



# Letters as a School of the Christian Exegesis. A Study of the Selected Early Christian Latin Letters of the 4th and 5th Century (Augustine, Jerome, and Paulinus of Nola)

MARCIN WYSOCKI 

The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, marcin.wysocki@kul.pl

**Abstract:** Letters are often treated as a secondary literary genre, serving only to convey information and maintain relationships between people. But Christianity, which has been called the religion of the book, can also be described as the religion of the letter. In fact, from the very beginning, it was mainly through the letters (e.g., of Paul the Apostle) that the faith and the doctrinal, moral, and disciplinary instructions were transmitted. Of course, the authors of the early Christian letters also referenced biblical themes and the Bible itself. Following the ancient rules of rhetoric, they also implemented the postulate of didacticism (*docere*) by making the Scriptures and their exegesis more widely known. This article aims to show how this postulate is put into practice in Latin letters written by three great patristic figures: Saint Augustine, Saint Jerome, and Saint Paulinus of Nola, the most important representatives of the golden patristic age. These outstanding early Christian pastors and writers are considered to have created a kind of “virtual school” of biblical exegesis in their letters. This article presents how this “school” functioned, from the invitation to participate, through the methods and the study program, to the praise that good students earned. It can be an excellent model for our current age, marked by online education. This can also be applied to biblical studies and the study of biblical and patristic exegesis.

**Keywords:** letters, exegesis, Bible, Jerome of Stridon, Paulinus of Nola, Augustine

Most often, when discussing patristic exegesis, its development, and studies on it, one thinks chiefly about exegetical treatises, commentaries, and homilies or special exegesis handbooks created in the patristic period.<sup>1</sup> Rarely, however, in scientific considerations do we turn to highly abundant sources, i.e., collections of letters. Perhaps this is because letters are treated more as a private means of communication, underdeveloped and difficult to specify as a literary form. In contrast, it is one of the most interesting forms in the patristic period and conveys much knowledge, including that concerning patristic exegesis. In addition to the regular interpretation of

---

This article is part of the project funded by the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Poland, “Regional Initiative of Excellence” in 2019–2022, project number: 028/RID/2018/19, the amount of funding: PLN 11,742,500.

<sup>1</sup> E.g., Augustinus, *De doctrina Christiana*.

the Scriptures, which appears in almost every patristic letter, by quoting passages of the Bible or using them as arguments, they form a fascinating approach to exegesis, or rather to learning it, namely, letters as a peculiarly understood school of exegesis. The collections of letters by Augustine, Jerome, and Paulinus of Nola – three remarkable disciples and masters of Bible interpretation during the patristic period in the West – will be used as sources to consider this phenomenon. Such a selection of sources and topics is all the more justified by the fact that, generally, the exegesis issues in the letters of the Church Fathers were not the subject of the separate studies. In works on patristic exegesis<sup>2</sup> or the exegesis of individual authors, the letters are treated only as an addition to commentaries and homilies. Therefore, it is worth looking at the letters as independent works, including theological ideas, and reading in this context what the Church Fathers tell us about learning and teaching biblical exegesis through their correspondence. Since a letter, as Rafał Pawłowski notes in his study,<sup>3</sup> is an extension of the art of eloquence – rhetoric should also meet the requirements of a good speech, including the *docere*<sup>4</sup> postulate, to which St. Augustine paid special attention when discussing the rhetorical rules applicable to Christian authors.<sup>5</sup> Since one of the basic requirements of a good speech is teaching and educating, it seems that for the early Christian writers and theologians, also in their numerous letters, education in the proper biblical exegesis should occupy a unique and important place.

Of course, each of our three authors devoted a great deal of space in his letters to the interpretation of the Scriptures and, most often, practically interpreting different passages according to the subject of interest. They were aware, however, that this skill of interpretation and studying the Scriptures is an extraordinary one and requires, on the one hand, divine inspiration and, on the other, human knowledge

---

2 For example, in a basic study of patristic exegesis, its author, Manlio Simonetti, in the chapters devoted to Augustine and Jerome, makes only three references to the letters (only in Jerome) and only on matters of minor importance. See Simonetti, *Lettera e/o allegoria*, 321–354. The same is true of the latest study on the patristic exegesis by Charles Kannengiesser (*Handbook of Patristic Exegesis*). It invokes Jerome's letters to show his biography and briefly mentions that "The Bible is also present in the whole course of his correspondence [...] we can point to more than twenty letters referring to points of exegesis, some of which having directly as their object the explication of a biblical text" (*ibidem*, 1098) and takes a longer discussion of letter 120 and presents a theory of the three senses of Scripture (*ibidem*, 1104). Unfortunately, in the chapter devoted to Augustine, there was no important reference to his correspondence, and in the short paragraph about Paulinus, the information about his letters is actually limited to the statement that "the whole collection of Paulinus's letters would demonstrate their deliberate and constant recourse to scripture" (*ibidem*, 1241). For more about patristic exegesis and current studies on it, see Marin, "Orientamenti di esegesi," 273–317; Kannengiesser, "État des travaux," 71–82; Maraval, "La Bible," 445–466; Simonetti – Vian, "L'esegesi patristica," 241–267.

