

## CURRENT THEOLOGY

### THE LITERATURE ON ORIGEN 1970-1988

HENRI CROUZEL, S.J.

*Toulouse*

In an article published in *Bilan de la théologie au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle*<sup>1</sup> about patristic studies in our century, I sketched an example of the various currents of the literature concerning Origen in the earlier part of our century. I distinguished two opposed conceptions. The first considers the Alexandrian Father to be a Greek philosopher more than a Christian and finds in him a system more conformable to later Origenism or to the Origenism supposed by Origen's opponents in the fourth and sixth centuries than to that which emerges from a complete study of his work. With its continual tensions, his thought is indeed much more supple than the system which this first group draws from his books. We must add that, after Antoine Guillaumont's book on Evagrius Ponticus' *Kephalaia gnostica* and the history of Origenism in Greek and Syriac areas,<sup>2</sup> it is not possible to confound late Origenism with the thought of Origen himself, as Koetschau did in his edition of the *Peri archōn*.

A second group, following the discovery of Origen's spirituality by Walther Völker in 1931<sup>3</sup> and of the meaning of his exegesis by Henri de Lubac in 1950,<sup>4</sup> takes into consideration not only his speculations but also the whole man with the three principal aspects of his personality as exegete, spiritual master, and speculative theologian. The aim of this second group is not to reduce Origen's thought to a system and thus put aside half of his sayings, even in the *Peri archōn*, but to respect the continual antitheses of his doctrine and his purpose. This purpose, as expressed in the preface of *Peri archōn*, is to offer a theology in research, not a complete system, which would be, moreover, inconceivable for a theologian, since God cannot be known adequately and supply the elements of a system.

A little book of Ulrich Berner published in 1981 in the collection *Erträge der Forschung*<sup>5</sup> develops my short sketch and distinguishes a

<sup>1</sup> Ed. R. Vander Gucht and H. Vorgrimmler, 2 (Tournai-Paris: Castermann, 1971) 661-83; the book was published also in German, Italian, and Spanish.

<sup>2</sup> *Les Kephalaia gnostica d'Evagre le Pontique et l'histoire de l'origénisme chez les grecs et les syriens* (Paris: Seuil, 1962).

<sup>3</sup> *Das Vollkommenheitsideal des Origenes* (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1931).

<sup>4</sup> *Histoire et esprit* (Paris: Aubier, 1950).

<sup>5</sup> *Origenes* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1981).

“systematic” interpretation of Origen from a “nonsystematic” or “mystical” one. He characterizes exactly enough the authors who correspond in different degrees to each of these categories and suggests in conclusion, following Henri de Lubac, that scholars must take care above all to “consider Origen at his work” (*Origenes bei der Arbeit beobachten*).<sup>6</sup> This expression means that, instead of starting from a more or less preconceived general concept, the historian must be content to write monographs that examine the whole of Origen’s work from a limited point of view. It seems clear that only in this way can the author’s knowledge improve and the oppositions manifested in the interpretations of Origen disappear.

The main reproach that may be made against Berner’s book is that it neglects a great part of the literature published during the decade 1970–80. That follows, however, from the proposal made in his conclusion to consider chiefly monographs on particular points which do not proceed from a predetermined view of Origen. Thus the numerical proportion of the systematic works to the nonsystematic reflected in this book is not exact, because the greater number of works published in this period are to be ranged among the nonsystematic. After the publication of my *Bibliographie critique d’Origène* in 1971,<sup>7</sup> of a first supplement in 1982,<sup>8</sup> and with the preparation of a second supplement for the 90s, I shall try to give some idea of the books published during the last 18 years. I should add that each year I offer in the *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique*, edited by the Theological Faculty of Toulouse, an Origen chronicle that contains a review of all books that are sent to me for this purpose by authors and editors.

## I

I begin with the publications of the various conferences. In addition to the wide-ranging patristic conference that takes place every four years in Oxford, there are other conferences every four years that are concerned only with Origen. The first was assembled in September 1973 in the Benedictine Abbey of Montserrat in Spanish Catalonia, the second in September 1977 in Bari, Puglia (Italy), the third in September 1981 in Manchester (Great Britain), and the fourth in September 1985 in Innsbruck (Austria). The papers of these latter conferences have been published under the titles *Origeniana*,<sup>9</sup> *Origeniana secunda*,<sup>10</sup> *Origeniana*

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 99, citing de Lubac, *Histoire* 36.

<sup>7</sup> Steenbrugge: *Abbatia Sancti Petri*, and The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1971.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. Supplement 1 (1982).

<sup>9</sup> Bari: Istituto di Letteratura Cristiana Antica, 1975.

<sup>10</sup> Rome: Edizioni dell’Ateneo, 1980.

*tertia*,<sup>11</sup> and *Origeniana quarta*.<sup>12</sup> The fifth conference is planned for the United States (Boston) in 1989. These colloquies give an opportunity for papers and debates which contribute to a comparison of different opinions. Serious work is accomplished despite the five languages spoken by the participants. To overcome the language difficulty, every participant is provided with the text of each paper in its original language during its reading by the author. It is indeed easier to read a foreign language than to listen to it, and in technical matters a simultaneous translation is too difficult and too imprecise to allow for good work. To commemorate the 18th centennial of Origen's birth, another conference took place in May 1985 at the Patristic Institute Augustinianum in Rome. It was not concerned precisely with Origen but with later Origenism, and its papers were published in the review *Augustinianum*.<sup>13</sup> A third conference, on the same occasion, was held in April 1986 at the University of Notre Dame (Indiana): we are awaiting the publication of its acta.

