

## THE TEXT TRADITION OF CHRYSOSTOM'S COMMENTARY ON JOHN

It is a fact that the *textus receptus* of many patristic authors was already fixed before the principles of textual criticism had been clearly established. An instance in point is the text of St. John Chrysostom's *Commentary on John's Gospel*. Both the Salesian text of 1944-1948 and Migne's 1863 issue of this portion of the *corpus Chrysostomicum* merely reprint the 1834 edition of the Benedictine scholar Fix, and the labors of Fix antedate by several years the clear enunciation of Lachmann's principles and his application of them to the text of Lucretius.

It is also a fact that the text of the eighty-eight homilies constituting the *Commentary on John* has never been scientifically established, and that the existing editions rest on a more or less arbitrary exploitation of rather meagre MS materials. An historical examination of the current texts will reveal the imperfect editorial principles on which they rest, their infectious dependence on each other, and also the need for a new and critical edition of these important homilies. When I have established these points, I shall try to group the MS tradition into two families which, in fact, represent two recensions, and finally I shall discuss briefly the method I am using in constructing the new edition.

The list of editions of Chrysostom which is found in the following paragraph will make an examination of the history of the text easier to follow. The criticisms of the Benedictine, Dom Chrysostom Baur, who was surely the greatest Chrysostom scholar of this century, have been included in the notes to serve as conclusions drawn from evidence which would be too lengthy to present here.

The chronological list of complete and partial editions of the Greek text of the *corpus Chrysostomicum* containing the *Commentary on John* is as follows:

COMMELIN, Hieronymus. *Expositio perpetua in Nouum Jesu Christi Testamentum*. 4 vols. Heidelberg: in Bibliopolio Commeliniano (Jud. et Nicol. Bonuittii), 1603.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I know of no copy of the *editio princeps* in any American library. Both the Bibliothèque Nationale and the British Museum have copies. Falconer Madan, in his *Summary Catalogue of Western MSS. in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895) Part 1, p. 536, mentions that Bodleian Western MS 2773, the printer's copy for Savile's edition, consists of the printed pages of Commelin's edition together with Savile's revisions. These revisions must include Savile's collation of Magdalen Greek MS 1 and some as yet unidentified Paris MS; cf. *infra* pp. 409-10.—The translation of the *Commentary on John* in

SAVILLE, Henry. *S. Johannis Chrysostomi Opera omnia*. 8 vols. Eton: John Norton, 1613.<sup>2</sup>

DUCAEUS, Fronto, Burdegalensis, S.J., Theologus. *Sancti Joannis Chrysostomi Opera omnia in 12 tomos distributa*. Paris: apud Carolum Morellum, 1636-1642.<sup>3</sup>

MONTFAUCON, Bernard de. *Sancti Joannis Chrysostomi Opera omnia quae*

Vol. 2 of Commelin is that of Franciscus Aretinus. However, the *Commentary on John* first entered the stream of printed literature in Latin at Rome in 1470. This "antiquissima omnium editio cum praefatione Francisci Aretini ad Cosmum Medicem Florentinum directa" (of which the Library of Congress has a copy) became more common in the five-volume *Opera* (issued at Paris in 1536 and again at Basel in 1558) *interpretibus variis ex recensione D. Erasmi*. Aretinus' translation of the *Commentary on John* and his dedicatory preface to Cosimo de' Medici are standard portions of the Erasmus edition. The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, has the Basel text of 1558, which I collated extensively with the translation contained in Morel's text. I found the two Aretine versions to be identical. *A Catalogue of Books Represented by Library of Congress Printed Cards* 29 (Ann Arbor: Edwards Brothers, 1943) 25, cites Franciscus Accoltus (1418?-1483) as the translator. *The Catalogue générale des livres imprimés de la Bibliothèque Nationale: Auteurs* 77 (Paris, 1923) no. 16, p. 718, speaking of the second volume of the 1470 edition, states: "Tomus secundus continet. . . Commentarium in Joannis Evangelia. . . Francisco [Accolti] Aretino interprete." Several other translations of Aretinus are mentioned in *Catalogue of the Printed Books in the Library of the British Museum* 1 (Ann Arbor: J. W. Edwards, 1946) 3rd section, cols. 16-17, under the name Accoltus (Franciscus) Aretinus.

