elected patriarch—thus, confirming Constantine VII's wise choice.<sup>637</sup> Theophanes Continuatus has nothing negative to say about relations between Polyeuktos and Romanos. In short, while Theophanes Continuatus presents both Chrysostom and Polyeuktos from a pro-Macedonian point of view, Skylitzes adopts none of this. For him, Chrysostom—who makes no appearance in his work—is not the friendly guardian of imperial rule. Polyeuktos himself may actually bear many characteristics that had been attributed to Chrysostom in centuries past, but this is seen as a negative burden on Constantine VII's shoulders, which drives him to search for an excuse to depose the patriarch. Thus, in a twist of irony, just as Skylitzes omits the pro-Macedonian image of Chrysostom from his account, he introduces Polyeuktos in terms that many in the 5<sup>th</sup> century would have recognized as Chrysostomic: *parrhesia*, attacking the rich and powerful and, most importantly, provoking the emperor to search for ways to depose him. It is to this scale that the literary pursuits associated with the court of Constantine VII strove to re-write the past. In the honor he showed to Chrysostom, one can observe his cultivation of a reception of Chrysostom begun by his father, Leo VI, taken to its logical conclusion. Just as after the 5<sup>th</sup> century clashes between Chrysostom and court led to the 7<sup>th</sup> century re-writes, where patriarch and emperor were on the best of terms—and only the devious empress connived against their good relations—a similar phenomenon occurs here. During Second Iconoclasm Theodore of Stoudios had made concerted efforts to re-focus attention on Chrysostom's clashes with the court—and the emperor in particular, not just the empress—in order to justify his own. Following the restoration of 843, changing circumstances and needs impelled the production of a new version of the Chrysostom story that downplayed tensions between patriarch and court, showing them rather as collaborators for common goals. The patriarch protected the emperor with his prayers and sanctity, while the emperor guarded the holy patriarch's memory and ensured orthodoxy held sway throughout the empire and as much of the world as possible. Within this context Jews were repeatedly forced to accept Christian baptism; Constantinopolitan authority was asserted over the issues surrounding Photios; and the Macedonian dynasty was first strengthened under Leo VI, and then, when threatened, re-

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<sup>637</sup> Theophanes Continuatus, 434.18–435.2.

established by Constantine VII. Throughout all of these developments the Macedonian ‘imperial’ reception of Chrysostom is present.

The turn of the century would see Chrysostom’s reception develop even further. Not just monastic centers of traditional Byzantine heartlands with connections to the Stoudios monastery, but even prominent monasteries of Constantinople would begin to incorporate SermCat into their Typika. This contributed to Chrysostom’s own rising prominence, but it is noteworthy that Theodore of Stoudios’ *Oration 4*, incorporating SermCat into its text, was not prescribed in any extant or known Typika. After the Macedonian re-working of Chrysostom’s reception, connections between Chrysostom and Theodore grew more and more tenuous until the latter was eventually all but forgotten in relation to the former outside of strictly pro-Stoudite circles. Nevertheless, by the 11<sup>th</sup> century numerous authors had contributed significantly to the literary mosaic of Chrysostom’s *Nachleben*, and as had already happened from the 5<sup>th</sup>–7<sup>th</sup> centuries and the 9<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> centuries, so again from the 10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> centuries circumstances changed. Cultural, and particularly literary, interests shifted, and these cultural seismic events once again caused a reshaping of the landscape of Chrysostom’s reception, with the epicenter focused on what is traditionally known as the Three Hierarchs Controversy.<sup>638</sup>

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<sup>638</sup> For a theory of periodic, cyclic social unrest—applied to much more recent history—see Turchin and Korotayev (2020), available here: <https://journals.plos.org/plosone/article?id=10.1371/journal.pone.0237458> (accessed 5.11.20).

## CHAPTER 3—IN BETWEEN THE HIERARCHS: CHRYSOSTOM FROM THE 11<sup>TH</sup>–13<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES

### I. ENIGMATIC SOURCES

“The eleventh century in Byzantium is all about being in between, whether this is between the anvil and the hammer, between Basil II and Alexios Komnenos, between the forces of the Normans, Pechenegs and the Turks, or between different social groupings, cultural identities and religious persuasions. And there is no reason to doubt that this in-betweenness must have been a distinctly unpleasant experience for many Byzantines. It is because of Psellos’ rhetorical forcefulness that we tend to see the eleventh century as a triumph of ‘humanism’ and enlightened ‘Hellenism’, but it is also, and perhaps primarily, a period of religious uncertainty, spiritual anguish and pious regrets.”<sup>639</sup>

The in-betweenness of 11<sup>th</sup> century Byzantium can be further glimpsed through the lens of Chrysostom’s developing reception in the period. By the early 11<sup>th</sup> century, the hagiographic novel *Barlaam and Ioasaph*—an adaptation of a *Vita* of the Buddha—had been translated from Georgian into Greek by Euthymios (d. 1028), one of the founders of Mt. Athos’ Iviron monastery.<sup>640</sup> No doubt, one of Euthymios’ additions to the text as he translated it was to quote a passage from *SermCat*,<sup>641</sup> while by the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, the monastery of Theotokos Evergetis had included as part of its *Typikon* the reading of *SermCat* at the paschal vigil.<sup>642</sup>

Lauxtermann’s notion of in-betweenness can also be applied to evoke the well-known icon of the Three Hierarchs: Basil of Caesaria, Gregory Nazianzen and John Chrysostom.<sup>643</sup> Depending on the artist, Basil and Gregory may switch from far left to far right, but Chrysostom is almost always depicted in between these other two in surviving compositions.<sup>644</sup> Considering

<sup>639</sup> Lauxtermann and Whittow (2017) xv–xvi.

<sup>640</sup> Toumpouri (2017) 149.

<sup>641</sup> *Vita Barlaam et Ioasaph*, 31.142–146: “πάλιν ὡς ἄνθρωπος θνήσκει [i.e. Christ], ὡς δὲ θεὸς ἐξανίσταται σκυλεύσας τὸν ἄδην. Διὸ κέκραγεν ὁ προφήτης: Ὁ ἄδης ἐπικράνθη συναντήσας σοι κάτω. **Ἐπικράνθη καὶ γὰρ ἐνεπαίχθη** ἄνθρωπον δοκῶν λαβεῖν ψιλόν, **τῷ θεῷ δὲ περιτυχῶν** καὶ κενὸς ἐξαίφνης γεγονῶς καὶ αἰχμάλωτος. Ἐγείρεται τοιγαροῦν ὡς θεὸς καὶ ἀνέρχεται εἰς οὐρανοῦς, ὅθεν οὐδαμῶς ἐχωρίσθη (emphasis mine).”

<sup>642</sup> Jordan (2005) 1P.86–95.

<sup>643</sup> Cf., for example, ms. BL Add. 19352 (1066, ‘Theodore Psalter’) f. 35v: [http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add\\_ms\\_19352\\_f001r](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_19352_f001r) (accessed 16.3.20).

<sup>644</sup> See the collection of Sinai icons here, in which Chrysostom is positioned in the middle in the overwhelming majority of depictions (despite the dating being uncertain in almost all cases):

that Panagiotis Agapitos has argued that in the environment of 11<sup>th</sup> century literary culture Chrysostom represented the harshest position towards Hellenism,<sup>645</sup> while Basil and Gregory were both more positively disposed,<sup>646</sup> perhaps Byzantine iconography strove to pictorially represent the more overtly Hellenophile hierarchs acting as balancing forces to the third hierarch who was renowned for his more open hostility to Greek *paideia*.

Scholarly accounts of the controversy surrounding the Three Hierarchs are usually based on the slightly varying descriptions found in synaxaria from the 12<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>647</sup> Nevertheless, the synaxaria present certain problems, of both a chronological and ideological nature, which in turn necessitate the larger scope of the present chapter.<sup>648</sup> In order to follow the full development of both the controversy and establishment of the feast of the Three Hierarchs, a scope encompassing the late 11<sup>th</sup> century alone does not suffice—despite the synaxaria’s insistence that it took place under the reign of Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118).<sup>649</sup> The present chapter, therefore, begins with the dawn of the 11<sup>th</sup> century—its characteristic shifts in literary culture with regard to the 10<sup>th</sup> century—and traces what evidence remains of the cultural conflict that is reported to have broken out in Constantinople between the admirers of Basil of Caesarea, Gregory Nazianzen and John Chrysostom.<sup>650</sup> The sources for the controversy and its solution lead through the 12<sup>th</sup> into the 13<sup>th</sup> century and from Constantinople to the peripheries of Byzantium’s ever-shifting boundaries. In this way, the present chapter closes with Neophytos Enkleistos’ reception of both the Three Hierarchs and Chrysostom, in particular; Neophytos fittingly adopts Theodore of Stoudios’ practice of incorporating SermCat

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[http://vrc.princeton.edu/sinai/items/browse?search=chrysostom&advanced%5B0%5D%5Bjoiner%5D=and&advanced%5B0%5D%5Belement\\_id%5D=&advanced%5B0%5D%5Btype%5D=&advanced%5B0%5D%5Bterms%5D=&range=&collection=&type=&tags=&featured=&exhibit=&submit\\_search=Search+for+items](http://vrc.princeton.edu/sinai/items/browse?search=chrysostom&advanced%5B0%5D%5Bjoiner%5D=and&advanced%5B0%5D%5Belement_id%5D=&advanced%5B0%5D%5Btype%5D=&advanced%5B0%5D%5Bterms%5D=&range=&collection=&type=&tags=&featured=&exhibit=&submit_search=Search+for+items) (accessed 16.3.20). The same is also true in the Theodore Psalter. As will be examined below, this compositional style reflects motifs of John Mauropous’ *Homily* 178 on the three hierarchs (Lagarde (1882) 106–119). I thank Giovanni Gasbarri and Georgi Parpulov for their helpful comments on this and other points.

<sup>645</sup> With which neither Kaldellis (2007) 136 nor Papadopoulos (2009) 9 appear to disagree. Cf., however, Bozinis (2011), (2019), as well as Gkortsilas (2017), who emphasize Chrysostom’s significant dependence on the literary heritage of Hellenism, latent underneath his often anti-Greek rhetoric.

<sup>646</sup> Agapitos (1998) 187–191.

<sup>647</sup> Agapitos (1998) 188; cf. also Gazi (2004) 136–143. Surprisingly few scholars appear to have made much of John Mauropous’ own homily for the feast, despite broad acceptance of the synaxaria’s insistence on Mauropous’ crucial role in establishing the celebration. Kazhdan’s (1995) 374 interpretation of Mauropous’ initiative, especially, leaves one wondering how closely he read Mauropous’ text. See also below, n. 665

<sup>648</sup> Gazi (2004) 140 notes characteristically: “Η μοναδική βασίμη πληροφορία [i.e. given by the synaxaria] είναι ότι αυτοργός της συγκρότησης της τριανδρίας των Ιεραρχών είναι ο Ιωάννης Μαυρόπουλος, γνωστότερος ως μητροπολίτης Ευχαΐτων.”

<sup>649</sup> Angold (1995) 155, following Bonis (1966) who relied primarily on the corpus of Mauropous himself, also dates the institution of the feast to the late 11<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>650</sup> Questions begin to arise when one realizes that the self-styled star of literary Byzantine culture in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, Michael Psellos, had apparently not even one word to spare concerning this alleged *stasis* of constantinopolitan literati. It hardly seems possible that he would have missed the chance to cast himself as the hero who settled the debate. More on this and other problems below.

into his paschal catechesis—while simultaneously preserving his own encomium on the Three Hierarchs, which ironically contradicts the purpose of honoring the three together by singling out Chrysostom for praise. Thus, Neophytos provides the most suitable point at which to conclude the present investigation into Chrysostom’s middle Byzantine reception. Nevertheless, in order to appreciate the significance of the feast of the Three Hierarchs, and the events surrounding the feast’s establishment, the connections between this and the earlier phases of Chrysostom’s middle Byzantine reception, already presented in previous chapters, must be established.

## II. CONNECTIONS AND CONTINUITIES: OLD BATTLES, NEW SOLDIERS

Thus far, from the introductory chapter through Chapter 2, certain critical junctures in the development of Chrysostom’s middle Byzantine reception from the 5<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> centuries have been presented. Initially in the mid-5<sup>th</sup> century, church historians gradually laid the foundation for Chrysostom’s development into the saintly Byzantine patriarch *par excellence*, rendering him a palatable supporter of more elite interests—such as rhetorical skill and beneficial largesse (φιλανθρωπία)<sup>651</sup>—instead of just those of the peasants,<sup>652</sup> such as: brazen indignation towards upper-class oppression (Sokrates’ ἐλευθεροστομία) and flaunting of wealth (Chrysostom’s infamous attacks on women’s jewelry), as well as chastising stinginess in sharing accumulated resources. It is primarily these latter concerns that Chrysostom himself focuses on in his surviving corpus, but an empire that from the 5<sup>th</sup> century onwards began to progressively understand just how closely it would be collaborating with the Church in the future could not afford to leave such a controversial figure as Chrysostom unreconciled to elite interests forever. Just as Constantine I (306–337) understood that reconciliation with Christ, himself a σημεῖον ἀντιλεγόμενον,<sup>653</sup> and his followers was preferable to continuing a never-ending civil war that was spectacularly failing to produce results, in the same way Proklos (434–446) would have had little difficulty in convincing Theodosios II (408–450) that taking charge of Chrysostom’s saintly reception by translating his relics back to the capital was

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<sup>651</sup> Naturally, φιλανθρωπία was a crucial concept in Christian theology, as well. However, as noted in the introductory chapter to Part 2, there were certain critical differences between the established philanthropy of a late-antique *curialis*, who cared for only those concerns directly related to the city itself that would then praise him in return, and that of the Christian bishop. The latter began to seek out the disenfranchised destitute of the late-antique metropolises, and by taking care of their basic needs, began to develop a power-base that in no way depended upon the established structures of a late-antique, non-Christian metropolis.

<sup>652</sup> For characteristic examples of Chrysostom’s concern for the poor, see Brändle (2008).

