

Eusebius of Caesarea

Fragments on Luke¹

(Scholia in Lucam)

CPG 3469.11

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¹ This text is made up of material culled from the catena on Luke of Nicetas of Serras, preserved in various manuscripts. The authorship is certainly doubtful. Angelo Mai printed it from Vatican manuscripts, vaguely described, in *Bibliotheca Nova Patrum*, tom. IV, p.159 f. Rome 1847. This translation was made from the reprint by J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, 24, columns 529-606.

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Eusebius, Fragments on Luke

“Now in the days of Herod, the King of Judaea.” (Luke 1:5)

[529]³ For the tribe of Judah was originally ruling over Judaea. In accordance with the prophecy,⁴ it ruled all the tribes while the Jews were self-governed. They were free and self-governed until the time of Augustus. At this point, with the appearance of the Messiah, the entire people was enslaved. At that time, Herod was the first foreigner to rule them, and the emperor Augustus, who along with the Senate had entrusted to Herod this power, held the scepter of authority over the entire civilized world. Now Herod was the son of Antipater, who was by race an Ascalonite, and a temple slave of Apollo; Cyprina, an Arab, was Herod’s mother. Herod, having done away with Hyrcanus II, who had ruled as the last in the succession of high priests, was named “King of the Jews.” Luke here too mentions this man in order to show that the Messiah really had come after the end of the Jewish rulers, just as the prophecy had said.

“And Zechariah said to the angel, how will I know this?” (Luke 1:18)

“What sort of sign will you show me,” he says, “to persuade me that they will happen, these things that you have foretold?” After all, what was said was against nature: elderly people do not have children. But he should have looked, not at the old age of his wife and himself, but at the power of the God who promises. Though, these great things are quite difficult for people to believe, God is merciful. For even Abraham himself did not trust as he should have, but laughed at first and said, “Surely a son won’t be born to a man of one hundred years!” (Gen 17:17) [532] Sarah too laughed and then was rebuked for it. In that case, God only rebuked them with a word, but in this case he rebukes with an action. Because of this, God rebuked him with a deed and made him mute. Zechariah should have learned from those who came before him, and made the rebuke to his forefathers his own instruction.

“I am Gabriel.” (Luke 1:19)

Why did the angel say this to him? He means, “Will you disbelieve an angel who has stood in the presence of God? Do you really not believe the one who sent me? Are you looking to the impossibility of the matter? Because of this unbelieving voice you will be stripped of your voice until the promise is fulfilled, that you may know your own disbelief and the power of God.”

³ Numbers in square brackets correspond to the Greek column number in Migne.

⁴ The prophecy here is most likely Genesis 49:10. From the Septuagint, it reads, “A ruler will not be lacking from Judah, nor will a leader lack from his thighs, until the things that have been reserved for him come to pass, and he is the hope of the nations.”

“The Lord God will give to him the throne of David his father.” (Luke 1:32)

He means here the throne that was promised to David, not the one that David was given. For he said, “Once I swore in my holiness, and I will surely not lie to David: his seed will abide forever, and his throne will be like the sun before me” (Ps 89:35-36 / 88:36-37 LXX). And again, “I have sworn to David my servant, I will prepare your seed forever, and I will establish your throne to all generations” (Ps 89:3-4 / Ps 88:4-5 LXX). He says these things not about the fleshly seed, nor about the visible throne, but about the throne that the angel indicates to the Virgin, which is not at all temporal, which radiates in the manner of light throughout the whole world, shining spiritual gleams of light onto souls through divine teaching. When he says “Jacob,” he means not just the Jewish people, but also all those from every nation who through the call of the savior are adopted into the family of the saints. The people of God was first called Jacob, and then at another time Israel. He was himself both Israel and Jacob. By nature, Jacob was the old people, who are offspring of Jacob according to blood-kinship. But by decree of adoption, the new people are bonded together by the kinship of virtue, and the new is substituted for the old. From this point, he will rule over this new people “unto the age,” which is to say forever, and this people, acknowledging him in word and deed, will be willingly subject to him. For Christ was king as both man and God. As God, for he says, “My kingdom is not from this world,” and as man, because he had the tasks of a king: to legislate to his subjects, to bring them into order, to govern them,⁵ and to die for them: those things which most especially mark the true king.

“The Holy Spirit will come upon you” (Luke 1:35)

He says, “God is the one at work here; do not doubt. He gives strength to the old and weakened nature, restoring it to youth when he wills it.”

“And Mary said, ‘Behold the handmaiden of the Lord.’” (Luke 1:38)

She says, “I am the handmaid of the Lord, I am the writing-tablet: [533] let the scribe write what he wills. Let the Lord of all do what he wills.”

“A light for revelation to the nations” (Luke 2:32)

Notice how he [Simeon] already says that the coming salvation will be for the nations. This coming of his, he tells us, is what the nations hope for.

⁵ This meaning for περιέπω is not attested by LSJ, and the word does not appear in Lampe. LSJ does, however, list ‘govern’ as a potential meaning for the etymologically related ἐφέπω, and I have adopted that meaning here.

“The Spirit of the Lord is upon me; for this he has anointed me.” (Luke 4:18)

The Savior, when beginning the beatitudes, announced heavenly wealth and the kingdom of Heaven to the poor, but Isaiah the Prophet anticipated these things and mentioned them. He spoke prophetically about what was to come, as if from the person of the Savior himself, “The Spirit of the Lord is on me, and for this he has anointed me; he has sent me to preach good news to the poor” (Is. 61:1). Thus Isaiah openly revealed the gospel of blessed things to the poor; so Jesus too, who had been anointed by the Holy Spirit as a human, made this known to mankind, and then began his teaching by announcing for himself the good news of the heavenly kingdom to the poor.

“They came to hear him and be healed of their diseases.” (Luke 6:18)

Look now at this present passage, how again they begin to come to the Savior’s voice, and receive teachings from him as if they carried the force of law,⁶ through which one may attain the heavenly kingdom. The crowd does not simply stick to learning, but also presses him for miracles⁷ lest anyone be excluded from the promises that “the kingdom of God comes not in word, but in power” (1 Cor. 4:20).

“Blessed are the poor, for yours is the Kingdom of Heaven” (Luke 6:20)⁸

While the kingdom of heaven may be divided into many different ranks of good men,⁹ just as it says, “there are many rooms at my Father’s house,” (Jn 14:2) the chief group, one might say, and the highest level of spiritual ascension¹⁰ belongs to those who are poor for God’s sake. And if these, who endure poverty with perfect moderation and restraint, should despise all the honors of the present life and press on to the peak of poverty on account of divine philosophy, they will attain to this beatitude of the Savior. Thus he made

⁶ Grk. καὶ παρ’ αὐτοῦ τὰς διδασκαλίας ὡσπερ τινὰς νόμους ... παραδέξασθαι. The phrase, though a bit vague, seems to indicate that the audience received Jesus’ teaching not simply as religious teaching, but as decrees from someone with royal authority.

⁷ Grk. ἀλλὰ καὶ δι’ ἐργῶν χορηῆσαι. “Press someone for something” is not a documented meaning of χορέω, and more literally one might translate “advance through [miraculous] deeds.” Given the context of the passage, the more idiomatic translation seems justified, as those listening to Jesus all strive to touch him in order to be healed (see Lk 6:19).

⁸ The editors of the Greek text that appears in the Patrologia Graeca note here that Eusebius appears to be working primarily from Matthew’s text, and citing Luke for support, rather than the other way around. This is surmised from the discussion within, which seems to be based primarily on Matthew’s beatitudes. The corresponding passage in Luke is mentioned at several points, but only to clarify or contrast the Matthean passage.

⁹ More literally, “may be perceived [to exist] in different groups of good [men]” (Grk. Πλὴν τῆς τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείας ἐν πολλοῖς ἀγαθῶν τάγμασιν ἐπινοουμένης). Based on what follows, the idiomatic translation is justified. The author is saying, “Though there are many different ranks of good men in the kingdom of God, the most important are the poor.”

¹⁰ More literally, “the highest step of those ascending.”

his first disciples into people like this. This harmonizes with what he said in their presence in another of the gospels, “blessed are the poor, for yours is the kingdom of God” (Lk 6:20). That he says, “yours” makes it clear that this was spoken to those present.

He lifted his eyes to them, and before the teaching began, he bid them to listen with a gracious look.¹¹ They, in turn, willingly offered themselves obedient to his words. This was the first of the Savior’s beatitudes, namely that he would appoint as joint-rulers those who embraced poverty for his sake: the humble in spirit. These are the ones who took up the life that is defined by its great poverty, and by its philosophic and God-pleasing character.

The second, third, and fourth beatitudes are enumerated in turn by him. [536] He taught us to go forth into each of these areas of life and strive to be considered worthy of the promises. Thus it is possible for those in the kingdom of God, even if they do not rule jointly with Christ like the poor in spirit, to be nevertheless comforted about the things for which, having sinned unto death, they mourn, and to give themselves to repentance, confession, and a moderate life. Likewise, it is possible for them to attain the promised land, and become inhabitants and citizens of the city of God that is above, by showing themselves meek and long-suffering. Again, it is possible for those who hunger and thirst after righteousness in this life to attain it, and to be filled in accordance with the promised age, for if they should enjoy the pure and genuine essence of virtue, then they will see the very manifestation of God’s righteousness, the wisdom of God itself, life eternal, and the illumination of souls, all which were conceived in accordance with their inherent powers by the Word of God.

And so if some others become merciful and loving, showing compassion and generosity to their neighbors, then these ones who have shown mercy will experience the same things that they have done, and will be shown mercy according to the mercy and loving-kindness of God. Let there be another rank of saints according to this promise, namely the rank of those who have purified their hearts (which is to say, their intellects), and another for the peace-makers. The former will receive the privilege of purity, which is seeing God, inasmuch as they will see him with the purified eyes of the soul. The latter group will become sons of God, once they have achieved a similar work, the sort that the Son of God did by making peace for all things through himself, both things in heaven and on earth.

And so these, on the basis of different moral achievements, will attain different honors in the kingdom of Heaven that he has announced. For the first group will indeed rule with the Son of God himself, having shown themselves to be poor in spirit. The second group after these are the noble martyrs of God, of whom he taught after this saying, “blessed are those who are persecuted for righteousness’ sake” (Mt 5:10). Through these words he blessed those who were to contend for the kingdom as noble soldiers of God, promising them necessarily, as brothers to the blessed poor, the prizes of those who compete for the heavenly kingdom.

¹¹ This sentence is a bit awkward, but is essentially a paraphrase of Lk 6:20a, which reads, “Having raised his eyes to his disciples he said...”

He was giving shares of his kingdom to these who came after the poor in spirit with great care. For the first group, it was necessary first to live all of one's life having spent the time in a most impoverished and philosophic manner, if one wished to come to this most God-pleasing end. For this first group practiced the most impoverished way of life in their training, and for their entire lives they competed in the contests of virtue. [537] As for the second group, they were beaten on account of their witness to Christ, hated, made into enemies, and attacked viciously with false slanders for no reason other than their confession of Christ. Thus in Luke we see those who hunger, thirst, and are scorned for Christ' sake, but Matthew places them in order for us after the meek, the merciful, the pure in heart, and the peacemakers.

And he said these things to arm and fortify his disciples for the war against their enemies, which they were soon to endure when then they began preaching to the entire world, and testifying to the kingdom of the one God who rules all.

He fortified and warned them in advance that they would soon be beaten and made into enemies by all because of the new message, and so he reckoned them worthy of the beatitudes. Because the life they exhibited was above reproach, though their enemies were hunting for excuses against them, they offered no pretext for slander; nevertheless they were about to be pursued as enemies, simply because of their confession of Christ and his proclamation. They would suffer many slanders and bear many abuses, insolent actions, and rebukes, not for any actual sin, but because of their most virtuous and righteous life. Indeed, this message, which was spoken in accordance with divine foreknowledge, did attain its true purpose and was fulfilled.

He does, however, provide for the difficulty of his message, by revealing to them that they are equal in honor to God's prophets of old. Thus he encourages them to give thanks and rejoice in everything that was to come, on the grounds that whenever they should suffer like the prophets had, they would also be given similar honors before God, for all to see.

Paul thus suitably says to encourage them, "if indeed we suffer with him, so too will we be glorified with him" (Rom 8:17), and "the present sufferings are not worthy of being compared to the glory that will be revealed in us" (Rom 8:18). He did not just say these things with words while withholding the corresponding deeds, but rather displayed in such matters the same sufferings for godliness that he had enumerated, saying "Therefore I take pleasure in my weaknesses, in insults, etc." (2 Cor. 12:10). Moreover, these were only the beginning of his sufferings; the end of his great struggle was fulfilled in Rome, where he was beheaded for his witness. Peter reckoned death by crucifixion a great prize because of his hope for salvation. James likewise was beheaded by the sword in Jerusalem, and John was condemned to live on the island of Patmos. Each of the rest in their own way bore a different death, displaying the purity and the firmness of their obedience to his words.

They did not suffer these things against their will, for they reckoned the hope in the promises of salvations as sweeter than any pleasure. And so once, when the leaders of the Jewish nation arrested them and had them subjected to the torments of the whip, as the history about them testifies, "they went forth from the Sanhedrin rejoicing because they had been deemed worthy of being dishonored for the sake of Christ" (Acts 5:41).

[540] This they did, fulfilling his precept, for had taught them to rejoice when suffering for him. He showed them as equal in honor to the prophets, saying according to Matthew, “thus they persecuted those before you” (Mt 5:12). He said this on the grounds that, just as things had been for the prophets, so in a short time they would be made equal because of their similar suffering. Of the prophets, one was run through with the sword, another was stoned, one was thrown to the lions, another was thrown in a well of mud, and another was cut in two by a saw, and some were burned in a fiery furnace; therefore the Savior exhorted them with the example of these distinguished men so that, during their endurance of terrible hardship, they might remember what the prophets had suffered, and thus, through this comparison, imagine the same hopes for themselves. Thus he says, “When they falsely accuse you, rejoice, since the prophets bore the same thing.”¹²

And the whole people heard [Jesus’ message], and the tax collectors vindicated God’s justice,¹³ for they had received John’s baptism. But the Pharisees and the scribes rejected the will of God among themselves, as they had not been baptized by John. (Luke 7:29-30)

In both of these passages Jesus spoke in riddles.¹⁴ Elsewhere, he says in a parable, “What do you think about this? A man had two children. Going to the first, he said, ‘child, go out today and work in my vineyard.’ But the child responded and said, ‘I will not.’ Later, however, he changed his mind and went. Going to the second, the father said the same thing. But this child answered and said, ‘I will, sir,’ but then did not go and work. Which of the two did the will of the father?” And they said to him, “the first” (Mt 21:28-31).¹⁵

In this passage, he compares two groups. One is the Israelite group, and the other is the Gentiles, who are represented by the tax collectors. He specifies that both children belong to the same father, because all men come from one God: both Jews and Greeks. This first group he specifies are those “from the nations” and the second are those “from the circumcision.”¹⁶ Since the Gentile nations existed before Israel, and the name of Israel did not yet exist among men, oracles and theophanies were granted first to the Gentiles.

¹² Though presented like a direct quotation, this seems to be a paraphrase of the previous discussion, for Eusebius is not quoting from any biblical source.

¹³ Grk. ἐδικαίωσαν τὸν θεόν. Modern English translations typically translate this as “acknowledge God’s justice,” and that is perhaps the right way the understand the phrase. More literally, it means something like “justify or vindicate God.” Eusebius understands it more along these lines, which becomes clear at the end of this passage. There, Eusebius, using the same phrase, states that “the tax collectors vindicate God because God is shown to be just in all that he does.”

¹⁴ Lit. *He spoke both of these in riddles*. The comparison between Luke 7:29-30 and Mt 21:28-31 indicates that he is referring to different passages. Again we see that the commentary deals with material from Matthew nearly as often as material from Luke.

¹⁵ I note in passing that this passage in Matthew is full of textual variants (at least three different versions of the parable exist in the mss.). Eusebius’ comments are early and thus potentially relevant for scholarly discussion on the parable.

¹⁶ That is, the Gentiles and Jews respectively.

For Enoch was a Gentile, and thus uncircumcised, but because he was pleasing to God, God granted him this prize and took him from the earth while he was still alive.¹⁷ Noah too was truly righteous in his generation, and thus counted worthy of receiving oracles from God, even though he too was uncircumcised. Melchizedek was older than the people of the circumcision, and he too uttered oracles as a priest of God Most High. Likewise, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were considered worthy of oracles before the people of Israel existed. There was even Job, who was an Idumaeen from the sons of Esau and eminent for his virtue and piety.

