

CURRENT THEOLOGY

THE LITERATURE OF CHRISTIAN ANTIQUITY

The present bulletin is quite limited in scope. It intends to appraise a small number of works, most of them introductory, some basic, a few indispensable, which have appeared in the past five years and have not found a place in THEOLOGICAL STUDIES. Concretely, I shall deal with several manuals and surveys of patristic literature (Altaner, Quasten, Cross, Campenhausen, Strachey, and Ward), some texts and/or translations (Supplement to Migne, *Sources chrétiennes*, *Texte der Kirchenväter*, *Testimonia*, Philo), and a long-awaited basic tool of patristic research, the *Patristic Greek Lexicon*.

ALTANER

For decades, the ideal one-volume manual of patrology for terse, precise information has been Berthold Altaner's *Patrologie: Leben, Schriften und Lehre der Kirchenväter* (1st ed., Freiburg, 1938), successor to Rauschen-Altaner (1931). The second edition (1950) added almost 140 pages, 13 new authors, and more than 1000 fresh bibliographical items (cf. THEOLOGICAL STUDIES 13 [1952] 601-3)—partial evidence of the phenomenal advances in patristic research which have been progressively utilized in the Italian (four editions, 1940-52), Spanish (four editions, 1945-56), French (two editions, 1941, 1961), Polish and Hungarian (1947), and English (1958) versions. The so-called third and fourth German editions (1951, 1955) were no more than reprints of the second; for the World War which drove Altaner from his beloved Breslau and made him a harassed fugitive from country to country affected his health seriously and slowed his work. Not until 1958 was it possible to bring the second edition up to date; this is listed as the fifth German edition.¹

The new edition introduces more than three thousand new bibliographical entries; to make room for these, more than two thousand older references have been dropped. This time Altaner has "tried to group the bibliographical references according to subject matter" (p. vii), though not as clearly or as consistently as the Preface would lead us to expect. Once again, key words after references indicate the result of the particular research or the viewpoint of an author. The recent achievements of international research have been incorporated to the extent that a single volume and the interests of prospective readers would allow. The closing date for such insertion is the beginning

¹ Berthold Altaner, *Patrologie: Leben, Schriften und Lehre der Kirchenväter*. 5th ed.; Freiburg: Herder, 1958. Pp. xxvii + 507.

of December, 1956; some notice, however, has been taken of other works that appeared in the course of printing.

Few pages have not seen change. Inaccuracies have been removed; clarifications have been introduced; additional information has been provided. In the case of some thirty authors, the text has been recast, often completely overhauled; e.g., the *Didache*, the Christian Sibyllines, Clement of Alexandria, Gnosticism, Asterius the Sophist, Isidore of Pelusium, Pelagius, Augustine, Maximus of Turin, Peter Chrysologus, the *Regula Benedicti*, Rusticus Helpidius, and John Damascene. The doctrinal sections show a number of improvements or additions to the *loci theologici*; e.g., for Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Ephraem, and Ambrose.

Some twenty new authors or works have been included: the author of the *History of Joseph the Carpenter*, the *Vita Spyridonia*, John Rufus, several anonymous Arian texts, the monk Marcianus, Rufinus Syrus, Paulinus of Pella, Aponius, Agnellus of Ravenna, the *Regula magistri*, an African bishop named Maximus, Justus of Urgel, Licinian of Cartagena, Eutropius of Valencia, John of Caesarea, John of Scythopolis, Cosmas Vestitor, and John of Euboea.

These advances are all to the good, and it is a remarkable achievement to have incorporated the improvements into the single volume. It would be unfair to demand of the doctrinal sections more than Altaner has set as his program: not complete syntheses but significant aspects of an author's thought. On this level, however, we would expect to find more attention to the image-and-likeness doctrine which is so basic to the theology of Gregory of Nyssa, so crucial in the spirituality of Origen, so intimate a part of Greek patristic thought in general. There is some disproportion in allotted space: e.g., Cyril of Alexandria receives fewer pages than Justin; the five pages given to Cyril contrast inordinately with the thirty-nine apportioned to Augustine; and, apart from bibliography, the only changes from the 1950 text on Cyril are two sentences on his Christology and one on his lack of prudence and tact.

The bibliographies are, understandably, not free of blemishes. Thus, the second part of my *TS* article (1940) on Ignatius and the fourth Gospel has been unaccountably dropped from the fifth edition (p. 87), and my book on the image of God in man according to Cyril of Alexandria comes out badly as "God in Man accord. to St. Cyr. of Alex." (p. 257). On p. 241, line 14, "149" should read "1949"; on p. 379, "Compagnon" should be "Companion"; on p. 382, the abbreviation "TS" corresponds to nothing in the Sigla. More importantly, even the "life and works" sections can stand more consistent updating. It is, for example, no longer quite accurate to repeat in 1958

(p. 308) the statement of the 1950 edition that Ephraem's vast literary remains "have so far [not] been critically edited"—what with the splendid editions that have been appearing in the *Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium* since 1953, and are indeed listed in Altaner's bibliography.

It is this fifth German edition that is the basis for the first English translation of Altaner.² The translator, happily, is Hilda C. Graef. Successively Protestant, agnostic, Anglican, and now Roman Catholic; citizen natively of Germany, later of the United Kingdom; familiar with Latin and Greek from adolescence; graduate of the University of Berlin and holder of a Lambeth Diploma in theology; author of a history of Christian spirituality and translator of Gregory of Nyssa's *Lord's Prayer* and *Beatitudes* for the *Ancient Christian Writers* series; over thirteen years on the staff of the Oxford *Patristic Greek Lexicon*—Miss Graef is uncommonly competent for this difficult task (see her autobiography, *From Fashions to the Fathers*, published by the Newman Press in 1957).

Miss Graef has done her task well. The English version is a faithful, if not fluent, translation of a dense German. Especially commendable is the accuracy and skill with which she has reproduced Altaner's bibliographies, highly compressed as they are, with subject matter and even conclusions frequently in brief parentheses. The publishers have co-operated with type fonts and spacing which make for easier reading than the original; in fact, the English takes up almost 150 pages more than the German.

There are defects, some understandable, others not. For one thing, the Preface, over Altaner's name—largely a compression of the original German Preface—does not make it clear whether the English version adds anything to the German; in fact, it gives the impression (p. xxiv) that a score of authors and works have been added precisely to the English edition, whereas actually they are already in the German. And the English jacket compounds the ambiguity by stating: "The present English edition has been thoroughly revised and the latest patristic researches have been included." A careful check of significant sections, e.g., Tertullian, Cyril of Alexandria, Didymus the Blind, Augustine, and Gnosticism, reveals no evidence of "thorough revision."

There are some mistakes in translation. Thus, the first sentence on p. 11 is no longer true when it omits Altaner's "nach Ildefons"; "infallible faith" (p. 6) does not adequately express "unfehlbare Norm der Glaubenslehre"; a bad arrangement of the English on p. 55 makes the *Canones Hippolyti* identical with the *Constitutiones per Hippolytum*, though the distinction be-

² Berthold Altaner, *Patrology*. Translated by Hilda C. Graef. New York: Herder and Herder, 1960. Pp. xxiv + 659.

tween the two appears clearly on pp. 59 and 60; on p. 168, the reference should be to the first "fascicle" (not "facsimile") of Tertullian, in *CCL* 1 (not 2), and the two Tertullian volumes in *CCL* are dated 1953/54 (not 1935/4). There are some awkward turns of phrase. For example, "die altchristliche Literaturgeschichte" should be Englished as "the history of ancient Christian literature" rather than the cumbersome "the old Christian literary history" (p. 1); cf. also "less personal old Christian documents" (p. 2) and "the old Christian veneration of saints" (p. 4) and "antique literature" (p. 298). In the long list of abbreviations that opens the German original and the English translation, consistency is lacking: some journals have dates of origin, others do not; most have place of publication, others do not. Sometimes, in the English, cities are not abbreviated despite applicable sigla; and some cities are wrongly transcribed (*TS* is located correctly by Altaner in Woodstock, Md.; in the English, Maryland becomes Madison).

