

**THE HOMILIES OF JOHN CHRYSOSTOM ON
1 CORINTHIANS 12:
A MODEL OF ANTIOCHENE EXEGESIS ON THE CHARISMATA**

by

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This study is devoted to all my teachers in Theology since 2001.

“Ἐμοὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐγένοντο φίλοι γνήσιοί τε καὶ ἀληθεῖς, καὶ τοὺς τῆς φιλίας νόμους καὶ
φυλάττοντες ἀκριβῶς·”

(John Chrysostom, *De Sacerdotio* 1.1.1)

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Soli Deo Gloria

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SUMMARY

THE HOMILIES OF JOHN CHRYSOSTOM ON 1 CORINTHIANS 12: A MODEL OF ANTIOCHENE EXEGESIS ON THE CHARISMATA

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The impetus of this study is that by understanding the way John Chrysostom (*flor. 398 AD*) interprets the gifts of the Spirit (*Charismata*) as an Antiochene exegete, insights may be yielded as to how the general tendency of Antiochene exegetes may aid in the interpretation of 1 Corinthians 12:1-13:3, which in turn also contributes to the current research on the New Testament. This study asks the question: How does John Chrysostom, as typical Antiochene exegete, interpret the charismata?

In order to address this problem, an inductive-deductive method is followed, in which the general characteristics of the Antiochene exegetical school will be examined and then an analysis of the homilies of John Chrysostom, specifically his corpus *Homilies on 1 Corinthians*, homily 29 to 32, is given. Each homily is examined in the light of its contents, with specific reference to certain traits typical of Antiochene exegesis, such as sensitivity to history, social- and cultural customs, as well as to the grammar and rhetoric of, in this instance, Paul the Apostle. A translation of each homily is also provided. Finally, their value for current research is expounded.

Each homily is translated and evaluated from the basis of the ancient Greek text, in which the homilies were originally composed. The homilies are also evaluated in the light of primary and secondary sources as inter-texts. Since the homilies are verbal commentaries, early Christian literature (of approximately 100-700 AD) on the same topic, the primary sources, are compared with the homilies of Chrysostom. Other ancient sources, not necessarily Christian, of the same period or earlier are also

incorporated. But it is also necessary to view the homilies within the context of modern commentaries. Thus, a number of modern secondary sources are also evaluated in the light of the homilies and *vice versa*.

In conclusion, the homilies depict an insightful image on how the Antiochene exegetical school viewed the charismata, which in turn, also provides valuable insights for modern interpreters. In this study of the *Wirkungsgeschichte* of 1 Corinthians 12:1-13:3, one is reminded that, although these primary sources are dated, they are still unexpendable resources for the current study of 1 Corinthians and of the New Testament in general.

Keywords:

- John Chrysostom
- 1 Corinthians 12
- Antiochene Exegesis
- Charismata
- Gifts of the Spirit
- Homily
- Patristics
- Social-Scientific Criticism
- Rhetorical Criticism
- Early Church
- Exegesis

OPSOMMING

DIE HOMILIEË VAN JOHANNES CHRYSOSTOMOS OP 1 KORINTHIËRS 12: ‘N MODEL VAN ANTIOGIESE EKSEGESE VAN DIE CHARISMATA

Deur

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Die doel van hierdie studie is gegrond op die voorveronderstelling dat die wyse waarop Johannes Chrysostomos (*flor. 398 n.C.*) die geestelike gawes (*Charismata*), as Antiogiese eksegeet, uitle, insigte mag lewer aangaande die algemene wyse waarop Antiogeense eksegeete 1 Korinthiërs 12:1-13:3 uitgelê het. Hierdie mag dan verder waarde lewer vir die moderne navorsing van die Nuwe Testament. Die vraagstuk van hierdie studie is die volgende: Hoe interpreer Johannes Chrysostomos, as tipiese Antiogeense eksegeet, die charismata?

Om hierdie vraagstuk aan te spreek, word ‘n induktiewe-deduktiewe metode gevolg, waarin die algemene eienskappe van die Antiogeense eksegetiese skool bestudeer word, en dan volg ‘n analise van die homilieë van Johannes Chrysostomos, in besonder sy werk: *Homilieë aangaande 1 Korinthiërs*, homilieë 29 tot 32. Elke homilie word benader in die lig van die inhoud daarvan, met besondere verwysing na tipiese kenmerke van Antiogeense eksegese, byvoorbeeld ‘n sensitiwiteit vir die geskiedenis, sosiale en kulturele gebruik, sowel as vir die taal en retoriek, in hierdie geval, van die Apostel Paulus. ‘n Vertaling van elke homilie word ook voorsien. Ten slotte word daar uitgebrei oor die waarde daarvan vir huidige studie binne die betrokke navorsingsveld.

Elke homilie is vertaal en uitgelê op grond van die antieke Griekse teks waarin die homilieë oorspronklik geskryf was. Die homilieë word geëvalueer in die lig van primêre en sekondêre bronne, wat dien as intertekste. Aangesien die homilieë mondelinge kommentare is, word ander vroeë

Christelike literatuur (van ongeveer 100-700 n.C.) oor dieselfde onderwerp, as primêre bronne, vergelyk met die homilieë van Chrysostomos. Ander antieke bronne, wat nie noodwendig Christelike bronne is nie, van dieselfde tydperk of vroeër word ook ingewerk. Maar dit is ook noodsaaklik om die homilieë te evalueer in die lig van moderne kommentare. Dus word 'n aantal moderne sekondêre bronne ook geëvalueer in die lig van die homilieë en ook andersom.

Ter afsluiting word daarop gewys dat die homilieë 'n insigwekkende beeld skets oor hoe die Antiogeense eksegetiese skool die charismata uitgelê het, wat verder ook waardevolle insigte lewer vir moderne navorsers. In hierdie studie van die *Wirkungsgeschichte* van 1 Korinthiërs 12:1-13:3, word die navorser weereens herinner dat, ten spyte van die oudheid van hierdie primêre bronne, dit 'n onontbeerlike hulpbron is vir die huidige navorsing oor 1 Korinthiërs en die Nuwe Testament oor die algemeen.

Sleutelbegrippe:

- Johannes Chrysostomus
- 1 Korinthiërs 12
- Antiochene Eksegese
- Charismata
- Geestelike Grawes
- Homilie
- Patristiek
- Sosio-Wetenskaplike Kritiek
- Retoriese Kritiek
- Vroeë Kerk
- Eksegese

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>APEB</i>	—	<i>Acta Patristica et Byzantina</i>
<i>BAGD</i>	—	Bauer, W., Arndt, W. F., Gingrich, F. W., and Danker, F.W. <i>Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> . 2 nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979.
<i>BibInt</i>	—	<i>Biblical Interpretation</i>
<i>BSac</i>	—	<i>Bibliotheca Sacra</i>
<i>BTB</i>	—	<i>Biblical Theology Bulletin</i>
<i>BZ</i>	—	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>CBQ</i>	—	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
<i>CC</i>	—	<i>Corpus Christianorum</i>
<i>CP</i>	—	<i>Classical Philology</i>
<i>CSRT</i>	—	<i>Cambridge Studies in Religious Traditions</i>
<i>CurAnth</i>	—	<i>Current Anthropology</i>
<i>CurTM</i>	—	<i>Currents in Theology and Mission</i>
<i>DSB</i>	—	<i>The Daily Study Bible</i>
<i>EEC</i>	—	<i>Encyclopedia of Early Christianity</i>
<i>EkklPhar</i>	—	<i>Ekklesiastikos Pharos</i>
<i>EKKNT</i>	—	<i>Evangelisch-Katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament</i>
<i>ETL</i>	—	<i>Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses</i>
<i>EvQ</i>	—	<i>Evangelical Quarterly</i>
<i>For</i>	—	<i>Forum</i>
<i>GOTR</i>	—	<i>Greek Orthodox Theological Review</i>

HNT	—	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HNTC	—	Harper New Testament Commentaries
HTR	—	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
HTS	—	<i>Hervormde Teologiese Studies</i>
IBC	—	Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Preaching and Teaching
ICC	—	International Critical Commentary
Int	—	<i>Interpretation</i>
JBL	—	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JECS	—	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>
JETS	—	<i>Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society</i>
JRS	—	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
JSJ	—	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Periods</i>
JSNT	—	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
JSNTSup	—	Journal for the Study of the New Testament: Supplement Series
JSP	—	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
Judaism	—	<i>Judaism</i>
LEC	—	Library of Early Christianity
LCL	—	Loeb Classical Library
LSJ	—	Liddell, H.G., Scott, R., and Jones, H.S. <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> . 9 th ed. with revised supplement. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
NA ²⁷	—	Nestlé-Aland <i>Novum Testamentum Graece</i> 27 th Edition
NCBC	—	New Cambridge Bible Commentary
NEchtB	—	Neue Echter Bibel
NGTT	—	<i>Nederduitse Gereformeerde Teologiese Tydskrif</i>

NICNT	—	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NIGTC	—	New International Greek Testament Commentary
NIVAC	—	NIV Application Commentary
<i>NovT</i>	—	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
<i>NPNF</i>	—	<i>Nicene Post-Nicene Fathers</i>
<i>NRTh</i>	—	<i>La Nouvelle Revue Théologique</i>
NTG	—	New Testament Guides
<i>NTS</i>	—	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
<i>Paraklete</i>	—	<i>Paraklete: A Journal of the Person and Work of the Holy Spirit</i>
<i>PastPsych</i>	—	<i>Pastoral Psychology</i>
<i>PBRev</i>	—	<i>Patristic and Byzantine Review</i>
PG	—	<i>Patrologia Graeca</i> (Migne)
PGL	—	<i>Patristic Greek Lexicon</i> . Edited by G. W. H. Lampe. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968.
<i>PHR</i>	—	<i>Pastoral and Homiletic Review</i>
<i>RevistAgust</i>	—	<i>Revista Agustiniana</i>
<i>SBFLA</i>	—	<i>Studii Biblici Franciscani Liber Annus</i>
SBL	—	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLHS	—	Society of Biblical Literature Handbook of Style
SBLMS	—	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBLSP	—	Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers
SBLSymS	—	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series
SC	—	Sources Chrétiennes
<i>SCJ</i>	—	<i>Stone-Campbell Journal</i>
<i>SEA</i>	—	<i>Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok</i>

SEC	—	Studies in Early Christianity
<i>SecCent</i>	—	<i>Second Century</i>
SK	—	<i>Skrif en Kerk</i>
SNTSMS	—	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
StPatr	—	<i>Studia Patristica</i>
StudBL	—	Studies in Biblical Literature
TBT	—	<i>The Bible Today</i>
ThSt	—	Theologische Studien
TLZ	—	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
UBS ⁴	—	United Bible Societies <i>Greek New Testament 4th Edition</i>
VC	—	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
VF	—	<i>Verkündigung und Forschung</i>
WUNT	—	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament.
ZAC	—	<i>Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum (Journal of Ancient Christianity)</i>
ZNW	—	<i>Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der Älteren Kirche</i>

LIST OF ANCIENT AUTHORS AND SOURCES

ABBREVIATION	LATIN/GREEK TITLE	ENGLISH TITLE
Ambrose		
<i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>	<i>Letters</i>
<i>Fid.</i>	<i>De Fide</i>	<i>On Faith</i>
<i>Myst.</i>	<i>De Mysteriis</i>	<i>The Mysteries</i>
<i>Off.</i>	<i>De Officiis Ministrorum</i>	<i>The Duties of the Clergy</i>
Aphrahat		
<i>Dem.</i>	<i>Demonstrationes</i>	<i>Demonstrations</i>
Apostolic Fathers		
<i>1 Clem.</i>	<i>Clemens, Epistula I ad Corinthios</i>	<i>First Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians</i>
<i>2 Clem.</i>	<i>Clemens, Epistula II ad Corinthios</i>	<i>Second Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians</i>
<i>Did.</i>	<i>Didache</i>	<i>Didache or Teaching of the Twelve Apostles</i>
<i>Herm. Sim.</i>	<i>Hermas Pastor, Similitudes</i>	<i>The Shepherd of Hermas Similitudes</i>
<i>Ign. Rom.</i>	<i>Ignatius, Epistulam ad Romanos</i>	<i>Ignatius, Epistle to the Romans</i>
Aristotle		
<i>Eth. Nic.</i>	<i>Ethica Nicomachea</i>	<i>Nicomachean Ethics</i>
<i>Gen. An.</i>	<i>De Generatione Animalium</i>	<i>On the Generation of Animals</i>
<i>Part. An.</i>	<i>De Partibus Animalium</i>	<i>On the Parts of Animals</i>

Rhet.

Rhetorica

On Rhetoric

Arnobius

Gent.

Adversus Gentes

Against the Heathen

Artemidorus

Onir.

Onirocritica

Dream Handbook

Athanasius

Apol. Sec.

Apologia Secundia (contra Arianos)

Defense against the Arians

Ep. Serap.

Epistulae ad Serapionem

*Letters to Serapion
concerning the Holy Spirit*

H. Ar.

Historia Arianorum

History of the Arians

Augustine

Bapt.

De Baptismo contra Donatistas

On Baptism

Catech.

De Catechizandis Rudibus

*Catechizing the
Uninstructed*

C. Litt. Petil.

Contra Litteras Petiliani

*Against the Letters of
Petilian*

Civ.

De Civitate Dei

The City of God

Enarrat. Ps.

Enarrationes in Psalmos

Enarrations on the Psalms

Faust.

Contra Faustum Manichaeum

*Against Faustus
the Manichean*

Gest. Pelag.

De Gestis Pelagii

Proceedings of Pelagius

Trac. Ep. Jo.

In Epistulam Johannis ad Parthos

Tractates on the First

Tractatus

Epistle of John

Trac. Ev. Jo.

In Evangelium Johannis Tractatus

*Tractates on the Gospel of
John*

Trin.

De Trinitate

On the Trinity

Basil

<i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>	<i>Letters</i>
<i>Ps. 28 Hom. 2</i>	<i>In Psalmum 28 Homilia 2</i>	<i>Homily 2 on Psalm 28</i>
<i>Spir.</i>	<i>De Spiritu Sancto</i>	<i>On the Holy Spirit</i>

Cicero

<i>Tusc.</i>	<i>Tusculanae Disputationes</i>	<i>Tusculan Disputations</i>
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Clement of Alexandria

<i>Div. Sal.</i>	<i>Quis Dives Salvetur</i>	<i>Who is the Rich Man Who shall be Saved?</i>
<i>Paed.</i>	<i>Paedagogus</i>	<i>Christ the Educator</i>

Commodian

<i>Instr.</i>	<i>Instructiones</i>	<i>Instructions</i>
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Cyprian

<i>Zel. Liv.</i>	<i>De Zelo et Livore</i>	<i>Jealousy and Envy</i>
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Cyril of Jerusalem

<i>Cat.</i>	<i>Catecheses</i>	<i>Catechetical Lectures</i>
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Dante Alighieri

<i>Purgatorio</i>	<i>Purgatorio</i>	<i>Purgatory</i>
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Diodore of Tarsus

<i>Comm. Ps.</i>	<i>Commentarii ad Psalmos</i>	<i>Commentary on the Psalms</i>
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Euripides

<i>Bacch.</i>	<i>Bacchae</i>	<i>Bacchanals</i>
<i>Med.</i>	<i>Medea</i>	<i>Medea</i>

Eusebius

Praep. Ev.

Praeparatio Evangelica

Preparation for the Gospel

Gregory of Nyssa

Creat.

De Creatione Hominis

On the Creation of

Humanity

Eustat.

Ad Eustathium De Sancta Trinitate

On the Trinity to Eustathius

Orat. Mel.

Oratio Funebris in Meletium Episcopum

Funeral Oration for

Meletius

Gregory Thaumaturgus

Fr. Ev. Matt.

*Fragmentum in Evangelium Matthei
(in catenis)*

Fragments in Matthew

Met. Eccl.

Metaphrasis in Ecclesiasten Salomonis

*The Metaphrase of
Ecclesiastes*

Gregory the Great

Moral.

*Expositio in Librum Job, Sive
Moralium Libri XXV*

Moralia in Job

Homer

Il.

Ilias

Iliad

Od.

Odyssea

Odyssey

Irenaeus

Haer.

Adversus Haereses

Against Heresies

Jerome

Epist.

Epistulae

Letters

Pelag.

Adversus Pelagianos Dialogii III

*Against the Pelagians
(Dialogue 3)*

Ruf.

Adversus Rufinum Libri III

Against Rufinus Book 3

Vir. Ill

De Viris Illustribus

On Illustrious Men

John Chrysostom

<i>Anom.</i>	<i>Contra Anomoeos</i>	<i>Against Anomoeans</i>
<i>Diab.</i>	<i>De Diabolo Tentatore</i>	<i>On the Power of Demons</i>
<i>Hom. 1 Cor.</i>	<i>Homiliae in Epistulam I ad Corinthios</i>	<i>Homilies on 1 Corinthians</i>
<i>Hom. 1 Thess.</i>	<i>Homiliae in Epistulam I ad Thessalonicenses</i>	<i>Homilies on 1 Thessalonians</i>
<i>Hom. 1 Tim.</i>	<i>Homiliae in Epistulam I ad Timotheum</i>	<i>Homilies on 1 Timothy</i>
<i>Hom. Eph.</i>	<i>Homiliae in Epistulam ad Ephesios</i>	<i>Homilies on Ephesians</i>
<i>Hom. Jo.</i>	<i>Homiliae in Joannem</i>	<i>Homilies in John</i>
<i>Hom. Matt</i>	<i>Homiliae in Matthaicum</i>	<i>Homilies on Matthew</i>
<i>Hom. Rom.</i>	<i>Homiliae in Epistulam ad Romanos</i>	<i>Homilies on Romans</i>
<i>Paralyt.</i>	<i>In Paralyticum Demissum per Tectum</i>	<i>Man Lowered through the Roof</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>

Josephus

<i>Ant.</i>	<i>Antiquitates Judaicae</i>	<i>Jewish Antiquities</i>
<i>Vita</i>	<i>Vita</i>	<i>The Life</i>

Justin Martyr

<i>Dial.</i>	<i>Dialogus cum Tryphone</i>	<i>Dialogue with Trypho</i>
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Livy

<i>Urb. Con.</i>	<i>Ad Urbe Condita</i>	<i>On the Founding of the City</i>
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Lucian

<i>Peregr.</i>	<i>De Morte Peregrini</i>	<i>The Passing of Peregrinus</i>
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Methodius

<i>Res.</i>	<i>De Resurrectione</i>	<i>On the Resurrection</i>
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New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha

Acts Pet. Paul

Acta Petri et Pauli

The Acts of Peter and Paul

Inf. Gos. Thom.

Evangelium Infantia Thomae

The Infancy Gospel of Thomas

Novatian

Trin.

De Trinitate

On the Trinity

Old Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha

I Macc.

I Machabaeorum

I Maccabees

Bar.

Baruch

Baruch

Test. Pat.

Testamentum Patriarchae Duodecim

The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs

Wisd. Sol.

Sapientia Salomonis

The Wisdom of Solomon

Origen

Cels.

Contra Celsum

Against Celsus

Fr. I Cor.

Fragmenta ex Commentariis

Commentary on I

In Epistulam ad I Corinthios

Corinthians (Fragmenta)

Princ.

De Principiis

First Principles

Orphic Fragments

Orph. Fr.

Orphica Fragmenta

Orphic Fragments

Ovid

Med.

Medicamina Faciei Femineae

On Facial Cures for Women

Philo

Ebr.

De Ebrietate

On Drunkenness

Leg.

Legum Allegoriae

Allegorical Interpretation

Spec.

De Specialibus Legibus

On the Special Laws

Plato

<i>Apol.</i>	<i>Apologia</i>	<i>Apology of Socrates</i>
<i>Resp.</i>	<i>Respublica</i>	<i>Republic</i>
<i>Sym.</i>	<i>Symposium</i>	<i>Symposium</i>
<i>Tim.</i>	<i>Timaeus</i>	<i>Timaeus</i>

Plutarch

<i>Curios.</i>	<i>De Curiositate</i>	<i>Miscellanies</i>
<i>De Def. Orac.</i>	<i>De Defectu Oracularorum</i>	<i>On the Failure of Oracles</i>
<i>De Pyth. Orac.</i>	<i>De Pythiae Oraculis</i>	<i>On the Pythian Oracle</i>
<i>Mor.</i>	<i>Moralia</i>	<i>On Morals</i>
<i>Quaest. Conv.</i>	<i>Quaestionem Convivialum Libri IX</i>	<i>Convivial Questions</i>

Polyaenus

<i>Strat.</i>	<i>Stratagemata</i>	<i>Stratagems of War</i>
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Porphyry

<i>Philos. Orac.</i>	<i>De Philosophia ex Oraculis</i>	<i>Philosophy from Oracles</i>
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Proclus

<i>In Tim.</i>	<i>In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria</i>	<i>Commentary on Plato's Timaeus</i>
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Pseudo-Aristotle

<i>Physiog.</i>	<i>Physiognomonica</i>	<i>Physiognomics</i>
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Pseudo-Justin Martyr

<i>Coh. Gent.</i>	<i>Cohortatio ad Gentiles</i>	<i>Discourse to the Greeks</i>
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Seneca

<i>Ben.</i>	<i>De Beneficiis</i>	<i>On Favour</i>
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Sulpitius Severus

Vit. Mar.

Vita Martini

The Life of Martin

Tatian

Diatessaron

Diatessaron

Diatessaron

Tertullian

Apol.

Apologeticus

Apology

Cult. Fem.

De Cultu Feminarum

The Apparel of Women

Virg.

De Virginibus Velandis

The Veiling of Virgins

Theodore

Fr. I Cor.

*Fragmenta in Epistulam I ad Corinthios
(in catenis)*

Fragments on I Corinthians

Theodoret

Comm. Ep.

Commentarius in Epistulae Pauli

*Commentary on the Epistles
of Paul*

Dial.

Eranistes / Polymorphus

Dialogues

Graec.

Graecarum Affectionum Curatio

*The Cure for Pagan
Diseases*

Xenophon

Mem.

Memorabilia

Memorabilia

(Note: Old and New Testament abbreviations are equivalent to those in the SBLHS)

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1.1. Introduction

John Chrysostom is known as one of the greatest homilists in the early church¹. He was the Bishop of Constantinople from 398 AD and lived during the Golden Age of church history. He is commonly regarded as one of the four doctors of the Eastern Church². He is also known for his numerous homiletic volumes on the different books in the Bible, which form commentaries depicting his thought on different aspects of both the Old and the New Testament. By looking at Chrysostom’s homilies, one is also looking at the product of his exegesis. Chrysostom can be considered a model practitioner of the Antiochene exegetical school of biblical interpretation³. The Antiochene School of exegesis was renowned for its view that Scripture has been inspired by God and is historically relevant⁴. Therefore, if one should select a topic for study, and focus specifically on the Antiochene interpretation thereof, Chrysostom would be an excellent choice.

If one would then take Chrysostom’s homilies on 1 Corinthians 12, the result would be an understanding of the early church’s⁵ interpretation of Paul’s discourse concerning the spiritual gifts⁶,

¹ This fact is not only made clear in the numerous and splendid writings of this early homilist, but also simply by his name. “Chrysostom” actually means “golden mouthed”, from the two Greek words χρυσός (gold) and στόμα (mouth).

² There are a number of biographies on the life of John Chrysostom; cf. John N. D. Kelly, *Golden Mouth: The Story of John Chrysostom – Ascetic, Preacher, Bishop* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1995); Robert L. Wilken, “John Chrysostom,” in *EEC*, 622-24; Wendy Mayer and Pauline Allen, *John Chrysostom* (London: Routledge, 1999); Christopher A. Hall, *Reading Scripture with the Church Fathers* (Illinois: Intervarsity Press, 1998), 93-101; Berthold Altaner and Alfred Struiber, *Patrologie: Leben, Schriften und Lehre der Kirchenväter* (Amsterdam: J. C. van Kesteren, 1966); Chrysostomus Baur, *John Chrysostom and His Time* (trans. M. Gonzaga; 3 vols.; London: Sands & Co., 1959).

³ Oskar Skarsaune, “Biblical Interpretation,” in *The Early Christian World* (ed. P.F. Esler; 2 vols.; London: Routledge, 2000), 660-86, shows the development of biblical interpretation in the early church, which was, in its early stages, quite dependant on the Jewish context of interpretation. This started with the *haggadic* and *halachic* categories, and the *pesher* method. In the time of Chrysostom, however, the two main methods were the Antiochene and Alexandrian schools of interpretation (cf. Manlio Simonetti, *Biblical Interpretation in the Early Church: An Historical Introduction to Patristic Exegesis* (trans. J. A. Hughes; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994), 65-67).

⁴ There are also other aspects of Antiochene exegesis which will be discussed later in this study.

⁵ The term “Early Church,” in this study, refers to the Christian Church in the period of approximately 50 AD to 600 AD.

from an Antiochene viewpoint. This would obviously not be the only understanding, but would be representative of a prominent group in the early church, that is, the Antiochene exegetical school⁷.

Due to the *Aufklärung*, many researchers in theological disciplines of the past two centuries had neglected the study of the charismatic gifts of the Spirit due to its “mystical” or supernatural nature⁸. Only at the end of the previous century do we find more writing about the gifts, especially with the emergence of the Pentecostal-Charismatic Movement⁹ and also Post-Modernism¹⁰. This research was, however, especially focussed on the New Testament and few ventured into a study of the gifts in the patristic literature¹¹.

⁶ The term “spiritual gifts” is a collective appellation for the χαρισμάτα indicated in 1 Corinthians 12, and include prophecy, word of wisdom, word of knowledge, faith, gifts of healing, miracles, discernment of spirits, tongues and interpretation thereof (1 Cor 12:8-10). The terms “charismata” and “spiritual gifts” are considered synonyms and must be treated as such – these will also be used interchangeably in this study.

⁷ One would also err to believe that all the early theologians classified in this school had the same interpretations of various concepts in scripture (Hall, *Reading Scripture*, 156-58). The purpose of this study is not to give *the* interpretation of the charismata, but rather give a model of interpretation of a prominent Antiochene theologian on the subject, which would give pointers to how the Antiochenes would interpret this topic.

⁸ Cf. Gordon D. Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence: The Holy Spirit in the Letters of Paul* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1994), 12-13; François P. Möller, *Words of Light and Life: The Work of the Holy Spirit in the Life of the Believers* (Pretoria: J. L. van Schaik, 1998), 1-9. This tendency to mystify the gifts is epitomized in the book of Albert Schweitzer, *The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle* (trans. W. Montgomery; London: Black, 1913).

⁹ The Pentecostal-Charismatic Movement had its beginnings with the Azusa Street phenomenon of people exercising the gifts of the Holy Spirit, indicated by Paul in, *inter alia* 1 Corinthians 12. Today it is one of the fastest growing churches in the world (cf. Richard Shaull and Waldo Cesar, *Pentecostalism and the Future of the Christian Churches* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 8-10). Craig Blomberg, *First Corinthians* (NIVAC; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1994), 253, states that due to the impetus of Pentecostalism, there is a new-found interest in the spiritual gifts.

¹⁰ Post-Modernism also probably played a role in the resurgence of interest and practice of the gifts of the Spirit. Firstly, the very nature of post-modernism can be seen as a reaction on (not necessarily against) modernism’s strict rationalism, which was in turn caused by the Enlightenment philosophy. In post-modernism, there is room for the inexplicable and unverifiable (in contrast to modernistic positivism) and it is even promoted. Religious mysticism has encountered a revival, especially with the New Age Movement, which has a very strong focus on the mystical (cf. Leonard Sweet, *Out of the Question ... Into the Mystery* (Colorado: Waterbrook, 2000), 2-7, 189-200; Brian D. McLaren, *A Generous Orthodoxy* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2004), 161-65). Thus, also in Christianity, it should be no surprise that there is a newfound interest in the spiritual gifts (cf. Thomas C. Oden, *The Rebirth of Orthodoxy: Signs of New Life in Christianity* (San Francisco: Harper, 2003), 11-17; Doug Padgett, *Reimagining Spiritual Formation* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2002), 49-64).

¹¹ There are several exceptions to this statement, like the work of Hendrik F. Stander, *Die Besondere Gawe van die Heilige Gees in die Eerste Vier Eeue n.C.* (Pretoria: Didaskalia, 1986) and Ronald A. N. Kydd, *Charismatic Gifts in the Early*

It would then not be superfluous to have a study on the Antiochene interpretation of Chrysostom of the spiritual gifts, but would be, in fact, refreshingly new and insightful. It would also add to the current New Testament research, especially due to the fact that a study of the patristic interpretation of New Testament texts automatically contributes to a study of the *Wirkungsgeschichte* and also of the *Nachtwirkung* of the tradition in the texts. This research project would then provide a crucial look at the history of interpretation of the spiritual gifts. For the church, this is invaluable, especially due to past and present theological differences and even polemical injunctions¹². If one could see how a key figure in the early church did his theology of the gifts, it would provide many useful insights for the current theological debate.

1.2. Problem Statement and Purpose of Study

How did Chrysostom, in typical Antiochene tradition, interpret Paul's discourse on the charismata in 1 Corinthians 12? This question would focus strictly on Chrysostom's homilies on 1 Corinthians 12:1-13:3. It would then call for an analysis of his four homilies, numbers 29, 30, 31 and 32 on 1 Corinthians and especially of his arguments in the content of the homilies¹³.

The purpose of this study would be to determine how Chrysostom interpreted 1 Corinthians 12:1-13:3, regarding the charismata and their working in the assembly, as a typical Antiochene exegete would do it, thereby adding to the greater sphere of research on the charismata in general. The fruit of the study would be a valuable look into the way the early church, especially in Chrysostom's case, the Eastern Church based in Constantinople, saw, practiced and interpreted the gifts of the Spirit (charismata) as given in 1 Corinthians 12:1-13:3 and how it relates to the current theological debate.

Church (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1984); Kilian McDonnell and George T. Montague, *Christian Initiation and Baptism in the Holy Spirit: Evidence from the First Eight Centuries* (Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1991), who have done extensive research of the gifts in the Early Church period. More on this will be said in the "History of Research" section of this study.

¹² In South-Africa, for instance, the Pentecostal-Charismatic churches were considered sects (cf. Mathew C. Clark, *What is Distinctive about Pentecostal Theology* (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1997), 1-6). Other churches often forbade the practice of the charismata.

¹³ The Greek version of the homilies used in this study is found in the *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Graeca* (ed. J. – P. Migne; 162 vols.; Paris, 1857-1886). More remarks on the use of texts and translations will be made in the next chapter entitled "Methodology".

1.3. History of Research

John Chrysostom is one of the more well-known church fathers, and research about his writings is not scarce. But when looking more closely, one finds that research on Chrysostom's views on the charismata is not all too common. The reason for this is probably the fact that Chrysostom wrote on such a vast amount of topics and Scripture, and some topics received more attention than others. The other problem of a researcher in this specific field is that when some data on Chrysostom and the gifts are found, it is usually terse and cursory remarks, often general and introductory. This does not mean that there is nothing available. The third volume of Quasten proves to be invaluable for working with the primary sources of patristic literature¹⁴. There are also some biographies of John Chrysostom available which also help to a certain degree, but with a focussed textual-historical study, are somewhat limited. The most helpful secondary sources are those focussing on Chrysostom's interpretation of Pauline literature. The studies of Chase and Mitchell prove helpful in the study of the Chrysostomian approach to Pauline literature¹⁵.

When focussing on the Chrysostomian view on the charismata itself, reading material becomes considerably scarce. Papageorgiou does discuss certain elements of the charismata, like prophecy, in the theology of Chrysostom, but does not comment on the charismata in general¹⁶. Ritter's work is probably one of the most specialised studies on the topic, but is dated and therefore lacks some of the

¹⁴ Johannes Quasten, *Patrology* (3 vols.; London: Westminster, 1986).

¹⁵ Cf. Frederick H. Chase, *Chrysostom: A Study in the History of Biblical Interpretation* (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co., 1887) and Margaret M. Mitchell, *The Heavenly Trumpet: John Chrysostom and the Art of Pauline Interpretation* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002). Regarding Chrysostom's interpretation of 1 Corinthians and other Pauline Epistles, cf. Frances M. Young, "John Chrysostom in I and II Corinthians," in *StPatr* 18 (1985): 349-52; Maria G. Vacchina, "Squarci Narrativi Nelle Omelie del Crisostomo sulla I Epistola di S Paolo a I Corinzi," in *Narrativa Cristiana Antica* (Rome: Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 1995), 343-51; Demetrios Trakatellis, "Being Transformed: Chrysostom's Exegesis of the Epistle to the Romans," in *GOTR* 36 (1991): 211-29; Margaret M. Mitchell, "A Patristic Perspective on Pauline περιταυτολογία," in *NTS* 47/3 (2001): 354-71; Judit Kecskeméti, "Exégèse Chrysostomienne et Exégèse Engagée," in *StPatr* 22 (1989): 136-47; Pauline Allen, "John Chrysostom's Homilies on I and II Thessalonians: The Preacher and His Audience," in *StPatr* 31 (1997): 3-21; Andrew T. Floris, "Chrysostom and the Charismata," in *Paraklete* 5/1 (1971): 17-22.

¹⁶ Panayiotis E. Papageorgiou, *A Theological Analysis of Selected Themes in the Homilies of St. John Chrysostom on the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans* (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1995.).

more recent sources and opinions¹⁷. Krupp does give some significant pointers and can be used to complement Ritter's work¹⁸. Two very helpful sources on the charismata in the early church are those of Stander and Kydd, but these only focus on the first three or four centuries and exclude Chrysostom – they are still very useful in understanding the development of the use of the gifts in the early church. The scarcity of Patristic resources on this topic also validates a study of this sort.

1.4. Conclusion

This study asks the question as to how John Chrysostom, a leading theologian especially in the Eastern Church, interpreted 1 Corinthians 12:1-13:3, Paul's discourse on the charismata, as representative of the Antiochene exegetical school. The Antiochene exegetical school is renowned for its emphasis of the importance of history in the exegetical process in response to the allegorical excesses of the Alexandrian exegetical school. Chrysostom's four homilies on 1 Corinthians 12 will be examined and a model will be given. Finally, the research asks what value the textual-historical research holds for the current debate on the issue.

¹⁷ Adolf M. Ritter, *Charisma in Verständnis des Joannes Chrysostomos und Seiner Zeit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972) and “Charisma als Gegenwärtige Wirklichkeit: Johannes Chrysostomus und die Kirche,” in *Licht aus dem Ursprung: Kirchliche Gemeinschaft auf dem Weg ins 3. Jahrtausend* (ed. P. Reifenberg and A. van Hooff; Würzburg: W. Seidel, 1998), 107-23.

¹⁸ Robert A. Krupp, *Shepherding the Flock of God: The Pastoral Theology of John Chrysostom* (New York: Lang, 1991.)

CHAPTER 2

Methodology

2.1. Introduction

Several remarks concerning the methodology of this study need to be made. Firstly, the approach of the study will be given. An inductive-deductive approach will be followed. Secondly, some comments on the use of primary and secondary sources will be made and finally, technical aspects of the translation of the texts will be given.

2.2. Approach

An inductive-deductive¹⁹ (the “hourglass” method), qualitative approach will be followed in this study. The method is inductive because it starts with the general and follows into the particular. In chapter 3, comments will be made regarding the text of 1 Corinthians 12:1-13:3 that Chrysostom uses along with a translation. The next step will be in chapter 4, where a discussion of the Antiochene School of exegesis will be given (in contrast to the Alexandrian School). Then chapter 5 starts with the more specific research and analysis into Chrysostom’s interpretation of 1 Corinthians 12:1-13:3 as an Antiochene exegete, even more specifically then looking at his homilies (homilies 29-32) on the given text and their argumentative content (chapters 5-8). The final chapter will provide the model of Antiochene interpretation of the charismata according to Chrysostom (chapter 9) along with concluding remarks (which would actually venture into a deductive method) by looking at the value of this study of Chrysostom’s views for the general study of the spiritual gifts in the modern debate.

This following illustration shows the typical “hour-glass” method, which is quite useful, especially in textual-historical studies. Schematically, it can be given thus:

¹⁹ This approach refers to the hourglass method, in which conclusions are made by firstly looking at the general and then venturing into the particular. In this study, after the inductive approach, the deductive (bottom-half of the hourglass) section will be given, but not receiving as much attention as the inductive section, especially due to the textual-historical nature of this research project.

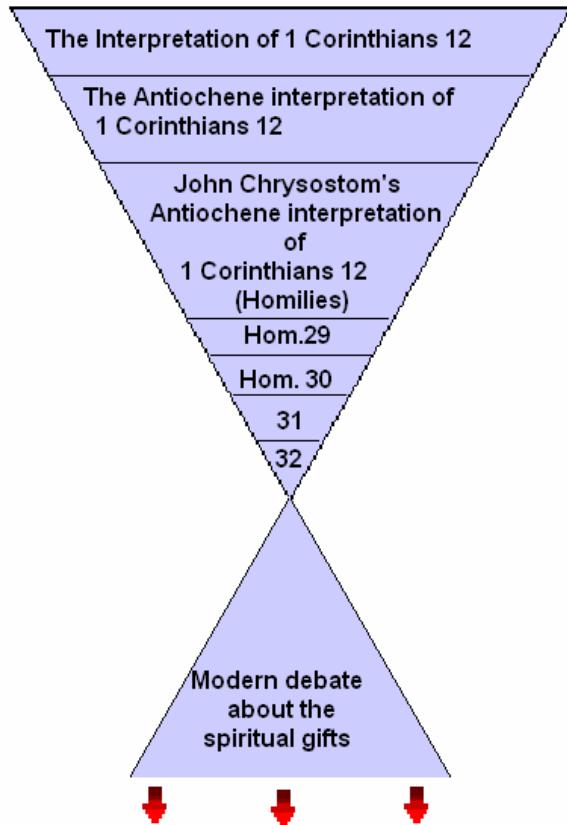


Fig. 1: The typical “hour-glass” argumentation style to be followed in this study.

The qualitative aspect of the method is illustrated by the fact that only Chrysostom’s homilies on 1 Corinthians 12:1-13:3 will be discussed and critically evaluated, and not everything he wrote regarding the spiritual gifts (which would then be a quantitative study). A qualitative approach in this case, would be more meaningful because research is done on the interpretation of a specific text, rather than a general topic, even though the study of a particular text helps in ascribing meaning to a general topic (the study of Chrysostom’s interpretation of 1 Corinthians 12 provides substantial meaning and helps in the progress of the general study of the charismata in all theological disciplines). The focus, however, will be on the specific words of Chrysostom on the text in question. This forms an inductive-deductive, qualitative approach, which will be the method of the research in addressing the problem statement.

Finally, the form in which the approach will be given needs to be discussed. The homilies are discussed according to the various topics in their contents. This topical discussion is preferred over a verse by verse discussion of the homilies; such a discussion would merely form a “commentary on a commentary,” which is not the purpose of this study. Rather, the topical discussion conveniently enables us to view the contents of the homily, but also enables us to view both primary and secondary

sources in a synoptic fashion, which then brings the text in dialogue with other texts ancient and modern. Intertextuality then forms an important part of the approach followed in this study.

2.3. Use of Sources

The efficient incorporation of sources in this study is paramount to the fulfillment of its purpose. The following remarks need to be made regarding the use of primary and secondary sources:

2.3.1. Primary Sources

The homilies of Chrysostom need to be viewed also in the light of other ancient texts, both Christian and non-Christian. Most of the Greek and Latin texts used in this study are available in electronic format. Two of the main primary sources used in this study, namely the Greek text of 1 Corinthians 12:1-13:3 and the Greek text of Chrysostom's homilies, are both available in electronic format. The text of 1 Corinthians 12:1-13:3 can be found in the Nestlé-Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece* 27th edition, abbreviated NA²⁷. This alone, however is not sufficient for this study, as it does not contain the text variant Chrysostom used. It is therefore necessary to reconstruct the text of 1 Corinthians 12:1-13:3 from the homilies of Chrysostom, and evaluate it in the light of the version preferred by NA²⁷. This will be done in the next chapter, which will also provide a translation of 1 Corinthians 12:1-13:3.

More importantly, the Greek text of Chrysostom's homilies is to be found in the *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Graeca* (ed. J. –P Migne; 162 vols.; Paris, 1857-1886). Every citation in this study from this source is taken from the electronic version of the text in the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* CD-ROM, powered by Musaios (1992-2002). Most of the other citations of Greek texts come from this electronic database. Other sources of the Greek (and Latin) texts vary, and will be mentioned in the footnote accompanying every citation. There is a number of useful URL's providing the Latin texts like:

- The Latin Library (<http://www.thelatinlibrary.com>)
- The Perseus Digital Library (<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu>)
- Forum Romanum (<http://www.forumromanum.org/literature>)
- Sant' Agostino [all Latin texts of Augustine] (<http://www.augustinus.it/latino/index.htm>)

It also occurs, in this study, that lengthy citations of primary sources are given. In every instance that a primary source is quoted, the Greek or Latin version with English translation will be given. This then results in a number of lengthy citations. The reason for these citations is to contribute to the illustration of the context in which the homilies were written. Although this study contains a number of citations like the latter mentioned, the full length of this study which is in fact a mini-dissertation, validates the use of such lengthy citations. The many primary citations or references are also given due to the fact that there are so few secondary sources dealing directly with the issue of Chrysostom's interpretation of 1 Corinthians 12:1-13:3. Only chapter 4 does not contain Greek and Latin text citations because the focus is on the nature of Antiochene exegesis in general, rather than on specific texts.

2.3.2. Secondary Sources

Secondary sources which contain research on this specific topic are quite scarce. However, it is helpful to view modern commentaries and studies on the topic of either 1 Corinthians or the charismata. This study places modern research in dialogue with the ancient homilies of Chrysostom. Many secondary sources are also used in aid of understanding the historical and cultural background of both 1 Corinthians and John Chrysostom. Research on ancient cultural anthropology and rhetoric will also be used extensively in this study.

2.4. Translations

A number of translations are also given in this study. Firstly, every homily discussed is also translated, also with numerous other primary sources. Secondary source citations in a known modern language are not translated. The method of translation in this study aims to be more literal than dynamic. The English translation of Chrysostom's homilies are in the *Nicene Post-Nicene Fathers* (trans. P. Schaff; vol. 12; London: Kessinger, 1889) series, which are available in electronic format from: <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers>. The *NPNF* version provides an extremely literal translation of the homilies, which can be both helpful and difficult. The problem with the strict literalism of the *NPNF* is that there are instances in which Chrysostom's argumentation become quite complex, and the literal translation becomes difficult to follow. The English of the *NPNF* is also, unfortunately, very archaic.

Nevertheless, it is a very helpful tool and is often used in this study. In the author's own translations of the homilies, there are sections which have been kept in the translation of the *NPNF* especially due to the impressive poetic sections of the *NPNF*, and in many other instances, the translation is merely revised. Therefore, certain sections of the author's translation may correspond with the *NPNF*. It is

indicated in the footnotes when a section of translation has been taken or revised from the *NPNF*. In the other sections, I have aimed to remain as literal as possible, however, as mentioned, there are sections in Chrysostom's homilies in which the discourse becomes complex. In these instances I have given a more dynamic equivalent translation. I also use general headings in the translations of the homilies corresponding to those in the discussion of the contents in every chapter. I have also attempted to provide an inclusive translation²⁰ of the homilies wherever possible. The numbering of the sections of the homilies corresponds to that of the *NPNF*. The translation of every homily is given as an appendix to the respective chapter.

Regarding the translations of other ancient literature, the author provides his own translation thereof unless indicated otherwise. A text and translation of 1 Corinthians 12:1-13:3 is also provided. It is also the author's own translation, however the translation of Anthony C. Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), is also quite helpful. The lexicons LSJ, BAGD and especially Lampe's PGL have been used interchangeably during the translation process. The challenge of translating 1 Corinthians 12:1-13:3 in this study is that one needs to provide a sensible translation on the one hand, and on the other, the translation should coincide with the understanding of Chrysostom as articulated in his homilies. Therefore, in the following chapter, the text of 1 Corinthians 12:1-13:3 is reconstructed from Chrysostom's homilies in order to view the text Chrysostom used. Again, this translation aims to be as inclusive as possible.

²⁰ This study incorporates gender inclusive language as far as possible not only in the translations, but also in the general discussion.

CHAPTER 3

The Text and Translation of 1 Corinthians 12:1-13:3

3.1. Introduction

Before the homilies of Chrysostom can be discussed, the text of 1 Corinthians 12:1-13:3 needs to be reconstructed, critique performed and also translated. Firstly, the text of 1 Corinthians 12:1-13:3 will be reconstructed from the Chrysostomian homilies. They are also compared and evaluated, in the footnotes, with the NA²⁷ and the UBS⁴ (*The Greek New Testament* (4th ed.; London: United Bible Societies, 2005)) with remarks being made on the nature of the text Chrysostom used. Finally, a translation will be given.

3.2. Chrysostom's Text of 1 Corinthians 12:1 – 13:3

It would be very important to view the text Chrysostom uses in his homilies. Here follows a reconstruction of Chrysostom's text²¹ with a translation. Text-critical remarks are given in the corresponding footnotes. It will also be indicated which homilies discuss the particular logical grouping of verses. Spaces between sections indicate where commentary follows. Chrysostom's text will be evaluated and compared in the light of the text in NA²⁷ as well as UBS⁴ with the *Textual Commentary* on the UBS⁴ by Metzger²². This becomes very important in establishing the reliability and integrity of the text used by Chrysostom.

(1 Corinthians 12:1-11 from Homily 29)

12:1 Περὶ δὲ τῶν πνευματικῶν, ἀδελφοὶ,

οὐ θέλω ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν.

2 Οἴδατε ὅτι ὅτε ἔθνη ἦτε,²³

πρὸς τὰ εἰδωλα τὰ ἄφωνα,

ώς ἂν ἤγεσθε,

ἀπαγόμενοι.

²¹ The text of Chrysostom is taken from Migne's PG:61.

²² The abbreviations used in text-critical footnotes are from NA²⁷, 47 ff.

²³ A number of commas are added in the text of Chrysostom mainly due to the fact that commentary often follows in Midrashic fashion between the body of the text.

3 Διὸ γνωρίζω ὑμῖν,

ὅτι οὐδεὶς Πνεύματι Θεοῦ λαλῶν,
λέγει ἀνάθεμα Ἰησοῦν²⁴.
καὶ οὐδεὶς δύναται εἰπεῖν
Κύριον Ἰησοῦν²⁵, εἰ μὴ ἐν Πνεύματι ἀγίῳ.

4 Διαιρέσεις δὲ χαρισμάτων εἰσὶ²⁶,

τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ Πνεῦμα·

5 Καὶ διαιρέσεις διακονιῶν εἰσὶν²⁷,

ό δὲ²⁸ αὐτὸς Κύριος.

6 Καὶ διαιρέσεις ἐνεργημάτων εἰσὶν,

ό δὲ αὐτὸς Θεὸς

ό ἐνεργῶν τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν.

7 Ἐκάστῳ δὲ δίδοται ἡ φανέρωσις τοῦ Πνεύματος

πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον.

²⁴ NA²⁷ and UBS⁴ read Ἰησοῦς. This reading occurs in p⁴⁶ D F G Ψ Μ (NA²⁷, 461); the papyrus witness indicates that such a reading may be the older reading. However, the following reading of Κύριον Ἰησοῦν by Chrysostom does not occur in this papyrus, and only in the witnesses mentioned after the papyrus, which are later. According to NA²⁷, older witnesses (p⁴⁶ κ A B C) support a reading contrary to Chrysostom's reading (except in the first case of Ἰησοῦν).

²⁵ See the footnote above.

²⁶ It is also interesting to note that in many instances Chrysostom's text incorporates the elision of the consonant ν after the 3rd person verb in order to avoid hiatus. Friedrich Blass and Alfred Debrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (trans. Robert W. Funk; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 67, states that Koine "often neglects euphony for the sake of etymological clarity." Chrysostom's text style is closer to Attic style. This would then also support the notion that Chrysostom uses late version of the text. The incorporation of anti-hiatus elision is probably a scribal amendment; it also may even have been done by Chrysostom himself in order to be more eloquent during the reading of the homily. For the purpose of this section, this sort of elision will be indicated by "-E-" in the footnotes.

²⁷ Elision in this instance is absent because there is no threat of hiatus, which would again support the late nature of the text, having gone through a number of revisions.

²⁸ The text of NA²⁷ and UBS⁴ reads καὶ οὐ rather than οὐ δὲ. This may also be a scribal ammendment for the rhetorical purpose of repetition.

8 ὁ μὲν γὰρ διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος δίδοται λόγος σοφίας,

ἄλλω δὲ λόγος γνώσεως,

κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ Πνεῦμα·

9 ἐτέρῳ δὲ²⁹ πίστις,

ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ Πνεύματι·

ἄλλω δὲ χαρίσματα ἰαμάτων,

ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ³⁰ Πνεύματι.

10 Ἀλλω δὲ ἐνεργήματα δυνάμεων³¹,

ἄλλω δὲ προφητεῖαι³²,

ἄλλω δὲ διακρίσεις πνευμάτων,

ἐτέρῳ δὲ³³ γένη γλωσσῶν,

ἄλλω δὲ ἑρμηνεία γλωσσῶν.

11 Πάντα δὲ ταῦτα ἐνεργεῖ ἔν³⁴ καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ Πνεῦμα,

²⁹ NA²⁷ and UBS⁴ omits δὲ however a number of early witnesses support its inclusion (p⁴⁶ Κ² A C D² Ψ Μ), however the omission thereof in Κ* B D* F G validate the decision of NA²⁷ and UBS⁴. Chrysostom may also prefer inclusion due to the fact that it assists the rhetoric of the text – repetition and conformity.

³⁰ NA²⁷ and UBS⁴ read ἐνί in accordance with A B (with Ambrose, Hilary, Basil, Didymus, Augustine, Euthalius and John Damascus), while Chrysostom’s reading corresponds with Κ C³ D F G Μ. It is again possibly a scribal amendment in order to conform to the occurrence of αὐτῷ in the previous phrase (with Marcion, Clement, Origen, Hilary, Basil, Cyril of Jerusalem and Theodoret); p⁴⁶ omits both and is accepted by Tertullian and Eusebius. .

³¹ Chrysostom’s reading in this instance agrees with NA²⁷ and UBS⁴ due to its occurrence in the earliest versions; however D F G b read ενεργεια, which one would almost expect in this case. Chrysostom’s text corresponds with p⁴⁶ (except for δυνάμεων which is δυνάμεως) A B C Ψ Μ.

³² A curious construction is present here. The plural form is not a mistake, as it is repeated numerous times by Chrysostom. It may be an amendment due to the fact that all the other gifts framing it are in the plural; it is not clear whether the amendment has a theological and/or rhetorical motive. The gift of prophecy in the singular may point, theologically, to an ability to prophesy, while the plural may point to prophecies (informative) being given to an individual. If a theological motive is pressed, at most, one could say that Chrysostom then understands prophecy not as ability as much as divine information given for an exact situation. Such a distinction, however, may seem a bit forced. On the other hand, he may just have used a text that had this reading, but such texts are not indicated by NA²⁷ or UBS⁴. In the light of previous amendments to the text, which were especially in service of the rhetoric, this amendment is probably due to the same reason.

³³ Again δὲ is present in Chrysostom’s text which is not preferred by NA²⁷ and UBS⁴. Chrysostom corresponds with Κ² A C Ψ Μ in contrast with the earliest witnesses. It is added to promote conformity in the text.

διαιροῦν ἴδιᾳ ἐκάστῳ,
καθὼς βούλεται.

(1 Corinthians 12:12-20 from Homily 30)

12 Καθάπερ γὰρ τὸ σῶμα ἔν ἐστι³⁵,
καὶ μέλη ἔχει πολλὰ³⁶,
πάντα δὲ τὰ μέλη τοῦ σώματος
πολλὰ ὄντα,
ἔν ἐστι³⁷ σῶμα·
οὗτω³⁸ καὶ ὁ Χριστός.

13 Καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἐνὶ Πνεύματι
πάντες ἡμεῖς³⁹ εἰς ἔν σῶμα ἐβαπτίσθημεν,
εἴτε Ἰουδαῖοι, εἴτε Ἔλληνες, εἴτε δοῦλοι, εἴτε ἐλεύθεροι.

Καὶ πάντες εἰς⁴⁰ ἔν Πνεῦμα ἐποτίσθημεν.

14 Καὶ γὰρ τὸ σῶμα οὐκ ἔστιν ἔν μέλος,
ἀλλὰ πολλά.

15 Ἐὰν εἴπῃ ὁ ποῦς,⁴¹

³⁴ Chrysostom omits τὸ in this reading, which is included by NA²⁷ and UBS⁴. The omission of this promotes the fluency of the sounds in the text, avoiding uncomfortable hiatus, and is grammatically acceptable and even preferable.

³⁵ -E-, not indicated in NA²⁷ or UBS⁴.

³⁶ Chrysostom's word order differs somewhat in this case. NA²⁷ and UBS⁴ read μέλη πολλὰ ἔχει. It is unclear whether this is accidental or deliberate. The effect it creates is that it frames the phrase πάντα δὲ τὰ μέλη τοῦ σώματος between two instances of πολλὰ, adding to the fluency of the text.

³⁷ -E-, not indicated in NA²⁷ or UBS⁴.

³⁸ -E-, not indicated in NA²⁷ or UBS⁴.

³⁹ Again the word order is slightly adjusted. NA²⁷ and UBS⁴ reads ἡμεῖς πάντες. It may be an adjustment for the sake of alliteration.

⁴⁰ NA²⁷ and UBS⁴ omit εἰς in favour of early versions, with only a few later witnesses attesting to its inclusion. Its inclusion in the Chrysostomian text may point to the fact that a later text version is used and/or that it is another amendment for the sake of conformity in the light of εἰς ἔν σῶμα ἐβαπτίσθημεν.

ὅτι οὐκ εἰμὶ χεὶρ,
 οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος,
 οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος;
16 Καὶ ἐὰν εἴπῃ τὸ οὖς,
 ὅτι οὐκ εἰμὶ ὄφθαλμὸς,
 οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος,
 οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος;

17 Εἰ ὅλον τὸ σῶμα ὄφθαλμὸς,
 ποῦ ἡ ἀκοή;
 εἰ ὅλον ἀκοὴ,
 ποῦ ἡ ὄσφρησις;

18 Νυνὶ δὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἔθετο τὰ μέλη,
 ἐν ἔκαστον αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ σώματι
 καθὼς ἡθέλησεν.

19 Εἰ δὲ ἦν τὰ πάντα ἐν μέλος,
 ποῦ τὸ σῶμα;
20 Νυνὶ⁴² δὲ πολλὰ μὲν μέλη,
 ἐν δὲ σῶμα.

(1 Corinthians 12:21-26 from Homily 31)

21 Οὐ δύναται δὲ ὁ ὄφθαλμὸς εἰπεῖν τῇ χειρὶ,
 Χρείαν σου οὐκ ἔχω·
 ἢ πάλιν ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῖς ποσὶ⁴³,
 Χρείαν ὑμῶν οὐκ ἔχω.

⁴¹ Chrysostom makes no changes to Paul's superb rhetoric in verses 15-19 and there are no variants indicated by NA²⁷ or UBS⁴ for these verses.

⁴² In some versions, verse 18 reads ννν rather than νννι, but NA²⁷ and UBS⁴ accept νννι. But then, in verse 20, NA²⁷ and UBS⁴ reads ννν. It is therefore likely that Chrysostom changed the ννν in verse 20 to νννι in the light of verse 18. No witnesses attest to a reading of νννι in verse 20, and this is without a doubt a rhetorical amendment.

⁴³ -E-, not indicated by NA²⁷ or UBS⁴.

22 Ἀλλὰ πολλῷ μᾶλλον τὰ δοκοῦντα μέλη τοῦ σώματος ἀσθενέστερα ὑπάρχειν,
ἀναγκαῖα ἐστι⁴⁴.

23 καὶ ἀ δοκοῦμεν ἀτιμότερα εἶναι τοῦ σώματος,
τούτοις τιμὴν περισσοτέραν περιτίθεμεν·
καὶ τὰσχήμονα⁴⁵ ἡμῶν εὐσχῆμοσύνην περισσοτέραν ἔχει·

24 Τὸ δὲ εὐσχήμονα ἡμῶν οὐ χρείαν ἔχει.

Ἄλλ⁴⁶ ὁ Θεὸς συνεκέρασε⁴⁷ τὸ σῶμα, τῷ ὑστεροῦντι⁴⁸ περισσοτέραν δοὺς τιμὴν,
25 οἵα μὴ σχίσμα ἥ⁴⁹ ἐν τῷ σώματι.

ἀλλα τὸ αὐτὸ ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων μεριμνῶσι⁵⁰ τὰ μέλη·

26 Καὶ εἴτε πάσχει ἐν μέλος,
συμπάσχει πάντα τὰ μέλη·
εἴτε δοξάζεται ἐν μέλος,
συγχαίρει πάντα τὰ μέλη.

(1 Corinthians 12:27-13:3 from Homily 32)

27 Υμεῖς δέ ἐστε σῶμα Χριστοῦ,
καὶ μέλη ἐκ μέρους.

28 Καὶ οὓς μὲν ἔθετο ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ Ἑκκλησίᾳ,
πρῶτον ἀποστόλους,

⁴⁴ -E-, not indicated by NA²⁷ or UBS⁴.

⁴⁵ Crasis in favour of the rhetoric. No other witnesses indicated by NA²⁷ show an occurrence of crasis in this instance.

⁴⁶ -E-, not indicated by NA²⁷ or UBS⁴.

⁴⁷ -E-, not indicated by NA²⁷ or UBS⁴.

⁴⁸ NA²⁷ and UBS⁴ read ὑστεροῦμενῳ. Some earlier witnesses support Chrysostom's reading (namely p⁴⁶ n² D F G Ψ Π), but numerous versions do not. Again it seems that Chrysostom used a later version of the text.

⁴⁹ Word order is again adapted for the sake of rhetoric and avoidance of hiatus. NA²⁷ and UBS⁴ read μὴ ἥ σχίσμα.

⁵⁰ -E-, not indicated by NA²⁷ or UBS⁴.

δεύτερον προφήτας,
τρίτον διδασκάλους,
ἔπειτα δυνάμεις,
ἔπειτα χαρίσματα ἰαμάτων,
ἀντιλήψεις, κυβερνήσεις,
γένη γλωσσῶν.

29 Μὴ πάντες ἀπόστολοι;

μὴ πάντες προφῆται;⁵¹

30 μὴ πάντες χαρίσματα ἔχοντιν ἰαμάτων;

Μὴ πάντες γλώσσαις λαλοῦσι⁵²;

μὴ πάντες διερμηνεύοντιν;

31 Ζηλοῦτε τὰ χαρίσματα τὰ κρείττονα⁵³.

Καὶ ἔτι καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ὁδὸν δείκνυμι ὑμῖν⁵⁴.

13:1 Ἐὰν ταῖς γλώσσαις τῶν ἀνθρώπων λαλῶ καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων,

ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω,

γέγονα χαλκὸς ἥχῶν ἢ κύμβαλον ἀλαλάζον.

2 Καὶ ἐὰν ἔχω προφητείαν

καὶ εἰδῶ τὰ μυστήρια πάντα,

καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γνῶσιν

⁵¹ At this point a fracture in the text is encountered. Chrysostom does not provide the phrase μὴ πάντες διδάσκαλοι μὴ πάντες δυνάμεις in his commentary. Whether this fracture is deliberate or not is unclear, and Chrysostom does not fully discuss this phrase in his commentary. It seems, when reading the homily, that Chrysostom seems to rush into discussing μὴ πάντες γλώσσαις λαλοῦσι and therefore he may not have seen the need to discuss the omitted phrase.

⁵² -E-, not indicated by NA²⁷ or UBS⁴.

⁵³ This is a very significant aspect of the Chrysostomian text. The following witnesses support this reading: D F G Ψ Μ however the earliest versions are in favour of reading τὰ μείζονα. Chrysostom, however, makes a number of interesting remarks regarding this reading, which will be discussed in the chapter 7 in this study.

⁵⁴ Word order is slightly changed. NA²⁷ and UBS⁴ read ὁδὸν ὑμῖν δείκνυμι, but Chrysostom again adjusts the text to be more fluent and avoids a hiatus of the asperated vowels.

Καὶ ἐὰν ἔχω πᾶσαν τὴν πίστιν. ·

“Ωστε ὅρη μεθιστάνειν⁵⁵,

ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω,

οὐδέν⁵⁶ εἰμι.

3 Καὶ ἐὰν ψωμίσω πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντά μου,

καὶ ἐὰν παραδῶ τὸ σῶμά μου

ἵνα καυθήσωμαι⁵⁷,

ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω,

οὐδὲν ὡφελοῦμαι.

3.3. Deductions from the Footnotes on Chrysostom’s Text

What can be said, from the data in the footnotes, of the text which Chrysostom uses? Firstly, it is clear that Chrysostom thought it well to improve on Paul’s Greek. Whether this was done by Chrysostom himself (the golden mouth was certainly capable of doing this!) or whether it was done by scribes in the Alexandrian tradition is unsure (probably the latter). The fact is, after the grammar and rhetoric of the text has been improved, a text suitable for preaching is created. The main point is that Chrysostom uses an Alexandrian text type, of which Metzger⁵⁸ states: “Its characteristic is that which might be expected from the influence of a Greek literary centre – a delicate philological tact in correcting forms, syntax and subtle changes made in the interest of attaining a greater degree of polish in language and style.” Secondly, the version Chrysostom uses, in the light of the variants, is probably that which NA²⁷ calls the Majority Text (ℳ)⁵⁹, which is a late text. Chrysostom therefore uses a late Alexandrian text in his

⁵⁵ Chrysostom uses the reading from A C Ψ ℳ in contrast to the earlier readings of μεθιστάναι.

⁵⁶ An adjustment is made from οὐθέν (NA²⁷ and UBS4) to οὐδέν by Chrysostom again for the sake of conformity with 13:3.

⁵⁷ Chrysostom uses the reading from Ψ ℳ (which is a very rare future subjunctive) rather than καυχήσωμαι as in the earliest witnesses.

⁵⁸ Bruce M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption and Restoration* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 133.

⁵⁹ Cf. NA²⁷, 47. A strong influence from Ψ is present and should be noted.

homilies on 1 Corinthians. It also needs to be remembered that Chrysostom did not have verse and chapter divisions of the text⁶⁰. The following translation is then provided:

3.4. Translation of 1 Corinthians 12:1-13:3

Chapter 12

- 1 Now, about the spiritual gifts, my brothers and sisters⁶¹, I do not want you to remain without knowledge.
- 2 You know that when you were pagans, you were carried away to idols that could not speak.
- 3 Therefore I am giving to you this knowledge that no one who is speaking through the Spirit of God says: “Jesus is cursed.” And no one is able to declare “Jesus is Lord” except through the Holy Spirit.
- 4 There are different apportionings of gifts⁶², but the same Spirit.
- 5 There are a variety of ways of serving, but the same Lord.
- 6 And there are different workings, but the same God who works all in all.
- 7 To each is given a manifestation of the Spirit to the benefit of all.
- 8 To one person is given through the Spirit a word of wisdom, to another through the same Spirit, is given a word of knowledge.
- 9 To another faith by the same Spirit, to another gifts of healing by the one Spirit.
- 10 To another miracles, to another prophecies, to another discernment of spirits, to another different kinds of tongues, and to another interpretation of tongues.
- 11 All these things work one and the same Spirit, apportioning to each person individually as He wills⁶³.
- 12 For just as the body is one, and has many members, and all the members of the body, although they are many, is one body, so also with Christ.
- 13 For we were all baptised by one Spirit into one body, whether Jews or Gentiles, whether slaves or free people. We are all made to drink of one Spirit.
- 14 For the body is not one member, but many.

⁶⁰ The Bible was only divided into chapters in 1228 by Stephen Langton and versified in 1557 by an English printer on horseback from Paris to Lyons (cf. Marvin Hunt, “The Longest, the Shortest and Many More Facts About Chapters and Verses,” n.p. [cited 18 September 2006]. Online: <http://www.biblehistory.com/86.htm>).

⁶¹ The author has attempted to retain the kinship language whilst also being inclusive of all genders.

⁶² Cf. Thiselton, *First Corinthians*, 928.

⁶³ Cf. Ibid., 936.

- 15** If the foot should say: “Because I am not a hand, I do not belong to the body,” due to this does it not belong to the body?
- 16** And if the ear should say: “Because I am not an eye, I do not belong to the body,” due to this does it any less belong to the body?
- 17** If the whole body were an eye, where would be the hearing? If the whole body were an ear, where would be the smell?
- 18** But as it is, God placed the members, each one of them, in the body as it pleased Him.
- 19** But if all were one member, where would the body be?
- 20** Now there are many members, but one body.
- 21** The eye cannot say to the hand: “I do not need you,” or again, the head cannot say to the feet: “I do not need you.”
- 22** Rather, those members of the body which seem to be less endowed with honour than others are necessary.
- 23** And what we consider to be less honourable members of the body we treat with great care, and our unpresentable private parts have greater adornment to make them presentable⁶⁴.
- 24** Our presentable parts do not need this. But God made the body, giving to that which seems inferior greater honour.
- 25** For He designed it that there should be no division in the body, but that its members might care for one another.
- 26** So if one member suffers, all the other members of the body suffer with it; or if one member is praised, all the members of the body share the adoration.
- 27** Now you are the body of Christ, and each individually members thereof.
- 28** And God has placed in the church, firstly apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers, and then miracles, then gifts of healing, patrons and counsellors, different kinds of tongues.
- 29** All are not apostles? All are not prophets? All are not teachers? Do all perform miracles?
- 30** Does everyone have gifts of healing? Do all speak in tongues? Do all interpret the tongues?
- 31** Desire earnestly the better gifts! And I will show you a more excellent (useful) way.

Chapter 13

- 1** Even if I were to speak with human or angelic tongues, but if I had not love, I would have become a resounding gong or a clanging cymbal⁶⁵.

⁶⁴ Cf. Ibid., 990.

- 2 And if I should have the gift of prophecy, and know all the mysteries and have all the knowledge, and if I have all faith to move mountains – if I have not love, I am nothing.
- 3 Even if I should give up all my possessions to the poor, and hand my body over to be burned, but have not love, there is not good in it.

⁶⁵ Cf. Ibid., 1026.

