

## NOTE

### CHRYSOSTOM'S SERMONS ON GENESIS: A PROBLEM

The history of the Church has always been filled with controversy. The divine in human hands will of necessity come into contact with pride, error, ignorance, and all the other concomitants of human failing. The days of Chrysostom were no exception. The Church had its internal as well as its external problems. Chrysostom was not alone in the fight. It was an age of great ecclesiastical polemics. In the East we have a Basil, a Gregory of Nazianzus, a Eusebius of Caesarea, a Cyril of Jerusalem, an Epiphanius. In the West we find a Hilary, an Ambrose, a Jerome, an Augustine. These are but a few names of those who entered the lists on the side of orthodoxy. It was not unusual for these stalwarts to quote one another in support of their own position. Thus it is that St. Augustine adduces a text from Chrysostom in refuting the Pelagian, Julian of Eclanum. Julian himself had used Chrysostom to bolster his heterodox views.

The fact that a passage of St. John Chrysostom appears in the works of St. Augustine would ordinarily be of little consequence to the study of the tradition of a text, except insofar as it might testify to an otherwise unknown passage. The case is somewhat different here. The interest is aroused when the attempt is made to verify the passage. Augustine in his *Contra Iulianum Pelagianum* says:

John likewise treats in a certain sermon a question of this kind: Why do beasts hurt or even destroy men, when the decree of the Lord is manifest in which he subjects them to man so that he should have power over them? This question he solves in this manner: before sin all beasts were subject to man; the fact that they now harm him is the penalty of the first sin. The treatment is a long one and therefore I am not inserting it in this work, but I feel it is right to quote some of it. "We fear the beasts," says John, "and tremble before them; I don't deny it. And we have fallen from domination over them; this too I myself admit. But this does not indicate that the law of God is falsified; for from the beginning matters were not so disposed, but beasts used to be afraid, they used to tremble, and they used to be subjected to man as master. How is this evident? God brought the beasts to Adam, to see what he would call them—the first indication that in the beginning beasts were not terrifying to man. Another proof even more evident than this is that conversation by the serpent with the woman. For if beasts were terrifying to men, certainly once the woman had seen the serpent she would not have remained, she would not have accepted his advice, she would not have conversed with him with such confidence, but immediately at the very sight she would have become frightened and would have recoiled in terror; on the contrary, she argues and does not fear. For that fear was not yet existent, but when sin gained entry, then was

that taken away which brought respect for man." Likewise a little later he says: "As long as his trust was in God, he was terrifying to the beasts, but once he sinned he fears even the lowest of his fellow servants." "If this is not true," says he, "show me the place where beasts were terrifying to man before sin; you will not find the place. If, however, after these great events fear came in, this too was due to God's providence. For if after the command which was given to man had been broken by man, the respect which had been given him had remained unchanged, man would not have readily risen again."<sup>1</sup>

This passage is given almost identically in two different places: in Sermon 3 of the Sermons on Genesis and in Homily 9 of the Homilies on Genesis.

*Sermon 3*

We fear beasts and tremble before them and we have fallen from a position of rule: I do not deny it; in fact, I freely admit it: this does not, however, indicate that the law of God is untrue. For matters were not thus in the beginning, but they [the beasts] used to fear and they used to tremble, and they used to subject themselves to man as their master; however, since we have fallen from confidence and respect, for this reason we fear them. Whence is this evident? God brought the beasts to Adam to see what he would call them; and Adam did not recoil as one in fear. . . . . . And so this is one indication that in the beginning beasts were not terrifying to man; another proof more manifest than the first, the conversation of the serpent with the woman. For if beasts had been terrifying to man, the woman would not have remained had she seen the serpent, she would have fled; neither would she have accepted his advice, nor would she have conversed with him so fearlessly, but immediately at sight of him she would have recoiled awe-struck; instead she converses and does not fear, because as yet this fear was not there. However,

*Homily 9*

The fact that we now fear beasts and tremble before them and that we have fallen from a position of rule neither do I myself deny; this, however, does not indicate that the promise of God is untrue. For matters were not thus in the beginning, but the beasts used to fear and tremble and used to subject themselves to their master; but when through disobedience he fell from confidence, there was lost also his domination. The fact that all was subject to man, hear the Scriptures say: He brought, they say, the beasts and all the brutes to Adam to see what he would call them, and seeing the beasts drawn near he did not recoil. . . . . . This is sufficient to indicate that the beasts were not terrifying to man in the beginning. There is another better and clearer argument than this. What, then, is it? The conversation of the serpent with the woman. For if beasts had been terrifying to man, the woman would not have remained had she seen the serpent; she would not have accepted his advice, she would not have conversed with him so fearlessly, but forthwith at sight of him she would have

<sup>1</sup> Augustine, *Contra Iulianum Pelagianum* 1, 25 (PL 44, 657); the translation is mine.