## II

Let me speak now of the new editions and translations of Origen's works. In English for the period under consideration I know only of the translations of the *Homilies on Genesis and Exodus* by Ronald Heine<sup>14</sup> and two collections of translated selected pieces: an English translation of Hans Urs von Balthasar's *Geist und Feuer* under the title *Spirit and Fire* by Robert J. Daly<sup>15</sup> and a book by Rowan A. Greer containing passages of *Exhortation to Martyrdom*, *On Prayer*, *First Principles*, the *Commentary on the Song of Songs*, and *Homily 27 on Numbers*.<sup>16</sup>

In French the collection *Sources chrétiennes*, which offers critical editions that are sometimes new and translations, contains now more than 30 works of Origen, who is the author best represented. The publication of the *Contra Celsum* by Marcel Borret was concluded with a fourth volume of text and, subsequently, a fifth of general introduction and indices.<sup>17</sup> This introduction is an important study of Celsus' *True Discourse* and of Origen's response. Borret's task of translation did not stop with that. He published afterwards the *Homilies on Leviticus*<sup>18</sup> and then the critical text and a new translation of the *Homilies on Exodus*<sup>19</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1985.

<sup>12</sup> Innsbruck-Vienna: Tyrolia, 1987.

<sup>13</sup> 26/1-2, 1986, 312 pages (Rome: Institutum Patristicum "Augustinianum").

<sup>14</sup> Washington, D.C.: Catholic Univ. of America, 1982.

<sup>15</sup> Washington, D.C.: Catholic Univ. of America, 1984.

<sup>16</sup> New York: Paulist, 1979.

<sup>17</sup> Volume 4: Books 7-8, SC 150 (Paris: Cerf, 1969); Vol 5: SC 227 (1976).

<sup>18</sup> SC 286-87 (1981).

<sup>19</sup> SC 321 (1985).

to take the place of a first translation edited without the Latin text in the beginnings of the collection. Cécile Blanc goes on with her edition and translation of the *Commentary on John*, Vols. 2–4.<sup>20</sup> To complete her work, she has still to publish a fifth volume corresponding to Books 28 to 32, and likely a sixth for general introduction and indices. Robert Girod began, with Books 10 and 11, the publication of the *Commentary on Matthew*.<sup>21</sup> A new translation of the *Homilies on Genesis*, with the critical text that was lacking the first time, was given by Louis Doutreleau.<sup>22</sup> The *Homilies on Jeremiah*, the only ones along with the homily on Saul's visit to the necromancer of Endor that remain in Greek, have been the subject of an important work by Pierre Husson and Pierre Nautin, with a general study of Origen's preaching in the preface.<sup>23</sup> Pierre Nautin, with Marie-Thérèse Nautin, recently added a little book containing the two homilies we have on the Book of Samuel: a Latin one, which was probably translated by Rufinus, about Samuel's birth, and the Greek one on Saul and the necromancer just mentioned.<sup>24</sup> The *Philocalia of Origen* was published in two books, but without the texts that are taken from the *Contra Celsum* and the *Peri archōn*, which are present in the edition of these books. Eric Junod edited the last chapters that treat of free will (21–27),<sup>25</sup> and Marguerite Harl the first chapters on the exegesis of Scripture (1–20) with important introductions to each chapter.<sup>26</sup> In the same volume with Harl, Nicholas de Lange edited the correspondence between Julius Africanus and Origen on the authenticity and canonicity of the Greek parts of the Book of Daniel. With the collaboration of Manlio Simonetti, I published the text and translation of the *Peri archōn* in five books: two of text and translation, two of commentary, and one of further details and indices.<sup>27</sup> Other publications in the same collection are related to Origen. I published Gregory Thaumaturgos' *Discourse of Thanks to Origen* together with Origen's *Letter to Gregory*.<sup>28</sup> I must cite also the edition with translation, by Marguerite Harl and Gilles Dorival, of the Palestinian Catena on Psalm 118,<sup>29</sup> many fragments of which are attributed to Origen either by the catenists or by the present editors, and others of which belong to Origen's disciples such

<sup>20</sup> Books 6–10, SC 157 (1970); Book 13, SC 222 (1975); Books 19–20, SC 290 (1982).

<sup>21</sup> SC 162 (1970).

<sup>22</sup> SC 7 bis (1976).

<sup>23</sup> SC 232 and 238 (1976 and 1977).

<sup>24</sup> SC 328 (1986).

<sup>25</sup> SC 226 (1976).

<sup>26</sup> SC 302 (1983).

<sup>27</sup> SC 252–253 (1978); SC 268–269 (1980); SC 312 (1984).

<sup>28</sup> SC 148 (1969).

<sup>29</sup> SC 189–190 (1972).

as Eusebius or Didymus. This edition is related to attempts by authors like Marie-Josèphe Rondeau and Msgr. R. Devreesse to restore the primitive Commentaries on the Psalms, which also give great space to fragments of Origen.<sup>30</sup> An important work of the first Origenist controversy, Jerome's *Contra Rufinum*, was also published in *Sources chrétiennes* by Pierre Lardet.<sup>31</sup>

Outside this collection I must point out another French translation of the *Peri archōn* by Marguerite Harl, Gilles Dorival, and Alain le Bouluec,<sup>32</sup> which was published two years prior to the *Sources chrétiennes* edition and is furnished with an appendix containing the documents of the following Origenist crises. This great dogmatic and speculative work, source of our theologian's posthumous misfortunes, was the subject of many articles, especially in *Origeniana* and *Origeniana secunda*. After many attempts, Harl discovered in a satisfactory manner its internal structure. I tried myself to determine Origen's aims in composing this book and the motive for the misunderstandings in the following centuries.<sup>33</sup> Octave Guéraud and Pierre Nautin published in 1979 the most recently edited of Origen's writings found at Toura, accompanied by a substantial introduction. This was the badly mutilated *Peri pascha*,<sup>34</sup> for the edition of which much intelligence and patience were necessary. A translation of the *On Prayer* by Adalbert Hamman appeared in the collection *Nos pères dans la foi*.

