

The City and Its Teacher

Edited by
JONATHAN STUTZ

*Studien und Texte zu
Antike und Christentum*

Mohr Siebeck

Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum Studies and Texts in Antiquity and Christianity

Herausgeber/Editors

LIV INGEBORG LIED (Oslo) · CHRISTOPH MARKSCHIES (Berlin)
MARTIN WALLRAFF (München) · CHRISTIAN WILDBERG (Pittsburgh)

Beirat/Advisory Board

PETER BROWN (Princeton) · SUSANNA ELM (Berkeley)
JOHANNES HAHN (Münster) · EMANUELA PRINZIVALLI (Rom)
JÖRG RÜPKE (Erfurt)

142



The City and Its Teacher

The Funerary Oration for John Chrysostom and its
Historical Context

Edited by
Jonathan Stutz

Mohr Siebeck

Jonathan Stutz, born 1986; 2016 PhD; Assistant at the Faculty for Protestant Theology at the Ludwig-Maximilians Universität in Munich; Visiting Professor at the department for Ancient Christianity at the Faculty of Theology at the Humboldt-Universität in Berlin.
orcid.org/0009-0000-3204-6327

ISBN 978-3-16-164792-5 / eISBN 978-3-16-164793-2

DOI 10.1628/978-3-16-164793-2

ISSN 1436-3003 / eISSN 2568-7433 (Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum)

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie; detailed bibliographic data are available at <https://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2025 Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen.

This book may not be reproduced, in whole or in part, in any form (beyond that permitted by copyright law) without the publisher's written permission. This applies particularly to reproductions, translations and storage and processing in electronic systems.

The right to use the content of this volume for the purpose of text and data mining within the meaning of Section 44b UrhG (Urheberrechtsgesetz) is expressly reserved.

Printed on non-aging paper.

Mohr Siebeck GmbH & Co. KG, Wilhelmstraße 18, 72074 Tübingen, Germany
www.mohrsiebeck.com, info@mohrsiebeck.com

Foreword

The following collection of essays focuses on a specific source: the *Oratio funebris* in honor of John Chrysostom by Pseudo-Martyrius. Allegedly delivered upon the arrival of news of the exiled bishop's death, or shortly thereafter, this speech is considered a valuable source for reconstructing the religious conflicts that impacted the city of Constantinople at the dawn of the 5th century. While the anonymous author does not provide an impartial account of the events and clearly expresses support for John Chrysostom, the historical significance of this testimony is unquestionable. The *Oratio funebris* provides crucial insights into the rhetorical strategies employed to legitimize and delegitimize violence, reinterprets the suffering of John Chrysostom in a way that opens new avenues for action within the Johannite community, and offers a distinctive portrayal of the new Roman capital in light of the events it describes. This source is particularly well suited for analysis from diverse perspectives and disciplinary backgrounds. This was, in fact, a key motivation for organizing the workshop held in Munich in 2022, during which the following papers were presented and discussed. The participation of scholars from various countries is further reflected in the inclusion of articles written in French. This latter feature is closely tied to the forthcoming new edition and translation of the *Oratio funebris* in the *Sources Chrétiennes* series. I am deeply grateful to the Fritz Thyssen Stiftung for their generous support of the conference, and I extend my heartfelt thanks to St. Markus Church in Munich for kindly hosting the event.

Berlin, July 5, 2025

Jonathan Stutz

Table of contents

Foreword	V
Abbreviations	IX
Introduction	1
<i>Martin Wallraff</i> Who wrote the <i>Oratio funebris</i> for St. John Chrysostom?	9
<i>Christophe Guignard</i> Les débuts de Jean Chrysostome à Constantinople (Pseudo-Martyrios, <i>Oratio funebris</i> , §§ 16–18) Problèmes de traduction, d’interprétation et questions historiques	25
<i>Guillaume Bady</i> Les <i>exempla</i> bibliques dans l’ <i>Oratio funebris</i> du Pseudo-Martyrios et d’autres écrits sur Jean Chrysostome	49
<i>Albrecht Berger</i> The <i>Oratio funebris</i> and its topography	69
<i>Peter Van Nuffelen</i> Murder he wrote. Violence in Pseudo-Martyrius	83
<i>Jonathan Stutz</i> The <i>Oratio funebris</i> and the politics of communion	95
<i>Jennifer Barry</i> Gender, violence, and false friends in the <i>Oratio funebris</i>	109
<i>Florian Wöller</i> Transforming and transcending Constantinople John Chrysostom and Pseudo-Martyrios on street processions	121

Table of contents

VIII

List of authors	143
Index of quotations.....	145
Bible	145
Ancient texts	147
Modern authors	152
Index of topics.....	154
Map: Constantinople in the age of John Chrysostom.....	157

Abbreviations

ACCS.OT	<i>Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture: Old Testament</i> , eds. Thomas C. Oden <i>et al.</i> , 15 vols., Downers Grove, Ill: InterVarsity Press, 2001–2010
CPG	<i>Clavis Patrum Graecorum</i> , eds. Maurice Geerard <i>et al.</i> , Turnhout: Brepols, 1974–2003
CPL	<i>Clavis Patrum Latinorum</i> , third edition, eds. Eligius Dekkers <i>et al.</i> , Turnhout: Brepols, 2008
CSEL	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i>
FC	<i>Fontes Christiani</i>
GCS	Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte
NPNF	<i>A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church</i> , eds. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, Edinburgh 1886–1900
PG	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus, series graeca</i> , ed. Jacques Paul Migne, Paris 1857–1866
PL	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina</i> , ed. Jacques Paul Migne, Paris 1841–1855
SC	Sources Chrétiennes

Introduction

The *Oratio funebris* as a monument of a violent city?