CHAPTER 4

The Nature of Antiochene Exegesis

4.1. Introduction

John Chrysostom is typically representative of the Antiochene School of interpretation. Barkhuizen elaborates⁶⁶: "...he valued the content of scripture as inspired, but acknowledged the role of humans in the form...Warning against an approach that inquires into everything word for word; he advocated a restrained and literal approach..." This quote could summarize the very essence of Antiochene exegesis⁶⁷, with this being the closest ancient equivalent to the modern historical-critical method of scriptural interpretation. Therefore, if an investigation into Chrysostom's interpretation of 1 Corinthians 12:1-13:3 on the charismata is to be made, a look into the nature of Antiochene exegesis⁶⁸ would be quite necessary. How would the nature of Antiochene exegesis be established? Firstly, the history and origin of the Antiochene School of exegesis needs to be established; secondly, the difference between the Antiochene and Alexandrian Schools will be shown highlighting the key concepts of the schools, namely *theoria* versus *allegoria* and the role of *historia*, will be elaborated on; thirdly, a look at the importance of ethics in the interpretation of this school will be noted; fourthly, Chrysostom's rhetoric and nature of the homilies will be explained and finally, an excursus will be made to practically show the dynamics of the Antiochene School by looking at Chrysostom's view on two of the gifts, namely a word of wisdom and a word of knowledge, in contrast to Origen's view, a typical representative of the Alexandrian School of interpretation.

⁶⁶ Jan H. Barkhuizen, "John Chrysostom on the Parables in the Gospel of Matthew," in *EkklPhar* 80/2 (1998): 160; cf. also Amy S. McCormick, "John Chrysostom's Homily #50 as an Example of the Antiochene Exegetical Tradition," in *PBRev* 12/1-3 (1993): 65-83 and Hagit Amirav, "Exegetical Models and Chrysostomian Homiletics: The Example of Gen. 6.2," in *StPatr* 37 (2001): 312-27.

⁶⁷ The opposite school to the Antiochene School would be the Alexandrian School of exegesis. These two opposites will be frequently viewed parallel to each other to highlight the characteristics of each, eventually aiding the illustration of the Antiochene School's key attributes, cf. Frances M. Young, "The Fourth Century Reaction against Allegory," in *StPatr* 30 (1997):120-25.

⁶⁸ The concepts exegesis and interpretation will be used frequently. Exegesis is the act of studying scripture, with certain hermeneutical presuppositions, leading to an interpretation. Exegesis has certain methodological aspects leading to interpretation. Thus, in this section, the exegetical method (exegesis) of Chrysostom (namely the Antiochene method) will be viewed, giving an indication to why he has reached certain conclusions in his writings.

4.2. The History and Origin of the Antiochene School of Exegesis

Many scholars, like Young, Froehlich, Skarsaune and Hall agree that Antiochene exegesis is especially a reaction against the allegorical interpretation of the Alexandrian exegetes which was quite popular in the day⁶⁹. Froehlich notes⁷⁰: “There can be little doubt that the hermeneutical theories of the Antiochene School were aimed at the excesses of Alexandrian spiritualism.” The Antiochene exegetes had a specific two-fold scriptural hermeneutic, namely that scripture is inspired by the Holy Spirit, but the role of humans is acknowledged. This then implied that the study of the language and rhetoric of the text is important as well as the history behind the text, because the Holy Spirit is revealed in history⁷¹. This would be a fresh alternative to the highly allegorical hermeneutic of the Alexandrians. The Antiochene School of interpretation flourished especially from the first Council of Nicaea (325 AD) until the council of Chalcedon (451 AD)⁷².

Froehlich points out that the school’s early phase was connected to Lucian, a famous text critic of the time⁷³. The first members of the school are Diodore of Tarsus, Theodore of Mopsuestia, John Chrysostom and Theodoret of Cyrrhus. The origin of the school is polemical in nature, as mentioned earlier. Early scholars like Diodore and Theodore wrote commentaries clearly indicating this polemical nature.

Diodore of Tarsus is known as the father of this exegetical school. Diodore especially had a problem with the concept of *allegoria* accentuated by the Alexandrian School. Allegory introduced “fables” in the place of the text, as Moreschini and Norelli notes⁷⁴. This hostility is very clear in Diodore’s *Commentary on the Psalms*⁷⁵:

⁶⁹ Cf. respectively, Young, “Reaction against Allegory”; Karlfried Froehlich, *Biblical Interpretation in the Early Church* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 19; Skarsaune, “Biblical Interpretation”, 679-80; Hall, *Reading Scripture*, 156.

⁷⁰ Froehlich, *Biblical Interpretation*, 20.

⁷¹ Cf. Frances M. Young, *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 46; Skarsaune, “Biblical Interpretation”, 679; Barkhuizen, “John Chrysostom”, 161.

⁷² Cf. Gerald Bray, “The Early Theologians,” in *The Early Christian World* (ed. Philip F. Esler; 2 vols.; London: Routledge, 2000), 451; James L. Kugel, “Early Interpretation: The Common Background of Late Forms of Biblical Exegesis,” in *Early Biblical Interpretation* (ed. James L. Kugel and Rowan W. Greer; LEC 3; London: Westminster John Knox, 1986), 13-73.

⁷³ Froehlich, *Biblical Interpretation*, 19; cf. Skarsaune, “Biblical Interpretation”, 679.

⁷⁴ Cf. Claudio Moreschini and Enrico Norelli, *Early Christian Greek and Latin Literature: A Literary History* (trans. M. J. O’Connell; 2 vols.; Peabody: Hendrickson, 2005), 2:140.

⁷⁵ Froehlich, *Biblical Interpretation*, 82.

Those who pretend to improve Scripture and who are wise in their own conceit have introduced allegory because they are careless about the historical substance, or they simply abuse it. They do not follow the apostle's intention, but their own vain imagination.

In the prologue to his commentary on Psalm 118, Diodore discusses the use of allegory⁷⁶:

Above all, one must keep in mind one point which I have stated very clearly in my prologue to the Psalter: Holy Scripture knows the term “allegory” but not its application. Even the blessed Paul uses the term: “This is said by way of allegory, for they are two covenants” [Gal 4:25]. But his use of the word and his application is different from that of the Greeks.

These writings were probably used in the teaching of Antiochene exegetes⁷⁷. The polemical hermeneutic is extremely clear. In the latter quotation, Diodore equates the allegory of the Alexandrians to the Platonic allegory of the Greeks. He also believed that the relationship between the Old and New Testament was rather typological fulfilment than prophecy⁷⁸. It is this strong polemic that drove the Antiochene School of exegetes, including Chrysostom, to become one of the most influential and modern of their day. Moreschini and Norelli refer to this exegesis as philological, due to the strong emphasis on the historical setting of the text⁷⁹.

Theodore of Mopsuestia was one of Diodore's pupils. Diodore's influence was definitely visible, and according to Greer⁸⁰: “His concern is with a careful exposition of the text at the narrative level [*historia*]”. Theodore is also responsible for elaborating on the concept of *theoria* within the Antiochene hermeneutic. Theodore was concerned with Paul's meaning of “ἀλληγορούμενα”

⁷⁶ Ibid., 87.

⁷⁷ In these writings, Diodore continues to explain the use of the term *theoria*, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

⁷⁸ Cf. Rowan W. Greer, “Diodore of Tarsus,” in *EEC*, 331.

⁷⁹ Moreschini and Norelli, *Literary History*, 2:136-38.

⁸⁰ Rowan W. Greer, “Theodore of Mopsuestia,” in *EEC*, 1116.

(allegorise) in Galatians 4:24. Diodore has also mentioned this in the quote above. He ultimately understood allegory in Paul as comparison, as it is seen in his commentary on Galatians 4:22-31⁸¹:

Here we have the reason for the phrase, “this is said by way of allegory.” Paul used the term “allegory” as a comparison, juxtaposing events of the past and present.

Origen would probably argue against this interpretation and rather impose a reading of the word closer to the way the ancient Greeks allegorised. This comparative interpretation, however, to Diodore would be fitting, and he would elaborate more on the concept of *theoria*, which he does in his commentary of the Psalms.

Theodoret of Cyrrhus also expanded the tradition. He especially wrote on the Christological tradition and also wrote many letters and homilies⁸².

John Chrysostom was one of the most influential Antiochene exegetes, especially being the bishop of Constantinople (398 AD); he wrote an enormous collection of writings, brilliantly displaying his Antiochene exegetical methods⁸³.

4.3. Antiochene Exegesis vs. Alexandrian Exegesis: Key Concepts

It has been shown that the very nature of Antiochene exegesis is the fact that it was a polemical response to the Alexandrian School of exegesis. It would also be very difficult to understand the Antiochene School without the Alexandrian School. The difference is to be seen primarily in their concepts involved with biblical interpretation. The main difference is between the Antiochene concept of *theoria* and the Alexandrian concept of *allegoria*, and also the role of *historia* within the two groups.

The main concept within Antiochene exegesis was the concept of *theoria*. It is a reactionary concept to the Alexandrian *allegoria*. To understand what *theoria* is, it would help to view its nemesis, namely *allegoria* and its origins.

⁸¹ Froehlich, *Biblical Interpretation*, 99.

⁸² Gerard H. Ettlinger, “Theodoret of Cyrus,” in *EEC*, 1117.

⁸³ The greater part of this chapter will be devoted to Chrysostom as Antiochene exegete.

The concept of allegory is not unique within the Judeo-Christian movements, but was rather cultivated by the ancient Greek linguists and text critics, especially working in various philosophical schools. To the Greeks, the poetry of Homer, namely the *Odyssey* and *Iliad*, were considered the most important texts to study. They were also the main theme in the ancient school curriculum⁸⁴. In these Homeric writings, the myths were expanded on in detail. But in the writings, the gods were often portrayed as being quite imperfect, with most of them conducting themselves quite dishonourably⁸⁵. With the philosophers being unable to incorporate this portrayal of “theology” in their thinking, they either had to discard or reinterpret the myths. Plato rather gives the following theological axiom (*Resp.* 2.397-400): “...God is always to be represented as he truly is.” He then continues (*Resp.* 2.429-430) to say: “Then we must not listen to Homer or to any other poet who is guilty of the folly...” This gives a clear picture of the feeling towards the Homeric writings⁸⁶. It called for re-evaluation and interpretation, and the seeds for allegorical interpretation were planted.

The strongest responses came from the Middle Platonists and the Stoic philosophers. Skarsaune remarks⁸⁷: “The necessity and justification of interpreting Homer allegorically had to do with the theories of the leading school of philosophy at the time: the Middle Platonists... [T]he Stoic philosophers ‘saved’ Homer by regarding him as a divinely inspired author who had dressed ‘true’ (cf.

⁸⁴ This is one of the great problems Plato had with the education system of the day. Plato (*Resp.* 2.427-449) criticizes the schools for teaching the young children the false literature (referring to Homer) first (cf. Johannes P. J. Janse van Rensburg, ‘n Oorsig oor die Oud-Griekse Letterkunde (Stellenbosch: Universiteitsuitgewers, 1960), 1-2).

⁸⁵ The father of the gods, Zeus, for instance, rapes the virgin Io, Apollo steals Hermes’ cattle, and Aries seduces the wife of Hephaestus, Aphrodite, etc. This bad behaviour was unacceptable to many of the great philosophers of the day, like Anaxagoras (500-428 BC), Socrates (469-399 BC) and Plato (427-347 BC), who believed that the myths needed to be reinterpreted (cf. Stephen L. Harris and Gloria Platzner, *Classical Mythology: Images & Insights* (3rd ed.; California: Mayfield, 2001), 36.)

⁸⁶ Humphrey D. F. Kitto, *The Greeks* (London: Penguin, 1951), 201, believes that Plato’s attack on all poets incorporating myth is ‘absurd’, especially his attacks on the tragic poets. These poets, according to Kitto, used myths as their natural medium. They are philosophical poets. This view is also expressed by Harris and Platzner (*Classical Mythology*, 41-42), who stress the value of myth for disciplines like philosophy, theology and especially psychology, with leading psychologists like Jung and Freud, largely incorporating myths. Myths should not be disregarded as such, as truth is not necessarily historical, but rather encompassed in the meaningfulness of the myths. It could be said that Plato and the Stoics were harsh to totally disregard the myths.

⁸⁷ Skarsaune, “Biblical Interpretation,” 675.

Plato, *Resp.* 2.397-400) (or ‘natural’) theology in allegorical garb.”⁸⁸ In this way, the myths were still used, but interpreted allegorically. With this, it became a trend of interpretation in the Hellenistic schools. This is then the roots of *allegoria*.

The next important figure was Philo, who used allegorical interpretation extensively in his writings on the Old Testament. Philo was known for being a Hellenistic Jew, from Alexandria, especially due to his methods of interpretation. Cohen even notes that there existed a “Philo-Judaism” movement that especially had a revival in reading Hellenistic literature and using Hellenistic methods of interpretation⁸⁹. Philo especially used Plato’s allegorical methods with his Old Testament interpretation, as seen in this example of Philo (*Leg.* 1:70-73)⁹⁰ interpreting the rivers mentioned in Genesis 2:10-14:

...courage is mentioned in the second place, self-mastery in the third, and prudence in the first...our soul is threefold... ‘The Fourth River’, he says, ‘is the Euphrates’. ‘Euphrates’ means ‘fruitfulness’, and is a figurative name for the fourth virtue, justice...

To Philo, the four rivers are not physical rivers, but rather significant of the virtues they figuratively represent. This would also be the method which certain Christians would use to interpret the Bible, especially Clement of Alexandria and Origen.

Origen especially used allegory in his commentaries and treatises. But Origen slightly adapted the Platonic scale of reasoning. Plato’s metaphysics implied that all reality was made up of “forms”. Rosenstand defines it⁹¹: “[A] Form is at once the ideal abstraction and sole source of each thing that resembles it”. This means that, for instance, all the fruit in the world, with all their differences and similarities, have one “ideal fruit”, or “The Fruit”, which defines and encompasses all fruits. The

⁸⁸ Cf. William K. C. Guthrie, *The Greek Philosophers from Thales to Aristotle* (London: Methuen, 1978), 101; Everett Ferguson, *Backgrounds of Early Christianity*, (2nd ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 333-36.

⁸⁹ Shaye J. D. Cohen, *From the Maccabees to the Mishnah* (LEC 7; London: Westminster John Knox, 1987), 49; (cf. Gerhard van den Heever and Eben Scheffler, eds., *From Jesus Christ to Christianity: Early Christian Literature in Context* (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 2001), 293).

⁹⁰ Cf. Charles K. Barrett, *The New Testament Background: Selected Documents* (London: SPCK, 1956), 176-77.

⁹¹ Nina Rosenstand, *The Moral of the Story: An Introduction to Ethics* (3rd ed.; Boston: McGraw Hill, 2000), 321.

highest hierarchy in the chain of forms, to Plato, was the “Good”. The way one could only get to know this “Good”, was to develop the mind (*λογός*), and this was done by studying philosophy. His theory is built on a vertical scale, but Origen tipped this scale horizontally⁹² and applies it to time, with the end of the line being the eschatological realisation (1 Cor 15:28: “...God will be all in all.”) Origen called his exegesis “spiritual exegesis” (*Princ.* 4.2.6-9)⁹³:

Spiritual exegesis, however, is reserved for the one who can identify the heavenly realities, whose copy and shadow the “Jews according to the flesh” were worshipping, and who can recognize the good things to come of which the laws display but a shadow... One must also be aware of another feature. Since the Spirit’s primary goal was to present the logical system of spiritual realities by means of events that happened and things that were to be done, the Word used actual historical events wherever they could be accommodated to these mystical (meanings) hiding the deeper sense from the multitude.

This is most important when one seeks to understand the Alexandrian *allegoria* in Origen. The language he uses is very close to that of Plato’s metaphor of the cave⁹⁴, also incorporating terms like “shadow” and “mystical”. Origen believed the Holy Spirit articulated great truths in the cloak of history. This history must be allegorised in order to understand the truth of the Spirit⁹⁵. This ability comes through the gift of the Spirit⁹⁶.

This was then the popular method of interpretation, to which the Antiochene exegetes had to respond. The concept of *allegoria*, as we have seen in the writings of Diodore, was unacceptable. The Antiochene exegetes responded with the concept of *theoria*. It would be misleading to think that the Antiochenes rejected allegory; rather, *theoria* seems to be a mere adjustment of *allegoria*, not exactly the same but not altogether different. According to the Antiochenes, there is a higher meaning in the

⁹² Cf. Skarsaune, “Biblical Interpretation,” 676; Joseph W. Trigg, *Origen: The Bible and Philosophy in the Third Century Church* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1983), 56.

⁹³ Cf. Froehlich, *Biblical Interpretation*, 59.

⁹⁴ For the parable of the cave, see Plato, *Resp.* 7.

⁹⁵ Cf. Bray, “Early Theologians,” 563-65; Simonetti, *Biblical Interpretation*, 67-76.

⁹⁶ To Origen, the spiritual gifts of “a word of knowledge” and “a word of wisdom” are very important. This will be elaborated on more at the end of this chapter in the excursus.

text which is above the literal and historical meaning⁹⁷. It is best illustrated in Diodore's view of the Psalms. He believed that the Psalms were in fact so inspired that they were not only relevant to the author in his context, but even became more relevant with certain other contexts, especially in a Christological sense⁹⁸. Meaning, therefore, permeates the here-and-now, but also, with the work of the Spirit, transcends to certain other contexts. One the one hand, then, one has *historia* (the historical context) and *theoria* (the transcendental context). It is up to the interpreter to determine when the former or latter is applicable. Diodore's *Commentary on Psalm 118* in the first paragraph already makes this point clear⁹⁹:

In any approach to Holy Scripture, the literal reading of the text reveals some truths while the discovery of other truths requires the application of *theoria*.

Now, given the vast difference between *historia* and *theoria*, allegory and figuration (*tropologia*) or parable (*parabole*), the interpreter must classify and determine each figurative expression with care and precision so that the reader can see what is history and what is *theoria*, and draw his conclusions accordingly.

From this passage, one can see the view of Diodore on the use of *theoria*¹⁰⁰. To define it and compare it to *allegoria* still remains difficult. One could say that *theoria* supports *historia* while *allegoria* replaces it. The difference between *theoria* and *allegoria* lies in their relationship to *historia*¹⁰¹. For the Antiochenes, there is always *historia* (i.e. the historical context), but it only reveals some truths. But for the Alexandrians, *historia* does not hold truth in itself, but brings truth. *Historia* is shadow, a lower level of reality in Origen's horizontal scale of forms. The Antiochenes did not have a scale as such.

⁹⁷ Cf. Skarsaune, *Biblical Interpretation*, 680; Gordon D. Fee, "History as Context for Interpretation," in *The Act of Bible Reading: A Multidisciplinary Approach* (ed. Elmer Dyck; Illinois: Intervarsity, 1996), 143.

⁹⁸ Robert C. Hill, "Two Antiochenes on the Psalms," in StPatr 34 (2001), 353-69, illustrates how important the Psalms are in exemplifying the Antiochene hermeneutic.

⁹⁹ Froehlich, *Biblical Interpretation*, 87.

¹⁰⁰ The Antiochene School could not have merely discarded the sense of a higher meaning the Old Testament. This would be a problem due to the numerous heresies affluent in the time that did recognize the value of the Old Testament.

¹⁰¹ *Historia* in this case refers not to history in general, but history encapsulated in the Biblical text (cf. John Breck, *Scripture in Tradition: The Bible and Its Interpretation in the Orthodox Church* (New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2001), 195-216).

Rather, history contains truth within time and space and also reflects it across time and space (which was the intention of the Spirit).

It could be seen in the following schemes:

The Alexandrian *allegoria* and *historia*:

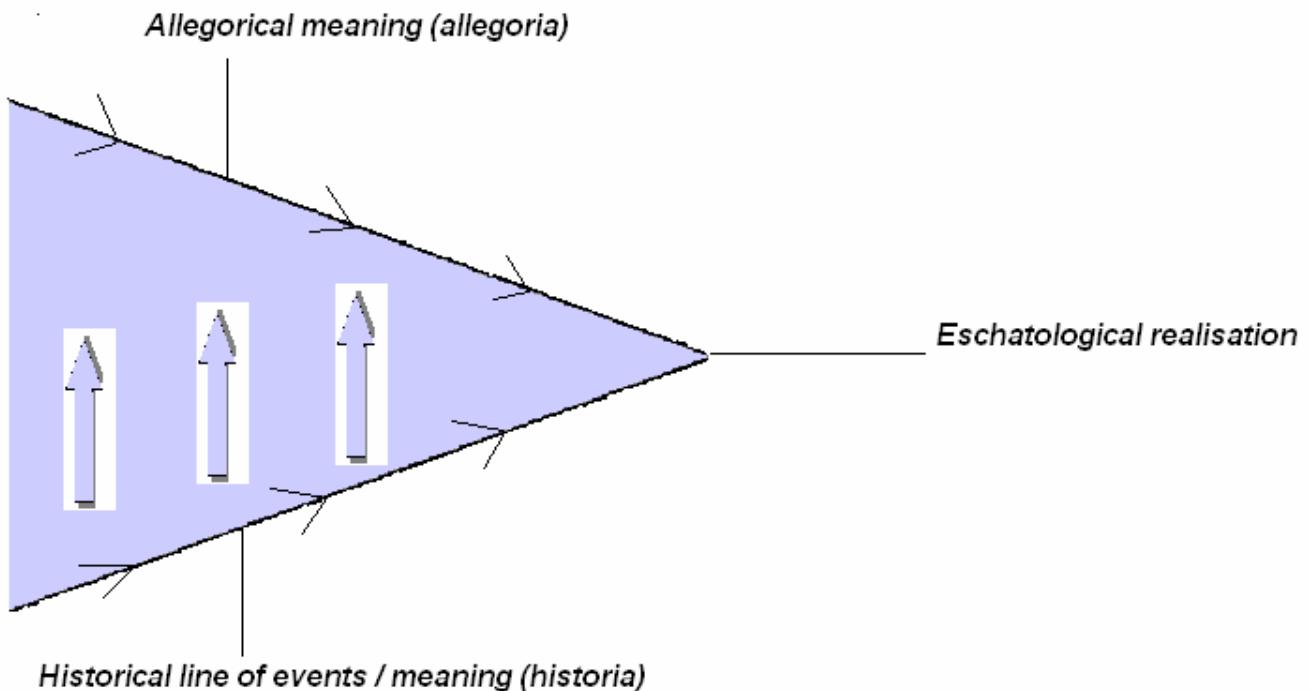


Fig 2: The Alexandrian scheme of the relationship between *allegoria* and *historia*.

From this scheme, the line of historical events (*historia*) is seen as the lower line of the triangle. But every piece of the historical line is connected with the allegorical line, the top line, with the blue fill of the triangle, indicated by the arrows pointing upward. These two lines, fully connected (because the triangle has a fill) point to a place of meeting, which is Origen's eschatological realisation, the end of the horizontal scope. This is where *allegoria* and *historia* meet and they are also disseminated here.

Thus, every inch of *historia* has an opposite *allegoria*. The sole purpose of *historia* is to provide the interpreter with *allegoria*. History is replaced by allegory¹⁰². That does not mean *historia* is not

¹⁰² Cf. Skarsaune, "Biblical Interpretation," 680.

important, for *allegoria* cannot exist without *historia*. *Historia* has a functional and not an existential value¹⁰³.

The 3-tiered approach to scripture, as Hall mentions¹⁰⁴, is seen here. Meaning according to Origen is layered. The first tier, what Origen would call ‘the flesh’, is the historical aspect of the text. This is the tier that all Christians can comprehend, even those who are not very spiritually gifted¹⁰⁵. The second tier is the level which certain Christians can unlock by means of using the gifts of wisdom and knowledge imparted by the Spirit. Origen writes¹⁰⁶:

For those words which are written are the forms of certain mysteries, and the images of divine things...the whole law is indeed spiritual, but that the spiritual meaning which the law conveys is not known to all, but to those only on whom the grace of the Holy Spirit is bestowed in the word of wisdom and knowledge.

Thus, only a limited number of people can comprehend the meaning of this tier. The third tier is given to those who are, according to Paul in 1 Corinthians 2:6-7, “perfect”¹⁰⁷. As the human divisions consist of body, soul and spirit, so also scripture consists of these three tiers of meaning¹⁰⁸.

It is slightly different with the Antiochene exegetes, as demonstrated in the next scheme:

¹⁰³ Cf. Grant R. Osborne, *The Hermeneutical Spiral* (Illinois: Intervarsity, 1991), 341.

¹⁰⁴ Hall, *Reading Scripture*, 144.

¹⁰⁵ The excursus of this chapter will demonstrate that Origen believed that Christians needed the gifts of wisdom and knowledge in order to interpret scripture in its higher, allegorical levels.

¹⁰⁶ Hall, *Reading Scripture*, 144.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 144; cf. Froehlich, *Biblical Interpretation*, 16-18.

¹⁰⁸ Karen J. Torjesen, *Hermeneutical Procedure and Theological Structure in Origen’s Exegesis* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1985); Karen J. Torjesen, “The Enscripturation of Philosophy: The Incorporeality of God in Origen’s Exegesis,” in *Biblical Interpretation: History, Context and Reality* (SBLSymS; ed. Christine Helmer; Atlanta: SBL, 2005) 73-75.

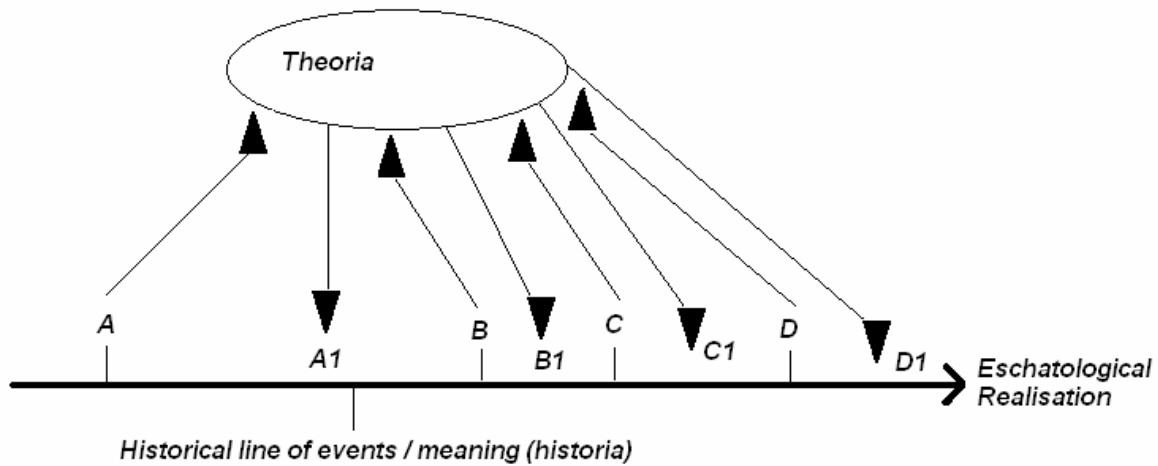


Fig. 3: The Antiochene scheme of the relationship between *theoria* and *historia*.

The next scheme illustrates the Antiochene concept of *theoria* and its relationship to *historia*. In this case, the entire scheme is different from the Alexandrian scheme. The historical line is still present, but not every inch of the line is connected to the upper level, in this case *theoria*. There is no fill as in the previous triangle. Only certain instances in history are connected to *theoria*. The event in history, marked by A, is connected to *theoria*. But the gap between A and A1 is not, and therefore has historical meaning, but not metaphysical (*theoria*) value. The event marked by A1 is connected by *theoria*, which means that some event in the past has significant metaphysical value for A1 in its present time. Point A had a two-fold layer of meaning, both historical and “spiritual”. For example: A is the historical context of Psalm 22. The author of the psalm, according to tradition, David, probably experienced a time in his life when he felt as if God had left and forsaken him. This is the historical context and meaning. Now, let A1 be marked as the moment of Jesus’ crucifixion. Jesus repeated the exact words of this psalm on the cross. In the Antiochene sense, does this mean that Psalm 22 is a reference to Jesus? Yes. Because the historical event of Psalm 22 also has a higher *theoria*-interpretation (the context of Jesus), and is reflected into time and space back again to become meaningful. This does not mean that, while David was writing, he saw Jesus on the cross. Certainly not, his greatest reality was his own anxiety. But the Spirit knew of the anxiety of Christ, and also gave it this “spiritual” Christian meaning. In this case, history is very important and certainly not replaced. It can be illustrated even in the commentary of Chrysostom on this passage. Chrysostom, however, does give serious consideration to *historia*, and is laudable for showing how *historia* can have such rich and important meaning.

Chrysostom (*Hom. Matt.* 88.4) also acknowledges the historical role of the author of the psalm, and he says¹⁰⁹:

And for this reason, even after this He speaks, that they might learn that He was still alive, and that He Himself did this, and that they might become by this also gentler, and He said, “Eli, Eli, lima sabachthani?” That until His last breath they might see that He honors His Father, and is no adversary of God. Wherefore also He uttered a certain cry from the prophet, even to His last hour bearing witness to the Old Testament, and not simply a cry from the prophet, but also in Hebrew, so as to be plain and intelligible to them, and by all things He shows how He is of one mind with Him that begat Him.

Chrysostom did not simply allegorise the psalm, but acknowledged the historical aspect of the author, whom he calls the “prophet”, but then also applies the text to Jesus as “honouring His Father”. Chrysostom does give ample attention to history.

To return to the scheme of the Antiochene model, again, *theoria* cannot exist without *historia*. This was extremely clear and important to Chrysostom. The Bible is inspired by the Spirit (lending to *theoria*) but the Antiochenes also acknowledged the human element (lending to *historia*). This also then applies to the *historia* events B, C and D in the scheme and the reflections from *theoria* onto B1, C1 and D1. The end remains the eschatological realisation. But the Antiochenes does not have a metaphysical scale in the sense of Origen¹¹⁰.

To conclude, the difference between the Antiochene and Alexandrian Schools of exegesis can be seen in their interpretation and use of history in their exegesis. The Alexandrians used the Platonic method of allegorising history to give every Scripture a higher spiritual meaning. Every scripture is contained in history (*historia*) and every scripture has a higher allegorical meaning (*allegoria*). The Antiochenes responded to this by saying that every scripture cannot be allegorised. Rather, every scripture is contained in history, but not every scripture has a higher spiritual meaning. Only some have higher

¹⁰⁹ Cf. NPNF 10:489.

¹¹⁰ Breck, *Scripture in Tradition*, 201.

meanings (*theoria*), often reflected only later in history, of which the meaning may be even more significant.

4.4. The Importance of Ethics

Another aspect that deserves attention is the importance of ethics in Chrysostom's writings. The writings of Chrysostom display a very high ethical standard. This would not imply that Alexandrian writings are not ethical. Both of the Schools' writings are determined to move people to act in a certain way. This is called deliberative rhetoric¹¹¹. Chrysostom's homilies on 1 Corinthians 12 are all intended (ethically) to direct the assembly in the proper use of the gifts. He does not venture very deep into the theology of the gifts, but rather the conduct of the people with gifts in the assembly and to each other. It will also be shown how important the concepts of honour and shame are in interpreting these homilies. The sociological model of honour and shame, however, are ethically driven and focus around behaviour¹¹².

This could be true due to the fact that there is not always the burden of allegorising the scripture on the particular homilist. Allegory would also be able to motivate people ethically, but it seems that the strong character of the ethic of the text could be sacrificed for the sake of spiritualising it and promoting theology. Chrysostom, in the homilies on 1 Corinthians 12, is almost solely concerned with the ethics surrounding the gifts and their usage¹¹³. The homilies need to be read not only as theological writings, but also highly ethical writings.

¹¹¹ For a full discussion of deliberative rhetoric, cf. George A. Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric and Its Christian and Secular Tradition from Ancient to Modern Times* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1980), 22; David A. DeSilva, *Perseverance in Gratitude: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 40-42.

¹¹² Bruce J. Malina, *The New Testament World: Insights from Cultural Anthropology* (London: Westminster John Knox, 2001), 27-30. The typical nature of Chrysostom's use of social models of interpretation is affirmed by, *inter alia*, Hendrik F. Stander, "Eer en Skaamte as Sleutelkonseppe in Chrysostomos se Eksegese van 1 Korintiërs," in *NGTT* 44/3-4 (2003): 518-26; Hendrik F. Stander, "Honour and Shame as Key Concepts in Chrysostom's Exegesis of the Gospel of John," in *HTS* 59/3 (2003): 899-913; Margaret M. Mitchell, "John Chrysostom on Philemon: A Second Look," in *HTR* 88/1 (1995): 135-48.

¹¹³ Krupp, *Shepherding the Flock*, 151-54, refers to Chrysostom's ethic as an 'ethic of love'. This could not be more true in Chrysostom's homilies on 1 Corinthians 12. In the final homily, he incorporates the latter part of chapter 12 but also the first three verses of chapter 13, Paul's discourse on love, which, for Chrysostom as a pastor, seemed more fitting in the discussion of the gifts than anywhere else (cf. Christina Landman, "John Chrysostom as Pastoral Counsellor," in *APEB* 12 (2001): 147-57).

4.5. The Rhetoric of John Chrysostom and His Homilies on 1 Corinthians 12

According to DeSilva¹¹⁴, there are three genres of oratory namely deliberative¹¹⁵, forensic¹¹⁶ and epideictic¹¹⁷ rhetoric¹¹⁸. Chrysostom was a brilliant orator – which is also signified by his nick-name. Mayer and Allen note¹¹⁹: “His advanced rhetorical training under Libanius and his years of spiritual and scriptural learning under Diodore and Carterius contributed strongly to the content of his preaching and to the characteristics of his style.” In his homilies on 1 Corinthians 12, Chrysostom incorporates deliberative rhetoric. Chrysostom, in these homilies, accepts that the spiritual gifts are relevant for his own day only with regard to spiritually gifted people, even though he believed that some gifts had ceased¹²⁰, he sought historical ethical significance of the situation for his own assembly. For this reason, he incorporates strong deliberative rhetoric, permeated with *Refutatio*'s and fully mobilising the

¹¹⁴ DeSilva, *Hebrews*, 40-42.

¹¹⁵ Deliberative rhetoric can be described as rhetoric aiming to persuade people to take a certain course of action.

¹¹⁶ Forensic rhetoric aims to prove a certain point true or false or a person guilty or innocent (also known as judicial rhetoric).

¹¹⁷ Epideictic rhetoric is rhetoric that celebrates, praises or commemorates a person, date or event.

¹¹⁸ A full discussion of these is also given in Aristotle's *Rhet.* 1.4-2.26 (cf. Vernon K. Robbins, *The Tapestry of Early Christian Discourse: Rhetoric, Society and Ideology* (London: Routledge, 1996), 13-56; Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric*, 18-30).

¹¹⁹ Mayer and Allen, *John Chrysostom*, 26. For a detailed discussion of the rhetoric of John Chrysostom as well as Chrysostom's sensitivity to Paul's rhetoric, cf. Lauri Thurén, “John Chrysostom as a Rhetorical Critic: The Hermeneutics of an Early Father,” in *BibInt* 9/2 (2001): 186, stating: “Chrysostom also discusses rhetorical questions on a meta-level as a teacher of oratory. Such a theoretical discussion is valuable as it directly informs us about his relationship to rhetoric as means of interpreting Paul.” Cf. also Malcolm Heath, “John Chrysostom, Rhetoric and Galatians,” in *BibInt* 12/4 (2004): 369-99; Mitchell, *Heavenly Trumpet*, 69-91. Furthermore, Reinhart Staats, “Chrysostomus über die Rhetorik des Apostels Paulus,” in *VC* 46 (1992): 226, remarks regarding Chrysostom’s “aesthetic” reading of 2 Corinthians 11:6: “Dagegen verteidigt Chrysostomus in einer grandiosen Paulus-Apologie die Rhetorik des Apostels, die bei diesem kein Kunstmittel selbstgefälliger Ästhetik gewesen sei, sondern im Dienste der rechten christlichen Lehre gestanden habe.” Cf. also John M. Court, “The Preacher with a Golden Tongue: John Chrysostom,” in *Biblical Interpretation: The Meanings of Scripture – Past and Present* (ed. John M. Court; London: T&T Clark, 2003), 41-53.

¹²⁰ It seems that Chrysostom does affirm the value of certain gifts, especially healing, which is seen in his *Homily on the Paralytic Man* (*Paralyst.* 5). He did not believe that the gifts like tongues and interpretation thereof were for his day, but as a faithful Antiochene exegete, still affirms meaning from its historical truth for his present assembly.

diatribe style¹²¹ of argumentation, not neglecting the edification of the spirituality of his audience¹²². His style is very much alike to that of his teacher Libanius¹²³.

The nature of the writings discussed also needs to be evaluated. It is a series of homilies, which is preceded by short a hypothesis ($\psi\pi\theta\epsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}s$), which introduces the collection of homilies. When reading the homilies, it becomes clear that they were in fact sermons, read in a congregation. They are not exactly the same as a modern book commentary due to their oral nature, although they are very similar to the Midrashic style of exegesis. The Latin equivalent of this appellation is *Argumentum*¹²⁴. It does become difficult to group these homilies within the traditional genres of Patristic literature, as there is also a separate genre called *sermones*. In the body of homilies on 1 Corinthians, there are 44 homilies, which were then preached in a series, very much to the equivalent of today's so-called expository preaching. It presented to Chrysostom's audience a course of exegetical study in the Scriptures¹²⁵, which was very theological. Although this sort of preaching is not so common today, in Chrysostom's time theology was discussed on the street corners, which would make such a preaching series quite understandable. They form verbal homiletic commentaries which addressed the need for theological discourse in the urban communities.

4.6. Excursus: Origen and Chrysostom on Two of the Charismata

After having given the main distinctions of the Antiochene and the Alexandrian Schools' of exegesis, it would help to view a practical example of each and their interpretation of the gifts. At first, it would seem that the concepts of *allegoria* and *theoria* apply most to the narrative texts of the Bible. This assumption would be erroneous. It will be shown that the hermeneutic of the interpreter does a great deal for his interpretation of the gifts. Thus, two figures from church history, one from the Alexandrian group and one from the Antiochene group, needs to be selected. For this purpose, the two obvious

¹²¹ The Diatribe style is a dialogical rhetorical strategy, especially used by the Greek philosophers, in which an imaginary opponent is created and refuted (cf. Jan L. De Villiers, "Philosophical Trends in the Graeco-Roman World," in *Guide to the New Testament II: The New Testament Milieu* (ed. Andreas B. du Toit; Pretoria: Orion, 1998), 180).

¹²² Robert C. Hill, "The Spirituality of Chrysostom's *Commentary on the Psalms*," in *JECS* 5/4 (1997): 569-79.

¹²³ P.J. Ryan, "Chrysostom – A Derived Stylist," in *VC* 36/1 (1982): 5-14.

¹²⁴ Cf. Pauline Allen and Wendy Mayer, "Chrysostom and the Preaching of Homilies in Series: A Re-Examination of the Fifteen Homilies *In Epistulam ad Philippenses* (CPG 4432)," in *VC* 49 (1995): 270-89.

¹²⁵ Chrysostom had a mixed urban audience, quite capable of comprehending this sort of exegetical preaching; cf. Allen, "Homilies on I and II Thessalonians," 3-21; Wendy Mayer, "John Chrysostom and his Audiences: Distinguishing different congregations at Antioch and Constantinople," in *StPatr* 31 (1997): 71-75.

choices would be John Chrysostom, from the Antiochene School and Origen from the Alexandrian School. Then, their views on the gifts need to be given. For the purpose of clarity, the two best examples would be to view their separate interpretations of the gifts of “a word of knowledge” and “a word of wisdom”. These two gifts have been selected because they illustrate the difference in interpretation in the best way¹²⁶. It needs to be said that the Antiochenes and Alexandrians did not disagree on everything. Regarding the gifts, some gifts, like healing, are interpreted in more or less the same way, or at least, they have the same view on them.

How did Origen and Chrysostom, respectively, interpret the use of these gifts? Origen mentions these two gifts quite frequently, in his *First Principles*. He also refers to them a number of times in *Against Celsus*, *On Joshua* and *On Exodus*.

Origen believed that the gifts of a “word of wisdom” and a “word of knowledge” were the greatest gifts the Father bestowed on believers. This is because these gifts help us to understand the Bible and its truths (being able to move past the first tier of interpretation and venture into the divine second and third tiers). Because some of the sections in the Bible are difficult to understand (and needs allegorical interpretation), the gifts are given to help the interpreter do this¹²⁷.

In his apologetic writing *Against Celsus* 3.18, he states:

[W]hile with regard to the truths which are taught in our writings to those who have made progress in the study of Christianity (through that which is called by Paul the gift consisting in the ‘word of wisdom’ through the Spirit, and in the ‘word of knowledge’ according to the Spirit)...

He also remarks (*Cels.* 3.46):

And Paul also, in the list of ‘charismata’ bestowed by God, placed first ‘the word of wisdom,’ and second, as being inferior to it, ‘the word of knowledge,’

¹²⁶ Kydd, *Charismatic Gifts*, 76-77, also agrees on the fact it is significant to view these gifts, especially in relation to Origen. Cf. also Enrique Nardoni, “Origen’s Concept of Biblical Inspiration,” in *SecCent* 4/1 (1984): 9-23.

¹²⁷ The following citations from Origen are taken from Kydd, *Charismatic Gifts*, 75-81.

but third, and lower down, ‘faith.’ And because he regarded ‘the word’ as higher than miraculous powers, he for that reason places ‘workings of miracles’ and ‘gifts of healings’ in a lower place than the gifts of the word.

Origen also seems to attribute a certain hierarchy to the gifts. This is something Chrysostom is precisely refuting. In Origen’s opinion, these two gifts are the gifts attributed to logic (*Princ.* 1.3.8):

Seeing, then, that firstly, they derive their existence from God the Father; secondly, their rational nature from the Word; thirdly, their holiness from the Holy Spirit, those who have been previously sanctified by the Holy Spirit are again made capable of receiving Christ, in respect that He is the righteousness of God; and those who have earned advancement to this grade by the sanctification of the Holy Spirit, will nevertheless obtain the gift of wisdom according to the power and working of the Spirit of God. And this I consider is Paul's meaning, when he says that to ‘some is given the word of wisdom, to others the word of knowledge, according to the same Spirit...’

Christ, who is the Word, has given all believers their rational nature. Believers are made capable of receiving wisdom by means of the Holy Spirit – in whom they also receive Christ, the origin of the rational nature. Thus, in short, Origen’s view of these two gifts has two main elements:

- a) They are gifts of rationality, therefore in a “higher” place than the miraculous gifts.
- b) They aid us in understanding the truth, i.e. interpreting Scripture.

Chrysostom (*Hom. 1 Cor. 29*) refutes some of these theological assumptions. To start, however, it is necessary to say that Chrysostom did not always agree that all the gifts are still relevant for believers in his own day, or rather, in his own congregation. In this homily it seems that he is especially negative towards speaking in tongues. Obviously, the theology of Origen would imply that the gifts were for them; otherwise Origen himself would not be possible to interpret the Scriptures as he prescribes. Chrysostom also implies that the gifts were for those in his own day, because he gives guidelines on

how to use the gifts in the congregation and addresses a current problem – namely the hierocracy¹²⁸ among the gifted – that seemed to influence the believers common to the time of Chrysostom himself. Chrysostom also incorporates many gnomic aorist-tense verbs in his homilies on the gifts, indicating the timelessness of the action (cf. *Hom. I Cor.* 29.1).

Chrysostom does differ in his interpretation of the gifts. It is slightly difficult to say what Chrysostom means when he directly discusses the gifts called a “word of wisdom” and a “word of knowledge”. He does not elaborate as much as Origen. He notes (*Hom. I Cor.* 29.5):

But what is ‘the word of wisdom’? That which Paul had, which John had, the son of thunder. And what is ‘the word of knowledge’? That which most of the faithful had, possessing indeed knowledge, but not thereupon able to teach or easily to convey to another what they knew¹²⁹.

This section seems a bit unclear. He does not say anything else further explicitly in the homily about these gifts. It is clear that Chrysostom uses *historia* to interpret them. To know these gifts, one needs to look at Paul, John and the faithful. It seems that wisdom is related to Paul and John. This could probably relate to the writings of Paul and John, showing that the Spirit gave them wisdom to write their literature. A word of wisdom could then be the guidance of the Holy Spirit in decisions and also interaction (correspondence with other Christians). It could be highly related to Chrysostom’s point that Scripture is inspired. Wisdom could be reserved for these special persons, according to Chrysostom. The second, namely a word of knowledge, is more common among all the believers, and would probably refer to their knowledge of God, which is knowledge you cannot learn from other people, but only gain from being in a relationship with God.

The major difference is also in the fact that Chrysostom refutes the concept of a hierocracy among the gifted, which was probably common to the Alexandrian School of exegesis. Origen believed in a hierocracy among the gifts and gifted. Those who had gifts pertaining to logic and intellect are higher than the powerful (miraculous) gifts. It is almost the opposite of what one would expect to hear. People

¹²⁸ A difference is given in this study between hierocracy and hierarchy. Hierarchy implies an inherent order from greater to lesser, which is present in 1 Corinthians 12:1-13:3 regarding the gifts. It is not however, as Chrysostom notes, a hierocracy, in which those who possessed the greater gifts were rulers over those who had the lesser.

¹²⁹ Translation: NPNF.

would think that the miraculous gifts may be considered “higher”, due to their miraculous nature. But there is not much merit for this viewpoint’s prevalence in the early church. The opposite is rather true.

Chrysostom rather seems to value the miraculous gifts, but stresses that it is the same Spirit that works all in all (*Hom. I Cor. 29.6*). We can therefore summarize Chrysostom’s views:

- a) There is no hierarchy among the gifted, for it is the same Spirit that works all in all.
- b) A word of wisdom was prevalent especially with the apostles – this gift gives guidance in believers’ interaction with each other and decision making, and not only for the interpretation of Scripture.
- c) A word of knowledge is knowledge about a believer’s knowledge ($\gamma\nu\hat{\omega}\sigma\varsigma$) about God, based on his or her relationship with God, which cannot be taught but can only be experienced.

4.7. Conclusion

Antiochene exegesis, as incorporated by John Chrysostom, has its origins as a reaction against the Alexandrian exegesis (epitomized as allegorical), widely used, not only by church fathers like Origen, but was the generally accepted form of interpretation in ancient times (that is, allegorical interpretation.) Plato and Philo used allegorical interpretation extensively in their works.

Both schools used certain concepts to illustrate their method of interpretation, with the Alexandrian exegetes, *allegoria* was important and with the Antiochene exegetes, *theoria*. Common to both schools was the concept of *historia* (history). The difference between these two schools of interpretation was their views and uses of *historia*. To the Alexandrians, *historia*, in relation to meaning, was a means to an end, namely *allegoria*. History’s purpose was to carry allegory. To the Antiochenes, on the other hand, history carried an interpretative end in itself with certain instances, while other instances in history did point to a higher, spiritual truth – very much like allegory – but it was called *theoria*.

CHAPTER 5

Homily 29: Chrysostom on the Variety of Spiritual Gifts (1 Cor 12:1-11)

5.1. Introduction

This homily forms an exposition of 1 Corinthians 12:1-11. It can be divided into three main sections. The first introductory section of the homily sketches the context of the Biblical text. Chrysostom briefly discusses the nature of the Holy Spirit and the charismata in the historical context of the apostles, with special reference to the gift of tongues and the charismatic schism. The second section forms a response against inspired mantics and oracles (the social background). This is the logical inference from the first section. Chrysostom differentiates between the pagan inspired mantics and the Christian prophets. The third major section is a response against those who would assume a hierarchy among the gifted and the charismata. This third section can be divided into two subsections, thematically reflected in the first subsection is that the Giver (the Spirit) is greater than the gift and in the second section, Chrysostom creates a social analogy regarding rich and poor, and uses it to not only illustrate the point he wants to make regarding the charismata, but also addresses the controversial issue of wealth and poverty in this period of ecclesiastical history.

5.2. Preface to the Discussion of the Homiletic Content

A relevant exegetical problem is the interpretation of the phrase $\tauῶν πνευματικῶν$. Traditionally, it has been translated as “spiritual gifts”, but this is then already an interpretational choice – namely that of the genitive neuter. But the word can also be a genitive masculine form, which would then have to be interpreted as “spiritual people.” Two questions need to be asked in this instance. Which choice does Chrysostom make and does it make a difference? Chrysostom correctly implies that $\tauῶν πνευματικῶν$ were specific spiritual activities. He does not interpret these as being spiritual people. Thiselton¹³⁰ quotes Meyer who “rightly cites Chrysostom and Luther as interpreting the Greek to mean *Concerning the forms of action which proceed from the Holy Spirit and make manifest his agency* [his italics].”

¹³⁰ Thiselton, *First Corinthians*, 910. Bruce J. Malina and John J. Pilch, *Social-Science Commentary on the Letters of Paul* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2006), 113, use the neuter form and calls it “spirit induced phenomena” or “phenomena ascribable to a spirit” and does not promote the use of the word “gift”.

Wire¹³¹ rather opts for the interpretation of “spiritual people”, which would be important for her argument regarding the Corinthian women prophets, who she assumes are part of the grouping $\tau\hat{\omega}\nu$ $\pi\nu\epsilon\nu\mu\alpha\tau\iota\kappa\omega\nu$. The view of Fee¹³², which is also adopted by Thiselton¹³³, is probably more acceptable. Both of the variables, namely “spiritual people/things” may be accepted without superimposing an either/or scenario. Chrysostom starts with an assumption of the latter variable, spiritual gifts/things, but cannot discuss them outside the spiritual people in which they occur; he even provides a list of the nationalities in which these spiritual people are grouped, namely Indians, Romans and Arabs etc. The persons are also the gifts.

5.3. The Historical Context: The Nature of Πνεύμα and Χαρισμάτα, and the Charismatic Schism

Chrysostom’s homilies on Corinthians are verse-by-verse expositions. Chrysostom starts his homily by saying that the meaning of 1 Corinthians 12:1-2 seems to be obscure. This is mostly caused by “ignorance of the things referred to and their cessation.” We immediately ask what Chrysostom believed had ceased. Was it the spiritual gifts or the idol worship? It was probably not the idol worship, but rather the spiritual gifts. Idol worship did continue, despite the tremendous persecution by the church-state of non-Christian idol worship. Chrysostom believed that the spiritual gifts stopped occurring in the assembly. It is curious, however, that Chrysostom does refer to certain gifts, like miracles and healing, almost as if they have present functionality. But even the appellation “gifts” indicates an interpretative choice as it was shown above. But certain activities, according to Chrysostom, have ceased. But as it was said earlier, other gifts like healing were very real to Chrysostom. Healing and sin seemed to have some connection. Chrysostom (*Paralyt. 6*) states¹³⁴:

Τοῦτο καὶ Παῦλος ἐδήλωσεν· ἀμαρτίαν γάρ τινα Κορινθίοις ἐγκαλῶν φησι· Διὰ τοῦτο πολλοὶ ἐν ὑμῖν ἀσθενεῖς καὶ ἄρρωστοι· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς πρότερον τὴν αἰτίαν ἀναιρεῖ τῶν κακῶν, καὶ εἰπὼν, Θάρσει, τέκνον, ἀφέωνταί σου αἱ ἀμαρτίαι, ἀνίστησιν αὐτοῦ τὸ φρόνημα, διεγείρει καταβεβλημένην τὴν ψυχήν· ὁ γὰρ λόγος ἔργον ἐγίνετο, καὶ εἰς

¹³¹ Antoinette C. Wire, *The Corinthian Women Prophets: A Reconstruction through Paul’s Rhetoric* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990), 135.

¹³² Gordon D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 571.

¹³³ Thiselton, *First Corinthians*, 911.

¹³⁴ PG 51:58.

τὸ συνειδὸς εἰσελθὼν αὐτῆς ἤπειτο τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ πᾶσαν ἀγωνίαν ἔξεβαλεν.

Paul also illustrated this: for when he was correcting the Corinthians with a certain sin he said: “For this cause many are weak and sick among you.” And therefore Christ first removes the cause of the evil, and having said: “Son! be of good cheer, your sins are forgiven,” He uplifts the spirit and rouses the depressed soul: for this phrase became an efficient prohibition and having entered into the conscience it laid hold of the soul itself and cast out of it all distress...

This does not mean that the other gifts were not present in other contexts. It seems that Chrysostom is not very consistent in his exposition of the spiritual gifts. There are also other references to the spiritual gifts in other patristic writings. The issue of the cessation of the spiritual gifts is a highly debated one. Fowler¹³⁵ states that the cessation of the spiritual gifts is a direct result of the death of the apostles¹³⁶. This view is very problematic. Stander¹³⁷ has shown that most of the references of the authors like Fowler and Kildahl to the early Christian writers were often taken out of context. The problem becomes even greater when one views the various affirmations of the gifts in the writings of the early Christians¹³⁸. The fact is that certain Christian writers affirm the existence of the gifts after the New Testament period while others imply their cessation. Which opinion is then valid? Hildebrandt¹³⁹, in his

¹³⁵ Stuart Fowler, “The Continuance of the Charismata,” in *EvQ* 45 (1973): 180.

¹³⁶ It is also the opinion of John P. Kildahl, *The Psychology of Speaking in Tongues* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972): 15-17, who focused especially on the phenomenon of speaking in tongues, as well as George W. Dollar, “Church History and the Tongues Movement,” in *BSac* 120 (1963): 317, and Harold Hunter, “Tongues-Speech: A Patristic Analysis,” in *JETS* 23 (1980): 125-34. In contrast to this, Eusebius A. Stephanou, “The Charismata in the Early Church Fathers,” in *GOTR* 21 (1976): 125-46, states that there has not been a time in the history of the early church when the charismata were not practiced.

¹³⁷ Stander, *Besondere Grawes*, 4-14; cf. also McDonnell and Montague, *Christian Initiation*, 282-86; Floris, *Chrysostom*, 18.

¹³⁸ Many early Christian writers refer to the charismata, such as the *Didache* 13, which specifically refers to prophets and prophecy and Justin Martyr (*Dial.* 39) who writes specifically that the gifts are still present in his day. Tertullian, who later joined the Montanists, also affirmed the existence of the gifts (*Apol.* 27) and slightly later writer, Novatian specifically refers to the gifts, even the speaking in tongues (*Trin.* 29).

¹³⁹ Wilf Hildebrandt, *An Old Testament Theology of the Spirit of God* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1994).

study of the Spirit of God in the Old Testament demonstrates that most of the spiritual gifts were already active in the Old Testament, especially among the prophets. Prophecy is a very common phenomenon in the Old Testament¹⁴⁰, as well as healing and miracles. In Joel 2:28, reference is especially made to the working of the Spirit, which is “poured out on all flesh.” The term “gifts of the Spirit” does not technically occur in the Old Testament, but does not imply its absence. The New Testament, however, has many references to the gifts of the Spirit. The earliest reference is Paul in 1 Corinthians. In addition to the opinions of Fowler and Kildahl, there were also other writers like Larkin¹⁴¹ who especially furthered the idea of Dispensationalism in theology. The work of Larkin stated that the revelation of God in history worked according to various dispensations. The dispensation of the Old Testament reflected the revelation of the Father, the obvious presence of Jesus in the first-century ushered in the dispensation of the Son and the Apostolic Age that of the Holy Spirit. But with the end of the Apostolic Age, the end of the dispensation of the Spirit also occurred. It is now the dispensation of the church and especially the Word of God, according to Larkin¹⁴². However, it would be unreasonable to declare that Chrysostom was a dispensationalist. The reason for Chrysostom’s view on the cessation of the gifts may be obvious in the writing at hand (although he postpones the question (*Hom. 1 Cor. 29.1*)). It needs to be stressed, again, that it appears that Chrysostom does not affirm the cessation of all the gifts. The gifts of healing and miracles, as shown earlier, were probably affirmed by Chrysostom. It seems that Chrysostom is especially negative towards the gift of tongues. There may be three reasons for this: Firstly, Chrysostom may have reserved this gift only to the apostles and those in direct contact with the apostolic ministry (which does point to a form of early Dispensationalism (?)). Secondly, the fact that tongues seemed to have had a negative and schismatic effect on the early assemblies (like Corinth) may point to a reason for its cessation. Thirdly, Chrysostom may have simply never seen or experienced any person practicing speaking in tongues – not in his personal or congregational sphere – which may point to his denial of its existence in his day.

The first reason would imply that the gifts were only reserved to the apostles and those people who had direct, physical contact with them. The modern proponents of this view have already been noted

¹⁴⁰ The work of David E. Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Oregon: Wipf & Stock, 1983) may serve as a reference to view the synthesis of prophetic phenomena. Unfortunately, this study, however understandable, does not venture into the later ages of Christianity in detail.

¹⁴¹ Clarence Larkin, *Dispensational Truth* (Clarence Larkin, 1918; repr.; New York: Kessinger, 2005).

¹⁴² Larkin, *Dispensational Truth*, 43.

(Larkin, Fowler and Kildahl, to name but a few¹⁴³.) This view, however, does not hold much ground when viewing Chrysostom's greater argument, as he does affirm the existence and functioning of other gifts, like healing. Paul, in his own writings, never seems to give such a proposition. It rather seems that Paul wants all believers to share in the spiritual gifts (cf. 1 Cor 12:31, 14:1)¹⁴⁴. Dunn¹⁴⁵ argues that the Spirit itself is a gift, and that in the case of the Corinthians "the Spirit was at the heart of their worship." Dunn¹⁴⁶ does not separate the Spirit from the gifts, but contends that "reception of the Spirit...constituted each one of them members of the body of Christ." The gift of the Spirit, with the accompanying charismata, is the very seal of acceptance of into the body¹⁴⁷. Suurmond, who is quoted in Thiselton¹⁴⁸, stresses the opposite: "It is not so much a matter of *having* a gift, as of *being* a gift." But it becomes problematic when everything, the Holy Spirit, the spiritual people and the spiritual activities, are reduced to being gifts. I would rather accept Dunn's view, that the Spirit is the gift. If one could speculate on Chrysostom's probable choice, he would do the same. His emphasis is precisely on the role of the Spirit rather than the spiritual people, who caused some of the conflict in the assembly. If Chrysostom, contrary to the opinions mentioned above, implied that the gifts ended with the apostles, it may be seen in his interpretation of 1 Corinthians 13:8, which is also a key verse in the establishing of dispensationalist theology. Paul states: "Love will never disappear; but prophecy will come to an end or tongues – they will stop, or knowledge – it will come to an end." How did Chrysostom interpret this? He states (*Hom. 1 Cor. 34.1-4*) that prophecy and knowledge is imperfect, and will only be perfected later. There is no indication that this will stop when the apostles die.

¹⁴³ It is not the purpose of this study to give a full discussion of Dispensationalism. I acknowledge that many scholars besides the three mentioned have contributed to this topic. The recent work of Craig A. Blaising and Darrell L. Bock, *Progressive Dispensationalism* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2000) as well as Craig A. Blaising, *Dispensationalism, Israel and the Church* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1992) both give an alternative view to the traditional concept. The work of Ben Witherington III, *The Problem of Evangelical Theology: Testing Exegetical Foundations of Calvinism, Dispensationalism and Wesleyanism* (Texas: Baylor University Press, 2005) proves to be a very helpful guide in the critique of Dispensationalism.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. Fee, *First Corinthians*, 503; Richard B. Hays, *First Corinthians* (IBC; Louisville: John Knox, 1997), 206-11; Thiselton, *First Corinthians*, 907-1098. Thiselton (*First Corinthians*, 922), questions whether all Christians can be "spiritual." The criterion he articulates from the Pauline view is the "Christological criterion", implying that only the Christians who are "Christlike" may experience the action and power of the Holy Spirit.

¹⁴⁵ James D. G. Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 420-21.

¹⁴⁶ Dunn, *Theology of Paul*, 421.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. Paul J. Achtemeier, Joel B. Green and Marianne M. Thompson, *Introducing the New Testament: Its Literature and Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 337-47

¹⁴⁸ Thiselton, *First Corinthians*, 902.

The second possibility is more probable. The schismatic effect of tongues seemed to cause much havoc in the assembly, which is why Chrysostom highlights the problem. Martin¹⁴⁹, in line with Chrysostom, states: "...Paul continually stresses the unity in diversity in order divisiveness owing to different valuations being assigned to different gifts, with tongues as the implied higher-status gift." The gifts then directly contributed to one's social status. If one uses the typical honour-shame parallel, it would mean that speaking in tongues made a person socially honourable and acceptable, that is, within the Christian community¹⁵⁰. These people were then perceived as being "spiritual", which is affirmed in the use of the phrase τῶν πνευματικῶν, which may then refer to people suffering from spiritual hubris. This reason, therefore, seems to be more probable for Chrysostom's view of why the gifts had ceased. The third option, that it simply was not present in his assembly, is also possible. There is not much data to evaluate such a cause. Chrysostom was probably not ignorant of the spiritual life in other assemblies, but it still remains speculative.

Chrysostom immediately starts with his analysis of the passage. In typical Antiochene style, he immediately refers to the historical context of the pericope. In this homily, he avoids getting entangled in a theological debate on the cessation of the gifts. He rather moves into the exposition of the text.

The first exegetical problem in 1 Corinthians 12:1-11 occurs in the first verse. Paul states in the first line: "Περὶ δὲ τῶν πνευματικῶν", meaning: "And regarding the spiritual things" or traditionally translated as: "And regarding the spiritual gifts." The term περὶ δὲ usually indicates a change of topic, but as Mitchell¹⁵¹ has shown, it is not certain in every instance. Both Conzelmann and Hays¹⁵² agree that it probably is a new topic. However, the continuity of thought from 8:1-11:1 and even 1:1-4:21

¹⁴⁹ Dale B. Martin, *The Corinthian Body* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 87.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. David A. DeSilva, *Honour, Patronage, Kinship & Purity: Unlocking New Testament Culture* (Illinois: Intervarsity, 2000), 40-45.

¹⁵¹ Margaret M. Mitchell, *Paul and the Rhetoric of Reconciliation: An Exegetical Investigation of the Language and Composition of 1 Corinthians* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1989), 230-34.

¹⁵² Cf. Hans Conzelmann, *Hermeneia: A Commentary of the First Epistle to the Corinthians* (trans. James W. Leitch; Philadelphia: Fortress Press), 204; Hays, *First Corinthians*, 206-08; Hans-Josef Klauck, *1 Korintherbrief* (NEchtB; Würzburg: Echter, 1984), 85-88.

should be acknowledged¹⁵³. Chrysostom also points to a new topic, since it is the next homily in the series on 1 Corinthians¹⁵⁴.

The exposition starts with the sketching of the historical context. He firstly refers to the occurrence of the spiritual gifts. He refers to the events in Acts of non-Christians being baptized and suddenly spoke in tongues and some prophesied. To Chrysostom, the remarkable thing is that these people did not have any previous knowledge of the Christian faith. He mentions in the homily that “...without any clear knowledge or training in the ancient Scriptures, they at once on their baptism received the Spirit...” (*Hom. 1 Cor. 29.1*). He mentions that these new converts did not have knowledge ($\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\acute{o}\tau\epsilon\varsigma$) or training ($\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\rho\phi\acute{e}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$). This is contrary to the Alexandrian belief that converts grew spiritually only when they have the gifts of wisdom and knowledge used in interpreting Scripture. These gifts were important because they were the “sensible proof of the working” ($\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\chi\o\nu...\tau\hat{\eta}\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\rho\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma$). To Chrysostom then, it is curious to note, that the gift of the Spirit is seen in terms of an energy or an inner working or function. But it is not an impersonal energy, but a personal powerful working of the Trinity. This probably plays on the use of the verb form of the noun by Paul, who says in 1 Corinthians 12:6: “καὶ διαιρέσεις ἐνεργημάτων εἰσίν, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς θεὸς ὁ ἐνεργῶν τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν.” In this verse, however, the word $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\rho\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\varsigma$ probably does not refer to the same “working” Chrysostom is describing. It is in the Pauline sense a reference to the specific gift of miracles or works of power, which is explicitly mentioned in 1 Corinthians 12:10, namely the “ $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\rho\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha \delta\upsilon\eta\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ ”. But this is not the case in Chrysostom. In the context of this homily, it probably refers to the working of the Holy Spirit itself (Chrysostom calls the miraculous gifts only “ $\delta\upsilon\eta\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma$ ”). Basil of Caesarea also mentions that the angels glorifying God were “empowered” by the Spirit (*Spir.* 16.38). It illustrates the centrality of the gifts of power in Chrysostom’s thinking rather than the gifts pertaining to rationality as found in Origen’s thinking. We see then, early in the homily, an emphasis on the power of the Spirit who works the gifts, especially the miraculous, rather than the gifts of rationality.

He goes on to discuss the occurrence of the gift of tongues. It is the proof of the working of the Spirit. There is some debate among Pentecostal and Charismatic theologians on whether tongues serve as a

¹⁵³ Cf. Thiselton, *First Corinthians*, 900; Martin, *Corinthian Body*, 87-103; Fee, *First Corinthians*, 569-70.

¹⁵⁴ Chrysostom gives some background on verse one, and relates it to the cults of the time, but he will only elaborate on this later in the homily (cf. James D. G. Dunn, *First Corinthians* (NTG; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1995), 80, for a discussion of the History of Religions approach to this problem of cults and ecstatic phenomena).

first sign of reception of the Spirit¹⁵⁵. Chrysostom seems to argue that tongues in fact was the first sign (πρῶτον σημεῖον) and notes that it was something the other faithful also kept on receiving (ἐλάμβανον) due to his use of the imperfect form of the verb. Tongues were the most abundant of the all the gifts among the early Christians. But then Chrysostom views the *historia* of the gift of tongues, and mentions a problem in its development (*Hom. 1 Cor. 29.1*):

Πλέον δὲ πάντων τὸ τῶν γλωσσῶν ἦν παρ' αὐτοῖς χάρισμα. Καὶ τοῦτο αἴτιον σχίσματος αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο, οὐ παρὰ τὴν οἰκείαν φύσιν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὴν ἀγνωμοσύνην τῶν εἰληφότων. Οἵ τε γὰρ τὰ μείζονα ἔχοντες ἐπήροντο κατὰ τῶν τὰ ἐλάττονα κεκτημένων· οὗτοι δ' αὖ πάλιν ἥλγουν, καὶ τοῖς τὰ μείζονα ἔχονσιν ἐφθόνουν¹⁵⁶.