3 See Pawłowski, "Teoria i praktyka," 27.

4 See Wysocki – Pyzik-Turska, "O listach," 87–112.

5 See Skwara, "O teorii retorycznej," 99–118.

and competence.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, their letters establish a kind of school and a relationship between student and teacher. Of course, it is impossible to speak of a school in the strict sense of the word. However, from the practical point of view and extant letters, it is not without reason that it is St. Jerome,<sup>7</sup> the oldest of them and the one best known for his biblical interests, who appears most often in the role of a teacher in the surviving letters and treated by the others as such,<sup>8</sup> with the letters considered as schooling of sorts.

## 1. Invitation to Become a Student of Exegesis

The first question is how to become a student of such a school. In their letters, the Church Fathers repeatedly encouraged people to get involved in studying the Bible. For example, St. Augustine, in his letter to the faithful of Hippo in the year 404, urges them, “I could wish that you might ponder over the Scripture of God with earnest attention.”<sup>9</sup> In his letter to Maximus, who was just entering the path of the Christian life, Augustine pointed out that “with a mild and gentle piety you should refrain from objecting to passages of the holy Scriptures which you do not yet understand and which seem to the uninstructed devoid of sense and self-contradictory.”<sup>10</sup> The need to study the Scriptures was known to the converts to Christianity and all the believers in general. This was the case with Paulinus of Nola, who was searching for a teacher to introduce him to the world of the Scriptures. To this effect, he wrote in his first letter to Augustine, “So teach me as one still a child in the word of God and a suckling in spiritual life and still needs the breasts of faith, wisdom and love. [...] So cherish and strengthen me, for I am a novice in the sacred writings

<sup>6</sup> It should be remembered that, almost from the beginning of Christianity, more or less official schools were set up whose adepts acquired knowledge in the interpretation of the Scriptures, such as the Alexandrian or the Caesarean school of Origen, see Crouzel, *Origen*, 25–28; Young, “Interpretation of Scripture,” 850–851.

<sup>7</sup> Certainly, it is Jerome who can be regarded as the father and the protector of this particular epistolary school of the Bible, for, as Pierre Jay (“Jerome [ca. 347–419/420]”, 1098) has pointed out, “The Bible is also present in the whole course of his correspondence. Without speaking of the abundant quotations and reminiscences, we can point to more than twenty letters referring to points of exegesis, some of which having directly as their object the explication of a biblical text: parable (Epist. 21) or psalm (Epist. 65 and 140).” Cf. Degórski, “Esegesi,” 89–123; Wysocki, “Hope Found,” 727–742. St. Jerome also strongly recommended biblical education; see Martino Piccolino, “La regola,” 465–475; Grilli, “Alla scuola,” 385–394.

<sup>8</sup> On Jerome as a scholar and exegete of the Bible see Meershoek, *Le latin biblique*; Cummings, “St. Jerome,” 279–282; Köpf, “Hieronymus,” 71–89; Eckmann, “Hieronim ze Strydonu,” 422–429; Gilbert, “Saint Jérôme,” 9–28; Gamberale, “Problemi di Gerolamo,” 311–345; Kelly, *Jerome*, 141–167; Meiser, “Hieronymus,” 256–271; Gamberale, *San Gerolamo*; Wysocki, “Jerome,” 657–658; Brown, *Vir Trilinguis*; Jay, “Jérôme,” 523–541; Józwiak, “Hieronim ze Strydonu,” 49–66.

<sup>9</sup> Augustinus, *Ep.* 78, 1 (FC 12, 375).

<sup>10</sup> Augustinus, *Ep.* 171A, 1 (FC 30, 69).

and in spiritual studies.”<sup>11</sup> As we can see, sometimes, a student asks a famous, older theologian to become his teacher. Sometimes, however, the teacher suggests that the mysteries of exegesis should be explored by a younger and less experienced adept of Christianity. In Letter 53 of AD 394,<sup>12</sup> Jerome proposed Paulinus study the Scriptures under his guidance.<sup>13</sup> However, he did not see himself as a teacher in this arrangement but rather as a companion in the meditation of the Word of God and a coinhabitant of the Kingdom of Heaven here on earth.<sup>14</sup> He wrote, “I am not so dull or so forward as to profess that I myself know it, or that I can pluck upon the earth the fruit which has its root in heaven, but I confess that I should like to do so. I put myself before the man who sits idle and, while I lay no claim to be a master, I readily pledge myself to be a fellow-student. [...] Let us learn upon earth that knowledge which will continue with us in heaven”<sup>15</sup> and assured him, “I will receive you with open hands and [...] I will strive to learn with you whatever you desire to study.”<sup>16</sup> Augustine addressed Volusianus similarly:

I urge you not to shrink from applying yourself to the study of the truly and surely Sacred Letters. This is a sound and substantial study; it does not allure the mind with fanciful language, nor strike a flat or wavering note by means of any deceit of the tongue. It appeals strongly to him who is more desirous of reality than of words, but it strikes fear into him who puts his trust in created things. [...] And if, in your reading or meditation, some difficulty arises, and it seems that I could be useful in solving it, write to me and I will answer. It may even be, with the help of the Lord, that I shall do more that way than I should by speaking to you in person, partly because of your and my varied duties since it might happen that you and I should not be free at the same time and partly because of the importunate presence of other persons, who are usually not disposed to this pursuit, and who take more pleasure in the sword-play of words than in the enlightenment of knowledge. But, what is set down in writing is always ready to be read when the reader is ready, and its presence never becomes burdensome because it is taken up and laid aside at your pleasure.<sup>17</sup>

Thus Augustine, but also Jerome, who was not expecting Paulinus in person, were the founders of this school of exegesis through the letters, not only for Paulinus but

---

11 Paulinus, *Ep.* 4, 3 (ACW 35, 50).

12 It was about the time of Paulinus’ ordination and his decision to move to Nola; see Santaniello, *Vita di Paolino*, 141–245.

13 For more about the correspondence between Jerome and Paulinus, see Canellis, “Les Rapports,” 311–335; Courcelle, “Paulin de Nole,” 250–280; Duval, “Les premiers rapports,” 177–216; Guttilla, “Paolino di Nola,” 278–294.

14 See Hieronymus, *Ep.* 53, 10.

15 Hieronymus, *Ep.* 53, 10 (NPNF<sup>2</sup> 6, 269).

16 Hieronymus, *Ep.* 53, 11 (NPNF<sup>2</sup> 6, 269).

17 Augustinus, *Ep.* 132 (FC 20, 5).

also for many other recipients of their letters. So this school had no geographical limits, and anyone who claimed to be a Christian could and should be part of it.

## 2. Magistri et Discipuli

This school also had peculiar lectures and disputes among the “professors.” This transpires from the exchange of correspondence between Jerome and Augustine<sup>18</sup> and the aforementioned statements of the former. However, they became both professors and students in this school. Indeed, Augustine wrote to Jerome, “Perhaps I ought to end my letter here, and so I should if I were satisfied with the conventional type of formal letter. But my mind bubbles over with thoughts which I want to share with you about the studies which we pursue in Christ Jesus our Lord, who deigns to bestow on me, through your Charity, a great abundance of useful ideas and provision for the road mapped out by Him.”<sup>19</sup> Subsequently, he proceeded to ask questions about the meaning of certain passages of the Scriptures, concluding with a significant statement, “There are many other points of Christian learning which I should like to mention and to discuss with you in your straightforward way, but no letter can satisfy this desire of mine.”<sup>20</sup> In the face of various disagreements between them, including on issues related to the studies of the Holy Scriptures,<sup>21</sup> Jerome ends up proposing to Augustine, “Let us, if you please, exercise ourselves in the field of Scripture without wounding each other”<sup>22</sup> to which the Bishop of Hippo replied:

You ask, or, rather, with the boldness of charity you command, that we play together in the field of the Scriptures without hurting one another. Indeed, as far as I am concerned, I would rather deal with those matters seriously than in sport. [...] I confess that I ask something greater of your kindly ability, of your learned, exact, experienced, expert and gifted prudence and care, that, in these great and involved questions, by the gift, or rather

<sup>18</sup> For more about the correspondence between Augustine and Jerome, see Torscher, “The Correspondence,” 476–492; Haitjema, “De briefwisseling,” 159–198; De Bruyne, “La correspondance,” 233–248; Fürst, *Augustinus Briefwechsel*; Hennings, *Der Briefwechsel*; White, *The Correspondence*.

<sup>19</sup> Augustinus, *Ep.* 28, 1 (56, 1 apud Hieronymum) (FC 12, 94).

<sup>20</sup> Augustinus, *Ep.* 28, 5 (56, 5 apud Hieronymum) (FC 12, 98).