*Sermon 3 (cont'd)*

after sin entered, respect was taken away too. . . . For as long as [man] had a confidence in God, he was terrifying to the beasts; however, after he offended, he feared the least of his fellow servants. If this is not so, show me that the beasts had been terrifying to man before sin: and you will not be able. But if fear did come later, this is a proof of the Lord's solicitude. For if after the breaking of the command that had been given to man by God, respect had remained unchanged, man would not have risen from his fall.<sup>2</sup>

*Homily 9 (cont'd)*

been awe-struck and would have recoiled. Instead she converses and does not fear, because as yet there was no such fear. But when sin entered, the rest was taken away along with respect. . . . As long as [man] had a confidence in God, he was terrifying too to the beasts. When he offended, he feared the least of his fellow servants. If you can't bear what I am saying, show me that the beasts were terrifying to man before sin. You won't be able to. But if fear came thereafter, this too was the greatest sign of God's kindness. For if after man sinned, his honor had remained intact for him, with difficulty he would have risen from his fall.<sup>3</sup>

The near identity of these two passages is rather obvious. What is its import? *The Sermones in Genesis* were prior in composition. Are they, then, but a first recension for the *Homiliae in Genesis*? Are the Homilies on Genesis Chrysostom's at all? This problem has been suggested by Baur in an article in the *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*. Baur indicates that he doubts that Chrysostom would twice use the same words; and yet, he says, in spite of the opinion of Photius, the style does seem to be essentially Chrysostom's. Perhaps a second hand has united an original with stenographic notes and the like.<sup>4</sup> In a later article he revises this view.<sup>5</sup> He feels that the *Sermones*

<sup>2</sup> Chrysostom, *Sermo 3 in Genesis 2* (PG 54, 592). Here and in all subsequent passages the translation from the Greek is mine. For the purposes of this paper it was desirable to assure that identical Greek words be translated by identical English. To indicate further the identity or lack of it as much as possible, even word order was reflected in the translation. In one or two cases this has resulted in an apparently ungrammatical rendition. This is of some interest, because this occurs more often in the Sermons than in the Homilies. I am not sure that any significant conclusion can be drawn from this.

<sup>3</sup> Chrysostom, *Homilia 9 in Genesis 4* (PG 53, 78-79).

<sup>4</sup> J. Chrysostom Baur, "L'Entrée littéraire de saint Chrysostome dans le monde latin," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 8 (1907) 261-62: "On dirait, à première vue, que ce 'Sermon' n'est qu'un extrait du Commentaire. Montfaucon a aperçu la ressemblance partielle entre le Commentaire et quelques uns des huit '*Sermones in Genesis*,' sans observer spécialement pour notre 3<sup>e</sup> sermon; il est cependant d'avis que S. Chrysostome a prononcé à Antioche les Homélie et les Sermons. Nous ne le pensons pas, car ce serait absolument contre la coutume et la nature de S. Chrysostome, de se répéter ainsi presque mot à mot devant le même auditoire et nous doutons qu'il ait jamais appris de mémoire aucun ser-

are in form as delivered, whereas the *Homiliae* are in written form perhaps the result of later corrections on sermons that had been delivered earlier and existed in stenographic form. He concludes that they are still immediately Chrysostom's. The *Sermones* include more local flavoring, e.g., a reference to the lighting of lamps which was occurring as he was preaching, an honorific reference to a presiding prelate. Such information is useful in establishing a date of delivery. However, the lack of such local color does not prove too much. Many of Chrysostom's works, especially those on the Epistles of Paul, cannot be readily dated precisely because there is not sufficient internal evidence for dating.

The similarity between Sermon 3 of the *Sermones in Genesim* and Homily 9 of the *Homiliae in Genesim* is not confined to the portion quoted by Augustine. Note the further similarity and even identity between the two:

*Sermon 3*

[Begins with a distinct introduction of six lines.]

