



# Bibliographies for Theology

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## Jerome, Ambrose & the Latin West

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### 1. ROME & THE LATIN WEST IN THE 4TH CENTURY

Peter Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle: Wealth, the Fall of Rome, and the Making of Christianity in the West, 350-550 AD* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012).

R. Curran, *Pagan City and Christian Capital: Rome in the Fourth Century*, Oxford Classical Monographs (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Bernard Green, *Christianity in Ancient Rome: The First Three Centuries* (New York: T&T Clark, 2010).

Mark Humphries, *Communities of the Blessed: Social Environment and Religious Change in Northern Italy: 200-400*, Oxford Early Christian Studies (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Mark Humphries, “The West (1): Italy, Gaul, and Spain,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Studies*, eds. Susan Ashbrook Harvey & David G. Hunter (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 283-302.

Mark Humphries, "Italy, A.D. 425-605," in *Late Antiquity: Empire and Successors A.D. 425-600*, eds. A. Cameron, B. Ward-Perkins, and M. Whitby, Cambridge Ancient History 14 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 525-551.

Richard Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals: Topography and Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983).

Bertrand Lançon, *Rome in Late Antiquity: Everyday Life and Urban Change, 312-609*, trans. Antonia Nevill (New York: Routledge, 2000).

Runar Thorsteinsson, *Roman Christianity and Roman Stoicism: A Comparative Study of Ancient Morality* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

## 2. HILARY OF POITIERS: TEXTS, TRANSLATIONS & STUDIES

Hilary of Poitiers (d. ca. 368) was one of the pioneers of Western Trinitarian theology. He was exiled to the Greek East because of his stalwart commitment to Nicaea and its creed. This time in exile in the East would sensitize him to Greek theological perspectives and win him respect from the next generation of pro-Nicenes for his heroic resistance.

### Texts

An older version of Hilary's collected works is reproduced in J. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vols. 9-10 (and some additional works collected in the *Patrologia Latin Supplementum* 1:241-286). More up-to-date and/or critical editions of his major works are as follows:

*Commentarius in Matthaeum (Commentary on Matthew)*: J. Doignon, ed., *Hilaire de Poitiers: Sur Matthieu*, Sources chrétiennes 254, 258 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1978-1979).

*Commentarius in Ps 118 (Commentary on Ps 118)*: M. Milhau, ed., *Hilaire de Poitiers: Commentaire sur le psaume 118*, Sources chrétiennes 344, 347 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1988).

*Contra Constantium (Against Constantius)*: A. Rocher, ed., *Hilaire de Poitiers: Contre Constance*, Sources chrétiennes 334 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1987).

*De Trinitate (On the Trinity)*: J. Doignon, G. M. de Durand, C. Morel, and G. Pelland, eds., *Hilaire de Poitiers: La Trinité*, 3 vols., Sources chrétiennes 443, 448, 462 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1999-2001).

*Opus Historicum*: P. Smulders, *Hilary of Poitiers' Preface to His Opus historicum*, Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 29 (Leiden: Brill, 1995).

*Tractatus mysteriorum (Treatise on the Mysteries)*: J.P. Brisson, ed., *Hilaire de Poitiers: Traité des mystères*, Sources chrétiennes 19bis (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2005).

*Tractatus super Psalmos (Treatise on the Psalms)*: Patrick Descourtieux, ed., *Hilaire de Poitiers: Commentaires sur les Psaumes*, Sources chrétiennes 515 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2008). Also: J. Doignon and R. Demeulenaere, eds., *Sancti Hilarii Pictaviensis episcopi Tractatus Super Psalmos*, CCL 61-61A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997-2002).

## Translations

- Stephen McKenna, trans., *St. Hilary of Poitiers: The Trinity*, Fathers of the Church 25 (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1954).
- W. Sunday, trans., “Homilies on the Psalms,” *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 2nd series (1898; reprint: Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1995), vol. 9:236-248.
- E.W. Watson, et al., trans., “On the Councils, or The Faith of the Easterns,” “On the Trinity,” and “Homilies on the Psalms,” in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 2nd series (1898; reprint: Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1995), vol. 9:1-248.
- Lionel R. Wickham, ed., *Hilary of Poitiers: Conflicts of Conscience and Law in the Fourth-Century Church*, Translated Texts for Historians 25 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1998). Selections include: *Against Valens and Ursacius* and *Letter to the Emperor Constantius*.

## Studies

- Timothy D. Barnes, “Hilary of Poitiers on His Exile,” *Vigiliae Christianae* 46 (1992): 129-140.
- Carl Beckwith, *Hilary of Poitiers on the Trinity: From De Fide to De Trinitate*, Oxford Early Christian Studies (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).
- H. C. Brennecke, *Hilarus von Poitiers und die Bischofsopposition gegen Konstantius II. Untersuchungen zur dritten Phase des arianischen Streites (337-361)*, Patristische Texte und Studien 26 (Berlin / New York: de Gruyter, 1984).
- Paul C. Burns, “Hilary of Poitiers’ Road to Béziers: Politics or Religion?” *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 2 (1994): 273-289.
- Paul C. Burns, *The Christology of Hilary of Poitiers’ Commentary on Matthew*, Studia ephemeridis “Augustinianum” 16 (Rome: Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 1981).
- Paul C. Burns, *A Model for the Christian Life: Hilary of Poitiers’ Commentary on the Psalms* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America, 2012).
- Jean Doignon, *Hilaire de Poitiers: Disciple et témoins de la Vérité,’ 356-367*, Collection des études augustiniennes, Serie antiquité 175 (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 2005).
- Jean Doignon, *Hilaire de Poitiers avant l’exil: Recherches sur la naissance, l’enseignement, et l’épreuve d’une foi épiscopale en Gaule au milieu du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1971).
- Jeremy Driscoll, “The Transfiguration in Hilary of Poitiers’ *Commentary on Matthew*,” *Augustinianum* 29 (1984): 395-420.
- L. F. Ladaria, *La cristología de Hilario de Poitiers*, Analecta Gregoriana 255 (Rome: Editrice Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 1989).
- Michael McCarthy, “*Expectatio beatitudinis*: The Eschatological Frame of Hilary of Poitiers’ *Tractatus super Psalmos*,” in *In the Shadow of the Incarnation: Essays on Jesus Christ in the Early Church in honor of Brian E. Daley* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2008)