<sup>2</sup> Savile's eight volumes were issued in a limited edition of 1000 copies. There are full sets at the University of Michigan; in the private library of Rev. Walter A. Markowicz of Sacred Heart Seminary, Detroit, Michigan; at West Baden College, West Baden Springs, Indiana; and at Xavier University, Cincinnati, Ohio. H. C. Maxwell Lyte, in *A History of Eton College 1440-1875* (London: Macmillan, 1877) pp. 194 ff., records several anecdotes connected with the Savile edition.

<sup>3</sup> Of this edition Chrysostom Baur says in his *S. Jean Chrysostome et ses oeuvres dans l'histoire littéraire* (Louvain: Bureau de Recueil, 1907) p. 109: "Morel prétend avoir corrigé son édition d'après Savile, ce qui est inexact. Les 6 tt. qui ne sont pas de Fronton, ne sont qu'une copie de l'édition Commeliniana."

Information regarding Morel's reissue of the first du Duc edition (Paris, 1621-1624) together with the *Commentaria in Novum Testamentum* (also published by Morel and attributed to Fronto Ducaeus) can be found in the Catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale, *op. cit.*, nos. 1 and 4, pp. 678-79. The Hengstenberg Collection, University of Chicago Library, has a set of six volumes in five, in folio, issued in Paris (1633) with the title *Commentaria in Novum Testamentum*. This issue is exceedingly rare; Chrysostom Baur, *op. cit.*, makes no mention of it. It found a wider public when reprinted in Paris (1636-1642) together with the six volumes actually edited by Fronto Ducaeus. Sacred Heart Seminary, Detroit, has an incomplete set of this edition. Volume 2 of this set has a title page agreeing in all details of content, time, and place (Paris, 1636), but names Sebastian Cramoisy, an associate of Morel, as the printer. Carlos Sommervogel, S.J., *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus* 3 (Paris: Picard, 1892) col. 238, mentions the business association of Morel and Cramoisy, and gives other data on this conglomerate edition. The second volume of Morel contains the *Commentary on John*, giving the Greek text of Commelin and the Latin translation of Franciscus Aretinus.

*exstant vel eius nomine circumferuntur*. 13 vols. Paris: sumptibus L. Guerin, C. Robustel, et al., 1718–1738.<sup>4</sup>

MONTFAUCON, Bernard de. *Sancti Joannis Chrysostomi Opera omnia*. Editio altera (ed. Theobald Fix). 13 vols. Paris: apud Gaume Fratres, 1834–1839.<sup>5</sup>

MONTFAUCON, Bernard de. *Sancti Joannis Chrysostomi Opera omnia*. Editio novissima accurante et denuo recognoscente J. P. Migne. 13 vols. Paris: J. P. Migne, 1863.<sup>6</sup>

TIRONE, D. Cecilia, O.S.B. *San Giovanni Crisostomo: Le Omelie su S. Giovanni Evangelista*. 4 vols. *Corona patrum Salesiana* 10–13. Turin: Società Editrice Internazionale, 1944–1948.<sup>7</sup>

Both the text of Tirone and the Migne edition can be dismissed immediately, because they do no more than reprint Montfaucon's second Benedictine edition, issued under the editorship of Theobald Fix (1834–1839). Fix was much harassed by his publishers, who feared that the buying public would lose interest in the thirteen-volume project if the intervals between volumes were too great.<sup>8</sup> Hence, at first he could do little more than reissue the first Benedictine edition of Montfaucon.

