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The Cult of the Saints and its Christological Foundations in Eustratios of Constantinople's *De statu animarum post mortem*

A dissertation presented

by

Louis Demos

to

The Faculty of Harvard Divinity School

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Doctor of Theology

In the Subject of

History of Christianity

Harvard University

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The undersigned, appointed by the

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The Cult of the Saints and its Christological Foundations

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Abstract

The Cult of the Saints and its Christological Foundations in Eustratios of Constantinople's *De statu animarum post mortem*

In this study, I propose that the cult of the saints in Eustratios of Constantinople's *De statu animarum post mortem* has a Christological foundation. I examine this thesis from cultural, historical, and theological contexts. The first chapter serves as an introduction, focusing on the theological and political processes that lead to the Christological definition of the Council of Chalcedon (451), which declared that Christ has two natures, divine and human, united in one hypostasis or person. Chapter two examines Eustratios' motivation for writing his work, a defense against the claims proposed by some, unnamed by Eustratios, that the souls of the departed are in a state of sleep and have no power to intervene in human affairs after death. The third chapter argues that Eustratios wrote his work between 582 and 593. The evidence for this is a careful comparison and analysis of Eustratios' *De statu animarum* and Gregory the Great of Rome's fourth book of *Dialogues*, revealing that Eustratios wrote his work first. The final chapter demonstrates how the saints and their activities as described by Eustratios have a Christological basis. Drawing upon a Christological model of imitation of the life Christ and the Christological neologisms of the sixth century, the souls of the saints, in carrying out God's work, participate in his virtues in their enhypostasized realities.

Closely aligned with this foundation in Eustratios' work is the theme of theosis, deification, with the souls of departed saints described as having been perfected God-like and which participate in an immortal life with God in heaven through salvation in Jesus Christ. In his text, translated in an appendix, Eustratios argues that human souls are intelligible, incorporeal, and active after death, since they have transcended the time and space limitations of the human body. The activity of the saints after death can only be achieved by holy and gentle souls in cooperation with God's power, whose aim is human salvation. The text concludes with an argument that the souls of the departed are benefited by the prayers of the living.

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Chapter One

Saints and Christology

Introduction

At the turn of the sixth century, Eustratios, a presbyter of the Great Church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, composed an important, though long-neglected, refutation against opponents who challenged the cult of the saints entitled *De statu animarum post mortem*.[1] Eustratios's work was written when issues concerning the soul, Christology, and sainthood were matters of vehement public debate. Ideas on the soul's nature, its relationship to the body, and existence after death were in flux. The nature of Christ, far from having been settled at the council of Chalcedon (451), divided the Christian East. As for late antiquity being a much-vaunted "Age of Saints," the role of the saint in society was highly contested.[2] Since *De statu animarum* addresses issues concerning the departed soul and the afterlife activities of the saints, Eustratios's defense provides a fresh and rich source of study for the history of religious, cultural, and intellectual developments in late antiquity and Eastern Christianity.

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[1] *De statu animarum post mortem* is the Latin title of Eustratios's work, and shall be used throughout as a convenience. The Greek title, found in Vaticanus gr. 511, the earliest surviving witness of the work is: Λόγος ἀνατρεπτικὸς πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας μὴ ἐνεργεῖν τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ψυχὰς μετὰ τὴν διάζευξιν τῶν ἑαυτῶν σωμάτων *(A Refutation Against Those who Say that Human Souls are not Active After the Separation from Their Bodies*). Whether this is Eustratios's own title is open to question. See also *De statu animarum post mortem* in *De utriusque ecclesiae occidentalis atque orientalis perpetua in dogmate de purgatorio consensione*, ed. Leo Allatius (Rome: 1655): 336-580. Latin translation edited by J.-P. Migne in *Theologiae Cursus Completus* 18 (Paris, 1841): 465-514. The critical edition used for this dissertation is *De statu animarum post mortem* 60, ed. Peter van Deun (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2006).

[2] Gilbert Dagron, "L'ombre d'un doute: L'hagiographie en question, Vle-Xle siècle" *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 46 (1992): 59-68.

Method and Scope

There has never been a major full-length study of Eustratios's *De statu animarum.* Although the work offers the scholar many issues for analysis, this thesis will focus on a particular theme that runs through the work: the Christological foundation of the cult of the saints. My method critically examines the cult of the saints and its Christological foundations in the writings of Eustratios, situating these works within the cultural context of late antiquity. This method owes much to historians of the period, especially Peter Brown. This is strikingly evident in his studies on saints.[3] I supplement his approach by paying particular attention to the theology, Christology, and veneration of saints as part of the living religious experience of Eastern Christianity in the centuries immediately following Chalcedon, together with a rigorous examination of contemporary saints' lives, ascetic practices, popular literature, rituals, politics, iconography, society, and gender as they pertain to Eustratios and his works.[4] I have also made use of hagiographical

[3] Peter Brown, "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity," *Journal of Roman Roman Studies* 61 (1971): 80-101; idem, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981); idem, "The Saint as Exemplar in Late Antiquity," *Representations* 2 (1983): 1-25; idem, "Arbiters of the Holy: The Christian Holy Man in Late Antiquity," in *Authority and the Sacred: Aspects of Christianization in the Roman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 57-78.

[4] My method is also influenced by Albert J. Raboteau in his *Slave Religion: The "Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), which contextually analyzes the lived religion of slaves by examining slave narratives, black folklore, and black autobiography, as well as the travel accounts, missionary reports, and journals of white witnesses. See also Clifford Geertz, "Religion as a Cultural System," in *Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion*, A.S.A. Monographs No. 3, ed. Michael Banton (London: 1966), and Mark A. Noll, "'And the Lion Shall Lie Down with the Lamb': The Social Sciences and Religious History," *Fides et Historia* 20 (1988): 5-30.

research and analysis of the Bollandists, particularly Hippolyte Delehaye, and René Aigrain, who was influenced by their scholarship.[5]

This thesis makes several contributions to the history of Christianity in the areas of hagiography and Christology. This is the first comprehensive study to analyze the influence of asceticism and post-Chalcedonian Christology on the development of the saint as an *imitatio Christi*. However, I find the phrase *imitatio Christi* too vague and imprecise; in its place I argue that the saint followed a paradigm, discussed in Chapter four, I call the Christology of imitation, thereby taking account of post-Chalcedonian developments, particularly as found in the works of Eustratios.

To begin with, who is a saint? The word "saint" (ἅγιος, ἁγία, sanctus, sancta) had multiple meanings in late antiquity. To the Greeks and Romans, the term meant "holy person," and was applied to gods, and deceased relatives, among others.[6] Paul uses "saints" in his letter to the Philippians to include the Christian community (Phil 1:1, 4:21-22). Christians applied the word over the next few centuries to bishops, priests, abbots and abbesses, virgins, martyrs, or some other person, living or dead, who was deemed worthy of honored memory and veneration by Christians, especially as considered by the church,[7] although the word still included its original Christian meaning to include all

[5] Hippolyte Delehaye, *Sanctus: Essai sur le culte des saints dans l'antiquité* (Bruxelles: Société des bollandistes, 1927); Idem, *Les légendes hagiographiques* (Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1955); Idem, *L'Ancienne hagiographie byzantine: les sources, les premiers modèles, la formation des genres* (Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1991); René Aigrain, *L'Hagiographie; ses sources, ses méthodes, son histoire* (Mayenne: Bloud & Gay, 1953).

[6] Richard Kieckhefer, "Imitators of Christ: Sainthood in the Christian Tradition" in *Sainthood: Its Manifestation in World Religions*, edited by Richard Kieckhefer and George D. Bond (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988) 2.

[7] Ibid., 2.

believers.[8] However, Christian churches began to set aside the lives and actions of women and men deemed worthy of commemoration. The process of sainthood in the eastern church prior to the thirteenth century was called ἀναγνώρισις (recognition): popular veneration of a holy person was followed by placing her or his name in a calendar for commemoration.[9] Already in the fourth century, departed saints commemorated in eastern Christianity were in local church calendars with their feast days, they were prayed to for intercession, and their relics received veneration. Gregory of Nazianzos (c.329-390), whom Eustratios quotes, gives some evidence of this:

> Did you not even fear the great champions, that John, Peter, Paul, James, Stephen, Luke, Andrew, Thekla, and those after them and before them, who had borne the brunt of battle for the sake of truth, who readily struggled against fire, iron, wild beasts, and tyrants, with evils present and threatening, as if in other bodies, or bodiless? For what? That they betray their piety, not even by so much as a word. For whom there are great honors and feasts, by whom demons are driven out and sicknesses are healed, to whom there are revelations and prophesies, and whose bodies alone possess power equal to their holy souls, either touching lightly or revering, and whose drops of blood and small tokens [relics] of their suffering alone [possess power] equal to their bodies.[10]

This process of sanctification will be more fully detailed in chapter four.

Eustratios was not only a defender of the afterlife activities of the saints but also a hagiographer. If *De statu animarum* explicates Eustratios' theology of saintly activity, then his lives of his teacher Eutychios, Patriarch of Constantinople (512-582) and the

[8] Rom 1:7, 16:1, 2; Eph 1:1, 3:8; Col 1:2; 2 Thes 1:10; Jude 3.

[9] See Catia Galatariotou, *The Making of a Saint: The Life, Times and Sanctification of Neophytos the Recluse* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 114. See also Paul Peeters, "The Canonization of Saints in the Orthodox Church," *The Christian East* 12 (1931): 85-89.

[10] Gregory of Nazianzos, *Contra Julianum imperatorem 1* (orat. 4), PG 35.589.23-38, ed. J.-P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus (series Graeca) (MPG)* 35, Paris: Migne, 1857-1866: 532-664, tr. by the present author. See also Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 1423-1435.

contemporary female Persian saint Golinduch (died 591) demonstrate his Christological theology in ascetic praxis.

The writings of Eustratios also offer the opportunity to analyze his concept of gender and the activities of the saints within the wider context of late antique Christian history.[11] Eustratios makes no gender distinctions in the beneficent work of saints in *De statu animarum*. In his lives of Eutychios and Golinduch, Eustratios draws out a similar Christomimetic and ascetic anthropology of personhood in the sanctification process of both saints. I shall demonstrate that this process endows the spiritually transformed saint with a power in society that challenges traditional structures of authority, as Peter Brown argues.[12]

This introductory chapter has two aims: to introduce the theme of the activity of the saint as described by Eustratios and to outline the historical context of Christology and empire, with particular attention focusing on the Christological decisions of the

[11] Marie-Louise Portmann, *Die Darstellung der Frau in der Geschichtsschreibung des früheren Mittelalters* (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1958); Elena Giannarelli, *La tipologia femminile nella biografia e nell'autobiografia cristiana del IVo secolo* (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1980.; Franca Consolino, "Modelli di santità femminile nelle piu antiche passioni romane," *Augustinianum* 24 (1984): 83-113; Joyce Salisbury and R. Worrowicz, "The Life of Melania the Younger: A Partial Reevaluation of the Manuscript Tradition" *Manuscripta* 33 (1989): 137-144; *Vie et miracles de Sainte Thècle*, tr. Gilbert Dagron with the collaboration of Marie Dupré la Tour (Brussels: Société des bollandistes, 1978); Susana Elm, "*Virgins of God*:" *The Making of Asceticism in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994); Gillian Clark, *Women in Late Antiquity: Pagan and Christian Life-Styles* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991); Kate Cooper, *The Virgin and the Bride: Idealized Womanhood in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999); Sebastian P. Brock and Susan Ashbrook Harvey, eds., *Holy Women of the Syrian Orient* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); John W. Coakley, *Women, Men, and Spiritual Power: Female Saints and Their Male Collaborators* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006); Mary Douglas, "Social Preconditions of Enthusiasm and Heterodoxy," in *Forms of Symbolic Actions: Proceedings of the 1969 Annual Meeting of the American Ethnology Society* (Seattle: American Ethnological Society, 1969); and eadem, *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology* (New York: Random House, 1970).

[12] Peter Brown, *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988). See also Evelyne Patlagean, "Sainteté et Pouvoir," in *The Byzantine Saint: University of Birmingham Fourteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, ed. Sergei Hackel (London: Fellowship of St. Alban and St. Sergius, 1981), 88-105.

Councils of Ephesus, Chalcedon and Constantinople. The second chapter gives a biographical sketch of Eustratios and briefly discusses his works. A short summary of *De statu animarum* follows. The rest of the chapter analyzes *De statu animarum* with particular attention paid to Eustratios' arguments against his opponents for the afterlife activities of the soul. In chapter three, I date the writing of *De statu animarum* to the last two decades of the sixth century, demonstrating for the first time that Eustratios' *De statu animarum* served as the immediate model and inspiration for Gregory the Great's *Fourth Dialogue on the Saints of Italy*, which dates to early 590s. Chapter four analyzes the hagiographical themes of Eustratios critical to the understanding of saintly activity in *De statu animarum*: a holy life based on an imitation of Christ, and ascetic training as a preparation for Christian leadership. These in turn are given Christological support by Eustratios in his borrowing from the language and theologies that followed Chalcedon. The appendix consists of a translation of *De statu animarum*.

While we only have the arguments of Eustratios's unnamed opponents as represented in Eustratios's apology, and thus difficult to evaluate, these may be summarized as follows. First, they argued that the souls of departed saints had no activity in the world.[13] While denying the power of souls to participate in the affairs of the living, they accounted for the phenomenon of what seemed to be visions of the saints as apparitions of divine power at work.[14] Eustratios replied that human souls are intelligible and incorporeal, and can exist independent of the deceased body.[15] He also argues that the souls of the saints are even more active after death, since they have

[13] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 59-60.

[14] Ibid., 55-58.

[15] Ibid., 324-332.

transcended the time and space limitations imposed on the human body.[16] The dead appear in immaterial representations of their former bodies in the dreams and visions of those whom they visit.[17] The apparitions and activities of the saints are not natural phenomena but involve the activity of God.[18] The work of the saints after death can only be done by mild and gentle souls in accordance with God's power and will, whose concern is human salvation.[19] The cooperation (συνεργία) and activities of the saintly souls on behalf of the divine forms the central thesis of Eustratios's apology.[20]

The arguments of Eustratios constitute both a theological anthropology (an analysis of the origins, aims, resources, and destiny of humanity)[21] and a defense of the saints and their activities.[22] Eustratios argued that his opponents' characterization of the phenomena of the saints as just the guise of divine power in the image of the saints as false, since it jeopardized the human will of the saint by reducing it to a stage mask of the divine.[23] Instead, the souls of saints appear to the living in their "enhypostasized realities."[24] To see how Eustratios arrived at these conclusions and how they permeate

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[16] Ibid., 1011-1043.

[17] Ibid., 127, 2005-2048.

[18] Ibid., 1217-1253.

[19] Ibid., 121-128.

[20] Nicholas Constas, "An Apology for the Cult of the Saints in Late Antiquity: Eustratius Presbyter of Constantinople, *On the State of Souls after Death* (CPS 7522)" *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 10 (2002): 275.

[21] J. Patout Burns, *Theological Anthropology* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981) 1; for an Eastern Christian perspective, see Panayiotis Nellas, *Deification in Christ: Orthodox Perspectives on the Nature of the Human Person*, tr. Norman Russell (Crestwood: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1997).

[22] Constas, 275-277.

[23] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 1659-1694.

[24] Ibid., 880-887.

his work, the Christological decisions of the fifth and sixth centuries must now be discussed and analyzed.

Christology and Empire: An Historical Background

Eustratios' work can only be fully understood within the historical, theological and political contexts of the Christological debates of the fifth and sixth centuries, specifically the councils of Ephesos (431), Chalcedon (451), and Constantinople (553).[25] Christological questions did not begin with these three councils; they are found within the Scriptures themselves, when Jesus asks his disciples, "Who do you say I am?" (Mark 8:29). The Apostle Paul concisely stated a central Christological tenet that would be debated among Christians for centuries, "God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself."[26]

However, unlike earlier centuries, when Christians debated the matter of doctrine among themselves or with pagans and Jews, major questions of concerning Christian faith began to be seen, with the Emperor Constantine summoning of the council of Nicaea, as not only a matter of personal, or even a local community's faith, but as having empire-wide importance.

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[25] For a history of the councils, see Karl Joseph von Hefele, *Histoire des conciles d'après les documents originaux*, v.2-3, tr. Henri Leclercq (Paris: Letouzey, 1907-1952).

[26] Others involved in the debate concerning the nature of Christ prior to the fourth century include Melito of Sardis, *Peri Pascha*; Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses*; the Valentinians; Tertullian, *Contra Praxeam*; and Origen, *de Principio*, *Contra Celsum*, and *Dialogus cum Heraclide*. For a general survey on doctrines on Jesus in the first three centuries, see John Behr, *The Way to Nicaea* (Crestwood: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2001).

A church council, σύνοδος, included local assemblies and those that claimed to expound orthodox doctrine for all Christendom. The church council had Scriptural precedence: Paul and Barnabas were sent from Antioch to Jerusalem to discuss the question of circumcision and the Gentiles (Acts 15); this council is sometimes known as the "Apostolic Council."[27] In the second century, church councils convened in Asia Minor to debate the matter of the Montanists.[28] Eusebius also describes councils of bishops in Asia Minor convening in the late second century to protest Pope Victor of Rome's decision to enforce an empire-wide celebration of Easter on a Sunday and not 14 Nissan, the final day of the Pasch.[29] In the third century, there are descriptions of councils in North Africa as well. Cyprian of Carthage notes that an important council was held in 251 to determine whether to restore Christians who had apostasized during the Decian persecution.[30] Thus, by the end of the third century, the local church synod had become firmly established in Christendom, east and west.[31] All of these councils considered their decrees as having been determined in the Holy Spirit. This belief and tradition is based on Scripture. Luke reported the findings of the council of Jerusalem: "For it seemed good to the Holy Spirit, and to us, to lay upon you no greater burden than these necessary things" (Acts 15:28). This apostolic model of the synod reinforced the

[27] Georg Kretschmar, "The Councils of the Ancient Church" in *The Councils of the Church*, ed. Hans Jochen Margull (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966), 6.

[28] Eusebios of Caesarea, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, 5.10-16.

[29] Eusebios of Caesarea, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, 5.23-25.

[30] Cyprian of Carthage, *Epistle* 17.4; 26; 32; 34.4; 41.7.

[31] Ketschmar, 6.

idea of bishops as the true and orthodox successors of the apostles in the councils of their own day.[32]

Between the fourth and eighth centuries, councils were convened by emperors to decide on matters of Christian doctrine. These councils were composed of bishops assembled, ideally, from the entire Christian world, or οἰκουμένη.[33] Constantine I (ruled 306-337) set the precedent, believing that the *pax romana* depended on the doctrinal unity of the church when he summoned the council of Nicaea in 325 to decide on the question whether Christ was co-substantial with God, which the Arians denied.[34] Constantine believed that he was chosen as emperor by God to guarantee the right worship of God within the Church, and to utilize the edifice of the Church as a means for renewing the empire.[35] The ideal of the Roman Empire as the earthly Christian οἰκουμένη began to take hold in late antiquity, with theology, culture, and politics overlapping and supporting each other. This concept is explicitly stated in a panegyric by Eusebios of Casearea, the fourth-century church historian and contemporary of Constantine:

> This only begotten Word of God reigns, from ages which had no beginning, to infinite and endless ages, the partner of his Father's kingdom. And [emperor Constantine] ever beloved by him, who derives the source of imperial authority from above, and is strong in the power of his sacred title has controlled the empire of the world for a long period of years. Again, that Preserver of the universe orders these heavens and earth, and the celestial kingdom, consistently with his

[32] Ibid., 7.

[33] John Meyendorff, *Imperial Unity and Christian Divisions: The Church from 450-680 A.D.* (Crestwood: Saint Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1989), 33. Constantine himself had earlier called the council of Arles in 314, composed of bishops from a broader geographical area, to debate the question of the Donatists in North Africa. See Heinz Kraft, *Kaiser Konstantins religiöse Entwicklung* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1955), 37-45.

[34] Ibid., 35.

[35] Ketschmar 24.

> Father's will. Even so our emperor whom he loves, by bringing those whom he rules on earth to the only begotten Word and Saviour renders them fit subjects of his kingdom.[36]

After Constantine offered his personal protection to the church, emperors were eager to bring harmony to the theological disputes of bishops at the councils. Nineteenth-century writers have called this "caesaropapism," a process by which the ruler was able to exercise power over the ordained clergy, acting like a pope. This is misleading; people in the ancient world made no such distinctions between church and state. Indeed, the state was considered a religious institution.[37] The polytheistic emperors before Constantine were officially worshipped with divine honors, and the ruler himself was the chief priest, the pontifex maximus of Rome and the empire. The Roman historian Cassius Dio (c.155-229) writes: "By virtue of being consecrated in all the priesthoods and of their right to bestow most of these positions upon others, as well as from the fact that, even if two or three persons hold the imperial office at the same time, one of them is high

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[36] Ὁ μέν γε τοῦ θεοῦ μονογενὴς λόγος τῷ αὐτοῦ πατρὶ συμ-
βασιλεύων ἐξ ἀνάρχων αἰώνων εἰς ἀπείρους καὶ ἀτελευτήτους αἰῶνας βασιλεύων ἐξ
ἀνάρχων αἰώνων εἰς ἀπείρους καὶ ἀτελευτήτους αἰῶνας
διαρκεῖ· δὲ τούτῳ φίλος, ταῖς ἄνωθεν βασιλικαῖς ἀπορροίαις χορηγού-
μενος τῷ τε τῆς θεικῆς ἐπηγορίας ἐπωνύμῳ δυναμούμενος, μακραῖς
ἐτῶν περιόδοις τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς κρατεῖ. εἶθ' ὁ μὲν τῶν ὅλων σωτὴρ
τὸν σύμπαντα οὐρανόν τε καὶ κόσμον τήν τε ἀνωτάτω βασιλείαν
εὐπρεπῆ τῷ αὐτοῦ πατρὶ παρασκευάζει· ὁ δὲ τούτῳ φίλος αὐτῷ τῷ
μονογενεῖ καὶ σωτῆρι λόγῳ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς τοὺς ὑποχειρίους προσάγων
ἐπιτηδείους πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν καθίστησιν.
Eusebios of Caesarea, *De laudibus Constantini*, 2:1-2, ed. I. A. Heikel in *Eusebius Werke*, vol. 1. *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller* 7. (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902). English tr. Ernest Cushing Richardson in NPNF (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1991), 583.

[37] H. A. Drake, *Constantine and the Bishops: The Politics of Intolerance* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 36. The term was invented by the seventeenth-century German writer Iustus Henning Böhmer in a tract on Protestant civil law, *In ecclesiasticum protestantium* (Halle, 1756) to condemn and reject both the Pope who appropriated to himself religious power and to secular sovereigns who ruled on religious issues. See Dagron, *Emperor and Priest*, 282-312. Averil Cameron traces the term as an example of Orientalism. See Cameron, "The Use & Abuse of Byzantium: An Essay on Reception," in *Changing Cultures in Byzantium* (London: Variorum, 1996) XIII: 9-12.

priest, they hold in their own hands supreme authority over all matters both profane and sacred."[38] Dio's summary applies from Augustus to the rule of Constantine.[39] The emperor, as pontifex maximus, was necessarily engaged in many important decisions concerning sacred law, rituals, temples, or sacred places. Key characteristics developed during the imperial monarchy, such as the emperor's proclamation of decisions and verdicts, addressing petitions, the conferment of privileges, gifts, and the confiscation and restoration of property, became institutional in Constantine's relationship with the church.[40] However, the established tradition of the church council prevented the emperor from ruling unilaterally on matters pertaining to church teaching and Scripture. Unlike their polytheistic predecessors, the Christian successors of Constantine were not considered living gods, and were certainly not apotheosized after death. What honors the church did bestow upon the emperors in the form of sanctification was done after an emperor's death, and on an individual basis, so a cult of sanctified living emperors never developed. Nevertheless, because of their missionary zeal, the emperors beginning in the fifth century held as one of their titles ἰσαπόστολος, equal to the apostles. Indeed, Constantine underlined his association with the apostles by being buried with the remains of the twelve in a mausoleum he built for himself in Constantinople, which was later consecrated as the church of the Holy Apostles.[41]

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[38] Cassius Dio, *Historiae romanae*, 43.17.8, trans. Earnest Cary (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1914).

[39] Fergus Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World* (London: Duckworth, 1992), 355.

[40] Ibid., 551.

[41] Gilbert Dagron, *Emperor and Priest: The Imperial Office in Byzantium*, tr. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 135-147.

Constantine's decision to favor Christianity caught Christians by surprise. Little in the previous three centuries could have prepared Christians for this outcome; indeed, a major characteristic of Christianity before Constantine was an apocalyptic stance against the world.[42] When emperors became personally involved with church councils and ecclesiastical matters, they could not remain neutral since they were considered guarantors of the church and often shapers of its policies.[43] Save for the boundaries of conciliar tradition, there was no judicial restraint on the emperor's influence and power, and the decisions of a council had the force of Roman law.[44] In order to secure theological concord, emperors often had to choose between theological sides, thus influencing the outcome of council decisions and formulas. When the emperors did become involved in the proceedings, they inexorably came to share in the episcopal responsibility of the formation of doctrine.[45] Eusebios of Caesarea, an advocate for his hero Constantine, clarified the "episcopal" functions of Constantine:

> [Constantine] exercised a particular care over the church of God: and whereas, in the several provinces there were some who differed from each other in judgment, he, like some universal bishop constituted by God, convened the synods of his ministers. Nor did he disdain to be present and sit with them in their assembly, but bore a share in their deliberations ministering to all that pertained to the peace of God. He took his seat, too, in the midst of them, as an individual amongst many, dismissing his guards and soldiers, and all those whose duty it was to defend his person; but protected by the fear of God, and surrounded by the guardianship of his faithful friends. Those whom he saw inclined to a sound

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[42] R. A. Markus, *Christianity in the Roman World* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1974), 91-98. This view was by no means universal; Origen, in *Contra Celsum*, 8.70, speculated that if the Roman world embraced Christ, strife and wars would end.

[43] Dagron, *Emperor and Priest: The Imperial Office in Byzantium*, 298.

[44] Michael Gaddis, *There is No Crime for Those who Have Christ: Religious Violence in the Christian Roman Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 47.

[45] Meyendorff, *Imperial Unity and Christian Divisions*, 35.

> judgment, and exhibiting a calm and conciliatory temper, received his high approbation, for he evidently delighted in a general harmony of sentiment; while he regarded the unyielding with aversion.[46]

For Eusebios, Constantine fulfilled the messianic expectations of what had begun under Augustus: the Roman world was now brought under the saving rule of Christ.[47] Beginning in the fourth century, theologians began to speak of a new dispensation. With the advent of Christian emperors, the age of persecution was over, and succeeded by "Christian times."[48] Constantine himself ascribed his success and the well-being of the Roman Empire to Christ:

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[46] ἐξαίρετον δὲ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ νέμων φροντίδα, διαφερομένων τινῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους κατὰ διαφόρους χώρας, οἷά τις κοινὸς ἐπίσκοπος ἐκ θεοῦ καθεσταμένος συνόδους τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ λειτουργῶν συνεκρότει. ἐν μέσῃ δὲ τῇ τούτων διατριβῇ οὐκ ἀπαξιῶν παρεῖναί τε καὶ συνιζάνειν κοινωνὸς τῶν ἐπισκοπουμένων ἐγίνετο, τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης τοῦ θεοῦ βραβεύων τοῖς πᾶσι, καθῆστό τε καὶ μέσος ὡσεὶ καὶ τῶν πολλῶν εἷς, δορυφόρους μὲν καὶ ὁπλίτας καὶ πᾶν τὸ σωματοφυλάκων γένος ἀποσεισάμενος, τῷ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ φόβῳ κατημφιεσμένος τῶντε πιστῶν ἑταίρων τοῖς εὐνουστάτοις περιεστοιχισμένος. εἶθ' ὅσους μὲν ἑώρα τῇ κρείττονι γνώμῃ πειθηνίους πρὸς εὐσταθῆ τε καὶ ὁμογνώμονα παρεσκευασμένους τρόπον, εὖ μάλα τούτους ἀπεδέχετο, χαίροντα δεικνὺς ἑαυτὸν τῇκοινῇ πάντων ὁμονοίᾳ, τοὺς δ' ἀπειθῶς ἔχοντας ἀπεστρέφετο. Eusebios, *Vita Constantini*, ed. F. Winkelmann, *Eusebius Werke, Band 1.1: Über das Leben des Kaisers Konstantin*. *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1975) 1:44. English translation by Ernest Cushing Richardson in NPNF (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1991), 494. Claudia Rapp has suggested that Eusebios' view of Constantine as a "bishop" was based on the life of Moses: like Moses, Constantine was brought up at the court of his enemies, *VC* I.12.; Constantine's crossing of the Milvian bridge and defeating his enemies is likened to the Moses' crossing the Red Sea, *VC* I.38; and like Moses, Constantine lived in a tent, specifically on his campaigns; he pitched his tent apart from others, where he spent his time offering his prayers to God, *VC* II.12. Just as Moses lead his people to salvation, so too does Constantine. Eusebios also draws on the paradigm of Moses for perfect leadership in Jewish thought of the previous three centuries. Philo of Alexandria, for example, describes Moses as the ideal model for philosophers, kings, high priests, lawgivers and prophets, *De vita Moses* II.1. See Claudia Rapp, "Imperial Ideology in the Making: Eusebius of Caesarea on Constantine as 'Bishop,'" *Journal of Theological Studies* 49 (1998): 685-695. Later in the fourth century, Gregory of Nyssa would also write his *Life of Moses* as a model of episcopal and Christian leadership. See Andrea Sterk, *Renouncing the World Yet Leading the Church: The Monk-Bishop in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 110-112. For Jewish conceptions of kingship and their influence on the Christian Roman Empire, see Francis Dvornik, *Early Christian and Byzantine Political Philosophy: Origins and Background*. 2 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1966), *passim*.

[47] Markus, *Christianity in the Roman World*, 98. See also Timothy D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981), 191-275.

[48] Ibid.

> Hence it becomes all pious persons to render thanks to the Saviour of all, first for our own personal security, and then for the happy posture of public affairs: at the same time entreating the favor of Christ with holy prayers and constant supplications, that he would continue to us our present blessings. For he is the invincible ally and protector of the righteous: he is the supreme judge of all things, the prince of immortality, the Giver of everlasting life.[49]

This ideal of an otherworldly salvific Christian mission increasingly affected the Roman state from the fourth century on.[50]

The emperors were ever searching for the best arrangement they could get to keep religious peace and political stability. Constantius II (337-361) championed the Arians, while Theodosios I (379-395) supported Nicene orthodoxy. Theodosios II (408-450) favored Cyril of Alexandria over Nestorios at the council of Ephesos (431), and later backed Dioskoros over Flavian at the second council of Ephesos (449). The situation changed again when Pulcheria and Marcian (450-457) assumed power and convened the council of Chalcedon (451).[51]

This search for the salvation and political stability was a central theme in the councils of the fifth and sixth centuries. The council of Ephesos established the doctrine that Christ, God hypostatically united with the flesh, that is, the Word of God was united

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[49] Constantine I, *Oratio ad coetum sanctorum,* 26:2.14-21. χρὴ τοίνυν πάντας τοὺς τὴν εὐσέβειαν καταδιώκοντας χάριν ὁμολογεῖν τῷ σωτῆρι τῶν πάντων ἕνεκεν τῆς ἡμετέρας αὐτῶν σωτηρίας καὶ τῆς τῶν δημοσίων πραγμάτων εὐμοιρίας, ὁσίαις τε εὐχαῖς καὶ λιτανείαις ἐπαλλήλοις ἐξιλεοῦσθαι τὸν Χριστὸν ἡμῖν, ὅπως τὰς εὐεργεσίας αὐτοῦ διαφυλάττοι· οὗτος γάρ ἐστιν ἀήττητος σύμμαχος καὶ ὑπερασπιστὴς τῶν δικαίων, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς κριτὴς ἄριστος, ἀθανασίας ἡγεμών, ἀιδίου ζωῆς χορηγός. I. A. Heikel, *Eusebius Werke, Band 1: Über das Leben Constantins. Constantins Rede an die heilige Versammlung. Tricennatsrede an Constantin* [*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller* 7. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902]: 151-192.

[50] Peter Brown, *The World of Late Antiquity AD 150-750* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971), 108.

[51] Meyendorff, *Imperial Unity and Christian Divisions*, 35.

according to hypostasis (nature, substance) to the flesh of Christ's humanity,[52] was born of the Virgin Mary, who was declared the Theotokos, the Mother of God,[53] a term that avoided ambiguities of the word Christotokos of Nestorios, the deposed patriarch of Constantinople.[54] The council was a triumph for the energetic archbishop of Alexandria, Cyril, whose Christological ideas emphasized the union of God and humanity in Christ, incarnated through the attribution of the Word. The Christology of Cyril was declared orthodox at Ephesos; that of Nestorios, who argued that the divine and human constituents in Christ were in the relationship between Father and Son, was declared heretical.[55]

However, the decades immediately following the council of Ephesos brought rancorous conflict concerning the nature of Christ. In 448, a Constantinopolitan synod, presided over by the Patriarch Flavian, found a monk, Eutyches, guilty of asserting that Christ did not have a human nature. Eutyches' cause was taken up by Cyril's successor, Dioskoros of Alexandria. Dioskoros, having imperial support, was powerful enough to convene a second council at Ephesos in 449, where Eutyches was vindicated and Flavian was denounced and deposed. The partisans of Dioskoros dragged Flavian from a church

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[52] Cyril of Alexandria, *Ep. ad Nestorium de excommunicatione*, PG 77:112; See also J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines* (San Francisco, Harper & Row, 1978), 317-323.

[53] *Concilium universale Ephesenum anno 431*, ed. E. Schwartz in *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum (ACO)* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1927), 1.1.1.40:3-16.

[54] Aloys Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition: From the Apostolic Age to Chalcedon*, tr. John Bowden (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1975), 447-463.

[55] Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition: From the Apostolic Age to Chalcedon*, 414-487. The Christology of Nestorios would continue its influence in the East Syriac Church, which commemorates him as a saint and teacher. This church, erroneously named "Nestorian" after him although he himself did not found it, has adherents today in communities from Egypt to India, as well as in Europe, Australia and New Zealand, and the Americas. See Wilhelm Baum and Dietmar W. Winkler, *The Church of the East: A Concise History*, tr. Miranda G. Henry (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003).

sanctuary and beat him so severely that he died from his wounds.[56] The representatives of Pope Leo were also insulted.[57] Leo himself, angered by the outcome in Ephesos, denounced the synod as the *Latrocinium*, "Robber Council." The bishop of Rome issued a letter to the Patriarch Flavian, better known as the *Tome*, in which he declared that Christ had two natures, divine and human, coming together in the divine Word.[58] The emperor Theodosios II, however, accepted what had happened at Ephesos, but died in a riding accident shortly after. Having no male direct heir, his powerful sister Pulcheria, who was proclaimed and crowned Augusta during the minority of Theodore,[59] ruled as empress by marrying an old general, Marcian, since the Romans would not tolerate a woman reigning alone.[60] Pulcheria was an admirer of Flavian, and the new sovereigns promptly convened an ecumenical council at Chalcedon in 451.[61]

Flushed with success at Ephesos, but underestimating the hostility of Pulcheria and Marcian, Dioskoros overplayed his hand upon his arrival in Chalcedon by excommunicating Leo. The imperial couple was ready for Dioskoros. A year before the opening session began, Marcian had written to Pope Leo about the possibility of holding

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[56] *ACO* 2.1.1.858-861; see also Henry Chadwick, "The Exile and Death of Flavian of Constantinople: A Prologue to the Council of Chalcedon," *Journal of Theological Studies* 6 (1955): 17-34.

[57] *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*, translated, introduction and notes by Richard Price and Michael Gaddis (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2005) v.1: 23-40.

[58] Leo I, *Ad Flavianum epistola*, 2-5.

[59] *Chronicon pascale*, 571, ed. Ludovicus Dindorfius (Bonn: E. Weber, 1832), tr. Michael Whitby and Mary Whitby (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1989).

[60] Kenneth G. Holum, *Theodosian Empresses: Women and Imperial Dominion in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982) 208-213.

[61] *Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*, v.1:2.

a new council, and that a prime consideration of this council would be the condemnation of Eutychianism.[62] Pope Leo then wrote to Pulcheria, urging her to continue supporting the adherents of Flavian, and to canvass support among the bishops against Eutyches, especially those who had earlier supported him.[63] On the eve of the council, Pulcheria ordered the governor of Bithynia and his troops to be on standby alert for trouble, especially by the supporters of Eutyches.[64] With a majority of the bishops now supporting the deceased Flavian, Dioskoros was deposed by the council, and the Christological doctrines of the second council of Ephesos, the "Robber Council," were declared null and void.[65] Indeed, the new council set forth the doctrine that Christ was both God and man in two natures in one hypostasis:

> Following, therefore, the holy fathers, we all in harmony teach confession of one and the same Son our Lord Jesus Christ, the same perfect in Godhead and the same perfect in manhood, truly God and truly man, of a rational soul and body, consubstantial with the Father in respect of the Godhead, and the same consubstantial with us in respect of the manhood, like us in all things apart from sin, begotten of the Father before all ages in respect of the Godhead, and the same in the last days for us and for our salvation from the Virgin Mary the Theotokos in respect of the manhood, one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, Only-begotten, acknowledged in the two natures without confusion, change, division, or separation (the difference of the natures being in no way destroyed by the union, but rather the distinctive character of each nature being preserved and coming together into one person and one hypostasis), not parted or divided into two persons, one and the same Son, Only-begotten, God, Word, Lord, Jesus Christ,

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[62] Leo, *Ep.* 73, *ACO* 2.3, p. 17.

[63] Ibid., *Ep.* 79, *ACO* 2.4 pp. 37-38.

[64] *ACO*, 2.1 p. 30.

[65] Ibid., 2.4 p. 40. See also W. H. C. Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement: Chapters in the History of the Church in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1972) 45-49.

> even as the prophets from the old and Jesus Christ himself taught us about him and the symbol of the fathers has handed down from us.[66]

The formula determined at Chalcedon was essentially a compromise, since it emphasized both the Cyrillian unity of Christ, the "one and the same Son our Lord Jesus Christ the same perfect in Godhead and the same perfect in manhood," and the formula in enunciated in Leo's *Tome*, that there were two natures in Christ, "without confusion, change, division, or separation."

Adherents of Cyril of Alexandria opposed this Christology, since they felt that this hypostasis formula divided the human and divine in Christ too much like Nestorianism. The Cyrillian opponents of Chalcedon adhered to the formula that Christ was from two natures, but not in two natures. Several theologians in Egypt and Syria objected to the council and called the two-nature doctrine of the Chalcedon erroneous. The opponents of Chalcedon are historically known as the Monophysites, but in this chapter will be referred to as the Miaphysites.[67]

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[66] Ἑπόμενοι τοίνυν τοῖς ἁγίοις πατράσιν ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ὁμολογεῖν υἱὸν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν συμφώνως ἅπαντες ἐκδιδάσκομεν, τέλειον τὸν αὐτὸν ἐν θεότητι καὶ τέλειον τὸν αὐτὸν ἐν ἀνθρωπότητι, θεὸν ἀληθῶς καὶ ἄνθρωπον ἀληθῶς τὸν αὐτὸν ἐκ ψυχῆς λογικῆς καὶ σώματος, ὁμοούσιον τῶι πατρὶ κατὰ τὴν θεότητα καὶ ὁμοούσιον ἡμῖν τὸν αὐτὸν κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα, κατὰ πάντα ὅμοιον ἡμῖν χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας, πρὸ αἰώνων μὲν ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς γεννηθέντα κατὰ τὴν θεότητα, ἐπ' ἐσχάτων δὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν τὸν αὐτὸν δι' ἡμᾶς καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν ἐκ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου τῆς θεοτόκου κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα, ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν Χριστὸν υἱὸν κύριον μονογενῆ, ἐν δύο φύσεσιν ἀσυγχύτως ἀτρέπτως ἀδιαιρέτως ἀχωρίστως γνωριζόμενον, οὐδαμοῦ τῆς τῶν φύσεων διαφορᾶς ἀνηιρημένης διὰ τὴν ἕνωσιν, σωιζομένης δὲ μᾶλλον τῆς ἰδιότητος ἑκατέρας φύσεως καὶ εἰς ἓν πρόσωπον καὶ μίαν ὑπόστασιν συντρεχούσης, οὐκ εἰς δύο πρόσωπα μεριζόμενον ἢ διαιρούμενον, ἀλλ' ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν υἱὸν μονογενῆ θεὸν λόγον κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, καθάπερ ἄνωθεν οἱ προφῆται περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐξεπαίδευσεν καὶ τὸ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῖν. *Concilium universale Chalcedonense anno 451*, ed. E. Schwartz in *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1933) 2.1.2.129:3-130:3. English tranlation in *Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*, v.2:204.

[67] Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement*, 143-69. "Monophysite" is the historical term used by the adherents of Chalcedon against the Cyrillian-influenced Christians who opposed Chalcedon, and who today

There were attempts at reconciliation between the Chalcedonians and Miaphysites over the following century, all ending in failure. In 482, the Emperor Zeno offered a compromise with his *Henetikon* theological formula, which deleted the offending language of two natures. The bishop of Rome, Felix III, rejected this compromise, and demanded nothing short of total allegiance to the acts of Chalcedon and the *Tome* of Pope Leo.[68] When this was not forthcoming, Rome cut ties with Eastern Church as schismatic.[69] The schism lasted until 519, when Emperor Justin I (518-527), eager for a rapprochement with Rome, acceded to Rome's demands.[70]

Meanwhile, the ensuing division between Chalcedonian and Miaphysite wreaked havoc throughout much of Eastern Christendom. For sixty years after Chalcedon, disagreements between Chalcedonian and Miaphysite were viewed as conflicts within the church. Chalcedonian and Miaphysite bishops both received imperial recognition. The vast majority of the laity remained in communion with the bishop, whatever the doctrinal position of the time.[71] However, after Emperor Justin's acceptance of the Chalcedonian doctrine and his attempts to impose it, opposition against Chalcedon was reinvigorated

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comprise the Coptic, Syrian, Ethiopian, and Eritrean Orthodox Churches, as well as the Armenian Apostolic Churches. "Miaphysite" is a recently-coined word intended to replace the pejorative "Monophysite." See *Acts of the Council of the Chalcedon*, v.3:208-209. Resentment against Chalcedon in Egypt and Syria may also have been influenced by Canon 28 of council, which gave the see of Constantinople equal privileges with the Rome. See Norman P. Tanner, ed., *Decrees of the Eumenical Councils, v.1: Nicaea I to Lateran V* (London: Sheed & Ward), 99-100.

[68] This tome, submitted to the Council of Chalcedon, formulates the doctrine that Christ has two natures, divine and human, separate and unmixed. See Leo I, *The Tome of Pope Leo the Great*, ed. and tr. by E. H. Blakeney (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1923).

[69] Gray, *The Defense of Chalcedon in the East*, 28-34.

[70] Ibid., 46.

[71] Meyendorff, *Imperial Unity and Christian Divisions*, 228.

from Egypt to Syria.[72] The monks in particular rallied to the Miaphysite cause;[73] their popularity and zeal helped to spread their beliefs.[74] The Miaphysites, after decades of impasse, began ordaining clergy to serve their own parishes, establishing a separate ecclesiastical communion from the Chalcedonians. In 537, John, the Miaphysite bishop of Tella in Syria, began to ordain Miaphysite clergy. At first, this was confined to the remote parts of Syria, but these ordinations spread to other parts of the east. This new clergy was independent of imperial policy and distrustful of union attempts.[75]

The Miaphysites of the sixth century took as their basis the writings of Cyril of Alexandria. There are three foundational principles in the Christology of Cyril. First, there is a single personal subject in the incarnation of Christ, the eternal Word of God. Second, the incarnation was a soteriological event, given out of God's redemptive mercy. Third, how this takes place is through *henosis*, or union with divine and human in Christ.[76] Cyril maintains that in Christ there is both one nature (*mia physis*) and two natures after the union of the divine and human in the incarnation.[77] Indeed, the bishops who drafted the Chalcedon's Christological declaration were eager to preserve Cyril's

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[72] Albert van Roey, "Les Débuts de l'Église jacobite" in *Das Konzil von Chalkedon: Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Aloys Grillmeier and Heirnrich Bacht, v. 2 (Würzburg: Echter-Verlag Würzburg, 1953), 354-355.

[73] Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement*, 150-51; Rompay, "Society and Community in the Christian East," 253-255.

[74] Heinrich Bacht, "Die Rolle des orientalischen Mönchtums in den kirchenpolitischen Auseinandersetzungen um Chalkedon (431-519)" in *Das Konzil von Chalkedon: Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Aloys Grillmeier and Heirnrich Bacht, v. 2 (Würzburg: Echter-Verlag Würzburg, 1953), 354-355.

[75] Meyendorff, *Imperial Unity and Christian Divisions*, 229-230.

[76] Cyril of Alexandria, *ep. ad Joannem Antiochenum*, PG 77: 173-181; John McGuckin, *Saint Cyril of Alexandria and the Christological Controversy* (Crestwood: Saint Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2004) 194-195.

[77] Ibid., 207-212.

two-nature Christology as well as Leo's *Tome* as the basis for orthodoxy. Nevertheless, many Christians in the East viewed the addition of Leonine phrase "in two natures" as incorrect.[78]

The greatest sixth-century Miaphysite theologian was Severos of Antioch (c. 465-538), who rejected the council of Chalcedon as too Nestorian. Severos maintained that Christ's concrete nature (*physis*) possessed both perfect God and perfect man and that Christ is "from two natures." He therefore insisted that Chalcedon erred since it implied that Christ was two beings, both acting independently of each other:[79] "For according to these same people [the Chalcedonians], who affirm two natures after a union made up of a title which is fabricated, it is necessary for two natures to be allowed also before a union."[80] For Severos, Christ was a constant symbiosis of divinity and humanity, in which the divine was the dominant principle.[81] The persuasiveness of Miaphysite theologians such as Severos gave rise during the sixth century supporters of Chalcedon, designated by twentieth-century scholars as the neo-Chalcedonians.[82] These theologians had varied points of view, but they all agreed on the Christological principle of two

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[78] McGuckin, 233-243.

[79] John Meyendorff, *Christ in Eastern Christian Thought* (Crestwood: Saint Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1975).

[80] Severos of Antioch, *Contra impium Grammaticum, Or*. III.14, translated from *CSCO* 45: 243 in *Severus of Antioch*, ed. Pauline Allen and C.T.R. Hayward (London: Routledge, 2004), 89.

[81] Aloys Grillmeier, with Theresa Hainthaler, *Christ in Christian Tradition: From the Council of Chalcedon (451) to Gregory the Great (590-604)*, vol.2, tr. Pauline Allen and John Cawte (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1996), 162.

[82] Joseph Lebon, *Le monophysisme sévérien. Étude historique, littéraire et théologique sur la résistance monophysite au concile de Chalcédoine jusqu'à la constitution de l'Église jacobite* (Louvain: J. van Linthout, 1909).

natures in one hypostasis.[83] Their writings served as a theological impetus for attempts at finding common ground with the Miaphysites by the imperial government. The most prominent of the neo-Chalcedonian writers, Nephalios, John of Scythopolis, Ephrem of Antioch, and Leontios of Jerusalem, formulated Christological vocabularies that Eustratios drew upon in his development of a hagiographical anthropology.

Under the Emperor Justin, the imperial government attempted to reconcile the two groups, sometimes through persuasion, other times by force.[84] However, the abiding theme in the religious policy of Justinian I (527-65) after he succeeded his uncle Justin in 527 was to restore the peace of the church.[85] The emperor's motives were pragmatic and theological: if the empire was to be held together, it could not be allowed to fracture into internecine Chalcedonian and Miaphysite factions.[86] The empire could only survive if it had the salvation of divine favor. Justinian put it this way:

> We are convinced that our sole hope of the permanency of the empire during our reign depends upon the favor of God, for we know that that hope is the source of the safety of the soul, and the preservation of the government. [87]

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[83]Marcel Richard, "Le Néochalcédonisme," *Mélanges de science religieuse* 3 (1946): 156-61.

[84] Gray, *The Defense of Chalcedon in the East*, 44-53.

[85] Patrick T. R. Gray, "The Legacy of Chalcedon: Christological Problems and Their Significance," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian*, edited by Michael Maas (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 228.

[86] Ibid., 229.

[87] Μίαν ἡμῖν εἶναι βοήθειαν ἐπὶ παντὶ τῷ τῆς ἡμετέρας πολιτείας τε καὶ βασιλείας βίῳ τὴν εἰς θεὸν ἐλπίδα πιστεύομεν, εἰδότες ὅτι τοῦτο ἡμῖν καὶ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τὴν τῆς βασιλείας δίδωσι σωτηρίαν· ὥστε καὶ τὰς νομοθεσίας τὰς ἡμε-τέρας ἐκεῖθεν ἠρτῆσθαι προσήκει καὶ εἰς αὐτὴν ἀφορᾶν καὶ ταύτην αὐτῶν ἀρχήν τε εἶναι καὶ μέσα καὶ πέρας. Justinian, *Novellae*, edited by W. Kroll and R. Schöll, *Corpus iuris civilis*, vol. 3. (Berlin: Weidmann, 1895): 517:10-17. English translation in *The Civil Law, including the Twelve tables, the Institutes of Gaius, the Rules of Ulpian, the Opinions of Paulus, the Enactments of Justinian, and the Constitutions of Leo*, v.17, ed. S. P. Scott (Cincinnati: The Central Trust Co., 1932), 27.

In order to secure this preservation, Justinian was convinced that he had to bring into harmony the political affairs of empire, the teachings of the church, and a united church structure. Justinian makes this explicit in his *novellae*:

> There are two greatest gifts which God, in his love for man, has granted from on high: the priesthood and the imperial dignity. The first serves divine things, while the latter directs and administers human affairs; both, however, proceed from the same origin and adorn the life of mankind. Hence, nothing should be such a source of care to the emperors as the dignity of priests, since it is for their welfare that they constantly implore God. For if the priesthood is in every way free from blame and possesses access to God, and if the emperors administer equitably and judiciously the state entrusted to their care, general harmony will result, and whatever is beneficial will be bestowed on the human race.[88]

Justinian's first major effort at reconciling the two increasingly separate branches of the church came with the Conversations of 532, during which he invited several Syrian Miaphysite bishops for informal talks, along with their Chalcedonian counterparts. These talks, Justinian had hoped, would find ways of satisfying the Miaphysites. While the meeting was ineffective, both sides expressed approval on two issues: for the Chalcedonians, the council of Chalcedon rightly condemned the ideas of Eutyches, and for the Miaphysites the laying to rest the claim that Dioskoros was a Eutychian. When the talks broke down, it was because of the Miaphysite objections over the Chalcedonian doctrine that Christ had two natures. Justinian met with the Miaphysite bishops and

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[88] Μέγιστα ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐστὶ δῶρα θεοῦ παρὰ τῆς ἄνωθεν δεδομένα φιλανθρωπίας ἱερωσύνη τε καὶ βασιλεία, ἡ μὲν τοῖς θείοις ὑπηρετουμένη, ἡ δὲ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἐξάρχουσά τε καὶ ἐπιμελομένη, καὶ ἐκ μιᾶς τε καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀρχῆς ἑκατέρα προϊοῦσα καὶ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον κατακοσμοῦσα βίον ὥστε οὐδὲν οὕτως ἂν εἴη περισπούδαστον βασιλεῦσιν ὡς ἡ τῶν ἱερέων σεμνότης, εἴγε καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἀεὶ τὸν θεὸν ἱκετεύουσιν. Εἰ γὰρ ἡ μὲν ἄμεμπτος εἴη πανταχόθεν καὶ τῆς πρὸς θεὸν μετέχοι παρρησίας, ἡ δὲ ὀρθῶς τε καὶ προσηκόντως κατακοσμοίη τὴν παραδοθεῖσαν αὐτῇ πολιτείαν, ἔσται συμφωνία τις ἀγαθή, πᾶν εἴ τι χρηστὸν τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ χαριζομένη γένει. Justinian, *Novella* 6, ed. W. Kroll and R. Schöll in *Corpus iuris civilis*, vol. 3. Berlin: Weidmann, 1895 (repr. 1968): 35:27-36:9. English tr. in *The Civil Law*, v.16:30.

attempted to make Chalcedon acceptable to them if the fifth-century theologians Theodoret of Cyrrhus, Ibas, and Theodore of Mopsuestia, all supporters of Nestorios, and who were later received back into the church by the Chalcedonians, were condemned as heretics, and if both the one- and two-natures Christological formulas were theologically acceptable. The bishops rejected this, very likely because of the two-nature formula. However, the conversations gave new impetus to Justinian's quest for reaching an agreement with the Miaphysites.[89] Hand-in-hand with an attempt to find a Christological modus vivendi went the *reconquista* of western territories lost to the empire since the fifth century. These territories were ruled by Germanic Arians, whom the emperor considered heretics. One by one, these kingdoms fell to imperial forces from the 530s to the 550s. Once again, the Mediterranean could be called by the empire *mare nostrum*. Justinian was unflagging in his efforts to rebuild the Roman Empire, or at least to reconstruct its ideal of security and prosperity.[90] His admirers and detractors noted his capacity for energy and sleepless efforts.[91] The emperor himself proclaimed his tireless work:

> We pass entire days and nights in reflecting upon what may be agreeable to God and beneficial to our subjects, and it is not in vain we maintain these vigils, but

[89] Gray, "The Legacy of Chalcedon," 230.

[90] M. Maas, *John Lydus and the Roman Past: Antiquarianism and Politics in the Age of Justinian* (New York, Routledge, 1991).

[91] John Lydos, *De magistratibus*, II.15:2-3; Prokopios, *Anecdota*, 13.28.1.

> we employ them in attempting to deliver those who are subject to our government from care and anxiety.[92]

Buoyed by his military successes, his codification of Roman law, his beautification of Constantinople, in particular the rebuilding of the astonishing Hagia Sophia, and aided by his wife, the redoubtable Theodora, to whom he owed his life and throne, Justinian, following the Constantinian model of "universal bishop," proceeded with full confidence in his efforts to reconcile Chalcedonian and Miaphysite. An imperial edict in 543 condemned Origenism, which was still a fiercely contested topic among the monks in Palestine.[93] Justinian justified this edict by claiming that the church fathers had condemned Origienism.[94] In 544, the emperor attempted to reconcile the Miaphysites with his *Three Chapters* decree, declaring the dualistic Christology of Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret, and Ibas of Edessa heretical.[95] Both of these decrees failed to win over the Miaphysites.

In 553, the emperor convened the Council of Constantinople in an effort to fine-

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[92] Ἁπάσας ἡμῖν ἡμέρας τε καὶ νύκτας συμβαίνει μετὰ πάσης ἀγρυπνίας τε καὶ φροντίδοςδιάγειν ἀεὶ βουλευομένοις, ὅπως ἂν χρηστόν τι καὶἀρέσκον θεῷ παρ' ἡμῶν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις δοθείη. Καὶ οὐ πάρεργον τὴν ἀγρυπνίαν λαμβάνομεν, ἀλλ' εἰς τοι αύτας αὐτὴν ἀναλίσκομεν βουλὰς διημερεύοντές τε καὶ νυξὶν ἐν ἴσῳ ταῖς ἡμέραις χρώμενοι, ὥστε τοὺς ἡμετέρους ὑπηκόους ἐν εὐπαθείᾳ γίνεσθαι πάσης φροντίδος ἀπηλλαγμένους, ἡμῶν εἰς ἑαυτοὺς τὰς ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων μερίμνας ἀναδεχομένων. Justinian, *Novellae,* 80. 64: 10-19. English translation in *The Civil Law*, v.16:51.

[93] Antoine Guillaumont, *Les 'képhalaia gnostica' d'Évagre le Pontique et l'histoire de l'origénisme chez les Grecs et chez les Syriens* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1962), 124-170. Just how many monks were engaged in the debate is uncertain; one of the ideas of Origen, or more accurately, of his fourth- to sixth-century exegetes, that caused controversy was the pre-existence of souls. See Barsanuphios, *Doctrina circa opiniones Origenis, Evagrii et Didymii*, PG 86:891-892.

[94] Justinian, *Edictum contra Origenem*, ed. M. Amelotti and L. M. Zingale in *Scritti teologici ed ecclesiastici di Giustiniano* (Milan: Giuffre, 1977), 68-124.

[95] Ibid., *Epistula contra tria capitula*, ed. R. Albertella, M. Amelotti, and L. Migliardi (post E. Schwartz), *Drei dogmatische Schriften Iustinians*, 2nd ed. [*Legum Iustiniani imperatoris vocabularium. Subsidia* 2] (Milan: Giuffre, 1973), 142-148.

tune an interpretation of Chalcedon that would appeal to Chalcedonian and Miaphysite alike, ratifying the *Three Chapters* and condemning Origenism. However, while Cyril of Alexandria's Christology was formally adopted as the orthodox standard,[96] the Miaphysite Christological formula "from two natures" was explicitly anathematized.[97] The doctrines of the council failed to appease the Miaphysites. Indeed, the council was the last major effort at reconciliation between the Chalcedonians and Miaphysites. The imperial government made one final attempt at reunion under Justin II (565-578), Justinian's successor. This came to nothing; henceforth, the imperial government gave up on peaceful resolution and harsher methods were imposed.[98]

It was during this troubled period after Justinian and Justin II that Eustratios wrote his major works. In the next chapter, I shall examine who Eustratios was, briefly discuss his works, and analyze his arguments for the afterlife activity of the soul.

[96] McGucken, *Saint Cyril of Alexandria*, 240-243.

[97] *ACO*, 4:228.

[98] Gray, "The Legacy of Chalcedon," 235.

Chapter Two

The Presbyter and the Patriarch

What little is known of Eustratios of Constantinople is that he was a presbyter in the city's Great Church of Hagia Sophia. His birth and death dates are unknown. He is said to have come from the city of Melitene, but this is uncertain.[1] He was a disciple of Eutychios, Patriarch of Constantinople (552-565, 577-582), who presided over the ecumenical council of Constantinople in 553. According to Evagrios Scholastikos, the sixth-century ecclesiastical historian, when the question arose at the fifth ecumenical council at Constantinople concerning whether a person might be posthumously anathematized for heresy, Eutychios, a hitherto relatively unknown monk who had been serving as the ἀποκρισιάριος, representative, of the bishop of Amaseia, answered yes, since King Josiah had not only killed the priests of the demons, but also dug up the bones of those who had been dead for a long time.[2] When Justinian, who was eager to anathematize Origen, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Ibis for an accord with the Miaphysites, [3] heard of this, he raised Eutychios to the patriarchate of Constantinople

[1]Jean Darrouzès. "Eustrate de Constantinople" in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité, ascétique et mystique. Doctrine et histoire*, v. 4. Paris: Beauchesne (1960): 1718.

[2] Evagrios Scholastikos, *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius Scholasticus*, translated with an introduction by Michael Whitby (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000) 242-47. The Scriptural reference is 2 Kings 23:4-21.

[3] Patrick T. R. Gray, *The Defense of Chalcedon in the East (451-553)* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1979) 64-70. Since Theodoret and Ibas were former friends of Nestorios who were received back into the communion of the church after 451, and Theodoret and Ibas had both fought with Cyril of Alexandria, there works were anathema to Miaphysites.

after the death of Bishop Menas in 552, clearing the way for Eutychios to preside over the council.[4]

The period after the council, 553 to 565, is presented by Eustratios in his *Vita Eutychii* as one of harmony between Eutychios and Justinian.[5] However, in the last year of his life, Justinian had come to believe that the body of Christ in the tomb and after the resurrection experienced no bodily changes. Justinian demanded this doctrine, Aphthartodocetism, which was formulated by the Miaphysite Julian of Halicarnassus in the 530s, be assented to by all the bishops. The emperor's Aphthardocetism probably had a place within his Chalcedonian beliefs and reveal Justinian's hope, even on his deathbed, to attempt a settlement that Chalcedonian and Miaphysite would find feasible.[6] Eustratios doesn't openly censure Justinian for adopting Aphthartodocetism; instead, he attributes the trouble to the Devil, who was envious of the peaceful years that followed the council of 553. Eustratios claims that Justinian was at first convinced by Eutychios to see the error of his ways, but the emperor was then lured by wicked men to the ideas of Origen.[7] According to Eustratios, Eutychios led the opposition to the emperor's Aphthartodocetism.[8] When Eutychios refused to adhere to Aphthartodocetism, he was deposed and replaced by John Scholastikos (565-577). Justinian exiled Eutychios to Asia Minor in 565, with Eustratios accompanying him. Eutychios was restored to his see by

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[4] Evagrios Scholastikos, *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius Scholasticus*, translated with an introduction by Michael Whitby (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), 242-47.

[5]Eutychios, *Vita Eutychii*, 855-911; Cameron, "Eustratius' Life of Eutychius," 233.

[6]Lucas van Rompay, "Society and Community in the Christian East" in *Age of Justinian*, edited by Michael Maas (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 254.

[7]Eutychios, *Vita Eutychii*, 912-1012; Cameron, "Eustratius' Life of Eutychius," 234-235.

[8]Eutychios, *Vita Eutychii*, 1175-82.

the Emperor Justin II after John had died in 577.[9] Eutychios held his see until his death in 582. Eustratios followed his teacher back to the Imperial City, where he remained active as a presbyter and writer.[10]

Four works of Eustratios survive. *De anima et angelis* (*CPG* 7523) is a fragment that deals with the relationship between souls and angels.[11] Unfortunately, it cannot be dated with certainty. The text consists of five fragments in a very mutilated manuscript, Palatinus gr. 146, ff. 60-62^{v} and 66^{r},[12] which contains fragments dating from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries.[13] Carl Laga, who edited these fragments, attributed them to a lost work of Eustratios, the above-mentioned *De anima et angelis*,[14] which Eustratios alludes to in *De statu animarum*.[15] Peter van Deun, after carefully examining the text, concludes that a good part of the fragments was taken directly from *De statu*

[9]Paul van den Ven, "L'Accession de Jean Scholastique au siège patriarchale de Constantinople en 565" *Byzantion* 35 (1965): 320-321.

[10]Carl Laga, *Eustratius van Constantinople. De mens en zijn werk* (Ph.D. dissertation, Catholic University of Leuven, 1958). Averil Cameron, "Eustratius' *Life* of Eutychius and the Fifth Ecumenical Council," in *Kathegetria. Essays Presented to Joan Hussey for Her Eightieth Birthday*, ed. Juliana Chrysostomides (Camberley: Porphyrogenitus, 1988): 225-47; eadem, "Models of the Past in the Late Sixth Century: The Life of the Patriarch Eutychius," in *Reading the Past in Late Antiquity*, Graeme Clarke, ed. (Rushcutters Bay: Australian University National Press, 1990), 205-233.