Jonathan Stutz

Among the religious conflicts which marked the history of late antique Christianity, the violent episodes surrounding the deposition of John Chrysostom stand out for several reasons: not only did they pit some of the most influential ecclesiastical figures against each other, but they are also attested in quite a number of contemporary sources. Because of its proximity to the imperial court and the rise in importance of the capital's bishop within Christendom, this conflict radiated out to other cities and disturbed the tranquility of the empire. At the same time, the conflict attests to, and must be included in, Constantinople's own history of religious violence. Most famous in this respect are certainly the violent conflicts between the supporters of Paul of Constantinople and Macedonius in the 330s and 40s.¹ As Rebecca Stephens Falcasantos has formulated it in her recent monograph on the making of the new Christian capital, religious conflict and the escalation of violence repeatedly affected the unity of the city's Christian community, "as the relationship between imperial power and ecclesiastical authority shifted and inverted."² The anonymous *Oratio funebris* for John Chrysostom will have summoned to its audience's remembrances their experience with the volatile state of the city's security; this speech, which is the focus of the present collection of essays, offers a gloomy picture of how the religious conflicts of its author's own day affected the city's image. Although the oration does not neglect the splendor radiating out from the symbols of political authority, his perception of the city is clearly shaped by the visible presence of soldiers and police forces:

¹ See T. D. BARNES, *Athanasius and Constantius: Theology and Politics in the Constantinian Empire* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 212–217; G. DAGRON, *Naissance d'une capitale. Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451*, *BiblByz* 7 (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1974), 425–442; A. SKINNER, "Violence at Constantinople in A.D. 341–2 and Themistius, *Oration* 1", *JRS* 105 (2015), 234–249; B. ISELE, *Kampf um Kirchen. Religiöse Gewalt, Heiliger Raum und christliche Topographie in Alexandria und Konstantinopel (4. Jh.)*, *JbAC* 4 (Münster: Aschendorff, 2010), 33–50; and R. STEPHENS FALCASANTOS, *Constantinople: Ritual, Violence, and Memory in the Making of a Christian Imperial Capital*, *CLA* 9 (Oakland CA: University of California Press, 2020), 74–109.

² STEPHENS FALCASANTOS, *The Making of a Christian Imperial Capital*, 76.

Seeing a great and populous city, greater than all those that lie under the sun, inferior to one city alone – I speak here of the city of Constantinople, the daughter of Rome, in which is set the throne of the emperor, which persuades those from everywhere who need help to look to it, where there is a multitude of magistrates, since the emperor is present, and crowds of soldiers, and of men bearing shields and spears, whose units one would not easily count.³

Although the speech has traditionally been attributed to Martyrius of Antioch, there is general scholarly agreement that it was composed and put into circulation very soon after the bishop's death in exile on the 14th of September, 407. For this reason, the *Oratio funebris* has been rightfully regarded as one of the key sources for the reconstruction of Chrysostom's episcopal career, adding an invaluable testimony to those from the bishop himself, such as his letters to Innocent and Olympias, as well as to those offered by the *Dialogue* of Palladius and the church histories of Socrates and Sozomen. To these sources we must add the four homilies on Chrysostom's first exile, which are attributed to John himself but which have raised questions of authenticity; the proceedings of the Council of the Oak, as transmitted by Photius; and the *Life* of John Chrysostom, attributed to George of Alexandria.⁴ Because of the wide coverage received by these events and because of the many problems involved in untangling their divergent claims, much ink has been spilled on this troublesome chapter of Constantinople's history.⁵

While the writings of Chrysostom himself, Palladius, Socrates, and Sozomen have traditionally enjoyed prominent roles in the reconstruction of the events surrounding Chrysostom's deposition and exile, the *Oratio funebris* has been something of a latecomer to the group, not only because the text has

³ *Oratio funebris* § 13, ed. M. Wallraff and transl. C. Ricci, *Oratio funebris in laudem Sancti Iohannis Chrysostomi: epitaffio attribuito a Martirio di Antiochia (BHG 871, CPG 6517)*, Quaderni della Rivista di Bizantinistica 12 (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2007), 56.58: Καὶ ἰδὼν πόλιν μεγάλην καὶ πολυάνθρωπον, πασῶν μὲν τῶν ὑφ' ἡλίῳ κειμένων μειζονα μιᾶς δὲ ἐλαττουμένην μόνης – περὶ τῆς Κωνσταντίνου πόλεως φημι, τῆς θυγατρὸς Ῥώμης, ἐν ἧ βασιλείῳ μὲν ἱδρύεται θρόνος τοῦ ἀπανταχόθεν βοηθείας δεομένους εἰς αὐτὸν πείθων ὄραν, πληθὸς τε ἀρχόντων, ὡς βασιλείῳ παρόντος, στρατιωτῶν δὲ καὶ ὑπασπιστῶν καὶ δορυφόρων δῆμοι, ὧν οὐδὲ τὰ τάγματα τις ἀριθμήσαιο ῥᾶδιον. Transl. T. D. BARNES and G. BEVAN, *The Funerary Speech for John Chrysostom*, TTH 60 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013), 45.

⁴ For a more detailed overview and discussion see BARNES and BEVAN, *The Funerary Speech*, 15–24.

⁵ A few of the many noteworthy works are T. E. GREGORY, *Vox populi: Popular Opinion and Violence in the Religious Controversies of the Fifth Century A.D.* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1979), 41–79; C. TIERSCH, *Johannes Chrysostomus in Konstantinopel (398–404). Weltsicht und Wirken eines Bischofs in der Hauptstadt des oströmischen Reiches*, STAC 6 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000); and R. PFEILSCHIFTER, *Der Kaiser und Konstantinopel. Kommunikation und Konfliktaustrag in einer spätantiken Metropole*, MSt 44 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), 301–306 and 383–394.

not been accessible by means of a modern edition until recently, but also because of its dubious authorship and its many idiosyncrasies. For example, it defies classification into any particular rhetorical genre: as Barnes and Bevan point out in the introduction to their translation, it can be considered neither a “life” of Chrysostom in the classical sense of the term, nor a “panegyric” focusing on the main events of his episcopal career. Rather, it presents itself as an encomium that was delivered after news of John’s death reached the capital, in the absence of his body (§ 136).⁶

At any rate, despite this strong internal evidence for an early composition, the *Oratio funebris* has until recently slipped under the radar of modern Chrysostom scholarship.⁷ Florent Van Ommeslaeghe was the first scholar to provide a complete text of the *Oratio funebris* in his (unpublished) 1974 doctoral dissertation for the Catholic University of Leuven; he was able to prove an early date of composition and, as a corollary, its historical importance for the reconstruction of Chrysostom’s Constantinopolitan career.⁸ In 2007 Martin Wallraff published the first critical edition of the *Oratio funebris*, with an introduction and with an Italian translation by Cristina Ricci; this edition is the first to take all extant manuscripts into account.⁹ Expanding on the insights of Van Ommeslaeghe and Wallraff and also providing an English translation of the text, Timothy Barnes and George Bevan have made the *Oratio funebris* yet more accessible to modern scholars.¹⁰ While Wallraff’s 2007 edition continues to provide contemporary scholarship with the textual basis for any reference to and discussion of the speech, a new edition by the same editor and by Christophe Guignard is already in preparation for the series *Sources Chrétiennes* which will reconsider certain text-critical decisions of the previous edition and include a French translation.

