

**SLAVERY IN JOHN CHRYSOSTOM'S HOMILIES ON THE PAULINE
EPISTLES AND HEBREWS:
A CULTURAL-HISTORICAL ANALYSIS**

by

CHRIS LEN DE WET

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree

DOCTOR LITTERARUM (GREEK)

in the Department of Ancient Languages at the

University of Pretoria
Faculty of Humanities

Supervisor: Prof. Hendrik F. Stander

August 2012

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study is dedicated to my mother, Sarie.

‘Ἡδὺς μὲν λειμῶν καὶ παράδεισος, πολὺ δὲ ἡδύτερον τῶν θείων Γραφῶν ἢ ἀνάγνωσις. Ἐκεῖ μὲν γὰρ ἔστιν ἄνθη μαραινόμενα, ἐνταῦθα δὲ νοήματα ἀκμάζοντα· ἐκεῖ ζέφυρος πνέων, ἐνταῦθα δὲ Πνεύματος αὐρα· ἐκεῖ ἄκανθαι αἰ τειχίζουσαι, ἐνταῦθα δὲ πρόνοια Θεοῦ ἢ ἀσφαλιζομένη· ἐκεῖ τέττιγες ἄδοντες, ἐνταῦθα δὲ προφήται κελαδοῦντες· ἐκεῖ τέρψις ἀπὸ τῆς ὀψεως, ἐνταῦθα δὲ ὠφέλεια ἀπὸ τῆς ἀναγνώσεως.’

(John Chrysostom, *Homilia de Capto Eutropio* 1)

I thank...

- My supervisor, Prof. Hennie Stander, for his valuable comments and support, who also introduced me to the study of Chrysostom and Late Antiquity; a field I have now made my home;
- My colleagues at the Department of Biblical and Ancient Studies at UNISA, in particular Proff. Pieter J. J. Botha, Gerhard A. van den Heever, Pieter F. Craffert, and Johannes N. Vorster, who have not only shown me the richest collegiality, but also warm friendship;
- Prof. Jennifer A. Glancy, for her encouragement and wise counsel, and for reading and listening to crucial sections of this dissertation;
- Most importantly, my mother, who has always believed in me and supported me at all times, whom I will always love dearly.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|---|----|
| SUMMARY | 7 |
| OPSOMMING | 10 |
| LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS..... | 13 |
| LIST OF ANCIENT AUTHORS AND SOURCES..... | 17 |
| CHAPTER 1: APPROACHING AND PROBLEMATISING SLAVERY IN CHRYSOSTOMIC LITERATURE..... | 26 |
| 1 Introduction to and Development of the Research Project..... | 26 |
| 2 John Chrysostom, Slavery and Late Ancient Studies..... | 29 |
| 3 <i>Status Quaestionis</i> : Slavery and John Chrysostom..... | 32 |
| 3.1 Wulf Jaeger: ‘Die Sklaverei bei Johannes Chrysostomus’ (1974)..... | 33 |
| 3.2 Georg Kontoulis: <i>Zum Problem der Sklaverei (ΔΟΥΛΕΙΑ) bei den kappadokischen Kirchenvatern und Johannes Chrysostomus</i> (1993)..... | 35 |
| 3.3 Kyle Harper: <i>Slavery in the Late Roman World AD 275-425</i> (2011)..... | 36 |
| 3.4 Other Studies of Importance | 37 |
| 3.4.1 Richard Klein | 38 |
| 3.4.2 Jennifer Glancy | 39 |
| 3.4.3 Youval Rotman | 39 |
| 4 Problem Statement and Methodology..... | 40 |
| 5 Conclusion | 49 |
| CHAPTER 2: REVISITING AND RECONSTRUCTING THE HABITUS OF ROMAN SLAVEHOLDING: THE MANAGEMENT OF SLAVE-BODIES IN HELLENISTIC, ROMAN, JUDAISTIC AND CHRISTIAN ANTIQUITY | 50 |
| 1 Introduction..... | 50 |
| 2 Background to the Study of the Roman Household..... | 51 |
| 3 The Development of <i>Oikonomia</i> and Slave-Management in Hellenistic and Early Roman Antiquity | 56 |
| 3.1 Xenophon’s <i>Oeconomicus</i> | 57 |
| 3.2 Plato, Aristotle, and Pseudo-Aristotle’s <i>Oeconomica</i> | 62 |