It remains to say a word about the latest French edition of Altaner. Seriously handicapped by ill-health, Altaner generously gave "full power" to H. Chirat, of the faculty of Catholic theology at Strasbourg, to complete or rework the fifth German edition, which M. Grandclaudon has translated and put at Chirat's disposal. It is this task that has reached completion in the *Précis de patrologie*.³ Here, both the running text and the bibliography have profited. First, Chirat has added significantly to Altaner's bibliographical entries, bringing them right into 1961 (see, besides the entries in their proper places, the "Notes additionnelles," pp. 735–60). He notes, however, that he has not included in these additions all the references furnished by the available volumes (1–3) of Schneemelcher's *Bibliographia patristica*, "because these compilations, over and above the inaccuracies and omissions for which they can be criticized, incorporate publications that are hardly scientific in quality or are more difficult to obtain than their significance warrants" (p. 11). Second, Chirat's modifications of Altaner's text affect the exposition of the *Didache*, the *Shepherd* of Hermas, Clement of Rome, the Pseudo-Clementines, Ignatius of Antioch, Justin, Tatian, Athenagoras, the Gnostic literature, Minucius Felix, several authors of chronicles, the monks of Egypt, Didymus the Blind, Cyril of Alexandria, Gregory of Nyssa, Cyril of Jerusalem, Apollinaris of Laodicea, John Chrysostom, Ambrose, Eznik, some authors of spiritual works, Ephraem, and Faustus of Riez. He has added to Altaner a brief mention of Count Joseph and of Chromatius of Aquileia.

³ Berthold Altaner, *Précis de patrologie*. Adapted by H. Chirat. Mulhouse: Editions Salvator, 1961. Pp. 785.

Chirat's Preface gives a touching summary of Altaner's life, especially the sufferings he bore in his person and his scholarship during the Nazi terror, including forced flight and the loss of his magnificent library (cf. my own account in *TS* 11 [1950] 273-74). The tribute is all the more moving, all the more pertinent, in that Altaner's patristic work has come to an end. In January of 1961 this remarkable man wrote to me from Würzburg: "With the appearance of the English translation by H. Graef and the [then] expected French version by Chirat of Strasbourg, my own work on my *Patrology* is finished. My strength is spent. *Oremus pro invicem.*"

In the spring of 1959, Altaner entrusted Alfred Stuiber with the continuation of his *Patrologie*. The so-called "sixth edition"^{3a} is a reprint of the fifth, without change in text or pagination. Errors, however, have been removed; more importantly, the latest literature has been added, as far as this was possible without change of pagination or typography. A more intensive revision did not seem desirable, for only two years had elapsed since the appearance of the fifth edition. This restriction of changes to the absolutely essential has the further advantage (Stuiber is at pains to point out) of not delaying the new edition and not increasing the price.

QUASTEN

Altaner's uncommon power of compression makes his *Patrologie* the ideal one-volume manual. On broader lines, the most remarkable introduction to ancient Christian literature is the *Patrology* of Johannes Quasten, Professor of Ancient Church History and Christian Archeology at the Catholic University of America. Three of the projected five volumes have appeared. The first two volumes, which carry us to the eve of Nicaea, appeared in 1950 and 1953, to be welcomed enthusiastically by the world community of patristic scholars (cf. *TS* 13 [1952] 603-5; 15 [1954] 649-50). Volume 3, the Greek literature from Nicaea to Chalcedon,⁴ is an even more admirable production. For this is the period of the first four general councils, of burning heresies and brilliant theologians, of monasticism and the biblical schools, of history and poetry, of polemics and homiletics, of theology wed to high literary gifts. The material, therefore, is so much more vast, richer, more complicated, and yet Quasten reveals the same qualities that pervaded his pre-Nicene volumes: serene mastery of material, sensitive awareness of de-

^{3a} Berthold Altaner, *Patrologie: Leben, Schriften und Lehre der Kirchenväter*. 6th ed., corrected and supplemented by Alfred Stuiber. Freiburg: Herder, 1960. Pp. xxviii + 508.

⁴ Johannes Quasten, *Patrology 3: The Golden Age of Greek Patristic Literature from the Council of Nicaea to the Council of Chalcedon*. Westminster, Md.: Newman, 1960. Pp. xxv + 605.

velopments and discoveries, close-knit syntheses, massive up-to-date bibliographies, liberal and pertinent excerpts in English dress. Only one who has struggled with the complex history of men and ideas and events in the period from 325 (better, 313) to 451 will be in a position to appreciate fully the manner in which Quasten has brought the age to life, simplifying without falsifying, detailing without boring, open always and only to the evidence. Within the inescapable limits of a manual, this is scholarship at its finest.

Sixty-six writers receive specific treatment in this third volume; spatially, most attention is given to Athanasius (60 pages), Chrysostom (59), Gregory of Nyssa (42), Eusebius of Caesarea (37), Basil the Great (32), and Cyril of Alexandria (27). It is gratifying to note the pains Quasten takes with Arius and Nestorius. He has made good use, too, of recent acquisitions, e.g., the discovery at Toura in Egypt of exegetical treatises of Didymus, Jaeger's critical edition of Gregory of Nyssa, Richard's publication of Asterius the Sophist's commentaries on the Psalms. And the make-up of the volume combines two features not commonly wed in a manual: the rigid organization makes for easy consultation, and the unlabored style for pleasant reading. The indexes alone (*OT* and *NT*, ancient Christian writers, modern authors, Greek words, general index) consume fifty-one pages. This volume is a landmark in twentieth-century theological research.

As with Quasten's first two English volumes, so with the third: J. Laporte has favored us with a French version.⁵ Once again, what commends the French to student and scholar is that it is not simply translation; it is progression. Quasten has added more than five hundred publications which have appeared since the 1960 English volume (e.g., Harkins' English translation of Chrysostom's baptismal catecheses in *Ancient Christian Writers*—though the date should be 1963, not 1962; and Malingrey's edition of Chrysostom's *De providentia Dei* in *Sources chrétiennes* 79 [1961]—though I do not see why "Ad Stagirium" is added to the reference); he has revised the running text, and even added to it in a number of places.

The same sort of progression (up-to-date bibliographies and some change in the text) is true of the Spanish Quasten, produced by the fertile Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos in Madrid. Volume 1, mainly the work of Ignacio Oñatibia,⁶ had the added advantage of presenting the first two of Quasten's English volumes in one. Now the second Spanish volume, under Oñatibia's

⁵ Johannes Quasten, *Initiation aux Pères de l'église* 3: *L'Age d'or de la littérature patristique grecque du concile de Nicée au concile de Chalcédoine*. Translated by J. Laporte. Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1963. Pp. 851.

⁶ Johannes Quasten, *Patrología* 1: *Hasta el concilio de Nicea*. Prepared by Ignacio Oñatibia with the collaboration of Pedro Urséolo Farré and Estanislao M. Llopert. *Biblioteca de autores cristianos* 206. Madrid: B.A.C., 1961.

name alone,⁷ brings Quasten's third English volume up to date attractively and accurately (though the verso of the title page unfortunately lists the original as "Patrology Vol. II").

In consequence of a suggestion made by the present writer (*TS* 15 [1954] 650), the latest volume in all three languages indicates the relative value of patristic texts where several editions of the same work exist. One final remark: for those who wish to use the translations as up-to-date supplements to, or replacements for, the original English, the first Spanish volume and the third French volume are the versions to have at hand.

CROSS

F. L. Cross, Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Oxford, competent organizer of the quadrennial patristic conference at Oxford (1951, 1955, 1959, 1963), and well-known editor of *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, has given us the first of three projected volumes on the Church Fathers.⁸ This initial volume is a rapid survey of Christian literature from the Apostolic Fathers to the beginning of the fourth century. Besides the usual categories (e.g., Apologists), Cross has sagely introduced chapters like "The Scriptural Canon" (Papias, Marcion, the various Prologues, Tatian's *Diatessaron*, the Muratorian Fragment) and "The Literature of Tradition" (Creeds, Hippolytus' *Apostolic Tradition*, the *Didascalia apostolorum*, the Pseudo-Clementines), and a chapter on hymnody, the martyr acts, and inscriptions, with a valuable "Note on Patristic Study and Bibliography."