While the historical value and the limits of this text have already been the object of previous research, the contributions delivered at a workshop in Munich (9–10 June 2022) and collected in this volume shift the focus of inquiry to its literary and rhetorical quality and to its specific place within the conflict

⁶ See BARNES and BEVAN, *The Funerary Speech*, 6.

⁷ Cardinal Angelo Mai printed only the oration’s final chapters (*Nova Patrum Bibliotheca*, vol. 2, Rome 1844, 546–551), which provided the material for the Migne edition (*Patrologia Graeca* 47, xliii–lii). Chrysostomus Baur (1876–1962), on the other hand, while initially convinced of the text’s historical value for Chrysostom’s life, eventually came to regard it as a hagiographical text of later date. See on this also BARNES and BEVAN, *The Funerary Speech*, 14–15.

⁸ See F. VAN OMMESLAEGHE, *De lijkrede voor Johannes Chrysostomus, toegeschreven aan Martyrius van Antiochie: tekstuitgave met commentaar, hoofdstukken uit de historische kritiek* (Leuven, 1974), and, for the date, *id.*, “La valeur historique de la Vie de S. Jean Chrysostome attribuée à Martyrius d’Antioche (BHG 871)”, *Studia Patristica* 12 (1975), 478–483, here 481–483.

⁹ See WALLRAFF and RICCI, *Epitaffio*, 1–10.

¹⁰ See especially the introduction in BARNES and BEVAN, *The Funerary Speech*, 1–33.

it purports to describe. Written shortly after news of the exiled bishop's death reached the city and designed for circulation among his followers, it offers in fact a unique perspective on the conflict that led to the split of the community of the Johannites from the official church. Similarly to what has already been observed for the accounts and letters by Chrysostom himself, the *Oratio funebris* can be read in terms of what Wendy Mayer has termed "crisis management," meaning in this case to stabilize a situation where instability could severely threaten the integrity of the community of Chrysostom's partisans.¹¹

This is not to say that the account does not relay actual historical events; quite the contrary, and as will emerge from this volume's various chapters, the way Pseudo-Martyrius treats the personal networks active on the ground and the topographical reality which the conflict inserted itself into presupposed the audience's familiarity with the course of events. Yet at the same time, this particular source shares the biased nature and polemical intent of many late antique sources on religious violence. The modern reader is in fact in the position of being able to read the events from the perspective of a community of believers who were not only contemporary with the events but who also hold some claim to representing John Chrysostom's true legacy. The version of events which this source endorses runs contrary to that promoted by John's adversaries and by the official church hierarchy. At the same time, the story of the bishop's illegal deposition and his martyrdom in exile was also set to reflect the audience's own experience of separation from their former spiritual leader and the experience of persecution by the new Christian hierarchy. Since our source testifies to the very beginning of the Johannite schism, when Chrysostom's legacy was still very much contested by both the official church and the imperial court, its aim substantially differs from that of the narrative offered by Sozomen and Socrates as they wrote after Chrysostom's rehabilitation, being thus "strongly dependent on the official version of events."¹²

A fundamental hermeneutical challenge to this collection of essays will therefore be that of questioning the alleged divide between the historical event and its literary or rhetorical representation. While in past scholarship on religious violence this dichotomy has encouraged approaches that either took the literary sources at face value or dismissed their historical value altogether, recent scholarship has rightfully called attention to the historical value of literary

¹¹ See on this especially W. MAYER, "The Bishop as a Crisis Manager: An Exploration of Early Fifth-Century Episcopal Strategy", in *Studies of Religion and Politics in the Early Christian Centuries*, eds. D. Luckensmeyer and P. Allen, EarChrSt 13 (Strathfield NSW: St Pauls Publication, 2010), 159–171, and *id.*, "John Chrysostom as Crisis Manager. The Years in Constantinople", in *Ancient Jewish and Christian Texts as Crisis Management Literature. Thematic Studies from the Centre for Early Christian Studies*, eds. D. Sim and P. Allen, LNTS 445 (London: T&T Clark, 2012), 129–143.

¹² P. VAN NUFFELEN, "Palladius and the Johannite Schism", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 64 (2013), 1–21, here 3.

representations themselves. If taken as narratives in their own right, in fact, ancient texts have much to say about the perception and definition of violence in a given historical and cultural context, and about where the limits between acceptable and excessive violence run.¹³ At the same time, representations of violence are also part of the conflict they describe, as mentioned above, and are designed in such a way as to guide the audience's interpretation of the events and solicit a particular response. There are many potential examples besides the *Oratio funebris*; to name but one, the influential apologetical treatises of Athanasius of Alexandria offer much food for thought about the specific rhetorical function of literary representation of violence. His accounts of the attacks on church buildings and defenseless virgins were calculated to shock the hearer and induce him or her to take a particular position within the conflict. Athanasius's approach stood as a precedent for later writers such as Ambrose of Milan and the author of the *Oratio funebris*.

The papers collected in this volume are grouped into three sections dedicated to questions related to the rhetorical and literary aspects of the text itself and to the two main themes of violence and exile. Since the *Oratio funebris*'s rhetorical characteristics bear on important interpretative issues, it will be necessary to address them in their own right in the first section of the volume. In the opening chapter, MARTIN WALLRAFF ("Who wrote the *Oratio funebris* for St. John Chrysostom?") addresses the problem of authorship. While it is nowadays accepted that the attribution to Martyrius of Antioch can be rejected on various grounds, there is a series of other hypotheses which merit discussion, since they also affect the interpretation of the specific claims in the account.