| | | |
|--|--|-----|
| 3.3 | Philodemus' <i>De Oeconomia</i> | 73 |
| 3.4 | Cato's <i>De Agricultura</i> | 81 |
| 3.5 | Varro's <i>Rerum Rusticarum</i> | 90 |
| 3.6 | Columella's <i>De Re Rustica</i> | 96 |
| 3.7 | Palladius' <i>Opus Agriculturae</i> | 110 |
| 3.8 | Stoic Formulations of Divine <i>Oikonomia</i> and the Implications for Slave-Management: The Case of Seneca's <i>Epistula 47</i> | 114 |
| 4 | <i>Oikonomia</i> and Slave-Management in Early Judaism..... | 125 |
| 5 | The Pauline <i>haustafeln</i> : Early Christian <i>Oikonomia</i> , Pastoral Governmentality and Slave- Management..... | 138 |
| 5.1 | Slave-Management in Ephesians 6:5-9 and Colossians 3:22-41: The Beginnings of Christian Social Contracts and Christic Panopticism | 143 |
| 5.2 | Power and the Pastorals: The Development of Christian Pastoral Governmentality and Psychagogy related to Slave-Management | 150 |
| 5.3 | Pastoral Technologies and the Petrine <i>Haustafeln</i> : Slavery, Suffering and Early Christian Discourses of Normalization..... | 154 |
| 6 | <i>Oikonomia</i> and Slave-Management in Late Antiquity | 160 |
| 7 | Conclusion | 191 |
| CHAPTER 3: THE DOMESTIC BODY: JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, SLAVERY AND THE ANCIENT DISCOURSE OF <i>OIKONOMIA</i> | | 196 |
| 1 | Introduction..... | 196 |
| 2 | The Bishop as Domestic Advisor | 196 |
| 3 | John Chrysostom on Ephesians 6:5-9 (<i>Hom. Eph. 22</i>)..... | 203 |
| 4 | John Chrysostom on Colossians 3:22-41 (<i>Hom. Col. 10</i>)..... | 226 |
| 5 | John Chrysostom on 1 Timothy 6:1-2 (<i>Hom. I Tim. 16</i>) | 231 |
| 6 | John Chrysostom on Titus 2:9-10 (<i>Hom. Tit. 4</i>)..... | 234 |
| 7 | Conclusion | 250 |
| CHAPTER 4: THE HETERONOMOUS BODY: SLAVERY, HUMANNESS AND SUBJECTIVITY IN JOHN CHRYSOSTOM'S INTERPRETATION OF 1 CORINTHIANS 7:21-23 | | 254 |
| 1 | Introduction..... | 254 |

| | | |
|---|---|-----|
| 2 | The Problem of 1 Corinthians 7:21-23 | 254 |
| 3 | The Stoics, Philo and Moral Slavery | 258 |
| 4 | Paul, John Chrysostom and the Heteronomous Body..... | 264 |
| 5 | Heteronomy, Subjectivity and the Problem of Humanness in Chrysostomic Thought | 274 |
| 6 | Conclusion | 279 |
| | | |
| CHAPTER 5: THE CARCERAL BODY: SLAVE-CARCERALITY AND JOHN CHRYSOSTOM'S HOMILIES ON PHILEMON | | 281 |
| 1 | Introduction..... | 281 |
| 2 | Slave-Carcerality and the Power of Normalization in Late Ancient Christianity | 285 |
| 3 | Slave-Carcerality, Mobility and Surveillance..... | 288 |
| 4 | Carceral Mechanisms in John Chrysostom's <i>Homiliae in Epistulam ad Philemonem</i> | 291 |
| 4.1 | The Preface to the Homilies..... | 292 |
| 4.2 | <i>Homilia in Epistulam ad Philemonem 1</i> | 300 |
| 4.3 | <i>Homilia in Epistulam ad Philemonem 2</i> | 306 |
| 4.4 | <i>Homilia in Epistulam ad Philemonem 3</i> | 315 |
| 5 | Conclusion | 318 |
| | | |
| CHAPTER 6: THE COMMODIFIED BODY: SLAVES AS ECONOMIC AND SYMBOLIC CAPITAL IN CHRYSOSTOM'S HOMILIES | | 323 |
| 1 | Introduction..... | 323 |
| 2 | The Slave-Body as Property: Commodification and Economic/Symbolic Capital in the Context of Ancient Slavery | 324 |
| 3 | John Chrysostom on Slaves as Economic Capital: The Case of <i>Homilia in Epistulam I ad Corinthios 40</i> | 329 |
| 4 | John Chrysostom on Slaves as Symbolic Capital: The Case of <i>Homilia in Epistulam ad Hebraeos 28</i> | 337 |
| 5 | Conclusion | 347 |
| | | |
| CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION | | 349 |
| 1 | Preliminary Observations..... | 349 |
| 2 | John Chrysostom and the Domesticity of the Slave-Body | 351 |



| | | |
|-------------------------|---|-----|
| 3 | John Chrysostom and the Heteronomy of the Slave-Body | 353 |
| 4 | John Chrysostom and the Carcerality of the Slave-Body | 354 |
| 5 | John Chrysostom and the Commodification of the Slave-Body..... | 355 |
| 6 | Postscript: On Critical Theory/Method and the Heuristics of Slavery Studies | 358 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY | | 360 |
| INDEX OF SUBJECTS | | 394 |

SUMMARY

SLAVERY IN JOHN CHRYSOSTOM'S HOMILIES ON THE PAULINE EPISTLES AND HEBREWS: A CULTURAL-HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

by

CHRIS LEN DE WET

SUPERVISOR: Prof. Hendrik F. Stander
DEPARTMENT: Ancient Languages, Faculty of Humanities
DEGREE: Doctor Litterarum (Greek)

The aim of this study is to examine John Chrysostom's views on slavery, specifically from his homilies on the Pauline Epistles and Hebrews. The study therefore asks: how does John Chrysostom negotiate and re-imagine the habitus of Roman slavery in his homilies on the Pauline Epistles and Hebrews? The cultural-historical theories employed are those of Michel Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu.