<sup>21</sup> The dispute between Augustine and Jerome lasted many years. This was because Augustine could not agree with Jerome’s choice to make a new Latin translation of the Bible on the basis of the Hebrew Bible. In his letters, Augustine argued for the superiority of the Greek and Latin ecclesiastical authorities over the original text of the Bible, which was difficult to accept, not only for Jerome but also from today’s point of view. See Malfatti, *Una controversia*; Czuj, *Spór św. Augustyna*; Morta, “Bluszcz kontra dynia,” 91–120; Wysocki, “Biblia i nadzieja,” 721–733; Fürst, “*Veritas Latina*,” 105–126.

<sup>22</sup> Hieronymus, *Ep.* 115, 1 (my own translation).

under the guidance, of the Holy Spirit, you would help me not so much playing in the field as toiling up the mountain of the Scriptures.<sup>23</sup>

Ultimately, however, he admitted, “But what am I about? I am forgetting to whom I am speaking; I have been making myself out to be a teacher after proposing something which I wished to learn from you?”<sup>24</sup> For it was necessary, in this school, to have a teacher, someone to guide the disciples and show them the right ways to interpret the Scriptures. In his letter 53 to Paulinus,<sup>25</sup> Jerome addressed the issue, “These instances have been just touched upon by me (the limits of a letter forbid a more discursive treatment of them) to convince you that in the holy scriptures you can make no progress unless you have a guide to show you the way [...]”<sup>26</sup> Then he recalled the example of St. Paul and his followers, who had such teachers on their path toward knowledge of the Scriptures. Thus Jerome demonstrates the need for a master in the introduction to the world of the Bible and, at the same time, the qualities such a teacher should have.<sup>27</sup>

### 3. Learning and Teaching Methods

In this school, everyone asked each other questions about how to interpret the most complex pages of the Scripture. Questions were asked of Jerome by Pope Damasus, emphasizing that “there will be no more worthy conversation between us than that in which we will talk about the Scriptures, that is, I will ask and you will answer.”<sup>28</sup> Augustine<sup>29</sup> and Marcella<sup>30</sup> asked Jerome, and Paulinus asked Rufinus.<sup>31</sup> With an awareness of his ignorance, Paulinus appeared before Augustine when he wrote in his letter, “[...] I who am needy and poor, your foolish little pupil whom you are accustomed to tolerate as a truly wise man does, am asking you to tell me your own knowledge or theory of this matter, because I know that you are enlightened by the spirit of

<sup>23</sup> Augustinus, *Ep.* 82, 2 (116, 2 apud Hieronymum) (FC 12, 391).

<sup>24</sup> Augustinus, *Ep.* 167, 14 (132, 14 apud Hieronymum) (FC 30, 43).

<sup>25</sup> Certainly, Jerome’s advice and teachings bore fruit in the life and work of Paulinus of Nola. This can be seen in his works, in which he repeatedly exegetes biblical passages and quotes numerous scriptural passages; see Di Palma, “Paolino,” 151–166; Leanza, “Aspetti esegetici,” 67–91; Mülke, “Bibelstudium,” 54–70; Nazzaro, “L’esegesi patristica,” 257–268; Pałucki, “Pismo Święte,” 139–147; Piscitelli Carpino, “Il Cantico,” 387–400; Rallo Freni, “Il testo,” 231–252; Swoboda, “Egzegeza,” 261–268; Wysocki, “The Symbolism,” 165–173.

<sup>26</sup> Hieronymus, *Ep.* 53, 6 (NPNF<sup>2</sup> 6, 262).

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Maritano, “Il maestro,” 167–190.

<sup>28</sup> Hieronymus, *Ep.* 35, 1 (my own translation).

<sup>29</sup> See Hieronymus, *Ep.* 56; 67; 104; 116; 132.

<sup>30</sup> See Hieronymus, *Ep.* 25; 26; 27; 28; 29; 32; 34; 37.

<sup>31</sup> See Paulinus, *Ep.* 28, 5; 46; 47.

revelation from the very Leader and Fount of wise men.”<sup>32</sup> Paulinus knew his place and position and was aware of his lack of knowledge of the Bible. Augustine, on the other hand, wrote in a letter to Jerome:

I have spoken at length, and probably I have bored you by repeating arguments which you accept but which you do not expect to learn because you have been accustomed to teach them. If there is anything in them regarding their content [...] anything in them which offends your learning, I beg you in your answer to warn me of it, and to take the trouble to correct me. Unhappy is he who does not worthily honor such great and holy labors as are those of your studies, and give thanks for them to the Lord our God, by whose gift you are what you are! Therefore, since I ought to be more ready to learn from anyone at all what I am so useless as not to know rather than eager to teach anyone at all what I do know.<sup>33</sup>

And since, as Jerome states, “such is the important function of the priesthood to give answers to those who question them concerning the law,”<sup>34</sup> they answered questions and explained uncertainties and difficult passages in the Scripture. There is a lot in the letters of our Fathers about what such exegetical lectures, or rather letters, should look like. Jerome, in a letter to another of his disciples – Marcella – indicates that one should not so much be mindful of the words as of the content;<sup>35</sup> they should often be based on the writings of recognized authors<sup>36</sup> and on a profound knowledge of the ancient languages and of the various versions of Scripture.<sup>37</sup> Thus, asking questions and appealing to respected authorities was the primary learning method in this school of letters.