But the gift of tongues was more common among them than all of the other gifts, and this was the reason for the division, not due to its own nature but from the arrogance of those who were speaking in tongues. Thus, on the one hand, those who had the ‘greater’ gifts were considered more important than those who received the ‘lesser’ gifts. And these people were dissatisfied and envied those who possessed the greater gifts

In this, Chrysostom sets the stage for his main discussion in this homily (the discussion even goes further into the contents of *Hom. 1 Cor. 30*). The division is caused by the disposition of the person who received the gift, especially by the gift of tongues. This is probably also part of the reason for Chrysostom’s belief that the gifts ceased. The gift of tongues was very abundant, but despite this, there was still division (σχίσματος) between those with the gift of tongues and those without. It is not due to the inherent nature of tongues (οἰκείαν φύσιν), which should, in fact, be a “bringing together”. Chrysostom then negatively explains the nature of tongues (and probably all of the other gifts), in that they do not cause schism – the one is not greater than the other, but are rather interdependent. For the sake of the argument, Chrysostom does distinguish between greater (μείζονα) and lesser (ἐλάττονα) gifts, probably not as his own presupposition, but rather as the presupposition of his audience or the general Christian public, who may have believed in a hierarchy among the gifts due to the influence of

¹⁵⁵ Möller, *Holy Spirit*, 96-103.

¹⁵⁶ PG 61:239-240.

the Alexandrian exegetical school. But this was probably then one of the earliest schisms in the early church – creating two groups: (a) those that had the greater gifts and (b) those that had the lesser gifts. Paul combats this schism in the early Corinthian church exactly in his correspondence as found in 1 Corinthians 12-14. This is why Paul strategically places 1 Corinthians 13 in the major section of the epistle, on the importance of love and the practising of the charismata. This is the charismatic schism that Chrysostom refers to. The root of this schism is not the gifts themselves, but rather the “ἀγνωμοσύνη” of those who received the gifts. This word does not occur in the New Testament, and “arrogance” or “senseless pride” would be a better translation than perverseness used in the *NPNF*. Arrogance is probably the preference due to the later references in the homily to pride (ἐπήροντο). The ones who had the greater gifts were arrogant, causing dissension among the early Christian congregants. According to Chrysostom, this was not only the case in Corinth, but also in Rome. Chrysostom gives an exposition Romans 12:4 (*Hom. Rom.* 21.1) and states:

Πάλιν τῷ αὐτῷ ὑποδείγματι κέχρηται, ὥς καὶ πρὸς Κορινθίους ἐχρήσατο,
τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καταστέλλων πάθος... ἐδόθη γάρ σοι παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὐ
σὺ ἔλαβες, οὐδὲ εὑρες. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τῶν χαρισμάτων ἀπτόμενος, οὐκ
εἶπεν, ὅτι Ὁ μὲν μεῖζον, ὁ δὲ ἔλαττον ἔλαβεν, ἀλλὰ τί; Διάφορον.
Ἐχοντες γὰρ, φησὶ, χαρίσματα, οὐ μείζονα καὶ ἔλαττονα, ἀλλὰ
διάφορα¹⁵⁷.

Again he [Paul] uses the same example as he does to the Corinthians and that to convey the same passionate point... For it was given to you from God; you did not take it, nor find it even. Here too, when he elaborates on the gifts, he does not say that one received more, and another less, but what? “Different” For his words are, ‘having then gifts, ‘not less and greater’, but, ‘differing.’

Again, he emphasizes the main point, which Paul also is making. But those who had the “lesser” gifts also had a problem, not pride, but envy or jealousy (ἐφθόνουν).

In conclusion, Chrysostom, then in this section, as Antiochene exegete, skilfully creates the introduction of his homily based purely on *historia*. He interprets the text and notes that the purpose or

¹⁵⁷ PG 60:601.

intent of Paul in writing this was to combat the prevalent charismatic schism. Modern scholars in New Testament often debate over the issue of intended meaning in a text¹⁵⁸. But to Chrysostom, this is not even an issue. He confidently affirms that the intended meaning of the text in 1 Corinthians 12 is to address the charismatic schism. This is also achieved by Chrysostom's sensitivity to the *historia* behind the text. He masterfully starts, as any good homilist or minister, by expanding on the historical background of the text. He notes that a hierocratic approach to the gifts may be dangerous, resulting in schism.

Chrysostom, unfortunately, also in his own argumentation runs the danger of making the same mistake the Alexandrians made. While Alexandrian exegetes like Origen emphasized the rational gifts, Chrysostom sometimes stresses the miraculous above the rational. Chrysostom is suspicious, however, of the gift of tongues¹⁵⁹. The fact that he believes that the gifts have ceased is clear, but he does not discuss the reason for the cessation (*Hom. 1 Cor. 29.1*). In his defence, Chrysostom is rather focusing on the ethical aspect of 1 Corinthians 12, on the behaviour of the gifted Christians. From this introduction, based upon his historical background analysis, he moves on in the next major section to the social background of the inspired mantics and oracles.

5.4. Social Background: Response against Oracles and Inspired Mantics

In this second section of the homily, Chrysostom views the social background of the text, with special reference to the Grecian oracles or oracle singers (χρησμῳδοί) and soothsayers or inspired mantics (θεομάντεις) especially active in Corinth¹⁶⁰. The problem lies in the difference between true and false prophecy. The main issue is the evidence (ἀπόδειξιν) of the prophecy. This section gives us some insight into how Chrysostom viewed the gift of prophecy. The main difference between true and false prophecy is the proof of its own truth (τῆς οἰκείας ἀληθείας τόν ἔλεγχον). Thus, the very nature of prophecy is to provide evidence of things in the future. But this is also the nature of soothsaying. Chrysostom highlights four major considerations in this regard:

¹⁵⁸ Osborne, *Hermeneutical Spiral*, 366-67.

¹⁵⁹ Young, "John Chrysostom", 349-50 states that Chrysostom probably did not know exactly what the gift of tongues was. This is probably due to the absence thereof in Chrysostom's realm of experience.

¹⁶⁰ Aune, *Prophecy*, 38-39, who quotes extensively from Plato, notes that these groupings were historical figures, and calls these respectively "oracle singers" and "inspired mantics".

5.4.1. The Role of the Human Faculties

Chrysostom expands on Paul's notion of the gift being "spiritual". He believes that Christian prophecy is only a Spirit-driven endeavour, with all human faculties being absent. He mentions (*Hom. I Cor.* 29.2): "...calling the signs 'spiritual', because they are works of the Spirit alone, human effort contributing nothing to the working of such wonders." Chrysostom is probably assuming too much in this instance. It would be difficult for the human faculties to be totally absent during the act of prophecy. The motive behind his statement is probably an eye on the Greek inspired mantics, who had ecstatic bodily convulsions. The message was not even given by the oracle himself or herself, but by an interpreter. Ferguson¹⁶¹ mentions: "The oracle thus did not properly foretell the future but indicated what was the will of the gods or gave advice as to the best course of action." Chrysostom, as with Aune¹⁶², on the other hand does imply that there is some future prediction in prophecy. He also quotes 1 Kings 22:23 and notes that even Satan can enter the prophet¹⁶³. This would seem very close to Christian prophecy, and is why Chrysostom finds it difficult to discern between true and false prophets regarding predictions made on courses of action. Rather, the conduct of the Christian prophet should be purely spiritual. How Chrysostom saw this is not very clear. The human faculties, however, could never be totally absent.

5.4.2. The Conduct of the Prophet and Inspired Mantic

According to Chrysostom, the main difference is not in the future truth of the prophecy, but rather in the conduct of prophets and inspired mantics. This information is not directly given in the text of 1 Corinthians 12, so Chrysostom needs to provide more information on inspired mantics. Paul states in 1 Corinthians 12:2: "You know that when you were pagans, you were carried away to idols that could not speak." Chrysostom explains this statement (*Hom. I Cor.* 29.2):

Οἴδατε ὅτι ὅτε ἔθνη ἦτε, πρὸς τὰ εἰδωλα τὰ ἄφωνα, ὡς ἀν ἥγεσθε,
ἀπαγόμενοι. Ὁ δὲ λέγει, τοῦτο ἐστιν· Ἐν τοῖς εἰδώλοις, φησὶν, εἴποτε
κατεσχέθη τις ὑπὸ πνεύματος ἀκαθάρτου καὶ ἐμαντεύετο, ὥσπερ

¹⁶¹ Ferguson, *Backgrounds*, 203.

¹⁶² Aune, *Prophecy*, 40-43.

¹⁶³ Chrysostom believes that the spirit of deceit spoken of in 1 Kings 22:23 was the devil himself. Whether the prophets mentioned in this Old Testament passage were ecstatic or not is unclear, but the deceit of the prophecy (hence the appellation false prophecy) is enough for Chrysostom to associate it with Satan.

ἀπαγόμενος, οὗτος εἶλκετο ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος δεδεμένος, οὐδὲν εἰδὼς
ἕν λέγει. Τοῦτο γάρ μάντεως ἔδιον, τὸ ἐξεστηκέναι, τὸ ἀνάγκην
ὑπομένειν, τὸ ὡθεῖσθαι, τὸ ἔλκεσθαι, τὸ σύρεσθαι ὥσπερ ματινόμενον¹⁶⁴.

Now what he means to say is this: ‘In the idol-temples,’ he says, ‘if someone was possessed at any time by an unclean spirit and began with divination, as if the person was being dragged away in chains (like a slave) as he or she was being drawn by that spirit – the person knows nothing that he or she is saying. For this is distinctive of the soothsayer, to be beside themselves, to be under compulsion, to be pushed, to be dragged and to be branded as a lunatic

Chrysostom is explaining the conduct of the inspired mantics. They are also controlled by a spirit, but become as slaves to this spirit. He goes on to elaborate on the conduct of the true prophets:

‘Ο δὲ προφήτης οὐχ οὗτος, ἀλλὰ μετὰ διανοίας νηφούσης, καὶ σωφρονούσης καταστάσεως, καὶ εἰδὼς ἂ φθέγγεται, φησὶν ἀπαντα¹⁶⁵.

But it is not like this with the prophet, but with a sober mind and controlled composition and while knowing what he or she is saying, speaks all things.

Chrysostom then further strengthens his argument by stating that it is not only believers who have suspicion of the inspired mantics, but quotes Plato’s *Apology* 22c, who affirms Chrysostom’s point that the inspired mantics do not know anything they are uttering. He also quotes another secular source from Eusebius (*Praep. Ev.* 5.9) who in turn quotes Porphyry (*Philos. orac.*): “Let me go; I am mortal and can no longer contain the god who possesses me.” This gives a rhetorical edge to the homily, lending authority to it by showing that not only believers would agree with Chrysostom, but even a great philosopher like Plato and the poets, and even a critic of the Christians, namely Porphyry. To Chrysostom, departure from natural reason is in fact very problematic.

¹⁶⁴ PG 61:242.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

He further aims to disgrace the inspired mantics by noting a sexual nuance in the process of convulsion. He mentions (*Hom. I Cor. 29.2*):

... λέγεται τοίνυν αὕτη ἡ Πυθία γυνή τις οὖσα ἐπικαθῆσθαι τῷ τρίποδί ποτε τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, διαιροῦσα τὰ σκέλη· εἰθ' οὗτῳ πνεῦμα πονηρὸν κάτωθεν ἀναδιδόμενον, καὶ διὰ τῶν γεννητικῶν αὐτῆς διαδυόμενον μορίων πληροῦν τὴν γυναῖκα τῆς μανίας, καὶ ταύτην τὰς τρίχας λύουσαν λοιπὸν ἐκβακχεύεσθαι τε, καὶ ἀφρὸν ἐκ τοῦ στόματος ἀφιέναι, καὶ οὗτως ἐν παροινίᾳ γενομένην τὰ τῆς μανίας φθέγγεσθαι ρήματα¹⁶⁶.

... [T]his very Pythoness then, as it is said, being a woman, would sit on the tripod of Apollo with her legs spread, and in this way the evil spirit that ascends from beneath enters the lower part of her body, and fills the woman with madness, and with dishevelled hair¹⁶⁷ acts like one of the bacchants of Dionysus and starts foaming at the mouth, and in this state of ecstasy starts to speak the words of her madness

Chrysostom elaborates on a social custom. The oracle at Delphi was possessed by a Pythian spirit¹⁶⁸ and it apparently entered her body sexually, from beneath. Chrysostom realizes that this is extreme, but uses its extremity to shame the practice of the inspired mantics even more¹⁶⁹. The oracle is likened to the Bacchants of Dionysus, who were the epitome of ecstatic and irrational conduct. The emphasis on the sexual and sinful desires, according to Chrysostom, typical of the Bacchants, is the crux of the shame of the oracle. It even causes his congregants to blush. This is certainly not the case with the Christian prophets.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ Translation: NPNF.

¹⁶⁸ Delphi was originally called Pytho, and the Pythoness was the priestess of Apollo (Cf. Harris and Platzner, *Classical Mythology*, 201; Ferguson, *Backgrounds*, 200). Aune, *Prophecy*, 40-41 notes that the Pythoness was usually termed “ventriloquist” or *engastromantis*, from Plutarch (*De Def. Orac.* 414E), mastered and controlled by the Pythian spirit (cf. also the entire work by Plutarch, *De Pyth. Orac.*).

¹⁶⁹ Chrysostom is very negative towards the oracle of Delphi. It is interesting to note that above the cave where the oracle resided, the inscriptions “Know Thyself” and “Nothing in Excess” were given. Chrysostom is criticizing the dishonourable manner in which the spirit enters the oracle. This sexual nuance is common in ancient Grecian prophetic customs (Harris and Platzner, *Classical Mythology*, 203.)

5. 4.3. The Individual Freedom of the Prophet

Paul calls the idols “dumb”. That is, they cannot speak. The most popular idol in this case was Apollo, the god of prophecy. Ironically, Apollo should be the most verbose and colloquial god, but he is dumb. Again, Chrysostom believes that soothsaying is spiritual slavery, and the darkening of the mind. Thus, the next characteristic to Chrysostom, regarding true prophecy, is the role of individual freedom. He mentions that this fact can be seen in the Old Testament. Jonah fled from the face of God, Ezekiel delayed prophesying and Jeremiah did not wish to be a prophet and gave many excuses. They were never under compulsion, but acted according to their own volition.

5.4.4. The Confession of the Prophet and Volition of Invisible Beings

Chrysostom gives another important aspect of Christian prophecy. Paul states in 1 Corinthians 12:3:

διὸ γνωρίζω ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἐν πνεύματι θεοῦ λαλῶν λέγει, Ἐνάθεμα
Ἰησοῦν, καὶ οὐδεὶς δύναται εἰπεῖν, Κύριος Ἰησοῦν, εἰ μὴ ἐν πνεύματι
ἀγίῳ.

Therefore I am giving to you this knowledge that no one who is speaking through the Spirit of God says: “Jesus is cursed.” And no one is able to declare “Jesus is Lord” except through the Holy Spirit.

This statement of Paul is central in many commentaries on 1 Corinthians 12. Origen believed that this verse assumed the gift of discernment of spirits, in that every believer should be careful in believing any prophet (*Fr. 1 Cor.*). Basil of Caesarea (*Spir. 16.38*) believes that this verse even extends to the confessions of the invisible spirits and angels. He mentions:

... ἀνάθεμα Ἰησοῦν· ὅπερ εἴποι ἂν τὰ πονηρὰ καὶ ἀντικείμενα πνεύματα,
ῶν ἡ πόπτωσις συνίστησι τὸν λόγον, τοῦ αὐτεξουσίους εἶναι τὰς
ἀοράτους δυνάμεις, ἰσορρόπως ἔχούσας πρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ κακίαν, καὶ διὰ
τοῦτο δεομένας τῆς τοῦ Πνεύματος βοηθείας... τῆς ἀποκαλύψεως τῶν
μυστηρίων ἴδιως τῷ Πνεύματι προσηκούσης, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον...¹⁷⁰

¹⁷⁰ SC 17:383.

... ‘Jesus, be accursed!’ – This is what our enemies, the wicked spirits, would say. And their fall proves my point, that the invisible powers have free will and are poised between virtue and vice, and for this reason they need the help of the Spirit ... It is the Spirit who reveals mysteries, according to the Scripture...

This is a very interesting development in the thought of Basil. Chrysostom does nothing of the sort here. He immediately says that if someone curses Jesus, this person is a mantic. Now Chrysostom starts an important argument. What about the people who use the name of Jesus honourably, but are deprived of His Spirit?¹⁷¹ What about demons who acknowledge the Lordship of Christ? Chrysostom then notes that one must look at the reason of confession. In Mark 1:24, the demoniac confesses to Jesus that He is Holy One of God and also in Acts 16:17, an unclean spirit acknowledges that the apostles are servants of God. Chrysostom adds (*Hom. 1 Cor. 29.3*):

'Αλλὰ μαστιζόμενοι, ἀλλ' ἀναγκαζόμενοι· ἔκοντες δὲ καὶ μὴ μαστιγούμενοι, οὐδαμοῦ¹⁷².

(They [the demons] did [confess to the name of Christ]), but upon scourging, upon compulsion, never of their own will without being scourged¹⁷³.

Chrysostom departs from Basil’s viewpoint. Chrysostom seems to believe that the invisible beings, at least the demons, did not have a will of their own¹⁷⁴. Chrysostom further states that it was not Christ’s will to have a testimony from demons, and Paul the same. He notes that one needs to look at the intentions of the demons. Chrysostom believes that the demons wanted the people to give attention to the apostles so that they may fall into pride. The conduct of the soothsayer also shows the diabolical source of the confession.

¹⁷¹ This would probably imply that there are people who use the name of Jesus in a good way, but do not display the fruit of the Spirit (Gal 5:22).

¹⁷² PG 61:243.

¹⁷³ Translation: *NPNF*.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. Elizabeth A. Leeper, “The Role of Exorcism in Early Christianity,” in *StPatr* 26 (1993): 59-61, who interestingly elaborates on exorcism in early Christianity as a means of social control.

In conclusion to his social background discussion, Chrysostom believes that the distinction between prophet and soothsayer can not always be based upon the truth of the content of the prophecy, only because it can take some time for the results to show their truth or falsehood. Rather, the believer needs to give attention to some other distinctions. Firstly, the role of the human faculties must be considered. True prophecy is a Spirit-driven endeavour, with no human attributes. This may be a weakness in Chrysostom's argument, precisely because it would be impossible to have a total absence of the human faculties. Secondly, the conduct of the true prophet is always honourable and not shameful as in the case of the ecstatic and sexually loaded conduct of the inspired mantics. Thirdly, the true prophet prophesies in his/her own volition. They have individual freedom and are not forced into action like the Bacchants. Finally, the confession that Jesus is the Lord and not accursed is a sign that the Spirit is with the true prophet. Regarding demons, they also confess Christ, but are forced to do so due to their destructive motives.

Chrysostom now moves on to the main point he wishes to discuss, namely the dissension among the gifted believers.

5.5. Main Argument: Response against Hierocracy

There existed certain hierarchies among the people who had the charismata, which seem to have developed into a hierocracy. Conzelmann¹⁷⁵ states: "Now it is plain that in Corinth there are strong people who exalt themselves over the weak, and presumably also feelings of inferiority on the part of the nonpneumatics." Chrysostom is very concerned due to the immense harm schisms may cause. He uses three subsections, with the themes: firstly, The Giver is greater than the gift, secondly, The Discussion of the Individual Gifts and finally a Social Analogy from Wealth and Poverty.

5.5.1. The Giver is Greater than the Gift

Chrysostom is at this stage discussing 1 Corinthians 12:4, which says that there is a diversity of gifts, but come from the same Spirit. This section becomes pivotal in maintaining the Trinitarian doctrine. The Giver is one essence (*οὐσία*). Chrysostom starts his exposition, firstly, that the first thing the gifted person must realize is that the gifts are given freely to them. This must be "soothing" to the ones with the lesser gifts. He also notes that there is no reduction in the gifts themselves – he notes that it is not a diversity of signs or wonders, only a diversity of gifts. The second point he wishes to make is that the

¹⁷⁵ Conzelmann, *First Corinthians*, 212.

source of the gifts is the same – the Spirit (and later he implies the Trinity). People are drawing from the same fountain. This would imply equal honour to those who possess the gifts. He says (*Hom. I Cor. 29.4*): “...there is no difference in the Giver.”

Paul, in the next verse, 12:5, states: “There are a variety of ways of serving, but the same Lord.” In this case, Chrysostom believes that Paul is actually saying the same thing he said in 12:4. Chrysostom is implying that Paul is using merely another title for the gifts, this time being ‘ministrations’ or ‘ways of serving’ and is inclusive of the rest of the Trinity, thus indicating equality in Paul’s triadic formula. This argument was probably very important to Chrysostom and other church fathers. If Paul’s triadic formula implies equality among the gifted against a hierarchy, as Chrysostom implies, then it must also imply equality among the members of the Godhead. There were claims that the Holy Spirit was not divine. This was especially prevalent in Chrysostom’s time, coming most notably from those who proclaimed subordinationism¹⁷⁶, especially found among the Arians¹⁷⁷. There is, later in the homily, a stronger second refutation against subordinationism. If this was true, then a gift from the Spirit would be necessarily frowned upon in the light of gifts from the Son and the Father. Athanasius (*Ep. Serap. 1.30*) refuted the claim that the Spirit is inferior also by using 1 Corinthians 12:4-6:

ἔτερον δὲ εἰς ἄγγελον κτίσμα ὄντα· καὶ οὐδὲν λοιπὸν ὑμῶν ἀσφαλὲς
οὐδὲ ἀληθές. Ποία γὰρ κοινωνία γενητῷ καὶ δημιουργῷ; Ἡ ποία ἐνότης
τοῖς κάτω κτίσμασι καὶ τῷ ταῦτα δημιουργήσαντι Λόγῳ; Τοῦτο εἰδὼς ὁ
μακάριος Παῦλος, οὐ διαιρεῖ τὴν Τριάδα, ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς, ἀλλὰ τὴν
ἐνότητα ταύτης διδάσκων ἔγραψε Κορινθίοις περὶ τῶν πνευματικῶν¹⁷⁸.

And if the Holy Spirit is a created being, then not one of you [heretics] are steadfast or true. For how can there be communion between the creature and

¹⁷⁶ This view, although somewhat different, was found early in the thought of Justin Martyr, who believed that the Son and the Holy Spirit occupied second and third places in the Trinity (cf. Boniface Ramsey, *Beginning to Read the Fathers* (New York: Paulist, 1985), 44). Gregory of Nyssa attempted to balance the views by saying that the unity of the Trinity should be retained from Jewish thought, but the thought of *ὑποστασείς* from the Greek thought system needs to be retained. Speaking of the Trinity has always been difficult, and Gregory of Nyssa seems to be safer than Justin – as soon as one Person was accentuated above the other, doctrinal trouble would be the result (cf. Ramsey, *Beginning to Read*, 44).

¹⁷⁷ Cf. Ramsey, *Beginning to Read*, 43.

¹⁷⁸ PG 26:600.

the Creator? Or what unity between a lower creature and the Word that created him? The blessed Paul, knowing this, does not divide the Trinity, as you do; rather, he teaches its unity when he writes to the Corinthians about spiritual gifts.

The question of the unity of the Trinity was a direr question to the fathers than the nature of the gifts. But elaborating on the nature of the Trinity would shed more light on the nature of the gifts. Theodoret (*Comm. Ep.*) states with regard to 1 Corinthians 12:

Οὐ γὰρ, ὡς τινες ὑπέλαβον τῶν ἀνοήτων αἵρετικῶν, τὰ μὲν ἔφη ὑπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐνεργεῖσθαι, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ τῶν ὅλων Θεοῦ· ἀλλὰ τῶν αὐτῶν δωρεῶν χορηγὸν ἔδειξε τὴν ἀγίαν Τριάδα¹⁷⁹.

For Paul does not say, as certain of the foolish heretics have thought that the Spirit inspires some gifts and the God of all inspires others. Instead, he shows that it is the Holy Trinity who is the Giver of the same gifts.

The nature of the Giver is elaborated on more than the nature of the gift. The Giver is greater than the gift. There is no division in the Giver; therefore there must be no division between the gifted¹⁸⁰. Chrysostom, with Athanasius and Theodoret, also makes this point (*Hom. 1 Cor. 29.4*):

Καὶ τί ἔστιν ἐνέργημα; τί δὲ χάρισμα; φησί· τί δὲ διακονία; Ὄνομάτων διαφορὰὶ μόνον, ἐπεὶ πράγματα τὰ αὐτά ... Ὁρᾶς ὅτι οὐδεμίαν διαφορὰν δείκνυσιν ἐν ταῖς δωρεαῖς Πατρὸς καὶ Πνεύματος ἀγίουν; οὐ τὰς ὑποστάσεις συναλείφων, μὴ γένοιτο, ἀλλὰ τῆς οὐσίας τὴν ὁμοτιμίαν ἐμφαίνων. "Οπερ γὰρ τὸ Πνεῦμα χαρίζεται, τοῦτο καὶ τὸν Θεὸν ἐνεργεῖν, τοῦτο καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν διατάττειν καὶ παρέχειν φησί¹⁸¹.

¹⁷⁹ PG 82:321.

¹⁸⁰ Augustine also uses 1 Corinthians 12 to discuss the Trinitarian doctrine (*Trin. 14.1.3*).

¹⁸¹ PG 61:244.

And one would ask: “What is a working?” and “What is a gift?” and “What is a way of serving?” They are mere differences of names, since the things are the same... Can you see that he is showing that there is no difference in the gifts of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit? Not separating the Persons, certainly not! But he is declaring the equal honour to the Essence¹⁸². For that which the Spirit gives, this, as he says, is the same thing that God also works; this the Son also ordains and grants.

Thus, the unity and equality of gifts are crucial, and the perspective from each Person of the Trinity gives richness to the gifts. He therefore implies that the gifts originate from the full Godhead, and not only the Spirit¹⁸³. Chrysostom implies that the gifts need to be viewed in triadic perspective as Paul intended in his formula. A gift, according to Chrysostom, could imply something that is given, and therefore may cause discord if one receives better or more than another. But when the gifts are seen as ministries, they are meant for “labour and sweat.” Chrysostom turns the argument and asks the one who has less labour why he or she is grieving. They are spiritual (from the Spirit) against the shameful conduct of the inspired mantics. But they are also ministries or services (from the Son) so that none may become boastful of the gifts they received, but use it in service of God’s kingdom. Finally, they are also powerful workings (from the Father), thus binding the Trinitarian doctrine (that is, the οὐσία of God) together. Chrysostom states that they are “declaring equal honour to the Essence (τῆς οὐσίας τὴν ὄμοτιμίαν).”

This may imply a sense of *theoria*, in the text. The higher meaning of the text relates to the Trinitarian doctrine. It is still built, however, on the *historia* of the text, that is, its historical context, which Chrysostom already at the beginning of the homily explained.

Paul states in the next verse, 12:7: “To each one is given the manifestation of the Spirit [φανέρωσις τοῦ πνεύματος] to the benefit of all.” Chrysostom uses this verse in a *Refutatio* against those who would say that even if the gifts originate from the Trinity, they nevertheless received less (*Hom. I Cor.*

¹⁸² Translation: NPNF.

¹⁸³ This is also the opinion of Conzelmann, *First Corinthians*, 207-08 and Charles K. Barrett, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (HNTC; San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1968), 284.

29.5). The theological question of proof of the indwelling of the Spirit is an issue in this instance. Chrysostom states (*Hom. I Cor. 29.5*):

Φανέρωσιν δὲ Πνεύματος τὰ σημεῖα καλεῖ, εἰκότως. Ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ τῷ πιστῷ δῆλος ὁ Πνεῦμα ἔχων ἀπὸ τοῦ βαπτισθῆναι· τῷ δὲ ἀπίστῳ οὐδαμόθεν ἔσται τοῦτο καταφανὲς, ἀλλ' ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν σημείων· ... Εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὰ χαρίσματα διάφορα, ἀλλ' ἡ ἐνδειξις μία· κἄν γὰρ πολὺ ἔχῃς, κἄν ὀλίγον, ὁμοίως εἶ δῆλος¹⁸⁴.

But he calls miracles a “manifestation of the Spirit,” with due reason. For to me who is a believer, the person that has the Spirit is manifest from the fact that the person has been baptised. But this will be no proof to the unbeliever, except from the miracles, so that in this there is also great comfort. For although there are different apportionings of gifts, the evidence thereof is still the same – since you have much or little, you are equally manifest.

Baptism, according to Chrysostom, is a sign of the indwelling of the Spirit. But this is only visible to believers. This is then another function of the gifts. Theodoret (*Comm. Ep.*) mentions more or less the same as Chrysostom in saying:

Οὐκ εἶπεν, ἡ χάρις, ἀλλ', ἡ φανέρωσις. Ή μὲν γὰρ χάρις καὶ νῦν δίδοται τοῖς τοῦ παναγίου βαπτίσματος ἀξιούμενοις, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐναργῶς· ... Ἀναγκαίως δὲ ἔφη πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον δίδοσθαι τοῦ Πνεύματος τὴν φανέρωσιν, τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀνιωμένους ψυχαγωγῶν¹⁸⁵ ...

Paul does not say “the grace” but the manifestation. For even now grace is given to those considered worthy of holy baptism, but not in a visible way...It was necessary for Paul to say that the manifestation of the Spirit is given for the common good, so as to encourage those who were disheartened...

¹⁸⁴ PG 61:244.

¹⁸⁵ PG 82:324.

The same manifestation is given to all. But this manifestation acts as a sign to unbelievers that the believer receives the Holy Spirit at baptism. Chrysostom finally also mentions that to bear too much that one can carry is more a reason to grieve. He then continues to discuss the individual gifts as mentioned by Paul.

5.5.2. Discussion of the Individual Gifts

The following section in 1 Corinthians 12, verses 8-11, forms the end of the exposition of this homily. He notes the importance of Paul's repetition of “ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ πνεύματι”, which had a great rhetorical effect in comforting his readers. He mentions that Paul names the gifts of power, that is, miracles, prophecies, discernment of spirits, tongues and interpretation, last of all the gifts so that those who have it may not boast. Mitchell¹⁸⁶ firmly attests: “It is no accident here that the gift of tongues comes last (12:28; cf. 12:10), for it is the spiritual gift which has caused the most friction in the group, due to its public and separatist nature.” This is questionable if Paul actually meant to do this or whether it was merely chance he mentions them last. The problem arises later in 1 Corinthians 14, in which Paul admonishes his readers to strive for the gift of prophecy above the rest. It is significant to see that Chrysostom, probably due to his experience in rhetoric, does add significance, like Mitchell, to Paul mentioning tongues last. Most commentators¹⁸⁷ on 1 Corinthians do not see significance in Paul mentioning these last. In conclusion, Chrysostom states (*Hom. 1 Cor. 29.5*): “The common medicine in which his consolation consists is that out of the same source, out of the same treasures, out of the same streams, they all receive their portion.” The common or universal medicine (τό φάρμακον τό καθολικόν) is the fact that all the gifts emanate from the Trinity.

He now starts by discussing the individual gifts, starting with a word of wisdom (λόγος σοφίας)¹⁸⁸. It is connected to the apostles Paul and John, probably being associated with their writings, which may have been “words of wisdom”. A word of knowledge (λόγος γνώσεως) seems to be associated to the faithful (who were not apostles), who had experience of divine matters that, according to Chrysostom, they could not easily teach or convey to others. Chrysostom has a typically mystical view of this gift. In

¹⁸⁶ Mitchell, *Rhetoric of Reconciliation*, 270. Craig S. Keener, *1-2 Corinthians* (NCBC; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 104, also affirms this.

¹⁸⁷ Cf. Conzelmann, *First Corinthians*, 208-09; Barrett, *First Corinthians*, 285-87; Ben Witherington III, *Conflict and Community in Corinth: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary on 1 and 2 Corinthians* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 113; Hays, *First Corinthians*, 183.

¹⁸⁸ See the excursus in chapter 4 for Chrysostom's definition in contrast to Origen.

a later discussion on the Spirit of God and the spirit of a person, he mentions that there are “secret things” (ἀπόρρητα) deep in the spirit that cannot be uttered. There may be some evidence for a connection in this case, which will be demonstrated later in the study. It has been illustrated earlier how Origen saw a word of wisdom, in a more Alexandrian sense. In the Antiochene School, this gift of wisdom, with the gift of a word of knowledge, does not occupy such a central role as in the Alexandrian school. Augustine brings an interesting perspective on these gifts¹⁸⁹. He mentions that knowledge of divine matters is called “wisdom” and human matters are just called “knowledge.” A word of knowledge is also connected to apologetics, according to Augustine. Augustine, who used allegorical interpretation extensively, especially in his *Enarrations on the Psalms*, does not seem to hold exactly the same view as Origen in this case, showing the ambiguous nature of the individuals in the different exegetical schools. Chrysostom seems to be more or less in line with Augustine; however his explanation is too vague to make it an absolute fact.

The gift of faith (πίστις), according to Chrysostom, is not faith of doctrines but faith of miracles. He then quotes Matthew 17:20 and Luke 17:5, noting that this faith is the mother of the miracles (μήτηρ τῶν σημείων). By this metaphor, Chrysostom means that miracles are birthed from faith. He literally means, “signs”, probably referring to the signs and wonders of Christ and the apostles. Signs are never mentioned in the gifts of the Spirit discourse in 1 Corinthians 12. Whether he would limit signs to God and the twelve apostles cannot be affirmed. But it does imply that God gives us this faith as a gift to believe in Him – from this belief, signs would accompany the preaching of the gospel. He does not limit faith only to “signs”, but also extends it to the gifts of performing miracles and gifts of healing.

Chrysostom states (*Hom. I Cor. 29.5*):

Ἐνεργήματα δὲ δυνάμεων κεκτῆσθαι, καὶ χαρίσματα ἰαμάτων, οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτόν. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἔχων χάρισμα ἰαμάτων, ἐθεράπευε μόνον· ὁ δὲ ἐνεργήματα δυνάμεων κεκτημένος, καὶ ἐτιμωρεῖτο. Δύναμις γάρ ἔστιν οὐ τὸ ιάσασθαι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ κολάσαι, ὥσπερ ὁ Παῦλος ἐπήρωσεν, ὥσπερ ὁ Πέτρος ἀνεῖλεν¹⁹⁰.

¹⁸⁹ Cf. Augustine, *Trin.* 14.1.3.

¹⁹⁰ PG 61:245.

But to have the ability to work miracles and gifts of healing is not the same thing. For the person who has a gift of healing only cures people, but the one who performs miracles also punishes people. For a miracle is not only the act of healing, but also punishing. In this manner Paul inflicted blindness and Peter killed.

Chrysostom notes that there is a difference between the gifts of *healing* (χαρίσματα ἱαμάτων) and *miracles* (ἐνεργήματα δυνάμεων). Healing only cures, but miracles can also punish.

The gifts of prophecies (προφητείαι)¹⁹¹ and discernment of spirits (διακρίσεις πνευμάτων) are discussed together. The reason for this is that Chrysostom understands that the discernment of spirits is aimed at discerning the spirit of the prophet, on whether it is true or false¹⁹². This is also the opinion of Conzelmann¹⁹³. Chrysostom mentions that the gift of discernment is there to determine who is spiritual and who is a deceiver. He then quotes 1 Thessalonians 5:20-21: "...do not despise prophesying, but test everything, hold fast to what is good." Chrysostom notes that false prophets were very common during that time. This certainly was the case. He is probably not referring to inspired mantics in this instance, but rather to false Christian prophets. An earlier tradition in the *Didache* 11.7-10 shows the prevalence of false prophets:

Καὶ πάντα προφήτην λαλοῦντα ἐν πνεύματι οὐ πειράσετε οὐδὲ διακρινεῖτε· πᾶσα γὰρ ἀμαρτία ἀφεθήσεται, αὕτη δὲ ἡ ἀμαρτία οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται. Οὐ πᾶς δὲ ὁ λαλῶν ἐν πνεύματι προφήτης ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἔχῃ τοὺς τρόπους κυρίου. ἀπὸ οὖν τῶν τρόπων γνωσθήσεται ὁ ψευδοπροφήτης καὶ ὁ προφήτης. Καὶ πᾶς προφήτης ὄριζων τράπεζαν ἐν πνεύματι, οὐ φάγεται ἀπ' αὐτῆς, εἰ δὲ μήγε, ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστίν. Πᾶς δὲ προφήτης διδάσκων τὴν ἀλήθειαν, εἰ ἀ διδάσκει οὐ ποιεῖ, ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστίν¹⁹⁴.

¹⁹¹ These are always mentioned in the plural form by Chrysostom.

¹⁹² Cf. Joseph T. Lienhard, “‘Discernment of Spirits’ in the Early Church,” in StPatr 17/2 (1982): 519-21; R.M. Peterson, “‘The Gift of Discerning Spirits’ in the *Vita Antonii* 16-44,” in StPatr 17/2 (1982): 523-27; Sergio Zincone, “Le Omelie di Giovanni Crisostomo ‘De Prophetiarum Obscuritate’,” in StPatr 32 (1997): 391-409.

¹⁹³ Conzelmann, *First Corinthians*, 209.

¹⁹⁴ Lake, LCL.

Do not test or examine any prophet who is speaking in a spirit, ‘for every sin shall be forgiven, but this sin shall not be forgiven.’ But not everyone who speaks in a spirit is a prophet, except he has the behaviour of the Lord. From his behaviour, then, the false prophet and the true prophet shall be known. And any prophet, who teaches the truth, if he does not what he teaches, is a false prophet.

This tradition varies slightly from the later Eastern tradition of Chrysostom. The early Syrian tradition of the *Didache* rather implies a look at the fruit of the prophet to determine the truth of falsehood of the prophet¹⁹⁵. Chrysostom probably realizes that it would be too easy for charlatans to trick Christians in believing that they are true prophets. It also rises in the *Didache* 13.1-7 that prophets were entitled to many benefits, especially regarding the paying of money and first fruits. It would be very profitable for a false prophet if he or she could persuade the Christians that he or she is a true prophet. Such a case did occur, in the writings of Lucian of Samosata (*Peregr. 5*), who tells of a certain Peregrinus, who fooled Christians in believing that he was a true prophet¹⁹⁶. To Chrysostom, merely looking at the behaviour of the prophet would not be enough; rather, guidance from the Spirit by means of the gift of discernment can be the only solution to the scourge of the false prophets. According to Chrysostom, false prophets have their origin from the devil, who is the father of all falsehood. This dualism is very clear – true prophets are spiritual (inspired by the Holy Spirit), but the false prophets are diabolical (inspired by the devil).

The gift of tongues (ἐτέρῳ γένη γλωσσῶν) and interpretation (ἐρμηνεία) thereof are also discussed together. According to Chrysostom, the person speaking in tongues is aware of what he or she is saying, but cannot interpret. Another person may have both of these gifts or only the gift of interpretation. Thus, Chrysostom assumes a symbiotic relationship between the people who possess these gifts. It is not exactly sure what Chrysostom means when he says that the person speaking in tongues is aware of what he or she is saying. Chrysostom literally says that this person “knows” (γιδει) what he or she is saying, but cannot interpret it. To Chrysostom, this spiritual activity seems to be

¹⁹⁵ Cf. Everett Ferguson, *Church History: From Christ to Reformation* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2005), 51; Aaron Milavec, “Distinguishing True and False Prophets: The Protective Wisdom of the *Didache*,” in *JECS* 2/2 (1994): 117-36.

¹⁹⁶ Cf. Ferguson, *Church History*, 68.

something mysterious one cannot always explain in words. This may also have a connection to his understanding of a word of knowledge. Chrysostom now looks at the *historia*, and does mention that all the apostles and the Corinthians especially had this gift. He then continues, and notes that these gifts, with the other gifts of power were probably considered the greatest. But then Chrysostom inserts an interesting thought. Teaching ($\deltaιδασκαλία$) is also a gift, and should not be neglected. To substantiate this, he also quotes 1 Timothy 5:17 and 6:13-16 in affirming that teaching is a gift. This addition is probably brought in to balance the scales between the miraculous gifts and the rational, cognitive gifts.

The following verse, 1 Corinthians 12:11, states: “All these are worked by one and the same Spirit, who apportions to each one individually as He wills.” According to Chrysostom, the fact that the gifts are given by the same Spirit is, appropriately, “healing” ($\thetaεραπεύειν$), but the fact that the Spirit divides it as He wills is the “binding up” ($\epsilonπιστύφειν$). This would probably indicate that, the fact that it is the will of God for people to have what they have, should be reason enough to continue their ministry. It should give consolation ($\piαραμυθεῖται$) and also, literally, stop the mouths ($\epsilonπιστομίζει$) of the people who would say otherwise ($\tauόν ἀντιλέγοντα$). These gainsayers are those who believe that there exists a strict hierarchy among those who had the charismata, who causes the schism. According to Chrysostom’s medicinal metaphor, these gainsayers would be the ones inflicting the wounds, to which Paul needs to bring not only healing, but also bandage in order that it would not be wounded again. The fact that the will of God is now involved may prevent another wound, because, rhetorically, one cannot argue against something that is the will of God. Chrysostom even complements this by quoting Romans 9:20: “But who are you who reply against God?” This sort of rhetoric, however very effective, can be dangerous. The *Deus-Vult* rhetorical strategy eliminates all room for critical reflection and dialogue. Despite this sort of rhetoric and argumentation’s commonality in ancient times, the danger of it needs to be noted. Chrysostom is probably not being a fundamentalist. He is not using it as first and foremost premise. This is admirable, because it would have been very possible to do this. Chrysostom (and Paul), places the *Deus-Vult* argument at the end of their premises, possibly as a trump-card, to avoid the flowing of the argument *ad infinitum*. Chrysostom illustrates that Paul now places the gainsayers before God, and not before his own apostolic authority. This would obviously silence the troublemakers.

In *Hom. I Cor. 29.6* Chrysostom curiously returns to the Trinitarian controversy. It is necessary to give the entire quote:

Καὶ ὁ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἦν, τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἔδειξεν ὅν. Ὁσπερ γὰρ περὶ αὐτοῦ φησιν, Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς Θεὸς ὁ ἐνεργῶν τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν, οὗτω καὶ περὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος· Πάντα δὲ ταῦτα ἐνεργεῖ ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ Πνεῦμα. Ἀλλ' ἐνεργούμενον, φησὶν, ύπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ. Ἀλλ' οὐδαμοῦ τοῦτο εἴρηκεν, ἀλλὰ σὺ τοῦτο πλάττεις. Ὅταν γὰρ λέγῃ, Ὁ ἐνεργῶν τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσι, περὶ ἀνθρώπων τοῦτο λέγει· οὐ δήπου μετὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα ἀριθμεῖ, καν μυριάκις ἡς παραπαίων, καν μυριάκις μαινόμενος. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εἶπε, Διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος, ίνα τὸ διὰ τοῦτο μὴ νομίσῃς ἐλαττώσεως εἶναι μηδὲ τοῦ ἐνεργεῖσθαι, ἐπήγαγεν, ὅτι Ἐνεργεῖ τὸ Πνεῦμα, οὐκ ἐνεργεῖται, καὶ ἐνεργεῖ ώς βούλεται, οὐ καθὼς κελεύεται¹⁹⁷.

And that which was of the Father, Paul implies that it is also from the Spirit. For regarding the Father, he said: “but it is the same God who works all things in all,” likewise also regarding the Spirit, “but all these things works one and the same Spirit.” But it will be said: ‘The Spirit does it initiated by God.’ No, nowhere does Paul say this; it is a creation of your mind! For when he said: “who works all things in all,” he said this with regard the human beings. You cannot say that Paul lists the Spirit among human beings, although you may be so infinite in your childishness and lunacy. For since he said: “through the Spirit,” so that you may not understand the word “through” to denote inferiority or being initiated, he adds that “the Spirit works,” and not ‘is worked,’ and works ‘as he wills,’ not as he is commanded.

This forms the second refute against those who would suppose that the Holy Spirit is not part of the Trinity, namely the subordinationists. In this second refute, Chrysostom is more ruthless in his rhetoric. Firstly, a great sensitivity to the grammar of 1 Corinthians 12 is observed, typical of the Antiochene exegetes. He, in his first observation, defines the meaning of the preposition “διά”, noting that there is no sense of inferiority ($\epsilon\lambda\alpha\tau\tau\omega\sigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma$) signified by the word. The preposition is used with the genitive in Paul’s discourse referred to by Chrysostom. According to Blass and Debrunner¹⁹⁸, this use of the

¹⁹⁷ PG 61:246.

¹⁹⁸ Blass and Debrunner, *Greek Grammar*, 119.

preposition, as Chrysostom does, is acceptable. The common opinion would be that the Spirit is the agent with the preposition, which may (or may not) imply subordination or ἐλαττωσίς. However, “The originator is probably also denoted by διά instead of the agent”¹⁹⁹. When one views the Pauline text, one should however be cautious not to read too much into his variation of prepositions. Paul probably wants to create a sense of ambiguity. Chrysostom, however, reads much more into this than just mentioned. Chrysostom notes that the Spirit is part of the originator, thus validating his grammatical analysis. He is, in the second observation, also sensitive to the use of the voice of the verb Paul incorporates. The Spirit “works” (ἐνεργεῖ) rather than “is worked” (ἐνεργεῖται). This implies that the role of the Spirit is active and not passive, which Chrysostom denotes. The third observation also looks at the use of the word “wills” (βούλεται) rather than “is commanded” (κελεύεται). Obviously the latter choice would certainly imply subordination and passive action, however, the volition of the Spirit, according to Chrysostom, is the volition of the Trinity – they are One Essence. There is also no pacifism in the Trinity; they all act as one, which is best illustrated in the giving of the charismata. It is also the same observation of Athanasius (*Ep. Serap.* 3.3-4), who also makes a great deal of this verse to refute the subordinationists, making the claim:

Εἰ δὲ, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι τῶν πολλῶν ὁ Υἱὸς, ἀλλ' εἶς ἔστιν, ως Πατὴρ εἶς ἔστι,
καὶ οὐκ ἔστι κτίσμα, πάντως καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα (χρὴ γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ Υἱοῦ
λαμβάνειν καὶ τὴν περὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος γνῶσιν) οὐκ ἀν εἴη κτίσμα. Οὐ
γὰρ τῶν πολλῶν ἔστιν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἔστι καὶ αὐτό²⁰⁰.

But if the Son, because he does not belong to the many but is one as the Father is one [John 17:22], is not a creature, then certainly the Spirit could not be a creature since we must derive our knowledge of the Spirit from what we know about the Son. For the Spirit does not belong to the many but Himself is one and the same.

This verse then becomes crucial in refuting the Arians, one of the greatest controversies in the early church, due to their view that the Son and the Spirit were subordinate. One can see the similarities between Chrysostom and Athanasius’ reasoning, regarding the fact that the Spirit (and the Son) is not

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ PG 26:629.

part of the “many” (according to Athanasius) or “numbered among people” (according to Chrysostom). Chrysostom, typical in ancient argumentative style, does bring in an *ad hominem* allusion. He uses strong, emotive language, namely “manifold in childishness” (μυριάκις … παραπαίων), very much like infinite childishness, and also “manifold in madness” (μυριάκις μαινόμενος). The repetition of the word μυριάκις also entails a strong rhetorical effect in his prohibition. Earlier, he actually initiated the *ad hominem* movement by noting that his opponents, the subordinationists (thus, probably the Arians), “assumes” (πλάττεις) it – literally, they are moulding (πλάσσω) this statement. He masterfully incorporates the diatribe style of argumentation, by setting up his Arian opponent, and then refuting him by mentioning that his thoughts are moulded by his own presuppositions. They create fables to satisfy their own endless doting and madness, resulting in heresy.

Next, Chrysostom draws a parallel between the Spirit of God (πνεύμα τοῦ Θεοῦ) and the spirit of a person (πνεύμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου). Only the Spirit of God knows the things of God. The soul (ψυχή) of the person knows the inner things of that individual. Chrysostom calls this the “secret things” (ἀπόρρητα), which could also refer to the things that cannot be spoken. There could be a possibility that this idea of Chrysostom could refer back the word of knowledge, which the faithful had, but that which they could not teach. The word ἀπόρρητα does not occur in this reference, so it may be somewhat speculative. It is the opinion of the author, however, that there may be more reason for connection than not. Both references refer to something a person possess inside which cannot be articulated or even carried over in tradition. Both have, according to Chrysostom, a mystical nature but to its secrecy and hidden nature. Both are also spiritual, coming from a source that is not verifiable or unverifiable. There would seem to be some implicit connection. The repetition of the verb οἶδα also may imply some connotation to a word of knowledge in Chrysostom’s thought. This parallel, however, still serves his second refutation of subordinationism. He concludes by saying that if someone received something from a king, it would be reason for celebration, but if someone receives something from a slave, vexation is reasonable. In this analogy, the king would represent the Father and the slave the Spirit in the sense of subordinationism. Chrysostom then implies that subordinationism, with Arianism, have an inherent tendency and drive to schism. Schism in the Trinity leads to schism in the church, especially in the sense of the distribution of the gifts and implied hierarchy therein.

This concludes the largest core section of the homily. Chrysostom comforts his audience not to grieve upon receiving more or less. He then makes the Antiochene step to *theoria*, starting to connect this

section with the second controversial discussion in the church, namely the distribution of wealth and poverty.

5.5.3. Social Analogy: The Rich and the Poor

In discussing this section, also the conclusion of the homily, one needs to look at three elements. Firstly, it is the author's opinion that this section illustrates a clear and logical step to *theoria*, secondly, the socio-historical background of Chrysostom's era, concerning wealth and poverty, needs to be substantiated, and thirdly, the contents and logic of this division of the homily needs to be discussed.

5.5.3.1. A Step to *Theoria*

Why would this section be classified as a step to *theoria*? The reason for this is because the context of 1 Corinthians 12 does not allude to material "gifts", but spiritual gifts. But Chrysostom draws upon the notion of spiritual gifts and applies the text to a contemporary problem very real to Chrysostom and his audience in the time they existed. This textual application may be a significant example of *theoria*; one can observe that it is certainly not *allegoria*, which is a higher spiritual meaning, but rather *theoria*, an extended, pragmatic, contemporary textual application that reaches past and above the text, not necessarily to a spiritual, metaphysical realm, but a contemporary realm. It must be stressed that *theoria* does however, at times, reach into a metaphysical realm, but often supersedes it to a preferred contextual, material realm – or both. In this case, regarding this analogy given by Chrysostom, it is the latter mentioned contextual application.

5.5.3.2. Wealth and Poverty in the Early Church

Chrysostom uses Paul's argument on the gifts of the Spirit and extends it also to material gifts, wealth, or the lack thereof, poverty – a very fiery issue at the time. This is where Chrysostom departs from most modern commentators on the subject. A highly critical commentary such as Conzelmann's²⁰¹ remains strictly within the textual context of the gifts as being only 'spiritual'²⁰². Commentaries like Thiselton²⁰³ and Barrett²⁰⁴, however being brilliant expositions, also do not move very far away from

²⁰¹ Conzelmann, *First Corinthians*.

²⁰² This also applies to the critical commentary of Archibald Robertson, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians* (ICC; London: T&T Clark, 1914).

²⁰³ Thiselton, *First Corinthians*.

²⁰⁴ Barrett, *First Corinthians*.

the hermeneutical safety of the “πνεύμα” in the phrase “πνευματικός”. Fee²⁰⁵ does seem to move farther than the above mentioned commentators, but not nearly as far as Chrysostom. They do not move to *theoria*. This would not imply that the above mentioned commentators are inferior. It reminds us that these homilies of Chrysostom are in fact sermons. Chrysostom, for the sake of his audience as homilist, needs to bridge the exegetical and hermeneutical gap. In the author’s opinion, Chrysostom almost seems to break the hermeneutical rules of exegesis modernity has so aptly lain down. But one is then kindly reminded that Chrysostom was not bound by the exegetical guidelines of modernity. This is what makes ancient commentators so valuable to the modern exegete. They provide insights from a different perspective due to their activity within different hermeneutical framework. Chrysostom comfortably attempts something many modern exegetes would not dream of publishing in an academic journal or commentary. But one must also remember that Chrysostom was accountable to his congregation. He was not an independent theologian working outside the authority of the church²⁰⁶, but was permeated in the everyday life of the people who listened to him. Thus follows Chrysostom’s discourse on the gifts and wealth and poverty.

It is necessary, at this point, to explain the social (and theological) climate among the Christians in Chrysostom’s time regarding wealth and poverty. Very useful research has been done in the social scientific and cultural anthropological fronts of biblical-scientific approaches. Wealth and poverty is

²⁰⁵ Fee, *First Corinthians*.

²⁰⁶ Could this possibly be some patristic critique on the modern concept of doing theology? Hall, *Reading Scripture*, 19-22, makes this same point. A typical development in modern scientific theory is to distance oneself from the object of study, which is a development especially pressed on from the Enlightenment era. But one must not assume that this scientific presupposition was prevalent and active during all phases of history. It was certainly not an option to Chrysostom. To many of the early church fathers, a good theologian is exactly someone who becomes conformed to the object of study. This also seems to be the viewpoint of Paul (Rom 12:1-3). Robert L. Wilken, *Seeking the Face of God: The Spirit of Early Christian Thought* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), xviii, makes an important observation: “Theory was not an end in itself, and concepts and abstractions were always put at the service of a deeper immersion in the *res*, the thing itself, the mystery of Christ and the practice of the Christian life. The goal was not only understanding, but love...” Despite the immense contributions of modern scientific theory, which I whole-heartedly affirm, it would be highly unfair to call the ancient commentators (whether they were orthodox or heretical) unscientific. It would be even more unfair to believe that their insights, being ancient, have no value for the modern exegete. Hans Urs von Balthasar, *The Glory of the Lord: A Theological Aesthetics: Volume 1: Seeing the Form* (7 vols.; San Francisco: Ignatius, 1997), 371, even goes so far as to say that the church may never “see such an array of larger-than-life figures.”

not so much a financial position as it is a social position. The work of scholars like Malina²⁰⁷ and Hollenbach²⁰⁸ has given great insight into this question.

Hollenbach²⁰⁹ incorporates views from Malina and Carney, to define rich and poor. He notes that the work of scholars like Hengel was a failure due to ignorance of social-scientific insights. To sum up the points of Hollenbach, he notes that one must understand the thinking of the ancient individual regarding wealth and poverty. This thinking was centred on an ideal egalitarian society (Lev 25; Acts 2, 4). But the current dispensation is not egalitarian, rather, it is dominated by the proud and unrighteous wealthy and the humble and righteous poor – a peculiar type of “ancient Marxism”. This is taken from Malina, who especially draws on Aristotle’s principle of the common, limited good. Limited good extends to all facets of life, including politics and kinship. The wealthy person is inherently evil due to the fact that this person has more than his or her share – the superfluous measure being that which was to be designated to the (now) poor person. There are only a limited number of goods; goods and riches are not infinite²¹⁰. This was especially the view of the people during the age of the New Testament. Malina²¹¹ also refers to many early Christian fathers like Jerome and Clement of Alexandria, indicating some continuity in thought.

However, it must be noted that the views of wealth and poverty were somewhat influenced by the gargantuan emergence of Christian thinking, especially after Constantine. Wilken (2003:xvi-xvii) even notes that Hellenism was Christianised, rather than the popular opinion of Von Harnack, who stated that the patristic intellectualism marked a hellenization of Christianity. I rather agree with the former opinion of Wilken. The influence of Christianity, later, was very significant. The reason for its immense significance is due to the fact that the theory made its contact with the people – this was done in the assemblies. This example of Chrysostom is a good illustration. Theory is no longer limited to

²⁰⁷ Cf. Bruce J. Malina, “Wealth and Poverty in the New Testament and Its World,” in *Int* 41 (1990): 354-67 and Malina, *New Testament World*. Cf. also Blake Leyerle, “John Chrysostom on Almsgiving and the Use of Money,” in *HTR* 87/1 (1994): 29-47; and Rebecca H. Weaver, “Wealth and Poverty in the Early Church,” in *Int* 41 (1990): 368-81.

²⁰⁸ Paul Hollenbach, “Defining Rich and Poor Using the Social Sciences,” *SBL Seminar Papers, 1987* (SBLSP 26; California: Scholars Press, 1987), 50-63.

²⁰⁹ Hollenbach, “Defining Rich and Poor”, 50-55.

²¹⁰ Cf. Wayne A. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul* (2nd ed.; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 51-53.

²¹¹ Malina, “Wealth and Poverty,” 363.

philosophers. The studies of the homilies of the early Christian leaders probably give the most insight into the social life of the average lower- and middle-class Christian. Malina is correct in noting that the concept of limited good (and a negative view to wealth it supposes) had its place in the patristic era, but it could not possibly be the same as the view of the first century Mediterranean peasant or aristocrat. It must be remembered that most of the first early Christians were poor. The incredible influence of emerging asceticism and monasticism on the one hand, and a very wealthy and powerful church-state on the other, are attributes of this change. Social ideology is always in flux, never being static, especially in an age of such drastic changes with regard to religion and politics, as the post-Constantinian period.

Malina's work here also remains important. The best sources, however, prove to be the primary sources of the day. The thought of a symbiosis regarding the rich and poor are already prevalent quite early in the Christian tradition. In the *Shepherd of Hermas* (*Herm. Sim. 2.5-7*), we find this statement:

"Ακουε, φησίν· ο μὲν πλούσιος ἔχει χρήματα, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὸν κύριον πτωχεύει, περισπώμενος περὶ τὸν πλοῦτον ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ λίαν μικρὰν ἔχει τὴν ἐντεύξιν καὶ τὴν ἐξομολόγησιν πρὸς τὸν κύριον, καὶ ἦν ἔχει, βληχρὰν καὶ μικρὰν καὶ ἄλλην μὴ ἔχουσαν δύναμιν. ὅταν οὖν ἐπαναπαῇ ἐπὶ τὸν πένητα ὁ πλούσιος καὶ χορηγῇ αὐτῷ τὰ δέοντα, πιστεύει ὅτι ἐὰν ἐργάσηται εἰς τὸν πένητα δυνήσεται τὸν μισθὸν εὑρεῖν παρὰ τῷ θεῷ· ὅτι ὁ πένης πλούσιός ἐστιν ἐν τῇ ἐντεύξει αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐξομολογήσει, καὶ δύναμιν μεγάλην ἔχει παρὰ τῷ θεῷ ἡ ἐντεύξις αὐτοῦ. ἐπιχορηγεῖ οὖν ὁ πλούσιος τῷ πένητι πάντα ἀδιστάκτως· ὁ πένης οὖν ἐπιχορηγούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ πλουσίου ἐντυγχάνει τῷ θεῷ εὐχαριστῶν αὐτῷ, ὑπὲρ τοῦ διδόντος αὐτῷ· κἀκεῖνος ἔτι καὶ ἔτι σπουδάζει περὶ τοῦ πένητος, ἵνα ἀδιάλειπτος γένηται ἐν τῇ ζωῇ αὐτοῦ· οἶδε γάρ, ὅτι ἡ τοῦ πένητος ἐντεύξις προσδεκτή ἐστιν καὶ πλουσία πρὸς κύριον. ἀμφότεροι οὖν τὸ ἔργον τελοῦσιν· ὁ μὲν πένης ἐργάζεται τῇ ἐντεύξει, ἐν ᾧ πλουτεῖ, ἦν ἔλαβεν παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου· ταύτην ἀποδίδωσι τῷ κυρίῳ τῷ ἐπιχορηγούντι αὐτῷ. καὶ ὁ πλούσιος ὠσαύτως τὸ πλοῦτος, ὃ ἔλαβεν παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου, ἀδιστάκτως παρέχεται τῷ πένητι²¹².

²¹² Lake, LCL.

“Listen”, he [the shepherd], said, “The rich man has ample riches, but is poor with regard to the touching of the Lord, his intercession and confession toward the Lord is small, because his riches keep him busy, and that which he has is weak and small, and has no power. But when the rich man rests upon the poor, and provides to the poor man what he needs, he believes that what he does to the poor can bring reward from God, because the poor is rich in intercession and confession, and his intercession has great power with God. The rich man, therefore, helps the poor man in all things without a doubt. But the poor man, being helped by the rich, makes intercession to God, giving Him thanks, for him who gave to him, the rich man is still zealous for the poor man, that he will not fail in his life, for he knows that the intercession of the poor is acceptable and rich to the Lord. Therefore the two complete the work together, for the poor man works in the intercession, in which he is rich, which he received from the Lord and pays this to the Lord who helps him. And the rich man provides to the poor, without hesitation, with the wealth which he received from the Lord.”

This view illustrated in the *Shepherd* shows some development of thought in the early apostolic fathers. It implies a symbiotic relationship²¹³ between the rich and the poor²¹⁴. It is also seen in the work of Clement of Alexandria’s *Who is the Rich Man that shall be Saved?* A moderate approach is given. Nevertheless, the poor were almost always associated with the Lord, especially due to the beatitudes (Blessed is the poor – Matt 5:3). Jerome is notoriously known for his negativity against the wealthy, who even attempted to write a history about the church in which he wanted to illustrate how the church constantly grew richer and more iniquitous²¹⁵. Writers like Chrysostom and Ambrose do not have as many problems with wealthy persons per se; rather, they criticize the unwillingness of the rich to help the poor. Chrysostom states (*Hom. 1 Tim. 12.4*): “Unshared, wealth becomes something evil, a trap²¹⁶.”

The opinion of the church then regarding wealth and poverty, when viewed closer, seems to be ambivalent. But the fact that poverty was a problem then, as it is today, stands to reason, especially

²¹³ It almost seems as if the poor were “selling” their prayers.

²¹⁴ Ramsey, *Beginning to Read*, 184-185.

²¹⁵ Ibid., 188.

²¹⁶ PG 62:563.

when viewed in relation to Aristotle's limited good concept. Chrysostom then uses the discourse on the gifts also to affirm his own views on wealth and poverty. Although it may seem, at face value, to the modern exegete, as exegesis out of context, or *eisegesis*, to Chrysostom, it was his own congregational context he had to address, and not modern rules of hermeneutics – it was *theoria*.

5.5.3.3. Wealth and Poverty in Homily 29 on 1 Corinthians 12

In the final section of the homily, Chrysostom applies a principle he deduced from 1 Corinthians 12 on wealth and poverty. He gives it in *Hom. 1 Cor. 29.5*:

Εἰ δὲ ἐν τοῖς πνευματικοῖς οὐ χρὴ περιεργάζεσθαι, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς σαρκικοῖς, ἀλλ' ἡσυχάζειν, καὶ μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν, διὰ τί ὁ δεῖνα πλούσιος, ὁ δεῖνα δὲ πένης. Μάλιστα μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ἔκαστος ἀπὸ Θεοῦ πλουτεῖ, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ καὶ ἐξ ἀδικίας καὶ ἀρπαγῆς καὶ πλεονεξίας. Ὁ γὰρ κελεύσας μὴ πλουτεῖν, πῶς ἀν ἔδωκεν ὅπερ ἐκώλυσε μὴ λαβεῖν;²¹⁷

And if we should not be greedy regarding the spiritual things, much more should we not be greedy in the material things. Rather be quite and not constantly ask why one person is rich and another is poor. For, firstly, not every rich person is rich from God's providence, but many are rich due to unrighteous activities, and theft and greed. For the person who was forbidden to be rich, who can God have given to this person that which He has forbidden?

The principle here is curiosity. Chrysostom gives in to the fact that the distribution of the gifts among the faithful, with some having more than others, is just as great a mystery as to ask why a person has more riches than another. But regarding riches, he notes that God is not the only source of riches. The function of this statement again is both rhetorical and logical. The distribution of the gifts, as seen in the previous sections, all have their source from one and the same Spirit, being part of the Trinity. But regarding the distribution of wealth and poverty, it is more complex. Wealth and poverty both may result from God or unrighteousness. This would make the mystery even greater. But the spiritual things are greater than the material things – which Chrysostom calls σαρκικοῖς. This would imply the things the flesh needs to survive. The concept of a limited good, as was illustrated, was still probably

²¹⁷ PG 61:246.

prevalent in Chrysostom's day. But a very curious development in Chrysostom's thought occurs. There are spiritual goods (*πνευματίκα*) as well as material goods (*σαρκίκα*). The aspect that is problematic to Chrysostom is that with both of these, even the spiritual goods, greed seems to abound, which is typical of human nature. Spiritual gifts, it would seem, was not limited in its existence, as material goods were, but they may be limited only according to the wisdom of the will of God. Material goods are limited due to their existence, according to Aristotle, but spiritual goods are limited only in God's will regarding their distribution. Material goods, according to Chrysostom, are not limited only by the will of God, but also by the working of unrighteousness, making it almost more mysterious. As an example, he reaches to *historia*, looking at the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. God was the God of them all, but some of them were very poor, while an unrighteous man like Esau was rich. He also refers to David, who had many toils while Solomon lived for forty years in peace. Chrysostom then implies that what one has, whether it is spiritual or material is mysteriously distributed. He quotes Psalm 36:6: "Your judgments are unfathomable."

Along with the mystery of gift distribution, Chrysostom also elaborates on the disposition of the wicked rich person. Although it would appear that a rich person, despite their wickedness, is in a good disposition if he does not have any problems, Chrysostom illustrates that a wicked rich person is the lowliest of all²¹⁸. Chrysostom elaborates on this view by listing the usual vices of the wicked rich person (*Hom. 1 Cor. 29.5*):

Μὴ τοίνυν λέγε, Διὰ τί ὁ μὲν πλούσιος φαῦλος ὄν, ὁ δὲ πένης δίκαιος ὄν; Μάλιστα μὲν γὰρ καὶ τούτων ἔστι δοῦναι λόγον, καὶ εἰπεῖν· "Οτι οὐτε ὁ δίκαιος ἀπὸ τῆς πενίας ἔχει τι βλάβος, ἀλλὰ καὶ μείζονα προσθήκην εὐδοκιμήσεως, καὶ ὁ κακὸς ἐφόδιον τιμωρίας τὸν πλοῦτον, ὃν μὴ μεταβάληται, κέκτηται· καὶ πρὸ τῆς κολάσεως δὲ πολλάκις κακῶν αἴτιος αὐτῷ γέγονεν ὁ πλοῦτος πολλῶν, καὶ εἰς μύρια ἥγαγε βάραθρα. Ὁ δὲ Θεὸς ἀφίησιν, ὅμοι τε δεικνὺς τὸ αὐτεξούσιον τῆς προαιρέσεως, ὅμοι τε τοὺς ἄλλους παιδεύων μὴ μαίνεσθαι μηδὲ λυττᾶν περὶ τὰ χρήματα²¹⁹.