<sup>653</sup> Lk. 2:34–35.

ultimately the wisest move for the court to make. Thus ended the schism caused by Chrysostom's second exile; thus began the long process of different interests—hierarchical, monastic, educational, imperial—to claim Chrysostom's patronization for themselves. By the end of the 7<sup>th</sup>–8<sup>th</sup> centuries, hagiographies and homilies had thoroughly emphasized Chrysostom's monastic, hierarchical and rhetorical credentials. His ambiguous few years among Syrian monastics had been transformed into a veritable abbacy of a cenobium. His exile from the see of Constantinople had been painted in the darkest demonic terms and responsibility had been placed on the empress, while the emperor was excused from culpability. Finally, his homiletic corpus was being read regularly in monasteries and local churches and gathered into unofficial “canons” of patristic literature, *Panegyrika*, to be read on every major feast day of the ecclesiastical calendar; in this last development, Chrysostom had been set apart precisely by his honorary title, Golden Mouth.

Consequently, in the 9<sup>th</sup> century Theodore of Stoudios had already encountered a centuries-old tradition of Chrysostom's reception. For Theodore's purposes, the more elite-friendly aspects, such as rhetorical prowess and even largesse, were of little use. Instead, Theodore systematically emphasized Chrysostom's outspoken opposition of the imperial court and his intractable insistence on complete autonomy for the church within the state. These more subversive aspects of Chrysostom's reception proved far more advantageous to Theodore in his campaigns against what he considered to be the court's various impieties in the late 8<sup>th</sup>–early 9<sup>th</sup> centuries. One central aspect of his battle against Second Iconoclasm under Leo V was his promotion of *SermCat*, whose attribution to Chrysostom Theodore recognized. The text espouses the anti-iconoclastic theology that Theodore himself constantly promotes, and most likely it constituted a central component of Theodore's *pièce de résistance* before his third and final exile for opposing Leo V's Iconoclasm. In the end, Theodore succeeded in shifting Chrysostom's reception back to a more subversive tone, even if his own role in eventually defeating Iconoclasm was mostly forgotten or ignored outside of Stoudite circles. Nevertheless, the challenge to the court's authority was felt and would be answered.

In the late 9<sup>th</sup>–early 10<sup>th</sup> centuries, Leo VI (886–912) began to reshape the imperial office into that of a guardian of both church and orthodoxy in innovative ways. He began delivering homilies on major feast days of the Church and days of particular significance to the Macedonian dynasty—to the exclusion of both patriarchs Stephen (886–893), Leo's own brother, and Antony II Kauleas (893–901). Thus, for the first half of his reign, Leo not only held the highest office of the state, but was himself also the most prominent preacher in the Church. This blurring of boundaries between church and state is already reflected in his early

*Vita* of Chrysostom, wherein the latter is adorned with certain imperial virtues, while the Church's role generally in resolving the Johannite schism is diminished. Leo's son, Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (913–959), took his father's initiatives even further. When he regained his throne from the usurper, Romanos I Lekapenos (920–944), he attributed his good fortune to the two hierarchs he considered his imperial patrons: Chrysostom and Gregory Nazianzen. He wrote hymns in Chrysostom's honor, instituted veneration at both of their tombs as part of imperial ceremony and praised them both in encomia. By the time that Constantine VII died in 959 the balance of Chrysostom's reception had shifted dramatically from where Theodore of Stoudios had left it in 826. Chrysostom had gone from scourge of the court to imperial patron.<sup>654</sup> That he was known for his debunking of non-Christian religious beliefs was accepted and at times even considered highly useful, such as during the forced baptism of Jews under both Basil I (867–886) and Leo VI.

Nevertheless, the Macedonian solution to the problem of Chrysostom's reception proved no more final than its predecessor under Theodore of Stoudios. The 11<sup>th</sup> century began to witness significant shifts in Byzantine literary culture, the likes of which had not been seen since the late-antique empire of the 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>655</sup> Michael Psellos' prominence in Byzantine and modern scholarly interest has a certain distorting effect.<sup>656</sup> Nevertheless, he maintained close connections to the imperial court for the better part of four decades, joined by his three closest colleagues—Constantine Leichoudes, John Xiphilinos and John Mauropous—for much of that time. It is in this literary circle<sup>657</sup> that one can observe exemplified the shift from 10<sup>th</sup> century encyclopedic tendencies<sup>658</sup> towards the 11<sup>th</sup> century deeper engagement with classical sources *per se* and the struggle to render them compatible with contemporary middle Byzantine culture.<sup>659</sup> For most members of this tetrad, such engagement was not problematic. However,

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<sup>654</sup> A theme that would be expressed still more explicitly in the late 11<sup>th</sup> century MS. Coislinianus 79 (11<sup>th</sup> century), a collection of Chrysostom's homilies features an illustration on f. 2v of Chrysostom offering his book to the emperor, labelled Nikephoros III Botaneiates (1078–1081). Spatharakis (1976) figure 72 identifies the emperor as Michael VII Doukas (1071–1078). The text above the image reads (ibid., 112): “ΕΓΩ ΜΕΝ ΕΙΜΙ ΣΟΣ/ ΦΥΛΑΞ ΣΤΕΦΗΦΟΡΕ/ ΩΣ ΕΓΝΩΣ ΑΥΤΟΝ/ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΩΝ ΤΑΣ/ ΕΚΒΑΣΕΙΣ/ Ο Δ' ΑΥ ΓΕ ΡΗΣΕΙΣ ΚΑΙ/ ΧΡΥΣΟΥΝ ΦΕΡΩΝ/ ΣΤΟΜΑ/ Ο ΣΥΓΓΡΑΦΕΥΣ ΕΣΤΗΚΕΝ/ ΕΙΣ ΔΥΣΩΠΙΑΝ/ ΑΙΤΩΝ ΣΥΝ ΗΜΙΝ/ ΓΡΑΦΕΩΣ ΤΟΥ ΣΟΥ/ ΧΑΡΙΝ/ ΟΝ ΕΥΜΕΝΩΣ ΒΛΕΠΟΙΣ ΤΕ/ ΚΑΙ ΤΡΕΦΟΙΣ ΑΝΑΞ.”

<sup>655</sup> See Agapitos (1998) and Magdalino (2017).

<sup>656</sup> Papaioannou (2013); Jeffreys (2017), as well, of course, as Mango (1975).

<sup>657</sup> Margaret Mullett (1984) 174 has disparaged the term 'literary circle' with characteristic insightfulness. I employ it here not to suggest that any of the four literati—Psellos, Leichoudes, Xiphilinos or Mauropous—necessarily acted as patron to the others. Rather, Psellos maintained friendships with the other three; composed encomia for them; and shared literature with at least Xiphilinos and Mauropous. Four seems too small to be called a network, and the further relations of these literati to other contemporaries goes beyond the scope of the present chapter.

<sup>658</sup> Cf. Odorico (1990).

<sup>659</sup> Cf. Mullett (1984), esp. 173.

Psellos, as will be examined below in detail, often takes a markedly defensive tone against unnamed critics. Indeed, in perhaps his most famous letter, addressed to Xiphilinos, Psellos vehemently defends his own orthodoxy and refutes Xiphilinos' criticisms of his study of Greek literature; the latter apparently considered that Psellos was interested in more than just polishing his usages of the Atticizing sociolect, the only officially condoned reason for the study of Greek texts. Psellos' own student, John Italos, took Psellos' tendencies even further, initiating a closer and more profound dialogue with Greek philosophy than the Christian empire was prepared to accept. Italos was reprimanded in 1077 and anathematized in 1082. Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118) had anathemas added to the *Synodikon of Orthodoxy* specifically for Italos, which emphasized that Greek literature was only to be consulted for linguistic reasons. This interpretation of the limited value of Greek *paideia* actually hearkens back to a 4<sup>th</sup> century disagreement over the usefulness of Hellenism's literary heritage within the bosom of the Church itself, represented by the varying positions taken by none other than the 11<sup>th</sup> century's "Three Hierarchs."<sup>660</sup>

### III. FOUNDATIONS OF THE THREE HIERARCHS' CONTROVERSY

In fact, the term 'disagreement' is slightly misleading.<sup>661</sup> Gregory and Basil were actually in broad agreement, on the one hand, that Greek literature could certainly be misused and induce heretical tendencies. This concern impelled Basil to write his treatise, *To Youth on How They Might Be Benefited by Greek Literature*. Gregory, for his part, disparages Julian the Apostate's Hellenism in his invectives against the latter. However, both Basil and Gregory discerned in Greek texts a value that went beyond simply its attractive linguistic façade. Gregory laments the tendency among Christians to reject Greek literature outright. Just as Basil had recommended imitating the bee and collecting useful teachings from Greek texts,<sup>662</sup> so

<sup>660</sup> Cf. Angold (1984), (1995); Gounaridis (1996), (1999); Kaldellis (2007); Siniossoglou (2008).

<sup>661</sup> Though, perhaps, not as misleading as Magdalino's (2002) 331 "synthesis between philosophy and theology which had been worked out by the fathers of the Church." In fact, the frank discussion of the differences between Chrysostom's approach and that of Basil and Gregory had never actually taken place—the closest approximation being various accusations of heresies, resulting in councils and definitions. It was precisely this lack of a 'worked out' synthesis that left the field open for Psellos to experiment and for Xiphilinos and others to criticize.

<sup>662</sup> Basil of Caesarea, *To Youth on How They Might Be Benefited by Greek Literature*, 4.1–48: "Ἄλλ' ὅτι μὲν οὐκ ἄχρηστον ψυχαῖς μαθήματα τὰ ἔξωθεν δὴ ταῦτα ἰκανῶς εἴρηται· ὅπως γε μὴν αὐτῶν μεθεκτέον ὑμῖν ἐξῆς ἂν εἴη λέγειν...κατὰ πάσαν δὴ οὖν τῶν μελιτῶν τὴν εἰκόνα τῶν λόγων ὑμῖν μεθεκτέον. ἐκεῖναί τε γὰρ οὔτε ἅπασι τοῖς ἄνθεσι παραπλησίως ἐπέρχονται, οὔτε μὴν οἷς ἂν ἐπιπῶσιν, ὅλα φέρειν ἐπιχειροῦσιν, ἀλλ' ὅσον αὐτῶν ἐπιτήδειον πρὸς τὴν ἐργασίαν λαβοῦσαι, τὸ λοιπὸν χαίρειν ἀφήκαν. ἡμεῖς τε, ἦν σωφρονῶμεν, ὅσον οἰκεῖον ἡμῖν καὶ συγγενὲς τῇ ἀληθείᾳ παρ' αὐτῶν κομισάμενοι, ὑπερβησόμεθα τὸ λειπόμενον."

Gregory bemoans the ignorance of most Christians, who fail to do precisely that.<sup>663</sup> Crucially, for both Basil and Gregory, the value of Hellenism goes beyond philology;<sup>664</sup> both insist that certain *teachings* of Greek literature are useful for Christian life—a position that Psellos takes up in his own defense, citing Gregory and Basil as his precedents, as will be outlined in detail below. Their view was in stark contrast to the strict philological approach that the Byzantine imperial church later took with the anathemas of Italos added to the *Synodikon*.<sup>665</sup> Rather, it was Chrysostom who had championed the view of Greek literature that was enshrined in the *Synodikon*. It was Chrysostom who had insisted in his treatise, *Against the Opponents of the Monastic Life*, that:

“...the study of rhetoric remains in need of temperance, but temperance does not require study of rhetoric. For it is possible to achieve a temperance even without this education (παιδεύσεως), while no one would ever acquire the [i.e. true] power of rhetoric without temperance, since all time would be wasted in evil and licentiousness.”<sup>666</sup>

However, before detailed analysis of how these 4<sup>th</sup> century conflicts found new life and relevance in 11<sup>th</sup> century Byzantine literary culture, certain persistent problems of the chronology of the 11<sup>th</sup> century Three Hierarchs controversy must be addressed.

<sup>663</sup> Gregory Nazianzen, *Epitaphios*, 2.11.1–2: “Οἶμαι δὲ πᾶσιν ἀνωμολογήσθαι τῶν νοῦν ἐχόντων, παιδεύσειν τῶν παρ’ ἡμῖν ἀγαθῶν εἶναι τὸ πρῶτον· οὐ ταύτην μόνην τὴν εὐγενεστέραν καὶ ἡμετέραν, ἢ πᾶν τὸ ἐν λόγοις κομψὸν καὶ φιλότιμον ἀτιμάζουσα μόνης ἔχεται τῆς σωτηρίας καὶ τοῦ κάλλους τῶν νοουμένων· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐξωθεν, ἣν οἱ πολλοὶ Χριστιανῶν διαπτύουσιν, ὡς ἐπίβουλον καὶ σφαλερὰν καὶ Θεοῦ πόρρω βάλλουσαν, κακῶς εἰδότες. Ὡσπερ γὰρ οὐρανὸν καὶ γῆν καὶ ἀέρα καὶ ὅσα τούτων, οὐκ ἐπειδὴ κακῶς τινες ἐξειλήφασιν ἀντὶ Θεοῦ τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ σέβοντες, διὰ τοῦτο περιφρονητέον· ἀλλ’ ὅσον χρήσιμον αὐτῶν καρπούμενοι πρὸς τε ζῶην καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν ὅσον ἐπικίνδυνον διαφεύγομεν, οὐ τῷ κτίσῃ τὴν κτίσιν ἐπανιστάντες κατὰ τοὺς ἄφρονας, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῶν δημιουργημάτων τὸν δημιουργὸν καταλαμβάνοντες, καὶ ὁ φησὶν ὁ θεῖος Ἀπόστολος, αἰχμαλωτίζοντες πᾶν νόημα εἰς Χριστόν.”

<sup>664</sup> For insightful analyses of Greek philosophy’s use by Church fathers, with specific reference to Gregory Nazianzen, see Demetrakopoulos (2014), (2015). For the notion of “Christian philosophy”, see Tatakis (2007) and generally Jaeger (1961); Pelikan (1993); and Stead (1998).

<sup>665</sup> For the notion of the Byzantine imperial church, see Haldon (2016) esp. 121–158. For the anathemas, see below.

<sup>666</sup> *Adversus oppugnatores vitae monasticae* PG 47:367.24–30: “...ἡ μὲν τῶν λόγων σπουδὴ τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν τρόπων ἐπιεικείας δεῖται, ἡ δὲ τῶν τρόπων ἐπιεικεία οὐκέτι τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων προσθήκης. Σωφροσύνην μὲν γὰρ καὶ χωρὶς τῆς παιδεύσεως ταύτης κατορθῶσαι ἐνι, λόγων δὲ δύναμιν χωρὶς τρόπων χρηστῶν οὐδεὶς ἂν προσλάβοι ποτέ, παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου εἰς κακίαν καὶ ἀσέλγειαν ἀναλισκομένου.”