- J. M. McDermott, "Hilary of Poitiers: The Infinite Nature of God," *Vigiliae Christianae* 27 (1973): 172–202.
- E. P. Meijering, with J. C. M. van Winden, *Hilary of Poitiers on the Trinity: De Trinitate 1,1–19, 2,3*, Philosophia Patrum, vol. 6 (Leiden: Brill, 1982).
- G. M. Newlands, *Hilary of Poitiers: A Study in Theological Method* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1978).
- Mark Weedman, *The Trinitarian Theology of Hilary of Poitiers*, Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 89 (Leiden: Brill, 2007).
- Daniel H. Williams, "A Reassessment of the Early Career and Exile of Hilary of Poitiers," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 42 (1991): 202–217.
- Daniel H. Williams, "The Anti-Arian Campaigns of Hilary of Poitiers and the Liber contra Auxentium," *Church History* 61 (1992): 7–22.
- Hilaire de Poitiers, évêque et docteur: Cinq conférences données à Poitiers à l'occasion du XVIe centenaire de sa mort* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1968).
- Hilaire et son temps: Actes du colloque de Poitiers, 29 septembre–3 octobre 1968, à l'occasion du XVIe centenaire de la mort de saint Hilaire* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1969).

### 3. MARIUS VICTORINUS: TEXTS, TRANSLATIONS & STUDIES

Marius Victorinus (d. after 362) was a North African rhetor who worked much of his career in Rome and, late in life, converted to Christianity. His conversion would deeply impress Augustine and be one of the catalysts of Augustine's conversion (see *Confessions* VIII). Victorinus brought a sophisticated philosophical framework to his theology.

#### Texts

For a critical edition of his collected works, see *Marii Victorinii opera*, eds. Paul Henry and Pierre Hadot, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 83, pts. 1-2 (Vienna: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1971-1986). Other editions are:

Albercht Locher, ed., *Marius Victorinus: Commentarii in epistulas Pauli ad Galatas, ad Philippienses, ad Ephesios* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1972).

Pierre Hadot, ed., *Marius Victorinus: Traité théologique sur la Trinité*, Sources chrétiennes 68-69 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1960).

#### Translations

Mary T. Clark, *Marius Victorinus: Theological Treatises on the Trinity*, Fathers of the Church 69 (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1981)

### Studies

Pierre Hadot, *Marius Victorinus: Recherches sur sa vie et ses œuvres* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1971).

Stephen Andrew Cooper, *Marius Victorinus' Commentary on Galatians*, Oxford Early Christian Studies (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

Stephen Andrew Cooper, *Metaphysics and Morals in Marius Victorinus' Commentary on the Letter to the Ephesians: A Contribution to the History of Neoplatonism and Christianity* (New York: Peter Lang, 1995).

## 4. AMBROSIASTER: TEXTS, TRANSLATIONS & STUDIES

Ambrosiaster (fl., late 4th cent.) composed two influential works and, in later centuries, these circulated under Ambrose's name (scholars later dubbed him "Ambrosiaster" to distinguish these works from Ambrose's genuine corpus). This unknown author was active in Rome from the 360s to the mid-380s, roughly contemporary with the reign of Pope Damasus. His works circulated in the Latin West from an early date and were quoted by Augustine, Jerome and Pelagius. Even his contemporaries seem not to be sure who composed the works. Augustine, for instance, misattributed Ambrosiaster's commentary on the Pauline letters to Ambrose in one case and to Hilary in another.

### Texts

*Commentary on the 13 Pauline Epistles*: Henrich J. Vogels, ed., *Ambrosiastri qui dicitur commentarius in Epistulas Paulinas*, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, vol. 81.1-3 (Vienna: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1966-1969).

*Questions on the Old and New Testaments*: Alexander Souter, ed., *Pseudo-Augustini Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti CXXVII*, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, vol. 50 (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1908).

*Against the Pagans*: Marie-Pierre Bussières, ed., *Ambrosiaster: Contre les païens (Question sur l'Ancien et le Noveau Testament 114) et Sur le destin (Question sur l'Ancien et le Nouveau Testament 115)*, Sources chrétiennes 512 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2007).

### Translations

Gerald L. Bray, ed. and trans., *Ambrosiaster: Commentaries on Romans and 1-2 Corinthians*, Ancient Christian Texts (Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press, 2009).

Gerald L. Bray, ed. and trans., *Ambrosiaster: Commentaries on Galatians and Philemon*, series: Ancient Christian Texts (Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press, 2009).

### Studies

David G. Hunter, "The Significance of Ambrosiaster," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 17.1 (2009): 1-26.

