

Theory and History of Ontology ([www.ontology.co](http://www.ontology.co)) by Raul Corazzon | e-mail: [rc@ontology.co](mailto:rc@ontology.co)

## The Works of Eriugena: Editions and translations

### Contents of this Section

#### Eriugena and the Neoplatonic Metaphysics in the Early Middle Ages

This part of the section [History of Ontology](#) includes the following pages:

[Eriugena: Dialectic and Ontology in the \*Periphyseon\*](#)

[The Works of Eriugena: Editions and translations \(Current page\)](#)

#### Bibliography on the Philosophical Work of Eriugena:

[Eriugena A - Mad](#)

[Eriugena Mai - McG](#)

[Eriugena McK - Z](#)

The section [History of the Doctrine of Categories](#) include the following page:

[Eriugena, \*Periphyseon\* Book I: Aristotelian Logic and Categories](#)

[Index of the Pages on Medieval Philosophy](#)

#### Works in chronological order

An updated and detailed examination of the manuscripts and editions can be found in the following essay (in Italian): Ernesto Sergio Mainoldi. *Iohannes Scottus Eriugena*. In *La trasmissione dei testi latini del medioevo / Mediaeval Latin Texts and their Transmission*. Edited by Chiesa Paolo and Castaldi Lucia. Firenze: SISMEL - Edizioni del Galluzzo 2005, pp. 186-264.

1. *De diuinae praedestinatione* (On divine predestination) (ca. 850-851)
2. *In Priscianum* [also known as *Glosa Prisciani*] (ca. 850)
3. *Annotationes in Marcianum* (ca. 840-850)
4. *Glosae Martiani* (ca. 840-850)

5. *Glossae divinae historiae* (850-860)
6. *Versio operum sancti Dionysii Areopagitae* (translation of the works of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite) (before 860-864); revised (864-866)
7. *Versio sancti Gregorii Nisseni Sermonis de imagine* (translation of Gregory of Nyssa's *On the Image of Man*) (862-864)
8. *Versio sancti Maximi Confessoris Ambigua ad Iohannem* (translation of Maximus the Confessor's *Ambigua to John*) (862-864)
9. *Versio sancti Maximi Confessoris Quaestiones ad Thalassium* (translation of Maximus the Confessor's *Questions to Thalassius*) (864-866)
10. *Periphyseon* (Concerning Nature) (862-866)
11. *Expositiones in Ierarchiam Coelestem* (Exposition on the *Celestial Hierarchy* of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite) (864-870)
12. *Vox spiritualis aquilae* (Homily on the Prologue to St. John's Gospel) (870-872)
13. *Commentarius in Iohannem* (Commentary on St. John's Gospel) (875-877)
14. *Carmina* (Poems) (850-877)
15. *Epistola "Domine Winiberte..."*

### Works of uncertain attribution

1. Pseudo-Ioannes, Chrysostomus. 1862. "Opus imperfectum in Matthaemum." In *Patrologia Graeca. vol. 56*, edited by Migne, Jacques Paul, 611-946. Paris. English translation: *Incomplete Commentary on Matthew (Opus imperfectum)* with an introduction and notes by James A. Kellerman, edited by Thomas C. Oden; Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2010, two volumes.  
The work is probably a compilation of different writings; two groups of homilies: (C1 = 24-31, Migne: 756-798 and C2 = 46b-54, Migne: 897-946) were attributed by Gustavo Piemonte (1996, 2002) to a lost work of Eriugena, the *Tractatus in Matheum* (a commentary on the Gospel of Matthew).  
This attribution was accepted by Ernesto Sergio Mainoldi (2005), but has been challenged by Peter Dronke in his *Introduction* to the Italian translation of the first book of the *Periphyseon* (Giovanni Scoto, *Sulle nature dell'universo. Libro I*, Milano: Fondazione Lorenzo Valla - Arnoldo Modadori, 2012, pp. XXXI-XXXII. See also Jean-Paul Bouhot, *Adaptations latines de l'Homélie de Jean Chrysostome sur Pierre et Elie (CPG 4513)*, *Revue bénédictine*, 112, 2002, pp. 201-235: according to the Author the part of the homilies corresponding to C1 and C2 was written in the Carolingian period.  
Sigebert of Gembloux (c. 1030 - 1112) in his *Catalogus Sigeberti Gemblacensis monachi de viris illustribus*, Chapter LXV, wrote:  
"Joannes Scotus, in exponendis divinis et humanis scripturis satis idoneus, fecit tractatus in Matthaemum. Scripsit librum De officiis humanis et alia quae ab aliis habentur." (John Scotus, in explaining the divine and human Scriptures, made a *tractatus in Mattheum*. He wrote the book of the human duties and other things which others have." (critical edition by Robert Witte, Bern, Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang, 1974, p. 71; old edition in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, 56, with the title *Liber de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*, coll. 547-592).  
For completeness, I give also the traditional view on the authorship of this work: "The *Opus imperfectum in Matthaemum* is a set of fifty-four Latin homilies on the first gospel which throughout the Middle Ages were believed to be translations of Greek homilies by John Chrysostom. In reality, they are probably the work of an unidentified Arian bishop or priest writing in Latin in the fifth or sixth century. The

great range of dates, authors, and places of origin that have been proposed for these homilies (up through the 1960s) is usefully summarized by Gauthier (1972 pp. 50-54). Dekkers (CPL 707) captures a dominant trend in the scholarship in advocating a date of composition in the mid-sixth century; however, Joop van Banning, the senior editor of a new edition in progress, believes the *Opus* was composed in the second or third quarter of the fifth century (CCSL 87B.v). Schlatter's (1988) suggestion that the author was Anianus of Celeda is deemed "attractive" yet "problematic" by Cooper (1993), who cautions against accepting this hypothesis without further evidence." (Thomas N. Hall).

Forthcoming in: Thomas N. Hall (ed.), *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture. Volume 5: Julius Caesar to Pseudo-Cyril of Alexandria*, Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications.

References:

- Banning Joop van, 1988. *Opus imperfectum in Matthaemum*. Praefatio, Turnhout, Brepols.
  - Cooper, Kate. 1993. "An(n)ianus of Celeda and the Latin Readers of John Chrysostom." *Studia Patristica* 27: 249-55.
  - Dekkers Eligius, 1995. *Clavis patrum latinorum: qua in corpus christianorum edendum optimas quasque scriptorum recensioni a Tertulliano ad Bedam*, Third edition, Turnhout, Brepols.
  - Gauthier, Roland. 1972. *La Vierge Marie d'après l'Opus imperfectum in Matthaemum*. in: *De cultu mariano saeculis VI-XI: Acta Congressus Mariologici-Mariani Internationalis in Croatia anno 1971 celebrati*, ed. Joseph Lécuyer et al., vol 3. pp. 49-66. 5 vols. Rome.
  - Piemonte, Gustavo 1996. "Recherches Sur Les "Tractatus in Matheum" Attribués À Jean Scot." In *Iohannes Scottus Eriugena. The Bible and Hermeneutics*, edited by Riel, Gerd van, Steel, Carlos and McEvoy, James. Leuven: Leuven University Press.
  - Piermonte, Gustavo 2002. "Some Distinctive Theses of Eriugena's Eschatology in His Exegesis of the Gospel According to St. Matthew." In *History and Eschatology in John Scottus Eriugena and His Time*, edited by McEvoy, James and Dunne, Michael, 227-242. Leuven: Leuven University Press.
  - Schlatter, Frederick W. 1988. "The Author of the *Opus imperfectum in Matthaemum*". *Vigiliae Christianae* 42: 364-75.
2. Priscianus, Lydus. 1853. "Solution des problèmes proposés par Chosroes: traité inédit de Priscien le philosophe." *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* no. 4:248-263.
  3. Iohannis, Scoti. 1868. "Defloratio de Macrobbii libro De differentiis et societatibus Graeci Latini verbi quam Iohannes (scilicet Scotus Eriugena) carpserat (Excerpta Parisina)." In *Grammatici latini, Vol. 5*, edited by Keil, Heinrich, 599-630. Lipsia: B. G. Teubner.  
This edition is superseded by that of P. De Paolis (1990).
  4. Macrobbii, Theodosii. 1990. *De verborum Graeci et Latini differentiis vel societatibus excerpta*. Urbino: QuattroVenti.  
Edizione critica a cura di Paolo De Paolis.

### Lost works

1. Translation of the *Ancoratus* of Epiphanius of Salamis
2. *Tractatus de uisione Dei*

### Modern editions

1.     Johannis, Scoti. 1853. *Opera quae supersunt omnia*. Paris.  
Jacques Paul Migne (ed.), *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 122, coll. 439-1022; reprint: Turnhout, Brepols, 1999.  
The only complete edition, but superseded by the most recent critical editions.
2.     Madec, Goulden, ed. 1978. *Iohanni Scotti. De divina praedestinatione, Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis; 50*. Turnhout: Brepols.  
"Il ne revient pas à l'éditeur de donner des consignes de lecture. Qu'on me permette toutefois de préciser l'avertissement que Jean Scot adresse à ses lecteurs à la fin de sa préface et que je paraphrasais en commençant. La réfutation de la thèse sur la double prédestination est fondée sur le principe de la simplicité absolue de Dieu et sur une dialectique de l'être et du non-être (71). Il n'y a absolument pas de prédestination au mal ; car Dieu, être au suprême degré (*summa essentia* (72)), est la cause de tout ce qui est ; il n'est donc pas ni ne peut être la cause de ce qui n'est pas (73). Il n'a de contraire que le non-être ; et il n'a donc aucune part dans les modalités du non-être que sont le péché et les peines du péché: la mort et le malheur (74). Il n'y a, à parler strictement, de prescience et de prédestination au bien qu'en un sens impropre ; car *scientia* et *destinatio* sont des noms quasi-propres de Dieu, au même titre que *essentia*, *ueritas*, *uirtus*, *sapientia* (75). Mais le préfixe, dans *praescientia* et *praedestinatio*, implique l'idée d'une temporalité qui est évidemment étrangère à l'action et à l'être de Dieu: "De quel droit dirait-on que Dieu pré-sait quelque chose par pré-science ou pré-destine par pré-destination, lui pour qui rien n'est futur, puisqu'il n'attend rien, et rien n'est passé, puisque pour lui rien ne passe" (76). L'action divine n'est précédée d'aucune préparation ; elle est immédiate : "omnia semelet simulfecit" (77). Toutes choses sont toujours présentes dans le Verbe, "par qui toutes choses ont été faites et en qui toutes choses vivent immuablement, non seulement celles qui ont existé, mais aussi celles qui existeront. Du reste, en lui, elles n'ont pas existé ni n'existeront ; elles sont seulement ; et toutes sont un" (78).  
Cette argumentation peut se recommander de nombreux textes d'Augustin (79) ; et M. Jacquin a pu écrire justement que "la doctrine augustinienne forme la trame de ce court traité et lui fournit les principaux arguments sur lesquels repose sa thèse" (80). Or c'est cette thèse ontologique qui autorise ou plutôt qui réclame l'interprétation des formules littéralement prédestinarianistes et, plus généralement, la critique de tout discours théologique, qu'il soit scripturaire ou patristique (81). L'intention fondamentale de Jean Scot me paraît donc être de réduire l'augustinisme de la prédestination par l'augustinisme de la simplicité divine et d'instaurer ainsi, dans l'intelligence de la foi, l'identité de la vraie religion et de la vraie philosophie (82)." (pp. XVI-XVII)  
(71) Voir *Praefatio* 56-65.  
(72) Voir Cap. 3, 83-85 ; 15, 98 ; 15, 180 ; 16, 179 et 183 ; 18, 105 ; 18, 147.  
(73) Voir Cap. 3, 55-57 ; 9, 76.  
(74) Voir Cap. 3, 55 ; 10, 97 ; 10, 138-155 ; 15, 180-184.  
(75) Voir Cap. 9, 30-31.  
(76) Voir Cap. 9, 106-110.  
(77) Voir Cap. 9, 128.  
(78) Voir Cap. 9, 130-134.  
(79) Cf. G. Madec, *L'augustinisme de Jean Scot dans le "De praedestinatione"*, dans *Jean Scot Erigène et l'histoire de la philosophie*. Colloque de Laon, 1975, p. 183-190.  
(80) M. Jacquin, *le néoplatonisme de Jean Scot*, [*Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, 1, 1907, pp. 674-685] p. 681.  
(81) Voir Cap. 9, 5-7 et 25-38.  
(82) Voir Cap. 1, 9-18.
3.     Johannis, Scoti. 1982. *De diuina praedestinatione, enumeratio formarum*. Turnhout: Brepols.  
Corpus Christianorum. Instrumenta Lexicologica Latina, 4.