#### IV. ISSUES OF CHRONOLOGY

The main primary source that scholars turn to for descriptions of the Three Hierarchs controversy are the various synaxaria. Despite certain variations and omissions, the 14<sup>th</sup> century synaxarion differs little from that preserved in the 13<sup>th</sup> century ms. Parisinus graecus 1572, ff. 270v–272v.<sup>667</sup> Both insist on the same main points of chronology: 1) that John Mauropous—who was *at that time* metropolitan of Euchaita—was responsible for settling the controversy that had erupted among the literati of Constantinople, after having received a vision of the Three Hierarchs;<sup>668</sup> 2) that the controversy itself took place during the reign of Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118); and 3) that Mauropous’ vision occurred some years *after* the conflict began.<sup>669</sup> There is no debate over the years during which Alexios Komnenos reigned, but Mauropous’ tenure of the see of Euchaita is a different story.<sup>670</sup> Mauropous is usually considered to have been elected metropolitan under Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–1055) ca. 1050. By 1075, almost all scholars agree he had returned to Constantinople to retire as a monk in the monastery of Petra. The difficulty that emerges is, if the synaxarion is to be believed, Mauropous must still have been metropolitan of Euchaita during the 1080s. If the synaxaria are not to be believed, then we have no other chronology for how this feast of Three Hierarchs came into being. Neither option appears *prima facie* appetizing. In order to make any sense out of these seemingly mutually-exclusive chronological restrictions,

<sup>667</sup> The 14<sup>th</sup> century synaxarion is published in *PG* 29:390–393. The Paris ms. is available in digitized form here: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10723599w/f292.item.zoom> (accessed 17.3.20). There is also a 12<sup>th</sup> century witness, ms. GIM Sinod. gr. 331 (Vlad. 291), which preserves much the same account on ff. 303r–306r: <https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/43956/> (accessed 17.3.20). Despite Agapitos’ (1998) 188, n. 84 assertion that there are two differing versions of the synaxarion entry for the feast, in all mss. from the 12<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries that I have examined, the accounts are largely the same, with no significant differences.

<sup>668</sup> *PG* 29:390–391: “Ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Ἀλεξίου, ὃς μετὰ Βοτανειάτην τὰ σκῆπτρα τῆς βασιλείας ἐδέξατο, ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει στάσις γέγονε παρὰ τῶν ἐλλογίμων καὶ ἐναρέτων ἀνδρῶν...ὀπτάνονται οἱ μέγιστοι οὗτοι [i.e. the Three Hierarchs] τῷ τότε τῆς Εὐχαϊτῶν πόλεως τῶν ἱερῶν ἐξηγουμένῳ, Ἰωάννῃ τῷ πάνυ ἀνδρὶ...” (the text printed in *PG* has Euchaita accented this way, with a circumflex on the ultima, while the ms. gives Εὐχαϊτῶν, used even in Modern Greek to this day). Cf. Parisinus graecus 1572 (13<sup>th</sup> century) f. 271r.

<sup>669</sup> *PG* 29:391: “Ἐπὶ τούτοις δὴ τοῖς ὀνόμασι [i.e. Johannites, Basilites and Gregorites, the names of the factions that supported each particular hierarchy] τῶν περὶ λόγους στασιαζόντων, καὶ τούτων οὕτω λεγομένων ἐπὶ χρόνοις ἐσύστερον, ὀπτάνονται οἱ μέγιστοι οὗτοι...τῷ τότε τῆς Εὐχαϊτῶν...Ἰωάννῃ.” Cf. the slightly different variant of ms. Parisinus graecus 1572 (13<sup>th</sup> century) f. 271r: “ἐπὶ τούτοις δὴ τοῖς ὀνόμασι τῶν περὶ λόγους στασιαζόντων καὶ τούτων οὕτω γινόμενων, ἐπὶ χρόνοις ἐσύστερον...ἐπιφαίνονται δὲ ὁμοῦ οἱ τρεῖς ἱεράρχαι τῷ προέδρῳ τῶν εὐχαϊτῶν ἰωάννῃ...” Certain points of the synaxaria’s admittedly confused chronology are often either missed or passed over in silence in scholarship. Bonis (1966) 1; Agapitos (1988) 189. However, Kazhdan (1995), continuing Follieri’s (1967) line of thought, discusses the chronological inconsistencies.

<sup>670</sup> A debate took place over Mauropous’ biography between Karpozilos (1982), (1990), (1994) and Kazhdan (1993), (1995). Karpozilos’ positions continue to find broad acceptance among scholars: Agapitos (1998); Gazi (2004); Lauxtermann (2016); Mauche and Roskilly (2018). Kazhdan’s contributions, despite continuing to be cited, do not seem to have found many favorable ears.

represented by the synaxaria's accounts on the one hand and modern scholarship on the other, one must necessarily address the many problems surrounding the details of Mauroπους' life, as far as possible.

There is no clear indication of Mauroπους' birth, though it is commonly agreed to have been within the first decades of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. There is also no concrete evidence of his death. Nevertheless, if the synaxaria are correct that he was still alive after the usurpation of Alexios Komnenos in 1081, then he must have reasonably died at some point within the last two decades of the 11<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>671</sup> The debates tend to center around the middle of his life, and thus the middle of the century. It is absolutely sure that Mauroπους was elected metropolitan of Euchaita. He himself informs us of as much in his corpus,<sup>672</sup> whose arrangement in MS. Vaticanus graecus 676 (11<sup>th</sup> century) he personally oversaw.<sup>673</sup> However, his election as metropolitan is almost unfailingly interpreted as an exile disguised as a promotion that took place during the reign of Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–1055), ca. 1050.<sup>674</sup> While not impossible, it may appear improbable that Mauroπους spent the next 3 decades of his life wasting away in misery at a metropolitan see he found repulsive and depressing, and which was slowly being overrun by Turkish raiding parties<sup>675</sup>—especially considering that he eventually made the unilateral decision to retire back to Constantinople. Nevertheless, the synaxaria are all in agreement that Mauroπους was still in Euchaita post-1081. Thus, there is a

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<sup>671</sup> Kazhdan (1995) 363 notes that Follieri did not consider that the synaxaria accounts sufficed as evidence that Mauroπους lived past 1080. However, she does not propose a solution that then solves the problem with which they leave us.

<sup>672</sup> Poems 92–93 are usually interpreted as referring to his ordination to the metropolitanate, as opposed to his previous ordination to the diaconate. See also Bernard and Livanos (2018) for English translation and *ibid.*, 590–591 for commentary. Moreover, we also have his inaugural homily at the metropolitan see of Euchaita: Lagarde (1882) 160–165.

<sup>673</sup> Lagarde (1882). On the ms. and the argument that it is actually Mauroπους' master edition of his corpus, as opposed to a copy of the master edition, see Bianconi (2011); Lauxtermann (2016). My thanks to Prof. Lauxtermann for his advice and sharing his relevant studies.

<sup>674</sup> Cf. Haldon, Elton and Newahrd (2018) 379, n. 14. The interpretation of Mauroπους' metropolitanate in the provinces as an exile, *per se*, may not be mistaken. He may have seen it in those terms. See Mullett (1995), (1996) for further 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> century examples of the same phenomenon. However, Lauxtermann's (2016) 92–94 interpretation of Mauroπους' misery over his exile in his self-description as οἰκτρὸς ποιμὴν seems to miss the subtle use of the *topos* of humility. οἰκτρὸς describes the misery of an unworthy sinner, not a depressed literatus. Moreover, as Lauxtermann (2016) 89–90 himself notes, Mauroπους strove to live by the motto λάθε βιώσας. His distress, therefore, at being sent to the backwater town of Euchaita from Constantinople is perhaps not as great as one might imagine, if Mauroπους remained true to his own motto.

<sup>675</sup> That Euchaita was captured by Turkish forces ca. 1075 is almost invariably cited as a main reason for Mauroπους' retirement, despite the lack of any overt indication that this was the case. What evidence Kazhdan (1993) 109 based his assertion on—“By 1075 the bishopric [i.e. of Euchaita] seems to have been conquered by the Seljuks, and Mauroπους left the city.”—remains unclear. Cf. Karpozilos (1982) 46–47 and (1990) 25–27, who is more cautious in his judgments. Agapitos (1998) 189, n. 91, who follows Karpozilos, curiously did not maintain the same guarded stance in face of the sources' inconclusiveness. In any case, Psellos' own testimony in his *Encomium on Mauroπους* (Psellos, *Orationes* 17.533–561) that Euchaita alone is safe from the storms that are attacking the Anatolian peninsula would appear to suggest that the metropolis had not been captured even post-1075.

certain tension created between interpreting Mauropous' metropolitanate as an exile begun under Constantine IX and lasting, at the same time, into the reign of Alexios I, as the synaxaria insist. The tension is further increased by scholars' habit of placing Mauropous' return to the capital around the year 1075, when it is assumed that the Turks captured Euchaita—again contrary to the synaxaria accounts and without any actual evidence indicating such a capture. Thus, despite broad scholarly reliance on the synaxaria concerning the controversy of the Three Hierarchs, there are unsolvable inconsistencies between current scholarship on Mauropous' biography and the evidence presented by the synaxaria.<sup>676</sup>

In fact, the date of ca. 1075 is indirectly based on Psellos' funeral oration for the patriarch John VIII Xiphilinos (1064–1075).<sup>677</sup> Mauropous himself has the frustratingly consistent habit of referring to himself and the course of his life in cryptically vague terms, from the viewpoint of a millennium after the fact, and thus, one must turn to the more precisely datable clues which Psellos offers us in his three encomia of his friends: Xiphilinos, Constantine Leichoudes (1059–1063) and Mauropous himself.<sup>678</sup> We are fortunate to know the precise order in which the two funeral orations (for Xiphilinos and Leichoudes) and the encomium on Mauropous were composed; Psellos himself signposts throughout the texts by means of explicit references. Thus, the funeral oration for Xiphilinos comes first, the necessary *terminus post quem* being 1075.<sup>679</sup> From internal evidence in the funeral oration for Leichoudes, we know that Xiphilinos is already dead and that Psellos has already finished with his funeral oration for him.<sup>680</sup> Moreover, and most intriguingly, Psellos also tells us in this same oration on Leichoudes that Mauropous is not only still alive, and owed an encomium, but that

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<sup>676</sup> This tension is routinely avoided in scholarship. For example, Agapitos (1998) 189 has Mauropous institute the feast from Constantinople in 1082, but does not address the synaxaria's claim that Mauropous was at his see at Euchaita when he instituted the feast. In any case, no doubt Euchaita was captured at some point following the catastrophe of Manzikert in 1071. Kazhdan (1993) 109, (1995) 382. Intriguingly, as Haldon, Elton and Newhard (2018) 379 note, despite the likelihood that Euchaita was taken by Seljuk Turks soon after 1071, it nevertheless remained a metropolitan see into the 14<sup>th</sup> century. However they also note (387) that we are still awaiting the first excavation of the sparse remains. With a lack of both archaeological and textual evidence, any certainty about Mauropous' motives for returning to Constantinople, as well as the date when that took place, must necessarily be speculative at best. Moreover, Agapitos (2020) 30 argues that Mauropous' homily on the Three Hierarchs was delivered in Constantinople post-1075.

<sup>677</sup> Karpozilos (1990) 25–27. Cf. Mauche and Roskilly (2018) 742.

<sup>678</sup> For translations of the two relevant funeral orations, as well as helpful introductions, see Kaldellis and Polemis (2015), who follow, ultimately, Karpozilos in interpreting Mauropous' election to the see of Euchaita as an exile in disguise that likely took place ca. 1050 (p. 6).

<sup>679</sup> Furthermore, Kaldellis and Polemis (2015) 10 argue that 1080 must be the *terminus ante quem* for Psellos' own death.

<sup>680</sup> Psellos, *Funeral Oration on Leichoudes*, 136: "As for the other man [Xiphilinos], my speech has already revealed his approach."

he is still now—that is, post-1075—metropolitan of Euchaita.<sup>681</sup> Psellos’ comment that Mauropous has not yet retired from the see of Euchaita as late as 1075, and more likely 1076–8 in order to allow time for the composition of both the encomium on Mauropous and the two funeral orations on Xiphilinos and Leichoudes that preceded it, is the last overt indication of Mauropous’ tenure of his see.<sup>682</sup> However, at the trial of John Italos in March 1082, a certain Basil of Euchaita is listed among the hierarchs in attendance.<sup>683</sup> Thus, it seems that Mauropous must have retired from his see at some point between ca. 1077–1081. The synaxaria do not need to be taken as authorities on chronology of events, but it is nevertheless intriguing that Psellos’ texts appear to be more in agreement with certain key aspects of the synaxaria’s chronology of events than with recent scholarly outlines of Mauropous’ biography. Moreover, the overt references in each of the texts to the other members of the triad give the impression that Psellos intended his three encomia on his friends to be taken together, as if in an attempt to unite his three friends in panegyric.

Psellos’ triad of encomia on his friends offers us more than just a chronological structure. Up to now, the present analysis has avoided posing the question of why Psellos would delay anywhere from 12–15 years to compose the funeral oration of his one friend with whom he found no blame at all, Leichoudes (1059–1063). It was only after the death of Xiphilinos in 1075, whose funeral oration does not shy away from addressing the conflicts between him and Psellos over the value of Greek *paideia*, that Psellos then embarks on praising both Leichoudes and Mauropous—each in his own way more overtly open to embracing Hellenism than Xiphilinos appears in the relevant letters that Psellos addressed to him while still alive.<sup>684</sup> Psellos himself fails to explain his delay in praising Leichoudes, and yet internal evidence from all three encomia suggest traces of a larger context into which this textual triad may be

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<sup>681</sup> Psellos, *Funeral Oration on Leichoudes*, 136: “One of them [Xiphilinos] had already matured in age and education, and he brought his temporal existence to an end in perfect virtue [in 1075], while the other [Mauropous] still has life left in him. Not only is he conspicuous among other wise men, but he is also one of the most prestigious bishops: the metropolis of Euchaita obtained in him a virtual founder and protector.” Lauxtermann (2017) 110 does not appear to have taken Psellos’ funeral oration on Leichoudes into account in dating the former’s encomium on Mauropous. He argues that the encomium on Mauropous must have been delivered either in 1075 or just after, but Psellos signposts for the reader in his funeral oration on Leichoudes that he has already spoken about Xiphilinos, necessarily after 1075, and has yet to address Mauropous’ virtues. If Psellos did die close to the end of the 1070s, the encomium on Mauropous should probably be dated closer to 1080 than to 1075.