Sophie Lunn-Rockliffe, *Ambrosiaster's Political Theology*, Oxford Early Christian Studies (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

Alexander Souter, *A Study of Ambrosiaster*, Texts and Studies 7/4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1905).

Alexander Souter, *The Earliest Latin Commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927), 39-95. This has one chapter devoted to Ambrosiaster.

## 5. RUFINUS OF AQUILEIA: TEXTS, TRANSLATIONS & STUDIES

Rufinus of Aquileia (345-410) was the great translator of the early Church. Fluent in Greek, he translated a library of Greek theological and monastic works that ended up serving Western Christians throughout the Middle Ages when few knew any Greek. This include translations of Eusebius of Caesarea's *History of the Church*, Gregory of Nazianzus' *Theological Orations*, and the anonymous *History of the Monk in Egypt*. Rufinus famously clashed with his friend Jerome over Origen, and in the process damaged his long-term reputation. Much of what we still have of Origen's work has been preserved thanks to Rufinus' translations of both Origen's sermons (on Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Joshua, Judges), commentaries (on the Song of Songs, Romans), as well as his (infamous) *On First Principles (De principiis)*.

### Texts

For a critical edition of Rufinus' collected works, see Manlio Simonetti, ed., *Tyrannii Rufini Opera*, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, vol. 20 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1961). For his Latin version of Eusebius of Caesarea's *Historia ecclesiastica*, see T. Mommsen, ed., *Eusebius Werke*, vol. 2/2, GCS (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1908), 951-1040.

### Translations

A 19th-century translation of Rufinus' works was done by W.H. Fremantle and is found in the *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 2nd series (1892; reprint: Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1995), vol. 3: 403-482, 541-568. More recent translations are:

Philip R. Amidon, trans., *The Church History of Rufinus of Aquileia: Books 10 and 11* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

J.N.D. Kelly, trans., *A Commentary on the Apostles' Creed*, Ancient Christian Writers 20 (Westminster, MD: Newman, 1955).

Thomas P. Scheck, trans., *St. Pamphilus: Apology for Origen / Rufinus: On the Falsification of the Books of Origen*, Fathers of the Church 120 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2010).

## Studies

- C. P. Hammond Bammel, “The Last Ten Years of Rufinus’ Life and the Date of His Move South from Aquileia,” *Journal of Theological Studies* 28 (1977): 372–429.
- C. P. Hammond Bammel, *Der Römerbrieftext des Rufin und seine Origenes-Übersetzung* (Fribourg: Herder, 1985).
- G. Fedalto, *Rufino di Concordia (345 c.–410/11) tra Oriente ed Occidente* (Rome: Città Nuova, 1990).
- É. Junod, “L’auteur de l’Apologie pour Origène traduite par Rufin: Les témoignages contradictoires de Rufin et de Jérôme à propos de Pamphile et d’Eusèbe,” in *Recherches et tradition: Mélanges patristiques offerts à Henri Crouzel*, ed. A. Dupleix, ThH 88 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1992), 165–179.
- J.N.D. Kelly, *Jerome: His Life, Writings, and Controversies* (1975; reprint: Hendrickson, 1998).
- Francis X. Murphy, *Rufinus of Aquileia (345–411): His Life and Works* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1945).
- B. Neil, “Rufinus’ translation of the *Epistola Clementis ad Iacobum*,” *Augustinianum* 43.1 (2003): 25–39.
- N. Pace, *Ricerche sulla traduzione di Rufino del “De principiis” di Origene* (Florence: Nuova Italia, 1990).
- Philip Rousseau, *Ascetics, Authority, and the Church in the Age of Jerome and Cassian*, 2nd ed. (1978; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010).
- Teresa M. Shaw, *The Burden of the Flesh: Fasting and Sexuality in Early Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1999).
- Françoise Thelamon, *Paiens et chrétiens au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle: L’apport de l’ “Histoire ecclésiastique” de Rufin d’Aquilée* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1981).
- M. M. Wagner, *Rufinus the Translator: A Study of His Theory and His Practice as Illustrated in His Version of the Apologetica of St. Gregory Nazianzen*, Patristic Studies 73 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1945).

## 6. JEROME: TEXTS & TRANSLATIONS

Jerome (d. 420) was the greatest biblical scholar of his day and won acclaim for his great translation of the Bible into Latin, the so-called Vulgate. For all his academic acumen, he was an exceptionally difficult personality and spent his career engaged in often nasty battles with any who came into his ambit. Most famous is his clash over Origen with his longtime friend Rufinus. Jerome’s work is vast, the bulk being biblical commentaries, but also important is his historical works and hagiographies and letters

## Texts

The 18th-century edition of Jerome's collected works by D. Vallarsi is reprinted in J. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vols. 22-30 (with some additional material in the *Patrologia Latina Supplementum*, vol. 2: 18-328). Critical editions of his works are found in the *Corpus Christianorum series Latina*, vol. 72-80 (Turnhout: Brepols) (CCL) and in the *Sources chrétiennes* (SC). The key volumes are:

### (a) Biblical Translations & Exegetical Works

*Biblia Sacra iuxta Latinam Vulgatam versionem (Vulgate)*, 18 vols. (Rome: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1926–1995).

*Biblia Sacra: Iuxta Vulgatam versionem*, ed. R. Weber, 2 vols (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1969).

*Commentarii in epistulas Paulinas ad Galatas, ad Ephesios, ad Titum, ad Philemonem* (*Commentaries on Paul's Letters to the Galatians, Ephesians, Titus, and Philemon*), ed. Giacomo Raspanti, CCL 77A (2006) [*To the Galatians*]; ed. F. Bucchi, CCL 77C (2003) [*To Titus, To Philemon*]. Also: PL 26: 307-618.