There are many translations of Origen's writings in Italian, generally without the original text. Although they are habitually the work of good scholars and are precise and correct, they are not intended for the use of scholars but for the cultivated public. I can cite translations of the *Homilies on Luke* (Salvatore Aliquò and Carmelo Failla),<sup>35</sup> *Dialogue with Heraclides* (Giobbe Gentili),<sup>36</sup> *Commentary on the Song of Songs* (Manlio Simonetti),<sup>37</sup> *Homilies on Genesis and on Exodus* twice translated and edited (Giobbe Gentili, Maria Ignazia Danieli),<sup>38</sup> *Contra Celsum* (Aristide Colonna),<sup>39</sup> *Exhortation to Martyrdom* and *Homilies on the Song of Songs* (Normando Antoniono),<sup>40</sup> another translation of *Exhortation to Martyr-*

<sup>30</sup> *Les anciens commentateurs grecs des Psaumes* (Vatican City: Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, 1970).

<sup>31</sup> SC 303 (1983).

<sup>32</sup> Paris: Etudes Augustiniennes, 1976.

<sup>33</sup> *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique* 76 (1975) 161-86.

<sup>34</sup> *Origène 2: Sur la Pâque* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1979).

<sup>35</sup> Rome: Città Nuova, 1969.

<sup>36</sup> Alba: Edizioni Paoline, 1971.

<sup>37</sup> Rome: Città Nuova, 1976.

<sup>38</sup> Rome: Edizioni Paoline, 1976; Rome: Città Nuova, 1978; *ibid.* 1981.

<sup>39</sup> Turin: UTET, 1971.

<sup>40</sup> Milan: Rusconi, 1985.

dom (Celestino Noce),<sup>41</sup> the *Commentary on Romans* (Francesca Cocchini),<sup>42</sup> *Homilies on Leviticus* (Maria Ignazia Danieli),<sup>43</sup> *Homilies on Ezechiel* (Normando Antoniono),<sup>44</sup> and Gregory Thaumaturgos' *Discourse of Thanks* (Eugenio Marotta).<sup>45</sup> Manlio Simonetti also published for students a collection of passages from *Peri archōn*, *Contra Celsum*, *Commentaries*, and *Homilies*, with Greek or Latin texts and Italian translations,<sup>46</sup> arranged according to the different points of Origen's theology.

In German there is a new edition, the first since Koetschau's, with German translation, of the *Peri archōn* by Herwig Görgemanns and Heinrich Karpp.<sup>47</sup> Edgar Früchtel gave a German translation of the *Dialogue with Heraclides* joined to the *Exhortation to Martyrdom*.<sup>48</sup> In the same collection, *Bibliothek der griechischen Literatur*, Erwin Schadel edited the *Homilies on Jeremiah*<sup>49</sup> and Hermann J. Vogt presented the beginning of a translation of the *Commentary on Matthew*.<sup>50</sup> Wolfgang Bienert offered a translation of the surviving fragments of Dionysius of Alexandria<sup>51</sup> and broached the problem of whether Dionysius is to be considered a pupil or an adversary of Origen. I shall return to this question with another of Bienert's books.

A bold Polish team (Stanislaw Kalinkowski, Wincenty Myszor, Emil Stanula) began the translation in their language of many of Origen's works. To date they have published, to my knowledge, *Peri archōn*, *Contra Celsum*, *Homilies on the Song of Songs*, *Exhortation to Martyrdom*, *Commentary on John*, and the *Philocalia*; also some others, I believe. A young Japanese Franciscan, Takeshi Odaka, who was my student in Rome, translated and published in Japanese *Peri archōn*, *Commentary on John*, *Dialogue with Heraclides*, *On Prayer*, *Exhortation to Martyrdom*, and a general study on Origen.

### III

Before turning to recent studies on Origen, I must indicate two important reference books that are now at the disposal of Origen scholars. Some years ago the Protestant Theological Faculty of Strasbourg founded

<sup>41</sup> Rome: Pontificia Universitas Urbaniana, 1985.

<sup>42</sup> 2 vols.; Casale Monferrato: Marietti, 1985-86.

<sup>43</sup> Rome: Città Nuova, 1985.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid. 1987.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid. 1983.

<sup>46</sup> Florence: Sansoni, 1975.

<sup>47</sup> Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1976, new edition 1985.

<sup>48</sup> Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1974.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid. 1980.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid. 1983.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid. 1972.

a center of analysis and patristic documentation to bring together with computers all the biblical quotations and allusions of primitive Christian literature and publish them under the title *Biblia patristica*. After a first volume covering the second century and a second on the third century, excluding Origen, there appeared in 1980 a third volume dedicated to Origen alone and containing more biblical references than the other two volumes together.<sup>52</sup> These lists of references will allow precise research on Origen's biblical text and exegesis. The volume gives also a complete list of the works and fragments of Origen, genuine and dubious. For this last point, however, we have since 1983 the first volume of the *Clavis patrum graecorum*, edited by Maurice Geerard, that will guide the publication of the Greek series of the *Corpus christianorum*.<sup>53</sup>

I shall not speak of all the numerous studies on Origen published in the last 18 years; it would be too long to mention (save exceptions) all the articles. I shall list only the books and some articles. I leave aside, however, because of a lack of competency, the literature concerning the *Hexapla*. I say only that, since many fragments have been found in our century, the edition of Frederic Field (1875), anastatically reproduced in 1960, is no longer sufficient and that a new edition is hoped for.

Because I am publishing this article in an American review, I begin with the general study on Origen published in 1983 by Joseph Wilson Trigg.<sup>54</sup> I am hardly satisfied with this book. To write a general study supposes a vast knowledge of the contemporary literature on the topic, which seems to be lacking in the author in question. He continues to attribute to Origen many doctrines which have been treated in precise studies of which he is apparently unaware. His return to the systematic Origen of the beginning of this century and his inability to comprehend the spiritual and allegorical exegete seem anachronistic. I published also a general study<sup>55</sup> for the 18th centennial of Origen's birth: after a presentation of the life, the work, and the man, I presented Origen's thought according to his three principal characteristics: the exegete, the spiritual master, and the speculative theologian. This study was translated into Italian<sup>56</sup> and will be published shortly in English.<sup>57</sup>

Pierre Nautin has published a book on Origen's life, dates, and work.<sup>58</sup> It is a difficult book to use, however, because the critical mind of the

<sup>52</sup> Paris: Editions de Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1980.

