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# Pentecost Homilies and Ancient Christian Exegesis

Martin Meiser

## *Introduction*

Divergent pragmatics are responsible for the divergent character of ancient Christian homiletic texts and ancient Christian exegetical literature as that literature is witnessed in genres such as commentaries and Questions-and-Answers, though some dogmatic and pastoral issues can reoccur also in exegetical writings and, vice versa, exegetical motifs and decisions are also important for homiletic texts.<sup>1</sup> In a narrow sense, exegetical efforts within ancient Christian literature deal not with the general meaning but with the particular wording of a biblical text in explaining distinct terms, threatening offenses, and counterbalancing seemingly contradicting biblical texts<sup>2</sup> according to the ancient philology on Homer. Concerning exegetical literature on Acts 2, however, Kenneth Bruce Welliver's statement is correct: "we discover very few expositions of Acts 2 itself".<sup>3</sup> In a broader sense, exegetical observations help underline dogmatic, spiritual, and moral points important for both the homilist and the exegete who aims to serve not only scientific but also ecclesiastical necessities.

The authors that will concern us are, in the Greek-speaking East, Cyril of Jerusalem<sup>4</sup>, Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa, John Chrysostom, Severian of Gabala, Ps.-Chrysostom, Proclus of Constantinople, and Basil of Seleucia; in the West they are Maximus of Turin, Ps.-Ambrose, Augustine<sup>5</sup>, Leo the Great, Peter Chrysologus, Eusebius Gallicanus, and Caesarius of Arles. In general, the number of homilies on Ascension far exceeds the number of homilies on Pentecost.

World-structuring terms such as those for quantity, both specific (7; 10; 40; 50; 120) and general (πάντες), space (the upper room of Acts 1:13), and migration (up vs. down) as well as extraordinary motifs (fire, tongues) with metaphorical implications can all inspire mutually illuminating combinations of biblical texts. In addition, specific issues or circumstances mentioned in the texts can impose the necessity of counterbalancing problematic texts with other biblical texts or with the reality of today: Why does Luke tell a post-ascension story about the Holy Spirit's mission when, according to John 20:22, Jesus had already given the Spirit to his disciples, after Easter? Is there also a positive meaning, i.e., the necessity of

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1. Harald Buchinger, "Heilige Zeiten? Christliche Feste zwischen Mimesis und Anamnesis am Beispiel der Jerusalemer Liturgie der Spätantike," in P. Gemeinhardt and K. Heyden (ed.), *Heilige, Heiliges und Heiligkeit in spätantiken Religionskulturen* (Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten 61), Berlin and Boston, 2012, 283–323: 291.

2. Cf. Jerome, *Comm. Gal.* (CCSL 77A, 158 Raspanti), concerning his aim in writing commentaries: "Officii mei est obscura disserere, manifesta perstringere, in dubiis immorari."

3. Kenneth Bruce Welliver, *Pentecost and the Early Church*. The Patristic Interpretation of Acts 2, Diss. Yale, 1961, 6.

4. According to Edward Yarnold, *Cyril of Jerusalem* (The Early Church Fathers), London, New York 2000, 44, it was Cyril who made extensive use of the sacred sites connected with each feast.

5. Cf. Anthony Dupont, "The Presence and Treatment of Gratia in Augustine's Sermones ad Populum on the Liturgical Feast of Pentecost: Do Anti-Donatist and Anti-Pelagian Polemics Influence Augustine's Preaching?" *Antiquité Tardive: Revue Internationale d'Histoire et d'Archéologie*, 20 (2012), 217–240; idem, Augustine's Preaching on Grace at Pentecost, *StPatr.* 61 (2013), 3–14.

transmitting Acts 2:13 notwithstanding to the dullness of the mockers? Why does the miracle of speaking in other languages (Acts 2:4) not happen again? Where is the Holy Spirit *today*?<sup>6</sup>

### 1. General Issues of Pentecost Homilies

Both dogmatic corroboration and exhortation to celebrate Pentecost in a spiritual way are very often the pragmatics of Pentecost homilies<sup>7</sup>; anti-heretical polemics directed against Marcion, Mani, the Donatists, or the so-called πνευματομάχοι and reflections on the work of the Holy Spirit past and present are other general issues to be correlated to these pragmatics, which can also include exhortation to humility<sup>8</sup> and justification of fasting.<sup>9</sup> There is a tendency to read the book of Acts as book of the work of the Holy Spirit in some important events.

#### 1.1. Anti-heretical polemics

Polemics against Marcion, Montanus, and Mani are to be found in Cyril of Jerusalem's sixteenth *Catechesis*. Against Mani, Cyril offers an exegetical argument based on Luke 24:49: "Did the apostles who had been dead two hundred years, wait for Manes, *until they should be endowed with the power*?"<sup>10</sup> In polemics against those who separate the Old and the New Testaments, Leo the Great takes up the issue of the giving of the Torah implied in the Jewish festival: fifty days after the Passover sacrifice, the Law was given to the Hebrew nation, and fifty days after the offering of the true Passover lamb, the Holy Spirit came down upon the apostles and the multitude of believers. Therefore an earnest Christian should learn two things: the seminal institutions of the Old Testament conform to evangelical principles, and the second covenant is founded by the same Spirit that instituted the first.<sup>11</sup> In Augustine's sermons, it is not Marcion but the Donatists who occasion polemics. For Augustine, the unity of the church is a characteristic issue in several festal homilies on Pentecost that are intended to keep the audience safe from influence by schismatics. That is true especially for sermons 266, 268, 269, and 271. Central are Eph 4:3-4<sup>12</sup> and, ad vocem πνεῦμα, the motif of "speaking in other tongues" in Acts 2:4.<sup>13</sup> In *Serm.* 269, Augustine, against all human arrogance, underlines the gracious character of the Holy Spirit. Exegetical observations are used for polemic purposes when the bishop of Hippo refers to the distinct reports in Acts 8 and Acts 10 concerning Philip and Cornelius: Sometimes the Holy Spirit comes after baptism (Acts 8:14-17), sometimes before (Acts 10:44), sometimes almost immediately (Acts 8:39; presupposed is the v.l. πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐπέπεσεν ἐπὶ τὸν εὐνοῦχον); sometimes the Holy Spirit comes by the laying on of hands (Acts 8:17), sometimes without this rite (Acts 10). So we do not continually have the Holy Spirit simply though we are baptized. If this is true for catholic

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6. John Chrysostom, *Pent.* 1.3 (PG 50:457-458). – On this homily see Johan Leemans, "John Chrysostom's First Homily on Pentecost (CPG 4343): Liturgy and Theology," *StPatr.* 67 (2013), 285–293, dating this sermon in the Antiochene period of John Chrysostom (286-7).

7. Cf. in general Robert Cabié, *La Pentecôte. L'évolution de la cinquante Pascale au cours des cinq premiers siècles* (Bibliothèque de Liturgie, Tournai 1965, 222–237).

8. Ps.-Ambrose, *Serm.* 36.2 (PL 17:676), cf. Augustine, *Serm.* 271 (PL 38:1245).

9. Maximus of Turin, *Serm.* 44.2 (CCSL 23, 178-179 Mutzenbecher), with reference to Luke 5:34-35.

10. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech.* 16.9 (ed. Rupp 214; NPNF<sup>2</sup> 7:117). Epiphanius, *Pan.* 66.19.2-4; 66.61.4f. (GCS 37, 43 and 98 Höll and Dummer), hints on Acts 1:5; Jerome, ep. 120,9,16-17 (CSEL 55, 498 Hilberg), directs Luke 24:49 against Montanus, Priscilla, and Maximilla.

11. Leo the Great, *Hom.* 75.1 (CCSL 138A, 465-466 Chavasse).

12. Cf. the reference to Eph 4:4 in *Serm.* 268.2 (PL 38:1232).

13. Cf. the reference to Acts 2:4 in *Serm.* 268.1 (PL 38:1232); *serm.* 269.1 (PL 38:1235). Ronnie J. Rombs, "Vinculum Pacis: Eph. 4:3 and Indications of a Pneumatology in St. Augustine's Theology," *StPatr.* 50 (2010), 321–327; 323, hints on Augustine's departure from a Plotinian conception of human unity.

Christians, what should schismatics say, who are not armed by love in order to desire the church's unity.<sup>14</sup> In *Serm.* 270 and 272B, Augustine explains against Pelagian doctrine of grace<sup>15</sup>, “that grace – the gift of the Holy Spirit – is necessary to fulfill the law and to bring it to its completion.”<sup>16</sup> Beyond his festal homilies, Augustine emphasizes the great number of languages within the Catholic Church which contradicts the Donatists who have only two languages, Latin and Punic.<sup>17</sup>

After 379, polemics against the so-called πνευματομάχοι<sup>18</sup> are a common theme both in East (Gregory of Nazianzus; Gregory of Nyssa; John Chrysostom; Ps.-John Chrysostom, *Pent.* 2<sup>19</sup>; Severian of Gabala; Proclus of Constantinople) and West (Ambrose; Ps.-Ambrose; Ps.-Augustine; Leo the Great, *Hom.* 76; 77; Caesarius of Arles, *Hom.* 212).

The Pentecost Polemics of Gregory of Nazianzus do not deal with exegetical matters. Gregory of Nyssa's homily on Pentecost uses Ps 94:1 and 2 Cor 3:17 as proof-texts for the co-equality of the Holy Spirit.<sup>20</sup> In his conclusion Gregory takes up an allegorical explanation of Acts 2:13 (see below): drunk with the new wine (Matt 9:17) that is undiluted by heretical water, the audience should hear the apostle's warning (Heb 3:7-8 = Ps 94:7-8) not to harden their hearts. John Chrysostom quotes 1 Cor 12:3; Gal 4:6; and Acts 20:28 against those who deny the majesty of the Holy Spirit.<sup>21</sup> Exegetical efforts concerning Acts 2:3 also are dedicated to dogmatic clarification: the Holy Spirit came “like fire,” in analogy to “like a dove” at Jesus' baptism, because we should not have any gross sensible notions of the Spirit.<sup>22</sup> Within his praise of the grace of the Holy Spirit in *In Pent.* 2, Ps.-Chrysostom emphasizes Οὐχὶ πυρὸς ἀλλ' Ὡς πυρός<sup>23</sup> without any explanation; he has a Trinitarian debate in mind, in particular the notion that the Holy Spirit is not visible. The homilist quotes Matt 28:19 and 1 Cor 12:9-11 against the Pneumatomachians.<sup>24</sup> Leontius hints on Acts 2:4: It is said καθὼς ἐδίδου but not καθὼς ἐκελεύετο; it is said καθὼς ἐδίδου but not καθὼς ἐμάνθανεν;<sup>25</sup> other Biblical phrases and words, e.g. the “echo” and the “fire” mentioned in Acts 2:3 and the parallelism between John 14:23 and 1Cor 3:16 with regard to (ἐν)οικεῖν signify the deity of the Holy Spirit.<sup>26</sup> Severian interprets 1Cor 12:11 with regard to effect, not

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14. Augustine, *Serm.* 269.2 (PL 38:1235-1236). In *Serm.* 266, Augustine explains by the comparison of Philip (Acts 8:39 v.l.) and Cornelius (Acts 10:44-48), that the Holy Spirit is not dependent on human mediation e.g. by laying hands on the believers (Augustine, *Serm.* 266.7 [PL 38:1228]).