<sup>682</sup> Moreover, in the encomium on Mauropous, Psellos counsels Mauropous not to retire from his see, describing the misfortunes that will befall the city if he leaves (Psellos, *Orationes* 17.816–819). Thus, it is only natural to conclude that at the time Mauropous is only considering retirement but has not in fact left Euchaita yet.

<sup>683</sup> *Trial of Italos* 141.73–74: “...Βασιλείου Εὐχαΐτων | καὶ πρωτοσυγκέλλου...”

<sup>684</sup> Kaldellis and Polemis (2015) also helpfully include translations of Psellos’ relevant letters to Xiphilinos (163–176). Psellos notes that Leichoudes excelled beyond ancients in rhetoric (Psellos, *Funeral Oration on Leichoudes*, 135). Mauropous himself has left abundant evidence of his open embrace of Greek *paideia*, even Plato, whose redemption from Hades he prays for in his *Epigram* 43.

situated—a continuation of the 4<sup>th</sup> century debate of the value of Hellenism, whose brief outlines were drawn above.<sup>685</sup>

## V. A CONFLICT: THREE FRIENDS AND THREE HIERARCHS

In the 4<sup>th</sup> century Gregory Nazianzen and Basil of Caesarea—lifelong friends and both ardent students of Libanios, classmates of Julian the Apostate in Athens—both openly supported the notion that Christians could fruitfully draw, not just Atticizing dialect, but even certain useful teachings from the literary heritage of Hellenism. In order to honor Basil and silence detractors to their stance, Gregory describes the usefulness of Greek *paideia* in his funeral oration for Basil, quoted above. However, before the 4<sup>th</sup> century finished, John Chrysostom found cause to vehemently disagree with Gregory and Basil’s approach—without, of course, naming them. In his treatise, *Against the Opponents of the Monastic Life*, Chrysostom takes an aggressive apologetic stance, accusing the “Greeks” of never having conceived even one sound teaching.<sup>686</sup> Nor was this youthful treatise an isolated instance. In his scriptural commentaries, Chrysostom lost few opportunities to insert heroes of Hellenism, such as Plato, in comparisons with Christian saints, only to systematically lambast the former time and again. Nor were his criticisms limited to the teachings of Hellenism. Concepts such as eloquence (εὐγλωττία) and rhetorical prowess (δεινότης) were causes of scorn for Chrysostom, who strove to promote the superiority of the illiterate fisherman apostles that Christ had sent out to conquer the whole world.<sup>687</sup> There was little room left for agreement with either Basil or Gregory on the subject of Hellenism, when Chrysostom made statements of this kind. This fundamental, and significantly never-resolved, conflict over the proper way to engage with Hellenism on the part of 4<sup>th</sup> century Church fathers led to numerous misunderstandings and accusations of heresies over the centuries of the Byzantine empire.<sup>688</sup> For the first time, however, the tension came to

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<sup>685</sup> For the concept of the Three Hierarchs controversy as a continuation of 4<sup>th</sup> century debates over the value of Hellenism for Christian education, as well as the right of Christians to draw from Hellenism in support of Christian doctrine, see Agapitos (1998); Gazi (2004).

<sup>686</sup> *Adversus oppugnatores vitae monasticae* PG 47:324.32–33: “Εἰ δὲ Ἕλληνας ἄνθρωποι, καὶ μηδὲν ὄλως ὑγιᾶς ἐννοοῦντες...” Much work has been done on Chrysostom’s apologetics towards Hellenism. See Schatkin (1987); Maxwell (2006); and Gkortsilas (2017), with further bibliography.

<sup>687</sup> *Homilia 4 in Acta Apostolorum* PG 60:47.19–46.

<sup>688</sup> The synaxaria’s account of three factions that opposed each of the Three Hierarchs to the others has the advantage precisely of circumventing the need to recognize this longstanding divide between such prominent and beloved Church fathers. Moreover, limiting the controversy to one of rhetorical style also avoids the need to address the underlying issue. All three hierarchs employed Greek rhetoric and followed its rules of style. The real divide between them was their appreciation of the *content* of Greek literature, and this divided Basil and Gregory from Chrysostom.

a head in the 11<sup>th</sup> century and found open expression in the writings of Byzantium's most outspoken literatus: Michael Psellos.

### 1. MICHAEL PSELLOS

In two of his three encomia on his friends, the funeral oration for Xiphilinos and the encomium for Mauropous, Psellos refers to the example of Gregory Nazianzen and Basil of Caesarea. In the latter case, Psellos favorably compares Mauropous to those who fail to understand the value of Greek *paideia*, continuing on to praise Gregory and Basil for using *paideia* to support orthodoxy and fight heresy.<sup>689</sup> Part of Psellos' encomium of his teacher, Mauropous, is the implicit understanding that the latter espoused similar views of both Hellenism and the legacy of the two Cappadocian fathers. Psellos also closes his funeral oration for Xiphilinos by citing the examples of Gregory and Basil, emphasizing that Xiphilinos followed the same path as they had and attained the same glory.<sup>690</sup> What is intriguing in this latter connection is that from Psellos' own correspondence with Xiphilinos, such does not appear to have been the case. It seems that Xiphilinos accused Psellos of engaging too closely with Hellenism (among other non-Christian literatures). Psellos in response turns to the examples of Gregory and Basil among the Church fathers to defend himself. His defensive tone is even evident to a degree in the encomium on Mauropous: "But I—so that I may add to my friend's encomium a little about myself, and let no arrow of vengeance strike me—I did not only learn everything that the Greeks, Chaldaeans or Egyptians [teach], but I also scorned them, but not all of them..."<sup>691</sup> Though Psellos does not take this particular defensive tack in his funeral oration for Xiphilinos, it is however on full display in his *Letter S 175* to Xiphilinos.<sup>692</sup> In this infamous letter, Psellos addresses Xiphilinos' accusation against him of exaggerated devotion to Plato and Greek philosophy:

<sup>689</sup> Psellos, *Orationes* 17.355–384, esp. 361–366: "ἢ τί ποτε τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς φιλοσόφων οἱ ἄκροι τῶν Ὀριγένους συγγραμμάτων οὐκ ἐλάχιστον μέρος συνειλόχασιν, καὶ Φιλοκαλίαν τὸ συνειλεγμένον κατωνομάκασιν, ὅτι καὶ σοφοὶ τὴν παιδευσιν ἤστην, καὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν πάντα καὶ λέγοντες καὶ συγγράφοντες;"

<sup>690</sup> Psellos, *Funeral Oration on Xiphilinos*, 225: "If my claim is not too audacious, I would say that he [i.e. Xiphilinos] became equal to Gregorios [of Nazianzos] and Basileios [of Kaisareia], the luminaries of the Church."

<sup>691</sup> Psellos, *Orationes* 17.355–358: "Ἐγὼ γὰρ οὖν, ἵνα τι καὶ περὶ ἑμαυτοῦ τῷ τοῦ φίλου λόγῳ προσθήσω, καὶ με μὴ βάλοι βέλος νεμέσεως· οὐκ ἐγνώκειν μόνον ὅποσα Ἕλληνες οὐδ' ὅποσα Χαλδαῖοι ἢ Αἰγύπτιοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατεγνώκειν αὐτῶν, πλὴν οὐ πάντων..." Psellos' defensive stance is also apparent in his funeral oration for Leichoudes, despite the lack of any overt reference to Gregory or Basil (Psellos, *Funeral Oration on Leichoudes*, 131): "We are not like teachers addressing an audience ignorant of the facts, but instead we stand here to be corrected by them, who censure us when we fall short and who will be paid by us in full."

<sup>692</sup> Translated in Kaldellis and Polemis (2015) 168–176.

“...if it is your reproach that I often conversed with that man [Plato] in his dialogues and that I admired the style of his expression and worshipped the power that lies in his proofs, why then did you not also hurl this charge against the Great Fathers, who overturned the heresies of Eunomios and Apollinarios by employing precisely those kinds of exact proofs? But if you believe that I follow his dogmas or rely on his laws, you do not think rightly about us, brother.”<sup>693</sup>

The “Great Fathers” who refuted Eunomios and Apollinarios were primarily Gregory Nazianzen and Basil of Caesarea.<sup>694</sup> Psellos’ defensiveness does not manifest itself nearly as much in his funeral oration on Xiphilinos as in his private correspondence with him, perhaps precisely because, of the three friends, it was Xiphilinos who was most troubled by Psellos’ approach to Hellenism. It was Xiphilinos, of the three, who had been one of Psellos’ accusers. Psellos continues by further elaborating on how his engagement with Plato and Chrysippos is exactly that of Gregory and Basil:

“As for the Platos and Chrysippuses whom you mention, I have loved them—how could I not?—but only for their beauty and surface smoothness. Of their doctrines, some I immediately passed over, while those others that complement our suppositions I readily took on and mixed with our holy scriptures, just as once Gregorios [of Nazianzos] and Basileios [of Kaisareia], the great luminaries of the Church, did.”<sup>695</sup>

Here one observes Psellos highlighting the unresolved literary conflict of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. He makes reference to the strictly philological approach to Greek literature—that favored by Chrysostom and the imperial church later on—but he then attempts to defend Gregory and Basil’s efforts to assimilate certain teachings from Greek texts that were in agreement with Christian ethics. In other words, Psellos is here making an effort to resolve the 4<sup>th</sup> century literary conflict—to reconcile Chrysostom’s view of Hellenism with that of Gregory and

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<sup>693</sup> Psellos, *Letters* 168. For text, Psellos, *Epistulae* 202.2–9: “Εἰ μὲν γὰρ προσονειδίζεις ὅτι θαμὰ ποτε τῷ ἀνδρὶ προσωμίλουν ἐν τοῖς διαλόγοις αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοῦ τε χαρακτῆρος τῆς ἐρμηνείας ἐθαύμαζον, καὶ τὴν ἐν ταῖς διαλέξεσιν ἐξεθείαζον δύναμιν, τί μὴ καὶ τοῖς μεγάλοις τοῦτο πατράσιν ἐπιρριπτεῖς ἀφ’ ὧν ἐκεῖνοι τοῖς Εὐνομίοις καὶ Ἀπολιναρίοις τὰς αἰρέσεις ἀνέτρεψαν, βάλλοντες ἀκριβείαις συλλογισμῶν; Εἰ δ’ ὅτι τοῖς δόγμασιν ἔπομαι, ἢ τοῖς ἐκεῖνου νόμοις ἐπιστηρίζομαι, οὐ καλῶς οἶε περὶ ἡμῶν, ἀδελφέ.”

<sup>694</sup> As well as Gregory of Nyssa, on whom more below.

<sup>695</sup> Psellos, *Letters* 171. Text in Psellos, *Epistulae* 202.96–102: “Πλάτωνας δὲ οὓς λέγεις καὶ Χρυσίππου, ἠγάπησα μὲν (πῶς γὰρ οὐ;), ἀλλ’ ἄχρι τοῦ κάλλους καὶ τῆς ἐπιφαινομένης λειότητος· τῶν δὲ παρ’ ἐκείνοις δογμάτων, ἃ μὲν εὐθὺς παρεώρακα, τινὰ δὲ ὡς πρὸς τὰς ἡμεδαπὰς συννεργὰ ὑποθέσεις εὖ μάλα λαβῶν, τοῖς ἱεροῖς λόγοις συνέμιξα, ὥς που δὴ καὶ Γρηγόριος καὶ Βασίλειος, οἱ μεγάλοι τῆς ἐκκλησίας φωστῆρες, πεπράχασι.”

Basil.<sup>696</sup> One wonders what view Psellos' opponent here, Xiphilinos, took of this defence. Finally, Psellos closes his letter by rebutting Xiphilinos' attack on the former's life in the capital city.<sup>697</sup>

“Therefore, dear friend, that is how I arbitrate between mountains and cities, following my God and Lord for whose sake I have taken up his yoke and put on this very hair shirt. He was often in the marketplace and rarely drew near to mountains. And those around the famous Gregorios, as you yourself know, went to the angelic life right from the midst of crowded squares. For if “the kingdom of heaven is within us,” then what inner mountain remains?...Plato *is* mine, brother and so is Chrysippos!<sup>698</sup> But Christ, with whom I have been crucified, whose is he? On his account did I not symbolically cut off the superfluity of my hair? On his account did I not exchange one way of life for another? If I completely belong to Christ, surely I will neither repudiate wiser literature nor cast off the knowledge of beings, both those that are intelligible and those that are sensible.”<sup>699</sup>

Studying how Psellos constructs his defence against Xiphilinos reveals that the latter espoused many of the same anti-Hellenic views that Chrysostom had expressed in his treatise, *Against the Opponents of the Monastic Life*: 1) true spiritual ascent (usually) takes place among the anchorites, not in the busy city, the bastion of Classical Greek civic life; 2) Hellenic literature contains no teachings of any value for the Christian spiritual life; 3) even the strictly philological approach to Greek texts is a waste of time if one has not already been perfected in virtue.<sup>700</sup> This, then, is the first crucial piece to the puzzle of the Three Hierarchs controversy: the conflict within Psellos' own literary circle between himself and Xiphilinos. This is a conflict that Psellos himself presents as developing along the same lines as the 4<sup>th</sup> century *de*

<sup>696</sup> He makes a similar effort in his short treatise, *The Styles of Gregory the Theologian, Basil the Great, Chrysostom, and Gregory of Nyssa*, translated with introduction and notes in Barber and Papaioannou (2017) 108–117.

<sup>697</sup> For the 11<sup>th</sup> century monastic belief that city-life and dangerous flirtation with Hellenism went hand in hand, see Clucas (1981) esp. 3–5.

<sup>698</sup> In his critical edition, Papaioannou takes this as a question, not an exclamation. See note below.