[11]*De anima et angelis* (fragment), ed. Carl Laga in *Eustratius van Constantinople*, 315-320. See also Palat. gr. 146.

[12]*Codices manuscripti Palatini graeci Bibliothecae Vaticanae* (Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana codicibus manuscriptis recensita) (Rome: 1885): 75-80.

[13]Peter van Deun, "Le *De anima et angelis* attribué à Eustrate de Constantinople (CPG 7532): un texte fantôme?" *Sacris Erudiri* 41 (2005): 230.

[14]Laga, *Eustratius van Constantinopel*, 311-315, 321-330.

[15]Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 1050-1065.

animarum, but doesn't rule out the possibility that the work may have been a complete text in itself.[16]

A short time after the patriarch's death, Eustratios wrote the hagiographical encomium, the *Vita Eutychii*,[17] in which the patriarch was presented as the paradigm of a saintly monk-bishop. He also wrote a hagiographical account of the Persian saint Golinduch, the *Passio Golindouch*,[18] which dates, at the latest, to 602.[19] The apologetic *De statu animarum* cannot be dated with exact certainty; however, I demonstrate in the next chapter that it was written during the last decades of the sixth century, very likely between 582 and 593.

Eustratios wrote his *De statu animarum* against his opponents, learned people who philosophized concerning the human soul, asserting that after the soul had left the body, it rests without energy, and that the souls of saints don't appear themselves to people, but their identities are manifested through divine power.[20] Eustratios cites Scripture for the activity of the souls of departed saints on behalf of the living.[21] Among the numerous biblical passages that Eustratios cites, the most important is Matthew 17:1-4, the Transfiguration of Christ, where the disciples Peter, James, and John see Elijah and

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[16]Van Deun, "Le *De anima et angelis*," 223-26.

[17]Eustratios, *vita Eutychii patriarchae Constantinopolitani*, ed. Carl Laga in *Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca* 25 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992).

[18] Eustratios, *passio Golindouch*, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus in *Analekta Hierosolymitikes Stachyologias* 4 (St. Petersburg: V. Kirsvaoum, 1897): 149-174.

[19]Paul Peeters, "Sainte Golindouche, Martyr Perse" *Analecta Bollandiana* 62 (1944): 74-125. Eustratios mentions in the text that the emperor Maurice was still reigning (*Passio Golindouch*, 173:28-30). Maurice was overthrown in 602.

[20] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 50-60.

[21] Ibid., 129-798.

Moses conversing with the transfigured Jesus, illustrating the thesis of Eustratios that the souls of the blessed dead appear to the living.[22]

Furthermore, Eustratios draws on proof-texts from patristic writings and the lives of holy people to show that the souls of saints were directly active in the world.[23] Prayers and supplications are also performed by priests on behalf of the souls of the dead and offerings are given by their faithful friends for the benefit of the departed in the hope of remitting their sins.[24] The next section offers a detailed summary and analysis of *De statu animarum*.

The Soul, the Saint, the Honeybee, and the Ant

The title of Eustratios' work summarizes the themes of *De statu animarum post mortem*: it was written as a "refutation against those who say the souls of humans are not active after separating from their bodies."[25] Eustratios' opponents, unnamed in both the descriptive title and in body of the work, claimed that the souls of the departed are not benefited by the prayers and intercessions offered to God on their behalf. Eustratios argues that these are benefited and relieved, inviting the reader to read on.

Eustratios begins his work with a preface, and introduces the figure of King Solomon, author of the Book of Proverbs, who, wishing to awaken us from sluggishness,

[22]Ibid., 507-548.

[23]Ibid., 498-2048.

[24]Ibid., 2343-2725.

[25]Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 2-4.

offers three proverbs for our consideration: "How long will you lie, sluggard? When will you arise from your sleep?"[26] "Go to the ant, sluggard, and imitate its ways, so you may be wiser than it."[27] "Go to the honeybee, and learn how diligent it is, and how earnestly it is engaged in its work; whose labors kings and private men use for health."[28]

Eustratios argues that Solomon wished to show two contrasting ways of life with the examples of the ant and the honeybee. He presents, on the one hand, the zeal of the ant, the earthier of the two creatures, which "produces fruits from the labors of others, robbing underneath itself and again hiding in the earth."[29] Storing its unseen treasures in the earth, Eustratios suggests that this is an activity foolishly and zealously performed by the most violent of beings.[30] In contrast, he explicates the zeal of the honeybee, whose activity consists of unforced and virtuous work, "suggests the conduct of men loftily living a good life."[31] The honeybee, like the virtuous person, Eustratios suggests, performs its work for the benefit of all, king and private citizen alike.[32]

Eustratios then rhetorically asks why scriptural quotations were given in his preface. He says that certain people who philosophize concerning human souls state that after the soul of a person, whether holy or otherwise, leaves the body, it remains inactive. Even the souls of the saints who appear to people are not really saints, but apparitions in

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[26]Pr 6:9; Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 12

[27]Pr 6:6; Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 13-14.

[28]Pr 6:8a-8b; Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 15-17.

[29]Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 23-24.

[30]Ibid., 28-30.

[31]Ibid., 30-32.

[32]Ibid., 37-40.

the form of a divine power, since the saints are in a certain place, heaven, since once their soul has left their bodies, they never have the power to appear to someone.[33]

Eustratios returns to the paradigms of the ant and the honeybee to illustrate his point concerning the body, the soul, the afterlife, and the powers of the saints. He compares the ant with the body: the ant, while spending a little time above ground, for the most part lives under the earth, and its dwellings are like tombs. Eustratios states that this is how our bodies work: while living on the earth, our bodies suffer hardship and pain; only in the tomb do we find rest, awaiting the trumpet call of the resurrection.[34] On the other hand, Eustratios compares the honeybee with the human soul. The honeybee is not earthbound, spending most of its time in the air, not seeking out the darkness like the ant, but flies about in the brightest places.[35] In the same way, gentle souls cultivate sweetness in this life. After they depart this life and dwell in other places, they are called by God to help the living on earth, whose lives are stormed-tossed and contentious. They arrive to help, just like angels, in dreams and in waking life.[36]

Eustratios finds Scriptural texts to prove his thesis concerning the activity of the soul after death. He begins with the murder of Abel by Cain.[37] After Cain denies that he knew where Abel was, God confronts Cain saying, "The voice of your brother's blood is crying to me from the ground,"[38] Eustratios then offers Paul's interpretation of this

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[33]Eustratios *De statu animarum*, 50-60.

[34]Ibid., 104-113. Cf. 1 Cor. 15:52; Rev 8:2-6.

[35]Ibid., 113-121.

[36]Ibid., 121-128.

[37]Ibid., 136-144

[38]Gen 4:10.

text:[39] "By faith Abel offered to God a more acceptable sacrifice than Cain, through which he received approval as righteous, God bearing witness by accepting his gifts; he died, but through his faith he is still speaking."[40] Eustratios asks how Abel could continue to speak, even though he had died. He answers that Abel's shout was not from the corpse, but from a living being. He says that to speak after death is a sign of activity: "For to me and to all whomsoever with a sound mind, life and activity seem to be equal, and just as the contrary, the thing not being active is neither intellectual nor rational, it does not exist, nor live, nor is in activity, according to what we say."[41]

Eustratios goes on to say that human souls are intelligible and incorporeal, and can exist independent of the deceased body.[42] To those not convinced that the soul is able to function after death, Eustratios then examines Basil of Caesarea's *Hexameron*. There the bishop states, '"Let the earth bring forth a living soul.'[43] Why does the earth produce a living soul? So that you may understand the difference between the soul of cattle and the soul of humans.' And 'a little later you shall know how the human soul was formed; now hear concerning the souls of living things devoid of reason. Since, according to Scripture, the soul of every living thing is its blood,[44] as the congealed blood

[39]The authorship of Hebrews is traditionally ascribed to Paul in the Eastern Church.

[40]Heb 11:4.

[41] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 154-158.

[42]Ibid., 174-179.

[43]Cf. Gen 1:24.

[44]Lev 17:11 and 14.

changes into flesh, and the corrupted flesh dissolves into earth, so the soul of cattle is naturally something earthy."'[45]

Eustratios deduces from Basil's work that while the body decays, the soul lives on, "being simple and rational, intellectual and bodiless."[46] Eustratios examines Basil's Homily on Psalm 114, where he shows that a soul does not need a tongue to communicate with God; Basil says: "'He inclined his ear to me.'[47] For the divine hearing doesn't need a voice in regard to perception; for it also knows how to recognize the desires in the stirring of the heart. Or didn't you hear that Moses didn't say anything, but with his own inarticulate groans interceding[48] to the Lord, he heard the Lord saying, 'Why do you cry to me?'[49] God also knows how to hear the blood of a just man, to which the tongue wasn't attached to speak, nor a voice striking through the air. A presence of just works is a loud voice in the presence of the Lord.'[50] God heard the spiritual cries of Moses, who didn't need a tongue to speak; nor did Abel since 'his living and active soul offered his supplications to the Master."'[51]

Eustratios then focuses on the Prophets to examine the proofs of the active life of the soul after death. He relates that Rachel, "as her soul was departing (for she had

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[45]Basil of Caesarea, *Homiliae in hexaemeron*, 8.2:1-8. S. Giet, *Basile de Césarée. Homélies sur l'hexaéméron*, 2nd edn. [*Sources chrétiennes* 26 bis] Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1968: 434.

[46] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 178-179.

[47]Ps 114:2 (116:2).

[48]Cf. Rom 8:26-27. Rom 8:27 reads: "Now He who searches the heart knows what the mind of the Spirit is, because He makes intercessions for the saints according to God."

[49]Ex 14:15.

[50]Basil of Caesarea, *Homiliae super Psalmos*, PG:485.39-43.

[51] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 189-196.

died)...",[52] died a bodily death, but her soul lived and departed to the land of the living.[53] He also states the similar departures of the souls from the bodies of Isaac and Jacob, who were buried in the earth, but were returned to their race[54] and gathered to the people[55] respectively, which Eustratios says are a different race and people, who "always [are] in motion and never remain inactive."[56]

Eustratios emphasizes this point by citing three passages from Scripture: '"I am the God of your father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob.'[57] What, by the things that were spoken, does he show? 'He is not God of the dead, but of the living,'[58] as the Lord in the Gospels says, 'for all live to him.'"[59] And if "all live to him," Eutstratios argues, this includes the souls of the departed.[60] He underscores this point by citing the invocation of God as the "God of the spirits and of all flesh."[61] God, says Eustratios, is the God of spirits, which "are obviously souls."[62]

Eustratios summarizes the argument of his treatise on the relationship of God and the souls of the departed prophets and holy men and women: "With the holy Scripture

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[52]Gen 35:18.

[53] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 240.

[54]Gen 35:29.

[55]Gen 49:33.

[56]Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 243-244.

[57]Ex 3:6; Mt 22:32.

[58] Lk 20:38.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 261-263.

[61] Num 16:22.

[62]Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 267.

speaking so frequently concerning the end of this life of holy men, and after having been gathered to another people, it distinctly shows an invalid and easily refutable teaching of those arguing for a non-existence of continuation in regard to souls, and of those affirming confidently they are not active after death; for those believing such things agree with one another; for if they [souls] live, they are also active; or if they are not active, neither do they live, nor do they exist. For souls are spirits, and they move spiritually and they perform a work becoming to them, and they never sleep, as we have often said."[63]

Having established the Scriptural foundation for the afterlife of the souls of holy people and prophets, Eustratios then examines the energy and activity of God who creates the soul. Discussing Job and David, Eustratios quotes Job: "For even if [a man] may die, he shall live, having finished [the] days of this life,"[64] Eustratios interprets this phrase to mean that after death, the immortal soul of a person will continue to live.[65] God made the souls of every living being, Eustratios argues, since divine "hands made me and fashioned me."[66] The creativity and active power of God, the divine energy, produces and preserves everything.[67] Eustratios discusses the activity and energy of the afterlife in his analysis of the Psalms: '"I should be well-pleasing before God in the light of the living.'[68] And again, 'I should be well-pleasing before the Lord in the land of the

[63]Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 285-295.

[64]Job 14:14.

[65]Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 300-301.

[66]Cf. Job 10:8.

[67]Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 315-318.

[68]Ps 55:14 (Ps 56:13).

living.'[69] If David was praying to live 'in the light of the living' and 'in the land of the living,' those 'living in light,' they are not able to remain inert or unmoved. For if the perceivable and material fire, which also was given to us for service, is always in motion, never stopping the motion, inasmuch as it is seen in the material, how is the intelligible and logical soul able to remain motionless and inactive, being something bodiless, being much more in motion than the visible fire, which, like the divine fire, receives no cessation. For it is simple and without form."[70]

The souls of the holy also intercede on behalf of humanity: ""For I shall defend this city, for my sake and for the sake of my servant David.'[71] Do you see that God, being persuaded by his servants, averts a just threat menacing us?... The intercession isn't of the sleeping dead, but of the living and existing and active."[72] What is striking about these passages are the ways souls are active and energetic like God; God made this activity and energy a gift to humans and to all living things, which, according to Eustratios, includes the souls of the departed.

Eustratios employs examples from the deeds of Elijah and Elisha to prove that souls are active after death. Elijah prayed for the soul of a dead child to return to its body.[73] He notes that Elijah did not pray that the child's soul be resurrected, but "let [this child's soul] return." This, he shows, is proof of the activity of the soul in the afterlife.[74]

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[69]Ps 114:9.

[70]Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 322-332.

[71]Isa 37:35.

[72]Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 345-347.

[73]3 Kgdms 17:20-22 (1 Kings 17:20-22).

[74]Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 369-376.

The bodies and souls of the departed holy people are the focus of their beneficent intercessions on behalf of humanity:

> '"... [a]nd Elisha died and they buried him. And bands of Moabites used to invade the land, the year having come. And as a man was being buried, behold, they saw a band and they threw the man into the grave of Elisha and they fled; and as soon as the man touched the bones of Elisha, he revived, and stood upon his feet.'[75] And so, opponents, you will doubtless say that the power of God is activating. And I concur; for who is so stupid who does not think so? For he says that 'those who praise me I shall praise.'[76]... And it is very clear that while as many as have recourse to the relics of the saints, they receive from them, by the will of God, also cures. Moreover, and as many as are weak, because of bodily sickness, to have approached their [the saints'] shrines, God having been praised by them and he praising them, having been shown [praise], he appoints, whenever is pleasing to him, the souls of the saints to those having need of their help."[77]

Therefore, the relics of the departed saints as well their souls provide intercession and aid to those who invoke them. Equally important, the Hebrew prophets act as powerful and effective intercessors, just as the Christian saints later would.

Eustratios states: "If, therefore, the saints never cease to intercede on behalf of those who do injustices and impieties, by how much more do they intercede on behalf of those who approach them and call upon them with their whole heart, acting as they offer supplications to our compassionate God and Master; for interceding is a type of activity rather than inactivity."[78] Eustratios illustrates this topic in his examination of spiritual beings who act as intercessors on behalf of humanity, drawing examples from the books of Maccabees. Judah Maccabeus

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[75]4 Kgdms 13:20-21 (2 Kings 13:20-21).

[76]1 Kgdms 2:30 (1 Sam. 2:30).

[77]Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 369-374.

[78]Ibid., 395-399.

> 'exhorted his men not to fear the attack of the Gentiles,...'[79] And again, 'And having armed each of them, not so much with confidence in shields and spears as with the encouragement of brave words, and he cheered them all by relating a dream worthy of belief. And this was his vision: Onias, who had been high priest, a noble and good man, reverent in meeting, of modest bearing and gentle manner, one who spoke fittingly and had been trained from childhood in all that belongs to excellence, was praying with outstretched hands for the whole body of the Jews. Then likewise a man appeared, distinguished by his gray hair and glory, and of marvelous majesty and authority. And Onias answered, saying, 'This is a man who loves the brethren and prays much for the people and the holy city, Jeremiah, the compatriot-loving prophet of God.' Jeremiah stretched out his right hand and gave to Judas a golden sword, and as he gave it he addressed him thus: 'Take this holy sword, a gift from God, with which you will strike down your adversaries.'"[80]

According to Eustratios, the proof texts of the Scriptures identified the interceding visions of Maccabeus, Onias and Jeremiah as true, and he cites this vision as an example of the God's grace on behalf of the pious through activity of the dead.[81]

Eustratios then draws extensively on the New Testament and the works of patristic writers and saints' lives as proof of the activity of the soul after death.[82] Among the authors he cites are Ephraim the Syrian (ca.306-373), Basil of Caesarea (330-379), Gregory of Nazianzos (ca. 329-390), Gregory of Nyssa (ca. 335-ca. 395), Methodios of Olympus (d. ca. 311), Hippolytos of Rome (ca. 170-ca. 236), Dionysios the Areopagite (fl. 500), Athanasios of Alexandria (ca. 300-373), Eustathios of Antioch (fl. 325), Lucian of Antioch (d. 312), Chrysippos of Jerusalem (409-479), and Cyril of Alexandria (ca.

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[79] 2 Mac 15:7-8.

[80] 2 Mac15:11-16.

[81] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 443-448.

[82] Ibid., 798-2048.

375-444). Eustratios quotes at length saints' lives, some lost except for the fragments he uses: Gregory of Nyssa's *Life of Gregory the Wonderworker*, Athanasios's *Life of Antony*, Basil of Caesarea's *On the Forty Martyrs* and *In martyrem Julittam*, *The Life of Nicholas of Lycia*, Gregory of Nazianzos's *Funeral Oration for Basil of Caesarea*, Chrysippos of Jerusalem's *In Praise of the Martyrs*, and *The Life of Basil of Amaseia*. These works are analyzed in this thesis only to the extent that Eustratios employs them in advancing his argument for the activities of the souls of saints. Eustratios also uses the wonder-working power of relics, most notably those of Stephen the Protomartyr, as evidence of the power of the saint beyond the grave.[83] In a brief final segment, Eustratios argues that liturgical prayers and supplications are beneficial for the souls of the departed as well as for the living who offer them.[84]

In sum, Eustratios arrays his wealth of Scriptural and patristic evidence to refute the people who denied the activity of the soul after death. The possible identification of the deniers, anonymous in *De statu animarum*, is the topic of the next section.

[83] Ibid., 1996-2000.

[84] Ibid., 2342-2726.

The Unnamed Opponents of the Post-mortem Activity of the Soul in *De statu animarum*

First of all, what was the soul and how did it function? The Hebrew Scriptures seemed to make few distinctions between the soul, the substance of life, and the body or personhood. There was also no general acceptance that the soul was immortal.[85] The New Testament largely continued these views, with the soul being synonymous with life or the self (Acts 2:41; Luke 1:46). In the second century, early Christian writers began to address issues of the soul, having become acquainted with Greco-Roman philosophical ideas on the matter. A central feature of these ideas was the specifically Platonic theory that the soul was immortal, rational, and constituted the true self. By the fourth century, these features were generally adapted by Christian theologians along with Scriptural teachings on the soul.[86] Nevertheless, there were fundamental issues that still caused fierce debate among Christians: Was the soul material or immaterial? Was it mortal or immortal? Was the soul active or inactive after death? At the end of the sixth century, Eustratios wrote *De statu animarum* against unnamed opponents who argued that the soul was inactive after death. Who are the unnamed opponents of the activities of the soul after death? According to Eustratios, they are people who philosophize about the human soul and state that after the soul of a person leaves the body, it remains inactive. Even the souls of the saints who appear to people are not really saints, but apparitions in the form

[85] Alan F. Segal, *Life after Death: A History of the Afterlife in the Religions of the West* (New York: Doubleday, 2004), 142-145.

[86] Brian E. Daley, *The Hope of the Early Church: A Handbook of Patristic Eschatology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 20-92.

of a divine power, since the souls of saints are in heaven.[87] While there is no direct evidence to indicate a specific individual or group, there are several possibilities. Carl Laga suggests that these unnamed opponents might have been the Nestorians, who were very influential in the Eastern Roman Empire's bitter rival, Persia.[88] The Persian Empire, under the aggressive rule of Khrosrow II (590-628) was encroaching on imperial territory on its eastern borders. Since Persia favored the Nestorian branch of Christianity, this was viewed as a threat by the orthodox in Constantinople. One tenet of Nestorianism viewed as dangerous was the sleep of the soul.[89]

The first known development of the sleep of the soul occurred in the early Syriac church as enunciated by Aphrahat the Persian (c. 270-c. 345). He states that "The Spirit is absent from all born of the body until they come to the regeneration of baptism. For they are endowed with the soulish spirit (from) the first birth, - which (spirit) is created in man, and is immortal, as it is written, 'Man became a living soul' (Gen. 2:7, cf. 1 Cor. 15:45). But in the second birth – that is of baptism – they receive the Holy Spirit, a particle of the Godhead, and it is immortal. When men die, the soulish spirit is buried with the body and the power of sensation is taken from it. The Heavenly Spirit which they have received goes back to its own nature, to the presence of Christ. Both these facts the Apostle teaches, for he says: 'The body is buried soulish, and rises spiritual' (1 Cor. 15:45). The Spirit turns to the presence of Christ, its nature, for the Apostle says: 'When we are absent from the body we are present with the Lord' (2 Cor. 5:7). Christ's

[87]Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 50-60.

[88]Laga, *Eustratius van Constantinopel*, 283-309.

[89]Ibid., 290-291.

Spirit, which the spiritual have received, goes back to the Lord's presence; the soulish spirit is buried in its own nature, and is deprived of sensation."[90]

Although deprived of sensation, the good dead rest with a clear conscience and sleep well, and will be refreshed at the Resurrection, while the wicked sleep troubled, sensing impending doom for the evil they have done in life. This is probably the clearest exposition of the doctrine of the sleep of the soul, and it had a very significant impact on other contemporary Syriac writers.[91]

Ephraim the Syrian (fl. 373) was deeply influenced by Aphrahat. In a work attributed to him, the *Necrosima*, he writes: "The lesson of the dead is with us. Though they sleep, yet they teach us, their garments alone are destroyed, - the body which diseases brings to an end, - while the soul preserved in life, as it is now, (is) without corruption....Just as in the eventide laborers rest, so do they rest for a time in death, until like sleepers waked from their sleep in the tomb, they (shall) don glory."[92] Ephraim teaches that while the dead sleep, the soul cannot enter heaven, since nothing imperfect may enter paradise. The state of the dead prior to the Resurrection is called sleep, since it

[90]Afrahat, *Demonstrationes* [Textum syriacum vocalium signis instruxit, latine vertit, notis illustravit Joannes Parisot.] pp. vii-1xxx, col. 1053. Facsim. *Patrologia syriaca*: complectens opera omnia ss. patrum, doctorum scriptorumque catholicorum, quibus accedunt aliorum acatholicorum auctorum scripta quae ad res ecclesiasticas pertinent, quotquot syriace supersunt, secundum codices praesertim londinenses, parisienses / vaticanos accurante R. Graffin. 293: 2-24. (Passage tr. F. Gavin).

[91]F. Gavin, "The Sleep of the Soul in the Early Syriac Church," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 40 (1920): 104.

[92]Ephraim the Syrian, *Necrosima*, in *Opera omnia quae exstant: graece, syriace, latine, in sex tomos distributa ad MSS. codices Vaticanos*. (Romae : J. M. H. Salvioni, 1732-46) v.3, 225D. (passage translated by F. Gavin). Eustratios, who wrote against the sleep of the soul, seems to have been unaware of this work attributed to Ephraim, since he cites Ephraim as an authoritative guide on the efficacy of prayers said by the living on behalf of the dead. See Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 2529-2563.

is a kind of anteroom to the eternal afterlife of either heaven or hell.[93]

A contemporary of Eustratios, Mar Babai (c. 569-628) further advanced the ideas of Afrahat and Ephraim. An Assyrian abbot, Babai, in his commentary on the *Centuries* of Evagrios, writes: "[T]he soul cannot be active without the body, hence one must say that after death it is in a kind of sleep. The Holy Scriptures call death sleep; thus, too, the 'Seven Sleepers' of Ephesus.... We have seen that the mention of the soul in this state as something imperfect was made by St. Ephraem."[94] Concerning the sleep of the soul, he also writes that the soul after it leaves the body after death is "in no way able to manifest itself, nor to think, nor to learn, nor to operate in any way."[95] Furthermore, the soul after death "remains as if in repose and sleep, just as is written."[96] The ideas developed by Afrahat, Ephraim, and Mar Babai on the sleep of the soul were widely influential. Although the traditional home of the ideal of the sleep of the soul was Syria, by the sixth and seventh centuries it gained adherents in other parts of the Eastern Roman Empire, attracting those who didn't necessarily subscribe to Nestorianism.[97]

Eustratios specifically argues against the sleep of the soul, offering what he argued were proof texts from the Scriptures and the lives of the saints.[98] As proof for the

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[93]Gavin 105.

[94] Mar Babai, *Commentary on the Centuries of Evagrios*, quoted in *Moses bar Kepha und sein Buch von der Seele*, tr. and ed. Oskar Braun (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1891), 145.

[95] "...nullatenus manifestare potest, nec cogitare, nec discere, nec operari ullo modo." Mar Babai, *Liber de unione*, ed. and tr. from Syriac into Latin by Arthur Vaschalde in *Corpus scriptorum Christianorum orientalium*, v. 79-80. *Scriptores Syri*, ser. 2, t. 61 (Rome, 1914), 235: 13-14.

[96]Ibid., "...sed remanet tamquam in quiete et somnio, sicut scriptum est." 240: 10-11.

[97]Dirk Krausmüller, "Conflicting Anthropologies in the Christological Discourse at the End of Late Antiquity: The Case of Leontius of Jerusalem's Nestorian Adversary," *Journal of Theological Studies*, n.s., 56 (2005): 448.

[98] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 189-196, 243-244, 322-332; and 395-399.

activity of the soul after death, Eustratios offers the example of Paul, who states: "We are certain, and we would rather depart [from] the body and be at home with the Lord. So whether we are at home or away, we aspire to please him (2 Cor 5:8-9)." This quote from Paul confirms for Eustratios that the soul is active after death; to say otherwise would be impious.[99]

However, another passage from Paul, which Eustratios does not quote, potentially undermines the argument of Eustratios that the soul is active after death: "But I do not want you to be ignorant, brethren, concerning those who are sleeping, lest you sorrow as others who have no hope (1 Thes 4:13-14)." This passage seems to strengthen the arguments of the advocates for the sleep of the soul. Therefore, it is necessary to look at just what the words "those who are sleeping" (τῶν κοιμωμένων) mean. As its primary meaning the verb κοιμάω means "sleep." But there is also a metaphorical meaning for κοιμάω, which means "die." Origen, in his argument that Christ is the Lord of the living and the dead, quotes 1 Thessalonians 4:13-14 as an example of the latter.[100] This metaphorical use of κοιμάω to mean "die" is found in Pre-Christian Greek. For example, a grave dating to first century BCE has this epitaph: "Here I sleep" (ἐνταῦθα κεκοίμημαι).[101] For Eustratios, he possibly took this meaning for granted for a reading of I Thessalonians 4:13, which then becomes "But I do not want you to be ignorant, brethren, concerning those who are departed, lest you sorrow as others who have no

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[99] Ibid., 725-734.

[100] Origen, *Contra Celsum*, 2.65.23-47.

[101] Bernard P. Grenfell, Arthur S. Hunt, and David G. Hogarth, *Fayûm Towns and their Papyri* (London: Offices of the Egypt Exploration Fund, 1900), 22, 28.

hope." Moreover, Eustratios himself uses the verb κοιμάω as a perfect participle in the following passage in the sense of "departed, deceased": "[W]e hold a second a service to commemorate the memory of those who are piously sleeping [τῶν ὁσίως κεκοιμημένων]."[102] Certainly, Eustratios would not use κοιμάω in the sense of "sleeping," since this is the condition that his opponents argue that souls exist after death and therefore are not active. However, even if Eustratios takes for granted that κοιμωμένων in the Pauline text means "departed," the passage literally seems to say that the departed are sleeping, thus offering Scriptural proof for the advocates of the sleep of the soul. So, for whatever reason, Eustratios does not quote this passage from Paul.

While the theological arguments for the sleep of the soul have been recounted above, Eustratios specifically mentions that there were those who "philosophized" about the inactivity of the soul after death, arguing less from a theological viewpoint than a philosophical one. Who were such people that could have attracted the attention of Eustratios in his refutation? Nicholas Constas, in his article on the Eustratios and the cult of the saints, mentions that a follower of John Philoponos, one Stephen Gobaros, might offer a clue as to the individual or individuals against whom Eustratios' attack was aimed.[103]

[102] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 2377-2378.

[103] Constas, "An Apology for the Cult of the Saints in Late Antiquity,"280-281.

We have no knowledge of Stephanos Gobaros beyond his name and his book is a mystery. All we know of Gobaros comes from the *Bibliotheca* of Photios, Patriarch of Constantinople (858-67, 877-86) which summarizes Gobaros' ideas.[104] Photios begins his examination of Stephanus Gobaros by designating him a tritheist.[105] Gobaros' work consists of fifty-two chapters, each concerning a theological question with paired contradictory sentences, one supporting the view of the church and the other the view the church rejects.[106] It is difficult to determine the theological position of Gobaros from his treatise. The German theologian Adolf von Harnack conjectures that the book was a compilation made perhaps by disciples of Gobaros, but there is no solid evidence for this.[107] Indeed, the book seems to have gone unnoticed from the sixth to ninth centuries until it came to Photios' attention. Harnack draws two conclusions concerning Gobaros: First, he was a tritheist.[108] The tritheists were adherents of the mid-sixth century doctrine espoused by the Miaphysite John Askoutzanges that in God there are three co-substances. Critics accused Askoutzanges and his followers of advocating a belief in three gods.[109] Second, that he was an adherent of Severos of Antioch, whom Gobaros cites as an authority on the mystagogues of the church, and that he had particular points of

[104]Adolf von Harnack, "The 'Sic et Non' of Stephanus Gobarus," *Harvard Theological Review* 16 (1923): 205-206.

[105]Photios 287b: 9.

[106]Ibid., 287b: 14-21.

[107]Harnack 214.

[108]Ibid., 216.

[109]Henry Chadwick, "Philoponus the Christian Theologian," in *John Philoponus and the Rejection of Aristotelian Science*, ed. Richard Sorabji (London: Duckworth, 1987) 54.

disagreements with Gregory of Nyssa and Irenaeus of Lyons.[110]

Since Photios mentions that Gobaros was a tritheist, which is not evident from the extracts that he quotes, and the authority to which Gobaros assigns Severos of Antioch as church teacher, Harnack makes a reasonable supposition that Gobaros was a Syrian Miaphysite.[111] However, he also makes several assumptions that are not supported by the evidence from the text. First, Harnack claims that Gobaros was an Aristotelian. He asserts that because Miaphysite tritheism was associated with Aristotelianism, with John Philoponos as its foremost exponent, the work of Gobaros "dwells in the cool scientific atmosphere of Aristotle."[112] Harnack associates Miaphysitism with Aristotelianism in general, and with John Philoponos in particular. Recent scholarship has punctured the long-held belief that John Philoponos was an advocate of Aristotelianism. Quite the contrary: Philoponos launched a massive assault on Aristotelian science.[113] Second, while mentioning *en passant* that Aristotelianism was regaining ascendancy since the fourth century (although he never documents his evidence), Harnack sees Gobaros as someone who "looked with scorn upon the traditionalists, and believed himself able to dispense with their weapons....The others [the teachers of the church] clung to the principle, '*ratio et auctoritas*,' but Gorbarus took his stand on *ratio* alone, and annihilated tradition."[114]

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[110]Harnack 216-217.

[111]Ibid., 213, 216-217. Harnack traces the surname "Gobaros" as Syriac, derived from the word "gobar" meaning "man, hero."

[112]Ibid., 218.

[113] Richard Sorabji, "John Philoponus" in *Philoponus and the Rejection of Aristolelian Science*, ed. Richard Sorabji (London: Duckworth, 1987): 1, 6-31.

[114]Harnack, 226.

This is, at best, special pleading. From the evidence, Stephen Gobaros was most likely a Syrian Miaphysite, and perhaps a follower of John Philoponos.

Since the ideas of Philoponos on Christology and the afterlife made him a figure of controversy in sixth-century Constantinople, his theological ideas require attention. John Philoponos (c. 490-570) was a Christian Miaphysite Alexandrian philosopher. As his name John suggests, Philoponos was probably a Christian from birth; he seems to have been a philosopher and a Christian believer all his working life.[115] Perhaps best known for his commentaries on Aristotle, his work on Christian theology has recently received greater scrutiny. A Neoplatonist from the school of Ammonios Hermeiou (c. 445-536), he assailed the dominant Aristotelian scientific world-view, above all the idea of the eternity of the world.[116] Philoponos did not believe in the eternity of matter, including the resurrection of the human body. However, he believed in an afterlife; he comments on and analyzes the words of Saint Paul, that the present body "is not sown as the body which shall be."[117] In the preface to his commentaries on Aristotle's *On the Soul*, John Philoponos says this on the body and the soul:

> In the introduction to the present book Aristotle presents us with a rule that was accepted by all philosophers in common, both those who supposed the soul to be mortal and those supposed it to be immortal. This rule is the following. We must, he says, judge the essence [of something] on the basis of its activities, since every essence has its corresponding activity. Every essence, then, he says, that

[115]Lawrence P. Schrenk, "John Philoponus on the Immortal Soul," *Proceedings of the American Catholic Philosophical Association* 64 (1990): 151-160.

[116]John Philoponos, *In Aristotelis physicorum octo libros commentaria*, ed. Girolamo Vitelli (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1887-1888). See also Uwe Lang, *John Philoponus and the Controversies over Chalcedon in the Sixth Century* (Leuven: Peters, 2001) 1-15.

[117]John Philoponos, *De opifcio mundi libri VII*, ed. Walter Reichardt (Leipzig: Teubner, 1897) VII, 3, p. 287, 1.

> has not a single activity separable from the body, it will, when separated from the body, have nothing in respect of which it will be active; consequently, it will be in vain. Yet neither God nor nature does anything in vain.[118] Therefore it is impossible for that which has its essence separable not to have a single activity from the body.[119]

Philoponos reaffirms this idea later on in the same work, according to historian Dirk Krausmüller, with a strong philosophical argument for the sleep of the soul:[120]

> Now since perishing, then, is two-fold, either as in the case of bodies or as in the case of incorporeal [beings] having their being in an underlying body, if the soul was shown to be incorporeal and separable from the body, it will not in any way perish. Again, since the activities are inseparable, the essences also have to be inseparable; and if the essences are separated, they will be unable to be activated and without purpose. But neither God nor nature act without purpose,[121] so that it is absolutely necessary that when the activities are inseparable, the essences are so as well.[122]

Krausmüller argues that there was unquestionably an anthropological connection between tenets of the sleep of the soul and the philosophy of John Philoponos.[123] It is also very probable, then, that Eustratios had John Philoponos in mind as one of those who "philosophized" about the sleep of the soul after death.

Additionally, there are several ideas on the afterlife that can be culled from the fragments of Philoponos' lost work, *De resurrectione*: the human physical body will

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[118]Cf. Aristotle, *Cael*. 271a33.

[119] John Philoponos, *In Aristotelis libros de anima commentaria*, 15.11-24, ed. M. Hayduck in *Ioannis Philoponi in Aristotelis de anima libros commentaria* (Berlin: Reimer, 1897). English tr. Philip J. van der Eijk in Philoponus: *On Aristotle's On the Soul* 1.1-2 (Duckworth: London, 2005), 30.

[120]Dirk Krausmüller, "Conflicting Anthropologies in the Christological Discourse at the End of Late Antiquity,"438.

[121]Cf. Aristotle, *Cael*. 271a33.

[122]John Philoponos, *In Aristotelis libros de anima commentaria*, 15.46.29-47.2.

[123]Krausmüller, "Conflicting Anthropologies in the Christological Discourse at the End of Late Antiquity," 448.

perish and will not take part in the resurrection, and that the resurrected soul shall be part of a new body that is eternal and more glorious body than the one a human was born with.[124] The fourteenth-century priest and ecclesiastical writer Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos quoted from a long-lost work of Philiponos on this matter: "Everything in this sensible and visible world was brought into being out of nothing, is corruptible in principle and will perish in fact in both form and matter. Therefore the creator will hereafter replace these material bodies with other and superior vehicles for the soul, incorruptible and eternal."[125] This is far from the Harnack's assertion that "the proof that...the resurrection of the body can nevertheless be held could only be successfully advanced by means of Aristotelian philosophy."[126] John Philoponos thought that the soul had an afterlife based on the *auctoritas* of Scripture: if wicked in this life, the soul would be punished in Hades.[127] Indeed, so that the soul may be punished, it is connected with a pneumatic body, suffering in Hades, where its sins may be expiated.[128]

It is perhaps surprising to learn that the Patriarch Eutychios, the defender of Chalcedonian orthodoxy whom Justinian exiled for not supporting the emperor's

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[124]Albert van Roey, "Un traité cononite contre la doctrine de Jean Philopon sur la résurrection," in *Antidoron: hommage à Maurits Geerard pour célébrer l'achèvement de la* Clavis Patrum Graecorum, ed. Jacques Noret (Wetteren: Cultura, 1984), 123-139.

[125]Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos, *Ecclesiastica historia*, PG 147: 424 D – 425 A, tr. Henry Chadwick, "Philoponus the Christian Theologian" in *Philoponus and the Rejection of Aristotelian Science*, edited by Richard Sorabji (London: Duckworth, 1987), 55.

[126]Harnack, 218.

[127]John Philoponos, *In Aristotelis De anima libros commentaria*, ed. M Hayduck (Berlin: Commentaria in Aristotelem graeca xv, 1897): 17.26-18.2.

[128] Ibid. 18.4. See also *John Philoponus and the Controversies over Chalcedon in the Sixth Century: A Study and Translation of the Arbiter* by Uwe Michael Lang (Leuven: Peeters, 2001), 148. Presumably this will take place after the resurrection; the bodies of the blessed would also be transfigured into a higher, impalpable form.

aphthartodocetism, was accused by the Miaphysite bishop and historian John of Ephesos of being a follower of John Philoponos.[129] Controversy followed the Patriarch after his restoration to his see, specifically in his writings on the relation between the body and soul after resurrection. John of Ephesos, imprisoned under the Chalcedondian emperor Justin II and thus hostile to Chalcedonian clergy, writes:

> [Eutychios] heard of the heresy of Athanasios,[130] who after having been head and founder of the heresy of those who number the substances, that is, the essences and natures in the Holy Trinity, having been led astray by the error of John Grammaticus [Philoponos], of Alexandria, he further said that these bodies of ours do not rise again at the resurrection of the dead, but that others are made which come to the resurrection in their stead. And from this madness, worthy of heathenism or the Manichees, there arose a schism among them, and they anathematized one another in their writings. When then Eutychius heard of these people, he immediately joined himself unto them, and was imbued with their sentiments, and became one of them, and began composing a work in their defense, and drew up and published books, until 150 of his bishops and clergy were alarmed, and resisted him; and after much discussion, he was ashamed, and held his peace, and gathered in his writings, though he still continued of the same opinion.[131]

No less a figure than the staunchly Chalcedonian Gregory the Great, Pope of Rome, when papal *apokrisiarios,* emissary, in Constantinople, also debated the views of Eutychios on the resurrection of the body. Gregory comments that "our body will not, as Eutychios the Bishop of Constantinople wrote, in the gloriousness of the resurrection be impalpable and more subtle than the wind and air: for in that gloriousness of the resurrection our body will be subtle indeed by the efficacy of a spiritual power, but

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[129]Cameron, "Eustratius' Life of Eutychius," 238.

[130]Not the fourth-century Alexandrian bishop, but Athanasios the Monk, a grandson of the Empress Theodora (ca. 497-548); John Philoponos dedicated a work on the Trinity to him.

[131]John of Ephesos, *Historiae ecclesiasticae pars tertia,* edited with commentary by E.W. Brooks Louvain: L. Durbecq, 1952). English tr. R. Payne Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1860), II. 42.

palpable by the reality of nature."[132] Gregory relates that he and Eutychios had a contentious argument about the nature of the body after the resurrection, with the patriarch maintaining that the body would be impalpable. The Emperor Tiberius II summoned Eutychios and Gregory to a private audience to judge the merits of the dispute himself. The emperor deemed the ideas of Eutychios heretical and that his book ought to be burnt. Shortly thereafter, Eutychios became gravely ill and, according to Gregory, an acquaintance who visited the dying patriarch informed the *apokrisiarios* that Eutychios repented of his view of the resurrected body's impalpability, and that he "used to take hold on the skin of his hand before their eyes, saying, and 'I confess that we shall all rise again in this flesh.'"[133]

Nevertheless, despite the claims of theological lapses, Eutychios was recognized as a saint of the church sometime after his death.[134] The *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopoleos*, a tenth-century liturgical church calendar with established feasts commemorated with daily readings from Scriptural, hagiographical, and patristic sources, commemorates his feast day as April 6. The first line from his entry is: "[A]

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[132]Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*, XIV:72, ed. Marc Adriaen in *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*, v.143A (Turnholt: Brepols, 1979). Quia non, sicut Eutychius Constantinopolitanea urbis episcopus scripsit, corpus nostrum in illa resurrectionis gloria erit impalpabile, uentis aereque subtilius. In illa enim resurrectionis gloria erit corpus nostrum subtile quidem per effectum spiritalis potentiae, sed palpabile per ueritatem naturae. English tr. in *Morals on the Book of Job* (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1845), XIV: 72.

[133]*Moralia in Iob*, XIV:74. ante eorum oculos pellem manus suae tenebat, dicens: confiteor quia omnes in hac carne resurgemus. This is a paraphrase of Job 19:26: "and after my skin has been destroyed, then from my flesh I shall see God.

[134]Some have asserted that Eutychios was not sanctified; Pauline Allen writes: "Neither posthumous rehabilitation which his devoted presbyter Eustratius attempted for him – the *vita S. Eutychii*, written probably a decade after the patriarch's death – nor the presbyter's curious tractate *De statu animarum* (a description of the activity of souls after death) won for Eutychius the odour of sanctity. See Pauline Allen, *Evagrius Scholasticus, the Church Historian* (Leuven: Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense, 1981), 39-40.

commemoration of our holy father Eutychios, archbishop of Constantinople."[135] The entry for Eutychios in a twelfth-century manuscript of this synaxarion, Codex D,[136] reads: "Of Eutychios, archbishop of Constantinople. This man, our father among saints, also was the great high priest during the years of Justinian the Great, originating from the country of Phrygia, from the village of Theia Kome by name."[137] Then there is the entry in the typikon of the Great Church of Hagia Sophia. The typikon, which dates to the ninth or tenth century, describes the daily feasts celebrated in the church, including the commemoration of saints. Eustychios's feast day is commemorated with the following entry for April 6: "A memorial for our father among the saints, Eutychios archbishop of Constantinople."[138]

Indeed, an important task for Eustratios in *De statu animarum* is not only the condemnation of those who advocated the inactivity of the soul after death, but also the defense and praise of Eutychios to the degree that he is made the equal of the great saints, bishops, and prophets of the church, and therefore a saint himself. Eustratios writes of Eutychios: "And more clearly too the great Eutychios, archbishop of Constantinople, the

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[135]*Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopoleos, Synaxarium mensis Aprilii*. μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ϛ′. Μνήμη τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Εὐτυχίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. Ed. H. Delehaye, *Acta Sanctorum* 62, Brussels, 1902 (repr. Wetteren, Belgium: Imprimerie Cultura, 1985): 577-642.

[136] *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopoleos*, xvi.

[137] *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopoleos*, April. 6. Synaxaria selecta: Codex D: Εὐτυχίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. Οὗτος ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις πατὴρ ἡμῶν καὶ μέγας ἀρχιερεὺς κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους ἦν Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου ἐκ τῆς Φρυγῶν χώρας ὁρμώμενος ἐκ χωρίου Θείας Κώμης προσαγορευομένου.

[138]*TYPICON MAGNAE ECCLESIAE*. Typicon ecclesiae sanctae Sophiae. Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ϛ′, μνήμη τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Εὐτυχίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. J. Mateos, *Le Typicon de la Grande Église*, Tome I: Le cycle des douze mois [*Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 165. Rome: Pontificum Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1962]: 262.

ecclesiastical superior above all held in honor and reverence by me, in the treatise entitled *Concerning Matters that are in Two Ways, but Separated According to their Own Essence, that is to say, the Way of Pure Intellectual and Spiritual Matters*, wishes to show the soul to be bodiless."[139] Eustratios bestows the title of "Great" on the archbishop, a title he gives only to two other theologians in *De statu animarum*, Athanasios of Alexandria and Basil of Caesarea. Eutychios' quoted extract in the *De statu animarum* is also inserted between those of Athanasios and Basil, saints and bishops widely revered and of unimpeachable orthodox teaching.[140] Thus for Eustratios, Eutychios is also a saint and an orthodox teacher of Christian doctrine.

Eustratios' primary motivation for writing *De statu animarum* sprang from his desire to counter his opponents - most likely the advocates of the sleep of the soul and the philosophical school around John Philoponos associating themselves with soul sleep - who argued that the soul is not active after death, and that the so-called appearances of the saints are really forms of divine power simulating the appearances of saints. Eustratios' secondary motivation is to present Eutychios as a great theologian, in spite of the controversies that surrounded the Patriarch. Indeed, these conflicts may help to establish evidence for the dating of Eustratios' work. The evidence for this, which focuses on the stay of Gregory the Great as papal ambassador in Constantinople during these controversies, will be analyzed in the following chapter.

[139] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 1044-1048.

[140] Ibid., 1044-1070.

Chapter Three

The Dating of Eustratios' *De statu animarum post mortem*

This chapter analyzes the dating of *De statu animarum post mortem*. The topic is not only important in regard to the date of Eustratios' other written works, but also relates *De statu animarum* to other contemporary writings from the late sixth century that concern the afterlife of the soul, specifically the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great of Rome. It is argued here that Gregory drew liberally from *De statu animarum,* thereby allowing for a date for Eustratios' work to be reasonably established.

Brian Daley, in his article on the Virgin Mary's Dormition and Christian death in late antiquity,[1] observed that Eustratios and his contemporary Pope Gregory the Great of Rome in his fourth book of *Dialogues* shared similar eschatological concerns about the state of the soul after death, namely, that the souls of the dead were active, and worked their miracles in the dreams and visions of the living.[2] Indeed, the examples of saintly activity after death are so similar that I would argue that Gregory carefully studied Eustratios's work, and generally followed the same topics in the same order as they appeared in Eustratios, and made use of the examples of saintly activity as they applied to Italian saints. This is especially evident in Gregory's fourth book of the *Dialogues*. A

[1] Brian Daley, '"At the Hour of our Death": Mary's Dormition and Christian Dying in Late Patristic and Early Byzantine Literature,' *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 55 (2001): 71-89.

[2] Ibid., 79.

careful examination and comparison of the texts bears this out. First, the historical and cultural background that allowed Gregory, especially in his capacity as the papal ambassador in Constantinople, to make use of Eustratios' work must be established.

The Emperor Justinian, as noted in chapter one, reconquered the Latin-speaking western portions of the Roman Empire in middle of the sixth-century except for Gaul and most of Iberia. Italy and the West were now constituent parts of a Roman Empire whose capital was now Constantinople, and whose focus was defending its borders from Persian invasions. Because of the Empire's continuous fighting with the Persians along the eastern frontiers, the Western provinces were neglected,[3] as evidenced by the Lombard invasions of Italy and permanent presence after Justinian's death.[4] Nevertheless, cultural contacts between Rome and Constantinople were maintained. The visual splendors of Byzantine Italy are amply attested in the magnificent church mosaics found Ravenna and Rome.[5]

Rome itself was governed in the papacy of Gregory the Great (590-604) by military governors, the *magistri militum*, appointed by the emperor in Constantinople.[6] The *magister militum* gradually began to acquire both civil and military duties, especially

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[3] George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, tr. Joan Hussey (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1969), 78-79.

[4] Chris Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy: Central Power and Local Society 400-1000* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1989), 28-47.

[5] Otto von Simson, *Sacred Fortress: Byzantine Art and Statescraft in Ravenna* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987); Richard Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City, 312-1308* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 59-142.

[6] T. S. Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers: Imperial Administration and Aristocratic Power in Byzantine Italy A.D. 554-800* (Rome: British School at Rome, 1984), 53-56.

with the disappearance of the Senate in the late sixth or early seventh century,[7] although his power in Rome may have been somewhat limited by the honor of civilian offices and the papacy.[8] Some of the former members of the Senate stayed in Rome; others departed for other parts of Italy; a number were émigrés at the court of Constantinople, where they may have strengthened the authority and prestige of the senate there.[9] Gregory himself served as papal *apokrisiarios* in Constantinople, where he befriended a number of these Latin-speakers and wrote to them frequently when he was pope.[10] While serving in Constantinople, he lived the ascetic life of a monk, becoming a spiritual advisor to the Latin- and Greek-speaking aristocracy and clergy, thus modeling himself on the archetypal eastern holy man.[11] Therefore, important contacts between Rome and the East were established and maintained. As a holder of an important office and with close connections with the aristocracy, court, and clergy, Gregory certainly would have kept abreast with the latest theological developments; indeed, as recalled from chapter two, he became embroiled with the patriarch over the issue of the resurrection of the body. It is asserted here that Gregory drew upon Eustratios' work while living in the Greco-Latin milieu of late sixth-century Constantinople.

Although an analysis concerning all the motives that prompted Gregory to write the *Dialogues* is beyond the scope of this chapter, I offer a few up for explication. To

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[7] Ibid., 21-24.

[8] Ibid., 54-55.

[9] Ibid., 27-28.

[10] Ibid., 29.

[11] Andrew J. Ekonomou, *Byzantine Rome and the Greek Popes: Eastern Influences on Rome and the Papacy from Gregory the Great to Zacharias, A.D. 590-752* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2007), 20-21; R. A. Markus, *Gregory the Great and His World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 11-12.

begin with, Gregory, in a letter dated to July 593, urgently wrote to Maximianus, bishop of Syracuse, for materials on the abbot Nonnosus,[12] about whose deeds Gregory narrates in his *Dialogues*.[13] The purpose of the *Dialogues* is to edify monks about Italian holy men and their miracles deeds and virtuous lives.[14] Gregory states that he either knew these men or had reports about them from reliable witnesses.[15]

In his quarrel with Patriarch Eutychios on the nature of the body after its resurrection, Gregory very much reveals his deep and abiding interest in the afterlife and eschatological matters. Gregory's stay in Constantinople gave him ample opportunity and motive to write his *Dialogues*. I argue that they were in part inspired by Eustratios's *De Statu animarum*, because of the undeniable parallelism of theme, incident, and textual structure. Because I argue that *De statu animarum* was an inspiration to Gregory for his *Dialogues*, Eustratios's work can be dated within a specific time. Eustratios mentions his beloved teacher Eutychios in the past tense;[16] the Patriarch died in 582; Gregory wrote

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[12] Gregory the Great, *Ep*. 3.50.

[13] Ibid., *Dial.* I.7.

[14] Ibid., *Dial*. 1.1.

[15] Ibid. Recently, Francis Clark maintains that Gregory did not write the *Dialogues*; see *The Pseudo-Gregorian Dialogues* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1987); rather they were compiled during the late seventh century by an anonymous scribe in the papal archives. Ibid., v.II, 411-579. For refutations of Clark's thesis, see Robert Godding, "Les Dialogues...de Grégoire le Grand. A propos d'un livre récent," *Analecta Bollandiana* 106 (1988): 201-229; Paul Meyvaert, "The Enigma of Gregory the Great's Dialogues: A Response to Francis Clark," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 39 (1988): 335-81; Patrick Verbraken, "Les Dialogues de saint Grégoire le Grand: sont-ils apocryphes? A propos d'un ouvrage récent," *Revue bénédictine* 98 (1988): 272-77; and Adalbert de Vogüé, "Grégoire le Grand et ses 'Dialogues' d'après deux ouvrages récents," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 83 (1988): 281-348.

[16] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 435. Here Eustratios refers to Eutychios in the past tense. In section 433 of *De statu animarum*, Eustratios refers to Eutychios as "in all things worthy of veneration to me and holy

his *Dialogues* in 593-594.[17] Therefore, I would argue that Eustratios wrote his defense of the afterlife activities of the saints with the date 582 as the terminus post quem and 593 as terminus ante quem. A further narrowing of the date of the composition of *De statu animarum* between 582 to 585 is also a strong possibility. Gregory was also in Constantinople until 585. As a work that concerned the afterlife, *De statu animarum* would have attracted Gregory's immediate attention. Since he knew and argued with Patriarch Eutychios (see chapter two), it is possible that he knew Eustratios and his works as well. In this situation, two possibilities present themselves. One is that Gregory knew enough Greek to read *De statu animarum* on his own. Indeed, although professing not to know much Greek, he seems to have known enough Greek loan words transliterated into Latin or actual Greek words in his writings.[18] That Gregory did not have a working knowledge of Greek is unlikely. Gregory was born into the senatorial aristocracy, where the traditions of Greek paideia lasted until the middle of the sixth century,[19] thereby enabling members of the senatorial aristocracy to make the residential transition from Rome to Constantinople easier. Another is that one or more of the Latin-speaking ecclesiastics or patricians resident in Constantinople may have summarized Eustratios' work for Gregory into Latin at the time.

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superior," (ἡ τὰ πάντα ἐμοὶ τιμία καὶ ἱερὰ κεφαλή). In his work *Vita Eutychii*, 1.56-57, he used the same phrase to praise the recently departed Eustychios.

[17] Gregory, in a letter (*Ep*. 3.50, July 593) to Maximian, bishop of Syracuse, wrote that he was presently at work on the lives of the holy men of Italy and requested material on a local miracle worker, Nonnosus. His miracles are related by Gregory in *Dial*. 1.7.

[18] John J. C. Martyn, ed., *The Letters of Gregory the Great*, v. 1 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2004), 102-103.

[19] Henri-Irénée Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, tr. George Lamb (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1962), 345-348.

Furthermore, since Gregory was appointed papal *apokrisiarios* to Constantinople, it seems highly unlikely that he would not have at least a working knowledge of Greek; Gregory's claims that he did not speak Greek cannot therefore be taken at face value.[20] In order to dispute with the Patriarch Eutychios on the resurrection of the body, specifically over the book that the patriarch had written, which was later condemned to be burnt by the emperor while Gregory was still resident in Constantinople,[21] only two options were available to him: he either he must have read the patriarch's writings in Greek itself, or had its contents translated in whole or in part by someone in the Latin-speaking clergy or aristocracy resident in Constantinople.[22] I shall present evidence that a similar situation existed concerning Gregory's knowledge of Eustratios' *De statu animarum*.

A third possibility is that a copy of *De statu animarum* was brought to Rome sometime before 593, when Gregory began his own work on the *Dialogues*. However, there was a want of Greek theological works in Rome, since Gregory himself had to write to eastern bishops for information on specific theological questions.[23] Although translators of Latin works from the Greek were hard to find, nevertheless, some Latin translations of Greek works were undertaken during Gregory's pontificate.[24] Furthermore, the earliest extant manuscript of *De statu animarum* in the papal library

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[20] Martyn, 102-103.

[21] Gregory the Great, *Moralia*, 14.72-14.

[22] A third possibility is that the patriarch simultaneously put out a Latin edition of his work, but there is no evidence for such a precedent.

[23] Gregory the Great, *Ep*. 7.31; 8.29.

[24] Ibid., *Ep*. 6.14

dates to the second half of the tenth century.[25] The earliest known Latin translation was written in the seventeenth century by Leo Allatius as part of his critical edition of *De statu animarum*.

Eustratios' work shares striking similarities with Gregory's *Dialogues*, especially the fourth.[26] Both depict the afterlife activities of the saints. The texts of Eustratios and Gregory both conclude with the assertion that souls of the departed are benefited by human efforts. However, while both writers depict postmortem actives of the saints, their aims are different. Eustratios explicitly states throughout his discourse that his purpose is to refute those who denied the active afterlife of the soul, whose arguments, according to Eustratios are as follows:

> Certain people, because they devoted themselves to theoretical arguments, and wished to philosophize about human souls and make an argument about them [the human souls], confidently affirm by saying that after the departure from this life, and the departure of souls from bodies, whether holy or [otherwise] in some other way, they [the souls] remain inactive. And therefore even if the souls of saints appear to someone, according to substance or independent existence, those hope to philosophize say that they don't [truly] appear; instead, it is a divine power assuming the form [of saints], and it depicts souls of saints being active; for they

[25] Vaticanus gr. 511, f. 151-204.

[26] Matthew Dal Santo, "Gregory the Great and Eustratius of Constantinople: The *Dialogues on the Miracles of the Italian Fathers* as an Apology for the Cult of Saints," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 17 (2009): 421-457.

> are in some place,[27] never having the power after the departure of the soul to show themselves in this life to people.[28]

He continues, stating that the souls of departed humans, particularly the saints, are active and cooperate with God by performing good deeds on behalf of humanity:

> Likewise souls too, inasmuch as they were mild and gentle, cultivated sweetness in the present life; even though after these things they depart this life to some spiritual places,[29] but nevertheless by a command of God into this life of ours, a life of contentions in the midst of a storm, they arrive and engage in activity; and being sent, they help many people just like angels, I mean both in dreams and in waking visions. And this at the proper time we shall sufficiently prove.[30]

These arguments appear at the beginning of Eustratios' work, and form the basis from which he makes his refutations by his use of Scriptural and patristic sources.

The *Dialogues*, written as an exchange between a church deacon named Peter and Gregory, also address these identical arguments, but the aim of the dialogues is the edification of monks in the miracles of the saints.[31] At the end of third *Dialogue*, Peter tells Gregory that there are those who assert that the souls of the dead are inactive:

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[27] Eustratios notes that this place was not specifically heaven or hell. One contemporary belief held that soul of the deceased sleeps awaiting the Final Judgment, so it is neither in heaven nor hell. For an account of the sleep of soul in early Christian belief, see Frank Gavin, "The Sleep of the Soul in the Early Syriac Church," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 40 (1920): 103–20; for other varieties of theological and philosophical speculation in late antiquity concerning the inactivity of the soul after death, see Nicholas Constas, "An Apology for the Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity: Eustratius Presbyter of Constantinople, *On the State of Souls after Death* (CPG 7522)," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 10 (2002): 278-281.

[28] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 50-60

[29] Heaven.

[30] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 121-128.

[31] Gregory the Great, *Dial.* 1.9

> Peter: Considering how many there are within the fold of the Church who doubt the existence of the soul after death, I am urged to beg you for proofs from reason showing that the soul will continue to live on forever. And if any examples from the lives of the saints come to your mind, use them to illustrate your explanations. Such a procedure will remove doubts from the minds of many and will serve at the same time to be a source of edification.
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> Gregory: That is a very difficult task, especially for one whose mind is busy attending to many other affairs. But if some will find it profitable, I will gladly set aside my own wishes in order to help my neighbor. Therefore, with God's help, I will demonstrate in a fourth book, to the best of my ability, the truth that the soul will continue to live on after death.[32]

As in Eustratios, just who the people were who doubted the afterlife is not made known (III.38.5), and Gregory does not elaborate much in the *Dialogues* about their identity. Nevertheless, in other works, the *Homilies on the Gospels*, he mentions there were many people who doubted the resurrection.[33] Peter becomes the voice through which Gregory expresses the arguments of the doubters on a variety of subjects, including the doubts of the immortality of the soul (III.38.5), and that those who do not believe the unseen, and therefore the immortality of the soul, who do so because of reason, *ratio.*[34]

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[32] Gregory the Great, *Dial*. III.38.5, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé (*Sources Chrétiennes* 265; Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1980); English tr. Odo John Zimmerman (Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1959), 187. Petrus. Quam multos intra sanctae ecclesiae gremium constitutos de uita animae post mortem carnis perpendo dubitare. Quaeso ut debeas, uel quae ratione suppettunt, uel si qua animarum exempla occurrunt, pro multorum aedificatione dicere, ut hii qui suspicantur discant cum carne animam non finiri.

Gregorius. Laboriosum ualde hoc opus est, et maxime occupato animo atque as alia tendenti. Sed si sunt quibus prodesse ualeat, uoluntatem meam procul dubio postpono utilitati proximorum, et in quantum Deo largiente ualuero, quod anima post carnem uiuat, sesequenti hoc quarto uolumine demonstrabo.

[33] Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Evangelia*, II.26.12, PL 76:1203.

[34] Marc van Uytfanghe, "Scepticisme doctrinal au seuil du Moyen Age? Les objections du diacre Pierre dans les Dialogues de Grégoire le Grand," in *Grégoire le Grand: Chantilly, Centre culturel Les Fontaines, 15-19 septembre 1982: Actes*, published by Jacques Fontaine, Robert Gillet, and Stan Pellistrandi (Paris: Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1986), 318.

> Peter: But one who does not believe in the unseen is an unbeliever pure and simple, and such a one does not look to faith in his doubts, but to reason.[35]

Eustratios argues that those who doubt the existence of the afterlife of the soul also argue not from faith or scriptural authority, but from philosophical arguments. For both Eustratios and Gregory, the works of scripture and the early Christian fathers had become sources of received authority.[36]

Eustratios and Gregory share similar beliefs about the souls of humans and animals, and the similarity between immortal human souls with angels. Eustratios comments at the beginning of *De statu animarum* on the difference between the souls of humans and animals: while human souls survive the death of the body, those of animals do not. For authority on this point, he examines the work of Basil of Caesarea and its foundation in Scripture:

> The great Basil, bishop of Caesarea and teacher of the world, also addresses this matter in the eighth homily of the *Hexemeron*, saying this: "'Let the earth bring forth a living soul.'[37] Why did the earth produce a living soul? So that you may understand the difference between the soul of cattle and the soul of humans." And "a little later you shall know how the human soul was formed; now hear concerning the souls of living things devoid of reason. Since, according to Scripture, 'the soul of every living thing is its blood'[38] the congealed blood was disposed by nature to change into flesh, and the corrupted flesh dissolves into the earth, the soul of cattle is naturally something earthy."[39] And so in this he is shown "the difference between the souls of cattle and the souls of humans," as the

[35] Gregory the Great, *Dial*. IV.1.6; Zimmerman, 191. Sed qui esse inuisiblia non credit, profecto infidelis est. qui uero infidelis est, in eo quod dubitat, fidem non quaerit, sed rationem.
[36] Ibid., 316.

[37] Cf. Gen. 1:24.

