

# Deacons and Diakonia in Late Antiquity

Edited by  
BART J. KOET,  
EDWINA MURPHY,  
and ESKO RYÖKÄS

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen  
zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe*  
606

---

**Mohr Siebeck**

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen  
zum Neuen Testament · 2. Reihe

Herausgeber/Editor

Jörg Frey (Zürich)

Mitherausgeber/Associate Editors

Markus Bockmuehl (Oxford) · James A. Kelhoffer (Uppsala)  
Tobias Nicklas (Regensburg) · Janet Spittler (Charlottesville, VA)  
J. Ross Wagner (Durham, NC)

606





# Deacons and Diakonia in Late Antiquity

The Third Century Onwards

Edited by

Bart J. Koet, Edwina Murphy, and Esko Ryökäs

Mohr Siebeck

BART J. KOET, born 1955; Emeritus Professor of New Testament and Early Christian Literature at the Faculty of Catholic Theology of Tilburg University, Netherlands.  
orcid.org/0000-0002-0598-3443

EDWINA MURPHY, born 1970; Deputy Dean and Director of Research at the Australian College of Theology, Sydney, Australia.  
orcid.org/0000-0001-9605-9880

ESKO RYÖKÄS, born 1953; Docent in Systematic Theology at University of Eastern Finland in Joensuu and Docent in Practical Theology at Åbo Akademi University.  
orcid.org/0000-0001-9018-455X

ISBN 978-3-16-162404-9 / eISBN 978-3-16-162728-6  
DOI 10.1628/978-3-16-162728-6

ISSN 0340-9570 / eISSN 2568-7484  
(Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, 2. Reihe)

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

© 2024 Mohr Siebeck Tübingen, Germany. [www.mohrsiebeck.com](http://www.mohrsiebeck.com)

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 book was typeset by SatzWeise in Bad Wünnenberg using Minion typeface, printed on non-aging paper by Laupp & Göbel in Gomaringen, and bound by Buchbinderei Nädele in Nehren.

Printed in Germany.

Dedicated to the memory of  
Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II  
(1926–2022)  
a deacon of the people of the United Kingdom  
and the Commonwealth.



## Foreword: The Deacon as a Prophetic Sign

ANDERS CARDINAL ARBORELIUS, OCD

The treasures of tradition become alive for us in this book. So many saints and theologians, and ordinary Christians of different denominations, have reflected upon the role of the deacon. For us today, when the worldwide Church becomes more and more aware of her ecumenical and synodal character and task, it is essential to give more space for the mystery and reality of the diaconate in the mission of the Church. The Bride of Christ as a whole has to reflect all the aspects of Christ's mystery. He came as a servant of our redemption and served us during his entire life on earth, up to the Cross. The person of the deacon can help all the members of the Church to see our need to become a more serving community. As Christians of today's global world, we have to learn to listen more carefully to the various voices in the other ecclesial communities of different ages and nationalities in order to get a more universal and all-encompassing image – a wonderful icon, really – of the deacon as *Vicarius Christi*, as the servant in whom Christ himself comes alive in order to serve us.

Increasingly, the Church has to learn to listen to what the Spirit has to say to the churches in our time. In our secular, individualistic environment, the notion of service becomes even more essential and necessary on all levels. Christ the King needs to appear more as Christ the Servant in our modern societies. The gospel can be more acceptable and understandable for many people in this light of unselfish service. If evangelisation is to be fruitful, it often depends on the way that the gospel is proclaimed. The authenticity and outreach of our Christian faith depends on all of us and our will to serve rather than to be served. The community of Christians must accept that it is no longer the ruling and influential majority of our society. We are a little flock, a tiny and humble reality, in the midst of non-believers. Just as the people of Israel in exile learnt to look upon themselves and their vocation in a new way, we too as Christians in our Western society have to accept our role to serve God and our fellow human beings in a more hidden way, but simultaneously, in a more explicit and dedicated way.

In our post-modern – and post-secular – society of today, the deacon, at least in my opinion, has a providential and even prophetic task. Unfortunately, the image of the priest has changed radically in the media and in the eyes of the general public. Due to the scandals of abuse, the priest as such has become a



suspect and dangerous person in the eyes of many people. This tragic fact makes it even more necessary to enhance and give more space to the deacon.

*Caritas* and *Liturgia* are essential pillars of our Christian faith and life. Our life-style has to reflect this fact very faithfully. In the very person of the deacon, these two notions are meant to be incarnated in a harmonious and evident way. The deacon serving at the altar of the Eucharist is also serving at the altar of the poor. The eucharistic celebration must continue and be followed up by the service of those in need. The authenticity of our liturgy and of our personal prayer-life – and our entire life as Christians – becomes real and visible through our way of treating the poor. The deacon can remind us of this oft-forgotten fact. When the deacon is assisting in a Catholic Mass, he proclaims the Gospel and then tells the people of God two things: to give each other the sign of peace and to go out in the peace of the Lord in order to bring his peace to all and sundry. *Pax Christi* has its roots in the liturgical celebration, but it must also be brought out and reach all the poor of the world. The deacon becomes the herald and messenger of this twofold mystery, helping all of us to realise and understand our vocation and to see how *Liturgia* and *Caritas* can be united in a fruitful way in our personal life as well as in the life of the entire Church.

The deacon is a vivid image of Christ as Servant. He helps us to get a glimpse of divine humility, a somewhat forgotten aspect of our faith. In my opinion, this message must be emphasised in our contemporary situation. In order to evangelise a world where God's power and might is denied or not understood, we have to stress the good news that God became man in Jesus Christ in order to serve and redeem the entire human family. God's humility that appears so clearly in the humanity of Jesus can open up the eyes and hearts of those who long for truth and mercy, often without knowing it themselves. The person of the deacon somehow symbolises this hidden God who became man for us in humility, in poverty. This *kenosis* of God, that became evident through the incarnation, can be proclaimed in many different ways. The task of the deacon in *Liturgia* and *Caritas* – also called *Diakonia* in some contexts – helps us to understand the mystery of our triune God more fully. Deacons keep the spirit of divine service alive in the Church. They can also help the world to get a tiny little glimpse of the real mystery of God, who humbled himself in order to become one of us and save us. The fruitfulness of evangelisation of our modern world often depends on how we can show this aspect of our God and his message.

It is my hope that this book can help many readers to grasp the salvific and latreutic meanings of the role of the deacon and discover some new and enriching aspects. Today we often speak about receptive ecumenism. We can learn a lot from other Christian traditions and denominations. We can rediscover the hidden treasures of each other and even realise that there is much more that we have in common than that what divides us. The person of the deacon, reflecting

Jesus and his humility, can become an apostle who in a prophetic way helps the people of God on the way to a deeper and more spiritual unity between all his children.

Simultaneously, the deacon can become an icon of the servant of God, of Christ the Servant, in a secular setting. This book can enrich us and inspire us to discover new aspects and possibilities for our Christian mission in a society that often seems reluctant to listen to the message of Christ. The figure of the deacon can become a prophetic reminder of the Word Incarnate who came to this world, not to be served but to serve the poor and destitute. We really need this message of hope in our world where power and might seem to be more important than anything else.

Anders Cardinal Arborelius, OCD  
Bishop of the Catholic Diocese of Stockholm



## Acknowledgements

This volume could not have been completed without the friendly co-operation of many. We would like to thank the editor of the WUNT II series, Professor Jörg Frey, as well as the publisher Mohr Siebeck, particularly Dr Henning Ziebritzki, Elena Müller, Markus Kirchner, and Dominika Zgolik for supporting the publication. All articles in the volumes are peer-reviewed and we especially thank Dr Gerard Rouwhorst, Dr Alistair Stewart, and Dr Nienke Vos for their cooperation in this process. We thank the School of Theology in Finland, which supported the project over a number of years, especially by facilitating congresses, as well as Dr Arnold Smeets and Tilburg School of Theology for assisting the editors in arranging a number of online seminars, in partnership with Morling College, Sydney, and the Australian College of Theology. Dr Anne-Marit Enroth-Voitila worked tirelessly to correct the Greek text (any remaining errors are, of course, our responsibility), Sheryl Sarkoezy carefully attended to the copyediting, and Laura Puustinen, Lara Murphy, Marie-José van Bolhuis, and Dr Esko Ryökäs kindly assisted with creating the indexes. Last but not least, we thank his eminence Anders Cardinal Arborelius, OCD, bishop of the Catholic Diocese of Stockholm, for his foreword. In his person, this cardinal is the go-between between the Christian traditions of Scandinavia and those of Rome, and it is thus quite apt that he contributed to the volume in this way.

Bart J. Koet, Edwina Murphy, and Esko Ryökäs



## Contents

Foreword: The Deacon as a Prophetic Sign . . . . .	VII
ANDERS CARDINAL ARBORELIUS, OCD	

Acknowledgements . . . . .	XI
----------------------------	----

## Introduction

Finding Deacons and Deaconesses in the Sources of Early Christianity . . . . .	3
BART J. KOET, EDWINA MURPHY, ESKO RYÖKÄS	

## Deacons in the Eastern Sources

Diakonia in Origen: From Christ and the Angels to Men and Women . . . . .	11
ILARIA L. E. RAMELLI	

Understanding the Deletion of Deacons in the <i>Ecclesiastical History</i> : The Appointment of the Seven in Eusebius' Narrative . . . . .	31
JONATHAN CORNILLON	

Deacons in Egypt in the Third and Fourth Century CE . . . . .	44
SABINE R. HUEBNER	

Athanasius on Deacons and the Diaconate . . . . .	64
DORU COSTACHE	

Deacons in the Works of Gregory of Nazianzus . . . . .	78
BRIAN MATZ	

Epiphanius of Salamis on Deacons and Diakonia: Assessing Evidence from an Unexpected Source . . . . .	91
JOSEPH VERHEYDEN	

The Diaconate according to John Chrysostom . . . . .	112
ANDREAS MÜLLER	
Deaconesses in Constantinople surrounding John Chrysostom . . . . .	122
HEIKE GRIESER	
Deacons as Ministers of Worship in the <i>Catechetical Homilies</i> and the <i>Commentaries on the Pauline Epistles</i> of Theodore of Mopsuestia . . .	142
MANUEL MIRA	
In the Service of the Sacramental Life: The Tasks of Deacons in Cyril of Jerusalem . . . . .	161
HARRI HUOVINEN	
Evagrius the Deacon on <i>Διακονία</i> and Demons . . . . .	177
JOONA SALMINEN	
Deacons in the Works of Ephrem the Syrian . . . . .	188
GERARD ROUWHORST	
Deacons in the Desert . . . . .	202
SERAFIM SEPPÄLÄ	

### Deacons in the Western Sources

The Bishop's Delegates: Deacons in Cyprian of Carthage . . . . .	221
EDWINA MURPHY	
Lawrence: Deacon, Almoner, Martyr . . . . .	234
TON VAN EIJK	
Assisting the Bishop: Ambrose of Milan's Views on Christian Deacons . .	250
CARMEN-ANGELA CVETKOVIĆ	
Jerome on Deacons: A Good Monk is Better than Any Cleric . . . . .	268
BART J. KOET	

Liturgical Roles of the Deacon in Augustine:  
 A Punic-Speaking Deacon is Needed (*Ep.* 84) . . . . . 287  
 ENRIQUE A. EGUIARTE

Duties and Opportunities: The Diaconate of Gregory the Great . . . . . 299  
 ARNOLD SMEETS

Deacons in Legislative and Quasi-Legislative Sources

Deacons in the *Testamentum Domini*: An Overview . . . . . 313  
 GRANT WHITE

The Fourth Century: The Council of Elvira . . . . . 331  
 ELIZABETH BODDENS HOSANG

The Liminal Nature of the Diaconal Role in the *Didascalia Apostolorum* 344  
 PHOEBE KEARNS

What Did Deacons Do (and Not Do)?  
 Evidence from the Cappadocian Church Orders of the Fourth Century . 357  
 ALISTAIR C. STEWART

Imitators of Christ: Why are Deacons Paralleled with Christ  
 in the *Apostolic Constitutions* 3.19? . . . . . 375  
 PAULIINA PYLVÄNÄINEN

The Female Deacon in the Church Order Literature:  
 Women’s Ministry in Fourth-Century Asia . . . . . 391  
 ALISTAIR C. STEWART

Women Deacons and Mothers: Imperial Constitutions from the  
 End of the Fourth Century . . . . . 416  
 ROSA MENTXAKA

Concluding Reflections

A Tale of Deacons and Deaconesses . . . . . 431  
 BART J. KOET



List of Contributors . . . . .	465
Index of Ancient Sources . . . . .	469
Index of Modern Authors . . . . .	493
Index of Subjects . . . . .	503

## Abbreviations

A	Epiphanius: The Ancoratus.
Alph.	Alphabetical Collection
ANF	Ante-Nicene Fathers
Anon.	John Wortley, <i>The Anonymous Sayings of the Desert Fathers</i>
BHG	François Halkin, <i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca</i>
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina
CH	<i>Contra Haereses</i>
Cnis	Carmina Nisibena
Const. ap.	<i>Constitutiones Apostolorum (Apostolic Constitutions)</i>
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
CTh.	Theodosian Code
Dial.	Dialogus
Did.	Didache
Didasc. ap.	<i>Didascaliam Apostolorum</i>
F	Epiphanius: <i>De Fide</i>
HFide	Ephrem: <i>Hymns de Fide</i>
Hist. eccl.	<i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i>
Hist. Laus.	<i>Historia Lausiaca</i>
HVirg	<i>Hymns De Virginitate</i>
LSJ	Liddell-Scott-Jones
MAMA	Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua
NPNF	Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers
OrChrAn	Orientalia Christiana Analecta
OCP	<i>Orientalia Christiana Periodica</i>
P	Epiphanius: the Panarion
PO	Patrologia Orientalis
QRiBi(S)	Quaderni della Rivista di Bizantinistica
Res	<i>Hymns De Resurrectione</i>
RR	W. C. Reischl and J. Rupp, eds., <i>Cyriilli Hierosolymitarum archiepiscopi opera</i>
SC	Sources Chretiennes
SFide	<i>Sermones de Fide</i>
StPatr	Studia Patristica
Syst.	Systematic Collection
Test. Dom.	<i>Testamentum Domini</i>
ThF	Theologische Forschung
TLG	Thesaurus Linguae Graecae
Trad. ap.	<i>Traditio apostolica</i>
VC	<i>Vigiliae Christianiae</i>
VCSup	Supplements to <i>Vigiliae Christianiae</i>
ViteSS	Vite dei Santi



## Introduction



## Finding Deacons and Deaconesses in the Sources of Early Christianity

BART J. KOET, EDWINA MURPHY, ESKO RYÖKÄS

While ministry and leadership are fiercely debated topics in all kinds of different theological discussions, the history of the diaconate, the office of a deacon or deaconess, is an element that is largely overlooked.<sup>1</sup> While in the Lima Document on Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry, the ministry of the Church is described as having a threefold pattern of bishop–presbyter–deacon,<sup>2</sup> the discussion about ministry is often concentrated either on the first of these three – as in the World Council of Churches document *The Church*<sup>3</sup> – or on the second.<sup>4</sup> While the diaconate is part of the hierarchy of the Catholic Church, it is not commonly celebrated. Very concretely, this means, for example, that many bishops celebrate the 40th anniversary of their priesthood, but not the 50th anniversary of their diaconate.

In 2018, we published a volume on deacons in the first two centuries.<sup>5</sup> It was a first attempt to investigate as many (literary) sources of the diaconate as possible. Most reviews were positive.<sup>6</sup> It seems to have met a need for a deeper and

---

<sup>1</sup> For a comprehensive assessment of the various aspects of the phenomenon of deacons in the early church, see Bart J. Koet, Edwina Murphy, and Esko Ryökäs, “Assessing the Role and Function of the Assistant: The Deacon in the First Two Centuries of Christianity,” in Bart J. Koet, Edwina Murphy, and Esko Ryökäs, eds., *Deacons and Diakonia in Early Christianity: The First Two Centuries*. WUNT 2 479 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018), 3–14. That article discusses how philological, historical and exegetical research shows that the view that deacons are primarily the social face of the church derives from German, Protestant nineteenth-century traditions rather than from a careful perusal of the early sources.

<sup>2</sup> See [https://www.oikoumene.org/sites/default/files/Document/FO1982\\_111\\_en.pdf](https://www.oikoumene.org/sites/default/files/Document/FO1982_111_en.pdf), 22–25.

<sup>3</sup> In this document, “presbyter” and “deacon” are mentioned twice, as a part of the threefold pattern, but “bishop” 16 times. *The Church. Towards a Common Vision*. Faith and Order Paper 214. WCC Publications (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 2013).

<sup>4</sup> For example: Edward Schillebeeckx, *The Church with a Human Face: A New and Expanded Theology of Ministry* (New York: Crossroad, 1985), focuses on presbyters and neglects to some extent the role of bishops and, even more, that of deacons.

<sup>5</sup> Koet, Murphy, and Ryökäs, *Deacons and Diakonia*.

<sup>6</sup> To cite just a few: *Augustiniana* 69 (2019): 416–22 (David A. Lopez); *New Testament Abstracts* 63 (2019): 548–49; *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 144 (2019): 1011–14 (Klaus Scholtissek); *Journal for the Study of The New Testament* 42 (2020): 126 (Bradley J. Bitner); *Review of Biblical Literature* 5 (2020) (Ritva Williams); *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* (2020): 315–17 (Manuel Mira); *Vigiliae Christianae* 75 (2021): 329–40 (Ilaria L. E. Ramelli); *Anaphora* 15.1–

more systematic analysis of original source texts than had been usual in the literature about deacons and ministry.<sup>7</sup> The aim of this book is more modest than that of the first book. We follow the same principal guidelines as in the earlier volume, with a focus on primary sources. However, whereas the first volume strove for a certain (if not complete) comprehensiveness, the character of the second volume is different. There are so many sources from the third century onwards in which deacons and, to a lesser extent, deaconesses are mentioned that it is impossible to examine all the literary and material sources.<sup>8</sup>

The character of this book is therefore that of a bouquet composed of various flowers. The volume consists of a number of articles that cover some of the important sources after the second century that, in one way or another, refer to deacons and or deaconesses. Of course, there are articles about the duties of deacons and deaconesses as outlined in church orders. It is these texts which are regularly used in current discussions.<sup>9</sup> There are also articles on how key authors from both the East and West present deacons and their tasks in their writings. One article is devoted to what the sources say about a particular deacon – Lawrence of Rome (although we do not have a similar chapter on Vincent of Lérins). Another questions whether Ephrem the deacon was really a deacon after all. In some cases, like that of Eusebius, deacons are more notable for their (relative) absence rather than their presence. Beyond ecclesiastical authors, the non-literary sources are also relevant for our knowledge of deacons as well as insight on female deacons from the imperial constitutions from the end of the fourth century. All these sources can give further understanding of what deacons and deaconesses did in the various communities at that time, and in some instances, what the writers understood *diakonia* (δῆλονία) to be.

However, in a bouquet, there are always some flowers missing. We are well aware that many other early Christian authors could have spoken, and that we have not included deacons in the apocryphal literature, nor the views of Basil

---

2 (2021): 159–63 (Angelo Di Berardino); see also <https://readingreligion.org/books/deacons-and-diakonia-early-christianity> (Alistair C. Stewart, May 2020).

<sup>7</sup> In the literature on deacons, some of the source texts have been presented frequently, although the deacon is only referred to in a limited way (as, for example, in Justin Martyr). Some other texts have been neglected completely.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Joseph A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development*. Missarum Sollemnia. Trans. Francis A. Brunner (Notre Dame: Ave Maria, 2012), repr. of *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and development*. Missarum Sollemnia. Trans. Francis A. Brunner (New York: Benzinger, 1951). In this book, which is a “Fundgrube” for the development of the Eucharist through the centuries, there are 656 references to the role of deacons (including archdeacons and sub-deacons). Many of the facts, even if only smaller details, show forgotten sides of the role of deacons in the liturgy. In the collection of articles presented here, many of those facts and details are not discussed, probably because Jungmann also discusses later periods.

<sup>9</sup> See only as a recent example Bernard Pottier, *Le diaconat féminin: Jadis et bientôt*. Le part-Dieu 40 (Paris: Editions Lessius, 2021), 45–51.

the Great on the role and function of a deacon, nor an article on the diaconate as an institution in Rome.<sup>10</sup> That is partly because, as noted above, it is not possible to be comprehensive given the range of sources, and partly because a few authors were unable to fulfil their commitments, especially during the COVID pandemic.<sup>11</sup>

The book is also a bouquet when we look at the diversity of the different authors: Men and women, young and old, seasoned scholars and those earlier in their careers, from different countries and different continents and with quite different denominational backgrounds.