When the rest the nations were summoned by the laws of nature to work in the vineyard (that is, called to a life of godliness), they denied and disabused themselves of their father's command by practicing idolatry. [541] But in the end, they showed themselves obedient. The Jewish nation, however, was the second child. After the refusal of the first child, they were summoned through Moses and the prophets to the same labor. By their words, they displayed their willingness, for they said "we will do and obey everything." But they showed the very opposite by their deeds. For this reason, the Savior asked the chief-priests, "which of these two did the will of their father?"

After they had agreed that it was the first child, he explained who the first son was by saying, "the tax-collectors and the prostitutes and the whole group of the ungodly nations come before you in the love of God" (paraphrase Mt 21:31). And who else is this "you" but the chief-priests and the elders, and their entire nation, who profess in their speech to honor God, but oppose His promise with their actions?

Thus, those from the Gentile nations turned away from their former wickedness. Because they have borne worthy fruit, they will attain the kingdom. But you, who declare yourselves to be children of God, will be shut out from the kingdom, because you have not believed him, even though the tax-collectors and the prostitutes have. Thus, they vindicate God, for he is shown to be righteous in all that he does: with you [Jews] by showing you all to be disobedient and hard-hearted, and with them [the Gentiles] by choosing them for their obedience and soft-heartedness. And you all will not be able to oppose this ruling, for the prophet says, "that you [God] may be justified in your judgments." (Ps 51:4/Ps 50:6 LXX).¹⁸

"[And he commanded them to go] into the Abyss" (Lk. 8:31)

For the Scriptures call Tartarus "the Abyss."

¹⁷ Grk. ὃς ἔπαθλον εἴληφε τῆς εὐαρεστήσεως τὴν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων μετάθεσιν. More literally, "... was a Gentile who received as a prize of [God's] satisfaction the taking-up from men." The point is that Enoch was pleasing to God, and thus was taken "from among men" while still alive, even though he was a Gentile.

¹⁸ The logic is not immediately clear, but Eusebius seems to argue that unbelieving Jews will not be able to make a "counter charge" against God, since he is just in all his decrees.

“And there was a woman who for twelve years had had an issue of blood” (Lk. 8:43)

I do not think it right for us to pass over this story, for it deserves to be heard by those who come after us. For they say that the woman with the issue of blood came from Paneas [*i.e.* Caesarea Philippi], that her house was on display in the city, and that marvelous memorials that commemorate the Savior’s miracle were present [even up to this day].

Furthermore, they state that on a high pedestal by the doors of the woman’s house, there stood a bronze statue of her, kneeling with her hands outstretched before her, in the form of a supplicant. Another bronze statue stood across from her: this one a man, wrapped in a double cloak, with its hands stretched out to her. By its feet, a certain kind of strange plant grew, which went all the way up to the fringe of the bronze cloak. It was a powerful cure for all sorts of diseases.

They say that this statue bore the image of Jesus, and that Maximinus [544] made a small addition to his impiety [by destroying it].¹⁹ That is enough here, however. Let us continue on to the rest of the passage.

Translator’s Commentary

This passage is problematic for a number of reasons. Firstly, near the end of the passage, when the author is describing the fate of the statue, the Greek text is unclear and may be corrupt.

Secondly, we have a literary problem, as this account agrees word for word in most places with Eusebius’ account of the statue in *Eccl. Hist.* 7.18. The account here cuts out a short phrase at the beginning, “who [*sc.* the hemorrhagic woman], as we have learned from the Holy Gospels, found release from her suffering at the side of our Savior.” The end differs as well. In his *Church History* Eusebius tells us that the statue was standing during his lifetime (though he might be implying its demolition), while in our fragment here, the author seems to indicate that the statue was torn down by Maximinus (d. 313).

I must note, though, that Eusebius’ Greek in the *Ecclesiastical History* is unclear. First, we should note that he puts this entire story in the mouths of some unnamed group of people. He states that “*they* said there there was a statue in Caesarea Philippi...” When discussing the fate of the statue, he states, “They said that this statue bore the image of Jesus. Indeed it was standing even in our time, such that we could behold it first hand upon our visit to the city.

(Grk. τοῦτον τὸν ἀνδριάντα εἰκόνα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ φέρειν ἔλεγον, ἔμενον δὲ καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς, ὡς καὶ ὄψει παραλαβεῖν ἐπιδημήσαντας αὐτοὺς τῇ πόλει.)

¹⁹ The PG supplies something like καθελών and translates into Latin as *quam Maximinus impietatis suae additamentum (destruendo) fecit*, which we may render into English as, “[the statue] which Maximinus by destroying, increased his impiety.” The Greek is not entirely clear, and possibly corrupt, but seems to indicate that Maximinus destroyed the statue.

As far as I can tell, the first option is the traditional interpretation. The NPNF translation offers, “They say that this statue is an image of Jesus. It has remained to our day, so that we ourselves also saw it when we were staying in the city.” Williamson, in the Penguin Classics edition, translates, “This statue, which was said to resemble the features of Jesus, was still there in my own time, so that I saw it with my own eyes when I resided in the city.” Each translation strikes me as a bit inaccurate, though for different reasons. The NPNF translation translates ἔμενεν εἰς ἡμᾶς as “has remained to our day,” which I don’t think captures the meaning of the past imperfect. Williamson is correct to translate it as, “was still there,” which correctly communicates that the statue was standing, but might have been torn down. Williamson’s translation strikes me as problematic because it suggests that Eusebius lived in Caesarea Philippi for sometime, an assertion for which I don’t think we have any other evidence. Rather, ἐπιδημέω should be understood as indicating a visit, as in the NPNF translation.

All of this suggests that even in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Eusebius is not sure about the current state of the statue. His choice of verb tense, and his reliance on other people, suggests that he’s not really sure about the current state of the statue. All he states for sure about its fate was that it was still standing at some point during his life. Thus, I’ve used the past tense in my translation, as it seems to be the case that the author refers to a statue that might no longer be standing. This is certainly justified in our current fragment, as the end seems to refer to the demolition of the statue; but even in the *Hist. Eccl.*, we should use the past tense throughout, as Williamson did in his translation.

As for the fate of the statue, this fragment on Luke mentions Maximinus (that is, Maximinus Daia, the Caesar of the East from 308 to 313 under the tetrarchy), and seems to state that he had the statue torn down. The editors of the PG translate it this way. The problem is that the Greek is unclear. It probably means “Maximinus considered it an insignificant addition to his impiety,” but πάρεργος normally means “trifling, subordinate, or of secondary importance” rather than “an insignificant addition.” Furthermore, other writers indicate that the statue was torn down under a different emperor. Asterius of Amasea²⁰ does state that it was torn down by Maximinus, though some scribes seem to have changed the name to Maximian²¹ (Diocletian’s western Augustus during the tetrarchy, 285-305), and still others state that it was Julian the Apostate who ordered the statue demolished. In any case, whoever wrote the fragment above, whether it was Eusebius himself, or a later scribe, he was working from the *Eccl. Hist.* originally. Given the flurry of emperors and claimants of this period with similar names (Maximian, Maximinus, Maxentius), it is easy to see the source of confusion. Maximinus was Caesar in Syria and a persecutor of Christians, which makes him a good candidate. Maximian spent most of his time in the west, but his wife came from Syria so he did have ties there. Both Sozomen and Philostorgius, in the early 5th century, claim the statue was torn down by Julian. Philostorgius further claims that though the statue’s body was dragged rabidly through the city by its pagan citizens, the head was saved, and that furthermore he had seen the head of the statue. The translation given by

²⁰ See below for translation.

²¹ Notably, the note I’ve translated below from the PG states that Asterius credited Maximian with the destruction.

Walford of Photius' epitome is a bit inaccurate. He states, "This transaction Philostorgius declared that he witnessed with his own eyes" (Book 7 ch. 3). This seems imply that Philostorgius saw the statue torn down, which is quite impossible as he was born after the reign of Julian. Rather, the Greek seems to indicate that Philostorgius had seen the head of the statue: **τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν**, ἐν τῷ σύρεσθαι τοῦ ἀχένου διαζυγεῖσαν, τινὲς λαθόντες τῶν ἐπαλούντων τοῖς δρωμένοις ἀνελάβοντό τε καὶ ὡς ἡδύνατο διεσώσαντο. καὶ φησι **ταύτην** καὶ αὐτὸς θεάσασθαι.

John Wilson²², in his discussion of the statue, dismisses Asterius' account on the grounds that if Maximinus had torn down the statue, then Eusebius could not have seen the statue "still in place, as he claims." Moreover, he states that, "Asterius, in order to accept the statue's authenticity, was forced to ignore Eusebius's testimony. See M. de Beausobre, 1727, pp. 60-61." (p. 91 n. 28). Unfortunately, Wilson seems to be misled by the small flaws in Williamson's translation. He argues that if Eusebius had "resided in Caesarea Philippi," he would have certainly been familiar the statue. Rather, as we've noted, if the sentence refers to Eusebius at all, it most likely refers to a visit to the city. Second, Wilson is certain that Eusebius actually saw the statue, which is not certain given the Greek. Finally, Wilson seems to not notice the past tense verbs used throughout, which give pause to the notion that Eusebius believed the statue to still be standing. Thus, his misreading of Eusebius caused him to dismiss Asterius too readily. We've noted, rather, that a close reading of Eusebius indicates only that the statue was standing during his lifetime, not that it remained standing when Eusebius was writing. Furthermore, Eusebius may not have seen the statue, as we've also noted, so the accounts of Asterius and Eusebius are not contradictory, strictly speaking. Asterius does, however, disagree with Sozomen and Philostorgius. Philostorgius appears to have actually visited the city and seen the head of the statue, so his testimony would appear to derive from the local traditions current in the early 5th century.

Philostorgius' account thus has much to its credit and should definitely be considered. We must remember, however, that Eusebius' account of the statue is rather unclear and quite puzzling, and that Asterius is earlier than both Philostorgius and Sozomen. I think Asterius's is slightly more credible for a few reasons. First, Eusebius's account is muddy enough to illustrate quite a bit of uncertainty about the statue's history and current status even at the beginning of the fourth century. Second, Asterius seems to be an independent witness not influenced by Eusebius (unlike Philostorgius and Sozomen). Third, a torn down statue was more likely to be attributed falsely to Julian than Maximinus. Maximinus was certainly the object of Eusebius's scorn for his persecutions, but Julian was the early Christian "bogey-man" par excellence. Though we cannot be certain, I'd give preference to Asterius's account. As for our fragment here, it is conceivable that Eusebius himself made the change later in his life, but Wilson is probably right that a later scribe changed the text, probably to make it conform to the report of Asterius (p. 91 n. 28).

Much of the above I took from a footnote in the PG, which I translate from the Latin here:

²² Wilson, John Francis. 2004. *Caesarea Philippi: Baniyas, The Lost City of Pan*. I.B.Tauris. pp. 90ff.

“The following account appears in both A and L under Eusebius’ name. Indeed, the same account is given in Eusebius’ Hist. Eccl. 7.18. Yet, in his commentary on the gospel, in the place where the hemorrhagic woman is mentioned, it can hardly be the case that the author would give a different story and that it would vary at both the beginning and the end. Indeed, this is all the more remarkable because in the Ecclesiastical History, Eusebius states that the statue remains standing²³, while in this passage he states that it was toppled by Maximinus, which does not agree with either Philostorgius (7.3) or Nicephorus Callistus (10.30), who both say that that the statue was toppled by Julian, and then dragged ignominiously through the streets by the city’s pagan citizens and broken. Furthermore, Asterius²⁴ wrote in B, fl. 85 Maximianus for Maximinus. Asterius writes: ‘She is the one who erected a bronze statue of Christ in Caesarea Philippi in recompense for the miracle. This statue was torn down in the reign of Maximian the Impious, before the reign of Constantine the Great.’” (PG 24.541 n. 54).

The account of Asterius actually reads Maximinus (not Maximianus as the note states above). Fortunately, the TLG has the relevant text, entitled *Fragmenta homiliae in Jairum et in mulierem sanguinis profluvio labentem* (Fragments of a homily on Jairus and on the woman with the issue of blood). The text is worded differently from what is preserved in the footnote above. This text reads (my translation):

“And nothing would have kept either of the statues from standing until the present day, commemorating the miracle of God and the gratitude of the woman who suffered so gracefully, except that that terrible Maximinus, who ruled the kingdom of the Romans before Constantine, an impious and idolatrous man, resented Christ because of the statue, and tore down the bronze that stood in the small town, though he could not touch the memory of what had happened. For behold, though the statue cannot be seen, the gospel itself declares and preaches the miracle, and tells of the hemorrhagic woman from the rising of the sun till it sets.”

(Καὶ οὐδὲν ἐκώλυε σώζεσθαι τὸν ἀνδριάντα μέχρι νῦν καὶ δεικνύειν ἀμφοτέρω, καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ θαυμάσιον καὶ τῆς εὐπαθοῦσης τὸ χαριστήριον, εἰ μὴ Μαξιμίνος ἐκεῖνος, ὁ πρὸ τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἄρξας βασιλείας, ἀνὴρ εἰδωλολάτρης καὶ δυσσεβῆς, ζηλοτυπῶν καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀγάλματι τὸν Χριστόν, ἀνείλετο τῆς πολίχνης τὸν χαλκόν, εἰ καὶ μὴ τὴν μνήμην τῶν γενομένων. Ἴδου γὰρ ὁ μὲν ἀνδριάς οὐ φαίνεται, τὸ δὲ εὐαγγέλιον τὸ θαῦμα πανταχοῦ βοᾷ καὶ κηρύσσει καὶ ἡ αἰμόρρους ἀπ’ ἀνίσχοντος ἡλίου μέχρι καὶ δυομένου λαλεῖται.) (C. Datema, Sacris erudiri 23, 1978-79: 88-90.)

“Summoning his twelve disciples, he gave them power and authority...” (Lk. 9:1)

The Lord armed his disciples with divine powers so that, first of all, they would be able to lay waste to the demonic ranks, who are hostile armies and the enemies of mankind. After

²³ Note that, as I have shown above, a close reading of the Hist. Eccl. shows that even there, Eusebius only claims that that statue was standing during his lifetime, not at the time of writing.

²⁴ This seems to be a scribal error, as what we have of Asterius from other sources states “Maximinus” and not “Maximian.”

this, they would heal those who were suffering from any sort of disease or sickness. In this way they offered proofs for all to see of the kingdom that they were preaching. For it was necessary, since they were preaching a paradoxical message, to offer clear signs of these new and strange virtues to those who were receiving instruction. These astonishing miracles were truly demonstrations of the kingdom of God, as there was both salvation for souls and healing for bodies. After all, the message alone, without any works, would never have generated sufficient trust in those who heard the message. Therefore, through these miraculous deeds, they furnished a clear proof for the message. For if they had announced the kingdom of God to everyone with mere trifling words and haphazard speech, who would have paid any attention as they announced the demise of the ancestral gods? If they had not offered any proof of their message, whom would they have persuaded by announcing that Jesus was God?

Therefore the Savior, foreseeing every argument against his divine deeds,²⁵ selected as his disciples men who had not been trained in this way, who were not experienced in human wisdom and argumentation. After he had selected these men for his plan to restore the whole world, he then told them that he was going to make them into fishers of human souls, and that he himself would supply what was necessary for this promise.²⁶ By giving them 'salvific fishhooks' for the salvation of souls, he then made them workers of remarkable miracles, so that whenever they should cast out their nets and catch mortal men from the depths of evil, they would then put evil spirits to flight and heal every disease and affliction at his command, for the Spirit had not yet been given.

Take nothing on the road, neither staffs nor a wallet (Lk 9:3)

Therefore, according to Matthew, the Lord warned them about acquiring gold, silver, and bronze because he knew what was about to happen. He saw that when the apostles healed people and freed them from their incurable sufferings, those who were healed would want to give all of their possessions to the apostles. Thus, because he foresaw this, he ordered them not to make a business of miraculous grace, and exhorted them not to sell the gifts of God.

According to the other Evangelists, and Matthew himself, Jesus allowed them to take neither a staff, nor a wallet, nor sandals, nor an extra tunic, nor even bread or silver, even though they were about to be sent to foreign lands. He said that if they obeyed his commands, he would take it as proof of their faith and desire to serve. To obey his commands, they would have to accept a life of utmost poverty, and would have to give no

²⁵ The exact meaning of θεϊκαῖς πράξεις (divine deeds) is not readily apparent in, “Διὸ πάντα λόγον θεϊκαῖς προλαμβάνων πράξεις ὁ Σωτὴρ...” Eusebius notes that Jesus was foreseeing arguments, and so I've interpreted “divine deeds” as a dative of reference: he foresaw every argument one might make against his divine deeds. It could also be causal, “by his divine deeds, Jesus was foreseeing...”, or there might simply be another meaning of which I am not aware. Finally, we might have a corrupt text, which, given the oddness of the expression, seems quite possible, though Eusebius is fond of strange expressions.