*Commentarii in prophetas minores* (*Commentaries on the Minor Prophets*), ed. M. Adriaen, CCL 76, 76A (1969-1970).

*Commentariolus in psalmos* (*Commentary on the Psalms*), ed. G. Morin, CCL 72 (1959), 177-245.

*Commentariorum in Danielem* (*Commentary on Daniel*), ed. F. Glorie, CCL 75A (1964).

*Commentariorum in Hiezechiel* (*Commentary on Ezekiel*), ed. F. Glorie, CCL 75 (1964)

*Commentariorum in Esaiam libri XVIII* (*Commentary on Isaiah*): Roger Gryson, ed., *Commentaire de Jérôme sur le prophète Isaïe*, Aus der Geschichte der lateinschen Bibel 23, 27, 30, 35, 36 (Freiburg: Herder, 1993- ). Also, M. Adriaen, ed., CCL 73-73A (1959-1963).

*Commentariorum in Evangelium Matthaeum* (*Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew*), eds. D. Hurst and M. Adriaen, CCL 77 (1969). Also: Émile Bonnard, ed., *Saint Jérôme: Commentaire sur s. Matthieu*, Sources chrétiennes 242, 259 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1977-1979).

*Commentarius in Ecclesiasten* (*Commentary on Ecclesiastes*), ed. M. Adriaen, CCL 72 (1959), 249-361.

*Commentarium in Ionam prophetam* (*Commentary on Jonah*): Yves-Marie Duval, ed., *Jérôme: Commentaire sur Jonas*, Sources chrétiennes 323 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1985).

*De Locis* (or *De situ et nomibus locorum Hebraicorum libr*) (*On the Hebrew Names of Sites and Places*): Jerome's version of Eusebius of Caesarea's *Onomastikon*, GCS 11.1, *Eusebius Werke* 3.1 (1904).

*In Hieremiam* (*On Jeremiah*), ed. S. Reiter, CCL 74 (1960).

*Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum* (*Book on the Interpretation of Hebrew Names*), ed. P. Lagarde, CCL 72 (1959), 57-161.

*Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesim*, ed. P. Lagarde, CCL 72 (1959): 1-56.

(b) Biographical, Historical & Hagiographical Works

*Vita s. Pauli eremitae*, *Vita Malchi monachi captivi*, *Vita s. Hilarionis* (*Life of St. Paul the Hermit*, *Life of Malchus*, *Life of St. Hilarion*): Pierre Leclerc, Edgardo M. Morales, and Adalbert de Vogüé, eds., *Jérôme: Trois vies de Moines* (Paul, Malchus, Hilarion), Sources chrétiennes 508 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2007).

*De viris illustribus* (*On Illustrious Men*): E.C. Richardson, ed., *Hieronymus liber De viris inlustribus*, *Gennadius liber De viris inlustribus*, TU 14.1a (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1896); G. Herding, ed., *Hieronymi De viris inlustribus liber* (Teubner; Leipzig: Teubner, 1924).

(c) Polemical Works

*Alteratio Luciferiani et Orthodoxi* (*Debate Between a Luciferian and an Orthodox*): Aline Canellis, ed., *Débat entre un luciférien et un orthodoxe*, Sources chrétiennes 473 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2003). Also: CCL 79B, ed. A. Canellis (2000).

*Adversus Hevidium de Mariae virginitate perpetua* (*Against Helvidius, on the Perpetual Virginity of Mary*). PL 23:183-206.

*Adversus Iovinianum* (*Against Jovinian*): PL 23:211-338.

*Adversus Vigilantum* (*Against Vigilantius*), ed. J.-L. Feiertag, CCL 79C (2005).

*Contra Iohannem Hierosolymitanum* (*Against John of Jerusalem*), ed. J. Feiertag, CCL 79A (1999).

*Contra Rufinum* (*Against Rufinus*): Pierre Lardet, ed. *Saint Jérôme: Apologie contre Rufin*, Sources chrétiennes 303 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1983). Also: CCL 79, ed. P. Lardet (1982)

*Dialogi adversus Pelagianos* (*Dialogue against the Pelagians*), ed. C. Moreschini, CCL 80 (1990)

(d) Letters & Sermons

*Epistulae* (*Letters*): Jérôme Labourt, ed., *Saint Jérôme: Lettres*, 6 vol., Collections des universités de France (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1949-1963). Also CSEL 54-56, ed. I. Hilberg (1910-1918).

*Tractatus in Marci evangelium* (*Tractates on the Gospel of Mark*): Jean-Louis Gourdain, ed., *Jérôme: Homélies sur Marc*, Sources chrétiennes 494 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2005).

*Opera homiletica*, ed. G. Morin, CCL 78 (1958).

Translations

R.J. Deferrari, ed. and trans., *Early Christian Biographies*, Fathers of the Church 15 (New York: Fathers of the Church, 1952), 217-297. This has translations of his *Life of St. Paul*, *Life of Hilarion*, and *Life of Malchus*.