Fortunately, after seven volumes had appeared, the pressure lessened, and his eighth volume, which contains the *Commentary on John*, benefited from a more leisurely method of editing. Fix states in his preface that he used this leisure, such as it was, first, to collate the earlier Benedictine edition with Savile's text, and second, to consult the MSS either in whole or part. Greater care was necessary in these later volumes, he says, because Montfaucon's staff had shown greater carelessness in this portion. The eighty-eight homilies which constitute the *Commentary on John* show in their course another change of editorial policy which called for a rejection of the readings of the first Benedictine edition (which were held in something of reverential awe in Homilies 1–50), wherever in Homilies 51–88 the read-

<sup>4</sup> This edition can be found at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, and at the University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio.

<sup>5</sup> This edition can be found at the University of Michigan and at Mount Saint Mary's Seminary, Norwood, Ohio.

<sup>6</sup> Chrysostomus, *op. cit.*, p. 132, says of this edition: "Cette édition constitue les tomes 47–61 du *Patrologiae Cursus Completus—Series Graeca*. C'est une bonne réimpression de l'édition de Montfaucon avec très peu de fautes d'impression."

<sup>7</sup> The editor says (Introd., p. xi): "Il testo è quello curato da Dom B. de Montfaucon . . . secondo l'edizione parigina del 1836. Ce ne siamo discostati soltanto qua e là nella disposizione dei capoversi."

<sup>8</sup> Fix describes his travail together with his editorial policies in his *Epilogue*, which has its own pagination in lower case Roman numerals, and follows p. 420 of Vol. 13, *pars altera*, of the 1834–1838 edition. See especially pp. ii–iii.

ings of Savile and the two Paris MSS, BN grec 705 (s. ix) and BN grec 706 (s. xi),<sup>9</sup> were obviously more correct. Hence this second Benedictine edition, based on the first edition of Montfaucon, was something of a farrago, since only one editorial principle was consistently maintained, namely, the use of Savile's edition as a control.

The prime purpose of Montfaucon, as he states it in his Preface to the first Benedictine edition, was to combine the Savile and Morel editions into one new and fuller edition which would embrace the characteristics of both. On every page of this edition we find now Savile, now Morel cited as a witness for some reading, and one cannot escape the impression and conclusion that this first Benedictine edition is largely the result of eclectic editing and rests on arbitrary principles.

This brings us back to the edition attributed to Fronto Ducaeus and issued in 1636 by Charles Morel in twelve volumes. Volumes 7-12 represent reprints of Fronto's earlier editions of homilies on the Old Testament, which had appeared between 1609 and 1624 when Fronto died. Seeing the desirability of a complete Chrysostom corpus together with a Latin translation, Morel did not overlook the desirability of issuing the whole series under the name of the learned Jesuit who had died some twelve years before. Hence Fronto made no contribution to Volumes 1-6, which deal with the New Testament. Nor did Morel, who was primarily a publisher. His whole editorial policy was to reprint the Greek text of Commelin as exactly as he could, even to retaining the square brackets of the earlier edition. As did Commelin, Morel also features the Latin translation of Franciscus Aretinus in columns parallel to the Greek text. Both editors do this in spite of the fact that many discrepancies exist between the Greek text and the Latin translation.

Because of this absolute dependence of Morel on the Commelin edition, let us now turn our attention to the *editio princeps*, which was issued at Heidelberg in 1603.<sup>10</sup> I know of no copy of this edition in any American library, but we have a direct witness for it in Morel's reprint. The British Museum catalogue quotes Commelin's title page, which states that his text as a whole was constructed from MSS in the Palatine library, and in libraries in Augsburg, Bavaria, and Pistoia. It seems likely that Commelin would have used MSS available in the Palatine library—which was not

<sup>9</sup> These MSS are described by Henri Omont in *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale* 1 (Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1886) 117.

<sup>10</sup> Although portions of this *Expositio perpetua* reprint a Veronese edition of 1596, it is the *editio princeps* for the *Commentary on John*; cf. C. Baur, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

transported to Rome until after the fall of Heidelberg in 1623—and would have gone abroad only for materials which he could not find in the Palatine.