Perhaps it is also good to mention something about the value of these two volumes. First of all, it is a matter of historical interest. Too often, it is not recognised when a deacon is mentioned in an ancient source, or noted that when deacons perform a particular task, it is precisely in their capacity as deacons that they do so. We give two examples of how awareness of the existence of the office of deacon can shed new light on ancient texts. Our first example is an author who is not discussed in this volume, John Cassian (c. 360/370–435).<sup>12</sup> He reveals at the end of his treatise *On the Incarnation, Against Nestorius*, composed towards the end of his life, that John Chrysostom, the famous but later exiled bishop of Constantinople, had ordained him. In his *Dialogue on the Life of John Chrysostom*, chapter 3, Palladius mentions both “the presbyter Germanus and the deacon Cassian”: when the crisis involving John Chrysostom had erupted, Germanus and Cassian travelled to Pope Innocent I in Rome to plead his case. Significantly, we also have Innocent’s testimony concerning these events as he refers to the “priest Germanus and the deacon Cassian” in his seventh letter. While both Columba Stewart and William Harmless relate Cassian’s ambassadorial role to his famed bilingualism – he was fluent in Greek and Latin – they do not link his bridge-building capacities to his identity as a deacon. It seems likely, however, that his ordination to the diaconate and his resulting mandate also contributed to his role as a go-between.<sup>13</sup>

---

<sup>10</sup> But see Lucreia Spera, “‘Regiones divisit diaconibus’: il ruolo dei diaconi negli apparati amministrativi della Chiesa di Roma e la questione delle regioni ecclesiastiche” in Vittorino Grossi, Bart J. Koet, and Paul van Geest, eds., *Diakonia, Diaconiae, Diaconato: Semantica e storia nei Padri della Chiesa, XXXVIII Incontro di studiosi dell’ antichità cristiana*. Roma, 7–9 maggio 2009. *Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum* 117 (Rome: Augustinianum, 2010), 453–88; cf., Ugo Falesiedi, *Le diaconie: I servizi assistenziali nella Chiesa antica*. Sussidi Patristici 8 (Rome: Augustinianum, 1995).

<sup>11</sup> Articles from the Rome Collection that highlight aspects or authors that are less well covered in this collection are for example Mario Girardi, “Il lessico della diaconia in Basilio di Cesarea: fonti e rilievo” in Grossi, Koet, and van Geest, *Diakonia, Diaconiae, Diaconato*, 199–216, and Rocco Schembra, “Ruolo e funzione dei diaconi nell’opera di Cesario di Arles” in Grossi, Koet, and van Geest, *Diakonia, Diaconiae, Diaconato*, 351–72.

<sup>12</sup> But see Roberto Alciati, “Diacono e diaconia nel monachesimo egiziano: la testimonianza di Cassiano” in Grossi, Koet, and van Geest, *Diakonia, Diaconiae, Diaconato*, 165–75.

<sup>13</sup> We thank our esteemed colleague Dr Nienke Vos (Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam) for this



The second example is a text by Gregory the Great, whom we will meet in the contribution of Arnold Smeets to this volume. Gregory was ordained as a deacon in 578. In a famous letter to Leander of Seville, Gregory refers to this ordination in terms of *sacri altaris ministerium*. At a certain point in the letter, he remembers his second ordination, that of bishop of Rome: “Postque hoc nolenti mihi atque renitenti, cum grave esset altaris ministerium, etiam pondus est curae pastoralis iniunctum”.<sup>14</sup> However, probably because of a (not uncommon) anachronistic view that the presbyter is the *minister altaris*, a recent English translation reads the *altaris ministerium* as the priestly ministry.<sup>15</sup>

A book like this can, of course, also be used to reflect on what the office of deacon can mean in the various Christian traditions of today. For example, there is a debate about whether the deacon belongs at the altar. Should he and (often in the Protestant tradition, she) not be the one, for example, at the bedside of the sick? This is a position that was repeatedly upheld in Protestant traditions.<sup>16</sup> However, many Catholic theologians also seem to embrace that position. In the latter tradition, however, this is somewhat against an important law: *lex orandi, lex credendi*, because – as the results in the articles verify – at the time of ordination to the post of deacon it is specifically formulated that he is a *minister altaris*.<sup>17</sup> This is precisely the term that, as we saw above, Gregory the Great used to characterise his service as a deacon in Ancient Rome.

Of course, many questions remain unanswered: Was Lawrence an archdeacon? Was Saint Francis indeed a deacon? What was the ordination of Radegun-

---

observation. She is currently working on a project on “spiritual formation” which focuses on the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, John Cassian’s *Conferences*, and the dialogue on Benedict by Gregory the Great. For Cassian as a deacon and his ambassadorial role, see Columba Stewart, *Cassian the Monk*. OXHT (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 12–15, and William Harmless, *Desert Christians: An Introduction to the Literature of Early Monasticism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 374–77. For Palladius’s *Dialogue*, see Anne-Marie Malingrey and Philippe Leclercq, eds., *Palladius: Dialogue sur la vie de Jean Chrysostome I*. SC 341 (Paris: Cerf, 1988), 341–42. Innocent’s letter is discussed by Stewart, *Cassian*, 14 and note 114 on page 150 (cf. PL 20:501B/502B).

<sup>14</sup> *Ad Leandrum* 1; CC 143, lines 23–25.

<sup>15</sup> “To this already serious responsibility of the priestly ministry – despite my refusal and active opposition – was later added the obligation of pastoral care” in Brian Kerns OCSO, trans., *Gregory the Great: Moral Reflections on the Book of Job, Volume I*. Cistercian Studies Series 149 (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 2014), 48. To be clear, in this letter there is no mention of an ordination as priest but only as deacon and bishop, and thus this reference to “priestly ministry” begs for an explanation.

<sup>16</sup> For a description of differences between Protestant, Catholic, Anglican and Orthodox traditions, see the introduction to the first volume: Koet, Murphy, and Ryökäs, “Assessing the Role.”

<sup>17</sup> Even now during ordination in the Roman Catholic Church, the deacon is characterised as a *minister altaris*: “Do you resolve to conform your way of life always to the example of Christ, of whose Body and Blood you are ministers at the altar?” (See for example: [http://cathedralphila.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/080\\_deacons12.pub\\_.pdf](http://cathedralphila.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/080_deacons12.pub_.pdf) [21. 10. 2021]).

dis and what was her task?<sup>18</sup> What is an archdeacon? Why were there cardinal deacons in the Roman Catholic Church for so long?<sup>19</sup> And what does it mean that Queen Elizabeth II wore a dalmatic during her coronation, the diaconal robe par excellence? In the Orthodox churches, deacons have a more distinct role in church life to this day. But what role? And in which church?<sup>20</sup> We have not attempted a sociological and theological assessment of the diaconate from the first to the twenty-first century; rather, we present these articles on the early church's understanding, and the concluding reflections of one of the editors (Bart J. Koet), in order to facilitate further research on the meaning, role, duties, and theological profile of the deacon and diaconate in our time. That the principle of shared leadership, which played such an important role in the ancient Church, might also inspire current leaders may be an added bonus.

---

<sup>18</sup> Anne Burgsmüller, "Diakonin Rade Gundis (520–587): demütige Dienerin und mutige Predigerin", in Grossi, Koet, and van Geest, *Diakonia, Diaconiae, Diaconato*, 667–76.

<sup>19</sup> The last cardinal deacon, who was never ordained into the priesthood, was Teodolfo Mertel (1806–1899). It is therefore particularly strange that a quite recent book on the cardinal calls him a layman (*cardinal laico*): see Pierantozzi Gaudenzio, *Teodolfo Mertel: l'Ultimo Cardinale Laico* (Siena: Edizione Cantagalli, 2016). It is one of many examples of a writer not thinking carefully about what a deacon is.

<sup>20</sup> John Chryssavgis, *Remembering and Reclaiming Diakonia: The Diaconate Yesterday and Today*. (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 2009) and Kyriaki K. Fitzgerald, *Women Deacons in the Orthodox Church: Called to Holiness and Ministry* (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1998).



## Deacons in the Eastern Sources

# Diakonia in Origen: From Christ and the Angels to Men and Women

ILARIA L. E. RAMELLI

## 1. Introduction: Methodological Guidelines and Diakonos in Quotations of Jesus and Paul

The present investigation is based on a systematic study of all the occurrences of *διάκονος* and the related verb *διακονέω* in Origen's extant Greek works (the verb has far fewer occurrences but is relevant to the notion of *διακονία* in Origen, as we shall see), as well as in the Latin translations. Thus, it will be possible to examine the ways in which Origen attributed *diakonia* to Christ, Mary, the angels (including fallen angels), and human beings, and how he interpreted OT, NT, and early Christian references to *diakonia*.

Indeed, before focusing on Origen's notion of *diakonia* applied to men and women, it is important to point out that Origen, on the basis of Scripture, attributed *diakonia* to Christ and the angels as well. The notion of *diakonia* is predominantly expressed in Latin by the terminology of *ministrare* and *ministerium*. In Origen's Latin translations, especially by Rufinus and Jerome, systematic research I conducted in 2021 returned 194 items for *minister*, *ministra*, *ministerium*, and *ministrare*.<sup>1</sup> In Origen's extant Greek works, there are many dozens of occurrences of *διάκονος*, *διακονία*, and *διακονεῖν*, as the parallel research I carried out on the TLG reveals.<sup>2</sup>

Origen's understanding of *diakonos* in Christianity basically corresponds to the following meanings,<sup>3</sup> although, as I shall show, it is also much richer: *dia-*

---

<sup>1</sup> *Brepols Library of Latin Texts, Series A* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021), <http://www.brepols.net>.

<sup>2</sup> Here I do not take into account occurrences of *διάκονος*, *διακονία*, and *διακονεῖν* meaning "servant", "slave" outside a religious sense, e.g., of animals who serve human beings in *Cels.* 4.54: τῶν ἀνθρώποις διακονουμένων ζώων.

<sup>3</sup> Listed by John Wijngaards, "Women Deacons in Ancient Christian Communities: Leadership and Ordination," in Joan E. Taylor and Ilaria L. E. Ramelli, eds., *Patterns of Women's Ministry in Early Christianity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 195–210. On *diakonia* in the NT, Philo, Josephus and Early Christianity, see Vittorino Grossi, Bart J. Koet, and Paul van Geest, eds., *Diakonia, Diaconiae, Diaconato: Semantica e storia nei Padri della Chiesa, XXXVIII Incontro di studiosi dell' antichità cristiana*. Roma, 7–9 maggio 2009. *Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum* 117 (Rome: Augustinianum, 2010), and Bart J. Koet, Edwina Murphy,

## Index of Ancient Sources

### Bible

#### Old Testament

##### *Genesis*

28:12      70<sup>41</sup>

##### *Exodus*

2:14      96<sup>16</sup>

7:1      347

25:16, 21      256

40:18      256

##### *Numbers*

4:1–20      256

9:16      274

20:25–26      224<sup>26</sup>

##### *2 Chronicles*

36:5–7      243

##### *Psalms*

103:30      106

112:9      239

136      74

147      106

##### *Proverbs*

23:1–2      238

##### *Isaiah*

53:11      376<sup>6</sup>

60:17      146<sup>14</sup>, 164<sup>17</sup>, 437<sup>15</sup>, 455,  
456<sup>134</sup>

##### *Ezekiel*

34      444<sup>62</sup>

34:19      197<sup>32</sup>, 198

#### *Zechariah*

13:7      195, 198<sup>33</sup>

#### *2 Maccabees*

8:7      435<sup>11</sup>

14:5      435<sup>11</sup>

#### New Testament

##### *Matthew*

4:11      149, 180

5:23–24      157<sup>64</sup>

5:29–30      72

7:6      74

10:11      277<sup>44</sup>

10:16      106

11:27      110

20:26–28      377<sup>7</sup>, 378<sup>9</sup>

20:28      67<sup>18</sup>

21:12      279

22:1–14      16

22:11–13      167

24:45, 47      96<sup>16</sup>

25      241

25:1–13      130, 327

25:21, 23      96<sup>16</sup>

25:44      190<sup>7</sup>

26:31      198<sup>33</sup>

28:19      106, 107<sup>52</sup>

##### *Mark*

1:29–31      93

10:43–44      377<sup>7</sup>, 461

10:45      68<sup>24</sup>

##### *Luke*

1:35      69<sup>35</sup>

2:14      149

8:1–3	450 <sup>100</sup>	8:14–17	231 <sup>70, 72</sup>
8:3	94, 109	8:16	109
10:38–42	36 <sup>27</sup> , 39 <sup>43</sup> , 104 <sup>41</sup>	8:26–39	280
22:43	153	9:6	106
24:1	149	9:28	280
		10:48	40 <sup>45</sup>
<i>John</i>		11:30	39 <sup>44</sup>
1:14	68 <sup>25</sup>	12:17	460 <sup>153</sup>
1:51	149	13:2, 4	106
2:1–11	109 <sup>63</sup> , 440 <sup>33</sup>	13:36	37 <sup>34</sup>
2:5	109	14:24	96 <sup>16</sup>
2:8b	109	15:13–21	460 <sup>153</sup>
3:15–16, 36	104 <sup>43</sup>	16:15, 33	40 <sup>45</sup>
12:6	38 <sup>36</sup> , 450 <sup>100</sup>	17:15	96 <sup>16</sup>
13:4–5	378 <sup>10</sup>	18:8	40 <sup>45</sup>
13:29	38 <sup>36</sup>	18:24–26	45 <sup>4</sup>
14:9–10	68 <sup>23</sup>	18:24–28	45 <sup>7</sup>
17:3	68 <sup>24</sup>	19:5	40 <sup>45</sup>
		20:28	106
<i>Acts</i>		20:34	37
1:10	149	21:18	460 <sup>153</sup>
1:15	224 <sup>25</sup> , 460 <sup>153</sup>		
1:17–25	437	<i>Romans</i>	
2:14	460 <sup>153</sup>	5:19	96 <sup>16</sup>
2:38, 41	40 <sup>45</sup>	7:19–20	106 <sup>51</sup>
2:44–45	37 <sup>30</sup>	8:3	68 <sup>26</sup>
4:31–35	289	13:1–4	107
4:32–37	37 <sup>30</sup> , 292	15:8	106
6	52, 74, 104 <sup>41</sup> , 117, 235, 436–	15:8–12	14
	37	15:16	22
6:1	37 <sup>32</sup>	15:25–28	39 <sup>44</sup>
6:1, 4	80 <sup>2</sup>	16:1	23, 29, 62, 80, 394, 448
6:1–4	437	16:1–2	24, 52 <sup>37</sup> , 125, 128, 448
6:1–5	234		
6:1–6	12, 73 <sup>64</sup> , 146–47, 223 <sup>14</sup>	<i>I Corinthians</i>	
6:1–7	35 <sup>24</sup> , 36 <sup>27</sup> , 45 <sup>7</sup> , 104 <sup>41</sup> , 232 <sup>75</sup> ,	1:1	436
	437, 440 <sup>33</sup>	3:5	435
6:2	224 <sup>27</sup>	3:5–6	277, 286
6:3	39, 96 <sup>16</sup> , 162, 163 <sup>12</sup> , 174	3:9	435
6:5	104	3–4	438
6:5–6	162, 174	7:5	108
6:7	37 <sup>31</sup>	7:32–34	21
6:8	39, 40, 373	9:5	62, 448 <sup>90</sup>
7:27, 35	96 <sup>16</sup>	10:17, 2	104 <sup>43</sup>
8	40, 280	11:27–32	74
8:12	40 <sup>45</sup>	12:3b	106
8:12–13	109	12:4–6	106–07

- 12:4–7 435  
 12:5 435<sup>10</sup>  
 12:28 435  
 14:34–35 27, 103  
 15:19 279<sup>49</sup>  
 15:33 273  
 15:35–50 94<sup>8</sup>  
 16:1–4 39<sup>44</sup>
- 2 Corinthians*  
 3:6 127  
 3:7a 111  
 3:18a 106  
 4:7 244  
 5:14–21 352<sup>34</sup>  
 6:4 22  
 8–9 39<sup>44</sup>  
 11:23 166
- Galatians*  
 4:22–31 163
- Philippians*  
 1:1 23, 80, 114–15, 145, 436  
 1:2 25  
 2:25 435<sup>11</sup>  
 4:2–3 129, 435<sup>11</sup>
- Colossians*  
 1:7 80  
 1:15–18 71<sup>49</sup>
- 1 Timothy*  
 1:9–10 111  
 1:12 106  
 2:5 67<sup>17</sup>, 388  
 2:12 103  
 2:14–15 29  
 3 21, 115, 121, 143, 265, 277,  
 322, 326, 452  
 3:1–13 52<sup>37</sup>, 437, 452  
 3:2a 108  
 3:2 142–43, 265, 265<sup>74</sup>, 363  
 3:2–4 21, 363  
 3:2–7 116  
 3:2–10 147  
 3:3 363
- 3:6 116  
 3:7 277<sup>44</sup>  
 3:8 25, 29, 80, 116, 143, 143<sup>5</sup>,  
 194<sup>22</sup>, 363, 451  
 3:8–9 144, 194  
 3:8–10 143, 264  
 3:8–12 267  
 3:8–13 31<sup>2, 6</sup>, 144<sup>7</sup>, 264, 342<sup>61</sup>, 452–  
 53  
 3:10 38, 80, 116, 144<sup>8</sup>  
 3:11 28–29, 128, 144<sup>9</sup>, 395, 448,  
 452, 452<sup>119</sup>  
 3:12 80, 142, 265, 265<sup>74</sup>, 363, 452  
 3:13 80, 116, 145<sup>10</sup>  
 3:14–15 146<sup>13</sup>  
 3:15 151  
 4:6 12, 80  
 4:12 223<sup>20</sup>  
 4:14 101  
 5:1,19 101  
 5:3–16 127  
 5:6–13 21  
 5:9 143<sup>3</sup>, 418<sup>8</sup>  
 5:17–18 450<sup>102</sup>  
 5:23 273
- 2 Timothy*  
 3:16 69<sup>36</sup>
- Titus*  
 1:5 96<sup>16</sup>  
 1:5–9 21, 265<sup>74</sup>  
 1:6 265<sup>74</sup>  
 1:7 143<sup>5</sup>, 363, 451  
 1:11 451  
 2:2 28  
 2:2–4 28–29  
 2:3 28, 28<sup>73</sup>, 29  
 2:3–4 27–29
- Philemon*  
 1:1 23, 80, 101, 114–15, 143,  
 145, 436  
 1:2 25  
 4:2–3 129  
 10 280



<i>Hebrews</i>		<i>1 Peter</i>	
1:14	15, 70 <sup>42</sup> , 107, 149, 153	5:2	451
1–2	68	<i>2 Peter</i>	
2:9	67 <sup>21</sup>	1:8	96 <sup>16</sup>
2:17	347 <sup>14</sup> , 348 <sup>19</sup>	2:22	104
4:12–15	146 <sup>14</sup>	<i>1 John</i>	
4:14–16	387 <sup>36</sup>	3:16	238
5:5–10	146 <sup>14</sup>	<i>Revelation</i>	
7:11–14	146 <sup>14</sup>	2:14–15	103 <sup>40</sup>
12:2	377 <sup>8</sup>	2:18–21	109–10
<i>James</i>			
3:6	96 <sup>16</sup>		
4:4	96 <sup>16</sup>		