4. Lutz, Cora E., ed. 1939. *Iohannis Scotti Eriugena. Annotationes in Marcianum*. Cambridge: Mediaeval Academy of America.  
Version of the Commentary on the *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercuri* of Martianus Capella, based on the manuscript Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, *fonds lat.*, MS 12960 folios 47r - 115v (known as *Corbiensis*), discovered by Jean-Barthélemy Hauréau: 'Commentaire de Jean Scot Erigene sur Martianus Capella,' *Notices et Extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, XX, 2, 1862, pp. 1-39. Reprinted 2012.
5. Dutton, Paul Edward, and Luhtala, Anneli. 1994. "Eriugena in Priscianum." *Mediaeval Studies* no. 56:153-163.  
This essay is about the discovery of a commentary *In Priscianum*, to be attributed to Eriugena. An appendix contains the edition of the *accessus* to the commentary. "Squeezed between copies of Priscian's *Periegesis* and *Institutiones* in the so-called Dubthach Codex, Leiden, Bibliothek der Rijksuniversiteit B.P.L. 67 (henceforth L), is a late ninth-century copy of a set of Greek grammatical terms, definitions of grammar and rhetoric taken from an early redaction of Eriugena's *Periphyseon*, and the incomplete commentary on *Institutiones* 1.1. The Leiden manuscript bears other traces of Eriugena's direct possession and work, including glosses on the *Institutiones* written by the Irish writer known as i1. (5)  
There is now new evidence to conclude that the L commentary on *De uoce* is entirely contained within a longer commentary on Priscian in Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragon, Ripoll 59, fols. 257v-288v (hereafter B), an eleventh-century manuscript of Catalan provenance. (6) Indeed the Caroline scribe who copied out the Eriugenian definitions and commentary on *De uoce* on fol. 8r-v of L also copied passages from the *accessus* of the longer commentary onto fol. 9r of L. He was joined—or perhaps preceded—by several Irish scribes who entered other materials from the commentary into the margins of fols. 9r-10r.  
Thus it must follow that at least the *accessus* and the *De uoce* portions of the commentary *In Priscianum* date from the ninth century, and the arguments already made to connect the L commentary on *De uoce* to Eriugena also apply here. The evidence includes an overriding interest by the author in the priority of dialectic, an emphasis upon the superiority of *usiadis definitio* over *ennoematice* (or substantial over accidental definition), which is consistent with Eriugena's emphasis in the *Periphyseon*, and shared cosmological terms and concepts. Moreover, the definitions of grammar and rhetoric found on fol. 8r of L and that of grammar found in the *De uoce* commentary (fol. 8v) are exactly the same as those added by i1 to the working copy of the *Periphyseon* (Rheims, Bibliothèque Municipale 875, fol. 41r). At the next manifest stage of recension of the *Periphyseon* as found in Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek Msc. Phil. 2/1, fol. 26r, the wording of the definition of rhetoric was changed by the Irish scribe i2. (7) It can therefore be claimed that the *De uoce* portion of the commentary *In Priscianum* contains materials not only consistent with the work of Eriugena and his school but also particular to it. These probably date from the early stages of Eriugena's career on the continent.  
There is some evidence to suggest that the scribes who wrote in the first ten folios of L knew even more of the longer commentary *In Priscianum*." (pp. 154-155)  
(5) Bernhard Bischoff first drew attention to the existence of i1's glosses in L: see "Irische Schreiber im Karolingerreich," reprinted with revisions in Bernhard Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien: Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*, vol. 3 (Stuttgart, 1981), 52. See also Dutton, "Evidence that Dubthach's Priscian Codex Once Belonged to Eriugena," (1992) 15-45.  
(6) See Marina Passalacqua, *I codici di Prisciano*, *Sussidi eruditi* 29 (Rome, 1978), 10-11. See also G. L. Bursill-Hall, *A Census of Medieval Latin Grammatical Manuscripts* (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, 1981), 26.  
(7) Priscian, *Epistola ad Iulianum*, ed. Hertz I:1-4.
6. Luhtala, Anneli. 2000. "Early Medieval Commentary on Priscian's *Institutiones grammaticae*." *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Age Grec et Latin* no. 71:115-188. "Introduction.



This edition introduces grammatical commentary associated with the first encounter of Aristotelian logic and ancient grammatical heritage in the Middle Ages, which took place in the so-called Carolingian Renaissance. As a result, grammatical method was renovated so as to involve its interaction with dialectic, which continued throughout the medieval period. The principal object of philosophical commentary was Priscian's *Institutiones grammaticae*, which was introduced into the medieval curriculum by Alcuin of York, the key figure in the educational reform of Charlemagne. Priscian's philosophically-oriented grammar immediately appealed to Alcuin, who assigned a major importance to the study of dialectic in his reform of learning. He encouraged the assimilation of the dialectical and grammatical approaches to language study in his own grammar, which seems to have been pivotal in inspiring application of a new interdisciplinary approach to grammar. Far from remaining the preoccupation of few individual scholars, the new method became standard practice in the ninth and tenth centuries, as will be made plain by the material edited in this article.

The material edited below contains extracts from a newly-discovered Priscian commentary attributed to Eriugena as well as various sets of glosses copied anonymously in the margins of Priscian manuscripts in the ninth and tenth centuries. Some sixty Priscian manuscripts have come down to us from this period (M. Passalacqua, *I codici di Prisciano*, Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1978), many of which are heavily annotated and show philosophical influence. It is true that much of early medieval Priscian commentary is unsystematic and derivative, typically consisting of a quotation from the *Categoriae Decem*, the *De nuptiis* of Martianus Capella, or the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville; such glosses have been excluded from this edition. But many glosses contain highly relevant observations, and occasionally even important new developments. Such is the case, for instance, when an anonymous ninth century teacher introduces the dialectician's subject - predicate distinction into grammatical analysis. Only comments representing new developments of traditional grammatical concepts have been included in this edition." (p. 115).

7. Jeuneau, Edouard. 1978. "Le commentaire érigénien sur Martianus Capella (*De Nuptiis*, lib. I) d'après le manuscrit d'Oxford (Bod. Libr. Auct. T.2.19 fol. 1-31)." In *Quatre thèmes érigéniens*, 101-186. Paris: Vrin.  
Conférence Albert-le-Grand 1974.  
Version of the *Annotationes in Marcianum* based on the manuscript *Oxford Bodleian Library Auct T.2.19*, discovered by Lotte Labowsky, *A New Version of Scotus Eriugena's Commentary on Martianus Capella*, *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies*, 1, 1941-1943, pp. 187-193.
8. Gale, Thomas, ed. 1681. *Joannis Scoti Eriugena. De Divisione naturae libri quinque diu desiderati; accedit appendix ex Ambiguis S. Maximi graece et latine*. Oxford: Theatro Sheldoniano.  
First printed edition.  
Photographic reproduction, Minerva: Frankfurt, 1964.
9. Contreni, John J., and Ó Néill, Pádraig, eds. 1997. *Glossae Divinae Historiae. The Biblical Glosses of John Scottus Eriugena*. Tavarnuzze - Firenze: Edizioni del Galluzzo.  
Contents: Acknowledgements VII; Abbreviations and Short Title IX; Bibliography XI;  
Introduction: 1. Manuscripts 3; 2. Textual Relationships 10; 3. History 14; 4. Authorship 17; 5. Sources 29; 6. Biblical Text 36; 7. Glosses in Old Irish 40; 8. The Use of Greek in the Glosses 55; 9. The *Glossae diuinae historiae* and Carolingian Learning 58; 10. The *Glossae* and the Early Career of John Scottus 72; 11. The Edition 84; Sigla: 86;  
GLOSSAE DIVINAE HISTORIAE 87;  
Indices

Index Locorum Sacrae Scripturae 213; Index Fontium 221; Index Lemmatum 233; Index Verborum Hibernicorum 241; Index Manuscriptorum 243; Index Rerum 245-246.

"A century ago Bruno Güterbock suggested that a set of biblical glosses accompanied by the notation IO(H) in a ninth-century Vatican manuscript (Reg. lat. 215) should be attributed to Iohannes Scottus, the celebrated Irish scholar who was active in the kingdom of Charles the Bald (840-877).(1) Since then, despite the discovery of further manuscript witnesses, neither the glosses nor Güterbock's attribution has received much attention. The present work addresses these deficiencies and presents the first complete edition of the glosses.

The modest length and scope of the glosses (occupying only five folios in the most important manuscript witness) belie their intrinsic interest. The textual sources of the glosses, the version of the Bible which they gloss, the Old-Irish words among the predominantly Latin, and the use of Greek in the glosses all repay close attention. More broadly, the glosses also shed light on early medieval biblical studies and on Carolingian education. And they may even provide new evidence about the early career of John Scottus who, in the details of his background and life, remains "un personnage mystérieux".(2)" (p. 3)

(...)