The Vatican Palatine catalogue<sup>11</sup> lists only two MSS of the *Commentary on John*: Vat. Pal. graec. 32 (s. x) and Vat. Pal. graec. 373 (s. x-xi). Vat. Pal. graec. 32<sup>12</sup> is a vellum codex written in double columns and contains 181 folios. With the exception of ff. 1-36, which are in an eleventh-century hand, the MS is of the tenth century. It contains Homilies 1-48 inclusive, and ends imperfectly. Vat. Pal. graec. 373<sup>13</sup> contains 436 folios numbered in both Latin and Greek and written in double columns. Some preliminary pages have been inserted containing verses on Chrysostom's exile and a mutilated table of contents, both written in a fourteenth-century hand. The MS itself is the work of a calligrapher of the tenth or eleventh century, and contains all eighty-eight homilies. The last is imperfect, and a page has been torn out at the end of Homily 46.

To test the conjecture that these two MSS were basic to Commelin's text, microfilms were obtained, and Homilies 43, 44, 46, and 48 from both MSS were collated. These four homilies were chosen because most MSS containing the *Commentary on John* do not offer the full complement of eighty-eight homilies but end or begin somewhere in the fourth decade. These central homilies promised to hold a solution to the discrepancies between text and translation noted in Morel's edition, and offered a focal point for investigating the hypothesis of a twofold manuscript tradition.

Since the *editio princeps* was not available for collation with the two Palatine MSS, Morel's text was used as equivalent to the Heidelberg edition in studying Commelin's editorial policy. Every page of Morel justifies the criticism of Chrysostom Baur.<sup>14</sup> Morel himself had no editorial policy other than to reprint Commelin as exactly as he could, even to retaining the square brackets of the earlier edition.

These square brackets, reprinted by Morel, give the clue to Commelin's

<sup>11</sup> Enrico Stevenson, *Codices manuscripti Palatini graeci Bibliothecae Vaticanae* (Rome: Vatican Press, 1885).

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 240.

<sup>14</sup> "Les 6 tomes . . . ne sont qu'une copie de l'édition Commeliniana" (*op. cit.*, p. 109). Schmid and Stählin, in their *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur 2* (Munich: Beck, 1924) 1467, stamp the Morel edition as "Abdruck einer in Heidelberg erscheinener Ausgabe der Homilien zum N.T." Montfaucon, in his Preface, printed in both the editions of 1718-1738 and of 1834-1839, Vol. 1, p. v, says that Morel "Commentarios in Novum Testamentum . . . ad fidem Commelinianae editionis emisit."

whole editorial policy. As was conjectured, Commelin's text of Homilies 1-48 is based on the two Vatican Palatine MSS. In the homilies collated, he never rejects the reading of Vat. Pal. graec. 373 (s. x-xi), which is the basis of his text, but in many instances he prints within brackets words found in Vat. Pal. graec. 32 (s. x) which are wanting in Vat. Pal. graec. 373, or words found in Vat. Pal. graec. 373 which are wanting in Vat. Pal. graec. 32. The defect in Vat. Pal. graec. 373 at the end of Homily 46 is supplied entirely from Vat. Pal. graec. 32.

Commelin's policy of using Vat. Pal. graec. 373 as the basis for his text continues in Homilies 49-88. The square brackets found in this latter portion indicate that some other non-Palatine MS was available to him for these homilies and served the same purpose as did Vat. Pal. graec. 32 for Homilies 1-48.

The collation of the two Vatican Palatine MSS with Morel's reprint of Commelin clearly establishes two conclusions: first, the *editio princeps* and its reprint present a text which rests on three MSS, i.e., Vat. Pal. graec. 373 as basic for all eighty-eight homilies, Vat. Pal. graec. 32 as a control for homilies 1-48, and an unidentified MS as a control for homilies 49-88; second, the two Vatican Palatine MSS are representative of two distinct traditions which will henceforward be referred to as Family A (of which Vat. Pal. graec. 32 is a member) and Family B (to which Vat. Pal. graec. 373 belongs). This designation is arbitrary, but the division into two traditions was abundantly established when other MSS were included in the collation; within the scope of four homilies, Family A was found to vary from Family B in 327 loci.