- M.D. Donalson, trans., *A Translation of Jerome's Chronicon with Historical Commentary* (New York: Edwin Mellen, 1996).
- Marie Ligouri Ewald, trans. *The Homilies of Saint Jerome*, Fathers of the Church 48 and 57 (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1964-1966). This includes his *Homilies on the Psalms* and *Homilies on Mark*.
- W.H. Fremantle, trans., "Jerome's Apology in Answer to Rufinus," in the *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 2nd series (1892; reprint: Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1995), vol. 3:482-540.
- W.H. Fremantle, G. Lewis, and W. G. Martley, trans., *Jerome: Letters and Select Works*, vol. 6 of the *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 2nd series (1892; reprint: Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1995). This includes his *Letters*, *Life of Paul*, *Life of St. Hilarion*, *Life of Malchus*, *Against the Luciferians*, *Against Helvidius*, *Against Jovinianus*, *Against Vigilantius*, *Letter to Pammachius against John of Jerusalem*, *Against the Pelagians*.
- Christopher A. Hall, ed. and trans., *Jerome: Commentary on Jeremiah*, Ancient Christian Texts (Intervarsity Press, 2012).
- Thomas P. Halton, ed., *Saint Jerome: On Illustrious Men*, Fathers of the Church 100 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1999).
- C.T.R. Hayward, ed. and trans., *Saint Jerome's Hebrew Questions on Genesis*, Oxford Early Christian Studies (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).
- John N. Hritz, trans., *Jerome: Dogmatic and Polemical Works*, Fathers of the Church 53 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1965). This includes his treatise *On the Perpetual Virginity of the Blessed Mary against Helvidius*, *The Apology against the Books of Rufinus*, *The Dialogue against the Pelagians*.
- C. Mierow and T.C. Lawler, trans., *The Letters of St. Jerome*, Ancient Christian Writers 33 (New York: Newman, 1963).
- E. C. Richardson, trans., "Jerome: Lives of Illustrious Men," in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 2nd series (1892; reprint: Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1995), vol. 3:359-384.
- Thomas P. Scheck, trans., *Jerome: Commentary on Matthew*, Fathers of the Church 117 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2008).
- Carolinne White, *Early Christian Lives*, Penguin Classics (London: Penguin, 1998), 73-128. This has translations of Jerome's *Life of Paul of Thebes*, *Life of Hilarion*, *Life of Malchus*.
- Carolinne White, *The Correspondence (394–419) between Jerome and Augustine of Hippo* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 1990).

## 7. JEROME: STUDIES

Stefan Rebenich, *Jerome*, Early Church Fathers (New York: Routledge, 2002). Rebenich offers a lengthy introduction to Jerome's life and works and then offers a good selection, including key letters (1, 15, 31, 40, 127, 128), his *Preface to the Chronicle of Eusebius*, his hagiographic *Life of Malchus*, his defense of his study of Hebrew (*Preface*

*to the Book of Hebrew Questions, Preface to the Vulgate Version of the Pentateuch*), selections from his *Lives of Famous Men*, and his polemical *Against Vigilianius*. This may be the best place to start.

Benoît Jeanjean, *Saint Jérôme et l'hérésie*, Collection des études augustinianes, Serie Antiquité 161 (Paris: Études Augustinianes, 1999)

J. Braverman, *Jerome's Commentary on Daniel: A Study of Comparative Jewish and Christian Interpretations of the Hebrew Bible*, CBQMS 7 (Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America Press, 1978).

D. Brown, "Jerome," in *The Early Christian World*, ed. P. F. Esler (New York: Routledge, 2000), 2:1151-1174.

Andrew Cain, *The Letters of Jerome: Asceticism, Biblical Exegesis, and the Construction of Christian Authority in Late Antiquity*, Oxford Early Christian Studies (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

Andrew Cain and Josef Lössl, eds., *Jerome of Stridon: His Life, Writings and Legacy* (Burlington, VT Ashgate, 2009).

Elizabeth A. Clark, *The Origenist Controversy: The Cultural Construction of an Early Christian Debate* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992).

Elizabeth A. Clark, "The Place of Jerome's Commentary on Ephesians in the Origenist Controversy: The Apokatastasis and Ascetic Ideals," *Vigiliae Christianae* 41 (1987): 154-171.

Elizabeth A. Clark, *Jerome, Chrysostom, and Friends: Essays and Translations* (New York: Mellen, 1979).

Pierre Courcelle, *Les lettres grecques en Occident de Macrobe à Cassiodore*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Paris: de Boccard, 1948), 37-115.

Yves-Marie Duval, ed., *Jérôme entre l'Occident et l'Orient: XVIe centenaire du départ de saint Jérôme de Rome et son installation à Bethléem* (Paris: Études Augustinianes, 1988).

Yves-Marie Duval, *Le livre de Jonas dans la littérature chrétienne grecque et latine: Sources et influence du Commentaire sur Jonas de saint Jérôme*, 2 vols. (Paris: Études Augustinianes, 1973).

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- A. de Vogüé, *Histoire littéraire du mouvement monastique dans l'antiquité, Première partie: Le monachisme latin* (Paris: Cerf, 1991- ).
- D. S. Wiesen, *St. Jerome as a Satirist: A Study in Christian Latin Thought and Letters* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1964).

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## 8. AMBROSE OF MILAN: TEXTS & TRANSLATIONS

Ambrose of Milan (d. 397) was the leading churchman of his day. He skillfully drew on and popularized leading Greek theologians such as Origen and the Cappadocian Fathers, alerting the Latin West to their ideas. His brilliant preaching was on the central threads in the conversion of Augustine. The Venerable Bede would later number him as one of the four great Latin Fathers.

### Texts

An older edition of Ambrose's works is found in J. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 14-17 (with some additional material in *Patrologia Latina Supplementum* 1:569-620). A critical edition of his works is *Sancti Ambrosii Opera*, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latina (CSEL), vol. 32, 62, 64, 73, 78, 79, 82, pt. 1-3. Here's a fuller listing:

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*De bono mortis* (*On the Good of Dying*): William T. Wiesner, ed., *S. Ambrosii De bono mortis*, Patristic Studies 100 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1970).