[38] Lev. 17:11 and 14.

[39] Basil Caesariensis, *Homiliae in hexaemeron*, 8, 2: 1-8. S. Giet, *Basile de Césarée. Homélies sur l'hexaéméron*, 2nd edn. [*Sources chrétiennes* 26 bis]. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1968]: 86-522.

> father said, on the one hand the difference in the corruption and dissolution into the earth, from whence it [the soul of cattle] was also formed, and on the other hand, the [difference of the soul] of the person, which after the decay of the body [it] continues to exist and cry out and be active, and as the Apostle said, "still speaks," being both simple and rational, intellectual and bodiless. And because these things have this character, the same Basil again points this out;...[40]

Eustratios then goes on to analyze the nature of angels:

> And if the power of God, according to your argument, is representing only the forms of his holy martyrs and other holy people and servants, he performs the activities and healings, and let it be possible for you to consider and say this about the angels as well. For the souls of saints are in an equal position with the bodiless powers at the departure from life, even if the holy archangels precede them in glory and superiority, as the fathers taught.[41]

Eustratios describes the nature of angels as a bodiless power. Upon the death of a saint, her or his soul is in the same position as angels, although the angels outrank them in glory and superiority.

Gregory uses the same argument about the souls of humans and animals, and describes the nature of angels of as bodiless:

> Almighty God created three kinds of living spirits: one that is not clothed with flesh; another that is clothed with the flesh but does not die with the flesh; and a third that is not clothed with flesh and perishes with it. The spirit which is not clothed with the flesh is that of the angels. The spirit clothed in flesh, but not destined to die with it, is the human spirit. The spirit that is clothed in the flesh and dies with the flesh is the spirit of all beasts and brute animals. Now, since man was created midway between angels and beasts, to be lower that the one and higher than the other, he has something in common both with the highest and the lowest. His spirit shares immortality with the angels, and with animals he is doomed with a bodily death,

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[40] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 164-181. Cf. Gregorius Nyssenus, *Antirrheticus adversus Apollinarium*, F. Mueller, *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, vol. 3.1. Leiden: Brill, 1958: 230; idem, *Contra Eunomium*, W. Jaeger, *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, v. 1.1 Leiden: Brill, 1960: 1.1:162.7

[41] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 1659-1666. Cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* VI, XVI, 143.1 (p. 344).

> until the day when a glorious resurrection will swallow up mortality and the flesh will cling once again to the spirit to be preserved by it for all eternity, even as the spirit itself is preserved in God by clinging to Him.[42]

For both Eustratios and Gregory, humans and animals share the same mortal flesh. However, the soul of the human is immortal, while the soul of the animal perishes with its body. Eustratios and Gregory both agree that an angel is by nature a bodiless power and immortal power, and that the souls of humans share immortality with the angels

Eustratios and Gregory then describe the bodiless activities of saints and angels, and how their bodiless natures facilitate their ministry on behalf of God. Eustratios writes:

> And again, David, singing a psalm, said, "I should be well-pleasing before God in the light of the living."[43] And again, "I should be well-pleasing before the Lord in the land of the living."[44] If David was praying to live "in the light of the living" and "in the land of the living," those "living in light," they are not able to remain inert or unmoved. For if the perceivable and material fire, which also was given to us for use, is always in motion, never stopping the motion, inasmuch as it is seen in the material, how is the intelligible and logical soul able to remain motionless and inactive, being something bodiless, being much more in motion than the visible fire, which, like the divine fire, receives no cessation. It is simple and without form. And this has been proven by us in more detail in another treatise, "Concerning the Soul and the Holy Angels," namely that they are simple and bodiless.[45]

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[42] Gregory the Great, *Dial.* IV.3; Zimmerman, 192. Tres quippe uitales spiritus creauit omnipotens Deus: unum qui carne non tegitur; alium qui carne tegitur, sed non cum carne moritur; tertium qui carne tegitur et cum carne moritur. Spiritus namque est, qui carne non tegitur, angelorum; spiritus, qui carne tegitur, sen cum carne non moritur, hominum; spiritus qui carne tegitur et cum carne moritur, iumentorum omniumque brutorum animalium. Homo itaque, sicut in medio creatus est, ut esset inferior angelo, creatus estsuperior iumento, ita aliquid commune cum infirmo, immortalitatem scilicet spiritus cum angelo, mortalitatem, uero carnis cum iumento, quousque et ipsam mortalitatem carnis gloria resurrectionis absorbeat, et inhaerendo spiritui caro serueter in Deum.

[43] Ps 55:14 (Ps 56:13).

[44] Ps 114:9 (Ps 116: 9)

[45] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 320-332. Perhaps from Eustratios' *De anima et angelis*; except for fragments (Palatinus gr. 146, ff. 60v-62v and 66r), a lost work.

Eustratios cites an example from 3 Maccabees how bodiless spirits, in this case angels, work their powers on behalf of God:

> The most glorious, almighty, and true God revealed his holy face and opened the heavenly gates, from which two angels, terrifying in appearance, descended, visible to all except the Jews. [46] Therefore, whenever the worthy see a vision of angels, they knew them to be and to call them angels.[47]

However, Eustratios also argues that the souls of saints are also sent out in ministry to perform the work of God.

> Those who live in this life and do not open the intellectual and the invisible, that is to say, the gates of heaven, "storing up an unfailing treasure in heaven where neither moth nor rust destroy, and thieves do not break in and steal,"[48] how will they find these things opening, in order that they either might have been transferred there in relation to the angels and the righteous, or again arriving there, how might they do good works as did also the saints?[49]

Thus, because of their bodiless forms, angels and the souls of saints are effective in the caring ministry of God. As Eustratios notes, angels and the souls of saints can at times appear visible or invisible. Indeed, Eustratios calls the true meaning of the intellectual and the invisible the gates of heaven.

Gregory also states the bodiless angels and the souls of saints are active in the service of God, especially when invisible:

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[46] 3 Mac 6:18.

[47] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 468-472.

[48] Mt 6:20; cf. Lk 12:33.

[49] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 2149-2156.

> You ought, then, also, to realize that this invisible God has invisible servants, for is it not proper that those who serve ought to bear a resemblance to the one they serve? The servants of the invisible God must, therefore, be invisible themselves. And who are these invisible servants, if not the angels and souls of the just? In considering the movements of the body, it is from its lowest activity that we infer the soul's presence in the body. In a like manner, when we judge the soul's existence after it leaves the body, we ought to draw our conclusions from its highest activity. Now, the soul must be able to live invisibly, because it is to remain in the service of God.[50]

Gregory, like Eustratios in his work, then launches an investigation the fourth *Dialogue* exploring the topic of the afterlife of the soul by examining evidence from Scripture and the lives of saints. In this first step, he asserts the belief in the existence of the invisible world where the soul works on after death. [51]

Eustratios and Gregory discuss the self-sacrifice and the trials of pious living saints, and that their sanctity is such that their relics provide effective healings for those sick in body and spirit. The healing powers of the relics even fight off the attacks of devils. Eustratios states:

> Therefore in the first invective oration against Julian he [Gregory of Nazianzos] says this, "Did you not even fear the great champions, that John, Peter, Paul, James, Stephen, Luke, Andrew, Thekla, and those after and before them, bearing the brunt of battle for the sake of truth, who readily struggling against fire, iron,

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[50] Gregory the Great, *Dial*. IV.5; Zimmerman, 197-198. Debent quippe ea quae ministrant ad eius similitudinem tendere, cui ministrant, ut quae inuisibili seruiunt, esse inuisibilia non dubitentur. Haec autem quae esse credimus nisi sanctos angelos et spiritus iustorum? Sicut ergo motem considerans corporis, uitam animae in corpore manentis perpenis a minimo, ita uitam animae exeuntis a corpore perpendere debes a summp, quia potest inuisibiliter uiuere, quam oportet in obsequio inuisibilis conditoris manere.

[51] Adalbert de Vogüé, "De la crise aux résolutions: les Dialogues comme histoire d'une âme," in *Grégoire le Grand: Chantilly, Centre culturel Les Fontaines, 15-19 septembre 1982: Actes* publiés par Jacques Fontaine, Robert Gillet, Stan Pellistrandi (Paris: Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1986), 308.

> wild beasts, and tyrants, with evils present and threatening, as if in other bodies, or bodiless? For what? That they betray their piety, not even by so much as a word. For whom there are great honors and feasts, by whom demons are driven out and sicknesses are healed, to whom are revelations and prophesies, and whose bodies alone possess power equal to their holy souls, either touching lightly or revering [them],[52] and whose drops of blood and small tokens [relics] of their suffering alone [possess power] equal to their bodies."[53]
>
> For clearly he [Gregory of Nazianzos] taught that the driving out of demons occurred [through the saints], as well as the healings produced through them, saying "by whom demons are driven out and sicknesses are healed." He added not only the souls themselves are active, but that [their] bodies are equal to their souls has granted [their] grace and activity to have power "touching lightly or revering," clearly with the cooperation of God, active according to their own being, and not one active or appearing on behalf of another.[54]

Thus Eustratios argues that because of their holiness and self-sacrifice, saints and the relics of saints are able to perform miracles and healings.

Gregory concisely paraphrases all of Eustratios's ideas on the self-sacrifices of the saints who died as martyrs and their wonder-working powers through their relics:

> Would the holy Apostles and martyrs of Christ have despised the present life and accepted physical death in its stead, if they had not realized that true life awaits their souls hereafter? You acknowledge that the life of the soul in the body is recognized from the physical movements of the body. Now consider those who laid down their lives willingly because of their faith in a life hereafter, and see how renowned they have become through their miracles. The sick approach the lifeless remains of these martyrs and are healed; perjurers come and find themselves tormented by Satan; the possessed come and are delivered from the power of the Devil; lepers approach and are cleansed; the dead are brought and are restored to life. Consider what a fullness of life they must enjoy where they live now, if even their dead bodies here on earth are alive with such miraculous powers. So, if you accept the presence of a soul in the body because of the body's

[52] I.e., the bodies of the saints.

[53] Gregory of Nazianzos, *Contra Julianum imperatorem 1* (orat. 4), PG 35.589.23-38.

[54] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 1422-1446.

> physical activities, why do you not also recognize the continued life of the soul after death from the miracles performed through its lifeless body?[55]

Eustratios and Gregory describe visions of the departure of saintly souls witnessed by people who were at some distance when the souls of the saints ascended into heaven. Eustratios quotes from the *Life of Antony*:

> For in many different ways the same Athanasios demonstrated this again also in his *Life* of the great Antony, narrating the visions by him. He says this: "Only this was the wonder of Antony, that sitting on the mountain he kept his heart vigilant, and the Lord showed him things from afar. In fact, once again sitting on the mountain and looking up, he saw someone being lifted into the air, and there was much joy of the people meeting [him]. Then, marveling at and blessing this company, he prayed to learn who this man might be. And immediately a voice came to him, that this was the soul of Amun the monk in Nitria. This man remained an ascetic until old age. And the distance of the road from Nitria up to the mountain where the saint was is thirteen days."[56] And a little later: "The monks to whom Anthony spoke concerning the death of Amun marked the day; and after the brothers came up from Nitria after thirty days, they learned and knew Amun had fallen asleep on that day and hour in which the old man[57] had seen his soul[58] carried up."[59]

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[55] Gregory the Great, *Dial*. IV.6; Zimmerman,197-198. Numquidnam sancti apostoli et martyres Christi praesentem uitam despicerent, in morte carnis animas ponerent, nisi certiorem animarum uitam subsequi scirent? Tue uero ipse inquies quia uita animae in corpore manentis ex motibus corporis agnoscis. Et ecce hii qui animas in morte posuerunt atque animarum uitam post mortem carnis esse crediderunt, cotidianis miraculis coruscant. Ad extincta namque erorum corpora uiuentes aegri ueniunt et sanantur, periuri ueniunt et daemonio uexantur, daemoniaci ueniunt et liberantur, leprosi ueniunt et mundantur, deferuntur mortui et suscitantur.

2. Pensa itque erorum animae qualiter uiuunt illic, ubi uiuunt, quorum hic et mortua corpora in tot miraculis uiuunt. Si igitur uitam animae manentis in corpore deprehendis ex motu membrorum, cur non perpendis uitam animae post corpus etian per ossa mortua in uirtue miraculorum?

[56] Athanasios, *Vita Antonii*, 60.1-13, ed. G. J. M. Bartelink in *Athanase d'Alexandrie, Vie d'Antoine* [*Sources Chrétiennes* 400]. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1994.

[57] Antony.

[58] Amun.

[59] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 953-970; Athanasios, *Vita Antonii*, 60.35-40.

Gregory describes a similar incident of person having an ecstatic vision of someone who had died some distance away by a brother monk of the deceased:

> Once, Speciosus was sent to Capua on business for the monastery. Then one day, his brother Gregory, while seated at table with the community, was raised to a state of ecstasy and saw the soul of his brother, many miles away, departing from this world. Informing the brethren of what had happened, he hurried off to Capua, only to find his brother already buried. Upon inquiry he learned that Speciosus had died at the very hour when he had seen his soul departing.[60]

Holy living men in the works of Eustratios and Gregory are thus able to see the souls of other holy people ascending to heaven.

Both Eustratios and Gregory are sure that the souls of saints are with Christ in heaven. Indeed, this is a crucial argument of Eustratios, since he holds that the souls of the departed saints are not sleeping, but are engaged in the service of God on behalf of humanity:

> Although bodies don't principally have permanence in a bodily space, however that may be, in a secondary way they come into existence in space, as in yours, [or] whenever they are sent out into service, whether the holy angels or the souls of the holy martyrs. And just as the contrary it isn't principally from bodies, not yet free from corruption, to be going into the lands above the heavens, nevertheless the beings with bodies in a secondary way were there in the heavens by the will of God, as Paul "snatched up to the third heaven," and as many as according to that man [Paul] were deemed worthy of similar mysteries according to revelation,[61] who also highly esteemed as a "gain" "a departing and being with Christ,"[62] saying that "to me living is Christ, and dying is gain. If living in

[60] Gregory the Great, *Dial*. IV.8, Zimmerman, 201. Quorum unus, scilicet Speciosus, dum pro utilitate monasterii iuxta Capuanum urben missus fuisset, die quadam frater eius Gregorius, cum fratribus as mensam sedens atque conuescens, per spiritum subleuatus aspexit, et uidit Specioci germani sui animam tam longe a se positi de corpore exire. Quod mox fratribus indicauit, et cucurrit, iamque eundem fratrem suum sepultum repperit, quem tanem ea hora, qui uiderat, exisse de corpore inuenit.

[61] Cf. Rom 16:25; Eph 3:3-7.

[62] Phil 1:21, 23.

> the flesh, this is fruitful work to me; which I shall choose I do not know. I am conflicted between the two, having a desire to depart and be with Christ, [which is] much better by far.[63]
> Consequently, is the "better" what [on account of which reason] he longs for – that being drowsy he may always sleep and enjoy no gain? – or glorifying God eternally, which I consider rather to be [a state of] wakefulness, that is to say, activity. And teaching the latter, [Paul] clearly desires [this], praying [for] "a departing and being with Christ," and he sought to become in complete participation with those inexpressible words which he gave heed, "which are not allowed for a person to speak,"[64], on account of which he said, "Our citizenship is in heaven,"[65] and he urged "seeking the things above, [and] setting one's mind on the things above,"[66] "in order that whether we wake or sleep we might live together with him."[67] I believe that hinting, he said "we wake" in regard to the soul, while "we sleep" in regard to the dormition of the body. So as many as who have a share of that citizenship, "and [their] life is hidden with Christ in God,"[68] as also to share a way of life with the saints, they rejoice, as we have spoken often in a second way, and to dwell spiritually in this way of life in which they who remain also struggled; and they attained to unchangeable and eternal good things as first fruits.[69] For it is clear this was said in the Apocalypse, that "they were given white robes" which are the activities of
> graces, that is to say, of healings, now occurring from the saints.[70] And this must be said that not as a result of a reward to be added over and above to them, [the saints,] because healings are from God and he provides manifestations to the worthy to undertake these things.[71]

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[63] Phil 1:21-23.

[64] 2 Cor 12:4.

[65] Phil 3:20.

[66] Col 3:1-2.

[67] 1 Thes 5:10.

[68] Col 3:3.

[69] Cf. Heb 9:11, 10:1.

[70] For bodily healing by God through the saints, see *A. Jo.* 106 (p.203.12); *A. Phil.* 39 (p.18.28); Or. *Cels.* 1.46 (p. 96.6; PG 745A); by the saints through their relics, see Eustratios, *De statu animarum* 8 (p.371); by the saints, see *Hom. Clem*. 19:25; Sophr. H. *mir. Cyr. et Jo.* 18 (PG 87.3477C).

[71] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 747-786.

Gregory also states that the souls of the saints are received into heaven after death:

> Peter: I should like to know whether the souls of the just are received into heaven before they are united to their bodies.
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> Gregory: We cannot affirm or deny this of all the elect for there are just souls who are delayed somewhere outside heaven. The delay imposed on them seems to indicate that they are still lacking in perfect justice. Yet, nothing is more certain than that the souls of those who have attained perfect justice are received into the kingdom of heaven as soon as they leave the body. Christ Himself is our witness when He says, "It is where the body lies that the eagles will gather."[72] For, wherever our Redeemer is bodily present, there the souls of the just will gather. And St. Paul desires to have done with the present life, "and be with Christ."[73] We firmly believe that Christ is in heaven. Should we, then, not firmly believe that the soul of Paul is there, too? For, in writing about his death and the life in heaven, he says, "Once this earthly tent dwelling of ours has come to an end, God, we are sure, has a solid building waiting for us, a dwelling not made with hands, that will last eternally in heaven."[74]
> It is in reference to a time before the day of resurrection that they say of the elect, "Whereupon a white robe was given to each of them, and they were bidden to take their rest a while longer, until their number had been made up by others, their brethren and fellow-servants."[75]

Thus, both Eustratios and Gregory share the belief that the souls of the saints are received in heaven after their departures from life. They both recount identical passages

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[72] Lk 17:37.

[73] Phil 1:23.

[74] Gregory the Great, *Dial*. IV.25-26; Zimmerman, 217-218. Sed nosse uelim si nunc ante restitutionem corporum in caelo recipi ualeant animae iustorum.

Hoc neque de omnibus iustis fateri possumus, neque de omnibus negare. Nam sunt quorundam iustorum animae, quae a caelesti regno quibusdam adhuc mansioibus differentur. In quo dilationis damno quid aliud innuitur, nisi quod de perfecta iustitia aliquid minus habuerunt? Et tamen luce clarius constat quia perfectorum iustorum animae, mox ut huius carnis claustra exeunt, in caelestibus sedibus recipiuntur. Quod et ipsa per se ueritas adtestatur, dicens: "Vbicumque fuerit corpus, illuc congregabuntur aquilae," quia ubi ipse redemptor est corpore, illuc procul dubio colleguntur et animae iustorum.

2. Et Paulus dissolui desiderat et cum Christi esse. Qui ergo Christum esse in caelo non dubitat, nec Pauli animam esse in caelo negat. Qui etiam de solutione sui corporis atque inhabitatione patrae caelestis dicit: Scimus quonium si terrestris domus nostra huius habitationis dissoluatur, quod aedificationem habemus ex Deo, domum non manufactam, sed aeternam in caelis.

[75] Ibid.; Zimmerman, 218-19. Hinc etiam ante resurrectionis deim de sanctorum animabus scriptum est: Datae sunt illis singulae stolae albae, et dictum est illis ut requiescerent tempus adhuc modicum, donec inpleatur numerus conseruorum et fratrem eorum.

concerning the visionary experience of Paul (Phil 1:23) and from the Apocalypse (Rev 6:11) to confirm their proof.

Eustratios and Gregory quote extensively from Luke regarding the rich man in hell and his petitions to Abraham as proof that the souls of the dead live on after death, in the case of the wicked in Hell. Eustratios, having stated that the "gates of heaven" comprise the deepest intellect and invisibility, takes as a matter of course the ability of departed souls to perceive their surroundings, acknowledge their actions, and recognize other spiritual beings. Here, Eustratios discusses the rich man's supplication of Abraham, begging him to send Lazarus to his five brothers to warn them of the place that awaits them if they do not change:

> For sometimes he [the rich man] was reasoning to himself, saying that "Abraham called me 'child,'[76] if I say to him concerning Lazarus, 'Send him to my brothers,'[77] he will certainly say to me, 'I shall send you,' and 'You go away to them.' And if this happens, I shall find a release afterwards from the pains that oppress me now."[78] This is why he piteously offered the prayers of a supplicant, saying, "Have mercy upon me, Father Abraham, and send Lazarus,"[79] on the one hand entreating for his brothers, and on the other for himself. What does the affectionate Abraham do? He did not insult, he did not dishonor, and he did not threaten, nor did he answer altogether harshly; but as soon as he heard, he gave him [Lazarus] the same disposition [of feeling].[80] He says, "You call me 'father'[81] in name only; for you did not keep the paternal commandments and you did not welcome hospitality in your own house and this you did not value as one ought,[82] that hospitality itself had happened to you in the "tabernacles of the

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[76] Lk 16:25.

[77] Lk 16:28-29.

[78] Cf. Lk 16:24.

[79] Lk 16:24.

[80] Cf. Gen 21:11-12.

[81] Lk 16:24, 27.

[82] Gen 18:1-15.

> righteous."[83] And I in a like manner call you 'child;' I speak soothingly to your voice through a voice, [but] not through works. For how am I able to repay you through good work, who did not accomplish anything good?" They might have spoken words like these.[84]

Thus, according to Eustratios, the soul of the rich man perceives where it is and recognizes the soul of his fellow spirit, Abraham, to make its pleas.

Likewise, Gregory argues that the rich man is able to recognize another soul: Peter asks whether the dead recognize each other in heaven or in hell. Gregory also quotes Luke 16:19-28 and offers his exegesis on this passage:

> An explanation of this question is very clearly set down by our Lord in the passage I referred to above.[85] "There was a rich man once," he said, "that was clothed in purple and lawn, and feasted sumptuously every day.... And there was a beggar, called Lazarus, who lay at his gate, covered with sores, wishing that he could be fed with the crumbs which fell from the rich man's table, but none was ready to give them to him; the very dogs came and licked his sores." And he adds that Lazarus after his death was carried 'by angels to Abraham's bosom,' while the rich man died 'and found his grave in hell. And there, in his suffering, he lifted up his eyes and saw Abraham far off, and Lazarus in his bosom. And he said, with a loud cry, Father Abraham, take pity on me; send Lazarus to dip the tip of his finger in water, and cool my tongue.' And Abraham said to him, 'My son, remember that you received your good fortune in your lifetime, and Lazarus, no less, his ill fortune.' Despairing of his own ill salvation, the rich man now tried to save the members of his own family. 'Father,' he said 'I pray you send him to my own father's house; for I have five brethren; let him give these a warning, so that they may not come, in their turn, to this place of suffering.'
> Obviously, the good recognize each other and so do the wicked. If Abraham had not known Lazarus and his past trials, he surely would not have spoken to the rich man in hell about the misfortunes Lazarus had suffered in his lifetime. And if evil men did not recognize their own kind, the rich man in his torments would not have been solicitous about his absent brothers on earth. Surely he would not fail to recognize them when present, if he remembered to pray for them when they were absent.[86]

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[83] Ps 117:15; Lk 16:25.

[84] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 2130-2147.

[85] Luke 16.19-28.

[86] Gregory the Great, *Dial*. IV.23; Zimmerman, 231-232. 241-240. Huius rei sententia in uerbis est dominicis, quae iam speruius proteulimus, luce clarius demonstrata. In quibus cum dictum esset: "Homo

For Eustratios and Gregory, the departed, both good and wicked, have the power to perceive in their afterlife existence.

Eustratios and Gregory discuss the phenomenon of angels and demons vying over the souls of the newly deceased. Eustratios, again quoting from the *Life of Antony*, cites an example of demonic figures trying to catch the souls of the recently departed as they attempt to make their way to heaven:

> The God-bearing Athanasios, the bishop of Alexandria also says concerning this, narrating the life of the great Antony the following, "Then around the ninth hour, [Antony] felt himself carried off in thought. The astounding thing was, while standing, he saw himself as if he were outside of himself and as being guided into the air by some sort of beings. Then there were some cruel and terrible creatures standing in the air, wishing to hinder him so as not to pass through. When those who were guiding [him] were fighting against [them], the latter were demanding a word, if he should not be accountable to them. When they wanted to tally up accounts since his birth, those who were guiding Anthony prevented them, saying to them, "The Lord expunged matters since birth, but from which [time] he became a monk and professed [a vow] to God, let an account be made. Then, after accusing [him] and not convicting [him], his way became free and unhindered. And immediately he saw himself as if coming towards himself, and again Anthony was whole.
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> For he marvelled, seeing how many hardships is the struggle against us, and through how many hardships someone has to pass through the air, and he remembered this is what the apostle Paul said, "[A]ccording to the ruler of the

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quidam erat diues, et induebatur purpura et purpura et bysso, et epulabatur cotidie splendide. Et erat quidam mendicus, nomine Lazarus, qui iacebat ad ianuam eius ulceribus plenus, cupiens saturari de micis quae cadebant de mensa diuitis, et nemo illi dabat; sed canes ueniebant et lingebant ulcera eius," subiunctum est quod "Lazarus mortuus portatus est ab angelis in sinu Abrahae, et mortuus diues sepultus est in inferno."

2. "Qui eleuans oculos suos, cum esset in tormentis, uidit Abraham a longe et Lazarum in sinu eius, et ipse clamans dixit; 'Pater Abraham, miserere mei, et mitte Lazarum, ut intinguat extremum digiti sui in aquam et refrigeret linguam meam.' Cui Abraham dixit: 'Fili, recordare quia recepisti bona in uita tua, et Lazarus similiter mala.' Diues autem, de se ipso iam spem salutis non habens, ad promerendam suorum salutem conuertitur, dicens: "Rogo te, pater, ut mittas eum in domum patris mei – habeo enim quinque fratres - , ut testetur illis, ne et ipsi ueniunt in locum hunc tormentorum.'

3. Quibus uerbis aperte delaratur quia et boni bonos et mali cognoscunt malos. Si igitur Abraham Lazarum minime recognouisset, nequaquam ad diuitem in tormentis positum de transacta eius contritione loqueretur, dicens quod mala receperit in uita sua. Et si mali malos mon recognoscerent, nequaquam diues in tormentis positus fratrum suorum etiam absentum meminisset. Quomodo enim praesentes mon posset agnoscere, qui etiam pro absentum memoria curavit exorare?

> power of the air."[87] For in this the enemy has "the power," in fighting and attempting to hinder those who come across, on account of which certainly he counsels, "Take up the whole armor of God, that you may be able to withstand, [they say], in the evil day,"[88] "in order that [the enemy may feel shame], having nothing evil to say of us."[89]

These demonic beings who lie in wait to keep in custody the dying soul from entering heaven were likened to tax assessors or collectors, the τελῶναι, first appear in the early Christian literature of Egypt.[90] The passage from Anthony's *vita* is an example of this demonic phenomenon.

Gregory also describes the contest between angels and demons over the soul of the merchant Stephen, who is detained from entering paradise:

> According to [a] soldier's description, he also saw a priest of some foreign country stepping onto the bridge[91] and walking over it with all the confidence that a life of sincerity had won for him. On the bridge, he saw and recognized the Stephen whom we mentioned above.[92] In trying to cross the river, Stephen had

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[87] Eph 2:2.

[88] Eph 6:13.

[89] Tit 2:8; Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 2224-2249.

[90] Origen, *Homily on Luke*, 23.5-6; Jean Rivière, "Le rôle du démon au jugement particulier chez les pères," *RSR* 4 (1924): 43-64; idem, "Mort et démon chez les Pères," RSR 10 (1930): 571-621; A Recheis, *Engel, Tod und Seelenreise. Das Wirken der Geister beim Heimgang des Menschen in der Lehre der alexandrinischen und Kappadokischen Väter* (Rome: 1958); Brian Daley, '"At the Hour of our Death": Mary's Dormition and Christian Dying in Late Patristic and Early Byzantine Literature,' *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 55 (2001): 76. See also Nicholas Constas, "'To Sleep, Perchance to Dream': The Middle State of Souls in Patristic and Byzantine Literature," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 55 (2001): 91-124.

[91] The soldier had been struck down with an arrow. He died but came back to life and related what he saw. He had a vision of a bridge with the departed undergoing a final test: the souls of sinners would fall into the river of hell, and the saints would cross over into beautiful fragrant, flowering meadows, gathering places for white-robed people, and the site of a towering house being constructed with bricks of gold. *Dial*. 4.37; 239-240.

[92] Gregory states that Stephen was a merchant who died in Constantinople; he was sent to hell, but was returned to life when the infernal court had realized that a case of mistaken identity had been made since they were to try Stephen the blacksmith, not Stephen the merchant. According to Gregory, the revived

> slipped and fallen, leaving the lower half of his body dangling over the edge of the bridge. Some fiendish men from the river below seized him by the sides and tried to pull him down. At the same time, princely men dressed in white appeared on the bridge to draw him back to safety. While this struggle went on, with the good spirits drawing him up and the evil ones pulling him down, our spectator [the soldier] was called back to earth to be reunited with his body. No one, therefore, knows what the final outcome of this struggle was.
> An explanation of this strange vision, however, is found in the life of Stephen, for in him the evils of the flesh carried on a struggle with the noble work of almsdeeds. Those who dragged him downward represent his lustful tendencies which he failed to keep in check. Those who pulled him upward by the hands symbolize his great zeal and love for almsdeeds. Which of the two came out victorious in this final test which Stephen had to undergo at God's ordinance is known neither to us nor to the one who was granted the vision of hell. What is certain, however, is that Stephen did not perfectly correct his life even after returning to this world from his visit to hell. Consequently, when he died some years later, he still had to undergo a severe struggle to decide his eternal fate.[93]

While the same situation of a recently departed detained soul is described by Eustratios, the identification of the demons as tax collectors, the τελῶναι, is not made quite as explicit in Gregory's description; however, he describes the fight over the soul of the recently departed as something strange, signifiying that the fight for the soul by angels and demons was not something typically found in early Latin hagiography. It is found,

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Stephen told him personally about this incredible journey to hell. He had since died when the soldier saw his soul on the bridge. *Dial*. IV.37; Zimmerman, 238-239.

[93] Gregory the Great, *Dial*. IV:37; Zimmerman, 240-241. 12. Ibi se etiam quemdam peregrinum presbiterum uidisse fatebatur, qui ad praedictum pontem ueniens, tanta per eum auctoritate transiit, quanta et hic sinceritate uixit. In eodem quoque ponte hunc quem praedixi Stephanum se recognouisse testatus est. Qui dum transire uoluisset, eius pes lapsus est, et ex medio corpore iam extra pontem deiectus, a quibusdam teterrimis uiris ex flumine surgentibus per coxas deorsum, atque a quibusdam albatis et speciosissimis uiris coepit per brachia sursum trahi. Cumque hoc luctamen esset, ut hunc boni spiritus sursum, mali deorsum traherent, ipse qui haec uidebat ad corpus reuersus est, et quid de eo plenius gestum sit minime cognouit.

13. Qua in re de eiusdem Stephani uita datur intellegi quia in eo mala carnis cum elemosinarum operatione certabant. Qui enim per coxas deorsum, per brachia trahebatur sursum, patet nimirum quia et elemosinas amauerat, et carnis uitiis perfecte non resisterat, quae amauerat, et carnis uitiss perfecte, non restiterat, quae eum deorsum trahebant. Sed in illo occulti arbitris examine quid in eo uicerit, et nos et qui eum uidit et reoucatus est latet.

14. Constat tamen quia isdem Stephanus, postquam, sicut superius narraui, et ineri loca uidit et ad corpus rediit, perfecte uitam minime correxit, qui post multos annos de corpore adhuc ad certamen uitae et mortis exiit.

however, both in the *Life of Antony* by Athanasios, which Eustratios quotes from, and which Gregory used as the model for his *Life* of Benedict. It may be argued that in both accounts the stugggle between good and evil beings over the saints stem from local traditions. However, Gregory after he recounts the struggle over Stephen's soul he had to explain who the good and evil spirits were, and the good and bad aspects of Stephen's life balanced out, so the scale of his assessment was neither tipped to heaven or hell. Because Gregory had to spell out this meaning, I would argue that this is an example of what Joan Petersen states is an incident from a common font of works on the lives of saints that circulated in the Mediterranean in late antiquity[94] in this case from the *Life of Antony,* which Gregory perused.

All the examples quoted above from Gregory are very similar to the ones found in Eustratios' *De statu animarum*. What clinches the argument that Gregory had access to *De statu animarum* and made use of it in his *Dialogues* is the concluding section, which argues that the souls of the departed are benefited by the prayers of the living. Again, this topic also concludes the work of *De statu animarum*.

Eustratios and Gregory agree, towards the end of their respective texts, that the souls of the departed are benefited by human efforts. Eustratios argues that these benefits are obtained by the prayers and offerings of the living on behalf of the departed: Eustratios states:

> We might wish also to delve further into the inquiry in order to show the very things which also we presented. This must be examined by some, if whether souls are helped through offerings and the making mention of them in prayers.[95]

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[94] Joan Petersen, *The Dialogues of Gregory the Great in their Late Antique Cultural Background* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1984), xviii.

[95] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 2342-2345.

> For what advantage are the gifts of other offerings to the sleeping, unless what was done is offered to them, but turns back again to those offering only these things, as you said? For "they are changing" not to [a life] of the dead, but "to a life [filled with God]. And on account of this, "they are placed in the holy commemorations" and the choir of saints are "inseparably" present, "joined with" Christ. On account of this they are active and are sent into this world in a good work for many others and they perceive deeply the offerings when they are made on their behalf. More broadly, the same father concerning those who have fallen asleep in holiness teaches this, "Coming forward, the divine hierarch offers a holy prayer over the person who is sleeping. And after the prayer, both the hierarch himself greets him, and next all who are present. And so the prayer beseeches the highest divine goodness to forgive all the sins of the sleeping person on account of human weakness. "'Place him' in light and 'the land' of the living,"[96] "in the bosom of Abraham" 'and Isaac and Jacob,'[97] in a place where 'grief, pain, and sighing have fled away.'[98] Is the person who is worthy through the divine prayer for the forgiveness of sins helped or not?
> Therefore we shall grant that this is entirely so, even if this might not seem so to some. Then the very thing prayer does, or rather the presented offerings do this much more. Afterwards, again he says such things, "'Bosoms,' as it seems to me, are of the blessed patriarchs and all the rest of the saints, the most divine and blessed inheritances, and they welcome all the godlike people into an ageless and most blessed perfection in them."'[99]

Thus, Eustratios argues that prayers, offerings and liturgical commemorations do indeed benefit the dead, and that the prayers of the priest may wash away the sins of the departed.

Gregory explicitly asks the same question as Eustratios, whether the dead are helped by human effort, and answers affirmatively; however he specifies in his fourth *Dialogue* that these benefits are obtained for the departed by the clergy in the Mass:

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[96] Ps 55:14 and 114:9.

[97] Lk 16:32; cf. Mt 8:11.

[98] *Apostolic Constitutions*, 8.41.8-12; Is. 35:10 and 51:11.

[99] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 2469-2496. Dionysios the Areopagite, *De ecclesiastica hierarchia*, 7.5.

Peter: Is there anything at all that can possibly benefit souls after death?
Gregory: The holy Sacrifice of Christ, our saving Victim, brings great benefits to souls even after death, provided their sins can be pardoned in the life to come. For this reason, the souls of the dead sometimes beg to have Masses offered for them.[100]
...
I believe that in these instances miracles were openly performed for living persons who were unaware of the source of their benefits, in order that all those who offer the holy Sacrifice, without adverting to its efficacy, might come to understand that deceased persons, too, can be absolved from sins through the Mass, provided their sins are pardonable. But remember, the benefits of the holy Sacrifice are only for those who by their good lives have merited the grace of receiving help from the good deed others perform in their behalf.[101]
Where His Body is eaten, there His Flesh is distributed among the people for their salvation. His Blood no longer stains the hands of the godless, but flows into the hearts of His faithful followers. See, then, how august the Sacrifice that is offered for us, ever reproducing in itself the passion of the only-begotten Son for the remission of our sins. For, who of the faithful can have any doubt that at the moment of the immolation, at the sound of the priest's voice, the heavens open up and choirs of angels are present at the mystery of Jesus Christ. There at the altar the lowliest is united with the most sublime, earth is joined to heaven, the visible and the invisible somehow merge into one.[102]
...
We need to sacrifice ourselves to God in a sincere immolation of the heart whenever we offer Mass, because we who celebrate the mysteries of the Lord's

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[100]Gregory the Great, *Dial*. IV.57; Zimmerman, 266. Petrus. Quidnam ergo esse porterit, quod mortuorum ualeat animabus prodesse?

2. Gregorius. Si culpae post mortem insolubiles non sunt, multum solet animas etiam post mortem sacra oblatio hostiae salutaris adiuuare, ita ut hoc nonnumquam ipsae defunctorum animae uideantur expectare.

[101] Ibid., IV 4.59; Zimmerman, 272. Gregorius. Idciro credo quia hoc tam aperte cum uiuentibus ac nescientibus agitur, ut cunctus haec agentibus atque nescientibus ostendatur, quia si insolubiles culpae son fuerint, ad absolutionem prodesse etiam mortuis uictima sacrae oblationis possit. Sed sciendum uiuendo obtinuerunt, ut eos etiam post mortem bona adiuuent, quae hic pro ipsis ab aliis fiunt.

[102] Ibid.; Zimmerman, 273. Eius quippe ibi corpus sumitur, eius caro in populi salutem partitur, eius sanguis non iam in manus infidelium, sed in ora fidelium funditur.

3. Hinc ergo pensemus quale sit pro nobis hoc sacrificium, quod pro absolutione nostra passionem Vnigeniti Filii semper imitatur. Quis enim fidelium habere dubium possit ipsa immolationis hora ad sacerdotis uocem caelos aperiri, in illo Iesu Christi mysterio angelorum choros adesse, summis ima sociari, terram caelestiubus iungi, unum quid ex uisibilibus atque inuisibilibus fiere?

> passion ought to imitate what we are enacting. The Sacrifice will truly be offered to God for us when we present ourselves as the victim.[103]

While Eustratios and Gregory agree that souls are benefited after death, how they are benefited differs. Eustratios argues that the souls of the departed are benefited by liturgical commemorations, and the offering of prayers by the beloved of the departed. Gregory in the fourth *Dialogue* seems to restrict the benefits received by the departed to the offering of Mass celebrated by the priest, who imitates Christ in his sacrifice.

From the evidence, one concludes that Gregory had access to Eustratios' *De statu animarum*, and that it was between 582 and 593, and very likely written between 582 and 585, when Gregory was in Constantinople, when he had the opportunity and the means to study Eustratios' work carefully. As shown by the evidence above, Gregory's fourth *Dialogue* follows the same topics in approximately the same order as they appeared in Eustratios. These are summarized here point by point in the order they are raised in texts of Eustratios and Gregory:

1. A discussion of those who doubt the afterlife activities of the soul:

   De statu animiarum, 50-60; *Dial*. III.38.5; IV.1.

2. A comparison of the souls of humans and animals, and how human souls are similar to angels:

   De statu animiarum, 164-181, 1659-1666; *Dial*. IV.3.

3. The souls of the departed saints are sometimes invisible:

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[103] Ibid., IV.61; Zimmerman, 273. Sed necesse est ut, cum hoc agimus, nosmetipsos Deo in cordis contritione mactemus, quia qui passionis dominicae mysteria celebramus, debemus imitari quod agimus. Tunc ergo uere pro nobis Deo hostis erit, cum nos ipsos hostiam fecerit.

De statu animiarum, 320-332, 468-472, 2149-2156; *Dial*. IV.4.

4. The relics of the departed saints have wonder-working powers and are feared by evil beings:

De statu animiarum, 1422-1446; *Dial*. IV.6.

5. The struggle over the possession of the recently departed soul by good and evil spirits:

De statu animiarum, 2224-2249; *Dial*. IV.37.

6. Prayers said by the living on behalf of the dead are beneficial to the departed:

De statu animiarum, 2342-2345; 2469-2496; *Dial*. IV.57.

This is not to say that Gregory relied exclusively on Eustratios' *De statu animarum*. Gregory was influenced in his composition of the *Dialogues* by other Greek and Latin hagiographical precedents.[104] Gregory, unlike Eustratios, does not rely on explicit patristic reference, but on Scripture and the information he gathered on the miracles performed by Italian saints. Indeed, there is a strong element of hearsay in Gregory's relating the stories of the holy men and he drew on a common source of hagiographical material to illustrate his saintly examples in the *Dialogues*; it was not his intent to provide narratives quoted from attested witnesses, but to portray paradigms of

[104] Among these works are the *Historia monachorum in Aegypto* and the *Historia ecclesiastica* by Rufinus, the *Historia Lausica* by Palladius, the *Apophthegmata patrum* in Pope Pelagius's Latin translation, the *Historia religiosa* by Theodoret of Cyrrhus, the *Life of Antony* by Athanasios, the *Theophrastes* by Aeneas of Gaza, and the *Heraclidis paradisus*. The dialogue form of Gregory's Dialogues may have been inspired by the *Dialogues on the Life of St. John Chrysostom* by Palladius, which is in the form of a dialogue between an Eastern bishop and a Roman bishop. Perhaps the most striking dialogic parallel is the *Apophthegmata patrum*, in which an abba is asked by disciple to explain a topic. The abba speaks authoritatively and the disciple intently listens. See Andrew J. Ekonomou, *Byzantine Rome and the Greek Popes*, 21. For the Latin use of the dialogue form in classical and late antique Rome, see Petersen, *Dialogues of Gregory the Great*, 23-24.

holy lives.[105] However, the stature of Gregory the Great has not prevented him from being a symbol for a kind of purveyor of simple-minded and naive saintly literature which Adolf von Harnack called *Vulgärkatholizimus*.[106] Indeed, Francis Clark has recently argued that an intellect such as Gregory could not have written about miracles so "bizarre, ludicrous, and sub-Christian"[107] as found in the *Dialogues*. Since the contemporary works of Gregory and Eustratios are so similar in eschatological arguments for the afterlife activities of the soul, Clark's thesis is unlikely.

Perhaps there is also an unstated, non-eschatological argument in the *Dialogues*. Gregory himself at all time showed himself a loyal citizen of the empire and a staunch upholder of the received traditions of Roman rule: "We must pray incessantly for the life of our most sacred majesty [the emperor], and for his holy offspring, praying that almighty God subject barbarous nations beneath their feet and grant them long and happy lives, so that the faith which is Christ may reign throughout a Christian empire."[108] Indeed, it seemed that Justinian's dream of a united empire was realized. At the same time, however, the bilingual Greco-Roman culture of the pre-Christian empire was gone. Indeed, since the time Tertullian (fl. 200), the founder of Western Latin theology, uttered his famous rhetorical question, "What has Jerusalem to do with Athens,"[109] Greek

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[105] Petersen, 1-15, 59-89.

[106] Marc Van Uytfanghe, "Scepticisme doctrinal au seuil du Moyen Age? Les objections du diacre Pierre dans les *Dialogues* de Grégoire le Grand," in *Grégoire le Grand*, 314.

[107] Francis Clark, *The Pseudo-Gregorian Dialogues* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1987), v. I, 23. Clark overlooks that great Christian intellects such as Athanasios of Alexandria and Gregory of Nyssa also wrote on the saints and their miracles; indeed, Augustine credits reading Athanasios' the *Life of Antony* as a decisive influence on his becoming a Christian. See Augustine, *Confessiones*, 8.6.14-15.

[108] Gregory the Great, *Ep*. 7.5.

[109] Tertullian, *De praescriptione*, vii.

Christian literacy began its slow decline in the West. Latin replaced Greek as the language of the Roman liturgy under Pope Damasus (366-384). Greek was famously disliked by the preeminent Western theologian Augustine of Hippo.[110] Neither Augustine nor Cassiodorus (c. 490 - c. 580) in their monastic establishments felt the need for training monks to translate Greek. Indeed, the disciples of John Cassian (c. 360 – 435), while founding monasteries on Eastern ascetic principles, held an outright hostility towards the Greek language, feeling that too close a study of the tongue and its non-Christian literature might lead to a "dangerous curiosity."[111]

The revival of Greek paideia did not occur in Italy after Justinian's reconquest.[112] Economic hardship and barbarian invasions effectively destroyed the final vestige of the ancient aristocratic ideal of a leisured and classically-trained gentry.[113] Greek literary culture disappeared from Gaul and Africa in the sixth century.[114] Some Romans from Italy in the second half of the sixth century perhaps found it galling that they seemed to be displaced by Greeks in Constantinople as rulers of the empire. Indeed, this negative view of Greeks dates to the Roman conquest of Greek-speaking territories in the late

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[110] Augustine, *Confessiones*, I.13.20. Quid autem erat causae cur graecas litteras oderam.

[111] Pierre Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers and Their Greek Sources*, tr. Harry E. Wedeck (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969), 411.

[112] Ibid., 2.

[113] Peter Brown, *The World of Late Antiquity* (Norton: New York, 1971), 172-177. This is not to say that Greek culture completely disappeared in Rome. As stated above, Rome was important city in the empire after Justinian. Indeed, between 678 and 752, eleven of the thirteen popes were native Greek speakers who brought their liturgical language, chants, and church architecture and decoration with them. This Greek influence lasted as long as there was Byzantine rule in Rome; it ended with the rise of Carolingian influence in Rome, when the papacy began to turn to the West for alliance and protection, thus marking the beginning of the papal state. See Ekonomou, *Byzantine Rome and the Popes*, 216-300; Thomas F. X. Noble, *The Republic of St. Peter: The Birth of the Papal State, 680-825* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984), 61-98.

[114] Courcelle, 8.

Republic and the early Empire. Authors such as Plautus and Juvenal in their works depicted Greeks as depraved, cunning, and most of all notorious for their verbal trickery. These deep-seated animosities of the Latin-speaking West survived into the Christian era.[115] Gregory himself thought that Greek language could be a subtle and cunning instrument. In a letter to the Greek Count Narses concerning manuscript copies of the Council of Ephesus, he states that Roman copies are much more correct than Greek ones, since the Latin versions lack the cleverness of the Greek, and therefore have no falsifications.[116] Thus, Latin in Rome became identified with orthodoxy and the papacy as the true defender of the Christian faith. Gregory also continued Rome's insistence that his see was the truest bastion of Christian truth in matters of faith and doctrine.[117] Had not Gregory himself, while papal emissary to Constantinople, proven the Greek Patriarch Eutychios a heretic on the matter of the body after the resurrection? Gregory thus identified orthodox Christianity with *Romanitas*, with the pope as the head of the church;[118] hence Gregory's claim that he knew little Greek. What Latin Christian literature lacked before the *Dialagues* was the equivalent of a *De statu animarum* or any of the vast hagiographic literature of the Greek East; the *Dialogues* fills this void, yielding nothing to the East that native holy people were not found in Italy.[119]

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[115] Ekonomou, 1-2.

[116] Gregory the Great, *Ep*. VI. 14.

[117] Gregory asserted that the first four ecumenical councils – Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesos, and Chalcedon – are the equivalent of the four Gospels. See *Ep*. III.10.

[118] Jeffrey Richards, *Consul of God: The Life and Times of Gregory the Great* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980), 217-227.

[119] Van Uytfanghe, 318.

Some might object to the thesis that Gregory knew and made use of *De statu animarum* by arguing that Gregory may have written his work first, with Eustratios' later work informed by the *Dialogues*. However, there is no evidence for this. The first known Greek translation of the *Dialogues* of Gregory was undertaken at the behest of Pope Zacharias (741-752), a Greek from Calabria. The *Dialogues* were transmitted to the East where they won great acclaim. Gregory is venerated as a saint in the Eastern Church on the strength of his *Dialogues* (March 12);[120] indeed, he is known by the epithet in the East as Ὁ Διάλογος, the Dialogist.[121] Thus, it is very likely that Eustratios wrote his work first, and that it was written between 582-593, and more specifically 582-585, when Gregory was resident in Constantinople.

In the last two decades of the sixth century, Eustratios and Gregory held similar eschatological views, with Christ as the model of imitation for the saints, whether present or departed. Gregory states that the priest celebrating the liturgy imitates Christ's sacrifice. By showing the examples of the souls of the saints and wicked, Gregory offers a pastoral guide for living a Christian life in the present, with the promise of the eternal salvation of the soul for the faithful. Eustratios also agrees with this, depicting the saints, here and departed, as active imitators of Jesus. This Christological model of imitation that underlies Eustratios' work is the focus of the next chapter.

[120] BHG 720-721.

[121] F. Halkin, "Le pape S. Grégoire le Grand dans l'Hagiographie byzantine," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 21 (1955): 109.

Chapter Four

The Christological Foundations for the Afterlife Activities of the Saints

This chapter focuses on the Christological foundations for the activities of the souls of the saints in Eustratios of Constantinople's *De statu animarum post mortem*. The first part of the chapter analyzes models of sainthood and Christology in relation to the defense of saintly afterlife activities by Eustratios. The second part focuses in detail upon a specific type of Christological model, which I call the Christology of imitation, which analyzes the soul of the saint as an imitator of Christ, which includes the activity of the soul as a fellow worker with God and the participation of the soul in Christ. This Christology of imitation forms a basis for Eustratios' arguments for the veneration of the saints and their afterlife activities. The third part analyzes a teaching, theosis [θέωσις] or deification, which was integral to the Christologies of the writers whom Eustratios quotes in his work; this teaching deeply informs Eustratios' conception of the saint and her or his afterlife activities. Chapters one and two analyzed the various conceptions of the soul in late antiquity, including the sleep of the soul, which prompted Eustratios to write his afterlife activities of the soul. Here, the discussion shifts to the afterlife activities of the souls of the saints described in *De statu animarum*.

As we shall see, Eustratios has a specific model of sainthood for the these afterlife saintly activities, which are rooted 1) in the Christologies of earlier Christian writers, 2) the Christological definition of the Council of Chalcedon (451) which stated that Christ had two natures, divine and human in one hypostasis, and 3) the Christological arguments of the defenders of Chalcedon, particularly Leontios of Jerusalem. Five models of

sanctity are discussed and analyzed for their pertinence to the work of Eustratios, in particular the Christological models proposed by William Horbury and Han J. W. Drijvers. The Christological language of Eustratios is then examined in light of the vocabulary of Leontios. Leontios, in his exposition on hypostasis, argues that the human nature of Christ was subject to deification, a process that extends to all of humanity. The remainder of the chapter analyzes Christology and the interrelated theme of theosis in the arguments of Eustratios for the afterlife activities of the saints.

We have already discussed who was considered a saint in late antiquity in chapter one. Here we examine the various paradigms of sainthood that best underpin those of Eustratios' conception of sanctity and the afterlife activities of the souls. Five models of sainthood are offered for discussion. Ludwig Bieler, in his work *ΘΕΙΟΣ ΑΝΗΡ*, was a pioneer in the thesis of the "Divine Man" active in Hellenistic and Roman times.[1] This concept, according to Bieler, focused on a superman, a human person of genius, in whom there was an indwelling of divine power.[2] One such person endowed with superhuman

[1] Ludwig Bieler, *ΘΕΙΟΣ ΑΝΗΡ: Das bild des 'göttlichen Menschen" in Spätantike und Frühchristentum* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1976) I.4-5. See also Wilhelm Bousset and Hugo Gressmann, *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1926). For recent contributions to the Divine Man thesis, see Dieter Georgi, "Socioeconomic Reasons for the 'Divine Man' as a Propagandistic Pattern," in *Aspects of Religious Propaganda in Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. E. Schüssler-Fiorenza (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1976) 27-41; Wayne Meeks, "The Divine Agent and His Counterfeit in Philo and the Fourth Gospel," in *Aspects of Religious Propaganda in Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. E. Schüssler-Fiorenza (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1976) 43-67; Jonathan Z. Smith, "The Temple and the Magician," in *Map is Not Territory: Studies in the History of Religions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993) 172-189, idem, "Prolegomena to a Discussion of Aretologies, Divine Men, the Gospels and Jesus," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 90 (1971) 174-199; Hans Dieter Betz, "Heroenverehrung und Christusglaube: Religionsgeschichtliche Beobachtungen zu Philostrats *Heroicus*," in *Griechische und Römische Religion*, 119-39. vol. 2, *Geschichte—Tradition—Reflexion: Festschrift für Martin Hengel zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Hubert Cancik, Hermann Lichtenberger, and Peter Schäfer (Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1996).

[2] Ibid., I.129, 141; II.113.

power was the philosopher Apollonios of Tyana, renowned for his great wisdom, and himself considered a god.[3] Through the working of this divine power, according to Bieler, the Divine Man was able to perform miracles.[4] Jesus himself was a model of Divine Man, since Bieler characterizes him, among other things, as a magus.[5] Evidence from late antiquity would seem to confirm Bieler's model. Indeed, there were charges that the veneration of Christ and the saints originated in the worship of the Greco-Roman gods. In the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, the body of the saint was urged to be taken away, "lest they [the Christians] leave the crucified one [Jesus] and begin to worship this man [Polycarp]."[6] Christian apologists such as Origen had to argue against such an accusation by Celsus that the veneration of Christ was comparable to the divinized humans of the cults of Antinous, Asklepios, Dionysos, or Herakles.[7] Some Christians also spoke out against the importation of what were deemed to be Greco-Roman practices into the veneration of the saints. Augustine spoke out strongly against the eating and drinking during the commemoration of the martyrs.[8]

However, Augustine himself endorsed the veneration of the relics of St. Stephen, and specifically mentioned the powers of intercessions performed by the saint.[9] While certainly the activities of the saints in Eustratios are miraculous, no discussion of

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[3] Ibid., I.17; see Philostratos, *Vitae soph.* 2.570.

[4] Ibid., I.73-97.

[5] Ibid., I.82-85.

[6] *Martyrium Polycarpi*, 17.2, tr. Kirsopp Lake (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1912).

[7] Origen, *Contra Celsum*, 3.36-38; 42.

[8] Augustine, *Ep*. 29.9.

[9] Ibid., *Civ. dei*, 8.27; 10.1.3, 7 and 10; 10.16.

Christology informs the work of Bieler, which focuses almost exclusively on Greco-Roman precedents.

The pioneering works on late antiquity of Peter Brown have been deeply influential during the last forty years.[10] Brown argues that the concept of the saint, or holy man, began in late antique Syria. The holy man, having overcome the physical hardships of social disengagement, also functions as a mediator and leader, since he mastered the harsh environment where he lives ascetically. Brown later modified his approach, analyzing the saint's *imitatio Christi* as a phenomenon of Christian *paideia,* with Christ as the supreme exemplar.[11] In the 1980s, he turned his attention to sexual abstinence and renunciation in his work *The Body and Society in Late Antiquity*. Again, there is no comprehensive analysis of Christology in the works of Brown on the saints, specifically on what precisely *imitatio Christi* means. Equally important, Brown posits a specifically Christian origin for the veneration of saints.[12]

William Horbury has suggested veneration of the saints was interconnected with the worship of Christ, both of which were rooted in the Judaism of the Greek and Roman world. He argues that strands of late antique Judaism venerated the memory of prophets

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[10] Peter Brown, "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in late Antiquity," in *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982): 103-152. (Revised from *Journal of Religious Studies* 61 (1971): 80-101); idem, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1981). For a recent assessment of Peter Brown's impact on hagiography, see James Howard-Johnston and Paul Antony Hayward, eds., *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

[11] Peter Brown, "The Saint as Exemplar in Late Antiquity" *Representation* 2 (1983): 1-25.

[12] William Horbury, "The Cult of Christ and the Cult of the Saints," *New Testament Studies* 44 (1998): 445.

and holy people of the Hebrew Scriptures, specifically with yearly commemorations and venerations at memorials. [13]

Eustratios does not distinguish between the prophets and holy people of the Hebrew Scriptures and Christian holy people in his application of the word "hagios," saint, and views the work of Hebrew and Jewish holy people, who form the active souls of the righteous[14] in their saving ministry, as direct predecessors of the their Christian counterparts. Indeed, William Horbury argues that the cult of the saints in Christianity has some Jewish roots.[15] Beginning with the New Testament, Jewish antecedents for the Christian veneration of saints is suggested in a number of biblical passages. Some passages refer to the glory and afterlife of the prophets Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (Ex 3:6, 15; Mk 12:26), who are in the kingdom of heaven (Mt 8:11); Abraham is active in the afterlife, and Lazarus is carried away by angels to his bosom (Lk 16.22-29); the

[13] Ibid., 444-469. See also Jack N. Lightstone, *The Commerce of the Sacred: Mediation of the Divine among Jews in the Graeco-Roman Diaspora* (Chico: Scholars Press, 1984); Willy Rordorf, "Wie steht es um den jüdischen Einfluss auf den christlichen Märtyrkult?," in *Juden und Christen in der Antike,* ed. J. van Amersfoort and J. van Oort (Kampen: Kok, 1990): 61-71; John Wilkinson, "Visits to Jewish Tombs by Early Christians," in *Akten des XII. Internationalen Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie*, v. 1, Ernst Dassmann, Josef Engemann, and Klaus Thraede, eds. (Münster: Abschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1995): 452-65; Anna Maria Schwemer, *Studien zu den frühjüdischen Prophetenlegenden* vitae prophetarum, 2 vols. (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr/ P. Siebeck, 1995-96); Chana Safrai and Zeev Safrai, "Rabbinic Holy Men," in *Saints and Role Models in Judaism and Christianity*, ed. Marcel Poothuis and Joshua Schwartz, (Brill: Leiden, 2004), 59-78; Meir Bar-Ilan, "Prayers of Jews to Angels and Other Mediators in the First Centuries CE," in Poothuis and Schwartz, *Saints and Role Models in Judaism and Christianity*, 79-95; Jan Willem van Henten, "Jewish and Christian Martyrs," in Poothuis and Schwartz, *Saints and Role Models in Judaism and Christianity*, 163-181; Aryeh Kofsky, "The Byzantine Holy Person: The Case of Barsunuphius and John of Gaza," in Poothuis and Schwartz, *Saints and Role Models in Judaism and Christianity*, 261-285. For a fourth-century collection of homilies on the Christian veneration of Jewish martyrs, see John Chrysostom, *In sanctos Maccabaeos*, PG 50:617-626. Lastly, for a work relating the veneration of Christian saints to he pagan cults of late antiquity, see Johannes Geffcken, *Der Ausgang des griechisch-römischen Heidentums* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1920), English tr. Sabine MacCormack in *The Last Days of Greco-Roman Paganism* (Amsterdam: Elsevier North-Holland, 1978).

[14] E.g., Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 386-387.

[15] Horbury, "The Cult of Christ and the Cult of the Saints," 444.

apparitions of Moses and Elijah are seen by the disciples at the Transfiguration (Mt 17:1-4); in memorials outside of Jerusalem containing the bodies of the holy departed were raised (Mt 27:52-53) and the souls of the slain are under the altar in heaven, who share in the victory in the messianic throne and judgment (Rev 6:9-11).[16] All of these examples cited by Horbury are examples of holy people from the Hebrew Scriptures and Eustratios produces them as evidence for the afterlife activities of the saints.[17] The Christian reverence for the holy departed found here indirectly come from the customary Jewish honor for the righteous dead[18] with New Testament citations illustrated by earlier Jewish texts. Texts corresponding to the praise of Christian martyred saints are found, for example, in the Song of the Three Children, which call upon the spirits and souls of the righteous in the context of a martyr's sacrificial death.[19] Eustratios uses this text to illustrate that the souls and spirits who sing praises are not inactive or sleeping, but are engaged in eternal activity.[20]

Two major arguments made by Eustratios' claim for the afterlife activities of the saints are the intercessions of the saints, both in prayers made directly to the saints and prayers made at their tombs by the faithful. The visitation of the tombs of the prophets and prayers for their intercessions were also customs derived from Jewish practice.[21] The

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[16] Ibid., 448-449.

[17] For Ex 3:6, 15, see Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 257-258, 919-920; for Mt 8:11, see ibid., 2486; for Lk 16:22-29, see ibid., 2091-2145; for Mt 17:1-4, see ibid., 507-516; for Mt 27:52-52, see ibid., 2187-2188; for Rev 6:9-11, see ibid., 588-596.

[18] Dan 3:51-86; Horbury, "The Cult of Christ and the Cult of the Saints," 449.

[19] Horbury, "The Cult of Christ and the Cult of the Saints," 449.

[20] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 401-406, 1705-1711.

[21] Horbury, "The Cult of Christ and the Cult of the Saints," 455.

prophets were commemorated in communal prayers; individual prophets are remembered in the Hebrew Scriptures, since God remembers the patriarchs and matriarchs (Gen 8.1; 19:39; 30:22; Lev 26:45; Ps 105.42); [22] furthermore, according to Philo, the souls of the progenitors of the Jews are remembered by God, and they make intercessions to God.[23]

The cult of Christ arose in a setting in which the souls of the departed righteous in Judaism were venerated as intercessors. Horbury analyses the correlation of the veneration of the holy people in Judaism to Christ. From Second-Temple period (520 BCE-70 CE) onwards, some Jews believed while the bodies of the righteous dead rested in their tombs, the souls of these departed formed a favored righteous company with God.[24] The souls of the righteous were recognized from the time of the Septuagint Pentateuch on (2 Esdr 7.88-101). The holy could be pictured not only as Israel or the angels, but also the martyrs and the righteous.[25] This view was present in Judaism at the beginning of the Christianity.[26] Horbury argues that the veneration of the departed righteous intercessors paved the way for the role of Jesus as intercessor (Rom 8:24; Heb 7:25), which was a characteristic activity of the righteous.

Early Christian pilgrims offered veneration at the tombs of Jewish holy people. What made these tombs holy for Jews? Why did Christians begin to frequent these sites as pilgrims? The disappearance of the laws of purity and impurity allowed people visit the graves of the dead for intercessions. The tombs of the prophets and the righteous of

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[22] Ibid., 455.

[23] Philo, *De praemiis et poenis*, 165; Horbury, "The Cult of Christ and the Cult of the Saints," 455.

[24] Horbury, "The Cult of Christ and the Cult of the Saints," 460.

[25] Ibid., 461.

[26] Ibid., 460.

Israel were places for prayers, both for individuals and groups. Some Jews during the Herodian period believed that after death they would go to paradise. This is borne out with archaeological evidence: the first century CE decoration of the so-called tomb of Jehoshaphat includes the stalk of the fruits found in Paradise.[27] Only the righteous were expected to go immediately to Paradise after death.