## Councils and Synods

Ancyra	442	3	337 <sup>42</sup>
<i>Canon</i>		6	337 <sup>42</sup>
3	442 <sup>48</sup>	18–19	62 <sup>75</sup> , 338–40, 342–43, 342 <sup>61</sup>
Antioch	59	20	337 <sup>42</sup>
<i>Canon</i>		21	337 <sup>40</sup> , 340 <sup>50</sup>
3	59	26	108 <sup>59</sup>
8	59	29	337 <sup>42</sup>
10	164 <sup>19</sup> , 172 <sup>51</sup>	30	339 <sup>45</sup>
		32	108 <sup>59</sup> , 335 <sup>28</sup> , 338, 341
		33	337 <sup>40</sup> , 338–39, 343
Arles		34	337 <sup>42</sup>
<i>Canon</i>		39	337 <sup>42</sup>
15	229 <sup>59</sup> , 341 <sup>55</sup>	41	337, 337 <sup>42</sup>
		46	340 <sup>50</sup>
Chalcedon	305, 307 <sup>34</sup> , 316, 398	49	337
<i>Canon</i>		62	337
15	398 <sup>53</sup> , 409	65	342 <sup>61</sup>
26	146 <sup>16</sup>	75	339–40, 342–43
		76	339, 342–43
Constantinople	78, 81, 178–79, 304 <sup>23</sup> , 384 <sup>25</sup>	77	229, 339, 341, 343
		80	337
Dvin	406–7 <sup>85</sup>	Gangra	370
Elvira	331–43, 441, 441 <sup>42</sup> , 443, 445, 453, 453 <sup>124</sup>	Laodicea	26, 164 <sup>19</sup>
<i>Canon</i>		<i>Canon</i>	
2	337 <sup>42</sup>	11	96 <sup>16</sup>
		24	164 <sup>19</sup> , 172 <sup>51</sup>

25	172 <sup>51</sup>	Sardica	76
26	368 <sup>42</sup>	8	169 <sup>40</sup>
		11	337 <sup>40</sup>
Nicea	59, 62, 65 <sup>7</sup> , 171 <sup>50</sup> , 207, 262, 305, 331 <sup>3</sup> , 333, 336–37, 342 <sup>62</sup> , 368, 384 <sup>25</sup> , 394–95, 447–48, 457	Sirmium	105
<i>Canon</i>		Telephense	453, 453–54 <sup>126</sup>
5	333 <sup>13</sup>	Toledo	335
15	59	<i>Isidoriana</i>	335
16	59	<i>Iuliana</i>	335
18	81, 145 <sup>12</sup> , 169 <sup>40</sup> , 229 <sup>59</sup> , 368, 374	<i>Vulgata</i>	335
19	62 <sup>75</sup> , 394 <sup>16</sup> , 447 <sup>87</sup>	Trullo	398, 454 <sup>130</sup>
31	368	<i>Canon</i>	
		13	454 <sup>130</sup>
Neocaesarea		14	398 <sup>55</sup>
<i>Canon</i>		48	398 <sup>55</sup>
15	163 <sup>8</sup>	Tyre	75, 77

## Ancient and Medieval Writers and Texts

<b>Abelard</b>		3.8	252 <sup>12</sup> , 259 <sup>48</sup> , 456 <sup>136</sup>
<i>Epistulae</i>			
7 ( <i>Ad Heloissam</i> )	25		<i>De officiis ministrorum</i> 245, 253–54, 256, 262, 264–66, 272
<b>Acts of Archelaus</b>	111	1.1.4	250 <sup>2</sup>
		1.18.72	264 <sup>69</sup>
<b>Acts of Thomas</b>	154, 156, 160, 352, 441, 449 <sup>97</sup>	1.41	236 <sup>11</sup> , 252 <sup>11</sup> , 253 <sup>18</sup> , 258 <sup>41</sup>
		1.50.245–258	252 <sup>13</sup>
		1.50.246	252 <sup>11</sup> , 254 <sup>21, 24</sup> , 255 <sup>25</sup>
		1.50.246–251	252 <sup>10</sup>
<b>Ambrose of Milan</b>	234, 236–37, 245, 250–67, 441, 443, 445–47, 456	1.50.248	266 <sup>76–77</sup>
<i>Apostolorum supparem</i>	235 <sup>7</sup>	1.50.249	255 <sup>26</sup> , 258 <sup>40</sup> , 266 <sup>78, 79</sup>
<i>De benedictionibus patriarcharum</i>		1.50.250	255 <sup>36</sup>
10–16	252 <sup>13</sup>	1.50.251	255 <sup>27</sup> , 257 <sup>37–39</sup> , 443 <sup>58</sup>
<i>De Cain et Abel</i>		1.50.253–254	260 <sup>50</sup>
2.7–16	252 <sup>13</sup>	1.50.253–255	260 <sup>52</sup>
<i>De fuga saeculi</i>		1.50.256	255 <sup>33, 35</sup>
5–18	252 <sup>13</sup>	1.50.257	256 <sup>31</sup>
<i>De mysteriis</i>	259	1.153	235 <sup>4</sup>
2.6	252 <sup>12</sup> , 253 <sup>15</sup> , 259 <sup>46</sup> , 456 <sup>136</sup>	1.205	237 <sup>16</sup> , 238 <sup>20</sup> , 244 <sup>42</sup>
		1.207	237 <sup>14</sup>
		1.214–215	456 <sup>137–38</sup>
		2.24.121	256 <sup>30</sup>

2.24.122 253<sup>16</sup>, 255<sup>28</sup>  
 2.69 236<sup>9</sup>, 245<sup>48</sup>  
 2.136 242–43  
 2.137 243  
 2.139 243<sup>39, 40</sup>, 244<sup>41</sup>  
 2.140 240<sup>26</sup>, 241<sup>32</sup>, 242, 244  
 2.140–143 242  
 2.141 242<sup>37</sup>, 243  
 2.142 242<sup>38</sup>, 243

*De paenitentia*

2.67 250<sup>2</sup>

*De sacramentis* 259

1.2.4 252<sup>12</sup>, 456<sup>136</sup>  
 1.2.6 252<sup>12</sup>, 256<sup>34</sup>, 456<sup>136</sup>  
 1.3 143<sup>6</sup>  
 1.3.9 252<sup>12</sup>, 456<sup>136</sup>  
 1.3.10 259<sup>47</sup>  
 1.6 146<sup>14</sup>  
 2.6.16 252<sup>12</sup>, 259<sup>47, 49</sup>, 456<sup>136</sup>

*De virginibus*

1.1.2 250<sup>2</sup>  
 2.1.2 250<sup>2</sup>

*Epistulae*

6.2 262, 262<sup>62</sup>  
 46.2 252<sup>11</sup>  
 75.4 254<sup>22</sup>  
 76.5 252<sup>11</sup>

*Epistulae (extra collection)*

3.3 252<sup>11</sup>, 260<sup>53</sup>  
 14 266  
 14.63 266  
 14.64 263<sup>63</sup>  
 14.71 261<sup>60</sup>, 264<sup>68</sup>

*Expositio Psalmi CXVIII*

3.13 253<sup>17</sup>, 256<sup>34</sup>

*Hymni*

7 244<sup>43</sup>  
 8 237<sup>14</sup>

**Ambrosiaster** 255

*Quaestio*

101 255<sup>29</sup>

**Ammianus Marcellinus**

*Res gestae* 263<sup>65</sup>

**Ammonas** 204, 211–12

*Exhortation*

18 211<sup>39</sup>, 442<sup>45</sup>

**Aphrahat***Demonstrations*

14.1 192

**Apophthegmata** 6<sup>13</sup>, 179<sup>8</sup>, 180–81, 202–4, 203<sup>5</sup>, 208, 208<sup>25</sup>, 211, 213, 216

*Alphabetical Collection* 203

*Basil I* 209<sup>31</sup>

*John of the Cells*

1 207<sup>22</sup>

*John the Persian*

2 205

*Theodore*

25 213<sup>41</sup>

*Anonymous Collection* 203

23 205<sup>15</sup>  
 34 205<sup>15</sup>  
 38 205<sup>15, 16</sup>  
 48 205<sup>16</sup>  
 68 214<sup>43</sup>  
 71 205<sup>16</sup>  
 81 216<sup>52</sup>  
 87 210<sup>33</sup>  
 123 205<sup>16</sup>  
 177 211<sup>37</sup>  
 182 206<sup>16</sup>  
 187 206<sup>16</sup>  
 237 205<sup>16</sup>  
 285 205<sup>16</sup>  
 295 206<sup>16</sup>  
 299 205<sup>15</sup>  
 338 206<sup>16</sup>  
 341 205<sup>16</sup>  
 410 207<sup>21</sup>  
 440 205<sup>16</sup>

- 447 208<sup>25</sup>  
 526 205<sup>16</sup>  
 542 205<sup>16</sup>  
 543 205<sup>16</sup>  
 576 206<sup>16</sup>  
 596 208<sup>25</sup>  
 620 205<sup>15</sup>  
 639 205<sup>13</sup>, 215<sup>47</sup>  
 640 204<sup>7</sup>, 214<sup>45</sup>  
 661 211<sup>36</sup>  
 761 210<sup>32</sup>, 215<sup>46</sup>, 442<sup>45</sup>
- Systematic Collection* 203, 215<sup>48, 50</sup>  
 16.29 215<sup>48, 50</sup>  
 18.32 214<sup>43</sup>  
 18.37 210<sup>33</sup>  
 18.48 210<sup>32</sup>, 215<sup>46</sup>
- Apostolic Church Order* 357, 360–61,  
 365–66, 370, 372, 374, 391, 402, 404, 410  
 18.3 364<sup>31</sup>  
 20–22 362, 366<sup>38</sup>, 392<sup>6</sup>  
 28 365<sup>37</sup>
- Apostolic Constitutions* 142, 155<sup>50</sup>, 159,  
 160, 162<sup>6</sup>, 170, 174<sup>62</sup>, 200, 208, 326,  
 333<sup>8</sup>, 345, 348, 350–53, 373, 375–90,  
 391–92, 393<sup>12</sup>, 397, 404–15, 417<sup>6</sup>, 441,  
 444, 448–49, 455  
 2 386–87, 389  
 2.26 199<sup>36</sup>, 200<sup>39</sup>, 236, 385  
 2.26.3 171<sup>48</sup>, 407  
 2.26.4–5 384–85  
 2.27.4 387  
 2.28 385  
 2.29–32 200<sup>39</sup>  
 2.30 302<sup>14</sup>  
 2.30.2 385, 386<sup>31, 32</sup>, 456  
 2.31–32 386  
 2.44 386, 446<sup>79</sup>  
 2.44.3 200<sup>39</sup>, 386, 445<sup>68</sup>  
 2.44.4 390<sup>44</sup>, 444<sup>63</sup>  
 2.57.9 199<sup>36</sup>  
 2.57.11–13 444<sup>59</sup>  
 2.57.15 388  
 2.57.19 388
- 2.57–58 200<sup>39</sup>, 350<sup>28</sup>, 407, 442<sup>45</sup>,  
 443<sup>57</sup>  
 3.8.1 405  
 3.11.1–3 380<sup>13</sup>  
 3.16 169<sup>38</sup>, 170<sup>43</sup>, 353  
 3.19 200<sup>39</sup>, 363, 375–90, 379<sup>12</sup>,  
 445<sup>74</sup>  
 3.19.1 375<sup>3</sup>, 376, 379–81, 388, 410  
 3.19.2 376, 379, 381, 383, 388  
 3.19.3 377, 379–81, 383, 388, 455  
 3.19.4 377, 377<sup>7</sup>, 379–81, 455  
 3.19.5 378, 381–83, 455  
 3.19.6 378–79, 381  
 3.19.7 379–81  
 3.20.2 380<sup>13</sup>  
 5.20.13 388  
 6.17 380<sup>13</sup>, 409  
 7.17 412  
 7.31.1 144<sup>8</sup>  
 8.3.21 340<sup>46</sup>  
 8.10–12 158  
 8.11 144<sup>7</sup>, 172<sup>54</sup>, 173<sup>56</sup>, 208<sup>23</sup>  
 8.12 408  
 8.12.3 174<sup>62</sup>  
 8.12.30 388  
 8.13 412, 441<sup>40</sup>, 442<sup>49</sup>  
 8.13.11–15, 17 159<sup>74</sup>, 174<sup>62</sup>, 412, 413<sup>116</sup>  
 8.17–18 412  
 8.18 373, 410  
 8.18.3 145<sup>10</sup>  
 8.19–20 145<sup>9</sup>, 410, 412, 413<sup>116</sup>  
 8.21–22 413<sup>116</sup>  
 8.22 155<sup>50</sup>  
 8.26 164<sup>19</sup>  
 8.28 170<sup>43</sup>, 412, 443<sup>57</sup>  
 8.29.2 169<sup>39</sup>  
 8.31.2 409<sup>98</sup>  
 8.32 166<sup>26, 28</sup>  
 8.44.2 169<sup>41</sup>  
 8.46.11 170<sup>43</sup>  
 8.47 199<sup>36</sup>
- Ascension of Isaiah* 217

- Athanasius** 64–77, 98–100, 268, 442–43, 445–46, 457<sup>147</sup>
- Apologia ad Constantium*  
4 337<sup>38</sup>
- Apologia de fuga sua* 70<sup>46</sup>, 74<sup>69</sup>
- Apologia secunda* 456<sup>140</sup>
- 6.2.1–5 75<sup>71</sup>
- 8.3.4–5 75<sup>70</sup>
- 19.3 72<sup>57</sup>
- 22 76<sup>78, 82</sup>
- 28.3 76<sup>80</sup>
- 30.1 75<sup>70</sup>
- 37.1 66<sup>10</sup>, 73<sup>65</sup>
- 47 72<sup>57</sup>, 76<sup>81</sup>
- 51.8 76<sup>79</sup>
- 52.2 66<sup>10</sup>
- 57.2 66<sup>10</sup>
- 58.2 66<sup>9</sup>
- 62.7 71<sup>53</sup>
- 64.1 66<sup>9</sup>
- 74.2n 77<sup>83</sup>
- Contra gentes* 70<sup>47</sup>, 71<sup>49</sup>
- De decretis* 65<sup>7</sup>, 72<sup>56</sup>, 77<sup>84–86</sup>
- De incarnatione* 352<sup>33</sup>
- De synodis* 65<sup>8</sup>, 68<sup>27</sup>, 70<sup>45</sup>, 72<sup>57</sup>
- Dialogi duo contra Macedonianos*  
69<sup>32</sup>
- Epistula encyclica* 72<sup>54, 58</sup>, 75<sup>73</sup>
- Epistula ad Marcellinum* 69<sup>30, 31, 36–39</sup>,  
70<sup>40</sup>
- Epistulae*  
46 65
- Epistulae ad Serapionem*  
69<sup>33–35</sup>
- Fragmenta in Matthaëum*  
74<sup>68</sup>
- Fragmenta varia* 73<sup>60–62, 65</sup>, 74<sup>67</sup>
- Historia Arianorum* 71<sup>51–52</sup>, 75<sup>72–73</sup>
- Orationes contra Arianos*  
67<sup>15, 17–21</sup>, 68<sup>22, 24–26</sup>, 70<sup>42, 44, 48</sup>
- Scholia in Job* 70<sup>41</sup>
- Sermo de Patientia* 73<sup>63–64, 66</sup>
- Tomus ad Antiochenos* 72<sup>59</sup>, 75<sup>74</sup>, 76<sup>82</sup>
- Vita Antonii* 72<sup>55</sup>, 204, 206
- Atto**
- Epistula ad Ambrosium presbyterum* 26
- Augustine** 167, 235–36, 241, 244–46, 260, 263, 265, 268–69, 286–98, 438, 442, 445–47, 452, 458, 460
- De catechizandis rudibus* 293, 443<sup>55</sup>
- De civitate Dei* 287
- 22.8.3 288<sup>4</sup>, 446<sup>78</sup>
- Confessionum libri XII*  
3 271<sup>15</sup>
- 6.3.3 251<sup>4</sup>, 265<sup>73</sup>
- 8 271<sup>15</sup>
- Contra duas epistulas Pelagianorum ad Bonifatium*  
2.4.6 289<sup>8</sup>
- De gestis Pelagii*  
32.57 292<sup>23</sup>
- 35.66 281<sup>61</sup>
- De gratia Christi, et de peccato originali*  
2.3.3 289<sup>8</sup>
- 4.3 289<sup>8</sup>
- 7.8 289<sup>8</sup>
- Epistulae*  
7\* 289
- 11\* 291
- 19\*.1 276
- 20\* 296
- 20\*.2 297<sup>46</sup>
- 23\*.A.5 291<sup>21</sup>
- 26\* 451–52
- 55 288, 289<sup>6</sup>, 292<sup>27</sup>
- 71 270<sup>12</sup>, 290
- 73.1.1 290<sup>13</sup>

- 84 287, 293–96, 298  
 94.8 290<sup>14</sup>  
 95.9 291<sup>18</sup>  
 108.14 298<sup>49</sup>  
 111.7 296, 296<sup>42</sup>  
 139.4 291<sup>15</sup>  
 151.11 289<sup>10</sup>  
 164.7.22 291<sup>16</sup>  
 209.2 296<sup>43</sup>  
 209.3 297<sup>44, 47</sup>  
 220.1 291<sup>17</sup>  
 221 290<sup>11</sup>  
 223 290<sup>11</sup>  
 225.1.1 291<sup>20</sup>
- Epistolae ad Romanos inchoata expositio*  
 13 297
- In epistularum Johannis ad Parthos tractatus*  
 2.3 295<sup>40</sup>
- In Evangelium Johannis tractatus*  
 84.1 238<sup>21</sup>
- Sermo Denis*  
 13.1 236<sup>12</sup>
- Sermo Dolbeau*  
 295  
 139A.1 292, 292<sup>26</sup>  
 167.4 298, 298<sup>50</sup>  
 301.12 237<sup>14</sup>  
 302.9 235, 244  
 303 242  
 304.1 238<sup>17, 22</sup>, 239<sup>23</sup>  
 355–356 453<sup>121</sup>  
 356.1 289<sup>7</sup>, 292<sup>26</sup>
- Babylonian Talmud *Baba Bathra***  
 8b–9a 365
- Balsamon**
- Canones Apostolorum*  
 39 169<sup>38</sup>  
 41 162<sup>6</sup>  
 43 172<sup>51</sup>  
 59 162<sup>6</sup>
- Basil the Great** 445, 446<sup>80</sup>
- Epistulae*  
 73 100<sup>27</sup>  
 105 396<sup>38</sup>  
 150.3 371<sup>51</sup>  
 169 372<sup>57</sup>  
 188 411<sup>105</sup>  
 199 411<sup>106</sup>
- Canones Hippolyti** 357–58, 366–68,  
 371–74, 391–92, 401, 408, 410, 444  
 2 370  
 5 369  
 9 392<sup>5</sup>  
 21 367  
 24 367, 370, 444<sup>66</sup>  
 25 370  
 30 368  
 31 368  
 32 367–68  
 35 369  
 37 367  
 38 372
- Chaeremon** 22
- Chronicon Paschale** 371
- Clement of Alexandria** 28, 45, 52, 52<sup>38</sup>,  
 62, 85<sup>22</sup>, 216, 348
- Quis dives salvetur* 85<sup>22</sup>
- Stromateis* 62<sup>76</sup>, 103, 216–17<sup>53</sup>, 448<sup>90</sup>
- Clement of Rome** 348, 456  
 1 Clement  
 4:10 96<sup>16</sup>  
 40:5 347<sup>16</sup>, 455  
 42:5 146<sup>14</sup>, 164<sup>17</sup>, 437<sup>15</sup>, 455  
 44:1–2 40–41<sup>48</sup>
- Cornutus** 22
- Cyprian of Carthage** 199, 221–33, 248,  
 333–34, 338<sup>44</sup>, 443, 451, 453
- De lapsis* 229, 229<sup>58</sup>, 238<sup>19</sup>

*Epistulae*

1.1.1–2	227 <sup>44</sup> , 451 <sup>111</sup>
3.1.1	222–23, 227 <sup>44</sup>
3.3.1	223 <sup>15</sup>
3.3.2–3	223–24
3.3.4	223–24
4.0	227–28
4.1.1	228 <sup>52</sup>
4.3.3	228 <sup>54</sup>
4.4.1	228 <sup>53</sup>
5	225–26, 229–30, 441
5.2.2	225 <sup>33</sup> , 229 <sup>57</sup>
5.3	229 <sup>60</sup>
7	232
7.2	232 <sup>78</sup>
8.1.1	226 <sup>39</sup>
10.1	446 <sup>76</sup>
13	233
13.7	226 <sup>34–35</sup> , 233 <sup>80–81</sup>
14	232
14.2.1	221 <sup>4</sup> , 233 <sup>79</sup>
14.2.2	227 <sup>46</sup>
14.3.2	227 <sup>47</sup>
14.4	227 <sup>45</sup>
15.1.2	227 <sup>48, 49</sup> , 230 <sup>66</sup>
16.2.3	230 <sup>66</sup>
16.3.2	227 <sup>48</sup>
17.2.1	230 <sup>66</sup>
17.3.1	228 <sup>50</sup>
18.1.2	230–31 <sup>68</sup> , 444
20.2.3	222 <sup>5</sup>
29.1.1–2	226 <sup>41</sup>
29.2	227 <sup>45</sup>
34	230
34.1	230 <sup>64</sup>
34.3.2	230 <sup>65</sup>
34.4.1–2	230 <sup>65</sup> , 451 <sup>112</sup>
36.1.1	226 <sup>40</sup>
38	441 <sup>42</sup>
41.1.2	232 <sup>78</sup>
43	228 <sup>50</sup>
45.4.3	226 <sup>41</sup>
50	241 <sup>33</sup>
52	225, 232, 241 <sup>33</sup>
52.1.2	232 <sup>77</sup>
52.2.3	225 <sup>29</sup>
59	222 <sup>8</sup>