#### 4. Study Program

And the program of this school is clearly specified. It is presented by Jerome in his letter to Paulinus, “[...] give ear for a moment that I may tell you how you are to walk in the holy scriptures. All that we read in the divine books, while glistening and shining without, is yet far sweeter within. ‘He who desires to eat the kernel must first break the nut.’”<sup>38</sup> Therefore, studies on the allegorical interpretation of the Holy Scriptures are the base and the most important part of education. However, in the aforementioned

<sup>32</sup> Paulinus, *Ep.* 45, 7 (ACW 36, 250–251).

<sup>33</sup> Augustine, *Ep.* 167, 21 (132, 21 apud Hieronymum) (FC 30, 49).

<sup>34</sup> Hieronymus, *Ep.* 53, 3 (NPNF<sup>2</sup> 6, 259).

<sup>35</sup> See Hieronymus, *Ep.* 29, 1.

<sup>36</sup> See Hieronymus, *Ep.* 36, 1.

<sup>37</sup> See Augustine, *Ep.* 149, 3; Hieronymus, *Ep.* 29, 1.

<sup>38</sup> Hieronymus, *Ep.* 58, 9 (NPNF<sup>2</sup> 6, 311).

letter to Volusianus, Augustine detailed this program, detailing its various steps, “I urge you especially to read the language of the Apostles; by these you will be roused to make the acquaintance of the Prophets, to whose testimony the Apostles appeal.”<sup>39</sup> Jerome also pointed out the complex issues related to the particular books of the Scripture in the mentioned letter to Paulinus. The letters also inform about the method used in this school. In addition to this specific dialogue of question and answer, the manner of formulating an answer is important. In response to the priest Cyprian’s request for an explanation of one of the Psalms, Jerome stated, “I will explain it to you not in layabout and people-pleasing words, which usually seduce and caress the ear of the inexperienced, but in plain language and in words truly ecclesiastical, so that my interpretation does not require another interpreter, which happens very often to those who are too eloquent that it is more difficult to understand their explanations than what they are trying to explain.”<sup>40</sup> It is, therefore, important that the answer to the questioner should be complete and yet simple so that the person can obtain an understanding of the mysteries of the Scripture. It is also essential that the answer should be in compliance with the teaching of the Church. This fidelity to orthodoxy is one of the program’s features for interpreting the Sacred Scripture.

## 5. Recognition in the Eyes of a Master

As in any school, praise was due when a student was skillful and talented. And such we also find in the letters of our writers. Jerome particularly lauded Paulinus of Nola. In one of his letters, he praises Paulinus thus:

You have a great intellect and an inexhaustible store of language, your diction is fluent and pure, your fluency and purity are mingled with wisdom. Your head is clear and all your senses keen. Were you to add to this wisdom and eloquence a careful study and knowledge of scripture, I should soon see you holding our citadel against all comers; you would go up with Joab upon the roof of Zion, and sing upon the housetops what you had learned in the secret chambers. Gird up, I pray you, gird up your loins. As Horace says: ‘Life has no gifts for men except they toil’. Show yourself as much a man of note in the church, as you were before in the senate. [...] I am not content with mediocrity for you: I desire all that you do to be of the highest excellence.<sup>41</sup>

---

<sup>39</sup> Augustinus, *Ep.* 132, 1 (FC 20, 5).

<sup>40</sup> Hieronymus, *Ep.* 140, 1 (my own translation).

<sup>41</sup> Hieronymus, *Ep.* 58, 11 (NPNF<sup>2</sup> 6, 312).

Paulinus himself was aware of the need to acquire knowledge of biblical exegesis. As one scholar of his writings, Antoni Swoboda, notes, his letters “are evidence of a constant effort to deepen the study of the Word.”<sup>42</sup> St. Jerome, however, in praise of his studious and diligent pupil, shows the qualities of a genuine interpreter and student of the Bible. As we have seen, these requirements are not spiritual or religious but intellectual qualities. In this way, the Christian exegete, also in the context of epistolography, somehow fits in with the idea that Christians could use pagan literature for the process of education while using the skills acquired for the interpretation of Scripture.<sup>43</sup>

## Conclusions

The letters are one of the most fascinating literary genres. They tell us much about their authors and addressees, about the times in which they were written. But they also perform various functions within society. The example of the Latin epistolary of the most illustrious writers of the golden age of patrology shows that they implement a fundamental postulate of ancient epistolography – *docere*. But they do it in the most important field for the Christians: the knowledge of the Scriptures and the ability to interpret them, because, as Saint Jerome said, “Ignorance of the Scriptures is ignorance of Christ.”<sup>44</sup> By creating a kind of school of knowledge and interpretation of the Scriptures in their letters, many “virtual” students of Jerome, Augustine, or Paulinus undoubtedly gained and continue gaining knowledge and love of Christ.