²⁶ Lit. “He himself would be the doer of the promise.” Eusebius believes that Jesus himself provided the disciples with miraculous power, rather than by means of the Holy Spirit, as the Spirit was not given until later.

thought at all to their daily food, nor to a second cloak, nor even to using sandals, even though they were about to traverse the entire civilized world. In saying this, he meant that it was necessary for them to have contempt for riches and to not give any thought to the things of this life.

[545] He told them that if each of them should endeavor to make their lives worthy of divine gifts, then the gifts of God would be given to them. This was fitting exchange: Because they had received powers from God that would bring both salvation and great benefits to men, in return they would have to show obedience to his commands, that is, a willing and free separation from the desire for worldly things. Rather, since they were both receiving heavenly wealth into their souls, and being provided with a deposit of the kingdom of God, he thought it absolutely necessary for them to scorn earthly things. Neither gold, nor money, nor anything of worldly value was worth comparing with the heavenly wealth that they had been given. Instead, by making them into soldiers of God's kingdom, he prepared them for battle with the enemies. This was why he exhorted his soldiers to embrace poverty, because "No one serving in the army entangles himself in the affairs of this life; otherwise he will not please the one who enlisted him." (2 Tim. 2:4).

And whatever house you enter, there should you remain. (Lk 9:4)

Since he had forbidden them to have any possessions, whether gold, silver, money, or extra clothing, then consequently, according to Matthew, the Lord needed to make clear how their food would come to them. Thus, he says, "the worker is worth his food." In saying this, he permitted those who wished to give them gifts to share food alone. He permitted as much food to be shared as was fitting to give a man who was being rewarded for his daily work. Therefore, it was not permitted for them to receive payment for their good deeds, for he said "Freely you have received; freely give." In return for their teaching, sacrifice, and sufferings for the gospel (which they were expected to bear on a journey of such a demanding nature), they could receive only their necessary food. He told them to not share bread with just anyone who happened to be present, nor to take it from those who wanted to give without examination, but to honor with this reception only those who were worthy.²⁷ Furthermore, the disciples were to offer in return the most wonderful payment for their provisions, that is, to announce to them the good news of peace and reconciliation with God. Consequently, he said these things to encourage the soldiers of his kingdom, warning them in advance that they must not desire any wealth, nor any possession great or small, but must press on to the utmost height of poverty. That is, they must share in daily bread not simply with anyone, but only with those worthy. Furthermore, they mustn't take food without paying, but must instead supply and furnish blessings before receiving provision.

²⁷ The sentence is cloudy in Greek too. The idea seems to be that the disciples should only eat with worthy people. Exactly what makes them worthy is unclear. The phrase "without examination" (ἀβασανίστως) is commonly used by historians and philosophers to denote people believing things without any evidence, and in Christian discourse it can also refer to "untried virtue." Evidently, Eusebius would have those who wish to provide provisions for the disciples to display some sort of commitment, intellectual or moral, to the gospel before they are allowed to give.

The Lord thus fortified the disciples with divine powers and philosophic exhortations. He sent them out well prepared for the work of being a soldier for God's kingdom. They were to be doctors for the Jews, to be heralds and ambassadors of countless good things. They went about doing everything that he said, first as teachers announcing the good news, [548] and then as doctors healing the sick, and thus they gave credence to their words through miraculous signs.

Then Herod the Tetrarch heard everything that was was being done by him (Lk. 9:7)

At the time of the Savior's coming, the Jews had already experienced the dissolution of their ancestral kingdom. Furthermore, they had lost their autonomy and freedom, along with their lawful priesthood. They no longer had any lawful rulers. Instead, Herod and his children Agrippa and Archelaus²⁸ were foreigners, and had gained power over the Jews from the Romans. The Jewish land was divided into a tetrarchy. Herod made the entire nation subject to the Romans, as each year the poll-tax²⁹ was gathered by administrators with the help of the army. Therefore, when the the Savior was exhorting his disciples to announce the message of the Kingdom of God first to the Jews, he called them the "lost sheep of Israel." (Mt. 10:6)³⁰

For if anyone is ashamed of me and my words, the son of man will be ashamed of him. (Lk. 9:26)³¹

The Lord first discussed several items: how it was necessary for them to imitate him, that they must not flee death, and moreover, on account of their hope in him, that they must not spare even their own souls and lives. It was thus both fitting and necessary that he should speak afterwards about the benefit of their suffering. After all, they were about to experience great torture for his sake and suffer unto death. As they were soon to follow in his footsteps, it was imperative for each to take up his own cross in accordance with the Lord's example, and moreover to understand clearly who it was for whom they were about to suffer. The Lord did well to call himself the coming Son of Man, as that recalled the prophecy of the Daniel, "And behold, a Son of Man was coming on the clouds, and he reached even till the Ancient of Days. To him was given the rule, the honor, and the kingdom." (Dan. 7:13-4, Theodotion). Now, when Peter had called him the Christ and the

²⁸ Archelaus was a son of Herod the Great, but Herod Agrippa was a grandson (Agrippa's father was Aristobolus). The mistake may be Eusebius', or it may be the scribes. Keeping the various Herods straight is no easy task.

²⁹ That is, a flat tax against each person was leveled against the region.

³⁰ The heading for this section comes from Luke, but explanation actually serves to explain a verse in Matthew. The Lukan verse is simply a useful place to insert this piece of commentary original written on Matthew. Luke does not use the phrase "lost sheep of Israel" in his account of the sending of the twelve, so the scribe inserts it right after the corresponding Lukan passage in a verse that mentions Herod.

³¹ The passage in this case does seem to follow Luke's account, as it contains references to several verses that do not appear in Matthew (e.g. Matthew has no equivalent of Lk. 9:26). Likewise, the final verse quoted "Truly I say to you..." follows Luke's wording and not Matthew's. In several places however, Eusebius seems to use Matthew's wording, mostly in allusions. When he has made an allusion to a gospel passage, I have given the appropriate reference. If the Greek is closer to Matthew, then Matthew is listed first.

Son of the Living God (v. Mt. 16:16, Lk. 9:20), then the Lord began to reveal to them that he would have to suffer many things and be put to death (v. Mt. 16:21, Lk. 9:21-22). Since he had taught them this, then, as he was exhorting them to scorn death, he entrusted to them at the opportune time the message about his second and glorious coming.³² He did this for two reasons: firstly, so that they could know the identity of the one who was about to suffer such things from the Jews, and secondly so that they could know what benefit they would have from his struggle. And indeed, in explaining these matters to the disciples, he did not simply use words to relate to them the great and imperceptible mystery of his second theophany. Instead, lest he seem to engender their faith with mere words and phrases, he continued with his actions and showed them to their very eyes the image of his divine kingdom³³. Thus, having said that he will be ashamed of the one who was ashamed of him when he comes in the glory of his father (v. Lk. 9:26), he continues by saying “Truly I say to you, there are some present here who will not taste death until they see...”³⁴ (Lk. 9:27).

³² The sentence, as it stands in the PG is problematic. I’ve copied it here:

Ἄλλ’ ὅτε μὲν ὁ Πέτρος Χριστὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι ὠμολόγησε, καὶ Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος, ἀπὸ τότε ἤρξατο δεικνύναι αὐτοῖς, ὅτι δεῖ αὐτὸν πολλὰ παθεῖν καὶ ἀποκτανθῆναι· ὅτε δὲ αὐτὸς καταφρονητικῶς ἔχειν τοῦ θανάτου παρεκελεύετο, **ἐδίδαξε δὲ**, ὅτι δεῖ αὐτὸν πολλὰ παθεῖν, τότε κατὰ καιρὸν τοὺς περὶ τῆς δευτέρας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνδόξου παρουσίας λόγους παρεδίδου· ὡς ἂν εἰδέναι ἔχοιεν, τίς ποτε ἦν ὁ μέλλων τσαῦτα πάσχειν ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων, καὶ τίς ἔσται αὐτοῖς ὁ καρπὸς τοῦ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀγῶνος. (PG 24.548).

The bolded words, ἐδίδαξε δὲ (he then taught), as presented now are problematic. Namely, we have two finite verbs without a coordinating conjunction (ἐδίδαξε would need to coordinate with παρεκελεύετο or perhaps παρεδίδου, neither good candidates). Since supplying a καί would result in a decidedly un-Eusebian style, I’ve decided to instead emend the bolded phrase from ἐδίδαξε δέ to the aorist participle, διδάξας. This is still consistent with Eusebius’s style, as he prefers heaping up participles to coordinating conjunctions. The Commentary on the Psalms offers a useful parallel. Note a finite verb (ὑπέγραψεν) followed by the διδάξας ὅτι:

Προτρεπτικῶς δὲ τὸ, *κλαύσωμεν ἐναντίον Κυρίου, ἐπαγαγὼν, τοῦ ποιήσαντος ἡμᾶς, ἀγαθὰς ὑπέγραψεν ἐλπίδας, **διδάξας***, ὅτι μὴ ἀλλότριοί ἐσμεν αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ’ ἔργον αὐτοῦ καὶ ποίημα αὐτοῦ· δι’ ὃ προσήκει τὰ χρηστότερα προσδοκᾶν, ἅτε δὴ κηδομένου αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἰδίου ποιήματος. (PG 23.1213)

The Latin translator of the PG omits those words in translation, understanding the phrase ὅτι δεῖ αὐτὸν πολλὰ παθεῖν (that he must suffer many things) as syntactically equivalent with καταφρονητικῶς τοῦ θανάτου ἔχειν ([ordering them] to scorn death). The Latin thus translates as follows, “When he was urging a contempt death, and that he must suffer many things, at that time...” The problem with this (beyond the omission of the problematic words) is that the two subordinate clauses are really quite different, and seem to demand two verbs. The first is a command for the disciples (to scorn death), while the second is the content of his teaching (that the Lord must suffer many things). Παρακελεύομαι works quite nicely for the first subordinate clause (as it’s a command or exhortation to scorn death), but not for the second (he would not command them that he must suffer). Thus I think we need a second verb, or rather, a participle. διδάξας is the least problematic option I have thought of, though I imagine there are other possible solutions.

³³ A reference to the transfiguration, which follows this passage in both Matthew and Luke.

³⁴ The passage cuts off after “there are some present here.” I have taken it through “who will not taste death until they see” to make the reference to Lu. 9:27 clear, but I’ve not finished the verse as it’s not clear what Eusebius’ text read. If he’s conflated the verse with Matthew (and he’s used Matthew’s wording at other places in this passage), then it might finish “... until they see the Son of Man coming in his kingdom.” If he’s following Origen’s text of Luke, it might read “... until they see the Son of Man coming in his glory.” Our critical text (the NA²⁸) reads “... until they see the kingdom of God.”

Having taken aside Peter, John, and James... (Lk. 9:28)

Now, in the transfiguration, only three were considered worthy of seeing the kingdom of Heaven revealed to them in power. At the consummation of the age, however, when the Lord comes with the glory of his Father, it will no longer be Moses and Elijah alone who attend him, nor will only three of the disciples be with him, but all of the prophets, patriarchs and righteous ones. Furthermore, he will lead those worthy of his divinity not up to a high mountain, but into heaven.

Moreover, when he shows his face, his divinity will shine not like the sun, but beyond every created light in both the sensible and noumenal realms,³⁵ since he himself is the light coming into the world that illumines every man (v. Jn 1:9). For it will not be as it was when he said to Moses, “you will see my back, but my face will not appear to you” (Ex 33:23). He will not do the same thing then; instead he will show himself to the saints so that all may say, “but we,³⁶ with unveiled face, behold as in a mirror the glory of the Lord, and are being transformed into the same image from glory to glory” (2 Cor. 3:20).

And at that time, a voice from the cloud will not cry out,³⁷ nor will the Father testify about the Son through a cloud, but the Father himself, without any shadow³⁸ or interpreter, will glorify his only begotten son by his own work before all his saints, having shown the son to share the same throne with himself, revealed the son as a fellow king, and placed him over every power. At that time, it will no longer be as before when only three disciples heard the voice on the mountain and fell on their faces in fear, but “every knee will bend in heaven, and on earth, and under the earth” (Phil. 2:10).

And a voice came from the cloud saying... (Lk. 9:35)

The voice of the Father spoke through a cloud, for this is how God appeared as he was testifying about the sonship of Christ. For it was necessary that Peter should not be the only one to know that he was the Christ, the Son of the Living God, and not fitting that the Lord alone should testify to Peter that he [Peter] had received this knowledge about him [the Savior] from the Father in Heaven. Rather, it was necessary for the voice of the Father himself to seal the truth of this message by testifying that Jesus was the Son of God and enjoying that it was necessary to listen to him.

³⁵ “*sensible and noumenal.*” These are philosophical terms denoting the realm of things that are accessible to the senses (and thus *sensible* properly speaking), and the realm of those things perceptible only by the mind (Grk. *noos*).

³⁶ Like P46 and several other early witnesses, Eusebius’ biblical text lacks πάντες (all).

³⁷ Lit. *a cloud will not cry out*

³⁸ Such language is generally used by the Early Christian authors to discuss God’s “overshadowing” presence in the tabernacle. The idea here is that God will not conceal himself as he has in the past, but reveal himself openly.

If a son of peace is there, then your peace will rest upon him (Lk 10:6)

Do you see how he enjoins them to judge first, rather than to offer themselves indiscriminately to all? He tells them to begin with their godly work, that is, to give from their own possessions to others. Thus, 'peace' was a fitting word for these soldiers of God, since they had seized the prizes of victory from the enemy. For the word 'peace' provided for those who were worthy first a pursuit of the enemy, then the subjugation of the hostiles, and finally a happy reconciliation with God. Therefore, only after they had lent out their peace to the souls of those who had received them could they then receive hospitality from their hosts. For this reason, it was necessary for the Lord³⁹ to instruct them ahead of time not to enter haphazardly into just any house, nor to consider every man worthy of receiving them. Rather, they were to ask in each town or city whether there was a man renowned for good works and a pious life, the sort of man who would be able to receive soldiers of the King with the hospitality of virtue.⁴⁰

Whenever a man of this sort was found, they were to go into his house and set out for display the weapons⁴¹ of their army, for these implements were the guarantors of peace. They were to consider both the man who received them, and his entire household as worthy of their greetings of peace. Then they were to remain there, rather than moving on or changing from house to house. For this was the sign of an accurate judgment, since neither heedlessness nor carelessness are certain, nor belong to the path of surety.⁴²

On account of this, he instructed them not to stay with someone first, then determine the host's worthiness, and then move to a different place after insulting their host. For if this one were ever found unworthy of receiving them, then when they departed, they would both incur unnecessary enmity, and have thrown their peace to those unworthy of it.

Instead, he instructed them first to search out diligently a worthy man. Then, they were to come [to his home] in this way: they were to share from their wonderful supply of peace, and to give freely not only to the man of good-repute, but, because of him, they were also to share with his entire household. The Savior did not overlook the possibility that, after a worthy man has been found and received a soldier of the kingdom, the sorts of things might

³⁹ Grk. *him*.

⁴⁰ ξενία were friendly gifts offered to gifts, typically food or drink (v. LSJ, ξένιος). The idea here is that the host will receive the disciples not simply with food and drink, but also with a virtuous soul, i.e. one that is open to their message.

⁴¹ The "weapons of their army" is a Pauline phrase. 2 Cor 10:4-5 reads, "for the weapons of our army are not fleshly, but able by God's help to destroy fortresses, as we destroy arguments and every opinion that exalts itself against the knowledge of God..." The immediate context of 2 Cor 10 suggests that the weapons are persuasive arguments, but miraculous cures and other demonstrations of power are likely in view too. This is suggested by Jesus' words in Lk 10:9 where he instructs the disciples "heal the sick in it (i.e. the city), and say the them, 'the kingdom of God has drawn near.'" The exegete himself elsewhere emphasizes the importance of miracles in persuading people to receive the Christian message. See the comments on Lk 9:1 where he states, "After all, the message alone, without any works, would never have generated sufficient trust in those who heard the message." Paul himself also emphasizes the importance of miracles in engendering faith. See 1 Cor 2:1.

⁴² That is, moving from place to place would be a sign of carelessness and of a lack of concern for stability.

then happen that often occur in the house of a pious man, that is, his parents, or brothers, or others near to him by kin might stand opposed and fight, not only against the sent-one,⁴³ but also against the one who had been greatly honored by hosting him. In this case, the Lord⁴⁴ made necessary provisions by saying to his disciples, “If the household is worthy, then let your peace come upon it; if it is not worthy, let your peace return to you” (Mt 10:13). “For you,” he says,⁴⁵ “for the sake of the man of good-repute, and for the sake of the worthiness of your own reception, do not only announce the good news with blessings of peace to him alone, but also announce it openly and clearly with greetings of peace to his servants and family members. Let your gifts be freely and richly made known to his parents, siblings, kinsmen, and all the rest of the household of the one who has received you. For thus, if these too should be found worthy of your blessing, then let your peace come upon them as upon sons of peace. But, if they should be seen to be enemies of your peace, and in no way worthy of it, then once you have taken back your great gifts, withdraw from these unworthy men, and let your peace return to you, along with your blessing, since you have clearly fulfilled your duties in the matter.”