Palestinian Amoraim of the third century CE visited cemeteries on fast days, "so that the dead shall plead for mercy on us."[28] Archaeological evidence for the veneration of the prophets and the righteous dead at their tombs is found in the construction of stone benches over two of the catacombs at Beth Shearim constructed during the third and fourth centuries CE, attesting to Jewish assembly at tombs for the commemoration of the dead,[29] despite scriptural injunctions against such tomb visits.[30]

Some early Christians also believed in the intercession of the prophets and righteous. A Christian inscription from Hebron reads: "Holy Abraham, help me, your servant Nilus, the worker in marble."[31] Cyril of Jerusalem also invokes the "patriarchs, apostles, and

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[27] John Wilkinson, "Visits to Jewish Tombs by Early Christians," in *Akten des XII. Internationalen Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie*, Bonn, 22.-28. September 1991, 2 vols., ed. E. Dassmann and J. Engemann (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1995), v.1:455.

[28] Meir Bar-Ilan, "Prayers of Jews to Angels and Other Mediators," in *Saints and Role Models in Judaism and Christianity*, ed. Marcel Poorthuis and Joshua Schwartz (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 91-92. See also Z. Safrai, "Graves of the Righteous and the Holy in Jewish Tradition," ed. E. Schiller; and Y. Lichtenstein, *From the Impurity of the Dead to His Sanctification*, doctoral dissertation, Bar-Ilan University, Ramat-Gan, 1997, 168-181.

[29] Norman Avigad, *Beth She'arim, Catacombs 12-23*, vol.3 (Jerusalem: Massada Press/Israel Exploration Society, 1973).

[30] Num. 16-19.

[31] Wilkinson, 457. See also SEG VIII, No. 240.

martyrs" who would intercede on behalf of living petitioners as well the dead,[32] which Eustratios also quotes as evidence for Christian veneration of the holy people of Israel.[33]

Eustratios uses as an example of the holy righteous of Israel interceding on behalf of the faithful a passage from 2 Maccabees. On the eve of battle with the army of Nikanor, Judas Maccabeus had a vision of two of the holy righteous of Israel, the high priest Onias and the prophet Jeremiah, who prays much for the people and the holy city of Jerusalem. The former gives Maccabeus a sacred sword in order to smite the enemies.[34]

Eustratios also discusses the visitations of tombs of the martyrs and saints as a locus of prayers for intercessions and healing by the faithful, which continues some Jewish practices of praying for intercessions at the tombs of holy people. Eustratios quotes the priest Lukianos on the efficacy of visits to the tombs of holy people: "And in that time a great earthquake occurred, so that the relics of Saint Stephen leapt and bloomed back to life; a great fragrance came from his grave. On that day the souls of seventy-three people who happened to be [there were healed] from different sufferings."[35]

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[32] Cyril of Jerusalem, *Myst*. 5.9.

[33] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 2570.

[34] 2 Mac 15:12-16.

[35] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 1994-2000; *Encyclica Luciani sive revelatio de reliquiis S. Stephani protomartyris* (BHG 1648y), ed. N. Franco in "L'Apocalisse del Prete Luciano di Kaphar Gamala et la versione di Avito," *Roma e l'Oriente* 8 (1914), 306.11-13 and 15-16; *Passio et inventio S. Stephani protomartyris* (BHG 1649), ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, in *Analekta hierosolymitikēs stachiologias: hē, Syllogē anekdotōn kai spaniōn hellenikōn syngraphōn peri tōn kata tēn Heōan orthodoxōn ekklesiōn kai malista tēs tōn Palaistinōn* (Saint Petersburg: V. Kirsavoum, 1891-1898), 39.9-13.

Another interconnection made by Horbury is the idea of the messianic king who is closely associated with the messianic expectations of Moses, Elijah, David, and Hezekiah.[36] Other associations with the saints of Israel include the appearance of Jesus in the company of Elijah and Moses to the disciples (Mk 9:4), emphasizing the association of Jesus Christ with the company of the prophets and the righteous.[37] Eustratios cites as evidence the Transfiguration from Matthew, depicting Elijah and Moses actively making real appearances in the company of Jesus.[38] The cult of Christ developed alongside the ascription of glory to holy people of Israel. While the Christ cult had its own particular characteristics, as Horbury notes, Jewish veneration for departed holy person, with which the cult of Christ is linked, helped to foster its development.[39] While there were Greco-Roman counterparts to the Jewish and Christian veneration of the saints, the immediate source of the Christian cults of saints lay in the Jewish tradition.[40]

Two non-Jewish writers lend credence to the idea that venerations held at the tombs of holy people did not for the most part originate in the religious practices of the Greco-Romans. The Greek philosopher Eunapios (c. 345-c.420) professed that the Christian custom of visiting a saint's tomb was something extraordinary and not found in the customary rites to the Greco-Roman gods:

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[36] Horbury, "The Cult of Christ and the Cult of the Saints, 466.

[37] Ibid., 466.

[38] Mt. 17:1-4; Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 507-550.

[39] Horbury, "The Cult of Christ and the Cult of the Saints," 467.

[40] Ibid., 467.

> They settle these monks at Canobus also, and thus they fetter the human race to the worship of slaves, and those not even honest slaves, instead of the true gods. For they collected the bones and skulls of criminals who had been put to death for numerous crimes, men whom the law courts of the day had condemned to punishment, made them out to be gods, haunted their sepulchers, and thought they became better by defiling themselves at their graves. "Martyrs" the dead men were called, and "ministers" of a sort, "ambassadors" from the gods to carry men's prayers, - these slaves in vilest servitude, who had been consumed by stripes and carried on their phantom form the scars of their villainy. [41]

Epiphanios of Salamis (c.320-403) strongly criticized the veneration of the saints. He connects the veneration of the saints seemingly with the veneration of the prophets in their tombs:

> For as scriptures say, they will be "worshipping the dead"[42] as the dead were given divine honors in Israel. And the timely glory of the saints, which redounds to God in their lifetimes, has become an error for others, who do not see the truth.[43]

The strands of veneration of the prophets and the righteous of Israel deeply influenced Christians. They accepted Jewish veneration of the prophets and the martyrs at their tombs as normal, and they themselves visited the tombs as pilgrims,[44] as Eustratios emphasizes in *De statu animarum*. Jesus is called in the Christian Scriptures the Holy One[45] and the Righteous One[46] ascending into heaven and sitting at the right

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[41] Eunapios, *Vitae sophistarum***,** 473, tr. Wilmer Cave Wright (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1922), 475.

[42] Cf. Didache 6.3.

[43] Epiphanios of Salamis, *Panarion*, 7.23.2.5, ed. and tr. Frank Williams (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1994), 618-619.

[44] Wilkerson, 464.

[45] Acts 3:14.

[46] Acts 7:52.

hand of God making intercessions,[47] and in the capacity of his eternal priesthood is "also able to save to the uttermost those who come to God through Him, since He always lives to make intercessions for them."[48] These ideas of the ascended holy and righteous person making intercession on behalf of faithful petitioners, expressed in Jewish terms, formed part of the foundation of Christianity.[49] As Eustratios demonstrates in his apology for the cult of the saints, these intercessions were made by the holy people in both the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures. In addition to holiness and righteousness, were there other characteristics in the work of Eustratios that enabled the holy person, above all the Christian saint, to make such intercessions?

Han J. W. Drijvers argues that the role of *askesis* enabled the holy person to gain control of his or her body through the ascetic practices of a social disengagement, often made by living in the desert, and by a rigorously simple diet. He contends that the desert, a place of solitude and hostile in environment, enables the ascetic to reach what she or he considered the height of virtue and wisdom.[50] Nevertheless, Christian holy persons often interceded in the daily lives of all social classes who sought him or her out. While the concept of virginity may have been held in high regard, that did not preclude them from helping solve family problems or praying for children on behalf of barren women. Thus,

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[47] Rom 8:34.

[48] Heb 7:25.

[49] Wilkerson, 464.

[50] Han J. W. Drijvers, "Hellenistic and Oriental Origins," in *The Byzantine Saint: University of Birmingham Fourteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, ed. Sergei Hackel (London: Fellowship of St. Albans and St. Sergius), 30.

this is not evidence for a contempt or hostility for the human body on the part of the ascetics.[51]

These ascetic practices are rooted in early Syrian Christology. Drijvers notes the Antiochene theological traditions included in its literature the several Acts of the Apostles, including the *Acts of Thomas*, which was considered especially important by Syrian Christians, as well as the remains of Tatian's *Diatessaron*.[52] Much of this literature considers Jesus the eternal thought and will of God, incarnate in the human body as the Christ, so that humanity might return to its original state as created according to the thought and will of God. Jesus Christ exhibits the divine will by obedience unto the Crucifixion, "revealing in this way God's eternal thought concerning eternal salvation."[53] The way of life for the ascetic was an imitation of the life of Christ and his passion, and a will to control the turmoil and struggles in her or his life. As Joachim Duyndam points out, imitation should be distinguished from copying, aping, duplicating, or counterfeiting. Imitation involves a creative process, a translation from another's life to one's own, with the implication that imitation is matter of action and decision. This is true for the imitation of exemplars, including the saints.[54]

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[51] Ibid., 31.

[52] Ibid., 31-32. See Robert Murray, *Symbols of the Church and Kingdom: A Study in Early Syrian Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 24-38.

[53] Ibid., 32.

[54] Joachim Duyndam, "Hermeneutics of Imitation: A Philosophical Approach to Sainthood and Exemplariness," in *Saints and Role Models in Judaism and Christianity*, ed. Marcel Poorthuis and Joshua Schwartz (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 12-13.

The aim of the Syrian ascetic was the *ihidaya*, which translates as the *monogenes*, a title of Jesus Christ meaning the only-born son of God.[55] The holy person is able through the exercise of free will to control his or her body, gaining knowledge of God's saving purpose, and therefore gaining wisdom and insight concerning his or her power, which always has at its aim the salvation of humanity.[56] The holy person's chief characteristic is an *imago Christi* and a continuance of the incarnation, "so that the divine will manifests itself in human shape, transforming that shape into an instrument of God's thought and will."[57]

Building upon Drijvers model of sanctity derived from *askesis*, I propose a model of sanctity based upon a Christology of imitation,[58] since too often the phrase *imitatio Christi* has been used rather vaguely for those followers who imitate Christ on their path to sanctity. This Christology of imitation, as employed by Eustratios, entails *askesis*, the meditation on and the practice of the teachings of Jesus and the holy scriptures, the observance of the sacramental and liturgical life, and the Christological definition as defined by the Council of Chalcedon.

These elements, especially the ascetic imitation of Christ's life and death have informed the followers of Jesus in hagiographical literature from the beginning. One of earliest accounts of the martyrs, the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, written in 156, concisely expresses this view:

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[55] Ibid., 32.

[56] Ibid., 32.

[57] Ibid., 33.

[58] I am indebted to Professor François Bovon for this phrase, who discussed it with reference to the Christological model of Pierre Abélard (1079-1142).

> [W]e shall not ever be able either to abandon Christ, who suffered for the salvation of those who are being saved in the whole world, the innocent for sinners, or to worship any other. For him we worship as the Son of God, but the martyrs we love as disciples and imitators of the Lord; and rightly, because of their unsurpassable affection toward their King and Teacher. God grant that we too may be their companions and fellow disciples.[59]

The image of Christ as an exemplar was not only important for the martyr but also served as a model for other Christians to follow after the age of the martyrs in the early Christian centuries had passed, since the imitation of Christ is the supreme paradigm for the fight between good and evil.[60] Gregory of Nyssa discusses the characteristics of the follower of Christ who holds him as a model:

> But as regards those who follow this Leader [Jesus Christ], their nature does not admit an exact imitation, but it receives now as much as it is capable of receiving, while it reserves the remainder for the time that comes after. In what, then, does this imitation consist? It consists in the effecting the suppression of that admixture of sin, in the figure of mortification that is given by the water, not certainly a complete effacement, but a kind of break in the continuity of evil, two things concurring to this removal of sin – the penitence of the transgressor and his imitation of the death. By these two things the man is in a measure freed from his congenital tendency to evil;...but had it been possible for him in his imitation to undergo a complete dying, the result would not be imitation but identity; and the evil of our nature would not entirely vanish that as the Apostle said, "he would die unto sin once and for all (Rom 6:10).[61]

Eustratios raises liturgical practices, the sacrament of baptism, the teachings of Christ, and the life of saintly ascetic as paradigms of the Christology of imitation.

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[59] *Martyrium Polycarpi*, 17.2-3, tr. Kirsopp Lake (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1912), 335-337.

[60] Alison Goddard Elliott, *Roads to Paradise: Reading the Lives of Early Saints* (Hanover: University Press of New England Press, 1987), 29.

[61] Gregory of Nyssa, *Oratio catechetica magna*, 35.66-82, ed. J. Srawley, *The Catechetical Oration of Gregory of Nyssa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1903 (repr. 1956): 1-164. Tr. William A. Moore and Henry Austin Wilson in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, v.5, Second Series (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1995), 503.

Eustratios discusses the liturgical and sacramental memorial and burial services in the church's rites for the dead:

> "The Law having a shadow of the good things to come,"[62] as the Apostle said, numbered all the days of mourning as one [day], not like "the eyewitnesses and ministers [now entrusted with the church] of the Word"[63] and God, but they[64] divided the forty days in three parts: the third, the ninth, and the fortieth day.[65] For thus the Lord himself after his three-day resurrection[66] "showed himself to his disciples[67] after the doors were shut,"[68] and when "he said to them"[69] 'Peace be with you.'[70]

Here, the third-day memorial service is an imitation of Christ's third-day resurrection. Gregory of Nyssa comments that the custom of prayers of the third-day burial is an explicit imitation of Christ's third-day resurrection:

> But since, as has been said, we imitate the transcendent Power as the poverty of nature is capable of, by having the water thrice poured on us and ascending again up from the water, we enact the saving burial and resurrection which took place on the third day with this thought in our mind, that as we have power over the water both to be in it and arise out of it, so He too, Who has the universe at His sovereign disposal, immerse Himself in death, so we in the water, to return to His own blessedness.[71]

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[62] Heb 10:1.

[63] Lk 1:2.

[64] The Christian eyewitnesses and ministers from the time of Jesus to Eustratios' day.

[65] On the third, the ninth, and fortieth day commemorations, see the *Apostolic Constitutions*, 7.42.1-3; the Emperor Justinian's *Novella* CXXXIII, 3; John Lydos, *De Mensibus*, 4.26; Pseudo-John of Damascus, *Oratio de his qui in fide dormiunt* (CPG 8112), PG 95.261B12-C2. See also Karl Krumbacher, *Studien zu den Legenden des hl. Theodosios* in *Nachtrag zur Sitzungsberichten der Philosophisch-Historische Klasse der Kgl. Bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Munich: 7 mai, 1892, pp. 341-355.

[66] Cf. Mt 27:63; Mk 8:31; 9:31;10:43.

[67] Jn 21:1.

[68] Jn 20:19.

[69] Jn 20:19.

[70] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 2361-2368.

[71] Gregory of Nyssa, *Oratio catechetica magna*, 35.83-93, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, v.5, Second Series, 503.

Thus, the soul which has been baptized imitates Christ insofar as it participates in the rite of baptism. Conversely, the soul that is not baptized is unmoored since it does not have Christ as a model to imitate. Eustratios quotes Gregory of Nyssa saying that

> "A soul is unenlightened [without baptism], and not having been adorned with the grace of spiritual rebirth,[72] I do not think not even the angels receive it after the separation from the body; for how is it possible, the unsealed [soul after death], not bearing any baptismal symbol [of believers marked as the property of Christ][73] of ownership, which is likely borne in the air wandering, roaming, and incomprehensible as it is without a master, longing for rest and a place to call home, and not finding them, lamenting in vain and repenting to no avail, like the rich man."[74]

Therefore, the soul imitates Christ insofar as it participates in the church's rite of baptism. Without them, according to Gregory, it is adrift since it does not have Christ as a model to imitate.

The souls of the saints imitate the virtues of Christ. The goal of Christ's ministry is the salvation of humanity. So too, according to Eustratios, the souls of the departed saints have as their goal the salvation of human kind when sent by God:

> And wherever God might wish to send these beings [angels and the souls of the departed saints], they accomplish the manifestations according to the gift of grace granted to them by God for the salvation and aid of those needing it throughout.[75]

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[72] παλιγγενεσίας.

[73] Cf. Origen, *Commentarii in evangelium Joannis* (lib. 19, 20, 28, 32), 28.2.8, ed. E. Preuschen, *Origenes Werke*, vol. 4 [*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller* 10. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903]: 298-480.

[74] Gregory of Nyssa, *De iis qui baptismum differunt***,** PG 46:424.23-31; Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 1472-1479; cf. Luke 16:19-31. For a study on the theology of baptism in the works of Gregory of Nyssa, see Everett Ferguson, *Baptism in the Early Church: History, Theology, and Liturgy in the First five Centuries* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2009), 603-622.

[75] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 442-445.

The saints acquire this ability, according to Eustratios, because of a gift of grace sent by God. The souls of the saints are selected for these missions because of their special virtues. According to Dionysios the Areopagite, whom Eustratios quotes, "And since [the souls of the righteous] live and 'exist, they long for the beautiful and the good;'[76] How do the souls of the saints acquire these virtues? While Eustratios does not explicitly analyze this issue, Gregory of Nyssa, whose works and thought Eustratios heavily relies on for the proof of the existence of the soul after death, provides the following explanation:

> In this text[77] I think that the Word teaches us that by His essence He transcends the entire order and structure of the created universe, that He is inaccessible, intangible, and incomprehensible. But in his stead we have this perfume within us distilled from the purity of our virtues; and this imitates [μιμουμένη] in its purity His essential incorruptibility, in its stability His immobility; and all the virtues in us represent His true virtue, which as the prophet Habacuc says, covers all the heavens.... A person may look upon the sun within oneself in a mirror. For the true virtue of God sends forth rays of passionlessness to illuminate the lives of those who are pure, and the rays make the invisible visible, and allow us to comprehend the inaccessible by painting in an image of the sun upon our mirror.[78]

Thus, by imitating Christ's virtues, one also participates in the divine attributes.[79] Gregory also makes this explicit in the imitation of Christ by the saints. Again quoting using the perfume imagery in his exegesis on the Song of Songs, he explicitly equates the

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[76] Dionysios the Areopagite, B.R. Suchla, *Corpus Dionysiacum i: Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita. De divinis nominibus*, 4.23 (p.172.7) [*Patristische Texte und Studien* 33. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1990]: 107-231.

[77] The Song of Songs.

[78] Gregory of Nyssa, *In Canticum canticorum* (homiliae 15) 6.89-90, ed. H. Langerbeck, *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, vol. 6. Leiden: Brill, 1960: 3-469. Tr. and ed. H. Musurillo in *From Glory to Glory: Texts from Gregory of Nyssa's Mystical Writings*, selected by J. Daniélou (Crestwood: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1995), 164.

[79] Verna E. F. Harrison, *Grace and Human Freedom According to St. Gregory of Nyssa* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992), 100-102.

apostle Paul with the Bride, who inhales the fragrance: "For we are to God the fragrance of Christ to those who are saved and among those who perish (2 Cor 2:15):"

> He [Paul] inhaled the fragrance of that inaccessible and transcendent grace [of Christ], offering himself to others as a kind of incense for them to partake according to their ability, and he became a fragrance which, according to each one's disposition, could bring them to life of bring them to death.... Titus, Silvanus and Timothy all shared with Paul in fragrance of the perfume, advancing in goodness in accordance with his example. But those like Demas, Alexander and Hermogenes could not stand the incense of continence and were banished by its fragrant smell.[80]

Paul, Silvanus, and Timothy, according to their choice disposition all inhaled the fragrance and were advanced in goodness. When they breathed in the fragrance of Christ's perfume, they become the fragrance by which others are able to share according to their use of freedom.[81] They participate in these good things so thoroughly that like God they are able to share it freely with others who in turn may choose to accept or reject these gifts.[82] Gregory concludes his commentary by saying that "the perfume that fills the house becomes the good odor of Christ and fragrance of it the whole body of the Church, in all the world and in the entire universe."[83] Thus, participation in the divine is freely available to all as a gift of grace extending to the saints, the church, and the entire universe.[84] For Eustratios, those who participate in divine grace also have consequences.

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[80] Gregory of Nyssa, *In Canticum canticorum*, 6.91-92; *From Glory to Glory*, 165.

[81] Harrison, *Grace and Freedom*, 103.

[82] Ibid, 104.

[83] Gregory of Nyssa, *In Canticum canticorum*, GNO 6.93; *From Glory to Glory*,166.

[84] Harrison, *Grace and Freedom*, 104. Participation here means participation in Christ as enunciated by the Apostle Paul specifically in two passages: "Or do you not know that as many of us were baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into His death? Therefore were buried with him through baptism into death, that just as Christ was raised from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life. For if we have been united together in the likeness of his death, certainly we also shall be in the likeness of his resurrection (Rom 6:3-5)." The second passage also speaks of a sacrament, the participation in communion: "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of

Again quoting Gregory of Nyssa, he states: "In the choice of evils, one ought to choose: some things that have been deemed worthy of holy baptism again are in sin; or not participating in grace, they cause life to end."[85] Therefore, one must either choose or reject to participate in divine grace, thereby choosing or rejecting to imitate Christ.

For Eustratios, the ultimate proof for the existence of the afterlife activities of the saints, is the Transfiguration,[86] where Jesus is seen by the disciples Peter, James and John conversing with the prophets Moses and Elijah. In the Transfiguration, Jesus' "face shone like the sun, and clothes became as white as light."[87] As a recurring characteristic of the saint in *De statu animarum*, Eustratios describes the light that often accompanies the appearance of a saint. He states that the holy person "who is in the light never remains inactive, since 'light is always with the righteous (Proverbs 13:9)'"[88] Eustratios quotes John Chrysostom on the veneration of the Maccabees:[89] "[T]he rays of the sun sent [to] earth today are not brighter than usual, but the light of the holy martyrs is shining upon our city, exceeding all flashes of lightning. For these [martyrs] are brighter than ten

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Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the body of Christ? For we, through many, are one bread and one body; for we all partake of that one bread (1 Cor 10:16-17)." As will be shown below, for Cyril of Alexandria, in light of his Christological views, this participation in the communion leads to deification of the believer.

[85] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, Gregory of Nyssa, *De iis qui baptismum differunt***,** PG 46:414.27-424.9.

[86] Mt 17:1-4; Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 507-516.

[87] Mt 17:2.

[88] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 254-255

[89] For the veneration of the Maccabean brothers by Christians as exemplars of martyrdom, see Gerard Rouwhorst, "The Cult of the Seven Maccabean Brothers and their Mother in Christian Tradition," in *Saints and Role Models in Judaism and Christianity*, ed. Marcel Poorthuis and Joshua Schwartz (Brill: Leiden, 2004): 183-204.

thousand suns and brighter than the great lights of heaven. [And] today the earth [shines more brilliantly than heaven, [a grace] of this [heaven]."

A little later, Eustratios describes the light beaming from the relics of the Maccabees as analogous to a theophany. "The rays are not such as those sent from the orb of the sun to the earth; they have such a radiance[90] and brilliance of light [in visions of the martyrs and theophanies][91] beaming off their bodies that they even blind the eyes of the devil."[92] Thus, the Transfiguration is evoked, and the likening of the Maccabees to the transfigured Christ is made explicit. Even the devil is powerless to gaze upon the relics of the departed holy persons. The dazzling light of the saints not only likens them to Jesus, but also depicts transfigured and enlightened souls who are active in the afterlife.[93]

A characteristic grace that Eustratios depicts his saints as participating in is gentleness. Gentleness (πραότης or πραΰτης) is an attribute associated with Christ; it is a divine virtue,[94] it was taught by Christ,[95] and is especially pleasing to God.[96] In

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[90] For μαρμαρυγή as a reference to the Transfiguration, see Eusebios of Caesarea, *De ecclesiastica theologia*, 3.10, ed. G.C. Hansen and E. Klostermann, *Eusebius Werke, Band 4: Gegen Marcell. Über die kirchliche Theologie. Die Fragmente Marcells* [*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller* 14, 2nd edn. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1972]: 61-182; as a reference to the illumination of the human soul by divine light, see Basil of Caesarea, *Homilia in Ps. VII*, 1.102B, PG 29:1041C.

[91] Cf. Herm. *Sim.* 9.2.2 and *A. Andr*. 14 9 (p.32.12, PG 2:1254A; as the burning bush, Gregory of Nyssa, *v. Mos*. (PG 44:401B); referring the vision of Paul, Ammon. *Ac*.22:15, PG 85:1585C.

[92] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 1599-1603; John Chrysostom, *De Maccabeis* (homiliae 1), PG 50:617.19-36.

[93] The Virgin Mary and John the Evangelist also are accompanied by a splendid light when they visit Gregory the Wonderworker. See *De statu animarum*, 840-843.

[94] Gregory of Nyssa, *Beat.* 2, PG 44:1213C.

[95] John Chrysostom, *Hom. in Mattheum*, 7:14.

[96] John Chrysostom, *Hom. in 61.1 in Jo*., PG 8:361B.

classical philosophy, it is a characterisic virtue of a great and magnanimous person.[97] Indeed, Eustratios begins *De statu animarum* with gentleness as a salient characteristic of the saint sent out in ministry by God:

> Likewise souls too, as many as were mild and gentle, and cultivated sweetness in the present life, even though after these things they depart this life to some spiritual places,[98] but nevertheless by a command of God they arrive and engage in activity into this life of ours, a life of contentions in the midst of a storm; and being sent, they help many people just like angels, I mean both in dreams and in waking visions.[99]

Elsewhere, Eustratios describes the souls of saints or their works as gentle. Eustratios quotes 2 Maccabees, which describes the high priest Onias, who appears and offers aid to Judas Maccabeus in a dream:

> Onias, who had been high priest, a noble and good man, reverent in meeting, having a modest and gentle manner, one who spoke fittingly and had been trained from childhood in all that belongs to excellence, was praying with outstretched hands for the whole nation of the Jews.[100]

The activities of the saints are also described as gentle. After Saint Theodore Teron humorously teaches a young thief a lesson against stealing, Eustratios quotes the comments of Chrysippos of Jerusalem concerning the action of the saint: "Do you see how mild and gentle he [Theodore] was, when there was a need for gentleness?"[101]

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[97] E.g., Marcus Aurelius, *Τὰ εἰς ἑαυτόν*, 5.6.3.

[98] The heavens. Scriptural Greek often puts heaven in the plural, e.g., Mt 6:9. In 2 Cor 12, Paul uses traditional Jewish terms to describe the realms of heaven. In 2 Cor 12:2, he mentions the third, or the highest heaven. In 2 Cor 12:4, he mentions Paradise, realm where the enthroned God is surrounded by angels. The souls of the wicked inhabit Hades; see pp. 69, 77, and 96, below.

[99] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 121-127.

[100] Ibid., 415-420

[101] Ibid., 1926-1927; Chrysippos of Jerusalem, *Encomium in sanctum Theodorum* (BHG 1765c) ed. A. Sigalas, *Des Chrysippos von Jerusalem Enkomion auf den hl. Theodoros Teron* (*Byzantinisches Archiv* 7)

Therefore, in the gentleness of their souls and their saving activities, the souls of the saints also imitate Christ and participate in his virtues.

Eustratios also describes his master, Eutychios, bishop of Constantinople, as "great and gentle."[102] Indeed, the saints lives that Eustratios composed, the *Vita Eutychii* and the *Passio Golindouch*, well illustrate the Christology of imitation and its characteristics described above. The difference between *De statu animarum* and these two works of hagiography is that Eustratios writes about the works of Eutychios and Golinduch, sixth-century contemporaries of Eustratios, in this lifetime not their afterlife activities. Nevertheless, they illustrate the stages in the ministerial life of the saint on earth according to the premise of Eustratios: although the saints perform good works in this life, it is in the afterlife, unencumbered by a physical body, that a saint performs the caring work directed by God more effectively after death.[103]

In his *Vita Eutychii*, Eustratios portrays his exiled master as paradigm of ascetic discipline. Whereas in the first three centuries of Christianity the follower of Christ was subject to physical martyrdom, the spiritual martyrdom of *askesis*, as practiced by Eutychios in the sixth century, as an imitator of Christ, was open to all.[104] Deeply influenced by the Cappadocians concerning Moses as a paradigm for the ascetic training

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Leipzig – Berlin, 1921, 50-79, p. 59.10-14, and H. Delehaye – P. Peeters, *Acta Sanctorum Novembris*, IV, Brussels, 1925, pp. 55-72, p. 59 E2-10.

[102] Eustratios, *Vita Eutychii*, 2205.

[103] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 228-230.

[104] Ibid., 43.

of the monk-bishop[105] as well as models provided by the prophets of the Hebrew Scriptures, Eustratios depicts Eutychios as an ideal monk and bishop in his guidance of the Christian community. Eutychios is also portrayed as a saint, an *alter Christus*, whose compassionate ministry parallels Jesus' in wisdom, holiness, and healing. For example, in exile Eutychios lives and works among the poor and sick, performing healing miracles. [106] In the face of an impending Persian invasion, he miraculously multiplies the jars of grain for the feeding of the people.[107]

Eustratios' *Passio Golindouch* [108] shares many of the hagiographical themes of his *Vita Eutychii*. Briefly, Golinduch was a sixth-century highborn Persian convert to Christianity. Refusing to renounce her newfound religion, she was incarcerated for eighteen years. In prison, she was manacled to a neck collar and subjected to many tortures. Golinduch escaped to Roman territory where she died in 591.

Eustratios shapes her story into an imitation of Christ's life. Alluding to Christ's descent into hell, Golinduch experiences a three-day vision of the sufferings in Hades and glimpses the saved in heaven.[109] Following this vision, thanks to the saving cooperation of God, she undergoes a spiritual resurrection and becomes a follower of Christ.[110] She is

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[105] The Cappadocians - Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nazianzos, and Gregory of Nyssa - considered Moses the exemplar of church leadership. See Andrea Sterk, "On Basil, Moses, and the Model Bishop: The Cappadocian Legacy of Leadership" *Church History* 67 (1998): 227-253; eadem, *Renouncing the World yet Leading the Church: The Monk-Bishop in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004).

[106] Eustratios, *Vita Eutychii*, 1202-1718.

[107] Ibid., 1719-1779; cf. Mt 14:13-21; Mt 15:32-29; Mk 6:31-44; Mk 8:1-9; Lk 9:10-17; Jn 6:5-15.

[108] BHG 700-702b.

[109] Eustratios, *Passio Golindouch*, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus in *Analekta Hierosolymitikes Stachyologias* 4. St. Petersburg: V. Kirsvaoum, 1897: 153-154.

[110] Ibid., 154-155.

betrayed, like Christ, by an intimate - in Golinduch's case her own husband. Golinduch is brought before the Persian king who, paralleling Pontius Pilate, condemns her.[111] Eustratios also compares Golinduch to Moses, other biblical figures, and saints. Like Moses, Golinduch is pursued in the desert by her enemies. She becomes a hunted figure because of her insistence upon orthodox Christian teaching.[112] In prison, her wondrous preservation recalls the sufferings of the prophet Daniel and the Christian martyr saints.[113] Like St. Peter, Golinduch miraculously escapes from prison.[114] Golinduch was strengthened by her ascetic practices in prison, [115] and therefore comparable to the ascetic training that Eutychios received, which allowed her to bear her considerably more horrific conditions with faith, discipline, and courage.

Eustratios depict both Eutychios and Golinduch as having gotten into trouble for their support of the Christological decision of Chalcedon. Justinian sent Eutychios into exile for not supporting the emperor's aphthartodocetism, a form of Miaphysitism.[116] Golinduch preaches to a group of Severian monks on the true faith as expounded by Chalcedon.[117]

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[111] Ibid., 155-156.

[112] Ibid., 165-167.

[113] Ibid., 156-160.

[114] Ibid., 162-163.

[115] For women and asceticism, see Elizabeth A. Clark, *Ascetic Piety and Women's Faith: Essays on Late Ancient Christianity* (Lewiston: E. Mellen Press, 1986) and Susana Elm, "*Virgins of God": The Making of Asceticism in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

[116] Eustratios, *Vita Eutychii* 1202-1779.

[117] Eustratios, *Passio Golindouch*, 166:5.

The Christology of the Council of Chalcedon (451) was of great importance to Eustratios, and it informs all of his works. Chalcedon's Christological definition acknowledged Christ as two natures (human and divine) in one hypostasis. The persuasiveness of great Miaphysite theologians such as Severos gave rise during the sixth century to supporters of Chalcedon, designated by twentieth-century scholars as the neo-Chalcedonians.[118] These theologians had varied points of view, but they all agreed on the Christological principle of two natures in one hypostasis.[119]

The foremost neo-Chalcedonian theologian of the sixth century who contributed to the philosophy of hypostasis after Chalcedon was Leontios of Jerusalem (died c. 544).[120] Below is his definition of hypostasis:

> Hypostasis also refers to when particular, different natures, together with their properties but not their prosopa [persons], come together in union in the same thing under one existence. That is to say, there occurs a particular "standing together" which belongs to one single individual.
>
> It is also generally agreed that hypostasis refers to the coming together not of different natures, but many particular properties by themselves from all of which is constituted one universal property in one particular subject, or in one single nature.
>
> So then, hypostasis is called existence or "existing together" which is conceived in a particular subject either in simplicity or in composition, either in that which is particular or that which is common as in the Godhead, either in one nature by

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[118] Joseph Lebon, *Le monophysisme sévérien: étude historique, littéraire et théologique sur la résistance monophysite au concile de Chalcédoine jusqu'à la constitution de l'Église jacobite* (Louvain: J. van Linthout, 1909).

[119] Marcel Richard, "Le Néochalcédonisme," *Mélanges de science religieuse* 3 (1946): 156-61.

[120] Dirk Krausmüller has made an effort to date Leontios of Jerusalem to the early seventh century. See "Leontius of Jerusalem, a Theologian of the Seventh Century," *Journal of Theological Studies*, NS, 52 (2001) 637-57. However, Patrick T. R. Gray, in his edition of Leontios' works, argues that the evidence Krausmüller presents is not conclusive. See Patrick Gray, *Leontius of Jerusalem: Against the Monophysites; Testimonies of the Saints and Aporiae* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 38-40.

> itself or in several united together, provided that they are in one existence. The hypostasis may be constituted of particular properties, or of [one] common property as in the case of one particular individual.[121]

Leontios views the hypostasis as the underlying individual subject, and is conceptually distinct from its constitutive natures with their properties. In the Christology of Leontios, the Divine Logos is incarnate, which contributes to its hypostasis its own properties to the degree that allows the Incarnate Son to die on the cross. The human nature of Christ is truly and intimately united with the divine nature in the hypostasis of the Logos, not in the divine nature, so that both natures are intact, affecting the hypostasis of Divine Logos in the mode of existence, but not in nature or identity. The hypostasis changes, not the natures. The divine hypostasis is that in which the human nature of Christ together with his properties exists and becomes real. The natural human properties are displayed in the hypostasis of the Logos in whom they exist, and by their effect on the Divine Logos they reveal the presence of a full human nature.[122]

Leontios brings into Christological discourse the word "enhypostasis," which he applies to nature:

> For nature is analogous to the body, and the hypostasis to color, and they speak of enhypostatic natures just as they speak of colored bodies, then a hypostasis must be a hypostatic nature, just as color must be colored body. For it is not possible to conceive of a hypostatic nature apart from a hypostasis.[123]

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[121] Leontios of Jerusalem, *Adv. Nest.* II.1, tr. Kenneth W. Wesche in "The Defense of Chalcedon in the Sixth Century: The Doctrine of Hypostasis and Deification in the Christology of Leontius of Jerusalem" (PhD diss. Fordham University, 1986), 51-52.

[122] Kenneth Paul Wesche, "The Christology of Leontius of Jerusalem: Monophysite or Chalcedon?" *Saint Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 31 (1987): 94-95.

[123] Leontios of Jerusalem, *Adv. Nest.* 1.12 (translated by Kenneth Wesche in "The Defense of Chalcedon in the Sixth Century," modified by the present writer), 156.

In other words, "enhypostasis" means that a "nature possesses its own hypostasis, that is, it is not an abstract, but a real, concrete, and particular nature."[124] Therefore, a nature that possesses its own hypostasis is independently existent.

Eustratios adopts the word "enhypostasis" and forms the basis of his hypostatic reality of the manifestations of the saints. Describing the manifestations of the Virgin Mary and John the Baptist, Eustratios states that they appeared in all their "enhypostatic realities."[125] As Nicholas Constas notes: "Eustratius has appropriated the neologisms of sixth-century Christology in order to frame a view of theological anthropology, in this case to establish hypostatically the reality and subsistence of the departed saints in God."[126]

Eustratios opposed the views of those who claimed that the apparent activities of the saints are really visions sent by God, since the souls of saints can never appear again in their "enhypostatic realities:"

> Certain people, having devoted [themselves] to theoretical arguments, and wishing to philosophize about human souls, and making an argument about them [the human souls], confidently affirm by saying that after the departure from this life, and the departure of souls from bodies, whether holy or [otherwise] in some other way, they [the souls] remain inactive. And therefore even if the souls of saints appear to someone, according to substance or independent existence, [those hoping to philosophize] say that they don't [truly] appear; instead, it is a divine power assuming the form [of saints], and it depicts the souls of saints being active; for they are in some place, never having the power after the departure of the soul to show themselves in this life to people.[127]

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[124] Wesche, "The Defense of Chalcedon in the Sixth Century: The Doctrine of Hypostasis and Deification in the Christology of Leontius of Jerusalem," 156.

[125] Eustratios, *De Statu animarum*, 884.

[126] Constas, "An Apology for the Cult of the Saints," 277.

[127] Eustratios, *De Statu animarum*, 50-60.

The opponents to the afterlife activities of the saints were fairly numerous in late antiquity. The role of the saint in theology and society was disputed, both by theologians contemporary with Eustratios and past. The debate over the activity of the saints after death was a much-discussed issue in the late sixth and seventh centuries. Anastasios of Sinai (+ after 700), attributed with writing in a genre that reached its height during the seventh century called the erotaporkriseis,[128] a series of questions and answers relating to religious teachings and exegesis, with one of the participants acting as pupil or questioner and the other as teacher,[129] believed that after death, the souls of ordinary people, deprived of their physical organs, no longer are active and remain withdrawn until the Resurrection. These souls are incapable of communicating with the living and have no memory of their family and friends.

Anastasios makes an exception for the souls of saints, which are illuminated by the Holy Spirit, but their communication with the living is circumscribed and roundabout.[130]

> It must be understood that all visions of saints in churches or by tombs occur via the intermediary of God's command. How would it be possible, before the resurrection of the dead, while the bones and flesh are still scattered, to see the saints themselves as fully formed human beings, often on horseback and armed as well. And if you disagree, tell me, how is it that Paul, Peter, or any other apostle, though unique, has been seen so often at the same time in different places? It is

[128] Gilbert Dagron, "L'ombre d'un doute: L'hagiographie en question, VIe-XIe siècle," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 46 (1992): 61.

[129] C. F. Georg Heinrici, *Griechisch-byzantinische Gesprächsbücher und Verwandtes aus Sammelhandschriften* (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1911).

[130] Gilbert Dagron, "Holy Images and Likeness," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 45 (1991): 23-33.

> impossible to be in more than one place at the same time, even for angels; only the circumscribed God is able to do that."[131]

Thus, in these writings attributed to Anastasios, the departed soul in the afterlife sleeps until the resurrection. Whether Anastasios, or a writer assuming his name knew the *De statu animarum* of Eustratios is uncertain, but he pointedly denied that the souls of saints have the ability to actively make an appearance to living as Eustratios depicts in two notable examples: the souls of the five Maccabean brothers on horseback[132] and St. Theodore in armor.[133]

These arguments of saintly inactivity after death are found in a work entitled *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem*, falsely attributed to Athanasios of Alexandria, in which after death, because souls are after death unable to maintain their physical functions, they cannot recognize family and friends; after the Resurrection, every human body and each individual characteristic will have been destroyed, with each person taking on the likeness of Adam. Therefore, the souls of saints as well are incapable of activity after death. The appearances of the souls of saints in churches and their tombs are through angels who have taken on the image of the saints. The angels have left the

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[131] Anastasios the Sinaite, *Quaestiones*, PG 89:717C-D, tr. Gilbert Dagron. Εἰδέναι μέντοι προσήκει, ὅτι πᾶσαι αἱ ὀπτασίαι αἱ γινόμεναι ἐν τοῖς ναοῖς ἢ σοροῖς τῶν ἁγίων δι' ἀγγέλων ἁγίων ἐπιτελοῦνται κατ' ἐπιτροπὴν Θεοῦ, ἐπεὶ πῶς δυνατόν, μήπω τῆς ἀναστάσεως τῶν σωμάτων γεγενημένης, ἀλλ' ἔτι τῶν ὀστῶν καὶ τῶν σαρκῶν τῶν ἁγίων διεσκορπισμένων, εἴδεσθαι τούτους ἤδη ὁλοκλήρους ἄνδρας, πολλάκις ἐφ' ἵππους καθωπλισμένους ὀπτανομένους; Εἰ δὲ ἀντιλέγειν νομίζεις, εἰπέ μοι σύ, πῶς εἷς ὑπάρχων Παῦλος, ἢ Πέτρος, ἢ ἄλλος ἀπόστολος, ἢ μάρτυς, κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν ὥραν πολλάκις ἐν πολλοῖς τόποις ὀπτάνεται; Οὔτε γὰρ ἄγγελος δύναται ἐν διαφόροις τόποις ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ῥοπῇ, ἢ ἐν διαφόροις χώραις εὑρίσκεσθαι, εἰ μὴ μόνος ὁ ἀπερίγραπτος Θεός.

[132] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 485-490; 1892-1897.

[133] Ibid., 22.509-512.

heavenly liturgy in order to appear to the living believers in the forms of the apostles and the saints.[134]

These theories, that the souls of humans are incapable of activity after death, and the activity is done by angels or a divine agency in disguise, are what Eustratios sets out to refute. Fully aware that doubters asked how saints can appear on horseback or in with other symbols, such as the armor St. Theodore wore, he argues that while it is true that souls of saints are bodiless (ἀσώματοι), angels are also bodiless; therefore, the souls of saints, sent to minister by God just like angels,[135]

> form impressions not according to nature but nevertheless they perform genuine activities; just as a painter with many colors makes existing works, he will not create living beings or some other things by nature, and so the incorporeal spiritual beings are able to represent impressions for a short time. Neither must one call such beings an illusion nor works from nature; nor, on the contrary, is it right to assert that the visions are not true.[136]

Since the apparitions of the saints bear their own images, Gilbert Dagron finds it instructive to compare these visions of Eustratios with painting, since "waking dreams or visions"[137] express themselves as icons.[138] Eustratios combines "waking dreams and visions" in his description of the painting of the holy image of his teacher Eutychios while in exile in Amaseia:

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[134] Pseudo-Athanasios, *Quaetiones ad Antiochum ducem*, PG 28:609-613. See also Dagron, *Holy Images and Likeness*, 32.

[135] Eutychios, *De statu animarum*, 2008.

[136] Ibid., 2014-2018.

[137] Ibid., 127.

[138] Dagron, *Holy Images and Likeness*, 33.

> A young man who professed the craft of the mosaicist was working in that capacity at the house of Chrysaphios of pious memory in that same city of Amaseia. As he was removing the old mosaic from the wall representing the story of Aphrodite (for the said man intended to convert his house into a chapel of the archangel [Michael] since it stood in a high position, and its big lower story into a chapel of our immaculate Lady the Mother of God, for ever virgin – which indeed was done); when, therefore, the mosaicist had cut out the picture of the unclean Aphrodite, the demon that resided in it struck his hand which became inflamed and swollen..... Seeing himself in great danger, he chose the better course and visited the saint [Eutychios] so as to obtain God's help through him. The latter said a prayer over the man and anointed his right hand (for this was the injured one) with holy oil. He did this for three days, and the [right] hand was made healthy like the other[139] one by God's assistance. By way of thanksgiving and as a reminder of the miracle that had been performed, the man who had been healed set up the image of the holy man in that very house he had been injured: with the same hand that he had received healing he depicted the godly physician.[140]

This passage is illustrative in several ways. First, not only was the image of the Archangel Michael set up in the house, but so was the image of Eutychios. The image of the demon and disease-carrying image of Aphrodite is contrasted to image of Eutychios,

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[139] Cf. Mt 12:13; Mk 3:5; Lk 6:10.

[140] Eustratios, *Vita Eutychii*, 1465-1491. Νεώτερός τις τὴν τοῦ μουσαρίου τέχνην ἐπιστάμενος εἰργάζετο ταύτην ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ Χρυσαφίου τοῦ ἐν εὐλαβεῖ τῇ μνήμῃ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει Ἀμασείᾳ. Τούτου δὲ καταφέροντος τὸ παλαιὸν μουσίον ἀπὸ τοῦ τοίχου, ἱστορίαν ἔχοντος τῆς Ἀφροδίτης—ἠβούλετο γὰρ ὁ μνημονευθεὶς ἀνὴρ ποιῆσαι τὸν αὐτὸν οἶκον εὐκτήριον τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐν ἀνωγέῳ, τὸν δὲ κατώγεον μέγαν οἶκον εὐκτήριον τῆς ἁγίας ἀχράντου δεσποίνης ἡμῶν θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας· ὃ δὴ καὶ γέγονεν. Ὅτε οὖν ἐξώρυξεν ὁ αὐτὸς μουσωτὴς τὸ λαιμίον τῆς ἀκαθάρτου Ἀφροδίτης, ὡς μᾶλλον ὁ παραμένων αὐτῇ δαίμων ἔπληξε τὴν χεῖρα τοῦ τεχνίτου· ἐφλέγμανε γὰρ καὶ ἐπύωσεν ἡ χεὶρ αὐτοῦ· γέγονε δὲ καὶ τραῦμα φοβερόν, ὥστε τὴν τοιαύτην οἱ θεωροῦντες ἀνάγκην τῆς χειρὸς ἔλεγον αὐτὴν ἀποτέμνεσθαι. Ὡς οὖν εἶδεν ἑαυτὸν χειρὸς ἔλεγον αὐτὴν ἀποτέμνεσθαι. Ὡς οὖν εἶδεν ἑαυτὸν ἐν πολλῇ περιστάσει, τὸ κρεῖττον ἐπιλεξάμενος, ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν ὅσιον, ὅπως τύχῃ βοηθείας ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ δι' αὐτοῦ. Ὁ δὲ ποιήσας ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὴν εὐχὴν ἔχρισε τῷ ἁγίῳ ἐλαίῳ τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτοῦ χεῖρα· αὕτη γὰρ ἦν ἡ πληγεῖσα. Πεποίηκε δὲ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας, καὶ ἀποκατέστη ἡ χεὶρ αὐτοῦ ὑγιὴς ὡς ἡ ἄλλη διὰ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ βοηθείας. Ἐν ᾧ δὲ οἴκῳ τὴν πληγὴν ἔλαβεν ὁ ἰαθείς, ἐν αὐτῷ ὑπὲρ εὐχαριστίας καὶ εἰς ὑπόμνησιν τοῦ γεγονότος θαύματος ἔστησε τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἁγίουἀνδρός· δι' ἧς οὖν χειρὸς τῆς σωτηρίας ἔτυχεν, διὰ ταύτης ἔγραψε τὸν ταύτης μετὰ θεὸν ἰατρόν. Tr. Cyril Mango in *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312-1453: Sources and Documents* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press in association with the Medieval Academy of America, 1986): 133-134.

who is characterized as the godly physician. Implicitly, the image, like a relic, contains healing powers for humanity, in contrast to the destructive diseases of the image of Aphrodite. Also instructive, the mosaicst went to Eutychios, who is described as the godly physician for healing; no mention is made of a "secular" physician, who implicitly lacks the wonder-working power of the healing saint. Indeed, the hagiography of the late sixth and seventh centuries contrasts the true healings of the saints with the false healings of the physician.[141]

Hagiography before the late sixth and seventh centuries directed sarcasms or imprecations against the false science of physicians and the roguery of astrologers in contrast to healings and sure predictions of the of the saints, while in the great miracle stories and saints lives after the late sixth century the debate was interiorized and deepened.[142] In spite of the theme of the saint who achieves success with his healing or the physicians who fail when up against the divine healings achieved through the saints, such as found in the *thaumata* of Sophronios of Jerusalem (+ 638), [143] the hagiography of this age describes and takes into account a society where one was treated medically for infirmities and where scientific explanations were offered to explain natural phenomena. Likewise, the lives of saints depict a system of double causality, with natural causes of diseases and miraculous cures of the saints offered without contradiction. The saint moves closer to the physician and the scientist, with the destructive and disease-causing

[141] Gilbert Dagron, "L'ombre d'un doute: L'hagiographie en question, VIe-XIe siècle," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 46 (1992): 64.

[142] Ibid., 61.

[143] For example of these see Mir. 29 and 30, ed. Natalio Fernández Marcos, *Los Thaumata de Sofronio: contribución al estudio de la incubatio cristiana* (Madrid: Instituto Antonio de Nebrija, 1975), 298-306.

activity of demons marking a kind of transition between the miracle-working activities of the saints and these professions.[144] How widespread sentiment against the idea of the departed, active, miracle-working saint was in late antique society is debatable, but Gilbert Dagron finds evidence of "some doubt, reluctance, and resistance."[145]

While contemporaries and the immediate generations after Eustratios offered their explanations for the inactivity of the soul of the departed saint, the questions were not new in the sixth century and thereafter, and nor were they confined exclusively to the East. Indeed, Jerome (c. 331-420) wrote a scathing polemic on the subject entitled *Adversus Vigilantium*, in which Vigilantius, a presbyter from southern Gaul, is depicted as a renegade cleric who denied that departed saints could hear the intercessions and prayers of the living. Besides showing evidence of resistance to the veneration of saints during the late fourth and early fifth centuries, what I found intriguing about this work is how similar are the arguments of Jerome and Eustratios against their opponents, including often citing the same scriptural passages, making one wonder whether Eustratios knew this work of Jerome.

Jerome wrote his polemic in 406 against Vigilantius,[146] a priest in Gaul who argued that certain practices performed during the liturgy were unnecessary, the veneration paid to relics of the departed saints by carrying them around in the church in

[144] Dagron, "L'ombre d'un doute," 61.

[145] Ibid., 59.

[146] David G. Hunter, "Vigilantius of Calagurris and Victricius of Rouen: Ascetics, Relics, and Clerics in Late Roman Gaul," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 7 (1999): 405.

costly vessels or wrapped in cloth and kissed,[147] the vigils offered to the martyrs at the basilicas, and the burnings of many worthless candles were adapted from the gentiles (i.e., non-Christians or Jews);[148] and that the saints are in the bosom of Abraham, in a place of refreshment, or under the altar of God, and that they cannot leave their own tombs [to offer aid to petitioners] wherever they wish - as Jerome sarcastically remarks they are of senatorial rank, and do not share the same low confinement of the homicidal dead, but rather are separated and kept in honorable custody in the "islands of the blessed and the Elysian fields."[149] Jerome claims that Vigilantius opposed the sending of alms to Jerusalem, which would be better spent among the poor in Gaul.[150] Vigilantius also thought that virginity held an exaggerated importance.[151]

Perhaps the most striking theme shared by Jerome and Eustratios are their denunciations against their opponents whom they claimed argued that the souls of the saints cannot hear the prayers of those approaching them. Jerome denounces Vigilantius,

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[147] Jerome, *Adversus Vigilantium*, 4.17-22, ed. J.-L. Feiertag in *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*, 79c (Tournhout: Brepols, 2005); English tr. W. H. Freemantle in *The Principal Works of St. Jerome*, NPNF, ed. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1996): 417-423. Quid necesse est tanto te honore non solum honorare, sed etiam adorare illud nescio quid quod in modico vasculo transferendo colis?...Quid pulverum linteamine circumdatum adorando oscularis?

[148] Ibid., 4.23-30, Prope ritum gentilium videmus sub praetextu religionis introductum in ecclesiis: sole adhuc fulgente moles cereorum accendi, [ut] ubicumque pulvisculum nescio quod in modico vasculo pretioso linteamine circumdatum osculantes adorent. Magnum honorem praebent huismodo homines beatissimis martyribus, quos putant de vilissimis cereolis illustrandos, quos agnus, qui est in medio throni cum omni fulgore maiestatis suae illustrat.

[149] Ibid., 6.1-6, Ais enim vel in sinu Abrahae vel in loco refrigerrii vel subter aram dei animas apostolorum et martryrum consedisse nec posse suis tumulis et ubi voluerint adesse praesentes. Senatoriae videlicet dignitas sunt, ut non inter homicidas teterrimo carcere, sed in libera honestaque custodia in fortunatorum insulis et in campis elysiis recludantur.

[150] Ibid., 13.13-19.

[151] Ibid., 15-16.

who argues, according to Jerome, that the saints are unable to hear any of the prayers of petitioners:

> You say, in your pamphlet, that so long as we are alive we can pray for one another; but once we die, the prayer of no person for another can be heard, and all the more because the martyrs, though they cry for the avenging of their blood,[152] have never been able to grant their request.[153]

David G. Hunter maintains that according to Jerome, Vigilantius did not hold that the saints were able to perform intercessions through their relics.[154] However, it seems that according to this passage quoted by Jerome, Vigilantius claimed that the departed saints were unable to hear intercessions, whether through relics or not. Eustratios says this of his opponents, who said that the souls of saints are not active after death and so also have no ability to intervene in human affairs.[155]

Eustratios also quotes the same scriptural witness as Jerome (Rev 6:9-10) and develops the argument that the prayers of living persons are indeed heard by departed saints who provide them healings. Eustratios argues that

> Moreover, since those who were sealed shouted and said from "the altar the souls," "How long, holy and true master, before will you judge and avenge our blood?," their activity is distinctly present, for they completely desire to carry away their crowns [of martyrdom]. Also, they [completely desire] to receive vindication, or rewards [in heaven], not yet promised beforehand, for he said to rest a little longer, until their fellow servants, that is to say, their brethren, should be complete, as the Apostle also taught, saying, "Since God having provided

[152] Rev 6:9-10.

[153] Jerome, *Adversus Vigilantium*, 6.14-18, Dicis in libello tuo quod dum vivimus mutuo pro nobis orare possumus. Postquam autem fuerimus, nullus sit pro alio exaudienda oratio, praesertim cum martyres ultionem sui sanguinis obsecrantes impetrare non quiuerint.

[154] Hunter, 425-426.

[155] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 50-55.

> something better for us, that apart from us they should not be made perfect.[156] Nevertheless, he did not let them be idle or inactive; for the passage "white robes were given to them" shows their own particular existing activities, which are the manifestations of the souls of saints, to whom they were sent in this life, through many another service, they provide healings. For they indeed "were crying out from under the altar:" their being "under the altar" means that not only their bodies were placed on the altar [but so too] their activity, which is to say, it performs healings, but it also shows that their souls are obedient to Christ, "[even at] your altars, Lord of hosts, my king and my God."[157]

As for prayers not being able to be heard by the dead from the living, Eustratios provides that such prayers and offerings are efficacious for the dead, since they may lead to the remission of sins. Eustratios cites scripture and patristic sources to argue his point.[158]

Jerome asks whether it is wrong for the bishop of Rome to offer sacrifices over the bones of Peter and Paul, if according to Vigilantius, they are worthless dust.[159] He quotes Vigilantius, on the efficacy of relics: "Is it the case that the souls of martyrs love their ashes, and hover around them, and are always present, lest if any one come to pray and they were absent, they would not hear?"[160] Jerome retorts that if the devil and demons are able to roam anywhere in the world with almost instantaneous speed, are the saints, who have shed their blood, to be out of sight, shut up in their tombs, where they cannot escape?[161] Eustratios agrees with Jerome, saying that God gives the saints power

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[156] Heb 11:40. The apostle is Paul, traditionally regarded as the author of Hebrews. See also Gregory of Nazianzos' *Oration* 31, *On the Holy Spirit*, [31] 22.10.

[157] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 640-660; Ps 83:4 (84:3).

[158] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 2338-2705.

[159] Jerome, *Adversus Vigilantium*, 8.1-3, Male facit ergo romanus episcopus, qui super mortuorum hominum Petri er Pauli, secundum nos ossa veneranda, secundum te vile puluisculum, ...?

[160] Ibid., 8.12-14, Ergo cineres suos amant animae martyrum et circumvolant eos semperque praesentes sunt, ne forte si aliquis precator advenerit, absentes audire non possint?

[161] Ibid., 6.11-14, ...cum diabolus et daemones toto vagentur orbe et celeritate nimia ubique praesentes sint, martyres post effusionem sanguinis sui ara operientur inclusi et inde exire non poterunt?

to be transported from one place to another with ease, for he says, "we say this, 'All things are possible to the one who believes,'"[162] and God raises people to the heavens in the flesh and moves them wherever he wishes, just as he did to Habakkuk[163] and Philip;[164] for he transferred the former in the blink of an eye from Jerusalem to Babylon, and again the latter from Gaza to Azotos and Caesarea.'"[165] However, these describe instances in which the saints are still in their bodies.

Jerome cites Moses as interceding for people,[166] and that Stephen intercedes for his prosecutors.[167] Eustratios also cites texts revealing Moses as an intercessor on behalf of his people before God. He quotes Jeremiah saying that Moses and Aaron interceded before God on behalf of those who committed impieties and transgressed the law of God. Speaking to Jeremiah, God said, "Though Moses and Samuel stood before my face, my soul would not turn to them. Send this people out of my sight and let them go!''[168] Eustratios says that the phrase "standing before the face of God" is an indication that "they will make appeals before God on behalf of those transgressing the law."[169] He

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[162] Mk 9:23.

[163] Bel 34-36.

[164] Acts 8:26 40.

[165] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 1224-1230.

[166] Jerome, *Adversus Vigilantium*, 6.21-22; cf. Ex 32:30 et seq.

[167] Ibid., 6.23-24; cf. Acts 27:37.

[168] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 390-392; Jer 15:1.

[169] Ibid,, 394-395.

states that by how much more will the saints, who never cease to intercede on behalf of those who approach them, intercede on behalf of them before the compassionate God.[170]

Just as important, Jerome asks that if the apostles and martyrs can pray for others while still in the body, when they ought to be concerned for themselves, by how much more are they able to pray for others while they are departed, winning their martyr's crowns, having overcome, in triumph?[171]

Similarly, Eustratios says that when souls are out of the body, they work much more effectively than performing with the body. Quoting Athanasios: "If the soul moves the body, as has been shown [above] it follows the soul is moving on its own, and after the burial of the body in the earth, again it moves on its own, for the soul is not dead; but because of the separation from it, the body dies."[172]

Eustratios argues that the soul is even more active after the separation from the body in sleep; again he quotes Athanasios: "Even if when it is bound with the body, it is not restricted and measured by the smallness of the body, but often, when it [the body] lies and sleeps upon a bed, it [the soul], on its own power, is vigilant, and goes beyond the nature of the body. And as if departing from it yet remaining in the body, it contemplates and beholds the things above the earth, and therefore often meets face to face with the saints who are without earthly bodies. So, if it meets face to face and arrives before them with the vision of the mind, how much more and still greater is it after the destruction of the body and meets face to face with those who are without

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[170] Ibid., 395-399.

[171] Jerome, *Adversus Vigilantium*, 6.18-21, Si apostoli et martyres adhuc in corpore constituti possunt orare pro ceteris quando de se adhuc debent esse solliciti, quanto magis post coronas, victorias et triumphos?

[172] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 1011-1016; Athanasios, *Oratio contra gentes*, 33.7-12.

earthly bodies, when God wills it bound [with the body]?"[173] The soul of a departed saint is able to accomplish this because it is free from the material world.

Eustratios observes that if the soul remains in the body and has visions in sleep and is able to meet the souls of saints face to face and sees the things of the earth, "by how much more is it, in essence, outside the body, whenever God might wish to send it off for the benefit of others."[174]

For Eustratios and Jerome, in their belief that the saints act as intercessors, there is no indication on their part that their arguments might be in contradiction to Scriptural authority, specifically the passage: "For there is one God, and there is one mediator between God and Man, the man Jesus Christ" (1 Tim 2:5). Gregory of Nyssa, Augustine, and Gregory of Nazianzos, all agreed on the uniqueness of Jesus Christ as the mediator of God and humanity, but still argued for the veneration and the intercession of the saints: While acknowledging Christ as the true Mediator between God and humanity, no extant theological work based on 1 Tim 2:5 was used in late antiquity to deny the intercessory work of the saints. Commenting on 1 Tim 2:5, Gregory of Nyssa writes:

> It is not thus that we are taught by the lofty utterance of the Apostle, who says that having made void the law of commandments by His own doctrines, He is the mediator between God and man, declaring it by this saying, "There is one God, and one mediator [μεσίτης]between God and man, the man Jesus Christ (1 Tim 2:5)," where by the distinction implied in the word *mediator* he reveals to us the whole aim of the mystery of godliness. Now his aim is this. Humanity once revolted through the malice of the enemy, and, brought into the bondage of sin, was also alienated from the true Life. After this the Lord of the creature calls back to him his own creature and becomes Man while still remaining God, being both God and man in the entirety of the two separate natures. This humanity was indissolubly united to God, the man who is in Christ conducting the work of

[173] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 1116-1127; Athanasios, *Oratio conta gentes*, 33.19-20.

[174] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 1041-1043.

> mediation, to whom, by the first fruits assumed for us, all the dough [τὸ φύραμα] that is potentially united (cf. Rom 11:16).[175]

Gregory's arguments anticipate the pronouncement of the Council of Chalcedon held that Christ has two natures, God and human, in one hypostasis.[176] Thus for Gregory, Jesus alone, because of his two natures as God and human, could be thought of as the mediator between God and humanity because he was both God and human; therefore he alone unites humanity to God. Saints, on the hand, are not God, but act as His servants at His behest for the benefit of humanity. The saints were never referred to as in early Christian literature as mediators between God and humanity. Augustine of Hippo and Gregory Nazianzos also hold similar view of Jesus as God and human in their analyses of 1 Tim 2:5:

Augustine writes:

> And hence that true Mediator, in so far as, by assuming the "form of a servant (Phil. 2:7)," he became the "Mediator between God and men (1 Tim 2:5)," the man Christ Jesus, though in the form of God he received sacrifice together with the Father, with whom he is one God, yet in the form of a servant he chose rather to receive a sacrifice, that not even in this instance any one might have occasion to suppose that sacrifice should be rendered to any creature. Thus he is both Priest who offers and the Sacrifice offered.[177]

Gregory of Nazianzos comments on 1 Tim 2:5:

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[175]Gregory of Nyssa, *Refutatio confessionis Eunomii*, ed. W. Jaeger in *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, vols. 1 & 2 (Leiden: Brill, 1960); 142.19-144.1; English tr. William A. Moore and Henry Austin Wilson in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, ed. Henry Wace, v.5, Second Series (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1995), 122.