Cross's primary gift is his ability to link compression with accuracy; he has put out a manual designed not for continuous reading but for use in conjunction with the texts. Cross is a splendid guide—always sure and serene—for one who would walk with the Fathers, one who is ready to read them in text or translation. This purpose must be kept in mind, else the reader is confronted with dry bones: summaries of works, manuscript tradition, etc. He will not find here Quasten's extracts, Altaner's bibliographies, the engaging qualities of Swete's ageless *Patristic Study*. This sort of manual can only come alive in the reader's hand if his other hand holds the works of a Church Father. Then will its richness be revealed; then will he gradually understand the wisdom of Cross's introductory remarks (pp. 1-2):

... The tyro embarking on the study of the Fathers must be prepared to find that many of the documents he will be studying possess a *prima facie* interest hardly

⁷ Johannes Quasten, *Patrologia 2: La edad de oro de la literatura patrística griega*. Prepared by Ignacio Oñatibia. *Biblioteca de autores cristianos* 217. Madrid: B.A.C., 1962. Pp. 627.

⁸ F. L. Cross, *The Early Christian Fathers*. London: Duckworth, 1960. Pp. 218.

commensurate with that of the story of which they contain the record. In the earlier part of the period especially, the Church had comparatively few writers of literary skill, and her authors wrote not to gratify the literary and historical interests of posterity but to meet as best they could the practical needs of the Church of their own day. The student who knows where to look can find plenty of moving and interesting and fascinating passages even among the pre-Nicene writings. But he will encounter wide tracts which are arid and unrewarding and it will be only as he advances in historical knowledge and understanding that he will begin to grasp their significance. As he re-reads the texts and perseveres, he will find the outline of the early Church and its remarkable medley of figures gradually unfolding before him and taking shape in his mind. But he should realize at the outset that because he is dealing with an epic period in the history of the Church, he will not find all, or even a major part, of the literature inspiring on first acquaintance.

I would second without hesitation Daniélou's pithy assertion that "this little book, whose sound scholarship is expressed in such limpid language, is more substantial than many volumes that are more ponderous, more pedantic, less learned" (*Recherches de science religieuse* 49 [1961] 569).

CAMPENHAUSEN

In 1956, Hans von Campenhausen gave us the second edition of his superb little book on the Greek Fathers.⁹ There he painted twelve portraits—some quite charming—from Justin to Cyril of Alexandria, with the deceptive ease and rich insight that stem from decades of research and contemplation. In 1959, a good English translation came from the pen of Stanley Godman.¹⁰ In 1960, Campenhausen produced a companion volume on the Latin literature of the early Church.¹¹ It is a portrait gallery of the more significant Latin Fathers and ecclesiastical writers: Tertullian, Cyprian, Lactantius, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, and Boethius. The merits of Campenhausen's twin works are several and striking. He sees the Fathers as they saw themselves: authorized interpreters of the Bible and of Christian tradition. He has the uncommon power of revealing the significance of the Fathers for contemporary man. Vast erudition and balanced judgment are wed to a faculty of suggestion which Daniélou sees as one of the conspicuous qualities of the German genius. It is true, some of Campenhausen's positions are con-

⁹ Hans von Campenhausen, *Die griechischen Kirchenväter*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1956. Pp. 172.

¹⁰ Hans von Campenhausen, *The Fathers of the Greek Church*. Translated by Stanley Godman. New York: Pantheon, 1959. Pp. 170.

¹¹ Hans von Campenhausen, *Lateinische Kirchenväter*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1960. Pp. 255.

testable, e.g., his understanding of Cyril of Alexandria as man and theologian, or his conclusion that Origen "had no feeling for the deeper, objective problems of a truly Christian theology," that his solutions were "the solutions of a theorist of genius who constructed reality from the idea, without being moved at a deeper level by doubt and suffering" (Godman tr., p. 56). But the fact remains, Campenhausen is knowledgeable, readable, intelligently provocative—more likely to be appreciated by the initiate than by the novice.

STRACHEY

Patrology without pain is an understandable yearning in the amateur who must read and run. Perhaps this is the best place to note that the literature in English catering to this demand for popularization is mounting. We recall that twice in the last decade that unwearying biographer of men and institutions, Robert Payne, presented key figures of early Christianity through vivid pen portraits in *The Fathers of the Western Church* (New York, 1951) and *The Holy Fire: The Story of the Fathers of the Eastern Church* (New York, 1957). His successful effort to make the Fathers and their times come alive had for regrettable concomitant a flair for the sweeping generalization, a proneness to the sensational, a swashbuckling tendency, to the occasional sacrifice of exactness and objectivity—so much so that, to at least one reviewer, Payne's Fathers emerged as "a turbulent covey of paranoiacs."

Of smaller compass but similar vein is the effort of the novelist Marjorie Strachey to give us "the fathers without theology."¹² Her purpose is made splendidly clear (p. 9):

These writings form an immense and somewhat indigestible mass. Of vital interest to the professional theologian, they are apt to throw the uninitiated layman, should he attempt to penetrate their mysteries, into an abyss of boredom and metaphysics. Yet buried here and there lie many curious gems which it may be worth while to extract and examine. There is much that is instructive, much that is surprising and entertaining. Leaving aside theology for the theologians—or at least giving only so much as to make the rest comprehensible—this book is presented to the ordinary reader, in the hope that it will afford him some new light on early Christianity and perhaps some unexpected amusement.

In harmony with this purpose, Miss Strachey deals entertainingly with the major writers before Nicaea, re-creates their milieu, fastens unerringly on the curious and the marvelous, the amusing and the apocryphal, the poignant and the delightful. Regrettably, "leaving aside theology for the

¹² Marjorie Strachey, *The Fathers without Theology*. New York: Braziller, 1958. Pp. 235.

theologians" is to leave aside what is most characteristic of the Fathers; "the Fathers without theology" are simply not the Fathers. All too infrequently does Miss Strachey give "so much [theology] as to make the rest comprehensible." Hermas' visions of "the lady" are recounted at some length, but the ecclesial implications have escaped the author; and, of course, there is no suggestion that, since the Qumrân finds, the primary significance of the *Shepherd* for the history of theology is that, as Peterson has pointed out, it "gives an insight into the development of asceticism within Jewish Christianity." Justin's allusion to the Column of Antonine evokes a long paragraph on an episode in the Marcomannic War; and yet there is not a single word on Justin's thrilling revelation of the details of the Eucharistic sacrifice, no indication of his epochal effort to construct a bridge between reason and revelation, between Greek philosophy and Christian theology. The Assumption Apocrypha are summarized without the conclusion which gives them significance: valueless as historical accounts of an actual event, the tales are theologically priceless; for they reveal the reaction of early Christian piety when confronted with the apparent fact of Mary's death, they evidence the first unequivocal solutions to the problem of her destiny, and they disclose the genuinely Christian insight that it was not fitting for Mary's body to see corruption. Miss Strachey's startling observation is: "In any case it is interesting to find that one of these narratives (which one? [her own question]) so long thought to be apocryphal, is after all true. In 1950 the Pope revealed that the Assumption of the Virgin's body actually took place . . ." (p. 125).

One might dispute the statement that "the Montanists were not heretics," that they "held all the correct dogmas of the Church" (p. 170). Miss Strachey fails to distinguish an errant allegorism from a valid typology, and so must be ranked with those who see in Origen only a mad allegorist. She seems to quote with approval Harnack's indefensible observation that the so-called official documents of the early Church are "a swamp of mendacity. . . . We are helpless . . . in the face of the systematically corrupted tradition" (p. 23).

There is much that is good in Miss Strachey's volume, much that is instructive, much that is amusing. But I fear that, paradoxically, intended for the uninitiated, it can be appreciated only by the initiated. You cannot properly evaluate the odd and the unusual in the Fathers unless you know the essential and the characteristic.

WARD

Probably the most satisfying of recent popularizations is Maisie Ward's reconstruction of the first five centuries.¹⁸ It is a captivating book, whose

¹⁸ Maisie Ward, *Saints Who Made History: The First Five Centuries*. New York: Sheed & Ward, 1959. Pp. xiv + 377.

approach and organization are primarily intellectual and theological, wherein wide reading is gracefully integrated with the author's Christian wisdom.