²¹⁸ It is also extensively elaborated on in Chrysostom's *Three Homilies on the Power of Demons*. The question of theodicy is crux of the three homilies, and he does explain the issue of the wicked wealthy to a great extent, cf. also Leyerle, "On Almsgiving", 31-35.

²¹⁹ PG 61:247.

Therefore, do not say: ‘Why is one person rich, who is wicked, and another person poor who is righteous?’ Firstly, one can explain these things and say that the righteous is not disadvantaged in any way by poverty, no; this person receives even a greater measure of honour. And that the evil person, from their riches, only has a measure of punishment waiting, unless this person is changed. And even before the punishment, it often happens that the riches cause many problems, and lead the rich person into a thousand difficulties. But God allows it, at the same time to show that every person has the free choice of the will, and also to teach all others not to be mad nor desire money.

The fact that the punishment of the rich person is severe is evident in the fact that it is not only eschatological punishment, but also earthly punishment. Earthly punishment can be one of two evils, according to Chrysostom. Chrysostom’s *Three Homilies on the Power of Demons* become very relevant in this case²²⁰. Chrysostom (*Diab.* 1.5) here makes mention of two types of evil, namely tempting evils (κακία)²²¹, like lust, envy, greed etc, and calamities (συμφορά), like natural disasters, poverty, famine etc. Chrysostom is rather positive about the latter mentioned calamities, naming that their source is God. This helps one to understand Chrysostom’s view on poverty. A very interesting image is given in the first homily of the three (*Diab.* 1.5) where Chrysostom depicts God as a physician. It is necessary to supply the entire image:

Καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἰατρὸς, οὐχ ὅταν εἰς παραδείσους καὶ λειμῶνας ἔξαγάγῃ τὸν κάμνοντα, θαυμαστός ἐστι μόνον, οὐδ' ὅταν εἰς βαλανεῖα καὶ κολυμβήθρας ὑδάτων, οὐδ' ὅταν τράπεζαν παρατιθῆ πλουσίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅταν ἄσιτον κελεύῃ διαμένειν, καὶ ὅταν ἄγχῃ λιμῷ καὶ δίψῃ κατατείνῃ, τῇ κλίνῃ προσηλῶν καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν δεσμωτήριον ποιούμενος, καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ φωτὸς ἀποστερῶν καὶ συσκιάζων πανταχόθεν τὸ δωμάτιον παραπετάσμασι, καὶ ὅταν τέμνῃ, καὶ ὅταν καίῃ, καὶ ὅταν πικρὰ προσάγῃ φάρμακα, ἰατρός ἐστιν ὁμοίως. Πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἀτοπὸν ἐκεῖνον μὲν τοσαῦτα ἐργαζόμενον κακὰ ἰατρὸν καλεῖν, τὸν δὲ Θεὸν, εἴ ποτε ἐν τούτων

²²⁰ The leading motif in these homilies is not “the power of demons”, as the title suggests; these homilies address the issue of theodicy.

²²¹ He also uses κακία in *Hom. I Cor.* 29 and not συμφορά. Thus, these wicked rich people are stricken by evils which destroy the soul, and not calamities, which is medicine to the soul.

ποιήσειεν, οῖον ἡ λιμὸν ἡ θάνατον ἐπαγάγοι, βλασφημεῖν καὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς ἐκβάλλειν προνοίας; καίτοι γε ὁ ἀληθὴς ἰατρὸς οὗτος μόνος ἔστι καὶ ψυχῶν καὶ σωμάτων. Διὰ τοῦτο πολλάκις τὴν φύσιν τὴν ἡμετέραν παραλαβὼν ἐξ εὐθηνίας σκιρτῶσαν, καὶ πυρετὸν ἀμαρτημάτων ὀδίνουσαν, ἐνδείᾳ καὶ λιμῷ καὶ θανάτῳ καὶ συμφοραῖς ἑτέραις, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις οἷς αὐτὸς οἶδε φαρμάκοις ἀπαλλάττει τῶν νοσημάτων. 'Αλλ' οἱ πένητες αἰσθάνονται μόνοι τοῦ λιμοῦ, φησίν. 'Αλλ' οὐχὶ μόνῳ λιμῷ κολάζει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑτέροις μυρίοις· τὸν ἐν πενίᾳ μὲν ὄντα λιμῷ πολλάκις ἐσωφρόνισε, τὸν πλουτοῦντα δὲ καὶ εὔπορίας ἀπολαύοντα κινδύνοις, νοσήμασι, θανάτοις ἀώροις· εὐμήχανος γάρ ἔστι, καὶ ποικίλα ἔχει τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν τὰ φάρμακα²²².

For the physician is not only adored when he leads the patient into gardens and meadows or baths and pools of water, or even if he sets the patient before a well furnished table, but also when he orders the patient to remain without food, when he oppresses him with hunger and thirst, confines him to his bed, making his house a prison and depriving him of light, while shadowing his room with curtains on all sides; and also when he cuts and cauterizes, and when he brings bitter medicines, he is equally a good physician. Is it not then preposterous to call such a person, who does so many evils, a physician, but to blaspheme God, if He does these sorts of things at any time, if He brings famine or death, and to reject His providence over all? And yet He is the only true physician of both souls and bodies. On this account He often seizes this greedy nature of ours, our wanting to prosper, and travailing with a fever of sins, and by poverty, and hunger, and death and other calamities and the rest of the medicines of which He knows, He frees us from disease. But the poor alone feels hunger, says one. But He does not chasten with hunger alone but with countless other things. The person who is in poverty He has often corrected with hunger, but the rich and him who enjoys prosperity, with dangers, diseases and ultimately death. For He is full of resources, and the medicines He has for our salvation are many.

²²² PG: 49:252.

This lengthy quote illustrates the thought of Chrysostom. The poor are blessed with calamities. But the evils he refers to, which the wicked rich enjoy, as in *Hom. 1 Cor.* 29, would fall under his first grouping of evils, the *κακία*. The experience of these evils does not fall under the medicine of the great Physician. Drunkenness and evil desires destroy the very soul of the wicked person. These are rather the diseases, to which the rich must pray for healing. The division of riches, as Chrysostom closes his homily, is just as great a mystery as to why one person is black and another white or why one may have a big nose or another a small nose (*Hom. 1 Cor.* 29.6). This is also the same mystery relating to the distribution of the spiritual gifts. One should accept it as the will of God.

5.6. Conclusion

Chrysostom discusses 1 Corinthians 12 in this homily in relation to many of the problems which were a reality for the people in his assembly. His main drive in the homily is ethical rather than solely theological, although many theological issues like the Trinity and Pneumatology are thoroughly discussed. It is ethical because of the ethical problems the gifts seemed to have created. Pride, envy and greed were at the top of this list. It is impressive to note that Chrysostom, having believed that the gifts had ceased, still provides so much valuable information on the gifts.

The charismatic schism caused many problems in the early church, probably adding to Chrysostom's sceptical attitude to the working of the gifts. It is a pity that Chrysostom believes that the gifts have ceased, and this also becomes critique against him. His scepticism is, however, understandable. The greedy and envious nature of both those who had the greater and lesser gifts was troublesome to Chrysostom. And Chrysostom does not lash out at the gifts themselves, but rather at the attitude of the people who possessed the gifts. He corrects this by giving the true nature of the Holy Spirit and the gifts. There is no division in the Trinity, which is the source of the gifts, and therefore there should be no division among the gifted. The gifts are in service of the community. This is also a measure at preventing schism in his congregation – it is ethical pastoral care.

A typical Antiochene approach is found in this homily. Chrysostom looks at the historical and social backgrounds to the text. He elaborates on the history of the gifts in the church, which seems to be negative. It is a pity that Chrysostom spends so much time on this negative aspect. He looks at the social phenomena of oracles and inspired mantics, which were very real to his congregants, and gives the differences. He even incorporates intertextuality by referring to non-Christian and Christian sources. His whole argument actually revolves around *historia*, in the damage caused by gifted

individuals as history has shown. Each gift is explained, but he gives more attention to the Giver than the gifts or the gifted. His final principle, the *theoria*, is seen in the fact that one should not be greedy or overly curious about the mysteries of God. This theoretical principle is then put in practice by referring to the social problem of wealth and poverty, a reality in the lives of his congregants. The *theoria* is this: The mystery of God, which is seen in the distribution of the spiritual gifts/goods, must also be seen in the greater mystery of the distribution of wealth/material goods, from God and from unrighteousness. Using this, Chrysostom masterfully addresses both historical and complicated contemporary issues (both ethical and theological) and makes the text transcend its typical charismatic usage.

5.7. Appendix: Translation of Homily 29

The Historical Context: The Nature of Πνεύμα and Χαρισμάτα and the Charismatic Schism

“Now concerning the spiritual gifts, my brothers and sisters, I do not want you to remain without knowledge. You know that when you were pagans, you were led away to idols that could not speak.”²²³

[1] The content of this verse is very unclear; but the obscurity is the result of our own ignorance of the spiritual things referred to and their cessation – those things which did occur then but not anymore. And why do they not occur anymore? Look, even the reason for the obscurity causes us to ask yet another question, namely: Why did the gifts function then, but not anymore?

But let us postpone this question for another time. Let us rather focus on the things which were occurring then. Thus, what happened in those days? Whoever was baptised immediately spoke in tongues and not in tongues only, but many also prophesied and performed many works of power. For since they were converted from idol-worship, without having any concrete knowledge or training in the ancient Scriptures, they immediately received the Spirit with their baptism, although they could not see the Spirit, as It is invisible, God had given, in His grace, some visible manifestation of that power. And immediately one spoke in Persian, another in Latin, another in Indian and another in some other sort of

²²³ 1 Corinthians 12:1.

language; and this was the visible manifestation to those without the Spirit, that it was the Spirit speaking in the person. This is also why Paul states:

“But to each is given a manifestation of the Spirit to the benefit of all,”²²⁴

He calls the gifts a “manifestation of the Spirit.” For just as the Apostles themselves had received this sign first, so also the believers continued receiving it – I am referring to the gift of tongues; yet not only this but also many other gifts: in this case, many even raised the dead and cast out demons and performed many other wonders like these; and these people also had the gifts – some less – some more. But the gift of tongues was more common among them than all of the other gifts, and this was the reason for the division, not due to its own nature but from the arrogance of those who were speaking in tongues. Thus, on the one hand, those who had the ‘greater’ gifts were considered more important than those who received the ‘lesser’ gifts. And these people were dissatisfied and envied those who possessed the greater gifts. And Paul himself, as he continues to argue, points to this problem. And because of this their relationships in love were suffering greatly, and Paul carefully points them in the right direction. For this also happened in Rome, but not in exactly the same way. And this is why, in the Epistle to the Romans, he states only briefly and discreetly:

“For just as we have many members in one body, and all the members do not have the same function, so is it also with us, who despite being many, are one body in Christ and each individually members of one another. And while we have gifts differing according to the grace that was given to us, whether it be prophecy, let us prophesy according to the proportion of our faith, or service, let us give ourselves to our service to others, or the person who teaches, to teaching.”²²⁵

And the Romans were also being stubborn because of this problem, and to this he addresses in the beginning of that argument, saying:

²²⁴ 1 Corinthians 12:7.

²²⁵ Romans 12:4-8.

“For I tell you, through the grace given to me, every person among you should not think of themselves more highly than they ought to think; but so to think as to think with a sound mind, according to the measure of faith God has given to every person.”²²⁶

With the Romans, however, he discoursed in such a manner, for the disease of division and pride was not in dire circumstances. But here, to the Corinthians, he argues with great anxiety, for the problem had greatly increased.

The Social Background: Response against Oracles and Inspired Mantics

And this was not the only thing to cause strife among them, but there were also many inspired mantics in that area, as Corinth was quite prevalent in Greek customs, and this with the rest of the problem was causing offence and disturbance among the Corinthian believers. This is the reason why he begins by firstly stating the difference between soothsaying and prophecy. This is also the reason why they received discernment of spirits, in order to discern and know which is the one speaking in a pure spirit, and which one speaking in an impure spirit.

For because it was not possible to give the evidence of the things prophesied from within themselves at that moment; (for prophecy gives proof of its own truth not at the time when it was spoken, but at the time of the fulfilment of the prophecy;) and it was not easy to distinguish the true prophet from the charlatan (for the accursed devil himself had entered into those who prophesied, introducing false prophets, as if they could predict the future by their soothsaying;)²²⁷ and furthermore, the people were easily deceived, because the things which were prophesied could not be tested at that moment but only when the events occurred of which were prophesied, (for it was the fulfilment of the prophecy that distinguished the false prophet from the true prophet,) so that the listeners may not be deceived before the fulfilment of the prophecy, Paul gave them a sign which helped to distinguish the false prophet from the true prophet even before the prophecy was fulfilled. And after setting his argument in order, he begins to go about discoursing on the gifts and corrects the disputes that sprang from this. At the moment, however, he begins to argue concerning the inspired mantics, saying:

²²⁶ Romans 12:3.

²²⁷ Probably an allusion to 1 Kings 22:23.

“Now, concerning the spiritual gifts, my brothers and sisters, I do not want you to remain without knowledge.”²²⁸

[2] He calls the signs ‘spiritual,’ because they are solely the works of the Spirit – there is no human attributes involved in the working of such wonders. And as he plans to argue on the spiritual gifts, first, as I said, he explains the difference between soothsaying and prophecy, saying:

“You know that when you were pagans, you were led away to idols that could not speak.”²²⁹

Now what he means to say is this: ‘In the idol-temples,’ he says, ‘if someone was possessed at any time by an unclean spirit and began with divination, as if the person was being dragged away in chains (like a slave) as he or she was being drawn by that spirit – the person knows nothing that he or she is saying. For this is distinctive of the mantics, to be beside themselves, to be under compulsion, to be pushed, to be dragged and to be branded as a lunatic. But it is not like this with the prophet, but with a sober mind and controlled composition and while knowing what he or she is saying, speaks all things. Therefore, even before the fulfilment of the prophecy, you can distinguish, on the basis of these things, the mantic from the prophet. And consider how he makes his argument free of suspicion, calling to witness those who had judged the matter themselves. As if he had said: “You yourselves be my witness, so that I do not lie or harshly attack the religion of the pagans, in enmity, knowing as you have experienced it, that when you were pagans, how you were pulled and dragged away in those times.”’

But if anyone should say that these are believers, and therefore biased, come and I will prove these things to you from those who do not know the faith. For example, listen to what Plato says:

“Even though those who are diviners and inspired mantics also say many impressive things, they do not know what they are saying.”²³⁰

²²⁸ 1 Corinthians 12:1.

²²⁹ 1 Corinthians 12:2.

²³⁰ Plato’s *Apology* 22c.

And listen again to another poet, who points to the same thing. For when it happened that one person had imprisoned a demon in another person by means of mystical rites and witchcraft, and this person divined, and during the divination was thrown down and nearly torn apart, unable to endure the affliction of the demon, and was near death in that convulsion, the poet says to the persons who were practicing these mystical arts:

“Let go of me! I beg you! The mighty god cannot be held by mortal flesh anymore!”²³¹

And again:

“Unbind my wreaths, and bathe my feet in drops from the pure stream, erase these mystic lines, and let me go!”²³²

For these and similar things (as one can mention many more), proves to us the following: the compulsion which contains the demons within them makes them slaves and if they give themselves over to the demons, they are violently abused – to such an extent that they depart from their natural reason. It is the same with the Pythoness; (for I am compelled now to introduce and expose another disgraceful custom of theirs, which may have been better left unsaid, because it is not suitable for us to mention such things; but in order for you to clearly comprehend the shamefulness of these customs, it is necessary to mention it, and from this you may at least be informed concerning the madness and extreme preposterousness of those you make use of the inspired mantics). This very Pythoness then, as it is said, being a woman, would sit on the tripod of Apollo with her legs spread, and in this way the evil spirit that ascends from beneath enters the lower part of her body, and fills the woman with madness, and with dishevelled hair²³³ acts like one of the bacchants of Dionysus and starts foaming at the mouth, and in this state of ecstasy starts to speak the words of her madness. I realise that you are ashamed and blush when you hear these things – but they find their glory in the shame and madness I have just explained to you. Paul was referring to these things and all things similar when he said:

²³¹ Porphyry (*Philos. orac*) in Eusebius (*Praep. Ev.* 5.9).

²³² Translation: NPNF.

²³³ Ibid.

“You know that when you were pagans, you were led away to idols that could not speak.”²³⁴

And because he was arguing with those who knew these customs well, he does not elaborate on all these things, avoiding being troublesome to them, but only reminding them and called all these things into recollection, he soon abandons this aspect, and hastily moves on to the next subject he needs to discuss.

But what is: “to idols that could not speak?” These are the idols to which the inspired mantics were dragged and led. But if they were unable to speak, how did they give responses to others? And why did the demon draw them to these images? They are just like people captured during a war, and chained, and at the same time considering his or her deceit understandable. Therefore, to keep people from believing that it was just a stone image that could not speak, they were intelligent to comfort the people with the idols in that their own style and title may be inscribed on the statue of the idol. But our rites are not like this. However, Paul did not yet explain our rites, by which I mean the acts of prophesying. For it was common knowledge to them all, and prophecy was exercised among them, as was typical for their context, with intelligibility and with entire freedom. Therefore, you see, they had the power to either speak or not. For they were not forced to speak just for the sake of speaking, but were honoured with the privilege of speaking. For this reason Jonah fled²³⁵, and Ezekiel delayed at the river Kebar²³⁶, and for this reason Jeremiah conjured up excuses to avoid his ministry²³⁷. But God did not force them, but advised them, exhorting and warning them, but not darkening their mind. For to cause distraction and madness and great darkness of mind is the typical work of a demon – but it is God’s work to illuminate and with consideration to teach the necessary things²³⁸.

[3] This is then the first difference between a mantic and a prophet, but he states a second and different one and says:

²³⁴ 1 Corinthians 12:2.

²³⁵ Jonah 1:3.

²³⁶ Ezekiel 3:15.

²³⁷ Jeremiah 1:6.

²³⁸ Translation: NPNF.

“Therefore I am giving to you this knowledge that no one who is speaking through the Spirit of God says: ‘Jesus is cursed.’ And no one can say ‘Jesus is Lord’ except through the Holy Spirit.”²³⁹

He says: “When you encounter someone who does not say His Name, or curses Him, this person is a mantic. Again, when you encounter someone speaking all things in His Name, know that this person is compelled by the Holy Spirit.” “What then,” you say, “must we say regarding the Catechumens? For if no person can say that Jesus is the Lord except through the Holy Spirit, what must we say of them who indeed speak His Name, but do not have His Spirit?” But Paul’s argument in this instance was not about the Catechumens, for there were none at that time, but about believers and unbelievers. What then, does no demon say God’s Name? Did not the demons say?

“We know who You are, the Holy One of God”²⁴⁰

Did they not say to Paul?

“These men are servants of the Most High God.”²⁴¹

They did, but upon scourging, upon compulsion, never of their own will without being scourged²⁴².

But here it is necessary to examine both why the demon said these things and why Paul rebuked him. In imitation of his Teacher; for Christ also rebuked the demons in this manner, since it was not His will to receive testimony from them. And why did the devil do this? So that he may dissemble the order of things, and to seize upon the dignity of the Apostles²⁴³, and to draw attention to them. And if this happened, they would easily appear to have made them to glory in themselves, and bring in their own agendas. Therefore, in order to avoid these things from happening and to stop the deceit before it even starts, he shuts their mouths even when speaking the truth, so that people should not pay attention to them and their deceitfulness, and protects their ears from the things being said by them.

²³⁹ 1 Corinthians 12:3.

²⁴⁰ Mark 1:24.

²⁴¹ Acts 16:17.

²⁴² Translation: NPNF.

²⁴³ Ibid.

Main Argument: Response against Hierarchies among the Gifted

[4] And since he has distinguished the inspired mantics from the prophets by the first and the second sign, he follows to argue regarding the wonders, not moving to this topic without reason, but in order to remove the dissension which had already risen²⁴⁴, and to persuade both those who had the ‘lesser’ portion of the gifts not to be dissatisfied and those who had the ‘greater’ gifts not to think too highly of themselves. Which is also why he begins to say:

“There are different apportionings of gifts, but the same Spirit.”²⁴⁵

And he firstly gives attention to those who had the lesser gifts, and was dissatisfied because of this. He is saying: “Why are you dissatisfied? Is it because you have not received as much as another person? Still, you must realise that it is a free gift and not a debt, and this will enable you to sooth your discomfort.” For this reason he said in the very beginning: “But there are different apportionings of gifts.” And he does not say: ‘of signs,’ nor ‘of wonders,’ but of ‘gifts,’ which is the name of free gifts motivating them not to grieve but even to be thankful. “And with all of this, also consider,” he says, “that even if you are made inferior in the measure that is given – the fact that it has been given freely to you from the same Source as the one who has received more gives to you equal honour.” For you cannot possibly say that the Spirit had given the gift to the one who received more, and an angel to you who received less – as the Spirit had given to both of you. This is also why he adds: “but the same Spirit.” So that even if there is a difference in the gift, there is no difference in the Giver. For you are both drawing from the same Fountain.

“And there are a variety of ways of serving, but the same Lord.”²⁴⁶

Thus, soothing them even more, he mentions the Son also, and the Father. And again he describes the gifts in another way, and by this also increasing the consolation. This is also why he said: “there are a variety of ways of serving, but the same Lord.” For the person that hears the word ‘gift’, and had

²⁴⁴ Translation: NPNF.

²⁴⁵ 1 Corinthians 12:4; Translation: Thiselton, *First Corinthians*, 928.

²⁴⁶ 1 Corinthians 12:5.

received less, may have a reason to be dissatisfied. But when we speak of “ways of serving”, it is altogether different. For this implies labour and sweat. “Why are you then dissatisfied,” he says, “if he had given another person more work than to you?”

“And there are different workings, but the same God who works all things in all.”²⁴⁷

“But to each is given the manifestation of the Spirit to the benefit of all.”²⁴⁸

And one would ask: “What is a working?” and “What is a gift?” and “What is a way of serving?” They are mere differences of names, since the things are the same²⁴⁹. For the “gift” is the same as the “way of serving,” which he also calls a “working.” Therefore, fulfil your ministry²⁵⁰, and “I magnify my ministry,”²⁵¹ and while he is writing to Timothy, he says:

“Therefore, I remind you to stir up the gift of God which is in you.”²⁵²

And again, when he is writing to the Galatians, he said:

“For He who empowered Peter toward the Apostleship, the same was mighty in me toward the Gentiles.”²⁵³

Can you see that he is showing that there is no difference in the gifts of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit? Not separating the Persons, certainly not! But he is declaring the equal honour to the Essence²⁵⁴. For that which the Spirit gives, this, as he says, is the same thing that God also works; these things the Son also ordains and grants. Yet if the one was inferior to the other, or the other to it, he

²⁴⁷ 1 Corinthians 12:6.

²⁴⁸ 1 Corinthians 12:7.

²⁴⁹ Translation: *NPNF*.

²⁵⁰ A possible allusion to 2 Timothy 4:5.

²⁵¹ Romans 11:13.

²⁵² 2 Timothy 1:6.

²⁵³ Galatians 2:8.

²⁵⁴ Translation: *NPNF*.

would not have placed it in this manner nor would this have been his way of comforting the one who was dissatisfied.

[5] And after this, he comforts this person also in another manner, by the thought that the measure given is beneficial to the recipient, even though it is not so large. For since he said that it is “the same Spirit,” and “the same Lord,” and “the same God,” and having by these statements consoled the person who received less, he brings in even another consolation, saying: “but to each is given the manifestation of the Spirit to the benefit of all.” For unless someone should say: “so what if it is the same Lord, the same Spirit and the same God? I have still received a lesser share.” Paul says that it was beneficial.

But he calls miracles a “manifestation of the Spirit,” with due reason. For on the part of the believer, the person that has the Spirit is manifest from the fact that the person has been baptised. But this will be no proof to the unbeliever, except from the miracles, so that in this there is also great comfort. For although there are different apportionings of gifts, the evidence thereof is still the same – since you have much or little, you are equally manifest. So that if you want to show this, that you have the Spirit, you have a sufficient demonstration²⁵⁵.

Since now that both the Giver is one and the thing given a free gift, and the manifestation takes place due to this, and that it is more beneficial to you – do not be dissatisfied as if you are hated. For God has not done this to dishonour you, nor to show that you are inferior to another, but to save you and does it for your own good. To receive more than one has the ability to bear, this is very unprofitable, and injurious, and a fit cause for dissatisfaction²⁵⁶.

“For to one person is given through the Spirit the word of wisdom, to another the word of knowledge according to the same Spirit. To another, faith in the same Spirit, to another person gifts of healing in the one Spirit.”²⁵⁷

Can you see how he makes the following addition in every instance, saying: “through the same Spirit,” and “according to the same Spirit?” For he knew that great consolation lies in this fact.

²⁵⁵ Ibid.

²⁵⁶ Ibid.

²⁵⁷ 1 Corinthians 12:8-9.

“To another working of miracles, to another prophecies, to another discernment of spirits, to another different kinds of tongues and to another the interpretation of tongues.”²⁵⁸

And since they boasted in their own abilities, he finally adds:

“But all of these things works one and the same Spirit.”²⁵⁹

The common medicine in which his consolation lies is that out of the same source, out of the same treasures, out of the same streams all of them receive their portion. And in the same manner, from time to time elaborating on this expression, he levels the apparent inequality, and consoles them²⁶⁰. And in the argument above he points out the Spirit, the Son and the Father as supplying the gifts. But here he only mentions the Spirit, so that you may understand that the dignity of the Trinity is the same.

But what is “the word of wisdom?” That which Paul had, which John, the son of thunder, had. And what is “the word of knowledge?” That which most of the faithful had, possessing indeed knowledge, but not able to teach or easily convey to another what they knew²⁶¹.

“And to another, faith,” not implying by this faith the doctrinal faith, but the faith of miracles, of which Christ said: “If you have faith as a grain of mustard-seed, you will say to this mountain, ‘Remove yourself,’ and it shall be removed.”²⁶² And the Apostles also, in this case, they asked Him, saying: “Increase our faith.”²⁶³ Faith is the mother of all miracles. But to have the ability to work miracles and gifts of healing is not the same thing. For the person who has a gift of healing only cures people, but the one who performs miracles also punishes people. For a miracle is not only the act of healing, but also punishing. In this manner Paul inflicted blindness and Peter killed.

²⁵⁸ 1 Corinthians 12:10.

²⁵⁹ 1 Corinthians 12:11.

²⁶⁰ Translation: *NPNF*.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*

²⁶² Matthew 17:20.

²⁶³ Luke 17:5.

“To another prophecies, and to another discernment of spirits.” What is “discernment of spirits?” The knowledge of who is driven by the Spirit and who is not. To distinguish who is a prophet and who is a charlatan. As he said to the Thessalonians: “Do not despise prophecy,²⁶⁴ but testing all things, hold fast to that which is good.” For it was a time when many people went to false prophets and the devil discreetly wanted to substitute falsehood for the truth. “To another different kinds of tongues, to another the interpretation of tongues.” For one person knew what he or she was speaking, but could not interpret it to another person, while another person had received both of these gifts or only interpretation of tongues. And this appeared to be a very awesome gift, since the Apostles had received it first, and most of the Corinthians also had it. But the word of teaching is not like this. This is why he places it first and these gifts last, for it was because none of the rest of the gifts, prophecies, working of miracles, different kinds of tongues and interpretation of tongues, was equal to the gift of teaching. This is also why he said:

“Let the elders that rule well receive a double portion of honour, especially they who are labouring in the word and in teaching.”²⁶⁵

And he wrote to Timothy saying:

“Give special attention to reading, exhortation and teaching. Do not neglect the gift that is within you.”²⁶⁶

Can you see that Paul also calls teaching a ‘gift’?

[6] Next, the consolation he effected in the previous section when he said “the same Spirit” he also states to us in this instance by saying:

“But all of these things works one and the same Spirit apportioning to each person as He wills.”²⁶⁷

²⁶⁴ 1 Thessalonians 5:20-21.

²⁶⁵ 1 Timothy 5:17.

²⁶⁶ 1 Timothy 4:13-14.

²⁶⁷ 1 Corinthians 12:11.

And he is not only consoling those who are dissatisfied but also addresses the person who would disagree, by saying in this instance: “apportioning to each person as He wills.” For it was important not only to heal, but also to bind up the wound, as he does in the Epistle to the Romans, when he says: “But who are you who argue against God?”²⁶⁸ In the same manner, in this instance, he states: “apportioning to each person as He wills.”

And that which was of the Father, Paul implies that it is also from the Spirit. For regarding the Father, he said: “but it is the same God who works all things in all,” likewise also regarding the Spirit, “but all these things works one and the same Spirit.” But it will be said: “The Spirit does it initiated by God.” No, nowhere does Paul say this; it is a creation of your mind! For when he said: “who works all things in all,” he said this with regard to the human beings. You cannot say that Paul lists the Spirit among human beings, although you may be so infinite in your childishness and lunacy. For since he said: “through the Spirit,” so that you may not understand the word “through” to denote inferiority or being initiated, he adds that “the Spirit works,” and not “is worked,” and works “as he wills,” not as “He is commanded.” For regarding the Father, the Son said that “He raises up the dead and the living,” and in the same way when speaking of Himself, that “He makes alive whom He wishes.”²⁶⁹ So also with the Spirit, in another place, that He does all things with authority and that there is nothing that can stop Him, (for the expression, “blows where it wants,”²⁷⁰ although He speaks of the wind, is an appropriate way to illustrate this.) Only here he states that “He works all things as he wills.”

And from another section teaches us that He is not one of the things worked, but One of those who works. He says:

“For who knows the deepest secrets of a person, but the spirit of the person? It is the same with the deepest secrets of God that only the Spirit and no one else knows.”²⁷¹

And since the “spirit of a person,” that is, the soul, does not have to be worked that it may come to know things about the person, I think it would then be applicable to all. Therefore, the Holy Spirit is

²⁶⁸ Romans 9:20.

²⁶⁹ John 5:21.

²⁷⁰ John 3:8.

²⁷¹ 1 Corinthians 2:11.

not worked so that it may “know the things of God.” For what Paul means is this: “the deepest secrets of God” are known to the Holy Spirit as the soul of the human being knows the deepest secrets of itself. And if the human spirit is not worked for the same purpose, much less does it apply to the Spirit that knows the deepest secrets of God and does not need to be initiated to know that knowledge, nor does it require any secondary power in the giving of the gifts to the Apostles.

And besides these things, that which I spoke of earlier I will now mention again. What is this then? That if the Spirit was inferior to another substance, there would be no purpose in Paul’s consolation, or in our hearing the words “of the same Spirit.” For the person who has received from the king, I would say, may experience it a very great honour, that the king himself gave the gift. But if it was a slave, the person would then be quite dissatisfied, when one asks the person about it. It is then even obvious from this example that the Holy Spirit is not of the substance of the servant, but of the King.

[7] This is why Paul comforts them when he said that “there are various ways of serving, but the same Lord, and different workings, but the same God,” and also when he said above “there are different apportionings of gifts, but the same Spirit,” and after this again when he said “But all these things works one and the same Spirit, apportioning to each person individually as He wills.”

He says: “Let us not be at a loss nor grieve, saying: ‘Why have I received this and not that?’ Neither let us demand an account of the Holy Spirit²⁷². For if you know that he presented it for your own goodwill, know that on the same account he has given its measure thereof, and be satisfied and rejoice in what you have received. Do not murmur at what you have not received. No, rather confess to God’s grace that you have not received anything that is beyond your own capabilities.”

Social Analogy: The Rich and the Poor

And if we should not be greedy regarding the spiritual things, much more should we not be greedy in the material things. Rather be quiet and not constantly ask why one person is rich and another is poor. For, firstly, not every rich person is rich from God’s providence, but many are rich due to unrighteous activities, and theft and greed. For the person who was forbidden to be rich, how can God have given to this person that which He has forbidden?

²⁷² Translation: NPNF.

But I will silence the voices of those who would disagree with us regarding these things, even though it is not even necessary in this case. Let us take our argument to a higher level, to the time when God gave riches, and tell me: Why was Abraham rich and Jacob did not even have bread? Were both of them not righteous? Does God not call Himself the “God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob?”²⁷³ – using the names of all three? Why then was one a rich man and the other a servant? Or rather, why were Esau, who was unrighteous and a murderer of his brother, rich, while Jacob was enslaved for such a long time? And again, why did Isaac live a comfortable life but Jacob in labour and hardship? Jacob also said of this: “Few and evil are my days.”²⁷⁴

Why did David, who was a prophet and a king, also live in hardship most of his life, while Solomon, his son, spent forty years in safety above all the other people, and enjoyed amazing peace, honour and many luxuries? Furthermore, what should we then say about the prophets of which some suffered more hardships than others? Because it was so determined for each. Regarding all of these questions we can only say: “Your judgements are unfathomable.”²⁷⁵ For if those great and impressive men were not each tested by God, one by poverty and another by riches, one by comfort and another by hardship, much more should we now think about these things.

[8] And besides this, it is also important for a person to realise that many of the things which happen do not happen according to His mind, but is the result of our wickedness. Therefore, do not say: “Why is one person rich, who is wicked, and another person poor who is righteous?” Firstly, one can explain these things and say that the righteous is not disadvantaged in any way by poverty. No, this person receives even a greater measure of honour. And the evil person, from their riches, only has a measure of punishment waiting, unless this person is changed. And even before the punishment, it often happens that the riches cause many problems, and lead the rich person into a thousand difficulties. But God allows it, at the same time to show that every person has the free choice of the will, and also to teach all others not to be mad nor desire money.

²⁷³ Exodus 3:6.

²⁷⁴ Genesis 47:9.

²⁷⁵ Psalm 36:6.

“How is it then, when a person who is rich, while being evil, suffers nothing terrible?” you may ask. “Since if the person is good and has wealth, he or she is justified. But if the person is evil, what shall we say?” That even in that the person is to be pitied! For riches added to evil only stirs up the unrighteousness. But if it is a good person, and poor? This person suffers in no way. Is the person then evil and poor? This is justified, and the person is deserving thereof, and it may even be to their advantage. “But such a person has inherited wealthy from ancestors, and now spends it on prostitutes and parasites, and suffers no hardship,” you say. What are you saying? The person solicits prostitutes and you believe that he suffers no hardship? Is the person a drunkard, and you understand this to be a luxury? Does the person unwittingly spend money, and you believe the person is to be envied? No! What can possibly be worse than riches that destroy the soul? But you would say that, if the person’s body was disfigured and maimed, that this is rather a reason for lamenting. But you see the person’s soul as being mutilated; you believe him or her to be happy? “But the person does not realise this,” you would say. Well now, even because of this the person should be pitied, as all frantic persons are²⁷⁶. For the person who knows that they are sick will seek the aid of a physician and take medicine; but the person who does not know has no hope of being saved. And tell me, do you call such a person fortunate?

But it is nothing special, for most people are ignorant of the true love of wisdom. This is why we suffer hardships and are chastised, while we do not even spare ourselves from the punishment. This is why there are fights, dejections and constant troubles. Because when God has shown us a life without sorrow, a virtuous life, we reject it and plot out another lifestyle, a lifestyle of riches and money, filled with infinite evils. And we do the same as if we cannot comprehend the beauty of the human body but clothing the entire body with clothes and accessories. It is as if a man were to see a beautiful woman, full of natural beauty, and does not even give attention to her, but rather takes an ugly and deformed woman for his wife after he has clothed her with beautiful garments! Most people choose vice above virtue in such a way! They acknowledge that the one is deformed by the nature due to her external garments, but turn away from the one who is fair and beautiful, due to her unadorned beauty, which is why they especially chose her.

[9] I am therefore ashamed that, among the pagans, there are people who practise this philosophy, not always in deeds, but at least in their judgement. And these people know that the natural things perish.

²⁷⁶ Translation: NPNF.

But among us there are people who do not even understand this concept, and has very ill judgement. And this happens while Scripture is always constantly sounding in our ears the words: “In his sight the vile person is contemned, but he honours them that fear the Lord.”²⁷⁷ “The fear of the Lord supersedes all other things. Fear God and keep His commandments, for this is the entire task of a person²⁷⁸; do not be envious of evil people²⁷⁹; all flesh is grass, and all the glory of humanity as the flower of the grass.”²⁸⁰ For these things and things the like we hear every day, yet we cannot leave the things of the earth. And we are like ignorant children, who study their literature continuously, but when they are examined, they forget the order of the words when they are disarranged, naming one instead of another – this causes a lot of laughter. In church, we account our words in order, but when we are outside the doors of the church, we do not know what to place first and next – we do not know the answer and become ridiculous.

It is certainly not a laughing matter, tell me, that the people who expect immortality and the good things “which eye have not seen, nor ear hear, neither have entered into the heart of any person,” should value earthly things and consider these things to be envied! If you need to learn that riches are not so important, and that the present things are only a shadow – a dream, they dissolve and evaporate like smoke. Rather stand in the vestibule, because you are not yet worthy to enter palace courts of heaven – for now, remain in the sanctuary. For if you cannot even discern the nature of the things that are unstable and passing away, how will you be able to deject them?

But if you say that you know, stop to curiously ask questions and busy yourself with why someone is rich and someone is poor. For you are doing the same thing when you ask these questions as when you are going around and asking why someone is black or someone is white, or hook-nosed or flat-nosed. All these things, then, make no difference to us whether it is one or the other. It is the same with poverty and riches, even less important are these things!

The only difference is how we use wealth and poverty. If you are poor, you can still live a happy life, and if you are rich, you may have a miserable life if you do not consider virtue important. These are the things that are important to us – the things relating to virtue. And if these things are not added, all other

²⁷⁷ Psalm 15:4; Translation: *NPNF*.

²⁷⁸ Ecclesiastes 12:13.

²⁷⁹ Psalm 49:16.

²⁸⁰ Isaiah 40:7.

things become useless. It is for this reason that many ask constant questions, because most think that the indifferent things are important, while that which is truly important does not concern them. But that which is important to us is virtue and the love of wisdom.

I do not know where some of you stand – far from virtue maybe – which is why you have such confusing thoughts, like many waves in the midst of a great storm. For when people have fallen from heavenly glory and the love of heavenly things, they rather desire earthly glory and become slaves and captives. “And why do we desire this?” you ask. Because we do not desire the heavenly things greatly enough. And why does this happen? From negligence? And why negligence? From contempt. And why contempt?²⁸¹ From the foolishness of holding on to the present earthly things and our unwillingness to closely examine the natural things. And what is the cause of this? Because we do not make to read Scripture or to speak to holy people, and from associating with the gatherings of wicked people.

In order for this to stop sometime, so that we are not taken by every wave into deep mysteries that will destroy us, while we have the time, let us be steadfast and while we are standing on the rock, by which I mean the divine doctrines and words, let us not consider the present things more important than the heavenly things. For by doing this, we shall escape these things, and having helped others who are in danger of shipwreck, we shall obtain the blessings which will come, through the grace and mercy and love.

²⁸¹ Translation: *NPNF*.

CHAPTER 6

Homily 30: Chrysostom's Body Language (Part 1 – The Nature of the Body) (1 Cor 12:12-20)

6.1. Introduction

This is Chrysostom's second homiletic exposition of 1 Corinthians 12, within the range of verses 12-20. The title of this chapter, "Chrysostom's Body Language", would actually imply Chrysostom's understanding of Paul's body language²⁸². But Chrysostom also adds to Paul's body language by implementing his own images and expositions²⁸³. It is therefore both Chrysostom's understanding of Paul's body language, as well as his own body language formulation. A common danger in this chapter would be the trap of discussing Paul's body language instead of Chrysostom's interpretation thereof, as well as Chrysostom's own body language. There may be instances where remarks on Paul's body language will be made – and it will then be clearly indicated. The theme of this chapter is Chrysostom's body language, therefore, when the term body language occurs in the course of the chapter, it refers to Chrysostom's interpretation of Paul's body language and also his own body language. Another problem which adds to this difficulty is the fact that Chrysostom also adopts Paul's body language and makes it his own. To aid in the overcoming of this problem, the Greek text of Chrysostom's homily will be constantly referred to and clear distinctions on whose body language is referred to will be made. This chapter is then a discussion of Chrysostom's homily (although it contains the argument of Paul), and will be treated as such. The main point of the homily is the nature of the body. The homily has a three-fold structure. The first section is a discussion of the context, as in *Hom. 1 Cor. 29*, in which Chrysostom gives the nature of the body; the second section is a discussion of the term Σῶμα in Chrysostom's exposition, which has three subsections, namely (a) one (mutual) Spirit as

²⁸² The term body language refers to the metaphor Paul uses to discuss the functioning of the church and its members. It falls within the larger thematic grouping of body rhetoric – which would look at how, in this case Paul, views the church as a body. Gender studies, within the larger grouping of New Testament studies, has done much also in this area of body rhetoric. A comprehensive and recent study is that of Jorunn Okland, *Women in their Place: Paul and the Corinthian Discourse of Gender and Sanctuary Space* (JSNTSup; London: T&T Clark, 2005), which has many of the recent problems and arguments in the research. This study will refer to arguments in the field of gender studies only when needed. I take note of the role of gender studies in this theme of Chrysostom's exposition.

²⁸³ Chrysostom's typical medicinal images are also prevalent in this homily, adding to his own body language when discussing Paul's body language.

Life-Source of the body; (b) honour and shame among the members²⁸⁴ and (c) a discourse on beauty and care of the body. The third subsection is a discussion on the true character of poverty (which forms a *Refutatio*). In the manner of *Hom. I Cor. 29*, this homily also ends with a discussion of how this text applies to the problem of poverty.

6.2. Context: The Nature of the Σῶμα

Chrysostom starts the homily, in this case, by looking at the literary context. He does not give the historical context again. The reason for this is because it has already been given in *Hom. I Cor. 29*, and as an Antiochene exegete, he still sketches the literary context. He refers back to *Hom. I Cor. 29*, and notes that it was “soothing exhortation”. The main problem in 1 Corinthians 12 is the charismatic schism – the inferior members ($\tauά \ \acute{e}λάττονα$) felt intimidated by the superior members ($\tauά \ \acute{u}περέχοντα$) and also envied the superior members. Chrysostom then places this homily in its larger context with the rest of his homiletic corpus, and at the same time refers to the previous exposition (verses 1-11) to place the following discussion into perspective.

Chrysostom is sensitive to Paul’s use of metaphors from nature and common experience. He states that Paul argued from nature in 1 Corinthians 11 and then from the Olympic Games in 1 Corinthians 9, in which Paul refers to an athlete. But Chrysostom believes that Paul’s use of the body-metaphor is his greatest. Looking at Chrysostom’s interpretation of this passage gives some perspective on how the early church viewed the nature of the church ($\acute{e}κκλησία$) as the body of Christ (ecclesiology) and also some insight into early church organization. Paul states in 1 Corinthians 12:12:

Καθάπερ γὰρ τὸ σῶμα ἐν ἐστι, καὶ μέλη ἔχει πολλὰ, πάντα δὲ τὰ μέλη τοῦ σώματος πολλὰ ὄντα, ἐν ἐστι σῶμα· οὗτοι καὶ ὁ Χριστός.

For just as the body is one, and has many members, and all the members of the body, although they are many, is one body, so also with Christ.

Chrysostom again emphasizes the unity or oneness of the body of which Paul makes mention. In *Hom. I Cor. 29*, he stressed the unity of the Trinity as the Giver of the gifts. But now the unity of the church

²⁸⁴ The social concepts of honour and shame are important factors in understanding this homily. It occurs throughout the entire homily, but is especially discussed in this subsection in Chrysostom’s own words.

is in discussion and not so much the Trinity anymore. Chrysostom emphasizes this oneness in the light of various conceptions of the church prevalent during the times. Many views on the church existed. There were the views of Valentinus, who believed in a pre-existent church, which also became incarnate – a Gnostic dualism, probably being traced back to the anonymous author of *2 Clement* 14.1, who states:

“Ωστε, ἀδελφοί, ποιοῦντες τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν θεοῦ ἐσόμεθα ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς πρώτης, τῆς πνευματικῆς, τῆς πρὸ ἥλιου καὶ σελήνης ἐκτισμένης.”²⁸⁵

Therefore, my brothers and sisters, if we do the will of God our Father, we shall belong to the first church, the spiritual church, which was created before the sun and the moon.

This pre-existent church (*τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς πρώτης*) did have some confusion associated with it. Luther, later, believed in an earthly and spiritual church, and that they were separated. A very important document aiding in early ecclesiology would be the *Shepherd of Hermas*. In the vision of Hermas, the church appears to him at first as an old lady and then she grows more beautiful and younger. The three main images of the church, except the image of the body, come from this document. The church is a mother to the faithful, but also a virgin and a bride. Another image of a tower is given, built on the salvation and baptism of the believers. At first, it would seem as if Hermas also forms a dualism in his concept of church. But this is not the case. Mason²⁸⁶ states: “The difference is not one of identity, but only of condition.” Alongside this issue, there is also the constant threat of schism due to heresy. And, of course, there is the problem at hand regarding the superior and inferior ones. What then is Chrysostom’s opinion? He states (in *Hom. 1 Cor. 30.1*):

σῶμα ἔν ἐστι, καὶ μέλη ἔχει πολλά. Εἶδες σύνεσιν ἡκριβωμένην; Τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ ἔν, καὶ πολλὰ δείκνυσι. Διὸ καὶ ἐπάγει, μειζόνως ἐπαγωνιζόμενος τῷ προκειμένῳ· Πάντα δὲ τὰ μέλη τοῦ σώματος τοῦ ἐνὸς πολλὰ ὄντα, ἔν ἐστι σῶμα. Οὐκ εἶπε, Πολλὰ ὄντα τοῦ ἐνός ἐστι σώματος, ἀλλ', Αὐτὸ τὸ

²⁸⁵ Lake, LCL.

²⁸⁶ Steve Mason, *Church Ministry and Organization in the Early Church Era* (SEC; New York: Garland, 1993), 14.

ἐν σῶμα πολλά ἐστι, κἀκεῖνα τὰ πολλὰ μέλη τοῦτο ἐστι τὸ ἔν. Εἰ τοίνυν ἔν ἐστι τὰ πολλὰ, καὶ τὸ ἔν πολλὰ, ποῦ ἡ διαφορά; ποῦ τὸ ὑπερέχον; ποῦ τὸ ἔλαττον; Πάντα γὰρ, φησὶν, ἔν ἐστι, καὶ οὐχ ἀπλῶς ἔν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ κυριώτερον ἔξεταιζόμενα, κατὰ τὸ, σῶμα εἶναι, πάντα εὑρίσκεται ἔν ὄντα. “Οταν δὲ τὸ κατὰ μέρος, τότε ἡ διαφορὰ, καὶ ἡ διαφορὰ ἐν πᾶσιν ὁμοίως. Οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν καθ' ἔαυτὸ σῶμα δύναται ποιεῖν. ἀλλ' ὁμοίως ἔκαστον λείπεται εἰς τὸ ποιεῖν σῶμα, καὶ δεῖ τῆς συνόδου. “Οταν γὰρ τὰ πολλὰ ἔν γίνηται, τότε ἐστὶν ἔν σῶμα. Διὸ καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο αἰνιττόμενος, ἔλεγε· Πάντα δὲ τὰ μέλη τοῦ σώματος πολλὰ ὄντα, ἔν ἐστι σῶμα. Καὶ οὐκ εἶπε, Τὰ ὑπερέχοντα καὶ τὰ ἔλάττονα, ἀλλὰ, Πολλὰ ὄντα, δὲ κοινὸν πᾶσιν ἐστιν²⁸⁷.

Can you see what he is implying? He is pointing out the same thing to be both one and many. In which he also adds, establishing his point more earnestly: “and all the members of the body, although they are many, is one body.” He did not say: “being many, are of one body,” but “the one body itself is many” and those many members form this one thing. If therefore the one body is many, and the many members form one body, where is the difference? Where is the superiority? Where is the disadvantage? “For all,” he says, “are one,” and not only one, but they are unified in the one thing common to them all, that is, their being the body, they are found all to be one. Only when one considers their particular natures, then the difference comes out, and the difference is in all the same. For none of them by itself can make a body, but each is alike deficient in the making a body, and there is need of a coming together since when the many become one, then and not till then is there one body²⁸⁸. This is exactly why Paul is point to this very thing and said: “and all the members of the body, although they are many, are one body.” And he did not say: “the superior and the inferior,” but “they are many,” which is typical of all.

²⁸⁷ PG 61:250.

²⁸⁸ Translation: NPNF.

From this comment, one can deduce a few thoughts of Chrysostom on church. It is clear that the main problem Chrysostom addresses is that of superiority and inferiority. He is not explicitly referring to an earthly or spiritual church. To Chrysostom, the church is one²⁸⁹. This becomes a sweeping statement – for it goes against any form of schism that is looming. Chrysostom, in the same voice as Hermas, seems to believe in one historical body/church. The many members become one and Chrysostom calls this a “coming together”. He notes that “there must be a coming together” (*δεῖ τῆς συνόδου*), with the use of the impersonal verb adding emphasis in the rhetoric. Any thought of dualistic schism between heavenly and earthly, as in the case of Valentinus and *2 Clement*, seems to go against the argument of Chrysostom. And also, the thought of a separate spiritual, metaphysical church does not seem to coincide with Antiochene thinking. That would not imply disbelief in an eschatological church (which may signify a step to *theoria*)²⁹⁰, but the heavenly eschatological church is a result of the earthly historical church. *Historia* in the very nature of the church seems to be a presupposition in Chrysostom’s thinking as Antiochene exegete. They flow together, as it is when the members “must come together.” This thought of Chrysostom also occurs in the much earlier Syrian tradition of the *Didache*. When the bread is broken during the serving of the Eucharist, a prayer is cited (*Did.* 9.4):

“Ωσπερ ἦν τοῦτο τὸ κλάσμα διεσκορπισμένον ἐπάνω τῶν ὄρέων καὶ συναχθὲν ἐγένετο ἔν, οὕτω συναχθήτω σου ἡ ἐκκλησία ἀπὸ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν· ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ δύναμις εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας²⁹¹.

As this broken bread was scattered upon the mountains, but was brought together and became one, so let Your church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into Your Kingdom, that unto You be glory and power for ever.

This beautiful verse, with that of Chrysostom, shows the unity of the church while still recognizing its diversity. It is diversity within unity²⁹². The common view then seems to be that the church is one coming-together, viewing it creatively from different angles, by means of metaphors like the body, mother, bride and virgin. The pre-existence of the church was a very common theme in writings of

²⁸⁹ Chrysostom assumes that when Paul says: “so also Christ,” he actually means the body of Christ.

²⁹⁰ A pre-existent notion of church would then also be an application of *theoria*.

²⁹¹ Lake, LCL.

²⁹² Cf. Fee, *First Corinthians*, 600.

many patristic authors, but whether the heavenly and earthly churches were separate, is another matter. Ramsey²⁹³ summarizes this notion efficiently: "The mystery of the church was at heart a paradox: it was virgin and mother, one, yet dispersed in many places and characterized by a diversity of customs; immaculate, yet with sinful members; created before time began, yet having come into time."

Chrysostom's main point is ethical. He is more concerned about the practical management of the church as being one. In a time of heretics, this would be very important. In *Hom. Eph.* 11.1, Chrysostom states:

καλῶς εἶπε, δεικνὺς ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνὸς σώματος ἐν πνεῦμα ἔσται, ἢ ὅτι ἔστι μὲν σῶμα εἶναι ἐν, οὐχ ἐν δὲ πνεῦμα· ὡς ἂν εἴ τις καὶ αἱρετικῶν φίλος εἴη· ἢ ἀπὸ τούτου πρὸς ὁμόνοιαν δυσωπεῖ, τοιοῦτό τι λέγων· Οἱ ἐν πνεῦμα λαβόντες, καὶ ἐκ μιᾶς ποτισθέντες πηγῆς, οὐκ ὀφείλετε διχονοεῖν· ἢ πνεῦμα ἐνταῦθα τὴν προθυμίαν φησίν²⁹⁴.

He then beautifully adds, "and one Spirit," showing that from the one body there will be one Spirit: or, that it is possible that there may be indeed one body, and yet not one Spirit; as, for instance, if any member of it should be a friend of heretics: or else he is, by this expression, shaming them into unanimity, saying, as it were, "You who have received one Spirit, and have been made to drink at one fountain, ought not to be divided in mind"; or else by spirit here he means their zeal.

Being divided in mind (*διχονοεῖν*), would imply siding with the heretics. This is a serious threat to the unity of the church, according to Chrysostom. Rather, Chrysostom aims, as Paul did, to keep variety and diversity in the church. This diversity, referring to the different members in the one body (*πολλά*), only shows itself in function (which would be the gifts)²⁹⁵ and not doctrine. The doctrine must also be

²⁹³ Ramsey, *Beginning to Read*, 108.

²⁹⁴ PG 62:79.

²⁹⁵ But there is also no hierarchy among the gifted. Their functions are merely different. This was largely the argument of *Hom. 1 Cor.* 29 and will not be discussed here again. Chrysostom notes in this homily that Paul does not use the words "superior" or "inferior" (*Τὰ ὑπερέχοντα καὶ τὰ ἐλάττονα*), but rather *πολλά*, which would imply egalitarian diversity. Chrysostom's sensitivity to Paul's grammar, vocabulary and rhetoric needs to be noted. It is, again, typically Antiochene.

one. This is clear in the above citation and is implicit in *Hom. 1 Cor.* 30. It is clear in Chrysostom's statement that a member cannot be a body in itself (*Hom. 1 Cor.* 30.1). Chrysostom seems to believe that heresy, being divided in mind, results in a member attempting to be body on its own. Chrysostom, as a typical Antiochene exegete would, gives careful attention to the use of Paul's grammar. He notes that Paul did not say "Πολλὰ ὄντα τοῦ ἐνός ἔστι σώματος", but rather "Ἄντὸ τὸ ἐν σῶμα πολλά ἔστι." The difference would imply association (*τοῦ ἐνός ... σώματος*), which is commonly deduced by the use of the partitive genitive, and not unity (*Ἄντὸ τὸ ἐν σῶμα*), which would be indicated by the use of the two nominatives with *ἔστι*. They are not associated with the body – but they are the body. Association is not sufficient for Chrysostom. Association may imply an acceptance of certain things and a dismissal of others. There is also no autonomy among the members. This would lead to heresy and schism. The very danger of heresy is that it associates with the church. This action (or association) of the heretics is, in principle, a move against the *Regula Fidei*. A move against the *Regula Fidei* would imply a move against the unity of the body, and ultimately, a move against orthodoxy. Theological schism has ethical consequences. Chrysostom, being a pastor, would have a problem with this. Later in the homily, Chrysostom seems to equate this heretical schism with physical amputation, as very shameful phenomenon. This unity of the church, he continues, is founded in its relation to Christ. He says (*Hom. 1 Cor.* 30.1): "For as the body and head form the same person, so he said that the church and Christ are one." He notes in the same section the rhetorical effect this had on Paul's argument, saying that "it carries his argument to sacred level...to the reverence of his hearers." This would also be an instance of *theoria* in Chrysostom's thinking. The historical church cannot be separated from the eternal Christ. The church, as body of Christ, is one with Christ. Chrysostom also mentions Paul's spiritual use of Scripture, in the next section, also making a connotation to *theoria*.

A final problem that needs to be addressed is the relationship between Chrysostom's interpretation of Paul's Christology and Ecclesiology. Modern commentators often make the mistake of either overemphasizing or underemphasizing the one at the expense of the other. Scholars like Schweitzer²⁹⁶, Barclay²⁹⁷, Robinson²⁹⁸ and Luck²⁹⁹ tend to overemphasize the Christological aspects of the body.

²⁹⁶ Eduard Schweitzer, "Die Kirche als Leib Christi in den paulischen Homologoumena," in *TLZ* 86 (1961): 164-67. Cf. also Eduard Schweitzer, "The Church as the Missionary Body of Christ," in *NTS* 8 (1961-62): 1-11.

²⁹⁷ William Barclay, *The Letters to the Corinthians* (DSB; Edinburgh: St. Andrew, 1954), 124-27.

²⁹⁸ John A. T. Robinson, *The Body: A Study in Pauline Theology* (London: SCM, 1952), 34-38.

²⁹⁹ G. Coleman Luck, *First Corinthians* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1958), 98-101. It is interesting to mark that most devotional Bible commentaries, like Luck and Barclay, emphasize the Christology of Paul in this respect.

Schweitzer makes an ontological connection between Christ and the church and eventually the church becomes an extension of the incarnation³⁰⁰. It is also the case with Cerfaux³⁰¹. On the other hand, Käsemann³⁰² and Conzelmann³⁰³ tend to underemphasize the Christology, along with other later scholars who focus on the rhetorical aspects of the text such as Mitchell³⁰⁴ and Martin³⁰⁵. Others attempt to balance the two aspects³⁰⁶. Which tendency would Chrysostom exercise? The answer would be found in his interpretation of the οὐτως καὶ ὁ Χριστός statement. Is it merely an indication of an analogy, or does it imply more, as Schweitzer³⁰⁷ and Best³⁰⁸ would entail? Thiselton³⁰⁹ as well as Dunn³¹⁰ states that it does not imply being part of a social institution, but Christ remains the main subject. This also seems to be the thought of Chrysostom. He does not necessarily imply inclusion into a social institution, but rather being part of Christ (but not in an overstated mystical sense, like Origen or Cyril of Alexandria); although a certain mystical connection cannot be dismissed. As mentioned earlier, the historical church remains Chrysostom's main point of departure. Chrysostom would concur with Gundry³¹¹ who states:

... [T]he ecclesiastical Body is metaphorical in that the equation of one member with the eye of the Body, another with the ear, and so on can only be understood (but is easily understood) only in a figurative way...The terms

³⁰⁰ Cf. Thiselton, *First Corinthians*, 996.

³⁰¹ Lucien Cerfaux, *The Church in the Theology of St. Paul* (Freiburg: Herder, 1959), 262-71.

³⁰² Cf. Ernst Käsemann, *Leib und Leib Christi* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1933), 13-25 and Ernst Käsemann, "The Theological Problem Presented by the Motif of the Body of Christ," in *Perspectives on Paul* (ed. Ernst Käsemann; London: SCM, 1971), 102-11.

³⁰³ Conzelmann, *First Corinthians*, 212.

³⁰⁴ Mitchell, *Rhetoric of Reconciliation*.

³⁰⁵ Martin, *Corinthian Body*, 94-103. Witherington, *Conflict and Community*, is an exception in this case, who seems to emphasize Paul's Christology more than the other scholars who focus on the rhetorical aspects of the text. It is the same with the view of Nicholas T. Wright, *Paul: In Fresh Perspective* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005), who cannot separate the views of Paul from the influence of Jesus.

³⁰⁶ Cf. Thiselton, *First Corinthians*, 996; Fee, *First Corinthians*, 600-03; Wolfgang Schrage, *Der Erste Brief an die Korinther* (EKKNT 7; 3 vols.; Düsseldorf: Benziger), 3:217-19.

³⁰⁷ Schweitzer, *Die Kirche*, 164-67.

³⁰⁸ Ernst Best, *One Body in Christ* (London: SPCK, 1955), 76-87.

³⁰⁹ Thiselton, *First Corinthians*, 996.

³¹⁰ Dunn, *Theology of Paul*, 55-57.

³¹¹ Robert, H. Gundry, *Sōma in Biblical Theology* (SNTSMS 29; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 228.

‘mystical’ and ‘spiritual’ tend to take back what the term ‘real’ offers; but they fail to cover up the difficulty in carrying through the ‘real’ with consistent literalness to the end. We might just as well have the courage to say ‘metaphorical’.

Chrysostom, again in typical Antiochene style, comments on the body as a historical organism, and treats Paul’s analogy in a metaphorical, and not a mystical sense. The only clear mystical elements in Chrysostom’s exposition feature in his discussion and connection of the sacraments with the body of Christ, which was typical of most Patristic authors. This, however, is certainly not enough evidence to warrant the appellation of “mystical” to Chrysostom’s interpretation of the Pauline text. He does however make mention of the fact that the historical church cannot be separated from the eternal Christ (*theoria*), which leads us then to conclude that Chrysostom’s aim is to balance the Christology and Ecclesiology; and the tool he uses is *historia*.

6.3. Σῶμα in Chrysostom’s Exposition

This response forms the largest part of the homily. It consists of three subsections, firstly, a discussion of one (mutual) Spirit as life-source of the body, secondly, Chrysostom looks at honour and shame among the members and thirdly, a discourse on the beauty and care of the body. Xenophobia is also a significant theme in this discussion. Xenophobia³¹² would obviously aid schism, according to Paul, and therefore these three sections form premises against the occurrence of xenophobia and schism among the members of the church.

6.3.1. One (Mutual) Spirit as Life-Source of the Body

According to Paul, although there is diversity among the members of the body, all these members receive their life from the same source – the (one) Spirit. 1 Corinthians 12:13 states:

³¹² Xenophobia can be defined as a fear for something/someone foreign – a fear for the “other”. Although ethnic xenophobia is the most common form, a charismatically based xenophobia was prevalent in the Corinthian community. This would basically mean a fear for believers who had different (superior or inferior) gifts. It must therefore be noted that the term xenophobia, as used in this section, stretches farther than mere ethnic xenophobia. It could generally be defined as a fear for the “other” or that which is foreign to the subject’s own experience.

Καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἑνὶ Πνεύματι πάντες ἡμεῖς εἰς ἐν σῶμα ἐβαπτίσθημεν, εἴτε Ἰουδαῖοι, εἴτε Ἔλληνες, εἴτε δοῦλοι, εἴτε ἐλεύθεροι. Καὶ πάντες εἰς ἐν Πνεῦμα ἐποτίσθημεν.

For we were all baptised by one Spirit into one body, whether Jews or Gentiles, whether slaves or free people. We are all made to drink of one Spirit.

Paul's use of the word ἐβαπτίσθημεν is significant. Dunn³¹³ makes an interesting comment on this verse:

The sequence of Paul's thought as he turns to an alternative corporate image for the people of God thus becomes clearer. Paul shifts the corporate image of the Christian community from that of nation state (historic Israel) to that of body politic, which is, from a community identified by ethnic and traditional boundary markers to one whose members are drawn from different nationalities and social strata and whose prosperity depends on their mutual cooperation and their working harmoniously together.

Chrysostom would agree with Dunn in this statement. Chrysostom's emphasis is somewhat different though. Dunn's emphasis is certainly on the ethnic transcendence of Paul's writing. While Dunn's focus is on the ethnically diverse nature of the body, Chrysostom's emphasis is on the one body and one Spirit into which these different nationalities are baptised. He especially focuses on the fact that *one Spirit* baptized the believers. One obviously sees the different expectations of the contexts of both commentators. To Chrysostom, the unity of the Spirit (and, as shown in the discussion of *Hom. I Cor. 29*, the unity of the Trinity) is an important issue, while Dunn's context, the modern one, is rife with ethnic intolerance. Chrysostom notes that Paul implies baptism to be the event signifying one's inclusion into the body. The Spirit is the one, mutually binding factor. It would be unthinkable for a believer not to be baptized. This is something that is currently debated in the church³¹⁴, but Chrysostom

³¹³ Dunn, *Theology of Paul*, 551.

³¹⁴ The current wave of Post-Modern literature in the church focuses very much on the aspect of inclusion into the community. Acceptance into the community is no longer based necessarily on agreement with a creed (cf. McLaren, *Generous Orthodoxy*, 19-28.) McLaren uses the term *Generous Orthodoxy*, which he admits came from Grenz's work *Renewing the Center*. Rather, it seems that the binding factor in what Grenz calls "Post-Liberal" theology and McLaren's

does not really make an issue of it. It is a presupposition to him. Chrysostom interprets 12:13 in the following way (in *Hom. I Cor. 30.2*):

“Ωστε καὶ ὁ κατασκευάσας, εἰς, καὶ εἰς δὲ κατεσκεύασεν, ἐν. Καὶ οὐκ εἶπε, Τοῦ αὐτοῦ σώματος ἵνα γενώμεθα, ὀλλ', “Ινα ἐν σῶμα πάντες· ἀεὶ γὰρ φιλονεικεῖ τὰς ἐμφαντικωτέρας λέξεις τιθέναι. Καὶ καλῶς εἶπε, Πάντες ἡμεῖς, καὶ ἑαυτὸν προστιθείς. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπόστολος σοῦ τι πλέον ἔχω κατὰ τοῦτο, φησί· καὶ γὰρ σὺ σῶμα εἰ καθάπερ ἐγὼ, καὶ ἐγὼ καθάπερ σὺ, καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀπαντες ἔχομεν κεφαλὴν, καὶ τὰς αὐτὰς ἐλύσαμεν ὀδῖνας· διὸ καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ σῶμά ἐσμεν³¹⁵.

So that both He who formed the body is one, and that into which He formed it is one. And he did not say: “that we might all come to be of the same body,” but, “that we might all be one body.” For Paul always attempts to use the most descriptive phrases. And it was good that he said: “we all,” including also himself. “For not even I, the Apostle, have any more than you in this respect,” he said. “For you are just as much the body as I am, and I just as much as you, and we have all the same Head and have endured the same birth-pains. This is why we are also the same body.”

The emphasis of Chrysostom, in contrast to Dunn, becomes quite clear. Again, Chrysostom pays careful attention to the literary context. He repeats the fact that Paul did not say “τοῦ αὐτοῦ σώματος ἵνα γενώμεθα”; again the partitive genitive being present and again dismissing the concept of association. He reminds us that Paul uses the nominative and not the genitive. He also affirms Paul’s effective rhetoric calling it “ἐμφαντικωτέρας λέξεις”, which refers to Paul’s use of the first person plural forms of the verbs. The rhetorical strategy Chrysostom notes is that of self-association. Paul the Apostle associates himself with the readers of the letter. Chrysostom is correct, for this self-association has great rhetorical effect. Chrysostom beautifully interprets Paul’s use of the first person by stating

“Generous Orthodoxy” is indifference. A person is included if he or she can agree to disagree on what the creed should be. Chrysostom would find this view problematic. One needs to be baptized into the body – this is the only means of inclusion into the community. Paul and the early Christian believers could not envisage inclusion without baptism, and Conzelmann (*First Corinthians*, 212) agrees: “Incorporation into it [the body] takes place through baptism.”