[176] *Concilium universale Chalcedonense anno 451*, 2.1.2.129:3-130:3; English translation in *Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*, v.2:204.

[177] Augustine of Hippo, *Civ. dei* 10.20, ed. Emanuel Hoffmann (Vienna: F. Temsky, 1899-1900).

> "[Therefore he is also able to save to the uttermost those who come to God through Him,] ever living to make petition for us."[178] Yes indeed – what deep significance and humanity it expresses! Petition does not imply here, as it does in popular parlance, a desire for legal satisfaction - there is something humiliating in the idea. No, it means interceding for us in his role of mediator, in the way that the Spirit too is spoken of as "making petition" on our behalf.[179] "For there is one God, and one mediator between God and men, the man, Jesus Christ."[180] Even at this moment he is, as a man, interceding for my salvation, until he makes me divine by the power of his incarnate manhood.[181]

For Gregory of Nyssa, Augustine, and Gregory of Nazianzos, Jesus Christ is the sole mediator because of uniqueness of his being both God and human. This admittedly represents one point of view; however, there is no extant evidence from late antiquity that 1 Tim 2:5 was argued as an admonition against the intercessory powers of the saints. Indeed, all three wrote on the powers, intercessions, and miracles of the saints and did not see 1 Tim 2:5 as contrary to their views as the saints as intercessors.

Eustratios and Jerome also discuss the miraculous power of relics. Relics, the remains or artifacts in some material way associated with a holy person, played an important part in the veneration of the saints in early Christianity.[182] Jerome asks if the people of all the churches from Palestine to Chalcedon are to be thought of as fools

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[178] Heb7:25."Therefore He is also able to save to the uttermost those who come to God through Him, since he always lives to make intercessions for them."

[179] Rom 8.26.

[180] 1 Tim 2:5.

[181] Gregory Nazianzos, *De filio* (orat. 30), ed. J. Barbel, *Gregor von Nazianz. Die fünf theologischen Reden* (Düsseldorf: Patmos-Verlag, 1963); tr. Lionel Wickham and Frederick Williams in Faith Gives Fullness to Reasoning: The Five Theological Orations of Gregory of Nazianzen, ed. Frederick W. Norris (E. J. Brill: Leiden), 272.

[182] See H. Leclercq, "Relics et reliquires," in *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, ed. F. Cabrol (1948), v.14, cols. 2294-2359; L. Rothkrug, '"The Odour of Sanctity' and the Hebrew Origins of Christian Relic Veneration," *Historical Reflections* 8 (1981): 95-142; Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Western Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981); S. Wilson, ed., *Saints and their Cults: Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore and History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

because they went to meet the relics of the saints, welcoming them with as much joy as if a living prophet in their midst, "with one voice re-echoing the praises of Christ."[183] Concerning the power of the relics of the saints, Eustratios also focuses on the praises of God as the author of the afterlife activities of the saints and their relics. As proof of the miraculous powers of the relics of holy people, he quotes Hebrew Scripture:

> "[A]nd Elisha died and they buried him. And bands of Moabites used to invade the land annually. And as a man was being buried, behold, they saw a band and they threw the man into the grave of Elisha and they fled; and as soon as the man touched the bones of Elisha, he revived, and stood upon his feet."[184]
> And so, opponents, you will doubtless say that the power of God is activating. And I concur; for who is so stupid who does not think so? For he says that "those who honor me I shall honor."[185] Therefore, how does he honor by not acting upon the souls or bodies of the saints who honor him? It is very clear that while as many as have recourse to the relics of the saints, they also receive cures from them by the will of God.[186]

Jerome also argues concerning the power of the saints in their relics: "In their presence [i.e., the relics] the demons cry out, and the devils who dwell in Vigilantius confess that they feel the influence [of the saints]."[187] Likewise, Eustratios remarks on the miraculous efficacy of relics to drive demons out and sicknesses healed, but he also adds that not only the souls [of saints] themselves are active, but that [their] bodies are equal to their souls has granted [their] grace and activity to have power "touching lightly or

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[183] Jerome, *Adversus Vigilantium*, 5.28-32, Stulti omnium ecclesiarum populi, qui occurrent sanctis reliquiis et tanta laetitia quasi praesentem viventemque cernernent susceperunt, ut de Palestina usque Calcedonem iungerentur populorum examina et in Christi laudes una voce sonarent?

[184] Ibid., 369-374; 4 Kgdms 13:20-22 (2 Kgs 13:20-22).

[185] 1 Kgdms 2:30 (1 Sam 2:30).

[186] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 369-381.

[187] Jerome, *Adversus Vigilantium*, 6.21-22, ...apud quas daemones rugiunt et habitatores Vigilantii illorum se sentire preasentiam confitentur?

revering," clearly, Eustratios claims, with the cooperation of God, active according to their own being.[188]

Jerome, commenting that the relics of the Prophet Samuel were brought from Judea to Thrace, asks whether people are actually adoring Samuel rather than praising Christ, whose prophet Samuel was. He answers that Vigilantius is mistrustful because he thinks only of the dead body [i.e., relics], and therefore blasphemes. He chastises Vigilantius to read the Gospel, where it is written: "I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob: He is not the God of the dead, but of the living."[189] He observes that if these prophets are alive, they are not shut up somewhere in honorable confinement.[190]

Eustratios similarly quotes this passage from Exodus and Matthew, stating that since this was spoken to Moses about Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, their souls are still living. Eustratios continues stating that since the souls of these prophets are living, he quotes Luke as proof of their continued existence, since God "is not God of the dead, but of the living,"[191] and if "all live to him," [192] Eustratios reasons that the souls of the saints

[188] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 1423-1446.

[189] Mt 22:32; Ex 3:6, 15.

[190] Jerome, *Adversus Vigilantium*, 5.32-37, Videlicet adorabant Samuhelem et non Christum, cuius Semuhel et levita et prophetes fuit. Mortuum suspicaris et idcirco blasphemas. Lege Evangelium: Deus Abraham, deus Isaac, deus Iacob. Non est deus mortuorum, sed vivorum. Si ergo vivunt, honesto, iuxta te, carcare non claudantur.

[191] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 259; Lk 20:38.

[192] Lk 20:38.

are active, since if they are not active they are dead, and not being active is characteristic of bodies that are dead and motionless.[193]

Jerome rebukes Vigilantius for claming that the saints are worshipped as though gods. He cites the example of Paul and Barnabas acclaimed as Jupiter and Mercury respectively by the Lycaonians, with the apostles tearing off their clothes, declaring that they were men; the honor paid by the Lycaonians was due to God, not to them.[194] Eustratios also quotes this passage from Acts as an example of messengers who are sent in ministry, whether angelic or saintly, and for the faithful to reverently discern the difference between the master who sends them.[195]

Both Jerome and Eustratios address their opponents as sleepers. Jerome, playing on the name Vigilantius, calls his opponent Dormitantius.[196] Addressing Vigilantius personally, he declares, "As for you, when wide awake you are asleep, and asleep when you write."[197] Eustratios also charges that those who deny that the souls of saints are active after death are asleep, stating, "we leave them to sleep by themselves, rejecting such nonsense of theirs, [and] with the cooperation of the Holy Spirit, we shall go

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[193] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 262-263.

[194] Jerome, *Adversus Vigilantium*, 5.1-7, Quis enim, o insanum caput, aliquando martyres adoravit? Quis hominem putavit deum? Nonne Paulus et Barnabas cum a Lycaonibus Iuppiter et Mercurius putarentur et eis vellant hostias immolare sciderunt vestimenta sua esses dixerunt, no quo meliores non essent olim mortuis himinibus Iove atque Mercurio, quod sub gentilitatis errore honor eis deo debitus deferretur?; Acts 14:11-15.

[195] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 1850-1856.

[196] Jerome, *Adversus Vigilantium*, 1.9. A Latin term for sleeper is dormitator.

[197] Ibid., 6.30-36, Recte hoc de Ecclesiate proponeres, si Paulum in spiritu mortuum confiterer. Denique sancti non appellantur mortui, sed dormientes. Unde et Lazarus, resurrecturus erat, domisse perhibetur. Et Apostolus vetat Thessalonicenses de dormientibus contristari. Tu vigilans dormis et dormiens scribis, ... cf. 1 Thes 4:12.

forward in our inquiry, establishing the witness of the divine Scriptures as a foundation and support of the argument."[198] With the similarity of theme, the activity of the saints beyond the grave and their miracle-working relics, the citation of identical scriptural passages, and even down to the detail of calling the opponents sleepers, one speculates whether Eustratios knew of Jerome's *Adversus Vigilantium*, or a work derived from it, in his composition of *De statu animarum*. Jerome wrote three saints lives that have survived in Greek versions: the *Vita Sancti Pauli*,[199] the *Vita Sancti Halarionis*,[200] and the *Vita Sancti Malchi*.[201] Therefore, a possibility exists that Eustratios may have known a version of Jerome's work concerning Vigilantius; however, this is unproven. Nevertheless, the topics Eustratios and Gregory raise are here summarized point by point:

1. The claims made by their opponents that the souls of the saints cannot hear the prayers of those approaching them

   Adversus Vigilantium, 6.14-18; *De statu animarum*, 50-55.

2. God gives saints the power to move with speed while in the body, but they work even more effectively after death, not restricted by time and space:

   Adversus Vigilantium, 6.11-14,18-21; *De statu animarum*, 1224-1230; 1041-1043.

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[198] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 131-135.

[199] Katherine Tubbs Corey, "The Greek Versions of Jerome's *Vita Sancti Pauli*," in *Studies in the Text Tradition of St. Jerome's Vitae Patrum*, ed. William Abbott Oldfather (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1943), 143-250.

[200] Ruth French Strout, "The Greek Versions of the *Vita Sancti Hilarionis*," in *Studies in the Text Tradition of St. Jerome's Vitae Patrum,* ed. William Abbott Oldfather (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1943), 306-448.

[201] Harriet Clara Jameson, "The Greek Version of Jerome's *Vita Sancti Malchi*," in *Studies in the Text Tradition of St. Jerome's Vitae Patrum*, ed. William Abbott Oldfather (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1943), 512-533.

3. Moses is an intercessor of his people before God:

   Adversus Vigilantium, 6.21-22; *De statu animarum*, 390-392; 394-395.

4. Relics of the saints have wonder-working powers granted by God and are feared demons:

   Adversus Vigilantium, 6.21-22; *De statu animarum*, 369-381; 1423-1446.

5. Jerome and Eustratios both state that the souls of the departed saints are active, since God "is not God of the dead, but the living" (Mt 22:32; Ex 3:6, 15).

   Adversus Vigilantium, 5.32-37; *De statu animarum*, 259.

6. Both Jerome and Eustratios quote Acts14:11-15 to distinguish God and the servants he sends, since his servants are not gods.

   Adversus Vigilantium, 5.1-7; Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 1850-1856.

7. Jerome and Eustratios derisively call their opponents sleepers:

   Adversus Vigilantium, 1.9, 6.30-36; *De statu animarum*, 131-135.

Nevertheless, the circumstances under which the two men wrote their works were different. Eustratios opposed those who advocated a form of the sleep of the soul. David Hunter locates the arguments against saintly activity after death of Vigilantius in the context of late fourth-century Gallic church politics, suggesting that he was a theological conservative, remaining firm in the traditions of his regional church, which did not fully accept asceticism and the cult of the martyrs until the late fifth century.[202]

[202] Hunter, 402-430.

In spite of the striking and numerous convergences of themes and scriptural passages, Eustratios more thoroughly analyzed texts from the Hebrew and Scriptures concerning the afterlife activities of the saints than Jerome.[203] Offering numerous examples as evidence for the authentic appearances of saints, Eustratios culminates his presentation of scriptural proof texts with the Transfiguration (Mt 17:1-4), arguing against his opponents:

> Did Moses and Elijah truly appear on the mountain or not? If truly, and as truly in fact, the arguments of the disputers are done away with– for behold, after death Moses appeared –; but if as an illusion, then the other things will necessarily conform to the illusion, that is to say, the ascent of the three disciples on the mountain,[204] the conversation of Peter with Jesus,[205] the conversation of the prophets with the Lord,[206] and the voice of the Father borne from above. Let us learn where the blasphemy will lead to. And so that we may not fall into this blasphemy, we must believe that after the release from their bodies, all souls are comprehensively and appropriately active, since they all live, but those of the saints also in this world, by the will of God, arrive as Moses was also seen on the mountain.[207]

Eustratios later delivers an angry rhetorical blast against those who argued that saints do not appear in visions in their enhypostatic realities:

> If the power of God, according to your argument, performs the activities and healings, represented by only the forms of his holy martyrs and other holy people and servants, let this also be considered and said by you about the angels as well. For the souls of saints are in an equal position with the bodiless powers at the

[203] Jerome was so furious with the pamphlet of Vigilantius that he claimed to have written his polemic in one night. See *Adversus Vigilantium,* 3.15-16.

[204] Mt 17:1.

[205] Mt 17:4.

[206] Mt 17:3.

[207] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 521-534.

> departure from life, even if the holy archangels precede them in glory and superiority, as the fathers taught.[208] Because if these things are not so, the manifestations of the saints, according to what you say, occur falsely, just as others in theaters put on the faces of others, and so in acting they perform the make-believe games of childhood. ... For all that is not true is entirely false; and the false is from the devil. What, then, is a consequence of this? The Lord "will destroy all who tell lies."[209] And so it is neither a lie, lest it be perdition, nor a fantasy, but is truly a vision. Therefore, instead, the manifestation of the saints is authentic and healings occur; for they are not mirth-making and deceiving as upon a stage or have need of actors; instead they come from truth.[210]

The implication is that if the souls of the saints are not hypostatically real, they are like theatrical illusions, and the God who sends them is a conjurer and a liar like the devil.

Even if the saints appear in their enhypostatic realities, to what end do they make themselves known? Leontios of Jerusalem crowns his analysis of the hypostasis of Christ with the following:

> But we quite simply and openly proclaim to you this that is easily understood: the divine nature did not submit to being united with us through some good pleasure that was extended to us; it would never occur to those who are pious to say or think this! But the incarnation of the divine nature occurred simply because of his exceeding goodness to us, so that just as the wealth of deification [ἐκθεώσεως] happened first, directly, and immediately to the particular nature of the Lord's human nature as to the head of the human nature, the first born of many brethren and the head of the body which is the church, through his intimate union with God and through the hypostatic union of the [divine nature] with the [humanity of the Lord]; so also the [benefits] of his super-excellent power penetrated derivatively to the rest of human nature and to the other brethren of Abraham's seed by means of their mediation and participation in their natural union with the humanity of the Lord that was taken from our nature and who visited first. So there is one mediator of God and men, the man Christ Jesus our Lord[211] who mediates for us because he is of the same dough [τὸ φύραμα], though he is chief, and because the

[208] Cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* VI, XVI, 143.1.

[209] Ps 5:7 (5:6).

[210] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 1659-1681.

[211] 1 Tim 2:5.

> only-begotten is our brother, though He is the first born, and because He is of the same body, though He is the head.[212]

Leontios picks up the idea from Gregory of Nyssa quoted above that Christ is the mediator between God and humanity because He is of the same dough, uniting humanity to God.[213] Because Jesus is the one true mediator between God and humanity, the human nature of Christ is subject to deification, since he shares our human nature, and this process of theosis or deification is able to be shared by all humanity.[214]

Eustratios uses similar language throughout *De statu animarum*. Because of divine grace [χάρις],[215] God gives benefits [εὐεργεσίαι][216] to humanity through his cooperation [συνέργεια][217] to restore it to its pristine health, so that humankind might live in the image of God.[218] In *De statu animarum*, the graces and benefits of God are given for the salvation of humanity[219] in the context of the activities of the souls of saints in cooperation with the divine, apart from which the saints can do nothing,[220] with the

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[212] Leontios of Jerusalem, *Adv. Nest. 1.18* (translated by Kenneth Wesche, in "The Defense of Chalcedon in the Sixth Century,"modified by the present writer), 245.

[213] Gregory of Nyssa, *Refutatio confessionis Eunomii*, ed. W. Jaeger in *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, vols. 1 & 2 (Leiden: Brill, 1960); 142.19-144.1; English tr. William A. Moore and Henry Austin Wilson in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, ed. Henry Wace, v.5, Second Series (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1995), 122.

[214] Wesche, "The Defense of Chalcedon in the Sixth Century: The Doctrine of Hypostasis and Deification in Christology of Leontius of Jerusalem," 245-247.

[215] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 639, 1007, 1684.

[216] Ibid., 1043, 2090, 2477.

[217] Ibid., 1006, 1248; 1445, 1626.

[218] Ibid., 2625; cf. Gen 1:26.

[219] Ibid., 442-445.

[220] Ibid., 1004-1008

implication that salvation comes from God alone. Indeed, this parallels the thought of Cyril of Alexandria. "[The] grace [of Christ], was conspicuous in others [the apostles] continually preserving those who made their own free will, as it were, a fellow worker with it. For in this manner, the way of salvation of each of us is administered."[221]

Eustratios differs from most of his contemporary hagiographers who depicted the saints as independent agents who interacted with God. Instead, according to Dirk Krausmüller, Eustratios stresses the saint's obedience in carrying out the divine will, acting little more than God's instrument.[222] However, as set forth by Eustratios, the saints are not mere ciphers lacking free will but freely and out of choice desire to cooperate in the beneficent work of God. For Eustratios, the caring ministry of the soul of a saint, both in this life and the hereafter, is a continuous desire for beneficial activity according to the guidance of God. The well-spring for this desire is not the desire for the fleeting materialism of the world but a greater spiritual concern; Eustratios clearly states this at the beginning of *De statu animarum*:

> But while those who [engage in beekeeping], as a means of living a transitory life, having taken the wages of the sweet trade, for a brief time fill themselves with pleasure; but we, - longing to have a full fill of a food of thoughts sought after by many, and yet to nourish not the stomach of the body which is always taking and again emptying, but a soul longing to eat of the same food, which never is wont to crowd receiving storehouses or knows to fill, in as much as it desires, it strains after much more; as Ecclesiastes says, that "the eye will be not satisfied with

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[221] Cyril of Alexandria, *In Joannem*, 17:12-13, ed. P.E. Pusey, *Sancti patris nostri Cyrilli archiepiscopi Alexandrini in D. Joannis evangelium*, 3 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1872 (repr. 1965): 1:1-728; 2:1-737; 3:1-171. English tr. P.E. Pusey and Thomas Randell, *Commentary on the Gospel According to S. John by S. Cyril*, 2 vols. Oxford: James Parker, 1874), v.2, 704.

[222] Dirk Krausmüller, "God or Angels as Impersonators of Saints: A Belief and its Contexts in the "Refutation" of Eustratius of Constantinople and in the Writings of Anastasius of Sinai," *Gouden Hoorn*, 6 (1998/1999): 5-16.

> seeing, nor the ear will be filled with hearing;"[223] –we must converse to the best of our ability according to what is comprehensible to us concerning the matters under consideration.[224]

Eustratios echoes the concerns of Gregory of Nyssa and the desires of the soul as the receptacle of divine food: instead of the profession of beekeeper, Gregory focuses on the paradigm of the work the Hebrews did when enslaved in Egypt, where the analogy of the brick makers who keep pouring clay into a mould, only to empty it out again, symbolizing the unending pursuit of pleasure but never finding satisfaction, which parallels Eustratios' view of the beekeeper's work:

> Those who yearn after the pleasures of clay and keep on filling themselves with them never keep the space which receives them full; for although it always being filled, it becomes empty again before the next pouring. In the same way, the brick maker keeps on throwing on yet more clay into the mold while it is constantly being emptied. I think that anyone can easily perceive the meaning of this figure by looking at the appetitive part of the soul. For if he who fills his desire in one of the things which he pursues should then incline his desire to something else, he finds the space empty again. And we never stop doing this until we depart from this material life.[225]

Again, for Eustratios, the most beneficial activity of the saint is accomplished after she or he has departed this world. Indeed, Eustratios agrees with Gregory and quotes the earlier church father on this point: "It is completely necessary for our life to be somewhere;

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[223] Eccl 1:8.

[224] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 79-90.

[225] Gregory of Nyssa, *De vita Mosis*, 60-61, ed. J. Daniélou, *Grégoire de Nysse. La vie de Moïse*, 3rd ed. [*Sources chrétiennes* 1 ter. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1968]: 44-326; English tr. Abraham J. Malherbe and Everett Ferguson in *The Life of Moses* (New York: Paulist Press, 1978), 68. Perhaps Eustratios was familiar with this passage and adapted it with images drawn from beekeeping. Certainly the themes of the filling and emptying of material goods and the search for more spiritual values are strikingly similar.

unless we were pursued away from the earth, we shall completely dwell on earth; if we have gone away from here, we shall change our abode to heaven"[226]

For Eustratios and Gregory, these passages provide an explanation concerning the soul's freedom of will and its desire to be filled with and retain virtue. This activity of filling the receptacle with good things and rejecting the bad is made with free choice.[227] Indeed, all rational beings, whether angels or souls, have the capacity to choose a life of good or evil. Eustratios quotes his master Eutychios on this topic: '"[I]t [the soul] is neither grasped, tinged or formed by bodily characteristics,'[228] nor revealed by corporeal sight, it has the condition of angels, and it itself is bodiless and simple, it is rational and intelligent, and bodiless it has circumscription."[229] Freedom of choice can also lead to a life of evil; as an example of choosing bad over good, Eustratios, quoting Dionysios the

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[226] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 2065-2067; Gregory of Nyssa, *Orationes viii de beatitudinibus*, PG 44:1300.45-51.

[227] Harrison, *Grace and Freedom*, 189.

[228] Ibid., 35:20-21.

[229] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 1052-1056. Classical philosophy held that the human soul, or a part of it, was rational. For Plato, the soul was divided into the rational (intellect), the spirited, and the appetitive, *Phaedrus*, 246a - 254e. Aristotle argued that among all living beings, only humans had a rational soul, *De anima*, 3.1-13. From the middle of the second century on, Christians who had had contact with classical culture began addressing the concept of the rational soul with respect to Christian teachings. Gregory of Nyssa, who deeply influenced Eustratios, has his sister Makrina argue that the soul "is an essence which has a beginning; it is a living and intellectual essence, which by itself gives to the organic and sensory body the power of life and reception of sense-impressions." *De anima et resurrectione* PG 46:29, English tr. Catharine P. Roth in *On the Soul and the Resurrection* (Crestwood: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1993), 37-38. These elements of the soul are present in Eustratios' *De statu animarum*, 1039-1043, 1052-1058. For an overview of the rational soul and Christianity, see A. H. Armstrong and R. A. Markus, *Christian Faith and Greek Philosophy* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1960), 97-115. Indeed, the Council of Chalcedon proclaimed that the rational human soul is possessed by Christ Himself, who is "truly God and truly man, of a rational soul and body, consubstantial with the Father in respect of the Godhead, and the same consubstantial with us in respect of the manhood," *Concilium universale Chalcedonense anno 451*, 2.1.2.129:3-130:3; English translation in *Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*, v.2:204.

Areopagite, states: "For 'the demonic tribe is not evil by nature,'[230] but by free choice."[231]

For Eustratios, virtue is a way of life for the soul of the saint: "The way of life of the honey bee, being unforced and virtuous work, suggests the conduct of men living a good life sublimely; for those pursuing virtue do so not thievishly or greedily... ."[232] Through free choice and their virtuous activity, the saints, here or departed, become imitators of Christ according their capacity.[233] Therefore, in their pursuit of virtues, the model the saints follow is a Christology of imitation and in their activities they are "God's fellow workers"[234] in his ministry. Indeed, "[t]he union and cooperation of human and divine energies in the activities of the saints is developed on several levels and forms the central argument of Eustratios' apology."[235] It is argued here that this divine-human cooperation set forth by Eustratios is achieved in the context of theosis.

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[230] Dionysios the Areopagite, *De divinis nominibus*, 4.23, ed. Beate Maria Suchla, *Corpus Dionysiacum I: Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita.* [*Patristische Texte und Studien* 33. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1990]: 107-231.

[231] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 1714-1715.

[232] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 30-33. The pursuit of the virtuous life with goodness as its goal had long been a foundation of Greek philosophy. Aristotle expressed it this way: "Now if the function of man is an activity of the soul in accordance with, or not without, rational principle,...we state that the function of man to be a certain kind of life, and this to be and activity or actions of the soul implying a rational principle, and the function of a good man to be the good and noble performance of these, and if any action is well performed in accordance with the appropriate excellence"[232] *Ethica Nicomachea*, 1098a,7-15, tr. W. D. Ross in *The Complete Works of Aristotle*, v.1, ed. Jonathan Barnes (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984). For the influence of Greek philosophy on the Cappadocian Fathers, see Jaroslav Pelikan, *Christianity and Classical Culture: The Metamorphosis of Natural Theology in the Christian Encounter with Hellenism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).

[233] Harrison, *Grace and Freedom*, 194.

[234] 1 Cor 3:9.

[235] Constas, 275.

Theosis, or deification, is concerned with salvation of the soul, although this does not mean that the soul changes its human essence for a divine nature.[236] Deification of humans certainly had a long history in the Greco-Roman world; mortal heroes like Hercules were deified and given reverence, as were Roman emperors. Plato argued that for the philosopher, the goal was "to become like God as much as it is possible for a human being."[237]

Early Christian scriptural justification for the teaching of theosis is found chiefly in three texts:

1. "Jesus answered them, 'Is it not written in your law, 'I said, 'You are Gods'"? (Ps 81:6 LXX), John 10:34.

2. "But as many as received him, to them He gave the right to become the Children of God, to those who believe in his name," John 1:12.

3. "As His divine power has given to us all things that pertain to life and godliness, through the knowledge of Him who called us by Glory and virtue, by which have been given to us exceedingly great and precious promises, that through these you may be

[236] Pietro B. T. Bilaniuk, "The Mystery of Theosis or Divinization," *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 195 (1973): 337-359; D. B. Clendenin, "Partakers of Divinity: The Orthodox Doctrine of Theosis," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 37 (1994): 365-379; Jules Gross, *La divinisation du chrétien d'après les Pères grecs: contribution historique à la doctrine de la grâce* (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1938); Myrrha Lot-Borodine, *La Déification de l'homme, selon la doctrine des Pères grecs* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1970); Marie-Joseph Congar, "La Déification dans la tradition spirituelle de l'Orient," *La Vie Spirituelle*, supp. 43 (1935): 91-107; Norman Russell, *The Doctrine of Deification in the Greek Patristic Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

[237] Plato, *Theaetetus*, 176b.

partakers of the divine nature, having escaped the corruption that is in the world through lust," 2 Peter 1:3-4.

The scattered beginnings of the teaching of theosis[238] are found in the first two centuries of Christian history in the works of Justin Martyr,[239] Irenaeus of Lyons,[240] and Clement of Alexandria.[241] These writers in their exegeses on Ps 81:6 LXX, in its proclamation of divine sonship, adapted earlier Jewish traditions that interpreted the psalm as a summary of salvation history from the fall of Adam to his restoration of lost

[238] Properly speaking, the term "theosis" is not attested until used by Gregory Nazianzos in his *Oration* 25.16, PG 35:1221B.

[239] Justin Martyr, *Dialogus cum Tryphone*, 124, ed. E. J. Goodspeed in *Die ältesten Apologeten* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1915); English ed. and tr. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson in *Ante-Nicene Fathers* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1989; reprint): 1.262, "Let the interpretation of the Psalm be held just as you wish, yet thereby it is demonstrated that all men are deemed worthy of becoming "gods," and of having power to become sons of the Highest; and shall be each by himself judged and condemned like Adam and Eve. Now I have proved at length that Christ is called God."

[240] Irenaeus of Lyons, *Adversus haereses*, 3.19.1, ed. L. Doutreleau and A. Rousseau, *Irénée de Lyon. Contre les hérésies, livre 3*, vol. 2 [*Sources chrétiennes* 211]. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1974; English ed. and tr. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson in *Ante-Nicene Fathers* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1989; reprint): 1.448: "For it was for this end that the Word of God was made man, and He who was the Son of God became the Son of man, that man, having been taken into the Word, and receiving the adoption, might become the son of God." Athanasios later adapted this in his more famous statement that God became man in order that man might become god. The teaching is traces its origin to the scriptural passage from Paul's second letter to the Corinthians, which describes an exchange of properties: "For you know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that for your sake he became poor, though being rich, so that by his poverty you may become rich (2 Cor 8:9)." See Russell, *The Doctrine of Deification in the Greek Fathers*, 108.

[241]Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogus*, 1.26.1, ed. M. Harl, H.-I. Marrou, C. Matray, and C. Mondésert in *Clément d'Alexandrie. Le pédagogue*, 3 vols. [*Sources chrétiennes* 70, 108, 158]. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1:1960; 2:1965; 3:1970; English tr. by Simon P. Wood in Christ the Educator (New York: Fathers of the Church, 1954), 26: "This is what happens with us, whose model is the Lord made Himself. When we are baptized, we are enlightened; being enlightened, we become adopted sons (Cf. Gal 4:5); becoming adopted sons, we are made perfect; and becoming perfect we are made divine. 'I have said,' it is written, 'you are gods and all of you are sons of God the most high (Ps 81.6).'"

immortality.[242] Elements of these traditions are found in 11QMelchizedek and Second Temple and Rabbinic texts.[243] This is contrary to the thesis of Adolf von Harnack, who claimed that the idea of theosis was a Greek import.[244]

The teaching of theosis did not emerge fully-blown or uniform, but was elaborated in the course of the early centuries in Christianity in the writings and experiences of early Christian writers and people. In his defense of the incarnation of the preexistent Logos championed at the Council of Nicaea, Athanasios made his famous statement that God "became man that we might become God."[245] The teaching was taken up by the Cappadocians. Gregory of Nazianzos introduced the word theosis into Christian theological vocabulary, and in a statement combining Christology and theosis, argued that "Man and God blended; they became a single whole, the stronger side predominating, in order that I might be made God to the same extent that he was made man."[246] Basil of Caesarea argued that theosis is fixed in the saving work of God, who is

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[242] Carl Mosser, "Earliest Patristic Interpretation of Psalm 82, Jewish Antecedents, and the Origin of Christian Deification, *Journal of Theological Studies*," NS, 56 (2005): 30-74. Mosser argues that the interpretation of Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, and Clement concerning Ps 82:6 stands in line with Second Temple Jewish interpretative traditions.

[243] Mosser, 65-74.

[244] Adolf von Harnack, *What is Christianity?*, tr. Thomas Bailey Saunders (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986), 232-233. See also Wilhelm Bousset, *Kyrios Christos: A History of the Belief in Christ from the Beginnings of Christianity to Irenaeus*, tr. John E. Steely (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1970).

[245] Athanasios of Alexandria, *De Incarnatione Verbi*, 54.3. It must be stressed that θεός, as used in the context of theosis byAthanasios and other early Christian writers, does not mean that a human becomes God, but that a human, whose nature is mortal, is made immortal through salvation in Jesus Christ. See Mosser, "Earliest Patristic Interpretation of Psalm 82, Jewish Antecedents, and the Origin of Christian Deification, *Journal of Theological Studies*," 38-39 note 22.

[246] See for example Gregory of Nazianzos, *Or.*29.19, tr. Lionel Wickham and Frederick Williams in *Faith Gives Fullness to Reasoning: The Five Theological Orations of Gregory Nazianzen*, ed. Frederick W. Norris (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1991), 257.

the Holy Spirit.[247] Adopting the definitions of the Cappadocians, Cyril of Alexandria, rooting his Christology in the incarnation of the Logos, applied the teaching of theosis to the sacrament of the Eucharist, with the believer deified by participation:[248]

> We perform in the churches an unbloody worship, and in this way approach mystical blessings that are sanctified, becoming participants in the holy flesh and the precious blood of Christ the Saviour of us all….As God he is by nature life and since he became one with his own flesh he revealed it as life-giving. So even if he should say to us: 'Amen, Amen, I say to you, If you do not eat of the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood' (Jn 6:53), we must not consider this as if it were flesh of any man like us…but rather that it has truly become the personal flesh of him who for our own sake became, and was called, the Son of Man.[249]

In the early sixth century, the mystical theologian Dionysios the Areopagite, stated, "Theosis consists of being as much as possible like and in union with God."[250]

While all these references elucidate what theosis is, there is a conundrum in Eustratios' text, since he does not mention the word theosis in *De statu animarum*. One reason to account for this absence is that from the mid-fifth to seventh centuries, apart from Dionysios the Areopagite and Leontios of Jerusalem, there is no mention of theosis in contemporary theological writings. Perhaps this was due to the Trinitarian and Christological controversies of the period.[251] Since Nestorios ridiculed the concept of deification, calling it an apotheosis that swallowed up the human soul of Christ, Cyril of Alexandria avoided the term theosis and used a text largely ignored by earlier church

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[247] Basil of Caesarea, *De Spiritu Sancto*, 9.22-23.

[248] McGuckin, *Saint Cyril of Alexandria and the Christological Controversy*, 175-189.

[249] Cyril of Alexandria, *Ep*. 17, PG 77:105-122. English tr. as "Third Letter to Nestorius," in *Saint Cyril of Alexandria* by John McCuckin, 270-271.

[250] Dionysios the Areopagite, *De ecclesiastica hierarchia*, 1.3, tr. Colm Lubheid in *Pseudo-Dionysius: The Complete Works*, ed. Paul Rorem (Mahwah: Paulist Press, 1987), 198.

[251] Norman Russell, *The Doctrine of Deification in the Greek Patristic Tradition* , 237.

writers on deification, 2 Peter 1.4, which stressed that humans could be "partakers of the divine nature:"[252]

> How "are we the offspring of God,"[253] and in what way "partakers of the Divine Nature?"[254] For not in the mere will of Christ to receive us into an intimate relationship have we our full measure of boasting, but the power of the thing itself is realised as true by all of us. For the Word of God is a divine nature even when in the flesh, and we are his kindred, notwithstanding that he is by nature God, because of his taking the same flesh as ours. Therefore the manner of the intimate relationship is similar. For as he is closely related to the father, and through the sameness of their nature the father is closely related to him; so also are we to him and he to us, in so far as he was made man. And through him as through a mediator[255] are we joined with the father. For Christ is a sort of frontier uniting the Supreme Godhead with humanity, being both in the same person, and as it were combining in himself these natures which are so different: and on the one hand, as he is by nature God, he is joined with God the father; whereas on the other hand, as he is in truth a man, he is joined with humanity.[256]

By specifically employing this text on how Christians may possess the divine life, Cyril links deification for the first time with the Trinity. When one participates in the divine life through the Spirit in the Son, one has relationship by grace, as a fellow worker with Christ, with the Father.[257]

Nevertheless, theosis, as the unwritten word in *De statu animarum*, very much informs Eustratios' theological anthropology of the souls of the saints. He describes saints as "divine" or "Godlike." Eustratios, in the *Vita Eutychii*, calls the departed

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[252] Ibid., *Fellow Workers with God: Orthodox Thinking on Theosis* (Crestwood: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2009), 66-67.

[253] Acts 17:29.

[254] 2 Pet 1:4.

[255] Cf. 1 Tim 2:5.

[256] Cyril of Alexandria, *In Jo.* 10.14-15.

[257] Cyril of Alexandria, *In Jo*. 12:1; 17:12-13; Norman Russell, *Fellow Workers with God*, 17.

Eutychios "the divine man" (ὁ θεῖος ἀνήρ).[258] Eustratios also describes Eutychios as "the holy man" (ὁ ἅγιος ἀνήρ),[259] whose image a grateful mosaicist sets up as a locus for reverence after the Eutychios heals the artist.[260] Thus, in the person of Eutychios, Eustratios equates the "Godlike, divine" and the "holy."

Eustratios also quotes the writings of authors who were proponents of theosis in their texts and who depict the exchange of a life lived in holiness on earth for an eternal divine one. Eustratios cites Dionysios the Areopagite, who, writing on the Eucharist, describes the souls of the departed saints as "Godlike," θεοειδής:

> The proclamation of the holy books, after the peace, extols those who have lived piously, those who have unalterably attained a perfection of virtuous life, urging and guiding us on the one hand, through their similarity, toward a blessed state and a Godlike limit, and proclaiming them, on the other hand, as living, and as the divine teaching says, not as those who have died but who have passed into a most divine life from death.[261] Consider also that they have been set apart in the holy commemorations of the divine memory, shown not in a human way, in the illusion of a commemoration, but as someone might say, in a way worthy of God, according to the precious and unalterable knowledge in God of those who have been perfected Godlike. For 'he knows,' say the words [from Scripture], 'those who are his'[262] and 'Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints,'[263] since the death [of these saints][264] [is] for the sake of a said perfection in holiness. And keep this piously in mind, as the revered eucharistic elements are placed on the divine altar, through which Christ is signified and partaken, the [reading][265] of

[258] Eustratios, *Vita Eutychii*, 20.

[259] Ibid., 1488.

[260] Ibid., 1465-1491.

[261] Cf. Jn 5:24 and 11:25; 1 Cor 15:52; 1 Jn 3:14.

[262] 2 Tim 2:19.

[263] Ps 115:6 (116:15).

[264] Eustratios inserts τούτων.

[265] Eustratios inserts γραφή.

> the saints is indivisibly present, manifesting the joining together indivisibly of their transcendent and holy union with Him."[266]

This quote from Dionysios parallels two themes that run through the *De statu animarum*. First, the souls of the saints are living and active, in this case joining together with Christ in a "transcendent and holy union." Second, the commemoration of the saints in the liturgy is described not an illusion, but as one entirely authentic, since "they have been perfected Godlike." Similarly, Eustratios describes the afterlife appearances of the saints not as illusions, but as real, those who in their "enhypostasized realities" have "reached a Godlike limit" and live a "most divine life" instead of death.

Eustratios, discussing how prayers for the souls of the dead aid the forgiveness of sins, again cites Dionysios, who states that the departed saints in heaven live a "divine life:"

> For this is also has been ordained from the divine judgments, the divine gifts are to be given to the worthy to have a share in them, in an order most worthy of God, through those who are worthy to impart them."[267] And a little later, "The hierarch is, as the inspired utterances say, a manifestation of the divine ordinances,[268] for 'he is a messenger of the Lord God Almighty.'[269] And so he has learned from the inspired sayings handed down by God, that for those living in a holy way, the brightest and divine life is given in return, according to the worth, by the most just balances, since the divine love for humanity, overlooking on account of goodness, the stains [having come] to them from human weakness, if indeed as the inspired utterance says, 'No one can make a thing clean out of an unclean.'[270] The hierarch, then, knows these things were proclaimed by true

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[266] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 2449-2462; Dionysios the Areopagite, *De ecclesiastica hierarchia*, 3.9.

[267] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 2499-2501; Dionysios the Areopagite, *De ecclesiastica hierarchia*, 7.6.

[268] Cf. Sir 39:8.

[269] Mal 2:7.

[270] Job 14:4.

> inspired sayings, and he asks these things to happen, and the holy exhanges be granted to those who are living a holy way."[271]

For Dionysios, the prayers said for the dead makes possible the blessings of a divine life on account of the benevolence of the humanity-loving deity. In exchange for a life lived in holiness, God gives in return the divine life. This reiterates the exchange formula of theosis made popular by Athanasios. To live the gift of a divine life by those who "have reached a Godlike limit" and "have been perfected Godlike" is an explicit reference to the teaching of theosis. It imbues Eustratios' arguments for the activity of the soul after death, as well as the writers whom Eustratios cites.

Cyril of Alexandria also believed in the efficacy of prayers said for the dead. Because of God's benevolence, those who receive these prayers lead a life in the image of God and participate in Christ. Eustratios cites this passage from Cyril.

> For even if the souls of those who have died have come outside of bodies from earth, but they are still reckoned in life with God; who is refusing to say [this]?" And a little later, "Therefore, from good and wise thoughts, anyone may perceive those who have sinned and who wish to deprive those who have already fallen asleep of the mystical and most clement rite of sacrifice from above [heaven].[272] For as I was saying, they are living not as yet as those who intend to live as an image of God and be joined with Christ himself.[273]

To live as an image of God and to be joined with Christ himself is to live in the divine, since for Cyril, Christ is the incarnation of the Divine Logos.

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[271] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 2499-2513; Dionysios the Areopagite, *De ecclesiastica hierarchia*, 7.7.

[272] For divine gifts sent from above, see James 1:17.

[273] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 2499-2513, Cyril of Alexandria, *Adversus eos qui negant offerendum esse pro defunctis*, 543.9-13.

The theology of Cyril of Alexandria, based on the elevation and metamorphosis of human nature, is grounded in his single-subject Christology, the incarnation of the Logos by the Holy Spirit. The incarnate Word is the subject of all the activities of Jesus Christ. Christ the incarnate Logos and son is also the cause of the redemption of humanity. Cyril took up the exchange formula developed by Athanasios, namely that God became a human so that humanity may become what He is.[274]

> Do you hear how the Only-begotten Word of God became like us, that we too might become like him so far as is possible for a human nature and to the extent that may be ascribed to the renewal through grace? For he humbled himself that he might raise up that which is humble in nature to his own stature, and he put on a form of a servant although he was by nature Lord and Son, that he might transfer that which was servile by nature to the glory of adopted sonship, according to his own likeness[275] and with regard to him. Therefore, he became like us, that is, a human being, that we might become like him, I mean gods and sons. On the other hand, he accepts what belongs to us, taking it himself as his own, and on the other he gives us in exchange what belongs to him.[276]

God became a human being in order that he may give the divine life to humanity through the incarnation of Christ. Cyril also offers Christ as a model of imitation for his believers:

> Christ accomplished all things for our edification, and for the benefit of those who believe in him; and by establishing his own conduct as kind of image of the spiritual way of life, he desired to render us true worshippers.[277]

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[274] Russell, *The Doctrine of Deification in the Greek Patristic Tradition*, 199.

[275] Cf. Gen 1:27.

[276] Cyril of Alexandria, *In Jo*. 12.1, tr. Norman Russell in *The Doctrine of Deification in the Greek Patristic Tradition*, 199.

[277] Cyril of Alexandria, *In Lucam*, ed. Joseph Reuss, Lukas-*Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1984), 54-278. English tr. R. Payne Smith, *A Commentary on the Gospel According to S. Luke by S. Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1859), 123.

For Cyril, imitation of Christ, engaging in activity as fellow workers with God, and participating in the sacraments to attain the divine life are central to his theology, above all in the integration of Christology with theosis. As Norman Russell notes, Cyril for the first time connects living the divine life with the Trinity; when we partake of the divine nature through a relationship achieved "with the Father through the Spirit in the Son."[278] Cyril, as cited by Eustratios above, believed that the God-given gift of the sacraments are for the benefit of humanity in order to live a divine life and to live in Christ himself. Indeed, a consequence for Gregory of Nyssa and Eustratios of not participating in one of the divine sacraments, baptism, means that the soul of the departed is set adrift, and not in communion with God.[279] By actively imitating Christ in his ministry and participating in Christian sacraments,[280] the follower of Jesus engages in a life of activity. While earlier writers, such as Gregory of Nyssa emphasized a model of imitation for the faithful to follow, Cyril also explicitly emphasizes participation in Christ through the sacraments, above all the Eucharist.[281] Thus, the Christological model of imitation also includes participation and activity as a paradigm for the souls of living and departed saints.

As an example of imitation, participation, and activity, Basil of Caesarea, his sermon on the Forty Martyrs of Sebesteia, comments on the afterlife of the souls of the forty saints martyred together. Restating the exchange formula of theosis, the following passage is quoted by Eustratios:

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[278] Russell, *Fellow Workers with God*, 27.

[279] Gregory of Nyssa, *De iis qui baptismum differunt***,** PG 46:424.23-31; Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 1472-1479.

[280] Cf. Rom 6:3-5; I Cor 10:16-17.

[281] Russell, *Fellow Workers with God*, 67.

> The chorus was ready, a great addition to those praising the Lord from time immemorial, not having been gathered together individually, but having been translated together. And a little later, the teacher, quoting the voice of the martyrs, adds more: "Let us wait a bit, and the bosom of the patriarch[282] will comfort us. Let us exchange one night for all of eternity, let the foot burn, that it may continually dance with angels; let the hand fall off, that it may be raised to liberty of approach [παρρησία] before the master."[283]

The Forty exchange their mortal life, lived piously unto death, for an immortal, divine, and celestial life. Dancing eternally with the angels in heaven, the souls of the forty martyrs have liberty of access to God, in order that they might make intercessions before Him. Παρρησία is one of the key terms in the teaching of theosis; it not only means "liberty of appoach," but also "intimacy with God."[284]

Again, Eustratios quotes Basil on the Forty Martyrs, who, because they participate in the divine life in heaven are able through their enhypostasized realities to perform saving activities on behalf of all Christians who pray to them for help, an unceasing benefit to humanity thanks ultimately to God who sends them:

> And the forty are all of same [group], and [yet] are all individual. The bountiful benefaction, the inexhaustible grace, ready help for Christians, a church of martyrs, an army of trophy-bearers, a chorus of those giving praise. How much would you toil in order to find one winning over the Lord on your behalf? They are the forty offering up a harmonious prayer.[285]

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[282] Abraham. Cf. Lk 16:22.

[283] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 1077-1085, Basil of Caesarea, *In quadraginta martyres Sebastenses*, PG 31:517A15.

[284] Russell, *The Doctrine of Deification in the Greek Patristic Tradition*, 83, 87, 179, 239.

[285] Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 1077-1085; Basil of Caesarea, *In quadraginta martyres Sebastenses*, PG 31:524A2c.

A strikingly similar passage by Basil also shares similar themes concerning the help of a loving God, his grace and benefits received for humankind, the eternal joy of the soul, citizenship in heaven, and participation with the angels in heavenly choir. What is made most explicit here is the gift of theosis:

> Shining upon those that are cleansed from every spot, he [God] makes them spiritual by fellowship with himself. Just as when a sunbeam falls on bright and transparent bodies, they themselves become brilliant too, and shed forth a brightness from themselves, so souls wherein the Spirit dwells, illuminated by the Spirit, themselves become spiritual, and send forth their grace to others. Here comes foreknowledge of the future, understanding of mysteries, apprehension of what is hidden, distribution of good gifts, the heavenly citizenship, a place in the chorus of angels, joy without end, abiding in God, the being made like to God, and, the highest of all, to become god [θεὸν γενέσθαι].[286]

The implication, of course, is that the Forty Martyrs and all the other souls of the saints have received the gift of the divine life. Indeed, the process of theosis is a process of sanctification.

In sum, drawing on the theological language of his sixth-century contemporaries, above all Leontios of Jerusalem, who advocated the two natures in one hypostasis Christological definition of Chalcedon, Eustratios in *De statu animarum*, written between 582-593, develops a foundation, the Christology of imitation, for the afterlife activities of the souls of saints in their enhypostatic realities and in their participation in Christ. His central argument, that the souls of departed saints are active in the afterlife, is based on the sources he considers authoritative and true: the Scriptures, early Christian writers, and the lives of the saints. Eustratios also makes use of the teaching of theosis, which is

[286] Basil of Caesarea, *De Spiritu Sancto*, 9.23, tr. Blomfield Jackson, in *Basil: Letters and Select Works*, ed. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace in Ante-Nicene Fathers (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishing, 1995), 16.

integrated with the Christologies of the authors whom he quotes. As evidenced from Eustratios' extensive use of quotations from earlier Christian writers, theosis, defined as imitation, participation, and activity, informs his defense of the afterlife activities of the souls of saints in *De statu animarum*, both in their desire to do good works on behalf of the deity and in their eternal joy through grace to be in union with God.

Translation[1] of *De statu animarum post mortem*

p. 3 Eustratios, presbyter of the most holy Great Church[2] of God in Constantinople

A refutation against those who say that the souls of humans are not active after the separation from their bodies; and that they draw to themselves no benefit through the prayers and sacrifices offered to God on their behalf. For truly they benefit and they are relieved, as you will discover, reading further along in this book.

Wise Solomon, the son of the prophet and king David, and who from [the Hebrew word][3] peace received his name,[4] wishing to awaken us, who are sleeping in sluggishness, to our best work, said: "How long will you lie, sluggard? When will you arise from your sleep?"[5] And again: "Go to the ant, sluggard; emulate its ways, and be wiser than it."[6] But if you are not satisfied with that, he says this: "Go to the honeybee and

[1] All translations are mine unless otherwise noted. The page numbers in the left margin refer to the page numbers of Peter van Deun's critical edition.

[2] The Hagia Sophia.

[3] Brackets are used in the text to help clarify the translation and to indicate where Eustratios inserts his own words in the texts of the authors he quotes.

[4] שְׁלֹמֹה. Cf. I Chr 22:9.

[5] Prov 6:9.

[6] Prov 6:6. Peter van Deun, in his edition of *De statu animarum* (Brepols: Leuven, 2006), following *Vaticanus gr*. 511 and *Vaticanus gr*. 675, uses the imperative ἴσθι, "be," instead of the imperative ἴθι,

learn how diligent it is, and how solemnly it is engaged in its work,[7] whose labors kings and private men use for health."[8] What, therefore, did the author of the Book of Proverbs[9] intend to convey when he uses these creatures as examples? It

p. 4 seems to me, not only because of those who are idle and live in sluggishness of the body did he admonish such things, but that the author, who wishes to represent each of the two extreme modes in the lives and lifestyles of humans, articulated such language, of which one, that of the ant, is the earthier [of creaturely life], dragging itself along on the ground, and carrying off the fruits from the earth produced from the labors of others, and again hiding them under the earth; such is the zeal of ants: and in plain sight before our eyes they cut up the stored objects they secreted away, and robbing in stealth, they also bury their unseen treasures, to which someone very reasonably might compare the foolish

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"go," as edited by Leo Allatius in his seventeenth-century edition (Rome, 1655). Surely, though, Allatius, who also used the above-mentioned manuscripts for his edition, made the better decision. In the standard edition of the Septuagint, edited by Alfred Rahlfs (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1979). Proverbs 6:6 reads: Ἴθι πρὸς τὸν μύρμηκα, ὦ ὀκνηρέ, καὶ ζήλωσον ἰδὼν τὰς ὁδοὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ γενοῦ ἐκείνου σοφώτερος·. Rahlfs observes in his critical apparatus on the text: "ιθι *A**B^{c}] ισθι B*SA^{c}: scripsitne interpres ισθι, non discernens εἶμι et εἰμί?" The standard Hebrew text of this verse reads: לֵךְ־אֶל־נְמָלָה עָצֵל רְאֵה דְרָכֶיהָ וַחֲכָם: ("Go to the ant, sluggard; consider its ways and be wise"), *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, edited by Rudolf Kittel, Karl Elliger, and Wilhelm Rudolf (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelstiftung, 1977). Further, Proverbs 6:8a-8b, begins with the injunction, ἢ πορεύθητι πρὸς τὴν μέλισσαν καὶ μάθε ὡς ἐργάτις ἐστὶν τήν τε ἐργασίαν ὡς σεμνὴν ποιεῖται. Both Ἴθι πρὸς τὸν μύρμηκα, ὦ ὀκνηρέ, καὶ ζήλωσον and πορεύθητι πρὸς τὴν μέλισσαν καὶ μάθε, linked by the conjunction ἤ, have a parallel instructional imperative to go to the ant and the honeybee; ἴσθι πρὸς τὸν μύρμηκα disrupts the parallelism.

[7] Aristotle also uses the same word, ἐργάτις, for the diligence of bees. See *Historia animalium*, 625b24. See also Johann Cook, *The Septuagint of Proverbs: Jewish and/or Hellenistic Proverbs? Concerning the Hellenistic Colouring of LXX Proverbs* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 154-166, and Gillis Gerleman, *Studies in the Septuagint* (Lund: Gleerup, 1946), 31, who asserts that the translator of Proverbs undoubtedly had access to Aristotle, since ἐργάτις occurs only this once in the Septuagint.

[8] Pr 6:8a-8b. These stichs are found in the Septuagint; the Masoretic Text has no equivalent. See Johann Cook, *The Septuagint of Proverbs*,154-168.

[9] Solomon.

and zealously performed hoarding of the most violent people. On the other hand, the way of life of the honey bee, being unforced and virtuous work, suggests the conduct of men living a good life sublimely; for those pursuing virtue do so not thievishly or greedily, they do not become lovers of labors belonging to others, but on the contrary, give more of a share of their dwellings to their neighbor,[10] and just as it [the bee], taking flight, and plucking the most beautiful of flowers, keeps safe their fruits inviolate and unharmed; what's more, not solely due to its own need does it complete such work, but to kings, private citizens, and all it simultaneously offers abundantly from its labor a sweet and most pleasurable enjoyment in regard to well-being.[11]

Moreover, let us consider, then, if perhaps it is something that assists another contemplation, that is to say, the indirect image[12] of the goal under consideration concerning these tiny insects. I think this is entirely so. For oftentimes in other ways we discover the divine Scripture through paradigms, parables, and indirect images conversing with us, and most especially our Lord and God in the Gospels speaking and

p. 5 teaching through parables not only to the multitudes,[13] but also to the holy apostles.[14] What then is the investigation, and why are such scriptural

[10] Cf. Plato, *Respublica*, 369c6.

[11] Cf. Gregory of Nyssa on Prov. 6:8a-8b: *In Canticum canticorum* (homiliae 15), PG 44:957D-960D.

[12] For this definition of αἴνιγμα, I follow the definition of the term found in *A Greek-English Lexion of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature,* 3rd ed., rev. and ed. Frederick William Danker (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 27.

[13] Cf. Mt 13.2-3.

quotations given in this preface? Certain people, because they occupy themselves with theoretical arguments,[15] and who wish to philosophize about human souls, and to make an argument about them [the human souls], confidently affirm by saying that after the departure from this life, and the departure of souls from bodies, whether holy or [otherwise] in some other way, they [the souls] remain inactive. And therefore even if the souls of saints appear to people, according to substance or independent existence,[16] [those hoping to philosophize] say that they don't [truly] appear; instead, it is a divine power assuming the form [of saints], and it depicts souls of saints being active; for they are in some place,[17] never having the power after the departure of the soul to show themselves in this life to people.

What shall we say to those who declare such things? What else, good people, other than let us also imitate the ant, and "let us become wiser than it" and not sleep eternally and be oppressed with [the] heaviness of sleep by imitating those

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[14] Cf. Lk 8:9-11.

[15] Cf. Plutarch, *Brutus*, 22.2.1; idem, *De Alexandri magni fortuna aut virtute*, 331.F.4; Gregory of Nyssa, *De oratione dominica orationes* v. 204.12.

[16] Cf. Proclus, *Theologia Platonica***,** 3.9.9, ed. H.D. Saffrey and L.G. Westerink, *Proclus. Théologie platonicienne*, vols. 1-6. Paris: Les Belles Lettres; John Philoponos, *In Aristotelis meteorologicorum librum primum commentarium***,** 14,1.108.7, ed. M. Hayduck, *Ioannis Philoponi in Aristotelis meteorologicorum librum primum commentarium* [*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*].

[17] Eustratios notes that this place was not specifically heaven or hell. One contemporary belief held that soul of the deceased sleeps awaiting the Final Judgment, so it is neither in heaven nor hell. For an account of the sleep of soul in early Christian belief, see Frank Gavin, "The Sleep of the Soul in the Early Syriac Church," *Journal of. the American Oriental Society* 40 (1920): 103–20; for other varieties of theological and philosophical speculation in late antiquity concerning the inactivity of the soul after death, see Nicholas Constas, "An Apology for the Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity: Eustratius Presbyter of Constantinople, *On the State of Souls after Death* (CPG 7522)," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 10 (2002): 278-281.

living in sloth; in the same way let us propose our souls. Therefore, since that tiny insect [the ant], "although not at hand for the cultivation of a field," nor "does it have anyone to force it, [the ant] prepares food for itself in the summer, and lays aside an abundance at harvest time," [18] it befits us all the more never to put matters off and have those who force [us], [since we] too have an abundance of citations laid aside, having found them

p. 6 in the divine Scriptures and in the teachings of the Fathers; do not hesitate to make an inquiry, according to your ability, concerning the question under consideration. Indeed the honey bee, "although weak in strength,"[19] goes about in the meadows, and carrying off the sweetest of flowers and using its feet instead of hands and, because it wisely builds beehives, sends them [the flowers] back for harvest to those who are expert with skills from practical experience;[20] they who skillfully make a removal and a liquefaction[21] of these, abundantly provide agriculture to those in need.[22] But while those who [engage in beekeeping], as a means of living a transitory life, having taken the wages of the sweet trade, for a brief time fill themselves with pleasure; but we, - longing to have a full fill of a food of thoughts sought after by many, and yet to nourish not the stomach of the body which is always taking and again emptying, but a soul longing to eat of the

[18] Pr 6:7-8. Cf. Pr 30:24-24.

[19] Pr 6:8c.

[20] The beekeepers.

[21] Honey.

[22] For accounts of beekeeping in the ancient world, see Eva Crane, *The Archaeology of Beekeeping* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983) and Hélène Chouliara-Raïos, *L'abeille et le miel en Egypte d'après les papyrus grecs* (Ioannina: Philosophikē Scholē Panepistēmiou Iōanninōn, 1989).

same food, which never is wont to crowd receiving storehouses or knows to fill, in as much as it desires, it strains after much more; as Ecclesiastes says, that "the eye will be not satisfied with seeing, nor the ear will be filled with hearing;"[23] – we must converse to the best of our ability according to what is comprehensible to us concerning the matters under consideration.

"We shall speak" now "not as much as" the present topic requires, "but as much"[24] as we are able to comprehend it: "Since naturally we wholly lack the ability to traverse the space between heaven and earth with our eyes,"[25] as the great Basil says somewhere, "and in as much as we are not able to perceive further, we reject."[26] Therefore, as has been said, let us turn our attention to a contemplation and consideration of the argumentation set before us concerning the insects; this example perhaps will be found bearing an image of the soul and body after their

p. 7 parting in death, neither being discordant with all things nor agreeing entirely. For examples are what in one respect we must accept, in another reject; and if someone wishes to compare all with all, there is no longer a example, but an identical condition is found. Therefore, it is reasonable to draw to the same example the idea under discussion, and to compare the ant with the

[23] Eccl 1:8.

[24] Basil of Caesarea, *De fide*, PG 31:464.

[25] Ibid., PG 31:465.

[26] Ibid., PG 31:465.

body and the honeybee with the soul.[27] Just as the former [the ant] dwells a little while upon the earth, most of the time it lives under the earth, and its habitations are somewhat like a tomb, in the same way too is our body, while it makes its living upon the earth, it continues in pain and hardship and excessive distraction; but when through death it becomes free from them and it is given over to the grave, it remains under the earth, until whenever the trumpet will sound,[28] just as the ant remains under the ground unshaken until the earth is heated through and thunder will sound greatly.[29] The species of the honeybee, always in some way in the air, even if it seems for a little while to be hidden, not completely or to all, but to some is partially unseen; and it does not indeed move under ground or in the darkest corners from one place to another, but in the brightest spots; with befitting beauty and diligence it keeps watch in repose. In wintertime when there is little partaking of heat from the sun, it emerges from its own resting place, and with a most sweet voice flies around, where ever it might stir, and once more settles in its own dwelling. Likewise souls too, as many as were mild and gentle, and cultivated sweetness in the present life, even though after these things they depart this life to some spiritual places,[30] but nevertheless by a command of God

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[27] For a comparison of the soul with the bee in Greek and Roman literature, see Porphyrios, *De antro nympharum*, 1, 3, 15-19, cf. Homer, *Odyssea*, 13.106; Sophocles, S. Radt, *Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta*, vol. 4. F879; Vergil, *Aeneis*, 6.706-708. See also Hilda Ransome, *The Sacred Bee in Ancient Times and Folklore* (London, George Allen & Unwin, 1937), 206; and Bernard C. Dietrich, *The Origins of Greek Religion* (Berlin, de Gruyter, 1974), 119-120.

[28] Cf. 1 Cor 15:52; Rev 8:2-6.

[29] Cf. Rev 8:5.

[30] The heavens. Scriptural Greek often puts heaven in the plural, e.g., Mt 6:9. In 2 Cor 12, Paul uses traditional Jewish terms to describe the realms of heaven. In 2 Cor 12:2, he mentions the third, or the highest heaven. In 2 Cor 12:4, he mentions Paradise, realm where the enthroned God is surrounded by angels. The souls of the wicked inhabit Hades.

they arrive and engage in activity into this life of ours, a life of contentions in the midst of a storm; and being sent, they help many people just like angels, I mean both in dreams and in waking visions. And this at the proper time we shall sufficiently prove.

p. 8 But now those not counseling correctly, and teaching there is no activity after the departure of souls from bodies, we leave them to sleep by themselves, rejecting such nonsense of theirs, [and] with the cooperation of the Holy Spirit, we shall go forward in our inquiry, laying down as a foundation[31] and support of the argument the witnesses of the divine Scriptures.

We shall begin first with the writing of Moses, even though he prophesized enigmatically and figuratively concerning these matters. God thus spoke in Genesis, conversing with Cain, "Where is Abel your brother?"[32] After he [Cain] said that he did not know,[33] the Lord says to him, "The voice of your brother's blood is crying to me from the ground,"[34] concerning which too the "second Moses," Paul, the divine apostle,[35] says, "By faith Abel offered to God a

[31] Cf. Heb 6:1.

[32] Gen 4:9.

[33] Gen 4:9.

[34] Gen 4:10.

[35] The other extant reference in late antiquity to Paul as a "second Moses" comes from the Catena on 1 Corinthians (Typus Vaticanus) (C 160), p. 99.6-7 in a fragment attributed to Severian of Gabala (died after 408).

more acceptable sacrifice than Cain, by which he received witness that he was righteous; he died, but through his faith he is still speaking."[36] Why else does he, [God], disparage the living brother of the one who died, unless he who died is living and existing cried out and conversed, and, as the divine apostle said, "is still speaking"? What shall we say to this? If his soul was not active after the separation from the body, how could it have shouted? Yet the shout is not sent up from a corpse, but from a living being, whence the apostle from a part of the soul demonstrates its entirety, said "He died but is still speaking," assigning the "he died," to the body, and the "he is speaking" to the soul. And so "speaking" after death, what does it seem to be a sign of: is it active or inactive, living or not living? For to

p. 9 me and to all who have a sound mind, life and activity seem to be equal, just as the contrary, not being active, whether intellectual or rational, does not exist, nor lives, nor is in activity, according to what you say.