The habitus of Roman slavery is constructed as an intersection of four corporeal discursivities, namely the domesticity, heteronomy, carcerality and commodification of the slave-body. Chrysostom's comments on slavery are then also evaluated in the light of these four discursivities.

Chrysostom negotiates and reimagines the domesticity of the slave-body in three ways. Firstly, Chrysostom promotes a shift from strategic to tactical slaveholding. Secondly, he also builds conceptual links between domestic slave-management and theological formulations. Finally, as

is evident from his exegesis on the Pauline *haustafeln*, slaves are to be taught virtue and practical trades whereby they could (possibly) be accepted into society. The household then becomes both an observatory, providing surveillance of slave-bodies, as well as reformatory, reforming and rehabilitating slave-bodies into models of Christian virtue.

The heteronomy of the slave-body is fully accepted by Chrysostom. This is especially seen in his exegesis of 1 Corinthians 7:21, in which he mimics typical Stoic-Philonic views of slaveholding and uses slave-metaphors extensively at the cost of neglecting the problem of institutional slavery. People, whether slave or free, should not be concerned about their social status, but rather their status in relation to God as the heavenly slaveholder.

Chrysostom's views on the carcerality of slave-bodies are conventional. Since each slave-body is in a physical and/or symbolic state of incarceration, this carceral state should be maintained and not resisted. Basing his views on Paul's Epistle to Philemon, Chrysostom argues that the ideal Christian slave is one who should remain with his or her owner, but also that owners should treat their slaves justly.

Finally, the slave-body as objectified and commodified body is also functional in Chrysostom's thinking. The slave-body is seen as being both economic and symbolic capital. In the sense of economic capital, Chrysostom treats slaves as part of the wealth and property of his audience, and the management and manumission of slaves becomes related to the management and renunciation of wealth. As symbolic capital, the public displaying of slaves has the capacity to ascribe honour to the slaveholder. Slave-bodies also function as adornment. The danger pointed out here by Chrysostom is that this often leads to pride and vainglory, and that people should rather adopt a different scopie economy of necessity and simplicity rather than luxury.

Chrysostom is uncomfortable with the body enslaved, but rather than abolishing it, he reimagines slavery and thereby perpetuates the oppressive practice that would take several centuries to be rejected by the Christian church.



Keywords:

- John Chrysostom
- Slavery
- Cultural History
- Late Antiquity
- Ancient Household
- Habitus
- Patristics
- Pauline Slavery
- Rhetoric of the Body
- Carcerality
- Heteronomy
- Commodification
- Tactical Slaveholding
- Strategic Slaveholding

OPSOMMING

SLAERNY IN JOHANNES CHRYSOSTOMOS SE HOMILIEË OP DIE PAULINIESE BRIEWE EN HEBREËRS: 'N KULTUUR-HISTORIESE ANALISE

deur

CHRIS LEN DE WET

STUDIELEIER: Prof. Hendrik F. Stander
DEPARTEMENT: Antieke Tale, Fakulteit Geesteswetenskappe
GRAAD: Doctor Litterarum (Grieks)

Die oogmerk van hierdie studie is om Johannes Chrysostomos se sienswyses rakende slawerny te ondersoek, soos dit spesifiek na vore kom in sy homilieë op die Pauliniese Briewe en Hebreërs. Die ondersoek vra dus: hoe hanteer en beskou Johannes Chrysostomos die habitus van Romeinse slawerny in sy homilieë op die Pauliniese Briewe en Hebreërs? Die kultuur-historiese teorieë van Michel Foucault en Pierre Bourdieu word hier toegepas.

Die habitus van Romeinse slawerny word gekonstrueer as 'n interseksie van vier liggaamlike diskursiwiteite, naamlik huishoudelikheid, heteronomie, gevangenskap, en die kommodifikasie van die slaaf-liggaam. Chrysostomos se opmerkings oor slawerny word in die lig van hierdie vier diskursiwiteite bestudeer.

Die huishoudelikheid van die slaaf-liggaam word op drie wyses deur Chrysostomos hanteer en gerekonstrueer. Eerstens word daar aangetoon dat Chrysostomos 'n skuif van strategiese slawerny na taktiese slawerny aanmoedig. Tweedens word daar ook uitgewys hoe

Chrysostomos huishoudelike slawebestuur koppel met teologiese konsepte. Laastens, soos dit blyk uit sy eksegeese van die Pauliniese *haustafeln*, moet slawe deugsaamheid sowel as 'n praktiese ambag aangeleer word waardeur hulle (moontlik) in die samelewing aanvaar kan word. Die huishouding word dan beide 'n observatorium, wat die slaaf-liggaam monitor, en 'n reformatorium, wat die slaaf-liggaam verbeter en rehabiliteer tot Christelike gestaltes van deugsaamheid.