Eusebius of Caesarea’s Fragments on Luke Part 9

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And whenever you enter a town and they receive you... (Lk. 10:8)

In this passage, he exhorts them yet again to preach the kingdom of God, and to say that it has drawn near. They are not to render their message fruitless or without proof, but to give evidence for the message [24.553]. This is done by healing the sick in the village and receiving nothing in return beyond their daily food. He established this by saying, “Eat what is set before you, and heal the sick among them” (Lk. 10:9). But if no one should be found worthy of the demonstrated gift, what should they then do, since the circumstances were unfavorable? Listen closely to what he says after this, when he teaches them, saying, “Whenever you enter a town and they do not receive you...” (Lk. 10:10).⁴⁶

When the armored strong man guards his own court... (Lk. 11:21)

He calls the devil, who rules over the race of men, a “strong man.” His court is the earthly abode of mortals. He [the devil] demonstrated that all of this was his when he said to the Savior, “All of this I shall give to you, if you fall down and worship me” (Mt. 4:9). He said this as he showed to him the kingdoms of the world and his glory from the top of the high mountain. Indeed, he used to have all of these possessions in peace, when no one was

⁴³ i.e., the apostle or disciple

⁴⁴ Grk., *he*.

⁴⁵ This construction usually indicates a direct quotation of the scripture, but here Eusebius puts his own paraphrase into Jesus’ mouth.

⁴⁶ The passage continues, “But whenever you enter a town and they do not receive you, go into its streets and say, ‘Even the dust of your town that clings to our feet, we wipe off against you; nevertheless know this, that the kingdom of God has come near.’ I tell you, it shall be more tolerable on that day for Sodom than for that town” (Lk. 10:10-12 RSV).

depriving him of them. But when one stronger than him came, wrestled him to the ground, and then put him in chains, then [the stronger man] took his full set of armor, in which [the weaker one] had formerly trusted, and then he seized the spoils and distributed them. By “full set of armor,” [the Savior] referred figuratively to the polytheistic deceit of the demons. The demons, who establish [the devil’s] work throughout the earth, are his fellow workers in his tyranny over men. Men’s souls were their spoils, which were rendered captive by the demonic “full set of armor.”⁴⁷

But Christ, after putting that terrible tyrant into chains, utterly shattered his “full set of armor,” and completely routed the demons, the unclean spirits, and the opposing powers. He gave [the devil’s] spoils, which had formerly been enslaved under his tyranny (I mean the nations who were set free from the former slavery) to his own rulers and authorities, to those soldiers of his own kingdom who fought under him, that is, to the apostles and to their successors. Miraculously, he foretold this about the spoils in the prophecy that says, “The king of the army of the Beloved will grant by his beauty to seize the spoils of the house” (Ps. 67:13 LXX). These are clear signs of God’s kingdom, which brings down and humbles every empire, power, and authority, and all of the demonic tyranny of paganism, and holds sway over all the men on the earth. For this reason, the Savior said, “If I cast out demons by the Spirit of God, then the kingdom of God has come upon you” (Mt. 12:28).

When they bring you before the synagogues, etc. (Lk. 12:11)

Indeed, in this way he began to fill them with resolution and courage through announcing that they would share in the divine Spirit. For it was fitting for them to have power through him. And why should they not be filled with courage, bravery, and a noble readiness? Why should they not go bravely before rulers, kings, and judges, when they had fully learned beforehand that it would not be they who would respond to these rulers with all skill, but a certain divine power within them, through which they would speak without hesitation to rulers and even to kings!

Once the teacher had spoken these things, it followed necessarily that the disciples would have an undivided faith, and would doubt in no way at all, for they had already received proof of his words through the things he had said earlier, in which they trusted because of his deeds.⁴⁸ After all, they had made the sick well through the power of the divine word, and were able to heal leprosy, an incurable disease among men, along with all other bodily ailments. They were able to drive out the demons who ravage mankind, not through some crafty trickery of their own, but solely through the divine grace that they had been provided through him. Why should they not stand without any worry before these second-class courts, and even believe that they should discourse with kings? Why should they not take courage in the promise of the Spirit who was to be given to them?

⁴⁷ i.e. the souls were made captive by pagan religion.

⁴⁸ The Greek here is tricky. It seems to mean that the disciple knew to trust Jesus’ promises because prior, they had witnessed his teachings and miracles.

Do not worry about your life, what you will eat, etc. (Lk. 12:22)

Once the Lord had bid us to take courage, telling us that we must not worry either about food or the needs of the body, he turned the discourse in no unskilled way, and adorned his teaching with a most rational example. For he exhorted us, saying, “Do not worry about what you will eat or wear” (Lk. 12:22).

Surely the soul is greater than food, and the body greater than its covering? This was the first argument, when he said that one must not worry about himself. For if man’s soul is truly better, greater, and more honorable than food, which comes out of the earth (since it is rational and has an intellective essence), and if God brought it into being from non-being, and granted that we, worrying about nothing, should partake in it [i.e. have a soul], as he made us rational, soul-endowed creatures, then why should one pay attention to the lesser thing, that is, to food? After all, the one who gave the greater gift will certainly be able to provide for our needs. The same argument also applies to the body’s clothing. For if it is granted that the body of a living being is greater than the exterior garment that surrounds him (an almost foolish comparison), and if the Creator himself established that the body should partake in life and the soul, then why should one agonize over whether the one who provided a better garment will also provide a lesser one?⁴⁹

This was the first demonstrative argument. He has used a second example in saying, “Look at the birds in the sky, how they do not sow, and your heavenly father feeds them. How different you are from them!” (Mt. 6:26). For if God, who oversees and cares for all things, provided food that came of its own accord for these birds, whose father he is not, then for you, who are created in his image, and whose father he truly is because of the rational and noetic⁵⁰ essence in us, how will he not give every thought to our life? Indeed, he will provide nourishment without any worry, as a father provides necessities much more readily for his sons than for the birds of the sky, for whom food is provided without any work, [24.557] sowing, or plowing, since your father also gives them both life and nourishment.

The Savior used great precision in exhorting his disciples. He did not simply use a general example of irrational animals. He did not, after all, mention reptiles, cattle, or even fish, but spoke only of birds, since some of these eat flesh, some feed on the earth, and some yet eat other things. Thus, he distinguished the seed-eating birds from the flesh-eaters and scavengers, which he clarified by saying, “they neither sow nor reap nor store food in storehouses, but your heavenly father feeds them” (Mt. 6:26). He suggests that he means high-soaring birds by calling them, “the birds of the sky.”⁵¹ In doing this, he was encouraging his disciples to imitate those birds who feed in this manner. Equally, in his

⁴⁹ The point is that since God provided a body as a covering for the soul (the more important covering), he will also provide clothing as a lesser covering for the body.

⁵⁰ That is, pertaining to the νοῦς, (*noos*) or mind.

⁵¹ The author makes a distinction common in ancient science between ἀήρ (*aer*) and οὐρανός (*ouranos*) or αἰθήρ (*aether*). Since the Jesus mentions “birds of sky/heaven” (οὐρανοῦ, *ouranou*), our exegete infers that Jesus is referring to high-flying birds rather than low-flying ones, which might have been called, e.g. “birds of the air” (ἀέρος, *aëros*).

explanation of providence, which watches over all things, he was guiding them so that they would be able to recognize by this example that their heavenly father cares much more about their food than about the food of the birds of the sky.

By calling on the heavenly father, he was carefully teaching them a marvelous doctrine. For just as a human father has sowed his own flesh to each [of his sons], so the heavenly father has imparted to us the power of rationality and intellect. Why then should we worry? Surely it is utterly clear that God, who is by virtue of our nature our father,⁵² and yet greater still, will provide for us much more carefully than for the birds of the sky, though he does readily provide them with food since his providence extends even to them to make them well-fed, strong, and healthy.

Moreover, in Luke⁵³ the Lord says, “Consider carefully the ravens,” which suggests even more. After all, food is more readily available for seed-eating birds, but is much more difficult to come by for carnivorous birds like ravens. Nevertheless, not even birds of this sort lack food, as providence extends to every place. He uses a third argument for the same purpose when he says, “which of you can add one hour to his life by worrying?” (Mt. 6:27). So then, if you are unable even to manage the smallest thing, why should you worry about the rest? Rather, just as no one ever managed to contrive by his own cunning any addition to his own body, just so one cannot by worrying over the end of one’s life ever become able to contrive for oneself even an extra day or hour at the end of life. Why then should we be overly worried? Rather, we must instead trust God to work out his purpose. After all, if he has decided that we shall grow strong, we shall grow strong, without having worried at all. If he has decided that we shall live and have long lives, we shall live and grow old, without having worried a bit. But if he does not wish for a certain life to continue, then every contrivance of man is vain.

[24.560] Just as he would instruct them in this way about food, so he would counsel them about clothing, saying: “Look at the lilies, how they grow...” (Lk. 12:27). Once again, he here employs an example to persuade them to expect that God will always provide their clothing.⁵⁴ For even if there is someone among men who is arrayed with expensive clothing and has a love of finery, look, he says, with your eyes at how the manifold wisdom of God, the maker of all, extends even to the flowers, which grow out of the earth, and see that he has arrayed them with many colors and adornments.

In doing so he has transformed the earth and its lifeless dust with colors much more resplendent than even purple and gold: for he has laid out beauty within the earth, with thin petals and pretty blossoms that spring forth at their own accord. The result is that such fine craftsmanship will not be found with any luxury-loving king, not even with

⁵² The author here likely means that God is properly the father of human beings since they possess reason, which animals lack. Since reason sets humans apart from the rest of creation, and that reason comes from God, God is our father “by virtue of our nature” (*κατὰ φύσιν, kata physin*), while he’s only the maker of the other animals.

⁵³ Another indication that much of this material originally was written about Matthew’s gospel. Excellent point.

⁵⁴ More literally, “... to expect that clothing will always be provided for them by God.”

Solomon himself, who was renowned among the ancients for wisdom, wealth, and luxury. Nothing can be found that perfectly possesses the adornment of even one of the flowers that spring from the ground. Why then should we marvel that one who adorns the flower of the field in this way for no useful purpose, a flower whose end is destruction in fire, shall also provide physical clothing for us during our present life? In this way, he orders us to scorn everything, and to seek only his kingdom. For those who never seek the kingdom and give no thought to virtue will have no share in the promises. These promises will only come to those who care⁵⁵ for God's concerns, that is, how they might please him, and to those who busy themselves with the pursuit of nobler things. For they care about the things that are dear to God, and God cares about them in return.

“For where your treasure is, there your heart will be also” (Lk. 12:34)

Everyone naturally loves what he enjoys, and directs his attention to where he thinks that he will acquire profit. For this reason, the Lord states the maxim that one must not store up treasures on earth. For he says that if someone has, as his lot in life, every sort of possession and wealth, then, since he has fixed his hope on the affairs of this present life, he also places his thoughts and attention, which the Lord called “heart,” below on the earth, and there his heart is tossed about and confused, where he thinks that he has gained his treasure. But, if someone trained in heavenly instruction should undertake all his affairs by first fixing his gaze above, and then by casting his hope on the promises of heaven, then he shall purge every thought of acquiring wealth on earth and pass on to the peak of poverty. As he aligns himself wholly with nobler things, then he will acquire all manner of wealth in heaven, and that is where he will make his deposits, eagerly sending his possessions ahead of himself. It is reasonable then that such a person may benefit from this noble hope by aligning his thought and attention with heavenly matters. For he will fix his attention on wherever his treasure is. Though it seems that he is living on earth, and participating in human life with other people, it is nevertheless in his power even now to pass on and take part in heavenly life.⁵⁶ [24.561] Therefore, we must look on high and set our hopes on the place in which we have gathered our treasure.

⁵⁵ The verb translated “care” (μεριμνάω, *merimnao*) is the same word translated “worry” above.

⁵⁶ The Greek text as printed in the PG strikes me as slightly problematic. ὡς δοκεῖν μὲν ἐπὶ γῆς παρεπιδημεῖν, καὶ τῷ σώματι μόνῳ συνεῖναι ἀνθρώποις, τῇ δὲ δυνάμει τὰς οὐρανίους ἤδη διατριβάς μετιέναι.

I've chosen to amend δοκεῖν to δοκεῖ. The indicative makes much better sense than the infinitive, and it would be easy to add a nu because of the following mu in μὲν (the two look letters almost identical in Byzantine book-hand). The Latin translator seems to agree, as he uses the verb *videatur* to translate δοκεῖν.

My translation here is somewhat different than the Latin translation than the PG: *ita ut corpore tantum versari in terris cum hominibus uideatur, animi autem vi coelestes sedes jam occupare*. The Latin translator evidently was puzzled here, as I was. The Latin reads, “thus, though he seems to be going about life on earth with people, nevertheless by the power of his soul he already inhabits a heavenly home.” The problem here is in the second half. The Latin does not correctly understand the Greek idiom τῇ δυνάμει [sc. ἐστὶ] “it is in his power” (V. LSJ IV.), incorrectly introduces *animi* (of the soul) into the text, and incorrectly renders μετιέναι οὐρανίους διατριβάς as “inhabits heavenly dwellings” rather than something more like “goes beyond [to partake/attain to] heavenly way of life.” The distinction here is not so much body and soul, nor between heaven and earth, nor between two different residences, but rather between two expressions of life: one

“And you are like people awaiting their master, the time when he shall return from the wedding.” (Lk. 12:36)

[24.561 continued]

Elsewhere, he has already this when he said about weddings, “The kingdom of heaven is like a human king, who has planned a wedding ceremony for his son.”⁵⁷ So then, when the wedding has taken place, and the banquet is concluded, the master will go to his watchful servants, who, whenever the bridegroom arrives to take his bride, must hear him at once when he knocks, and open the door for him. They must always be alert and expecting his arrival. Therefore, he says, “blessed are those servants whom the master finds alert when he comes.”⁵⁸ Indeed, how could they not be blessed, when they will soon be considered worthy of honor? After all, he makes them a promise when he says, “Truly I say to you, that he will clothe himself and make them recline, and he will go around to serve them.”⁵⁹ He compared human life to night, as something truly characterized by darkness and ignorance. In doing so, he likened the span of human existence to the various watches, that is, the divisions of time in the night. In this, he shows that the blessed ones are those who remain vigilant because of the uncertainty of the hour of their death. What promise could ever be greater than this one, which states that the Lord himself will serve his servants, and that his servants will recline in his kingdom, which is to say, find enduring rest? Yet he continues later and makes the same promise to his disciples, saying, “But I am in your midst as a servant. You are the ones who have remained faithful with me in my trials. I will grant to you the kingdom just as my father has granted it to me, so that you may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom.”⁶⁰ The servants whom the Lord finds alert will attain this sort of blessedness. But in this mortal life, they did not always have the bridegroom with them, because they were yet little children, and not yet considered worthy of the bridal chamber, as they were living in a different manner. They were strangers and foreigners to these ways,⁶¹ and were being raised by teachers and guardians.⁶² For this reason, they would fast, just as he said that the bridegroom would be taken from them, and at that time they would fast.⁶³ Yet he promises that he will receive them at the end, when they have grown and been perfected, and that he will lead them into his own bridal chamber.⁶⁴ When he has let them recline, he will serve them, and they, because they will be eternally in his presence, will no longer fast, but find enduring rest from their toils and partake in heavenly delights.

based on earthly concerns like wealth and power, and the other based on heavenly concerns like virtue and giving to poor.

⁵⁷ Mt. 18:23

⁵⁸ Lk. 12:37

⁵⁹ Lk. 12:38

⁶⁰ Lk. 22:28-30

⁶¹ *Cf.* Heb. 11:13.

⁶² *Cf.* Gal 3:24, 4:2.

⁶³ *Cf.* Mt. 9:15, Lk. 5:34.