But perhaps some speak against blood [crying out]. To these we shall say that the law of Moses is in many ways clear-sighted, distinguishing the blood of all irrational living beings to be a soul, and it was not unreasonable to call, on account of having the same name, blood an intellectual and reasonable soul;[37] for he [Moses] conversed with those who were still immature and children. And know that blood itself on its own does not shout nor talk; for it is bodily in aspect

[36] Heb 11:4. Hebrews was considered to be written by Paul in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages.

[37] For a discussion on the operation of intellect and reason within the soul, see Pierre Hadot, *What is Ancient Philosophy?*, tr. by Michael Chase (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002) 163-168.

and earth.[38] The great Basil, bishop of Caesarea and teacher of the world, also addresses this matter in the eighth homily of the *Hexemeron*, saying this: "'Let the earth bring forth a living soul.'[39] Why did the earth produce a living soul? So that you may understand the difference between the soul of cattle and the soul of humans." And "a little later you shall know how the human soul was formed; now hear concerning the souls of living things devoid of reason. Since, according to Scripture, 'the soul of every living thing is its blood'[40] the congealed blood was disposed by nature to change into flesh, and the corrupted flesh dissolves into the earth, the soul of cattle is naturally something earthy."[41] And so in this he demonstrates "the difference between the souls of cattle and the souls of humans," as the Father said, in the corruption and dissolution into the earth, from whence it [the soul of cattle] was also formed, and on the other hand, [the soul] of the person, which after the decay of the body continues to exist and cry out and be active, and as the Apostle said, "still speaks," being both simple and rational, intellectual and bodiless. And that these things are this way,

p. 10 the same Basil again points out;[42] for in his homily on Psalm 114 he says this, "'He inclined his ear to me.'[43] For the divine hearing does not need a voice with

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[38] Cf. Joannes Chrysostomos, *In epistulam ad Hebraeos* (homiliae 1-34), PG 63:99.2.

[39] Cf. Gen 1:24.

[40] Lev 17:11 and 14.

[41] Basil Caesariensis, *Homiliae in hexaemeron*, 8, 2: 1-8. S. Giet, *Basile de Césarée. Homélies sur l'hexaéméron*, 2nd ed. [*Sources chrétiennes* 26 bis. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1968].

[42] Cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *Antirrheticus adversus Apollinarium*, 1.1:162.7, ed. F. Mueller, *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, vol. 3.1. Leiden: Brill, 1958: 230; idem, *Contra Eunomium*, W. Jaeger, *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, v. 1.1 Leiden: Brill, 1960: 1.1:162.7.

[43] Ps 114:2 (116:2).

regard to sense perception; it also knows how to recognize desires stirring in the heart. Or have not you heard that Moses did not say anything, but "with [his own] inarticulate groans interceding"[44] with the Lord, he heard the Lord saying, 'Why do you cry out to me?'[45] God also knows how to hear the blood of a just man, to whom a tongue was not attached to speak, nor a voice [striking through] the air. A presence of just works is a loud voice in the presence of the Lord."[46] The Father [Basil], making a comparison between Moses and Abel, pointed out that just as Moses, who had not yet experienced death but was living and existing in soul and body, was not speaking and crying out and calling to God through the physical tongue, but was doing this spiritually, so also Abel, 'to whom the tongue was not attached [striking] through the air,' but his living and active soul was offering his supplications to the master. John [Chrysostom], the all-wise bishop of Constantinople, is clearer concerning this matter in his commentary on the Gospel of Matthew; teaching in homily 18 he says, "And certainly it is a mark of one exceedingly in pain to pray in this way and beseech just as I said; and when Moses was in pain, and he prayed in this way and was heard. And on account of this God said, 'Why do you cry out to me?' And Hannah again too, although her voice was not heard, accomplished as much as she wanted, since her heart cried

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[44] Cf. Rom 8:26-27.

[45] Ex 14:15.

[46] Basil of Caesarea, *Homiliae super Psalmos*, PG 29:485.39-43.

out.[47] And Abel was not silent, but prayed even when he was dying, and his blood let loose a voice clearer than a trumpet."[48]

p. 11 If, therefore, the Fathers also taught in harmony with the Apostle about Abel that "and when he was dying, he prayed," then "praying" is a matter of activity and not of cessation; and "his blood [let loose] a voice clearer than a trumpet," and while he shows this fratricide spilling this [blood], he depicts the entreaty of his [Abel's] soul. For the Father said "he was not silent, but prayed even when he was dying," no longer interceding through a bodily organ, but through a spiritual one, as the Apostle also said: "For we do not know what we should pray for as we must, but the Spirit itself intercedes for us with groanings which cannot be spoken."[49] This is said also about Moses: "[He] did not say anything, but with his own inarticulate groans interceding, he heard the Lord, saying, "Why do you cry out to me?", the very thing which Abel also prayed when he died; and furthermore they never stop doing the same activity in as much as they are all righteous men. Therefore with regard to a soul being rightfully both rational and intellectual, the blood is said loosely to be soul of the irrational, and which not always continues on as the rational soul, but passes into the elements from which it was formed. However, the rational and intellectual soul, even after the separation from the body, as was demonstrated, also appropriately continues on and lives and talks, and is likewise active, not in appearance, but in reality; just as

[47] I Kgdms 1:13 (1 Sam 1:13).

[48] John Chrysostom, *In Matthaeum*, PG 57:277.17-25.

[49] Rom 8:26.

[it is] in a rational, intellectual, and immaterial condition, enjoying liberty of approach in the presence of God, and after it has been

p. 12 directed by him, is also sent into this life on account of beneficent work for the sake of many others.[50]

Let us look at what the great Moses also narrates concerning Abraham: "Having breathed his last and died in a good old age, Abraham, an old man full of years, and was added to his holy people of God."[51] A holy people would not speak, unless it is living and active, just as neither a populace nor a company of people would speak, unless it is existing and active, that is to say, capable of effecting offerings, prayers and worship to God.[52] And in the same way concerning Rachel he says, "And as her soul was departing (for she had died)...".[53] Her soul did not die, but on account of its separation, her body died. Where, therefore, did her departed soul go away to? It is very clear that it went to the "land of the living,"[54] just as also concerning Isaac he gives an indication, saying, "And Isaac breathed his last; and he died and was gathered to his race,"[55] a different race from the worldly and temporal, because it is always living and never dies, since it is always in motion and never stay inactive. And Jacob also seems to be in a similar way,

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[50] Cf. Heb 1:14.

[51] Gen 25:8. For Israel as the people of God, see 1 *Clem*. 55.6; Barn. 8.1; Just. I *Apol*. 60.2. Here, Eustratios means the souls of the holy people of Israel.

[52] See Eustratios' discussion on Revelation below, pp. 186-192.

[53] Gen 35:18.

[54] Ps 114:9.

[55] Gen 35:29.

saying, “I am to be added to my holy people of God; bury me with my fathers...”[56] “and Jacob finished enjoining his sons, drew up his feet into the bed and died, and was added to his holy people.”[57] “Gathering to the fathers” and “holy people,” in one respect is “in the land of the living,” and in another respect “to be added in a burial mound of the earth;”[58] for the whole is demonstrated from a part. For “bury me,” one must think about the body, concerning which he [Moses] also says, “you are earth, and to earth you

p. 13 will return;”[59] And “to be added to the people” and “to the fathers,” we believe them to be “in the light of the living;”[60] and he who is in the light, never remains inactive; for it is written “light is always with the righteous.”[61]

And the matter was spoken of too in Exodus by God to Moses in the [burning] bush, “I am the God of your father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob,”[62] what, beyond the words spoken, does it reveal? “He is not God of the dead, but of the living,”[63] as the Lord in the Gospels says,

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[56] Gen 49:29.

[57] Gen 49:33.

[58] Dan (Theodotionis versio) 12:2.

[59] Gen 3:19.

[60] Ps 55:14.

[61] Prov 13:9.

[62] Ex 3:6.

[63] Lk 20:38.

"for all live to him."[64] And if "all live to him," it is also clear that they are active; and if they are not active as you said, they do not live. And not being active is characteristic of bodies that are dead and motionless.

And in the events concerning Dathan and Abiron in the book of Numbers, Moses and Aaron, "falling upon their faces,"[65] called on [God], saying, "God of spirits and of all flesh."[66] In the phrase "God of spirits," it is clear that he is also God of souls; spirits that are dead and inactive cannot exist; for "all live to him," as the Lord said.

And again God "spoke to Moses and Aaron on Mount Hor, saying,[67] 'Let Aaron be gathered to his people; for he shall not enter the land which I have given the sons of Israel.'[68] 'Take Aaron and Eleazar his son, and bring them up to Mount Hor; and strip Aaron of his priestly garment, and put it upon Eleazar his son; and Aaron shall be gathered to his people, and having been gathered let him die there. And Moses did as the Lord commanded him, and Aaron died there on the top of the mountain."[69] The phrase God spoke, "Let Aaron be gathered to his
p. 14 people, and having been gathered let him die," suggests not some diminution, but rather an addition of other living and active people.

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[64] Lk 20:38.

[65] Num 16:22.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Ibid., 20:23.

[68] Ibid., 20:24.

[69] Ibid., 20:25-28.

And in the book of Deuteronomy he says similar things: "And the Lord said to Moses, 'Ascend this mountain of Abarim, and die on the mountain which you ascend, and be gathered to your people, as Aaron your brother died in Mount Hor and was gathered to his people.'"[70] With the holy Scripture speaking so frequently concerning the removal of life here of holy men, and an addition of other people, it distinctly shows how weak and easily refutable the teaching is of those who argue that souls proceed to a state of non-existence, and of those who confidently affirm they [the souls] are not active after death; for those who believe such things agree with one another; for if they [the souls] live, they are also active; or if they are not active, neither do they live nor exist. For souls are spirits, and they move spiritually and perform work appropriate to them, and they never sleep, as we have often said.

And Job, the champion of piety, articulated these things: "The small and the great are there, and the slave not fearing his master."[71] "Who among all these does not know that the hand of the Lord has done this? Are not the life of every living thing and the soul of every person in his hand?"[72] "Even if [a] person may die, he shall live, having fulfilled [the] days of his life."[73] What could they [the opponents] seek that is plainer than this, what do they propose about the truth?[74] For the sorely-tried man, [Job], said: "The small and the great are there, and the

[70] Deut 32:48-50.

[71] Job 3:19.

[72] Job 12:9-10.

[73] Job 14:14.

[74] Cf. 2 Tim 2:25.

slave not fearing his master," clearly proved the existence and activity of souls. For "are" and "not fearing" does away with the opinion of each of them [the opponents]. Therefore,

p. 15 fearing or not fearing is a sign of living. And the God-serving and true man having said "that the hand of the Lord has done this," and "Is not the life of every living thing and the soul of every person in his hand?"[75] "For even if [a man] may die, he shall live,"[76] he does not give the opportunity for us to apprehend spiritually that souls either do not exist or are not active after the separation of the soul from persons. For he said that, "Even if a man may die, he shall live;" clearly [this is] the soul. For "a spirit," that is to say, "a soul of every living being is" in "the hand"[77] of the one who made it. "Your hands made me and fashioned me."[78] The hands of God are productive, or rather to say, they would be rightly known as creative and active powers, producing and preserving everything. For he says, "Your hands made me and fashioned me," which are the only-begotten Son the Word, God, and the Holy Spirit.

Again, David, singing a psalm, said, "May I be well-pleasing before God in the light of the living."[79] And again, "May I be well-pleasing before the Lord in the land of the living."[80] If David was praying to live "in the light of the living"

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[75] Job 12:9-10.

[76] Job 14:14.

[77] Job 12:9-10.

[78] Job 10:8.

[79] Ps 55:14 (Ps 56:13).

[80] Ps 114:9.

and "in the land of the living," those "living in light," they are not able to remain inert or unmoved. For if the perceivable and material fire, which also has been given to us for use, is always in motion, never ceasing its motion, inasmuch as it is seen in material form, how is the intelligible and logical soul able to remain motionless and inactive, being something bodiless and much more in motion than visible fire, which like the divine fire receives no cessation? It is simple and without form. This has been demonstrated by us in more detail in another treatise, "Concerning the Soul and the Holy Angels," namely that they are simple and bodiless.[81]

p. 16 And in the third Book of Kingdoms, God says this to Solomon: "I shall surely tear the kingdom from your hand and shall give it to your servant. Yet for the sake of my servant David I shall not do these things in your days."[82] Therefore, if he[83] called David his servant after his death, it is clear that the servant never remains idle, but always fulfills his service, that is to say, the activity befitting to him, always glorifying his master, as "in the light" and "in the land of the living." In different places God says this through the prophets: "For I shall defend this city, for my sake and for the sake of my servant David."[84] Do you see that God, persuaded by his servants, averts a just threat menacing us? Therefore, the interceding saints are active or not active; judge for yourselves.

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[81] Perhaps from Eustratios' *De anima et angelis*; except for fragments (Palatinus gr. 146, ff. 60-62^{v} and 66^{r}), a lost work.

[82] I Kgdms 11:11-12 (I Sam 11:11-12).

[83] God.

[84] Isa 37:35.

The intercession is not from the sleeping dead, but from the living, the existing and the active.

And Elijah the Prophet, he who was in this life bodily exalted to heaven, how did he raise the son of the widow from the dead? For "he said, 'Alas, O Lord my God, have you brought calamity even upon the widow with whom I lodge, by slaying her son? Then he breathed into the child three times, and cried to the Lord, 'O Lord my God, let this child's soul return into him again.' So it happened, and the child cried out."[85] The prophet did not say, "let [the child] resurrect," or "let [the child] be awakened from sleep, because the soul of the boy sleeps," but says "let [the child's soul] return." Therefore, it is clear that concerning the living people of God, it [the soul of the child] was brought "in light" and "in the land of the living," from where "it returned" again. If then, according to your

p. 17 beliefs, it is not possible for a departed soul to return from there to here again before the universal resurrection, how did the souls of the raised bodies return to their own bodies; are they active or not active? This happened not once but often, both in the Old and New Testaments.

And Elisha the Prophet not only raised to life a corpse, the son of the Shunammite, but after death his body, separated from his soul but nevertheless active with a power of God, raised up a corpse.[86] And it says concerning this in the fourth [Book] of Kingdoms the following: "... [a]nd Elisha died and they

[85] 3 Kgdms 17:20-22 (1 Sam 17:20-22).

[86] 4 Kgdms 4:8-37 (2 Kgs 4:8-37).

buried him. And bands of Moabites used to invade the land annually. And it happened, when they were burying a man, behold, they saw a band and they threw the man into the grave of Elisha and they fled; and as soon as the man touched the bones of Elisha, he revived, and stood upon his feet."[87] And so, opponents, you will doubtless say that the power of God is activating. And I concur; for who is so stupid who does not think so? For he says that "those who honor me I shall honor."[88] Therefore, how does he honor by not acting upon the souls or bodies of the saints who honor him? It is very clear that while as many as have recourse to the relics of the saints, they also receive cures from them by the will of God. Moreover, because of physical sickness, as many as are unable to draw near to [the saints'] shrines, God, who has been honored by them also honors them, whenever is pleasing to him; since he been shown [honor], he renders the souls of the saints manifest to those who have need of their help. And that this is true Jeremiah the Prophet, the proclaimer of holy things, also reveals, that not only do the saints intercede on behalf of God-loving people,

p. 18 but also on behalf of those who have occupied themselves with impious deeds. For he says this on behalf of those who are in captivity and transgressing the law of the Lord, "Then the Lord said to me, 'Even if Moses and Samuel stood before my face, my soul would not turn toward them. Send this people out of my sight, and let them go!'"[89] The phrase, "Even if Moses and Samuel stood before [the]

[87] 4 Kgdms 13:20-21 (2 Kgs 13:20-21).

[88] 1 Kgdms 2:30 (1 Sam 2:30).

[89] Jer 15:1.

face" of the Lord, what other does it indicate than, "They will make intercessions before God on behalf of those transgressing the law"?

If, therefore, the saints never cease to intercede on behalf of those who commit injustices and impieties, by how much more [do they intercede] on behalf of those who approach and call upon them with their whole heart; because they are active, they offer supplications to our compassionate God and master. For interceding is a type of activity rather than inactivity.

Moreover, the three boys,[90] after they named nearly all the enumeration of the creatures [of God], sang the songs of praises to our Creator and Maker God, adding, "Praise, spirits and souls of the righteous, the Lord."[91] The "praising" and the singing [by] "the souls of righteous" are not of the sleeping or the inactive, but of the active.

We shall discern more clearly that this is true also from the Books of the Maccabees. The second book says the following, "But Maccabeus did not cease to trust with every hope that he would get help from the Lord. And he exhorted the men with him not to fear an attack from the Gentiles,..."[92] And again, "And having armed each of them, not with security in shields and spears as with the encouragement of beneficial words, and he cheered them all by relating a dream worthy of belief. And this was his vision: Onias,

[90] Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego.

[91] Dan 3:86; Odae 8:86.

[92] 2 Mac 15:7-8.

p. 19 who had been high priest, a noble and good man, reverent in meeting, having a modest and gentle manner, one who spoke fittingly and had been trained from childhood in all that belongs to excellence, was praying with outstretched hands for the whole nation of the Jews. Then, likewise, a man appeared, distinguished by his gray hair and glory, and a marvelous majesty and authority. And Onias answered, saying, 'This is a man who prays much for the people and the holy city: Jeremiah, the compatriot-loving prophet of God.' Jeremiah stretched forth his right hand and gave a golden sword to Judas, and as he gave it he addressed him as follows: 'Take this holy sword, a gift from God, with which you will strike down your adversaries.'"[93]

If, marveling ones, something obscure was brought forward by us concerning the inquiry under consideration about souls, it was likely at any rate for you still to doubt concerning their activity, that is to say, their manifestation. And since the author [of 2 Maccabees] used the aforesaid proof-texts concerning Onias the high priest and "Jeremiah the compatriot-loving," [who] also "prays much for the people and the holy city;" what do you think now? For he also said, "relating a dream worthy of belief." I think that it is entirely worthy of belief. And so consequently he who saw had seen truly beheld the vision, and he beheld the priest as a priest and the prophet as a prophet. And if you argue about the weapons, this too we find on various occasions concerning the bodiless forms of angels. But just as the angels who are present on earth in their individual being

[93] 2 Mac 15:11-16.

form visions, so too the souls of the saints in their individual being are present. And wherever God

p. 20 might wish to send these beings, they accomplish the manifestations according to the gift of grace granted to them by God for the salvation and aid of those needing it throughout. And neither the holy angels nor the souls of the saints ever work the manifestations, that is to say, the activities, apart from God's command. For they, being his servants, fulfill their commands with reverence.

And in the second book of the same work it says the following, "Heliodoros accomplished the matter that had been decided, but when he arrived at the treasury with his bodyguard, there the Master of spirits and of all authority of power made a great manifestation.... For a horse adorned with the most beautiful prowess,[94] [and mounted] with a fearful rider, was seen by them, and bearing down swiftly, it attacked Heliodoros with its front hooves. The rider was seen wearing a full suit of gold armor. Two other youths also appeared to him, all-comely in bodily strength, most beautiful in glory, and magnificently dressed, who stood on each side of him [Heliodoros] and whipped him relentlessly."[95] But this vision, which seems to be unclear for some, as to whether those who formed the vision were the souls of saints or the angels, we find clearly explained in fourth book of the same work, for it says the following: "[a]nd while Apollonius was going up with his armed troops for the seizure of the money, angels from heaven appeared beside [them] on horseback, with weapons shining dazzlingly,

[94] The word σαγῆ "harness" in 2 Mac 3.25 is replaced with ἀλκῆ by Eustratios in *De statu animarum*.

[95] 2 Mac 3:23-26.

throwing him into great fear and trembling."[96]

And in the third book of the same work it says the following: "The

p. 21 most glorious almighty and true God revealed his holy face and opened the heavenly gates, from which two angels, terrifying in appearance, descended, visible to all except the Jews."[97] Therefore, whenever the worthy see a vision of angels, they know them to be and to call them angels.

And in a like manner, whenever they see souls of saints they call in part the human souls men, as was shown in the second book of the same work concerning Onias the high priest and Jeremiah the prophet. For again in the same book the writer says this very thing: "And when the battle became fierce, there appeared to the enemy from heaven five resplendent men on horses with golden bridles, and they were leading the Jews; they took Maccabeus into their midst and covering him with the own weapons, they kept him unwounded. And they hurled arrows and thunderbolts upon the enemy, so that, being confused with blindness, they were filled with disorder and cut down."[98]

Accurately understanding the meaning in the quoted passages, wisest ones, attend that one must understand which invisible men were laying in ambush and whom the writer called "leaders:" clearly they were the father of the second Judas Maccabeus and his uncles; for there were five sons of Matthias: John, Simon, Judas, Eleazar, and Jonathan. And so the four were on behalf of a child of his brother,

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[96] 4 Mac. 4:10.

[97] 3 Mac 6:18.

[98] 2 Mac 10:29-30.

and Simon on behalf of his son.[99] For his son was the second Judas Maccabeus. They all, at any rate, were distinguished in armed combat [and] fought [together] as next of kin. "For a brother helped by a brother is like a strong and [fortified] city."[100] Therefore, [there is] reliable credibility and demonstrable [proof] how souls after the separation from their bodies

p. 22 receive an opportunity to appear to some in this life, and through this very witness, taking the subject under consideration, instructs those always wishing to sleep rather than stirring up and prepare to shake off sleep, to keep silence; and instructs those who choose to offer this to God: eternal praise with the incorporeal powers, "whether" we are "in the body or" might be "outside of the body."[101]

And the matters in the Old Testament, the matters prophesied as in type and shadow, we quoted a few [examples] from many, pertaining to the work under consideration, we quoted a few [examples] from many. Let us pass on henceforth to the teachings of the New Testament.

And so, Matthew the holy evangelist says this: "And after six days Jesus took with him Peter and James and John his brother, and privately led them up a high mountain. And he was transfigured before them, and his face shown like the sun, and his garments became white as light. And behold, there appeared to them Moses and Elijah, talking with him. Peter answered and said to Jesus "Lord, it is good we are here; if you wish, I will make three booths here, one for you and one

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[99] See 1 Mac 2:1-5; Flavius Josephus, *Antiquitates iudicae*, 12.265.

[100] Pr 18:19.

[101] 2 Cor 12:2.

for Moses and one for Elijah."[102] And so this testimony alone was sufficient for the disputers, and further than it they were not obligated to seek out others. For where the truth is present, the false completely flees. But since, perhaps, they seek out others, we shall provide this afterwards. What, therefore, do you say about the manifestation that truly occurred? Did Moses and Elijah truly appear on the mountain or not? If truly, and as truly in fact, the arguments of the disputers are done away with– for behold, after death Moses appeared –; but if as an

p. 23 illusion, then the other things will necessarily conform to the illusion, that is to say, the ascent of the three disciples on the mountain,[103] the conversation of Peter with Jesus,[104] the conversation of the prophets with the Lord,[105] and the voice of the Father borne from above. Let us learn where the blasphemy will lead to. And so that we may not fall into this blasphemy, we must believe that after the release from their bodies, all souls are comprehensively and appropriately active, since they all live, but those of the saints also in this world, by the will of God, arrive as Moses also appeared on the mountain. For that which occurred, is able to occur according to the measure of each person and to occur to many, and most of all of the saints, what happens in their case occurs for benefit.

Therefore, do not turn the works of true history into allegories. For I have heard some saying that it was not Moses and Elijah in their individual existence

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[102] Mt 17:1-4.

[103] Mt 17:1.

[104] Mt 17:4.

[105] Mt 17:3.

who appeared, but rather the law and the prophets.[106] However, the evangelist did not say this, but that "Moses and Elijah appeared," and he told us that "Peter" entreated to make "three tabernacles," not to the law and prophets and grace, according to what you said, but to the self-subsistent persons of Christ, Moses, and Elijah. And that Moses died has been shown in Deuteronomy.[107] Therefore the evangelist said Moses, having died so many years before, along with Elijah the prophet who is still living,[108] "conversed with" our Lord and God Jesus Christ on the mountain, concerning which vision "Jesus commanded them, saying, 'Tell no one the vision, until the Son of Man is raised from the dead.'"[109]

p. 24 John, the all-wise teacher and bishop of Constantinople also interprets this matter in his *Commentary on Matthew*, saying this: "'And Moses and Elijah appeared to them and they talked with him.'[110] To what end did he bring Moses and Elijah before them? One might say for many reasons, first of all this: since the crowds [of disciples] said, 'Some [say] Elijah, others Jeremiah, and still others one of the prophets,'[111] he brings forth the chiefs, in order that from this they may see the difference between the servants and the master."[112] And again: "There is another reason to mention along with the ones we gave. What kind is it? That

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[106] Cf. Origen, *Commentarii in Matthaeum* (*CPG* 1450 [I]), XII, 38, p. 152, 12.

[107] Cf. Deut 34:1-12.

[108] Cf. 4 Kgdms 2:11 (2 Kings 2:11). The living Elijah ascended into heaven in a chariot of fire sent by God.

[109] Mt 17:9.

[110] Mt 17:3.

[111] Mt 16:14. This was in reply to Jesus' famous question, "Who do men say that I, the Son of Man, am?" Mt 16:13.

[112] John Chrysostom, *In Mattheum*, PG 58:550.27-32.

they might learn that he has authority over life and death, and that he rules [everything] above and below. On account of this he brings forth the one who had died and the one who never suffered this."[113] And a little later: "And what about [the apostle] Peter the ardent? 'It is good we are here.'[114] Moses is present and so is Elijah - Elijah, he who

brought down fire on the mountain, [115] and Moses, he who entered into the darkness and conversed with God.[116] What then? He himself [God] does [not] speak, and neither do Moses nor Elijah; the Father, greater and more trustworthy than all, uttered a voice from the cloud. Thus God always appears: [117]"A cloud and darkness surround him."[118] And a little later: "Then in order to show that [this][119] voice was not speaking concerning one of the three, but [was speaking][120] of Christ alone, [and] they [the disciples] were [afraid].[121]"[122] Nor would it have spoken if it

[113] Ibid., PG 58:550. 53-551.1.

[114] Mt 17:4.

[115] 4 Kgdms 1:10 (2 Kgs 1:10).

[116] John Chrysostom, *In Mattheum*, PG 58:552.28-31.

[117] Ibid., PG 58:553.11-14.

[118] Ps 96:2. (97:2) Cf. the ending of the John Chrysostom quote above.

[119] Eustratios inserts αὕτη.

[120] Eustratios inserts ἐλέχθη.

[121] Eustratios inserts ἔμφοβοι.

[122] John Chrysostom, *In Mattheum*, PG 58:553.35-38.

p. 25 was any one of them, this man would remain alone, after the two were separated [from him]. And what did the voice say?[123] 'This is my beloved Son.'"[124] It has been clearly demonstrated, both through the words of the Gospel revelations and the witness of the God-given teacher, that a vision of the souls of saints appears to those worthy of a visitation from them, obviously with God commanding it.

And let us consider what John the Evangelist says concerning the saints and their activity in the Apocalypse, written by him on the island of Patmos: "And when he had taken the scroll, the four living creatures and the twenty-four elders fell down before the throne [of the Lamb], each holding a harp and golden bowls full of incense, which are the prayers of the saints; and they sang a new song, saying, 'You are worthy to take the scroll and to open its seals,...[and] that you have made us kings and priests to our God.'[125] And a little later: "When he opened the fifth seal, I saw under the altar the souls of those who were sealed[126] for the word of God and for the witness of Jesus they had borne; they cried out with a loud voice, saying, 'How long, holy and true Master, before you will judge and avenge our blood on those who dwell on the earth?' Then a white robe was given to them and they were told to rest for a little while, until both the number of their fellow servants and brethren, who were to be killed as they themselves had

[123] Ibid., PG 58:553.44-45.

[124] Mt 3:17.

[125] Rev 5:8-10.

[126] The *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 27th ed., has τῶν ἐσφαγμένων, "the slain."

been, should be complete."[127] And a little later: "After this, and behold, I saw a great crowd which no one was able number, from every nation, from

p. 26 all tribes and peoples and tongues, standing before the throne and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes and palm branches in their hands, and they cried out with a loud voice, 'Salvation belongs to our God who sits upon the throne, and to the Lamb!' And all [the] angels stood around the throne and around the elders and the four living creatures, and they fell before the throne on their faces and worshipped God, saying 'Amen! Glory and praise and wisdom and thanksgiving and honor and power and might to our God forever and ever! Amen.'[128] And again: "[T]hey washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. Therefore they are before the throne of God, and serve him day and night within his temple; and he who sits upon the throne will dwell over them."[129] And a little later: "[A]nd there were loud voices in heaven, saying, 'The kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ has come, and he shall reign forever and ever.' And the twenty-four elders who sit on their thrones before God fell on their faces and worshiped God, saying, 'We give thanks to you, Lord God Almighty, who is and who was, because you have taken your great power and ruled.'[130] And [a little later: "And] I heard a voice from heaven saying to me, 'Write: Blessed

[127] Rev 6:9-11.

[128] Rev 7:9-12.

[129] Ibid., 7:14-15.

[130] Ibid., 11:15-16.

are the dead who die in the Lord from now on.' '[Blessed] indeed,' says the Spirit, 'that they may rest from their labors, for their deeds follow them.'"[131]

We have sufficiently quoted passages from the Apocalypse. Let us closely examine henceforth, then, to the best of our ability, those things which have been obscurely and indirectly revealed to the Theologian.[132] What are the four

p. 27 living creatures and who are the twenty-four elders? We shall understand the living creatures as the four beasts which Ezekiel the Prophet envisioned,[133] or the four evangelists,[134] and the twenty-four elders as the twelve patriarchs[135] and likewise the twelve prophets, or to say more accurately, the holy apostles[136] along with the patriarchs. The "falling of both [living creatures and the elders] before the throne" signifies that the angelic order with humanity offer supplications to God. The "harps and golden bowls of incense" seen full are the prayers of the saints. And the "singing a new song," what else would it be other than their eternal singing of praises? And so how are those who are filled with such grace said to be inactive by some? Indeed, "the souls" those who were sealed shouted and spoke from "the altar:" "How long, holy and true Master, before will you judge and avenge our blood?," clearly proves their activity, for they completely

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[131] Ibid., 14:13.

[132] The apostle John, traditional author of the Apocalypse.

[133] Cf. Ezek 1:5-12, 21. See also Isa 6:2.

[134] The four evangelists were often depicted symbolically as living creatures or beasts: Matthew as a man, Mark a lion, Luke a calf, and John an eagle.

[135] The twelve patriarchs of Israel: Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Zebulun, Issachar, Dan, Gad, Asher, Naphtali, Joseph and Benjamin.

[136] The twelve apostles: Peter, John, Matthew, Thomas, James the Greater, James the Lesser, Andrew, Simon, Bartholomew, Jude, Philip and Matthias.

desire to carry away their crowns [of martyrdom].[137] And [they are] fully to receive vindication or rewards [in heaven], not yet promised beforehand, for "he said to rest for a little while, until [such time as] their fellow servants [that is to say] their brethren, should be complete, as the Apostle also taught, saying, "Since God

p. 28 having provided something better for us, that they should not be made perfect apart from us."[138] Nevertheless, he [God] did not let them to be idle or inactive; for the passage "white robes were given to them" particularly shows their activity taking place, which are the manifestations of holy souls, [and] these provide healings to whom they are sent in this life on account of a kindness of many others. For these [souls] indeed "were crying out from under the altar;" their being "under the altar" means that not only were their bodies placed, placed under the altar, perform their activities, that is to say, healings, but also shows that their souls are subordinate to Christ, "[even at] your altars, Lord of hosts, my king and my God."[139] Hence after their prayer, again he [John] says to have seen "a great crowd which no one could number," and they stood "before the throne and before the lamb, clothed with white robes and palms branches in their hands, crying out and saying, 'Salvation belongs to our God who sits upon the throne, and to the Lamb!' And with the bearing of "palm branches in their hands," they show the symbol of victory – for they overcame the devil and his servants

[137] Cf. 1 Cor 9:24-27; Jas 1:12; Rev 2:10.

[138] Heb 11:40. The apostle is Paul, traditionally regarded as the author of Hebrews. See also Gregory of Nazianzos' Oration 31, *On the Holy Spirit*, 31.22.10.

[139] Ps 83:4 (84:3).

fighting on behalf of Christ until death, - the children hurry to the Lord, to the passion, meeting [him] with

p. 29 palm branches and shouting "Hosanna!,"[140] and because they were prophetically foretelling the victory of Christ after the passion, and after the victorious end, they held "palm branches in their hands" as victors, they were giving thanks to God. "And all the angels stood round the throne and round the elders and the four living beings,[141] "for there is joy over one sinner who repents;"[142] if over one sinner, by how much more joy is there over the saints who fight and are victorious? "And they fell on their faces before the throne and worshipping God, saying "Amen! Glory and praise and wisdom and thanksgiving and honor and power and might to our God forever and ever! Amen."[143] To my way of thinking, this vision, that is to say, action, the divine Paul too had in mind, when he said in prayer, "he who was caught up to the third heaven,"[144] "Because of this, I bow my knees before the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ from whom every family in heaven and earth is named."[145] He also gave over this [vision] to those who lead the holy catholic church of the rational flock[146] of God to perform; or do they not

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[140] Cf. Mt 21:9; Mk 11:9; Jn 12:12-13.

[141] Rev 7:11.

[142] Lk 15:10.

[143] Rev 7:9-12.

[144] 2 Cor 12:2.

[145] Eph 3:14-15.

[146] Cf. John 10:9-16; see also John Chrysostom, *De Sacerdotio*, II.2.20-21, ed. A.-M. Malingrey, *Jean Chrysostome. Sur le sacerdoce* [*Sources chrétiennes* 272. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1980]; *Synodus Constantinopolitana et Hierosolymitana anno 536***,** ed. E. Schwartz, *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1940 [repr. 1965]): Tome 3.82.3.

offer supplications on bended knee night and day on behalf of themselves and the people "to the one sitting on the high and exalted throne,"[147] "from whom every family in heaven and earth is named?"[148] Doing this, are they or are they not active? Let the deniers answer! Therefore, if their action on earth is named activity, let the work in heaven by the creatures and the twenty-four elders be equally named; for the former and the latter pray for these same things on behalf of the whole world, whence God dwells among them,[149] according to what is said: "I shall live in them and move among them, and I shall be

p. 30 their God, and they will be my people."[150] Therefore, as many as "washed their robes and made them white in the blood"[151] of Jesus Christ – for he himself is called Lamb according to what is said by John: "Behold the Lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world!" - [152] they "are before the throne of God, and serve him day and night within his temple" with a mighty voice shouting and saying, 'The kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ has come." "We give thanks to you, Lord God Almighty, who is and who was, because you have taken your great power and ruled."[153] And likewise, the

angels long ago rejoiced with the shepherds: "Glory to God in the highest, and on

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[147] Isa 6:1.

[148] Eph 3:15.

[149] Cf. Rev 7:15.

[150] 2 Cor 6:16; cf. Lev 26:12; Jer 32:38; Ezek 37:27.

[151] Rev 7:14.

[152] Jn 1:29.

[153] Rev 11:15-16.

earth peace among men of goodwill;"[154] for earth became heaven, from the time the Son of God "was manifested in the flesh,"[155] "that from the rising of the sun to its setting [his] name is glorified among the nations."[156] And the Theologian[157] heard a voice from heaven saying to him: "Write: Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord from now on." '[Blessed] indeed,' says the Spirit, 'that they may rest from their labors, for their deeds follow them.'"[158] And so how are the blessed and holy martyrs said by you to remain inactive and inoperative by you? For in many ways, he explained revelations about them,[159] that because they are unceasingly with Christ,[160] they intercede on our behalf. Hence he
easily ought to persuade those bringing a charge of drowsiness against the souls of the saints, not being so disposed or presumed, but that falling in supplication before him who sits on the throne, not simply to contemplate or to praise: they are active, and as they active in essence, they are sent by God
p. 31 also after the departure from their body.

The divine apostle Paul said this too, suggesting in his second letter

[154] Lk 2:14.

[155] 2 Tim 3:16.

[156] Mal 1:11.

[157] John the Apostle.

[158] Rev 14:13.

[159] I follow the critical apparatus of Peter van Deun, which has ἀποκαλύψεις (A B Allatius); van Deun replaces this with ᾽Αποκάλυψις in the text.

[160] Col 3:3.

to the Corinthians, "We are certain, and we would rather depart [from] the body and be at home

with the Lord. So whether we are at home or away, we aspire to please him."[161] For having made a comparison of each life, the present and the future, he placed emphasis on the word "rather" concerning the departure [from the body], what also "aspires" those who are departing to be "with the Lord:" for those who exchanged such a life, saying that they are inactive is impious. Therefore if "we who are in the tent groan, are burdened,"[162] as he himself said, then the departed, if indeed they are virtuous according to Paul, they live a life without sighs, in which "sorrow, pain and sighs have fled away;"[163] they are not sleeping, but give unceasing praise [to God] and are active. And if the appearance of the souls of the saints to some after the departure from the body seems

unbelievable or impossible to you, let the seizure, the one that happened, of the apostle, "caught up to the third heaven"[164] and paradise, and before him [the seizure] of Enoch and Elijah also be incredible to you. For just as their removal was in the body,[165] it happened according to the will of God, and no one has disbelief concerning them [Paul, Enoch and Elijah], so again nothing will hinder, because of the will of God, the souls of the saints also to arrive there; even if

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[161] 2 Cor 5:8-9.

[162] 2 Cor 5:4.

[163] Isa 35:10; 51:11. This phrase is also included in the fourth-century Liturgy of Saint James (Jerusalem) in the intercession for the departed. See *Eastern Liturgies*, ed. F. E. Brightman (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896), 57, 95-96. As a priest, Eustratios undoubtedly knew the liturgy of St. James. He quotes Cyril of Jerusalem, who alludes to the liturgy in his *Mystagogia*; see pp. 286-287 below.

[164] 2 Cor 12:2.

[165] Ibid.

each [removal to heaven of both prophet and saint] is worthy of wonder, nevertheless both occurred. Although bodies do not principally have permanence in a bodily state, however, in a secondary way they come to a certain place, to us, whenever they are sent out into service, whether they are the holy angels or the souls of the holy martyrs. And from another point of view, it is not principally of bodies, while they are not

p. 32 yet free from corruption, who were coming into the lands above the heavens, and yet those who are with bodies in a secondary way come into the heavens by the will of God, as Paul "snatched up to the third heaven," and as many as according to him [Paul] are deemed worthy of similar mysteries according to revelation,[166] who also highly esteems as a "gain" "a departing and being with Christ,"[167] saying that "to me living is Christ, and dying is gain. If living in the flesh, this is fruitful work to me; which I shall choose I do not know. I am conflicted between the two, having a desire to depart and be with Christ, [which is] much better by far."[168] Consequently, for what reason does he long for the "better" – that being drowsy he may always sleep and enjoy no gain? – or glorifying God eternally, which I consider rather to be [a state of] wakefulness, that is to say, activity. Since he was eager to be in this latter state, [Paul] clearly desires praying [for] "a departing and being with Christ," and he sought to become in complete participation with those inexpressible words which he gave heed, "which are not

[166] Cf. Rom 16:25; Eph 3:1-7.

[167] Phil 1:21, 23.

[168] Phil 1:21-23.

allowed for a person to speak,"[169] on account of which he said, "Our way of life is in heaven,"[170] and he urged "seeking the things above, [and] setting one's mind on the things above,"[171] "in order that whether we wake or sleep we might live together with him."[172] I think that hinting, he said "we wake" in regard to the soul, while "we sleep" in regard to the dormition of the body. So as many as who have a share "of that way of life," "and [their] life is hidden with Christ in God,"[173] so as to share a way of life with the saints, they

p. 33 rejoice, as we have said often in a second way, and to dwell also spiritually in this way of life in which while they were living, they struggled; and they attained to unchangeable and eternal good things as first fruits.[174] For the passage in the Apocalypse that "they were given white robes" which are the activities of graces, that is to say, of healings, now coming from the saints.[175] And this must be said that it is not as a result of a more excessive reward [given] to them, [the saints,] because healings are from God and he provides manifestations to the worthy to receive these things. For this is what the opponents say, that if they, the saints, are active, they receive a reward. But we do not say this; for how is it

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[169] 2 Cor 12:4.

[170] Phil 3:20.

[171] Col 3:1-2.

[172] 1 Thes 5:10.

[173] Col 3:3.

[174] Cf. Heb 9:11, 10:1.

[175] For bodily healing by God through the saints, see *A. Jo.* 106 (p.203.12); *A. Phil.* 39 (p.18.28); Or. *Cels.* 1.46 (p. 96.6; PG 11:745A); by the saints through their relics, see Eustratios, *De statu animarum*, 17.374-385; by the saints, see *Hom. Clem*. 19:25; Sophronios of Jerusalem, *Narratio miraculorum sanctorum Cyri et Joannis* 18 (PG 87:3477C).

possible that those who contended in bodies, and now existing outside of these [bodies] take part in battle with adversaries, that they may either be knocked out, having been defeated, or may they be crowned as winners, victorious? On account of honor and glory, and as some might say, of a particular support, that they may arouse us who are sleeping in apathy to zeal, this grace has been given to them; for Christ and our God never ceases - through himself and through his servants and worshippers - benefiting us, we who happen to be yet in this life; for he says that "My Father is working, and I am working."[176] And so from the testimonies of the Holy Scriptures we briefly furnished, to the best of our ability, a few examples among many.

And let us also see what the teachers and holy Fathers, having obtained the third order[177] in the church of God, say: Do the souls themselves of the saints truly appear to the worthy, or according to your law and reckoning, is it a divine power simulating the souls of the saints instead of them that appears to those deemed worthy of such a vision or manifestation?

p. 34 Therefore, the holy and far-famed Gregory, bishop of the church in the city of Nyssa, and brother of Basil the Great,[178] narrating the life of the great Gregory Thaumatourgos,[179] bishop of Neocaesarea, says the following: "So, therefore, coming under the yolk according to necessity, after these things, after

[176] Jn 5:17.

[177] I.e, the order of the bishops, the third and highest order of clergy; the other two orders were the diaconate and the presbytery.

[178] Basil of Caesarea.

[179] Lit. Gregory the Wonderworker.

all the customary ceremonies had been performed upon him, having asked for a brief time from the man who proclaimed him to the priesthood, in regard to the contemplation of the exact sense concerning the mystery, he no longer believed it necessary to devote oneself to, as the Apostle says, "flesh and blood,"[180] but asked [for] the vision of the hidden mysteries to come to him from God, and not before did he put trust in the proclamation of the word [of God], until the truth had been summoned forth to him through a vision. Once, contemplating at night upon doctrinal teaching[s] of faith, and stirring up all kinds of thoughts - for indeed even then there were some who were falsifying holy teaching, and through the plausible arguments of dialectical proofs often making the truth ambivalent even to the wise – on behalf of which [the truth], then, with him lying wide awake and thinking, someone appears in a waking vision in a human bodily form, the image [of someone] in old age, a befittingly holy person with [a robe][181] for a garment, showing much virtue, by the grace upon his face and the appearance of his form. Amazed at the sight, he rose from bed to learn who he might be and for what reason he had come. And after [the image] had calmed [Gregory's] disturbance of mind and had spoken with a gentle voice and said that because of his doubts, he [the apparition] appeared to him by divine command, that the truth of the holy faith might be proclaimed to him; and he [Gregory] took courage [from] these word[s] and looked upon him [the image] with some joy and

[180] Gal 1:16.

[181] Eustratios inserts στολή, the robe worn by the martyrs in Heaven; see pp. 186-187 above. Cf. Rev 6:11; 7:9, 13-14. Another definition is the vestment worn by priests and bishops that hangs around the neck, falling in equal lengths down the chest.

p. 35 astonishment. Then, after he [the image] straightened his hand forward and showed

him through the straight line of his fingers something appearing from his side, with his own eyes he followed his [the image's] hand in a straight line, and he saw another vision, face to face with the one that was seen by him, in a female shape, larger than human; again amazed, he leaned toward the face of the image, distressed by the vision, not bringing his eyes [to look] at the manifestation. For certainly the paradox of the vision was most of all in this, that although it was deep in the night a light with visions shined forth together toward him,[182] he says,[183] just as when a splendid lamp is kindled. When he was no longer able to bear the vision with his eyes, he heard the visions seen by him having a conversation with one another, discussing the teaching about which he [Gregory] was inquiring, through whom [the visions] he not only was instructed in the true knowledge of the faith, but also recognized the two who appeared [to him] by their names, each of them calling the other by their own personal name. For he is said to have heard from the vision in female form, entreating John the Evangelist to show the youth the mystical knowledge of the truth, and the latter [John] said he was ready to grant this to please the Mother of God, since this was dear to her; and so after having enunciated the teaching that was measured and well-chosen, again they departed from sight. And he at that very moment put down into

[182] Used figuratively of the saints with Christ. See Cyril. *Zach*. 24 (3.685D).

[183] Inserted by Eustratios.

words that divine initiation into the mysteries,[184] the words of revelation explained with all the clarity of the author and teacher of the true and awe-inspiring vision, [the words] having the power to put an end to every dispute concerning the inquiry under consideration. With respect to the narration [of Gregory of Nyssa], it is necessary to set up the mind to the narration [of Gregory] with an exact sense of the manifestation sent from God. For he did not say divine grace was shaped into the forms of John the Evangelist and of the God-

p. 36 bearing and Ever-Virgin Mary, the Mother of the Lord, but that because of his doubts, he [the apparition] appeared to him by divine command," " for certainly the paradox of the vision was most of all in this, that although it was deep in the night, light with visions shined forth together toward him,[185] just as when a splendid lamp is kindled." That "by a divine command" he was clearly shown the mysteries of revelations, and so everyone agrees who is not a contentious person, that "they shined forth together a light with visions": that is to say, by the Mother of the Lord and the Evangelist, another [light] is from their self-subsistent persons, and you [the proponents of saintly apparitions as manifestations of divine] are driven away by the truth, even now you will fully agree against your will. For Gregory "heard the visions seen by him having a conversation with one another, going over the teaching about which he was inquiring;" "the visions seen by him," he said, "and going over the teaching with one another:" he didn't speak

[184] Gregory of Nyssa, *De vita Gregorii Thaumaturgi* (BHG 715), PG 46:909.37-912.37. Gregory the Wonderworker (c. 213- c. 270) was a bishop of Neo-Caesarea in province of Pontus in Asia Minor. He is mentioned by Eusebios of Caesarea as a pupil of Origen; see Eusebios, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 6.30.

[185] Used figuratively of the saints with Christ. See Cyril. *Zach*. 24 (3.685D).

of "the grace [of God] having been endowed with form," but clearly demonstrated the manifestation of the persons, and he "also recognized the two who appeared by their names, each of them calling the other by their own personal name." Indeed, there are many proofs now in the same way of those who seek the truth: the clearness of the radiance of the persons, and the difference of the names, the "each of them calling the other [by their own personal name]," which indeed are produced not in fantasy, but in reality, and

p. 37 providing not even one doubt to those who wish to receive the manifest sights of true visions. If the appearances of the holy souls came or come not according to truth, let the visions of angels also not be according to the truth with you, but they are shown and manifested figuratively to those who lived before and to those who are worthy now.

But perhaps one of you will say that the manifestations of these two persons [the Virgin and John the Evangelist] transcend the rest of the saints; with reason too such are the paradoxes of the vision that he who says this would also be someone who speaks rightly. But let him consider, too, the one who has seen the vision [Gregory]: how great and miracle-working it was, and how great a lover of preaching true doctrines he was, of which the revelation of these he thought perfectly worthy. In due proportion between those who ask for themselves and those who petition, they who are ministering [the saints] are also

sent out to these people; [186]"[For] the spirits of prophets are subject to prophets."[187]

And Athanasios the Great, the luminary and bishop of the city of Alexandria, will teach us more fully concerning these matters. Indeed, in the fourth oration against the Arians,[188] of which the opening words are "The mad Arians, so it seems,...",[189] he [Athanasios] says these things: "Angels, as it is written, 'are ministering spirits sent forth in ministry,'[190] proclaiming gifts given from the Father[191] through the Spirit to those who receive [them].

p. 38 Indeed, the angel himself upon his appearance, declares that he is sent by the Master, as Gabriel himself declared before Zacharias[192] and again before Mary the Mother of God.[193] And the person who sees a vision of angels knows that he or she saw an angel and not God:[194] Zacharias saw an angel,[195] but Isaiah the

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[186] Cf. Heb 1:14.

[187] 2 Cor 14:32.

[188] In modern editions, this is Oration Three. See Athanasius *Werke*, 1. Bd., 1. T. *Die dogmatische Schriften*: 1. Lfg. *Epistula ad Episcopos Aegypti et Libyae*, advance work by Karin Metzler, prepared Dirk Uwe Hansen and Kyriakos Savvidis (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1996) 3-6. Idem., 2.-3. Lfg. *Oratione III contra Arianos*, advance work by Karin Metzler, revised and prepared by Kyriakos Savvidis (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1998-2000).

[189] Athanasios of Alexandria, *Oratione III contra Arianos*,1.1.

[190] Heb 1:14.

[191] Eustratios substitutes τοῦ πατρός for Athanasios' αὐτοῦ.

[192] Cf. Lk 1:5-25.

[193] Cf. Lk 1:26-38.

[194] Cf. Lk 24:23.

[195] Cf. Lk 1:5-25.

Lord;[196] Manoah, the father of Sampson, saw an angel,[197] but Moses beheld the Lord;[198] Gideon saw an Angel,[199] but God was seen by Abraham;[200] and neither the one [seeing][201] God saw an Angel, nor the other [beholding][202] an angel thought that he saw God. For greatly, or rather wholly, things that occur in nature differ with respect to God the creator. But if ever when an angel was seen, the one who saw heard a voice from God, just as it occurred at the [burning] bush: 'For an angel of the Lord appeared to him in the flame of fire out of the midst of a bush, saying "I am the God of your father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob."'[203] But the God of Abraham was not an angel, but God was speaking through the angel; and while the being who appeared was an angel, God was speaking through it. For just as he was speaking in a column of cloud to Moses at the tabernacle,[204] so God also appears speaking through angels. He also spoke in this way to [Joshua][205] the son of Nun through an angel.[206] And what God speaks, it is clear that he speaks it through the Word and not through another;

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[196] Cf. Isa 6:1.

[197] Cf. Judg 13:1-25.

[198] Cf. Ex 3:1-22.

[199] Cf. Judg 6:11-24.

[200] Cf. Ex 6:2-3; Acts 7:2.

[201] Added by Eustratios.

[202] Eustratios inserts θεωρῶν while Athanasios has ὁρῶν.

[203] Cf. Ex 3:2-6.

[204] Cf. Ex 33:9; Num 12:5.

[205] Eustratios inserts Ἰησοῦ.

[206] Cf. Josh 1:1.

the Word is not separate from the Father, and it is not dissimilar and foreign in essence. What things it does work, these are the works of the Father, and it makes one creation, and what things the Son gives, the gift of the Father are these. And he who has seen the Son,[207] knows that he has seen him,[208] not an angel, neither someone greater than angels,

p. 39 or any other creatures, but 'he has seen the Father Himself.'"[209] The vision that had been seen by Gregory Thaumaturgos, now the great Athanasios confirmed, even still more, all the manifestations that occurred of the holy martyrs, that is, the servants of God. And if indeed, then, "angels are ministering spirits" who are also "sent in ministry," they appear as angels, and not as the grace of God changing its form into angels, disguising itself and appearing to worthy people, consequently so too are the souls of saints,[210] as many as "have liberty of approach before God;"[211] even after the separation [of their souls] from their bodies, they in truth have made or make themselves visible. And these always are those who are manifest, even if through them God, who is active, gives graces to the ones invoking him. For because of the fact that the teacher says that "the person seeing a vision of angels knows that he or she has seen an angel and not God," it is clear that the person seeing the martyrs or servants of God beholds their souls, and nevertheless sees divine power shining forth with them and not

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[207] Jn 14:9.

[208] God.

[209] Athanasios of Alexandria, *Oratione III contra Arianos*, 14.7-29; Jn 14:9.

[210] The souls of saints are thus also ministering spirits, according to Eustratios.

[211] Cf. I Jn 3:21.

angels instead of the souls [of saints]. For just as the [burning] bush was rightfully beheld as a bush,[212] and the cloud and the column of fire[213] likewise, and God was speaking in them, so it is necessary to think this way in the case of the manifestation of souls.

For in many different ways the same Athanasios demonstrated this again also in his *Life* of the great Antony, narrating the visions seen by him. He says this: "Only this was the wonder of Antony, that sitting on the mountain he kept his

p. 40 heart vigilant, and the Lord showed him far distant things. In fact, once again sitting on the mountain and looking up, he saw someone being lifted into the air, and there was much joy of the people meeting [him]. Then, marveling at and blessing this company of people, he prayed to learn who this man might be. And immediately a voice came to him, that this was the soul of Amun the monk in Nitria. This man remained an ascetic until old age. And the distance [of the road][214] from Nitria up to the mountain where [the saint][215] was is thirteen days."[216] And a little later: "The monks to whom Anthony spoke concerning the death of Amun marked the day; and when the brothers came up from Nitria after

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[212] Cf. Ex 3:2.

[213] Cf. Num 12:5.

[214] Eustratios inserts τῆς ὁδοῦ.

[215] Eustratios inserts ἅγιος.

[216] Athanasios, *Vita Antonii* (BHG 140), 59.15-60.1-13, ed. G. J. M. Bartelink in *Athanase d'Alexandrie, Vie d'Antoine* [*Sources chrétiennes* 400. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1994].

thirty days, they asked and learned that Amun had fallen asleep on that day and hour in which the old man[217] had seen his soul[218] carried up."[219]

If it is possible, opponents, to behold a bodiless soul rising up into the sky, it is entirely possible, if necessity dictates, this is to be present here again. For all things are of the Lord, of him who has bound up and destroyed, moreover he also he sends it [the soul] here to receive back the body even at the time before the resurrection.[220] And as the Father[221] said, that the purity of Antony was to show him the far distant things of the Lord.

Indeed, the same Anthony in the same way saw the soul of the great monk and anchorite Paul, being taken up in the midst of a choir of angels and prophets, as being distinct in comparison with the angelic and prophetic rank.[222] Indeed, the writer of the *Life of Paul* [223] himself says this: "[Well then,] resuming, I shall narrate the deeds of the blessed Paul. That friend of Christ spent one hundred and ten years upon earth,

p. 41 living a heavenly life, when Abba Antony, at ninety, was living in another desert."[224] And a little later: "And Antony went his way, not taking any food at

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[217] Antony.

[218] Amun.

[219] Athanasios, *Vita Antonii*, 60.35-40.

[220] Elijah and Paul.

[221] Athanasios.

[222] Angels had their ranks; see Dionysios the Areopagite, *De caelesti hierarchia*, 2.1 and 2.2.

[223] Paul of Thebes, (d. c. 341).

[224] *Vita Pauli eremitae in Aegypti Thebaide* (BHG 1467), § 14, 27.10-20, ed. J. Bidez in *Deux versions grecques inédites de la vie de Paul de Thèbes* (Université de Gand. Recueil de travaux publiés par la

all with him, making haste he ran to the blessed Paul, yearning to see this man again; for he feared that perhaps he gave up his spirit[225] to the Lord. And journeying on the road that day, next, at the third hour of the day, he saw a troop of angels on the road, and the choir of prophets and apostles, and the Abba Paul gleaming as white as snow in their midst, ascending with them into heaven. In that hour Anthony fell upon his face, and lamenting and groaning, he said: 'Why have you left me behind, Father?'"[226] Behold, it was shown through this witness, that the one seeing a troop of angels, sees angels, and the one who beholds the souls of saints sees the souls of saints, and that "order upon order will not be turned around, and each person" remains "in his own order."[227] And the person who beholds a soul of a righteous man ascending into heaven with a troop of angels,[228] is again able to look at it [the soul] coming from heaven, clearly with divine power flashing like lightning around it.[229] But just as the bound soul with the body cannot do anything apart from a miracle of cooperation of God, so too after the separation from the body, without His grace it is not possible to perform beneficial visions.

Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres 25. Ghent-Brussels, 1900), 3-33. Paul is traditionally held to be the first hermit saint. He fled to the desert to desert to escape persecution under the Emperor Decius (249-251). He died around the year 345, well over one hundred years old.

[225] Jn 19:30.

[226] *Vita Pauli eremitae in Aegypti Thebaide* , § 14, 11:9-12.

[227] Dionysios the Areopagite, *Epistula 8 ad Demophilum monachum* 4.5-6.

[228] Cf. 2 Thes 1:7.

[229] The soul of Paul.

p. 42 The great preacher Athanasios again teaches us that souls are active after the separation from the body. He says therefore in his oration *Against the Idols* the following: "If the soul moves the body, as has been shown [above][230] it follows the soul moves on its own, and after the burial of the body in the earth, again it moves on its own, for it is not the soul that dies; but because of the separation from it, the body dies."[231] And a little later: "Even if when it is bound with the body, it is not restricted and measured by the smallness of the body, but often, when it [the body] lies and sleeps upon a bed, it [the soul], on its own power, is awake, and goes beyond the nature of the body. And as if departing from it yet remaining in the body, it contemplates and beholds the things beyond the earth, and therefore often meets with the saints who are without earthly bodies. If, [therefore it meets face to face] and arrives before them with the contemplation of the mind, how much more and still greater is it after the separation from the body and meets face to face with those who are without earthly bodies, when God, who has bound it [with the body], so wills?[232] From long ago the teacher of the church, seeing with spiritual eyes you who say that souls are not active after the separation from the body, he showed saying, "How much more and

p. 43 still greater is it after the separation from the body and meets with those who are without earthly bodies." So if it meets, it is clear it meets with those "sent forth in

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[230] Eustratios inserts ἀνωτέρω.

[231] Athanasios, *Oratio contra gentes*, 33.7-12.

[232] Ibid., 33.19-20.

ministry"[233] and are active in this life. If this is true, it is very clear that it [the soul] too is active on its own. Truly, as we all know, we also have beneficial meetings in the course of a dream, both with the living and dead, and we often send up hymns and thanksgivings to God. And sometimes we devise different thoughts and understand these after the body wakes. And if indeed while the body "lies upon a bed," it [the soul] in contemplation as the Father [Athanasios] said, "goes beyond nature, and remaining in the body, contemplates and beholds things above the earth," by how much more being outside the body, wherever God may wish to send it off for the benefit of others.

And even more clearly [on this matter] is the great Eutychios, archbishop of Constantinople, in all things worthy of veneration to me and holy superior,[234] and he himself in his work entitled the *On Becoming Rational and Intelligent in Essence with Respect to Those in a Place According to a Secondary Way*, wishes to show that the soul is bodiless, citing testimony from the great Basil concerning this matter, the one that says:

p. 44 "Know that God is bodiless from the bodiless soul existing within yourself."[235]After the quotation of the Father he [Eutychios] adds, saying, "And if 'it [the soul]' is neither grasped, tinged or formed by bodily characteristics,"[236] nor revealed by corporeal sight, it has the condition of angels, and it itself is

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[233] Heb 1:14.

[234] Cf. Eustratios of Constantinople, *Vita Eutychii*, 1.56-57; Gregory of Nazianzos, *In Basilium*, *Oratio* XLIII, 82.7; Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra fatum*, 32.1.

[235] Basil of Caesarea, *Homilia in illud: Attende tibi ipsi*, 35:16, ed. S.Y. Rudberg, *L'homélie de Basile de Césarée sur le mot observe-toi toi-même'*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1962: 23-37.

[236] Ibid., 35:20-21.

bodiless and simple, it is rational and intelligent, and bodiless it has circumscription, even though in the present life it is formed by God, and is created from non-being into being, and is devised with sense perception, and is a third created order; and whose condition is unique and similar, and the same activity of these things. For again Basil of Caesarea in his homily *On First Psalm* teaches thus, 'Of the things which are one nature, they are the activities of these things; and of the things which are equal work, it is the same reward of these things.'[237] And indeed, it is like the angels, and it, because it was released from the bonds of the body, both ascends and descends, and is sent forth because of kindness for others, as it is holy and good."

What do you, the opponents of the meaning of the Fathers, say to these things? Did you know that the great Eutychios also followed the holy earlier Fathers? And if you follow their teachings, well done. By all means we shall praise you as being sensible. Otherwise indeed, the opposite shall be said of you.

Nevertheless, for your greater assurance, we shall also offer other testimonies of the holy Fathers. Therefore, the holy bishop of Caesarea also says
p. 45 in his *Homily on the Forty Holy Martyrs* the following:[238] "The city of God is therefore a city of martyrs,[239] of which God is the craftsman and creator,[240] the

[237] Basil of Caesarea, *Homiliae super Psalmos*, PG 29:217A.

[238] The Forty Martyrs of Sebeste were Christian Roman soldiers, killed in the persecutions of Licinius after 316 by exposure on a frozen lake in Lesser Armenia. Feast day: March 9; BHG 1201-02; BHL 7537-39; BHO 712-713. Ephraim, Gregory of Nyssa, and Gaudentius of Brescia also wrote panegyrics on the Forty Martyrs. See P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, "I santi quaranta martiri di Sebestia," *Studi e Testi* 49 (1928): 155-

Jerusalem above is free, the mother[241] of Paul and of those like him."[242] And again: "The chorus was ready, a great addition to those praising the Lord from time immemorial, it was not assembled individually, but was translated collectively."[243] And a little later, the teacher, who quotes the voice of the martyrs, adds more: "Let us wait a bit, and the bosom of the patriarch[244] will comfort us. Let us exchange one night for all of eternity, let the foot burn, that it may continually dance with angels; let the hand fall off, that it may have liberty of approach, to be raised before the Master."[245]

And again: "They are the ones who took possession over our entire land, as if successive fortresses, offering protection from the raid of [our] enemies, not confining themselves to one place, but already having been entertained as guests in many places and adorning many native countries. And the wonder of it is that they are not

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184; P. Karlin-Hayter, "Passio of the XL Martyrs of Sebesteia: The Greek Tradition: The Earliest Account," *Acta Bollandiana* 109 (1991): 249-304.

[239] Heb 12:22.

[240] Heb 11:10.

[241] Gal 4:28; Basil of Caesarea, *In quadraginta martyres Sebastenses* (BHG 1205), PG 31:509B12-15. The Forty were martyred in the reign of Licinius (308-324), the eastern colleague of Constantine I (306-337). The Forty were troops stationed near Sebeste in Lower Armenia who had publically confessed Christianity. After they had refused to renounce their faith, the soldiers were condemned to execution. They were stripped naked and left to freeze to death as a group at night upon a frozen lake. Upon the discovery that they still were living the next morning, they were burnt alive. Their remains were thrown into the river.

[242] Ibid., PG 31:509B12-15.

[243] Ibid., PG 31:509C5.

[244] Abraham. Cf. Lk 16:22.