"To sum up the evidence. The probable date of the *Glossae* before 860 accords with the chronology of John Scottus's scholarly career. Likewise, the textual history of the *Glossae*, especially its use by Martin Hiberniensis, its early diffusion in the diocese of Reims, its conflation with other glosses, a process perhaps executed by Heiric of Auxerre who had connections with both John Scottus and Haimo of Auxerre, fully accords with the locus and tempus of John Scottus. That the glossator was an Irishman is indicated by his use of Old-Irish words and his references to Irish flora, fauna, customs, and culture. The same conclusion is suggested by his frequent and relatively correct handling of Greek. Indeed, his bold use of that language sets him apart from other Irish and continental contemporaries and points to the preeminent scholar of Greek in the middle years of the ninth century, John Scottus. This indication is fully corroborated by the close and striking agreements in wording and content between the *Glossae* and the known works of John Scottus. Especially significant among these agreements are instances where the author of the *Glossae* went far beyond the customary requirements of a plain explanation to elaborate personal concerns that have close parallels in the later, discursive work of John Scottus.

The case for John Scottus' authorship of the *Glossae* might have rested so, were it not for a recent discovery. In preparing an edition of the *Scholica graecarum glossarum* Professor Patrizia Lendinara came across the following note in an eleventh-century manuscript, Vatican, MS Barb., lat. 477 (f. 54V):

A commentarius [sic] est secundum Iohannem Scottum minister et custos librorum uel cartarum magister. Alii dicunt scriptorem annalium qui rerum gesta scribebant. (97)

The author of this note provides two definitions of a *commentariis* (from 2Sm 8, 16 and 1Par 18, 15, respectively) which are attributed to Iohannes Scottus.

(The second sentence provides the traditional, *Rz* [\*] definition). In fact, the source for the note must have been the *Glossae diuinae historiae*, since the first definition derives from gl. 222, "a commentariis, de libris minister", and the second from gl. 518, "A commentariis, ab his qui cartas faciunt". The Barberinus glossator's skilful conflation of two different glosses on lemmata from two different parts of the Old Testament suggests a careful reading of the *Glossae*. All the more reason then to give full credence to the glossator's attribution and accordingly, to expand the IOH abbreviation of the earlier manuscripts to Johannes (Scottus).

By the eleventh century or probably earlier, there was independent evidence that John Scottus was the author of the *Glossae diuinae historiae*. The qualifiers "doubtfully" or "wrongly" can at last be removed from the attribution to John Scottus and the *Glossae* can take its place among the authentic corpus of the great ninth-century scholar and teacher." (pp. 28-29)

- (1) Bruno Güterbock, "Aus irischen Handschriften in Turin und Rom", ZvS [*Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*] (1895), 103-5.
- (2) To borrow the phrase of Dom Cappuyns, JSE [*Jean Scot Érigène*, 1933], 3. 96. See *Homel.* II-III (ed. Jeauneau, SC 151: 208-16).
97. The note occurs among a series of "Glosae Grecorum"; see Lendinara, "On John Scottus's Authorship of the Biblical Glosses", SM [*Studi medievali*] 33 (1992), 571-9. The manuscript was copied in the south of France, perhaps near Avignon, early in the eleventh century, according to Bernhard Bischoff; see Kassius Hallinger, "Der Barberinus Latinus 477", *Studia Anselmiana* 63 (1975), 40-1, 47.
- [\*] *Das Glossar Rz.* Elias Steinmeyer ed. "Untersuchungen über die Bibelglossare: I. Rz und sein Einflussbereich". In Elias Steinmeyer and Eduard Sievers eds., *Die althochdeutschen Glossen*, 5 vols. (Berlin, 1879-1922; repr. Dublin and Zurich, 1968-69), 5: 108-407.
10. Schlüter, Christoph Bernhard, ed. 1838. *Johannis Scoti Erigenae. De divisione naturae libri quinque*. Monasterii Guestphalorum: Librariae Aschendorffianae. Editio recognita et emendata accedunt tredecim auctoris ad Carolum Calvum ex palinsestis Angeli Maii.
11. Floss, Heinrich Joseph, ed. 1853. *Johannis Scoti. De divisione naturae libri quinque*. Paris.  
Jacques Paul Migne (éd.), *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 122, coll. 439-1022.
12. Eriugena, Iohannis Scotti. 1968. *Periphyseon (De divisione naturae)*, *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae*. Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.  
Book First: *Nature which creates and is not created* (1968); Book Second: *Nature which is created and creates* (1972); Book Third: *Nature which is created and does not create* (1981).  
Latin text established with the collaboration of Ludwig Bieler and English translation by Inglis Patrick Sheldon-Williams.  
Book Fourth: *On the man* (1995) Latin text edited by Édouard A. Jeauneau with the assistance of Mark A. Zier; English translation by John O'Meara and I. P. Sheldon-Williams.  
Book Five: *Nature which neither is created nor creates* (not published; see the critical edition by E. Jeauneau).  
The edition of the Latin text by Sheldon-Williams has been criticized: see the reviews by P. Lucentini (1976), J. Marenbon (1982), A. Breen (1991), in the *Annotated Bibliography on the Philosophical Work of Eriugena*.
13. Jeauneau, Edouard, ed. 1996. *Johannis Scotti seu Eriugena. Periphyseon, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis*. Turnhout: Brepols.  
Critical edition of the Latin text in five volumes, with introduction in French to every volume.  
Liber primus: *Natura quae creat et non creatur* (1996); Liber secundus: *Natura quae creatur et creat* (1997); Liber tertius: *Natura quae creatur et non creat* (1999); Liber quartus: *De homine* (2000); Liber quintus: *Natura quae nec creat nec creatur* (2003).  
*Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis*, voll. 161, 162, 163, 164, 165.
14. Allard, Guy-H., ed. 1983. *Periphyseon. Indices generales*. Paris: Vrin.  
"Présentation  
Les pages qui suivent contiennent le recensement complet des mots du Periphyseon de Jean Scot. Cet index général se subdivise en cinq index spécifiques (les mots latins, les auteurs et citations bibliques, les auteurs et citations non-bibliques, les noms propres et collectifs, les mots grecs) et a été préparé à l'aide de l'ordinateur et du logiciel JEUEMO de l'Université de Montréal. Cet instrument de travail n'est pas une concordance ni un index lemmatisé; il n'a pas d'autre prétention que de permettre aux chercheurs le repérage rapide des mots, de leur fréquence et de leur localisation dans le texte, répondant ainsi à un voeu largement exprimé par les spécialistes de Jean Scot.  
Edition utilisée



L'édition du Periphyseon utilisée est celle de Migne (PL, 122), que nous avons reproduite dans l'ordinateur avec la plus grande fidélité possible. Nous avons ainsi maintenu les graphies «latinisées» de certains mots grecs. Nous avons également respecté le découpage des séquences Maître/Disciple, sauf dans le cas de quelques erreurs évidentes où il nous a fallu nous en remettre soit à l'édition de Gale ou à celle de M. Sheldon-Williams (pour les trois premiers livres). En ce qui concerne les citations, nous les avons recensées conformément à l'édition de Migne, qui les signale par des caractères italiques. Mais fidélité n'est pas aveuglement. En effet, il nous est apparu nécessaire de corriger certaines coquilles (u.g. 478,26; 597,14; 602,5; 662,30; 681,1; 800,50; 806,35; 813,1; 815,34; 890,16), de supprimer certains mots inutilement répétés (u.g. 720,10) et de retrancher du texte la dernière ligne de la colonne 528 qui n'est manifestement pas à sa place et que l'ordinateur n'a pas su localiser." (p. V).

15. Jauneau, Edouard, ed. 2007. *Iohannes Scottus seu Eriugena, Periphyseon / curante CTLO, Centre "Traditio Litterarum Occidentalium"*. Turnhout: Brepols. Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis. Instrumenta lexicologica latina. Series A. Enumeratio formarum, concordantia formarum, index formarum a tergo ordinarum. (Keyword concordance).
16. Jauneau, Edouard, and Dutton, Paul Edward. 1996. *The Autograph of Eriugena*. Turnhout: Brepols.
17. Barbet, Jeanne, ed. 1975. *Iohannis Scoti Eriugena Expositiones in Ierarchiam Coelestem*. Turnhout: Brepols. Corpus christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis 31. Contains also the Latin translation of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite *De coelesti hierarchia* made by Eriugena.
18. Jauneau, Edouard, ed. 1969. *Jean Scot. Homélie sur le Prologue de Jean*. Paris: Éditions du Cerf. Introduction, critical text, French translation and notes by Édouard Jauneau (Sources chrétiennes, 151). New edition of the Latin text: Turnhout, Brepols, 2008 [see the section "Editions"].
19. Jean, Scot. 1972. *Commentaire sur l'évangile de Jean*. Paris: Éditions du Cerf. Introduction, critical text, French translation and notes by Édouard Jauneau (Sources chrétiennes, 180). Reprinted, with additions and corrections 1999. New edition of the Latin text: Turnhout: Brepols, 2008.
20. Eriugena, Iohannis Scotti. 2008. *Iohannis Scotti seu Eriugena Homilia super "In principio erat Verbum"; et Commentarius in Evangelium Iohannis*. Turnhout: Brepols. Critical edition by E. Jauneau and Andrew J. Hicks with Introductions in French.
21. Iohannes, Scoti. 1896. "Carmina." In *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Poetae latini aevi Carolini, III*, edited by Traube, Ludwig, 518-556. Berlin: Weidmann. This edition is superseded by that of M. W. Herren (1993).
22. Herren, Michael W., ed. 1993. *Iohannis Scotti. Carmina*. Dublin: School of Celtic Studies, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. Latin and Greek text with English translation.
23. Eriugena, Iohannis Scotti. 1972. "Epistola "Domine Winiberte..."." *Le Moyen Âge. Revue d'Histoire et de Philologie* no. 1:9-14. In: John J. Contreni, 'A propos de quelques manuscrits de l'école de Laon au IXe siècle: découvertes et problèmes', *Le Moyen Âge*, 78, 1972, 5-39. "The three mss in question are related to the study of Virgil and of Martianus Capella. MS Laon Bibl. Municipale 24 contains on fol. 1r a letter to a certain Winibertus, probably abbot of Schüttern in connection with the correction of a copy of the *De nuptiis*. The letter is in an Irish hand, possibly that of Eriugena. Winibertus

(Wenebertus) was known for his scholarly activities which are documented in a poem by Walafrid Strabo. The author of this study emphasises the links between contemporary Irish scholarship in the Rhineland and at Laon. A second Laon ms, MS 468, is a handbook for the study of Virgil and of the liberal arts, from which the text of a poetic *vita* of Virgil is here transcribed (pp. 17-21), part of it identifiable as the *Vita Ternensie*, the remainder probably from Donatus. This manuscript had belonged to Martinus Scottus. Marginal notes in an Irish hand indicate knowledge of Isidore of Seville. The removal of manuscripts of classical texts from Laon in the 16th and 17th century renaissance resulted in discoveries in other libraries of texts related to e.g. MS Laon 444. The author discusses one Vatican manuscript of such probable origin (cf. C. Leonardi, 'Nuove voci poetiche tra secolo IX e XI', *Studi medievali*, 3a serie, II, 1961, 139-168) the authorship of which might be traced to Auxerre in the late 9th or early 10th century, and probably to Remigius." (B.).