The following two contributions address rhetorical aspects bearing on the interpretation of the narrative. Some of the linguistic problems are addressed by CHRISTOPHE GUIGNARD ("Les débuts de Jean Chrysostome à Constantinople") on Pseudo-Martyrius's portrayal of John's first years in Constantinople. He also attempts to determine the identity of the "Syrian" bishop mentioned at one point in the speech and will evaluate the opinion that this rival ought to be identified with Severianus of Gabala. With a view to the account's stylistic make-up, GUILLAUME BADY ("Les *exempla* bibliques dans l'*Oratio funebris* du Pseudo-Martyrius et d'autres écrits sur Jean Chrysostome") discusses the biblical allusions permeating the speech, as the *Oratio funebris*'s author patterns the characters involved in the conflict, first among them Eudoxia, on well-known biblical models, which allows him to place the events against the backdrop of biblical history. At the same time, the polemical scope that the use of

¹³ See M. ZIMMERMANN, "Violence in Late Antiquity Reconsidered", in *Violence in Late Antiquity: Perceptions and Practices*, eds. H. A. Drake et al. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 343–357, esp. 355, as well as the very useful overview of previous literature on violence in *id.*, "Zur Deutung von Gewaltdarstellungen", in *Extreme Formen von Gewalt in Bild und Text des Altertums*, ed. M. Zimmermann, 2nd, revised edition (Munich: utzverlag, 2022), 7–46.

such biblical *exempla* displays can offer a profitable point of departure for comparison with other authors who report on Chrysostom's life, such as Palladius, the church historians Socrates and Sozomen, and the *Vita* attributed to George of Alexandria.

The second section of the volume, which gravitates more closely around the theme of violence, begins with a paper by ALBRECHT BERGER ("The *Oratio funebris* and its topography") on the city of Constantinople, a city with its own history of religious violence and the one where the origin of the Johannite schism is situated. This chapter highlights in particular how, on the one hand, the capital's history of religious violence shaped its sacred topography and how, on the other hand, the venues and monuments mentioned by the funeral oration relate to what we know from Byzantine sources. The map of Constantinople appended to the end of the book serves as a valuable reference for this chapter as well as for the topographical allusions present throughout the rest of the studies.

This discussion will offer a useful point of departure from which to discuss one of the oration's primary aims, which according to PETER VAN NUFFELEN ("Murder he wrote. Violence in Pseudo-Martyrius") is that of delegitimizing the use of violence on the part of Chrysostom's adversaries. By casting the initiative of those responsible for the bishop's exile and death in terms of persecution and even murder, Pseudo-Martyrius's narrative can be read, in fact, as a narrative displaying a performative function with a view to warning the reader against taking the side of John's adversaries. In my own contribution ("The *Oratio funebris* and the politics of communion") I discuss a second strategy employed by the anonymous author, namely that of casting the schismatic church of the Johannites as the capital's only legitimate church, and so arguing against the official church's attempt to force John's followers back into communion with the new ecclesiastical hierarchy.

On the intersecting themes of violence and exile, JENNIFER BARRY ("Gender, violence, and false friends in the *Oratio funebris*") will examine the author's use of the biblical figure Jezebel in his portrayal of Chrysostom's chief imperial enemy, the empress Eudoxia, and help us think about exilic discourse, gender violence, and the legacy of persecuted prophets. At the same time, the use of the biblical story also reveals a more dangerous foe, the heretical bishop Atticus, and elevates its hero to the roles of both a prophet on the run and a condemned innocent man. FLORIAN WÖLLER ("Transforming and transcending Constantinople. John Chrysostom and Pseudo-Martyrius on street processions") will treat Pseudo-Martyrius's description of Chrysostom's return from his first exile, which is cast as a triumphal procession into the city. As the paper argues, the anonymous author availed himself of the political and religious connotations associated with this imagery in order to mark, on the horizontal axis, a new Christian community; at the same time, this transformation of the

city is also driven by a vertical movement aimed at a spiritual realm that transcends the earthly city.

Literature

Sources and translations

Oratio funebris in laudem Sancti Iohannis Chrysostomi: epitaffio attribuito a Martirio di Antiochia (BHG 871, CPG 6517) ed. Martin Wallraff and Cristina Ricci (Quaderni della Rivista di Bizantinistica 12), Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2007.

The Funerary Speech for John Chrysostom, transl. by Timothy D. Barnes and George Bevan (Translated Texts for Historians 60), Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013.

Secondary literature

Barnes, Timothy D.: *Athanasius and Constantius: Theology and Politics in the Constantinian Empire*, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1993.

Dagron, Gilbert: *Naissance d'une capitale. Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451* (Bibliothèque byzantine 7), Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1974.

Gregory, Timothy E.: *Vox populi: Popular Opinion and Violence in the Religious Controversies of the Fifth Century A.D.*, Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1979.

Isele, Bernd: *Kampf um Kirchen. Religiöse Gewalt, Heiliger Raum und christliche Topographie in Alexandria und Konstantinopel (4. Jh.)* (Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum 4), Münster: Aschendorff, 2010.

Mayer, Wendy: "The Bishop as a Crisis Manager: An Exploration of Early Fifth-Century Episcopal Strategy", in *Studies of Religion and Politics in the Early Christian Centuries*, eds. David Luckensmeyer and Pauline Allen (Early Christian Studies 13), Strathfield NSW: St Pauls Publication, 2010, 159–171.

Mayer, Wendy: "John Chrysostom as Crisis Manager: The Years in Constantinople", in *Ancient Jewish and Christian Texts as Crisis Management Literature. Thematic Studies from the Centre for Early Christian Studies*, eds. David Sim and Pauline Allen (Library of New Testament Studies 445), London: T&T Clark, 2012, 129–143.

Pfeilschifter, Rene: *Der Kaiser und Konstantinopel. Kommunikation und Konfliktaustrag in einer spätantiken Metropole* (Millennium Studien 44), Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014.

Skinner, Alexander: "Violence at Constantinople in A.D. 341–2 and Themistius, Oration 1", *The Journal of Roman Studies* 105 (2015), 234–249.

Stephens Falcasantos, Rebecca: *Constantinople: Ritual, Violence, and Memory in the Making of a Christian Imperial Capital* (Christianity in late antiquity 9), Oakland CA: University of California Press, 2020.

Tiersch, Claudia: *Johannes Chrysostomus in Konstantinopel (398–404). Weltsicht und Wirken eines Bischofs in der Hauptstadt des oströmischen Reiches* (Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum 6), Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000.

Van Nuffelen, Peter: "Palladius and the Johannite Schism", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 64 (2013), 1–21.