Die heteronomie van die slaaf-liggaam word ten volle aanvaar deur Chrysostomos. Dit kan veral gesien word in sy eksegeese van 1 Korintiërs 7:21, waar hy Stoïes-Filoniese sienswyses oor slawerny naboots en die metafoor van slawerny uiteenlopend gebruik, maar die werklike probleem van institusionele slawerny ignoreer. Slawe sowel as vrye mense moet nie so besorg wees oor hul sosiale status nie, maar eerder fokus op hul status in verhouding met God as die hemelse slawe-eienaar.

Chrysostomos se sienswyses oor die gevangenskap van die slaaf-liggaam is konvensioneel. Aangesien elke slaaf-liggaam eerder in 'n fisiese of simboliese toestand van gevangenskap is, moet hierdie toestand van gevangenskap in stand gehou word en nie weerstaan word nie. Met sy sienswyses wat op Paulus se brief aan Filemon gegrond is, redeneer Chrysostomos dat die ideale Christelike slaaf een is wat by sy of haar eienaar moet bly, maar dat eienaars ook hul slawe regverdig moet behandel.

Laastens is die slaaf-liggaam as 'n objek en handelsitem ook aanwesig in Chrysostomos se denke. Die slaaf-liggaam word gesien as beide ekonomiese en simboliese kapitaal. Betreffende ekonomiese kapitaal hanteer Chrysostomos slawe as deel van sy gehoor se rykdom en eiendom, en die bestuur en vrylating van slawe word in verband gebring met die bestuur en verloëning van rykdom. As simboliese kapitaal het die openbare vertoning van slawe die eer van die slawe-eienaar vermeerder. Die slaaf-liggaam funksioneer hier dan ook as versiering of optooiing. Die gevaar wat Chrysostomos hier uitwys, is dat hierdie gedrag dikwels tot hoogmoed en verwaandheid lei, en dat mense eerder 'n alternatiewe ekonomiese beeld van nodigheid en eenvoud aanneem in plaas van luuksheid.

Chrysostomos is ongemaklik met die liggaam wat in slawerny vasgevang is, maar in plaas daarvan om dit af te skaf, herbesin hy oor slawerny, en daardeur laat hy ook hierdie onderdrukkende praktyk voortbestaan; 'n praktyk wat eers eeue later deur die kerk verwerp sou word.

Sleutelbegrippe:

- Johannes Chrysostomos
- Slawerny
- Kulturele Geskiedenis
- Laat Antieke Wêreld
- Antieke Huishouding
- Habitus
- Patristiek
- Pauliniese Slawerny
- Retoriek van die Liggaam
- Gevangenskap
- Heteronomie
- Kommodifikasie
- Taktiese Slawerny
- Strategiese Slawerny

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | | |
|------------------|---|---|
| <i>ABD</i> | - | <i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> |
| ACCS | - | Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture |
| <i>AJ</i> | - | <i>Acta Juridica</i> |
| <i>AJA</i> | - | <i>American Journal of Archaeology</i> |
| <i>AJP</i> | - | <i>American Journal of Philology</i> |
| <i>ANF</i> | - | <i>Ante-Nicene Fathers</i> |
| <i>Annales</i> | - | <i>Annales</i> |
| <i>AnRevAnth</i> | - | <i>Annual Review of Anthropology</i> |
| <i>APB</i> | - | <i>Acta Patristica et Byzantina</i> |
| ASNEL | - | Association for the Study of the New Literatures in English |
| <i>ASoc</i> | - | <i>Ancient Society</i> |
| <i>Athenaeum</i> | - | <i>Athenaeum</i> |
| <i>AThR</i> | - | <i>Anglican Theological Review</i> |
| <i>AusJAnth</i> | - | <i>Australian Journal of Anthropology</i> |
| BHS | - | Biblica Hebraica Stuttgartensia |
| BJS | - | Brown Judaic Studies |
| <i>BTB</i> | - | <i>Biblical Theology Bulletin</i> |
| BZNW | - | Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft |
| CEB | - | Common English Bible |
| <i>ClAnt</i> | - | <i>Classical Antiquity</i> |
| <i>Comm</i> | - | <i>Communications</i> |
| <i>CP</i> | - | <i>Classical Philology</i> |
| <i>CQ</i> | - | <i>Classical Quarterly</i> |
| CSEL | - | Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum |
| <i>ES</i> | - | <i>English Studies</i> |
| <i>ETL</i> | - | <i>Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses</i> |
| FASB | - | Forschungen zur Antiken Sklaverei |