<sup>53</sup> Turnhout (Belgium): Brepols, 1983.

<sup>54</sup> *Origen: The Bible and Philosophy in the Third Century Church* (Atlanta: John Knox, 1983).

<sup>55</sup> *Origène* (Paris: Lethielleux, 1985).

<sup>56</sup> *Origene* (Rome: Borla, 1986).

<sup>57</sup> Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, and San Francisco: Harper and Row.

<sup>58</sup> *Origène, sa vie et son oeuvre* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1977).

author does not always avoid the snares of the hypercritic and many times he prefers his own hypotheses to the testimony of historians, above all Eusebius. Since he recognizes the value of these historians, which calls for at least an initial presumption in their favor, it is necessary to have real proofs and not merely hypotheses to oppose them. In an article published in the Roman review *Gregorianum*<sup>59</sup> I discussed one of the opinions presented in this book, namely that Gregory Thaumaturgos, the bishop of Neocaesarea in Pontus, was neither the author of the *Discourse of Thanks*, attributed by Nautin to another unknown disciple of the master, nor the addressee of the *Letter to Gregory*, likewise assigned by Nautin to another of Origen's students. The arguments given rest on unacceptable conceptions of these two writings, and too many testimonies, including Gregory of Nyssa's *Life of Gregory Thaumaturgos*, are passed over in silence.

Vittorio Peri, *scrittore* at the Vatican Library, has taken up a problem of attribution and study of texts. In a book entitled *Omelie origeniane sui Salmi*<sup>60</sup> he presents arguments that I find convincing for attributing to Origen 74 homilies on the Psalms that Dom Morin had attributed to Jerome. According to Peri, Jerome translated the homilies with some adaptations. After this discovery we have 279 homilies of Origen: 21 in Greek, 270 in Latin, and 12 in the two languages. Sandro Leanza published fragments of Origen's exegesis on Ecclesiastes and studied their influence on posterity. Gennaro Lomiento did a stylistic and literary study on the *Dialogue with Heraclides*<sup>61</sup> according to the same method he used earlier for the *Homilies on Luke*.<sup>62</sup>

Among the great works of Origen, the Latin version of the *Commentary on Romans* remains until today the *parent pauvre*, the most neglected of his writings. No new edition of Rufinus' translation has appeared since that of Dom Delarue, reproduced without change by Lommatzsch and Migne. There is no true critical edition of this text according to modern standards. However, the discovery of Greek fragments in the papyri of Toura has drawn attention to this book. Francesca Cocchini, whose Italian translation with copious annotations concerning the Greek fragments I have already indicated, first wrote a book<sup>63</sup> interpreting some passages of the same commentary concerning the resurrection of Christ and the antiheretical polemics. More recently, Caroline Hammond Bammel published a large work, *Der Römerbrief-Kommentar und seine Ori-*

<sup>59</sup> 20 (1979) 287-320.

<sup>60</sup> Vatican City: Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, 1980.

<sup>61</sup> Bari: Adriatica, 1971.

<sup>62</sup> Bari: Istituto di Letteratura Cristiana Antica, 1966.

<sup>63</sup> *Origene, Commento alla Lettera ai Romani: Annuncio pasquale, Polemica antieretica* (L'Aquila: Japadre, 1979).



*genesübersetzung*,<sup>64</sup> which is the result of many years of labor marked by some articles in the *Journal of Theological Studies* under the name of Caroline Hammond. The first part of this book is a study of the manuscript tradition of this commentary according to the Rufinian translation and the other sources, and the second is a study of Rufinus' Latin biblical text. This second part explains why the book appears in the collection *Vetus Latina* of the Benedictine abbey of Beuron. In the preface of this book the author announces a future critical edition for which the present book prepares in a remarkable way.

Origen's relations with the Jews have interested some scholars. They are discussed in a general manner in two books about Caesarea of Palestine, the town where Origen spent the second part of his life: *Caesarea, Origenes, und die Juden* by Hans Bietenhart<sup>65</sup> and *Caesarea under Roman Rule* by Lee Levine.<sup>66</sup> Nicholas de Lange, in a book entitled *Origen and the Jews*<sup>67</sup> and in some articles, placed in relief Origen's strong knowledge of the Jewish traditions and of rabbinical interpretations that gave him certain inspirations. De Lange underlines also the peaceful nature of his relations with Jews: a relative peace indeed, but remarkable when it is compared with the attitude of other Fathers. Some articles of Giuseppe Sgherri, as well as his book *Chiesa e sinagoga nelle opere di Origene*,<sup>68</sup> discuss Origen's views on the relations between the Church and the Jewish people, on the Israel before Christ and the Israel after Christ, on his use of the Septuagint, and on his knowledge of Hebrew. This knowledge was, indeed, limited but, in spite of certain opinions, was not nonexistent.

Our principal source of information for Origen's controversy with the pagans is the *Contra Celsum*. I have already mentioned the important pages of Marcel Borret in the fifth volume of his edition. In *Streit um das Christentum*,<sup>69</sup> Karl Pichler, like Borret, discusses the plentiful literature about Celsus' *True Discourse*, but he is rather sceptical about many hypotheses of his predecessors on Celsus' personality and work. The second part of the book, which concerns properly the *Contra Celsum*, is more original, because this work has been little studied in itself. Borret dedicates only 48 pages to it against 200 to the adversary of the Christians. Pichler examines Origen's intentions and method—I may say, his strategy—in confuting Celsus. A particular point of the discussion between Origen and Celsus in connection with the theme of the *theios anēr*,

<sup>64</sup> Freiburg i. B.: Herder, 1985.