15. Cf. Dupont, “Presence,” 230; 233.

16. Dupont, “Augustine's Preaching,” 12.

17. Augustine, *Tract. ep. Jo.* 2.3 (SC 75, 160 Agaësse).

18. In general, cf. the contribution of Johan Leemans in this volume (“The Relative Routine of Preaching”).

19. According to Nathalie Rambault, John Chrysostom, *Pent.* 2, is inauthentic and is a re-writing of John Chrysostom, *Pent.* 1 from the sixth century or later, but it is not the author whose sermons edited in PG 52 (Nathalie Rambault, “Histoire du texte *Sur l'ascension du Christ*”, in: *Jean Chrysostome, Homélie sur la résurrection, l'ascension et la Pentecôte*, éd. par Nathalie Rambault (SC 652), Paris, 2014).

20. Gregory of Nyssa, *Pent.* (GNO 10/2, 287–292 Teske) – The κύριος mentioned in Ps 94:1 is the πνεῦμα, which can be deduced from the introductory formula in Heb 3:7: Διὸ, καθὼς λέγει τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, and the πνεῦμα is θεός, due to nearness of Ps 94:7–9 to Ps 77,56a.

21. John Chrysostom, *Pent.* 1.4 (PG 50:458).

22. John Chrysostom, *Pent.* 1.5 (PG 50:460); id., *Hom. Act.* 4.1 (PG 60:43); Oecumenius of Tricca, *Comm. Act.* (PG 118:64 A).

23. Ps.-Chrysostom, *In Pent.* 1 (PG 52:805). On the problem of authorship, vde. S. Voicu, ‘In Pentecosten sermo 1 (PG 52,803-808); CPG 4536): il problema dell'autenticità’, in M. Maritano (ed.), *Historiam perscrutari*. Miscellanea di studi offerti al prof. O. Pasquato (Rome, 2002) 849–61.

24. John Chrysostom, *Pent.* 2.2 (PG 50:465-466).

25. Leontius of Constantinople, *hom.* 11,247-8.288-9 (CCSG 17, 355-7 Datema and Allen), referring also on Dtn 4:24; Ex 13:21; Ex 3:2; Dan 7:9.

26. Leontius of Constantinople, *hom.* 13,62–162 (CCSG 17, 399–401 Datema and Allen), ad vocem ἦχος referring on Ex 19:16 and 1Sam 12:18.

to nature: the Holy Spirit is not divided but rather divides grace.<sup>27</sup> In the second part of his homily, Severian argues for the co-eternity of Son and Spirit to the Father by underlining the identity of their activity, e.g., comforting (Bar 4:22; Isa 61:1; John 16:7),<sup>28</sup> giving freedom (John 8:36; 2 Cor 3:17), giving life (John 5:21; 6:44), instituting (1 Cor 12:28; Eph 4:10-11; Acts 20:28), giving the law (Ps 39:9; Gal 6:2; Rom 8:2), etc.<sup>29</sup> In its way of dealing with the issue of Trinitarian debate, the homily is comparable to many writings of the Ps.-Athanasian literature collected in PG 28. In Proclus of Constantinople's homily, one proof for the Godhead of the Holy Spirit is biblical harmony. Both time (the third hour) and circumstances are important for Proclus; the "third hour" recalls the "third hour" of Jesus's crucifixion, mentioned in Mark 15:25, and the event of Pentecost proves the truth laid down in Heb 12:29.<sup>30</sup>

According to Ambrose, Acts 2:2 proves that the Holy Spirit is *virtus*, and therefore consubstantial with Father and Son.<sup>31</sup> Maximus I. of Turin offers anti-Arian polemics.<sup>32</sup> According to Ps.-Augustine, John 15:16 ("I will send ...") does not allow subordination of the Holy Spirit.<sup>33</sup> Leo the Great grasps a special problem caused by the term *ὁφθῆναι* in Acts 2:3. Those present at the Pentecost event did not see the *substantia* of the Holy Spirit, but rather the Spirit's effects, for in the Divine Trinity, there is no dissimilarity or inequality.<sup>34</sup> Therefore the concepts of the so-called Macedonians are blasphemous; for Leo, 1 Cor 12:3-6 proves the doctrine of the orthodox party.<sup>35</sup> Caesarius of Arles defends the Godhead of the Holy Spirit by referring to the cheek by jowl use of the plural in Gen 1:26 and singular in Gen 1:27, and he goes on to refer to, eg. Ps 50:13; 138:7 and Isa 6:3. Further, Luke 11:20 and Matt 12:28 (where the Spirit is termed *digitus*) do not prove the subordination of the Holy Spirit; Ps 8:4 and Isa 40:12 also refer to the "fingers of God."<sup>36</sup> In Serm. 213, Caesarius refutes the question, if *genitum* or *ingenitum* is the proper description concerning the mode of the Spirit's procedure; John 14:26 does not allow to one to judge the doctrine of Jesus Christ to be incomplete. God's will builds the church, the passion of the son is salvation, and the Holy Spirit confirms all of this by teaching the church and inspiring faith.<sup>37</sup>

Outside the festal homilies, there are other problems and solutions to be noted. The wording "filled with the Holy Spirit" could be interpreted to the detriment of Christ's Godhead because he is similarly "filled with the Holy Spirit" (Luke 4:1). But the meaning is not the same when the phrase is applied to Jesus and the apostles. Jesus is perfectly filled with the Holy Spirit, the apostles are not filled in the same measure.<sup>38</sup> Conversely, Didymus

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27. Ps.-Chrysostom (Severian of Gabala), *In Pent.* (PG 63:935), cf. already Chrysostom, *Hom. Act.* 4.2 (PG 60:44).

28. Similarly Ps.-Fulgentius of Ruspe, *Serm.* 52 (PL 65:918-919): "Comforting" is also the work of Father and Son (2 Cor 1:3-5).

29. Ps.-Chrysostom (Severian of Gabala), *In Pent.* (PG 63:935-938).

30. Proclus of Constantinople, *Hom.* 16.1 (PG 65:805 C).

31. Ambrose, *Spir.* 2.2.23 (CSEL 79, 95 Faller).

32. Andreas Merkt, *Maximus I. von Turin. Die Verkündigung eines Bischofs der frühen Reichskirche im zeitgeschichtlichen, gesellschaftlichen und liturgischen Kontext* (VigChr.S 40; Leiden/New York/Köln, 1997), 229f.

33. Ps.-Augustine, *Hom.* 184a.1 (PL 39:2092). – Subordination of the Holy Spirit was an issue of Ulfila, cf. *Scholia in Concilium Aquileiense*, 308<sup>r</sup> (CCSL 87, 166 Gryson).

34. Leo the Great, *Hom.* 75.3 (CCSL 138A, 467 Chavasse).

35. Leo the Great, *Hom.* 75.4 (CCSL 138A, 469-470 Chavasse).

36. Caesarius of Arles, *Serm.* 212.2-5 (CCSL 104, 844-847 Morin). Concerning the motif of *digitus dei* (Ex 8:19; 31:18; 12:28; Lk 11:20) in Augustine's exegesis vde. Dupont, *Presence*, 225-229.

37. Caesarius of Arles, *Serm.* 213.2-3 (CCSL 104, 848-849 Morin). This sermon preached on Tuesday after morning prayer (Hughes Oliphant Old, *The Reading and Preaching of Scriptures in the Worship of the Church*, Vol. 3, *The Medieval Church* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999], 91, who states that Caesarius only in serm. 212 and 213, given not at the feast day itself, comes near to the real tissue of Pentecost). – It is also Ps.-Athanasius, *qu. al.*, (PG 28:785C) who dislikes this debate.

38. Origen, *Hom. Luc.* 29.1 (SC 87, 360 Crouzel, Fournier, and Périchon).

emphasizes that it is nowhere written “filled with the creature” – therefore the Holy Spirit is to be distinguished from any creature and subsists in his own essence.<sup>39</sup> The motif of fulfilling Biblical promissions can also prove the deity of the Holy Spirit.<sup>40</sup> Fulgentius of Ruspe anew offers anti-Arian polemics based on exegetical detail: In his eyes, precisely the word *ὡσεὶ* raised – and solved problems. It is used at the coming of the Holy Spirit (Matt 3; Acts 2:3) but not when incarnation is described (John 1:14). Against Arianism, the sending of the Son is to be distinguished from the sending of the Holy Spirit, but this difference does not hinder us from confessing the Godhead of both.<sup>41</sup>

## 1.2. *The effects of the Holy Spirit past and present*

In order to illustrate the effects of the Holy Spirit<sup>42</sup> in the past, the writers in view here employed biblical examples, often occasioned by the term *πνεῦμα* or arranged in a contrasting pattern<sup>43</sup> with regard to the periods for and after the Spirit’s work. In his seventeenth catechesis, Cyril of Jerusalem re-tells the stories of Acts (chs. 21–31) and some sayings of Paul (chs. 32–33) with reference to the issue of the Spirit’s grace in order to demonstrate the personal, sanctifying, and effectual power of the Holy Spirit (17:34).<sup>44</sup> According to Proclus of Constantinople, the Holy Spirit granted Peter, who had denied the Lord, freedom of speech (Acts 4:20), put Ananias to death, and blinded Elymas through the hands of Paul.<sup>45</sup> In this Spirit the archangel Gabriel proclaimed the good news to Mary. So the Spirit also comes to us now and blesses us, mixes himself with water, burns away sins, and enlightens the neophytes.<sup>46</sup> Ps.-John Chrysostom emphasizes the importance of Pentecost as *μητρόπολις ... τῶν ἑορτῶν*: the fruit of passion and resurrection of Jesus Christ is donated to us today.<sup>47</sup>

Ps.-Maximus of Turin asks what reception of the Holy Spirit could have added to the perfection of the apostles<sup>48</sup>, and compares the periods before and after Pentecost. Before Pentecost, they were not stable in faith and not eager to martyrdom; and they had faith in Christ only on the base of his mighty deeds. Receiving the Holy Spirit produced steadfastness in the faith and eagerness for martyrdom.<sup>49</sup> Then he adds other biblical illustrations for the manifest changing which the Holy Spirit is able to do: during Jesus’s walking on the sea, the disciples thought it was a ghost and cried out (Mark 6:49), but after the infusion of the Holy Spirit they confessed him as co-eternal word (John 1:1). Before the infusion of the Holy Spirit, Thomas was not able to believe, but afterwards the apostles confessed the life “that we have looked upon and touched with our hands” (1 John 1:1). Paul confesses to knowing Jesus Christ no longer according to the flesh (2 Cor 5:16). Peter struck the servant of the high priest (John 18:10), and Stephen prayed for his persecutors (Acts 7:60). During Jesus’s passion, the disciples fled; after infusion with the Holy Spirit they rejoiced that they were considered

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39. Didymus, *Spir.* 29–31 (SC 386, 168–170 Doutreleau).