*De fide* (*On the Faith*): O. Faller, ed., *De fide (ad Gratianum Augustum)*, CSEL 78 (Vienna: 1962).

*De Helia et ieunio* (*On Elijah and Fasting*): Mary J.A. Buck, ed., *S. Ambrosii de Helia et ieunio*, Patristic Studies 19 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1929).

*De incarnatione* (*On the Incarnation*): O. Faller, ed., *De Spiritu Sancto libri tres; De incarnationis dominicae sacramento*, CSEL 79 (Vienna: 1964).

*De Jacob et vita beata* (*On Jacob and the Happy Life*): Gérard Nauroy, *Ambroise de Milan: Jacob et la vie heureuse*, Sources chrétiennes 534 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2010).

*De mysteriis* (*On the Mysteries*): Bernard Botte, ed., *Ambroise de Milan: Des sacraments, Des mystères, Explication du Symbole*, Sources chrétiennes 25bis (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1994). Also: O. Faller, ed., CSEL 73 (1955).

*De Nabuthae historia* (*On Naboth*): Martin R.P. McGuire, ed., *S. Ambrosii de Nabuthae*, Patristic Studies 15 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1927).

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*De obitu Valentiniani* (*On the Death of Valentinianus*): O. Faller, ed., *Explanatio symboli, De sacramentis, De mysteriis, De paenitentia, De excessu fratris, De obitu Valentiniani, De obitu Theodosii*, CSEL 73 (Vienna: 1955).

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- CSEL 73 (Vienna: 1955). Also: M.D. Mannix, ed. and trans., *Sancti Ambrosii Oratio de obitu Theodosii*, Catholic University of America Patristic Studies 9 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1925).
- De paenitentia* (*On Penance*): Roger Gryson, ed., *Ambroise de Milan: La pénitence*, Sources chrétiennes 179 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1971).
- De sacramentis* (*On the Sacraments*): Bernard Botte, ed., *Ambroise de Milan: Des sacrements, Des mystères, Explication du Symbole*, Sources chrétiennes 25bis (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1994). Also: O. Faller, ed., CSEL 73 (1955).
- De Spiritu Sancto* (*On the Holy Spirit*); O. Faller, ed., *De Spiritu Sancto libri tres; De incarnationis dominicae sacramento*, CSEL 79 (Vienna: 1964).
- De Tobia* (*On Tobias*): Lois M. Zucker, ed., *S. Ambrosii de Tobia*, Patristic Studies 33 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America, 1933).
- De virginibus* (*On Virgins*): F. Gori, ed., *Verginità e vedovanza* (Milan: Biblioteca Ambrosiana / Rome: Città Nuova, 1989).
- Epistulae* (*Letters*): O. Faller and M. Zelzer, eds., *Epistulae et acta*, 4 vols., CSEL 82.1-4 (Vienna: 1968-1996).
- Expositio psalmi CXVIII* (*Exposition of Ps 118*): M. Petschenig and M. Zelzer, eds., *Expositio psalmi CXVIII*, rev. ed., CSEL 62 (Vienna: 1999).
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- Explanatio psalmorum XII*: M. Petschenig and M. Zelzer, eds., *Explanatio psalmorum XII*, rev. ed., CSEL 64 (Vienna: 1999).
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### Translations

A 19th-century translation of many of his works is found in *Ambrose: Select Works and Letters*, vol. 10 of the *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, second series (1896: reprint: Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1995); this includes: *On the Duties of the Clergy*, *On the Holy Spirit*, *On the Death of Satyrus*, *On the Belief in the Resurrection*, *On the Christian Faith*, *On the Mysteries*, *On Repentance*, *Concerning Virgins*, *Concerning Widows*, Letters 20, 21, 27, 28, 40, 41, 51, 57, 61–63. More recent translations are:

Boniface Ramsey, ed., *Ambrose*, Early Church Fathers (New York: Routledge, 1997). This volume offers a good starting point. Ramsey has a lengthy introduction surveying

Ambrose's life and theology and offers translations a number of key works: *On Virgins*, *On Naboth*, *On the Mysteries*, *Hymns*, *Letters Pertaining to the Altar of Victory*, *Life of Ambrose*.

Mary M. Beyenka, trans., *Saint Ambrose: Letters*, Fathers of the Church 26 (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1954).

Roy J. Deferrari, eds, *Saint Ambrose: Theological and Dogmatic Works*, Fathers of the Church 44 (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1963). This includes: *The Mysteries*, *The Holy Spirit*, *The Sacrament of the Incarnation of Our Lord*, *The Sacraments*.

J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, ed., *Ambrose of Milan: Political Letters and Speeches*, series: Translated Texts for Historians (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2010).

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Michael P. McHugh, trans., *Saint Ambrose: Seven Exegetical Works*, Fathers of the Church 65 (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1972). This has: *Isaac, or the Soul; Death as a Good; Jacob and the Happy Life; Joseph, The Patriarchs, Flight from the World; The Prayer of Job and David*.

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## 9. AMBROSE OF MILAN: STUDIES

J. Warren Smith, *Christian Grace and Pagan Virtue: The Theological Foundation of Ambrose's Ethics*, Oxford Studies in Historical Theology (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010). Ambrose was moralist at heart and routinely offered sequences of sermons on Old Testament figures, stressing how a given figure embodied one or another virtue. It was precisely such preaching that so impressed Augustine and was a factor in Augustine's conversion. In this new study, Smith examines Ambrose's moral genius.