³¹⁵ PG 61:250-251.

that every believer, including Paul, went through the same “birth-pains” ($\tauὰς αὐτὰς ὡδῖνας$). This image corresponds with the view of the church as mother, mentioned earlier. Chrysostom (*Pasch.* 4.1) calls the church a mother surrounded by her children. These were the converts who were baptized the previous evening. The phrase “ $\tauὰς αὐτὰς ὡδῖνας$ ” then probably refers to baptism. Having the same Head ($\kappaεφαλήν$) would refer to Christ – mainly signifying that all share the same source of salvation that is in Christ. Chrysostom does not make too much of Paul’s ethnic statement in his exposition of 1 Corinthians 12:13. He only notes that if there is no difference in ethnicity, how much more would there be no difference among the gifted. Xenophobia, which is the fear of anything different or foreign, in this case would not be ethnic xenophobia, which is probably in modern times the most common form. Rather, Chrysostom implies xenophobia among the gifted, thus they had suspicion for believers who had other gifts than that person, making this person either superior or inferior – a sort of charismatic xenophobia or charismatically based xenophobia. Chrysostom states that there is not even a trace of the most common form of xenophobia, ethnic xenophobia, in Paul’s thinking, thus, how much more the less common phenomenon of xenophobia based on the diversity of the gifts.

The fact that Chrysostom does not elaborate on ethnicity becomes a weakness in his exposition. Although one admits that questions on the Trinity and divinity of Christ were a problem to Chrysostom, ethnic intolerance has always been a problem in human history. The fact that Paul included such a statement is remarkable. The fact that there is no difference between slaves and free persons is even more astonishing. This was exactly the critique of Celsus (*Cels.* 3.44):

... δῆλοί εἰσιν ὅτι μόνονς τὸνς ἡλιθίους καὶ ἀγεννεῖς καὶ ἀναισθήτους
καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ γύναια καὶ παιδάρια πείθειν ἐθέλουσί τε καὶ
δύνανται³¹⁶.

These things are clear in the fact that you attract the forsaken and low-born people, the stupid people, the slaves, women and little children – these are the only ones they want to and can persuade.

Celsus saw Christianity as a gathering point for the socially rejected, and this he saw as a weakness. This snobbery was probably evident from the very beginning of Christianity, prompting Paul to make

³¹⁶ “Origenes Theol.: *Contra Celsum*,” n.p., *TLG on CD-ROM* (Musaios 1992-2002).

statements such as the above mentioned. Meeks³¹⁷ has shown that a great deal of Pauline Christianity was also from the so-called middle-class, which resulted from the conversion of the lower-class, stating: “Apart from the imperial household, we have already seen that there were both slaves and slave-owners among the Pauline Christians.” It is disappointing that Chrysostom does not emphasise this unique characteristic of Christianity. To Bosch³¹⁸, who focuses on the Gospel of Luke, this was probably the greatest reason for the growth of the early church. After the Constantinian development, the make-up of the church probably changed drastically, with many prominent members of society joining the movement. It cannot be proved for certain whether this influenced Chrysostom for not elaborating on ethnic diversity in the early church.

The second part of the passage conveniently follows on Chrysostom’s exposition of the first. The first part denoted baptism, and now, the second part has a connotation, according to Chrysostom, to the Eucharist. Paul states in 1 Corinthians 12:13b-14:

Καὶ πάντες εἰς ἐν Πνεῦμα ἐποτίσθημεν. Καὶ γὰρ τὸ σῶμα οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν μέλος, ἀλλὰ πολλά.

And we are all made to drink from one Spirit. For the body is also not one member, but many.

Chrysostom immediately, after quoting Paul, refers to the Lord’s Supper (*Hom. 1 Cor. 30.2*):

Τουτέστι, πρὸς τὴν αὐτὴν ἥλθομεν μνσταγωγίαν, τῆς αὐτῆς ἀπολαύομεν τραπέζης. Καὶ διὰ τί μὴ εἶπε, Τὸ αὐτὸ σῶμα τρεφόμεθα, καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ αἷμα πίνομεν; “Οτι Πνεῦμα εἰπὼν, ἀμφότερα ἐδήλωσε καὶ τὸ αἷμα καὶ τὴν σάρκα· δι' ἀμφοτέρων γὰρ ἐν πνεῦμα ποτιζόμεθα. Ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ νῦν ἐκείνην λέγειν τοῦ Πνεύματος τὴν ἐπιφοίτησιν, τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος καὶ πρὸ τῶν μυστηρίων ἐγγινομένην ἡμῖν. Ἐποτίσθημεν δὲ εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ ἡ μεταφορὰ τῆς λέξεως σφόδρα ἀρμόδιος αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν προκειμένην

³¹⁷ Meeks, *Social World*, 63.

³¹⁸ David J. Bosch, *Goeie Nuus vir Armes ... en Rykes: Perspektiewe uit die Lukasevangelie* (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1990).

νπόθεσιν· ὡς ἀν εἰ ἐπὶ φυτῶν καὶ παραδείσου ἔλεγεν, ὅτι Ἐπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πηγῆς πάντα τὰ δένδρα ἄρδεται, ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὄντος· οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἐνταῦθα, Τὸ αὐτὸ Πνεῦμα ἐπίομεν ἀπαντες, τῆς αὐτῆς ἀπελαύσαμεν χάριτος, φησίν.³¹⁹

He wants to say that we share the same initiation, we enjoy the same table. And why did he not say: “we are nourished by the same body and drink the same blood?” Because by saying “Spirit,” he implies them both, the flesh as well as the blood. For through both we are “made to drink of the Spirit.” But it seems to me now that he speaks of that visitation of the Spirit which takes place in us after baptism and before the mysteries. And he said: “We were made to drink,” because this metaphor was quite suitable for his proposed subject. It is as if he had spoken about plants and a garden, that by the same fountain all the trees are watered, or by the same water; he means the same in this instance: “we all drank the same Spirit, we enjoyed the same grace,” he said.

The unity of the church, which is signified by the invisible Spirit, is made visible by means of the sacraments. But in his elaboration, Chrysostom states that Paul’s phrase πάντες ἐν πνεῦμα ἐποτίσθημεν refers to τοῦ Πνεύματος τὴν ἐπιφοίησιν. This indicates the development of Chrysostom’s Pneumatology. The Holy Spirit, according to Chrysostom, played a very important role in the first days of the newly initiated Christian. Conzelmann³²⁰ seems unsure whether the Pauline text refers to the Lord’s Supper. The meaning of this visitation is not clear. It probably refers to an experience with the Holy Spirit between baptism and the Eucharist, which was known as initiation “into mysteries” by the early Christians, with roots from Christ’s baptism when the Holy Spirit, in the form of a dove, descended upon Him (Matt 3:13-13; Mark 1:9-11; Luke 3:21-22; John 1:31-34). It is certainly part of the mystic nature of Chrysostom’s Pneumatology. He does interpret the “drinking from the Spirit” as referring to the Lord’s Supper. Among many of the Fathers writing on this topic, Chrysostom seems to be one who gives a very clear interpretation, namely referring to the Lord’s Supper. Athanasius is also very mystic and “spiritual” in his interpretation. Athanasius (*Ep. Serap.* 1.19) states:

³¹⁹ PG 61:251.

³²⁰ Conzelmann, *First Corinthians*, 212.

Τοῦ τοίνυν Πατρὸς φωτὸς ὄντος, τοῦ δὲ Υἱοῦ ἀπαυγάσματος αὐτοῦ... ἔξεστιν ὄρᾶν καὶ ἐν τῷ Υἱῷ τὸ Πνεῦμα, ἐν ᾧ φωτιζόμεθα... Πάλιν τε τοῦ Πατρὸς ὄντος πηγῆς, τοῦ δὲ Υἱοῦ ποταμοῦ λεγομένου, πίνειν λεγόμεθα τὸ Πνεῦμα· γέγραπται γὰρ, ὅτι Ἡμεῖς πάντες ἐν Πνεύματι ἐποτίσθημεν. Τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα ποτιζόμενοι, τὸν Χριστὸν πίνομεν· Ἐπινον γὰρ ἐκ πνευματικῆς ἀκολουθούσης πέτρας· ἡ δὲ πέτρα ἦν ὁ Χριστός.³²¹

And now, since the Father is light and the Son is His radiance...it is possible to also see the Spirit in the Son, in whom we are enlightened...And again, since the Father is called a fountain and the Son called a river , we are told to drink the Spirit. For it is written: we are all made to drink of one Spirit. And while we are made to drink the Spirit, we drink Christ. For they drank from the supernatural Rock which followed them, and the Rock was Christ.

In this statement of Athanasius, the notion of the Lord’s Supper is not implied. Athanasius is probably not linking the drinking from the Spirit with the Lord’s Supper. Athanasius’ interpretation is more typical of an Alexandrian exegetical approach. The “spiritual” meaning certainly gains priority to the historical meaning. Athanasius interprets it in the light of scripture indicating that the Father is light, probably an allusion to Jeremiah 2:13 and/or Baruch 3:10-12. A similar reference is found in James 1:17. This instance shows the different interpretations from a member of the Antiochene School (Chrysostom) and Alexandrian School (Athanasius). Athanasius dwells almost totally on a metaphysical realm, a spiritual dimension, while Chrysostom relates it to the material, namely the Lord’s Supper. However, both connect these realms, lending to typical early Christian mysticism.

6.3.2. Honour and Shame among the Members

The next section in Chrysostom’s exposition concerns 1 Corinthians 12:15-20:

Ἐὰν εἴπῃ ὁ ποντικός, ὅτι οὐκ εἰμὶ χεὶρ, οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος, οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος; Καὶ ἐὰν εἴπῃ τὸ οὖς, ὅτι οὐκ εἰμὶ ὄφθαλμὸς, οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος, οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος; Εἰ ὅλον τὸ σῶμα ὄφθαλμὸς, ποῦ ἡ ἀκοή; εἰ ὅλον ἀκοὴ, ποῦ ἡ

³²¹ PG 26:573.

ὅσφρησις; Νυνὶ δὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἔθετο τὰ μέλη, ἐν ἔκαστον αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ σώματι καθὼς ἡθέλησεν. Εἰ δὲ ἦν τὰ πάντα ἐν μέλος, ποῦ τὸ σῶμα; Νυνὶ δὲ πολλὰ μὲν μέλη, ἐν δὲ σῶμα.

If the foot should say: “Because I am not a hand, I do not belong to the body,” due to this does it not belong to the body? And if the ear should say: “Because I am not an eye, I do not belong to the body,” due to this does it any less belong to the body? If the whole body were an eye, where would be the hearing? If the whole body were an ear, where would be the smell? But as it is, God placed the members, each one of them, in the body as it pleased Him. But if all were one member, where would the body be? Now there are many members, but one body.

It is necessary to view this section in its entirety, although Chrysostom still continues with a verse-by-verse exposition. Before discussing Chrysostom’s interpretation, it is necessary to view the general notion of honour and shame with regard to the body in the early Mediterranean.

6.3.2.1. Honour, Shame and Corporeality in the Early Mediterranean

Corporeality in the early Mediterranean seems to be a very diverse subject. Different cultures had different ways of understanding the body. From Greek thought, a dualistic notion gained the upper-hand. The body and soul were divided and the soul needed to be freed from the body to be enlightened³²². The Old Testament, however, is void of such thought. How can one then speak of “general corporeality in the early Mediterranean?” I admit that such a phrase is probably a contradiction in terms. Malina³²³ does give some consolation: “At a rather high level of abstraction, these [Mediterranean] cultures were quite similar. Yet at a lower level of abstraction, at the level of the subcultures in the area, there were notable differences.” Thus, at a rather high level of abstraction, such a phrase would be understandable. Malina uses the three-zone model of De Géradon³²⁴ to illustrate a general tendency in thought regarding corporeality³²⁵.

³²² Cf. Ferguson, *Backgrounds*, 314.

³²³ Malina, *New Testament World*, 68.

³²⁴ Bernard De Géradon, “L’homme à l’image de Dieu,” in *NRTh* 80 (1958): 683-95.

³²⁵ Cf. Malina, *New Testament World*, 68-71; and Robbins, *Tapestry*, 30-35.

Human existence can be divided into three main zones. The first zone is the zone of “emotion-fused thought”. The eyes, heart, eyelids and pupils are the organs of the body that function in this zone. This zone is associated with the mind or intellect, and the will and personality. The second zone is that of “self-expressive speech”. The organs here would include the mouth, ears, tongue, lips etc. This is the zone of communication. Smell and the nose would probably fall into this category, although Malina does not make mention of it. Smell is a form of communication. Just as the ears comprehend sounds, so the nose comprehends smells. A person who smells smoke immediately thinks of a fire. The term self-expressive speech then becomes problematic – rather the phrase self-expressive communication or conceptualising. The third zone is the zone of “purposeful action”, with the hands, feet, arms, fingers, legs etc. These organs, usually limbs, are associated with outward human behaviour. It is quite possible to critique this model. The eyes can also be associated with action or communication, just like the hands, in the case of sign-language, can be grouped in the second zone.

When all these elements are present, it is usually an indication of the entire sphere of human existence. But certain zones were considered more honourable than others. The head, especially the eyes, were considered the most honourable³²⁶. It would also include the heart. The lower the organ, the less honour it usually has. But the sexual organs, because they are always covered, also has a great deal of honour. Locality of organs and limbs is thus not the only criterion for designation of honour and shame. This is why Paul’s argument is quite unique from other Graeco-Roman body-analogies, especially relating to social groups. Martin³²⁷ states: “Use of the human body as an analogy for human society is ancient and widespread. The microcosm of the body was used to explain how unity can exist in diversity within the macrocosm of society.” He especially emphasises the use of body analogies within speeches of homonoia, or “concord.” These are usually found in political and philosophical orations. The epitome of latter, as Martin³²⁸ also confirms, is probably Livy’s account of the speech of Menenius (*Urb. Con.* 2.32.7-11):

Placuit igitur oratorem ad plebem mitti Menenium Agrippam, facundum uirum
et quod inde oriundus erat plebi carum. Is intromissus in castra prisco illo
dicendi et horrido modo nihil aliud quam hoc narrasse fertur: tempore quo in

³²⁶ Stander, “Eer en Skande,” 518-20.

³²⁷ Martin, *Corinthian Body*, 92. Martin prefers to use the concepts of lower- and higher-status parts, the latter then relating to honour and the former to shame.

³²⁸ Ibid., 93.

homine non ut nunc omnia in unum consentiant, sed singulis membris suum cuique consilium, suus sermo fuerit, indignatas reliquas partes sua cura, suo labore ac ministerio uentri omnia quaeri, uentrem in medio quietum nihil aliud quam datis uoluptatibus frui; conspirasse inde ne manus ad os cibum ferrent, nec os acciperet datum, nec dentes quae acciperent conficerent. Hac ira, dum uentrem fame domare uellent, ipsa una membra totumque corpus ad extremam tabem uenisse. Inde apparuisse uentris quoque haud segne ministerium esse, nec magis ali quam alere eum, reddentem in omnes corporis partes hunc quo uiuimus uigemusque, diuisum pariter in uenas maturum confecto cibo sanguinem. Comparando hinc quam intestina corporis seditio similis esset irae plebis in patres, flexisse mentes hominum³²⁹.

The senate decided, therefore, to send as their spokesman Menenius Agrippa, an eloquent man, and acceptable to the plebs as being himself of plebeian origin. He was admitted into the camp, and it is said that he simply told them the following fable in primitive and common fashion: “In the days when all the parts of the human body were not as now placed in harmony together, but each member took its own course and spoke its own speech, the other members, who were indignant at seeing that everything acquired by their care and labour and ministry went to the stomach, while the stomach, undisturbed in the middle of them, did nothing but enjoy the pleasures provided for it, entered into a conspiracy; the hands were not to bring food to the mouth, the mouth was not to accept it when offered, the teeth were not to chew it. While, in their resentment, they were anxious to coerce the stomach by starving it, the members themselves wasted away, and the whole body was reduced to the last stage of exhaustion. Then it became evident that the stomach rendered no useless service, and the nourishment it received was no greater than that which it bestowed by returning to all parts of the body this blood by which we live and are strong, equally distributed into the veins, after being matured by the digestion of the food.” By using this comparison, and showing how the internal disaffection among the

³²⁹ Livy, *Ad Urbe Condita*, n.p., [cited 5 September 2006]. Online: <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/livy/liv.2.shtml#32>.

parts of the body resembled the animosity of the plebeians against the patricians, he succeeded in winning over his audience.

This speech shows the typical use of body-analogy in homonoia rhetoric. There are many other similar accounts, such as in Xenophon (*Mem.* 2.3.18) and Polyaenus (*Strat.* 3.9.22), who both argue that an army also functions as a body³³⁰. If Livy's speech of Menenius is to be taken as an example representative of body-analogies in the Graeco-Roman homonoia, it may be viewed parallel to Paul's account of the church, being a social group, as also being a body³³¹. The rhetorical genre of both Livy and Paul's body-analogies may be described as deliberative rhetoric³³². Both wanted to convince their audiences of their views by means of logical argumentation. But what did Livy and Paul stress respectively? The purpose of Livy's argument is to affirm the necessity of hierocracy. The political stability of a state is dependant on the affluence systemic hierocracy. Livy's analogy implies that the hands and the mouth, which Martin would call lower-status parts³³³, need to sustain the stomach in order to survive. It is then a symbiotic hierarchy in which all the parts benefit – but the ruling class is represented by the stomach and the plebeians by the lower-status parts – and the stomach is the implied higher-status part. In order for all to survive, things need to continue working in the systemic hierocracy, which the analogy seems to defend and at last, concord (homonoia) is achieved. It does not aim to stir the traditional water pool. Traditionally speaking, in terms of De Gérandon's model³³⁴, the first zone of members would be the higher-status members – the eyes, heart etc. In the Corinthian assembly, this was evident. In a metaphorical sense (which is the sense Chrysostom accepts, and shown above) the eye would represent tongues, prophecy and wisdom³³⁵. It is interesting to note that Livy's analogy would not fit in with De Gérandon's model. The stomach was usually considered a member of lower-status. In Pseudo-Aristotle (*Physiog.* 814b.1-9) it is stated:

³³⁰ Cf. Martin, *Corinthian Body*, 93-94.

³³¹ David J. Williams, *Paul's Metaphors: Their Context and Character* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2003), 86, shows intricate use of metaphors in Pauline literature. He states that Paul's use of the body metaphor is also one of the most expressive and elaborated metaphors in the entire corpus.

³³² Cf. Robbins, *Tapestry*, 86-93.

³³³ Cf. Martin, *Corinthian Body*, 94.

³³⁴ De Gérandon, "L'homme à l'image," 689-91.

³³⁵ Cf. Thiselton, *First Corinthians*, 1003; and Arnold Bittlinger, *Gifts and Graces: A Commentary on 1 Cor 12-14* (London: Hodder, 1967), 58.

...ἐπικαιρότατος δὲ τόπος ὁ περὶ τὰ ὄμματά τε καὶ τὸ μέτωπον καὶ κεφαλὴν καὶ πρόσωπον, δεύτερος δὲ ὁ περὶ τὰ στήθη καὶ ώμους, ἐπειτα περὶ τὰ σκέλη τε καὶ πόδας· τὰ δὲ περὶ τὴν κοιλίαν ἥκιστα.³³⁶

...the most favourable part for examination is the area around the eyes, forehead, head and face; secondly, the area of the chest and the shoulders, and lastly that of the legs and feet; the parts around the stomach are of least importance.

The chest was a sign of virility and courage, which is also why the courageous man must have a flat stomach, while a glutton would have a big stomach; but most attention of the *Physiognomonica* is given to the eyes³³⁷. It is exactly this that makes Menenius's speech so rhetorically superb – he applies shock-techniques, equating the ruling class with the stomach – in order to win over the rebellious plebeians.

In contrast, Paul uses the body-analogy not to support systemic hierocracy, as Livy does, but rather to topple the traditional systemic hierocracy (this phenomenon is called “status-reversal” by Martin³³⁸ or “code-switching” by Moores³³⁹). As with Livy, Paul ultimately uses code-switching to strengthen his arguments³⁴⁰. But his code-switch lies in his interpretation of the honour and shame among the members, which goes against the common views from Livy, the *Physiognomonica* and probably that of some (or all?) of the members of the Corinthian assembly. Corinth was the Mecca of Graeco-Roman culture, next to Athens and Rome, and it is very likely that the Corinthians in the church shared the common Graeco-Roman views of the body, as described by Livy and in Pseudo-Aristotle. Paul topples (or code-switches) the hierarchy by saying that the members with the least honour, or the lower-status members, actually have great honour due to all the attention they receive, for instance the genitals. This

³³⁶ “Aristoteles Phil. Et Corpus Aristotelicum: *Physiognomonica*,” n.p., *TLG on CD-ROM* (Musaios 1992-2002), cf. also Karl O. Sandnes, *Belly and Body in the Pauline Epistles* (SNTSMS 120; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 2.

³³⁷ Cf. Sandnes, *Belly and Body*, 27.

³³⁸ Martin, *Corinthian Body*, 95-96.

³³⁹ John D. Moores, *Wrestling with Rationality in Paul* (SNTSMS 82; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 133-35.

³⁴⁰ Livy’s code-switch is when the stomach, a typical lower-status member, is made a higher-status member.

gives a rather general view of corporeality in the ancient Mediterranean. The commentary of Chrysostom may now be examined to elaborate on the Pauline argument.

6.3.2.2. Chrysostom's Exposition

Chrysostom applies the thought of honour and shame in physical corporeality in his exposition on Paul's writing on the body of Christ that is the church. He states (*Hom. I Cor. 30.3*):

Εἰ γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἡλαττώσθαι, τὸν δὲ ὑπερέχειν, οὐκ ἀφίησιν εἶναι ἐκ τοῦ σώματος, τὸ πᾶν ἀνήρηται. Μὴ τοίνυν εἴπῃς, ὅτι Οὐκ εἰμὶ σῶμα, ἐπειδὴ ἐλάττων εἰμί· καὶ γὰρ ὁ ποὺς τὴν ἐλάττονα τάξιν ἔχει, ἀλλὰ τοῦ σώματός ἐστι. Τὸ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος εἶναι καὶ μὴ εἶναι, οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ τὸν μὲν ἐν τῷδε τῷ τόπῳ, τὸν δὲ ἐν τῷδε κεῖσθαι· τοῦτο γὰρ τόπου ποιεῖ διαφοράν· ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ συνῆφθαι ἢ ἀπέχεσθαι· τὸ γὰρ εἶναι ἢ μὴ εἶναι σῶμα, ἐκ τοῦ ἡνῶσθαι ἢ μὴ ἡνῶσθαι γίνεται³⁴¹.

For if the fact that one was made inferior and the other superior does not allow them to be part of the body, the whole body cannot exist. Do not, therefore, say: "I am not part the body, because I am inferior." For the foot also has the inferior position, yet it is part of the body - for the being or not being part of the body, is not dependant on the one being in this place and the other in that place; (which is what constitutes difference of place;) but from the being conjoined or separated³⁴². For the being or not being a body, results from them having been made one or not.

Chrysostom, therefore, makes a distinction between honour and shame in his exposition. Contrary to popular belief (that is, contrary to Livy and Pseudo-Aristotle), honour is not situated in locality, but rather by inclusion (ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ συνῆφθαι ἢ ἀπέχεσθαι). A member of the body that is not part of it anymore is ashamed. Chrysostom then equates shame with schism, and schism is amputation. Chrysostom then alludes to those who broke away from the church – those are the true shameful people (which may be a reference to the heretics). It is not the people who have so-called inferior or lower-

³⁴¹ PG 61:251.

³⁴² Translation: NPNF.

status gifts who are ashamed, but those who were “amputated” from the body. Schism is shameful conduct. It now seems as if Chrysostom’s emphasis would be the same as that of Fee³⁴³, namely diversity-in-unity.

Chrysostom does acknowledge the fact that Paul explicitly uses members that vary in honour. And Chrysostom discusses the Pauline argument within the traditional framework of corporeality. He further states that the unity of the traditional body is conjoined through nature, but the Body of Christ is not conjoined through nature, but through the grace of God.

A very interesting observation can now be made. Chrysostom uses the term ἐλάττονα to indicate the lower-status members and ὑπερέχειν to indicate the higher-status members. But Paul does not use these terms. He uses the terms τό δοκοῦντα (“the esteemed”), ἀσθενέστερα (“weaker”), ἀναγκαὶα (“necessary”), ἀτιμὸτερα (“less honourable”), τιμή περισσοτέρα (“abundantly honoured”), εὐσχήμονα (“unpresentable or ugly”) and ὑστεροῦμενος (“lacking”). These terms function as umbrella terms to discuss the various Pauline terms regarding body-status. These terms contain hierarchical denotations, but Martin³⁴⁴ correctly states: “The remarkable thing about Paul’s imagery is not his use of status terms, which often occur in rhetorical applications of the body analogy to homonoia issues, but his claim that the normally conceived body hierarchy is actually only an apparent, surface hierarchy.” Chrysostom supports this notion, and then states that Paul’s analogy is very functional within systemic hierarchies, but does not imply hierarchy. The foot, which is the lower-status carrier, does not discourse with the higher-status carrier, namely the eye. Rather, the eye and the hand ventures into dialogue. Chrysostom explains that it is unlikely for members that are very far separated from each other to envy one another, but it is those in close proximity who envy each other. Therefore it is systemically functional, and Chrysostom comments on the passage in the framework of the traditional view of corporeality, which was probably shared by his own audience, as with that of Paul. Finally, Chrysostom states that the body is placed into its order through the will of God (...ὅτι ὡς ὁ ἀριστοτέχνης ἡθέλησεν...) Chrysostom also states that God is responsible for the placement of every member, and not only certain ones. Chrysostom then, in the same manner as Livy, states (*Hom. I Cor. 30.4*):

³⁴³ Cf. Fee, *First Corinthians*, 600.

³⁴⁴ Martin, *Corinthian Body*, 94.

“Ωστε καὶ τῷ ποδὶ συμφέρει τὸ οὕτω τετάχθαι, οὐχὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ μόνον· κὰν ἀνταλλάξῃ τὴν τάξιν, καὶ τὴν οἰκείαν χώραν ἀφεὶς, ἐφ' ἑτέραν ἔλθῃ, κὰν ἐπὶ μείζονα δοκῇ ἐληλυθέναι, τὸ πᾶν ἀπώλεσε καὶ διέφθειρε· τῆς τε γὰρ οἰκείας ἐκπίπτει, καὶ τῆς ἑτέρας οὐκ ἐπιτυγχάνει³⁴⁵.

So that to the foot also it is beneficial that it should be put where it is, and not to the head only. And if it should mangle the order and leave its own place, and go to another, though it might seem to have bettered its condition, it would be the undoing and ruin of the whole body! For it both falls from its own place and does not even reach the place it intended to go to!

Chrysostom affirms the systemic hierarchy and deviates slightly from the Pauline line of thought. This is probably due to the previous *Deus-Vult* argument. It can be seen above that Chrysostom's argument agrees with Livy's argument. As with Livy, in Chrysostom's argument, the members have each their own volition³⁴⁶, and in the scenario Chrysostom sketches, the foot is the lower-status member (Livy's plebeians) and the head is the higher-status member (Livy's ruling class or “stomach”). It could be that Chrysostom himself was very absorbed in the traditional concept of corporeality that it was very difficult for him to move beyond it, as it was probably difficult for Paul himself, which is probably the reason why Paul incorporates the *Deus-Vult* argument. It is always difficult opposing a traditional systemic hierarchy, because the inhabitants of the system find it very difficult to conceptualise reality outside of the system. Robertson³⁴⁷ wants to redefine the system in which the conflict in Corinth occurs. He does, however affirm, that thought outside one's system can be very difficult and confusing, and stepping outside the system is often a step out of one's perception of reality as he states: “Systems are not reality, but a way of approaching reality...Even within its own temporal and cultural environment, the Corinthian congregation is understood as unique among other social groups.” Robertson illustrates the difficulty in moving in-between systems – which is in fact moving between different unique realities. The body-analogy, as a systemic reality, has been temporally defined by the

³⁴⁵ PG: 61:253.

³⁴⁶ This is also evident in the Pauline text to a certain degree.

³⁴⁷ The work of Charles K. Robertson, *Conflict in Corinth: Redefining the System* (StudBL 42; New York: Peter Lang, 2001), 40-41, proves to be very useful in the study of the systemic hierarchy in the Corinthian assembly. To Robertson, the main system is the household, and states that the church needs to be interpreted as the household of God. Robert M. Grant, *Paul in the Roman World: The Conflict at Corinth* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2001), 36, states that this systemic hierarchy was present also regarding the meat offered to idols (1 Cor 8.).

status-quo, and moving outside of this is moving outside of conceptual reality. The body cannot be thought of outside the concept of a hierarchy – neither Paul nor Chrysostom could achieve this. Paul just redefines the hierarchy³⁴⁸ while Chrysostom affirms it and will now probably provide his own view of the hierarchy of the body. Systemic hierarchy does not necessarily imply hierocracy. It has been stated that Paul uses code-switching or status-reversal, which is his tool for toppling the systemic hierarchy, of which the goal would be transformation³⁴⁹. Paul may be commended for his unique ability to achieve such moves with his implementation of code-switching. Chrysostom affirms the code-switch, but does not do it himself, as illustrated in his Livian analogy above. Paul's argument is reactionary, and he also does not attempt abolish the reality of the body's hierarchy, but merely adjusts it. Chrysostom goes one step further by affirming Paul's adjustment, but instead of performing a code-switch he establishes his own, new hierarchy. Why does Chrysostom have to create a new systemic hierarchy? Because the current hierarchy is based on the system of the spiritual gifts; but Chrysostom believed the gifts had ceased, resulting in the creation of the new hierarchy based on offices in the church. The hierarchy of church office, not the gifts, does become hierocratic.

Chrysostom elaborates on this argument even further by stating that a body cannot be one if all the members have equal honour. Does Chrysostom promote hierarchy and what is its order? The weakness in Chrysostom's argument is that in one breath, he affirms Paul's code-switch against reigning systemic hierarchy, while in another merely re-establishes his own, new hierarchy – which is explicitly introduced by the analogy above. He rejects hierocracy based on the charismata but affirms a new hierocracy based on church office. Unlike Paul's response, Chrysostom's response is not reactive but proactive. It can be speculated that Chrysostom's new hierarchy is hidden in his negative view of the spiritual gifts, which would occupy the bottom of the hierarchy, while study, preaching and meditation – or the very office of the priest – would probably occupy the upper level. Chrysostom states elsewhere (*Sac. 3.4*):

Ἡ γὰρ ἱερωσύνη τελεῖται μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, τάξιν δὲ ἐπουρανίων ἔχει πραγμάτων. Καὶ μάλα γε εἰκότως· οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρωπος, οὐκ ἄγγελος, οὐκ ἀρχάγγελος, οὐκ ἄλλη τις κτιστὴ δύναμις, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ὁ Παράκλητος

³⁴⁸ One part of code-switching is redefinition (cf. Thiselton, *First Corinthians*, 43).

³⁴⁹ Cf. Thiselton, *First Corinthians*, 43.

ταύτην διετάξατο τὴν ἀκολουθίαν καὶ ἔτι μένοντας ἐν σαρκὶ τὴν τῶν ἀγγέλων ἔπεισε φαντάζεσθαι διακονίαν³⁵⁰.

For the priestly office is completed on earth, but it has its order among the heavenly ordinances, and very naturally in this way; for neither humanity, nor angel, not even archangel or any other created power but the Advocate himself instituted this and persuaded followers, who are still staying in mortal bodies, to perform the service of the angels.

To Chrysostom, the office of priest (*ἱερωσύνη*) is the highest in the hierarchy; a thought that is especially complemented by the use of the word order (*τάξιν*). It is not the gift of the person that is a higher-status indicator, but the office of the person. Its attributes are not “spiritual”, but “heavenly” (*ἐπουρανίων*). Among the Corinthians, the higher-status indicator was “tongues of angels”³⁵¹, but now with Chrysostom, the higher-status indicator is the “service of angels” (*τῶν ἀγγέλων διακονίαν*). Gifts may not even feature in the hierarchy, since he believes that they ceased to function in the assembly. To conclude, Chrysostom affirms Paul’s code-switch of honour and shame among the members of the body, but then uses it to affirm another systemic hierarchy and hierocracy – not of gifts, as the Corinthians had – but of office. Every believer in the body has an office, and these offices (which Chrysostom describes in terms of their function) do not all have equal honour, but function within a symbiotic relationship based on office.

6.3.2.3. Discourse on Beauty and Care of the Body

Chrysostom elaborates on his analogy of the members by stating that every member contributes also to the aesthetic effect of the body (*Hom. 1 Cor. 30.6*):

Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐν τῷ σώματι καὶ τὰ μικρὰ οὐ μικρὰ δοκεῖ συντελεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς μεγάλοις λυμαίνεται πολλάκις, ὅταν ἀποστῆ. Τί γὰρ τριχῶν εὔτελέστερον ἐν τῷ σώματι; ἀλλὰ τὰς εὔτελεῖς ταύτας ἀν ἀνέλης ἀπὸ τῶν ὄφρύων καὶ τῶν βλεφάρων, ὅλην ἡφάνισας τῆς ὄψεως τὴν ὥραν, καὶ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκέτι ὁμοίως φανεῖται καλός· καίτοι γε περὶ τὸ τυχόν ἐστιν ἡ

³⁵⁰ SC 272:246.

³⁵¹ Cf. Martin, *Corinthian Body*, 87-90.

ζημία, ἀλλ' ὅμως καὶ οὕτω πᾶσα διεφθάρη ἡ εὐμορφία· οὐκ εὐμορφία δὲ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ τῆς χρείας τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν. Τῶν γὰρ μελῶν ἡμῶν ἔκαστον καὶ ἴδιαν ἐνέργειαν ἔχει καὶ κοινὴν, καὶ κάλλος ὄμοίως καὶ ἴδιον καὶ κοινόν ἐστιν ἐν ἡμῖν· καὶ δοκεῖ μὲν διηρήσθαι ταῦτα, συμπέπλεκται δὲ ἀκριβῶς, καὶ θατέρου διαφθαρέντος καὶ τὸ ἔτερον συναπόλλυται. Σκόπει δέ· ἔστωσαν ὀφθαλμοὶ λάμποντες, καὶ παρειὰ μειδιῶσα, καὶ χεῖλος ἐρυθρὸν, καὶ ρίς εὐθεῖα, καὶ ὄφρὺς ἐκτεταμένη· ἀλλ' ὅμως κἄν τὸ τυχὸν ἐκ τούτων λυμήνῃ, τῷ κοινῷ πάντων ἐλυμήνῳ κάλλει, καὶ πάντα κατηφείας μεστὰ, καὶ πάντα αἰσχρὰ φανεῖται τὰ πρὸ τούτου καλά³⁵².

For in the body even the little members seem to play no small role, but the great ones themselves are often injured by them, I mean, by their removal. Thus what in the body is more insignificant than the hair? Yet if you should remove this, insignificant as it is, from the eyebrows and the eyelids, you have destroyed all the beauty of its countenance, and the eye will no longer appear equally beautiful. And yet the loss seems insignificant, yet it eliminates the very acceptable appearance of the eyes! And not the appearance only, but also most the use of the eyes. The reason is that every one of our members have their own particular function and one which is for the purpose of the common good of the body. And in the same way there is in us a beauty which is peculiar and another which is common. And these kinds of beauty appear indeed to be divided, but they are perfectly bound together, and when one is destroyed, the other perishes also along with it. To explain myself: let there be bright eyes, and a smiling cheek, and a red lip, and straight nose, and open brow; nevertheless, if you should mar but the most insignificant of these, you have marred the common beauty of all; all is full of dejection; all will appear foul to look on, which before was so beautiful³⁵³.

It is necessary to view the lengthy quote entirely, for it introduces the thrust of the entire premise that follows. This discourse on the beauty and care of the body follows Chrysostom's previous premise

³⁵² PG:61:253.

³⁵³ Translation: NPNF.

regarding the honour and shame of the members – that not all have equal honour. He diverges slightly from the Pauline argument in order to elaborate on his own argument – the true hierarchy of the body based on functional offices. The Demonstrandum of this discourse is to show that the undeniable systemic hierarchy of the body is also a symbiotic hierarchy, which also featured in the previous discussion of the honour and shame among the members. Chrysostom stated that all the members do not share equal honour, and now reinforces this conclusion by means of another aspect of the body – not its function (which was the main point of the previous argument), but also its appearance. Hierarchy serves not only the functioning of the body, but also serves the aesthetics of the body. It is the second premise aiding in the affirmation of his view on the hierarchy of the body.

Beauty, according to modern standards, is often preferred at the cost of function. Fashion accessories such as high-heeled shoes and body-piercing have an aesthetic effect, but do not really have a function. One can only go as far as to say their function is aesthetic. Beauty, according to Chrysostom, is not a function. Chrysostom understands function as the eye that needs to see and feet that needs to walk. As he stated in the above quote, when the hair is removed, the physical attraction ($\varepsilon\mu\sigma\varphi\iota\alpha$) and use ($\tau\eta\varsigma\chi\rho\sigma\iota\omega\varsigma$) of the eyes is lost. Beauty aids function. Chrysostom is then also able to relate to his audience, because beauty, as in modern times, is a very important aspect of being $\sigma\hat{\omega}\mu\alpha$. The body of Christ must also be a beautiful body – not an amputated or marred body.

Beauty and the use of cosmetics have been scowled at in many instances in the literature of the early church, especially regarding women who decorate their bodies. True beauty had to come from the inside (1 Pet 3:3). This notion is especially commented on by Clement of Alexandria (*Paed.* 3.1) who states that true beauty is intellect, and not physical ornamentation (cf. Gregory of Nyssa, (*Creat.* 12.8); *The Shepherd of Hermas* (*Sim.* 5.7.1-4); Cyril of Jerusalem (*Cat.* 9.15); Theodoret (*Graec.* 5.81-82); Arnobius (*Gent.* 2.41) and associates it with the pagan comic poets (cf. Ovid (*Med.*); Euripides, [*Med.*]). In Euripides' *Bacchants*, Dionysus is a very effeminate man and the traditional images of goddesses were also very beautiful and sexually attractive³⁵⁴. Tertullian (*Cult. Fem.* 1.2) also warns against the use of cosmetics and ornaments and states that the use of female ornamentation can be traced back to the fallen angels and also associates it with the dishonourable conduct of women who shaved their heads in 1 Corinthians 11 (*Virg.* 12). But one of the greatest opponents of cosmetics and

³⁵⁴ Cf. Harris and Platzner, *Classical Mythology*, 97-122, 227-41.

ornamentation is probably Jerome, who associates it with vanity and stupidity (*Epist.* 38.3; 125.17; 130.18).

Chrysostom does not refer to cosmetics and ornamentation in this premise. As many other writers, the beauty of the body is its natural beauty. There is no evil or sin in the natural beauty of the body (cf. Cyril of Jerusalem (*Cat.* 4.23); Ambrose (*Off.* 1.19.83)). Chrysostom's argument is therefore in line with the view of the majority of teachers in the early church. To conclude, natural beauty aids then the natural function of the body.

The logical inference of this conclusion is that the body must take care of itself (which is also typically what Livy insinuates). The next statement of Chrysostom is very important (*Hom. 1 Cor.* 30.7):

Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ μέλη πολλὰ καὶ διάφορα· καὶ τὰ μὲν τιμιώτερα, τὰ δὲ καταδεέστερα· οἵον εἰσὶ παρθένων χοροὶ, εἰσὶ χηρῶν σύλλογοι, εἰσὶ τῶν ἐν γάμῳ σώφρονι λαμπόντων φρατρίαι, καὶ πολλοὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς οἱ βαθμοί³⁵⁵.

For in the Church there are members many and diverse, and some are more honorable and some less honourable. For example, there are choirs of virgins, there are assemblies of widows, there are fraternities of those who shine in holy wedlock. What I am trying to say is that there are many degrees of virtue

This section plays a key role in understanding Chrysostom's new hierarchy. It was stated above that Chrysostom affirmed Paul's code-switch regarding the systemic hierarchy, but that he also establishes his own, the office of priesthood being the higher-status indicator. The above quotation proves this point, although it does not refer particularly to priests or bishops. He would not refer to his own office in the church as being the highest in this exposition (cf. *Sacr.*). His audience in this case is the members of the church – and he does not want to appear boastful of his own office, on the one hand, and on the other, he wants to apply this proposed hierarchy to the members in the assembly, who would comprise largely of the classes mentioned in the quote. In his dialogue with Basil (cf. *Sacr.*), who is also a minister, Chrysostom tells Basil that theirs is the greatest office in the church. He explicitly states the

³⁵⁵ PG 61:254.

order of the hierarchy: the virgin is a higher-status indicator while the married are implied to be a lower-status indicator. The fact that it is a hierarchy is confirmed by the last statement in the quotation: πολλοὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς οἱ βαθμοί. It must be noted that the gifts are not even mentioned. This hierarchy is based on sexual conduct. The more a status carries lacks in sexual conduct, the higher the status or honour attributed. Instead of the people with gifts scorning one another, to the demise of the body, Chrysostom states that “if a virgin deals scornfully with a married woman”, it would also be to the virgin’s own disadvantage. He also states the importance of adding widows into this hierarchy, and associates them with the poor. This hierarchy is then functional and aesthetic. Chrysostom implies that a church in which this hierarchy is present, is not only functionally effective, but is also a tribute to the beauty of the church.

6.4. The Necessity of the Poor

In *Hom. 1 Cor. 29*, Chrysostom also ended with a discussion of the poor and wealthy people and their relationship with the church. The Demonstrandum in that discussion was to show that believers should not be over-zealous to acquire material and spiritual gifts. The problem addressed was greed and envy. However, in this case, the Demonstrandum is different. In this homily, Chrysostom wants to point out that the poor are a very necessary stratum in the hierarchical ladder. Being desolate and a pauper was in fact a higher-status indicator. Chrysostom states (*Hom. 1 Cor. 30.7*):

Καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης πάλιν ὁμοίως· ὁ μὲν γὰρ τὰ πάντα ἐκένωσεν, οἱ δὲ τῆς αὐταρκείας ἐπιμελοῦνται μόνης, καὶ πλέον τῆς χρείας οὐδὲν ζητοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ περισσεύματος ἔδωκαν· ἀλλ' ὅμως οὗτοι πάντες ἀλλήλους κοσμοῦσι, καὶ ἔξουθενήσῃ τὸν ἐλάττονα ὁ μείζων, ἐαυτὸν τὰ μέγιστα ἔβλαψεν...Τί γὰρ τῶν προσαιτούντων εὐτελέστερον; ἀλλ' ὅμως καὶ οὗτοι χρείαν πληροῦσι μεγίστην ἐν Ἐκκλησίᾳ, προσηλωμένοι ταῖς θύραις τοῦ ναοῦ, καὶ κόσμον παρέχοντες μέγιστον, καὶ τούτων ἄνευ οὐκ ἀν ἀπαρτισθείη τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας³⁵⁶.

And in almsgiving again in the same manner. For some empty themselves of all their goods: others care for sufficiency alone and seek nothing more than necessities; others give of their abundance. Nevertheless, all these adorn one

³⁵⁶ PG 61:254.

another; and if the greater should not consider the less, this one would in the greatest way cause harm to itself... What is less honourable than those who beg? And yet even these fulfill a most important role in the Church, hanging on to the doors of the sanctuary and supplying one of its greatest ornaments. And without these there could be no perfecting the fullness of the Church.

He states that there are various degrees of virtue also in almsgiving. Again, he provides a list with those at the top, like the virgins, in this case those who have nothing, being the higher-status carriers. In the previous list, the poverty lies in sexual conduct. Virgins engage in none, while widows are now released of it, but married people are still engaged in sexual conduct. A third factor is then added to the system of goods – namely sexual conduct (would the term “sexual goods” be appropriate?). The same applies to the possession of riches.

The poor were also very visible in the church. The place of the poor in the church is more clearly elaborated on in Chrysostom’s commentary on 1 Thessalonians. Chrysostom mentions (*Hom. 1 Thess. 11.4*):

Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, καὶ ἐν τοῖς μαρτυρίοις προκάθηνται τῶν προπυλαίων οἱ πένητες, ὥστε ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς τούτων θέας πολλὴν δέχεσθαι τὴν ὠφέλειαν. ...Οὐ διὰ τοῦτο δὲ μόνον ἐνταῦθα παρακάθηνται, ἀλλ' ἵνα σε καὶ ἐλεήμονα ποιήσωσι, καὶ πρὸς ἔλεον ἐπικαμφθῆς, ἵνα θαυμάσῃς τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν. Εἰ γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς οὐκ ἐπαισχύνεται αὐτοὺς, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς προπυλαίοις αὐτοῦ ἔστησε, πολλῷ μᾶλλον σύ· ἵνα μὴ μέγα φρονῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς βασιλείοις τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. Μὴ τοίνυν ἐπαισχύνουν παρὰ πένητος καλούμενος· κὰν προσέλθῃ, κὰν τὰ γόνατα κατέχῃ, μὴ ἀποσείσῃ· κύνες γάρ εἰσιν οὗτοί τινες θαυμαστοὶ τῶν αὐλῶν τῶν βασιλικῶν. Οὐ γὰρ ἀτιμάζων αὐτοὺς κύνας ἐκάλεσα, μὴ γένοιτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφόδρα ἐπαινῶν· τὴν αὐλὴν φυλάττουσι τὴν βασιλικήν· θρέψον τοίνυν αὐτούς· ἡ γὰρ τιμὴ εἰς τὸν βασιλέα ἀναβαίνει...ὅτι οὐ τέρπεται πλούτῳ Θεὸς, ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν προκαθημένων διδάσκῃ³⁵⁷.

³⁵⁷ PG 62:467.

For because of this the poor are in the church and sit before the vestibules of the chapels of the martyrs, so that we may receive great benefit from the sight of them...But not only due to this do they sit here, but so that they should make you compassionate, and be inclined to pity, so that you should admire God's affection for people. For if God is not ashamed of them, but has set them in His vestibules, even more should you not be ashamed, so that you may not think [of the church] in terms of palaces on earth. Do not be ashamed when you are called by a poor man; if he should draw near to you, or grab hold of your knees, do not shake him off. For these are kinds of honourable dogs of the royal courts. For I do not call them dogs dishonourably – certainly not – but I am also commending them. They guard the King's court. Therefore feed them. For the honour passes on to the King. ...You are taught that God does not delight in riches.

Only after Chrysostom created his own hierarchy, does he make his own code-switch. The poor are higher-status carriers. They sat in the vestibules ($\pi\tauοπυλαίοι$) of the churches. This was the room between the main hall and the entrance. It would imply that everyone who entered the church would have to pass by the poor. Instead of frowning down upon them, Chrysostom instructs the people to feed them. The nature of their honour is transitory – it passes on to the King, who is God. To aid the rhetoric of his code-switch even more, Chrysostom calls them dogs – something very dishonoured. Immediately the image of the Cynic philosophers appears. In the past, before Chrysostom, there had been conflict between Cynics and Christians, as in the case of Justin Martyr³⁵⁸. The dishonour of the dogs refers directly to the animal; however, there may be an indirect nuance to the Cynics – who would be the dishonourable dogs. This would entail some speculation. Whatever the case may be, the poor are not dishonourable dogs – like the animals or philosophers seen on the streets – rather, these dogs are the watchdogs of God's palace – they are the spiritual watchdogs of the church. They are therefore higher-status carriers, and occupy a very high stratum in Chrysostom's hierarchy. In his discussion in *Hom. I Cor. 30*, Chrysostom states that the poor “decorate” the church ($\kappaοσμέω$). The true adornments of a church should not be gold or marble, but should be the poor and the virgins. This image also links with

³⁵⁸ Not all Christians were unsympathetic to Cynic practices. Both Origen and even Tertullian, who had no temperance for anything Graeco-Roman, cite certain heroes and practices of the Cynics in a favourable manner.

Chrysostom's discussion on beauty – the poor seem insignificant, like hair, but are actually the element that truly adorns the church.

Although the Demonstrandum of this discussion on poverty is different than that of *Hom. 1 Cor. 29*, both conclusions are logically linked. The previous homily indicates that those who are in the church should not be over-zealous for the spiritual goods, just as they should not be over-zealous for material goods. Now a second part of the logic unfolds. Just as poverty in material goods becomes a higher-status indicator, poverty in the spiritual gifts may also be a higher-status indicator, to Chrysostom in any case. He does not state this directly, but implies it in this discussion on poverty as well as in the previous homily. Again, in typical Antiochene style, the end of the sermon needs to bring *historia* and *theoria* to the ordinary member, of whom many may have been poor.

Chrysostom's thought on hierarchies is based on poverty. Schematically, it can be seen as follows:

Type of Hierarchy:	Hierarchy based on the Πνευματικά.	Hierarchy based on Material Goods	Hierarchy based on Sexual Conduct
Stratum on the hierarchical ladder as seen by Chrysostom: <i>The top being the highest-status carrier and bottom the lowest-status carrier.</i>	Those who act in humility and not in the gifts, although faith, wisdom and knowledge may also be included here.	Those who have nothing or those who have emptied themselves of everything (ό ... τὰ πάντα ἐκένωσεν).	The virgins (<i>παρθένοι</i>).
	Possibly those who heal and perform wonders.	Those who are self-sufficient (<i>αὐταρκεία</i>).	The widows (<i>χηραί</i>).
	Those speaking in tongues and prophesying ³⁵⁹ .	Those who give in their abundance (οἱ ... ἐκ τοῦ περισσεύματος ἔδωκον).	The married people (<i>τῶν ἐν γάμῳ σώφροντι λαμπόντων φρατρίαι</i>).

³⁵⁹ Cf. Martin, *Corinthian Body*, 87-90.

Therefore, Chrysostom's reasoning in developing hierarchies relies solely on poverty – not only poverty in material goods, but also spiritual goods and sexual conduct. It can be stated further that a major status or honour determiner in the early church was poverty. Poverty indicated need and dependence – not on people, but on God. It also implies that the less one needs to think about sex, the more time one can spend contemplating godly things. The less time one spends on managing wealth (as shown in the previous chapter), the more time one has to pray. Regarding the spiritual gifts, the issue of envy and greed, which both later became deadly sins in the *Moralia* of Gregory the Great, were probably the major factors leading to its cessation. This then also sheds more light as to why Chrysostom believed that the working of the gifts had ceased. It is important to examine the lowest-status carriers. He does not describe any of them in a negative sense. In *Hom. 1 Cor.* 29.1, Chrysostom stated that it was not the gifts themselves that were the sources of greed and envy, rather the people who practised them. As stated in the previous chapter, envy played a large role in honour or status concerns in the ancient Mediterranean and was considered one of the most grievous of all sins³⁶⁰. Chrysostom is never negative toward the gift itself, rather to the people practicing the gift. But in his discussion of the rich people and those who are married, he is not even negative regarding the people (unlike the spiritual gifts). The rich people at the bottom of the hierarchy are described as “those who give from their abundance”. The type of rich person in this stratum is the one who gives. There would be no place for a rich man who does not give to the poor in Chrysostom's hierarchy – not even in the lowest stratum. Such a person would have no status or honour at all. The same with the married people – they “shine in holy wedlock” ($\tauῶν \ \&v\ \gammaάμω \ σώφρονι \ λαμπόντων$); the use of the word “λαμπω” indicating again a certain sense of honour. He needs to do this in order to illustrate the symbiotic nature of this systemic hierarchy. This also shows how important the discussion of the necessity of the poor is in this homily, as it also serves as a logical continuation of the discussion of the poor in *Hom. 1 Cor.* 29.

6.5. Conclusion

Many insights have been gained in this chapter. Chrysostom's thinking on two main themes may be underlined in this conclusion. Firstly, Chrysostom's view on the body has been highlighted and secondly, his view on hierarchies in the church.

Regarding the body, there are three main features to it, according to Chrysostom:

³⁶⁰ Cf. Malina, *New Testament World*, 108-113.

- a. The body is many but one (diversity in unity through the Spirit and sacraments);
- b. Not all the members have equal honour – he uses typical ancient homonoia analogies to illustrate this;
- c. The body, as systemic hierarchy, is symbiotic in nature with relation to its functions and also its beauty. Hierocracy based on the charismata is destructive.

These are the main points of Chrysostom's body language that are given in this homily regarding the view on the body. As an Antiochene exegete, Chrysostom discusses the text within its historical context (*historia*), and then applies this within his own context. Chrysostom looks at the church in his own time, and illustrates that the hierarchy of the body is still present. The gifts had ceased, but he especially mentions two discernable hierarchies. Both of these hierarchies in the church are based on poverty. This poverty is must be seen in: firstly, sexual conduct and secondly, poverty regarding material goods. Regarding sexual conduct, the virgins are the highest-status carriers and the wedded are the lowest-status carriers (widows being in the middle) – however – all have status and function within a symbiotic unity. There is also a hierarchy within those who are physically poor and wealthy. Those who have nothing are the highest-status carriers, those who are self-sufficient are the higher-status carriers and the wealthy who give to the poor are the lowest-status carriers. Some pointers to why Chrysostom believed the gifts had ceased can also be deduced from this. Poverty in the gifts is also a status indicator. This is Chrysostom's application of the text in his own context.

The homily becomes an accusation to many churches in the modern context. In the Pentecostal tradition, it often seems as if exactly the opposite of what Chrysostom is saying is true³⁶¹. The people who speak in tongues and prophesy are usually higher-status carriers, along with the wealthy members and also the married persons. Very few assemblies would employ a senior pastor if he or she is not married and financially stable (self-sufficient at least). The system advertently dictates that a senior pastor must speak in tongues. The author acknowledges that Chrysostom's context and the author's own are very different, and that Chrysostom should also be read critically, as it has been done. But the South-African church can learn from Chrysostom how to treat the poor and also realize the importance of virginity and chastity within the growing HIV/AIDS pandemic. The Pentecostal church can learn that a systemic hierarchy based on the gifts, may be harmful to the well-being of the members of an assembly.

³⁶¹ The author is writing from the perspective of the Pentecostal tradition.

6.6. Appendix: Translation of Homily 30

Sketching the Context: The Nature of the Σωμα

“For just as the body is one, and has many members, and all the members of the body, although they are many, is one body, so also with Christ.”³⁶²

[1] After Paul consoled them with the fact that the thing given was a free gift; that they received all from “one and the same Spirit;” that it was given “to the benefit of all,” that even by the lesser gifts a manifestation was made; and in this he silenced them by referring to the habit of yielding to the authority of the Spirit: (“for all these,” he says, “works one and the same Spirit, apportioning to each individually as He wills;” which is why it is not right to be over-curious.) He proceeds now to console them in like manner from another common example, and uses an example from nature itself, as it was his habit of doing.

For when he was arguing about the hair of men and women, after all the premises he uses nature also to correct them, saying: “Does not even nature itself teach you that if a man has long hair, it is a dishonor to him? But if a woman has long hair, it is a glory to her?”³⁶³ And when he was speaking concerning the idol-sacrifices, forbidding them to touch them, he drew an argument from the examples also of them that are without, both making mention of the Olympic games, where he says: “they which run in a race run all, but one receives the prize.”³⁶⁴ He then affirmed these views from shepherds and soldiers and farmers. In which he introduces here also a common example by which he presses on and argues hard to prove that no one was really put in a worse condition, which was impressive and surprising to be able to illustrate, and planned to console the persons who had the lesser gifts; I mean, the example of the body. For nothing so consoles the person of small spirit and inferior gifts, or so persuades him or her not to be dissatisfied, as being convinced that this person is not left with less than his or her share. This is why Paul is also making this point, saying: “For just as the body is one, and has many members.”

³⁶² 1 Corinthians 12:12.

³⁶³ 1 Corinthians 11:14-15.

³⁶⁴ 1 Corinthians 9:24, Translation: NPNF.

Can you see what he is implying? He is pointing out the same thing to be both one and many. In which he also adds, establishing his point more earnestly: “and all the members of the body, although they are many, is one body.” He did not say: “being many, are of one body,” but “the one body itself is many” and those many members form this one thing. If therefore the one body is many, and the many members form one body, where is the difference? Where is the superiority? Where is the disadvantage? “For all,” he says, “are one,” and not only one, but they are unified in the one thing common to them all, that is, their being the body, they are found all to be one. Only when one considers their particular natures, then the difference comes out, and the difference is in all the same. For none of them by itself can make a body, but each is alike deficient in the making a body, and there is need of a coming together since when the many become one, then and not till then is there one body³⁶⁵. This is exactly why Paul is pointing to this very thing and said: “and all the members of the body, although they are many, are one body.” And he did not say: “the superior and the inferior,” but “they are many,” which is typical of all.

And how can they be one? When you discard the differences of the members, you realize they all form the body. For that which the eye is, this is also the foot in regard of its being a member and forming part of a body. For there is no difference in this respect. Nor can you say that one of the members makes a body by itself, but another does not. For they are all equal in this, for the very reason that they are all one body.

And after he said this and made it clear to all, he adds: “so also is Christ.” And when he should have said: “so also is the Church,” for this was the logical inference which he does not say it but instead of saying this, he mentions the name of Christ, taking the argument to a more sacred level and appealing more and more to the audience’s reverence. But what he means is this: “So also is the body of Christ, which is the Church.” For as the body and the head form the person, so he said that the Church and Christ are one. This is also why he said Christ instead of the Church, giving that name to His body. “Because our body is one thing though it consists of many members,” he says, “it is the same in the Church - we all are one thing. For though the Church consists of many members, these many members still form one body.”

³⁶⁵ Translation: NPNF.

Σωμα in Chrysostom's Exposition

[2] And since he raised up, as you can see, the person who thought he or she was inferior, he again leaves the topic of common experience, and comes to another, a spiritual one, bringing greater consolation and indicative of great equality of honor. What then is this?³⁶⁶

“For we were all baptised by one Spirit into one body, whether Jews or Gentiles, whether slaves or free people. We are all made to drink of one Spirit.”³⁶⁷

Now what he means is this: that which caused us to become one body and regenerated us, is one Spirit. For one person was not baptized in one spirit and another baptized in some other spirit. And not only is that which baptized us one, but also that into which He baptized us, that is, the reason for which He baptized us, is the same. For we were baptized not so that a number of different individual bodies might be formed, but that we might all be in harmony with one another - the perfect nature of one body, that is, that we might all be one body – the same body into which we were baptized.

So that both He who formed the body is one, and that into which He formed it is one. And he did not say: “that we might all come to be of the same body,” but, “that we might all be one body.” For Paul always attempts to use the most descriptive phrases. And it was good that he said: “we all,” including also himself. “For not even I, the Apostle, have any more than you in this respect,” he said. “For you are just as much the body as I am, and I just as much as you, and we have all the same Head and have endured the same birth-pains. This is why we are also the same body.”

He also says: “And why do I speak of the Jews? After all, even the Gentiles who were so far off from us, the Spirit has also encapsulated into the wholeness of one body.” This is why he said: “we all,” but he does not stop there but adds: “whether Jews or Greeks, slaves or free people.” Now if, after we were so far separated, were united and have become one, even more after that we have become one, we can have no right to be dissatisfied and be dejected. Certainly, the difference, in fact, has no ground. For if to Greeks and Jews, to slaves and free people He has given the same blessings, how can it be that after He supplied them in this manner, He now divides them, now that He has bestowed to a greater end the unity, by the provision of His gifts?

³⁶⁶ Ibid.

³⁶⁷ 1 Corinthians 12:13a.

“And were all made to drink of one Spirit.”³⁶⁸

“For the body is not one member, but many,”³⁶⁹

He wants to say that we share the same initiation, we enjoy the same table. And why did he not say: “we are nourished by the same body and drink the same blood?” Because by saying “Spirit,” he implies them both, the flesh as well as the blood. For through both we are “made to drink of the Spirit.”

But it seems to me now that he speaks of that visitation of the Spirit which takes place in us after baptism and before the mysteries. And he said: “We were made to drink,” because this metaphor was quite suitable for his proposed subject. It is as if he had spoken about plants and a garden, that by the same fountain all the trees are watered, or by the same water; he means the same in this instance: “we all drank the same Spirit, we enjoyed the same grace,” he said.

If then one Spirit formed us and gathered us all together into one body, this is what is meant by: “we were baptized into one body” and given to us one table, and wetted us with the same water, (for this is the meaning of “we were made to drink of one Spirit”) and people who should be united are so badly separated, and if many things then become a body when they are made one, why, I ask, do you constantly mention the differences of the members? But if you are answering: “Because there are many and diverse members,” know that this very thing is the wonder and the particular excellency of the body, when the things which are many and diverse make one. But if they were not many, it would not be so wonderful and incredible that they should be one body. No, rather they would not be a body at all.

[3] This he mentions last though, but for now he goes to the members themselves, saying:

“If the foot should say: ‘Because I am not a hand, I do not belong to the body,’ due to this does it not belong to the body? And if the ear should say: ‘Because I am not an eye, I do not belong to the body,’ due to this does it any less belong to the body?”³⁷⁰

³⁶⁸ 1 Corinthians 12:13b.

³⁶⁹ 1 Corinthians 12:14.

³⁷⁰ 1 Corinthians 12:15-16.

For if the fact that one was made inferior and the other superior does not allow them to be part of the body, the whole body cannot exist. Do not, therefore, say: "I am not part the body, because I am inferior." For the foot also has the inferior position, yet it is part of the body - for the being or not being part of the body, is not dependant on the one being in this place and the other in that place; (which is what constitutes difference of place;) but from the being conjoined or separated³⁷¹. For the being or not being a body, results from them having been made one or not. But do you, I ask, understand what he is implying? Can you see how he applies their words to our members. For as he said above: "These things have I in a figure transferred to myself and Apollos,"³⁷² in the same manner here, to make his argument free from suspicion and acceptable, he has the members speak to each other. So that when they will hear nature answering them, this experience will convince them and by the obvious opinion, they may have nothing further to oppose. He says: "For murmur, if you will this very thing, as you please, you cannot be out of the body. For as the law of nature, so much more does the power of grace guard all things and fully preserves them." And see how he kept to the rule of having nothing superfluous; not working out his argument on all the members, but on two only and these the extremes; having specified both the most honorable of all, the eye, and the least honourable of all, the feet. And he does not make the foot to discourse with the eye, but with the hand which is mounted a little above it; and the ear with the eyes³⁷³. For because we are not envious of those who are very far above us, but those who are a little higher, therefore he also formulates his comparison based on this.

"If the whole body were an eye, where would be the hearing? If the whole body were an ear, where would be the smell?"³⁷⁴

And since he mentioned the difference of the members, and having mentioned feet, and hands, and eyes, and ears, he led them to the realization of their own inferiority and superiority: see how he consoles them again, implying that it was so for their own benefit, and that their being many and diverse, this especially causes them to be a body. But if they all were individually one, they would not be one body. This is why he said: "If they were all one member, where would the body be?" This however, he mentions not until afterwards. But in this instance he points to something more - that besides the impossibility of any one being a body in themselves, it even robs the rest of being a body.

³⁷¹ Translation: *NPNF*.

³⁷² 1 Corinthians 4:6.

³⁷³ Translation: *NPNF*.

³⁷⁴ 1 Corinthians 12:17.

“If the whole body were an ear, where would be the smell?”

[4] Then because after all they were still disturbed, that which he had done above, the same he does also now. For as in the first instance he first pointed to the necessity to comfort them and afterwards silenced them, earnestly saying: “But all these work one and the same Spirit, apportioning to each person individually as He wills.” In the same manner here after he stated reasons for which he showed that it was beneficial that all should be like this, he refers the whole issue again to the will of God, saying:

“But as it is, God placed the members, each one of them, in the body as it pleased Him.”³⁷⁵

In the same way as he said of the Spirit: “as He wills,” so also here, “as it pleased Him.” Now do not enquire further into the cause, why it is like this and why not like that. For though we have ten thousand reasons to give, we shall not be so able to show these stubborn people that it is well done, as when we say, that as the best Artificer pleased, so it came to pass³⁷⁶. For as it is necessary, so He wills it. Now if in this natural body of ours we do not curiously enquire about the members, much more in the Church. And can you see his consideration in that he does not list the difference which comes from their nature nor that from their function, but that from their placement in the body. For he says: “God has placed the members each one of them in the body as it pleased Him.” And he appropriately said “each one,” pointing out that the use is applicable to all. For you cannot say: “This He has placed Himself but not that, but He placed every member according to His will.” So that to the foot also it is beneficial that it should be put where it is, and not to the head only. And if it should mangle the order and leave its own place, and go to another, though it might seem to have bettered its condition, it would be the undoing and ruin of the whole body! For it both falls from its own place and does not even reach the place it intended to go to!

“But if all were one member, where would the body be? Now there are many members, but one body.”³⁷⁷

³⁷⁵ 1 Corinthians 12:18.

³⁷⁶ Translation: NPNF.

³⁷⁷ 1 Corinthians 12:19-20.

[5] And since he properly silenced them by saying that it is God's own arrangement, again he states reasons for it. And he does not only quiet them in every instance, but also argues to give them reasons. Since on the one hand, the one who merely silences, disturbs the hearer, and the one, on the contrary, who is accustomed to demand reasons for all things, is injured in the matter of faith; for this cause then Paul is continually practicing both the one and the other, that they may both believe and may not be disturbed; and after silencing them, he again gives a reason in the same manner³⁷⁸. And notice his earnestness in the argument and the perfection of his victory. For from the things they supposed themselves unequal in honor because in them there was great diversity, even from these things he shows that for this very reason they are equal in honor. How? I will tell you:

“If all were one member,” he says, “where is the body?”

Now what he means is this: “If there were not among you great diversity, you could not be a body; and not being a body, you could not be one; and not being one, you could not be equal in honor. From where it follows again that if you were all equal in honor, you were not a body; and not being a body, you were not one; and not being one, how could you be equal in honor? As it is, however, because you are not all given the same gift, this is why you are a body; and being a body, you are all one, and differ nothing from one another for this reason: that you are a body. This means that this very difference is that which mainly results in your equality in honor. And accordingly he mentions: “But now they are many members, yet one body.”