40. (Ps.-)Eusebius of Vercelli, *Trin.* 12.146f. (CCSL 9, 196 Bulhart).

41. Fulgentius of Ruspe, *c. Fabianum* Frgm. 29.19 (CCSL 91A, 823 Fraipont).

42. Cf. Cabié, *Pentecôte*, 226–228.

43. This contrast pattern is to be found also in exegetical literature. Augustine compares Peter’s denial born of fear with Peter’s preaching (Acts 2) born of freedom (Augustine, *Tract. Ev. Joh.* 92.2 [CCSL 36, 556f. Willems]). Augustine adds: The Holy Spirit made the murders of Christ martyrs.

44. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech.* 17:34 (ed. J. Rupp 292).

45. Proclus of Constantinople, *Hom.* 16.1 (PG 65:805 C).

46. Proclus of Constantinople, *Hom.* 16.2 (PG 65:808 C).

47. Ps.-John Chrysostom, *Pent.* 2:1 (PG 50:463).

48. The background of this question is an apologetic one: If the apostles during Jesus’ earthly ministry would have been not perfect, then Jesus himself is worthy of critical rebuke. It was Celsus who deduced, on the basis of the election of Judas Iscariot, the imperfectness of his master (Origen, *Cels.* 2.12 [SC 132, 314-316 Borret]).

49. Ps.-Maximus, *Serm.* 8 (PL 57:858). – In *serm.* 8, the first part is also part of Ps.-Augustine, *Serm.* 182a.

worthy to suffer dishonor for the sake of the name (Acts 5:41). The apostles, filled with spiritual fire (Luke 12:49) but reproached as being full of wine (Acts 2:13), were indeed full of the new wine promised by Christ (Matt 9:17). This grace is given not only to the apostles, but also to martyrs,<sup>50</sup> and so we too should be eager to invite the Holy Spirit by works of chastity.<sup>51</sup>

Similarly Ps.-Augustine asks: What can be added by the Holy Spirit to the perfection of the apostles? It is the steadiness of faith, the eagerness to martyrdom. The homilist refers on the different state of the apostles before and after Pentecost: Paul's knowledge of Christ is transformed to knowledge not any more according to the flesh (2 Cor 5:16); Stephen is eager to pray for his persecutors whereas Peter bet Malchus; the disciples are eager to martyrdom whereas, before the passion, they fled.<sup>52</sup> They were not drunk but full of the new wine promised by Jesus according to Matt 9:17.<sup>53</sup> In another homily, perhaps an authentic of Augustine,<sup>54</sup> the question is raised why the coming of the Spirit was impossible during Jesus' earthly lifetime (John 16:7)? It was the problem not of Jesus or the Spirit but of the disciples: during Jesus' lifetime they were weak, therefore Jesus' corporeal presence was necessary; by the Holy Spirit they understood Jesus' Godhead not by their eyes but by their heart.<sup>55</sup> The reproach of Acts 2:13 is correct on a higher level: the 120 disciples were filled with the Spirit's grace, according to Mt 9:17.<sup>56</sup>

Referring to John 16:12f. ("I still have many things to say to you, but you cannot bear them now. When the Spirit of truth comes, he will guide you into all the truth; for he will not speak on his own, but will speak whatever he hears, and he will declare to you the things that are to come."), Eusebius Gallicanus emphasizes the transformation of the disciples from anxious humans to steady believers. In this way – and this is the main point of his homily – we are also illuminated so as to seek the things above (Col 3:2) as opposed to the wisdom of this world (1 Cor 3:19) and its seductive way of life.<sup>57</sup> The homilist's interpretation of John 16:13 not with regard to knowledge of the truth<sup>58</sup> or of doctrine<sup>59</sup> but rather to with regard to the moral effects of receiving the Spirit is remarkable, if not unique.

When it comes to the present, the effects, or gifts, of the Holy Spirit are mostly<sup>60</sup> virtues. Gregory of Nyssa emphasizes that the faith in the Holy Spirit is the way which leads to real humanity.<sup>61</sup> According to Ps.-John Chrysostom's homily mentioned above (John Chrysostom, *Pent.* 2), we are lead away from slavery to freedom, to adoption as children, to new creation, and to freedom from sin;<sup>62</sup> at the end of his homily he praises love as the first fruit of the Spirit (Gal 5:22), which does not allow any envy (Gen 4:10).<sup>63</sup> According to Eusebius

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50. Ps.-Maximus, *Serm.* 8 (PL 57:858-859).

51. Ps.-Maximus, *Serm.* 8 (PL 57:860).

52. *Hom.* 182a.3-4 (PL 39:2089).

53. *Hom.* 182a.4 (PL 39:2090); cf. Augustine, *Sermo Mai* 158 (G. Morin, *Sancti Augustini Sermones*, Rome 1930, 380).

54. Cf. the contribution of Clemens Weidmann in this volume.

55. *Hom.* 183a.2 (PL 39:2091). According to Anastasius Sinaita, *Qu. et resp.* 148 (PG 89:801 D), the disciples did their mighty deeds before Jesus' passion by Jesus' command, after Jesus' passion they did them by his grace.

56. *Hom.* 183a.3 (PL 39:2091).

57. Eusebius Gallicanus, *Hom.* 29.3-6 (CCSL 101, 338-341 Glorie).

58. Tertullian, *Praescr.* 22.8-10 (CCSL 1, 204 Dekkers *et al.*).

59. Leo the Great, *Hom.* 76.5 (CCSL 138A, 478 Chavasse).

60. According to Origen, *Princ.* 2.7.2. (ed. Goergemanns/Karpp, 374), the spiritual (and not fleshly) understanding of the Bible – this is a well-known pet idea in Origen's theology – is a gift of the Holy Spirit.

61. Werner Jaeger, *Gregor von Nyssa's Lehre vom Heiligen Geist*, hrsg. v. H. Dörries, Leiden 1966, 40f.

62. Ps.-John Chrysostom, *Pent.* 2.1 (PG 50:463-465).

63. Ps.-John Chrysostom, *Pent.* 2.4 (PG 50:468-470), referring also to Rom 13:10; John 13:35; 1 Cor 13:4-5.

Gallicanus, the Holy Spirit leads us to steadfastness in the battle against this world.<sup>64</sup> (Ps.-) Gregory of Elvira praises the effects of grace in martyrs, virgins, orthodox Christians, and in the whole church.<sup>65</sup>

Many homilists ask why the miracle of speaking in foreign languages was part of first Pentecost experience but is not part of the Pentecost experience their own time. According to Gregory of Nyssa, at first Pentecost it was useful to speak in other languages in order to persuade foreigners, but now, in a situation where people speak the same language, it is more useful to seek the fiery tongue of the Holy Spirit that enlightens those who have been seduced by darkness.<sup>66</sup> John Chrysostom radicalizes the question: is there a Holy Spirit at all? In answering this question, the bishop who had announced reconciliation through the grace of Spirit<sup>67</sup> states that if there were no Spirit, there would be no reconciliation, and the sins of those newly baptized this night would not be forgiven.<sup>68</sup> Then he emphasizes that in former times, human beings were not able to accept only spiritual gifts; according to Paul, signs are important only to the unbelievers (1 Cor 14:22). Now we do not need them anymore, and the absence of signs “is not a sign of lesser honour but more of a reward”<sup>69</sup>. Augustine’s *Serm.* 267 refers to Acts 1:8 and Ps 44:11 in order to emphasize that Christian truth is not affected by missing the gift of speaking in foreign tongues today. The church is at home within all nations today, and this is in fulfillment of Acts 1:8; and we should hear the promise in the past and see the fulfillment in the present, according to Ps 44:11 (*audi, filia, et vide*). Today, the Holy Spirit distributes other gifts such as virginity, chastity, etc.<sup>70</sup> Caesarius of Arles in his *Serm.* 211 discusses the objection that the Holy spirit would distribute his gifts only to those whom he chooses (1Co 12:11) – he who did not receive any gift is without any guilt; *quia division gratiarum non ex accipientis pendet voto, sed ex arbitrio dividendis*. Caesarius answers by distinguishing between *virtutes*, extraordinary deeds which are not available for us, and life (i.e. moral life) which each of us can live, according to Matt 7:8 (*everyone who asks receives*). But if the wording *Ask, and it will be given you* (Matt 7:7) is true, why are the extraordinary deeds not available? Caesarius refers to 1 Cor 12:4; we all can and should have chastity, soberness, discipline, and love.<sup>71</sup>

### 1.3. Anti-Judaism

When ancient Christian authors want to emphasize the harmony between the testaments in the context of Pentecost preaching, no anti-Jewish attitudes are to be detected;<sup>72</sup> conversely, however, when ancient Christian authors want to emphasize Christian superiority or exhort their hearers to a true, spiritual celebration of Pentecost, anti-Jewish polemics are part of their rhetoric strategy. Such was of course the case from earliest times, before any liturgical institution of Pentecost, but it is also the case in festal homilies for Pentecost. Origen uses the date of the event described in Acts 2 in order to compare the Jewish and Christian religions and to underline the latter’s superiority by a common Platonic pair of terms: at the Festival of

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64. Eusebius Gallicanus, *Hom.* 29.1-2 (CCSL 101, 337-338 Glorie).

65. (Ps.-)Gregory of Elvira, *Tract.* 20.17-18 (CCSL 69, 145 Bulhart *et al.*).

66. Gregory of Nyssa, *Pent.* (GNO 10/2, 289 Teske).

67. John Chrysostom, *Pent.* 1.3 (PG 50:457); concerning the pre-Easter times, Chrysostom proves the absence of the Spirit by references on 1 Sam 3:1; Dan 3:38; John 7:39; 16:7.