<sup>65</sup> Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1974.

<sup>66</sup> Leiden: Brill, 1975.

<sup>67</sup> Cambridge, Eng.: University Press, 1976.

<sup>68</sup> Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1982.

<sup>69</sup> Frankfurt-Bern: Peter Lang, 1980.

the divine man, is treated by an American, Eugene V. Gallagher, *Divine Man or Magician? Celsus and Origen on Jesus*.<sup>70</sup> Francesco Mosetto has studied in a good way the debate between Celsus and Origen about the miracles, either of Jesus or of the pagans.<sup>71</sup> A recent and considerable doctoral dissertation, that I hope will be published, by Michel Fédou,<sup>72</sup> treats a subject not lacking in interest for the present day: the attitude of Christianity towards the other religions.

## IV

The doctrinal studies on Origen were plentiful in our period, but the followers of a systematic Origen are not very numerous. Save for some articles of Franz Heinrich Kettler and the book of Trigg already mentioned, I can cite only two books that treat Origen among other authors: Wolf Dieter Hauschild's *Gottes Geist und der Mensch*,<sup>73</sup> which considers the relations of the Holy Spirit with the human person in some Christian writers, and Paul Kübel's *Schuld und Schicksal bei Origenes, Gnostikern, und Platonikern*,<sup>74</sup> which examines their notion of sin and their attitude towards Fate. The other works I can cite, keeping in mind the philosophical and above all Platonic sources, study Origen without starting from preconceived structures in all texts that concern the matter in question.

Concerning the Trinity, the dissertation of Josep Rius-Camps, defended in 1967 at the Oriental Institute in Rome, was published in two sections: the first part, *Communicabilidad de la naturaleza de Dios según Origenes*, in articles in the review *Orientalia christiana periodica* between 1968 and 1974; the second part in a book, *El dinamismo trinitario en la divinización de los seres racionales según Origenes*.<sup>75</sup> The subject is the communication of God's nature to rational beings: the ontological description of the divine nature in the first part, the dynamic process of its communication to humans in the second. It is an excellent study with a very complete examination of Origen's work that brings into relief the deep theological sources of his spirituality. It does not, however, fully avoid the danger of warping Origen's thought a little, though not much, in the direction of the Valentinian gnosis. An important article of Manlio Simonetti<sup>76</sup> also discusses certain questions about the theology of the Trinity and expresses at some points certain disagreements with Rius-

<sup>70</sup> Chico, Cal.: Scholars, 1982.

<sup>71</sup> *I miracoli evangelici nel dibattito fra Celso e Origene* (Rome: LAS, 1986).

<sup>72</sup> *Christianisme et religions païennes dans le Contre Celse d'Origène* (2 vols.; Paris: Centre Sèvres, 1987).

<sup>73</sup> Munich: Kaiser, 1972.

<sup>74</sup> Stuttgart: Calwer, 1973.

<sup>75</sup> Rome: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1970.

<sup>76</sup> *Vetera christianorum* (Bari) 8 (1971) 273-307.

Camps, who has subsequently responded.<sup>77</sup> In a little book, published in Catalan<sup>78</sup>—it was the inaugural lecture given at the beginning of the academic year 1985–86 in the Theological Faculty of Barcelona—Rius-Camps tried to find and explain the manner in which the *Peri archōn* was composed. It is an interesting attempt, but it remains open to objections.

Origen's Christology was the subject of some books and articles. Matthias Eichinger, *Die Verklärung Christi bei Origenes*,<sup>79</sup> presents the exegesis of Christ's transfiguration only in its Christological aspects and leaves aside the scriptural interpretation that applies what is said about Christ's body to the letter of Scripture, this other body of the Word that also contains the Word of God. This study concerns in fact the whole doctrine of the Incarnation. The redemption is the object of José Antonio Alcain's *Cautiverio y redención del hombre in Origenes*.<sup>80</sup> The first part of this work, which is entirely original, explains the captivity and the slavery of man and woman in consequence of sin from Origen's exegesis of the passages referring to the descent of Jacob with his family into Egypt and their subsequent bondage, the captivity of the Hebrews in Babylon, and the dispersal of the Jews among the nations. The second part treats matters that have already been treated several times, but never so completely and profoundly. The images that Origen uses to express the redemption are ordered around five dominant schemes, respectively designated as mercantile, military, juridical, ritual, and mystical. They all are drawn from texts of the New Testament, but none can be considered alone because they complement one another. A book by Gerardus Reijners, *Das Wort von Kreuz: Kreuzes- und Erlösungssymbolik bei Origenes*,<sup>81</sup> examines all texts that speak of the cross and exonerates Origen from the often formulated reproach of having depreciated the cross of Christ. Among other important articles are one of Manlio Simonetti about Jesus' death<sup>82</sup> and another of José Luis Papagno on the interpretation of Philippians 2:6–11,<sup>83</sup> where the kenosis and glorification of Christ in some of the texts have the Word as their object, and in others the humanity of Christ and his human soul, which was joined to the Word in a pre-existent state. I also wrote several articles on Origen's

<sup>77</sup> In *La Trinidad en la tradición prenicena* (Salamanca: Secretariado Trinitario, 1973) 191–213.

<sup>78</sup> *El Peri Archon d'Origenes, radiografía del primer tractat de teologia dogmático-sapiential* (Barcelona: Facultat de Teologia de Barcelona, 1985).

<sup>79</sup> Vienna: Herder, 1969.

<sup>80</sup> Bilbao: Universidad de Deusto-Mensagero, 1973.

<sup>81</sup> Cologne-Vienna: Böhlau, 1983.

<sup>82</sup> *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa* 8 (1972) 1–41.

<sup>83</sup> *Burgense* (Burgos) 17 (1976) 395–429.