| | | |
|------------------|---|---|
| <i>FMLS</i> | - | <i>Forum for Modern Language Studies</i> |
| <i>Gymnasium</i> | - | <i>Gymnasium</i> |
| <i>Helios</i> | - | <i>Helios</i> |
| Hermeneia | - | Hermeneia: A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible |
| <i>Historia</i> | - | <i>Historia</i> |
| <i>HTR</i> | - | <i>Harvard Theological Review</i> |
| HUTh | - | Hermeneutische Untersuchungen zur Theologie |
| <i>Index</i> | - | <i>Index</i> |
| <i>JAAR</i> | - | <i>Journal of the American Academy of Religion</i> |
| <i>JBL</i> | - | <i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i> |
| <i>JECH</i> | - | <i>Journal of Early Christian History</i> |
| <i>JECS</i> | - | <i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i> |
| <i>JEH</i> | - | <i>Journal of Economic History</i> |
| <i>JHPH</i> | - | <i>Journal of the History of Philosophy</i> |
| <i>JLH</i> | - | <i>Journal of Legal History</i> |
| <i>JPC</i> | - | <i>Journal of Popular Culture</i> |
| <i>JPh</i> | - | <i>Journal of Philosophy</i> |
| <i>JRA</i> | - | <i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i> |
| <i>JRS</i> | - | <i>Journal of Roman Studies</i> |
| <i>JSAS</i> | - | <i>Journal of Southern African Studies</i> |
| <i>JSNT</i> | - | <i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i> |
| JSNTSupp | - | Journal for the Study of the New Testament: Supplement Series |
| <i>JSocHist</i> | - | <i>Journal of Social History</i> |
| <i>JTS</i> | - | <i>Journal of Theological Studies</i> |
| <i>Ktema</i> | - | <i>Ktema</i> |
| LCL | - | Loeb Classical Library |
| <i>Miranda</i> | - | <i>Miranda</i> |
| NICNT | - | New International Commentary on the New Testament |
| NIGTC | - | New International Greek Testament Commentary |

| | | |
|------------------|---|---|
| NIV | - | New International Version |
| <i>NovT</i> | - | <i>Novum Testamentum</i> |
| <i>NPNF</i> | - | <i>Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers</i> |
| <i>NTS</i> | - | <i>New Testament Studies</i> |
| OrChrAn | - | Orientalia Christiana Analecta |
| <i>P&P</i> | - | <i>Past & Present</i> |
| <i>PAST</i> | - | <i>Pauline Studies</i> |
| PG | - | Patrologia Graeca |
| <i>Phoenix</i> | - | <i>The Phoenix</i> |
| <i>PhR</i> | - | <i>Philosophical Review</i> |
| <i>Phronesis</i> | - | <i>Phronesis</i> |
| PL | - | Patrologia Latina |
| <i>PolTh</i> | - | <i>Political Theory</i> |
| <i>Prudentia</i> | - | <i>Prudentia</i> |
| PS | - | Patrologia Syriaca |
| <i>R&T</i> | - | <i>Religion & Theology</i> |
| <i>RAC</i> | - | <i>Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum</i> |
| Rahlfs-Hanhart | - | <i>Septuaginta</i> |
| <i>RenRef</i> | - | <i>Renaissance and Reformation</i> |
| <i>RevScPh</i> | - | <i>Revue des sciences philologiques</i> |
| <i>RGG</i> | - | <i>Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart</i> |
| <i>RMP</i> | - | <i>Rheinisches Museum für Philologie</i> |
| <i>S&A</i> | - | <i>Slavery & Abolition</i> |
| SBL | - | Society of Biblical Literature |
| SBLDS | - | Society of Biblical Literature: Dissertation Series |
| SC | - | Sources chrétiennes |
| SCH | - | Studies in Church History |
| <i>SHE</i> | - | <i>Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae</i> |
| <i>Signs</i> | - | <i>Signs</i> |
| <i>SJTh</i> | - | <i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i> |
| StPatr | - | Studia Patristica |

| | | |
|------------------|---|--|
| Teubner | - | Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana |
| TLG | - | Thesaurus Linguae Graecae |
| UBS ⁴ | - | United Bible Societies: <i>Greek New Testament</i> (4 th Edition) |
| <i>VC</i> | - | <i>Vigiliae Christianae</i> |
| <i>VE</i> | - | <i>Vox Evangelica</i> |
| <i>VT</i> | - | <i>Vetus Testamentum</i> |
| WUNT | - | Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament |
| <i>ZNW</i> | - | <i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche</i> |
| <i>ZPE</i> | - | <i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i> |