59.14.21–15.1	227 <sup>43</sup>
63	225 <sup>31</sup>
66	222 <sup>8</sup>
67	223–24, 229
67.0	229–30
67.1.1	229 <sup>60</sup>
67.4.2–3	224 <sup>27</sup>
71.4.1–2	333 <sup>12</sup>
73.9.1–2	231 <sup>70–71, 73</sup>
75.1	226 <sup>38</sup>
77.3.2	226 <sup>41</sup>
78.1.1	226 <sup>41</sup>
80.1.4	225 <sup>32</sup>

**Cyril of Jerusalem** 161–76, 441–43*Catecheses*

1.6	166 <sup>22</sup>
3.4	164 <sup>18</sup>
4	162
4.22	162 <sup>4</sup>
4.37	164 <sup>18</sup>
12.25	108 <sup>59</sup>
16	163
16.22	164 <sup>16</sup>
17	162
17.15–16	163 <sup>13</sup>
17.18–19	163 <sup>13</sup>
17.21	163 <sup>11</sup>
17.21–23	163 <sup>13</sup>
17.24	162 <sup>7</sup> , 163 <sup>11</sup> , 166
17.24–25	163 <sup>14</sup>
17.35	164, 167–68
18.26	163 <sup>9</sup>
18.32–33	170 <sup>47</sup> , 171 <sup>49</sup>

*Catecheses Mystagogicae* 173

5.2	164, 171 <sup>48</sup>
5.3	173 <sup>55</sup>
5.19–22	174 <sup>61</sup>
23.3	157 <sup>64</sup>

*Procatechesis*

1	166 <sup>27</sup> , 167 <sup>29</sup> , 170 <sup>45</sup>
3	167 <sup>30</sup>
4	165, 165 <sup>20</sup> , 167 <sup>31</sup> , 168, 443 <sup>57</sup>
12	170 <sup>46</sup>

- 13 162, 162<sup>5</sup>, 166<sup>27</sup>  
 14 163<sup>10</sup>
- De ordinationibus** 415
- Didache** 38, 173, 314, 314<sup>4</sup>, 333<sup>8</sup>, 391, 443<sup>54</sup>, 463  
 3.6 363  
 14.2 173<sup>58</sup>  
 15.1 38<sup>37</sup>, 437
- Didascalia Apostolorum** 27, 200–01, 201<sup>42</sup>, 344–56, 361, 364–66, 372<sup>56</sup>, 381, 391–92, 394–95, 402–10, 415, 417<sup>6</sup>, 437–38, 443, 447–48, 451  
 2.1.1 438  
 2.4.1 402<sup>71</sup>  
 2.5.1 363  
 2.25.2 402<sup>71</sup>  
 2.25.8 402<sup>71</sup>, 456<sup>135</sup>  
 2.26.3–8 404, 407<sup>89</sup>, 438, 456<sup>135</sup>  
 2.27.3–4 365<sup>35</sup>, 372<sup>56</sup>  
 2.28.2–5 393, 451<sup>113</sup>, 455  
 2.34.3 393  
 2.44.4 438<sup>20</sup>, 439<sup>27</sup>  
 2.46.5–6 438  
 2.49.2 402<sup>71</sup>  
 2.57.6 146<sup>16</sup>, 364<sup>31</sup>, 442  
 2.57.9–11 364<sup>31</sup>  
 3.1 402<sup>70</sup>  
 3.5 402  
 3.9 402  
 3.12 327<sup>38</sup>, 403  
 3.13 363, 381, 381<sup>17</sup>, 404, 411  
 4.9.2 446<sup>79</sup>  
 9 346, 348, 355<sup>45</sup>  
 11 200<sup>38</sup>, 355<sup>45</sup>  
 12 349–50  
 13 148<sup>24</sup>, 333<sup>8</sup>  
 16 200<sup>38</sup>, 350–51, 351<sup>32</sup>, 353, 355<sup>45</sup>, 448
- Doctrina Addai** 192<sup>17</sup>
- Edictum Theoderici** 334<sup>15</sup>
- Egeria** 166, 350, 395
- Itinerarium*  
 23.3 395<sup>26</sup>  
 45.1–4 166<sup>28</sup>  
 46.1 164<sup>19</sup>
- Ephrem the Syrian** 4, 188–201, 204, 215<sup>49</sup>, 281, 442, 446<sup>80</sup>
- Carmina Nisibena* 190, 193, 201  
 14:1 196–97  
 17:1 196–97  
 18:3 197  
 18:11 193  
 21:5 191, 194–95, 194<sup>22</sup>, 199  
 31–34 197–98
- Contra haereses* 188, 192, 195, 196<sup>28</sup>, 199
- Hymni de fide*  
 10:22 194<sup>22</sup>  
 35:10 196, 198  
 36:4 196, 196<sup>30</sup>, 197  
 59:11 196
- Hymni de virginitate*  
 36:6 198
- Hymni de resurrectione* 191–94, 199
- Memre on Nicomedia* 195
- Sermones de fide*  
 6:13–14 196, 196<sup>29</sup>, 197
- Epictetus**
- Diatribai (Dissertationes)*  
 3.26.28 22  
 4.7.20 22
- Epiphanius of Salamis** 91–111, 134, 274, 279, 281, 398, 411, 441, 443–45
- Ancoratus* 91–93, 94<sup>8</sup>, 105, 107, 110
- De fide* 95, 97<sup>18</sup>, 99, 354<sup>42</sup>, 412<sup>109</sup>
- Epistulae*  
 51.2 269<sup>4</sup>, 398<sup>51</sup>



- Panarion/Adversus haereses* 91–93, 95, 104, 107, 107<sup>56</sup>, 109–11, 354, 412<sup>110</sup>  
 3 354<sup>42</sup>  
 21.1.3–4 97<sup>18</sup>, 109  
 25.1.3–4, 6 104  
 25.2.1 104  
 27.6.4 97<sup>18</sup>  
 30.4.2 94<sup>8</sup>  
 30.5.8 97<sup>18</sup>  
 30.8.4 94<sup>8</sup>  
 30.11.4 94–95  
 31.10.4 94  
 34.2–20 110  
 40 107, 107<sup>54</sup>  
 51.3 109  
 51.4.11 93  
 51.15.5 93  
 51.29.7 109  
 51.33 109  
 59.4 108–09, 111  
 61.3.8 94, 109  
 66 111  
 68.1.1 106  
 68.2 98  
 68.3 97, 97<sup>18</sup>, 99, 442<sup>49</sup>  
 68.7 100  
 68.11 98, 99<sup>24</sup>  
 69.2 106  
 69.3 98  
 69.7–8 100  
 69.11 99–100  
 70.2.2 97<sup>18</sup>  
 71.1.8 99  
 72.11–12 100  
 73.22 100  
 73.38 105  
 74 110  
 74.2–10 107  
 74.12.4 107  
 75.1 99, 101<sup>29</sup>  
 75.3.3 97<sup>18</sup>, 101  
 75.4 97<sup>18</sup>, 101  
 75.5 101–2  
 76.1.1–8 104–5  
 76.2.3–4 105  
 76.11.1–12.37 105  
 76.18–54 105
- 76.54 105  
 78 102  
 79.1 102  
 79.3.6 102–3, 448<sup>92</sup>  
 79.4 96<sup>16</sup>, 102–3
- Eusebius** 4, 31–35, 37–43, 45, 47, 49, 227, 333<sup>9</sup>, 337<sup>37, 39</sup>, 445, 458<sup>148</sup>
- Demonstratio evangelica* 108<sup>59</sup>
- Historia ecclesiastica* 445  
 2.1.1 36<sup>25</sup>  
 2.1.2 31<sup>4</sup>  
 2.16.1 45<sup>6</sup>, 49<sup>25</sup>  
 3.24.2–4 103  
 3.29.1 32<sup>10</sup>, 38<sup>39</sup>  
 4.22.3 33<sup>13</sup>, 43<sup>54</sup>  
 5.18 451<sup>106</sup>  
 5.23 333<sup>9</sup>  
 5.28.8–12 451<sup>106</sup>  
 6.11.3–4 49<sup>27, 28</sup>  
 6.19.19 33<sup>18–19</sup>, 43<sup>53</sup>  
 6.43.2 31<sup>5</sup>, 33<sup>17</sup>  
 6.43.11 31<sup>5</sup>  
 6.43.16 33<sup>18</sup>, 34<sup>20</sup>, 42<sup>52</sup>  
 7 333<sup>9</sup>  
 7.11.3 33<sup>14</sup>  
 7.11.24 33<sup>14</sup>  
 7.11.26 33<sup>15–16</sup>, 43<sup>54</sup>  
 7.22.8 31<sup>5</sup>, 33<sup>17</sup>  
 7.24.6–9 47<sup>14</sup>  
 7.28.1 31<sup>5</sup>, 33<sup>17</sup>  
 7.30.2–12 31<sup>5</sup>  
 8.6.9 31<sup>5</sup>, 33<sup>17</sup>  
 10.6.1–3 337<sup>39</sup>
- Vita Constantini* 337<sup>37</sup>
- Evagrius of Pontus** 83, 87, 87<sup>30</sup>, 120, 177–87, 204
- Capita discipulorum Evagrii* 177, 181, 181<sup>19–20</sup>, 187
- De malignis cogitationibus* 177, 182, 182<sup>21</sup>, 187
- De octo spiritibus malitiae* 177, 184, 184<sup>33</sup>, 185<sup>37–38</sup>, 187

- De oratione* 362<sup>28</sup>
- Epistulae*
- 1 180
- 2.4 180
- 6 180
- 6.3 180
- 6.4 180
- 6.5 180, 180<sup>16</sup>
- 7 180
- 24.1 180
- Sententiae ad virginem* 180
- Tractatus ad Eulogium* 177, 183, 183<sup>27-28</sup>,  
184<sup>30-31</sup>, 185, 186<sup>41</sup>, 187
- Gregory the Great** 6, 277<sup>42</sup>, 299–10, 445,  
445<sup>72</sup>, 457<sup>143</sup>
- Ad Leandrum* 1 6, 301<sup>8</sup>, 307<sup>37</sup>, 310<sup>48</sup>
- Epistulae*
- 1.30 303<sup>17</sup>
- 2 (To Pelagius) 305<sup>26</sup>
- 3.33 306<sup>31</sup>
- 4.2 305<sup>24</sup>
- 5.53a 307<sup>37</sup>
- 5.57 310<sup>49</sup>
- 6 308<sup>41</sup>
- 7.33 306<sup>31</sup>
- 11.56 310<sup>50</sup>
- Gregory of Nazianzus** 78–90, 178, 204,  
208<sup>24</sup>, 367, 372, 445, 451<sup>104</sup>, 456
- Carmina*
- 2.1.12 88<sup>37</sup>
- 2.1.19 86<sup>28</sup>
- De vita sua* 80–81, 451<sup>104</sup>, 456<sup>141</sup>
- II.440–517 86<sup>26</sup>
- II.655–657 88<sup>37</sup>
- II.660–664 88<sup>38</sup>
- II.820–823 81<sup>6</sup>, 83, 456<sup>141</sup>
- II.979–980 90<sup>47</sup>
- Epistulae*
- 9 80, 83, 83<sup>17</sup>, 85
- 42 80, 83, 84<sup>21</sup>
- 80–83 88<sup>37</sup>
- 82 86<sup>24</sup>
- 84 (To Alypius) 80, 83, 86<sup>24</sup>, 89<sup>39</sup>
- 98 80, 83, 86<sup>25</sup>
- 128 80
- 129 (To Procopius) 80, 82<sup>13</sup>, 83
- 138 86<sup>27</sup>
- 149 (To George) 80, 81<sup>3</sup>, 83, 85, 88, 88<sup>34</sup>,  
89<sup>40</sup>
- 150 80, 83
- 151 83
- 193 87<sup>29</sup>
- 228 80, 83, 87<sup>31</sup>
- 246 (To Basil) 80, 82, 82<sup>16</sup>, 83, 86, 89,  
89<sup>41-44</sup>, 90<sup>45</sup>
- 247 (To Basil) 83, 86, 89<sup>41</sup>, 90<sup>46</sup>
- 248 (To Basil) 83, 86, 89, 89<sup>41</sup>, 90<sup>46</sup>
- 249 (To Bishop Flavian) 80, 83, 87,  
87<sup>32, 33</sup>
- Orations*
- 2.106 82, 82<sup>8</sup>
- 2.114 82, 82<sup>14</sup>
- 3.7 82, 82<sup>15</sup>
- 5.29 80–81, 81<sup>5</sup>
- 6 88<sup>36</sup>
- 9.3 82, 82<sup>12</sup>
- 10 82, 86
- 18.14 82, 82<sup>9</sup>
- 21.11 82<sup>11</sup>
- 32.4 88<sup>37</sup>
- 40.41 69<sup>38</sup>
- 42 80–81
- 43.35 82, 82<sup>10</sup>
- Somnium de anastasiae ecclesia*
- 80–81, 83, 367, 367<sup>41</sup>, 456<sup>141</sup>
- II.11–13 81<sup>6</sup>, 367<sup>41</sup>
- Testament* 80, 82–86, 82<sup>13</sup>, 84<sup>19</sup>, 85<sup>23</sup>,  
178
- Gregory of Nyssa** 14<sup>17</sup>, 22<sup>52</sup>, 29<sup>81</sup>, 82,  
131, 131<sup>57</sup>, 132–33
- Ad Hellenium pro monachis exhortatorium* 397, 397<sup>44</sup>
- Homiliae in Canticum* 131
- Oratio funebris* 132, 132<sup>61</sup>

- Orations* 81  
 2.106 82<sup>8</sup>  
 2.114 82<sup>14</sup>  
 3.7 82<sup>15</sup>  
 5.29 81<sup>5</sup>  
 6 88<sup>36</sup>  
 9.3 82<sup>12</sup>  
 10 86  
 18.14 82<sup>9</sup>  
 21.11 82<sup>10</sup>  
 32.4 88<sup>37</sup>  
 40.41 169<sup>38</sup>
- Vita Macrinae* 396<sup>32</sup>
- Hippolytus**
- Historia monachorum in Aegypto*  
 178, 178<sup>4-5</sup>
- Refutatio* 103, 371<sup>52</sup>
- Horace**
- Satirae*  
 1.10 284<sup>68</sup>
- Ignatius of Antioch** 64, 150, 172<sup>51</sup>, 200,  
 348, 384, 437–38, 442, 455, 457
- To the Ephesians* 438<sup>23</sup>
- To the Magnesians* 346<sup>8</sup>, 348<sup>20</sup>, 384,  
 455<sup>131</sup>
- To the Philadelphians* 347<sup>15</sup>, 442<sup>50</sup>
- To Polycarp* 37<sup>35</sup>
- To the Smyrneans* 150<sup>31</sup>, 169<sup>38</sup>, 365<sup>34</sup>
- To the Trallians* 68<sup>28</sup>, 348<sup>20</sup>, 385, 455,  
 455<sup>132</sup>
- Irenaeus of Lyons** 41, 69, 163<sup>8</sup>, 348, 451
- Adversus haereses* 32<sup>8</sup>, 103, 110, 436<sup>13</sup>,  
 451<sup>108-10</sup>
- Isidore of Pelusium** 151<sup>32</sup>
- Isidore of Seville** 335
- De ecclesiasticis officiis* 439<sup>29</sup>, 441<sup>39</sup>
- Jacobus de Voragine**
- Legenda Aurea* 240, 241<sup>34</sup>, 242<sup>35</sup>
- Jerome** 11, 91, 179, 188–89, 226, 255,  
 268–86, 290, 341<sup>59</sup>, 398, 442–46, 453
- Adversus Joannem Hierosolymitanum liber*  
 4 279  
 11 277<sup>42</sup>  
 14 277<sup>42</sup>  
 41 272  
 44 279<sup>53</sup>
- Adversus Jovinianum libri II*  
 1.34–35 278, 454<sup>128</sup>  
 2.34 278
- Adversus Rufinum libri III*  
 1.32 265<sup>75</sup>
- Adversus Vigilantium* 283–84
- Altercatio Luciferiani et orthodoxi seu  
 dialogus contra Luciferianos*  
 9 280–81, 443<sup>53</sup>  
 20–21 280, 280<sup>56, 58</sup>, 282  
 22 278  
 26 282
- Chronicon Eusebii a Graeco Latine reddi-  
 tum et continuatum* 170<sup>43</sup>
- Commentariorum in Epistulam ad Titum  
 liber* 265<sup>75</sup>
- Commentariorum in Ezechielem libri  
 XVI* 279, 281
- Commentariorum in Isaiam libri XVIII*  
 276<sup>40</sup>, 279
- Commentariorum in Jeremiam libri XVI*  
 279<sup>50</sup>
- Commentariorum in Matthaenum  
 libri IV* 279
- Commentariorum in Michaeum libri II*  
 279

*De viris illustribus* 188, 226<sup>42</sup>, 280–81

*Epistulae*

6 275–77, 286  
 7 277, 286  
 8 277  
 14 272  
 14.8 273–74, 277  
 14.9 278  
 18 282–83, 444<sup>60</sup>  
 22 271–72, 283  
 22.28–3.4 263<sup>66</sup>  
 36.1 276  
 39.1 271<sup>14</sup>, 341<sup>59</sup>  
 45 270<sup>9</sup>  
 48 278  
 49 278  
 49.20–21 271<sup>15</sup>, 278  
 51 272<sup>18</sup>, 281  
 52.1–4 271<sup>15</sup>, 273  
 52.5–7 273–74, 284<sup>70</sup>  
 52.11 273  
 52.14 273  
 54 272  
 58 275  
 60.9,10 273–74, 274<sup>27</sup>, 31  
 62.14 274  
 68.1 276  
 69 265<sup>75</sup>  
 72.1 276  
 82 280  
 88.1 276  
 102 276  
 103 275  
 105 276  
 108.26 271<sup>14</sup>  
 112 275  
 116 276<sup>38</sup>  
 117 284, 284<sup>68</sup>  
 120.10 270<sup>8</sup>  
 130.7 274  
 133 179<sup>8</sup>  
 138 276  
 143 284<sup>71</sup>  
 146 255<sup>29</sup>, 284, 458  
 147 284  
 151 276

*Vita S. Hilarionis eremitaе* 285<sup>74</sup>

**John Cassian** 179

*Conferences* 6<sup>13</sup>

*On the Incarnation, Against Nestorius* 5

**John Chrysostom** 5, 91, 112–21, 122–31, 133–41, 142, 143<sup>3</sup>, 146, 147, 160, 209, 213, 268, 283, 349, 396, 424<sup>35</sup>, 438, 441–43, 445, 449

*Ad viduam iuniorem* 126, 126<sup>21</sup>, 127<sup>28</sup>

*Contra Anomoeos* 117<sup>32</sup>

*De laudibus sancti Pauli apostoli* 128<sup>35</sup>

*De non iterando coniugio* 126, 126<sup>21</sup>

*De sacerdotio* 127<sup>27</sup>, 128, 128<sup>32</sup>, 129<sup>46</sup>, 49, 154<sup>46</sup>, 213