<sup>699</sup> Psellos, *Letters*, 174–175. Text in Psellos, *Epistulae* 202.180–197: “Οὕτως ἐγώ, φίλτατε, τοῖς ὄρεσι διαίτῳ καὶ ταῖς πόλεσι τῷ ἐμῷ θεῷ καὶ δεσπότη ἐπόμενος, δι’ ὃν καὶ τὸν ἐκείνου ἡράμην ζυγόν, καὶ τοῦτ’ ἐπὶ τὸ τρύχινον πεφόρηκα ἔσθημα, ὃς πολλάκις μὲν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς, σπανίως δὲ προσῆει τοῖς ὄρεσι. Καὶ οἱ περὶ Γρηγόριον δὲ τὸν πάνυ (ὡς περ καὶ αὐτὸς οἶσθα) ἀπὸ τῶν πληθουσῶν ἀγορῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγγελικὴν ζωὴν μετετάξαντο· εἰ γὰρ ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐντὸς ἡμῶν ἐστὶ, ποῖον ἔνδον ὄρος οὐκ ἀπολέλειπται;... Ἐμὸς ὁ Πλάτων, ἀδελφέ, καὶ ὁ Χρύσιππος; Ὁ δὲ Χριστὸς ᾧ συνεσταύρωμαι, τίνας; δι’ ὃν ὅσον ὡς ἐν συμβόλῳ τὴν ὑλικὴν ἀπεκέρασα περιττότητα, δι’ ὃν ἀφ’ ἐτέρας πρὸς ἐτέραν μετεθέμην ζωὴν; Οὐ μὴν εἰ καθαρῶς εἰμι τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοὺς σοφωτέρους τῶν λόγων ἀρνήσομαι, καὶ τὴν γνῶσιν τῶν ὄντων, ὅσα τε νοητὰ καὶ ὅσα αἰσθητὰ πέφυκεν, ἀποδύσομαι.”

<sup>700</sup> *Adversus oppugnatores vitae monasticae PG* 47:368.23–51.

*facto* disagreement between two Christian approaches to Hellenism: that of Gregory and Basil, on the one hand, and Chrysostom's on the other.

## **2. JOHN ITALOS**

The second significant piece of the puzzle involves Psellos' student, John Italos (ca. 1025–after 1082). Sources on Italos, as on all who were condemned as heretics, are scarce and strongly biased.<sup>701</sup> Significantly, despite becoming the heretical scapegoat of the inauguration of Alexios Komnenos' reign for an allegedly exaggerated preference of Greek philosophical doctrines over and against those of the Church, Italos' surviving corpus shows him in the main defending Church doctrine and chastising the Greeks for mistaken conclusions.<sup>702</sup> In fact, it seems that targeting Italos was perhaps little more than a symbolic way to target Greek philosophy generally.<sup>703</sup> Suitable excuses were found, and the inquiry into Italos' orthodoxy or not was conducted, not by the patriarch Eustratios Garidas (1081–1084), but in the presence of the emperor, Alexios Komnenos himself.<sup>704</sup> Alexios lost no opportunity to profess his pious zeal for guarding the orthodoxy of the empire, for which reason he found Italos guilty of heresy,

<sup>701</sup> Nevertheless, see Gouillard (1967) 183–202, (1985); Clucas (1981); and Trizio (2017) for overviews of events, as well as Kraft and Perczel (2018) for a critical edition of Italos' *Quaestio* 71 with introduction, translation and commentary.

<sup>702</sup> *Trial of Italos* 166–167: "...ce n'est plus un théologien [sc. Italos] d'expression malhabile, c'est un philosophe qui est mise en cause pour la *substance* « hellénique » de sa pensée. La généralité même qui enveloppe la relation... suggère bien que ce qui est récusé, sincèrement ou non, c'est une attitude d'ensemble : Jean a commis le crime de revendiquer... une place pour la réflexion philosophique des Anciens dans le programme d'enseignement de la culture chrétienne établie. Là est le considérant ultime qui commande l'ostracisme qu'on vient de voir prononcé contre Jean et ses amis, et naturellement la condamnation globale de son paganisme..."

<sup>703</sup> Trizio (2017) 464. Cf. *ibid.* (2014). Certain bishops at Italos' trial even appear to have been concerned that Italos was being condemned unfairly, but such dissension was forbidden. The question of Italos' guilt was necessarily a foregone conclusion since the emperor had already provided his verdict, and whoever disagreed would himself be subject to anathema *Trial of Italos* 141.84–87): "ὕπόνοια δέ τις ἦν ὡς τινες τῶν τῆς ἀρχιερατικῆς καταστάσεως καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ κλήρου τῆς μεγάλης τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας ὑποψιθυρίζουσιν ὡς ἐνδοιάζοντες περὶ τοῦ Ἰταλοῦ καὶ φασὶ μὴ καλῶς μηδὲ ἀκριβῶς ζητηθῆναι τὰ κατὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὠρίσθη ὡς εἰ τις τοαποτοῦδε φανείη μῶμόν τινα ἢ διαβολὴν ἐπάγων κατὰ τι τοῖς κεκριμένοις καὶ ἀποφανθεῖσι παρὰ τοῦ κραταίου καὶ ἀγίου ἡμῶν βασιλέως κυροῦ Ἀλεξίου, παρουσίᾳ καὶ τῶν συμπαρόντων τῇ τοιαύτῃ κρίσει καὶ ἀποφάσει σεβασμιωτάτων ἀρχιερέων ἢ τῶ γερονότι ἀναθεματισμῶ ἐπὶ τῇ τοιαύτῃ ὑποθέσει ἐπιμεμόμενος, τοῦτον ἀναθέματι ὑποκεῖσθαι."

<sup>704</sup> *Trial of Italos* 143.143–145.151: "Τῆ δ' ὑστεραία, προσκληθείσης τῆς ἱερᾶς συνόδου καὶ τοῦ Ἰταλοῦ μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων ὁμιλητῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγιωτάτην ἐκκλησίαν ἀφικομένου καὶ τὰ βιβλία ἔχοντος ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ προσαγόμενα ἵν' ἢ ἐντελής συζήτησις γένηται, ἢ τοῦ λαοῦ φορὰ, ζήλου πλησθεῖσα πολλοῦ, γέγονε κατὰ τοῦ ἀνδρός, κἀντεῦθεν θροῦς ἄσημος καὶ βοή πολλή ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ σεκρέτῳ ἐκ τῆς συνελεύσεως τῶν δεδραμηκότων συμβέβηκεν. Οὐ χάριν ἀναρτηθείσης τότε τῆς διαγωνάσεως, ὁ ἀγιώτατος πατριάρχης ἀνέθετο τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἡμῶν τὴν τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν πολυπραγμοσύνην ὡς ἂν, ἐν ἐπικῶφ τοῦ κράτους αὐτῆς διακρηβουμένης τῆς ὑποθέσεως, φωραθῆ ἢ ἀλήθεια καὶ ἅπαν διαλυθεῖ ἀμφίβολον." Cf. also *ibid.* 155.370–375: "Ἐπεὶ δὲ τούτων ἔτι διαγνωσκομένων κεφάλαιά τινα δέκα τῆς ἐλληνικῆς ἀθεότητος γέμοντα..." Nevertheless, Gouillard believes (*ibid.* 163) that Alexios did not actually participate in the process at all, and that the phrase ἐν ἐπικῶφ is merely intended to mean that Alexios was informed of the process of Italos' trial and that he held the ultimate authority of arbitration.

and anathemas were added to the *Synodikon of Orthodoxy*, reflecting the nature of Italos' impiety. The most relevant of these is the following:

“To those who pursue “Greek” lessons and are thus educated in such things—except for reason of schooling (παίδευσιν) alone—but who also follow their [i.e. the “Greeks”] vain teachings and believe in them as true, and so adhere to them as if they were sure, such that these people instruct others in such teachings sometimes secretly and other times openly without fear or hesitation—anathema!”<sup>705</sup>

That the term “schooling” (παίδευσις) should be interpreted to mean studying Greek texts strictly for the purpose of learning proper Atticizing expression and philological dexterity, one has only to consult the record of Italos' trial, wherein every one of the flimsy charges brought against him had exclusively to do with theological solecisms in Italos' various expressions of faith, otherwise orthodox by Byzantine standards.<sup>706</sup> Italos and his condemnation give the second piece in the puzzle of the Three Hierarchs controversy. Psellos pushed the boundaries of Byzantine tolerance of Greek *paideia* by studying the texts for more than just their linguistic style. Nevertheless, he frequently insisted that he also scorned their ignorance, and his emphasis in many works on purely rhetoric and style likely contributed much to his escape of anathema. Thus, later in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, even in deprecating Italos, Anna Komnene has nothing but compliments for Psellos and his wisdom in her propagandistic account of her father, Alexios Komnenos', handling of Italos' trial.<sup>707</sup>

Effi Gazi has highlighted this second piece of the puzzle, albeit from a different perspective. She poses the question: in a group of three hierarchs, where two are lifelong friends, both from Cappadocia, why is the third John Chrysostom and not Gregory of Nyssa?<sup>708</sup> After all, the story of three factions that each supported their favorite hierarch—Basil, Gregory Nazianzen or Chrysostom—preserved in the synaxaria is not corroborated by any other source.<sup>709</sup> It is likely to be a later interpretation of events in mythological and/or metaphorical

<sup>705</sup> Gouillard (1967) 59.214–218: “Τοῖς τὰ ἑλληνικὰ διεξιούσι μαθήματα καὶ μὴ διὰ παιδευσιν μόνον ταῦτα παιδευόμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ δόξαις αὐτῶν ταῖς ματαίαις ἐπομένοις καὶ ὡς ἀληθέσι πιστεύουσι, καὶ οὕτως αὐταῖς ὡς τὸ βέβαιον ἐχούσαις ἐγκειμένοις, ὥστε καὶ ἑτέρους ποτὲ μὲν λάθρα, ποτὲ δὲ φανερώς ἐνάγειν αὐταῖς καὶ διδάσκειν ἀνευδοιάστως, ἀνάθεμα.”

<sup>706</sup> See Trial of Italos. In his edition of the *Synodikon*, Gouillard (1967) 58 translated the term *παίδευσις* by the French: “instruction”, roughly equivalent to the English “schooling” or “education”.

<sup>707</sup> Kambylis and Reinsch (2001) 5.8.3–4.

<sup>708</sup> Gazi (2004) 189–191.

<sup>709</sup> However, Gazi does not question the synaxaria's claim that the controversy took place.

terms.<sup>710</sup> At first glance, the question of Gregory of Nyssa's absence from the triad and John Italos' condemnation in 1082 may appear to be unrelated. Nevertheless, despite the fact that 11<sup>th</sup> century Byzantium believed that Psellos and Italos were both pushing the boundaries with regard to Hellenism, Gregory of Nyssa in the 4<sup>th</sup> century had already gone much farther than even Italos had.

First, Gregory of Nyssa was Basil's younger brother; he also became a hierarch himself, received a similarly excellent education in Greek *paideia*, and he maintained friendly relations with Gregory Nazianzen. Moreover, as noted above, Psellos had included Gregory of Nyssa in one of his treatises investigating the rhetorical style of prominent Church fathers in comparison with the Classical Greek canon.<sup>711</sup> Thus, all things being equal, Gregory of Nyssa should have been a potential candidate for a position among the Three Hierarchs. In addition, in his homily on the Three Hierarchs, John Mauropous highlights the fact that Gregory Nazianzen, Basil and Chrysostom all have feast days in January already;<sup>712</sup> the synaxaria comment on Mauropous' wisdom in choosing January as the month for the common feast for precisely this reason.<sup>713</sup> However, according to the *Typikon of the Great Church*, Gregory of Nyssa's feast day is celebrated on the 10<sup>th</sup> of January,<sup>714</sup> and no less significant a manuscript than BNF Parisinus graecus 510, the deluxe 9<sup>th</sup> century collection of Gregory Nazianzen's homilies, features an illustration of the "Cappadocian Fathers": Basil of Caesarea, Gregory Nazianzen and Gregory of Nyssa.<sup>715</sup> On its face, therefore, there does not appear to be an obvious reason why Chrysostom should have been favored for third member of the triad over Gregory of Nyssa. In many ways, Gregory of Nyssa would fit better, whereas Chrysostom is something of the odd man out in the company of Gregory Nazianzen and Basil of Caesarea, whom we cannot be sure that Chrysostom ever knew and with whom he does not appear to have had any correspondence. Since the triad of the "Cappadocian fathers" already existed and had been acknowledged to some degree, why was it necessary to make a new one—replacing Gregory of Nyssa with Chrysostom, who had no demonstrable personal connection to either Basil of Caesarea or Gregory Nazianzen—beyond the fact that all three were students of Libanios? It is not until one examines Gregory of Nyssa's corpus, in the context of the 11<sup>th</sup> century contentions over

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<sup>710</sup> In this connection, see Connerton (1989) and Lakoff and Johnson (2008). For the synaxarist's account of the three factions, cf. *PG* 29a:390–391.

<sup>711</sup> Barber and Papaioannou (2017) 108–117.

<sup>712</sup> Lagarde (1882) 106.

<sup>713</sup> *PG* 29a:391.C–D.

<sup>714</sup> Mateos (1963) 192.

<sup>715</sup> On f. 71v. Cf. Brubaker (1999) figure 13; Gazi (2004) 221.

Hellenism, that the enigma is solved and the connection to Italos' condemnation—and thus to a crucial aspect of the feast of Three Hierarchs—is illuminated.

Chrysostom's view of the place of Greek *paideia* in the Christian life was the harshest. Gregory Nazianzen and Basil of Caesarea admitted that Hellenism could be of use, in its essence not just its form, but only as a secondary partner, or servant, of Christianity. Gregory of Nyssa viewed Hellenism, not as a dangerous intruder or a subservient philosophical discipline, but as an equal partner with Christian doctrine. In describing Moses' conflict with Pharaoh's (in Judaeo-Christian eyes) godlessness, Gregory of Nyssa writes:<sup>716</sup>

“...he [i.e. Moses] prepares for battle with his enemies, holding that staff in his hand, that is, the word of faith, with which he will strike down the Egyptian snakes. And his foreign partner (ὁμόζυγος) will accompany him. For some part of external education (τῆς ἔξω παιδεύσεως), not to be scorned, [is suitable] for marriage with us for the purpose of bearing the virtues. For, indeed, both ethical and natural philosophy could become a spouse of the higher [i.e. Christian] way of life and friend and participant in [that] life—only if her offspring do not bring with them any of the foreign contamination.”<sup>717</sup>

Gregory of Nyssa, therefore, also demonstrates a certain level of caution; he nevertheless reaches the point of calling Hellenism a potential marriage-partner (ὁμόζυγος, πρὸς συζυγίαν ἡμῶν) with Christianity. This was radically beyond what Basil and Gregory Nazianzen had suggested and practically at diametrical odds with Chrysostom's view.<sup>718</sup> It was certainly farther than either Psellos or Italos had dared to go. Gregory's diminished cult in Byzantium appears to be directly linked to views such as the above, which diminution began early.<sup>719</sup> It is likely for this reason that the triadic scheme of the “Cappadocian fathers” was insufficient to successfully respond to the unrest caused among the more spiritually conservative circles of 11<sup>th</sup> century Byzantium by first Psellos' and then Italos' careers. If anything, such an image would have been interpreted as an exhortation to Italos to engage even

<sup>716</sup> Cf. Gazi (2004) 226–232.