Maisie Ward has written "not a Church history, but a handful of portraits to illuminate it" (p. ix). The key figures are, in successive chapters: Ignatius and Polycarp; Justin, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen; Irenaeus; Anthony the Hermit; Athanasius; Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus; Chrysostom; Ambrose; Jerome; Tertullian, Cyprian, and Augustine; Patrick; Leo the Great; Justinian, Cassiodorus, Boethius, and Benedict. But through these key figures the early Church and the world it inhabited and transformed are made transparent: martyrdom and monasticism, heresy and heroism, *sacerdotium* and *imperium*, clerical celibacy and marriage, saints and sinners, savagery and Romania, barbarian violence and Benedictine peace, the fashioning of a new world from *imperium* and *genies* and *ecclesia*; and much more. And all this—men and movement—all this comes alive from a brush that breathes and quivers, that sorrows with men's sorrows, quickens to joy in their small joys, thrills to their triumphs.

What delights the professional patrologist is Maisie Ward's deft wedding of primary sources and secondary literature. She has read widely in the Fathers (much in translation, I gather), and her reading has been put in proper focus by scholars like Antin, Jalland, Kenney, de Labriolle, Marrou, Mersch, Monceaux, Batiffol, Bieler, Bury, Butler, Chapman, Daniélou, Dawson, Hughes, Duchesne, Dudden, Fliche-Martin, Gilson, Gore, Lebreton, Puech, Schuster, Tixeront, Cross, and the French encyclopedias. It was from that "brilliant old cynic" Gibbon that, apparently as a schoolgirl, she "first glimpsed the wide sweep of history" (p. vi). But if any writer has exercised a pre-eminent influence on her, it is Newman. "Newman first sent me to the Fathers: after several years of intensive study I returned to him for the better understanding of what I had read" (p. 364). This is the single name among the moderns that crops up more frequently than any other. In a true sense, her approach to the Fathers is his.

The scholar will quarrel with individual affirmations: the length of Jerome's stay in the desert (p. 215); overemphasis on North Africa's role as the cradle of ecclesiastical Latin, to the neglect of Rome (p. 244); the bald assertion that Tertullian became a priest (*ibid.*); the employment of *theotokos* by Origen (p. 298); the date of Ambrose's consecration. One would like to have had more about Gregory of Nyssa. When speaking of Jerome, the author makes no mention of Vigilantius, Helvidius, or Jovinian, no mention of the perpetual virginity. There is no real consistency in giving or omitting references, especially to patristic works. In some instances more modern translations were available, like James Kleist's version of the Apostolic Fathers in *Ancient Christian Writers*, or Gerald Walsh's in *The Fathers of the*

Church. On p. 119, the year 326 should be 362. But such inadequacies are relatively trivial; Maisie Ward's is a splendid achievement. It is a book I should like to have written.

SUPPLEMENT TO MIGNE

It is well known that several serious, well-organized projects have as their ultimate goal a reasonably complete or fairly extensive critical edition of the works of the Fathers, each destined to supplant (in whole or in part) or at least to supplement Migne's Greek and/or Latin *Patrology*. There is the *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum*, charged since 1866 with the task of editing the Latin ecclesiastical writers as far as the seventh century, with seventy-eight volumes thus far published. There is the companion project for the Greek Fathers, *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte*, launched in 1897, extending now to the threshold of the Byzantine period, with some half a hundred volumes in print. There is the New Migne, the *Corpus christianorum* edited by the Benedictine monks of St. Peter's Abbey, Steenbrugge, Belgium, who propose to put in a single collection (three series: Latin, Greek, and Oriental) the best extant editions of all the ancient Christian writings down to the dawn of the Carolingian Renaissance. At the present writing we have twenty-nine volumes in the Latin series. And there are the series of texts and translations called *Sources chrétiennes* (ninety-three volumes), *Patrologia orientalis* (twenty-nine volumes), and *Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium* (222 volumes).

In the meantime we are, and for many decades to come we shall be, chained to Migne in large measure. It is the only existing collection which can claim with a semblance of truth to cover the field. For many patristic writings it is the only available text. In some instances the Maurist and other editions contained in *PL* and *PG* have not been supplanted even by more recent scholarship. Many of the lengthy, scholarly prefaces are still precious.

Given this situation, it is gratifying that the Franciscan Adalbert Hamman is preparing a Supplement to *PL* 1-96 (Tertullian to Bede) in four volumes. The program envisaged is essentially utilitarian (though highly scholarly) and speed is admittedly of the essence of the enterprise. To render more useful what is already in Migne, Hamman corrects erroneous attributions of authorship, regroups works unjustifiably separated, and furnishes the latest results of scholarly criticism for writings whose origin is warmly disputed. To complete and enrich *PL*, several hundred patristic works are being added (i.e., published in their proper places in the Supplement) which were forgotten by the original editors or were discovered later, and are now scattered in periodicals or scientific tomes not always easy of access.

The first two volumes have appeared, each in four separate fascicles.¹⁴ Volume 1 covers *PL* 1–21; Volume 2, *PL* 22–48, primarily Jerome and Augustine. Volume 3 (= *PL* 49–65) will run from Cassian to Fulgentius of Ruspe, and Volume 4 (= *PL* 66–96) will take us from Benedict to Bede.

A survey of the contents will suggest the richness of Hamman's Supplement. *PLS* 1 contains, *inter alia*, the two versions of Cyprian's *De unitate* 4; Commodian's *Carmen apologeticum*; the *Commentarius in Apocalypsim* of Victorinus of Pettau, with Jerome's recension; Hilary's *Tractatus mysteriorum*; the much-disputed *Tractatus de libris ss. scripturarum* ascribed by many to Gregory of Elvira; fragments of Tyconius' *Commentarius in Apocalypsim*; the monk Aponius' long commentary on the Song of Songs; Egeria's *Itinerarium*; Pelagius' commentaries on Paul, and some other works; Julian of Eclanum on Job. Besides, the summaries of pertinent information on scholarly research in connection with these patristic works is carefully done and cleverly presented. *PLS* 2 includes, for Jerome, *Letters* 151–54 of the *CSEL* edition, his *Commentarioli in psalmos*, *Tractatus in Marci evangelium*, and *Tractatus in psalmos quattuordecim*; for Augustine, a large number of sermons, some genuine, others spurious. There are also a number of works attributed to Priscillianus, and others composed by his followers.

SOURCES CHRÉTIENNES

It is now twenty-one years since the general editors of *Sources chrétiennes* (at that time Henri de Lubac and Jean Daniélou) inaugurated their remarkable project. They were responding to a need that was summarized in these pages (*TS* 9 [1948] 250) by John Courtney Murray as follows:

Among the several currents that are stirring the theological world today perhaps the most interesting, in itself and in its implications, is the movement toward a fuller and more vital contact with patristic thought. The "proof from the Fathers" is, of course, familiar to the theological student; but the familiarity with the Fathers themselves, resultant from it, is problematical. Obviously, this traditional use of patristic argument, by means of the *catena Patrum*, must continue to have a place in a theological education; it does serve to give some sense of the continuity of Christian thought and some realization of the riches of our intellectual and spiritual heritage. However, a more vital possession of this heritage, through more extensive and profound study of entire patristic texts, is today felt by many as a desideratum.

¹⁴ *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series latina: Supplementum* 1 and 2. Edited by Adalbert Hamman, O.F.M. Paris: Garnier, 1958–59, 1960–62.

The *Sources chrétiennes* response—described by Fr. Murray as “genial, courageous, and edged with contemporaneity” (*ibid.*, p. 252)—has resulted in ninety-three volumes that feature (1) a critical text, (2) a competent French translation, (3) notes explanatory of the text, and (4) an introduction, normally of great length, inspired by a desire to facilitate understanding of the Fathers by re-creating the climate of opinion wherein the work was conceived. Many of these volumes have been reviewed in this journal over the intervening years (cf., e.g., the bulletin devoted to the first nineteen volumes: *TS* 9 [1948] 250–89); the following paragraphs do little more than highlight seven recent volumes of unusual interest.