LIST OF ANCIENT AUTHORS AND SOURCES

| AUTHOR/ ABBREVIATION | LATIN TITLE/ TRANSLITERATION | ENGLISH TITLE |
|-----------------------------|---|-------------------------------------|
| Ambrose | | |
| - <i>Abr.</i> | <i>De Abraham</i> | <i>On Abraham</i> |
| - <i>Ep.</i> | <i>Epistulae</i> | <i>Letters</i> |
| - <i>Ex. virg.</i> | <i>Exhortatio virginitatis</i> | <i>Exhortation to Virginitity</i> |
| - <i>Ios.</i> | <i>De Ioseph patriarcha</i> | <i>On Joseph the Patriarch</i> |
| - <i>Off.</i> | <i>De officiis ministrorum</i> | <i>On the Duties of the Clergy</i> |
| - <i>Virg.</i> | <i>De virginitate</i> | <i>On Virginitity</i> |
| Ambrosiaster | | |
| - <i>Comm. I Cor.</i> | <i>Commentarii in epistulam I ad Corinthios</i> | <i>Commentary on I Corinthians</i> |
| - <i>Comm. Col.</i> | <i>Commentarii in epistulam ad Colossenses</i> | <i>Commentary on Colossians</i> |
| Ammianus Marcellinus | | |
| - <i>Res. gest.</i> | <i>Res gestae</i> | <i>Res Gestae/Roman History</i> |
| Aphrahat | | |
| - <i>Dem.</i> | <i>Demonstrationes</i> | <i>Demonstrations</i> |
| Aristotle | | |
| - <i>Pol.</i> | <i>Politica</i> | <i>Politics</i> |
| - <i>Gen. an.</i> | <i>De generatione animalium</i> | <i>On the Generation of Animals</i> |
| Arrian | | |
| - <i>Epict. diss.</i> | <i>Epicteti dissertationes</i> | <i>Discourses of Epictetus</i> |

Athanasius

- *C. Ar.* *Orationes contra Arianos* *Orations against the Arians*

Augustine

- *C. Jul.* *Contra Julianum* *Against Julian*

Aulus Gellius

- *Noct. att.* *Noctes atticae* *Attic Nights*

Aurelius Victor

- *Caes.* *De caesaribus* *Imperial History*

Basil of Caesarea

- *Attend.* *Homilia in illud: Attende tibi ipsi* *Give Heed to Yourself*
- *Dest. horr.* *Homilia in illud: Destruam horrea mea* *I Will Destroy My Storehouses*
- *Ep.* *Epistulae* *Letters*
- *Hom. div.* *Homilia in divites* *Sermon to the Rich*
- *Psalm.* *Homiliae super Psalmos* *Homilies on the Psalms*
- *Reg. mor.* *Regulae morales* *The Morals*
- *Spir.* *De spiritu sancto* *On the Holy Spirit*

Cato

- *Agr.* *De agricultura* *On Agriculture*

Cicero

- *Leg.* *De legibus* *On the Laws*

Clement of Alexandria

| | | |
|-----------------------|---|--|
| - <i>Paed.</i> | <i>Paedagogus</i> | <i>Christ the Educator</i> |
| - <i>Protrep.</i> | <i>Protrepticus</i> | <i>Exhortation to the Greeks</i> |
| Columella | | |
| - <i>Rust.</i> | <i>De re rustica</i> | <i>On Agriculture</i> |
| Cyprian | | |
| - <i>Demetr.</i> | <i>Ad Demetrianum</i> | <i>To Demetrian</i> |
| - <i>Hab. virg.</i> | <i>De habitu virginum</i> | <i>On the Dress of Virgins</i> |
| - <i>Test.</i> | <i>Ad Quirinum testimonia adversus Judaeos</i> | <i>To Quirinus: Testimonies against the Jews</i> |
| Didymus the Blind | | |
| - <i>Comm. Eccl.</i> | <i>Commentarii in Ecclesiasten</i> | <i>Commentary on Ecclesiastes</i> |
| Dio Chrysostom | | |
| - <i>2 Serv. lib.</i> | <i>De servitute et libertate II (Oratio 15)</i> | <i>On Slavery and Freedom II (Oration 15)</i> |
| Diogenes Laertius | | |
| - <i>Vit. phil.</i> | <i>Vitae philosophorum</i> | <i>Lives of the Philosophers</i> |
| Ephrem | | |
| - <i>Carm. nisib.</i> | <i>Carmina nisibena</i> | <i>Nisibene Hymns</i> |
| Epictetus | | |
| - <i>Diss.</i> | <i>Dissertationes</i> | <i>Discourses</i> |
| Eunapius | | |
| - <i>Vit. Eust.</i> | <i>Vitae Sophistarum (Eustathius)</i> | <i>Lives of the Sophists (Eustathius)</i> |

Eusebius

- *Comm. Isa.* *Commentarius in Isaiam* *Commentary on Isaiah*

Galen

- *Us. part. corp.* *De usu partium corporis
humani* *On the Utility of the Parts of
the Body*

Gregory of Nazianzus

- *Apol.* *Apologetica* *Apologetica*
- *Carm.* *Carmina de se ipso* *Song concerning Oneself*
- *Diath.* *Diathêkê* *The Testament of Gregory*

Gregory of Nyssa

- *Hom. Eccl.* *Homiliae in Ecclesiasten* *Homilies on Ecclesiastes*
- *Vit. Greg. Th.* *De vita Gregorii Thaumaturgi* *Life of Gregory Thaumaturgus*