⁶⁴ *Cf.* Mt 9:15

“If the master of the house knew at what hour the thief was coming...”(Lk. 12:39)

He exhorts us in many ways to be sober and watchful, not only on account of the sudden and unexpected coming of the day of the Lord, but also because of the thief who lies near the “masters of the house,” that is, near to those who are wealthy in God’s eyes. This thief is the [24.563] hour of each person’s death, or rather, the angel who will come to take each person’s soul at the hour of his death. So then, if we knew the hour of the thief’s arrival, we would need to keep watch only at that time to prevent the plundering of our house. But since the time is unknown, we will have to always keep watch, as we do not know at what time he is appointed to come. Thus we must always be alert and guard our heart with every defense as Solomon instructs.⁶⁵ We must remain watchful throughout the entire night of our mortal life so that we may remain inviolate and not allow the treasures of our soul to be plundered. Thus, good awaits us for two reasons, both because we have kept our own possessions safe, and because we were ready to receive the Lord when he stood at the door of our soul and knocked, since we had arrayed ourselves with great light and girded our loins.⁶⁶

“The Lord said, ‘who then is the wise and faithful steward?’” (Lk. 12:42)

The Lord responds to Peter’s question by teaching that the things he said apply to all without distinction. Indeed, the instructions about constant alertness are spoken to guard against the thief’s coming. He now necessarily adds to this the manner in which the watchful must act. He exhorts them to look not only after their own welfare, but to attend to the salvation of others. On the one hand, he was indicating by “girding one’s loins” and “kindling the lamp,” the care that each person gives to himself. It is necessary, after all, always to shine with the light of knowledge and to gird one’s mind with prudence and every other virtue of thought. Likewise, one must keep watch always and guard against the thief so that he does not secretly plunder the storehouse of your soul and steal the things gathered there. Moreover, one must always await his master throughout the entire span of his life. But one mustn’t simply stop there; rather, it is fitting for us to show concern for our fellow servants as if we had received a charge from our own master, and thus to guard this pledge. It is right for us to be faithful and prudent that we may always distribute provisions to our fellow servants at the right time, and never at the improper moment; we must not overlook and delay, when it is required, nor offer improvidently to those who have no need, but always act at the right time, and not in an unmeasured manner. It is fitting for us to do this in two ways: by bettering our souls through the more spiritual⁶⁷ help that comes

⁶⁵ *Lit.* “in accordance with the author of Proverbs.” The exegete has in mind Prov. 4:23, “Guard your heart with every defense, for from it are the paths of life.”

⁶⁶ *Cf.* Lk. 12:35

⁶⁷ The Greek word here is λογικωτέρα, literally “more rational” or “more intellectual.” It’s difficult to find one English word. The distinction in play is Platonic: the difference between the world of sensible things (i.e. what we access through the five senses) and the world of “intellective” things, or the world of the forms, which is

through the nourishment of teaching, and also by attending to the needy through our physical possessions. We must always be doing this so that if our Lord should ever suddenly come to take us, he may find us carrying this out and then assign a reward far greater than that promised earlier to the one properly carrying out his instructions.⁶⁸ For it is on the basis of watchfulness, and a continual readiness for his coming, that he has promised that he will dress himself as a servant, make them recline and serve them himself. Yet it is on the basis of faithful, prudent administration, and a wise distribution [24.565] of provisions that he reveals the truly blessed.⁶⁹ He has pledged with the addition of the word “truly”⁷⁰ that he that will not simply place this blessed man over some, but over all his possessions. Thus the holy apostle, who had received such help, called those who are perfect in God’s eyes “heirs of God and coheirs of Christ” and then said, “Whether life, or death, the present, or the future, all are ours.”⁷¹ We must consider then these good possessions of his, which are in his kingdom, and which eye has not seen.⁷²

“But if that servant should say...” (Lk. 12:45)⁷³

The prudent and faithful servant shall obtain such things.⁷⁴ The one opposite to this, however, shall put to the test the wrath of the master, receive severe punishment, and be cut away from the body of the good servants. He will instead receive his portion with the hypocrites and unfaithful ones, whose end is weeping and the gnashing of teeth. He shall weep for all that he would gobble up with his teeth, and for the ways he habitually erred in his drunkenness. He will pay the penalty for his crime towards his fellow servants, for his

only accessible to the mind. In this philosophical tradition, inherited from the Greeks by most early Christians, there is no distinction between the spiritual and the mental. Instead, the spiritual and the mental were part of the same intangible realm, which was nevertheless “more real” than this one. Compare, for instance the word *esprit* in French, or *Geist* in German, which both refer both to “mental” and “spiritual” phenomena.

⁶⁸ The Greek text as printed in the *PG* is problematic. In a most irregular fashion, we have a purpose clause, introduced by ἵνα then followed first by an infinitive (εὐρεῖν) and then by a present indicative (δίδωσιν), made all the more painful because these two verbs are joined by τε. The first part of this monstrosity of Greek syntax is simple enough to fix. We expect two subjunctives. εὐρεῖν → εὔρη is a simple fix, as we need only to remove a ν and move the accent back. εἰ and ἦ are often confused in the manuscripts due to their identical pronunciation from at least the 9th century on. The second verb is a bit more difficult. If we keep the same verb, then we may change the indicative δίδωσι to the subjunctive διδῶ (or perhaps δῶ). This results in a somewhat strained construction, since δίδοναι ἐπαγγελίαν normally means “give a promise,” but here must mean, “give a reward” (i.e. give the reward promised). This is how the Latin translator understood it, and I’ve followed suit. It may be that a different verb, perhaps πληρώσει (fulfill) might be needed, but changing δίδωσι from the indicative to the subjunctive is the simplest solution and gives decent sense.

⁶⁹ More literally, “truly reveals the thrice-blessed,” ‘thrice-blessed’ being a way to say ‘extremely blessed.’

⁷⁰ The word “truly” (Greek: ἀμῆν) appears in Matthews version of the parable: Mt. 24:47.

⁷¹ 1 Cor. 3:22

⁷² Cf. 1 Cor. 2:8, *inter alia*.

⁷³ As the heading printed in the *PG* does not provide much context, here is Lk 12.45-46 in the NRSV: “But if that slave says to himself, ‘My master is delayed in coming,’ and if he begins to beat the other slaves, men and women, and to eat and drink and get drunk, 46 the master of that slave will come on a day when he does not expect him and at an hour that he does not know, and will cut him in pieces, and put him with the unfaithful.” The division of this material into its own section is arbitrary and unfortunate, as the first lines clearly refer to the end of the prior section.

⁷⁴ A reference to the promises delineated at the end of the prior section.

insatiable wantonness, and for despising his master, whom, though he confessed that he knew him, for he knew well that he had a master, he nevertheless thought that the master would delay the judgment for a long time, and thus deceived himself.

“To what shall I liken the kingdom of God? It is like yeast...” (Lk. 13:20-21)

The Savior calls the power that has been brought to maturity from a seed “yeast,” thereby representing the Holy Spirit in the parable. For the word of the kingdom of heaven, after it is first sown in the fields⁷⁵ and grows up, then returns a perfect fruit and supplies the further help of the Holy Spirit to those who have already benefitted from the earlier steps. This is done in the manner of yeast working through a lump of dough. A woman (i.e. the Wisdom of God) works this further help into the three measures of flour. The Wisdom of God thus supplies the Holy Spirit to those who have procured, by their great care and the tending of the seed, the three measures of flour (which are the divine teachings and knowledge of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit).⁷⁶ This same Wisdom, in a different sense, works by the help of the Spirit the leaven through the whole person, who consists of body, soul, and spirit. She thereby works her help into these three indicated measures, until the whole batch of dough is leavened. Thus, once one has been fashioned and leavened by participation in the heavenly leaven, he shall be called a heavenly and spiritual man, and moreover, a “new batch of dough,”⁷⁷ once this little⁷⁸ mixture of the three given measures and the breath within them has taken place. Indeed, once we have become a new and

⁷⁵ The PG text is nonsensical here. It reads, “The Word of the kingdom of heaven, after the first sowing *in the heavens*, renders a perfect fruit...” Capitalizing “Word” suggests the editors want us to understand Jesus himself here, but neither the scriptural context nor the exegetical argument warrants that conclusion. Rather, the λόγος (word) in view here is the message of God’s Kingdom, i.e., the Gospel. Furthermore, I’ve emended the PG’s text ἐν οὐρανοῖς (in the heavens) to ἐν ἀγροῖς (in the fields) for several reasons. First, there is a clear reference here to the parable about the kingdom of God being like a mustard seed that grows up into a might tree. In Matthew’s version of this story, the farmer plants the seed in his field (ἐν ἀγρῷ αὐτοῦ, Mt. 13.31ff.). Though this material has come down as a commentary on Luke, most, if not all, seems originally written with Matthew’s gospel in view, and so it is natural that a work in this passage should make its way into our exegete’s work. Secondly, ἐν ἀγροῖς is paleographically quite similar to ἐν οὐρανοῖς, which would be abbreviated in byzantine book hand as ἐν οὐνοῖς. Given that οὐρανίου (heavenly) appears on the prior line, it would be quite easy for a scribe (or editor) to read οὐρανοῖς (heavens) incorrectly. Finally, ἀγροῖς (in the fields) makes good sense, and certainly better sense than “in the heavens.” We might suggest ἀνθρώποις as another possibility (once it is sown *among men*).

⁷⁶ Our exegete, as will be made clear later, imagines these parables as sequential steps in the spiritual life. The first step is for the word of God to take root within and grow up. Such a person, metaphorically speaking, procures for himself a basic understanding of the Father, Son, and Spirit. The Wisdom of God (i.e. the bread-making woman in the parable) then works the power of the Holy Spirit (i.e. the yeast) into this person who has made a preliminary confession of the trinity.

⁷⁷ 1 Cor 5:7

⁷⁸ I would prefer to read μακρᾶς here (long) instead of μικρᾶς (small or little). Little seems to trivialize the mixture, which is actually quite impressive: our exegete is describing, after all, the work of God’s wisdom. A “long” mixture (i.e. a mixture that takes a long time) seems to me to fit better in this context. In both of these parables, Jesus is comparing the kingdom of heaven to something that starts of small and insignificant, but after the passage of time renders an impressive result (a seed becoming a tree, and yeast causing dough to rise). However, since ‘small’ does make passable sense, I have relegated the suggestion to this note.

spiritual loaf of bread, as the Apostle says, “for we, though many, are one loaf and one body” (1 Cor. 10:17), we shall take on the image and likeness of that bread that gives life to all, who came down from heaven to make⁷⁹ us like himself. He did well to liken the wisdom of God here to a woman. For the wisdom and power of God each in turn correspond to the example of the yeast. For just as in the parable of the farmer’s seed he used the example of a sower, since it would not have been apt for a woman to be mentioned in this role, so too here, [24.568] where bread is being kneaded into the three measures, the parable has most fittingly likened the one that was mentioned in the prior parable as a sower here to a woman who is making bread.

Now in the gospel of Matthew, once the Lord stated that the kingdom of heaven is like hidden yeast (by which he indicated the help of the Holy Spirit, and the benefit that comes from the message of the Gospel), he says in the next parable that the same kingdom is like a treasure (Mt. 13:44). One should indeed expect that a great treasure is being stored for the saints in accordance with the promises of heaven, a treasure that eye has not seen, and which escapes the notice of many. But the one who perceives this treasure, by cherishing what remains in him of the image of God, becomes utterly full of joy, as though he has discovered the most perfect of all good things. He accordingly considers everything else of lesser value and takes this treasure instead. After mentioning both the field and the treasure, he added to this the man who found them, thereby indicating the mind within man that loves God. For this parable, once spoken, reveals through this hidden treasure the promises of heaven (for there are many houses with our father in heaven⁸⁰) and the wealth that is in God, that treasure of every good thing.

The parable after this one about the pearl seems to me to speak of something even more valuable than the wealth revealed prior. This would be the divinity of the Only Begotten, which is more valuable than all of the things stored up in the treasure mentioned earlier. When someone attains it, he has been deemed worthy of a higher blessedness. The Word, the incarnated God, is rightly called a pearl, since a pearl is indeed something of this sort, for though it is created in the flesh of an oyster and in water, nevertheless it is something of value, and more valuable than every other body in the water. For by nature its body is sleek and wet, translucent, god-like, and full of light and airy substance.⁸¹ One may suppose the incarnate Word to be something similar, a light from the intelligible realm shining brightly through a mortal and wet body. And though there are many other pearls, such as the saints and friends of God, the prophets and righteous men, and still others who are dearly beloved

⁷⁹ I’ve emended the aorist participle ἀπεργασάμενος (having made) to the future participle ἀπεργασόμενος (to make). The text as printed in the PG would mean, “who has come down from heaven, having made us like himself.” Conceivably we might translate instead “who has come down from heaven and made us like himself,” but the future participle works much better. The two forms are often confused, being only a single letter different for most verbs.

⁸⁰ Jn. 14:2

⁸¹ Or, “fully of light and spirit.” The Greek word πνεῦμα (*pneuma*) in Christian contexts normally translates “spirit,” but it is also a technical term in philosophical and medical literature. For instance, in Plato’s *Timaeus*, life is said to reside of necessity “in fire and spirit” (ἐν πυρὶ καὶ πνεύματι). As a living creature the pearl contains *pneuma* as an element, which facilitates the comparison to Christ, who is filled with a different *pneuma*, the Holy Spirit. For an ancient discussion of pearls, see Aelians *Natural History* 10.13.

even in the flesh through the time of their life among men,⁸² there is no one other than this one sole man who has been found to be the truly unique, utterly resplendent, and of such great worth that Isaiah prophesied about him and said, “Behold, I place in Zion a chosen stone of great cost, a cherished cornerstone, and the one who believes in him shall not be put to shame.”⁸³

Now the one who is slow to be counted worthy of the kingdom of heaven is fittingly compared to a merchant who loves the beautiful and loves learning, who is much-experienced in various schools of thought, and who in his travels has found many pearls, which is to say, holy men of every sort. At last, when he finds the pearl of great price, to which the Word compares himself, he sells everything that he had earlier and buys this pearl. He does just the same as the earlier man, who sold all that he had and bought the field. We should thus recognize this as the end of supreme blessedness, to wear the pearl of great price, that is, the light of the divinity of the Only Begotten Word. To begin, we had the seed, then the return of the wheat-harvest. [24.569] Thirdly, there was the division from the tares, and fourthly was the growth of the seed into a great tree. Fifth was the leavening that comes through the Holy Spirit, and sixth was the treasure of the promises in Heaven. In seventh place, there was the attainment of the Word of God, who is himself the garment of all who are worthy of the kingdom of heaven.

“To what shall I liken the kingdom of God? It is like yeast...” (Lk. 13:20-21) continued...

Now these things⁸⁴ had been foretold, as the Savior had announced ahead of time what was going to happen. These things were soon going to obtain their end, such that after not much time the results of the work could be seen with the eyes.⁸⁵ From that time on, throughout the entire world of men, the symbols of the kingdom of God have been seen through his churches, as countless men are living within them in accordance with the gospel of salvation. They are as zealous in their piety as the prophets of old were, as pious even as Abraham himself, and Isaac and Jacob, since those men also, by anticipating in their time the laws of Moses, shone light upon the way life that is lived according to the Gospel. They did so both by their scorn for the deceit of polytheism inherited from their fathers, and in

⁸² The passage is difficult and I’ve emended the PG’s text. The PG reads: Πολλῶν γε μὴν καὶ ἄλλων μαργαριτῶν ὄντων ἁγίων καὶ θεοφιλῶν, προφητῶν τε καὶ δικαίων ἀνδρῶν, καὶ αὐτῶν ἐν σαρκὶ *πεπιλημένων* διὰ τὸν ἔνσαρκον τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίον, οὐδεὶς ἕτερος ἢ μόνος εἰς οὗτος ἀληθῶς μονογενῆς καὶ πολυφεγγῆς καὶ πολύτιμος εὐρηται. I’ve substituted *πεφιλημένων* (dearly loved) for *πεπιλημένων* (tightly compressed). The sense demands something that fits with the contrast that though there are many people who have lived holy lives on earth, none compare to Christ. *πεφιλημένων* is compatible with that, and makes more sense than *πεπιλημένων*. If we were to keep the PG’s text, I’d translate: “And though there are many other pearls, such as the saints and friends of God, the prophets and righteous men, and still others who were oppressed in the flesh through the time of their embodied existence among men, there is no one other than this one sole man who has been found to be the truly unique, utterly resplendent...”

⁸³ Is. 28:16

⁸⁴ This seems to be a new fragment with a new theme, not connected to the prior discussion of the man with the pearl. Our exegete is explaining Jesus’ words to the centurion in Mt 8:10-13.

⁸⁵ The Greek is indeed here painfully pleonastic

their embrace of the knowledge of God, who is over all things. Therefore, it is stated that many gentiles will come from the east and from the west (Mt. 8:11), and that they will become equal in honor with the blessed patriarchs due to their life, which is equal to the patriarchs'. But the descendants and successors of the patriarchs are called "sons of the kingdom" because of their forefathers, for they had the potential to share in the heavenly kingdom, just like their forefathers. But that they have been cast out from the promises is clear from the desolation of their city, the besieging of their temple, their dispersion to all the nations, their slavery under their enemies, and, on top of this, the deprivation of their worship according to their laws, their vying with Christ, and their alienation from the teachings of the Gospel. All of these may be taken as clear signs of the darkness that has seized them, into which they fell because of their opposition to the light of salvation.