### Modern editions of Eriugena's Latin translations from Greek

1. Johannis, Scoti. 1853. "Ioannis Scoti Versio Operum s. Dionysii Areopagitae." In *Opera quae supersunt omnia*, edited by Floss, Heinrich Joseph. Paris. Patrologia Latina vol. 122, coll. 1023-1194.
2. Chevallier, Philippe, ed. 1937. *Dionysiaca I-II*. Bruges: Desclée de Brouwer. Recueil donnant l'ensemble des traductions latines des ouvrages attribués au Denys de l'Aéropage. Contains the Latin translation by Eriugena of the works of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite in two volumes I (1937); II (1950).
3. *A Thirteenth-Century Textbook of Mystical Theology at the University of Paris*. 2004. Leuven: Peeters Publishers. The *Mystical Theology* of Dionysius the Areopagite in Eriugena's Latin translation, with the scholia translated by Anastasius the Librarian, and excerpts from Eriugena's Periphyseon. Edition, translation, and introduction by L. Michael Harrington.
4. Laga, Carl, and Steel, Carlos, eds. 1980-1990. *Maximi Confessoris Quaestiones ad Thalassium una cum latina interpretatione Ioannis Scoti Eriugenaе iuxta posita*. Turnhout: Brepols. Greek text and Latin translation on opposite pages; editorial matter in French. Vol. I. Quaestiones I-LV (1980); Vol. II. Quaestiones LVI-LXV (1990).
5. Jeuneau, Édouard, ed. 1988. *Maximi Confessoris Ambigua ad Iohannem, iuxta Iohannis Scoti Eriugenaе latinam interpretationem*. Turnhout: Brepols. Latin text with commentary in French.
6. Cappuyns, Maïeul. 1965. "Le *De imagine* de Grégoire de Nysse traduit par Jean Scot Érigène." *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* no. 32:205-262. Publication of the Latin translation (made ca. 862-864) by John Scottus of the *De hominis opificio XVI* by Grégory of Nissa (P. L. 122, coll. 793C-797C), based on ms. Bamberg B. IV. 13.

### Modern editions of the works of uncertain attribution

1. Pseudo-Ioannes, Chrysostomus. 1862. "Opus imperfectum im Matthaeum." In *Patrologia Graeca. vol. 56*, edited by Migne, Jacques Paul, 611-946. Paris. English translation: *Incomplete Commentary on Matthew (Opus imperfectum)* with an introduction and notes by James A. Kellerman, edited by Thomas C. Oden;

Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2010, two volumes.

The work is probably a compilation of different writings; two groups of homilies: (C1 = 24-31, Migne: 756-798 and C2 = 46b-54, Migne: 897-946) were attributed by Gustavo Piemonte (1996, 2002) to a lost work of Eriugena, the *Tractatus in Matheum* (a commentary on the Gospel of Matthew).

This attribution was accepted by Ernesto Sergio Mainoldi (2005), but has been challenged by Peter Dronke in his *Introduction* to the Italian translation of the first book of the *Periphyseon* (Giovanni Scoto, *Sulle nature dell'universo. Libro I*, Milano: Fondazione Lorenzo Valla - Arnoldo Modadori, 2012, pp. XXXI-XXXII. See also Jean-Paul Bouhot, *Adaptations latines de l'Homélie de Jean Chrysostome sur Pierre et Elie (CPG 4513)*, *Revue bénédictine*, 112, 2002, pp. 201-235: according to the Author the part of the homilies corresponding to C1 and C2 was written in the Carolingian period.

Sigebert of Gembloux (c. 1030 - 1112) in his *Catalogus Sigeberti Gemblacensis monachi de viris illustribus*, Chapter LXV, wrote:

"Joannes Scotus, in exponendis divinis et humanis scripturis satis idoneus, fecit tractatus in Matthaem. Scripsit librum De officiis humanis et alia quae ab aliis habentur." (John Scotus, in explaining the divine and human Scriptures, made a *tractatus in Mattheum*. He wrote the book of the human duties and other things which others have." (critical edition by Robert Witte, Bern, Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang, 1974, p. 71; old edition in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, 56, with the title *Liber de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*, coll. 547-592).

For completeness, I give also the traditional view on the authorship of this work: "The *Opus imperfectum in Matthaem* is a set of fifty-four Latin homilies on the first gospel which throughout the Middle Ages were believed to be translations of Greek homilies by John Chrysostom. In reality, they are probably the work of an unidentified Arian bishop or priest writing in Latin in the fifth or sixth century. The great range of dates, authors, and places of origin that have been proposed for these homilies (up through the 1960s) is usefully summarized by Gauthier (1972 pp. 50-54). Dekkers (CPL 707) captures a dominant trend in the scholarship in advocating a date of composition in the mid-sixth century; however, Joop van Banning, the senior editor of a new edition in progress, believes the *Opus* was composed in the second or third quarter of the fifth century (CCSL 87B.v). Schlatter's (1988) suggestion that the author was Anianus of Celeda is deemed "attractive" yet "problematic" by Cooper (1993), who cautions against accepting this hypothesis without further evidence." (Thomas N. Hall).

Forthcoming in: Thomas N. Hall (ed.), *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture. Volume 5: Julius Caesar to Pseudo-Cyril of Alexandria*, Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications.

References:

- Banning Joop van, 1988. *Opus imperfectum in Matthaem*. Praefatio, Turnhout, Brepols.
- Cooper, Kate. 1993. "An(n)ianus of Celeda and the Latin Readers of John Chrysostom." *Studia Patristica* 27: 249-55.
- Dekkers Eligius, 1995. *Clavis patrum latinorum: qua in corpus christianorum edendum optimas quasque scriptorum recensioni a Tertulliano ad Bedam*, Third edition, Turnhout, Brepols.
- Gauthier, Roland. 1972. *La Vierge Marie d'après l'Opus imperfectum in Matthaem*. in: *De cultu mariano saeculis VI-XI: Acta Congressus Mariologici-Mariani Internationalis in Croatia anno 1971 celebrati*, ed. Joseph Lécuyer et al., vol 3. pp. 49-66. 5 vols. Rome.
- Piemonte, Gustavo 1996. "Recherches Sur Les "Tractatus in Matheum" Attribués À Jean Scot." In *Iohannes Scottus Eriugena. The Bible and Hermeneutics*, edited by Riel, Gerd van, Steel, Carlos and McEvoy, James. Leuven: Leuven University Press.
- Piermonte, Gustavo 2002. "Some Distinctive Theses of Eriugena's Eschatology in His Exegesis of the Gospel According to St. Matthew." In *History and Eschatology in John Scottus Eriugena and His Time*, edited by McEvoy, James and Dunne, Michael, 227-242. Leuven: Leuven University Press.

- Schlatter, Frederick W. 1988. "The Author of the *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum*". *Vigiliae Christianae* 42: 364-75.
2. Priscianus, Lydus. 1853. "Solution des problèmes proposés par Chosroes: traité inédit de Priscien le philosophe." *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* no. 4:248-263.
  3. Johannis, Scoti. 1868. "Defloratio de Macrobiani libro De differentiis et societatibus Graeci Latini verbi quam Iohannes (scilicet Scotus Eriugena) carpserat (Excerpta Parisina)." In *Grammatici latini, Vol. 5*, edited by Keil, Heinrich, 599-630. Lipsia: B. G. Teubner.  
This edition is superseded by that of P. De Paolis (1990).
  4. Macrobiani, Theodosii. 1990. *De verborum Graeci et Latini differentiis vel societatibus excerpta*. Urbino: QuattroVenti.  
Edizione critica a cura di Paolo De Paolis.

## Translations

### English

1. John, Scottus Eriugena. 1998. *Treatise on Divine Predestination*. Notre Dame: Indiana University Press.  
Translated by Mary Brennan.  
Contents: Mary Brennan: Foreword IX; Avital Wohlman: Introduction to the English Translation XV;  
Preface 3; One: That Every Question Is Solved by the Fourfold System of the Four Rules of the Whole of Philosophy 7; Two: From the Argument of Necessity It Is Concluded That there Cannot Be Two Predestinations 11; Three: Reason Does Not Permit of Two Predestinations 17; Four: The One, True and Only Predestination of God 25; Five: No One Is Compelled to Do Good or to Do Evil by the Foreknowledge and Predestination of God 33; Six: Every Sin Has No Other Source Than the Free Choice of the Individual Will 41;  
Seven: Free Choice of the Will Should Be Reckoned among the Good Things That God Bestows on Man, although He May Misuse It. What Is It That Causes Sin and Is Sin? 45; Eight: The Difference between Man's Nature and His Free Choice 51; Nine: Foreknowledge and Predestination Are Predicated of God, Not Properly but by a Similitude of Temporal Things 59; Ten: When God Is Said to Know in Advance and to Predestine Sins or Death or the Punishments of Men or Angels, It Is to Be Understood from the Contrary 65; Eleven: It Can Be Established by Divine and Human Authority That God's Predestination Concerns Only Those Who Are Prepared for Eternal Happiness 71; Twelve: The Definition of Predestination 77; Thirteen: What Can Be Inferred from the above Judgment of Saint Augustine 83; Fourteen: Collected Attestations of Saint Augustine by Which It Is Clearly Proved That There Is but One Predestination and It Refers Only to the Saints 87; Fifteen: What Kind of Expressions God Is Said to Have Foreknowledge of Sins since They Are Nothing, or to Predestine the Punishments of Them Which Likewise Are Nothing 93; Sixteen: No Nature Punishes Nature and the Punishments of Sinners Are Nothing Other Than Their Sins 101; Seventeen: Why God Is Said to Have Predestined Punishments although He Neither Makes nor Predestines Them 111; Eighteen: The Error of Those Whose Thinking on Predestination Disagrees with That of the Holy Fathers Has Grown Out of an Ignorance of the Liberal Arts 117; Nineteen: Eternal Fire 125;  
Epilogue: Divine Predestination 129;  
Bibliography 131-134.
2. Johannes, Scotus Eriugena. 1976. *Periphyseon. On the Division of Nature*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill.



Translation of nearly half of *Periphyseon* by Myra Uhlfelder, with introduction and summaries by Jean A. Potter.

Reprint: Wipf & Stock Publishers, Eugene (Oregon), 2011.

Contents: Translator's Preface VII-VIII; Introduction IX-XLI; Selected Bibliography XLIII; Book I 1; Book II 107; Book III 123; Book IV 207; Book V 271-362.

"This work is an attempt to present Eriugena's *Periphyseon: On the Division of Nature* in a fuller translation than is now readily available in English. Where the text has not been translated, summaries have been inserted to give a precise and reasonably detailed idea of the content of passages deleted. The procedure ranges from a complete translation of Book 1 to a treatment of Book 2 almost entirely by summary except for the inclusion of a few brief excerpts. Books 3, 4, and 5 include fairly lengthy passages in translation joined by summaries.