Christology regarding both general and specific questions: the titles (*epinoiai*) of Christ,<sup>84</sup> the Christology in the *Commentary on the Song of Songs*,<sup>85</sup> the exegesis of 1 Corinthians 15:23–38,<sup>86</sup> “when Christ will transmit the kingdom to his Father,” and others.

Recently J. Nigel Rowe published *Origen's Doctrine of Subordination: A Study in Origen's Christology*.<sup>87</sup> The author has a complete knowledge of Origen's texts and of the literature on the matter. But his judgments about Origen's doctrine of the Son start explicitly from a conception of the two natures which he calls “evangelist” in opposition to the “Tractarians” and which he defines as “adoptionist,” i.e. a concept which considers Christ more or less as a man who becomes progressively united to God. According to this idea, he constantly reproaches Origen for inconsistency and understatements about the Incarnation. I think, on the contrary, that Nigel Rowe seeks to clear up the mystery of the God-man with a purely human logic.

I have cited Hauschild's book on the Holy Spirit. I must add Helmut Saake's little book entitled *Pneumatologica*<sup>88</sup> and three articles of the same author<sup>89</sup> that compare the concepts of Origen in *Peri archōn* 1:3 with information provided by Athanasius. Because of Athanasius' testimony concerning Origen, Saake shows the inauthenticity of the fragments about this chapter in Justinian and Jerome, both of whom prolonged Origen's thought by explanations of their own. I took up this demonstration again in an article<sup>90</sup> and in the commentary of the Sources chrétiennes edition of the *Peri archōn*.

Regarding Origen's use of allegory, Jean Michel Poffet's book *La méthode exégétique d'Héracléon et d'Origène commentateurs de Jean 4*<sup>91</sup> presents a step-by-step comparison of the two exegetes' treatment of the episode of Jesus with the Samaritan woman. It is a laborious work that gives very interesting conclusions on both authors. The book of the American Gerard E. Caspary, *Politics and Exegesis: Origen and the Two Swords*,<sup>92</sup> is perhaps the only essay dealing with Origen's political ideas and therein lies its value, although the presentation of Origen's exegesis is not perfect. More recently, Karen Jo Torjesen wrote a little book

<sup>84</sup> *Origeniana secunda* (cf. n. 10 above) 131–50.

<sup>85</sup> In *Praesentia Christi: Festschrift Johannes Betz* (Düsseldorf: Patmos, 1984) 421–33.

<sup>86</sup> *Studia missionalia* 33 (1984) 359–84.

<sup>87</sup> Bern: Peter Lang, 1987.

<sup>88</sup> Frankfurt: Diagonal, 1973.

<sup>89</sup> *Neue Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie* 15 (1973) 348–64; *Hermes* 101 (1973) 91–114; in *Politique et théologie chez Athanase d'Alexandrie* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1974) 349–57.

<sup>90</sup> *Gregorianum* 57 (1976) 109–25.

<sup>91</sup> Fribourg, Swit.: Editions Universitaires, 1985.

<sup>92</sup> Berkeley: Univ. of California, 1979.

entitled *Hermeneutical Procedure and Theological Method in Origen's Exegesis*.<sup>93</sup> It is a study of Origen's exegetical practice that considers Origen concretely at his work and so finds the spiritual and pastoral aspects that often escape the critics of Origen's exegesis. Manlio Simonetti in *Lettera e/o allegoria: Un contributo alla storia dell'esegesi patristica*<sup>94</sup> presents a story of patristic exegesis according to the dilemma letter/allegory: either opposition or conciliation of both. Origen's importance for the success of allegorical exegesis makes of him a key figure in this story, which some imitate more or less and others combat. In order to see if the ancient Fathers, like some modern ones, completely divided Romans 9-11 from Romans 1-8, Peter Gorday studied that question in three of them: *Principles of Patristic Exegesis: Romans 9-11 in Origen, John Chrysostom, and Augustine*,<sup>95</sup> we have here an interesting piece of research on a part of Origen's *Commentary on Romans* and a comparison between the three Fathers.

All Origen scholars know for certain that their author is a philologist from Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* and from their reading of Origen's works. But very few investigations were made on this point before Bernhard Neuschäfer's recent book *Origenes als Philologe*.<sup>96</sup> Very precise comparisons with Greek and Latin grammarians point out the extent of his philological training: the importance of allegorical exegesis in his work must not hide the literal, grammatical, and critical exegesis. A good study of Origen's preaching and of the community that listened to it is that of Adele Monaci Castagno, *Origene predicatore e il suo pubblico*.<sup>97</sup>

Several important works have focused on Origen's ecclesiology. If our author does not speak about the Church in the *Peri archōn*, because the book is written according to a precise philosophical genus, the Church is nevertheless present everywhere else. In 1969 Jacques Chênevert studied the Church according to the *Commentary on the Song of Songs*.<sup>98</sup> The Church is indeed one of the two meanings, the more traditional, accorded by Origen to the bride in this poem. The second meaning, the faithful soul, member of the Church, had already been suggested by Paul and Tertullian and was greatly developed by Origen. This book studies chiefly the mystical aspects of the Church. In 1971 Albano Vilela published a book on the collegial status of the priest in the third century.<sup>99</sup> This work

<sup>93</sup> Berlin-New York: de Gruyter, 1986.

<sup>94</sup> Rome: Institutum Patristicum "Augustinianum," 1984.

<sup>95</sup> New York-Toronto: Edwin Mellen, 1983.

<sup>96</sup> Basle: Fr. Reinhardt, 1987.

<sup>97</sup> Milan: Franco Angeli, 1987.

<sup>98</sup> *L'Eglise dans le Commentaire d'Origène sur le Cantique des cantiques* (Brussels-Paris: Desclée de Brouwer; Montreal: Bellarmin, 1969).