*De studio praesentium* 128, 128<sup>36</sup>

*De virginitate* 126, 126<sup>20</sup>, 132<sup>60</sup>

*Epistulae*

1 124<sup>11</sup>, 395<sup>29</sup>  
 3 133<sup>67</sup>  
 5 133<sup>67</sup>, 71  
 6.1 126<sup>19</sup>  
 7.1 133<sup>71</sup>  
 7.5 133<sup>67</sup>  
 8.3 130<sup>51</sup>, 133<sup>67</sup>  
 8.4 130<sup>51</sup>, 132<sup>60</sup>, 133<sup>71</sup>, 134<sup>73</sup>  
 8.5–10 134<sup>73</sup>  
 8.13 133<sup>67</sup>  
 9.4 124<sup>7</sup>, 130<sup>51</sup>, 133<sup>67</sup>, 69, 137<sup>95</sup>  
 9.5 135<sup>81</sup>  
 10.5 133<sup>67</sup>, 71, 134<sup>72</sup>  
 10.6 134<sup>72</sup>  
 10.7 134<sup>72</sup>  
 10.11–12 134<sup>72</sup>  
 11 133<sup>67</sup>  
 12 131<sup>59</sup>  
 12.1 131<sup>59</sup>, 133<sup>67</sup>, 135<sup>82</sup>, 136<sup>83–84</sup>, 137<sup>96</sup>  
 13.1 133<sup>68</sup>  
 14.1 134<sup>73</sup>  
 16 132<sup>59</sup>  
 17.1 133<sup>71</sup>

- 17.2 133<sup>68</sup>  
 94 124<sup>7</sup>, 136<sup>89-91</sup>, 137<sup>94</sup>  
 96 124<sup>8</sup>, 137<sup>98, 102</sup>, 138<sup>103</sup>, 395<sup>27</sup>  
 103 124<sup>8</sup>, 137<sup>98, 99, 102</sup>, 138<sup>103</sup>,  
 395<sup>27</sup>  
 104 124<sup>7</sup>, 137<sup>96</sup>  
 180 118<sup>39</sup>  
 185 124<sup>7</sup>, 136<sup>90</sup>, 137<sup>97</sup>  
 191 124<sup>8</sup>, 137<sup>98</sup>, 395<sup>27</sup>
- Homiliae in Acta apostolorum* 113<sup>7, 8</sup>,  
 117<sup>26, 27, 29</sup>, 118<sup>36</sup>, 128<sup>39</sup>, 147<sup>17</sup>, 156<sup>58</sup>,  
 157<sup>64</sup>, 158<sup>66</sup>, 159<sup>73</sup>
- Homiliae in epistulam i ad Corinthios*  
 118<sup>35</sup>, 129<sup>49</sup>
- Homiliae in epistulam i ad Thessaloni-  
 censes* 127<sup>24</sup>
- Homiliae in epistulam i ad Timotheum*  
 115-19, 126-29, 143-45, 395<sup>25</sup>
- Homiliae in epistulam ii ad Timotheum*  
 128-29
- Homiliae in epistulam ad Philippenses*  
 114<sup>11</sup>, 129<sup>47</sup>, 143<sup>4</sup>
- Homiliae in epistulam ad Romanos*  
 117<sup>28</sup>, 128, 128<sup>33, 34, 39</sup>, 129<sup>40-46, 49</sup>, 442<sup>52</sup>
- Homiliae in epistulam ad Titum* 127<sup>25</sup>,  
 129<sup>49</sup>
- Homiliae in Matthaëum* 117<sup>33</sup>, 129<sup>45-46</sup>,  
 151<sup>36</sup>
- In Eliam et viduam* 127<sup>24-25</sup>
- In sanctum Ignatium martyrem*  
 2 114
- John of the Cells** 207, 207<sup>22</sup>
- John of Sinai**
- Ladder* 216<sup>51</sup>
- Josephus**
- Contra Apionem*  
 1.50 435-36<sup>11</sup>
- Justin Martyr** 47, 324, 441, 443<sup>54</sup>
- First Apology*  
 14.2 37<sup>35</sup>  
 65 157<sup>64</sup>, 173<sup>56</sup>, 238<sup>19</sup>, 324<sup>30</sup>  
 67 162<sup>6</sup>, 324<sup>30</sup>
- Justinian** 23, 410-11, 413, 423<sup>31</sup>
- Digest and Code* 332, 334<sup>15, 16</sup>
- Lex Romana Visigothorum/Breviarum  
 Alarici* 334<sup>15</sup>
- Novellae* 23, 334<sup>15, 16</sup>, 398<sup>54</sup>, 410<sup>100</sup>,  
 413<sup>115</sup>, 420<sup>17</sup>
- Leo the Great** 234-35, 240-41, 245, 247
- Sermo*  
 85.2 234<sup>2</sup>, 241<sup>31</sup>, 242  
 85.3 240<sup>28</sup>, 241<sup>30</sup>  
 85.5 246<sup>51</sup>
- Life of Pachomius* 206, 206<sup>17</sup>
- Liturgy of Basil the Great* 349
- Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom* 349,  
 439<sup>25</sup>
- Liturgy of St. Mark* 349
- Macarius of Jerusalem** 172<sup>53</sup>, 174<sup>62</sup>
- Letter to Armenians* 169, 169<sup>43</sup>
- Martyrologium Romanum* 247<sup>54</sup>
- Maximus II of Turin** 244
- Homiliae*  
 75 244<sup>44</sup>
- Modestus of Jerusalem**
- De myrophorois* 23
- Musonius Rufus** 22

- Oratio funebris in laudem S. Iohannis Chrysostomi** 124, 124<sup>13</sup>, 125, 125<sup>14</sup>, 130, 132, 132<sup>61</sup>, 134<sup>73</sup>, 137–39, 137<sup>93</sup>
- Origen** 11–30, 34, 45, 48, 62, 92<sup>1</sup>, 179, 199, 199<sup>36</sup>, 208<sup>24</sup>, 248, 254, 277<sup>42</sup>, 281, 348, 442, 446, 448, 454
- Catena (Corinthians)*  
A74 27
- Commentarii in evangelium Joannis* 12, 12<sup>6, 7</sup>, 13, 13<sup>12, 13</sup>, 15, 15<sup>20</sup>, 16, 18, 22, 22<sup>51</sup>, 28, 29<sup>80</sup>, 442<sup>49</sup>
- Commentarii in Romanos* 14<sup>18, 19</sup>, 15, 15<sup>21, 24</sup>, 19, 21<sup>49</sup>, 22, 24<sup>64</sup>, 24–25, 27, 29<sup>79</sup>, 173<sup>56</sup>, 394, 394<sup>18</sup>, 448, 448<sup>90</sup>  
10.17 62<sup>77</sup>
- Commentarii in Romanos Codex Athous Laura* 12<sup>8</sup>
- Commentarium in evangelium Matthaei* 12, 12<sup>4, 6</sup>, 13<sup>14</sup>, 14–15, 15<sup>20</sup>, 20, 20<sup>48</sup>, 28<sup>75</sup>, 446<sup>83</sup>
- Commentarium series in evangelium Matthaei* 23<sup>57, 58</sup>, 37<sup>33</sup>
- Commentarius in Canticum* 17–19, 29, 173<sup>56</sup>
- Contra Celsum* 11<sup>2</sup>, 12, 12<sup>7, 10</sup>, 15, 16<sup>25–27</sup>
- Dialogus cum Heraclide*  
5 20
- De engastrimytho*  
4 15<sup>23</sup>
- Exhortatio ad martyrium* 16<sup>28</sup>, 18, 20
- Fragmenta ex commentariis in epistulam i ad Corinthios (Catena)* 19–20
- Fragmenta ex commentariis in epistulam ad Ephesios (Catena)* 12<sup>9</sup>
- Fragmenta ex commentariis in evangelium Matthaei (Catena)* 16
- Fragmenta ex commentariis in Ezechielem* 17<sup>35</sup>
- Fragmenta in evangelium Joannis* 12<sup>5</sup>
- Fragmenta in Lucam (Catena)* 13, 29<sup>79</sup>
- Fragmenta in Psalmos 1–150* 15, 15<sup>20</sup>, 22<sup>51</sup>
- Homiliae in Exodum* 17<sup>32</sup>, 18, 29<sup>83</sup>
- Homiliae in Ezechielem* 29
- Homiliae in Genesim* 29<sup>83</sup>
- Homiliae in Jeremiam* 13, 17<sup>34, 36</sup>, 19, 29<sup>79</sup>
- Homiliae in Job Cat.* 20<sup>47</sup>
- Homiliae in Iudices* 18<sup>37</sup>, 19<sup>44</sup>, 171<sup>48</sup>
- Homiliae in Leviticum* 15<sup>21</sup>, 17, 19, 96<sup>16</sup>
- Homiliae in Lucam* 18, 21, 454<sup>129</sup>
- Homiliae in Numeros* 15, 15<sup>21, 24</sup>, 17, 17<sup>33</sup>, 19, 22–23
- Homiliae in Psalmos*  
3 16<sup>26</sup>  
4 15<sup>21</sup>, 16
- In Jesu Nave homiliae xxvi* 15<sup>21</sup>, 17, 17<sup>30, 31</sup>, 19
- De oratione* 15, 18, 21
- De Principiis* 13, 13<sup>11</sup>, 15<sup>21</sup>, 16<sup>25, 26</sup>, 18, 455
- Scholia in Canticum canticorum* 19<sup>41</sup>
- Scholia in Lucam* 19<sup>42</sup>
- Selecta in Psalmos* 17<sup>35</sup>, 19<sup>40</sup>
- Palladius** 86<sup>24</sup>, 113, 118, 123–26, 135, 137–40, 177, 179, 208
- Apology* 250<sup>3</sup>
- Coptic Life of Evagrius* 178<sup>3</sup>
- Dialogue on the Life of John Chrysostom* 5–6, 6<sup>13</sup>, 113, 118–21, 122<sup>2</sup>, 123–25, 132–33, 136, 138  
3 5  
3.108–113 123<sup>5</sup>, 137<sup>92</sup>

- 5.4–5 119<sup>41</sup>  
 5.35–39 119<sup>42</sup>  
 7.12–16 121<sup>49</sup>  
 7.49 120<sup>48</sup>  
 7.85–91 134<sup>76</sup>  
 8.63–68 121<sup>50</sup>  
 9.162–167 120<sup>45</sup>  
 9.198–199 120<sup>46</sup>  
 10 396<sup>31</sup>  
 10.34–67 133<sup>70</sup>  
 10.50–53 123<sup>3</sup>, 132<sup>63</sup>, 136<sup>88</sup>  
 15.81–83 119<sup>43</sup>  
 16.64–109 120<sup>44</sup>  
 16.182 123<sup>4</sup>  
 16.191 135<sup>77</sup>  
 16.201–202 132<sup>64</sup>  
 16.211–214 134<sup>74</sup>, 135<sup>80</sup>  
 16.216–217 134<sup>76</sup>, 135<sup>77</sup>  
 16.218–315 135<sup>77</sup>  
 16.245–246 135<sup>77</sup>  
 16.249 123<sup>4</sup>  
 16.272–274 135<sup>78</sup>  
 16.293–297 135<sup>78</sup>  
 16.306–311 135<sup>77</sup>  
 16.312–315 135<sup>78</sup>  
 16.318–324 134<sup>74</sup>, 135<sup>79, 80</sup>  
 17.123–124 123<sup>4</sup>  
 17.139 132<sup>62</sup>  
 17.148–178 131<sup>56</sup>, 139<sup>105</sup>  
 17.185–205 134<sup>73</sup>  
 20.76–78 120<sup>47</sup>
- Historia Lausiaca* 125, 126, 131–33, 139,  
 178, 204, 209<sup>28</sup>  
 2.7 139<sup>108</sup>  
 3 139<sup>108</sup>, 140<sup>109</sup>  
 16.4 205<sup>14</sup>  
 30.1 210<sup>35</sup>  
 38.1–2 178<sup>1</sup>, 204<sup>8</sup>  
 40.1 204<sup>9</sup>  
 41 396<sup>39</sup>  
 41.4 126<sup>17, 18</sup>, 209<sup>30</sup>  
 55.1;3 205<sup>10</sup>, 208<sup>24</sup>  
 56 125<sup>15</sup>, 131<sup>55</sup>, 132<sup>65</sup>, 134<sup>73</sup>  
 61.3 134<sup>73</sup>  
 70 396<sup>35</sup>  
 70.3–4 126<sup>18</sup>, 208<sup>26</sup>, 209<sup>29</sup>, 449<sup>95</sup>
- 71.6 139<sup>108</sup>  
 143 172<sup>54</sup>
- Passio Perpetuae et Felicitate*** 446
- Paulinus of Milan**  
*Vita Ambrosii*  
 7–10 250<sup>1</sup>, 261, 261<sup>56–59</sup>, 267
- Peter Chrysologus** 235–36  
*Sermo*  
 135.1 235<sup>6</sup>, 236<sup>13</sup>
- Philo**  
*Legum allegoriae* 29<sup>82</sup>
- Pliny** 26, 395  
*Epistulae*  
 10.96 394<sup>15</sup>, 395<sup>21</sup>, 448<sup>89</sup>
- Polycarp**  
*To the Philippians*  
 5.2 455
- Possidius Calamensis**  
*Vita Augustini* 295<sup>36</sup>
- Prosper of Aquitaine** 291  
*Liber in quo proferuntur auctoritates  
 episcoporum*  
 8 434<sup>8</sup>
- Prudentius** 234–35, 239–40, 242, 244,  
 246–49, 246–47<sup>52, 56</sup>, 248<sup>57, 62</sup>  
*Liber Peristephanon*  
 2.1, 4, 5 247<sup>56</sup>  
 2.10 235<sup>5</sup>, 456<sup>136</sup>  
 2.11 239<sup>24</sup>  
 2.17 242  
 2.101–102 237<sup>14</sup>

- Pseudo-Clementine**  
*Homiliae*  
 3.71 451<sup>113</sup>
- Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite** 150,  
 158<sup>65</sup>, 172<sup>54</sup>, 173<sup>56</sup>, 217
- Pseudo-Ignatius**  
*Ad Antiochenos*  
 12 409
- Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals** 335<sup>28</sup>
- (Pseudo-)Jerome**  
*Epistulae*  
 18 282<sup>62</sup>, 444<sup>60</sup>
- Rufinus** 11, 14, 16, 19, 21–22, 25, 27,  
 96<sup>16</sup>  
*Historia ecclesiastica* 250<sup>1</sup>
- Shepherd of Hermas** 245, 271<sup>15</sup>, 446  
 Similitudes  
 9.26 37<sup>33</sup>, 146<sup>16</sup>, 245<sup>46</sup>, 446<sup>82</sup>  
 9.27 445<sup>75</sup>  
 59.2 96<sup>16</sup>
- Sozomen** 131, 136, 138–40, 139<sup>107</sup>, 264,  
 371, 395  
*Historia ecclesiastica*  
 1.23 337<sup>40</sup>  
 3.16.15 446<sup>80</sup>  
 4.20.1–2 371<sup>53</sup>, 446<sup>80</sup>  
 4.24 396<sup>40</sup>  
 7.16 398<sup>56</sup>  
 8.7.2 136<sup>86–87</sup>  
 8.9.1–3 131<sup>58</sup>, 140<sup>111</sup>, 395<sup>28</sup>  
 8.23.4–7 139<sup>107</sup>  
 8.63–68 265<sup>70</sup>  
 9.2 396<sup>37</sup>
- Tertullian** 25, 199, 221, 443, 446, 452  
*Ad martyras* 446
- Apologeticus*  
 3.5.5 49<sup>24</sup>  
 39 172<sup>54</sup>, 445<sup>75</sup>  
 50.13 247<sup>61</sup>
- De anima* 25  
*De baptismo*  
 17 443  
*De carnis resurrectione* 25  
*De jejunio adversus psychicos* 333, 333<sup>11</sup>  
*De oratione*  
 18 173<sup>56</sup>  
*De praescriptione haereticorum*  
 3 221<sup>2</sup>  
*Ad uxorem*  
 2.4 445<sup>75</sup>
- Testamentum Domini** 200, 313–21, 323,  
 326–29, 357–61, 365–66, 370–72, 374,  
 391–93, 397, 399–402, 404, 408, 410,  
 412, 444, 446
- Clementine Octateuch 316  
 Syriac Octateuch  
 I.1–3 316  
 I.4–13 316  
 I.14–18 316  
 I.19 318–19, 328, 371<sup>55</sup>, 402<sup>72</sup>,  
 442<sup>51</sup>  
 I.19–II.25 316  
 I.23 318<sup>17</sup>, 319–20, 326<sup>35</sup>, 328,  
 399<sup>58</sup>, 402<sup>72</sup>  
 I.31 327  
 I.33 322<sup>23</sup>  
 I.33–38 321–22  
 I.33–39 200<sup>40</sup>  
 I.34 319, 322<sup>25</sup>, 361<sup>21</sup>, 366<sup>39</sup>,  
 371<sup>54</sup>, 444<sup>64</sup>  
 I.35 323, 329  
 I.36 324<sup>31</sup>, 328  
 I.37 325  
 I.38 326, 327<sup>37</sup>, 360<sup>15</sup>  
 I.40 327, 399<sup>59</sup>  
 I.41 399<sup>61</sup>



- I.43 399<sup>60</sup>  
 II.8 399<sup>62</sup>, 403  
 II.20 327, 329, 442<sup>51</sup>
- Theodore of Mopsuestia** 114, 142–60,  
 147<sup>19</sup>, 172<sup>54</sup>, 411, 441, 443<sup>53</sup>, 445<sup>75</sup>, 448
- Catechetical Homilies* 148–54, 156–59,  
 172–73.  
 12–14 148–49, 148<sup>21</sup>, 152  
 15–16 149–60, 149<sup>27</sup>, 151<sup>33</sup>,  
 159<sup>71–72</sup>
- In epistolam Beati Pauli ad Philippenses*  
 114<sup>13</sup>, 143<sup>4</sup>
- In epistolam Beati Pauli ad Timotheum*  
 114<sup>13</sup>, 142, 143<sup>3, 5</sup>, 144<sup>7–9</sup>, 145<sup>10</sup>, 146<sup>13</sup>,  
 147, 411<sup>102</sup>
- In epistolam Beati Pauli ad Titum* 28<sup>76</sup>
- Theodoret of Cyrrihus** 396, 396<sup>33</sup>  
*Historia ecclesia* 396<sup>33</sup>
- Theodosian Code** 331<sup>4</sup>, 332, 334<sup>14–16</sup>,  
 417, 419, 424<sup>32</sup>, 425  
 5.3.1 427  
 16.2.2 62<sup>72</sup>  
 16.2.16 62<sup>72</sup>  
 16.2.20,22 424<sup>32</sup>  
 16.2.27 398<sup>56</sup>, 417–25, 417<sup>7</sup>, 426  
 16.2.28 425–27
- Theophanes** 140  
*Chronographia* 140<sup>110</sup>
- Traditio Apostolica** 199, 245, 313, 316,  
 327<sup>37</sup>, 333<sup>8</sup>, 357, 359–60, 366–68, 370–  
 73, 391–92, 399–401  
 4 238, 238<sup>20</sup>  
 8 236, 236<sup>8</sup>  
 9 96<sup>16</sup>, 369  
 21 238  
 22.2 368  
 23 368  
 28.5 369  
 34 367  
 40 370
- Virgil** 246–47  
*Aeneid* 246
- Visogothic Breviary** 332, 334<sup>15</sup>
- Vita Cypriani** 226
- Vita Ephrem** 189, 189<sup>6</sup>, 215<sup>49</sup>
- Vita Heraclidis** 398<sup>52</sup>, 413
- Vita Olympiadis** 122, 132, 140, 141, 395,  
 395<sup>30</sup>  
 5 424<sup>35</sup>  
 5.21–33 140<sup>112</sup>  
 6 140<sup>113</sup>  
 6.16 132<sup>66</sup>  
 7.1–6 140<sup>112</sup>  
 7.6–9 140<sup>114</sup>  
 8 141<sup>116</sup>  
 9.16–22 135<sup>81</sup>  
 10.13–28 141<sup>115</sup>  
 12 141<sup>115</sup>
- Vita Porphyrii** 398, 398<sup>50</sup>

## Codices

Codex Angelicus (Roma)		Codex Toletanus	
Ms 1.091	335 <sup>28</sup>	XV.16: f 115 v	335 <sup>28</sup>
		XV.17	335 <sup>28</sup>
Codex Aquilarensis		Codex Urgellensis	
5	422 <sup>26</sup>	folio 88r	335 <sup>28</sup>
Codex Barberini gr. 336		Codex Vallicellianus (Roma)	
	413	D.18	335 <sup>24</sup>
Codex Escorialensis		Codex Veronensis	
D-1-1	335 <sup>25</sup>	LX (58)	49 <sup>25</sup>
D-1-2	335 <sup>25</sup>		
E-1-12	335 <sup>25</sup>	Codex Vindobonensis	
Codex Gerundensis	335 <sup>28</sup>	411	335 <sup>21, 24</sup>
Codex Palatino-Vaticanus		Nag Hammadi Codex II	
575	335 <sup>24</sup>	II.5	107 <sup>54</sup>