... For unless we descend into the depths of Scripture while our members are nimble for the swim, while the eye is keener and not disturbed by the wicked flood of desires, while our spirit is more constant—when shall we descend without being overwhelmed? Shall it be when pleasures are at hand, or feasts, or when our table overflows with delicacies? At such times we can scarcely move: thus does the load of pleasures burden our soul. Do you not see that those who wish to discover precious stones will not find what they seek sitting high and dry on the shore counting the waves; they lower

*Homily 9*

[Begins with a distinct introduction of twelve lines.]

... For unless we now descend into the deeper [aspects] of the intentions [of God] and unless you prepare your minds when it is the time of fast, when our members are ready for the plunge and the eye of the mind is keener and not disturbed by the wicked flood of desires, the spirit too is more ready against being overwhelmed—when can we do this? Shall it be when pleasures, drunkenness, feasting, and the evils which spring from them are present? Do you not see that those who seek to bring out these [precious] stones from the sea do not sit at the seashore count-

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mon. Les 'sermons' cependant, qui existent aussi séparés du Commentaire dans les manuscrits grecs, sont tout a fait du genre de S. Chrysostome quant au style, à l'enchaînement des phrases, etc., tandis que, pour le commentaire, Photius avait déjà remarqué, qu'il s'y trouve un élément étranger à côté de pensées et de phrases absolument chrysostomiennes. Montfaucon fait même cette déclaration: '*revera hae homiliae, licet magnam ubertatem, itemque solitam Chrysostomi inventionis felicitatem prae se ferant, non tamen pari studio accuratoneque concinnatae videntur.*' On peut donc dire que nous avons dans les sermons la forme primitive que S. Chrysostome lui-même leur a donnée, tandis que le commentaire a passé par les mains d'un second rédacteur, qui a réuni les notes des tachygraphes."

<sup>5</sup> Baur, "Chrysostomus in Genesim," *Theologische Quartalschrift* 108 (1927) 221-32.

*Sermon 3 (cont'd)*

themselves into the deep itself, although there is much labor in the search and much danger in the discovery, and after the discovery is there no gain. What great value would the discovery of precious stones bring into our lives? Would that it did not bring great evils! For the upheaval of our lives and that which turns everything upside down is nothing else than money madness. And yet, they expose their body and soul in pursuit of their daily bread, and they boldly brave the waves. But here there is no danger, no labor so tortuous, but slight [demanding] little exertion and only for the preservation of what has been discovered. But what is discovered with facility, to many seems to be contemptible.<sup>6</sup>

*Homily 9 (cont'd)*

ing the waves and thus making their discovery; but they lower themselves into the deep, descending as it were into the very bosom of the abyss to attain what they seek with such labor. And yet, what great value would the discovery of those stones bring into our lives? Would that it did not bring great harm and loss! For from this spring the thousands of evils, from money madness and the frenzy concerning these things. And yet, even though such great loss arises from them, those who are devoted to the pursuit of these spare no effort, but even commit themselves to danger, and they undergo much labor to be able to find what is sought; in the divine Scriptures and in these spiritual and precious stones there is no such danger. . . .<sup>7</sup>

After this passage there follow in Sermon 3 twenty-seven lines<sup>8</sup> of matter unrelated to Homily 9. At this same time, Homily 9 has forty-five lines of unrelated material before the following related passages occur:

*Sermon 3*

Here the gentiles cling closely to us and say that the saying is deceitful. For we do not rule the beasts; they rule us and they implant in us great anxiety. Certainly, then, this is not true. For the very appearance of a human face is enough to make the beasts [run] far away; such a fear of us is in them. If perchance they should rush to ward off an attack, whether it is because they are driven by hunger or because we corner them or attack them necessarily, this would scarcely be perfect dominion on

*Homily 9*

But here the gentiles cling closely to us, saying that the statement is not found to be true. For we do not rule the beasts, as it was promised; but they rule us. Certainly, then, this is not true. For as soon as man appears, immediately the beasts are put to flight. If occasionally either under the pressure of hunger or because we provoke them we incur harm from them, all of this does not happen because of their dominion over us but because of our own fault. For when thieves attack us, if we are

<sup>6</sup> *Sermo 3 in Genesim 1* (PG 54, 590).

<sup>7</sup> *Homilia 9 in Genesim 1* (PG 53, 76).