[6] Let us then realize these things and cast out all envy, and neither hold a grudge against them who have greater gifts nor demean those that have the lesser gifts. For this is how God wants it. Let us then not oppose ourselves. But if you are still dissatisfied, consider that your work is often of such a nature that your fellow believer is unable to do it. So therefore, even if you are inferior, you still have an advantage in this very fact. And though this person may seem greater, he or she is in fact worse off in this respect – and this establishes equality. For in the body even the little members seem to play no small role, but the great ones themselves are often injured by them, I mean, by their removal. Thus what in the body is more insignificant than the hair? Yet if you should remove this, insignificant as it is, from the eyebrows and the eyelids, you have destroyed all the beauty of its countenance, and the eye will no longer appear equally beautiful. And yet the loss seems insignificant, yet it eliminates the very acceptable appearance of the eyes! And not the appearance only, but also most the use of the eyes. The

³⁷⁸ Translation: NPNF.

reason is that every one of our members has their own particular function and one which is for the purpose of the common good of the body. And in the same way there is in us a beauty which is peculiar and another which is common. And these kinds of beauty appear indeed to be divided, but they are perfectly bound together, and when one is destroyed, the other perishes also along with it. To explain myself: let there be bright eyes, and a smiling cheek, and a red lip, and straight nose, and open brow; nevertheless, if you should mar but the most insignificant of these, you have marred the common beauty of all; all is full of dejection; all will appear foul to look on, which before was so beautiful³⁷⁹. Therefore, if you should crush only the tip of the nose you have caused great deformity on all of the other members and still, it is the maiming of only a single member. And in the same manner with regard to the hand, if you should take away the nail from one finger, you would see the same result. If now you would see the same taking place with regard to their function, in the same way again, remove one finger, and you will see the rest less active and no longer able to perform their proper function.

Since then the scarring of a member causes common deformity, and its preservation causes beauty to all, let us not consider ourselves more important nor maltreat our neighbors. For because of that small member even the great member is fair and beautiful, and by the eyelids, insignificant as they appear, the eye is made beautiful. So that the person who wages war with their fellow believer wages war with him- or herself. For the injury done has consequences not only for that one person, but the person who inflicted the injury will also suffer no small loss.

The Necessity of the Poor

[7] In order to prevent this from happening, let us care for our neighbors as for ourselves, and let us transfer this image of the body now also to the Church, and take care of all as with our own members. For in the Church there are members many and diverse, and some are more honorable and some less honourable. For example, there are choirs of virgins, there are assemblies of widows, there are fraternities of those who shine in holy wedlock. What I am trying to say is that there are many degrees of virtue. And in almsgiving again in the same manner. For some empty themselves of all their goods: others care for sufficiency alone and seek nothing more than necessaries; others give of their abundance. Nevertheless, all these adorn one another; and if the greater should not consider the lesser, this one would in the greatest way cause harm to itself. Thus, suppose a virgin maltreated a married woman, she has cut off no small part of her own reward; and the person, again, that emptied himself or

³⁷⁹ Ibid.

herself of all possessions, maltreat the one that has not done this, this person has emptied himself or herself of much of the fruit of his or her labours. And why do I speak of virgins, and widows, and persons without possessions? What is less honourable than those who beg? And yet even these fulfill a most important role in the Church, hanging on to the doors of the sanctuary and supplying one of its greatest ornaments. And without these there could be no perfecting the fullness of the Church. Which thing, as it seems, the Apostles also observing made a law from the beginning, as in regard to all other things, so also that there should be widows, and so great care did they use about the matter as also to set over them seven deacons. For as bishops and presbyters and deacons and virgins and continent persons, enter into my enumeration, where I am reckoning up the members of the Church, so also do widows³⁸⁰. Certainly it is no insignificant role that they fill. For you indeed come here when you want to, but these people sing psalms and attend church night and day! They do not do this only to receive something, since if that were their reason, they might as well walk in the marketplace and beg in the alleys. But there is in them an impressive piety. At least, look in what a furnace of poverty they are, yet never will you hear a blasphemous word from them nor an impatient one, which is rather the habit of many rich men's wives. Yet some of them often lie down to their rest in hunger, and others continue constantly frozen by the cold. Nevertheless, they pass their time in thanksgiving and giving glory to God. Though you give but a penny, they give thanks and implore ten thousand blessings on the giver; and if you give nothing they do not complain, but even then they bless you, and consider themselves fortunate to enjoy their daily food.

Some will reply: "Yes, they are like this because they have no other choice!" Why, tell me? For what reason did you say this bitter expression? Are there not shameful arts which bring gain to the aged, both men and women? Had they not power to support themselves by those means in great abundance, provided they had chosen to cast off all care of upright living?³⁸¹ Can you not see how many persons of that age, by becoming pimps and procuring sexual favours and by other such occupations, both live, and live in luxury? But it is not so with these people, but they choose rather to die of hunger than to dishonor their own life and betray their salvation. And they sit here throughout the whole day, preparing a medicine of salvation for you.

For so does the physician, who stretches out the hand to apply the knife, work so effectually to cut out the corruption from our wounds, as a poor person stretching out their right hand and receiving alms, to

³⁸⁰ Ibid.

³⁸¹ Ibid.

take away the scars which the wounds have left. And what is truly wonderful, they perform this excellent surgery without pain and anguish³⁸². And we, who are more fortunate than these people and give you so much wholesome advice, do not argue in a more honourable way than they do, who sit before the doors of the church, by their silence and countenance. For we too sound these things in your ears every day, saying: “Do not be snobbish, O fortunate one! Human nature is a thing that soon declines and is ready to fall away. Our youth rushes on to old age, our beauty to deformity, our strength to weakness, our honor to contempt, our health falls away to sickness, our glory to meanness, our riches to poverty; our concerns are like a violent current that never will stand still, but keeps hastening down the steep.”³⁸³

This same advice do these paupers also give and more than this, by their appearance and by their experience itself too, which is a yet simpler kind of advice. How many, for instance, of those who now sit without possessions or youth, flourished in their youth and did great things? How many of these loathsome looking persons surpassed many, both in vigor of body and in beauty of appearance? No, you have to believe this. Certainly then, life is full of ten thousand such examples. For if from mean and humble persons many have often become kings, what is the surprise if from being great and glorious, some have been made humble and mean? Since the first scenario is much the more extraordinary, but the latter, of constant occurrence. Remember, we are all subjected to this sort of change!

[8] But if one of those thoughtless persons, who are accustomed to scoff, will object to what has been said, and will altogether deride us, saying: “How long will you not stop mentioning to us the paupers and beggars in your sermons! And prophesying to us of misfortunes, and denouncing poverty to come, and constantly desiring to make us beggars?” I do not say these things to make you beggars! But in order to open to you the riches of heaven. Since the person who is healthy can advise the sick person and console them, and does not say it not to make this person more diseased, but to preserve the person in health, by the fear of their calamities cutting off his or her remissness. Poverty seems to you to be a fearful thing and to be dreaded, even to mention the mere name of it³⁸⁴. Yes, and this is why we are poor, because we are afraid of poverty; though we have ten thousand talents. For it is not the one who has nothing who is poor, but the one who shudders at poverty. After all, in the tragedies of people it is

³⁸² Ibid.

³⁸³ Ibid.

³⁸⁴ Ibid.

also not those who suffer great evils whom we lament and account wretched, but those who know not how to cope with them, even though they be small. While the person who knows how to cope is, as all know, worthy of praises and crowns. And to prove that this is so, whom do we applaud in the games? Those who are much beaten and do not vex themselves, but hold their head on high, or those who flee after the first blows? Are not those even crowned by us as virile and noble, while we laugh at these others as unmanly and cowards? Let us then also do this with the affairs of our life. Let us crown the person that bears all things easily, as we do with those noble champions. And let us weep over them that cowers and trembles at dangers, and who before he or she even receives the blow, is dead with fear. For it is like this in the games - if any before he or she raised his or her hands, at the mere sight of the enemy extending the right hand, should run away, even though he or she receives no wound, will be laughed at and mocked as being feeble and cowardly, inexperienced in such battles. Now it is the same with those who fear poverty, and they cannot so much as endure the mention of it.

Evidently then it is not we that make you wretched, but you yourselves. For how can it be that the devil should not from here on target you, seeing you afraid and trembling even before the blow is given? Or rather, when you consider this a threat, he will have no need so much as to hit you anymore, but leaving you to keep you wealth, by the expectation of its being taken away he will render you softer than any wax. And because it is our nature, so to speak, not to consider the objects of our dread so fearful after suffering, as before and while yet untried: therefore to prevent you from acquiring even this virtue, he detains you in the very height of fear; by the fear of poverty, before all experience of it, melting you down as wax in the fire. Yes and such a person is softer than any wax and lives a life more wretched than Cain himself. For the things which they have in excess, they fear to lose! For those things which they do not have, they revel in ungratefulness. And again, concerning what they have, they are trembling only to the thought of losing it, guarding their wealth within like a spiteful runaway slave, and beset by I know not what various and unaccountable passions. For unaccountable desire, and manifold fear and anxiety, and trembling on every side, agitate them. And they are like a vessel driven by contrary winds from every quarter, and enduring many heavy seas. And how much better for such a person to depart than to be enduring a continual storm? Since for Cain also it were more tolerable to have died than to be for ever trembling³⁸⁵.

[9] Well then, these things we are always saying and never leave off saying them, but whether our sayings do any good, only time will tell, even that day which is revealed by fire, which tests every

³⁸⁵ Ibid.

person's work³⁸⁶, which shows what lamps are bright and not. Then will the person who has oil and the one who does not have it, be brought to light. But may none of you then be found destitute of the comfort; rather may all, bringing in with them abundance of mercy, and having their lamps bright, enter in together with the Bridegroom³⁸⁷.

Since nothing is more fearful and full of anxiety than that voice which they who departed without abundant almsgiving shall then hear the Bridegroom saying: "I do not know you."³⁸⁸ But may we never hear this voice, but rather that most pleasant and desirable one: "Come in, you the blessed one of My Father and inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world."³⁸⁹ For in this way shall we live the happy life, and enjoy all the good things which even surpass human understanding, that which we may all attain, through the grace and mercy and love. Amen.

³⁸⁶ 1 Corinthians 3:13.

³⁸⁷ Translation: *NPNF*.

³⁸⁸ Matthew 25:12.

³⁸⁹ Matthew 25:34.

CHAPTER 7

Homily 31: Chrysostom's Body Language (Part 2 – The Health of the Body) (1 Cor 12:21-26)

7.1. Introduction

This shorter homily forms an exposition of 1 Corinthians 12:21-26. It is also grouped with *Hom. 1 Cor.* 30 as homilies which explain Paul's body rhetoric or body language. Paul is still using the body metaphor to solve problems of divisiveness within the Corinthian assembly. I present the main theme of this homily as being the “health” of the body. Instructions on the care of the body are given and also exhortations on the phenomena that threaten the health of the body, such as envy. Thiselton³⁹⁰ remarks: “*this rhetoric [of Paul] now explicitly rebukes those who think that they and their “superior” gifts are self-sufficient for the whole body, or that others are scarcely “authentic” parts of the body, as they themselves are*” [his italics]. Chrysostom discusses Paul's statements in three main divisions; firstly, he discusses Paul's use of the metaphor of the head, feet and genitals; secondly, he elaborates on the necessity of the lower-status members of the body; and thirdly, he addresses the problem of envy and jealousy in the body. In this final section, a look at envy in the ancient Mediterranean will be given and then also Chrysostom's discussion of the danger of envy will be elaborated on.

7.2. Exposition of Paul's Metaphor of the Head, Feet and Genitals

This section of the exposition focuses on 1 Corinthians 12:21-25, which reads:

Οὐ δύναται δὲ ὁ ὄφθαλμὸς εἰπεῖν τῇ χειρὶ, χρείαν σου οὐκ ἔχω· ἢ πάλιν ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῖς ποσὶ, χρείαν ὑμῶν οὐκ ἔχω. Ἐλλὰ πολλῷ μᾶλλον τὰ δοκοῦντα μέλη τοῦ σώματος ἀσθενέστερα ὑπάρχειν, ἀναγκαῖά ἐστι· καὶ ἂ δοκοῦμεν ἀτιμότερα εἶναι τοῦ σώματος, τούτοις τιμὴν περισσοτέραν περιτίθεμεν· καὶ τὰσχήμονα ἡμῶν εὐσχῆμοσύνην περισσοτέραν ἔχει· Τὰ δὲ εὐσχήμονα ἡμῶν οὐ χρείαν ἔχει. Ἐλλ' ὁ Θεὸς συνεκέρασε τὸ σῶμα, τῷ ὑστεροῦντι περισσοτέραν δοὺς τιμὴν, ἵνα μὴ σχίσμα ἥ ἐν τῷ σώματι. ἀλλα τὸ αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων μεριμνῶσι τὰ μέλη·

³⁹⁰ Thiselton, *First Corinthians*, 1005.

The eye cannot say to the hand: “I do not need you,” or again, the head cannot say to the feet: “I do not need you.” Rather, those members of the body which seem to be less endowed with honour than other are necessary. And what we consider to be less honourable members of the body we treat with great care, and our unpresentable private parts have greater adornment to make them presentable³⁹¹. Our presentable parts do not need this. But God made the body, giving to that which seems inferior greater honour. For He designed it that there should be no division in the body, but that its members might care for one another.

In the same manner as Thiselton, Chrysostom also notes that Paul’s rhetoric in this section has very vehement tone. He looks at the significance of the use of the word “οὐ δύναται”, and notes that it indicates that the fact that the members of the body enter into discourse is a logical impossibility, and not merely a choice of volition (which would then call for the phrase “οὐ θελεῖ”).

Chrysostom notes that the intensity of Paul’s argument grows. The first metaphor of the eye and hand is not as extreme as that of the head and feet. Chrysostom, in typical Antiochene fashion as in the previous homily, affirms and incorporates typical ancient views of the body to explain the Pauline pericope. He complements Paul’s argument by elaborating more on the conventional views of the body by stating in *Hom. I Cor. 31.1*:

Διὰ τοῦτο λαβὼν ἐκάτερα τὰ ἄκρα, ἐν αὐτοῖς γυμνάζει τὸν λόγον, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ χειρὸς καὶ ὀφθαλμοῦ, δεύτερον δὲ ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς καὶ ποδῶν, αὖξων τὸ παράδειγμα. Τί γὰρ ποδὸς εὐτελέστερον, ἢ τί κεφαλῆς τιμιώτερον καὶ ἀναγκαιότερον; τοῦτο γὰρ μάλιστά ἐστιν ἀνθρωπος, ἢ κεφαλή. Ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτάρκης, οὐδὲ τὰ πάντα αὐτὴ δύναιτ' ἀν ἀνύειν· ἐπεὶ εἰ τοῦτο ἦν, περιττῶς ἡμῖν οἱ πόδες προσέκειντο³⁹².

For since he took the two extremes, he tests his argument in them, first in respect of the hand and the eye, and secondly, in respect of the head and feet, adding thrust to the example. For what is less honourable than the foot? Or

³⁹¹ Ibid., 990.

³⁹² PG 61:257.

what is more honorable and more necessary than the head? For this, the head, more than any thing, is the person. Nevertheless, it is not of itself sufficient nor could it alone perform all the functions of the body; since if this were possible, our feet would be an unnecessary addition.

Chrysostom has already explained the dialogue between the eye and the hand in the previous homily. Envy only occurs among those who have close proximity to each other. But it would be unheard of to have the head, the highest-status carrier, to converse with the feet, the lowest-status carriers. Chrysostom also mentions this in *Hom. Eph.* 10 and especially in *Stat.* 11.12. As stated earlier, not Paul or Chrysostom could view the body outside of its hierarchical nature. This is when Paul uses a code-switch – he topples the hierarchy – and makes the foot discourse with the head. It is certainly a code-switch, one that Chrysostom rightly affirms, because having a foot and a head in dialogue would be unheard of in terms of Graeco-Roman body rhetoric. Plato (*Tim.* 44d) states:

Τὰς μὲν δὴ θείας περιόδους δύο οὖσας, τὸ τοῦ παντὸς σχῆμα ἀπομιμησάμενοι περιφερὲς ὅν, εἰς σφαιροειδὲς σῶμα ἐνέδησαν, τοῦτο δὲ νῦν κεφαλὴν ἐπονομάζομεν, δὲ θειότατόν τέ ἐστιν καὶ τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν πάντων δεσποτοῦν· ὃ καὶ πᾶν τὸ σῶμα παρέδοσαν ὑπηρεσίαν αὐτῷ συναθροίσαντες θεοί, κατανοήσαντες ὅτι πασῶν ὅσαι κινήσεις ἔσοιντο μετέχοι³⁹³.

The divine revolutions, which are two, they bound within a sphere-shaped body, in imitation of the spherical form of the All, which body we now call the head, it being the most divine part and reigning over all the parts within us. The gods gave over the whole of the body they had assembled to it, to be its servant, having formed the notion that it should partake in all the motions which were to be.

This difficult section basically implies that the sole purpose of the body is to carry the head. This shows the immense honour of the head, which was predetermined by the gods. Plato gives the head divine

³⁹³ “Plato Phil.: *Timaeus*,” n.p., *TLG on CD-ROM* (Musaios 1992-2002).

qualities – the head is the god of the body, its spherical ruler³⁹⁴. Proclus (*In Tim.* 95.48) gives commentary on Plato and, with reference to some orphic fragments, relates it Zeus. In the Greek mythological literature, Zeus, the ruler of Olympus, is often called the “head” (*Orph. Fr.* 21a)³⁹⁵. More importantly, the head is also the nexus of thought and intellect. The important role of intellect and reason in Graeco-Roman culture also reflects honour to the head, which bears also one of the most honorable organs – the eyes. The head (with the heart) is also the origin of all the human senses and also associated with sleep and recovery (cf. Aristotle, *Part. An.* 2.10). Aristotle (*Gen. An.* 2.6) further affirms this hierarchy in the body in biological terms: “This is why the parts about the head, and particularly the eyes, appear largest in the embryo at an early stage, while the parts below the umbilicus, like the legs, are small; for the lower parts are for the sake of the upper ...” The heart, however, is the first organ formed of all.

According to Artemidorus (*Onir.*), the body-parts, when they occur in dreams, represent various people³⁹⁶. The head is usually the father, while the feet are the slaves. This also shows the difference in honour between the feet and the head. It indicates the typical Graeco-Roman views on the head, in which the soul was carried – it was the highest-status carrier, in contrast with the feet. Paul’s readers were aware of this; and Chrysostom’s audience as well.

In early Christian literature, the head also occupied a key role. One of the main issues in modern scholarship regarding the word κεφαλή is whether it means “source” or “authority over.” Grudem³⁹⁷ thoroughly addresses this issue. The homilies of Chrysostom play a decisive role in his hypothesis. Grudem has illustrated rightly that κεφαλή in Chrysostom refers to “authority over”, that is, within the homilies Grudem uses as examples. I would rather use Martin’s language in saying that Chrysostom, typical of the general worldview, acknowledges the head as a highest-status indicator. But Chrysostom also views the head as an equal with the rest of the body. In this case, it does not relate to his ecclesiology of anthropology, but the very nature of his Orthodox and Trinitarian theology. Within the

³⁹⁴ Cf. Martin, *Corinthian Body*, 30. One also finds this concept in Paul, that the form of the body is a divine predetermination.

³⁹⁵ Cf. Proclus (*In Tim.* 2.95.48); Wayne Grudem, “The Meaning of κεφαλή (“Head”): An Evaluation of New Evidence, Real and Alleged,” in *JETS* 44/1 (2001): 47-49 for other citations of the orphic fragment.

³⁹⁶ Cf. Artemidorus’ *Dream Handbook*.

³⁹⁷ Grudem, “The Meaning of κεφαλή,” 47-65.

broader range of Chrysostom's literature, this needs to be related with his refutations of the Arians. In this case, as Grudem³⁹⁸ also notes, *Hom. I Cor. 26* becomes important:

Κεφαλὴ δὲ γυναικὸς ὁ ἀνήρ· κεφαλὴ δὲ Χριστοῦ ὁ Θεός. Ἐνταῦθα ἐπιπηδῶσιν ἡμῖν οἱ αἱρετικοὶ ἐλάττωσίν τινα ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων ἐπινοοῦντες τῷ Υἱῷ· ἀλλ' ἔαντοις περιπίπτουσιν. Εἰ γὰρ κεφαλὴ γυναικὸς ὁ ἀνήρ, ὁμοούσιος δὲ ἡ κεφαλὴ τῷ σώματι, κεφαλὴ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁ Θεός, ὁμοούσιος ὁ Υἱὸς τῷ Πατρὶ³⁹⁹.

"But the head of the woman is the man; and the head of Christ is God." In this case, the heretics are quick to argue against us for a declaration of inferiority [between the Father and Son], from which they derive an interpretation against [the full divinity of] the Son. But they stumble among themselves. For if "the man is the head of the woman," and the head is of the same substance as the body, and "the head of Christ is God," the Son is of the same substance with the Father.

Chrysostom uses the typical language of the Nicene Creed, namely ὁμοούσιος, to refute the Arians. Thus, in early Orthodox theology, as in Plato's and Proclus' theology, the head and its status and relationship to the body were used to formulate the very essence of their views on God. The difficult task of articulating a divine ontology was made possible especially by the use of the metaphor of the head. As there is no schism in the body, there is also no schism in God. Chrysostom notes that Paul makes the head part of the rest of the body by means of dialogue. The head and the feet are the same body; Chrysostom does not have a Platonic view of the head and body⁴⁰⁰. Rather, Paul's code-switch of

³⁹⁸ Ibid., 26-28.

³⁹⁹ PG 61:214.

⁴⁰⁰ Some would argue, especially due to Chrysostom's remark in *Hom. I Cor. 31.1* that "the head is the person." But reading a Platonic dualism in this statement would be absurd. It is rather due to the fact that one can recognize a person by means of their face, which is their head. This is also why I prefer the translation "person". A Platonic somatology has the danger of resulting in or hinting to Arianism. Somatological wholeness, or being "embodied", as a human being or the Church, has been present since the beginnings of Christianity, as noted by Kallistos Ware, "'My Helper and My Enemy': The Body in Greek Christianity," in *Religion and the Body* (CSRT; ed. Sarah Coakley; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 94-95. The hypothesis that there existed a dualism between body and soul in early Christian thought is being challenged. It may have only been present in a few circles. This is especially the argument of Teresa M. Shaw, *The Burden of the Flesh: Fasting and Sexuality in Early Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1998), who proves the opposite.

equating the head and the rest of the body concur with Chrysostom's view that the Father and the Son are also equal, and not subordinate. Chrysostom needs to appropriate body-egalitarianism against hierocracy, for if not, it could lead to Arianism. Chrysostom does not elaborate much on the position of the head in this homily; he has already elaborated extensively on it in his other homilies (cf. *Hom. I Thess.* 5; *Hom. Eph.* 3, 6, 13, 15, 20). It is also seen in the reasoning of Basil the Great (*Ps. 28 Hom.* 2), Theodore of Mopsuestia (*Fr. I Cor.* 11.3), etc⁴⁰¹.

Furthermore, Chrysostom, also states that the leaders of the church is the “head” of the church (*Hom. Eph.* 6). Regarding the feet, Chrysostom (*Diab.* 1.2) makes an interesting statement regarding humanity in saying that “the feet became the head.” This implies that humanity used to be the most insignificant of all creation (the feet), but now humanity is the head (a possible allusion to Ps 8). According to this homily, humanity has been given the gift of eternal life. But through sin, humanity became the feet of creation. Chrysostom, like many other patristic authors, associates the feet with sin. Ambrose⁴⁰² (*Epist.* 41.11) discusses Mary's washing of Jesus' feet and states that God is the head of the body, while the prophets may be its eyes, and the apostles its teeth, because they bring the food of the gospel to the breasts. Very interesting, Ambrose notes, as Livy, that the stomach represents those who distribute riches to the poor. He states that even to be the feet, of which he acknowledges as lowest-status carriers, or the heel of Christ would be enough for him. Thus the washing of the feet, as lowest-status carriers, is to the benefit of the entire body. This sort of exegesis has not yet been seen from Chrysostom. The use of *allegoria* is seen in this argument, which would represent a typical Alexandrian exegetical perspective. However, even here it is seen that Ambrose cannot think in terms of the body outside that of a systemic hierarchy. The levels of honour among the body-parts are clearly distinguishable, as in Chrysostom's exposition. Ambrose also links the feet with the sinful human nature. According to *Myst.* 6.29-33, a new Christian was to be anointed on the head and the feet needed to be washed. Sins were forgiven *ex opere operato* with baptism, and the washing of the feet symbolized the forgiving of hereditary sins. In *Tract. Ev. Jo.* 56.4, Augustine, who was greatly influenced by Ambrose, associates the feet, that are always dirty, with the “human feelings” (*humanus animus*) that are always stained with sin. Again here, a rather low opinion of the feet emerges. This is why sinners need to be washed (probably referring to baptism), just like Jesus' feet needed to be washed as in John 13:6-10. Jerome states (*Vir. Ill.* 1), regarding the apostle Peter that his martyrdom of

⁴⁰¹ For a full list of references, see Grudem, “The Meaning of κεφαλή,” 37-53.

⁴⁰² Cf. Frank Bottomley, *Attitudes to the Body in Western Christendom* (London: Lepus, 1979), 65-72, who gives a detailed view of Ambrose's remarks on the body.

being nailed upside-down on a cross, his head to the ground and feet in the air, symbolized Peter's unworthiness to be crucified in the same manner as Christ. All these references illustrate how the position of the feet and head, both in Graeco-Roman culture and early Christian didactics, were commonly understood. It has also shown the way Alexandrian exegetes are inclined to interpret this motif over and against the Antiochene exegetes. In conclusion, what makes Paul so extraordinary to Chrysostom? He brings the head, the perfect entity, in contact with the feet, the imperfect, and consoles them with each other, or as Martin⁴⁰³ states: "... he [Paul] switches the venue for status attribution from the world to the church and thereby reverses the normal valuations."

After his exposition of Paul's uses of the head and feet⁴⁰⁴, he continues on to the next metaphor, namely that of the genitals. Chrysostom acknowledges that Paul is euphemistically referring to the genitals in verse 23. The two contrasts in the verse, between ἀσχήμονα and εὐσχημοσύνην, refer to private parts and publically presentable parts⁴⁰⁵, or "ugly" and "beautiful" parts. It would basically imply that the parts that are culturally seen as being dishonourable to present, actually have very much honour due to the attention given to them. Chrysostom states that even if the entire body was naked, the genitalia would be covered. Chrysostom makes an interesting statement in *Hom. 1 Cor. 31.1*:

Καὶ γὰρ ἐν οἰκείᾳ ὁ ἡτιμωμένος οἰκέτης οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἀπολαύει πλείονος θεραπείας, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀξιοῦται. Ὡστε εἰ καὶ τοῦτο ἄτιμον ἦν, οὐ μόνον μειζόνων ἀπολαύειν οὐκ ἔδει, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν αὐτῶν· νυνὶ δὲ πλείονος ἀπολαύει τιμῆς, καὶ τοῦτο τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ σοφίας ἐργασαμένης. Τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ φύσει τὸ μὴ δεῖσθαι ἔδωκε· τοῖς δὲ, ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῇ φύσει οὐκ ἔδωκεν, ἡμᾶς παρέχειν ἡνάγκασεν. Ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τοῦτο ἄτιμα· ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ ζῶα ἐν τῇ φύσει τὸ ἀνενδεές ἔχει, καὶ οὕτε ἴματίων δεῖται, οὕτε ὑποδημάτων, οὕτε ὄρόφου, τὰ πλείονα αὐτῶν· ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τοῦτο ἄτιμότερον αὐτῶν τὸ σῶμα τὸ ἡμέτερον, ἐπειδὴ πάντων δεῖται τούτων⁴⁰⁶.

⁴⁰³ Martin, *Corinthian Body*, 103; cf. Klauck, *Korintherbrief*, 90-91.

⁴⁰⁴ Chrysostom, always sensitive to Paul's rhetoric, clearly stated that this metaphor of the head and feet gave Paul's argument force (*αὕξων τὸ παράδειγμα*).

⁴⁰⁵ Thiselton, *First Corinthians*, 1008. Cf. Keener, *1-2 Corinthians*, 104.

⁴⁰⁶ PG 61:258.

In the same manner, in a house, the servant who is dishonored, far be it from enjoying greater honour, does not even have an equal portion given to him or her. By the same rule, if this member were dishonorable, instead of having greater privileges, it ought not even to enjoy the same. While now in this instance it has more honour for its part, and this is done in the wisdom of God. For to some parts by their nature He has destined not to need honour, but to others, who have not received it by their nature, He has caused us to provide honour to it. Yet are they not therefore dishonorable? Since the animals too by their nature have a sufficiency, and need neither clothing nor shoes nor a roof, the greater part of them, yet on this account is our body not less honorable than theirs, exactly because it needs all these things.

This is Chrysostom's own exposition of Paul's metaphor of the genitals. He uses his own metaphors to clarify Paul's metaphor. He uses parallelism to arrange the metaphors, giving the metaphor and its meaning. The first metaphor is that of the servant in a household and secondly, that of animals. A servant who is dishonoured does not receive extra care ($\thetaεραπεία$), but receives even less than the other servants who are not dishonoured. A dishonourable servant is usually punished, as is illustrated in the parable of the dishonest manager, in Luke 16:1-13. Landry and May⁴⁰⁷ states that the servant is discharged for performing the dishonourable act of squandering the master's money. He is therefore punished. But in order to gain back his own honour, he boosts the master's honour with his clients. According to the scheme of the limited good, the rich master would not be seen in a positive light by others. But by giving discount and cutting interest, the servant boosts the honour of the master, and in turn, boosts his own honour. This action is reactionary to the fact that he has been punished for dishonourable conduct. He certainly did not receive more care. But it is not the same with regard to the genitals. The genitals, despite being commonly seen as being dishonourable, receive greater care. The genitals were often also related to servants, slaves or workers (cf. Artemidorus (*Onir.* 1.2, 45))⁴⁰⁸. This thought is also supported by the occurrence of the word $\alphaναγκαιός$. The use of this word by both Paul and Chrysostom needs to be examined. Thiselton⁴⁰⁹ states that it should be translated as "essential"

⁴⁰⁷ David T. Landry and Ben May, "Honour Restored: New Light Shed on the Parable of the Prudent Steward (Luke 16:1-8a)," in *JBL* 119/2 (2000): 294-97.

⁴⁰⁸ Martin, *Corinthian Body*, 95.

⁴⁰⁹ Thiselton, *First Corinthians*, 1007; cf. Barrett, *First Corinthians*, 291.

while Fee⁴¹⁰ uses “necessary”. Chrysostom stated earlier that there is nothing “more essential than the head” (ἢ τί κεφαλῆς ... ἀναγκαιότερον) and in the quote above, in its verb form ἤναγκαστεν; “we are compelled” to indicate certain honourable members. There is quite a difference between something being “essential” and merely “necessary”. Martin⁴¹¹ makes a very important observation:

There is an interesting play on words in verse 22: “the apparently weaker members of the body are actually necessary (*anagkaia*),” the term *anagkaia* being ambiguous. It may imply high status, since homonoia rhetoric was always conferred to demonstrate that the higher-status members of the body, those representing the ruling class, such as the head and the belly, were most necessary and unexpendable parts of the body. But *anagkaia* may also imply low status, since the penis was euphemistically called the “necessary” member. Hence the ambiguity here: Paul admits that the genitals, the “necessary” members, seem to be the weaker; but, by their very necessariness, they can demand high status...Paul both admits and denies the low status of the weaker members of the body.

Thus, it is not a question of either/or, but rather both seem to be valid according to Martin. The point is that the lower-status carriers gain honour in the physical body, and the same needs to happen in the church. Chrysostom’s second example in the exposition, namely that of animals, further illustrates his dependence on the concepts of honour and shame. Animals are sufficient in themselves. There is no shame with animals. The human body, however, because it needs shoes, clothing and shelter, has even more honour. Chrysostom then implicates that need or wantonness is in fact a status-transferor. This is also seen in his views on the poor and the needy – they receive more status due to their need. Why is this? Because need is related to dependence on God⁴¹².

Chrysostom continues the exposition on the genitals in stating the importance of the genitals for procreation, and the severe punishment Roman legislators inflict on criminals who make men eunuchs. Chrysostom also states that the genitals, like wine, are not evil in themselves, but rather in their

⁴¹⁰ Fee, *First Corinthians*, 614.

⁴¹¹ Martin, *Corinthian Body*, 95.

⁴¹² Cf. Blomberg, *First Corinthians*, 252.

excessive misuse⁴¹³. He interprets 1 Corinthians 12:24-25 in stating that the very purpose of Paul's argument with the head, feet and genitals serve the purpose of promoting unity within the body and "that there may be no schism." Fee⁴¹⁴ agrees in saying: "God has arranged things (v. 24b) in such a way that there should be no strife among the members of the body, who mutually need each other in order to function as a body (v. 25)." It is also a consolation to the lower-status members and, finally, he states that God has given honour to the parts which lacked honour by His will.

7.3. Body-Building: The Necessity of the Lower-Status Members

The next section of the homily forms a *Refutatio* against people who would question Paul's (and then also Chrysostom's) logic. The question of honour attributed to lesser members, physiologically, in the body is understandable, but would it work in normal social relationships? The entire opening of the *Refutatio* in the homily needs to be viewed (*Hom. 1 Cor. 31.3-4*):

'Αλλ' οὐσιοὶ τις ἄν· Τοῦτο μὲν ἐν τῷ σώματι λόγον ἔχει, ὅτι τὸ ύστεροῦν περισσοτέραν ἔλαβε τιμὴν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πᾶς ἄν τοῦτο φανείη; Ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων μὲν οὖν μάλιστα οἴδοις ἄν τοῦτο συμβαῖνον. Καὶ γὰρ οἱ περὶ τὴν ἑνδεκάτην ὥραν, πρῶτοι τὸν μισθὸν ἔλαβον· καὶ τὸ πλανηθὲν πρόβατον ἔπεισε τὸν ποιμένα τὰ ἐνενηκονταεννέα καταλιπεῖν, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὸν δραμεῖν, καὶ εὑρηθὲν ἐβαστάζετο, οὐκ ἡλαύνετο· καὶ ὁ ἄσωτος υἱὸς πλείονος τοῦ εὐδοκιμηκότος τῆς τιμῆς ἀπέλαυσε· καὶ ὁ ληστὴς πρὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐστεφανοῦτο καὶ ἀνεκηρύττετο. Καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ταλάντων δὲ τοῦτο οἴδοις ἄν γινόμενον. Καὶ γὰρ ὁ τὰ πέντε τάλαντα λαβὼν καὶ ὁ τὰ δύο, τῶν αὐτῶν ἡξιώθησαν, καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ τὰ δύο λαβεῖν πολλῆς ἀπέλαυσε μᾶλλον τῆς προνοίας. Εἰ γὰρ τὰ πέντε ἐνεχειρίσθη, μὴ δυνάμενος, τοῦ παντὸς ἄν ἐξέπεσε· δεξάμενος δὲ τὰ δύο, καὶ τὰ παρ' ἔαυτοῦ πληρώσας, τῶν αὐτῶν ἡξιώθη τῷ τὰ πέντε ἐργασαμένῳ, τοσούτῳ πλεονεκτήσας, ὅσῳ ἀπ' ἐλαττόνων πόνων τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπέτυχε στεφάνων.

⁴¹³ Teresa M. Shaw, *Burden of the Flesh*, 133, elaborates on gluttony in Chrysostom's works and makes an important observation: "In his zeal to encourage regular and sincere fasting among the laity, Chrysostom frequently returns to the idea that gluttonous behaviour and a gluttonous body are shameful. Not only does the physical well-being of the individual's body suffer, but her or his status and respect in the household and community are threatened as well by dishonourable excess. Thus the drunken woman shames herself before others ..." This reference is from Chrysostom's *Hom. Matt. 57*.

⁴¹⁴ Fee, *First Corinthians*, 614-15.

Καίτοι καὶ αὐτὸς ἄνθρωπος ἦν, ὥσπερ ὁ τὰ πέντε· ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδὲν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Δεσπότης ἀκριβολογεῖται, οὐδὲ ἀναγκάζει τὰ αὐτὰ ποιεῖν τῷ υνδούλῳ, οὐδὲ λέγει, Διὰ τί μὴ δύνασαι τὰ πέντε ἐργάσασθαι; δικαίως ἂν εἰπών· ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸν ἐστεφάνωσε. Ταῦτ' οὖν εἰδότες, μὴ ἐπεμβαίνετε τοῖς ἐλάττοσιν οἱ μείζους, ἵνα μὴ πρὸ ἐκείνων ἑαυτοὺς βλάψητε· ἀποσχιζομένων γὰρ αὐτῶν, τὸ πᾶν διαφθείρεται σῶμα. Τί γὰρ ἄλλο ἔστι σῶμα, ἢ τὸ πολλὰ εἶναι μέλη;⁴¹⁵

But perhaps someone should say: “this indeed has its purpose in the body, that ‘that which lacked has received more abundant honor,’ but among people how can this be applicable?” But this happens especially among people. For it was like this with those ones who came at the eleventh hour, who first received their payment, and the sheep that had wandered caused the shepherd to leave behind the ninety and nine and run after it, and when it was found, he carried and did not drive it on; and the prodigal son obtained more honor than he who was approved; and the thief was crowned and proclaimed before the Apostles. And in the case of the talents you can also see this happen, in that to the one that received the five talents, and to the one that received two, were given the same rewards; yes, by the very reason that this person received the two, was the more favored with great providential care. Since had this person been entrusted with the five, with their lack of ability, would have failed in achieving the greater purpose. But having received the two and fulfilled their own duty, was thought worthy of the same with the one that had made the profit of five, having so far the advantage, as with less labor to obtain the same crown. And yet this person too was a human being as well as the one that traded with the five. Nevertheless, the Master does not in any way call this person to a strict account, nor compels them to do the same with his fellow-servant, nor does he say: “Why can you not have made a profit of five?” (And he may have rightly said this) but gave the same crown. Knowing these things therefore, you that are greater do not maltreat the less, unless, instead of them, you should injure yourselves.

⁴¹⁵ PG 61:260.

This *Refutatio* testifies to the rhetorical mastery of Chrysostom. In typical diatribe style, Chrysostom, after elaborating on the main argument (of the lesser members receiving greater honour), creates an imaginary opponent; an opponent who is a pessimistic realist, and questions whether this argument would also work in normal social relationships. Furthermore, Chrysostom attributes even more authority to his argument by citing examples from Scripture. He provides his audience with five examples.

Firstly, he mentions the parable of the labourers who were hired to work in the vineyard (Matt 20:1-16). The fact that those labourers who were hired last received the same pay as the others, and even that they received theirs first, illustrates that the lesser also receives more honour. He elaborates more on this parable in *Hom. Matt.* 64.3 and states that there was also envy and jealousy among those who laboured longer and that it must be remembered that those “who are first will be last.” More on this will be said in the following section. Secondly, he illustrates the point with the parable of the sheep that wandered away, for whom the shepherd left the ninety-nine (Matt 18:12-14). Thirdly, the parable of the prodigal son (Luk 15:1) and fourthly, the example of the thief who honoured Jesus on the cross is used by Chrysostom. Chrysostom identifies all these as lower-status carriers, who have been attributed honour. The fifth example, namely of the parable of the talents (Matt 25:14-30 //), seems to merit some discussion, according to Chrysostom. He only explains this example in more detail. The reason for this may be due to the fact that Chrysostom uses the servant who received two talents as a lower-status indicator, and not the servant who received one. It would be a problem for Chrysostom to use this servant, because this servant was not attributed honour for burying the talent. This servant rather fits in more with his discussion earlier in *Hom. 1 Cor.* 31.1, when he used two examples, servants and animals, to prove exactly the opposite point. There is now an apparent tension in Chrysostom’s reasoning. He mentioned that if a servant has been labeled shameful, the servant is dishonored by the other servants. But now, in this example, the lesser servant is honoured. The difference is that this servant is still honoured and not ashamed. The degree of honour is merely different. Chrysostom has already mentioned that the body in its entirety is very honourable. But those who are ashamed do not receive honour. The servant who buried the one talent was ashamed by the master. This servant represents those who are not allowed into the kingdom – those who do not give to the poor and squander the goods of the master (*Hom. Matt.* 78.1). The other two servants then represent, to Chrysostom, the church – and although their measure of honour is different, their reward (*στεφάνος*) is

the same. The use of the word στεφάνος does indicate an eschatological reward. Chrysostom means that all in the body receive the same honourable crown, namely eternal life.

After this exposition, Chrysostom's conclusion of the *Refutatio* is introduced (as signified by the phrase: Ταῦτ' οὖν εἰδότες). He states that if the members injure one another, the entire body suffers. The body can only exist if it is in unity. The members rather need to care (μεριμνῶσι) for one another. Chrysostom then elaborates even more on the symbiotic nature of the body which Paul explains, in stating that the well-being of every member depends on the other. If the lesser parts are neglected, the entire body perishes. The members then need to build each other. The crux of the argument is the following (*Hom. 1 Cor. 31.4*):

Μὴ τοίνυν εἴπῃς, ὅτι Ὁ δεῖνα ὁ τυχών ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ἐννόησον ὅτι μέλος
 ἐστὶν ἐκείνου τοῦ σώματος τοῦ τὸ πᾶν συγκρατοῦντος· καὶ ὥσπερ ὁ
 ὄφθαλμὸς, οὗτω καὶ οὗτος ποιεῖ σῶμα εἶναι τὸ σῶμα. Ἔνθα γὰρ ἀν τὸ
 σῶμα οἰκοδομήται, οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν τοῦ πλησίου ἔχει πλέον, Οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῦτο
 ποιεῖ σῶμα, τὸ εἶναι τὸ μὲν μεῖζον, τὸ δὲ ἔλαττον, ἀλλὰ τὸ πολλὰ εἶναι
 καὶ διάφορα. Ὡσπερ γὰρ σὺ, ἐπειδὴ μείζων εἶ, τὸ σῶμα συνέστησας,
 οὗτω καὶ οὗτος, ἐπειδὴ ἔλαττων. Ὡστε ἡ ἔλαττωσις αὐτοῦ, ὅταν δέη τὸ
 σῶμα οἰκοδομεῖν, ισότιμός σοι γίνεται εἰς τὸν καλὸν τοῦτον ἔρανον· τὸ
 γὰρ αὐτό σοι δύναται· καὶ δῆλον ἐκεῖθεν. Μὴ ἔστω ἔλαττόν τι καὶ μεῖζον
 μέλος, μηδὲ τίμιον καὶ ἀτιμότερον, ἀλλ' ἔστω πάντα ὄφθαλμὸς, ἡ πάντα
 κεφαλή· οὐκ ἀπολεῖται τὸ σῶμα; Παντί που δῆλον. Πάλιν ἀν πάντα
 ἔλαττονα ἦ, τὸ αὐτὸ συμβήσεται· ὥστε καὶ ταύτη ισοῦται τὰ ἔλαττων. Εἰ
 δὲ δεῖ τι καὶ πλέον εἰπεῖν, ἵνα μένη σῶμα, ἔλαττων ἐστὶν ὁ ἔλαττων·
 ὥστε διὰ σέ ἐστιν ἔλαττων, ἵνα σὺ μένης μέγας ὕν⁴¹⁶.

Do not then say that this is an normal person, but consider that this is a member of that body which holds together the whole, and as the eye, so also does this person cause the body to be a body. For where the body is built up, with such a scenario no one has anything more than their neighbor. Since this does not

⁴¹⁶ PG 61:261.

make a body, there being one part greater and another less, but their being many and diverse. For even with you, because you are greater, helped to make up the body, so also the other person, because they are less. So that this person's likely weaknesses, when the body is to be built up, turns out to be of equal value with yours, and consider these important facts: yes, this person achieves as much as yourself. And it is obvious from this point on. Let there be no member greater or less, nor more and less honorable, but let all be eye or all head, will the body not perish? Anyone can understand this. Again, if all were inferior, the same thing will happen. So that in this respect also the less are seen to be equal. Certainly, and if one must say something more, the purpose of the less being less is that the body may remain. So that for your sake this one is less, in order that you may continue to be great

The necessity of the lower-status members is that the honour of the higher-status members depends on the lower-status members. The maintenance of body honour is subject to healthy symbiosis. The importance of this is accentuated by Chrysostom's use of the subjunctive of prohibition (Μὴ τοίνυν εἴπητε). The use of the appellation "ordinary person" (Ο δεῖνα ὁ τυχών), seems to indicate that, to Chrysostom, no one in the church is banal or superfluous. In all of human society, ancient and modern, no person wants to be merely "a face in the crowd." Chrysostom states that each person is unique and important in his or her own right. The unseen, ordinary people in the church are just as important as the highest-status carriers, namely the eyes. Honour, as we have seen, needs to be manifested. The ordinary person is someone who has not received the opportunity to manifest his or her honour. The ordinary person has not had his or her honour recognized. DeSilva⁴¹⁷ makes an important statement in this regard:

Honour is a dynamic and relational concept. One the one hand, an individual can think of himself or herself as honourable based on his or her conviction that he or she has embodied those actions and qualities that the group values as "honourable," as the marks of a valuable person. This aspect of honour is really "self-respect." On the other hand, honour is also the esteem in which a person is held by the group that he or she is a valuable member of the group. In this

⁴¹⁷ DeSilva, *Honour*, 25.

regard, it is having the respect of others. It was a problematic experience when one's self-respect was not matched by the corresponding respect of others,

DeSilva shows that Chrysostom's "ordinary person," may have self-respect, but not necessarily the respect of the group. Chrysostom counters this problem by stating that the very nature of the hierarchy of the group is communal and symbiotic.

Chrysostom now summarizes Paul's entire argument in three points:

- a. The body must not be divided but united in perfection,
- b. The members of the body must care for each other and,
- c. The nature of the body is symbiotic and communal.

He finally states that if one part of the body suffers, the entire body also suffers. He uses the example of a thorn in the heel. If there is a thorn in the heel, the back is bent and the stomach contracted, the hands come with care while the head bends down and fixes the eyes on the problem. Chrysostom again refers to the fact that the heel is very much less honourable than the head or eyes, yet, there is communal care among the members. The head is brought down to the level of the feet. To Chrysostom, this needs to be the very nature of the church. In a beautiful homily on Matthew 26:6-7, Chrysostom discusses the anointing of Jesus by the woman with the precious salve (cf. *Hom. Matt. 80*). Chrysostom combines it with the Lukan account that the woman also wiped Jesus feet with her hair and salved his feet. It is not found in the Matthean account. Chrysostom notes that the woman wiped the feet of Jesus, the least honourable part, with the hair on the head, the most honourable part. She anointed the Jesus' head and his feet, but she placed her honour at the feet of Jesus. This insight into the account of the Gospel is astonishing. The concepts of honour and shame were central in the exegesis of Chrysostom⁴¹⁸. He further states that if the head is crowned, the entire person is crowned. But in contrast to this, Chrysostom states that only madmen would dig out their own eye or devour their own hand. Finally, Chrysostom states that if one person acts honourably in the Church, everyone in the church reaps the reward thereof. If there is a good teacher in the church, the outsiders will acknowledge that "the Christians have a good teacher" (*Hom. 1 Cor. 31.4*). The opposite is also true that if one person in the

⁴¹⁸ Cf. Stander, "Eer en Skande," 518-19, cf. also Stander, "Honour and Shame," 899-913.

church acts dishonourably, the entire church suffers. The body should, then, rather build itself in a communal and symbiotic relationship.

7.4. A Kingdom Divided: Envy in the Body

The final exhortation in the homily, which is usually a practical application, concerns the danger of envy in the body. The ethical conduct of the body is a primary concern for Chrysostom. Envy disrupts the social and ethical well-being of the church. In order to understand the force of Chrysostom's argument, firstly, the phenomenon of envy in the ancient Mediterranean needs to be examined and then, secondly, the contents of Chrysostom's argument will be discussed.

7.4.1. Envy in the Ancient Mediterranean World

It has been shown how prevalent the concepts of honour and shame are in the exegesis of Chrysostom. But within a society that is very aware of honour and shame issues, envy would also occur⁴¹⁹. People who have affluent honour can often be envied by others. Envy is a concept found often in the Bible. Some scholars attribute the story of Cain and Abel in the light of envy and sibling rivalry. It may have been envy that caused the one brother, Cain, to murder his brother Abel⁴²⁰. In Mark 15:10, we see that the council who handed Jesus over did this because they were envious of him⁴²¹. Paul furthermore states that there were individuals who preached the gospel out of envy. They envied Paul for his success, and by this adds in his persecution (Phil 1:15-16)⁴²². Whether it is envy among two brothers or

⁴¹⁹ Wolfgang Stegemann, "Kulturanthropologie des Neuen Testaments," in *VF* 44/1 (1999): 28-54, gives a summary of the findings of the study of cultural anthropology on the New Testament which proves helpful in understanding envy as a concept within and among other concepts in the latter mentioned approach; cf. also George M. Foster, "The Anatomy of Envy: A Study in Symbolic Behaviour," in *CurAnth* 13 (1972): 165-202.

⁴²⁰ Cf. Angela Y. Kim, "Cain and Abel in the Light of Envy: A Study in the History of the Interpretation of Envy in Genesis 4:1-16," in *JSP* 12/1 (2001): 66, gives a full analysis of this issue. Clyde A. Bonar, "Two Sons – Seven Deadly Sins," in *PHR* 98/4 (1998): 17-24, also relates envy with the conflict between the prodigal son and his brother.

⁴²¹ A very full discussion of this is given by Anselm C. Hagedorn and John J. Pilch, "It was out of envy that they handed Jesus over" (Mark 15:10): The Anatomy of Envy and the Gospel of Mark," in *JSNT* 69 (1998): 1-30 and also by Alexander Weihs, "Die Eifersucht der Winzer : Zur Anspielung auf LXX Gen 37,20 in der Parabel von der Tötung des Sohnes (Mk 12,1-12)," in *ETL* 76/1 (2000): 5-29, who relates the group that gave Jesus over to Pilate with the parable about the tenant farmers who killed the son (Mark 12:6-8).

⁴²² Christfried Bottrich, "Verkündigung aus 'Neid und Rivalität'? Beobachtungen zu Phil 1,12-18," in *ZNW* 95/1-2 (2004):84-101, shows that the main reason for the envy of Paul was his apostolic authority, again showing that the honour of Paul's social standing caused envy among his rivals.

between two people in competition, envy was as real for the inhabitants of the ancient Mediterranean world, and Chrysostom's audience, as it is for many of us today⁴²³. But how did envy function in the ancient Mediterranean? The views from classical literature, Judaism and early Christian literature as well as the concept of the evil eye will be examined.

7.4.1.1. Envy in Classical Literature

The main aspect that separates modern society from ancient society is ancient society's conception of the limited good⁴²⁴. As mentioned earlier in the study, Aristotle's notion of the limited good very much influenced the views of the average ancient Mediterranean person. All goods existed in limited quantity, and if one person had more than another, he or she was guilty of acquiring a share of the global goods that is not theirs, which may result that the less fortunate would envy the person with abundance. Malina⁴²⁵ observes that envy is manifested physically in social observances like ostracism, gossip, feuding, litigation, physical violence and homicide. It has already been stated that the handing over of Jesus was out of envy⁴²⁶. Envy was therefore a phenomenon which attributed largely to anti-social behaviour⁴²⁷. Aristotle (*Rhet.* 2.10.1) states:

Δῆλον δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τίσι φθονοῦσι καὶ τίσι καὶ πῶς ἔχοντες, εἴπερ ἔστιν ὁ φθόνος λύπη τις ἐπὶ εὐπραγίᾳ φαινομένῃ τῶν εἰρημένων ἀγαθῶν περὶ τοὺς ὄμοιους, μὴ ἵνα τι αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ δι' ἐκείνους· φθονήσουσι μὲν γὰρ οἱ τοιοῦτοι οἵς εἰσὶ τινες ὄμοιοι ἢ φαίνονται· ὄμοιους δὲ λέγω κατὰ γένος, κατὰ συγγένειαν, καθ' ἡλικίας, κατὰ ἔξεις, κατὰ δόξαν, κατὰ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα. καὶ οἵς μικρὸν ἐλλείπει τοῦ μὴ πάντα ὑπάρχειν (διὸ οἱ μεγάλα πράττοντες καὶ οἱ εὐτυχοῦντες φθονεροί εἰσιν)· πάντας γὰρ οἴονται τὰ αὐτῶν φέρειν. καὶ οἱ τιμώμενοι ἐπὶ τινὶ διαφερόντως, καὶ

⁴²³ It must however be noted that envy works differently group-oriented societies, like the ancient Near East than in modern, individualistic societies (cf. Malina, *New Testament World*, 109-10; DeSilva, *Honour*, 89-93).

⁴²⁴ Cf. Malina, *New Testament World*, 81-107; Bruce J. Malina, "Limited Good and the Social World of Early Christianity," in *BTB* 8 (1979): 162-76; Peter Walcott, *Envy and the Greeks: A Study in Human Behaviour* (Warminster: Ares & Phillips, 1978).

⁴²⁵ Malina, *New Testament World*, 119-120.

⁴²⁶ Cf. Hagedorn and Pilch, "Anatomy of Envy," 12-13; Weihs, "Eifersucht der Winzer," 21.

⁴²⁷ In ancient Jewish wisdom literature, envy is consider one of the greatest sins (Wis 2:24) while Philo calls it the "most grievous of all evils" (*Spec. III.1.2*) (cf. Malina, *New Testament World*, 108).

μάλιστα ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ ἢ εὐδαιμονίᾳ. καὶ οἱ φιλότιμοι φθονερώτεροι τῶν ἀφιλοτίμων. καὶ οἱ διξόσιοφοι· φιλότιμοι γὰρ ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ. καὶ ὅλως οἱ φιλόδοξοι περὶ τι φθονεροὶ περὶ τοῦτο. καὶ οἱ μικρόψυχοι· πάντα γὰρ μεγάλα δοκεῖ αὐτοῖς εἶναι. ἐφ' οὓς δὲ φθονοῦσι, τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ εἰρηται· ἐφ' οὓς γὰρ φιλοδοξοῦσι καὶ φιλοτιμοῦνται ἔργοις ἢ κτήμασι καὶ ὄρέγονται δόξης, καὶ ὅσα εὐτυχήματά ἔστιν, σχεδὸν περὶ πάντα φθόνος ἔστι, καὶ μάλιστα ὧν αὐτοὶ ἢ ὄρέγονται ἢ οἴονται δεῖν αὐτοὺς ἔχειν, ἢ ὧν τῇ κτήσει μικρῷ ὑπερέχουσιν ἢ μικρῷ ἐλλείπουσιν. φανερὸν δὲ καὶ οὓς φθονοῦσιν· ἅμα γὰρ εἰρηται· τοῖς γὰρ ἐγγὺς καὶ χρόνῳ καὶ τόπῳ καὶ ἡλικίᾳ καὶ δόξῃ φθονοῦσιν.⁴²⁸

If we take envy next, we can see on what grounds, against whom, and in what states of mind we feel it. Envy is pain at the sight of such good fortune as consists of the good things already mentioned; we feel it towards our equals; not with the thought of getting something for ourselves, but because the other people have it. We shall feel it if we have, or think we have, people who are equal to us; and by “equal” I mean equal in birth, relationship, age, disposition, distinction, or wealth. We feel envy also if we nearly posses everything [we want]; which is why people in high standing and prosperity feel it; they think every one else is taking what belongs to themselves. Also if we are exceptionally distinguished for some particular thing, and especially if that thing is wisdom or good fortune [we are envious of it]. Ambitious people are more envious than those who are not ambitious. So also those who have wisdom or happiness; they are ambitious -- to be thought wise. Indeed, generally, those who aim at a reputation for anything are envious on this particular point. And small-minded men are envious, as everything seems great to them. The good things which arouse envy have already been mentioned. The deeds or possessions which arouse the love of reputation and honour and the desire for fame, and the various gifts of wealth, are almost all subject to envy; and particularly if we desire the thing ourselves, or think we deserve it, or if having it make us slightly more important than others, or not having it a little

⁴²⁸ “Aristoteles en Corpus Aristotelicum Phil.: *Rhetorica*,” n.p., *TLG on CD-ROM* (Musaios 1992-2002).

less important than them. It is clear also what kind of people we envy; that was included in what has been said already: we envy those who are near us in time, place, age, or social standing.

This entire section of Aristotle's work becomes important in understanding envy ($\phi\thetaόνος$; *invidentia*) in the context of the limited good. He states that people are envious of those in close proximity to their reality⁴²⁹. People are not envious of those who are separated very far from them. He also notes that envy is especially common within kinship circles. DeSilva⁴³⁰ mentions that envy among kin is usually the result of competitive behaviour. As mentioned earlier, sibling rivalry often has its roots in envy. Chrysostom has also mentioned this in *Hom. 1 Cor. 30* when Paul had the various members close to each other (the eye and the ear, hands and the feet) in dialogue. Envy occurs among those who are close to each other, and specifically, those who are equal. He elaborates on this by stating that it is basically those who are within the same group as equals. Envy also seemed to be prevalent among sexual partners, particularly from an old man who was infatuated with a younger. Plato (*Sym. 213c.6-213d.6*) reports of the poor Socrates, asking protection from Agathon:

Καὶ τὸν Σωκράτη, Ἀγάθων, φάναι, ὅρα εἴ μοι ἐπαμύνεις· ώς ἔμοὶ ὁ τούτου ἔρως τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐ φαῦλον πρᾶγμα γέγονεν. ἀπ' ἐκείνου γὰρ τοῦ χρόνου, ἀφ' οὗ τούτου ἡράσθην, οὐκέτι ἔξεστίν μοι οὕτε προσβλέψαι οὕτε διαλεχθῆναι καλῷ οὐδ' ἐνί, ἢ ούτοσὶ ζηλοτυπῶν με καὶ φθονῶν θαυμαστὰ ἐργάζεται καὶ λοιδορεῖται τε καὶ τῷ χεῖρε μόγις ἀπέχεται. ὅρα οὖν μή τι καὶ νῦν ἐργάσηται, ἀλλὰ διάλλαξον ήμâς, ἢ ἐὰν ἐπιχειρῇ βιάζεσθαι, ἐπάμυνε, ώς ἐγὼ τὴν τούτου μανίαν τε καὶ φιλεραστίαν πάνυ ὀρρωδῶ.⁴³¹

Socrates turned to Agathon and said: “Be ready to protect me, Agathon; for the erotic passion of this man has grown quite a serious matter to me. Since I became his admirer I have never been allowed to speak to any other attractive

⁴²⁹ Malina, *New Testament World*, 111, also mentions that the “love of honour” in ancient times is not much different to modern concepts of “love of wealth.” The result of both these phenomena is usually envy; cf. Malina, “Limited Good,” 162-65.

⁴³⁰ DeSilva, *Honour*, 166-67.

⁴³¹ “Plato Phil.: *Symposium*,” n.p., *TLG on CD-ROM* (Musaicos 1992-2002).

person, or so much as to look at them. If I do, he goes wild with envy and jealousy, and not only abuses me but can hardly keep his hands off me, and at this moment he may do me some harm. Please see to this and either reconcile me to him, or, if he attempts violence, protect me, as I am in physical fear of his mad and passionate attempts.

In Plato we find that envy, especially in sexual relationships, are described as irrational. It is also clear that Socrates is in physical danger and the victim in an abusive relationship with this man. In this section, as in many others, envy is also mentioned with jealousy.

Furthermore, Aristotle notes that envy results in the desire of qualities or possessions these equals have. This then illustrates that envy results in a limited good society because individuals witness others with possessions they desire. In a society that views goods as unlimited, this would not be the case. There may still be envy, but it may be subdued by the consolation that there are more possessions of which the envious person may claim. It is not to say that envy and feuding does not occur in modern society, far from it, the root thereof is only different⁴³². Cicero (*Tusc.* 4.8.17) also states:

Invidentiam esse dicunt aegritudinem susceptam propter alterius res secundas, quae nihil noceant invidenti. (Nam si qui doleat eius rebus secundis a quo ipse laedatur, non recte dicatur invidere, ut si Hectori Agamemno; qui autem, cui alterius commoda nihil noceant, tamen eum doleat is frui, is invideat profecto.)⁴³³

Enviousness they say, is a grief arising from the good fortunes of another, which are in no degree injurious to the person who envies; for where any one grieves at the prosperity of another, by which he or she is injured, such a one is not properly said to envy (as when Agamemnon grieves at Hector's success; but where any one, who is in no way hurt by the prosperity of another, is in pain at his success, such a one certainly envies.)

⁴³² Malina, *New Testament World*, 131, provides a helpful table on the difference between ancient and modern envy.

⁴³³ Cicero, *Tusculanarum Disputationum Liber Quartus*, n.p., [cited 6 September 2006]. Online: <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/cicero/tusc4.shtml>.

Cicero, in this instance, highlights also another important aspect. The person who envies is not disadvantaged by the one who excels. Thus, in a limited good society, the disadvantage is indirect. Plutarch (*Curios.* 6.518c.6) also states that envy is “a pain at another person’s good” (φθόνος μὲν γάρ ἔστι λόγη ἐπ’ ἀλλοτρίους ἀγαθοῖς ...) ⁴³⁴ In Stoic thought, pity was described as the pain at the misfortune of others. Pity is then the opposite of envy. The notion of envy as a pain is also prevalent in the classical literature (Chrysostom calls envy a disease).

Plutarch makes a number of other interesting observations on envy. In *Mor.* 2.3.1-8, “On Envy and Hate,” Plutarch discusses the relationship between hate and envy. He also notes that envy is the opposite of pity and benevolence. He states that (1) envy is not usually found among “brutes” because they do not care about the fortune or misfortune of others (brutes are much more inclined to hate); (2) envy is always unjust, as Cicero also states, because the envious person is not disadvantaged; (3) a person will never admit to envy due to its irrationality, while hatred or evil of someone who has disadvantaged them or the group is very laudable (Plutarch calls it a sickness of the soul)⁴³⁵; (4) envy grows greater as the envied person prospers; (5) envy can come to an end when the envious person succeeds in acquiring what he or she desired (hatred is likely not to end) and (5) envy occurs mostly among friends and kin.

Thus, from classical literature, the following points regarding envy may be deduced:

- a. Envy occurs in relation to other’s fortune in possessions, excellence in abilities or wisdom, physical attraction and social reputation or honour;
- b. Envy of another’s possessions can only occur in a limited good society;
- c. Envy occurs among social equals, kinship or other same-group members;
- d. There is no damage on the part of the envious person – it is irrational or even madness;
- e. Envy results in feuding, violence etc;
- f. Envy may come to an end when the height of the envious above the envied is reached.

7.4.1.2. Envy in Judaism

As mentioned previously, Philo regarded envy as “the most grievous of all sins.” Envy was a common danger people were warned against in the Hebrew Bible (Job 5:2; Prov 3:31, 14:30, 23:17, 27:4; Eccl

⁴³⁴ “Plutarchus Biogr., Phil.: *De Curiositate* (515b-523b),” n.p., *TLG on CD-ROM* (Musaios 1992-2002).

⁴³⁵ Cf. John J. Pilch, “Secrecy in the Mediterranean World: An Anthropological Perspective,” in *BTB* 24 (1994): 151-57.

9:6; Isa 11:13, 26:11; Ezek 35:11). The result of the envy is always a downfall before God and the person's peers. It is also stated how difficult it is to resist becoming envious⁴³⁶. In the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*, Simeon instructs his children to beware of envy and attributes it to an evil spirit. He also states that the one who envies fades away while the person who is envied prospers⁴³⁷. It is also seen in the Decalogue, in which theft, covetousness and envy are related⁴³⁸. Envy was also considered a threat to sound governance (1 Macc 8:16). According to the *Wisdom of Solomon* 2:24, envy has brought death into the world. Envy is also often related to the enmity between angels or demons and humans, particularly Adam and Eve⁴³⁹.

There is also envy in the context of the limited good in Jewish literature. Josephus (*Vita* 122-23; *Ant.* 4.32, 51) and Philo (*Ebr.* 110) both clearly state the expression of “the limited good.” This would then directly or indirectly point to the occurrence of envy⁴⁴⁰. The difference between envy and jealousy is often spelled out⁴⁴¹. Envy was a very real danger in Judaism, as in classical antiquity.

7.4.1.3. Envy in Early Christian Literature

Envy is also a prominent topic in the New Testament. In the gospels, we have already seen that Jesus' enemies were envious of him⁴⁴². In the historical Jesus research, Van Aarde uses the “status envy” hypothesis to elaborate on Jesus’ position as being fatherless. In the patriarchal world of the ancient Mediterranean, being a fatherless child was traumatic. Van Aarde⁴⁴³ states that Jesus’ apparent ostracism as a child, his anti-patriarchal behaviour and his relationship with his heavenly Father are all

⁴³⁶ George R. A. Aquaro, *Death by Envy: The Evil Eye and Envy in the Christian Tradition* (Lincoln: Universe, 2004), 20-49, gives a full discussion of envy in the Old Testament with some insights on the concept of the evil eye.

⁴³⁷ Cf. Malina, *The New Testament World*, 115-17.

⁴³⁸ Cf. Ibid., 129-30.

⁴³⁹ Cf. Antonio Piñero, “Angels and Demons in the Greek Life of Adam and Eve,” in *JSJ* 24/2 (1993): 191-214.

⁴⁴⁰ Cf. Jerome H. Neyrey and Richard L. Rohrbaugh, “‘He must Increase, I must Decrease’ (John 3:30): A Cultural and Social Interpretation,” in *CBQ* 63/3 (2001): 465-70; Amitav Ghosh, “The Relations of Envy in an Egyptian Village,” in *CurAnth* 13 (1972): 165-202.

⁴⁴¹ Cf. Malina, *New Testament World*, 126-28 for a thorough explanation on the differences between envy and jealousy with relation to the Old Testament.

⁴⁴² Cf. Hagedorn and Pilch, “Anatomy of Envy,” 1-3; Weihs, “Eifersucht der Winzer,” 5-8; Dirk A. Pauw, “The Influence of Emotions upon events in the Gospel of Mark,” in *EkklPhar* 79/1 (1997): 47-61.

⁴⁴³ Cf. Andries G. van Aarde, “Social Identity, Status Envy and Jesus’ Abba,” in *PastPsych* 45/6 (1997): 451-72; Andries G. van Aarde, *Fatherless in Galilee: Jesus as child of God* (Harrisburg: Trinity, 2001.)

evidence of Jesus' status envy. Jesus envied children who had a physical father. The validity of these claims may be questioned, as there is not as much information about Jesus' relationship with Joseph. This would be quite evident in the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas*, in which Jesus, almost appearing to be a spoiled child, punishes and even kills children who confront him (*Inf. Gos. Thom.* 3:1-3; 4:1-2). The general occurrence of status envy was prevalent in ancient times.