Early in 407, the third year of his second exile, from Cucusus in Lesser Armenia, “the loneliest spot in the world,” John Chrysostom wrote to his flock in Constantinople the fruit of his meditations *On the Providence of God*. It is this work (usually called, from the opening words of the long title, *To Those Who Are Scandalized by Adversity*; cf. *PG* 52, 479–528) that Anne-Marie Malingrey has edited and translated in *SC* 79.¹⁵ The volume is a precious complement to her translation in 1947 (*SC* 13; cf. *TS* 9 [1948] 273–75) of Chrysostom’s seventeen letters to the widow and deaconess Olympias, where the central theme is the problem of human suffering. Mlle. Malingrey recounts the circumstances under which the work was written, the literary genre (neither homily nor letter nor treatise, but each in turn), its content and sources, and its place in the corpus of John’s works. She sees no evolution in his thought here, for to him suffering always found its ultimate meaning in a mysterious finality that rests on God’s infinite goodness. Here, however, the ideas are the fruit of lived experience, from lonely exile and the last months of his life. Mlle. Malingrey has a long treatment of the manuscript tradition. Her critical text is a noteworthy production, by far the best we have, based on researches which have enabled her to identify sixty manuscripts of the work; cf. the complete stemma of the manuscripts in her article in *Traditio* 18 (1962) 25–68. There is a six-page index of Greek words: (1) words that are of interest for the history of the language, because Christianity created them or at least gave them new content; (2) words often employed by John and marking his ways of thinking and writing.

In *SC* 25^{bis}, Dom Bernard Botte of Mont César gives us a revised edition of Ambrose’s *De sacramentis* and *De mysteriis*, and with these he has included

¹⁵ Jean Chrysostome, *Sur la providence de Dieu*. Introduction, critical text, translation, and notes by Anne-Marie Malingrey. *Sources chrétiennes* 79. Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1961. Pp. 289.

the *Explanatio symboli*.¹⁶ As in 1950 (cf. *TS* 13 [1952] 477), so now, Botte concludes: "we must restore the *De sacramentis* to St. Ambrose" (p. 20). As for the *Explanatio symboli*, a stenographic report of a *traditio symboli* session, Botte summarizes the strong arguments for Ambrosian authorship from the manuscript tradition and from the style and thought of the author. The three documents are here published together because they furnish a good picture of the rites of initiation in Milan at the end of the fourth century. These rites Botte describes, as well as the catechesis for which they served as framework. Perhaps the most significant advance of this volume over its predecessor is that Botte is now able to reproduce, with minor divergences, the texts of *De sacr.* and *De myst.* in the *CSEL* 73 (1955) edition of Otto Faller, and to profit from Faller's and Connolly's editions for his text of the *Explanatio*. He has also appended three sets of critical notes on the text of the three works. This new edition should, therefore, simply replace the original *SC* 25.

Melania the Younger (383–439), wife and mother, ascetic and pilgrim, recluse and founder of monasteries, active and contemplative, devotee of liturgy and *lectio divina*, is one of the more fascinating figures of early Christianity. Her life, which began in Rome and closed in Bethlehem, has won the admiration of scholar and saint. Her biography, once characterized by Père d'Alès as "one of the rare delights of Christian hagiography," is presented by Denys Gorce in *SC* 90.¹⁷ In his long Introduction (pp. 9–122) Gorce outlines the other sources (besides the *Vita*) from which Melania's life can be reconstructed (especially Paulinus of Nola, Augustine, Rufinus, Jerome, the Lausiac History of Palladius, and liturgical documents); summarizes the salient details of her life; studies the fortunes of the *Vita* from its first publication in 1556 to the lively controversies on the Greek and Latin texts in the early years of the twentieth century; develops the evidence which would make the *Vita* a work of Gerontius, a Monophysite monk of Palestine, Melania's "chaplain" and "legal representative"; presents the historical and religious data supplied by the *Vita*, as well as the information it contains on the liturgy of Rome, Africa, and Jerusalem. The edition printed here is based on Cardinal Rampolla's Greek text (Rome, 1905). The notes are, in places, quite extensive, and there are five useful indexes: Scripture, persons,

¹⁶ *Ambroise de Milan, Des sacrements, Des mystères*. Nouvelle édition revue et augmentée de *L'Explication du symbole*. Text, translation, and notes by Bernard Botte. *Sources chrétiennes* 25^{hi}. Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1961. Pp. 225.

¹⁷ *Vie de sainte Mélanie*. Greek text, introduction, translation, and notes by Denys Gorce. *Sources chrétiennes* 90. Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1962. Pp. 308.

geographical names, subject matter, and Greek words. SC has made accessible to the general public a work that is at once highly interesting and of first-rate importance for the history of Christian culture.

The so-called *Letter of Aristeas to Philocrates* is a Jewish document which claims to recount how the Law of the Jews was translated from Hebrew into Greek by seventy-two Jewish scholars who came from Jerusalem to the Museum of Alexandria. It is the oldest document to give an account of the translation of the Bible into Greek. Because of its relationship to the important problem of the historical and literary milieu from which the Greek version of the Pentateuch emerged, *Sources chrétiennes* has decided to present a critical text of the *Letter* among its non-Christian texts.¹⁸ André Pelletier presents the manuscript tradition in great detail (pp. 8–41). He lists the editions and translations of the *Letter*, and justifies his own edition “by the fact that this time all the manuscripts of Aristeas, including *Seraagliensis* 8, have been collated by the same reader, and that the most singular among them, *Monacensis* 9, is set in its proper place, neither privileged nor spurned” (p. 42). He is convinced that “the author sets himself up primarily as propagandist for the Greek translation of the Law” in Greek circles but that his arguments are valid in point of fact for Jewish circles as well (p. 52). The historical framework adopted for his needs is pure fiction. In summary: “An Alexandrian Jew, who gives himself the name Aristeas, has assembled a certain number of documents: a written report on the Jews drawn from the archives of the country; texts of Ptolemaic decrees; administrative records or royal ‘diaries’ preserved in the archives of the court or of the Museum; accounts of pilgrimages to Jerusalem; a *Peri basileias* [a literary genre in full flower in the third century B.C.]; a defense of the Law (with reference to ablutions and dietary prescriptions); and even a document recounting an embassy to the high priest. Aristeas sought to organize all this material into a piece of political and religious propaganda on behalf of the Jews. Unfortunately, the stitching is obvious” (pp. 54–55). On the basis of the general historical framework, Pelletier prefers to date the work to the beginning of the second century B.C. After treating the language and style of the *Letter*, the Museum and Library of Alexandria, and the Jews of that city, he studies the development of the legend into the thirteenth century. This last section will be particularly valuable for those interested in the fate of the legend at the hands of the Fathers, e.g., Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Jerome, and Augustine, and is important for the history of the alleged inspiration of the LXX. The explanatory notes at the foot of the page are supplemented by

¹⁸ *Lettre d'Aristée à Philocrate*. Introduction, critical text, translation, and notes by André Pelletier, S.J. *Sources chrétiennes* 89. Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1962. Pp. 324.

twelve pages of "critical notes." A splendid feature of this volume is a complete index of Greek words which takes up fifty-nine pages.

For Didymus the Blind (313–98), the hazards of World War II were the springboard for a new life. A prolific author, his remains have been relatively meager, in large part because this splendid theologian of the Trinity was associated, from Jerome to Constantinople II (553), with Origen. The lacunae have been filling up since the sixteenth century, but ever so slowly. Hence the amazed delight of patristic scholars at the unexpected discovery of a Didymus library at Toura in Egypt. In August, 1941, Egyptian workers clearing a quarry south of Cairo came upon a heap of papyri which has given us, among others, Origen's *Dialektos* (cf. *TS* 11 [1950] 368–73) and more of Didymus than the previous fifteen centuries had transmitted: his commentaries on Zechariah, Genesis, and Job; perhaps even his commentaries on Ecclesiastes and Pss 20–44. It is the Commentary on Zechariah that is introduced, edited, and translated by Louis Doutreleau in three volumes of *Sources chrétiennes*.¹⁹

Though the papyrus that contains the Commentary on Zechariah does not bear Didymus' name, its authenticity is not in doubt. In his splendid Introduction (Vol. 1, 13–186), Doutreleau summarizes Didymus' life and work, then concentrates on the Commentary. He discusses its date (387) and structure, its patristic precursors (indebted to Origen, but not slavishly; owes nothing to Hippolytus, Ephraem, and Theodore of Mopsuestia) and successors (no evidence that Cyril of Alexandria is dependent on Didymus' Commentary; some significant resemblances to Theodoret). Doutreleau is convinced that Didymus' Commentary surpasses the others in variety and richness. They are perhaps better exegetes, but they have not utilized as did Didymus the resources of human erudition and deployed them in interesting digressions. Didymus throws little light on Zechariah, but he is rich in theological, historical, and spiritual information and insight.