<sup>717</sup> *De vita Moysis* PG 44:336D–337A: “...πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀποδύεται, διὰ χειρὸς τὴν βακτηρίαν ἔχων ἐκείνην, τοῦτ' ἔστι, τὸν λόγον τῆς πίστεως, ᾧ μέλλει τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ὄφεις καταγωνίζεσθαι. Ακολουθήσει δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ ἐξ ἄλλοφύλων ὁμόζυγος· ἔστι γὰρ τι καὶ τῆς ἔξω παιδεύσεως πρὸς συζυγίαν ἡμῶν εἰς τεκνογονίαν ἀρετῆς οὐκ ἀπόβλητον. Καὶ γὰρ ἡ ἠθικὴ τε καὶ φυσικὴ φιλοσοφία γένοιτο ἂν ποτε τῷ ὑψηλοτέρῳ βίῳ σύζυγός τε καὶ φίλη καὶ κοινωνὸς τῆς ζωῆς· μόνον εἰ τὰ ἐκ ταύτης κήματα μηδὲν ἐπάγοιτο τοῦ ἄλλοφύλου μιάσματος.”

<sup>718</sup> One indirect indication of this is provided by Jaeger's (1961) classic study on Christianity and Greek *paideia*. Among other Church fathers, Gregory Nazianzen, Basil and Gregory of Nyssa are discussed at length. John Chrysostom's name does not appear even once in the entire volume.

<sup>719</sup> Gazi (2004) 227.

more closely with Hellenism, as an equal partner. Since Psellos' defensive tone indicates that the spiritually conservative—such as Xiphilinos—were the ones who were uneasy, Gregory of Nyssa was not going to provide the answer. Only the consistently harsh stance that Chrysostom expressed, with his constant suspicion of Hellenism, which found approval in the conservatively-minded *Synodikon*, could act as an ideal balancing force between the slightly more open-minded approach taken by Basil and Gregory Nazianzen. It is precisely this mixture that one finds in John Mauropous' initial *Homily on the Three Hierarchs*, the third crucial piece of the puzzle.

### **3. JOHN MAUROPOUS**

Ms. Vat. gr. 676 (11<sup>th</sup> century) preserves John Mauropous' *Homily on the Three Hierarchs*, with the date given for its reading as 30<sup>th</sup> of January. This does not necessarily indicate that Mauropous himself initially delivered his homily on that date; nevertheless, since he was involved in the arrangement of the ms., he must either have chosen the date for this edition of his corpus or else accepted a decision perhaps made by others when the feast gained general acceptance. Thus far, in the cases of both Psellos and Italos it has emerged that, in fact, the synaxaria's account of three factions of literati who opposed the Three Hierarchs to each other finds no support in any surviving sources. Rather, it appears that the 4<sup>th</sup> century divide between Gregory Nazianzen and Basil of Caesarea, on the one hand, and John Chrysostom, on the other, was understood by Michael Psellos and perhaps by his accusers, as well. For this reason, Psellos cited Gregory and Basil as a pair in his defence with regularity. Nevertheless, the more spiritually conservative circles, who tended to appreciate Chrysostom's stance, tolerated Psellos but not his student Italos.<sup>720</sup> This conservatism, represented in its figurehead, Alexios Komnenos, found its expression in Italos' trial in 1082 and the subsequent additions to the *Synodikon*, where in both cases Chrysostom's strictly philological approach to Hellenism was upheld. The probable reason that John Mauropous is given credit by the synaxaria for resolving a "controversy" is that in his *Homily on the Three Hierarchs* he advocates that a unity be fashioned out of the two varying approaches to Hellenism and posits himself as witness to Chrysostom's desire to share a common celebration with his two "friends," Gregory Nazianzen and Basil. Most significantly, Mauropous does not refer to disputations over rhetorical style, as the synaxaria insisted was the cause of the conflict. Rather, Mauropous speaks in terms of

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<sup>720</sup> Evidenced in their respective representations in the 12<sup>th</sup> century *Timarion* 1028–1135, as well.

belief (δόξα), virtue (ἀρετή) and piety (εὐσέβεια). He is not reconciling various views on linguistic style, but the conflict over the value of the *content* of Greek texts, to which both Psellos' defensiveness and Italos' condemnation bear witness:

“How, then, are you [i.e. Chrysostom] here alone [i.e. in respect to his celebrations in the church calendar, as opposed to his preaching of equality and unity in his homilies] one-sided and unequal, accepting that for yourself there be two great ceremonies and honors, but for these your peers (ὁμοτίμους) and co-believers (ὁμοδόξους) only one [celebration] each? But no, he [i.e. Chrysostom] will, of course, no longer tolerate this, if I may speak on his behalf, even if up until now he allowed his more fervent devotees to ascribe him such an exceptional honor; nor will he tolerate this—as far as we are concerned and are able [to ensure it]—enjoying more for himself alone, while those with whom he was united in collaboration for piety's sake have less [honor]. Rather, even here he will prefer as usual the common [good] over [his own] private [benefit], nor will he seek only his own [ends], but he will receive also that of the others with rejoicing—that is, his partners' and companions' in the struggle. I am a trustworthy guarantor of both the great man's [i.e. Chrysostom's] soul and opinion. So then, if you will, students of the Three, aid me in my efforts, and you also provide the same guarantee with confidence on behalf of the other two [i.e. Basil and Gregory]. For there is one belief (δόξα) among the Three, the Trinity; there is one aim, virtue (ἀρετή); there is one struggle, to support and secure piety (εὐσέβεια) when it is challenged. There is one never-ending task [that they share], caring for the salvation of souls with every deed and word and method. The Three equally glorified God on earth. They equally strengthened the word of truth. They equally adorned liturgies, churches and commemorations of the martyrs with their homilies. If I may say something even more persuasive, equally have we been benefited by the Three. Therefore, let us equally honor our benefactors in return. This is the goal of my speech...”<sup>721</sup>

<sup>721</sup> John Mauroπος, *Homiliae* 178.107: “πῶς οὖν ἐνταῦθα σὺ μόνον ἑτερορρεπής τε καὶ ἄνισος, διττὰς μὲν δι' ἔτους σεαυτῷ τὰς μεγίστας τελετὰς καὶ τιμάς, τοῖς δ' ὁμοτίμοις τούτοις καὶ ὁμοδόξοις ἀνὰ μίαν ἑκατέρῳ τοσαύτην τελεῖσθαι καταδεχόμενος; οὐ μὴν ὡς εἰκὸς εἰς τὸ ἐξῆς καταδέξεται, ἵν' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπολογήσωμαι, κἂν εἰς δεῦρο συνεχῶρει τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν θερμότεροις ὡς ἐξαιρέτον τινα ταύτην ἀπονέμειν μοῖραν αὐτῷ, οὐδ' ἀνέξεται πάντως—τὸ γ' οὖν ἐφ' ἡμῖν τε καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν—πλέον αὐτός τι μόνος καρπούμενος, μειονεκτούντων ἐκείνων οἷς ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας τὰ ἴσα συνέπνευσε καὶ συνέκαμεν, ἀλλὰ προτιμήσει κἂνταῦθα συνήθως τὸ κοινὸν τοῦ ἰδίου, καὶ οὐ ζητήσῃ μόνον τὸ ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τῶν ἑτέρων, εἴτουν ἑταίρων καὶ συνάθλων αὐτοῦ, μεθ' ἡδονῆς παραλήψεται. ἐγὼ τῆς τοῦ μεγάλου ψυχῆς τε καὶ γνώμης ἐγγυητὴς ἀξιοχρεῶς. εἰ δ' οὖν, ἀλλὰ συλλάβεσθέ μοι καὶ ὑμεῖς τῆς σπουδῆς, οἱ τῶν τριῶν μαθηταί, καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν θαρρούντως ἐγγύην ὑπὲρ τῶν δύο συνεγγυήσασθε. μία μὲν δόξα τοῖς τρισίν, ἢ τριάς. εἷς δὲ σκοπός, ἀρετή. εἷς δὲ ἄγων, κλονουμένην στηρίζει καὶ κατασφαλίσασθαι τὴν εὐσέβειαν. ἐν ἔργον ἄληκτον, ψυχῶν σωτηρία ἔργοις πᾶσι καὶ λόγοις καὶ τρόποις σπουδαζομένη. ἐπ' ἴσης οἱ τρεῖς ἐπὶ γῆς θεὸν ἐμεγάλυναν. ἐπ' ἴσης τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας ἐκράτουναν. ἐπ' ἴσης τῷ λόγῳ τὰς συνάξεις, τὰς

Mauropous has not a word to spare concerning more elevated, grandiloquent styles of speaking as opposed to more fluid and extemporaneous, as the synaxaria have had successive generations believe was the cause of both the controversy and feast of the Three Hierarchs. Rather, Mauropous frames his discourse in terms of a truce, offering a guarantee of ceasefire from Chrysostom's side, provided that those who represent Basil and Gregory produce a similar guarantee. The division is not between each of the three against the others, but Chrysostom against Basil and Gregory. In other words, the differences between the Three to which Mauropous refers are the differences in evaluating the *content*, and thus inherent and essential value, of Greek literature in and of itself for the Christian life. Rhetorical style plays no role in Mauropous' understanding of the controversy. It was Psellos' close engagement with the content of Greek *paideia* that ruffled the more conservative feathers of his day, and despite being both judged and mocked for his solecisms, Italos was condemned for the same reason that Gregory of Nyssa was excluded from this later triad: both had drawn far too much from the content (and form) of either Plato or Aristotle for a conservative, Chrysostom-minded hierarchy's comfort.<sup>722</sup>

## **VI. AFTERMATH—CRUSADER CYPRUS AND NEOPHYTOS ENKLEISTOS: THREE HIERARCHS AND SERMCAT**

The final developments to be investigated of Chrysostom's reception during the middle Byzantine centuries take place notably outside the capital city, at the ever-shifting periphery of the 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> century empire: Cyprus. Neophytos Enkleistos (1134–after 1214) flourished during a time of great upheaval, marked by the roughly contemporary careers of Manuel I Komnenos (1143–1180), Isaac Komnenos, *basileus* of Cyprus (1184–1191) and Richard I Lionheart (1189–1199).<sup>723</sup> Consequently, the disturbances of Neophytos' environment differed

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ἐκκλησίας, τὰς τῶν μαρτύρων μνήμας ἐκόσμησαν. εἶπω τι δυσωπητικώτερον, ἐπ' ἴσης ἡμεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν τριῶν εὖ πεπόνθαμεν. ἐπ' ἴσης τοιγαροῦν καὶ τοὺς εὐεργέτας ἀντιτιμήσωμεν, οὗτος ὁ τοῦ λόγου σκοπός...

<sup>722</sup> Jaeger (1961) 86: "Gregory's [i.e. of Nyssa] philosophical mind could not content itself with the sort of *paideia* that he had taken over from the rhetorical schools and their tradition. At his time a teacher of rhetoric was called a sophist, and it was no doubt a necessary profession. But Plato had given him a deeper idea of what the true education of man ought to be." Cf. *ibid.* 86–102; Gazi (2004) 172–191, 212–232. Italos, on the other hand, is depicted in the *Timarion* searching for Aristotle among the dead 1117–1122: "Οὗτος [i.e. Italos] δὲ ὑπὸ πάντων ἀτίμως περιωρισμένος, ὑποχωρῶν καὶ στένων, Ἀριστότελες, Ἀριστότελες, ἔλεγε καὶ ὃ συλλογισμὲ καὶ σοφίσματα, ποῦ ἐστέ; εἰ γὰρ μοι παρήτε νῦν, κατεπολέμησα ἄν τοὺς ἀβελτέρους τούτους φιλοσόφους καὶ σοφιστὰς καὶ τὸν κάκιστον τοῦτον Παφλαγόνα καὶ χοιρέμπορον Διογένην [i.e. Diogenes of Sinope]."

<sup>723</sup> For Neophytos, see Galatariotou (1991), esp. 40–71 for overview of Cyprus during 11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries. Cf. Tsiknopoulos (1954), (1958); Egglezakis (1979–1980). For the period generally, Magdalino (2002); for Cyprus, Carr (2010); overview of Crusades, Harris (2003); Riley-Smith (2016), esp. 165–172, 289–290.

drastically in nature from those that troubled Psellos' relations with Xiphilinos or Italos' career as consul of the philosophers. This is not to say that Neophytos was uneducated; he took care to familiarize himself with the works of the 4<sup>th</sup> century Church fathers, as well as many other Byzantine spiritual classics.<sup>724</sup> Nevertheless, the literati of the class of civil servants of the imperial court played little to no role in Neophytos' life. As such, their struggles are starkly absent from his surviving corpus. Though the feast of the Three Hierarchs was being celebrated<sup>725</sup>—and certain of the synaxaria accounts of the controversy leading to it would have been copied during Neophytos' lifetime—Mauroπους' triad of Three Hierarchs has not left its mark in Neophytos' writings.<sup>726</sup> Neophytos does group Basil, Gregory Nazianzen and Chrysostom together as recognized authorities, though not strictly as the triad of Three Hierarchs. In his fourth homily from his collection of ten on Christ's commandments, Neophytos conducts a thought experiment:

“And, if it be allowed, let the speech place the great Basil and the divine Gregory— I mean the Theologian—to the side for a moment, together with all those who have penetrated the realm of the divine alike, and let us set before us the holy Chrysostom alone, or rather the Mouth of Christ (Χριστόστομον), since that is what he really is...what he said sufficed, as we noted above, for the world to be saved. And if we gather together his companions and place them beside him and listen to each speaking...we will find them of one mouth and one mind...”<sup>727</sup>

<sup>724</sup> He speaks of his education and the difficulty of access to books in *Homily 4* of his *Decem Homiliae*. See Neophytos Enkleistos, *Decem Homiliae* 50–66.