With these conclusions in mind, it will now be possible to evaluate Savile's text of the *Commentary on John*. This edition appeared at Eton in 1613 from type fonts which Savile had cast at his own expense. In his preface to the *Commentary on John*, he says that he has edited the first forty-six of these homilies from a MS of Magdalen College, Oxford,<sup>15</sup> after collating it with and correcting it by Commelin's Heidelberg edition. The remaining homilies were edited from the Heidelberg edition as corrected and emended

<sup>15</sup> The identity of the Magdalen MS is certain. That College has only one MS containing (in part) the *Commentary on John*, namely, MS graec. 1 (s. xi), and it covers precisely the forty-six homilies mentioned by Savile in his Preface (Vol. 8, cols. 183-84); cf. Henry O. Coxe, *Catalogus codicum MSS. qui in collegiis aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie adservantur* 2 (Oxford: University Press, 1852). The paging of this catalogue is individual for the individual Colleges and Halls. The codex is described on p. 1 of the section devoted to Magdalen College.

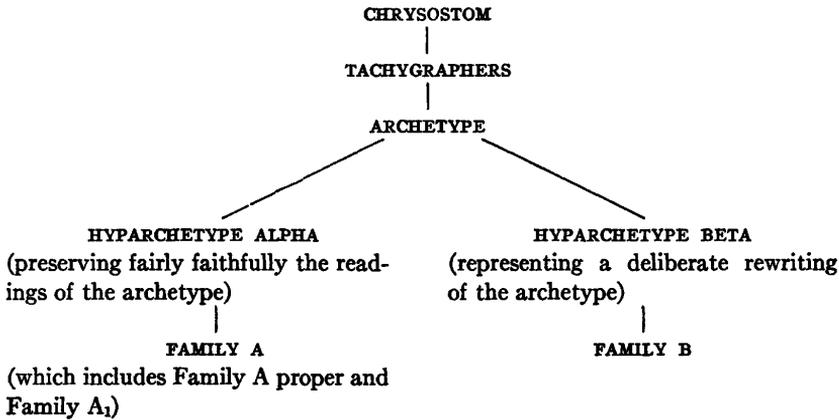
from a still to be identified Paris MS.<sup>16</sup> Here and there Savile has introduced his own conjectures and those of his friends.

The Magdalen MS graec. 1 (s. xi) contains only Homilies 1-46 and belongs to Family A, as must also the Paris MS used by Savile for Homilies 47-88. These two MSS, however, did not exert an equal influence on the text. For example, in Homilies 43, 44, and 46, for which Magdalen MS graec. 1 is extant, Savile prefers the Magdalen reading of Family A to Commelin's Heidelberg embodiment of Family B in 162 places, while he rejects the Magdalen readings 87 times. In Homily 48, where he used the as yet unidentified Paris MS, Savile rejects the Heidelberg reading only 18 times, and prefers, in 83 places, Commelin's embodiment of Family B to the readings of Family A found in the Paris MS.

This gives the clue to Savile's exploitation of the MS material and indicates the uneven character of this portion of his text. It should be noted that the texts of Commelin and Savile together rest on a total of five MSS and their extremely great influence must be traced back to the Vatican Palatine Greek MSS 32 and 373, the unidentified MS of Family A, Magdalen MS graec. 1, and Savile's collation of some Paris MS. Fortunately, this influence will represent both families; unfortunately, the two traditions are often confused in an eclecticism which seems to rest on arbitrary principles.

It might be apposite at this point to construct a stemma to indicate the lines of descent of the two families. From the evidence I have thus far assembled, I cannot speak definitively on this matter, but I shall nevertheless present a tentative stemma which is negatively sound, inasmuch as none of the evidence on hand contradicts it.