- Van Ommeslaeghe, Florent: *De lijkrede voor Johannes Chrysostomus, toegeschreven aan Martyrius van Antiochie: tekstuitgave met commentaar, hoofdstukken uit de historische kritiek* (unpublished dissertation), Leuven, 1974.
- Van Ommeslaeghe, Florent: “La valeur historique de la Vie de S. Jean Chrysostome attribuée à Martyrius d’Antioche (BHG 871)”, *Studia Patristica* 12 (1975), 478–483.
- Zimmermann, Martin: “Violence in Late Antiquity Reconsidered”, in *Violence in Late Antiquity: Perceptions and Practices*, eds. Harold A. Drake *et al.*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006, 343–357.
- Zimmermann, Martin: “Zur Deutung von Gewaltdarstellungen”, in *Extreme Formen von Gewalt in Bild und Text des Altertums*, ed. Martin Zimmermann, 2nd revised edition, Munich: utzverlag, 2022, 7–4.

Who wrote the *Oratio funebris* for St. John Chrysostom?

Martin Wallraff

In the Orthodox Church, the main feast of St. John Chrysostom is on the 13th of November. Why is he not commemorated on the day of his death, like so many other saints and martyrs? That would be the 14th of September, the day on which the saint died on the way to his Armenian exile in 407. The first part of the answer is obvious: the September date would clash with the feast of the exaltation of the Holy Cross and is, therefore, not liturgically feasible. But this does not explain the date in November. What happened on that particular day? Nothing, as far as we can tell. No event in the biography of St. John Chrysostom is linked to this date.¹

There may, however, be an event shortly after John's death that took place on the 13th of November. Florent Van Ommeslaeghe has argued that this was the day when the last remaining supporters of John assembled in or near Constantinople to commemorate their bishop and teacher and bid him farewell, since an actual funeral in Constantinople was not possible.² The saint had died in a small place more than 1000 km from the capital, and with his death all hope for a second triumphal return of the bishop to his see had faded. It took time for the message of John's death to arrive in Constantinople. The first rumours might have started two or three weeks after his passing (i.e., in early October), but it was not until late October that all doubts were dispelled. Only a few core aficionados maintained the suspicion that enemies had fabricated John's death to break the resistance of the faithful Johnite community.³ In this heated atmosphere and under the threat of official persecution, an assembly was organized to honour and commemorate the departed bishop and rally the scattered faithful. A young and radical follower of John was invited to deliver a commemorative speech; he was a Christian cleric, but also an outstanding intellectual and a skilled rhetorician. He did an excellent job, delivering a memorable and brilliant oration that both

¹ Cf. C. BAUR, *Johannes Chrysostomus und seine Zeit*, 2 vols. (München: Hueber, 1929), vol. 2, 388: "Was zur Wahl gerade dieses Tages Anlaß gab, ist nicht bekannt."

² F. VAN OMMESLAEGHE, "La fête de S. Jean Chrysostome dans l'Église grecque", *Analecta Bollandiana* 96 (1978), 338.

³ *Oratio funebris* § 136. All quotations from this text follow my edition (see the following footnote).

commemorated the martyr and saint, and created the cohesion necessary for the group to survive and continue the work of the venerated bishop.

Everybody knew the essential facts of the life of John, and especially of his persecution and deposition. This was all fresh in people's memories. Nevertheless, it was reassuring to hear the well-known episodes of John's life expressed in a solemn and somewhat official, almost canonical way. Everything sounded fuller and more sincere than what people remembered, namely the dramatic, piecemeal and controversial stories that circulated during John's life. Now one could look back and reflect on the whole. After all, this is what funerals are about. The fog was lifting, and the orator's words made everything sound lucid and beautiful. It was amazing to see how the speaker, despite his youth, was able to find the right words for the moment. To be sure, the price he paid for this clarity and the unifying effect of his oration was an extraordinary level of polarization and polemics but, under the circumstances, this will not have troubled anybody at the time. People liked his speech and encouraged him to put a written version at their disposal. They wanted to re-read and remember every detail, even if the picture painted by the speaker was a black-and-white one (possibly, this was precisely what they wanted). The young man felt flattered. He went home, reworked his text and let it circulate among the Johnites. This was the beginning of a legend, the extraordinary story of an extraordinary saint, the beginning of the hagiography of St. John Chrysostom.

This speech may have been given on the 13th of November 407, although we cannot be certain. It could also have been delivered on a different day toward the end of 407 or in the first few weeks of 408. Nevertheless, the scenario I have depicted above corresponds to what can be inferred from the preserved version of the speech.

It is surprising that this earliest source for the biography of an important saint had to wait sixteen centuries until its first publication in print. My edition appeared in 2007, exactly 1600 years after John's death.⁴ In the present paper I would like to look back at the text and then discuss the question of authorship in more detail.

⁴ *Oratio funebris in laudem Sancti Iohannis Chrysostomi. Epitaffio attribuito a Martirio di Antiochia (BHG 871, CPG 6517)*, ed. Martin Wallraff, transl. Cristina Ricci, Quaderni della Rivista di Bizantinistica 12 (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 2007).

Index of Quotations

Bible

Genesis

2,10–14	51
3,16	52–53, 92
4,10	63
12	104
12,10–20	52, 61, 103
12,14–20	52
18–19	56, 58
20	52
22,6–8	53
24,67	54
25,20	54
27,1	54
33,1	57
41,46–49	51
49,33	58