<sup>725</sup> As witnessed by the *Typikon* of the monastery of Christ Pantokrator, modern Zeyrek Camii, founded by John II Komnenos (1118–1143) in 1136 (*Typikon* Christ Pantokrator 41.191–194): “Τῇ δὲ ἑορτῇ τοῦ ἁγίου Βασιλείου, τοῦ Θεολόγου καὶ τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου, ἡ μὲν φωταψία καὶ ἔτι ἐλαττωθήσεται ὡς προτίθεσθαι τῇ τῶν κοινῶν ἑορτῶν φωταψία δωδεκαφώτιον μόνον ἐν, τὸ μέλλον ἐμπροσθεν τῆς ἑορταζομένης ἁγίας εἰκόνας ἴστασθαι, τὸ δὲ ὀψώνιον ἔσεται ὁμοίως μίνσου ἐνός.” Nevertheless, it is unclear that this feast was intended to be celebrated on 30 January, as the synaxaria inform us that it should be. In the *Typikon* it is described in between the Annunciation (25 March) and the feast of the Apostles (29 June, Peter and Paul, 30 June, 12 Apostles).

<sup>726</sup> However, this does not appear to be an act of defiance to the Komnenian dynasty, whose rulers had Neophytos' loyalty. Cf. Galatariotou (1991) 210–211. On the contrary, Neophytos does not appear to have espoused a negative outlook of the Constantinopolitan elite such as that of Senacherim Kakos, protasekretis of Michael VIII Palaiologos (1259–1282), whose distress at learning of the re-capture of Constantinople in 1261 is reported by Pachymeres, *Chronikon* 1:205.3–10): “τί γε ἁμαρτοῦσιν, ὡς ἐπιζῆν καὶ βλέπειν τσσαῦτα δεινά; Τοῦ λοιποῦ καλὸν τις μὴ ἐλπίζετω, ἐπεὶ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ αὐθις πατοῦσι τὴν πόλιν.” Cf. Magdalino (2008) 132 who interprets Senacherim's distress in light of Byzantine apocalyptic prophecies. I thank Thanasis Sotiriou for bringing this passage to my attention.

<sup>727</sup> Neophytos Enkleistos, *Decem Homiliae* 50.22–51.18: “Καὶ, εἰ δοκεῖ, διαστήσωμεν τῷ λόγῳ μικρὸν τὸν μέγαν Βασίλειον καὶ τὸν θεσπέσιον Γρηγόριον, λέγω δὴ τὸν Θεολόγον, καὶ πάντας ὁμοῦ τοὺς τὰ θεῖα διαπορθμεύσαντας καὶ ἐπιστήσωμεν μόνον τὸν θεῖον Χρυσόστομον, τὸν μᾶλλον Χριστόστομον ὡς Χριστοῦ στόμα (εἰπεῖν οἰκειότερον)...ἤρκουν τὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ λαληθέντα καὶ μόνου, ὡς προέφημεν, τὸν κόσμον εἰς σωτηρίαν. Ἐὰν δὲ καὶ τοὺς μετόχους αὐτοῦ συναθροίσωμεν καὶ συστήσωμεν τούτῳ καὶ ἐκατέρων λαλούντων ἀκούσωμεν...εὐρήσωμεν αὐτοὺς ὁμοφώνους καὶ ὁμοφρόνους...”

This is as close as Neophytos comes to speaking of John Mauropous' Three Hierarchs. Chrysostom suffices for instruction; Basil's works on monasticism are enough to teach asceticism,<sup>728</sup> while Gregory does not receive a specific role. It is likely that this reflects both his physical distance from Constantinople, as well as his literary distance from the world of Mauropous, Psellos and Italos. Neophytos' literary interests are characteristically those of Byzantine monasticism: John Klimakos, John Chrysostom, Basil of Caesarea, Isaiah the hesychast etc.<sup>729</sup> It is in this connection that Neophytos closes the present study of Chrysostom's reception.

Neophytos does not draw from the literary heritage of Constantinopolitan literati, but he does follow major monastic trends, such as those begun by Theodore of Stoudios in the 9<sup>th</sup> century. Authors of monastic rules in 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> century Constantinople continued to turn to Stoudite precedents,<sup>730</sup> and Neophytos followed suit. He delivered catecheses on the model of Theodore of Stoudios,<sup>731</sup> and as noted in Part 1, Neophytos copied Theodore of Stoudios' practice of reading SermCat at the paschal vigil.<sup>732</sup> Indeed, there appears to have been a longstanding monastic network, however loose, of communication and travel between Constantinople and Palestine,<sup>733</sup> which in the 12<sup>th</sup> century at least passed through Cyprus. Patriarch John IX of Jerusalem (1157–before 1166) traveled this route from Palestine to Cyprus and on to Constantinople.<sup>734</sup> Neophytos himself, though never moving north to Constantinople, did travel to the Judaeian desert on pilgrimage before returning to Cyprus to eventually establish his Enkleistra.<sup>735</sup>

Thus, by the 12<sup>th</sup> century what Theodore of Stoudios began in early 9<sup>th</sup> century Constantinople likely in opposition to the imperial court's re-introduction of Iconoclasm, namely reading SermCat, probably served Neophytos Enkleistos as an indication of continued spiritual—and thus political—loyalty to the authority of the Byzantine capital. Over the four

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<sup>728</sup> Though Neophytos cites other ascetic authorities, as well. Neophytos Enkleistos, *Decem Homiliae* 51.21–28, 54.1–3.

<sup>729</sup> Galatariotou (1991) 23: "The evidence...clearly suggests that Neophytos' literary culture was entirely based on ecclesiastical literature, and that within that it was confined to a limited, routine patristic, ascetic and hagiographical content."

<sup>730</sup> See Krausmüller (2011).

<sup>731</sup> He even began his catecheses with Theodore of Stoudios' characteristic opening: Ἀδελφοὶ καὶ πατέρες. Sotiroidis (1998).

<sup>732</sup> See Part 1, Section C.

<sup>733</sup> See Chapter 1 for Theodore of Stoudios' extensive communication with representatives of Palestinian monasticism.

<sup>734</sup> Cf. Spingou (2016). Cf. Galatariotou (1991) 55 on Cyprus' commercial connections to the rest of Byzantium and Palestine, as well.

<sup>735</sup> Galatariotou (1991) 14.

centuries that intervened between Theodore and Neophytos, Byzantine emperors, monastic leaders and hierarchs had labored much on the enhanced foundations of Chrysostom's Byzantine reception, which Theodore of Stoudios laid down in opposing the imperial court. Though Theodore had most likely originally intended the reading of SermCat to act as an integral part of his larger program of subverting official court policy, by the time the practice reached Neophytos Enkleistos roughly four centuries later circumstances had changed dramatically. Constantinople was facing unprecedented threats that resulted in its first fall, while the efforts of Leo VI, Constantine VII and Alexios I had transformed Theodore of Stoudios' subversive Chrysostom into an imperial guardian. When Neophytos Enkleistos read out SermCat, he followed the Constantinopolitan, Stoudite monastic tradition—and thus displayed his loyalty to the spiritual, and so political, authority of the imperial capital, as opposed to the usurpation of Isaac Komnenos *basileus* of Cyprus and the Lusignan dynasty that succeeded him.

## GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

This study has focused on the reception of John Chrysostom from a primarily literary perspective during the middle Byzantine centuries (9<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup>), with special attention to the so-called *Catechetical Homily on Pascha* (CPG 4605), attributed to him. The two parts of this study have each approached the topic from a different angle. Part 1 presents the manuscripts that preserve the *Catechetical Homily* in its direct tradition, as well as Theodore of Stoudios' *Oratio* 4 and Neophytos Enkleistos' *Catechesis* 12, which are part of the former text's indirect tradition. Part 1 has given descriptions of the major manuscript witnesses to each of these three texts, as well as other versions of the *Catechetical Homily* that have been located in various manuscripts. In addition to this, the first ever critical editions of the *Catechetical Homily* and Theodore of Stoudios' *Oratio* 4 are given in Part 1. Part 2, on the other hand, traced the context of Chrysostom's reception, primarily from the 9<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries. An introductory chapter gave an overview of Chrysostom's reception from his death to the birth of Theodore of Stoudios in the 8<sup>th</sup> century. From there, Part 2 traced Theodore's usage of the *Catechetical Homily* as an integral component of his overall reception of Chrysostom, which itself gave impetus to the Court, Church and literati to react over the course of the following four centuries.

In the conclusions to Part 1 certain observations have already been made. The question of the authenticity of the *Catechetical Homily* must necessarily remain open at present, and is likely to always remain that way. Short of an autograph witness from the 4<sup>th</sup> century—which is more a figment of the modern imagination than something to be expected from that cultural environment—there is insufficient evidence to claim with absolute certainty that the *Catechetical Homily* is the work of John Chrysostom. Nevertheless, certain strong indications in favor of this hypothesis have been presented in Part 1, while equally strong evidence against this view has not been found at present. Rather, this ambiguity itself presents an opportunity for reflection on the criteria to be employed in judging the authenticity of hand-copied texts, especially those of a religious nature that enjoyed wide popularity and use.

Part 2, in its turn, has outlined some of the effects of the attribution of this text to John Chrysostom in middle Byzantium. Theodore of Stoudios turned to the model of John Chrysostom in his various conflicts with the Court and Church hierarchy; it is likely that the *Catechetical Homily* played an important part in some of this. Theodore had the habit of promoting John Chrysostom and John the Baptist together, thus sending a clear message to all who could potentially be considered enemies of either: impious rulers and/or the religious

establishment. Theodore's powerful message led to reactions, especially by the Court, in the following centuries that reached a head at some point towards the mid-late 11<sup>th</sup> century in what has been known up to the present day as the Three Hierarchs Controversy. Evidence has been examined that this event, as described in the Synaxaria, never actually took place. Rather, it was likely a later re-telling of clashes over the reception of the Church fathers' heritage, specifically Basil of Caesarea and Gregory Nazianzen's, on the one hand, and John Chrysostom's, on the other. The chain reaction that Theodore of Stoudios had set in full motion in the 9<sup>th</sup> century, by putting Chrysostom at the head of a religious resistance to established State and Church power structures, had various effects in the centuries that followed, which Theodore could never have predicted. One of these was that both emperors Leo VI and Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos chose to fashion Chrysostom into their imperial patron. Another was that literati of the 11<sup>th</sup> century clashed over just how the content of Hellenism's literary heritage should be properly employed. Chrysostom had argued strictly against employing the content at all, but Basil and Gregory had championed a different view. Chrysostom's rise in prominence from the 9<sup>th</sup> century, due in part to Theodore of Stoudios and the Court and Church reacting to him, brought this strict attitude towards Hellenism to the fore in the 11<sup>th</sup> century to the point that: Psellos vehemently defended himself; Italos was anathematized; and Mauropous strove to find ways for reconciliation.

Overall, this study has striven to show that sources such as the *Catechetical Homily*, known but mostly overlooked, can offer valuable information that may further illuminate significant questions, whose answers are often assumed given, such as: *why* did John Chrysostom rise to such levels of spiritual prominence in the middle Byzantine Church to the point that his reception threatened to overshadow that of other Church fathers? The rich treasure trove of Byzantine literature that has survived is full of lesser-known authors, whose work has not yet been fully appreciated, or perhaps even discovered. While not wishing to diminish the value of that work, the present study has emphasized that we must simultaneously not assume that the question of the significance in Byzantium of even the most prolific of authors, John Chrysostom, has been definitively answered. As the first systematic study of John Chrysostom's reception from his death to the Fourth Crusade, the present study hopes to highlight the value of often overlooked sources, such as the *Catechetical Homily*, and to stimulate renewed interest in revisiting figures that may appear to be sufficiently well-known and questions that perhaps seem definitively answered or exhausted.

**APPENDIX: LIST OF ALL MANUSCRIPTS COLLATED—ARRANGED  
BY TEXT**

***Sermo catecheticus in sanctum pascha (CPG 4605)***

- 1) Vaticanus graecus 2079 (before 868), ff. 47v–48v
- 2) Laurentianus Plutei 9.22 (974), ff. 195v–196r
- 3) Ottobonianus graecus 14 (10<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 247v–248r
- 4) Baroccianus 199 (10<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 139r–140r
- 5) Vindobonensis supplementum graecum 177 (10<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 3r–v
- 6) Vaticanus graecus 2013 (10<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 112r–v
- 7) Russia GIM Sinodicus graecus 374 (10<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 6v–7r
- 8) Jerusalem Patriarchal Library Hagiou Saba 1 (10<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 162v–163r
- 9) Parisinus graecus 1018 (10<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 7r–9r
- 10) Vaticanus graecus 1633 (10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 250v–251
- 11) Coislinianus 199 (11<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 309r–310r
- 12) Pantokratoros 26 (11<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 226v–227v
- 13) Cromwellianus 23 (1064–1065), ff. 203r–204r
- 14) Trinity College 185 (c. 1020), ff. 214v–215v
- 15) Parisinus supplementum graecum 1386 (1075), ff. 349v–351
- 16) Sinaiticus graecus 401 (11<sup>th</sup> century), f. 209v
- 17) Vaticanus graecus 477 (11<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 297v–298r
- 18) Laurentianus Plutei 11.09 (11<sup>th</sup> century), f. 282v
- 19) Vaticanus graecus 478 (11<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 1r–2r
- 20) Franzonianus Urbani 16 (11<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 265r–v
- 21) Parisinus graecus 639 (11<sup>th</sup> century), f. 276v

- 22) Panteleimonos 76 (11<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 224v–225v
- 23) Russia GIM Sinodicus graecus 234 (11<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 180r–181r
- 24) Lambeth Palace 1187 (11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 289r–290r
- 25) Atheniensis graecus 2487 (11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 109r–110v
- 26) Vaticanus graecus 1636 (12<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 184v–185
- 27) Roe 6 (12<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 1r–v
- 28) Vaticanus graecus 782 (12<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 129v–131r
- 29) Vaticanus palatinus graecus 24 (12<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 1r–v
- 30) Parisinus graecus 633 (1186), ff. 235v–236v
- 31) Phillipps 1481 (12<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 232v–233r
- 32) Cambridge Nn.I.23 (12<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 271v–272
- 33) Coislinianus 271 (12<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 35r–36r
- 34) Sinaiticus 1095 (12<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 146v–148v
- 35) Marcianus graecus 1342 (12<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 36v–37v
- 36) Atheniensis graecus 295 (13<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 134r–137
- 37) British Library Additional 14066 (12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> century), f. 4v
- 38) Rawlinson 4 (12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 2r–3r
- 39) Parisinus graecus 540 (12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 317r–v
- 40) Sinaiticus graecus 52 (fort. 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 213r–216r
- 41) Escorialensis X.III.15 (13<sup>th</sup> century), f. 3r
- 42) Selden Supra 4 (13<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 68v–70v
- 43) Coislinianus 361 (13<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 202r–v
- 44) Parisinus supplementum graecum 1260 (13<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 232r–v
- 45) Marcianus graecus 1123 (13<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 167v–168v
- 46) Marcianus graecus 1014 (13<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 221v–222r