<sup>99</sup> *La condition collégiale des prêtres au III<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1971).

contains more than its title indicates, and discusses more or less the whole status of the three major ministries. Origen has the largest space, 114 pages, compared to 16 for Clement, 26 for Tertullian, 86 for Cyprian, and 32 for Hippolytus. These 114 pages are full of concrete details on the life and the task of these ministers as expressed by short allusions rather than by developments of any length. A synthesis that concerns the hierarchy and the laity, public penitence, and the mystical and pastoral aspects of the Church is given by Hermann Josef Vogt in *Das Kirchenverständnis des Origenes*.<sup>100</sup> In this book is found for the first time Origen's entire ecclesiology, including many elements not previously studied. Theo Schäfer's little book on the image of the priest, *Das Priesterbild im Leben und Werk des Origenes*,<sup>101</sup> does not contain anything new: its principal merit is to give a clear presentation of the topic.

Two kinds of members of the Church according to Origen supply the matter of Gunnar af Hällström's two little books *Fides simpliciorum according to Origen of Alexandria*<sup>102</sup> and *Charismatic Succession: A Study on Origen's Concept of Prophecy*.<sup>103</sup> The *simpliciores* of the first book are weak, not necessarily in intelligence and knowledge, but in faith and morals. The prophets of the second book are not only those of the Old Testament, but also Christ and many personalities of the New: they must teach the people the true sense of the Bible to reveal to them the mysteries lying beneath the letter.

Concerning the sacraments, Lothar Lies's book *Wort und Eucharistie bei Origenes*<sup>104</sup> presents the most complete examination undertaken up to now about the Eucharist. Werner Schütz's research into Origen's view of worship, *Der christliche Gottesdienst bei Origenes*,<sup>105</sup> considers first the liturgy of the Word, then the liturgy of the Eucharist. The author, emeritus professor of a Lutheran theological faculty, wanted to find an answer to the dilemma I stated at the beginning of this paper between a "systematic" Origen and an Origen who was a man of the Church. The result of the inquiry is completely in favor of the second solution.

Origen's anthropology was studied together with that of Gregory of Nyssa in a small conference assembled in Milan by Ugo Bianchi in May 1979. The different papers were published along with the discussions under the title *Arche e Telos* by Ugo Bianchi and myself.<sup>106</sup> The conference brought together historians of religion and patrologists. One of the

<sup>100</sup> Cologne-Vienna: Böhlau, 1974.

<sup>101</sup> Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1977.

<sup>102</sup> Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1984.

<sup>103</sup> Helsinki: Enroth, 1985.

<sup>104</sup> Innsbruck: Tyrolia, 1978.

<sup>105</sup> Stuttgart: Calwer, 1984.

<sup>106</sup> Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1981.

central points was whether it is possible to speak of dualism concerning the doctrines of these two Fathers about the beginning and the end of humankind, including the original fall and the entrance of the pre-existent intelligence into terrestrial bodies. This opinion had been sustained in some preceding articles by Bianchi and by Giulia Sfameni Gasparro. The word "dualism" was received by the patrologists with many reservations. It is perhaps possible to speak of a structure, the origin of which would be dualist, but Origen's and Gregory's idea of God excludes all dualism properly speaking. Sfameni Gasparro's various articles on this subject have been published in a separate volume,<sup>107</sup> and I too am preparing for publication a collection of some articles about eschatology: death and immortality, the state of the human person between death and resurrection, and divers aspects of the doctrine of resurrection, including the conception of the resurrected body, apocatastasis. One of these articles<sup>108</sup> shows the wrong meaning given by Methodius to the *eidos sōmatikon*, which explains, according to Origen, the identity between the present and the resurrected body. This mistake takes away nearly all strength from Methodius' criticism of Origen's position.

Concerning Origen's spirituality, a book by Wilhelm Gessel, *Die Theologie des Gebetes nach De oratione von Origenes*,<sup>109</sup> examines the doctrine of prayer according to this work. Since the author was criticized for having misrepresented to a certain extent the mystical character of this prayer, he made an appropriate rectification in two subsequent articles.<sup>110</sup> Bruce Bradley's dissertation,<sup>111</sup> which unfortunately has not yet been published, is the sole important study of Origen's ascetical doctrine. It considers virtue in general without studying the different virtues.

Robert M. Berchman had little success in his study of Origen as philosopher of the Middle Platonist tradition, *From Philo to Origen: Middle Platonism in Transition*.<sup>112</sup> He was wrong in leaving out of account the fact that Origen, like Clement, is not a philosopher, but only a theologian—in the modern sense of the word—who uses philosophical propositions for his theological purposes. Because of this erroneous methodological approach, he attributes to Origen opinions radically

<sup>107</sup> *Origene: Studi di antropologia e di storia della tradizione* (Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1984).

<sup>108</sup> "Les critiques adressées par Méthode et ses contemporains à la doctrine origénienne du corps ressuscité," *Gregorianum* 53 (1972) 679-716.

<sup>109</sup> Munich: F. Schönigsh, 1975.

<sup>110</sup> *Münchener theologische Zeitschrift* 28 (1977) 397-407; and in *Origeniana secunda* (n. 10 above) 119-27.

<sup>111</sup> *ARETE as a Christian Concept* (Cambridge University, 1976).

<sup>112</sup> Chico, Cal.: Scholars, 1984.

opposed to Origen's own sayings even in the *Peri archôn*. A study of the philosophical elements that can be found in Origen's works is certainly desirable, but it must not be forgotten that he is a theologian and not a pure philosopher, despite the extent of his philosophical knowledge.

A yet unpublished dissertation has an interesting and original topic: Leonardo Lugaresi's *Simboli di scienza sacra e conoscenza religiosa in Origene*.<sup>113</sup> Many points from the natural sciences are mentioned by Origen to introduce spiritual lessons, and this literary device is found again and again in spiritual authors down to modern times. These aspects are studied by Lugaresi and compared with the notices of the Physiologus. For Origen, the beings of this world are symbols of divine mysteries, and although the Alexandrian theologian considers first those examples which Scripture presents, this fact holds true also for examples found outside of Scripture.