<sup>8</sup> Here and elsewhere lines are counted as found in the Savile text: Henricus Savilius, *S. Johannis Chrysostomi Opera omnia* (8 vols.; Eton, 1613).

*Sermon 3 (cont'd)*

their part. If one of us, seeing thieves attacking, arms himself and goes to the attack, this too would not be a matter of domination but simply great foresight for one's own welfare.

Following the above are the passages which are the Greek of the quotation which was found in Augustine. There intervene two lines in Sermon 3 and twenty-six lines in Homily 9. The passage quoted in Augustine consists of twenty-three lines in the version of Sermon 3 and twenty-eight lines in the Homily 9 version. The similarity between Sermon 3 and Homily 9 continues on for the following approximately twenty-eight lines in the Savile text:

*Sermon 3*

For when men both in disobedience and obedience enjoy the same honor, they are trained rather to malice and do not readily withdraw from evil. For if when terrors, vengeance, and punishment are imminent, they do not allow themselves to grow wise, what would they have been if they had suffered nothing for the horrible faults they committed? Hence it is evident that God in His care for us and in His wisdom deprived us of this mastery. But even here I say you should consider His ineffable kindness. Adam indeed upset the order completely and transgressed against the law, but God did not completely destroy his authority nor did He deprive him of all power; but he exempted from his rule only those living beings which do not contribute greatly to the needs of his life; but those which are necessary and useful and which offer much service for our life, these He permitted to remain in our service. He left the herds of cattle, so that we might draw the plow, cultivate the earth, sow the seeds; He left [different] types of beasts of burden to help us in

*Homily 9 (cont'd)*

not slothful but arm ourselves, it is not a proof of their rule over us but of foresight for our own welfare.

*Homily 9*

For when men both in disobedience and obedience enjoy the same honor, they are trained rather to malice and do not quickly withdraw from evil. For if even when terrors, vengeance, and punishment are imminent, they do not allow themselves to grow wise, what would they have been if they had suffered nothing for the horrible faults they committed? Hence it is evident that He in His care for us and in His wisdom deprived us of this mastery. But you, my beloved, even from this should consider His kindness, how Adam indeed upset the order completely and transgressed against the entire law, but God in His kindness overcoming our crimes with His goodness did not completely destroy his authority nor did He deprive him of all of his absolute sway; but he exempted from his rule only those living beings which do not contribute greatly to the needs of his life; but those which are necessary and useful and which offer much service for our life, these He permitted to remain in our service. He left, at any rate, the

*Sermon 3 (cont'd)*

the transporting of burdens. He left us the flocks of sheep, that we might have a sufficient abundance of garments for clothing; He left us also other species of animals which are of great use for other needs. For when in punishing man He said: "In the sweat of your brow you will eat your bread," that this sweat and toil and labor be not unbearable, He lightened the weight and burden of the sweat by a multitude of beasts suited to help us in our labor and this hardship. Just as a kind and careful master offers some relief for the scourging after he has punished his servant, even so after imposing the sentence God wishes to make this sentence easier in every way; for while He condemns us to sweat and everlasting labor, He also prepares for us many species of beasts suited to help in this labor. For all these we will thank Him.

*Homily 9 (cont'd)*

herds of cattle, so that we might draw the plow, plow up the earth, and sow the seeds. He left also [different] types of beasts of burden to help in the transporting of our burdens. He left us the flocks of sheep, that we might have a sufficient abundance of clothes to put on; He left us also other species of animals supplying us with a great abundance. For when in punishing man for his disobedience He said: "In the sweat of your brow you will eat your bread," that this sweat and labor be not unbearable, He lightened the weight and burden of the sweat by a multitude of beasts suited to help us in our labor and hardship. He has done the same thing that a kind and careful master would do who in punishing his servant offers also some relief for the scourging. Thus indeed after imposing the sentence, God too wishes to make this sentence easier in every way; for while He condemns us to sweat and everlasting labor, He also prepares for us many species of beasts suited to help in this labor. Whoever investigates carefully and with good intent the fact that He first gave this authority and then took it away and all the rest, such a one is full of great wisdom, foresight, and kindness. For all these things let us thank Him.