Exodus

1,12	57
1,15–22	52, 57
8,15	53
10,27–28	57
14,4–8	57
14,28	63
23,7	52, 84

Numbers

16,24	60
16,25–33	56, 59
17,23	57
22–24	53
22,5–35	58
31,16	53

Judges

16,19	63
-------	----

1 Samuel

4	63
16,23	51
17–19	52
17,40	63

2 Samuel

6,3–7	56
24,17	53

1 Kings

3,16–28	53
17,11–16	52
21	50, 78, 115, 117

2 Kings

2,23	58
5,20–27	52
9,30–37	118

1 Chronicles

13,7–10	56
21,17	53

2 Chronicles

21,19–21	114
----------	-----

Job

1–2	51
1,8	61
1,9	52
2,6	50

Psalms

19,8	63
------	----

44,5	53, 56	5,14–15	58
79,14	57	5,23	52
83,11	57	7,22	51, 58, 60
<i>Ecclesiasticus (Sirach)</i>		8,29	57
1,25	57	9,2	64
11,5	51, 55	9,20	64
<i>Isaiah</i>		9,29	64
1,10	58	10,1	57
5,37	60	11,18–19	58
21,9	61	12,1–8	84
<i>Ezekiel</i>		14,8	57
8,7 – 9,6	58	21,1	137
33,11	52	21,2	52
34,2–4	58	21,5	52
<i>Daniel</i>		21,7	52, 137
3,17–18	53, 55	23,33	52
3,55	50	25,30	61
5,1–4	52	25,40	52
9,23	64	26,31	51
9,27	58	27,4	63
13,1–64	57, 60	27,25	53, 57, 91
<i>Hosea</i>		<i>Mark</i>	
7	57	1,24	57
11,9	57	<i>Luke</i>	
<i>Amos</i>		5,19	64
8,11	35	16,19–31	64
<i>Zechariah</i>		16,22–23	50
13,7	51	22,37	57
<i>1 Maccabees</i>		23,18	52
2,69	58	<i>John</i>	
<i>2 Maccabees</i>		5,14	64
9,5–29	49	10,11–17	57
<i>Matthew</i>		10,14–15	64
3,15	63	12,15	52
		14,27	51
		18,29	52
		19,40	50
		<i>Acts</i>	
		1,18	57
		2,41	57
		4,32–35	49
		7,60	52
		8,9–24	56

9,15	50–51	1,21	57
11,19–26	51	3,1	64
20,25	57	3,19	57
<i>Romans</i>		<i>1 Timothy</i>	
16,1–2	50	6,17	57
<i>1 Corinthians</i>		<i>2 Timothy</i>	
2,9	53	4,6	57
9,22	50	4,7	57
12,28	51	4,2	64
<i>2 Corinthians</i>		<i>Hebrews</i>	
11,14	60	5, 4–5	56
11,20	58	9,4	56
11,28	61	<i>2 Peter</i>	
<i>Galatians</i>		2,13	57
1,6–9	52	<i>1 John</i>	
1,10	64	2,18	59
3,1–3	52	<i>2 John</i>	
4	104	12	50
<i>Ephesians</i>		<i>Revelation</i>	
4,11–12	51	2,20	115
<i>Philippians</i>			

Ancient texts

Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum		<i>Res gestae</i>	
<i>C. Chalcedonense</i>	77	21.10.1	137
Ambrosius		Amphilochius of Iconium	
<i>De Nabuthae</i>		<i>Homiliae</i>	
9.41 – 10.44	115	7.2	54
11.49 – 12.50	115	Athanasius of Alexandria	
<i>Epistulae</i>		<i>Apologia de fuga sua</i>	
20	115	6.4–5	96
76.15	103	6–7	87
Ammianus Marcellinus			

<i>Epistula encyclica</i>		<i>Orationes</i>	
3.3–6	98	35.5–6	125
		38.6	126
<i>Historia Arianorum</i>		42.24	125
27.2	102		
		Gregory of Nyssa	
Basiliius of Caesarea		<i>De virginitate</i>	
<i>Homiliae</i>		7,3	54
13	27		
		Jerome	
Chronicon Paschale		<i>Epistulae</i>	
Ol. 296	77	113	61
Ol. 309	75		
		John Chrysostom	
Codex Theodosianus		<i>Ad Innocentium papam epistula I</i>	
16.5.6.3	96	ll. 22–52	84
		ll. 22–105	86
Constantine Porphyrogenitus		ll. 110–115	135
<i>Treatises on Military Expeditions</i>		ll. 146–165	89
	77	ll. 146–222	90
		ll. 183–184	135
Cyril of Alexandria		<i>Commentarius in epistolam ad Galatas</i>	
<i>Epistulae</i>		4.28	104
75	105		
De gestis in Perside		<i>De s. hieromartyre Phoca</i>	
		1	131
83	19	2	131
Demosthenes		<i>De sacerdotio</i>	
		5.1	30
<i>Orationes</i>			
21.35	85	<i>Epistulae</i>	
		7	109
Ephrem the Syrian (?)		41	109
<i>On the First Book of Kings</i>		213	20
17.2	116		
Facundus of Hermiane		<i>Hom. dicta postquam reliquiae martyrum</i>	
<i>Pro defensione trium capitulorum</i>		1	129
6.5.16–17	60	2	129
6.5.24	60		
		<i>Homiliae in Acta apostolorum</i>	
Gregory of Nazianzus		26	129
<i>Carmina</i>		<i>Homiliae in Genesim</i>	
2.1.11	125	32.4	103
		<i>Homiliae in Matthaem</i>	

66.2	137	<i>Sermones</i>	
		16	27
<i>Quales ducendae sint uxores</i>	54	Pseudo-Georgius of Alexandria	
<i>Post reditum a priore exilio sermo I</i>	138	<i>Vita s. Ioannis Chrysostomi</i>	
		§1	64
		§2	64
		§4	64
<i>Post reditum a priore exilio sermo II</i>		§6	63
1	104, 137	§8	64
2–3	134	§9	64
3	100–101, 138	§12	64
4	139	§16	63
John Malalas		§18	65
		§21	63–64
<i>Chronographia</i>		§27	64
13.38	70	§35	64
Mark the Deacon		§41	78
		§44	63
		§45	63
<i>Vita s. Porphyrii</i>		§46	64
37	78	§59	64
Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae		§64	62
	70	§65	63
		§67	63
Palladius		§68	62–63
		§71	63
<i>Dialogus</i>		§74	63
1	59	Pseudo-Martyrius	
2	109	<i>Oratio funebris</i>	
5	29, 129	§1	93, 15
8	86	§§1–5	14
9	77, 87, 90, 99, 112, 134	§3	17, 50, 93, 116
10	18, 137	§4	93
16	75	§5	17
20	20, 92, 137	§7	50
Patria Konstantinupoleos		§9	15, 50
3.3	72	§10	15
Photius		§11	93
		§13	2, 71
		§17	28, 29, 31–32
<i>Bibliotheca</i>		§18	28, 39, 40, 51, 93
cod. 35	21	§19	51
cod. 273	62	§21	50
Pseudo-Eusebius of Alexandria		§§24–26	115
		§25	51
		§27	50, 62, 102