Homer

- *Il.* *Illias* *Illiad*
- *Od.* *Odyssea* *Odyssey*

Iamblichus

- *Pyth. vit.* *De vita pythagorica* *On the Pythagoric Life*

Irenaeus

- *Epid.* *Epideixis tou apostolikou
kērygmatos* *Demonstration of the
Apostolic Preaching*

John Chrysostom

- *Catech. illum.* *Catecheses ad illuminandos* *Instructions to Catechumens*
- *Comm. Gal.* *Homiliae in epistulam ad* *Commentary on Galatians*

Galatas commentarius

| | | |
|--------------------------|--|--|
| - <i>Eutrop.</i> | <i>In Eutropium</i> | <i>On Eutropius</i> |
| - <i>Exp. Ps.</i> | <i>Expositiones in Psalmos</i> | <i>Expositions on the Psalms</i> |
| - <i>Hab. eun. spir.</i> | <i>In illud: Habentes eundem spiritum (II Cor. iv: xiii)</i> | <i>We Have the Same Spirit (2 Cor. 4:13)</i> |
| - <i>Hom. Act.</i> | <i>Homiliae in Acta Apostolorum</i> | <i>Homilies on the Acts of the Apostles</i> |
| - <i>Hom. Col.</i> | <i>Homiliae in epistulam ad Colossenses</i> | <i>Homilies on Colossians</i> |
| - <i>Hom. Eph.</i> | <i>Homiliae in epistulam ad Ephesios</i> | <i>Homilies on Ephesians</i> |
| - <i>Hom. Genes.</i> | <i>Homiliae in Genesim</i> | <i>Homilies on Genesis</i> |
| - <i>Hom. Heb.</i> | <i>Homiliae in epistulam ad Hebraeos</i> | <i>Homilies on Hebrews</i> |
| - <i>Hom. I Cor.</i> | <i>Homiliae in epistulam I ad Corinthios</i> | <i>Homilies on 1 Corinthians</i> |
| - <i>Hom. II Cor.</i> | <i>Homiliae in epistulam II ad Corinthios</i> | <i>Homilies on 2 Corinthians</i> |
| - <i>Hom. I Tim.</i> | <i>Homiliae in epistulam I ad Timotheum</i> | <i>Homilies on 1 Timothy</i> |
| - <i>Hom. II Thess.</i> | <i>Homiliae in epistulam II ad Thessalonicenses</i> | <i>Homilies on 2 Thessalonians</i> |
| - <i>Hom. Jo.</i> | <i>Homiliae in Joannem</i> | <i>Homilies on John</i> |
| - <i>Hom. Matt.</i> | <i>Homiliae in Matthaeum</i> | <i>Homilies on Matthew</i> |
| - <i>Hom. Phil.</i> | <i>Homiliae in epistulam ad Philippenses</i> | <i>Homilies on Philippians</i> |
| - <i>Hom. Phlm.</i> | <i>Homiliae in epistulam ad Philemonem</i> | <i>Homilies on Philemon</i> |
| - <i>Hom. Rom.</i> | <i>Homiliae in epistulam ad Romanos</i> | <i>Homilies on Romans</i> |
| - <i>Hom. Tit.</i> | <i>Homiliae in epistulam ad</i> | <i>Homilies on Titus</i> |

Titum

- | | | |
|----------------------|--|---|
| - <i>Inan. glor.</i> | <i>De inani gloria et de educandis liberis</i> | <i>On Vainglory and the Right Way to Raise Children</i> |
| - <i>Sac.</i> | <i>De sacerdotio</i> | <i>On the Priesthood</i> |
| - <i>Stat.</i> | <i>Ad populum Antiochenum de statuis</i> | <i>On the Statues</i> |
| - <i>Virginit.</i> | <i>De virginitate</i> | <i>On Virginit</i> |

Lactantius

- | | | |
|----------------|--|---|
| - <i>Epit.</i> | <i>Epitome divinarum institutionum</i> | <i>Epitome of the Divine Institutes</i> |
| - <i>Inst.</i> | <i>Divinarum institutionum libri VII</i> | <i>The Divine Institutes</i> |

Libanius

- | | | |
|--------------|------------------|-----------------|
| - <i>Or.</i> | <i>Orationes</i> | <i>Orations</i> |
|--------------|------------------|-----------------|

Macarius

- | | | |
|----------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| - <i>Apoc.</i> | <i>Apocriticus</i> | <i>Apocriticus</i> |
|----------------|--------------------|--------------------|

Macrobius

- | | | |
|---------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| - <i>Sat.</i> | <i>Saturnalia</i> | <i>Saturnalia</i> |
|---------------|-------------------|-------------------|

Martial

- | | | |
|----------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| - <i>Epig.</i> | <i>Epigrammaton</i> | <i>Epigrams</i> |
|----------------|---------------------|-----------------|