V

Origen's posthumous history has also tempted scholars. I shall not speak here of the numerous books dedicated to later authors who were influenced by Origen. Dionysius of Alexandria is habitually considered as one of Origen's pupils, but in his book *Dionysius von Alexandrien: Zur Frage des Origenismus im dritten Jahrhundert*,<sup>114</sup> Wolfgang Bienert tries to show to the contrary that he was rather an adversary. I think the demonstration is weak. Since Dionysius never attacks Origen, Bienert attempts to prove his thesis by putting Dionysius' assertions in opposition to pretended doctrines of Origen. These doctrines, however, often have their antithesis in Origen himself, and so their Origenist character does not seem certain enough to sustain the author's conclusions.

Artemio Vitores' *Identidad entre el cuerpo muerto y resucitado en Origenes según el De resurrectione de Metodio de Olimpo*<sup>115</sup> evaluates Methodius' polemic against Origen's doctrine of the resurrected body. He grants that the meaning given by Methodius to the *eidos sômatikon*, which I mentioned earlier, is wrong, but persists in seeing Aglaophon and Proclus in the first part of his speech as representatives of Origen's thought. Nothing allows for this opinion if we take Methodius' work in its entirety and not according to the unintelligently excerpted extract given by Epiphanius. Furthermore, certain of Origen's texts on the exegesis of the garments of skin given by God to Adam and Eve do not favor Aglaophon's ideas. I hope Jon Dechow's dissertation about the Egyptian Origenists of the fourth century and Epiphanius of Salamis'

<sup>113</sup> University of Bologna, 1976.

<sup>114</sup> Berlin: de Gruyter, 1978.

<sup>115</sup> Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1981.



struggle against them will soon be published.<sup>116</sup> It is a very complete history and we do not have many works about the same epoch.

Origen's influence on Bernard of Clairvaux and William of Saint-Thierry has been pointed out many times. Recently, in three articles subsequently joined together in a book, Luc Brésard<sup>117</sup> has sought in Bernard's *Sermones in Cantica* the traces of inspiration from Origen's *Homilies* and *Commentary on the Song of Songs*.

Some studies have dealt with Origen in the Renaissance. In 1977 I published a book on the controversy over Origen between Giovanni Pico della Mirandola and Pedro Garcia.<sup>118</sup> In a long introduction of three chapters, I studied the circumstances of the quarrel and its patristic and theological aspects, then I reproduced the Latin text of their two dissertations with a French translation. A thorough inquiry into Origen's reception in the Renaissance, in the second half of the 15th century and the first half of the 16th in Italian, French, and German areas—the English and Spanish areas were not examined—was made by Max Schär, *Das Nachleben des Origenes im Zeitalter des Humanismus*.<sup>119</sup> André Godin's substantial work, *Erasme lecteur d'Origène*,<sup>120</sup> followed patiently the numerous traces of Origen's inspiration through many works of Erasmus, the great humanist, who discovered Origen through his friend Jean Vitrier, a Franciscan of Saint-Omer.

In *Origenes' Eucharistielehre im Streit der Konfessionen: Die Auslegungsgeschichte seit der Reformation*,<sup>121</sup> Lothar Lies provided a sequel to his book on Origen's Eucharistic doctrine. He followed the use of this doctrine in more than one hundred authors after Erasmus during the Catholic-Protestant and Lutheran-Calvinist controversies from the Reformation to the present. During this period and in this context of religious discussions, Origen was used for polemical or apologetical motives without taking into account his historical context or even the true meaning of his words. In a long article Henri de Lubac, completing what he had begun in *Exégèse médiévale*, studied the controversy over Origen's salvation from the second half of the Middle Ages to the modern era.<sup>122</sup>

The University of Liège published the licentiate thesis of a young

<sup>116</sup> *Dogma and Mysterium in Early Christianity: Epiphanius of Cyprus and the Legacy of Origen* (Atlanta: Mercer University, forthcoming).

<sup>117</sup> "Bernard et Origène commentent le Cantique," *Collectanea Cisterciensia* 44 (1982) 111-30, 183-209, 293-308.

<sup>118</sup> *Une controverse sur Origène à la Renaissance: Jean Pic de la Mirandole et Pierre Garcia* (Paris: Vrin, 1977).

<sup>119</sup> Basle-Stuttgart: Helbing und Lichtenhahn, 1979.

<sup>120</sup> Geneva: Droz, 1982.

<sup>121</sup> Innsbruck-Vienna: Tyrolia, 1985.

<sup>122</sup> *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique* 83 (1982) 5-29, 83-110.

student, Claire Falla, who died suddenly at the time she was considering a doctoral dissertation on Origen in the 17th century. The subject of her thesis is a work on Origen by a Belgian Jesuit of this period, Pierre Halloix, *Origenes defensus*.<sup>123</sup> Death struck also James A. Lyons, an Australian Jesuit and author of another recent book, *The Cosmic Christ in Origen and Teilhard de Chardin*.<sup>124</sup> The final pages were even completed by the director of the dissertation, Professor Wiles of Oxford. The comparison between these two much-discussed great men, Origen and Teilhard, bears on a common point: the cosmic dimensions of Christ.

## VI

This general review is limited. It does not mention the greatest part of the published papers, although some are important, nor of the unpublished dissertations, often difficult to obtain. Many worthwhile dissertations cannot be published for lack of funds. This general review, however, gives some idea of the considerable work accomplished the last 18 years. We can see that the literature on Origen during these last years has not been guided, for the most part, by a preconceived idea of the Alexandrian Father nor by a desire to force him into the framework of a system, but that it has studied as completely as possible particular points whence there often comes a new light on the multiform personality of our author. Must we regret it if he appears so deeply rooted in the Christian tradition?

<sup>123</sup> *L'Apologie d'Origène par Pierre Halloix* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1983).

<sup>124</sup> Oxford: University Press, 1982.