§28	17	§98	113
§30	91	§99	93, 109, 113
§31	132	§105	135
§32	93	§106	93
§§32–37	132	§§106–108	91
§36	37, 40, 116, 117	§107	93
§§38–39	102	§108	18, 37, 44
§41	93, 118	§109	93
§42	18	§110	102
§43	84, 91	§111	91
§44	93	§§112–117	78
§45	18, 33, 34, 37, 44	§113	135
§§47–50	71	§114	93
§§51–58	74	§115	14, 18, 97
§52	84, 91	§116	18, 92
§53	84, 85	§117	93
§54	85	§119	91, 93
§56	93	§120	18, 97
§57	86	§121	18–19, 92
§§60–64	75	§§121–122	91
§66	93, 112, 133	§127	93
§§66–67	74	§§128–129	91
§§66–68	123	§130	76
§68	135	§132	17
§69	93	§133	17
§77	91, 93, 132	§134	14, 18, 91
§78	86, 135	§136	9, 93, 95
§79	87, 91, 93, 100, 135–136	§137	104
§80	135–136, 138	§138	50, 78, 91, 116, 118
§§80–82	61	§142	93
§81	137	§143	91
§82	103, 135, 137	§151	93
§83	133		
§84	18, 93	Pseudo-Symeon	
§85	18		72
§86	88, 133	Rufinus	
§§87–88	75		
§88	88	<i>Historia ecclesiastica</i>	
§89	102, 135	10.14	111
§90	50, 93, 103	11.22	87
§91	89, 135		
§§91–97	76	Socrates	
§92	50, 89		
§93	89, 98, 112	<i>Historia ecclesiastica</i>	
§§94–96	91	1.38.7	111
§95	98, 104, 135, 133	3.18.3	128
§§95–97	99	4.16.1–8	92
§97	100, 134–135	6.2.2	29
		6.2.11	26

6.7	75	3.20.8	128
6.8–11	136	7.23.3	128
6.8.1	126	8.8.1	126
6.8.4	126	8.8.2	126
6.8.8	127	8.8.4	127
6.8.9	127	8.8.5	127
6.8.12	128	8.8.6	129
6.11.1	43–44	8.10.1	32, 45, 39
6.11.1–3	32	8.10.1–2	39
6.11.1–7	39	8.10.2	38
6.11.2	45	8.10.3	36, 39
6.11.3	39	8.10.4	42
6.11.3–6	42	8.10.4–5	45
6.11.4	44	8.10.12–21	42
6.11.7	38	8.12	75
6.11.8–11	36	8.17.6	72
6.11.9	37	8.18.5	75
6.11.11	39	8.18.6	135–136
6.11.11–12	39	8.18.7	141
6.11.16	42	8.18.8	61, 101, 139
6.11.16–17	42	8.20.1	75
6.15	84	8.20.3	75
6.15.20	86	8.21.3	76, 133
6.16	75	8.21.4	77, 99–100, 134
6.16.7	135	8.23.3–4	97
6.16.8	87		
6.18	75, 90	Theodore of Trimitous	
6.18.1–6	116	<i>Vita s. Ioannis Chrysostomi</i>	
6.18.14	76, 133	§15	79
6.18.14–15	99	§36	79
6.19	61		
6.19.2–4	18	Theodoret of Cryus	
7.2.1	105	<i>Haereticarum fabularum compendium</i>	
7.24.9–10	119	4.3	72
7.25.2	105		
7.26.1	20	<i>Historia ecclesiastica</i>	
7.26.5	19	3.10.3	128
7.27.1	19	5.32	61
7.27.2	19, 20	5.34.5	135
7.27.5	19	5.34.6	136
7.29.1	20		
7.35.1	20		
		Theophanes	
Sozomen		<i>Chronographia</i>	
<i>Historia ecclesiastica</i>		A.M. 5898	76
1.13.5	30		
2.12.3	30	Vita s. Danielis Stylitae	
3.20.4	97		72

Vita s. Mocii	71
72	Zosimus
Vita s. Olympiadis	<i>Historia nova</i> 5.23.3–4
	88

Modern authors

Allen, P. 110	Dunn, G. 109
Andrade, N. 76, 128, 132	Elm, S. 12
Asutay-Effenberger, N. 77	Enßlin, W. 15, 19
Aubineau, M. 12, 39	Errington, M. 96
Bady, G. 65	Fatti, F. 13, 32–33
Bailly, A. 30	Gaddis, M. 83–84
Balakhovskaya, A.S. 79	Graf, F. 139
Baldovin, J.F. 121–122, 124, 126–127	Gregory, T.E. 2
Bardill, J. 77	Grumel, V. 28
Bardy, G. 73	Hansen, G.C. 13, 29, 30
Barnes, T.D. 1–3, 12–17, 21, 27–28, 30, 32–33, 41–43, 49, 51, 53, 84–85, 87– 88, 98, 100–101, 109, 123, 133	Heher, D. 122
Barry, J. 49, 65, 111, 112	Hellenkemper, H. 69
Bauer, F.A. 124	Heyden, K. 19–20
Baur, C. 9, 11–12, 17, 62, 122, 139	Hölkeskamp, K.J. 136
Berger, A. 69–70, 72–74, 76–77, 122– 123, 125	Holum, K.G. 128
Bevan, G. 1–3, 12–17, 21, 27–28, 30, 32–33, 41–43, 49, 51, 53, 84–85, 87– 88, 98, 100–101, 109, 123, 133	Hübner, A. 71
Bonfiglio, E. 138	Isele, B. 1
Bradshaw, P.F. 27	Janin, R. 76–77, 133, 135, 136
Brändle, R. 27, 36, 41, 122, 129, 133, 139	Karaca, Z. 79
Brottier, L. 13, 66	Kostenec, J. 69, 78
Brubaker, L. 124–125	Kelly, J.N.D. 29, 36, 129, 133, 136, 139
Cameron, A. 42, 130	Lampe, G.W.H. 27
Crow, J. 77	Leclercq, H. 121
Dagron, G. 1, 69, 100	Lequeux, X. 13
Daniélou, J. 54	Liebeschuetz, J. 103
Dark, K.R. 69, 78	Long, J. 42
Delmaire, R. 110	MacCormack, S. 128
Demangel, R. 70	Mai, A. 11
De Wet, C.L. 49, 51, 104	Malingrey, A.M. 11
Diefenbach, S. 125, 129, 131	Mainstone, R.J. 69
Downey, G. 130	Mamboury, E. 70