After these passages there follows in Sermon 3 a section of five lines which brings this sermon to a close. In Homily 9 the concluding passage is fifty-seven lines in length. Altogether there are about forty-seven lines in Sermon 3 that find no counterpart in Homily 9 in either wording or thought; about 140 lines of Homily 9 find no counterpart in Sermon 3.

The case for the *Sermones in Genesim* as a first recension of the *Homiliae in Genesim* finds further support in additional similarities between the Sermons and the Homilies. Thus, Sermon 1 has some similar subject matter to that of Homily 2. Sermon 2 has echoes in Homily 8. Sermon 3 has already been

demonstrated as a close approximation of Homily 9, or vice versa. Sermon 4 is similar to Sermon 2 and consequently is also related to Homily 8. Sermons 6 and 7 are somewhat similar to Homilies 15 and 18. These similarities verge on identity in the following:

*Sermon 1* (Sav. 5, 3, 1.35)

... from earth come mud, bricks, pottery, and jugs; no one has seen flesh made from earth. How, then, was the nature of flesh formed? How were the bones shaped, how the nerves, the veins, the arteries? How, then, the membranes, the fat, the flesh, the skin, the nails, the hair, and all that diversity of substances from that one substratum earth? Certainly you can't tell me this.

*Sermon 2* (Sav. 5, 6, 1.36)

... who, then, indeed is he who is about to be created, that he should enjoy such honor? It is man, that great and marvelous living being and one who is more honored in God's sight than all creation; on whose account exist heaven and earth and sea and the rest of creation.

*Sermon 2* (Sav. 5, 7, 1.14)

... you say, then, he spoke to an angel and archangel. What angel? What archangel? For it is not the function of angels to create nor of archangels to perform these works. Therefore, when He made the heavens, He did not speak to an angel and archangel, but He brought forth by Himself. When indeed He brought forth that living being more honored than the heavens and all the world, man, then He made men as sharers of His creation.

*Homily 2* (Sav. 1, 9, 1.6)

... from earth come mud, bricks, earthen pots, and jugs; how, then, was the nature of flesh formed? How the bones, and nerves and arteries, and fat, and skin, nails and hair, and from one supporting material the qualities of diverse substances?

*Homily 8* (Sav. 1, 46, 1.26)

... what strange thing is this? What so unusual? Who, then, is he who is being created, that for his creation there is need of such thought and circumspection on the part of the Creator? Don't be astonished, beloved. For man is the most honored of all visible beings; on his account all these things were brought forth: heaven, earth, sea, sun, moon, stars, creeping things, swimming things, all brute animals.

*Homily 8* (Sav. 1, 47, 1.10)

... he says this to an angel, they say, or an archangel. Such folly! Such great shamelessness! How could it be logical for the Master to make an angel a share of His counsel, the Creator [to make] a creature [His confidant]? It is not the function of angels to be sharers in God's counsel, but to stand by and perform His bidding.

Strong as the case may seem to be, the evidence is not all one-sided. There are several things that need to be considered. As one can see in the above, even in those passages it is not all identity. When one considers the bulk of the *Sermones in Genesim* and of the *Homiliae in Genesim*, the amount of identical material shrinks into its proper background and becomes practically negligible. Sermon 3 has verbal agreement with the homilies actually only here and there. Sermons 4 and 5 have practically no verbal agreement with any of the homilies. Sermon 6 has only a similarity of ideas. Sermon 9 is principally identical with Homily 39, but without verbal identity. What is the reason for the similarities that do exist? Here the obvious answer is the only one which can be supported by the evidence. Both series by their very name are professedly works on the first book of the Bible. It is only natural that for the same given scriptural passage there should be a similar treatment. This is a better explanation than the supposition that Chrysostom preached only the one series of nine sermons, and then from it by inclusion of stenographic notes in some cryptic manner there arose the sixty-seven homilies. Such a process certainly ignores the fact that there is many a link missing. A second recension of this nature does not explain the similarities in the two series; in fact, it leaves even more unexplained the actual lack of extensive identity. After all, both series are on Genesis. In explaining a scriptural passage, it is unlikely that the author will invent new meanings for passages whose interpretation was to a great extent fixed in the leading schools of hermeneutics. Chrysostom was a follower of the Antioch school of scriptural interpretation. As a pupil of Diodore of Tarsus and a fellow student of Theodore of Mopsuestia, he subscribed to the literal interpretation of the Scriptures begun by Didymus the Blind in opposition to the extravagance of the Alexandrian school. Subsequent events in Church history cast a cloud upon both Diodore and Theodore; consequently, much of their considerable output has disappeared. Their exegetical work on Genesis is not extant.<sup>9</sup> Even in different authors similarities can be expected where the background in scriptural training was the same.