Doutreleau goes on to discuss the conditions of composition (a genuine commentary, not homilies or scholia; a course of lectures, but not completely elaborated before an audience); Didymus' textual approach (his text a copy of the LXX, but not identical with any of the great LXX manuscripts; not much of a textual critic; influenced by Origen; did not know Hebrew); the literal interpretation of Scripture (for Didymus, obligatory, but not the important scriptural sense, insufficient, leading at times to the impossible, the improbable, or the absurd); the spiritual interpretation (the true explana-

¹⁹ *Didyme l'Aveugle, Sur Zacharie: Texte inédit d'après un papyrus de Toura*. Introduction, critical text, translation, and notes by Louis Doutreleau, S.J. 3 vols. *Sources chrétiennes* 83–85. Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1962. Pp. 1208.

tion, anagogy, reached by allegory, i.e., by dissolving the figures to find the hidden realities; his favorite themes or symbols are light, joy, fertility, paternity, difference between men and women); doctrinal aspects (God, Trinity, Incarnation, Virgin, Church, angels and demons); heresiology (heresy is his *bête noire*: Arianism, Macedonianism, Apollinarism, Ebionitism, Docetism, Manicheism, Valentinianism, Sabellianism, *et al.*); moral aspects (more exegete and catechist than moralist; influence of Stoicism more marked than any other philosophy, but partial, adapted, unsystematic, more verbal than real; virtue is the happy mean, its term the peace of the Spirit in the serenity of the soul; superiority of contemplation to action); sciences at his service (broad use of patristic literature; grammar and etymology; numerology; natural history); citations of his own works (four new titles; removes doubts on existence of three commentaries). Moreover, Doutreleau finds in the Toura discoveries more precise evidence of his thesis that the *De trinitate* is not a work of Didymus (cf. *Recherches de science religieuse* 45 [1957] 514–57).

Doutreleau shows how the strict dependence of Jerome in his Commentary on Zechariah twenty years later establishes the authenticity of the Toura Commentary. Jerome even adopts his "master's" allegorism, while his originality reveals itself in his attachment to the *hebraica veritas*. Paradoxically, it is through Jerome that an anonymous Didymus became, in the Western commentators who pillaged Jerome, one of the masters of medieval allegorism; he even has his unrecognized place in the nineteenth-century commentary of Knabenbauer, with the important place it gives to Jerome.

The Introduction ends with a description of the papyrus of Didymus' Commentary and pertinent paleographic observations, a justification of the principles Doutreleau has adopted to establish the text, and some remarks on the grammar and style of the Commentary. The notes which accompany the text and French translation are commonly brief but helpful towards an understanding of difficult or significant passages. Extraordinarily useful are the indexes: scriptural (twenty pages), proper names (nine pages), Greek words, especially those relevant for morality, spirituality, and theology (eighty-four pages).

These three volumes are an exceptional monument of patristic scholarship.

TEXTE DER KIRCHENVÄTER

A projected four-volume anthology, *Texte der Kirchenväter: Eine Auswahl nach Themen geordnet* (i.e., patristic texts selected thematically), has set itself a twofold task. First, it tries to meet the contemporary interest in the

Fathers through an extensive presentation of patristic texts in German; for the editors are convinced that, whether the interest that has been awakened has to do with the significance of the Fathers for ancient or biblical thought or for the transmission of the apostolic faith, the Fathers themselves must speak to the reader if the result is to be properly educative. Second, in its systematic structure this edition is expected to be a tool in the hands of those for whom a knowledge of the Fathers is useful in their professional capacities: theologians, preachers, and teachers of religion primarily, but also philosophers, philologists, and historians. When the four volumes are complete, there will be over two thousand selections, arranged along the customary lines of the treatises in theology. An additional volume of indexes will add an introduction to the world of the Fathers and to the literary form of their writings; this volume will be the work of Heinrich Kraft of Kiel, whose patristic competence has been made available to the editor in the four volumes of texts.

Volume 1, edited by Alfons Heilmann with the co-operation of Kraft,²⁰ divides its material into four principal themes: (1) God, (2) creation, (3) man, (4) temptation, sin, and evil. Each of these themes is itself subdivided. Under *God* we have texts on the knowledge of God, speech about God, His attributes, and the Trinity. Under *creation* we have texts on the Creator, creation, vindication of creation, the beauty of nature, providence, and the angels. Under *man* there are texts on man's creation, on Paradise and the Fall, on man's imaging of God and the totality of man's being, on the value of the soul, on soul and body, on the body with its members and capacities, on care of soul and body. Under *temptation, sin, and evil* are texts on temptation and appetites, on the cardinal and radical sins, on the origin and purpose of evil, on knowledge and evaluation of evil, and on sin's consequences. The passages in each section are selected in such fashion and printed in such order that each problem is illustrated according to the many facets that make it to be what it is.

In all, there are 376 passages in this first volume, averaging less than two pages a passage: thirty-eight authors and the *Apostolic Constitutions*. More than one fourth of the passages, 99 in all, come from Augustine; 68 stem from Chrysostom. It is disappointing to see not a single text from Cyril of Alexandria—e.g., on creation, on the make-up of man, on the image of God in man—though almost certainly Cyril will figure largely in the Christological section to come. The section on the divine image in man is weak in its selections, especially since so many fine monographs have come

²⁰ *Texte der Kirchenväter: Eine Auswahl nach Themen geordnet* 1. Edited by Alfons Heilmann with the co-operation of Heinrich Kraft. Munich: Kösel, 1963. Pp. 663.

out in the recent past on this theological problem, e.g., in Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Athanasius, Gregory of Nyssa, and Cyril of Alexandria; possibly this aspect of patristic thought will be scattered through other themes.

The idea behind this anthology is splendidly contemporary; the organization is admirable; the selection is, on the whole, competent. A similar work in English is highly desirable.

TESTIMONIA

A new series of texts and German translations, *Testimonia: Schriften der altchristlichen Zeit*, edited by Eduard Stommel (now deceased) and Alfred Stuiber in conjunction with Theodor Klauser, has for its purpose to make accessible to the contemporary mind texts of early Christianity down to the end of Christian Antiquity. It aims to do this in more penetrating fashion than has been customary in most of the German versions of the past. These latter presentations (e.g., *Bibliothek der Kirchenväter*) restricted themselves to introduction and translation; *Testimonia* gives Latin and Greek originals, as well as running commentary—even excursuses where necessary or desirable.