- Mango, C. 69, 75, 124
Manolopoulou, V. 121–122
Markschies, C. 13
Matthews, J. 70–71
Mayer, W. 4, 13, 49, 110–111, 131
McGuckin, J.A. 97
Miller, T.S. 73
Mingarelli, G.L. 11
Montanari, F. 27, 30, 35
Mundell Mango, M. 126
Muehlberger, E. 111
Müller, H.M. 27
- Newman, J.H. 66
Nikolopoulos P.G. 78–79
- Pfeilschifter, R. 2, 95
Phillips, D. 85
Pigott, J.M. 45
Pippin, T. 114
Portmann, W. 19
Pradel, M.M. 15
- Regtuit, R.F. 39
Ricci, C. 3, 10, 54, 61, 85, 88, 134
Roosien, M. 130
- Schneider, A.M. 78
Schubert, W. 126
Shepardson, C. 97
Skinner, A. 1
Snee, R. 74
- Speck, P. 76
Stephens Falcasantos, R. 1, 125–126,
128–130
Stenger, J.R. 132
Stiernon, D. 121, 123
Stutz, J. 96, 99, 100–102
- Telfer, W. 74
Tiersch, C. 2, 12–13, 36, 45, 95, 101,
105, 127, 129, 132–134, 139
Trapp, E. 16
Trible, P. 114
- Vanderspoel, J. 128
Van Der Straeten, J. 13
Van Nuffelen, P. 4, 29, 32, 34–38, 44,
45, 60, 83, 85–86, 95, 96, 119, 128–129,
131
Van Ommeslaeghe, F. 3, 9, 12–13, 19,
32, 49–50, 95, 98, 122, 136
Verhoeven, M. 121
Voicu, S.J. 17, 37, 42
- Wallraff, M. 3, 10–12, 16, 19–20, 32–33,
37, 41, 50, 54–56, 61, 85, 88
Washburn, D. 110
Whitaker, R. 115
Wickham, C. 124–125
Wolfram, H. 74
Wöller, F. 130, 132
- Zimmermann, M. 5

Index of Topics

- Acacius of Beroea 18, 33–34, 57, 60
- Antiochus of Ptolemais 17, 38–39, 44–45, 57
- Arcadius (emperor) 63–64, 105, 113, 115, 124, 127–128
- Arsacius of Constantinople 53, 92, 97, 118
- Atticus of Constantinople 14, 17, 53, 96, 104–105, 118–119
- Biblical exempla*
- Aaron 51, 57, 60
 - Abraham 54–56, 58, 60, 103–104
 - Adam and Eve 49, 52, 63
 - Ahab 114–116
 - Balaam 53, 58
 - Cain and Abel 51–52, 63, 85
 - Dathan and Abiram 55, 59
 - David 51–53, 57–59, 63–64
 - Elijah 51–53, 56–57, 59, 63, 114, 116–117, 120
 - Eliseus 53, 56–57
 - Esau 57
 - Herod Agrippa 111
 - Herodias 49, 75, 115–116
 - Isaac 53–54
 - Jezebel 49, 51–53, 63, 78, 110, 112, 114–120
 - Job 41, 51, 55, 58–59, 62–63, 102–103, 117
 - John the Baptist 59, 62–63, 65
 - Jonah 62, 66
 - Joseph 54, 57, 59
 - Moses 51–53, 57, 59, 64
 - Naaman 52
 - Naboth 53, 78, 115, 117–118
 - Nebuchadnezzar 89
 - Paul (Apostle) 51, 57–59, 64
 - Peter (Apostle) 51, 59, 64–65
 - Salome 49
 - Salomon 53
 - Samuel 57, 66
 - Sarah 61, 103–104
 - Simon the Magician 57
 - Susannah 57
 - Uzzah 57
- Bloodshed at the Easter Vigil (404) 52, 87–90, 97–98, 101, 133
- Constantinople
- Augustaeum 75
 - Bath of Constantius 70, 76–77, 90, 99, 133–134
 - Bosphorus 69, 75, 135–136
 - Church of the Apostles 16, 123–127, 138–139
 - Church of John the Baptist 69
 - Church of Mocius 72–73
 - Church of Paul 74
 - Church of Saint Thomas 122
 - Church of Saint Theodore 69
 - Forum of Constantine 123, 125, 139
 - Forum of Theodosius 139
 - Great Church / Hagia Sophia 38–39, 44, 69–70, 73, 75–76, 78, 88, 90–91, 121–122, 128, 135, 139
 - Harbour of Julian 124
 - Harbour of Proosphorion 136
 - Hippodrome 69, 74, 76–77, 99–100, 125, 134, 139
 - Mese 121, 124, 128
 - Pempton 77, 99, 136
 - Pera (Galata) 136
 - Via Egnatia 128
 - Walls 69–73, 77, 96–97, 99–101, 128, 134–135
- Councils
- of Antioch (341) 89
 - of Constantinople (381) 71, 135
 - of the Oaks 2, 18, 33, 41, 61, 64, 74, 84–88
- Eudoxia (empress) 5–6, 19, 45, 49, 52–

- 53, 61–64, 71, 76, 88, 111–112, 114–116, 127, 135, 139
- Exiles of John Chrysostom 2, 4, 6, 9, 16, 20, 61, 65–66, 74–75, 78, 87–92, 100–101, 103, 110–114, 119, 122–123, 132, 134–135
- Gainas / Gainas affair 71, 73–74, 115, 124
- Honorius (emperor) 63
- Leontius of Ancyra 18, 52, 88
- Long Brothers 57, 72
- Nectarius of Constantinople 26, 29, 32, 35, 37–39
- Olympias 2, 71, 76,
- Philip of Side 19–20
- Proclus of Constantinople 64, 101
- Sarapion (deacon) 42–43
- Severianus of Gabala 5, 17, 32, 32–40, 42–45, 133
- Theodosius I (emperor) 69, 71, 96, 124–126
- Theodosius II (emperor) 124
- Theophilus of Alexandria 18, 33, 41, 50, 52–53, 58–61, 71, 83–88, 101–103, 105, 112–113, 118–119, 133, 137