[245] Basil of Caesarea, *In quadraginta martyres Sebastenses*, PG 31:517A15.

divided one by one [when] they visit those who receive [them], but joined with one another they dance in choral unity. O, the miracle! Neither are they deficient in numbers, nor do they receive an increase; if you divided them into a hundred, they do not go beyond their own number. If you joined them together into one, they remain forty in this way, according to the nature of the fire. For even that passes over to the kindling, and is whole with the one possessing it.

p. 46 And the forty are all of same [chorus], and [yet] are all individual. The bountiful benefaction, the inexhaustible grace, a ready help for Christians, a church of martyrs, an army of trophy-bearers, a chorus of those giving praise. How much would you toil in order to find one importuning the Lord on your behalf? They are the forty offering up a harmonious prayer.[246] "Where two or three are gathered in the name of the Lord, He is there in their midst."[247] And where the forty are, who doubts the presence of the God? The one who is distressed takes refuge in the forty; the one who rejoices hurries away to them; the former in order that he may find a release from troubles, the latter that his more beneficial goods may be protected."[248]

And again: "O holy chorus, holy band of soldiers, unbroken[249] closed ranks, common guards of the human race! Noble companions in troubles, helpers in supplication, most powerful ambassadors, stars of the universe, flowers of the churches! The earth did not hide you; instead, heaven received you. The gates of

[246] Basil of Caesarea, *In quadraginta martyres Sebastenses*, PG 31:524A2.

[247] Mt 18:20.

[248] Basil of Caesarea, *In quadraginta martyres Sebastenses*, PG 31:524A8.

[249] Cf. Isa 31:9.

paradise opened for you. Worthy is the marvelous spectacle in the army of angels, worthy of patriarchs, prophets, [and] the just."[250]

And it is equally very much appropriate here and now to quote the text of the psalm, "Once God has spoken; twice I have heard this." [251] For behold the teacher[252] has comprehensively [shown] at the same time all those from time immemorial[253] who are well-pleasing [to the Lord], - [I say] patriarchs and prophets,

p. 47 apostles and martyrs and the just[254] - to dance and be united with angels. And uniting with angels is an example of activity, certainly not inactivity. For saying,"[T]he city of martyrs [is] the city of God, the Jerusalem above, the mother of Paul and of those like him," he showed both the ascription of glory and activity in harmony with one another. For a [city] would never be called a city, if it did not have citizens, and people performing functions appropriate to the city. He presented these things to be so by account of his saying, "The chorus was ready, a great addition of those praising the Lord from time immemorial." If there is "a great addition of those praising the Lord," how do you say that the souls of the martyrs are not active? But among the martyrs this is not so. He said, "Let the foot burn, that it may continually dance with angels." By all means, therefore,

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[250] Basil of Caesarea, *In quadraginta martyres Sebastenses*, PG 31:524A35-44.

[251] Ps 61:12.

[252] Basil of Caesarea.

[253] Cf. Lk 1:70; Acts 3:21.

[254] The phrases "all those from time immemorial are well-pleasing," "patriarchs...apostles and martyrs and the just," are liturgical. See the *Constitutiones Apostolorum*, 8:41.10 and 29 (prayers for the dead), p. 256 and 258); the *Anphora Liturg. Bas*., p. 408.10; the Trisagion prayer, p. 314, col. 1:6-8); *Anaphora Liturg. Iac*. in *Memento defunctorum et santorum* in *Magna oratio eucharistica*, p. 212 [98] 16. See van Deun, note on p. 46, *De statu animarum*.

you saw a course that would afterward be bestowed on them to those pleading for their help. "[L]et the hand fall off, that it may have liberty of approach, to be raised before the Master;" because they beg the master, it is clear that they extend their hands on our behalf, and so they stand as "successive fortresses." For "they provide protection from the raid of [our] enemies" to those supplicating them. "And the wonder of it is that they are not divided one by one [when] they visit those who receive [them], but being joined

p. 48 with one another they dance in choral unity;" "being joined" is to be understood in reference to the body, and "dancing," in respect of the soul. Therefore, "visiting," "dancing," and "providing protection," are not [characteristic] of sleeping or ineffective people, but ever vigilant and "having liberty of access" they stand in attendance before God. "O, the miracle! ... [They] are all of same [chorus], and [yet] are all individual" who are sent by God. "The bountiful benefaction ... How much would you toil in order to find one winning over the Lord on your behalf? They are the forty offering up a harmonious prayer." Let persuasion and prayer persuade you as not [something] of abstention, but as a part of activity, and especially whenever this is offered to God by the worthy. For [Scripture] says that '"Where two or three are gathered in the name of the Lord, there He is in the midst of them;'[255] and where the forty are, who doubts a presence of God?"[256]

[255] Mt 18:20.

[256] PG 31:509C5.

And therefore, as many of you who have held fast to the opinion that the souls of the saints are not active, pay attention to all the enumerations by the teacher concerning the holy martyrs, do not doubt knowing that their appearance comes from God. For what God does, he truly does, and he does not perform falsely or obscurely. For it is written: "Souls of the righteous are in the hand of God."[257] One must understand that the "hand of God"[258] is his active power. Therefore, the "souls of the just" are never able to remain inactive; the Fathers said they dance with the angels in heaven.

p. 49 Therefore, the great Basil concerning the martyr Ioulitta again says the following: "After she said these things, she leapt toward the pyre. And it, encompassing the body of the holy woman just like a brilliantly-lit bridal chamber, sent up her soul to the heavenly land and fittingly appointed place[259] for it, and it delivered her precious body pure to those who are befitting."[260] And so since "her soul was sent up to the heavenly appointed place," the deeds which the inhabitants in heaven pursue, it [her soul] also being appointed to "the land of the living,"[261] likewise does these things, and just as a sweet voice has been united with a choir of sweet voices, it puts no muzzle upon its mouth, but parting the

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[257] WisSol 3:1.

[258] Job 12:9-10.

[259] Ἡ λῆξις, "appointed place," was used as a synonym for heaven by early Christian writers; cf. Athanasios, *Expositio in Ps.* 14:1, PG 27:100A.

[260] Basil of Caesarea, *Homilia in martyrem Iulittam* (BHG 972), 31:241.10-15. Traditionally said to have been martyred under the Emperor Diocletian, Ioulitta, a wealthy landowner, brought a lawsuit to prevent the confiscation of her property. She was denounced in the court as a Christian. After Ioulitta refused to burn incense to the gods, she was condemned to be burnt alive.

[261] Ps 114:9.

lips and opening the mouth with great power, it lets loose a well-sounding voice. Upon this happening, someone may not call the one who is now in harmony with the chorus idle. Likewise, too, as many as have been united with the chorus of angels, they accomplish the same deed and activity with them.

And so the same Spirit-bearing Basil in his exposition of Psalm 114, again says this: "[A]nd there is a land [of the] living,[262] they are always like themselves, in which the prophet especially proclaimed himself that he would please the God of the universe, as he intends to be interrupted by no one from the outside in his goal of the true and equally honorable work with the angels. 'We aspire,' he says, 'whether dwelling in the body, or departing [from] the body, [to be][263] pleasing to him."[264] That is the land of the living, in which night is not possible, [and] sleep is not possible, the image of death."[265]

p. 50 Do you see the instructions of the three who are filled with divine wisdom, that of the Apostle,[266] of David the prophet,[267] and third, of the teacher,[268] which are in harmony with one another? For "departing [from] the body, [to be] pleasing"[269] to God in the "land [of the] living" "in which night is

[262] Ps 114:9.

[263] Eustratios inserts γενέσθαι.

[264] 2 Cor 5:9.

[265] Basil of Caesarea, *Homiliae super Psalmos***,** PG 29 493:27-36.

[266] Paul.

[267] David as composer of the Psalms.

[268] Basil of Caesarea.

[269] 2 Cor 5:6.

not possible [nor] sleep, the image of death," what does it reveal other than that the saints are always active? If therefore neither night nor sleep dwell in that life, how can the souls of the saints, according to what you say, be useless and sleeping, since they guide [the prophet] "in his goal of the true and equally honorable work with the angels"? And "[the] work of angels," [which is] the eternal ascription of glory to God, is also to serve, to minister, to be sent out, to give help to those in need, and to guide by hand those lead astray. At any rate, the patriarch Jacob, contemplating the ladder, saw these things happening: angels descending and ascending,[270] carrying down the gifts of God to those who are worthy to the receive them,[271] and bearing up to God, the giver of good things, the supplications of the righteous and all those in need. And the Savior said this in the Gospels, "See to it that you do not despise one of these little ones believing in me; [for truly] I tell you that their angels always behold the face of my Father who is in heaven."[272] For to each believer who also chooses the godly life, a good angel attends, sometimes helping him as he fights against enemies, other times it guides by the hand towards

p. 51 beneficial things; "[For] the angel of the Lord will encamp around those who revere Him, and he will deliver them."[273] And Jacob again said, "The angel delivered me from my youth."[274]

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[270] Gen 28:12.

[271] Cf. Cyril of Alexandria, *Glaphyra in Genesim*, 3.4.

[272] Mt 18:10.

[273] Ps 33:8 (Ps 34:7).

[274] Gen 48:16; cf. Ps 70:5 (71:5).

When those who doubt this, who maintain their opinions, say that souls do not exist as manifestations after departure from here, since some people see visiting [them] in a dream those who in the flesh are saints and virtuous men and who [the dreamers] are in need of their help; furthermore, and yet those who visit are absent far away, "but instead a divine grace occurs accomplishing this [manifestation], in honor of those [saints and virtuous people], and so we say it is not them who appear to the suffering." What shall we say to this? First of all, we say this: "All things are possible to the one who believes,"[275] and God raises people into the air in the flesh and moves them wherever He wishes, just as He did to Habakkuk[276] and Philip;[277] for he transferred the former in the blink of an eye from Jerusalem to Babylon, and again the latter from Gaza to Azotos and Caesarea. And the prophet Ezekiel relates such things, saying, "I sat in my house [i.e., in

captivity] and the elders of Judah were sitting before me.[278] The Spirit lifted me up between earth and heaven, and brought me to Jerusalem in a vision of God, to

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[275] Mk 9:23.

[276] Bel 34-36.

[277] Acts 8:26 and 40.

[278] Ezek 8:1.

the forecourts of the gate of the inner court.[279] And he said to me, 'Son of man, do you see what they are doing?"'[280]

"And when I went in I saw, and behold, there were useless idols[281] and seventy men of the elders of the house of Judah - Jaazaniah the son of Shaphan was standing in their midst – and they were standing before their [the idol's] faces. And he said to me, 'Do you see what the elders do in their hidden bedrooms?"'[282] And behold at the forecourts of the temple of the

p. 52 Lord in between the altar were about twenty-five men, their backs to the temple of the Lord, and their faces opposite. And these men were worshipping the sun."[283]

And after the prophet saw these visions, a little later again he says, "And the Spirit lifted me up and brought me to the land of the Chaldeans, to captivity, in the spirit of God."[284] We also learned through the prophet how a man in the flesh is able to pass from one place to another invisibly and in secret with the cooperation of God, and to visit, advise prudence, and provide cures to those who invoke the Lord with their whole heart. Therefore, if the saints make manifestations while they are still in the body, by how much more, since they have been released from the burdensome appendage of the flesh, do they make their visitations unhindered and with ease?

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[279] Ezek 8:3.

[280] Ezek 8:6.

[281] Ezek 8:10.

[282] Ezek 8:11-12.

[283] Ezek 8:16.

[284] Ezek 11:24.

We find such a thing happened in the time of the Emperor Constantine the Great, which Nicholas, the holy bishop of Lykia accomplished with the will God. For it says this in his *Life*, "And Nepotianos, one of them who remembered the things which Saint Nicholas accomplished concerning the three men in Lykia,[285] those who were condemned unjustly and who saved them from death, said,[286] "Save us Saint Nicholas, servant of Christ. Even if you are far away from us, may our prayer be near you: give help on our behalf before God, that if we are saved, we may deserve to reverence your holiness." After Nepotianos said these things, then the three men as with one mouth cried out and were praying, 'God of Saint Nicholas, save us!' And the holy man of God Nicholas [appeared][287] in person

p. 53 that night and said, 'Emperor Constantine, rise up and release the three men, the army commanders which you have in prison, because they were falsely accused. And if you refuse my request, I shall engage in war with you in Dyrrachion,[288]

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[285] Nepotianos was an army commander. His fellow officers were Oursos and Herpuleonis. See Praxis de stratelatis, *Vitae et miracula Nicolai Myrensis, Praxis de stratelatis*, ed. G. Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos. Der Heilige Nikolaos in der griechischen Kirche. Texte und Untersuchungen*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Teubner, 1913) Recension I.1.6; Recension II.1.19; Recension III.1.14. The three officers had earlier witnessed Nicholas save three innocent men from execution in Lykia. Upon returning to Constantinople, the three officers were falsely denounced as traitors by the eparch [prefect] of Constantinople, Ablabios, before the Emperor Constantine, who summarily ordered their execution. Recensions I, II, and III.10-17.

[286] Praxis de stratelatis, *Vitae et miracula Nicolai Myrensis, Praxis de stratelatis* (Recension I) (BHG 1349z), I.18.24.

[287] Eustratios inserts ὤφθη.

[288] Dyrrachion (modern Durrës) was a seaport and fortress on the eastern shore of the Adriatic, the capital of the capital of the province of Nova Epirus. Peter van Deun cites the place as Δοράχιῳ; see *De statu animarum,* 1270. Theophanes the Confessor (fl. eighth to ninth century) mentions τὸ Δοράχιον as the city in New Epirus in Illyrica, which is clearly Dyrrachion. The three resecensions of the the lives of saint Nicholas cite the place as Δορράχιῳ. The spellings Δοράχιῳ and Δορράχιῳ are attested in the corpus of Greek literature only in Theophanes the Confessor and the three rescenions of the Life of Saint Nicholas. Δυρράχιῳ, however, is cited from the time of Plutarch to the late Byantine era. Leo Allatius, I think, correctly cites the place as Δυρράχιῳ. Because of its strategic importance as a seaport and fortress, as well as the western terminus of the Via Egnatia, the Roman military road which ran from Dyrrachion and

and I shall hand over your flesh to the birds, and shall make an appeal against you before the great king.'[289] And the emperor said, 'Who are you? [And] how did you come into my palace?' And the holy man said, 'I am Nicholas the sinner who is in Lykia in the metropolis of Myra.' After he said these things, he withdrew and was gone. [At that very moment] he was seen[290] saying the same things to Ablabios the eparch."[291] Do we at last persuade you who say that the souls of saints are not made manifest or are active according to individual nature? Do you follow the matters that were related or not? In every way then, in order that [the following] not apply to be said against you: "Behold, scorners, and marvel"[292] and "We would have healed Babylon, but she would not be healed."[293] For we put before you many acts that support one another performed by the saints both from the Old and New Testaments, which show the truth. And it is

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Apollonia on the Adriatic to Constantinople, I would argue that Dyrrachion is the place where Saint Nicholas would logically threaten the Emperor Constantine with war if the did not fulfill his request for the the release of the three army commanders.

[289] Recensions I, II, and III have Nicholas stating that he would denounce Constantine before τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως Χριστοῦ, the great king Christ. That Eustratios should leave out "Christ" is perhaps surprising. However, God referred to as the Great King is attested in Matthew 5:35. Perhaps Eustratios intended some irony here, since Constantine himself is also referred by Eusebios of Caesarea as the "great king," sovereign. See Eusebios of Caesarea, *De laudibus Constantini*, 1.1.3. Drawing a parallel to the emperor, Eusebios also calls God "great king;" Constantine thus for Eusebios represents God's earthly counterpart in sovereign power; Eusebios, *De laudibus Constantini*, 10.7.4. There is also another resonance to the phrase "great king," since this was traditionally a reference to the king of Persia; see Herodotus, 1.188. In the last two decades of the sixth century, the time Eustratios composed *De statu animarum*, the Roman Empire was continuously at war with Persia, so "great king," the traditional title of the Persian ruler, would have also have meant the archenemy of the Roman emperor.

[290] Nicholas.

[291] *Vitae et miracula Nicolai Myrensis, Praxis de stratelatis* (recension II) (BHG 1350), pp. 80.18-81.10, pp. 67-91.

[292] Hab 5:1.

[293] Jer 28:9 (51:9).

necessary for you to consider how the acts that support one another were appearing, both the author who wrote the life of the saint and the saint himself, and what kind of conversation he had with both the emperor and the eparch; the author says that he was seen "in person" by the emperor "at night," and the saint was asked by the emperor, "Who are you who commands these things?"[294] He answered, saying, "I am

p. 54 Nicholas the sinner who is in Lykia; and if you do not obey me," [I shall wage] "war" [against] "you."

And Gregory [Nazianzos] in his eulogy for the holy man Basil [of Caesarea] teaches likewise, for he says the following: "But let divine soul [of Basil] forgive [me]; it is always an object of reverence for me, now as before. And as when he was with us, he always used to correct me many on many matters with the rule of friendship and a higher law – for I am not ashamed to say this, since he was a standard of virtue to all – and so since he has become above us [in heaven], he will be one who offers pardon for our [sakes]."[295] Asking for a pardon and saying, "He used to correct me on many matters when he was with us, and so since he has become above us;" the one who said these things [Gregory] clearly presents the holy soul of he who has been praised [Basil] as keeping watch. Again he says a little later the following, "One or two things he possessed from the beginning, and belonging to his own life, and which would most

[294] *Vitae et miracula Nicolai Myrensis, Praxis de stratelatis* (recension III) (BHG 1350a), p. 88.17.

[295] Gregory of Nazianzos, *Funebris oratio in laudem Basilii Magni Caesareae in Cappadocia episcopi* (orat. 43) (BHG 244), 2.5-10, ed. F. Boulenger, *Grégoire de Nazianze. Discours funèbres en l'honneur de son frère Césaire et de Basile de Césarée* (Paris: Picard, 1908).

certainly be a delight speaking to matters that are spoken, and I shall turn to him."[296] He who clearly takes notice [Basil] of "the matters that are spoken," does not sleep, but is self-controlled and actively understands; and for which reason he also forgives the speaker [Gregory], if it should be necessary to experience this. And so consequently this is not a proof of inactivity, but of activity. And again he brings forth such things saying, "And so let our affairs be lead where they are dear to God, but may they be lead along a better way by that man's intercessions."[297] And he afterwards adds

p. 55 to these things, since he beholds the holy man as being present and who is educated by him, says, "'by whom now I am still being admonished and made temperate through nightly visions, if I should ever fall outside of duty."[298] The teacher committed every cause of offence far away [from Basil], saying "I am being admonished and made temperate in nightly visions." How was he "being admonished and made temperate?" Was Gregory experiencing these visions with the presence of the soul of Basil or were they in his imagination? Therefore, he is not tricked by illusion – let it not happen - but as truly "seeing" and "and being seen by the Spirit he was made perfect."[299] Therefore, he says a little later the following, "And may you watch over us from above, divine and holy superior, and either may you stay by your intercessions 'the thorn of the flesh given'[300] to

[296] Ibid., 4.1.5-7.

[297] Ibid., 25:17.

[298] Ibid., 80.30.

[299] Ibid., 80.38.

[300] 2 Cor 12:7.

us by God, [which is] our preparatory training, or may you entreat [us] to bear [it] patiently, and may you guide all life toward the greatest profit. And if we would be translated, may you receive us there in your tabernacles, as living together with one another and contemplating together more purely and perfectly the holy and blessed Trinity, of which now we have in some measure received reflections, that here we may restrain from desire."[301] Every passage, that is to say, every idea, which has been furnished from the teaching of the Father, now extinguishes every hypothesis of your dispute; for how is he able to "watch over from above," or intercede, or

p. 56 "receive those translated" in "the tabernacles themselves," whom they contemplate, "as living with one another, the holy and blessed Trinity," and not indistinctly as it is in the present, but more clearly and distinctly, if, according to you, the souls of the saints are not active? But let such absurd stories be cast out and driven far away, and let truths not be judged as myths and lies, but let them be received as truths.

For the same theologian again in the eulogy for his own father proclaims such things: "The permanent abode is better than the temporary one, and which is a calm harbor for those who sail, this is the change of place there for those who are suffering here."[302] And again, "Second, you have persuaded[303] that 'the Good

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[301] Gregory of Nazianzos, *Funebris oratio in laudem Basilii Magni Caesareae in Cappadocia episcopi* (orat. 43) 82.6; see also Lk 16:9.

[302] Gregory of Nazianzos, *Funebris oratio in patrem* (orat. 18). PG 35:988.46-49.

[303] Gregory, the father of Gregory Nazianzos, who died in 374.

Shepherd laying down [his] life on behalf of the sheep,'[304] has not now left us behind, but instead is present and tends his flock, and leads the way, and 'he knows [his own], and he is known by [his own],'[305] not being seen bodily, but is with [his own] spiritually, and fights in defense of the flock against wolves, yielding to none coming over through the pen thievishly and treacherously.[306] I also believe that by his intercession more than his previous teaching,[307] and so much the more since he draws near to God, having shaken off his bodily bonds and having released his mind from turbid mud, he is naked, [conversing][308] with the unincarnate Godhead,[309] the foremost and purest mind, [and] is deemed worthy, if it is not bold to speak of this, of the rank and free access [to God][310] of angels."[311]

p. 57 Just as with those who are setting out to sail the sea, who are still on land, and delay in port, perhaps to them the waves, the "depths of the waters,"[312] are easy to disregard, [but] when they find themselves in the midst of the open sea, on

[304] Cf. Jn 10:11.

[305] Cf. Jn 10:14.

[306] Cf. Jn 10:12.

[307] The father of Gregory, Gregory of Nazianzos the Elder (c.276-374).

[308] Eustratios inserts συντυγχάνων.

[309] Literally, "and naked conversing with a naked being." καὶ γυμνῷ γυμνὸς [συντυγχάνω]. Γυμνὸς is a usual term for the unincarnate Godhead; cf. Gregory of Antioch, *De baptismo Christi*, 2.6, PG 88:1877B. See also *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, ed. G. W. H. Lampe (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1961), p. 325.

[310] Παρρησία, parrhesia, freedom of speech.

[311] Gregory of Nazianzos, *Funebris oratio in patrem* (orat. 18) (BHG 714), PG 35:989.13-29. Cf. John 10.1.

[312] Ps 68:15.

this occasion unlimited fear and cowardice lays hold of them, and if violent and severe winds assail the boat, and all hope is entirely carried away for them to be saved, I think in a like manner they are those who resist the present discourse [that the souls of the departed are active]. Yes indeed, at first they are buoyed up and gaze about, and sometimes mocking, they attacked; but going out into the "depth" of the sea, that is to say, encountering the teaching of the Fathers, every hope was taken away from them and very reasonably so for saying such a claim that there is no activity, and the souls of saints do not appear after their release [from the body] from here. For if as the Father says, "'The Good Shepherd laying down [his] life on behalf of the sheep,'[313] he has not now left us behind, but instead is present and tends his flock, and leads the way, and 'he knows [his own], and he is known by [his own],'[314]... especially since he draws near to God, he is naked, praying to the unincarnate Godhead, the foremost and purest mind, being deemed worthy of the rank and free access [to God] of angels." How do you dare to say the souls of the saints do not appear to those worthy enough to see them? For it is plain he who is worthy attains "the rank and free access [to God] of angels," and the same ministry [of angels].

Again therefore supplicating his departed father, he [Gregory] adds, saying "Make known to us in what way you are in glory, and the light around you, and receive into the same tabernacles after a short while your partner and the children

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[313] Cf. Jn 10:11.

[314] Cf. Jn 10:14.

p. 58 whom you anticipated, and me."[315] Do you see with what sort of words the son addressed to his own father: "our father?" Speaking to him, "Make known to us in what way you are, and the light around you," did he address [his father] as able to teach these things, or not? Judge prudently. Otherwise, you will not be willing to affirm the truth.

The same theologian again, then, in his funeral oration on Kaisarios[316] says the following: "Every beautiful and divinely-loved soul, whenever freed from the bond of its body [and] is released from here [earth], immediately comes into perception and contemplation of the good awaiting it, inasmuch as the darkening has been cleaned away, or put off, or, I do not know, what ever word is right to call it, it enjoys a wonderful pleasure and it rejoices greatly, and it cheerfully goes to its Master, having escaped life here as if from a harsh prison, and having shaken off the shackling fetters, with which the wing of the intellect[317] was weighed down, it reaps the stored-up bliss such as already in imagination, a short while later having taken up the bit of related flesh with which it contemplated matters there [heaven]."[318] The phrases "[the] soul coming into perception and contemplation of the good," and "to enjoy a wonderful pleasure

[315] Gregory of Nazianzos, *Funebris oratio in patrem* (orat. 18), PG 35:1040.6-9.

[316] Kaisarios was the younger brother of Gregory Nazianzos. He died in 369.

[317] Cf. Plato, *Phaedrus*, 49c, where Plato has Socrates assert that only the mind of the philosopher grows wings.

[318] Gregory of Nazianzos, *Funebris in laudem Caesarii fratris oratio* (orat. 7) (BHG 286), 21.2-14, ed. F. Boulenger, *Grégoire de Nazianze. Discours funèbres en l'honneur de son frère Césaire et de Basile de Césarée* (Paris: Picard, 1908).

and to rejoice greatly," and "to go to its Master" teaches those not thinking on this manner to be silent.

Again indeed with a clear voice he says this, "Then I shall see Kaisarios himself, no longer in exile, no longer borne [away], no longer mourned, no longer lamented, [but] magnificent, glorious, elevated, such as you were seen often in a dream by me, my dearest and most

p. 59 beloved brother, whether this [dream] represents [you] because of my desire or the truth."[319] And through these words the theologian taught how he beheld his own brother who appeared to him not only once but often. And no one should think him speaking with doubt when he says "whether because of my desire;" for it is customary for him often to do this on account of his modesty, since in other writings he seems to be saying such things.[320] One must examine, rather, the introduction of the truth, for which reason it is confirmed, and this having certainty from other witnesses. And so leaving the many proofs of the Father concerning this subject, lest by composing a long oration we produce a cause for hesitation in readers, having introduced one single testimony we shall move on to the rest of the holy Fathers.

Therefore, in his first invective oration against Julian he [Gregory Nazianzos] says this, "Did you not even fear the great champions, that John, Peter, Paul, James, Stephen, Luke, Andrew, Thekla, and those after them and before them, who had borne the brunt of battle for the sake of truth, who readily struggled against fire, iron, wild beasts, and tyrants, with evils present and

[319] Gregory of Nazianzos, *Funebris in laudem Caesarii fratris oratio*, 21.7.1-6.

[320] Cf. Gregory of Nazianzos, *De moderatione in disputando* (orat. 32), PG 36:173.46-48.

threatening, as if in other bodies, or bodiless? For what? That they betray their piety, not even by so much as a word. For whom there are great honors and feasts, by whom demons are driven out and sicknesses are healed, to whom there are revelations and prophesies, and whose bodies alone possess power equal to
p. 60 their holy souls, either touching lightly or revering,[321] and whose drops of blood and small tokens [relics] of their suffering alone [possess power] equal to their bodies."[322]

The proof of the Father now most clearly has been shown, a seal of both the testimonies that were cited and of those that are going to be cited, utterly rooting out any and all opinion of those who say the souls of saints do not manifest themselves. For he clearly taught that the driving out of demons occurs [through the saints], and healings are provided through them, saying "of whom there are manifestations and prophesies." He added not only are souls in themselves active, but granted that [their] bodies "being lightly touched or revered," have power to possess a grace and activity equal to their souls, clearly with the cooperation of God, active according to their own being, and not one who is active or appears on behalf of another.

One or two proofs of the [activity of the] saints were sufficient for reasonable ears. But lest we should be seen as neglecting or overlooking the rest [of the Fathers], or you might suspect them to have said nothing about this topic, we thought it necessary for a few of their testimonies be cited as evidence.

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[321] I.e., the bodies of the saints.

[322] Gregory of Nazianzos, *Contra Iulianum imperatorem 1* (orat. 4), PG 35:589.23-38.

Therefore Gregory, bishop of the city of Nyssa, in his *Commentary on the Beatitudes*, comments on the quotation "Blessed are those who are persecuted:" "Let us not be grieved, brothers, being far from earthly things. For translated there [heaven], one dwells in celestial palaces. These two elements, heaven and earth, are in the structure of being, having been apportioned according to the way
p. 61 of life of the rational mind. The place of those who received life through the flesh is earth; but heaven is the dwelling of the bodiless. Therefore, it is entirely necessary for our life to be [lived] somewhere. [And] if we were not driven away from earth, we will be entirely bound on earth; if we depart from here, we shall be translated to heaven."[323]

"He who is translated there," as the teacher said, and "dwelling" with the bodiless angels, the things that the angels do who dance in a chorus, those who are with them likewise do these things.

The same teacher in his work entitled *To Those who Delay Baptism*, – of which this is the beginning – "The kings of this world, etc. ...., says the following: "In the choice of evils, it is preferable for someone who has been deemed worthy of holy baptism to come again into sin than to bring to an end the life not participating in grace."[324] And a little later, "A soul [that is] unenlightened[325] [without baptism],[326]and not having been adorned with the grace

[323] Gregory of Nyssa, *Orationes viii de beatitudinibus*, PG 44:1300.42-52.

[324] Gregory of Nyssa, *De iis qui baptismum differunt***,** PG 46:414.27-424.9.

[325] ἀφώτιστον.

[326] Cf. Gregory of Nazianzos, *Or*.33.17 (PG 36:236C); ibid. 34:11 (252B); ibid. 40.22 (388B).

of spiritual rebirth,[327] I do not think that even the angels receive it after the separation from the body; for how is it possible for them to receive the unsealed [soul after death], not bearing any baptismal symbol [of believers marked as the property of Christ][328] of ownership, which is likely borne in the air wandering, roaming, and incomprehensible as it is without a master, longing for rest and a place to call

p. 62 home, and not finding them, lamenting in vain and repenting to no avail, like the rich man[?]"[329] While the teacher seemed to say "the unsealed" soul is in ambiguous state, whether angels receive it or not, it is evident that "the angels receive the souls of saints after the separation from the body," and the souls at rest with them perform activities and songs of praise [to God].

The same Father speaks subtly concerning the soul in the dialogue addressed to his own sister Makrina; and it is possible to read the work and to know the truth, with only some arguments to be cited from the work itself. And so it reads as follows: "We understand being [confined to] a place is characteristic of bodies only, but the soul, being bodiless, there is no necessity from nature for it to be confined in one place."[330] And again, "For I think that those who are not excessively stubborn have been moderately persuaded by what has been said [by

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[327] παλιγγενεσίας.

[328] Cf. Origen, *Commentarii in evangelium Joannis* (lib. 19, 20, 28, 32), 28.2.8, ed. E. Preuschen, *Origenes Werke*, vol. 4 [*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller* 10. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903]: 298-480.

[329] Gregory of Nyssa, *De iis qui baptismum differunt***,** PG 46:424.23-31; Cf. Luke 16:19-31. For a study on the theology of baptism in the works of Gregory of Nyssa, see Everett Ferguson, *Baptism in the Early Church: History, Theology, and Liturgy in the First five Centuries* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans), 2009), 603-622.

[330] Gregory of Nyssa, *Dialogus de anima et resurrectione*, PG 46:69.23-26.

us], not to consider the soul after the separation from the body to be in [a state of] destruction and non-existence, nor to construct an argument for it [not at all] to be able to exist in the elements [of the material universe] on account of its having a different nature in regard to the essence of the elements. For even if its intellectual and immaterial nature does not correspond with them [the elements], to exist in them does not pose a hindrance."[331]

See how the teacher equally has depicted "those who say the souls after the separation form the body" [to be in a state of] "non-existence," and again once more "those who construct an argument for them [not at all] to be able [ever to be] in them." If therefore "its nature [is] intellectual and immaterial in regard
p. 63 to the essence of the elements [of the material universe], does not correspond with them" to be seen and most certainly is both virtuous and good, being dispatched as a grace of some service into this very life, how do they say that this is not a possible thing? Let them look at, in their opinion, the sister and neighbor being joined together [as] the state of being non-existent. It must therefore be thought by some of them in such a way, lest it is necessary to condemn [them] in a like manner. But putting aside this whole treatise of the Father on account of its length, we will move on to another inquiry.

And so indeed John [Chrysostom], the all-wise teacher and bishop of Constantinople, writes this from his banishment to a young widow, of which the beginning of the letter consists of the following, "That you have received a severe

[331] Ibid., PG 46:72.40-47.

blow,[332] etc. ... One need not mourn over these matters, but instead rejoice. For this death is not death, but a journey and a translation from one place to another, from worse to better, from earth to heaven, from human beings to the angels and the master of the archangels."[333] And a bit later, "If you wish to show the same way of life as that man [the departed husband of the widow], then you will receive him again not in this beauty of the body, which he had at his departing, but in some other sparkling [body] beaming more [radiantly][334] than solar rays."[335] And shortly after, "And if you suffer violent emotions over the length of time, it is possible that at some time for him to be near you through visions, and to converse [with you] in his accustomed way, and to show his longed-for face;

p. 64 let this be for you instead of the consolation of letters, this is more clear than letters. For while in the latter only letters are seen, in the former there is also an imprint of his face, his soft laughter, his figure, his walk, you hear his tone, and recognize his beloved voice."[336] Does he who appears "through visions" and speaks in his customary ways, showing "his beloved face" and "figure" do these things actively, and does he console those gripped by grief? Does sleep provide [these visions] to the slumbering and does it likewise arrange [these visions] for

[332] John Chrysostom, *Ad viduam juniorem*, 1, ed. G.H. Ettlinger and B. Grillet, *Jean Chrysostome. A une jeune veuve. Sur le mariage unique* [*Sources chrétiennes* 138. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1968].

[333] Ibid., 160-165.

[334] Eustratios inserts φαιδρότερον.

[335] Ibid., 207-211.

[336] Ibid., 231-238.

all to no avail? But this is not so; let it not happen! For many people have also gained great gifts through visions [in sleep], just as in waking vision.

Again the same Father, whose mouth shines forth beyond gold, whose writings also flash forth like coal [heated in fire] now in one way they purify, now in another give light to those who welcome them, teaches such things in his commentary on Psalm 113, "Whenever he says 'The heaven of heaven belongs to Lord,'[337] he says this [to you] because on that account he rests with them there, because they are those who have recovered from all wickedness. And you, [who are] human, if you do not stay and occupy yourself with earth; you will quickly become an angel, and ascend to heaven, the house of God the Father. And before the Resurrection you have removed there already, and you have high honor and position."[338] And a little later, "'The dead will not praise you, Lord,
nor all who go down to Hades.'[339] By "dead" he does not [simply] mean those who have passed away,
but [those who had died][340] in impiety or those putrefied in sin. And although Abraham
p. 65 had died, and Isaac and Jacob, but nevertheless they were living, as to make the memory of those men [a providence] of the living.[341] For Moses [makes an

[337] Ps 113:24 (115:16).

[338] John Chrysostom, *Expositiones in Psalmos,* (*psalmum CXIII*)**,** PG 55:313.49-314.4.

[339] Ps 113:25 (115:17).

[340] Eustratios inserts τετελευτηκότας.

[341] John Chrysosotom, *Expositiones in Psalmos, (psalmum CXIII)***,** PG 55:313.49-314.4.

appeal to them][342] and the three youths say, 'Remember Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.'[343] If they had such power, how were they dead?[344] "But we the living shall bless the Lord from now and forever.[345] No one [this] lifetime lives this life, but those [prophets] throughout live life with glory. For in fact sinners live, but in punishment and retribution and with teeth gnashing,[346] but those in brightness and glory, who have the work with the bodiless powers of offering mystical hymns to

God."[347] Expounding, the God-bearing Father clarified the psalm

passage in a fit manner [as to] who are the dead and who are the eternal living. And if therefore "before the Resurrection [the departed] already [virtuously] translated there" have the dignity of angels, for which reason they offer hymns to God with them [the angels], "who have [this] work," and those who are oppressed here with affliction hold them in the remembrance of God and patronage, how are they said by you to not to be able to appear or to be active, or to do something else?

And concerning the same matters again the same luminary teaches such things in his work entitled "In the Memory of the Holy Apostles Peter, James and John,"[348] of which this is the beginning, "The Apostolic rock enmeshed us today,"

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[342] Cf. Ex 32:13 and John Chrysostom, *Expositio in psalmum CXIII*, PG 55:314.6-7, 9-14.

[343] Cf. Dan 3:35 and John Chrysostom, *Expositio in psalmum CXIII*, PG 55:314.16.

[344] John Chrysostom, *Expositio in psalmum CXIII*, PG 55.314.21.

[345] Ps 113:26 (115:18) and John Chrysostom, *Expositio in psalmum CXIII*, PG 55:314.8-9.

[346] Mt 8:12; Acts 7:54.

[347] John Chrysostom, *Expositiones in Psalmos*, (*psalmum CXIII*)**,** PG 55:314.44-51.

p. 66 etc. ... The blessed, adorned with such virtues,[349] were translated to an appointed place in heaven, to be the fellow choristers of angels. And we too honor them with all our might, as crowned athletes, as generals of the truth, as captains keeping one safe from the shipwreck of sin, as common doctors of our human race, benefactors of the universe, who bear on the body the marks[350] of Christ." How can the fellow choristers "with the angels, the common doctors of our human race," guardians and doctors, ever remain inactive? And just like captains who do not sleep, but rather are sober-mined and keep a lookout, they save the boat from the surf.[351]

He articulates similar things in his work *On the Maccabees*, of which this is the beginning, "How radiant and full of joy[352] is our city, and the rays of the sun sent [to] earth today are not brighter than usual, but the light of the holy martyrs is shining upon our city, exceeding all flashes of lightning. For these [martyrs] are brighter than ten thousand suns and brighter than the great lights of heaven. [And][353] for this [reason] [354] today the earth [shines more brilliantly][355]

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[348] *In Petrum, Iacobum et Iohannem* (CPG 4495 [20]. This is a work attributed to John Chrysostom by Eustratios, and the extract from which Eustratios quotes appears only in *De statu animarum*. See S. J. Voicu, "Feste di apostoli all fine de dicembre" in *Studi sull'Oriente Christiano* (8) 2004 [2]: 54-55.

[349] Cf. Pindar N. 6, 46 [78]; Thucydides 2, 42, 2.

[350] Cf. The sealing marks of baptism; see page 231.

[351] Cf. Plato, *Respublica*, 488e.

[352] Chrysostom has περιχαρές; Eustratios has περιφανής.

[353] Eustratios inserts καί.

[354] Eustratios inserts χάριν.

[355] Eustratios inserts λαμπρότερα.

than heaven. For do not speak to me of the dust, do not take into consideration the ashes, nor the bones eaten away by time, but open your eyes of faith, and look upon the power of God entrenching beside them, and the grace of the Spirit surrounding them, the glory of the light of heaven clothing them. The rays are not such as those sent from the orb

p. 67 of the sun to the earth; they have such a radiance[356] and brilliance of light [in visions of the martyrs and theophanies][357] beaming off their bodies that they even blind the eyes of the devil."[358] And a little later this teacher also demonstrated, like the great Gregory [of Nazianzos], that not only the souls but the bodies of saints are active after their separation from one another. Afterwards he brings forward such passages again, "And in this way, the demons are the true robber chiefs, wherever they see the laying to rest of the bodies of saints, they run away and immediately leap off; for they do not look to their hitherto mortal nature [of the bodies], but to the ineffable dignity of Christ who clothed them. For these are the weapons no angel, archangel, or some other created power wears, except he who is the Master of angels. And just as Paul shouts, saying, 'If you seek proof of Christ speaking in me,'[359] so too are they able to shout and say, 'If you seek proof

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[356] For μαρμαρυγή as a reference to the transfiguration, see Eusebios of Caesarea, *De ecclesiastica theologia*, 3.10, ed. G.C. Hansen and E. Klostermann, *Eusebius Werke, Band 4: Gegen Marcell. Über die kirchliche Theologie. Die Fragmente Marcells* [*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller* 14, 2nd edn. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1972]: 61-182; as a reference to the illumination of the human soul by divine light, see Basil of Caesarea, *Homilia in Ps. VII*, 1.102B, PG 29:1041C.

[357] Cf. Herm. *Sim.* 9.2.2 and A. Andr. 14 9 (p.32.12, PG 2:1254A; as the burning bush, Gregory of Nyssa, *v. Mos*. (PG 44:401B); referring the vision of Paul, Ammon. *Ac*.22:15, PG 85:1585C.

[358] John Chrysostom, *De Maccabeis* (homiliae 1) (BHG 1008), PG 50:617.19-36.

[359] 2 Cor 13:3.

of Christ who contended in us.' For their bodies are precious, since they received wounds on behalf of the Master."[360] If therefore the martyrs themselves, who suffered and were made weary in their struggles and pains according to their individual nature, said, "[If you seek proof] of Christ contending in us" as the Father and the Apostle taught, saying, "If you seek proof of Christ speaking in me," nothing hinders them, the souls, after their separation from the [bodies of the] saints to appear and to be active, as well as their bodies, since they clearly

p. 68 have "the power of God entrenching beside them" and "the grace of the Spirit surrounding them." For it is not possible for a person to do anything without the cooperation of God,[361] "whether in the body or out of the body."[362] For all rational and intellectual beings, whether angels or souls, sent in service by God,[363] with his cooperation they perform and work according to his commands to them. And so therefore "the angel having laid hold of the hair"[364] of Habakkuk, in an instant carried him "in a gust of wind"[365] from so great a distance to a different place. Therefore Gabriel "heard:"[366] he heard his own name [invoked] by a person, that is to say Daniel, "[Gabriel], make that man

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[360] John Chrysostom, *De Maccabeis* (homiliae 1), PG 50:618.11-23.

[361] Cf. Jn 15:5.

[362] Cf. 2 Cor 12:2.

[363] Cf. Heb 1:14.

[364] Bel 36.

[365] Ibid., 36.

[366] Dan 8:19.

understand the vision,"[367] In a like manner Ezekiel narrates, saying, "The spirit lifted me up,"[368] and put "me on the plain"[369] and showed me [it] filled "with bones,"[370] as many as such things he narrates. In this way, the angel also carried off Philip from his chariot and

eunuch,[371] and came to Paul in a dream in the shipwreck, saying, "Do not be afraid, Paul; you must stand before Caesar."[372] [This is] the main point of the things we are saying,"[373] how Gabriel announced to the God-bearing and the Ever-virgin Mary,[374] how again in a dream again he appeared to Joseph at various times,[375] once when he sent [Joseph, Mary, and Jesus] to Egypt, and again when he sent [them] out [of Egypt], [376] and on other theophanies, as many as the gospel narrates about him.[377]

At one time God converses with his servants through himself without intermediary, at another time he himself he announces his wishes to his servants

[367] Dan 8:16.

[368] Ezek 8:3; 11:1, 24; 43:5.

[369] Ezek 37:1.

[370] Ezek 37:1.

[371] Acts 8:39.

[372] Acts 27:24.

[373] Heb 8:1.

[374] Cf. Lk 1:26-38.

[375] Cf. Mt 2:13.

[376] Cf. Mt 2:19-20.

[377] Cf. Mt 1:20-21.

through fellow servants,[378] and there is no gainsaying by them, in order that whatever happens through his servants, these things are ascribed again to the Master, as the apostles said

p. 69 concerning the man who was lame from the womb of his mother, "Men of Israel, why do you wonder at this, or why do you stare at us as though having by our own power or piety made this man walk?"[379] Therefore, the miracles were performed through them, [the servants], who are still in the flesh; even so now, through their activity both in body and soul, they provide healings,[380] although they, [the body and soul], may be separated from one another, both the soul on its own and the body on its own perform activities.

If the power of God, according to your argument, performs the activities and healings, represented by only the forms of his holy martyrs and other holy people and servants, let this also be considered and said by you about the angels as well. For the souls of saints are in an equal position to the bodiless powers at their departure from life, even if the holy archangels precede them in glory and superiority, as the Fathers taught.[381] Because if these things are not so, the manifestations of the saints, according to what you say, occur falsely, just as others in theaters put on the faces of others, and so in acting they perform the

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[378] Cf. Col 1:7.

[379] Acts 3:12.

[380] In his *Lives* of Eutychios and Golinduch, Eustratios writes that both saints were endowed with miraculous healing powers; see Eustratios, *Vita Eutychii*, 1230, 1660, and idem, *Passio Golindouch*, 164.24.

[381] Cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* VI, XVI, 143.1 (p. 344).

make-believe games of childhood. Therefore indeed the Lord, who condemns such displays, said not to perform the virtues for mere show or in pretense, "as the hypocrites do;[382] "for they render their faces unrecognizable,"[383] "that they may be seen,"[384] not by God, but "by men"[385] "fasting"[386] from whom "they receive their reward."[387] For if someone wishes to appear as something that does not exist, he wanders from the truth. For all that is not true is entirely false; and the

p. 70 false is from the devil. What, then, is the consequence of this? The Lord "will destroy all who tell lies."[388] And so it is neither a lie, lest it be perdition, nor a fantasy, but is truly a vision. Therefore, rather, the manifestations and healings of the saints truly occur; for they are not mirth-making and deceiving as upon a stage or have need of actors; instead they come from truth. On account of bodily and spiritual advantage, the graces of the saints are shown. For if they have died it is possible for them to live, [and] God makes such people as them to be manifest; they are not feigning grace or misrepresenting the gift of doing good works. For if one will be gladdened after having been honored by another, in the same manner is one who delivers those who have been afflicted by sufferings by illusion and not truth, from whom the receiver was under the impression that he

[382] Mt 6.2.

[383] Mt 6:16.

[384] Mt 6:5.

[385] Mt 6:5.

[386] Mt 6:16; 6.2; 6:5.

[387] Mt 6:16.

[388] Ps 5:7 (5:6).

happened to have received a benefit. And both fell away from truth, both the one doing good works, and the one having been benefited, who does not know from whom he received his healing, and the other who did the good work, [not knowing that he was] providing a return to health not in his own name but in the name of another. And to say some such thing about the saints is to say something in every way alien and foreign to our orthodox faith.

And we sufficiently pointed out a few testimonies out of many from the holy Fathers. And if it seems a good thing, therefore, to introduce testimonies of the earlier holy martyrs and teachers, we shall provide this.

Therefore, Hippolytos, the martyr and bishop of Rome, in the second book of his *Commentary on Daniel*, says the following: "Then Azariah, 'standing with'[389] the rest,[390] they gave thanks to God through hymn and prayer, 'in the
p. 71 midst'[391] of the furnace.[392] After they began with the holy and glorious and splendid name [of God], they came to the works themselves of the Lord, first naming and glorifying the beings in heaven saying, 'Bless the Lord, all the works of the Lord,'[393] And then they came to 'the sons of men,'[394] [and][395] offering the

[389] Dan 3:25.

[390] Hananiah and Mishael.

[391] Dan 3:25.

[392] Hippolytos of Rome, *Commentarium in Danielem*, 2.29.1, ed. M. Lefèvre, *Hippolyte. Commentaire sur Daniel* [*Sources chrétiennes* 14. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1947].

[393] Dan 3:57; Hippolytos, *Commentarium in Danielem*, 2.29.4.

[394] Dan 3:82.

[395] Eustratios inserts καί.

hymn in order. Then they named the underworld beings, the 'spirits'[396] of the angels of Hades and the 'souls of the righteous,' [397] that they also sing a hymn to God with them." [398] The phrase "singing a hymn" by the souls of the righteous, points out activity, not idleness; and the "angels of Hades" reveal how they are active singing hymns, since "even the demons believe and shudder."[399] And as they live and they "exist, they long for the beautiful and the good;"[400] for "the demonic tribe is not evil by nature,"[401] but by free choice, as the great Dionysios says.

And Methodios, the holy martyr and bishop in his work *To Aglaophon* he says such things, quoting from Origen: "But the souls, which are intellectual bodies, have been arranged by the Creator and Father of all into body parts visible by reason, having received this impression, ambiguous at best. For which reason also in Hades, just as Lazarus and the rich man are said to have fingers and tongues and the other parts,[402] not as if another invisible body would coexist with them [the souls]; rather, the souls themselves by nature, after having been entirely stripped of their

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[396] Dan 3:86.

[397] Dan 3.86.

[398] Hippolytos, *Commentarium in Danielem*, 2.29.10-11.

[399] Jas 2:19.

[400] Dionysios the Areopagite, *De divinis nominibus*, 4.23, ed. B. R. Suchla, *Corpus Dionysiacum i: Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita.* [*Patristische Texte und Studien* 33. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1990]: 107-231.

[401] Ibid.

[402] Cf. Lk 16:19-24.

p. 72 coverings, are such according to their essence. Since it is evident the souls are not impassible, again not having different bodies after the departure from life, in which they are made manifest before the resurrection, it would follow to show this man[403] is being inconsistent and here even contradicting himself."[404] And a little later, "At any rate he himself admits, saying 'If ever indeed, someone is related appearing from the dead, he was seen similar in form when he had flesh.'[405] And so how then can we deny, Origen, you clearly said these things? For if the soul itself also after the departure from the universe is similar in form to the flesh, since it has been represented in the same parts, so that it has a tongue and a finger and the rest, how, if the principle and chief part of the soul is arranged in this form, will it be represented in the same image with it, and because of this not the future body?"[406]

The holy martyr Methodios, who finds fault, refutes Origen, not because he said the souls of those who departed from this cosmos have appeared, but because he represents incorporeal beings in corporeal form, 'a tongue and finger and the remaining' parts, he himself saying such things [souls] to exist as in accordance with nature. And so Origen is caught in his own snare; because while he gives the incorporeal soul a bodily form, having proposed such a form for it, he

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[403] Origen.

[404] Methodios of Olympos, *De resurrectione*, 3.18.4-6 (p. 415.13-416.6), ed. G. N. Bonwetsch in *Methodius* [*Griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte*, Bd.27, Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1917]: 219-424. For a discussion on this topic, see Jon F. Dechow, "Origen and Corporeality: The Case of Methodius' *On the Resurrection*" in *Origeniana Quinta*, ed. Robert J. Daly (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1992), 509-518.

[405] Origen, *De resurrectione*, book 2 (fragment), PG 11:96.14.

[406] Methodios, *De resurrectione*, 3.18.8 (p. 416.18-22).

declares the incorporeal [soul] not to possess them in accordance with the nature of the representation, that is to say, the image. And so the one opinion, that the souls are bodies, the martyr, by not faulting Origen, clearly accepted that Origen had said this, since,

p. 73 persuaded by the truth itself, he [Origen] seemed to say it was true. Which indeed the great Basil also adds, narrating about him [Origen] and Eusebios of Palestine[407] in his work *On the Syllabi*[408] concerning the phrase "with the Holy Spirit," saying, "So I think the strength of tradition often persuaded men also to speak in contradiction against their own opinions."[409] And so it is not out of place now also to say that Origen, borne by tradition, spoke about the appearance of souls, even if he did not completely understand how to demonstrate it.

We find, moreover, Eustathios, the bishop of Antioch in Syria and confessor, in his work *On the Soul* and *Against the Arians*, saying things in harmony with Fathers already cited above, saying, "The same Jeremiah instructs, agreeing in harmony with them and explaining, serving the voices of God, through which he shows that He does not accept the intercessions of the righteous if they wish to pray on behalf of murderers. 'And the Lord said to me,' saying, 'Even if Moses and Samuel stood before my face, my soul does not go out to

[407] Eusebios of Caesarea.

[408] i.e. *De spiritu sancto*. C.f. Basil of Caesarea, *De spiritu sancto*, 29.72.32-29.73.17, ed. B. Pruche, *Basile de Césarée. Sur le Saint-Esprit*, 2nd ed. [*Sources chrétiennes* 17 bis. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1968].

[409] Basil of Caesarea, *De spiritu sancto*, 29.73.17-19.

them.'"[410] It is made it clear by the divine Scripture that Moses and Samuel are dead. And so how do they intercede on behalf of the unworthy, if according to you, they are not active?

And again the same Father adds, saying, "If through the divine manifestation of Christ he leads the race of humanity into paradise, when he was crucified, he addressed the thief [promising] to lead him into that very place [of paradise] on that day,[411] even though his body was still [laid out][412] in the tomb, because it is coeternal, the soul of Christ rightly exists with the Word and God, together with him encompassing all the creation of things that have come into
p. 74 existence, he lead the similar soul of the human being[413] into paradise. For it is not written that before the resurrection of the holy body, the body of the thief had risen beforehand, after it had received back the promise. Therefore it follows rationally to answer that the soul [of Christ] kindly guided the kindred soul [of the thief], because in possession of a greater authority, on that day lead the promise to fulfillment, and lead into the chosen inheritance of salvation[414]
by opening paradise."[415]

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[410] Eustathios of Antioch, *De anima contra Arianos*, fragment 16.1-5, ed. M. Spanneut, *Recherches sur les écrits d'Eustathe d'Antioche avec une édition nouvelle des fragments dogmatiques et exégétiques* (Lille: Facultés Catholiques, 1948), 99-100.

[411] Cf. Lk 23:39-43.

[412] Eustratios inserts βεβλημένου.

[413] The thief.

[414] Cf. Gen 2:15; Gal 3:18; Col 3:24; Heb 9:15; 1 Pet 1:4; Eph 1:14; Acts 20:32; Eph 5:5.

[415] Eustathios of Antioch, *De anima contra Arianos*, fragment 17.1-10.

The Father said that Christ "had lead the race of humanity into paradise,"[416] clearly those adorned with life and confessing the correct [faith], just like the thief. For from one individual he gave proof of the whole race of virtuous people.

If, therefore, "God, having formed" Adam, "took him into paradise to tend and guard it,"[417] therefore those who are also deemed worthy "of the joy of paradise"[418] before the resurrection will not able to remain idle, but with the incorporeal powers offer hymns to God. Because they do this here as well they are sent on account of beneficial work for others.

This is shown through many visions. Especially through the truly-written records of the martyrs, we are able to present the truth through a few of them, or through the visions of the holy martyrs with some occurring by them, which have the undisputed and reliable [truth].

Therefore the author writing the narrative of the martyrdom of the holy man Basil, bishop of Amaseia and martyr, says the

p. 75 following such things, which the saint himself said to his deacons before his death, "Know, my children, how on this night my Lord [appeared in a waking vision][419] to me, showing what kind of end my departure to him will be, and how many great things he will do for his servant. Be of good cheer, and returning, in Christ, encourage your brothers to remain steadfast. You will receive Eutychios

[416] Cf. Lk 23:40-43.

[417] Gen 2:15.

[418] Cf. Gen 2:15.

[419] Eustratios adds καθ' ὕπαρ ὤφθη.

Kallistratos as bishop after me. For thus the Lord revealed to me; but he will also provide my vile body through his grace to be given back to you."[420] And a little later, "Elpidiphoros the most faithful to Christ, taking the deacons home, he revived them by consoling [them]. And [on] that night, a most divine authority came to him from an angel, three times exhorting him in the same way like this, "Bishop Basil is present in Sinope, and there he waits for you; arise,[421] take his deacons and board a boat; come to him." He [after] the third time [the angel came to him], he got up, and reflecting upon the order, he described [the angelic vision] to the clerics, asking them if [in truth][422] they had ever hear of place or land called called Sinope, or where in the world such a place has been heard of by them. Parthenios said there was such a city, and it was the city to which the apostle of Christ Andrew had come, except that I too thought that in a waking vision stretching out my hand to the great man and entering the church, with him telling me this utterance, 'As you see, so it will be for you."[423] We discerned three

[420] John, Presbyter of Nicomedia, *Vita Basilei Amaseni* (BHG 239), p. LII C3-11, ed. *Acta Sanctorum Aprilis*, volume III, Antwerp, 1675, p. L-LV. Basil was executed under the Emperor Licinius. According to John's account, there was once a beautiful young woman, Glaphera, who served the Emperor Constantine's sister [Constantia, but unnamed by John], who was also the wife of the Emperor Licinius. The beauty of the young woman caught the eye of Licinius, who made advances towards her. The young woman confided in the Empress, who decided to spirit away the young woman from the household. She gave Glaphera a huge amount of silver and gold to aid her flight. Glaphera made her way to Amaseia, and decided to build a church with the money. Meanwhile, Licinius, outraged that Glaphera had escaped his clutches, tracked her down to Amaseia, where she was under the protection of Basil. The girl died before the she could be returned to Licinius. Licinius had Basil arrested for sheltering Glaphera and for practicing Christianity. The bishop was publically beheaded.

[421] Cf. Mt 2:13.

[422] Eustratios inserts τῇ ἀληθείᾳ.

[423] John, Presbyter of Nicomedia, *Vita Basilei Amaseni* (BHG 239), p. LIII C12-11.

distinctions of vision from the writing now quoted. The Lord appeared to the saint in one way, and the angel to Elpidiphoros in

p. 76 another – this was he who entertained and received Basil with his deacons, when they came from Amaseia to the city of Nicomedia, - and again in a different way the martyr and bishop appeared to his own archdeacon; for Parthenios was a deacon of the saint. These visions happened after the beheading and throwing into the sea of the saint.[424] The head of the saint was attached to his body, so that the cut near his neck was visible from the circular scar showing on him for the faith of those destined to see the body of the saint. And it [the body of the saint] floated from Nicomedia to the Black Sea, and after twenty four days traversing the depths of the sea it [the body of the saint] was found in Sinope. Then they dragged up the body of the saint with nets, since they beheld the vision, and they returned it to their own city. What shall we say regarding the visions? Did another [figure] appear in place of another? I do not think anyone says this, even if one is extremely contentious. It is clear that the Lord as Lord appeared and appears, and the angel as the angel, and the saint as the saint. Unless this is true, you shall account the visions to be entirely false. And who among you who think [in]correctly will support [this]? An angel does not consent to accept the name of God, and this is

p. 77 shown in many instances, as in the cases of Manoah, the father of Samson,[425]

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[424] Eustratios mentions the execution of Basil in reference to the neck wound on Golinduch. See *Passio Golinduch*, p.165, 8-9, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus in *Analekta Hierosolymitikes Stachyologias* 4 (St. Petersburg: V. Kirsvaoum, 1897): 149-174.

[425] Judg 13:1-25. An angel of the Lord came to the parents of Samson, Manoah and his wife, to announce the birth of their child and to give instructions for Samson's upbringing. The angel did not reveal its name to the parents.

and when "the apostles" tore off "their own clothing, hearing"[426] from the Lykoanians that "the gods have come down to us in the likeness of men!"[427] And so we must reverently receive the divine, the angelic, and the manifestations of the saints, and distinguish them in an appropriate manner, and know the difference between master and servant, and likewise show honor.

But how were the relics of the forty saints[428] rescued from the river? Did not the [martyrs] themselves reveal [it] to the bishop of the time in a vision? they not revealed through visions by the bishop at that particular time? And so such things are said of them in the *Martyrographia*, they gathered together and "adorned the relics of the saints they [the executioners, οἱ τύραννοι][429] threw into the river. [Their] relics were brought together near the bank of the river, and the river diminished nothing of them. It had been revealed to the bishop of the city that, 'Our relics are preserved in this place. So come during the night and pull us out.'"[430] I do not think that an angel would have spoken this utterance; if it did this, it would have been judged false rather than true. If it was an angel, it would have said "pull out the relics of the saints," but since the martyrs appeared to the

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[426] Acts 14:14.

[427] 14:11.

[428] The Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia. See pp. 209-214 above.

[429] XL Martyres Sebastenses, *Passio* (BHG 1201), ed. R. Abicht and H. Schmidt in *Quellennachweise zum Codex Supraliensis*, in *Archiv für Slavische Philologie* 18 (1896), pp. 144-152 (edition based on *Parisinus Gr*. 520, 10th -11th century), p. 152.2-6; and ed. O. von Gebhardt in *Ausgewählte Märtyreracten und andere Urkunden aus der Verfolgungszeit der christlichen Kirche* (*Acta Martyrum Selecta*) Berlin, 1902, pp. 171-181 (edition based on *Parisinus Gr*. 520, 10th-11th century, *Venetus gr*. 359, 11th century, and *Vindobonensis, theologicus gr*. 10, 10th century), p.180.

[430] XL Martyres Sebastenses, *Passio* (BHG 1201), ed. R. Abicht and H. Schmidt p. 152.6/7-12; and ed. O. von Gebhardt, p.180.28-181.3.

bishop, they themselves commanded this to occur, saying "Our relics are in the river, so pull us out."

We must not appropriate the guises of others to others. For this happened and happens with ventriloquists. For in truth the diviner[431] in

p. 78 the case of Saul, who did not raise up Samuel from the dead, was asked "Whom do you see?"[432] and she said, "I saw gods coming up out of the earth."[433] After she said this, he acknowledged that Samuel had been raised up.[434] After she heard this, the trickster said to the mad Saul, "Don't be afraid,"[435] she changed her voice again saying, "[I see] an upright man coming out of the earth, wrapped in a double cloak."[436] The insane Saul said to the ventriloquist, "Divine for me;"[437] and she answered, "I saw gods;" for every right thinker will believe this to be a complete deception and will follow the orthodox Fathers, who made the matters

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[431] The witch of Endor.

[432] I Kgdms 28:13 (1 Sam 28:13).

[433] I Kgdms 28:13 (1 Sam 28:13).

[434] Eustratios thinks that this was not the spirit of Saul. Patristic exegesis on this passages by Tertullian, *De anima*, 57.1-9; Hippolytos, Ephraim the Syrian, Evagrios, Basil, Jerome, Ambrosiaster, and Gregory of Nyssa states that it was a demon, not the soul of Samuel, the diviner saw; therefore, a false prophesy was given to Saul. John Chrysostom (*In Matthaeum*, 6:3, PG 57:66) and Theodoret of Cyrrhus (*Quaest. in I Reg.28*, PG 80:59) also said it was not through the diviner that the image appeared, but through God's will. According to Gregory of Nyssa in a brief tractate on the topic, the apparition appeared only to diviner; she tells Saul whom it resembles (See Gregory of Nyssa, *De pythonissa ad Theodosium episcopum*, ed. H. Hörner, *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, vol. 3.2. Leiden: Brill, 1986: 101-108). For arguments calling for the word ἐγγαστρίμυθος, "ventriloquist," as "belly-myther," see Rowan A. Greer and Margaret M. Mitchell, *The 'Belly-Myther' of Endor: Interpretations of I Kingdoms 28 in the Early Church* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2007).

[435] I Kgdms 28:13 (1 Sam 28:13).

[436] I Kgdms 28:13 (1 Sam 28:14).

[437] I Kgdms 28:8 (Sam 28:8). The Greek of the Septuagint "by a divining spirit," Eustratios substitutes this with "by ventriloquism."

more abundantly clear concerning this. But as much as such things happened and are happening, they depict the Father of lies[438] and his deceitful supporters, but as many as are lovers of the truth, they also depict and show truth to those who desire it.