Through this (*i.e.* the denarius) he seems to represent the kingdom itself, since a denarius bears the engraved image of a king.⁸⁶ Now since it was right for all who came to the vineyard and the community of worship to share in one and the same kingdom, as they had taken up the same labor, it was also fitting for him to give a denarius as a symbol for all those who belong to the kingdom. Some of these were called in their youth, some during the middle of life, some while already a mature man or older, and still others as quite old, already in the sunset of their lives. Yet one may well say that there is an interpretation of the parable different from the one above, where it was understood to indicate people who are made worthy of the divine call at different ages, from the first stage of life until its conclusion. In this other interpretation, to be called in the morning to the work of worship would refer to those who were justified first at the beginning of human life; the second group would refer to those in the time of Enoch and Noah; [24.572] those in the third hour would refer to those in Abraham's time; those in the sixth hour to those living during the time of Moses, Joshua, and the judges; those at the ninth hour would refer to those at the time of the prophets; those at the eleventh hour would refer to those justified after the theophany of the Savior. For all were considered worthy of the same reward revealed in the denarius, which referred to the kingdom of God.

"You certainly will not see me until he comes, when you say, 'blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord.'" (Luke 13:35)

For when those people, with whom he was speaking in person, see him coming in his divine glory from the heavens with a host of angels, they will be compelled to confess that he is the blessed one coming in the name of the Lord his Father.

⁸⁶ The following two paragraphs clearly do not deal with any passage in Luke. Instead, we have a discussion of the parable of the landowner in Mt 20:1–16. According to Mai this passage is assigned in the manuscript both to Origen and Eusebius. The language is not Origenic, but Origen does offers virtually the same interpretive options in his commentary on Matthew. It seems that our exegete has reworked Origen's views in his own language, and tweaked a few things. Origen, *e.g.*, understands the denarius as a symbol of salvation, but doesn't explicitly make the link with the image of a king.

“There was a man who put on a great feast and invited many people” (Lk 14:16)⁸⁷

The parable is different from the one told in Matthew. In Matthew, there is a king, a wedding for the king’s son, and many heralds. Those who are called do not come, but do violence to the servants and kill them. There are troops that are raised up against those who had killed the servants, and a man who is thrown out of the wedding feast because of his soiled garment. Here in Luke he introduces only a man and a feast; a single person is sent with the invitation; and those who are invited only refuse the invitation by pretending to have business to do. In short, they’re different because the one in Matthew is spoken in the temple to the chief priests and elders of the people, but this one is spoken in Galilee in the house of a leading Pharisee. For one of the guests at dinner heard the phrase, “you will be blessed because they cannot repay you. For you will be paid back in the resurrection of the righteous.” (Lk 14:14) <...> with the resurrection and the kingdom of God understood to be one and the same.⁸⁸

After the guest had said, “blessed is the one who eats bread in the kingdom of God,” the Savior shows him through the parable who this blessed one is by saying, “a certain man prepared a great banquet.” Once again, he calls himself a man in this.⁸⁹

Now you will understand his great dinner if you look away for a time to the rational feast⁹⁰ of holy and divine foods that is present throughout the world and in every part of the earth.

⁸⁷ Mai notes that this parable is also described in Eusebius’ *Theophania* 4.16, but that the phrasing in the Syriac translation differs significantly from the Greek here. For that text, see http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/eusebius_theophania_05book4.htm.

In a separate note in col. 575, he notes that this excerpt comes down in three different versions, with the wording slightly different in each. The first is transmitted without Eusebius’ name in his codex B. Mai found a second version in Nicetas’ catena in his codex A (=Vat.gr. 161). This one is printed in col. 575 and found below. The third version is in his codex E from the catena of Macarius Chrysocephalus and agrees with Nicetas’ version except for the introduction, which reads, “Many thought that this parable in Luke and the parable in Matthew about the wedding feast were the same, because in that parable one also finds the invited guests rejecting the call.”

⁸⁸ Either the excerpter has not done a very neat job here, or some text has fallen out. We are missing a finite verb in the sentence, and need something like “blessed the one who would be found worthy in the kingdom of God” for the passage to make sense. The version preserved below is more intelligible: “Know the one who was reclining had in mind the “you will be blessed” and the “it will be repaid you at the resurrection of the righteous” when he blessed the one who would be found worthy of the bread in the kingdom. For this was what was to be given to the blessed one in the resurrection of the righteous because of his love for the poor, as the resurrection and the kingdom of God may be understood to be one and the same. So then, the Savior establishes through the parable who this blessed person is for the benefit of the one who had said, blessed is the one who eats bread in the kingdom of God.” (col. 577)

⁸⁹ The Greek is not terribly clear here. It seems the author means that Jesus has once again likened himself in a parable to a man giving a feast.

⁹⁰ Throughout this passage, I translate the adjective λογικός (*logikos*) as “rational” as this is its normal meaning in philosophical discourse. For the Christian, however, there is a special resonance as *logikos* is the adjectival form of *logos*, or Word. So a “rational feast” (in the sense of a feast for creatures endowed with the faculty reason) would also be heard as a “Feast of the Word,” or a feast put on by and for Christ. As is so usually the case, one cannot bring across into English the various meanings of *logos* and its derivatives.

They are present through the inspired scriptures that have been given to all the nations. From there, ascend in your thinking to the long-awaited kingdom of heaven. Approach that concept of the great and true feast of that time, in which the souls of the blessed will take their rest along with the angels and the divine powers of heaven as they feast on the bread of angels. In that time, the passage that says, “and man ate the bread of angels” (Ps. 78:25) will be, properly speaking, fulfilled in a manner most fitting of God. For the food of that time will not have many forms, nor will it need seasoning or sauce. Rather, those who have fed others in the present age, whom the Savior has named, will feast only on bread that offers eternal life and makes one eternal.⁹¹ The bread would once more be the Word, who provides nourishment for the souls, angels and rational natures in heaven. This is precisely [24.573] what he taught when he said, “I am the bread of life.” For the rational nature of every holy one receives its life through participation in the Word who is God and was with God in the beginning (v. Jn 1:1). It indeed seems to me that the guest reclining with Jesus said, “blessed is the one who eats bread in the kingdom of God” because of teachings in which he had been instructed earlier. For it wasn’t one of those who simply happened to be there that said this, but rather, I suspect, one of those exceedingly great men who were counted worthy of the honor of being beside the Savior. And so he reclined next to him and wisely listened to his words, so as not to be ignorant of the kingdom of heaven, but so that he might recognize the bread of life that nourishes those worthy of the kingdom. This man displayed such boldness that he proposed teachings in the presence of the Savior. It was for his sake that the Savior told this parable to explain who this truly blessed person is that eats bread in the kingdom of God.

Now he says in the parable that many are called to the great banquet and to the bread given in him, but not all obtain his grace. For those who were called but busied themselves with something else were deprived of grace. Indeed, he teaches that the cares of this life drive and tear us away from the call. These cares are of different kinds. Some busied themselves with money and fields, valued these more than the call, and so rejected it. Others wasted their time with the affairs of this life, got enmeshed in the bond of marriage, or busied themselves with other such concerns. But a sentence was pronounced against them: “I tell you that not one of those men who were called and rejected it because of the concerns of this life will taste my banquet.” (Lk 14:24, with an addition) In their place, he says others will enjoy this blessed banquet. They are the poor and the crippled ones that have not handed themselves over to such things. Such people were formerly idolaters and had suffered grievously in their souls at the hands of evil demons. In keeping with his promise, the giver of the feast takes them in and heals every disease and sickness of their souls. Then he will give them a share in his own table, so that they might say “You have prepared a table for me in the presence of my enemies.” (Ps 23:5a) He will then provide for them bread and rational food and once he has given them a share of solid food he will make them glad with rational wine, so that they may say, “your cup, how strongly it inebriates me!” (Ps. 22:5b (LXX)) He will provide all of these things then, but in the present life he gives through the gifts of the Spirit a down payment of those heavenly goods.

⁹¹ Our exegete alludes to the “least of these” passage in Mt 25:44f

Now it is possible to give a different interpretation, namely, that the first who were considered worthy of the call were those “from the circumcision.”⁹² They arrogantly dismissed the call on the pretext of a better pursuit. They have, so to speak, their scriptures as fields, the prophets as their plowing oxen, and live with a certain wisdom as with a wife. Because of these they disparaged the grace of the gospel. The gentile nations were called after these, and though they had been blind and lame in their thinking, they enthusiastically obeyed. Therefore, they will also obtain the blessing. [24.576]

One might think that this is the same parable as the one in Matthew, where there is a king that throws a wedding feast for his son and sends servants to summon those who had been invited. But the one who pays close attention to the reading should find by using his mind that this one is completely different than that one. First of all, the parable in Matthew compares the story to the kingdom of heaven. This isn't said here. There, it called the summoner a king, but here it simply introduces a man. There the king was putting on a wedding feast for his son, but here we have simply a normal banquet. There many are sent out, but here we have only one sent out with the invitation. There some of those who failed to heed the call didn't come, while the others did violence to the servants and murdered them. Here they simply claim they are busy as an excuse and so refuse the call. Again, there the king raised a band of troops against those who murdered his servants. But here, the man gets angry because of the guests' refusal, but does nothing of that sort. Instead he commands his own servant to bring in the poor, the crippled, and the blind. The king who was calling people to his son's wedding feast employed many servants and did not bring in the poor and the crippled, nor the blind and the lame, since it was not fitting for these sorts of people to be among those invited to a royal wedding feast. Though many were called, the king punishes the one dressed in a manner unworthy of the wedding feast. Most concisely of all, the parable in Matthew was spoken in the temple while the Savior was speaking to the chief priests and elders of the people. Yet the parable in Luke simply prepares a mere dinner, while the Savior is hosted in the house of a leading Pharisee. In fact, Luke introduces our parable here by saying, “He went into the house of a certain Pharisee to eat dinner on the Sabbath, but they were watching him closely.” (Lk 14:1, paraphrased) After he had healed the man with dropsy and had taught them not to seek the seats of honor at feasts, nor to invite those who would invite them back, but instead those who could not, he went on and told this parable because one of those reclining with him had heard all this and said, “blessed is he who eats bread in the kingdom of God!” “He said to him, ‘a certain man put on a great feast.’” Luke thus writes that the parable set before us was spoken by the Savior to the one who had said, “blessed is the one who eats bread in the kingdom of God.” As such, this parable is entirely different from the first.

Since this parable too deals with the kingdom of Heaven, which is the theme of our entire work, let us see what it means and what is revealed through it. [24.577] One of those reclining and feasting with the Savior in the house of the Pharisee was moved by his words and blessed the one who would be found worthy of eating bread in the kingdom of God. Now I think he said this because the Savior had said to the one who invited him, “when you

⁹² *I.e.* Jews

host a meal, do not invite the rich, but the poor, and you will be blessed.” That is why he said to this man, “there was a man who put on a great feast...”

“But all began at once to excuse themselves” (Lk 14:18)⁹³

They did not come to the rational⁹⁴ banquet because they were lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God; they preferred matter to God. The wife represents love of pleasure. Fields and yokes of oxen represent love of money. He says that many were called to the great supper and the rational feast of the sacred and divine scriptures, but that not all obtained grace. Those who were called but busied themselves with other things were deprived of it. He taught that the cares of this life drive and tear us away from the call. These cares are of different kinds. Some busy themselves with possessions and fields, prefer them to the call, and so dare to refuse it because of them. Others waste their time with the practical affairs of this life, or become enmeshed in the bond of marriage, or busy themselves with other concerns of this sort. It is quite normal in fact for these and other things like them to lead away and distract people who, on their account, dare to reject the caller, the feast of the new covenant, and its rational food. They have deprived themselves of all these things. According to the given interpretation they preferred the pleasurable things of this life, which is to say money, business, and marriage, to the heavenly call, and because of these things they rejected grace. According to a different interpretation, those who were first considered worthy of the call were those from the circumcision, who arrogantly rejected the call with the pretext of a better preoccupation. For they have as fields their great scriptures, possess their prophets as plowing bulls, and they live with a kind of wisdom as with a wife. Because of these, they disparaged the grace of the gospel.

Because they were so thick of heart, he weaved this parable to give them a sufficient demonstration of the dispensation coming to them. The guest had in mind the “you will be blessed” and the “it will be repaid you at the resurrection of the righteous” when he blessed the one who would be found worthy of the bread in the kingdom. For this bread was what was going to be given to the blessed one in the resurrection of the righteous because of his love for the poor, as the resurrection and the kingdom of God may be understood to be one and the same. So then, the Savior responds to the one who said, “blessed is the one who eats bread in the kingdom of God.” Through the parable, he establishes the identity of this blessed person. Now because many were called to a dinner in which everything was ready and prepared (the master of the house prepares this feast in a manner worthy of the kingdom), and yet they rejected this grace, a sentence was pronounced against them that says, [24.580] “None of those who were called and rejected it because of their concerns for this life will taste my feast.” But he says that in their place others, who are not ensnared in the concerns of this life, will be found worthy of the blessed feast. These are some of the poor, blind, and crippled, who did not at all reject the call, since they do not conduct business, nor buy and sell, nor take their ease in marriage, and are not torn away by other things of this sort. He says that they received his grace with enthusiastic willingness. The

⁹³ There is a fair amount of repetition in this section, but Mai does not comment on it in the notes to the Greek text.

⁹⁴ See note above on the multiple meanings of the adjective *logikos*.

one who called them will first make them well, as he is able easily to heal them of every disease and sickness. Then he will... (as in col 573). Those who rejected the call and deprived themselves of all of this were the leaders of the synagogue. After these, a great number obeyed. Their being “in the streets of the city” represents them living according to a lawful constitution. Perhaps through these he hints at those gentiles who were about to come to his word. These sorts of people were idolaters before and had suffered grievous injury in their souls at the hands of evil demons. The giver of the feast, after taking them in accordance with his promise, will restore them to health and wellness, open the eyes of the blind, and heal every disease and sickness of their souls. Then he will set before them a spiritual feast. Now the first who were called were those from the circumcision, who arrogantly refused his grace. The second ones after these were those from the gentile nations, who before had been blind in their thinking, crippled and lame. They obeyed readily. So those on the streets would be those who go along the wide road of destruction and live without teaching or principles. Those on the street corners would be those who restrain their wickedness for whatever pretext. The rest would be the souls in Hades. For there are many paths for those who have exited this life. After putting off his body the Savior preached to these souls, and with mercy applies necessity those who are not yet moved by their own free will.⁹⁵ This then is the sort of banquet that has been prepared here for the dinner guests and these were the sorts of people who were called. Some were disobedient, and because of this did not taste the feast. Some were obedient, and because of this were taken in. Now go forward from here in your thinking, etc... (as in col. 572) And so, blessed are the ones who hunger and thirst now for righteousness, because then they will be filled, by being brought into the royal feast and partaking in the bread of life and the gladness of the new cup. The Savior established the symbols of these before his passion when he said, “I will not drink again from the fruit of the vine until that day, when I drink it with you anew in the kingdom of my father.” Because they remembered him in their trials, they, with whom he has made his covenant, will share in his table, which is full of every good thing. They remembered him here to eat and drink at his table there, to feed on the heavenly bread that nourished holy souls, and to partake in the wine that is the new fruit of the true vine, which God himself, the Father of all things, will dress and then provide its new fruit to those in that day that are found worthy.

“But if your brother sins against you...” (Lk 17:3)

Here he [i.e. the Savior] wants experienced Christians to be forgiving toward those who fall. In this way, he heals that terrible sickness that often grows up within them by keeping them from separating from those who fall.⁹⁶ [24.581] In fact, we frequently act so arrogantly towards them that we neither comfort sinners, nor receive the pleas of those who make requests on their behalf, nor consider how much we, as erring men, need the pardon of our great judge. It was reasonable then that he also uses the parable in Matthew,

⁹⁵ Clearly Jesus is preaching to the souls in Hades following his crucifixion, but what our author means by “applying necessity those who are not yet moved by their own free will” (τοῖς οὐκέτι αὐτεξουσίοις) is unclear. Perhaps he means that the punishments in Hades are ultimately supposed to lead to repentance of some sort. Such a notion was held by Origen and several other influential early theologians.

⁹⁶ That is, he heals the sickness of pride by reconciling strong Christians with weak ones.

in which debtors are depicted.⁹⁷ The one who owed thousands of talents was forgiven when he fell down [sc. at his master's feet]. The one who owed a hundred denarii, however, was assaulted by the one who had been forgiven all those talents. Through this parable he teaches that one may only obtain the kingdom by imitating God's goodness in forgetting wrongs, since the kingdom receives those who are worthy at the judgment, not those who are unyielding and have not imitated the Judge of All in this way. For when you have acted contrary to the will of God for your entire life, you cannot claim that someone has sinned against you more than you are in debt to God.