## Inscriptions, Ostraka, and Papyri

BASP <i>Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists</i>		4.16	61 <sup>65</sup>
		4.181	61 <sup>65</sup>
51.62	56 <sup>44</sup>	5.11	56 <sup>44</sup> , 58, 59 <sup>55, 56</sup> , 438
		6.10	60 <sup>63</sup>
BGU <i>Berliner griechische Urkunden</i>		9.8	61 <sup>65</sup>
2.597	52	19.60	56 <sup>44</sup>
2.668	61 <sup>65</sup>	24.1	56 <sup>44</sup> , 60, 452 <sup>115</sup>
4.1046	52		
12.2189	61 <sup>65</sup>	MAMA <i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua</i>	
12.2198	61 <sup>65</sup>	I	178 397 <sup>41</sup>
19.2790	61 <sup>65</sup>		194 397 <sup>41, 42</sup>
BL <i>Berichtigungliste der griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten</i>			324 396 <sup>41</sup>
VIII	58		326 396 <sup>41</sup>
			383 396 <sup>41</sup>
Chr. Wilck. L. Mitteis and U. Wilcken, <i>Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde</i> , I Bd. <i>Historischer Teil</i>		III	212b 397 <sup>41, 42</sup>
			395 391 <sup>41</sup>
			418 391 <sup>41</sup>
135	60 <sup>63</sup>		744 397b43
			758 391 <sup>41</sup>
CPR <i>Corpus Papyrorum Raineri</i>		IV	321 371 <sup>55</sup>
1.227	58		

VII	69	397 <sup>41</sup>	886	61 <sup>65</sup>
	75	397 <sup>41</sup>	968	61 <sup>65</sup>
	120	397 <sup>41</sup>	975	61 <sup>65</sup>
	185	371 <sup>55</sup>		
	186	397 <sup>41, 42</sup>	O.Frange	<i>Fouilles belges dans la nécropole thébaine</i>
	471	396 <sup>41</sup>	802	61 <sup>66</sup>
	539	396 <sup>41</sup>		
	556	396 <sup>41</sup>	O.Mich.	<i>Greek Ostraca in the University of Michigan Collection</i>
	585	396–97 <sup>41</sup>	2.782	56 <sup>44</sup>
VIII	64	397 <sup>41</sup>	3.1046	55
O.AbuMina	<i>Greek Ostraka from Abu Mina</i>			
11	61 <sup>65</sup>		O.Trim.	<i>Amheida I: Ostraka from Trimithis, Vol. 1</i>
22	61 <sup>65</sup>		1.26	56 <sup>44</sup>
37	61 <sup>65</sup>		1.76	56 <sup>44</sup>
54	61 <sup>65</sup>		1.272	56 <sup>44</sup>
66	61 <sup>65</sup>		P.Abinn.	<i>The Abinnaeus Archive</i>
88	61 <sup>65</sup>		55	56 <sup>44</sup> , 60 <sup>62</sup>
90	61 <sup>65</sup>		P.Amst.	<i>Die Amsterdamer Papyri</i>
93	61 <sup>65</sup>		1.81	61 <sup>65</sup>
94	61 <sup>65</sup>		P.Bas.	<i>Papyrusurkunden der Öffentlichen Bibliothek der Universität zu Basel</i>
101	61 <sup>65</sup>		2.43	47, 47 <sup>16</sup> , 48 <sup>19</sup> , 54
141	61 <sup>65</sup>		2.44	47
162	61 <sup>65</sup>		16	47 <sup>16</sup>
214	61 <sup>65</sup>		P.Berl.Leihg.	<i>Berliner Leihgabe griechischer Papyri</i>
236	61 <sup>65</sup>		1.4	54
247	61 <sup>65</sup>		1.8	52, 54
249	61 <sup>65</sup>		2.39	52, 54
253	61 <sup>65</sup>		P.Bour.	<i>Les Papyrus Bouriant</i>
261	61 <sup>65</sup>		42	52, 54
275	61 <sup>65</sup>		P.Cair.Masp.	<i>Papyrus grecs d'époque byzantine, Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire</i>
279	61 <sup>65</sup>		1.67094	61 <sup>65</sup>
290	61 <sup>65</sup>		3.67298	60 <sup>63</sup>
294	61 <sup>65</sup>		3.67332	61 <sup>65</sup>
310	61 <sup>65</sup>			
325	61 <sup>65</sup>			
342	61 <sup>65</sup>			
431	61 <sup>65</sup>			
472	61 <sup>65</sup>			
483	61 <sup>65</sup>			
510	61 <sup>65</sup>			
560	61 <sup>65</sup>			
580	61 <sup>65</sup>			
588	61 <sup>65</sup>			
613	61 <sup>65</sup>			
778	61 <sup>65</sup>			

- P.Cair.Preis. *Griechische Urkunden des Aegyptischen Museums zu Kairo*  
2.20 56<sup>44</sup>
- P.Col. *Columbia Papyri*  
7.167 56<sup>44</sup>  
7.171 51, 51<sup>34, 35</sup>, 56<sup>44</sup>  
8.230 55
- P.Flor. *Papiri greco-egizii, Papiri Fiorentini*  
2.121 56
- P.Giss. *Griechische Papyri im Museum des oberhessischen Geschichtsvereins zu Giessen*  
1.101 56  
1.117 56<sup>44</sup>
- P.Iand. *Papyri Iandanae*  
8.154 60<sup>63</sup>, 61<sup>65, 67</sup>
- P.Kell. *Papyri from Kellis*  
1.24 56<sup>44</sup>  
4.96 56<sup>44</sup>
- P.Kru. *Koptische Rechtsurkunden des achten Jahrhunderts aus Djême (Theben)*  
3 60<sup>63</sup>, 61<sup>67</sup>  
7 61<sup>67</sup>  
9 61<sup>67</sup>  
60 61<sup>67</sup>  
75 61<sup>67</sup>  
102 61<sup>67</sup>  
105 61<sup>67</sup>
- P.Lond. *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*  
1.77 61<sup>67</sup>  
3.1044 61<sup>65</sup>  
5.1731 60<sup>63</sup>  
5.1765 61<sup>65</sup>  
6.1913 56<sup>44</sup>  
6.1914 56<sup>44</sup>, 58<sup>50</sup>  
7.2052 52
- P.Mich. *Michigan Papyri*  
8.473 52
- P.Muench. *Die Papyri der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München*  
1.11 60<sup>63</sup>
- P.Ness. *Excavations at Nessana*  
3.46 61<sup>65</sup>  
3.57 60<sup>63</sup>
- P.Oxf. *Some Oxford Papyri*  
16 61<sup>65</sup>
- P.Oxy. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*  
8.1162 56<sup>44</sup>, 57  
20.2270 61<sup>65</sup>  
33.2673 50<sup>32</sup>  
36.2785 46<sup>12</sup>  
55.3787 56, 56<sup>44</sup>  
63.4397 61<sup>65</sup>
- P.Petra *The Petra Papyri*  
3.29 60<sup>63</sup>  
3.30 60<sup>63</sup>  
3.31 60<sup>63</sup>  
4.37 60<sup>63</sup>  
4.49 60<sup>63</sup>
- P.Rain.Cent. *Festschrift zum 100-jährigen Bestehen der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*  
86 56<sup>44</sup>
- P.Ross.Georg. *Papyri russischer und georgischer Sammlungen*  
5.46.3 61<sup>65</sup>
- P.Sakaon *The Archive of Aurelius Sakaon*  
48 56<sup>44</sup>, 57, 58<sup>51</sup>
- PSI *Papiri greci e latini*  
8.964 61<sup>65</sup>
- P.Sorb. *Papyrus de la Sorbonne*  
2.69 61<sup>65</sup>

P.Stras. <i>Griechische Papyrus der Kaiserlichen Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek zu Strassburg</i>		6.9370	54
		6.9397	60 <sup>63</sup>
		6.9527	61 <sup>66</sup>
1.15	61 <sup>65</sup>	6.9590	61 <sup>65</sup>
3.154	61	8.9932	61 <sup>65</sup>
5.333 R	55	16.12497	48
		16.12828	56 <sup>44</sup>
P.Vind.Sal. <i>Einige Wiener Papyri</i> , ed. R.P. Salomons		18.13777	61 <sup>65</sup>
		18.13913	56 <sup>44</sup>
9	61 <sup>65</sup>	20.14448	61 <sup>65</sup>
		20.14584	48 <sup>21</sup>
P.Worp <i>Sixty-Five Papyrological Texts Presented to Klaas A. Worp on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday</i>		20.15138	61 <sup>65</sup>
		22.15311	56 <sup>44</sup>
30	61 <sup>65</sup>	22.15728	56 <sup>44</sup>
		Stud.Pal. <i>Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde</i>	
P.Wuerzb. <i>Mitteilungen aus der Würzburger Papyrussammlung</i>		1.1	61 <sup>65</sup>
16	56 <sup>44</sup>	3(2).5.451	60 <sup>63</sup>
		3(2).5.509	60 <sup>63</sup>
SB <i>Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten</i>		3.324	60 <sup>63</sup>
1.5124	55	8.763	61 <sup>66</sup>
1.5589	61 <sup>67</sup>	8.1235	61 <sup>66</sup>
1.5590	61 <sup>67</sup>	20.249	61 <sup>67</sup>
1.5603	61 <sup>67</sup>		
1.5662	52	<i>Trismegistos</i>	
5.8944	61	102801	56 <sup>44</sup>
6.9218	56 <sup>44</sup>	370024	61 <sup>66</sup>

## Index of Modern Authors

- Achelis, Hans 403  
Adams, Bertrand 58  
Adkin, Neil 270  
Akselberg, Kristian 169–70  
Alberigo, Giuseppe 169  
Alciati, Roberto 5  
Alikin, Valeriy A. 366  
Allen, Pauline 112, 306  
Amar, Joseph P. 188–89  
Ambrosio, Pietro 154  
Anatolios, Khaled 65, 69, 71, 74–75  
Ando, Clifford 332  
Andorlini, Isabelle 47  
Andrews, Margaret M. 309  
Arfuch, Diego Elias 398  
Arnold, Duane Wade-Hampton 76  
Assemani, J. S. 189  
Aubert, Jean-Jacques 334  
Aubert, Marie-Josephe 62  
Aubert, Roger 336  
Auer, Alfons 452  
Aune, David E. 110  
Austen, Gerard 159
- Bacchi, Lee F. 292  
Bagnall, Roger S. 44, 48, 50–51, 60  
Baldovin, John F. 172  
Baldwin, Barry 304  
Bamberger, John 87  
Bardy, Gustave 33, 333, 337  
Bareille, Gilles 336  
Barker, Margaret 346–48  
Barnard, Leslie W. 100  
Barnes, Timothy D. 124, 250  
Barnett, James Monroe 92, 178, 339, 342, 440  
Barone Adesi, Giorgio 418, 425  
Barreda, Pere-Enric 341  
Barrett-Lennard, Ric 370, 372, 380, 446
- Bartelink, Gerhardus Johannes Marinus 96, 178  
Barter, Jane 14  
Bartlet, James Vernon 402  
Bartsch, H.-W. 363  
Baumgarten, Barbara Dee 152  
Baur, Chrysostomus 124  
Baur, J. C. 118  
Bausi, Alessandro 49–50, 313, 371  
Beaucamp, Joëlle 58  
Beck, Edmund 88, 191–92, 196, 198  
Beck, Roger 26  
BeDuhn, Jason 111  
Bell, David N. 207  
Berdugo, Teresa 341  
Bergemann, Marc 92  
Berger, Adolf 420  
Berger, Teresa 351  
Beskow, Per 165  
Bevan, George 124  
Bévenot, Maurice 224, 338  
Beyer, Hermann Wolfgang 382–83  
Beylot, Roger 316, 358  
Bierl, Anton 26  
Biernath, Andrea 416  
Bingham, Joseph 401  
Binns, John 202  
Bitner, Bradley J. 3  
Blockley, R. C. 304  
Blumell, Lincoln 44, 46  
Boak, Arthur E. R. 202  
Boddens Hosang, Elizabeth 439, 441, 453  
Bonner, Gerald 287  
Booth, Phil 306  
Børresen, Kari E. 130  
Bosch, Jan Walter Maria van den 240, 245–46, 248–49, 461  
Botte, B. 148, 357

- Bou Mansour, Tanios 27, 193, 195–96, 199  
 Bousset, Wilhelm 203  
 Bowman, Alan K. 48, 331, 339  
 Bradshaw, Paul F. 173, 199, 236, 313–14, 352, 357, 375, 387, 393, 408–10, 412–13  
 Brakke, David 182, 184, 206  
 Brakmann, Heinzgerd 316  
 Brent, Allen 64–65, 230, 405  
 Bright, William 368  
 Brinkhof, Joke H. A. 109  
 Broc-Schmezer, Catherine 123–24, 127, 129–30  
 Brodnanska, Erika 79  
 Bromiley, Geoffrey W. 382  
 Brottier, Laurence 442  
 Broughton, T. Robert S. 460  
 Brown, Peter 265, 272, 278, 283, 287, 331  
 Brown, Rosalin 345  
 Brunner, Francis A. 4, 434  
 Bruns, Peter 147, 150, 153, 156  
 Bryer, Anthony 92  
 Buchheit, Vinzenz 246–47  
 Bucur, Bogdan Gabriel 216–17, 347  
 Budge, E. A. W. 214  
 Bunge, Gabriel 178–79  
 Burgsmüller, Anne 7, 449  
 Burtchaell, J. 432  
 Buzi, Paola 61, 313  
  
 Cain, Andrew 178–79, 270, 272–74, 277, 283–84  
 Cameron, Averil 303, 331, 337, 341  
 Campbell, R. Alastair 432  
 Campenhausen, Hans von 251  
 Camplani, Alberto 49–50, 313  
 Cano, Silvia Martínez 416–17  
 Caron, Pier Giovanni 422  
 Carr, Anthony F. 392–93, 401  
 Carroll, Lewis 463  
 Carrozzi, L. 294  
 Casel, Odo 155  
 Cassidy, Richard 14  
 Cassingena-Trévedy, François 191  
 Castelli, Elisabeth A. 420  
 Cattaneo, Enrico 32  
 Cavadini, John C. 305  
 Chazelle, Celia 305  
 Chitty, Derwas 203  
 Choat, Malcom 44, 48, 50–52, 56, 58  
 Chronz, Tinatin 316  
 Chryssologus, Peter 235–36  
 Chryssavgis, John 7, 163, 168  
 Churruca, Juan de 417, 419  
 Clapsis, Emmanuel 112  
 Clark, Elizabeth A. 92  
 Clarke, Graeme W. 221–26, 228–32, 333  
 Coakley, J. H. 328  
 Collatz, Christian-Friedrich 92  
 Collins, John N. 23, 36, 39, 52, 66, 70, 93, 104, 106, 110, 146, 166, 174, 190, 222, 299, 374, 380, 382–83, 385, 431, 440, 454  
 Collins, Raymond F. 453  
 Colson, Jean 435  
 Combefis, François 189  
 Connolly, Richard Hugh 391, 395  
 Cook, John Granger 26, 448  
 Cooper, James 315, 317, 325, 357  
 Coquin, René-Georges 357–58, 368  
 Corcoran, Simon 315  
 Corke-Webster, James 31  
 Cornillon, Jonathan 31, 34, 36–37, 39–40, 431, 450–51, 458  
 Costache, Doru 67, 70, 431, 439, 442, 444–445  
 Cotsonis, Jérôme 394  
 Cotter, Wendy 24  
 Crouzel, Henri 95  
 Crum, W. E. 207  
 Cubitt, Catherine 305  
 Cunningham, J.G. 270  
 Cvetković, Carmen A. 252  
  
 Dagens, Claude 300–1, 309  
 Dal Santo, Matthew 303, 306  
 Dale, Alfred William Winterslow 334, 336, 341  
 Daley, Brian 82, 84–85  
 Daniélou, Jean 155  
 Darling Young, Robin 179–80  
 Dassmann, Ernst 108, 145–46  
 David, Ariel 398  
 Davidson, Ivor J. 250, 252–53, 255, 258–60

- Davies, John G. 401  
 Day, Juliette 161, 165  
 De Clercq, Victor Cyril 337  
 De Giovanni, Lucio 418  
 De Lange, Nicholas 23  
 De Robertis, Francesco Maria 419  
 Dechow, Jon F. 92  
 Deick, Alexander 122  
 Deissmann, Adolf 52, 441  
 Deléani, Simone 222–23, 228, 230, 233  
 Della Putta, Chiara 22  
 Delmaire, Roland 123–24, 136–37  
 Demacopoulos, George E. 300, 308  
 Demandt, Alexander 419  
 Devresse, Robert 148–54, 156–59  
 Dey, Hendrik W. 301  
 Di Berardino, Angelo 4, 145–46, 307  
 Di Segni, Leah 398  
 Díaz y Díaz, Manuel C. 164  
 Dijkstra, Jitse 44  
 Dindorfius, W. 100  
 Domagalski, Bernhard 302  
 Domínguez Arranz, Almudena 427  
 Donaldson, James 236  
 Dörfler-Dierken, Angelika 112  
 Doval, Alexis James 161, 165  
 Drijvers, Han Jan Willem 165, 315  
 Driver, Steven D. 270  
 Dudden, F. Homes 309  
 Dummer, Jürgen 92  
 Dunn, Geoffrey D. 228, 275, 427  
 Dunn, Marilyn 202  
 Dünzl, Franz 131  
 Dupont, Anthony 82, 223  
 Duval, Yves-Marie 265, 270, 282  
 Duval, Yvette 225, 227–28  
 Dysinger, Luke 180  
  
 Eckholt, Margit 130  
 Edwards, Catherine 278  
 Eguiarte, Enrique A. 439  
 Ehrensperger, Kathy 24  
 Eidt, Ellen 93  
 Eijk, Ton van 437  
 Eisen, Ute 62  
 Ellis, Edward Earle 436  
  
 Ellwardt, Andreas 315  
 Elm, Susanna 180, 397, 401, 422, 424–25  
 Elmer, Ian J. 129  
 Emereau, Archange 301  
 English, Adam C. 65  
 Epp, Eldon Jay 27  
 Ernst, Allie M. 360  
 Escribano Paño, María Victoria 424–25  
 Esders, Stefan 306  
  
 Fahey, Michael Andrew 231  
 Faivre, Alexandre 441, 459  
 Favrier, P.-A. 293  
 Ferguson, Everett 168, 340, 384  
 Fernandez, Domitianus 102  
 Festugière, André-Jean 178  
 Feulner, Hans-Jürgen 392  
 Fiey, Jean M. 190, 193  
 Filtvedt, Ole Jakob 29  
 Finn, Richard 342  
 Fischer, Andreas 306  
 Fitzgerald, Allan 82  
 Fitzgerald, Kyriaki K. 7  
 Flemming, Johs 403  
 Fliedner, Theodor 454, 463  
 Ford, David 129  
 Forget, Jacques 416  
 Foster, Paul 324  
 Fox, Margaret Mary 84  
 Fox, Robin Lane 337  
 Fox, Yaniv 306  
 Franchi de' Cavalieri, Pio 397  
 Frankenberg, W. 180  
 Fredouille, Jean-Claude 301  
 Frenkel, Miriam 423  
 Frey, Jörg 18  
 Freyne, Seán 443  
 Friedrich, Gerhard 388  
 Funk, Franciscus Xaverius 148, 381  
 Fürst, Alfons 64, 269–70, 276, 279–80  
 Fux, Pierre-Yves 295  
  
 Gagos, T. 51  
 Gahbauer, Ferdinand Reinhard 333  
 Gallego Franco, Henar 427  
 Gallino, Oreste Mendolia 154  
 Galtier, Paul 395