Objections that Chrysostom probably did not prepare and deliver a sermon verbatim, or that he did not repeat the same material in different sermons, are but assumptions. The fact that in a particular sermon he alludes to the lighting of the lamps, which was distracting the congregation from his instruction, proves not so much the extempore character of the sermon, but rather demonstrates the master preacher who takes advantage of accidental occurrences in order to introduce them into an already prepared though not necessarily written sermon.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Berthold Altaner, *Patrology*, tr. Hilda C. Graef (New York, 1960) *passim*.

The repetition of portions of previous sermons or homilies is not an unusual event reserved only to the *Sermones in Genesis* and the *Homiliae in Genesis*. Without too great an effort one can find several examples of repetition throughout the works of Chrysostom. Those which are offered below were discovered simply by referring to an index of first lines. The similarity between Sermon 3 and Homily 9 did not begin with identical or even similar lines. One can only imagine the possibilities for similarity and identity yet to be discovered. There are examples of doublets, i.e., two sermons completely identical. Thus, Chrysostom's Homily 8 on 1 Thessalonians<sup>10</sup> is identical, word for word, with his Sermon for Pentecost Saturday.<sup>11</sup> It is most probable that such similarity is merely the result of poor cataloguing. This would be especially suspected when individual sermons are found to be completely identical with sermons in a series; such is the case of most doublets. It is unlikely that they were given on two occasions.

In Homily 20 of Chrysostom's Homilies on the Epistle to the Hebrews there is found practical identity with the first portion of Homily 123 of Chrysostom's separate homilies.

*Homily 20 on Hebrews (Sav. 4, 533)*

Trees which have been planted and have enjoyed the hand and other care of the farmers but do not furnish a return for the toil, are utterly uprooted and are thrown into the fire. Something like this happens in baptism. For when Christ plants us and we receive spiritual irrigation and then we demonstrate an unfruitful life, the fire of Gehenna and the unquenchable flame awaits us. . . . For Paul, moreover, inviting us to charity and to the fruitfulness of good works and urging us on by better things (what were these? the fact that we have such an entrance into the holies and the new way which He inaugurated for us) and by sadder ones, does this same thing again, speaking in this manner. For when he said, do not abandon our gathering, as is the custom for some, but entreat [one another] even for this which

<sup>10</sup> Savile 4, 198.

*Homily 123 of collected hom.  
(Sav. 5, 807)*

Trees which have been planted and have enjoyed other care and required the hands and toil of farmers but do not furnish a return for the toil, are utterly uprooted and are thrown into the fire. Something like this happens in baptism. For when Christ plants us and we receive spiritual irrigation and then we show forth no fruit, the fire of Gehenna and the unquenchable flame awaits us. For Paul, moreover, inviting us to charity and to the fruitfulness of good works and urging us on by better things (what were these? the fact that we have an entrance into the holies and the new and living way which He inaugurated for us) and by sadder ones, does this same thing again, speaking in this manner. For when he said, do not abandon our gathering, as is the custom for some,

<sup>11</sup> Savile 6, 858.

*Homily 20 (cont'd)*

indeed is sufficient entreaty, he added: "For if we have sinned voluntarily after accepting a knowledge of the truth, there is no longer left a victim for sins, .....

*[intervening portion of 54 lines]*

... that is to be feared; to fall into the hands of men, this is nothing. When we see someone being punished here, he says, let us not be fearful over the present, but let us shudder over the future. For in accordance with His mercy, both His anger and His rage will come to rest upon sinners.

*Homily 123 (cont'd)*

but entreat [one another] even for this reason the more that you see the day approaching, and this which is entreaty enough, he added saying: "For if we have sinned voluntarily after accepting knowledge of the truth, there is no longer left a victim for sins, .....

*[intervening portion of 50 lines]*

... that is to be feared, but this is nothing. When we see someone being punished here, let us not shudder over the future. For in accordance with His mercy, both His anger and His rage will come to rest upon sinners.