Sometimes we sin through our words, sometimes through shameful and wicked desires and actions. Regardless, however, of how much we stumble, we do not give up hope with God, because of his loving-kindness, forbearance, mercy, and readiness to forgive. Therefore, he follows the same rule, and measures us by those who sin against us. We must not ration out forgiveness to our fellow men and forgive those who sin against us only to the seventh offense like Peter; instead we must forgive to the seventy times seventh offense, like the compassionate and merciful Savior. This is not at all to make us busy ourselves day by day with reckoning the exact number of offenses, but rather to show us that forgiveness is boundless. For when Peter asked how many times one must forgive one who sins against us, he suggested seven times. The Savior responded, however, by saying that we must forgive seventy times seven times,⁹⁸ since we are fully convinced that one day an account will be brought against us by the Judge and King of All. When we all stand before his judgment seat, it will be measured to us according to the measure we used for others.⁹⁹

For the great King, in accordance with his love for men, has already forgiven all us debtors the entire debt of many talents. He has done this by granting forgiveness of sins and erasing the charge against us. And yet, we assault our fellow servants over small offenses, and even when begged do not forgive offenses done against us; thereby we fail to measure out to our fellow servants the same that we have obtained from God. Therefore, it is quite reasonable that compulsion should be brought to bear on us, and that the Lord who forgave us all our debt should no longer forgive us. Instead, he will measure us with the same pitiless, merciless, and cutting rule that we have used on others and he will sternly employ the same standard we used against our fellow servants. [24.584] You can find a way out for yourself from the charge brought before the judgment seat, if you can show love for your fellow man and be compassionate to those who sin against you.

⁹⁷ Mt 18:23–35

⁹⁸ Mt 18:21–22

⁹⁹ Mt 7:2

“And they will say to you, ‘Look, he is here’ or ‘Look he is there’ (Lk 17:23)

In Matthew this is said about the desolation of Jerusalem, which is why it continues, “at that time let those in Judaea flee to the hills.” But here he is speaking in advance about the times of the antichrist. As such, the passage does not continue that way.¹⁰⁰

“It is necessary first that he suffer many things...” (Lk 17:25)

He speaks obscurely in this passage about the apostasy that will then take place when he says, “first he must suffer many things and be rejected by this generation,” that is, by this generation of men. For he prophesied that the message about him would be cast out and rejected, and that his people would suffer many things. This may refer to the persecutions that took place soon after, in which the Savior suffered countless things and was reviled among men; or it may refer to his church and its message being driven out and fought against; or it may refer to the end of all things, when the message will be entirely rejected and cast out by the race of men.

“And just as happened in the days of Noah...” (Lk. 17:26)

As was stated,¹⁰¹ he says that the destruction of the wicked will take place like it did for those who lived at the time of the flood, since the message of the gospel had been driven out due to their apostasy. Indeed, just as he destroyed all people then, except those who had gone with Noah into the ark, so too at his coming he will shut out and destroy as in the days of Noah the ungodly and unfaithful, who waste their time on luxury, sex, drink, and the pleasures of this life.

So that no one would think these too will perish through water, he needed also to use the example of Lot— “Just as it happened in the days of Lot: ‘they were eating, drinking etc.’ but on the day that Lot left Sodom, he rained fire from heaven and destroyed everyone. It will be the same on the day when the Son of Man is revealed.” He thereby teaches that unspeakably terrible wrath will come upon all the wicked as fire and brimstone sent from heaven. Thus, the word of the prophet is extended to the wicked who pray for that day to come— “Woe to you who desire the day of the Lord!” Why? “it will be darkness to you, and not light; a day of darkness and shadow, a day of despair and disgrace” (Amos 5:18). The Savior was extremely precise in his observation when he said that the divine fire from heaven did not come down upon the wicked in Sodom until Lot went out and was separated from them. It was the same way at the flood, when he came and destroyed all the inhabitants of the earth only after Noah had entered the ark. [24.585] He says that it will be the same at the end of the age: the cataclysm of destruction for the wicked will not occur until those men found to belong to God are gathered into the heavenly ark, in accordance with the example of Noah. To these this word of the prophet will be spoken: “Go, my people, enter into your inner room... until the wrath of the Lord passes by” (Is. 26:20). Now

¹⁰⁰ i.e., the passage in Luke does not continue as it does in Matthew. *cf.* Mt 24:16.

¹⁰¹ This probably refers to an earlier passage of the original work that was not excerpted here.

just as in the time of Lot he acted so that the righteous did not perish along with the wicked, so at the end of age this destruction will not take place until all the righteous and God-fearing men on the earth are separated from the wicked and gathered into God's heavenly ark. So when no righteous man can any longer be found among men, but all are godless, impious, and born from the antichrist and apostasy rules throughout the whole world, then the wrath of God will come upon the wicked.

“And on that day whoever shall be on the roof...” (Lk 17:31)

He is referring through this to the persecution that will be carried out against the godly by the son of destruction. He calls the time before the end of the age “that day”, when he says, “Let the one who flees not turn back, nor become an imitator of Lot’s wife, who after fleeing the region of Sodom turned around and was put to death by being turned into a column of salt.” For those then caught in the midst of apostasy should not only look away from their possessions, but also from their own life and soul, so that they do not lose eternal life by surrendering themselves to apostasy by deciding to put too great a value on this temporary life.

“On that night there will be two on a single bed...” (Lk 17:34)

It is truly noteworthy how he calls the time of the apostasy and the deprivation of spiritual and rational light “night.” For the condition of men in that day will be worse than darkness and night, since senselessness and deceit will overtake them completely. Therefore he says, “I said to you, there shall be two on one bed and two around the millstone and one shall be taken” as to be kept apart from the wrath “and the other,” who had stored up wrath for himself for that day, shall be passed over so as to be delivered to the wrath. Through this he shows the division of the holy and God-loving souls from the ungodly ones. God leads them out in advance like he did when he led Lot out before the destruction of Sodom, so that his wrath does not come indiscriminately and seize the righteous. It is the same way before the end of the age: before his wrath comes against the ungodly there will be a division for the God-loving souls, when his angels will separate them and take them up. Likewise two will lie in one bed; one will be counted worthy of God and taken, while the other one will be left behind, as worthy of the wrath that is coming to the ungodly. The same will be the case for those grinding at the same millstone. He called those who endure until the end a poor, penniless, and wretched life, “women grinding grain.” [24.588] Those lying down,¹⁰² by contrast, are those who pursue a life that is free and at ease. The passage in Moses establishes this, where the word says the wrath will go from the firstborn of Pharaoh to the woman grinding and baking at the stone (Ex 11:15, paraphrased). Thus, through those examples the scripture presents the extremities of human life— both the distinguished, and the poor and ragged. In the same way here, then, he hints at those who live a free life by

¹⁰² Or, perhaps, “Those reclining.” The Greek phrase is οἱ ἐπὶ κλίνης (lit. “those upon the bed/couch”). The Greek word κλίνη could refer either to a bed for sleeping or a couch on which one would recline to eat. During a meal, it was very clear who were servants and who were free, because the latter would be reclining (v. *e.g.* Lk 22:27). Our author, who here draws a contrast between servants and free persons may have this distinction in mind.

using as an example those who are lying in one bed.¹⁰³ The one will be taken, i.e., the one worthy of God's call. The other, however, will be released, i.e., the one fit for his wrath. It would be the same for the two women grinding grain, that is, those who have lived a life among men that is poor and undistinguished. The better of them will be taken up and the other will be left behind.

They said to him, “where Lord?” and he replied to them, “where the body is, there the vultures will gather.” (Lk 17:37)

The disciples had asked, “Lord, where?” because they wanted to know where those not taken would be left. He said in reply, “where the body is” (or “the corpse”, as in Matthew¹⁰⁴) “there the vultures will gather.” By mentioning birds that feed on the dead, he hints at the rulers of this age, who at that time will persecute the holy ones of God. When these rulers gather together, the one unworthy of being taken will be gathered into their presence. This person is the other of those sleeping on the bed, and the other one of the women grinding grain. They will be handed over to the vultures gathered against them. The word of the prophet also calls those besieging Jerusalem vultures, like when it says of Nebuchadnezzar, “The great and great-winged vulture.” Perhaps by another interpretation the eagles refer to the powers of punishment and retribution ¹⁰⁵ who will come upon the ungodly. The Savior follows by exhorting us to persist in prayer, so that we will not be handed over to them.

“There was a judge who did not fear God” (Lk 18:2)

Therefore, he connects the parable about the unjust judge to this one to show that we must always pray and not lose heart. There is also the statement, “will the son of man find faith on the earth?” This indicates such a lack of faith, that few or no faithful people will be found at the time of his second divine appearance. This is an important sign of the time of the apostasy, when a faithful person will be found only very rarely. Perhaps there will not be even one, since some will be taken, and some left to be handed over to the vultures. As men's faith will be lacking, he will himself stand to carry out judgment on behalf of his holy ones who were slain by the ungodly. He will carry out this judgment with swiftness because of their crying out to him day and night. This crying out day and night he taught them through the parable of the unjust judge.

A certain noble man went to a far away land to claim for himself a kingdom and then return (Lk. 19:12)

This is what we are taught about in the parable: [24.589] his kingdom that is coming and not yet here, even if some imagined it was visible in this world; his passing over from earth to heaven and ascension; his second and glorious coming; his authority to judge and give to each according to his worth; the favorable judgment of his servants and faithful attendants;

¹⁰³ Or, “reclining on one couch.” See note above.

¹⁰⁴ Mt. 24:28

¹⁰⁵ i.e. demonic spirits

his condemnation of those who are not faithful like them; the preparation for the citizens of the kingdom set against him; and the just penalty coming to them that they will pay. He was explaining all this through what is laid out here.

He calls himself a man first because of his birth according to the flesh, which took place in the normal human way. He then calls himself noble, but not yet a king, because he did not yet make use of his royal dignity in his first coming. There were witnesses of his noble birth and lineage who entrusted the story to scripture. Of these, one established his human nobility by saying in his gospel, “The account of the birth of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham,”¹⁰⁶ and then set out in order the rest of the genealogy, which descended down to him both through common men and the royal line. But another evangelist taught about his eternal generation before all ages from the Father, which is his only true nobility, when he said, “in the beginning was the Word and the Word was with God and the Word was God. Everything was made through him.”¹⁰⁷ And yet this Word, God before all ages, became a noble man and lived a life contained in the writings of the gospels. After a sufficient time among men, he ascended to the Father and “went a great distance to claim for himself a kingdom and return.” By great distance he was indicating the road up to heaven from earth. He said that he would receive the kingdom that Daniel the prophet had spoken of darkly, “and behold, the Son of Man was coming on the clouds, and to him was given the rule and honor and the kingdom.”¹⁰⁸ “Receive” was a fitting word indeed, since he would always receive what his Father gave, as is clear from, “Ask of me, and I will give you the nations as your inheritance.”¹⁰⁹ In fact, once he receives what is given him by the Ancient of Days, he will then come again. That is why he says that he will receive a kingdom and then return. The divine Apostle makes it clear how he will return when he says, “The Lord himself, with a summons, with the voice of an archangel, with the trumpet of God, will come down from heaven.”¹¹⁰ His time away indicates his patience. It was necessary for him to be sent a great distance and to spend a long time there for the sake of many. This way, in the meantime his servants may give proof of their work.

“After calling his ten slaves, he gave them ten minas.” (Lk 19:13)

[24.592] By the people who received the minas, he meant his own disciples. He entrusted to each of them a mina, that is, one and the same responsibility, and commanded them to work until he returned from his long trip. This task was precisely the preaching of his kingdom, which his disciples have announced to all men. Now this was one unified task, since there was one teaching for all, and one faith, and one baptism, and one Word. As such, there was one mina. And yet its working out was for them quite varied: their task was illustrious and there were many ways to accomplish it. This is why the noble man was sent on a long journey. Thus it was said to him by the Father, “sit at my right hand until I make

¹⁰⁶ Mt 1:1

¹⁰⁷ Jn 1:1

¹⁰⁸ Dan 7:13; Mt 24:30

¹⁰⁹ Ps 2:8

¹¹⁰ 1 Thes. 4:16

your enemies a footstool.”¹¹¹ Now if one should wish to learn what sorts of enemies these are, the Word teaches us through the parable. He does this by introducing fellow citizens of the king who hate him and actually ask for his power. They say with bare head and unbridled tongue, “we do not want this one to rule over us.”¹¹² These people, though they were citizens, were rejecting their king, but the Savior hears this said by the Father, “Sit at my right hand, until your enemies are placed under your feet,” and, “Rule as Lord in the midst of your enemies.”¹¹³

Since his citizens became his enemies and rejected his kingdom, it is fitting that he said to them, “the Kingdom of God shall be taken from you and given to a nation that produces fruit worthy of the kingdom.”¹¹⁴ He explained the nature of this nation that was worthy of the kingdom by saying, “ask of me, and I will give you the nations as your inheritance.”¹¹⁵ He thus explained that his enemy citizens were none other than the Jewish nation, who, though they were the first to be counted worthy of the Savior’s grace, repaid him with hostility. Thus, he spoke prophetically about them, “they repaid me with evil deeds instead of loving me; they mocked me; they fought against me without reason; they spoke against me with a deceitful tongue, and they encircled me with words of hatred.” (Ps 109:2–4) In these ways they continually speak blasphemous words against him. They curse him, all but saying with their works, “we do not wish for this man to rule over us.”¹¹⁶ Therefore, not only will they be deprived of the kingdom, but they will suffer fitting penalties for their sacrilege. He called them citizens in the parable because they arose from the same family as him, since in his human lineage he also came from the same ancestors, and since he participated in the same legal community as them.¹¹⁷ These should be taken then as the indicators of his first coming. Since the Savior taught these things in this way, he correspondingly mentioned his royal and glorious return. He did this by bearing witness to the nature of the just judgment that he will give to all. [24.593] He will give a fitting reward to those who have administered their mina with true fidelity. This he will do by permitting them to rule and reign alongside him. But he will impose a harsh penalty on the one who in his negligence and fear gave no heed to the Lord’s bidding, but instead yearned for idleness and ease because of his unwillingness to endure the toil of work.

“Take authority over ten cities” (Lk 19:17)¹¹⁸

Now these kingdoms are fitting advancements.¹¹⁹ They bestow posts of leadership and command over souls on those who had been faithful with a little, that is, by acting worthily in their first life. You may learn of the sincerity of these aforementioned servants and the fidelity of their work in the passage, “their fame went out to all the earth, and word of them

¹¹¹ Ps 110:1

¹¹² Lk 19:14

¹¹³ Ps 110:1–2

¹¹⁴ Mt 21:43

¹¹⁵ Ps. 2:8

¹¹⁶ Lk 19:14

¹¹⁷ That is, Jesus lived under the Mosaic law.

¹¹⁸ This passage covers much the same ground as the prior.

¹¹⁹ Jesus rewards each faithful servant with a “kingdom,” that is, authority over 10 cities, or 5 cities, etc.

to the ends of the earth.”¹²⁰ God’s church was set apart from all the nations through the work of these friends of the Savior and of those after them who possess the same zeal. After a short time, the church began to fill the entire world. By another interpretation, those who have been entrusted with the saving word of the Gospel will perform their work through labors and deeds. They will thus fulfill the teachings of the Word through a godly and honorable way of life. The righteous judge will reward those who have especially distinguished themselves in their work with special honors, so that he may give to each of the righteous a fitting reward. But the Judge will impose just penalties for wickedness on the wicked and fearful servant who hid his words and bound them up within himself.

The phrase “over ten” or “five cities” indicates a charge of duty or authority that will be given to the saints over those who are lacking and still in need of correction. For he will pass this type of judgment for his servants. But then there are those who were not considered fit for his service, chiefly those who had been his fellow citizens. They considered themselves as citizens in the land of his enemies and of those who hate him,¹²¹ and sent an embassy to object to his rule. To these he showed the nature of their end by foretelling that the king, upon returning at his second and royal divine appearance, will carry out a harsh judgment against them: “But for these enemies of mine who did not want me to rule over them, lead them out here and slaughter them before me.”¹²²

“By what authority are you doing these things?” (Lk 20:2)

Now while he was performing works of divine power, and displaying miracles and marvelous signs, he would also instruct people in heavenly teachings. And yet, though they had to marvel, they did not manage to recognize from his words and deeds that he himself was the Messiah announced by the prophets. They disturbed the crowd by standing close together. Then they rebuked him by asking by what authority he was doing these things, and from whom he had received the authority to do such things undaunted.

“I also will ask you a question...” (Lk 20:3)

[24.596] With meekness and patience the Lord received them and asked about John the Baptist. He did not ask where John was from, but from where John received his custom of baptizing. For he thought it boastful and unbearable to testify about himself, but instead the reference to John contained in hidden form his teaching about himself. For it was acknowledged by all the people that John was sent from Heaven. John, in fact, would often testify about the source of the Savior’s power. For when people told him that Jesus was baptizing, he said in reply, “No man can receive anything from himself, unless it is given to him from Heaven above. You yourselves testify for me that I said, ‘I am not the Christ’ but that I was sent before him. And again, ‘The one who comes from above is above all things’ and again ‘The Father loves the Son and has given all things into his hand. The one who

¹²⁰ Ps. 18:5 LXX

¹²¹ That is, though they were citizens under their own king, they allied themselves with an enemy neighbor.