## Bibliography

### Sources

- Augustinus, *Epistulae*, in *Aurelli Augustini Opera. Sancti Aurelii Augustini Epistulae* (ed. K.-D. Daur; Corpus Christianorum: Series Latina 31, 31A, 31B; Turnhout: Brepols 2004, 2005, 2009) I–III; *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina* (ed. J.P. Migne; Paris: Migne 1865) 33; English trans.: Saint Augustine, *Letters* (trans. R.W. Parsons; The Fathers of the Church. A New Translation 12, 18, 20, 30, 32; Washington, D.C. – New York: Catholic University of America Press 1951, 1953, 1955, 1956) I–V.
- Hieronymus, *Commentariorum in Esaiam*, in Hieronymus, *Commentariorum in Esaiam libri I–XI* (ed. M. Adriaen; Corpus Christianorum: Series Latina 73; Turnhout: Brepols 1963); English trans.: St. Jerome, *Commentary on Isaiah, including St. Jerome’s translation of Origen’s*

<sup>42</sup> Swoboda, “Egzegeza,” 262.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Young, “The Rhetorical Schools,” 182–199; Young, *Biblical Exegesis*.

<sup>44</sup> Hieronymus, Praef. *Commentariorum in Esaiam* (ACW 68, 67).

*Homilies 1–9 on Isaiah* (trans. T.P. Scheck; Ancient Christian Writers 68; New York – Mahwah, NJ: Newman Press 2015).

Hieronymus, *Epistulae*, in *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina* (ed. J.P. Migne; Paris: Migne 1845) 22; 30; Latin-Polish trans.: Hieronim ze Strydonu, *Listy* (trans. J. Czuj; ed. M. Ozóg; revised by H. Pietras; Źródła Myśli Teologicznej 54, 55, 61, 63, 68; Kraków: WAM 2010–2013) I–V; English trans.: P. Schaff – H. Wace (eds.), *The Principal Works of St. Jerome* (trans. W.H. Fremantle – G. Lewis – W.G. Martley; Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. Second Series 6; Edinburg: Clark 1893).

Paulinus Nolensis, *Epistulae*, Latin-Italian trans.: Paolino di Nola, *Le lettere* (trans., ed. G. Santaniello; Strenae Nolanae 4–5; Nola – Roma: Libreria Editrice Redenzione 1992) I–II; English trans.: *Letters of St. Paulinus of Nola* (trans. P.G. Walsh; Ancient Christian Writers 35–36; New York – Ramsey: Newman Press 1966–1967) I–II.

### Studies

Brown, D., *Vir Trilinguis. A Study in the Biblical Exegesis of Saint Jerome* (Kampen: Kok Pharos 1992).

Canellis, A., “Les Rapports de Paulin de Nole avec Jérôme au-delà de 400: la Lettre 39 de Paulin et le ‘Commentaire sur Joël’ 1, 4 de Jérôme,” *Augustinianum* 39 (1999) 311–335. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5840/agstm199939215>.

Courcelle, P., “Paulin de Nole et Saint Jérôme,” *Revue des Études Latines* 25 (1947) 250–280.

Crouzel, H., *Origen* (trans. A.S. Worrall; San Francisco, CA: Harper & Row 1989).

Cummings, J.T., “St. Jerome as Translator and as Exegete,” *Studia Patristica* 22 (1975) 279–282.

Czuj, J., *Spór św. Augustyna ze św. Hieronimem. Studium biblijno-patrystyczne* (Poznań: Księgarnia św. Wojciecha 1934).

De Bruyne, D., “La correspondance échangée entre Augustin et Jérôme,” *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 31 (1932) 233–248. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/zntw.1932.31.1.233>.

Degórski, B., “Esegesi e toponomastica nell’epistolario geronimiano,” *Biblica et Patristica Thoruniensia* 7/3 (2014) 89–123. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.12775/BPTh.2014.016>.

Di Palma, G., “Paolino di fronte alla Bibbia,” *Mia sola arte è la fede. Paolino di Nola teologo sapienziale* (eds. L. Longobardo – D. Sorrentino; Biblioteca Teologica Napoletana 21; Napoli: Facoltà Teologica dell’Italia Meridionale 2000) 151–166.

Duval, Y.-M., “Les premiers rapports de Paulin de Nole avec Jérôme: moine ou philosophe? Poète ou exégète?,” *Studi Tardoantichi* 7 (1989) 177–216.