Mishnah

- | | | |
|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| - <i>'Abot.</i> | <i>'Abot</i> | <i>Avot</i> |
| - <i>B. Qamm.</i> | <i>Baba Qamma</i> | <i>Bava Qamma</i> |
| - <i>Ber.</i> | <i>Berakot</i> | <i>Berakhot</i> |
| - <i>Ḥag</i> | <i>Ḥagigah</i> | <i>Hagigah</i> |

| | | |
|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| - <i>Ketub.</i> | <i>Ketubbot</i> | <i>Ketubbot</i> |
| - <i>Ma 'aś. Š.</i> | <i>Ma 'aśer Šeni</i> | <i>Ma'aser Sheni</i> |
| - <i>Makš.</i> | <i>Makširin</i> | <i>Makhshirin</i> |
| - <i>Qidd.</i> | <i>Qiddušin</i> | <i>Qiddushin</i> |
| - <i>Šabb.</i> | <i>Šabbat</i> | <i>Shabbat</i> |
| - <i>Yebam.</i> | <i>Yebamot</i> | <i>Yevamot</i> |

Origen

| | | |
|---------------------|---|--------------------------------|
| - <i>Comm. Eph.</i> | <i>Commentarii in epistulam ad Ephesios</i> | <i>Commentary on Ephesians</i> |
|---------------------|---|--------------------------------|

Palladius

| | | |
|-------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| - <i>Op. agr.</i> | <i>Opus agriculturae</i> | <i>On Agriculture</i> |
|-------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|

Peter of Alexandria

| | | |
|-------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| - <i>Ep. can.</i> | <i>Epistula canonica</i> | <i>Canonical Letter</i> |
|-------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|

Petronius

| | | |
|----------------|------------------|------------------|
| - <i>Saty.</i> | <i>Satyricon</i> | <i>Satyricon</i> |
|----------------|------------------|------------------|

Philo

| | | |
|----------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| - <i>Cher.</i> | <i>De cherubim</i> | <i>On the Cherubim</i> |
| - <i>Prob.</i> | <i>Quod omnis probus liber sit</i> | <i>That Every Good Person is Free</i> |

Philodemus

| | | |
|---------------|---------------------|--------------------------------|
| - <i>Oec.</i> | <i>De oeconomia</i> | <i>On Household Management</i> |
|---------------|---------------------|--------------------------------|

Plato

| | | |
|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| - <i>Crit.</i> | <i>Critias</i> | <i>Critias</i> |
| - <i>Leg.</i> | <i>Leges</i> | <i>Laws</i> |

- | | | |
|----------------|-------------------|------------------|
| - <i>Pol.</i> | <i>Politicus</i> | <i>Statesman</i> |
| - <i>Resp.</i> | <i>Respublica</i> | <i>Republic</i> |

Plutarch

- | | | |
|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| - <i>Cat. mai.</i> | <i>Cato maior</i> | <i>Cato the Elder</i> |
|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|

Porphyry

- | | | |
|----------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| - <i>Abst.</i> | <i>De abstinentia</i> | <i>On Abstinence</i> |
| - <i>Contr. Chr.</i> | <i>Contra Christianos</i> | <i>Against the Christians</i> |
| - <i>Ep. Mar.</i> | <i>Epistula ad Marcellam</i> | <i>Letter to Marcella</i> |
| - <i>Nym.</i> | <i>De antro Nympharum</i> | <i>On the Cave of the Nymphs</i> |

Pseudo-Aristotle

- | | | |
|---------------|-------------------|------------------|
| - <i>Oec.</i> | <i>Oeconomica</i> | <i>Economics</i> |
|---------------|-------------------|------------------|

Pseudo-Aurelius Victor

- | | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| - <i>Or. gent. Rom.</i> | <i>Origo gentis Romanae</i> | <i>Origin of the Roman People</i> |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|

Seneca

- | | | |
|---------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| - <i>Ben.</i> | <i>De beneficiis</i> | <i>On Benefits</i> |
| - <i>Ep.</i> | <i>Epistulae</i> | <i>Letters</i> |

Soranus

- | | | |
|---------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|
| - <i>Gyn.</i> | <i>Gynaeciorum libri IV</i> | <i>Gynecology</i> |
|---------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|

Stobaeus

- | | | |
|---------------|----------------|-----------------|
| - <i>Ecl.</i> | <i>Eclogae</i> | <i>Eclogues</i> |
|---------------|----------------|-----------------|

Tertullian

- | | | |
|---------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------------|
| - <i>Cult. fem.</i> | <i>De cultu feminarum</i> | <i>On the Apparel of Women</i> |
|---------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------------|

Theodoret

- *Prov.* *De providentia* *On Providence*
- *Int. Eph.* *Interpretatio in Ephesios* *Interpretation of Ephesians*

Ulpian

- *Dig.* *Digesta* *Digest*

Varro

- *Rust.* *Rerum rusticarum* *On Agriculture*

Xenophon

- *Mem.* *Memorabilia Socrati* *Memoirs of Socrates*
- *Oec.* *Oeconomicus* *Householder*

All references to the books of the Bible follow the *SBL Handbook of Style* abbreviations