¹²² Lk 19:27. Mai notes, “*cf. Theophania*, PG 24.690”

believes in the Son has eternal life.”¹²³ Therefore, it was clear from John’s testimony “in what power” Jesus was doing these things, just as it was clear who had given him such power.

“There shall be signs among the sun and moon and stars.” (Lk 21:25)

For at that time, when the end of mortal life comes to pass and the form of this present world passes away, as the apostle says, a new age shall arise. For instead of all these perceptible lights that shine now in this world, the Savior himself will shine and be revealed supreme as the leader, light, and king of this new age. The power of his divinity will be so great and his glory will be so all-surpassing that the present sun, moon, and the rest of the heavenly lights will be concealed and hidden by his power because of the establishment of something greater.

“Signs of what is coming upon the earth...” (Lk 21:26)

He reveals what is coming by adding, “for the powers in heaven will be shaken.” For the powers of heaven will be shaken when the Son of God is established with his great power and glory. At that time, he will abolish the rebellious and insolent tyranny of the son of destruction by the coming of his royal presence, as the divine and angelic orders take up arms at his side. Then the scripture will be fulfilled that says, “raise up your doors, you rulers, and the king of glory shall enter.”¹²⁴ Where else would he enter but into the new age and new world? When the unseen and incorporeal powers that administer the whole of heaven are shaken from the station that they have occupied from the beginning of the age,¹²⁵ the entire heaven, sun, moon, and stars will pass away. Heaven will then be opened, as its gates, shut from all eternity, are flung open so that things beyond heaven may be seen and the Kingdom of God may be visible to all forever. [24.597] The Savior himself taught that we should pray for it to be established quickly when he bid us to say in the prayer, “Thy kingdom come, thy will be done, on earth as it is in heaven.”¹²⁶ Likewise, when bodily and perishable things pass away, the noetic and heavenly things will be established.¹²⁷ And when the unshakable kingdom of that eternal age is established, a new heaven and earth will arise in accordance with the prophet who says, “‘There shall be a new heaven and a new earth, which I make to abide before me,’ says the Lord.”¹²⁸

¹²³ See Jn 3:27–36

¹²⁴ Ps 24:7

¹²⁵ The Greek is not terribly clear. I’ve slightly paraphrased τῆς ἐξ αἰῶνος στάσεως παρακινήθεισῶν as “when the powers are shaken from the station they have occupied from the beginning of the age.” The Latin translator offers, *ex sua aeterna statione commotis*, which would mean rather, “when they are shaken from their eternal station.” The Greek may be construed so, but the author most likely means that the angels have occupied this station since the beginning of the present age, not that they have occupied this position from all eternity.

¹²⁶ Mt 6:10

¹²⁷ Noetic entities are opposed to perceptible ones, which are graspable by the five senses. Noetic things, by contrast, can only be grasped by the mind.

¹²⁸ Is 66:22

“For the powers of the heavens will be shaken.” (Lk. 21:26)

The powers that administered affairs during the prior age will then be shaken so that they may receive a greater state of being. These powers preside now over all the perceptible parts of creation in the constitution of this present world. For now they are in slavery because they serve corruptible bodies, but then in the new age they will be set free from their slavery to corruption into the glorious freedom of the children of God.¹²⁹ In the present age the creation groans because of its slavery to corruptible visible bodies,¹³⁰ and because it retains its own state in which the Lord of All placed it. At that time, however, when the divine Savior appears, the creation will be set free from its present state and transformed into something greater.

“When these things begin to take place, raise your eyes and lift up your heads” (Lk 21:28) ¹³¹

He says this to the disciples not because they will live and remain in this life until the end of the age, but because they share with us one body, that is, with all of us who after their time until the end of the age believe in Christ. Indeed, when we receive the promises in which we have hoped, though we had been stooped forward, we will then raise our eyes, and though we had once been humbled, we will then raise our heads. For our long awaited redemption will be the same for which all of creation yearns, as the Apostle teaches. Paul also awaits and groans for this redemption through his service to the words of the Savior.¹³² He clearly teaches when the redemption is near by saying, “when these things begin to take place.” For when the things he mentioned are no longer in their beginning, but have become a reality, it will no longer be right to speak of the redemption coming near, but of it already being in fact fully accomplished. The divine apostle teaches that at that point the liberation and redemption of the entire creation itself will come to pass because its transformation into something better will occur. That is why he says, “And the creation itself will be set free from its bondage to decay into the glorious freedom of the children of God.”¹³³ For since the children of God will be immortal and incorruptible in the new age, it is also necessary somehow for the creation itself, which is presently in bondage to corruption, to be transformed into incorruptible substance after being set free from its present condition. [24.600] You will rightly compare to this passage Daniel’s prophecy, “And then they will see the Son of Man coming on the cloud with glory.”¹³⁴ In Daniel’s

¹²⁹ See Rom 8:21

¹³⁰ The link between bodies *per se* and corruption in Rom 8:21 goes back in Christian theology at least to Origen. See for example, *On First Principles* 1.7.5 and 2.3. Much here sounds Origenic in thought, if not in expression.

¹³¹ As Mai notes (PG 24.597 n. 73), this fragment overlaps in part with the preceding fragment.

¹³² The Greek here is rather unclear. Our author clearly means that we await the same redemption as Paul, but it is unclear what he means by δουλεύων ταῖς σωτηρίοις φωναῖς, lit. “serving/being a slave to the saving voices/words.” I have followed the Latin translator and rendered it “through his service to the words of the Savior.” Our exegete probably has in mind Rom 7:25, where Paul states, “in my mind I serve the law of God” (ἐγὼ τῷ μὲν νοῦ δουλεύω νόμῳ θεοῦ).

¹³³ Rom 8:21

¹³⁴ Lk 21:27 / Dan. 7:13

prophecy, he saw the Son of Man, the cloud, and the kingdom that will be given to the Son of Man. Now at that time a single prophet was carried along by the Divine Spirit and saw what was to come.¹³⁵ But at the end of the age everyone, as the Savior says, will see him coming on the cloud with power. This will be a light that will bestow life and casts light on the new age through its glory, that is, through the Father's divinity.

When will this happen? When the times of the nations are fulfilled. For when the law that has been assigned to the nations is fulfilled, then there will be signs of the end of the world. Luke allows Matthew to explain what sorts of signs there will be. For it is necessary for the sun, moon, and stars to draw back and be subject to the Great Light, who will make his second coming with power and great glory. This light is himself God the Word. Now this all occurs so that the Son of Man himself, in place of all others, may cast his light upon the new age, when the prior form of the world passes away. The apostle bears witness to this when he says, "For the form of this world is passing away."¹³⁶ So then, when this form passes away, the sun, moon, and stars will pass away along with it. At that point, the sun will be darkened, not with the result that it is deprived of its own light, but it will be dark by comparison with the greater light. For it also will receive a seven-fold reward for its labors. The moon will be just as the sun, and so too will the stars receive a transformation into something better.¹³⁷ On that day, the sun and moon will be idle, nor will there be any more need for stars, as there will not be a night. They will take their rest after being liberated along with the rest of the heavens. This is how it is that the new age will be without sun, moon, and stars, for that day will shed its light on holy souls.

When he says, "in the confusion of the resounding sea and swell," he explains what is coming to the world after the darkening of the heavenly lights. He also explains why the nations come together. It seems to me that he is teaching that when the transformation of the universe takes place, the first thing that happens will be a drying up of watery substance. This watery substance will first be reabsorbed or fixed into a solid, such that the sound of the sea is no longer heard, nor the crashing of its waves because of this great drought. After this, the rest of the parts of the world will also undergo a transformation and change because they no longer participate in the normal evaporation that arises from watery substance. Because of this, there will be signs "among the sun, moon, and stars." For when the summoning together of all things takes place along with the end of the world, and the form of this visible world passes away (for the first shall come that the next may be established), it follows that there should be a transformation even of the heavenly lights. This will occur at the end of the age, when the apostasy is in full effect. [24.601] For when the Savior is about to come and abolish the false miracles of those fighting against God, certain preludes to his wrath will begin to occur through droughts and the deprivation of sound from the sea. He explains what comes after by saying the following, "for the powers of the heavens will be shaken." This will occur when the Son of God is established in glory

¹³⁵ cf. 2 Pet 1:21

¹³⁶ 1 Cor 7:31

¹³⁷ Origen and many of his followers held that that sun, moon, and stars were ensouled beings, and thus that they too would be judged for their merits at the end of the age. See, for example, Origen's *On first principles* 1.7.2ff.

and abolishes the insolent tyranny of the son of destruction, as the highest heavenly hosts fight at his side.¹³⁸

“And he spoke to them a parable, ‘Look at the fig tree... likewise when you see these things happening...” (Lk 21:29)

What could “these things” mean other than what had just been said? The signs are the trampling of Jerusalem by the nations, the fulfillment of the “times of the nations,” the times of apostasy, the signs among the heavenly lights and stars, the assembling of the nations on the earth; finally, there is the drying up of the sea and the deprivation of its loud sound. He says that when you see these things happening, you will know that the Kingdom of God is at the door, a kingdom which is different from the signs spoken earlier. For the preludes were signs of the blessings to come, just as the smooth branches of the fig tree and its shoots are signs of the coming summer, and of the harvest of the rest of the seeds and fruits. But this kingdom and its blessings must not be entrusted to speech, nor spoken to mortal ears. As such, one must keep silence about them, “for eye has not seen, nor has ear heard, nor has it entered the heart of man, what God has prepared for those who love him.”¹³⁹ Now in this present life, when spring arrives after the wintery months, the sun casts its warm ray and gives life to the seeds hidden under the ground. They then transform from their prior shape, and grow and flourish as new shoots, which provide the lovely and numerous blossoms of new plants. In the same way, the glorious coming of the Only-Begotten Son of God will cast life-bearing rays of light upon the new age. By this he will bring forth those seeds that were hidden earlier in the former age and scattered throughout the entire world, that is, those asleep in the mounds of the earth.¹⁴⁰ These he will lead forth into a more divine light with transformed bodies better than their former ones. After death has been vanquished, Life itself will thenceforth rule over the new age.

“Certainly this lineage¹⁴¹ will not pass away...” (Lk 21:32)

What sort of lineage could this be other than this new and different one, which he has established? It is said in the prophets about this lineage, “Let this be written for a different lineage, and this people to be formed will praise the Lord”¹⁴² and “the lineage that is coming shall be announced by the Lord.”¹⁴³ That is why he gestured to his apostles and said, “surely this lineage will not pass away until all these things take place,”¹⁴⁴ for he foresaw the new lineage of his holy church that would arise from and through them

¹³⁸ Literally, “and when super-celestial hosts bear arms.” The “super-celestial hosts” refer to angelic beings so exalted that they transcend not only the earth, but the visible heaven as well.

¹³⁹ 1 Cor 2:9

¹⁴⁰ *i.e.* the dead who are buried in the earth.

¹⁴¹ Normally γενεά is translated “generation” at this point in English bibles. It is clear from what follows, however, that our author understands it rather as “lineage” or “family,” a meaning well attested in classical Greek (see LSJ γενεά I.1), but not so well attested in the New Testament. I have consistently translated γενεά as “lineage” throughout the passage.

¹⁴² Ps 102:18

¹⁴³ Ps 22:30

¹⁴⁴ Lk 21:32

throughout the entire world. [24.604] Indeed, he says that his people and church will remain and endure until that point in time when they witness all of this for themselves and take in with their eyes the fulfillment of the Savior's prophecies.

“Take care that your hearts are not weighed down in drunkenness.” (Lk 21:34)

He spurs his disciples to be ever ready in their preparation for his coming. He fashioned all of the words of this teaching to spur us on to this end. Since no one knows the time of the end of the age, he bids us to be sober, vigilant, and watchful throughout the entirety of the night that is this mortal life. Yet he also says that you must guard your load here,¹⁴⁵ so that you are capable of sobriety, and so that day does not suddenly come upon you unprepared. The holy Apostle also warned us about that day when he wrote, “Brothers, you know well that the day of the Lord comes as a thief in the night. For when they say, ‘peace and security,’ then sudden destruction comes upon them... But you are not in the darkness such that the day comes upon you like a thief. For you are sons of the light and sons of the day.”¹⁴⁶ So then, we must keep watch not only because of the sudden and unexpected coming of the Lord, but also because of the thief that lies and waits. This thief is the time of each person's death, or also the angel who will come and take each person's soul.¹⁴⁷ For the presence of the Lord will come like a snare upon everyone on the earth. So then, those who take heed for themselves will be saved, like a deer from a trap, or a bird escaping a snare. But those who are utterly weighed down by drunkenness and sleeping “unto death”¹⁴⁸ will fall into unexpected danger.

“Therefore, be vigilant by praying at all times” (Lk 21:36)

The Apostle agrees with this when he says, “For this reason, take up the armor of God, so that you are able to stand firm in the evil day, and after you have prepared everything, to stand. Therefore, stand and gird your loins with truth.”¹⁴⁹

“So that you may eat and drink at my table” (Lk 22:30)

His table will be full of these sorts of blessings, and those with whom he established his covenant will share in them because they stayed with him during persecution. They will be well-nourished by the heavenly bread of holy souls and will also share in wine from the

¹⁴⁵ The load here (τὸ ἐντεῦθεν βάρος) refers to the body, whose desires and impulses must be kept under tight control.

¹⁴⁶ 1 Thes 5:2–5

¹⁴⁷ Our exegete imagines that an angel will escort the soul of the deceased to the next life.

¹⁴⁸ v. Ps. 13:3

¹⁴⁹ Eph 6:13–14. The passage has been abbreviated before coming to the verse that inspired our exegete. Eph 6:18 reads, “...praying through every prayer and request at all times in the spirit...” One thinks also of 1 Thes 5:17 as well, “pray without ceasing,” but this passage in Ephesians contains the same phrase “at all times” (ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ) as the verse in Luke. Such verbal overlaps are often the spur for such a connection between passages.

new fruit of the true vine. By tending this vine the God of All will provide its new fruit to those who are worthy.

“But he denied him saying, ‘Woman, I do not know him!’” (Lk 22:57)

Take note of the evangelist’s passion for truth and how he shows no favoritism to Peter, but narrates the passion just as it was. The other disciples abandoned their teacher and withdrew, and Peter, the foremost of his apostles and disciples, who was thought beyond temptation and the threats of rulers, denied him three times. [24.605]

“Two men appeared to them in brilliant, white robes.” (Lk 24:4)

Here signs of joy and laughter and symbols of the Savior’s resurrection are also provided through the angels’ white clothing. This is so that the women may grasp even from their dress the splendor of the resurrection and begin the Paschal Feast along with the white-robed angels.¹⁵⁰ Now before Moses administered each plague in turn upon the Egyptians, he saw the angel in the flame of fire upon the bush, and this same man, when he was legislating for wicked men, said that God was a consuming fire.¹⁵¹ This suggested that God would be their fearsome punisher. That is why God led them with the column of fire. Similarly, he taught that angels become a flame of fire to the wicked when he said, “He who makes his servants a flame of fire.”¹⁵² And yet, the women did not see these sorts of angels in the tomb. Instead, they saw gentle and cheerful men, just the sort who ought to have appeared at the time of the Lord’s joy and the kingdom.¹⁵³ After all, during the Savior’s passion the sun went dark and surrounded everything with darkness, thereby displaying symbols of mourning and grief to those who were crucifying the Son of God. Moreover, none of the angels were then visible to the disciples, as was fitting, although these angels were scattered all over then just as before. In fact, if one had also needed to appear to the disciples, perhaps he would have displayed garments of opposite color from these white-robed men. At the passion, not only did the sun become suddenly dark, but the Savior cried out with a loud voice, gave up his spirit, and the curtain of the temple was torn in two. Not only were the angels that had once dwelled in the temple scattered, but they also tore the consecrated curtain so that the holy of holies would be left bare and empty without their protection and so open to hostile enemies.

Now this is what was happening at the passion. At the Savior’s resurrection, however, as angels of life and heralds of the resurrection they crowded into the place where his body had been lying. By touching this place, as it were, they participated in a greater holiness than they could have by themselves and shared in his resurrection. This is why they had

¹⁵⁰ Our author imagines the women beginning a sort of Easter procession or celebration alongside the angels.

¹⁵¹ Dt 4:24

¹⁵² Ps 104:4

¹⁵³ The resurrection inaugurates the kingdom. For the resurrection as “the joy set before Christ,” see Hebr 12:2.

bright and smiling faces and showed in their white robes the clothing of the Savior's feast.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁴ That is, Easter. Easter was the normal time to baptize converts. After their baptism, the newly-baptized were often given white robes symbolizing cleansing from sin. See, for instance, John Chrysostom, *Baptismal Instruction* 7.24.