Eckmann, A., “Hieronim ze Strydonu. Nauka w służbie rozumienia i interpretacji Pisma Świętego,” *Ateneum Kapłańskie* 422 (1979) 422–429.

Fürst, A., *Augustins Briefwechsel mit Hieronymus* (Münster: Aschendorff 1999).

Fürst, A., “Veritas Latina. Augustins Haltung gegenüber Hieronymus’ Bibelübersetzungen,” *Revue des Études Augustiniennes et Patristiques* 40 (1994) 105–126.

Gamberale, L., “Problemi di Gerolamo traduttore fra lingua, religione e filologia,” *Cultura latina cristiana. Fra terzo e quinto secolo. Atti del Convegno, Mantova, 5–7 novembre 1998* (ed. C. Gallico; Firenze: Olschki 2001) 311–345.

Gamberale, L., *San Gerolamo. Intellettuale e filologo* (Storia e Letteratura 282; Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura 2013).

- Gilbert, M., "Saint Jérôme, traducteur de la Bible," *Il a parlé par les prophètes. Thèmes et figures bibliques* (Namur: Presses universitaires de Namur 1998) 9–28.
- Grilli, A., "Alla scuola di San Gerolamo," *Dall'Adriatico al Danubio. L'Illirico nell'età greca e romana, Atti del Convegno Internazionale: Cividale del Friuli, 25–26 settembre 2003* (ed. G. Urso; Pisa: ETS 2004) 385–394.
- Guttilla, G., "Paolino di Nola e Girolamo," *Orpheus* NS 13 (1992) 278–294.
- Haitjema, T., "De briefwisseling tuschen Augustinus en Hieronymus," *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 36 (1921) 159–198.
- Hennings, R., *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Augustinus und Hieronymus und ihr Streit um den Kanon des Alten Testaments und die Auslegung von Gal. 2. 11–14* (Leiden: Brill 1994).
- Jay, P., "Jerome (ca. 347–419/420)," *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis. The Bible in Ancient Christianity* (ed. Ch. Kannengiesser; Leiden – Boston, MA: Brill 2004) II, 1094–1133.
- Jay, P., "Jérôme et la pratique de l'exégèse," *Le Monde latin antique et la Bible* (eds. J. Fontaine – Ch. Pietri; La Bible de tous les temps 2; Paris: Beauchesne 1985) 523–541.
- Jóźwiak, M.M., "Hieronim ze Strydonu jako «vir trilinguis» na przykładzie komentarza do Iz 7,10–16," *Vox Patrum* 76 (2020) 49–66. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.31743/vp.9591>.
- Kannengiesser, Ch., "État des travaux et des instruments de travail sur la réception de la Bible à l'époque patristique," *La documentation patristique. Bilan et perspectives. Actes du Colloque International tenu à l'Université Laval (Québec), 3–5 juin 1993* (eds. J.C. Fredouille – R.M. Roberge; Québec – Paris: Sorbonne Université Presses 1996) 71–82.
- Kannengiesser, Ch., *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis. The Bible in Ancient Christianity* (Leiden – Boston, MA: Brill 2004) I–II.
- Kelly, J.N.D., *Jerome. His Life, Writings, and Controversies* (London: Duckworth 1975).
- Köpf, U., "Hieronymus als Bibelübersetzer," *Eine Bibel – Viele Übersetzungen. Not und Notwendigkeit* (ed. S. Meurer; Stuttgart: Evangelisches Bibelwerk 1978) 71–89.
- Leanza, S., "Aspetti esegetici dell'opera di Paolino di Nola," *Atti del Convegno. XXXI Cinquantenario della morte di S. Paolino di Nola* (Roma: Herder 1983) 67–91.
- Malfatti, E., *Una controversia tra S. Agostino e S. Girolamo* (Monza: Artigianelli 1921).
- Maraval, P., "La Bible et les Pères: bilan de cinquante ans de recherches," *Les Pères de l'Église au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle. Histoire – Littérature – Théologie. L'aventure des Sources Chrétiennes* (Paris: Cerf 1997) 445–466.
- Marin, M., "Orientamenti di esegesi biblica dei Padri," *Complementi Interdisciplinari di Patrologia* (ed. A. Quacquarelli; Roma: Città Nuova 1989) 273–317.
- Martino Piccolino, G., "La regola educativa di S. Gerolamo: esempi di institutio christiana nell'Epistolario geronimiano (Ep. 107 e 128)," *Bogoslovni vestnik* 81/2 (2021) 465–475. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.34291/BV2021/02/Piccolino>.
- Meershoek, G.Q.A., *Le latin biblique d'après saint Jérôme* (Latinitas Christianorum Primaeva 20; Nijmegen – Utrecht: Dekker & Van De Vegt 1966).
- Meiser, M., "Hieronymus als Textkritiker," *Die Septuaginta – Texte, Theologien, Einflüsse. II. Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal 23.–27. Juli 2008* (eds. W. Kraus – M. Karrer – M. Meiser; Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 252; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2010) 256–271.
- Morta, K., "Bluszcz kontra dynia, czyli trudne początki Wulgaty," *Theologica Wratislaviensia* 6 (2011) 91–120.