The basic Latin text followed is Floss's edition, printed in volume 122 of Migne's *Patrologia Latina*. Sheldon-Williams's recent edition of Books 1 and 2 is based on earlier manuscripts and would have to be adopted by anyone concerned primarily with paleographical and textual problems. In several passages as noted, Sheldon-Williams's readings are helpful in establishing a controversial reading or correcting a faulty one. On the whole, however, it is encouraging to see how reliable the older text is. The future availability of a complete modern edition, desirable for a number of reasons, will fortunately not invalidate scholarship based on the earlier edition. For a translator who still needs the Floss text for the later books of the *Periphyseon*, this essential soundness of the Floss text is both important and heartening." (from the Translator's Preface).

3. John, Scotus Eriugena. 1987. *Periphyseon (The Division of Nature)*. Montréal: Bellarmin.  
Translation by I. P. Sheldon-Williams. Revised by John J. O'Meara.  
"About this translation.  
The first three books of this translation are a reproduction, with the minimum necessary adjustments, of that by Dr. I.P. Sheldon-Williams in the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies' edition of the *Periphyseon*, still in course of completion, for which due gratitude to the Institute is hereby expressed. To this has been added the publication of a draft translation of the remaining two books of the work, exactly as edited by H.J. Floss in Migne's *Patrologia Latina* 122, prepared by Sheldon-Williams and considerably revised by me - not however, for reasons of desirable continuity, to the extent of eliminating unusual elements of style and structure that indicate Sheldon-Williams' close and conscious affinity with Eriugena. The *marginalia* for books 4 and 5 are taken from MS Bamberg H.J.IV 6, as reproduced by M. Cappuyns in *Jean Scot Erigene* 207-13. The numbers and letters in the margins refer to the columns and sections of *P.L.* 122; the numbers (only) refer to the sequence of chapters there. The terms (N)utritor and (A)lumnus correspond to Master and Disciple. For all references, including Biblical, notes, and some help with the use of brackets (especially in the early books) the reader is referred, when it is available, to the Dublin Institute's edition." John J. O'Meara.
4. O'Meara, John J. 1988. "Homily of John Scot, the Translator of the Hierarchy of Dionysius." In *Eriugena*, 158-176. Oxford: Oxford University Press.  
First English translation of the *Homily on the Prologue to St John's Gospel*.
5. Johannes, Scotus Eriugena. 1990. *The Voice of the Eagle. Homily on the Prologue to the Gospel of St. John*.  
Translation of *Homilia in prologum Sancti Evangelii secundum Joannem*, with an introduction and reflections by Christopher Bamford.
6. Rorem, Paul. 2005. *Eriugena's Commentary on the Dionysian Celestial Hierarchy*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies.  
"The book is a comprehensive study of John Scotus Eriugena's commentary (*Expositiones*) on the Pseudo-Dionysian *Celestial Hierarchy*, with special attention given to its literary form and theological content.

The order for introducing various aspects of the *Expositiones* follows the format of the work itself: first in John's own order comes the Dionysian text in translation, followed by a paraphrase or two and then by Eriugena's own comments, sometimes on particular sources, more often on the points of doctrine he wants to expound. Thus this book starts with the author, that is, John's perspective on Dionysius himself (Chapter I: "Dionysian Biographies").

For Eriugena, Dionysius was the Athenian Areopagite, but was he also the Parisian martyr Saint Denis? Turning to the text of *The Celestial Hierarchy*, the particular Greek codex John was working with contained its own variants and challenges (Chapter II: "The Greek Manuscript and Its Problems"). Next comes a study of John's "Patterns of Translation and Paraphrase" (Chapter III). After his multiple paraphrases, Eriugena often adds his own expository remarks, sometimes invoking other sources, especially the remaining works of the Dionysian corpus (Chapter IV). Those interested primarily in John's philosophical theology could turn directly to the last three chapters, spanning the arc of "procession and return" so characteristic of the *Periphyseon*. The *Expositiones* show a particular interest in creation (Chapter V), anthropology (Chapter VI) and "Christ and Salvation" (Chapter VII). Eriugena's treatment of the doctrine of creation includes a particularly innovative understanding of *creatio ex nihilo*. His anthropology turns on the question of humanity's relationship to the divine, whether immediate (unmediated) or mediated or somehow both. The discussion of Christ includes skillful expansions of the biblical and Dionysian images for Christ, and a presentation of salvation as "theosis" or deification.

Translations of major sections of the *Expositiones* are appended [pp. 180-226], as well as John's prologue to his earlier translation of the Dionysian corpus [pp. 174-179]. The book also contains a bibliography, an index of premodern and modern names, a scriptural index, and an index to the works of Eriugena." (p. IV).

7. *A Thirteenth-Century Textbook of Mystical Theology at the University of Paris*. 2004. Leuven: Peeters Publishers.

The *Mystical Theology* of Dionysius the Areopagite in Eriugena's Latin translation, with the scholia translated by Anastasius the Librarian, and excerpts from Eriugena's *Periphyseon*.

Edition, translation, and introduction by L. Michael Harrington.

8. Iohannis, Scotti Eriugenae. 1993. *Carmina*. Dublin: School of Celtic Studies, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.  
Latin and Greek text with English translation.

## French

1. Érigène, Jean Scot. 1995. *De la division de la nature. Periphyseon. Livre I. La Nature créatrice incréée. Livre II. La Nature créatrice créée*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.  
Introduction, traduction et notes par Francis Bertin.
2. ———. 1995. *De la division de la nature. Periphyseon. Livre III. La Nature créée incréatrice*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.  
Introduction, traduction et notes par Francis Bertin.
3. ———. 2000. *De la division de la nature. Periphyseon. Livre IV. La Nature créée incréatrice*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.  
Introduction, traduction notes par Francis Bertin.
4. ———. 2009. *De la division de la nature. Periphyseon. Livre V. La Nature incréatrice et incréée*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.  
Introduction, traduction notes par Francis Bertin.
5. Jean, Scot. 1969. *Homélie sur le Prologue de Jean*. Paris: Éditions du Cerf.  
Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes de Édouard Jeuneau (Sources chrétiennes, 151).

Nouvelle édition du texte latine: Turnhout: Brepols, 2008 [voir la Section sur les *Editions*].

Table des matières: Liste des abréviations 7; Introduction 9

Chapitre premier : L'homme et l'œuvre 9; Chapitre II : L'homélie, son authenticité, ses sources, son contenu doctrinal 51; Chapitre III : Manuscrits et éditions 78; Chapitre IV : La fortune de l'homélie érigénienne 130;

Bibliographie 171; Conspectus siglorum 199; Texte et traduction 200; Appendices 319; Index 351; Table des planches 390; Table des matières 391.

La *Vox spiritualis* est une homélie. On entend par là un petit discours destiné à exposer une péricope évangélique, en d'autres termes, un bref passage extrait du texte sacré pour la lecture liturgique. Cette définition s'applique parfaitement à l'homélie érigénienne. On la rencontre souvent, en effet, dans des homiliaires, c'est-à-dire dans des recueils liturgiques d'homélies. Et, bien que les homiliaires qui nous l'ont conservée ne soient guère antérieurs au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, donc, dans le cas présent, relativement tardifs, on est porté à croire qu'ils nous présentent la *Vox spiritualis* dans son cadre naturel, celui de l'office divin. Tout concourt à nous en convaincre : l'exorde et la conclusion du discours, son accent religieux et jusqu'à la modulation de ses phrases. Si telle est la destination de l'homélie érigénienne, il est facile de dire à quel jour de l'année liturgique elle devait trouver place. Il ne peut s'agir que du Jour de Noël. Ce jour-là, en effet, comme en témoigne l'homiliaire de Paul Diacre (1), on célébrait trois messes et, par conséquent, on lisait trois péripocopes évangéliques. A la troisième messe, celle du Jour, se lisait, comme on le fait encore aujourd'hui, le prologue de l'évangile selon saint Jean c'est-à-dire les versets 1-14 du premier chapitre de cet évangile. Ce sont précisément les versets que commente la *Vox spiritualis*. Celle-ci était donc destinée à exposer l'évangile de la troisième messe de Noël, dite "messe du Jour". C'est dans cette perspective liturgique qu'il convient de replacer et de lire l'homélie érigénienne., si on veut la comprendre et l'apprécier justement. Cependant, la destination liturgique de la *Vox spiritualis* ne nuit aucunement à sa valeur philosophique et théologique. Origène n'est pas moins Origène dans ses homélies que dans son *Periarchon*.

Quel est le contenu doctrinal de la *Vox spiritualis*?

Je suis tenté de répondre : "Prenez et lisez !" Le texte est court : on n'aura pas de peine à y reconnaître les grands thèmes érigéniens. Quant à ce qui n'y est pas mentionné explicitement et qui pourtant s'y laisse deviner en filigrane -- causes primordiales, théophanies, division des sexes, etc. -- je les ai signalés dans les notes doctrinales de l'édition : il est facile de s'y reporter.

Je me bornerai ici à indiquer sommairement le plan de l'homélie. Comme on peut s'y attendre, l'auteur suit, verset par verset, le texte du prologue johannique. Il ne faut pas perdre de vue, cependant, que nous avons affaire, non à un commentaire de type scolaire, mais à une pièce de rhétorique harmonieusement équilibrée et solidement construite. Il est possible et utile de dégager les grandes lignes de son architecture. La *Vox spiritualis* commence par un éloge de saint Jean l'Évangéliste ; elle se poursuit par le commentaire du prologue. Ce commentaire à son tour se divise en deux sections : 1<sup>o</sup> "La montagne de théologie" (versets 1-5) ; 2<sup>o</sup> "La vallée de l'histoire" (versets 6-14). L'ensemble comprend donc trois grandes parties, elles-mêmes subdivisées en parties plus petites." (pp. 73-74)

(1) *PL* 95, 1167 B-D ; éd. F. Wiegand, ["Das Homiliarium Karls des Großen auf seine ursprüngliche Gestalt hin untersucht", dans *Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und der Kirche*, Bd. 1 Heft 2 (Leipzig 1897)], p. 24-25. Sur l'homiliaire de Paul Diacre, comparé à celui d'Alain de Farfa, cf. J. Leclercq. "Tables pour l'inventaire des homiliaires manuscrits", dans *Scriptorium*, t. 2 (1948), p. 195-214 ; R. Grégoire, *Les homiliaires du Moyen Âge*, Rome 1966.

6. ———. 1972. *Commentaire sur l'évangile de Jean*. Paris: Éditions du Cerf. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes de Édouard Jeuneau (Sources chrétiennes, 18').

Nouvelle édition du texte latine: Turnhout: Brepols, 2008 [voir la Section sur les *Editions*].