- 47) Marcianus graecus 1104 (13<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 245v–246r
- 48) Vaticanus graecus 1455 (13<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 362r–363v
- 49) Mytilene, Monastery of St. John the Theologian 7 (13<sup>th</sup> century), f. 53v
- 50) Megistis Lavras Α 173 (12<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> century), f. 113v
- 51) Parisinus graecus 87 (12<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> century), f. 6v
- 52) Philotheou 44 (13<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 224r–v
- 53) Belgium Library of Prince Albert I IV.459 (14<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 63r–64v
- 54) Dionysiou 50 (14<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 312r–313v
- 55) Iviron 374 (14<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 170r–v
- 56) Megistis Lavras Γ 11 (14<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 136v–138r
- 57) Pantokratoros 84 (14<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 238v–239r
- 58) Istanbul Patriarchal Library Panaghia 46 (14<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 187v–188v
- 59) Leiden Vossianus graecus Q<sup>o</sup> 66 (14<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 106v–107r
- 60) Monacensis graecus 644 (14<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 97v–98v
- 61) Baroccianus 241 (14<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 129v–130r
- 62) Laurentianus Plutei 10.15 (14<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 179v–190r
- 63) Cromwellianus 22 (1314–1315), ff. 21r–21v
- 64) Selden Supra 9 (14<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 32r–v
- 65) Christ Church College Oxford Wake graecus 76 (14<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 91r–93v
- 66) Lincoln College Oxford 1 (14<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 274v–275r
- 67) Parisinus graecus 980 (14<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 174v–175v
- 68) Parisinus graecus 1186 (1306), ff. 136r–v
- 69) Library of Russian Academy of Sciences RAIK 87 (14<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 256r–257r
- 70) Ivan Dujčev Foundation D. graecus 178 (14<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 237r–238v
- 71) Vaticanus graecus 562 (14<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 1r–v

- 72) Vaticanus graecus 571 (14<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 187v–188r
- 73) Marcianus graecus 947 (14<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 2r–v
- 74) Marcianus graecus 1423 (14<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 220r–221v
- 75) Marcianus graecus 1454 (1374), ff. 130r–131r
- 76) Vindobonensis historicus graecus 63 (1319), ff. 133v–134v
- 77) Megistis Lavras Γ 37 (14<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 152v–153v
- 78) Megistis Lavras Ω 128 (14<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 2r–3r
- 79) Vatopaidiou 681 (14<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 105r–107r
- 80) Vatopaidiou 455 (14<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 1r–2v
- 81) Docheiareiou 80 (14<sup>th</sup> century), 1r–3r
- 82) British Library Harley 5540 (14<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 279r–280r
- 83) Atheniensis graecus 180 (14<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> century), f. 401r
- 84) Atheniensis graecus 78 (15<sup>th</sup> century), f. 121v
- 85) Atheniensis graecus 1910 (15<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 135v–136v
- 86) Atheniensis graecus 2484 (15<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 204v–205v
- 87) Megistis Lavras Λ 79 (15<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 3r–4r
- 88) Megistis Lavras H 152 (1406), ff. 55r–58r
- 89) Istanbul Patriarchal Library Panaghia 29 (15<sup>th</sup> century), f. 115r
- 90) Leiden Bibliotheca Publica graecus 64 A (15<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 211v–212v
- 91) British Library Harley 5546 (15<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 195r–196v
- 92) Messinensis San Salvatore 107 (15<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 247r–v
- 93) Meteora Varlaam 99 (15<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 4r–v
- 94) Parisinus graecus 1613 (15<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 136v–137v
- 95) Vallicellianus B 128 (15<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 180r–v
- 96) Russian National Library Φ No. 906 graecus 675 (15<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 15r–17r

- 97) Russia GIM Sinodicus graecus 211 (15<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 163v–165r
- 98) Ivan Dujčev Foundation D. graecus 38 (1418), ff. 193r–195r
- 99) Ivan Dujčev Foundation D. graecus 89 (15<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 24r–26v
- 100) Vaticanus graecus 769 (15<sup>th</sup> century), f. 351v
- 101) Vaticanus graecus 789 (15<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 89r–90r
- 102) Vaticanus palatinus graecus 288 (15<sup>th</sup> century), f. 261v
- 103) Marcianus graecus 981 (15<sup>th</sup> century), f. 146v
- 104) Marcianus graecus 1217 (15<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 207r–208r
- 105) Jerusalem Patriarchal Library Hagiou Saba 105 (15<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 160r–v
- 106) Vindobonensis theologicus graecus 247 (15<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 310r–v
- 107) Russia GIM Sinodicus graecus 259 (15<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 140r–v
- 108) Cambridge Christ's College 253 (16<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 168r–v
- 109) Phillipps 1443 (16<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 264v–265r
- 110) Dionysiou 410 (1526), ff. 272r–273r
- 111) Dionysiou 148 (1540), ff. 61r–62r
- 112) Istanbul Patriarchal Library Panaghia 143 (1571), ff. 47r–v
- 113) Deutsches Buch und Schriftmuseum Klemm-Sammlung I.201 (16<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 460r–461v
- 114) Monacensis graecus 221 (ca. 1550), ff. 103r–14r
- 115) Parisinus supplementum graecum 1001 (16<sup>th</sup> century), f. 1v
- 116) Sofia Church Historical Archive Institute 811 (16<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 370r–371v
- 117) Sofia Church Historical Archive Institute 829 (16<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 55v–57v
- 118) Marcianus graecus 1255 (16<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 162v–163v
- 119) Marcianus graecus 1311 (16<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 280r–v
- 120) Koutloumousiou 359 (16<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 155r–v
- 121) Bodleian Auctarium T.3.04 (16<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 251r–v

- 122) Bodleian Auctarium E.3.08, Codex H Savile (16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 569r–570r
- 123) Bodleian Auctarium E.3.15, Codex Q Savile (16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> century), f. 210r
- 124) Sofia Church Historical Archive Institute 880 (16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> century), f. 131v
- 125) Andros Moni Agias Zoodochou Pigis 13 (17<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 245v–248r
- 126) Sinaiticus graecus 1697 (17<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 191v–192v
- 127) Megistis Lavras Λ 28 (17<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 141r–142v
- 128) Megistis Lavras M 61 (1667), ff. 50v–52v
- 129) Ottobonianus graecus 107 (17<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 166v–167r
- 130) Jerusalem Patriarchal Library Hagiou Saba 54 (1684), ff. 12v–17r
- 131) Jerusalem Patriarchal Library Panagiou Taphou 205 (1692), ff. 125–126
- 132) Megistis Lavras Θ 98 (1748), ff. 17r–19r
- 133) Megistis Lavras E 122 (18<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 151r–153v
- 134) J. Paul Getty Museum Ludwig II 5 (14<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 2r–3r
- 135) Atheniensis graecus 180 (14<sup>th</sup> century), f. 401 [SermCat]

***Oratio IV in sanctum pascha***

- 136) Baroccianus 197 (1343), ff. 551v–553r
- 137) Vaticanus graecus 1587 (1389), ff. 308v–313v
- 138) Vaticanus Barberinus graecus 583 (14<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 608v–610v
- 139) Estensiensis α.S.5.07 (15<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 173v–175r
- 140) Parisinus graecus 1625 (15<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 26v–27v
- 141) Marcianus graecus 414 (1538), ff. 233r–234v
- 142) Jerusalem Patriarchal Library Timiou Stavrou 92 (1581), ff. 142v–144v
- 143) Vaticanus graecus 1517 (1585), ff. 100r–110r

- 144) Xeropotamou 341 (1565), ff. 390r–392v  
 145) British Library Additional 15435 (16<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 30v–31r  
 146) Ambrosianus graecus I 91 inf. (16<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 204r–205r  
 147) Dionysiou 479 (1633), ff. 91v–93v  
 148) Megistis Lavras K 19 (1645), ff. 168v–172v  
 149) Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emmanuele III 2.B.7 (17<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 58r–v  
 150) Zographou 16 (17<sup>th</sup> century), un-numbered folia, metaphrasis  
 151) Iviron 1327 (17<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 91v–93v

***Catechesis 12 On the paschal homily by John Chrysostom***

- 152) Parisinus supplementum graecum 1317 (c. 1214), ff. 67v–71r

***Alternate versions of Sermo Catecheticus in sanctum pascha***

- 153) Vaticanus graecus 2194 (14<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 413r–415v  
 154) Vaticanus graecus 1936 (16<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 66r–67v  
 155) British Library Burney 45 (16<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 120r–122r

**Manuscripts catalogued as transmitting SermCat and/or Or.4 but**

**which I have been so far unable to consult<sup>736</sup>**

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<sup>736</sup> Manuscript catalogues frequently list SermCat and/or Or.4 mistakenly among a given codex's contents; since I have been so far unable to consult these particular witnesses, I cannot be absolutely sure at present that they do transmit either text in question.

- 156) Atheniensis graecus 457 (17<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 755–770 [SermCat]
- 157) Dimitsana, Greece Public Library 63 (18<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 190–209 [SermCat]
- 158) Elassona, Greece Monastery of Olympiotissa 132 (17<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 245–244(sic)  
[SermCat]
- 159) Grottaferratensis Z.γ.007 (graecus 50) (15<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 187–188 [SermCat]
- 160) Almyros, Greece Archaeological Museum 39 (15<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 1–280(sic) [SermCat]
- 161) Jerusalem Patriarchal Library Hagiou Saba 418 (14<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 167–168. [SermCat]
- 162) Leukosia, Cyprus Library of Cypriot Archeiscopate 19 (10<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 212–226  
[SermCat]
- 163) Meteora Metamorphosis 224 (15<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 146–166 [SermCat]
- 164) Meteora Metamorphosis 395 (17<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 94–95v
- 165) Lesvos Leimonos Monastery 9 (15<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 1r–v [SermCat]
- 166) Ohrid Naroden Muzej 25 (Mošin 44) (13<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 1–251(sic) [SermCat]
- 167) Patras, Greece All Saints Monastery 2 (16<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 170–171 [SermCat]
- 168) Sparta, Greece Monastery of Holy Forty Martyrs 35 (18<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 2–5 [SermCat]
- 169) Vaticanus graecus 579 (15<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 103–109v [SermCat]<sup>737</sup>
- 170) Vindobonensis historicus graecus 67 (13<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 79–81 [SermCat]
- 171) Meteora Metamorphosis 170 (16<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 277v–282 [Or.4]
- 172) Meteora Metamorphosis 232 (16<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 387–388 [Or.4]
- 173) Lesvos Leimonos Monastery 65 (10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 104–108 [Or.4]
- 174) Naxos, Greece Church of Koimesis Theotokou Philotiou (2 Sphyroéras) (15<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup>  
century), ff. 89v–96 [Or.4]
- 175) Vallicellianus Allaci 114 (saec. ign.), fasc. 24(sic) [Or.4]

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<sup>737</sup> Due to a lack of uniformity among manuscript catalogues with regard to the titles that signify SermCat's presence in a codex, I discovered only after the fact that certain witnesses, such as this one, exist in libraries I had already visited.

- 176) Vaticanus Regius graecus Pio II 34 (1542), ff. 116v–120r [Or.4]
- 177) Atheniensis graecus 2193 (17<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 190–495v(sic) [SermCat, metaphrasis by  
Maximus Peloponnesius]
- 178) Atheniensis graecus 2487 (11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 109–110v [SermCat]
- 179) Gjirokastër, Albania Metropolis Library 6 (17<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 278r–v [SermCat]
- 180) Zavorda, Greece Monastery of St. Nikanor 2 (13<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 321–324 [SermCat]
- 181) Zavorda, Greece Monastery of St. Nikanor 89 (14<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 214v–216
- 182) Zavorda, Greece Monastery of St. Nikanor 170 (1638), ff. f. 107v

## **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

### **ABBREVIATIONS**

AB – Analecta Bollandiana

ACO – Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum

Aldama – de Aldama, J. (1965) *Repertorium Pseudochrysostomicum*. Paris

BBGG – Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata

BBTT – Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations

BF – Byzantinische Forschungen

BMGS – Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies

BS – Βυζαντινά Σύμμεικτα

CA – Cahiers Archéologiques

CCG – Codices Chrysostomici Graeci

CE – Coptic Encyclopedia

CFHB – Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae

CH – Church History

CP – Classical Philology

CPG – Clavis Patrum Graecorum

DOML – Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library

DOP – Dumbarton Oaks Papers

EEBS – Έπετηρίς Έταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν

EEPSPA – Επιστημονική Επετηρίδα της Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής του Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών

EHR – English Historical Review

EO – Echos d'Orient

GRBS – Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies

GOTR – Greek Orthodox Theological Review

HTR – Harvard Theological Review

JEA – Journal of Egyptian Archaeology

J ECS – Journal of Early Christian Studies

JEH – Journal of Ecclesiastical History

JRS – Journal of Roman Studies

JTS – Journal of Theological Studies

JÖB – Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik

LSJ – Liddell-Scott Greek-English Lexicon  
 OCC – Orientalia Christiana Cracoviensia  
 OCP – Orientalia Christiana Periodica  
 ODB – Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium  
 ODCC – Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church  
 ODLA – Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity  
 PG – Patrologia Graeca  
 PL – Patrologia Latina  
 PGL – Patristic Greek Lexicon  
 PO – Patrologia Orientalia  
 REB – *Révue des Etudes Byzantines*  
 RET – *Révue des Etudes Tardo-Antiques*  
 RGK – *Repertorium den Griechischen Kopisten*  
 SC – *Sources Chrétiennes*  
 SP – *Studia Patristica*  
 SVTQ – *St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly*  
 TM – *Travaux et Mémoires*  
 Trapp – *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität*  
 VC – *Vigiliae Christianae*  
 ZAC – *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum*

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