The issue of Paul and his opponents who envied him may also be attributed to status envy. Some would argue that Paul envied the other apostles, which is why he needs to continuously state his own apostolic authority. But the success and honour attributed to Paul may also have caused envy among his opponents⁴⁴⁴. Paul also elaborates on envy himself, especially in his vice list in Romans 1:29-31, which has its roots in the Decalogue⁴⁴⁵. James 4:2 links envy with violence and murder. Clement also notes that envy was a problem in the Corinthian church (*1 Clem.* 3:2).

In the early church⁴⁴⁶, envy was one of the so-called “deadly sins.” Cyprian (*Zel. Liv.* 1-3, 9) states that the great danger of envy is the fact that it is hidden. The only proof of envy, as we shall discuss in the next section, is the evil eye. Cyprian also traces the sin of envy back to the devil and that envy is one of the greatest snares of the devil. He states that the devil beheld the beauty and majesty of God, and became envious of God (*Zel. Liv.* 4). As many other writers, Cyprian also discusses jealousy with envy. Commodian (*Instr.* 64) calls envy the “greed of the eyes”, a burning that cannot be easily quenched, and brings forth judgement. Envy is especially linked with the love of wealth (cf. Basil the Great, *Epist.* 366), which poisons the soul. Gregory of Nyssa (*Orat. Mel.* 1) also relates envy to the eyes, and especially people’s natural love for wealth. Envy was often used as an accusation against enemies, as we have seen with Paul and Jesus. An envy accusation is an assault on an individual’s honour. Whilst envy often leads to violence and conflict, an envy accusation is a serious declaration of shame. Athanasius (*H. Ar.* 28) also makes envy accusations against the Arians. In Augustine’s exposition on Psalm 105 he states (*Enarrat. Ps.* 105.16; cf. 34.5, 61.4, 140.7) that envy is “hatred at another’s prosperity.” The enemies of the servants of God were, according to Augustine, envious of the

⁴⁴⁴ Cf. Bottrich, “Verkündigung,” 84-86; Dirk A. Pauw, “The Influence of Emotions upon events in the Acts of the Apostles,” in *EkkloPhar* 77/1 (1995): 39-56; Christopher Forbes, “Comparison, Self-Praise, and Irony: Paul’s Boasting and the Conventions of Hellenistic Rhetoric,” in *NTS* 32 (1986): 1-30 importantly reminds us that Paul’s speeches of boasting should be understood in terms of conventional boasting in Hellenistic rhetoric.

⁴⁴⁵ Cf. Malina, *New Testament World*, 129-30.

⁴⁴⁶ The writings of John Chrysostom will be excluded in this section, as they will be elaborated on in the next section.

prosperous servants of God, and therefore persecuted them. He also relates envy to the sin of the devil (cf. *Trac. Ep. Jo.* 5.8; *Trac. Ev. Jo.* 33.3-4; *Bapt.* 7.11; Methodius, *Res.* 3.7). He calls pride “the mother of envy” (*Catech.* 4.8). Furthermore, Augustine is also aware of the influence of envy in sibling rivalry, and also attributes the murder of Abel by Cain to envy (*Civ.* 15.5). In turn, he then also draws a comparison between the story of Cain and Abel and Romulus and Remus, the two brothers who apparently founded Rome. Remus was also killed by Romulus, and thus, as Augustine states, the earthly city (founded by Cain and Abel) and also the great city of Rome, had their foundations stained with the fratricidal blood resulting from envy. Once again, cues are given indicating that envy is the archetypical transgression. This is also evident in the earlier writing of Clement of Rome (*I Clem.* 3:4):

Διὰ τοῦτο πόρρω ἄπεστιν ἡ δικαιοσύνη καὶ εἰρήνη, ἐν τῷ ἀπολιπεῖν
ἔκαστον τὸν φόβον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐν τῇ πίστει αὐτοῦ ἀμβλυωπήσαι, μηδὲ
ἐν τοῖς νομίμοις τῶν προσταγμάτων αὐτοῦ πορεύεσθαι μηδὲ
πολιτεύεσθαι κατὰ τὸ καθῆκον τῷ Χριστῷ, ἀλλὰ ἔκαστον βαδίζειν κατὰ
τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τῆς καρδίας αὐτοῦ τῆς πονηρᾶς, ζῆλον ἄδικον καὶ ἀσεβῆ
ἀνειληφότας, δι' οὗ καὶ θάνατος εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον.⁴⁴⁷

For this reason [strive], righteousness and peace are absent, while each deserts the fear of God and the eye of faith in him has grown dim and they walk neither in the ordinances of His commandments nor use their citizenship in the worthy manner of Christ, but each goes according to the desires of his evil heart, and has revived the unrighteousness and impious envy, by which also “death came into the world.”

The fact that death came into the world is an allusion to *The Wisdom of Solomon* 2:24. After this chapter, Clement also discusses the story of Cain and Abel and agrees that “envy and jealousy led to the death of a brother” (*I Clem.* 4:1-7). He also refers to the role of envy and jealousy in the narratives of Jacob and Esau, Joseph, Moses, Aaron and Miriam, Dathan and Abiram and David and Saul (*I Clem.* 4:8-13). Then Clement also makes envy accusations against the persecutors of the Apostles. He also notes that the envy against Paul was due to his reputation (*I Clem.* 5:1-7). This notion of the envy of the Jews is also stated in the apocryphal *Acts of Peter and Paul* 5. Finally, Clement also

⁴⁴⁷ “Clemens Romanus et Clementina Theol.: *Epistula I ad Corinthios*,” n.p., *TLG on CD-ROM* (Musaios, 1992-2002).

acknowledges that envy and jealousy destroy most marriages (*I Clem.* 6:3-4). Jerome had to vehemently defend himself against envy accusations (*Pelag.* 1.2), and states that his opponents, the Pelagians, are such sorry people they do not even deserve envy (cf. also *Ruf.* 2.11).

An interesting warning is given by Ignatius to the persecuted Christians. He states that Christians should not be envious of each other when they become martyrs (*Ign. Rom.* 7:2). In the first centuries of Christianity, martyrdom was considered a great honour among members of the group of Christianity. But Ignatius warns Christians not to be envious martyrs, thus, they should not have status envy and seek to be martyrs only for this reason⁴⁴⁸. In Pseudo-Justin Martyr (*Coh. Gent.* 3), the author accuses the Greek gods of envy. Envy accusations in apologetic and polemic literature seem common, as we also find in Irenaeus' accusations against the Gnostics (*Haer.* 5.4.1). The fact that envy is also a pain or sickness of the soul is very evident among the works of the early Christians, especially in Chrysostom. Gregory Thaumaturgus (*Met. Eccl.* 4) states:

Φανερὸν δέ μοι ἐγένετο καὶ ὄπόσος ἀνδρὶ φθόνος παρὰ τῶν πέλας ἔπεται, οἰστρος ὑπάρχων πονηροῦ πνεύματος· καὶ ὅτι ὁ ὑποδεξάμενός τε αὐτὸν, καὶ οίονεὶ προστερνισάμενος, οὐδὲν ἔτερον ἔχει, ἢ τὸ διεσθίειν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν, καὶ διαπρίειν τε καὶ δαπανᾶν μετὰ τοῦ σώματος ἑαυτοῦ λύπην ἀπαραμύθητον, τὴν τῶν ἄλλων εὐπραγίαν τιθέμενον.⁴⁴⁹

And it became clear to me also how great is the envy which follows a person from their neighbours, like the sting of a wicked spirit; and I saw that the one who receives it, and takes it as it were into his chest, has nothing else but to eat their own heart, and tear it, and consume both soul and body, finding inconsolable vexation in the prosperity of others.

He also notes that envy destroys fraternal relationships, as well as the person who envies. The same language Aristotle uses for envy, namely a vexation or a pain (*λύπην*), is also used here and in many

⁴⁴⁸ Cf. Juan J. Ayan Calvo, “El Tema del Mal en el Pensamiento de Ignacio de Antioquía: En Torno el Capítulo 19 de su Carta a los Efesios,” in *RevistAgust* 27/84 (1988), 607-22, who also shows how Ignatius related envy to the original sin of the devil.

⁴⁴⁹ “Gregorius Thaumaturgus Scr. Eccl.: *Metaphrasis in Ecclesiasten Salomonis*,” n.p., *TLG on CD-ROM* (Musaios, 1992-2002).

other references to envy. Aphrahat (*Dem.* 6.8), on the other hand, links envy with gossip and mockery, the typical actions of the unrighteous.

However, the two major figures who wrote very influential works on envy in the early Church was John Cassian and Gregory the Great. Both included envy among the most deadly or cardinal sins, of which John Cassian named eight and Gregory the Great reduced to seven. Sin was divided into two categories, namely venial and capital sins. Venial sins can be forgiven especially by means of the sacraments, while capital sins threatened the gift of grace and may lead to damnation if not confessed. The seven deadly⁴⁵⁰ sins are pride (*superbia*), greed (*avaritia*), lust (*luxuria*), envy (*invidia*), gluttony (*gula*), wrath or anger (*ira*) and sloth or laziness (*acedia*). These are also countered by seven holy virtues, namely chastity (*virtus*, vs. *luxuria*), abstinence (*frenum*, vs. *gula*), generosity (*liberalitas*, vs. *avaritia*), diligence (*industria*, vs. *acedia*), peace or patience (*patientia*, vs. *ira*), kindness (*humanitas*, vs. *invidia*) and humility (*humilitas*, vs. *superbia*). The seven deadly sins are based upon the eight deadly pitfalls of monks, written by John Cassian. Cassian's eight sins are gluttony, fornication, greed, anger, dejection, depression, vain glory and pride. Envy is not mentioned directly in Cassian's vice list, but may be included either in greed or vain glory. Vain glory may be related to status envy. Cassian probably built on the earlier work of Evagrius of Pontus, who systematized the teachings of the desert fathers. He devised a list of eight vices in the same likeness as Cassian's vice list. It is not as clear in Cassian's work as it is in the work of Gregory the Great, which was more influential in the ages following. Due to the many references to envy as being a pain or burning, the so-called punishment for those who were guilty of envy in hell was that they had to be placed in freezing water. Gregory the Great especially elaborated on Job 5:2: "Envy slays the little one" and states (*Moral.* 5.46.84) that the presence of envy immediately signifies the inferiority of the envious person to the one who is envied. He also notes that the devil envied Adam, which is why he tempted Adam and Eve. Envy is also mentioned as being the first and primary sin of the devil, which brought death into the world. The other examples Gregory provides are identical with the list in 1 Clement 4, which may have been used in the compilation of the work. He also notes that envy leads to depression and madness (*Moral.* 5.46.85). There are also a number of allusions to the evil eye.

⁴⁵⁰ Cf. Solomon Schimmel, *The Seven Deadly Sins: Jewish, Christian and Classical Reflections on Human Psychology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 55-81; Don Herzog, "Envy," in *Wicked Pleasures: Meditations on the Seven Deadly Sins* (ed. Robert C. Solomon; Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998), 141-60.

Thus, from Christian (and Jewish) antiquity, the following conclusions can be made regarding envy:

- a. Envy is regarded as one of the archetypal sins, especially with the devil and Cain and Abel, and became officially listed in the vice lists of the church,
- b. Status envy became common against and in the church,
- c. Envy accusations, which were serious assaults on one's honour, were used in apologetic and polemic works, although leaders in the church were also accused thereof,
- d. Envy is a plague/pain/disease of the soul,
- e. Envy disrupts good governance,
- f. Envy leads to hatred and violence,
- g. Envy should be fought with its opposite, namely kindness and pity.

7.4.1.4. Envy and the Evil Eye

Aside from envy accusations, proof of envy was usually manifested in the evil eye. Malina⁴⁵¹ defines the evil eye as follows:

As a rule, people in the Mediterranean were (and are) very watchful of those who might envy them by attention to the *evil eye*. Evil-eye belief refers to the conviction that certain individuals, animals, demons, or gods have the power to cause some negative effect on any object, animate or inanimate, on which they may look. Evil eye works voluntarily or involuntarily. The negative effects it can cause are injuries to the life or health of others, to their means of sustenance and livelihood, or to their honour and personal fortune.

This ancient superstition was nearly always connected to envy. The danger of being envied was that the person may suffer damage due to the effects of the evil eye. Certain people were also stigmatized with having an evil eye, such as disabled and deformed individuals, the blind, and enemies in a feud, group outsiders, lepers, criminals and the poor⁴⁵². The evil eye is then also intertwined with the evil heart

⁴⁵¹ Malina, *New Testament World*, 120; cf. also John H. Elliot, "The Fear of the Leer: The Evil Eye from the Bible to Li'l Abner," *For* 4/4 (1988): 42-71; Frederick T. Elworthy, *Evil Eye: The Classic Account of an Ancient Superstition* (London: Dover, 2004); Frederick T. Elworthy, *Evil Eye: The Origins and Practices of Superstition* (London: Kessinger, 2003); Rivka Ulmer, *Evil Eye in the Bible and Rabbinic Literature* (New Jersey: Ktav, 1994).

⁴⁵² Cf. John H. Elliot, "The Evil Eye in the First Testament: The Ecology and Culture of a Pervasive Belief," in *The Bible and Politics of Exegesis: Essays in Honour of Norman K. Gottwald on His Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (ed. David Jobling, Peggy L.

(Deut 28:65; Job 30:26-27, 31:1-9, 26-27; Prov 15:30, 22:9, 44:18; Lam 5:17). Light shines through the eyes, which had an effect on those envied⁴⁵³. Any person could fall victim to the evil eye. Plutarch notes that even the envious person can be harmed (*Quaest. Conv.* 682A-F) as well as children (*Quaest. Conv.* 680D, 682A, 682F)⁴⁵⁴. The most popular protection against the evil eye was amulets and especially the symbol of an eye on the amulet or painted or carved in the wall of a house or shop. At times a phallus was also worn, and spitting was also a common ward against the evil eye. In Galatians 4:14, Paul defends himself against an evil eye accusation that the Galatians did not spit in his presence⁴⁵⁵. Other protection included hand gestures and herbs.

Evil eye references are also prevalent in the New Testament. In the Sermon on the Mount, Jesus refers to the evil eye (Matt 6:22-23; Luke 11:34-36)⁴⁵⁶ as well as in the parable of the labourers in the vineyard (Matt 20:1-16)⁴⁵⁷. In Pauline literature, the most popular reference is Galatians 3:1: “O foolish Galatians, who has injured you with the evil eye.” And then in Galatians 4:15 accuses his opponents of having the evil eye⁴⁵⁸. Paul therefore makes an honour assault upon his opponents, as an evil eye accusation is equal to an envy accusation.

Day and Gerald T. Sheppard; Cleveland: Pilgrim Press, 1991), 147-59; Malina, *New Testament World*, 121-22; John J. Pilch, “The Evil Eye,” in *TBT* 42/1 (2004): 49-53; Aquaro, *Evil Eye*, 73; John H. Elliot, “Matthew 20:1-15: A Parable of Invidious Comparison and Evil Eye Accusation,” in *BTB* 22 (1992): 52-65; John H. Elliot, “The Evil Eye and the Sermon on the Mount: Contours of a Pervasive Belief in Social Scientific Perspective,” in *BibInt* 2 (1994): 51-84; Carl B. Bridges and Ronald E. Wheeler, “The Evil Eye and the Sermon on the Mount,” in *SCJ* 4/1 (2001): 69-79; John J. Pilch, “Actions Speak Louder than Words,” in *TBT* 34/3 (1996): 172-76.

⁴⁵³ Cf. Malina, *New Testament World*, 121-22; and Elliott, “First Testament,” 147-50, for a full list of Old Testament references and apocryphal citations as well as an in-depth analysis of the relationship between light and the eyes; cf. also Ulmer, *Evil Eye*, 76-112; Rivka Kern-Ulmer, “The Power of the Evil Eye and the Good Eye in Midrashic Literature,” in *Judaism* 40/3 (1991): 344-53.

⁴⁵⁴ Cf. Malina, *New Testament World*, 123; Matthew W. Dickie, “Heliodorus and Plutarch on the Evil Eye,” in *CP* 86/1 (1991): 17-29.

⁴⁵⁵ Cf. Malina, *New Testament World*, 124.

⁴⁵⁶ Cf. Elliott, “Invidious Comparison,” 52-56; Elliot, “Sermon on the Mount,” 51-84; Aquaro, *Evil Eye*, 50-71; Giovanni C. Bissoli, “Occhio Semplice e Occhio Cattivo in Lc 11,34 alla luce del Targum,” in *SBFLA* 46 (1996): 45-51; David A. Fiensy, “The Importance of New Testament Background Studies in Biblical Research: The ‘Evil Eye’ in Luke 11:34 as a Case Study,” in *SCJ* 2/1 (1999): 75-88.

⁴⁵⁷ Cf. Ulrich Busse, “In Souveränität - Anders: Verarbeitete Gotteserfahrung in Mt 20, 1-16,” in *BZ* 40/1 (1996): 61-72.

⁴⁵⁸ For a detailed discussion of this issue, cf. Malina, *New Testament World*, 123, John H. Elliott, “Paul, Galatians and the Evil Eye,” in *CurTM* 7 (1990): 262-73; Susan G. Eastman, “The Evil Eye and the Curse of the Law: Galatians 3.1

In the post-New Testament literature of the early church, envy and the eyes are also often linked with each other. Gregory Thaumaturgus (*Fr. Ev. Matt.* 6:22-23), in his exposition of Matthew 6:22-23, relates the evil eye to hypocrisy, or “pretended love.” This removes all the light within a person and fills the person with darkness. Sulpitius Severus (*Vit. Mar.* 2.4) states that the father of the blessed Martin looked upon his actions with an evil eye. In Tatian’s *Diatessaron* (10:42, 21.38) Jesus describes the evil eye as a result of the impurity of a person’s heart (cf. also Origen, *Cels.* 7.33). Athanasius also accuses his Arian opponents of casting an evil eye (*Apol. Sec.* 1.6). Another interesting mention of the evil eye is in Theodoret (*Dial.* 3), who has Eranistes state that the human body of Eve cast an “evil [envious] eye” upon the forbidden fruit. Again, as with envy, the evil eye is traced back to the original sin of Adam and Eve. Jerome (*Epist.* 77.12) warns the virgin Fabiola that she should not be envious of others who are not virgins, that she may not have an evil eye. Jerome often uses the phrase “evil eye” to incur an envy accusation (*Epist.* 69.1, 77.12). Ambrose also makes an envy accusation in this way against the Arians who “constantly examine the Personhood of Jesus” in the same manner as the Judeans who were responsible for the crucifixion (*Fid.* 1.67). Even in later medieval literature, the sinners in Dante’s *Purgatorio* (*Canto* 13) who are guilty of envy have their eyes sewn shut with iron wire, so that they may not envy anything else with their eyes nor cast an evil eye upon anything. Again, as with envy, evil eye accusations are present in the apologetic, polemic, biographic and hagiographic literature of the early church. Chrysostom was also very aware of the concept of the evil eye.

The context has now been sketched in which Chrysostom and his audience understood envy. But how does Chrysostom interpret envy, especially with relation to the believers in Corinth?

7.4.2. Envy in Chrysostom: The Gangrene of the Body

Chrysostom has been discussing the health of the body, and the greatest threat of the body is envy. Chrysostom calls it the “gangrene of the body” (*Hom. 1 Cor.* 31.7). He quotes Matthew 12:15: “A Kingdom divided in itself shall not stand.”

Chrysostom states further that envy may be even worse than the “root of all evils”, namely the love of wealth (1 Tim 6:12). He then elaborates on the nature of envy (*Hom. 1 Cor.* 31.7):

Revisited,” in *JSNT* 83 (2001): 69-87; Bruce W. Longenecker, “‘Until Christ is Formed in You’: Suprahuman Forces and Moral Character in Galatians,” in *CBQ* 61/1 (1999): 92-108.

Οὐδὲν δὲ οὗτοι μερίζει καὶ διίστησιν, ὡς φθόνος καὶ βασκανία, τὸ χαλεπὸν τοῦτο νόσημα, καὶ πάσης ἀπεστερημένον συγγνώμης, καὶ τῆς τῶν κακῶν ρίζης κατά τι χαλεπώτερον. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ φιλάργυρος τότε ἥδεται, ὅταν αὐτὸς λάβῃ· ὁ δὲ βάσκανος τότε ἥδεται, ὅταν ἔτερος μὴ λάβῃ, οὐχ ὅταν αὐτὸς λάβῃ· εὐεργεσίαν γὰρ οἰκείαν νομίζει τὴν ἔτερων κακοπραγίαν, οὐ τὴν οἰκείαν εὐημερίαν, κοινός τις ἐχθρὸς τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων περιερχόμενος φύσεως, καὶ τὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μέλη τύπτων, οὐ τί γένοιτ' ἀν μανικώτερον; Ὁ δαίμων φθονεῖ μὲν, ἀλλ' ἀνθρώποις, δαίμονι δὲ οὐδενί· σὺ δὲ ἀνθρωπος ἀν, ἀνθρώποις φθονεῖς, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ὄμόφυλον ἵστασαι καὶ ὁμογενὲς, ὅπερ οὐδὲ ὁ δαίμων ποιεῖ. Καὶ ποίας τεύξῃ συγγνώμης, ποίας δὲ ἀπολογίας, ὅταν ἴδης ἀδελφὸν εὐημεροῦντα τρέμων καὶ ὠχριῶν, στεφανοῦσθαι δέον καὶ χαίρειν καὶ ἀγάλλεσθαι;⁴⁵⁹

But nothing divides and separates so terribly as envy and jealousy that grievous disease, and void from all excuse, and in some respect worse than “the root of all evils.”⁴⁶⁰ For the greedy person is then pleased when they have received, but the envious is then pleased, when another did not receive, not when they themselves have received. For this person considers the misfortunes of others a benefit to themselves, rather than prosperity. This person becomes a common enemy of humankind, and hurting the members of Christ – and what is closer to madness than this? A demon is envious, but of humans, not of any demon: but you, a human being, envies other humans, who is part of your own tribe and family – not even a demon does this! And what excuse will you give? Trembling and turning pale at sight of a fellow human in prosperity, when you ought to crown yourself and to rejoice and celebrate humankind!

To Chrysostom, the very nature of envy is self-destructive. Envy is detrimental to the group, because it sets members against each other. Chrysostom does this in superb rhetoric. A number of parallelisms are present in this section, with a number of rhetorical questions. He firstly identifies the main group to

⁴⁵⁹ PG 61:264.

⁴⁶⁰ 1 Timothy 6:12.

which all belong, namely humanity. The group that is against humanity is the demons. In this instance we see that inner-group envy accusations are more shameful than trans-group envy accusations. To the previous authors, Jerome and Athanasius, who accused the Arians and Pelagians of being envious, is not as shameful as Chrysostom highlighting inner-group envy, within humanity and the body of Christ. The envy of the demons against humans is not as shameful as envy among humans themselves (cf. also *Hom. Matt.* 40.2; 86.1).

The link with the demons is also made in *Hom. Jo.* 37.3, in which Chrysostom states that envious people are worse than wild animals, even worse than demons, because they treat their own people, their benefactors, as enemies. Envy therefore spawns dissent within the group. Another accusation is that being envious is worse than being greedy, because envy is especially anti-social and even sadistic, in that it delights the envious person when another suffers. Envy, to Chrysostom, is illogical, because when a member of the group prospers, it grieves another member, when it should indeed make all members of the group rejoice.

The motives of an envious person are always to the disadvantage of the group, even though the means of achieving what the envious person desires is acceptable. Chrysostom uses an interesting example from Philippians 1:15-16. He states that the people who were envious of Paul were not proclaiming a doctrine that was heresy (*Anom.* 5.1). The background of this homily is against individuals who believed that the motives and conscience of the preacher of the gospel is not as important as the fact that the gospel is being proclaimed. Chrysostom argues against this, in stating that the reason Paul's opponents were proclaiming a sound doctrine was because they wanted to cause an accumulation in disciples attributed to Paul. This would then in turn cause a reaction from Nero, who would then persecute and kill Paul. Thus, if envy is a motive, even if the seeming benefit is to the greater good, it is always destructive. This is then the great danger of envy, because the envious rejoice in the downfall of the envied.

Chrysostom however states (*Hom. I Cor.* 31.7) that there may be healthy competition, or wholesome rivalry. He uses the expression “to emulate” ($\tauὸν \tauοιοῦτον \zetaῆλον$). But emulation can also be evil, leading to envy. This person then becomes an emulator of the devil ($\tauοῦ διαβόλου \zetaηλωτὴς \gammaινόμενος$), because they see “a person in paradise, does not seek to change their own condition, but aims to cast this person out of paradise.” This then also explains why the sin of envy is always linked with the devil. This sort of emulation should be avoided.

Chrysostom then reaches the core issue at hand: envy among the members in the body. He states it as follows (*Hom. 1 Cor. 31.7*):

Τίνος γὰρ ἔνεκεν, εἰπέ μοι, φθονεῖς; ὅτι χάριν ἔλαβε πνευματικὴν ὁ ἀδελφός; Καὶ παρὰ τίνος ἔλαβεν; εἰπέ μοι· οὐ παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ; Οὐκοῦν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον τὴν ἀπέχθειαν ἀναδέχῃ τὸν δεδωκότα τὴν δωρεάν.

Tell me, why are you envious? Because your brother or sister received a spiritual gift? And from whom did they receive it? Answer me. Was it not from God? Clearly then He is the object of the enmity to which you are committing yourself, since God is the Giver of the gift.

This section becomes somewhat problematic. Chrysostom accuses the Corinthians of being envious of one another due to the spiritual gifts they have received. Their envy is so twisted, adds Chrysostom, that their envy implies a grudge against God Himself.

The social-scientific analyses of envy with relation to the ancient Mediterranean has shown us, particularly from informants like Aristotle, Cicero and Plutarch, that envy occurs only within the framework of the limited good. All goods are (unequally) divided among all the bearers of the goods. But Aristotle also states that people are envious of other people's abilities or attributes. The problem in this instance is with the concept of a "spiritual gift." As mentioned in the discussion of *Hom. 1 Cor. 29*, the term "spiritual gift" ($\tauῶν πνευματικῶν$) is already and interpretation. Some like Fee⁴⁶¹ and Thiselton⁴⁶², as well as Chrysostom, have agreed that the term could include both spiritual persons and spiritual things. The author is inclined to agree with them. There is however the two opposite poles: commentators⁴⁶³ who agree for a genitive masculine reading, i.e. *spiritual persons* while others agree for a reading of *spiritual gifts* (which may also include spiritual people). Malina and Pilch⁴⁶⁴ venture into the farthest extreme of the genitive neuter interpretation, and states:

⁴⁶¹ Fee, *First Corinthians*, 569-73

⁴⁶² Thiselton, *First Corinthians*, 910; cf. Schrage, *Der Erste Brief*, 3:118-19.

⁴⁶³ Cf. Blomberg, *First Corinthians*, 243; Wire, *Women Prophets*, 135.

⁴⁶⁴ Malina and Pilch, *Letters of Paul*, 113.

The English translation [“spiritual gifts” for *pneumatika*] is rather misleading, since the Greek means “spirit induced phenomena,” “phenomena ascribable to a spirit.” Aside from the fact that there is no word here meaning “gift”, use of the word “gift” leaves the English reader with the wrong impression. In our society, we experience actual free gifts (free samples, no-strings attached donations, etc.). However, in first-century experience where all goods were perceived as limited, nothing was free. Anything one accepted from another required some sort of reciprocity at some time. (An Arab proverb says, “Don’t thank me. You will repay me.”) Again, the term *pneumatika* does not have the connotation of gift at all. The topic the Corinthians presented Paul with was that of Spirit-induced phenomena, or phenomena ascribable to the spirit. As the context indicates, the spirit in question is the Spirit of God.

This is the opinion of Malina and Pilch. Unfortunately they do not mention the question of envy. The author personally communicated with Bruce Malina with regard to this in an email⁴⁶⁵. He was asked:

If the early Mediterranean inhabitant saw material goods as being limited, which relates to envy, do you think the early Christians saw “spiritual things/goods/gifts (“*ta pneumatika*”) as being limited; because it seems there was much envy in the Corinthian assembly among those who had “lesser” and “greater” gifts?

He answered:

In the world of limited good, if God or an angel or geni gave you something, that falls outside the realm of social limited good since your receiving it does not harm anyone – you do not have to get it from another person in your social group in which all good things are limited. This is also true of finding a treasure you are sure no one has lost. The idea behind limited good is that in your

⁴⁶⁵ The contents provided come from an email sent to Bruce Malina. Email details: Sent: Thursday, June 22, 2006, 2:30 PM to Malina, Bruce. Reply: (this email was re-sent) Thursday, September 07, 2006, 1:50 AM. Special thanks are given to Prof. Malina for taking the trouble of answering the author’s query.

society all goods are limited and distributed. But outside of your society, notably in the realm of God, things are not limited. The type of envy directed to people who receive such a gift of God (e.g. such as a child) is: I wish it was me not you that got it, but never mind. It is more a feeling of regret that it was not you, not envy in response to competition for something limited.

Thus, gifts from God, according to Malina, fall outside the social limited good. This is certainly correct. The problem is that Chrysostom directly mentions envy, and not regret. There was envy among the members in the Corinthian church, certainly not regret. They envied each other due to the bestowal of certain gifts (or spiritual attributes) from God

Chrysostom, however, makes specific mention of the word “gift” or “grace” ($\chiάρις$) in *Hom. 1 Cor. 31*. The one who gives is God and the members of the body of Christ receive. Chrysostom’s commentary, however ancient, may provide some insights to this problem. The contrasts between Malina and Pilch and Chrysostom may be tabled as such:

Malina and Pilch	John Chrysostom
Spirit-induced phenomena	Spiritual gifts and Spiritual people
All goods are limited	God provides spiritual gifts as He wills
Gifts not received from God cause regret	Envy was present in Corinth

As mentioned, Malina is correct in that gifts from God fall outside the realm of limited good. However, it may seem that within the Corinthian Christian-group, the distribution of gifts was seen as being distributed at the cost of others – but not within a system of limited good. The gifts were distributed freely as God wanted. Malina and Pilch are also correct in noting that nothing in Mediterranean society was free. It is true that the system of owing one’s benefactor a favour played a major part in the stability of social systems. Chrysostom highlights two aspects that may solve this problem. He states firstly that grace has been bestowed from God to the members (thus, indicating a patron-client relationship⁴⁶⁶), and secondly, that it is not the gift that is being envied, but the honour or status (this has been the argument in *Hom. 1 Cor. 30* and *31*). Chrysostom therefore intimates status-envy, rather than possession envy.

⁴⁶⁶ Cf. DeSilva, *Honour*, 95-119; John H. Elliot, “Patronage and Clientism in Early Christian Society,” *Forum* 3 (1987): 40.

Firstly, Chrysostom constantly reminds those in his audience who may envy others, as the Corinthians did, that they received their gifts from God. He thus implies that the Corinthians and the gifted people in his audience have a heavenly Patron, of which they are the clients. Chrysostom emphasises their relationship with God, the Giver, and not the gift. The fact that God provides the Corinthians with the gifts in a public setting, as Chrysostom has elaborated on in *Hom. 1 Cor.* 30, would then imply a patron-client relationship in which public benefaction dominated inner-group activities.

Understanding the patron-client relationship in the early Mediterranean world is pivotal in comprehending Chrysostom's comments. Patronage implies that, due to the limited distribution of goods in society, a person may require something out of the ordinary to which only certain people had access. The needful person, the client, would then seek a person who has what he or she needs, the patron. Often at times the client could not have direct contact with a patron, and would then seek someone else, who may have direct contact with the patron, and ask for this person to introduce or make a recommendation. In essence, this contact-person, known as the broker or mediator, would then also do the client a favour⁴⁶⁷.

Once a patron-client relationship has been established, the patron would then do the client a favour. The client is then obliged to return the favour. The "rules" or "guidelines" for patron-client relationships were well known in ancient times. Seneca (*Ben.* 1.4.2) provides us with some useful insights and states that the very essence of order in society springs from patron-client relationships⁴⁶⁸. Joubert also notes that patronage was the dominant social system of the New Testament era, and that most other social structures were dependant on the health of patron-client relationships, as Joubert especially illustrates, which could influence the course of society, especially when politicians, emperors and kings were involved⁴⁶⁹.

⁴⁶⁷ Cf. DeSilva, *Honour*, 96-101.

⁴⁶⁸ Cf. Ibid., 96; cf. also Richard Saller, *Personal Patronage Under the Early Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 75; Jerome H. Neyrey, *Render to God: New Testament Understandings of the Divine* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2004), 144-79, 249-58; Guido O. Kirner, "Apostolat und Patronage (I). Methodischer Teil und Forschungsdiskussion," in *ZAC* 6/1 (2002): 3-37; Stephan J. Joubert, "One form of Social Exchange or Two? 'Euergetism,' Patronage and New Testament Studies," *BTB* 31/1 (2001): 17-25.

⁴⁶⁹ Stephan J. Joubert, "Patronus as Dominante Sosiale Sisteem in die Romeinse Wêreld gedurende die Nuwe Testamentiese Era," in *SK* 21/1 (2000): 66-78; Stephan J. Joubert, "Dionisius van Halikarnassus en die Oorsprong van Weldoenerskap," in

Chrysostom therefore implies that a person who is envious of others, who are gifted in the Spirit, should remember his or her status as client. Envy is a sign of dishonour unto the Patron, who is God. It implies that the Patron is unfair and unjust. But the Patron has actually shown them “grace” or “favour”. This then becomes a very serious accusation. Envy, therefore, dishonours the divine Patron-client relationship, which could be detrimental to salvation. The honour which they have to repay the Patron, is to dispel envy and function as a healthy body, without gangrene.

A second aspect Chrysostom highlights is that the Corinthians were not envious of the spiritual gifts, for they are unlimited, but rather envious of the status of the superiorly gifted individuals. In this case, a genitive masculine reading of ($\tauῶν πνευματικῶν$) becomes sensible, and makes envy, not regret, very possible. The interpretation, then, cannot remain only in the genitive neuter, but also transcends into the genitive masculine – both are valid.

The homily ends with an exhortation to expel all envy from the midst of the believers, that they may obtain their salvation. Envy is likened to a fever, eating thought the bones of the soul. Rather, the believers are admonished to pray for their enviers. The believers are reminded of their heavenly Patron, who enables them to obtain their crowns by “grace and mercy” ($χάριτι καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ$).

7.5. Conclusion

The topic of this homily has been the health of the Body of Christ. The points Chrysostom makes are as follows:

- a. A healthy body is a body that cares for every member, whether they are head or feet, etc.
- b. A healthy body is also an honourable body, in that it clothes the less honourable parts (genitals) with great care and honour.
- c. In the healthy body, the health of the higher-status members is dependant on the health of the lower-status members.
- d. A great threat to the health of the body is envy, which is like gangrene, killing every member on its own to the destruction of the entire body.

SK 21/3 (2000): 583-91. Cf. also Jeremy Tanner, “Portraits, Power and Patronage in the Late Roman Republic,” in *JRS* 90 (2000): 18-50.

- e. Each member has been given honour by their heavenly Patron, and should return this honour by not envying any other member.

These five points mark the main motifs in the homily. Firstly, if the foot has a thorn in it, the head and the eyes need to provide care, with the hands. This symbiosis needs to be implemented practically. The higher-status members are responsible for the lower-status members, and need to provide care. But the lower-status members are also part of the body, and without them, it is not a body. Secondly, the less honourable parts need to be clothed with more honour. This may imply the poor, destitute and socially rejected individuals. The body needs to give them honour, which is certainly the case in Chrysostom's homilies. Thirdly, a body is only healthy when all members are healthy and care for each other. Fourthly, envy can cause the body great pain. It is gangrene, which kills off each member on its own, which causes amputation. Amputation becomes a shameful and sorry sight. Finally, each member needs to be reminded that their status as gifted people is brought by the will of their Patron, and the favour needs to be returned, by showing honour and not envy.

Chrysostom's message in this homily speaks to the church of today. Many churches have become very corporate in their structure and philosophy. This in itself is not a problem, but when the care of the 'lesser members' become second-rate, the health of the entire body is affected. There should be no status envy among the leaders and members of a church. We have learnt that envy occurs among social equals, and disadvantages the entire group. Chrysostom rather admonishes the church, past and present, to act with love, care and honour among each other – this makes the body healthy.

7.6. Appendix: Translation of Homily 31

Exposition of Paul's Metaphor of the Head, Feet and Genitals

"The eye cannot say to the hand: 'I do not need you,' or again, the head cannot say to the feet: 'I do not need you.'"⁴⁷⁰

After he addressed the envy of those in the inferior positions, and after he removed the rejection that they would likely feel from greater gifts having been given to others, he humbles also the pride of these previously mentioned who had received the greater gifts. He had done the same indeed in his discourse

⁴⁷⁰ 1 Corinthians 12:21.

also with the former. For the statement that it was a gift and not an achievement was intended to illustrate this. But now he does it again even more earnestly, elaborating on the same image. For from the body in what follows, and from the unity arising from it, he proceeds to the actual comparison of the members, a thing on which they were especially seeking to be instructed. Since there was not so much power to console them in the fact of their being all one body, as in the conviction that in the very things with which they were endowed, they were not left terribly inferior. And he says: “The eye cannot say to the hand, I do not need you,” or again “the head to the feet, I do not need you.”

For though the gift may seem inferior, it is still necessary. And as when the one is absent, many functions are influenced, so also without the other in that there is a maim in the fullness of the Church. And he does not say; “will not say,” but “cannot say.” So that even though it wants to do it, though it should actually say so, it is out of the question nor is such an action consistent with nature. For since he took the two extremes, he tests his argument in them, first in respect of the hand and the eye, and secondly, in respect of the head and feet, adding thrust to the example.

For what is less honourable than the foot? Or what more honorable and more necessary than the head? For this, the head, more than any thing, is the person. Nevertheless, it is not of itself sufficient nor could it alone perform all the functions of the body; since if this were possible, our feet would be an unnecessary addition.

[2] And neither did he stop here, but seeks also another amplification, a kind of thing which he is always doing, contending not only to be on equal terms but even advancing beyond⁴⁷¹. This he also adds, saying:

“Rather, those members of the body which seem to be less endowed with honour than other are necessary. And what we consider to be less honourable members of the body we treat with great care, and our unpresentable private parts have greater adornment to make them presentable⁴⁷².”

In every clause adding the term “body,” and thereby both consoling the one and addressing the other. “For I tell you not only this,” he says, “that the greater have need of the less, but that they have also a great need. Since if there be any thing weak in us, if any thing dishonorable, this is both necessary and

⁴⁷¹ Translation: NPNF.

⁴⁷² 1 Corinthians 12:22-23, cf. Thiselton, *First Corinthians*, 990.

is worthy of greater honor.” And he appropriately said, “which seem,” and, “which we think.” pointing out that the opinion arises not from the nature of the things, but from the majority’s viewpoint. For nothing in us is dishonorable since it is God’s work! Thus which one of the organs in us is considered less honorable than our private parts? Nevertheless, they are worthy of greater honor. And the very poor people, even if they have the rest of the body naked, cannot endure to exhibit those members naked. Yet surely this is not the condition of things dishonorable, but it was natural for them to be loathed more than the rest.

In the same manner, in a house, the servant who is dishonored, far be it from enjoying greater honour, does not even have an equal portion given to him or her. By the same rule, if this member were dishonorable, instead of having greater privileges, he or she ought to not even to enjoy the same. While now in this instance it has more honour for its part, and this is done in the wisdom of God. For to some parts by their nature He has destined not to need honour, but to others, who have not received it by their nature, He has caused us to provide honour to it. Yet are they not therefore dishonorable? Since the animals too by their nature have a sufficiency, and need neither clothing nor shoes nor a roof, the greater part of them, yet on this account is our body not less honorable than theirs, exactly because it needs all these things.

Rather, if you look closely at it, these parts in question are even by nature itself both honorable and necessary. Which in truth Paul himself implies, giving his judgment in their favour not from our care and from their enjoying greater honor, but from the very nature of the things⁴⁷³.

This is why, when he calls them “weak” and “less honorable,” he uses the expression, “which seem” but when he calls them “necessary,” he no longer adds “which seem,” but himself gives his verdict, saying: “they are necessary” and this very appropriately. For they are useful for the purpose of procreation of children and the succession of our species. This is also why the Roman legislators punish them that mutilate these members and make men eunuchs, as persons who do injury to our common stock and assault nature itself.

But woe to the dissolute who bring reproach on the handy-works of God⁴⁷⁴. For as many are in the habit to curse wine on account of the drunken, and womankind on account of the unchaste, so also they account these members base because of those who use them not as they ought to, but improperly. For

⁴⁷³ Translation: NPNF.

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid.

the sin is not due to the thing as part of its nature, but the transgression is produced by the will of the one that dabbles in it.

But some suppose that the expressions: “the feeble members,” and “less honorable,” and “necessary,” and “which enjoy more abundant honor,” are used by Paul of eyes and feet, and that he speaks of the eye as “more feeble,” and “necessary,” because though deficient in strength, they have the advantage in functionality. But of the feet as the “less honorable,” for these also receive from us great consideration.

[3] Next, not to make yet another example, he says:

“Our presentable parts do not need this.”⁴⁷⁵

That is, unless any should say: “What kind of argument is this, to demean the honorable and give honour to the less honored?” He says: “We do not do this purposefully, but because they ‘have no need of it.’” And see how large a measure of praise he sets down in short, and so moves hastily on, a thing most conveniently and usefully done. And neither is he content with this, but adds also the cause, saying, “But God made the body, giving to that which seems inferior greater honour.”

“For He designed it that there should be no division in the body.”⁴⁷⁶

Now if God forged it together, He did not allow that which is more unpresentable to be visible. For that which is mingled becomes one thing, and it does not appear what it was before, since in this case we could not say that it was tempered. And see how he continually hastens by the defects, saying, “that which lacked.” He did not say: “to that which is dishonorable,” “to that which is unseemly,” but, “to that which lacked,” (“that which lacked” How? By nature,) giving more abundant honor.”⁴⁷⁷ And what is the reason for this? “That there should be no division in the body.” It is this way because, though they enjoyed an endless supply of consolation, they nevertheless indulged in dissatisfaction as if they had received less than others, he signifies that they were rather more honored than those others. For his statement is: “Giving to that which seems inferior greater honour.”

Next he also adds the reason, showing that with a view to their benefit God both caused it to be short in honour and therefore more abundantly honored it. And what is the reason? “That there should be no

⁴⁷⁵ 1 Corinthians 12:24.

⁴⁷⁶ 1 Corinthians 12:25.

⁴⁷⁷ Translation: NPNF.

schism,” he says, “in the body.” (And he did not say: “in the members,” but, “in the body.”) For there would indeed be a great and unfair advantage, if some members were cared for both by nature and by our need, others not even by either one of these. Then they would be cut off from one another, from the inability to endure the connection with the body. And when these were cut off, there would be harm done also to the rest. Can you see how he points out, that of necessity “greater honor” is given to “that which lacked?” He means: “For had not this been so, the injury would have become common to all.” And the reason is that unless these received great care on our part, they would have been so rudely treated, as not having the help of nature. And this rude treatment would have been to their ruin, and their ruin would have divided the body, and the body having been divided, the other members also would have perished, which are far greater than these⁴⁷⁸.

Can you see that the care of these mentioned last are connected with making provision for those that are greater? For they have not their being so much in their own nature, as in their being one, which is the typical nature of the body. But if the body perishes, they have no benefit by such health as they have individually. But if the eye is preserved or the nose, preserving its normal function, yet when the bond of union with the body is broken there will be no use for them, while, just realise that these which are left behind, and those injured, they both support themselves through it and quickly return to health.

Body-Building: The Necessity of the Lower-Status Members

But perhaps someone should say: “this indeed has its purpose in the body, that ‘that which lacked has received more abundant honor,’ but among people how can this be applicable?” But this happens especially among people. For it was like this with those ones who came at the eleventh hour, who first received their payment, and the sheep that had wandered caused the shepherd to leave behind the ninety and nine and run after it, and when it was found, he carried and did not drive it on; and the prodigal son obtained more honor than the one who was approved; and the thief was crowned and proclaimed before the Apostles. And in the case of the talents you can also see this happen, in that to the one that received the five talents, and to the one that received two, were given the same rewards; yes, by the very reason that this person received the two, was the more favored with great providential care. Since had this person been entrusted with the five, with their lack of ability, would have failed in achieving the greater purpose. But having received the two and fulfilled their own duty, was thought worthy of the same with the one that had made the profit of five, having so far the advantage, as with

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid.

less labour to obtain the same crown. And yet this person too was a human being as well as the one that traded with the five. Nevertheless, the Master does not in any way call this person to a strict account, nor compels them to do the same with his fellow-servant, nor does he say: “Why can you not have made a profit of five?” (And he may have rightly said this) but gave the same crown.

[4] Knowing these things therefore, you that are greater do not maltreat the lesser, unless, instead of them, you should injure yourselves. For when they are cut off, the whole body is destroyed. Since, what else is a body than the existence of many members? As also Paul himself said: “the body is not one member, but many.” If therefore this be the essence of a body, let us take care that the many continue to be many. Since, unless this be entirely preserved, the damage is in the vital parts; which is the reason also why the Apostle does not require this only, their not being separated, but also their being closely united. For instance, since he said: “that there should be no division in the body,” he was not satisfied with this only, but added, “that the members should have the same care one for another.” Adding this other cause also of the less enjoying more honor. For God determined it not only that they should not be separated one from another, but also that there may be abundant love and harmony. For if each person’s being depends on their neighbor’s safety, do not tell me of the less and the more. In this case there is no more and less. While the body continues you may see the difference too, but when it perishes, no longer. And perish it will, unless the lesser parts also continue to exist and function.⁴⁷⁹

If now even the greater members will perish when the less are broken off, these ought to care in the same manner as for the less, and so as for themselves, as in the safety of these the greater remain safe. So then, if you should say ten thousand times: “such a member is dishonored and inferior,” still if you do not provide for it in the same manner as for yourself, if you neglect it because it is inferior, the injury will pass on to yourself. This is why he not only said that “the members should care one for another,” but he added, “that they should have the same care one for another,” in other words, in the same way the small should enjoy the same providential care as with the great members.

Do not then say that this is a normal person, but consider that this is a member of that body which holds together the whole, and as the eye, so also does this person cause the body to be a body. For where the body is built up, with such a scenario no one has anything more than their neighbor. Since this does not make a body, there being one part greater and another less, but their being many and diverse. For even with you, because you are greater, helped to make up the body, so also the other person, because they

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid.

are less. So that this person's likely weaknesses, when the body is to be built up, turns out to be of equal value with yours, and consider these important facts: yes, this person achieves as much as yourself. And it is obvious from this point on. Let there be no member greater or less, nor more and less honorable, but let all be eye or all head, will the body not perish? Anyone can understand this. Again, if all were inferior, the same thing will happen. So that in this respect also the less are seen to be equal.

Certainly, and if one must say something more, the purpose of the less being less is that the body may remain. So that for your sake this one is less, in order that you may continue to be great. And here is the cause of his demanding the same care from all, because he said: "that the members may have the same care one for another," he explains "the same thing" benefits, when he says:

"So if one member suffers, all the other members of the body suffer with it; or if one member is praised, all the members of the body share the adoration."⁴⁸⁰

[5] He says "Certainly, with no other purpose did He make the care He requires common to all the members, establishing unity in so great diversity, but that of all events there might be in complete communion. Because, if our care for our neighbor be the common safety of us all, it implies also that our glory and our sadness must be common." Three things he therefore requires in this instance - not being divided but united in perfection, having the same care for another and realizing all those things work to the common benefit. And as above, he says: "He has given more abundant honor to that part which lacked," because it needs it, signifying that the very inferiority was becoming an introduction to greater honor; so here he makes them equal with respect of the care also which takes place mutually among them. For "therefore did he cause them to partake of greater honor," he says, "that they might not meet with less care." And not from this only, but also by all that happens to them, good and painful, are the members bound to one another⁴⁸¹. Thus often when a thorn is stuck in the heel, the whole body feels it and cares for it - both the back is bent and the stomach and thighs are contracted, and the hands coming forward like guards and servants draw out what was so stuck, and the head looks over it, and the eyes examine it with great care. So that even if the foot has inferiority from its inability to ascend, yet by its bringing down the head it has equality, and is favored with the same honor. And especially whenever the feet are the cause of the head's coming down, not by favor but by their right to it. And in

⁴⁸⁰ 1 Corinthians 12:26.

⁴⁸¹ Translation: NPNF.

this instance, if by being more honorable it has an advantage; yet in that, being so it owes such honor and care to the lesser and in the same way sympathy.

Great equality is demonstrated in this. After all, what is less honourable than the heel? What is more honorable than the head? Yet this member reaches to the heel, and moves them all together with itself. Again if anything is the matter with the eyes, all complain and cannot function, and neither do the feet walk nor the hands work, nor does the stomach enjoy its usual food. And yet the cause is from the eyes. Why do you cause the stomach to pine? Why keep your feet still? Why bind your hands? Because they are tied to the feet, and in an unspeakable manner the whole body suffers. For if it did not share in the suffering, it would not consider it to partake of the care. This is why one may have the same care for another, he also states: “when one member suffers, all the members suffer with it; or when one member is honored, all the members rejoice with it.” “And how do they rejoice with it?” you ask. If the head is crowned, and the whole person is honored. The mouth speaks, and the eyes laugh and are delighted. Yet the praise belongs not to the beauty of the eyes, but to the tongue. Again if the eyes appear beautiful, the whole woman is considered stunning! And also when a straight nose and upright neck and other members are praised, rejoice and appear cheerful, and again they shed tears in great abundance over their heartaches and misfortunes, though themselves continue uninjured.⁴⁸²

[6] Let us all then, while we consider these things, mimic the love of these members. Let us not in any way do the opposite, trampling on the miseries of our neighbor and envying their good things. For this is the part of lunatics and persons beside themselves. Just as the person that digs out their own eye has displayed a very great show of senselessness, and the one that devours their own hand exhibits a clear evidence of intense madness!

Now if this be the case concerning the members of the physical body, it should be the same when it occurs among the faithful, it brands us with the reputation of foolishness. For as long as your fellow believer shines, your appearance is also apparent and the whole body is made beautiful. For not at all does this person keep the beauty to themselves alone, but also allows you to glory. But if you maltreat this person, you bring a common darkness upon the whole body, and the misfortune you cause is transferred to all the members. But if you kept supporting this person in brightness, you preserve the beauty of the entire body. For no person says: “the eye is beautiful.” What do they say? This is a beautiful woman.” And if the eyes are complimented, it only follows after the whole person is

⁴⁸² Ibid.

complimented. This also happens in the Church. I mean, if there are any celebrated persons, the community of all believers reaps the good reputation of it. And if any are brilliant in public speaking, they do not praise this person alone but in the same manner the whole Church is praised. For they do not say merely: “This is a wonderful person.” But what do they say? “The Christians have a wonderful teacher,” and so they make the opportunity of praise common to all.

[7] And now let me ask, do the heathens bind together, and do you divide and war with your own body, and stand against your own members? Do you not know that this is to the detriment of the entire community? For a “kingdom,” he says, “divided against itself cannot stand.”⁴⁸³

A Kingdom Divided: Envy in the Body

But nothing divides and separates so terribly as envy and jealousy, that grievous disease, and void from all excuse, and in some respect worse than “the root of all evils.”⁴⁸⁴ For the greedy person is then pleased when they have received, but the envious is then pleased, when another did not receive, not when they themselves have received. For this person considers the misfortunes of others a benefit to themselves, rather than prosperity. This person becomes a common enemy of humankind, and hurting the members of Christ – and what is closer to madness than this? A demon is envious, but of humans, not of any demon: but you, a human being, envies other humans, who is part of your own tribe and family – not even a demon does this! And what excuse will you give? Trembling and turning pale at sight of a fellow human in prosperity, when you ought to crown yourself and to rejoice and celebrate humankind!

If you want to imitate the person in danger of being envied, I would not forbid it: Imitate, but with a purpose to be like the one who is approved, not in order to harm this person but that you may reach the same height, that you may show the same excellence. This is healthy rivalry, imitation without contention: not to grieve at the good things of others but to be vexed at our own evils: the contrary to which is the result of envy. For neglecting its own evils, it pines away at the good fortune of other people. And thus the poor is not so vexed by their own poverty as by the abundance of their neighbor⁴⁸⁵. And what can be worse that this? Certainly, in this respect the envious, as I said earlier, is

⁴⁸³ Matthew 12:25.

⁴⁸⁴ 1 Timothy 6:12.

⁴⁸⁵ Translation: NPNF.

worse than the greedy, the one rejoicing at some acquisition of their own, while the other finds his delight in someone else failing to receive.

This is why I warn you; abandon this evil habit, to change to a healthy imitation, (for it is a violent thing, this kind of zeal, and hotter than any fire,) and to win thereby mighty blessings. In the same manner also Paul used to guide those “which are my flesh, and may save some of them.”⁴⁸⁶ For the one whose imitation is like what Paul attempted, when he is not vexed when he sees the other in a good state, but when he sees himself left behind.

It is not like this with the envious, but at the sight of another's prosperity. And the envious person is a kind of drone, harming other people's achievements, but never to excel, but weeping when they see another rising, and doing every thing to bring this person down. To what then might one compare this passion? It seems to me that it is to be like a slothful donkey, heavy with abundance of flesh, being yoked with a winged courser, should neither they themselves be willing to rise, and should attempt to drag the other down by the weight of this person's carcass. For so this person takes no thought nor worry to be rid of this deep slumber, but does everything to uproot and throw down the one who is flying towards heaven, becoming an exact imitator of the devil: since he too, seeing a person in paradise, did not want to change his own condition, but strove to have them cast out of paradise. And again, seeing someone seated in heaven and the rest hastening there, he follows the same plan, uprooting those who are rushing there and hereby igniting the furnace more abundantly for himself⁴⁸⁷.

For in every instance this happens, both the one who is envied, if he or she is vigilant, becoming more eminent; and the one who is envious, adding more evils to their lot. In the same way it was also with Joseph, who became quite eminent. Also when Jacob attained his abundant wealth and all those other blessings. Thus the envious pierce themselves with ten thousand evils⁴⁸⁸. Knowing as we do all these things, let us flee from this sort of imitation. Tell me, why are you envious? Because your brother or sister received a spiritual gift? And from whom did they receive it? Answer me. Was it not from God? Clearly then He is the object of the enmity to which you are committing yourself, since God is the Giver of the gift. Can you see to where this evil is leading, and with what sort of a point it is crowning

⁴⁸⁶ Romans 11:14, Translation: *NPNF*.

⁴⁸⁷ Translation: *NPNF*.

⁴⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

the heap of your sins already! And can you see how deep the pit of punishment is that you are digging for yourself?

Let us flee from this, my beloved, and not envy others, nor cease to pray for our enviers and do all we can to extinguish their burning passion. And let us not be ignorant of the punishment that awaits such people. But let us not do these things, rather let us weep for them and cry. For they are the injured persons, having constantly a worm chewing through their hearts, and collecting a fountain of poison more bitter than any gall. Come now, let us beseech the merciful God, both to change their state of feeling and that we may never fall into that disease, since heaven is indeed inaccessible to this person that has this wasting sore, and before heaven too, even this present life is not worth living in. For not so thoroughly are timber and wool eaten through by moth and worm abiding therein, as the fever of envy devour the very bones of the envious and destroy all self-command in their soul⁴⁸⁹.

In order then that we may deliver both ourselves and others from these innumerable woes, let us expel from within us this evil fever, this that is more grievous than any gangrene. And having regained spiritual strength, we may find the present course and obtain the future crowns; which we all may attain, by the grace and mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, with whom to the Father, with the Holy Ghost, be glory, power, honor, now and forever, and world without end. Amen⁴⁹⁰.

⁴⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid.

CHAPTER 8

Homily 32: The Body of Christ and Its Ministries Flowing from Love

(1 Cor 12:27-13:3)

8.1. Introduction

The final homily in Chrysostom's series on 1 Corinthians 12:1-13:3 involves the working of the various ministries in the Body of Christ and then devotes the greater part of the homily to the discussion of 1 Corinthians 13:1-3, on the excellence of love. The discourse-structure of the homily will be discussed as follows: Firstly, Chrysostom elaborates on the catholicity of the Church, which forms the hermeneutical bridge from homily 31 to 32. Secondly, he discusses each of the individual ministries and gifts, namely (a) Apostles, (b) Prophets, (c) Teachers, (d) Miracles and Gifts of Healing, (e) Patrons and Counsellors and (f) Speaking in Tongues. Thirdly, a section is devoted to the exegetical links between the gifts of the Spirit and love, which Chrysostom calls "the fountain of all the gifts." He discusses the "more excellent way" of love: (a) Love as the Fountain of the Charismata, (b) Wealth, Poverty and Martyrdom in the light of Love and (c) Love as a Virtue. The discussion of the homily will then be concluded.

8.2. The Catholicity of the Body of Christ

Chrysostom discusses 1 Corinthians 12:27: "Now, you are the body of Christ and each a member thereof." In the light of this verse, Chrysostom states (*Hom. 1 Cor. 32.1*):

"Ινα γὰρ μή τις λέγῃ, Τί πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοῦ σώματος τὸ ὑπόδειγμα; ἐκεῖνο μὲν γὰρ φύσει δουλεύει, τὰ δὲ ἡμέτερα προαιρέσεώς ἔστι κατορθώματα· προάγων αὐτὸ τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς πράγμασι, καὶ δεικνὺς ὅτι τοσαύτην ἀπὸ γνώμης ὀφείλομεν ἔχειν ὄμόνοιαν, ὅσην ἀπὸ φύσεως ἐκεῖνα, φησὶν, 'Υμεῖς δέ ἔστε σῶμα Χριστοῦ. Εἰ δὲ τὸ ἡμέτερον οὐ δεῖ στασιάζειν σῶμα, πολλῷ μᾶλλον τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον, ὅσῳ φύσεως χάρις δυνατωτέρα. Καὶ μέλη ἐκ μέρους. Οὐ γὰρ δὴ σῶμα μόνον, φησὶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μέλη ἐσμέν. Περὶ γὰρ ἀμφοτέρων τούτων ἀνωτέρω διελέχθη, τοὺς πολλοὺς εἰς ἐν συνάγων, καὶ δεικνὺς ἀπαντας ἐν τι κατὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος εἰκόνα γινομένους, καὶ τὸ ἐν τοῦτο διὰ τῶν πολλῶν

συνιστάμενον, καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς ὅν, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἐκ τούτου συνεχόμενα καὶ δυνάμενα εἶναι πολλά. Τί δέ ἐστι τὸ, Ἐκ μέρους; Τό γε εἰς ὑμᾶς ἦκον, καὶ ὅσον εἰκὸς ἐξ ὑμῶν οἰκοδομηθῆναι μέρος. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εἶπε, Σῶμα, τὸ δὲ πᾶν σῶμα ἦν, οὐχὶ ἡ παρὰ Κορινθίοις Ἐκκλησία, ἀλλ' ἡ πανταχοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης, διὰ τοῦτο ἔφησεν, Ἐκ μέρους· τουτέστιν, ὅτι Ἡ Ἐκκλησία ἡ παρ' ὑμῖν μέρος ἐστὶ τῆς πανταχοῦ κειμένης Ἐκκλησίας, καὶ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ διὰ πασῶν συνισταμένου τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν· ὥστε οὐχὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν τὴν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην Ἐκκλησίαν εἰρηνεύειν ἀν εἴητε δίκαιοι, εἴ γε παντός ἐστε μέλη τοῦ σώματος.⁴⁹¹

For unless any should say: ‘What use is the example of the body to us, since the body is a slave to nature and our goods deeds or of our own volition,’ Paul applies it to our own context, and he states that we should have the same nature of existence as they have from nature, he says: “Now you are the body of Christ.” But if our natural body should not be divided, much less the body of Christ, and so much less is grace more powerful than nature. But what does the expression “individually” mean? So far as it applies to you, and naturally a part of the body should be built up from you. For because he had said “the body,” while the whole body was not the Corinthian Church, but the Church in every part of the world; that is why he said “individually,” that is, the Church among you is part of the Church existing everywhere and the of the body which consists of all the Churches. Thus, not you only, but also with the whole Church throughout the entire world, you should be at peace since you are members of the whole body.

Chrysostom provides a thorough Midrashic exposition of a rather short verse (v. 27). The thrust of the homily is immediately empowered with an introductory *Refutatio* by Chrysostom. And who is the opponent in this *Refutatio*? It is probably the common opinion of Greek philosophy known to many of his audience members that the body is naturally a slave to its desires and that virtue springs from the will, or choice. This is especially common in Aristotelian philosophy. Aristotle (*Eth. Nic.* 3.1-3)

⁴⁹¹ PG 61:264.

discusses human reactions as voluntary and involuntary. Natural, instinctive reactions are involuntary, but rational, contextual voluntary choices are made through the will. The body reacts naturally (a slave to natural desires), sometimes without reason, which cannot lead to virtuous actions. Only by means of rational choice can virtue be attained. Chrysostom is then very aware of the objection an Aristotelian philosopher may make within a discourse pertaining to the body. But Chrysostom states that it is a functional and contextual application ($\tauο̄ις καθ' ήμâς πράγμασι$) of Paul, pointing to the biological unity of the body rather than a meta-ethical normative statement that the natural lusts of the body is better than the rational volition. If the natural body is not physically divided, the Body of Christ should not be metaphysically divided. Chrysostom then states that grace is more powerful than nature ($\phiύσεως χάρις δυνατωτέρα$). Chrysostom creates a contrast: The unity of the human body is a natural phenomenon, but the unity of the Body of Christ through the gifts is based on the favour or grace of the heavenly Patron, not nature. It is more “powerful” indicating that the Patron-client relationship between God and the Church gains priority over natural spectacles. The catholicity of the Church rests on the relationship it has with the Patron, based on favour.

Chrysostom provides a brief exposition on the phrase $\muέλη \grave{e}k \muέρους$ ⁴⁹². It implies that the entire church spread throughout the known world is one body, and every congregation is a member of this body. Ecumenism in the early church was an important aspect of ecclesiology. In the sacraments, it was often stated that the bread, made of corn from many locations, also symbolized the Church. The *Didache* 9:4 states: “As this broken bread was scattered upon the mountains, but was brought together and became one, so let your Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into your kingdom ...” (LCL). Augustine often relates the unity of canon and of orthodoxy to the unity of the church (cf. *C. Litt. Petil.* 1.13.14, 1.18.20; *Faust.* 23.9). Chrysostom therefore notes that every member in the local assembly is part of the greater church. Chrysostom understands the psychological need of people to be part of something greater. This should give them peace, not strife. Chrysostom then states that the members of all the churches should acquiesce ($\varepsilonιρηνεύειν$) in this catholicity.

⁴⁹² Chrysostom uses the reading $\muέλη \grave{e}k \muέρους$. Other versions like D read $\muέλη \grave{e}k \muέλους$, as well as the Vulgate. This would then present the notion that the members of the body are joined together, but is probably a copying mistake. The versions Σ, A, B, and C read $\muέλη \grave{e}k \muέρους$.

8.3. The Order and Meaning of the Gifts

The following section of the homily discusses 1 Corinthians 12:28: “And in the church God has appointed first of all apostles, second prophets, third teachers, then workers of miracles, also those having gifts of healing, patrons and counsellors, and those speaking in different kinds of tongues.”

Paul provides a list which is somewhat modified from the list provided in 1 Corinthians 12:8-10. The purpose of the list in 12:8-10 was to indicate that all the gifts function through the same Spirit. It may indicate that the list is not exhaustive, as there is also another list in Romans 12:6-8.

Chrysostom notes that these gifts are listed in a particular order to indicate which have the most honour. Thiselton notes the importance of Chrysostom’s opinion in understanding the context⁴⁹³. Different kinds of tongues are placed last because the Corinthians gave it superfluously undue honour. By placing the apostles first, he then also affirms his own honour as an apostle. Chrysostom’s interpretation of the order of the list is then sensitive both to the social aspects and rhetorical aspects of Paul. As stated, he is socially sensitive because he again attributes the adverbs “firstly … secondly … thirdly…” in terms of status carriers. But it is also, according to Chrysostom, as rhetorical strategy of Paul to place tongues last, exactly because the Corinthians envied it so much (cf. also *Hom. I Cor. 35.2*). This is also in agreement with the view of Martin, that it is functional only as a tool for status reversals⁴⁹⁴. A discussion of the elements in the list follows.

8.3.1. Apostles

Chrysostom notes that the apostles are placed first because they had all the gifts in themselves (cf. also Augustine (*Gest. Pelag.* 32)). This would then imply that Chrysostom understand apostles in this sense to be the apostles who had direct contact with Christ, which is also the opinion of Dunn⁴⁹⁵. It is rhetorically affirmed by the use of the adverb “firstly”⁴⁹⁶.

⁴⁹³ Thiselton, *First Corinthians*, 1015.

⁴⁹⁴ Martin, *Corinthian Body*, 94-96.

⁴⁹⁵ Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit*, 273.

⁴⁹⁶ For a full discussion of the use of the term “apostle”, cf. Thiselton, *First Corinthians*, 62-72, who also gives ample attention to the view of Chrysostom.

8.3.2. Prophets

Chrysostom includes all the prophets in this appellation, the prophets of the Old Testament, the prophets in Acts such as the daughters of Philip (Acts 21:9), Agabus (Acts 11:28, 21:10). He also includes the prophets to whom Paul spoke in 1 Corinthians 14 as well those prophets through whom the gift of grace was given to Timothy (1 Tim 4:14). He notes that the gift of prophecy was given to many in the Old Testament, but also in the Church. He also notes that the Corinthian assembly had many among them who were prophets. He gives more information on the prophets when he discusses teachers.