68. John Chrysostom, *Pent.* 1.3 (PG 50:458).

69. Johan Leemans, John Chrysostom’s First Homily on Pentecost (CPG 4343), commenting John Chrysostom, *Pent.* 1.4 (PG 50:459-460).

70. Augustine, *Serm.* 267.3-4 (PL 38:1230-1231).

71. Caesarius of Arles, *Serm.* 211:1-4 (CCSL 104, 841-843 Morin).

72. The unknown author of Ps.-Augustine, *Hom.* 186a refers without any polemics on Lev 25 and on the donation of Torah at Mt. Sinai (*Hom.* 186a.1 [PL 39:2094]).



Weeks, the shadow is bestowed upon the Jews, who offered their first fruits; at Pentecost, the truth is bestowed upon the Church of the apostles, who received the Holy Spirit as first fruits.<sup>73</sup> John Chrysostom begins his first homily on Pentecost by explaining why it is that Christians, as opposed to Jews, can always celebrate their feasts: it is not time but a clean conscience which qualifies one for proper celebration.<sup>74</sup> The Jews in their mockery were ungracious to the descending Spirit whereas the angels hallowed the ascending Christ (Ps 23:7).<sup>75</sup> Ps.-Chrysostom cites an objection of a Jew as to why this fire does not consume the apostles; the homilist answers the objection by referring to Exod 3: why did the fire not consume the bush?<sup>76</sup> In another sermon, the preacher explains the character of the Holy Spirit's epiphany in divided tongues of fire and compares the Jewish and the Christians feasts: Jews adhere to the shadow, Christians adhere to the truth. By means of the speech miracle, the Holy Spirit multiplies the effects of illumination to all nations, but the Jews can only mock (Acts 2:13).<sup>77</sup> Rationalistic reasons why the disciples cannot be drunk, to be found within and outside homiletical literature,<sup>78</sup> mostly identify the mockers of Acts 2:13 with "the Jews" in general.<sup>79</sup>

## 2. Biblical Texts

By referring to biblical texts, festal homilies participate in common exegetical aims and methods which ultimately support the self-reproducing consensus concerning the role and importance of Christianity within the world. Typologies generate a cohesive Christian world view and retain, against Marcion for example, the unity of the God of both Testaments. Using Old Testament texts according to a promise-fulfillment pattern adds both proof of the ancient origin of Christianity<sup>80</sup> as well as an anti-Jewish claim about the proper understanding the Bible. Allegories, especially in texts that are literally futile,<sup>81</sup> incomprehensible<sup>82</sup> or immoral<sup>83</sup> detect a higher sense that is useful<sup>84</sup> for the knowledge of Divine things and for the

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73. Origen, *Hom. Lev. 2.2* (SC 286, 98 Borret).

74. John Chrysostom, *Pent. 1.2* (PG 50:455), referring to 1 Cor 5:8.

75. John Chrysostom, *Pent. 1.5* (PG 50:460).

76. Ps.-Chrysostom, *In Pent. 1* (PG 52:805).

77. Ps.-Chrysostom, *In Pent. 3* (PG 52:811-812).

78. According to John Chrysostom, *Hom. Act. 4.2* (PG 60:44); Oecumenius of Tricca, *Comm. Act.* (PG 118:65 B), at the time of Pentecost, wine is not yet to be purchased; according to Oecumenius of Tricca, *Comm. Act.* (PG 118:65 D), nobody drinks wine in the morning (cf. Acts 1:15), especially if he is living in fear (cf. John 20:19).

79. John Chrysostom, *Pent. 1.5* (PG 50:460). Augustine, *Serm. 266.2* (PL 38:1225) (similarly Ps.-Fulgentius of Ruspe, *Serm. 52* [PL 65:920]), explains the dullness of the reproach mentioned in Acts 2:13 without explicit anti-Judaism: drunken people cannot learn foreign languages; they cannot even use their own language properly.

80. Cf. Ambrosiaster, *Qu. V. et N.T. 95.1* (CSEL 50, 166-167 Souter): All things of past happened in the model of our faith in future, in order that we do not have any doubt. ...The Torah is given at the 50<sup>th</sup> day after Passover, and that happened in behalf of the security of our faith – what is annunciated in former times cannot be false (Ambrosiaster, *Qu. V. et N.T. 95.3* [CSEL 50, 168 Souter]).

81. Origen, *Hom. Luc. 12.2* (FC 4/1, 146 Sieben).

82. Ambrose, *Exp. Luc. 3.28* (CCSL 14, 91 Adriaen and Ballerini).

83. Gregory of Nyssa, *Cant.*, Prol. (GNO 6, 5-6 Langerbeck).

84. The term *ὠφέλεια* calls to mind the Greek philosophical debate about the utility of Homeric and other myths. Xenophanes, Frgm. 1 (ed. Diels and Kranz 128) uses the word *χρηστόν* to describe them; Dio Chrysostom, *Hom. 1*, uses *τὰ συμφέροντα*. Aristotle, *Metaph. 12.8.20*, 1074b 1ff, uses *σύμφερον*; Strabo, *Geogr. 1.2.8* (ed. Jones 70) uses *δημιωφέλεστερα* (useful for the people); Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. rom. 2.20.1* (ed. E. Cary 360), uses *χρήσιμος* and *ὠφέλεια*; Plutarch, *Phil. 4.3* (ed. B. Perrin 264), uses *πρὸς ἀρετὴν ὠφελῆσθαι* with regard to philosophical writings; Philopoimen read the poems of Homer insofar they could lead him to *ἀνδρεία*.

moral life, – and that demonstrates again the unity of the God of both Testaments.<sup>85</sup> Explanations of difficult details inform those who are interested in deeper knowledge.<sup>86</sup> This motivation is leading also for the harmonization of contradictory Biblical texts. For this exegetical effort, however, apologetic and anti-heretic contexts are also responsible. Anti-Christian critics often remarked on such contradictions,<sup>87</sup> but for Christians it was impossible to mark single Biblical verses as inauthentic,<sup>88</sup> whereas exegetes of Homer like Zenodot of Ephesus (325–260) could do it when dealing with Homer’s poems.<sup>89</sup> The so-called heretics reclaimed some Biblical texts for their own position, and the so-called orthodoxy felt the necessity to counterbalance these texts with other who supported the “orthodox” position.

All these exegetical methods had distinct functions, but the methods could also be used independently of these functions. Allegoric exegesis could be conducted on morally sober texts, typologies were constructed even when the Marcionites were no longer a threat, etc.

## 2.1. Typologies

At first, we give a definition of typology. Typology is a synthetic, antithetic, or surpassing comparison between persons, events, or institutions of the Old Testament and persons, events, or institutions of the New Testament.<sup>90</sup> The base for typology can be divergent: Constellation of persons, analogy of things happening and textual links are possible sources for such interrelations.

Typologies are part of Christian reading of the Old Testament since earliest times; Pentecostal homilies are partaking a long tradition. With regard to Pentecost, sometimes typological connections are drawn between Jesus’ donating the Spirit according to John 20:22 and the creation of Adam according to Gen 2:7 *ad vocem ἐνεφύσησεν*<sup>91</sup> in order to equate the work of Jesus with the work of God. More frequent is the typology *ad vocem* “fifty days”<sup>92</sup> between the donation of the Spirit and the gift of Torah at Mt. Sinai.<sup>93</sup> According to Severian, The fire, an external sign of God’s presence, emphasizes the great power of God, in analogy to the circumstances of God’s theophany on Mount Sinai, and is also a hint concerning the Godhead of the Holy Spirit.<sup>94</sup>

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85. Tertullian, *Marc.* 3.5.4 (CCSL 1, 513f Dekkers *et al.*); John Chrysostom, *Hom. Matt.* 16.7 (PG 57:247); John Chrysostom, *Hom. 2 Cor 4:13* 2.5 (PG 51:285).

86. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 41.18 (SC 358, 352 Moreschini).

87. Cf. in general John Granger Cook, *The Interpretation of the New Testament in Greco-Roman Paganism* (Studien zu Antike und Christentum 3), Tübingen 2000; id., *The Interpretation of the Old Testament in Greco-Roman Paganism* (Studien zu Antike und Christentum 23), Tübingen 2004; Martin Meiser, “Das Paulusbild in der altkirchlichen Literatur”, in: Manfred Lang (ed.), *Paulus und Paulusbilder. Konstruktion – Reflexion – Transformation* (Arbeiten zur Bibel und ihrer Geschichte 31), Leipzig 2013, 319–346: 336-337.340.342.

88. Sometimes complete texts are regarded as inauthentic, but there is not scientific neutrality which is leading such debates but the issue of canonization, cf. Dionysius of Alexandria (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 7.7.25) concerning the Revelation of John.

89. Aristophanes of Byzantium (ca. 265–190 or ca. 257–180) or Aristarch of Samothrace (216–144) were more hesitant but would not have denied the possibility of athetesis.

90. Typologies are not to be restricted on passages where the term *τύπος* occurs; vice versa; the term *τύπος* can signify also other comparisons (Karl-Heinrich Ostmeier, “Typologie und Typos: Analyse eines schwierigen Verhältnisses,” *New Testament Studies* 46 [2000], 112-131: 122-123).

91. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech.* 17.12 (ed. Rupp 266).

92. It is not clear when in Judaism the combination of the memory of Law-giving and the Feast of Weeks came into being (Welliver, *Pentecost*, 40–43).

93. Leo the Great, *Hom.* 75.1 (CCSL 138 A, 465f Chavasse).

94. Ps.-Chrysostom (Severian of Gabala), *In Pent.* (PG 63:933-935).

Very often, an antithetic typology between dispersion (Gen 11) and unifying of mankind (Acts 2)<sup>95</sup> is constructed *ad vocem* συνεχύθη (Acts 2:6; cf. Gen 11:7.9: σύγχυσις) on the base of diversity of languages.<sup>96</sup> The arrogance of the people in Gen 11 is usually remarked on,<sup>97</sup> and sometimes a Christian author contrasts this arrogance with the humility by which the 120 believers accepted the Holy Spirit, which then occasions an admonishment to humility.<sup>98</sup> But why does the recourse on Gen 11 so often recur in Pentecost homilies? In my opinion, it is an attempt to formulate the role the church could have in God's plan for humankind.