Table des matières: Liste des abréviations 7; Références aux oeuvres de Jean Scot 8; Chapitre I : Authenticité du Commentaire sur l'évangile de Jean 11; Chapitre II : Sources du Commentaire sur l'évangile de Jean 22; Chapitre III : Composition littéraire et contenu doctrinal 40; Chapitre IV : Index des manuscrits 469; Tables des planches 471.

### Italian

1. Giovanni, Scoto. 2003. *De praedestinatione liber. Dialettica e teologia all'apogeo della rinascenza carolingia*. Firenze: Edizioni del Galluzzo.  
Edizione critica, saggio introduttivo, traduzione e indici lessicali cura di Ernesto Sergio N. Mainoldi.
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1. Brennan, Mary. 1977. "A Bibliography of Publications in the Field of Eriugenian Studies, 1800-1975." *Studi Medievali* no. 18:401-447.  
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Introductory note: "The bibliography which follows was initially compiled for the use of members of the Society for the Promotion of Eriugenian Studies established in 1970. While drawing attention to my major bibliographical sources, indicated in Section I. a., I wish to acknowledge my particular indebtedness to the following members of that Society: W. Beierwaltes, L. Bieler, J. J. Contreni, J. Garcia, E. Jeaneau, H. Liebeschütz and G. Schrimpf. Most particularly I would wish to acknowledge my great debt of gratitude to the late I. P. Sheldon-Williams for his guidance at the early stages of this work.  
I should like also to express my thanks to the former librarian of University College, Dublin, Miss Ellen Power, as well as to assistant librarians R. Brennan and M. Dennigan Brown for much practical help. Finally, I want sincerely to thank Professor John O'Meara of University College under whose direction the work was undertaken and with whose encouragement it is now being published, as also the editor of *Studi Medievali*, Professor Claudio Leonardi, who has made publication possible.  
The bibliography attempts to cover a limited field. It has been necessary to make judgments in the matter of inclusion or exclusion of items of related interest. For any shortcomings in this regard I take sole responsibility."

The bibliography contains 520 titles plus 66 Addenda, Index of Authors pp. 443-447.

2. ———. 1989. *Guide des études érigéniennes. Bibliographie commentée des publications 1930-1987 - A Guide to Eriugenian Studies. A Survey of Publications 1930-1987*. Paris: Éditions du Cerf.  
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From the Introduction: "A short section of this survey (I (b): 14-19) draws attention to progress in Eriugenian studies and, in an attempt to illustrate such progress, the individual sections are ordered chronologically from 1930 to 1987 (alphabetically within each year). The year 1930 has been chosen as an appropriate starting point, barely introducing, as it does, the publication in 1933 of *Jean Scot Erigène, sa vie, son oeuvre, sa pensée* by Dom Maïeul Cappuyns (Louvain/Paris 1933; reprint Brussels 1964). That volume was a major contribution to Eriugenian studies in this century. If it does not figure in the body of this survey or in the indices this is because the present writer regards it as meriting a separate survey. One may repeat the judgement of G. Mathon (\*) that it dispenses us for the most part from reading the literature that pre-dates it. Hence it seems advisable that any student of Eriugena should begin with Cappuyns. The volume is provided with important bibliography, effective indices and a wealth of analytic treatment within the text itself. It could be assigned to all sections of the present survey, apart from III, (b) *Editions*, and (c) *Instrumenta Lexicologica*. On the other hand, acknowledgement is also due to Migne, *Patrologia Latina* CXXII (Paris 1853) whose publication date lies outside the scope of this survey but which for over a century provided the sole printed edition of most of the works of Eriugena.  
The present survey is intended as a guide for students and others who may be approaching the study of Eriugena from a great variety of perspectives. The compiler has striven to present summaries of the material read and not to pass judgement. Titles of books or articles are not always informative and the summaries, even when they may appear to run to some length, are intended only to indicate to the reader the main direction of the publication in question. In the case of books, published reviews have been listed or longer review articles summarised. Unpublished theses have not been included, with the single exception of the study of Greek sources by L. Vietorisz (\*\*). Published *Acta* of conferences are listed both under the editor's name and the names of individual authors of papers. In only two cases is a publication by a single author listed twice, where two quite separate studies appeared in one volume. Where a publication that could be assigned to more than one section has been assigned to only one, the Indices which follow the survey are intended to expand on the information implied by the section headings and titles."  
(\*) Gérard Mathon, *Jean Scot Erigène*, in: G. Jacquemet (ed.), *Catholicisme hier, aujourd'hui, demain*, VI (1967) cols. 626-631.  
(\*\*) Lenke Vietorisz, *Greek Sources in the 'Periphyseon' of John Scotus, called Eriugena*, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto, 1966.  
The volume contains 523 titles.
3. Riel, Gerd van. 1996. "A Bibliographical Survey of Eriugenian Studies 1987-1995." In *Iohannes Scottus Eriugena: the Bible and Hermeneutics. Proceedings of the Ninth International Colloquium of the Society for the Promotion of Eriugenian Studies held at Leuven and Louvain-la-Neuve, June 7-10, 1995*, edited by Riel, Gerd van, Steel, Carlos and McEnvoy, James, 367-400. Leuven: Leuven University Press.  
"This bibliography is intended to complement the extensive bibliographical study of Mary Brennan [*Guide to Eriugenian studies*], whose work covers the period from 1930 to 1987.  
Among the sources we used, the most important are *Medioevo Latino. Bollettino bibliografico della cultura europea dal secolo VI al XIII*, a cura di C. Leonardi, Spoleto (Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo); the *Répertoire Bibliographique de la Philosophie - Bibliografisch Repertorium van de Wijsbegeerte*, Louvain-la-Neuve (Editions de l'Institut Supérieur de Philosophie)

Leuven; and the *Bibliography* which Prof. J. McEvoy periodically published in *Eriugena. The Annual Bulletin of SPES* (1992 - ).

Contrary to M. Brennan's practice, we did not arrange the references by subject item. Instead, we used larger subdivisions: 1) Bibliographical Surveys, 2) Editions, 3) Translations, 4) Proceedings and *Festschriften*, 5) Collected Papers, 6) Monographs, and 7) Articles. All papers included in the volumes mentioned under the heading "Proceedings and *Festschriften*" figure also as separate articles in the corresponding section.

Summaries are given only when the reference to Eriugena is not clearly stated in the title. Reviews are listed under the sign 'I'. Items marked with an asterisk (\*) refer to publications earlier than 1987, not present in the survey of M. Brennan.

I am deeply indebted to all the contributors to this volume (particularly to Prof. J. Contreni and É. Jeaneau), to Prof. W. Beierwaltes and D. Moran, for their willingness to revise the first draft of this survey, and for the additions they suggested. I also want to express my profound gratitude to Prof. C. Steel, for his support and sympathy. *Magistro discipulus opusculum dedico.*" (p. 367)

List 302 titles.

4. ———. 2002. "Eriugenan Studies 1995-2000." In *History and Eschatology in John Scottus Eriugena and His Time. Proceedings of the Tenth International Conference of the Society for the Promotion of Eriugenan Studies - Maynooth and Dublin August 16-20, 2000*, edited by McEnvoy, James and Dunne, Michael, 611-636. Leuven: Leuven University Press.

"The work of John Scottus Eriugena continues to interest modern scholars. The last lustrum saw the publication of a large amount of articles and books devoted to this early medieval thinker. The most important event in the field of Eriugenan studies was the textual edition, by Edouard Jeaneau, of the *Periphyseon (de divisione naturae)*, which will soon be fully achieved. One can expect that this critical edition of Eriugena's major work will give an extra stimulus to the ever growing stream of publications on the Irish master.

This survey of Eriugenan studies completes the "Bibliographical Survey of Eriugenan Studies 1987-1995" [referred to as Van Riel 1996], which was published in the proceedings of the Ninth Colloquium of the Society for the Promotion of Eriugenan Studies (*Johannes Scottus Eriugena. The Bible and Hermeneutics*, ed. G. Van Riel, C. Steel, and J. McEvoy, Leuven, 1996, p.367-400). We have adopted the same subdivisions here (editions, translations, monographs, and articles).

The survey also contains an index (authors, topics, and manuscripts), which covers not only the present list of works, but also the "Bibliographical Survey 1987-1995" [the numbers 1-302 refer to items listed there]. This provides the reader with a complete and indexed survey of the period from 1987 to 2000." (p. 611)

List of 134 titles.

5. Sheldon Williams, Inglis Patrick. 1959. "A Bibliography of the Works of Johannes Scottus Eriugena." *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* no. 10:198-224.  
"This bibliography is part of the preparation of an edition of Eriugena's *Periphyseon (De diuisione naturae)* for the series, *Scriptores latini Hiberniae*, published by the Dublin Institute of Advanced Studies.

It supplements the shorter one contained in J. F. Kenney's *Sources for the Early History of Ireland, I: Ecclesiastical* (New York 1929), and, except in the lists of MSS., does not repeat what is contained there. The letter K against a MS. indicates that it is mentioned by Kenney. Dom Maieul Cappuyns's study, [*Jean Scot Erigène: sa vie, son oeuvre, sa pensée*] published in 1933, would have afforded a broader and sounder foundation to build upon, but its bibliographical material, though ample, is not systematically arranged. Kenney supplies the form, Cappuyns the greater part of the matter, the rest of which derives from researches carried out since he wrote.

In the light of these researches Eriugena is shown to be the author of the following:

1. *De Praedestinatione* (851) .
2. A commentary on the *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* of Martianus Capella (859/860).

3. A commentary on Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy* III, met. 9 (between 859 and 862).
4. A translation of the works of Dionysius the Areopagite (between 860 and 862).
5. A translation of the *Ambigua* of Maximus the Confessor (between 862 and 864).
6. A translation of the *De hominis opificio* of Gregory of Nyssa (*De Imagine*) (between 862 and 864).
7. A translation of the *De fide* of Epiphanius.
8. *Periphyseon (De diuisione naturae)* (between 864 and 866).
9. *Expositiones super Ierarchiam caelestem* (between 865 and 870).
10. A revised version of the translation of Dionysius (between 865 and 875).
11. A homily on the Prologue to St. John's Gospel.
12. A commentary on St. John's Gospel.
13. *Tractatus de uisione Dei*.
14. Poems.

Of these fourteen works eight are included in Floss's edition in P.L., CXXII: *De Praedestinatione*, the translation of Dionysius (the earlier version, emended to some extent from the later), the translation of Maximus (incomplete), *Periphyseon*, *Expositiones* (incomplete), the homily and three of the four extant fragments of the commentary on the Fourth Gospel, and the poems (incomplete). A new and complete edition of the poems was published by Traube in 1896, and in recent years editions have appeared of the Boethius commentary, the missing portion of the *Expositiones*, and a commentary on Martianus Capella in which parts, at least, of Eriugena's work are included. The MSS. of the *De Imagine* and the rest of the translation of the *Ambigua* have been identified by Cappuyns (as, with less certainty, a fourth fragment of the commentary on St. John) but have not been published. The translation of Epiphanius and the *Tractatus* have not been discovered." (pp. 198-199).