<sup>16</sup> Savile, *ibid.*, says: "posteriores ex fide vulgatae editionis castigatae et emendatae ex manuscripto in Regia Bibliotheca Lutetiae. . ." This Paris MS must have been either one of the relatively complete ones for the *Commentary* or one containing only the second part. The complete MSS, *au fonds grec*, in the Bibliothèque Nationale are: Paris 705 (s. ix), Coislin 72 (s. xii), and Paris 709 (s. xiv); those containing the second half are: Paris 717 (s. x), 718 (s. xi), 720 (s. xi), and 724 (a. 974). I am at present awaiting a microfilm of Bodleian Western MS 2773 mentioned supra n. 1. After I collate Savile's revisions of Commelin's text (as found in this MS) with the pertinent Paris MSS, I should be able to identify which one was collated by Savile, or one of his friends, for his text. The Paris MSS are described by Henri Omont in his *Inventaire sommaire* 1, 117-19. Bernard de Montfaucon also describes Coislin 72 in his *Bibliotheca Coisliniana olim Segueriana* (Paris: apud Lud. Guerin et Car. Robustel, 1715) p. 131.



Hyparchetype Alpha may be an unnecessary stage, but certain omissions found in some of the MSS of Family A, which occur neither in the other Family A MSS known to me, nor in those of Family B, urge me to divide the Family A MSS into two groups: Family A proper (which does not show the omissions) and Family A<sub>1</sub> (which omits the passages in question). I am inclined to postulate the existence of Hyparchetype Alpha as parent to both these groups, although it is possible that they are both direct descendants of the archetype. In this case only one hyparchetype would be necessary—the parent of the Family B MSS. The definitive solution must await a much fuller exploitation of the MSS materials than I have thus far been able to achieve. Awaiting this solution, I shall refer to the MSS of the two groups together as Family A.

I should like now to turn to the number and nature of the variants between the two families. Within the narrow compass of four homilies I found 327 divergences where the MSS of Family A differ from those of Family B. These changes, it is true, do not change the substance of Chrysostom's thought, but they are very often such as cannot be explained on psychological grounds.

The only sufficient reason for such frequent divergences between two groups of MSS is, as I have affirmed, a two-family tradition. Now I would like to go further and state that the only sufficient reason for such wide variation in expression is a second recension. By a second recension I mean a distinct edition which may or may not have been authorized by the writer himself. It means, then, an intentional rewriting which is extensive enough to characterize the text as a whole. It goes beyond mere correction of real or imaginary scribal errors, introducing new ones, or

changing the orthographic style. I think it will make itself evident most frequently in transitions, in substitutions, in additions, or in omissions. The second editor makes what he thinks are improvements, leaving out things that are overvigorous, adding things that are overobvious, smoothing transitions which are overabrupt, and substituting what he thinks are better words for those he thinks were not too fortunately chosen.

It is true that these sermons were delivered extempore and were taken down in shorthand. This might argue for the need of a later revision, which is represented by the somewhat more verbose MSS of Family B. Family A, lacking this revision and being more faithful to the archetype and the original shorthand notes, takes a somewhat shorter form than Family B. As I see it, the sermons were more vigorous the way they were originally delivered, and the rewriting process weakened them; the abrupt transitions of Family A, for instance, were deliberate, artistic, and effective; the substituted words of Family B have often destroyed a very dramatic and forceful effect. It seems more intrinsically possible that Chrysostom, one of the outstanding orators of all time, would have preached in the sinewy style of Family A.

It is now clear, I think, that the two-family tradition is fact, the second recension is at least a strongly supported theory, and that no current edition preserves either family or either recension in its purity. A new and critical edition is desirable and should be based on the following facts and theories:

- 1) There are two families of MSS, A and B.
- 2) These two families represent two recensions.
- 3) Family A is somewhat shorter and "rougher" than Family B.
- 4) Family B probably represents a recension of the archetype or some MS directly descended therefrom.
- 5) Family A, then, is probably more directly descended from the archetype and prior to Family B.

The general plan of the new edition would be to present the text of Family A. Even if my conclusion regarding the priority of Family A cannot be established as certain, the new text would have the merit of consistency and would relegate to the critical apparatus all the readings peculiar to the recension preserved in Family B, as well as all the important variations within Family A. This text, I think, will give back to the world the *Commentary on John* in words scientifically approximating those actually uttered by the golden-mouthed Bishop of Constantinople.