Volume 1 presents Augustine's *Enchiridion on Faith, Hope, and Love*.²¹ This work, which has found four English translations in the recent past (Louis A. Arand, in *Ancient Christian Writers* 3 [Westminster, Md., 1947]; Bernard M. Peebles, in *The Fathers of the Church* 2 [New York, 1947]; E. Evans [London, 1953]; A. C. Outler [London, 1955]), is a manual whose purpose was to touch briefly on the principal points of the Christian faith. In his *Retractationes* (2, 63) Augustine says: "In this work I have, I think, given a sufficiently thorough survey of the true worship which we must give to God. That this constitutes true wisdom in man is established by divine Scripture." Joseph Barbel's Introduction deals briefly with the book's occasion and recipient (Laurentius), the title, the year of composition (either 421 or 423–24), the contents (hope and love briefly; mainly the content of faith, as expressed in the Creed of Hippo), a critique (e.g., Augustine's profound theological discretion and his fine regard for mystery), editions, translations, and significant books and articles. The Latin text is the Maurist edition, without critical apparatus. The translation was made independently of existing German versions, though these were consulted afterwards and found helpful. An effort was made to stay as close as possible to Augustine's

²¹ *Aurelius Augustinus, Enchiridion de fide, spe et caritate: Handbüchlein über Glaube, Hoffnung und Liebe.* Edited by Joseph Barbel. *Testimonia: Schriften der altchristlichen Zeit* 1. Düsseldorf: Patmos-Verlag, 1960. Pp. 255.

text. The commentary (at the foot of the page) is, in many instances, quite detailed; references are given to the more recent literature; at times the development of Augustine's doctrine is indicated. Sixteen extensive excursuses cover forty pages: on the problems of evil, original sin, necessity of grace, Incarnation, the *Letter to Volusianus*, Trinity, soteriology, Pelagianism, forgiveness of sins, the "merciful" Christians, 1 Cor 3:10-15, marriage, resurrection, predestination, the first man, and hell. Finally, the works of Augustine are listed; each is dated according to the *Bibliothèque augustinienne* 1, 107-11, Marrou, and Sciacca; each work is located in the Maurist, Migne, and CSEL editions, with individual editions mentioned in footnotes; German translations of each work are noted.

It is remarkable how much pertinent erudition Barbel has compressed into this small volume. It is a splendid introduction, not only to the *Enchiridion*, but to Augustine's theology at large.

Volume 2 gives us Novatian's fine work *On the Trinity*.²² In his Introduction, Hans Weyer tries to reconstruct Novatian's life (the information we have is sparse, because of his defection from the Church, and stems almost entirely from his enemies—and from the heat of conflict or from a suspiciously later period), then deals with the book on the Trinity: its author (some have contested Novatian's claim thereto), date of composition (for Weyer, about 240), history of the text's transmission, contents (God the Father and Creator; the Son of the Creator God [against Marcion], true man [against the Docetists] and true God [against the Modalists]; the Holy Spirit; one God), a critical appraisal (the work presents artistically and systematically the achieved results of Western Trinitarian theology, but with small influence on later ages), its language and style, and the text of Scripture Novatian employs (not yet resolved).

Before the present edition, the last critical text of the *De trinitate* was that of W. Yorke Fausset (Cambridge, 1909); but its critical apparatus is incomplete, even at times inexact and marred by mistakes. The present text, the best we have, is based on all available older witnesses to the text (no manuscripts are extant) and notes many of the proposals that have been advanced for textual improvement. This is the first complete German translation (the last English version is by H. Moore [London, 1919]). The commentary, at the foot of the page, is rich in historical, theological, and philosophical information. The book has a scriptural index, as well as an index of theologically important Latin words—both very useful.

²² Novatianus, *De trinitate: Über den dreifaltigen Gott*. Edited by Hans Weyer. *Testimonia: Schriften der alchristlichen Zeit* 2. Düsseldorf: Patmos-Verlag, 1962. Pp. 218.

PHILO

Long discussion and mature consideration have ended in a courageous project: a French translation of the complete corpus of Philo of Alexandria. The work of Philo, massive in sheer volume (about two thousand pages of Greek), is of first-rate importance for the history of religious ideas, of Diaspora Judaism, of the Alexandrian literary tradition, of Greek philosophy, of ancient Christianity, and of the theological and exegetical writings of the principal Latin and Greek Fathers.

The two great modern translations of Philo are the English by F. H. Colson, G. H. Whitaker, and R. Marcus (London and New York, 1929-53), and the German by L. Cohn and I. Heinemann (Breslau, 1909-29). This is the first French translation of the corpus. The series is entitled *Les œuvres de Philon d'Alexandrie*; it is published under the patronage of the University of Lyon, by Editions du Cerf in Paris; the directors are Roger Arnaldez, Jean Pouilloux (both professors at Lyon), and Claude Mondésert, well-known indefatigable director of the *Sources chrétiennes* series; the corps of collaborators is comprised of experts in Hellenic thought, Judaism, philosophy, theology, history, etc.

Several serious problems had to be surmounted. The first was the task of assuring the unity of the translation despite the number of collaborators. This difficulty was surmounted by setting up a revision committee and completing their work by making use of specialists in the history of ancient Judaism; the results are transmitted to each translator for his consideration.

The second problem was the interpretation of a certain number of terms which belong more or less to the vocabulary of Greek philosophy. (After the last treatise has been completed, a limited lexicon will record Philo's religious and philosophical terms.) The editors have opted for a translation into a simple and common vocabulary; for Philo was not a philosopher by profession. Penetrated with Greek culture, he wanted to write for a wide public; and so the editors have decided that it would be a mistake to make Philo speak a pedantic jargon or even a technical language.

The Greek text which accompanies the translation reproduces the critical edition of L. Cohn, P. Wendland, and J. Reiter (Berlin, 1896-1930), but not slavishly. Variant readings have been at times preferred, stemming from the Cohn-Wendland critical apparatus, from older editions (especially Mangey), and from changes proposed by some translators (especially Colson). The notes are not a complete commentary; such a commentary is still a work of the distant future. These notes, rather brief, identify citations and allusions, indicate relationships between different treatises, clarify difficult

passages, and draw attention to significant aspects of Philo's complex and even complicated or subtle thought.

How many volumes will be required is not clear. A listing of the treatises in Volume 1 leaves the impression that there will be thirty-five volumes; but this impression is already destroyed by the appearance of four of these treatises in two volumes (7-8 and 11-12). Thus far the following volumes have appeared: 1, *De opificio mundi*,²³ 2, *Legum allegoriae* 1-3,²⁴ 7-8, *De gigantibus*, *Quod Deus sit immutabilis*,²⁵ 9, *De agricultura*,²⁶ 10, *De plantatione*,²⁷ 11-12, *De ebrietate*, *De sobrietate*,²⁸ 19, *De somniis* 1-2;²⁹ 26, *De virtutibus*;³⁰ 27, *De praemiis et poenis*, *De execrationibus*.³¹

The first volume in the series has a splendid General Introduction (pp. 17-112) by Roger Arnaldez. Its purpose is orientation, by examining the main interpretations that have been formed of Philo. It is uncommonly good background material for the individual introductions to each volume. Arnaldez examines (1) if, and to what extent, there is a relationship between Philo's works on the exegesis of the Mosaic laws and the social and political life of the Jews in Alexandria; (2) if, and to what degree, there is a relationship between Philo's religious, moral, and philosophical ideas and Alexandrian Judaism; (3) whether Philo is Greek or Jewish in his formation, in his method, in his ideas and their expression; (4) new viewpoints on Philo's thought. These problems are presented by surveying the main interpretations offered by Philonian scholars in each instance, interspersed with valuable critical remarks by Arnaldez. Here scores of scholars come in for consideration, with special emphasis and space allotted to men like Bréhier,

²³ *De opificio mundi*. Introduction, translation, and notes by R. Arnaldez. Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1961. Pp. 257.

²⁴ *Legum allegoriae* 1-3. Introduction, translation, and notes by Claude Mondésert, S.J. Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1962. Pp. 317.

²⁵ *De gigantibus*, *Quod Deus sit immutabilis*. Introduction, translation, and notes by A. Mosès. Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1963. Pp. 151.

²⁶ *De agricultura*. Introduction, translation, and notes by Jean Pouilloux. Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1961. Pp. 99.

²⁷ *De plantatione*. Introduction, translation, and notes by Jean Pouilloux. Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1963. Pp. 107.

²⁸ *De ebrietate*, *De sobrietate*. Introduction, translation, and notes by Jean Gorez. Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1962. Pp. 159.

²⁹ *De somniis* 1-2. Introduction, translation, and notes by Pierre Savinel. Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1962. Pp. 243.

³⁰ *De virtutibus*. Introduction and notes by R. Arnaldez; translation by P. Delobre, M.-R. Servel, and A.-M. Verilhac. Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1962. Pp. 159.

³¹ *De praemiis et poenis*, *De execrationibus*. Introduction, translation, and notes by A. Beckaert, A.A. Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1961. Pp. 127.

Heinemann, Goodenough, Leisegang, Wolfson, Lagrange, Billings, Stein, Neumark, and Völker. One final observation: each individual volume would be significantly improved by an *index rerum*.