8.3.3. Teachers

Chrysostom notes that the difference between teacher and prophets is the fact that everything a prophet speaks has its origin from the Spirit, while a teacher also involves his or her own mind and thoughts. His explanation is unfortunately somewhat terse, and calls for explanation and evaluation. Chrysostom also links elders (*πρεσβύτεροι*) with teachers (*διδασκάλοι*) (1 Tim 5:17). The elders are worthy of double-honour (*διπλῆς τιμῆς*), because their ministry entails labour of the mind, referring to preparation and study and lifestyle. There is some ambiguity among commentators regarding the differences between prophets and teachers. Thiselton⁴⁹⁷ is correct, along with Fee⁴⁹⁸, who notes that the evidence in the New Testament, with regard to Pauline writings, is too little to formulate a comprehensive definition of the “teacher”. Dunn notes that there were “charismatic” and “noncharismatic” teachers in the early church, the former being spontaneous in nature and the latter a more formal body of teaching⁴⁹⁹. An interesting aspect is especially highlighted here by Chrysostom, who defines a teacher by means of highlighting differences from a prophet. He notes that the outcomes of both prophecy and teaching may be the same, namely edification. But a prophet has more honour than a teacher, because a prophet speaks only in the Spirit, while a teacher has a human element involved in his or her gift. The phenomenon of a prophet speak or acting in the Spirit is what Malina and Pilch refer to as “altered states of consciousness” (ASCs)⁵⁰⁰. According to them, it implies a nonrational experience of an alternate state of reality. Nonrational does not imply irrational, which many individuals who do not believe in spiritual or supernatural experiences would use to substantiate

⁴⁹⁷ Thiselton, *First Corinthians*, 1016.

⁴⁹⁸ Fee, *First Corinthians*, 621.

⁴⁹⁹ James D. G. Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit* (London: SCM, 1975), 236-38; cf. also Thiselton, *First Corinthians*, 1016.

⁵⁰⁰ Malina and Pilch, *Letters of Paul*, 331-32.

ASCs (also called experiences of nonconsensual reality)⁵⁰¹. Malina and Pilch⁵⁰² also relates it to “prophetic symbolic actions” (PSAs), in which a prophet performs a symbolic action commanded by God, and usually followed by a verbal explanation of the PSA. This does imply that the action is not irrational. Does Chrysostom then imply that nonrational behaviour gains superiority over rational behaviour? This is probably not the case, because the Apostles mentioned previously were more superior to the prophets. Chrysostom attributes status not to the level of ASC within a ministry or gift, but in terms of the amplification of the influence of God. The apostles were directly influenced by the Lord, while prophets are semi-directly influenced by the Spirit. Teachers are also semi-directly influenced, but also not fully influenced. Thus, ASCs may only be the byproduct of the influence of the Spirit, but the ordination as higher-status carriers does not depend on the intensity or quantity of ASCs. Chrysostom may be overestimating the typical nature of a prophet. One may argue against Chrysostom if it is ever possible to be a prophet or prophesy without a human element, since the prophet is still human. The ASC or PSA is still enacted within the framework of human experience from which the prophet cannot possibly escape. Chrysostom also states that an important criterion for being a teacher is that the product of the human element must be in-line with the biblical teaching. Indirectly, he may also be pointing to the aspect which subordinates the teacher to the apostle. The teacher’s teaching should be in-line with the apostolic teaching. In this light, Fee also rejects the fact that teachers pass on tradition, in contrast to Dunn⁵⁰³. Finally, the opinion of Thiselton⁵⁰⁴ may be helpful in discerning between the two extremes of Fee and Dunn, and the cursory explanation of Chrysostom:

But in this lies the clear and fundamental difference between prophets and teachers. It is not the case that the first is “spontaneous” as against the second, the result of reflection (still less that the second is also sometimes “spontaneous”). Rather, **prophets** perform speech-acts of announcement, proclamation, judgement, challenge, comfort, support, or encouragement, whereas **teachers** perform speech-acts of transmission, communicative

⁵⁰¹ Malina and Pilch’s use of the term “nonrational” with regard to ASCs is certainly a welcome difference. Often the gifts have been termed as being intelligible and unintelligible; however prophetic symbols may be intelligible without the verbal explanation. Even if someone spoke in tongues, however “unintelligible” it may be, the emotions functioning with the occurrence of this ASC may already provide hints regarding its contents.

⁵⁰² Malina and Pilch, *Letters of Paul*, 388-89.

⁵⁰³ Cf. Fee, *Empowering Presence*, 192; and Dunn, *Theology of Paul*, 582; as stated in Thiselton, *First Corinthians*, 1017.

⁵⁰⁴ Cf. Thiselton, *First Corinthians*, 1017.

explanation, interpretation of texts, establishment of creeds, exposition of meaning and implication, and, more cognitive, less temporally applied communicative acts [his bold and italics].

Thiselton does agree with Dunn that teachers are also involved in the passing on of tradition, and the fact that he includes “speech-acts” with both also indicates possible agreement with Chrysostom.

8.3.4. Miracles and Gifts of Healing

It is important to note that there is a change in Paul’s list in that the following elements are gifts or functions, rather than persons⁵⁰⁵. Chrysostom, however, still discusses the list and does not make a distinction between persons and functions. He discusses the gifts which are introduced by ἔπειτα together, noting that these gifts need to be viewed together⁵⁰⁶. Again, he also states that the hierarchy continues. There is no difference between a gift and the person in Chrysostom’s case. The miracles are greater than the gifts of healing because the one who performs miracles, according to Chrysostom, punishes and heals (καὶ κολάζει καὶ ἰᾶται). The one who possesses the gifts of healing only heals. Chrysostom now views the greater context. He notes a difference between this list and the list in 12:8-10 in that the previous list was not in hierarchical order, but placed indifferently (οὐ κατὰ τάξιν τιθεὶς ἔλεγεν, ἀλλ' ἀδιαφόρως). He refers to a word of wisdom and a word of knowledge, which were placed above prophecy in the previous list, as well as miracles and gifts of healing. Chrysostom then instructs us that the previous list in 12:8-10 is not a hierarchical list, and should not be read as such. It was a list with the purpose of showing the ambiguity of God in the distribution of the gifts and the fact that this ambiguity envelops itself in one Holy Spirit. The purpose of the second list, however, is hierarchical. He also indirectly equates the gift of prophecy with the prophet and refers to Isaiah (41:22-23), who demonstrated miracles as a proof of his prophetism. The same is then said of Christ, who also used the miracles and healings to illustrate his divinity (cf. John 13:19; 14:29; 16:4).

But why are these also inferior to teaching? Again, Chrysostom equates the gift of teaching with being a teacher. Chrysostom then notes that miracles and gifts of healing are in service of teaching and preaching the word. He also notes that the person who teaches by means of words and deeds, that is, lifestyle, is greater than all (“Οταν οὖν τις καὶ λόγῳ παιδεύῃ καὶ βίῳ, πάντων ἐστὶ μείζων”). The

⁵⁰⁵ Cf. Witherington, *First Corinthians*, 261.

⁵⁰⁶ This is also done by many modern commentators; cf. Thiselton, *First Corinthians*, 1018; Fee, *First Corinthians*, 621.

reason for this is because even the first in the hierarchy, namely apostles, also need to adhere to these requirements. He also refers to Matthew 7:22 with false prophets stating: “Lord, did we not prophesy in Your Name and do mighty works? … I never knew you, depart from Me, you workers of iniquity.” Chrysostom notes that this verse refers exactly to those prophets who did not have an exemplary Christian lifestyle. The true prophets, of which Paul speaks of, prophesy and have the correct lifestyle, which makes them acceptable. This is in fact why prophecy and teaching are higher in the hierarchical list.

8.3.5. Patrons and Counselors

Chrysostom also discusses these two gifts together. He starts by discussing the term ἀντιλήψεις. Fee translates it as “helpful deeds”⁵⁰⁷ while Thiselton uses “kinds of administrative support”⁵⁰⁸ and Conzelmann “acts of helping”⁵⁰⁹. Chrysostom also realizes that this term needs some clarification. According to Chrysostom, helps refer to “supporting the weak” (*Tί ἔστιν, Ἀντιλήψεις; Ωστε ἀντέχεσθαι τῶν ἀσθενῶν*). He means that this gift is the very essence of the church, in supporting the socially rejected, the poor and the sick, those with little honour. Chrysostom, in fact, states that this gift is *the* gift of God (*τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ δωρεᾶς*). He does not use the term *χαρίσμα*, which shows that he is distinguishing this gift from the spiritual gifts. He defines this term as *τὸ προστατικὸν εἶναι*, literally “to be a patron.” Chrysostom therefore considers the patron-client relationship not only as a spiritual gift, but in fact it is the epitome of all the gifts. It is then the ability to be a giver, and finds its meaning in God’s act of giving⁵¹⁰. Chrysostom also includes good deeds (*κατορθωμάτων*) under this term. The semantics of this term becomes difficult, as it is a hapax legomenon, only occurring in the New Testament in this instance, and is used in the Septuagint in the sense of assistance or help⁵¹¹. Fee also relates it to the ministry to the needs, physical and spiritual, of the needy. Dunn⁵¹² refers to the duties of the deacons who perform “good deeds” (1 Tim 5:10). Thiselton⁵¹³ provides a number of hypotheses for

⁵⁰⁷ Fee, *First Corinthians*, 621.

⁵⁰⁸ Thiselton, *First Corinthians*, 1018.

⁵⁰⁹ Conzelmann, *First Corinthians*, 215; Others like Malina and Pilch, *Letters of Paul*, 113, use “forms of assistance”, which is also used by Keener, *1-2 Corinthians*, 102; Hays, *First Corinthians*, 217, uses the simple form “assistance.”

⁵¹⁰ It must be noted that the traditional term for a patron, ἐυεργέτης (LSJ), is not directly implied here, but Chrysostom does seem to indicate, in its context, an indirect connection between the two.

⁵¹¹ Fee, *First Corinthians*, 621.

⁵¹² Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit*, 252.

⁵¹³ Thiselton, *First Corinthians*, 1019.

the meaning of ἀντιλήμψεις. He gives specific attention to Chrysostom's viewpoint and concludes his discussion:

Such a person [a patron], Moulton-Milligan show, is often an officeholder in many references among the papyri, and certainly combines help with *patronage* [his italics]. Perhaps Paul is here saying not only that good management skills are a gift of the Spirit, but also that those who could support people or work as patrons had a God-given task, as long as ... the gift was not abused and used for self rather than for others.

After explaining this gift, Chrysostom does not take the trouble to define κυβερνήσεις. Thiselton⁵¹⁴, following this quote, provides a myriad of possible meanings, many from etymological arguments. It is common knowledge that an excess of etymology has its dangers of committing semantic fallacies, although Thiselton's analysis has, in the author's opinion, no semantic errors. Chrysostom understands the term κυβερνήσεις within its context alongside ἀντιλήμψεις. Witherington⁵¹⁵ provides a short, but crucial comment in understanding this context: "The important word *kybernēsis* is often unfortunately translated "administration." It really refers to those who give guidance or wise counsel."

Chrysostom finally discusses verse 30 in the same context he discussed the unity of the body. The entire body cannot be one member. The purpose of this verse, according to Chrysostom, is the rhetorical effect of "consoling." The hierarchy is again affirmed in this verse, as Chrysostom states.

He does not provide a full discussion of tongues, probably due to the fact that he is planning to discuss it slightly later in the homily, when he discusses 1 Corinthians 13:1.

8.4. The More Excellent Way of Love

The next section of the homily discusses the role of love in the functioning of the gifts. In 1 Corinthians 12:31, Paul states: ζηλοῦτε δὲ τὰ χαρίσματα τὰ μείζονα. Καὶ ἔτι καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ὁδὸν ὑμῖν δείκνυμι. A few remarks need to be made regarding the grammar of the verse. Traditionally, 12:31a has been translated as "Seek earnestly the best gifts!" The word ζηλοῦτε would then imply an

⁵¹⁴ Ibid., 1023.

⁵¹⁵ Witherington, *First Corinthians*, 261.

imperative mood, forming a direct command. It is also accepted as an imperative by Thiselton, Fee, Conzelmann, Barrett, Schrage and Robertson and Plummer. Both Smit⁵¹⁶ and Hays⁵¹⁷ acknowledge that the presence of this verse seems to be in contrast with what Paul was saying in the entire argument. However the imperative in 1 Corinthians 14:1 supports the theory that it is also an imperative in 12:31, which would then form an inclusio. Chrysostom also understands it as an imperative, as he notes that the Corinthian believers had it in their power to gain the greater gifts. But there is a text critical problem in this instance. Chrysostom states (*Hom. I Cor. 32.5*):

Τίς δὲ αὗτη ἐστί; Ζηλοῦτε, φησὶ, τὰ χαρίσματα τὰ κρείττονα. Καὶ ἔτι καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ὄδὸν δείκνυμι ὑμῖν. Τοῦτο δὲ εἰπὼν ἡρέμα ἤνιξατο αἰτίους ὅντας τοῦ τὰ ἐλάττονα λαμβάνειν, καὶ κυρίους, εἰ βούλοιντο, τοῦ τὰ μείζονα λαβεῖν. "Οταν γὰρ εἴπῃ, Ζηλοῦτε, τὴν παρ' ἐκείνων σπουδὴν ἀπαιτεῖ καὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τὴν περὶ τὰ πνευματικά. Καὶ οὐκ εἶπε, Τὰ μείζονα, ἀλλὰ, Τὰ κρείττονα, τουτέστι, τὰ χρησιμώτερα, τὰ συμφέροντα. "Ο δὲ λέγει, τοῦτο ἐστι· Μένετε ἐπιθυμοῦντες χαρισμάτων, καὶ δείκνυμι ὄδὸν χαρισμάτων ὑμῖν. Οὐδὲ γὰρ εἶπε, Χάρισμα, ἀλλ' Ὁδὸν, ἵνα μειζόνως ἐπάρῃ τοῦτο, ὃ μέλλει λέγειν.⁵¹⁸

And what is this? “Desire earnestly the better gifts,” he says, “And I will show you an even more excellent way.”⁵¹⁹ When Paul said this, he discreetly implied that the fact that some received the lesser gifts were of their own doing, and did in fact have the power to receive the greater gifts. For when he said: “Desire earnestly,” he commands them to have diligence in the spiritual things. And he did not say “the greater” gifts, but “the better,” which would mean the more useful and beneficial. And he also means: ‘Continue to desire the gifts, and I will show you a fountain of gifts.’ For he did not say ‘a gift,’ but “a way,” in order to distinguish exactly what he is about to say.

⁵¹⁶ J.F.M Smit, “Two Puzzles: 1 Cor 12:31 and 13:3: Rhetorical Solution,” in *NTS* 39 (1993): 246-64.

⁵¹⁷ Hays, *First Corinthians*, 217-18.

⁵¹⁸ PG:61:267.

⁵¹⁹ 1 Corinthians 12:31.

Chrysostom uses the later reading “τὰ κρείττονα” (D F G Ψ Μ) and not “τὰ μείζονα”, which would in fact be the preferred reading from older manuscripts. One could accept these as synonyms; however Chrysostom states that using the earlier version would be in fact wrong. He then adds two more explanatory terms namely “τὰ χρησιμότερα” and “τὰ συμφέροντα.” He already draws meaning from the context of 12:1-30 as well as from chapter 14. It is therefore an imperative for the Corinthians to strive for the better, useful and profitable, and not the greater gifts. This would then imply a notion of the gifts in service of the community, and not in exuberance of an individual participant’s ego. Chrysostom now elaborates on 13:1-3.

8.4.1. Love as the Fountain of the Charismata

Chrysostom has pointed out that love should be understood as the fountain⁵²⁰ of the rest of the gifts. Chrysostom’s inclusion of 13:1-3 also implies that he acknowledges Pauline authorship of 1 Corinthians 13⁵²¹. Chrysostom calls the beginning of Paul’s love song “τὴν κυριωτάτην παραμυθίαν,” the most “lordly” or “powerful” consolation. As with Mitchell⁵²² and Thiselton⁵²³, Chrysostom also recognizes the rhetorical fluency of chapters 12 to 13 and 13 to 14, in contrast with Weiss⁵²⁴.

Chrysostom states that Paul is not comparing love with the gifts. Rather, love is the glue holding the body together. He notes that the troubles in Corinth sprang from the font of evil, but that love would resolve the crisis regarding the gifts. This also makes chapter 13 quite fitting in the scheme of 12-14. Love is then the virtue that binds the believers in fraternal friendship.

In the next section of the homily, Chrysostom states that Paul purposefully places the gift of tongues first, because the Corinthians valued it the most. He adds that the expression “of angels” also gives the

⁵²⁰ The interpretation of the NPNF of “όδος” as a “fountain” does seem to capture the essence of what Chrysostom is attempting to illustrate. Love is the way or road to all the gifts.

⁵²¹ There are a few scholars who doubt the authenticity of 1 Corinthians 13, while others merely state that it is an erroneous interpolation (cf. Conzelmann, *First Corinthians*, 217-19).

⁵²² Mitchell, *Rhetoric of Reconciliation*, 270; cf. Andreas Lindemann, *Der Erste Korintherbrief* (HNT 9/1, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 268.

⁵²³ Thiselton, *First Corinthians*, 1027-28.

⁵²⁴ Johannes Weiss, *Der Erste Korintherbrief* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1910), 309-17; and Johannes Weiss, “Beiträge zur Paulinischen Rhetorik,” in ThSt (1897): 196-200.

statement more rhetorical thrust, because the Corinthians only spoke in the tongues of human beings. Even if they had the honour of speaking in angelic tongues, without love, they would have no use. Chrysostom therefore argues that the expression “tongues of angels” is solely hyperbole. Chrysostom does not indicate that it points to any sort of Hellenistic prophetic convention⁵²⁵. Chrysostom understands the phrase as being hyperbole, which is also affirmed by Sigountos⁵²⁶. They were not able to truly speak in angelic tongues, and even if they could, it would be useless without love. Paul states that without love, a person with the gift of tongues is like a resounding gong or a clanging cymbal (*γέγονα χαλκὸς ἡχῶν ἢ κύμβαλον ἀλαλάζον*). Chrysostom elaborates (*Hom. 1 Cor. 32.5*): Πῶς δὲ χαλκὸς ἡχῶν; Φωνὴν μὲν ἀφιεὶς, εἰκῇ δὲ καὶ μάτην, καὶ εἰς οὐδὲν δέον. “And what is the nature of a resounding gong? It emits a sound, but a senseless and useless, truly, without purpose.” There is no musical pitch – only an empty sound⁵²⁷. Chrysostom makes no reference to the pagan cults, which may have used these instruments. It is merely a useless brass gong.

Chrysostom also feels the need to elaborate on the fact that Paul is not referring to physical angelic tongues, but rather to language. This was an interesting debate in the early church. From the earlier Gnostics and possibly the Arians, the dichotomy between soul and body was promoted and with this, some stated that the soul, or anything incorporeal, does not need grace. In this debate, some fathers especially used the example of angels, who did not have a physical body, to indicate that they also need grace, and that both the soul and the body were in need of deliverance. This is especially emphasized by Gregory of Nyssa (*Eustat. 5*), who supports the notion that the soul is in dire need of deliverance. It is not clear if Chrysostom may refer to this debate, but certainly affirms the fact that angels do not have a physical body. They are subjected to the rule of Christ and according to Chrysostom, they will also be included in those whose knees will bow before Christ, even though they do not have physical knees (he refers to Phil 2:10). The next gift that is mentioned is prophecy, and Chrysostom affirms that Paul is

⁵²⁵ This is said with specific reference to the opinion of Christopher Forbes, *Prophecy and Inspired Speech in Early Christianity and Its Hellenistic Environment* (WUNT 2:75; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995), whose hypothesis states that the tongues of angels may also be read against the “dialects of angels,” which points to certain Hellenistic conventions.

⁵²⁶ James G. Sigountos, “The Genre of 1 Corinthians 13,” in *NTS* 40 (1994): 246-60; cf. also J. F. M. Smit, “The Genre of 1 Corinthians 13 in the Light of Classical Rhetoric,” in *NovT* 33 (1991): 193-216; John P. Heil, *The Rhetorical Role of Scripture in 1 Corinthians* (SBLMS 15, Atlanta: SBL, 2005), 13; Thiselton, *First Corinthians*, 1033.

⁵²⁷ Cf. Thiselton, *First Corinthians*, 1036; William W. Klein, “Noisy Gong or Acoustic Vase? A Note on 1 Cor. 13:1,” in *NTS* 32 (1986): 286-89.

now moving in reverse order in the hierarchy set out in 1 Corinthians 12:28. The same is said of the other gifts mentioned, namely knowledge, faith and miracles.

8.4.2. Wealth, Poverty and Martyrdom in the Light of Love

This section concerns Chrysostom's interpretation of 1 Corinthians 13:3. There is another significant text-critical problem. Certain manuscripts read ἵνα καυχήσωμαι ("that I may glory") and others read ἵνα καυθήσομαι ("that I should be burned"). Chrysostom uses the latter reading. It is also interesting to note that the majority of patristic writers prefer this reading, namely Tertullian, Aphraates, Cyprian, Basil, Cyril, Theodoret, Euthalius, Maximus the Confessor and John Damascus⁵²⁸. Only Clement, Origen and Jerome favour the first reading. Metzger is in favour of the first reading in contrast to Chrysostom mainly due to the external evidence – most of the earliest manuscripts contain the first reading. Moreover, Chrysostom uses the form ἵνα καυθήσωμαι, which is a very rare future subjunctive⁵²⁹. Metzger⁵³⁰ states that it "is a grammatical monstrosity that cannot be attributed to Paul." Although Chrysostom, and most of the other patristic authors, probably used a later reading, it becomes more relevant to these authors, because being burned alive was a common form of martyrdom, only becoming prevalent in the second century⁵³¹.

But Chrysostom is more impressed with Paul's statement of giving away all one's possessions without love, becomes useless. He points to Matthew 19:21 regarding Jesus' conversation with the rich young man. He notes that even though Jesus stated that giving all of your possessions to the poor, without love it would be useless. Martyrdom would then also be useless without love. Both of these, martyrdom and almsgiving, were held in very high regard in the early church. Chrysostom then asks the question of how it could be possible to give all one's possessions away without love. He states that it would

⁵²⁸ The text critical information and considerations are taken from Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 563-64.

⁵²⁹ The difference between καυθήσομαι and καυθήσωμαι is minute, as noted by James K. Elliott, "In Favour of καυθήσομαι at 1 Cor. 13:3," in *ZNW* 62 (1971): 297-98; as well as Chrys C. Caragounis, "'To Boast' or 'To be Burned'? The Crux of 1 Cor. 13:3," in *SEÄ* 60 (1995): 115-27. The arguments of Metzger as well as that of Jacobus H. Petzer, "Contextual Evidence in Favour of ἵνα καυχήσωμαι in 1 Corinthians 13:3," in *NTS* 35/2 (1989): 229-53 seem to be more convincing. Metzger gives a number of grammatical and text-critical premises while Petzer's note on defamiliarization affirms a reading of ἵνα καυχήσωμαι, it also fits in with the typical notion of honour discourse and the role of boasting in the ancient Mediterranean.

⁵³⁰ Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 564.

⁵³¹ Cf. Thiselton, *First Corinthians*, 1043; Jean Héring, *The First Epistle of St Paul to the Corinthians* (London: Epworth, 1962), 137.

imply empathy with the needy, and not condescension. Martyrdom may be in service of one's own fame and honour, and not to the glory of Christ. It is true that many people sought martyrdom for this reason⁵³². Chrysostom also refers to Matthew 20:23-26, in that stating the very act of martyrdom, as exemplified in Christ, is out of love for the people dearest to you. Chrysostom therefore implies that martyrdom without love is not martyrdom.

8.4.3. Love as a Virtue

In the final section of this homily, Chrysostom elaborates on the nature of love as the greatest virtue. He states that love as a virtue needs to be described in words, because true deeds of love is very rare. Love is the greatest virtue. The person who is perfect in love has no wantonness, and Chrysostom states, in fact, that if all people were perfect in love, the world would have no imperfection.

He also illustrates the difference between healthy and harmful love by referring to the narrative of Joseph and the Egyptian woman, Potiphar's wife (Gen 39). Her love toward Joseph was rather desire, love which is selfish and harmful, to which the end of the story attests. Joseph, however, according to Chrysostom, even showed that he had true love in that he does not dishonour Potiphar or his wife. Again, in typical Antiochene tradition, Chrysostom looks at the relevance of honour and shame in the relationship between Joseph as slave, and his master.

Finally, Chrysostom states that true love implies sacrifice, and having consideration for fellow human beings, which was especially exemplified in Paul (1 Cor 9:18; 2 Cor 11:29). Jesus, being the prime example, loved His accusers and executors.

8.5. Conclusion

In this homily, Chrysostom, as Antiochene exegete, gives heed to the literary context of 1 Corinthians 12:1-13:3. He affirms that Paul implies a hierarchy when he lists the gifts. The bridge to 1 Corinthians 13:1-3 is the fail-safe from turning this hierarchy into a hierocracy. He uses numerous examples from *historia*, like Joseph, as well as Jesus, Peter and Paul, to affirm his point. He also attends to the role of honour and shame, and being part of the group, namely the church, aids in one's status as being honourable.

⁵³² Cf. Ferguson, *Church History*, 79-85; Laurie Guy, *Introducing Early Christianity: A Topical Survey of Its Life, Beliefs & Practices* (Illinois: InterVarsity, 2004), 50-81.

The most astounding characteristic of this homily is the ethics appropriated in it. Chrysostom's ethics are based primarily on love. Absence of love turns symbiotic hierarchy into harmful hierocracy. Truly, the perfection of the world can only be achieved with love. Love is the highest ethical principle to Chrysostom. Love becomes Chrysostom's hermeneutical key to understand the pronouncements of Jesus and Paul. All of the statements of Jesus become valid when viewed in terms of love.

8.6. Appendix: Translation of Homily 32

The Catholicity of the Body of Christ

"Now you are the body of Christ and each individually members thereof."⁵³³

[1] For unless any should say: "What use is the example of the body to us, since the body is a slave to nature and our goods deeds or of our own volition," Paul applies it to our own context, and he states that we should have the same nature of existence as they have from nature, he says: "Now you are the body of Christ." But if our natural body should not be divided, much less the body of Christ, and so is grace much more powerful than nature.

But what does the expression "individually" mean? So far as it applies to you, and naturally a part of the body should be built up from you. For because he had said "the body," while the whole body was not the Corinthian Church, but the Church in every part of the world; that is why he said "individually," that is, the Church among you is part of the Church existing everywhere and part of the body which consists of all the Churches. Thus, not you only, but also with the whole Church throughout the entire world, you should be at peace since you are members of the whole body.

The Order and Meaning of the Gifts

"And God has placed in the Church, firstly apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers, and then works of power, then gifts of healing, then patrons and counselors, different kinds of tongues."⁵³⁴

⁵³³ 1 Corinthians 12:27.

[2] Therefore, Paul is now discussing what I have said earlier. Because they thought highly of themselves due to speaking in tongues, Paul mentions it last in every instance. For the terms “first” and “second” are not used by Paul in this case accidentally, but to number the more honourable and the inferior. This is why he places the apostles, who had all the gifts, first in the order. And he did not simply say: “God has placed in the Church apostles, or prophets,” but he uses the words “first, second and third,” showing what I have just told you.

“Secondly, prophets.” For they are the ones of whom he said: “Let the prophets speak, one two or three.”⁵³⁵ And while he was writing to Timothy he also said: “Do not neglect the gift that is in you, which was given to you through prophecy.”⁵³⁶ And there were even more who prophesied. And if Christ said: “The Law and the Prophets prophesied until John,”⁵³⁷ He is referring to those prophets who proclaimed His coming before He came.

“Thirdly, teachers.” For who prophesies speaks all things from the Spirit, but the one who teaches sometimes also involves his or her own mind. This is also why he said: “Let the elders that rule well be given a double portion of honour, especially those who labour in the word and in teaching.”⁵³⁸ In contrast, the person who speaks all things by the Spirit does not labour. This is then the reason why Paul places the teacher after the prophet, because the one is totally a spiritual gift, while the other also concerns a person’s labour. The teacher says many things that originate from his or her own mind, agreeing though with the Scriptures.

[3] “Then works of power, then gifts of healing.” Can you see again here how he separates the healings from the works of power, which he also did before? For the work of power is more than the healing, since the person who performs works of power punishes and heals, but the person who has the gift of healing performs only healing. And look how appropriate the order is, when he set prophecy before the works of power and healings. For above when he said: “To one is given a word of wisdom, and to another a word of knowledge,” he spoke without setting the gifts in a particular order. Here, however,

⁵³⁴ 1 Corinthians 12:28.

⁵³⁵ 1 Corinthians 14:29.

⁵³⁶ 1 Timothy 4:14.

⁵³⁷ Matthew 11:13.

⁵³⁸ 1 Timothy 5:17.

he sets a first and second rank. Why then does he set prophecy first? Because even in the Old Testament this order is prevalent. For example, when Isaiah was arguing with the Jews and performed a miracle of God, and bringing to light the futility of demons, he also proved his godliness to them in his prophesying of things in the future⁵³⁹. And Christ Himself, after performing so many signs said that this was no insignificant trait of His divinity and constantly states: “Because I have told you these things that when the time comes, you will know that I am Him.”⁵⁴⁰

But the gifts of healing are understandably inferior to prophecy. But what about teaching? Because it is not the same thing proclaim a word of preaching and sow piety in the hearts of the hearers⁵⁴¹, as it is to perform miracles, since these are done merely for the sake of preaching the Gospel. And anyone who teaches by word and life is greater than all of them. For Paul explicitly calls those persons teachers, who teach by deeds and words. This, for instance, made the Apostles themselves to become Apostles. And some of the gifts others also received in the beginning, to no advantage, who said: “Lord, did we not prophesy in Your Name, and do mighty works?” And after this, they were told: “I never knew you; go away from me, you workers of iniquity.”⁵⁴² But this twofold method of teaching, I mean by deeds and words, no evil person would ever do. And because he is setting prophets first, do not be so surprised. As he is not speaking of prophets simply, but people who prophesy also teaches and say all things to the common benefit of the assembly, which in the next section [1 Cor 14] will give even more value to us.

[4] “Patrons, counselors.” What are “patrons”? Those who support the weak. Tell me, is this then a gift? In the first place, this is in fact the Gift of God, being ready for the work of a patron; He supplies us with the spiritual gifts. Paul even calls many of our own good deeds ‘gifts.’ He does not, however, create a very big difference, which would even assist in the anger of those who had the lesser gifts. He rather gives them direct attention with great care in the section which follows, because he had already showed them at many occasions that they are not very much inferior. What I mean is this: because when they heard these things they would probably say “and why were all not made apostles?” Rather, he uses a more discreet tone of argumentation, illustrating in many ways his point, especially from the image of the body. For “the body,” he says, “is not one member,” and again, “but if all were one

⁵³⁹ Isaiah 41:22-23.

⁵⁴⁰ John 13:19, 14:29, 16:4.

⁵⁴¹ Translation: NPNF.

⁵⁴² Matthew 7:22.

member, how would it be a body?” And from the fact that they were each given for a particular use, for to each one is given “a manifestation of the Spirit to the benefit of all,” he said. All are watered from the same Spirit and that which is given is a free gift and not a debt.

He states further that “there are different apportionments of gifts, but the same Spirit.” And from the manifestation of the Spirit, the honour of all are made equal, which is why he stated it, in order to show that the same things which come from the Spirit, in fact, come from God. In this light, he says: “All these things work one and the same Spirit apportioning to each as He wills,” and later he also states: “God has set the members in the body each one individually, as it was pleasing to Him.” And to show that the so-called ‘inferior’ members are also necessary, he says: “those members who seem unimportant are quite necessary.” And because they are necessary, he states that “the greater members also need the lesser members.” He says: “The head cannot say to the feet, I do not need you.” From this it is evident that the lesser members even have more honour, for Paul says: “To those members that lacks honour he has given more abundant honour.” This is because all the members require equal care, for he says: “All the members have the same care for one another.” And just so that one may not have honour and another grieves, he states: “If one member suffers, all the members suffer with it, or if one member is honoured, all the members rejoice with it.”

Paul has exhorted them in all the above cases, and from here he does not stop with the first and the second gift but moves up to the last gift, implying that one person cannot be all things, (for he even said: “If all were one member, where is the body?”). What is he then saying? He is implying that even the lesser gifts are contended for equally with the greater⁵⁴³, from the fact that not even these lesser gifts were given to all. For he actually means: “Why are you dissatisfied that you have not received the gifts of healing? Consider what you have, even though it may seem less, it is often not even possessed by the person who has the greater gifts.” This is also why he says:

“Do all speak in tongues? Do all interpret?”⁵⁴⁴

For even as the great gifts of God are not given to all people, but to some these and to others those, so also He did with regard to the lesser gifts, not giving these to all people. God did this to promote love

⁵⁴³ Translation: NPNF.

⁵⁴⁴ 1 Corinthians 12:30.

and harmony, so that the members may need each other and through this be brought closer to each other. God has also established this sort of dependence in the arts, the elements, the plants, in our body-parts and in absolutely all things.

The More Excellent Way of Love

[5] And he now adds the greatest consolation, which is sufficient to soothe them and silence their dissatisfied souls. And what is this?

“Desire earnestly the better gifts,” he says, “And I will show you an even more excellent way.”⁵⁴⁵

When Paul said this, he discreetly implied that the fact that some received the lesser gifts were of their own doing, and did in fact have the power to receive the greater gifts. For when he said: “Desire earnestly,” he commands them to have diligence in the spiritual things. And he did not say “the greater” gifts, but “the better,” which would mean the more useful and beneficial. And he also means: “Continue to desire the gifts, and I will show you a fountain of gifts.” For he did not say ‘a gift,’ but ‘a way,’ in order to distinguish exactly what he is about to say. He might as well have said: “It is not one, two or three gifts that I show you, but a way that leads to all of these; and not merely a way, but a “more excellent way,” and one that is accessible to all.” This ‘gift’ is a gift common to all, not as the other gifts that are distributed unevenly. In this instance he invites all to join in this way. He says: “Desire earnestly the better gifts and yet I will show you a more excellent way,” meaning love towards our neighbour.

And to introduce his next argument and the greatness of this virtue, he lowers the other gifts in comparison with it, and states that they are nothing without it. For if he had immediately started discoursing about love and merely said: “I show to you a way,” and said, “and this is love,” without giving the comparison with the gifts, some people may have not realized its importance and not understand it. This is why he does not immediately give an exposition of love, but excites the hearer by a promise saying: “I show to you a more excellent way,” which makes people desire it even more, and he has not even reached his discussion. He only augments it further and flames their desire for it, he

⁵⁴⁵ 1 Corinthians 12:31.

starts speaking of the gifts and shows that they are nothing without it. This would drive them to realize the importance of loving one another – something they neglected – which is also why they had all the aforementioned problems. So that, because of this problem, the gifts not only stopped them from coming together, but even destroyed the bit of unity they had left. But in the division, this would bring them together into one body. But Paul does not say this immediately, but the answer they mainly longed for, he now gives – in that this thing is a gift and also a way to all the gifts. Even in the worst cases, if you do not want to love your fellow believer and promote friendship, consider love then important so that you might receive a better sign and an abundant gift!

[6] And look where he starts! Yes, at that which was marvelous in their eyes and great, the gift of tongues⁵⁴⁶. And now mentioning those gifts, he not only describes it in the measure that they had it, but in far more. For he did not say “if I speak in tongues,” but:

“If I speak in human tongues,”⁵⁴⁷

What is “in human tongues?” He refers to the languages of all the nations in every part of the world. And he was not only satisfied with this amplification, but in the same manner he adds even a greater measure, adding the words “and of angels, and have not love, I have become a like a resounding gong or a clanging cymbal.”

Do you see how he amplified the gift at first, and then lowers it and even destroys its value? For he did not merely say: “I am nothing,” but “I have become a like a resounding gong,” which is a senseless and inanimate thing. And what does he mean with “a resounding gong?” Emitting a sound, yes, but at random and in vain; to no good end⁵⁴⁸. And not only is there no benefit to me, but most people consider me an irritation, someone annoying and a wearisome kind of person. Can you see how the person who has no love is like a senseless and inanimate object?

In this instance he speaks of the “tongues of angels,” not implying that angels have a body. What he means is this: “should I even speak in the way angels would speak to each other, without this I am

⁵⁴⁶ Translation: NPNF.

⁵⁴⁷ 1 Corinthians 13:1.

⁵⁴⁸ Translation: NPNF.

nothing, I am even a burden and an annoyance.” Thus, to mention another example, he says: “To Him every knee shall bow, of things in heaven and things on earth and things under the earth”⁵⁴⁹. This would not imply that angels have knees and bones, certainly not, but it is their show of respect and in this instance where he says “a tongue”, he does not refer to a body-part of flesh, but intending to illustrate their language which they speak to each other, which also happens among us.

[7] Then, in order to validate his argument, he does not stop at the gift of tongues, but moves further on to the rest of the gifts. And after he has shown the vanity of the gifts without love, he then sketches the image of love. And because he incorporates hyperbole in his argument, he begins with the lesser gifts and moves on to the greater. For as he previously placed tongues last, he now mentions it first. He does it in degrees, as I said, proceeding to the greater gifts. After he has spoken about tongues, he immediately moves on to prophecy and says:

“And if I have the gift of prophecy.”⁵⁵⁰

And this gift is also discussed in its greatest excellence! For as he not only mentioned the gift of tongues, but the tongues of humans and angels, and showing that the gift was nothing without love, so also here he is not merely referring to prophecy, but prophecy of the highest degree by saying: “If I have prophecy,” he adds, “and know all the mysteries and all knowledge,” also amplifying the gift.

And after this he also moves on to the other gifts. And again, he does not become tired of mentioning the gifts one by one, he now mentions the mother and source of all gifts, again with amplification, saying:

“And if I have all the faith.”⁵⁵¹

And this is not enough for Paul. But even that of which Christ spoke in very high regard, he also mentions in saying: “so as to move mountains, and have not love, I am nothing.” And behold again here how he lowers the value of the gift of tongues. For when he was speaking of prophecy, he pointed

⁵⁴⁹ Philippians 2:10.

⁵⁵⁰ 1 Corinthians 13:2a.

⁵⁵¹ 1 Corinthians 13:2b.

out the great advantage thereof that is “the understanding of all mysteries and having all knowledge,” and concerning faith, nothing trivial, but even results in “the moving of mountains.” But with tongues, he only mentions the gift.

But do you realize, I ask you, how briefly he incorporated all the gifts when he mentioned prophecy and faith, for miracles may be in either words or deeds. And Christ even said that the lowest degree of faith makes one able to move a mountain. He is in fact speaking of something very small when He said: “If you have faith like a mustard-seed, you will say to this mountain: ‘Move!’ and it will be moved.”⁵⁵² But Paul says “all faith!” What must we then say? Since moving a mountain is quite an impressive feat, this is why he mentions it, not as if “all faith” could only do this. But this faith seems to be the greatest measure of faith there could ever be – this is what he means with faith. And now he says:

“If I have all faith, and can move mountains, but have not love, I am nothing.”

“And if I sell all my possessions to feed the poor, and give my body to be burned, but have no love, it has no benefit for me.”⁵⁵³

What an amazing emphasis! For even these things he states with an addition, as he does not say: “if I give half of my possessions to the poor,” or “two or three parts,” but “even if I give all my goods.” And he mentions death, being burnt alive, and states that without love even this is no great achievement. And he adds: “it has no benefit for me.”

But I have not even shown you the immense excellency of this until I state the testimonies of Christ which He said concerning almsgiving and death. What does He then say? To the rich man he said: “If you want to be perfect, sell what you possess and give it to the poor, and come, follow me.”⁵⁵⁴ And arguing in the same manner concerning love to one's neighbor, He says: “Greater love has no one than this, that a person may lay down their life for their friends.”⁵⁵⁵ From this it is clear that in God's eyes this is the greatest feat of all. But “I tell you,” said Paul, “that even if we should lay down our life for God's sake, and not merely lay it down, but so as even to be burned, (for this is the meaning of, “if I

⁵⁵² Matthew 17:20.

⁵⁵³ 1 Corinthians 13:3.

⁵⁵⁴ Matthew 19:21.

⁵⁵⁵ John 15:13.

give my body to be burned,”) we shall have no great benefit if we love not our neighbor.”⁵⁵⁶ Well then, the statement that the gifts are of no good without love is not surprising: since our gifts are only a secondary aspect of our lifestyle. In this instance, we see that many have displayed the gifts, and yet on becoming malcontentious, have been punished, just as those who “prophesied in His Name and cast out many demons, and performed many powerful works” like Judas the traitor. But others who led a pure life did not add anything to their salvation. As I said, the fact that the gifts are dependant on love is certainly not surprising. But living a righteous life would be impossible without it, this is what Christ appears to imply in His great rewards to both these, I mean to the giving up of our possessions, and to martyrdom resulting in death. For to the rich man He said, as I before noted: “If you want to be perfect, sell your possessions, and give it to the poor, and come, follow me.” And while He was speaking with the disciples concerning martyrdom, He said: “Whoever shall lose their life for My sake, shall find it,” and, “Whosoever shall confess Me before the people, this person I will also confess before My Father who is in heaven.” For it takes hard work to attain this achievement – it almost asks of you to go beyond your natural abilities – this is well known to the people who have received crowns in this light. For there are no words to describe the marvel of a person who have achieved this – it is the most wonderful thing!

[9] But nevertheless, this great achievement would mean nothing without love, as Paul have said, even if you have sold all your goods with completing this feat! Why has he then said this? I will now attempt to explain this. Firstly we need to ask: “How is it possible that one who gives all his goods to feed the poor can lack love? I take it, indeed, that the person, who is ready to be burned and has the gifts, may possibly not have love. But he who not only sells his goods, but even gives them away in different measures; how can this person not have love? What then shall we say? Could it be that Paul provides an unrealistic scenario, which he often does, when he intends to set before us something in excess as when writing to the Galatians he says: “If we or an angel from heaven preach any other gospel to you than that which you received, let him be accursed.”⁵⁵⁷ But it was not as if Paul himself or an angel was about to do it – he just pushes the argument to the extreme by setting down an event that could never by any means happen. And again, when he writes to the Romans, and says: “Neither angels, nor principalities, nor powers, shall be able to separate us from the love of God.”⁵⁵⁸ For this was not about to be done by the angels! But here too he supposes something that could not possibly happen and also

⁵⁵⁶ Translation: *NPNF*.

⁵⁵⁷ Galatians 1:8, Translation: *NPNF*.

⁵⁵⁸ Romans 8:38.

in what comes next, saying, “nor any other creature,” as there is no other creature that could do this, for he had included the whole creation in his argument, having spoken of all things both above and below.

Nevertheless here he also states that which could not possibly happen, by way of hypothesis, in order to illustrate how passionate he is about the point being made. He does the same thing here when he says: “If a person should sell all their possessions, and have not love, there is no benefit in it.”

We can then either say this, or that his meaning is for those who give to be also joined closely to those who retire, and not merely to give without sympathy, but in pity and condescension, bowing down and grieving with the needy⁵⁵⁹. This is also why almsgiving has been initiated by God, since God may have provided to the poor just as well without our giving, but that He bring us closer together in love and that we may be caring to one another – this is why God has commanded us to give to the poor. Therefore someone said in another place: “A good word is better than a gift”⁵⁶⁰ And: “Look, a word is beyond a good gift.”⁵⁶¹ And He Himself said: “I will have mercy, and not sacrifice.”⁵⁶² And since people are more inclined to love those whom they benefit and those who receive more easily loves the one who provides – God instituted this law to promote friendship among all people.

[10] But the question we need to ask is: How can Paul say that all these things, which Christ called perfect, be imperfect if there is no love? Paul is certainly not contradicting Christ, but is precisely agreeing with Him. For as in the case of the rich man, He did not merely say: “Sell your possessions, and give it to the poor,” but He added, “And come, follow Me.” And there is nothing that gives more proof that one is a disciple of Christ than mutual love. For: “by this shall all people know,” He says, “Whoever loses their life for My sake, shall find it”⁵⁶³. And: “Whoever shall confess Me before people, this person I will also confess before My Father who is in heaven.” Christ does not mean that it is not necessary to have love, but He affirms the reward which is in store for those who do these things. Because that with martyrdom He also implies that which we have mentioned, and He also states: “You will indeed drink of My cup, and be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with.”⁵⁶⁴ He means: “You will be martyrs, you will be killed for My sake,” and He also means: “but to sit at My right hand,

⁵⁵⁹ Translation: *NPNF*.

⁵⁶⁰ Ecclesiasticus 18:16-17.

⁵⁶¹ Ecclesiasticus 18:16-17.

⁵⁶² Hosea 6:6.

⁵⁶³ Matthew 10:39, 35.

⁵⁶⁴ Matthew 20:23.

and on My left, (not as though any sit on the right hand and the left, but meaning the highest precedence and honor) is not Mine to give but to those for whom it is prepared.” Then He states for whom it is prepared and says: “Whoever will be greatest among you, let this person be a servant to you all.”⁵⁶⁵ In this way He promotes humility and love. And the love which Christ asks is extreme, as He did not stop here but also said: “Even as the Son of Man did not come to be served, but to serve and to give His life as a sacrifice for many.” He implies that we should love one another to such an extent that we should be prepared to give our lives for our loved ones. For this above all is to love Him. In this instance He also said to Peter: “If you love Me, feed My sheep.”⁵⁶⁶

[11] And in order for you to know how amazing a work of virtue it is, let us illustrate it in words, since we do not see it in deeds, and let us realize that if it was everywhere in abundance, how many great benefits would result from it. How there would be no need of laws, or tribunals or punishments, or revenge, or any other such thing since if all loved and were loved, no person would harm another. Yes, murders, and hardships, and wars, and schisms, and theft, and dishonesty and all other evils would be removed, and vice would be unknown even in name. Miracles, however, could not possibly initiate such a state of reality! They rather make the people who are not weary boastful, full of false glory and pride.

I tell you again what the greatest aspect of love is: all the other good things have their opposite evils beside them. But the person who is filled with love would live on earth as if in heaven, with a universal peace and collecting innumerable crowns. For both from envy, and wrath, and jealousy, and pride, and vain-glory and evil concupiscence, and every profane love, and all distemper, such a person will keep his or her own soul pure⁵⁶⁷. Yes, this person would not harm his or her neighbours in any way someone else would harm themselves. And living such a life, this person will stand with Gabriel himself, even while he or she walks on earth.

But this is the nature of the person who has love. But the one who performs miracles and has perfect knowledge, without this, though they would raise tens of thousands from the dead, will not have any benefit – this person is rather separated from other people and has no desire to have a relationship with any fellow-believers. This is the reason Christ said that the sign of perfect love towards Him is loving

⁵⁶⁵ Matthew 20:26.

⁵⁶⁶ John 21:16.

⁵⁶⁷ Translation: *NPNF*.

one's neighbors. For: "If you love Me," He says, "dear Peter, more than these others, feed My sheep."⁵⁶⁸ Can this be greater than martyrdom? For if any one had a beloved child on whose behalf they would even give up their life, and someone were to love the father, but pay no regard whatsoever to the son, would greatly insult the father⁵⁶⁹. The father would not believe that this person loves him because they do not love the son. If this is then applicable in the case of a father and son, it is much more in the case of God and humans, as God is certainly more loving than any parents.

[12] This is also why He said: "The first and greatest commandment is: Love the Lord your God," but He also says: "and the second, (He does not forget to mention this), which is the same, Love your neighbor as you love yourself." And look how Christ demands this second commandment in the same earnestness as the first. And regarding God, He says: "with all your heart," and in terms of your neighbor: "as yourself," which is the same as "with all your heart."

Yes, and if this would be fully applied, there would be neither slave nor free, neither ruler nor ruled, neither rich nor poor, neither small nor great; nor would any devil then ever have been known: I say not Satan only, but whatever other such spirit there is. Yes, rather consider how great a blessing it is of itself to exercise love; what cheerfulness it produces, in how great grace it provides to the soul; a thing which above all is a choice quality of it⁵⁷⁰. For the other virtues have each their evils beside them - like fasting has temperance, watching has envy, concupiscence has contempt. But love, with all its benefits has a great pleasure, and no evil but is like an industrious bee, gathering the nectar from every flower and stores it in the soul of the person who loves. Although someone is a slave, it makes slavery sweeter even if to be a master is already sweet. But love changes the nature of things and presents itself with all good things in its hands, gentler than any mother, wealthier than any queen, and makes difficulties light and easy, causing our virtues to be practical, but avoids vice as an evil⁵⁷¹. Again, although saying evil things brings us pleasure sometimes, nothing is so sweet to us as to be praising the one we love. Again, anger may have a sort of pleasure in it; but in this case no longer, rather all its sinews are taken away. Though the person that is loved should grieve the one who loves them, anger manifests itself in tears and arguments and supplications. Love cannot be exasperated, and should it see someone who stumbles, it mourns and is in pain. Yet even this pain itself brings pleasure. For the very tears and the

⁵⁶⁸ John 21:15.

⁵⁶⁹ Translation: *NPNF*.

⁵⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁷¹ Ibid.

grief of love are sweeter than any happiness and joy⁵⁷². For example, the people who laugh are not as refreshed as those who mourn on behalf of their friends. And if you doubt it, tell them to stop weeping, and they will continue to do so.

But someone will say: “But a person who has money would prefer to have hardships than to slowly lose his or her wealth.” In the same manner, the person who has love towards any other would rather choose to suffer ten thousand hardships than see their loved one harmed.

[13] But someone may ask: “How then did the Egyptian woman who loved Joseph wish to harm him?” Because she loved him with a devilish sort of love. This was not the case with Joseph; he loved in the way Paul states. Just look how his words testify to his astounding love and the action which she was speaking of. She said: “Insult me and make me an adulteress, and insult my husband, and overthrow my entire house, and throw yourself out from your trust in God.” These were expressions of a woman who did not love Joseph in any way – she does not even love herself! But because he truly loved, he was distraught for her sake – you can learn the nature of true love from his words. For he not only pushed her away, but also introduced an exhortation capable of quenching every flame of lust, namely⁵⁷³: “If it was up to me, my master does not know anything that goes on in his house.” He immediately reminds her of her husband that in order to put her to shame. And he did not say: “I love you, dear mistress of a slave.” But he says: “For if he is the master, then you are the mistress. You should be ashamed of yourself and your familiarity with a servant, and remember whose wife you are, and with whom you would be one, and towards whom you are becoming ungrateful and inconsiderate – I am in fact doing my master a great favour.” And look how he mentions his graces. For because that uncouth and abandoned woman could not take “no” for an answer, he shames her from human considerations, saying: “My master knows nothing except if I should tell him” that is, “he is a great benefactor to me, and I cannot harm my patron in a vital part. He made me a second master of his house, and no one has caused me trouble, except for you!” He plays on her conscience here, so that he might persuade her to feel ashamed, and might illustrate the immensity of her honor she is scarring. And he does not stop here, but in the same way stops her by reminding her of her title, namely a wife, saying: “Because you are his wife - how can I commit this evil crime? And what are you saying? That because your husband is not here he does not know that he is being wronged? But God will see it.”

⁵⁷² Ibid.

⁵⁷³ Ibid.

She, however, did not take heed of his advice, but still wanted to seduce him. For it was to satisfy her own desires, not because she loved Joseph, did she commit these things. And this is clear from what she did afterwards. She initiated a trial and accuses him, and bears false witness, and compares this innocent man to an animal. Then she has him thrown in prison. For her own sake she even wished to have him executed – this is how she turned the judge against Joseph. What then shall we say? Was the love of Joseph the same as her love? Certainly not, altogether the opposite, for he did not even contradict or accuse the woman. Some may say: “Of course, for no one would have believed him.” And yet he was loved in a great way – which is clear not only from the beginning of his tale, but also at the end. For if his barbarian master did not love him so greatly, he probably would have killed him in secret without defending himself. After all, he was an Egyptian and a ruler, and betrayed in his marriage-bed as he believed - and that by a servant, and a servant to whom he had been so kind. But he thought so highly of Joseph that he did not even consider these things, and the grace which God instilled in Joseph. And together with this grace and love, Joseph had evidence in his favour, namely his clothes – if he wanted to justify himself⁵⁷⁴. For if the woman was violated, her own clothes should have been torn, her face lacerated, instead of her keeping Joseph’s clothes. But she said: “He heard that I was starting to scream, so he left his clothes and ran away.” But why did you then keep his clothes? After all, if you were the victim who has been violated, the one thing you would want to do is get rid of everything that belonged to the intruder!

But not from this instance alone, but also from the subsequent events, shall I be able to point out his good-will and amazing love. Yes, even when he fell into a necessity of mentioning the cause of his imprisonment, and his remaining there, he did not even then declare the whole course of the story. But what does he say? “I too have done nothing: but indeed I was stolen out of the land of the Hebrews;” and he never mentioned the adulteress nor does he boast in himself on the matter, which would have been any one's feeling, if not for vain-glory, yet so as not to appear to have been cast into that cell for an unfair cause. For if people in the act of doing wrong, by no means abstain from these things and even goes so far as blaming the same things on others – this is not very admirable. Is Joseph then not very praiseworthy? For he did not mention the woman's passion nor make a show of her sin; nor when he ascended the throne and became ruler of all Egypt, remember the wrong done by the woman nor exact any punishment?

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid.

Can you see how he cared for her? But she did not have love, but madness. For she did not love Joseph, but she wanted to satisfy her own desires. And the very words too, if one would examine them accurately, were accompanied with wrath and great blood-thirstiness⁵⁷⁵. For what did she say? “You have brought in a Hebrew servant to mock us,” not recognizing her husband’s kindness, but rather admonishing him because of it! And she showed the garments – truly, she had become more vicious than any wild animal! But it was not so with Joseph. And why would Joseph insult the woman – we know that even towards his brothers, who meant to murder him - he never said one ill thing about them, whether he was behind closed doors or not?

[14] This is why Paul says that the love which we are speaking of is the mother of all good things, and prefers it to miracles and all other gifts. For as where there are beautiful garments and sandals of gold, we long for some other garments whereby to distinguish the king - and if we see the purple and the diadem, we require not to see any other sign of his royalty. It is the same in this instance, when the diadem of love is on our head; it is enough to point out the genuine disciple of Christ, not to ourselves only, but also to the unbelievers. For He said: “By this all people will know that you are My disciples, if you love one another.”⁵⁷⁶

This is then the greatest sign by which a disciple of Christ can be recognized. For if someone should work ten thousand signs, but have hate for one another, they will be a bad example to the unbelievers. And even if they do not perform any signs, but love one another, they will be respected and honoured by all people. This is also why we admire Paul, not because he raised the dead, nor for the lepers that he cleansed, but because he said: “Who is weak, and I am not weak? Who is made to stumble, and I do not burn?”⁵⁷⁷ For if you would have ten thousand miracles to compare with this, you would not be equal to Paul in this aspect. Since Paul himself also said that a great reward was laid up for him, not because he performed miracles, but because “to the weak he became weak.” And he says: “What is my reward? That, when I preach the Gospel, I may abide in the Gospel without any accusation against me.”⁵⁷⁸ And when he compares himself to the other apostles, he does not say “I have performed more miracles than they have,” but he says: “I have labored more abundantly than they have.”⁵⁷⁹ And he was

⁵⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁶ John 13:35, Translation: NPNF.

⁵⁷⁷ 2 Corinthians 11:29.

⁵⁷⁸ 1 Corinthians 9:18.

⁵⁷⁹ 1 Corinthians 15:10, Translation: NPNF.

even willing to die from starvation for the sake of the other disciples, for he states: “It would be better for me to die, than that any person should make my boasting useless.”⁵⁸⁰ This is not because he was boasting, but that he would not disgrace them. For he never boasts from his own achievements, when the time is not appropriate to do it. But he even calls himself a fool if he needs to do so! But if he ever boasts, it is “in hardships and in wrongs,” in showing sympathy to those who are wronged. Even in this instance he also states: “Who is weak, and I am not weak?” These words are even greater than all his hardships. This is also why he mentions them last, in order to add thrust to his argument.

How can we then possibly compare ourselves with him, who did not seek riches for his own sake nor give up the luxuries of his own good? But Paul even went beyond this, as he gave up his body and soul, that the people, who stoned and beat him with rods, might obtain the kingdom. He says: “For this is how Christ taught me to love, who lived out the new commandment concerning love, which also He Himself fulfilled in His deeds.” And because He is the Lord of all things, and because of His blessed nature, He did not turn His back on the people, whom He created out of nothing and blessed in so many ways, who was now spitting at Him and insulting Him. No, but He even became human for their sakes, and conversed with prostitutes and tax-collectors, and healed the demoniacs, and promised them heaven. And after all these things they arrested Him and beat Him with rods, chained, scourged, mocked, and at last crucified Him. And not even from this did He turn away, but even when He was on high upon the cross, He said: “Father, forgive them of their sins.” But the thief who honoured Him before He said these words, He took to paradise. And He made the persecutor Paul an Apostle. And He even gave up His own disciples, who were His most intimate loved ones, who were entirely loyal to Him, to death for the sake of the Jews who crucified Him.

Let us always remember these things, both those of God and of people. Let us mimic these great deeds and attain love which is greater than all the gifts, that we may obtain both the present and the future blessings. And may we all obtain this through the grace and mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom with the Father and the Holy Spirit, be glory, power and honor - now and forever - in the world without end. Amen⁵⁸¹.

⁵⁸⁰ 1 Corinthians 9:15.

⁵⁸¹ Translation: NPNF.

CHAPTER 9

Concluding Remarks

9.1. Introduction

In this chapter, firstly the deductions from the analyses of the various homilies will be viewed; secondly, the problem statement will be addressed in which the model of Antiochene exegesis of the charismata will be given; thirdly, the insights gained in this study will be evaluated as to determine their value for current research and finally, possibilities for further research will be provided. This section also fulfills the deductive section of the approach followed in this study. This chapter also forms a summary of the entire study.

9.2. Deductions from the Analyses of the Homilies

With the analysis of every homily, different insights have been attained with regard to the study of 1 Corinthians 12:1-13:3. What are these deductions?

9.2.1. Homily 29 on 1 Corinthians 12:1-11

Chrysostom discusses 1 Corinthians 12 in this homily in the context of congregational problems in the typical charismatic assembly. This also implies that modern pastors of such assemblies may gain important insights on how to deal with certain problems that may be the same as those Chrysostom discusses. The nature of this homily is especially ethical. It is ethical because of the ethical problems the gifted people seemed to have created, such as pride, envy and greed.

The problem with Chrysostom in this instance is that he understands the gifts to have ceased, mainly due to the fact that they caused so much division in the early Corinthian assembly. But it is remarkable how valuable his insights are, even though he thought some of the gifts had ceased. A typical Antiochene approach is very prevalent in this homily. Chrysostom looks at the historical, social and cultural backgrounds of the text. He elaborates on the history of the gifts in the church, which seems to be negative. He gives attention to the social phenomena of oracles and inspired mantics, which were very real to his congregants, and gives the differences. He even incorporates intertextuality by referring to non-Christian and Christian sources. *Historia* plays an important role in this homily, in that the damage caused by gifted individuals is historical. He elaborates on every gift, but notes that the Giver

is greater than the gift. His application of this text to address contemporary theological issues of his time, such as the Trinitarian controversy, is very impressive. *Theoria*, is seen in the fact that one should not be greedy or overly curious about the mysteries of God. This theoretical principle is then put in practice by referring to the social problem of wealth and poverty, a reality in the lives of his congregants, and something also very relevant for people today.

9.2.2. Homily 30 on 1 Corinthians 12:12- 20

This homily especially addresses the issue of hierarchies and hierocracy in the church. The church, as the human body, has a systemic hierarchy, which is symbiotic. However, within the Corinthian assembly, this turned into a harmful, anti-social hierocracy, in which the people with the so-called greater gifts lifted themselves up against the ones with the lesser, implying that their role is more important.

Chrysostom's suppositions on the body are given again:

- a. The body is many but one (diversity in unity through the Spirit and sacraments);
- b. Not all the members have equal honour – he uses typical ancient homonoia analogies to illustrate this;
- c. The body, as systemic hierarchy, is symbiotic in nature with relation to its functions and also its beauty.

As an Antiochene exegete, Chrysostom discusses the text within its historical context (*historia*), and then applies this within his own context. Chrysostom elaborates on two typical hierarchies in the church. The hierarchy based on poverty must be seen in sexual conduct and poverty regarding material goods. Regarding sexual conduct, the virgins are the highest-status carriers and the wedded are the lowest-status carriers (widows being in the middle) – however – all have status and function within a symbiotic unity, and should not be anti-social within the group. There is also a hierarchy within those who are physically poor and wealthy. Those who have nothing are the highest-status carriers, those who are self-sufficient are the higher-status carriers and the wealthy who give to the poor are the lowest-status carriers.

This homily is especially useful in the South-African context in which poverty and HIV AIDS is a very pressing matter. More on this will be said on the value of Chrysostom's for current research.

9.2.3. Homily 31 on 1 Corinthians 12:21-26

The main points Chrysostom makes in this homily are repeated:

- a. A healthy body is a body that cares for every member, whether they are head or feet, etc.
- b. A healthy body is also an honourable body, in that it clothes the less honourable parts (genitals) with great care and honour.
- c. In the healthy body, the health of the higher-status members is dependant on the health of the lower-status members.
- d. A great threat to the health of the body is envy, which is like gangrene, killing every member on its own to the destruction of the entire body.
- e. Each member has been given honour by their heavenly Patron, and should return this honour by not envying any other member.

This homily especially gives direction, principally, on how higher-status carriers should treat lower-status carriers. These principles are very helpful in the theory and practice of church management, administration and organization. It is especially relevant to the modern churches, which have become quite corporate.

9.2.4. Homily 32 on 1 Corinthians 12:27-13:3

In this homily is especially a testament to the important of the literary context in Antiochene exegesis. He discusses the hierarchy of the spiritual gifts, and again states that this hierarchy should not result in hierocratic harm to lower-status members. After listing numerous examples from *historia*, he interprets all of these in the light of the highest ethical principle. This harmony, however, cannot be achieved if there is not love. Love becomes his hermeneutical key to understanding the statements of Christ.

9.3. A Model of Antiochene Exegesis on the Charismata

This section aims to especially address the problem statement, namely: "How does Chrysostom, as typical Antiochene exegete, interpret the charismata? In response to this, the following conclusions, on a rather high level of abstraction, can be made:

9.3.1. Symbiotic Hierarchy and not Anti-Social Hierocracy

The first conclusion as to how Chrysostom interprets the charismata is seen in his acknowledgment of the systemic hierarchies among the gifted, and warnings against an anti-social hierocracy. Chrysostom understands the term “charismata” as being not only gifts, but also works. This promotes the notion of symbiosis among the gifted. There certainly is a hierarchy among the gifted. His close consideration to the literary context however points to this hierarchy as being in constant danger of being turned into a harmful hierocracy by selfish individuals. The focus should not be on the gift, but rather on the source of the gift, namely the Giver. The damage of this hierocratic phenomenon may have also aided in Chrysostom not believing that some of the gifts are still appropriate for his own day.

Chrysostom’s interpretation, as Antiochene exegete, becomes then quite practical. The very nature of church organization should be based on mutual consideration, recognizing the inherent Scriptural hierarchy among the gifts, knowing that every member is dependant on the other.

9.3.2. Healthy Spiritual People Dwell in a Healthy Body

Chrysostom interprets the gifts within the very context of the church as the body of Christ. Healthy spiritual people can only prosper in a healthy body. The body of Christ should be a healthy body, in that envy, spiritual snobbism and jealousy are all sicknesses of the body. Chrysostom often calls Paul’s words “medicine.”

The health of the body depends on its unity and mutual love among the members. Chrysostom, as Antiochene exegete, especially incorporates the concepts of honour and shame in this homily to illustrate his point.

9.3.3. Love is the Highest Ethical Principle

Chrysostom places love as the highest ethical principle. It also becomes a hermeneutical key to understanding many of the pronouncements in the Bible. And regarding the gifts, love is the fountain of the gifts. He also gives attention to the patron-client relationship, in which God is portrayed as the great Patron, whose primary characteristic is love

Thus, after making a number of deductions, as mentioned above in the summary above of homily 32, he uses love as a hermeneutical key in interpreting Scripture and in forming his philosophical ethics.

In conclusion, Chrysostom interprets the charismata as being hierarchical, but not hierocratic. Their optimal functioning occurs in the healthy church body, in which all things are governed by love.

9.4. Value for Current Research

Chrysostom's analysis, as Antiochene exegete, provides the following useful insights for current research especially in the fields of theology, philosophy and sociology. The following points need to be made:

- Chrysostom's method of looking at especially the rhetoric and cultural background of the text would provide many insights to researchers interpreting the Bible with the socio-rhetorical method. His focus on literary rhetorical phenomena also provides pointers on how sensitive the researcher needs to be in this respect. Although this commentary is quite ancient, the incorporation of honour and shame, patronage and kinship, which only recently received popularity, shows the immense value of these homilies. Chrysostom intimates that 1 Corinthians 12:1-13:3 cannot possibly interpreted successfully without understanding concepts like honour and shame, patron-client relationships and ancient Christian ecclesiastical organisation.
- Sensitivity to gender and an emphasis on the body and language of the body in the Bible have also become quite prevalent in current research. Chrysostom's analysis of Paul's discourse on the body provides valuable insights on how the ancient Mediterranean inhabitants viewed the body, both as a whole and the position of every limb and organ.
- Also, especially within the field of practical theology, especially leadership and church management, Chrysostom provides some important insights. He provides useful pointers for church management, which is anti-hierocratic. He also gives important insights into how leaders (the head or eyes?) should treat subordinates.
- Chrysostom's homilies may have infinite relevance for South-Africans. In a country with two major crises, namely poverty and HIV AIDS, Chrysostom becomes an advisory voice from the past to which South-Africans should give heed. Chrysostom especially gives guidelines on how wealth and poverty should be managed, in that the church has a great responsibility in the care of the poor. He also, however, states that the poor also need to fill a supportive role in the church. Aid must come from both parties, forming a symbiotic relationship. Chrysostom also reminds us of the importance of chastity, abstinence and virginity. These are all higher-status

indicators. In (post-) modern, South-African popular culture, the opposite is often true. In the light of the HIV AIDS pandemic, Chrysostom's insights become quite important.

There may be other aspects of value to current research, but these mentioned form the crux of the matter. It is also comforting to know that a pastor may give the homilies of Chrysostom to his or her congregants with confidence, knowing that it also has great spiritual value to Christians today.

9.5. Possibilities for Further Research

I propose the following topics for further research, some of which I will personally pursue:

- Understanding Envy in Early Christianity
- Reading John Chrysostom in South-Africa
- The Value of John Chrysostom's writings to Pentecostalism
- Patron-Client relationships in 1 Corinthians 12
- Ancient Cultural Views on the Unity and Diversity of the Body
- Honour and Shame in Antiochene Exegesis
- Reading Chrysostom in Mega-Churches
- Chrysostom on Leadership
- Reading Chrysostom in a Post-Modern Context
- John Chrysostom as a Critique of the Apostolic Reformation

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