John Chrysostom contrasts the first Pentecost with the call of Ezekiel: Why did Ezekiel receive a book of woes (Ezek 2:9), whereas tongues like fire appeared to the apostles? The prophet had to complain the sins of Israel; the apostles, however, received the Holy Spirit so that they burned all sins.<sup>99</sup>

Beyond Pentecost homilies, some typologies reoccur, e.g. the typology concerning Gen 11<sup>100</sup> or Exod 19, the donation of Torah.<sup>101</sup> For Ambrosiaster, the common comparison of the periods between Passover in Egypt and the donation of the Torah and between resurrection of Christ and donation of Spirit is the starting point in his 95. Question "Unde orta sit observatio Pentecostes uel qua ratione". All things of past happened in the model of our future faith in order that we do not have any doubt. After a week the day of the Lord is the first one in which the mystery of passover is fulfilled; similarly the first day after seven weeks is Pentecost. It is dated always on Sunday, so that the soteriological dispensation happened at Sunday by creation and recreation of the world. The gift of Torah at Mt. Sinai is a prefiguration of the gift of the Holy Spirit, who enabled the apostles to teach evangelical law.<sup>102</sup> The comparison between the donation of Torah and the donation of Spirit is leading also for Isidore of Sevilla in dealing with the various Biblical numbers, and, with regard to the number 50, he adds: psalm 50 is "psalmus indulgentiae et remissionis".<sup>103</sup>

## 2.2. Intertextual Relations

Each instance of intertextual relation is based on distinct issues, e.g. numbers, themes, constellation of persons etc. But why is a motif such as "fire" or "confusion" (σύγχυσις; Acts 2:6) more frequently used than other motifs such as "sound" or "seven Days" or the astonishment of the masses? In my opinion, divergent answers are possible, first, because of the extraordinary character of the motif or event; second, because of dogmatic or pastoral aims.

Within the Pentecost homilies, intertextual relations are constructed *ad vocem* "seven" to Gen 2:1<sup>104</sup> or to the "Fest of Weeks" or to the sevenfold gifts of the Spirit according to Isa

95. Cf. Cabié, *Pentecôte*, 228–232.

96. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech.* 17.17 (ed. Rupp 272); Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 41.16 (SC 358, 350 Moreschini); Ps.-John Chrysostom, *Pent.* 2.2 (PG 50:467); Ps.-Chrysostom, *In Pent.* 2 (PG 52:808); Augustine, *Serm.* 271 (PL 238:1245).

97. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 41.16 (SC 358, 350 Moreschini); Ps.-John Chrysostom, *Pent.* 2.2 (PG 50:467); Ps.-Chrysostom (Severian of Gabala), *In Pent.* (PG 63:935) calls the people "giants."

98. Ps.-Ambrose, *Serm.* 36.2 (PL 17:676), cf. Augustine, *Serm.* 271 (PL 38:1245).

99. John Chrysostom, *Pent.* 1.5 (PG 50:460).

100. Augustine, *Enarrat. Ps.* 54.11 (CCSL 39, 665 Dekkers and Fraipont); Arator, *Act.* 1. 129–138 (CSEL 72, 18-19 MacKinlay); The Venerable Bede, *Exp. Act.* (CCSL 121, 16 Laistner and Hurst).

101. Origen, *Hom. Lev.* 2.2 (SC 286, 98 Borret); John Chrysostom, *Hom. Matt.* 1.1 (PG 57:14); Augustine, *Spir. Litt.* 16.28 (CSEL 60, 182 Urba and Zycha).

102. Ambrosiaster, *Qu. V. et N.T.* 95.1-3 (CSEL 50, 166-168 Souter).

103. Isidore of Sevilla, *Liber numerorum qui in sanctis scripturis occurrunt* 25 (PL 83:199 A).

104. Augustine, *Serm.* 270.5 (PL 38:1242) (Gen 2:1 and Acts 2:4 are also in intertextual relationship via the word-field *sanctus/sanctificare*), referring also to the sevenfold gifts of the Spirit according to Isa 11:2; Peter Chrysologus, *Serm.* 85 ter, 1 (CCSL 24A, 528 Olivar), refers on Isa 11:2 (septiformis spiritus), Gen 2:1 and Matt

11:2<sup>105</sup>, ad vocem “fire” to Exod 3<sup>106</sup> or Gen 3:24 (φλογίνη ῥομφαία).<sup>107</sup> Ps.-Chrysostom interprets the “sound” mentioned in Acts 2:2: it comes on the “sons of thunder” (Mark 3:17).<sup>108</sup> A reference on Ps 18:5, common in other exegetical literature,<sup>109</sup> is to be found only in Ps.-Chrysostom.<sup>110</sup>

Beyond the festal homilies, Exod 19:18 is also part of commenting Acts 2<sup>111</sup>, but in exegetical literature on the Pentecost story also another Biblical intertext is to be detected; it is Exod 3.<sup>112</sup> In comments of other OT and NT writings intertextual relations are concentrated on the issues “Spirit” and “fire”. Concerning “Spirit”, 2Kgs 2:9;<sup>113</sup> 2:12-14;<sup>114</sup> Ps 103:4 (possible because of the double meaning of πνεῦμα, „wind“ and „Spirit“);<sup>115</sup> Sap 1:7;<sup>116</sup> Joel 3,1-5a;<sup>117</sup> Isa 59:19 Aq/Sym/Theod.;<sup>118</sup> John 16:13;<sup>119</sup> Acts 1:5<sup>120</sup> are intertexts; concerning “fire” Exod 13:21<sup>121</sup>; Lev 8-10<sup>122</sup>; Iud. 6:21;<sup>123</sup> Ps 96:3;<sup>124</sup> 104:19;<sup>125</sup> Isa 6:6f.; Jer 5:14;<sup>126</sup> 20:9; Ps 11:7;<sup>127</sup> Matt 3:11<sup>128</sup>; Luke 12:49<sup>129</sup> and especially Exod 3,<sup>130</sup> Exod 19<sup>131</sup> and Deut

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18:22; Luke 3:23-38. He explains the name “Pentecost” by the numbers “seven (times seven)” and “one” (the number in which each perfectness is concluded).

105. Augustine, *Serm.* 270.6 (PL 38:1243): “Per gratiam Spiritus Sancti lex impletur”.

106. Ps.-Chrysostom (Severian of Gabala), *In Pent.* (PG 63:934).

107. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech.* 17.15 (ed. Rupp 270) stresses the antithetic analogy “a fiery sword – a fiery tongue” as antithesis of judgment and salvation without any comment – the intention of a cohesive world-view is to be supposed.

108. Ps.-Chrysostom, *In Pent.* 2 (PG 52:807). It is only very seldom that the “sound” mentioned in *Acts* 2:2 is commented on in Pentecost homilies.

109. Tertullian, *Adv. Jud.* 7.3 (CCSL 2,1354 Gerlo *et al.*); Augustine, *Enarrat. Ps.* 18 II 5.5 (CCSL 38, 108f. Dekkers and Fraipont).

110. Ps.-Chrysostom, *In Pent.* 2 (PG 52:808).

111. The Venerable Bede, *Exp. Act.* (CCSL 121, 16 Laistner).

112. Oecumenius of Tricca, *Comm. Act.* (PG 118:64 B).

113. Quodvultdeus, *Prom.* 2.30/64f. (CCSL 60, 131-132 Braun).

114. Ambrose, *Exp. Luc.* 1.37 (CCSL 14, 25 Adriaen and Ballerini).

115. Arnobius minor, *In psalm.*, (CCSL 25, 153 Daur).

116. Leontius of Constantinople, *Hom.* 13,75 (CCSG 17, 399 Datema and Allen).

117. Vde. Welliver, *Pentecost*, 13–18.

118. Arnobius minor, *In psalm.*, (CCSL 25, 153 Daur).

119. Tertullian, *Praescr. Haer.* 22.8–10 (CCSL 1, 204 Dekkers *et al.*).

120. Epiphanius, *haer.* 66,19,2–4; 66,61,4f. (GCS 37, 43.98); Ambrosiaster, *Quaest.* 93.1 (CSEL 50, 163 Souter); The Venerable Bede, *in Lc.* (CCSL 120, 422 Hurst).

121. Ps.-Gregory of Elvira, *de fide contra Arianos* 8 (PL 17:594-595).

122. Hesychius of Jerusalem, *in Lev.* 2 (PG 93:887-888).

123. Augustine, *Qu. Iud.* 36 (CCSL 33, 350 Fraipont).

124. Augustine, *Enarrat. Ps.* 96.7 (CCSL 39, 1359 Dekkers and Fraipont).

125. Presupposed is the reading *Eloquium Domini inflammavit eum* according to the LXX ἐπύρωσεν αὐτόν; Augustine, *Enarrat. Ps.* 104.13 (CCSL 40, 1543f. Dekkers and Fraipont).

126. Ambrose, *Explan. Psalm. XII.* 36.16 (CSEL 64, 196 Petschenig).

127. Chromatius of Aquileia, *Tract.* 11.5 (CCSL 9A, 241 Étaix and Lemarié). In other commentaries this reference does not occur, perhaps due to the negative tone of this passage (cf. Didymus of Alexandria, *in Psalm.*, PG 39:1209D).

128. Eusebius of Caesarea, *Comm. Jes.* 2.49 (GCS 58, 367 Ziegler). Instead of πνεῦμα, Isa 59:19 LXX reads ὄργη. The term βίαιος within this verse of Isaiah is also part of Eusebius' quotation of Acts 2 here: ἐγένετο ἄφωνο ... ἤχος ὡς περ φορομένης πνοῆς βιαίας καὶ ἐπλήρωσε.

129. Jerome, *Comm. Matt.* (CCSL 77, 18 Hurst and Adriaen); Augustine, *Enarrat. Ps.* 96.7 (CCSL 39, 1359 Dekkers and Fraipont); Peter Chrysologus, *Serm.* 164.4 (CCSL 24B, 1012 Olivari); The Venerable Bede, *In Lc.* (CCSL 120, 261 Hurst).

130. Theodoret of Cyrus, *Haer. fab. comp.* 5.3 (PG 83:456 D); Ps.-Chrysostom (Severian of Gabala), *In Pent.* (PG 63:934); Verecundus of Junca, *Super cant.* (CCSL 93, 151 Demeulenaere); Oecumenius of Tricca, *Comm. Act.* (PG 118:64 B).

131. Ps.-Chrysostom (Severian of Gabala), *In Pent.* (PG 63:934); The Venerable Bede, *Exp. Act.* (CCSL 121, 16 Laistner and Hurst).