Moreover, it is well to point out some brief excerpts again, which we discover from the writings concerning Saint Theodore. Therefore, Chrysippos, the priest of

Jerusalem says this in his encomium of the martyr: "But who is sufficient to depict the healings amidst all kinds of sicknesses, the succor of all amidst the endless sufferings, the visions both at night and during the day, in which he [Theodore] always appeared with the attire of a fully-armed soldier, not rejecting, not even now, the military [dress],[439] even if he is enrolled among the heirs of the kingdom of the heavens?[440]

p. 79 What things[441] does the Father relate about the martyr? There are twelve miracles in his encomium; we shall produce as proof one or two because of the extended length of [my] work. A little later he adds, saying, "Someone offered to the [church in which the martyr is venerated] a sword, very beautiful and decorated in many places with gold. A boy chanced to be present and having seen

[438] The Devil, cf. John 8:44.

[439] Eustratios inserts σχῆμα.

[440] Chrysippos of Jerusalem, *Encomium in sanctum Theodorum* (BHG 1765c), ed. A. Sigalas, *Des Chrysippos von Jerusalem Enkomion auf den hl. Theodoros Teron* (*Byzantinisches Archiv* 7) Leipzig – Berlin, 1921, 50-79, p. 59.10-14, and H. Delehaye – P. Peeters, *Acta Sanctorum Novembris*, IV, Brussels, 1925, pp. 55-72, p. 59 E2-10. Saint Theodore Teron (the recruit) was burnt to death after he refused to renounce Christianity under the Emperor Maximian (285-305), the co-emperor with Diocletian (284-305).

[441] This should be an interrogative, as in Allatius' edition.

the sword on one of the altars, inflamed by its beauty, he approached in an innocent manner, wishing to take it. How did the martyr in a fatherly way jest with the boy and yield the treasure? The boy laid his right hand upon the sword, and the martyr allowed him to take it. And as he thought he firmly had it and tightened his grip, at that very moment the chancel rails coming together formed a shackle on his hand;[442] when he let go of the grasped object, his hand was released from the shackles. He attempted to [re]take it, and again the same shackle gripped his hand, so that with the candor of his age he earnestly entreated the martyr, 'Leave, holy father, leave the possession with [me] your servant, for what need do you have for a sword? You don't sacrifice birds, do you? Or sheep? Or some other such thing? Give this gift to me like a good father!' Saying many such things and again making similar or nearly similar appeals, then he was set free, although he was exceedingly sorrowful – for he did not go away possessing the object of his desire - , after his withdrawal, the saint appeared to the priest, telling him who the boy was and where he was from, and how exceedingly captivated he had been with the boy's

p. 80 speech, 'You summon that boy, then,' he said, 'and fulfill his desire.' Thus, the boy, according to his youthful age of sincerity, returned carrying off his reward, the sword, being blessed not so much because of this, as much as the fatherly affection of the martyr towards him [the boy]. Do you see how mild and gentle he was, when there was a need for gentleness? Consider also how shrewd he was,

[442] The word κάγκελον in Greek patristic literature usually refers to the railing separating the chancel from the rest of the church; see Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, page 681. However, another definition is a sword guard; Lampe cites the incident from Chrysippos' encomium on Saint Theodore as an example of this usage.

when there was need for shrewdness. When the annual memorial to him was being celebrated, one of those [participating] in the festival of the saint entrusted a sum of gold with someone; when he who received it denied he had the gold, the man who had had been deprived [of the money] ran to the colonnade with many tears, beseeching the feast grief not to come to him alone. The saint was seen by him through dreams, and he said, "Stop your wailings and wait in the courtyard; and concerning your requests, I shall devise a stratagem." One or two days after this, the man who denied taking money came of his own accord, then in the midst [of those][443] people who came together, in the midst people of all kinds, he was elevated by him[444] in the air, and he divulged the whole truth, on the grounds that he was being forced to by several whips. He said that the deposit still remained intact. He was supplicating all to join in asking for him a cessation of the tortures. Because of these things, the one man regained what he deposited, for the other there occurred forthwith a cessation of the pains, and he went away suffering nothing further."[445]

Do you know from these words, or rather true visions, how the saints now in waking vision and now in dreams fulfill the requests with a cooperation of God? And it is not as you have said, only the power of God forming the visions he sends, but it itself [the divine power] encompasses the martyrs, [and] it

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[443] Eustratios inserts ἐκείνων.

[444] Saint Theodore.

[445] Chrysippos of Jerusalem, *Encomium in sanctum Theodorum* (BHG 1765c), miracles 6 and 7, ed. A. Sigalas, p. 69.6-71.5, and H. Delehaye – P. Peeters, pp. 66 A1-67 A15.

distinctly causes their visitations themselves, when there is a necessity, and one [being] instead of another does not either

p. 81 answer or is active, as the mad ventriloquist answered and falsely worked.[446] Let us turn away, not following "with fables," but instead following "with truth,"[447] and let us stand "rooted and grounded"[448] in it throughout.

Henceforward, a confirmation; even if we might seem tedious to some, selecting one and only vision, we shall yield the remaining [visions] to those who wish. Therefore in the existing *Apocalypse* in regard to the relics of Saint Stephen the Protomartyr according to the priest Lukianos, he himself who had seen, says this after the preface of the commentary,[449] "When I was lying resting in the house of the baptistery, [at dawn][450] on Friday, around the third hour of the night, still keeping a vigil and in a state of mystical ecstasy, I saw a man, an old man by the sight of him, small in stature, reverent in appearance, wearing a small beard, clothed a white robe,[451] [who][452] walked quietly before me. I was quite at a loss,

[446] Cf. 1 Kgdms 28:1-14 (1 Sam 28:1-14).

[447] 2 Tim 4:4.

[448] Eph 3:17.

[449] Cf. Acts 6:8-7:60.

[450] Eustratios inserts διαφαυούσης.

[451] Cf. Rev 6:11; 7:9, 13-14. See pp. 186-187 above.

[452] Eustratios inserts ὅστις.

[wondering], 'Who might he be? Is he from God or from the other force?'[453] He, not hesitating, came towards me, and with a rod [in his hand][454] he

p. 82 prodded me, saying three times, 'Lukianos, Lukianos, Lukianos!' And I said, 'What is it, lord?'[455] And he said to me, 'Get up, tell John, the bishop of Jerusalem,[456] 'How long have we been confined? Will you not ever uncover us?[457] We lie in our place there, [which is] very much neglected; at one time our relics are drenched, at another time they are burnt by the sun.' And I, the humble Lukianos, asked him, 'Who are you, lord, [and][458] who are those with you?' He said, 'I am Gamaliel, who educated Paul, [and] who taught the law in Jerusalem.[459] He who is lying with me [in the eastern grave, this][460] is Lord Stephen, who was stoned by the Jews in Jerusalem; and the second, this is Nikodemos, my first cousin, he who had been instructed by our Savior Jesus Christ,[461] [who took the illumination of Christian baptism[462] from][463] the

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[453] The Devil.

[454] Eustratios inserts τῇ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ.

[455] Cf. Acts 10:4.

[456] *Encyclica Luciani sive revelatio de reliquiis S. Stephani protomartyris* (BHG 1648y), ed. N. Franco in "L'Apocalisse del Prete Luciano di Kaphar Gamala et la versione di Avito," *Roma e l'Oriente* 8 (1914), 294.13-14; 295.1-4, 6-8, 12-16.

[457] *Inventio reliquiarium sancti protomartyris Stephani* (*BHG* 1648x; *Sinaiticus gr. 493*, s.VIII-IX, f. 97ᵛ-114ʳ) ed. François Bovon and Bertrand Bouvier in *Poussières de christianisme et de judaïsme antiques: études réunies en l'honneur de Jean-Daniel Kaestli et Éric Junod*, ed. Albert Frey and Rémi Gounelle (Lausanne: Éditions du Zèbre, 2007), 25-26.

[458] Eustratios inserts καί.

[459] Cf. Acts 22:3.

[460] Eustratios inserts ἐν τῇ ἀνατολικῇ θήκῃ, οὗτος.

[461] Cf. Jn 3:1-21.

Disciples Peter and John; concerning whose illumination the high priests, after they heard about it, were furious with him, [and they assailed him][464] with extraordinary blows, [so that][465] a short time later [he][466] fell asleep [in his][467] eternal rest. I [had him buried][468] at the feet of Saint Stephen as a confessor of Christ.[469] And the third, he who lies with me, is Abibos himself, my own [beloved][470] son, he who believed with me in the proclamation of Gospel of Christ, and with me, [his][471] father, in one day was illuminated by the previously-mentioned disciples.[472] And [this man,][473] spotless and undefiled, fell asleep before me, and is buried beside them [in the third grave],[474] and where I too lie.'"[475]

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[462] I.e., baptism. Cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogus*, 1.6.

[463] Eustratios inserts ὅς ἔλαβεν τὸ φώτισμα ὑπό.

[464] Eustratios inserts καί, ἐπήνεγκαν αὐτῷ.

[465] Eustratios inserts ὥστε.

[466] Eustratios inserts αὐτὸν τῇ.

[467] Eustratios inserts αὐτοῦ.

[468] Eustratios inserts κατατεθῆναι.

[469] *Encyclica Luciani sive revelatio de reliquiis S. Stephani protomartyris*, 295.22-296.7; 297.4-9, 11, 16-18.

[470] Eustratios inserts ἀγαπητός.

[471] Eustratios inserts αὐτοῦ.

[472] *Inventio reliquiarium sancti protomartyris Stephani*, 66-69.

[473] Eustratios inserts οὗτος.

[474] Eustratios inserts ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ θήκῃ.

[475] *Inventio reliquiarium sancti protomartyris Stephani*, 72-73.

And after this vision and many others, the same narrator Lukianos, he who has seen the places where the relics of the saints were found in the graves, continues, saying,

p. 83 "And in that time a great earthquake occurred, so that the relics of Saint Stephen leapt and bloomed back to life; a great fragrance came from his grave. On that day the souls of seventy-three people who happened to be [there were healed][476] from various sufferings."[477] But we have anthologized these few from many examples, wishing to prove to unbelievers that the appearances of the saints truly happen; and the vision itself is enriching, teaching the activities and visits of the saints exist.

But perhaps they cast before us a different doubt, saying, "How do the incorporeal souls of the saints, who are now naked and incorporeal,[478] sometimes bring with themselves a panoply of other forms or horses[479] or some other symbols?" We say that just as the angels are incorporeal, when "sent forth to minister,"[480] they are able to carry out the will of the one who sent them, and they form the manifestations whenever those who are received as worthy may appear; thus the souls form impressions not according to nature, but are nevertheless genuine; just as a painter makes actual things from many colors, he will create not living beings or some other things by nature, and so incorporeal spiritual beings

[476] Eustratios inserts ἰάθησαν, ἐκεῖ.

[477] *Encyclica Luciani sive revelatio de reliquiis S. Stephani protomartyris* ,306.11-13 and 15-16.

[478] Πανόπλια refers to a full suit of armor.

[479] Cf. St. Menas.

[480] Heb 1:14.

are able to represent impressions for a short time. Neither must one call such beings an illusion nor things from nature; nor, on the contrary, is it right to assert that the visions are not true. For this occurred in the case of Abraham and the three angels, and on the one hand truly, but on the other hand the angels did not eat by nature; nor did what had happened occur in fantasy.[481]

And the great teacher Dionysios the Areopagite in his ninth chapter of his
p. 84 *On the Celestial Hierarchy* says the following, "And this we shall remind [you] of your hierarchical knowledge, that to Pharaoh was conveyed through visions from an angel standing over the Egyptians, [482] and to the ruler of the Babylonians from his own [angel],[483] [that] there is the guardian and authority of the providence and lordship of all things. And for those nations the servants of the living God were established [as] leaders, since the visions have been formed by the angels[484] to the holy men near the angels, to Daniel and Joseph,[485] after having been revealed from God through the angels."[486] And in the thirteenth chapter he says, "But also he was instructed in the mysteries of that divine and much-revered song of praise,[487] after

[481] Gen 18:1-15.

[482] Cf. Gen 41:1-24.

[483] Cf. Dan 2:1-45, 4:1-24.

[484] Cf. Dan 2:19.

[485] Cf. Gen 41:38-39.

[486] Dionysios the Areopagite, *De caelesti hierarchia*, p. 38.1-39.5, ed. G. Heil and A.M. Ritter, *Corpus Dionysiacum ii: Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita. De coelesti hierarchia, de ecclesiastica hierarchia, de mystica theologia, epistulae* [*Patristische Texte und Studien* 36. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1991]: 7-59.

[487] Cf. Isa 6:3; Rev 4:8.

the angel forming the vision imparted, to the best of its ability, its own holy knowledge to the theologian."[488]

And Gregory the Theologian[489] articulates similar things in his work *In Praise of Heron the Philosopher.* For he says the following, "Angelic splendid attire, whenever they take bodily form."[490] If indeed as the Fathers taught, the angels, who are incorporeal, form revelations, taking authority from God, in a similar way are the souls of the saints, which are like the angels, and these being nearly so [in likeness] carry out the powers [of angels], who have God as a protector and helper. Let no one be deceived or let no one deceive,[491] attributing to some what belongs to others. For truly [God], the creator of order,[492] wishes each one to remain in

p. 85 one's own rank, "and the spirits of prophets are subject to prophets. For God is not [the creator] of confusion but of peace."[493]

For I think it has been sufficiently made clear or rather to say to have been proved in many ways how the souls of the saints are the ones who make their manifestations, whenever it is necessary for them to be seen to some. Since this was proved, the question surely arises concerning those journeying from this life,

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[488] Dionysios the Areopagite, *De caelesti hierarchia,* p. 48.1-4.

[489] Gregory of Nazianzos.

[490] Gregory of Nazianzos, *In laudem Heronis philosophi* (orat. 25), PG 35:1200.17-19.

[491] Cf. Eph 5:6.

[492] God as the creator of order: Cyr. *ador*. 6 (1.181c); (200c).

[493] 1 Cor 14:32.-33

not entirely virtuously and God-loving, or moderately so, if they are active, if they come here or not, and how they are seen by some, if they are not the souls of those who are saints, we shall answer the question at least in part, to the best of our ability, God providing. Therefore, we shall say that there is not a mean between two extremes, but either in virtue or in evil the souls of these appearing are in a completed state by reason of the their age. This was shown by us above; besides, it is not out of place to cite them again as a support. Gregory of Nyssa says the following, "These two are [elements] in the creation of being, the earth and heaven, are divided into parts in regard to a course of life of the rational nature; earth is a place for those who have taken life through the flesh, but heaven, for those who are incorporeal. It is completely necessary for our life to be somewhere; unless we were pursued away from the earth, we shall completely dwell on earth; if we have gone away from here, we shall change our abode to heaven"[494] Therefore, a soul, as the Father said, is not itself accustomed, how is it able to be borne away to heaven, still being entwined with the flesh, to leave behind the earth and the philosophical practices of that world and to be carried above by the Spirit even if for a short time, whenever it is released from the bond of the flesh?

p. 86 For as he says, "Unless we were pursued away from the earth, we shall completely dwell on earth," which indeed the case of the rich man also indicated, saying, "the rich man also died and was buried."[495] And he [Gregory] establishes

[494] Gregory of Nyssa, *Orationes viii de beatitudinibus*, PG 44:1300.45-51.

[495] Lk 16:22.

the matters concerning this and through another witness, [the passage] already having been introduced. "A that soul is unenlightened [without baptism], and not having been adorned with the grace of spiritual rebirth, I do not know even [if] [the] angels receive it after the separation from the body. For how, if it unsealed [after death], not bearing any baptismal symbol [of believers marked as the property of Christ] of ownership, which is likely borne in the air wandering, roaming, and unsought for as it is without a master."[496] Therefore if the "unsealed" soul is "without a master" and "unsought for" is "borne through the air" and, "likely" such kind [of soul] is according to the will of God,[497] seldom is manifested to some as visions, not for the sake of benefit, but wishes to deceive. For how will it be able to help in the future, it never having wished to do this when it was with the body? Therefore, what sort of partial glory does it have to gain, just as the saints now who even before the
resurrection, even if they were not completely glorified, as the Book of Revelation also shows,[498] who also while in [the] flesh were unceasingly offering good deeds to those in need? And so this therefore Abraham, speaking enigmatically to the rich man, said "A great gulf is fixed, and we are not able to pass to [one another]."[499] And not because the righteous are not able to be present

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[496] Gregory of Nyssa, *De iis qui baptismum differunt***,** PG 46:424.23-29; Cf. Luke 16:19-31.

[497] For a study on the sealing of the soul to Christ at baptism, see D.W.H. Lampe, *The Seal of the Spirit: A Study in the Doctrine of Baptism and Confirmation in the New Testament and the Fathers* (London: Longmans, 1951) 143-144.

[498] Rev 20:4-6.

[499] Lk 16:26.

p. 87 in this life - for he wanted Lazarus to be sent his to his brothers;[500] for we pointed this out in as many ways that it became possible – but the patriarch indicated [that] the righteous have been prevented from coexisting with sinners. For how would they ever be able to exist with one another? It is written, "For the son of the slave woman will not be heir with son of the free woman;"[501] for "the souls of the just are in the hand of God."[502] And God says through the prophet, "All souls are mine."[503] For even if he spoke generically concerning all, some are in the bridal chamber, that is to say, in heaven,[504] while others are outside the bridal chamber, that is to say, on earth, on account of their deeds; and this distinction is always maintained; for he said, "Open the door"[505] and the "fixed gulf" "between" [506] one another, this he reveals. Therefore, the rich man beseeches Lazarus be sent for the correction of his own brothers, but does not take an account of virtue, in order that he may help and turn many to their best works, [instead] he said this, by the suffering [in Hades] he still lays hold of his flesh, he only spoke earnestly to deliver his well-counted five brothers from dangers. The one who does not thoroughly cleanse or heal his own five senses while still on

[500] Lk 16:27-28.

[501] Gal 4:30; cf. Gen 21:10.

[502] WisSol 3:1.

[503] Ezek 18:4.

[504] Mt 25:1-13.

[505] Lk 13:25; cf. Mt 25:10.

[506] Lk 16:26.

earth, how is he able, being "in Hades,"[507] and "in torments,"[508] to become a physician for others? It would be reasonable for him to hear, "Physician, heal yourself."[509] Therefore, Abraham, equally in this respect, said, "It is not possible [for Lazarus] to pass the chasm,"[510] that is, the rich man asking this to happen for your sake. For being rich in charges heaped against you, you are powerless in your pleading now to free

p. 88 captives or yourself. For a slave does not free a slave, and neither is a corpse able to give life to a corpse. Because of this he says, "They have Moses and the prophets; let them listen to them." [511] As many as who have become common benefactors, and who are among those who have benefited, when they are far from earth in heaven, are not prevented from accomplishing the same things again as in a habitual state of doing good, whenever on behalf of those who are still on earth. And on the other hand as many as those [creatures] who have been dwelling like fish in the depths of the waters, even if they suppose or wish to be borne toward the surface above, they are not able to find a release from their accustomed manner of living, which also happened with respect to the rich man. For sometimes he was reasoning to himself, saying that Abraham called me 'child,'[512] if I say to him concerning Lazarus, "Send him to my brothers,"[513] he

[507] Lk 16:23.

[508] Lk 16:23.

[509] Lk 4:23.

[510] Lk 16:26.

[511] Lk 16:29.

[512] Lk 16:25.

will certainly say to me, 'I shall send you,' and 'You go away to them.' And if this happens, I shall find a release afterwards from the pains that oppress me now."[514] This is why he piteously offered the prayers of a supplicant, saying, "Have mercy upon me, Father Abraham, and send Lazarus,"[515] on the one hand entreating for his brothers, and on the other for himself. What does the affectionate Abraham do? He did not insult, he did not dishonor, and he did not threaten, nor did he answer altogether harshly; but as soon as he heard, he gave him [Lazarus] the same disposition [of feeling].[516] He says, "You call me 'father'[517] in

name only; for you did not keep the paternal commandments and you did not welcome hospitality in your own house and this you did not value as one ought,[518] that hospitality itself had happened to you in the "tabernacles of the righteous."[519] And I in a like manner call you "child;" I speak soothingly to your voice through a voice, [but] not through works. For how am I able to repay you through good work, who did not accomplish anything good?" They might have spoken words like these.

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[513] Lk 16:28-29.

[514] Cf. Lk 16:24.

[515] Lk 16:24.

[516] Cf. Gen 21:11-12.

[517] Lk 16:24, 27.

[518] Gen 18:1-15.

[519] Ps 117:15; Lk 16:25.

p. 89 What then? Did a judgment occur before the universal resurrection? We do not say this, but that the gospel certainly prophesied the time about to come. Those who live in this life and do not open the intellectual and the invisible, that is to say, the gates of heaven, "storing up an unfailing treasure in heaven where neither moth nor rust destroy, and thieves do not break in and steal,"[520] how will they find these things opening, that they either might be transferred there to the angels and the righteous, or again arriving here, how might they do good works as the saints also do? For it is written "that there is no memory of the wise man with the fool forever."[521] For what communion "has light with darkness?"[522] For the hopes and dwellings are not the equal of them [the unrighteous], in order that the manifestations [of the saints] occur in a like way, lest of these they "share in deeds"[523] with one another.

But perhaps you might say, "What will such souls say, if they are not active?" Therefore we shall say that they are active, but not according to the activity of the saints, to the extent they both move and repent, just as the rich man said, "Father Abraham, save me![524]" and as much as the gospel points out about him. Indeed not because they are sent by God for the sake of good works, unless someone might say by leave [of God], and as the Father said, they are "without a master and they are wandering about in the air," perhaps, they make

[520] Mt 6:20; Lk 12:33.

[521] Eccl 2:16.

[522] 2 Cor 6:14.

[523] 2 Jn 11.

[524] Lk 16:24.

manifestations in the imagination according to their own free will. And if after God commands this to happen because of certain reasons, "[W]ho will say [to him], "Why do you do [this][525]"? For we shall also find with reference to the Prophet Elijah that because of the harshness of the three-year censure, God ordered him to bring about an attack of famine by him to the people

p. 90 through the unclean bird, [as] I speak of the raven.[526] Naturally it is rare for blackened souls to be manifested to some.

And where they [the departed souls] are or in what sort of place are they living before the Incarnation of Christ and his suffering and his resurrection from the dead the Fathers also spoke of, the Divine Scripture also demonstrates, as it is written in [the Book] of Job, "Did you go to the fountain of the sea, and walk about in the tracks of the abyss? And

do the gates of death open for you with fear; and seeing you, did the gatekeepers of Hades cower with fear?" [527] And it is clear from this how "into the lower the parts of the earth"[528] the souls of all who were laid hold of, which our Lord and God drew up, 'trampling down death with death'[529] and shattering the gates of

[525] Job 9:12; WisSol 12:12.

[526] 3 Kgdms 17:4.

[527] Job 38:16-17.

[528] Eph 4:9.

[529] A well-know liturgical expression. See Justinian, *Troparium* (CPG 6891), p. 52.25; *Pentekostarion, Troparium Matut. Pasch*. p.1, col. 1.26-27; see also Heb. 2:14.

Hades.[530] For which reason the Evangelist notes how "many bodies of the saints who were asleep" [531] were raised and "appeared to many."[532] Behold, he said "appeared;" and if then this occurred, it is very clear that they make themselves manifest even now. For from then the souls of the saints have received a beginning, will not cease to do the same until the consumation of the world. Releasing the souls from the dark and lowest places, whichever those places might be, one must speak concerning all of the souls, on account of the quote of the chief of the apostles,[533] because of which "and therefore he went and preached to the spirits in prison,"[534] but "appearing" was said by the evangelist of

p. 91 the saints alone and not of all. Whether the "bodies" are of the saints who died long before, or a few years before, or died more recently, which also seems to me truer because of the quotation "they appeared;" in order that he may point out the recently [departed] of memory and to be acknowledged by one another, not all know this, but to whom it has been given to know; he argumentively and incontroverably said, beyond all argument and contradiction, "they appeared to many." And a body that is made dead will never be able to make an appearance without a soul, as a soul is always living and is never dissolving, and without a

[530] Cf. Ps 106:16; Mt 16:18.

[531] Mt 27:52.

[532] Mt 27:53.

[533] Peter.

[534] 1 Pet 3:19. The reference to prison refers to Christ's descent to those who were imprisoned by sin and darkness.

body it is active and forms visions and is made manifest with the cooperation of God as we have demonstrated in many ways.

And concerning the earlier mode of life of the souls, let these unusual things be said, concerning the present way of life of the holy souls, already it has been clearly explained that they also dance in heaven with the angels, since also concerning Lazarus, he [Luke] says, "It happened that the beggar died, and was carried by the angels to the bosom of Abraham. The rich man also died and was buried."[535] For a burial is actually "not having the ability to pass"[536] and to come to "the world-ruler of darkness" [537] and the rebellious powers and orders under him.[538] And likewise some of the Fathers spoke concerning those souls who are in wickedness, how they were taken from their bodies, whether by evil [powers] or by good angels.[539] And from this it is necessary to conjecture in what sort of places they live on after the separation from the body. As we have demonstrated Gregory of Nyssa also

p. 92 pointed this out.

The God-bearing Athanasios, the bishop of Alexandria also speaks

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[535] Lk 16:22.

[536] Lk 16:26.

[537] Eph 6:12.

[538] Cf. Basil of Caesarea, *Spir.* 51 (PG 32.161); Gregory of Nazianzos, *or*.38.9 (PG 36.321); Gregory of Nyssa, *hom.5 in Cant.* (PG 44.861).

[539] Cf. Ephraim the Syrian, *De beatitudinibus atque infelicitatibus* (CPG 3960), p 335A5-B5; Macarios of Alexandria, *Sermones* LXIV (collectio B) (CPG 2410), *hom*. 34.3 (p. 34.14-35.1).

concerning this, as he narrates the following from the life of the great Antony, "One day around the ninth hour, [Anthony] felt himself carried off in thought. The astounding thing was, while standing, he saw himself as if he were outside of himself and as being guided into the air by some sort of beings. Then there were some cruel and terrible creatures standing in the air, wishing to hinder him so as not to pass through. When those who were guiding [him] were fighting against [them], the latter were demanding a word, if he should not be accountable to them. When they wanted to cast up accounts since his birth, those who were guiding Anthony prevented them, saying to them, 'The Lord expunged matters since birth, but from which [time] he became a monk and professed [a vow] to God, let an account be made.' Then, after accusing [him][540] and not convicting [him], his way became free and unhindered. And immediately he saw himself as if coming to himself, and again Anthony was whole."

"Then he forgot to eat, [and] he remained groaning and praying for the rest of the day and through the night. For he marvelled, seeing against how many hardships is the struggle for us, and through how much someone has to pass through the air, and he remembered this is what the apostle Paul said, '[A]ccording to the ruler of the domain of the air.'[541] For in this the enemy has 'the domain,' in fighting and attempting to hinder those who come across, on account of which

[540] Eustratios inserts αὐτοῦ.

[541] Satan; Eph 2:2.

p. 93 certainly he counsels, ‘Take up the whole armor of God, that you may be able to withstand, [he says],[542] in the evil day,’[543] ‘in order that [the enemy] may feel shame, having nothing evil to say of us.’[544] And we who have learned this, remembered the Apostle saying, ‘[W]hether in the body or out of the body, I do not know, God knows.’[545] But Paul, ‘[C]aught up as far as into the third heaven, and hearing inexpressible words’[546] and came down, and Anthony saw himself coming into the air, and struggling until he seemed free.”

“And he had this gift of grace again, sitting apart on the mountain,[547] if ever he was at a loss seeking [something] in himself, this itself was revealed from Providence by his praying. And as it was written, the blessed person was ‘taught by God.’[548] After these things, [a discussion][549] arose with some people coming to him concerning the state of the soul, and after these things [i.e., life] in what sort of place will it be. On the next night someone called him from above, saying, ‘Arise Antony; come out and see!’ Therefore after going out – for he knew whom he must obey – and looking up he viewed someone tall, deformed, and frightening standing and reaching up to the clouds, and some beings ascending as if winged;

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[542] Eustratios inserts φησίν.

[543] Eph 6:13.

[544] Titus 2:8.

[545] 2 Cor 12:2-3.

[546] 2 Cor 12:2, 4.

[547] Cf. 4 Kings 1:9 (2 Kgs 1:19).

[548] Cf. Jn 6:45; 1 Thes 4:9.

[549] Eustratios inserts διαλέκτου.

and the former stretching out its hands, some being prevented by him, others flying above and passing through, [borne away][550] free finally from care. That gigantic one 'gnashed his teeth'[551] at such, but at those who fell back, he rejoiced. And immediately a voice came to Antony, 'Understand what you are seeing!'[552] And after his mind was opened,[553] he understood that it was the
p. 94 passing of souls, and the gigantic one standing was the enemy, the one envying believers, those accountable to himself he holds and hinders from passing through, while those not having been obedient to him he is not able to hold; instead they pass above him. Seeing this again, as if being reminded, he struggled more to make progress to those things that lay ahead."[554]

The God-bearing Athanasios clearly and sufficiently narrating the events of the revelation of the great Antony, recollected also the apostolic saying, confirming the faith also to possess from it both the aforementioned words and their meanings. And so I say both of good souls and such that were not, the Fathers, who signify the difference of their state or condition after the departure from their bodies, put an end to all perplexity, that is to say, controversy.

And the holy Basil, bishop of Caesarea, in his work *On Baptism*, says the following: "The one who baptizes is not present, death stands by; those who

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[550] Eustratios inserts ἀπάγεσθαι.

[551] Mk 9:18.

[552] Cf. Dan 9:23.

[553] Cf. Lk 24:31.

[554] Cf. Phil 3:13; Athanasios of Alexandria, *Vita Antonii*, 65.5-66.26, ed. G. J. M. Bartelink, *Athanase d'Alexandrie, Vie d'Antoine* [*Sources chrétiennes* 400. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2004].

carry off oppress. Who is the deliverer? God, the one despised [by you]? But he will listen then; do you hear him now? He will give an appointed time;[555] For did you use what was given [to you] well? 'Let no one deceive you with empty words.'[556] For 'sudden destruction will come upon'[557] you, and 'catastrophe equally with a sudden and furious blast will come upon you.'[558] A sad angel will come, forcibly carrying off and dragging away your soul chained with sins, which frequently turns towards things here, and it bewails without a voice, after the [vocal] instrument of lamentations has been cut off."[559]

p. 95 Following these matters, his brother Gregory [of Nyssa] spoke, the words which we already cited above, but nevertheless we shall not shrink to quote the same things because of the confirmation of his words, "Let us not be grieved, brothers, being far from earthly things. For translated there [heaven], one dwells in celestial palaces. These two elements, heaven and earth, are in the structure of being, having been apportioned according to the way of life of the rational mind. The place of those who received life through the flesh is earth; but heaven is the dwelling of the bodiless. Therefore, it is entirely necessary for our life to be [lived] somewhere. [And] if we were not driven away from earth, we are entirely bound on earth; if we depart from here, we shall change our abode to heaven."[560]

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[555] Cf. Gal 4:2.

[556] Eph 5:6.

[557] 1 Thes 5:3.

[558] Prov 1:27.

[559] Basil of Caesarea, *Homilia exhortatoria ad sanctum baptisma*. PG 31:441.42-444.4.

[560] Gregory of Nyssa, *Orationes viii de beatitudinibus*, PG 44:1300.42-52.

> And again, "A soul [that is] unenlightened [without baptism], and not having been adorned with the grace of spiritual rebirth, I do not think that even the angels receive it after the separation from the body; for how is it possible for them to receive the unsealed [soul after death], not bearing any baptismal symbol [of believers marked as the property of Christ][561] of ownership, which is likely borne in the air wandering, roaming, and incomprehensible as it is without a master, longing for rest and a place to call home, and not finding them, lamenting in vain and repenting to no avail, like the rich man[?]"[562]
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> These are the teachings of the Fathers. What else did the Lord declare
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> p. 96 concerning the two rich men? For concerning one he said, "Fool! This night your soul is required of you; and the things you have prepared, whose will they be?"[563] Concerning the other rich man, again, "And the rich man died and was buried."[564] Therefore, the very things which the Fathers thought to speak on enigmatically, the Lord also confirmed these things, as he alone who truly knows the highest [knowledge], [He] who is indeed truth will also bring forth. For "he [himself] made all things in wisdom,"[565] as many as he wished, and furthermore as many as were worthy of accepting wisdom and knowledge, he instructed them as well.

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[561] Cf. Origen, *Commentarii in evangelium Joannis* (lib. 19, 20, 28, 32), 28.2.8, ed. E. Preuschen, *Origenes Werke*, vol. 4 [*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller* 10. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903]: 298-480.

[562] Gregory of Nyssa, *De iis qui baptismum differunt***,** PG 46:424.23-31; Cf. Luke 16:19-31. For a study on the theology of baptism in the works of Gregory of Nyssa, see Everett Ferguson, *Baptism in the Early Church: History, Theology, and Liturgy in the First five Centuries* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans), 2009), 603-622.

[563] Lk 12:20.

[564] Lk 16:22.

[565] Ps 103:24.

For "the one and the same Spirit works all things, distributing to each individually as He wills."[566] And it "blows where it wishes."[567] And where does it wish? It is clear to those who made themselves ready; for he said "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, I am there in the midst of them,"[568] and, "I shall dwell in them and walk among them. I shall be their God, and they shall be my people."[569] Therefore He himself indwells in all his saints and prophets and apostles and teachers, as many things He wished He manifested through them, and they themselves taught throughout His church.

And we briefly taught to the best of our ability, both from the holy Scriptures and the teachings of the Fathers, the matters concerning the souls being active after death and in what sorts of places they live [after death].

Let us pass on to the next inquiry which we also promised to demonstrate. And this ought to be sought by some, whether souls are helped through offerings and the mentioning of them in prayers. Therefore concerning this we shall attempt to cite a few witnesses, first to show that the old Law, even if in some way more obscurely, but as an

p. 97 image of the law now truly [manifest],[570] it permitted the commemoration of the saints to exist. Therefore, [Moses] says in Genesis concerning Jacob the

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[566] 1 Cor 12:11.

[567] Jn 3:8.

[568] Mt 18:20.

[569] 2 Cor 6:16.

[570] Christ as the fulfillment of the Law; cf. Mt 5-17-20; Rom 3:31; 8:3, 4; 10:4; Heb 10:1.

following, "And Joseph commanded his servants the embalmers to embalm his father; and the embalmers embalmed Israel. And they fulfilled forty days for him, for thus are the days of embalming numbered; and Egypt mourned him for seventy days."[571] And in Deuteronomy, concerning Moses, such things are narrated, "Moses lived to be one hundred and twenty years old. When he died, his eyes were not dimmed, nor were his natural powers destroyed. And the sons of Israel wept for Moses in Araboth of Moab at the Jordan near Jericho thirty days; and the days of the mourning for Moses were completed."[572]

"The Law having a shadow of the good things to come,"[573] as the Apostle said, numbered all the days of mourning as one [day], not like "the eyewitnesses and ministers [now entrusted with the church] of the Word"[574] and God, but they[575] divided the forty days in three parts: the third,

p. 98 the ninth, and the fortieth day.[576] For thus the Lord himself after his three-day resurrection[577] "showed himself to his disciples[578] after the doors were shut,"[579]

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[571] Gen 50:2-3.

[572] Deut 34:7-8.

[573] Heb 10:1.

[574] Lk 1:2.

[575] The Christian eyewitnesses and ministers from the time of Jesus to Eustratios' day.

[576] On the third, the ninth, and fortieth day commemorations, see the *Apostolic Constitutions*, 7.42.1-3; the Emperor Justinian's *Novella* CXXXIII, 3; John Lydos, *De Mensibus*, 4.26; Pseudo-John of Damascus, *Oratio de his qui in fide dormiunt* (CPG 8112), PG 95.261B12-C2. See also Karl Krumbacher, *Studien zu den Legenden des hl. Theodosios* in *Nachtrag zur Sitzungsberichten der Philosophisch-Historischen Klasse der Kgl. Bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Munich: 7 mai, 1892, pp. 341-355.

[577] Cf. Mt 27:63; Mk 8:31; 9:31;10:43.

when also "he said to them"[580] 'Peace be with you.' And he breathed on their faces,[581] and said, 'Receive the Holy Spirit.'"[582] He indicated that one of them "was not with them,"[583] "and after eight days his disciples were again inside, and Thomas was with them."[584] Behold, after the resurrection within the eight days he appeared next to the disciples, and so the Evangelist in saying, "after eight days," did not include the day of the Resurrection. And so after that they are counted up nine. Therefore according to this paradigm, from the tomb until the ninth day, we hold a second a service to commemorate the memory of those who are piously sleeping. Likewise, too, are the fortieth-day commemorative services, since on the fortieth day the Lord was taken up to heaven. These things were handed down not simply or by chance, but to attain toward some entirely useful end; for what other thing would be useful than helping the souls of the sleeping? For we find according to Old Testament that, due to the raising of seed [children] for a dead brother by the living [brother],[585] mercy, that is to say, help, comes to the sleeping [brother]. For Naomi says – she was the mother-in-law of Ruth – about her kinsman

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[578] Jn 21:1.

[579] Jn 20:19.

[580] Jn 20:19.

[581] Cf. Gen 2:7.

[582] Jn 20:21-22.

[583] Jn 20:24.

[584] Jn 20:26.

[585] Deut 25:5-10.

p. 99 Boaz saying such things, "And Naomi said to her daughter-in-law, 'Blessed is he by the Lord, because he has not failed in his mercy with the living and the dead.'"[586] Therefore good deeds not only remain constant in the people who do them, but they also make the occurrence [of mercy] happen on behalf those of whom they benefit, as a helpful deed crosses over to them.

And we also find matters that were spoken of and done more distinctly and clearly in the book of Maccabees. Therefore this is said in the second book of Maccabees,"Then Judas assembled his army, and entered the city of Adullam. As the seventh day was beginning, they purified themselves according to custom, and they kept the sabbath there. On the next day, as by that time [matters had become necessary], Judas and his men went to take up the bodies of the fallen and to bring them back to lie with their kinsmen in ancestral tombs. But under the tunics of every one of the dead they found sacred tokens of the idols of Jamnia, which the law forbids Jews to wear. And it became clear to all [that] this was reason [these men had fallen]. And they blessed all the judgments of the Lord, who makes the things that are hidden manifest; [and they turned to supplication,] and prayed that the sin which had been committed be wholly blotted out. And the noble Judas exhorted the crowd of people to keep themselves free from sin, they had seen with their own eyes what had happened on account of the sin of those who had fallen. He also took up a collection

p. 100 to the amount of [two thousand] drachmas of silver, and sent it to Jerusalem to offer for a sacrifice of sin; he acted very well and properly, taking into account the resurrection. For if he did not expect that those who had fallen would rise again,

[586] Ruth 2:20.

it would have been superfluous and foolish to pray on behalf of the dead, or if looking to a best offering for those who are sleeping in piety, the intention was holy and pious. For which reason he made an atonement on behalf of the dead, that they might be freed from sin."[587]

You must pay heed without distraction, how many things the cited history included according to him [the author of 2 Maccabees], that [Judas] Maccabeus "acted very well and properly," through the "two thousand drachmas he offered" "a sacrifice for sins" to God, reckoning correctly "he did" this "on behalf of" rest [in eternity], that you ought "to be praying" in thanksgiving "for those who have fallen asleep in piety," that it was "holy," that "piety" was such an "intention," and [this is] what is indeed marvelous, that there was also a release from sins for those on behalf of whom he performs these things, provided from the Lawgiver,[588] which in this case is our benevolent God. If therefore on behalf of those who stole the idols because of sordid greediness offerings have come from those who rightfully guard the law on this point, [that is,] those who performed this [intention] to "release from [such] sin," and this happened after the death of sinners, by how much more will those who now piously sleep in the faith of Christ gain the greatest help, when offerings and supplications are made on their behalf. The Apostle, hinting at this, said, "Remember your leaders, who have

[587] 2 Mac 12:38-45.

[588] Moses.

p. 101 spoken the word of God to you."[589] And again, "contributing to the commemoration of saints;" [590] And again elsewhere, "And here tithes are received by mortal people, but there by one of whom it is witnessed that he lives."[591] The divine apostle who was learned in the law was well aware of the good actions of the Maccabees, but "caught up to the third heaven,"[592] and "hearing inexpressible words,"[593] he reasonably commanded the memory of "those who lead" to occur, and "to commemorate the memory of the saints," for which reason he said, "And here tithes are received by mortal people."

Likewise, Dionysios the Areopagite, bishop of Athens and martyr, who learned and was instructed in these and similar things by the one who has "Christ speaking in"[594] himself, says this in the [chapter entitled] "'The Mystery of the Synaxis, [that is to say] of [the rite of] Communion:'[595] The proclamation of the holy books, after the peace, extols those who have lived piously, those who have unalterably attained a perfection of virtuous life, urging and guiding us on the one

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[589] Heb 13:7.

[590] Rom 12:13. The standard Nestle-Alland text for Rom 12:13 is ταῖς χρείαις τῶν ἁγίων κοινωνοῦντες, "contributing to the needs of the saints;" however, some manuscripts dating to at least the fourth century used the phrase ταῖς μνείαις τῶν ἁγίων κοινωνοῦντες; the fourth-century Diodoros of Tarsus uses this phrase; see *Fragmenta in epistulam ad Romanos*, p, 106.17 in K. Staab, *Pauluskommentare aus der griechischen Kirche aus Katenenhandschriften gesammelt* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1933), 83-112. Eustratios also employs this version of the text.

[591] Heb 7:8.

[592] 2 Cor 12:2.

[593] 2 Cor 12:4.

[594] 2 Cor 13:3.

[595] Dionysios the Areopagite, *De ecclesiastica hierarchia*, 3.1, ed. G. Heil and A.M. Ritter, *Corpus Dionysiacum ii: Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita. De coelesti hierarchia, de ecclesiastica hierarchia, de mystica theologia, epistulae* [*Patristische Texte und Studien* 36. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1991]: 80.7.

hand, through their similarity, toward a blessed state and a Godlike limit, and proclaiming them, on the other hand, as living, and as the divine teaching says, not as those who have died but who have passed into a most divine life from death.[596] Consider also that they have been set apart in the holy commemorations of the divine memory, shown not in a human way, in the

p. 102 illusion of a commemoration, but as someone might say, in a way worthy of God, according to the precious and unalterable knowledge in God of those who have been perfected Godlike. For 'he knows,' say the words [from Scripture], 'those who are his'[597] and 'Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints,'[598] since the death [of these saints][599] [is] for the sake of a said perfection in holiness. And keep this piously in mind, as the revered eucharistic elements are placed on the divine altar, through which Christ is signified and partaken, the [reading][600] of the saints is indivisibly present, manifesting the joining together indivisibly of their transcendent and holy union with Him."[601] If, therefore, those who are sleeping "are proclaimed" "living," as the Father taught, do they also as living perceive the benefit? For what advantage are the gifts of others being offered to the sleeping, unless what had taken place is offered to them, but turns back again only to those offering these things, as you said? For "they are changing" after

[596] Cf. Jn 5:24 and 11:25; 1 Cor 15:52; 1 Jn 3:14.

[597] 2 Tim 2:19.

[598] Ps 115:6 (116:15).

[599] Eustratios inserts τούτων.

[600] Eustratios inserts γραφή.

[601] Dionysios the Areopagite, *De ecclesiastica hierarchia*, 3.9.

death not to [a life] of the dead, but "to a life [filled with God]." And on account of this, "they are placed in the holy commemorations" and the choirs of the saints are present "indivisibly" "joined with" Christ. On account of this they are active and are sent into this world in good work for many others and they deeply

p. 103 perceive the offerings when they are made on their behalf. More broadly, the same Father again teaches this concerning those who have fallen asleep in holiness, "Coming forward, the divine hierarch offers a holy prayer over the person who is sleeping. And after the prayer, both the hierarch himself and then all who are present give him the kiss of peace. The prayer, then, beseeches the highest divine goodness to forgive all the sins of the sleeping person on account of human weakness. 'Place him' in light and 'the land' of the living,'[602] 'in the bosom of Abraham' 'and Isaac and Jacob,'[603] in a place where 'grief, pain, and sighing have fled away.'"[604] Is the person who is worthy through the divine prayer for the forgiveness of sins helped or not? Therefore we shall grant that this is indeed so, even if this might not seem so to some. That which the prayer accomplishes, this and rather much more is done by the presented offerings. Afterwards, again he says such things, "'Bosoms,' as it seems to me, are of the blessed patriarchs and all the rest of the saints, the most divine and blessed inheritances, and they welcome all the godlike people into an ageless and most

[602] Ps 55:14 and 114:9.

[603] Lk 16:32; Cf. Mt 8:11.

[604] *Apostolic Constitutions*, 8.41.8-12; Is. 35:10 and 51:11; Dionysios the Areopagite, *De ecclesiastica hierarchia*, 7.4.

blessed perfection in them."[605] And again, "That the prayers of the righteous in this life, not to mention after death, are active only in regard to those who are worthy of holy prayers, as the true traditions of inspired sayings thoroughly teach us."[606] And again, "For this is also has been ordained

p. 104 from the divine judgments, that the divine gifts are to be given to the worthy to have a share in them, in an order most worthy of God, through those who are worthy to impart them."[607] And a little later, "The divine hierarch is, as the inspired utterances say, a manifestation of the divine ordinances,[608] for 'he is a messenger of the Lord God Almighty.'[609] And so he has learned from the inspired sayings handed down by God, that for those living in a holy way, the brightest and divine life is given in return, according to worth, by the most just balances, since the divine love for humanity, overlooking on account of goodness, the stains [having come][610] to them from human weakness, if indeed as the inspired utterance says, 'No one can make a thing clean out of an unclean.'[611] The hierarch, then, knows these things were proclaimed by true inspired sayings, and he asks these things to happen, and the holy exchanges be granted to those

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[605] Dionysios the Areopagite, *De ecclesiastica hierarchia*, 7.5.

[606] Ibid., 7.6.

[607] Ibid.

[608] Cf. Sir 39:8.

[609] Mal 2:7.

[610] Eustratios inserts γενομένας.

[611] Job 14:4.

who are living a holy way."[612] And again, "For the hierarch, the expounder of divine justice, would not ever seek out the things not most dear to God and divinely proclaimed to be about to be granted by Him. On account of which he does not [pray][613] these things for unholy people who passed away, not only because in doing this he would turn away from his expounding priestly office, and would arrogantly dare even something of the hierarchs, not having been moved by the author of consecration,[614] but because he will not unjustly fail in his accursed prayer from the righteous saying, 'You ask and you do not

p. 105 receive, because you ask amiss.'"[615] The teacher explained the difference between those who are sleeping, both those who are unfaithful and those who are in faith, earnestly persuaded and persuades the right-minded to perform supplications and offerings on behalf of those who are sleeping in holiness. "For nothing is so strong given in love as a reciprocal disposition."[616]

And Ephraim, the great and holy teacher in Syria, also thoroughly examines such things about this very topic in the work by him, *The Testament*, saying, "Approach me, my brothers, lay me out, settling me – [for][617] "the spirit faints within me"[618] strongly – and journey with me in psalms, and with your

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[612] Dionysios the Areopagite, *De ecclesiastica hierarchia,* 7.6.

[613] Eustratios inserts εὔχεται.

[614] God.

[615] Dionysios the Areopagite, *De ecclesiastica hierarchia*, 7.7; Jas 4:3.

[616] Gregory of Nazianzos, *Oration* II, *De fuga vel Apologetica vel De sacerdotio* (CPG 3010[2]), 106.2, ed. J. Bernardi, *Grégoire de Nazianze. Discours 6-12* [*Sources chrétiennes* 247. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1978).

[617] Eustratios inserts γάρ.

[618] Ps 142:7.

prayers, [and][619] deem worthy to make offerings in the customary way on behalf of my deficiency. And when [I shall reach][620] the thirtieth [day], perform my commemoration. For mortals benefit in offerings of commemoration from the living saints. Look at a paradigm from the particular creations of God, such as of the vine, [such as][621] the unripe grape in the field and the squeezed-out wine in the vessel. Whenever a bunch of grapes is ripe on the vine, [it will be moved, changing, as][622] the wine in the house. Likewise, also understand me concerning the onion. The planted [onion] in the field at the same time reveals a green [shoot], and the dry one in the house sprouts a fruit. If then the fruits of creations thus are simultaneously perceived with one another, by how much more do the dead sense the offerings in their commemorations? And if you give

p. 106 me a clever answer understand that these matters follow in the nature of created things, you will know yourself [to be][623] 'a first fruit [of his][624] creatures.'[625] But if you are not convinced by the example, unless [I offer][626] you a witness, [I

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[619] Eustratios inserts τε.

[620] Eustratios inserts πληρώσω.

[621] Eustratios inserts οἷον.

[622] Eustratios inserts κινηθήσεται ἀλλασσόμενος.

[623] Eustratios inserts εἶναι.

[624] Eustratios inserts αὐτοῦ.

[625] Jas 1:18.

[626] Eustratios inserts προσαγάγω.

find][627] the things are written [at variance],[628] and if indeed you wish, receive with understanding the things that were spoken. Moses, the servant of God,[629] blessed Reuben with blessings until the third generation.[630] Unless then the dead are redeemed, by what argument does Moses bless Reuben until the third generation? Hear what the Apostle shouts, saying, 'If the dead are not raised at all, [why][631] are people baptized on their behalf?'[632] For "those who were kept under guard by the Law'[633] were kept back 'for the faith which would aftewards be revealed'[634] at the expectation of resurrection as a mystery, even as you have read that in the offerings of worship the priests [of the Old Testament] under the Law were purified. Because of holy offerings and prayers, by how much more will priests of the New Testament of Christ reasonably be able to remove the debts [of sins][635] of those who departed? After you come to the memorial service, see to it, [my] brothers, that no one might sin in the sanctuary, but keep vigil attentively, gently, humbly, and purely."[636] The teacher removed every dispute of this very argument

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[627] Eustratios inserts εὑρίσκω.

[628] Eustratios inserts διαφόρως.

[629] Cf. Num 12:7; Heb 3:5.

[630] Cf. Deut 33:1 and 6.

[631] Eustratios inserts διὰ τί .

[632] 1 Cor 15:29.

[633] Gal 3:23.

[634] Gal 3:23.

[635] Cf. Mt 6:12.

[636] Ephraim the Syrian, *Beati Ephraem Testamentum*, pp. 413.13-415.11, ed. K.G. Phrantzoles, *Ὁσίου Ἐφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου ἔργα*, vol. 7 (Thessalonica: To Perivoli tis Panagias, 1998).

[of the opponents], for he used examples fittingly, and taught apophatically, how some benefit accrues to those who are commemorated through offerings.

Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, also in harmony with these things, in the fifth book of his *Mystagogia*, - of which this the beginning: "The philanthropy of

p. 107 God..." – says this,[637] "Then we commemorate, too, those who have already fallen asleep, first patriarchs, apostles, prophets, and martyrs, so that God might receive our supplication through their prayers and intercessions. Then too [we commemorate] on behalf of the holy Fathers and bishops who have already fallen asleep, and in short all [the saints][638] among us who have already gone to sleep, believing there is going to be a great benefit for the souls, on behalf of whom the supplication is offered, after the holy and most awe-inspiring sacrifice is set forth on the altar.[639] And I wish to convince you by illustration, for I know many say this, 'Does the soul departing this world with sins benefit or not, if it is commemorated with prayer?' If some king should banish those who offended him, then those who are kin to them, who have woven a garland, and offered this to him [the king] on behalf those who are in punishment, would he not grant them a remission from punishments? And in the same way we, offering supplications to him on behalf of those who have fallen asleep, even if they were

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[637] Cyril of Jerusalem, *Mystagogia*, 5.1, ed. P. Paris and A. Piedagnel, *Cyrille de Jérusalem. Catéchèses mystagogiques* (*Sources chrétiennes* 126. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1966).

[638] Eustratios inserts ἁγίων.

[639] Concerning the setting forth of the sacrifice of the Eucharist on the altar, see John Chrysostom, *hom.* 14.2 *in Heb.* (PG 12:141C).

sinners, we do not weave a garland, but we offer Christ, sacrificed on behalf of our sins, propitiating the humanity-loving God on their behalf and ours."[640]

And Cyril the wisest, the bishop of the city of Alexandria, teaches similar doctrines to these in his book entitled *Against Those Who are Bold Enough to Say That It is Not Necessary to Make Offerings on Behalf of Those who Have Fallen Asleep in*

p. 108 *Faith*, of which this is the beginning, "Those who are guiding the eye of their own mind..."[641] For he speaks thus, "We therefore say patiently to them, 'Think of the Lord,'[642] stop opposing the teachings of truth with the rash and false-speaking tongue, stop inconsiderately rebuking the customs of the church.' For they say it is not necessary, for us who are processing to their tombs, to perform supplications on behalf of those who have fallen asleep, and to prudently offer the great [rites] as if with Christ present through the holy and mystical sacrifices."[643] And a little later, "At any rate why is it out of place also for Christ, who is bodily present, to receive the rites on behalf of those having fallen asleep in faith? For if it is actually useless and worthless or otherwise unseemly for them to be deemed worthy of an offering from us, let this [rite] not be in the simple prayers. Then and only then, let someone purify, if he or she wishes, the superfluity of the

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[640] Cyril of Jerusalem, *Mystagogia*, 5.9.1-10.13. Cf. *Anaphora Liturgiae Iacobi* in the *Memento defunctorum et sanctorum* of the *Magna oratio eucharistica,* p. 212.17-19, ed. B. C. Mercier, *La Liturgie de Saint Jacques* (*Patrologia Orientalis* XXVI, fasc. 2, no. 126) Paris, 1947.

[641] Cyril of Alexandria, *Adversus eos qui negant offerendum esse pro defunctis*, 541.14, ed. P.E. Pusey, *Sancti patris nostri Cyrilli archiepiscopi Alexandrini in D. Joannis evangelium*, vol. 3. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1872 (repr. 1965): 541-544.

[642] WisSol 1:1.

[643] Cyril of Alexandria, *Adversus eos qui negant offerendum esse pro defunctis*, 541.20-542.6.

consecrating rite of sacrifice [said] over them [the departed].[644] And if he or she insults the law of love, because it [the rite] is accounted [as] nothing in their writings, and if it [the rite] is altogether choked, unhesitatingly they show us hard and pitiless stones. What is it that prevents the sacrifices to be offered up together with prayers on their behalf and those who have conveyed to benefit their souls by offering prayers to accomplish this to be weighed down?[645]

p. 109 And again, "Therefore, whenever we offer God sacrifices and prayers on behalf of those who have departed, let no one find fault! We make every effort to accomplish in a prayerful way all the best over them, through which the Father would be most ready in showing mercy, and 'death itself will be destroyed.'"[646]

And again, "For even if the souls of those who died have come away from earth outside of their bodies, nevertheless they are still reckoned to be living with God; who is refusing to say [this]?" And a little later, "Therefore, one may see that those who wish to deprive the dead of both the mystical sacrifice and the divine clemency are greatly lacking in wise and good thoughts. For as I was saying, they are not living yet as those who intend to live in an image of God and be joined with Christ himself."[647] And a little later citing the sacrifice of Job on behalf of his children – for he says, '"Job sent out and purified them, having risen up in the morning, and offered sacrifices for them, according to their number.'"[648]

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[644] The Eucharist. Cf. John Chrysostom, *De beato Philogenio*, seu *Contra Anomoeos*, PG 48:750.34.

[645] Cyril of Alexandria, *Adversus eos qui negant offerendum esse pro defunctis*, 542.6-543.5.

[646] 1 Cor 15:26.

[647] Cyril of Alexandria, *Adversus eos qui negant offerendum esse pro defunctis*, 543.9-14.

[648] Job 1:5.

- and he adds, saying, "Therefore sacrificing on behalf of others is not to be rejected in God's estimation, nor does he allow to perform [the sacrifices] without reproach And so he praises, because it is useful."[649]

And again expounding both the story and the miracle in the gospel according to Luke concerning the paralytic and those letting him down through the roof tiles,[650] he adds and says, "Christ was sending forth the quite remarkable faith of those who were carrying [the paralytic]. He [the paralytic] was enriched by the release from pains,[651] and also by the different kind [of richness] in the love

p. 110 for God, the liberating Christ brought about a benevolence also dear to Him, at the same time setting him [the paralytic] free from both sins and sicknesses."[652]

And again, concerning the centurion mentioned in the Gospel according to Matthew who says, '"Lord my servant is lying paralyzed at home, in terrible distress.' And he said to him, 'I shall come and heal him.' But the centurion answered him, 'Lord, I am not worthy to have you come under my roof, but say the word and my servant will be healed.'[653]...When Jesus heard him, he marveled, and said to those who followed him, 'Truly I say to you, not even in Israel have I found such faith.'... Then [he said] to him: 'Go; be it done for you as you

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[649] Cyril of Alexandria, *Adversus eos qui negant offerendum esse pro defunctis*, 544.2-6. This is an unknown fragment from Cyril's *Commentary on Luke*. Job made the sacrifices on behalf of his children so that they might not "consider evil things in their mind against God," Job 1:5.

[650] Cf. Lk 5:17-26.

[651] Lk 5:25-26.

[652] Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentarii in Matthaeum*, an unknown fragment from this work, but retrieved from *Adversus eos qui negant offerendum esse pro defunctis* in PG 76:1425C8-D1.

believed.' And the servant was healed at that very moment,'"[654] and he [Cyril of Alexandria] adds and says, "Consider with me in this matter that the one who is not present is saved through the faith of another. What therefore do we have in common with those who know nothing of good things – those who devote [themselves] profanely to the love of gain - if we are eager for the divine clemency for those having fallen asleep in faith? Performing the rites of the holy and mystical sacrifice over them, we have shown mercy, and the power of death itself has fallen, and the hope of eternal life shined forth in our Lord Jesus Christ."[655]

p. 111 The wise and best-of-all Father who contentiously demonstrates this argument, finding fault with and scaring off far away those who choose to think incorrectly from error, enriches it from divine sayings, and from miracles of which "Christ who is God over all things"[656] performed, and the offered petitions on behalf of others by others to him[657] with faith, approves of both sacrifices and offerings, still "he instructs those who are in opposition"[658] to keep silent, and those who strive against the settled order, that is to say, the tradition, and against the correct teachings of the catholic and apostolic church, finally he persuades unceasingly to perform prayers and offering on behalf of those who have fallen

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[654] Mt 8:6-13.

[655] Cyril of Alexandria, *Adversus eos qui negant offerendum esse pro defunctis*, 544.17-25.

[656] Rom 5:9.

[657] God.

[658] 2 Tim 2:25.

asleep, they know well as quite certain that from these offerings to God and Father, these are going to help them.

It is now then opportune, observing with respect to the harmony of the words and thoughts of the teachers, that we recall to mind the Solomonic spoken oracle, "A brother helping a brother is like a strong and fortified city."[659] And praising this, David said, "Behold, what is so good or so pleasant, as for brothers to dwell together?"[660] The harmony and unanimity of the teachers both exists and is professed, and are a fortress and a "beautiful" and "pleasant" dwelling.

And what does the celebrated in song John, bishop of Constantinople, teach in his commentary on the gospel according to Matthew, in oration 28? He speaks thus, "Why then do you dishonor the departed, why do you render the others

p. 112 [to be frightened][661] of death and to tremble? Why do you make an accusation of God, as if he accomplished many terrible things? And furthermore after these things, why do you invite the poor, [and beseech] priests to pray? He says in order that the man who had died may depart into eternity, in order that he may have the judge propitious. On behalf of this, then, do you mourn and cry aloud?[662] ... You did not have him as an heir, but God had him instead of you. He did not become the joint heir of [his][663] brothers, but he became the joint heir of Christ. And to

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[659] Prov 18:19.

[660] Ps 132:1 (133:1).

[661] Eustratios inserts δεδίττεσθαι.

[662] John Chrysostom, *In Matthaeum*, Homily 31, PG 57:374.5-375.3.

[663] Eustratios inserts αὐτοῦ.

whom, [he says],[664] do we bequeath the garments, to whom the dwellings, to whom the slaves and the fields? Again to him, and more surely than if he had lived. For nothing hinders. If the barbarians burn the goods of the departed together with them, by how much more just is it to send away with the dead his goods [prayers on the behalf of the departed], not that they becomes ashes like those [of the barbarian's], but that they clothe him in greater glory, and if he departed as a sinner, that they may release [him from his] sins, and if he departed just, that they might be an addition of rewards and repayments. But do you desire to see him? Therefore, live the same life with him, and you will receive that holy vision."[665]

And in his *Commentary* on the First Letter to the Corinthians, in the work of which this is the introduction, "But some one will say, 'How are the dead raised?'[666] Such things again the wise father teaches, '"For it is because of this[667]
p. 113 very thing, he says 'I am worn out, because the sinner departed.' These are motive and pretext. For if on account of this you were lamenting one who departed, it was necessary for you to transform and bring into harmony the living person. But your own concerns you scrutinize everywhere, not the concerns of that person. And even if he departed a sinner, it is also necessary on account of this to rejoice, because he impeded the sins and did not add to wickedness, and to

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[664] Eustratios inserts φησίν.

[665] Ibid., PG 57:375.21-375.35.

[666] John Chrysostom, *In epistulam i ad Corinthios*, Homily 41, PG 61:355.2.

[667] The Greek manuscripts of *De statum animarum* break off here. Peter van Deun concludes his critical edition with the citation from John Chrysostom.

help as far as possible, not with tears, but with prayers, supplications, almsgivings, and offerings. For these things were not thought out without reason, nor do we rashly perform a memorial for the departed in the divine mysteries, and we come forward on behalf of them, begging the lamb laying outstretched[668] which takes away the sin of the world,[669] but that some comfort may come to them from there [the memorial]. Not idly does he who stands by the altar celebrating the awe-inspiring mysteries shout, 'On behalf of all of those who have fallen asleep in Christ and for those who celebrate commemorations on their behalf.' For if the commemorations were not on their behalf, these things would not have been said. For our services are not a stage; certainly not. For these services are through the command of the Spirit. Therefore let us help those and let us perform a commemoration on their behalf. For if the sacrifice by the father purified the children of Job,[670] why do you doubt if we make offerings on behalf of the departed some comfort comes to them?"[671]

[668] Cf. the Eucharistic gifts lying outstretched on the altar, John Chrysostom, *De sacerdotio liber septimus*, 6.4.

[669] Jn 1:29.

[670] Job 1:1-5.

[671] John Chrysostom, *In epistulam i ad Corinthios*, Homily 41, PG 61:361.1-26.

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