6. ———. 1965. "A List of the Works Doubtfully or Wrongly Attributed to Johannes Scottus Eriugena." *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* no. 15:76-98.  
 "Eriugena made a name for himself both by his outstanding scholarship and by the boldness, not to say the heterodoxy, of his opinions. As a natural consequence of this, there has been since the Middle Ages a tendency to attribute to him works displaying these characteristics for which no more likely author could be found. My 'Bibliography' of Eriugena (\*) was an attempt to give an account of his genuine writings purged of these accretions, and I made no reference to them in it. As, however, many of them have been published under his name in Migne's *Patrologia* and elsewhere, and as the literature in which their genuineness is questioned or refuted is not always easily accessible, it seemed that a supplement to the 'Bibliography' containing a list of the works that were excluded from it with, where possible, the reasons for their exclusion might be useful. This supplement breaks no new ground: particularly, my debt to Dom Mañeul Cappuyns is greater than in the 'Bibliography' for, whereas more Eriugena material has come to light since he wrote, I know of no work excluded by him from the Eriugena *corpus* which has since been proved to be genuine. Such value as this note has is that of convenience. It cannot in all respects follow the shape of the 'Bibliography', in which I gave a catalogue of Eriugena's writings, as fully documented as possible and (except for the Poems) in chronological order. Pseudepigrapha do not require such documentation and do not lend themselves to chronological arrangement. But, since some sort of order must be adopted, I have tried to align them as far as possible with the stages of Eriugena's development as revealed in his genuine extant works, in which he shows himself first (in the *De praedestinatione*) as a controversialist, then (in the commentaries on Martianus Capella and Boethius) as a grammarian and logician, and finally, after reading the Greek Fathers, as a Christian Platonist philosopher. Among the works doubtfully or falsely attributed to him, apologetics are represented by a treatise on the eucharist, grammar and logic by works on Aristotle, Porphyry, the two Priscians, Macrobius, which, if they ever existed, would probably belong to this group; and philosophy by works related to, or influenced by, the



translations of the ps.-Dionysius. As in the 'Bibliography' I have left poetical works to the end." (pp. 76-77)

(\*) *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, X (1959), 198-224.

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6. René Roques: Traduction ou interpretation? Brèves remarques sur Jean Scot traducteur de Denys 59; 7. Paul Meyvaert: Eriugena's Translation of the *Ad Thalassium* of Maximus: Preliminaries to an Edition of this Work 78; 8. Jeanne Barbet: La tradition du texte latin de la Hiérarchie céleste dans les manuscrits des *Expositiones in Hierarchiam caelestem* 89; 9. Jean Trouillard: Erigène et la théophanie créatrice 98; 10. Edouard Jeuneau: Influences érigénionnes dans une homélie d'Héric d'Auxerre 114; 11. Gangolf Schrimpf: Zur Frage der Authentizität unserer Texte von Johannes Scottus' 'Annotationes in Martianum' 125; 12. Ludwig Bieler: Remarks on Eriugena's Original Latin Prose 140; 13. Guy-H. Allard: La structure littéraire de la composition du *De diuisione naturae* 147; 14. Nikolaus M. Haring: John Scottus in Twelfth Century Angelology 158; 15. Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny: Une rencontre symbolique de Jean Scot Erigène et d'Avicenne. Notes sur le *De causis primis et secundis et fluxu qui consequitur eas* 170; 16. Yves Christe: Quelques portails romans et l'idée de théophanie selon Jean Scot Erigène 182; 17. Werner Beierwaltes: The Revaluation of John Scottus Eriugena in German Idealism 190-199.
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L'augustinisme de Jean Scot dans le « De praedestinatione » 183; John J. O'Meara: Eriugena's Use of Augustine in his Teaching of the return of the Soul and the Vision of God 191; Joseph Moreau: Le Verbe et la création selon S. Augustin et J. Scot Érigène 201; Guy-H. Allard: Quelques remarques sur la « disputationis series » du « De divisione naturae » 211; Dominique O'Meara: L'investigation et les investigateurs dans le « De divisione naturae » de Jean Scot Érigène 225; Ludwig Bieler: Observations on Eriugena's « Commentary on the Gospel of John »: a second Harvest 235; Peter Dronke, « Theologia veluti quaedam poetria » : quelques observations sur la fonction des images poétiques chez Jean Scot 243; Barbara Münxelhaus, Aspekte der musica disciplina bei Eriugena 253; Werner Beierwaltes: « Negati affirmatio »: Welt als Metapher. Zur Grundlegung einer mittelalterlichen Aesthetik 263; Marta Cristiani: La notion de loi dans le « De Praedestinatione » de Jean Scot 277; Gangolf Schrimpf: Die Sinnmitte von « Periphyseon » 289; Francis Bertin: Les origines de l'homme chez Jean Scot 307; Bernard Mc Ginn: The Negative Element in the Anthropology of John the Scot 315; Brian Stock: « Intelligo me esse »: Eriugena's « Gogito » 327; Jean-Claude Foussard: Apparence et apparition : la notion de « phantasia » chez Jean Scot 337; Jean Trouillard: La notion d'« analyse » chez Érigène 349; Stanislas Breton: Langage spatial, langage métaphysique dans le néo-platonisme érigénien 357; Stephen Gersh: « Per se ipsum »: The Problem of Immediate and Mediate Causation in Eriugena and his Neoplatonic Predecessors 367; Tullio Gregory: L'eschatologie de Jean Scot 377; Maurice de Gandillac: Anges et hommes dans le Commentaire de Jean Scot sur la « Hiérarchie céleste » 393; Paolo Lucentini: La « Clavis physicae » di Honorius Augustodunensis e la tradizione eriugeniana nel secolo XII 405; Jean Châtillon: Hugues de Saint-Victor critique de Jean Scot 415; Paul Vignaux: Jean de Ripa, Hugues de Saint-Victor et Jean Scot sur les théophanies 433; Michael Lapidge: L'influence stylistique de la poésie de Jean Scot 441; Gabrielle Sed-Rajna: L'influence de Jean Scot sur la doctrine du kabbaliste Azriel de Gérone 453; Elena Ofélia Bellinotto: Las cuatro naturalezas en Juan Escoto Eriùgena y Leon Hebreo 465; René Martin: À propos d'une remarque de Schopenhauer sur Jean Scot Érigène et la philosophie indienne 469; Yves Christe: Sainte-Marie de Compiègne et le temple d'Hézechiel 477-481.

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Édouard Jeuneau: La division des sexes chez Grégoire de Nysse et chez Jean Scot Érigène 33; Stephen Gersh: Omnipresence in Eriugena. Some Reflections on Augustino-Maximian Elements in *Periphyseon* 55; Goulven Madec: Observations sur le dossier augustinien du „Periphyseon“ 75; Brian Stock: In Search of Eriugena's Augustine 85; John J. O'Meara: „Magnorum Virorum Quendam Consensum Velimus Machinari“ (804 B). Eriugena's Use of Augustine's *De Genesi ad litteram* in the *Periphyseon* 105; John Marenbon: John Scottus and the 'Categoriae Decem' 117; Gangolf Schrimpf: Johannes Scottus Eriugena und die Rezeption des Martianus Capella im karolingischen Bikiungswesen 135; Marta Cristiani: L'espace de l'âme. La controverse sur la corporéité des esprits, le „De statu animae“ de Claudien Mamert et le „Periphyseon“ 149; Marie-Elisabeth Duchez: Jean Scot Érigène premier lecteur du „De institutione musica“ de Boèce? 165; Giulio d'Onofrio: A proposito del „magnificus Boetius“: un'indagine sulla presenza degli „Opuscula sacra“ e della „Consolatio“ nell' opera eriugeniana 159; Indices 201-206.
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 Diane Desroisiers-Bonin : Etude des radicaux et de leur répartition dans le dialogue du « Periphyseon » 311; Gilles Touchette : L'affixation dans le « Periphyseon » : analyse générale et étude d'un cas-type 327; Christine Coallier : Le vocabulaire des arts libéraux dans le « Periphyseon » 343-360.
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 Inhalt: Vorbemerkung 9; John J. O'Meara: Eriugena's Immediate Influence 13; Édouard Jeuneau: Le renouveau érigénien du XIIe siècle 26; Giulio d'Onofrio: Die Überlieferung der dialektischen Lehre Eriugenas in den hochmittelalterlichen Schulen 47; Claudio Leonardi: Der Kommentar von Johannes Scotus zu Martianus Capella im 12. Jahrhundert 77; Christel Meier: Über die Eriugena-Rezeption bei Hildegard von Bingen 89; Yves Christe: Influences et Retentissement de l'Oeuvre de Jean Scot sur l'Art Médiéval: Bilan et Perspectives 142; Stephen Gersh: Honorius Augustodunensis and Eriugena. Remarks on the Method and Content of the *Clavis Physicae* 162; Paolo Lucentini: L'eresia di Amalrico 174; James McEvoy: John Scottus Eriugena and Robert Grosseteste: An ambiguous Influence 192; Dominic J. O'Meara: Eriugena and Aquinas on the Beatific Vision 214; Guy-H. Allard: L'Attitude de Jean Scot et de Dante à l'Égard du Thème des Deux Infinis: Dieu et la Matière Première 237; Alois M. Haas: Eriugena und die Mystik 254; Gustavo A. Piemonte: Les *Expositiones in Hierarchiam coelestem* de Jean Scot et un opuscule hébreu pseudépigraphique du XIIIe siècle 279; Werner Beierwaltes: Eriugena und Cusanus 311; Indice 344-356.
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 Indice: Premessa di Claudio Leonardi ed Enrico Menestò VII; Discorso inaugurale: Rudolf Schieffer: Regno e Chiesa sotto Carlo il Calvo 1;  
 Relazioni:  
 I Deug-Su, Agiografia e potere in età carolingia 27; John J. Contreni: The Carolingian School: Letters from the Classroom 81; Gangolf Schrimpf: Die systematische Bedeutung der beiden logischen Einteilungen (*divisiones*) zu Beginn von *Periphyseon* 113; Louis Holtz: L'enseignement de la grammaire au temps de Charles le Chauve 153; Paolo Chiesa: Traduzioni e traduttori dal greco nel IX secolo: sviluppi di una tecnica 171; Rosamond McKitterick: Manuscripts and scriptoria in the reign of Charles the Bald, 840-877 201; Bernard McGinn: Eriugena Mysticus 235; Silvia Cantelli, L'esegesi al tempo di Ludovico il Pio e Carlo il Calvo 261; Marta Cristiani: Itinerari e potenzialità del pensiero cristiano in età carolingia:

la teologia trinitaria di Giovanni Scoto 337; James McEvoy: 'Reditus omnium in superessentialem unitatem': Christ as universal Saviour in *Periphyseon* V 365; Gian Luca Potestà: Ordine ed eresia nella controversia sulla predestinazione 383; Giulio d'Onofrio: I fondatori di Parigi. Giovanni Scoto e la teologia del suo tempo 413; Guy H. Allard: Un analyseur syntaxique du *Periphyseon* 457; Édouard Jeuneau: L'edition du livre IV du *Periphyseon* 469; Mark A. Zier: The Shape of the Critical Edition of *Periphyseon* IV 487; Lesley Smith: The Manuscript Tradition of *Periphyseon* Book 4 499; Girolamo Arnaldi: Anastasio Bibliotecario, Carlo il Calvo e la fortuna di Dionigi l'Areopagita nel secolo IX 513; Michael W. Herren: Gli ebrei nella cultura letteraria al tempo di Carlo il Calvo 537; M. Elisabeth Duchez: Le savoir theorico-musical carolingien dans les commentaires de Martianus Capella. La tradition erigenienne 553;

Comunicazioni:

Willemien Otten, The Role of Man in the Eriugenian Universe: Dependence or Autonomy 595-609.