C. Alzati, *Ambrosianum Mysterium: The Church of Milan and Its Liturgical Tradition*, trans. G. Guiver, Alcuin / GROW Liturgical Study 44 (Nottingham: 1999).

A. Bonato, "Origini della liturgia ambrosiana e riti battesimali nella catechesi mistagogica di Ambrogio," *Augustianum* 37 (1997): 77-112.

Hans von Campenhausen, *Ambrosius von Mailand als Kirchenpolitiker* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1929).

Martha L. Colish, *Ambrose's Patriarchs: Ethics for the Common Man* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005).

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I. Davidson, "Ambrose," in *The Early Christian World*, ed. Philip F. Esler (London; New York: Routledge, 2000), 2:1175-1204.

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- Jean-Rémy Palanque, *Saint Ambroise et l’Empire romain: contribution à l’histoire de l’Eglise et de l’Etat à la fin du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: 1933)
- Angelo Paredi, *Saint Ambrose: His Life and Times*, trans. J. Costelloe; Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1964). Italian: *S. Ambrogio e la sua età* (Milan: U. Hoepli, 1960).
- C. Pasini, *Ambrogio di Milano: Azione e pensiero di un vescovo*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Milan: San Paolo, 1996).
- L. F. Pizzolato and M. Rizzi, eds. *Nec timeo mori: Atti del Congresso internazionale di studi ambrosiani nel XVI centenario della morte di Sant’Ambrogio. Milano, 4–11 Aprile 1997*, SPMed 21 (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1998).
- Hugh M. Riley, *Christian Initiation: A Comparative Study of the Interpretation of the Baptismal Liturgy in the Mystagogical Writings of Cyril of Jerusalem, John Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Ambrose of Milan*, SCA 17 (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1974).
- Craig A. Satterlee, *Ambrose of Milan’s Method of Mystagogical Preaching* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2002).
- H. Savon, *Ambroise de Milan* (Paris: Desclée, 1997).
- Daniel H. Williams, *Ambrose of Milan and the End of the Nicene-Arian Conflicts*, Oxford Early Christian Studies (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

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## 10. THE EARLY PAPACY: STUDIES

Robert B. Eno, *The Rise of the Papacy*, Theology and Life 32 (Wilmington, DE: Glazier, 1990).

Surprisingly, there are not many book-length studies of the early papacy. Fortunately, there is this one, and it is a good one, tracing the papacy from its beginnings to the fifth century. Eno highlights the discrepancy between papal claims for jurisdiction and the respectful independence of other churchmen, East and West.

Geoffrey Dunn (2007), "Innocent I and Anysius of Thessalonica," *Byzantion* 77 (2007): 124-148.

Eamon Duffy, *Saints and Sinners: A History of the Popes*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

J.N.D. Kelly, *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

John O'Malley, *A History of the Popes: From Peter to the Present* (Lanham, MD: Sheed & Ward, 2010).

C. Pietri, *Roma christiana: Recherches sur l'église de Rome, son organisation, sa politique, son idéologie de Miltiade à Sixte III (311–440)*, 2 vols. (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1976).

Kristina Sessa, *The Formation of Papal Authority in Late Antique Italy: Roman Bishops and the Domestic Sphere* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

Basil Studer "Les pontifes romains de Sirice à Léon le Grand," in J. Quasten, ed., *Initiation aux Pères de l'Église IV: Du concile de Nicée (325) au concile de Chalcédon (451): Les Pères latins*. (Paris: Cerf, 1986), 735-777.

## 11. LEO THE GREAT: TEXTS & TRANSLATIONS

Leo the Great (d. 464) is best known for his critical contribution to the great debate on Christology that exercised the best Christian minds of the 5th century. His *Tome* shaped in decisive ways the *Definition* of the Council of Chalceon and, in the process, ended up shaping orthodox thinking about the person of Christ both in the Latin West and in the Greek East ever since.

### Texts

The classic edition of Leo's collected works is by Ballerini and is reproduced in J. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 54-56. Leo's most famous work is his *Tome to Flavian*, which played such a crucial role at the Council of Chalcedon and in the shaping of christological orthodoxy. It, therefore, routinely is reproduced in collections associated with the ecumenical councils: E. Schwartz, ed., *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* (Berlin: 1914), 2/2.1:24-33; Norman P. Tanner

and G. Alberigo, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1990), 77-82.

*Sermones (Sermons)*: J. Leclercq and R. Dolle, eds., *Sermons*, 2nd ed., 4 vols., Sources chrétiennes 22bis, 49bis, 74bis, 200 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1964–1976). Also A. Chavasse, ed., CCL 138-138A (1973).

*Epistolae (Letters)*: E. Schwartz, ed., *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* (Berlin: 1914- ), 2/4.

### Translations

Bronwen Neil, *Leo the Great*, Early Church Fathers (New York: Routledge, 2009). Neil opens with a 50-page introduction, setting out Leo's world, life, and works, and then offers new translations from a range of letters and sermons arranged according to themes (pastoral caregiver, theologian and opponent of heresy, heir of St. Peter, administrator of the wider church). The place to start.

C. L. Feltoe, trans., *The Letters and Sermons of Leo the Great, Bishop of Rome*, vol. 12 of the *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 2nd series (1895; repr.: Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1995).

Jane P. Freeland and Agnes J. Conway, trans., *St. Leo the Great: Sermons*, Fathers of the Church 93 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1996).