- García Villoslada, Ricardo 341–42  
 Garnsey, Peter 331, 341  
 Gaudemaris, André de 302–02  
 Gaudemet, Jean 333–36, 340, 417–18, 420  
 Gaudenzio, Pierantozzi 7  
 Gavrilyuk, Paul L. 368  
 Geest, Paul van 5, 7, 11, 22, 25, 93, 112, 201, 247, 268, 275, 299, 361, 416, 422, 424, 432, 438, 445, 449  
 Géhin, Paul 181–82  
 Gemeinhardt, Peter 64–65, 71, 73–76, 251  
 Georghallides, Georgios 92  
 Gerhards, Albert 315  
 Gibaut, John St. H. 98, 279, 300, 459  
 Gifford, Edwin Hamilton 162–63, 165, 168, 171, 173  
 Gillet, Robert 301  
 Giorgi, Enrico 61  
 Goffart, Walter 304  
 Gómez, Jesús Álvarez 146  
 Goranson, Stephen Craft 94  
 Gordon, Richard L. 46  
 Gosserez, Laurence 247  
 Gotsis, George 450  
 Goubert, Paul 306  
 Grant, Robert M. 331  
 Greenleaf, Robert K. 461  
 Grenfell, Bernard 48  
 Greschat, Katharina 305, 308  
 Grieser, Heike 117, 122, 127, 131, 443, 445  
 Grodzynski, Denise 426  
 Grossi, Vittorino 5, 7, 11, 22, 25, 93, 112, 247, 268, 275, 299, 361, 416, 422, 432, 438, 445, 449  
 Grosso, Matteo 432  
 Grumel, Venance 307  
 Grundeken, Mark 446  
 Gryson, Roger 127, 251, 253–54, 393, 402, 404, 411, 417, 425–26  
 Guillaumont, Antoine 182, 203  
 Guillaumont, Claire 182  
 Guy, Jean-Claude 203, 208  
 Gwynn, David M. 65, 71, 74  
 Haas, Christopher 44  
 Haines-Eitzen, Kim 208  
 Hainthaler, Theresia 130  
 Halkin, François 203, 206, 398  
 Hall, Claire 27  
 Hall, Stuart George 337  
 Hamman, Adalbert 401  
 Harmless, William 5, 6, 178–80, 184, 186, 203  
 Harnack, Adolf von 363, 365  
 Harries, Jill D. 334  
 Hartmann, Wilfried 317  
 Hartney, Aideen 129  
 Harvey, Susan Ashbrook 72  
 Hatch, E. 23, 432  
 Hatlie, Peter 133  
 Hauben, Hans 98  
 Hauff, Adelheid M. von 117, 122  
 Hauke, Manfred 146  
 Hawk-Reinhard, Donna R. 161, 167  
 Haykin, Michael A. G. 107  
 Hefele, Karl Joseph von 333, 336–37, 340  
 Heid, Stefan 453–54  
 Heil, Uta 65  
 Hellholm, David 443  
 Hen, Yitzhak 306  
 Hendriks, Jan 463  
 Hengstl, Joachim 58  
 Hennessey, Lawrence 339  
 Hentschel, Anni 13, 70, 106, 222, 440  
 Hess, Hamilton 333  
 Hilberg, Isidore 341  
 Hillenbrand, Karl 445  
 Hobsbawm, Eric 245  
 Holl, Karl 92  
 Holman, Susan R. 112, 127, 139  
 Holum, Kenneth G. 140  
 Holz, Louis 301  
 Homes Dudden, F. 309  
 Honoré, Tony 334  
 Hoppe, Juni 24  
 Horsley, G. H. R. 51, 58, 398  
 Huebner, Sabine R. 44, 47–48, 53–54, 60–63, 207, 438–39, 447, 452  
 Hunt, Arthur 48  
 Hunter, David G. 72, 255, 263, 265, 273, 278, 302, 424, 449

- Jacobs, Andrew S. 92, 95, 105, 107–08  
 Jefford, Clayton N. 439  
 Jensen, Anne 122, 125, 139, 168  
 Jensen, Robin M. 168  
 Johnson, Maxwell E. 173, 199  
 Jones, Arnold H. M. 57, 60, 419  
 Jongeling, K. 295  
 Judge, E. A. 202  
 Julien, Matie-Hélène 301  
 Jungmann, Joseph A. 4, 258, 434–35, 459, 461
- Kaffanke, Jakobus 125  
 Kalsbach, Adolf 62, 395, 397, 401, 413, 416–17  
 Kalvesmaki, Joel 178, 180  
 Kaniecka, Mary S. 261  
 Karras, Valerie A. 394, 405, 413, 414  
 Kaser, Max 421, 423  
 Kateusz, Ally 452  
 Katos, Demetrios S. 135  
 Kaufhold, Hubert 317  
 Kavvadas, Nestor 189  
 Kearns, Phoebe 344, 347, 439, 449  
 Kelly, John Norman Davidson 272, 282, 286  
 Kenkell, Stefanie A. H. 419  
 Kerns, Brian 6, 301, 310  
 Kienast, Dietmar 419  
 Kießling, Klaus 440  
 Kim, Young Richard 92, 95, 98, 107  
 Kitchen, Robert 214  
 Kittel, Gerhard 382  
 Klein, Richard 246  
 Klijn, Albertus Frederik Johannes 154  
 Klingshirn, William E. 208  
 Knuuttila, Simo 185  
 Koch, Glenn Alan 94  
 Koet, Bart J. 7, 36, 39, 64, 66, 68, 76, 104, 109, 146, 151, 163–64, 167, 172, 179, 200–1, 251, 253, 255, 258, 260, 269, 270–71, 276, 288–89, 292, 294, 299, 302, 309, 313, 346, 383, 385–86, 398, 416, 424, 427, 431–33, 436–38, 440, 442–47, 449, 452–53, 456–57, 462  
 Kohlbacher, Michael 315, 317  
 König, Dorothee 272, 274, 284  
 Konstantinidou, Maria 123  
 Kösters, Oliver 107  
 Kotsifou, Chrysi 208  
 Kranemann, Benedikt 440, 460  
 Kraus, T. J. 44  
 Krimm, Herbert 92
- Laato, Anni Maria 445–46, 452  
 Laeuchli, Samuel 334, 336–38, 340–41  
 Lambers-Petry, Doris 94  
 Lambert, William 370  
 Lamirande, Émilien 261  
 Lampe, G. W. H. 348, 379, 388  
 Lancel, Serge 287, 295–96  
 Lang, Markus 45  
 Lang, Martin 315  
 Lapin, Hayim 419  
 Larentzakis, Grigorios 122, 139  
 Lash, Ephrem 350  
 Latvus, Kari 382, 440  
 Lawson, C. M. 439  
 Layne, Danielle 24  
 Leclercq, Henri 155, 333, 336–37, 340, 416  
 Leclercq, Philippe 6  
 Lécuyer, Joseph 112–15, 117–18, 128, 143–44, 146–47, 156–60, 445  
 Leemans, Johan 250  
 Leonhard, Clemens 149, 315  
 Lepelley, Claude 293  
 Lev, Yaacov 423  
 Levinson, Joshua 16  
 Liebeschuetz, John H. W. G. 134, 137  
 Lietaert Peerbolte, Bert Jan 424, 449  
 Lietzmann, Hans 361–62  
 Lieu, Judith 331  
 Lin, Yii-Jan 27  
 Lindemann, Andreas 443  
 Linder, Amnon 332  
 Llewellyn, Peter 301–2  
 Löhr, Winrich 65, 72, 75  
 Lopez, David A. 3  
 Lössl, Josef 270  
 Louth, Andrew 263  
 Luijendijk, AnneMarie 44, 46  
 Luttikhuizen, Gerard 29

- Maassen, Friedrich Bernhard C. 335  
 Maclean, Arthur J. 317, 325, 357  
 Macy, Gary 345, 354–55  
 Madigan, Kevin 124, 268, 328, 385, 405,  
 416, 424, 447  
 Magnani, Eliana 422  
 Malingrey, Anne-Marie 6, 132  
 Mangenot, Eugène 336  
 Manor, Timothy Scott Calhoun 94  
 Maraval, Pierre 164  
 Markschies, Christoph 92  
 Markus, Robert A. 300  
 Marrou, Henri-Irénée 205  
 Martimort, Aimé Georges 62–63, 393–  
 94, 417, 420  
 Martin, Annick 98  
 Martindale, John R. 419  
 Martínez Diez, Gonzalo 335, 336  
 Martini, Remo 418, 425  
 Martyn, John R. C. 303, 305, 307–10  
 Marucci, Corrado 422  
 Marzolla, Maria Chiara 131  
 Mathijsen, Gerard 458  
 Mathisen, Ralph W. 334  
 Mattioli, Umberto 395  
 Matz, Brian 439, 445  
 Mayer, Wendy 112, 117, 123–24, 128–29,  
 136, 139  
 Mazza, Enrico 149–51, 155  
 McConnell, Timothy P. 165  
 McGuckin, Arthur Cushman 49  
 McGuckin, John 81  
 McLeod, Frederick 142, 147  
 McLynn, Neil 251, 265  
 McNary-Zak, Bernadette 212  
 Meeks, Wayne 23  
 Meigne, Maurice 336, 453  
 Mentxaka, Rosa 417, 419, 427, 449  
 Merianos, Gerasimos 50  
 Messner, Reinhard 315, 342  
 Methuen, Charlotte 402–3, 405  
 Metzger, Marcel 154, 156–59, 340, 381,  
 387–90  
 Meyer, Robert T. 209, 339  
 Meyers, Eric M. 95  
 Meyvaert, Paul 305  
 Migne, J. P. 183, 276, 422  
 Militello, Cettina 130  
 Millar, Fergus 331  
 Mingana, Alphonse 148–54, 156–59,  
 172  
 Mira, Manuel 3, 443, 445, 448, 456  
 Mirecki, Paul 111  
 Mitchell, Brian Patrick 394, 404, 408,  
 411  
 Mitchell, Margaret 23  
 Mitchell, Stephen 44  
 Moffatt, Ann 134  
 Moorhead, John 302  
 Morlet, Sébastien 41–42  
 Morris, John 419  
 Moutsoulas, Elias 92  
 Mowczko, Margaret 24, 448  
 Muckle, J. T. 25  
 Mueller, Joseph G. 357  
 Müller, Andreas 439, 442, 445  
 Müller, Barbara 300, 303–8  
 Müller, Guido 66, 70  
 Murphy, Edwina 168, 221, 223, 226,  
 228, 268, 299, 431, 436, 441, 444,  
 453  
 Murphy-O'Connor, Jerome 436  
 Naegele, Anton 116  
 Naldini, Mario 44, 46–47, 61–62  
 Natali, Alain 112  
 Nau, F. 211, 396, 442  
 Nauroy, G. 265  
 Nautin, Pierre 95  
 Neil, Bronwen 67, 70, 112, 303  
 Neureiter, Livia 117, 122  
 Nevius, Richard C. 47  
 Nicklas, Tobias 18, 44  
 Niehoff, Maren 16  
 Nigro, Giovanni Antonio 93, 96–97, 101,  
 103–4, 108–11  
 Noce, C. 442  
 Noethlichs, Karl Leo 332  
 Noller, Annette 93  
 Norberg, Dag 303  
 Norris, Herbert 152  
 North, John 331  
 Nowack, G. 81

- Öhler, Markus 45  
 Ohme, Heinz 398  
 Oliviero Niglio, Giuseppina Maria 418, 425  
 Olson, Jeannine E. 385  
 Oppenheim, Filippo 416  
 Orlandi, Lucia 40  
 Orlandis, José 336, 338  
 Ortiz de Urbina, I. 190, 193  
 Orton, Andrew 344  
 Osiek, Carolyn 124, 268, 328, 385, 405, 416, 424, 447  
 Oudot, Estelle 98  
 Outtier, Bernard 188  
  
 Painchaud, Louis 107  
 Parenti, Stefano 153, 159, 413  
 Paris, Pierre 161  
 Parisot, Ioannes 192  
 Pavan, Vincenzo 151–52  
 Paverd, Frans van de 342  
 Pearse, Roger 281  
 Pellegrino, Michele 261  
 Penn, Michael Philip 210, 403  
 Pennacchio, Carmen 418, 425  
 Pennington, Kenneth 317  
 Perella, Nicolas J. 210  
 Perrone, Lorenzo 41–42  
 Petit, Françoise 112, 128, 143, 387  
 Petridou, Georgia 46  
 Pharr, Clyde 419, 425  
 Philippi, Paul 439  
 Phillips, George 192  
 Phillips, L. Edward 199, 210  
 Piédagnel, Auguste 161  
 Piepenbrink, Karen 74  
 Pincherle, Alberto 152  
 Pinheiro, Marilia P. F. 26  
 Pintaudi, Rosario 48  
 Pitra, J. B. 82, 178  
 Plater, Ormonde 81  
 Plöger, Josef G. 108, 302  
 Poli, Fabrice 98  
 Pompey, Heinrich 445  
 Poorthuis, Marcel 201  
 Pottier, Bernard 4  
 Pourkier, Aline 92, 98, 103–4, 108  
  
 Pratscher, Wilhelm 45  
 Prinzivalli, Emanuela 41, 130  
 Pylvänäinen, Pauliina 138, 162, 299, 317, 345, 351, 353–54, 375, 380, 382, 385–87, 389, 391, 397, 405–7, 412–13, 416–17, 439, 444–45, 448–49, 455  
  
 Quasten, Johannes 399  
  
 Rabel, Ernst 47  
 Rahmani, Ignatius Ephraem II 316, 318, 325, 327–28, 358–59, 415  
 Rahner, Karl 435, 452, 460  
 Rajak, Tessa 331  
 Ramelli, Illaria L. E. 3, 11, 14, 22, 24, 26, 411  
 Ramos Garcia, José 81  
 Ramos-Lissón, Domingo 336, 338  
 Rapp, Claudia 64, 92, 263  
 Rathbone, Dominic 48  
 Rattmann, Arnd 92  
 Raunio, Antti 301  
 Regnault, Lucien 203  
 Reichert, Eckhard 335–36  
 Reine, Francis J. 155, 159  
 Reischl, W. C. 161  
 Renoux, Charles 195  
 Ricci, Cristina 124  
 Richards, Jeffrey 301–2, 308  
 Riggi, Calogero 92, 107–8  
 Riggs, Christina 44  
 Ritter, Adolf Martin 112  
 Robertson, Archibald 65, 71–72, 74, 76  
 Rodríguez, Felix 335  
 Roessli, Jean-Michel 295  
 Rogan, Eugene 48  
 Rohmann, Dirk 124  
 Rose, Els 201  
 Roueché, Charlotte 396  
 Rousseau, Olivier 189  
 Rousseau, Philip 251  
 Rouwhorst, Gerard 192  
 Rubensohn, Otto 48  
 Rubenson, Samuel 203  
 Ruiz Bueno, D. 118  
 Rüpke, Jörg 46, 332  
 Rupp, J. 161

- Russell Underwood, Norman 178, 325, 447, 450
- Rutgers, Leonard 334
- Rutherford, Janet E. 165
- Ryökäs, Esko 301, 313, 382–83, 431, 440
- Sáez, Rosa María Marina 427
- Safran, L. 208
- Salamito, Jean-Marie 422
- Salaville, Séverién 81
- Salway, Benet 315
- Salzman, Michele Renee 300
- Samuel, Alan E. 58
- Sarti, Laury 306
- Sauser, Ekkart 50
- Schatkin, Margaret A. 112
- Schillebeeckx, Edward 3, 432
- Schmelz, Georg 50–51, 56, 58–60
- Schmidt, Heinz 93
- Schoedel, William R. 64–65
- Schöllgen, Georg 450
- Scholtissek, Klaus 3
- Schott, Jeremy M. 33, 92
- Schröter, Jens 29
- Schulz, Hans-Joachim 150–51, 160
- Schwartz, Eduard 391
- Schweizer, Christian 62
- Scourfield, Howell David 274
- Seagraves, Richard 221–22, 232
- Seidl, Johann Nepomuk 440
- Seppälä, Serafim 27, 150, 154, 156, 181, 192, 194, 442, 449, 456
- Sharp, Michael 48
- Sheinfield, Shayna 24
- Sijpesteijn, Peter J. 48
- Sinkewicz, Robert E. 180, 182–86
- Siola, Bruno 420
- Siquans, Agnethe 128
- Sirks, Boudewijn 334
- Smeets, Arnold 6, 299, 439, 445, 457
- Smit, Peter-Ben 66
- Smith, Murray 194, 438, 457
- Smoak, Ginger L. 354
- Smyth, Herbert Weir 379
- Sogno, Cristiana 179
- Sorci, Pietro 395, 409
- Sotomayor, Manuel 335–36, 341
- Spera, Lucreia 5
- Steinwenter, A. 58
- Sterk, Andrea 263
- Sterrett, John Robert Sitlington 397
- Stewart, Columba 5–6, 445
- Stewart-Sykes, Alistair C. 4, 200, 313–15, 317, 320–21, 325, 328, 345–46, 348–50, 353, 355, 357, 359–60, 363–66, 369, 376, 381, 431, 438–39, 442, 444, 446–48, 450, 456–57
- Stickler, Alfons M. 453–54, 462
- Storin, Bradley K. 179
- Straw, Carole 300, 305
- Swete, Henry B. 114, 143–46, 411
- Synek, Eva M. 128
- Szymusiak, Jan. M. 337
- Tabbernee, William 44
- Taft, Robert F. 150, 152–54, 158–60
- Tardieu, Michel 103
- Taubenschlag, Richard 58
- Taylor, Joan E. 11, 24, 411
- Teja, Ramón 336
- Teresa, Sister 396
- Terian, Abraham 168–69
- Testa, Rita Lizzi 251, 424
- Theodorou, Evangelos 122
- Thiermeyer, Abraham Andreas 62
- Thomas, H. J. 247–49
- Thornton, Timothy C. G. 94
- Thurén, Lauri 31, 452
- Tomson, Thomas J. 94
- Tonneau, Raymond 148–54, 156–59
- Torjesen, Karen Jo 72
- Torres Prieto, Juana María 422
- Trapè, Agostino 287
- Turcato, Daniela 25
- Twomey, D. Vincent 165
- Tymister, Markus 171
- Ubiña, Jorge F. 335–36
- Uthemann, Karl-Heinz 113
- Vacant, Alfred 336
- Vagaggini, Cipriano 404, 412
- Vallée, Gerard 103
- Van de Wiel, Constant 333–34

- Van den Hoek, Annewies 29  
 Van der Meer 287  
 Van Minnen, Peter 48  
 Van Nuffelen, Peter 98  
 Vandorpe, Katelijn 44  
 Vannier, Marie-Anne 287, 290  
 Varela, Carmen Soto 416–17  
 Vassiliadis, Petros 447  
 Veilleux, Armand 206  
 Velkovska, Elena 413  
 Verheyden, Joseph 94, 439, 444–45, 448  
 Vignini, Giuliano 287  
 Villella, Josep 336, 341  
 Villain, Maurice 92  
 Vinzent, Markus 71  
 Vives, José 334  
 Vivian, Tim 178  
 Vizmanos, Francisco de B. 420  
 Voci, Pasquale 418  
 Vogt, Rainer M. 317  
 Vogüé, Adalbert de 178  
 Voitila, Anssi 382–83, 390, 439  
 Vööbus, Arthur 327, 406  
 Vorgrimler, Herbert 435, 452, 460  
 Vos, Nienke 5
- Wagner, Georg 387  
 Wagner, Kevin 67, 70  
 Wagschal, David 330  
 Wälchi, Philipp 103  
 Wallraff, Martin 64, 124  
 Walsh, Efthalia Makris 127  
 Ward, Benedicta 203, 205  
 Watts, Edward J. 179  
 Weber, Hermann J. 108, 302
- Weisser, Daniel 125  
 Wermelinger, Otto 295  
 Westermann, William L. 58  
 White, Grant 315–17, 324, 326–27, 357–60, 392, 399, 439, 444, 446  
 Wickes, Jeffrey 199  
 Wiesen, David S. 270  
 Wijngaards, John 11, 23, 411, 413  
 Wilcken, Ulrich 47  
 Williams, Frank 92, 95–97, 100–1, 110  
 Williams, Megan Hale 179, 268–71, 283  
 Williams, Ritva 4  
 Wilson, Mark B. 461  
 Winslow, Donald F. 384  
 Winterslow, Alfred William 334  
 Wipszycka, Ewa 44, 46, 49–51, 57–59, 62, 420  
 Wiśniewski, Robert 251  
 Witkamp, Nathan 147–49, 152, 156–57  
 Wodtke-Werner, Verena 440  
 Wordsworth, John 207  
 Wortley, John 178, 183, 203, 209, 213–16, 442, 456
- Yates, Jonathan P. 223  
 Young, Frances 23, 92, 263  
 Yousif, Pierre 194  
 Youtie, Herbert Chayyim 202  
 Ysebaert, Joseph 63, 96, 432  
 Yuen-Collingridge, Rachel 50, 58
- Zagano, Phyllis 130, 422  
 Zanetti, Ugo 63  
 Zollitsch, R. 432



## Index of Subjects

This index comprises a curated collection of topics central to the thematic focus of this volume. We did not include terms which are almost ubiquitous throughout.