4:24<sup>132</sup> are starting point of quoting the Pentecostal narrative. The combination of mentioning “God” and “fire” also made these texts proof-texts for the Godhead of the Holy Spirit. The term ἄφνω in Acts 2:2 can attract intertextual relations e.g. to Ps 18:4f. ad vocem φωναί and φθόγγος;<sup>133</sup> verbal identity is not always required in such cases. Similarly the term ἦχος can raise relations to Exod 19:16<sup>134</sup>; even the motif of „descending“ (ἐγένετο ... ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ) can be end-point of an interpretation of Cant 4:15 (impetus descendens a Libano), perhaps supported by ad vocem ὕδατος ζῶντος (cf. John 7:39 and the issue of Spirit there).<sup>135</sup> The term γλῶσσα allows an intertextual reading of Psalm 80:6 (linguam quam non nouerat audiuit).<sup>136</sup> Eusebius of Caesarea observes that is Jews who hear Peter’s preaching and convert; this conversion of Jews is the fulfilment of Isa 11:11 (τοῦ ζηλωσαι τὸ καταλειφθὲν ὑπόλοιπον τοῦ λαοῦ) for him.<sup>137</sup>

Intertextual relations are an issue prominently in some Old Testament Commentaries, due to the common reading the Old Testament as oriented to Jesus Christ.

### 2.3. Allegorical Interpretations

In this point, differences between homiletic and exegetical literature are differences of degree, but not differences of method.

Allegorical interpretations are given for the date of Pentecost, for the motif of the “upper room” (Acts 1:13, presupposed also in Acts 2), the motif of “fire” (Acts 2:3) and the motif of drunkenness (Acts 2:13).

The date of Pentecost is the issue for the first half of Augustine’s *Serm.* 270. Why did Jesus Christ send the Spirit not after three days but after ten? Augustine interprets the forty days mentioned in Acts 1:3 as the product of the four areas of the world (East, West, North, and South, according to Luke 13:29) multiplied by the ten commands of the Decalogue, seen as the foundation of the divine law in general.<sup>138</sup> So the Holy Spirit was sent after ten days in order that the Law would be fulfilled by grace. Without grace, law kills (2 Cor 3:6; Gal 3:21-22).<sup>139</sup> The Holy Spirit, again, is sent in order that the law might be fulfilled, for Christ came not to abolish the law but to fulfill it (Matt 5:17).<sup>140</sup>

The location of the first Pentecost is identified as the “upper room,” mentioned in Acts 1:13. While Cyril of Jerusalem, without any theological interpretation, identifies this room with the Upper Church on the Mount of Sion,<sup>141</sup> Gregory of Nyssa offers an allegorical interpretation comparable to other interpretations<sup>142</sup>: Those who have the upper things in

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132. Oecumenius of Tricca, *Comm. Act.* (PG 118:64 B).

133. Arnobius minor, *In psalm.*, (CCSL 25, 24 Daur).

134. Ps.-Athanasius, *De communi essentia* (PG 28:69 C).

135. Ambrose, *Psalm 118*, 17.32.3 (CSEL 67, 393 Petschenig).

136. Cassiodore, *Exp. Psalm*, 80.6 (CCSL 98, 751 Adriaen).

137. Eusebius of Caesarea, *Comm. Jes.* 63.11.11 (GCS 58, 87 Ziegler).

138. Similarly Ps.-Augustine, *Hom.* 187a (PL 39:2096).

139. Augustine, *Serm.* 270.3 (PL 38:1240).

140. Augustine, *Serm.* 270.3 (PL 38:1241). – In the second half of *Serm.* 270, Augustine deals with the correlation of the Holy Spirit to the number seven instead of the number ten. Augustine refers to the seventh day of creation (only in this context, *sanctificare* is used) and to the seven gifts of the Spirit in 11:2 (*Serm.* 270.6 [PL 38:1243]).

141. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech.* 16.4 (ed. Rupp 208-210). Cf. Jan Willem Drijvers, *Cyril of Jerusalem: Bishop and City* (VigChrSup 72; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2004), 75. This church was built in the fourth century and was “probably the center of Christian life in Jerusalem before the complex on Golgotha was constructed” (ibid.).

142. Cf. Origen, *Hom. Jer.* 19:13 (SC 238, 226–228 Nautin): The mind of the people was directed upwards, and holy people received the prophets in the upper room (1 Kgs 17:19; 2 Kgs 4:10) whereas Ochozias fell from an upper room (2 Kgs 1:2). Therefore Christ admonishes the one on the housetop not to go down to take what is in the house (Matt 24:17). In this way, the disciples gathered in the upper room so that the Holy Spirit could

mind and have changed their mind from earth to heaven, are inhabitants of the celestial room upstairs and can receive the Holy Spirit.<sup>143</sup> The metaphorical content of the “fire” mentioned in Acts 2:3 can be identified as warming up,<sup>144</sup> inspiring,<sup>145</sup> enlightening,<sup>146</sup> combusting sins,<sup>147</sup> sanctifying<sup>148</sup>, or cleansing,<sup>149</sup> or is a combination of those motifs.<sup>150</sup> Sometimes the metaphorical content of “water” is introduced, probably ad vocem βαπτίζεσθαι (Acts 1:5).<sup>151</sup> Ad vocem γλεῦκος, Acts 2:13 is allegorically interpreted reference to Matt 9:17 (“...new wine is put into fresh wineskins...”).<sup>152</sup> Some authors interpret the seeming drunkenness of the disciples (Acts 2:13) as being drunk on the grace of the New Testament.<sup>153</sup>

Sometimes also other texts are an issue of allegorical interpretation in Pentecost homilies. (Ps.-)Peter Chrysologus interprets *ascendit in templum* (John 7:14-15) allegorically, along the lines of 1 Cor 3:16, as an admonition to take care for one’s own ascension to heaven.<sup>154</sup>

## 2.5. Counterbalancing Biblical Texts

Within homiletic literature, John 20:22 and John 16:13 are an issue of these efforts. Why does Luke tell one account of the giving of the Spirit when according to John 20:22 Jesus gave the Spirit during his post-Easter earthly ministry? Cyril of Jerusalem refers to a difference in measure and intensity, signaled by the different verbs (λαμβάνειν in John 20:22 vs. ἐνδύεσθαι in Luke 24:49).<sup>155</sup> Referring to John 16:13, Leo the Great asks whether Jesus Christ intended that we should reckon with a lesser degree of knowledge in him. According to Leo, however, it is not Christ’s but the disciples’ capacity that is at issue in this saying.<sup>156</sup>

Another problem is raised by Ps 109:1, the well-known prediction of Christ’s exaltation. According to Maximus of Turin, the Pentecost event described in Acts proves the truth of

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come upon them. An allegorical interpretation is also given by the Venerable Bede: by spiritual contemplation, the disciples overwhelmed the domicile of flesh (*Exp. Act.* [CCSL 121, 15 Laistner and Hurst]).

143. Gregory of Nyssa, *Pent.* (GNO 10/2, 289 Teske).

144. Petrus Chrysologus, *Serm.* 164.4 (CCSL 24B, 1012 Olivar); Cassiodore, *Exp. Psalm.* 18.7 (CCSL 97, 172 Adriaen).

145. For Augustine, *Enarrat. Ps.* 96.7 (CCSL 39, 1359 Dekkers and Fraipont) the fire inspires an increasing number of nations to faith; for Gregory the Great, *Moral.* 281.2 (CCSL 143B, 1396 Adriaen), the fire inspires ardent zeal of the teachers; cd. Arator, *Act.* 1.147 (CSEL 72, 19 MacKinlay): *Mentibus instat amor; sermonibus aestuat ardor*; according to Ps.-Chrysostom, *In Pent.* 2 (PG 52:807), the fire gives the wisdom of heaven; cf. also the Venerable Bede, *Exp. Act.* (CCSL 121, 16 Laistner and Hurst).

146. Gregory of Nyssa, *Pent.* (GNO 10/2, 289 Teske); Ambrose, *Explan. Psalm. XII.* 48.19 (CSEL 64, 373 Petschenig); Leo the Great, *Hom.* 75.5 (CCSL 138A, 470 Chavasse).

147. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech.* 17.15 (ed. Rupp 270); John Chrysostom, *Pent.* 2.2 (PG 50:467).

148. Ps.-John Chrysostom (Severian of Gabala), *In Pent.* (PG 63:935).

149. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech.* 17.15 (ed. Rupp 270); Gregory of Nazianzus, *or.* 41.12 (SC 358, 340 Moreschini); Ps.-Fulgentius of Ruspe, *Serm.* 52 (PL 65:919).

150. ... ignis ... consedit super eos, ut possint umecta siccare, sicca infundere, decoquere cruda, rigida calfacere, accendere extica, conburere noxia ... (Eusebius Gallicanus, *Serm.* 144.4 [CCSL 24B, 1012 Olivar]); ... urit vitia, calefacit frigidam animam, sanctificat peccatorem, illuminat cor, unde tenebras ignorantiae fugat (Isidore of Sevilla, *Quaestiones de Veteri et Novo Testamento* 27 [PL 83:204 C]).

151. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech.* 17.14 (ed. Rupp 268); Ps.-Chrysostom, *In Pent.* 2 (PG 52:810) (referring also to Ps 22:5-6); Leo the Great, *Hom.* 75.2 (CCSL 138A, 466 Chavasse): “imbres charismatum, flumina benedictionum”.

152. Ps.-Augustine, *Hom.* 183a.3 (PL 39:2091).

153. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech.* 17.18 (ed. Rupp 272); similarly, the Venerable Bede, *Exp. Act.* (CCSL 121, 18 and Hurst).

154. Peter Chrysologus, *Serm.* 85 (CCSL 24A, 524-525 Olivar).

155. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech.* 17.12 (ed. Rupp 266).

156. Leo the Great, *Hom.* 76.5 (CCSL 138A, 478-479 Chavasse). This weakness of the disciples is presupposed without reference to this exegetical problem by Cyril of Alexandria, *Ioh.* X (PG 74:440CD), with hint on John 7:39.