- Mülke, M., "Bibelstudium und Freundschaft Seneca, Cicero und Ausonius bei Hieronymus (ep. 53 an Paulinus)," *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 61 (2018) 54–70.
- Nazzaro, A.V., "L'esegesi patristica in Italia: bilancio e prospettive di un'esperienza formativa," *Vetera Christianorum* 39 (2002) 257–268.
- Pałucki, J., "Pismo Święte w pasterskiej posłudze Paulina z Noli," *Roczniki Teologiczne* 50/4 (2003) 139–147.
- Pawłowski, R., "Teoria i praktyka listu od antyku do baroku. Próba nakreślenia panoramy epistolografii staropolskiej," *Wschodni Rocznik Humanistyczny* 8 (2012) 25–49.
- Piscitelli Carpino, T., "Il Cantico dei Cantici nell'esegesi di Paolino di Nola," *Lecture cristiane dei Libri Sapienziali. XX Incontro di studiosi dell'Antichità cristiana, Roma 9–11 maggio 1991* (Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum 37; Roma: Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum 1992) 387–400.
- Rallo Freni, R.A., "Il testo dei Salmi nell'utilizzazione dell'opera di Paolino di Nola," *Atti del Convegno. XXXI Cinquantenario della morte di S. Paolino di Nola* (Roma: Herder 1983) 231–252.
- Santaniello, G., *Vita di Paolino da Bordeaux vescovo di Nola (352/353 ca. – 431)* (Strenae nolanæ 12; Marigliano: Libreria Editrice Redenzione 2015).
- Simonetti, M., *Lettera e/o allegoria. Uno contributo alla storia dell'esegesi patristica* (Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum 23; Roma: Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum 1985).
- Simonetti, M. – Vian, G.M., "L'esegesi patristica nella ricerca contemporanea," *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia* 6 (1977) 241–267.
- Skwara, M., "O teorii retorycznej św. Augustyna," *Pamiętnik Literacki* 86/4 (1995) 99–118.
- Swoboda, A., "Egzegeza alegoryczna Pisma świętego w listach Paulina z Noli," *Vox Patrum* 32–33 (1997) 261–268. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.31743/vp.7726>.
- Torscher, F.E., "The Correspondence of St. Augustine and St. Jerome. A Study," *The American Ecclesiastical Review* 57 (1917) 476–492.
- White, C., *The Correspondence (394–419) between Jerome and Augustine of Hippo* (Lampeter: Mellen 1990).
- Wysocki, M., "Biblia i nadzieja na jej dobre tłumaczenie," *Vox Patrum* 69 (2018) 721–733. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.31743/vp.3283>.
- Wysocki, M., "Hope Found, Hope Lost – Eschatological Aspects in the Interpretations of Israelites' Wilderness Wanderings. Two Sides of One Story: Origen's 27. Homily on the Book of Numbers and Jerome's Letter 78," *Vox Patrum* 67 (2017) 727–742. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.31743/vp.3424>.
- Wysocki, M., "Jerome," *Encyclopedia of Christian Education* (eds. G.T. Kurian – M.A. Lampert; Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield 2015) II, 657–658.
- Wysocki, M., "The Symbolism of Biblical Birds in the Letters of Paulinus of Nola," *The Bible in the Patristic Period* (eds. M. Szram – M. Wysocki; Studia Patristica 103; Leuven – Paris – Bristol: Peeters 2021) 165–173. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv1q26pp2.15>.
- Wysocki, M. – Pyzik-Turska, M., "O listach w listach Ojców Kościoła," *Nadzieje upadającego świata. Nadzieja w chrześcijańskiej epistolografii łacińskiej IV i V wieku (Ambroży, Augustyn, Hieronim, Paulin z Noli)* (eds. M. Wysocki – J. Pałucki – M. Pyzik-Turska; Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL 2019) 87–112.

- Young, F.M., *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1997).
- Young, F.M., "Interpretation of Scripture," *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Studies* (eds. S.A. Harvey – D.G. Hunter; Oxford: Oxford University Press 2008) 845–863.
- Young, F.M., "The Rhetorical Schools and Their Influence on Patristic Exegesis," *The Making of Orthodoxy. Essays in Honour of Henry Chadwick* (ed. R. Williams; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1989) 182–199. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511555350.012>.