- Abbot 91, 458
- Alexandria 24, 33–34, 44–50, 52, 55–56, 59, 61–65, 67, 71–77, 97, 100, 104–5, 113, 120, 134–35, 152, 178–79, 217, 280, 349
- Altar VIII, 6, 19, 73–74, 84, 90, 119, 134, 145–46, 153–56, 158–60, 171, 174, 214–15, 218, 235–37, 239, 244, 253, 256, 264, 257, 289, 301, 310, 318–20, 328–29, 361, 364, 399, 404, 407, 413, 415, 434, 437, 440–41, 458, 463–64
- Angel 11, 15–16, 22, 25, 30, 68, 69–70, 79, 81, 84, 87, 96, 107, 110, 148–56, 159–60, 180, 186, 214–16, 228, 316, 324, 362, 366–67, 372, 386, 389, 453–54, 456–57
- Antioch 35, 45, 49, 59, 72–73, 75, 105, 112–13, 119, 126–28, 142, 147, 152, 156, 160, 164, 192, 200–201, 209, 269, 272, 280, 306–7, 345, 349, 370–73, 375, 384, 392, 394–97, 410, 412
- Apostles IX, 13, 17, 20, 22, 24–27, 30, 35–40, 45, 70–71, 96, 104, 108, 114–15, 120–30, 142–43, 145, 147, 154–56, 162–63, 166, 174–75, 178, 192, 198, 222–24, 231, 233, 235, 237–38, 244, 248, 262, 276, 278, 323, 391, 394, 415, 417–18, 420, 434–35, 437, 448, 460
- Arabic 46, 203, 296, 315–17, 357–58, 367, 373, 391
- Arian 65–67, 98, 100–1, 104–5, 192, 242, 280–82, 305, 307, 456, 457
- Arius 65, 75, 77, 98, 100, 105
- Armenia(n) 107, 168–69, 194–95, 203, 304, 407
- Ascetical 14, 71, 94, 101, 119, 125, 127, 130, 133–34, 140–41, 164, 179–87, 192, 202, 204, 206–12, 215, 217, 263, 269–72, 284, 300, 307–8, 316–17, 326–27, 329, 341, 357–59, 361–62, 366, 372, 374, 392, 395–97, 399–400, 412, 424, 427, 442
- Asia (minor) 44–45, 52, 60, 78, 314, 316, 364, 391–414, 415, 420
- Baptism (including to baptise) 3, 14, 26, 39–40, 45, 97, 101–2, 106, 113, 116, 118, 120, 142, 147–49, 152, 160, 161–62, 165–70, 175, 231–33, 250, 259, 265–67, 280–82, 290, 293, 318–19, 328, 333, 339, 341, 343, 350–52, 354–55, 394, 399–400, 402–4, 406–9, 412, 415, 417, 436, 443, 446, 448–49, 454, 464
- Bible 30, 105, 141, 142, 155, 189, 223, 231, 269–71, 436
- Candidates (-bishop/deacon) 48, 58, 99–100, 116, 143–44, 162, 166–67, 170, 199, 264, 281, 283, 351–52, 373, 400, 406–9, 443, 448
- Cardinal XI, 7, 257, 276, 453, 461
- Carthage 60, 221–33, 238, 277, 287–88, 291–93, 296, 333, 441, 444
- Cassian 5–6, 179, 445
- Catechesis/catechetical 118, 142–60, 161–62, 165, 167, 169–71, 252, 293, 314, 368, 404, 407
- Catechumen 20, 148–49, 160, 167, 170, 175, 253, 257, 267, 279, 285, 292, 318, 321, 323, 381, 359, 372, 399, 443, 463
- Celibacy/celibate 119, 131, 207, 228, 278, 285–86, 341–42, 361, 398, 433, 452–54
- Christ VII–IX, 11–16, 30, 67–68, 105–14, 145, 150, 153–55, 185, 216–17, 236, 238–41, 243–44, 247–48, 254, 259, 322, 326, 329, 347–52, 365, 369, 373, 375–70, 398, 404–5, 445, 455–56



- Church orders 4, 201, 314–15, 317, 319, 326, 329, 357–74, 391–414, 444, 447
- Constantine the Great 51, 61, 71, 120, 146, 246, 293, 305, 331–32, 336–37, 419, 457
- Constantinople 5, 45, 78–82, 85–87, 100, 113, 120, 122–41, 179–79, 187, 204, 209, 214, 246, 265, 270, 277, 302, 304–10, 367, 384, 395–97, 410, 424, 434, 445
- Continenence/continent 95, 102, 103–4, 107–9, 228, 257, 266, 283, 295, 342–43, 443, 453–54
- Coptic 50–51, 58, 63, 178, 203, 206–7, 217, 315–16, 358, 367, 372
- Council(s) 26, 59, 62, 66, 75–76, 78, 81, 91, 96, 105, 108, 146, 169, 171, 178–79, 207, 223, 227, 229, 237, 262, 304–5, 307, 316, 321, 331–43, 360, 368–70, 384, 394, 398, 407, 439, 441–43, 445, 447, 453–54, 457–58
- Cursus honorum* 98, 269, 274, 276–77, 279–80, 286, 300, 459
- Damasus 247, 263, 270, 276–77, 424
- Demon(s) 15, 177–87, 213
- Desert 14, 45, 120, 177–80, 183, 203–18, 272, 282, 442
- Devil 15–16, 104, 149
- Distribution (for example of food/mutual assistance/communion) 35, 37, 74, 112, 140, 159, 174, 194, 211, 285, 361, 363–65, 368, 371, 402, 405, 409, 412, 435, 446–47
- Economics 31, 37, 39, 48, 57, 120, 240, 243, 245, 289, 305, 334, 340, 363, 374, 402, 418, 423, 447, 450
- Egypt 44–63, 67, 75–76, 98, 100, 109, 111, 121, 136, 161, 177–81, 186, 202–9, 215, 217, 279, 283, 313, 347, 357, 372, 397, 420
- Election 55, 105, 138, 163, 174, 196, 224–25, 233, 250, 254, 267, 333, 364
- Envoys 66, 75–76, 301, 304
- Ethic/ethical 22, 36, 39
- Ethiopia(n)/Ethiopic 49–50, 52, 203, 315–16, 345, 357–58, 371, 392
- Eucharist VIII, 3–4, 59, 102–3, 117–18, 142, 144, 148–50, 153–55, 157–60, 162, 170–76, 192–94, 211, 213, 215, 229–30, 233, 236, 238–39, 241–44, 258–59, 267, 314, 318–20, 323, 327, 329, 333, 340, 349, 355, 364, 366–67, 408–9, 422, 439, 441–44, 448, 456, 458, 460
- Eye 73, 302, 322–23, 328
- Faith VII–VII, 3, 21, 29, 35, 65, 71, 95, 100, 104, 114, 151–52, 158, 194, 241, 247–48, 262, 264, 293, 339, 341, 367
- Fasting 101, 255, 278, 333, 358, 392
- Finances 12, 20, 45, 56, 61, 78, 85, 90, 134–35, 138, 141, 193, 205, 232–33, 270–71, 427, 446, 450–51
- Gnostic 45, 103–4, 316
- Gospel(s) VII–VIII, 13, 15, 18, 22, 29, 38, 49, 58, 63, 70, 93, 106, 109, 138, 149, 195, 207, 210, 215, 234, 247–48, 264, 279, 281, 285, 287, 294, 298, 318–19, 348, 441–42, 452, 459–61, 464
- Grace 13, 22, 69–70, 149, 162–63, 167, 169–70, 263, 296
- Graeco–Roman 51–54, 63, 331, 342
- Heaven/heavenly 18, 107, 145, 149–52, 213, 215–17, 223, 228, 239, 242, 316, 318, 329, 347–48, 362, 366, 377, 387, 453
- Heresy 72, 91–92, 134–35, 231, 278, 342
- Hierarchy 3, 19, 31, 33, 37, 41–42, 50, 62, 64–66, 77, 91, 93, 95–96, 98, 101, 103, 114, 116, 144, 150, 161, 165, 168, 178, 183, 191, 196, 206–7, 216–18, 237, 251, 253–54, 260–61, 263, 266–67, 277–78, 286, 320, 323, 328, 362, 372, 385, 405, 441, 458–59
- Homily 19, 114–15, 126, 128, 148–50, 152, 158–59, 168, 174, 336, 434
- Hospitality 24, 86, 116, 129, 134, 183, 301, 319, 321–22, 328, 359, 371, 394, 443
- Human(s) VII–VIII, 11–16, 22, 29, 67–68, 70, 173, 223, 235, 247, 254, 272, 289, 326, 341, 348, 351, 379, 381, 388
- Humility VIII, 125, 139, 206, 210–11, 213, 215, 217, 222, 374, 382–84, 390

- Initiation 40, 142, 147, 160–61, 165, 167, 169–70, 175, 260, 314, 351, 353, 367, 443
- Innocent I 5–6, 186, 275
- Institution 5, 31–35, 37–38, 40–43, 62, 64, 112, 119, 126–27, 133, 217, 223, 240, 245, 286, 370–72, 394, 396–98, 403, 408, 411, 421, 431, 447
- Jerusalem 12, 23, 35, 38–42, 45–46, 49–50, 106, 149, 157, 161–63, 165–66, 169, 179, 246, 277, 279–81, 291, 346, 348, 441
- Jesus VIII, 12–17, 23, 29–30, 38–40, 45, 82–83, 94, 109, 146, 149–50, 152–56, 160, 198, 207, 244, 247, 279, 285, 316–17, 326, 348, 372–73, 377, 381–89, 403, 433, 435, 437, 450–51, 454–55, 457, 460–61
- Jewish 14, 44–46, 94, 101, 107, 217, 315, 343, 431, 443, 457
- John the Baptist 17–18
- Laity 19–20, 59, 65, 72, 96, 99, 169, 172, 225, 228–29, 254, 323, 328, 339, 341, 384–85, 389, 400, 403, 410
- Law 6, 15, 22, 58–59, 95–96, 111, 121, 139–40, 163, 171, 227, 256, 263, 265–66, 302, 317, 321, 326, 330, 332–34, 336, 360, 417, 419–23, 425, 434
- Lawrence 4, 6, 146, 234–49, 253, 258, 285, 309, 339, 434, 437, 447, 456, 461
- Leadership 3, 7, 11, 24, 64, 73, 95, 198, 190, 193, 196–97, 199, 201, 251, 263, 279, 300, 307–10, 340, 349, 397, 411, 422, 432–37, 452, 454–57, 459–62
- Letter(s) 5–6, 14, 20, 26, 31, 33, 46–49, 55, 57, 59–62, 64–65, 69, 71–73, 75–77, 78–80, 82–83, 85–90, 100–106, 114–16, 118, 123–24, 126, 130–31, 133, 135–39, 142–43, 146–47, 168–69, 177, 179–81, 186–87, 200, 204, 221–33, 252, 254, 260, 262, 264–65, 267, 269–77, 279–85, 290–96, 298, 300–301, 303–6, 308–10, 333, 347–48, 411, 419, 435–37, 440–42, 445–46, 455, 457–58, 460, 463
- Levites 17, 19, 146, 171, 235, 251, 253–57, 259, 346–47, 407, 451, 454–56
- Liturgy (see also worship) VIII, 4, 17, 81–82, 84, 102–3, 117–18, 147, 149–60, 161–62, 165, 168, 170–75, 193, 209–10, 212–15, 217–18, 234–36, 238, 240, 243, 245, 281–82, 299, 315, 317, 319, 329, 333, 337, 340, 345, 349–51, 364–65, 369, 375, 380, 385, 389, 391, 402, 415, 416, 431, 434, 437–39, 441, 443–44, 449, 456–58, 461, 464
- Martyr(s)/Martyrdom 16, 18, 20, 40–42, 64, 71, 86, 97–98, 104, 136, 227, 230–31, 234–42, 244, 246–48, 253, 258, 278, 290, 308, 337, 373, 397, 437, 446
- Mary 11, 13–14, 16, 22–24, 26, 30, 84, 102, 128, 248, 261, 403, 420, 452
- Messenger(s) VIII, 12, 19, 33–34, 43, 70, 150, 174, 260, 267, 275–77, 290, 386, 445, 449
- Monastery 78, 122, 132–33, 140–41, 210, 270, 281, 286, 297, 300, 307–8, 395–96, 398, 420, 424
- Monk/Monkhood 6, 51, 57, 83–84, 88, 91, 95, 113, 119–20, 133–35, 163, 177, 179, 181–87, 201, 204, 206, 213–14, 263–64, 268–75, 277, 281, 283–86, 300–301, 303, 308–10, 445, 453, 458
- Moral/morally 16, 30, 73–74, 95, 103, 143, 185, 248, 262–64, 266, 333, 336–37, 339 341–43, 437, 451, 457
- Music 347
- Mystery (Eucharist) 102, 147, 155, 172, 175, 194, 205, 213, 238, 257, 361, 367–68, 415, 443, 455
- Mystical 214–16, 242
- New Testament 3, 13–14, 27, 36, 39, 44–45, 63–64, 66, 80, 96, 105–6, 109–11, 114, 126–30, 146, 163, 222, 248, 280, 352, 382, 388, 390, 431–32, 435–36, 439–41, 448, 451, 453, 457, 460
- Nomen sacrum* 47
- Numidia 293, 295–97
- Nun(s) 95, 141, 208, 210, 285, 296
- Offerings 150, 153–54, 158–60, 239, 318–19, 349, 364–66, 434, 442
- Old Testament 11, 19, 27, 30, 146, 150,

- 171, 217, 243, 252–54, 256–58, 261, 266–67, 279, 290, 347, 433, 455, 457
- Olympias 122–27, 130–41, 395–96, 424–25, 449
- Ordination 5–6, 11, 16, 23, 27–28, 30, 58–59, 68, 97–98, 108, 113–17, 120, 129, 139–40, 144–47, 164, 197, 199, 206–7, 209, 213, 217, 224, 234–35, 237, 261, 265–67, 272, 274, 279–80, 282–84, 296, 301, 310, 314, 326–27, 342, 345, 360, 369–73, 388, 392–93, 395–96, 398, 401, 405–6, 408, 410–13, 415, 438, 441, 447, 452, 456, 458–59
- Palestine 91, 111, 203, 315, 350, 398, 420
- Papyri 20, 44–58, 60, 62–63, 325, 420, 438, 452
- Passover 101
- Pastoral 6, 74, 77, 79, 82, 118, 199, 221, 250, 261, 267, 287, 290, 295–96, 298, 301, 308, 310, 313, 327, 333, 339, 344, 350, 353, 359, 365, 374, 404, 438, 440, 455
- Paul (the Apostle) 11–14, 19–27, 29–30, 37, 39, 70, 82–83, 101–4, 106–8, 111, 115, 128, 130, 142–45, 151, 210, 223, 247–48, 276–77, 290, 395, 411, 435–36, 438, 448, 454, 460, 462
- Paulinus of Nola 275, 290–91, 300
- Peter 18, 97–99, 224, 231, 235–37, 247–48, 278, 280, 290, 302–3, 306–7, 310, 435, 460, 462–63
- Philanthropy 112–14
- Philip 32, 35, 38, 40–42, 109, 113, 147, 163, 231, 280
- Philosophy/philosophical 24, 26, 45, 87, 104, 185, 252, 258, 427
- Phoebe 18, 22–30, 125, 128, 130, 395, 398, 448
- Poems 80–81, 83, 303, 397, 451
- Political 24, 76, 78–79, 134, 138, 247, 303–4, 345
- Pope 302–3, 305, 307–11, 434, 462
- Preach/preacher 19, 26, 36–37, 39–42, 62, 70–72, 77, 82, 109, 112–13, 119, 121, 135, 156, 158, 228, 238, 274, 277, 284, 287, 289, 292–95, 297–98, 308, 366, 440–42, 450–51
- Preside/presiding 26, 73, 75, 103, 133, 139, 141, 149, 157, 164, 192, 197, 236, 289, 337, 349, 352, 437, 441, 443, 458, 460
- Proclamation 18, 71, 147, 156, 212, 292, 294, 323
- Prophet(s) 16–18, 27, 70, 198, 283, 289, 318, 323, 346–47, 386, 395, 435, 456
- Punic 287, 294–98
- Purity 18, 171–73, 175, 213–15, 255, 263, 266, 321, 323, 326, 341, 370
- Reconciliation 70, 173–74, 193, 230–231, 305, 307
- Rome XI, 5–6, 31, 33–34, 43, 45, 75, 101, 118, 128, 146, 222, 225–26, 229, 234–35, 238–39, 244–49, 255, 263, 268–71, 273, 275–78, 280, 283, 285–86, 290–91, 299–305, 307–10, 313, 348, 368, 420, 424, 432, 445, 453, 458–60
- Sacrament(s)/sacramental 102, 118, 155, 161, 168–70, 173–74, 176, 216, 231–32, 234, 237–38, 242–44, 252, 258–59, 266–67, 272, 301, 364, 368, 407, 413, 434
- Sermon 72, 74, 81–82, 96, 126, 128, 188, 194, 196, 235, 238, 240–42, 246, 285–86, 288–89, 292–93, 295, 298, 442, 458
- The Seven (of Acts 6) 31–32, 35–43, 73–74, 104, 109, 113–14, 117, 146–47, 162–63, 166, 174–75, 207, 235, 436–37
- Sexual 95, 104, 127, 266, 272, 334, 336–43, 420, 454
- Shepherd(s) 106, 149, 188, 191–93, 195–99, 279, 293, 440
- Sin 67, 102, 167, 172, 193, 211, 230, 243, 265, 341–42, 444
- Sing/singer/singing 248, 282, 286, 288–89, 292, 385, 394, 396, 399, 407, 409, 412
- Sixtus 225
- Spirit VII, 13, 17–18, 35, 37, 39, 69–70, 73, 81, 106–7, 109, 117, 148–49, 162–65, 167, 175, 189, 207, 210, 215–16, 231, 280, 324, 347–49, 355, 371–73, 404–6, 409, 413, 415, 435

- Stephen 32, 35–46, 38–42, 44, 73, 94,  
113, 147, 163, 229, 237, 246, 278, 285,  
308, 372–73, 451
- Stoic 13, 22, 30, 185, 257, 262
- Synagogue 45, 94–95, 213, 216, 432
- Synod VII, 59, 65, 72, 76, 89, 113, 164,  
173, 244, 292, 310, 333–38, 341, 370,  
440, 445, 453–54
- Syriac 27, 131, 147, 150–51, 154, 157,  
177, 179–80, 188–93, 195, 198–99, 203–  
4, 315–17, 326–28, 345, 355, 357–58,  
392, 395, 406, 415
- Taxes 54, 56, 61, 78–79, 86, 90, 94, 245
- Teaching 12, 16, 21, 26, 28–29, 45, 47,  
71–72, 104, 106, 115, 118–19, 121, 129,  
135, 142, 144, 170, 179, 188, 191, 197,  
214, 227–28, 233, 251, 255, 327, 329,  
402, 405, 407, 422, 443, 450
- Travel 5, 33, 45, 47, 59, 75, 86–87, 89,  
126, 134, 183–84, 205, 304, 308, 321,  
323, 333–34, 376, 380, 389, 411, 444–45,  
449
- Troublemakers 117
- Virgin 20–21, 75, 81, 89–90, 98, 120,  
127–28, 130, 132, 139–41, 163, 228, 271,  
274, 278, 283–84, 327–28, 395–401, 407,  
411, 424–25
- Virtue 37, 243, 253, 256–57, 261–62,  
264, 267, 301, 358, 383–84, 400, 457
- Vulgate 25, 221, 238, 271
- Widow(s) 20–21, 28, 35–36, 85, 95–96,  
103, 108, 123, 125–28, 131–33, 136, 138,  
141, 146, 232, 241, 245, 260, 262, 266,  
272–74, 278, 284, 316–21, 326–28, 358–  
60, 362, 365, 369, 385, 391–93, 396–408,  
410, 412, 417–18, 420–22, 424–26, 437,  
449, 454, 456, 458
- Worship (see also liturgy) 26, 74–75,  
117, 154, 210, 217, 236, 247, 314–15,  
324, 329, 338, 340, 346–47, 357, 362,  
366, 375, 384, 387–88, 391, 441