Christ's coming to the Father, predicted in Psalm 109:1. But now another problem arises: how should we understand Christ's "sitting" in Ps 109:1 and his "standing" in Acts 7:56? Maximus's answer: Christ is sitting when judging the unbelieving Jews, and he is standing when championing the church.<sup>157</sup>

Even the pastoral theme of fasting can call forth exegetical efforts. In *Hom.* 81:1, Leo the Great defends fasting against any neglect motivated by 1 Tim 4:4; he reasons from Sir 18:30 and Gal 5:17, reading both texts as exhortations to temperance.<sup>158</sup>

#### 2.4. Explaining Exegetical Details

Within the corpus of the festal sermons studied here, Ps.-Chrysostom interprets Matt 16:18 in a specific way, praising the grace of the Holy Spirit and its effect on the church.<sup>159</sup> Jesus built the church on the faith and the confession of Peter, and the church was not overwhelmed but rather itself overwhelmed paganism.<sup>160</sup> This view is corroborated by the details of Matt 16:18: we do not read Πέτρῳ but πέτρα, and we do not read οὐ πολεμήσουσιν but οὐ κατισχύρουσιν. Hence defeat is excluded but not war against the church.<sup>161</sup>

But why is the ἐπιφοίτησις<sup>162</sup> (visitation) of Holy Spirit carried out by mentioning tongues? Severian of Gabala gives two answers. First, the apostles needed the ability of speech for their proclamation all over the world; this ability was symbolically given at the first Pentecost. Second, when the giants (cf. Gen 6:4) strove against God by building a tower (Gen 11), God disrupted their compact and dispersed them throughout the earth; now he desires to reunite the divided world. But why fire? Because it is associated with sanctification (cf. Isa 6:8) and forgiveness of sins (cf. John 20:22).<sup>163</sup>

Gregory of Nazianzus explains the wording Ἰουδαῖοι ... ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔθνους τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν (Acts 2:5) by referring to the captivity under Antiochus. The periods of captivity under Egypt or Babylon had long since been brought to an end by the return from exile, whereas the captivity under the Romans, exacted for the Jew's audacity against the Savior, had not yet come to an end.<sup>164</sup> According to Peter Chrysologus, the wording "from every nation" also means "from every social class"; therefore the rich man should not despise the poor.<sup>165</sup> In exegetical literature, Acts 2:5 is quoted as a reference to Jews in the diaspora.<sup>166</sup>

Concerning Acts 2:6, Gregory of Nazianzus asks whether the miracle was that the disciples were using foreign languages or at that the listeners were hearing the proclamation in the own

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157. Maximus of Turin, *Serm.* 40.2-3 (CCSL 23, 160-161 Mutzenbecher). Merkt, *Maximus I. von Turin*, 230, refers on Gregory of Nyssa: According to Gregory Arians used Acts 7:56 as proof for Christ's subordination. But also Ps 109:1 was regarded a proof-text in Arian view: He who gives the command is superior in comparison with the addressee of this command (Merkt, *ibid.*, 228).

158. Leo the Great, *Hom.* 81.1-2 (CCSL 138A, 503-504 Chavasse).

159. Ps.-Chrysostom, *In Pent.* 1 (PG 52:805). The apostles as fishermen are sent like sheep amongst the wolves (Luke 10:3), in order to transmute wolves to sheep.

160. Ps.-Chrysostom, *In Pent.* 1 (PG 52:808). The homilist emphasizes the piety of the father of Theodosius and of the son of Theodosius (but not of Theodosius himself).

161. Ps.-Chrysostom, *In Pent.* 1 (PG 52:806).

162. The term ἐπιφοίτησις refers to a temporal or thoroughgoing visitation, whether that visitation is viewed negatively (in earlier usage, e.g. the visitation of an unclean spirit) or positively, as in fourth-century usage: e.g., physical presence of Christ in earthly ministry (Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 37.1 [SC 318, 270 Moreschini]) and the visitation of the Holy Spirit upon the apostles, cf. Anastasius Sinaita, *Qu. et resp.* 148 (PG 89:801 D). This term is related to the first Pentecost also by Euthalius Diaconus, *Ed. Act.* (PG 85:652 C); Oecumenius of Tricca, *Comm. Act.* (PG 118:61 D), whereas John Chrysostom, *Hom. Act.* 4.1 (PG 60:43) uses the term ὄψις.

163. Ps.-John Chrysostom (Severian of Gabala), *In Pent.* (PG 63:935).

164. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 41.17 (SC 358, 352 Moreschini).

165. Peter Chrysologus, *Serm.* 85 ter, 2-3 (CCSL 24A, 529 Olivar).

166. The Venerable Bede, *In ep. cath.* (CCSL 121, 183 Laistner and Hurst).

language. This question is caused by the ambiguity of Acts 2:6, whether the phrase τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ should be referred to what precedes (and therefore designates the διαλέκτος of the disciples) or to what follows.<sup>167</sup> Within Augustine's *Serm.* 268, we find an explanation of speaking in other languages which is part of this debate. According to Augustine, it would be wrong to suppose that the distinct persons mentioned in Acts 2 spoke in distinct speeches; everybody at once spoke in all languages.<sup>168</sup> In exegetical literature, we find a very realistic comment on this issue in the *Expositio in actus apostolorum* of the Venerable Bede, who confesses to be criticized for partaking in this debate. In such a congregation, Bede states, only one person at the same time could preach. Should we assume that he began in Hebrew while the people who were unfamiliar with Hebrew waited, then the next would have spoken in Greek etc.? Luke did not mention anything about repetition of Peter's speech. Therefore – Bede avoids a clear incision – it is no error to assume that the disciples used foreign languages, and, by a greater miracle, everybody heard it in his own language.<sup>169</sup> According to Ps.-Caesarius, it is the effect of the Holy Spirit's activity that everybody of the attenders heard the speech of the apostles in his own language<sup>170</sup> whereas Ambrose locates the miracle at the side of the disciples.<sup>171</sup>

Other details are discussed mostly<sup>172</sup> outside the festal homilies. Why is the Holy Spirit given ten days after the ascension of Jesus? According to Ps.-Chrysostom, these days were necessary to confirm the faith of the disciples.<sup>173</sup> Maximus Confessor gives a twofold answer: First, Jesus spent these days communicating with each of the nine celestial hierarchies because they also needed the ἐπιμέλεια of the Lord who fills all in all (Eph 1:23). Second, the Divine word, hidden in the Decalogue, becomes real in our deeds and leads us to the highest Commandment of God's unity (Deut 6:4).<sup>174</sup>

The upper room is the room of common prayer (Acts 1:14), therefore prayer in unity made the apostles worthy to receive the Holy Spirit.<sup>175</sup> Jerome refers on Daniel who had his chamber of prayer also in the upper room.<sup>176</sup> Sometimes this upper room is identified with the room where the Last supper took place.<sup>177</sup> The "third hour" sometimes is explained in a rationalistic way: people were not engaged in their work or at dinner.<sup>178</sup> Other explanations refer on the appropriate time for prayer<sup>179</sup> or on Jesus' crucifixion (see above).

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167. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 41.15 (SC 358, 348-350 Moreschini).

168. Augustine, *Serm.* 268.1 (PL 38:1232).

169. The Venerable Bede, *Exp. Act.* (CCSL 121, 17 Laistner and Hurst); similarly Cyril of Alexandria, *Frgm. in Act.* (PG 74:757A–760A): Due to their Galilean origin, the disciples were not able to use the languages of the nations mentioned in Acts 2:9; the Holy Spirit, however, was active. In Paulinus of Nola's *Carmen* 27, it is also presupposed, that the miracle was on the side of the disciples (Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* 27.64–71, [CSEL 30, 265 Hartel and Kamptner]).

170. Ps.-Caesarius, *Erotapocriseis* 46 (GCS Ps.-Caesarius, 46 Riedinger); similarly Acta Archelai 40 (GCS 16, 59 Beeson): In a polemical section against Mani who is not able to speak in Greek or Egypt or Roman but only in Chaldean. Therefore the Holy Spirit is not in him ....

171. Ambrose, *Explan. Psalm.* XII., 35.19 (CSEL 64, 63 Petschenig).

172. Augustine discusses the meaning of the date of Pentecost in his "exegesis of numbers" (Dupont, Augustine's Preaching, 8, who p. 8f. mention several constructions).

173. Ps.-Chrysostom, *In asc. D.* 2.13 (PG 52:786).

174. Maximus Confessor, *Qu.* 142 (CCSG 10, 101 Declerck).

175. John Chrysostom, *Hom. Act.* 4,1 (PG 60:43); for the latter of these two motifs cf. also Peter Chrysologus, *Serm.* 132.6 (CCSL 24, 813 Olivar).

176. Jerome, *in Dan.* (CCSL 75 A, 832 Glorie).

177. Welliver, *Pentecost*, 157.

178. John Chrysostom, *Hom. Act.* 5:1 (PG 60:49).

179. Tertullian, *Or.* 25.1-2, (CCSL 1, 272 Dekkers *et al.*). Tertullian's statement, referred to private prayer, has its analogy later in the monastic movement (John Cassian, *Inst.* 3.3.2 [SC 109, 94–96 Guy]).



Not only the apostles but also the other disciples mentioned in Acts 1:15 (120 persons) received the Holy Spirit.<sup>180</sup> Responsible for this exegesis is the quotation of Joel 2:28/3:1 in Acts 2:17 (πᾶσαν σάρκα). Sometimes it evokes possibilities for polemics: Within the soteriological part of *Epistula 17 Episcoporum*, defending the theory of original sin and refuting the theory of the free will, the number 120<sup>181</sup> in combination with Joel 2:28 is used in order to counterbalance between the “all” of John 12:32 and the restrictions made in John 6:37.44: It is usual for Biblical language to use “all” for a mass quantitatively including not all human beings without exceptions.<sup>182</sup>

The “wind” is sign of divine power; addingly, Ephraem identifies it as sweet-smelling fragrance of paradise.<sup>183</sup> The distribution of tongues can symbolize the diversity of the Spirit’s gifts.<sup>184</sup> The sitting symbolizes rest<sup>185</sup> or royal majesty.<sup>186</sup>

Very seldom is the content and form of the disciples’ proclamation debated: According to Irenaeus, the disciples prophesied and spoke with tongues. The “prophesying” is an echo of Joel 3,1-2.<sup>187</sup> Cyril of Alexandria suggests teaching on the prophets and instruction of evangelical rules,<sup>188</sup> whereas Oecumenius supposes ἀποφθέγματα, short sentences.<sup>189</sup> Astonishingly, the well-known motif of the apostle’s dispersion throughout the world is not issue in Pentecost homilies, though it was taken as common sense that the miracle of speech was the precondition for the apostles’ ministry.<sup>190</sup>

In exegetical literature, the “fire” is an issue also with regard to its negative implications. According to Ps.-Oecumenius, the fire did not really fill the whole house – the people would have been forced to fly!<sup>191</sup> For us, this explanation seems to be as rationalistic as odd – Ps.-Oecumenius perhaps felt the necessity to defend the Biblical text against critics who were really able to provoke such questions and answers. Further, Jac 3:6 combines “tongues” and “fire” in a negative way. Therefore the Venerable Bede seeks to counterbalance: the fire mentioned in Acts 2 is a healing one, burning the sins, and inspires the teachers.<sup>192</sup>

Due to the terms “Jews ... of every nation”, Acts 2:5 and the local situation of the imagined scene raises problems. According to Didymus, human beings of every nation were present, but the phrase “from every nation” could also be referred to pious Jews from every nation living in Jerusalem. Not 70 but 20 nations are present, and not the whole nations but

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180. John Chrysostom, *Hom. Act.* 4,1 (PG 60:43); Oecumenius of Tricca, *Comm. Act.* (PG 118:64 A).