The above is but a portion of the seventy-one lines of Homily 20 and the sixty-seven lines of Homily 123 in which these two sermons are all but identical. What follows this is completely different in the two sermons. A few lines of this material is offered here to show the different tangents taken:

At the same time he hints at another thing here, because he says: "Mine is the vengeance; I shall repay." This has been said in regard to enemies who do evil and not those who suffer evil. Thereupon he even encourages them saying in effect: "God remains above all and lives so that even if they do not receive [their reward] now, they will receive it later. . . ."

But I am reminded of the holy mysteries, I wish to say a few words to you who have remembered, few indeed in extent but having great force and value. For the words are not ours but of the Spirit of God. What are they? Many receive Communion only once. . . .

It is not difficult to see the lack of identity or even of similarity in the few lines given above. This lack of identity and similarity in words and thoughts continues to the end of each of the two sermons. This itself demonstrates that it is not one and the same sermon given twice, but rather two separate works using some common material. Homily 20 on the Epistle to the Hebrews continues with 107 lines of matter differing from that of Homily 123. This in turn continues with 254 lines of its own material.

Several lines of Homily 11 of the group of homilies which Savile considers as probably spurious agree with a similar number of lines in Homily 19 of

the same group. Homily 11 is 109 lines in length. Homily 19 consists of 166 lines. Beyond the few lines where they agree, they are completely different.

*Homily 2 (Sav. 7, 272)*

Just as the moonlight, brightening the darkness of night and shedding its beauty both for sailors and wayfarers by land and sea, marks out an unhindered course for each, so the disciple of the Church, seeing distinctly after the manner of the moon the splendor of the knowledge of God, accompanies both those who on the sea of this life search for pleasures and those who walk in the way of Christ in truth. . . .

*Homily 19 (Sav. 7, 414)*

Just as the moonlight, brightening the darkness of night and shedding its beauty both for sailors and wayfarers by land and sea, marks out an unhindered course for each, so the Lord says to the paralytic on the Sabbath: "Take up your cot and walk and go to your house. . . ."

One can also find many identical passages in Chrysostom's letters. Here it is probably quite natural, especially in introductory sentences. Such is the case for Chrysostom's letter to Sebastian the priest, and that to Euthio. Witness also Letter 1 to Olympias and Letter 143 (to Bishop Cyriacus):

*Letter 1 to Olympias (Sav. 7, 51)*

Come now, I am going to lessen the ache of your despondency and dispel the thoughts that are fostering this cloud. What is it that oppresses your thoughts, why do you grieve and why are you downcast? Is it because the storm which has come upon the Church is fierce and gloomy, and has changed all into moonless night, and day by day it increases, giving rise to bitter shipwrecks, and the final destruction of the earth grows apace? I know this too, sister, and no one will contradict you. But if you wish, I will picture the future for you and thereby make your tragedy more plain. We see the sea churned up from its very depths, dead sailors floating on the waves, others slipping under the waters, the planks of the ships breaking up, the sails in shreds, the masts shattered, the oars. . . .

*Letter 143, to Cyriacus (Sav. 7, 168)*

Come now, I am going to lessen the ache of your despondency and dispel the thoughts that are forming this cloud. What is it that grieves and discourages you? Is it because the storm which has come upon the Church is hard to bear and the shipwreck is bitter? This too I know, and no one will contradict you. But if you wish, I will picture the future. I see the sea raging, churned up from its very depths, the sailors grasping their knees with their hands instead of the rudders and oars, and at a loss for the violence of the storm; looking at neither sky nor sea nor land, they lie on the planks weeping and crying. These things indeed happen at sea. But now upon our sea also a worse storm and greater waves arise. . . .

There is agreement and almost identity for the few lines above, and then the two letters go their divergent ways. Letter 1 to Olympias continues with 193 different lines, and Letter 143, to Cyriacus, with 103 lines.

This evidence was discovered readily by referring to an index of first lines. There are, no doubt, other parallel passages yet to be discovered which were not immediately noticeable because they do not begin with the same lines. From the evidence one concludes that the relationship between the Homilies on Genesis and the Sermons consists in this, that where there is close agreement, or even verbatim agreement, that portion was taken from the common substratum of Chrysostom's experience as a preacher and from the common fund of scriptural interpretation inherited from his training. The Homilies as a whole are an independent work of Chrysostom's, somewhat influenced by a previous work of his own. Partial repetitions triggered by similarity of circumstance are no surprise to any teacher-preacher of many years.

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