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Inhalt: Vorwort 11; Giulio d'Onofrio: Über die Natur der Einteilung. Die dialektische Entfaltung von Eriugenas Denken 17; Werner Beierwaltes: Duplex Theoria. Zu einer Denkform Eriugenas 39; Gangolf Schrimpf: Der Begriff des Elements in *Periphyseon* III 65; Gustavo Piemonte: Image et contenu intelligible dans la conception érigénienne de la 'diffusio dei' 80; Guy-H. Allard: "Medietas" chez Jean Scot 95; Stephen Gersh: The Structure of the Return in Eriugena's *Periphyseon* 108; Édouard Jeuneau: Jean-Scot et la Métaphysique des Nombres 126; Dominic O'Meara: The metaphysical Use of mathematical Concepts in Eriugena 142; James McEvoy: Metaphors of Light and Metaphysics of Light in Eriugena 149; Alois M. Haas: Homo-medietas. Sinn und Tragweite von Eriugenas Metapher vom Menschen als einer 'dritten Welt' 168; Rainier Brueren: Die Schrift als Paradigma der Wahrheit. Gedanken zum Vorbegriff der Metaphysik bei Johannes Scotus Eriugena 187; Willemien Otten: The Universe of Nature and the Universe of Man: Difference and Identity 202; Peter Dronke: Eriugena's Earthly Paradise 213; Indices 230-231.
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Contents: Contributors IX; Abbreviations XI; Introduction: Bernard McGinn: Eriugena: East and West ;  
Part 1  
Historical Background  
Michael McCormick: Diplomacy and the Carolingian Encounter with Byzantium down to the Accession of Charles the Bald 15;  
Part 2  
Themes of the East-West Encounter  
John Meyendorff: Remarks on Eastern Patristic Thought in John Scottus Eriugena 51; Willemien Otten: Eriugena's *Periphyseon*: A Carolingian Contribution to the Theological Tradition 69; J. C. Marler: Dialectical Use of Authority in the *Periphyseon* 95; Giulio d'Onofrio: The Concordia of Augustine and Dionysius: Toward a Hermeneutic of the Disagreement of Patristic Sources in John the Scot's *Periphyseon* 115; Deirdre Carabine: Eriugena's Use of the Symbolism of Light, Cloud, and Darkness in the *Periphyseon* 141; James McEvoy: Biblical and Platonic



Measure in John Scottus Eriugena 153; Jean Pépin: Humans and Animals: Aspects of Scriptural Reference in Eriugena's Anthropology 179;

Part 3

Eastern Sources and Influences

Werner Beierwaltes: Unity and Trinity in East and West 209; Donald F. Duclow: Isaiah Meets the Seraph: Breaking Ranks in Dionysius and Eriugena? 233; Eric D. Perl: Metaphysics and Christology in Maximus Confessor and Eriugena 253; Oleg Bychkov: Russian Scholarship on the Interrelation of Eastern and Western Thought in John Scottus Eriugena 271

Index of Names 281; Index of Subjects 285-290.

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  1. Bernard McGinn: Eriugena Confronts the End. Reflections on Johannes Scottus's Place in Carolingian Eschatology 3;
  - I. History and the Beyond
    2. J.C. Marler: The Eriugenan Tension between History and Eschatology 33; 3. Francesco Paparella: La storia in Eriugena come autocoscienza divina 39;
  - II. Grammar
    4. Catherine Kavanagh: "The Philosophical Importance of Grammar for Eriugena 61; 5. Anneli Luhtala: Time and the Substantial Verb in Eriugena 77;
  - III. Discoveries and Identifications
    6. John Contreni: John Scottus and Bede 91; 7. Paul Dutton: Eriugena's Workshop: the Making of the *Periphyseon* in Rheims 875 141; 8. Carl Laga: A Complete Graeco-Latin Index of Maximus Confessor's *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* 169; 9. James McEvoy: John Scottus Eriugena and Thomas Gallus, Commentators on the Mystical Theology 183; 10. Francesco Masetti Casaretto: 'Intuere coelum apertum':

l'esordio dell' 'epistola ad Grimaldum abbatem' di Ermenrico di Ellwangen fra Ilduino di Saint-Denis e Giovanni Scoto 203;

11. Gustavo A. Piemonte: Some Distinctive Theses of Eriugena's Eschatology in his Exegesis of the Gospel according to St. Matthew 227;

IV. The Irish Background

12. Thomas O' Loughlin: Imagery of the New Jerusalem in the *Periphyseon* and Eriugena's Irish Background 245; 13. Hilary Richardson: Themes in Eriugena's Writings and Early Irish Art 261;

V. Eschatology of the *De Praedestinatione*

14. Armando Bisogno: "Essentia, voluntas et scientia": esiti escatologici della gnoseologia del *De Praedestinatione Liber* 283; 15. Robert Crouse: Predestination, Human Freedom and the Augustinian Theology of History in Eriugena's *De Divina Praedestinatione* 303;

16. Ernesto Sergio N. Mainoldi: Su alcune fonti ispiratrici della teologia e dell'escatologia del *De Divina Praedestinatione Liber* di Giovanni Scoto Eriugena 313;

VI. Return and Last Things

17. José Luis Cantón Alonso: *Deus omnia in omnibus: les exempla naturalia* dans le discours eschatologique de Jean Scot Érigène 333; 18. Paul A. Dietrich and Donald F. Duclow: Hell and Damnation in Eriugena 347; 19. Giulio d'Onofrio: 'Cuius esse est non posse esse': la *quarta species* della natura eriugeniana tra logica, metafisica e gnoseologia 367; 20. Douglas Hadely: A twofold Problem in the twofold Eschatology of John Scottus Eriugena 413; 21. Alois M. Haas: *Mystische Züge* in Eriugenas Eschatologie 429; 22. Michael Harrington: Eastern and Western Psychological Triads in Eriugena's Realized Eschatology 447; 23. Hilary Mooney: 'Infinitus enim infinite, etiam in purgatissimis mentibus fonnatur': Die Struktur der Begegnung mit dem unendlichen Gott nach Johannes Scottus Eriugena 463; 24. Dermot Moran: Time and Eternity in the *Periphyseon* 487; 25. Willemien Otten: The Pedagogical Aspect of Eriugena's Eschatology: Paradise between the Letter and the Spirit 509; 26. Valery V. Petroff: Theoriae of the Return in John Scottus' Eschatology 527; 27. Carlos Steel: The Return of the Body into Soul: Philosophical Musings on the Resurrection 581;

Bibliography: Gerd Van Riel: Eriugenian Studies 1995-2000 611; Index 637-646.

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 Table of Contents: Willemien Otten and Michael I. Allen, Introduction to the Volume IX; Abbreviations and List of Eriugena's Works XVII; Paul Edward Dutton: Publications by Édouard Jeuneau 1991-2014 XIX-XXIX;  
 Section 1: Creation and Creativity: Eriugena and the Dynamics of Carolingian Culture  
 Paul Edward Dutton: Eriugena and Virgil 30; John J. Contreni: Women in the Age of Eriugena 31; Michael W. Herren: Cultures of Grace: Eriugena and Celtic Christianity 51; Jeremy C. Thompson: God's Own Dwelling-Place: Oppositions in the Ninth-Century Predestination Debate 85; Michael I. Allen: Poems by Lupus, written by Heiric: An Endpaper for Édouard Jeuneau (Paris, BnF, lat. 7496, fol. 249v) 105;  
 Section 2: Cosmos and Physis: Eriugena's *Periphyseon* in the Context of East and West  
 Édouard Jeuneau: From Origen's *Periarchon* to Eriugena's *Periphyseon* 139; Ernesto Sergio Mainoldi: Creation in Wisdom: Eriugena's Sophiology beyond Ontology and Meontology 183; Vincent Giraud: Being as Sign: Note on the Eriugenian Ontology 223; Donald F. Duclow: The Sleep of Adam, the Making of Eve: Sin and Creation in Eriugena 235; Adrian Guiu: "Reading the Two Books": Exegesis and Natural Contemplation in the *Periphyseon* 263; Carlos Steel: Maximus Confessor and John Scottus Eriugena on Place and Time 291;

Section 3: Eriugena's *Periphyseon* and Medieval Concepts of Creation

Alfred K. Siewers: The *Periphyseon*, the Irish "Otherworld", and Early Medieval Nature 321; John Marenbon, Eriugena, Aristotelian Logic and the Creation 349; Qaiser Shahzad: Being, God, and Creation in Eriugena and Ibn 'Arabi: An Akbarian Reading of the *Periphyseon* 369; Agnieszka Kijewska: Eriugena and the Twelfth Century: The Concept of Ratio 393; Daniel Yingst: *Quae Omnia Concorditer Consonant*: Eriugena's Universe in the Thought of Honorius Augustodunensis 427; Bernard McGinn: Exegesis as Metaphysics: Eriugena and Eckhart on Reading Genesis 1-3 463;

Section 4 : Eriugena's *Periphyseon* and Modern Reception

Willemien Otten: Eriugena and Emerson on Nature and the Self 503; Adriaan T. Peperzak: Between John from Ireland and Hegel from Berlin 539; Stephen Gersh: En-Countering *Periphyseon*: An Essay in Reading Heidegger and Eriugena 559; Dermot Moran: Christian Neoplatonism and the Phenomenological Tradition: The Hidden Influence of John Scottus Eriugena 601; Joke Schakenraad: The Rational Mysticism of John Scottus Eriugena and Ludwig Wittgenstein 637; Jean-Luc Marion: *Veluti ex nihilo in aliquid*. Remarks on Eriugena's path from apophysis to *diuina philosophia* 657; Thomas Carlson: Theophany and the Chiaroscuro of Nature: Eriugena and the Question of Technology 681; Bibliography of Eriugenan Studies, 2000-2014 709; Notes on Contributors 735; Index 743-759.