PATRISTIC GREEK LEXICON

For all too long the patristic scholar has been chained to lexica which, apart from Suicer's *Thesaurus ecclesiasticus e patribus graecis ordine alphabeticō* (2 vols., Amsterdam, 1682; 2nd ed., 1728), are not professedly patristic. Particularly frustrating—because the urgency is so evident and the promise so rich—has been our restless waiting for the oft-announced Lexicon of Patristic Greek, first suggested in 1906 and consistently slowed by financial and professional problems (cf. *TS* 11 [1950] 265–68; 17 [1956] 92). But in 1961 the first of five fascicles appeared, under the title *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*; it covers *a—barathroō*.³²

Of significance to scholar and student is *PGL*'s twin purpose. Its primary object is “to interpret the theological and ecclesiastical vocabulary of the Greek Christian authors from Clement of Rome to Theodore of Studium” (p. vii), i.e., from the last years of the first century to the early years of the ninth. The termini are not absolutely rigid, but they do reveal *PGL*'s objective: to limit the *Lexicon* “to the formative period of the history of Christian thought and institutions” (*ibid.*). All words illustrating this history, this development, e.g., *physis*, *episkopos*, *prosōpon*, *apostolos*, *euchē*, are treated as fully as possible, with extensive citations of the more important relevant passages. Many common words, of no theological importance in themselves, e.g., *hippos*, *pous*, *potamos*, are included because they occur in typological or allegorical interpretations of biblical texts and so may serve to illustrate patristic methods of biblical exegesis.

The Preface confesses that the *PGL* methodology has a marked disadvantage: the history of the use of words (lexicography proper) must be combined with the history of theological ideas, liturgy, institutions, canon law, etc. But the method was deliberately adopted to make the project feasible. The ideal would seem to be two distinct works: a lexicon of Greek Christian language and a multivolumed encyclopedia of patristic theology; but this ideal is not yet realizable. *PGL*, therefore, is not a thesaurus of patristic language or a concordance to the Greek Fathers. The reader will not “find every instance of the use by a particular author of an important theological term, or information about the use in patristic exegesis of every important scriptural text. All that can here be offered is samples of patristic thought

³² *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*. Edited by G. W. H. Lampe. Fascicle 1: *a—barathroō*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961.

and specimens of the way in which biblical words and phrases were interpreted in the homilies and commentaries of the period" (p. viii).

A secondary object of the *Lexicon* is to provide information about all words, even if theologically unimportant, which are used by the patristic authors but are not included in Liddell-Scott-Jones. Words poorly attested in LSJ or used by the Fathers with different meanings or with differences of grammatical usage are also listed, whether or not they are relevant to patristic theology. In this connection the Preface (p. ix) has the following paragraph in boldface:

The relation of this work to Liddell Scott-Jones demands special attention. No word which is well attested in the latter and has no particular interest for the reader of the Fathers is included in this book. The absence of a word must on no account be understood as an indication that it is not used by the patristic authors. In order, too, to make more space available for articles of major interest, the common meanings of any word, already noted by Liddell Scott-Jones, are not repeated here unless they are of significance for patristic study. Thus a common word to which Liddell Scott-Jones devote a long article may appear in this Lexicon with only one, and that an unusual, meaning. It must again on no account be supposed that the ordinary senses of such a word are absent from these authors and have been replaced by another. In all such articles the corresponding entry in Liddell and Scott is, as it were, taken as read and this Lexicon merely adds certain new information to it. The user of this work is, in fact, assumed to have Liddell and Scott by its side.

Time and space have excluded other pertinent items: the scriptural antecedents of biblical words used by the Fathers; the contributions of contemporary pagan authors, especially in philosophy, to the study of Christian thought; Philo; and, for the most part, those writings of the Greek Christian authors which survive only in non-Greek languages.

In brief, *PGL* proposes (1) to analyze and illustrate the language of Christian theology and institutions in their formative period, and (2) to remedy the inadequate treatment of the everyday vocabulary of the Greek Fathers in other lexica.

The first fascicle realizes this twin program splendidly. In harmony with the primary purpose, *aggelos*, e.g., is shown to reveal two main meanings. First, it means "messenger" and is applied to prophets, to Christ, and to the symptom or waning of a disease. Second, it means "angel," and here in impressive detail we are brought face to face with the definitions and properties of an angel, the creation of angels, their nature, their number, their hierarchy, their state, the fallen angels, the ministry of angels, patristic exegesis of scriptural texts, the cult of angels, unorthodox applications of the

term to Christ, Gnostic angelology, the Holy Spirit as an angel, the theory that men can turn into angels, the ascetic life as a "life of angels," and its metaphorical application to Christians in general. In line with the secondary purpose, the uses, e.g., of *aplerophorētos* (unsatisfied, lacking in confidence, uncertain), absent from LSJ, are illustrated.

In this first fascicle some of the more significant articles for the theologian and exegete are listed under the following key words (add to many their cognates): *agapē, aggelos, agenētos, agennētos, hagios, Adam, hadēs, adiairetos, athanasia, haima, akēdia, alētheia, allēgoria, hamartia, anagennēsis, anagōgē, analēpsis, anapausis, anastasis, anthrōpos, anomoiοs, antitypos, antichristos, anypostatos, apatheia, aparallaktos, apostolos, apotassō, harpagmos, archē, archiereus, askēsis, asyγchytos, asōmatos, atreptos, authentia, autexousios, aphtharsia, and baptisma.*

Few experts will doubt that *PGL* is a landmark in patristic scholarship. Criticism will come on two levels: on the general program and on specific details. On the general program, rare is the patrologist who will preserve his equanimity while oscillating between *PGL* and LSJ. More importantly, the lexicographer will have reason for complaint: he cannot be sure that the common, ordinary, nontheological meaning of a word already noted by LSJ has penetrated into Christian literature. "It must . . . on no account be supposed that the ordinary senses of such a word are absent from these authors and have been replaced by another." One example: *apomassō* (-*ttō*) is attested by LSJ; it means "wipe off" and "take an impression of"—in this latter sense, the middle means "copy, imitate." *PGL*'s omission of the word is ambiguous: we cannot conclude that the Fathers do not use it, nor can we say they do. In point of fact, Athanasius uses the word in both senses, and Origen, in a text important for image theology, declares that "the saints, being image of an image (for the Image is the Son), express (*apomattonτai*: represent in themselves) sonship" (*De oratione* 22, 4). The omission is deliberate, and justified by a greater good: it makes room for what is theologically significant. But the lacunae are there; nor (as in the example just given) is it always true that the omission does not touch the theological.

A second level of criticism, quite inevitable in so vast an enterprise, will concern details. Here scholars will help towards a second edition by observations in the areas of their special competence. Daniélou has already pointed out (cf. *Rech. de science religieuse* 49 [1961] 565) that fascicle 1 does not take account of the Psalm commentaries of Asterius the Sophist published by M. Richard in 1956: about thirty words beginning with *a* should have found a place in *PGL*. I would suggest that under *anthrōpos* Cyril of Alexandria's

definitions and bipartite division of man might profitably be included, if only because Cyril is so insistent, so rich, in this area. Better use, too, could be made of Cyril's explanations of the scriptural *hagiazēin* in *In Ioannem* 7, *fragmenta* (Pusey 2, 259–60), and *De sancta et consubstantiali trinitate dial.* 6 (PG 75, 1004–1005); cf. my *The Image of God in Man according to Cyril of Alexandria* (Woodstock, Md., 1957) pp. 67 ff. Nor does the article *aphtharsia* sufficiently exploit the nuances of Cyril's thought (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 84–101). Further, the verb *archein* and the noun *archē* are used of man's sovereignty, as God's image, especially over irrational creation—a common patristic, particularly Antiochene, exegesis of Gn 1:26. And even though the idea of sovereignty and dominion in *archikos* is attested in LSJ, there is no reason for omitting it altogether from *PGL*, when it is so important in the image-tradition.

No serious student of the Greek Fathers can do without *PGL*. As Edouard des Places has remarked (cf. *Biblica* 43 [1962] 526), theologians will profit from it; it enriches the history of exegesis; and it will help in the study of the LXX.

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