Edmund Hunt, trans., *Letters*, Fathers of the Church 34 (New York: Fathers of the Church, 1957; repr., Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1963).

Richard Norris, trans., *The Christological Controversy*, Sources of Early Christian Thought (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980), 145-155 (*Tome*).

Hendrik G. Schipper, *St. Leo the Great: Sermons and Letters Against the Manichees: Selected Fragments*, Corpus Fontum Manichaeorum, series Latina 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000).

## 12. LEO THE GREAT: STUDIES

Bernard Green, *Soteriology of Leo the Great*, Oxford Theological Monographs (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008). Given Leo's importance to the history of Christology, it is surprising that there have been so few book-length studies of his work in English. This does much to remedy that gap. It is a thorough survey of Leo's preaching and letter and highlights his Christology, specifically the issue of how Christ saves us. Green sets Leo's famous *Tome* (which gets extended analysis here) within the evolution of Leo's thought.

J.M. Armitage, *A Twofold Solidarity: Leo the Great's Theology of Redemption*, Early Christian Studies 9 (Strathfield: St. Pauls, 2005).

P. L. Barclift, "Predestination and Divine Foreknowledge in the Sermons of Pope Leo the Great," *Church History* 62 (1993): 5–21.

P. L. Barclift, "The Shifting Tones of Pope Leo the Great's Christological Vocabulary," *Church History* 66 (1997): 221-239; repr. in *History, Hope, Human Language, and Christian*

- Reality*, ed. E. Ferguson, *Recent Studies in Early Christianity* 6 (New York: Garland, 1999), 229-248.
- W. Blümer, *Rerum eloquentia: Christliche Nutzung antiker Stilkunst bei St. Leo Magnus* (New York: Peter Lang, 1991).
- L. Casula, *La cristologia di san Leone Magno: Il fondamento dottrinale e soteriologico*, *Dissertatio series Romana* 27 (Milan: Glossa, 2000).
- Geoffrey Dunn, “Divine Impassibility and Christology in the Christmas Homilies of Leo the Great,” *Theological Studies* 62 (2001): 71-85.
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- Geoffrey Dunn, “The Care of the Poor in Rome and Alaric’s Sieges,” in G.D. Dunn, D. Luckensmeyer and L Cross, eds., *Prayer and Spirituality in the Early Church*, vol. 5: *Poverty and Rices* (Strathfield: St. Pauls, 2009).
- Geoffrey D. Dunn, “Divine Impassibility and Christology in the Christmas Homilies of Leo the Great,” *Theological Studies* 62 (2001): 71-85.
- A. Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, Vol. 2: *From the Council of Chalcedon (451) to Gregory the Great (590–604)*, Pt. 1: *Reception and Contradiction—the Development of the Discussion about Chalcedon from 451 to the Beginning of the Reign of Justinian*, trans. P. Allen and J. Cawte (London: Mowbray, 1987).
- W.J. Halliwell, *The Style of Pope St. Leo the Great*, Patristic Studies 59 (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1939).
- P. Heather, “Christianity and the Vandals in the Reign of Geiseric,” in J. Drinkwater and B. Salway, eds, *Wolf Liebeschuetz Reflected: Essays Presented by Colleagues, Friends, and Pupils* (London: Institute of Classical Studies, 2007), 137-146.
- G. Hudon, *La perfection chrétienne d’après les sermons de s. Léon* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1959).
- N. W. James, “Leo the Great and Prosper of Aquitaine: A Fifth Century Pope and His Adviser,” *Journal of Theological Studies* ns 44 (1993): 554-584.
- Trevor Jalland, *The Life and Times of St. Leo the Great* (London: SPCK, 1941).
- N.W. James, “Leo the Great and Prosper of Aquitaine: A Fifth-Century Pope and His Advisor,” *Journal of Theological Studies* 44 (1993): 554-584.
- H.O. Maier, “‘Manicheel’: Leo the Great and the Orthodox Panopticon,” *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 4.4. (1996): 49-63.
- P. A. McShane, *La Romanitas et le pape Léon le Grand: L’apport culturel des institutions impériales à la formation des structures ecclésiastiques* (Tournai: Desclée; Montreal: Bellarmin, 1979).
- Francis X. Murphy, “The Sermons of Pope Leo the Great: Content and Style,” in *Preaching in the Patristic Age: Studies in Honor of Walter J. Burghardt, S.J.*, ed. D. G. Hunter (New York: Paulist, 1989), 183–197.

- Bronwen Neil, “Blessed is Poverty: Leo the Great on Almsgiving,” *Sacris Erudiri* 46 (2007): 143-156.
- S. Pietrini, *Religio e ius romanum nell’epistolario di Leone Magno*, Materiali per una palingenesi delle costituzioni tardo-imperiali 6 (Milan: A. Guiffré, 2002).
- J.D. Sieger, “Visual Metaphor as Theology: Leo the Great’s Sermons on the Incarnation and the Arch Mosaics at S. Maria Maggiore,” *Gesta* 26.2 (1987): 83-91.
- M.B. de Soos, *Le mystère liturgique d’après saint Léon le Grand* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1958).
- Basil Studer, “Una persona in Christo: Ein augustinisches Thema bei Leo dem Grossen,” *Augustinianum* 25 (1985): 453-487.
- Susan Wessel, *Leo the Great and the Spiritual Rebuilding of a Universal Rome*, Supplement to *Vigiliae Christianae* 93 (Boston / Leiden: Brill, 2008).