181. Cf. also John Chrysostom, *Hom. Act.* 4.1 (PG 60:43); Augustine, *Tract. ep. Jo.* 2.3 (SC 75, 158 Agaësse); id., *Tract. Ev. Jo.* 109.2 (CCSL 36, 619 Willems); id. serm. 271 (P 38:1245–1246; cf. Cabié, Pentecôte, 230); Oecumenius of Tricca, *Comm. Act.* (PG 118:64 A). The number 120 is drawn from Acts 1:15. The repetition of πάντες (vv. 2, 4) may have led to this exegesis; the text-critical variant πάντες οἱ ἀπόστολοι (v. 2 according to the minuscules 326, 614 [ἄπαντες οἱ ἀπόστολοι], 1505 and the Latin manuscript t) might also be responsible when only “the apostles” are named as receivers of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost (Ps.-Chrysostom, *In Pent.* 1 [PG 52:803-804]; *In Pent.* 2 [PG 52:809]). Explicitly against the restriction of the Spirit only to the Twelve is John Chrysostom, *Hom. Act.* 4.1 (PG 60:43). If the Spirit were so restricted, Peter would not have quoted Joel 2:28 (ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα).

182. Fulgentius of Ruspe, *Epistula 17 Episcoporum* 62 (CCSL 91A, 611 Fraipont).

183. Ephraem, *Hymn. de Paradiso* 11.14 (Beck 125).

184. Gregory of Nazianzus, *or.* 41.12 (SC 358:340 Moreschini).

185. John Chrysostom, *Hom. Act.* 4.1 (PG 60:43); Oecumenius of Tricca, *Comm. Act.* (PG 118:64 BC).

186. Cassiodore, *Exp. Psalm.* 88.5 (CCSL 98, 804 Adriaen); Gregory of Nazianzus, *or.* 41.12 (SC 358:340 Moreschini); The Venerable Bede, *Exp. Act.* (CCSL 121, 16 Laistner).

187. Irenaeus of Lyon, *adv. Haer.* 3.12.1 (SC 211, 178 Rousseau and Doutreleau).

188. Cyril of Alexandria, *Frgm. in Act.* (PG 74:760 A).

189. Oecumenius of Tricca, *Comm. Act.* (PG 118:64 C).

190. Rufinus, *Symb.* 2 (CCSL 20, 134 Simonetti); Ps.-John Chrysostom, *Pent.* 2 (PG 50:467); Leo the Great, *Hom.* 82.3 (CCSL 138A, 511f. Chavasse), in an *encomium* on Peter.

191. Oecumenius of Tricca, *Comm. Act.* (PG 118:64B).

192. The Venerable Bede, in *Jac.* (CCSL 121, 205 Hurst).

human beings of each nation were present.<sup>193</sup> Ad vocem συνεχύθη some exegetes state that the crowd is afraid that the disciples would confront them with their misdeed, the killing of Jesus.<sup>194</sup>

The list of nations in Acts 2:9-11, in general a proof for the world-wide dimension of church, offers an interesting text-critical variant: instead of Ioudai,an, Tertullian and Augustine read “Armeniam”, but this reading is not repeated in Armenian texts of Acts.<sup>195</sup>

The Venerable Bede offers a special interpretation of the term Iudaea mentioned in Acts 2:9: Luke does not name the whole Iudaea by this term but only the regions of the tribes Judah and Benjamin: other regions had other dialects; therefore Peter is identified as Galilean.<sup>196</sup> Harmony of Biblical texts is the leading principle here. He explains correctly the term “proselyte” and exemplifies it in Achior (Jdt. 14:6).<sup>197</sup> Concerning the phrase „Cappadocia, Pontus, Asia, Phrygia, Pamphylia“, the Venerable Bede remarks in his *Retractatio*, that in all these provinces Greek is spoken but in various forms; he admires the grace of the spirit who taught the apostles not only the languages per se, but also the variants due to the distinct regions.<sup>198</sup>

Beyond homiletic literature, some issues reoccur, at first time in a context of anti-heretical polemics. John 16:13 rose a special problem: So-called heretics maintained that their preaching is the perfection of the preaching of the apostles who did not have full knowledge. Tertullian refutes this claim: The promise John 16:13 is fulfilled at the first Pentecost.<sup>199</sup> Not polemics but curiosity in later times was responsible for the need of counterbalancing. Concerning the antagonism between Joh 20:22 and Acts 2, differences of addressees (the apostles vs. all disciples<sup>200</sup>) and of issues (‘atonement of sins vs. enabling for preaching’<sup>201</sup> or ‘ecclesial law, cf. John 20:23, vs. miracle of speech<sup>202</sup> or general inspiration’<sup>203</sup>) are in view; 1 Cor 12:8-10 could be used as justification of such exegesis.<sup>204</sup> According to Cyril of Alexandria, however, even after Pentecost an ongoing work of the Holy Spirit was necessary – Peter was rebuked when he refused to eat unclean things.<sup>205</sup> Other relevant texts, however, are an issue as well. Comparing the donation of the Spirit on Jesus and the donation of the Spirit on the disciples some exegetes ask why during Jesus’ baptism a dove appears whereas at Pentecost a strong wind is to be felt and fire and tongues are seen. Their answer is: The multitude of adherents at Pentecost made these events necessary.<sup>206</sup> Augustine contrast the simplicity of the dove and the fervor of Stephen.<sup>207</sup> Concerning John 7:39,<sup>208</sup> Augustine detected another problem: in view of the statements about the Spirit in Luke 2:25–38; 1:41–45, 67–70, how can it be said in John 7:39 “for as yet there was no Spirit”? Augustine’s answer focuses on the difference between distinct periods: the fullness of the Spirit came after

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193. Didymus of Alexandria, *Frgm. in Act.* (PG 39:1656A).

194. John Chrysostom, *Hom. Act.* 4,2 (PG 60:45); Oecumenius of Tricca, *Comm. Act.* (PG 118:65 B). This exegesis is lead by Acts 2:23.

195. Welliver, *Pentecost*, 186.

196. The Venerable Bede, *Exp. Act.* (CCSL 121, 17f. Laistner and Hurst), referring on Matt 26:73.

197. The Venerable Bede, *Exp. Act.* (CCSL 121, 18 Laistner and Hurst).

198. The Venerable Bede, *Retract. Act.* (CCSL 121, 111 Laistner and Hurst).

199. Tertullian, *Praescr. Haer.* 22,7-11 (CCSL 1, 204 Refoulé).

200. Ambrosiaster, *Quaest.* 93.3 (CSEL 50, 164 Souter).

201. Jerome, *Ep.* 120.9.4 (CSEL 55, 494 Hilberg), referring on 1Cor 12:4 (divisiones donorum).

202. Ambrose, *Exp. Luc.* 10.180 (CCSL 14, 399 Adriaen and Ballerini).

203. Ambrosiaster, *Quaest.* 93.3 (CSEL 50, 164 Souter).

204. Ambrose, *Exp. Luc.* 10.180 (CCSL 14, 399 Adriaen and Ballerini).

205. Cyril of Alexandria, *Ioh.* X (PG 74:441CD).

206. John Chrysostom, *Hom. Act.* 4:1 (PG 60:43); Oecumenius of Tricca, *Comm. Act.* (PG 118:64 C).

207. Augustine, *Tract. Ev. Jo.* 6.2 (CCSL 36, 54f. Willems).

208. John 7:39 is quoted by Leo the Great only in order to give a reason for the post-Easter sending of the Holy Spirit (Leo the Great, *Hom.* 76.8 [CCSL 138A, 484 Chavasse]).

Easter.<sup>209</sup> Never before had human beings been able to speak in other languages. After his resurrection, the Lord infused the disciples with the Spirit he had enlivened the first man (Gen 2:7), then he tarried 40 days with them, and at the end of ten days he sent the Holy Spirit from above.<sup>210</sup>

Concluding this paragraph we can say that the issue of counterbalancing texts is more prominent in exegetical than in homiletic literature.

### *Conclusion*

Within festal homilies, it is primarily John 16, John 20:22, and Acts 2 that elicit biblical exegesis. Concerning John 16, the homilists have the relation of the pre-Easter promise of the Spirit and its post-Easter fulfilment in mind; John 20:22 raises questions of consistency with regard to Acts 2, and those questions invite counterbalancing. Within this text the motif of “sound” is seldom interpreted, whereas the motif of “fire” is quite frequent. The wording ὡσεὶ πυρός is important only for debates on Trinity. The main metaphorical issues of “fire” are cleansing and enlightening. The motif of “speech in other tongues” sometimes elicits debate as to the miracle concerned the apostles’ speech or the people’s hearing. More often it is asked why this miracle does not happen in contemporary days. The reproach of drunkenness Acts 2:13 is sometimes rebuked, sometimes transformed into a symbolical truth: The disciples were drunk on the new wine of divine grace.

Homiletic and exegetical literature have common issues in dogmatic and morality but each kind of literature has also its proprieties, e.g. admonishing to a true way of feasting vs. explanation of a Biblical phrase without homiletic or dogmatic purpose. Polemical passages of festal homilies partake on methods of giving Biblical reasons for the own point of view: Biblical words and phrases are interpreted by referring to their given phraseology which can underline the own position and which is interpreted as demarcation against opposite wordings which would emphasize opposite views, according to the pattern “it is said ..., but not ...” These opposite wordings are inventions made by the polemicists in order to refute their adversaries but not citations of Scripture or quotations of the adversaries’ works. Sometimes positions of the adversaries are molded as objections (“... but someone could say...”).

With regard to typology, intertextuality, and allegory, the Pentecost homilies partake in exegetical tradition. Analogies in situation and/or constellation of persons and textual links, e.g. numbers, can raise a typology or an intertextual relation.

Some exegetical details are common issues for festal homilies and for exegetic texts. In the latter one some problems are handled with more realistic or sometimes even – sit venia verbo – rationalistic reasoning, unfitting for a festal sermon. Counterbalancing of Biblical texts is necessary against “heretics” and anti-Christian critique but serves also the believers’ desire of deeper knowledge.

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209. Cf. also Jerome, *Ep.* 120.9.4 (CSEL 55, 494 Hilberg): Before Easter, the apostles had the Holy Spirit; in other case they would not have been able to perform mighty deeds. The Holy Spirit, however, was not fully present in them, otherwise, they would not have doubted Jesus’ passion or denied him (Matt 26:69-75). After Pentecost, they had no fear (Acts 5:29).

210. Augustine, *Tract. Ev. Jo.* 32.6 (CCSL 36, 303 Willems); in short also id., *Tract. Ev. Jo.* 52.8 (CCSL 36, 449 Willems).